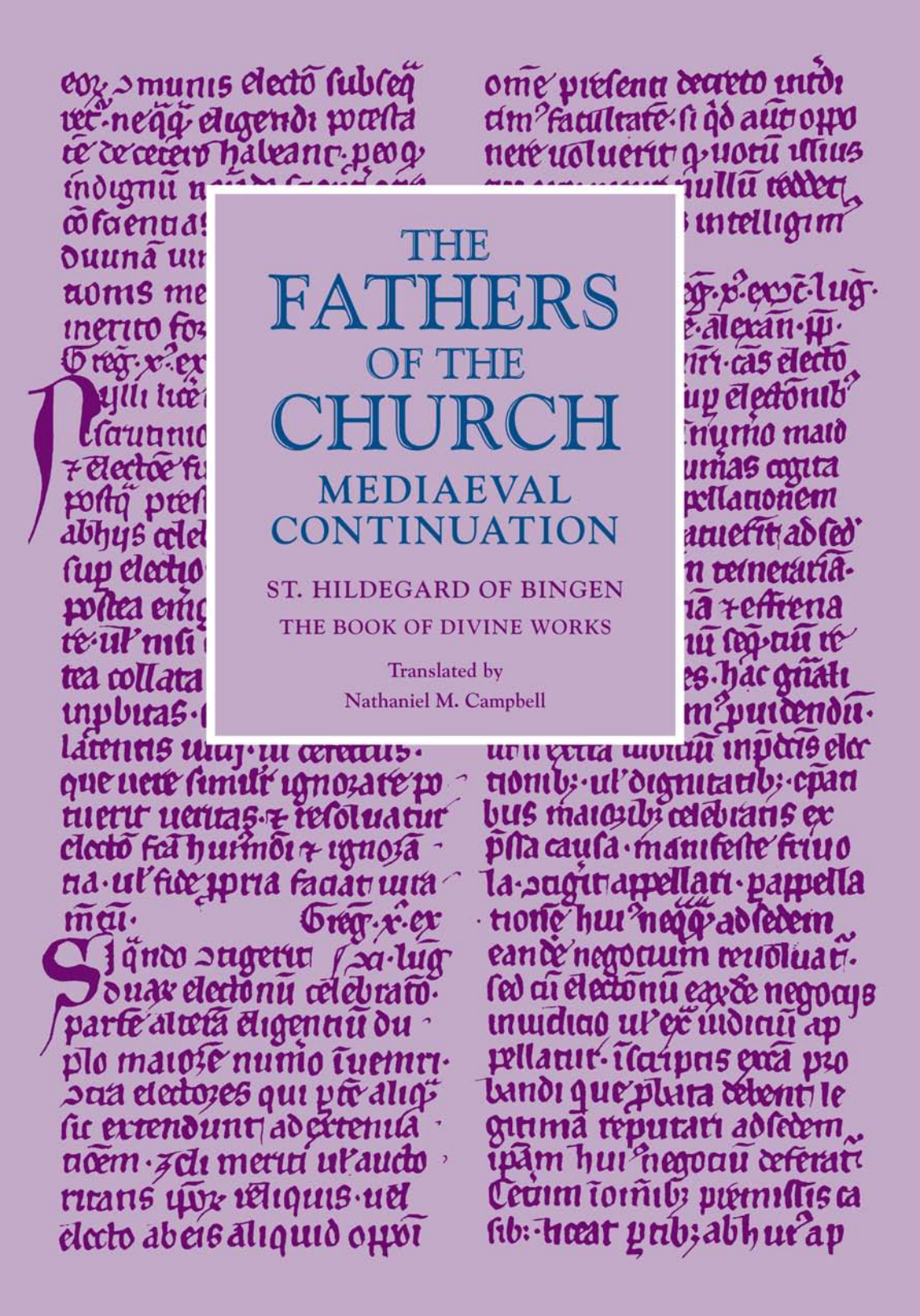

THE
FATHERS
OF THE
CHURCH
MEDIAEVAL
CONTINUATION
ST. HILDEGARD OF BINGEN
THE BOOK OF DIVINE WORKS
Translated by
Nathaniel M. Campbell

Sanctae
Hildegardis
Revelationes

THE FATHERS OF THE CHURCH

MEDIAEVAL CONTINUATION

VOLUME 18

THE FATHERS OF THE CHURCH

MEDIAEVAL CONTINUATION

EDITORIAL BOARD

Gregory F. LaNave
Pontifical Faculty of the Immaculate Conception
Dominican House of Studies
Editorial Director

Regis J. Armstrong, O.F.M. Cap.
The Catholic University of America

Joseph Goering
University of Toronto

Peter Casarella
University of Notre Dame

Frank A. C. Mantello
The Catholic University of America

John Cavadini
University of Notre Dame

Jan Ziolkowski
Harvard University

Trevor Lipscombe
Director
The Catholic University of America Press

Carole Monica C. Burnett
Staff Editor

ST. HILDEGARD OF BINGEN

THE BOOK OF DIVINE WORKS

Translated by

NATHANIEL M. CAMPBELL

THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA PRESS
Washington, D.C.

Copyright © 2018
THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA PRESS
All rights reserved
Printed in the United States of America

The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of the American National Standards for Information Science—Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48-1984.
∞

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
is available from the Library of Congress.
ISBN 978-0-8132-3129-7

CONTENTS

Dedicatory Chronogram vii

Acknowledgments ix

Abbreviations xi

Illustrations xv

Select Bibliography xvii

INTRODUCTION

Introduction 3

I. *Liber Divinorum Operum:* Summary 5

II. Themes 7

1. The Relationship between Divinity and Humanity: The Work of God 7
2. The Relationship between Humanity and Creation: Microcosm and Macrocosm 10
3. The Light of Divine Foreknowledge and the Eternal Predestination of Christ 14
4. Hildegard as Exegete 17
5. History and Symbolism 19

III. Manuscripts, Editions, and Principles of Translation 21

THE BOOK OF DIVINE WORKS

Prologue 29

PART I:

Vision 1: Theophany of Divine Love 33

Vision 2: The Cosmic Spheres and Human Being 46

Vision 3: Macrocosm of Winds, Microcosm of Humors 106

Vision 4: Cosmos, Body, and Soul: The Word Made Flesh 130

PART II:

Vision 1: The Earth: Life's Merits, Purgatory, and Commentary on the Creation 264

PART III:

Vision 1: The City of God and the Mirror of the Angels 348

Vision 2: The City in Salvation History: Creation to Incarnation 357

Vision 3: The Fountain of God's Work: Theophany of Divine Love, with Humility and Peace 386

Vision 4: Wisdom and the Ancient Counsel Unfolding in God's Works 394

Vision 5: Divine Love upon the Wheel: Eternity and History 416

Epilogue 481

INDICES

General Index 485

Index of Holy Scripture 532

Index of References to Hildegard's Works 539

DEDICATORY CHRONOGRAM

o Vas speCVLatIVVM
LVCIs VIVentIs:
praesta nobIs opVs DeI
In VerbIs et sIgnIs tVIs raCIonaLIbVs.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Bringing Hildegard's *magnum opus* into its first complete English translation required the help of many colleagues. I would like especially to thank Barbara Newman, for her invaluable assistance with difficult points of interpretation; Richard K. Emmerson, for illumination on apocalyptic and Antichrist lore; Ryan Thomas Martin Miller, O.P., and Hannah Matis, for points of theological and scriptural echo; Greti Dinkova-Bruun, for advice on some tricky passages; Christel Meier-Staubach and Kathryn Kerby-Fulton, for first taking me through the *Liber divinorum operum;* and E. J. Richards, Anna Siebach Larsen, and Nicole Eddy, for indefatigable aid in running down references and allusions.

The International Society of Hildegard von Bingen Studies has provided support for an online supplement to this book, which includes chapter summaries and color reproductions of the illustrations from manuscript 1942 of the Biblioteca Statale di Lucca. I also gratefully acknowledge the kind permission of the Italian Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities and Tourism to reproduce those same images in this book.

Particular thanks are owed to the editors at CUA Press, who were willing to entrust this large, ambitious project to an unknown scholar—I just hope I have not disappointed their trust.

Finally, I owe a deeper debt than can ever be repaid to the patience of my wife—this work would never have been completed without her.

Nathaniel M. Campbell

ABBREVIATIONS

Hildegard of Bingen

Cause	*Beate Hildegardis Cause et Cure,* ed. Moulinier and Berndt; all translations my own except where noted.
Expl. Symb. S. Athan.	*Explanatio Symboli Sancti Athanasii,* ed. Evans.
Gosp. Hom., Gosp. Homs.	*Homilies on the Gospels,* ed. and trans. Kienzle.
LDO	*Liber diuinorum operum,* ed. Derolez and Dronke.
Let., Lets.	*The Letters of Hildegard of Bingen,* trans. Baird and Ehrman, 3 vols.; citations given to letter number(s), followed by volume:page(s).
LVM	*The Book of the Rewards of Life,* trans. Hozeski; Latin text, *Liber Vite Meritorum,* ed. Carlevaris; citations given as Part.Chapter(sub-chapter).
Ordo	*Ordo Virtutum* ("The Play of the Virtues"), ed. and trans. Dronke in *Nine Medieval Latin Plays.*
Physica	*Physica,* trans. Throop.
Scivias	*Scivias,* trans. Hart and Bishop; Latin text ed. Führkötter and Carlevaris; citations given as Part.Vision.Chapter.
Solution	*Solutions to Thirty-Eight Questions,* trans. Kienzle et al.
Symphonia	*Symphonia armonie celestium revelationum,* ed. and trans. Newman.

Other Premodern Sources

CCCM	Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis. Brepols, 1971–.

FOTC	The Fathers of the Church. New York and Washington, DC, 1947–.
Life	"The Life of Holy Hildegard," trans. Silvas in *Jutta & Hildegard: The Biographical Sources.*
RB	*Regula Benedicti / The Rule of St. Benedict.*
PL	Patrologia Latina. Ed. J.-P. Migne. Paris, 1844–1855.
SC	Sources chrétiennes. Paris, 1942–.
Vg.	Vulgate.

Modern Scholarship

Echtheit	Marianna Schrader and Adelgundis Führkötter, *Die Echtheit des Schrifttums der heiligen Hildegard von Bingen* (Cologne, 1956).
Klaes	Monika Klaes, "Zur Schau und Bedeutung des Kosmos bei Hildegard von Bingen," in *Kosmos und Mensch aus der Sicht Hildegards von Bingen,* pp. 37–115.
Liebeschütz	Hans Liebeschütz, *Das allegorische Weltbild der heiligen Hildegard von Bingen* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1930; 2d ed., Darmstadt, 1964).
Meier	Christel Meier, "Die Bedeutung der Farben im Werk Hildegards von Bingen," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 6 (1972), pp. 245–355.
Maurmann	Barbara Maurmann, *Die Himmelsrichtungen im Weltbild des Mittelalters: Hildegard von Bingen, Honorius Augustodunensis und andere Autoren* (Munich, 1976).
Newman, *Sister*	Barbara Newman, *Sister of Wisdom: St. Hildegard's Theology of the Feminine* (Berkeley, 1987; 2d ed., 1997).
Prophetin	*Hildegard von Bingen. Prophetin durch die Zeiten,* ed. Äbtissin Edeltraud Forster (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1997).
Rauh	H. D. Rauh, *Das Bild des Antichrist im Mittelalter: Von Tyconius zum deutschen Symbolismus* (Münster, 1973).

Schipperges	Hildegard von Bingen, *Welt und Mensch: Das Buch »De Operatione Dei« aus dem Genter Kodex,* ed. and trans. Heinrich Schipperges (Salzburg, 1965).
Voice	*Voice of the Living Light: Hildegard of Bingen and Her World,* ed. Barbara Newman (Berkeley, 1998).
Widmer	Bertha Widmer, *Heilsordnung und Zeitgeschehen in der Mystik Hildegards von Bingen* (Basel and Stuttgart, 1955).
Women Writers	Peter Dronke, *Women Writers of the Middle Ages. A Critical Study of Texts from Perpetua (†203) to Marguerite Porete (†1310)* (Cambridge, UK, 1984).

ILLUSTRATIONS

All illustrations in this volume are reproduced by permission of the Italian Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities and Tourism. The Lucca manuscript has been fully digitized and is accessible online: https://www.wdl.org/en/item/21658/.

FIGURE 1.1: Theophany of Divine Love. 32
Biblioteca Statale di Lucca, MS 1942, fol. 1v (early 13th-cen.)

FIGURE 1.2: The Cosmic Spheres and Human Being. 47
Biblioteca Statale di Lucca, MS 1942, fol. 9r (early 13th-cen.)

FIGURE 1.3: The Network of Winds. 107
Biblioteca Statale di Lucca, MS 1942, fol. 28v (early 13th-cen.)

FIGURE 1.4: Cosmos, Body, and Soul, with the Seasons and Months from ch. 98. 131
Biblioteca Statale di Lucca, MS 1942, fol. 38r (early 13th-cen.)

FIGURE 2.1: The Parts of the Earth: Living, Dying, and Purgatory. 265
Biblioteca Statale di Lucca, MS 1942, fol. 88v (early 13th-cen.)

FIGURE 3.1: The City of God and the Mirror of the Angels. 349
Biblioteca Statale di Lucca, MS 1942, fol. 118r (early 13th-cen.)

FIGURE 3.2: The City of God in Salvation History. 358
Biblioteca Statale di Lucca, MS 1942, fol. 121v (early 13th-cen.)

FIGURE 3.3: The Fountain of God's Work: Theophany of Divine Love, with Humility and Peace. 387
Biblioteca Statale di Lucca, MS 1942, fol. 132r (early 13th-cen.)

FIGURE 3.4: Wisdom and the Ancient Counsel before the City of God. 395
Biblioteca Statale di Lucca, MS 1942, fol. 135r (early 13th-cen.)

FIGURE 3.5: Divine Love upon the Wheel. 417
Biblioteca Statale di Lucca, MS 1942, fol. 143r (early 13th-cen.)

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. Primary Sources: Editions and Translations

A1. Critical Editions of Hildegard's Works

Beate Hildegardis Cause et Cure. Edited by Laurence Moulinier and Rainer Berndt. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2003.

Epistolarium I–III. Edited by L. Van Acker and M. Klaes-Hachmöller. CCCM 91, 91a, and 91b. Turnhout: Brepols, 1991, 1998, and 2001.

Liber Divinorum Operum. Edited by Albert Derolez and Peter Dronke. CCCM 92. Turnhout: Brepols, 1996.

Liber Vite Meritorum. Edited by Angela Carlevaris. CCCM 90. Turnhout: Brepols, 1995.

Lingua Ignota. In *Hildegard of Bingen's Unknown Language*. Edited and translated by Sarah L. Higley. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007.

Opera Minora. Edited by Peter Dronke et al. CCCM 226. Turnhout: Brepols, 2007. Includes: *De regula sancti Benedicti*, *Explanatio Symboli Sancti Athanasii, Expositiones Evangeliorum, Ordo Virtutum,* and *Symphonia armonie celestium revelationum*.

Opera Minora II. Edited by C. P. Evans et. al. CCCM 226a. Turnhout: Brepols, 2016. Includes: *Vitae* of Sts. Disibod and Rupert; *Triginta octo questionum solutiones;* the *Lingua ignota* and *Litterae ignotae;* and two *visiones* for Guibert of Gembloux.

Physica. Liber subtilitatum diversarum naturarum creaturarum. Edited by Reiner Hildebrandt and Thomas Gloning. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010.

Scivias. Edited by Adelgundis Führkötter and Angela Carlevaris. CCCM 43 and 43a. Turnhout: Brepols, 1978.

Symphonia. Edited and translated by Barbara Newman. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1988; 2d ed., 1998.

Two Hagiographies: Vita sancti Ruppert confessoris; Vita sancti Dysibodi episcopi. Edited by Christopher P. Evans. Translated by Hugh Feiss. Dallas Medieval Texts and Translations, 11. Paris and Leuven: Peeters, 2010.

Though the editions above have superseded the older printed editions, much scholarship still refers to the following, which are easily accessible online:

Opera Omnia. Edited by F. A. Reuss and J.-P. Migne. Patrologia Latina 197. Paris, 1855.

Analecta Sanctae Hildegardis. Edited by J.-B. Pitra. Monte Cassino: Typis Sacri Montis Casinensis, 1882.

A2. Other Primary Sources Related to Hildegard

Guibert de Gembloux. *Epistolae*. Edited by A. Derolez et al. CCCM 66–66a. Turnhout: Brepols, 1988–1989.

La Obra de Gebenón de Eberbach. Edited by José Carlos Santos Paz. Florence: Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2004.

Vita Sanctae Hildegardis / Leben der heiligen Hildegard von Bingen. Canonizatio Sanctae Hildegardis / Kanonisation der heiligen Hildegard. Edited and translated by Monika Klaes. Fontes Christiani 29. Freiburg: Herder, 1998.

B. English Translations

The Book of the Rewards of Life (Liber Vitae Meritorum). Translated by Bruce W. Hozeski. New York: Garland Publishing, 1994; reprinted by Oxford University Press, 1997.

Explanation of the Rule of St. Benedict. Edited and translated by Hugh Feiss. Toronto: Peregrina, 1990. [Formerly *Vox Benedictina* 7:2, 1990].

Homilies on the Gospels. Translated by Beverly Mayne Kienzle. Cistercian Studies Series 241. Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press/Cistercian Publications, 2011.

The Letters of Hildegard of Bingen, vols. 1–3. Translated by Joseph L. Baird and Radd Ehrman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994, 1998, 2001.

Play of the Virtues (*Ordo Virtutum*). In *Nine Medieval Latin Plays,* edited and translated by Peter Dronke, 161–81. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Physica. Translated by Priscilla Throop. Rochester, VT: Healing Arts Press, 1998.

Scivias. Translated by Mother Columba Hart and Jane Bishop. New York: Paulist Press, 1990.

Solutions to Thirty-Eight Questions. Translated by Beverly Mayne Kienzle with Jenny C. Bledsoe and Stephen H. Behnke. Cistercian Studies Series 253. Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press/Cistercian Publications, 2014.

Silvas, Anna, trans. *Jutta and Hildegard: The Biographical Sources*. Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts, 1. Turnhout: Brepols, 1999; reprinted, University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999.

II. Secondary Literature

A. Essay Collections

A Companion to Hildegard of Bingen. Edited by Beverly Mayne Kienzle, Debra L Stoudt, and George Ferzoco. Leiden: Brill, 2014.

Cambridge Companion to Hildegard of Bingen. Edited by Jennifer Bain. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming 2019.

Hildegard of Bingen: A Book of Essays. Edited by Maud Burnett McInerney. New York: Garland Publishing, 1998.

Hildegard of Bingen: The Context of her Thought and Art. Edited by Charles Burnett and Peter Dronke. London: The Warburg Institute, 1998.

Hildegard von Bingen, 1179–1979. Festschrift zum 800. Todestag der Heiligen. Edited by Anton Ph. Brück. Quellen und Abhandlungen zur mittelrheinischen Kirchengeschichte, 33. Mainz: Selbstverlag der Gesellschaft für Mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte, 1979.

Hildegard von Bingen in ihrem historischen Umfeld: Internationaler wissenschaftlicher Kongress zum 900 jährigen Jubiläum, 13–19 September 1998, Bingen am Rhein. Edited by Alfred Haverkamp. Mainz: Trierer Historische Forschungen/P. von Zabern, 2000.

Hildegard von Bingen. Prophetin durch die Zeiten. Edited by Äbtissin Edeltraud Forster. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1997.

Kosmos und Mensch aus der Sicht Hildegards von Bingen. Edited by Adelgundis Führkötter. Mainz: Verlag der Gesellschaft für Mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte, 1987.

Tiefe des Gotteswissens—Schönheit der Sprachgestalt bei Hildegard von Bingen. Edited by Margot Schmidt. Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 1995.

Unversehrt und Unverletzt: Hildegards von Bingen Menschenbild und Kirchenverständnis Heute. Edited by Rainer Berndt, SJ, and Maura Zátonyi, OSB. Erudiri sapientia, 12. Münster: Aschendorff, 2015.

Wisdom Which Encircles Circles: Papers on Hildegard of Bingen. Edited by Audrey Ekdahl Davidson. Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1996.

Voice of the Living Light: Hildegard of Bingen and Her World. Edited by Barbara Newman. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.

B. General Bibliography

N.B. The most complete bibliography up to its publication is Werner Lauter, et al., *Hildegard von Bingen: Internationale wissenschaftliche Bibliographie*. Mainz: Gesellschaft für Mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte, 1998.

Betz, Otto. "›Opus/Operatio‹ und ›Discretio‹: Schlüsselbegriffe im Denken Hildegards." In *Hildegard von Bingen. Prophetin durch die Zeiten,* edited by Äbtissin Edeltraud Forster, 238–48. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1997.

Campbell, Nathaniel M. "*Imago expandit splendorem suum:* Hildegard of Bingen's Visio-Theological Designs in the Rupertsberg *Scivias* Manuscript." *Eikón/Imago* 4 (2013, Vol. 2, No. 2): 1–68.

———. "The Authorship and Function of the Chapter Summaries to Hildegard of Bingen's *Liber diuinorum operum*." *Journal of Medieval Latin* 27 (2017): 69–106.

Chávez Alvarez, Fabio. *»Die brennende Vernunft«: Studien zur Semantik der »rationalitas« bei Hildegard von Bingen*. Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 1991.

Dempf, Alois. *Sacrum Imperium. Geschichts- und Staatsphilosophie des Mittelalters und der politischen Renaissance*. Munich and Berlin: R. Oldenbourg, 1929.

Derolez, Albert. "The Genesis of Hildegard of Bingen's 'Liber Divinorum Operum': The Codicological Evidence." In *Litterae Textuales: Texts and*

Manuscripts: Essays Presented to G. I. Lieftinck. Edited by J. P. Gumber and M. J. M. de Haan. 2 vols. Amsterdam: Van Gendt & Co., 1972. Vol. 2, 22–33.

———. "Die Bedeutung der neuen Edition von Hildegards 'Liber Divinorum Operum.'" In *Tiefe des Gotteswissens—Schönheit der Sprachgestalt bei Hildegard von Bingen,* edited by Margot Schmidt, 19–28. Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 1995.

Dronke, Peter. "*Arbor Caritatis*." In *Medieval Studies for J. A. W. Bennett,* edited by P. L. Heyworth, 207–53. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981.

———. "Problemata Hildegardiana," *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch*, v. 16 (1981): 97–131.

———. *Women Writers of the Middle Ages. A Critical Study of Texts from Perpetua (†203) to Marguerite Porete (†1310).* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.

———. "The Symbolic Cities of Hildegard of Bingen." *Journal of Medieval Latin* 1 (1991): 168–83.

———. "The Allegorical World-Picture of Hildegard of Bingen: Revaluations and New Problems." In *Hildegard of Bingen: The Context of her Thought and Art,* edited by Charles Burnett and Peter Dronke, 1–16. London: The Warburg Institute, 1998.

Embach, Michael. *Die Schriften Hildegards von Bingen: Studien zu ihrer Überlieferung und Rezeption im Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2003.

Ferrante, Joan. "*Scribe quae vides et audis:* Hildegard, Her Language, and Her Secretaries." In *The Tongue of the Fathers: Gender and Ideology in Twelfth-Century Latin,* edited by David Townsend and Andrew Taylor, 102–35. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998.

Flanagan, Sabina. *Hildegard of Bingen: A Visionary Life*. London: Routledge, 1989.

Führkötter, Adelgundis. "Die Gotteswerke. Vom Sinn und Aufbau des *Liber divinorum operum* der heiligen Hildegard." *Benediktinische Monatsschrift* 29 (1953): 195–204, 306–16.

Gössman, Elisabeth. *Hildegard of Bingen: Four Papers*. Toronto: Peregrina, 1995.

———. "Spiegel der göttlichen Liebe: Zur Anthropologie und Geschlechtersymbolik bei Hildegard von Bingen." In *Hildegard von Bingen. Prophetin durch die Zeiten,* edited by Äbtissin Edeltraud Forster, 172–88. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1997.

———. "Hildegard of Bingen." In *A History of Women Philosophers, Vol. II: Medieval, Renaissance, and Enlightenment Women Philosophers, A.D. 500–1600,* edited by Mary Ellen White, 27–68. Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Kluwer Academic Press, 2012.

Herwegen, Ildefons. "Les *collaborateurs* de sainte Hildegarde." *Revue Bénédictine* 21 (1904): 192–203, 302–15, and 381–403.

Kather, Regine. "Vollendetes Kunstwerk Gottes: Das kosmische Weltbild Hildegards von Bingen." In *Hildegard von Bingen. Prophetin durch die Zeiten,* edited by Äbtissin Edeltraud Forster, 198–210. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1997.

Kerby-Fulton, Kathryn. *Reformist Apocalypticism and* Piers Plowman. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

———. "Prophet and Reformer: 'Smoke in the Vineyard.'" In *Voice of the Living Light: Hildegard of Bingen and Her World,* edited by Barbara Newman, 70–90. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.

———. "Hildegard of Bingen." In *Medieval Holy Women in the Christian Tradition, c. 1100–c.1500,* edited by Alastair Minnis and Rosalynn Voaden, 343–69. Turnhout: Brepols, 2010.

Kienzle, Beverly. "*Operatrix in vinea Domini*: Hildegard of Bingen's Preaching and Polemics against the Cathars." *Heresis* 26–27 (1996): 43–56.

———. *Hildegard of Bingen and Her Gospel Homilies: Speaking New Mysteries.* Turnhout: Brepols, 2009.

Klaes, Monika. "Zur Schau und Bedeutung des Kosmos bei Hildegard von Bingen." In *Kosmos und Mensch aus der Sicht Hildegards von Bingen,* edited by Adelgundis Führkötter, 37–115. Mainz: Verlag der Gesellschaft für Mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte, 1987.

Lautenschläger, Gabriele. "›Viriditas‹." In *Hildegard von Bingen. Prophetin durch die Zeiten,* edited by Äbtissin Edeltraud Forster, 224–37. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1997.

Liebeschütz, Hans. *Das allegorische Weltbild der Heiligen Hildegard von Bingen.* Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1930.

Maurmann, Barbara. *Die Himmelsrichtungen im Weltbild des Mittelalters: Hildegard von Bingen, Honorius Augustodunensis u. andere Autoren.* Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften 33. Munich: Fink, 1976.

McGinn, Bernard. "Hildegard of Bingen as Visionary and Exegete." In *Hildegard von Bingen in ihrem historischen Umfeld,* edited by Alfred Haverkamp, 321–50. Mainz: Trierer Historische Forschungen/P. von Zabern, 2000.

Meier, Christel. "Die Bedeutung der Farben im Werk Hildegards von Bingen." *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* v. 6 (1972): 245–355.

———. "Scientia Divinorum Operum: Zu Hildegards von Bingen visionärkünstlerischer Rezeption Eriugenas." In *Eriugena Redivivus. Zur Wirkungsgeschichte seines Denkens im Mittelalter und im Übergang zur Neuzeit,* edited by Werner Beierwaltes, 89–141. Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1987.

———. "Operationale Kosmologie. Bemerkungen zur Konzeption der Arbeit bei Hildegard von Bingen." In *Tiefe des Gotteswissens—Schönheit der Sprachgestalt bei Hildegard von Bingen,* edited by Margot Schmidt, 49–83. Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 1995.

Mews, Constant. "Religious Thinker: 'A Frail Human Being' on Fiery Life." In *Voice of the Living Light: Hildegard of Bingen and Her World,* edited by Barbara Newman, 52–69. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.

———. "Hildegard and the Schools." In *Hildegard of Bingen: The Context of her Thought and Art,* edited by Charles Burnett and Peter Dronke, 89–110. London: The Warburg Institute, 1998.

———. "From *Scivias* to the *Liber Divinorum Operum:* Hildegard's Apocalyptic Imagination and the Call to Reform." *The Journal of Religious History* 24:1 (2000): 44–56.

Newman, Barbara. *Sister of Wisdom: St. Hildegard's Theology of the Feminine.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987; 2d ed., 1997.

———. "Romancing the Past: A Critical Look at Matthew Fox and the Medieval Creation Mystics." *Touchstone* 5 (1992): 5–10.

———. "Hildegard of Bingen and the 'Birth of Purgatory.'" *Mystics Quarterly* 19 (1993): 90–97.

———. "'Sibyl of the Rhine': Hildegard's Life and Times." In *Voice of the Living Light: Hildegard of Bingen and Her World,* edited by Barbara Newman, 1–29. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.

———. "Hildegard of Bingen: Commentary on the Johannine Prologue." *Theology Today* 60 (2003): 16–33.

Otto, Rita. "Zu den gotischen Miniaturen einer Hildegardhandschrift in Lucca." *Mainzer Zeitschrift* 71–72 (1976–1977): 110–26.

Rauh, Horst Dieter. *Das Bild des Antichrist im Mittelalter; Von Tyconius zum deutschen Symbolismus.* Münster: Aschendorff, 1973.

Schipperges, Heinrich. "Ein unveröffentliches Hildegard-Fragment." *Sudhoffs Archiv* 40 (1956): 41–77.

———. *Hildegard von Bingen. Welt und Mensch. Das Buch "De operatione Dei" aus dem Genter Kodex übersetzt und erläutert.* [German translation of *Liber divinorum operum*]. Salzburg: Otto Müller, 1964.

———. "Kosmologische Aspekte der Lebensordnung und Lebensführung bei Hildegard von Bingen." In *Kosmos und Mensch aus der Sicht Hildegards von Bingen,* edited by Adelgundis Führkötter, 1–25. Mainz: Verlag der Gesellschaft für Mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte, 1987.

Schmidt, Margot. "Hildegard von Bingen als Lehrerin des Glaubens: Speculum als Symbol des Transzendenten." In *Hildegard von Bingen, 1179–1979. Festschrift zum 800. Todestag der Heiligen,* edited by Anton Ph. Brück, 95–157. Quellen und Abhandlungen zur mittelrheinischen Kirchengeschichte, 33. Mainz: Selbstverlag der Gesellschaft für Mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte, 1979.

Schrader, Marianna, and Adelgundis Führkötter. *Die Echtheit des Schrifttums der heiligen Hildegard von Bingen.* Cologne: Böhlau, 1956.

Suzuki, Keiko. *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.* Neue Berner Schriften zur Kunst, 5. Bern, Switzerland: Peter Lang, 1998.

Van Engen, John. "Letters and the Public Persona of Hildegard." In *Hildegard von Bingen in ihrem historischen Umfeld,* edited by Alfred Haverkamp, 375–418. Mainz: Trierer Historische Forschungen/P. von Zabern, 2000.

Widmer, Bertha. *Heilsordnung und Zeitgeschehen in der Mystik von Hildegards von Bingen.* Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1955.

———. "Moralische Grundbegriffe Hildegards in ihrem Rad der Winde." In *Hildegard von Bingen. Prophetin durch die Zeiten,* edited by Äbtissin Edeltraud Forster, 211–22. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1997.

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

By the early 1160s, St. Hildegard of Bingen (1098–1179) had already accomplished a great deal as a visionary, theologian, prophet of reform, and leader of religious women.[1] She had written two large works of visionary theology (*Scivias* and *Liber vitae meritorum*), the former of which was supposedly read by Pope Eugenius III at a synod in Trier in 1147;[2] begun substantial correspondences with many admirers seeking counsel, ranging from local abbesses and clergy to the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa and a succession of Popes; and composed two books of natural medicine and remedies (*Physica* and *Cause et cure*) that reflect both her practical experience in infirmary and garden and the theoretical applications of her theological anthropology. Moreover, Hildegard had successfully waged several political battles to move her nuns from the control of the monks at St. Disibodenberg to their own abbey at the Rupertsberg in Bingen. She had composed an extraordinary musical corpus to be used in their daily liturgical practices (the *Symphonia*); and preached throughout the Rhineland, calling the people

1. The best detailed biographical treatments in English are Dronke, *Women Writers,* 144–201; Barbara Newman, "'Sibyl of the Rhine': Hildegard's Life and Times," in *Voice,* 1–29; and Sabina Flanagan, *Hildegard of Bingen: A Visionary Life* (London: Routledge, 1989). For *Women Writers* and *Voice,* as well as other abbreviated titles in the footnotes of this volume, see the list of abbreviations in the front matter.

2. John Van Engen has shown that Eugenius sent Hildegard no more than words of general encouragement, and that claims of papal blessing and approval were later constructions of Hildegard's skilled editors; see "Letters and the Public Persona of Hildegard," in *Hildegard von Bingen in ihrem historischen Umfeld*, ed. Alfred Haverkamp (Mainz: Trierer Historische Forschungen/P. von Zabern, 2000), 375–418, esp. 379–92.

of her country to repentance, reform, renewal, and holiness.[3]

Already in her sixth decade of life, the Visionary Doctor showed no signs of slowing, and was about to embark on the composition of her *magnum opus* and capstone of her visionary trilogy, spurred by one of her life's more extraordinary moments. In contrast to her usual visionary experiences, this one—probably to be identified with the rarity and delight of what she called "the Living Light"—was of a profoundly deeper character.[4] As she described it in an autobiographical passage incorporated into her saintly *Vita:*

> Some time later I saw an extraordinary mystical vision, at which all my inward parts trembled, and my body lost all capacity of feeling—for my knowing was changed into another mode in which, as it were, I did not know myself. It was as if the inspiration of God were sprinkling drops of sweet rain into my soul's knowing, the very same with which the Spirit instructed John the Evangelist when he drank in from the breast of Jesus the most profound of revelations. His senses at that time were so touched by the sacred Divinity that he revealed hidden mysteries and works, saying, *In the beginning was the Word* . . . [Jn 1.1], etc.
>
> For it was the Word, which before all created things had no beginning, and after them shall have no end, which summoned all created things into being. He brought his work into being like a smith causing his work to shower sparks. In this way, what was predestined by him before ever the world was, appeared in visible form. Therefore, man is the work of God along with every creature. But man is also said to be the worker of the Divinity and a shadow of his mysteries, and should in all things reveal the Holy Trinity, for *God made him in his image and likeness* [Gn 1.26]. So, just as Lucifer for all his malice could not bring God to naught, so too, he shall not succeed in destroying the human race, however much he tried to with the first man.
>
> And thus the vision mentioned above taught me and allowed me to expound the words of this Gospel and everything it speaks of, which from the beginning is the Work of God. And I saw that this same explanation would have to be the beginning of another writing which

3. The best introduction in English to the vast array of Hildegard's activities is the collection of essays in *Voice.*

4. Her most important autobiographical descriptions of her visionary experiences are in the *Protestificatio* ("Declaration") that prefaces *Scivias;* and *Let.* 103r to Guibert of Gembloux (2:21–25); see also Dronke's discussion in *Women Writers,* 145–47; and Bernard McGinn, "Hildegard of Bingen as Visionary and Exegete," in *Hildegard von Bingen in ihrem historischen Umfeld,* ed. Haverkamp, 321–50, esp. 321–37.

had not yet been revealed, in which many questions about the creations of the divine mystery would need to be considered.[5]

Out of this mystical experience of meditation upon the Prologue to John's Gospel sprang the *Liber divinorum operum* (*Book of Divine Works,* hereafter *LDO*), upon which Hildegard labored in the decade from 1163 to 1173. This grand vision of the Work of God—both humankind and all creation across salvation history—is at the center of the *LDO* and the culmination of Hildegard's entire theological project. It represents her most mature formulation of themes intrinsic to her thought, including the fundamental human vocation to understand both ourselves and all creation as the work of God, and our place as cooperative agents of that work; such rational understanding as the means to come to know our Creator and properly fulfill the work for which we were created; the relationship between humanity and the rest of creation as microcosm and macrocosm; and the eternal predestination of the incarnate Word of God irrupting into and unfolding through time, as revealed in both Scripture and the life of the Church. The scope of Hildegard's visionary theology is both cosmic and close—reflections of God's loving revelation of himself to humanity are both grand and utterly intimate, as the Work of God reaches from the heart of infinity into every smallest detail of the created world.

I. *Liber Divinorum Operum:* Summary

The book is divided into three parts of unequal length, and follows the same format as each of Hildegard's other visionary works: each vision is described, and then its details are explained allegorically by the "voice from heaven" that Hildegard hears during the visionary experience.[6] The visual image is often, however, only a starting point for much deeper theological journeys. The first of Part One's visions introduces the recurring theophanic figure of Divine Love (*Caritas*), whose opening speech

5. *Life* 2.16, p. 179.

6. Dronke provides extensive discussion of the place of the *LDO* in Hildegard's *oeuvre* and a finely detailed summary of the work in his "Introduction," in *LDO,* pp. vii–xiii and xxxv–lxxiv.

provides in a whirlwind of images a précis of the dynamic relationship between God and his work of Creation. The next three visions elaborate in precise detail the relationships between each macrocosmic component of the universe and humankind as its physical, spiritual, and moral microcosm. In these visions, Hildegard's perspective is fundamentally sacramental: the elements do not just symbolize the virtues, but are also physical agents of spiritual powers. The fourth vision's lengthy exploration of the intricate relationships between world, body, and soul culminates in Hildegard's explication of the Prologue to John's Gospel (1.4.105), for the Incarnation is the seal of the entire Work.

In the single vision that comprises Part Two, Hildegard sees the earth's globe divided into five zones of light and dark, which represent broadly the different paths people can take and the places that await them at their journey's end—realms of beatific light, purgatorial punishment, or hellish darkness. This vision's first sixteen chapters thus return to the themes of Hildegard's second visionary work, the *Liber vitae meritorum* (*Book of the Rewards of Life*), and its visions of the fierce fight between vice and virtue, the penances owed to overcome the vices, and their resulting merits. The eschatological framework of the *LDO* encompasses, however, not just the end of salvation history's drama, but also its beginning. As she traces the roots of that epic battle between good and evil back to Lucifer's primordial fall, Hildegard turns her attention from John's *In principio* to that of Genesis. The Creation commentary that comprises the remainder of this vision (its main bulk) adopts a threefold exegesis for each day—literal, allegorical or ecclesiological, and tropological or moral. It complements Part One's dynamic interplay between macrocosm and microcosm, while also bringing those relationships to their salvation-historical fruition in the time of the Church. Of particular note is Hildegard's departure from the traditional allegorical mode in which the time of the Church is history's sixth day or age, to be followed by the "eternal Sabbath" of the eschaton. Instead, she sees the seventh work of Creation—its perfection—as the Incarnation itself, echoed in her own ecclesiastical order of virgins, and the crown of the life of the virtues. The Word Made Flesh is the mainspring for creation from beginning to end.

Finally, in Part Three, Hildegard returns to the conceit of the third part of her first work, *Scivias*—a vision of a great edifice. In the *LDO,* however, the fortified city is God's foreknowledge, the timeless bedrock of the Word's eternal predestination, anchoring Hildegard's gleaming visionary images to express the dynamic of salvation history. The first vision sets the stage with the most detailed return of one of the *LDO*'s characteristic narratives—the triumph of the angels and the fall of Lucifer. Two hybrid figures in the next vision reveal the stages of salvation history before and under the Law, with the Incarnation prophetically promised and then fulfilled, together with the symphony of the saints. Hildegard's poetic power shines (in the spirit's shadow) upon the waters of the city's fountain in the third vision—the shortest of the work—as theophanic Love declares the eternal counsel streaming forth in another rich panoply of images. That divine counsel is embodied in the next vision, together with its creative force of Wisdom, to fly with mirrored wings through the courses of salvation history. The work's final vision then projects the wheel of eternity alongside the city, and within the wheel reappears theophanic Love. The dynamic divisions and zones of the wheel—their movement indicating time—recapitulate salvation history. This leads to Hildegard's most detailed prophetic program of the life of the Church from her own time until the coming of the Antichrist, intricately woven out of expansions of two of her own previous writings: the finale of her liturgical play, *Ordo virtutum* (in chs. 8, 12, 14, 23, and 34); and the five vague animal-symbolized ages from the corresponding vision of *Scivias* 3.11 (in chs. 15, 17, 21, 26, and 33).

II. Themes

1. *The Relationship between Divinity and Humanity: The Work of God*

The Work of God (*opus Dei*) is, first and foremost, humankind (for example, 1.1.14).[7] All else that God does, enacts, and creates, is in pursuit of that complete work. But, as Hildegard

7. Of the extensive literature, see especially the works of Betz, Meier, and Schipperges, as listed in the Bibliography.

noted in describing the *LDO*'s genesis, humankind is also Divinity's "worker" or "agent" (*operarius*) and "a shadow of his mysteries." Humankind works, enacts, and creates in the likeness of God, for both his and their work is dynamic activity rather than static state.[8] This anthropology springs first from what it means to be made in the image and likeness of God (2.1.43); and second, from the pregnant pause of the seventh day of creation (2.1.48–49). The human likeness to God is the rationality that spurs his creative activity (1.1.2), the reason wherefore he enacts creation by his Word. It is therefore also the foundation and impulse for human activity, for God "established humankind to be able to think, to compose first all their works in their hearts before doing them, because they are the enclosure of God's wonders" (3.4.14); and "only with full rationality in the Word does the soul discern creation's powers" (1.4.103).[9]

The vehicle for that thoughtful, creative activity is the body, which for Hildegard is the image of God, the "tunic" of the Incarnation—the singular, eternally predestined moment around which the entire order of God's Work is focused. When God rested on the seventh day of creation, it was because the potential for dynamic activity had shifted from God to his Work, from creating Word to incarnate Word: "as on the seventh day God rested from his every work and then established humankind to take up the work, so too in the Virgin's womb he made his Son to rest, and to him he committed his every work" (3.4.3). Humankind has this potential as "the complete work of God, divine by soul and earthly by earth" (1.4.92), because God beheld and foreknew from eternity that the Word's divine rationality was to be united to the earthly garment of the human body. God foreordained his work and then brought it into being; so too the human vocation is first to discern God's work of creation, and then to enact good works with and within it. As Christel

8. The range of translations for the verb *operari* include "to do," "to (do) work," and "to enact"; in his German translation, Schipperges often added the adverb *schöpferisch*, "creatively" or "like the Creator." The alternative title given in some manuscripts for the *LDO* is *De operatione Dei,* "On the Activity of God."

9. See Fabio Chávez Alvarez, *»Die brennende Vernunft«: Studien zur Semantik der »rationalitas« bei Hildegard von Bingen* (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 1991), 131–221.

Meier-Staubach notes, in planning and then fulfilling those works, "they accomplish the task entrusted to them in analogy to the Creator, and this grants the *reditus,* the return to God of the human self and all creation contained therein" (cf. 3.2.11).[10]

The compositional process of that work is one that Hildegard most often compares to writing—so the startlingly direct words of Divine Love in 3.3.2: "I have composed humankind, who was rooted in me like a shadow." While Hildegard's repeated testaments to the extraordinary labor she exerted on her written works reflect both their intricate structure and her nearly continual ill health, they also indicate that hers is the work of the overshadowed prophet reflecting the light of God's true foreknowledge. So Love continues: "From this shadow came forth the writing of *Scivias,* through the form of a woman who was but a shadow of strength and health." Scripture too is the mirror of God's Work, in which humans see themselves, first in shadow before the Incarnation, but now in full clarity because of the God-Man. The writing of the Word is the embodiment of its rational, creative acts of speech, the incarnational mode of its work—and so once more, Love declares, "rationality speaks with sound, and sound is like thought, and word like work."

That sound's perfected mode is, for Hildegard, music (so 3.2.10)—the celestial harmony, the heartbeat of the heavenly court and its praises,[11] the tongue of Adam before the Fall, and the liturgical fabric of Hildegard's daily life as a Benedictine nun, whose rending she so powerfully protested in her *apologia* for music when her abbey was placed under interdict in the last year of her life.[12] It links Word and Work in 1.4.105's exegesis of John 1.1: "So too, out of that very word a person's rationality enacts its works; and out of that very sound it produces its works in speaking, shouting, and singing—for through the keenness of his skill in working with created things, a person makes music

10. Christel Meier, "Operationale Kosmologie. Bemerkungen zur Konzeption der Arbeit bei Hildegard von Bingen," in *Tiefe des Gotteswissens—Schönheit der Sprachgestalt bei Hildegard von Bingen,* ed. Margot Schmidt (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 1995), 49–83, at 64–65.

11. So described in her responsory *O vos angeli* (*Symphonia* 30 = *Scivias* 3.13.2b).

12. *Let.* 23 (1:76–79).

with stringed instruments and drums, because the human person is like God, rational through the living soul."[13] Moreover, that music has an ecclesiological mission: to "sing justice into people's minds through the voice of rationality, as a word declares and a sound rings out" (3.2.10). For Hildegard, the music of the daily liturgy prescribed by the Rule of St. Benedict as the *opus Dei,* the "work of God," functioned nearly as a sacrament, the avenue of 2.1.12 along which divine grace flowed from the heavenly court and its symphony down to her own choir of virgins, lightened and accompanied by the angelic host. So "upon the harp they render to God, to whom they are joined in this way, praises such as human knowledge can never explicate" (3.2.10).

2. *The Relationship between Humanity and Creation: Microcosm and Macrocosm*

The most well-known image of the *LDO*—thanks in large part to the Lucca illustrations reproduced in this volume—is of the human being astride the cosmic spheres: a simple visual statement of the fundamental idea that all creation—the macrocosm—is contained within the human being—the microcosm; or, as Hildegard sometimes expresses it, the human person *is* all creation or every creature (*omnis creatura*).[14] The concept is by no means Hildegard's invention—its roots are classical, and one can find many of her individual elements of it in earlier writers, including Lactantius, Isidore, John Scotus Eriugena, Hrabanus Maurus, and Honorius Augustodunensis. There are enough correspondences with the works of Honorius in particular, for example, his *Imago Mundi, Elucidarium,* and *Clavis Physicae* (a digest of Eriugena's *Periphyseon*), to show that Hildegard must have drawn on his work.[15] But as Hans Liebeschütz notes, "In its

13. Cf. *Scivias* 3.13.12: "And so the words symbolize the body, and the jubilant music indicates the spirit; and the celestial harmony shows the Divinity; and the words the Humanity of the Son of God."

14. So 1.4.76; 3.2.14; and 3.4.14; alternatively, all creation is signified in humankind—so 1.1.2–3 and 1.4.14.

15. On Honorius, see the voluminous work of Valerie I. J. Flint, summarized in *Honorius Augustodunensis*, Authors of the Middle Ages 6, ed. Patrick J. Geary (Aldershot: Variorum, 1995).

complete design, [her] schema is clearly drawn from nowhere else, but is constructed by Hildegard herself."[16]

The often wearisome and repetitious courses of that complete design in 1.4.15–104—nearly ninety chapters covering every inch of the body, from head to foot—are sometimes seen as the work's single largest fault. Yet for Hildegard's view of the world, the intricate correspondences, though perhaps trivial or strained in isolation, are essential when understood as parts of the whole. The perfect ordering of all that exists, foreknown in their forms by God before creation ever came to be, reaches from the outermost edges of the cosmic spheres into the very smallest organisms—and all of it is ordered on behalf of and therefore within humankind, precisely because that human form was one day to contain divinity.

The neoplatonic cycle of emanation from and return to God serves as a fundamental process in all of Hildegard's thinking, continuously connecting the highest and most abstracted orders of theological reality with the most concretized objects and images of everyday existence. Thus, the relationship between macrocosm and microcosm must properly be thought of as sacramental. It is not merely an allegory by which Hildegard explains, for example, the interactions of the twelve winds as a network of virtues and moral impulses in 1.2 and 1.3—rather, as energies flowing from the divine Creator, the virtues are the spiritual companions of the physical winds, borne into a person's spirit along with the winds that stir up and affect the humors.[17] They are outward and visible forces that correspond with inward and spiritual powers, the activity of both described as "respiration" or "breathing forth" (*exspiratio*). Likewise, the correspondences between physical cosmos, human body, and human soul in 1.4 are not, for Hildegard, her own strained or

16. Liebeschütz, 87; his study remains foundational to understanding Hildegard's cosmology; see also the essays of Schipperges (1–24) and especially Klaes (37–115) in *Kosmos und Mensch aus der Sicht Hildegards von Bingen,* ed. Adelgundis Führkötter (Mainz: Verlag der Gesellschaft für Mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte, 1987).

17. As Newman, *Sister,* notes (58–60), Hildegard's concept of the virtues recalls both the Platonic forms and eastern Orthodox concepts of uncreated energies.

artificial juxtaposition of three different realities, but rather the natural explication of a universe whose cosmic, human, and spiritual elements are ontologically united in their relationship to the Creator—even if all levels of those elements have been cast into conflict by the disturbances of sin.

Although Hildegard never specifically mentions the Cathars in the *LDO,*[18] she used the macrocosm-microcosm idea as a powerful counterargument against the widespread twelfth-century heretical movement.[19] The Cathars tended toward the absolutely dualistic, reviving the gnostic myth of a good God battling an evil demiurge, the tyrant who created the physical world and body as a prison for the soul. As Hildegard described them in her famous public sermon in Cologne (*Let.* 15r, 1:54–60), their pious asceticism, renunciation of worldly wealth, and fierce declarations of chastity were deeply admired by a people disgusted by the failures of the orthodox clergy to live up to similar expectations. But, she says, the heretic's chastity is brilliantly engineered by the devil to deceive, because it denies the fundamental truth that God is the Creator of the physical as well as spiritual world, united within his eternal counsel and ordained for the Incarnation.[20] That Cologne sermon opens with a powerfully poetic declaration of the interdependence of macrocosm and microcosm in defense of creation's goodness. Similarly, a sermon of 1171 against the Cathars surveys *created* salvation history and focuses, among other things, on the properly unified nature of soul and body: "The soul is suffused throughout the

18. Aside from a probable allusion in 3.5.31, as heretics who "will entirely deny the place of God within his creation and within living beings."

19. See Gerhard Müller, "Die hl. Hildegard im Kampf mit Häresien ihrer Zeit: Zur Auseinandersetzung mit den Katharen," in *Hildegard von Bingen, 1179–1979,* ed. Anton Ph. Brück (Mainz: Selbstverlag der Gesellschaft für Mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte, 1979), 171–88; Beverly Kienzle, "*Operatrix in vinea Domini*: Hildegard of Bingen's Preaching and Polemics against the Cathars," *Heresis* 26–27 (1996): 43–56; eadem, *Hildegard of Bingen and Her Gospel Homilies: Speaking New Mysteries* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 245–88; and Dennis Doyle, "Vision Two of Hildegard of Bingen's *Book of Divine Works*: A Medieval Map for a Cosmic Journey," *Pacifica* 20 (2007): 142–61. On the Cathars generally, see Malcolm D. Lambert, *The Cathars* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998).

20. See further *Let.* 169r (2:123–25), her treatise against the Cathars written in conjunction with Elisabeth of Schönau's polemics against them.

body, and through rationality it serves the body, ministering to its appetite and nourishment. And so man is the summation of all creation, which he knows and recognizes through rationality. . . ."[21]

Just as God's rationality contains the impulse to creativity, so human rationality—as the divine likeness—is oriented to action within that creation. But the complete work of God is not this rational likeness alone, for the soul, the fiery spark and living breath of that rationality, acts through the earthly body that is God's predestined image, the tunic of the Incarnation. The soul—an "artisan" (*artificiosa*) with the rest of creation (1.4.31)—permeates the body to act with it in the same way as the Word permeated all things in creating them (1.4.21), and its rationality provides the discriminating power by which the human person determines what he is to enact (1.4.79). Rationality has a partner in this process of discernment—knowledge (*scientia*), which for Hildegard is not simply information, but the ability to categorize information with moral judgment. She most often speaks of the knowledge of good and evil (the first work of moral creation in the Genesis commentary of 2.1.23), by which the rational person determines what he ought and ought not to do, what is useful for him in the wide world of creation and what is useless or harmful. In this respect, *scientia* frequently also means "conscience," the internal mirror of self-knowledge that discerns good works from evil ones. For Hildegard, the conscience is the primal scientific instrument.

The physical complexity of the cosmos corresponds to the psychological complexity of the microcosmic human person. At the heart of Hildegard's psychology is discretion, which she describes in the Genesis commentary as the firmament of the virtues, supporting and sustaining them (2.1.27).[22] The balance of the cosmic spheres, of summer heat and winter cold, wet and

21. *Let.* 381 (3:170–74, at 171).

22. *Discretio* indicates balance achieved through discernment and distinction. It reflects God's rational creativity, which proceeds via the Word by dividing, making distinctions between light and dark, day and night, waters above and below, land and sea, etc. The first principle of discernment within rationality is the knowledge of good and evil.

dry, day and night—all point to the necessary balance between soul and body. The soul naturally rises up in rationality to heavenly good works above the firmament, but also condescends with the earthly body in its appetites and necessities below (1.4.25–26, 2.1.27). For the body indiscriminately given over to sin wallows in darkness, but the soul so focused on heaven that it ignores its body completely causes the latter to fail and die (1.4.27). Within the constant conflict between a soul wanting to fly upon the wings of rationality and a body whose appetites cannot endure it, we find the cycle between sin and repentance. The soul may condescend to the body's appetites for a time, but only until it awakens the person with the searing pain of conscience, compelling him to repentance and renewal (1.4.30–31, 85). So the soul returns viridity to the body parched of virtue (1.4.57). Yet the moral life is not a stable or predictable climb up the ladder of virtue; it is constantly wavering, battered and beset by the myriad storms of everyday life (1.3.9). Only the beatitude of eternal life is ever fixed and ever new (1.4.89).

3. *The Light of Divine Foreknowledge and the Eternal Predestination of Christ*

At key points (for example, 1.1.7–9, 1.4.11–14, 2.1.14, and 3.1) Hildegard returns to the primal story of the angels, with Lucifer's rebellion and fall always setting the stage for her discussion of God's work to follow. In images that resonate especially from the Pseudo-Dionysian tradition, Hildegard sees the angels as sparks (1.4.11), living spheres (2.1.17, on Gn 1.3), and mirrors of the divine light (3.1.6), ever to reflect that light in their praise. They, too, participate in the divine being—in neoplatonic terms, as its first ontological emanation—insofar as they are rational light (1.1.9). The absolute brilliance of the first among them, however, turned in on itself rather than holding its rightful place as a mirror; and so Lucifer rebelled, wanting himself to be the unfailing divine Light whose radiance he was rather to reflect. This was and is the fundamental misperception of reality that results in darkness, the nothingness of evil and sin: the desire to be that which one cannot be, to exist on one's own rather than in relation to the God who alone exists of his own accord.

With the fall of Lucifer and his rebellious cohort out of the heavenly harmony, its perfected ten ranks were reduced by one. In the place of that fallen tenth choir, God predestined a work greater than what had been lost: humankind. For in being created in the likeness of divine rationality, the human shares with the angel that first office of created being: to praise the Creator. But Man was also to be made in the image of God—the tunic of God's own Incarnation, and thus the office of creative action, the work and worker of divinity. Angels can only act as God allows them; humans are created in the divine image to act as God himself acts. Alas, humans, too, followed the impulse of the fallen Lucifer, became forgetful of God, and were seduced into sin. But where the devil's fall was irrevocable, Man's fall is reparable, again because of that tunic of the Incarnation. For the Incarnation's humility (the queen of the virtues in 3.2.10; cf. also 3.3.2–3) is the necessary antidote to Lucifer's pride: Man can fill his lost place in the celestial hierarchy only under the banner of that humility.

Within this quite conventional reading of the Incarnation as reparation for sin, however, Hildegard introduces the more fundamental concept of its eternal predestination—the idea that God willed from eternity to become Man and that the Incarnation is the final cause of all being.[23] As Constant Mews notes, Hildegard "sees the Incarnation not as an external intervention in the world but as the full manifestation of an inherently natural process."[24] In its patristic and eastern formulations, this idea usually leads to the corollary of human deification: that is, God became man that man might become God. But Hildegard rarely uses such language. Instead, she tends to focus on a different corollary: the corresponding place of the Virgin Mary.[25] Her motherhood was also "predestined by the ancient counsel, and lay hidden within the divinity.... For the moment in which that Son of God was born of the Father, before the oldest of days, was

23. See Newman, *Sister,* 55–64.

24. Constant Mews, "Religious Thinker: 'A Frail Human Being' on Fiery Life," in *Voice,* 66.

25. This idea undergirds many of Hildegard's Marian lyrics; see the detailed treatment in Newman, *Sister,* 156–67.

not manifold, but singular within the divinity, because the Father held it forever in his will that he would become Man" (3.4.10).

Another aspect of Hildegard's treatment of the eternal predestination deserves notice here, because it arises in part from the special dynamics of light in her visionary experiences: the image of the *umbra,* "shadow" but also "reflection."[26] The mesmerizing words of Love speaking from the fountain in 3.3 play fluidly upon this image, for the forms of all creation exist eternally in the divine foreknowledge like the *umbra* cast upon the fountain's water by an object. All things are overshadowed by the divine, creative, Living Light that is their source (cf. 1.1.6), and to live within that light—as Hildegard did—is necessarily to be in its shadow. The preexistence of the forms as shadows within the divine foreknowledge compels them to come into being—for a shadow implies its form, and only an object, not its shadow, is capable of action. Moreover, the very writing (*scriptura*) of God's plan for salvation history was revealed first in prophetic shadow (so 3.4.7) before ever that shadow's form was known in the true Light's Incarnation. The "many-mirrored flash" (*fulgor quasi multorum speculorum*) of God's eternal foreknowledge that appears before the angels in 1.1.5 rebounds in 3.5.14 as the Incarnate Son appeals to God's "mirror of fatherhood" on behalf of his own limbs—the very Work preordained with his Incarnation, the golden number and tenth choir ready to be fulfilled. The "ancient counsel" beams from eternity, an order for all being contained within the heart of divine foreknowledge and unfolding across time and space, with humankind as its special matrix.

26. See her description in *Let.* 103r to Guibert of Gembloux (2:21–25); on the *umbra* in the fountain, see Newman, *Sister,* 51–53; Dronke (*LDO,* p. 379n) gives extensive references to the concept in Eriugena's *Periphyseon*, with fuller discussion in *The Medieval Poet and His World* (Rome: Ed. di Storia e Letteratura, 1984), 46–53; see also Christel Meier, "Scientia Divinorum Operum: Zu Hildegards von Bingen visionär-künstlerischer Rezeption Eriugenas," in *Eriugena Redivivus. Zur Wirkungsgeschichte seines Denkens im Mittelalter und im Übergang zur Neuzeit,* ed. Werner Beierwaltes (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1987), 89–141, at 106–10; and Margot Schmidt, "Hildegard von Bingen als Lehrerin des Glaubens: Speculum als Symbol des Transzendenten," in *Hildegard von Bingen, 1179–1979,* ed. Brück, 95–157.

4. *Hildegard as Exegete*

The sacramental approach that characterizes the whole of Hildegard's project is thus also an exegetical mode for understanding salvation history in light of Christ's eternal predestination. But, as Bernard McGinn has noted, the *LDO* also enters into new and bold territory as a work of exegesis proper.[27] Its central structure pairs John's *In principio* (1.4.105) with that of the Creation account of Genesis 1–2.3 (2.1.17–49). In between, Hildegard also offers extended readings of two passages from the Revelation of St. John to mark the waypoints of salvation history: the Four Horsemen of Revelation 6 as periods of human sin punished by God (2.1.8), and the Woman Clothed with the Sun of Revelation 13 to showcase its feminine figures—Eve, the Virgin Mary, and the Church (2.1.16).[28] Hildegard is the only medieval woman to engage in sustained scriptural commentary of this kind, and of the most challenging texts to confront any exegete.[29]

Scripture's common frame of reference provides firmer ground for surveying the exegetical sources Hildegard may have known, and Beverly Kienzle has delved deeply into the tradition with her edition of the *Expositiones Evangeliorum* (*Gospel Homilies*) to present at least the range of possibilities. For Homily 9, preached for Christmas Day sometime in the 1160s and perhaps a draft attempt at the *LDO*'s lengthier exegesis of John's Prologue, she adumbrates the homilies or commentaries of Augustine, Heiric of Auxerre, and Eriugena, among others.[30]

27. McGinn discusses the John and Genesis commentaries in much greater detail than can be given here in "Hildegard of Bingen as Visionary and Exegete," 338–49.

28. Her exegesis of both apocalyptic passages is strikingly original; see further the footnotes to these chapters.

29. As with *Scivias* and *LVM,* Hildegard also makes frequent exegetical recourse in *LDO* to single verses or smaller passages throughout, but without the scale given to the passages from Genesis, John, and Revelation; see Angela Carlevaris, »Scripturas subtiliter inspicere subtiliterque excribrare«, in *Tiefe des Gotteswissens,* 29–48.

30. See *Gosp. Hom.* 9, with additional sources in the *apparatus* of her edition of *Expositiones Evangeliorum* in *Opera Minora,* CCCM 226, 209–15; and discussion in Beverly Mayne Kienzle, *Hildegard of Bingen and her Gospel Homilies: Speaking New Mysteries* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 272–77.

Yet the *LDO*'s commentary is so fully integrated into the work as a whole, particularly with its use of the human microcosm, that it remains uniquely its own invention. The scriptural text provides Hildegard the echo chamber in which the Word resounds, especially as her visionary exegesis begins in the Father's voice. Christ's absolute predestination again binds a creative beginning with an incarnate culmination, the story of humankind.

Similarly, though one can find particular points of contact between the Genesis commentary and those of the tradition—references to Origen and Augustine especially have been given in the notes—they are so thoroughly intertwined with the themes of the work as a whole that such comparisons are perhaps most useful in demonstrating that Hildegard's commentary is self-confidently her own.[31] For example, although the roots of an ecclesiological and tropological interpretation of Genesis 1 alongside a "literal" or cosmological one may lie in the thirteenth book of Augustine's *Confessions,* it is difficult to trace many direct lines of citation between his work and Hildegard's. In contrast to both her Johannine commentary and the hexaemeral tradition before her, this commentary is exactingly structured within the tripartite mode inherited from Gregory the Great. Yet, as with Hildegard's best poetry, the structure rarely betrays the strain as she gracefully interweaves a cosmological macrocosm with a moral microcosm, and, gleaming between them as through glass set among stone tracery, the glorious morning light of the Church.[32] Each of the seven days is its own work—in the world, in the Church, and in the striving of the virtuous person—that builds upon the ones before and supports those after; and the Sabbath of perfection to which they all lead is the incarnate Son, the prism of creation and redemption. Of particular importance for Hildegard's ecclesiology—and in stark contrast to Augustine's model before her—is

31. McGinn's assessment bears repeating: "Whatever she may have known of Origen, Augustine, and Eriugena on Gen. 1 and Jn. 1, it is important to note: (a) her exegesis is essentially quite different from theirs; and (b) it is sufficiently rich to invite comparison with these famous male exegetes" ("Hildegard as Visionary and Exegete," 344–45n73).

32. See 3.4.9, on Ps 92(93).1, for something of an executive summary.

the place of her own order of the Church within the scheme: the virgins are the perfection most pleasing to God as he rests, because his Son came to rest in the Virgin's womb. In their free choice to bind themselves to him, they become the freest and most powerful of divinity's agents within the final courses of salvation history.[33]

5. *History and Symbolism*

In the work's final vision we become acutely aware of the tumultuous relationship between Church and state in Hildegard's time, as well as her powerfully prophetic voice in its midst. Here is the most extensive and dramatic iteration of the themes that had characterized her insistent calls for ecclesiastical reform: a deep pessimism about the current state of the Church; an equally optimistic vision of prophetic renewal in the future; and the confiscation of ecclesiastical property in prelude to that renewal.[34] These themes had developed in her letters and sermons in the 1160s, especially in response to the continued schism within the Church, as Emperor Frederick Barbarossa maintained a series of antipopes against Pope Alexander III. But they become more radical in the *LDO* as the cycles between pessimistic corruption and optimistic reform grow sharper—the crises deeper, the renewals more holy.

The key to understanding these cycles lies in what has been termed Hildegard's "symbolist" mode of thinking, what Kathryn Kerby-Fulton describes as "the product of a leisurely, richly digressive, meditative approach to the Scriptures" inculcated by the liturgical and scriptural rhythms of monastic life.[35]

33. Cf. Hildegard's comments on Paul's commendation of chastity in 3.5.9.

34. See Kathryn Kerby-Fulton, "A Return to 'the First Dawn of Justice': Hildegard's Visions of Clerical Reform and the Eremitical Life," *American Benedictine Review* 40 (1989): 383–407; eadem, *Reformist Apocalypticism and* Piers Plowman (Cambridge, 1990), 26–51; eadem, "Prophet and Reformer: 'Smoke in the Vineyard,'" in *Voice,* 70–90.

35. Kerby-Fulton, "Prophet and Reformer," 76–77; the term "symbolist" was first applied to Hildegard and other twelfth-century monastic theologians by Alois Dempf in his 1929 study, *Sacrum Imperium. Geschichts- und Staatsphilosophie des Mittelalters und der politischen Renaissance* (Munich and Berlin: R. Oldenbourg), 229–68 (on Hildegard, esp. 261–68), in parallel to movements in early twentieth-century German poetry; it was widely expanded in Rauh's 1973 study

This mode of thinking can pass effortlessly from one symbolic allusion to the next, connecting word after word, image after image, symbol after symbol, in sometimes surprising ways, to construct a vast web or network along which the symbolist mind can dynamically dash and slide as it contemplates everything in the light of the divine plan for salvation history. (For an acute example, see the treatment of Exodus 33.19–23 in 3.4.7.) The result is Hildegard's profoundly poetic and allegorical worldview that often seems to contrast with the more structured and static approaches produced by her contemporary theologians in the schools.[36]

For Hildegard, the Church's history after Christ recapitulates not just thematically but sacramentally, as it were, the history of God's people told in Scripture. Thus, what H. D. Rauh describes as "the dialectical triad of building up, falling away, and restoration" is a key historical principle, not only foreshadowed but foreordained in the process of Creation, Fall, and Redemption at the heart of salvation history.[37] This schema occurs also in the history of the Church: Creation corresponds to the foundation of the apostolic Church and its perfection in the monastic order, as described in the allegorical mode of 2.1's Genesis commentary, while the Fall can be seen in the weak, "womanish time" of corruption Hildegard sees all around her in 3.5.7–15. Although the final, complete restoration will come only at the world's end, in the Second Coming and New Jerusalem, this process of establishment, crisis, and resolution also operates within the course of history, as seen in the periods of holy renewal that Hildegard prophesies are still to come (3.5.17–20 and 26). Thus her theology of history is of a piece with her entire understanding of the sacramental and symbiotic relationship between God, humankind, and all creation.

---

of their approach to the Antichrist. In many ways, however, it reflects most basically the "monastic theology" described by Jean Leclercq in *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God: A Study of Monastic Culture* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1961)—which, sadly, never mentions Hildegard.

36. So Dempf, *Sacrum Imperium,* 230–31; see also Constant Mews, "Religious Thinker," in *Voice,* 56–58; and idem, "Hildegard and the Schools," in *Hildegard of Bingen: The Context of her Thought and Art,* 89–110, esp. 102–10.

37. Rauh, 510–11.

III. Manuscripts, Editions, and Principles of Translation

The present translation has been made from the critical edition prepared by Albert Derolez and Peter Dronke for the Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis. Their text is primarily based on the Ghent manuscript (University Library MS 241),[38] which Derolez, building on the work of Marianna Schrader and Adelgundis Führkötter, has shown to have been the first fair-copy edition of the text.[39] It was compiled between 1170 and 1174 from the wax tablets on which Hildegard's amanuenses took down her dictation, and then later corrected for style and grammar.[40] The *editio princeps,* however, was printed by Cardinal Mansi in 1761 from an early thirteenth-century manuscript now in the Biblioteca Statale di Lucca (MS 1942), whose text Migne reprinted in the Patrologia Latina (vol. 197, cols. 739–1038). This manuscript, though justly famous for its full-page miniatures of each of the work's ten visions (included also with this translation), introduced a different numbering system, made many substitutions to normalize some of Hildegard's unique expressions, and copied out the chapter titles at the beginning of each chapter. This translation, following the edition of Derolez and Dronke, restores the original numbering and ordering of the text. Moreover, it follows the conventions established by Hildegard's modern editors of italicizing both each initial vision text and their individual passages as quoted again in the course of explication. Due to space limitations, however, the chapter titles, which were added later to the Ghent manuscript, have had to be omitted.[41] The titles for each vision are my own.

38. The manuscript has been digitized and is available online: http://lib.ugent.be/catalog/rug01:000821881.

39. See *Echtheit,* 47–48; and Albert Derolez, "The Genesis of Hildegard of Bingen's 'Liber Divinorum Operum': The Codicological Evidence," in *Litterae Textuales: Texts and Manuscripts: Essays Presented to G. I. Lieftinck,* ed. J. P. Gumber and M. J. M. de Haan (Amsterdam: Van Gendt & Co., 1972), vol. 2, 22–33.

40. Derolez, "Introduction," *LDO,* lxxxvi–xcvi.

41. See Nathaniel M. Campbell, "The Authorship and Function of the Chapter Summaries to Hildegard of Bingen's *Liber diuinorum operum,*" *Journal of Medieval Latin* 27 (2017): 69–106; this translator has published the summa-

Hildegard's Latin can often be difficult to navigate, not because of its syntactical or linguistic complexity, but because of the opacity of its visionary style. In the preface to his thirteenth-century compilation of her apocalyptic and prophetic writings, Gebeno of Eberbach noted, "Most abhor and disdain to read St. Hildegard's books, because she spoke obscurely and in an unfamiliar style"—though he took this as a sign of her prophetic authenticity.[42] In a letter Hildegard wrote near the end of her life to her admirer and last secretary, Guibert of Gembloux, she confessed that when she recited her visions and their explications, "I utter them in unpolished Latin, just as I hear them through the vision, for in it I am not taught to write as philosophers write."[43] The humility formula was only partially a formula, for Hildegard's Latin really was a bit roughshod.[44] It was not the elegant language of contemporary monastic theologians like St. Bernard of Clairvaux, or of the school-men or trained poets. Rather, it was the almost auto-didactic language she acquired in her teens and twenties under the tutelage of Jutta and perhaps a few of the monks at the Disibodenberg—enough to sing and pray the liturgy and read Scripture and the other writings available in the monastery library (which must have been extensive), but not much more. One consequence, however, is that Hildegard's vi-

ries in full through the website of the International Society of Hildegard von Bingen Studies, http://www.hildegard-society.org/p/liber-divinorum-operum.html.

42. "Libros sancte Hildegardis plerique legere fastidiunt et horrent, pro eo quod obscure et inusitato stilo loquitur, non intelligentes quod hoc est argumentum uere prophetie." *Speculum Futurorum Temporum* 3.1, in *La Obra de Gebenón de Eberbach,* ed. José Carlos Santos Paz (Florence: Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2004), 6.

43. *Let.* 103r, here trans. Dronke in *Women Writers,* 168.

44. One of the most consistent corrections made in the Ghent manuscript, for example, is to change Hildegard's own usage of *ita quod* followed by the indicative to *ita ut* with the subjunctive (see *LDO,* p. xciv); see also Newman, *Sister,* 22–23. On the relationship between Hildegard and her secretaries, see *Ildefons Herwegen*, "Les *collaborateurs* de sainte Hildegarde," *Revue Bénédictine* 21 (1904), 192–203, 302–15, and 381–403; *Echtheit,* 180–83; *LDO,* pp. lxxxiii–lxxxiv; and Joan 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. David Townsend and Andrew Taylor (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), 102–35.

sionary and poetic language offers an unadorned power, its images deeply resonant precisely because they remain unaffected.[45] At points in the *LDO*—in particular, the theophanic speeches of Divine Love—Hildegard showcases that dense poetic sublimity. On the other hand, as Dronke has noted, many other sections of the work suffer at times from a sense of disorganization and repetition, and a tendency to "over-ingenious" allegoresis that can collapse into tedious didacticism.[46]

The difficulty for the translator is to find a way to remain faithful to that symbolic density, often intentionally prophetic obscurity, and frequent repetitiveness, while at the same time rendering the text coherently for the non-specialist reader. Much of the syntactic clumsiness is of necessity left behind in a fluent English translation; on balance, however, I have tried to preserve as much as possible Hildegard's tendency to overindulge, for example, in repetitive polysyndeton, even when that leaves the text feeling bloated with too many (or seemingly contradictory) conjunctions. Moreover, as one must often do with Latin prose, I have frequently cut Hildegard's lengthy sentences into smaller units. Some of her odd circumlocutions can be rendered almost literally without losing too much coherency; but others I have been forced to translate loosely and with greater clarity than exists in the original text. For example, in Love's speech in the opening vision (1.1.2), I have rendered her claim that her life *de uirili ui non radicauit,* more explicitly as, "did not take root from man's sexual power."

In translating one of Hildegard's most widely known theological hallmarks, *viriditas,* I have adopted the cognate "viridity" throughout, to allow the reader to sense just how often and richly she uses it. This key term in her symbolic vocabulary literally means, "greenness," but its depth of meaning extends beyond a simple color to encompass notions of freshness, fertility, and fruitfulness.[47] For Hildegard, viridity was the fundamental

45. See Peter Dronke, *Poetic Individuality in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1970), 178–79; and the discussion of "Hildegard's Originality in Language and Use of Sources" in Dronke's "Introduction" to *LDO.*

46. Dronke, *LDO,* pp. lxxxiv–lxxxvi.

47. See Mews, "Religious Thinker," in *Voice,* 57–58; and Gabriele Lautenschläger, "Viriditas," in *Prophetin,* 224–37.

marker of the abundant, fecund, holy life that creation receives from its Creator. It often makes an appearance in her organic analogies for the Trinity (for example, *Scivias* 2.2.5, where Hart and Bishop rendered it as "cool dampness"), denoting God's creative fertility, the maternal goodness that gives birth to and nurtures the whole world. In this work, the term plays a particularly fruitful role in the symbiosis between the fertility of the physical world and that of the virtuous soul—physical viridity is a vehicle of the divine power that bursts spiritual viridity into bud, while spiritual aridity dries out the physical world around it in some of Hildegard's most celebrated ecological passages depicting the impact of human sin on the environment (for example, 1.3.2, 3.2.6, and 3.5.7–8).

Finally, notice must be made of the use of gendered terms with the Latin word *homo*. Hildegard makes nearly constant use of this generic term to signify a representative "human person," of either gender; when she speaks specifically of a man or woman, she normally uses specifically gendered Latin terms (such as *uir* or *mulier*). The co-translator of Paulist Press's well-regarded 1990 translation of *Scivias,* Jane Bishop, prudently eschewed the traditional English practice of rendering the generic *homo* as "man" or "mankind," preferring whenever possible "person," "humans," "people," or "humanity."[48] I have generally followed her lead. When the term refers to a generic "Everyperson," as it often does when Hildegard is discussing matters of moral or spiritual practice, I have translated it as "human," "human being," or "person," in part because Hildegard's insights into moral psychology almost certainly reflect in large part the experiences of her own moral life. The androgyny of the microcosmic human figure of 1.2–4, moreover, is clear both in the visual depictions of the Lucca manuscript, where the figure lacks genitalia; and in certain textual passages, such as 1.4.64, in which human breasts demonstrate both fertility (*ubertas*) and strength (*fortitudo*). Nevertheless, because *homo* is grammatically masculine, I have used masculine pronouns. In some few instances, I have rendered the singular *homo* with the plural, "humans," and in a few others, I have adopted the pronoun, "one."

48. See her Translator's Note in *Scivias,* p. 56.

When the term signifies the human race generally, I have rendered it as "humankind," which I have treated as a collective noun capable of taking a plural pronoun ("they"); I have reserved "humanity" for the Latin term *humanitas*. There is, however, one important (and frequent) exception. When *homo* stands for humankind as represented by two particular *homines* acting within salvation history's key scenes—Adam in the original creation (and fall) of humankind, and our recreation and redemption through Christ—I have often followed Barbara Newman's practice in her translation of the commentary on the Johannine Prologue (1.4.105) of rendering it as "Man."[49] The delineation between the salvation-historical "Man" and the tropological "person" may seem, at times, quixotic; but I hope to have struck a balance between Adam and Christ as universal exemplars of "Man," on the one hand, and the universal moral "Everyperson"—including Hildegard herself—on the other.

49. As she explains, with this usage, "Hildegard envisions neither an abstract universal nor a collectivity. Instead, she thinks of Adam, who is at the same time a specific male person and the first human being and a summation of the entire race, which preexists in his loins (or in Eve's womb) just as the whole creation preexists in the mind of God. Given her pictorial mode of thought, when she writes *homo* she 'sees' Adam as an animate body, fashioned from clay by the hands of God. Whatever is true of this first divine artifact will be true of humans until the end of time." Barbara Newman, "Hildegard of Bingen: Commentary on the Johannine Prologue," *Theology Today* 60 (2003): 16–33, at 22. For passages to support Newman's explanation, see 1.4.105, on Jn 1.1 and 1.6.

THE BOOK OF DIVINE WORKS

PROLOGUE

And it happened[1] in the sixth year after the wonderful and true visions, on which I had labored for five years, when a true vision of the unfailing light had shown to me, a human being, the diversity of various morals,[2] of which I had been quite ignorant—that was the first year and the beginning of the present visions. When I was sixty-five years old, I saw a vision of such mystery and power that I trembled through and through and then fell ill because of the weakness of my body.[3] After seven years, I have finally brought this vision almost to completion by writing it down.[4]

And so, in the 1163d year of the Lord's Incarnation, when the oppression of the apostolic see had not yet slackened under Frederick, Emperor of the Roman majesty,[5] there happened a

1. Cf. Ezek 1.1, and elsewhere; this prophetic opening is a near constant in Hildegard's visions.

2. I.e., *LVM,* which chronicled the battle between vice and virtue in the human soul; Hildegard labored on its writing from 1158 to 1163.

3. This experience is described more fully in *Life* 2.16, quoted in the Introduction above, pp. 4–5.

4. As Dronke explains (*LDO,* pp. ix–xii), Hildegard likely composed this prologue in 1170, when the work was substantially but not wholly ("almost": *vix*) complete. Most of the draft work was finished by Volmar's death in 1173, and the last stages of editing in the Ghent manuscript date to 1174. It may also be that, although Hildegard had been experiencing and thinking upon these visionary experiences since 1163, she did not begin writing them down until later.

5. The papal schism of 1159–1178, perpetuated by Emperor Frederick Barbarossa's continued support of the antipopes Victor IV (r. 1159–1164), Paschal III (r. 1164–1168), and Callixtus III (r. 1168–1178), all against Pope Alexander III (r. 1159–1181). Frederick eventually resumed his support of Alexander in 1177–1178, and Callixtus capitulated. Hildegard also mentions the schism in the Prologue to the *LVM,* and admonishes the Emperor directly in *Lets.* 315–16

voice from heaven, saying to me:[6]

"O poor little form, you are the daughter of very many labors, tempered by many grave infirmities of the body, yet also flooded by the depth of God's mysteries. Commit to fixed writing these things that you see with the inner eyes and perceive with the inner ears of the soul, to be useful for humankind;[7] so that through them, humans might understand their Creator and not flee from worshiping him with worthy honor. Write them indeed not according to your own heart, but according to my testimony,[8] I who am life without beginning and end. You did not invent them, nor did any other human consider them in advance; rather, they were foreordained by me before the beginning of the world.[9] For as I foreknew humankind before ever they were created, so too I foresaw those things that would be necessary for their existence."

Therefore, I, a poor and feeble form[10] worn down by many infirmities, have at last turned my trembling hands to writing. This is witnessed by that person whom I had sought and found in secret, as I have related in my previous visions;[11] it is also witnessed by that girl of whom I made mention in my most recent visions.[12] As I have done this, I have looked up to the true and living light to see what I ought to write. For everything I have

---

(3:114–16); see also *Echtheit*, 124–31; Widmer, 240–45; and Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *Poets, Saints, and Visionaries of the Great Schism, 1378–1417* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), 23–26.

6. Cf. *Scivias*'s "Declaration" and *LVM*'s Prologue.

7. Cf. 2 Mc 2.26; and see Angela Carlevaris, *Das Werk Hildegards von Bingen im Spiegel des Skriptoriums von Trier St. Eucharius* (Trier: Paulinus, 1999), 18–20.

8. In addition to the openings of *Scivias* and *LVM*, see *Life* 2.2 (p. 158).

9. Cf. 1 Pt 1.20; and 3.3.1.

10. Cf. 3.5.38. This is one of Hildegard's common epithets for herself, used especially in her correspondence; see, e.g., *Lets.* 84r (1:191); 103r, 118, 149r, 180, 195r, and 201r (2:22, 64, 94, 143, 169, and 180).

11. I.e., Volmar, Hildegard's longtime secretary and later provost of her abbey at the Rupertsberg, whom she mentions in the prefatory materials of all her major works. His death in 1173 is mourned in the Epilogue below; see there, at n. 3, for further references.

12. This anonymous girl, also mentioned in *LVM*'s Prologue, is not the same one mentioned in *Scivias*'s "Declaration," as the latter was Hildegard's early confidant, Richardis of Stade, who died in 1152.

written from the beginning of my visions or come to know since while keeping watch upon the heavenly mysteries in body and mind, I saw with the inner eyes of my spirit and heard with the inner ears, and not in dreams or ecstasies, just as I affirmed in my previous visions. With truth as my witness, I have not offered anything of human sentiment, but only what I perceived in the heavenly mysteries.

And again I heard a voice from heaven, teaching me thus. And it said: "Write, therefore, according to me and in this way."

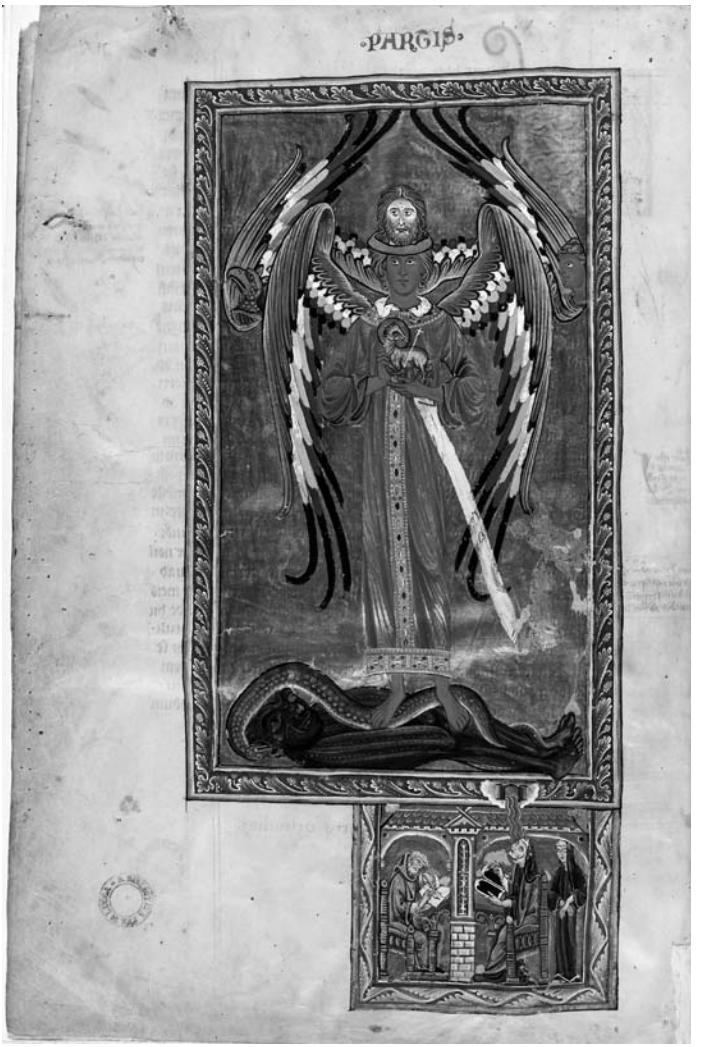


Figure 1.1: Theophany of Divine Love. Biblioteca Statale di Lucca, MS 1942, fol. 1v (early 13th-cen.). By permission of the Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities and Tourism.

PARGIS

PART ONE, VISION ONE

Theophany of Divine Love

And I saw as if in the middle of the southern sky an image, beautiful and wonderful in the mystery of God, like a human in form. Her face was of such beauty and radiance that I could more easily look at the sun than at her; and a great circlet of golden color surrounded her head. Above that head, moreover, in the same circlet appeared another face as of an old man, whose chin and beard touched the crown of the [*lower*] *head. And from each side of the figure's neck a single wing came forth,* [*both*] *rising up to join together above the aforementioned circlet. At the tip of the arc where the right wing curves back, I saw as if the head of an eagle that had eyes of fire, in which appeared the brilliance of the angels as in a mirror. But at the tip of the arc where the left wing curves back, there was as if a human face that shined like the brilliance of the stars. And these faces were turned towards the east. Furthermore, from each shoulder of this image, a single wing stretched forth down to her knees. She was clothed with a robe like the brilliance of the sun, and in her hands she held a lamb, shining like the light of day. Moreover, she was treading with her feet a monster, dreadful in appearance and venomous and black in color, and also a serpent that had fixed its mouth upon the right ear of the monster and, wrapping the rest of its body around the monster's head, had stretched its tail along the monster's left side all the way to its feet.*[1]

2. And this image spoke:[2] "I am the supreme and fiery force,

1. Cf. Ps 90(91).13 and Is 28.3.

2. On this theophany of Divine Love, cf. 3.3 and 3.5.1–4 below; and *Let.* 85r/a (1:192–94). Her speech echoes in the opening of the commentary on John's Gospel at 1.4.105 below; cf. *LVM* 3.6(8) and 6.32(51–54); see also Newman, *Sister,* 69–71. Dronke's *apparatus fontium* (*LDO,* pp. 47–50) reaches broadly into both classical literature (e.g., Cicero's *De natura deorum* and Lucan) and the Christian tradition for verbal echoes.

who sets all living sparks alight and breathes forth no mortal things, but judges them as they are.[3] Flying around the circling circlet with my upper wings—with wisdom—I have ordered all things rightly.[4] But I am also the fiery life of the essence of divinity; I flame above the beauty of the fields, and I shine in the waters, and I burn in the sun, the moon, and the stars. With the airy wind I quicken all things with some invisible life that sustains them all. For the air lives in viridity and in the flowers, the waters flow as if alive, and the sun lives within its own light. When the moon has waned, it is rekindled by the sunlight to live as if anew, and the stars shine bright as if by living in their own light. I have established too the pillars that contain the whole circle of the earth—the winds.[5] The stronger winds have wings set below them, which are the lighter winds, and these uphold the stronger winds with their lightness, lest they dangerously unleash themselves; in the same way the body covers and contains the soul, lest it should expire. Likewise, as the breath of the soul binds together the body by strengthening it so that it does not weaken, so the stronger winds also animate those subject to them, to fulfill their functions appropriately.[6]

"Therefore I, the fiery force, lie hidden within these things, and they burn because of me, just as breath continually moves a human being and a flickering flame exists within the fire.[7] All these things live in their essences and were not found in death, because I am life.[8] I am also rationality, possessing the breath of the resounding Word through which every created thing was made; and into all these things I blew, so that none of them is mortal in its nature, because I am life.[9]

"I am life indeed pure and whole, which was not hewn from

3. Cf. *LVM* 1.15(27).

4. Cf. Sir 24.8(5); Wis 8.1; 1.4.11; and Hildegard's antiphon *O virtus Sapientie* (*Symphonia* 2).

5. Cf. 1.4.45; and *Cause* 1.19 (p. 27), of the north wind.

6. On the interplay of winds, cf. 1.2.16–28; on their function analogous to the soul, cf. *Cause* 1.18 (p. 25).

7. For Hildegard, these are Trinitarian images: cf. *Expl. Symb. S. Athan.*, pp. 116–17.

8. Cf. Wis 1.13–14; and 3.5.31.

9. Cf. Wis 15.11; and 1.4.105, on Jn 1.1, below; and *LVM* 5.7(10).

stones, and it neither blossomed from branches nor took root from man's sexual power;[10] but every living thing has taken root in me. For rationality is the root, and the resounding Word flourishes within it.

"And so, because God is rational, how could it possibly be that he would not actively work, since his every work flourishes through humankind, whom he made in his image and likeness[11] and in whom he marked out all created things according to their measure?[12] For it was always determined from eternity that God would will his work—humankind—to come into being; and when he perfected this work, he gave all creation to them so that they might do their work with it, in the same way that God himself had made his work, that is, humankind.

"But I also fulfill my function, since all living things are set ablaze from me; and I am uniform life in eternity, which neither begins nor ends. God is this life, self-moving and active, yet one life in three energies.[13] Therefore, Eternity is called the Father, the Word is called the Son, and the breath connecting these two is called the Holy Spirit, just as God is signified in human beings, in whom are body, soul, and rationality.[14] Moreover, the fact that 'I flame above the beauty of the fields,' this signifies the earth, which is that material from which God made Man. And the fact that 'I shine in the waters,' this accords with the soul, since, just as water floods the whole earth, so the soul permeates the whole body. But the fact that 'I burn in the sun and in the moon,' this signifies rationality, and the stars are the countless words of rationality. And when 'with the airy wind I quicken all things with some invisible life that sustains them all,' this is because by the air and wind subsist living things as they grow, moved out of nothingness into existence."[15]

10. "from man's sexual power": *de uirili ui;* cf. *Expl. Symb. S. Athan*., p. 125, line 447.

11. Gn 1.26–27.

12. Cf. 1.4.14, 2.1.43, and 3.2.14; *Scivias* 2.1.2; *Cause* 1.4 (p. 21); Dronke references Gregory the Great and Eriugena (*LDO,* p. 49).

13. "energies": *uiribus;* so trans. Newman, *Sister,* p. 67; cf. *LVM* 1.65(78).

14. Cf. *Expl. Symb. S. Athan*., pp. 120–26.

15. *uegetata . . . a nihilo remota in id quod sunt.* Newman, *Sister,* 67–68, correlates this self-explication of Love's ontological function (both creative and

3. And again I heard a voice from heaven saying to me: God, who created all things, made humankind in his image and likeness,[16] and in them he signified both the higher and the lower creatures. He held them in such loving affection that he destined them for that place from which the falling angel was cast out, and he ordained them for the glory and honor that that angel in his blessedness had lost.[17] This is what this vision that you see demonstrates.

For when you see *as if in the middle of the southern sky an image, beautiful and wonderful in the mystery of God, like a human in form*, this is because Divine Love is beautiful because of her election in the strength of unfailing divinity, and wonderful in the gifts of the heavenly Father's mysteries: and thus Divine Love reveals humankind. For when the Son of God put on flesh, he redeemed fallen humankind through the service of Love. Thus *her face is of such beauty and radiance that you could more easily look at the sun than at her:* for the abundance of Love is of so great an excellence in the flashing gleam of her gifts, that she surpasses all human understanding and the faculty of knowledge by which humans are able to understand various things in the soul—so much so that humans cannot in any way grasp Love with the senses. But this shows symbolically that through her, he is recognized in faith who is not seen visibly with the visible eyes.

4. *And a great circlet of golden color surrounds her head,* because the catholic faith, spread throughout the whole world and rising in the first dawn of exceptional brilliance,[18] embraces the excellence of true Love's abundance with every devotion, as when God redeemed humankind in his Son's humanity and strength-

---

sustaining) to the concept of the *anima mundi,* succinctly summarized so in a manuscript of Honorius Augustodunensis's *Clavis Physicae:* "Vegetable in trees, sensible in beasts, rational in human beings."

16. Gn 1.26–27.

17. I.e., to refill the tenth choir of angels emptied by the fall of Lucifer and his companions; cf. c. 9 below, 1.4.102, 3.4.10, 3.5.4; and *Scivias* 3.2.19.

18. The dawn is one of Hildegard's favorite metaphors for the apostolic church and, more broadly, the irruption of divinity into time; see 2.1.16n77, and Kathryn Kerby-Fulton, "A Return to 'the First Dawn of Justice': Hildegard's Visions of Clerical Reform and the Eremitical Life," *American Benedictine Review* 40 (1989): 383–407.

ened them by pouring the Holy Spirit into them. So one God is understood in Trinity, who without temporal beginning before the ages was God in divinity. And when *above that head in the same circlet appears another face as of an old man*, this means that the all-surpassing goodness of divinity, which is without beginning and end, brings aid and comfort to the faithful, so that *this face's chin and beard touch the crown of the* [*lower*] *head*.[19] For divinity holds fast the lofty reaches of supreme Love by arranging and protecting all things, as when the Son of God in his humanity led lost humankind back to heavenly things.

And from each side of the figure's neck a single wing comes forth, [*both*] *rising up to join together above the aforementioned circlet.* For love of God and love of neighbor are not to be separated from each other,[20] for they proceed through the power of Divine Love in the unity of faith and embrace that faith between them through supreme desire. For holy divinity keeps the countless splendor of its glory hidden from humans, so long as they dwell in the shadow of death, devoid of the heavenly robe that they lost because of Adam.[21]

5. *At the tip of the arc where the right wing curves back, you see as if the head of an eagle that has eyes of fire, in which appear the multitude of the angels as in a mirror.* For when in the soaring heights of triumphant submission, someone makes himself subject to God and overcomes the devil, he is made lofty in the blessedness of divine protection.[22] And when, set on fire by the Holy Spirit, he lifts up his mind and fixes his attention on God, the blessed spirits clearly appear in it and offer to God the devotion of that person's heart. For in the eagle are signified those spiritual people who, with the heart's every devotion and in contemplation, gaze often upon God as do the angels. For this reason the blessed spirits, gazing intently upon God, rejoice because of the good works of the just and show forth these works in themselves, and so they continue in their praise of God and never grow

19. Cf. 3.4.3.

20. Cf. *Let.* 84r (1:190).

21. Cf. chs. 14 and 15 below; *LVM* 6.33(55); and *Gosp. Homs.* 26–27, on Lk 15.22 (pp. 120 and 124).

22. Cf. 2.1.10.

weary, for they can never reach the end of his praise.[23] For truly, who can count the numberless wonders that God does in the power of his ability?[24] No one. Indeed, there is present to the angels a many-mirrored flash[25] in which they see that none can act and none has such power as God: there is none like him, for he has no temporality.

6. All things indeed that God has worked, he held in his foreknowledge before the beginning of time.[26] For in the pure and holy divinity, all things visible and invisible appeared without movement and outside of time, before the ages, just as trees or other creatures near water are seen in the water, for although they are not physically in it, their every shape appears in it.[27] For when God said, "Let there be!"[28] immediately they were clothed with form, as his foreknowledge saw them before the ages when they did not yet have physical bodies.[29] For as all things shine in the mirror before which they stand, so in the holy divinity all his works appeared outside of the passage of time.[30] And how could God lack the work he foreknew, since his every work, after it is clothed with a body, fulfills the task appointed for it, because the holy divinity foreknew how to be present in knowing, understanding, and serving? For just as a ray of light reveals the particular shape of a created thing through its shadow, so God's pure foreknowledge looked upon the form of every created thing before it was embodied. For the work that God would make gleamed in his foreknowledge according to its likeness before it was embodied, just as one sees the sun's splendor before one is able to look upon its substance. And as the sun's splendor points to the sun itself, so too the angels reveal God by their praising; and as it is not possible for the sun to be without its light, so neither can the divinity be without the angels' praise. God's foreknowledge both preceded and followed his work; and if God's foreknowledge had

23. Cf. 3.1.3.
24. Cf. 1.4.11.
25. Cf. 1.4.105 and 3.5.14; Wis 7.26; and Ps.-Dionysius, *Celest. Hier.*, 3.2.
26. Cf. 3.5.2; and Hildegard's antiphon *O quam mirabilis* (*Symphonia* 3).
27. Cf. 3.3.2.
28. Gn 1.3, and elsewhere.
29. Cf. *Let.* 373 (3:159).
30. Cf. 3.4.8.

not existed first, his work would not have appeared. For if a person's face cannot be seen, his body cannot be recognized; but when a person's face is seen, his body can be praised. Thus God's foreknowledge and his work exist within him.

7. There was, however, a numberless multitude of angels who wished to exist on their own, for when they saw their own radiance, great and glorious in its flashing brilliance, they forgot their Creator. And even before they began to praise him, they were calculating among themselves that their honor's brilliance was so great that none could resist them; so too they wished to vilify God. For when they saw that they could never reach the end of his wonders, they hated him; and though they ought to have praised him, with a foolish thought they declared that in their great splendor they would choose another god. Thus they fell into darkness, reduced to such impotence that they could do nothing to any creature except inasmuch as it was allowed them by their Creator. For because God had adorned the first angel, who was called Lucifer, with all of the ornaments of creation that he would give to every created thing, so that the whole rank received its splendor from him, so, when he rebelled, he was made more horrifying than every horror, for the holy divinity in its zeal cast him out into the place that is without light.[31]

8. *But at the tip of the arc where the left wing curves back, there is as if a human face that shines like the brilliance of the stars.* This is because in the summit of conquering humiliation, when humans crush with humility the earthly circumstances that stand in their way—as if on the left—and turn themselves to their Creator's protection, they will come to possess their human countenance, for it is not according to herd animals but according to what human nature teaches them that they begin to live in moral integrity.[32] Thus, in their righteous works, too, they show that the good intention of their hearts shines as an outstanding splendor.

9. For when God said, "Let there be light!"[33] there arose a rational light—the angels,[34] both those who remained with God

31. Cf. 1.4.12–13, 2.1.14, and 3.1.6; and *LVM* 6.14(15) and 23(24).
32. Cf. 3.3.2 and 3.5.4; and *Expl. Symb. S. Athan.*, pp. 127–28.
33. Gn 1.3.
34. Cf. Augustine, *De civ. Dei* 11.9.

in truth and those who fell into the outer darkness without any light,[35] because they denied that the True Light,[36] which existed in brilliance without beginning before the ages, was God, and because they wanted to be like him in a way that was impossible.[37] Then God caused another life, which he contained within a body, to arise, and this is humankind. To them he gave the place and the glory of the lost angel, to complete in the praise of God what the latter had refused to do.[38] Moreover, in that human face are signified those people who, though given to the world in body, yet serve God continually in spirit and do not, on account of this body that remains in and of the world, forget what is of the spirit in the service of God. *And these faces are turned towards the east,* for both spiritual and secular people who desire to serve God and keep their souls in life ought to convert themselves to the dawn of a holy way of life and blessedness.

10. *Furthermore, from each shoulder of this image, a single wing stretches forth down to her knees*, for in the strength of Divine Love, God's Son brought to himself the righteous and the sinners and lifted them both by the shoulders—because they had lived rightly—and by the knees—because he had recalled them from the way of injustice—and made them consorts of the citizens of heaven, as too one lifts the things one carries with both the knees and the shoulders. For in the knowledge of Love, humankind has been led in soul and body to the fullness of pure integrity, though they are very often moved away from an upright and steadfast posture. When the gifts of the Holy Spirit pour forth upon them from above in pure and holy abundance, they teach them many things about heavenly and spiritual matters. They also instruct humans in a different way about earthly concerns for the necessary use of the body—though humans understand that in these matters they are weak and infirm and mortal, despite being defended by these manifold gifts.

11. Moreover, *she is clothed with a robe like the brilliance of the sun*. This is because with Love, the Son of God put on a human

35. Cf. Mt 8.12, 22.13, and 25.30.
36. Jn 1.9.
37. Cf. 1.4.105.
38. Cf. *Scivias* 3.2.19.

body without any spot of sin, in the likeness of the sun's beauty. For as the sun shines before the rest of creation at so great a height that no person can touch it, so too no human knowledge is able to grasp the humanity of God's Son and how it came to be, except by believing. *And in her hands she holds a lamb, shining like the light of day*, for in the works of the Son of God, Love offered the gentleness of true faith, shining above all things, when he chose from among the tax collectors and sinners his martyrs, confessors, and penitents,[39] and when out of the wicked he made the righteous, as when he made Paul from Saul,[40] so that they might fly upon the wings of the winds,[41] that is, upon the heavenly harmony. Thus, Love completed her work deliberately, one small and distinct piece at a time, so that in it there would be no weakness but rather all fullness. Humans cannot do this, for when they have even the slightest potential of doing something, they can barely keep at it long enough to bring it to completion so that others can see it. A person should think upon these things within himself, for the little bird, when it first hatches from the egg and does not yet have feathers, does not hurry to fly; but after it has received its feathers, it flies to the place it sees as most fitting for itself.

12. *Moreover, she is treading with her feet a monster, dreadful in appearance and venomous and black in color, and also a serpent.*[42] This means that true Love, through the footsteps of God's Son, bruises discord's injury, which is misshapen by its excessive vices and horrifying because of its many perversities, and poisonous in deception and black in perdition. Likewise, she bruises the ancient serpent as he lays traps for the faithful, for upon the cross the Son of God reduced him to nothing. *The serpent fixes its mouth upon the right ear of the monster and, wrapping the rest of its body around the monster's head, stretches its tail along the monster's left side all the way to its feet.* For the devil, while pretending to act benignly, sows his deceit and discord, and, lightly littering every

39. Cf. Mt 11.19; and Hildegard's hymn *O ignee Spiritus*, verse 11 (*Symphonia* 27).

40. Cf. Acts 13.9.

41. Ps 17.11(18.10).

42. Cf. *Scivias* 2.7.3–10.

type of vice here and there at their beginning, in their end he shows himself to possess the perversity of discord's worst fulfillment. For the serpent, who in his trickery is more cunning than other worms,[43] destroys in that cunning everything he can and turns it to himself in the worst possible way, which the various colors of his skin also signify.[44] Satan, too, acted this way, for when he recognized his own beauty, he wished that he could be like his Creator. This is also what he whispered to Man as if through the head of the serpent, and he will not stop doing so until the end of time, as signified by his tail.

13. And so Love is in the wheel of eternity outside of time,[45] just as heat is in fire. For God foreknew in eternity all his created beings, which he brought forth in the fullness of Love so that humans would lack in them no refreshment or service, for he joined them to humankind as flames are to fire. Moreover, God established the first angel with very many adornments, as described above, but when the latter saw himself, he looked upon his Lord with hatred and wished himself to be lord. But God cast him down into the well of the abyss. Then that transgressor introduced his evil plan to Man, and Man consented to it.

14. For when God created Man, he clothed him with heavenly clothing, to shine in great radiance. But the devil, seeing the woman, recognized that she would be the mother of a great world, and with the same malice by which he fell from God, he undertook to overcome God by the latter's own work—so he turned the work of God, which is humankind, into his own ally.[46] Then the woman, sensing that in tasting of the fruit she had become something different, gave the fruit to her husband—and so both lost their heavenly clothing.[47]

43. Gn 3.1.

44. Cf. *LVM* 6.16(17).

45. Cf. 3.5.1–2; *LVM* 6.32(52–54); and *Cause* 1.4 (pp. 20–21).

46. Cf. 2.1.16; and *Let.* 113r (2:56).

47. Cf. 3.4.7; *Let.* 223r (3:19); and *Cause* 2.90 (p. 78): "Before Adam and Eve had violated the divine precept, they gleamed like the sun in its brilliance, and that brilliance was for them like clothing. But when they transgressed God's precept, they gleamed no longer as they had before, but were darkened, and so in that darkness they endured."

15. But when God then said, "Adam, where are you?"[48] he signified by this that he would remember that he had made Adam in his own image and likeness,[49] and that he would draw him back to himself.[50] When he sent Adam into exile, God's own ministry of service covered up Adam's nudity, so that in place of the shining vesture, he received an animal skin, just as he exchanged paradise for exile.[51] Indeed, God joined woman to man by the oath of fidelity, so that this fidelity between them might never be destroyed, but that they should come together as one in mind, just as God joined them together into one, body and soul.[52] Therefore, whoever should destroy this fidelity and thus remain impenitent and without correction, will be cast into the land of Babylon, into the land of confusion and drought, so to remain without the beautiful viridity of the field, that is, of God's blessing. And God's vengeance will fall upon him, even to the last line of descendants proceeding from his hot blood, because this sin touches that man.[53]

16. And as Adam is the father of the whole human race, so too through the Son of God, who was incarnate in virgin nature, has come forth a spiritual people, who will ascend as God promised to Abraham through the angel, that his seed should be as the stars of heaven, as it is written: "'Look up to heaven and number the stars, if you can.' And he said to him: 'So shall your seed be.' Abraham believed God, and it was reckoned to him as righteousness."[54] This is open to understanding thus: You, who worship and venerate God with a good will, look upon God's secrets and examine the reward of their merits who shine before God day and night—if this is even possible for a human being, who is burdened by the body's weight. For as long as humans taste of what is of the flesh, they will not be able fully to grasp what is of the spirit. And in true revelation it is said to that person who labors to worship God with the upright sighs of his

48. Gn 3.9.
49. Gn 1.26.
50. Cf. *Let.* 385 (3:179).
51. Cf. Gn 3.21–24; 2.1.15; and *Let.* 292 (3:90–91).
52. Cf. *Scivias* 1.2.11–12.
53. I.e., the adulterer's "hot blood" withers the holy viridity of marriage.
54. Gn 15.5–6.

heart: "In this way shall the seed of your heart be multiplied and enlightened, that what you have sown on good ground is watered by the Holy Spirit's grace. It shall rise up and shine many times over in blessed virtues before the supreme God, just as the stars twinkle in the firmament." Therefore, whoever should faithfully believe the divine promise and hold the lofty height of true faith in God, so that they despise all earthly things and reach out towards the heavenly, will be accounted righteous among the children of God, for they have loved the truth and have had no guile in their hearts.

17. For God also recognized that Abraham's spirit was without the serpent's guile, for he did his works to the injury of none. So God chose from his stock that sleeping earth that had no knowledge at all of the taste of that by which the ancient serpent deceived the first woman.[55] This earth was prefigured by Aaron's staff[56] to be the Virgin Mary, who in her great humility was the enclosed bedchamber of the King. For when she received from the throne the message that the Highest King wished to live in her enclosure, she looked upon that earth from which she was created and replied that she was the handmaid of God.[57] The woman who was first deceived did not do this, since she desired to have what she ought not to have had. But Abraham's obedience, in which God proved Abraham's faith when he showed him the ram caught in the thorns,[58] prefigured the obedience of the Blessed Virgin, who, believing the word of God's messenger, wished that it should be done unto her according to that messenger's word.[59] Thus, the Son of God, whom the ram hanging in the thorn-bushes had prefigured, put on the clothing of flesh in her. Furthermore, when God said that the race of Abraham would be multiplied according to the stars of heaven, he foresaw that this race should be reckoned as the full number of the celestial court. And since Abraham

55. For the image of "sleeping earth," cf. 2.1.32, on Gn 1.9; and *Let.* 389 (3:186, 189–90).

56. Nm 17.8; cf. 3.2.3 and 3.5.18.

57. Lk 1.38.

58. Gn 22.13.

59. Lk 1.38.

trusted faithfully in God in all things, so he is called the father of those who will be the heirs of the Kingdom of Heaven.

And so all who fear and love God should lay open the devotion of their hearts to these words and know that they have been offered for the saving of humans in body and soul, not indeed by a human being, but by me, the One who am.[60]

60. Ex 3.14. This formulaic exhortation closes each of Part I's four visions; the single vision of Part II has its own unique closing, while the five visions of Part III share an exhortation that, though modified, is similar to that of Part I. Similar exhortations close each vision in *Scivias* and *LVM*.

PART ONE, VISION TWO

The Cosmic Spheres and Human Being

Then, upon the breast of the aforementioned image that I had seen in the middle of the southern sky, as described above, there appeared a wheel, wonderful to see, together with its signs and symbols.[1] *This wheel was nearly like that instrument that I had seen twenty-eight years before, signified in the shape of an egg, as shown in the third vision of the book* Scivias.[2] *Along its outermost circumference there was shown a circle in the likeness of bright fire, and beneath this circle there was as if another circle, of black fire; and the circle of bright fire was twice as thick as the circle of black fire.*[3] *And these two circles were joined to each other as if they were a single circle.*[4] *Beneath the circle of black fire, moreover, there was another circle, in the likeness of pure ether, which was everywhere of the same thickness as the previous two circles of fire.*[5] *Furthermore, beneath that circle of pure ether, there was shown another circle of watery air, and its round thickness was as*

1. Diagrams of this cosmos can be found in Liebeschütz (60) and Schipperges ("Anhang"). Dronke provides numerous references for Hildegard's cosmography in the *apparatus fontium* of the *LDO,* including classical sources such as Seneca and Cicero (as representatives of Stoic cosmology) and Calcidius's translation of and commentary on Plato's *Timaeus;* and Christian ones such as Aethicus Ister, Isidore of Seville, Hrabanus Maurus, and Eriugena. See also Liebeschütz, 59–71; Widmer, 105–26; Maurmann, 38–57; Klaes, 53–79.

2. *Scivias* 1.3.

3. "twice as thick": *bis densitate sua superabat.*

4. These two circles correspond to the outer circumference of the *Scivias* egg (p. 93, translation adapted from Hart and Bishop): "outside it, surrounding its circumference, there was a bright fire with, as it were, a shadowy membrane [*pellem*] under it, … [in which] there was a dark fire."

5. So the next layer of the *Scivias* egg (p. 93), "the purest ether, with no membrane beneath it." Here, this circle's thickness is equal to that of the combined pairs of circles above and below it; see Liebeschütz, 71.

Figure 1.2: The Cosmic Spheres and Human Being. Biblioteca Statale di Lucca, MS 1942, fol. 9r (early 13th-cen.). By permission of the Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities and Tourism.

great as the thickness of the circle of bright fire. And beneath that circle of watery air there was shown another circle as of strong, bright white air, which in its firmness was like the muscles in the human body; and it appeared everywhere in its circumference to be of the same thickness as the circle of black fire. These two circles were also joined together, so that they appeared as if they were a single circle.[6] *And beneath this circle of strong, bright white air, there was marked out as if another—a thin air that appeared to carry upon it clouds that were sometimes lofty and bright, and sometimes low-hanging and shadowy; and it seemed to pervade the entire wheel mentioned above.*[7] *But all six of these circles were joined seamlessly together, the one to the other. Furthermore, the outermost circle flooded the other circles with its fire, and the watery circle watered all the others with its moisture.*

And there stretched a line as if from the beginning of the eastern part of that wheel to the end of its western part, and it faced the northern part, separating, as it were, the northern region from the other regions.[8] *There was also marked out in the middle of the thin air's sphere a globe that was everywhere in its circumference an equal distance from the sphere of the strong, bright white air.*[9] *The breadth across this globe was as great as the depth of space from the top of the outermost circle to the final layer of clouds, or from the final layer of clouds to the top of this globe.*[10]

6. These two circles correspond to the *Scivias* egg's "watery air with a white membrane beneath it" (p. 93); for the concept of the membrane, see n. 32 below.

7. This sixth layer (*aer tenuis,* the lower "thin" atmosphere) is an addition to the *Scivias* schema.

8. As this line runs east to west and opposite the northern region (*versus septentionalem eius partem*), it may correspond to the path of the sun described below. The bright horizontal line across the Lucca miniature problematically runs from north to south (so notes Dronke, *LDO,* p. xliii); on the orientation of the image, see further n. 12 below.

9. "marked out in the middle of . . . sphere": *in medio signi . . . signatus erat;* here, the term *signum* ("sign") designates a specific portion of the visionary field. When it refers to specific spheres, as here, it will be translated "sphere" (following Schipperges); when it refers to specific parts, such as the animal-head winds or celestial bodies below, it will be translated "sign." Its usage may reflect the "signs" of various celestial objects in cosmological and astrological literature; or it may indicate that, even in this initial description, Hildegard anticipates the physical and moral significations within the human person.

10. This central globe corresponds to the "sandy globe" at the center of

In the middle of the wheel there also appeared the image of a human being, whose crown reached above and whose feet stretched below the circle of strong, bright white air.[11] *The fingertips of the right hand were extended from the right side, and the fingertips of the left hand were extended from the left side, to that circle, marking it out from here to there in its circumference, because the image had its arms thus extended. Furthermore, facing these parts there appeared four heads—as it were the head of a leopard and a wolf, and the head of a lion and a bear.*[12]

For above the crown of that image, in the sphere of the pure ether, I saw as if the leopard's head blowing a breath from its mouth.[13] *This breath curved back a little to the right of the mouth and was formed into the head of a crab with two pincers like two feet; and wheeling around a little to the left of the mouth, it issued in the head of a stag.*[14] *Moreover, going forth from the mouth of the crab's head, as it were, another breath proceeded all the way to the midpoint of the space that was between the heads of the leopard and of the lion; and coming from the mouth of the stag's head, another breath stretched all the way to the midpoint of the space that was between the heads of the leopard and of the bear.*[15] *And*

---

the *Scivias* egg. Here, it is one-fifth the diameter of the total instrument, thus making the illustration in the Lucca manuscript accurate in scale. With the globe in the center, the next fifth on either side corresponds to the thin air full of clouds, while the final fifth on either side can be subdivided into three sections of equal width: the combined circles of strong, bright white air and watery air; the circle of ether; and the combined circles of black and bright fire. See also 1.4.1, n. 1.

11. Cf. the image of God as a human figure astride the whole cosmos that opens each vision of *LVM*.

12. For the animals, cf. Dn 7.3–5 and Rv 13.2; and the analysis of Maurmann, 68–70. The orientation of the image follows medieval convention with east at its head (top, with the leopard) and west at its feet (bottom, with the wolf), with north (bear) to the viewer's left and south (lion) to the viewer's right. The Lucca miniaturist has erred by reversing south and north, placing the wolf and bear at the right and left hands of the human figure, respectively.

13. On the network of animal heads and winds, see Liebeschütz, 72–86.

14. Each description of the subordinate heads (crabs, stags, lambs, and serpents) is oriented as if the viewer is standing in the middle of the circles, turning to face each cardinal direction and its principal head in turn; left and right then correspond to the viewer's perspective. Here, too, the Lucca miniaturist has erred by interpreting right and left from the perspective of the animal head rather than the viewer.

15. Each subordinate head blows a breath to the exact midpoint between

the breath that proceeded from the right part of the leopard's mouth to the crab's head, and the breath that went out from the left part of its mouth to the stag's head, as well as the breath that stretched from the mouth of the crab's head all the way to the midpoint of the space between the heads of the leopard and of the lion, and the breath that extended from the mouth of the stag's head all the way to the midpoint of the space that was between the heads of the leopard and of the bear—all were of equal length. All of these heads also breathed into the aforesaid wheel and onto the image of a human being.

Moreover, beneath the feet of the human image, in the sphere of the watery air, there appeared as if the head of a wolf producing a breath from its mouth. This breath burst forth from the right side of that mouth half-way to the midpoint of the space that was between the heads of the wolf and bear, and received the form of a stag's head; and coming from its mouth, as it were, another breath came to an end at this midpoint.[16] *Likewise, from the left side of that wolf's head a breath proceeded from its mouth and extended itself also half-way to the midpoint of the space that was between the heads of the wolf and lion, where it rose into the head of a crab with two pincers like two feet; and going out from its mouth, as it were, another breath came to rest in that midpoint. Moreover, the distance between each of these heads was the same as the measure and form of their breath that extended in length from here to there, as likewise with the other breaths mentioned above. And these heads sent forth their breaths into the previously shown wheel and onto the human image standing upon it.*

But to the right of this image, in the sphere of the bright fire, I looked upon as if the head of a lion. Going out from its mouth there was a breath that extended a little way from each part of that mouth; and so this was formed on the right side into the head of a serpent, and on the

---

its principal head and the next principal head, where its breath joins with that coming from the next principal animal's subordinate head, as described below. Thus, the leopard's crab blows to the midpoint between the leopard (east) and the lion (south), where it joins in the southeast with the lion's lamb's breath.

16. See further, ch. 23. To orient right and left here, the viewer, standing in the center of the image, must turn to face the wolf's head, as it were. In this way, the stag's head will be on the right and the crab's on the left. Again, the Lucca miniaturist has reversed their correct placement; the stag's head should appear on the (viewer's) left of both leopard and wolf, with the crab's head on the (viewer's) right.

left into the head of a lamb. And the serpent's head, presenting itself halfway to the midpoint of the space that was between the heads of the lion and wolf, gave forth a breath, as it were, that stretched itself towards that midpoint, where it joined the breath that was emitted from the crab's head that was between the heads of the wolf and lion. Moreover, the lamb's head, appearing halfway to the midpoint of the space that was between the heads of the lion and leopard, produced as it were a breath that extended into that midpoint, where it met and joined the breath that came from the crab's head between the heads of the leopard and lion. Furthermore, the length of these breaths proceeded according to the distances that separated their heads, as shown with the heads and their breaths above; likewise, they were shown to blow into the above-mentioned wheel and upon the aforesaid human image.

Furthermore, to the left of this image, in the sphere of the black fire, there appeared as if the head of a bear. It gave from its mouth a breath that, extending a little way to the left and to the right of that mouth, issued on the right in a lamb's head and received on the left the form of a serpent's head. And from the mouth of this lamb's head, as it were, another breath extended itself to the midpoint of the space that was between the heads of the bear and leopard; while from the mouth of this serpent's head, as it were, another breath proceeded by stretching itself forth to the midpoint of the space that was between the heads of the bear and wolf. Furthermore, the likeness of that breath that went from the right part of the bear's mouth to the lamb's head, and the likeness of that breath that proceeded from the left part of that mouth to the serpent's head, as well as the breath that went out from the mouth of the lamb's head to the midpoint of the space just mentioned that appeared between the heads of the bear and leopard, and the breath that was extended from the mouth of the serpent's head to the midpoint of the space between the heads of the bear and wolf—all were of a single and equal length. All of these heads also gave their breath into the above-mentioned wheel and onto the aforesaid human image.[17]

17. The north and south heads (lion and bear) are flanked by those of a lamb on one side and a serpent on the other: the lamb's head to the left of the lion but right of the bear, and the serpent's head to the right of the lion but left of the bear. As one turns to face each cardinal direction, the lambs' heads thus appear in the northeast and southeast and the serpents' heads in the northwest and southwest.

But there were also marked out above the head of this image seven celestial bodies, one above the other:[18] *three in the circle of bright fire,*[19] *one also in the circle of black fire laid beneath that,*[20] *and finally three in the circle of pure ether laid beneath that,*[21] *so that the sun appeared in its own circle, at the side (toward the south) and also beneath the feet of that image, marked out in an ordered and consistent way.*[22] *And from the middle of the sign*[23] *of the highest and first celestial body that was marked out above the head of that image, there went out certain rays. One of these descended to the sign of the sun; and one beamed to the right foot of the crab's head that proceeded from the leopard's head; while one stretched to the right horn of the stag's head that came from the same leopard's head. From the middle of the sign of the second celestial body, a certain ray bent down as if to the sign of the sun; and another went forth to the lamb's head that came from the sign of the lion's head; and another was directed to the aforesaid line that stretched from the beginning of the eastern part of the wheel as if to the end of its western part and facing its northern region, at a spot above where the lamb's head that came from the sign of the bear's head is placed. The sign of the third celestial body also extended as if from its middle one ray to the sign of the sun; it directed another to the serpent's head that came forth from the sign of the lion's head; while it stretched another to the aforementioned line at a spot facing the serpent's head that came out of the sign of the bear's head.*[24] *The sign of the sun also sent out from itself certain rays: with one it touched the sign of the leopard's head, with another the sign of the lion's*

18. "celestial bodies": *planete*. Because this term refers not only to the planets but also to the sun and moon, I have chosen not to use the cognate term "planet," to avoid confusion for the modern reader.

19. I.e., Saturn, Jupiter, and Mars.

20. I.e., the Sun.

21. I.e., Mercury, Venus, and the Moon.

22. Because of Hildegard's place in northern Europe, "toward the south" means that the sun traces a daily arc from east (head) to west (feet) through the southern half of the sky.

23. See n. 9 above.

24. The rays of the second and third planets intersect with the line marking the arc of the sun in the circle of watery air, at points opposite the lamb's and serpent's heads flanking the bear's head in the north; cf. 1.4.23–27. The Lucca illustration marks this by repeating the sun's golden star in the circle of black fire in between those two heads; but because of the erroneously reversed orientation, this is on the left rather than right side of the illustration.

head, and with another the sign of the wolf's head—but it did not touch the sign of the bear's head.[25] *Moreover, the sun fixed another ray above the sign of the moon, and another likewise by stretching it from above the top of the head of the aforementioned image all the way down to the sole of each foot. And from the middle of the sign of the fifth celestial body, which is just below the sun, a certain ray ascended as if to the sign of the sun; but another stretched to the crab's head that went out from the wolf's head, and another was directed towards the left horn of the sign of the moon. From the middle of the sign of the sixth celestial body, which is just above the moon, one ray stretched above to the sign of the sun, and another was directed to the right horn of the sign of the moon, while another was stretched out to the stag's head that came forth from the sign of the wolf's head. From the sign of the moon, a ray also beamed as if over each eyebrow and over each ankle of the image. Furthermore, as described above, the sign of the sun was marked out in an ordered fashion above the crown of that image, with its rays to each of the places described—and in the same way it appeared at those places, marked out in its own circle along the image's right side and then beneath its feet.*[26]

And in the circumference of the circle in which the likeness of bright fire was seen, there also appeared sixteen principal stars: four between the heads of the leopard and lion, four also between the heads of the lion and wolf, four between the heads of the wolf and bear, and four between the heads of the bear and leopard. The eight of these that were the middle ones between the heads—two between each set of two heads, flanked on either side by the other stars—stretched forth their rays into the sphere of the thin air opposite them. The remaining eight, however, that appeared nearer to each of the heads on either side of the middle stars, directed their rays only to the black fire.

Both the circle of pure ether and the circle of strong, bright white air were as if full of stars that emitted their radiance to the clouds opposite them. And then, in the right part of the aforesaid image, these clouds brought forth from themselves as if two separate tongues and directed certain rivulets from them into the above-mentioned wheel and toward the image. Furthermore, on its left, two tongues a little distance apart

25. The Lucca illustration appears to include here in error a ray going from the sun's large star (in the darker "black" fire directly above the leopard's head) to the heads of both the bear and the lion.

26. Again, "right" from the viewer's perspective, not the image's.

turned themselves from the signs of the clouds and onto the wheel and toward the image as with rivulets that flowed from them. In this way, this image was entwined and enclosed within these signs.

I also saw that from the mouth of the image first mentioned, upon whose breast appeared the wheel, a light brighter than daylight came forth like threads, by which are rightly and distinctly measured the signs of the circles and the signs of the other figures that could be seen within the wheel, as well as the individual signs of the limbs of the human form—that is, of the image that appeared within the wheel, as revealed in all of the foregoing and subsequent words of this vision.

2. And again I heard a voice from heaven saying to me: God, for the glory of his name, gathered together the world out of the elements, strengthened it with the winds, stitched it together and gave it light with the stars, and filled it up with all the other creatures. With all these things in the world he surrounded and fortified humankind and everywhere imbued them with the greatest strength, so that creation might assist them in all things and partake in all human works, so that they might do their work with creation—for humankind can neither live nor even exist without creation, as shall be shown to you in the present vision.[27]

For upon the breast of the aforementioned image there appears a wheel, wonderful to see, together with its signs and symbols. This wheel is nearly like that instrument that you saw twenty-eight years ago, signified in the figure of an egg, as shown to you in your previous visions. For without forgetfulness and in the knowledge of true Love, which is God, the form of the world exists, indissolubly whirling—the wonderful form too of human nature—so that it can neither be consumed by any old age nor increased by any novelty; but as it was first created by God, so it will endure to the end of the world. Indeed, in its foreknowledge and operation, divinity is like a wheel, whole and utterly undivided, for it has neither beginning nor ending, nor can anything grasp or sur-

27. In most of the explanations that follow, Hildegard both expands on the physical place and function of each element within the macrocosmos, and also provides microcosmic, allegorical interpretations of each element as it corresponds to humankind's moral life. Dronke notes that "the literal sense of her macrocosm-microcosm remains to a significant degree deterministic" (*LDO,* p. xlii); see further *Women Writers,* 177–83.

round it, for it is outside of time.[28] And as a circle surrounds and contains all that lies inside of it, so holy divinity contains and exceeds all things infinitely, for no one can divide or overcome it in its power, or bring it to an end.

3. But when the instrument described above was laid out in your earlier visions in the shape of an egg, this was to show that only the division of the elements was signified in that likeness, because an egg's layers, by which it is divided into its constituent parts, are a bit like the way the world is devised of the elements. But now, the circumference and the correct proportion of these elements are shown only in a wheel, though neither of these holds a complete likeness of the figure of the world in every detail, because it exists everywhere whole, round, and whirling. Rather, a globe that is whole and whirling better imitates the form of the world in its every part.

4. *Along its outermost circumference there appears a circle in the likeness of bright fire:* for the first element—fire—came into existence first because it is lightweight and surrounds and illuminates the other elements. It pervades all of creation and supplies to it the joy of its light, signifying the power of God, who is above all things and who grants life to all things. *Beneath this circle there is shown as if another circle, of black fire:* for this fire, which is under the power of the first fire, is the almost hellish fire of judgment, made for the punishment of the wicked.[29] It spares nothing upon which it falls with just judgment, for this demonstrates that everyone who opposes God shall be turned back to fall into blackness and its many catastrophes. In the summer, when the sun rises high, this fire administers God's vengeance in the scorch of lightning; but when in the winter the sun is low in the sky, it demonstrates its judging scourges in frost and hail and frigid cold—for each type of sin, whether fiery or frigid, is judged by different scourges according to its kind. *And the circle of bright fire is twice as thick as the circle of black fire,* because the black fire is of such strength and bitterness in its blackness, that it would overshadow and scatter the bright fire above it if

28. Cf. 1.4.11 and 3.5.1–2; *LVM* 6.32(52–54); *Cause* 1.4 (pp. 20–21); *Lets.* 11 (1:47) and 179 (2:141).

29. On these two fires, cf. *Scivias* 1.3.3 and 10.

the bright fire were not of greater thickness. This signifies that the recompense of human sin inflicts punishments so perilous that humans could not endure them, if God's grace and mercy did not come first upon them. *And these two circles are joined to each other as if they are a single circle:* for they burn together in the fire's heat, and because God's power and judgment are bound together in a single principle of rightness and cannot be separated from each other.

5. *Beneath the circle of black fire, moreover, there is another circle, in the likeness of pure ether, which is everywhere of the same thickness as the previous two circles of fire:* for beneath the previous two fires, one bright and one black, there is the pure ether, containing the world within its circumference and proceeding from the fires like lightning from a flaming fire when the fire spreads forth its flame. This demonstrates the pure penitence of sinners, which is stirred up in a person through the grace of God as from a bright fire and through the fear of God as from a black fire. And it is of the same thickness as the two fires above because, drawing its resplendence from each fire, it has the thickness of each within it—neither gentler than the lightning flash of the bright fire, nor graver than the thunderous percussion of the black, as God's just judgment determines. For both day and night reveal nothing else but what the divine will ordains.

This ether also holds back the things above and below, lest they exceed their bounds. It does not fall upon any creature in judgment, yet often resists them in its own stability and even-handedness, just as penitence restrains the vengeance exacted upon sinners. Furthermore, it has the same thickness as the two fires because the penitent person attends in the bright fire to the fall of the first angel, who was bright, and considers in the density of the black fire the human fall into disbelief and sinful indiscretion. Thus looking upon God's power and just judgment, a person can repent purely and worthily.

6. *Furthermore, beneath that circle of pure ether, there is shown another circle of watery air, and its round thickness is as great as the thickness of the circle of the bright fire.* This signifies that beneath the ether and around the firmament's circumference are those waters that are thought to be above the firmament, of the same thick-

ness in their circuit as the thickness of the above-mentioned bright fire.[30] And this watery air represents holy works in the examples of the just, which are as clear as water and cleanse unclean works like water washing away some filth. They have this capacity for perfection because divine grace enkindles them in the fire of the Holy Spirit.

7. *And beneath that circle of watery air there is shown another circle of strong, bright white air, which in its firmness is like the muscles in the human body.* By opposing the dangers of the upper waters, this circle holds back their floods with its strong grip, lest they overflow the earth with their sudden and capricious outpouring. This signifies that discretion strengthens holy works with moderation, such that a person should constrain his body correctly, lest by wrongful restraint he lead it to ruin.[31]

And it appears everywhere in its circumference to be of the same thickness as the circle of black fire: for the one is so placed as to be useful to humans in a measure equal to that in which the other punishes them for their sins. But as often as the lower waters are pulled up through the clouds in overwhelming abundance to serve sentence upon the wicked according to God's just judgment, the moisture is distilled from the watery air through the strong and bright white air to make those same waters fall again in perilous floods, as when a drink passes through the human bladder while leaving it permanently unaffected.[32] So too discretion discerns human deeds everywhere to aid their salvation with just moderation, since God's judgments do not exceed the sins they punish, but adjudicate them justly—for the guardian and the guide sustain one another with righteous unanimity. *These two circles are also joined together, so that they appear as if they are a single circle:* for with moisture they are wetted, and upon the

30. I.e., the waters above the firmament of Gn 1.7; see *Solution* 2.

31. Cf. 2.1.27.

32. Cf. 1.4.32 and 40; this punitive water cycle—water leaving the earth in drought and returning in flood—leaves the upper circles of air unchanged, in the same way that liquids pass through our bladders without changing them. The comparison to the bladder comes from Augustine, *De Gen. ad litt.*, 2.9, in which he justifies the comparison of the heavens to an animal-hide tent (*pellis*) in Ps 103(104).2—perhaps the scriptural source for the "membranes" (*pelles*) in the *Scivias* cosmic egg; see Liebeschütz, 66–67.

others they pour out moisture, as also discretion sustains good works in its moderation, to keep them from ruin.[33]

8. *And beneath this circle of strong, bright white air, there is marked out as if another, thin air:* this shows that this circle proceeds like air blown from the higher circles or elements,[34] yet remains unseparated from those elements, just as human breath goes out from the person yet is not separate from him. That same air also *appears to carry upon it clouds that are sometimes lofty and bright, and sometimes low-hanging and shadowy,* which the above-mentioned watery air spits out and gathers back, like a smith's bellows belching out and drawing back their blasts. So it is that, when some stars placed in the element of fire climb up higher in their orbits, they draw these clouds up with them to become bright. But when they descend in their orbits, they bring the clouds back down, and so these are shadowy and bring rain.

And this thin air *seems to pervade the entire wheel mentioned above,* for all things that are in the world are quickened and sustained by it.[35] Furthermore, the right desires of the faithful show that, defended by discretion, they carry on in the subtlety of justice and proceed from the higher virtues and comforts through the Holy Spirit. For they do not turn themselves away from those things, but with every devotion cling to them without pause. The virtues keep in the faithful a mind firm for God that brightens at one time with confidence and trembles at another in humility; and this arises from the holy works and examples of the just, and is gathered again to them, just as a worker is rewarded by his work. For when a good conscience, enkindled in human beings by the Holy Spirit, lifts itself to heavenly things in these acts of justification, it draws their minds with it and purifies them there. And when it lowers itself down in these acts of justification to deal with bodily necessities, it drags their minds back to them, so that they appear troubled in their mundane

33. Cf. 1.4.39.

34. In *Cause* 2.74 (p. 71), Hildegard classes the four elements into two categories: the upper elements of fire and air, intangible and of the heavenly realm; and the lower elements of water and earth, tangible, corporeal, and of the earthly realm.

35. Cf. Love's description of the airy wind in 1.1.2.

cares, weeping as it were a rain of tears, for they groan because they are still mired in such earthly affairs, even though they plant themselves within and are completely committed to the power of the divine.[36]

9. *But all six of these circles are joined seamlessly together, the one to the other:* for, if the divine plan had not joined them together and solidified them in this way, the firmament would have burst apart and could not have held itself together. This shows that perfected virtues in the faithful person ally themselves and are strengthened through the Holy Spirit's inspiration, so that, fighting against the devil's vices, they should each with one accord bring good works to perfection.

10. *Furthermore, the outermost circle floods the other circles with its fire, and the watery circle waters all the others with its moisture.* For the higher element—fire—empowers the others with its might and brilliance, while the watery element introduces viridity to the others with its moisture. Likewise, God's power sanctifies the faithful in the wonders of its grace, and the deeds of the faithful magnify the loving kindness of their Creator in the true humility of holiness.

11. *And there stretches a line* in the firmament *as if from the beginning of the eastern part of that wheel to the end of its western part, and it faces the northern part, separating as it were the northern region from the other regions.* For from the first dawn in the east, where the sun first rises as the days begin to get longer, to the final sunset in the west, where the sun cannot go any farther, there arcs this line—the path of the sun, avoiding the northern region.[37] For the sun does not immerse itself in those parts, but holds them, as it were, in neglect. God has deprived them of access to the sun, for there the ancient seducer chose for himself the seat of his dwelling place.[38] So too, from the beginning of good works established in God's power all the way to their good completion, the faithful person places the rightness of justice in opposition

36. This cycle of spiritual ascent and bodily descent is frequent in the macrocosm-microcosm correlations in 1.4.14–98.

37. I.e., the sun's southernmost path through the sky—the winter solstice of the northern hemisphere.

38. Cf. Is 14.13.

to iniquity, cutting the devil's devices away from good and holy works. For the person who wishes to cling faithfully to God is eager to avoid what harms his soul, to listen to what is written:

12. "To him who conquers I will give the hidden manna, and I will give him a white stone, and upon that stone a new name, which no one knows except him who receives it."[39] This is open to understanding thus: Whoever flees from the wicked side must fight a great battle against the twisted serpent, who always seeks to draw that person with himself to the wicked side.[40] And if that person perseveres in this fight, flees from Satan, and does not consent to his counsel, I who am[41] shall give to him the bread of life that comes from heaven[42] and was kept hidden from every moisture of the will of man[43] and from every trick of the ancient serpent. And I shall also grant to him a share in him who is the cornerstone[44]—God and Man in shining white radiance—and upon him the name of new regeneration, which is Christ, from whom Christians take their identity. And no one, while he is in this fallen and time-bound life, can understand that name perfectly, unless he wins the life of eternal blessedness in the recompense of heavenly rewards.

13. *There is also marked out in the middle of the thin air's sphere a globe that is everywhere in its circumference an equal distance from the sphere of the strong, bright white air.* This shows that the earth exists in the middle of the other elements, so that it is tempered by them all. Furthermore, supported by them at each place equally and joined to them, the earth continually receives from them viridity and strength as sustenance.[45] And so the active life, signifying as it were the earth, lives in the middle of right desires and runs about on every side. It restrains itself with an even rudder devoted to the powers of discretion, as among the faithful it moderately pursues at one time spiritual duties and at another, bodily necessities. For those who love discretion direct all their works according to the will of God.

39. Rv 2.17.
40. Cf. Is 27.1; "wicked side": *sinistra pars,* lit. "left side."
41. Ex 3.14.
42. Cf. Jn 6.50–51.
43. Cf. Jn 1.13; here, "moisture" is male semen.
44. Cf. Eph 2.20.
45. Cf. *Scivias* 1.3.16.

And *the breadth across this globe is as great as the depth of the space from the top of the outermost circle to the final layer of clouds, or from the final layer of clouds to the top of this globe.* For by the heavenly Creator, the earth was rolled together and strengthened into this mass so that it could not be loosed by either the uproar of the upper elements or the force of the winds or the waters' flood. For with an open heart, the faithful both consider the greatness of God's power and look upon the fallibility of their own minds and the weakness of their own flesh. Thus they temper all that they do, lest they should fail by exceeding a just measure in necessary matters either higher or lower. To this Paul exhorted the faithful when he said:

14. "Do all things without grumbling or hesitation, that you may be blameless and innocent children of God, without reproach in the midst of a crooked and perverse generation, among whom you shine as lights in the world, holding fast the word of life."[46] This is open to understanding thus: Humankind finds themselves as if at a fork in the road, so that, if they should seek in the light salvation from God, they will receive it; but if they should choose evil, they will follow the devil into punishment. And so humankind ought to bear human nature and all their works without grumbling—without the crippling lumps of sin—and without hesitation—having perfect faith. They should not doubt that, when they love the good and hate evil, they will be set free at the coming judgment and distinguished from the lost, who fell away from the good by embracing evil. And those who do these things do no harm, for they do not roar with bickering stubbornness; but acting as God's children in the simple innocence of good works and without all the scheming of deceit, they remain without reproach in the judgment of those who boast of their own success in crooked and perverse acts.

Among such people, they shine in the perfection of true faith, just as the celestial lights illuminate the world in their courses, in accordance with the disposition of the Creator of all. For they convert many to God with their teachings, whose aim is life, just as the Son of God shone without sin for all in the world.

46. Phil 2.14–16.

For God placed two lights in the firmament—the sun and the moon,[47] which signify in humankind the conscience's knowledge of good and evil.[48] For just as the firmament is strengthened by the sun and moon, so likewise, humans are stirred, now this way and now that, by the knowledge of good and evil. But as the sun completes its course without diminishing its disk, so good knowledge plots its course by not desiring evil. Rather, it suppresses evil knowledge and chides and rebukes it with scorn, because there is no usefulness in it; and it declares its hellishness when it tries to fulfill its lustful desires. Likewise, as the moon wanes and waxes, so evil knowledge despises good knowledge and claims that it is foolish and like nothingness—but still, it knows what the good is, just as the Devil knew God, even though he opposed him.[49]

15. *In the middle of the wheel there also appears the image of a human being, whose crown reaches above and whose feet stretch below the circle of strong, bright white air. The fingertips of the right hand are extended from the right side, and the fingertips of the left hand are extended from the left side, to that circle, marking it out from here to there in its circumference, because the image has its arms extended.* This signifies that humankind exists within the structure of the universe, in its middle as it were. For humankind is more powerful than the other creatures that exist within that structure—insignificant, perhaps, in stature, but great by virtue of the soul.[50] With their head placed above and their feet below, humankind moves to both the higher and the lower elements and enters into them with works on the left and right done with its hands;[51] for in their inner powers, humankind has this power of operation.[52]

47. Cf. Gn 1.16; see 2.1.35, on the same verse.

48. *scientia boni et mali;* this faculty of conscience is the knowledge that actively distinguishes between right and wrong.

49. The analogy compares the unseen portion of the moon when it wanes to evil's attempt to deny the good; but just as the full moon returns as it waxes, so evil must acknowledge the good.

50. *uirtute anime magnus:* throughout this chapter, Hildegard plays on the common roots of *uirtus* (virtue, but also power or energy) and *uires* (power, strength, force).

51. Cf. *Cause* 1.7 (p. 22).

52. *in uiribus interioris hominis potentiam hanc operandi habet.*

For just as the human body is larger than its heart, so the powers of the soul excel the human body in their virtue. Likewise, as the human heart is contained within the body, so the human body is circumscribed by the powers of the soul as they stretch themselves throughout the whole circle of the earth. But the faithful, existing in the knowledge of God, strive towards God in all necessary matters both spiritual and worldly. They aspire to God in both prosperity and adversity, for in their deeds they express unceasingly their every devotion to him. For as they see each and every creature everywhere with their physical eyes, so in faith they look everywhere upon God and recognize him through his creations, because they understand that he is their Creator.[53]

16. *Furthermore, facing these parts there appear four heads—as it were the head of a leopard and a wolf, and the head of a lion and a bear.* For in the four quarters of the world there are four principal winds[54]—but they do not appear as if in their own forms, but in their powers imitate the nature of the beasts listed.[55] Humankind also stands, as it were, at a crossroads of worldly cares, where they are hungrily sought after by many different temptations—and in them, as in the leopard's head, they are reminded of the fear of the Lord, and as in the wolf, of the punishments of hell; in the lion they fear the judgment of God; and in the bear they quake as with the bodily distress caused by so many stormy difficulties.[56]

53. Cf. Rom 1.20 and Wis 13.5.

54. Of the winds, cf. *Scivias* 1.3.8–9, 13, and 15; and *Cause* 1.15–19 (pp. 24–27).

55. A summary of the four principal (cardinal) and eight collateral winds, clockwise from the top of the image: leopard (E), leopard's crab (ESE), lion's lamb (SSE), lion (S), lion's serpent (SSW), wolf's crab (WSW), wolf (W), wolf's stag (WNW), bear's serpent (NNW), bear (N), bear's lamb (NNE), and leopard's stag (ENE). The ordinal winds (SE, SW, NW, and NE) are formed by the confluence of each pair of collaterals; e.g., SE is the confluence of the leopard's crab and the lion's lamb; the ordinals can also be identified with the tongues that arise from the clouds like fortifications, described in ch. 41 below.

56. Cf. *LVM* 4.38(50); on the system of winds, see Maurmann, pp. 38–50; Widmer, pp. 112–14; Klaes, pp. 74–79 and 102–9; and Bertha Widmer, "Moralische Grundbegriffe Hildegards in ihrem Rad der Winde," in *Prophetin*, pp. 211–22, with a diagram of the entire complex on p. 217.

17. *For above the crown of that image, in the sphere of the pure ether, you see as if the leopard's head blowing a breath from its mouth.* This signifies the principal east wind coming from the pure ether like a leopard—not because this wind is actually a leopard in its form, but because, like a leopard, it has the fierceness but not the knowledge of a lion. Furthermore, as a leopard is lighter and weaker than a lion, so this wind arises in the ferocity of fear and then quickly settles down again into a gentle breeze. For its fierceness comes from the upper black fire, but its gentleness comes from the pure ether in which it is found.

This breath curves back a little to the right of the mouth and is formed into the head of a crab with two pincers like two feet, because as this wind tends towards those parts, it assumes there the nature of a crab. *But wheeling around a little to the left of the mouth, it issues in the head of a stag,* for in those parts it resembles the stag, which is swift. *Moreover, going forth from the mouth of the crab's head, as it were, another breath proceeds all the way to the midpoint of the space that is between the heads of the leopard and the lion.* For the collateral wind arises according to the nature of the crab, bringing forth its blast not like a whirlwind, but rather skittering about, sometimes this way and sometimes that, with the unsteadiness of a crab, which wanders first forward and then back.[57] In this way it arrives at the midpoint between the east and south. *But coming from the mouth of the stag's head, another breath stretches all the way to the midpoint of the space that is between the heads of the leopard and of the bear.* For in the nature of a stag, another collateral wind proceeds, uttering in its blast a roar, swift and strong, and then quickly falling quiet, just as a stag gores strongly and runs swiftly, but only lasts a short time in such activity. In such a way, it pushes itself quickly on to the midpoint between the east and north. *And the breath that proceeds from the right part of the leopard's mouth to the crab's head, and the breath that goes out from the left part of its mouth to the stag's head, as well as the breath that stretches from the mouth of the crab's head all the way to the midpoint of the space between the heads of the leopard and lion, and the breath that extends from the mouth of the stag's head all the way to the midpoint of the space that is between the heads of the*

57. For the characteristics of the crab, cf. *LVM* 3.38(47) and 5.29(37); and *Let.* 169r (2:124).

leopard and bear—all are of equal length. For the principal east wind extends with equal length from each of its sides the winds collateral to it, and these collateral winds reach with the same length towards their ends in the south and the north.

18. *All of these heads also breathe into the aforesaid wheel and onto the image of a human being,* for these winds temper the world with their blasts, and with their ministry preserve the health of humankind. For the world could not subsist, nor humankind live, if they were not quickened by the breaths of these winds.

But also, when a person raises himself up to attend to his soul, so that he remembers and thinks about his misdeeds, and when he then determines to repent, the fear of the Lord rises up with that attention as if above his crown, like the leopard in the sign of the pure ether, that is, in penitence. That fear brings forth contrition as from its mouth, that is, from its virtue; when it touches the human mind in prosperity, it draws it forth until it arrives at the crab's head, which is trust, from which extend two pincers like two feet, which represent hope and doubt. But when it draws out that same contrition in mental anguish, it leads the mind to the stag's head, which is faith.[58] For when a person recalls the weight of his sins, he undertakes penance and does not cease to fear God, although he continues to hold to worldly fortunes—as if to one side—until he acquires the trust from which hope and doubt arise like two feet. For hope springs from trust, yet is sometimes joined with doubt. For when a person trusts in God, he hopes, as if by going forwards, to gain the remission of his sins; but when he considers the multitude and gravity of those sins, even though he trusts in God, he often doubts whether or not his sins can be forgiven, as if he were going backwards. But when a person sometimes suffers bodily contrition amidst adversity—as if to the other side—he turns to find the riches of faith, which upon the horns of true consolation reduce doubt's disbelief to nothing.

58. Because of the metaphorical connotations of *dexter* (right, propitious) and *sinister* (left, wicked), times of prosperity correspond to the subordinate heads on the right side of each principal wind (here, the leopard's crab), while times of anguish and adversity correspond to those on the left (here, the leopard's stag).

Thus another breath—constancy—comes forth as from the crab's mouth, that is, from trust, and proceeds to the fullness of perfection, where it is established between the fear of the Lord and the judgment of God.[59] For when someone trusts in God, and persists and is perfected in good works, he gathers to himself the fear of the Lord, so as not to fail more seriously. That person looks also to God's judgment, so as not to pile up sin upon sin. And as from the stag's mouth—from faith—comes another breath, understood as holiness, stretching forth all the way to the fullness of perfection that is found between the fear of the Lord and bodily distress.[60] For the faithful person, growing in the strength of holiness, endures until it is perfected, so that he might truly fear God and also on this account not cease to chastise his body.[61]

And so the breath of contrition proceeds in prosperity from the fear of the Lord to trust; and that same breath of contrition goes forth in adversity from that same fear of the Lord to faith. The breath of constancy stretches from trust to the fullness of perfection between the fear of the Lord and the judgment of God; and the breath of holiness extends from faith to the fullness of perfection between the fear of the Lord and bodily distress, as described above. All of these breaths with one accord and with the common zeal of their powers' exhalation call forth humankind to blessedness. For although they each work in different ways, they all tend toward a single blessedness, for virtue proceeds, one from another, in the working of rightness. All of these heads—these virtues—exist within the knowledge of God and attend to the knowledge of God, and assist humankind in necessary matters both bodily and spiritual.

When the fear of the Lord breathes upon a person, that person begins to fear God and wisely advances towards the perfection of good and upright works. The trust a person has in God

59. The judgment of God corresponds to the lion's head in the south. In each of these allegorical explications, the midpoint between each principal wind, where the breaths of the two collateral winds between them meet, symbolizes "the fullness of perfection" of their corresponding virtues.

60. Bodily distress (*corporalis tribulatio*) corresponds to the bear's head in the north.

61. Cf. 1 Cor 9.27.

also touches him with constancy, to trust continually in God and lift up his thoughts to God—for the minds of the faithful are strengthened by the virtue of constancy. Faith, moreover, sits together with holiness to judge the liabilities of disbelief. It speedily opens wide to rain swiftly down upon believers, because it withdraws from their hearing all the disturbances of perverse thoughts and turns away the deceitful pleasures of the heart. If a person deserts the viridity of these virtues and turns toward the aridity of neglect, so that he lacks the moisture and viridity of good works, his soul's powers fail and dry up. Furthermore, if his mind is excessively inundated by aberrant floods of lustful pleasures, it slips and slides into the mush.[62] But if he enters on the right footpath, all of his works will be directed toward prosperity, as it is written in the Song of Songs:

19. "The king has brought me into his storerooms. We will be glad and rejoice in you, remembering your breasts more than wine: the righteous love you."[63] This is open to understanding thus: Because I, the faithful human soul, have in truth's footsteps followed the Son of God, who redeemed humankind through his own humanity, he who is the guide of all people has brought me into the fullness of his gifts, where I find the complete satisfaction of virtue and where I confidently mount from virtue unto virtue.[64] So too all of us who have been redeemed by the blood of God's Son will rejoice with our whole body and be glad with our whole soul in you, O holy divinity, through whom we subsist. We call to memory the sweetness of heavenly rewards above all trials and tribulations that we have suffered at the hands of truth's adversaries, so that we regard them as nothing while we taste those delights that you place before us

62. Hildegard contrasts here two types of flooding waters and their absence as "deserts." On the one hand, there appear the "aberrant floods" (*incongrua inundatione*) and stormy disturbances of perversity and deceitful (*lubricas*: lit. "slippery") pleasures. On the other hand, there is the gentle rain of faith that brings with it "the moisture and viridity of good works." The virtue of faith is that it deserts (*deserens*) the former, harmful floods; while those who turn "toward the aridity of neglect," by embracing the floods of sin, make of themselves a desert of goodness and virtue, the "soul's powers."

63. Song 1.3(4).

64. Ps 83.8(84.7).

in showing us your commandments. And so those who are upright in the works of holiness love you with true and perfect delight,[65] for you grant all good things to those who love you, and because at the same time you also bestow on them eternal life. Wisdom too floods the storerooms, that is, human minds, and sets before them the justice of true faith, through which the true God is recognized. There faith also stifles the frost and all the moisture of vices, so that they cannot grow or green any more; and there faith draws and joins to itself all the virtues, like wine poured into a vessel to be given to humans to drink.

Therefore, the faithful rejoice and are glad in the true confidence of eternal reward and carry the bushels of good works that they have done; they thirst after God's justice[66] and suckle holiness from his breasts.[67] In this way they can never be wearied, for they will ever delight in the contemplation of divinity, because holiness excels all human understanding. For when a person receives righteousness, he leaves himself behind and tastes and drinks of the virtues, and through them he is strengthened, just as a person's veins are filled with wine when he drinks—but he is not the steward who is immoderate in the vices of infidelity, like the drunkard who loses himself to the wine and cannot attend to what he ought to do.[68] Thus the upright love God, for in him there is no weariness, but perseverance in blessedness.

20. *Moreover, beneath the feet of the human image, in the sphere of the watery air, there appears as if the head of a wolf producing a breath from its mouth.* This is because, under the authority of him who became human on behalf of humans, in the western region of the watery air, the principal western wind, breathing like a wolf, comes forth in the form of a wolf, which lurks in the forest and turns rapacious when it seeks its food. This signifies that this wind goes forth from its den—the watery air— at one time to

65. "love … delight": *diligunt … dilectione.*

66. Mt 5.6.

67. Cf. 1.4.64.

68. A contrast of two types of spiritual inebriation: one fortifies by replacing selfishness with virtue, and one weakens by indulging selfishness to the point of forgetfulness and neglect.

bring forth the viridity of the plants, and at another to stifle them suddenly with drought.

This breath bursts forth from the right side of that mouth halfway to the midpoint of the space that is between the heads of the wolf and bear and receives the form of a stag's head; and coming from its mouth, as it were, another breath comes to an end at this midpoint. For as this wind seeks those parts halfway to the midpoint that is between the west and the north, it turns itself into the nature of a stag, so that there, this collateral wind goes forth like a stag, fiercely fighting and swiftly running, as it emits its blasts toward the midpoint. *Likewise, from the left side of that wolf's head a breath proceeds from its mouth and extends itself halfway to the midpoint of the space that is between the heads of the wolf and lion, where it rises into the head of a crab with two pincers like two feet; and going out from its mouth, as it were, another breath comes to rest in that midpoint.* For as this wind carries out its duties in those parts halfway to the midpoint that is between the west and the south, it turns into the nature of a crab as it wanders forward and back; for there, this collateral wind proceeds unsteadily like a crab by blowing now here and now there, as it spreads out toward the aforementioned midpoint.

Moreover, the distance between each of these heads is the same as the measure and form of their breath that extends in length from here to there, as likewise with the other breaths mentioned above. For the exhalations of each wind's breath extend in that measure by which the winds are separated from each other, for each wind directs its breath towards another, but they do not in their course exceed their bounds, nor does one wind overcome another in blowing, unless this should happen according to God's judgment. For if this should sometimes happen when the divine judgment so rules, terrors occur there, and the many adversities of evil rise up in that place.

21. *And these heads send forth their breaths into the previously shown wheel and onto the human image standing upon it,* so that the winds uphold with their powers and duties the world and humankind, and all the things that are in the world.

And so, when any of the faithful tread as if underfoot the fallen things of earthly desires by doing good things and with their

just examples, out of these holy works—as if from the watery air—as a wolf the punishments of hell emerge, stripped bare. For when the faithful refuse to sin and reach toward the path of uprightness, they show that they were utterly frightened by the punishments of hell that devour souls. These punishments produce in human hearts a breath—contrition—from their mouths, that is, from their voraciousness, for the faithful abhor them. When a person advances prosperously in his actions, that contrition follows God as it extends itself into the fullness of perfection that is between the punishments of hell and bodily distress,[69] where it receives the form of a stag's head, that is, faith. Coming from its mouth, that is, from its virtue, another breath—holiness—endures in that perfection.

For when a person fears the punishments of hell, he often and for a long time wearies his body with the various woes of distress, until he reaches that perfection in which he burns completely in faith, trusting that God will snatch him out of the punishments of hell. Thus holiness arises in him when, casting off the works of the world, he totally immerses himself in spiritual ones. But when, as God allows, a person is chastised in his body with many kinds of catastrophe by the wicked adversity[70] of hell's voracious punishments, contrition also arises in his heart, and, when he considers that he can have no prosperity in the present life, he stretches forth from there, reaching out towards the fullness of perfection that is between the punishments of hell and the judgment of God. There he rises up into the crab's head—that is, trust, which holds at one time hope and at another doubt. For when a person places his works before God, hoping only to obtain the remission of his offenses, he finds only doubt. But at the same time, another breath goes forth from trust, which signifies constancy, and it leads that person to the perfection of virtues, so that then he has no uncertainty about God's goodness. Moreover, each of these descriptions differs with respect to the course by which its operations are driven and carried out. For although the punishments of hell are to be

69. Corresponding to the bear's head in the north.

70. *a sinistra adversitate:* a pun on the placement of the crab's head to the left (*sinistra*) of the wolf's head.

feared, when a person humbles himself in contrition because of that fear, he receives in return with greater strength faith with holiness and trust with constancy, so that, in fearing hell, he is judged to be more careful and circumspect in all things.

And gazing upon the command of God, who comprehends all things, all of these urge on humankind by the strength of their powers,[71] so that God's will might be fulfilled. For the punishments of hell act so that God might be feared, for when a person truly fears these punishments, he stops sinning; and when he sees good examples in other people, he often suffers a great many indignations against himself, so that, by patiently enduring them, he can demonstrate holiness in all his works. Furthermore, when he advances successfully through the maintenance of good works and suffers no setbacks, by the virtue of those works he is joined to the swiftness of righteousness, so that, as he experiences temporal prosperity and doubts not in God, he commends himself faithfully to his grace; and this so that, as he advances, he may make use of perishable things but not lose the eternal things of heaven by turning around and going back. But when a person lacks the Holy Spirit's viridity,[72] he is choked in infidelity, consumed by depraved actions, and drowned in hell, for he did not strive to commend himself to God's grace. My servant Isaiah speaks of this when he says:

22. "I will remove its hedge, and it shall be devoured; I will break down its wall, and it shall be trampled down, and I will make it a desert waste. It shall not be pruned or hoed, and briers and thorns shall grow up over it; and I will command the clouds that they rain no rain upon it."[73] This is open to understanding thus: All who do not trust in God and do not attend to how they have been created by God, but blame him, as if he were guilty of their sins, and do not establish right paths, as it were, in him; nor wish to observe the rising and setting of the sun, moon, and stars, which God has placed in the sky, nor the wind with the air, nor the earth with its waters and the rest of creation, all of which God created on account of humankind, to recognize

71. *uirtute uirium suarum.*
72. On good works and this viridity, cf. *Scivias* 3.6.33.
73. Is 5.5–6.

in all of them how great an honor it is to be created; and hold me, who am without beginning and without end, in contempt and destroy all of creation, not understanding correctly either it or themselves.[74] Thus I will remove their defense, for they have no other helper, and others shall devour their lives; I will break down their fortification, and they shall be trampled by demons and thus deserted by the good angels. For every union of their carnal desires shall be taken away and given to the dogs and beasts, for the animals at least recognize me, when they do those things as they were created.[75] Therefore, they shall be trampled down like dung and left, deserted and bereft of every blessing.[76]

Furthermore, they shall not be numbered among God's children,[77] nor turned away from their sins by the hoe of faith,[78] for they imitate the one who wanted to have the likeness of God,[79] who came forth from nothing and is without end. Thus, because of pride, the quarrels and frenzies of wrath surge up in them and cut them off entirely from every glory of the heavenly inheritance. In this way, they lack the Holy Spirit's dew and grace and are turned into such aridity that they can bring forth no fruit of good works. But just as people seek from God to calm a frightful storm and to grant what they need, so too they should beseech God to conquer the evil conscience that is in them.

23. *But to the right of this human image, in the sphere of the bright fire, you look upon as if the head of a lion:* this signifies the principal south wind, directed from the southern region for human prosperity and coming from the element of bright fire like a lion. For as a lion is strong and enforces its will in its strength, so the south wind is strong and hasty in and from the fire. As the day stretches out in length, this wind is powerful, and in that power it produces the clashing and bursting of the clouds and the

74. Cf. 1.4.15; *Let.* 15r (1:55); and *Gosp. Hom.* 26 (pp. 118–20).

75. On stewardship of creation and its Creator, in contrast with the fallen angels, cf. *Gosp. Hom.* 1 (esp. p. 32); see also *Gosp. Hom.* 22 (esp. pp. 103–4) and 39 (esp. pp. 159–60).

76. Cf. Sir 9.10 (Vg.).

77. Cf. *RB*, Prol. 5–7.

78. Cf. 2.1.32, on Gn 1.9.

79. Sc. Lucifer.

dangerous, sudden downpour of rain. *Going out from its mouth there is a breath that extends a little way from each part of that mouth;* for this wind proceeds from that southern region and then extends itself to either side, here and there. *And so this is formed on the right side into the head of a serpent and on the left into the head of a lamb,* for on the right side, that wind assumes the nature of a serpent, whose entreaties are gentle but whose treachery is sharp, as sometimes the serpent produces a light hiss, but other times stings and strikes with force. But on the left it is turned into a lamb, gentle and mild, for in those parts the wind reveals itself to be pleasant and not dangerous.[80]

And the serpent's head, presenting itself half-way to the midpoint of the space that is between the heads of the lion and wolf, gives forth a breath, as it were, that stretches itself towards that midpoint, where it joins the breath that is emitted from the crab's head that is between the heads of the wolf and lion. For this wind, collateral to the principal south wind, emerges according to the nature of a serpent, as shown above, half-way to the midpoint of the length that is between the south and west. It extends its blasts all the way to that midpoint that is between the south and west, and as with the others, it does not transgress this terminal boundary, except by God's judgment. There it intercepts the blast that arises from the collateral wind that is between the west and south.[81] For if the length of space that is between the south and the west is divided into four parts, the terminus of the first part going from the south, which is also the beginning of the second part, is halfway in between the beginning of the first part and the terminus of the second part; and the terminus of the second part, which is also the beginning of the third part, is the very midpoint of that length that is between the south and west. In the same way, the end of the first part going in the opposite direction, from the west, which is also the beginning of the second part in that direction, is halfway in between the beginning of that first part and the ending of the second part on that side; and the terminus of that second part, which is also the begin-

80. For the contrast of serpent and lamb, cf. Mt 10.16.

81. I.e., the south's western collateral (the lion's serpent) intercepts the west's southern collateral (the wolf's crab).

ning of the third part, is the very midpoint of that length that is, in turn, between the west and south, where the collateral winds meet one another.[82] Thus both the principal winds and their collaterals between the east and south, between the south and west, between the west and north, and between the north and east—all are both joined to and separated from each other in the same uniform way just described.

Moreover, the lamb's head appearing halfway to the midpoint of the space that is between the heads of the lion and leopard, produces as it were a breath that extends into that midpoint, where it meets and joins the breath that comes from the crab's head between the heads of the leopard and lion. For as shown above, another collateral wind arises according to the nature of a lamb in these parts, that is, in the middle space that is between the south and the midpoint of the length that exists between the south and the east. This also directs its blast to that midpoint, and there it comes with a crash upon the blast that emerges from the wind that imitates the nature of a crab and arises between the east and south, so that there are often very many terrors and collisions there because of their meeting.

Furthermore, the length of these breaths proceeds according to the distances that separate their heads, as shown with the heads and their breaths above; for they emit the exhalations of their blasts according to the length by which the sources of these winds are separated from each other, all the way to those places in which they arise and in which the breaths also meet one another.[83]

24. *And they are shown to blow into the above-mentioned wheel and upon the aforesaid human image.* For both the principal winds and those that are collateral to them preserve by their strength the

82. The arc between the two adjacent principal winds of south and west is divided into four equal segments, such that the exact midpoint (SW), where the breaths from the lion's serpent (SSW) and wolf's crab (WSW) meet, has two equal segments on either side. The heads of the lion's serpent and wolf's crab, meanwhile, are positioned at the end of the first of these four segments going out from their principal winds' heads, respectively. This same set of subdivisions holds for the spaces between each of the four principal winds.

83. This restates the division of each quadrant into four parts, based on the equal length of the breath from each head.

universe and humankind, in whom all creation lies hidden,[84] lest they should fall into decay and failure. For the collateral winds are the wings of the principal winds and never cease to blow constantly but gently with their air.[85] The principal winds, however, are not called forth in their powerful forces until at God's judgment, to wreak vengeance at the end of the world. For the south and north winds, together with their collaterals, carry out God's judgments according to God's will—the south with great heat and great floods, and the north in lightning, thunder, hail, and frost. Meanwhile, the principal winds of the east and west call forth their collateral winds to carry out God's judgments more gently and slowly; yet when by God's will they stir them up for these purposes, they act in summer heat or through cold, through drought or in winter, or through heat, or rain, or some similar evils that are hostile and harmful to the land and to humans.

And as the winds hold together the globe of the earth with their powers, so too their duties to humans are to make them to know and understand what work they are supposed to do.[86] For when the winds send forth their blasts over the earth, they scatter them also under the earth; and there, as they enter into certain subterranean caverns, when they have no exit, they move the earth.[87] But where they do have an exit, there they seem to some humans to have their origins, although they do not, in fact, arise from those places, but from the upper elements, as said above, scattering themselves both below and above the earth.

25. Humankind ought to understand, moreover, how all of these things relate to the soul's salvation. For in the space of bright fire, which signifies divine power, is seen as if the head of a lion—the judgment of God, which is frightening. This is because God judges all things with equal justice and leaves nothing unexamined. That judgment stretches forth in its power towards rightness, to one side and to the other: to the person

84. Cf. *Cause* 1.4 (p. 21).
85. Cf. 1.1.2.
86. Cf. ch. 18 above.
87. For earthquakes, see Isidore, *De nat. rerum* 46.

who advances prosperously, it presents the head of a serpent, which signifies prudence;[88] but to the person laboring in adversity, it reveals the head of a lamb—the form of patience.[89] For it is necessary that in prosperity, a person prudently fear God's judgment, so that he flees the deceit and cunning of evil and does not with false security abandon the way of truth; while in adversity he should keep to patience in view of that same judgment, knowing that God often allows twists and turns to be hidden among human deeds.

And the head of the serpent—prudence—appears in the fullness of perfection that is between the judgment of God and the punishments of hell, and causes as if a breath to proceed from itself—providence. For when a person, terrified by God's judgment, has with a prudent soul feared the punishments of hell, through good works he eagerly makes provision, lest he deservedly suffer those punishments. Providence extends itself in this way to the perfection of rightness and is joined to constancy, which arises from the head of the crab, that is, from the strength of trust, which is between the punishments of hell and the judgment of God. For the faithful person is constantly eager to provide himself with whatever good things lead to eternal life. The lamb's head, moreover, which signifies patience, appears in the fullness of perfection that is between the judgment of God and the fear of the Lord, and produces as it were a breath—gentleness. As this gentleness arrives at right perfection, it allies itself to constancy, which comes from true trust, which is between the fear of the Lord and the judgment of God. For when the blessed person is patient in the face of reproach and also shows himself to be gentle in such matters, he ought to embrace constancy, so that he might meet a good end.

26. The reason the set of these virtues[90] is separated into individual parts is that one virtue displays one set of powers while another virtue displays another; likewise, their workings in human beings are distinct, as must be understood also of the other virtues. For as good works follow upon a good will, in the

88. Cf. Mt 10.16.
89. Cf. Is 53.7 and Jer 11.19.
90. *ordo earundem uirtutum.*

same way, because they exist within the knowledge of God, the virtues bend towards the knowledge of God and lead humankind equally to all justice and to the rightness of heaven. For all of the virtues run swiftly alongside the salvation of humankind, although they may not all appear equally in any individual human being. For God's judgment both terrifies humans and examines them, and no human deed remains unscrutinized by God's judgment, for the just judgment of God adjudicates all things justly.[91] Prudence, moreover, unleashes its powers upon humans with providence, so that, as they prudently cast aside the lust of the world, they might embrace chastity. Patience, meanwhile, touches them with gentleness, patiently to endure too the temptations of the flesh; for in both the male and the female sex, the ardor of carnal desire must be stilled by these virtues without any neglectful delay.[92] For this reason, none of the faithful should regard these virtues dismissively, lest the virtues leave them parched in aridity or choked by lustful desires. Rather, they should imitate them with good works, so that the virtues might preserve them in all holiness.

If a person should ignore God, however, according to his just judgment he more often meets with bodily chastisements, as said above, so that he is exposed to God's scourge from both the upper and lower elements of creation—in heat and cold, in drought and moisture, and in many other different types of oppressive things; for because he did not look to the constancy of the virtues, he did not wish to understand what he ought to do. For when the virtues imbue humans in spiritual matters, they also make them prudent in carnal matters, so that, although the virtues do not yet appear in them openly, they often rouse them silently unto fear of the Lord. But when the virtues manifest themselves in them, so that they openly cherish the virtues with charity, then they will be seen to have earlier had fear of the Lord in temporal matters, since they will already have snatched

91. The polyptoton in this passage connects each virtue (*uirtus*) to the character of its power and action (*uires*): judgment adjudicates justly, etc. Recall that Hildegard understands the virtues as active emanations of divine power within the created world.

92. Cf. 1.3.13.

themselves away from carnal matters and turned toward spiritual ones more out of a desire for heavenly things than out of a fear of hellish punishments. For they have been bolstered by the strength of the blessed virtues, as David testifies when he says according to my will:

27. "The right hand of the Lord has wrought virtue; the right hand of the Lord has exalted me; the right hand of the Lord has wrought virtue. I shall not die, but I shall live, and declare the works of the Lord."[93] This is open to understanding thus: At first, a person bends away from the left because of the fear of God and the punishments of hell; and afterwards, through his love for God, he climbs up to the right, to the desire for heavenly goods. As the person begins to do this, he puts on the strongest of armor,[94] for he has separated a good conscience from a bad one.[95] The eye can be compared to this twofold conscience, for the eye has a watery circle positioned within its whiteness, just as a vessel contains a mirrored surface within itself.[96] For an evil conscience, which is understood by the left, is like the vessel of a good conscience, which is grasped by the right. For the right eye of a good conscience looks around on all sides and considers that carnal desire is useless and does not look upon the light of truth; and that, when it exults in unchaste deeds, it is choked afterwards in sadness, as if drowning in water. Thus, the right part of a good conscience lifts itself towards God, crushes wicked delight underfoot, and drags sadness away.

Therefore, the right hand of the Lord—his strength—fashions this virtue, so that humans may know him through faith and may work their deeds in fear of him. That right hand exalts me through repentance, though I had once been defiled in sin; indeed, it fashions virtue after the repentance of my sins, so that I burn with so great a desire in love for God that I can never be satisfied. So too I shall not die in sin, when through its repen-

93. Ps 117(118).16–17; "virtue" (*uirtutem*) is often also translated more literally as "strength"; both meanings apply here.

94. Cf. *RB,* Prol. 3.

95. "conscience": as elsewhere, *scientia* (lit. "knowledge"), here the mirror of self-knowledges; cf. *Scivias* 1.4.30 and 3.2.9.

96. I.e., the mirrored surface of a polished metal vessel.

tance I rise again; but I shall live in eternity through the true and pure penitence that I offer to God. Snatched thus from death, I shall declare the wonders of the Lord in both fear and love of him, because he has not handed me over to death,[97] but snatched me away from infernal perdition.

28. *Furthermore, to the left of this image, in the sphere of the black fire, there appears as if the head of a bear.* This shows that from the northern region the principal north wind often rushes forth like a bear from the black fire, and frequently opposes humankind with dangerous storms because it is from the black fire. As a bear growls softly in its anger and is wicked in its nature, so this wind sometimes produces by growling, as it were, commotions, crashes, and perils in storms.

But *it gives from its mouth a breath that, extending a little way to the left and to the right of that mouth, issues on the right in a lamb's head and receives on the left the form of a serpent's head.* This signifies that as this wind goes out from the northern region and proceeds a length on each side, it transforms on the right into the gentle nature of a lamb, which is mild and not dangerous, because in those parts that wind sometimes shows itself to be calm. To the left, however, it imitates a serpent, which does indeed slither softly at first, but later moves with precipitous speed and, when it does not achieve anything in that way, in its fear of humans begins to entreat them. For this wind at first progresses there misleadingly, as it were, without any great noise—but eventually, it reveals itself with danger to be cunning and savage; and just when humans think that they are about to perish, it turns back again to gentleness.

From the mouth of this lamb's head, as it were, another breath extends itself to the midpoint of the space that is between the heads of the bear and leopard. For in the likeness of a lamb, this wind, which is collateral to the principal wind that proceeds from the northern region, goes forth by blowing its powers towards the midpoint of the span that is between the north and the east. This is because it reveals itself to be in those parts calm like a lamb, although elsewhere it prowls as if enraged. *But from the mouth of that serpent's head, as it were, another breath proceeds by stretching itself*

97. Ps 117(118).18.

forth to the midpoint of the space that is between the heads of the bear and wolf. For as is the nature of a serpent, this wind alongside the north wind arrives at those parts where the midpoint of that length is that stretches between the principal north wind and the principal west wind; and it exerts its forces at one time with charm and at another with ruthless cunning.

Furthermore, the likeness of that breath that goes from the right part of the bear's mouth to the lamb's head, and the likeness of that breath that proceeds from the left part of that mouth to the serpent's head, as well as the breath that goes out from the mouth of the lamb's head to the midpoint of the space just mentioned that appears between the heads of the bear and leopard, and the breath that extends from the mouth of the serpent's head to the midpoint of the space between the heads of the bear and wolf—all are of a single and equal length. For the principal north wind is extended in an equal span on either side to the winds that are collateral and subject to it. Those collateral winds, in turn, which veer towards both the east and west, receive their endpoints in a course of the same length as that which sets the boundary for the principal wind that is their source, as said above.

29. *All of these heads also give their breath into the above-mentioned wheel and onto the aforesaid human image.* For with the breaths of their forces, these winds contain the circumference of the globe and rouse humankind, as they live on within it, to recognize their purpose, lest they should fail and perish. And so, whenever any wind of all the aforementioned qualities brings forth its blast either naturally or through God's disposition, if no obstacle gets in the way, it penetrates the human body and, lifting it up in the soul, naturally enters inwardly to whatever limb of the body with whose nature it corresponds.[98] Thus, through the blasts of the winds, a human being is either strengthened or forsaken, as said above. But when a person experiences worldly prosperity, bodily distress is dispatched like a bear from the fire of judgment, which is God's vengeance, and constrains him, refusing to allow him to proceed according to his pleasures. Rather, offering him like a blast the woe of its course in both his prosperity and his adversity, it causes him in humility to desire

98. This process is described in more detail in 1.3 below.

and possess poverty of spirit. Thus, as it justly advances in this way as a lamb's head, it embraces patience; and by fleeing from evil, it imitates prudence as in a serpent's head. For it is through bodily distresses that a person often achieves spiritual wealth, and through that wealth gains entry into the heavenly kingdom.

Moreover, one breath—gentleness—from the mouth of the lamb's head that signifies patience, as said above, arrives at the perfection that is between bodily distress and the fear of the Lord; while another breath—providence—proceeds from the mouth of the serpent's head that signifies prudence to the perfection that is between bodily distress and the punishments of hell. These admonish the person who has been chastised by God's vengeance to scorn earthly things and to strive for the heavenly, as shown above concerning these things. For the principles and ends of these mysteries are, in their actions and significations, of a single and equal zeal in instructing humankind, although they may seem to have diverse operations;[99] and all of them, which the knowledge of God shows to be fitting for the soul's salvation, lead to grabbing hold of the person and driving him on with their forces to cling faithfully in body and soul to his Creator. Therefore, a person should strengthen himself for holiness, to flee the desires of the flesh and deny the lusts of rotten vices. He should wisely serve God, who loves continence and chastity, and be neither too dry nor too wet in the works of virtue—for the person who has not willed to chastise or constrain his flesh will enter into the soul's perdition.[100] But that person who has loved the virtues by mastering himself and persevered in that love will gather his soul into eternal life, for he is rebuked and chastised by the Lord, as David speaks with my inspiration, saying:

30. "Chastening, the Lord has chastened me, and he has not given me over to death."[101] This is open to understanding thus: Very often, a person is careless and undisciplined, and

99. "mysteries": i.e., the inherent moral signification of each physical element of the universe, which may be thought of sacramentally.

100. See ch. 32 below, and further in the discussion of the humors in 1.3.15–18.

101. Ps 117(118).18.

not fearful unless all his veins are flooded with pain. So too the devil deceived the first Man when he undertook the great vanity of desiring to be that which he ought not to be—and for that, great sorrow was poured out upon him with pain. For it is because of his labor that a person has fear, but because of vanity that he has forgetfulness, and because of the law's transgression that he has a foolish credulity. But the fear of the Lord excels all of these, for through that fear a person trembles before God and truly recognizes how little advantage there is in many other things. For fear comes first in a person, and afterwards he embraces charity when he loves God and considers how he can please him, so that he will not keep record of his iniquity.[102] Indeed, when a person seeks God in love,[103] God often chastens him with labors, so that he will answer faithfully, "Chastening with his scourges, he who is the Lord of all has chastened me, a sinner; but yet, in that chastisement with which he scourges me, he has not given me over to the death of hell's punishments, for I have sought him in love and confessed my sins to him. In that chastisement I am patient and prudent when I recognize that his judgments of my faults are right. With the two wings of the knowledge of good and evil I yearn to fly to him, so that as I subjugate the left wing with the right one, I might enter into the right and even path."[104]

31. *But there are also marked out above the head of the aforesaid image seven celestial bodies, one above the other: three in the circle of bright fire, one also in the circle of black fire laid beneath that, and finally three in the circle of pure ether laid beneath that.*[105] For each of them takes its start from the east and then climbs one after the other to the height of its revolution; when each has completed its course, it returns to its origin in the east so that it can run again. Three of them have their courses in the bright fire, one in the circle of black fire laid beneath that, and three in the

102. "charity … love": *caritatem … diligit.*

103. *in amore.*

104. For the wings of knowledge, cf. *Lets.* 77r (1:168) and 155r (2:100–101); for left and right, cf. ch. 27 above, and 1.4.48.

105. Cf. *Scivias* 1.3.3–6, 11–12; and *Cause* 1.20–36 (pp. 27–39); on the stabilizing functions of the celestial bodies, see Widmer, pp. 118–26.

pure ether beneath those. For those that run in the [bright] fire are awakened by that fire into their own fires, and that fire is strengthened in its heat by their powers, as logs are set ablaze by fire and the fire is then strengthened in its heat by the logs. Furthermore, there are three, for if there were more, they would cause the fire to burn too intensely and would bring it to ruin in their revolutions. But if there were fewer, the fire would be left bereft of its proper assistance and would slacken in its heat.[106] The first illuminates the sun's brilliance with its own brilliance, while the second assists the sun's heat with its own heat, and the third with its course holds back the sun's course in its correct place.[107] For the sun is surrounded, directed, and restrained by these, so that it can grant to the firmament and the whole world a correct temperament in its heat and brilliance.[108]

But the three that run their course in the ether, which is purified by the fire above and the water below, are balanced by it as to the purity of their brilliance and infuse it with their own purity. There are neither more nor fewer than three, because they are neither excessive nor less than sufficient to strengthen its purity, but rather assist it with fitting moderation, so that they neither overburden it with surplus nor bring it to ruin with scarcity. The first in the ether is above the moon, and it aids the moon as it waxes and protects it lest it burn beyond measure.[109] The second, moreover, is nearest to the moon and preserves it as it wanes, lest it should completely dissolve.[110] These precede and follow the moon in their service, as it were, and encourage it separately and fittingly in its moderation of the whole world.

32. *The sun, moreover, appears in its own circle, at the side (toward the south) and also beneath the feet of that image, marked out in an ordered and consistent way.* For the sun runs to both the south and the west, not to be beneath the human's feet, but so that,

106. Cf. the stars in ch. 39 below.

107. I.e., Saturn, Jupiter, and Mars, respectively; on the celestial bodies (*planete*), see Klaes, pp. 63–69.

108. "temperament": *temperamentum;* throughout this chapter, this term refers to the moderating influence of each part of creation upon another, and so is often translated, "moderation."

109. I.e., Mercury.

110. I.e., Venus.

as it seeks the westerly parts of the world with the revolution of the firmament in the west, it can curve away from the northern region and then rise again with the firmament in the east.

And from the middle of the sign of the highest and first celestial body that is marked out above the head of that image, there go out certain rays, one of which descends to the sign of the sun. This signifies that rays of strength go forth from the strength of this first celestial body, which appears first in the east because it is from there that the daylight comes forth. One of these rays is directed to the sun, succoring and tempering its course so that it does not discharge its fire beyond measure. Furthermore, *one beams to the right foot of the crab's head that proceeds from the leopard's head.* For as this celestial body arises from the part opposite that wind, it emits its ray to strengthen the latter's egress as it shifts forward and back and proceeds from the principal east wind to which it is collateral; and it holds it back with its stability, lest it proceed further than God has allowed it. Finally, *one extends to the right horn of the stag's head that comes from the same leopard's head.* For another ray comes from that part of this celestial body to oppose the strength of this wind that comes out there from the principal wind, restraining its shocks so that it emits its blasts according to the correct measure of fitting necessity, like a man who restrains the arms of his enemy, to keep him from harming either himself or others. Thus one part of creation is restrained by another part of creation, and likewise each is sustained by the other.[111]

From the middle of the sign of the second celestial body a certain ray bends down as if to the sign of the sun, for this celestial body reveals its power when it touches the sun with its ray, soothing it to be mild. *And another goes forth to the lamb's head that comes from the sign of the lion's head.* For from its strong part, it extends a ray of its brilliance to the beginning of the collateral wind that signifies gentleness and proceeds from the major wind of the southern region. It holds onto that wind, so that rather than transforming its mildness to ferocity, it continues in its course without any

111. For this interplay of winds and planets, Dronke has suggested the influence of an early medieval cosmological dialogue, *The Book of Nimrod* (see *LDO,* p. xxi); see also 1.4.59, n. 144.

aggressiveness. *Another is directed to the aforesaid line that stretches in the firmament from the beginning of the eastern part of the wheel as if to the end of its western part and facing its northern region, at a spot above where the lamb's head that goes out from the sign of the bear's head is placed.* This signifies that a ray comes from the firm course of that brilliance and is led to the course of another collateral wind that goes out from the major north wind. It resists that wind with its moderation, so that it emits its blasts with equal measure.

The sign of the third celestial body also extends as if from its middle one ray to the sign of the sun. For as with the ones above, this planet assists the sun and serves it in moderation with the firmness of its strength and the brilliance of its own heat, just as a servant offers service to his master when he is quick, eager, and ready to carry out his every wish. *Moreover, it directs another to the serpent's head that comes forth from the sign of the lion's head.* This demonstrates that a ray extends itself by its own power to the beginning of the collateral wind that signifies at one time cunning and at another prudence, and arises from the principal south wind. It holds back this wind's blasts by compressing them, lest they roam in their movements beyond measure. *Finally, it stretches another to the aforementioned line at a spot facing the serpent's head that comes out of the sign of the bear's head.* This signifies that this brilliance is also extended by the vigorous portion of its heat, in which thrives, to the beginning of the collateral wind that often exercises, as it were, cunning and keenness in its motion and proceeds from the principal wind of the northern region. It resists that wind's strength, lest it cause humans greater harm and peril than the determination of divine judgment allows, in the same way as was shown concerning the others above. These three celestial bodies are suffragan to the sun,[112] and without them, the sun could not exist; they add heat to the sun, just

112. Hildegard appropriates a term from ecclesiastical administration: each suffragan bishop is subordinate to the metropolitan, or archbishop, in charge of the province in which his diocese is found. Dronke, however, notes that Constantine the African also used this term in a cosmological context (to describe the eight winds subordinate to the four principals) in his *Pantegni* 5.8 (see *LDO,* pp. xv–xvi).

as sight, hearing, and smell administer heat and power to the brain.

Moreover, as you see, *the sign of the sun also sends out from itself certain rays: with one it touches the sign of the leopard's head, with another the sign of the lion's head, and with another the sign of the wolf's head—but it does not touch the sign of the bear's head.* For as the sun is the greatest of the celestial bodies, it warms and empowers the entire firmament with its fire and illuminates the orb of the earth with its brilliance. It resists the principal winds of east, south, and west with the powers of its strength, lest they should exceed the boundaries established for them by God. But it does not touch the north wind, for the latter, like an enemy of the sun, spurns all the brilliance of its light. So likewise the sun holds the north as if in contempt and does not [grant] it a ray proceeding from itself, but rather opposes it in the path of its journey, through which it beats back the wind's fury. It does not approach those parts because it is there that the devil reveals his wickedness by rebelling against God.[113] *Moreover, the sun fixes another ray above the sign of the moon,* because it enkindles the moon with its heat, just as the whole human body is ruled by its sensibility and intellect. *It fixes another likewise by stretching it from above the top of the head of the aforementioned image all the way down to the sole of each foot.* For the sun introduces strength and moderation from the top to the bottom of the entire human body. In particular, it strengthens the brain, so that as it acts with the intellect, it controls all of the body's powers, and as it is the higher part of the human being, it floods all the inner organs with sensibility, just as the sun illuminates the earth.[114] But when the elements are sometimes poured out by storms beneath the sun, the sun's fire can be darkened as if in an eclipse. This signifies the errors into which the hearts and minds of humans are turned, so that they do not walk rightly in the law[115] but engage each other in many struggles. This ray also touches the soles of the human being's feet, for as the brain controls the rest of the body, so the sole carries the entire human body. Thus the

113. Cf. 1.4.29 and 96.
114. Cf. 1.4.23–27.
115. Cf. Ps 118(119).1.

sun tempers all the human being's limbs with its powers, just as it invigorates the rest of creation.

And from the middle of the sign of the fifth celestial body, which is just below the sun, a certain ray ascends as if to the sign of the sun, for by the strength of its service this celestial body, though subject to the sun, makes an effort to soften it, lest it emit its fires beyond measure. *But a certain other ray stretches itself to the crab's head that goes out from the wolf's head.* This signifies that a ray extends itself from the strength of this celestial body to the beginning of the collateral wind that emerges from the principal wind of the western region. It holds back that wind's unsteadiness, as described above concerning the others. *Moreover, another is directed towards the left horn of the sign of the moon.* This shows that it sends a ray from its own vigor to the weaker part of the moon, as it either waxes or wanes. As the moon waxes, it comes to its aid, so that it can receive its light a bit more quickly and strongly; as it wanes, however, it helps it to decrease a bit more gently and without any danger.

From the middle of the sign of the sixth celestial body, which is just above the moon, one ray stretches above to the sign of the sun, for a ray ascends to the sun from the strength of this celestial body, which is closest to the moon, and restrains the sun's heat with the lightness of its subjunction, lest it burst forth in excess. *And another is directed to the right horn of the moon,* for its strength sends a ray to the stronger part of the moon to restrain it, so that it avoids the northern region and in an orderly fashion approaches the sun in its eclipse and then separates and steps back from it after being set alight. *Moreover, another is stretched out to the stag's head that comes forth from the sign of the wolf's head.* For this ray extends from the firm brilliance of this celestial body's clarity to the beginning of the collateral wind that bursts forth from the principal western wind, and beats back against its sudden speed, so that, rather than transgressing the boundary that the divine ordinance appointed for it, it proceeds in its correct extension.

As you see, *from the sign of the moon, a ray also beams as if over each eyebrow and over each ankle of the image.* For the moon tempers the human body with its natural power, so that, just as the

eyebrow protects the eye for seeing[116] and the ankle carries a person, so a person's limbs are tempered from top to bottom by the moon's powers, according to God's plan. Nevertheless, this perfection is not as great as the sun's strength, for the sun touches the human body more perfectly, while the moon does so in its service more sparingly. Moreover, the moon completes its course in both heat and cold, for it is warm as it waxes but cold as it wanes. The sun, however, is hot from the east all the way to the south, but afterwards it draws coolness to itself in the west.[117] The moon also receives light from the sun after it wanes, because the sun sets the darkened disk of the moon alight with sparks blown from it as with a torch. At this point, the moon is at the top; but after it has been set alight, it descends into its place. As the sun enkindles and illuminates the disk of the moon, so it strengthens all lower things, both of the firmament and of the things beneath the firmament. The moon is the sun's helper in illuminating the lower things, just as the sun illuminates that which is above and below. But the moon is also much colder than the sun because of the watery moisture and clouds that are beneath it and because of the atmosphere above the earth. Indeed, the sun would burn many things up if the moon did not restrain it, for the moon tempers the sun's heat with its own cool moisture.

In this way, the sun and the moon serve humankind according to the divine ordinance and introduce into humankind either health or infirmity according to the temper of the air and breeze, as has been shown, when the sign of the sun sends its rays, as it were, from the top of the head all the way to the sole of the feet of the aforesaid human image, and the sign of the moon sends its rays, as it were, from the eyebrow all the way to the ankle.[118] For when the moon is waxing, a person's brain and blood are increased in him; but when the moon is waning, the

116. Cf. 1.4.38.

117. Cf. *Scivias* 1.3, Vision.

118. See further 1.3.1 below; and cf. Firmicus Maternus, Proem to Book III of *Astrology* (quoted in Liebeschütz, 79 n. 1): "For this reason the five stars, as well as the Sun and the Moon, sustain the human being like a mini-world with their fiery and eternal movement."

brain and blood are diminished in a person. For if the human brain were to remain in a single state, a person would experience madness, so that he would appear even more untamed than a beast. Likewise, if the blood in a person were to remain according to a single measure, so that he sensed in himself neither increase nor decrease, that person would very quickly be torn apart and unable to live. When the moon is full, the human brain is also full, and at that time, a person is fully sensible; but when the moon is empty, the human brain is also drained, so that at that point, a person is a little drained of his senses. Moreover, when the moon is fiery and dry, some people's brains are fiery and dry; and thus they are weakened in the brain and less sensible, so that they do not at that time have the full sense required for certain activities. But when the moon is moist, those people's brains also become moist beyond measure, so that they suffer pain in the brain and are drained of their senses. Finally, when the moon is temperate, a person is healthy in brain and head and vigorous in his senses, for through the moderation of the outer elements, the humors within a person are kept at rest. Through the commotion and unrest of the outer elements, however, a person's humors are often disturbed, for without their moderation and service, humankind could not live.[119]

Furthermore, as described above, the sign of the sun is marked out in an ordered fashion above the crown of that image, with its rays to each of the places described—and in the same way it appears at those places, marked out in its own circle along the image's right side and then beneath its feet. For as the sun is established in the east in the same state and orbit and emits the brilliance of its rays to those places shown above, so too it shines upon those places in the south and west in the details and courses demonstrated above. It is driven forward from the east, through the south at an angle, to the west by the strength of the firmament's circumvolution, although in its journeys it struggles to run against the motion of the firmament.[120] For the above-mentioned celestial bodies are carried around from west to east against the firmament, so

119. Hildegard expands on the interplay of humors and human temperament in 1.3.1 below.

120. Cf. *Cause* 1.27 (pp. 31–32).

that they might hold back its fire with their own fire and then restore it to flame. For if they revolved with it from east to west, though its fire would quicken in the earlier part, it would grow dim because it lacked renewal in the later stage. Therefore, they are borne for a time against it, so that when it nears again the earlier stage, they beat as if on its back, to shake its fire from its stupor. But they avoid the northern region, for the north is the place of darkness, and light and dark cannot harmonize with one another. This is why these celestial bodies were arranged in the firmament in this way by the Founder of the world.

But understand, O human, you who are seeing these things, what they mean with respect to the inner life of the soul.

33. For *there are marked out above the head of this image seven celestial bodies, one above the other: three in the circle of bright fire, one also in the circle of black fire laid beneath that, and finally three in the circle of pure ether laid beneath that.* These signify that the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit surpass all human understanding in the three time periods of the world—before the law, during the law, and during the Gospel.[121] The sun, positioned in the circle of black fire laid beneath the one [above it], signifies almighty God, who alone has fought against his enemies with just judgment and has powerfully overcome them. Moreover, the three established in the circle of pure ether laid beneath that demonstrate that the three persons of the divinity are truly to be worshiped by humankind in the good and submissive disposition of pure penitence, when one completely submits oneself to God.[122] *Thus the sun appears in the aforementioned places in its own circle, at the side (toward the south) and also beneath the feet of that image, marked out in an ordered and consistent way.* For by this example, these gifts de-

121. The seven gifts of the Holy Spirit are enumerated in the Septuagint version of Is 11.2–3, which the Vulgate follows; they correspond here to the seven celestial bodies thus: the spirits of wisdom (Saturn), understanding (Jupiter), counsel (Mars), fortitude (the Sun), knowledge (Mercury), piety (Venus), and the fear of the Lord (the moon); see Maurmann, 50–55. The division of salvation history into the three periods of *ante legem* ("before the law"), *sub/in lege* ("under the law"), and *sub gratia* ("under grace"), corresponding here to Hildegard's formulation *in euangelio* ("during the Gospel"), is patristic; see Widmer, 130–31.

122. Cf. *Scivias* 3.2.25.

clare themselves in their significations to be in the judgment of God for the salvation of souls and as an example of good works, as shown above. For as God is feared and purely worshiped, the judgment of God, the salvation of souls, and the examples of the just are encouraged.[123]

34. *Moreover, from the middle of the sign of the highest and first celestial body that appears marked out above the head of that image, there go out certain rays, one of which descends to the sign of the sun.* This is because the virtues spring from the choicest and outstanding gift of the spirit of wisdom, which surpasses the entire height of human understanding. From them, a holy breathing forth[124] descends to the sign of the sun—to the spirit of fortitude—to which it allies itself, so that the fortitude of holiness might enter wisely into the faithful, lest they foolishly presume to undertake a task they cannot complete. But *one beams to the right foot of the crab's head that proceeds from the leopard's head.* This shows that in the salvation of souls, the breathing forth of the spirit of wisdom, which is made manifest for the correct advance of the trust that rises up from the fear of the Lord,[125] spreads itself out, and fortifies that trust, so that, with the fear of the Lord, it might have confidence in God and not think his mercy worthless or for naught. *Furthermore, one stretches itself to the right horn of the stag's head that comes from the same leopard's head;* for in chastisement, the breathing forth of rightness reveals itself to the fortitude of faith that also arises from the fear of the Lord.[126] It stretches itself out and leads that fortitude to the right path, so that it turns itself away from the devil's devices while unceasingly chastising humankind for their ignorance of the truth.

From the middle of the sign of the second celestial body a certain

123. In ch. 11, Hildegard identifies the arc of the sun's path with that of good works. In ch. 16, the leopard's head (east) is the fear of the Lord, the lion's head (south) is the judgment of God, and the wolf's head (west) is the punishments of hell. In ch. 25, the lion's head (south) is further connected to the salvation of souls, while in ch. 21, Hildegard indicates that the fear of hellish punishments arises from the holy works of the just as from the watery air (ch. 6).

124. *exspiratio.*

125. Cf. Ps 110(111).10.

126. Cf. ch. 18, where the horns of the leopard's stag are "true consolation."

ray bends down as if to the sign of the sun. This signifies that an outpouring of intelligence from the abundant fullness of the spirit of understanding advances also towards the spirit of fortitude. This also shows that each faithful person understands acutely that he ought with a strong mind to serve his Creator and to renounce the devil. *And another goes forth to the lamb's head that comes from the sign of the lion's head.* For as a person walks successfully to his Creator, the breathing forth from the spirit of understanding extends towards the patience that proceeds from the judgment of God. This shows that, when a person imitates patience, he ought to bear both prosperity and tribulation with equanimity. *And another is directed to the aforesaid line that stretches in the firmament from the beginning of the eastern part of the wheel as if to the end of its western part and facing its northern region, at a spot above where the lamb's head that goes out from the sign of the bear's head is placed.* For as each faithful person shuns what is contrary to his soul, the breathing forth from the spirit of understanding comes on the other side to the rightness of justice, which extends from the origin of good deeds that persist under God's power all the way to their fulfillment. With the assistance from above of the patience produced from bodily distress, it separates the devil's tricks from just works, and admonishes a person that, when the judgment of God chastises him, he ought to endure that chastisement patiently, lest he be stricken even more sharply.

The sign of the third celestial body also extends as if from its middle one ray to the sign of the sun. This signifies that the spirit of counsel directs its breathing forth from its own virtue to the spirit of fortitude; for although these gifts of the Holy Spirit have different names, they still lead humankind to blessedness with a single zeal and operation. Thus, the spirit of counsel tempers fortitude, so that a person can raise himself up towards God in a good and well-ordered manner. *Moreover, it directs another one to the serpent's head that comes forth from the sign of the lion's head.* For in the prosperity of true salvation, the spirit of counsel spreads out its breathing forth to prudence, which proceeds from the judgment of God, to beckon a person to chastise his body prudently, lest by casting it into confusion without discretion, he

succumb in his labors, conquered by foolishly wearing himself down. *Finally, it stretches another to the aforementioned line at a spot facing the serpent's head that comes out of the sign of the bear's head.* For the spirit of counsel turns its breathing forth on the other side to the rightness of justice, above where that prudence appears that is extended from bodily distress, so that a person should not meet with the soul's adversity. Through this, it teaches the person who fears the judgment of God to be on guard, so that, rather than falling into despair because he fears that judgment beyond measure, he might prudently escape it through counsel's good inspiration.

35. Moreover, you see that *the sign of the sun also sends out from itself certain rays: with one it touches the sign of the leopard's head, with another the sign of the lion's head, and with another the sign of the wolf's head—but it does not touch the sign of the bear's head.* That is, the spirit of fortitude pours out its breathings forth, and with one it touches the fear of the Lord, with another the judgment of God, and with another the punishments of hell. This shows that a person ought to fear sinning because of the fear of the Lord, to abandon his sins because of his terrible judgment, and to cast aside his bent for sinning because of the cruel punishments of hell. But the spirit of fortitude does not touch the sign of the bear's head, for it avoids any bodily distress that is not undertaken solely because of God. Indeed, the bear reveals at one time human traits but at another the traits of beasts.[127] For when a person inflicts distress upon his body without discretion, that body, battered and fatigued, very often succumbs to its labors and weariness; when he begins to doubt whether he can persevere amid such things, he begins to grumble in anger like a beast. Neither that distress a person inflicts upon himself without proper moderation, nor that inflicted upon him, unwilling, by outside forces, can call upon the spirit of fortitude, for each lacks the balance of discretion. For since each is unsteady, so that it is moved first up and then back down as if flying beyond right measure, it cannot have the fortitude that would allow it to remain in a single state—for fortitude always persists in its strength, wavering neither this way nor that. But the person

127. Cf. 3.2.4.

who, whether for fear or for love of God, afflicts his body with the proper measure of discretion and rightness, rejoices in his inner spirit as if at a banquet. Therefore, such contrition should be thought of not as an affliction but rather as a blessing, in which this spirit of fortitude is at work so that the faithful person can remain steadfast in the works of rightness, for those are with God.

Moreover, the sun sends another ray above the sign of the moon, for the spirit of fortitude joins itself to the fear of the Lord, so that each faithful person might be strong in the fear with which he ought to fear God, lest he be conquered by superficiality and cast out from the place of blessedness.[128] *It fixes another likewise by stretching it from above the top of the head of the aforementioned image all the way down to the sole of each foot.* For that spirit of fortitude inspires a person to bring the intention and beginning of a good deed to its rightful fulfillment, for blessed is the one who keeps control unto a good end.

36. You also see that *from the middle of the sign of the fifth celestial body, which is just below the sun, a certain ray ascends as if to the sign of the sun.* This is because, from its virtue, the spirit of knowledge, which ought to be present in proximity to the right operation of the spirit of fortitude, stretches its breathing forth above to that fortitude. For knowledge ought to raise itself up to fortitude, to be strengthened by it, lest it slip into foolishness. *But a certain other ray stretches to the crab's head that goes out from the wolf's head.* For by virtue of knowledge's power, its breathing forth spreads itself out towards the trust that emerges from bodily distress. For when a person chastises his body knowingly, forthrightly, and with discretion's defense, he can trust that his sins have been punished and purged. *But another is directed towards the left horn of the sign of the moon.* For when knowledge withdraws from and sets aside temporal concerns, it spreads its breathing forth out towards the fear of the Lord and embraces it, faithfully to instill dread in humans.

From the middle of the sign of the sixth celestial body, which is just

128. As Dronke notes, Hildegard does not seem to have noticed that she has now identified both the leopard's head (principal east wind) and the moon as the fear of the Lord (*LDO,* p. xlv); for the latter, cf. *Let.* 155r (2:101–2).

above the moon, one ray stretches above to the sign of the sun. This shows that this breathing forth climbs up from the fortification of the spirit of piety, which adjoins the fear of the Lord with its sweetness, to the spirit of fortitude, where it is strengthened and fortified to withstand malice. For whoever determines to advance in piety's loving devotion ought to ally themselves with fortitude, so that they can persevere in that piety.[129] *And another is directed to the right horn of the moon,* demonstrating that as it successfully marches forward, the spirit of piety advances upon the prosperity of the fear of the Lord, instructing humans that they ought to hold to the fear of the Lord with piety. *Moreover, another is stretched out to the stag's head that comes forth from the sign of the wolf's head*. This signifies that when the spirit of piety casts aside adversity, it leads its breathing forth to the faith that emerges from the punishments of hell, so that a person who has been fortified by piety and faith might flee from the punishments of hell so as not to lose celestial happiness because of the impulse of stubborn disobedience.

But you also see that *from the sign of the moon a ray beams as if over each eyebrow and over each ankle of the image*. This shows that a salutary breathing forth comes to humankind from the fear of the Lord and admonishes them to keep guard over their mental acuity, lest some blindness of the soul befall them; and exhorts them to direct the strength of their inner spirit's footsteps towards the path of rightness, so that as they walk in the truth, they might secure eternal blessedness. For just as the eyebrow protects the eye and the ankle carries the human body, so the fear of the Lord fashions the inner sight so as not to forget God, and preserves an inner fortitude through which a person is borne to whatever things are useful and right.

37. *Furthermore, as was said above, the sign of the sun is marked out in an ordered fashion above the crown of that image, with its rays to each of the places described—and in the same way it appears at those places, marked out in its own circle along the image's right side and then beneath its feet*. For in breathing forth, the spirit of fortitude pours

129. "piety's loving devotion": *pie* (an adverb) designating the fundamentally reciprocal nature of the loving devotion that we ought to render unto God, precisely because he has looked upon us with his own loving kindness.

out its mystical gift described above with equal measure and flow as upon a person's intention, so that it also inspires his perfect deeds and examples, by which he edifies his neighbors, in complete blessedness to desire the holiness of a right beginning. For when the virtues cause the faithful person to consent to what is right with a good will and to begin doing it, they also encourage him to be guided to perfection and furnish to others in this an example of justice brought to good fulfillment. On the other hand, although these virtues protect a person with the various modes of their inspiration, they nevertheless allow him very often to be tried by the temptation of the flesh and the devil's treacherous devices, as if turned to face the brunt of the north wind. Through these temptations, a person realizes how to defend himself against them, so as not to be puffed up unjustly in the presumption of pride and later dashed into a worser[130] state and led to ruin—to perish like those who were puffed up in presumption, about whom it is written in the words of the prophet Isaiah:

38. "Therefore, hell has enlarged its soul and opened its mouth without any bounds, and their powerful, their nobles, and their glorious ones shall go down into it. A person shall be bowed down, and a man humbled, and the eyes of the haughty brought low."[131] This is open to understanding thus: A person who remains in sin is like the moon, whose disk is darkened as it wanes until it fades out completely and is then rekindled. For when a person sees that he lies in the shadows, he is often stirred up by God's grace then to seek God's grace worthily.[132] When he has worthily called upon God's grace, the Holy Spirit enkindles him to gaze upon the true Light, just as the moon is rekindled by the sun. But after he has thus been strengthened in good works, so that he cannot be satisfied by them, he must zealously keep on guard, lest he ascribe these things to himself, as if they were of himself rather than of God[133]—for then he

130. "worser": This archaic English form is used here for the purpose of rhythm.

131. Is 5.14–15; "person … man": *homo … uir.*

132. Although such terminology is foreign to Hildegard's conceptual landscape, there appears to be a distinction here between prevenient and sanctifying grace.

133. Cf. *RB,* Prol. 29–30.

makes himself out like God and pretends that he can do whatever he wishes, just as Satan thought when he wished to be God in his own character, for which his radiance was cast into oblivion.

Therefore, hell has enlarged its soul—the punishments contained within it—and unceasingly opened wide its voraciousness. Because it experiences no joy, it is never sated in its desire to guzzle down drink. For as it desires to devour the filthy, fleeting carcasses of animals, so hell draws to itself and devours in its wickedness the powerful, who fight against God; the nobles, who exalt themselves unjustly; and the glorious ones, who seek their own glory rather than the glory of God.[134] So too the person shall be bowed down who consents to such evils, just as the wretched spirits were bowed down with their prince as mentioned above. Furthermore, that man shall be humbled who ought to hold onto manly fortitude but instead falls away from the good towards evil. Finally, their eyes—the conscience of those who think themselves wise in the haughtiness of their pride—shall be brought to naught, for they lose the reward of humility's glory by seeking unrepentantly from their people the glory of good deeds. For if only they were then to repent, they would be received as penitents in the blood of the calf.[135]

39. As you see, moreover, *in the circumference of the circle in which the likeness of bright fire is seen, there also appear sixteen principal stars.* These show that the greatest stars are positioned throughout the circle of the firmament's upper fire, as described above. *There are four between the heads of the leopard and lion, four also between the heads of the lion and wolf, four between the heads of the wolf and bear, and four between the heads of the bear and leopard.* That is, there are four between the east and south winds, four also between the south and west winds, four between the west and north winds, and four again between the north and east winds. They strengthen each part of the firmament with their powers and temper each of these winds. But if there were an innumerable superabundance of them, they would weigh down the firmament with their surplus; if, on the other hand, there were too few of them, their impoverished scarcity would not afford

134. Cf. Ps 113.9(115.1).
135. Cf. Lk 15.23; and *Scivias* 3.1.5.

the firmament any solid structure. For God has removed from each part of creation both any excessive surplus and any needy privation. Furthermore, there are four between each set of two winds because they simultaneously hold together with their powers each part of the firmament in which they are placed with the rightness of an even and necessary but not excessive number. Like the nails that hold together the wall in which they are fixed, these cannot be moved from their places, but orbit with the firmament, keeping it solidly fixed together.[136]

The eight of these that are the middle ones between the heads—two between each set of two heads, flanked on either side by the other stars—stretch forth their rays into the sphere of the thin air opposite them. For these stars, which are the middle pair of the four stars that exist between each set of two winds, as described above, stretch forth their rays into the thin air, just as the veins descend from one's head all the way to one's feet. Furthermore, just as those veins strengthen the entire human body, so these stars consolidate the entire firmament with their powers and restrain the winds that are nearest to each, so that the firmament cannot be moved around beyond its measure.[137] They also guide the air towards the correct temperament, and they neighbor one another in equal measure, so that each is sustained by another as together they strengthen the firmament.

The remaining eight, however, that appear nearer to each of the heads on either side of the middle stars, direct their rays only to the black fire. For these hold the others in their midst and assist the winds next to them, as shown above. They send the rays that proceed from themselves only into the black fire to fight it back, lest it spew forth unchecked the fury of its heat. Furthermore, these stars are evenly spaced throughout the circumference of the firmament, to sustain it in equal measure with their powers.

40. In addition, you see that *both the circle of pure ether and the circle of strong, bright white air are as if full of stars that emit their radiance to the clouds opposite them.* This is because the pure ether above and the strong, bright white air beneath it are fully permeated and strengthened by both the greater and the lesser

136. Cf. 3.4.14.
137. On the analogy of stars to veins, cf. *Cause* 1.33 (p. 37).

stars. The latter, which have no surplus, warm and confirm the entire firmament with their fires, and by flooding the clouds with their rays, they permeate and hold them beneath the strong, bright white air, lest the clouds exceed the boundaries established for them by God.

41. *And then, in the right part of the aforesaid image, these clouds bring forth from themselves as if two separate tongues and direct certain rivulets from them into the above-mentioned wheel and toward the image.* For the well-being[138] of humankind, as it were, two fortifications are set apart from one another just as the two principal winds are separated from one another in those parts. These fortifications go out from those clouds that appear against the southern part, so that from those clouds, certain blasts proceed into the common air, through which various creatures are enlivened, and direct themselves toward humankind. For just like all other creatures, humankind cannot live without help and service from above.

Furthermore, on its left, two tongues a little distance apart turn themselves from the signs of the clouds onto the wheel and toward the image as with rivulets that flow from them. To remove what is contrary to humankind—on both the left and the right—two fortified restraints proceed from the clouds that are against the northern part, separated from one another just as the principal winds of those parts are separated from each other, as described above concerning the others. These preserve what exists in the world—both humankind and the rest of creation—just as God has determined. Moreover, these four tongues proceed from the four principal winds because the latter breathe them forth to hold back the clouds.[139] For as the principal winds strengthen and uphold the entire firmament, so their blasts, which appear like tongues because of their movement, restrain the clouds that are beneath the firmament, lest they exceed their measure by overflowing in one place or another.

42. *In this way, as said above, this image is entwined and enclosed*

138. *salutem*, the health of both body and soul.

139. As shown in the Lucca miniature, these four tongues—two in the southern half and two in the northern— correspond to the ordinal directions (SE, SW, NW, NE) formed by the confluence of the subordinate winds.

within these signs. For humankind is so strengthened and defended by the might of the elements and the aid of the other creatures, that no blow of adversity can uproot them from their place so long as the divine power keeps guard over them. Moreover, all of these things are to be understood in another sense.

For *in the circumference of the circle in which the likeness of bright fire is seen, there also appear sixteen principal stars*. This is because there exist in the wholeness of divine power the principal teachers who have taught and continue to teach that the ten commandments of the law are to be fulfilled throughout the six ages of the world.[140] *There are four between the heads of the leopard and lion, four also between the heads of the lion and wolf, four between the heads of the wolf and bear, and four between the heads of the bear and leopard*. For these teachers exhort the faithful throughout the four parts of the world to tremble at the fear of the Lord and his judgment, and the punishments of hell together with bodily distress, so that because of this holy dread, they stop sinning, even if it means that they postpone the loving delight of God.[141] *The eight of these that are the middle ones between the heads—two between each set of two heads, flanked on either side by the other stars—stretch forth their rays into the sphere of the thin air opposite them*. These signify the eight beatitudes[142] acting within the perfection of the aforementioned virtues and declaring the love of God and neighbor. With the highest zeal, they pour out their breaths upon the desires of the faithful, so that although they remain attached to the world in many ways, they might set aside temporal concerns and hasten toward heaven.[143] *The remaining eight, however, that appear nearer to each of the heads on either side of the middle stars, direct their rays only to the black fire*. These show that

140. Cf. *Scivias* 3.4.6 and 3.9.13–14; and see Widmer, pp. 130–31; little could Hildegard have known that one day, her name would be added to the catalogue of these principal teachers (*doctores*) of the faith. The division of salvation history into six ages, corresponding to the six days of creation in Gn 1, is patristic; cf. 2.1.43, on Gn 1.31; and *Scivias* 3.11.17. In *Cause* 1.45 (p. 44), Hildegard draws a similar correspondence for her enumeration of the fifteen powers of water, i.e., the Ten Commandments and the five books of Moses.

141. Cf. 3.4.6.

142. Cf. *LVM* 4.25(33).

143. Cf. *RB* 73.8.

in both prosperity and adversity, the beatitudes assist the true perfection of the other virtues. They send the sharpness of their breaths into the fire of judgment and beckon those who ought to serve God in spirit, because no sin, however trivial, will be ignored, but will be examined by God's judgment and vengeance.

43. Moreover, you see that *the circle of pure ether and the circle of strong, bright white air are as if full of stars that emit their radiance to the clouds opposite them.* This is because the integrity of true penitence, as well as the integrity of discerning holy works, thrives in the manifold brilliance of rationality. For just as the stars are many and diverse, so penitence and the discernment of holy works reveal in themselves the many different powers of beatitude and fashion the minds of the faithful with their rational brilliance, for they pour into them so that all the works that they do appear rational before God.

44. *And then, in the right part of the aforesaid image, these clouds bring forth from themselves as if two separate tongues and direct certain rivulets from them into the above-mentioned wheel and toward the image.* For the two testaments, which are separated by the fact that one is according to the flesh but the other according to the spirit, reveal to the minds of blessed humans that the testaments are directed towards their prosperity, so that they nevertheless agree as one, just as these tongues have a single form. As they fill up the whole world with their testimonies, they teach humankind to look towards their Creator. *Furthermore, on its left, two tongues a little distance apart turn themselves from the signs of the clouds onto the wheel and toward the image as with rivulets that flow from them.* These signify that, when one is battered by diabolical temptations, one should keep in mind the two testaments—namely, the love of God and neighbor; furthermore, the two tongues are a little distance apart because love directed toward God is greater than love of neighbor. Thus, with the flood of just admonition, they can destroy the wheel of worldly cares[144] and quench the lustful desires of the embattled flesh.

45. *In this way, as said above, this image is entwined and enclosed within these signs.* For the faithful person who follows faithfully the footsteps of God is defended, adorned, and surrounded in

144. Cf. *LVM* 4.30–31(40–42).

this way with the radiance of the blessed virtues, so that after being snatched away from the devil's treachery, the virtues can lead him happily to the blessedness of heavenly joys, where he will rejoice forever. My servant Isaiah testifies to this when he says:

"He will dwell on the heights; the fortifications of rocks will be his high place; his bread is given to him; his waters are faithful. He will see the king in his beauty; his eyes will behold a land from afar."[145] This is open to understanding thus: The person who turns away from the left part and towards the right and attends to the fact that God comes to rest upon one who is humble and quiet in heart, overcomes the proud devil when he crushes himself in contrition, saying, "God has illuminated me with two eyes, with which I consider how great is the glory that light possesses amid the darkness, where I can choose which path to enter. For I shall either see or be blind as I think about whom I shall call upon to lead me either towards day or towards night. By hiding myself in the darkness I can perform the lustful deeds that I would never think to do in daylight, for then I would be seen by all who are present. Yet, in the darkness I obtain no reward, but only the punishment of damnation. And so I shall slay the heart's oppression, by which I take delight in sin, and call instead upon the living God, that he might lead me into the path of light and cure my sores, so that I will not be ashamed of them in the light. Indeed, when I have done this, the cords of my captivity will be burst,[146] for in this way I shall then hold captive my enemy, to whose suggestion I consented in the darkness, for in me he will be mocked."

For the person who acts in this way will dwell in the heights of heaven, and the fortification of rocks—Christ—will be his high place. There will be given to him the bread of life, whose refreshment he can never disdain, for he always takes delight in the sweet taste of true charity. Therefore, a flowing rivulet is produced from the living water, and through the Holy Spirit's gift, all that person's works flow in holiness, so that the dove-like

145. Is 33.16–17.
146. Cf. the binding of Samson in Jgs 16.7–12.

eyes of the Holy Spirit look upon them.[147] So too these waters are faithful, for they can neither be emptied nor run dry, nor can a person ever be sated by them. Because they flow from the east, a person will not see their height nor discover their depth so long as he remains in the body, for the waters in which a person is reborn to life are imbued with the Holy Spirit. In this way the faithful person will see the king in the beauty of blessedness, and in his conscience he will see the land of the living,[148] when he has separated himself far away from sin in heart and body and thus also considered what he is to choose.

46. *You also see that from the mouth of the image first mentioned, upon whose breast appears the wheel, a light brighter than daylight comes forth like threads.* For from the virtue of true Divine Love, in whose knowledge the circumference of the world exists, proceeds her elegant plan of order,[149] shining above all things and containing and constraining all things. *By these threads are rightly and distinctly measured the signs of the circles and the signs of the other figures that can be seen within the wheel, as well as the individual signs of the limbs of the human form—that is, of the image that appears within the wheel,* as described above and *as revealed in all of the foregoing and subsequent words of this vision.* Through this vision, the powers of the elements and of the other higher adornments, which look towards the protection and illumination of the world, and all of the fastenings of human limbs[150]—for humankind governs in that world—are gracefully appointed and appropriately fitted together in just measure, as has very often been revealed to you.

But from true charity, which is wholly divine, comes forth the good, which is more precious than anything else one might desire, and draws out and gathers together all who seek it. It weighs out with right judgment the merits both of heavenly desires and of the spiritual sighs that proceed according to divine

147. Cf. 1.4.42; and the sequence for St. Maximin, *Columba aspexit* (*Symphonia* 54).

148. Cf. 2.1.32, on Gn 1.9.

149. *ordinatio.*

150. *compagines membrorum*; cf. 1.4.98 (the eleventh month); and Hildegard's sequence *O ignis Spiritus Paracliti* (*Symphonia* 28); on this unusual phrase, see Dronke in *LDO,* pp. xxiv–xxv.

inspiration, as well as all human deeds carried out for the love of God. This is clear to all who love God perfectly,[151] as I declare through my servant Jeremiah, saying:

47. "I the Lord search the heart and probe the mind: I give to each according to their way and according to the fruit of their devices."[152] This is open to understanding thus: Those who love God do not search through the confines of false opportunity, but seek only him; nor do they wish to experience with anyone the whispers of the flesh's lustful desires. Nevertheless, a person quite often fulfills his own will, as when Adam tried to discover what he could do. But a person cannot serve God and the devil at the same time, for what God loves, the devil hates, and what the devil loves, God regards as nothing.[153] Likewise in the human person, whose flesh delights in sin but whose soul thirsts for justice.[154] Between these two there is a great battle, for the one part is contrary to the other part.[155] Yet, the work a person begins in this way is only perfected in a great struggle, as when a slave is forced to serve his master. For the flesh advances upon sin with the soul that is subject to it, and the soul labors to do a good deed with the flesh submitted to it.[156] But when a person runs according to the soul's desires, he denies himself for the love of God and fashions himself a foreigner to the desires of the flesh. This is what the just and holy do, and what Abel did when he looked to God, even as the whole earth trembled at the shedding of his blood. For afterwards, the earth was called a widow because the murderer Cain had deprived her of the wholeness of sanctity, just as a woman is left without a husband's solace in her widowhood.[157]

For I the Lord search the contrite hearts of all who despise sin, and I probe the minds of those who hold themselves back from the taste of lustful desires. I give back to each their reward

151. "charity … love of God … who love God": *caritate … amore Dei … qui Deum diligunt.*

152. Jer 17.10; "the mind": *renes,* lit. "the kidneys."

153. Cf. Mt 6.24 and Lk 16.13.

154. Mt 5.6.

155. Cf. esp. Rom 8 and Gal 5.16–23.

156. See further the microcosmic psychology of 1.4.15–96 below.

157. Cf. Gn 4.10–12; and 3.5.13; for the simile, cf. 3.5.17.

according to the labor of the steps of their ways[158] and according to what they offer as fruits in the deliberation of their thoughts, for I hold before me a written record of all the fruits of humankind. For the person who forsakes the will of his lustful desires is just; but the one who follows entirely his own will in those desires cannot be called just. Nevertheless, if he were to turn back towards the good, his scars would be washed away in the blood of the Lamb,[159] and then even the heavenly host would rise up in wonderful praise of God upon seeing him healed.

And so all who fear and love God should lay open the devotion of their hearts to these words and know that they have been offered for the saving of humans in body and soul, not indeed by a human being, but by me, the One who am.[160]

158. Cf. 1 Cor 3.8 and Mt 16.27.
159. Cf. Rv 7.14.
160. Ex 3.14.

PART ONE, VISION THREE

Macrocosm of Winds, Microcosm of Humors

I saw, and behold the east wind and south wind, together with their collaterals, moved the firmament through the blasts of their strength and made it to revolve above the earth from east to west. There, the west wind, the north wind, and their collaterals received the firmament and, pushing it on with their blasts, drove it back under the earth from west to east.[1] *I saw also that from the day on which the days begin to lengthen until the day in which they no longer lengthen, the south wind with its collaterals lifted the firmament up in the southern region and towards the northern, as if by propping it up.*[2] *Then, from the same day in which the days begin to shorten, the north wind with its collaterals—because they shrink from the sun's radiance—forced the firmament back by pushing it bit by bit from the north towards the south, until the south began again to raise it up as the days grow longer.*[3]

But I also saw that in the upper fire there appeared a circle that enclosed the firmament all around from east to west. From this circle a wind rushed forth from the west and forced the seven celestial bodies to go from west to east, opposite the revolution of the firmament. As with other aforementioned winds, this one did not send its blasts into the world, but instead tempered the course of the celestial bodies, as described above.[4]

1. On the winds as movers of the firmament, see Maurmann, 55–57; Barbara Obrist suggests the *Astronomy of Nemrod* (also called *Book of Nimrod*) as a parallel source: "Wind Diagrams and Medieval Cosmology," *Speculum* 72:1 (1997): 33–84, at 77–79.

2. I.e., the south wind pushes the firmament—marked by the path of the sun—ever closer to the north from the winter until the summer solstice.

3. I.e., the north wind pushes the firmament back down to the south from the summer until the winter solstice.

4. Cf. 1.2.32.

Figure 1.3: The Network of Winds. Biblioteca Statale di Lucca, MS 1942, fol. 28v (early 13th-cen.). By permission of the Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities and Tourism.

Then I also saw that the humors that are in a human person are moved about and changed by the various qualities of the winds and air when the latter run and swirl around each other, and the humors receive those qualities. For there is in each of the higher elements an air befitting its quality, through which that element is compelled to spin by the force of the winds; otherwise, it could not be moved. With the help of the sun, moon, and stars, from each of these is breathed forth the air that tempers the world. When, however, either through the heat of the sun's course or by God's judgment, some element sometimes is brushed against some region of the world, as it is moved together with the air that moves it, there it emits from that air into the lower atmosphere a breath that is called a wind. That breath soon mixes itself with the atmosphere, because it is in part of the air and exists in part quite similar to it; and in this way, it touches the human person. Therefore, the humors that are in that person are often transformed either to weakness or to strength according to the quality of that wind and air, because they are of the same quality.[5]

And again I saw that, when any of the winds of all the aforementioned qualities is stirred up in some region of the world—whether by the changing course of the sun or moon or by God's judgment, as indicated above—so that in that place it emits its own blast after the air has been mutually stirred and tempered by it, that same air blows throughout the world and preserves the things that are in the world by tempering them; and by that blast, it grants to humankind a bit of its mutability in their humors. For when a person whose natural quality coincides with that breeze, inhales and exhales that transformed air, it is transformed within him so that he takes it up into his spirit and transmits it to the inner parts of his body. So the humors that are in him are also transformed and often introduce into him either infirmity or health, as shown above.[6]

5. The causal chain links the primary elements of the outer spheres to the winds that are produced in the atmosphere when the elements brush up against it; these winds then transfer their own qualities mixed with those from the elements into the humors inside the body. Dronke cites Constantine the African's *Pantegni,* 1.25 and 5.2, for the interaction of elements, winds, and humors (*LDO*, p. 114); on Hildegard's humor theory, see *Cause* 2.97–127 (pp. 83–93); and Sabina Flanagan, "Hildegard and the Humors: Medieval Theories of Illness and Personality," in *Madness, Melancholy, and the Limits of the Self: Studies in Culture, Law, and the Sacred*, ed. Andrew D. Weiner and Leonard V. Kapian (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1996), 14–23.

6. On Hildegard's medical views and their sources, see esp. Florence Eliza

For the humors, like a leopard, sometimes surge up wildly in a person but then become tame again.[7] *As a crab wanders first forward then back, they often reveal a mutability within themselves; and as a stag leaps up and gores, they sometimes manifest that kind of contrariety in themselves. Likewise, they sometimes attack a person as with the rapacity of a wolf, and with him as with the quality of the stag and crab, as described above. At other times, they reveal like a lion an unceasing strength within a person, but also bring forth in themselves first mildness, then keenness like a serpent, or they adopt sometimes the gentle ways of the lamb. But they also sometimes growl in anger like a bear, revealing too with that the quality of the lamb and serpent, as shown above. For the humors in a person are often changed around in this way.*

Thus transformed, therefore, they often pass into the liver, in which a person's conscience is tested. For the conscience, tempered by the powers of the soul, proceeds from the brain; and the brain's moisture touches the liver, so that it is fat, strong, and healthy.[8] *For the liver is on a person's right side and is the body's main source of heat, so that the right side is quick to stand up and do things. But the heart and lung are on the left side; they strengthen that side when burdened and possess heat from the liver as from a furnace.*[9] *Moreover, when the veins of the liver are touched by the movement of these humors, they strike the little veins of a person's hearing and sometimes cause that hearing to be confused.*[10] *For both health and sickness are often caused in a person through the hearing, because in prosperity it is excessively concussed by shouts of joy, but in adversity it is drawn too tightly in sorrow.*[11]

I also saw that sometimes these humors tend to a person's navel, which is like the head of the bowels, gently enclosing them so that they will not spill out. It also preserves the pathways and heat of the bowels and veins at a proper temperature, although it is often unsettled because of its sudden movements; otherwise, a person could not live.[12] *Further-*

Glaze, "Medical Writer: 'Behold the Human Creature,'" in *Voice,* 125–48; and Laurence Moulinier's introduction to her edition of *Cause.*

7. See the complex of winds described in 1.2.17–28.

8. Cf. 1.4.25.

9. Cf. 1.4.61–62; and *Cause* 2.78 (p. 72).

10. "veins": the term covers all blood vessels, both veins and arteries.

11. Cf. 1.4.32, 39, and 98 (on the third month).

12. Cf. 1.4.76–77.

more, the humors sometimes seek a person's loins, which are treacherous and dangerous in their powers because they tease at play[13]*—but they are kept in check by the sinews and other veins, in which rationality flourishes, so that a person knows what to do and what to avoid, as well as what delight to take in his deeds. Those on the right side of the body are warmed and strengthened by the person's respiration and liver. In this way, a person receives discretion and discipline as he restrains the storms of other humors, so that with discipline he can carry out his deeds.*[14]

The humors also sometimes touch the veins of the kidneys and groin, which in turn tend to the veins of the spleen, lung, and heart. All of these are roused with the bowels on the left side when the lung warms them; but the liver sets ablaze the right side of the body. The veins of the brain, heart, lung, and liver, as well as others, bring strength to the kidneys, and the veins of the kidneys descend to the calves to strengthen them. They then return upwards with the veins of the calves and connect to one another in either the man's strength or the woman's motherhood, just as the stomach contains food and a sword is sharpened upon a stone;[15] *in this way, they add their powers to those places for the purposes of procreation. Furthermore, the muscles of the arms, the calves, and the bulges of the legs are full of veins and humors. For as the belly holds within itself both the bowels and food, so the muscles of the arms and the calves of the legs protect the veins and humors within them, and fortify and carry a person with their strength, just as the belly brings him nourishment.*

But when a person sometimes runs swiftly or sets out on a journey, the sinews below his knees and the small veins within his knees are overextended to the point where they touch the veins in the calves, which are numerous and interconnected like a net. Thus in fatigue they return to the veins of the liver and then cause those to touch the veins of the brain;

13. *uelut ludendo,* lit. "as if by playing"; cf. 1.4.79. Unchecked by sober rationality, the playful powers of the loins would run amok, for their teasing sense of fun can quickly turn hollow and deceptive.

14. Cf. 1.4.67.

15. Cf. *Cause* 2.151 (p. 114); the simile of the stomach corresponds to the womb of "the woman's motherhood" (*muliebris matrix*), which contains and nourishes the unborn child; while the (phallic) sword corresponds quite conventionally to "the man's strength" (*uirilis fortitudo*).

and in this way, they cause the entire body to experience fatigue. Moreover, as the veins of the kidneys descend to the calves, they touch the left calf more than the right, because the right calf is strengthened by the heat of the liver. The veins of the right calf also climb up to the veins of the kidneys and groin, and their veins touch the veins of the liver. The liver warms the kidneys as they lie in the fatness that comes from the humors, so that they are quickly released, inducing delight and then quickly stopping. For when the liver gives a person warmth, he is jovial and happy.

Furthermore, when the humors in a person are stirred up in wrongful measure and sometimes touch the veins of his liver, as described above, its moisture is lessened and the moisture of the chest is diminished. When a person is thus dried out, the humors drive him into infirmity, and his phlegm becomes dry and poisoned, so that it rises to his brain and brings on a headache. It also causes his eyes to be sore and the marrow in his bones to wither, so that he meets with a wasting disease when the moon is waning.[16]

These humors also cause the moisture in a person's navel to flee, so that it sometimes dries out and hardens. The person's flesh then becomes scaly and full of sores like a leper's, though he does not in fact have leprosy. The veins of his loins are excessively touched by these [*humors*] *and cause others to stir in the same way, so that the proper moisture is sucked dry from the person and, after the humor has left, he develops pustules on his skin. Meanwhile, when the veins of that person's kidneys have also been touched by the humors that have been wrongfully stirred up, as described above, they strike the other veins that are found in the calves and the rest of the body, and cause the marrow of his bones and the veins of his flesh to wither with drought. Thus a person languishes for a long time and must lead his life chronically in that feebleness.*[17]

But sometimes, the aforementioned humors flood into a person's chest with excessive moisture and dampen the liver with this moisture. When this happens, a vast and varied multitude of thoughts rises up in that person, so that he thinks himself at times too wise and at others too foolish. Then the same humors climb up to the brain and infect it, and descend to the stomach, where they cause fevers. In this way a person is made chronically infirm.

16. Cf. 1.4.25.

17. In *Cause* 5.478 (p. 277), these "wrongfully stirred up humors" also lead to chronic fevers.

Sometimes, these humors also touch the little veins of the ears with an excess of phlegm, and so infect the veins of the lung with that phlegm that a person coughs and is scarcely able to breathe. That excess of phlegm then passes from the veins of the lung to the veins of the heart, which it places in distress. As that pain spreads along a person's side, it causes pleurisy[18] *and wracks the person as if he had the wasting disease with the waning of the moon. With this excessive flood they also move the bowels within a person's navel, and thus ascend to the brain and often cause him to experience frenzy. When they strike at the veins of the person's loins, they also touch the black bile*[19] *within him, so that the person is thus upset and made indiscriminately sorrowful.*

These humors also sometimes touch the veins of a person's kidneys with an inappropriate moistness, and when they have thus been stirred up, they infect the veins of the calves and the other veins of the body with that excessive flood. If, moreover, that person were then to overindulge in excessive food and drink, the humors sometimes introduce a fatty leprosy, for his flesh begins to swell.[20]

But if the aforementioned humors are neither too dry nor too moist, but distributed throughout a person's limbs equally and tempered by the appropriate measure, that person will remain healthy in his body and thrive in his conscience as it considers either good or evil.[21]

2. And again I heard a voice from heaven speaking to me thus: God made all parts of creation in both the upper and lower realms and directed them to be useful for humankind—but if humankind perverts them with corrupt actions, the judgment of God brings creation down upon them with vengeance.[22] Fur-

18. Cf. Constantine the African, *Pantegni* 9.23–24.

19. *melancolia*.

20. I.e., gout; cf. 1.4.75; and *Cause* 1.38 (p. 41): "The person indeed who exists in ravenousness and overindulgence often becomes leprous and deformed in his limbs—but the one who keeps restraint in food and drink will have good blood and a healthy body." See further *Cause* 2.244–48 (pp. 154–55), and 4.437 (p. 259).

21. Cf. 1.4.88.

22. Cf. 1.4.104; *LVM* 3.2(3) and 3.22–23(30–31); and *Cause* 2.124 (p. 91): "For the elements were made subject to humankind, and they usually exercise their functions in accordance with how they are impacted by human deeds. For when humans are entangled in fighting and terror, in hatred and envy, and in other contrary sins, [the elements] are overturned into another, contrary

thermore, though they aid humankind in the necessities of the body, they must be understood to attend no less to the health of the soul.

For as you see, *the east wind and south wind, together with their collaterals, move the firmament with the blasts of their strength and make it to revolve above the earth from east to west.* This signifies that the breath of the fear of the Lord and the breath of God's judgment, together with other virtues, touch a person's inner spirit with the strength of their holiness. They cause that person to begin good works at their rising, as if in the east; and to abide by and persevere in them all the way until their good completion,[23] overcoming the things of the flesh at their setting, as if in the west. For when a person fears God, he dreads meeting with his judgment because of his own excesses; but when he begins good works so as to persevere in them, he strives for an eternal reward.

There, the west wind, the north wind, and their collaterals receive the firmament and, pushing it on with their blasts, drive it back under the earth from west to east. For when in exhausted weariness a person now abandons doing good, as if sinking down into the setting west, with the punishments of hell and bodily distress, as well as with other scourges, the breath of rightness and the breath of chastisement terrify the human spirit and shake it with their dread alarms. They lead that person back beneath earthly misfortune to the rising of justice, exhorting him not to give in and end his just deeds, as if conquered by lukewarm ease, but to return with vigor to the beginning of holiness. For the reward of blessedness will be given, not to the one who begins but then falls into neglect, but to the one who begins and continues on to perfection.

3. *You see also that from that day on which the days begin to lengthen until the day in which they no longer lengthen, the south wind with its collaterals lifts the firmament up in the southern region and towards the northern, as if by propping it up.* For when in the light of the truth, good works are extended by the faithful person, the breath of

---

mode, whether of heat or cold or great downpours and floods. . . . But when humans keep to the right path and act with moderation in good and evil, then the elements exercise their functions by God's grace according to human need."

23. Cf. *RB,* Prol. 4.

rightness comes with other virtues from the fire of justice. By testing and polishing that person's inner spirit with many temptations, it lifts it up in burning justice and against the lustful desires of the flesh until it reaches a good and well-ordered end.

Then, from the same day in which the days begin to shorten, the north wind with its collaterals—because they shrink from the sun's radiance—forces the firmament back by pushing it bit by bit from the north towards the south, until the south begins again to raise it up as the days grow longer. This is because, when weariness and lethargy have caught hold of a person in his good works and dragged him into fatigue, the bodily distress that a person had at first inflicted upon himself to withstand the devil's persuasion, but that now causes him to neglect the radiance of those works because he is wearied, touches his spirit inwardly with opposite thoughts and causes him to persevere in these afflictions, but also to put off the severity he had kept in them. For God's grace may look warmly with kindness and mercy upon his sins—in the south, as it were; and in this way, that person may be frustrated for a time, until the fire of God's gifts, which rightly discern these matters, leads his spirit as it battles in the flesh back again to the pristine vigor of the virtues.

4. *But you also see that in the upper fire there appears a circle that encloses everywhere the firmament, from which a wind rushes forth and forces the seven celestial bodies to go from west to east, opposite the revolution of the firmament.* For in the divine power exists the integrity of holiness, which fortifies on every side the inner spirit of the person who joins himself to God. Moreover, a breath comes forth from it to cause the mystical gifts of the Holy Spirit to touch that person when he begins to slacken in weariness, so that he shakes himself awake from that stupor and rises up energetically towards justice. Nevertheless, the human spirit is often heavy, because it is rarely able to bring to heel the body in which it endures, placed there by the divine disposition. Indeed, the spirit more often consents in carnal desires to its body, which is like its dwelling; and thus the breath of God's gifts is very often opposed to the human will.

As with other aforementioned winds, this one does not send its blasts into the world, but instead tempers the course of the celestial bodies, as

described above. For the previously shown breath that proceeds from the integrity of holiness does not reveal itself like the other virtues, which convert a person devoted to the world away from evil and towards the good. For when a person begins to do good things through God's gift, he is not yet perfected in full holiness; but when at last he truly arrives at their perfection, the breath of holiness holds him in the full and perfect gifts of the Holy Spirit and does not permit him to stagger back and forth from here to there. For as the pillar of holiness was founded below upon Christ and raised up above to heaven,[24] so Christ holds up the person upon whom rest the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, so that he cannot be pulled down while shaken by the tempests of various temptations. And he will declare as it is written by Habakkuk with my inspiration:

5. "The Lord God is my strength: and he will make my feet like the feet of deer: and he the conqueror will lead me up to my high places singing in psalms."[25] This is open to understanding thus: "God, who created me and has power over me as Lord, is my strength—for without him, I can do nothing good, for I possess through him the living spirit by which I live and am moved and by which I understand my every course. Furthermore, when I call upon him in truth, that same God and Lord will make my steps to walk in the swiftness of his commandments, just as a deer sprints forward as it pants for a spring.[26] In this way he will lead me above that height that was revealed to and enjoined upon me in his commands. In the conquering of his might, he will lay low beneath me earthly desires, so that I can return unwearied praises to him as I arrive at the blessedness of heaven."

For as the sun is placed in the firmament of heaven to keep command over the creatures of the earth, and none of them can bring the sun to ruin, so when any faithful heart fixes its spirit upon God, it cannot be torn away from him. And because that spirit is fixed upon him, it truly despises all earthly things,

24. Cf. 1 Tm 3.15.
25. Hab 3.19.
26. Ps 41(42).2.

so that no one can find in it a reason for offense.[27] For neither the sun nor such a spirit is moved by the fearful cries of death, nor does either think that the time it applies to some labor is woefully misspent. Neither is found in the robbers' den—that is, in treacherous hatred—in which a person is so often deceived; nor does either walk in an unstable whirlwind according to the unsteady morals of those humans who do not look to their Creator and try to perfect their deeds according to the liberty of self-will. Such as these can be compared to a crab as it wanders back and forth, and to the whirlwind that withers the grasses.

6. *Then you also see that the humors that are in a human person are moved about and changed by the various qualities of the winds and air when the latter run and swirl around each other, and the humors receive those qualities.* This signifies that when the various modes of the virtues' respiration,[28] as well as the quality of human desires, all accord with each other, and a person wills what is of God, people's thoughts, being moved away from evil and turned towards the good by that respiration and kind of desire, submit themselves to the dignity of the virtues and holy desires. *For there is in each of the higher elements an air befitting its quality, through which that element is compelled to spin by the force of the winds; otherwise, it could not be moved.* This signifies that the desire of the faithful person befits and is present in each of the higher virtues and their comforts, through which he is fortified by the virtues' respiration to turn away from evil; otherwise, he could not be turned towards the good. *With the help of the sun, moon, and stars, from each of these is breathed forth the air that tempers the world.* This shows that the desires that yearn in the hearts of the faithful for heavenly blessedness are set alight by all of the higher comforts

27. Because the nouns *sol* (sun) and *animus* (spirit) have the same grammatical gender, the pronouns that Hildegard uses here could refer to either; and the sentence could just as easily be rendered, "And because the sun is fixed within the firmament, it truly looks down upon all earthly things, so that no one can find in it a reason for offense." Unusually throughout the next few sentences, the parallels between sun and spirit are mostly implicit, only occasionally explained with parenthetical asides. The translation makes them explicit for the sake of clarity.

28. *exspiratio*, lit. "breathing out/forth"; cf. 1.2.34–36. For the sacramental nature of the relationship between macrocosm and microcosm (both physical and moral), see the Introduction, p. 11.

of the virtues, as well as by the spirit of fortitude and the spirit of the fear of the Lord, together with the other illuminations of good respirations. For whatever good a person does proceeds not from his own merit but from the gift of God's grace.[29]

When, however, either through the heat of the sun's course or by God's judgment, some element sometimes is brushed against some region of the world, as it is moved together with the air that moves it, there it emits from that air into the lower atmosphere a breath that is called a wind. For through the spirit of fortitude and the divine disposition, the powers of the higher virtues are stirred up for human salvation. When the desires of faithful humans ascend to God and call upon God, those powers are called forth with heavenly desire and direct a breath from God to the minds of those humans, so that they become capable of being converted to good things. For when a person purely and faithfully calls upon God, God surrounds him according to his just judgment with a fortification of virtues,[30] for after casting evil aside, he flies with all speed towards the good. *That breath soon mixes itself with the atmosphere, because it is in part of the air and exists in part quite similar to it.* This signifies that the minds of the just accord with the respiration of the virtues, for so long as they love what is right, they are of the virtues. Therefore, in this way they make themselves like the virtues. *In this way, that air touches the human person. Therefore, the humors that are in that person are often transformed either to weakness or to strength according to the quality of that wind and air, because they are of the same quality.* For as they are turned toward justice, those minds of the blessed rule over the carnal desires within them and fix their thoughts upon the respiration of the virtues and the devotions of heavenly desires, to bring weakness to the vices and strength to the virtues. For when a person reasonably constrains his flesh on God's account, he lifts up his inner spirit to blessedness, as Wisdom attests when she says:

7. "The house of the just is a great strength, and in the fruits of the wicked is confusion."[31] This is open to understanding thus: As the sun burns most in its heat when it climbs to its mid-

29. Cf. *RB,* Prol. 29.
30. Cf. 1.2.41.
31. Prv 15.6.

day height, so the house—the mind of the just person who does all his works as if aided by God's judgment—demonstrates a great strength as it advances by mounting from virtue unto virtue.[32] It is not diminished in this task, just as the sun is not weakened in its orbit because of its ascent or because it gives off its heat. For the more the blessed person is enflamed in the good, the more he burns with happy fervor. His houses are upon the high ground, and he lives in them with complete intention and complete desire—indeed, of their sweetness he cannot find his fill. The strength of the just is loftier than the firmament and reaches all the way down to the depths of the abyss, for humankind is at their strongest in the company of all creation, and all creation serves them.[33]

The earth is also sometimes shaken and moved by the movement of the firmament;[34] and because the one cannot be separated from the other, the firmament also serves the earth by pouring forth rains upon it, so that the earth brings forth her fruits with praise through the air and rain. Moreover, the blessed remove all earthly things from themselves, and because of contrition and a fear of earthly desires do not give up until they have built up their good works by climbing into the heavenly height with the joy of eternal life. But in the fruits that the wicked offer in evil and depraved deeds there is confusion, for they totter along, flooded by the confusion of the world, neither walking in the daylight nor placing their hope in the eternal light. Rather, as they eat the husks fed to swine,[35] they find in them no life, for they have not cast aside the desires of the flesh.[36]

8. But *again you see that, when any of the winds of all the aforementioned qualities is stirred up in some region of the world—whether by the changing course of the sun or moon or by God's judgment, as indicated above—so that in that place it emits its own blast after the air has been mutually stirred and tempered by it, that same air blows*

32. Ps 83.8(84.7).

33. Cf. *Cause* 1.4 (p. 21); and *Let.* 15r (1:55).

34. Cf. *Cause* 1.27 (p. 31).

35. Lk 15.16; cf. Hildegard's antiphon for the apostles, *O cohors milicie floris* (*Symphonia* 33 = *Scivias* 3.13.4a).

36. Cf. *Gosp. Hom.* 26 (esp. pp. 118–19).

throughout the world and preserves the things that are in the world by tempering them; and by that blast, it grants to humankind a bit of its mutability in their humors. This signifies that, wherever the Holy Spirit breathes forth its many gifts, the breath of their virtues rises up in the faithful person through the inspiration of the spirit of fortitude and humility, and the spirit of the fear of the Lord and a contrite heart, as well as through the disposition of divine consideration, so that this breath can use its overflowing inspiration to aid that person's right desire, because they are in agreement. That desire carefully investigates each thing that is useful, turns toward it with devotion, and joins it to itself through that inspiration. Thus this desire also beats upon that person's heart, *for when a person whose natural quality coincides with that breeze, inhales and exhales that air, it is transformed within him so that he takes it up into his spirit and transmits it to the inner parts of his body. So the humors that are in him are also transformed and often introduce into him either infirmity or health, as shown above.* For that person whose good will accords with this breath examines this desire, after it has been separated from evil, in rumination; and because the soul carries out this sifting by itself in secret, the storms of thoughts that flood it are also transformed, so that they promise at one point adversity and at another prosperity.

9. *For the humors, like a leopard, sometimes surge up wildly in a person but then become tame again. As a crab wanders first forward then back, they often reveal a mutability within themselves; and as a stag leaps up and gores, they sometimes manifest that kind of contrariety in themselves.* For no matter how much fear of the Lord a person has, thoughts still sometimes rise up within him that weary him and then pull him down into vanity. Sometimes—as if in the guise of a crab—these thoughts at first exhort the person to continue, trusting in a good consummation, but then they drag him back by letting him be deceived into thinking that he cannot persevere. At other times—as if in the guise of a stag—these thoughts make him feel secure in his faith, but afterwards prick him so that he wavers in that faith. *Likewise, the humors sometimes attack a person as with the rapacity of a wolf, and with him as with the quality of the stag and crab, as described above.* For sometimes—as if in the guise of a wolf—they present to a

person the punishments of hell, only to make the false promise through the guise of the stag—faith—and through the guise of the crab—trust—that he can escape those punishments without any just works.[37] Then they often lead that person into despair. *At other times, the humors reveal like a lion an unceasing strength within a person, but also bring forth in themselves at first mildness, then keenness like a serpent, or they adopt sometimes the gentle ways of the lamb.* This happens when they explain God's judgment to a person, but afterwards persuade him not to fear it, for as a serpent approaches cunningly, they make deceptive suggestions as to how to escape that judgment with an effortless ingenuity.[38] Likewise, like a lamb they patiently encourage a person to think that he has nothing to fear, as if he were not bound by his sins. *But the humors also sometimes growl in anger like a bear, revealing too with that the quality of the lamb and serpent, as shown above.* For sometimes, like a bear, they growl at a person to endure bodily distress because of God. Through that distress, they show that he ought to be chastened as with the lamb's patience and the serpent's prudence, and cleansed from his sins—but then they return him again to a state of uncertainty because of many different conflicts. *For the humors in a person are often changed around in this way,* because when a person's thoughts are shifted about in different ways by such disturbances, they lead him at one time into false security and at another into despair—and yet at another, they lift him up through right devotion.

Thus transformed, therefore, the humors often pass into the liver, in which a person's conscience is tested. For the conscience, tempered by the powers of the soul, proceeds from the brain; and the brain's moisture touches the liver, so that it is fat, strong, and healthy. These signify that a person's thoughts are often directed to his liver, that is, to the strength of justice in which the just person acts according to conscience. For the powers of the soul reveal the knowledge of good and evil, which among believers embraces life through justice, just as the Son of God gathered to himself sinners and tax collectors,[39] whom he made strong in the abundance of the Holy Spirit.

37. Cf. Jas 2.17.
38. Cf. *LVM* 6.16(17).
39. Cf. Mt 9.11 and 11.19.

10. *For the liver is on a person's right side and is the body's main source of heat, so that the right side is quick to stand up and do things. But the heart and lung are on the left side; they strengthen that side when burdened and possess heat from the liver as from a furnace.* These signify that justice works together with the Holy Spirit upon the right side, that is, for the prosperity and salvation of the good and righteous person, so that he can successfully stand himself up for God and bring good things to completion. On the left side, however, to avoid adversity, he longs to be comforted by the strength of justice by trusting in God with an upright heart.

Moreover, when the veins of the liver are touched and moved by these humors, they strike the little veins of human hearing and sometimes cause that hearing to be confused. For both health and sickness are often caused in a person through the hearing, because in prosperity it is excessively concussed by shouts of joy, but in adversity it is drawn too tightly in sorrow. This shows that when the course of justice is called forth by upright thoughts, it turns a person aside from hearing evil and directs him toward the good. For the hearing sometimes introduces into a person's soul things that are holy, and sometimes things that are disgraceful, so that a person often cannot tell whether the things he hears will lead him toward good or toward evil. For a good conscience is rendered mute without good hearing, because what a good conscience knows, good hearing receives and quite eagerly keeps as it explains and repeats what is brought to it by the good conscience. After it has suitably arranged all these things, the hearing leaves off this activity and grows quiet, just as a person places a treasure in his vault—that is, when the person understands good and evil. For he hides away the good in the secret of his heart while casting evil away from himself, as Isaiah declares, saying:

11. "Loose the bonds from your neck, O captive daughter of Zion, for thus says the Lord: 'You were sold for nothing, and you shall be redeemed without money.'"[40] This is open to understanding thus: Crush with repentance the bond of your primal captivity and transgression, O human, for you had been counted among the daughters of heavenly peace in paradise,

40. Is 52.2–3.

but after paradise was lost, you fell under the yoke of many evils. Therefore, he who is Lord of all says to you, who are willingly entangled in sin: "In such a way you were sold without a price," just as God promised grief to the first woman, who left paradise because of the transgression of the divine command and lost the name of daughter of Zion; "but without the money of earthly desire you shall be redeemed," when your Redeemer arose in virgin nature and established that you could be born again of water and the Spirit unto life,[41] and thus returned you to the place of your heritage. Furthermore, whoever justly perseveres in that new birth shall not be moved from Zion's height.

Therefore, the faithful person lifts himself up towards God by casting aside his sins and abandoning all evils, and striving instead in his desire for heaven to seek from God the help of good works. If that person firmly perseveres in that seeking, like a blind man sitting alongside the road,[42] God's grace will soon look upon him. If that grace then sees him reaching out towards the light and lifting himself up out of the shadows, it will be present for him in all things and inspire in him what is just and holy. For as that person turns away from evil and delights in good and holy deeds, he tastes their sweetness, for he does not wish to retreat from God, but rather to turn himself away from serpentine trickery.

12. *You also see that sometimes, these humors tend to a person's navel, which is like the head of the bowels, gently enclosing them so that they will not spill out. It also preserves the pathways and heat of the bowels and veins at a proper temperature, although it is often unsettled because of its sudden movements; otherwise, a person could not live.* For when the faithful person shuts out evil hearing, he constrains with good thoughts the navel of various lustful desires, so that he can continue on towards the life of true blessedness—for the navel often provokes him to the restlessness of evil. *Furthermore, the humors sometimes seek a person's loins, which are treacherous and dangerous in their powers because they tease at play—but they are kept in check by the sinews and other veins, in which rationality flourishes, so that a person knows what to do and what to avoid, as well as*

41. Jn 3.5.
42. Lk 18.35.

what delight to take in his deeds. Those on the right side of the body are warmed and strengthened by the person's respiration and liver. In this way, a person receives discretion and discipline as he restrains the storms of other humors, so that with discipline he can carry out his deeds, for he girds up the loins,[43] in which lust is to be found. Strengthened by the virtue of justice, he does this honorably and with discretion for the health of his soul. *The humors also sometimes touch the veins of the kidneys and groin, which in turn tend to the veins of the spleen, lung, and heart. All of these are roused with the bowels on the left side when the lung warms them; but the liver sets ablaze the right side of the body.* For with upright thoughts a person forcibly restrains the kidneys, which, when touched by fleshly frivolity, often strike the heart with wrongful desire and rouse it to evil. A person does this by making his way along the path of justice.

13. *The veins of the brain, heart, lung, and liver, as well as others, bring strength to the kidneys, and the veins of the kidneys descend to the calves to strengthen them. They then return upwards with the veins of the calves and connect to one another in either the man's strength or the woman's motherhood, just as the stomach contains food and a sword is sharpened upon a stone; in this way, they add their powers to those places for the purposes of procreation.* For after a person has constrained his kidneys through modesty and by stilling the flesh's lustful desires, he cleanses the kidneys in chastity through the good conscience within him, and surrounds the kidneys with the course of justice and continence. In this way, a person leads himself away from those things in which he had previously run uncontrolled, and towards continence, strengthening it so as not to be corrupted by frivolity. Indeed, when both men and women reach out towards God in that continence and fortify themselves with it, they are supported by diverse virtues and can bear children of holiness, for they walk upon the right path of discretion.

Furthermore, the muscles of the arms, the calves, and the bulges of the legs are full of veins and humors. For as the belly holds within itself both the bowels and food, so the muscles of the arms and the calves of the legs protect the veins and humors within them, and fortify and carry

43. Cf. Lk 12.35.

a person with their strength, just as the belly brings him nourishment. For in a person, abstinence is the culmination of strength and the maintenance of doing justice. Surrounded by the course of the sighs of good thoughts, it holds back the soul's entrails and preserves them for the fullness and perfection of salvation, nourishing in holiness the entire person, both body and soul.

14. *But when a person sometimes runs swiftly or sets out on a journey, the sinews below his knees and the small veins within his knees are overextended to the point where they touch the veins in the calves, which are numerous and interconnected like a net. Thus in fatigue they return to the veins of the liver and then cause those to touch the veins of the brain; and in this way, they cause the entire body to experience fatigue.* For when a person sometimes tackles the path of righteousness without discretion, the lack of moderation in his course turns him aside into unsuitable behaviors and leads his abstinence into the wrongful excess of conscience. Thus, when he immoderately chooses to abstain even from permissible things, he discovers a loathsome weariness among his other virtues; and when he thinks that having an over-scrupulous conscience can return him to the way of justice, he prepares for himself only the trap of fatigue. For through such foolhardy and improper abstinence, he gives little heed to the rashness of presumption, only then to doubt whether he can persevere in such a way; and from there he falls into the trap of despair.

Moreover, as the veins of the kidneys descend to the calves, they touch the left calf more than the right, because the right calf is strengthened by the heat of the liver. Likewise, when abstinence is unsuitable and without discretion, it serves to increase the course of lustful desire rather than to decrease it, for it acts neither according to God nor because of God—for abstinence that works together with discretion is strengthened by the virtue of justice. *The veins of the right calf also climb up to the veins of the kidneys and groin, and their veins touch the veins of the liver. The liver warms the kidneys as they lie in the fatness that comes from the humors, so that they are quickly released, inducing delight and then quickly stopping. For when the liver gives a person warmth, he is jovial and happy.* For abstinence that is true to God crosses the path of lustful desire and draws it toward the judgment of justice, where it shatters it so that it is

completely destroyed. Furthermore, justice reduces to nothing desire that is found wallowing in squalid fatness, and burns it up with the Holy Spirit's fire, so that the evils that once were in it are released into contrition and bitterness until they reveal just how brief was their former delight. For after the sinner has been justified,[44] they reap their reward in joy.

15. *Furthermore, when the humors in a person are stirred up in wrongful measure and sometimes touch the veins of their liver, as described above, its moisture is lessened and the moisture of the chest is diminished. When a person is thus dried out, the humors drive him into infirmity, and his phlegm becomes dry and poisoned, so that it rises to his brain and brings on a headache. It also causes his eyes to be sore and the marrow in his bones to wither, so that he meets with a wasting disease when the moon is waning.*[45] For when a person's thoughts assume ferocity, hardness, and tyranny, and thus fall away into some vanity, by that tyranny they oppress justice, which ought to cause the holiness of good works to sprout within him after being watered by the Holy Spirit's dew. Instead, they cause the rest of the virtues in him to weaken and dry up. These thoughts also lead that person's conscience—the principle, intention, and strength of the just action that formerly thrived within him—into the wasting disease, as it were, of despair; for the light of truth that once shone upon him now wanes.

These humors also cause the moisture in a person's navel to flee, so that it sometimes dries out and hardens. The person's flesh then becomes scaly and full of sores like a leper, though he does not in fact have leprosy. The veins of his loins are excessively touched by these [*humors*] *and cause others to stir in the same way, so that the proper moisture is sucked dry from the person, and, after the humor has left, he develops pustules on his skin.* For the moisture of continence, which ought to destroy the lustful desire that is in a person's navel, as it were, is put to flight by these fierce, hardened, illicit thoughts, and is no longer wetted with the Holy Spirit's dew.[46] Thus abandoned, a person's sins putrefy through this evil habit, so that they be-

44. Cf. Lk 18.13–14.

45. Cf. Hildegard's description of the illness that befell her after the exorcism of Sigewize and during the composition of the *LDO,* ca. 1170, in *Life* 3.23.

46. Cf. *Cause* 2.148 (pp. 110–11).

come like leprosy, revealed by their stench. Because that person's loins are no longer girded with chastity, they are stirred by those thoughts so that, after the sprout of good fruits within that person is sucked dry, the examples of his depravity swell up within him like pustules on his skin—as Hosea shows through the Holy Spirit, saying:

16. "In the house of Israel I have seen a horrible thing; there Israel is defiled by fornication."[47] This is open to understanding thus: In those dens in which the person who ought to have looked to God with a pure heart instead lay down as if resting in sin, I, who search through all hidden offenses, saw the most unspeakable abomination: that person enveloped by the fornication of the filthiest, fetid transgressions, wallowing in filth like a pig in the mud. He ought to have sought cleanliness, to have looked for and embraced it—but instead he made himself loose and contemptible in all things. For wantonness saps a person's energy and drags him as out of his mind, so that he cannot attend with perfect honesty to anything, no matter whether it pertains to the world or to God. For as if by blowing with the person's will, the flesh's fire incites pride, vainglory, and every evil.

17. *Meanwhile, when the veins of that person's kidneys have also been touched by humors that have been wrongfully stirred up, as described above, they strike the other veins that are found in the calves and the rest of the body, and cause the marrow of his bones and the veins of his flesh to wither with drought. Thus a person languishes for a long time and must lead his life chronically in that feebleness.* For when a person neglects to constrain his navel and loins, so that he allows his thoughts to wander into tyranny and other useless pursuits, he despises both the course of virtues joined to abstinence and abstinence itself, which must be kept with well-ordered discretion in order to preserve modesty. Therefore, because the rest of his deeds lack the infusion of heavenly dew, they are turned to drought and cause the person's soul to languish until such time as he returns to the virtues' vigor.

18. *But sometimes, the aforementioned humors flood into a person's chest with excessive moisture and dampen the liver with this moisture.*

47. Hos 6.10, variant.

When this happens, a vast and varied multitude of thoughts rises up in that person, so that he thinks himself at times too wise and at others too foolish. Then the same humors climb up to the brain and infect it, and descend to the stomach, where they cause fevers. In this way a person is made chronically infirm. In these is also shown that, if a person's various thoughts set aside their ferocity and instead spread themselves out with easy-going frivolity and slippery-smooth vanity, they strive to choke the justice in that person with levity. So too when these arise in that person, they sometimes lift him up as into wisdom, and at other times push him down as into folly, confusing his conscience and instilling in him a voracious appetite, so that his soul becomes entangled in these evils as if in chronic illness and very often suffers a perilous depression.

Sometimes, these humors also touch the little veins of the ears with an excess of phlegm, and so infect the veins of the lung with that phlegm that a person coughs and is scarcely able to breathe. That excess of phlegm then passes from the veins of the lung to the veins of the heart, which it places in distress. As that pain spreads along a person's side, it causes pleurisy and wracks the person as if he had the wasting disease with the waning of the moon. These also signify that sometimes, various thoughts cause in that person so great an uproar that his soul's hearing becomes so confused that it can neither understand nor recollect the good, but, wracked as by a fit of coughing, it holds the good in contempt. They also upset that person's heart with insanity in such a way that he can find no useful rest for his soul, but staggers here and there along the path of rightness, as if wasting away—for the light of uprightness has been overshadowed and hidden from him.[48] *With this excessive flood they also move the bowels within a person's navel, and thus ascend to the brain and often cause him to experience frenzy. When they strike at the veins of the person's loins, they also touch the black bile within him, so that the person is thus upset and made indiscriminately sorrowful.* For with the excessive disturbance of a slippery flood, his thoughts set in motion a person's lustful desire in whatever way it pleases him. They tear loose the person's conscience so that he can be soiled with his depraved actions, and thus seduce him as into the madness of uncontrolled shamelessness. Then, when he is

48. Cf. *Cause* 2.278 (pp. 173–74).

not able to fulfill his flesh's desire, these thoughts plunge him into the darkness of sorrow.[49]

These humors also sometimes touch the veins of a person's kidneys with an inappropriate moistness, and when they have thus been stirred up, they infect the veins of the calves and the other veins of the body with that excessive flood. If, moreover, that person were then to overindulge in excessive food and drink, the humors sometimes introduce a fatty leprosy, for his flesh begins to swell. Through this it is shown that sometimes the thoughts touch a person with an impure and slippery desire and draw him to a disgusting softness. They drive from him the strong abstinence that ought to rule over his flesh, and lead him pliantly into the ravenousness that sets the flames of lust to burning. So too they infect him as with the leprous rot of sins, because he did not resist his body's desires. For the person who does not discipline his flesh with appropriate abstinence, but instead feeds it with vices and lusty desires, piles onto himself the fatness of sins, thus making himself stink before God with his squalor.

19. *But if the aforementioned humors are neither too dry nor too moist, but distributed throughout a person's limbs equally and tempered by the appropriate measure, that person will remain healthy in his body and thrive in his conscience as it considers either good or evil.* This signifies that, if a person's thoughts are neither too hard and ferocious nor too slick and easy-going, but are arranged decently and well in an honest morality in regard to both humankind and God, they lead that person with a gentleness that is restful for the body and refined in the conscience. So as this person flees the world's favor, he does not fall away onto either the right or the left, but, supported by the many virtues, yearns for the joys of heaven, as it is written in the Song of Songs:

"How beautiful are your steps in sandals, O prince's daughter!"[50] This is open to understanding thus: As you yearn for God and in your heart take delight in good works, through which you possess the hope of eternal life that shines down joyfully

49. Hildegard marks the insurgence of *melancholia* (both black bile as a humor and melancholy as a psychological state) as a consequence of the serpent's deception and the Fall; see *Cause* 2.69, 298, and 306 (pp. 66, 183, and 185).

50. Song 7.1.

upon you like the sunrise, you show to others the most beautiful steps upon the path of God's Son. When you put on mortification of the flesh as if with sandals, you cover up the nakedness of your sins—and then with a good will you love God more than yourself. Indeed, your soul is then called the prince's daughter—that prince who is called the prince of peace,[51] who overcame the ancient serpent[52] and freed his people, who washed away in his blood every enmity that existed between God and Man. This is the peace the angels announced in the humanity of God's Son and in which they took great joy,[53] for thus had God joined himself to the earth, that humans might look upon him in human form, and the angels might see him perfectly, Man and God.[54]

And so all who fear and love God should lay open the devotion of their hearts to these words and know that they have been offered for the saving of humans in body and soul, not indeed by a human being, but by me, the One who am.[55]

51. Is 9.6.
52. Rv 12.9.
53. Cf. Lk 2.10–14; and 3.5.18.
54. Cf. Hildegard's verse *O factura Dei* (*Symphonia,* pp. 262–63).
55. Ex 3.14.

PART ONE, VISION FOUR

Cosmos, Body, and Soul: The Word Made Flesh

AND I SAW THAT the firmament, together with everything attached to it, had as great a density from its top to the top of the earth as the earth had from pole to pole.[1] *I saw also that the firmament's upper fire was sometimes moved to emit from itself ember-like scales upon the earth that caused pockmarks and ulcers in humans, animals, and the fruits of the earth. I saw also that from the black fire, a certain mist sometimes descended to the earth to wither the earth's viridity and suck dry the moisture of its fields; but the pure ether resisted both those scales and this mist, lest they inflict their blows beyond measure upon the aforementioned creatures.*

And I also saw that from the strong, bright white air, another mist sometimes stretched down to earth, casting a great pestilence upon humans and beasts, so that many were then exposed to various infirmities, and many met with death.[2] *Yet the watery air opposed this mist, tempering it lest it inflict undue harm upon creation.*

I saw also that from the thin air, moisture bubbling forth upon the earth roused the earth's viridity and made all the fruits to sprout and

1. "density": *spissitudo;* cf. 1.2.1, n. 10. For this to describe a spatial ratio, with the earth one-third the total diameter of the firmament, would contradict the measurements in 1.2 and ch. 53 below, in which the earth is one-fifth the diameter of the total instrument. It is best to follow Dronke's interpretation of this as mass rather than spatial thickness (*LDO,* p. L); but see ch. 56 below, where *spissitudo* refers to a spatial dimension.

2. Cf. *Cause* 2.73 (p. 70); and Constantine the African, *Pantegni* 5.11 (quoted in *LDO,* p. 136): "When the air has been changed from its tempered substance into rotting or some other terrible quality, it is called 'pestilential' … in some there is a certain scaly substance.… The changing of the air into mist happens according to place, to the harm of plants and fruits … or a pestilence for beasts.… Sometimes this pestilence falls upon seeded ground, so that the trees lose their fruit and colors and are dried up."

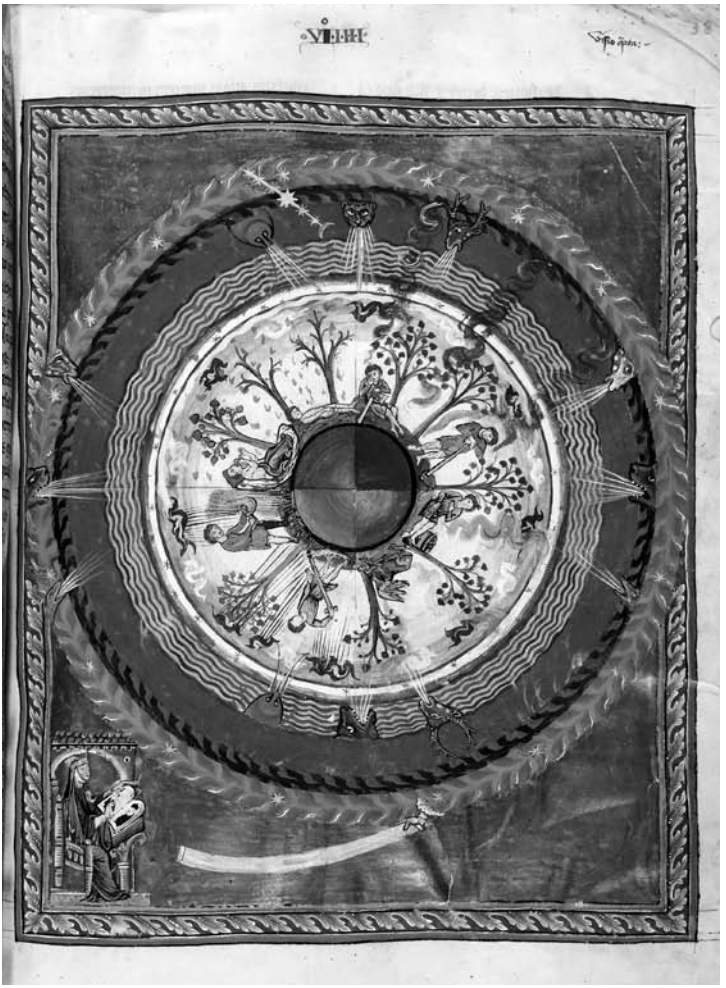


Figure 1.4: Cosmos, Body, and Soul, with the Seasons and Months from ch. 98. Biblioteca Statale di Lucca, MS 1942, fol. 38r (early 13th-cen.). By permission of the Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities and Tourism.

grow. It also bore certain clouds above, which sustained all the things above and were strengthened by all those things above. In that air I also saw a certain cloud of brilliant white that was as if fixed at either end to the other clouds of the firmament, and whose middle stretched up like a curved bow to remain in the aforesaid air.

And again I heard a voice from heaven saying to me:

2. God, who created all things, established those above so that he could strengthen and cleanse through them the things below and bring them to bear upon the soul's salvation within the human form in which they were sealed. For *you see that the firmament, together with everything attached to it, has as great a density from its top to the top of the earth as the earth has from pole to pole.* For as it is shown and spoken to you, O human, the firmament and the earth are of equal density; the empty space of air above the earth to the upper boundaries is as great as the empty space of air beneath the earth to the lower boundaries, as is the empty space of air to south and north between the earth and the boundaries of the firmament in each of those directions.[3] This signifies that the inner human spirit manifests its powers in both heavenly and earthly matters, to push the human body with its strength to endeavor in these ways. For when soul and body agree in rightness, they obtain with one joy the rewards of heaven.

3. *You see also that the firmament's upper fire is sometimes moved to emit from itself spark-like scales upon the earth that cause pockmarks and ulcers in humans, animals, and the fruits of the earth.* For God strengthened the firmament with fire lest it dissolve; he lightened it with the ether so that it could move; he flooded it with the waters lest it dry up; he illumined it with the stars so that it could shine; and he sustains it with the winds to keep up its course unceasingly.[4] For in the four parts—east, south, west, and north—the firmament is driven in its revolution by the winds.[5] But when at God's judgment and disposition its bright fire is overcome by the moisture of the water below, so that it loses the right measure of its heat, it emits in retribution scales fi-

3. Recall that Hildegard orients east at the top.
4. Cf. *Let.* 15r (1:55).
5. Cf. 1.3.1.

ery from the heat and moist from the water, as described above. This shows that when God's power, which holds the human spirit within its rule,[6] is provoked in just judgment, it inflicts its vengeance upon the depraved actions of humans, so that they are confounded and overthrown, for in having no fruit of good works, they demonstrate not human morals but the ways of beasts.[7]

4. *And from the black fire, a certain mist sometimes descends to the earth to wither the earth's viridity and suck dry the moisture of its fields,* for the mist descends as described when heat and cold are aroused in that fire by God's will. It is smoky with treacherous heat and moist with noxious cold, for the conviction of sinners.[8] For this black fire burns when it is aroused by the south wind, but produces the extreme cold of hail from the north wind—and the east wind calms both. Meanwhile, sometimes when the black fire is stirred up, the west wind leaps into the watery air and causes a dangerous flood. This signifies that at the trial of judgment, another sentence is handed down to carnal desires, overturning them into the aridity of contempt and utterly consuming their oily richness, for God reduces to nothing that which sets itself in opposition to him.

5. *But the pure ether resists both those scales and this mist, lest they inflict their blows beyond measure upon the aforementioned creatures.* For the ether, which exists in the middle between the fires and the waters, softens the upper elements with its purity and pleasantness, tempers also the lower ones, and does not produce blows from itself.[9] For if the individual elements were to beat upon creation and nothing ever came to help it, it could neither endure nor exist. Nevertheless, the waters are sometimes suppressed by the fire according to the divine disposition, lest they overflow in an improper flood. So too they emit a particular vapor that is, however, harmless, like human breath that hurts nothing. This vapor tempers the lower elements with befitting moisture, lest they strike their blows more than they ought, just

6. *potentia Dei, spiritum hominis in potestate sua habens.*
7. Cf. 3.2.5.
8. Cf. 2.1.6.
9. Cf. *Cause* 1.9 (pp. 22–23).

as pure penitence softens divine vengeance and retribution and conciliates God to his creation.

6. *And you also see that from the strong, bright white air, another mist sometimes stretches down to earth, casting a great pestilence upon humans and beasts, so that many are then exposed to various infirmities, and many meet with death.* For when a mist sometimes proceeds from this air as described, the upper waters, close to whose underside this air clings, are stirred up beyond measure by the upper fire according to God's will. At times they seethe with its restless heat, and at others they are chilled by the worst sort of cold that is in the black fire—and thus the mist, flooded by each, is harmful in either way. But these blows do not come forth unless, provoked by human sins, they are brought down upon them by the just judgment of God. They show that from the discretion of holy works, sentence is passed upon deeds done without discretion, inflicting excessive contrition upon humans who had no moderation in their sin, to weaken in them the indiscretions of the human body and completely kill the lack of discretion in regard to the soul's salvation. For discretion tempers all things that are useful both for body and for soul.[10] *Yet the watery air opposes this mist, tempering it lest it inflict undue harm upon creation,* because with its wateriness it lessens the powers of the mist's strength. For holy works in the examples of the just reveal to discretion's sentence the ways in which it is to beat back what lacks moderation.

7. Moreover, *from the thin air, moisture bubbling forth upon the earth rouses the earth's viridity and makes all the fruits to sprout and grow. It also bears certain clouds above, which sustain all the things above and are strengthened by all those things above.* For when with the sun's descent there is cold upon the earth, the thin air sends forth snow that, as it flies, is strewn upon the earth, for the water drops are converted by the upper cold into snow. But in the heat of the sun's ascent, this air exudes moisture falling over the earth like honey from the comb, which sometimes melts into a sweet rain because of the pleasant east wind. This air also suppresses the dangers from above and is like a shield for the earth's defense—just as a shield defends a man from countless

10. Cf. 2.1.27.

blows—and from the most pleasant and temperate heat of the sun, it spreads upon the earth the dew of blessing that Jacob gave to his son.[11] Sometimes this air is misty from the ascent of water and the moisture of the dew, but it is not a noxious vapor; rather, it bathes each fruitful part of the earth,[12] cleansing it from the rotting stench that touched it because of a storm.

8. It also carries above it and sustains the aforementioned clouds that are sometimes bright and sometimes shadowy.[13] These clouds have as if individual breasts through which they pour rain upon the earth, like milk drawn from breasts. They also sometimes stretch to the upper elements and receive energy from each of them—by fire they are strengthened, by the ether lightened, by the waters flooded, and by the cold solidified so that rains too dense are not strewn upon the earth through each breast. But these clouds are also the mirrored surface that humans call the sky, for the positions of the sun, moon, and stars are seen in the clouds in a different form as if in a mirror, so that humans think that they are seeing their [true] disposition—but it is not so, for these clouds manifest only the functions of the constellations as if in a mirror's reflection, like a waterway in which everything is seen in reverse. These signify that thought proceeds from the faithful person's right desire to the useful fruitfulness that brings forth good works, touching his viridity to produce the many fruits of holiness and lift up human minds to heavenly things, so that they yearn for them and are strengthened by them. For so long as a person tends with right desire to the fruit of good works, he despises earthly things and so affixes himself to what is above in heaven that he reveals himself to be no longer the same person, but one wholly transformed.

9. *In that air you also see a certain cloud of brilliant white that is*

11. Cf. Gn 48.15 and 49.25, in reference to Joseph.

12. *fructuositas,* lit. "fruitfulness"; as with *uiriditas,* Hildegard uses this concept to express the fertility of both earth and virtue, just as Christ speaks of bearing good fruit (Mt 7.17–20) and Paul of the fruit of the Holy Spirit (Gal 5.22–23); Dronke gives a variety of Hildegardian cross-references, including 1.4.46 and 3.5.20 below, and cites as a possible source the fourth-century writer Filistratus (*LDO,* pp. xvi–xvii).

13. See 1.2.8.

as if fixed at either end to the other clouds of the firmament, and whose middle stretches up like a curved bow to remain in the aforesaid air. For in the clouds that this air sustains and holds up above, another cloud is arranged, its color like milk, which strengthens the air like a pillar upholding a house. Likewise, as just described, the minds of some people are so established in the order of right desire that in circumstances both secular and spiritual they await the final reward of their works, for they accomplish all matters earthly and heavenly to please the supernal Judge. And although the perfection of their minds sometimes feels bent upon the bow of the flesh's frailty,[14] it nevertheless perseveres in right desire, as my servant Job shows, saying:

10. "And the just man will hold to his way, and the clean one will add strength to his hands."[15] This is open to understanding thus: The person who loves justice will hold to the paths of rightness with a strong effort; and one who is clean of filth will acquire holiness with good works, because he abstains from evil and turns himself to everything that pleases God, to obtain that life that is without end. For the just person takes hold of wisdom, and wisdom exists in that rationality that knows what gives life and what death, and that teaches the right paths. But the heart's blindness, which springs from the flesh's appetite, obscures a pure conscience, because it tries according to its own will to be able to do whatever it wishes.[16] So too the heart will long remain blinded, until it perceives its own wounds and becomes hateful to itself as it contemplates how it could possibly stand if it slips entirely away from God.

14. Cf. a prayer recorded in the Gelasian Sacramentary for use on the Octave of Pentecost (ed. H. A. Wilson [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1894], 129): *Omnipotens et misericors Deus, ad cuius beatitudinem sempiternam non fragilitate carnis, sed alacritate mentis ascenditur; fac nos atria supernae civitatis, et te inspirante semper ambire, et tua indulgentia fideliter introire.* ("Almighty and merciful God, to whose eternal blessedness one mounts not by the flesh's frailty but by the mind's alacrity: make us ever by your inspiration to walk the halls of the heavenly city, and by your indulgence faithfully to enter therein.")

15. Jb 17.9, variant.

16. In *Let.* 12 (1:48–49), this is the blindness of Abbot Kuno in allowing Hildegard's dear friend, Richardis of Stade, to take up her election as abbess of Bassum.

11. In such thoughts a person ought to gaze upon almighty God as if upon a seal, by affirming all his signs and wonders and strengthening his own house like the firmament, so as not to be torn away from God by any shock, whether of fear or of love. Indeed, God placed the firmament as the footstool of his throne,[17] and it has the form of a circling circle in likeness to God's power, which has neither beginning nor end, for no one can discern where a revolving wheel begins and ends.[18] God's throne is his eternity, in which he alone sits; and all living things are sparks of his brilliant beam, like beams of the sun going forth from it.[19] And how could God be recognized as life, except by the living things that glorify him, for from him have come forth those that praise his glory?[20] Therefore, before the radiance of his face he placed sparks, living and burning, which witness that he has neither beginning nor end—and they never weary as they gaze upon him, but contemplate him eagerly and tirelessly, nor will this devotion ever perish.[21] Indeed, how would one recognize that he alone is eternal, if the angels did not offer such contemplation? And if he did not have these sparks, how would his glory appear in its fullness? And how would his eternity be known if no splendor proceeded from him? For there is no part of creation that does not receive some of this radiance—whether as viridity or seeds or flowers or beauty—and no creature could exist otherwise. And if God did not have the potential to make all things, then where would his power be?[22]

12. Indeed, God sealed all the beauty of the works of his potential in the first angel, and adorned him with the stars and the beauty of viridity and every kind of sparkling gem like the starry sky, and called him, "Lucifer," for this angel bore light from him who alone is eternal.

For I who am[23] revealed my works upon three walls—in the

17. Cf. Is 66.1 and Mt 5.34–35.

18. Cf. 1.1.2 and 1.2.2.

19. Cf. 2.1.14.

20. Cf. Rom 1.20 and Wis 13.5.

21. The sparks are the angels; cf. 1.1.5, the opening of ch. 105 below, 2.1.14, and *Scivias* 3.1.14.

22. "potential … power": *possibilitatem … potentia*.

23. Ex 3.14.

east, the south, and the west; but the fourth wall in the north I left empty, and upon it neither sun nor moon shines. Thus hell is in that direction beyond the firmament, for it has neither roof above nor foundation below.[24] There the darkness serves every brightness of my praise—for how could light be recognized except through darkness? And how could the darkness be known, except through the radiant brilliance of my servants? If it were not this way, my power would lack fullness, so that all my wonders could not be so called. But my power is indeed full and perfect, and there is no defect in my wonders.

For because illumination is without darkness, it is called light.[25] Yes, the living eye is light, but blindness is darkness. Indeed, all things are understood within these two divisions, whether they are good or evil: by light the works of God, but by darkness those things that, not touching the light, are exiles from God, that is, those who because of pride refuse to confess him.

13. The innumerable band of sparks that were present with the first angel glittered in the brilliance of all his ornaments, like the world illuminated by light.[26] But when he realized that with all his beauty he was supposed to serve God, he rebelled against loving him and strove for the darkness, saying to himself, "How glorious indeed I would be, if I could act of my own accord and perform works just as I see God doing!" And his whole company affirmed this, saying: "The throne of our lord we will place away to the north, against the Most High."[27] And they deliberated among themselves how to perpetrate forever with God's servants this error and division, for their lord would be the one whose power and magnificence was the greatest among them.

Then the eyes of unique eternity were enflamed, and it thundered forth and, by the service of the angels and with its entire host, cast down that first transgressor.[28] And God's angels cried

24. Cf. 2.1.13.
25. "illumination … light": *lumen … lux*.
26. Cf. *Scivias* 3.1.14 and *LVM* 6.14(15).
27. Cf. Is 14.13–14.
28. Cf. Is 14.15.

out in the voice of thunder: "What iniquitous presumption could possibly make itself equal to God our Creator, who exists of his own accord? But because you, who exist at his command, have made such a valuation of yourself, wishing to be like him, you will go to your ruin." Immediately, he fell back with his companions like a lead weight plummeting into the place of darkness described above, for he wanted to be a warrior against God, whose works he does not see shining in the darkness.[29]

14. Therefore, God himself waged openly the battle against him as he turned his gaze to the garment that he had held within his knowledge from without beginning.[30] (But Satan, who had fled from God, will never be able to see God perfectly in this garment until God has completed his whole battle against him; only then will he see it within the deepest pain of his undoing, when at the end of the world he will be completely confounded by the just Judge.)[31] In God's ancient counsel,[32] which was ever with him, he ordained how he would perfect this work: he formed Man from the muddy earth in the form that he had planned from before time. Just as the human heart contains rationality and orders all the sounds of the words that it will later pronounce, so God did in his Word when he created all things, for the Word, which is the Father's Son, lay hidden within the Father, like the heart hidden within a person. And God made Man's form according to his image and likeness,[33] because he wanted that form to contain the holy divinity. Therefore, he signified all creatures in humankind, just as every creature came forth through his Word.[34]

29. Cf. *Cause* 1.4 (p. 20).

30. "garment": for the Incarnation as a garment (*indumentum*), cf. esp. ch. 105 below, 2.1.43, and 3.2.9; Hildegard's responsory *O vis eternitatis* (*Symphonia* 1); and *Expl. Symb. S. Athan.*, p. 119 (quoted below at 2.1.15, n. 67).

31. Cf. 3.4.5.

32. Cf. Ps 32(33).11; and 3.4.3–6 and 10.

33. Gn 1.26–27.

34. Cf. 1.1.2, 3.2.14, and 3.4.14; *Scivias* 2.1.2; and Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Commentarium in Psalmos* 7.8(7) (PL 193: 730A): "For as naked you came into this world from on high—gone out from the supreme Father, you came into the world, into every creature you came when you took up all creation within humankind, who is every creature; to all creation you caused the Gospel to be preached, and believing and obeying that Gospel through humankind, all

To the crown of the human head—the circling wheel of the brain—there is adjoined a ladder with ascending steps[35]—the eyes for seeing, the ears for hearing, the nose for smelling, and the mouth for speaking—upon which a person sees, recognizes, discerns, categorizes, and names all parts of creation.[36] For God formed Man and brought him to life with a living breath, which is the soul. He joined him together[37] with flesh and blood and strengthened him with a heap of bones, as the earth was strengthened by stones—for as the earth cannot exist without stones, so neither could Man exist without bones. The firmament also cannot have the sun, moon, and stars absent from the established places in which they complete their courses, for these celestial bodies could not possibly be confirmed without being assigned their own locations. Therefore, all of their placements were established in proper measure so that the circle of the firmament's wheel could rotate properly; so too all these things were signified in the human form, though not in the same order or achievement as in the elements above.[38]

15. These things also pertain to the soul. For the top of the head signifies the beginning of the soul's operation, which disposes and orders a person's every work with circling rationality; and as the crown, the soul discerns in the human body what the body demands and desires. It operates by ascending and descending four steps—sight, hearing, smell, and taste—with which it also understands and perceives creation. Its vessel of flesh stretches out with it into creation, drawing each part of

---

creation was made as your vesture. So you, who came forth from the Father as if naked, were clothed in this world with a tunic woven on high—Holy Church."

35. For the wheel, cf. Ezek 1.15–21 and 10.2–13; for the ladder, cf. Gn 28.12.

36. Cf. chs. 97 and 105 below.

37. *coagulauit;* cf. Wis 7.2.

38. The rest of this vision treats of the intricate relationship between the macrocosm (the universe) and the microcosm (the human being, in both body and soul). Cf. *Scivias* 2.1.2; *Let.* 15r (1:55); *Cause* 1.28 and 2.130 (pp. 33–34 and 97–101); *Solution* 26; and see the Introduction, pp. 10–14; Liebeschütz, 86–107, with a tabular summary after p. 88 with cross-references to other traditions; and Klaes, 80–115. Dronke's *apparatus fontium* provides detailed cross-references throughout to the works of Lactantius, Isidore, Eriugena, Hrabanus Maurus, Honorius Augustodunensis, and others (which have been omitted from this edition due to space limitations).

creation to itself according to what it wants. As all creation grows, the soul also flies with it like the air in all the desires of the body to fulfill them, and in understanding the names of the creatures according to the body, it is lifted up either to love or to hate them.

For a person's length in stature and breadth with arms and hands extended equally from the chest are equal, just as the firmament has an equal length and breadth; for by the equal measure of a person's length and breadth is understood the knowledge of good and evil, which knows what is good and useful, and what is bad and useless. For the soul is entangled by the appetite of the flesh and blood and other limbs, like a beast caught by a hunter, so that the soul can barely breathe before the body fulfills its lustful desires,[39] and afterwards it often makes the body to sigh deeply with it.

16. In the roundedness of the human head is shown the roundedness of the firmament, and in the right and equal dimensions of the head are shown the right and equal dimensions of the firmament. For the head has its right dimensions on all sides, as too the firmament was established with equal dimensions to hold to its proper circumference in every part, so that no part would exceed another in a wrongful way.

For God fashioned Man according to the firmament and empowered his strength with the forces of the elements. Their forces also solidify Man's insides, so that he inhales and exhales them, as the sun that illuminates the world spreads forth its rays from itself and draws them back again to itself. Thus the roundedness and balance of the human head signify that the soul operates in sin according to the will of the flesh, and that with sighs the soul restores itself again to justice. So in this there is also balance, for as it took delight in transgressions, so too it afflicts itself with pain because of them, as a result of modest shame. Indeed, the soul stands up in modesty and is not delighted by sin; but it operates with the flesh and through the flesh's appetite because, when a person has lived so long in sin that it becomes tiresome, the flesh is often overcome by the soul's modesty and called away from sin, just as the soul is also bound

39. *concupiscentias,* so translated throughout.

by the nature of the flesh. Thus, as long as body and soul live together, they experience this powerful conflict together, for when the flesh delights in sin, the soul suffers. This causes great confusion among the wicked spirits, because they have never been able to annihilate repentance in the souls of the just, since in their fall, the wicked spirits never thought to repent for what they had done because of their great hatred against God.

For in these ways the soul reveals roundedness and balance in itself, because a good conscience fights against an evil conscience, and an evil conscience resists a good conscience—for the one is tested by the other. Furthermore, a good conscience is like a full moon when it overcomes the flesh by working well; but when it itself is overcome, it is like a waning moon whose disk appears shadowed.[40]

17. In the human head are signified also the three upper elements: the bright fire, together with the black fire beneath, from the top of the skull to the forehead; the pure ether from the forehead to the end of the nose; and the watery air, together with the strong, bright white air placed beneath it, from the nose to the throat. These parts are separated from one another by equal dimension, just as the thickness of the upper and black fire, the thickness of the pure ether, and the thickness of the watery air with the strong, bright white air are each of equal dimension.

For there are three powers in the soul: comprehension, by which it comprehends celestial and terrestrial things within God's power; intelligence, by which it understands many things, as when it knows that sins are evil when it rejects them through penitence; and motion, by which it is moved everywhere within itself when with its dwelling place it accomplishes holy works in the examples of the just. And the soul's comprehension and intelligence join together as one in the soul's movement, so that, if the soul were to comprehend more than it can understand or move, it would exist in wrongful measure. In this way, these powers in the soul are unanimous, and one does not exceed another. For the soul's comprehension surrounds the whole body together with its appendages, moving all its parts with proper

40. Cf. 1.2.32 and 38; and 1.3.15.

measure to what the flesh desires to feel and taste, like an architect measuring out his building properly for human habitation. The body is moved by the soul, and the soul cannot leave off moving the body in its various operations—for the soul understands what the flesh desires, and the flesh is alive because of the soul.

The soul is life and a living fire within the body;[41] but the body, as an assembled work, cannot help but have two ways of operation within itself: one according to the flesh's appetite, the other according to the soul's desire. The soul's good work is like a most beautiful building in the sight of God and his angels, but its evil work appears like a building made of mud and mortared with lots of dung. Therefore, the soul that does good deeds is praised by God's angels, and the one that does evil deeds according to the flesh's appetite is scorned of praise.

But the equal thickness of the elements, together with their attendant constitutions, is signified also in the right and equal dimensions from the top of the human head forward to the eyebrows and on either side to each ear, and then back again to the beginning of the neck. In this way too there are three equal powers in the soul—respiration, knowledge, and sensation—with which the soul completes its works. For through respiration it begins what it can do, and this is like the anterior part of the head; through knowledge it stretches itself as if to each ear; and through sensation it bends back as if to the beginning of the neck. These powers are indeed equal in this way, for the soul cannot begin to do more in breathing than knowledge can comprehend or sensation can endure; and so, just as the head has proper dimensions, they work together unanimously, for none can exceed another.

18. The upper and lower lips, which eject the phlegm equally of head and stomach, are of a single measure in the human mouth, as too the black fire, which purifies in God's vengeance, and the strong, bright white air, which moderates and tempers that vengeance, are of equal thickness. This is also signified in the measure that proceeds equally from one ear to another

41. On the soul as fire, cf. chs. 25, 27, 67, and 103 below; and *Expl. Symb. S. Athan.*, pp. 116–17.

along the back of the head, and from the ear-openings to the shoulders, and from the shoulders to the back of the throat.

In these is shown, therefore, that a person ought to praise God with his mouth with equal fervor both in upper (celestial) and lower (earthly) matters, casting away from himself the evils of both soul and body—for God is the protector of both souls and bodies. Moreover, the single measure from ear to ear, from ears to shoulders, and from shoulders to the back of the throat, as just described, signifies that a person who perceives God's commandments with the ears, imposes them faithfully upon the shoulders, and ingests them as if down the throat, ought to keep in all things a balanced and discerning moderation, to reach that balance where there is no deformity.[42] For as long as the body sins, the soul within that body dedicated to sin is disturbed; and as much as the body is afflicted in penance by abstinence, the soul rejoices at the reward of eternal glory—for as a person looks to the beginning of his deeds, so too should he consider carefully their end and merits.

And so the soul is sent by God into the human form to bring that form to life. Because a person perceives that he came from his Creator, he calls God by name, no matter whether he is found in some heretical sect or in the right faith, for he has this instinct within himself because of the soul's good powers. Therefore, he climbs up into the height by seeking God's name and sifts through the law for the teaching by which to worship him whom he calls by name. Yet the soul also recognizes that God's judgment will fall upon the law's transgression, and so it sometimes causes its covering to bring forth tears for the crimes that it has grievously stored up for itself, just as phlegm is ejected through the lips; and with this grief the soul so seizes the body in which it is hidden that it makes the body blush at its unjust deeds. Nevertheless, the body follows the flesh's appetite and often resists the soul so that it cannot climb up into that height in which it experiences God, and so the body blinds the soul. Yet, despite the fact that a person delights in his sins, he

42. "deformity": *tortitudo,* a rare term that may have entered Hildegard's lexicon from Constantine the African's *Pantegni* 2.8, where it refers to being a hunchback.

cannot completely suppress the pain he feels because of them—and penitence of this kind the wicked spirits have never had, and at this they are ashamed, because they cannot root it out of humankind.[43]

19. And the soul has two powers by which it tempers with equal fortitude both its labor at and rest from its passionate pursuits, so that with the one it mounts into the height to experience God, and with the other it occupies the entire body in which it exists, to operate with it. The soul delights to operate in the body, for the body was formed by God, and the soul is quick to accomplish the body's work. The soul mounts into the brain and into the heart, into the blood and into the marrow, and throughout the entire body to fill it up; but it does not lift it beyond or more than the body is capable of, for though the soul strives to enact very many good things as it dwells in the body, it cannot go further than divine grace allows it. It often also works for a time according to the flesh's appetite, until the blood is parched a bit by fatigue in the veins and sweat is emitted by the marrow; then it draws back into rest while it warms the flesh's blood and refills the marrow. Thus it awakens the body to watchfulness and restores it for labor, for in the time when it pursues carnal desires, it often finds them tiresome; but after it has recharged its powers, it turns itself back wholly to God's service. Indeed, when it operates according to its desires to lift itself to God, it follows the words of David, who says with my inspiration:

20. "Protect me beneath the shadow of your wings, from the face of the wicked who have afflicted me."[44] This is open to understanding thus: "You, who are the defender of all the faithful, defend me beneath the quietness of your mightiest powers, for I am under your rule, adoring you, worshiping you, and looking not to a foreign, illusory god. Free me from the worst, most vile desires of the wicked spirits that afflict me in the flesh's pleasure." So too the soul says when this victory is accomplished, "O flesh, O limbs, in which I dwell: how great is my rejoicing because I was sent into you! For when you agree with me, you

43. Cf. *LVM* 4.41(53) and 6.15(16).
44. Ps 16(17).8–9.

send me on to eternal rewards." But when the soul senses that depraved deeds might infect it, it says in lament, "Ah! That I was sent into such a dwelling place that drags me down into death's shadow, for its pleasure drives me around like a mill and makes me execute the works of death."[45]

21. The whole human body is joined to its head, as too the earth, together with all its appendages, clings to the firmament; and the whole human person is governed by the head's sensibility, just as each of the earth's functions is fulfilled by the firmament. So too in this way the soul experiences the things of heaven and earth, and the rationality by which it perceives those things of heaven and earth is fixed within it. For as the Word of God permeated all things in creating, so the soul permeates the whole body in operating with it.[46] The soul is also the viridity of the flesh, for the human body grows and advances through it, like the earth made fruitful through moisture. The soul is also the moisture of the body, moistening it like rain pouring upon the earth, lest it dry out. For if the rain's moisture comes down not excessively but in right and ordered measure, it causes the earth to sprout; but if it floods down inordinately, it wastes the land by drowning it with its buds.

Indeed, certain forces proceed from the soul to bring the human body to life, like moisture from water—and this is why the soul delights to work with the body. If a person works in accordance with the soul's desire, all his works become good; but if according to the flesh, his works will be evil. The flesh indeed exudes moisture through the soul, for the soul's breath moves the flesh as its nature demands, and the human person possesses particular desires because of the soul's breath. For the soul ascends to heavenly things and comes to know through sensation how it ought to judge each work according to its merits. As the whole body is governed by the body's sensibility, so

45. Cf. the soul's lament in *Ordo,* Scene 1, lines 26–28 (pp. 162–63).

46. Cf. *Cause* 2.130 (p. 101): "In the way that God and Man are one, so are soul and body, for God made Man in his image and likeness; as something has a shadow, so Man is God's shadow and the revelation of his craft. Man is the revelation and shadow of almighty God in all his wonders—for Man has a beginning, but God has neither beginning nor end. So too the celestial harmony is a mirror of divinity, and Man is a mirror of all God's wonders."

the rational soul gathers up all the works of a person's limbs, to consider whether they can be done according to the soul's desires. In this way, like moisture for the earth, it causes a person's limbs to flourish, for it is distributed throughout the whole human body like moisture throughout the whole earth. And as the earth sprouts both useful and useless things, so a person has within himself both sighs for heaven and the appetite for sin.

22. From the uppermost top of the brain's vessel to the final edge of the human forehead can be discerned seven equally spaced divisions, signifying the seven celestial bodies that are equidistantly placed in the firmament. At that very top is denoted the highest celestial body, and in the final edge of the brow is shown the moon, and in the very middle space the sun; and the rest of the planets are denoted on either side, two above and two below, each separated from the other, as well as from the boundaries of the placements of the sun and the other celestial bodies, by an equal measure.[47] For these divisions in the human head are spaced out in equal proportion, just as the celestial bodies are distributed in the firmament by an equal apportionment of spaces.[48]

At the summit of the head is signified the highest planet, for the circle of its orbit is greater than the others; the moon, moreover, is assigned to the forehead because, as shame is perceived upon the human brow, so too the seasons and the qualities of the seasons are discerned in the moon, which appears like the brow in the open sky. In their middle is placed the sun, for it is like the prince of the others, holding the two celestial bodies above it in defense, like a shield against the upper fire, while keeping the other two below it for the maintenance of both itself and the moon.[49] Furthermore, the highest planet is in its upper level the same distance from the sun as is the moon in its orbit's lowest level, with the others equally spaced between them, as said above. And so the upper and lower parts of the firmament are rounded like a well-turned bowl,[50] and in the

47. For the seven celestial bodies (*planete*), see 1.2.31–32.
48. "measure … proportion … apportionment": all translate *mensura*.
49. For the sun as the seat of stability, see Widmer, 118–19.
50. Cf. Song 7.2.

upper curve is positioned the sun, which passes through both the upper and the lower firmament and emits its brilliance like wine poured from a bowl.

These things signify that the soul in the human body ought to honor with equal zeal the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit from the beginning of its works all the way to their completion, so that it can approach wisdom in the beginning of its activity and possess fear at its end, and take fortitude in its middle, defending itself with understanding and counsel in heavenly matters and surrounding itself with knowledge and piety in earthly ones; each must be embraced in its aid with equal devotion.[51] Furthermore, the soul must take care first to extend itself wisely, yet at the last to constrain itself with modesty and fear, and with fortitude in between to adorn itself with the beauty of understanding and counsel and to reinforce itself with knowledge and piety, as just said. Each of these joins itself to another to bring any good work to an honorable completion. For the spirit of wisdom and the spirit of fortitude, as well as the spirit of the fear of the Lord, imbue the human soul such that it advances wisely and possesses fear in true fortitude, and also keeps itself for the heavenly Creator with equanimity in the other five gifts.[52]

For the movement of the rational soul and the work of the body with its five senses—that is, the complete human person—are balanced,[53] for the soul does not move the body more than the body can execute, nor does the body do more than it is moved by the soul. The individual senses are not independent of one another, but support one another with deep strength and enlighten the whole human person to particular goods both above and below.

23. The human brain also consists of three chambers (and no more), lying beneath [a layer of] moisture and granting sensibility and viridity to the entire body. It demonstrates the pow-

51. For the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, see 1.2.33–36.

52. "five": *quinque*. The error (there are only four other gifts) may reflect the fact that the first and last gifts (wisdom and fear) were often intertwined because of Ps 110(111).10 and Prv 1.7/9.10; Hildegard is also anticipating the five senses in the following paragraph.

53. Cf. 2.1.3.

ers of the sun, which shines throughout the eastern, southern, and western regions; but it avoids the north,[54] and often grants viridity to the earth through the sweet goodness of dew and rain, and strengthens the entire globe's creatures by tempering them with its power. For the brain is also kept within the skull's strength, as the sun's powers are strengthened by the heat of the upper bright fire.

Moreover, when the sun makes its course across the length of days, it poses a greater danger to the earth with its fire than when it sinks down and covers, as it were, its face.[55] For when it sinks down, the waters meet it with the stars and sustain it with the air. In this way it descends beneath the footstool of the Lord[56] and endures there in its station, and rules all that is beneath the earth, like a hen tending her chicks.[57] Then during the joyful daytime it climbs back over the earth and strengthens everything upon it, like a hen beckoning her chicks out of their eggs. Likewise, humans work during the day and sleep at night, as the sun operates in the two modes just described above and below the earth: during the day it shines above the earth, and with its descent at night the earth above is darkened. Furthermore, as human flesh is revived in its weakness by the powers of the soul—for the soul sustains its flesh and blood lest they wane—so too the moon is rekindled from the fire of the sun whenever it wanes.[58]

24. Thus the soul also governs the human body conscientiously with its powers when in goodness, perfection, and holiness a person understands, perceives, and knows what pertains to God, worshiping the true God in Trinity and seeking not some other god deceitfully. So too these powers of the soul join together as one in cooperation.

The soul is touched with the spirit of fortitude so that as it completely surveys the beginning of its works as well as their completion and goal, it turns away from what is evil and intro-

54. Cf. 1.2.11 and 32.

55. Cf. 1.2.23.

56. I.e., the earth; see Mt 5.35 and Is 66.1.

57. Cf. Mt 23.37.

58. Cf. 1.2.32 and 38; and *Cause* 2.166 (p. 122): "For as the sun is the light of the day, so the soul is the light of the body when awake; and as the moon is the light of the night, so too the soul is also the light of the body when asleep."

duces to the body in which it dwells the sweetness of heavenly gifts. Through these it imbues all its limbs with honesty, for the soul's powers are joined together as one by the fortitude of God's power.[59] When this fortitude strengthens the soul in this way, it makes the whole human body subservient to the soul's lordship, so that the body often produces tears with deep sighs. Then it keeps that person in such humility and quiet that, appropriately instructed in all good things, he is able to keep governance over himself in matters both secular and spiritual. Thus this person's soul ascends into the height as if during the day by doing good things with good perseverance—but when it is overcome by consenting to the flesh's lustful desire, it is depressed by a stupor as if in the night. At one time it defends itself with fortitude, but at another it yokes itself to idleness.[60] For through good perseverance the soul is like the day as it surveys all things, but through idleness it is like the night as it foresees nothing. But as the night is sometimes lit by the moon and at other times left dark by its absence, so a person's deeds are mixed, so that sometimes they are bright, and sometimes dark. For when the soul is coerced by the body to do evil with it, then its virtue lacks the light of truth and is darkened. But when it has sensed that it is weighed down by sins, it lifts itself back up against the will of the flesh by afflicting the flesh and reproaching it for each of its evil deeds. And so the light of blessedness dawns, the night of sin overcome, so that together with the flesh an evil conscience is overcome by the soul and the flesh is then chastised in penance and the correction of its perverted deeds. And when the flesh is restrained in this way, the soul causes it to desire with it the things of heaven, for after the flesh is strengthened with the soul by the spirit of fortitude, the soul subjects the flesh swiftly to the fear of the Lord.[61]

Indeed, the soul assists the flesh and the flesh assists the soul, for each individual work is completed by both soul and flesh. So too the soul is revived with the flesh by doing good and holy works. But the flesh often suffers weariness when it works with

59. "soul's powers … God's power": *uires* [*anime*] … *potestatis Dei.*
60. *desidia,* alt. "sloth."
61. Cf. *Let.* 155r (2:101–2).

the soul—and for this reason the soul then condescends to the flesh and permits it to take pleasure in some task, like a mother getting her crying infant to laugh. In this way the flesh executes with the soul some good works, however much they may be intermingled with sins, which the soul tolerates lest the flesh be overwhelmed. For as the flesh lives through the soul, so the soul is revived with the flesh by doing good, because it was placed in the work of the Lord's hands.[62] For as the sun ascends until midday by overcoming the night, so a person marches upwards by avoiding perverted deeds; and as the sun sinks down after midday, so the soul consents to the flesh; and as the moon is rekindled by the sun lest it fail, so a person's flesh is sustained by the powers of the soul, lest it go to destruction.

25. Because the brain is moist and pleasantly cool, all of the body's veins and members supply it with heat. Likewise, all of the upper elements, shining with fire, assist the sun, which sometimes causes dew and rain to fall upon the earth, by supplying it with fire so that it does not lose its heat. Because the brain is wetted with moisture and strengthened with heat, it sustains and governs the whole body, just as moisture and heat jointly cause the entire earth to flourish. For from the human heart and lung, the liver, and all the bowels, moisture ascends to the brain and fills it up; and after the brain has been filled up with their moisture, some of it descends to the rest of the inner organs and hastens to replenish them.[63]

Similarly, the soul's conscience produces the moisture of tears when the sins within it grow cold, and the course of rightness brings it the heat of heavenly desires with other good works; likewise, the rest of the virtues arrive to assist fortitude, which instills in each faithful person the moisture of holiness. And when in such a way the soul is flooded by the Holy Spirit's dew and heat, it subjects the flesh to itself and compels it to serve God with it. From good thoughts and right confessions, from the usefulness of justice and the fullness of inner desires, the verdure of holiness tends to the soul's conscience to strengthen it, to fortify the whole human person against all adversities with

62. Cf. Jb 10.3, Pss 8.7(6) and 91.5(92.4), Is 5.12, and elsewhere in Scripture.
63. Cf. 1.3.1.

the great protections of patience, to keep that person from being moved into various vices. For as the upper stars supply fire to the sun, so the powers of the soul bear all a person's inner parts to their respective functions. When the soul ignores sin to achieve justice, it rises up with rationality; but when it then senses that the body is weak, it condescends to the body lest it fail.

For the soul is a living breath[64] that awakens the whole human body, yet it is often subject against its will to carnal delight. When it wants to persist in the good, the soul is like the sun; but when the flesh remains steadfast in its own appetite, it is like the moon—for when the soul falters by sinning with the flesh, it senses its waning like the moon. Still, that same soul often raises itself back up like the sun against the flesh's will; and so a person rises up at the soul's complaint in this way, like the moon rekindled by the sun.

Through moisture the flesh indeed delights in sin, and through heat it grieves in penitence, for moisture is of the flesh and heat is of the soul.[65] Through these two properties, every work, whether good or bad, is accomplished, just as through them the earth's strength sprouts all things, both useful and useless. Indeed, this conflict is within the human person, for in sin the flesh delights and the soul is afflicted, so that all human deeds are accomplished by flesh and soul. For the evils that displease the soul are pleasing to the flesh, because the flesh is mortal but the soul immortal; yet the soul does not live without the flesh, and the flesh cannot live without the soul.

Indeed, the soul is a rational breath, and in the dwelling of its heart is wisdom, by which it reckons and orders all things,[66] like the head of the family setting all his affairs in order in his house. So too the soul has prudence, by which it establishes all useful things rightly in its vessel, just as the heart is enclosed by the lungs. Furthermore, it gathers discretion to itself by apportioning all things justly, as a person's bowels are joined together rightly and distinctly.

64. Cf. Gn 2.7.

65. Cf. *Cause* 2.130 (pp. 99–101), on the opposition of the two spiritual (fire and air) and two carnal elements (water and earth) within the human person.

66. Wis 8.1.

For the soul is fiery, and so it warms and bakes together into one all the paths that it regards with the heart. It holds them all fast so that none can be disjoined from the others, and fills them so that none lacks any of the others. And so too with wisdom the soul prudently orders in its thoughts all the body's functions, ascending also to God through faith in good and holy intention, because it recognizes that it was sent by him. For as moisture ascends to the brain from the lower parts of the body, so the soul draws all the functions of the human body up with a holy desire by coming to know God; and as that moisture again descends to replenish the lower parts of the body, so the soul condescends to the body, lest its functions act in offense to God.

26. After the brain is filled up, it produces foamy mucus, and after the bowels have been filled up, they discharge. This happens frequently in a person, just as both moisture and heat descend upon the earth and cause it to sprout; but after its fruits come to full maturity, the moisture and heat are withdrawn above.[67] Therefore, at the first sign of cold when winter seems near, the air stretches upward and, partially congealed by the heat of the sun, flies along, stretching itself out like filaments. Then the earth too is softened by moisture from above and spews forth foul foam.[68] Likewise, when the flesh's functions are fulfilled, it produces sweat, and thus pleasure arises within it, and then the person begins to act according to that pleasure's appetite. But when the soul senses in its conscience that it is doing its works according to the flesh's will and lustful desire, it often breathes sin's afflictions upon the flesh, because it has done wrong. Then it withdraws itself from the flesh's lustful desire, lest it be party to sin, and so the body chooses to abstain from sin.

And the soul never neglects to afflict the body and inflict upon it the harshness that comes from the sins it has committed, and so the human person is always suffering affliction, as the soul brings its complaint against the flesh and the flesh nurses its pleasure. This is why evil is recognized in the work

67. Cf. *Cause* 2.270 (p. 170).
68. Cf. *Cause* 1.24 (pp. 29–30).

of sin, as if in [the bowels'] discharge.[69] Indeed, the soul often works within the flesh's pleasure, which it later repudiates, as too the earth, touched by moisture and heat, sprouts forth plants both useless and useful. And even when a long-term habit of sinning infests a person with sins, still the soul often inspires the body to seek from God repentance for them, as too moisture and heat are often withdrawn above. So even in the midst of sin a person does both evil and good. Sometimes too, when a person's flesh beholds its own pleasure, the soul stretches out towards the heat of rationality, even though it is often blocked by its earthly dwelling. For when the body in its might re-engages the coagulation of its conception by sinning, then the rational soul cools by consenting to the flesh.[70] But still that soul then stretches back up to rationality, touching the person's heart with its explication of his perverted deeds and making that heart sigh and weep. In this way the soul overcomes the flesh so that, because of the soul's powers, the body does not complete its sins; rather, touched from above by the dew of the Holy Spirit, it puts off its stubbornness and, taking a hard look at its sins, reckons them as dirt.

27. And so the brain's vessel, which extends along the brow to the eyes, denotes the upper fire, beneath which burns the sun, whose fire is commingled with the gentle moisture of the watery air. This moisture is the sun's period,[71] setting the boundary of its placement beyond which it cannot pass. This moisture also

69. In the late 1160s, Hildegard's assistance was enlisted by the Abbot of Brauweiler to cure a woman possessed by a demon. Hildegard described the lengthy process in detail in autobiographical passages collected into her *Vita* (*Life* 3.20–23, pp. 193–206; see also *Lets.* 68–69, 1:147–52); in the end, the possessed woman, Sigewize, was brought to the Rupertsberg to spend the Lenten season under Hildegard's direct care. After the blessing of the baptismal font at the Easter liturgy, "the unclean spirit withdrew from her in a horrible way with a discharge from the woman's private parts, and she was set free. From then on, she continued in her right senses, both of soul and body, as long as she lived" (p. 205)—that is, as a sister at the Rupertsberg.

70. *Coagulatio* is Hildegard's term for the "curdling" of man's and woman's seeds in the conception of the fetus—cf. Wis 7.2; see further ch. 52, n. 130, below.

71. *punctum,* lit. "point." The sphere of watery air forms a fixed boundary along which the sun's path runs (and below which it cannot dip), by analogy

ascends through the ether's purity to the sun to mitigate its heat, lest it consume with its excessive fury the things upon the earth. So too the soul, which has within it conscience and rationality together with manifest modesty and healthful circumspection, reveals God's power, beneath which is that fortitude that grants to the minds of faithful humans the sighs of felicity. These sighs hold back the judgment of God's might, lest it show itself too harshly; and through true penitence they soothe the trial of that might, so that it forgets a person's sins when he repents of them.

Moreover, as the breeze stokes a fire, so rationality moves and illuminates the human soul. For rationality in the soul is like the breeze and light within a fire, and the soul is a breath, unfailing and rational, sent into the human person by God.[72] As fire would not be fire without heat, so the soul would not be intelligible without rationality; instead, it would, like any irrational creature, pass by like the wind, because the wind is not a flaming fire. For rationality leads the soul everywhere with its knowledge, by considering and understanding in a thousand ways what a person does—and so with it the soul joyfully understands the good within its conscience, like the sun burning in the heavens. Yet, the soul cannot always remain in this heavenly ardor, for then the person's flesh would falter—and so the soul brings its refreshment to the body in some affair. For when my Son dwelt bodily in the world, he sometimes prayed, sometimes labored, and then restored his body—and he did this without sin, for he had been conceived without sin.[73]

As its period holds back the sun lest it transgress its boundary, so too the soul tempers the body by consenting to it, lest it falter. It does this in great purity, so that the person's body is not mocked by perverse deeds, yet neither is it banished in neglect

---

to a circle's circumference equidistant from its fixed center-point; cf. ch. 49 below, where *punctum* marks the earth as the center-point of the firmament; *Cause* 1.20 and 31 (pp. 27 and 37); and see Widmer, 105.

72. Cf. *Expl. Symb. S. Athan.*, pp. 116–17.

73. This division might also correspond to the threefold division of the monastic day as established in *RB* 48: prayer (the *Opus Dei,* the "Work of God" or liturgy of the hours), manual labor, and *lectio divina* (meditative reading of Scripture).

because of too celestial a focus, as moisture tempers the sun so that it is not consumed. The soul indeed loves discretion in all things—and as often as a person's body eats or drinks without discretion, or does any other such thing indiscreetly, the powers of the soul are torn apart. For all things must be done with discretion, because humans cannot exist if all they ever do is sigh after the things of heaven.[74]

Indeed, the earth is cracked by an excess of the sun's seething heat, and cannot usefully raise a bud because of undue rain; instead, the earth sprouts whatever things are useful through the proper balance of heat and moisture. So too through just moderation all the works of heaven and earth are ordered and accomplished well and with discretion. Moreover, those with whom heaven is illumined have loved and still love this discretion—but the devil did not and does not want it, for he strives for either too great a height or too great a depth, so that falling, he will not rise again.

28. But the brain also has a certain blackness over it, for human breath is moist and casts this moisture up to it; and when it reaches the point past which it cannot go further, it creates a blackness. This blackness resists heat, so that the brain does not erupt in a fury, just as the black fire holds back the bright fire so that it cannot transgress its boundary. This blackness of the brain introduces phlegm and bruising to the rest of the body, just as the black fire often produces tempests, thunderstorms, and hail upon the earth.

In this way, when the soul tends its knowledge upwards in fawning exaltation, it is as if blackened by it up there, for when a person's aspirations have been puffed up in exaltation, they lack the purity of true light. This disturbance fights against heavenly fortitude in such a way that that fortitude does not stir up the conscience with the heat of heavenly desires; likewise, the court

74. On discretion, see further 2.1.27–29 below. Hildegard's nuanced doctrine here is reminiscent of St. Benedict's own tempering instructions, e.g., *RB* 48.9 ("Yet all things are to be done with moderation on account of the fainthearted"), 49.1–2, and 64.17–9 ("Therefore, drawing on … examples of discretion, the mother of virtues, [the abbot] must so arrange everything that the strong have something to yearn for and the weak nothing to run from").

of God that examines human sins one by one often withholds its ruling so that it does not completely crush the sinner. And darkness of conscience often introduces lustful desire and the rashness of sin into the neglectful person, for he does not see the judgment of heaven, nor does he see that in its court this judgment wears away the various excesses of those who err.[75]

The soul, at any rate, because it has embraced the pleasure of the body in which it operates, often consents to the body; and when it then recognizes in fiery rationality the blackness of this consent, it afflicts the flesh through penance, and then, in turn, comforts it, lest the person's sensibility fail. Indeed, in the human body the soul dwells according to what it finds in its humors, like a bee working within the vessel of the honeycomb, producing honey that is sometimes clear and sometimes murky. For when the soul rises up with fiery rationality in such a way that the body cannot endure the ascent, then the soul descends and comforts the body, for the flesh is fragile like the earth. Thus the soul and the body wage various battles between themselves, for with soul and flesh a person does deeds both bright and darkened.

29. Through the brain's powers the whole human body is maintained, as said above, like the upper elements powered by the sun. The sun indeed shines above and below and circles through the entire firmament, except for the northern region. For when God strengthened the whole earth with his creation, he left that one place empty, so that creation might come to know the substance and quality of God's brilliance. For light is honored by the darkness, and the darkened part—emptiness—serves the bright, because Lucifer chose it when he wanted to be equal to his Lord. The sun also rises in the east, and grows ever stronger and stronger in its heat until midday; but after noon it sinks down to its setting, and so completes its course until early the next morning.[76] And because it does not approach the northern part, at dawn and twilight there is cold upon the earth.

But I, who am without beginning, am the fire by which all

75. "excesses of those who err": cf. *RB* 2.26.
76. Cf. *Let.* 158r (2:106).

lights are lit. The light covers over the darkness, and the darkness cannot comprehend the light.[77] Indeed, the light does not mingle with the darkness, nor can the darkness pass over into the light.

For as humankind was established by God with the good conscience that is the light of truth, and as they fall away to evil with the evil conscience that possesses the emptiness in which there are no ordained merits or rewards, so in humankind are signified heaven and earth, light and darkness.[78] Indeed, through the conscience all one's deeds are governed, as through the spirit of fortitude the rest of the virtues are maintained. For that spirit thrives in matters both spiritual and worldly and defends humankind from the tricks of the ancient serpent, who, empty of all happiness, points to God's brilliance, so that through evil, what is good might be recognized—for the servant ought to be subject to his lord. Indeed, fortitude is strong in the inception and execution of a person's good works, and after their completion, it avoids the evil deeds within the person. And so it runs back to its own beginning and does not desire evil, for from start to finish, the Holy Spirit's heat is never present in perversity; rather, it is laziness and negligence that draw a person away to harmful things.[79]

But he who is without beginning is the light that sets all shining lights ablaze and dispels all adversities of darkness, for it cannot be extinguished by them. And as the faithful person is governed by God and the perverted one alienated from him, so in the human person each of the elements is properly distinguished. Thus the soul appears as fire, but rationality is like a light within it, and in this way the soul is perfused by this shining rationality, like the world lit by the sun. For through rationality, the soul foresees and recognizes all the works that it performs in a person. The human person indeed has within himself appetite and desire, and through these two the blood in his veins is moved with the marrow's heat.[80] In this way the

77. Jn 1.5.
78. Cf. 2.1.23, on Gn 1.1.
79. Cf. *RB* 48.1 and 18; and *Gosp. Hom.* 40 (pp. 161–63).
80. Cf. *Cause* 2.284 (p. 177).

person operates like a wheel completing its course after it has been set in running motion—for because the body possesses appetite and desire, it pushes the soul around here and there, so that the soul often directs its steps according to these impulses.

30. The sun also disappears when obscured by a black cloud and overwhelmed by lightning and thunder and downpours of rain; but when all those pass, it again pours forth its light, and in this, it signifies the human soul. For when the soul is oppressed by the body so that it cooperates with the lustful desires of the flesh, the light of rationality within it is darkened, because anger is like lightning, greed like thunder, and illicit carnal desires like downpours of rain. But when it has then purged itself of these through penitence, it is lit again in true light's splendor, hoping that it can be freed and saved.

And so the soul breathes forth rationality like fire emitting sparks, and through it the soul distinguishes heavenly and earthly things. Therefore, if the body is overcome by the soul to do good and just works, it will rejoice because of eternal life; but if the soul is oppressed by the body such that it neglects the good and does what is evil, it casts itself into the places of hell. The soul also repudiates the devil, who wanted to be like God, and thus the soul is separated from the northern part—that is, no matter whether it does good or evil, the soul does not call itself "god," but recognizes through rationality that it was created by God. In addition, it often teaches its earthly vessel to do deeds that are of heaven: first it consents to the lustful desires of the flesh, and then, after extracting itself from them, it afflicts its vessel when it ascends to its duties, sifting out through penitence all the evil in that vessel, as barley is separated out from wheat.[81]

These are the works of the soul, for when it does the good, it is like the sun when it burns at midday; but when it pants for evil, it is like the sun when it sinks to its setting; and when it then rises again through penitence, it is as the sun when it withdraws its splendor from storms. But yet, as a person is growing through the soul's powers, because of the body's tenderness—its veins not yet filled up, its marrow not yet hardened—he can-

81. Cf. Am 9.9.

not yet recognize the things of heaven nor discern the punishments of hell, for his body has not yet been baked to perfection. So too the soul then is empty in its vessel, for that person does not yet possess fear, just as people in the world's first age lacked fear of the law.[82] But when a person's age is full, the soul is empowered with the body and urges it to do good works; but the body falls away from the soul's will and spends its energies according to the flesh's lustful desires. As long as the body lives, it busies itself in such pursuits, unless it is curbed by the soul's powers through penitence.

31. Because the pure ether is signified from the forehead to the tip of the nose, as said above,[83] the forehead, which is between the brain and eyes, sustains the constitution of the brain and eyes and contains within itself illness born from brain and stomach.[84] Likewise, the moon, surrounded by the stars beneath the sun, often receives what descends from above and ascends from below. For the eyes, which behold very many things, reveal the stars of the firmament, shining everywhere. The white of the eyes signifies the purity of the ether, and their clarity its splendor; while the pupil signifies the stars that are in the ether. Moreover, the eyes' moisture demonstrates the moisture that wets the ether from the waters below so that it is not harmed by the fire above.

This also means that because the soul is stationed in true penitence between conscience and circumspection, by God's grace it drives its vessel to repentance. The modesty that dwells between conscience and circumspection denotes their path, for it advances rightly when it loves shame.[85] When a wicked conscience attacks it with lustful desire, it renders each fault harmless by hiding within itself so that those faults cannot burst out into the open. So too the fear of the Lord keeps well-regulated within itself both the eternal and the fallen because it is fortified by the strength of the celestial virtues.

Circumspection, moreover, by which the faithful person

82. Cf. 3.2.4–5.
83. See ch. 17.
84. I.e., sinus congestion; cf. ch. 18.
85. "modesty … shame": *uerecundia … pudiciciam.*

plans whatever things are good for himself, reveals the ardent desire he has for heavenly things. For circumspection's reflection, by which a person diligently considers whether what he sees is beneficial for his soul, desires the sincerity of true penitence—and consideration's penetrating vision loves the beauty of repentance when a person observes himself cleansed from sin. Furthermore, its focus—which is like the pupil of the eye—clarifies the brightly burning works that are within it; but with the remission[86] of sins it embellishes the groans and sighs with which repentance shakes loose the wetness of tears, lest it be stricken by God's potential judgment.

Indeed, the soul looks all about as it begins and enacts each of its works, for it is fiery and breathes with air and executes and discerns all things with the conscience and rationality. For when the soul is robust in the body, it begins to operate mightily and desires to do its work—but then it is met by the body's many infirmities, in the marrow, blood, and stomach. For from the marrow's heat a person's blood boils, and from the weight of food in the stomach, the blood burns. These infirmities are a particular obstacle to the soul's powers because, from the flesh's hot intensity, Satan's craftily plaited licentiousness springs forth and rises up to the soul from its earthly origins, proposing to it that, because the person is flesh, the soul ought to allow him to live according to the flesh. So it is that the soul is often compelled by the body—which is a lowly thing—to do evil with it.

Moreover, the works of the soul exist together with the body's mobility, like the moon surrounded by the stars. Through knowledge the soul is like an artisan with the rest of creation,[87] so that the works of its skill, whether of a higher or lower kind, are seen and recognized in its vessel, just as the stars shine, whether brightly or dimly, in the firmament. Knowledge also appears in a person, brilliant like the white of the eyes, and understanding gleams in him like the eyes' clarity, and rationality shines in him like the eyes' pupils.[88] Therefore, a person is urged to reach out towards heaven with sighing and weeping

86. *indulgentia.*
87. "like an artisan": *artificiosa est;* cf. Wis 7.21(22) and 8.6.
88. Cf. 3.2.12.

when he judges himself unworthy of the reward of eternal recompense, for he knows that he is burdened by many sins, and so strives only to escape the punishments of judgment.

32. When a person is moved in his heart by either happiness or sorrow, the blood vessels of his brain, chest, and lungs are also shaken; so too the veins of the chest and lungs cause humors to rise up to the veins of the brain, and they receive that moisture and pour it out through the eyes.[89] Thus they bring a person to tears, just as when the firmament, stirred up by the winds as the moon begins to wax or wane, shakes the sea and the earth's other waters with its roar, and they produce mist and moisture. Then the clouds receive this mist and moisture and extend to the moon, which thirsts for them, as it were; after it drinks them up, it sends them back again to the clouds and causes them to produce a consistent rain. For in this way, rain falls upon the earth from the waters below, which the clouds draw up and then send back down.[90]

So when the soul within a person sometimes either rejoices at the surety of its salvation or grieves as under the pressure of its sins, the person's conscience is moved by fear with a conscious confession of repentance, and in sighing therein it is set upright. As the soul surveys its works, it elicits tears in a person and causes him to mourn, for when the fear of the Lord shakes a person up, it compels him to weep with thirsty groans. So it may be that, when a person sometimes weeps bitterly because of adversity in worldly affairs, he often can twist his spirit away from the worldly (now ignored) and toward a desire for the heavenly. For when a person steps away from God and forgets him, his soul soon quakes with fear, for at that point all his limbs, filled with the soul's powers, are moved onto a foreign path where God need be neither honored nor feared. But before its vessel the soul sets sin's shame and confusion and causes it to sigh, so that these sighs bring forth tears.

And so, from these sighs and tears the viridity of repentance surges up within that person. Therefore, awakened anew in good works, he examines the burdens of his sins with such dil-

89. On tears, cf. *Cause,* 2.309–11 (pp. 186–88).
90. Cf. 1.2.7.

igence and repentance that the flesh of his limbs is a little bit dried out, and such bitterness grows in his heart that he often says to himself, "Why was I born for such crimes? With my soul I have sinned against God, and with it I perform penance while sighing to God, who deigned to receive the form of Adam from a virgin. So too am I confident that he does not despise me, but rather absolves me of my sins and receives me, a penitent, in true faith through the face of his holy humanity." Then soul and body join together as one and aspire to God in harmony, for sin utterly displeases the soul, and it is only compelled to consent to the flesh because of the senselessness of carnal desire. For if the soul took delight in sin, a person would forever wallow in sin's muck; but the soul does not delight in sin, even though it cooperates in it with the body. Likewise, the elements that sustain humankind do not urge them to sin, but rather judge them in sin by God's judgment; and in good works, they reveal sweetness and pleasantness upon them.

As often as the soul is forced to cooperate in evil with the body, sorrow floods the body, for such works displease even it. But when the soul achieves what is good with the body, it causes the body to rejoice. Therefore, the person who does good is beloved of other people by God's grace, even though the person does not know it, and it sometimes has the effect that such a person desires insatiably to do good things, like the angels who can never weary in their contemplation as they gaze upon God's face.[91] Because that person's soul possesses the joy of good working, it condescends to the body, shakes it from sin, and introduces to it sighs and tears through humble repentance, so that it grows green to the virtues, just as the clouds draw up water and then send it back down.

33. But as no visible form exists without a name, so none exists without dimension. So too both human eyes are of equal measure, and their reflective casings are equal in circumference. For God separated the virtues from the vices, and holy deeds from sins, just as he distinguished each creature known to humankind from the others in its form and name.[92] Likewise,

91. Cf. ch. 11 above.
92. Cf. Gn 2.19–20.

with circumspection a person may foresee as with the eye whatever things are good for him. Indeed, in the good focus of his consideration he possesses a sincere and equal discretion, so that if he exceeds moderation in something good, he does not topple into the deep; or if he embraces excess in something bad, he does not completely perish in despair.

34. With rationality the soul also reveals the qualities of sins and demonstrates the measures of sinning and repenting. For a person is imbued with repentance by the soul's powers when with all eagerness he breaks his sins through repentance, like rain extinguishing fire; yet, in comparison to eternal glory and an ineffable recompense, he can scarcely conceive how he is to be saved. For even if a person's repentance surpassed the sand and the waters of the sea, still he can scarcely conceive of his joyous salvation in the face of the ineffable glory of eternal life.[93]

Oh, where can be found the one who leaves unfulfilled his flesh's desires by turning away from sin? For the conscience of the rational soul exists in two modes, for it recognizes good and perceives evil; that is, it establishes the reward for good and the punishment for evil. These are two of the soul's functions by which it is present in the body, often by acting in accordance with the body's demands. And so a person is like the daytime in good actions and like the nighttime in evil ones.

35. The human person sees through the eyes, smells through the nose, and tastes through the mouth. Likewise, certain rays are sometimes cast from the highest stars onto the other stars by the force of the sun and moon, which are aided by the stars' service, so that each light is stirred up by another.[94] Moreover, when the soul sees perverse and filthy deeds, it is saddened; when it must understand those deeds through a wicked report as through smell, it sighs; and when it must perform them with the body as through taste,[95] it causes the person to shed tears and inflicts penitence upon him through the conscience, as well as sighs through a report of those sins, and tears through their effect. Indeed, penitence is the soul's illuminatrix, and within

93. Cf. Sir 18.8–10.
94. Cf. 1.2.31–32.
95. "taste": *gustum*, often translated elsewhere as "appetite."

it are sighs and tears; swiftly it washes away a person's faults as from it come sighs and tears, the helpers of true penitence, just as the virtues, aroused by the spirit of fortitude and fear of the Lord, effectively illuminate the faithful person.

36. All the things that are in the human head are kept in position by the chin, in the same way that all the elements described above are maintained in their established places by the clouds. This signifies that the minds of the faithful ought to secure the stability of good works so that, as they persevere in them, they may arrive at the things of heaven. The summer heat also signifies the bones, and the winter cold the marrow in a person, for the soul bakes the bones with fire and congeals the marrow with the cold that it draws into its vessel. So too the whole earth is tested through summer and winter, so that its fruit is congealed beneath the earth by the firmament's cold and then loosened by its heat.[96] Indeed, the sun's heat and the moisture of the waters in the clouds join together and mix so that through them, every fruit upon the earth is guided and ripened, for the sun's heat and the waters' moisture cultivate the whole earth, as it were, and cause it to bear fruit and bring it to maturity,[97] like a potter spinning his vessel to perfection. Heat and moisture are coupled together in the clouds with such durability that they cannot at all be separated or dissipated before the Last Day by invasion or escape or by scattering about.[98]

And the soul in a person is strengthened by the Holy Spirit's fire for good works, and weakened by the cold of laziness and neglect. Indeed, the fire of fortitude and the remorse of a person's mind mix together to bring forth good fruit in that person, and they strengthen and adorn him with every advantage so that he cannot possibly be separated from his service and love of God. For when a person experiences the vexation and disgust of sins, his sins are restrained within him by that disgust, as a fire is choked by dense smoke lest it burn up with its energy. Indeed, when the flesh's desire is disrupted in a person's mind by the powers of the soul, they soon weave within that

96. Cf. ch. 72 and n. 188 below.
97. Cf. *Physica* 2.1 (p. 99).
98. Cf. 1.2.41.

person sighs for the heavenly homeland, as a bee builds a honeycomb with honey in its casing.[99] For there a person's works, both new and old mixed together, are watered with true humility, lest they wither after being scorched by the heat of pride. And so, through the Holy Spirit's fire and the moisture of humility, the fruit-bearing virtues are perfected within the Holy Spirit's vessel, in which wisdom builds for herself a dwelling,[100] so that such a person might gather up the virtues that are fairest before God and his angels, as if in the fragrance of all the spices—a dwelling where thenceforth [the virtues] do not grow faint.

37. But hearing, smell, the mouth's rationality, and touch are also directed and understood through the vision of the eyes—that is, so that each is known in terms of either what it is or how it operates—as too the entire framework of the firmament is directed and illuminated by the sun, moon, and stars. For a person sees through the eyes what he comes to know with wisdom, and that he also grasps through hearing, smell, and taste. But what he gathers in his heart—what he does not see through the eyes—he knows through conscience. For the serpent's guile was also hidden before it revealed itself when it first asked Eve about something it did not know;[101] and then it deceived her, for she was guileless. This first step of original sin arose through the devil's deceit, and it is like a cloud rising out of a noxious air and covering the whole earth so that pure daylight cannot be seen, to corrode the works of wisdom as if by degrading them.[102] Thus, guile has neither mirthfulness nor joy, nor does it find anywhere to rest.

This also signifies that each of a person's senses tends towards his intention, as too the virtues hasten to his correction when he beseeches it of God. For wherever a person's intention leads him, there too he directs his senses; yet the thoughts of his heart are unknown so long as they remain hidden. So, when Eve was deceived by the devil, she did not know his cunning, for he

99. Cf. ch. 28 above.

100. I.e., the heart; cf. Prv 7.1.

101. Cf. Gn 3.1.

102. Cf. *Scivias* 1.2.9–10; and Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Ep.* 27 (PL 193: 614B, quoted in Newman, *Sister,* 106n54).

had so completely concealed himself that the first parent could not see his guile. So too he overturned the whole world into evil, for he had nothing good within himself.

38. Moreover, the human eyebrows indicate the pathways of the moon—the one by which it approaches the sun from below to be renewed, the other by which it retreats after being enkindled by the sun. The eyebrows are the defense and fortification of the eyes, as the moon provides protection and nourishment to the stars. For as the moon, enkindled by the sun, begins to wax, it receives fire from both stars and sun, thus relieving them lest they overflow with too much fire; and as it wanes, it pours its fires into the stars, though not into the sun, for the sun is like a principle,[103] forever existing in a single state.

In this way the soul leads the constancy and security within a person—that is, his path—to the fear of the Lord, because as a person fears God, he sometimes meets with prosperity and at other times adversity. But in either case the soul ought to guide a person rightly, so that he is neither presumptuous in prosperity nor depressed in adversity. Then, buttressed with the spirit of fortitude, he proves himself robust in all things. For these virtues form a defense for a person's intention, just as the fear of the Lord is the foundation and shield of the other virtues. For when a person is clothed with fortitude, he gathers to himself and displays the other virtues, which are armed with fortitude and fear. Then fear of the Lord causes him to cling to heavenly desires in both adversity and prosperity.

39. The span from nose to throat signifies the watery air together with the strong, bright white air placed beneath it; the human nose signifies the air that moves the waters, while the mouth demonstrates in rationality the waters' moisture. Moreover, the ears reveal the roar and din of the waters that consistently pour forth through the wind of the watery air and the altitude of the clouds. For by the ear's hearing, a person's interior is shaken up, as the elements are penetrated by the sound of the waters above. The mouth of rationality is wetted with moisture, as the higher elements are moistened by the moisture of those waters, lest they be exhausted by drought. And the nostrils

103. *princeps,* alt. "prince."

are filled by scent, as too those waters are stirred up by the air.

Moreover, as the nose stretches up in length, so the watery air transmits its moisture into the purity of the ether and the heat of the fire above it, and receives from them a strong disposition so that it is not dissipated or dissolved by draining away. The brain and veins are also cleansed through the nose, for when the elements are sometimes disturbed, they too are often cleansed by moisture and mist above. For the pure ether is flooded by the moisture of the watery air, as already described, just as penitence is enlightened by the works and examples of the just, and as the ears' hearing grasps the words of knowledge when those words resound within them. The waft of a scent and the moisture of the mouth's rationality also join together as one to produce the moisture of saliva; and as water flows and roars and floods the whole earth with its moisture, likewise the watery air moistens the elements above. The soul's breath too takes its proper route through the nose and through the mouth; it climbs neither higher nor lower than its boundary, just as the watery air holds to the course in which it was placed.

These things also signify that when the soul in a person is touched by God's gift and with the discerning intellect of a good scent eagerly tastes of the examples of the just, which are poured into him with viridity because he listened to the words of others, the soul rouses the deepest parts of the heart so that, flooded with the Holy Spirit's grace, he might retain the fragrance of the virtues with complete desire. This is why, as temperance perceives the fragrance of blessedness and considers the works of the faithful, which they accomplish both by persevering in good deeds and abandoning evil ones through penitence, it joins with God's power to keep those works from washing away through immoderation. For when a person's conscience is cleansed through the temperance of a good scent, it restores that person to the good, strengthened on all sides. Indeed, penitence is often lifted up in its truest sighs when true and holy words are offered for the instruction of the faithful. For those words ought to possess the virtue of right moderation, so that a person might manage all his works well and lift himself up to heavenly things with just consideration, so that, rather

than exceeding his own measure, he can advance rightly in soul and body according to the examples of the saints.[104]

There is also within the watery air a certain breeze that descends with the dew's moisture upon the earth to moderate the viridity and dryness of fruits—viridity in the summer, dryness in the winter.[105] Through this breeze the earth's fruits receive their energy, just as the whole human person is fed through the person's mouth. All of the upper winds are also moderated and brought forth by this breeze, just as the world is illumined by the splendor of the sun. Likewise, through the examples of the just, remorse sometimes rises up in the faithful person to introduce into him the viridity of good works and the drought of evil ones—to desire good ones as if in summer and to scorn evil ones as if in winter, and, fed in this way upon the savory fruits of justice, ever to strive for heavenly desires.

40. In the tongue is demonstrated the swelling of the waters, by which they are lifted up to flood back down, for as words are formed by the tongue, so the waters are turned into waves by this swelling. This signifies that when the soul desires to possess heavenly desires, it presses its vessel to praise its Creator and causes it to offer unremitting prayers with the mind's devotion. And the soul is moved with moisture and resounds with a fiery roar. Because it is fiery, it recognizes God, and because it is breath, it pants for God, who is spirit.

When the soul accomplishes what is good, it holds to the just course, like a clear sky empty of dark clouds. But when it engages in the rot of sin, it is like the flood of waters that overturn the sky's clear course. Yet, when the soul has removed itself from sin, as it is written in the Gospel concerning the steward who turned himself to mercy by leaving sins behind and lessening debts;[106] and when afterwards it seeks God's grace for its sins, that he might revive it like the four-day-dead Lazarus,[107] it draws the deepest sighs; encloses itself with correction as with a strong fence; keeps at good works, lest it approach again the habit of

104. Cf. *Gosp. Hom.* 3 (p. 41).
105. Cf. *Physica* 2.1 (p. 99).
106. Lk 16.1–8; cf. *Let.* 113r (2:57–58).
107. Jn 11.39.

sin; and executes repentance steady as the firmament, lest it again undertake the evils of sin.

41. In the teeth, moreover, is revealed the fortified container of the waters, which is strong and firm like teeth—that is, the strong, bright white air that contains the waters lest they exceed their measure and be drained away.[108] Through this it is shown that the human mind is strengthened and preserved with God's grace through the soul, so that it does not wash away through too many evil thoughts willingly drawn in by illicit desires. This happens in the human person through the works of sin like a storm, on the one hand, and through their repentance like a medicine, on the other.

Furthermore, human teeth are neither hollow nor have the softness of marrow, for they are not clothed with flesh. Rather, they are compacted and hardened by the brain and the entire framework of the human form—which is established like the firmament—and raised up into their hardness by the heat and moisture of the head. They signify, moreover, that the rational soul exists as an infinite life in equal balance, neither increased through the growth of the body nor decreased by its deficiency. For the soul is a breath of almighty God, who wonderfully created through his Word all parts of creation, ordained in his foreknowledge. Indeed, the soul visibly moves the body, into which it is invisibly poured by its Creator's power, and it dwells invisibly in the body to bring it to life. Likewise, God confirmed all of creation, which he created for the service of humankind, with a certain invisible force of his own potential, from the viridity of the earth and the heat of the air, as well as from the moisture of the waters. And to that soul he provided a garment—the body—unknown and foreign to its nature.

42. When infants are young and do not yet possess the blood's strength (for they are as yet cold), they do not have teeth; but after their blood is strengthened and infused with heat, their teeth erupt and are strengthened. Yet when they reach old age, their blood is weakened and their heat diminished, and so their teeth decay and loosen again because of the cold.

So too, when the soul is first embodied at almighty God's

108. Cf. 1.2.7.

command, with its fire it warms its body, which was created from the four elements, until, again at almighty God's command, it passes away.[109] The soul also takes great joy in the body during a person's infancy because of his innocence, when he is fed by nursing upon tender food, for he has not yet tasted of sin, like Adam before the fall, living purely and simply. But with the passage of time and the strengthening of the bones, as a person is invigorated in flesh and blood, that innocence passes away—for then the taste of sin springs up in that person, his soul oppressed by acting against its nature and overcome by the body living in sin. And as after the sun sets, its splendor is taken away from humankind, so after the commission of sin, the soul is tortured, groaning and crying out for the loss of the joy it once possessed. For the taste of sin infects the body, the blood, and all a person's insides with the work of sins; but after those sins are committed, because of their loathsomeness a person is often led at the urging of the soul's sighs into heartfelt grief.

43. But when infants are young, the fluid from their brain descends to the gums and with certain other humors hollows out holes in them, in which it lies until the age of maturity described above, like buds dormant in a tree's branches during winter. But then, when the blood's strength and heat rise up in them like summertime, that fluid is congealed with the other humors and the heat of the blood, and erupts into teeth, just as with the arrival of summer heat, buds begin to appear on tree branches. Before their teeth emerge, infants are meanwhile beset with deep, debilitating pain in the holes created in their gums by the fluid of the brain and the other humors. But after they have passed through childhood and are established in the fullness of their blood, they embrace lustfulness as their soul's sanctity weakens through the appetite of the flesh. Thus a person of that age must be kept under the strict watchfulness of fear.[110]

109. Cf. *Cause* 2.129–30 (pp. 94–101).

110. In *Cause* 2.286, Hildegard indicates that boys "receive the appetite of pleasure" at age fourteen, while girls reach puberty at twelve (pp. 178–79); there too she notes the necessity of keeping both under careful guard, because, though pubescent, they are not yet mature enough to handle the consequences of sex; cf. ch. 98 below.

And so the soul is dominated by the body at the point when a person hesitates about what he does or does not want to choose or to do—yet there is no delay as the soul is, as it were, taken captive and bound. When a person commits an evil deed—the appetite for sin congealed by the boiling blood—the soul also acts with its body, albeit unwillingly and against its nature. As the summer heat brings the earth's sprouts and the trees' fruits to maturity, so a person, allured by his blood's heat with the enticements of the flesh, does not resist fulfilling whatever vices he can.

44. The teeth also move around and grind up each piece of food through whose energy a person is fed—and so they are positioned like a mill, which is turned with an airstream of water and whose stone disk is heated with the friction.[111] For as a person tempers the food by which he is refreshed by grinding it with his teeth, so his soul executes with burning zeal whatever he chooses by will. Through the soul, a person receives sensation and appetite to accomplish any deed, whether good or ill—and so with a spirit set to circling by its thoughts like a mill, the soul rouses the person most passionately like a fire that burns ever stronger when inflamed by the bellows' blasts. Thus, with the soul and the four elements from which Man was created, a person executes through the faculty of rationality whatever he wills, moving about through the desires of his heart, as a mill constructed by human skill is turned quite swiftly by water. And as the mill is properly and often reinforced by human skill to preserve the speed of its rotation, so as long as the soul remains in a person, it is aided in the good by God's grace. Nevertheless, evil pleasure and its consent wickedly heap other things upon it at the devil's instigation.

45. Moreover, the chin hangs down like a curved arch and lifts up the human face; the throat receives refreshment's full strength and transmits it moderately to the stomach; and the neck supports the whole head with its strength. These signify the various clouds: some dip down a little when weighted with

111. The water that drives the mill corresponds to the fluid of the brain in the previous chapter.

rain, but placidly reveal the lightheartedness, as it were, of their upper layers; others, meanwhile, touching the earth with the air's energy, temper it in this way to bring forth the fullness of its fruits for the rest of creation's use; and still others, like pillars, bear up and hold together the whole rapid revolution of the firmament.[112]

When a person extends trustful hope through the soul to God, he recognizes with the two eyes of rationality—the knowledge of good and evil—his heavenly homeland and the punishments of hell. For with his face, which is lifted up by the chin, he beholds every visible thing, and through the intellect he considers what kind of thing each might be. Indeed, as he discerns each thing through the soul, so he arranges it to be honorable in the sight of God and humankind, just as the throat moderately transmits the food it receives to the stomach for restoration. When a person is invigorated in this way by a true and pure faith, the soul can gaze worthily upon the royal throne of the true Solomon, who is Christ.[113]

For faith scatters all thoughts that arise in a person from sin—but thoughts that proceed from faith with truth's simplicity it directs through the soul's sighing to the true King. This strong and true virtue also sustains the other virtues like the neck holding up the head; and as the clouds like pillars hold up the rapid revolution of the firmament, so through its good steadfastness, faith preserves in humans all good and holy works that build the heavenly Jerusalem. But the unfaithful, who set aside faith and instead do all their works wickedly through their unfaithfulness, are unworthy before God; as food that has been digested is discharged with a foul stench, so they will not unworthily be condemned to the punishments of hell.[114]

46. Furthermore, the hairs that hang from the head reveal the drops of rain[115] that fall one-by-one through the clouds and, in watering the whole earth, lead it through viridity to fruit-

112. Cf. 1.1.2, in reference to the winds.

113. Cf. 1 Sm 1.46 and 1 Chr 29.23; see also 3.5.17 below. Dronke cites Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos* 126 (PL 37: 1668) for the typology (*LDO,* p. 179).

114. Cf. ch. 26 above.

115. Cf. Song 5.2.

fulness. Likewise the soul, sent by God into the weak and mortal body of an infant, brings that body to life with its powers. As that infant body remains still in its natural simplicity, the soul is greatly beautified by putting on as if the elegant robe of innocence, for it repels the storm-like vices and brings forth the fruitfulness of all the virtues like the earth, which produces its fruit by sprouting with the pleasant rain. For innocence is a queen, girded with a golden robe[116] understood as chastity, whose virtues are multiplied like the drops of rain; and humility is the head of chastity.[117] When these two virtues are allied in a person, they cause heaven to resound with praise and fill up the earth with the examples of the holy virtues.

47. The hair on some people's heads keeps its strength so that it cannot be pulled or torn out, because their flesh is kept moist by the humors that nourish the hair, just as, when the earth is watered, it brings forth a bountiful crop. Through this it is shown that by its powers, the soul enacts the fruitful virtues of good works in those people who willingly listen to God's words with devout minds and often bring forth by the Holy Spirit's fiery inspiration the moisture of tears with sighs and heavenly desire. Their holy intention joyfully bears the fruit of fruitful works as in the richness of good earth, so that the soul may rejoice in those good works, exulting now in Christ in harmony with the body. Truly strengthened with the sweetness of his love, the soul persists in blessed steadfastness so that it no longer withers with the wasteful wandering of spiritual or carnal vices.

But on other people's heads, the hairs fall out so that they go bald, because their flesh grows dry in its heat. For heat passes to the top of their heads and gradually plucks out the hairs one-by-one, because they have no moisture, just as, when the earth lacks moisture, because of its drought it is fallow of budding viridity.[118] So those people who live so steadfastly forgetful of God that they do not consent to the soul's will, either at the Holy Spirit's admonition or through the teaching or counsel of faithful teachers, are like the dry earth, without moisture and

116. Ps 44(45).13–14.
117. Cf. *Scivias* 3.8.24.
118. Cf. *Cause* 2.176 (p. 129).

unable to bear fruit because of drought. For they establish all of their works upon the will of their own desire, and not upon the nature of the soul. So too, oppressed by the manifold vicissitude of sin, they do not seek after heaven with any hope of blessedness, nor do they desire in earthly matters to benefit humankind with any useful assistance. Such persons indeed are not warmed by the Holy Spirit's fire and lack discretion, the mother of virtues.[119] Because of the inconsistency of their morals, what once pleased them they later disdain, and so they are deprived of the stability of holy virtues, like a head destitute of hair.

48. And so Man faces the east, gazing as the west does to the east; and extending his arms as south and north are divided from each other, he points his right arm to the south and his left to the north.[120] In this way the soul flies by working in a person with its powers and the four elements through the knowledge of good and evil—looking to the east through knowledge of the good, and to the west through knowledge of evil. Thus, when a person is kindled with the knowledge of the good by the fire that is God, he can fly with the south wind in the perfection of holy deeds—but in bringing about evil deeds, he is punished by the north wind's wings according to his sin. For with its powers, the soul, which renders the body sensible, makes a person either cold or warm, so that through that southern heat and northern cold he has sensation. This can be proven in the breath a person exhales, either warm or cold as he has chosen.

Within the creation that he discerns through sight, a person does either good or evil with the soul as his flesh desires; and for its part—on the right, as it were—the soul enacts the good with fear and love of God. So too the evil conscience in a person is overcome by the good with the help of God's grace, just as the left hand is pressured by the right, which has the greater strength. For as the soul, which is a breath from God, dwells invisibly in the body, it learns how to move the body in a particular action not by sight but by virtue of rationality. Likewise, one senses the wind not by sight, but by the sound and motion of its

119. *RB* 64.19; cf. *Scivias* 3.6.7.

120. Hildegard returns to the image of a human astride the universe, as described in 1.2.1; she names this Man as Adam in ch. 97 below.

breeze—though what these might truly be, human knowledge can neither grasp nor understand.

49. The shoulder-blades and shoulders, together with the arms and hands, are attached to the neck, just as the four principal winds, together with their collaterals, are joined to the firmament. The elbow, the shoulder with shoulder-blades, and the hand with the fingers each offer assistance, just as the principal winds uphold the firmament with their wings, that is, with their collateral winds. And hand is joined to hand just as the wing of each wind extends to the wing of another.[121]

These signify that the soul, a breath of God's spirit that exists as life through the life that is God, does not experience the end of life as does the human body, but rather vivifies and sustains the body with its powers. Likewise, the stars [sustain] the firmament with its center-point—the earth, which the Word of God established, strengthened, and illumined, fixed in the middle of the firmament. Accordingly, the soul, which, sent by God, descends into the body invisibly and secretly, causes a person to recognize God through faith, to look up to heaven and do heavenly deeds. He establishes his hope in God and raises it up with his whole body to heaven, treading the earth—the flesh's desires—beneath his feet. As the dew falls invisibly upon the grass to render it fruitful,[122] so God mercifully waters that person with the hidden sweetness of his grace to bear the fruit of good works; but contrary works he condemns to the eternal pains of hell.

The human person indeed executes all his works, whether good or ill, with the four elements and in the manner of the four winds, which expend their energies in the upper parts of the atmosphere, yet sometimes also let their blasts fall upon the filth and squalor of the mud. For there are four forces within a person—thought, speech, intention, and sighing—that are like the four principal winds. As each wind has the power to cast its breeze to the right and to the left, so the soul, attended by these four forces, can turn in whatever direction it wants by choosing either good or evil through its natural knowledge.

121. For the winds as wings, cf. 1.1.2; on their system, cf. 1.2.16–32.
122. Cf. Dt 32.2; Is 45.8; and 3.4.3 below, with further references.

The south wind has two collateral winds like two wings. The one facing east is warm and signifies the good and holy thoughts that are kindled by the Holy Spirit's fire with a devout and eager intention. But the other, facing west, is cold and signifies perverted and useless thoughts unwarmed by the Holy Spirit's fire, left cold with perverted deeds. Though the rational soul naturally sighs for heavenly things, it experiences the works of the flesh and blood that delight the human person, and its fiery breath still administers energy and heat to the body even in the midst of the filthiest stink of sin, just as the sun warms with its rays even the stinking rot of the filthiest maggots.

But the north wind is of no help to any part of creation.[123] It also has two wings, one of which stretches east, the other west. These signify in the human person the knowledge of good and evil, through which he considers in his soul as if in a mirror whether each thing is useful or useless. Likewise, the earth is governed above and below by the firmament.

The east wind's wing that stretches south, moreover, demonstrates the person who mounts up to God through good works and in the embrace of true charity, while the wing that looks north signifies a person wallowing in the filth of carnal desires. As these two collateral winds are joined to the east wind like two wings, so good and evil are joined to the soul—good in the joy and happiness through which a person shines like the sun in his virtue before God; and evil obscuring good and holy works with the blackness of sin, like the sun's brightness obscured by dark clouds. For through his soul's good intention, a person rightly fears the punishments that are understood to be in the north, even though the body often oppresses the soul because it has become habituated to the pleasures of sin. But this intention of the soul also has two wings: one is the fear of God that is kindled in a person by the Holy Spirit's admonition, while the other is the renunciation of the sins that a person often repeats after he abandons the fear of God.

The west wind also has two wings, one stretching south and the other north. These signify that a person perceives the good and, through the good, knows what evil is. The right wing shows

123. See ch. 96 below.

that the soul possesses the desire and the sighs for good works, while the left one shows the human folly with which a person commits evil, a folly contracted from the debt of original sin.

50. The soul is diffused throughout the entire body, just as the windiness of the winds roams throughout the entire firmament. For the soul, which was sent by God's spirit into the body, floods it entirely with its powers. As the winds' blasts roam within the firmament, so the soul causes a person to love God most ardently and to enact the holiest virtues, which taste of honey—for the sayings of the Lord are sweeter than honey and the honeycomb of his mouth![124] So too the soul lovingly imbues the firmament—its body—with the incomparable ornament of the virtues and the sweetest beauty of holy works.

51. For the human person governs and upholds himself completely with his arms and legs, and is fleet like the four principal winds with their collaterals, placed within the entire firmament to uphold it, so that each aids the others in strengthening the firmament. These signify that the soul flies within a person upon its four wings—with sensibility,[125] intellect, and the knowledge of good and evil.[126] For with sensibility the soul works within a person according to the flesh's appetite, while through the intellect it discerns whether its works are pleasing to God or humans. Through the two wings of conscience, moreover—the knowledge of good and evil—a person accomplishes every task within the soul, and by the difference between them he comes to know the quality of each work—for he seeks through the soul salvation from God, but through the flesh honor among humans. But when a person is sometimes touched inwardly by the Holy Spirit's grace to consider how weighed down he is in the soul by the burden of his sins,[127] he sighs unto God and does penance for his perverted deeds. And as the winds sometimes drift with a gentle breeze and at other times race in the firma-

124. Cf. Ps 118(119).103, in a variant drawing on Ps 18.11(19.10), used as a responsory verse for Septuagesima Sunday.

125. *sensualitas,* i.e. sense-perception (Dronke, *LDO,* p. liv).

126. Cf. ch. 95 below; 1.2.30; *Let.* 155r (2:100–101); and *Cause* 1.50 (p. 47): "As the soul contains reason, intellect, knowledge, and sensibility, so too the firmament contains and upholds the four elements according to kind."

127. Cf. Gn 6.6, ironically.

ment with a great tempest, so a person is always occupied either with good or with evil.

52. Moreover, in the left elbow is signified the principal east wind, while its collateral winds are shown in the shoulder and the joint where the hand is joined to that arm;[128] and the blasts of those collaterals are revealed in its shoulder-blade and hand. Meanwhile, in the right elbow is demonstrated the principal south wind, while its collaterals are indicated in the shoulder and in the joint by which the hand is attached to that arm; the breaths of these collateral winds are also denoted in the shoulder-blade and hand of that arm.[129]

That is, because the soul keeps the wind's likeness in the human limbs, it naturally causes each of them to be bent and moved, as a person acts with the soul according to the flesh's appetite. This is why the soul cannot excuse itself from sin, for the human person is conceived through the heat of lust, curdled like milk, and through the soul does good upon the right, but evil upon the left—for as each wind is joined to another, so the soul is joined to the body.[130] A person also reaches out towards God with good knowledge, but lowers himself to evil with evil knowledge. For evil knowledge is subject to the good as a handmaid is to her lady; but as a lady is often scandalized by her handmaid, so good knowledge is sometimes overcome by evil.[131] As the hands too are joined together to cooperate, and as the firmament and earth, despite the great distance between them, accord as in partnership, so a person accomplishes each of his works through these dissimilar forms of knowledge that he has within himself.

53. And there is an equal measurement from the top of the

128. The text reads "elbow" (*flexura*) for both the principal wind and its first collateral; following the right arm's example, I have emended the inconsistency to make the shoulder (*humerus*) the first collateral.

129. The west and north winds correspond to the legs; see ch. 93 below.

130. Cf. chs. 26 above and 105 (on Jn 1.9) below; the image of human procreation as cheese-making (with scriptural analogues in Jb 10.10 and Wis 7.2) appears in *Scivias* 1.4.13, and is refined in *Cause* 2.63–64 and 232 (pp. 62–64 and 149–50); cf. also *Scivias* 1.2.20, 2.3.27, and 3.10.1; see further Peter Dronke, "Problemata Hildegardiana," *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 16 (1981): 97–131, esp. 114–16; and Newman, *Sister,* 133–42.

131. The analogy returns in ch. 60 below.

human head to the bottom of the throat, and from the bottom of the throat to the navel, and from the navel to the place of discharge. Likewise, there is also an equal measurement from the top edge of the firmament to the lower layer of the clouds, and from the lower layer of the clouds to the top of the earth, and from the top of the earth to its bottom.[132] For from the first day of birth to the last day of human life, the soul acts according to the needs of childhood, young adulthood, and old age. In childhood it acts in innocence, in young adulthood through the flesh's appetite, which the crimes of sin often follow. But in old age its working grows wearisome as it strives to bring all its works, of whatever kind they may be, swiftly to conclusion. For as the highest Craftsman established the firmament with its walls in equal measure, so the soul, from the beginning of its work within the body all the way to its completion, possesses a balanced capability of working with the knowledge of good and evil, neither of which can work without the other.

54. Moreover, the upper half of the earth is brittle, soft, and permeable, while its lower half is tough, hard, and impenetrable, so that its hardness and strength surpass the hardness and strength of steel. Likewise, the rational soul has a certain viridity in its powers, by which it permeates the flesh's tenderness, the bones' hardness, and all the veins, like weapons that more solidly slice through other materials because of the hardness of their steel.[133] And as bread is baked by an oven's fire, so the body's actions are completed by the soul's burning zeal. For the soul sustains the body with its love, as the hard part of the earth upholds the soft part. All the soul's actions are enacted inseparably with the body, to which the soul clings as a wife to her husband, from whom she cannot be separated, for they are two in one flesh.[134]

55. But there is also an equal measurement from each shoulder to the elbow of each arm, and from each elbow to the end of the middle finger of each hand. The hand also has the same measurement from its wrist to the tip of the middle finger as from the ankle to the end of the big toe, just as each principal

132. Cf. 1.2.1, at n. 10.
133. Cf. *Scivias* 3.4.3 and 3.7.3.
134. Gn 2.24.

wind, together with its collaterals and their breaths, exists according to a single measure.

Indeed, through the power of rationality, a person sometimes delights in good and holy works but with an empty intention, so that as soon as he begins to act, his blood, conceived in sin, is wholly aroused within him because of the labor of the task begun; and thus he abandons his work unfinished because it seems tiresome to do it.[135] Because of the presumption of his mind[136] he even mocks this unfinished good work, which he first began while trusting not in God but in his own virtue.[137] As much as he had once enjoyed starting it, he is afterwards just as ashamed at its incompletion; and because he has done so, he begins to hurt and grieve. For the measurement from the shoulders to the elbow of each arm signifies the works a person does in the presumption of his mind; and the measurement that extends from the elbows to the end of the middle finger of each hand shows that through repentance a person wipes away those deeds done through the mind's presumption.

So it is that the soul can never possess complete joy while it remains within the body, because body and soul oppose one another. When a person cannot bear their conflict, he falters within because of the greatness of his sorrow, and groaning to God with a contrite heart,[138] he humbles himself with constant sighs. Then, humbled by fear of God, he turns away from deeds wicked and contrary to the soul, and instead does good works—signified by the hand—and runs upon the ways of God—shown by the feet. For the movement of the hands and feet signifies that the soul ought to rejoice at good works; but when they fall limp, this signifies that the same soul ought to sorrow and ache amid works of evil.

56. The measurement from one thigh across to the other in front is also of the same length as that from the navel to the place of discharge, for the breadth across the earth is of the same length as the thickness of its depth.[139]

135. Cf. *Gosp. Hom.* 23 (pp. 104–7).
136. 2 Mc 5.21.
137. Cf. *RB* 49.9.
138. Ps 50.19(51.17).
139. "thickness": *spissitudo;* see ch. 1, n. 1, above. Hildegard appears to imag-

Indeed, because they sin so often, humans take particular joy any time they happen to consent to the soul in a good work; yet even in that joy they experience the pain of anxiety, for they fear that they may not be able to complete the work once begun. Maintaining this fear within themselves through the soul's powers, they continue to do their good deeds with it until the soul draws them to itself by contrast to the loathsomeness of sin. This, therefore, is how every person placed in this life consents sometimes to the soul's will and sometimes to the flesh's pleasure. So too did all the saints and martyrs, chosen of God, while they lived in the world, carrying the banner of Christ's passion. For when the flesh sins, the soul starves like a person who is fasting; and when the flesh starves—that is, abstains from sin—the soul rejoices in good works like one refreshed with food.

For the measurement from the navel to the place of discharge signifies the impudence of the flesh, to which a person sometimes consents and sometimes resists, as when the deference of his servant is sometimes pleasing and sometimes displeasing to some lord, and as the earth is upheld by its thickness so that it can bring things both useful and useless into existence across its length and breadth. For the thickness of the earth, which can be compared to the servant, signifies carnal desire; but its length and breadth demonstrate abstinence, which here can be reckoned as the lady.[140]

57. But the space between the bottom of the throat and the navel also signifies the atmosphere, which descends from the clouds all the way to the earth and tempers the earth's creatures with its natural energy. For indeed the soul, a living spark and rational breath of the divine power, permeates the entire body to give it energy. It encircles it with its love, motivating it to each task; and although the body may have been born with an appetite for sin, the soul compels it to cooperate. For the soul descends from heaven's height to its earthly domain and causes

---

ine a sphere around the human midsection, whose diameter across the thighs (or perhaps rather hips) is equal to its diameter from navel to anus.

140. "lord … lady": The switch in gender likely results from the secondary analogy to the grammatically feminine concepts of length and breadth (*longitudo et latitudo*).

the person it vivifies to understand that he was created by God. It is like the atmosphere that appears in the middle between heaven and earth, for through the soul a person enacts good above and evil down below.

For this air permeates all places of the earth to temper them, so that it makes the earth moist where it is dry; restrains it with heat where it is fertile; dries it out where it is waterlogged; and softens it where it is hard—and it does this all the way to the core of the earth's depth. It also turns over the earth as with a plow to face heat as well as cold, and returns it to fruitfulness with a proper balance.

In this way, too, when the soul senses that its body is parched of all viridity of the virtues, it is turned to grief and sadness, and urges its body to sighs and weeping through the knowledge of rationality and the spirit of remorse, for the soul recognizes that its [the body's] works are perverted. Thus it causes its parched body to grow green again through the moisture of divine grace. But if a person presumptuously tries to do more than he can accomplish on his own power, the soul draws him back to the allotment of his capability and makes better plans for his works. If he then lives in forgetfulness of God as if self-sufficient, the soul shocks him with the fear of God and purges him of his forgetfulness of God. But when a person who is led in the obstinacy of infidelity to seek a foreign god is shaken by the soul with such tribulations that he cannot hold out hope for salvation or any other kind of joy,[141] through this sorrow the soul draws him back with its admonitions to the better part, causing him to long for the true God. So, therefore, the body is called back by the soul, which is a living spark and life from God, to the hope of pardon, to discern and follow through with each of its works. When it has left the error of double-dealing behind, it is led into the right path of good works, as water flows with its course in a proper channel, so that afterwards, by living well, that person is made strong in the fear of God.

The air's pleasant warmth and gentle coolness together also transmit moisture to the earth and make it fruitful in trees, grasses, and grains, so that they all grow green through that

141. Cf. *LVM* 3.62(78).

moisture. Likewise, the soul strengthens a person to bear all injuries with the sweetest warmth of faith and mightiest patience, and advocates that he flee those deeds that once he did by not living well and in which he was not allowed to continue. So too the soul causes him to grow green and fruitful in good works and holy virtues.

The air also sometimes sends a snowy cold upon the earth that covers it over completely and through which the earth is kept warm for germination. So too the earth produces its own cold as it is prepared internally to sprout forth in its fruitful function, and this is how it then introduces viridity to the fruit of all buds.[142] The soul indeed tempers a person against the appetite of his deeds, with which it drives him to rotate like a mill, for the soul is the air that causes the blood to flow, through which a person receives sensation and intellect. The soul also causes the flesh to give off sweat, through whose heat a person has sensation and through whose moisture (which is cold and wet) he has intellect. Thus every fruit of his deeds consists in sensibility and in intellect.

58. When flying creatures, which are of great strength, fly in the heat of the summer air, they are strengthened by it. That air also sometimes descends into the rivers to strengthen certain of the large fishes, so that they are able to exist for a long time without food. Likewise, when the soul has drawn the body into agreement, it flies to heaven's height like a bird in the air—and as a bird cannot fly without the air, so the body is moved not by itself but by the soul.[143] Indeed, when a person sometimes consents to the soul in its desires, he burns completely in the love of God. Thus flying from day to day in the mirth of eternal happiness, he delights in reflective faith and in the wisdom of the Holy Scriptures, by whose sweetness he is invisibly nourished and strengthened, like a fish that, strengthened by the air and by the water's flow, lives for a long time in water without food.

59. With the watery air, the atmosphere also moves the sea, from which separate rivers flow that irrigate and strengthen the land.[144] This also shows that the veins are interconnected

142. Cf. ch. 72 and n. 188 below.

143. Cf. *Physica* 6, Preface on Birds (p. 177).

144. Cf. *Physica* 2.3 (p. 100) and *Cause* 1.50 (p. 46); Hildegard likely draws

as they strengthen the whole human person with blood. The soul, too, which is airy and by which all a person's works are accomplished—just as all the earth's fruits are ripened by the air—proposes its works to that person through the Holy Spirit's grace, to distinguish useful things from useless by thoughts that pour in like the sea. That person also often suffers shipwreck when he is drowned in the great confusion of his sins because he did not consent to the soul with good thoughts.[145] Thus with hardest labor he rows the ship of thought, unless he lays it by the Holy Spirit's inspiration upon the rock that is Christ. For when a person's mind is broadened by various virtues and uplifted to the praise of God, it lays upon a rock a solid foundation that cannot be moved by the winds,[146] that is, the devil's various temptations. For as the veins, together with the muscles, give structure to the human body so that it does not fall apart, so the virtue of humility connects and strengthens good works so that they are not scattered by presumption.

Moreover, rivers bring forth streams to assist the earth with their viridity, and all of these are moved by the aforementioned atmosphere, which causes all things to sprout with its heat and humidity. So when the soul overcomes the pleasure of the flesh and establishes the foundations of its own desires within a person, body and soul together accomplish their works in harmony, so that the soul, rejoicing in those holy deeds, flies upon the sweet aroma of the virtues. And as the larger rivers produce many different smaller streams that cause the earth to bloom, so the soul governs the body and awakens within it charity, obedience, and humility, together with the other mighty virtues, to lead a person to praise God in the execution of good works.

60. For the earth is always muddy,[147] whether from summer

here on ancient traditions of a subterranean sea from which all surface waters flow; the physiological parallels of the circulatory system may also account for the apparent reversal of natural causality. See Liebeschütz, 89–92; and Dronke's identification of the *Book of Nimrod* as a likely source (*LDO,* pp. xx–xxi).

145. On the image of the shipwreck, cf. Hildegard's antiphon *O beatissime Ruperte* (*Symphonia* 47), where it derives from Venantius Fortunatus's sixth-century hymn, *Pange lingua gloriosi.*

146. Lk 6.48 and Mt 7.24.

147. Cf. 3.2.6.

heat or winter cold, and this mud impregnates the earth to cause it to sprout. In this way too the body ought to be subject to the soul, like a maidservant to her lady, although the soul is often undermined by the body, like a lady by her maidservant. The soul enacts all good things within a person, just as the summer season ripens all fruits. But when the body, wallowing in the rot of sin, stands against the soul, a person says to himself, "I cannot live under such hardship as to continue denying my flesh and what it desires; rather, it's enough for me to do what I can." But as that person lies there in the rot of his sins, he sometimes recalls the virtues he once enacted; and by doing penance for his muddy sins, he is returned joyfully to the just works and holy virtues he had once possessed. And so, as the muddy earth preserves within itself all fruits throughout the winter season so that it can offer them up in the summer season to be enjoyed by humans, so a person adorns his earlier virtues as with precious stones and restores them to greater elegance.

61. The human chest, moreover, reveals the fullness and perfection of the atmosphere, for as the chest maintains within itself the heart, liver, lungs, and the rest of the belly's inner organs, so the atmosphere contains within itself the heat, dryness, and moisture of the breezes. In such a way, too, the soul discerns the thoughts in a person's chest by considering and writing about, as it were, whether each circumstance is advantageous or worthless; it then explains how the rational person ought to act in each circumstance. The soul also gathers up within itself each of a person's deeds—whether the soft ones that please the flesh, or the hard ones that oppose it—and by analyzing them, reveals each one. Because the soul is fiery, in this process it dries out the enticements of the flesh with its heat, so that when they have been desiccated, it awakens a person to sighing with the moisture of tears, through which the soul adorns all good things by executing its own works. For the soul hates the pleasure of the flesh, and because it is airy, it reveals to its flesh the wicked deeds and tempestuous wounds of the devil's seduction, and provokes a person to recognize the qualities of his deeds. Likewise, the heart, together with all its connected organs, strengthens a person as he moistens everything with his breath.

62. For the heart demonstrates a person's heat, the liver his dryness, and the lungs his moisture.[148] For as the heart's heat, the liver's dryness, and the lungs' moisture enliven[149] the human person, so the heat, dryness, and moisture of the air and breezes strengthen what exists in the world. As the heart, together with all the vital organs attached to it, warms and empowers a person with balanced reason, so the soul accomplishes a person's action with all the virtues gathered unto it by God, granting him a holy desire for good works. But when the soul recognizes that this desire's work has turned wicked, it bears with frustration what it has executed until it pushes its person back through remorse to tears.[150] This then is how it happens that one who is delighted by good works weeps for joy.

The soul also governs every human work, whether good or evil as befalls each person's mind, according to the desire of the flesh. As the aforementioned air breathes upon all creation, sometimes bringing it to bud and flower and sometimes to wither and decay, so the soul fluctuates to transform the works of the flesh, sometimes to joy and sometimes to tears. As the sun and moon never complete their courses without some shift in the clouds, so a person cannot finish any work he has begun with as great a purity as he had planned, for some storm usually besets him. Indeed, the battle between body and soul in a person is like the day and night, which sometimes shine brightly with their respective lights, and sometimes lose their light because of a shift in the clouds. For through the flesh's desire he fails in the good, but through the soul's desire he joyfully advances in the good, for in all his works he is enlivened by the soul's heat, just as the air flies throughout all creation.

63. And as food that has first been ground upon the mill of the teeth is transmitted through the throat to the belly;[151] and as a person's chest tempers everything about him by thinking and learning; and as the belly contains and encloses a person's bowels; so too the air transmits its greening powers into fruit,

148. Cf. *Cause* 2.78 (p. 72).
149. *vegetant*.
150. On the remorse (compunction) of tears, cf. *RB* 20.4.
151. See ch. 44 above.

thus preserving all things in the world for human health. In the same way, the soul ruminates upon all a person's deeds and commits them to memory, so that it leaves none of them undissected. As food is transmitted to the belly through the throat after being ground up by the teeth, so the soul inscribes a person's works with its breath through discernment.[152] This writing it gathers up through thinking as a person recognizes what kind of works his are; these works, formed in his thoughts, he continually beholds in those thoughts like the particular forms of objects. Therefore, a person cannot forget his deeds, for they are preserved in his thoughts like the bowels enclosed in the belly. Through the soul a person is also made verdant in all his works, because the soul is like the air. Thoughts also exist in a person's chest with his conscience like a servant of all his works, for they prepare those works ahead of time. Likewise, the left hand serves the right, and winter serves summer, for winter preserves all things that summer produces.

The soul is also in the service of thinking, and thoughts are like the soul's tablet upon which it writes—for with thoughts, the soul sharpens all a person's deeds and prepares them as if by writing for whatever the body urges.[153] For when a person does evil deeds according to the flesh's desire, still he is sometimes pierced by the soul's virtue to let loose tears, for the wicked deeds of the flesh vex the soul, even though it so often serves the flesh to which it is subject by consenting to them. As if by writing with tearful sighs, the soul also calls to mind the evil deeds a person has committed through the flesh's pleasures; and as winter preserves the fruits of summer within itself, so within the one who is faltering the soul attentively proposes this sighing by which to be saved.

152. The concept of rumination as meditation upon writing (and foremost Scripture) is so commonplace that one often forgets the root of the image in the chewing of the cud—and for Hildegard, as for many Christian writers, the act of chewing upon Scripture carries eucharistic overtones; cf. verses 3b–4a of her sequence for St. Eucharius, *O Euchari in leta via* (*Symphonia* 53); for writing in the act of creation, cf. 3.3.2 below.

153. "sharpens": *limat;* for the Word as a polishing whetstone (*limans lapis*), see Hildegard's responsory for patriarchs and prophets, *O vos felices radices* (*Symphonia* 32 = *Scivias* 3.13.3b); cf. also *Gosp. Hom.* 42 (p. 167), on Lk 1.63.

64. In the chest, moreover, in which are gathered all things a person wants to do, certain swellings of the flesh arise and are turned into breasts, which signify the fruitful abundance of the atmosphere shown above.[154] For as the breasts demonstrate a person's might and main, so the fruitful abundance of the air manifests the earth's fertility. So too the soul knows which of a person's deeds drag it down and which make it soar up like the air—for clearly, as the mind dwells in the heart, so the conscience dwells in the soul. Therefore, all a person's works are accomplished through the soul. And as the human body wears many different kinds of clothes, so the soul cooperates in each and every work of the flesh, like clothes of whatever sort. These appear continually within the soul, visible only to souls and spirits, "for whatever one sows, that too one will reap,"[155] carrying along the bushels of one's works until the end.[156] Indeed, desire clings to one's heart as breasts do to the chest, for all the chest's force is concentrated in them. And so the soul is compelled by desire to cooperate with the flesh, so that through the soul—airy, moist, and warm—all works are accomplished, just as the fertility of the whole earth is brought forth abundantly by the air.

For in the chest, a man is powerful in his force, while a woman pours forth milk for infants, who cannot be refreshed with solid food. So too the powers of the soul are very strong, for through them the soul knows and perceives God, even though it also serves the flesh's desires. For this reason, it steeps the body with sorrowful sighing whenever the body, in opposition to its will, scorns to serve God, like a servant who retires from his lord with disdain. For the flesh's pleasure does not possess the powers of the soul, to which sin is offensive; rather, it is driven by the movement of the burning blood. Therefore, the body is afflicted by the soul's powers insofar as it cannot accomplish its grave sins with joy, but only with the pain of sighing. Compared with the soul's powers, that pleasure has no strength to operate well; rather, it is fed by the flesh's appetite, like an infant nourished

154. "breasts … fruitful abundance": *ubera … ubertatem.*
155. Gal 6.7b.
156. Of breasts and bushels of good works, cf. 1.2.19.

with mother's milk,[157] for a woman is, as it were, quite weak in comparison to the physical strength of a man. But the soul's desire is sharp as the flying arrow that wounds the person it hits.[158] So the flesh's pleasure is often made subject to the powers of the soul, whether it wants to be or not. Therefore, the soul's desire reproaches the person who lives contently in the pleasures of the flesh, saying, "Pay attention to what you've done—it's filthy and it stinks! That's why it will be turned to chaos—for you're a long way away from everything that breathes a sweet aroma."

65. So too woman is weak and looks to man to be cared for by him,[159] just as the moon receives its strength from the sun.[160] So too she should be subject to man and ever ready to serve him.[161] For with the handiwork of her knowledge she cloaks man, for she was formed of flesh and blood, while man was not, for originally he was clay;[162] therefore, he looks to woman in his nakedness, that he might be clothed by her.[163]

That is, the flesh's pleasure looks with great trembling to the soul's desire, for it is often reproached and overcome by it, and yet it cannot be separated from the soul's powers. For as woman looks to man to be cared for by him and thus serves him timorously, so the flesh's pleasure looks always to the soul. But when a person has completely faltered because of the flesh's pleasure, he is again stirred up at the admonition of the soul's desire by thinking to himself about why he cannot give up his vices, since he was established in such honor by God. Thus the soul more often draws its body back to the love of good works.

Indeed, a person always has this difference of operation within him. Even as the angels rejoice with God, so with the wrath of his judgment they judge the wicked deeds of humans. The soul

157. Cf. 1 Cor 3.1–2 and Heb 5.12–14.

158. Cf. Ps 90.6(91.5).

159. Cf. Hildegard's fourth antiphon for matins for the Feast of St. Ursula (*Symphonia* 63); and by contrast, *Let.* 250r (3:48).

160. Cf. *Cause* 1.20 (p. 28).

161. Cf. *Gosp. Hom.* 5 (pp. 46–47), on Mary's betrothal to Joseph (Mt 1.18–21).

162. Cf. Gn 2.7, 21–23.

163. Cf. *Cause* 2.59, 2.88, 2.128, and 2.283 (pp. 60, 77, 93–94, and 176; see also *Women Writers,* 176); on the creation of Adam and Eve, see further ch. 100 below; on woman as weaver of humanity, see Newman, *Sister,* 95–96.

too is a breath from God's spirit, and because it has been sent into a human body, it can do nothing of its own accord. Rather, whatever the body demands of it, it kindles in its fiery nature, whether with knowledge of the good, by which it perceives God, or with the knowledge of evil, by which it fears God, rejoicing always in good works and afflicting the body in evil ones. For a person is so revived by the powers of the soul that, as he understands his deeds done according to the flesh's desire and with which he has stripped bare his soul of its powers, he is moved to the tears with which he clothes again his soul as with a shirt.

66. Therefore, whoever wipes away his sins with the tears of true repentance, like those of Mary Magdalene, who wept upon the Lord's feet,[164] will not be further ashamed of them. Indeed, when after the tears he bathes his flesh with fasting and prayer, he adorns his soul as with a purple robe that covers up the scars of his wounds so that they are never seen. The soul always seeks repentance from a person, because he has a taste for sin—indeed, the soul demands to be covered up by repentance, as woman covers up man through the subtle knowledge of her handiwork.[165] Moreover, the person who has turned away from the sins with which he was occupied through the flesh's appetite enacts good works with all eagerness and adorns his soul with golden crowns and all manner of ornaments. And then the angels rejoice over the one who was a lost sheep,[166] and that one is glad with them, too.

Indeed, the vices and virtues are fertile like woman, for vice begets vice and virtue begets virtue. And man, who is strong and powerful like God, accomplishes all of his works, both good and evil, with woman, who first caused the fall and through whom those evils were later restored for the better.[167]

67. Furthermore, the heart warms the belly, and the liver

164. Lk 7.36–50.

165. "covers up … handiwork": *operit … operis,* wordplay impossible to retain in English.

166. Lk 15.4–10.

167. The mirroring of Eve and Mary, though a common patristic and medieval trope, often reaches a convergent intensity in Hildegard's hands (see 2.1.16 below), especially in her compositions to the Virgin (*Symphonia* 8–23), as the two principal women of salvation history coalesce into a singular woman-

strengthens and the lungs moisten it, to maintain the digestion of food all the way until discharge. Likewise, as shown above, the air brings forth the viridity, heat, and moisture of all budding fruits all the way to ripening. So too the soul, which is rational and fiery, produces its rationality with air movement, as a burning fire cannot produce its flame without air movement.[168] In the circling circle of the knowledge of good and evil, the soul also discerns the functions and names of creatures with rationality, through which it recognizes what is pleasing or displeasing to God. Through that conscience the soul also understands that God burns up the wicked habit of sin in his jealousy,[169] as it is written:

68. "Smoke went up in his wrath, and fire burned from his face; coals were kindled by it."[170] This is open to understanding thus: The person who is led by sin to forget God—upon him the wrath of a vengeful God goes up, and his sins are examined before him by fire, because as darkened coals are rekindled by fire, so God prepares punishments to consume sin. For a person comes to know through the knowledge of good and evil that he will be punished for his wicked deeds, but also that his good works, flying in praise of God, mount up above the cherubim.[171]

Indeed, that conscience warms the trusting hope that a person has for God and strengthens him in fear and love of God. Through these virtues, moreover, is produced the moisture of tears by which all good things in a person are preserved to be perfected, just as through the heart, the liver, and the lungs, the belly maintains the digestion of food all the way to discharge. All works, whether good or bad, are brought forth to be recognized by humans through the rationality of the airy and rational soul, together with the viridity of conscience, the heat

---

hood: "O form of woman, Wisdom's sister, how glorious you are! … For Wisdom raised you up to grace all creatures to receive through you a better portion than before" (verses 3a–b of *O magna res,* in *Symphonia,* p. 264, my translation); see Newman, *Sister,* 100–120 and 156–88.

168. "air movement": *uento,* lit. "wind"; cf. *Expl. Symb. S. Athan.*, pp. 116–17; and *Let.* 77r (1:167).

169. On God's jealousy (*zelus*), cf. *Scivias* 3.5.1–7, and *LVM* 3.44(55).

170. Ps 17.9(18.8).

171. Ps 17.11(18.10).

of sensibility, and the moisture of wisdom. Likewise, the aforementioned air brings forth the viridity, heat, and moisture of all budding fruits all the way to their ripening.

69. The belly, which is contained by the ribs and other bones that do not have marrow's sap, signifies the soft and fruitful earth, which is interspersed with stones. This exemplifies that the soul does not possess the appetite for sin in its own nature, even though it cooperates in sin with the body and kindles it to the works that its flesh's appetite demands, like the airy wind that brings the whole earth into bud. For the soul maintains the body in its every task, as the soft and fruitful earth is made firm by its inset stones. As the tender child may speak of sins he has not yet tasted, and as before the fall Adam knew about sin and yet did not taste of it, so the soul does not naturally taste of sin within the body that sins.[172] The soul that does good and holy works is made glorious before God in the kingdom of heaven because of the merits of its works; but to the soul that executes wicked deeds, grave punishments are assigned by God's judgment.[173] The blessed person is also praised for his good works in the sight of God and people, and so his soul rejoices; but the person who is enveloped in sly and slippery sins is led in the sight of God and people into great chaos. And so, on account of his sins, the latter flees human company, sweating with shame when he realizes his guilt and bewailing his loss, dead to any honor of blessedness, saying:

"They have taken me as a lion prepared for the prey, and as a lion cub dwelling in hidden places."[174] This is open to understanding thus: When a person has sinned, he is stripped of all blessedness because of his sins when, of his own volition, all holiness is snatched away from him, as the lion seizes what he wants to devour.[175] And because of the pitiable chaos of his sins, he is like the lion cub in hiding as, ashamed of his sins, he hides himself from human company, lest his deeds become known.[176]

172. Cf. ch. 42 above.
173. Cf. *LVM* 6.17(18).
174. Ps 16(17).12.
175. Cf. 1 Pt 5.8.
176. Cf. 1.2.45.

Thus every human deed obtains either the reward of glory or the punishment of God's judgment. But the soul that rejoices in holiness says to God, "O God most high, my every supplication I bring to you as praise, for without you, on my own, I can do nothing—unless you set me aflame by the Holy Spirit's grace."

70. When hunger, moreover, demands food, this demonstrates fruit buds; but when the belly is sated with fruit, hunger subsides, as when, after fruits mature, their blossoms fall away. The soul, likewise, which is a breath from God and the treasury of justice[177] as it ever seeks the truth with the knowledge of good and evil, understands in its nature that God is to be loved above all things, for the soul came forth from him as a spark from fire. It also causes a person's works to spark like lightning, for a person is enlightened by it as by a spark.[178]

The soul also causes a person to sigh because of his meanest deeds, which he does with the soul in opposition to God. Hungering within itself for God's justice,[179] the soul long afflicts a person until he acknowledges his sins and pours forth the tears of repentance for them. When, therefore, a person has trodden over his sins by repenting in this way, the soul is satisfied with God's justice.[180] And when it later gathers with good works the virtues' blooms, the soul that once had suffered the pains of famine because of wicked deeds is immediately filled up with good works and no longer hungers, for that famine is felled through good works' fruits, as when the blossoms fall away.

71. But the stomach signifies the world's capacity. The stomach's seat is in the belly, and food enters into and exits from it;[181] it is also tied up like a sack with the bowels. Creatures fill up the world by sprouting and growing, and then leave it empty, as it were, as they wane. This is because the human person, who waxes and wanes like the moon,[182] works through the soul, which is filled up with all of creation. As blood is in the veins, so all a person's works are in the soul.

177. Cf. Prv 21.20 and Wis 7.14.
178. Cf. the account of creation in *Scivias* 2.1.5–6.
179. Cf. Mt 5.6.
180. Ibid.
181. See further *Cause* 2.210 (p. 138).
182. See further *Cause* 2.152–54 (pp. 116–18).

When the soul has been filled up with good works according to its desire, it ascends to its eternal home, where it is refreshed with the food of life. And when it is occupied with evil works, it descends to perish in the stinking rot of hellish punishments. For when God gave Adam his command,[183] he willed humankind to be under that command. In observing it, the soul joyfully gathers up the works of salvation, though it is sent mournfully into the exile of perdition when a person abandons God's commandment and consents to the desires of his flesh. But as the stomach, which receives and passes on food, is tied up with the bowels, so the soul works in a person together with all creation, either in the ascent of the good or in the descent of evil. As creation flourishes and quickens in summer but withers and wanes in winter, so the soul flourishes and quickens with the joy of good works and withers and wanes with the pain of evil works.

It is also not good for the stomach to be empty, just as it would be of no use to the world's capacity if it were emptied of the diversity of creation. Indeed, that capacity is the stewardess[184] of the powers of earth's fruitfulness, because it does not forsake the earth to desolation or emptiness in anything that is necessary for the function of its fruits. For if the world were narrow and constricted so that it lacked spaciousness, it would not be able to bear the plenitude of creatures that it now has.

Likewise, it does not profit a person to possess only one half of knowledge, for then he would be as if empty, unable to begin or complete any work, or to distinguish daylight from the darkness of night. But one who is full of both halves of knowledge loves God with good works through good knowledge, and fears him in recognizing wicked works through the knowledge of evil. Indeed, the soul dwells in its body with great concern, like the head of a family in his house, always careful not to be robbed of his goods. For the soul always takes care that a person not be so enveloped in sin as to be despoiled of the holy desires that come into existence through the soul. Moreover, when a person sometimes consents to the soul because of the wearisomeness of his sins, the soul then rejoices to place before that person

183. Gn 2.16–17.
184. *dispensatrix,* feminine with *capacitas.*

all his sins in their bitterness, and offering instead heavenly desires sweeter to him than honey and the honeycomb,[185] it usually makes that person holy and leads him to the heavenly kingdom.

For just as a person would perish if his stomach were always empty, so the soul could not even exist without the two halves of knowledge; and as the world would wither if it were empty of good and bad fruits, so the soul would be dried up and empty if it lacked the works a person enacts through the two halves of knowledge. Indeed, the soul rightly measures out everything about a person by directing him on the right path with discretion. Through the goodness of God, because of whom the soul is divine, and through the holy works the soul enacts with a person, it has confidence that it will possess a home in the land of the living.[186] Through its knowledge of the good, the soul recognizes evil and judges it to be unjust, even though it is often forced by the body to enact that evil. If the soul did not have that knowledge of good and evil, it would be like a useless pair of bellows with which a smith can do nothing.[187] And as the world would not have the whole fullness of its fruits if it did not sprout in viridity, so the soul would have neither the honor nor the blessedness of good works if it did not flourish within the rationality of the knowledge of good and evil.

72. Moreover, the aforementioned capacity of the world contains within itself the air that by its powers grants viridity to the earth to make it fruitful, and then, after its fruits have ripened, decays them with windy cold. Yet, although it dries out the earth on the surface with this cold, the earth itself grows inwardly rich because of it, so that it can sprout in summer.[188] So it is

185. Cf. Ps 18.11(19.10); see also ch. 50, n. 124, above.

186. Cf. Pss 26(27).13 and 141.6(142.5).

187. Cf. 3.5.4.

188. See Liebeschütz, pp. 92–93; cf. *Physica* 2.11 (pp. 102–3); and *Cause* 1.20 and 53 (pp. 27–28 and 54–55): "The heat of the sun is greater in winter below the earth than above the earth, because if at that time there were as much cold below the earth as above it—or if in summer there were as much heat below the earth as above it—then the whole earth would be torn apart by the imbalance. . . . The earth is cold underneath in the summer, because the sun gives birth at that time through the power of its rays. But in winter the earth underneath is warm, lest it be torn apart by cold dryness. Thus in heat

that the Creator of all, who confirmed the earth for its working, established like to himself the soul, through which a person enacts all his works. The soul is, like the holy divinity, invisible to the human person, who is the work of God himself and will continue to work until the Last Day. But after the Last Day, when each person shall be made entirely spiritual,[189] it will perfectly behold both the holy divinity and all spirits and souls.

Indeed, that soul is the fruitful energy that causes the whole human person to live by moving with it. As a person puts on and is clothed with a garment woven of threads, so the soul puts on like clothing all the works it does with a person, enrobed with them—both good and bad—as with the body in which it dwells. When the soul has departed from the body, the good works indeed appear upon it as a raiment with the brilliance of purest gold, embellished with every ornament; but wicked deeds reek upon it like rags caked with every sort of filth.[190] The soul also works with a person like the air, which grants its powers to the earth to make it fruitful and ripen its fruits, and then dries out the whole earth with winter's cold—though winter also keeps in the earth's heat to protect its fruitfulness. For through the soul's powers, childhood, youth, adolescence, and adulthood each enact and perfect the fruits of good works, while the age of infirmity withers them, as it were, as they wane.[191] Nevertheless, those works will be preserved in true faith for the rewards of eternal blessedness after a person's death.

73. But if the earth were twice a year to blossom green and indiscriminately to give birth, it would soon be turned to drought and become as dust. This signifies that, if the soul were to consent equally to its own desires and to the flesh's will, it could

---

the earth reveals viridity, and in cold, dryness. For in winter, the sun above the earth is sterile and fixes its heat beneath the earth, so that the earth can preserve various seeds. Thus, it brings forth all seeds through both heat and cold.... For God positioned the earth to sprout at the proper season and then fall fallow at the proper season, just as the moon waxes and wanes."

189. Cf. 1 Cor 15.44–46.

190. Cf. ch. 78 below; *Scivias* 3.12.3–4; *LVM* 2.36(45); and see Caroline Walker Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200–1336* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), 157–63.

191. Cf. chs. 53 above and 78 below; and see Liebeschütz, 93–94.

not accomplish any work. For the soul is a living breath that pervades the whole body with its moving touch to bring that body to life, just as the atmosphere's breeze renders the whole earth fruitful. Indeed, the air is like the soul of the earth, whose moisture it touches with its breeze to quicken it. The viridity of that air signifies the blood in a person, and its humidity his sweat; and as the air cannot be seen or felt upon the earth, so in the body, the soul imperceptibly warms the blood and works invisibly through rationality.

Indeed, the human person understands through the soul that he possesses God, and therefore he always establishes for himself a law, either from within himself or from another. This is natural for humankind, because the first Man received the law in the commandment that he repudiated on the serpent's advice. After the transgression of God's command, he was cast into this exile, no longer able to dwell in paradise—yet still he yearned for it[192] with many sighs, as too the soul draws forth many painful sighs when it has been overcome by the body. But when the soul subdues the body to the soul's natural desires, it rejoices with great gladness. As the earth does not produce its fruits equally in cold and warmth, so there is an inequality in the soul's works as it acts both wickedly and well. Of his own nature, indeed, in which the soul is often overcome by the body and the body by the soul, a person can never possess the pure faith by which he could lift a mountain and cast it into the sea, as the Lord said to his disciples concerning the mustard seed.[193] Such was the faith that Adam had when he looked upon God's invisible splendor with his own outer eyes, the faith in which there is no doubt that it could do whatever it would wish. But after the transgression, neither Adam nor any other human could possess this vision.[194] So the faithful ought to look to God in the mirror of faith with the soul's inner sight, and trust that they are saved by him who can do all things. In that faith many have performed great multitudes of wonders by mortifying the desires of their flesh.

192. *quam:* the only possible antecedent would be *lex* (law) in the previous sentence; Mansi emended to *quem,* referring to *paradysum.*

193. A conflation of Mt 17.9 and Lk 17.6.

194. Cf. *Solutions* 3 and 6.

74. For from the heart, the liver, and the lungs, certain veins are extended like pipes to the stomach to assist it in receiving and discharging food.[195] In this manner, the soul, which rouses with great force the body it finds sleeping, perceives God upon its many journeys. As the veins assist the stomach as it is filled up and emptied, so the soul assists a person in everything, good and bad, so that the person is trained by it to begin and complete his thoughts in regard to the harshness of malice and the softness of carnal desire. As streams of blood run to the stomach, so the soul courses through the entire body with its powers. As it also would not be good for the stomach always to be full or empty, so too it would harm the soul if the body always lived in the pleasures of carnal desires, for then the soul would falter in its powers, starved of the desires of its own nature. Indeed, the person who unceasingly sins in the fatness of his flesh is often weakened in sense and body.

75. Therefore, if too much food is consumed, a person's flesh is made infirm by his skin's disgraceful discoloration;[196] but if less than what is necessary is consumed, the flesh is thinned and weakened. So the stomach is indeed the proper steward of the reception and discharge of food. When the soul, likewise, has so overcome a person with its fiery force that he exhausts himself abstaining from carnal desires and his own self-will, then at the devil's suggestion, pride often scorns other influences and says, "I am holy and rightly deserve to be honored and praised by all!"[197] With its eyes thus blinded by pride, the soul cannot possess joy or heavenly desire because it is overwhelmed by sorrow, and in its agitation it says within that person, "Ah! Ah! Blinded by foul pride, I've been robbed of the heavenly desires in which I once saw and understood God!"[198]

Thus the person who does good things, not through flesh and blood but through the powers of the soul by which he

195. Cf. *Cause* 2.78 (p. 72).

196. *ex indigno liuore,* likely referring to the red or purple tinge associated with the glutton's skin. Schipperges trans.: *Verdauungssaft* (p. 134: "digestive juices"); cf. 1.3.1, on gout's "fatty leprosy"; and *Cause* 2.244–48 (pp. 154–55).

197. Cf. *Gosp. Hom.* 50 (esp. p. 184).

198. Cf. ch. 85 below.

knows and perceives God, must take most diligent care against presumption in good works, lest through haughtiness he lose the rewards of eternal blessedness. For as a person's flesh is weakened if he consumes either more or less food than is necessary, so too the soul falters through the presumption of pride and excessive abstinence that lacks discretion.[199] But the soul, which vivifies the body and understands God within the Trinity of unity, is a humble spirit and demonstrates its humility in childhood, when a person knows neither pride nor hatred in the appetite of sin. For a time the soul rejoices in that person, until he is moved by the flesh's desires to sin, for which the soul always painfully laments. For the soul can never fully operate according to its own natural desire within the earthen vessel of the body,[200] because the flesh demands exile while the soul seeks life. The soul is often afflicted by the body's sinning—particularly when the body places before it its filthy and fetid sins, afflicting the soul with pain and causing it to recognize those sins in sorrow. For the stomach, which receives food and then discharges it again with a stench, signifies the person who delights in sin and afterwards is turned around by repentance to be troubled by sin.

76. All of the belly's inner organs cling to the navel, just as the rest of creation looks to the circumference of the earth. For the navel is the strong point of the belly, just as the earth's compass is the refuge for all other creatures. This signifies that the soul, which is the mediatrix of all a person's works, rejoices in good and holy works by trusting not in itself but in God; and mourns with shame the sins with which it knows its vessel is entangled. Through this sorrow it afflicts its vessel—the body—as with a prod, at which a person is compelled to say to himself, "Why does my soul so often depress me because of the sins in which I was born and from which I cannot keep myself, when I'm quite sure that I will fix them before my end?"[201] So a person consoles himself in sin and even rejoices in it as if at a raucous party.

199. Cf. *Let.* 234 (3:33).
200. Cf. 2 Cor 4.7 and 2 Tm 2.20–21; and 3.5.4.
201. An ironic twist on Ps 41.6(42.5); cf. ch. 85 below.

Such consolation does not come from the soul's nature, and so the soul is filled with sorrow, because it is the life that proceeds from divine rationality and moves the human person, who is every creature.[202] For from Man's lowest nature God wove for himself the tunic of his humanity from the virginal flesh of the Virgin Mary; indeed, he cherishes the humility through which he overcame the pride and malice of the devil.[203] But the soul upholds the human person in good and bad like the pillars of a house. For when he has fled from God in the presumption of holiness, he understands in the soul how hateful he is to God and humankind, and the soul does not allow him to take joy in this, for it afflicts him in this way. For many perish because of the presumption of holiness, and many more lose their labor's rewards, so that at the point of death, they are barely able to be saved by gasping for God. But those who have sinned through their neglect of holiness and through their carnal desires, but without pride—for them, God overlooks a whole host of sins when they have sighed in repentance for them. Indeed, many of these will later be made saints and pillars of the heavenly Jerusalem. For as the navel is the source of strength for all the inner organs attached to it, so all works, whether good or bad, look to the soul, for it is the source of strength for them all.

77. The navel also rises with the fleshy tubes of the heart, liver, and lungs, and all of the bowels, to aid in human refreshment. The breath of the soul moves these all, just as the air empowers all the forces of the earth by blowing through them. The navel also extends all the way to the bottom of the loins like the earth, which always emits certain mucky, watery filth in the swamps. For a person's warmth, coolness, and moisture, by which he is regulated, lurk in the navel; and the food and drink by which a person is quickened in flesh and blood flow down to the lower part to be expelled there like mud.

For the human person, who acts according to God through the powers of the soul with every part of creation, is both hard and soft according to the nature of the earth, which is partly soft and partly hard. The soul is discouraged by a person's

202. Cf. ch. 103 below.
203. Cf. ch. 14, n. 30, above.

hardness in pride and softness in the flesh's appetite when that person, overcome by the flesh, does not consent to the soul. For as the air empowers all creatures to grow, and as the navel rises with fleshy tubes to aid digestion, so the soul permeates, contains, and accomplishes all a person's works with its powers.

The soul is also covered over by the body's works, like a worm in its lair built of mud; and as the mud is then moved by the worms while they remain unseen, so the human person is moved by the invisible soul even to dirty deeds.[204] And although the soul draws all a person's works to itself as a hook draws a fish, still the soul is so overcome by the body that it cannot in any way resist it. Because all things are seen as if written within the soul, it also understands that, because of the sins it commits when coerced by the body, it must be punished and led to the rack of judgment. On this account, as long as the soul dwells in the body, it breathes the sighs of pain. For as the navel is extended to the loins, so sins are extended into the soul; and as a person's food is discharged in muck, and as the earth produces muddy filth, so too sins are discharged with the soul in punishment.

78. As a child and youth, the human person flourishes until he matures, and afterward, he is bowed down by old age as he withers. Likewise, the earth is graced to flourish in summer through viridity, and afterward is turned pale in winter by the cold. For when the soul has so overcome its body that they agree in good will with a simple heart and enjoy good works like delicious food, that person says in heavenly desire, "How sweet in my throat are the words of your justice, which are even far sweeter in my mouth than honey!"[205] And so with childlike simplicity he lives in innocence without carnal appetite. Indeed, the soul continues to flood such a person with its desires until, as he mounts from virtue unto virtue,[206] he grows green and flourishes in the good works and examples that the Son of God left for humankind—for his soul, once covered with the bruises

204. The same analogy appears (neutrally) in *Cause* 2.76 and 130 (pp. 71 and 97).

205. An elaboration of Ps 118(119).103.

206. Ps 83.8(84.7).

of sin, rejoices and is made beautiful. And as the viridity, the flowering, and the ripening of all fruits wane in winter's cold, so at death the human person passes away from all works good and bad. But the person who happily fulfilled good works in childhood, youth, and old age—his soul mounts up before God, shining with those works and adorned as with precious stones, while the body that enacted those works through the soul can hardly wait until they dwell together in a happy home.

79. Moreover, the loins,[207] in which both strength and wanton frivolity are diffused, denote the richness of the earth. For as sometimes a person's procreative powers swell in the loins, and sometimes inappropriate things, so too, when the earth's richness is in balance, it produces a fertile abundance of fruit; but when out of balance, it produces fruit that, though appearing plentiful, is in fact hollow. Indeed, through the powers of the soul, the human person accomplishes in wisdom, knowledge, and discretion everything he enacts beneath the orbit of sun and moon through the months and seasons.[208] And because the soul is of fire and air, through it a person does good and evil like the moon, which waxes and wanes. As the soul is celestial in its understanding of the good, through its powers the human person also considers and enacts anything whatsoever. With the discriminating power of rationality, he determines the times of the seasons and the elements with which he does good and evil, and he names all things that he comes to know.[209] As integrity's strength and failure, prosperity and futility are latent in the loins, and as through the sun, moon, and air the earth sprouts forth all things, useful and useless, through which humankind lives—so that strength is in the soul, so that a person can enact through its powers the good and the bad, the useful and the useless.

80. For the earth exists within the midst of the atmosphere like the honeycomb amid the honey. It has a variety of elevations, such that the hills are uninhabitable in some parts because of excessive heat and in other parts because of excessive

207. *renes,* trans. elsewhere as "kidneys."
208. Cf. ch. 98 below.
209. Cf. Gn 2.19–20.

cold; but in still other parts, the hills are balanced in heat and cold. Indeed, through its hills the earth is strengthened like a city with its towers and ramparts, and so the hills protect the valleys and the mountains defend the earth against a variety of storms. This is why the earth is surrounded and strengthened by the hills and mountains as with a wall.

This signifies that the soul, which is fixed within the whole body at God's command, knows that it is to enact heavenly and earthly deeds in the body with all of creation. It also understands that God, who judges all wicked deeds, is praised by all his angels and saints because of a person's good works. For he, the King and Emperor of everything in the heavens and the Deliverer in the depths, has delivered humankind by taking on the flesh's mortality; and because he is a wonderful God, he performs very many wonders among his saints. For when a person has sinned according to the appetite of his flesh, he is often called back by the soul in repentance. But the one who has overcome the soul by refusing to abandon sin—in him the soul cries out with a woeful voice, because its nature is so starved of refreshment that it has lost almost any hope of salvation from God. But God's grace causes that same person at last to recognize his sins in bitter repentance, and strengthens him to abandon the world, for which the soul is deeply glad. And so a person's works are like the earth, which the atmosphere holds above and below and on every side; and the soul exists with the body like the atmosphere with the earth and the honeycomb amid the honey.

For as the earth has some hills that are tempered for habitation by heat and cold, and others that are intemperate and inhospitable, so too a person executes good works, by which he is led to their heavenly homeland, and evil ones, by which he is led to the places of punishment. But when the soul is the conqueror that overcomes the will of the flesh, it delights in good works because of its nature—for it is spirit—and serves God in the love of faith like the angels who gaze upon his face. The soul, with which the flesh's desires are incompatible, urges the body to good and holy works; and when it has conquered the body in the fiercest wars of good works, it is adorned and strengthened with those good works like a city with its towers and ramparts.

For the soul is humble, its voice full of woe because of the basest nature of its flesh by which it is oppressed—and with that voice it keeps the person who stretches out his neck in pride[210] from having complete joy. Because of the soul's nature, that person cannot indeed rejoice in repentance because of the trouble caused by sin. Thus the soul constrains a person with the true ascent of humility, so that he cannot wander off onto the pointless paths of pride. Indeed, the soul climbs up the ladder of humility to the high mountain that is the seat of the heavenly Jerusalem,[211] and ever admonishes a person to abandon pride and turn himself toward humility, so as not to be drowned by the ancient serpent's trickery. For as valleys are protected by the hills from unsuitable floods, so people are defended against evil by humility. And as the earth is defended against a variety of storms by the mountains and hills with which it is defended and strengthened as with a wall, so through holy works that are fortified by humility as with a wall, the soul will arrive at its heavenly homeland despite the devil's chaos.

81. For the earth is positioned in relation to the sun's course to be tempered in every place by the sun. Likewise the soul, which is tempered with wisdom, floods a person with drops of the leaping fountain that is God,[212] so that he may walk upon the streets of discretion and holy desires by coming to know God, and may abandon his appetite for sin because of his love for him. Indeed, the person who acts according to the soul's desires is enlightened by the soul with holy works, like the earth illuminated in all its functions by the sun.

82. The earth is also strengthened with stones and trees, and Man was made according to it. For human flesh is like the earth; bones without marrow are like stones, while bones with marrow are like trees.[213] This is also why humans assemble their buildings out of earth, stone, and wood.

210. Cf. Eve in Hildegard's responsory *Ave Maria, o auctrix vite* (*Symphonia* 8).

211. On the ladder of humility, see *RB* 7.

212. Cf. Jn 4.14; Hildegard's antiphon *O splendidissima gemma* (*Symphonia* 10 = *Scivias* 3.13.1a); and the words of Faith in *Ordo,* Scene 2, lines 93–95 (pp. 166–67).

213. Cf. *Physica* 1, Preface on Plants (p. 9).

The soul too, which the flesh's desires oppose and which serves as the firmament of the entire body and infuses it with its powers, enacts and accomplishes all its works with the human person. When a person works according to the soul's desire, he becomes a flourishing garden on which the Lord feasts his eyes—but when he works according to the flesh's will, he does not shine before God's eyes, like the sun when it suffers an eclipse. For the person who has done good works is like an orchard full of all good fruits, just as the earth is strengthened and adorned with stones and trees. But when he has committed evil works through the harshness of sin, he is fruitless before God like the hard earth that bears no fruit.[214] For human flesh signifies a good conscience, which has a fruitful tenderness, and bones signify a bad conscience, which hardens itself against God; while the bones that are without marrow signify a person's wicked deeds.

But the soul works in the human person as God does, for as he established heaven with complete joy for the beings of heaven, and as he gave humans the earth to live on, so the soul works with a person joyfully in good works, which are heavenly, and with sorrow's plaint in evil works, which are earthly. Indeed, the soul's bowels are the knowledge of good and evil, with which the soul teaches a person the humility that is the matrix of all virtues,[215] and with its powers so constrains a person in sin that he cannot ever joyfully accomplish that sin. And as a person plans out according to his will all the structures of the house he wants to build, so the soul arranges as it can all the works in a person.

83. The earth is positioned in the middle of the atmosphere, such that the atmosphere exists in equal measure above the earth, below the earth, and on all sides of the earth. The soul too, which is a living breath embodied by God,[216] instructs a person patiently to obey God's commands in this laborious life, in which soul and body dwell together with as much estrangement as there is distance between heaven and earth. The hu-

214. Cf. Lk 8.6; and 2.1.34, on Gn 1.12.
215. "matrix": *materia;* on humility, cf. *Scivias* 3.8.1 and 18.
216. Cf. Gn 2.7.

man person cannot fully comprehend with his own knowledge what he is, and so the soul admonishes the battle-weary person to look back and reach out to his Creator with patience and obedience. For as the atmosphere exists amid the earth to surround and sustain it, so the soul dwells amid the body to sustain it completely, and it works within it according to whatever it demands of it.

84. The human bladder demonstrates the rivers' floods that pour forth here and there through the land. For as the bladder receives and emits fluids from the belly, so the rivers first swell and then subside and water the whole earth. And so the soul, which the nature of flesh and blood opposes, teaches a person to abstain from unruly thoughts and, rather than despair of God's grace because of his sins, to throw himself at the Lord's feet in true humility because of them, that almighty God might mercifully deign to forgive him his sins in bitter repentance. For when the soul has so conquered a person with its humble nature that they agree in all things, it runs across the heavens in victory to say, "I have longed for your salvation, O Lord, and your law is my meditation."[217] This is open to understanding thus: "In my flesh, which does not consent on its own to your precepts in the good, I have desired and come to understand you; and by the force of your salvation I was so flooded as by rushing water that at the center of my powers and the center of my heart I meditate upon your commandments, even against the flesh's will. And as a mill is run by water to grind up grain for eating, so I, who am a cascading course of water in the body, diligently seek of my nature to observe all your precepts." For as the human bladder receives and emits the body's moisture, and as rivers flood the whole earth as they swell and subside, so the victorious soul governs the whole body with God's precepts by receiving the good and ejecting the bad, as its powers swell with good works and subside with bad ones.

85. Moreover, the place where digested food and drink are discharged signifies hidden and underground river channels. For as digested matter cannot remain in the human body but appears as emissions, so too these channels emit the rivers and

217. Ps 118(119).174.

bring them out into the open. Meanwhile, when the soul has been hidden away from the light within grimy sins, it cannot keep itself from saying with a woeful voice, "Ah! Ah! How miserable I am, a living breath of God enveloped by such a stench of sin that I cannot look to heaven with any happiness! Ah, where have I come from, or where am I going to? What use to me are all the good things that God created, since I am plunged into hell?"[218] But later it turns back to itself and says, "I trust in my God, for with true repentance, through his mercy I can be delivered from the torments of hell that I rightly deserve."

And so, consoled and comforted by God's grace, the soul again says, "Why are you sad, O my soul, and why do you trouble me? Hope in God, for I will still confess him, the salvation of my countenance and my God."[219] This is open to understanding thus: When, compelled by the soul's nature, a person thinks about fixing his sins, he speaks with the joy that has flooded into him from the streams of living water:[220] "Why am I so depressed and disturbed in my soul, when through God's grace I can wipe away the wounds of my sins with sighs and tears? For I believe that I will be delivered from them by the wounds of my Lord, who for my sins bore the nails and lance." And afterward, he discloses all his wicked deeds in bitter repentance, just as digested food and drink are discharged. Furthermore, as the rivers upon the earth are produced from underground waters, so from such affairs the best report flies above the earth—for the one who had been lost in sin is revealed in good works.[221]

86. The human person's back and sides demonstrate the surface of the earth. Meanwhile, the soul, which is called an acting spirit,[222] enacts with a person holy works and the shining virtues through which God is praised by the angelic spirits; and it exists unseen within the body that it governs in all things, just as God, who created the entire earth, is unseen by humankind. As

218. Cf. ch. 75 above; and the Soul's responses to the Virtues' invitation in *Ordo,* Scene 3, lines 166–72 (pp. 172–73).

219. Ps 41.6–7(42.5–6); cf. the ironic twist in ch. 76 above.

220. Cf. Jn 4.14.

221. Cf. ch. 66 above.

222. *operans spiritus,* in contrast to the angelic spirits, whose sole function is to praise God by reflecting his glory; see further chs. 87 and 91 below.

a person works powerfully with the back and sides, so the soul accomplishes all its works with the body.

The thighs and buttocks,[223] moreover, show the hills and rough terrain of the hard and impenetrable earth discussed above. For the thighs are attached to the loins and belly and carry a person, while the buttocks support him. Likewise, the lower and impenetrable part of the earth is conjoined to its upper, tender, and soft part, and supports it with its steel-like strength so that it does not melt away.

For as humankind governs the entire earth with their skills and turns it over with the plow, sometimes more deeply and sometimes shallowly, so the soul perfuses and turns over the body with its powers and virtues according to the flesh's appetite; and with the strongest of the soul's powers, a person accomplishes grave and unlawful sins, while lesser sins (which happen in thought without deed) are accomplished only with the wings of the soul.[224] Indeed, because of the hatred the devil has for his Lord, he furnishes humankind with pleasure, from which a fog rises in the body as often as a person grows angry—for a person would never get angry if he did not experience the flesh's pleasure. Nevertheless, the soul, which is an immortal life and at whose departure the body dies, accomplishes all works according to the body's desires, just as airy wind brings the whole earth into bud; and the soul, flowing like cascading water, never ceases to act within the body.

Indeed, all the angels are awed by that person who is clothed with holy works as with the most elegant robe, for he will join their company in praising God; and all those works the soul sustains, just as the thighs and buttocks support the whole human person. And as the rough and jagged earth bears the soft part of the earth and the rivers, so the soul's powers maintain the whole human person, for they are attached to a person in

223. *locus sessionis,* lit. "place of sitting."

224. *alis anime;* Mansi emended to *aliis,* "with the other [powers] of the soul," but Hildegard appears to be drawing out the analogy of the plow: the deepest furrows are cut by the strong, central spine of the plow blade, while shallower, broader ones are turned mostly by its outer wings. Thus, the "wings of the soul" are its ancillary rather than essential powers.

service as the thighs and loins are to the belly. The soul also supports a person's works with its powers, like his posterior, and urges him to rejoice in the good and to mourn in the bad, surrounding him with good works and the various virtues as with berries and pearls.[225] Of this John speaks:

87. "I saw Jerusalem descending from heaven, adorned as a bride for her bridegroom."[226] This is open to understanding thus: The bride signifies the holy and adorned soul that has been joined to Christ in the dowry of his blood and looks to him as a bride to her bridegroom.[227] For the Son of God came down from heaven in a Virgin's womb, in whom he built the new and holy city of Jerusalem.[228] Indeed, the angels, who forever behold God's face, are awed by the works of the saints, which shine with countless ornaments before God's face and forever build new tabernacles by mounting up to the heavenly Jerusalem, sparkling too before them like letters of gold. So the angels resound in all praises with the tone of psaltery, harp, and voice.[229] But God created Man to enact shining works that would sparkle in heaven, so that the angels would wonder at Man's works as too they wonder at God's face. So too it is written: "You have made him a little less than the angels, you have crowned him with glory and honor, and you have established him over the works of your hands."[230] This is open to understanding thus: God is always present before the angels, who are his praise, so that he is seen and understood by them. When Man, who is a work with a soul, sees God in faith and not in divinity, God glorifies, honors, and greatly adorns him, for he created him for obedience to his

225. *bacis et margaritis:* the fruits of good works and the precious stones of the virtues, respectively.

226. Rv 21.2, in a variant found in the versicle of the responsory *Vidi civitatem sanctam,* used in the matins office of the liturgy for the dedication of a church (and its annual commemoration), as well as sometimes on the Feast of All Saints; see C. Clifford Flanigan, "The Apocalypse and the Medieval Liturgy," in *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages,* ed. R. K. Emmerson and B. McGinn (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992), 333–34.

227. Cf. *Let.* 250r (3:48).

228. Cf. verse 9 of Hildegard's "Symphony for Virgins," *O dulcissime amator* (*Symphonia* 57).

229. Cf. Ps 150.3.

230. Ps 8.6–7(5–6).

precepts and established him over all the works he had made.[231]

88. For the iron-hard part of the earth is subjoined to the tender part of the earth, and the former endures in it hardness as if it were of steel, so that it cannot be broken or softened by any flood of the waters that flow around it. Meanwhile, when a person embraces the flesh's pleasure, the soul in its spiritual nature says, "O woe to the softness of the flesh's appetite, which I afflict and by which I am afflicted!" To which the person amid his sins soon groans in response, "O woe to me, that I was born to such sins that I cannot overcome in myself!" And as soon as the soul senses this grief, it draws the person to itself by punishing him even more than before in his sins and rendering him even more sorrowful for those sins because the soul's powers within him had been withered. Afterwards indeed, by working according to the soul's nature, a person loses his life by mortifying carnal desires, so that he might find it in heavenly desire.[232] So too the soul of the person in whom it finds no hardness of heart is superior, just as the iron-hard earth upholds the soft with its power—for that soul strengthens a person with the steel-like strength of faith, so that he does not falter because of the circling evils of habitual sins.

Indeed, part of this iron-hard earth has mountains with cliffs, and the rivers that flow in the east divided into four parts have not the power to cut it—for though they may at times cause it to move, they do not harm it.[233] Such motion, moreover, may happen because of the sun's excessive heat from that part of the firmament where the sun rises. If the earth below were not as of iron or steel, it would be completely torn apart by that excessive heat; while from the other part of the firmament, where the sun sets, it would be burst apart by excessive cold. For because of the sun's immoderate heat and that immoderate cold, those parts of the earth are uninhabitable.

So then the soul, which is naturally humble, always fights against a person's pride and says to him, "Why do you climb up to such a height, as if you had created yourself? For if you

231. On this contrast of angels and humans, see *LVM* 5.77(96).

232. Cf. Mt 10.39; the word for "life" there is *anima,* "soul."

233. On the four rivers, see Gn 2.10–14.

want to exist or act all on your own, you will fall just like the first angel." The soul also knows and perceives God, by whom it was made a spiritual being, and it understands that none is like him—and so it hates the joyless pride that wants to exist entirely on its own, obedient to none. So then it says further to the proud mind of its body, "All that you seek is vain and false, and what you call honor is blasphemy. When you think you are climbing high without the help of God and other people, you will fall." But because of the soul's grief, a person often sighs and, by falling away from all the works of pride, climbs up into the height of humility's holy works. By that humility he is held fast and strengthened amid sin, like the hard earth by the mountains and cliffs. And then that person, as if coming alive again, does good and holy works with the elements in a different way, so that he is not condemned as by mortal wounds and mocked in the sight of God and humankind, as too that earth is not burst apart in its powers by the four rivers.

Moreover, the soul, which is of wind, moves all creation through the heart and veins in the human person. For a while, the soul cooperates with a person in the sins that trouble and oppose it, and after the joy of sin, it usually causes him to weep, and after the ease of sin, it turns him into great confusion. A person also often falls gravely ill when all his inner organs do not keep the right course by accomplishing what he wants. So too the soul is like a storm within a person, afflicting him with sins and also with repentance—for the more the soul has been grieved in sin, the more it makes a person to grieve in repentance. The soul also sustains a person in the full fervor of both sin and repentance, just as the iron-like and steely earth sustains the soft part, lest either fail. For the soul is the vital power of the body, which it never allows to execute its sins joyfully and so often afflicts in those sins that the body can hardly hope to lift itself away from them. Yet the soul does again stir up a person through the body and console him, so that rather than falling away into the confusion of despair, he can trust that he will be delivered by God's grace. This too the earth signifies, which is not burst apart by the excessive western cold.

For the earth that is uninhabitable because of excessive cold

and heat signifies that, because of Adam's expulsion, humankind dwells as pilgrims upon a small part of the habitable earth. They cannot live free from anxiety amid the battles and wars of sin and repentance, for in their tearful exile, they cannot glimpse the full joy of their heavenly homeland, unless they strive for it from afar in the shadow of faith. So when they see that they can have no security, they say:

89. "My days have declined like a shadow, and I have withered as the grass."[234] This is open to understanding thus: Because of original sin, humankind is blind to things past and yet to come; and so in their knowledge they have as if a shadow.[235] Because of this insecurity, they wither as the grass, because all their works are unsure for them. For all the days of humankind falter and are forgotten, but eternal life is fixed and ever new, as summer too brings forth new fruits every year.

90. Indeed, the earth bears up its mountains and hills and is not flat within its roundness, though still the atmosphere touches it on all sides; and so it carries its mountains and hills up and down, like a stag bearing his horns. The soul, which is a breath from God, hates with teeth-grinding disgust the avarice that is the neck of lasciviousness,[236] for because of these two vices, a person cannot maintain a peaceful and gentle demeanor either within himself or towards others.

The soul was therefore sent into the body to confuse the devil and fight together with humankind against his seduction. For through that seduction, lasciviousness—the Leviathan that wants to swallow up the entire world—surges up in humankind, desiring to corrupt souls and horde them as a greedy person does money.[237] Indeed, the person who is proud and greedy weighs himself down with the potential for sin, just as the earth is never flat because it is weighed down by mountains and hills. Abandoning the fear of God—as if he were not to be judged by him!—he does whatever he wants according to the desires of his own heart. Like the air when it touches the earth not normally

234. Ps 101.12(102.11).
235. See further 3.2.12.
236. A play on the words for hill (*collis*) and neck (*collum*).
237. On the Leviathan see further 3.4.5.

but as a tempest, such a person commits the deeds of iniquity by unjustly making excuses according to the vanity of his heart.[238]

But the soul also afflicts such a person with its powers and causes him to sigh to God for his sins. Laying low the mountain of pride within him, it urges him to do good and holy works in humility above the earth, for previously he had committed his sins in pride as if below the earth. The soul also works both good and evil in its knowledge's power, and out of the great affliction that it experiences in the body because of pride, it says, "Ah, ah! Where have I come from, and what am I doing, that I only now speak with sighs the voice of lament? For I have mingled my knowledge with the rot of sin!" And so with its grieving, the soul compels a person to entreat the Lord with these words: "Have mercy upon me, O Lord, for I have defiled my soul in sin. Heal the pains and sores of my wounds, for against you alone have I sinned. O my God, teach me more how to do good and holy works by which my soul may be healed, for I have cast it into great confusion!"[239] Indeed, afterwards this person turns himself completely to God and rejoices at the banquet of repentance, for the hunger of his soul has subsided.[240]

91. For the surface of the earth is round on the underside as well as on top, and it is like an iron framework against the influx and swirling flow of the waters. The soul, too, which is hidden within the body and soars in all the body's senses by thinking, speaking, and acting, works within a person according to those faculties and with all of creation—for the other spirits exist only as God's praise, not to work actively.[241] For the human person, at whose works the angels marvel in their praising of God, is heavenly and earthly—and so in heaven humankind is gloriously praised, and the whole earth they fill up with their activity. So the force of the human soul is like the roundness of the earth, for it circles within the body and within all a person's works, and it operates according to both the flesh's nature and its own

238. Cf. *Gosp. Hom.* 40 (pp. 161–63).

239. This prayer echoes several of the penitential psalms, including Pss 6.3–4(2–3), 37.6(38.5), 50.4–6(51.2–4), and 142(143).10.

240. Cf. *Gosp. Hom.* 26 (pp. 118–22).

241. "other spirits": i.e., angels; cf. chs. 86–87 above.

nature. Indeed, the soul's force is like the steel by which all iron implements are sharpened and strengthened, for it overcomes in battle the flesh's desires that attack its nature, lest a person perish;[242] and lest he be smothered by the weight of sin, it is a warrioress against the devil's every deceit.[243]

92. Moreover, the measurement from the knees to the ankle is the same as that from the place of discharge or the thigh to the knee. The measurement of this limb—from knee to ankle—signifies the ocean, which encompasses the entire earth. For as the legs are arched back to the behind, so too, as these waters embrace the earth's roundness, they do not transgress their boundary. These waters also do not rush outside their course because they flow as in furrows and channels and do not exceed those limits; and they are equal in their depth to the waters that are above the firmament.

So too the soul, which was established in all a person's limbs, hastens through him to all the flesh's desires, forced to blow like bellows. And then it says to that person in lament, "Ah, ah, you ashen filth![244] Why ever was I sent by my God into you? For you've so enveloped me in your desires that I'm forced to perform with you unlawful deeds under the devil's persuasion!" Then the person, though living in sin's wanton festivity, often says to himself in response to the soul's complaint, "O woe to me! Why can't I keep myself from sin? I know that my deeds are foul before God and other humans. So why don't I fear my God, who in judgment casts aside every spot of sin as the devil's wickedness?"[245] Afterwards a person accounts for his sins and turns away from them in bitter repentance, and with the same anxiety that the soul felt when he was sinning, he is led to say,

242. Cf. *Scivias* 3.1.12.

243. "warrioress": *bellatrix;* cf. n. 292 on *preliatrix* below; and the power of steel described in *Physica* 9.8 (p. 240): "It nearly represents the divinity of God, whence the devil flees and avoids it."

244. In the opening Declaration of *Scivias,* the voice from heaven addresses Hildegard: "O fragile human, ashes of ashes, and filth of filth!" (p. 59). She responds in kind at *Scivias* 3.1, Vision: "To my own inner soul I seem as filthy ashes and transitory dust, trembling like a feather in the dark" (p. 310).

245. Cf. the lament of the Unhappy Soul in *Ordo,* Scene 1, lines 36–40 (pp. 162–63).

"Ah, ah! I forgot my Creator when I did not turn away from the flesh's desire with the knowledge of my rationality in both fear and love of him." And so in true repentance he throws himself to the ground and cries out to God in prayer, "O my God, help me! By your blood lead me from the deep of my sins, in which I am drowned as in hell; and by your grace draw me to you, that I might rise up to salvation!"[246] And so, by considering each and every one of his sins with true repentance, he washes them away.

For the measurement from the place of discharge or the thigh to the knee signifies that the force of sexual desire is aroused at the devil's primal seduction in a man's loins and a woman's navel, when through the evil of his deceit they desire, execute, and accomplish the sins of lust with equal passion.[247] But afterwards, a person is led by the soul into grief and anxiety for those sins, which the measurement from knee to ankle signifies. Indeed, the ankle shows the place of exile in which Adam was placed—an exile that humankind can never forget in all their works, good or ill. For in their wicked deeds they recall Adam's expulsion, and in their good works they remember how they were created by God.

Indeed, God created a dwelling place for the rational soul with such fullness that the soul is able within it to practice all of its virtues, as a person builds a home to do everything he wants within it. As the winds were created by God, so these virtues go about, each with its own breath, sometimes in cheerfulness and sometimes in crisis. As the ocean does not escape the place in which it flows, so the soul does not leave its mode—that is, it rejoices in good works and is gloomy in bad. For when a person sins according to the flesh's desires, he is dark as night before God; but when he acts according to the soul's nature, he shines as daylight before God and his angels.

Moreover, the measurement from the ankle to the end of the big toe is the same as from the wrist to the tip of the middle finger, as shown above.[248] The feet also demonstrate the rest of the rivers that split up through the entire earth to water it ev-

246. Scriptural echoes include Pss 37.19, 23(38.18, 22), and 129(130).1.
247. Cf. *Cause* 2.151 (pp. 114–15).
248. Ch. 55.

erywhere. As the feet are joined to the legs and the hands to the arms, so too these rivers assume their powers from the ocean. Indeed, God created the element of earth to sprout by the powers of the other elements, as too woman becomes pregnant by the powers of man.

And so humankind, divine by soul and earthly by earth, is the complete work of God.[249] This then is how they know earthly things and understand heavenly things in the mirror of faith. For as there is an equal measurement from the ankle to the end of the big toe and from the wrist to the tip of the middle finger, so the soul, through which a person understands that he has God, possesses the body in equal measure without any defect, and the body sustains the soul in equal measure, so that the soul does not have any defect within it in all the works it executes with the body. And as the earth sprouts forth things both useful and useless, so the feet carry a person to works both useful and useless; and as all waters flow from the ocean, so through body and soul all a person's works are enacted.

93. Furthermore, the right leg's knee, where a person's leg curves in, demonstrates the principal west wind, while that leg's thigh and ankle denote its collateral winds; and that leg's hip and foot signify the breaths of those collateral winds. The left leg's knee also denotes the principal north wind, while its thigh and ankle show its collateral winds; and that leg's hip and foot reveal the breaths of those collateral winds.

Indeed, as said above,[250] God signified the constitution of the winds in the human person: there are twelve major joints—the elbows of the arms, the shoulders and hands, the knees, the hips, and the feet—as too there are twelve winds. The elbows of the arms, together with their attached limbs, signify the east and south winds with their collaterals, as said above; while the knees, together with their conjoined limbs, demonstrate the west and north winds with their collaterals. As these limbs are attached to the whole body, so too these winds, together with their servants, assist the firmament. Each also is tempered by another with heat, cold, dryness, and moisture, and they exer-

249. Cf. ch. 100 below; and 2.1.35.
250. Chs. 49–51.

cise their functions properly, just as with their arms and hands, a person does everything that he dictates in his conscience. And as these limbs are separated from one another by an equal measurement, so too the winds are separated from each other by an equal amount of space.

94. But among them, the north wind often reveals its harshness and shivering chill when it extends its windy wing into the firmament's wheel and against the east, where it often stirs up a terrible and noxious haze and casts in summer frigid moisture that strikes at the earth's fruit and withers the trees.[251] When this happens, that biting breeze magnifies itself with great ferocity and envelops the clouds through which shines the sphere of the sun, so that it seems to people that the sun has faded. Thus this breeze also creates uncertainty beneath the clouds, and then there is darkness upon the earth.[252] But this cannot seem to humans but to prefigure great portents, for they are moved by these elements, bent like a hand by the arm able to sign and enact all things.

And because of people's contradictory works, that breeze often plays around with the moon, so that it appears to them sometimes black in color, sometimes like iron, and sometimes as if its parts were divided into different colors; and this is why the moon's aspect is then frightening to people. For the north wind is perilous in every part to which it directs itself and harmful to everything upon which it blows. With its harshness and cold it confounds the warm breeze that flies pleasantly from the sun with the moisture of dew and on earth all viridity and the fruits of the fields; and so it shuns the goodness of being useful. Yet it also upholds the other winds like a person who leans against a wall, and so it serves them;[253] and all lights appear more ornate and beautiful within creation because of the north's darkness, for there is no light in it. In like manner, the left arm assists and serves the right.

95. All these things also pertain to the soul. For the soul dwells in the body like the winds, whose breezes are not seen

251. Cf. 3.5.24.
252. Cf. Mt 27.45, Mk 15.33, Lk 23.44.
253. Cf. *Cause* 1.19 (p. 27).

or heard. Because the soul is airy, it spreads out its breath and sighing and thoughts like the floating air. It is also like the dew because of the moisture of wisdom, through which it possesses good intentions for God. For as the sun's splendor illumines the whole world and yet is not diminished in itself, so the soul exists completely within the short stature of a human being, even though it also flies everywhere through its thoughts—ascending to the stars through holy deeds in praise of God, but also descending into the darkness through the wicked deeds of sin.[254] This too the sun signifies, shining with its powers during the day above the earth and at night below the earth. The soul also ascends with good intention and descends with bad intention by acting perversely, as the legs too are driven up and down with the knees in various affairs.

For the west wind, which is a bit fearsome, shows a person's good intention, which ought never to be without the fear by which a person, so long as he remains in the stench of sin, is sustained as by the knee; and his ankle and foot demonstrate the will and desire through which that good intention is accomplished with works. And as its collaterals assist the west wind in its function, so will and desire assist work. Indeed, the right collateral of the west wind signifies that a person conquers the sins within himself by consenting to the soul as if on the right side; while the left one shows that, when overcome by sins, he lives in forgetfulness of God, as if on the left side.

The north wind, moreover, which withers all the earth's viridity with its blast—a function in which its collateral winds aid it—shows that a person accomplishes the flesh's desires according to the will and pleasure of his own heart; and by them he is left destitute of all the happiness of heavenly goods. But when that person does not consent to the soul and commits evil as on the left side, the force of his rationality, as on the right side, forbids him to continue. Still, all works, good and evil, are accomplished through the soul, just as all the earth's fruits are brought forth by summertime. God also created the soul to be wise in governing its vessel—the body—through the four pow-

254. Cf. Hildegard's description of her visionary experiences in *Let.* 103r (2:23).

ers that it has from fire, air, water, and earth.[255] With these the soul accomplishes all the body's functions by operating with it. But before it is embodied, the soul enacts nothing, as too it will enact nothing more when it leaves the body.

Indeed, in the joints of a person's limbs God signified the four winds with their collaterals: in the shoulders, elbows, hands, hips, knees, and feet. One of these—the east wind—is joined to the might of the dawn, which receives dew from the nighttime cold and casts it upon the earth. For in the early morning the dawn shines; in the first hour the sun illuminates the day; in the third it begins to heat up; and in the sixth it reaches the fullness of its heat.[256] This signifies that a person first sighs because of a good intention, then later weeps; after the tears he begins good works, and these he finally fulfills with the great eagerness of good intention.

Indeed, the person who burns fiercely in good works' holy way of life is like the south wind, for he first begins to live sacredly through sighs and a good intention, as if in the east; but afterwards, as if in the west, the restless wars with which the soul subdues the body fall quiet, just as the sun's heat, which begins in the east and burns fullest in the south, cools in the west. For as east and south join together in the daytime heat, so the soul joins virtue to virtue and accomplishes all good works like hands with the arms.[257] But at the end of the day, the sun descends in the west, as too people's knees run with feet upon the earth. In the evening, the jolliness of the day is turned to weariness, and then a person is no longer joyful as in daylight but is tired and ready for sleep. This is because when a person acts according to the flesh's appetite and, busied with carnal works, is oblivious to heavenly goods, he becomes a creature of the night. But when he enacts holy virtues through the soul in

255. Likely the tetrad of will (fire), consideration (air), power (*potestas,* paired with water), and consent (earth), as in *Cause* 2.129 (pp. 94–95); but cf. the tetrads of sensibility, intellect, and the knowledge of good and evil (ch. 51 above); sensibility, knowledge, will, and intellect (as later in this chapter); and reason, intellect, knowledge, and sensibility (*Cause* 1.50, p. 47).

256. Cf. *Let.* 217 (2:198), the probable cover letter for sending the Ghent *LDO* manuscript to Abbot Ludwig in Trier (see *Women Writers,* 193–95).

257. Cf. *Scivias* 1.4.19.

the Holy Spirit's fire, in his love of Christ he is refreshed against the lustful desire of the flesh.

The rational soul indeed produces and multiplies words with sound, as a tree multiplies its branches; and from it all a person's powers proceed, like branches from a tree; and its works—whatever they may be that it enacts with a person—are recognized like the fruits of a tree.[258] The soul indeed has four wings—sensibility, knowledge, will, and intellect.[259] Through the wing of sensibility, it senses that it is wounded and turns away from what the flesh loves, for it is an ever-moving breath. Through the wing of knowledge, the body possesses the desire for activity, because through the soul it knows that it is alive. Through the wing of will, moreover, the soul desires to act with the body, because it sees how the body was made. Finally, through the wing of intellect, it comes to know the fruit of each work, whether useful or useless, because it abides as life unending. And so, by these four wings, with eyes in front and behind with the knowledge of good and evil, the soul flies like a bird, forward through a good conscience with good works, but backward through an evil conscience with wicked works.

96. For when the north wind has chillingly raised its blast, the east wind resists it and the west wind bars it from blowing past; while the south wind, which is stronger than those two, also joins with them to fight against it, so that it cannot emit its blast beyond it. So from the rising of the sun to its setting,[260] all the winds resist the north, which the sunlight neither touches nor illumines. For the north is worse than the other winds, because it was darkened by the devil's fall, when God cast him into the pit of outer darkness, where he remains in the dark without any light. For since Adam fell, the wicked spirits have cast their breath upon the whole world from the darkness in which they exist, pressing humans into error; and this they do with that same malice by which they opposed the true light.[261] Yet God does not allow them to appear as they really are in their horri-

258. Cf. Mt 7.16; and *Scivias* 1.4.26.
259. Cf. ch. 51 above; and *Scivias* 1.4.18–20.
260. Mal 1.11.
261. Cf. 3.1.4.

fying form to humans who dwell beneath the sun; rather, they appear to them in every creaturely form according to the latter's instinct and character, to deceive people and turn them away as much as possible from good works.[262]

For the north wind, which harms humans and the earth's fruits and with its wings casts in summer's heat a contrary cold against east and west that withers the earth's fruits, is like the darkness and iniquity of the airy spirits, for those basest spirits cause the heat of the Holy Spirit's fire to go cold in humans by forgetting God.[263] Indeed, the soul that is defeated in its battle with the body, so that in consenting to it, it is enveloped in the flesh's desires like a worm in its lair, smeared with sin by the serpent's spit,[264] does not remember that it is a breath from God. But it does not long remain in those sins; rather, it sighs and groans because of its embrace of the sins at which it gaped as at great delights. It no longer holds those sins with delight, as before, but with loathing; and after brawling, as it were, against them, it perseveres in good works.

But when a person has sold himself with a wicked conscience and observed the serpent's counsel by forgetting God in the heat of lust, that lust burns hotter within him, fanned by the devil's artifice, and deceives him into saying, "How could you possibly contain yourself when your flesh is struck by such pleasure, since you're human and can be made clean again by repenting?" So this person is indeed like the wind that renders its chill beneath the clouds: overcast in his conscience by the mockery of an errant mind, he sleeps with unlawful sins in the darkness of forgetting God. And when he sleeps in his sins in this way—by forgetting God—he is considered in the knowledge of those people who look to God by living justly to be like those base and horrible worms from which humans recoil. So too they say of such a person, "What kind of person is this, who forgets that he is human to live in such squalor?" And so they flee from

262. Cf. 2.1.9; and *Gosp. Hom.* 24 (esp. p. 110), on the tempter's appearance to Christ in the wilderness.

263. Cf. *Let.* 223r (3:19).

264. *per spumam serpentis:* a euphemism for sexual sin; see ch. 105, n. 401, below; and 3.5.6, n. 31, and 3.5.18, n. 150.

such a person as one marked for death, taking consideration to mark themselves and all their works with the fear of God, because of the frightfulness they have known in that person, so that they do not become like him. This they do in the likeness of those signs that prefigure calamities and times of futility.

And as the hand signs all things through the arm, and portents are prefigured in the movement of the elements,[265] so the human person enacts through the soul things useful and useless by taking consideration within himself. Indeed, the variableness of the north wind signifies the instability of the minds of those people who think that whatever they foresee according to their own will is appropriate, trusting in themselves and not in God. In this they are like a dense cloud through which the sun's brilliance is never fully seen, because they pick out, arrange, and treasure everything that is contrary to their Creator. And for this blackness of their spite, they are loathsome to other people. For as the moon appears divided into different colors, so with their forgetfulness of God, they are made iron-hard by the duplicity of their deceit, so that sometimes they seem to people pleasant and useful even without an upright faith—but deluded by devilish artifice, they are turned to chaos by their hateful and malicious works in the sight of God and people.[266]

For that north wind is perilous in every part and lacks all usefulness, for by the judgment of the most just Judge, it received that malicious one who contradicted God. It also signifies that burning rage in which human blood is spilled at the devil's urging, as well as that person who in the hatred of his rage kills as often as he can with his wickedness the one whom the Holy Spirit has inspired, for the former can never praise the latter with the sweet sound of love. Indeed, with malice that person pours out the water of dishonor upon the person whom he has seen infused with wisdom,[267] and everywhere the former persecutes and hounds the latter. As much as he can, through lies he robs of all honor the person who has love; and everywhere, in

265. Cf. *Gosp. Hom.* 53 (pp. 190–92).
266. Cf. *LVM* 4.29–30(39–40).
267. "pours out . . . infused": *fundit . . . infusum.*

all that he can, he destroys peace with the words of harshness and perfidy.

For the north wind, which is estranged from God, takes up all human vices to be twisted around. For as barley is sifted out from wheat,[268] so the north wind, separated from all usefulness and blessedness and holiness, upholds—as a wall upholds the person who leans upon it—all the virtues that come forth through the Holy Spirit's inspiration and are brighter and more beautiful because of it. By its darkness are known all the lights that cling to the heavenly harmony, sown by the Son of Man in virgin nature. As the devil's insinuation seduces people, so the north wind's blast is harmful to humankind.[269] But when the person who has committed wickedness and sin by murmuring with the devil as on the left side becomes mindful of those sins through repentance and conversion as on the right side, then he is freed as a prisoner from hell and made stronger and holier in good works by the recollection of his sins, as the left serves the right.

97. But God turned the face of the righteous bud—Adam—to the east when he awakened and raised him up, and he signified in his right hand the southern region of blessedness, and in his left the outer darkness, which is called the north.[270] In him he implanted also the powers of the elements and the rest of creation, that with them he might work against the north, which is the dwelling place of the lost angels who separated themselves from him because in their own self-will they denied him, wishing that he were not God. Therefore, God willed that Man should reject the north on the left side and cast it behind, not looking to it as anything to imitate, just as a person cannot look with his face upon his own back. And he willed that Michael fight in battle against the serpent with all the powers of creation and keep the north entirely in the oblivion of the wicked side,[271] just as the darkness was separated from the light.[272]

268. Cf. Lk 22.31 and Am 9.9.
269. Cf. 3.2.9.
270. Cf. ch. 48 above; see Maurmann, 66–72.
271. *sinistre partis,* lit. "left side."
272. Cf. Rv 12.7–9 and Gn 1.4.

So God strengthened Man with the powers of all creation and clothed him with them as with a complete suit of armor, so that through sight he might come to know creation, through hearing understand it, through smell make distinctions, through taste be fed by it, and through touch master it.[273] So it is that he ought to know that God truly is the Creator of all creation,[274] and though very often deceived by the ancient serpent's counsel, he should not strive to do battle against God. For God did not fill Man up with the aforementioned powers just for him to try somehow to lift up his mind in the foolishness of the fallen angel.[275] Indeed, God crafted the human form according to the constitution of the firmament and of each and every part of the rest of creation, as a foundryman uses the form according to which he will make his vessel. As God measured out the great instrument of the firmament with equal dimensions, so equally he measured out Man in his short and limited stature, as described above.[276] Thus he created him, that limb be joined to limb with proper dimension and not exceed its proper weight, unless it should be at God's judgment; and that Man should be able to bend in the many parts of his body—at the neck, shoulders, elbows, hands, hips, knees, feet, and each of the other limbs.

98. But as God signified creation in humankind, so too he ordained within them the seasons of the year. For he shows summer when a person is awake, and winter when he is asleep, because as winter buries within itself what summer brings forth in joy, so a person is strengthened by rest as he sleeps, to be made ready in his powers for whatever he does when awake. He also divided up the months within him when he separated out the qualities and virtues of the months within him.[277]

273. Cf. *Let.* 15r (1:55); *Cause* 1.28 and 2.81 (pp. 33–34 and 73–74); Dronke gives parallels to Eriugena's *Periphyseon* 2.4 and 4.5 (PL 122: 530D–531A and 752C–753A); for Hildegard's notions of the convergent latency of all creation in Man, see *LDO,* pp. xx and 231.

274. A rebuke of Cathar gnostic dualism; cf. *Gosp. Hom.* 25 (esp. p. 115).

275. Cf. *LVM* 6.23(24).

276. Ch. 15; cf. *Solution* 26.

277. Schipperges offers a (problematic) tabular summary on p. 339; for the place of the five senses in this microcosmic calendar, see Margot Schmidt,

For the first month, when the sun is raised up again, is cold and wet and quite variable, and it exudes water turned brilliant white. So too its qualities are joined to the brain, because, being cold and moist, it cleanses wasteful humor by expelling it through the eyes, ears, and nostrils.[278] Likewise, the soul works joyfully in a person's childhood, which has neither guile nor carnal appetite and does not beat the soul by working against its nature. And so the soul is strong and powerful in that childhood, which is simple and innocent in its desire. But afterwards, as the soul loses the joy of childlike innocence, it is turned to great sorrow, like a pilgrim expelled from his homeland. For as the bodily humors in him grow, a person rejoices and cheers to forget God at the banquet of sin, stained by the flesh's appetite and embracing wantonness.[279] For as the sun is raised up in the first month, so in the first stage of life, the soul is neither bound nor darkened by the appetite and effect of sin, through which a person is turned with the varied morals of instability to the hardness of filth and vanity, lacking the holiness of lawful works. But when that person sheds the moisture of tears because of the Holy Spirit's teaching and admonition, by abandoning his ignorance and loathing of good works, he is cleansed from the stench of his sins with the sweetest aroma of a good report.[280]

The second month, moreover, is purgative in its quality and is signified by the eyes. For when the eyes are watery and murky and burning, they sometimes purify themselves. In this way, the soul in a person is like the sap in a tree, for as all of a tree's fruits grow through the sap, so too all of a person's works are accomplished through the soul.[281] When his veins and marrow are filled, he begins to act according to the flesh's desires; and when he achieves them, he is usually compelled to groan by

"Zur Bedeutung der geistlichen Sinne bei Hildegard von Bingen," in *Tiefe des Gotteswissens—Schönheit der Sprachgestalt bei Hildegard von Bingen,* ed. Margot Schmidt (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 1995), 117–42, esp. 127–34.

278. Cf. *Cause* 2.276 (p. 172).

279. Cf. ch. 43 above.

280. Cf. Hildegard's sequence *O Ierusalem,* verse 6 (*Symphonia* 49).

281. Cf. *Scivias* 1.4.26.

his soul's spiritual nature. So too, as he considers with the eye of conscience how he began his sins and how he accomplished them without repentance, once cleansed from all defilement, he is eager to avoid any further sins.

The third month, meanwhile, is turbulent and brings storms and diseases, and also causes all the earth's sprouts to move with its varying breezes. By it are understood the ears, in which resounds the noise of all things, both useful and useless, by which the whole body is moved. Likewise, the soul experiences a clash between the powers of its nature and the body, which is moved and filled up by it and networked by it as by the veins. For in the midst of his youth, the human person is like a tree that once was immature but later produces its fruits. Indeed, he experiences the storms of a restless character when he understands what he can do, for his marrow is now rich and his veins are full.[282] At that point the soul has within him a voice plangent and querulous, because its pain is increased more and more by his sins—for the soul is that life that causes all things in a person to move. Yet that person is more eager for praise than is right, and in thinking himself wise, he is rather foolish, because through his rashness and pride he becomes like a putrid wound; and he is led into falsehood, because the good and honest reputation he seeks never appears within him. For this the soul mourns and is saddened—the soul in which all things good and bad are returned, just as all things useful and useless resound in the ears; and by whose powers all things are accomplished. But when the swelling of his youthful mind is brought under control by God's grace and he is turned in a better direction by correcting his sins, the soul, which once was sad as it blew through all the works within him, both useful and useless, moves him to repentance for his wicked and useless works, and causes him to rejoice as if in paradise for his good and useful works.

Furthermore, the fourth month is verdant and aromatic, and also thunders as with fright. By it are signified the nostrils, in which the soul's breath draws in and casts out the odor of all things that a person chooses timorously for himself. Like this

282. Cf. *Cause* 2.286 (pp. 178–79).

month is the person who has wisely chosen in his conscience the viridity of good works through rationality's breath. In him all fruits flourish and he is aromatic, for the report of his honesty and helpfulness is released everywhere with a sweet perfume in praise of God. But the uproar of hateful and wicked people scorns this person's virtues and good works and labels him unjust and evil, just as the Jews dishonestly claimed that our Lord Jesus Christ was unrighteous and unclean, even though they knew that he was holy and just in all his works. For as this month thunders with peril and fright and yet does not wither the fruits of the earth, so too the powers and virtues of the blessed person are not withered by the evils just described; rather, they fail who gnash their teeth against the blessed.[283] And when with rationality's breath a person chooses for himself each of the sweetest and noblest things, drawing them in as by the nostrils and casting out the stinking and mucky, he merits eternal rewards and is honored with people's praise; and then his persecutor, lacking any heavenly rewards, cannot truthfully be praised by anybody on earth. For the one who fears and loves God guards his mind against all that is evil, just as a person turns his nose away from something stinking and foul.

The fifth month, moreover, is pleasant, mild, and glorious with all the fruits of the earth. So too the taste of the mouth is sweet and delectable, for through it are recognized and known the things by which a person is joyfully refreshed. Likewise, rationality is the pillar and marrow of the five senses, which are sustained and directed by it to their operation, as earth turned over by the plow is made fruitful for germination.[284] Now sight—the sense of the eyes, through which a person sees and comes to know all things—rightly holds the principal place among the others, because, as it is higher than the others, so too it perceives things farther afield than the others. So too eyesight is pleasant and glorious, for with it a person learns about, chooses, and distinguishes between useful and useless things. Therefore, the fifth month—May—has the sweetest smell of flowers that cause human hearts to cheer, because in that month all the

283. Ps 34(35).16.
284. Cf. *Gosp. Hom.* 23 (pp. 104–7).

earth's fruits that make people happy burst forth.[285] Likewise, with the eyesight a person comes naturally to know every use of the natural world and distinguishes with the sharp gaze of rationality what makes each thing that he sees different. But the fruitfulness of this month is also like the taste of the mouth, through which a person learns what things are good for his refreshment.

But the sixth month is dry with heat as in the progression of the fruits it arises with that air that brings the fruits to maturity and sometimes pours forth waters in excess. In this is denoted a person's shoulders, which are dry with heat as they sustain each and every labor, complete all works, and hold up the whole body—though sometimes they also seek rest from their labor, as when a bird folds up its wings in weariness, and as a root maintains its branches. In the same way, the second sense—hearing—exists as the little wings of rationality, to understand the words that it receives.[286] So it happens that, when the ears receive the sound of some creature, they recognize what or where that creature is; and so a person then focuses his mind more on investigating it. For the force of the soul, which senses through the ears, does not labor as it were in that hearing, and so it is neither wearied nor satisfied—rather, it has the desire to learn about and take note of many things. Likewise, the sixth month, which is not wet, enlarges the fruits, which it had produced with mild heat, in multiple stages of growth, and begins to bring them to maturity. As there are also downpours of water in this month with frightful and perilous cracks of thunder, so among those human affairs that the hearing perceives peaceably, there are many that it receives with horror and sorrow.

Indeed, the hearing is the beginning of the rational soul,

285. Hildegard's re-foundation of the abandoned Rupertsberg monastery was dedicated on May 1, 1151, to the Mother of God and Sts. Philip, James, Martin, and Rupert, and she may have composed an early version of her sequence for St. Rupert, *O Ierusalem* (*Symphonia* 49), for the occasion. His feast was celebrated two weeks later, on May 15, for which Hildegard also composed several antiphons (*Symphonia* 46–48); and May 29 is the feast of St. Maximin, a fourth-century bishop of nearby Trier and patron of a monastery there, for whom she composed the sequence *Columba aspexit* (*Symphonia* 54).

286. Cf. *LVM* 5.7(10).

for as words are first spoken and then written down, so through the hearing whatever is spoken and arranged is accomplished according to a person's intention. Yet the soul is compelled to support all things—good and bad, useful and useless—and so with tearful sighs it cannot fully rejoice at the first stage of hearing, because it has not yet begun good works. The shoulders, which sustain the moisture of a person's inner organs and other limbs—indeed, the whole body—also have some likeness to the hearing that is the beginning of the soul and by which all deeds are accomplished, just as by the shoulders all burdens are carried. For as the inner organs are joined one to another, so too a person's works also are conjoined. In the good ones, by which bad ones are convicted, a person takes joy; and in the bad ones, by which the good ones are recognized, he is sorrowful. And so, though he remains for a time in joy, he is soon turned to sorrow. Therefore, he also seeks rest, for a person often desires the quiet that he cannot have. So too that soul that is wearied as long as it dwells in the body is received into the eternal tabernacles because of the good, but placed in punishment for the bad according to its merits.

The seventh month also has great power because of the burning sun, and it causes the earth's fruits to mature and then dry out, and it is a stormy torrent of both drought and rain. Likewise, the elbows are strong because of the shoulders and hands, with which a person gathers all necessities. So too a person senses the nature of each thing by its aroma, distinguishing and understanding whether it is useful or useless. Those that pertain to the preservation of a person's nature he chooses and gathers to his bosom, so that, tempered by them, his bad humors can be dried up and he can grow in health, and his humors will not lose the blood's strength because of a corrosive fluid. For as a person draws all these things to himself with his knowledge, he binds them under its power, so that the humors' discoloration is pressed out and he can continue in healthy strength. Thus with discretion that person orders these things mightily,[287] as too the elbows are mighty because of the shoulders and hands. He also keeps in mind what pertains to his health, and so provides for

287. Cf. Wis 8.1.

himself all necessities, just as all the fruits that have already ripened are gathered in this month.

Indeed, the soul, which is a breath from God, possesses a rushing course, as too wisdom encircled the compass of heaven with a rushing course.[288] Thus, with the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit and the five senses, a person begins and perfects all his works through the soul, as too the seventh month ripens all the earth's fruits. When these works are accomplished, they are worthy either of praise as on the right or of chaos as on the left, as if in the maturity and then withering of fruit. For in the remembrance of sin, tears are usually shed in bitter repentance when a person treads all vices and sins underfoot with great determination, as if with the mightiest powers of the lion, which excels the other beasts.[289] Through the wisdom by which a person comes to know God, he mourns for the works of sin by which he fled from God. Indeed, the soul moves and sustains a person in his many powers with its sighs by the Holy Spirit's admonition, because it causes him in repentance to gather up all the viridity of the virtues to scrub clean the wounds of sin.[290] At this the soul rejoices, ever desiring to arrive at the eternal tabernacles and dwell in them without end.

The eighth month, moreover, is in its powers like a great prince who has all things fully under his sway. Therefore, it reveals a happiness within itself, and though it burns from the sun's heat, it also brings dew from the occasional coolness, while also striking fear with its storms because the sun has already begun to sink back down. And so its qualities are shown in a person's hands, which accomplish very many works and have within themselves sway over the entire body—for the hands draw together and retain all that they can, so that a person is often praised for the works of his hands. Likewise, the human person recognizes through the taste of the mouth more perfectly than

288. Sir 24.8(5).

289. In *Physica* 7.3 (p. 207), Hildegard describes how the lion roars to rouse the stillborn cubs of his lioness, and compares this to Adam and Eve's cries of lamentation at the birth of their first child, because he was born in sin.

290. Cf. Hildegard's antiphon *Spiritus sanctus vivificans vita* and her sequence *O ignis Spiritus Paracliti* (*Symphonia* 24 and 28).

with the other senses the powers of the things by which he is refreshed. These powers he keeps in the sway of his knowledge, as this month too is great in its powers. That person also possesses a happiness within himself as he wisely discerns what cold and warm natures befit his own health, as too this month possesses the sun's heat and the dew's coolness. For with his knowledge he turns away from what is dangerous and useless and gathers things good and useful, as the hands accomplish praiseworthy deeds mightily and honestly, and as a builder constructs with the power of his skill all parts of his house, in which he wisely keeps all his goods.[291]

Indeed, the soul is a warrioress[292] as it penetrates and overcomes with its desires a person's illicit lusts; and as in its rushing course it spirals about its circuit at the beginning of its battle, it mounts to God Most High. For with the shield of faith and the whole armor of the virtues,[293] it fights against the flesh's desires, and when it wins, it rejoices like a man of war[294] who has overcome his enemies according to his will and intention. For burning with the heat of the true Sun, the soul causes a person to sigh and weep with the coolness of true repentance, which dries out all sins. For because in repentance he meets with a great many obstacles, a person sinks down with that moisture as he accounts himself as mud, so that he can barely hope for the salvation of his soul. But soon the soul sets before him the Cross and all the sufferings of Jesus Christ, through which sins are washed clean, to lift him up in hope; and out of that hope repentance flourishes within him as he mounts from virtue unto virtue,[295] so that for each deed committed through it, he enacts

291. *in qua omnem substantiam suam sapienter conseruat.* Hildegard plays with the simile's ambiguity, such that this last phrase might also refer to the conscientious discernment of good and bad things, i.e., "in which that person wisely protects his entire being."

292. *preliatrix:* this neologism is one of a variety of nouns that Hildegard employs here and in the *Ordo* to describe both the soul and the virtues, all of which are grammatically feminine (see Dronke, *LDO*, p. xxviii); cf. *bellatrix* in ch. 91 and n. 243 above.

293. Cf. Eph 6.11 and 16.

294. *uir preliator:* Is 42.13; cf. 3.5.8 below.

295. Ps 83.8(84.7).

the blooms of good works and holy virtues, of which he can never weary. For thus through repentance is he lifted up with great power in what he accomplishes every day, and he stores up as treasure the good and holy works at which the whole heavenly throng rejoices in praising God.

But the ninth month, a time of ripeness, does not present itself with the terror of storms, and it removes all the harsh juice from fruits that are good to eat, because it holds all things securely as in a sack. So too in its qualities it is like the human belly, in which whatever is ingested is thoroughly cooked from the heat of the liver and other organs and then passed on rightly after being mixed by heat and coolness in the proper way. But this process is sometimes weakened by illnesses, as this month is also sometimes altered in its demeanor by the foregoing seasons. Through the sense of touch, the human person also recognizes and eats what is ripe for consumption, so that he is not discomfited and sickened by unripe humors, just as this month removes the harsh juice from fruits. He also attends to being refreshed not immoderately but rightly and sufficiently, to keep his humors from being disturbed by a wasteful infection; and he prudently appropriates for himself whatever is useful, like someone carefully locking up something he cares for so that it is not taken away from him. So, therefore, in his touch a person is like the belly, which tempers and cooks what it ingests with heat and cold and then passes it on, just as in this month all ripened fruits appear whose juice is later dried out.

The soul, meanwhile, which is disturbed by misfortune's many wars because of Adam's fall and because of the battles of its own flesh, ascends joyfully to heaven in good works and crashes sorrowfully down in bad. For the soul puts on the mightiest breastplate—patience—diligently crafted and fitted together so that no arrow can penetrate, and in the ascent of good works it drives a person forward, so that in the descent of true humility he attributes whatever good he has done to him who is the Highest Good and through whom he possesses the good. But when a person suffers such sorrow for his sins that he can scarcely hope for his soul's salvation, then again the soul patiently bears him up by explaining to him that God assumed

human form for humankind's salvation—and it causes him to rise up in hope out of that doubt, as it is written:

"If I ascend into heaven, you are there; if I descend to hell, you are present."[296] This is open to understanding thus: O God, yours is every ascent of the saints and their celestial works, which you enkindle with your fire. In your love you infuse a person with the dew of the heart's remorse, through which the other virtues then grow green and burst into leaf. Yet when I descend into the depth of sin, rightly earning the punishments of hell because I have forgotten you—if then in true repentance I sigh and cry out to you, you anoint and save me with the drops of your blood. And so you are present, my Deliverer and Savior! With humility, patience is found upon the heights as it overcomes pride, and even in the darkness of sin it is there, moving a person not to despair of God's mercy because of his sins. And so it keeps and saves all works in proper moderation as in ripeness, defending from vainglory those that arise in holiness, and freeing from despair those that are accomplished in the rot of sin. For patience is upon the right path, because it does not abandon the things of heaven nor does it despise the things of earth. Rather, within the true Light that is God, it treads underfoot all the allurements of the beguiling devil's vices, and in all things neither is it too cheerful nor does it fall into despair—except perhaps when it is upset by the devil's deception, which it mightily resists with the shield of faith.[297]

The tenth month, meanwhile, is like a sitting person, for it neither flies with its powers in viridity nor prepares heat. Rather, it despoils the tree branches and exudes cold, as a person, when seated, hunches up to escape the cold. In this month a person puts on more clothing, for at this time he holds in the heat by means of his clothes. This exemplifies that when he begins to cool in old age, he is then made wiser than before. He considers childish ways a nuisance, and in his mature age dries out the fickleness of lustful and foolish ways and avoids the company of the foolish, lest he be deceived by their ignorance. For the useless and varied juices of the flesh's appetite now fail in

296. Ps 138(139).8.
297. Eph 6.16; on patience, cf. *Scivias* 3.3.10–12; and *Let.* 384 (3:177).

him because of the coldness of age, just as this month is not cheery with viridity, for through its dry cold, the branches are despoiled.

The soul, too—a living and prudent breath made by God, who is true Wisdom—teaches a person how to hold firmly to what is of God. Through God's grace and with its own powers it masters and subjects the blessed person's body to itself, like a lady and her maidservant, and in that person it begets the pleasure of good things. For if that person's flesh is sometimes moved by the appetite for pleasure, the soul indignantly stares at him in surprise and causes that poison in his veins and marrow to be snuffed out and stopped. Through the Holy Spirit's grace it consoles him with the teaching of the Scriptures and draws him out of vices and into virtues, carefully keeping watch lest he fall into sin.

But the eleventh month bends down and builds up the cold, and reveals not the joy of summer but the depression of winter. The cold falls from it upon the earth and causes the earth to froth with mud. A person imitates this process when he folds up his knees to keep the cold from passing over him. So too, when he folds his knees in sorrow, he magnifies the thoughts of pain in his heart and accounts himself as mud. No longer does he have the countenance of joy, for in his grief he recalls that at the very beginning of life, the human person's knees were naturally folded up. Likewise, when a person arrives at old age, he is weakened by the cold; without the joy of youth, he is saddened by the loss he suffers with his dryness, in which he is afflicted with gauntness and overrun by wasteful humors. For because of his fear of the cold, an old person huddles his limbs together to warm himself by the fire, for he is naturally cold. Likewise, because this month is without the pleasantness of summer and keeps all its days cold, it is like a person's knees, which he bends in sorrow to remember his origins, when in his mother's womb he huddled with his knees all folded up like a captive.[298]

Indeed, though the soul may with its powers overcome a per-

298. This pessimistic passage recalls scriptural complaints about the lot of sin to which humans were ordained even in the womb, e.g., Ps 50.7(51.5), and Jb 3 and 10.18–19.

son so that he leaves off for a time the sins he has committed, it still cannot prevent him from desiring to sin. Then it groans within its vessel—the flesh in which it dwells—for it floods the entire body and moves it like a wind that blows into a house and causes its walls to shake as its blowing passes through the cracks and windows. But when a person has enveloped himself in the darkness of sin like a worm in a mud hole, then the soul, which is situated in the veins and marrow with all the fastenings of the limbs, fails in its powers because it is not warmed by the Holy Spirit's fire.[299] Because it cannot enjoy its works on account of carnal nature, it ever groans as the daylight of holiness passes away and it begins darkly to forget what it is in its nature and where it has come from. The soul's deep sigh is full of pain, because the appetite of its spiritual nature has been estranged from it; for unlit by the Holy Spirit's grace, it consents—though unwillingly—to do whatever deeds the body demands of it. To work against its own will brings it great sorrow, as too the body experiences some sadness when it is forced to act according to the nature of the soul.

The twelfth month also keeps its cold with great power and compacts the earth with its harshness, covers it over completely with the foam of its cold, and makes it sluggish and wearisome. In its quality, therefore, it denotes the human feet, which tread upon and kick aside many things and tamp down the earth; they cannot be lifted very high above the earth, but rather stand upon it. In this way too the soul of the person who has in anger poured out his neighbor's blood, or done some other violent injury to him, is deeply and gravely stained. For as the body stays cold and wholly without heat after the soul's departure, so without the heat of the Holy Spirit's gifts, the soul is so hardened by anger that it forgets its own nature—and so it appears bloody before God, for it has been cast out by God like Cain in his brother's blood.[300] For it is in anger that human blood is shed. So too that person, abandoned by his right senses, becomes as if insane; moved by the irrationality of rage and blas-

299. Cf. Hildegard's sequence *O ignis Spiritus Paracliti,* esp. verse 3a (*Symphonia* 28).

300. Gn 4.10–14.

phemy to envy his brother, he cuts him off from any blessedness with heart and lips and kicks away all his good things as much as he can in thought and speech. And so, through the evil of his hatred, he is in his soul a murderer before God.[301] For he gnashes his teeth against his brother[302] and pours out upon him the malicious words that first he spoke with hatred in his own heart. Because of the harshness of his unjust paths, he can experience no sweetness of holiness, nor sow any seed of good works;[303] and continually brooding in that harshness, he never sighs for the things of heaven. So a person of this kind is blind to the good works of a holy and pure conscience and will never possess the joys that he kicked aside in his rage, for he is burdened and dirtied like a camel by the shameful loads of sin.[304]

In this way the qualities and virtues of the months are fitted to humankind. So too the psalmist says at my inspiration:

99. "He has made the moon for the seasons; the sun knows its setting."[305] This is open to understanding thus: God placed the moon to be of time, so that it should nourish all the seasons as a mother does her infant, first with milk and afterwards with food. For as it wanes, the moon is weak and nurses the seasons as with milk; but as it waxes, it feeds them as with solid food.[306] But God established the sun to shine above the earth and to hide itself below the earth. Therefore, it shines above the earth during the day, as a person is awake during the day with eyes open; and at night, it is below the earth, as a person sleeps at night with eyes closed. Thus the human person is earthly in the flesh as in the deep, and heavenly in the soul as in heaven's height; and he knows the times of the seasons, for he is moved in life through them all.

100. But when God looked upon Man, he was very well pleased, for he had created him according to the tunic of his

301. Cf. Mt 5.22 and 1 Jn 3.15.
302. Cf. Ps 34(35).16.
303. Cf. Mt 13.18–23.
304. On anger, cf. *LVM* 1.11(22) and 72(85).
305. Ps 103(104).19.
306. Cf. 1 Cor 3.1–2 and Heb 5.12–14; and *Let.* 77r (1:168).

own image and according to his own likeness,[307] that Man might declare all God's wonders through the trumpet of the rational voice.[308] For Man is the complete work of God, because God is recognized through him and God created all parts of creation for him. To him he granted with true love's kiss to proclaim and to praise him through rationality.[309] But Man was missing a helper in his likeness.[310] And so God gave him a helper, which was the mirroring form of woman.[311] In her lay hid the entire human race,[312] to be brought forth with the force of God's might, as too he had completed the first Man with the force of his might. Indeed, man and woman are thus commingled, as one work exists through another—for man would not be called man without woman, nor would woman be called woman without man.[313] For woman is the work of man, and man is the countenance of consolation for woman—and neither of them could exist without the other.[314] And man signifies the divinity, while woman the humanity of the Son of God.[315] And so humankind

307. Gn 1.27 and 1.31; cf. chs. 14, 76, and 105 of this vision, 2.1.43, and 3.1.2; see also the Introduction, pp. 8–9; and Newman, *Sister,* 94–95.

308. Cf. *LVM* 4.46(59), p. 202: "Reason is like a trumpet with a living voice"; *Let.* 373 (3:159); and *Let.* 201r, to Elisabeth of Schönau (2:181): "[Humans] can only sing the mysteries of God like a trumpet, which only returns a sound but does not function unassisted, for it is Another who breathes into it that it might give forth a sound."

309. On love's creative kiss, cf. *LVM* 5.31(39–40); and Hildegard's antiphon *Karitas habundat* (*Symphonia* 25).

310. Cf. Gn 2.18.

311. *speculatiua forma mulieris;* see Newman, *Sister,* 96–98.

312. Cf. *Scivias* 1.2.10.

313. Cf. 1 Cor 11.11–12; and Hildegard's exegesis of that passage in *Scivias* 1.2.12.

314. Cf. *Cause* 2.283 (trans. in *Women Writers,* 176): "When Adam gazed at Eve, he was entirely filled with wisdom, for he saw in her the mother of the children to come. And when she gazed at Adam, it was as if she was gazing into heaven, or as the soul strives upwards, longing for heavenly things—for her hope was fixed in him. And so there will be and must be one and the same love in man and woman, and no other."

315. Cf. 2.1.43 below; and *LVM* 4.24(32); as Newman notes (*Sister,* 93): "Herein lies the clue to Hildegard's surprising anthropology, which would exalt not the male but the female as the representative human being. Adam symbolizes, but does not share, the divine nature. In contrast, Eve both symbolizes and bestows the divine humanity, insofar as she prefigures Mary. It

sits upon the judgment seat of the earth and governs all of creation, which exists for their instruction and so is subject to them.[316] They are beyond all parts of creation, as David speaks with my inspiration, saying:

101. "The Lord says to my Lord: Sit at my right hand, until I make your enemies your footstool."[317] This is open to understanding thus: The human person ought therefore to say: He who is Lord and Father of all spoke to his incarnate Son, to whom all power in heaven and on earth was given by the Father,[318] so that he might be my Lord (I who am a sinful human), "Rule as you sit at my right hand, that is, rule humankind, who are my right hand, for I have made all creatures subject to them. Make them in turn subject by faith to you, so that they abandon their idols and turn themselves to their Creator, the true God. And this you will do as I make the rebellious ones, who are your enemies by unbelief, the footstool of your steps, for I shall make them subject to you forever and to worship the steps of your feet. For when they are converted from their unfaithfulness, they will recognize you as the true God."

So God brought forth all creation through his Word and clothed that Word with flesh in Man, who is God's right hand because Man is the summation of his power. That Word is the Son of God and sits in lordship over Man until the number of his brothers is fulfilled at the Last Day. And then the devil's band and its hangers-on will be made subject to him as the footstool that comes after the last age of the world; and then all will see and know who and what the Lord is, for at that time Satan will be trodden under like a footstool and completely destroyed.

102. Indeed, the Lord reigns in heaven with the power of his authority and gazes upon the stars, which are set alight by him,

---

is not by her appearance but by her gift that the woman represents Christ's human nature and bears the stamp of his image." See also Elisabeth Gössman, "Das Menschenbild der Hildegard von Bingen und Elisabeth von Schönau vor dem Hintergrund der frühscholastischen Anthropologie," in *Frauenmystik im Mittelalter,* ed. Peter Dinzelbacher (Ostfildern bei Stuttgart: Schwabenverlag, 1985), 24–47.

316. Cf. *Gosp. Homs.* 1, 22, and 39 (pp. 30–33, 102–4, and 158–61).

317. Ps 109(110).1.

318. Mt 28.18.

and the rest of creation. So too Man sits upon his seat—the earth—and rules the rest of creation, for Man is distinguished by the insignia of almighty God. Furthermore, these insignia are the five human senses,[319] through which by God's power a person understands and perceives that the Trinity in unity and the unity in Trinity ought to be worshiped in God through the right faith.[320] This worship is the beauty of the nine orders of angels, from which the devil's band fell when it was expelled. But humankind is the tenth choir, which God repaired within himself upon the original foundation of the fallen angels, because he willed humankind to come into being, and in their humanity is the tower in which those walk who are in the tenth choir.[321] And so, as said above, God signified in Man both the higher and the lower creatures. After Man was inspired by the breath of life that is the soul, he rose up and learned about all parts of creation, and in his spirit he embraced them with a most powerful love.[322]

103. Furthermore, the human soul is fiery and warms and brings to life the whole human body; and because of its fire, humans are warm-blooded. It also keeps its pathways like the wind, by inhaling and exhaling a person's breath.[323] When it draws breath into a person, he is dried on the inside; and this breath is of great use to a person because his flesh grows in health through this dryness. But when it exhales that breath, the fire within a person dwindles and takes away its heat. And so the whole body is constructed with sensibility, so that a person can live and govern all five senses of the body with their func-

319. Cf. *Scivias* 3.2.22.

320. See vv. 3 and 27 of the Pseudo-Athanasian Creed (*Symbolum Quicumque*); cf. Hildegard's exegesis of these in *Expl. Symb. S. Athan.*, pp. 115–16 and 124.

321. For humankind as the tenth choir, cf. 3.4.10 below, and *Scivias* 3.2.19; on the image of the tower, cf. Hildegard's hymn, *O ignee Spiritus,* esp. verses 2–4 and 10–11 (*Symphonia* 27).

322. Gn 2.7 and 2.19–20; cf. *Gosp. Homs.* 1 and 22 (pp. 30–33 and 102–4); and finally, *Cause* 2.130 (pp. 97–101), which parallels much of the material in this chapter and the next two on the relationship between soul and body and on humankind as the work of God (*opus Dei*), crafted from all creation's elements.

323. On the soul as fire and wind, cf. *Cause* 2.81 (pp. 73–74).

tions. And if this heat were not vented out, the soul's fire would smother the body like a house entirely consumed by fire.

Through the soul's powers a person is also clothed with flesh and blood and made wholly complete, just as all the earth's fruits are brought to perfection by the winds' breeze. Furthermore, because the soul is fiery, it recognizes that it possesses God; and because it is a spiritual breath, it understands that it can work with the body. Therefore, it also has its precept from God to enact its works rightly and not to look to the empty place of the north where the first angel wanted to rule and was ruined.[324] For when presumption concentrates the self-will, pride soon fleetly flies from it and tends toward the north, where it accomplishes its self-will in whatever way it wants. Moreover, presumption and soaring pride are like waters that a ship cannot cross, because they are injurious to God and humans and lay everything to waste. Thus their works flow away and divine love does not pass through them,[325] because they can neither love nor be loved by the faithful. Rather, they want to seize what they cannot have, and they establish and order things over which they have no authority. This is why they go to ruin.

And so the soul is the headmistress[326] of its house, the body, in which God formed all dwellings that it would possess—but no one can see the soul, just as the soul cannot see God as long as it remains in the body, except insofar as it sees and knows him in faith. With every part of creation that came from God, the soul is at work in a person, so that, as bees build a honeycomb within their hive, so too a person accomplishes his work like a honeycomb with the soul's knowledge, which is like nectar. And because it was sent by God, it pours its thoughts into the heart and gathers them in the breast, and these then pass into the head and all a person's limbs. The soul also pierces the eyes, for they are its windows through which it comes to know creation,[327]

324. Cf. Is 14.12–15.

325. Cf. Hildegard's antiphon for patriarchs and prophets, *O spectabilis viri,* lines 15–17 (*Symphonia* 31 = *Scivias* 3.13.3a).

326. *magistra,* the title Hildegard held as head of the Rupertsberg abbey and its daughter house.

327. Cf. *Cause* 2.130 and 2.271–72 (pp. 99 and 170–71); and Peter Chrysologus, Sermon 139.2, trans. William B. Palardy, in *Selected Sermons, Volume 3,*

and only with full rationality in the Word does the soul discern creation's powers. Hence the human person accomplishes his every work, each to his own need, according to the will of his thoughts. For when the wind of the soul's knowledge is stirred up in the brain, it descends from the brain into the thoughts of the mind, and thus the work of the will is accomplished. For the soul sows with its knowledge what the work of the thoughts brings to fruition, and that work is baked by the soul's fire and turned into a flavor through which the work can be knowingly tried.

The soul also guides the internal repast of food and drink in a person, to revivify his flesh. For through its powers it orders and arranges how a person exists and thrives in all the flesh's natural functions, and fills up the internal organs with its powers. Yet the soul is not flesh and blood, but rather fills them up, so that it causes them to be alive with itself—for the rational soul has its origins from God, who breathed life into the first form. Thus soul and flesh exist as a single work in two natures.[328] But the soul introduces into the human body air for thinking, heat for concentrating, fire for sustaining, water for ingrafting, and viridity for flourishing, just as the body was made in its original foundation. Above and below, around and within the body—the soul is everywhere. And this is the way of human existence.[329]

104. Moreover, when a person does righteous works, the elements hold to their right paths—but when he accomplishes unjust works, he brings the elements upon himself with punishing affliction.[330] For according to its own desire the body executes its will with the soul, and according to his works God judges a person either to life or to punishment. And the soul flows throughout the entire body in thought, speech, and respiration, like a wind that casts its blasts everywhere in a house.

FOTC 110 (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2005), 217.

328. Cf. *Solution* 38.

329. For this whole paragraph, cf. *Cause* 2.130 (pp. 100–101).

330. Cf. 1.3.2; *LVM* 3.2(3) and 3.22–23(30–31); and *Cause* 2.124 (quoted in n. 22, pp. 112–13, above.).

But as long as the body works in a person with the soul, he is weighted and kept in place, and cannot hoist himself away from the earth.[331] But when the body will be renewed with the living soul after the Last Day, then it will be lightweight and soaring like a bird with wings. While the soul is in the body, it perceives God because it came from him, and as long as it functions within creation, it does not see God; but after it is freed from the body's prison it will come before the sight of the Lord, and then it will recognize what it is and what belonged to it while it dwelt in the body.[332] And because the soul will then know the glory of its own great honor, it will seek to regain its dwelling, so that the body might know its glory with the soul.[333] Thus it will eagerly await the Last Day, because it has been stripped of its lovely vesture—the body—within which it will fully see with the angels God's glorious face after the body's return.[334] And after that happens, the angels are kindled anew in their praises, just as they were kindled on the first day by their victory in battle.[335] For after the Last Day, they will be perfected in their praises of God, when they will praise the new wonders of God's work—humankind—and then strike upon the lute of glorious merriment.[336] Never will they weaken, nor falter in boredom, nor come to an end. And as the angels will desire ever to gaze upon God's face without fail, so they will never cease to wonder at God's works in humankind.

And so, as has been described, such is the human form with body and soul—both the work of God and all creation, just as John wrote, inspired by my Spirit, saying:[337]

331. Cf. *Cause* 1.6 (pp. 21–22).

332. Cf. *LVM* 6.41(63).

333. Cf. 1 Cor 6.20.

334. Cf. 1 Cor 13.12; *LVM* 2.36(45); and *Cause* 2.130 (p. 100).

335. I.e., the separation of light and dark (Gn 1.4); see ch. 97 above, 1.1.9, and 2.1.17.

336. Cf. Ps 80.3(81.2).

337. Here begins Hildegard's exegesis of the Prologue to John's Gospel (1.1–14); for her description of the mystical experience that begot this exegetical core of the entire *Book of Divine Works,* see the Introduction above, pp. 4–5. It must be read as a companion to her commentary on the Creation account in Genesis in 2.1.17–49 below; see Bernard McGinn, "Hildegard of Bingen as Visionary and Exegete," in *Hildegard von Bingen in ihrem historischen Umfeld,* ed.

105. "In the beginning was the Word."[338] This is open to understanding thus: I who am without beginning and from whom all beginnings proceed, who am the Ancient of Days,[339] I speak:[340] "I am in myself the Day—I came not from the sun, but the sun was set alight from me. I am also Reason, which took its sound from no one else, but from which all rationality breathes. To behold my face, therefore, I created mirrors in which I consider all the never-failing wonders of my antiquity.[341] These mirrors I made to sing together in praise, for mine is the voice as of thunder with which I move the whole circle of the earth with the living sounds of all creatures. I, the Ancient of Days, make them, for through my Word, which without beginning ever was and is in me, I bade a great brightness to come forth, and with it countless sparks—the angels. But as they awakened to their own light, they forgot me and wished to be as I am. And so, with a great thunderbolt, my zealous vengeance cast them out in the presumption in which they opposed me—for there is only one God and there can be no other.[342]

"And so I composed within myself a little work, which is Man, and I made it according to my image and likeness,[343] so that he might work with another but in accordance with me—for my

---

A. Haverkamp (Mainz: Trierer Historische Forschungen/P. von Zabern, 2000), 321–50. Hildegard also composed *Gosp. Hom.* 9 (pp. 55–61) on these verses, which she would likely have preached in chapter for Christmas sometime in the 1160s; it speaks in abbreviated form to many of the same concepts found here in fuller treatment; Kienzle's translation includes a welter of source references in the tradition, including Augustine, Heiric of Auxerre, and Eriugena. I have also consulted the translation of Barbara Newman: "Hildegard of Bingen: Commentary on the Johannine Prologue," *Theology Today* 60 (2003): 16–33.

338. Jn 1.1.

339. Dn 7.9–14.

340. Cf. Love's opening speech in 1.1.2; the first paragraph of God's speech here also echoes heavily in the opening of the exorcism rite that Hildegard composed for the possessed woman Sigewize ca. 1169; see *Let.* 68r (1:149), and *Life* 3.21.

341. Cf. 3.1.6; the notion of angels as mirrors can be rooted in Wis 7.26; cf. also Ps.-Dionysius, *Divine Names* 4.22.

342. Cf. *Expl. Symb. S. Athan.*, p. 115.

343. Gn 1.26–27.

Son was to be at work in Man with a garment of flesh.[344] I also made this work rational out of my own rationality, and in it I sealed my potential,[345] just as human rationality comprehends with its skill all things by name and number—for the only way Man distinguishes anything is by name, and he understands the multiplicity of things only by number.[346] I am also the angel of might, for I make myself known in wonders through the angelic ranks, and I reveal myself in faith to all creatures when they recognize that I am their Creator; yet I cannot be perfectly declared by any.

"Man is indeed that garment in which my Son was clad with royal power to reveal himself as God of all creation and Life of life itself.[347] But none besides God can number the host of angels who wait specifically upon his royal power; nor can anyone find the end of those who profess individually that he is God of all creation; nor can any tongue suffice to reckon those who have specifically declared him the Life of all life. So blessed are those who dwell with him."

Moreover, God signified his entire work in the human form, as described above and as also shown here through examples within the human person.[348]

For in the circle of the human brain God reveals his lordship, for the brain masters and rules the whole body.[349] In the hairs of the head he signifies his potential, which is his beauty, just as the hair beautifies the head.[350] In the eyebrows he also demonstrates the might of his own eyes, for the eyebrows protect a person's eyes as they turn anything harmful away from them and reveal the face's beauty.[351] And they are like the wings

344. Cf. 2.1.43 and 3.2.9.

345. Cf. ch. 11 above.

346. Cf. Gn 2.19–20.

347. "garment … clad": a verbal echo of Rv 4.4; Dronke references Eriugena, *Periphyseon* 5.25 (PL 122: 912C): "When the Word of God received human nature, he did not omit any created being that he had received in that nature. Therefore, in receiving human nature, he received all creation."

348. The following expands especially on the ladder of the senses from ch. 14 above.

349. Cf. chs. 14 and 23–29 above.

350. Cf. chs. 46–47 above.

351. Cf. ch. 38 above.

of the winds that lift them up and sustain them, as a bird that sometimes flies upon its wings and sometimes ceases from flying—for the wind blows from God's might, and the breezes are the wings of that wind.[352] Furthermore, in the human eyes he declares his knowledge by which he foresees and foreknows all things. The eyes display many things within themselves because they are lucid and watery, just as the reflected shadow of various creatures appears in water.[353] For with sight the human person recognizes and discerns all things—and if he lacked sight, he would be like a corpse among them.[354] In human hearing God discloses all the sounds of praise of the hidden mysteries and angelic hosts in which God himself is praised. For it would be unworthy of God if he were known only to himself, since one person can be recognized by another by hearing, while also understanding all things within himself; and he would be as if hollow if he lacked hearing.[355] In the nostrils, moreover, God shows the Wisdom that is the aromatic principle of order in all skills, so that a person recognizes through its odor what Wisdom ordains.[356] For the sense of smell is diffused in all things and then draws them back to know what are the qualities of each thing.[357] But through the human mouth God signifies his Word through which he created all things, as too all words are pronounced by the mouth with rationality's sound.[358] For a person declares many things by utterance, just as the Word of God made many things by creating them in the embrace of his love, so that his work would lack nothing that it needs. And as the cheeks and chin surround the mouth, so when that Word resounded, the beginning of all creation was present before it, when all things were created. And so, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God."[359]

This is open to understanding thus: In the beginning of

352. Cf. Pss 17.11(18.10) and 103(104).3; and 1.1.2, 1.2.24, and ch. 49 above.
353. Cf. 1.1.6 and 3.3.2.
354. Cf. chs. 35–37 and 98 (on the fifth month) above.
355. Cf. ch. 98 (on the sixth month) above.
356. Cf. Wis 8.6.
357. Cf. chs. 35–37 and 98 (on the seventh month) above.
358. Cf. chs. 37, 40, and 98 (on the eighth month) above.
359. Jn 1.1.

the very beginning, when God's will disclosed that it was now ready to make creation—which existed without beginning within him, though it had not yet unfolded—there was the Word without a beginning of any beginning. "And the Word was with God," as language exists in rationality, for rationality has language within itself and language exists in rationality, and they cannot be separated from each other.[360] For before the beginning and within the beginning of creation, the Word was without beginning, and before and within that beginning of creation, the Word was with God and in no way separated from God. For God willed in his Word that his Word should create all things, as he had foreordained before the ages. And why is it called, "Word"? Because with a resounding voice it awakened all creatures and called them to itself. For what God composed in the Word, the Word bade in its sounding; and what the Word bade, God composed in the Word. And so, "the Word was God." For the Word was in God, and in the Word God composed his whole will in secret; and the Word sounded and brought forth all parts of creation, and thus the Word and God are one. When the Word sounded, it called to itself all creation that was foreordained and arranged in God before time; and through its voice, all things were awakened unto life. This too he signified in the human person, who composes a word hidden in his heart before uttering it, though it remains with him in its uttering—and thus the composition of the word exists within the word. For when the Word of God resounded, that Word appeared in all creation, and its sound was life in all creation.[361]

So too, out of that very word a person's rationality enacts its works;[362] and out of that very sound it produces its works in speaking, shouting, and singing—for through the keenness of his skill in working with created things, a person makes music with stringed instruments and drums, because the human person is like God, rational through the living soul.[363] With its

360. "language": *uerbum;* cf. *LVM* 5.7(10) and *Let.* 77r (1:167–68).

361. Cf. *Let.* 374 (3:161).

362. Cf. *Let.* 31r (1:98).

363. Cf. *LVM* 4.46(59); and *Let.* 23 (1:76–79)—Hildegard's apologia for music against the interdict imposed in the last year of her life; and see Widmer, 74–82.

warmth this soul draws to itself the flesh in which appears the first figure of God's finger, which he had formed in Adam.[364] The soul permeates the flesh to bring it to life and fill it up with its fullness in growth. For the flesh cannot move itself apart from the rational soul; rather, the soul moves the flesh and causes it to live. For the flesh is to the rational soul as all creatures are to the Word. This is why the Word created Man in the Father's will. But as Man would not be human without the network of blood vessels, so too he could not live without creation; and because he is mortal, he does not furnish life to his own work, for his life begins from God. Indeed, God gives life to his work, for he himself is the Life of life without beginning.

"This Word was in the beginning with God,"[365] in that beginning of which my servant Moses speaks, inspired by me, saying: "In the beginning God created heaven and earth."[366] For the Word that sounded, "Let there be!" where it is written, "And God said, 'Let there be light!'"[367] existed in that God and with that God—that is, in a single equality of divinity—in the beginning when creation received its beginning from the Creator. For that Word that is with God is equal to him in divinity, because the Word that is in God is inseparable from God and exists consubstantial with him.[368]

So "all things were made by him,"[369] for all parts of creation were made through the Word of God as the Father willed, as there is no Creator except God alone. For all useful things that have form and are alive were made by him. In a person's arms and its attached joints he also shows the strength of the firmament, together with its signs that bear and govern that firmament, as the arms with the joints of their fingers manifest the rule and activity of the whole body. For the right is like the south wind and the left like the north, which uphold the firma-

364. Cf. Hildegard's antiphon *Cum processit factura* (*Symphonia* 13).

365. Jn 1.2.

366. Gn 1.1.

367. Gn 1.3.

368. Cf. *Expl. Symb. S. Athan.*, p. 124; "consubstantial" comes from the Nicene Creed.

369. Jn 1.3.

ment to keep it from passing beyond its placement.[370] As it is written, "And in all of this, between us and you, there is fixed a great chasm,"[371] lest the darkness snuff out the light and the light drive out the dark.[372]

"And without him was nothing made."[373] For without the Word of God, no creature was made, because through the Word of God was made all creation, both visible and invisible, that exists with any type of being, whether of living spirit or viridity or virtue. Without him was not anything made except evil, which is of the devil and therefore was cast away from God's eyes and reduced to nothing. For there is only one God, and there is no other. Rational Man, in whom God placed the capability to work, also committed sin, which amounts to nothing because it was not created by God. For this nothing, God established the endless darkness because it rejected and fled from the light.[374]

But "what was made in him was life."[375] For all things that were created appeared in the reason of their Creator, because they existed in his foreknowledge. Yet they are not coeternal to him; rather, they are foreknown, foreseen, and foreordained. For God is the unique Life that does not receive its beginning from any life that has a beginning.[376] Therefore, everything that was made was life in him, because it had been foreknown by him and was alive to God, such that God never began to hold everything in his memory, because he had never forgotten it, since it was in his foreknowledge, even though it did not yet exist

370. Cf. the placement of Adam in ch. 97.

371. Lk 16.26.

372. Cf. ch. 96 above.

373. Jn 1.3.

374. Cf. *Let.* 31r (1:96–97); and *Expl. Symb. S. Athan.*, p. 118, lines 253–60; in *Gosp. Hom.* 9 (pp. 56–57), Hildegard suggests that the "nothing" that was made "without the Word" is the impossible contradiction of God willing himself to come to an end—and that, then, is the "nothing" of Satan's disobedience and human sin that followed it: for a rational creature to want to be God is to will God to come to an end. Cf. *Cause* 1.17 (p. 25): "Nothing has no quality of existence, and that is why it is nothing—so then any creatures who voluntarily join themselves to nothing lose their qualities and become nothing."

375. Jn 1.3–4.

376. Cf. *LVM* 5.39(53); and *Let.* 31r (1:95).

temporally in its own forms.[377] For as it cannot be but that God exists, so it cannot be but that through him those works that had been foreknown and foreordained in his wisdom should have come forth as creation. What was made in creation existed in God as life without loss, for it was to be created such that when it was done, creation would lack nothing, but rather would possess the fullness of its development as it grew. Likewise, the things a person enacts for himself are his life, in that they sustain his life, for by them he subsists and is perfected. But because God is full Life without beginning and without end, so his work is also life in him, and it is in no way to be mocked. Likewise, God signified this within the human chest, where a person gathers his thoughts to desire, compare, and grade each thing, whether good or bad, and to consider whether what he finds is pleasing or displeasing. For what pleases a person, he gladly keeps to preserve his life; and what displeases him, he casts away in indignation, lest it harm his life.

So everything that God made is life in him, for that which is from God is alive in its nature. Thus, as the Word of the Father gave a life of flesh to humans when he created them, so too when he put on his tunic, he gave them the life of the spirit, that they might walk by a different form of life and not according to the flesh, and so grow into throngs of spiritual people.[378] And so the Word holds each people in his hand, because that Son of God is both God and Man. Indeed, he embraces a spiritual people with love, because he is the Son of God; but because he is the Son of Man, he holds a secular people to justice, by which it was said, "Grow and multiply."[379]

"And the life was the light of humankind,"[380] because the life that awakened creation is the Life of human life, for through it humankind lives.[381] In reason and knowledge it gave to humankind the light in which they look upon God with faith, ac-

377. Cf. 1.1.6.
378. Cf. *LVM* 4.24(32).
379. Gn 1.28.
380. Jn 1.4.
381. Cf. verse 1a of Hildegard's sequence *O ignis Spiritus Paracliti* (*Symphonia* 28).

knowledging him as their Creator and perfused with that light as daylight illuminates the world. For by the sky that bears both sun and moon, a person understands the wings of conscience—for the day signifies good knowledge, and the night, evil knowledge, as the sun manifests the day, and the moon, the night.[382] As both humankind and all creation would be as if blind in the function of their life without these lights, and as the human body could not live without the spirit, so too a person could not understand what he is without the wings of conscience.

Thus, "the light shines in the darkness,"[383] as the daylight shines at night through the moon, so that among his good works a person might recognize the wicked works that are cut off from the light. For a good conscience supported by reason reproaches an evil conscience and drives it far away.

"And the darkness did not overcome it,"[384] as night cannot overshadow the day—for evil does not wish to know or understand that which is good, but rather flees from it. God declares this in the human heart, which is the life and firmament of the whole body and upholds the whole body, for in the heart a person's thinking is ordered and the will nourished. So too the will is like "the light of humankind," for as light penetrates all things, so too the will abounds in what it desires—and often in that desire that it thinks is a light, it walks in the darkness of the wicked works it wishes to perform. But the darkness does not so overcome that will that it tears away from it knowledge of the good—for a person knows the good even though he does not do it.[385]

"There was a man sent from God"[386] who had not the taste of soil, because he was sent by the supernal Creator and not by a human. For the warmth of God's Word made verdant the withered flesh of those who bore this man, so that his flesh would work many things as one estranged from the customs of those

382. Cf. chs. 25–30 above; and *Let.* 155r (2:100–102).

383. Jn 1.5.

384. Ibid.

385. In *Gosp. Hom.* 9 (p. 58), Hildegard interprets the light as the Incarnation, a purity untouched by the darkness of sin, which in turn cannot comprehend the light.

386. Jn 1.6.

born in sin.[387] For those who bore him were touched by God's grace in his procreation, so that he came forth by God's grace, sent in witness of the Son of God. This is also why the angel named him John.[388]

"His name was John,"[389] because the works he did accorded with his name, for God's grace came before him, followed after him, and strengthened him. For the grace of the Word that is God sent John without the disturbance of moral instability that floods the wandering ways of humans born in sin. For this reason, he kept that particular stability like the righteousness of the spirits, who have neither the moral wanderings of humans nor the desire to sin. But God, who is wonderful, molded the wonders that he did in John to the form of the human belly. For the belly seeks the energies of the creatures that it ingests and passes on, to be fed from their juices, as God established.[390] Yet in all creatures—animals, reptiles, birds and fishes, grasses and fruit-bearing plants—lie hid certain unknown mysteries of God, which neither a human person nor any other creature knows or perceives, except inasmuch as it is granted them by God. But John was sent miraculously into the elements and miraculously fed by them; as he had been withdrawn in a way from the habit of sin, so too by abstinence he was kept miraculously alive by the elements.[391] He was a pure man, a worthy and commendable messenger before the hidden Son of God, through whom the world was put in place with its countless number of creatures, all created by him. This also is signified in the belly, for as the world contains all things, so too the belly takes into itself the rest of creation in digestion.[392] Furthermore, as every created thing came forth from God, so Adam bore all humans in his form; and to them the Son of God served true food when he bore humankind in his humanity.

387. Cf. *Let.* 389 (3:185).

388. Cf. Lk 1.7–25; Dronke notes (p. 254) that Jerome interpreted the Hebrew name "John" to mean "one in whom there is grace; or, the grace of the Lord."

389. Jn 1.6.

390. Cf. ch. 98 (the eighth month) above.

391. Cf. *Scivias* 2.5.16.

392. Cf. ch. 71 above.

"He came in testimony, to bear witness to the light, that through him all might believe."[393] For in the miraculous circumstances of his birth, wondrous as to the custom of the flesh, John was made man. A wondrous man, he came with divine dispensation in testimony of God's mysteries, to bear witness, through the virtues enacted in him, of the light—of God, from whom all lights are lit—that all who are on fire by the Holy Spirit might believe in God through his testimonies, which he uttered wondrously. He came indeed to testify that divinity had been clothed in human form. And as he was born in a withered nature with no viridity of its own, so he spoke of my Son, born of the Virgin Mary without sin. This was my will, that through this miracle that I performed in John, humans might believe the miracles of my Son. And as this witness appeared in John, so in the thighs of the human person is declared a true witness—for the thighs are witness to all who are born and the procreative source of the whole body, which sees, touches, thinks and chooses, and accounts in its knowledge for all that it does. For the human person is a wonder of God—and so it is just that a person should give witness to God's wonders.[394]

"He was not that light, but was to bear witness of the light."[395] For John was not that light that is never divided nor changed—that light that is God. Rather, he came, sent by God to give witness of him who is the true Light that kindles all lights—for God exists within and of himself, nor wanting nor needing anything, since he would enact all in all.[396] So too it is that he exists within the crafting of his every work. Hence John announced his testimony and witness concerning Christ, for as a fruit witnesses to the quality of its root, so he rose up within God's wonders. Therefore, he also testified to God's wonders. Man, moreover, is the signature work and light of God—one that begins its life and then in the flesh passes away. And this is why John bears witness to God, because God is not like this.

"He was the true light"[397] that is never darkened by any shade

393. Jn 1.7.
394. Cf. *LVM* 5.77(96).
395. Jn 1.8.
396. Cf. 1 Cor 15.28.
397. Jn 1.9.

and has no time of serving or ruling, of decreasing or increasing.[398] Rather, it is the ordering principle of all order, the light of every light, and it shines of itself. For God did not arise in any morning, any dawn, but existed ever before the ages.

"It enlightens every person who comes into this world."[399] For this light floods with the breath of life every person who has flesh and blood and comes through the place of conception into the present world of waxing and waning flux, that when the sun welcomes him with its lights, he might behold and come to know creation. For with the soul's living spark God awakened the first Man, whom he formed from the clay,[400] so that through that spark of the soul, from clay he was transformed into flesh and blood. So too his descendants: when the semen's foam has been teased out by human nature, it is wholly transformed into flesh and blood by the soul's fiery spark.[401] For were it not awakened in this way by the soul's heat, it would not be wholly transformed into flesh and blood, just as the first Man's matter would have remained clay had it not been changed by the soul. For as bread is made from flour through water and fire, so too flesh and blood come to be through the soul's fire.

For humankind is as a light for the other creatures that abide with them upon the earth, especially those that run to them and fawn on them with great affection. So too humans usually seek whatever they wish affectionately from the creature that they dearly love. But a creature that does not love humans flees from them and tramples and scatters all things that belong to them, because, terrified by its fear of them, it considers their very existence a source of distress. This is why such a creature often attacks people, to tear their life from them.[402]

398. As the sun rules the moon and the moon serves the sun; and as the moon waxes and wanes—but also an allusion to Jn 3.30: "He must increase, but I must decrease."

399. Jn 1.9.

400. Gn 2.7.

401. Cf. *Cause* 2.57 (p. 59): "For when a person's blood boils in the ardor and heat of sexual desire, it emits itself as a foam that we call semen, as when a pot placed on the fire produces foam from the water because of the fire's intensity."

402. Cf. *LVM* 6.23(24).

"He was in the world,"[403] because he put on the royal garment of the Virgin's flesh when the holy divinity lay down in her womb.[404] For he was made Man in a foreign nature, not as any other person, for his flesh was inflamed by holy divinity. Therefore, after the Last Day, when each person has been transfigured, the souls of the elect will lift up their bodies—those that once existed in the world—by faith into heaven. This God will enact of his own accord and virtue, which no created thing can destroy. For then each person, as described above, will be clothed with flesh, their bones filled up with marrow; but even more, they will never suffer want of food and drink and life, for then they will go forth with the powers of divinity, without any wavering or variance. For each is in goodness a member of Christ, who endured in this world many sufferings and even more reproaches, despite being the Son of God. This was a fact the devil—the inventor of all falsehood[405]—could not know as a creature with a beginning who hastened to deny Christ with all his members who reject God. Yet even he could not stop humankind from being lifted up into unending life.

"And the world was made by him,"[406] such that the world originated from him, not he from the world. For creation came forth through the Word of God—all parts of creation, both invisible and visible, since some things exist that can be neither seen nor touched, while others are both seen and touched. But Man has both within himself—soul and body—because he was made in the image and likeness of God.[407] So too a person bids in word and enacts with the hands. Thus God ordained humankind after himself, because he willed his Son to be incarnate of humankind.

"And the world knew him not,"[408] because the sons of the world—those who follow the world because of their ignorant blindness—knew not of his coming nor recognized his work-

403. Jn 1.10.
404. Cf. Hildegard's antiphon *O quam magnum miraculum* (*Symphonia* 16).
405. Cf. Jn 8.44.
406. Jn 1.10.
407. Gn 1.26–27.
408. Jn 1.10.

ing, like an infant unaware of knowledge and working. Wherefore God demonstrates the ignorant infancy of unbelievers in the human thighs and knees. For infants, fed with milk and ground-up food, cannot walk because their marrow and bones are not yet strengthened; and adults cannot walk upon thighs and knees without calves and feet. Likewise, because the knowledge and perception of unbelievers were empty of the Holy Spirit's fire—through which they ought to have acknowledged God—they could not walk upon the way of rightness.

"He came to his own,"[409] for he had created the world and put on human flesh. So too all creation reveals him, as a coin shows its temporal ruler.[410] For God created the world, which he wished to prepare as a tabernacle for Man; and because it was his will that he should be clothed in humankind, he made Man in his own image and likeness. This is why all things were his own.

"And his own received him not,"[411] those who were his own because he had created them and made them specially in his own image. Yet they neglected him when they failed to recognize that he was their Maker, and to understand that they were created by him alone. For unbelievers did not receive his humanity, nor did they recognize that he was God in human form, because of the blindness of their unbelief. So too a person's youth—foolish and wasteful—is signified in his calves. For at that time his marrow and bones are fully strengthened, as he attends to the rest of creation with its verdant blooms and thinks himself wiser than others. That is how the Jews and pagans acted: in love with the vanity of the world, they thought they knew what they did not know and were what they were not, and they did not attend by faith to him who had given them flesh and blood. For as a youth is deceived into taking pleasure in created things, so the world at that time lived in vanity; and so it was necessary that God reveal himself to them and gather them to

409. Jn 1.11.

410. Cf. Mt 22.18–21; *Let.* 297r (3:100) uses the same simile; cf. *Scivias* 3.2.20; and Peter Chrysologus, Sermon 140A, trans. Palardy, in FOTC 110, 221–22.

411. Jn 1.11.

himself, as too he commanded the ass and its colt be untied and brought to him when he sat upon them with the law of truth.[412]

"But as many as received him, to them he gave the power to become children of God."[413] For to all people of both sexes who received him by believing him to be God and Man—for first one grasps God by faith, and then perceives that God became Man—he gave in potential, by his own power and will, the power to become children of his Father in the heavenly kingdom; that is, to be made heirs of his inheritance and possess a share with him in his kingdom, by that power that makes a child his father's heir.[414] For because they acknowledged him as God and their Creator, and embraced him with love and kissed him with faith, and diligently and carefully sought everything from him, the dew of the Holy Spirit fell upon them, so that the whole Church began to sprout from them and bear the fruit of supernal joys. Therefore, it was given to them, by virtue of their true faith, to become children of God.

"To those who believe on his name":[415] for to those who have this faith by believing that they can be saved in his name through baptism, is given a share in the heavenly kingdom. For all their works they do with burning love as if they see God; and they worship God's name not in the shadow of faith without works, but actively casting away foreign gods that cannot make themselves and do not exist of themselves, but are merely fellows of human company. This name, moreover, in which there is true belief, is such that it has no beginning; through it all creation arose; and it is the life through which all life breathes. Therefore, it is worshiped by its whole creation. In accordance with these three powers that exist in this name, every creature that has a name consists of three powers. A creature that is withered and decaying, however, lacks a name because it is no longer alive. But of the three powers that are present in a living creature's name, one is seen and one is known, but the third is unseen. For the body of a living thing is seen, and that it pro-

412. Mt 21.2.
413. Jn 1.12.
414. Cf. Rom 8.17.
415. Jn 1.12.

creates is known, but the source of its vitality is neither known nor seen.

So too God manifested his great wonders in the human feet, for as the feet uphold the entire body and carry it wherever it wants, so faith forcefully holds up and everywhere bears nobly God's name with miracles, both seen and unseen, known and unknown.[416] And though a person's body and his works are seen, there is much more within him that is neither seen nor known. But since so much is obscure in a human being, how should he who created humankind be made manifest? For no person living in the world can know him as he really is.

"Those who were born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God."[417] For the Son of God said, "What is born of the flesh is flesh, and what is born of the Spirit is spirit."[418] For flesh born of flesh was conceived in sin;[419] but because God is spirit, through him all spirits arose. Spirit is not turned into flesh, nor flesh into spirit—but through flesh and spirit, Man is perfected, for otherwise he would neither be nor be called human. Indeed, God fashioned Adam to live eternally without change, but he transgressed in disobedience by listening to the serpent's advice. That is why the serpent thought he would perish entirely—yet such was not God's will, and he prepared for Adam the exile of the world, in which he would conceive and bear his children in sin. And so he, together with his every offspring, became mortal, turned to decay by conception's sinful foam, until the Last Day, when God will renew humankind, afterwards to live life unchanging, as Adam had been created. But this life could not in any way come into existence within children conceived and born in sin; rather, it arose in the humanity of God's Son, through whom the supernal Father remembered to deliver humankind, who had been lost. For those who are made children of God by virtue of good works do not possess this power to be children of God because of the coagulation of their parents' blood—in which they themselves are

416. Cf. ch. 92 above.
417. Jn 1.13.
418. Jn 3.6.
419. Ps 50.7(51.5).

bloody—nor of the will of the weaker flesh that buds forth to give birth, nor of the will of the flesh's stronger part that is robust in begetting.[420] Rather, they receive it from the recompense of divine revelation, in the washing of baptism and the fiery outpouring of the Holy Spirit. In that way they are born of God and made heirs of his kingdom.

For God foresaw all his works before ever they were formed. When afterwards their forms were formed in creation, they did not remain empty within, but were brought to life. For flesh without life is not flesh, since it fades away in decay when life has left it. But the breath that God sent into Adam was fiery and intelligible and life. So through its heat the earth's red clay became blood. And as every creature existed in God's foreknowledge before time, so too all humans yet to be born exist in his foreknowledge.

Furthermore, the human person is intelligible and sensible—intelligible because he understands all things, sensible because he perceives what is present to him—for God fills a person's whole flesh with life when he sends the breath of life into it. Therefore, through the knowledge of good and evil, he chooses what pleases him and rejects what displeases him. Moreover, God takes consideration of whatever a person proposes for himself. If he has proposed for himself what is not of God, God withdraws his presence from him, and soon he is met by those who conceived the first evil—that is, those who wished to destroy heaven. But this did not affect God, because it would be unfitting for God to destroy himself.[421] But if a person sighs for the name of his Father and calls upon him with a good desire, the angelic guards will come to him to keep him from being hindered by the enemy. Through the delight of desiring good works, God at first rears that person gently as with milk, and then pours upon him the rain of his grace, through which he boldly mounts from virtue unto virtue.[422] In this way such a per-

420. "weaker … stronger": male and female, respectively.

421. Cf. *Gosp. Hom.* 9, on Jn 1.3 (pp. 56–57): "God cannot be brought to an end, but the notion that God wanted himself to be brought to an end was *nothing*, because this could not happen."

422. Ps 83.8(84.7).

son is ever new in those virtues, all the way until his death. One who can do something only small and not great always sets out impetuously to accomplish what he can; but the one who can do many great things keeps in them moderation and balance. For the devil wants just one thing—to seduce souls to their death. He neither seeks nor is able to do anything else, and he can barely stand it until he accomplishes what he wants to do.

But because God is powerful in and through all things, he keeps moderation in all his works and executes them with discretion's balance, so that humankind might become ever stronger and more ready in the stability of good works. For any who set out impetuously usually bring themselves to ruin. But the human person is the hallmark[423] of God's complete honor, for the good conscience within him demonstrates the angelic hosts that serve God in praise; while the evil conscience he has manifests God's power, because God conquered it when he expelled the first Man from paradise. So it is in every human person: in the one who through a good conscience chooses and enacts the good is shown God's goodness, and in the one who seizes upon evil to accomplish it is declared God's power. For God sometimes brings judgment upon an action, and sometimes pardon.

And so in this way, as already described, humankind is life, and all that pertains to them is alive because of them. For God created Man with all creation connected to him beneath the sun, so that he would not be alone upon the earth,[424] just as God himself is not alone in heaven, but is glorified in all the heavenly harmonies. Moreover, all that surrounds humankind upon the earth endures with them upon the earth, until that number is fulfilled that God established to be fulfilled.[425] But after the resurrection to come, the blessed person will not need to grow or be fed by anything, for then he will exist in that brilliance that will never pass away, never be changed. Indeed, then the blessed person will be clothed with brilliance by the Holy Trinity, to gaze upon him who never had a finite boundary of beginning or end. Because of this, he will never suffer senility

423. *significatio.*
424. Gn 2.18–20.
425. Cf. 3.5.8 = *Ordo,* Finale (pp. 180–81).

or boredom, for he will make music upon the harp and sing praises ever new.[426]

Indeed, as described above, the flesh lives through life, and it would not fully be flesh except through life—and so flesh is one with life and life one with flesh. To this unity God attended when he empowered the flesh and blood in Adam by the breath that he sent into him. For God then looked upon the flesh that he would one day wear, and held it with burning love.[427]

"And the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us."[428] For the Word that was eternally with God before time and that was God, assumed flesh from the Virgin's womb by the Holy Spirit's fire. He put on the flesh just as the veins are the framework of the flesh and carry the blood, even though they are not themselves blood. For God created Man so that all creation might serve him. So too it befits God that he should receive the garment of flesh in Man. Indeed, the Word is clothed with flesh such that Word and flesh are one—yet not such that one is transformed into the other, but rather that they are one in the unity of person. But the body is also the garment of the soul, and the soul functions by working with the flesh.[429] Yet the body would be nothing without the soul, and the soul could do nothing without the body. So they are one in Man and are Man; and thus the work of God—Man—was made in God's image and likeness. For when a person's breath is sent forth from God, that breath and the flesh become one person. The Word of God, moreover, assumed flesh from the Virgin's unplowed flesh, without the heat of fiery passion, so that the Word would be Word and the flesh would be flesh, and they would be one.[430] For the Word that existed in the Father outside of time and before the ages did not change within itself, but only put on flesh.

"And dwelt among us,"[431] because he became Man without sin to dwell as Man among us, not neglecting our humanity,

426. Cf. Rv 14.2–3; and ch. 104 above.
427. Cf. ch. 14, n. 30, above.
428. Jn 1.14.
429. Cf. *Cause* 2.130 (quoted at ch. 21, n. 46, above).
430. Cf. 2.1.44, on Gn 1.29–30; *Lets.* 170r (2:127) and 389 (3:189–90).
431. Jn 1.14.

since we too are humans with the breath of life, made in his image and likeness. Therefore, we also dwell in him, because we are his work and because he has held us forever in his foreknowledge and not forgotten us.

"And we have seen his glory,"[432] because we who were with him saw him specially come in a nature wondrously without any sin, revealing "the glory as of the Only-Begotten of the Father."[433] For he was born, the Only-Begotten of the Father, wondrously before the ages,[434] and then, coming wondrously from the Father, he revealed his glory when a Virgin conceived him from the Holy Spirit's fire—for she had no need of a man's work, even though every other human is sown with sin from a man, that is, from his father. For God had formed Man from the clay and sent into him the breath of life.[435] So too the Word of God assumed in Man the royal vesture with a rational soul; he drew it completely unto himself and abode within it. For the breath that is called the human soul permeates the flesh and possesses it as a delightful garment and beautiful ornament. Wherefore the soul loves the flesh and consents to it, even though it cannot be seen within it. By the soul's nature and desire, the human person seeks the clothing of life; and because God created no creature devoid of energy, so the human always works wonders.

And that Word is "full of grace and truth."[436] For he was in complete grace in creating all things in his divinity and redeeming them in his humanity; and he exists in complete truth, for no wicked lie of sin touched him, nor did he ally himself to it, because he is the Lord who in his battle conquered evil, which without him is nothing. For that Word—the true Son of God—is full of grace as he gives and remits according to his mercy. He was not emptied in his divinity,[437] but put on humanity; and his humanity is full, for no wrinkle of sin touched him in his human nature. He is also full of truth, because he gives, remits,

432. Ibid.
433. Ibid.
434. Cf. the Nicene Creed: "begotten of the Father before all ages."
435. Gn 2.7.
436. Jn 1.14.
437. Cf. Phil 2.7.

and judges as is just; and this mere humans do not do, because they were conceived and born in the wrinkle of sin. Thus God is round like a wheel as he creates all things, wills the good, and perfects the good.[438] For God's will prepared all that God's Word created.

And so all who fear and love God should lay open the devotion of their hearts to these words and know that they have been offered for the saving of humans in body and soul, not indeed by a human being, but by me, the One who am.[439]

438. Cf. 1.2.2.
439. Ex 3.14.

PART TWO, VISION ONE

The Earth: Life's Merits, Purgatory, and Commentary on the Creation

When I saw the round of the earth divided into five parts, so that one part was to the east, one to the west, the third to the south, the fourth to north, while the fifth in their middle.[1] *The extent of the eastern part and the extent of the western part were of equal dimension, and each had the form of a drawn bow.*[2] *The extent of the southern part and the extent of the northern part also were of a single measure, equal in length and breadth to the previous two parts—except that, because the inner edges of the previous two parts curved around, these two appeared as if truncated as they bent inwards. So they too imitated the form of a drawn bow, except that their inner edges were truncated.*

For each of these parts—the southern part and the northern part—was further divided into three parts, of which the two middle ones were of a single form and single measure. The other four—the outer ones—had a different form, though it and its segmentation were equal in each and they were equal in length and breadth to the two middle parts—except that they appeared narrower at their inner curves but wider at the outer ones than the other two. This was because the abovementioned eastern and western parts caused them to narrow at their edges as they curved inward on the one side, allowing them a larger space on the other. But the fifth part of those described, which was in the middle of all the

1. On the five zones, see Maurmann, pp. 74–79; and Liebeschütz, pp. 119–21.

2. In the Lucca miniature for this and the visions of Part III, east shifts to the left side of the page, placing north in the bottom. Dronke suggests a parallel in Lucan via Isidore for the north as "the bottom part of the world" (*LDO,* p. lx, n. 76).

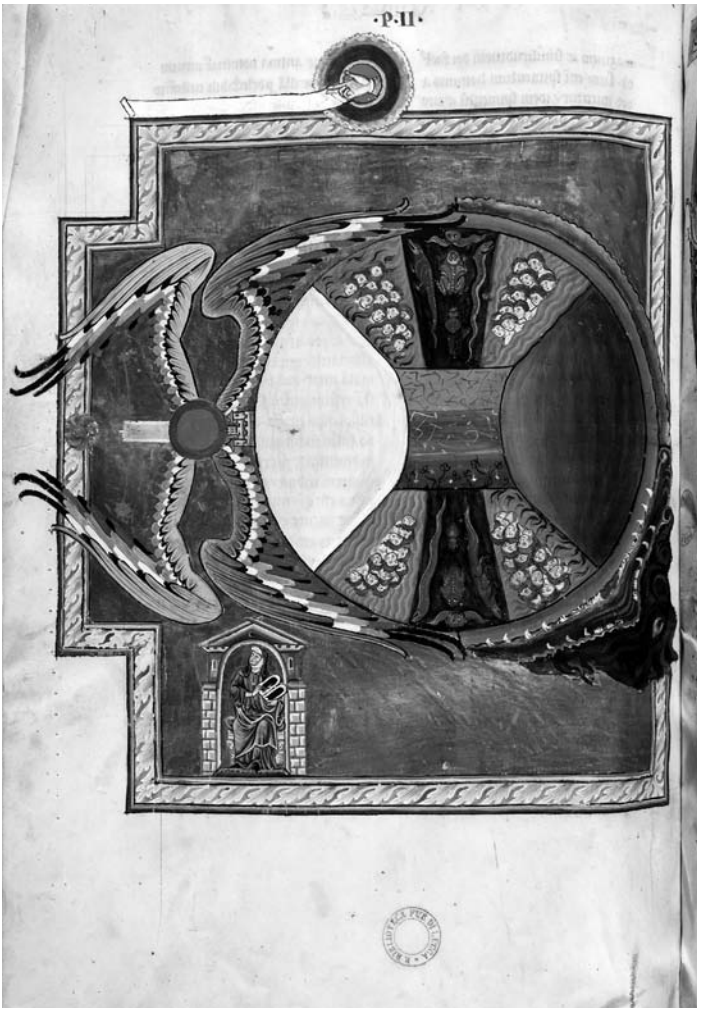


Figure 2.1: The Parts of the Earth: Living, Dying, and Purgatory. Biblioteca Statale di Lucca, MS 1942, fol. 88v (early 13th-cen.). By permission of the Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities and Tourism.

others, appeared in squared form and was flooded in one place by heat, in another by cold, but in another by a temperate air.

And the aforesaid eastern part shined with much brilliance, while the western part was covered over and darkened by a certain darkness. The southern part, meanwhile, which was divided into three segments, had two segments—the outer ones—full of particular punishments. But its third, which appeared in the middle, it showed to be bristled, not indeed with punishments, but with certain monstrous terrors. Likewise, the northern part, which also had three segments, revealed that its outer two segments abounded with diverse punishments, and its middle one bristled with very many horrors without punishments.[3]

But toward the east and above the aforesaid round of the earth, I saw at a certain height a red globe surrounded by a circle of sapphire color. From each of its sides, right and left, came forth two wings.[4] *One of these on each side extended out and up from each side of that circle, so that as each curved around, they looked upon each other at their tips. But the others descended from each side down to the middle of the aforesaid round of the earth, so that each of these wings touched the round's middle by embracing it along the outside of the firmament. And from that midpoint, a red circle, stretching itself like a bow, surrounded the whole outer part of the west, as well as certain segments that were outside that round, by twisting itself from the tip of the southern wing around the west and all the way to the tip of the northern wing. Moreover, from that round between the wings in the east appeared as if an edifice, climbing up to the aforementioned globe. And from that globe all the way up to the midst of the aforesaid wings there stretched as if an avenue, above which beamed as if a brightly shining star.*

3. "without": *sine,* following the Ghent manuscript; though Derolez and Dronke preferred the Lucca reading of *siue*, the northern and southern parts are clearly meant to be symmetrical, with the outer four segments reserved for punishments and the middle two bristling with terrors. This refines the schemes of *LVM,* in which the black clouds extending from the north's darkness contain particular punishments for each sin's grotesque personification, swarms of tempting spirits, and terrors to inspire repentance.

4. For the winged solar disk, Dronke (*LDO*, p. 266) references Mal 4.2 ("the sun of righteousness, with healing in its wings") and Ps.-Dionysius, *Celest. Hier.*, ch. 15, in which the angels as "winged wheels" draw on Ezek 1 and 10; the Dionysian discussion of angels in that chapter also includes correspondences to the human senses; see ch. 3 below.

And then, between those wingtips, as if a fiery globe appeared, casting from itself certain rays, so that the spaces were equal from the top of the earth's round to the red globe, and from that globe to the brightly shining star, and from that star to the fiery globe. Also between that first set of wings and on either side of the aforesaid avenue, particular and distinct rays as of stars were seen, from the first globe, around the indicated star, and all the way to the fiery globe.[5]

But to the west, beyond the earth's round, darkness appeared that stretched itself like a bow from each part of that round to its middle, where the aforesaid wings came down. Within it, between the western and northern points, there was another darkness, denser and sharper, with a form as of a mouth's horrible and devouring gullet, to which clung, like its mouth and jaws, the worst darkness of all, densest and endless, beyond the other darkness.[6] *For I knew that this darkness was infinite, though I did not see it.*

And again I heard a voice from heaven saying to me:

2. God suspended the sphere of the earth amid the other three elements, so that it could not slip away or be unloosed in any way. In this he shows that he is wondrous and powerful, because he only renders human flesh and bones to dust in order to restore them at the Last Day to their full integrity. He made one part of the earth bright, another dark, another to shock, another for punishment, and another in part fit for humankind and in part unfit. For he joins some souls to his kingdom, while others he condemns by just judgment to hell.

For you see the round of the earth divided into five parts, so that one part is to the east, one to the west, the third to the south, the fourth to the north, while the fifth is in their middle. This is because, if the earth were angular and not round, its corners would cause it the defect of an unequal distribution of weight. And if it were not divided into five zones, it would not be weighted with proper balance—for the four outer zones weight it correctly, while the fifth one in the middle causes it to be solid and stable within that correct balance. This also signifies that the human person—whom the

5. As Dronke notes (*LDO,* p. lx, n. 78), the Lucca miniature seems to include the fiery globe between the wingtips and the stars alongside the avenue, but not perhaps the first, brightly shining star above the avenue.

6. Cf. *LVM* 6.10–12(11–13).

earth represents—is steadied in all his needs and directed to his soul's salvation by the five senses that thrive within him.[7]

3. So too the one part towards the east bestows upon the middle zone a good sap and useful viridity, as too a person's sight, when directed as to the origin of brightness, supplies to that person—who exists as in the middle of the elements—health in both body and soul.[8] The next part, moreover, looking to the west, grants to that middle zone a moisture that is sometimes good and sometimes harmful. Likewise, the hearing shakes and penetrates the whole human body as from the west, to make known to a person both prosperity and adversity, the soul's salvation and its despair.[9] The third part, meanwhile, lying to the south, admits to the middle zone heat tempered by the cool breeze of the winds. Likewise, smell rises up as steam from heat and floods a person with the smells that come from mixtures of hot and cold, as well as with the fragrance that comes from sighs for heaven.[10] But the fourth part, drawn to the north, introduces into that middle zone cold from the north and heat coming from the east, just as taste, perceiving cold things and distinguishing cold and hot, strikes a person with different flavors and rouses him with supernal sweetness.[11] Finally, the fifth zone, which is in the middle of the others, is strengthened by them in its solidity and balanced by their various infusions. Likewise, touch thrives as if in the midst of the other senses and is empowered by them, because they grant to it all their powers and steady it for growth. This is also shown in the placement of the fingers, for through them are accomplished works that look to an eternal reward.

And as you see, *the extent of the eastern part and the extent of the western part are of equal dimension, and each has the form of a drawn bow,* for as the sun rises and sets, it reaches into equal portions of the earth in the circuit of its course. This also shows what sight is through the knowledge of good and evil, in this way: as sight looks up through knowledge of the good to what is good,

7. Cf. 1.4.14–15.
8. Cf. 1.4.31–35.
9. Cf. 1.2.20–21; 1.3.1 and 10; and 1.4.98 (the sixth month).
10. Cf. 1.4.35.
11. Cf. 1.4.39 and 98 (the fifth and eighth months).

so too it looks down through knowledge of evil to what is evil. Indeed, it does the former by twisting itself away from evil, and the latter by bending itself away from the good.

The extent of the southern part and the extent of the northern part also are of a single measure, equal in length and breadth to the previous two parts—except that, because the inner edges of the previous two parts curve around, these two appear as if truncated as they bend inwards. So they too imitate the form of a drawn bow, except that their inner edges are truncated. For the south fills the earth with heat as much as the north fills it with cold. In this they are like the length and breadth of the east and west, except that where their edges meet the fifth of the aforementioned zones, they are squeezed a bit by the extension of the eastern and western parts; elsewhere, however, they follow the likeness of a circle. Likewise, smell tends to the right side through the fragrance of the virtues, but taste tends to the left through the savor of the vices. In these tendencies they possess an equal, if contradictory, inclination, each in accord with its origin—for smell is adapted to the good, taste to evil.[12] But from their very start, neither of them can possess the fullness of its effort, because, as a person first begins a work of either good or evil, by that very fact he knowingly restrains himself, because he dares not yet to commit himself fully to it.

4. *For each of these parts—the southern part and the northern part—is further divided into three parts,* which are uninhabitable for humans because of heat in one part, cold in another, and serpents in the third. This also demonstrates that when smell ascends to the virtues' fragrance, while taste sinks down to the vices' savor, they affect a person's body, soul, and works in a different way. They also show a person to be as if inhospitable if he does not understand the nature of his body, soul, or works; and if he also does not know how to discern the proper balance within himself.

The two middle ones of these are of a single form and single measure, for the southern part and the northern part, being in proper proportion, grant to these middle ones just governance with their rightness. They also signify that, in virtues' fragrance and

12. In *Scivias* 2.1.8 (p. 153), Adam is offered "the sweet odor of sanctity" in the white flower of obedience but refuses to taste it, choosing instead the forbidden fruit, falling at the devil's counsel into death.

vices' savor, the soul exists as the intermediary between the body and its works—a single principle of governance and organization as it fears evil and sighs for God.

But *the other four—the outer ones—have a different form, though it and its segmentation are equal in each.* For these, which extend in both the southern and northern parts from each side of the middle segments just described, are a bit constricted in their inner curves, which face the fifth zone. But in their outer edges they appear to be a bit broader where they have a different form from the central segments, though they are like each other in both form and organization. This demonstrates that the human body and its works, which place as if a limit upon a person when he perceives a weakness within himself, have a different function—in which they nevertheless are equally in agreement—from that of the soul, because it wholly grants to a person the living growth of his body and senses. For when the body slips, its works are weakened—but when the soul sustains the body, the body's works are lifted back up.

And they are equal in length and breadth to the two middle parts—except that they appear narrower at their inner curves, but wider at the outer ones than the other two. This is because the abovementioned eastern and western parts cause them to narrow at their edges as they curve inward on the one side, allowing them a larger space on the other. This is because those parts that are on either side of the middle do indeed have the length of those middle parts; but their breadth facing the fifth zone is smaller than the middle parts, while that facing their outer edge is wider. Elsewhere, however, they are equal to them, for the outer edges of each middle part—the one directed to the east and the one stretching to the west—are drawn like a bow next to the inner edges of the four similar parts already described.

Furthermore, all of these signify that the human body and its works are prolonged in a person for his maintenance, as likewise the soul is roused within him for restoration. Besides that, a person's body and works often render themselves stingier in confidence but more fulsome in doubt than the soul's sighing would desire—for the soul strives for a measure of rightness, while the human body often races off into excess in its works.

5. *But the fifth part of those described, which is in the middle of all the others, appears in squared form,* so that it is contained and permeated equally by the others. This also signifies that touch ought to keep to the accomplishment of works and not the levity of vices. *And it is flooded in one place by heat, in another by cold, but in another by a temperate air.* For the sun's heat scorches it in one place because of its nearness, while cold freezes it in another because of the sun's absence, rendering each uninhabitable for humans. But a balance of heat and cold allows the other places to be habitable. Likewise, the fingers are each separate from the other, yet all are contiguous to the hand and empower it with their strength; and the five human senses, though unlike each other, pass as through a trial of fire and water[13] to prove themselves as bulwarks for each other's aid in the virtues.

Furthermore, these habitable places represent faithful people, who always ruminate upon the divine law and, raising themselves up completely to the life of heaven, render themselves hospitable in good works. But the uninhabitable places signify the unfaithful, who try to resist and oppose God's words and labor to deny the faith and to mangle and break through the truth and soundness of that faith. In such perversities they make themselves inhospitable, for they do not allow the Holy Spirit a place to dwell within them.

6. *And the aforesaid eastern part shines with much brilliance,* for in it is found the place of pleasure and delights,[14] the refreshment of blessed souls that admonishes the soul to fix its inner sight upon the appearance of the true Light. But against the many vices of sin with which people transgress justice, there have been put in the four corners of the earth places of transitory punishment, where the souls of those who will be saved are tried, after they have been stripped of their bodies, according to the weight of their faults.[15]

13. Cf. Ps 65(66).12.

14. Gn 2.10—a reference to Eden; cf. *LVM* 5.79(98).

15. The following geography of purgatory is one of Hildegard's unique contributions to its earliest traditions, and is not found in the earlier *LVM;* see Barbara Newman, "Hildegard of Bingen and the 'Birth of Purgatory,'" *Mystics Quarterly* 19 (1993): 90–97. Cf. *LVM* 5.79(98); *Solution* 33 (p. 83), which distinguishes between the invisible fires of hell and the physical ones of purgatory;

Thus *the western part is covered over and darkened by a certain darkness.* In this darkness it contains punishments for the venial and lesser sins of those who fall short through ignorance,[16] representing when a person's hearing has been turned away from the din of truth.

The southern part, meanwhile, which is divided into three segments, has two segments—the outer ones—full of particular punishments. In these are punished the mightier sins of those souls who neglected the fragrance of virtues while they were in their bodies. For in the segment at the corner between east and south are the sharpest punishments of a fiery and windy air, as well as of other tortures. In them the worst deeds of murderers, rapists, thieves, and other such people are examined, because God's judgments are ever ready to fall upon impiety and infidelity, and upon the sins and monstrous sensibilities that struggled to oppose God. But in the segment at the corner between south and west abound the worst punishments—cold in summertime but heat in winter, and other such punishments—through which are purged, after they have been stripped of their bodies, the souls of those who were just barely repentant of their many and great sins, or came to repentance just in their final hour. So too those who lack the virtues' fragrance will just barely be saved.

But its third, which appears in the middle, it shows to be bristled, not indeed with punishments, but with certain monstrous terrors. For if this middle segment abounded with punishments like the other two, those punishments would boil up and overflow, rendering the place where humans dwell on earth uninhabitable. As it is, because of the many horrors that are within it, this segment often attacks humans and animals with disease and fruits with injury, because people have not drawn the virtues' fragrance into their souls.[17]

Likewise, the northern part, which also has three segments, reveals

---

and *Cause* 5.486 (p. 282), where the purgatorial fires are linked to hot springs, perhaps drawing on anecdotes in Gregory the Great's *Dialogues* (4.42 and 57), in which the ghosts of the dead return for purgation at the Roman baths; see further *Women Writers,* 179.

16. Cf. *LVM* 6.9(10) and 11(12), of the righteous unbaptized.

17. Cf. 1.2.22 and 1.3.2; and *LVM* 3.22–23(30–31).

that its outer two segments abound with diverse punishments. In these are purged the souls of those who put off the taste for life and instead followed the lustful desires of their flesh. For in the segment at the corner between east and north are the harshest punishments of cold and winds and other tortures. In them is examined the infidelity of certain unbelievers, who while they were in the world aped disbelief and neglected the taste of true faith, only in the hour of their death to return to the catholic faith through repentance by finally receiving the taste of uprightness. And in the segment at the corner between north and west abound the filthiest punishments of soaking slime and a deathly stench and mist, as well as other tortures. In these are examined the deeds of adulterers, gluttons, and drunkards, who considered the taste for life something foreign.

But *its middle one is bristled with very many horrors without punishments,* to show, as already said, that though this one indeed has many horrors, if it also were to abound in punishments, their blasts would corrupt the human habitat. Nevertheless, its horrors do sometimes infect humans and other creatures with their perils, because humans draw the flavor of life into folly.[18] Just as worms fester abundantly in stinking piles of filth, so from the stench of sin arise the punishments in the corners just described. So too from those punishments, a mist spreads across the land where humans live, and furnishes a great pestilence upon humans and animals.[19]

7. These judgments, moreover, which come upon the earth and humans, proceed from those corners, so that very many evils are poured out from them. Yet, against the horrible darkness of hellish punishments are placed very tall and very strong mountains that cannot be rent by any tempest. They hold back the darkness and defend the earth, as a wall supports a house so that it does not fall down.

But because humankind, dependent upon the five senses, always sins, they suffer purgation in those five parts of the earth. Those who, while in their bodies, considered the present earth as a prison because of their love for heaven, receive the small-

18. *homines saporem uite in insipientiam ducunt.*
19. Cf. 1.4.3–4.

est punishments in the darkness of the western part. But those who serve the flesh's pleasure are purged with other purgatorial punishments, which exist in the southern and northern parts, as just described—for although they sinned, they still did not reject God and the just faith. Indeed, mortal humankind does not inhabit these parts—the two principal parts of the earth's round to the east and west, as well as the four corner segments in the south and north—because they could not live in them, whether because of the unrelenting heat or cold, or because of other disadvantages. Likewise, if a person exalts himself beyond measure or falls into despair, or if he neglects the right and falls away to the left, he does not welcome the Holy Spirit into the dwelling of his heart. And so God often administers his judgments upon the four corners of the earth, as my chosen one, John, sees in the Apocalypse and speaks, saying:[20]

8. "And behold a white horse, and he who sat on it had a bow, and a crown was given to him; and he went forth conquering to conquer."[21] This should be considered thus: The first age, which began with Adam, was as a white horse, because Man transgressed in ignorance. Upon it God imposed the wrath of his reproach, which contained his vengeance. But he also gave to that time the power to overcome his enemies in victory, so that it might contend in the battle of battles against the ancient dragon.[22] He imposed this vengeance upon the failure of the law that he had given to Adam, as also he made a bow in the clouds of the sky at the end of the flood.[23] Indeed, this age lasted from Adam's expulsion until the flood, in which, with the wrath of his bow and the rushing waters that sounded like thunder, God

20. Though salvation-historical interpretations of the Four Horsemen are common, Hildegard's particular chronology appears to be unique, as most others are confined to the history of the Church. See Meier, 333–39; for other twelfth-century accounts, see Karl F. Morrison, "The Exercise of Thoughtful Minds: The Apocalypse in Some German Historical Writings," in *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages,* ed. R. K. Emmerson and B. McGinn (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), esp. 358–66.

21. Rv 6.2.

22. Cf. Rv 12.9 and 20.2.

23. Gn 9.13.

drowned all people, except those who were saved in the ark.[24] And as in the first age God showed the bow of his wrath in vengeance, so after the flood he gave a bow in the clouds of the sky as a sign, that he would not thereafter overwhelm the whole world with the thunderous roar of the waters.[25] This also prefigured that the faithful would be saved through baptism.[26]

Next follows: "And there went out another horse that was red, and he who sat on it was permitted to take peace from the earth, and that they should slay one another; and to him was given a great sword."[27] This should be considered thus: This horse is the time when, after the flood, by God's wrath and just judgment peace was taken away from those who opposed God, because they did not seek peace from him nor give it to other people. Therefore, God's judgment allowed them cruelly to kill one another and perish in great battles, because in their unfaithfulness they had retreated from him. So too the soul commits suicide when it does not seek to cling to God.

Then again it is written: "And behold, a black horse, and he who sat on it had a set of scales in his hands." And there follows: "Two pounds of wheat for one denarius, and three pounds of barley for one denarius; but do not harm the wine and oil."[28] This should be considered thus: This horse is the time when, after the suffering of God's Son, the persecutors rose up within the Church, black for their unbelief, when the unbelievers

24. Gn 6–8; cf. 3.2.4–6.

25. Cf. 3.2.7; in *Expl. Symb. S. Athan.* (p. 132), the rainbow is Christ reigning with the Church in the new age cleansed by the waters of baptism.

26. Hildegard's association of the white horse with the primeval history seems to have only one precedent, the eighth-century Apocalypse commentary of Berengaudus, though he sees the horses as markers of virtue, not vice (see Meier, 334); most other twelfth-century and earlier interpretations linked the white horse with either Christ or the earliest period of the Church. Christological interpretations are found in Haimo of Auxerre, *Expositio in Apocalypsin* 2.6 (PL 117: 1024–25); Rupert of Deutz, *Commentariorum in Apocalypsim* 4.6 (PL 169: 941–43); and Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Tractatus in Psalmum 19,* on verse 3 (PL 193: 946–53). The ecclesiological route, often focused on baptism, is found in Rupert's *De sancta Trinitate et operibus eius* 37.11 (CCCM 24, ed. Haacke, p. 1952); the *Glossa Ordinaria* (PL 114: 721D); and Anselm of Havelberg, *Dialogues* 1.7 (SC 118, ed. Salet, pp. 68–70).

27. Rv 6.4.

28. Rv. 6.5–6.

scorned the faith and drew upon themselves the blackness of unfaithfulness.[29] But God's wrath weighed out with proper measure the tortures of the martyrs—a befitting punishment for their torturers, but eternal glory for the martyrs. For the martyrs' victory was the rich root of all the virtues, which brought forth their figs in them,[30] and with which they cast aside the banquets of self-will and the flesh's law. In them the loss of the flesh's will was changed with the love for eternal life into the faith that each faithful person keeps within himself—and all this happened in that blessed hunger by which the faithful hunger and thirst for justice.[31] So too the scales show that in spiritual abstinence a person is fed by the fruits of the earth, but that in virginal nature he loves his heavenly homeland.

Therefore, this was the time of the martyrs, mixed with the blackness of the north, when the martyrs were slain by the unjust like lambs by wolves. Therefore, the scales were given in judgment on this time, on which are weighed the two pounds of the martyrs: abstinence and love for the heavenly homeland, as just said. For the martyrs afflict their bodies with abstinence and look to heavenly desire, as an eagle points his eyes into the sun.[32] The two pounds of wheat signify this, bought by the one denarius of life. But those who restrain themselves from sin through abstinence according to the precepts of the law, and withdraw themselves from taking a husband or wife, and make themselves poor by giving up their riches—all of which are indeed hard and difficult things[33]—have been joined by the three pounds of their

29. Cf. *LVM* 3.39(48); most commentators usually linked the red horse with the persecutions of the Church, while identifying the black horse as heretics and their heresies; closer to Hildegard's interpretation is that of Haimo of Auxerre, who sees it as the devil's body, blackened by the insatiable hunger of the greedy, dishonest peddler of vice (PL 117: 1026).

30. Cf. Rv 6.13, with reference to Song 2.13.

31. Mt 5.6.

32. Cf. Hildegard's responsory for the Virgin, *O tu suavissima virga* (*Symphonia* 21 = *Scivias* 3.13.1b).

33. Cf. *RB* 58.8; Hildegard describes here the three central actions of entering the monastic life: vowing stability, fidelity, and obedience to its precepts (the Rule; cf. *RB* 58.15–17); chastity; and the renunciation of possessions in poverty (*RB* 58.24–28). For monastics as the superior heirs to the martyrs and highest order of the Church, see *Scivias* 2.5.5–22.

hardships to the love of the one denarius, which is the heavenly homeland.[34] This is the act of wisdom, which weighed out all things equally in mercy, for God is merciful upon all. In this way the wine and oil are not harmed, because a person is redeemed from his sins by repentance and mercy.[35]

And again it follows: "And behold, a pale horse, and the name of him who sat upon it was Death, and hell followed him. And power was given to him over the four parts of the earth, to kill with sword, and with famine, and with death, and with the beasts of the earth."[36] This should be considered thus: This horse denotes that time when all lawful things and God's full justice are counted as if wan and for nothing, when people will say, "We don't know what we're doing,[37] and those who tell us what to do don't know what they're saying."[38] With neither fear nor trembling at God's judgment, they will scorn all those things and act instead at the devil's urging.[39] But God's wrath will judge these actions with its vengeance and wholly trample them down, for it will inflict death upon these impenitents and damn them to the places of hell. For in that time, too, throughout all the ends of the earth, there will be struggles among them with swords, and the earth's fruits will be taken away, and people will perish with sudden death and in the jaws of beasts.

9. The ancient serpent rejoices at all the punishments just described, with which a person is punished whether in soul or in body. He thinks that, because he himself cast aside heavenly glory, neither will humankind achieve it. For when he perceived that humankind had consented to his counsel, he was eager to wage the fight against God, saying, "Now I will fulfill my entire will in humankind!"

34. In *Gosp. Hom.* 3 (p. 39), the five barley loaves from the feeding of the five thousand (Jn 6.9) are "the narrow and difficult way" of the religious life; while in *Gosp. Hom.* 23 (p. 106), the single denarius paid out to each laborer in the vineyard (Mt 20.9) represents "the hope of a heavenly reward." Wheat and barley also represent ascetic discipline in *Let.* 214 (2:194–95).

35. Cf. ch. 46 below; and the *Glossa Ordinaria* on Rv 6.6 (PL 114: 722A–B).

36. Rv 6.8.

37. Cf. Lk 23.34.

38. Cf. *LVM* 3.9(13) and 11(16).

39. Cf. Haimo of Auxerre, *Expositio in Apocalypsin* 2.6 (PL 117: 1027–28).

And then in his hatred, he cast his hateful plot among humans, so that they would slaughter one another. And he said: "I will cause people to die, and I will destroy them even more than I was destroyed, because though I still exist, they will not." In his puffery he thought that that advance of human children would end when men burned against men while committing shameful acts. So overjoyed, he cried, "His is the greatest blasphemy who formed Man, because Man fades away in his form when he rejects the natural company of women!"[40] And so the unfaithful seducers are under the devil's persuasion—in their hatred and murder they are robbers and thieves, while the filthiest transgression and all the vices are found in the perverted sin of men.[41] And when these sins are joined together among the peoples, the establishment of God's law will be torn asunder and the Church shaken like a widow.[42] Princes, nobles, and the wealthy will be expelled from their lands by their peers and their own vassals, made to flee from city to city—their noble birth rendered as nothing, they will be reduced from wealth to penury. All these things will then come to be, because the ancient serpent will hiss among peoples the variance of morals and the variety of clothing; they will imitate him by throwing one thing away and trying on another, as in the deeds just described they always innovate and change themselves.

But though the ancient enemy and the other wicked spirits did indeed lose the beauty of their form, they did not lose the puffery of their rationality; and so, out of fear of their Creator, they do not reveal the form of their destruction as it really is to

40. Cf. *Scivias* 2.6.78; and *LVM* 3.80(98); the logic draws on Rom 1.27.

41. Cf. Gerhoch of Reichersberg's comments on the pale horse of Rv 6.8, in *Tractatus in Psalmum 19,* PL 193: 949B–C: "Who with only human strength can withstand that pale horse and its rider? At the beginning of his devilish deception, that one serpent was hotter than all the other animals and beasts of the earth, so that entering into it, the devil corrupted the entire human race with his deception's poison. But even now, that devil has many beasts of the earth that creep like serpents within the paradise of Holy Church or the holy monastic life. As they spew their poison, first it is human sensuality that is corrupted in the weaker ones like Eve; then in the stronger ones, the spirit is corrupted as it consents to the depravity of the weak."

42. Cf. Lam 1.1.

any mortal creature. Rather, in their persuasions they lay traps for each person according to the latter's character, because the former find in the rest of creation something that is similar to their own wickedness.[43] But God wages the great battle[44] against their impiety when human rationality withstands the rationalizations of those spirits and confounds them. This battle will last until the Last Day, when chaos will wholly soak them with its filth, and the person who has overcome them will receive the reward of life.

10. *But toward the east and above the aforesaid round of the earth, you see at a certain height a red globe surrounded by a circle of sapphire color.* This is because in the eastern region—signifying the origin of justice—God's jealousy, which surpasses human understanding and dwells in the height of heavenly secrets, is revealed in his power with the justice of divine love.[45] For though God has the power to carry out his judgments, still he fulfills them through the balance of his love.

From each of its sides, right and left, come forth two wings. One of these on each side extends out and up, so that as each curves around, they look upon each other at their tips. For in times of both prosperity and adversity, both sweet inspiration and harsh reproof, divine protection reveals itself as humankind's guardian, enclosing and preserving within the loftiness of its majesty whatever reaches through it to things above.[46] *But the others descend from each side down to the middle of the aforesaid round of the earth, so that each of these wings touches the round's middle by embracing it along the outside of the firmament.* For as this supernal defense defends what is in the heavens, so too it protects what exists below, bending down to the fullness of human good will and holding it in the embrace of true affection.

11. *And from that midpoint, a red circle, stretching itself like a bow, surrounds the whole outer part of the west, as well as certain segments that are outside that round.* For from that perfection with which God mercifully cherishes those who worship him, and by ven-

43. Cf. 1.4.96.
44. Rv 12.7.
45. On God's jealousy (or zeal), cf. *Scivias* 3.5.1–7 and *LVM* 3.44(55).
46. Cf. 1.1.5; and *LVM* 5.14(21).

geance of a just extent, the fire of his jealousy[47] rightly judges and condemns to the places of punishment those who walk beyond the perimeter of good works and those who are outside the integrity of the true faith. This it does *by twisting itself from the tip of the southern wing around the west and all the way to the tip of the northern wing*, when it casts guilty deeds away from the prosperity of this present life and subjects them to the harshness of its scourges, because they have not kept justice's truth. *Moreover, from that round between the wings in the east appears as if an edifice, climbing up to the aforementioned globe.* This is because, turning itself away from earthly affairs, the city built of living stones[48] directs its gaze through the origin of justice and amid God's protection to his judgment, glorifying him, for faithful souls continually praise God because he rightly orders all things.[49]

12. *And from that globe all the way up to the midst of the aforesaid wings, there stretches as if an avenue, above which beams as if a brightly shining star.* For from the judgments of God's power to the perfection of his protections runs a way, upon which virginity flourishes when the incarnate Son of God appears, born of the Virgin. Him the greatest multitude follows mightily with reverent devotion as it loves virginity and seizes perfection.[50] *And then, between those wingtips, as if a fiery globe appears, casting from itself certain rays.* For in the height of the heavenly defenses, the Holy Spirit reveals itself as it grants many gifts to its elect. Meanwhile, *the spaces are equal from the top of the earth's round to the red globe, and from that globe to the brightly shining star, and from that star to the fiery globe.* For the judgments of God's power, the works of virginity, and the Holy Spirit's gifts do not disagree with one another, but

47. Cf. Ps 78(79).5, Ezek 36.5, Zep 3.8.

48. 1 Pt 2.5; cf. Hildegard's sequence *O Ierusalem,* esp. verse 8 (*Symphonia* 49), with reference to the eighth- or ninth-century hymn *Urbs beata Ierusalem,* used in the office for the dedication of churches (*Analecta Hymnica*, 2:73, no. 93); cf. *Scivias* 2.3, the final words of the opening vision (p. 170). One of Hildegard's favorite epistolary benedictions is, "May you become a living stone in the celestial Jerusalem" (e.g., *Lets.* 253, 271, 346, and 366 [3:51, 68, 141, and 155]; see Newman, *Sister,* 201).

49. Cf. Wis 8.1.

50. Cf. *Scivias* 2.5.6–8 and 13; *Lets.* 84r (1:185–86) and 250r (3:47–49); for virginity as a star, cf. *Let.* 77r (1:169).

accord with equal guidance. For what the Holy Spirit's grace inspires, the works of holiness confirm, and those the divine judgments rightly adjudicate.

Also between that first set of wings and on either side of the aforesaid avenue, particular and distinct rays as of stars were seen, from the first globe, around the indicated star, and all the way to the fiery globe. These signify that within that protection above in the heavens, the paths of virginity are covered round about on all sides. For with an unconquered power, virginity, which began with the Son of God and was fortified by the Holy Spirit's strength, also enjoys the guardianship of the angelic spirits; because virginity is a companion of the angels, it merits their companionship in return.[51] For through the sweetness of his humanity, my Son gathered to himself those who imitate him in the faithful devotion of chastity. Fearing God's judgments, by the Holy Spirit's inspiration they bear my Son's suffering within their bodies as they resist the lustful desires of their flesh.

13. *But to the west, beyond the earth's round, darkness appears that stretches itself like a bow from each part of that round to its middle, where the aforesaid wings come down.* This is the outer darkness in that region beyond the world,[52] extending from one side to the middle of the southern region and from the other side to the middle of the northern region, and it rises up in the wickedness of rebellion against the fullness of God's protection. There the ancient battler—the lord of that darkness—rejoices to keep torments over the souls surrendered to oblivion.[53] *Within it, between the western and northern points, there is another darkness, denser and sharper, with a form as of a mouth's horrible and devouring gullet.* In those parts beyond the world, this is the bitter mouth of the pit of hell that devours the souls of the damned and tortures them with dire afflictions, because in committing acts of damnation more than loving God, they followed the devil.[54]

But to this darkness *clings like its mouth and jaws the worst dark-*

51. Cf. Hildegard's antiphon for the Church, *O choruscans lux stellarum* (*Symphonia* 69).

52. Cf. Mt 8.12, 22.13, and 25.30.

53. Cf. *LVM* 6.15(16).

54. Cf. 3.4.13 below; and *Scivias* 1.2.5.

ness of all, densest and endless, beyond the other darkness. This is the place of hell, in which all types of punishments abound without solace. These are separate from the other punishments, because they are sharper than the others and devour all that God judges to be cast into oblivion.[55] They torture the souls of those who are consigned to oblivion through the infidelity of unbelief and deeds that curse their Creator.[56] This is why *you know that this darkness is infinite, though you do not see it.* For though a person can know and understand by that knowledge that hell and its dire tortures exist, while in the body he cannot entirely see them with any mortal gaze, nor can he discern what torments lie within it nor how great they are, just as he cannot recognize his own soul and its merits as long as he lives in the world.[57]

14. God indeed, who made everything just described, is the unique Life from which all life breathes as a ray from the sun. He is that Fire from which every fire that provides for happiness is kindled, as sparks come forth from fire.[58] How would it be fitting if nothing alive hewed to this Life, and this Fire neither warmed nor illumined anything? And how would it seem for no life nor any brilliance to come forth from the Godhead, which was Life before the ages? What good would it be if Light kindled by Fire gave light to nothing, since fire does not hide its light,[59] nor does the sun bury its rays? For God is that Life through which the angels' multitude was kindled, like a spark coming forth from fire. So it would be unseemly for that Life not to shine brilliantly—and that brilliance is unfailing,[60] for no death can exist within it.

How? God alone exists in and of himself, nor does he receive his being from anything else; rather, any and all creation takes its being from him. He created certain spirits for a great honor, and at their head he placed a great prince, upon whom they all gazed—as one looks upon a lamp in which shines a burning

55. Cf. *Scivias* 1.2.7.
56. Cf. *LVM* 6.10(11).
57. Cf. *LVM* 6.12(13).
58. Cf. *Let.* 31r (1:95–98).
59. Cf. Mt 5.14–15 and Lk 11.33.
60. Cf. Sir 24.6 (Vg.).

light—for in that prince sparkled their every beauty like precious stones.[61] But his own gaze he turned to the void, where he wanted to set up his throne.[62] Wherefore he was cast forth with his every rank as with stubble into the pit of hell,[63] so that at his fall, the outer darkness and the mouth of hell's pit were established alongside the pit itself. This pit has no dimension, as too the number of the lost angels cannot be counted. For the outer darkness was prepared for him to counter the pretense by which he wished to be like God; the mouth of hell's pit was made for him because of the unlawful discord that he wanted to establish between God's army and his own; and the pit of hell itself was prepared for him because of the envy in which he refused in every way to acknowledge God.[64] And God surrounded the blessed spirits with the might of his majesty, no longer to fear any shock of the ancient deceiver; and their faces he filled with his brilliance, so that they might ever delight to gaze upon his face. In this way he extends his power even over hell, because the ancient deceiver cannot destroy by any war or artifice the full number of those who will be saved—for in the manner of a viper, he killed himself.

15. Then, in the light of his virtue, God made Man and placed him in the inextinguishable light of paradise, which remains incorruptible with its fruits. But Man seized upon disobedience and so came to know that he was naked;[65] and this very much pleased the devil, who had stripped Man because he himself had already lost the beauty of his glory. But God appeared to Man as if a stranger, in a pale cloud like flame, as when he later showed himself, with his face hidden, to Moses and to others dear to him.[66] He did not want Man to be naked, because he willed that his Son would one day be clothed in the garment of humanity; and so he gave to Man a garment of air, through which he lives as an animal, because Adam and Eve had listened to an ani-

61. Cf. *Physica* 4, Preface on Stones (pp. 137–38).
62. Cf. *Scivias* 1.2.1–2 and 3.1.14–16.
63. Cf. Ex 15.7; Is 5.24 and 47.14; and 3.1.5 below.
64. Cf. *Scivias* 1.2.5–6; and *LVM* 6.12(13).
65. Gn 3.7.
66. Cf. Ex. 19.16–20, 24.16–18, and 33.20–23.

mal when they abandoned God's commandment.[67] And so they were cast out onto the wretched pilgrimage, made corruptible with the rest of the earth's fruits.[68] In their fall and departure, every creature of the world was overshadowed,[69] as if a sunbeam were shining through a dense cloud, just as their entrance into paradise was overshadowed by the ancient deceiver, so that they could not enter there again.[70]

Then humankind began to do their work with creation, because as one fire kindles and brings forth another, so humankind exists in relation to the rest of creation.[71] Creation is latent within the fire that floods and tests all things, and it is sustained by the water that washes all things clean; and that fire burns with such force that it would spare nothing if it were not tempered by the water. And as water attends to fire by sparing, so too humanity was joined to divinity to be spared—for it would do no good for humankind to lie in the darkness and never give forth any light.[72] For humans are congealed by fire and flooded by water in order for their form to come into existence—and for this reason, with fire and water they finish every clay sculpture that they make.

God is indeed the living Light from whom all lights shine; and so it is through him that a person remains a light alive, and fire too. Wherefore God bakes a person with fire and floods him with water; and so because of the excessive heat in a person's

67. Cf. Gn 3.21. Hildegard construes the garments God made for Adam and Eve as the corruptible flesh, permeable by the air that quickens creatures in their growth (cf. the end of Love's speech in 1.1.2) and interacts with the humors of the body (cf. 1.3.1); cf. 1.1.15; *Lets.* 70r (1:154) and 292 (3:90–91); and *Expl. Symb. S. Athan.*, p. 119: "Co-eternal with the Father in divinity, the Son was clothed by a creature in the garment that is humanity. Divinity revealed this garment like a ray affixed to the sun; though the sun emits its light upon the earth, it is not thereby increased or decreased. Likewise, when the Son of God came into the world, he was neither increased nor lessened in divinity, for he put on his garment in the same way as God clothed Adam from a frail creature, lest his nudity be seen."

68. Cf. Hildegard's antiphons *Cum processit factura* and *Cum erubuerint infelices* (*Symphonia* 13–14).

69. Cf. *Scivias* 1.2.27.

70. Cf. *Let.* 113r (2:56).

71. Cf. *Gosp. Homs.* 1 and 22 (pp. 30–33 and 101–4).

72. Cf. Mt 5.14–16 and Lk 11.33–36.

flesh, the water reddens and flows. And how would it be fitting for a person to remain darkened after shining from the light, and not to move after coming alive from the fire? Indeed, if a person did no work and had no home, he would be void. For God, who is fire and light, vivifies the human person through the soul and moves him through rationality. So too he created the whole world—humankind's home—with the sound of his Word; and humankind acts with all creation, just as God made them perfect within it.[73]

16. And who could lift up fallen Man, who was deceived and forgot his Creator, except One who, overshadowed by no fog, took compassion upon Man's ignorance? But when the devil saw the woman clothed, he wondered to himself why God had given her that garment, and with the envy that knew his own fall from heaven, he tore into himself, as it is written in the Apocalypse:[74]

"And after the dragon saw that he was cast down to the earth, he pursued the woman who had borne the male child. And to the woman were given the two wings of a great eagle, that she might fly from the face of the serpent into the wilderness, to the place where she is nourished for a time, and times, and half a time."[75] This should be considered thus: When the ancient dragon saw that, because he had been cast down into the netherworld, he had lost the place where he wanted to set up

73. For this chapter's interplay of divine light and saving water, cf. *Let.* 389 (3:182–91).

74. Most medieval exegesis of the Woman Clothed with the Sun identified her as either the Virgin Mary (so, e.g., in Ambrosius Autpertus and Haimo of Auxerre) or the Church (so, e.g., in the *Glossa Ordinaria,* Rupert of Deutz, and Honorius Augustodunensis). For Hildegard, however, she reveals simultaneously all waypoints of womanhood in salvation history—a convergent figure of Eve, Mary, and the Church, each of which stands as God's feminine irruption into time to mediate Christ's absolute predestination (see Newman, *Sister,* chs. 3–6, and p. 113 for this passage in particular). As Constant Mews notes, Hildegard's synthesis of Apocalypse and Genesis appeared already in the first part of *Scivias;* he interprets the images of human birth in *Scivias* 1.4.16 as influenced by the apocalyptic woman: "Hildegard of Bingen: The Virgin, the Apocalypse, and the Exegetical Tradition," in *Wisdom Which Encircles Circles: Papers on Hildegard of Bingen,* ed. Audrey Ekdahl Davidson (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1996), 27–42, at 28–29.

75. Rv 12.13–14.

his throne, he sharpened his rage against woman, because he knew that in childbearing, she would be the root of the whole human race.[76] Considering her with the deepest hatred, he said to himself that he would never stop pursuing her until he could drown her as in the sea, because he had deceived her first.[77] But though she was anguished as in childbirth, at last she grasped the mightiest help of consolation and, propped up by divine protection, opposed the devil in every way. For to her were given two bulwarks of blessedness—heavenly desire and the salvation of souls—that with these she might strive in the secrets of her heart. There she received the nourishments of salvation, in the time before the flood, and the times after the flood, and the half a time that was under the circumcision, before my Son's Incarnation and lasting until the full time of the Gospel, in which arose all the fullness of the true and just order against the ancient serpent. For before the flood and after the flood, as well as under the circumcision, there were those worshipers of God who secured the redemption of their souls through the outpoured blood of my Son. But when the time of the red-gleaming dawn—of full justice—came through my Son,[78] the ancient serpent was greatly terrified and astounded, because he had been wholly deceived by a woman—the Virgin.[79]

Wherefore in his fury he burned against her, as it is written according to my will: "And the serpent cast out of his mouth water like a river after the woman, to cause her to be swept away by

76. Cf. Gn 3.15.

77. Cf. *LVM* 3.80(98); and the devil's rape of Eve in *Let.* 375 (3:162); images of sexual assault and domestic violence often accompany Hildegard's visions of the abuse of the Church—e.g., her rape by the Antichrist in *Scivias* 3.11, or her battery by her own priests in the Kirchheim letter of 1170 (*Let.* 149r, 2:92–94); cf. also the battery of Justice in 3.5.11 below.

78. The red light of dawn is Hildegard's favorite metaphor for the irruption of divinity into time in the Incarnation (e.g., *Scivias* 2.1.11), and specifically of that light into the Virgin's womb (e.g., *Scivias* 2.3.9 and *Symphonia* 7, 11, 15, and 20 verse 6a); cf. the Magnificat antiphon at First Vespers for the Feast of the Assumption, *Virgo prudentissima quo progrederis quasi aurora valde rutilans,* which adapts Song 6.9(10); see Meier, 274–77, and Newman, *Sister,* 166–67.

79. Cf. *Lets.* 77r (1:168) and 389 (3:187); and Hildegard's antiphon *Hodie aperuit* (*Symphonia* 11).

the river; and the earth came to the woman's help."[80] This should be considered thus: In pursuit of the uprightness of the woman who had borne the man, out of his foulest voracity the ancient persecutor cast disbelief and unfaithfulness into the peoples of the Jews and pagans, intending to wear the woman down with so many persecutions that she either submitted to him or was wholly drowned, like a ship floundered in a shipwreck—her name entirely wiped away from the earth, like something wiped away from the earth that has been cast into the bottom of a river.[81] But with the help of the earth, the woman was rescued, for my Son took up the garment of his humanity from her and then bore within his body many reproaches and sufferings, to that serpent's confusion.

17. And so, as described above, God adorned the universe with heaven and strengthened it with the earth, and through it he was glorified. Through what exists in the universe, he lifted up humankind when he made all earthly things subject to them, as my servant, privy to my secrets, shows, saying: "In the beginning, God created heaven and earth."[82] This should be considered thus: In the beginning, that is, at the inception of all things that existed in God's knowledge as they were bound to come to be, God created—that is, he caused to come forth through himself—heaven and earth, the matter of all creatures heavenly and earthly—heaven, that is, lucent matter; and earth, namely, turbulent matter. These two materials were created together and appeared within a single circle—the circle that is God's power in heaven and on earth.[83] From that brilliance that

80. Rv 12.15–16.

81. Cf. 3.5.33 and 35.

82. Gn 1.1; here begins Hildegard's commentary on the days of creation in Genesis. It complements the commentary in 1.4.105 on the Johannine Prologue, especially in regard to the theological anthropology in ch. 43 below, on Gn 1.25–26; some of its most striking images can also be found in the prayers and meditations on salvation history collected in *Let.* 389 (3:182–91); cf. also *Gosp. Hom.* 22 (pp. 101–4), which relates the parable of the laborers in the vineyard (Mt 20.1–16) to the creation story. See Bernard McGinn, "Hildegard of Bingen as Visionary and Exegete," in *Hildegard von Bingen in ihrem historischen Umfeld*, ed. A. Haverkamp (Mainz: Trierer Historische Forschungen/P. von Zabern, 2000), 321–50, esp. 344–49.

83. Cf. Mt 6.10.

is eternal, the lucent matter flashed like a dense light, and that light shone upon the turbulent matter.[84] Moreover, God did not immediately illumine the firmament or the earth; rather, he did as one does who is planning out certain forms, for first one marks out each part with one's compass,[85] and then afterwards paints each one with colors.[86]

"And the earth was empty and void, and darkness was upon the face of the deep."[87] For the earth was empty—without form—and invisible because it had no light, for it was not yet enlightened by the radiance of light nor by the brilliance of the sun, moon, or stars. It was uncultivated, because it was not yet plowed for cultivation; and it was void, that is, unorganized, because it was not yet full nor had yet the viridity, sprouting, or flourishing of grasses or trees. But it does not say that heaven was empty and void, because it was not meant to bear fruit. But darkness—which had not yet vanished at the light's radiance because nothing formed yet flashed—was upon the face of the deep—upon that indistinct chaos of the earth, which is the face of the deep because it is seen, while the deep is hidden; for the earth covers over the deep as the body does the soul, so that it is not seen.

"And the Spirit of God was borne over the waters."[88] For the Spirit of God is life, and this life moved the waters into flowing, so that the earth might be firmed by them and not scattered by the wind like ash.[89] For as the Holy Spirit is poured into a person, so too the waters keep a cascading course and wash all unclean things, as again the Holy Spirit washes the filth of sinners.[90]

"And God said, 'Let there be light!' And there was light."[91]

84. Cf. *Solution* 1; Dronke suggests that here Hildegard showcases her method for overcoming a simplistic dualism (*LDO,* pp. lxii–lxiii): "[T]he lucent and turbulent matter at the creation are necessary to each other. And the culmination of that mutual need is the dialectic of fall and redemption, the *felix culpa:* only a turbulent matter can be irradiated by a lucent, heavenly matter; only a fallen world can become a redeemed world."

85. Cf. Is 44.13.

86. Cf. 3.4.10.

87. Gn 1.2.

88. Ibid.

89. Cf. *Cause* 1.46 (p. 45).

90. Cf. Hildegard's antiphon *Spiritus sanctus vivificans vita* (*Symphonia* 24).

91. Gn 1.3.

God, the inextinguishable light[92] that can be darkened by no one, spoke and sounded through his Word like thunder, saying, "Let there be light!" And there was light, because next, the unfailing light flashed—unseen by humans, it cannot be darkened—and with it trailed the living spheres—the angels.[93] For God is Life, and his Word does not sleep, but appears as Life. What the Word brought forth, God ordained for his praise—though not the sunlight, because the sun did not yet exist, and because the sun's splendor does not always appear upon the earth, but is often overclouded.

"And God saw that the light was good, and he divided the light from the darkness; and he called the light Day, and the darkness Night."[94] For God saw that the light was good—the light that redounds the radiance of his face—and so he separated it from the darkness, so that they would not mingle their functions with each other. For of these two, the one is unfailing, but the other falls with decay. Day is indeed from God, because God commanded the first light to come forth through his Word, and this he called Day; but this is not the day of sunshine, but rather the unfailing day above, which is oppressed by no darkness. And the darkness he called Night—not the darkness that is put to flight by the sun, but that whose obscurity is unfailing, shattered by no light's brilliance; the darkness too that was upon the face of the deep and that God had not yet illumined. Indeed, Night without Day is blind, and Day was separated from Night and set apart in its brilliance from Night's blindness. Thus God separated the light from the nighttime darkness.

"And there was evening and morning, one day."[95] For the end of this work and its beginning were made a single brilliance in perfection, because when the Word of God bade light to be, its beginning was as morning, but its perfection as evening, when it appeared complete. And in another sense:[96]

92. Cf. Wis 7.10.
93. Cf. *Let.* 389 (3:183).
94. Gn 1.4–5.
95. Gn 1.5.
96. Hildegard now passes from a "literal" (cosmological) interpretation of day one to "another sense," the allegorical or ecclesiological.

18. "In the beginning, God created heaven and earth."[97] This should be considered thus: In the beginning of the start of time,[98] when God was to create all things through his Word, he created heaven and earth—that is, primordial matter, in which all creation, heavenly and earthly, lay hid, to come forth through God's Word.[99] Likewise, God acted in the creation of the Church, before he was to build her.[100] For he began, starting in the beginning—that is, in his Son, whom he would send into the world through the golden gate of the Virgin, in the cloister of her modesty.[101] Through him all things—heaven and earth—were created, as John the Evangelist, the beloved of God, says;[102] and in this way all righteousness, heavenly and earthly, was made in him.[103]

And how is he that beginning, who was born in the Father before the ages? Before the ages he was born in the Father of the spirit, not of the flesh; but incarnate, he is the inception of all righteousness, because whatever righteousness the saints of old possessed before his birth did not live in salvation, nor did it bring Man to salvation. But that righteousness that arose in him—baptism, the Gospel, and belief in one God in the name of the Holy Trinity—returns Man to paradise.

Wherefore he is the beginning of salvation within his work, as Adam was the start of perdition in his work.[104] And as he is that Word that brought forth all creation—because all things

97. Gn 1.1.

98. *In principio incipientis temporis;* throughout this chapter, Hildegard distinguishes between the Word's eternal beginning (*principium*) and the beginning of time (*inceptio* or *inicium*).

99. Cf. Hildegard's antiphon *O splendidissima gemma* (*Symphonia* 10 = *Scivias* 3.13.1a), in which the Virgin's womb mirrors the primordial matter brought forth by the Word.

100. For the ecclesiological interpretation, cf. Augustine, *Confessions* 13.12.

101. Echoes of Hildegard's antiphons *Hodie aperuit* and *Alleluia! O virga mediatrix,* and her sequence *O virga ac diadema,* verses 1a and 3b (*Symphonia* 11, 18, and 20).

102. Jn 1.3.

103. "righteousness": *iusticia,* usually translated elsewhere as "justice"; but here, its moral quality in relation to salvation takes precedence.

104. "beginning … start": *principium … inicium;* for the Incarnation as the first day of salvation, cf. *Scivias* 2.5.14.

were made by him—so too in his humanity he is the beginning of the whole construction of Holy Church. How? He existed like a shadow in the preaching of the prophets, who foretold that he would come, as too whatever righteousness there was from Abel all the way until the birth of God's Son was a shadow of the Church, which was born from Christ's side in his blood.[105] Through the regeneration of the Spirit and water,[106] which did not exist beforehand except insofar as John the Baptist declared it in the shadow of baptism, the Church appeared then fully in her form, for Christ, who was foretold like a shadow by the prophets before his birth, appeared as Man in the flesh, as the psalmist David says in my Spirit:

19. "And he will be as a tree that is planted by streams of water, that will yield its fruit in its season."[107] This should be considered thus: The Son of God, who followed his Father's will in all things, was the tree of salvation, conceived by the Holy Spirit, from whom living waters flow,[108] and yielding much fruit of holiness when he instructed his disciples fully in the Church's teaching. For the Son of God existed according to divinity like a root in the Father's heart and the force of divinity,[109] and so, descending into the Virgin's womb, he brought forth full fruit through his humanity. For as water's moisture exists in the viridity of a tree,[110] so the Son of God existed always in the Father until the predestined season of his humanity, when he became the food of life for all spiritual people.[111] Indeed, heaven touched the Son of God as he appeared in heaven in his Father's bosom;[112] and earth touched him as he lay in the manger;[113] and the water felt

105. See n. 128 below; cf. *Scivias* 2.6.1.

106. Cf. Jn 3.5 and Ti 3.5; and the words spoken of the Church to the Crucified in *Scivias* 2.6, Vision (p. 237).

107. Ps 1.3.

108. Jn 7.38–39.

109. Cf. Hildegard's responsory *O vis eternitatis* (*Symphonia* 1).

110. This analogy also appears in *Scivias* 1.4.16 in relating soul to body; cf. also *Scivias* 2.6.28.

111. Cf. *Scivias* 2.6.26 and 2.5.1.

112. Jn 1.18.

113. Lk 2.7.

him as he walked upon the sea.[114] And though the peoples saw him bodily, still they did not recognize that he was God.

20. "And the earth was empty and void, and darkness was upon the face of the deep."[115] Every people, Jew and gentile, that dwelt upon the face of the deep—that is, the earth—was empty of faith because of the rashness of their spirit, and blind and deaf in acknowledging God, and void of good works, because they did not do them according to the teaching of the Son of the Most High, until he ascended to the Father. And so, upon the earth—the face of the deep—there was the darkness of unfaithfulness, in which people lived as if blind, without acknowledging God.[116]

"And the Spirit of God was borne over the waters."[117] After the Lord's ascension, the fiery Holy Spirit was borne over the waters—that is, the apostles; and this the Son's Love did in the Father's will. For as the waters emerged in the world's creation before the other creatures, so too the apostles were the first teachers, before the other teachers of the Church. And as too all waters flow forth from those waters that emerged in the world's creation, so all teachers of the Church are generated by the apostles, the first teachers.[118] To this the psalmist David testifies, saying:

21. "The voice of the Lord is upon the waters, the God of majesty thunders; the voice of the Lord upon many waters."[119] This should be considered thus: The voice first sounds and has within itself the meaning of the word, so that whatever it declares is understood with knowledge.[120] And so the voice of him who rules all things came upon the waters—that is, upon the prophets, when he laid bare before them many secrets both heavenly and earthly.[121] That Lord—the God of majesty because he has power over

114. Jn 6.19.

115. Gn 1.2.

116. In *Confessions* 13.12, Augustine refers to the earth's form as that of teaching (*doctrina*), but to the darkness as our ignorance.

117. Gn 1.2.

118. Cf. *Scivias* 3.9.13–15.

119. Ps 28(29).3.

120. This echoes a Trinitarian analogy in *Scivias* 2.2.7, in which a word has sound, force or meaning (*vim*, as here), and breath.

121. Cf. Hildegard's antiphon and responsory for the prophets, *O spectabiles viri* and *O vos felices radices* (*Symphonia* 31–32 = *Scivias* 3.13.3).

all things—thundered mightily when he sent his Son into the world. Then, too, that Lord of all peoples sent the Holy Spirit upon the apostles and the other believers who had been multiplied in the catholic faith, so that their teaching might spread throughout the whole globe of the earth.[122] Indeed, in his human form, humans looked upon the Son of God—but how he was conceived and born they knew not. But even when the voice is a little bit foreign and unintelligible, the Word is known and intelligible through which a person acknowledges in faith the God of majesty, who sent prophecy among humankind, which the water signifies; so too the prophets' Lord is recognized in their voices.

22. "And God said, 'Let there be light!' And there was light."[123] God spoke through the Holy Spirit to the apostles, saying: "Be a burning light, teaching the truth in the name of the Holy Trinity!" Immediately they were set alight by the Holy Spirit, and, opening up the closed room in which they had shut themselves, they were made one light gleaming in the world with their teachings.[124]

"And God saw that the light was good, and he divided the light from the darkness; and he called the light Day, and the darkness Night."[125] God saw that they would be a light useful to the world, and he divided the light—the apostles—from the darkness—the unfaithfulness of unbelievers. And he called this light the one day that shines for the world in their preaching through his Word—his Son, who spoke to them in the flesh; and the darkness—the unfaithfulness of unbelievers—he called night.

"And there was evening and morning, one day."[126] When the unfaithfulness of unbelievers began to sink down as if to evening, the one day was made, this evening with its passing and the morning of the first light, the beginning of the faith of the faithful.[127] This is the singular faith by which the one God is believed,

122. Cf. Hildegard's antiphon for the apostles, *O cohors milicie floris* (*Symphonia* 33 = *Scivias* 3.13.4a).

123. Gn 1.3.

124. Cf. Acts 2.1–4; and Hildegard's responsory for the apostles, *O lucidissima apostolorum turba* (*Symphonia* 34 = *Scivias* 3.13.4b).

125. Gn 1.4–5.

126. Gn 1.5.

127. Augustine (*On Genesis Against the Manichees* 1.25.43) interprets belief in the visible Lord as the first day's light of faith.

because its first origin with Abel was finished with a good end in Christ.[128] Therefore, the evening felt and touched the Son of God with his work of salvation, which endures, a single day until the end of the world, for Abel was as the morning, and the Son of God as the evening of the day. And again, in another sense:[129]

23. "In the beginning, God created heaven and earth."[130] This should be considered thus: As I, God, form a person with good morals as in the beginning of a particular creation, I create in him the living knowledge of good and evil, to turn away from evil and imitate me, his Father, in the good. For I gave him the distinction between good and evil according to my likeness, to discern with that knowledge all parts of creation, and, coming to know creation, to keep authority over it following me. But that person, under the persuasion of the devil, casts me aside in great vanity and falls into the woeful labors of sin—for, born in Adam's brittle nature, he abandons that happy knowledge that would not hurt him at all. Nevertheless, in his soul he finds that he gasps frequently with righteous sighs for heavenly desires; and in this respect, he is like heaven.[131] But in the flesh he finds that he is always looking for earthly desires, and because of this fragility that he has from Adam, and because of the devil's treacherous advice, he cannot exist without the contagion of sin; and in this respect, he is like earth.

"And the earth was empty and void, and darkness was upon the face of the deep."[132] The person who never manages to remain stable in his morals is a great emptiness and always sloshes about like the churning of the sea. But as in the world's creation, when one creature came forth after another in order

128. Cf. 3.2.4 and 3.4.6; *Scivias* 3.5.19; *Lets.* 15r–App. I, 77r (1:60–61 and 167), and 113r (2:57); and see Widmer, 136–37; on the history of the idea, see Yves Congar, "Ecclesia ab Abel," in *Abhandlungen über Theologie und Kirche: Festschrift für Karl Adam,* ed. Marcel Reding, Heinrich Elfers, and Fritz Hoffmann (Düsseldorf, 1952), 79–108.

129. Here begins Hildegard's third mode of interpretation, the tropological. She carefully constructs the entire commentary, day-by-day, within this tripartite exegesis.

130. Gn 1.1.

131. Cf. *Let.* 227r (3:27).

132. Gn 1.2.

from the primordial matter, so a person ought through good desires to mount from virtue unto virtue,[133] as I established for humankind in the primordial creation. But now, through the devil's counsel, they subvert good desires into great vanity, as said above, and in that moral emptiness they are willfully void of good works. And so they are surrounded by the darkened deeds that come with the depraved morals that so dominate the body that the one who commits sin is a slave of sin.[134] And the body is like the face of the deep, while the soul is as the deep—for the body is visible and tangible, like the face of the deep, but the soul is invisible and intangible, like the deep of the earth.

"And the Spirit of God was borne over the waters."[135] As the faithful person is enveloped in sin, he sometimes sighs to God. How? Out of remorse, which rises up within him by the Holy Spirit's grace, he produces the moisture of tears, for sighs ought to precede every good work.[136] And as in the primordial creation the waters were brought forth at the breathing forth of God's Spirit before the rest of creation and were specially joined to the Holy Spirit in their signification, so too that Holy Spirit produces the moisture of tears from the human heart before the beginning of good works.[137]

"And God said, 'Let there be light!' And there was light."[138] God says in the admonition of the Holy Spirit: "Now let there be in this person the construction of good works after the heart's remorse, and let the fruit's viridity be brought forth in him, that there may be light in his soul." Then, with the sorrow of repentance, that person rises up in the light of good works. How? Restoring himself from the illicit desires of the flesh's pleasure and drawing away from evil, he begins to work within that newness of light he did not previously know, when he slept within the seductive desires of the flesh.[139] And so his work becomes lucent in its beginning.

133. Ps 83.8(84.7).
134. Jn 8.24.
135. Gn 1.2.
136. Cf. *RB* 20.3.
137. Cf. *LVM* 6.22(23).
138. Gn 1.3.
139. Cf. 1 Thes 5.7 and *RB* 1.11.

"And God saw that the light was good, and he divided the light from the darkness; and he called the light Day, and the darkness Night."[140] Therefore, when God sees that that person has begun to do the good and that his house thus gleams, he knows and sees the beginning of goodness within him and looks upon him with his loving embrace. In that beginning, he separates those lucent works from the contagion of darkened deeds that lead to torment. This division happens when God, seeing the good in that person, removes the evil from him. The lucent works within him he calls the day of salvation, for in those good works he calls souls back to himself from Adam's perdition; but contrary works he calls the night of perdition that arose in the devil, the father of murder.[141]

"And there was evening and morning, one day."[142] So the one day happens in that person—the twilight habit of wicked work together with the start of the beginning of good works, as in the morning of singular virtue. For leaving evil behind, he joined himself to the good, insofar as remorse is the first virtue of light.

24. "And God said, 'Let there be a firmament amidst the waters, and let it divide the waters from the waters.'"[143] This should be considered thus: God, who is the inextinguishable light,[144] through his burning Word bade the firmament to come into being—that whirling motion that is held in place by the upper signs so that it cannot slip; and he placed it amidst the waters, to separate the waters from the waters. For he shut in the waters that climbed up into the height like a mountain, so that as a mountain does not descend from its height, so neither would these fall down except insofar as God positioned them, gathering the waters of the sea as in a wineskin—the firmament.[145] He also placed the deeps—the earth—into storehouses,[146] for the earth is a storehouse for the living amid the sea, as God signi-

140. Gn 1.4–5.
141. Cf. Jn 8.44; and *LVM* 1.108(126).
142. Gn 1.5.
143. Gn 1.6.
144. Cf. Wis 7.10.
145. Ps 32(33).7.
146. Ibid.

fied in Noah's ark, which he held up amid the waters when he kept the creatures enclosed within it.[147]

In this way God placed the firmament between the separated waters, to divide the waters from the waters. Furthermore, God made this division before he illumined the firmament, and it stood in its place, not yet illumined and without revolution, waiting to be illumined by its Creator. For all creation is at first a root, and afterwards is multiplied in begetting, as too winter keeps viridity's root, while summer keeps its bloom.[148] So with his compass God marked out the creatures of the earth,[149] which he then brought to life according to their own natures. Into Man alone he breathed his own breath,[150] while the rest of the creatures he brought to life with the airy breeze that sweeps through with a cloud.

"And God made the firmament and divided the waters that were under the firmament from those that were above the firmament. And it was so."[151] God placed the firmament with the division of those waters that were above and below it, and so the firmament appeared.

"And God called the firmament Heaven,"[152] for anything that sustains another is rightly called the latter's firmament. Therefore, he also called the firmament heaven, because it excels all things and tells ever of his glory. When a person looks upon it, he cannot fully comprehend what it is, because neither can a person perfectly comprehend God, whom he nevertheless sees in faith. But a person will not see heaven, which is God's abode, unless he is first made wholly spiritual, for it surpasses his sense perception and knowledge.[153] Wherefore the prophet also says, "The heavens tell forth the glory of God, and the firmament declares the works of his hands."[154] This should be considered thus: All the instruments of the firmament are rightly called

147. Cf. *Let.* 389 (3:182).
148. Cf. 1.4.72.
149. Cf. ch. 17 above, on Gn 1.1.
150. Gn 2.7.
151. Gn 1.7.
152. Gn 1.8.
153. Cf. *LVM* 6.41(63).
154. Ps 18.2(19.1).

the heavens, for God alone positioned them and did not lack knowledge of any creature—and there is no one who can define with his own perception how he made these things. So too they tell forth God's wonders that were signified by him in the firmament as in a mirror, so that the sun represents the divinity, but the moon the humanity of God's Son, and the stars show forth the rest of his secrets. In this way, so countless a crowd of the faithful clings to God—who is God and Man—that no one can number it,[155] for he too is countless in his glory. In its radiant office the firmament also declares Man, who is the work of God's hands, for Man was built according to it. So too it reveals Man when it carries openly his signs within itself.

"And there was evening and morning, the second day."[156] For God finished his work in the firmament with the same eagerness with which he began it, because he orders all his works with equity.[157] Again, in another sense:

25. "And God said, 'Let there be a firmament amidst the waters, and let it divide the waters from the waters.'"[158] This should be considered thus: God said, "Let there be a firmament of faith amidst the unfaithful peoples; may they understand the apostles' preaching and willingly listen with them to their words.[159] And let it divide the waters—the faithful—from the waters—the disbelieving Jews and pagans, as my Son said to the Jews, 'The kingdom of God will be taken away from you and given to a nation yielding its fruits.'"[160] This should be considered thus: "You, who are unfaithful, have lost your inheritance through infidelity. Wherefore, by God's just judgment, the kingdom in which you ought to have reigned with God will be taken away from you and given to those who, abandoning their sins, bring forth fruit through which God's kingdom is glorified." For there is a great hardness in the hearts of the unfaithful,[161] who act not

155. Rv 7.9.
156. Gn 1.8.
157. Cf. Wis 9.3.
158. Gn 1.6.
159. In *Confessions* 13.15.16, Augustine likens the firmament to the authority of sacred Scripture.
160. Mt 21.43.
161. Cf. Mk 16.14.

according to knowledge of the good, but according to the illicit desires of their own hearts.[162]

For rationality is the material of the knowledge of good and evil, and is like a builder who constructs and tears down.[163] For the one who loves the day of faith builds his home in the heavenly Jerusalem—but the one who scorns it tears his home down from the honor and blessedness of his supernal heritage. Because the latter does everything with the poisonous fruit according to his lustful desires, his works are darkened, done in darkness in flight from the light. Indeed, the unbelievers condemned the true Light—the Son of God—and wanted neither to see him nor to do his works—and so they lost their inheritance. But those who received him with good faith and fulfilled his precepts obtained the heavenly Kingdom by the dowry of his blood.[164]

"And God made the firmament and divided the waters that were under the firmament from those that were above the firmament. And it was so."[165] God made the firmament of faithful listeners to the apostles' preaching, and he divided the waters—the unfaithful peoples who were under the firmament in earthly matters, with idols and the like—from those humans who were above the firmament, that is, upon Christ.

"And God called the firmament Heaven,"[166] through which is understood the faith, because that strong and great city exists with the works of heaven. How? It is the city of every ecclesiastical order and the most triumphant battle against the unbelief of all unbelievers.

"And there was evening and morning, the second day."[167] The endpoint of unfaithful hearts was made with the origin of the firmament on that day—the second day, of right faith; for the second light of faith is to believe in Christ.

26. But here it does not say, "And God saw that it was good,"[168]

162. Cf. *RB* 1.7–9.
163. Cf. *Let.* 389 (3:188).
164. Cf. Jn 1.9–13.
165. Gn 1.7.
166. Gn 1.8.
167. Ibid.
168. The refrain found for other days of creation (i.e., Gn 1.4, 10, 12, 18, 21, 25, and 31) but not for the second.

because the fiery work of faith and the other virtues had not yet arisen in deed, but had only been formed in the peoples' hearing for those who had not yet tasted them in the deed's taste. As one does not know whether a food is good except through its taste, so people were not yet tasting the works of faith in action, but were only hearing them as if in hearing's echo.[169] Indeed, as the firmament at this point existed above the earth's sphere but without the radiance of the sun, moon, and stars, so too at that time, as if in faith's second light, the faith remained without the shining work of rightly established orders,[170] so that those people perceived the faith only as if in the shade. And again, in another sense:

27. "And God said, 'Let there be a firmament amidst the waters, and let it divide the waters from the waters.'"[171] This should be considered thus: God sometimes speaks to a person when he opens up his heart.[172] How? In the Holy Spirit's sweetness, because in that person, the place of the Spirit's dwelling shines. And then he creates in him the instruments of the virtues to protect the work he has begun, so that that person lacks nothing necessary for any virtue, just as he did with heaven and earth, where no part of creation necessary for humankind is lacking. Therefore, when God says, "Let there be a firmament," it is discretion among the variety of spiritual and carnal people, insofar as a person ought to keep both heavenly desire and necessary care for the flesh.[173] That is, in such matters he ought to be held back with discretion, lest haughtiness in good works bring him to ruin, and lest he be corrupted by another's insistence on different morals. Rather, he is sometimes to pray with sighs, and in another hour to attend to good works, while in

169. Cf. Jas 1.22.

170. On the splendor of the order of virgins in the post-apostolic Church, cf. *Scivias* 2.5.5–8.

171. Gn 1.6.

172. *in dilatatione cordis;* cf. *RB,* Prol. 49.

173. Cf. chs. 37 and 42 below; and Augustine, *On Genesis Against the Manichees* 1.25.43: "On the second day he has the firmament, so to speak, of learning by which he discerns between carnal and spiritual things, as between the lower and the higher waters" (trans. Roland J. Teske, FOTC 84 [Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 1991], 89).

another, in turn, to provide for the flesh's necessities, so that he does not falter.

And whatever gifts of the Holy Spirit he has, he ought often to rebuild with discretion, insisting always on exercising each virtue according to its proper mode, so that through them, he gasps for heaven with yearning sighs, and services the flesh's care only out of necessity. In these gifts of the Holy Spirit he ought also to flee from vainglory, which God wholly rejects, for the person who honors himself before God is vainglorious and tears out the roots of the good, one after another. So it is that he always lives unsteadily and cannot ever stay in one place; and on such a person the gifts of the Holy Spirit cannot rest.[174]

"And God made the firmament and divided the waters that were under the firmament from those that were above the firmament. And it was so."[175] Now God also makes all the instruments of the virtues in a person with the discretion that he established in the breathing forth of the Holy Spirit, for that person to discern all these instruments—which God sees are useful—in himself, lest any virtue that he begins be drowned by the wandering of the mind. Thus God divides earthly necessities and heavenly virtues, which the Holy Spirit waters and which forever cling to the things of heaven, so that a person may ever aspire with them to the contemplative life. Discretion also sustains these virtues, like a maidservant who supports her lady with her service, for in earthly affairs that assist the flesh and are subject to discretion, that lady does not want to be without her maidservant.[176] So discretion is the firmament, with the earthly—the active life—beneath it, but the heavenly—the contemplative life—above it. It is the ladder between them, on which human minds ascend to heaven through good works and also descend to earth because of the flesh's needs.[177] Likewise, Mary and Martha showed different forms of service to God, yet each was pleasing, because he is the Founder of each form of life.[178] And so there comes

174. Cf. *RB* 1.11.

175. Gn 1.7.

176. A similar analogy appears in 1.4.52 to describe the relationship between a good and bad conscience, and in 1.4.60 for that between body and soul.

177. Cf. *RB* 7.5–9.

178. Cf. Lk 10.38–42; in *Let.* 84r, Hildegard identifies Mary of Bethany with

to be the firmament of virtue in the midst of each life when a person makes discernment within himself, so that he keeps heavenly and earthly matters rightly, each in their established way, as God founded them.

"And God called the firmament Heaven."[179] And through the Holy Spirit's inspiration, God calls the discretion in a person, "heaven," for it is truly the most certain signification of heaven. As the firmament has within itself all the adornments that illuminate, govern, and sustain the world, so discretion holds fast all the instruments of the virtues that proceed from God and by which body and soul are governed. In this way, what lies hidden on the inside does not falter, and what is on the outside is not obscured by boasting.

"And there was evening and morning, the second day."[180] So too it comes to pass in that person who is evening-like in his good habits, because he accomplishes all his works with discretion. For in the beginning of all virtues, God foresees their end, because he senses their touch upon him; and he also commends their beginning at their end, because a good beginning is useless unless a good end follows, as my Son says of the bridegroom who said to the foolish virgins:

28. "Amen, amen, I say to you: I know you not."[181] This should be considered thus: I who am[182] most certainly say to you, who, working according to your lustful desires, have been wholly snuffed out because of the flesh's appetite: "I know you not, for you do not touch me in your knowledge enough to enact the virtues of just works that I placed before your good conscience, nor do you seek those virtues from me. You hinder your soul from its sighs, forcing it to accomplish the will of the flesh and seek no help from me. For who can give answer to him whose

---

Mary Magdalene, "who, regarding her sins as filth, cast them off, and thereby choosing the best part, sat in the dawn of holiness" (1:190); for the traditional interpretation of Mary and Martha as the contemplative and active lives, see Giles Constable, *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 1–141.

179. Gn 1.8.

180. Ibid.

181. Mt 25.12; cf. *Let.* 73 (1:157–58).

182. Ex 3.14.

voice and words are not heard? No one. For you direct no shout towards me. And what gift will be given the one who never seeks nor asks for anything,[183] but rather refuses the gift with silence? Truly none. Indeed, you ask nothing of me. For I do not know those who do not cry to me with the soul's sighing and do not attend to me with heart and mind, as if they had forgotten me or I had not given them a conscience—and even more because they provoke me with wicked deeds! For because of their foolish laziness, they do not look to me, and because they embrace the flesh, they reject the discretion of virtuous minds set on fire by the Holy Spirit. And so they are shut out from my eyes."

For they choose the one and reject the other, because they embrace the earth with its viridity but neglect heaven because of their pleasures.[184] They knock only with the voice, but want to enter without any work; and so the door cannot be opened for them. For all the virtues can be discerned through heavenly and earthly things, because humankind walks upon the earth and gazes up into heaven. Among these two they must choose what to love for God's sake and what to hate,[185] such that they strive for heavenly things in the good and turn themselves away from evil. So at any rate God is said not to know the beginning of each person whose end he does not also approve. And as salvation arose in my Son at the end of the world—which is much more useful than at its beginning, because at its beginning came forth loss, but at its end salvation—so too a good end is much more useful than a good beginning. In this way, discretion is the second light of good work, as it is the second day.

29. But here it does not say, "And God saw that it was good,"[186] because discretion fulfills the function of the other virtues, not by acting on its own but by ministering to the rest of the virtues,[187] as too the firmament, which is the support for that which causes it to revolve, sustains the rest of active creation by being in service to it—and it is called "active" because of its

183. Cf. Mt 7.7 and Lk 11.9.
184. Cf. the speech of Vainglory in *LVM* 3.7(10).
185. Cf. Mt 6.24.
186. See n. 168 above.
187. Cf. *RB* 64.19; 1.4.27 above; and *Scivias* 3.6.7.

service to humankind, for through the firmament it executes its individual activities day and night. And as that firmament upholds and gives a place to each thing positioned within it, so discretion is not an agent in activity like the other virtues, which are called agents because of their activity;[188] rather, it is only the support of the other virtues.

30. "And God said, 'Let the waters that are under the heaven be gathered together into one place, and let the dry land appear.' And it was so."[189] This should be considered thus: Through the Word that is inextinguishable,[190] the waters that had remained under the firmament flowed together into one place, so that land appeared rather than remaining buried deep beneath them and empty. And this happened before the firmament was illumined, so that when it was enlightened by the stars, it might shine upon waterways flowing separately on land.

"And God called the dry land, Earth,"[191] which is the mother of all that sprouts upon land, for even the first Man was made from her. "And the gathering together of the waters he called Seas,"[192] from which the waters flow as if generated by them.[193]

"And God saw that it was good; and he said, 'Let the earth sprout forth vegetation green and yielding seed, and the fruit tree bearing fruit, each according to its kind, in which may be their seed upon the earth.' And it was so."[194] God saw that everything he had made was well and rightly placed for its function. And through his living Word, he commanded motherly earth to grow green and sprout flowering vegetation yielding seed, so that it is multiplied in the seed by which it is born again—for every sprout contains its seed, so that it does not die out in its nature. He also bade the fruit-bearing tree to sprout, yielding fruit to be eaten; it, too, naturally contains its seed, from which

188. "agent in activity": *per opus . . . operatrix.*

189. Gn 1.9.

190. Cf. ch. 24 above.

191. Gn 1.10.

192. Ibid.

193. Cf. 1.4.59; Dronke takes *quasi* ("as if") here to mean that Hildegard is speaking in metaphor rather than making "the scientific blunder" of thinking that rivers originate from the ocean (*LDO,* p. lxiv).

194. Gn 1.10–11.

it again sprouts after falling upon the earth. And so it was fulfilled, as when a servant executes his lord's commands with a happy heart when the head of the house, calling him, entrusts him with his business and shows him what to do in each matter.[195] For the earth was moved with joy at her Lord's bidding, to fulfill it in all things.

"And the earth brought forth vegetation, green and bearing seed according to its kind, and the tree bearing fruit and having seed, each one according to its species."[196] For as God commanded, motherly earth brought forth the viridity of plants, each containing its own seed, and the viridity of trees that bear corresponding fruit and are reborn in their seed—for as their seeds fall upon the earth, they rise again as different plants but according to the species of their formation. "And God saw that it was good,"[197] as all these things, which were necessary for humankind, whom he would make, came forth so as not to fail for the human need that would follow.

"And there was evening and morning, the third day":[198] the end and the beginning by which the third work was completed, for God had accomplished the three works already described with the compass of his knowledge, though they had not yet been enlightened by the orbit of the lights. For as a fire is silent before it is roused by a puff of wind, but blazes when roused by that puff of wind, so the work of God was silent within his foreknowledge before it came forth, but appeared in its form when awakened by the power of the living Word. So too it is written with my inspiration:

31. "I have always kept quiet, I have kept silent, I have been patient—I will speak now as one giving birth."[199] This should be

195. Echoes of the Parables of the Great Feast (Lk 14.16–24) and the Lord's Vineyard (Mt 21.33–37); *Gosp. Hom.* 39 (158–61), on the former, casts Adam as the host, inviting his descendants—the fallen human race—to the feast, with creation as the servant sent with the invitation.

196. Gn 1.12.

197. Ibid.

198. Gn 1.13.

199. Is 42.14; Hildegard quoted the same verse to describe her recovery from near-fatal illness around 1170, in *Life* 3.24, after which she completed the *LDO*.

considered thus: I, the prophecy of the prophets imbued with the Holy Spirit, have kept quiet in patience, I have kept silent in meekness—I will speak now as one giving birth after her pain.[200] For before the Incarnation of God's Son, I was quiet as one mute, so that I kept his secrets silently within me and did not bring them forth into the open, as fire contains flame that is stirred, not by itself, but by wind.[201] But now, after the pain God's Son suffered in the flesh upon the Cross, as one giving birth after casting aside the pain, I will speak, joyfully bringing forth into the open what previously I had kept hidden. Indeed, the prophets choked their voices in silence, for they did not know fully what knowledge their speaking contained. So they said among themselves, "Oh, oh, oh, we do not fully see the things of which we speak; yet we know that God will manifest them in their own seasons."[202] And so patiently they endured, committing these things to God's knowledge.

But afterwards, God illuminated them in service to his work, which he had made in his own image, like a mother rejoicing after birth to see the child whom she bore from herself. Sighing, she says of the child, "Here is my child." So too the supreme Father says of his Son, "This day have I begotten you."[203] For this day is that eternity in which he is ever equal to his Father in divinity;[204] and after his Incarnation, prophecy blazed openly in the saints, who spoke plainly in explanation of the prophets' prophecy, as too God illuminated the firmament with shining lights. In another sense:

32. "And God said, 'Let the waters that are under the heaven be gathered together into one place, and let the dry land appear.' And it was so."[205] This should be considered thus: God gathered together the peoples of the Christians who lived in various places among the pagans, beset by battles and sufferings, and brought them into the one Church; and so they ap-

200. Cf. *Gosp. Hom.* 20 (p. 95).
201. This is a Trinitarian image in *Scivias* 2.1.3; see also *Let.* 77r (1:167).
202. Cf. *Scivias* 3.4.7–9.
203. Ps 2.7 and Mt 3.17, and elsewhere.
204. Cf. *Let.* 31r (1:95–98).
205. Gn 1.9.

peared—the land of the living, as the prophet says, "I believe that I shall see the goodness of the Lord in the land of the living!"[206] This should be considered thus: I, who am eager to follow God when I do what is good, believe and do not doubt that I shall see the goodness that is of the Master of all things, in that land where the blessed live, no longer afraid of death's perils.

The Word of God also awakens the sleeping minds of humans and makes them to see in the true vision of faith, so that those who once were unplowed earth in their unfaithfulness, the Holy Spirit's grace might then turn over with the plow of faith.[207] He also prepares for them the land of the living, which flourishes with all fruitful viridity and bears full fruit, as too the prophets spoke of a Virgin who would bear the Son of God, who in his saints awakens the sleeping earth with the plow of true faith, so that they flow as water running from the living water of the Holy Spirit.[208] And this was done at God's command, as God willed.

"And God called the dry land Earth, and the gathering together of the waters he called Seas."[209] Indeed, the God of Israel called the Church the Promised Land flowing with milk and honey,[210] for she is both the sweetness and the brilliance of the heavenly kingdom that shone forth in the Christian people with faith and the confession of God the Father—for that people confesses God in true Trinity, which the Jews refuse to recognize. This Church is also called the Sea,[211] gathered together by the waters—the apostles; for with grave dangers, the Church is inundated by the devil's treacherous battles against souls and the storms of evil against bodies of Christians and pagans, all wanting to oppress her—but God will deliver them, for he is ever their sailor and oarsman.[212] For no Christians can enter the

206. Ps 26(27).13.

207. Jerome uses a similar metaphor of the "plow of faith" in his *Commentary on Isaiah,* Bk. 17, on 61.3–5.

208. In 1.1.17, the "sleeping earth" is the Virgin herself.

209. Gn 1.10.

210. Ex 3.17, and elsewhere.

211. Cf. Ambrose, *Hexaemeron* 3.1, trans. John J. Savage, FOTC 42 (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 1961), 67–70.

212. For a contemporary iteration of this common patristic trope, cf. Honorius Augustodunensis's sermon for Septuagesima Sunday, invoking the tale

heavenly Jerusalem unless they first pass through such storms, with God as their aid.

The Church is also that very sea that John the Evangelist saw as a sea of glass mingled with fire, as he says in the Apocalypse: "And I saw as it were a sea of glass mingled with fire, and those who had overcome the beast and its image and the number of its name, standing on the sea of glass with harps of God and singing the song of Moses, the servant of God, and the song of the Lamb."[213] This should be considered thus: I, to whom the secrets of God were revealed, saw with inner eyes the Church that God called forth from the common people of Jews and pagans, pure in faith yet shaken by many tribulations, where the faithful, kindled by the Holy Spirit, were acknowledging and looking upon the living God in true faith. For faith is like the shadow of divinity, which a mortal cannot entirely see; a shadow reveals a form that is not seen, as a compass marks out an as-yet unfashioned form. Likewise, when Philip desires to see the Father, the Son of God tells him that one who sees him may also see his Father.[214] For the holy divinity lay hid within his humanity and gave light to the world through the teaching by which it had illumined the whole world, just as water wets the whole earth—which is like its body—and makes it fruitful to feed every creature. For even as God is seen by the celestial spirits, so too he wanted to be witnessed by creation in human nature.

But I also spied those who had overcome the ancient serpent and his members and the number of his angelic army, for the place and number of those fallen spirits will be refilled by hu-

---

of Ulysses (Odysseus) and the Sirens (*Speculum Ecclesiae,* PL 172: 844–57). The sea represents "the world churned continuously by the storms of tribulation"; while the Sirens represent three alluring vices: avarice, boastfulness, and lustfulness. But Ulysses "sailed through unharmed, because the Christian people—the truly wise—floats upon the sea of the world within the ship of the Church. With the fear of the Lord they bind themselves to the ship's mast—the Cross of Christ; together with their comrades, they seal up their hearing with wax—Christ's Incarnation—to turn their hearts away from vices and lustful desires and to seek for heaven alone.... Unharmed, they escape from danger and arrive in victory at the joys of the saints."

213. Rv 15.2–3.

214. Jn 14.9.

mankind,[215] whom the devil had seduced out of paradise in his envy. I spied them, I say, standing in the height of the Church as they mortified their flesh with holy works and with the signs by which they flew everywhere in praise of God. And their song of praise was that written at God's command and established by God through creation.[216] For as the heavenly Jerusalem's first foundation was of unpolished stones that lay within the earthly realm,[217] so too the old law, hiding the spiritual within itself, began at last to understand the spiritual, through which that city's walls were later built. They sing too the song of Moses, like a singer who sings of things present and to come, yet unknown and foreign to him, except insofar as he yearns for them, as too in relation to the old law, Moses was like a voice in which the Word—the Savior's humanity—lay hid, for Moses wrote to signify all the wonders of the Incarnation of that Son of God, just as God taught him.[218]

They sing, too, the song of the Lamb, which is within the order of virgins who possess the Lamb of God in faith, putting off the betrothal of the flesh and gazing lovingly upon him, as if they hold his presence, even if they do not see him in the flesh.[219] Wherefore it is for them a great delight to be betrothed to the highest King and to sing to him with joyous shouts of praise, for with the soul's sighing they ever yearn for a different life and commend their every worry to God, praising him with voice and work.

33. "And God saw that it was good; and he said, 'Let the earth sprout forth vegetation green and yielding seed, and the fruit tree bearing fruit, each according to its kind, in which may be their seed upon the earth.' And it was so."[220] The Church is the living earth, bearing the fruit of justice with the apostles' teaching.[221] For they preached to her children in the beginning that

215. Cf. 1.1.3.

216. Cf. *LVM* 4.46(59).

217. Cf. Ezr 5.8 and 6.4 (Vg.).

218. Cf. *LVM* 1.28(40).

219. Rv 14.3–5; see *Scivias* 2.5.8; *LVM* 6.30(43–49); and Hildegard's "Symphony of Virgins," *O dulcissime amator* (*Symphonia* 57).

220. Gn 1.10–11.

221. Cf. the *Glossa Ordinaria* on Gn 1.12 (PL 113: 74D–75A): "For the earth

they should be like vegetation in the viridity of right faith, which they perceived in the seed of God's words; and that they should be fruit-bearing trees according to God's law, not to commit fornication and adultery in their seed, but to bear their children upon the earth with a rightful birth. "And it was so,"[222] because with the apostles' utterance, the Church received the faith and every human institution was made subject to the right law.

"And the earth brought forth vegetation, green and bearing seed according to its kind, and the tree bearing fruit and having seed, each one according to its species."[223] The Church, which is the land of the living, brought forth the fruit of good works in the viridity of faith—a fruit bearing the seed of God's word, so that her children, whether rich or poor, of high birth or low, should practice marriage rightly according to their forms.[224] "And God saw that it was good,"[225] and marriage was good before God.

"And there was evening and morning, the third day."[226] Then the scattering division of the Christian people by the attacks of the unfaithful and the pains inflicted upon them because of their right faith began to sink down as if at evening and approach the morning of that day of stable faith when Christians received a legal establishment by which to know what they must do according to God's law.[227] And this was like the third day with the third light of right faith. And again, in another sense:

34. "And God said, 'Let the waters that are under the heaven be gathered together into one place, and let the dry land appear.'

---

is the Church, which feeds us with the food of the Word and keeps us in the arbor of her protection; she feeds by speaking to us, and protects by caring for us."

222. Gn 1.11.

223. Gn 1.12.

224. The comparison of the earth's fruitfulness to that of good works is common; see, e.g., Origen, *Homilies on Genesis* 1.4; and Augustine, *Confessions* 13.17.21. Hildegard's particular concern with the institution of marriage seems unique (cf. *Scivias* 1.2.11–19), and may perhaps reflect her anti-Cathar tendencies.

225. Gn 1.12.

226. Gn 1.13.

227. Likely an allusion to Constantine's legalization of Christianity (so *LDO,* p. lxv).

And it was so."[228] This should be considered thus: God speaks in the remorse of the human heart, so that all the body's needs, which are subject to discretion, should be gathered together into the peaceful place of unified practice. How?[229] Such that rather than a person overindulging in feasting or drinking or the seductive fineries of clothing or a twisted frame of mind—seeking in all those things glory for himself—only bodily necessity would appear there. How? Such that the body would be fed with moderation, that when rightly refreshed, the soul could take joy in it and keep with it to right paths, so that the body would be neither knocked down headfirst by excessive abstinence nor overwhelmed by the immoderate overindulgence just described. And so all these things happen in a person at the Holy Spirit's admonition, which he receives with a cheerfulness of mind.

"And God called the dry land Earth, and the gathering together of the waters he called Seas."[230] And with that admonition, God presses upon a person through holy humility, so that he calls himself a pitiable and dry earth because of the body's various needs. So too he sighs because of the secular affairs that lurk within those needs; he thinks of himself as the churning of the sea, and therefore sinks himself in humility, as if unworthy of spiritual joy.[231]

"And God saw that it was good; and he said, 'Let the earth sprout forth vegetation green and yielding seed, and the fruit tree bearing fruit, each according to its kind, in which may be their seed upon the earth.' And it was so."[232] Seeing in this embrace of sweet and profound humility that a person despises himself because of earthly things—which, because of their brittleness, cannot be without corruption—God says through

228. Gn 1.9.

229. *Quomodo:* throughout this chapter this adverb's causal force is both efficient and final, that is, indicating in what way and for what purpose.

230. Gn 1.10.

231. Cf. *RB* 7.64; in his *Homilies on Genesis* 1.2, Origen considers the waters to be "the sins and vices of our body," from which we separate the dry land of "our deeds done in the flesh," that the latter might appear to God's glory (trans. Ronald E. Heine, FOTC 71 [Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 1982], 50).

232. Gn 1.10–11.

the Holy Spirit's admonition, "Because a person has accepted the heart's remorse and discernment of good and evil, and, acknowledging that he is earth, has been subject in prostration to holy humility, now let him diligently sprout forth in the viridity of the virtues, so as not to succumb to carnal desires in his thoughts and deeds; for he has in his body a sap that ever entices him to begin to sin in his deeds. And as he is accustomed to good works, let him yield seed, so that, correcting himself according to his teachers' words, he may withdraw from the desires described and mount to the stronger virtues, bearing fruit according to his instructors' teaching."[233]

How? A person ought to be examined by his teachers as to what is good and what evil, and then act according to their teaching, so that the instruments of those virtues that he has begun might contain the seed of God's word, and that seed might be upon the earth—upon the person. So may it be that what a person undertakes ardently at God's admonition might be accomplished in him out of love for God.

"And the earth brought forth vegetation, green and bearing seed according to its kind, and the tree bearing fruit and having seed, each one according to its species."[234] Inwardly taught by the Holy Spirit and by restraining the flesh's pleasures,[235] a person brings forth from his heart the viridity of abstinence and a word of rebuke when he ever sighs inwardly for God according to the instruction by which he constrains himself.[236] For each virtue is withered if it does not take root in a person with a word of rebuke, as the Savior says in the Gospel: "And some fell upon the rock, and as it sprouted, it withered, because it did not have moisture."[237] This should be considered thus: The seed of the words of the Holy Spirit's teaching is sown upon the earth, that

233. Cf. Augustine, *On Genesis Against the Manichees* 1.25.43 (FOTC 84, p. 89): "On the third day he separates his mind from the stain and waves of carnal temptations, as the dry land from the storms of the sea. Thus he bears the fruits of good works."

234. Gn 1.12.

235. Cf. Gal 5.16–24.

236. Cf. *RB* 2.27 and Prol 45–50.

237. Lk 8.6.

a person might be fed by it in soul.[238] But because the gifts of the Holy Spirit are manifold,[239] some fall upon the hard hearts of unbelievers, so that they sometimes receive it as with groans. Yet they do not bear the fruit of piety[240] because they lack the moisture of mildness—just as the earth cannot yield good fruit when it is without moisture, infertile for fruit.

For God created all creatures for human understanding, so that among them, humans might choose those that are useful and reject those that are useless. So too the earth yields fruit when it is soft and bathed with moisture, but cannot bear fruit when without moisture it is hard and rocky. For the person with a good conscience is known to be like earth that is good and lush, but the one with a bad conscience is understood as earth hard and rocky.[241] So the Holy Spirit's dew is poured upon those who do good works with a lush spiritual life, to bring forth abundant fruit; and those who gather up whatever sins of pleasure by the flesh's appetite remain through their hardness of heart[242] fruitless like rocky ground,[243] for the sap of good will has dried up within them.[244] And how will virtue take root within a person with a word of rebuke? Such that he constrains himself with the hearts' utterance, with which he ought to fight against vices. Thus he will perfect the lofty virtues in which he is instructed by the teaching of the elders, so that he understands how he ought to constrain himself with fear and to retreat from evil through abstinence. For the person who happily abstains from wicked deeds is of greater virtue than the one who does not enjoy avoiding the works of his flesh. And so the person who wisely accomplishes each thing by his teachers' words bears within himself fruit according to the example by which he was taught, for he will hold his teachers' words against himself in rebuke of his own.

238. Cf. *LVM* 4.22(30).
239. Cf. 1 Cor 12.4–11.
240. Cf. Is 11.2 (Vg.).
241. Cf. 1.4.82.
242. Mk 16.14.
243. Mt 13.5.
244. Cf. *LVM* 6.23(24).

"And God saw that it was good."[245] The processes just described touch God such that, in receiving them, he knows and sees that the person has humbly arisen who restored himself from the instability that welled up within him at Adam's collapse and that he knew to be bad. This is indeed good, for after desiring to reach to God, he lives again for him.

"And there was evening and morning, the third day."[246] And so there is this evening—a good end—with its beginning—the good of one who begins—the third day, as described, in that a person restrains himself from evil works. So there is the third virtue of a good work, which is humility.

35. "And God said, 'Let there be lights in the firmament of heaven, to divide the day and the night; and let them be for signs, and for seasons, and for days and years, to shine in the firmament of heaven and to illuminate the earth.' And it was so."[247] This should be considered thus: At the divine bidding, the illumination of the firmament disclosed the work of God, beautiful and glorious, as the soul too will make its body beautiful and glorious; that is, though after the body's death the soul stinks with decay because of its first conception, it will nevertheless be changed like the elements above when a person is resurrected anew. And God established the functions of these lights and divided them into day and night, for on these two divisions—day and night—hangs the entire arrangement of human need,[248] so that with rationality a person understands through the signs of those lights what this part of creation is and what that; and what to call the times of days, nights, and years according to each of those signs; and that the lights in the firmament are seen to shine as they illuminate the earth and what is on it. And all these things were established as God bade them to appear.

"And God made the two great lights: the greater light to rule

245. Gn 1.12.

246. Gn 1.13.

247. Gn 1.14–15.

248. This echo of the Summary of the Law in Mt 22.40 anticipates the tropological interpretation in ch. 37; the whole of this day's literal interpretation verges constantly into the moral as Hildegard looks forward to the creation of humankind.

the day, and the lesser light to rule the night; and the stars. And he set them in the firmament of heaven to shine upon the earth, and to rule over day and night, and to divide the light and the darkness."[249] Through his Word, God brightly illuminated these two great lights, the greater in day while the lesser at night. One stays in its order, neither growing nor shrinking; the other waxes and wanes through the signs of the firmament. In these two lights God also foresaw how he would accomplish his work—humankind—in two natures. So too the human person is heavenly in good knowledge, and earthly in evil knowledge.[250] For knowledge of the good is heavenly because it is of God, and nothing can tear it away from the rational soul, for indeed through good knowledge it excels the reptiles of the earth, which are like evil knowledge because, strengthened by the earth, they creep boldly upon it at night and revel in their squalor.

But because evil knowledge exists within the squalor of sin, it is subject to good knowledge and knows that the latter is just, even if it abhors it. But good knowledge makes the mightiest warrior to withstand evil knowledge, and if he should fall, it sets him aright through repentance and never ceases to fortify him, lest he return to the taste of sin. For good knowledge is like the day, while evil like the night. Wherefore the latter delights in evil and accomplishes evil because the delight precedes sin; and through these two types of knowledge every person recognizes clean and unclean things. The day indeed knows the night and withdraws from it, while the night recognizes the day and flees from it.[251] In the same way, good knowledge turns away from evil, and evil separates itself from good, because the one abhors the other. Thus the human person is heavenly and earthly, for when heaven was moved by the angel's primal fall,[252] God repaired it with the base nature of earth;[253] and in this way, earth

249. Gn 1.16–18.

250. Cf. 1.2.14.

251. Cf. *Let.* 163r (2:114).

252. Cf. *Cause* 1.27 (p. 32): "Before Adam's fall, the firmament was immobile and did not revolve, while after his fall it began to move and revolve; but after the Last Day, it will stand still again, as it was in the first moment of creation before Adam's fall." See also *Scivias* 1.2.27 and 3.12.15.

253. Cf. 1.1.3.

is the foundation of heaven, and heaven is built upon the earth with wonders greater than what existed in the first angel. For Man, made from earth, is the complete work of God.[254]

The stars also blaze from the moon like flame from fire, and are infused throughout the whole firmament with shining light, as if a flame were shining through a sieve, and so they illuminate the entire earth; and they will persist in their placement until the Last Day. They also appear brighter when the moon wanes than when it waxes, for in its waxing they cannot be seen as well because of the strength of the moon's clarity. They meet with the sun to declare the day, and they assist the moon to illumine the night—and so they divide the light from the darkness when they show the day and the night with their service.

"And God saw that it was good,"[255] commending it because, with the darkness put to flight, through this breathing sphere of light his work was full, elegant, and prepared for service. "And there was evening and morning, the fourth day."[256] For the four elements—fire, air, water, and earth—prepared and made visible by God's grace, appeared in all things in which they had been established. Again, in another sense:

36. "And God said, 'Let there be lights in the firmament of heaven, to divide the day and the night; and let them be for signs, and for seasons, and for days and years, to shine in the firmament of heaven and to illuminate the earth.' And it was so."[257] This should be considered thus: God spoke through the Holy Spirit in his disciples' hearts, "Let there be priests and teachers[258] in my Son, to illuminate the Church that was built upon the solid rock that is Christ—from that stone the justice of right faith flowed forth.[259] Let these priests be sent into every church, illuminating it to discern for the people by their words the day—the salvation of faith—and to announce the felicity they will obtain through that faith if they keep it. Let them also

254. Cf. 1.4.92 and 100.
255. Gn 1.18.
256. Gn 1.19.
257. Gn 1.14–15.
258. *doctores.*
259. Cf. Mt 16.18 and Wis 11.4.

suggest to the people the night—the eternal torments that await infidelity. And let those teachers demonstrate this to them with various signs, to announce what they must keep—the feasts to be celebrated, the seasons of fasting that are binding, and the days that can be dispensed in God's law—so that they observe the year with its established precepts. And may these precepts shine through faith in heaven—in my Son—for they follow the angels' praise; and may they also illuminate the Church, the land of the living, with God's praise."

"And it was so. And God made the two great lights: the greater light to rule the day, and the lesser light to rule the night; and the stars. And he set them in the firmament of heaven to shine upon the earth, and to rule over day and night, and to divide the light and the darkness."[260] God made the two great lights that are necessary for the Church:[261] the greater light to rule the day—the chief and spiritual teachers[262] who, as the heads of the Church, are a light for the eyes of the faithful, such that the rest of the spiritual teachers—that is, the lesser persons—are subordinate and bound to the formers' rule like an ox beneath a yoke, lest they wander off without their shepherd and be snatched by a biting bird of prey—the devil.[263] And also the lesser light—kings and other secular authorities, to rule earthly affairs and secular peoples like the night; for they are frequently blinded by the darkness of many illicit things because the sensual will of the flesh, which has its origin in Adam, so often rises up within them. So they calculate their actions and hide from just judg-

260. Gn 1.15–18.

261. Cf. *Scivias* 2.5.38; the political allegory of sun and moon as ecclesiastical and secular powers arose within the battles between papacy and empire in the eleventh and twelfth centuries; representative declarations can be found in Pope Gregory VII's letter to William the Conqueror in 1080 (*Registrum* 7.25, in PL 148: 569); and Pope Innocent III's letter to a league of Tuscan cities, *Sicut universitatis conditor,* of Nov. 3, 1198 (in *Church and State Through the Centuries: A Collection of Historic Documents with Commentaries,* ed. Sidney Z. Ehler and John B. Morrall [New York: Biblo & Tannen, 1967], 73). Hildegard's version lacks the explicit identification of the sun with papal authority; see further the ambivalence of 3.5.25 below.

262. *magistros.*

263. For the devil as bird of prey attacking discretion in ecclesiastical governance, cf. *Let.* 198 (2:173).

ment because they do not rightly judge themselves. God also made the stars—those with lesser authority who are subject to the greater princes—to shine upon the living earth—that is, the Church—wherever she exists in the firmament of the rock, that is, in Christ; in this way to rule over the lucent—those who live rightly—and the shadowed—those who wickedly clash—as they judge the former to be lucent according to their works and the latter wicked according to their iniquity.

"And God saw that it was good";[264] that is, with his approval he established that the Church would be divided into various levels, with the simple illuminated by the teaching of the wise, and those who fall short corrected by the discipline of her governors.

"And there was evening and morning, the fourth day."[265] As God ordained for the Church, the instability that she suffered when Christians did not have spiritual pastors and secular governors began as on the fourth day to pass away from the shadows of such confusion and enter the dawn of that steadfast day that shone within the Church, when she was confirmed in the light of true faith and the other virtues with zeal for holy activity. And again in another sense:

37. "And God said, 'Let there be lights in the firmament of heaven, to divide the day and the night; and let them be for signs, and for seasons, and for days and years, to shine in the firmament of heaven and to illuminate the earth.' And it was so."[266] This should be considered thus: God said in the admonition of the Holy Spirit, "Let there be lights within discretion by the Holy Spirit's gift, that a person might love God and his neighbor as himself.[267] How is he to do this? With the soul's full viridity he is to sigh strongly for God, so that he does not seek as if outwardly a foreign god in unfaithfulness, but rather looks to me with a courageous spirit. Let him also love his neighbor as himself, to provide diligently for all his needs that pertain to his form—for

264. Gn 1.18.

265. Gn 1.19.

266. Gn 1.14–15.

267. Cf. Mt 22.37–39, Mk 12.30–31, Lk 10.27; the fourth day's moral interpretation interweaves this summary of the law. For discretion as the firmament, see ch. 27 above.

each is in form his brother in humanity. He should not look to his neighbor with resentment, as if he were to be subject to him like a lowly creature; rather, he ought willingly to receive him in his company, for God established each and every person in the same form. Let a person also beware that he does not have any share in the death of his neighbor's soul by consenting with him to sin, so as to kill neither his own nor his neighbor's soul.[268]

"And let these lights shine in the firmament of heaven—in the discretion of reason—so that a person might with discretion rightly discern the day—that is, with what honor he is to hold me, Almighty God, within his soul's desire and sigh freely in his groans for me. Let him also shine with that discretion in the night—that darkness that lurks in the body and pertains to earthly things (his own and his neighbor's need), so that rather than being called away from the hope of higher things by lower ones, he might ever in such matters sigh for heavenly desires. Let these lights also be for him inner signs for how to sigh, pray, and weep for God, and to call upon the Holy Spirit for aid. Let them be for him also seasons—how he is to act usefully in his own affairs and his neighbor's; and let them be for him too the day of faith, that all his works shine forth in me with the construction of a good work. Let them also be for him the years, to observe the yearly cycle, beginning the good in all this through holy works with God and his neighbor, and finishing it well with respect to all of God's law; so that through every age of his life, he might offer good examples to his neighbor in all things as established and dependent upon these two commandments. And let the lights of these commandments shine in the firmament of heaven—in the mind's discretion—and let all the lights of this work illuminate the earth—the human person—to gleam before God in mind and body." And this comes to pass in a person through the compunction of ardent love for God and neighbor, that he might discern all these things in God.

"And God made the two great lights: the greater light to rule the day, and the lesser light to rule the night; and the stars. And he set them in the firmament of heaven to shine upon the earth, and to rule over day and night, and to divide the light and the

268. Cf. Wis 1.11.

darkness."[269] Through the Holy Spirit's inspiration, God causes a person to look lovingly upon him with all his energy, so that this light rules the day—the true faith that shines before God's eyes; for a person cannot see God with the outer eyes, but touches him by faith inwardly in the soul. And the lesser light—this is love of neighbor, which is lesser than love of God, because with full desire a person gazes upon God within his soul, while he looks upon his neighbor with the outer eyes, tangibly and visibly, face-to-face.[270] This light therefore rules the night, because the vision of this world is of the night, unable to exist without the contagion of sin. And the stars—they are right and good thoughts, which God places in the firmament—a person's discretion—to apprehend in all things what is good and useful, so that a person is not blinded in his knowledge by the darkness of ignorance, and keeps watch over the body's weakness by ruling it, and anticipates with his thoughts each thing to be done. These thoughts rule the light of justice and the body's need, to order them rightly and distinguish the light of God's justice from the dark needs of the world and the body by putting the former ahead of the latter.

"And God saw that it was good,"[271] commending his home within a person because it has been ordered rightly according to his justice; and rejoicing that with works he has fulfilled his commandments, by which he has been reconciled to him.

"And there was evening and morning, the fourth day."[272] God makes in a person a good end with the beginning of the law just described, because he foresees a good end in all virtues. But if there is not a good end, the activity of the beginning is also cut off and will perish like a useless tree, whose branches grow green and begin to flower, yet bear no fruit. And just as that tree will be cut down if it continues in such a way,[273] so too by God will that person be rooted out who begins to work well but does not bring that beginning to completion—for God does

269. Gn 1.16–18.
270. Cf. 1 Cor 13.12.
271. Gn 1.18.
272. Gn 1.19.
273. Cf. Mt 3.10.

not respect the beginning of good works without a good end. And among believers who make use of the four elements, like the fourth day let there be this fourth virtue—love of God and neighbor, which is to be observed by spiritual and secular alike.

38. "And God said, 'Let the waters bring forth the creeping creature with a living spirit, and the flying one over the earth under the firmament of heaven.'"[274] This should be considered thus: Through his living Word, God bade the waters to bring forth those that creep and those that fly with a living spirit,[275] like the flowers that come forth from tree branches; for God first created parts of creation, and then brought forth some from others.[276] For he foresaw what would attend to each establishment that is touched by the firmament, both in the firmament and under the firmament, as too each form was first established and afterwards set in motion for its proper activity.

And they came forth—those born in water and those flying in the air, so that the water would not be void for fulfilling the work that was to be accomplished through it, nor would the air lack the embodied and living fliers that are replenished and vivified by the air. So too the fish are called swimmers because they swim, while the birds are called fliers because they fly; humans, however, cannot swim very well or fly, but walk with their feet upon the earth from which they were created.[277]

Furthermore, fish and birds are born of a cleaner birth than other animals, because the Holy Spirit sanctified the waters before the other elements. As water overcomes all things clean and unclean, so too the soul penetrates all things and surpasses the flesh.[278] The human soul was also made in the image of God and acts within a person together with all creation; but God exists in all creation and surpasses all creation, because in him is found neither beginning nor end.[279]

274. Gn 1.20.

275. "those that creep and those that fly": *reptilia et volatilia,* following the Scriptural text; alt., "reptiles and birds."

276. I.e., the fundamental elements created on preceding days then bring forth subsequent creatures.

277. I.e., each creature lives within or upon the element from which it was created; cf. *Gosp. Hom.* 7 (esp. p. 51).

278. Cf. *LVM* 5.13–15(20–22) and 6.22(23).

279. Cf. *Cause* 2.130 (quoted at 1.4.21, n. 46); and Eriugena, *Periphyseon* 4.7

"And God created the great whales and every living and moving creature that the waters brought forth according to their kinds, and every winged bird according to its type."[280] God formed the types of fish in the waters and introduced into them a living spirit from a gusty blaze. Wherefore they live as mobile creatures born from the waters, and they were the first of the creeping things to appear. And because their living breath surpasses their bodies' forms, so the water brought them forth first as living creatures, because water is sanctified and of the spirit. Indeed, what is born of the waters is progeny more wondrous than what was deceived by the ancient serpent's primal fraud, because the latter has its origins in the pleasure of the flesh's appetite for sin; and because the devil cannot destroy the regeneration of the waters, he hates the waters.[281] But in his Son, God washed away the scales of sin's conception in a bath that the devil cannot strip from humankind, for he knew not how a virgin could conceive that Man who dissolved by water all appetite for sin.[282] And because the virgin birth was hidden from the devil—she knew her womb to be not wounded but whole—so he cannot destroy what is to be born of spirit and water.[283]

Moreover, God signified by the fish that Man is mobile through the living soul, just as fish are swift in water. Through the birds, meanwhile, he shows that Man flies everywhere through rationality, as the birds too are borne in the air.[284] So too spiritual humans, who flee the vulgar crowd, are properly to be fed by spiritual food according to its kind, as too the fish and birds are separated from the other animals as they live in the waters and in the air.[285]

(PL 122: 764B): "God wanted to make Man in his image and likeness, so that, as his principal exemplar surpasses in excellence everything of being, so his image should surpass everything of creation in dignity and grace."

280. Gn 1.21.

281. I.e., the waters of baptism, foreshadowed by the deep's primal waters, sanctified by the Spirit's brooding; see *LVM* 5.13(20) and *Lets.* 381 and 389 (3:171–73 and 191).

282. Cf. 3.4.5.

283. Cf. Jn 3.5.

284. Cf. Origen, *Homilies on Genesis* 1.8.

285. Cf. *LVM* 6.22(23).

"And God saw that it was good; and he blessed them, saying, 'Grow and multiply, and fill the waters of the sea; and let the birds multiply upon the earth.'"[286] God saw; that is, he confirmed that it was good for the kinds of fish and birds to have air within them and so to live; and with his blessing, lest they die out, he bade each of them to grow in form according to their kind and to multiply in number, just as seedlings and the fruits of the fields grow and mature. So too the fish were to fill up the waters because they reside therein, and the birds to swell into a multitude that would dwell upon the earth because there is pasture appropriate for them.

"And there was evening and morning, the fifth day."[287] For the end and origin of this work show it to be the same work that God placed before the five human senses, which the soul in a person traverses. For what the soul sees is spiritual, because it has illuminated vision from its spiritual breath, as the soul discerns what is visible and invisible; and because it understands that it possesses through rationality the fellowship of the angelic spirits. The soul is also invisible, like an angel, and moves its body's form, which is like its tunic by which it is covered so as not to be seen, even though all creation can recognize it because it is a living movement. In another sense:

39. "And God said, 'Let the waters bring forth the creeping creature with a living spirit, and the flying one over the earth under the firmament of heaven.'"[288] This should be considered thus: Through the preaching of his disciples, God said to the Church, "Now let us bring forth through abstinence finer precepts that, by living faithfully in Christ with vigils and fasts and prayers, do not cling to earthly affairs, and that fly under the firmament of heaven—Christ—with the higher wings of the virtues, like the virgins and widows of the Church, and follow what is of heaven."

"And God created the great whales and every living and moving creature that the waters brought forth according to their

286. Gn 1.21–22.
287. Gn 1.23.
288. Gn 1.20.

kinds, and every winged bird according to its kind."[289] That is, God revealed his only Son in the flesh, in whom arose the Gospel in which it is said, "Every one who has left home, or brothers, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands for my name's sake, will receive a hundredfold and possess eternal life."[290] This should be considered thus: Every faithful person who has left home (self-will), or brothers (carnal desires), or sisters (the appetite for sin), or father (the flesh's pleasure), or mother (the embrace of vices), or wife (greed), or children (plundering and theft), or lands (pride) for the glory of my name and looks upon me, who am the Son of God and Savior of humankind, will physically receive a hundred times as much in peace of mind, for he has cast away all anxiety for the world and followed me.

So too all these things will confront him in their ministry. For, first, home must be left behind—self-will, in which a person lounges for his own pleasure, like one who lingers at rest in his house. Then brothers—the carnal desires that are joined to self-will; and afterwards sisters—the appetite for sin that follows carnal desires everywhere. Then too father—the flesh's pleasure that takes keen delight in carnal desires; and after that, mother—the embrace of vices, which embraces the flesh's pleasure in all things. Then wife—the greed that apes the embrace of vices such that it can never be satisfied by them, like a husband who slips away onto a greedy quest after taking a wife.[291] After that, children—the plundering and theft that follow greed, as when a person strives to hoard riches for his children; and at last, lands—the pride that ventures to defend plundering and theft; for when a person has gathered with impunity things unjustly acquired, he launches into prideful boasting.

But as long as each faithful person has cast all these things away and superabundantly received better things, as just described, he will also possess eternal life, unfailing in blessed-

289. Gn 1.21.

290. Mt 19.29.

291. A common trope in contemporary courtly literature, e.g., Chrétien de Troyes's *Erec et Enide*, adapted into German verse by Hartmann von Aue in the decade after Hildegard's death.

ness, insofar as he has denied himself for God in temporal matters and yearned for heavenly things. For the one who leaves behind himself, his kin, and his children for the sake of God—as Abraham did[292]—will receive a hundredfold reward for each thing to which he looks with the eyes and attends with the heart. So too it is said of Mary, "Many sins have been forgiven her, because she has loved much":[293] for wholly renouncing herself from the top of her head to the sole of her foot, she was requited her reward for each and every thing.[294] So too will that person be adorned with all the labors just described, as an artisan embellishes his work with elegant beauty, and he will pass finally to the joys of heaven.

These things the old law did not know, for the Savior's humanity had not yet touched them; but the new faithfully gathered them within itself. Indeed, the Son of God, who was born in the Holy Spirit's fire of a mother from whom the human way of procreation was wholly withdrawn and removed, taught the right procreation of spiritual life, so that a person might constrain and sanctify himself, and so living, possess the angelic way of life. For that Son of God delivered humankind by his humanity and returned them to supernal joys.

God also created every life of the virtues that dwell within the living minds of people who lift themselves up from the earth and so are mobile, in that they ever turn away from evil toward the good and progress from virtue unto virtue.[295] And the waters upon which the Holy Spirit came—the apostles—brought forth these virtues when they went before the people with good examples and showed the heavenly way of life that flies like the clouds,[296] passing over all earthly things in its potential within the family of virtues, as my Son says in the Gospel:

40. "In my Father's house there are many dwellings."[297] This should be considered thus: The Son of God, promising eter-

292. Cf. Gn 12.1.

293. Lk 7.47, in a variant used as a versicle in the office for the feast of Mary Magdalene (July 22).

294. "forgiven … renouncing": *dimissa … dimittens.*

295. Cf. Ps 83.8(84.7).

296. Is 60.8; cf. ch. 42 below.

297. Jn 14.2.

nal life to his faithful, said, "In the heavenly home that is my Father's, there are as many places of refuge as humans have merited, so that each makes there for himself a dwelling as he seeks to love God in his bodily life."[298] For even the person who denies himself as if he were no longer human still cannot fully abandon the sensual appetite for sin in his bodily vessel—but in this way he has in his suffering the victory over bodily desires, because of his love for Christ and the hope of true faith. In such a person God is truly pleased, for he consents more to the spirit than the flesh. His tabernacle is also adorned with countless ornaments because of the zeal for victory with which he battles against himself—and for each and every one of such labors, he will receive individual rewards in which he will rejoice with living harps, because God forgets none of his gleaming labors.[299] So too all the celestial harmony wonders in praising God, for this earthly person, who is of the earth, gazes in faith into the height where God is. That praise resounds beyond the heavens with every kind of music because of the wonders that God so enacts in this person.

For he is of those who have left the secular world, with the Holy Spirit's dew filling the whole world with their good idea, and with that Spirit's grace drawing to themselves a multitude of people, that so many might be reborn in God through their words and deeds. Such a person is indeed cheerful in all things; and as water, which is necessary for humans, sustains their every need, so through this person the rest of the people are sustained.

But as the earth is fruitful for germination, so too God established that humans should be procreated, one from another. And as in the first creation God created the earth and brought forth the water, so too he foresaw that humans would be divided into two parts—the one to produce children, but the other to refrain from procreation in the tunic of God's Son. Moreover, those secular people who for God's sake listen to their teachers, who keep watch over them like the angels, God elegantly adorns with heavenly joy according to their merits. Wherefore spiritual peoples also take great joy over them, as too the angels

298. Cf. *LVM* 2.34(43).
299. Cf. *LVM* 6.37–38(59–60).

are gladdened by the spiritual peoples because they have joined their fellowship.

41. "And God saw that it was good; and he blessed them, saying, 'Grow and multiply, and fill the waters of the sea; and let the birds multiply upon the earth.'"[300] God saw that it was good that righteous peoples should renounce themselves and their self-will, and with the heart's inner blessing he blessed this in his Son, who gave an example of it, saying, "Let these virtues grow in God and multiply in goodness, and fill the living, cascading waters—the apostles, who bring forth streams of God's Scripture through their knowledge in the Church, which is the glassy and fiery sea[301]—that the memory of the Lord's Incarnation should well up in humans with contempt for this world. And let the fliers of the spiritual peoples multiply upon the earth of the Church, which is a figure of the heavenly Jerusalem, which will be filled up with the Church until the Last Day has come to pass."

"And there was evening and morning, the fifth day."[302] That barbarism that lived only in worldly affairs, when the Christian people kept nothing but a common life, began to sink down as in the evening, at the beginning of that mighty day in which the singular life of abstinence, fasting, and contempt for the world sprang forth. Strengthened by Christ in the fifth light of true faith for the Church's edification, this is as the fifth day with God's blessing. And again, in another sense:

42. "And God said, 'Let the waters bring forth the creeping creature with a living spirit, and the flying one over the earth under the firmament of heaven.'"[303] This should be considered thus: God speaks in the admonition of the Holy Spirit, so that spiritual gifts are built up in people's minds, and restraining themselves in the matters described above, they are removed from secular cares, so that such people, who are the waters, might bring forth every creeping creature of the virtues—that is, souls living in the contemplative life—as well as flying virtues

300. Gn 1.21–22.
301. Rv 15.2; cf. ch. 32 above.
302. Gn 1.23.
303. Gn 1.20.

surpassing the common law of the secular life,[304] that for their love of God they might mount far beyond the justice established for their seed, like the good farmer who brings forth from seed far more abundant fruit than was sown. Of this my servant Isaiah says, "Who are these who fly like clouds, and like doves to their windows?"[305] This should be considered thus: Who are these who spurn earthly things, deny themselves,[306] and hasten with their minds to the things of heaven,[307] and consider themselves as with dove-like simplicity,[308] and so look to God?[309] Oh, how great is their reward with God, for him they do not cast away, but worship with all devotion!

For God foreknew his work before all creation; and he created heaven and earth, and established between the two the rest of creation, as was necessary for that creation. For he signified the spiritual in the water and the bodily in the earth, and all that is unclean is cleansed in the water. So too the body lives because of the soul, and a person touches physical things even though he cannot touch the soul; he knows he lives because of it, though he does not know what or how it is, and in such knowledge of the soul he is weak. The earth also subsists with its viridity through the water it carries and by which it is wetted.

And God established particular creatures to strengthen his finished work—humankind, for they do their work with those creatures. So he also signified in creation what potential a person would have to enact the soul's desires; that potential never fails, and its sighs fly through the soul's windiness up to heaven. For whoever goes climbing is seeking that toward which they climb. So too the soul knocks with its desires,[310] that God might

304. The moral allegory follows naturally from the ecclesiological; see further ch. 45 below, on Gn 1.25; and the words of Heavenly Desire, in response to Care of Earthly Things, in *LVM* 4.10(15).

305. Is 60.8; cf. *Scivias* 1.5.3; the opening verse of *Ordo*'s Prologue (pp. 160–61); verse 1a of Hildegard's sequence for St. Maximin, *Columba aspexit* (*Symphonia* 54); and *Lets.* 77r (1:169), 149r (2:94), and 220r (3:11).

306. Mt 16.24.

307. Cf. *RB* 73.8.

308. Cf. Mt 10.16.

309. Cf. 3.2.10.

310. Cf. Mt 7.7 and Lk 11.9.

give it the power to act; and because God commends it in this, he grants it what it has sought from him. But when the soul descends, it enacts the lustful desires of the flesh as the flesh's appetite desires. And so it is afflicted in two ways: to suffer the flesh's entreaties when it ascends to God, and to experience great affliction in the conscience of its heavenly desire when it has accomplished the flesh's lustful desire.

Wherefore God also divides creation for humankind into the visible and the invisible, as too the body is visible and the soul invisible, so that through this combination a person might choose what is good. The body, moreover, is fed by creation, and the soul motivates the flesh's appetite to eat, and through its sighs strives to keep the body from choking on so much food that it cannot breathe. The soul indeed acts in such cooperation so that by its inspiration, the body can be fed with foods in right measure—for if it is fed beyond measure, the soul's powers will slips away; but if proper foods are withdrawn from it by excessive abstinence, the proud devil puffs a person up as if to ascend into heaven, to cause him to fall through pride.[311] So in this way God hates overindulgence and condemns irrational abstinence, and so the faithful person imposes upon himself a just measure in both.[312] And all the aforesaid virtues ought to exist under discretion as under the firmament of heaven, to govern them lest they mount higher than they can bear because of the mind's good intention or presumption, or fall in the cycle of secular affairs deeper than the constitution they received from God can handle.

"And God created the great whales and every living and moving creature that the waters brought forth according to their kinds, and every winged bird according to its kind."[313] God creates the great virtues—integrity of the flesh and continence—in humans through the Holy Spirit's inspiration, drawing away from them all the pomp and pleasures of the flesh with the desire of love burning for God, so that they crush themselves amid carnal delight as if they were dead. He strengthens within them

311. Cf. *Let.* 234 (3:33).
312. Cf. Lk 21.34; *RB* 39.6–9; and *LVM* 2.2(5).
313. Gn 1.21.

all the living soul's virtues that endure within this fickle life, so that they are not stained by marriages of human nature. And these are the living virtues that follow the Lamb, who was never stained by any spot of iniquity; and they move to better things when they bypass the business of marriage and its attendant, worldly anxieties.[314] These illustrious virtues are also brought forth among the peoples in different kinds: one is chastity, another continence; and to them other virtues adhere that mount up high like a palm tree in the multitude of their kind.

"And God saw that it was good; and he blessed them, saying, 'Grow and multiply, and fill the waters of the sea; and let the birds multiply upon the earth.'"[315] God sees that these virtues are very good, because he takes great and sweet delight in them when these virtues touch the Word of God by imitating it. Indeed, because God created Man to enact the good, but Man abandoned the good and did evil, God willed his Word to become Man, for in his goodness he brought forth more fully all the righteousness that Adam had left behind. Therefore, this people too brings forth what holy divinity shows to them, modeled upon God's Son—and so these virtues are blessed, because they have risen in him.

And then God's virtue says, "Let these virtues grow, which through me began to imitate me, and let the brood of good works multiply within them; and let them so fill up humans, who slosh about in the flesh's volatility, that by divinity's power the virtues appear within them, stronger than the flesh's human fragility. So flying upon the earth—upon humankind—let them multiply to subject the flesh's weakness to their strength."

"And there was evening and morning, the fifth day."[316] As described, there will be in God a good end with the beginning of the fifth virtue, which as the fifth day is contempt for the world.

43. "And God said, 'Let the earth bring forth the living creature in its kind: cattle, and creeping things, and beasts of the earth, according to their kinds.'"[317] This should be considered thus: In his inextinguishable Word, God bade the earth to bring

314. Cf. Rv 14.4–5.
315. Gn 1.21–22.
316. Gn 1.23.
317. Gn 1.24.

forth living animals in their kind, that is, the various kinds of animals in their forms: the cattle to serve Man, the creeping things for Man to learn to keep fear of God, and beasts to show him how to honor God—each animal having the appearance of its kind.[318] So too it was fulfilled, that Man should have complete fullness with them, to choose what would be beneficial for his needs and disregard what would be harmful to himself; and in this way his honor would be full. For cattle yoke themselves to Man, while creeping things shrink back from him and beasts flee from him—and over all of them he rules.[319]

"And God made the beasts according to their kinds, and the cattle, and everything that creeps upon the earth in its kind."[320] That is, the beasts that strike fear in Man with their wildness; the cattle that serve him; and the creeping things that hide before him, as just described.

"And God saw that it was good; and he said, 'Let us make Man in our image and likeness, and let him rule over the fish of the sea, and the birds of the sky, and the beasts, and the whole creation, and every creeping thing that moves upon the earth.'"[321] With the gaze of his goodness he saw that it was good and useful for earth's entire globe to possess the fullness of Man's honor, and he spoke as if calling Man to a meal, "Let us, who are in three persons the one force of divinity's one substance, make Man in our image, that is, according to that tunic that will sprout in the Virgin's womb—the tunic the person of the Son will put on for Man's salvation, to go forth from her womb as she herself remains untouched; and from which tunic divinity will never withdraw.[322] Rather, because of Man's redemption, the human soul will strip off its body in death and then take it back up again, awakened by divinity's power. Let us also make

318. *speciem generis sui:* in the Douay-Rheims version of Gn 1.24, "kind" translates *genus* in the first half of the verse but *species* in the second half.

319. Cf. *Gosp. Homs.* 1, 22, and 39 (pp. 30–33, 101–4, and 158–61).

320. Gn 1.25.

321. Gn 1.25–26, in a variant that reads *creaturae* ("creation") for *terrae* ("earth"), found also in Eriugena's *Periphyseon* 4.5 and 4.10; and Rupert of Deutz's *De sancta Trinitate et operibus eius* 33.2 ("On the Four Gospels"), on the sixth age of the world.

322. Cf. 1.4.100 and 105, passim; and *LVM* 4.24(32).

him in our likeness, with knowledge and wisdom to understand and discern what he is to enact with his five senses,[323] so that through the rationality of his life, hidden within him and which no embodied creature can see, he may know that he is to rule the fish that swim in the waters, and the birds hung in the air, and the untamed beasts, and the whole of creation that dwells upon the earth, and the creeping thing that moves upon the earth—for human rationality surpasses all these things."

"And God created Man in his own image: in the image of God he created him; male and female he created them. And God blessed them and said, 'Grow and multiply, and fill the earth and subdue it; and rule over the fish of the sea, and the birds of the sky, and all living things that move upon the earth.'"[324] God created Man according to the form of human flesh, in which his Son was to be clothed without sin, just as one makes one's tunic according to one's own likeness—that is, according to the form that God foreknew before the ages. He created humankind, making the male with greater force but the female with softer strength,[325] and ordering in proper proportion the length and breadth of all their limbs. Likewise, he positioned the height, depth, and breadth of the rest of creation in its proper state, lest any part exceed another inappropriately. So too God marked out all creation in humankind and ordained within them the likeness of the angelic spirit—the soul that works in the human form, unseen by any embodied creature, just as the divinity cannot be seen by any mortal creature. For the soul is of heaven while the body is of earth; and the soul is recognized by faith, while the body through sight.

God indeed created male and female—but the male first, and afterward the female, taking from the man her who was to give birth, as too the male generates by the strength of the powers hidden within him. For through winter and summer fruits grow and are brought forth, and without them no fruit could mature. It is also through the tree's root, which keeps viridity within itself, that flowers and fruits are nurtured, and they

323. Cf. *Scivias* 3.2.22.
324. Gn 1.27–28.
325. Cf. *LVM* 4.24(32); *Let.* 26r (1:88); and *Cause* 2.89 and 91 (pp. 77 and 79).

are from a single source. So are many produced by male and female, yet they come forth from a single Creator. For if there were only male or only female, no human person could be born. So too man and woman are one, for man is like the soul, while woman is like the body.[326]

And he, on whom the angels gaze to know and praise, blessed them and commanded them to grow with their increase and to progress in their multitude, and to fill up the earth under their command and to make it subject to themselves, so that, as it is cultivated by humankind, it might burst forth in fruit; and to rule over the things that swim in the waters and fly in the air, for they excel them with the extension of their five senses, and all living things that have the movement of vital air upon the earth, for rationality's glory surpasses them all.[327]

For when humankind is perfected in the full number as God established them, they will arrive at that land that for earthly humans is called "the land of living," and then they will have fellowship with the Lamb in the heavens. Oh, how great is the joy, that God deigned to become Man—divine among the angels, human among humans! So truly one must believe that he is God and Man. Therefore, too, God established humankind in his own tunic and in that full number that never withdraws from them, for he treated them as a father does his son: he granted them an inheritance for their care when he made subject to them the fish and the birds and all living things that move upon the earth by living without rationality.

"And God said, 'Behold, I have given you every plant yielding seed upon the earth, and all the trees that have in themselves seed of their own kind, to be food for you; and to all the animals of the earth, and to every bird of the sky, and to all things that move upon the earth and in whom there is a living spirit, to have to feed upon.' And it was so."[328] In his inextinguishable Word, God said that he would give to humankind seed-bearing plants, as well as trees that produce seed from within, to be food for them—not that humankind should eat all plants and trees,

326. Cf. 1.4.100; and *Scivias* 1.2.12.
327. Cf. *Gosp. Hom.* 7 (pp. 50–52).
328. Gn 1.29–30.

but that they should be fed by those animals that eat plants and the fruits of trees. He also allowed them to have as food animals that live upon the earth, as well as birds and all that are carried about here and there upon the earth by their movements and in which is found the vital air. For all things that live on the earth are known to feed upon that viridity that bursts forth from the earth, not so that every animal uses plants or the fruits of trees, but that, as one creature produces in itself food for another, each is fed through the use of sprouts and verdant sprigs.

And God's bidding was fulfilled in this way, for everything that exists was subject to God's will, and God's every arrangement was accomplished in creation on behalf of humankind. For after the Last Day, the human person, whose soul does not pass away, shall see God, who never began and never suffers ending. For as long as a person waxes and wanes like the moon—as long as he is mortal—he shall not see God, except insofar as he reveals himself to humans as he pleases in the shadow of prophecy. For when God made the beginning of humankind, he also foresaw in that moment the end of their time, as well as that time when each person born of his mother's womb would be reborn anew by water in the Holy Spirit.[329]

"And God saw all that he had made; and they were very good,"[330] for he had created all creatures in complete perfection, without any deficiency; and it was good that they would have no defect.

"And there was evening and morning, the sixth day."[331] With the end of that beginning that God had made in creation and in Man, whom he had predestined in place of the fallen angel, the sixth day cast light upon Man perfected—and it also foreshadowed that Man would enact diverse works throughout the six ages of the world.[332] In another sense:

44. "And God said, 'Let the earth bring forth the living creature in its kind: cattle, and creeping things, and beasts of the

329. Jn 3.4–5.
330. Gn 1.31.
331. Ibid.
332. Cf. 1.2.42; and Augustine, *On Genesis Against the Manichees* 1.23.35–40.

earth, according to their kinds.' And it was so."[333] This should be considered thus: Let the earth—my Church—bring forth all the living virtues that I established through the apostles' teaching in all the virtues' kinds.[334] Let the married, who are under the yoke of the law,[335] live rightly indeed. Let those, too, who crawl along in the abstinence from carnal desires exhaust their bodies in vigils, fasts, and prayers.[336] Let those, moreover, who offer their entire substance to God[337] also place their souls before him, casting away all unlawful things in their works, so to please God their Savior by being subject to his precepts, which were established for them.[338] And as beasts of the earth do not transgress the nature established for them according to their kinds, so let such people keep the form established for them according to their faculties. Thus in these virtues will abstinence from worldly affairs be accomplished.

"And God made the beasts according to their kinds, and the cattle, and everything that creeps upon the earth in its kind."[339] By God's grace in the Holy Spirit, all these great virtues of spiritual institutions, all the orders of secular people, and all the faculties of those who abstain were made in the catholic faith.

"And God saw that it was good; and he said, 'Let us make Man in our image and likeness, and let him rule over the fish of the sea, and the birds of the sky, and the beasts, and the whole creation, and every creeping thing that moves upon the earth.'"[340] And likewise God saw that all these virtues were good, and he said to himself, "Now let us make humankind in our image and likeness, for the building of the Church. How? Let us make them for the Church's edification, to raise her up with humankind in their every construction, that, adorned with her form, they might be formed with rationality—in our image—and with knowledge and wisdom—in our likeness. So humankind is to

333. Gn 1.24.
334. On the orders of the Church, cf. *Scivias* 2.5, esp. chs. 26–28 and 37–38.
335. The Latin *coniugatus* ("married") literally means "yoked together."
336. I.e., clerics; cf. *LVM* 6.22(23).
337. Cf. Song 8.7.
338. I.e., monastics.
339. Gn 1.25.
340. Gn 1.25–26.

build the Church with divine work and righteous human deeds, that she might receive the law in my Son, who was born from my heart, and be set on fire with the Holy Spirit. And let humankind rule over the Church with their knowledge in earthly matters, with the observance of the Gospel that God gave, and with the virtues that fly to the good. Let them also place before God their substance and soul with submission to God's commandments and with all the other virtues of the heavens, and let them exhaust their bodies in abstinence from things of the flesh, so to accomplish these virtues. Let these virtues also perfect humankind in observance of all God's commandments, since humans can never be sated by them as they mount from virtue unto virtue,[341] and are ever mobile in retreating from evil and doing the good."

"And God created Man in his own image: in the image of God he created him; male and female he created them. And God blessed them and said, 'Grow and multiply, and fill the earth and subdue it; and rule over the fish of the sea, and the birds of the sky, and all living things that move upon the earth.'"[342] God created humankind in the Church to recognize his divinity, to be able to enact in their soul the heavenly virtues with the soul's sighs, with which the Church was adorned together with the gems of the virtues. He created them in God's image, which is the Son, to be surrounded with burning love so as to accomplish all good things in chastity with the more excellent virtues, that God's Church might be perfected with God's works. So therefore, God created the peoples to possess in the heavenly virtues manly strength—the male person; and also to live in the fear of God when the soul suffers the difficulties of secular life and caring for children—the female person—so that the Church might be built with that care. In these matters God blessed them with the full blessing of the holy Incarnation, in that the Son of God was clothed with humanity, and so all the kinds of virtues needed to be powerfully distilled within the spiritual and secular affairs that are accomplished out of love for God—for God is God and Man, and from him all holy virid-

341. Ps 83.8(84.7).
342. Gn 1.27–28.

ity springs forth. And in the admonition of the Holy Spirit, he told the peoples growing in the Church with overflowing and just desires to go forth in each of their lives following the fear of God, and to multiply and be fruitful in these their endeavors, and by ever renewing the virtues within themselves, not to wither. So they are to fill the earth—the Church—and subdue her to Christ and rule over her, so that they follow the Gospel and raise themselves up to heavenly things with the flying and living virtues that move away from earthly matters and remain fixed in the good.

"And God said, 'Behold, I have given you every plant yielding seed upon the earth, and all the trees that have in themselves seed of their own kind, to be food for you; and to all the animals of the earth, and to every bird of the sky, and to all things that move upon the earth and in whom there is a living spirit, to have to feed upon.' And it was so."[343] God said within the entire establishment of the Church, "Behold, I have now given and sent to you the right faith through my Son, whom you have seen born upon the earth in the viridity of unplowed earth—in the Virgin's womb—so that untouched earth might spring forth blooms.[344] My Son, moreover, yielded the seed of God's word, to be sown upon the Promised Land of Holy Church, upon which the heavenly Jerusalem is built. He also yielded the law of the married, who keep the propagation of their seed within their progeny, as to how they ought to live following the fear of my commandments. My law was given to you as for food, so be fed in your soul's construction as the body is fed with food; for my Son said, 'My food is to do the will of my Father.'"[345]

This should be considered thus:[346] "I am the Son of God, and my food is to submit myself physically to the suffering by which, after the devil is conquered according to my Father's will, I will lead humankind back to the paradise out of which they were cast, because my Father sent me into the world for this, to

343. Gn 1.29–30.

344. Cf. 1.4.105, on Jn 1.14; *Lets.* 170r (2:127) and 389 (3:189–90).

345. Jn 4.34, in a variant used as an antiphon for Friday in the third week of Lent.

346. See Widmer, 180–81; this is parenthetical to the main elaboration of Gn 1.29–30, which continues in the next paragraph.

save them. For I was sent by the Father to take up flesh in my mother's womb without a man's moisture. That food, therefore, in which I am equal outside of time to my Father, is better than this food that I eat presently according to the flesh;[347] for the heavenly Father willed that I exist in time and in the world and live with humans, so that through my words, they might return to salvation as I draw them back with me to heaven. For such is my work, because I redeemed humankind in my humanity, so that they might also work according to me. Be fed, therefore, with my law, that your souls not falter. For I established for you the time for food in God's law, in which you will find the pastures of life[348] where you will not fail in anything if you have watched over them; rather, you will live forever."

"When humans have also submitted through the virtues to the commandments of the living God and been made imitators of Christ in the heavenly warfare,[349] they remove themselves from earthly affairs and strive with full devotion towards righteousness; as they mount from virtue unto virtue[350] (which move towards the good) into the land of promise,[351] they have different kinds of food and seasons of time, which were established for them by their leaders.[352] The people ought to observe according to the law's institution those seasons in which feasts are to be celebrated and fasts to be completed. Differences of food must also be maintained, so that more is not eaten than the propriety of need requires; and to each it should be properly dispensed according to the measure by which each has been strengthened and instructed in the Holy Spirit.[353] Let the Christian person—the Church's building material—listen to this, so as rightly to consent to his Captain." And this was so, for God's words and the virtues were made the food of life among the Christian people in the Church.[354]

347. Cf. *Let.* 381 (3:172), with the Eucharistic overtones made explicit against the Cathars.

348. Cf. Jn 10.9.

349. Cf. 2 Tm 2.3.

350. Ps 83.8(84.7).

351. Heb 11.9.

352. Cf. 1.4.99.

353. Cf. *RB* 34, 37.2–3, and 39–40.

354. See Widmer, 168–73.

"And God saw all that he had made";[355] that is, he approved all the commandments as established and the seasons given for all the virtues just described; "and they were very good,"[356] for they were completed in the fullness of Almighty God's choicest grace, so that they would lack nothing. Each virtue existed first as the only good, but thereafter all were equally good because all equally appeared,[357] as a banquet is full when it is executed in all its just courses.

"And there was evening and morning, the sixth day."[358] The flux of instability, when the Church did not yet have the firmness of her established precepts, began to sink down to the morning of the firm justice of all established law, like the day strengthened by the sun's powers while the sun stands fixed in its order, so that then there was the sixth day, and, as in the sixth light of firm faith, the people fulfilled God's commandments according to his will and the teaching of their leaders in the Church. And again, in another sense:

45. "And God said, 'Let the earth bring forth the living creature in its kind: cattle, and creeping things, and beasts of the earth, according to their kinds.' And it was so."[359] This should be considered thus: In the admonition of the Holy Spirit, God says to people who furnish themselves in all the matters just described, in that they diligently join themselves to God in the desire of their soul: "Now let the earth—the human person—bring forth the living virtues of the soul,[360] so that the outer person, attending to the soul's business, sighs ever for God, that soul and body might be obedient to God in the mightiest virtue's kind—obedience,[361] which, hidden in God, took power away from death. Likewise are the cattle subdued in their submission to humankind; the creeping things, too, are subject to them in their useful function; and the beasts of the earth serve humankind, as one person submits himself to another in

355. Gn 1.31.
356. Ibid.
357. See n. 380 below.
358. Gn 1.31.
359. Gn 1.24.
360. Cf. Augustine, *Confessions* 13.21.29.
361. Cf. *RB,* Prol. 3.

the subjection of humility. For obedience is the punishment for pride, confounding it completely.[362]

"And God made the beasts according to their kinds, and the cattle, and everything that creeps upon the earth in its kind."[363] From Almighty God arises fear in the person who once had freely sinned through pride, so that that person begins to seek God, just as the first Man received from God the precept of obedience. And so God causes a person to overthrow his self-will in submission to others because of his love for God, just as beasts are penned up, fed, and directed by humans as they will. Likewise, people are reckoned in their submission to their masters according to the kind of holy humility—bound to obedience in the form of cattle and even in that base nature of the reptile, so that they are crushed in their self-will according to the will of their masters, just as the reptile's base nature is crushed underfoot in its kind.[364]

46. "And God saw that it was good; and he said, 'Let us make Man in our image and likeness, and let him rule over the fish of the sea, and the birds of the sky, and the beasts, and the whole creation, and every creeping thing that moves upon the earth.'"[365] God sees that this is good, and with supreme sweetness takes great delight when a person seeks him in the primal justice that he established for humankind. And he says to himself, "In overcoming his illicit desires, this person touches me with the full inception of justice. With a shining desire for my primal constitution, which I established in that first daybreak when Man ought to have been obedient to me, he stands up with good works. Now let us three persons—the force of single being that touched the first Man to create him in its image and likeness—make it so that this person is given great honor because of his holiness and recognition of divine things. Let him be considered a patron and keep for his neighbor the love of the holy Incarnation, as in God's image; and exhibit in his conscience honor for the divinity, as in God's likeness; so

362. Cf. *LVM* 3.10(14).
363. Gn 1.25.
364. Cf. Gn 3.15; and *RB* 7.50–52.
365. Gn 1.25–26.

that, by putting the institution of the Gospel and the virtues first in temporal affairs, he might sacrifice even himself unto God. That is, let him afflict his body through abstinence and push himself away from the earthly and towards the heavenly, to act with those virtues that have been fulfilled within him, that those virtues might act with him in turn; and in this preference for God, to fear and love him."[366]

"And God created Man in his own image: in the image of God he created him; male and female he created them. And God blessed them and said, 'Grow and multiply, and fill the earth and subdue it; and rule over the fish of the sea, and the birds of the sky, and all living things that move upon the earth.'"[367] And now God creates the human person to honor him, so that he might be known within him entirely in his deity and in his humanity. How? The power of the deity that creates and governs all things appears for humankind's instruction, who were made in his image according to the reason by which they rule over the rest of creation. His mercy, by which he rescued the world in his humanity, is recognized in a person's compassion, by which people ought according to their ability to spare and have mercy upon their neighbor. And these are the good examples of God's Word, as the psalmist David says, "I have said you are gods, and all of you sons of the Most High."[368] This should be understood thus: I have said to you humans, "In this you are gods: that humankind governs all creation, subduing it to their every need as they desire.[369] For just as you hold Almighty God in faith and fear and love, so a creature looks upon humankind as a god in the instruction of fear, and loves them when fed by them. Furthermore, you humans are also called sons of the One who is above the highest, for by the grace of the living God you were created as rational, as if you were born from him; and because you have from him all the knowledge that is necessary for you—but the irrational animal does not know anything except what it perceives through sensation."[370]

God also created in Man—that is, in a person's living con-

366. Cf. *RB* 7.68–69.
367. Gn 1.27–28.
368. Ps 81(82).6.
369. Cf. *Gosp. Hom.* 7 (esp. p. 51).
370. Cf. 3.3.2.

science—the force and strength of clear-sighted justice, so that he would not corruptly yield to iniquity in any way whatsoever, either for himself or for others; and in this respect, humankind is as if manly. He also created [this aspect] in Man, through the gift of divine grace to spare with mercy the person wounded by sin, and to attend to his sufferings so as to pour upon them the wine of repentance and anoint them with the oil of mercy[371]—and this such that that person neither falls beneath an excessive measure of unpardonable penitence, nor, being lukewarm,[372] is enveloped in the emptiness of corrupted works; and in this respect, humankind is as if feminine.[373]

And this God blesses because it touches upon his Son's humanity, as that same Son of God says in the Gospel, "Whoever does the will of my Father who is in heaven, is my brother, sister, and mother."[374] This should be considered thus: "Every person who, propped up by God's grace, with a good intention does the will of my Father, who is my Father by divinity, dwelling in heaven—I who am the son of a Virgin—such that, repudiating what they were born to, they fly to God with the inner person: that person is my brother in a nature different from that of their conception,[375] as they imitate God and look ever to him with the veneration of perfect fear. They are also my sister in this devotion as they faithfully hold God in the embrace of constant charity. And in all their works, as they climb to my Father with the will for perfection and often carry him within heart and body, they are my mother—for thus they give me birth when, with the full zeal of holiness, I blossom in my Father through the fullness of the blessed virtues."

371. Cf. Lk 10.33–34; ch. 9 above, of the black horse; 3.5.28; *Gosp. Hom.* 2 (esp. p. 34); *Lets.* 164r, 179, 189 (2:116, 141, 154) and 291 (3:89).

372. Cf. Rv 3.16.

373. See Elisabeth Gössman, "Hildegard of Bingen," in *A History of Women Philosophers, Vol. II: Medieval, Renaissance, and Enlightenment Women Philosophers, A.D. 500–1600,* ed. Mary Ellen White (Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Kluwer Academic Press, 2012), 27–68, at 53.

374. Mt 12.50.

375. Cf. Hildegard's sequence *O virga ac diadema,* verses 1b–2a (*Symphonia* 20).

Then God says to himself, "May these people grow in the powers of the mightiest virtues, and let the multiplication of those virtues be cherished within them; so that the earth—other people—is filled up by hearing about and understanding the precious spices of these people's good works, and those others submit to their precepts. And may these people rule over their desires with surpassing felicity, withdrawing in these virtues from all worldly pomp, which is as the sea; and may they run with supernal desire to heaven with the virtues and with those who in their powers move toward the good,[376] so that these virtues draw illicit desires, which are as the earth, away from that person."

"And God said, 'Behold, I have given you every plant yielding seed upon the earth, and all the trees that have in themselves seed of their own kind, to be food for you; and to all the animals of the earth, and to every bird of the sky, and to all things that move upon the earth and in whom there is a living spirit, to have to feed upon.' And it was so."[377] And now God also says in the Holy Spirit, "Behold, all the sprouts of the virtues described above, yielding the seed of my Word upon the desires of the flesh of that person who thus keeps restraint. And I have placed all the mightier virtues ascending to the greater precepts, so that, as the virtues have with a right desire within themselves a good seed of their own kind in my Word, they might be for that person food for the soul's refreshment. All the virtues are also subject to God in humility and fly in the heavenly warfare, and move a person away from earthly affairs and toward those of heaven, for in them are living powers planted by the Holy Spirit; they are pastured with that person in his soul, and that person is also nourished with them in all things."[378] And all this comes to be in that person who thus advances in God.

"And God saw all that he had made; and they were very good."[379] God sees now too that all things that the Holy Spirit

376. Cf. Wis 7.22.

377. Gn 1.29–30.

378. In Augustine's *Confessions,* 13.25.38, the earth's fruits are works of mercy owed to ministers of spiritual teaching, comparable here to the paradigmatically virtuous person.

379. Gn 1.31.

grants are very good, for they have been accomplished in the fullness of all the virtues. Though each virtue was at first within itself the only single good, now they are all equally good, because they are fulfilled by appearing simultaneously in a person.[380]

"And there was evening and morning, the sixth day."[381] And now from God it comes to be in a person that a good end, together with a good beginning, of the sixth virtue—obedience—brightly shines as if the sixth day.

47. "So the heavens and the earth were finished, and all their ornament."[382] This should be considered thus: The upper and lower elements, together with all the powers assigned to them, were finished with such fullness and perfection that they rejoiced in the abundance of fitting use, for all need had been taken away.

"And on the seventh day God completed his work that he had made; and he rested on the seventh day from all the work that he had done."[383] The completion of the six separate works already described was called the seventh day, because God brought to perfection all that he had foreordained to create. And so he rested on the seventh day, ceasing from his activity, for he had accomplished his every work in their forms.

"And he blessed the seventh day and hallowed it, because on it God rested from all his work that God had created and made."[384] God blessed the seventh day with praise and hallowed it with an honorable solemnity, for all creation came forth fully created in him, as God had foreordained that it should be, and from it all begotten things proceed. So too the whole angelic host and all the hidden mysteries of divinity[385] blessed God because of the finishing of God's work, and they praised him

380. This conception of the virtues draws on the description of Wisdom's spirit as both *unicus* (singular, unique) and *multiplex* (manifold) in Wis 7.22; and, more broadly, on neoplatonic notions of each successive and more manifold level of being emanating from prior, simpler levels, and ultimately from the unitary One.

381. Gn 1.31.

382. Gn 2.1.

383. Gn 2.2.

384. Gn 2.3.

385. Cf. the opening of the Easter proclamation, the *Exsultet.*

because he had perfected all his work with the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit. Again, in another sense:

48. "So the heavens and the earth were finished, and all their ornament."[386] This should be considered thus: Finished were all the heavenly works that, in the transitoriness of earthly things, strive for heaven with the earthly things that the needs of children born of humans keep; and so all that perfected beauty of heavenly works was established in the Church.

"And on the seventh day God completed his work that he had made; and he rested on the seventh day from all the work that he had done."[387] This entire establishment was completed in all respects—and this such that I determined my every activity in my Son, the seventh day—that is, in the fullness of the entire good—so that the whole churchly people should know well, by seeing, listening to, and probing through teaching, what they are to do according to my precepts.[388] And my entire establishment was so wonderful that I could reveal it in nobody but my Son, sent by me. He fulfilled in open action by his teaching and by his apostles all my arrangements, which the prophets had earlier seen in shadow. Then too the seventh day of my rest gleamed in the Church, so that afterwards, I would enact nothing else in open action—neither in proclamation nor with wondrous signs, nor with the vision of the saints of old—except that I disclose in my Son the works of life and many other secrets, both past and present and to come; and I kindly admonish my elect to imitate my Son's Incarnation, which blossomed in the primal bud.

"And he blessed the seventh day and hallowed it, because on it God rested from all his work that God had created and made."[389] I blessed and hallowed this seventh day with the sal-

386. Gn 2.1.

387. Gn 2.2.

388. Cf. *Scivias* 3.8.15 and 3.11.23. Hildegard departs from the traditional scheme of the seven ages of the world (as in Augustine, e.g., *Confessions* 13.35–37, or *On Genesis Against the Manichees* 1.23.35–40), in which the Incarnation and time of the Church comprise the sixth age, while the seventh is reserved for the "eternal Sabbath" at the end of time. See Widmer, 128–29; Rauh, 505; and Dronke, *LDO,* pp. lxvii–lxviii, esp. n. 86.

389. Gn 2.3.

vation of souls, as I sent my Son to be incarnate in the Virgin's womb. And I blessed and hallowed it, for in that, my day, I was greatly pleased—that is, in those who, as the blooms of roses and lilies,[390] freed from the yoke of the law and with me as their only inspiration, began freely to constrain themselves, as too my Son's Incarnation, promised first in prophecy, was not liable to the law's precept. And I rested from acting in such a way in the Church, which with its full establishment was already perfected in holy work, as it still shines now. For my Son, who is my seventh work, proceeding from the Virgin's womb through humanity, accomplished all these things with me in the Holy Spirit, according to what it says in the Gospel: "All authority was given to me in heaven and on earth."[391] This should be understood thus: By God the Father was given to me, who am the son of a Virgin, all authority by hereditary right to act in heaven and to determine on earth what is to be done and to be determined—not, however, to transgress my Father's will, but to observe it in all things, for I am in the Father and he is in me.[392] And again, in another sense:

49. "So the heavens and the earth were finished, and all their ornament."[393] This should be understood thus: The heavenly and earthly virtues and all their ornament are finished in a person in justice and truth with good works.

"And on the seventh day God completed his work that he had made; and he rested on the seventh day from all the work that he had done."[394] By means of the seventh day—which is his Son, in whom all fullness of good work originated—God completes good work in a person with all the perfected virtues, like an artisan setting precious stones into the work he was to make; for all good works are fully adorned in the person who enacts them through the Holy Spirit's grace. Then too God rests in his Son

390. A similar phrase describes the figure of Virginity within Mother Church's bosom in *Scivias* 2.5; it recalls Sir 50.8, adapted in the refrain of the responsory for the first nocturn of Matins on the Feast of the Assumption, *Vidi speciosam sicut columbam ascendentem.*

391. Mt 28.18.

392. Cf. Jn 14.10–11.

393. Gn 2.1.

394. Gn 2.2.

from all the work—that is, from that work in which a person has now been perfected; for God began to enact righteous works with his Son, who was the seventh work, in the Virgin Mary's womb.

"And he blessed the seventh day and hallowed it, because on it God rested from all his work that God had created and made."[395] In the perfection of good works, God blesses the seventh day—the person who is a member of his Son in him.[396] How? That person is to follow the inner blessing—God's Son, who came forth from God's heart, so that through his example of becoming obedient to God the Father,[397] he might be returned to life. In that person God also hallows the heavenly works described above, for he grants him with himself the glory and honor to forgive his neighbor each debt as he will.[398] And because of this, the Father now rests from the severity of works according to which he allowed no one before his Son's Incarnation to enter the heavenly kingdom. But now he throws open the entrance of supernal joys in his Son, because through that Son he forgives each debt that a person confesses from the heart.

Therefore, let the faithful person understand these things faithfully and not spurn in them the One who is truthful.

395. Gn 2.3.
396. Cf. 1 Cor 6.15 and elsewhere.
397. Phil 2.8.
398. Cf. Mt 6.12 and 18.27.

PART THREE, VISION ONE

The City of God and the Mirror of the Angels

AND AGAIN I SAW as if the squared instrument of a great city,[1] *surrounded as with a certain radiance and a certain darkness, as with a wall on either side; and adorned also with certain mounts and images. I saw also amid its eastern stretch as if a mountain, great and tall,*[2] *of hard white stone, its form like that from which fire is belched. At its summit gleamed as if a mirror of such brilliance and purity that it seemed to surpass even the splendor of the sun; and in it appeared as if a dove, wings spread as if ready to fly. As that mirror also held within itself very many hidden wonders, it broadcast from itself a radiance of great breadth and height, in which appeared many mysteries and many more forms of diverse images.*

For in that radiance appeared in the southern direction as if a cloud, shining white above but black beneath. Above it flashed as if a vast multitude of angels. Some seemed fiery, some bright, some like stars; and all of them were stirred by a wind as if it blew upon burning lamps,[3] *and it was full of voices that resounded like the roar of the sea.*[4]

And that wind raised up its voices in its wrath and cast by it fire into the aforementioned blackness of the cloud, so that the fire burned into the blackness without flame; but soon, it blew upon it and caused it to fall

1. Cf. the four-square edifice in *Scivias* 3.2; and see Liebeschütz, 121–23; Maurmann, 109–16; Christel Meier, "Scientia Divinorum Operum: Zu Hildegards von Bingen visionär-künstlerischer Rezeption Eriugenas," in *Eriugena Redivivus. Zur Wirkungsgeschichte seines Denkens im Mittelalter und im Übergang zur Neuzeit,* ed. Werner Beierwaltes (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1987), 89–141, at 115–27; and Peter Dronke, "The Symbolic Cities of Hildegard of Bingen," *Journal of Medieval Latin* 1 (1991): 168–83, at 178–82.

2. Cf Ps 98(99).2, Is 40.9, and Mt 17.1; and *Scivias* 1.3.19.

3. Rv 4.5.

4. Cf. Jer 50.42.

Figure 3.1: The City of God and the Mirror of the Angels. Biblioteca Statale di Lucca, MS 1942, fol. 118r (early 13th-cen.). By permission of the Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities and Tourism.

apart and dissipate like thick smoke. So as the blackness fell to ruin, [*the wind's wrath*] *drove it back, away from the south and over the mountain to the north, into an endless chasm, so that it could never again raise itself up, except sometimes to cast a certain mist upon the earth.*

And I heard as if trumpets crying out from heaven, "What is this that has fallen, so mighty in its powers?" And so the shining white part of the aforesaid cloud gleamed even brighter than before, and no one could resist at all the wind that had cast down the cloud's blackness with the three tones of its voices.

And again I heard a voice from heaven saying:

2. God knows all things in his foreknowledge, for before creation came into existence in its forms, he foreknew them;[5] and from him nothing is hid that comes forth from the beginning of the world to its ending. This is what the present vision declares.

For you see as if the squared instrument of a great city, which signifies the work of divine predestination, fixed and firm. It is *surrounded as with a certain radiance and a certain darkness, as with a wall on either side,* for the faithful are accounted for glory but the unfaithful for punishment, each with just judgment separated from the other. *And it is adorned also with certain mounts and images,* that is, fortified and exalted with the great wonders of miracles and virtues; for as God made all his works true and just,[6] he confirmed them with such stable strength that they could not be destroyed by any fault or shock.[7] Moreover, when *amid its eastern stretch you see as if a mountain, great and tall, of hard white stone, its form like that from which fire is belched,* this signifies that in the strength of justice, God is great in power, lofty in glory, hard in harshness, white in gentleness, for he effects all his judgments in the fire of fairness.[8] For he is just and crushes injustice completely, because heaven and earth were founded upon him and he upholds the firmament together with all creation, as a cornerstone secures the entire edifice.[9]

5. Cf. Hildegard's antiphon *O quam mirabilis* (*Symphonia* 3); and *Expl. Symb. S. Athan.*, p. 118.

6. Cf. Dn 4.34(37).

7. Cf. *Scivias* 1.1.1.

8. Cf. Ps 118(119).75.

9. Cf Jb 38.4–6; Is 28.16–17; Eph 2.20–21.

At its summit gleams as if a mirror of such brilliance and purity that it seems to surpass even the splendor of the sun. For in God's excellence, his foreknowledge is so lucent and clear that it surpasses every creature's gleam. *And in it appears as if a dove, wings spread as if ready to fly,* because in that foreknowledge, the divine plan of order spread itself out to come forth in its manifestation.[10] For when God willed, he made every creature to come forth. As its two wings aid a bird in flight and it sits upon a mountain considering where it wants to fly, so too the divine plan of order has two wings—in angels and humans—and sits within its potential as if upon a mountain, to ordain all things like a man who silently plans out all that he wills. As divine order fortified humankind with the angels' guardian ranks, it gave them to fly as with the wings of will and work; and in the old law it was silent and still, for the law was wholly significative. For this ordinance foresaw in all things that the figure in which there was living breath and knowledge would know what it ought to do, since through the living wind—the soul—it would look either to the right or to the left. If it should fly to the right, it would receive the reward of life—but if it tended to the left, it would submit there to the punishments incurred. Indeed, God keeps this ordinance beneath the cover of his wings, so that when a person flies to him in saying, "In you I will rejoice, for you have made me—and so too my soul clings to you,"[11] this right hand protects and supports him and grants him the greatest adornments. But the one who refuses to cling to him, it allows to perish, as just described.

Furthermore, when the Son of God assumed the garment of flesh that clung to his holy divinity—the divinity by which in his humanity he was to perfect his work that had not yet been accomplished[12]—he immediately took flight with humans in the virtues; and the angels marveled, for this no other human could do except the unique Word of God incarnate. He sanctified them through his garment, so that, as they gaze upon him, they would deny themselves, to fly with him upon his outstretched wings to the desires of heaven.

10. "plan of order": *ordinatio,* also trans. below as "ordinance."
11. Cf. Ps 62.8–9(63.7–8).
12. Cf. *Scivias* 3.1.9.

3. *As that mirror also holds within itself very many hidden wonders, it broadcasts from itself a radiance of great breadth and height.* This signifies that God's knowledge, which holds within itself many unknown secrets, brings forth the showing of its wonders by opening out and lifting up, as it pleases. *In it appear many mysteries and many more forms of diverse images,* because, when the showing of God's wonders had disclosed itself, what previously had been unknown and unseen came forth in open manifestation.

For in that radiance appears in the southern direction as if a cloud, shining white above but black beneath. This signifies that, in the showing of God's burning justice, the intention of the blessed spirits is revealed to be worthy of praise, while that of the reprobate is accursed. *Above it flashes as if a vast multitude of angels. Some seem fiery, some bright, some like stars.* For those who appear fiery are the strongest in their powers and cannot be moved in any way, for God willed that they should be before his face, ever to gaze upon it.[13] Those, moreover, who are shown to be bright are rather moved by the execution of the works of humans, who are God's work—for what humans enact in their functions exists in God's sight and that of these angels,[14] because the latter ever consider human works and offer their good aroma to God as they select the useful and discard the useless.[15] Those, finally, who seem like stars empathize with human nature and present it to God like a script;[16] they accompany humans and tell them what God wills with the words of rationality;[17] and at their good works, they praise God, but from their evil ones they turn away.[18]

4. *And all of them are stirred by a wind as if it were blowing upon burning lamps,* for God's spirit, living and burning in truth, stirs those angelic spirits to his jealous wrath against his enemies. *And it is full of voices that resound like the roar of the sea,* for it contains the fullness and perfection of all the praises that

13. I.e., the cherubim and seraphim; cf. Mt 18.10 and *Scivias* 1.6.9–10.

14. Cf. *RB* 7.13.

15. I.e., the virtues, powers, principalities, dominations, and thrones; cf. *Scivias* 1.6.4–8.

16. Cf. *Let.* 113r (2:57).

17. I.e., the angels and archangels; cf. *Scivias* 1.6.2–3, and Hildegard's responsory *O vos angeli* (*Symphonia* 30 = *Scivias* 3.13.2b).

18. Cf. *Scivias* 1.6.11 and *LVM* 1.45(58).

flood every creature, both angelic and human, in its praise of God. And as you see, *that wind raised up its voices in its wrath,* for God's spirit turned the righteous voices of his judgments toward the condemnation of the reprobate. *And it cast by it fire into the aforementioned blackness of the cloud, so that the fire burned into the blackness without flame.* For as the blessed spirits saw the undertaking of the lost angels, they hastened to God's honor. Ardently too they poured out the fire of vengeance upon the vilest infidelity of their enemies' intention; and these seethed not to be corrected but to deepen their curse, absent all light of salvation, because they refused to show their Creator due honor.[19] For because they wanted to exist without the radiance of praising their Creator, they were accounted as nothing,[20] just as unscribed parchment is empty and has not the honor of writing.

But soon, it blew upon it and caused it to fall apart and dissipate like thick smoke; because through the blessed spirits, that jealous wrath reduced the design of the reprobate to nothing—as it tried to mount up, it was throttled and suppressed. For the ranks of good angels gaze upon God and recognize him with the whole symphony of praises, and with wondrous unanimity they praise his mysteries, which ever were and are in him—a work they cannot ever abandon, because they are not weighed down by any earthly body. They also declare the divinity with the living notes of their excellent voices, which are beyond the number of the sand of the sea,[21] and beyond the number of all the fruits that sprout upon the earth, and beyond the number of the sounds that all animals produce, and beyond all radiance reflected in the waters from sun and moon and stars, and beyond all the sounds of the ether that come to be through the movement of the winds that lift up and sustain the four elements. Yet even in all these voices of their praises, the blessed spirits cannot capture the divinity within any boundary. So too they forever make newness with their voices.

So as the blackness fell to ruin, the jealous wrath just mentioned *drove it back, away from the south and over the mountain to the north,*

19. Cf. *Scivias* 3.1.14.
20. Cf. Wis 3.17 and 9.6.
21. Cf. Gn 32.12, Rom 9.27, Rv 20.7, and elsewhere in Scripture.

into an endless chasm,[22] *so that it can never again raise itself up, except sometimes to cast a certain mist upon the earth.*[23] In this is shown that by virtue of the angels' holiness, this wrath drove back the wicked spirits' intention, which had already staggered away from the place of blessedness, past the gaze of the Ever-Living, to the tragedy of perdition and unfailing loss, for it reduced them to such a state of despair that they could never again rebel against God—though they do not miss a chance to tempt humans with their wickedest seductions.

5. There is also a certain host of angels, hidden with God in heaven, which the divinity bathes with its light and which is concealed from the human creature except insofar as it is known through shining signs. And this host exists rationally more with God than with humankind and appears rarely to humans, since the angels whose duty is with humans reveal themselves to them with certain signs when it pleases God. For God established certain angels for various functions and made them to be functionaries with creation. Yet, though they have various functions, they all adore the one God with worship and knowledge.

Indeed, if knowledge were not to fly with the sound of praise to him from whom it exists, but rather wanted to exist of its own accord, how could it stand, since it cannot exist on its own? For rationality always offers its sound of praise to another, and so takes its cheer, for if it wanted only to echo upon itself, it could not be glorified. That is what Satan did when he began his life, because he did not look back to his Creator with praise, but fell to ruin because he wanted to exist on his own—cut off from divinity and crushed, like stubble cut away from the grain and crushed.

And so each and every creature that lives ought to look to its Creator rather than seek to have glory by itself. Indeed, a person cannot possess the full joy of usefulness on his own, except insofar as he receives it from another; and when he understands the joy of usefulness because of another, he will then experience a great and happy leap in his heart.[24] So too the soul remembers

22. Cf. *Scivias* 3.1.14.
23. Of the mist, cf. 1.4.4 and 2.1.6; *Scivias* 1.2.9–10; and *LVM* 1.63(76).
24. Cf. *LVM* 4.2(3).

that it was created by God and looks to him in faith, as in a mirror one considers one's face and how it is formed. For almighty God established his work in this way, that it should look back to him with praise because he perfected it with great honor. He also ordained that the blessed spirits should cast their opposites away from true blessedness and say, "Let us cast away from us those who want to terrorize us." So it is written by God's will:

6. "The floods have lifted up, O Lord: the floods have lifted up their voice. The floods have lifted up their waves with the roars of many waters."[25] The meaning of this passage is to be taken in this sense: In your zeal you raised up the angelic spirits, O Lord of all creation, and they bore up their powers like waves to drown your enemies. And again the hosts of those spirits drew up their might on high, offering their roaring voices in scores of praise. For the angelic ranks are like floods of living water[26] that the wind of God's spirit stirred to the glory of his praise as those voices battled against the black dragon.

For with the blare of trumpets declaring God's hidden judgment, Michael struck that serpent because he refused to acknowledge the divinity's brilliance, and cast him by God's power into the pit of hell that has no bottom limit;[27] there too his followers, who agreed with him and considered him their master, fell with him. Yet he received more punishment than all the others, because he wanted to look to no one else but himself, while the others looked to him.

But after the downfall of that ancient enemy, the celestial choirs praised God, because their accuser was fallen[28] and a place for him was no longer to be found in heaven.[29] And then they also perceived God's wonders in a flash greater than they had ever seen before, understanding too that never again would there be such a battle in heaven, nor would any again fall from heaven. But they also perceived in the pure divinity that the number of the falling spirits would be filled up by earthen ves-

25. Ps 92(93).3–4.
26. Cf. Jn 4.10–14.
27. Cf. Rv 9.1–2.
28. Rv 12.10.
29. Cf. Ps 36(37).36.

sels.[30] And because of this joy—that they knew that the number of those who had fallen would be restored in this way—they consigned that fall to oblivion, as if it had never been.

Indeed, as it befitted him, almighty God established the heavenly host in various orders, so that the individual orders would possess their own functions, and each order would be a mirrored seal for each other order.[31] In each mirror exist divine mysteries that those orders cannot fully see, or know, or grasp, or define.[32] Wherefore, as their wonder passes from praise unto praise, they mount from glory unto glory[33]—and so are they ever new, for all these things they cannot ever bring to an end. They were also made by God spirit and life, never to fail in the divine praises and ever to gaze upon God's fiery brilliance and glint like flame struck from the brilliance of divinity.[34]

These words, moreover, the faithful should receive with devout affection of the heart, for they have been revealed for the usefulness of believers by the One who is the first and the last.[35]

30. I.e., humans; cf. 2 Cor 4.7; on the tenth choir, see 1.1.3, with references.

31. Cf. Ps.-Dionysius, *Celest. Hier.*, ch. 15.

32. Cf. Ps.-Dionysius, *Divine Names,* ch. 4.

33. Cf. Ps 83.8(84.7) and 2 Cor 3.18.

34. For this and the preceding paragraph, cf. Hildegard's antiphon *O gloriosissimi lux vivens angeli* (*Symphonia* 29 = *Scivias* 3.13.2a); and *Let.* 84r (1:183–84).

35. Is 41.4, Rv 1.17, and elsewhere.

PART THREE, VISION TWO

The City in Salvation History: Creation to Incarnation

After this, I spied in the eastern corner—where the east begins[1]*—as if a marble stone, like the mountain great and tall, a monolith in which only a gate as of a great city appeared hewn out; and a certain bright splendor coming from the rising of the sun completely flooded this gate, but did not extend beyond. And from that stone almost to the southeastern point there appeared as if images of human beings—children and people young and old—like stars through a cloud, uttering a sound to the west like the sea when its waves are stirred up by the wind. A certain splendor coming from above and excelling all human standards of beauty flooded them with its beam, which it then drew back again to itself.*

But next to that eastern edge there stood two other images side-by-side.[2] *The first one had a head and chest like a leopard, but arms like a human, while its hands were like a bear's paws;*[3] *besides that, I saw no other form within it. Moreover, it wore a tunic of stone and did not move to either side, but turned its gaze toward the north. But the other image, which was closer to the corner, had the face and hands of a human, with hands folded together; and it displayed the feet of a hawk. It wore a tunic as of wood that appeared brilliant white from its top to the image's navel, while reddish from navel to loins, pale grey from loins to knees, and muddy from knees to the bottom of its feet. It also held a sword placed sideways as if upon its loins, and though it stood stock still, it had its gaze turned to the west.*

1. I.e., the northeastern corner of the eastern wall, as the city's walls face the cardinal directions.

2. As the Lucca miniature makes clear, these images appear at the city's southeastern corner.

3. Cf. Rv 13.2.

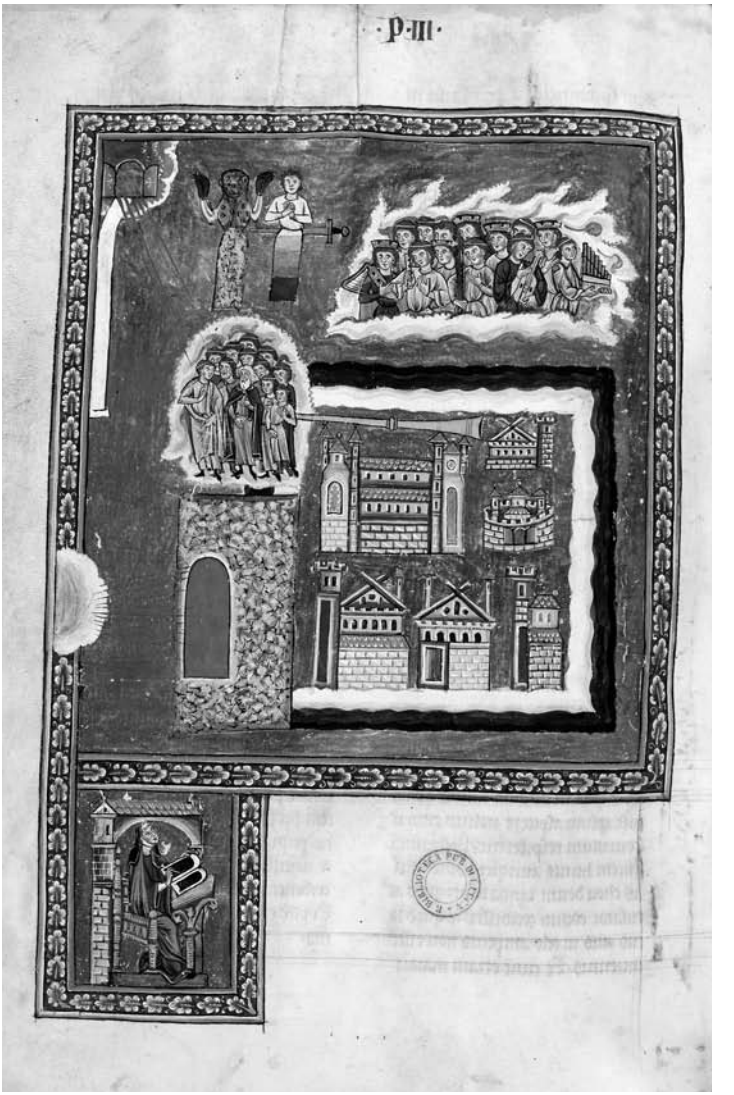
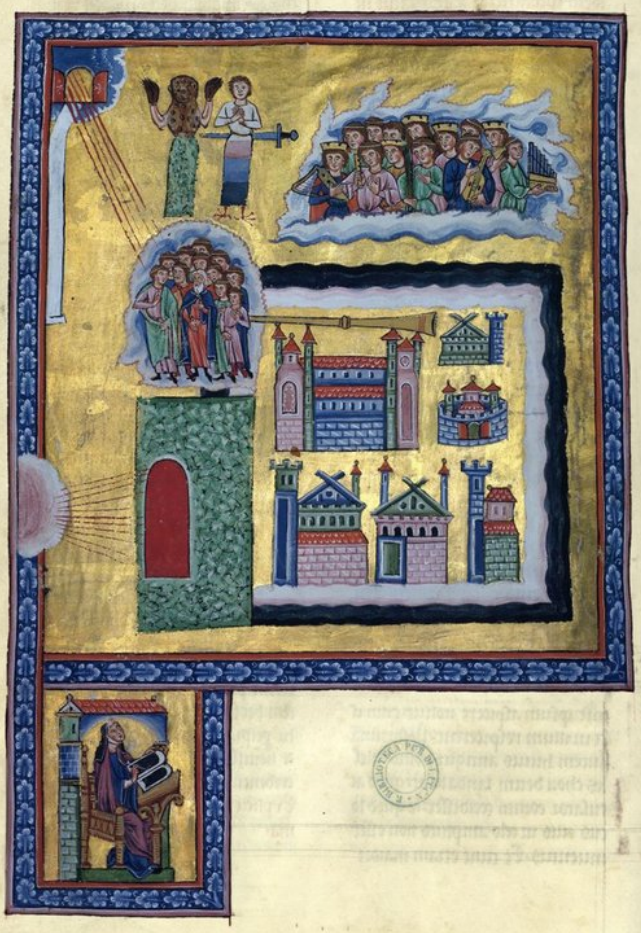


Figure 3.2: The City of God in Salvation History. Biblioteca Statale di Lucca, MS 1942, fol. 121v (early 13th-cen.). By permission of the Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities and Tourism.



But then I saw as if countless other human images floating in the air like a cloud along the entire southern stretch. Some of them wore as if golden crowns upon their heads,[4] *others held as if highly ornate palms in their hands.*[5] *Some held as if pipes, others as if harps, and others as if organs, and the sound of these instruments dinned like the soft sound of clouds.*[6]

And again I heard a voice from heaven saying to me:

2. After the army of lost angels fell, God ordained humankind for the glory they had lost. But because humankind also slipped to ruin, he redeemed them with the great price of his blessed arrest.[7] But first he often sent many wonderful tidings in the Old Testament by which to call them back to life; and then in the New Testament he accomplished even more miracles for their deliverance. Therefore, *you spy in the eastern corner—where the east begins—as if a marble stone, like the mountain great and tall, a monolith.* This signifies that from the beginning of creation when the world was created, God has existed, the powerful and lofty rock within the wholeness of stability, in which there is no mutability. *In it only a gate as of a great city appears hewn out; and a certain bright splendor coming from the rising of the sun completely floods this gate, but does not extend beyond.*[8] For God's will, which lies open like a gate to every good, is touched by the ordinance of purest divinity, so that it does not proceed beyond what has been ordained, because God's will and ordinance accord with one another, such that neither surpasses the other. For by the gracious goodness of his will, God ordained humankind for the place the ancient serpent had lost; and when they tottered into perversity, he purged them with the waters of the flood and renewed the world in Noah with a just trial.

4. Cf. Rv 4.4, and *LVM* 6.26(30).

5. Cf. Rv 7.9.

6. Cf. *LVM* 6.30(44).

7. Cf. 1 Cor 6.20 and 7.22–23.

8. Liebeschütz (pp. 51–56, esp. 54n1) notes that this radiant stone gate recalls the monolith in *The Shepherd of Hermas,* Similitude 9, where both the rock and the door are Christ; for the influence of *Hermas* on Hildegard, see further Peter Dronke, "Arbor Caritatis," in *Medieval Studies for J. A. W. Bennet,* ed. P. L. Heyworth (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), 221–31; and *Women Writers,* 161 and 169–70.

And so, *from that stone almost to the southeastern point there appear as if images of human beings—children and people young and old—like stars through a cloud, uttering a sound to the west like the sea when its waves are stirred up by the wind.* For with divine strength, prophecy began in God's first work—Adam—throughout the time when the old law appeared with its harshness and then came to an end with the advent of the ardor of justice and truth.[9] Prophecy has thus shone from generation to generation in the diverse ages of humankind, like a light in the darkness,[10] and it will not rest from its sound until the world's ending, offering words of multivalent signification because it is imbued with diverse mysteries by the Holy Spirit's inspiration. For prophecy exists in humankind like the soul in the body, because as the soul is hidden within the body and the body is governed by it, so prophecy that comes from God's spirit, which excels all creation, is invisible, and by it every failure is reproached, and all who leave the path of righteousness are led back.[11] So too my servant David speaks with my inspiration, saying:

3. "My heart has uttered a good word; I speak my works to the king."[12] The meaning of this passage is to be taken in this sense: I, who am the Father of all, openly reveal that before all creation my inner power uttered a good Word—my Son, whom I begot, through whom all very good things were made.[13] Wherefore too I speak in many ways while not changing myself—I who am, making manifest my works to him who is to rule throughout all the earth. For all my works that have been done from the start were known to my Son.

9. For Adam and prophecy, see further ch. 12 below.

10. Jn 1.5.

11. On this "treatise on prophecy" in the context of Hildegard's own vocation, see Bernard McGinn, "'Trumpets of the Mysteries of God': Prophetesses in Late Medieval Christianity," 125–42, esp. 127–29, in *Propheten und Prophezeiungen—Prophets and Prophecies,* ed. Matthias Ridel and Tilo Schabert (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2005). Note also Liebeschütz (136), on prophecy in the macrocosm-microcosm structure: "God has continually embodied his creative power both in the great world of the cosmos and in the small one of the person—and this power is precisely the heart of the eternal office of prophet to prepare for the God-Man, the seal of the entire process."

12. Ps 44.2(45.1).

13. Cf. Gn 1.31.

Prophecy also uttered in its virtue a good word when it spoke wondrous deeds to foretell that that Word through which all things were made would be clothed in flesh;[14] and when it showed the King of Kings to come, and that the untouched earth that has not been worn down by man's work should bring forth this righteous shoot.[15] Prophecy recognized this Word through the inpouring of the Holy Spirit, in certain old people as well as in certain young people and in certain children, who by the Holy Spirit's inspiration spoke in very many signs of that shoot that is the Word of God.

Indeed, God created the male from the earth and changed him into flesh and blood; but woman, taken from that man, remained flesh from flesh,[16] never to be changed into something else.[17] And in the spirit of prophecy they knew that by the Holy Spirit's inspiration, a woman would bear the Son of God, as a bloom grows at the touch of sweetest air. So too it was prefigured in Aaron's staff,[18] which was cut from a tree and which demonstrated the Virgin Mary, from whose mind a man was cut away so that she might never be touched by the pleasure of any copulation. Rather, she brought forth a single man by the Holy Spirit's fire and surrounded him with all creatures,[19] because they had received their appetite by coming forth from him, so that they all were also obedient to his voice.[20] The prophets indeed had said that the woman who was to give birth should

14. Jn 1.3 and 1.14.

15. Cf. *Scivias* 3.4.8–9; and *Lets.* 17or (2:127) and 389 (3:189–90).

16. Gn 2.23.

17. Cf. *Cause* 2.128 (pp. 93–94): "God made humankind (*hominem*) from clay, but man (*uir*) was changed from clay into flesh, and therefore is the proper reason for and the ruler of creation. He works the earth for it to bear fruit, and is mighty in his bones, veins, and flesh; he has an unbroken head and thick skin, and keeps his might at the ready, and produces his seed as the sun does light. Woman, meanwhile, was not changed, for she remained flesh taken from flesh, and therefore was she given skillful handiwork, and is like the air, because she bears a babe in her womb and gives him birth. She has a divided head and thin skin, so that the babe she bears in her womb can have air."

18. Nm 17.2–8; cf. 1.1.17 and 3.5.18.

19. Cf. Jer 31.22.

20. In an echo of Gn 2.7 and 2.19, the Virgin brings the man forth and then brings the animals to him.

come forth from the act of charity,[21] like the branch from the root of Jesse;[22] and they all ascribed this virginal birth to the King, the Son of God.

For when this woman enclosed the Son of God and humans saw and heard him in the likeness of their own image, they loved him more than if they had not seen him—for what humans see in shadow they cannot know in fullness. So too when the prophets spoke in shadow's sound, they often passed through as if in shadow those things that nevertheless were all afterwards rendered in solid form among humans, because prophecy's sound proceeds from the hidden mysteries of divinity.[23]

4. *But* as you see, *next to that eastern edge there stood two other images side-by-side.* These signify that because the origin of justice that was shown in Abel was already faltering,[24] God made manifest two ages of different human customs, joined to one another in proximity—the one before the flood without the law, but the other after the flood under the law.

The first one has a head and chest like a leopard, but arms like a human, while its hands are like a bear's paws; besides that, you see no other form within it. For that age that was without law before the flood revealed in human behavior the power and might of various bestial natures, because at that time humans had been enveloped at the devil's first deception within all the vices.[25] They consigned God to oblivion and lived according to the appetite of self-will—and though they sometimes acted like humans as with their arms, at other times they aped the nature and marauding of cruel beasts in the works of their hands.[26] And so they abandoned too the honor of human morals and cared not to live according to human discipline, but rather remained thus wholly deformed. *Moreover, it wears a tunic of stone and does not move to either side, but turns its gaze toward the north.* For the hu-

21. *de opere caritatis.*

22. Is 11.1; cf. Hildegard's responsory *O tu suavissima virga* (*Symphonia* 21 = *Scivias* 3.13.1b).

23. Cf. Hildegard's antiphon for prophets, *O spectabiles viri* (*Symphonia* 31 = *Scivias* 3.13.3a).

24. Cf. 3.4.6; and *Scivias* 3.5.19.

25. Cf. *Gosp. Hom.* 25 (esp. p. 114).

26. Cf. *Let.* 223r (3:19).

mans of that age enclosed themselves within the hardness and weightiness of sin and did not turn away from evil toward good. In their conscience they saw indeed that they were doing evil and disgusting deeds—at which the ancient serpent rejoices—but still they did not want to desert them.

For when God created heaven and earth, he divided the earth so that one part of it would be immutable, but another would be mutable—and from that latter earth God also formed Man.[27] The human person too is mutable in waking and in sleeping. For when he is awake, he sees with the light of his eyes following the course of the sun; and when he has no light for his eyes, so he is as one darkened in soul as if at night.

5. And God placed Man in the land of the living that is not illuminated by the sphere of the sun but perfused by the living light of eternity. But when Man transgressed the divine commandment, he was cast again into the land of mutability. Yet he bore two sons: the one made sacrifice to God, but the other killed his brother and was guilty of death. And the one who sacrificed to God and heard God's voice was cut off. And at this there arose a great lament.[28]

For in that first creation, humans had such strength and power that they could overcome even the mightiest beasts. So it was that they often took pleasure in playing around with them, and because the beasts feared humans and tamped down their own wildness, they submitted to the humans; but still they could not alter their nature on this account. But the humans did alter the beautiful form of their own rationality and coupled with the beasts. If whatever was born of such a union was more like a human than a brute animal, they hated and ignored it; but if it had more the form of a brute animal than of a human, they embraced it with love's kiss.[29]

27. Cf. Gn 2.7.

28. Cf. Gn 4.

29. Cf. *Cause* 2.92 (pp. 80–81): "At that time too humans forgot about God, so that they acted more like herd animals than like God. For this reason many loved herd animals more than humans, so that they commingled and coupled with herd animals both female and male in such a way that the image of God that was already in them was almost forsaken. And every race of humans was changed and transformed into monsters, so that some humans made their

Human behavior then was also of two kinds—at one time human, at another bestial, just as the leopard and bear sometimes act like humans and at other times like beasts. For this reason they did not possess the beautiful wings of rationality with which to strive for God with right faith and hope, for those wings had collapsed for them because of the sins just described. This the ancient serpent suggested to them, so that the glory of their rationality would be lost, which with deep hatred he tore to pieces in the human person. For the devil said to himself, "What is this that the Highness has made? Indeed, it fits my plan better than it does his. So I will overcome him with his own creation!"[30]

Thus humans in that first age were polluted by the serpent's spume and acted according to the appetite of their earthly vessel rather than the soul's breath. They refused to recognize anything except what they could see physically formed, saying, "What use to me is the wind, which has no form and cannot speak to me? I will keep to that which speaks to me and runs to me."[31] For the devil's artifice puffed into certain large animals and spoke to humans through them: "I am the one who created you." In this way he seduced humans into being defiled by them, so that the sound of rationality's voice, with which they ought to praise God, would be turned around in them so that they would not praise God—for such praise the devil neither wanted nor even tried to want.[32]

Yet there were a few who had listened to the first-formed man, who had related to them how he had been formed by

---

customs and even voices like those of beasts by running, howling, and living like them. For before the flood, beasts and herd animals were not yet as rough as they became afterwards. They did not flee from humans, and humans did not flee from them, nor were either very much afraid of the other.... The beasts and herd animals also licked the humans, and the humans them, so that they loved each other all the more within their difference and clung to one another.... And then the commotion of such iniquity rose up before God's eyes, because the image of God had been choked and strangled, and rationality had been confounded in fornication."

30. Cf. *Let.* 113r (2:56).

31. Cf. *LVM* 1.63(76) and 3.27(35).

32. Cf. *Scivias* 3.11.29.

God and placed in the place of pleasure,[33] and how he had left that place. They tasted their human nature and did not couple with the herds; instead, they lived rightly and soberly in that nature as God had established for them.[34] Because of the troubles and burden of the common people who were defiled as just described, they fled to the high mountains, and there were comforted by the soul's breath to keep from sinning. Instead, they ever sighed and said, "Where are we to seek him who created us?" For this they were mocked by the other peoples, who said, "What is it that they worship, that they cannot see with their eyes nor touch with their hands?" So too they mocked Noah's construction. And God was speaking to them with his mystical wonders, as too he spoke to Abel, the son of the first human.

6. But after the earth had been filled up with this adversarial people, I who am could no longer bear their unlawful sins, and I decreed the human race to be drowned in the waters, except those few who had recognized me.[35]

But the earth had never before been dried out until that deluded people was wholly drowned.[36] For the waters so pervaded the whole earth that it became like mud, and in it the dead bodies of humans were so immersed that afterwards they could not be found—though some dead bodies of animals did appear on the surface of the waters because of their light weight. Nor had the earth ever been dried out before the sun completed its rising and setting, together with the journeys of the moon and stars and all their attendant functions; nor before all these things returned the waters to their established places, as they had first been set.[37] And so the earth was baked by the sun's heat into a different state than it had seemed before. Indeed,

33. I.e., Eden in Gn 2.10.

34. Cf. *LVM* 3.71(89); and *Cause* 2.92–93 (p. 81), in which the "sons of God" of Gn 6.2 are Adam's steadfastly righteous offspring, while the "sons of humans" are the children of those who committed bestiality.

35. Cf. Gn 6.5–8.

36. Cf. *Cause* 2.92 (p. 79) and 2.95 (p. 82): "For before the Flood it did not rain, but only dew fell upon the earth. But after the earth was pervaded by the waters in the Flood and then hardened, it naturally sought the waters' rain."

37. I.e., at the Flood, the whole cosmos had to be positioned as it was at the first creation.

the sun and moon and stars, and all the other celestial bodies, were thrown into some confusion after Adam's fall and before the flood because of excessive and powerful heat;[38] and humans at that time were so strong in their bodies that they could endure such heat. Even now the fury of that great heat is occasionally felt when the celestial bodies are sometimes obscured by it. For after the flood, they were so drenched with the waters that in their cold and heat they are clearer than they were before the flood,[39] while the earth and humans endure afterwards in greater weakness and frailty than before.[40] For pouring through the whole earth all the way to the bottom of the penetrable earth, the water in the flood changed it to mud, as too at the Last Day it will be burned up to the same depth because humankind will no longer have need of it.[41]

For God executes his judgments upon humankind through water and fire, so that, because he constructed humankind by those elements, humankind should also be controlled by them. And as God floods the whole earth with water's moisture and compacts and firms it with fire's heat, so too he wets the human person with the body's moisture and strengthens him with the heat of the soul's fire.[42] But those whom the Lord had preserved after the flood to beget the new generation were so wholly frightened by seeing God's terrible judgment that they burned with the fear of God and began to offer sacrifices to God's honor.[43]

7. Thereafter generation advanced on generation with smaller powers than humans had before the flood, as said above; for because the earth was changed, human powers also were changed, made weaker because they had followed the ancient deceiver, who had changed his own glory into serpentine traits.[44] For the serpent is cunning in deceiving whom he wants

38. Cf. *Scivias* 1.2.27.

39. I.e., the unloosing of the waters in Gn 7.11 broke the separation of the waters above and below the firmament; see *Cause* 2.93 (p. 81).

40. Cf. 3.5.8.

41. Cf. 1.4.54; and *Gosp. Hom.* 53 (pp. 190–92).

42. Cf. 1.4.57.

43. Cf. Gn 8.20 and 31.53–54.

44. Cf. *Cause* 2.91 (p. 79).

to deceive and in fleeing from whom he wants to flee.[45] So too acts the ancient enemy when he deceives the one whom he overpowers with the trick of his deadly venom of infidelity; and when he swiftly flees from those who defeat him, because by them he is crushed, just as when he was cast forth from heaven.

For that age that withstood the ancient serpent flourished in the fear of the Lord, so that disregard for God would not flood humankind at his puffery, as it had before the flood. Indeed, after the flood, God made a new earth with a new people, placing his bow in the clouds as a sign that the waters would never again drown the whole earth and all the peoples.[46] It also showed that all his enemies would know what great power he had over them in his terrible judgment.[47] God's judgment indeed has great might to strike against his enemies who want to destroy the truth of divinity; and after the fall of the son of perdition,[48] with fire and great tempests he will bring an end for all mortal humans,[49] so that at last nothing would any longer appear mortal.

8. *But the other image, which is closer to the corner, has the face and hands of a human, with hands folded together; but it displays the feet of a hawk.* This signifies that age that existed in human customs after the flood and under the law, advancing all the way to its end when that law's austerity grew limp—for at that point, the intent and deeds of those humans who looked more to the flesh than to the spirit were lax and without effort, because as they advanced they felt not its mercy but only its harshness—for the law spared no one, but punished harshly the one who faltered.

It wears a tunic as of wood, because this age drew up the old law that neglected spiritual fruits. *It appears brilliant white from its top to the image's navel,* because the time from Noah—who recognized his Creator and knew himself to be human, and began the first edifice of sanctity and made offerings to God—all the way to Abraham—who was like the navel of fortitude—arose as

45. Cf. 1.3.9.
46. Gn 9.8–17.
47. Cf. 2.1.8.
48. Cf. 2 Thes 2.3–8.
49. Cf. Is 66.15–16, Rv 8.7, 18.8, and elsewhere.

if brilliant white. For humans had been so greatly terrified by the waters' chasm that for some time thereafter they drew to themselves the fear of God through rectitude.

But it is reddish from navel to loins, signifying that time from Abraham to Moses, aflame with circumcision. For as the dawn comes before the sun, so in the sign of circumcision, in which he ground away lust, Abraham preceded the Son of God's humanity.[50] *It is pale grey from loins to knees,* showing that the time from Moses the lawgiver until the Babylonian exile proceeded according to the flesh in the law's harshness and severity, and then it also began to be bent down to many vanities. *And it is muddy from knees to the bottom of its feet,* signifying the time from the Babylonian exile until the utter end of that law, when the Son of God came who fulfilled it entirely within himself. That time appeared as if muddied in its negligence and listlessness, for that law had already been accounted unseemly—like muddy water it was thought of as nothing, dwindling in the flesh to its fall. For those who seemed to be under the law in that time refused to acknowledge the rising Sun of justice; rather, they declared that they would look only at the letters written on their tablets, and affirmed that nothing else was to be understood within them.[51]

And so I, who judge all things justly, have again cast upon them my judgments, which I had laid upon them in Egypt and in other places when they trusted in themselves by doing what they wished; and this have I done through those peoples who have captured and scattered them in far-flung places. In this hardened infidelity, moreover, they will endure for a time, until the ancient serpent turns his eye upon a certain lost and erring man, whom the hidden divinity will slay with such a blow as neither angel nor human can know.[52] And then that people of the law will look back to me with great distress, wailing and lamenting because they had for so long been deceived.[53] But as long as humans dwell thenceforth in this transitory world, this remains unknown to angel or human.[54]

50. Cf. *Scivias* 1.5.6; and *Let.* 77r (1:167).
51. Cf. Jesus's condemnation of the Pharisees in Mt 23.
52. I.e., the Antichrist; cf. 2 Thes 2.3–8; and see 3.5.28–37.
53. Cf. 3.5.17.
54. Cf. Mt 24.36.

And the aforesaid image *holds a sword placed sideways as if upon its loins,* for this demonstrates that circumcision is as if an ephemeral experience of the flesh, for a person still sins in the movement from the navel of his vital organs to his loins because his mind moves his vital organs to sin. The sword also reveals that God's judgments possess a pure justice, insofar as God pours out the blood of the murderer who tears apart a person's limbs, and crushes the one who turns away from him in other evils and is sentenced in a just trial.

And though it stands stock still, it turns its gaze to the west; for the people of that time when the old law was strong did not bestir themselves to spiritual understanding; they indeed knew of the ancient serpent's fall and saw its many perils, but still remained sluggish and neglectful of their souls' salvation. For when the fiery dragon saw that God had preserved some whom the waters' flood had not devoured, he let loose his great wrath with a blast,[55] furiously saying to himself, "I will gather up all my devices and sift through them one-by-one to deceive with particular stumbling blocks those whom the flood did not drown—and so I will again make them my subjects!"

9. And so this time after the flood lasted from Noah down to my incarnate Son, who turned those who believed in him to spiritual understanding. At that point another age advanced toward life, not according to the flesh but according to the spirit.

For in Noah I revealed many miracles, as too I performed many more miracles in the first ministry to Adam. For as I foresaw in Adam all humans who would be born, so too in Noah I foreshadowed the new world that would arise. From that shoot indeed arose the mightiest and swiftest prophets, who sharpened their tongues faithfully to proclaim what they saw in the Holy Spirit—that God would send into the world his Word, which existed in him before time. And so the Word was incarnate, and the whole world then wondered—and to this miracle the prophets' tongues swiftly crossed the world when they affirmed that to the lands he would come, fair beyond the sons of men.[56]

55. Cf. Rv 12.

56. Cf. Ps 44.3(45.2), *Scivias* 3.1.8, and *Let.* 77r (1:169); on the prophets, cf. *Scivias* 3.4.7–8; the antiphon *O spectabiles viri* (*Symphonia* 31 = *Scivias* 3.13.3a).

But rationality also composes and is exercised according to its composed work—because if the composition did not come first, the work would not follow. For God composed the world and humankind in his Word. Indeed, the Word that is without beginning composed a particular work from which it put on itself a clean garment,[57] so that when a person should sin, if he confesses God, he would gather the Word with that garment to himself. Therefore, if that Word had not put on this garment, humankind would not have been saved, as neither will the lost angel be saved. And how could it be that God would not have the capability to restore to his place the one who had fallen from it, when he repents and confesses him? For as it pleased almighty God to make humankind, so too it pleased him to redeem the one who trusts in him.

Wherefore he breathed forth prophecy in secret and sent it forth overshadowed, until the time when his work was accomplished; but before he brought it to completion, he revealed it through forerunning signs. For to Noah he showed the ark, to Abraham he gave circumcision, while to Moses he taught the law, so that through them the commotion of sexual desire, which is stirred up as if by the serpent's tongue, would be confounded.[58] And as the devil had deceived humankind through the animals before the Holy of Holies came, so the devil was crushed by animals in the rituals of God.

And these three signs—sacrifice, circumcision, and the law—ran before the Son of God, and he willed them to be suffered and completed in himself according to the inspired words of the prophets, who spoke of both God and all the evils of the north.[59] For as long as the ancient serpent wants to fight against God just as he fought against him in heaven, he attacks humans by persuading them to set themselves in opposition to God and to worship as god what they can sense with eyes and hands, as

57. *mundum indumentum:* a play on the previous sentence's "world and humankind" (*mundum et hominem*); cf. 1.4.105; the respond for Hildegard's responsory *O vis eternitatis* (*Symphonia* 1); and *Expl. Symb. S. Athan.*, p. 119 (quoted above at 2.1.15, n. 67).

58. Cf. *Lets.* 77r (1:167–68) and 375 (3:162).

59. Cf. *Scivias* 3.2.7 and 13–16; on these waypoints in Hildegard's theology of history, see Widmer, 137–56.

he showed to them with Baal and other idols.[60] But as no one can comprehend God or bring his work to destruction, so neither can the devil come to know a person unless a person first yearns for him in his seduction; and then he rejoices greatly in his wickedness, because he has duped and conquered the work of God.

For though he senses that a person can actively work, he does not know at first what he wants to enact; and when he understands that he is striving for God, so as to place his deeds in God because he was created by him, the devil quickly approaches him with his insinuation, saying, "Since you have the ability to do whatever you wish, why would you seek your task from someone else? And what would it harm you to do the deeds that you can do, since he whom you say is your creator made his work as he willed?" And with insinuations such as this he deceives them.[61] Indeed, the north wind signifies this insinuation and persuasion, for as it overturns and destroys a whole house, so too this devilish puffery reduces a person's right senses to the oblivious state in which he forgets God's inspiration and cannot sigh for him.[62] It cuts off that soul's breath that ought to pant for God and enkindles it to the sins that it can perpetrate through the body. In the puffery of this rotten insinuation, the devil indeed believes that he can also drag the souls of rational humans to himself, like a worm wallowing in the mud to beget other worms from the juice of its filth. And he really did lead people into such depraved and rotten deeds,[63] because they genuflected before Baal and the rest of the idols, from whose mouths an unclean spirit howled and spoke, teaching them lewd actions.[64] For in the beginning the peoples advanced from generation to generation, while their horrible minds retreated from God because of the appetite of their flesh.[65]

Nevertheless, as said above, through the ark God brought

60. 1 Kgs 18 and elsewhere; cf. *Gosp. Hom.* 25 (esp. pp. 114–15).
61. Cf. *Let.* 155r (2:101).
62. Cf. 1.4.96.
63. Cf. *LVM* 5.5–6(8–9).
64. Cf. Mk 1.26 and Mt 12.43–45.
65. Cf. Wis 3.10.

forth righteousness; through circumcision, which was as steel, he wounded death, to strip away the sexual desire that the serpent had puffed up.[66] Then through the law that he wrote with his finger,[67] he confounded that desire, returning to the fact that he had created humankind with his finger[68] and already anticipated their care through the creation that God had given to them—for it was from creation that humankind first took clean animals to offer as a burnt offering to almighty God. What Abel began, moreover, the law wholly perfected, signifying that the person who offers a sacrifice from the animal by which he is nourished ought to offer himself as a sacrifice to God.[69]

And as the sun keeps subject to itself the moon both waxing and waning, so too the Son of God, the true Sun, kept within himself the law, which increased in him when he fulfilled it, and took its end in him when he sacrificed himself to God the Father. And as there was at his death an eclipse of the sun, which afterwards beamed again throughout the whole world, so the Son of God willed that a person should shine in his wake by observing his death and considering within it what he ought to do. As with draught animals a plow turns over the earth in which seed is sown that will bear great fruit to feed humans, so too the people of the law kept the written letter of God's precepts; but they were not satisfied by their fruit, because they did not know what was hidden within the letter. But through the seeds of his words the Son of God revealed to those who believe that, filled up with his flesh and blood, they can have life; and this, once hidden within the divine secrets, he disclosed through himself.[70]

10. *But then you see as if countless other human images floating in the air like a cloud along the entire southern stretch.* This is because the host of believers, who have imitated and continue to imitate the Son of God in burning justice, lifting their minds to heavenly things, have mounted and continue to mount from

66. Cf. *Scivias* 3.2.13.
67. Ex 31.18 and Dt 9.10.
68. Cf. Hildegard's antiphon *Cum processit factura* (*Symphonia* 13).
69. Cf. Gn 4.4; 2.1.22, on Gn 1.5; and *Let.* 15r and App. I (1:55–56, 60–61).
70. Cf. *Scivias* 2.6.22–25.

virtue unto virtue.[71] *Some of them wear as if crowns upon their heads,* for when they raise their minds up above, they set upon their souls the trim of heavenly rewards with the just and holy desires of their hearts, because good desires are the start of a good beginning. *Others hold as if highly ornate palms in their hands,* for they show the victory of the good fight in their works. *Some hold as if pipes*—the recompense they have earned for teaching with the fear and love of God; *others as if harps*—the rewards for the hard and narrow way that leads to life;[72] *and others as if organs,* because the manifold virtues that reach out to God in praise appear within them. *And the sound of these instruments dins like the soft sound of clouds,* because the praises that resound in these honors and rewards of the virtues harmonize with the choicest merit in the virtues of those who enact them and lift their minds to the things of heaven. For as people have merited when they do good things with rightness, so shall their rewards be for recompense.

Indeed, the minds of the faithful, as said above, flit about like clouds because, in the soul's desire in which the blessed seek from God the work they are to do, they can never be satisfied, as rivers flowing from the sea do not abate their floods. And because the holy desires that are the beginning of all good works are rooted within them in this way, as said above, God crowns them together with the heavenly host, for they so cling to him that they will in no way be separated from him.

For God's plan of order marked out first among creation that humankind ought to be revived in the spiritual life. For when he instructed in the law that certain herd animals were to be bound, slain, and burned, and their blood sprinkled, he foreshowed that certain people who race like clouds and look back to him would be enwrapped and slain in his love and so sacrificed. And because they suck at the virtues' breasts in order to flee from lust and the other vices, they bear the victory of palms when they too pour out their blood before falling out of the net of justice at the works of infidelity. So in two ways they

71. Ps 83.8(84.7).
72. Mt 7.14.

torture themselves: by fighting against the body and by pouring out their blood according to God's ordinance.[73] So too are they like the angels who ever stand in service before God.[74]

Those, moreover, who, through almighty God's teaching, exercise their office by teaching others, resound with the pipes of holiness as they sing justice into people's minds through the voice of rationality, as a word declares and a sound rings out, and as a word is heard and encased by its sound, so that it can be heard.[75] And as the voice is amplified by a pipe, so in the fear and love of God, the teacher's voice ought to be amplified among people when it gathers together the faithful and puts the unfaithful to flight.[76]

In this way, too, rise up others who spurn and deny themselves; keeping themselves in check with virginity's modest shame and considering the world's pleasure as punishment, they persist in angelic praises. Like an eagle they fly to God with the full desire of their hearts, for they are like the dawn that comes before the sun, gazing ever upon God with eyes of dovelike simplicity.[77] And so upon the harp they render to God, to whom they are joined in this way, praises such as human knowledge can never explicate.

There are still others who rally to themselves in God's precepts countless virtues like brigades and who serve upon organs as soldiers of humility, the queen of the virtues,[78] when they prostrate themselves as if to the earth in their fear and love of God. For humility opens heaven to those who imitate her and closes it to those who neglect her, so that no assault of her enemies can unlock it; and pride she casts into hell, the inher-

73. Cf. Hildegard's antiphon for martyrs, *O victoriosissimi triumphatores* (*Symphonia* 37 = *Scivias* 3.13.5a).

74. Cf. Hildegard's antiphon for confessors, *O successores* (*Symphonia* 40 = *Scivias* 3.13.6a); and *Let.* 113r (2:57).

75. Cf. *Let.* 77r (1:167).

76. Cf. *Scivias* 3.7.7.

77. Cf. Mt 10.16; 2.1.42; *Life* 2.9; *Scivias* 2.5.5–8; and Hildegard's antiphon for St. John, *O speculum columbe* (*Symphonia* 35), and responsory for virgins, *O nobilissima viriditas* (*Symphonia* 56 = *Scivias* 3.13.7b).

78. Cf. *Ordo,* Scene 2, lines 68–71 (pp. 164–65); and *Scivias* 1.2.31 and 3.8.18.

itance of those with pompous minds. And she reigns in heaven with those who fight for her, for as organs are used to make the sound of praise with varieties of voices, so God established human praises in the likeness of the angels. For as the heavenly host overcame pride in God's sight, so too humans who restrain themselves from evil ever overcome pride within themselves.

For humankind is indeed the work of almighty God's right hand,[79] which that hand has enacted, and they will fill up the choir of the lost angels;[80] for this reason they also stand under the defense of the good angels. In these two orders, of angels and humans, God is very pleased—that is, in the praises of the angels and the holy works of humans.[81] For with these he accomplishes according to his will all that had been so foreknown in eternity. But the angel remains fixed before God, while the human is variable; and so it is natural that human action passes away, but the angels' praises never pass away.

Heaven and earth also touch upon God, for by him they were made and for God's glory they exist. But because humankind is mortal, the divine revelations that are sometimes disclosed by the prophets and the wise are often obscured as if by a cloud. But when humankind is taken out of mutability and made immutable, then will they see and know God's radiance and dwell ever with him,[82] as my servant David says within my will:

11. "And in the cover of your wings I will rejoice: my soul has clung to you; your right hand upholds me."[83] The meaning of this passage is to be taken in this sense: In the defense of your shelters, O God, I will rejoice, because I will have been freed from the weight of sin. And because my soul desired to follow after you in good works, so the power of your might has drawn me as I deeply draw my sighs and call out to you, so that thenceforth I am saved from my enemies.[84] For I am the work that you enacted, because before the oldest of days you held within your

79. Cf. *Let.* 84r (1:186).
80. Cf. 1.1.3 and 3.3.4.
81. Cf. *LVM* 5.77(96).
82. Cf. 1 Cor 13.12 and 15.53.
83. Ps 62.8–9(63.7–8).
84. Ps 17.4(18.3).

ordered plan to make me in this way, that all creation might assist me.

And when you created me, you gave me to act following you, as you also made me to be yours; and then you put on flesh unspotted, as befitted you, the Creator, and so you extended the hem of your garment.[85] Wherefore you have also set heaven in motion with praises and surrounded it with all beauty's variety in the girding of the angels,[86] whose wonder cannot be filled when they surround themselves as with the girding of the belt of praise, because you made humankind in this way. For with the belt of praise that belonged to the one who refused heavenly glory when he shrank away from praise, you girded humankind and strengthened them with your garment, so that thenceforth they would not shrink in their praise.[87]

But the angels are also awed because you took up your garment from mortal Adam; but that you did, so that that transgressor might live again, and the divine radiance, which cannot be defined by being put to the proof, might beam before the heavenly angel, saying, "You are ever in my sight, and so you do not need to be called back as does he who was found through my garment, because he did not fully deny me when he was seduced by another. For when he sought to be like me, he became mortal;[88] and so through the tortures of my garment he had to be called back,[89] so that your fraternity's fellowship would not perish in him. For although I created you without flesh, and him with flesh, still I made you both."

In such a way the hidden divinity, which is wholly just and can be seen perfectly by none except insofar as it deigns to reveal itself, explains itself to the angel who remained in the heavens without falling. Indeed, it holds this fullness within the grasp of its right hand, so that none should perish who gazes upon it with the apple of faith's eye;[90] for those who do not gaze upon it

85. Cf. Mt 9.20 and 14.26.
86. Cf. Ps 44.10–15(45.9–14).
87. Cf. *Scivias* 3.1.16; *Let.* 84r (1:184); and *Gosp. Hom.* 28 (esp. p. 129).
88. Cf. Gn 3.22.
89. Cf. Hildegard's responsory *O vis eternitatis* (*Symphonia* 1).
90. Cf. Ps 16(17).8.

with the eye of faith vanish from his sight, just as the lost angel and those who agreed with him perished. For when God created all things, he also ordered all things well—in particular, the rewards of their merits for those who look to him, but judgment against those who refuse to look to him, as said above.

12. And all these things were revealed through the incarnate Son of God, because those who believe in him will be saved, but those who turn away from him will be condemned. For he came forth, not from the root of the earth, but from the untouched Virgin by the Father's will— before his Incarnation creating all things with the Father, while after his Incarnation saving Man whom he had formed. For he put on human form without sin, and through it redeemed Man whom he had created—which no one else could have done, except him who had created Man.

For because Adam was a simple, shining son, he existed both waking and sleeping, to taste through the spirit and to rest his flesh in sleep.[91] Thus he was placed in the unchangeable land of pleasure,[92] to recognize immortality through the spirit and not to deny the existence of the invisible because of the eyes' outer vision. Immortal life indeed does not experience the obscuring of light as does the physical eye,[93] which only sees for certain periods of time before darkness again overtakes it; and a person suffers this because his eye is lidded by an obscuring membrane. The pupil of the eye represents the vision of the inner eyes, of which the flesh is ignorant, while the eyelid demonstrates the vision of the flesh, which is directed outward.[94]

And so with these two types of knowledge, every human work is accomplished. For the knowledge of inner sight teaches a person about divine things, though the flesh opposes it, while blinded knowledge enacts the works of night according to the serpent's sight, which does not see the light.[95] So too, the serpent turns as many as he can away from the works of light, just as he did with Adam when he clouded the light of

91. Cf. *Cause* 2.161 (p. 120).
92. Cf. Gn 2.10.
93. Cf. 1.4.89.
94. Cf. 1.4.31; and *Solutions* 3, 6, 8, and 32.
95. Cf. *Scivias* 3.2.9; and *Cause* 2.166 (pp. 122–23).

living knowledge within him.[96] That knowledge in Adam was also like prophecy,[97] and it endured until the Son of God became Man, so that he enlightened it through himself as the sun illuminates the whole earth, and all the things foretold—deeds distinguished before the law and under the law—he fulfilled spiritually within himself when he offered himself wholly to the heavenly Father. And so it is written:

13. "You who make the clouds your mount, who walk upon the wings of the winds."[98] The meaning of this passage is to be taken in this sense: Lord God, you are the one who make the just and right desires of the faithful to be your mount, so that you reign in their hearts; and you direct your paths upon the words and writings of the teachers when you overtop them, because you approach without stain and experience no fault within yourself. Wherefore too the clouds are your mount, which you made as a ladder for yourself when you mounted them by your garment, O Son of God—the garment you assumed from the unique and complete Virgin, whose enclosure no man ever opened or touched. For as dew upon the earth you entered into her, taking root not from man's root but from divinity, like a sunbeam caressing the earth so that it brings forth its bud.[99] From her you came forth as you entered into her, without any corruption and pain, as if in sleep, just as Eve was taken from the man as he slept. That man gazed upon her unwounded and with joy, and so too the unique Virgin embraced her son joyfully at her breast.[100]

96. Cf. *Cause* 2.306 (p. 185): "Before Adam transgressed the divine command . . . he shined like crystal to possess a taste for good works . . . and gleamed like the dawn to possess the knowledge and perfection of good works. But when Adam transgressed, the splendor of innocence within him was clouded over, and his eyes—which had once looked upon heaven—were darkened."

97. Cf. *Cause* 2.164 (p. 121): "For when God cast sleep upon Adam [Gn 2.21], his soul simultaneously saw many things in true prophecy, because it had as yet no sin. So too when a person is sleeping, his soul would still see many things in true prophecy if that person were not weighed down by sin." See also *Cause* 2.85 and 88 (pp. 75–77); *Solution* 4; and Liebeschütz, 132–35.

98. Ps 103(104).3.

99. Cf. Dt 32.2 and Is 45.8; 3.4.3; Hildegard's hymn to the Virgin, *Ave generosa,* esp. verses 2 and 6 (*Symphonia* 17); *Let.* 381 (3:172); and the Benedictus antiphon for Lauds of Christmas Eve (see Newman, *Sister,* 168n35).

100. Cf. *Gosp. Hom.* 9, on Jn 1.14 (p. 60); on Eve's painless "birth" from

Indeed, Eve was created not from man's seed but from man's flesh, because God created her with the same power by which he also sent his Son into the Virgin; and so thereafter one can find no others like Eve, a virgin and mother, or Mary, a mother and virgin. In this way God clothed himself in human form and with it covered over his deity (which is visible to the angels in heaven), to be his dwelling. So too it is that Man, whom he had formed in height and breadth and depth, is his dwelling.

14. That incarnate Son of God fulfilled in himself all the past miracles that had gone before him, as just described. For in his infancy, when Herod, seeking to destroy him, was duped by the magi,[101] he showed the fall of the ancient serpent, who yearned to cast the heavens into chaos.[102]

In his childhood, moreover, he demonstrated the time from Adam to Noah, because in contrast to Adam's ignorance, he possessed great wisdom, so that no spot of sin could touch him. At this time, too, the devil's reckoning—he thought that humankind was totally lost—was misled, because he did not know that God had been clothed in human form.[103] For all who then saw and heard him marveled,[104] saying, "We've never seen nor heard such things as are in this boy—his wisdom's so deep for his simple and unlearned childhood!" Those who said such things did not know that he was the root of the knowledge of angels and humans, nor that he was the one in whom angels and humans take their root.

He also raised up in his humanity what had failed in Adam—the revelation of justice, for his every work he ascribed to his Father. As a tree brings forth its fruits by the viridity of its root,[105] so too he accomplished all his works in the divinity by which he was rooted in humanity, because from it he came and with it he exists without any division. But in his flesh he also remade

---

Adam's side as a model for uncorrupted childbirth for both Mary and the Church, see *Scivias* 3.1.8 and Newman, *Sister,* pp. 111–12.

101. Mt 2.16.

102. Cf. *Gosp. Homs.* 10–12 (pp. 62–71) for Matthew's infancy narrative as an encapsulation of salvation history, with Herod as the devil.

103. Cf. 3.4.5.

104. Cf. Lk 2.47–48.

105. "fruits": *grossos,* lit. "figs"; cf. Song 2.13.

for the better the sordid works of humans, and his teaching clothed them in holiness with the Holy Spirit's inspiration. In such a way, he called those who were drowned as if by a flood and dead because of their sins back to the life of justice, as had been foreshadowed under Noah.

Appearing as a young man in the flesh, moreover, the Son of God revealed within himself the time from Noah to Abraham, on whom circumcision was enjoined. For as he cast himself into the water, sanctifying it with his body and enacting great virtues, he showed that humans lived holier lives after the flood than before it, repudiating the lewdness that once had delighted them and abandoning the injustice of forgetting God; as a result, the nakedness of lewd action was cast into confusion. Indeed, the Son of God's chastity crushed lust underfoot, bound it with the cord of mastery, and compelled it to serve chastity through abstinence from sin. For as the Son of God showed and taught all righteousness in himself, he perfected it in his humanity through the cutting away of sin, as circumcision too revealed when it was enacted in one place to confuse the serpent.

But when he then had fulfilled in himself the carnal precepts given to Moses, he suffered the fetters' bond and other reproaches and became a living sacrifice upon the Cross for his sheep, turning away from the world as the day is divided from the night. For after he had performed many signs and shown through himself many hidden miracles, he was taken away from the earth. In his suffering and death he also manifested the Babylonian authority, when the children of Israel were led into captivity, as he too was handed over to the gentiles to be crucified.[106] And then his disciples were sorrowful,[107] as too those captives put aside their happiness and turned their instruments into the voices of mourning.[108]

Nevertheless, when he rose again from death and appeared to his disciples with many proofs,[109] he denoted through this the return of the aforementioned captives. And then he command-

106. Mt 20.19.
107. Cf. Lk 24.17.
108. Cf. Ps 136(137).1–4.
109. Acts 1.3.

ed those disciples to go into the whole world to baptize those who believe,[110] and he strengthened them after his ascension with the infusion of the Holy Spirit, so that, rather than being conquered and succumbing to the various tribulations of their adversaries, they might overcome them with glorious miracles. In this he demonstrated that the old law of the flesh had come to an end and been turned into spiritual life. He also taught his disciples as much as they could understand, for they could not yet see him as he exists in his divinity, just as one person can look at another's physical form but yet not be able to gaze into his soul.

For when the Father drew him back into his heart, whence he had come but yet where he was never absent—like one drawing in one's breath—all the army of angels and all the heavenly mysteries saw him plainly, God and Man.[111] So too he touched his disciples with that fire from which he was conceived in his mother's womb: in tongues of fire he poured upon them the mightiest force, beyond the force of the lion who catches other beasts rather than fearing them, so that, rather than being afraid of other people, they would catch them.[112] For the Holy Spirit changed them into a different form of life that they had not previously known, and it so roused them with its breath that they no longer knew themselves to be mere humans. It visited them with a presence greater and more powerful than ever it would visit another, either before or since. For the prophets spoke many things through the Holy Spirit, and many have performed plenty of miracles after those disciples, though none of them saw the fiery tongues.[113] In seeing the fiery tongues with their outer eyes, they were inwardly strengthened such that every fearful and perilous commotion was removed from their veins, so that they would have no fright or fear in the face of danger; and this fortitude the divine power fixed within them in the fiery tongues.[114]

110. Cf. Mk 16.15–16.

111. Cf. Hildegard's verse *O factura Dei* (*Symphonia,* pp. 262–63).

112. Cf. *Scivias* 3.9.16–17; Hildegard's antiphon for confessors, *O successores* (*Symphonia* 40 = *Scivias* 3.13.6a); and *Let.* 84r (1:185).

113. Acts 2.3; for Pentecost as a singular event like the Incarnation, see *Expl. Symb. S. Athan.*, p. 123, lines 385–401.

114. Cf. *Scivias* 3.7.7.

For it behooved the almighty Father to preserve the number of the twelve that he had joined to his Son, so that the disciples might teach others what they had heard from him.[115] And so too God established the firmament and fixed its strength with the winds' twelve blasts and the twelve signs of the successive months; and as that firmament executes all its functions with fire, so too the disciples were confirmed in all miracles by the Holy Spirit's fire. For their teaching went out into all the earth[116] like a blast of the winds and lit it like the sun, and their martyrdoms burned as with the south wind. For the months accomplish their course together with all that upholds the firmament, and God perfected all his signs in the catholic faith with those truthful people; and through his Son he returned to heaven the tenth portion—humankind, signified by that coin that wisdom found.[117]

Thus the Only-Begotten of God and son of the Virgin—whose name is the Star of the Sea from which all rivers flow and to which they return again,[118] as too every soul's salvation comes from that Only-Begotten of God and endures again in him—accomplished through himself all that was foretold before him either within the law or before the law. All things too he transformed into a better state, thus walking upon the wings of the winds[119]—that is, excelling, with the wonders just described, the deeds of the patriarchs and the words of the prophets, and the lessons and writings of all the teachers—and flying in his humanity over all creation, which is humankind;[120] and receiving all creation from his Father in inheritance, as he declared to his disciples, saying:

15. "All things have been delivered unto me by my Father."[121]

115. Cf. Acts 1.21–26.

116. Cf. Ps 18.5(19.4); Rom 10.18; and Hildegard's antiphon for the apostles, *O cohors milicie floris* (*Symphonia* 33 = *Scivias* 3.13.4a).

117. Cf. Lk 15.8–9 and *Scivias* 3.2.20.

118. Cf. Eccl 1.7; and the respond in Hildegard's responsory *O clarissima mater* (*Symphonia* 9).

119. Ps 103(104).3; cf. ch. 13 above.

120. Cf. *Let.* 217 (2:198), the probable cover letter for a copy of the *LDO* sent to Abbot Ludwig of Trier; and Gehorch of Reichersberg's *Commentarium in Psalmos* 7.8(7) (PL 193: 730A), quoted at 1.4.14, n. 34, above.

121. Mt 11.27.

The meaning of this passage is to be taken in this sense: I, who am the Word and Son of God, have gone forth from my Father, by whom were delivered unto me all things that he had predestined, bringing them forth into their forms just as words bring forth the thoughts that lie hidden in the heart. To him I go again with the fulfillment of my Incarnation's dispensation—the work that he committed to me in that eternity in which I existed before time, ever dwelling inseparably with him who sent me to fill up the number that he had established.

And as I received from him the authority to create on high, so too I have received from him the authority to renew in the lower parts of the world what had perished after being created. Indeed, in God's true foreknowledge lay eternally hid all things as they would come to be, which he then created through his Word—his Son, to whom he also granted the authority to deliver and rule what he had created. And thus all things were delivered to his Son, who existed in the Godhead before time, coeternal and consubstantial with the Father.[122]

16. The Son of God indeed walked upon the wings of the winds,[123] because the prophets were the wings of the Holy Spirit's words—for as the Holy Spirit had inspired them, so they prophesied by speaking those words. And in this they set the model for the Son of God, for dwelling in the world, he acted according to what they had foretold concerning him, and bore humankind upon his shoulder[124] to the heavens and the places of paradise, as already described.

Moreover, God established the heavenly dwelling and place of paradise in the same way that a person builds buildings for his subjects. And to those places the Son of God bore with himself the souls of the faithful, snatched at his Father's command from the places of hell, just as a person does who populates his city at first with a few people, and then afterwards fills it up with a great multitude. Indeed, almighty God had prefigured all these things before his Son's Incarnation and granted creation to humankind to work with; but humans alone stand upright

122. Cf. 1.4.105, on Jn 1.2; and *Expl. Symb. S. Athan.*, pp. 124–25.
123. Ps 103(104).3; cf. ch. 13 above.
124. Cf. Lk 15.5–6.

and with upturned gaze look to heaven, while the other animals stoop forward over the earth and are subject to humankind.[125] Thus the human person is indestructible because of the rational spirit, but corruptible in the flesh with the worms.

And prophecy was like the words of infants, whose words cannot be understood; but after they have matured, their words are understood. Likewise, before the incarnate Son of God, prophecy was neither known nor understood, while in Christ it was disclosed, for he is the root of all good branches. For the root brings forth the first shoot, and the shoot the stalk;[126] then the stalk the branches, while the branches the flowers, and the flowers the fruit. So too the root represents Adam, the shoot the patriarchs, the stalk the prophets, the branches the wise, and the flowers the precepts of the law; but the fruit the incarnate Son of God,[127] who brought the faithful and the believers back through water to the remission of sins. For through the water he cleansed every blasphemy of sin that arose in Adam: as fire is extinguished by water, so too the original offense and all other sins are washed away in baptism's bath; and because the Holy Spirit came upon the water, it cleansed humankind through the circumcision of sin. It also sanctified the soul of her who was poisoned by the ancient serpent's deceit, so that she would thereafter be its tabernacle in the communion of true faith.[128] For this reason, David speaks of the one who is not washed in the baptism of the remission of sins, saying with my inspiration:

17. "You appointed the darkness, and it is night: in it shall all the beasts of the forest creep forth."[129] The meaning of this passage is to be taken in this sense: O God and Governor, who weighs out all things justly, with your right judgment you appointed the darkness of punishment in sentence against the wicked, from whom the night arose because perdition is of the

125. Cf. 3.3.2; *Expl. Symb. S. Athan.*, pp. 127–28; *Cause* 2.235 (p. 151); and Isidore, *Etymologies* 11.1.5, who quotes Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 1.84–86.

126. A play on *gramen* ("shoot") and *germen* ("stalk").

127. Cf. *Scivias* 3.4.7–9; Hildegard's responsory *O vos felices radices* (*Symphonia* 32 = *Scivias* 3.13.3b); the Prologue of *Ordo;* and see Dronke, "Arbor Caritatis" (as in n. 8 above).

128. Cf. Hildegard's responsory *O clarissima mater* (*Symphonia* 9).

129. Ps 103(104).20.

reprobate.[130] For as long as unbelievers remain in the darkness of unfaithfulness, the darkness of death befalls them. And so they then slip eternally into perdition and creep forth in that night devoid of the light of faith—all they who are wild in their tyranny and fruitless in their disbelief[131]—for so long as they do not put away their unfaithfulness and run through baptism's grace to meet you, God, it will be as if they never were as they fade into oblivion.

But the faithful person is the one who, having put away disbelief's darkness and fled the night of eternal damnation, passes by all bestial ways and fruitless actions and turns toward the life brought forth by him who is Life, renouncing the devil and washing himself in baptism's bath. For the Son of God announced the good news to his disciples, that humankind was to be reborn in the water; a person cannot otherwise be lifted into heaven, except he first be cleansed from sin by water and the Holy Spirit.[132] For when human seed is sown, it is sent from father into mother, and one is born from her; but in baptism one receives the Holy Spirit's inspiration and so is also made a partaker of holiness.[133] The unfaithful person, however, is cast away from holiness and thrust into the places of punishment.

These words, moreover, the faithful should receive with devout affection of the heart, for they have been revealed for the usefulness of believers by the One who is the first and the last.[134]

130. Cf. *Cause* 2.90 (p. 78).

131. In *Gosp. Hom.* 31, unbelief is the wolf of Jn 10.12 snatching away the fruitfulness of the virtues (p. 134).

132. Cf. Jn 3.5.

133. Cf. 1 Cor 9.23, Heb 6.4, and elsewhere.

134. Is 41.4, Rv 1.17, and elsewhere.

PART THREE, VISION THREE

The Fountain of God's Work: Theophany of Divine Love, with Humility and Peace

And I also saw three images as if in the middle of the aforementioned southern stretch. Two were standing in the clearest fountain,[1] *encircled and crowned with a round, perforated stone;*[2] *and they were as if rooted in it, as when trees sometimes seem to grow in the water's midst. The one was dressed in purple, the other in white, and they gleamed so brightly that I could not completely look upon them. The third meanwhile was standing outside the fountain upon its stone rim, clothed in brilliant white. Her face shone with such stark radiance that it turned back my face. And before these images appeared the blessed ranks of the saints like a cloud, upon whom they gazed lovingly.*[3]

2. And the first image spoke:[4] "I am Divine Love, the radiance of the living God. Wisdom has done her work with me, and Humility, who is rooted in the living fountain, is my helper, and Peace accompanies her. And through that radiance that I am, the living light of the blessed angels blazes.[5] For as a ray of light shines from its source, so this radiance enlightens the blessed angels; and it cannot but shine, as no light can exist without its

1. Peter Dronke notes that this fountain implicitly irrigates the garden-like city of salvation; see "The Symbolic Cities of Hildegard of Bingen," *Journal of Medieval Latin* 1 (1991): 168–83, at 180–82.

2. Cf. Hildegard's sequence *Columba aspexit,* verse 2b (*Symphonia* 54).

3. Newman, *Sister,* 52–55, provides a penetrating analysis of this entire vision.

4. For this image of Divine Love (*Caritas*) and her eternally predestined role in creation and redemption, cf. 1.1.1–3 and 3.5.1–4; *Let.* 85r/a (1:192–94); *LVM* 3.6(8); *Expl. Symb. S. Athan.*, pp. 111–12; and see Newman, *Sister,* 63–64.

5. For the combination of fountain and light, cf. Ps 35.10(36.9).

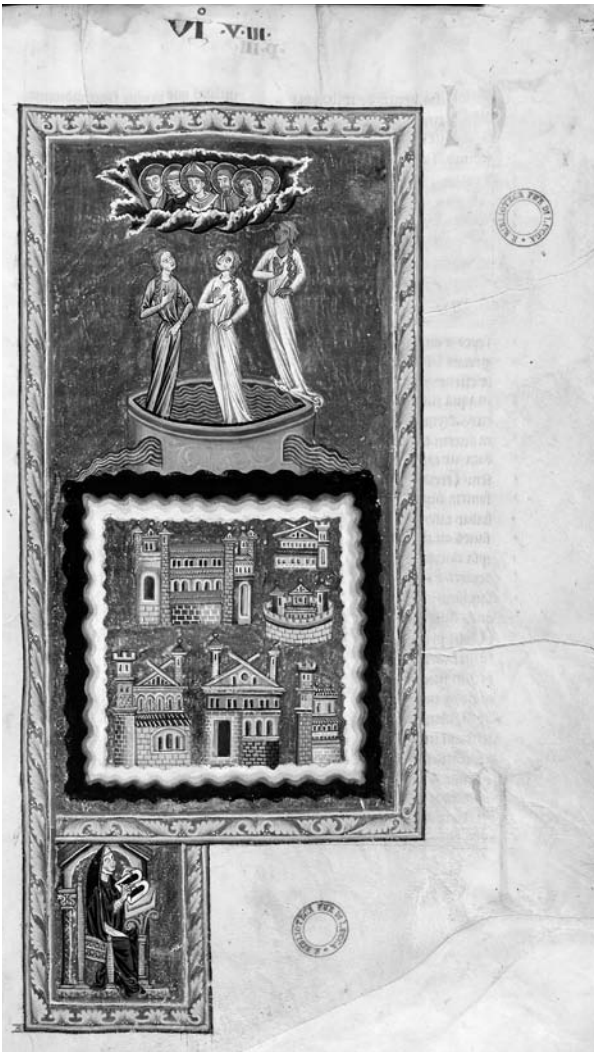


Figure 3.3: The Fountain of God's Work: Theophany of Divine Love, with Humility and Peace. Biblioteca Statale di Lucca, MS 1942, fol. 132r (early 13th-cen.). By permission of the Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities and Tourism.

flash. For I have composed humankind, who was rooted in me like a shadow, just as an object's reflection is seen in water.[6] So too I am the living fountain, because all that was made existed in me like a shadow. In accordance with this shadow, humankind was made with fire and water, as I too am fire and living water. So too humans have the ability in their souls to ordain each thing as they will.

"Indeed, every animal possesses this shadow, and that which gives each one life is like a shadow, moving this way and that. In rational animals, these are thoughts, but not in beasts, for their life is guided only by their senses, by which they know what to avoid and what to seek. But only the soul, breathed by God, is rational.

"My radiance also overshadowed the prophets, who foretold things to come by holy inspiration, as all things God wished to make were foreshadowed in him before they came to be. But rationality speaks with sound, and sound is like thought, and word like work.[7] From this shadow, moreover, came forth the writing of *Scivias,*[8] through the form of a woman who was but a shadow of strength and health, since such powers were not active within her.

"And so the living fountain is the Spirit of God, which he distributes unto all his works. They live because of him and have vitality through him, as the shadow of all things appears in water. And there is nothing that can clearly see this source of its life; rather, it can only sense what causes it to move. As water makes what is in it to flow, so too the soul is the living breath ever streaming in a human being, and it makes him to know, to think, to speak, and to work as if by streaming forth.

"Wisdom also distributes in this reflected shadow all things in equal measure, so that one thing should not exceed another in weight,[9] nor should one thing be able to be moved by another

6. "shadow … reflection": both *umbra;* see Introduction, p. 16.

7. Cf. 1.4.14 above, *Scivias* 2.2.7, and *Lets.* 31r and 77r (1:97, 167–68); Newman, *Sister,* 54, traces the Trinitarian overtones to Augustine, *De Trinitate* 9.12.

8. Hildegard's first visionary work, composed 1142–51. Other than in prologues and epilogues, this is the only place in Hildegard's visionary trilogy in which voice is given to such (auto)biographical details.

9. Cf. Wis 11.21; and *Solution* 26.

contrary to its nature. For she overcomes and restrains every wicked plot of the devil, because she existed before the beginning of all beginnings, and after their ending she will remain, mightiest in her own power, and nothing will be able to stand against her. Never has she called upon any for help, nor has she lacked for anything, for she was the first and the last. She answers to none, for she is the first and fashioned the direction of all things. In herself and through herself she established all things with gentle kindness, and these no enemy can destroy, for she oversees with excellence the beginning and end of her works, all of which she fully appointed to reign also with her.[10]

"She looked too upon her work, which she had set in order and right proportion in the shadow of the living water, when through the aforementioned unlearned womanly form,[11] she revealed certain natural powers of various things, the writing of the [*Book of the*] *Rewards of Life,*[12] and certain other profound mysteries, which she saw in true vision, even as she became weak and debilitated.[13]

"But before all these things, Wisdom drew from the living fountain the words of the prophets and the words of other wise people and of the Gospels, and entrusted them to the disciples of God's Son, so that rivers of living water might flow out through them into all the globe, to return people to salvation like fish caught in a net.[14]

"Indeed, the leaping fountain is the purity of the living God, and in it shines his radiance.[15] In that splendor God embraces with great love[16] all things whose shadow appeared in the leaping

10. This description of Wisdom draws on several scriptural sources, esp. Prv 8.22–31; Wis 7.22–8.1; and Sir 24.5–31; cf. 3.4.2 and 14 below; *Scivias* 3.9.25; and *LVM* 1.34(46) and 4.28(38).

11. I.e., Hildegard.

12. I.e., *Cause, Physica,* and *LVM,* the last composed 1156–63.

13. Hildegard's visionary experiences were chronically accompanied by a variety of maladies and illnesses; see *Let.* 103r (2:23–24), and *Life* 2.2, 2.5, 2.9, and 3.23–24.

14. Cf. Mt 4.18–22 and Mk 1.16–20.

15. Cf. Jn 4.14; and Hildegard's antiphon *O splendidissima gemma* (*Symphonia* 10 = *Scivias* 3.13.1a).

16. *amore.*

fountain before God bade them to come forth in their forms.

"And in me, Divine Love, all things shone resplendently, and my splendor revealed their formation, as a shadow indicates a physical form; and in Humility, my helper, creation came forth at God's bidding. Likewise in humility, God bowed down to me, to refresh those dried-out, fallen leaves in that blessedness by which he can do all that he wills. For he had formed them from the earth, and so he has also freed them after their fall.

"For humankind is fully the handiwork of God,[17] for humans look up to heaven and tread upon the earth in dominion, and rule over all the creatures, because they gaze upon the height of heaven in their souls.[18] This is why the human person is a heavenly being in the soul, but earthly in the visible body.[19] Thus, as humankind lies in the depths, God draws them up in humility against the one who was cast out of heaven in confusion. For when the ancient serpent wished through pride to rend the angels' harmony, God preserved it with his mighty power, so that it would not be torn to shreds by that one's madness. For because Satan possessed great glory on high, he reckoned to himself that he could do whatever he wished, and that thereby he could have everything he wanted without diminishing the glory of the stars. But in coveting all things, he lost everything he had."

3. And again I heard a voice from heaven saying to me: All that God has done, he has accomplished in Divine Love, Humility, and Peace, so that humans, too, should lovingly desire Divine Love and embrace Humility and hold also onto Peace, and should not go to ruin with him who mocked these virtues in his first origins.

For you see three images as if in the middle of the aforementioned southern stretch. Two are standing in the clearest fountain, encircled and crowned with a round, perforated stone; and they are as if rooted in it, as when trees sometimes seem to grow in the water's midst. These three virtues in the strength of ardent justice are in the name of the Holy Trinity: first Divine Love, second Humility, third Peace. Indeed, Divine Love and Humility exist in the purest

17. Cf. Hildegard's verse *O fatura Dei* (*Symphonia,* pp. 262–63).
18. Cf. 3.2.16.
19. Cf. 1.4.91–92.

divinity, from which the streams of blessedness flow, for these two virtues reveal that the only Son of God is known far and wide throughout the whole world, to free and set aright humankind, which lay oppressed in the depths of sin.[20] For his body, which was perforated upon the Cross and buried,[21] he raised up by the wondrous power of divinity, and revealed himself to be the stone of strength and honor—for all the miracles that God's Son did in the world he rendered to the glory of his Father.[22] These same virtues cannot be separated from divinity, as a root cannot be cut away from its tree. For God is Love in all his works,[23] and holds humility in all his judgments. For Love and Humility came down to earth with the Son of God and led him back as he returned to heaven.

The one is dressed in purple, the other in white, and they gleam so brightly that you are not able completely to look upon them. This shows that Divine Love burns in heavenly love like purple,[24] but that in gleaming white rectitude, Humility casts off from herself earthly filth. Although it may be difficult for mortals to imitate this in all things so long as they live in the flesh, they should not neglect to love God above all things and to humble themselves in all things, because of the reward of eternity.

The third meanwhile stands outside the fountain upon its stone rim. This is because Peace, who dwells in heaven, also defends earthly undertakings that are outside the heavenly realm. For the Son of God, the true cornerstone,[25] brought her forth when he enlightened the whole world with his birth, and when the angels recognized him as God and Man in their song of praise.[26] *Her face shines with such stark radiance that it turns back your face.* For Peace, who arose through God's Son, cannot yet be kept on earth as she is in heaven, for though heavenly things exist forever in the stability of one accord, earthly things are con-

20. Cf. *Let.* 85 r/a (1:193–94).
21. Cf. Jn 19.34; for Christ as the *perforatus lapis,* cf. *Scivias* 2.4.5.
22. For the body as (gem)stone, cf. *Scivias* 1.4.1.
23. Cf. 1 Jn 4.8 and 16.
24. *Caritatem in celesti amore uelut purpuram ardere.*
25. Eph 2.20.
26. Cf. Lk 2.9–14; and Hildegard's verse *O fatura Dei* (*Symphonia,* pp. 262–63).

stantly changing, cast here and there as they stagger about.[27] Yet humankind, who is the work of God, will praise him, for the human soul was made to praise like an angel. For while humans live in the world, they cultivate the earth as they wish and desire, and they reveal God, for they bear his signature.

And before these images appear the blessed ranks of the saints as in a cloud, upon whom they gaze lovingly. For the glory of the highest heaven is achieved through Divine Love and Humility when the minds of the faithful fly like clouds from virtue unto virtue.[28] Then Divine Love and Humility, looking upon them with loving consideration and guidance, enkindle them both vigorously and gently to desire the things of heaven. For Divine Love adorns the works of God,[29] as a ring is adorned with a precious gem; while Humility has revealed herself openly in the humanity of God's Son, who arose from the undefiled Star of the Sea.[30]

He did not fear the fall of the first humans, nor did their expulsion frighten him, for no sin touched him, because he was wholly rooted in divinity. But some who saw him and went with him dried up and fell like parched leaves. Yet he made others to spring up in their place, and followed no human plan to overcome his enemies, who had fallen away from him by their self-will. Nor was he idle, in contrast to the first human, who fell away, unoccupied by good works—for he was renewing humankind for a life more glorious than was first appointed.[31] He did not relax in the seat of pride like the devil, who deceived humankind with the disease of disobedience; nor did he fear the way in which he would take humankind back from him, for he foreknew that the devil's head would be crushed by a mighty strength.[32] Thus the Church, adorned and endowed with the virtues described above, was led into the King's bedchamber, as it is written:

4. "The queen stood at your right hand, in clothes of gold

27. Cf. 1.3.9; and Augustine, *De civ. Dei* 19.17.

28. Ps 83.8(84.7); cf. 3.2.10.

29. *Caritas ornatrix operum Dei est;* lit. "Divine Love is the embellisher of the works of God."

30. Cf. 3.2.14; and Hildegard's responsory *O clarissima mater* (*Symphonia* 9).

31. Cf. 3.4.10 and 3.5.35; and the chorus of virtues in *Ordo,* Scene 3, lines 205–8 (pp. 176–77).

32. Cf. Gn 3.15.

surrounded by variety."[33] The meaning of this passage is to be taken in this sense: O Son of the Father, in the betrothal of the catholic faith the Church stood in the prosperity of heavenly desire, endowed with your humanity, which was bathed by the redness of your blood.[34] She is also clothed with the manifold virtues that she brought from your Father's house when she came into the embrace of your love. Indeed, this betrothal came forth by the will of Almighty God, who accomplished it with a resplendent work when he gathered together humankind from the height even unto the depth. With the cloak of justice he adorned them when the Son of God willed to suffer in the flesh for humankind's redemption.[35]

For humankind is the work of God's right hand. By him they are clothed and called to the royal wedding that Humility prepared when God Most High looked out into the depths of the earth and gathered the Church together out of the common people, so that those who had fallen might rise again through repentance and be renewed in a holy way of life, adorned with a variety of virtues as with the viridity of flowers. Pride, however, is forever corrupt, for it squeezes, divides, and tears everything apart. But Humility never pillages nor tears anything apart, but holds all things together in Divine Love; and in her God bent himself towards the earth, and through her he gathers together all the virtues. The virtues indeed reach out to the Son of God, as a virgin, by rejecting a man, declares Christ her Bridegroom;[36] and they are joined to Humility when she leads them to the royal wedding.

These words, moreover, the faithful should receive with devout affection of the heart, for they have been revealed for the usefulness of believers by the One who is the first and the last.[37]

33. Ps. 44.10(45.9).

34. Cf. *Scivias* 2.6.1 and Hildegard's antiphon *O virgo Ecclesia* (*Symphonia* 66).

35. On the cloak of justice, cf. 3.5.9.

36. Cf. *Let.* 250r (3:48); and Hildegard's "Symphony of Virgins," *O dulcissime amator,* esp. verse 6 (*Symphonia* 57).

37. Is 41.4, Rv 1.17, and elsewhere.

PART THREE, VISION FOUR

Wisdom and the Ancient Counsel Unfolding in God's Works

Then, near the northeastern facing corner, I saw an image whose face and feet beamed with such brilliance that it turned back my gaze. She was wearing a robe as of white silk, and over that had a green-colored tunic adorned all about with various pearls. And she wore earrings in her ears, necklaces upon her breast, and bracelets upon her arms, all crafted as from the purest gold, set with precious stones.[1]

But as if in the middle of that northern stretch, I saw another image, standing up straight, wondrous in form. At its top, where its head ought to have been, there shone such brilliant radiance that it beat back my gaze, while in the midst of its belly appeared a human head with white hair and a beard, and its feet were like a lion's paws. But it also had six wings:[2] *two rose up from its shoulders and curved around to join together and touch the radiance above; two meanwhile extended down from the shoulders to the top of the aforementioned head; while two descended from the image's loins all the way to the ankles of its feet, spread a bit as if to fly. The rest of the body was covered throughout with little wings like the fins of fish and not of birds.*[3]

And on the two wings that stretched down to the top of the aforementioned head there appeared five mirrors.[4] *One was at the top of the right wing, and in it appeared the inscription, "The way and the truth."*[5] *The one in its middle had within it the inscription, "I am the door of all the*

1. Cf. Rv 21.19.

2. Cf. Is 6.2 and Rv 4.8.

3. *uelut piscium et non uolatilium pennulis:* the term *pennula* ("little wing"), as used in Lv 11.9–12, refers to the fins of sea life; the Lucca miniature depicts them as fish scales.

4. Cf. the wings with books upon them in *LVM* 2.1.

5. Jn 14.6.

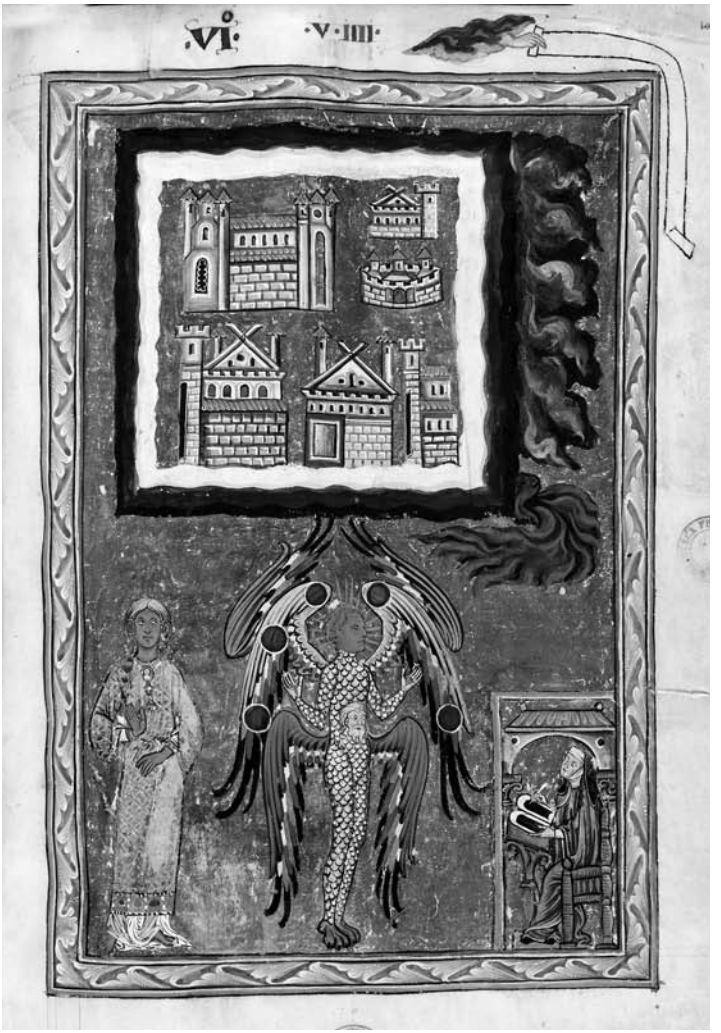


Figure 3.4: Wisdom and the Ancient Counsel before the City of God. Biblioteca Statale di Lucca, MS 1942, fol. 135r (early 13th-cen.). By permission of the Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities and Tourism.

secrets of God."[6] *The one at its tip held the inscription, "I am the showing of all good things." And at the top of the left wing, there was one that held the inscription, "I am the mirror in which the intention of the elect is considered." The one at the tip of that wing had the inscription, "Tell us if you are the one who is to reign among the people of Israel." And this image had its back turned to the north.*

But all along the western stretch, I spied as if the foulest smoking darkness, while near its north-facing corner, the blackest fire roiled forth with sulfur and the densest dark,[7] *stretching almost all the way to the middle of the northern part before curving back on itself.*[8]

And I heard a voice from heaven saying to me:

2. Almighty God, who founded all things by wisdom, discloses his wonderful works with various signs, and wonderful in his gifts, he distributes them to each creature as he wills. Willing especially to return humankind to the blessedness of heaven, he fittingly demonstrates to them in wondrous figures, as he wills, what things are in the dwellings of heaven and what in those of earth and what in those of hell.

And so it is that *near the northeastern facing corner, you see an image whose face and feet beam with such brilliance that it turns back your gaze.* For when foolishness comes to an end and justice arises, the Wisdom of true beatitude is revealed. Her beginning and end surpass human understanding, for with the same light of foreknowledge by which she gazed upon the beginning of her work, she foresaw too its ending.[9]

She is wearing a robe as of white silk, for she embraces humankind in the sheen and suppleness of love,[10] to reveal that the Son of God himself was incarnate in the beauty of virginity. And how this can be is known not to humankind, but only to divinity. *And over that she has a green-colored tunic adorned all about with various pearls.* For neither does Wisdom ignore the outward creatures—those that fly in the air, walk or creep upon the earth, and swim in the waters, and whose spirits pass away with their flesh; rather, she quickens and sustains them, for they

6. Cf. Jn 10.9.
7. Cf. Rv 19.20 and 21.8.
8. Cf. 2.1.1.
9. For this figure of Wisdom, cf. *Scivias* 3.9.25; and see Newman, *Sister,* 71–75.
10. *dilectionis.*

devote their service to humankind, who is fed by them. Indeed, they are like Wisdom's adornment with pearls, because they do not transgress their own nature, while humankind often steps beyond the right way set for them. *And she wears earrings in her ears, necklaces upon her breast, and bracelets upon her arms, all crafted as from the purest gold, set with precious stones.* For all creatures obey her and are mindful of her precepts. So too are all her works so fully and comprehensively fortified that no creature is left so incomplete that it lacks whatever it needs for its own nature; rather, each possesses within itself the fullness of total perfection and usefulness. Thus all things that have come forth through Wisdom are like the purest and most elegant beauty within her, gleaming with the radiant brilliance of their being.[11]

When the human person fulfills the precepts of God's commands, he too is Wisdom's shining, supple white vesture, and her green garment through good intention and the viridity of works adorned with manifold virtues. He is the ornament of her ears when he turns away from listening to wicked whispers, and the bulwark of her breast when he ignores illicit desires. The powerful dignity of her arms is he, too, when he defends himself against sin. For all these, graced with the profoundest gifts of the Holy Spirit and the most righteous writings of the teachers, arise from the purity of true faith when the faithful person accomplishes them in good works.[12]

3. *But as if in the middle of that northern stretch, you see another image, standing up straight, wondrous in form.* Against the might and unjust reckoning of the ancient serpent, this signifies almighty God, invincible in his majesty and wondrous in his powers, for no one can plumb the depth of his mysteries. *At its top, where its head ought to be, there shines such brilliant radiance that it beats back your gaze,* for no one, while encumbered by a mortal body, can look upon divinity's excellence, which illuminates all things. Even the angels cannot reach his end as they stand ever before his countenance, yearning continuously to gaze upon him, for God is that radiance that has neither beginning nor end.[13]

Meanwhile, in the midst of its belly appears a human head with white

11. Cf. *LVM* 4.28(38).
12. Cf. *LVM* 5.31(39–40).
13. Cf. 1.4.11.

hair and a beard.[14] This signifies that in the accomplishment of God's works there existed the ancient plan[15] for the salvation of humankind. This counsel reveals in itself the great dignity of righteousness, which none can measure or comprehend, just as one cannot determine the beginning and ending of a wheel that is of equal circumference. For no person can delimit what even the angels cannot comprehend, because before them was eternity, with its will equal to its accomplishment, and lacking nothing, for it was ever full.

So too this head has the form of a human head, because God made humankind in his image and likeness[16] and gave to them the power of enacting,[17] to do what is good and to praise their Creator rather than forgetting him. None, to be sure, is the same as God, nor can any be so; rather, the one who wanted to be like him was destroyed, because such a thing was not fitting. But when God wished powerfully to show his virtue, he turned his gaze to a Virgin's womb; and as on the seventh day he rested from his every work and then established humankind to take up the work, so too in the Virgin's womb he made his Son to rest, and to him he committed his every work.[18] For the Holy Spirit touched the Virgin's flesh with its soft warmth, without any of carnal man's burning commotion, as dew falls softly upon the grass, so that the flower—the Son of God—might take up human form in that Virgin's flesh.[19] He also underwent the many crimes of humankind, endured for their sake. For in his circumcision he signified that the human person was to be cleansed by baptism, and in his suffering and death he demonstrated that the human person would be redeemed from culpable sins, and in his ascension that the human would join him in the heavenly kingdom. In these ways he will fulfill the number of the blessed at the terrible time of judgment.

14. For this head and its signification, cf. 1.1.4.

15. *consilium;* cf. Ps 32(33).11.

16. Gn 1.26.

17. *potestatem operandi.*

18. Cf. Gn 2.2; see 2.1.48, and Rauh, 505.

19. Cf. Dt 32.2 and Is 45.8; 3.2.13; *Scivias* 2.6.24 and 3.8.15; and Hildegard's hymns to the Virgin, *Ave generosa,* esp. verses 2 and 6, and *O viridissima virga,* esp. verses 3 and 5 (*Symphonia* 17 and 19).

And the feet of this image *are like a lion's paws,* signifying that God hides his divinity from humans as long as they are mortal,[20] although he discloses very many good things to them in the precepts of the law and in the rest of creation. In the end, as with lions' paws he will draw all things to himself through his Son and examine them, so that all the earth is shaken and the firmament overturned, and every mortal person at his end renders reason for his deeds when he sees the Son of God immortal.

4. *But it also has six wings,* which are the six days' works, in which a person calls upon God in praise and secures for himself God's help. *Two rise up from its shoulders and curve around to join together and touch the radiance above.* These represent love of God and neighbor;[21] lifting themselves up by the strength of good works, they shake off their cold stiffness and stoop down to their neighbors' need. The mysteries of God's secrets they also embrace, because these wings also manifest the heavenly host of supernal spirits whom God has placed before his countenance. He established them as mirrors of his wonders as they gaze upon his countenance—but even then they cannot reach his end or mark his boundary in the ringing throng of praise.[22]

Two meanwhile extend down from the shoulders to the top of the aforementioned head. These signify the Old and New Testaments, bearing the strength of God's precepts and stretching in their downward sweep to the ancient counsel. For in the Old Testament, the prophets foretold God's Son, whom in the New the Church's children receive through the devotion of faith. They also declare God's power, which has the capability to create and do what he wills, as a bird flies with wings outstretched into the height, into the breadth, and into the depth.[23] For God established all the celestial secrets in their proper course, so that their radiance would never cease and they would never perish in his truth, as truth has none of falsehood's shadow.

And two descend from the image's loins all the way to the ankles of its

20. Cf. Ps.-Dionysius, *Celest. Hier.* 15.8.

21. Cf. 1.1.4.

22. Cf. 3.1.6.

23. Cf. Hildegard's antiphon *O virtus Sapientie* (*Symphonia* 2); and Ps.-Dionysius, *Divine Names* 9.5.

feet, spread a bit as if to fly. These reveal the present age and that to come. In the present, one generation passes by and another follows;[24] and in that to come, the steadfastness of unfailing life will come, for it will be disclosed around the world's ending, when countless terrors and prodigies whirl about in its anticipation. The gluttony of the devil's gullet spews the taste of sin and carnal desire into the loins, where food descends and is emitted and where the flesh's lustful desire thrives in sin—but divine protection defends them and grants them chastity with the raising up of good works. For when lewd acts arose among the first humans at the flick of the serpent's tongue,[25] God afterwards constrained them through the one human who, with the powerful wings of his virginal nature and against the laws of the flesh,[26] crushed lust's function in human minds.

5. So too *the rest of the body is covered throughout with little wings like the fins of fish and not of birds.* For the physical form of fish is different from that of birds, and how fish are born and how they grow is a matter hidden from view; and the waters in which they live keep a swift course, and the fish also stream swiftly with them.[27] So likewise is signified that the Son of God was born utterly in holiness and in a different nature, distinct from other humans and utterly holy in righteousness. In that nature he bore humankind back to heaven with the outstretched wings of all good works,[28] as too had often been prefigured in the old law through the sacrifices' signs, and was then fulfilled by him in virginal nature.

For as soon as Adam ate the poisonous fruit, he conceived the appetite for sin and so also the ability to sin. Wherefore too the glory of paradise withdrew from him, and he was sent into exile. Immediately the devil put forward the lust that opposes God and overturned human birth with shameless chaos.[29] Within his own deceit he assumed that humankind, now wallowing

24. Cf. Eccl 1.4.
25. Cf. *Let.* 375 (3:162).
26. Cf. Hildegard's antiphon *O tu illustrata* (*Symphonia* 23).
27. Cf. 2.1.38, on Gn 1.21.
28. Cf. 3.1.2.
29. Cf. *Let.* 155r (2:101).

in such filth, could not enter the kingdom of heaven, for the children of fornication could not be God's people, nor could he be their God.[30] The devil indeed takes great pleasure in the smut of the flesh's gyrations and says to himself, "I've yanked humankind from their glorious place and thrust them into the deepest filth! There's no place left in them for God, for his utter cleanliness neither wants nor accepts any filth. That's also why humankind will remain in my quarters."[31]

But God concealed from the ancient serpent how he wanted to free humankind:[32] the dirtiness that bubbled up at the serpent's trick he washed away through his Son, and through him blotted out the wounds that lust had inflicted upon humankind. This God did amid his power, in which he was before all beginnings, and amid the night of the hellish pit, as too he had prefigured through the angel that struck at midnight.[33] That is, amid his power, because he had the power to do whatever he willed; and amid the night, when the ancient enemy reckoned in his proud presumption that he had captured humans as he wanted and would possess so great a throng of humans as if he kept them in the very middle of his heart. But then, as already said, the Son of God came secretly, without the devil's knowledge, and with his humanity broke the devil's hook with which he kept humans captive.[34] After defeating his enemies, he hung this hook upon the banner of the Cross as a sign of triumph and displayed it before his Father,[35] together with all the company

30. Cf. Jer 32.38.

31. Cf. *Scivias* 1.2.15.

32. Cf. *Lets.* 113r (2:56) and 381 (3:172).

33. Cf. Ex 12.29; see Widmer, 178–79.

34. Cf. Jb 40.20(41.1) and Eccl 9.12; *Scivias* 1.2.13; Rupert of Deutz, *De sancta Trinitate et operibus eius* 35.24; and Gregory the Great, *Moralia,* 33.7.14; see Nicholas P. Constas, "The Last Temptation of Satan: Divine Deception in Greek Patristic Interpretations of the Passion Narrative," *The Harvard Theological Review* 97:2 (2004): 139–63, esp. 143–49.

35. Cf. Honorius Augustodunensis's sermon for the Feast of the Annunciation in the *Speculum Ecclesiae* (PL 172: 906A): "The genealogy of the Virgin was connected by the evangelists like a line to a hook, at whose end her Son was fastened as the hook, so that it is said that Jesus Christ was born from her. God the Father attached this line to the rod of the Cross, on which his Son hung as a hook. Furthermore, the food of this hook was Christ's flesh, which had been

of the heavenly host. Then too that host raised up a song of new praise,[36] rejoicing that so great a throng of blessed souls had been freed from so cruel a captivity, for the Son of God had gathered them together into the place of blessedness.

And how could almighty God allow his only Son, who owed no debt of sin, to endure such suffering? So that the ancient deceiver would never again have opportunity against God—for humankind had freely consented to that deceiver and followed his bidding in all things. For if a human sinner had died on behalf of other humans, the wicked spirit would declare that he could free no one, a fact proven by that person's own sins, in which he had consented to him. For that reason, too, such a person would not have the ability to withdraw either from himself or from others the chain of captivity.[37] And so the living God gave his Son, whose physical form was like that of Adam, to redeem humankind through the garment of his humanity.

6. *And on the two wings that stretch down to the top of the aforementioned head there appear five mirrors.* For in the Old and New Testaments, which look to the dignity of the ancient counsel, there are shown five luminaries of the various ages: first in Abel, second in Noah, third in Abraham, fourth in Moses, and fifth in the Son of God.[38] All these shine for people upon truth's way, because the Son of God himself also opened up through his suffering the enclosure of heavenly joys.

One is at the top of the right wing, and in it appears the inscription, "The way and the truth." This signifies the deep mysteries

---

hidden away in the sacred Virgin as in a fishbowl. God cast this hook into the sea of this world, and drew out Leviathan from the hearts of the faithful. The ring of Christ's love has pierced its jaw, to let open an escape for those whom it had devoured without warning." Hildegard's contemporary, Herrad of Hohenbourg, uniquely illustrated Honorius's image, depicting God (*Divinitas*) fishing for Leviathan, with the line as the patriarchs and prophets and the royal Christ upon the Cross as the hook (*Hortus Deliciarum*, fol. 84r; ed. Rosalie Green et al. [Warburg Institute, 1979]).

36. Among many instances, cf. esp. Ps 149.1 and Is 42.10.

37. Cf. *Scivias* 2.6.102.

38. This fivefold division appears also in *Lets.* 15r–App. 1, 77r (the so-called "Proem to the Life of St. Disibod"), 84r (1:60–61, 167–69, 187), and 113r and 170r (2:57, 127–28); in *Scivias* 3.2, Hildegard employs a fourfold division (Adam–Noah–Abraham and Moses–Christ); see further Widmer, 136–56.

of God's wonders, which no humans can fully comprehend by their own knowledge, except inasmuch as they grasp it in the circuit of faith, as a reflection in a mirror can do nothing more than demonstrate its form.[39] These mysteries indicate the way of justice and the truth of rightness for the peoples' salvation, so that the person who fears God may arrive at the places of heaven, as Abel's deeds and end declare.[40]

The one in its middle has within it the inscription, "I am the door of all the secrets of God." For in the perfection of salvation's bulwark is made known the revelation of God's secrets, showing that with his wonders almighty God stretches across all creation's breadth, effecting the manifold signs of his wonders from the first human until the last, in prophecy, declaration, and action. He will not cease from these signs until all that he will do is fulfilled, just as he did not rest with the first act of creating creation, before he had fully completed it. This too he prefigured with various signs in Noah.

The one at its tip holds the inscription, "I am the showing of all good things." For this tip marks the end of the devil's mockery and prefigures the dawn of all good things. It also signifies that the Son of God was to assume human form from a simple Virgin, to fulfill all good things through himself. This too the book of life declares, which will not be blotted out; for in it is described the heavenly Jerusalem, together with all her virtues, which no one can enumerate, just as no one can reach the end of God's wonders.[41] All these things Abraham also faithfully foreshowed in circumcision, which he carried out at God's command.

And at the top of the left wing, there is one that holds the inscription, "I am the mirror in which the intention of the elect is considered."[42] For at the beginning of justice when the heavenly defense overwhelmed wickedness by virtue of its elect, their devotion was found to be so simple and pure that they withstood the devil's devices and offered themselves up, a living sacrifice to God.[43]

39. Cf. *LVM* 1.46–47(59–60).

40. Cf. 2.1.18.

41. Rv 3.5 and elsewhere.

42. Cf. Hildegard's sequence *O ignis Spiritus Paracliti*, verse 2b (*Symphonia* 28).

43. Cf. Rom 12.1.

Wherefore Satan, rebuffed and terrified, understood that God is so mighty over his enemies that even in the depths of hell, he trembled utterly before him. So too many who slept in the region of the north because of the deadly fruit were awakened by repentance to watch in the mirror of the fear of God—murderers, adulterers, thieves, liars, and other sinners pleading with God to deliver them from the ancient enemy.

God is indeed greatly praised by their repentance, for all ranks of penitent and faithful persons recognize how great in his power is the God who thus delivers them and wipes away their sins. So too God takes great delight in them, for though they were dead as night in sin, he made them like the clearest day through repentance. Having thus been snatched away from the devil, they love him more than if they had not needed rescue through repentance, nor will they slacken thereafter in their love of him. Indeed, the fear of God is as necessary for all the elect, the simple and the innocent, as it is for sinners, for they must first have fear of God before they may taste of his love. So too their intentions, which God forever considers, appear as if written in the mirror just described.

And the one at the tip of that wing has the inscription, "Tell us if you are the one who is to reign among the people of Israel." For when the Old Testament was finished and the New began, my Only-Begotten appeared. He plunged Satan like a stone into the deepest pit of hell, so that he could not breathe with the windy blast of his will as he had before; and with that deed my Son revealed to his elect the eternal rewards, as I spoke to Moses, saying:

7. "'I will show you all goodness and be proclaimed before you with the name of the Lord; and I will have mercy on whom I will, and I will be merciful upon whom it pleases me.' And again he said, 'You cannot see my face, for a person cannot see me and live.' And again he said, 'Behold, there is a place by me—you will stand upon the rock. And when my glory passes by, I will put you in the cleft of the rock and cover you with my right hand, and I will take away my hand, and you will see my back.'"[44]

The meaning of this passage is to be taken in this sense: I,

44. Ex 33.19–23; cf. exegesis of the same passage in *Scivias* 2.4.5; and similar exposition in William of St. Thierry's *On Contemplating God* 3.

who am Lord of all because I exist of myself, will show to you, who worship me with a pure heart, the blessedness of eternal life that is all goodness. And before you I will be proclaimed the Lord—I who am the Creator of all creation—when you, O Israel, have seen the tunic of my Son, which I promised to Adam when I called him by name and gave to him the darkened clothing, because he had been darkened.[45] This is also why no humans encumbered by Adam's sin can see my face as long as they remain mortal, for at the devil's suggestion they are blackened by the blackness of the north. As anything lucent is turned back from the north, so the radiance of the true light withdrew from Adam when, on the ancient serpent's advice, he turned his gaze to the north. And so, because no mortal can perfectly gaze upon my glory, I showed my wonders by speaking through the prophets, who spoke in shadow formed of light, such that it was darker than its light, as every shade is darker than the being from which it proceeds. The sun, too, and the moon and all the stars were darkened for humankind, so that they could not glimpse their bare radiance; and all the breezes of the winds were hidden from their sight. Therefore, what was declared above was spoken as if in shadow: *"Tell us if you are the one who is to reign among the people of Israel."* For the Holy Spirit brought forth by prophesying among its people what had been prefigured in the first vocation when Adam was called: that Man's Deliverer would come.

Then the Son of God did come, clothed in humanity, and humans could not see his divinity's radiance because they looked upon him as just another person. Nevertheless, he showed himself to them in a way different from the way in which humans live—without the appetite for sin—such that he could eat, drink, sleep, and dress himself without experiencing any spot of transgression. But when the Jews and many others saw him, they doubted that he was the Son of God, and in this, they clouded over their conscience; rather than receive his miracles in faith, they were turned into the hardness of stones, like a snake hid-

45. Cf. Gn 3.9 and 3.21; see 1.1.14–15; 2.1.15; *Let.* 292 (3:90–91); and *Cause* 2.90 (quoted at 1.1.14, n. 47).

ing in the hollow of a rock.[46] Even still, he will gather up with his right hand very many Jews and pagans together with the countless host of those who will be saved, until all his wonders have passed by; and then he will lift the hand of his great work and show his back to all, his friends and enemies alike, that all might know how he contended with the devil.

And then, O Israel, you will trust faithfully in him, from whose miracles you fled by not believing in him, like Adam from the brilliance of eternal life. And then, in the showing of his works, he will be for you like honey's comb and milk's sustenance under your tongue.[47] You will gather up those works and embrace them with your arm, declaring with a mournful voice, "Ah! Ah! How long have we been deceived!" And so shall be fulfilled what was written with my inspiration:

8. "Wonderful are the surges of the sea; wonderful is the Lord in the heights."[48] The meaning of this passage is to be taken in this sense: God, who is the way and the truth,[49] placed all the ornaments of the firmament with the wonderful surges of the sea beneath the mysteries of his right establishment, for with the sea's wonderful surging he flooded the firmament's ornaments and placed them in each part according to the hidden purposes of heaven, in the likeness of a mirror.[50] But as a shadow in a mirror would not exist without the physical form it reflects, so neither can the firmament's ornaments enact anything on their own, but only through the heavenly mysteries. Indeed, the firmament's ornaments reflect their splendor from the hidden purposes of heaven, as a flash of light proceeds from fire. For fire

46. Cf. Song 2.14, perhaps via Mt 10.16 and Gn 49.17: the cleft of the rock in which Moses was hidden is connected to that of the dove, but in the negative light (or shadow) of those who refuse to behold the full divine light when it is finally and openly offered.

47. Cf. Song 4.11.

48. Ps 92(93).4.

49. Jn 14.6.

50. Cf. 2.1.24, on Ps 18.2(19.1); "mysteries … hidden purposes": translating either *archana* or *secreta* throughout; as the next paragraph makes clear, the enduring harmony of God's establishment that keeps the physical world in existence is a force hidden from that world, because its permanence cannot be fully apprehended by a transitory creation.

is the material of the flash, and even as the flash passes away, still the fire endures. Likewise, the firmament's ornaments pass away, but the heavenly harmony endures in its permanence.

Wherefore the Lord, too, is wonderful in the heights of heaven, for no transitory thing can glimpse entirely what never passes away, because the latter exists within unfailing perfection. But God represents to humans the things of heaven in the ornaments and signs of the firmament, that through them they might come to know his wonders in the mirror of faith. If they could not see those ornaments, their knowledge would be blinded, as too the north has never gleamed, deprived of all light after the devil's downfall—for he jeered at the honor of the Most High, and so retained no glimmer of light.

The surges of the sea are also wonderful, for when humans, who slosh about from here to there in their unsteadiness, are kindled by the Holy Spirit, they rise up from earthly things to those of heaven. So too is the Lord wonderful in lofty virtues, for he empowers humans in each good thing so that they refuse to submit any longer to the sordidness of vices. So that Scripture also says:

9. "Indeed, he established the globe of the earth, which shall never be moved."[51] The meaning of this passage is to be taken in this sense:[52] God filled up the earth's globe with his complete work, and so it shall never be moved, because if it were not filled up with creatures, it could be shaken and moved by some void. For every creature fills its place, and that place bears it in turn by serving it. But God worked his wonders in humankind and committed to them the globe of the earth for the needs of the body. He also established the Church, spread throughout all the earth's globe; though she is often wearied by countless tribulations, she will not be crushed by any adversaries' storm. For God continuously accomplishes his miracles in her, nor will he cease in this until the number of his elect is fulfilled with the heavenly harmony. The divinity's countenance, moreover, is upon that harmony[53] and cannot be bounded by any ending point. Noth-

51. Ps 92(93).1.

52. This paragraph summarizes, in a sense, the threefold exegesis of Genesis in 2.1.17–49.

53. Cf. Ps 4.7(6).

ing can act of its own accord, but only by the disclosing of the divinity's countenance, as too a shadow appearing reflected in a mirror cannot do anything on its own, but only through the physical form from which it proceeds.

And they are called heavens who gaze upon God, and heavens they who prophesy him; heaven too it was, that the Son of God revealed himself within humanity. Heavens also are they called who gleam from the radiance of God's face like sparks from fire, and in whom God has overcome all his enemies. But when God created heaven and earth, he placed humankind in their middle, to rule and govern them. This midst is like that midst in which the Son of God exists in the middle of the Father's heart; for as counsel comes forth from a person's heart, so too the Son came forth from God the Father.[54] For the heart keeps its counsel, and counsel exists within the heart; and they are one, nor can there be any division there.

10. *And this image has its back turned to the north,* for almighty God concealed from all friends of the north what he wished to do with his Son. And as he cast them back so that they could not see any light, so they could not see with any knowledge the work of God's Son; and because God had ordained all this through the ancient counsel, it was hidden from them.

For with the force of God's jealousy, the devil was plunged into the abyss, and all light was taken away from him, so that he could no longer behold any blessed radiance. He was wholly and utterly blinded because he wanted to possess the likeness of him whose existence comes, not from another, but from himself. Though his fear is now futile, he feels God's judgments—his allotments for punishment—and gives them answer. For in his fear of God's judgments he knows that he cannot in any way resist God; nevertheless, he chops away the branches of God's work, just as he did with the first humans when he seduced them and they consented to him wholeheartedly. This is why they go to perdition, for that enemy is forever roaring to devour souls,[55] never stopping, never tiring of his rage.

But God revealed his hidden divinity to humans with great

54. Cf. 1.4.14; and Hildegard's responsory *O vis eternitatis* (*Symphonia* 1).
55. Cf. 1 Pt 5.8.

heralds and many signs. Through wisdom he showed them many things within creation, in which they might come to know the secrets of his divinity, just as a person knowledgeably paints many objects with colors.[56] But as the ancient serpent could not withstand God in his fall, so too he could not object to God restoring the heavenly choir to greater praise through his Son with the souls of the just. From that choir fell those who cannot fully know the work of God's Son before the Last Day; and then at the hands of the heavenly host they will endure great confusion, for their place will be refilled with greater blessing than it had before.[57]

For the Son of God came forth, as described above, upon a different road: fair beyond others,[58] he was the offspring of virginal nature.[59] For the first virgin was corrupted by the serpentine counsel, but the Virgin Mary was entirely holy: she conceived her son by the Holy Spirit, gave birth as a virgin, and continued a virgin. This birth had been predestined by the ancient counsel and lay hidden within the divinity, concealed entirely of the spirit, and it winged not into the knowledge of humankind.[60] For the moment in which that Son of God was born of the Father, before the oldest of days, was not manifold, but singular within the divinity,[61] because the Father held it forever in his will that he would become Man.

Coming in the different nature of humanity, he overturned Leviathan's left side when with the works of chastity he drew away a thousand sinful vices from its gullet. For abstinence and contrition for sins are the wings of chastity, on which virgins and penitents fly to the betrothal of the Lamb, because they have put away the sins of carnal desires. For the Son of God, the

56. Cf. 2.1.17.

57. Cf. 1.4.102; and the final chorus of the Virtues in Scene 3 of *Ordo* (pp. 174–77).

58. Ps 44.3(45.2).

59. Cf. *Let.* 77r (1:169); and Hildegard's sequence *O virga ac diadema,* verses 1b–2a (*Symphonia* 20).

60. Cf. *Scivias* 2.2.8; and see Newman, *Sister,* 62, for a comparable description of the Virgin's predestination in the *Speculum Virginum* (*Mirror for Virgins*), an important twelfth-century theological handbook for nuns and their spiritual advisors.

61. Cf. Wis 7.22.

son of a Virgin and crowned with virginity, has received those who run to him in repentance. Indeed, from the very beginning of the garment of his humanity, he has enacted all things spiritual in humankind, and this he will continue to accomplish until the Last Day. All things are in the midst of his power, not because of the number of his days, but because of the power of his work; and he holds them within the right balance,[62] so that it cannot be overcome by any trick.

For in his humanity he flew upon the wings of the winds[63] and gazed into the face of his Father like an eagle into the sun.[64] For as Abraham had received the circumcision of the flesh[65]—by which is understood the spiritual life that water also signifies, as fish live in water[66]—so too a person's soul is circumcised by baptism and born again in the water spiritually to life. In that life he will live forever upon the throne of blessedness, as it is also said of the throne of God's majesty:

11. "The Lord has prepared his throne in heaven, and his kingdom shall rule over all."[67] The meaning of this passage is to be taken in this sense: The Son of God, who is Lord of humans, Lord of angels, and Lord of all virtues, has prepared his throne in the heaven of blessedness, just as a person's thinking enacts the means of its action according to his desire and accomplishes every action according to his will. Yet in nothing did the Son withdraw from his Father as Adam did when he fell into the pit of death. So too his kingdom shall rule over all in heaven and on earth[68] when he crushes his enemies underfoot like a footstool.[69] For his flesh was never touched upon earth by the taste of sin, and so no pain overcame him; rather, through his harsh and difficult suffering, he conquered all earthly things.

62. Cf. Jb 31.6.

63. Cf. Ps 17.11(18.10); and 3.2.15–16.

64. Cf. 2.1.8 (of the martyrs); and Hildegard's responsory for the Virgin, *O tu suavissima virga* (*Symphonia* 21 = *Scivias* 3.13.1b).

65. Cf. Gn 17.10–11.

66. Cf. ch. 5 above: baptism's spiritual power springs from the hidden, unique nature of the Incarnation.

67. Ps 102(103).19.

68. Mt 6.10.

69. Cf. Ps 109(110).1, Heb 10.13, and elsewhere.

Whom else indeed would it befit to deliver humankind, but that fiery Son of God, who came down from heaven to earth and ascended from earth to the heavens, and who sprinkled heavenly grace upon his people with the dew of divinity like a drop of honey,[70] so that the faithful could never be divided from each other?[71] For the Father has enacted all good works in his Son, and this he could not do with anyone else, because, as said above, he never withdrew from the Father, as the sun's splendor is never divided from the sun. Indeed, he came to earth for humankind's deliverance, and he redeemed humankind, whom no one else could redeem. For the Father appointed him to come in this way, as the prophet David says, inspired by the Holy Spirit:

12. "He shall come down like rain upon the fleece, and as showers sprinkling upon the earth."[72] The meaning of this passage is to be taken in this sense: With the devil's counsel, Adam became mortal by his transgression of God's commands; and so the Son of God came down like sweet dew into the womb of a Virgin who was sweet, gentle, and humble, in character like a sheep.[73] This he did to awaken humankind from death, as fruit is roused by the rains after the earth has been turned over by the plow. Indeed, the plow is the law's precept that the Son of God gave to humans in his humanity, so that in recognizing this precept they would be brought back to life, and following his example, overturn the carnal desires within themselves as with a plow; so too through the examples of holy works they would become fruitful as they advance from day to day, as he had gone before them. And in this way he casts showers upon them and makes from them a field full of virtues, which he blesses and fills up with the fruits of all good things—chastity, continence, and patience, and other beatitudes.[74]

70. Cf. Song 4.11 and Wis 11.23.

71. Cf. *LVM* 5.31(40).

72. Ps 71(72).6.

73. See ch. 3, n. 19, above; cf. also *Let.* 292 (3:90); for Gideon's fleece (Jgs 6.36–40) as a figure of the Virgin, Dronke references Honorius Augustodunensis's sermon for the Feast of the Annunciation in the *Speculum Ecclesiae* (PL 172: 904D).

74. Cf. *Let.* 84r (1:186); Dronke references Hrabanus Maurus, *De Universo* 22.14 (in PL 111: 610D–611A): "The plow signifies in the mystical sense the

13. *But all along the western stretch, you spy as if the foulest smoking darkness,* because there are the places of punishment that hold various kinds of tortures. For when a person tends westward along the downslope of sin, he inflicts upon himself the blindness of infidelity through the iniquity that emits an evil twilight mist. And so, falling into the pains of that darkness, he casts himself into confusion because he ignores his Creator.[75]

But near its north-facing corner, the blackest fire roils forth with sulfur and the densest dark, stretching almost all the way to the middle of the northern part before curving back on itself. For this is the place of the punishing deep, perdition's pit for those souls who scorn God and refuse to know him in good works. So too in that place a piercing fire smokes with sulfur's bite and inescapable darkness. It spreads out to its destined places such that no human knowledge can wholly know the sheer variety of its punishments, so long as one lives in this mortal world. And when a person comes to that sunset of infidelity that merits perdition, so that he loves neither just works nor God, perversity's fire meets him with the bitterness and blindness of his ways, leading him on to the fullness of misfortune and drowning. As he holds no longer any hope of life, perdition drags him along in all things.

For that person condemns himself who follows foolishness and detests the wisdom by which God created all things, because he keeps no moderation in his wickedness nor gives any thought to the life to come; indeed, he does not even desire to know if there could be another life, nor does he consider carefully how changeable he might be. For a person can grasp the stages of his life—infancy and childhood, youth and adulthood. But what happens to him in feeble old age he can hardly comprehend, nor how he is to be changed. Through the soul's rationality he indeed recognizes that he has a beginning, but how it might be that the soul does not die and does not have an end—that he can hardly know or grasp.

---

work of preaching the Gospel, in which the cultivating of the Lord's field is administered, so that with the ploughshare of the divine word, vices are uprooted and harmful desires torn out, and so the earth of human hearts is prepared to receive the seeds of the virtues."

75. Cf. 2.1.13.

14. Indeed, God founded the firmament with Wisdom[76] and compiled it with the forces of the stars as with nails, as one supports one's house with nails so that it does not fall apart.[77] The stars also aid the moon, which is kindled by the sun and drips its light upon the stars as it wanes; and in the ancient counsel on behalf of humankind, who is all creation, Wisdom indeed made the moon fecund with the sun, to bathe the earth with its moisture.[78] For the sun signifies divinity,[79] while the moon signifies the countless sum of the human race; and all these things are Wisdom's beauty.[80]

The firmament is also the seat of all its ornaments, as humankind has their seat, the earth that sustains them. God set the firmament with its beauty to praise him, as Wisdom had foreordained. So too creation was as Wisdom's vesture, for she caresses her handiwork as one feels one's clothing.[81] But if humankind had been so created that they could forgo clothing, then they would need no handiwork nor to be honored by any service; but still the bare body would be the covering of the soul, set in motion by it.[82] God, too, cannot be seen; rather, he is known through creation,[83] as too the human body cannot be seen on account of clothing. And as the sun's inner brilliance is not discerned, so neither is God seen by any mortal creature—rather, he is understood by faith,[84] as too the sun's outer disk is spied by eyes that keep a careful watch. And every work that Wisdom established, she made against the devil's malice, for his every work is hateful, and his hatred extends to the very last of the full number, because he lost, beaten by so great a strength that he could never again mount a battle against God.

76. Cf. Prv 8.28.

77. Cf. 1.2.39.

78. Cf. Sir 1.10(7).

79. Cf. 2.1.24, on Gn 1.8.

80. Cf. Wis 7.29.

81. On Wisdom's vesture, see Newman, *Sister,* 71–75; the image resonates with Hildegard's notions of the Incarnation as a garment; see especially 1.4.14.

82. I.e., if the analogy of clothing to body fails, the body would still be to the soul as creation is to Wisdom.

83. Cf. Rom 1.20.

84. Cf. Heb 11.1.

Wisdom's every ordinance is also sweet and gentle,[85] for when her tunic is spattered with dirt, she washes it in the blood of the Lamb, who is merciful.[86] Therefore, she is to be loved beyond all creation's beauty, and lovely she seems to all holy souls, for in the embrace of her countenance they can never be wearied.[87] As Wisdom also ordained, the spirit lives and watches in a person, and can never be brought to an end. Furthermore, as long as a person lives within the body, his thoughts are multiplied beyond counting within him, as too the sound of praise among the angels is immeasurable. Thought lives within the living person, and he expresses it with the language[88] of rationality, and through it he enacts his work; yet that work cannot be alive on its own, for the person had a beginning. But eternity does live of itself and has never appeared to wane, for it was life eternally before time. Because the soul, moreover, is changed into immortality,[89] it is thereafter not called a soul, for then it does nothing with a person through the thoughts; rather, it exists thereafter among the praises of the angels, who are spirits. Thus it too will then be called spirit, for never again will it labor with the body of flesh.

The human person is, moreover, deservedly called "life," because when he lives by breath, he is life;[90] but even when, with the flesh's death, he is changed into immortality, he shall be in life; and after the Last Day, with body and soul he is life in eternity. For when God formed Man, he enclosed within him his own hidden mysteries, because he was made in the likeness of God to know, to think, and to act.[91] For divinity kept within itself the ordinance for its every work, just as it ought to come to be. According to this, it established humankind to be able to think, to compose first all their works in their hearts before doing them, because they are the enclosure of God's wonders. God indeed ordains, while the human person thinks; but the

85. Cf. Wis 8.1.
86. Cf. Rv 22.14.
87. Cf. Wis 8.2, 16.
88. *uerbo;* cf. 1.4.63 and 3.3.2.
89. Cf. 1 Cor 15.52–53.
90. Cf. Gn 2.7.
91. Cf. Gn 1.26.

angel knows how forever to resound with the voice of praise and the delight of God's honor, and desires nothing else but to gaze upon God and praise him.[92]

And God held within himself the work that he would do, before time and without any pause. And so humankind—the enclosure of his wonders—knows him with the eye of faith and embraces him with the kiss of knowledge—him whom they cannot see with fleshly eyes, and according to whom they act. The angel too offers humankind's chosen works to God with a pleasant fragrance, wafting it with goodwill to heaven; and vile works that attend to a path other than God, the angel presents to him for his just judgment.[93]

These words, moreover, the faithful should receive with devout affection of the heart, for they have been revealed for the usefulness of believers by the One who is the first and the last.[94]

92. Cf. *LVM* 5.77(96).
93. Cf. *Let.* 84r (1:183–84).
94. Is 41.4, Rv 1.17, and elsewhere.

PART THREE, VISION FIVE

Divine Love upon the Wheel: Eternity and History

Then, near the mountain that I spied as if amid the eastern stretch, as described above,[1] *I saw as if a wheel of wondrous size, in the likeness of a shining cloud and turned toward the east. Stretched across its middle from the left side all the way to the right, a line could be seen, its color clouded like human breath. Another line appeared, gleaming like the dawn, so that it was in the half of the wheel that was above the first line, descending from the top of the wheel to the middle of the first line. Moreover, the upper half of this wheel cast from the left edge to its middle as if the color green, and it shone from the right edge to its middle like the color red, so that these two colors were divided between them by an equal measure of space. But the half of this wheel that was stretched all the way across beneath the aforesaid line showed a pale color intermingled with blackness.*

And behold, in the midst of this wheel, sitting upon the line I again saw the image that had previously been identified to me as Divine Love; but she appeared now with different trim than I had seen previously.[2] *For her face shone like the sun,*[3] *while her tunic gleamed like purple; she had a golden necklace set with precious stones around her neck,*[4] *and she wore shoes that reflected her brightness like lightning.*

But there also appeared before the face of this image as if a tablet, transparent as crystal, on which was written: "I shall reveal a beautiful form of silver color, for divinity, which has no beginning, possesses great clarity; but each thing that has a beginning is

1. 3.1.1.

2. Cf 1.1.3 and 3.3.2; and *Let.* 85r/a (1:192–94); see the analysis of Meier, 309–14.

3. Cf. Mt 17.2 and Rv 1.16.

4. Cf. Dn 5.29.

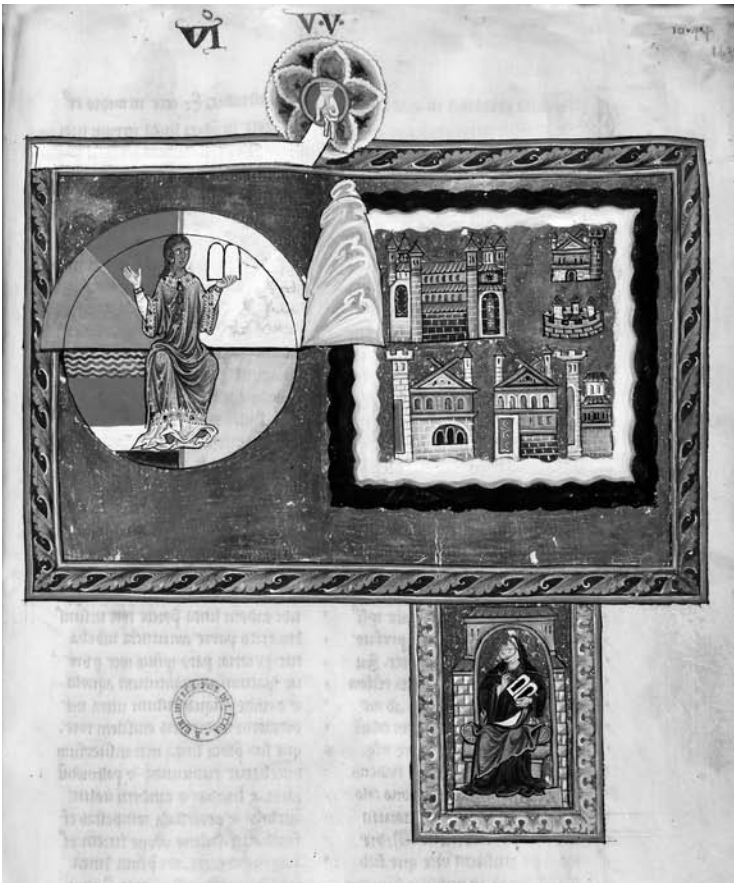


Figure 3.5: Divine Love upon the Wheel. Biblioteca Statale di Lucca, MS 1942, fol. 143r (early 13th-cen.). By permission of the Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities and Tourism.

darkened in fear and cannot fully know or grasp the secrets of God."

And this image gazed upon the tablet, and then the line upon which she sat began to move. And soon, where that line appeared to join the wheel at its left edge, the outermost part of the wheel became for a short bit of space watery. Then, for another bit until just past the middle of that half of the wheel that lay stretched beneath the line, it became reddish, and afterwards bright and clear, and finally like a turbid and stormy tempest near the end of that half, where the line was [*again*] *affixed to the wheel.*[5]

And I heard a voice from heaven saying to me:

2. O human, hear and understand the words of him who was and who is,[6] unbound by the terms of time's mutability: for in him there was that ancient counsel that willed to do a variety of works, and upon these he gazed like a sunbeam before the oldest of days, for they were to come. For God is one, and nothing can be added to this unity; but he himself foreknew that a certain work that he would make would try to usurp the likeness of that unity for itself. And so he set against it the stumbling block of rebuke, for he himself is the unity that has nothing like itself; otherwise, it could not be called unity. Therefore, he cast from himself that one who perversely sought that likeness, so that every person's rational soul—which exists because of him who is true God—might choose what pleases it and refuse what displeases it, because it knows what is good and what is harmful to itself.[7] Yet, even though God is one, he still foreknew in the force of his heart that very work that he so magnificently multiplied. God himself is that living fire through which souls breathe—God who was before the beginning and exists too as the beginning and entire course of time. This present vision reveals all these things.

For *near the mountain that you spy as if amid the eastern stretch, as described above, you see as if a wheel of wondrous size, in the likeness of a shining cloud and turned toward the east.* This shows that God has

5. For the colors of this wheel, see Meier, 321–28 and 339–44, with a diagram on 342.

6. Rv 1.8.

7. Cf. 1.4.51 and 104, on Jn 1.13.

neither beginning nor end, but exists gently within his works, prepared for all good things. *Stretching across its middle from the left side all the way to the right, a line can be seen, its color clouded like human breath.* For God's will appears perfectly in the beginning of the fallen world and through to its end stretching into eternity, because he has separated the temporal from the eternal. *Another line, gleaming like the dawn in the half of the wheel that is above the first line, descends from the top of the wheel to the middle of the first line.* Through this is shown that the divine plan of order, directed towards all good things, wondrously appears as with an unfailing flash before the world's beginning and after its end and in all its ages. This divine ordinance reveals that God's fullness, which excels temporality and is established by his will in the heavens, was prepared for all justice.

And so *the upper half of this wheel casts from the left edge to its middle as if the color green,* for when God caused the parts of creation to go forth in their forms to their labor, just as they were foreknown by him, he kept them as if in the viridity of his will. *And it shines from the right edge to its middle like the color red,* for after the end of the world, God changes for the better what is [to pass] from this transitory world unto life.[8] To the souls of the faithful he also grants the reward of their refulgent labors and allows neither labor nor defect to rule over them anymore. *These two colors are divided between them by an equal measure of space,* for as eternity lacks a beginning before the start of the world,[9] so too, after the world has ended, it shall have no end. Rather, the beginning and ending of the world are defined as if by a single, contained circle.

But the half of this wheel that stretches all the way across beneath the aforesaid line shows a pale color intermingled with blackness. This indicates that the fallen time spans of worldly things have a beginning and an end, and over them rules unfailing eternity, unbounded by any end. As long as the world endures, it bears often and heavily at once the pallor of neediness and then again the blackness of tribulations.

8. *que a transitorio seculo ad uitam sunt:* so all MSS; Derolez and Dronke supply *eleuanda,* and I have followed a similar supposition.

9. For the pairing of *principium* and *inicium,* cf. 2.1.18.

But all that has been said of these things thus far also pertains, in another sense, to the salvation of human souls, such that God's power is joined to the supreme strength that consists in the perfection of shining justice, for God's power and strength cleave to one another. God's power indeed is rounded by balanced equality, because it lacks beginning and end. It can do all that it wills with full capability and gleams bright white in the gentleness of heavenly judgments. For no mutability, no vicissitude touches God with increase or loss, nor does any unit of time ever divide him; rather, he remains ever without beginning, inviolate and immutable, granting life to all that is and gathering to supreme blessedness those who purely worship him.

The fullness of his power, which appoints all things[10] with just moderation and exists in its height and depth unknown to humankind, also reveals things eternal and temporal as if in a circle that has neither beginning nor end. Indeed, both the perfection of God's power, which manifests the eternity of the divine ordinance, and his providence, which, shining in the eternal, extends itself from the eternity of his power to the fullness of the divine ordinance, reveal themselves in his works and declare that the souls of the blessed will endure in supernal glory.

The eternity of the perfection of God's power shows too in the disposition of what was to come with the fullness of creation—when heaven and earth did not yet exist[11]—like the viridity of the sprout that is to come forth and grow, as too the Holy Spirit's gifts bring viridity into the human heart, to bear good fruit. But in what after the world's end will achieve unchanging stability, it reveals as if a reddening gleam, for when the souls of the saints have been lifted to heaven, all things will be perfected and perceive thereafter no defect. As God's eternity had no beginning before the start of the world, so too after its end, it shall be enclosed by no limit: there and then will the blessed rejoice in heaven without end. But the perfection of God's power also shows that all things are subject to God, for it

10. Cf. Prv 8.30 and Wis 8.1.
11. Cf. Prv 8.26–27.

contains beneath eternity all temporal things in all the varieties of their existence, and fetches those who deny God to be cast into hell, because all things will be weighed that are seen to rebel against God.

3. Moreover, *in the midst of this wheel, sitting upon the line you see again the image that was previously identified to you as Divine Love; but she appears now with different trim than you had seen previously.* This is because in that perfection by which God's power subjects all things to itself, Love was joined to God's will as if in rest. For Love fulfills God's entire will, adorned at one time with this trim, at another time with that—for the virtues that are at work in humans display Love as if she were adorned with noble beauty, since all good things come about through Love.

For her face shines like the sun, admonishing the human person to affix the heart's every intention upon the true Sun; *while her tunic gleams like purple,* because a person should make for himself a garment with the heart-strings of mercy and come to the aid of each who seeks it, as far as possible. *She has a golden necklace set with precious stones around her neck,* beckoning a person to take upon himself the yoke of subjection and adorn it with the blessed virtues, so that, humbled in all things, he shows himself truly subject to God, as too God's Son was obedient to his Father in all things, even unto the death of the flesh.[12] *And she wears shoes that reflect her brightness like lightning,* because all a person's journeys should be in the light of the truth, so that, following the footsteps of Christ,[13] he might offer examples of rightness faithfully to others.

4. *But there also appears before the face of this image as if a tablet, transparent as crystal, whose inscription proclaims* that nothing with a beginning can fully grasp *the divinity, which has no beginning.* Before Divine Love's gaze is revealed the foreknowledge of God, because God's love and foreknowledge agree harmoniously as one. For foreknowledge—transparent and without blemish, enclosed by neither beginning nor end, nor even defined by any mortal creature—shows that when a person who wants to be

12. Cf. Phil 2.8.

13. Cf. 1 Pt 2.21; 1.2.45 above; *Scivias* 1.1.3, 3.3.10, and 3.11.19; and *Lets.* 190r and 195r (2:156, 169).

subject to Divine Love cherishes what is in God, looks upon God in the purity of faith, and does not set any fallen thing ahead of him, he prepares for himself a seat among the joys above, for God has foreseen that he would come to such a place.

And this image gazes upon the tablet, and then the line upon which she sits begins to move. For when God's Love gazed upon his foreknowledge, in which appeared all that was to come to be in creation, even though the creation that was to be created did not yet exist, God's will, to which Love was joined as if in rest, moved itself to bring creation into physical form. And thus heaven and earth and all other creatures that are in them arose at God's bidding.

For when the angels came forth, some of them denied their Creator and fell irrevocably, while the rest endured in his service and love. And so God created Man after the other creatures, so that all he might need, he would find prepared for him. God enlightened him with living breath and fortified this wonderful handiwork in two ways, as fire and flame: fire in the soul, and the flame that blazes from it in rationality. Yet rationality's flame knew that it would operate with the kiss of choice, which is the knowledge of good and evil.[14] Through this knowledge it does not burn in what it does not choose for its activity, but anxiously flees from what it does not wish to do, unless the smith should strike it, to burn a little where he wishes it to turn; and after it burns there for a while by choice, the smith often douses it.[15]

And God has placed these two powers in an earthen vessel, to enact what is useful for it.[16] But as fire contains within itself the flame, so too the rational person has these powers of activity; and these two powers are in the earthen vessel, and this earthen vessel exists with them. But if fire and flame did not burn in anything, where could their hot glow be seen? So too these two powers must have a work: the earthen vessel in which the soul and rationality execute their works.

14. Cf. *Let.* 15r (1:55).

15. Cf. 1.4.71 for the analogy; here, it emphasizes the smith's control over where the fires of his forge should flare or be tamped down.

16. Cf. 2 Cor 4.7 and 2 Tm 2.20–21; and 1.4.75.

The wind too is airy and fills up the remaining parts of creation with which humankind operates,[17] so that there also would be no humankind if the rest of creation did not exist. And God is fire and living spirit and has made a great work, from which his Son has taken up his garment. Hiding his Godhead in this work, he performed his many miraculous deeds, and with it passed through the world until he drew to himself that tenth part that had been lost.[18] God also established this work against the one who desired the north,[19] and completely overcame him through it—striking him so hard in the jaw[20] that he could no longer lift up his head as he used to do. For divinity clothed the good angels with its own brilliance and set them in order about itself, zealously to constrain and chastise his work when it looked in upon itself and abandoned its Creator by following its own self-will. For when rationality works according to the will of the flesh, it brings God's vengeance upon itself; but when it looks again to its Creator, saying, "You are my God,"[21] it is set ablaze with the Holy Spirit's fire to multiply its praises like the sparks of a fire.

But rationality, too, consists of two types of choice: it both collects to itself what it chooses and rejects all else, since there cannot be in one choice two things that contradict. For the one who serves another despises himself, and the one who works for himself does not serve another in what he does—and so these two types of people cannot agree on anything.[22] For the rational person first chooses and desires, and afterwards acts upon something. But the irrational animal lives as it was made and can do no more, because it does not possess the eye of conscience within rationality, but directs itself according to the material of its nature.[23] The human person, however, dwells by faith with God.[24]

17. Cf. 1.1.2 and 2.1.15.
18. Cf. 1.1.9 and 1.4.102; and *Scivias* 3.2.19.
19. Cf. Is 14.13.
20. Cf. Jb 40.21(41.2), drawing also from Jb 16.11.
21. Ps 15(16).2, and elsewhere.
22. Cf. Mt 6.24 and Lk 16.13.
23. Cf. 3.3.2.
24. Cf. Eph 3.17.

5. But as you see, *soon, where that line appears to join the wheel at its left edge, the outermost part of the wheel becomes for a short bit of space watery.* This is because, after my will, conjoined to my power for the procreation of creatures, had brought forth creation, the judgments of my power appeared in the outpouring of waters in the flood, because after the first Man bore his children, their offspring plunged themselves from evil into evil. Adam and his sons sprouted rightly indeed according to human nature because of their fear of me; but their descendants violated themselves most wickedly and against human nature.[25] Because I no longer wanted to sustain such wickedness, I snuffed them out in the flood. Even the devil trembled with terror because of this, for he saw how unconquerable is my might by which humankind was thus destroyed.

Then, for another bit until just past the middle of that half of the wheel that lay stretched beneath the line, it is reddish, and afterwards bright and clear. For from the flood until the Incarnation of my Son, whom I sent mightily under the silence of my will, when the strength of each time period had passed away, the judgments of my power came to pass in the redness of justice. For even after the flood, throughout the various ages of their days, humans seized with their works upon the brilliance of fearing me. For the construction of justice arose in Noah, circumcision in Abraham, the imposition of law in Moses, and prophecy in the prophets.[26] These all crushed idolatry as the day puts the night to flight, and in them run all the ages of time, as human works appear among humans. Yet, because they tend towards setting as the sun, and because the people progressed by generation, I looked upon the fullness of that number of which it is written by my inspiration:

6. "When the fullness of time was come, God sent his Son, made of woman, made under the law, to redeem those who were under the law, that we might receive the adoption of children."[27] The meaning of this passage is to be taken in this sense: God the Father, who lacks beginning and end, in the full-

25. Cf. 3.2.5.
26. Cf. 3.2.8–9; and *Let.* 84r (1:187).
27. Gal 4.4–5.

ness of time foreordained from eternity, sent his Son to earth, prefigured by countless signs and wonders, for the redemption of fallen humankind.

This seems particularly well imparted to us in Noah's Ark. For it signifies the Church: though battered in the present world by the waves of various temptations, God has already joined her to his Son through the grace of faith for the restoration of her children. And this Ark, established on the top of the mountains,[28] can be a figure of the eternity of almighty God, who foresaw all creation long before it was, in all the ways it would appear in the present by his Word, each creature distinct in its kind.

The heavenly city, which is the dwelling place of God's children, also displays a tower, built with the finest workmanship. In the extraordinary beauty of its adornment is signified the supremely faithful obedience of Abraham, who represents for us the Son of God and the infinite signatures of his wonders. Indeed, the law given through Moses demanded untiring obedience, without which it is impossible to stand, just as no house can stand without its supporting columns, nor can any person subsist without the heart by which he is ruled. Obedience is indeed a fire, and the law is its brilliance.

And as Abraham, leaving behind his home and country at the Lord's instruction, was the first to be changed by circumcision,[29] so the Son of God, conceived and born by the Holy Spirit's fire of the most chaste Virgin without any contamination of blood, spiritually changed the law given through Moses into a better state through himself. Because the blood of legal sacrifices could not free those born of the blood of sin, it befitted the mercy of their Founder that he alone should free them by the inestimable price of his own blood. And as humankind was accustomed to offer sacrifice to God from the creation granted to them, so the Son of God put on from humankind the flesh that he offered to God the Father for them.

And so God's Son came into the world and set before humans a pure and lucent teaching. Surveying all that had been

28. Is 2.2; cf. Gn 8.4.
29. Gn 12.1 and 17.10–27.

foretold, he changed it into a different mode, so that idols were turned toward the living God and prophecy onto the spiritual way. For as a person's word is uttered with the breath of his spirit, so too the Only-Begotten of God was sent from the Father into the womb of the Virgin and was conceived by the Holy Spirit. And so, born in flesh assumed from that Virgin, he revealed in himself all things past and to come, and changed the tales of human deeds that are told and heard into better ones, by erasing what was useless and keeping what was useful, just as he had done among the ranks of the good angels, whom he made more glorious after the fall of the lost. For before his birth all things lay as if in darkness, but after he had assumed the flesh, it was as if the sun shone upon them. For he was the law by fulfilling it and changing it into something better and obeying the precepts of his Father, which Adam had failed to do.

In God's very Son justice and peace also were joined;[30] and injustice, by which the world was darkened in sin with the serpent's spewing venom,[31] was bound by his humanity. For he is the Warrior who opposes injustice with justice and peace—justice that is girded by divine precepts, but peace that is defended by God's merciful grace upon humankind—and gathers to himself his elect in that likeness in which the blessed angels have endured with God. When he ascended in bodily form into heaven, the Holy Spirit enkindled the apostles with fiery tongues, so that they were enlightened with inner knowledge to join others to themselves in this way, to perform very many wonders and signs while adorned with the catholic faith and sanctified by good works.

Thus the teaching of God's Son, bearing much fruit and mounting from virtue unto virtue,[32] came forth in purity. A vast people submitted itself to it, shining brightly in the light of faith, so that many who had been overcast in Adam's fall by the darkness of oblivion and unfaithfulness were enlightened with the true faith and holiest works. And it was necessary that the Son of God should come at the end of time, because the ancient

30. Cf. Ps 84.11(85.10).
31. *spuma*, lit. "foam"; see n. 150 below.
32. Ps 83.8(84.7).

serpent had utterly violated humankind with deception and mockery and blasphemy. But this was also necessary so that the bodily presence of the humanity of God's Only-Begotten should carry out its work. This task was begun by the great guides ruling the Church and the other prelates of the Church; and then with the priests and their subordinates, and with the hermits who are of the order of virgins; with the host of spiritual people, who are like the angelic host and worship God with the trumpet of praise like the angelic praise; and with the penitents, who cry unto God through those who imitate him; and with the goodly married, obedient to the precepts of their masters; and with the continent, who deny themselves and leave the world.

For so the Son of God, coming from the royal throne, has carried out his work; and as he returned to his Father with the presence of his body and showed himself to him, so too he gathers the upright deeds of all of these people and shows them to his Father. These ranks, moreover, which were established by the teaching of God's Son, have burned in their great yearning by mounting from virtue unto virtue,[33] as the day burns ever more fiercely in the heat of the sun as it progresses from the first hour to the ninth.[34]

7. And afterwards, through the teaching of the apostles and the virtues of the other saints, these were made bright and clear, down until these days, which have fallen from their might into womanish weakness.[35] For in these latter days, every good custom that was sown by the Holy Spirit's grace at first among humans from the time of the apostles, has been reduced to the blind darkness of those darts with which the ancient serpent deceived the world. For the apostles had strengthened their

33. Ibid.

34. Cf. 1.4.30.

35. Cf. chs. 8 and 15 below, and *Life* 2.2 (p. 158); see also Rauh, 489–96, and Newman, *Sister,* 238–45, on Hildegard's pessimistic epithet for her own time, the *tempus muliebre* (a womanish or effeminate age), frequent in her preaching and correspondence, both to clergy (e.g., *Lets.* 26r and 77r, 1:88, 169) and lay rulers (e.g., *Let.* 311r, 3:111). Her sermon to the clergy of Trier (*Let.* 223r, 3:21–22) provides the fullest treatment leading up to the *LDO;* see further Kathryn Kerby-Fulton, "Prophet and Reformer: 'Smoke in the Vineyard,'" in *Voice,* 70–90.

teaching as with steel, and locked it with the bolt of heaven, and placed reins upon it in the fear of God, so that, rather than being led into derision, it would be kept every day with strict effort; and because they established their teaching according to the course of the sun, they sanctified it through abstinence from food and through prayers and praise.

But the ancient serpent thought long and hard within himself about how he might tear down and snuff out this law, because he saw that he had been completely fooled—for he thought that his was the time of warring against human children because he had turned human conception into sin. And so he inflamed a certain judge of royal name with the seething lust of violating his duty, to summon to himself the countless empty deeds of wickedness, as if he worshiped them.[36] This he did for a while, until the Lord's hand struck against him,[37] just as it crushed Nero and many other tyrants in all their honor.[38]

Then the virtues' viridity withered, and all justice sank into decay. So too the earth's viridity fell away in its every shoot, for the upper air changed into a different mode from its earlier establishment, so that afterwards, summer was often turned to contrary cold, and winter to contrary warmth;[39] and often on earth there has been such drought or such moisture (together with other anticipatory signs that the Son of God foretold to his disciples, when they asked, would come before the day of judgment),[40] that many have said that the day of judgment is imminent.

36. In Berlin Fragment 4.28 (ed. Schipperges, p. 71), this instigator of the *tempus muliebre* is identified as Emperor Henry IV (d. 1106), whose "violation of duty" was to oppose Pope Gregory VII (the "Investiture Contest" of 1075–1076) and impose his own antipope, Clement III (1080–1100); in Hildegard's sermon at Cologne (*Let.* 15r–App. 2, 1:61–62), she calls him an "idolater of Baal"; see Liebeschütz, 144, and Rauh, 490.

37. Cf. Is 5.25.

38. Gerhoch of Reichersberg also connected Henry IV with Nero, but with both as explicit figures of the Antichrist; see Liebeschütz, 144; Rauh, 456–58; and Bernard McGinn, *Antichrist. Two Thousand Years of the Human Fascination with Evil* (San Francisco, CA: HarperSanFrancisco, 1994), 45–50 and 65–67.

39. See further the next chapter, and cf. 1.3.2, 1.4.104, and 3.2.6; the reverse—spiritual renewal issuing in creation's physical renewal—comes in chs. 20 and 26 below.

40. Cf. Mt 24.3–31; Mk 13.3–27; Lk 21.7–28.

8. So too the Son speaks to his Father, saying:[41] "In the beginning, all creation was verdant, flowers blossomed in its midst; only later did viridity fall away. And the man of war[42] saw this and said: I know this age, but the golden number's not yet full.[43] So behold, you mirror of fatherhood. In my body I suffer exhaustion; even my little ones grow weak. Now remember that the fullness, first made, need not have withered, and that then you resolved that your eye would never yield until you saw my body full of gems. For it wearies me that all my limbs are exposed to mockery. Father, look: I am showing you my wounds! So now, all you people, bend your knees unto your Father, that he might reach out to you his hand!"

The meaning of this passage is to be taken in this sense:[44] In the beginning—before the flood—the earth's viridity was so great that it produced its fruits without human labor. It was then that humans kept neither complete discipline in worldly affairs nor perfect devotion unto God, laboring instead only to fulfill their own earthly desires. Yet after the flood, as in that middle time between the flood and the coming of God's Son into the world, flowers blossomed with new sap and with every sprout in a different order than before, because the earth was baked then with the moisture of water and the heat of the sun.[45]

And as fruit buds then arose and multiplied more than before, so too human knowledge, set alight by the Holy Spirit, advanced in wisdom[46] until the new star that revealed the King

41. With one minor addition, the following passage is identical to the final chorus of *Ordo* (pp. 180–81), and I have adapted Dronke's translation; see also idem, *Poetic Individuality in the Middle Ages: New Departures in Poetry, 1000–1150* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), 177–78. The musical notation can be found in Hildegard von Bingen, *Lieder,* ed. Pudentiana Barth and M. Immaculata Ritscher (Salzburg: Otto Müller, 1969), 203–5.

42. Is 42.13; cf. *LVM* 1.21(33); and *Let.* 223r (3:22), which echoes some of the *Ordo* finale in laying out an early version of this vision's prophecy; and *Let.* 374 (3:161).

43. Cf. *LVM* 1.22(34).

44. With this exegetical segue, Hildegard treats her own poetical plea from Son to Father in the same way she treats scriptural passages. Its amplifications structure much of the rest of the vision; see chs. 12, 14, 23, and 34 below.

45. Cf. 3.2.6.

46. Cf. Lk 2.52.

of Kings.[47] This star also showed that this wisdom blazed in the Holy Spirit's fire, through whom the Word of God was incarnate in the Virgin's womb. In that star, the Holy Spirit revealed to the nations the work that had been done in the Virgin's womb; and the brilliance of the Holy Spirit's flame is the sound of the Word that created all things.[48] For the Holy Spirit made the Virgin's womb fertile and came in fiery tongues upon the disciples of God's Son,[49] and after those fiery tongues, it has worked many wonders with those disciples and their successors.

This too is why that time, mounting from virtue unto virtue,[50] is called the manly time—and so it endured for many years with strong keeping. Afterwards, viridity fell away from its strength and was turned into womanish weakness. It put away all justice and became subject to the foolishness of human ways, for in these days each person does whatever he pleases. So too now is the Church abandoned, like a widow who has not her husband's comfort against anxiety, for she has not even the upright staff of instruction upon which humans ought to lean.[51]

Instead, perverse hired hands scatter my little ones in the valleys because of the greedy love of money, and forbid them to climb to the hills and mountains, and tear away from them nobility, heritage, property, and wealth.[52] As ravenous wolves they do this:[53] laying traps along the sheep tracks, they tear apart those sheep they catch, and put to flight those they cannot tear apart. They devour my little ones in this grievous deception through the actions of great judges and evil tyrants.[54]

And so these days are a prison of the devil's devising, for I

47. Mt 2.2.

48. For variations on the fire analogy, cf. *Scivias* 2.1.3 and 2.2.6; *Let.* 77r (1:167); and *Expl. Symb. S. Athan.*, p. 116.

49. Acts 2.3.

50. Ps 83.8(84.7).

51. Cf. *Let.* 149r (2:92).

52. Cf. Jn 10.12–13; and *Gosp. Hom.* 30 (pp. 132–33) on the Good Shepherd, in which the devil is the hired hand.

53. Cf. Mt 7.15.

54. On this allegory for clerical corruption, see Rauh, 496; Kathryn Kerby-Fulton, *Reformist Apocalypticism and* Piers Plowman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 35–36; and further references at n. 35 above.

have long endured the mockery of my people by the tyranny of their enemies. For the latter's bonds have been loosed, so that they might afflict humans with various punishments, as when in the Old Testament I often chastened those who rebelled against me. I have even allowed in these days certain airy spirits to terrify some people with great storms, and thus have I stricken them. I have afflicted them with scores of punishing scourges and extreme bodily weakness and infirmity, because they have not abandoned their restless ways. They gather envy and hatred to their bosoms, compounding the losses of others upon themselves; snatching away from them the mantle of honor and usefulness,[55] they bring upon them every evil and bloodshed.

But through the creation that I made for human use, they are also often judged, so that by fire and water they are strangled, and by wind and air they lose the fruits of the earth.[56] The sun and moon prove themselves out of sorts, for rather than following their courses as set by God, they exceed them. So too the earth is disturbed for a time like a chariot overturned by some bump. In this way, these days will fulfill their course among filthy human morals, by bloodshed and the destruction of every honorable establishment of the Church. Golden justice will be debased with the bronze and lead of iniquity, and every human being will swing into myriad evils.

Before the end of these days of womanish weakness, however, Justice, whom the Son of God entrusted to his disciples with a ring of betrothal when he sent them into all the world, will arise and display the clothing she received from the apostles,[57] now rent and defiled by the peoples' iniquity.[58]

9. For Matthew, mild-mannered and simple-minded, taught people lightly and sweetly, confirming everywhere the apostles' teaching as he presented it as the model for his own teaching.

55. Cf. Song 5.7.

56. Cf. ch. 20 below; 1.3.2, 1.4.104, and 3.2.6.

57. The following chapter's ekphrasis details her apostolic adornment; see Meier, 317–20.

58. Cf. the defilement of Justice in *Let.* 8 (1:41), and the similarly forlorn figure of the Church in *Let.* 149r (2:92–3); the appearance of Lady Philosophy in Boethius, *Consolation of Philosophy* 1, pr. 1; and the stripping of the daughters of Zion in Is 3.18–24, and their consolation in Is 52.1–2.

And so a great many people turned to God in true faith because of his preaching, which dripped sweetly like a comb of honey;[59] for because of the sweetness of his manners, the peoples lapped up his teaching like an infant sucking milk. So too the Holy Spirit touched him to write faithfully of the Son of God's Incarnation. Indeed, Matthew prepared a camisole from the silk of holy intent—of contrition rightly ordered and bright as daylight—and clothed Justice with it when for Justice's sake he did not refuse martyrdom.

But Thomas had the strong and strident manners common to humans, for he did not undertake any cause lightly, nor easily consent to anything. But what he saw, he believed, and whatever was inwardly invisible, he grasped only by the demonstration of signs.[60] For it is useful for signs to be understood through works, since bodily things are seen bodily and spiritual things grasped spiritually, and through the holiness of works is a person known to be spiritual. Thus Thomas converted a great many people to God and clothed Justice over her camisole with a long gown of green silk that flashed like a sunbeam. For he adorned her with the rightness of good intent and made her to shine in all things, turning the hearts of unbelievers away from idols and towards God, and offering himself in his martyrdom to the Ruler of all.[61]

Peter, moreover, wove a purple robe of linen when he manifested rightness with gentleness and strength.[62] With it he clothed Justice with the orders of the Church when he subjected himself to many tribulations in body and soul.

But Mathias was mild and humble, in manner like a dove, fleeing the discord, envy, and hatred of human manners.[63] He was a vessel of the Holy Spirit, which dwells in those who do not allow their minds to wander broadly and inquire after diverse things; and in humility, as if he did not know what he was do-

59. Cf. Song 4.11 and Prv 16.24.

60. Cf. Jn 20.25.

61. "rightness … Ruler": *rectitudine … rectori.*

62. Cf. Prv 31.22; Hildegard interprets Solomon's ideal wife from that chapter as Wisdom in *LVM* 4.28(36–38), while Augustine had interpreted her as the Church; see Newman, *Sister,* 73–74.

63. Cf. Hildegard's sequence *Mathias sanctus* (*Symphonia* 50), esp. verse 5.

ing,[64] he performed many signs and wonders before the faithful and faithless alike and hungered for martyrdom like a feast. So he prepared for Justice a royal throne for her honorably to sit upon, with eagles' heads and lions' feet on its four posts—for in humility he flew throughout the four parts of the world, and no injury could conquer him. Far and wide he spread his preaching and patiently endured far too many reproaches as he manfully brought his every task to completion. For this reason people also gladly listened to him and loved him very much, and through his humility he set Justice upon the throne he had prepared.

God indeed chose twelve apostles, each with different temperaments, as too he had chosen twelve prophets—for God is wondrous. And then he found a single spark and enkindled it with his fire—Paul, in whom he performed even more wonders. For God fulfills his signs in both the fierce and vigorous as much as in the mild, lest the people should rebuff them by claiming that God only works his miracles in the good. For the Holy Spirit adorned the apostles' whole teaching through Paul, who bore the mountain of a lofty mind and was as fierce as a leopard, gnashing his teeth at all that he wished to overcome, because he thought he could accomplish all that he willed. The Holy Spirit found in him the spark of faithfulness, because his persecution was driven not by envy and hatred but by love of the old law.

And God created the beasts before Man, and after the beasts, he made Man in his own image and likeness.[65] The old law too he gave first according to the beasts, but later turned it through his Son's humanity into a spiritual understanding, according to the practice of the angels' praise. For as he formed the first Man and then gave him the breath of life,[66] so too he gave first the old law, which later he changed into the new law, for the better.[67]

So too, when he found Paul in such excessive zeal, he laid

64. Cf. *Mathias sanctus,* verses 4a–4b.
65. Gn 1.24–26.
66. Gn 2.7.
67. Cf. *Let.* 15r, App. 2 (1:62).

him low in the old law, and through this he showed him that he would bear his Son's name in the new law. Lifting his spirit up into the heights, God also revealed to him the wonders by which he was fighting against him; yet Paul's soul lay hid within him, so that he was scarcely aware that he was alive, as the soul releases its thoughts yet remains in the body.[68] For if God had revealed his wonders to him gently, Paul would have returned to his earlier zeal because of the fierceness of his soul. So God bound him tightly and soaked his whole body with labor. Indeed, his infirmity was twofold, so that all his body's veins were flooded with feebleness and the devil's fiery darts wearied him with a particular sweetness of the flesh.[69] But because he had seen God's wonders in the spirit, he also had in his own spirit the mightiest strength; and because he had seen very many secrets and hidden mysteries, beyond which one is not permitted to speak,[70] so too his words and preaching were like nails driven deep that hold up a house.[71] For the Son of God, whom the Virgin Mary bore, chose him from the tribe of Benjamin.[72] So too he labored more in preaching than all the others who dwelt bodily with him.[73]

A woman also adorns herself to her husband's honor and glory,[74] and to appear before him all the more beautiful. Through this a person understands how he ought to adorn his soul before the Highest King—for when a person possesses charity, he puts on a golden vesture; and when he loves chastity, he adorns his countenance with precious pearls; and when he engages in abstinence from foods, he clothes himself with purple and linen.[75] For this reason too the person who wishes to withhold himself from sin avoids meats, even though they may be eaten for the restoration of health—for meats often draw human flesh toward sin.[76]

68. Cf. 2 Cor 12.1–4.
69. Cf. 2 Cor 12.7–10.
70. Cf. 2 Cor 12.4.
71. Cf. 3.4.14.
72. Phil 3.5.
73. Cf. 1 Cor 15.10.
74. Cf. Est 1.20 and 1 Pt 3.5.
75. Cf. Rv 19.8.
76. Cf. *RB* 36.9.

But Paul did not find the commandment of virginity in the law. That is why he did not appoint it for people, but rather gave it as counsel.[77] For a commandment is kept out of fear, but counsel out of love; and so a frightening commandment that is heard only outwardly is very often transgressed, while the counsel of love, received eagerly by a person's every coursing vein, is firmly kept. But because this counsel was at first confused by the serpent, by the ancient counsel God was made Man—and in him charity burned so to enlighten the whole world.[78] This too is why, from that hidden counsel, Paul gave counsel rather than command concerning virginity. No person ought to establish virginity by command, for it is God who brought it to perfection within himself. So too chastity keeps no legal precept of servitude or fear, but stands in God, singular and free, without any trace of fear.[79]

Paul is indeed the wheel of Justice's chariot, for as the wheel carries the chariot while the chariot carries all the weight, so Paul's teaching bears Christ's law. For the new law was woven of the old law, in which Moses had enclosed circumcision and sacrifices, all of which the Holy Spirit renewed unto new holiness, and Paul forged together with a new fire into the inscribed chain of Justice's necklace. For he sanctified each of his works with upright honor, so that marriage would be established in the fear of God, and the continent would live rightly; that a person would not afflict himself with abstinence more than he can sustain by God's grace; and that virginity would wear the crown of the Highest King, because it was taken up by God. For as God formed the first Man without any of the flesh's juice, so he himself received his garment from virginity, without any of the sweat of sin. For in these three ways—marriage, continence, and virginity—Paul gathered together all the virtues and every saintly life, and adorned the teaching of the apostles with elegant coloration. He also crafted shoes for Justice out of purple silk when he abandoned the world in all things and labored more than all his fellow disciples to run along the paths of the

77. 1 Cor 7.25–35.
78. Cf. Jn 1.9.
79. Cf. *Scivias* 2.5.15.

churches. These shoes he fitted with finest gold, sparkling like the stars, when through his good works he placed before all believers examples sparkling in holiness—especially when he hastened to give his body over to suffering.[80]

James, moreover, who is called the brother of the Lord,[81] was a gentle and mild-mannered man, and offered his teaching inwardly, to God alone. Rather than seeking vainglory, he eagerly ran the right paths to cleanse the muddy highways of infidelity. He also converted the people to the true faith and spoke sweetly of how to teach about God's Son, born of the Virgin; and what he showed with sweet words he affirmed with holy deeds and very many signs. Indeed, through the pleasant sound of his words he prepared earrings for Justice. For her left earring was of hyacinth, the color of clear cloud, signifying that God's Son lived in the world without sin, to wipe and wash away human sins. The right one, meanwhile, was of deep-red jacinth, indicating the suffering of God's Son, by which the devil was defeated.[82] So James too submitted himself to martyrdom.

Simon, meanwhile, was wise and strict. He preached bitter torments for the countless sins of the faithless and performed great signs with a firm faith, so that people willingly listened to him. A course rushing to the faith he prepared, because he inspired the people with the fear of death. In this way he crafted for Justice in great celebration a torque of emerald and rubies, and of pearls and other precious stones. He made this torque through the bulwark of his strict morals, and in it set the emerald through the viridity of his preaching, and rubies, together with the other stones and pearls, through the fear of punishments. He did not fear the torment of martyrdom, but endured it patiently.

Paul aided him in this, for though he had already made shoes for Justice, still he hung this torque upon the finest chain made

80. Cf. Col 1.24.

81. Gal 1.19.

82. "hyacinth … jacinth": both *iacincto,* which Hildegard uses for both blue (so the hyacinth flower) and red (so the gemstone in the breastplate of Israel's high priest [Ex 28.19] and the walls of the heavenly Jerusalem [Rv 21.20]); see Meier, 267 and 273.

from purest gold and solidly and flawlessly set with twelve stones and precious pearls.[83] Reaching all the way to Justice's feet, this chain had two heads formed upon its ends—on the right as if the head of a mountain goat out of deep-red carnelian,[84] while on the left as if the head of a leopard out of gold, such that the mountain goat's head appeared to oppose the leopard's head. For Paul joined his own teaching to the bulwark of the other apostles' teaching and adorned it without reproach with good works and apostolic teachings and other virtues, so that enduring to the end of rightness, it should not pass away until the world's ending. Then, about that ending, there will also appear two powers as in those two heads—the one rising up to salvation with Enoch and Elijah in laborious constraint, but the other speeding to perdition, gnashing its teeth through the Antichrist in the pretended glories of miracles and virtues.[85] So these also show that those who strive for heaven overwhelm those who hasten to the devilish seduction.

James, the brother of John, moreover, wove a woman's veil from white silk and gold fringe by preaching the Incarnation and suffering of God's Son.[86] While destroying idols through many miracles, he surrounded and adorned Justice's head with it, so that all the Church would give God praise. Then he too yielded his head to martyrdom.[87]

John, meanwhile, crafted a belt of green silk through the wonders God showed to him, promoting chastity with an intention verdant and sweet. Into it he sewed the twelve stones of prophetic virtues, together with the many pearls of a good will. Its edges he lined in green like the balsam-dripping branch,[88]

83. Cf. Ex 28.21, 39.14; and Rv 21.21.

84. Also known as sard.

85. Cf. chs. 32–33 below; the images echo from the first description of Paul's profundity and zeal above. On the goat, cf. also *Let.* 27r (1:91); its two horns here stand for the two great prophets foretold in Rv 11.3–12, the carnelian red representing their martyrdom by the Antichrist, like the blood covering the Church's legs in *Scivias* 3.11.16. The leopard as one form of the Antichrist derives from the description of the beast from the sea in Rv 13.2. See Meier, 278–79, 319, and 332n391.

86. Cf. the figure of Mercy in *Scivias* 3.3.8.

87. Acts 12.2.

88. Cf. Hildegard's song *O viridissima virga,* verse 2; her antiphon for St. Dis-

for to the steadfastness of chastity he joined the viridity and aroma of the heavenly virtues.[89] With it he girded Justice when at the people's bidding he uttered, "In the beginning was the Word."[90]

Now Philip was gentle and showed humility in his teaching, and attracted many people. So too he crafted in this way bracelets of gold, in which he set emeralds, deep-red jacinths, and the noblest pearls—so much indeed that the gold could hardly be seen for the array of stones. For in his teaching and works he demonstrated the viridity, hard work, and innocence of the virtues, engraving his own good will within himself as much as he could. These bracelets he clasped around Justice's arms when in his martyrdom he fulfilled his good works.

Bartholomew, moreover, could never tire in his great zeal for preaching, nor did he ever want to give it up. So he made electrum from gold and another gorgeous material,[91] with grand engraving interspersed with precious stones. This plating he laid out stretching from those bracelets to Justice's elbows, divided into three sections from bracelets to elbows; and he connected these sections with fine golden chains. For out of the good will he possessed in the faith, he brought forth the words of his preaching with the hidden secrets of God's mysteries and with select[92] virtues. He laid these out in his holy activity when he rightly distinguished the true Trinity—three persons in one God, invisibly and ineffably connected to one another—and declared it faithfully and most fittingly.[93] He also attracted peo-

---

ibod, *O beata infantia;* her sequence for St. Maximin, *Columba aspexit,* verse 1a (*Symphonia* 19, 44, and 54); and *Scivias* 2.3.13 and 2.5.13.

89. Cf. the respond to Hildegard's responsory for St. John, *O dulcis electe* (*Symphonia* 36), where Hildegard invokes her characteristic image of the bishops as chrism or "spice-makers" (*pigmentarii;* see *Scivias* 2.5.1), for chrism's aroma derives from the inclusion of balsam oil. For John's virginity as a flower, with Christ as the gardener, see the antiphon *O speculum columbe* (*Symphonia* 35).

90. Jn 1.1.

91. Electrum is an alloy of gold, usually with silver.

92. *electa,* paramoisis on *electrum.*

93. Cf. the Rupertsberg manuscript's illustration of the Trinity from *Scivias* 2.2, which utilizes both silver and gold (each with additional pigments overlaid—yellow upon the silver, red upon the gold), perhaps reflecting the Trinitarian-

ple's minds, submitted his own body to suffering, and so fitted Justice's forearms roundabout with wondrous beauty.

Andrew also fashioned a ring of purest gold and set within it the finest topaz, and when he adorned the pure faith in the Church with the virtues' beauty, he declared that the Son of God is Justice's Bridegroom. And then he placed this ring upon Justice's finger when he allowed himself to be hung upon a cross.

Now Thaddeus was prudent and subtle, and eager to study human behavior.[94] This is why he converted very many to the practical usefulness of the faith, since they could not outwit him; conquering the serpent's trickery, he performed many miracles before the people in his holy works. He also crafted a mantle of red silk, adorning it with care and eagerness, and set it round Justice, for when he composed the works of charity with the sheen of the other virtues and finished them with true beauty, he cloaked Justice with them—and this too when he submitted himself to bodily suffering.

Peter, finally, when he saw her so vested (and although he had already clothed her with her robe), crafted a crown of finest gold, adorned it with the most precious stones and gems, and set it upon Justice's head. For in preaching faithfully and fearlessly the glory of God's Son and presenting it trimmed with all the virtues and hidden mysteries, he adorned Justice with the crown of holiness and honor and set it fittingly upon her head as he hung upon the cross in his martyrdom. In this way Justice was clothed by the apostles.

10. But she, whose face gleams like the splendor of the sun because she is ever brilliant and unchangeable before God,[95] calls upon the supernal Judge with a great shout and shows that her clothes have been stained by wicked humans, as said above. For these days of womanish weakness possess no manly

---

signifying crowns that Hildegard's nuns wore on high feast days; see Nathaniel M. Campbell, "*Imago expandit splendorem suum:* Hildegard of Bingen's Visio-Theological Designs in the Rupertsberg *Scivias* Manuscript," *Eikón/Imago* 4 (2013): 1–68, at 36–39.

94. So named in the disciple lists in Mt 10.3 and Mk 3.18, and commonly identified with the author of the letter of Jude.

95. Cf. Mt 13.43 and 17.2.

strength—all ecclesiastical institutions, whether secular or spiritual,[96] are slumping ever worse and now exist in a different state from that in which the apostles or other ancient fathers had established them. In them all, the Church originally shone like the sun, and Justice was crowned, as the king is so called because of his lordship over the kingdom and is honored because of his diadem and royal vesture. For God's Justice was crowned and adorned by the orders of the Church and all that pertains to them. She is also the material cause of all just legal actions established by God and enkindled by the Holy Spirit's fire, like a house lifted up by its inhabitants. And so it is written:

"Just you are, O Lord, and right is your judgment."[97] The meaning of this passage is to be taken in this sense: Just you are in all your judgments, O Lord, who rule all things. For you are that Justice that is never overshadowed by any iniquity, but reveals her work like a banner set to go before a general. The work of Justice is indeed heaven and earth, together with the rest of creation; and God is Justice, for he reveals the truth with the good reports of the holy deeds affixed to Justice like branches to a tree. So too is God's judgment right in its equity, for it contains no falsehood's opacity, because it crushes falsehood underfoot like the filthiest muck stinking with rot. Indeed, God's Justice cries out above the mountains, and her voice resounds to heaven, and she laments that she, who was first made the mount of holiness within the Church, now lies destroyed upon the mount of holiness.

For I, the Justice of God, declare with a mournful voice:[98]

11. "My crown is darkened by the schism of errant minds, for each has established a law for himself according to his own will.[99] Those who ought to have a master and suffer his rod wish to be their own masters; impudently they rule themselves

96. "Secular" refers to parish and diocesan clergy, while "spiritual" refers to those living under monastic rules.

97. Ps 118(119).137.

98. Justice's lament against the clergy echoes that of the Church in *Let.* 149r (2:92–93).

99. Cf. *Let.* 265r (3:60–61); see Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *Poets, Saints, and Visionaries of the Great Schism, 1378–1417* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), 25–26.

and declare to be useful whatever they choose. And so they are faithless because they trust in themselves, and in this way they cannot obtain from themselves or from others that life's salvation that none but God can give. For by all these things has my crown been darkened, because those who do them do not look upon me in that clarity with which I have come forth from God.

"My robe, too, is spattered with the dust of the earth; those who have defiled it are they who had left the world and put on the robe of God's Son in a good and holy way of life, for they are now involved with whores, as one surmises from what is written in the Gospel concerning the younger son.[100] To Christ's yoke they were indeed joined by the transformation of circumcision and the legal establishment of priests; but by their dereliction of duty they are now fornicators and do not cry out with the younger son, who ran back to his father, saying, "Father, I have sinned against heaven and before you."[101] Rather, they are grown accustomed to the evil of adultery, as if they had been appointed to it. And so they cake my robe with the dust of their sins; and rather than shake that dust from it through repentance, they wallow in the rot of sin like worms. So indeed they are blind, deaf, and mute, neither declaring my duty nor rendering my judgment. They guzzle instead their greed and do not clean their wounds—for they are covered with wounds—and are deaf to the Scripture that speaks to them, neither listening to it themselves nor teaching it to others.[102]

"In these ways there is apathy in all the established orders of the Church, and she walks as without a staff, for all her institutions have now almost failed. For when the sun has been darkened by a cloud, creatures do not experience jovial mirth, nor do peoples when they are without a king. The institutions of the Church's orders have indeed been darkened, because they want to be called 'institutions' in name only, without any activ-

100. Cf. Lk 15.13; Hildegard preached tropological and allegorical interpretations of the Prodigal Son in *Gosp. Hom.* 26–27 (pp. 118–26), with the "robe" of Lk 15.22 as the innocence and pure humanity that Adam lost in the Fall, restored by the Incarnation's robe.

101. Lk 15.18–21.

102. Cf. *Scivias* 1.1, Vision.

ity. Therefore, they are left joyless, like a faith that is without works.[103]

"But in truth it will not continue or remain so, for God's judgment threatens those who fulfill their self-will all on their own, as if they could exist without God. For I, who arose in the ancient counsel, cry out to God's judgment. I make my complaint against these who have snatched away my cloak and despoiled me of all my adornments. Their judges I invoke against them in my aid, with that same calling by which the Creator of all called forth woman when he took her from man, to make for him a helper like to himself.[104] For as woman was made subject to man and bears children,[105] so too humans ought to listen through me to God's commandments and obey them. And because they ignore me rather than doing this, every time I am stricken by them, God's judgment hems them in, just as happened in ancient times through the flood, and often again under the law both old and new, and as often happens even now.[106]

"I am indeed called Justice, and from me arose the Church by the regeneration of Spirit and water.[107] We are one, as too God and Man are one. I will cry out therefore to the fiercest judges,[108] who will vindicate me against the frenzied ways of those who pursue me as wolves pursue lambs.[109] Those sinners too do not feast with the fatted calf,[110] but are like the Samaritans, who wanted to exist under two laws.[111] So too will they be subjected to the prophet Elijah's derision: in mockery he told those who worshiped Baal to shout even louder, for Baal's a god,

103. Cf. Jas 2.26.

104. Gn 2.18, 21–23.

105. Gn 3.16.

106. Cf. *Scivias* 2.7.22.

107. Jn 3.5.

108. In Hildegard's treatise against the Cathars (*Let.* 169r, 2:123–25), the twenty-four elders of Rv 4.4 cry out as these judges, in condemnation of clerical corruption allied with the schismatic Henry IV, symbolized by the rider of the black horse of Rv 6.5; see Rauh, 489–90, and Kerby-Fulton, "Prophet and Reformer," in *Voice,* 74–76.

109. Cf. Jn 10.12 and Mt 7.15; and ch. 16 below.

110. Cf. Lk 15.23; and Hildegard's antiphon for martyrs, *O victoriosissimi triumphatores* (*Symphonia* 37 = *Scivias* 3.13.5a).

111. Cf. 1 Kgs 18.21.

and perhaps he's talking, or at an inn or on a journey, or sleeping and must be wakened.[112] Therefore, they too are deceived, for God's grace is far from them because they do not keep the commandments they received, but reject them, saying, 'When we want to, we'll keep our God's commandments—for there's still time enough to please him with correction.'"

12. And upon these discordant days of a total loss of equity looks that man, the mighty man of war against the diabolical ranks and against all wickedness; in the unfailing light of his own radiance he looks and does not forget, although he does overlook people's sins so that they have the chance to repent. And he says,[113] "Within my hidden judgments I know this age, which has fallen away from good and toppled into evil. For I do not so cursorily ignore the human iniquities that roam through the different courses of each succeeding age; rather, I examine them with the scourges of just rebuke.

"But the golden number—the martyrs who shine as gold in the redness of their blood, slaughtered in the early Church because of the true faith—is not yet full. For the martyrs await those who, in the last age of degenerate error, will hand over their bodies to the suffering of martyrdom because they confess my name. To this my beloved John testifies, saying:

13. "'And they were told to rest a little while, until their fellow servants and their brethren should be fulfilled, who are to be slain even as they had been.'"[114] The meaning of this passage is to be taken in this sense: By divine inspiration were they, who had submitted themselves to temporal death out of love for God, shown that their bodies should rest a little while in the dust of decay—until, that is, that predestined time when those who will be God's servants are fulfilled in all perfection. These will serve God wholly in the truth, as had those before them, their brethren—for these too will suffer in their bodies as had they, crushed by so many tribulations on behalf of God's Son, to be subject to bodily death.

Indeed, the bloody voice of the martyrs—who knew neither

112. 1 Kgs 18.27; see further ch. 31 below.
113. Continued amplification from ch. 8 above, i.e., the *Ordo* finale.
114. Rv 6.11.

sin nor how they were to be slain—rose up to God.[115] But the radiance of divinity glinted upon them, so that they could foresee within that divinity's radiance the countless multitude to come. For the brilliance of eternal life is granted to them, in which they come to know the answer that will be shown to them. And their cry was not overshadowed by the squalid deeds of sinners, for they were innocent and their blood was shed because of the Incarnation of God's Son. In this too they bore witness that the Lamb would shed his own blood.

Those are called their fellow servants who are slain for the faith and for justice, while their brethren are those who will be consumed at the end of time by the Antichrist, like the infants consumed by Herod,[116] who denied the Son of God, as too the Antichrist will deny him. For the voice of a person's outpoured blood rises up through his soul to cry out and lament that it has been driven from the seal of the body in which God had placed it. Thereafter that soul receives the merit of its works, either in glory or in punishment. Blood's first voice, indeed, raised up its cry to God in Abel,[117] for Cain had foolishly and forcefully destroyed the structure of God's work. And so again the Son of God says:[118]

14. "So you mirror of fatherhood—the brilliance of divinity in which the angels' host shines like forms that appear in a mirror, for that mirror ever gleams upon those angels[119]—behold and show what great injuries I suffer at the hands of those who deny me! In my body—in my very limbs that kick against me in malice when instead they ought to cling to me in righteousness—I suffer the exhaustion of perversity. For I find no moment with them when I can rest in the viridity of good works.

"My little ones, too, who ought to advance in humility and cast aside all worldly pomp—they grow weak in what is nothing, for they embrace the vanity of pride, deeming themselves holy

115. Cf. Hildegard's hymn for St. Ursula and her companions, *Cum vox sanguinis* (*Symphonia* 65).

116. Mt 2.16; see Hildegard's responsory for the Holy Innocents, *Rex noster promptus est* (*Symphonia* 59).

117. Gn 4.10; cf. 1.2.47; for Abel as martyr for justice, cf. *Let.* 113r (2:58).

118. Continued amplification from ch. 8 above, i.e., the *Ordo* finale.

119. Cf. 1.1.5 and 3.1.6.

and displaying their works for the praises of human glory. And because in this transitory praise they fade away from celestial praise, they do not attend to the angels' praise—for the angels teem in praising the holy divinity, and in God they find their praise ever renewed, for they cannot fathom his end."

For that praise is the brightest light that cannot in any way be extinguished, so that from it gleams the angelic band. For an angel is praise without the work of the flesh, while a human person is praise with the work of the body—and the angels praise his works. For in the praises with which the angels praise God, they also commend the holy deeds of humans and gaze upon them as if they were a mirror of praise, because God wonderfully composed Man of soul and body, and he never lacks the angels' brilliance as long as he is in their company. For God also ordained that divinity and humanity should be praised gloriously in one God.

This, moreover, is why the devil is mocked. As an angel, he wanted to be God; but God deceived him, as it were, when from the clay of the earth he created Man,[120] who is soul and body in one. The soul cannot be human without the body, nor the body without the soul, and the soul acts with the body, and the body acts with the soul. The body is indeed the enclosure in which the soul is enclosed; and often it constrains the soul to yield to the body, unable to hinder it from doing the deed it desires. For with the body it is occupied, and the flesh's appetite displeases it; nevertheless, that appetite is often accomplished against the soul's will through the veins in which the soul operates. But when a person longs for a different way of life—one that is contrary to the flesh's lustful desire—the soul takes hold and accomplishes it along a swift course, for with its total desire it savors that way of life within itself.

15. Moreover, these days, numb with injustice as described above, are signified by the dog, fiery but not burning, in the book *Scivias*.[121] But other days will follow these, mightier in

120. Gn 2.7.

121. *Scivias* 3.11.2 (p. 494): "for that era will produce people with a biting temperament, who seem fiery in their own estimation, but do not burn with the justice of God." Hildegard now expands on her first work's rather

strength, in which certain people will look towards rightness, put off the shallowness described above, and turn themselves again to justice. Justice indeed mounted up as by a ladder in the catholic faith, from the Incarnation of God's Son, through many cycles of days, to the towering height of holiness. She gleamed as with the purest gold of good works, suffused and sparkling clear in that faith. Unsoiled by the shame of any depraved deeds, she stood firm and invincible.

But when those days, I say,[122] had completed their long course down to the present days of womanish shallowness, in that very same faith Justice began to be hunched over by certain demeaning outrages and darkened by certain shades of injustice. For justice and honest morals and the other excellences of the virtues had grown among humankind, bit by bit, from the days of the flood. Bit by bit they had climbed to their summits through the days of the prophets, who encouraged them to furnish their greatest brilliance at the time of God's Son. And then, in the apostles and other teachers, they endured in that excellence and brilliance through a great length of days, until just before the birth of the secular judge mentioned earlier—a cultivator more of adultery than of the fear of God.[123] A bit before his start, these virtues began to wane and dip down to worse things, as too they had once climbed up bit by bit from the flood until the prophets.

From the days of that judge, moreover, have sprung iniquity's root and obliviousness to justice and honesty. By swelling and spreading, these have advanced as in womanish weakness all the way to another leader, the bearer of a spiritual title who possessed a serpent's prudence and malice[124]—and whom God's judgment slew.[125] In his days, that iniquity and the overflowing

---

vague "five ferocious epochs" to come before the Antichrist, symbolized by five beasts; see Rauh, 507–13, and Kerby-Fulton, *Reformist Apocalypticism,* 47–50.

122. A unique interjection, perhaps indicating that this originated in Hildegard's preaching.

123. I.e., Henry IV, as in ch. 7.

124. Cf. Mt 10.16.

125. Hildegard's reformist rebukes of the entanglements of church and empire offer many possible candidates. Rauh (504) suggests this is Rainald of Dassel, Archbishop of Cologne, Chancellor to Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, and

habits of human ways began to heat up and to boil and to spew forth their froth in the divine examination that leads to purification. And so it is that they are now so bitterly and harshly strained and purged of their froth that people might be shaken in these perils by great sorrow and mourning. But these days of sorrow and mourning have not yet come.

16. For after Justice has brought her complaint to the supernal Judge, as described above, he will receive the words of her lament and with his just judgment bring his vengeance upon the transgressors of righteousness.[126] He will allow the tyranny of their enemies to advance upon them, as those enemies say to one another, "How long will we suffer and endure these rapacious wolves, who are supposed to be healers but aren't?[127] But because they have the power of speaking, binding, and loosing,[128] they seize us like the wildest of beasts. Their crimes fall upon us, and every church withers because of them, for they do not declare what is just and instead lay waste to the law, like wolves devouring the lambs.[129] In their drunkenness they are insatiable, and they commit adulteries too numerous to count—but in such sins they judge us without mercy. Robbers too they are of the churches, and they guzzle in their greed whatever they can. With their offices they make us poor and needy[130] and debase both themselves and us. This is why we will judge and

---

a key player in the 1164 election of Paschal III, the second anti-pope against Alexander III; Rainald died of the plague in 1167. Dronke (*LDO,* p. lxxx, n. 99) proposes that Paschal himself (d. 1168) might be the target; while Charles Czarski (so Kerby-Fulton, *Reformist Apocalypticism,* 49) suggests Pope Anastasius IV (r. 1153–54), whom Hildegard sharply criticized in *Let.* 8 (1:41–43) for his rapprochement with the Emperor, writing, "You do not love the King's daughter, that is, Justice, with a blazing passion, but with a dull sloth, so that, in fact, you banish her from your presence." Another possibility is Arnold of Seelenhofen, Archbishop of Mainz and a partisan of the Emperor, who was murdered in 1160; see *Lets.* 20–20r (1:71–73), and discussion in Kerby- Fulton, "Prophet and Reformer," 70–71.

126. On this chapter's forceful prophecy of clerical reform, chastisement, and disendowment, see Kerby-Fulton, *Reformist Apocalypticism,* 36–39.

127. Cf. Sir 38.15; Mt 9.12; Lk 5.31.

128. Mt 16.19 and 18.18.

129. Cf. Jn 10.12 and Mt 7.15.

130. Cf. Is 41.7 and Am 8.4.

distinguish among them with just judgment, for they are traitors more than teachers.[131] This too we will do so that we ourselves do not perish—for if they continue in this way, they will throw the whole region into chaos by subjecting it to themselves. But now let us tell them that they are to fulfill their habit and office according to just religion, as the ancient Fathers established. Otherwise, they are to leave us and relinquish what they hold."

Roused up by divine judgment, they will harshly propose to them these and other such things. They will swoop in upon them and say, "We do not want these men to rule over us with estates and fields and other secular means, over which we were established as princes. How is it even proper for the tonsured, with their stoles and vestments, to have more soldiers and more arms than we do? Surely it's not appropriate for a cleric to be a soldier, and a soldier a cleric? So let's take away from them what they possess not rightly but unjustly. Let's carefully consider, however, what has been offered with great discernment for the souls of the dead, and leave that to the clergy—for that was not plunder.

"For the almighty Father has rightly apportioned all things—heaven for the heavenly, but the earth for the earthly—and in this way there should be a just division among the children of humankind: spiritual persons should have what pertains to them, while secular persons what befits them, so that neither side should oppress the other with rapine. God indeed did not command both the robe and the mantle to be given to the one son while the other is left naked; rather, he bid the mantle be granted to one, the robe to the other.[132] The secular indeed possess the mantle, because of the great extent of their worldly affairs and because of their children, who ever grow and multiply.[133] But the robe is granted to the spiritual people, so that it neither runs short of food and clothing nor keeps more than it

131. "traitors … teachers": *seductores … doctores.*

132. The most immediate reference is to the division of inheritance in the parable of the prodigal son (Lk 15.12), likely in combination with the parting of Christ's garments (*uestimenta*) and casting of lots for the untorn robe (*tunica*) in Jn 19.23–24; see ch. 22 below.

133. Cf. Gn 1.28.

needs. For this reason we determine and elect that everything just described be rightly apportioned, and everywhere that the mantle is found together with the robe among spiritual men, the mantle be taken away and given to the poor, lest they be consumed by scarcity."[134]

And so at length, through this judicial sentence, [the princes] will try to accomplish all this as they will. But at first the episcopal excellencies and all who are engaged in the spiritual way of life under them will work hard to resist them by closing fast the gates of heaven. Eventually, however, they will realize that they cannot withstand them with the power of binding and loosing, nor by appealing to the power of their oblations, nor in the uproar of arms, nor with flatteries or threats. Finally, struck in terror by divine judgment, they will give up the empty, arrogant self-confidence that they had always had before and present themselves in humiliation before [the princes]. Howling, they will cry out and say, "Because we have rejected almighty God in the execution of our office, this chaos has been brought down upon us—we are oppressed and humiliated by those whom we ought to have been oppressing and humiliating! For we had been established as princes over them, and they were to be subject to us by discipline—but God has withdrawn from them the cord of submission and allowed them to lord it over us.

"Wherefore let us consider the fact that we suffer the just judgments of God, for we wanted to make the kingdoms of the world subject to ourselves, as we too were supposed to be subject to God,[135] and because each of us has engaged the will of his own carnal desire, yet none dared to convict us on that account. For God commanded the people of the Jews to offer animal sacrifices to their Creator, but they spurned his bidding and concerned themselves only with the senses of the flesh.[136] This then

134. An ironic echo of Mt 5.40, perhaps in combination with the stripping of the Bride's mantle (*pallium*) by the city watchmen in Song 5.7. For the political allegory, see by contrast that of sun and moon at 2.1.36 above.

135. *nobis subiugare uoluimus, sicut et nos sub iugo Dei esse debebamus:* an explicit play on the root of "subjugate," meaning "to be under the yoke"; note also ironic echoes of the Lord's Prayer and its clauses on forgiveness.

136. Cf. 3.2.9.

is why foreign nations were brought in over them.[137] Likewise he instructed us to offer a living and spiritual sacrifice,[138] but we weren't afraid to treat it with defiled hands.[139] Although he crowned us with the diadem of his scepter, we vaunted ourselves above all and fulfilled the lusts of our flesh in every way. And so our enemies advance upon us, just as their enemies once ruled over earlier generations of degenerates."[140]

And then both the lesser and the greater men of each people will set the clergy in order and allot what they need, so that they neither lack food or clothing nor ever again endure such reproaches at the hands of secular men. These things will begin, moreover, among both the spiritual and the secular people as at the first hour of the day; and then, as if at the third hour, they will be guided full-bore to the task; and finally, as at the sixth hour, they will be entirely accomplished. All human ranks will be reconsidered after the sixth hour and arranged in a different way than they were before, so that each order might once again be rightly established, returning the free to the honor of their liberty and the servants to the fitting servitude of their submission.

17. But even still, amid all these things, there appears as if the lion recorded in the book *Scivias*.[141] Wars harsh and cruel will suddenly erupt because the fear of God has been cast aside; many people will fall in the slaughter, and many cities will be ruined by the destruction. For as a man overcomes feminine softness by his strength, and as a lion surpasses all other beasts, so too the cruelty of some people will consume the calm of others in those days by divine judgment. For at that time God will grant punishment's cruelty to his enemies to purge iniquities, as he has ever done from the beginning of the world.

137. Cf. 3.2.8.

138. Cf. Rm 12.1 and 1 Pt 2.5.

139. Cf. Is 59.3.

140. *prioribus preuaricatoribus.*

141. *Scivias* 3.11.3 (p. 494): "*Another is like a yellow lion;* for this era will endure martial people, who instigate many wars but do not think of the righteousness of God in them; for those kingdoms will begin to weaken and tire, as the yellow color shows." In contrast to the earlier vision, however, the following chapters prophesy a remarkable time of restored peace, justice, and holiness; see Liebeschütz, 147–49; Widmer, 193–97; and Rauh, 507–13.

And when humans have been cleansed by the calamities just described, they will realize how loathsome are such battles. By their fear of God they will embrace Justice in all ecclesiastical institutions that are pleasing to God, and to her they will add even more good things—and this they will do in days of both peace and war, and of every toil. And then Justice will rightly be called the Bride who is brought to the bed of the true King after the concubine has been sent away. The concubine was eager sometimes to serve some legal precepts by pretense and at other times to be conjoined to the practice of a deformed fellowship. This then is why the king will cast her aside—for the days previously described were like concubinage, with people observing the Church's mandates in some respects but wholly abandoning them in others.[142]

Almighty God, indeed, the true Solomon, will adorn his bride—Justice—with all her ornaments, that is, with all the ecclesiastical orders. Openly will she wear her ornaments, which the concubine had concealed in such a way that they were only sometimes visible. So too these days will disclose the destruction of those worthless days, and consolation will empty desolation of its power,[143] just as the new law transformed the old law, and a time of healing restores a time of crisis for the better. For if such evils had remained unshaken in the shallowness and scandal of their practice, the truth would have been so clouded over as to rock the towers of the heavenly Jerusalem and corrupt every ecclesiastical institution, as if humans were without the true God. For in that time, the transgressors of justice will be held in the same contempt as a woman who has abandoned a just marriage to commit adultery, because they too commit adultery, as it were, by violating the Church's precepts. And therefore they too will endure affliction and contempt, like a woman abandoned by her husband and left without the solace of his company.[144]

But what is more, such new and unknown ordinances of justice and peace will develop in that time that people will be amazed, explaining that this is because they had neither heard

142. Cf. *Let.* 250r (3:47–49).
143. *consolatio desolationem euacuabit.*
144. For the simile, cf. 1.2.47.

nor known of such things before, and because this peace was being granted to them before Judgment Day—like that peace that foreran the first coming of the Son of God. But because of their fear of that judgment still to come, they cannot fully yet rejoice—instead, they seek from almighty God all justice in the catholic faith. Even the Jews will rejoice and declare that he has now come whose coming they had until then denied.[145]

For the peace that had preceded the coming of my Son's Incarnation will be fully accomplished in those days, because strong men will rise up then in great prophecy. Every bud of justice will also flourish then among human sons and daughters, as was foretold at my will by my prophet and servant: "In that day the bud of the Lord shall be magnificent and glorious, and the fruit of the earth high, the joy of those who had been saved of Israel."[146] The meaning of this passage is to be taken in this sense:

18. In that day when the angels sang of the peace given to humankind,[147] my Son was born of a Virgin, magnified by the angels and glorified by the shepherds who were searching with pious devotion. And the fruit of the earth abounded—the earth to which peace had been restored and the air bestowed its sweetness; and theirs was the joy who among the sons of Jacob had been freed from evil's past tribulation, for they had once been crushed with just judgment by many tribulations. Furthermore, when the light of true faith illumines the hearts of the faithful, my Son will be magnified in them, for they will believe that he came forth from me; and they will glorify him when they confess that he has returned to me in glory. So too for them will the fruit of good works be lifted high. Their joy will also be increased when they have been snatched from the devil's power and freed from the punishments of hell, to be counted among the children of God.

Yet the blooming of the vineyard of hosts[148]—the bloom that came forth from the flower of Aaron's staff,[149] unburnt

145. Cf. 3.2.8.
146. Is 4.2.
147. Lk 2.14.
148. Cf. Is 5.7, in an Old Latin variant used in a canticle at the Easter Vigil.
149. Nm 17.8; cf. 1.1.17 and 3.2.3.

by the serpent's spume[150]—withered when my Son suffered on the Cross. For the eyes of the Jews were heavy in the shadow of death:[151] when they heard the words of prophecy, they cast them aside with the true Flower whom the entire earth itself recognized when he breathed his last upon the Cross.[152] And therefore they slew themselves, and so they withered in both the Old and the New Testament. For the Old Testament is as the winter that keeps all viridity buried within, but the New is as the summer that brings forth plants and flowers.[153]

19. So too he said to those who lamented him, "If they do this with the green wood, what will be done with the dry?"[154] The meaning of this passage is to be taken in this sense: He himself was the green wood, because he bore all the viridity of the virtues, but still he was rejected by the disbelievers. The Antichrist, meanwhile, is the dry wood, because he crushes underfoot all of justice's viridity and dries out what is green in uprightness. Hence he too will be reduced to nothing. The green wood was also those days when people had regard for the restoration of all sufferings and did not dread the fear of future judgment at the Last Day. But the dry wood is when the revolt, of which my chosen vessel Paul[155] spoke, will appear before the son of perdition does,[156] and when every wave of pain will shake heaven and earth. Indeed, heaven and earth will be moved in the judgment to come,[157] as was prefigured in the green wood, when the firmament's wheel that holds the many signs within itself withdrew the radiance of light when he died.[158] So too it is shown in the aforementioned words of the prophets.

20. Indeed, in the days just described, sweetest clouds will

150. A reference to the devil's seduction through the lustful ejaculation of semen; cf. n. 31 above, 1.4.96, and 3.2.5; and *Lets.* 149r (2:92), which presages the description of Justice in ch. 11 above, and 375 (3:162), on the devil's rape of Eve.

151. Cf. Mt 26.43 and Ps 87.7(88.6), and elsewhere.

152. Cf. Mt 27.51; and Hildegard's antiphon *O cruor sanguinis* (*Symphonia* 5).

153. For the seasons, cf. 1.4.72 and 78.

154. Lk 23.31.

155. Acts 9.15.

156. 2 Thes 2.3–4.

157. Cf. Sir 16.18.

158. Cf. Lk 23.44–45.

touch the earth with sweetest air and cause it to exude the viridity of fruitfulness,[159] for people at that time will hasten toward all justice. Likewise, in the time already described of feminine weakness, the earth's fruitfulness has failed, because the very elements, violated by human sin, have been stripped of all their proper functions.[160] The princes, too, together with the rest of the people, will rightly ordain God's justice and forbid all weapons that had been prepared to harm human beings. Instead, they will keep them only as iron implements with which to cultivate the earth and attend to the needs of human use.[161] If anyone should transgress these ordinances, he will be slain with his own sword and cast out into a deserted place.

And as at that time the clouds will release rains gentle and right for the fruit of the just sprout, so too the Holy Spirit will pour forth the dew of its grace among the people, together with prophecy, wisdom, and holiness, so that they will then seem to be changed into a different way—a better way—of life. Indeed, the old law was a shadow of the spiritual life, for it had been entirely signified by creation, just as every fruit, hidden within the earth in wintertime, cannot be seen because it has not yet come into physical form. That law itself did not contain the summertime, because the Son of God had not yet appeared in the flesh. But when he came, it was wholly changed into its spiritual signification, revealing the fruit of eternal life in the precepts of the Gospel, like the summer bringing forth flowers and fruit. In these days indeed will be the true summertime of God's virtue, for all things will be established in the truth. Priests and monks, as well as virgins, the continent, and the rest of the ranks will stand fixed in their rightness, living justly and well and casting aside all arrogance and excess wealth. For just as the necessary usefulness of the fruits will be produced in that time by the temperate mingling of clouds and air, so too the shoot of the spiritual life will then be made manifest by God's grace.

Indeed, prophecy will in that time be laid open, as described

159. *uiriditatem fructuositatis:* used also of the flower of obedience in *Scivias* 2.1.8; for the fruitfulness of divine justice, cf. *Scivias* 2.6.9.

160. Cf. chs. 7–8 above; 1.3.2, 1.4.104, and 3.2.6.

161. Cf. Is 2.4.

above, and wisdom will be cheerful and strong; and in them all the faithful will reflect upon themselves as in a mirror. Then too the true angels will accompany humans intimately, seeing within them this new and holy way of life—for as it is now, the angels often steer away from them because of their stinking sins. Furthermore, the just will then rejoice as they strive toward the Promised Land and await the hope of eternal reward, though their gladness will not be entirely full, for they see also that there is judgment to come. And so they act like pilgrims who are striving for their homeland, their joy not yet full so long as they are still on pilgrimage.

But the Jews and heretics will also be quite glad in that time, claiming, "Our glory is near! Those who harassed and expelled us have themselves been trampled underfoot."[162] Nevertheless, many pagans will then join themselves to the Christians because they see the abundance of the latter's honor and riches. After being baptized, they will preach Christ together, just as happened in the time of the apostles. They will also say to the Jews and heretics, "What you call your 'glory' will really be eternal death, and the one whom you call your 'prince' you will see meet his end with the greatest dread and peril. Then you will be converted to us as you gaze upon the Day that the dawn's shoot—Mary, the Star of the Sea—has revealed to us."

Those days will surely be strong and praiseworthy in their peace and stability, but they will also be like armed soldiers who lie along a cliff-top, waiting in ambush for their enemies, whom they then follow for the kill. For they will declare the coming of the Last Day, because whatever the prophets had foretold of goodness and grace will be fulfilled in their time. Wisdom, too, and religious devotion and holiness all will be strengthened in those days, for if the Son of God had not been foretold by the prophets and come as in the blink of an eye,[163] he would swiftly have been forgotten,[164] just as the ruinous man who sneaks up as if in secret will be swiftly destroyed.[165]

162. Likely referring to the clergy disendowed in ch. 16.

163. Cf. 1 Cor 15.52.

164. Cf. *Scivias* 3.11.24.

165. "the ruinous man": *perditus homo,* an allusion to "the man of sin, the son of perdition" of 2 Thes 2.3, i.e., Antichrist.

21. Nevertheless, in those days such justice and religious devotion will sometimes fall away among humans into wearied weakness; but just as quickly they will regain their strength. Iniquity, too, will rise up for a time and then fall again; wars as well, and famine, pestilence, and mortality will advance for a time and then again fade.[166] None of these things will then persist in a single state and course for very long, but will be shifted about in one direction and then in another, so that once they will show up but then slip away.

But even in those days, amid all these things—as the horse indicates in the book *Scivias*[167]—moral insolence and boastful spirits will very often rise up among humans, as well as the fulfillment of pleasures and other irreverent vanities. For those who rest in the quietness of peacetime and overflow with abundant harvests are not afraid of any wartime invasion, nor are they squeezed by a dearth of their crops. But in attributing these blessings to themselves, they do not show the honor owed to God, from whom all good things come.[168]

So too perils greater than had ever been seen before will follow that period of rest and abundance. For when humans grow complacent in such quietness, unafraid of any perils as just described, other days full of pain will come, in which the mournful words of the prophets and the words of God's Son will be fulfilled. Afraid that such afflictions will continue, people will yearn for death and say, "Is it for this that we were born?"[169] And they will wish for the mountains to fall down over them.[170] For in previous days of grief and disaster, there would sometimes be some bit of relief and renewal; but these days of all pain and wickedness will not cease to be full of evil. Rather, grief will be added to grief, iniquity to iniquity, and in every murder-

166. Cf. *Let.* 8 (1:42–43).

167. *Scivias* 3.11.4 (p. 494): "*Another is like a pale horse;* for those times will produce people who drown themselves in sin, and in their licentious and swift-moving pleasures neglect all virtuous activities. And then these kingdoms will lose their ruddy strength and grow pale with the fear of ruin, and their hearts will be broken."

168. Cf. the collect for the Fifth Sunday after Easter.

169. Cf. 1 Mc 2.7.

170. Cf. Hos 10.8, Lk 23.30, and Rv 6.16.

ous hour, injustice will be counted for naught. As animals are slaughtered for feed, so too in these days humans will be slain at the mad hands of others.

For when the pagan nations see that the Christians live in peace and rich abundance, with a cruel trust in their own strength they will say, "Let's attack the Christians with our weapons, since they live without weapons and without force, so that we can capture and kill them like sheep at the slaughter."[171] And so from far away lands they will gather together a people completely wild and unclean, to which they will join themselves in fornication and shameless impurity and every evil; and everywhere they will attack the Christian people with pillaging and warfare, and lay waste to vast areas and many cities.[172] They will also defile the disciplines of the Church with many vanities and impurities, and befoul all whom they can in this way. So too these days will make clear that other, far worse days would come, and they will lay bare the coming of the ruinous man.[173] For as the unclean man is never sated because he defiles himself continually in his filth, so too those days will be full of filth yet unable to be sated by it. David spoke of this, foreseeing with a clear voice:

22. "They parted my garments among them, and upon my vesture they cast lots."[174] For though, because of the certainty of what was to come, literally this verse speaks of the past,[175] it can also be understood of future events in this way: Through the great havoc of infidelity, unbelievers will divide according to their own desires the ordered operations of secular government, with which I had been clothed in the Church as with garments. And upon those who, like my vesture, were nearer to me in the spiritual life, they will cast very many vanities as they turn them from the rightness of their ways and reduce by their

171. Cf. Ps 43(44).22 and Rom 8.36.

172. Liebeschütz (149–50) traces this motif to the seventh-century *Revelations* of Ps.-Methodius; see Bernard McGinn, *Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 70–74; and Rauh, 511–12.

173. Cf. 2 Thes 2.3.

174. Ps 21.19(22.18).

175. I.e., of the Crucifixion at Jn 19.23–24.

destruction all the rights of the churches to nothing, and grant them instead the laws of iniquity, to crush them completely.[176]

But David also answered these evils, saying, "But you, O Lord, keep not your help a long way off—look towards my defense!"[177] The meaning of this passage is to be taken in this way: I, the Church, who ought to be your Son's Bride, O heavenly Father, although I am just now weakened, cry out and beseech you, O Father of all, not to keep away from me your help! For my limbs—the limbs of your Son—are led into destruction and confusion. Turn therefore the eyes of your mercy as often as possible to defend both me and my limbs, lest we be crushed completely by your neglect.

23. But the Son also speaks to the Father with these words: "O Father, I was ever with you, and you sent me, clothing me in flesh, and so I walked upon the earth. Whatever you commanded me, I accomplished, because I am your truth. And so you also placed all my enemies under my feet, and I stand upon them, because they are of the left side and do not reach to you, for your true work is at your right. I do this work together with you, as you foreordained before the beginning of days; and I judge my enemies, as the Lord presses the footstool with his feet.[178] So incline your help to me, avenging me of my enemies, for I your Son walk upon the asp and serpent.[179] Look therefore also to my protection and that of my limbs, for every work that you willed and established for me, I have brought to perfection. And so I am in you, and you in me, and we are one."[180]

And again the Son says to the Father:[181] "Now remember that the fullness, first made, need not have withered, for at the world's beginning you looked to the world's end and did not condemn it to oblivion, as you will forget those who go to perdition. And the fullness of human generation, which was foreseen and made in the first age and in the first human, need not yet

176. Cf. *Let.* 194 (2:167).
177. Ps 21.20(22.19).
178. Cf. Ps 109(110).1/Acts 2.35.
179. Cf. Ps 90(91).13.
180. Cf. Jn 17.21.
181. Further amplification from ch. 8 above, i.e., the *Ordo* finale.

have withered in decay, for it was not your will that humans should fail completely in their generations before the foreordained time. And then too, when you created humankind, you resolved within the ancient counsel that your eye—your knowledge that foresees all things fully and orders all things rightly[182]—would never yield from what had been foreordained in you: that humankind should not wholly perish because of any of its own intemperance nor the world pass away, until you saw my body with its limbs—for you ordained my faithful limbs—full of gems, perfected in all those who put their faith in you through me and worship you, flashing in their virtues like a gem."

24. Finally, when the terrible nations of unbelievers, as described above, attack on all sides the faculties and possessions of the churches and eagerly seek their complete extermination, like vultures and hawks they will squeeze what they hold beneath their wings and talons. And when the Christian people, exhausted in every way in penance for their sins and no longer frightened by bodily death, tries to resist in arms, a very strong wind will come from the north with a great cloud and densest dust, and strike its blast against those unbelievers in divine judgment, to choke their throats with the cloud and fill their eyes with dust, so that they leave off their wildness and are rendered into a great stupor.

For holy divinity will in that time perform signs and wonders among the Christian people, just as it did at the time of Moses in the pillar of cloud,[183] and as Michael the Archangel fought against the pagans in defense of Christians.[184] Thus God's faithful children will go forth under his protection to fall upon their enemies, and by God's power they will be victorious over them, putting some to death while expelling others from their borders. Therefore, so great a crowd of pagans will then be added to the Christians in the true faith that they will say, "The God

182. Cf. Wis 8.1.

183. Cf. Ex 13.21–22, and elsewhere.

184. The battle of Rv 12.7–10 also echoes in the early Church in *Expl. Symb. S. Athan.*, p. 115; cf. also *Let.* 206r (2:188–89), and *Life* 2.9. Dronke references the legendary account of the founding of the Sanctuary of San Michele Arcangelo on Mt. Gargano in northern Apulia; see Richard F. Johnson, *Saint Michael the Archangel in Medieval English Legend* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005), 110–15.

of the Christians is the true God, who has worked such signs among them."[185] The victors too, whom God will keep in his defense, will praise God, saying, "Let us praise the Lord our God—for truly he is magnified in us, for we are victors in his name. So too our strength is his praise, for through him we have overcome both his enemies and ours, because we believed faithfully in him."[186] And again they will say: "Let us mark too the Lord's words in the Gospel: 'the nation' of pagans 'will rise up against the nation' of Christians,[187] as has happened with us. Therefore, let us rebuild those cities and towns destroyed in our area, and let us make them stronger and better defended than they were before, that in the future we will not be crushed by such evils, as now we have been crushed." And this they will fulfill, strongly and plentifully, with all their energy and every resource.

25. Yet in those days, the Emperors of the Roman office will fall from the strength by which they once held tightly the Roman Empire, and become weak in their own glory, so that the imperial power in their hands will by divine judgment shortly decrease and fail.[188] For they will be morally squalid and lukewarm and servile and repulsive, and useless in all things. Though they wish indeed to be honored by the people, they will not seek the people's prosperity, and so none will be able to honor or revere them. For this reason, too, the kings and princes of many peoples, who were at one time subject to the Roman Empire, will separate themselves from it and suffer no longer to be its subjects. And so the Roman imperial power will be scattered in weakness. For each nation and every people will then establish their own king to obey, saying that the reach of

185. Cf. Jer 16.19; and St. Augustine, *On Faith in Things Unseen* (*De fide rerum quae non videntur*) 1.4: "Understand, if you can, that it is unto the God of the Christians, who is supreme and the true God, that the nations come, not by walking, but by believing" (trans. Deferrari and McDonald, FOTC 4 [1947], 463).

186. Cf. Ex 15.1–2.

187. Mk 13.8.

188. On Hildegard's remarkable ambivalence toward both empire and papacy in this chapter, see Liebeschütz, 148–51; Widmer, 208–12; and Rauh, 506–7 and 512–13.

Roman imperial power had become more of a burden to them than an honor.[189] But after the imperial scepter is in this way broken up beyond repair, then too the miter of the apostolic office will be broken. For because neither princes nor any other persons of either the spiritual or the secular order will then find any religion left in the apostolic title, the dignity of that title will diminish. They will prefer other prelates and archbishops under other titles in various places, so that after it has been diminished by the adjournment of its original dignity, the apostolic see will then maintain only Rome and a few nearby places that still lie under its miter. These things, moreover, will come to pass in part because of invasions and warfare; and in part they will be accomplished by common counsel and consensus of both the spiritual and the secular peoples. These will declare that each secular prince ought to defend his kingdom and rule his people, and that each archbishop or other spiritual governor ought to constrain those under his supervision to rightness of discipline, lest they be afflicted again by those evils they had once suffered by divine will.

26. And then again wickedness will lie weakened for a while, even as it tries again to rise up. But Justice will stand for a time in her uprightness, so that the people of those days will turn themselves with integrity to the ancient customs and the disciplines of the people of old, and hold and observe them just as the ancients were accustomed to hold and observe them. Even more, each king and prince and bishop of ecclesiastical office will then chastise himself before another when he sees how another serves Justice and lives honorably. And each nation will receive correction from another when it hears how others progress in goodness and rise to righteousness. The air too at that time will again grow sweet, and the fruit of the earth useful, and humans will be healthy and strong.[190]

In those days too there will be many prophecies and even more who are wise, so that then the hidden secrets of the prophets and other scriptures will lie fully open to the wise. Their sons and daughters will prophesy, as was foretold many ages

189. A pun on *onus* ("burden") and *honos* ("honor").
190. Cf. ch. 20 above.

before,[191] and this will happen with such purity of truth that the spirits of the air will not be able then to mock them. They will also prophesy in that same spirit in which the prophets of old announced the mysteries of God, and in the likeness of the apostles' teaching, for their teaching was beyond all human understanding.

Nevertheless, so many heresies and so very many shameful deformities, together with other evils, will burst forth to show that the Antichrist's coming is imminent, that the people of those days will say that never before had there been such crimes and such impurities as appear in those days. And the pig described in the book *Scivias* reveals this.[192] For while Justice reigns for a time, wickedness fights against her; and while wickedness thrives for a time, Justice confounds it, for the world never remains in a single state.

27. But now, O human, this is what you see, for the outermost part of the wheel described above appears *finally like a turbid and stormy tempest near the end of that half, where the line is* [*again*] *affixed to that wheel.* This shows that in those days the judgments of God's power will be turbid and stormy, for at the end of that strength in which the world now thrives, they will find in the hearts of unbelievers neither the purity nor the calm of the catholic faith. This is when God's will is united to his power, such that it will be God's will that by his power, the world and what is in the world will come to an end. For the people of that time will shun the integrity and stability of the true faith and retreat from the true God, turning themselves instead to the son of perdition.[193] He will throw all ecclesiastical establishments into chaos and raise up the greatest storms of adversity against the faithful who resist him. For when, after the many tribulations that people had endured—foreign invasions and the breaking up of the Empire—they have settled back again as if

191. Jl 2.28/Acts 2.17; see Widmer, 205–8.

192. *Scivias* 3.11.5 (pp. 494–95): "*And another is like a black pig;* for this epoch will have leaders who blacken themselves with misery and wallow in the mud of impurity. They will infringe the divine law by fornication and other like evils, and will plot to diverge from the holiness of God's commands."

193. 2 Thes 2.3.

to rest, many heresies and many dissenters against the Church's authority will suddenly erupt.

28. An unclean woman in that time will also conceive an unclean son.[194] For the ancient serpent that swallowed up Adam will puff up that man with his full frenzy in such a way that nothing good can get into or exist within him. For he will be raised in various places in hiding, to be left unrecognized by humans, and with all the devil's devices he will be imbued. He will remain in hiding until he reaches maturity, and he will not manifest the perversities within himself until he knows that he is full and overflowing with all iniquities.[195] But even from the very moment of his birth, many contests and many things contrary to right order will erupt: ardent justice will be hidden from its rightness, and charity among humans snuffed out. In their place will rise up bitterness and severity, and there will be so many heresies that the heretics will even preach their errors openly and without hesitation. Indeed, there will be such doubt and uncertainty in the catholic faith of the Christians that people will be unsure whom to call "God." A great many signs will appear in the sun and moon, and in the stars and waters and other elements, and in all creation, so that they too will foretell with their portents, as with a picture, evils still to come. So too such misery will seize people in that time that to die will be thought of as nothing.[196]

But those then who have been perfected in the catholic faith will await in their deep distress whatever God has ordained in his will. And these crises will continue to advance in this way until the son of perdition opens his mouth to teach his opposing

194. A parody of Is 7.14/Mt 1.23; such inversions of Christ's life into the Antichrist's were common in the tradition; see Richard K. Emmerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1981), 20–21, 74–77, and 122.

195. For the Antichrist's birth and childhood, cf. *Scivias* 3.11.25; and Adso of Montier-en-Der, *Letter on the Origin and Time of the Antichrist,* in *Apocalyptic Spirituality,* trans. Bernard McGinn (New York: Paulist Press, 1979), 90–91. Adso's tenth-century treatise was the standard account of the Antichrist's life in Hildegard's time, but her treatment in both *Scivias* and here goes beyond it in many unique ways.

196. Cf. Lk 21.25–26; and *Gosp. Hom.* 54 (pp. 192–94), on the same passage.

views. But when he has offered the false words of his lies, heaven and earth will tremble together, and the chain of Justice's necklace, which Paul had crafted to reach all the way down to that virtue's feet, as described above,[197] will then for the first time be swayed, struck as by a great blast of wind—for up until that time, it will remain unshaken and unstirred.

Indeed, Paul bolstered his teaching so powerfully with many miracles and embellished it so honorably with the deepest words that it will so endure even unto the end of the world, just as this very chain indicates as it stretches down to Justice's feet, as if to the end of the world. By truth, in the lifting up of his spirit, he also spoke to believers of the second coming of the Son of God and the deadly assault of the son of perdition, saying:

29. "Do not be frightened, either by spirit or by word, or by a letter supposedly sent by us, as if the day of the Lord were at hand. Let no one deceive you in any way, for [that day is not at hand] unless the revolt come first and the man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition, who opposes and is lifted up above all that is called God or is worshiped, so that he takes his seat in the temple of God, presenting himself as if he were God."[198] The meaning of this passage is to be taken in this sense: You are of God and believe in his words:[199] take care not to be shaken in your hearts by any terror, nor by any spiritual deceit or rhetorical seduction, nor by any writings as if they were really meant for you, as if that day were really here when the Founder of all things will lay bare the secrets of the heart.[200] Take care too that no one dispose you to being misled in any circumstance by illusory or fantastical deeds. For only when that time has come when the Church's sublimity has been squandered and the true faith crushed underfoot—this is what is understood to be the revolt that will happen in the time of the accursed son whose mother is unclean, since she knows not by whom she

197. Ch. 9.

198. 2 Thes 2.2–4.

199. *qui dei estis et qui uerbis eius creditis:* Derolez and Dronke's reference to Ps 81(82).6/Jn 10.34, "you are gods," makes little sense in context.

200. A pun on *conditor* ("Founder") and *abscondita* ("secrets"); cf. Sir 4.21(18) and Ps 43.22(44.21).

conceived—then he will be revealed who will be the man of sin, for he will be wholly infused from his beginning by sin, so that as a sinner he will collect and then boast of his sins. He will be the son of cruelest perdition, for he will abide entirely in his perdition, teaching people things that go against God. The seducer of the human race will inflame him, too, just as he first initiated his own fury when he wanted to be like God. Wherefore too he will oppose all who worship God, and exalt himself above all creation, calling himself God and commanding that he be worshiped as God. So do not suppose that it is as yet the day of the Lord, when he will judge all the earth and the world will receive its ending.

And again, infused with the Holy Spirit, Paul says, "For the mystery of iniquity is already at work—only he who now holds it back does so until he passes away, out of its midst."[201] The meaning of this passage is to be taken in this sense: Covert insinuation is already evident in the works of heretics, among whom the insinuator of iniquity casts forth his darts, flying to overwhelm the truth of the true faith. And so, with right intention and good effort, only the faithful person has the zeal to keep the apostolic and truly catholic faith, with fixed steadiness to hold it now unshaken until he passes from the middle that stands between birth and decay. For in the age of the son of perdition, the faith, already falling away from its strength, will be toppled over and enfeebled.[202] For the one who keeps the Church's sublimity in God and holds the right faith keeps something great, because it is through those things that he will enter the heavenly kingdom. But the one who does not keep the faith holds on to nothing, for he will go to perdition. So too Man exists within the midst of God's might—for before Man had been formed, God was; and after Man's bodily existence comes to an end, God endures in his power.

30. For the ancient enemy, whom the divinity's might cast into the well of the abyss, dropped like a dead weight into rushing waters, because he wanted to establish iniquity. For God is just and truthful, and there can be no other like him, because he

201. 2 Thes 2.7.
202. Cf. *Gosp. Hom.* 25 (esp. p. 116).

exists eternally of himself and created all things out of nothing. Because that enemy conquered the first human, he thinks that through another human—the Antichrist—he can accomplish what he once began when he tried to contend against God.

The Antichrist will indeed be infused by the devil when he opens his mouth to teach perversity, as described above. He will destroy all that God established within the ancient and the new law, and he will assert that sexual immorality and other like things are not sins at all. For he will claim that it is not a sin if flesh heats up flesh, just as it is not a sin if a person warms himself by the fire. He will also assert that all commandments concerning chastity were made in ignorance, for since one person may be hot but another cold, they ought to moderate one another with their heat and cold.[203]

And again he will say to the faithful, "Your law of sexual restraint was established contrary to the way of nature.[204] Is a person not supposed to be hot, when his very breath is a fire that kindles his whole body? How could he keep his cool when it's against his nature?[205] Conversely, what reason could a person have to refuse to offer warmth to another's flesh? For that man who you say is your master gave you a law that goes beyond measure when he bid you to live in such a way. But I say, embrace these two paths of hot and cold, and keep each other in your warm embrace! Consider that the man just mentioned gave you unjust commands, for despite his order that people not embrace one another with such warmth, they still maintained the nature of their flesh. So see here and do not be misled any longer by an unjust teaching, for with me you get to do whatever you want, or not. Your master did not set before you correct propositions; he wanted you to be like a spirit that is unbound by the flesh and cannot physically do anything.[206] But that's not how naturally-born human flesh was created; rather, it's flooded and formed by fire, because if human children weren't created

203. On the Antichrist's preaching, see Rauh, 500–503 and 518–19.

204. Cf. the Devil's final words, addressed to Chastity in Scene 4 of *Ordo,* lines 235–37 (pp. 178–79).

205. Cf. the words of Immoderation in *LVM* 2.13(21).

206. Cf. Jn 6.64.

in that way, they wouldn't be capable of physical action. So know then what you really are! For your first teacher deceived you and didn't help you in anything. But I inspire you really to learn about yourselves and to know what you are, for I created you, and I am completely in all things.[207] In assigning all his works to another, meanwhile, that one spoke nothing on his own, because he couldn't do anything on his own.[208] But I speak for myself, and I can do all things by myself."

With these words and others like them, that wretched son of perdition will mislead people, teaching them to live according to the flesh's fiery appetite and to achieve their flesh's every want—despite the fact that both the old and the new law encourage humans to chastity in such a way that chastity does not surpass its proper measure. In this way, Lucifer will reject God's justice through that son. Assuming that he can achieve through him everything that he had once started, Lucifer will reckon that the Jordan now flows into his mouth,[209] no longer to be called upon in baptism; rather, he will cast it back and away,[210] as he himself was cast away by baptism. So too in his domination, he will assume that so great a number of the people is subject to him that the Son of God must be left with a paltry number of the faithful in comparison to his own.

31. The aforementioned man is also said to be "the man of sin,"[211] because he will accomplish all evils and they all will be cast upon his mold. And he is called "the son of perdition,"[212] because death and perdition are his masters, and, as described above, he will attract in his seduction a throng of peoples by perverse and wicked ways, and make them adore him as God.

207. A parody of 1 Cor 15.28. This speech expands on the Devil's frequent refrain to the Virtues in the *Ordo* to "know what you are," e.g., his first appearance in Scene 1, lines 59–62 (pp. 164–65): "I say, whoever wants to follow me and do my will, I'll give him everything. As for you, Humility, you have nothing that you can give your followers: none of you even knows what you are!"

208. Cf. Jn 5.19.

209. Jb 40.18(23); cf. *Let.* 389 (3:191); and *Gosp. Hom.* 28, in which the continence of the virgins stands as a dam against the devil's maw (p. 129).

210. Cf. Ps 113(114).3.

211. 2 Thes 2.3.

212. Ibid.

So too John describes his savagery with the image of a beast, speaking through a representation of the truth, "And all who dwell upon the earth adored him, and their names were not written in the book of life of the Lamb."[213] The meaning of this passage is to be taken in this sense: Prostrate in body and mind, they who fix their hearts' dwelling on earthly things will adore the beast of iniquity. Their names have not been inscribed with the signature of holiness in the eternity of that Life in whose mouth no guile was found.[214] And so each will be lost, whoever adores the inscription of that ruinous man by worshiping him and bears in his heart the inscription of Satan, who was banished by God because he wanted to exist as God of his own accord. So too he is called "death,"[215] because he flees from the Life in which no mortality is found, but which rather brings everything to life.[216]

And all the adherents of this son of perdition who do his works are not inscribed in the book of life of the Lamb, for that Lamb is the Word of God, and it was through that Word's "Let there be!" that all creation came forth.[217] But the devil has always had his followers, both in the Old and in the New Testament—in the Old it was through Baal, while in the New through the Sadducees—who are the mainsprings in his schism. For with the baseness of Baal they first violated God's law, which is the root of justice in which the patriarchs and prophets lie hid; but afterwards there were those who in the New Testament afflicted justice by denying the resurrection with the Sadducees. For the Gospel is the branches of that root, and the fruit of those branches is the witness of Christ that crushed so forcefully the idols of Baal and the Sadducees.[218]

213. Rv 13.8.

214. 1 Pt 2.22.

215. Cf. Rv 6.8.

216. Cf. Wis 1.13–14, 2.24; Jn 6.64; and 1.1.2.

217. Cf. Gn 1.3, and elsewhere; and 1.1.6.

218. Cf. the end of ch. 11 above; the idolaters of Baal are one of Hildegard's Scriptural symbols for forerunners of the Antichrist; so in *Scivias* 2.6.61, the sermon at Cologne (*Let.* 15r, 1:60, 62), and the Kirchheim letter (*Let.* 149r, 2:94); the Sadducees join them in the treatise against the Cathars (*Let.* 169r, 2:124); on this typology, see Kerby-Fulton, "Prophet and Reformer," in *Voice,* 75·

Nevertheless, heretics will then come forth from those who speak against the natural conditions of primal procreation; and this error of theirs will be even worse than their first,[219] for they will entirely deny the place of God within his creation and within living beings.[220] These will all indeed adore that wretched beast—the ruinous man—and, abandoning their faith in almighty God, declare that they will suffer no harm for ignoring God's commands.

32. And so their infidelity reaches all the way down to the golden leopard's head that appears on the necklace chain described above.[221] This signifies the Antichrist, who will call himself God—a golden head, as it were—and, through devilish devices and the probing of the elements,[222] will create terrible portents and huge storms;[223] and God will allow this to happen, so that the entire human race can then recognize his fall.

For so too will he pretend to die, as if to redeem his people by his death, and to raise himself up again to return to life.[224] He will also have an inscription written upon the foreheads of his followers,[225] through which to introduce into them every evil, as too the ancient serpent, after deceiving humankind, kept them captive by stoking them with lust. Through that scripture he will inspire them by magical craft to oppose baptism and the Christian name, so that they will not desire to leave him, and all will style themselves after him, just as Christians are named after Christ.

This scripture is, moreover, something Lucifer has planned for a very long time but not revealed to any human being, except to that one alone whom he will wholly possess in his mother's womb. So too he is confident that he can accomplish his

219. Cf. Mt 27.64, ironically.

220. Likely the Cathars; cf. *Lets.* 15r (1:54–60) and 169r (2:124–25); and see Introduction, p. 12.

221. See ch. 9.

222. I.e., magic, divination, and astrology; cf. *Scivias* 1.3.20–21.

223. Cf. Rv 13.13; *Scivias* 3.11.27; and Adso, *Antichrist*, p. 92.

224. Cf. Rv 13.3; *Scivias* 3.11.31–32; and Haimo of Auxerre, *Expos. in Apoc.*, 4.13 (PL 117: 1094C–D).

225. Cf. Rv 13.16 (and 14.9, 20.4); *Scivias* 3.11.31; and Adso, *Antichrist,* p. 96.

entire will through that man. But that ruinous man will receive his soul and the very fact of life not from the devil, but from God, for even that most wretched explorer of ancient duplicity, who hates all things good—even he received the fact of being alive from God. For God alone is Life, and every puff of breath, everything that lives, is moved by him, because he alone is a beginning without beginning. And as Lucifer fought against God in heaven, so too through that ruinous man he will try to contend on earth against the humanity of God's Son. And this he will do through that scripture that denies that God is Creator of all, for he believes that he can grant to his own a brighter illumination of gifts than Christ the Son of God granted to those who believe in him.[226]

That scripture, moreover, has never before been seen or discovered in any language, for Lucifer invented it first within himself. He will produce it fraudulently to seduce people into not recognizing their Creator, and through it he will delude the unfaithful such that they are eager to worship nothing else but what they find pleasing to look at. For that son of perdition will say that, as a cut piece of wood just lies there until an artist arranges it into something beautiful to be revered by all, so too a naturally born person has no honor until he is lifted up with that scripture, for it contains greater prosperity and power than ever there was in the creation of Man. But God will destroy all endeavors of that scripture together with its author—while the Scripture given by the Holy Spirit will not pass away.[227] And when with these false signs he has begun to gather to himself [members] of every human race, the holy and the just will be shaken with great fear.

33. But I who am[228] will remember how I formed the first Man, and how I foresaw all the deeds by which Lucifer would fight through Man against me, and how I marked the holy virtues to fight against him—as I did with Enoch and Elijah, whom I chose from the stock of people who had clung with full desire

226. On this "gnostic" scripture, see Rauh, 519.
227. Cf. Mt 24.35; Mk 13.31; Lk 21.33.
228. Ex 3.14.

to Lucifer.[229] And in the last age, I will show the people that they should receive with confidence the testimony of these two witnesses.[230] For I teach them within my mystery and disclose to them people's deeds, to know them as if they could physically see them, and to be wiser than the writings and the words of the wise. For when they were physically lifted up away from humankind, all fear and trembling[231] was taken from them, so that they endured with equanimity all that happened around them; and I keep them safe in a hidden place, free of any bodily harm. And when the son of perdition spews forth his perverse teaching, that same force by which they were first taken away from human company will bring them back as if in a whirlwind.[232] And for as long as they remain on earth with humans, they will always be refreshed after forty days, as too my Son hungered when the forty days were past.[233]

Moreover, the mountain goat's head shown upon the aforementioned necklace chain signifies these wise and mighty men.[234] For as the mountain goat is strong and climbs up high, so they will be strong in my power, to be lifted up swiftly into the height of my wonders.[235] For they will possess such power in my wonders that they will perform signs in the firmament, the elements, and the rest of creation even greater than the son of perdition, so that his false signs will be mocked by their true signs. So too, because the power of their miracles will be so great, people from every nation will run to them, believing in their words and hurrying with ardent faith to the martyrdom—as to a banquet—that the son of perdition will inflict upon

229. I.e., Enoch rescued from among the antediluvian wicked (Gn 5.24), and Elijah's prophetic call when the people of Israel were in the thrall of the Canaanite Baal, his return "before the day of the Lord" prophesied in Mal 4.5.

230. On the ministry of Enoch and Elijah as the "two witnesses" of Rv 11.3–12, cf. *Scivias* 3.11.33–36; see Rauh, 521–22; on the tradition, see Emmerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages,* 41, 95–101.

231. Ps 54.6(55.5).

232. See 2 Kgs 2.11.

233. Mt 4.2; cf. 1 Kgs 19.8.

234. See ch. 9.

235. Cf. verse 4a of Hildegard's sequence for St. Maximin, *Columba aspexit* (*Symphonia* 54).

them. There will be so many that their executioners will be too tired to count the number of the slain, for the throng of their blood will flow like a river of water. But at last, when the son of perdition cannot overcome these two truly holy men with either enticements or threats, nor cover up their signs and wonders, he will order them finished off with a cruel martyrdom, their memory completely wiped from the earth, so that no person will be left anywhere on earth who would dare thereafter to resist him.[236]

Then, as said above, the golden number of the blessed martyrs who were slain for the true faith in the early Church will be brought to the fullness of its perfection with those martyrs who will be slain in the error of the end time.[237] For this is the time signified by the wolf described in the book *Scivias*—a wolf that crushes all things underfoot and devours all things.[238] For as a wolf devours whatever he can in his rapacity, so too in that time, the faithful who believe in the Son of God will be swallowed up. And so that Son of God again speaks to his Father, as described above:[239]

34. "For it wearies me, because I was clothed in flesh by your ordaining, that my limbs—those who had cleaved to me by the sacrament of baptism—now retreat from me and are exposed to the mockery of the devil's deceit as they listen to and worship the son of perdition. Though I recover the wayward from among them, the rebels who persist in their evil I cast away.

"Father—for I am your Son—look with that charity by which you sent me into the world, and consider my wounds, by which I

236. Cf. 2.1.16; and Adso, *Antichrist,* p. 92.

237. Cf. Rv 6.11; and ch. 12 above.

238. *Scivias* 3.11.6 (p. 495): "*And the last is like a grey wolf.* For those times will have people who plunder each other, robbing the powerful and the fortunate; and in these conflicts they will show themselves to be neither black nor white, but grey in their cunning. And they will divide and conquer the rulers of those realms; and then the time will come when many will be ensnared, and the error of errors will rise from Hell to Heaven. 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."

239. The final expansion from ch. 8 above, i.e., the *Ordo* finale.

redeemed humankind at your command. I am showing them to you, that you might have mercy on those whom I have redeemed and not allow them to be blotted out of the book of life.[240] Rather, recover them to yourself in repentance through the blood of my wounds, and do not let that one rule them in perdition who mocks my Incarnation and suffering.

"So now, all you people who desire to abandon the ancient serpent and return to your Creator: notice that I, the Son of God and Man, show my wounds to my Father on your behalf. So then, in the purity of faith, bend your knees—which you have so often bowed to the vanity of wicked contradiction—to your Father, who created you and who gave you the breath of life. Confess your sins fully from the heart, that as you suffer such affliction in both body and soul, he might reach out to you his mighty and invincible hand, to snatch you away from the devil and from every evil."

Thus the Son speaks to the Father and commends to him his limbs, and chastises them to stick to their true Head, lest the destruction of that first and last destroyer swallow them up. For however often the almighty Father is provoked by people's depraved deeds, his Son shows to him his wounds so that he will spare those people because of them. For the Son spared not his own body to retrieve by his blood the sheep that had been stolen from him;[241] and so too those wounds of his will remain open as long as humankind remains in the world to sin.[242] Therefore, that Son of God beseeches humans to bend their knees to their almighty Father whenever they deserve his judgments, so that by the wounds that he suffered in the flesh and upon which his Father ever gazes, he might deliver them from every evil.[243]

35. Now after Enoch and Elijah are subjected to bodily death by the son of perdition, his followers will greatly rejoice to have seen them die. But then, when the spirit of life has revived them and lifted them up into the clouds, their joy will turn to fear and

240. Cf. Rv 3.5, Ps 68.29(69.28), and elsewhere.
241. Cf. Mt 18.12–14; Lk 15.3–7; Jn 10.15–16.
242. Cf. *Let.* 149r (2:93).
243. Mt 6.13.

sorrow, and to great awe.[244] For through their revival and lifting up, I the Almighty will prove that the resurrection and life[245] of the dead cannot be contested by any disbelievers' opposition. Rather, in that day when the very elements with which humankind has sinned will be cleansed,[246] humankind will also be revived from the dead, and through repentance most pleasing to God, restored to a radiance greater than when first created.[247] For as a person's entire frame is shaken by repentance, so too a person shakes the heavens with the mournful voice of repentance, and so praises God in all, together with the cherubim.

Then the ancient serpent will be roused to mightiest wrath because of their revival, and will convince the ruinous man that he can take possession of the throne from which the serpent was banished, to wipe completely away from human memory the revival of those men and the Son of God. And he will speak to himself, saying, "In this son of mine, I will wage now a battle even greater than once I waged in heaven, and through him I will fulfill my entire will. Neither God nor humankind will be able to withstand my will, and I know and recognize that I cannot be overcome! So it is that I will be victorious in all things!"

And then that son of perdition will call together a throng of people openly to behold his glory as he tries to go up into the heavens, so that by his ascension he can dissolve any little bit of the catholic faith that might remain unshaken in the Church.[248]

244. Cf. Rv 11.9–12.

245. Jn 11.25.

246. Cf. *Scivias* 3.12.15.

247. Cf. 3.3.3; *Scivias* 3.12.8; *LVM* 6.33–34(55–56); and the chorus of virtues in *Ordo,* Scene 3, lines 205–8 (pp. 176–77).

248. Cf. *Scivias* 3.11.37, one of the first witnesses to the idea of the Antichrist's attempted ascension. Rauh (523) suggests legends about Simon Magus's ability to fly (as in *Acts of Peter,* ch. 32) as an influence, while McGinn suggests an expansion on the tradition that the Antichrist would be killed on the Mount of Olives (*Antichrist,* p. 301n77). Hildegard's contemporary, and likewise a leader of religious women, Herrad of Hohenbourg, also introduced an attempted ascension in her reworking and illustration of Adso's *Antichrist;* see Nathaniel Campbell, "'Lest He Should Come Unforeseen': The Antichrist Cycle in the *Hortus Deliciarum,*" *Gesta* 54:1 (2015): 85–118, at 100–101; and Richard K. Emmerson, "The Representation of Antichrist in Hildegard of Bingen's *Scivias:* Image, Word, Commentary, and Visionary Experience," *Gesta* 41:2 (2002): 95–110, at 100–101.

But when, with the people standing there listening, he commands the upper elements to lift him up to go to heaven, the words of my faithful Paul will be fulfilled, which he speaks filled with the truth-telling spirit:

36. "And then that wicked one will be revealed, whom the Lord Jesus will kill with the breath of his mouth."[249] The meaning of this passage is to be taken in this sense: At that time the son of wickedness will be laid bare, and it will be clear to all the people that he was a liar when he clutched at the presumption of ascending into the heavens. For in that presumption, the Ruler and Savior of the peoples—the Son of God—will slay him; and this he will do with that very power by which he, the Word of the Father, will judge the whole earth in just judgment.[250] For when that son of perdition has raised himself up by a devilish device, he will be cast down by divine power, and the stench of sulfur and tar will greet him, so that the peoples who were standing there will flee to the shelter of the mountains.[251] Such terror will indeed grip those who see and hear this that they will renounce the devil and his son and be converted by baptism to the true faith. Wherefore the ancient serpent will gnash his teeth with astonishment and say to himself, "And we have been confounded. No more can we keep humans subject to us, as we have done until now."

37. But all, believing faithfully in God's Son, will praise God with a woeful and praiseworthy voice, as it is written by my beloved and truthful witness: "Now has come salvation and strength, and the kingdom of our God and the power of his Christ: for the accuser of our brethren has been cast forth, who accused them day and night before our God. And they conquered him by the blood of the Lamb and by the word of their testimony, and they loved not their lives even unto death."[252] The meaning of this passage is to be taken in this sense: Now

249. 2 Thes 2.8.

250. Cf. *Scivias* 3.11.38; and Adso, *Antichrist,* p. 96.

251. Cf. *Scivias* 3.11.39, where the stench arises from the excrement that clung to the Antichrist's monstrous face as it was born from the Church's womb, raped by the devil and her own ministers.

252. Rv 12.10–11.

that the devil has been defeated and his son the Antichrist laid low, by the disposition of heaven has come the salvation that fears no devilish perils, and the strength that crushes them completely, and the kingdom that rules over all who are under the direction of our God, and the power of the invincible Christ his Son, whom he established as the true Priest over the salvation of souls.[253] For that most obstinate accuser and restless deceiver has been cast forth into eternal damnation—the accuser of those who, just like us, are children of God and will have with us the supernal inheritance. When they consented to his various suggestions, he accused them before the gaze of the supreme Creator and Judge; and this he has done in every age, for both spiritual and secular transgressions, because humankind is ever sinning.

For God won that first battle of the fallen angel, when he fought against God because he wanted to be God;[254] and in that battle, God also foresaw the last battle that he was to wage with him, when he cast down his son and through him now has confounded him completely. And those who confess God in truth have conquered that one, since they have not consented to him because of the blood of the Lamb by which they were redeemed and by which they have also become the victors while enduring so many adversities in their bodies; and because of the word, that is, the teaching that is witnessed in the catholic faith, which spreads itself forth by that Word through which all creation came forth. And they loved not their souls so much as to keep them in their bodies, but rather made them to advance to the death of their bodies; when they subjected their bodies to temporal death in such great suffering, they rendered their souls unto almighty God. For the martyrs raced all the way to death and subjected themselves to suffering before ever they would deny the Son of God. And so too, Abel and the prophets and the other martyrs who have been slain for God even to the Last Day offer this testimony to the Son of God, that he shed his blood for them in the Father's will.[255]

253. Cf. Heb 7.3, and elsewhere.
254. Cf. Rv 12.7–9.
255. Cf. *Let.* 113r (2:58).

The war of the son of perdition is indeed ended in this way, and he will never again appear in any civilization. And so rejoice, you who dwell in heaven and on earth! Indeed, after the Antichrist's fall, the glory of God's Son will be magnified.

38. And again I heard a voice from heaven, teaching me these words: Now let God be praised in his work—humankind! For their restoration he has waged the greatest battles on earth, and deigned to lift humankind up above the heavens, to praise his countenance together with the angels in that very unity by which he is true God and true Man.

But that almighty God deigns also to anoint with the oil of his mercy[256] a poor little feminine form[257] and through her to make this writing known. For she herself lives in utter insecurity,[258] nor does she possess any formally trained knowledge of the Scriptures that the Holy Spirit has proposed for the instruction of the Church,[259] like the wall of a great city. For from the very day of her birth she has been caught as in a net with the pains of her infirmities, so that she is continually wracked with pain in all her veins, her marrow, and her flesh—though sometimes it has pleased the Lord to loosen her, for through the lens of the rational soul she sees spiritually certain mystical things of God.[260] This vision has, moreover, so penetrated this person's very veins that she has often been shaken by a deep weariness because of it—though her labor in that wearied infirmity is sometimes lighter and sometimes heavier. So too is her man-

256. Cf. 2.1.46, on Gn 1.27–28.

257. See the Prologue above.

258. Cf. *Let.* 103r (2:23); and *Life* 2.5 (p. 165).

259. Hildegard's protestations that she was never formally schooled are numerous; see representatively *Scivias*' "Declaration"; *Let.* 103r (2:23); the assessment of her hagiographer, Theodoric, in *Life* 2.1, and her own words in *Life* 2.2; and discussion in Newman, *Sister,* 22–24; Peter Dronke, "The Allegorical World-Picture of Hildegard of Bingen: Revaluations and New Problems," in *Hildegard of Bingen: The Context of her Thought and Art,* esp. 9–14; and Joan 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. David Townsend and Andrew Taylor (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), 102–35, esp. 105–8.

260. On Hildegard's chronic illnesses, cf. *Let.* 103r (2:23–24); *Life* 2.2, 2.5, 2.9, and 3.23–24; and discussion in *Women Writers,* 147 and 159–63.

ner different from other people's manners, like an infant who cannot yet distinguish people's characters because her veins are not yet full.[261]

For she functions under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit and takes her physical complexion from the air.[262] And so from that air, and from the rain and wind and every storm, infirmity has been so fixed within her that she can hardly ever find herself free from the flesh's anxiety; yet otherwise the Holy Spirit's inspiration could not dwell within her. But sometimes, with the great force of its loving kindness, God's Spirit lifts her up out of this infirmity, as from death with a gentle, cooling shower, so that she can continue to live in the world and function under the Holy Spirit's inspiration. Moreover, almighty God—who truly recognizes this person's every wearied suffering—deigns to perfect his grace in her, so that his loving kindness might be glorified therein, and so that, after her soul has departed from this world, it might rejoice to be received mercifully by him and crowned for eternal glory.

But the Book of Life—the writing of God's Word, through which all creation appeared and which breathed forth the life of all things, as foreordained according to the eternal Father's will—that Book is, as it pleased, the source of this writing, wondrously made known not by any teaching of human knowledge, but through a simple, unlearned female form. So let no person be so bold as to add anything to the words of this writing to increase it, or take anything away from it to lessen it, lest he be erased from the Book of Life and from every blessing that is beneath the sun,[263] unless it is done in making corrections to letters or diction that were revealed simply through the Holy Spirit's inspiration.[264] Any who should presume to do otherwise

261. Cf. *Life* 2.2 (p. 159); and 1.4.42–43, 46.

262. For Hildegard's views on the "airy" temperament of women and their different personalities linked to dominant humors, see Newman, *Sister,* 126–33; and Dronke, *Women Writers,* 180–83, who has persuasively suggested that Hildegard would have seen herself as "melancholic."

263. Cf. Rv 22.18–19; similar warnings come also at the close of *Scivias* (3.13.16) and *LVM* (6.45[68]).

264. "in making corrections": *propter excribrationem,* lit. "because of the sifting out." The corrections throughout the Ghent manuscript bear witness to

sins against the Holy Spirit, and so will not be forgiven either here or in that world to come.[265]

Now again, let almighty God be praised in all his works, before time and into time, for he is the first and the last! These words, moreover, the faithful should receive with devout affection of the heart, for they have been revealed for the usefulness of believers by the One who is the first and the last.[266]

---

this process; see Derolez's discussion in *LDO,* pp. lxxxvi–xcvi; see also *Lets.* 215r and 217 (2:196–99), to Abbot Ludwig of Trier, concerning the composition of the *LDO;* and Newman's discussion of Hildegard's style, *Sister,* 23–24.

265. Cf. Mt 12.32; Mk 3.29; Lk 12.10.

266. Is 41.4, Rv 1.17, and elsewhere.

EPILOGUE

During the time[1] when in true vision I was laboring at the writing of this book with the assistance of a deeply religious man, devout in his observance of the Rule of St. Benedict, sorrow tore through my soul and body, because I was separated from that blessed man, left orphaned in this world by the terms of death.[2] For in God's service he listened to all the words of this vision and arranged them in correction, all with great devotion and unceasing labor,[3] and he ever admonished me not to allow any weakness of my body to keep me from the labor of writing day and night about the things that were shown to me in this vision. Indeed, he did so right up until his death, for he could never get enough of the words of these visions. So when he passed, I cried out to God with a tearful voice to say, "O my God, you have done as it pleased you with your servant, whom you gave me to help in these visions. Now help me, as it befits you!"

But then Abbot Ludwig of St. Eucharius in Trier,[4] a most reverend and wise man in the sight of both God and humans, was

1. This epilogue was added by a later hand only in the Riesenkodex, likely in the last year of Hildegard's life; see Nathaniel M. Campbell, "The Authorship and Function of the Chapter Summaries to Hildegard of Bingen's *Liber diuinorum operum*," *Journal of Medieval Latin* 27 (2017): 69–106, at 72–73.

2. I.e., Hildegard's longtime confidant and secretary, Volmar, who died in 1173, before the book was complete; see *Let.* 215r (2:196); one might consider this Epilogue Hildegard's epitaph for one of her dearest, oldest friends.

3. For Volmar's role in Hildegard's compositional practices, see the Prologue above; *Scivias,* "Declaration" (pp. 60–61); *LVM* 1.2; *Life* 2.1–2 (155–56 and 159–60); Volmar's own letter to Hildegard (*Let.* 195, 2:168–69); and discussion in Ildefons Herwegen, "Les collaborateurs de sainte Hildegarde," *Revue Bénédictine* 21 (1904): 192–203; *Echtheit,* 180–83; and *LDO,* pp. lxxxiii–lxxxiv.

4. Elected in 1168, he also served as abbot of the imperial monastery at Echternach from 1173 to 1181, and died in 1188; see *Lets.* 214–17 (2:194–99);

moved with great mercy for my pain faithfully to offer me both his own aid and that of other wise men with unwavering constancy. Because he was already well acquainted with that blessed man just mentioned,[5] as well as with me and my visions, in my weeping sighs for the former I was cheered to have received him as from God. Another person, too, of noble stock, Wezelin, the provost of St. Andreas in Cologne—a man who kept an honorable character with deep stability in the sight of both God and humans, and who was eager to perfect his good work with holy desires—listened to and noted down all the words of these visions with devoted care in the love of the Holy Spirit.[6] That blessed man also helped and comforted me in my deepest grief and despair not only by himself but also through other wise men,[7] and he listened to and loved faithfully and tirelessly all the words of these visions, for they were sweeter to him than honey and the honeycomb.[8] And so, by God's grace and with the help of the venerable men just mentioned, the writing of this book was completed.

Moreover, I heard a voice from the Living Light that taught me these visions, speaking thus: "I will make those who have aided and consoled this simple person in writing down my visions partakers of the reward of her labors." And I, a poor little thing, responded as taught in that vision, "My Lord, to all who have aided and consoled me as I labored so fearfully upon these visions that you have implanted from my infancy, may you grant the reward of eternal radiance in the heavenly Jerusalem, that they might rejoice in you and through you without end."

---

and Campbell, "The Authorship and Function of the Chapter Summaries," 95–100.

5. I.e., Volmar.

6. One of Hildegard's kinsmen, Wezelin served as Provost of St. Andreas from 1169 to 1181, and died about 1185; his brother was Arnold, Archbishop of Trier (1169–1183). As part of directing the completion of the Ghent manuscript of the *LDO,* Wezelin likely composed the chapter summaries that were added at the front of the work; see *Echtheit,* 177–79; and Campbell, "The Authorship and Function of the Chapter Summaries," 102.

7. These included Godfrey of Kahler, a monk of St. Eucharius in Trier and Ludwig's successor as abbot at Echternach from 1181 and St. Eucharius from 1188; see Campbell, "The Authorship and Function of the Chapter Summaries," 100–101.

8. A variant of Ps 118(119).103; see 1.4.50, n. 124.

INDICES

GENERAL INDEX

Aaron, staff of, 44, 361, 452
Abel, 104, 291, 294, 362–63, 365, 372, 402–3, 444, 476
Abraham, 43–45, 325, 367–68, 370, 380, 402–3, 410, 424, 425; obedience of, 44
abstinence, 144, 341, 380, 428, 435; adornment of, 434; as calves of the leg, 124–26, 128; excessive, 200, 311, 329; of John the Baptist, 252; as length and breadth of the earth, 182; as liver, 128; as the pounds of Rv 6.6, 276; in the religious life, 276, 312–13, 323, 327, 335–36, 409; as wing of chastity, 409; as vegetation, 312–13
Adam, 43, 104, 171, 193, 231n289, 249n370, 252, 258, 259, 269n12, 283, 305n195, 330, 369, 377–78, 405, 406, 463; age of, 274, 379, 402n38; and Christ, 25, 163, 261, 290, 376, 402, 411, 426; creation of, 190n163, 248, 258, 261, 332, 361; expulsion of, 213, 216, 271, 283–84; fall of, 221, 233, 296, 314, 315n252, 366, 410, 426; as first or representative Man, 25, 42, 82, 175, 198, 224, 237–40, 254, 258, 260, 262, 274, 283, 304, 330, 332, 340, 361, 363–64, 378, 424, 433, 435, 470; and the flesh, 294, 317; knowledge of, 195, 378; mortal, 411; nature of, 294; offspring of, 365n34, 424; and prophecy, 360, 378, 384; robe of, 37, 42–43, 284n67, 376, 405, 441n100; and sin, 171, 193, 384, 400; temptation of, 42, 82; transgression of, 363; tongue of, 9; vision of, 198, 377–78. *See also* Man (as humankind)
Adso of Montier-en-Der, 463n195, 469n223, 469n225, 472n236, 474n248, 475n250
adultery, 43, 273, 310, 404, 441, 446, 447, 451
adversity, 63, 65–66, 70, 76, 80, 93, 95, 100, 101, 109, 119, 121, 162, 167, 268, 279, 462
Aethicus Ister, 46n1
ages of history, 6, 19–20, 90, 274–77, 345n388, 362–72, 399–400, 402–6, 424–29, 443, 476; after the flood/under the law, 90, 367–72; before the flood/law, 90, 362–67; first, 160, 274–75, 362–67, 402, 458; last, 239, 443, 471; of the son of perdition, 465; as a tree, 384. *See also* womanish weakness
ages of human life, 54, 170–71, 319, 412; and the dimensions of the firmament, 180; and the months, 226–35; and the seasons, 197, 202–3
air, 118, 132, 149, 152n65, 153, 170, 212, 220, 316, 359, 372, 428, 431; atmosphere, 48n7, 88, 108, 117, 176, 182–86, 189, 198, 203–4, 206–7, 213; creatures that fly in, 321–23, 332–33, 396; as earth's shield, 134; garment of, as human body, 283; greening power of, 187, 196; in human body, 108–9,

air, in human body (*cont.*)
116–17, 118–19, 198, 242; and the human head, 142–43, 154, 167–68, 170; moisture of, 134–35, 186, 192–93, 198; noxious, 166; purgatorial, 272; as quickening force, 34–35, 99, 169, 173, 183–84, 185, 187–89, 192–93, 196, 198, 201–3, 209, 229, 297, 361, 452, 454, 461; as the soul of the earth, 198; strong bright white, 48–49, 53, 57–58, 60, 62, 98–99, 101, 130, 134, 170; temperate, 266, 271; thin (*tenuis*), 48, 53, 58, 60, 98, 100, 130–32, 134–36; vital, 333–34; watery, 46–48, 50, 52n24, 56–57, 58, 59, 68, 70, 91n123, 130, 133–34, 154, 167–69, 184; woman as, 361n17, 478. *See also* desire(s); discretion; elements; soul
Alexander III, Pope, 19, 29n5
Ambrose, St., Bishop of Milan, 211n307
Ambrosius Autpertus, 385n74
Anastasius IV, Pope, 447n125
Andrew, apostle, 439
angels, 7, 14–15, 37–40, 43, 137–39, 166, 190, 210, 244–46, 252, 260, 282–83, 344, 348, 351–56, 368, 374–77, 379, 381, 390, 410, 422; announcing Incarnation, 129, 391, 452; in awe of humankind, 209–10, 214, 351, 376; beholding/contemplating God, 163, 204, 210, 243, 333, 397–98; of death, 401; fall of, 39, 56, 138–39, 212, 239–40, 315–16, 353–55, 359, 422, 426; fallen, 72n75, 224–25, 240, 283, 308, 334, 353–54, 359, 370, 377, 445, 476; fellowship with, 323, 326–27; first (Lucifer), 42, 56, 138–39, 212, 241, 316; as floods, 355; good, 72, 353, 375, 423, 426; as the girding of heaven, 376; guardian, 259, 281, 351–52; light of, 39, 137–38, 244, 282–83, 289, 386–87, 445; as living spheres, 14, 289; as mirrors, 14, 33, 37, 244, 356, 399, 444–45; order(s) of, 240, 352, 356, 375, 423; in relation to humans, 143, 191, 209–11, 214, 216, 243, 351–52, 375–76, 415, 423, 455; and the soul, 323, 332; as sparks, 14, 137–38, 244, 282; as teachers, 326; voices of, 353, 355; way of life of, 325; as winged wheels, 266n4. *See also* praise(s); spirit(s)
anger, 236–37; like lightning, 159; representative of a bear (north wind), 79, 93, 109, 120. *See also* rage; wrath
ankle, 215–17; and Adam's exile, 216; of God, 394, 399; and the moon, 53, 87–88, 95; and the winds, 180, 217, 219
animal(s), 39, 97, 130, 132, 252, 272–73, 353, 361n20, 363–64, 384, 388, 457; afraid of humans, 254, 341, 363; carcasses of, 97, 365; creation of, 321–22, 330–31, 333–34, 337, 343; draught, 372; irrational, 341, 423; as living virtues, 335; love for humans, 341; Man as, 283; recognizing the Creator, 72, 245; and obedience, 339–40; sacrificial, 370, 372–73, 449; skin of, 43; tools of the devil's deceit, 364, 370. *See also* beast(s); *and individual entries for specific animals*
Anselm of Havelberg, 275n26
anthropology, 3, 8
Antichrist, 7, 286n77, 368, 444, 463–77; ascension of, 474; birth of, 463; coming of, 462; destruction of, 455, 475; as dry wood (Lk 23.31), 453; figures of, 428n38; as leopard's head, 437, 469; names of, 467–68; preaching of, 466–67; pseudo-miracles of, 469; scripture of, 469–70; and the two witnesses (Enoch and Elijah), 471–72, 473–74

Apocalypse: exegesis of, 274–77, 285–87, 308–9; Four Horsemen of, 274–77. *See also* Revelation of St. John
apostles, 345, 427, 440, 446, 455; as disciples, 198, 291, 316, 323, 380–82, 385, 389, 428, 430–31; Justice's adornment by, 431–39; as light, 293; martyrdom of, 382, 432–33, 436–39; at Pentecost, 292–93, 381, 426, 430; preaching, 298–299; teaching, 292, 309–10, 335, 427–28, 431, 433, 435, 437, 462; twelve in number, 382, 433; as waters, 292–93, 389, 307, 325, 327
aridity: of desire, 133; as lack of virtue, 77; of neglect, 67; spiritual, 24, 72. *See also* drought; dryness
ark: of Noah, 275, 297, 365, 370, 371; as the Church, 425; as the eternity of God, 425
arm(s), of the body: 217–18, 220, 223, 248; of the age before the law, 357, 362; and the body's dimensions, 141, 180–81 of the Cosmic Man, 49, 62, 175; of Justice, 438–39; muscles of, 110, 123; and the winds, 176, 178–79, 217; of Wisdom, 394, 397
arms (weapons), 448–49, 459
Arnold of Seelenhofen, Archbishop of Mainz, 447n125
artist/artisan, 325, 470; God as, 346; soul as, 13, 161
atmosphere. *See* air
Augustine, St., of Hippo, 17–18, 39n34, 57n32, 173n113, 244n337, 290n100, 292n116, 293n127, 298n159, 300n173, 310n224, 312n233, 334n332, 339n360, 343n378, 345n388, 388n7, 392n27, 432n62, 460n185

Baal, 371, 428n36, 442–43, 468, 471n229
Babylon, 43; exile in, 368, 380
baldness, 174–75
baptism, 257, 259, 275, 290–91, 322n281, 334, 380–81, 384–85, 397, 410, 467, 469, 472, 475
Barbarossa, Frederick, Emperor, 3, 19, 29, 446n125
Bartholomew, apostle, 438–39
bear: head of (north wind), 49–53, 63, 64, 65, 69, 70n69, 79–80, 85, 86, 92, 93, 97, 100; and human behavior, 364; and humors, 109; paws of, as part of visionary image, 357, 362; as thoughts, 120; traits of, 93. *See also* bodily distress
beast(s), 36n15, 63, 72, 130, 134, 141, 277, 278n41, 308, 381, 384, 388, 450; and the Antichrist, 437n85, 446n121, 468–69; clergy compared to, 447; creation of, 330–31, 334–35, 339–40, 433; human behavior compared to, 89, 93, 133, 362, 364; humans coupling with, 363; human dominion over, 331–32; and the old law, 433
beatitudes, the, 100–101
belief, 157, 290, 293n127
believers. *See* faithful
bellows, 58, 172, 196, 215
belly, 110, 123–24, 186–88, 191–94, 200, 207, 209–10, 252; as the earth, 193; of the image of the ancient counsel, 394, 397; as seat of the stomach, 194; and September, 233; and touch, 233. *See also* stomach
Bernard, St., of Clairvaux, 22
bestiality, 363–65
bird(s), 41, 184, 229, 246, 252, 321–23, 331–34, 400; divine order as, 351; divine power as, 399; of prey, devil as, 317; resurrection body as, 243; signifying rationality, 322; soul as, 184, 221; virtues as, 323–24, 327, 329–30, 335–37, 341, 343
bishop, 85n112, 438n89, 461

Bishop, Jane, 24
bladder, 57, 207
blessedness/blessing, 68, 96, 117, 154n69, 224, 237, 239, 324–25, 390, 409, 420, 456, 478; angelic, 36, 344; beauty of, 103; bulwarks of, 286; of contrition, 94; dawn of, 40; dew of, 135; of divine protection, 37; eternal, 60, 95, 136n14, 197, 200, 405; fragrance of, 168; of God, 43, 323, 327, 330, 332–33, 336, 341–42, 344–47; of good works, 196; heavenly/of heaven, 115, 116, 396; honor of, 193; hope of, 175; life of, 122; light of, 150; lost, 72, 193, 355; papal, 3n2; place of, 94, 354, 402; reward(s) of, 113, 200; streams of, 391; throne of, 410; and the virtues, 66, 92, 102
blood, 112n17, 158, 170, 184–85, 194, 258, 285; affected by the moon, 88–89; as the air's viridity, 198; of sacrificial animals, 373, 425; boiling/burning, 161, 171–72, 189, 254n401; of the calf, 97; creation of, 259, 361; coagulation of in conception, 258–59; flesh and, 140, 141, 149, 171, 177, 190, 199, 201, 207, 241–42, 254, 256, 261, 361; heat of, 171–72, 240; of martyrs, 373–74, 443–44, 472; shedding of, 104, 223, 236, 369, 431; and sin, 43, 171–72, 181, 189, 425; strength of, 171, 230; soul and, 145, 149, 161, 177, 184, 194, 198–99, 240, 242, 254; voice of, 444. *See also* Lamb of God; Son of God
Blumenfeld-Kosinski, Renate, 30n5, 440n99
bodily distress (as bear's head, north wind), 63, 66, 70, 80–81, 92–94, 100, 113–14, 120
body, 8, 10n13, 11–14, 34–35, 38–40, 43, 45, 63, 70, 93–95, 98, 105, 108–13, 129, 132, 134, 140–61, 163–64, 169–72, 175, 177–91, 193, 195, 197–200, 202–4, 206–9, 212–14, 217–22, 225, 227, 229–31, 235–36, 240–43, 245, 248, 251, 253, 255, 257–58, 261, 263, 268–70, 277, 302, 311–12, 319, 328–29, 339, 341–42, 371, 374, 397, 414, 434, 444, 466, 468, 473; affected by the sun, 86–87, 88, 108; appetite of, 13, 159; constrained, 57; death of, 209, 236, 314, 331, 414, 459; dimensions of, 141; as dwelling place of the soul, 114, 142, 145, 216; as earth, 146–47, 151, 156–57, 159, 183, 193, 198, 200, 204, 206–7, 213–14, 217, 288, 294–95, 308, 311, 328, 332, 364, 390, 422; fatigue of, 93, 110–11, 114; functions of, 270; as garment of air, 283–84; as garment/tunic for the soul, 170, 197, 261, 323; heat of, 86, 109, 111, 121–22, 124, 134–35, 151, 170, 174, 177, 184, 187, 233, 236, 240–41, 242; Hildegard's, 29–31, 481; indiscretions of, 134, 156; infant, 174; infirmities of, 161; labor of, 145; mobility of, 161; moisture of, 111–12, 125–26, 146, 187, 201, 207, 217, 230, 366; as the moon, 86, 187; necessities/needs of, 14, 40, 58, 60, 113, 230–31, 301, 311, 320, 407; nourishment of, 110, 123–24; ordering of, 332; parched of the virtues, 14, 183; resurrection, 243, 255, 260–61, 267, 314, 331, 375, 414; sensibility of, 86, 146, 175, 240; structure of, 185; as tabernacle, 326; temperature of, 109, 122; tenderness of, 159; two ways of operation, 143; as vessel, 140, 152, 159–61, 165, 169, 200, 219, 236, 326, 364, 422; as vessel of the Holy Spirit, 166; weakness of, 320; winds in, 80; work(s) of,

145, 148, 202–3, 270, 445; as work of the Lord's hands, 151. *See also* desire(s); disease(s); flesh; health; relationship of body and soul; senses
Boethius, 431n58
bone(s), 193, 255–56, 267, 361n17; as bad conscience and deeds, 206; hardness of, 180; as stones, 140, 205; strengthening of, 171; as summer heat, 165; as trees, 205. *See also* marrow (bone)
Book of Nimrod, 84n111, 106n1, 185n144
bowels, 109–10, 112, 122–23, 127, 151, 152, 187–88, 194–95, 201; discharge of, 153–54; of the soul, 206
brain: blackness of, 156; cleansing of, 168, 226; and conscience, 109, 120; as God's lordship, 245; heat of, 86; humors and, 111–12, 124–25, 127, 226; illness of, 160; moisture of, 109, 151, 153; and moon, 88–89; mucus of, 153; power(s) of, 86, 157; and the soul, 145, 242; and sun, 86, 148–49, 151, 154–55, 157, 160, 226; and teeth, 170–71; veins of, 110–11, 123–24, 162; vessel of (skull), 147, 154; wheel of, 140
bread, 180, 254; of life, 60, 102
breast(s), 24, 67, 189, 241; of clouds, 135; of Divine Love, 46, 54, 103; of Jesus, 4; of God, 68; of the Virgin, 378; of the virtues, 373; of Wisdom, 394, 397
breath/respiration, 11, 381, 426, 470; of Adam, from God, 259, 261, 297; of the atmosphere, 108, 117, 187; of fish, 322; of God, 238n308, 242, 297, 370; human, 34, 58, 108, 110, 123, 133, 141, 156, 186, 240, 329, 351, 414, 416, 419, 466; of Jesus, 475; of life, 240, 254, 257, 259, 262, 282, 414, 433, 473; of Satan, 404; of the wicked spirits, 221; of winds (as animals), 49–51, 64–65, 68–69, 73–74, 79–80, 179, 181, 217. *See also* Holy Spirit; soul; virtue(s); Word of God; *and the virtues linked to each wind*
brow. *See* forehead
bushels: of works, 68, 189
buttocks, 209–10
Bynum, Caroline Walker, 197n190

Cain, 104, 236, 363, 444
Calcidius, 46n1
Callixtus III, antipope, 29n5
calves (part of leg), 110–12, 256; as abstinence, 124–26, 128; as continence, 123; as youth, 256
care(s): of Earthly Things, 328n304; for the flesh, 300–301; mundane, 58–59; secular, 327; worldly, 63, 101
Carlevaris, Angela, 17n29, 30n7
Cathars, 12, 225n274, 310n224, 338n347, 442n108, 468n218, 469n220
caverns, 75
celestial bodies (*planete*), 51–53, 82–90, 140, 366; as agents of cosmic balance, 83–90; effect on winds, 108; and human head, 147–48; in bright fire, 82–83; in pure ether, 83; rays of, 52–53, 84–88; revolution of, 82, 89–90, 106; as Trinity, 90; as seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, 90–96, 114–15, 148. *See also* moon; stars; sun; *and individual entries for each planet*
charity, 77, 82, 102–3, 177, 185, 342, 362, 434, 435, 439, 463, 472. *See also* love
chastisement, 81–82, 91, 92, 423, 473; breath of, 113; of the body, 66, 70, 77, 92, 94; of the clergy, 447–49, 461; of the flesh, 150. *See also* bodily distress

chastity, 12, 77, 81, 123, 126, 276n33, 281, 330, 336, 400, 411, 435; adornment of, 434; Antichrist's preaching against, 466–67; as Justice's belt, 437–38; as robe of innocence, 174; of the Son of God, 380, 409; wings of, 409
chest: as atmosphere, 186
child/children, 110n12, 123, 193, 202, 258, 278, 285, 306, 310, 326, 345, 357, 360, 361, 428, 448, 466; of Adam and Eve, 231n290, 238n314, 258, 365n34, 424; adoption of, 424–25; of the Antichrist, 463; bearing and raising of, 278, 286, 310, 326, 336, 379n100, 442; of fornication, 401; of the Church, 310, 399; of God, 44, 61, 72, 257–58, 425, 452, 459, 476; of Israel, 380; of light, 472n238; as plundering and theft, 324–25
childhood, 171, 180, 197, 200, 202–3, 226, 412; of Christ, 379
chin, 246; and clouds, 165, 172–73; of Divine Love, 33, 37
Chrétien de Troyes, 324n291
Christ. *See* Jesus Christ
Christian(s), 60, 306–7, 310, 318, 327, 338, 455, 457, 459–60, 463, 469
Chrysologus, St. Peter, 341n32, 256n410
Church, 6, 17, 18, 20, 257, 407, 477; apostolic, 20, 36n18, 427–28, 437, 439–40, 446; birth/creation of, 290–91; as bride of Christ, 392–93; building/construction of, 291, 335–39; calendar, 317, 338; children of, 399; as city of heaven, 299, 425; corruption within, 430–31, 440–43, 444–51, 461, 464; Fathers of, 448; illumination of, 316–18; as land of the living, 307, 309–10, 317; as (living) earth, 309, 318, 327, 335, 337; as Noah's Ark, 425; orders of, 6, 19–20, 276, 286, 299, 309–10, 316–18, 326–28, 335, 427, 432, 440–41, 450–51, 461; originating in Abel, 294; originating in Justice, 442; persecution of, 275–76, 278, 287, 457–59, 462–63, 474; as Promised Land, 307, 337; raped by the Antichrist, 286n77, 475n251; reform of, 19, 448–52, 454–55, 461–62; as sea, 307–8, 327; as ship, 287; and state, 19, 316–18, 457–58, 460–61; as the Son's tunic, 140n34; as sun, 440–41; teachers of, 292, 374; as widow, 278, 430; and the Woman Clothed with the Sun, 285–87. *See also* apostles; Genesis; Jerusalem; martyrs; virgins
Cicero, 33n2, 46n1
circumcision, 286, 368–70, 372, 403, 410, 424–25, 435, 441; and baptism, 380, 384, 410; as remedy for lust, 368, 380; of the Son of God, 398
circumspection, 71, 155, 160–61, 164
city: edifice of living stones, 266, 280; of God, 348–51, 349f3.1, 357, 358f3.2, 386, 387f3.3, 394–96, 395f3.4, 417f3.5; heavenly, 136n14, 425. *See also* Jerusalem
Clement III, antipope, 428n36
cloud(s), 48, 53, 57–58, 61, 71, 72, 98–99, 101, 135, 167, 180, 182, 187, 284, 289, 297, 357, 360, 375, 436, 453–54, 459; of the angels, 348–50, 352–53; bow in the, 274–75, 367; breasts of, 135; and the chin, 165, 175–76; and conscience, 58–59; dark/black, 159, 169, 177, 441; as fortifications, 63n55, 99; God as, 283, 459; heavenly way of life like, 325, 328; of Love's wheel, 416, 418; as Milky Way galaxy, 132, 135–36; and the moon, 88; as mirror of the firmament, 135; and the north wind, 218, 222–23; as the right desires of the faithful, 378; of

the saints, 359, 372–73, 386, 392; of sin, 166; sustaining the firmament, 132, 134, 173; and the water cycle, 162, 163
cold, 13, 55, 75, 77, 113n19, 133–35, 153, 157, 165, 184, 196–98, 202–4, 212, 226, 232, 234–36, 266, 268, 272–74, 428; balanced with heat, 13, 133–34, 165, 175, 183, 185–86, 196–97, 204, 211, 217, 266, 269, 271, 466; in the body, 175, 184, 233, 236; human temperament, 170, 202–3, 235, 466; as marrow, 165; moon as, 88; spiritual, 151, 165, 177, 222, 236, 399; wind, 177, 218, 220, 222
Cologne, 12, 428n36, 446n125, 468n218, 482
command(s)/commandment(s), 305, 442; of the Antichrist, 465, 475; of God, 68, 71, 115, 139, 144, 170–71, 195, 204, 206–7, 309, 319–20, 336–39, 397, 403, 442–43, 448, 449, 462n192, 466, 469; of the Father, 383, 458, 473; of God, to create, 289, 304–5, 307, 333; of Jesus Christ, 257, 380–81; to love God and neighbor, 318–20; of the sun, 115; Ten, 100; transgression of, 122, 198, 284, 363, 378n96, 411; of virginity, 435. *See also* law(s)
composition: by Divine Love, 9, 388; by God, 244, 247, 370, 445; by humans, 8, 247, 370, 414
concupiscence. *See* desire
confession: of faith in God, 138, 151, 208, 307, 370, 443, 452, 476; of sins, 82, 162, 347, 473
confessors, 41
conscience, 13–14, 58–59, 62, 78, 103, 120, 125, 127–28, 136, 158, 160–62, 164, 166, 168, 188–89, 192, 218, 228, 237, 303, 329, 340, 363; in the body, 109, 112, 120, 128; cleansing of, 168; clouded over, 405; confused, 127; evil, 72, 78, 142, 150, 158, 160, 175, 206, 221, 222, 251, 260, 301n176, 313; as eyes/eye of, 78, 97, 227, 423; good, 58, 78, 121, 123, 142, 158, 175, 206, 221, 251, 260, 301n176, 302, 313; and hearing, 121; living, 341–42; as moon, 142; over-scrupulous, 124; soul's, 151, 153, 155, 156–57; and the sun, 151–53, 158; viridity of, 192; wings of, 178, 221, 251. *See also* knowledge
consideration, 61, 70, 82, 102, 103, 144, 161, 164, 168, 173, 223, 250, 355, 372, 412; and air, 220n255; of the angels, 352; of the conscience, 78, 112, 128, 227; of Love and Humility, 392; of God, 119, 244, 259, 351, 404, 472; of sin, 65, 178, 216; of the soul, 147, 155, 177, 186, 203
consolation, 201, 286, 431n58, 451; of man, for woman, 238; as stag's horns, 65, 91n126
constancy, 167, 482; as crab's breath, 66–67, 70–71, 76–77
Constantine the African, 85n112, 108n5, 112n18, 130n2, 144n42
Constantine, Emperor, 310n227
contemplation, 136, 301, 321; of God, by angels, 137, 163; of God, by humans, 37, 68, 137
contempt, 451; aridity of, 133; for God, 72; for the good, 127; for the world, as fifth virtue, 327–30
continence, 81, 123, 125, 411, 435, 467n209; as the great whales, 329–30
contrition, 102, 118, 125, 134, 409; as animal breath/wind, 65–66, 70–71, 94; as Justice's camisole, 432
conversion, 40, 61, 115, 117, 224, 239, 432, 436, 439, 455
cosmic rays. *See* celestial bodies
cosmos. *See* world

counsel, 174, 435, 461; ancient, 15–16, 139, 394, 395f3.4, 398–99, 402, 408–9, 413, 418, 435, 442, 459; eternal, 7, 12; of Satan/serpent/devil, 60, 222, 225, 269n12, 277, 295, 409, 411; spirit of, 90n121, 92–93, 148; wings of, 394–96, 399–400, 402–4; as wheel, 398
crab: as humors, 109, 119; with leopard (ESE wind), 49–50, 52, 63n55, 64, 65n58, 74, 84, 91; as thoughts, 119–20; as unsteady morals, 116; with wolf (WSW wind), 50–51, 53, 63n55, 69, 70n70, 73, 87, 94. *See also* constancy, doubt, hope, trust
creation, 5–6, 8–14, 16–18, 20, 24–25, 39, 63, 170, 200, 225, 245, 252, 279, 282, 359–60, 363–64, 365n37, 373, 399, 403, 405, 406n50, 419, 424, 469–70; angels assisting, 354; and the air, 173, 187; balance of, 84, 97–99, 133–34; beauty of, 414; disturbed by sin, 366, 405; diversity of, 195; and Divine Love, 33–35, 390, 422; fire and, 55; as God's coin, 256; human destruction of, 72, 112, 273, 454; human discernment of, 140–41, 175, 225, 240–42, 254, 256; human dominion over, 225, 239–40, 341, 361n17; as human potential, 328; human use of, 35, 54, 112–13, 201, 284–85, 423, 431; interconnection of, 54, 83n108, 84, 103, 118, 248, 297; illumination of, 251; as Justice's work, 440; as means of God's judgment, 77, 112, 132–34, 271–73, 365–66, 428–29, 431; and the north, 157, 177, 218, 224; signifying the old law, 454; perfection of, 334, 344; preservation of, 130, 133–34; receiving God's radiance, 137; recognizing God's humanity, 308; revelatory of God, 63, 137, 256, 399, 403, 409, 413; as root, 297; in service of humankind, 35, 54, 99, 112–13, 118, 238, 248, 260–61, 303–5, 328, 331–34, 372, 376, 383, 422–23, 425; as Son of God's inheritance, 382–83; and the soul, 161, 194–95, 201, 204, 212, 214, 241–43; and the sun, 87; verdant, 429; as Wisdom's vesture, 413. *See also* days of creation; Genesis; human person/humankind; predestination; Word of God; world
Creed: Athanasian, 240on320; Nicene, 248n368, 262n434
Cross: of Andrew, 439; of Christ, 41, 232, 306, 307–308n212, 380, 391, 401–2, 453; of Peter, 439

damnation, 102, 281, 385, 476
darkness, 138, 288, 377; before the Incarnation, 426; of death, 385; of deeds, 294–96, 299; of the devil's deceit, 427; of earthly needs, 319–20; of hell (outer/of punishment), 6, 39–40, 138–39, 221, 224, 249, 267, 273, 281–83, 348, 350, 384, 396, 412; of night, 149–50, 195, 216, 289, 384; of the north, 90, 218, 221–22, 224, 266n3; of ignorance, 292n116, 320; path of, 102; purgatorial, 266, 272, 274; vs. light, 138, 157–58, 224, 243n335, 249, 251, 284–85, 289, 315–16, 360; of sin, 14, 42n47, 102, 150, 157, 159, 177, 216, 219, 222, 234, 236, 251, 317, 378n96, 405, 426; of sorrow, 128; of soul, 363; of unfaithfulness, 292–93, 385, 426
David, 78, 81, 145, 239, 291, 292, 341, 360, 375, 384, 411, 457, 458
dawn, 59, 157, 220, 254; and Adam, 378n96; of blessedness, 150; in the Church, 318; and the divine plan, 416, 419; first, 36; of holiness, 302n178; of a holy way of life, 40;

light of, 286n78; and prefiguration, 368, 403; Virgin Mary as, 455; virgins as, 374. *See also* justice
days of creation, 18, 399; as ages of the world, 6, 100n140, 331n321, 345n388; first, 287–96; second, 296–304; third, 304–14; fourth, 314–21; fifth, 321–30; sixth, 330–44; seventh, 8, 344–47, 398
death, 130, 134, 197, 201, 203, 260, 269n12, 307, 319, 339, 411, 456, 478; and Antichrist, 467–68, 469; and Cain, 363; contrasted with life, 34, 136, 282; cries of, 116; darkness of, 385; of Enoch and Elijah, 473; eternal, 455; fear of, 436; marked for, 223; martyrs', 443, 459, 475–76; pit of, 410; redeemed from, 79, 81–82; repentance at, 273; rider of the pale horse, 277; shadow of, 37, 146, 453; of Volmar, 29n4, 30n11, 481; works of, 146; wounded by circumcision, 372. *See also* body; Son of God
deceit/deception, 61, 116, 120, 149, 223, 234, 256, 368, 406, 430, 443, 464. *See also* devil
deed(s). *See* work(s)
deer, 115
defense: for Christians, 459–60; for the Church, 458; of discretion, 58, 94; divine, 400; for the earth, 134–35, 204–5, 273; for the eyes, 167; for the faithful, 101, 145; of the gifts of the Holy Spirit, 40, 148; heavenly, 279–80, 403; for humankind, 100, 158, 375; of humility, 205; of patience, 234; of peace, 391, 426; of pride, 324; for secular kingdoms, 461; against sin, 397; for the soul, 150; for the sun, 147; against temptation, 96; of the virtues, 167; of the wicked, 72. *See also* protection
demon(s), 72, 154n69
depression, 127, 150, 167, 200, 208, 235
Derolez, Albert, 21, 266n3, 419n8, 464n199, 479n264
desire(s), 14, 37, 78, 96, 97, 116–19, 145–46, 150, 158–64, 168, 175, 186–89, 195–96, 199–200, 205–6, 216, 219, 221, 250–51, 328–29, 343, 373, 410, 423, 445, 470; of the body, 141, 209, 221, 242; carnal/of the flesh, 62, 72, 8, 81, 101, 104, 114, 117–18, 128, 133, 143, 145, 150, 153, 159–60, 163–65, 176–77, 182, 187–89, 191, 195, 198–201, 204, 206, 211, 215–16, 219, 221, 222, 226, 232, 273, 281, 292, 312, 324, 326, 329, 335, 343, 400, 409, 411, 445, 449; earthly, 69, 115, 118, 122, 294, 429; of the faithful, 100, 117, 378; for God, 320, 415; good, 259, 295, 373; for good works, 178; of the heart, 172, 189, 213, 299, 373–74; heavenly, 78, 103, 122, 151, 156, 161–62, 167, 169, 174, 196, 199, 202, 211, 276, 286, 294, 300, 319, 329, 351, 392–93; holy, 116, 153, 187, 195, 205, 373, 482; illicit/wrongful, 123, 170, 295, 299, 340, 343, 397; lustful (concupiscence), 77, 104–5, 114, 122–25, 127, 141, 150, 153, 157, 159–60, 221, 273, 281, 299, 302, 308n212, 329, 400, 445; just, 337, 373; right, 119, 343, 378; right (as thin air), 58, 60, 135–36; as sap, 312; sexual, 216, 254n401, 370, 372; to sin, 252; of the soul, 104, 143, 145–47, 184–85, 187, 190, 195, 197–200, 202, 205–6, 221, 226, 229, 232, 262, 319, 328–29, 339, 373
despair, 93, 120, 124, 164, 207, 212, 234, 268, 274; of the fallen angels, 354; Hildegard's, 482; as wasting disease, 125

devil, 12, 41–42, 60, 62, 92, 104, 172, 239–40, 249, 255, 260, 276n29, 283, 286n77, 307, 364, 371, 379, 392, 400–401, 403–4, 424, 434, 445; and the Antichrist, 466–76; and baptism. 322, 385, 475; bird of prey, 317; chaos of, 205; conquered/overcome, 37, 102, 201, 337, 389, 392, 406, 436; counsel of, 269n12, 295, 411; deceit/deception of, 12, 41, 44, 76, 82, 128n46, 166, 215, 216, 222, 225, 234, 278n41, 283, 285–86, 322, 362, 366–67, 369–71, 384, 392, 400, 402, 427, 469, 472, 476; devices of, 60, 91–92, 96, 369, 403, 430, 463, 469, 475; dragon, 274, 285, 355, 369; enemy, 102, 259, 278, 355, 367, 401, 404, 408, 465–66; envy of, 285; fall of, 15, 221, 407, 408; father of murder, 296; God's deception of, 322, 379, 401, 445; hatred for God, 209; in hell, 281; indiscretion of, 156; malice of, 413; and the north, 59, 86, 138, 159, 221–24, 241, 350, 353, 405, 408, 423; persuasion of, 114, 215, 278, 294; plot of to end human procreation, 278; power of, 452; proud, 329; punishment of, 61; restrained by Wisdom, 389; seduction by, 186, 213, 216, 224, 309, 371, 437, 453n150; serpent, 41–42, 44, 60, 128n46, 129, 158, 166, 198, 205, 222, 224–25, 258, 277–78, 285–87, 308, 322, 355, 359, 363–64, 366–68, 370, 372, 377, 379, 380, 384, 390, 397, 400–401, 405, 409, 426–28, 435, 439, 453, 463, 469, 473–75; suggestion of, 199, 405; temptations of, 185; treachery of, 102; urging of, 223, 277; vices of, 59, 234; wickedness of, 215. *See also* Lucifer; Satan

devotion, 36, 117, 119, 120, 148, 338, 399, 403, 452; of the angels, 137; of chastity, 281; to God, 63, 328, 342, 429; to God's Son, 280; of the mind, 169; of piety, 95; religious, 455–56; to the virtues, 58; of Volmar, 481. *See also* heart(s)

dew, 135, 149, 151, 169, 176, 218, 220, 231–32, 365n36; of blessing, 135; of the heart's remorse, 234; heavenly, 126; of the Incarnation, 378, 398, 411; soul as, 219. *See also* Holy Spirit

disbelief/unbelief, 56, 67, 239, 256, 273, 299, 385; and doubt, 65; among the Jews and pagans, 287; of the persecutors of the Church, 275; punishment of, 282. *See also* infidelity

disciples. *See* apostles

discipline, 110, 123, 128 277n34, 362, 429; of the Church, 318, 449, 457, 461

discord, 41–42, 283, 443; flight from, 432

discretion, 13–14, 93–94, 110, 123, 156, 164, 203, 230; in abstinence, 124, 126, 200; as firmament of the virtues, 13, 300–304, 311, 318–20, 329; of God, 260; as heaven, 302; lack of, 92–93, 124, 134, 156, 175, 200; as ladder, 301; mother of the virtues, 156n74, 175; path/streets of, 123, 205; and the soul, 152, 156, 196; as strong bright white air, 57–58, 60, 101, 134. *See also* moderation

disease(s), 111–12, 227; coughs, 112, 127; of disobedience, 392; fevers, 111, 127; gout, 112, 128, 199n196; headache, 111, 125; leprosy, 111–12, 125–26, 128; mental, 111–12, 127; pleurisy, 112, 127; as punishment, 272–73; pustules, 111, 125–26; ulcers, 130, 132; wasting disease, 111–12, 125, 127. *See also* madness (insanity)

Disibodenberg, 3

disobedience, 95, 249n374, 391; of Adam, 258, 283
divinity, 37–39, 67, 90, 139, 210, 215n243, 248, 255, 284, 330–32, 336, 342, 391, 396, 414, 416, 421, 459; angels and, 353–56, 407, 423, 444–45; celestial harmony as mirror of, 146n46; contemplation of, 68; countenance of, 407–8; dawn of, 36n18, 286n78; dew of, 411; excellence of, 397; faith as shadow of, 308; force of, 291; goodness of, as face of old man, 37; hidden, 368, 376, 399, 408; honor for, 340; light/brilliance/radiance of, 354–56, 359, 444; Love as essence of, 34; mysteries/secrets of, 344, 362, 409; and the soul, 197; strength/might of, 36, 465; as sun, 298, 413; truth of, 367; as wheel, 54–55. *See also* God; Son of God; Word of God
dog(s), 72; in *Scivias,* 445
doubt, 93, 124, 198, 234, 270, 307, 463; as crab's pincers, 65, 70–71
Dronke, Peter, 3n1, 4n4, 5n6, 16n26, 21, 23, 29n4, 33n2, 35n12, 46n1, 48n8, 54n27, 84n111, 85n112, 94n128, 103n150, 108n5, 130n1, 135n12, 140n38, 173n113, 179n130, 185n144, 225n273, 232n292, 245n347, 252n388, 264n2, 266nn3–4, 267n5, 288n84, 304n193, 345n388, 348n1, 359n8, 384n127, 386n1, 411nn73–74, 419n8, 429n41, 447n125, 459n184, 464n199, 477n259, 478n262
drought, 43, 57n32, 69, 75, 77, 167, 174–75, 197, 230, 428; in the body/flesh, 111, 126; of human works, 126, 169. *See also* aridity; dryness
drunkard/drunkenness, 68, 273, 447
dryness, 169, 186–87, 196–97n188, 217; in the body, 187, 235, 240. *See also* aridity; drought
duty/duties, 428, 441; of the angels, 354; spiritual, 60

eagle, 33, 276; on Justice's throne, 433; the Son of God as, 410; spiritual people as, 37; virgins as, 374; wings of, 285
ear(s), 127, 140, 167–68, 226; of the devil's monster, 33, 41; and the head's dimensions, 143–44; disease of, 112; and June, 229; inner, 30–31; of Wisdom, 394, 397
earth, 71, 106, 113, 130, 132–35, 146, 149, 180–84, 185–86, 193, 196–97, 205, 396, 407; balance of, 183, 203, 267, 269; as bodily necessities, 311–12; as center of the firmament, 176; changed by the Flood, 365–66; circle of, 244; constitution of, 180–81; creation of, 61, 248, 287–88, 290; cultivation of, 209, 288, 372, 392, 411; dimensions of, 130, 132, 180–81, 206, 264–66; disturbed by sin, 428, 431; drought of, 130, 133, 174, 197; element of, 58n34, 60, 152n65, 220; as face of the deep, 292; flooding of, 57, 207, 365–66; flourishing, 151, 202; fruitfulness/fertility of, 135–36, 146, 174, 183–84, 189, 193, 195–98, 228, 454; as globe, 48, 60–61, 75, 80, 149, 407; hills and mountains of, 203–5, 209, 211, 213; like a honeycomb, 203; illumination of, 86, 288, 314–16; as the Lord's servant, 305; as Man's seat, 240, 413; as material of Man, 35, 361, 363, 390, 445; as mother, 304–5; muddy, 139, 185–86, 202, 235, 365–66; mutable, 363; as prison, 273; quakes, 75, 118; parts of, 203–5, 209, 211–13, 264–74, 277; refuge for all other creatures, 200; richness of, 174, 196, 203; roundedness of, 213–14, 267; and the seasons, 165, 170,

earth, and the seasons (*cont.*) 172, 202; shield of, 135–36; sphere of, 267, 300; sprouting, 130, 134, 146–47, 152–54, 156, 172, 174, 184, 186, 196, 203, 217, 227, 288, 304–5, 353; as storehouse for the living, 296; strength of, 152, 157; strengthened with stones, 140, 205–6, 208; surface of, 208–9, 214; swamps of, 201; as turbulent matter, 287–88; as widow, 104. *See also* body; Church; elements; fruit(s); Genesis; heaven; human person/humankind; life; moisture; viridity
east(ern), 49n12, 50n15, 52n22, 59, 64, 74, 79, 91n123, 218, 222; Adam (Man) facing, 175, 224; as good intention, 220; and knowledge of the good, 175; origin of the celestial bodies, 82, 84; origin of justice, 279–80, 362; origin of the living water, 103; part of the City of God, 348, 350, 357, 357, 359–60, 362, 394, 396, 416, 418; part of the cosmic wheel, 48, 52, 59, 85, 92; part of the earth, 264, 266–74; part of the firmament, 132, 138; revolution from/to, 106, 113–14; rivers in (Gn 2.10–14), 211; sun in the, 89–90, 149, 157, 220. *See also* wind(s)
Egypt, 368
elbow(s), 225, 230; of Justice, 438; and the winds, 176, 179–81, 217, 220
elements, 6, 54, 55, 58–62, 103, 152n65, 163, 167–68, 178n126, 217, 220, 267, 316, 321, 344, 475; and the sun, 151, 157; balance of, 133–34; and clouds, 135, 165; disturbed by sin, 12, 112n19, 242, 454; in the human person, 140–43, 158, 171–72, 224, 240n322, 268, 366; humans working with, 175–76, 203, 212, 321; and humors, 89, 108, 116–17; as instruments of punishment, 77, 134, 242, 366, 431; and John the Baptist, 252; and portents, 218, 223, 463, 471; probing of, 469; renewed, 314, 474; and storms, 86; strengthening humankind, 100; and winds, 75, 108, 116, 353. *See also* air, earth, fire, water
Elijah, 437, 442–43, 470–72, 473–74
Elisabeth of Schönau, 12n20, 238n308
Emmerson, Richard K., ix, 463n194, 471n230, 474n248
Enoch, 437, 470–72, 473–74
equanimity, 92, 148; of Enoch and Elijah, 471
Eriugena, John Scot, 10, 16n26, 17, 18n31, 35n12, 46n1, 140n38, 244n337, 245n347, 321n279, 331n321
eternity: of God, 35, 137–38, 398, 414, 420–21, 425; of God's counsel/ordinance/will, 15–16, 35, 375, 419–21, 425; of life, 79, 414, 468; light of, 363; reward of, 391; of the Son, 306, 383; as wheel, 7, 42, 416, 419
ether, pure, 46, 49, 52, 53, 56, 64, 65, 82–83, 90, 98, 101, 155; and the eyes, 160; and the human head, 142, 160, 168; lightening the world, 132, 135; resisting upper fires, 56, 130, 133. *See also* penitence
Eugenius III, Pope, 3
Eve, 17, 25n49, 231n289, 278n41, 378–79; deception of, 166–67, 384; as female, 332; garment of, 283–85; God's Son compared to, 378; as mother, 42, 379; raped by the devil, 286n77, 453n150; as woman, 42, 44, 122, 190n163, 191, 238, 285–86, 314, 361, 442
evil(s), 6, 14, 61–62, 92, 118, 123, 125–27, 167, 228, 249, 260, 330,

369, 424, 431, 443; abandoned/cast aside, 117, 121–22, 144, 168; abstinence from, 136, 313–14; of adultery, 441; of the Antichrist, 467, 469; of coming ages, 451, 456–58, 460–63; conquered, 262; conversion/turning away from, 115–16, 122, 149, 303, 325, 363; and darkness, 138, 158, 177, 251, 295–96, 315, 412; deliverance from, 473; of the devil's deceit, 216; drought of, 169; first, 259; fleeing from, 76, 81; of judgment, 69, 273; of hatred, 237; humility's defense against, 205; and the left, 175–76, 178–79, 219, 224, 274; of the north, 370; persistence in, 472; pleasure, 172; restlessness of, 122; restraint from, 314, 375; retreat from, 313, 336; separation from, 119; and sin, 142, 153–54, 170, 211; storms of, 307; and taste, 269–70; as tempest, 179; tribulation of, 452; like the waning moon, 62, 203; yoke of, 122. *See also* knowledge; soul; works(s)

exegesis, 6, 17–19. *See also* Apocalypse; Genesis; Gospel; *and entries marked in bold in the Index of Holy Scripture*

eye(s), 36, 63, 78, 102, 140, 154, 160–61, 164, 166, 226, 237, 246, 325, 365, 370, 377, 413, 415, 459; of Adam, 198, 378n96; of the ancient serpent, 368; dimensions of, 163; of an eagle, 33, 37, 276; like the ether, 160; of eternity, 138; and February, 226–27; of the haughty, 96–97; inner, 30–31, 308, 377; of the Jews, 453; light for, 363; living, 138; and May, 228; outer, 198, 320, 381; of simplicity, 274; sore, 111, 125; soul and, 241; like stars, 160; tears from, 162. *See also* circumspection; conscience; faith; God; rationality; soul

eyebrow(s), 143, 245; of the Cosmic Man, 53, 87–88, 95; as pathways of the moon, 167; protecting the eyes, 88, 95, 167, 245

fairness: fire of, 350

faith, 44, 61, 63, 67–68, 153, 173, 198, 204, 205n212, 210, 239, 255, 256–58, 271, 274, 276, 292–93, 307–10, 316–20, 326–27, 332, 341, 422, 423, 425, 442, 446, 459, 462–65, 469, 471, 473–76; of Abraham, 44; of Adam, 198; of the apostles, 436, 438–39, 465; catholic, 36, 273, 293, 335, 382, 393, 426, 446, 452, 462–63, 465, 474, 476; circuit of, 403; day of, 299, 319; devotion of, 399; eye of, 376–77, 415; firmament of, 298–300; hoe of, 72; light of, 293, 299–300, 310, 318, 327, 339, 385, 426, 452; and love, 36–37, 41; of the martyrs, 443–44, 471–72; mirror of, 198, 217, 355, 407; perfect, 61; plow of, 307; to recognize God, 36, 63, 78, 176, 241, 245, 250, 257, 293, 297, 405, 413; in relation to virtues and vices, 68; reflective, 184; right, 144, 223, 240, 299, 310, 316, 337, 364, 465; shadow of, 213, 257, 308; shield of, 232, 234; as stag's head, 65–67, 70–71, 91, 95, 119–20; strength of, 211; teachers (*doctores*) of, 100n140; true, 41, 44, 61, 68, 163, 173, 197, 257, 273, 280, 308, 318, 320, 326, 384, 397, 426, 432, 436, 443, 452, 459, 462, 464–65, 472, 475; viridity of, 310; warmth of, 184; work(s) of, 300

faithful (believer[s]), 37, 41, 59–61, 63, 68, 69–70, 76–77, 100–103, 122, 151, 158, 160, 169, 198, 241, 276, 293, 295, 298, 308, 324, 326, 329, 350, 374, 385, 397, 402n35, 404, 411, 433, 452, 455; and Antichrist, 462–67, 471–72;

faithful (believer[s]) (*cont.*)
and baptism, 275, 384; as blind man, 122; desire(s) of, 58, 100, 116–17, 135, 378; eyes of, 317; exhortation to, 347, 356, 385, 393, 415, 479; habitable places of the earth as, 271; mind(s) of, 58, 67, 101, 155, 165, 373, 392; souls of, 383, 419; virtues in, 58–59, 91–94, 96, 119, 165; as waters, 298–99; works of, 113, 168
faithfulness. *See* fidelity
Fall, the, 9, 15, 20, 25, 42–43, 56, 128n46, 191, 258, 283–84, 390, 392, 441n100; before, 171, 193, 315n252. *See also* Adam; disobedience
fatigue, 110–11, 114, 124, 145
fear, 82, 137, 160, 171, 182, 219, 231, 313, 418, 435, 456n167, 470–71, 473; animals', of humans, 254, 341; apostles' lack of, 381, 436, 439; of the cold, 235; of death, 436; devil's, of God, 408; of earthly desires, 118; of evil, 270; of God, 45, 56, 65–66, 71, 78–79, 91, 94, 105, 113, 129, 167, 175, 177, 181, 183, 191–92, 195, 213, 215–16, 223, 228, 263, 278, 331, 336–37, 340–42, 366, 368, 373–74, 403–4, 424, 428, 435, 446, 450–51; of God's judgment, 93, 120, 277, 281, 452–53; of hell, 70–71, 76, 78; humans', of animals, 331; of the law, 160; of punishments, 177, 436; of sinning, 93; Son of God's lack of, 392
fear of the Lord, 308n212, 367; as leopard's head (east wind), 63, 65–66, 76–77, 81–82, 91, 93, 100, 113, 119; spirit of, as moon, 90n121, 94–95, 116–19, 148, 150, 160, 162, 165, 167
female/feminine, 17, 77, 238n315, 259n420, 285n74; as caregiver, 336; creation of, 332–33; Hildegard as, 477–78; as quality of mercy, 342; softness, 450; as summer, 332. *See also* woman
Ferrante, Joan, 477n259
fidelity/faithfulness, 43, 276n33, 433
Filistratus, 135n12
finger(s), 176, 180–81, 216–17, 248, 268, 271; of God, 248, 372; of Justice, 439
fire, 55, 83, 164, 165, 192, 235, 254n401, 306, 308, 366, 382, 384, 406–7, 466; black, 46, 48, 51, 52, 53, 55–56, 57, 64, 79, 82, 90, 98, 100, 130, 133–34, 142, 143, 156; bright (upper), 46, 48, 50, 52, 53, 55–56, 57, 59, 64, 72, 82–83, 90, 97, 100, 106, 114, 130, 132, 134–35, 142, 147, 149, 154, 156, 160, 168; of celestial bodies, 83–84, 90, 167, 316; of Divine Love, 34, 388; element of, 58, 59, 135, 152, 220, 316; embers from, 130; of the firmament, 90, 97; of a forge, 172, 196, 422, 435; of fortitude, 165; of God's gifts, 114; in human constitution, 284–85; in human head, 142, 154, 156; of obedience, 425; of the stars, 99, 152, 316; trial of, 271; of a volcano, 348, 350. *See also* elements; hell; Holy Spirit; judgment; God; soul; sun
firmament, 59, 296–98, 321, 382, 399, 413; adornments/ornaments of, 302, 406–7, 413; as bowl, 147–48; cold of, 165; constitution of, 132, 166, 225; dimensions of, 48, 61, 130, 132, 141–42, 180; as God's footstool, 137; hell beyond, 138; and the human body, 141, 170, 225, 248, 298; as human head, 141–44, 146–47, 160; illumination of, 288, 297, 304, 306, 314–16; as mirror, 298; moved by winds, 106, 132, 162, 173, 176, 178, 217–18; movement of, as

good works, 113–14; relationship of to earth, 176–77, 179–80; revolution of, 84, 89–90, 106, 132, 140, 173; serving the rest of creation, 303–4; signs in, 407, 453, 471; stars in, 160–61, 166, 413; steadiness of, 170; sun in, 157, 166, 211; waters above, 56–57, 215, 366n39; wheel of, 140, 218, 453; wing of divine protection outside of, 266, 279. *See also* body; discretion; faith; Jesus Christ; soul
Firmicus Maternus, 88n118
fish, 184, 321–23, 331–33, 335, 336, 340, 341, 400, 410; fins of, 394, 400; hook, 202, 401n35; net, 389
Flanagan, Sabina, 3n1, 108n5
flesh, 140–46, 149–55, 159–61, 170–80, 186–91, 201–2, 204–7, 214–16, 219–22, 232–37, 242, 248, 250, 259, 261, 267, 300, 321, 336, 361, 376–77, 379, 391, 434, 466; appetite of, 136, 141, 143–45, 152–53, 171, 178–80, 189, 191, 193, 202, 204, 209, 211, 220, 226, 234–35, 302, 313, 322, 329, 364, 371, 445, 467; battle with soul, 104, 114, 141–42, 144, 152, 187, 215, 222, 232–33; and blood, 140–41, 149, 171, 177, 190, 199, 201, 207, 241–42, 254, 256, 261, 284–85, 361; care for, 300–301; constrained, 117; corruptible, 284n67, 384; diseases in, 111–12, 125–26, 128; dried out in repentance, 163; as earth, 157, 174, 180, 205, 237, 241; enticements of, 172, 186; fire of, 126; and food, 199–200, 242; fragility of, 157, 294, 330; as good conscience, 206; growth of, 240; gyrations of, 401; Hildegard's, 477–78; impudence of, 182; integrity of, 329; juice of (semen), 435; law(s) of, 276, 381, 400; moisture of, 146, 152, 174, 184; as moon, 149, 151; mortality of, 204; mortification of, 129, 309; nature of, 146, 205, 207, 214, 466; senses of, 449; sores in, 111, 125; sweat of, 153; sweetness of, 434; swellings of (breasts), 189; vs. spirit, 43, 101, 250, 258, 290, 326, 367–69, 414; taste of, 43, 143; tenderness of, 180; volatility of, 330; weakness/frailty of, 61, 136, 149, 330; will of, 141, 150, 152–53, 197, 204, 206–7, 258–59, 276, 302, 317, 423; works/deeds of, 187–89, 313. *See also* body; desire(s); pleasure(s); relationship of body and soul; temptation(s); viridity
flood(s), 35, 57, 61, 75, 113n19, 132, 133, 135, 146, 168, 169, 205, 211, 266, 271, 284, 355, 373, 406; and the bladder, 207; of fire, 48, 59, 99, 284, 466; of the Holy Spirit, 151, 168; of humors, 111–12, 126–28; of just admonition, 101; of God's light, 254; of living water, 208, 355; of moral instability, 252; Noah's, 274–75, 286, 359, 362, 365–68, 369, 380, 424, 429, 442, 446; of pleasures, 67; of praise, 352–53; of smell, 268; of sorrow, 163; of the soul, 178, 202, 205, 236; of thoughts, 119, 127–28; of Wisdom, 68
food, 172, 187–88, 202, 242, 300, 333–34, 337–38, 343; abstinence from, 428; for animals, 68, 184; chain, 334; digested/digestion of, 173, 192, 201–2, 207–8, 400; and hunger, 194; infant, 171, 189, 237, 256; of life, 195, 291, 338; overindulgence in, 112, 128, 199–200, 329; provision of to the clergy, 448, 450; refreshment, 182; of the Son of God, 252, 337–38, 401n35; spiritual/for the soul, 322, 343; in the stomach, 110, 123, 161, 173, 194–95, 199–200

foolishness/folly, 94, 127, 273, 396, 412, 430; of the fallen angel, 225; of original sin, 178
foot/feet, 98, 115, 216–17, 225, 256, 258, 321; of the ancient counsel, 394, 399; of the crab (wind), 49–50, 64–65, 69, 84, 91; of the Cosmic Human, 49–50, 52–53, 62, 68, 83, 86, 89–90, 95; and December, 236; of Divine Love, 33, 41; as desire for good works, 219; as faith, 258; of a hawk, in the time under the law, 357, 367–68; of Justice, 437, 464; of lions, on Justice's throne, 433; of the Lord, 191, 207; and rivers, 216–17; sole of, 53, 86, 88, 94, 325; as the ways of God, 181; and winds, 217, 220; of Wisdom, 394, 396
(foot)steps, 115, 128–29, 397; of Christ/God's Son, 41, 421; of God, 101, 239; of the soul/spirit, 95, 159; of truth, 67
footstool: of God/the Lord, 137, 149, 239, 410, 458
forehead, 142, 154; of the Antichrist's followers, 469; and the moon, 147, 160
foreknowledge: of God, 7, 14, 16, 30, 38–39, 42, 170, 249–50, 259, 262, 325, 328, 332, 350–52, 383; as fire, 305; as God's eye, 459; as mirror, 351; as transparent tablet, 421–22; as wheel, 54; of Wisdom, 396
forgetting/forgetfulness, 54, 68n68, 82, 188, 222; of God, by creatures, 15, 95, 162, 174, 183, 192, 219, 222–23, 226, 362, 371, 380, 398; God's, 155, 443, 458; of the soul, 236
fornication, 126, 310, 364n29, 401, 457, 462n192; of the clergy, 441
fortitude, 145; Abraham, as navel of, 367; of the apostles, 381; spirit of, as the sun, 91–96, 117, 119, 148–51, 155–56, 158, 165, 167
frost, 55, 75; of the vices, 68
fruit(s), 130, 134, 169, 172, 175, 184, 186, 187, 188, 192–93, 194–98, 203, 213, 218, 226–27, 228–31, 233, 272, 304–5, 309–10, 311–13, 323, 328, 332–33, 353, 361n17, 372, 411, 429, 431, 454; as Christ's works, 379; of the earth, 118, 130, 132, 153, 165, 169, 173–74, 185, 218–19, 222, 228–31, 241, 276, 277, 284, 343n378, 452, 461; of eternal life, 454; as food, 334; forbidden, 42, 269n12; of God's kingdom, 298; good, 126, 165, 206, 420; of good works, 72, 133, 135, 174, 176, 194, 197, 210n225, 228, 310, 312n233, 452; of the Gospel, 468; of the heart, 420; of holiness, 135, 291; of human deeds, 105, 184; John the Baptist as, 253; of the just, 454; of justice, 169, 309; of the land of the living, 307; of one's devices, 104; of paradise, 283; of piety, 313; poisonous/deadly, 299, 400, 404; Son of God as, 384; of the Son of God's teaching, 426; of the soul's works, 221; spiritual, 367; of supernal joys, 257; viridity of, 295; of the virtues, 411; of the wicked, 117–18
fruit tree(s), 304–5; as the apostles' teaching on marriage, 309–10; useless, 320; as the virtues, 312
Führkötter, Adelgundis, 21

garment. *See* body; Incarnation
Gebeno of Eberbach, 22
Genesis, 6, 17–19, 20; allegorical (ecclesiological) exegesis of, 290–94, 298–300, 306–10, 316–18, 323–27, 334–39, 345–46; literal exegesis of, 287–89, 296–98, 304–6, 314–16, 321–23, 330–34, 344–45; moral exegesis of, 294–96, 300–304, 310–14, 318–21, 327–30, 339–44, 346–47

gentleness: of the east wind, 64; of God, 350, 420; as lamb's breath, 76–77, 79, 81, 84; of St. Peter, 432; of thoughts, 128; of true faith, 41
Gerhoch of Reichersberg, 139n34, 166n102, 275n26, 278n41, 428n38
Ghent, University Library MS 241, 21, 22n44, 29n4, 220n256, 266n3, 478n264, 482n6
Glaze, Florence Eliza, 11on6
glory, 97, 311, 350, 354, 434, 444, 445, 455; of the angels, 356, 359; of the Antichrist, 474; eternal, 144, 164, 276, 478; of forgiveness, 347; of God's Son, 262, 439, 452, 477; heavenly, 72, 277, 376, 392, 420; of humility, 97; of light, 102; of Lucifer/Satan (lost), 36, 40, 277, 283, 366, 376, 390; of Man, 210; of paradise, 400; of rationality, 333, 364; reward of, 144, 194; of the Holy Roman Empire, 460; of the soul, 243. *See also* God
Glossa Ordinaria, 275n26, 277n35, 285n74, 309n221
glutton/gluttony, 199n196, 273; of the devil, 400. *See also* food
God: as artist, 288, 346; breasts of, 68; compass of, 297, 305; as Craftsman, 180; as Creator, 5, 9–12, 15, 24, 30, 39, 42, 59, 61, 63, 72n75, 81, 92, 101, 116, 139, 144, 148, 169, 170, 197, 207, 216, 223, 225, 239, 245, 248–51, 257, 278, 282, 285, 297, 333, 353–54, 367, 371, 376, 398, 405, 412, 422–23, 442, 449, 470, 473, 476; as Day, 244; as defender of the faithful, 145; as Emperor, 204; as Ever-Living, 354; eyes of, 206, 245, 249, 303, 320, 364n29, 429, 458–59; as Father, 15–16, 18, 35–36, 139, 239, 248, 250, 257–59, 261–62, 284n67, 290–92, 294, 306–8, 325–26, 337–38, 342, 346–47, 360, 372, 377–79, 381–83, 391, 393, 401, 404, 409–11, 421, 424–27, 429, 441, 448, 458, 472–73, 475–76, 478; as fire, 157, 175, 194, 234, 282, 284–85, 289, 408, 418, 423, 433; as Founder, 90, 301, 425, 464; gentleness of, 350; glory of, 37, 54, 97, 137, 208n222, 297–98, 311n231, 324, 350, 355, 375, 391, 404–5; hand(s) of, 25n49, 210, 239, 297–98, 351, 375–76, 392–93, 404, 406, 428–29, 473; harshness of, 350; jealousy of, 192, 279–80, 408; joined to earth, 129; as Judge, 136, 139, 223, 439, 447, 476; as King, 44, 67, 102–3, 173, 204, 309, 360, 434–35, 451; as leaping/living fountain, 205, 388–90; as Life, 30, 34–35, 137, 176, 245, 248, 249–50, 257, 282, 288–89, 385, 468, 470; as Light, 40, 96, 137, 158, 221, 234, 253–54, 282, 284–85, 289, 296, 354, 386; living, 102, 308, 338, 341, 386, 389, 402, 426; as Master, 307; as mother, 306; as mountain, 348–51, 418; mysteries of, 4–5, 8, 30, 33, 36, 238n308, 246, 252–53, 344, 348, 352–53, 356, 360, 362, 397, 399, 402–3, 406, 414, 438, 462, 471; name of, 54, 144, 257–59, 290, 293, 324, 390, 404, 460; power of, 38, 55, 60–61, 115, 137–38, 145, 170, 182, 239–40, 255, 257, 260, 279–80, 283, 287, 292, 330, 331, 341, 350, 355, 360, 367, 375, 379, 381, 390–91, 397, 399, 401, 404, 410, 420–21, 424, 459, 462, 471, 475; power of, as bright fire, 55–56, 59, 75, 92, 100, 114, 133, 142, 150, 155, 168; as protector of body and soul, 144; purity of, 389; radiance of, 376; as Reason/rational, 35, 244; as sailor and oarsman, 307; Savior, 234, 335; seeing the virtuous person, 296, 314,

God: seeing the virtuous person (*cont.*) 320, 330, 340, 343–44; as stone, 357–59; as sun, 90, 137, 232, 282, 284n67, 410–11, 413, 418, 421; throne of, 44, 137, 410; virtue of, 330, 454; as wheel, 54–55, 137, 263, 418–21; will of, 15–16, 35, 56, 61, 71, 75, 78, 133–34, 195, 224, 240, 247–48, 253, 255–56, 258, 263, 283, 286, 291–92, 307, 330, 334, 337–38, 339, 342, 346, 351, 352, 355, 359, 371, 375, 377, 390, 393, 396, 398, 399, 401, 409, 418–22, 424, 458–59, 461, 462, 463, 476, 478; will of, as gate, 359; wings of, 145, 351, 375; as Wisdom, 235. *See also* command(s); counsel; divinity; eternity; fear; foreknowledge of God; grace; Holy Spirit; judgment; Lord; love, Son of God; Trinity; vengeance; Word of God; work(s)
Godfrey of Kahler, 482n7
Gospel, 90, 139n34, 169, 286, 290, 312, 324, 325, 336–37, 341, 342, 346, 412n74, 441, 454, 460, 468
Gospel of John, 4–5, 6, 17–18; exegesis of the Prologue, 244–63
Gössman, Elisabeth, 239n315, 342n373
grace: of baptism, 385; divine/God's, 10, 56–57, 59, 71, 96, 113n19, 114, 117, 122, 145, 160, 163, 169, 170, 172, 175, 176, 204, 207–8, 212, 216, 227, 235, 252, 316, 335, 339, 341, 342, 426, 435, 443, 454, 455, 478, 482; of faith, 425; heavenly, 411; of the Holy Spirit, 44, 72, 168, 178, 185, 194, 235, 236, 281, 295, 307, 326, 346, 397, 427, 454; of Man, 322n279; moisture of, 183; rain of, 259; time under (*sub gratia*), 90n121; of the Word, 262
greed, 159, 213, 324; of the clergy, 430, 441, 447
Gregory the Great, Pope St., 18, 35n12, 272n15, 401n34
Gregory VII, Pope, 317n261, 428n36
groin, 110–11; and desire, 123–24
Guibert of Gembloux, 22

Habakkuk, 115
hail, 55, 75, 133, 156
Haimo of Auxerre, 275n26, 276n29, 277n39, 285n74, 469n224
hair, 173–75; as God's potential, 245
hand(s), 49, 62, 136, 141, 175, 188, 223–25, 230–32, 255, 271, 362, 365; defiled, 450; of Divine Love, 33, 41; as good works, 181; Hildegard's, 30; and idolatry, 365, 370; and rivers, 217; of the time before the law, 357, 362; of the time under the law, 357, 367; and the winds, 176, 179–81, 217–18, 220. *See also* God; Lord
Hartmann von Aue, 324n291
head (human), 11, 62, 88–89, 98, 165, 241, 245, 361n17, 398; and the celestial bodies, 147–48, 160; and the elements, 142–43; crown of, 140; as firmament, 141–44, 146, 160, 172–73, 180; heat and moisture of, 170; roundedness of, 141; sensibility of, 146; and soul, 140–42. *See also* hair
health, 99n138, 109, 112, 119–21, 128, 188, 230, 232, 240, 268, 434, 461; preserved by the winds, 65; from sun and moon, 88–89. *See also* soul
hearing, 86, 109, 121, 140, 166–68, 225, 229–30, 246, 268, 272, 300; inner/spiritual, 67, 121–22, 127, 308n212; as the wings of rationality, 229
heart(s), 63, 86, 102–3, 104, 109–10, 119, 121, 123, 128, 139, 151, 162, 186–87, 191–92, 199, 201, 295, 325, 327, 342, 347, 412n74, 414, 420, 425, 462, 464, 473; affection of, 356, 385, 393, 415, 479; bitterness in, 163; blindness of, 136;

center of, 207; and conscience, 166; and counsel, 408; contrite, 70, 104, 119, 181; of the devil, 401; devotion of, 37, 45, 105, 129, 263; of the disciples, 316; dwelling of, 152, 274, 468; faithful, 115–16, 378, 402n35, 452; as firmament of the body, 251; of God the Father, 139, 291, 336, 347, 381, 408, 418; hardness of, 211, 298–99, 313; happy, 305, 354; hatred in, 237; heat of, 187; intention of, 39, 421; mind in, 189; open, 61, 300; in pain, 112, 127, 235; pleasure(s) of, 67, 219; pure, 126, 405; rationality in, 139; remorse of, 234, 295, 311–12; seed of, 44; sighs of, 43–44, 154; simple, 202; soul and, 145, 152–54, 168, 212, 241; upright, 121; vanity of, 214; wounds of, 136; and the Word, 139, 247, 291, 360, 383. *See also* desire(s)
heat, 75, 77, 151–56, 234, 268–69, 271–72, 366; of the air, 183–87, 192; balanced with cold, 13, 133–34, 165, 175, 183, 185–86, 196–97, 204, 211, 217, 233, 266, 269, 271, 466; of celestial bodies, 83, 85–88, 366; of the day, 220; excessive, 203, 211, 213, 274, 284; of fire, 42, 56, 83, 98, 132–34, 149, 151, 155, 168, 366; of God's breath, 259; of June, 229; of lust/sexual desire, 179, 222, 254n401, 261, 466; and moisture, 151–54, 156, 165, 170, 185, 268, 429. *See also* body; Holy Spirit; summer; sun; soul
heaven(s)/heavenly, 14, 57n32, 60, 77, 100, 115, 155–56, 161, 174–76, 204, 206–8, 210, 238n314, 239, 255, 259, 291, 338, 346, 378n96, 382–85, 391, 396, 400, 403, 410–11, 415, 419, 426, 437, 448, 472n238, 477; angels and, 354–56, 376, 379; and the Antichrist, 474–76; battle in, 470, 474, 476; blessedness, 115, 116, 396; bolt of, 428; and the Church, 290; citizens of, 40; city, 136n14, 425; clothing/robe, 37, 42; compass of, 231; as contemplative life, 301; creation of, 248, 287–88, 290, 300, 328, 344, 363, 422; Creator, 61, 148; deeds, 159, 176, 204; defense, 279–81, 403; devil's fall from, 285, 355, 367, 370, 379, 390; and earth, 146, 156, 158, 183, 206, 248, 287, 290, 294, 300, 328, 350, 363, 375, 408, 420, 422, 440, 453, 464; Father, 338, 342, 378, 458; and the firmament (Gn 1.8), 297–99, 302; gates of, 449; gifts, 150; goods, 219–20; harmony, 15, 41, 224, 260, 407; height(s), 102, 118, 182, 184, 237, 407; home, 326; homeland, 166, 173, 204–5, 213, 276–77; host/throng, 105, 233, 356, 373, 375, 399, 402, 409; and humility, 374–75; inheritance, 72; and Justice, 440; as knowledge of the good, 294, 315; as land of the living, 103, 196, 333; life of, 271; love for, 273; as lucent matter, 287–88; mysteries/secrets, 31, 36, 44, 279, 292, 381, 406; neglect of, 303; peace, 121; as reason, 319; righteousness of, 290; sin against, 441; Son of God as, 317, 323; stars of, 43; things/matters, 37, 40, 44, 58, 71, 78, 81, 132, 135–36, 146, 148, 150, 156, 159–60, 161, 165, 168, 177, 217, 234, 237, 301–2, 303, 325, 328, 337, 341, 343, 373, 391–92, 407; warfare, 338, 343. *See also* desire(s); firmament; glory; human person/humankind; Jerusalem; joy(s); kingdom(s); music; reward(s); sigh(s)/sighing; virtue(s); voice(s); water(s); work(s)
Heiric of Auxerre, 17, 244n337

hell, 6, 96–97, 138, 159, 176, 208, 216, 224, 234, 267, 277, 281–83, 355, 374, 396, 401, 404, 408, 412, 421, 472n238; fear of, 71; fire(s) of, 271n15, 396, 412; harrowing of, 383, 402; mouth of, 96, 281. *See also* punishment(s)
Henry IV, Emperor, 428n36, 428n38, 442n108, 446n123
Herod, King, 379, 444
Herrad of Hohenbourg, 402n35, 474n248
Hildegard of Bingen, 3–5, 29–31, 388–89, 477–82; as exegete, 17–19; as *magistra*, 241n326; as preacher, 3–4; as prophet, 9, 19–20; ecclesiology of, 18–19; illnesses of, 9, 29–30, 389; psychology of, 13; sacramental approach of, 6, 10, 11, 17, 20; style of, 22–23; symbolist mode of, 19–20; theology of history of, 20; visionary experiences of, 4–5, 29–31, 219n254, 389n13, 477–78; *Vita* (*Life*) of, 4; works of, 388–89; *Cause et Cure*, 3, 389n12; *Expositiones Evangeliorum* (*Gospel Homilies*), 17; *Liber divinorum operum* (*Book of Divine Works*), 5–7, 29–31, 481–82; *Liber vite meritorum* (*Book of the Rewards of Life*), 3, 6, 17n29, 29, 45n60, 49n11, 266n3, 271n15, 389; *Ordo virtutum*, 7; *Physica*, 3, 389n12; *Scivias*, 3, 7, 9, 24, 46, 48nn6–7, 48n10, 57n32; *Symphonia*, 3
history. *See* ages of history
holiness, 4, 77, 81, 96, 102, 115, 124, 136, 149, 194, 340, 342, 380, 435, 450n141, 454–55, 462n192; of the angels, 354; of the apostles, 435–36, 439; and baptism, 385; beginning of, 113; breath of, 114–15; children of, 123; daylight of, 236; dawn of, 302n178; fortitude of, 91; fruit(s) of, 135, 291; from God's breasts, 68; of good works, 125, 136; humility of, 59; integrity of, 114–15; Justice and, 439–40, 446; loss/absence of, 193, 224, 226; moisture of, 151; pillar of, 115; pipes of, 374; presumption of, 201; signature of, 468; of the Son of God, 400; as stag's breath, 66–67, 70–71, 77; sweetness of, 237; verdure of, 151; of the virtues, 113; works of, 68, 234, 281, 432. *See also* sanctity
Holy Spirit, 37, 58, 121, 126, 280–81, 288, 292–93, 295, 306, 316, 319, 321–22, 325, 334–35, 338, 343, 346, 384–85, 470, 477; abundance of, 120–21; admonition of, 174, 177, 226, 231, 295, 311–12, 318, 327, 337, 339; and the apostles, 292–93, 325, 381–82, 426, 432–33, 435; breath (of), 35, 119, 295, 301, 381; in the conception of God's Son, 261–62, 291, 325, 361, 381, 398, 409, 425–26, 430; dew of, 72, 125, 151, 154, 257, 313, 326, 454; dwelling of, 271, 274, 300; eyes of, 102–3; fire of, 37, 57, 125, 165–66, 175, 177, 221, 222, 236, 253, 256, 261, 262, 303, 308, 325, 336, 361, 381–82, 407, 423, 429–30, 440; as fiery globe, 280–81; fruit of, 135n12; gifts of, 40, 90–96, 114–15, 119, 148, 231, 236, 280, 301, 313, 318, 345, 397, 420; heat of, 151, 158; inspiration of, 4, 59, 174, 185, 223–24, 302, 320, 329, 360–61, 380, 385, 411, 478; living water of, 307; love for, 482; outpouring of, 37, 259; and prophecy, 306, 360–61, 369, 381, 383, 405, 454; sin against, 479; sweetness of, 300; vessel of, as human body, 166. *See also* grace; viridity
homosexuality, 278
honor, 173, 178, 199, 223, 228, 301, 340, 362, 373, 428, 431, 434–35, 455, 470; of the angels, 36, 39, 282; of blessedness, 193; of crea-

tion, 72; false, 212; of forgiveness, 347; of God, 30, 162, 260, 319, 331, 340–41, 353, 366, 391, 407, 415, 456; of good works, 196; for the Holy Spirit's gifts, 148; of humankind, 190, 210, 331, 355, 413; of imperial power, 460–61; of Justice's crown, 439–40; of liberty, 450; of light, 157; of the soul, 243; of supernal heritage, 299
Honorius Augustodunensis, 10, 36n15, 140n38, 285n74, 307n212, 401n35, 411n73
hope, 118, 176, 183, 208, 232–34, 319, 326, 364, 412; of blessedness, 175; as crab's pincers, 65, 70; of eternal life, 128; Eve's, 238n314; of reward, 377n34, 455; for salvation, 183, 204, 232–33; trusting, 173, 192
Hosea, 126
Hrabanus Maurus, 10, 46n1, 140n38, 411n74
humanity, 7–14, 24–25, 240, 261, 319, 441n100. *See also* Son of God
human person/humankind, 24–25; acknowledging/recognizing God, 5, 30, 63, 144, 245, 256–57, 292, 293, 308, 354–55, 367–68; as all creation, 10, 35–36, 75, 132, 139, 201, 224–25, 237–38, 332, 382, 413; appetite of, 127, 158, 172, 184; balance of, 269; bestial, 133, 363–64; composed by Divine Love, 388; constitution of, 284–85; contemptuous of God, 71–72; cruelty of, 275; discernment of creation, 8, 140, 175, 192, 230, 232, 241–42, 294, 313–14; as earth, 267–68, 294, 313, 315–16, 339, 390; enclosure of God's wonders, 8, 414–15; as heaven, 158, 214, 237, 294, 315–16, 332, 390; as image and/or likeness of God, 8, 15, 35–36, 262, 294, 362, 398, 414; as life, 414; made of fire and water, 254, 284–85, 388; like the moon, 194, 334, 413; mutability of, 363, 375; nature of, 39, 54, 61, 201, 245n347, 254, 269, 294, 308, 315, 330, 342, 352, 362–65, 400, 409, 424, 466; power(s) of, 62, 183, 221, 224–25, 228, 230–31, 233, 362–63, 366, 398, 422; rebirth of, 103, 326, 334, 385; in relation to creation, 54, 62–63, 71–72, 100, 103, 118, 284–85, 328; secular, 40, 250, 317, 321, 326, 335, 448, 450, 461; as sons of the Most High, 341; spiritual, 37, 40, 43, 197, 250, 291, 297, 300, 321–22, 326–27, 427, 448–50, 461; strength of, 363; as tenth choir of heaven, 15, 36, 40, 240, 308–9, 334, 355–56, 359, 375–76, 382, 409; transgression of, 121; visionary image of, 47f1.2, 49–54, 62–63, 107f1.3; like a wheel, 159; as wings of God's order, 351; as Wisdom's vesture, 397; as work (*opus*)/handiwork (*facture*) of God, 7–10, 35, 42, 197, 217, 240, 243, 262, 352, 355, 360, 370–71, 375, 383, 390, 392–93, 408, 415, 418, 422–23, 444, 477. *See also* ages of human life; body; desire(s); faithful (believer[s]); flesh; Man; soul; spirit(s); viridity; work(s)
humility, 15, 39, 58, 80, 150, 185, 200, 205, 207, 234, 311–14, 340, 343, 390–93, 444; ascent of, 205; descent of, 233; and the gifts of the Holy Spirit, 119; glory of, 97; head of chastity, 174; of holiness, 59; of the Incarnation, 201; ladder of, 205; matrix of the virtues, 206; of Mathias, 432–33; moisture of, 166; personified, 386–87, 390–93, 467n207; of Philip, 438; queen of the virtues, 374–75; of the Virgin Mary, 44; virtue of the third day of creation, 311–14; works of, 212, 214

humor(s), 89, 108–12, 119–28, 157, 162, 171, 174, 226, 230, 233, 235, 284n67, 478n262; balanced, 112, 125–28; black bile (melancholia), 112, 127, 128n49; phlegm, 111–12, 125, 127, 143–44, 156; as thoughts, 119–28; unbalanced, 111–12, 128; and wind(s), 108–9, 119–20
husband, 104, 180, 276, 324, 430, 434, 451; Adam as, 42

idleness: as the night, 150
idol(s), 239, 299, 371, 426, 432; destruction of, 437, 468; as illusory god, 145. *See also* Baal
idolater, 428n36, 468n218
idolatry, 370–71, 424
Incarnation, 7–9, 12, 15–16, 18, 43, 239, 251n385, 255, 280, 290, 308n212, 325, 332–33, 336, 338, 351, 369, 377, 379–84, 396, 410n66, 430, 432, 437, 444; devil's ignorance/mockery of, 139, 401, 473; as garment/tunic, 8, 13, 15, 139, 201, 237–38, 245, 250, 255, 261–62, 283, 284n67, 287, 326, 331–33, 351, 370, 376, 378, 402, 405, 410, 413n81, 423, 435, 441n100; love for, 340; as marker of time, 29, 286, 306, 369, 424, 446; memory of, 327; peace of, 452; prophecy of, 306, 309, 346, 384; for salvation, 233–34, 331; and the seventh day, 345–47; signs of, 370. *See also* Jesus Christ; predestination; Son of God; Word of God
infidelity/unfaithfulness, 68, 71, 183, 239, 275–76, 307, 318, 367, 373, 412, 436, 457, 469; of the Jews, 287, 298, 368; punishment of, 173, 272–73, 282, 317, 353; as waters under the firmament, 299. *See also* darkness; disbelief/unbelief
inheritance, 257, 333, 448n132; heavenly, 72, 476; of the Jews, 298–99; of the Son of God, 382
injustice, 350, 380, 426, 445–46, 457; way of, 40
innocence, 61, 438; of Adam, 378n96, 441n100; of infancy/childhood, 171, 180, 202, 226; as queen, 174
Innocent III, Pope, 317n261
intellect, 86, 168, 173, 220n255; and the flesh's moisture, 184; as wing of the soul, 178, 221. *See also* understanding
intention, 94, 96, 118, 167, 230, 232, 397, 421, 465; of the angels, 352–54; and conscience, 125; bad, 219; of the elect, 396, 403–4; empty, 181; good, 39, 153, 177, 219–20, 329, 342, 397; holy, 153, 174; of John the apostle, 437; and the senses, 166; like the winds, 176–77, 219–20
Isaiah, 71, 96, 102, 121, 328
Isidore, St., of Seville, 10, 46n1, 75n87, 140n38, 264n2, 384n125
Israel, 126, 396, 404–6, 436n82, 452, 471n229; children of, 380; God of, 307. *See also* Jews; law(s)

Jacob, 135, 452
James, apostle: the brother of John, 437; the brother of the Lord, 436
Jeremiah, 104
Jerome, St., 252n388, 307n207
Jerusalem: heavenly, 173, 201, 205, 210, 280n48, 290, 308–9, 327, 337, 403, 436n82, 451, 482; New, 20, 210
Jesus Christ, 135n12, 174, 222n262, 253–58, 275n25, 299, 338, 368n51, 384, 401n35, 402n38, 438n89, 448n132, 455, 463n194, 468, 469, 470, 475; and Adam, 25; ascension of, 292, 381, 398; breast of, 4; as bridegroom, 210, 393; as Captain, 338; and the Church, 20,

291, 294, 327, 337; as cornerstone, 60; as the firmament, 299, 318, 323; footsteps of, 421; garments and vesture of, 448n132, 457–58; humanity of, 36, 239n315; and the Jews, 228; law of, 435; love for, 221, 326; as pillar of holiness, 115; power of, 257, 475–76; as Redeemer, 122; as rock, 102, 185, 316, 318, 359n8, 391n21; suffering (passion) of, 232, 182; as Solomon, 173; will of, 257; yoke of, 441. *See also* Cross; Incarnation; predestination; Son of God; Word of God
Jews, 228, 256, 287, 292, 298, 307–8, 405–6, 449–50, 452–53, 455. *See also* ages of history; Israel; law(s)
Job, 136
John: apostle, 437–38; Evangelist, 4, 243, 290, 308, 374n77; Revelator, 17, 210, 274, 308, 443, 468. *See also* Gospel of John
John the Baptist, 251–53, 291
Joseph, husband of Mary, 190n161
Joseph, son of Jacob, 135n11
joy(s), 125, 132, 177, 186, 187, 189, 205, 208, 235, 354, 452, 455, 473; of Adam, 378; of the angels, 129, 206, 356; of the earth, 305; of eternal life, 118; of fire's light, 55; of good work, 163, 182, 195, 230; heavenly/of heaven, 102, 128, 213, 257, 325, 326, 347, 402, 422; of the Incarnation, 333; lack of, 97, 166, 183, 199, 201, 212, 237, 442; of the saints, 308n212; shouts of, 109, 121, 309; of sin, 212; of the soul, 171, 181, 195, 199, 206, 226, 233, 311; of summer, 225, 235; weeping for, 187
judgment(s), 61, 162, 202, 260, 267, 273–77, 350, 377, 424, 448, 452, 453, 455; charity's right, 103; day of, 428, 452; of God, 82, 85 108, 112, 117, 118, 120, 133–34, 144, 155, 161, 163, 190, 193–94, 215, 223, 225, 272–77, 279, 280–81, 298, 350, 353, 355, 366–67, 368–69, 384, 391, 408, 415, 424, 440, 442, 443, 446–49, 450, 459–60, 462, 473, 475; of God (as black fire), 56, 57, 90, 101, 155, 163; of God (as lion's head, south wind), 63, 66, 69–70, 73, 75–77, 91–93, 100, 113, 120; fire of, 55, 80, 101, 192, 348, 353, 366–67; of heaven, 157, 420; of justice, 124, 441; moral, 13; seat, 239; time of, 398
Jupiter (second celestial body), 52n19, 83n107, 84–85; as spirit of understanding, 92
just, the, 104, 117–18, 120, 136, 455, 470; examples of, 57–58, 91, 134, 142, 168–69; house of, 117; mind(s) of, 117, 118; repentance of, 142; souls of, 142, 409; as the sun, 117–18; way of, 136; works of, 37, 58, 91n123
justice, Justice, 77, 117, 136, 141, 151–52, 250, 328, 340, 342, 346, 396, 403, 419–20, 424, 426, 431–43, 446–47, 451–54, 456, 461–62, 464, 468; apostolic adornment of, 431–39, 464; ardent/ardor of, 360, 390, 463; as Bride, 451; burning, 114, 352, 372; cloak of, 393; construction of, 424; dawn of, 19n34, 286; example of, 96; of faith, 68, 316; fire of, 114; fruit(s) of, 169, 309; of God, 68, 75, 194, 277, 320, 352, 369, 445n121, 454, 467; as a king, 440–41; life of, 380; light of, 320; as liver, 120–25, 127; as masculine quality, 341–42; martyrs for, 444; morning of, 339; net of, 373; oppressed, 125, 286n77, 428, 430–31, 440–43, 446–47, 463, 468; origin of, in the east, 279–80, 362; path of, 123; personified, 431–43, 446–47, 451, 461–62, 464; revelation of, 379;

justice, Justice (*cont.*)
rightness of, as the path of the sun, 59–60, 92–93; rising of, with the firmament, 113–14; singing of, 10, 374; strength of, in the east, 350; Sun of, 368; subtlety of, 58; thirst for, 104, 276; throne of, 433; transgression of, 271; treasury of, in the soul, 194; truth of, 280; viridity of, 453; way of, 403. *See also* righteousness
justification, 58
Jutta of Sponheim, 22

Kerby-Fulton, Kathryn, ix, 19, 36n18, 427n35, 430n54, 442n108, 446n121, 447nn125–26, 468n218
kidneys, 104n152, 110–12, 203n207; and desire, 123–25, 126, 128
Kienzle, Beverly, 12n19, 17, 244n337
kindness: of God, 59, 95n129, 114, 478; of Wisdom, 389
kingdom(s), 440, 450n141, 456n167, 461; of God, 259, 267, 298, 410, 475–76; of heaven, 45, 81, 193, 196, 257, 299, 307, 347, 398, 401, 465; of the world, 449
Klaes, Monika, 11n16, 46n1, 63n56, 83n107, 140n38
knee(s), 110, 124, 215–16, 220, 225; bent in prayer, 235, 429, 473; of Divine Love, 33, 40; in infancy, 235, 256; and intention, 219; and November, 235; and the ocean, 215; of the image of the time under the law, 357, 368; and winds, 217, 219–20
knowledge, 13, 220n255, 230, 232, 250, 253, 292, 297, 302, 320, 332, 335–36, 341, 351, 377–78; of the angels, 354, 408; of the apostles, 327; devil's, 401; like the eyes, 161; faculty of, 36; and hearing, 168; as heaven and earth, 294, 315; of hell, 282; Hildegard's, 477–78; human (merely), 41, 176, 207, 213, 374, 403, 407, 409, 412, 429, 478; of God, 63, 66, 77, 81, 139, 287, 298, 305, 306, 352; of good and evil, 62, 82, 120, 141, 173, 175, 177–80, 191–92, 194–96, 206, 221, 251, 259, 268, 294, 299, 315, 422; kiss of, 415, 422; of a lion, 64; of Love, 40, 54, 103; as power/wing of the soul, 120, 143, 178, 203, 214, 221; like prophecy, 378; of the prophets, 306; and rationality, 155, 173, 183, 216, 299; root of (God), 379; and sight, 377–78; of the soul, 156, 161, 176, 214, 241–42, 328; spirit of, 90n121, 94, 148; of unbelievers, 256; wing(s) of, 82, 178, 221; woman's, 190, 191. *See also* conscience; foreknowledge

Lactantius, 10, 140n38
lamb(s): with bear (NNE wind), 51, 52, 63n55, 79–80, 85, 92; as humors, 109; Justice as, 442; with lion (SSE wind), 50–51, 52, 63n55, 73–74, 84, 92; martyrs as, 276; as thoughts, 120; wolves and, 276, 442, 447. *See also* gentleness; patience
Lamb of God, 33, 41, 308–9, 330, 333, 409, 468; blood of, 105, 414, 444, 475, 476
land(s), 75, 102, 273, 369, 457; of Babylon, 43; dry, 304, 306–7, 310–11, 312n233; flooded, 146; of the living, 103, 196, 333, 363; of mutability, 363; of pleasure (Eden), 377; as pride, 324; Promised, 455; watered, 184, 207. *See also* Church; earth
lasciviousness, 213
Last Day, 165, 197, 239, 243, 255, 258, 267, 279, 315n252, 316, 327, 334, 366, 409, 410, 414, 453, 455, 476
law(s), 86, 144, 198, 207, 336–39, 428, 440, 447; Antichrist's per-

version of, 466–67; Christ's fulfillment of, 424–26; commandments of, 100; common, 328; failure of, 274; of the flesh, 276, 381, 400; of God/divine, 271, 278, 310, 317, 319–20, 462n192, 468; of iniquity, 458; of the married, 335, 337; as the moon, 372; of Moses, 368, 370, 372–73, 424–25; natural, 198; new, 433–35, 442, 451, 466–67; old, 309, 325, 351, 360, 367, 369, 381, 400, 433–35, 442, 451, 454, 466–67; precept(s) of, 276, 346, 384, 399, 411; people of the, 368–69; spiritual, 309; summary of, 314n248, 318n267; time before, 90, 160, 362–67, 378, 382; time under, 7, 90, 362, 367–72, 378, 382, 424–25; transgression of, 82, 144; of truth, 257; and virginity, 346, 435; written by God's finger, 372; yoke of, 335, 346
Lazarus, 169
leg(s), 110, 123; and intention, 219; and the ocean, 215, 217; and the winds, 178, 217
leopard: head of (east wind), 49–53, 63–65, 74, 79, 80, 84, 86, 91, 93, 94n128, 97, 100; head of, as the Antichrist, 437, 469; and humors, 109, 119; and human behavior, 364; St. Paul compared to, 433; visionary image of, 357, 362. *See also* fear of the Lord
Leviathan, 203, 402n35, 409
Liebeschütz, Hans, 10, 11n16, 46n1, 46n5, 49n13, 57n32, 88n118, 140n38, 185n144, 196n188, 197n191, 264n1, 348n1, 359n8, 360n11, 378n97, 428n36, 428n38, 450n141, 457n172, 460n188
life, 34–35, 61, 118, 120, 200, 211, 237, 249–51, 254, 260–61, 369, 392, 414, 470; active, as earth, 60, 301–2; of the angels, 325, 356; beginning of, 235; bodily, 326; book of, 403, 468, 473, 478; born again unto, 103, 122, 385, 410; bread of, 60, 102; clothing of, 262; common, 327; contemplative, as fish and birds, 327; contemplative, as heaven, 301–2; contrasted with death/punishment, 136, 242, 351, 468; different form/way of, 309, 381, 445, 454; Divine Love as, 34–35; end of, 176; eternal, 60, 68, 76, 81, 118, 128, 136, 159, 164, 213, 255, 258, 276, 324, 326, 400, 405–6, 412, 414, 419, 454; fallen, 60; fickle, 330; flavor of, 273; food of, 195, 291, 338; from God, 55, 140, 242, 247–50, 297, 420, 444; heart as, 251; of heaven, 271; holy way of, 220, 393, 441, 455; hope of, 412; human, 40, 111, 126, 180, 414; of justice, 380; immortal, 377; inner, 90; laborious, 206; narrow way of, 373; one denarius of, 276; pastures of, 338; present, 70, 182, 280; resurrection and, 474; returned to, 347, 359, 411; rationality of, 332; reward of, 279, 351; saintly, 435; salvation of, 441; secular, 328, 336; sound of the Word as, 247; source of, 388; as sparks from God/Love, 34, 137, 382; spiritual, 313, 325, 373, 381, 410, 449, 454, 457; taste for, 273; through the Son of God, 372; of true blessedness, 122; of the virtues, 325; word of, 61; works of, 345. *See also* ages of human life; breath/respiration; God; soul
light(s), 54, 61, 122, 248, 250–51, 253–54, 305–6, 386–87, 453; of the apostles, 293; of blessedness, 150; breathing sphere of, 316; of the bright fire, 55; celestial/heavenly, 61–62, 164; children of, 472n238; creation of, 288–89; contrasted with darkness, 40, 90, 102, 138, 157–58, 195, 218, 221,

light(s), contrasted with darkness, (*cont.*)
224, 243n335, 249, 284–85, 288, 299, 405, 407–8; of day, 33, 41, 54, 84, 102–3, 118, 149n58, 166, 187, 195, 216, 220, 236, 251, 289, 432; eternal/of eternity, 118, 363; of the eyes, 363, 377; of fire, 155, 406–7; of God's foreknowledge, 9, 14, 16, 38, 396; of good work, 295–96, 303; of holiness, 236; Living, 3–4, 16, 30, 482; material of, 287–88; of the moon, 413; of paradise, 283; path of, 102; of priests and teachers, 316–17; of prophecy, 360, 378, 405; purity of, 156; of rationality, 155, 158–59; soul hidden from, 208; of the sun, 34, 38, 86–88, 149n58, 158–59, 169, 219, 221, 254, 284n67, 288–89, 353, 361n17, 378; unfailing, 29; of uprightness, 127; works of, 296, 377. *See also* angels; faith; God; truth; salvation
lightning, 55, 75, 159; in simile, 56, 159, 194, 416, 421
lights in the firmament (Gn 1.14–15), 305–6, 314–15; greater, as ecclesiastical authority, 316–17; greater, as love of God, 318–21; lesser, as love of neighbor, 318–21; lesser, as secular authority, 317–18
lion, 193, 231, 381; compared to leopard, 64; feet of, on Justice's throne, 433; head of (south wind), 49–53, 63–64, 69, 72–74, 84–86, 91n123, 92–93, 97, 100; and humors, 109; paws of, in visionary image of God, 394, 399; in *Scivias,* 450; as thoughts, 120. *See also* judgment
lips, 143–44, 237
liver, 109–11, 151, 186–87, 191–92, 199, 201, 233; as justice, 120–25, 127
loins, 110–12, 201–3, 209–10; of the image of the ancient counsel, 394, 399–400; of the image of the time under the law, 357, 368–69; and the richness of the earth, 203; and sins, 202; source of lust, 122–23, 125–27, 216, 400
Lord, the, 42, 81–82, 104, 115, 121–22, 157, 198, 207, 209, 214, 239, 243, 262, 293, 305, 355, 366, 378, 406–7, 410, 425, 440, 458, 460, 477, 482; ascension of, 292; bud of, 452; day of, 464–65, 471n229; eyes of, 206; feet of, 191, 207; footstool of, 149, 458; goodness of, 307; hand of, 428; Incarnation of, 29, 327; Jesus Christ, 228, 475; name of, 404–5; right hand of, 78, 239; sayings of, 178; work of, 151; voice of, 292; wounds of, 208. *See also* fear of the Lord; God
love, 82, 104, 223, 238n314, 303, 318–21, 336, 435; bestial, 363; for chastity, 434; for/of Christ, 174, 221, 326, 362; Christ's, 402n35; for creation, 141, 240, 254; of discretion, 60, 156; Divine (*caritas*), 5, 7, 9, 16, 23, 32–37, 40–42, 54, 103, 241, 244n340, 279, 284n67, 386–93, 416–17, 421–22; for eternal life, 276; of faith, 204; for/of God, 37, 67–68, 78–79, 82, 94, 100–101, 104, 129, 165, 175, 178, 184, 192, 194, 195, 205, 216, 228, 257, 312, 318–21, 326, 328–29, 336, 340–41, 373, 374, 399, 404, 422, 443; God's, 234, 238, 246, 261, 373; of the good, 61; of good works, 190; for heaven, 273, 276–77; of the Holy Spirit, 482; of the Incarnation, 340; of justice, 136, 447n125; of money, 430; of neighbor, 37, 100–101, 318–21, 340, 399; of the old law, 433; as rationality, 34; of repentance, 161; shock of, 137; the Son of God's, 250, 292; of the soul, 180, 182, 262; of

virginity, 280; for the virtues, 81; for Wisdom, 414; Wisdom's, 396
Lucan, 33n2, 264n2
Lucca, Biblioteca Statale MS 1942, ix, xv, 10, 21, 24, 32f1.1, 47f1.2, 48n8, 49n10, 49n14, 50n16, 51n17, 52n24, 53n25, 99n139, 107f1.3, 131f1.4, 264n2, 265f2.1, 266n3, 267n5, 349f3.1, 357n2, 358f3.2, 387f3.3, 394n3, 395f3.4, 417f3.5
Lucifer, 4, 39, 72, 137, 157, 467, 469–71; as ancient seducer, 59, 465; battle of, against God, 138–39; beauty of, 137–38, 278, 283; fall of, 6, 7, 14–15, 42, 138–39; as prince, 282–83; rebellion of, 39, 138; throne of, 138, 283, 285–86, 474. *See also* angels; devil; Satan
Ludwig, Abbot of St. Eucharius, Trier, 220n256, 382n120, 479n264, 481–82
lung(s), 109–10, 112, 121, 123, 151–52, 162, 186–87, 192, 199, 201; disease of, 112, 127
lust, 77, 81, 123, 128, 216, 368, 373, 380, 400–401, 469; heat of, 179, 222; lustful deeds, 102; as sexual desire, 400; of violating duty, 428; wounds of, 401. *See also* desire(s)

macrocosm/microcosm, 5–6, 10–14, 54–129, 140–263, 360n11; key passages, 62–63, 140–42, 175, 225, 239–40, 244–49
madness (insanity), 89, 127–28; of the devil, 390. *See also* disease
Man (as humankind), 24–25, 146n46, 210, 225, 237–40, 244–45, 278, 290, 322, 334, 341–42, 377, 445, 465; creation of, 15, 42, 140, 172, 248, 260–61, 283, 297, 331–36, 340–41, 422, 470; creation of, from earth, 35, 139, 205, 254, 304, 316, 363, 445; dominion of over the animals, 331–33; dwelling of God, 379; enmity of, with God, 129; fallen, 285; as firmament, 141, 298; garment of (flesh), 283–85; as God's right hand, 239; as image and/or likeness of God, 4, 139, 146n46, 237–38, 244, 255–56, 261, 331–36, 340–41, 414, 433; as mirror of God's wonders, 146n46; rational, 249; as shadow of God, 4, 8, 146n46; as summation of God's power, 239; as work of God, 4, 7–10, 35, 139, 244–45, 253, 261, 298, 316; as worker of divinity, 4, 8, 15. *See also* Adam; human person
man/men (male), 24, 96–97, 123; clothed by woman, 190–91; creation of, 332–33, 361; homosexual acts of, 278; as quality of justice's strength, 341–42; sexual power of, 35, 217, 262; signifying the Son of God's divinity, 238; as soul, 333; strength of, 189–91, 336, 450; as sun, 190; as tree's root, 332; a virgin's rejection of, 393; of war, 232, 429, 443; as winter, 332; as woman's consolation, 238
manna, 60
Mansi, Cardinal Giovanni Domenico, 21, 198n192, 209n224
marriage, 310, 330, 435, 451; as oath of fidelity, 43
marrow (bone), 111, 125–26, 145, 170, 193, 235, 255; as cold, 165; heat of, 158, 161; Hildegard's, 477; immature, 159, 256; mature, 226–27, 256; soul in, 145, 236; like trees, 205
Mars (third celestial body), 52n19, 83n107, 85–86; as spirit of counsel, 92–93
Martha of Bethany, 301
Martin, St., 229n285
martyrs, 41, 182, 443–44, 471–72, 476; and two pounds of wheat (Rv 6.6), 276

Mary Magdalene, 191, 325; conflated with Mary of Bethany, 301
Mary, Virgin, 15, 17, 44, 163, 201, 253, 255, 261, 262, 280, 307, 322, 342, 346, 361, 377–79, 382, 398, 403, 409–11, 425–26, 434, 436, 452; as the dawn, 455; and Eve, 191n167, 385–87, 378–79, 409; genealogy of, 401n35; as sleeping earth, 44, 307n208; as Star of the Sea, 382, 392, 455; as tabernacle, 384; untouched, 331, 377–78; as untouched earth, 337, 361; viridity of, 337; and the Woman Clothed with the Sun, 285–87; womb of, 8, 19, 210, 261, 290n99, 291, 322, 331, 337, 346–47, 398, 411, 426, 430. *See also* predestination
Mathias, apostle, 432–33
Matthew, apostle, 431–32
Maurmann, Barbara, 46n1, 49n12, 63n56, 90n121, 106n161, 224n270, 264n1, 348n1
McGinn, Bernard, 4n4, 17, 18n31, 210n226, 243n337, 274n20, 287n82, 360n11, 428n38, 457n172, 463n195, 474n248
Meier-Staubach, Christel, ix, 7n7, 8–9, 16n26, 274n20, 275n26, 286n78, 348n1, 416n2, 418n5, 431n57, 436n82, 437n85
melancholic/melancholy, 128n49, 478n262
Mercury (fifth celestial body), 52n19, 83n109, 87; as spirit of knowledge, 94
mercy, 169, 341, 421, 482; as feminine quality, 342; of God, 56, 91, 114, 208, 214, 234, 341, 404, 425, 458, 473; lack of, 447; of the law, 367; oil of, 277, 342, 477; of the Son of God, 262; works of, 343n378
merit(s), 6, 43, 103, 117, 158, 230, 282, 326, 373, 412; of human deeds, 144, 146, 193, 444; of life, 264. *See also* reward(s)
Mews, Constant, 15, 20n36, 23n47, 285n74
Michael the Archangel, 224, 355, 459
microcosm. *See* macrocosm.
mind(s), 65, 67, 117–18, 126, 187, 228, 303, 327, 369, 374, 400, 439; cheerful, 311; as clouds, 58–59, 136, 328; devout/devotion of, 169, 174; discretion of, 301, 319; dwelling in the heart, 189; errant, 440; errors of, 86; fallibility of, 61; and hearing, 229; Hildegard's, 31; horrible, 371; instability of, 223; of the just, 117–18; lifted up, 37, 58, 135, 185, 225, 325, 372–73; peace of, 324; perfection of, 136; pompous, 375; presumption of, 181, 329; probed by God, 104; sleeping, 307; as storerooms, 68; strong, 92; thoughts of, 242; twisted, 311; like teeth, 170; of the Virgin Mary, 361; virtuous, 303; wandering, 301, 432; youthful, 227. *See also* faithful
mirror(s), 455; of the ancient counsel, 394–96, 402–4; clouds as, 135; conscience and, 13, 78, 177; of divinity, 146n46; of faith, 198, 217, 355, 403, 407; of the fear of God, 404; firmament as, 298, 406; of God's fatherhood, 16, 429, 444; of God's foreknowledge, 16, 38, 348, 351–52, 408; of God's wonders, 146n46; Scripture as, 9; and woman, 238. *See also* angels
mist, 162, 168; from black fire, 130, 133; of evil, 412; pestilential, from strong bright white air, 130, 134–35; purgatorial, 273; of temptations, 350, 354
moderation, 57–58, 144, 156, 164, 168, 260, 420; lack of, 93, 124, 134, 168, 412; moral/spiritual, 113n19, 144, 234; physical, 86, 93,

311; in the world, 83, 85, 89, 156. *See also* discretion
modesty, 123, 126, 141, 148, 155, 160; of the Virgin, 290
moisture, 57–59, 77; of the earth, 130, 133–34, 146–47, 153–54, 156, 165, 169, 174, 183–84, 268, 312–13, 366, 413, 428–29; of the eyes, 160, 162; frigid, 218; of grace, 183; of the human head, 170, 174; as human semen, 60, 338; of humility, 166; of mildness, 313; and the moon, 88; of the mouth, 167–68; and the sun, 155–56; of tears, 161, 174, 186, 192, 226, 295; of the vices, 68; of wisdom, 219. *See also* air; brain; body; flesh; remorse; viridity; water(s)
monasticism, 19–20, 155n73, 276–77, 278n41, 335, 373–74, 440; as fifth day of creation, 323–27. *See also* Rule of St. Benedict; virgins
monster(s), 33, 41, 363n29
months, 131f1.4, 203, 225–37, 382
moon, 34–35, 52n21, 53, 62, 87–89, 135, 138, 140, 166, 203, 223, 237, 288, 300, 353, 365–66, 405, 431; affected by the north wind, 218; as brow/forehead, 147, 160, 167; and clouds, 162, 187; as conscience, 125, 142, 251; creation of, 315–16; disturbed by sin, 366, 431; effect on humans, 88–89, 108, 111–12; as evil knowledge, 62, 203, 251; as flesh, 149, 151–52; as the law, 372; at night, 150; in relation to other celestial bodies, 83, 87, 147; in relation to sun, 86, 88, 149–50, 167, 190, 237, 254n398, 413; rising and setting of, 71; as secular authority, 317–18; signs in, 463; as sinful person, 96; as the Son of God's humanity, 298; and the stars, 160–61, 164, 167, 316, 413; thoughts compared to, 125, 127; waxing/waning, 87–89, 162, 167, 194, 197n188, 203, 237, 254n398, 334, 372. *See also* fear of the Lord; human person/humankind
morals/morality, 6, 11, 13–14, 18, 24–25, 294–96, 300–304, 310–14, 318–21, 327–30, 339–44, 346–47; diversity of, 29; filthy, 431, 460; good, 294; honest, 128, 446; human, 133, 362; inconsistency of, 175; insolence, 456; instability of, 226, 252; integrity of, 39; strict, 436; unsteady, 116; variance of, 278
Moses, 100n140, 248, 283, 308–9, 368, 370, 380, 402, 404, 406n46, 424–25, 435, 459
Moulinier, Laurence, 110n6
mountain(s), 204–5, 211–13, 273, 296, 365, 425, 430, 440, 456; of God, 348, 350–51, 353, 357–59, 416–18; moved by faith, 198; of pride, 214; of St. Paul's mind, 433
mouth(s), 143–44, 169, 202; of the Antichrist, 463, 466; of God, 178, 468; of idols, 371; of Jesus, 475; of Lucifer, 467; moisture of, 167–68; and rationality, 166–68, 246; of the serpent, 33, 41, 286; and speech, 140, 246; and taste, 164, 228–29, 231. *See also* hell; rationality
murder(er), 237, 272, 278, 319, 369, 404, 456–57; Cain as, 104; devil, as father of, 296
muscle(s), 48, 57, 110, 123–24, 185
music, 9–10, 247; of heaven, 9–10, 41, 224, 261, 326, 353; of the saints, 359, 373; singing, 9–10, 115, 247, 308

name(s), 163, 245, 257; of Adam, 405; of the beast, 308; Christian, 469; of daughter of Zion, 122; of John, 252; new, 60; of the Virgin, 382; of woman, 287. *See also* God; Son of God
navel, 109, 111–12, 180–82, 200–202; compared to the earth, 200;

navel (*cont.*)
of the image of the time under the law, 357, 367–69; source of desires, 122, 125–27, 216
neck, 143, 172–73, 176, 225; bonds of, 121; of Divine Love, 33, 37, 416, 421; of lasciviousness, 213; prideful, 205
Neoplatonism, 11, 14, 344n380
Newman, Barbara, ix, 3n1, 11n17, 15n23, 15n25, 16n26, 22n44, 25, 33n2, 35n13, 35n15, 166n102, 179n130, 190n163, 192n167, 238n307, 238n311, 238n315, 244n337, 271n15, 280n48, 285n74, 286n78, 378nn99–100, 386nn3–4, 388n7, 396n9, 409n60, 413n81, 427n35, 432n62, 477n259, 478n262, 479n264
Noah, 359, 367, 369–70, 379–80, 402–3, 424. *See also* ark
nobles/nobility, 96–97, 278, 430; as moon and stars, 317–18
north(ern), 49n12, 51n17, 64–65, 66n60, 69, 70n69, 74, 79, 99, 357, 362; at Adam's/Man's left, 175, 224; avoided by the sun, 84, 86, 106, 138, 149, 157, 221; blackness of, 276, 405; and the celestial bodies, 87, 90; cold, 175; darkness of, 59, 86, 90, 138, 218, 224, 281, 407–8; and evil, 357, 362, 370–71; part of the City of God, 394–97, 412; part of the cosmic wheel, 48, 52, 59, 85, 92; part of the earth, 264–70, 272–74; part of the firmament, 132; punishments and, 175, 177, 273–74; and sin, 404–5; wing of divine protection, 266, 280. *See also* devil; wind(s)
nose, 142, 160, 167–68, 228; and smell, 140, 164

obedience, 185, 207, 210, 269n12, 276n33, 425, 454n159; of Abraham, 44, 425; of the Virgin, 44; as the virtue of the sixth day, 339–40, 344
oblivion, 97, 224, 281–82, 356, 362, 385, 426, 458
Obrist, Barbara, 106n161
order/ordinance, 254, 463; and the ancient counsel, 16, 459; of the cosmos, 52–53, 83, 87, 89–90, 95, 140, 156, 429; dawn of, 359; and discretion, 126, 230; of Divine Love, 34, 103; divine plan of, 351, 373, 376, 419; of God's work, 8, 11, 280, 298, 375, 377; of right desire, 136; of the soul, 140, 152–53, 242, 320; of the sun, 315, 339; of thinking, 251; of the virtues, 79; wings of, 351; and wisdom, 152, 246, 389. *See also* angels; Church
ordinance: divine, 87–88, 351, 359, 374, 414, 419–20; of justice, 451, 454; of Wisdom, 414
Origen, 18, 310n224, 311n231, 322n284
Ovid, 384n125

pagans, 256, 287, 298, 306–8, 406, 455, 457, 459–60
pain, 82, 89, 112, 127, 378, 453, 456; of anxiety, 182; because of sin, 141, 145, 189, 200, 202, 214, 227, 412; of conscience, 14; of God's Son, 306, 410; of hell, 176; Hildegard's, 477, 482; of persecution, 310; of the soul, 194, 195, 198, 200, 202, 214, 227, 236; of teething, 171; thoughts of, 235; of Satan, 139
papacy (apostolic see), 29, 317n261, 461
paradise, 121, 221; of the Church, 278n41; as land of the living, 363; light of, 283–84; lost, 43, 122, 198, 260, 309, 400; regained, 290, 337, 383
Paschal III, antipope, 29, 447n125
patience, 152, 184, 207, 234, 306,

411; breastplate of, 233; as lamb's head, 76–77, 81, 92, 120
Paul, St., 19n33, 41, 61, 135n12, 433–37, 453, 464, 465, 475
peace, 450n141, 451–52, 456–57; destroyed, 224, 275; heavenly, 121; at the Incarnation, 129, 452; justice and, 426, 451; of mind, 324; personified, 386, 387f3.3, 390–92; prince of, 129
penance(s), 6, 65, 144, 150, 157, 163, 178, 186, 459
penitence, 145, 342; as pure ether, 56, 65, 79, 90, 101, 134, 142, 155, 160–61, 168; as the soul's illuminatrix, 164–65; like the sun, 152, 159–60. *See also* repentance
penitents, 41
Pentecost. *See* apostles
perdition, 41, 354, 408, 412, 437, 458, 465; of Adam, 290, 296; exile of, 195; night of, 296, 384–85; person snatched from, 79; son of, 367, 453, 455n165, 462–68, 470–75, 477; of the soul, 81
Peter, apostle, 432, 439
Philip, apostle, 229n285, 308, 438
piety, 148; fruit of, 313; spirit of, 90n131, 95
pig, 126; black pig in *Scivias*, 462. *See also* swine
planets. *See* celestial bodies
plants, 69, 130n2, 154, 252, 305, 453; as food, 333–34, 337, 343. *See also* vegetation
Plato: *Timaeus,* 46n1
pleasure(s), 67, 80, 151, 157, 171n110, 199, 219, 235, 256, 303, 324, 363, 374, 456; of copulation, 361; deceitful, 67; devil's, 401; evil, 172; of the flesh, 145–46, 153–54, 182, 185–86, 188–90, 209, 211, 222, 274, 295, 312, 322, 324, 329; of good things, 253; lustful, 67; as mill, 146; place of (Eden), 271, 365, 377; of sin, 177, 313
poverty, 276n33; of spirit, 81
power(s): of the angels, 352, 355; of Antichrist's scripture, 470; of beatitude, 101; to become children of God (Jn 1.12), 257–58; of binding and loosing, 447, 449; of celestial bodies, 83–85; of Christ, 475–76; of creation, 8, 103, 224–25, 242, 344; of desolation, 451; of death, 277, 339; of the devil, 452; of discretion, 60; of Divine Love, 37; of the earth, 211–12; of earth's fruitfulness, 195–97; ecclesiastical and secular, 317n261; of Enoch and Elijah, 437, 471; of food, 232; of God's name, 257–58; of the human body, 86, 212, 388; imperial, 460–61; of the lion, 231; of Lucifer, 350; of months, 230–32, 234, 236; of the moon, 87–88; natural, 389; to overcome God's enemies, 274; of rationality, 181, 203; of the rivers, 217; of the senses, 268; sexual/procreative, 23, 35, 110, 122–23, 203, 217, 332; spiritual, 6, 11, 41on66; of steel, 215n243; of the Son of God, 239, 245, 475; of the sun, 86, 149, 196n188, 219, 339; of the stars, 97–98; of virginity, 281; of water, 100n140; of the winds, 63, 69, 72, 75, 79, 176; of Wisdom, 289; of the Word, 305. *See also* human person/humankind; Jesus Christ; God; soul; virtue(s)
praise(s), 246, 261, 344, 352–54, 375, 409, 428; belt of, 376; of the earth, 118; of God, 40, 137–38, 228, 289, 353, 413, 445, 479; of God, by angels, 9, 14–15, 37–39, 105, 137, 204, 208, 210, 214, 243–44, 246, 260, 317, 326, 333, 344, 352–56, 391, 399, 402, 414–15, 433, 445, 477; of God, by humans, 10, 15, 115, 144, 169, 185, 192, 194, 219, 238, 280, 309, 317, 355, 364, 374–75, 392, 398–99, 404,

praise, by humans (*cont.*) 423, 427, 437, 460, 474–75, 477; of humans, 39, 193, 223, 227–28, 231, 445, 477; of humans, by angels, 143, 174, 210, 214, 243, 326–27, 445; prideful, 199; of the virtues, 373; works worthy of, 231
prayer(s), 136n14, 155n73, 169, 191, 214n239, 216, 287n82, 323, 335, 428, 449n135
predestination, 350, 383, 443; of Christ/the Son/the Word, 5, 7, 14, 15–16, 17–18, 139, 285n74, 291, 306, 308, 332, 376, 383, 398, 409, 424–25, 459; city of, 348–50; of creation, 247, 259, 344, 350, 389–90, 418–20, 422, 425; of humans, 259, 334, 375–76, 415, 459; of the Virgin, 15–16, 398, 409. *See also* foreknowledge of God
presumption, 96, 124, 181, 185, 200–201, 241, 329; of the Antichrist, 475; of the fallen angels, 139, 244, 401
pride, 72, 96, 97, 126, 199–202, 205, 211–12, 214, 227, 241, 324, 329, 340, 393, 444; devil's, 390, 392; heat of, 166; overcome by humility, 15, 201, 234, 374–75; refusal to confess God, 138
procreation, 110, 123, 325–26, 466–67, 469; of all creation, 424; as coagulation, 154, 179, 258; of John the Baptist, 252; spiritual, 325
prophecy, 16, 293, 306, 360–62, 370, 403, 424, 426, 452, 453–54, 461–62; Adam's knowledge as, 378; of clerical disendowment, 447–50; of coming judgment, 446–47, 456–58, 462; of the fall of empire and papacy, 460–61; of the Incarnation, 291, 346, 361–62, 369, 399; of renewal, 451–55, 459–60, 461–62; like the words of infants, 384; shadow of, 291, 334, 345, 362, 370, 388, 405
prophet(s), 291–93, 306–7, 345, 361–62, 369–70, 375, 381–82, 384, 388–89, 399, 405, 424, 455–56, 468, 476; David the psalmist as, 297, 307, 411; days of, 446; as heavens, 408; Hildegard as, 3, 9, 19–20, 22; as stars, 357, 360; twelve, 433; as wings of the Holy Spirit's words, 383. *See also entries for individual Old Testament prophets*
prosperity, 63, 65–67, 70, 71, 72, 76, 80, 92, 95, 101, 109, 119, 121, 167, 203, 208, 279–80, 460; of the Church, 393
protection: of the Church, 310n221; divine, 37, 39, 145, 279–81, 286, 351, 400, 459; for the earth's fruitfulness, 197; for the eyes, 88, 245; for God's Son, 458; of patience, 152; for the stars, by the moon, 167; for the veins, by the muscles, 110, 123; for valleys, by hills, 204–5; of the virtues, 96, 300; wings of, 266, 279–81; for the world, 103. *See also* defense
providence: of God, 420; as serpent's breath, 76–77, 81. *See also* foreknowledge of God
prudence, 152, 446; as serpent's head, 76–77, 81, 85, 92–93, 120
Pseudo-Dionysius, 14, 38n25, 244n341, 266n4, 356n31–32, 399n20, 399n23
Pseudo-Methodius, 457n172
puberty, 171
punishment(s), 6, 55–56, 61, 177, 276, 374, 431, 450; darkness of, 348, 350, 384; of the devil, 255, 408; for evil, 164; fear of, as gemstones in Justice's torque, 436; of hell, 97, 160, 173, 195, 234, 273, 282, 412, 452; of hell (as wolf's head, west wind), 63, 70–71, 76, 78, 81, 91n123, 93, 95, 100, 113, 120; by the law, 367; places of, 204, 280, 385, 412; for pride, 340; pur-

gatorial, 6, 266–67, 271–74, 277; vs. reward, 162, 164, 192–94, 204, 230, 242, 350–51, 444; for sin, 17, 57, 175, 192, 202, 211
purity, 187, 426, 462; of the celestial bodies, 83; of the ether, 133, 155, 160, 168; of faith, 397, 422, 462, 473; of God, 389; of the mirror of God's foreknowledge, 351; of the soul, 155; of true light, 156, 251n385

rage, 223, 236–37; of the devil, 286, 408. *See also* anger; wrath
rain(s), 75, 118, 146, 149, 151, 156, 164, 174, 230, 365n36, 478; from clouds, 58, 71, 135, 172–73, 454; downpours of, 72–73, 113n19, 159, 229; of faith, 67; of grace, 259; as hair, 173–74; as honey, 134; of inspiration, 4; as the Son of God, 411; and the soul, 146; in the water cycle, 162
Rainald of Dassel, Archbishop of Cologne, 446–47n125
rainbow, 274–75
rapists, 272. *See also* Church; Eve
rationality/reason, 8–10, 13, 35, 136, 172, 181, 216, 219, 238, 245–47, 250, 285, 388, 422–23; of the angels, 14–15, 39, 354; beauty of, lost, 363–64; breath of, 228, 244; brilliance of, as stars, 101; circling, as the top of the head, 140; discerning, 192, 203, 242, 314, 319, 332; divine, 201, 244–45, 249; as divine image, 335, 341; as divine likeness, 8–10, 13, 15, 245–47, 332–33, 341, 370; Divine Love as, 34; eyes of, 173; like the eyes' pupils, 161; fiery, 157; as flame/spark from the soul's fire, 159, 422; flying, 322; as the firmament, 146; gaze of, 229; in the heart, 139, 187; heat of, 154; as heaven, 319; and the knowledge of good and evil, 173, 192, 251, 299, 422; light of, 155, 158–59; marrow of the five senses, 228; and the mouth, 166–68; as root of life, 35; and the soul, 13–14, 146, 152, 154–55, 157–59, 161, 164, 172, 175, 178n126, 183, 192, 196, 198, 220n255, 242, 323, 412, 422; and sound/speech, 9–10, 35, 139, 166, 238, 246–47, 352, 354, 364, 374, 388, 414; in the veins, 110, 122; warming the body, 198; of the wicked spirits, 278–79; wings of, 14, 229, 364. *See also* Word of God
Rauh, H. D. (Horst Dieter), 19n35, 20, 345n388, 398n18, 427n35, 428n36, 428n38, 430n54, 442n108, 446n121, 446n125, 450n141, 457n172, 460n188, 466n203, 470n226, 471n230, 474n248
rebellion, 239, 421, 431, 472; of the devil/Lucifer, 14–15, 39, 86, 138, 281
redemption, 18, 20, 262, 288n84, 386n4; of humankind, 25, 36, 67, 331, 338, 359, 377, 393, 402, 424–25, 411, 473; of the individual, 121–22, 277, 286, 370, 398, 476
regeneration, 60; of Spirit and water, 291, 442; of waters, 322
relationship of body and soul, 12–14, 34–35, 63, 104, 114, 132, 140–57, 159–65, 170–72, 174–91, 193–200, 202–4, 206–9, 212–22, 226–27, 230, 235–37, 240–43, 248, 254, 261–62, 269–70, 302, 311, 314, 331, 339, 364, 366, 422, 434, 445; as bird flying in the air, 184; as bread and oven, 180; as creation and Wisdom, 413; as earth and atmosphere, 204; as earth and the deep, 288, 295; as earth and firmament, 132, 178, 206, 251; as earth and heaven, 294, 332, 390; as earth and water, 328–29; as honeycomb and bee, 157;

relationship of body and soul, (*cont.*) as honey and honeycomb, 204; as house and headmistress, 241; as humankind and prophecy, 360; as husband and wife, 180; as maidservant and lady, 186; as stars and moon, 161; as water cycle, 154; as winds, 34; as woman and man, 333
remorse: and moisture/water, 165, 169, 183, 187, 232, 234, 295–96, 311–12; as first virtue of light, 296
repentance, 4, 14, 78, 97, 121, 154, 162, 164, 170, 191, 204–5, 212–13, 224, 227, 232–33, 266n3, 272, 273, 295, 315, 393, 404, 410, 441, 473, 474; as the arm and hand, 181; banquet of, 214; bitter, 204, 207, 208, 215, 231; lack of, for wicked spirits, 142, 145; sighs of, 201; and the stomach, 200; tears of, 191, 194; true, 208, 216, 232, 234; viridity of, 162–63; wine of, 277, 342. *See also* penitence
resurrection, 468, 474. *See also* body; Son of God
retribution, 132, 134. *See also* vengeance
Revelation of St. John, 17. *See also* Apocalypse
reward(s), 43, 102, 104, 125, 158, 164, 325, 326, 328, 373, 377, 419, 482; of blessedness, 113, 197, 200; eternal, 68, 113, 146, 162, 228, 268, 391, 404, 455; of glory, 144, 194; final, 136; heavenly, 60, 67, 132, 228, 277n34, 373; Hildegard's, 482; of life, 279, 351; lost, 97, 200–201. *See also* merit(s)
Richardis of Stade, 30n12, 136n16
riches, 276, 324, 455; of faith, 65. *See also* wealth
righteousness/(up)rightness, 68, 71, 75–76, 94, 132, 270, 287, 330, 338, 373, 398, 421, 432, 437, 444, 446, 453, 454, 457, 461; of Abraham, 43; of the angelic spirits, 252; and the ark, 372; breath(ing) of, 91, 113–14; course of, 151; of discipline, 461; of earth, 269; of God, 56, 450n141; of heaven, 77; of Justice, 461, 463; of justice, as the sun's path, 59, 92–93; light of, 127; path(s) of, 70, 82, 95, 124, 127, 136, 360; of the Son of God, 290–91, 380, 400; of the stars, 98; sun of, 266n4; taste of, 273; transgressors of, 447; truth of, 403; and the virtues, 66; way of, 256; works of, 94
Roman Empire, Holy, 29, 460–61
Rule of St. Benedict, 10, 481; references to in notes, 72, 78, 96, 100, 113, 117, 155–58, 175, 181, 187, 205, 276, 295, 299–301, 303, 311–12, 328–29, 338–41, 352, 434
rumination, 119, 188, 271
Rupert of Deutz, 275n26, 285n74, 331n321, 401n34
Rupertsberg, 3, 30n11, 154n69, 229n285, 241n326, 438n93

sacrifice(s), 366, 425, 435; by Abel, 363; of animals, 372–73, 449; blood of, 425; living, 380, 403, 450; self, 341, 372, 403; as signs, 370, 400; of the Son of God, 372, 380; spiritual, 373, 450
Sadducees, 468
sadness/sorrow, 112, 127–28, 162–63, 181, 211, 230, 235, 447, 474; of Christ's disciples, 380; as consequence of sin, 82; as drowning, 78; in the hearing, 109, 121, 229; Hildegard's, 481; of old age, 235; of repentance, 295; of the soul, 164, 181, 183, 189, 199–201, 206, 208, 227, 226, 233, 236. *See also* depression; despair
salvation, 57, 61, 92, 124, 178, 207–8, 216, 234, 303, 331, 338, 389, 398, 437, 441, 475–76; beginning/first day of, 290, 294; bulwark of, 403;

city of, 386n1; day(light) of, 296, 316; directed by the senses, 268; history, 5–7, 12, 16–17, 19–20, 25, 90n121, 100n140, 191n167, 357–58, 274n20, 285n74, 287n82, 379n102; hope for, 183, 204, 208, 232–33; joyous, 164; light of, 295–96, 316, 353; nourishments of, 386; of soul(s), 75, 81, 91, 132, 134, 162, 232–33, 268, 286, 345–46, 369, 382, 420, 476; surety of, 162; tree of, 291; and the virtues, 77, 117; work(s) of, 195, 294
Samson, 102n146
sanctity, 269n12; earth deprived of, 104; edifice of, 367; of the soul, 171. *See also* holiness
sandals: as mortification of the flesh, 128–29
Satan, 42, 60, 97, 249n374, 354, 390, 401n34, 404, 468; battle of, against God, 139; defeat of, 239; as seducer, 42; temptations of, 161; will of, 404. *See also* devil; Lucifer
Saturn (first celestial body), 52n19, 83n107, 84; as spirit of wisdom, 91, 148
Schipperges, Heinrich, 7n7, 8n8, 11n16, 46n1, 48n9, 199n196, 225n277, 428n36
schism, 19, 29, 440, 468
Schrader, Marianna, 21
Scripture(s), 5, 9, 17, 19–20, 22, 155n73, 184, 188n152, 235, 298n159, 327, 407, 441, 470, 477; of the Antichrist, 469–70
seal: of angels, 356; of God, 137; of the human person, 132, 245, 444; of the Incarnation, 6
self-denial, 324–28
Seneca, 46n1
sensation, 143, 146, 172, 175, 184; of the irrational animal, 341
senses, 4, 36, 89, 148, 166, 199, 214, 225n277, 236, 240, 246, 266n4, 273, 297, 323, 332–33, 370–71, 449; of animals, 388; and the five parts of the earth, 268–73; as God's insignia, 240; as ladder, 140; and the months, 228–33; as suit of armor, 225. *See also entries for individual senses*
sensibility, 36n15, 157, 184, 220n255, 259; of the body, 86, 146, 175, 240; and the brain, 89, 148; of the head, 146; heat of, 192–93; monstrous, 272; as wing of the soul, 178, 221
serpent(s), 33, 41, 269, 446, 458; with bear (NNW wind), 51, 52, 63n55, 79–80, 85, 93; as humors, 109; with lion (SSW wind), 50–51, 52, 63n55, 73, 74n82, 85, 92; as thoughts, 120. *See also* devil; providence; prudence
sexual desire. *See* lust
sexual intercourse, 72, 278, 401, 466–67. *See also* procreation
sexual organs, 110, 123, 203
shadow(s) (*umbra*), 9, 16, 308, 388, 406, 408; of clouds, 48, 58, 135; conscience in, 142; of death, 37, 146, 453; and Divine Love, 388–90; and eyesight, 246; of faith, 213, 257, 308; of falsehood, 399; and God's foreknowledge, 38; of God's wings, 145; old law as, 454; and sin, 96, 122, 213; and wickedness, 318; and Wisdom, 389. *See also* prophecy
sheep: the faithful as, 380, 430, 457, 473; lost, 191; Virgin Mary as, 411; shepherd(s), 452; churchmen as, 317; good, 430n52
Shepherd of Hermas (*Pastor Hermae*), 359n8
shoulder(s)/shoulder-blade, 40, 144, 225, 230; of the ancient counsel, 394, 399; of Divine Love, 33, 40; and June, 229–30; and presumption of mind, 181; of the Son of God, 383; and the winds, 176, 179–81, 217, 220

Sigewize, 125n45, 154n69, 244n340
sigh(s)/sighing, 150, 176, 183, 186, 189, 194, 198, 319, 365, 375; of felicity, 155; for God, 259, 270, 295, 312, 318–19, 339, 371; of good thoughts, 124; of the heart, 43–44, 154; for heaven, 147, 156, 161, 166, 237, 268, 294, 301; Hildegard's, 482; of humility, 181, 212, 311; of penitence/repentance, 161–63, 165, 168, 178, 201, 208, 232, 234; and prayer, 300; spiritual, 103; like wind, 176, 220, 222. *See also* soul
sight/vision (sense), 86, 146, 166, 175, 225, 228–29, 246, 253, 268, 320, 332, 377, 405; of Adam, 198; of consideration, 161; of faith, 307; inner/spiritual, 31, 95, 198, 268–69, 271, 323, 345, 377
sign(s): of the angels, 354; of the Antichrist, 463, 470–72; of the arm, 218, 223; of calamity, 223; of circumcision, 368, 370; of the cosmos/firmament, 46, 48n9, 52–54, 65, 84–89, 91–95, 99–100, 101, 103, 248, 296, 298, 315, 407, 453, 459–60; of the day of judgment, 428; of Enoch and Elijah, 471–72; of God, 137, 240, 345, 382, 396, 403, 408–9, 433; the heavenly lights as, 314, 316, 318; of Jesus Christ, 380; of the law, 370; moral, 319; prophetic, 361, 370, 403, 425; the rainbow as, 275, 367; of sacrifice, 370, 400; of the saints, 309, 426, 433, 436; teaching, 317; and Thomas the apostle, 432; of the zodiac, 382
Simon, apostle, 436
Simon Magus, 474n248
sin(s), 14–15, 61, 65–66, 71–72, 120, 122, 126, 134, 141–42, 144, 150–52, 162–66, 169–73, 179–82, 189, 192–96, 199–209, 211–16, 219, 222, 224, 226–27, 234–37, 249, 252, 266n3, 271, 311n231, 312–13, 319, 340, 364–65, 370–71, 380, 397–98, 402, 443–44, 454–55, 456n167, 459, 473–74, 476; abandoned/cast aside, 93, 122, 204–5, 298, 302n178; abstinence from, 434; of Adam, 405; afflictions of, 153, 200; against the Holy Spirit, 479; appetite for, 147, 172, 182, 193, 200, 205, 226, 322, 324, 326, 400, 405; banquet of, 226; blackness of, 177; blaming God for, 71; burden of, 162, 178; chaos of, 193; cleansing from, 120, 161, 232, 385; of the clergy, 441, 447; compared to moon, 96; conceived/born in, 179, 181, 258, 262–63, 322, 425, 428; confession of, 82, 162, 347, 473; confusion of, 185; contagion of, 294, 320; darkness of, 234, 236, 251n385, 426; defilement of, 78, 214; delight in, 102, 104, 125, 141–42, 144, 152, 163, 200, 222, 315; dens of, 126; depths of, 234, 391; disgust at, 165; downslope of, 412; examination/judgment of, 101, 157, 163, 215; fear of, 93; fatness of, 128; filth of, 126; as fire, 165, 384, 466; grave/mightier, 65, 189, 209, 272; habit of, 125, 154, 169–70, 177, 192, 211, 252, 296; hard as stone, 362–63; harshness of, 206; labors of, 294; man of, 455n165, 464–65, 467; mercy upon, 114; like the moon, 96; nakedness of, 129, 380; night of, 150, 404; original, 166, 178, 213, 384; pain of, 145; punishment of, 56, 94, 272–74, 436; rashness of, 157; remission of, 65, 70, 161, 384; restraint from, 276; rot/putrefaction of, 125–26, 128, 169, 186, 214, 234, 441; scales of, 322; separation from, 103; sexual, 278, 363–64, 369, 409, 466; shipwreck of, 185; slave

of, 295; sorrow for, 200, 211, 233; squalor of, 315; stench/stink of, 126, 128, 177, 208, 219, 226, 273, 455; stop sinning, 71, 100; taste for, 44, 171, 191, 193, 315, 400, 410; venial/lesser, 209, 272; vicissitude of, 175; weight/pressure of, 65, 150, 162, 213, 215, 363, 375, 378n97; work(s) of, 170–71, 231; and worm(s), 222, 236, 273, 441; wounds of, 186, 191, 208, 214, 231, 342, 441. *See also* darkness; evil(s); lust
sinner(s), 40, 41, 82, 120, 157, 402, 404, 442, 444, 465; conviction of, 133; justified, 125; penitence of, 56; vengeance upon, 56; washed clean, 288
sloth. *See* idleness
smell, 86, 140, 164, 166, 225, 246, 268; spiritual, 164, 269
snow, 134, 184; as water turned white, 226
Son of God, 10n13, 35–36, 40–41, 67, 120, 155, 239, 250, 252, 258, 262, 302–3, 308, 316, 324–27, 330, 389, 402, 404–5, 425–28, 455–56, 470–74, 476–77; arrest of, 359; birth of, 290–91, 293, 325, 337, 342, 391, 426; blood of, 67, 129, 210, 216, 234, 286, 291, 299, 372, 393, 425, 473, 476; body of, 391, 429, 444, 459, 473; chastity of, 380; and the Church, 291, 393, 458; compared to Eve, 378–79; as cornerstone, 391; death of, 372, 380, 398, 421; divinity of, 238, 248, 253, 255, 262, 284, 291, 298, 306, 308, 351, 378–79, 381, 392, 405, 409, 411; as evening, 294; equality of to the Father, 306, 338, 410–11; examples of, 202; in the Father's heart, 139, 247, 291, 336, 347, 360, 381, 408; figures of, 44, 425; as food of life, 291, 337–38; footsteps of, 41, 67; fulfilling the law and its signs, 368, 372, 378–82; good news of, 385; as heaven, 317, 408; as Holy of Holies, 370; humanity of, 36–37, 40–41, 37, 67, 129, 163, 201, 238, 252, 256, 258, 262, 281, 283, 284, 287, 291, 298, 308–9, 325, 336, 338, 341–42, 346, 351, 368, 379–80, 382, 392–93, 401–2, 405, 408–11, 426–27, 433, 445, 470; as image of God, 336; incarnate/in the flesh, 16, 18, 36, 40–41, 43–44, 239, 255, 280, 324, 346, 369, 377–79, 384, 396, 425, 454; judging, 399; and Justice, 426, 431, 439; King, 362, 429–30; limbs of, 429, 444, 458–59, 472–73; living sacrifice of, 380; Love of, 292; as man of war, 429, 443; and the martyrs, 443–44; miracles of, 391; name of, 257, 434, 443; obedient to the Father, 347, 421, 426; Only-Begotten, 262, 382, 404, 426–27; plea of, to the Father, 429, 443–45, 458–59, 472–73; Priest, 476; prince of peace, 129; redeeming, 36, 67, 377, 393, 402, 424–25; resurrection of, 380, 391; as revelation of justice, 379; robe of, 441; as root, 379, 384; Savior, 312, 324–25, 475; as Sea, 382; second coming of, 20, 464; as seventh day/work, 6, 8, 345–47, 398; sinless/without sin, 41, 61, 155, 253, 261–62, 332, 377, 379, 392, 402, 410, 435–36; Son of Man, 224, 250; suffering of, 232, 255, 275, 281, 287, 306, 337, 370, 380, 393, 398, 402, 410, 429, 436–37, 444, 453, 473; as Sun, 40–41, 298, 368, 372, 378, 426; teaching of, 292, 425–27; throne of, 173, 410, 427; as tree of salvation, 291, 384; as (true) Light, 271, 299, 308, 443; virgin birth/nature of, 8, 19, 43, 122, 201, 210, 224, 253, 255, 280–81, 290, 307, 322,

Son of God, virgin birth/nature of (*cont.*)
325, 337–38, 346–47, 361–62, 377, 396, 398, 400, 403, 409–11, 425–26, 434, 436 452; Warrior, 46; washing away sin, 401; wings of, 351, 400; on the wings of the winds, 378, 382–83, 410; work(s) of, 41, 338, 408; wounds of, 208, 429, 472–73. *See also* Incarnation; Jesus Christ; predestination; Word of God; world
Song of Songs, 67, 128
soul, 13–14, 40, 60, 62–63, 81, 90, 121, 140–65, 167–223, 226–37, 240–43, 247–48, 254–55, 285, 375; acting spirit, 208; activity/operation of, 140–41, 143, 145, 148, 445; adornment of, 191, 373, 434; adversity of, 93; as air/atmosphere, 141, 161, 182–86, 188–89, 192–93, 197, 201, 203–4, 207, 219, 242; like an angel, 204, 323, 332, 392; of the Antichrist, 470; appetite of, 236; as artisan with creation, 13, 161; ascending/rising, 14, 145–46, 150, 152, 157, 184, 195, 205, 219, 233–34; baking the bones, 165; balance/roundedness of, 141–43; battle with body/flesh, 104, 141–42, 144, 152–53, 157, 187, 204, 215, 220, 222, 233; as bellows, 196, 215; blindness of, 95, 144; breath/respiration of, 34, 141, 143, 146, 152–53, 159, 161, 168–69, 177, 188, 201–2, 219, 221, 227, 240–43, 262, 323, 351, 364–65, 371, 418, 426; as breath from God, 155, 170, 175, 176, 182, 191, 194, 208, 213, 222, 231, 235, 388; as Bride, 67–68, 210; bringing the body to life, 144, 146, 170, 174, 198, 200, 240, 248, 259; bruised by sin, 202–3; bowels of, 206; circumcised in baptism, 410; clothed with tears, 191; (con)descending to the body, 14, 151–53, 157, 163, 176, 195, 182, 219, 329; compared to Word of God, 146, 248; comprehension of, 142–43; conscience of, 151, 153, 155, 164; departure/death of, 236, 319; as the deep, 288, 295; depressed, 127; as the dew, 219; discernment of, 8, 140, 161, 168, 173, 178, 186, 188, 192, 242, 323; divine, 217; ears of, 30; embodiment of in infancy, 170–71, 174; embellished with good works, 197, 203; entrails of, 124; and evil, 152, 158–59, 161, 163, 175–79, 181, 183, 187, 191, 195, 206, 214, 219; eyes of, 199, 221; fed by the Holy Spirit's teaching, 313; food for, 182, 337–38, 343; fiery/as fire, 13, 143, 153, 155, 159, 161, 165, 169, 171, 172, 177, 186, 180, 191–92, 199, 203, 240–42, 254, 366, 422; filled with all creation, 194; flying, 141, 175, 178, 184–85, 221; as fruitful energy, 197; as head, 140–41; as head of a family, 195; health of, 99n138, 113, 123, 268; heat of, 152, 186–87, 240–42, 254, 366; like heaven, 203, 206, 237, 294, 332, 390; humility of, 200, 205, 207, 211, 213–14; Hildegard's, 30, 477–78, 481; immortality of, 152, 209, 334, 412, 414; intelligence/intellect of, 142, 221; invisible, 170, 176, 197, 208, 241, 323, 329, 332, 381; as iron-hard earth, 211; knowledge of, 143, 156, 221; lament of, 146; languishing, 126; as life, 143, 170, 176, 183, 201, 209, 221, 227; living, 322, 330; as living breath, 13, 140, 152, 198, 206, 208, 388, 422; lordship of, 150; as lady of the body, 186; of the martyr, 444; mediatrix of a person's works, 200; as mill, 172; as mirror, 177; modesty of, 141; moisture of, 147, 169,

184; as moon, 152; motion/movement of, 142, 148, 231; nature of, 12, 170–72, 175, 191, 193–94, 198–99, 201, 204–5, 207–8, 211, 214–16, 226–27, 236, 242, 262, 269; patience of, 233; and penitence/repentance, 160–61, 164, 170, 191, 205, 207, 212; perdition of, 81; as pillars of a house, 201; as plow, 209; powers of, 63, 67, 109, 120, 132, 142–45, 149–52, 154, 156, 159–62, 164–65, 174–76, 178, 180, 182, 189–91, 197, 199, 201–3, 206–7, 209–12, 214, 219–20, 227, 235–36, 241–42, 329, 388, 418; as prince's daughter, 129; and prophecy, 360, 378n97; prudent, 76, 152–53; rational, 147–48, 152, 154–55, 164, 170, 177, 180, 182, 192, 216, 221, 229, 242, 247–48, 262, 315, 477; refreshment of, 271; remembering its Creator, 354–55; and the resurrection body, 243, 314, 331; like the roundedness of the earth, 214–15; rumination of, 188; rushing course of, 231; as scribe, 188; seeing God, 320; sensation/sensibility of, 143, 221; and the senses, 148, 164, 323; sighs/sighing of, 141, 162, 164, 169, 171, 173–74, 177–78, 188, 198, 202, 214, 219, 230–32, 236, 270, 294, 302–3, 309, 328–29, 336; as spark, 182–83, 194, 254; and speech, 176, 221, 242; strength of, 201, 203; like a storm, 212; suffering/affliction of, 127, 142, 161, 194, 200, 211, 214, 329, 336; suicide of, 275; as the summer, 186, 195; like the sun, 149, 151–52, 155, 159, 177, 187, 205, 219; thirsting for justice, 104; and thought(s), 119, 151, 153, 172–73, 176, 185–86, 188; treasury of justice, 194; tribulation(s) of, 67; as viridity/moisture, 146–47, 189; virtue(s) of, 150, 185, 330, 339; as warrioress, 232; as water, 35, 146, 207, 209, 242, 321, 328; will of, 152, 160, 174, 182, 189, 221, 236, 445; as wind, 178–79, 192–93, 209, 212, 218–19, 236, 240, 242, 328, 351; wings of, 177–78, 209, 221; winter of, 195; words of, 145–46, 199, 207–8, 211–12, 214–15; as worm, 202; work(s) of, 143, 159, 161–62, 180, 197–98, 209. *See also* desire(s); discretion; rationality; relationship of body and soul; salvation; viridity

south(ern), 49n12, 49n14–50n15, 51n17, 66n59, 91n123; at Adam's/Man's right, 175, 224; cloud of angels in, 348–50, 352; heat, 175, 269; part of the City of God, 359, 372, 386, 390; part of the cosmic wheel, 64–65, 69, 73–74, 99; part of the earth, 264–70, 272, 274, 281; part of the firmament, 90, 132, 138; and the path of the sun, 52, 59n37, 83, 88–90, 149, 220; sky, 33, 36, 46; wing of divine protection, 266, 280. *See also* wind(s)

Speculum Virginum (*Mirror for Virgins*), 409n60

speech: faculty of, 140, 176, 221, 237, 242. *See also* rationality

spirit(s), 189, 197, 208, 214, 222, 252, 258, 266n3, 282–83, 414, 431, 462, 464, 466; angelic/blessed/celestial, 37, 208 281, 283, 308, 323, 332, 352–53, 355, 399, 414; of animals, 396; of God, 169, 176, 178, 191, 243, 288, 291, 292, 295, 352–53, 355, 360, 388, 423, 478; fallen, 308, 355; human, 10n13, 11, 40, 108, 113–16, 119, 132–33, 162, 172, 240, 251, 292, 356, 377, 414, 456; life of, 250; of life, 473; living, 115, 249,

spirit(s), living (*cont.*)
321–22, 323, 327, 333, 337, 343, 423; inner, 94, 95, 113–14, 117; opposed to the flesh, 43, 101, 114, 258, 278n41, 290, 326, 367, 369, 384; and soul, 200, 204, 208, 414; unclean, 154n69, 371; and water (Jn 3.5), 122, 291, 322, 442; wicked/wretched, 97, 142, 145, 221, 278–79, 354, 402. *See also* breath; Holy Spirit
spleen, 110, 123
stag: earth as, 213; as humors, 109, 119; with leopard (ENE wind), 49–50, 52, 63n55, 64, 65n58, 84, 91; as thoughts, 119–20; with wolf (WNW wind), 50, 53, 63n55, 69, 87, 95. *See also* consolation; faith; holiness
star(s), 34–35, 53, 54, 58, 71, 83n106, 88n118, 97–99, 108, 116, 176, 219, 239, 315–16, 365–66, 436; as agents of cosmic balance, 97–99; angels as, 348, 352; as beatitudes, 100–101; darkened, 405; and the eyes, 160; illumination of, 132, 166, 288, 300, 304, 315–16, 353; of the Incarnation, 429–30; as the lesser nobility, 318; as Lucifer's adornment, 137, 390; as nails, 98, 413; and the moon, 160–61, 167, 413; positions of, 135, 140; prophets as, 357, 360; and rationality, 35, 101; as right and good thoughts, 320; rays of, 53, 98–99, 100, 164; rising and setting of, 71; showing God's secrets, 298; signs in, 463; and the sun, 149, 152; as teachers (*doctores*), 100; as veins, 98; of virginity, 266–67, 280–81
steel: and the apostles' teaching, 427–28; circumcision as, 372; as God's divinity, 215n243; and the earth, 180, 209, 211–12; and faith, 211; and the soul, 215
stomach, 194–96, 199–200; fevers in, 111; and folly, 127; and food, 161, 172–73, 199; illness/infirmity of, 160–61; phlegm of, 143; simile for womb, 110, 123; as the world's capacity, 194–96
stone(s), 193, 205–6, 404; as bones, 140, 205; in the foundation of Jerusalem, 309; Christ as, 316; corner, 60, 350, 391; Jews as hard, 405; living, 280; marble monolith of God, 357, 359–60; of the mountain of God, 348, 350; mill, 172; precious, 186, 203, 210n225, 283, 346, 394, 397, 416, 421, 436–39; Son of God as perforated, 386, 390–91; tunic of, 357, 362; whet, 110, 123, 188n153; white (Rv 2.17), 60
storm(s), 14, 72, 79, 86, 135, 156, 159, 187, 204–5, 227, 230–31, 233, 312n233, 431, 469, 478; against the Church, 407, 462; end of time as, 418, 462; of evil, 307–8; of humors, 110, 123; of sin, 170; soul as, 212; of thoughts, 119; of vices, 174
suffering, 67, 76, 89, 150, 153, 255, 326, 342, 447, 449, 453, 461; of the apostles, 436, 439; of the Church, 306, 318; of Hildegard, 478; of martyrdom, 443, 476; of punishment, 273; for sin, 233, 473. *See also* Son of God; soul
summer, 55, 165, 169, 186, 188, 196; as bones, 165; cold in, 272, 428; and eternal life, 213; as female, 332; and good works, 169, 186, 195, 202, 219; heat of, 13, 75, 165, 171–72, 184, 185–86, 222; as human wakefulness, 225; joy of, 235; as the New Testament, 453–54; north wind in, 218, 222; solstice, 106n162; viridity in, 169, 202, 297; as youth, 202
sun, 34–35, 52–53, 62, 86–87, 89–90, 135, 140, 149–54, 166, 203, 222,

260, 276, 289, 300, 353, 363, 378, 416, 478; of the apostles' teaching, 382; avoiding the north, 84, 86, 106, 138, 149, 157, 221; beauty of, 41; course/path of, 53, 59, 83–84, 88, 89–90, 117–18, 149, 154, 157, 187, 205, 268, 363, 428; Church as, 440–41; creation of, 315–16; dawn preceding, 368, 374; disturbed by sin, 366, 405, 431; as ecclesiastical authority, 317; eclipse of, 86, 87, 206, 372; effect on human body, 86–87, 88, 108; face of Divine Love as, 33, 36, 416, 421; face of Justice as, 439; as faithful spirit, 115–16; fire of, 86–87, 149, 151–52, 154; as good knowledge, 62, 251; as good works, 114, 159, 177, 220; heat of, 86–88, 108, 117–18, 135, 151, 153, 155–56, 157, 165, 196n188, 211, 220, 231–32, 271, 365, 427, 429; and the human head, 147; as the just, 117–18; obscured by clouds, 159, 177, 218, 223, 284, 441; period of, 154–55; powers of, 148–49, 339; as fixed principle, 167, 339; as rationality, 158–59; rays/beams of, 52–53, 141, 282, 284, 378, 418, 432; in relation to moon, 86, 88, 149–50, 167, 190, 237, 254n398, 372, 413; in relation to other celestial bodies, 83–90, 147–48, 151–52, 157, 164; of righteousness, 266n4; rising and/or setting of, 71, 149, 157, 159, 171, 211, 220–21, 268, 357, 359, 365, 412, 424; robe of Divine Love as, 33, 40–41; and the seasons, 55, 134, 226, 230–32, 237; set alight by God, 244; signs in, 463; as the Son of God's divinity, 298; splendor of, 159, 169, 171, 219, 289, 348, 351, 357, 359, 411, 439. *See also* fortitude; God; light(s); soul

swine, 118. *See also* pig

taste, 140, 164, 166, 225, 228–29, 231, 268–69, 300; of charity, 102; of desire, 104; of deeds/works, 122, 300, 378n96; for faith, 273; of human nature, 365; for life, 273; of God's commandments, 67; of God's love, 404; of soil (i.e., of human procreation), 251; of the soul/spirit, 164, 168, 377; of uprightness, 273; of the vices, 269; of the virtues, 68, 178. *See also* flesh; sin

tax collectors, 41, 120

temptation(s), 63, 101, 114, 185, 354, 425; of the flesh, 77, 96, 312n233; tempests of, 115

testament(s), 101, 359, 402, 453, 468; Old, 431; as wings of the ancient counsel, 399, 402, 404; as winter and summer, 453

Thaddeus, apostle, 439

theft/thieves, 272, 278, 404, 324

Theodoric of Echternach, 477n259

thighs, 215–16; as breadth of the earth, 181; as hills of the earth, 209–10; as the infancy of unbelievers, 256; and winds, 217; as witness to procreation, 253

Thomas, apostle, 432

thought(s), 67, 114, 153, 166, 186, 188, 199, 219, 237, 241–42, 312, 388, 414, 434; as animals, 119–20; circling like a mill, 172; as clouds, 135; deliberation of, 105; evil, 170; and faith, 173; frivolous, 127; foolish, 39; good, 122, 124, 151, 177, 185, 320; in the heart, 241, 250, 383; humors and, 111, 116–28; illicit, 125; as moisture, 135; moved by virtues, 116; of pain, 235; perverse, 67; ship of, 185; as stars, 320; storms of, 119; tyranny of, 125–26; unruly, 207; upright, 121, 123; and winds, 176–77

throat, 142, 144, 167, 180, 182, 202; and food, 172–73, 187–88; of unbelievers, choked, 459

thunder, 75, 159, 227–29; of the black fire, 56; of God's voice, 138–39, 244, 289, 292–93; greed as, 159; of rushing waters, 274–75; storms, 156
toe, 180, 216–17
touch (sense), 166, 225, 233, 253, 268, 271, 328, 365; like the belly, 233; of the soul, 198, 320
Trier, 3, 220n256, 229n285, 382n120, 427n35, 479n264, 481, 482nn6–7
Trinity, 4, 35, 37, 200, 240, 260, 307, 390; creating humankind, 340; in the name of, 290, 293, 390; signified by celestial bodies, 90; signified in Justice's arm plates, 438; viridity and, 24; worship of, 149, 240
trust, 198, 200, 212, 457; as crab's head, 65–67, 70–71, 76, 91, 94, 119–20; in God, 45, 121, 181, 200, 208, 370, 406; in oneself, 223, 368, 441
truth, 12, 31, 95, 115, 194, 262, 293, 346, 352, 360, 394, 399, 402–3, 406, 440, 443, 451, 454, 475–76; adversaries/enemies of, 67, 367, 465; and the angels, 39–40; broken, 271; din of, 272; footsteps of, 67; ignorance of, 91; of justice, 280; law of, 257; light of, 78, 113, 125, 150, 158, 421; love for, 44; purity of, 462; representation of, 468; simplicity of, 173; Son of God as, 458; way of, 76, 402

unbelief. *See* disbelief
understanding, 5, 141, 230, 246, 343; of the angels, 355; divine/of God, 38; human, 36, 68, 72, 90–91, 279, 313, 396, 462; and rationality, 5, 155, 161; of the soul, 203; spirit of, 90n121, 92, 148; spiritual, 369, 433. *See also* intellect
unity: of faith, 37; of flesh and life, 261; of God, 418; of God and Man, 477; of the Trinity, 200, 240; of Word and flesh, 261
universe, 6, 12, 287; humankind amid, 62, 175n120; preserved by the winds, 74–75. *See also* world

vanity, 82, 119, 125, 127, 214, 226, 256, 294–95, 444, 473
vegetation, 304–5; as fruit of good works, 309–10; as virtues, 311–12
veins (blood vessels), 68, 82, 109–12, 121–28, 145, 158, 162, 168, 194, 199, 435; of the apostles, 381, 434; compared to rivers, 184–85; compared to stars, 98; compared to upper elements, 151; Hildegard's, 477–78; and humility, 185; immature, 159; and the Incarnation, 261; mature, 226–27; poison in, 235; and rationality, 110, 122; and the soul, 180, 212, 227, 236, 445
Venantius Fortunatus, 185n145
vengeance, 56, 75, 112, 353; of God, 43, 55, 80–81, 101, 133, 134, 143, 244, 274–75, 277, 423, 447
Venus (sixth celestial body), 52n19, 83n110, 87; as spirit of piety, 95
vice(s), 6, 29n2, 41–42, 81, 117, 128, 152, 163, 172, 174, 190, 213, 224, 231, 235, 271, 275n26, 276n29, 278, 308n212, 311n231, 313, 362, 373, 407, 409, 412n74; of the devil, 59, 234; embrace of, 324; fertility of, 191; moisture of, 68; savor of, 269–70; storm-like, 174; as wine, 68
Victor IV, antipope, 29n5
victory, 308n212, 326; of the angels, 243; over God's enemies, 274, 459–60; of the martyrs, 276; of the saints, 373, 476; of the soul, 145, 207
virginity, 346n390, 374; path(s) of, 280–81; star of, 266–67, 280–81; St. Paul's counsel of, 435. *See also* chastity; Son of God

virgins, 6, 10, 18–19, 308–9, 326–27, 374; as birds, 323, 329–30; as blooms of roses and lilies, 346; as brides of Christ, 393; as three pounds of barley (Rv 6.6), 276–77. *See also* Mary, Virgin
viridity, 23–24, 34, 43, 59, 69, 137, 149, 169, 173–74, 184, 185, 192–93, 196–98, 202–3, 218, 234–35, 249, 268, 288, 291, 297, 305, 332, 334, 336–37, 379, 393, 420, 428–30, 453–54; of abstinence, 312; of apostolic preaching, 436; of the body/flesh, 14, 146, 148; of conscience, 192; of the earth, 60, 130, 133–34, 170, 173–74, 219, 303, 305, 328, 428–29; of faith, 310; from God's radiance, 137; of God's will, 419; of good works, 67, 169, 228, 295, 397, 444; of the human person, 135; of the Holy Spirit, 71; and John the Baptist, 253; of justice, 453; in the land of the living, 307; of the Old and New Testaments, 453; of repentance, 162; of the soul, 146, 168, 180, 242, 318; of the Virgin Mary, 337; of the virtues, 67, 183, 231, 312, 428, 438, 453
virtue(s), 6, 11, 14, 44, 58–59, 76–78, 102, 123, 128, 150, 163, 166, 175, 187, 192, 209–10, 220, 224, 233, 235, 249, 260, 303–4, 339, 341, 343–44, 346–47, 350, 373–74, 421, 427, 435, 437, 446, 470; activity of, 304; adornment/ornament of, 178, 186, 392–93; armor of, 232; beauty of, 439; beginning and end of, 302–3, 320, 330, 344; blooms of, 194; breasts of, 373; breath(ing)/respiration of, 11, 65–67, 70, 76, 81, 91–96, 100–101, 113–15, 116–17, 119, 216; as brides of Christ, 393; course of, 126; defense/fortification of, 117, 167; dried up, 125; faith and, 68, 173, 300, 318; family of, 325; fertility of, 191; field full of, 411; flying, 327, 336–37, 351; with fortitude (the sun) and fear of the Lord (the moon), 151, 158, 160, 165, 167; foundation of, 185; fragrance/aroma of, 166, 168, 185, 269, 272; fruitful, 166, 174, 184, 385n131, 411; gems of, 210, 336, 459; governing body and soul, 302; as great whales, 329–30; growing green, 184, 234; heavenly, 301, 336–37, 346, 438; of the heavenly Jerusalem, 403; innocence of, 438; instruments of, 300–302, 312; of John the Baptist, 253; light of, 296; living, 330, 335, 337, 339; of the Lord, 407; manifold, 373, 393, 397; morning of, 296; mounting from . . . unto, 67, 118, 202, 232, 259, 295, 325, 336, 338, 356, 373, 392, 426, 430; perfection of, 66, 70, 76, 100–101; powers of, 66, 71, 76–77, 94, 117, 343; prophetic, 437; radiance of, 102; of the righteous person, 228; root of in the martyrs, 276; rooted in divinity, 391; and the senses, 271; shining, 208; of the Son of God, 380; as vegetation, 312–13; vigor of, 114, 126; as waters, 301; weariness of, 124; as wine, 68; wings of, 323; working/operation of, 77–78, 81, 92, 94, 96. *See also* Genesis; viridity
vision. *See* Hildegard of Bingen; sight
voice(s), 292–93, 303, 364n29, 374; of the angels, 139, 210, 353, 355, 415; of God/the Lord, 18, 244, 292–93, 363; from heaven, 5, 30–31, 36, 54, 112, 132, 215n244, 267, 350, 359, 390, 396, 418, 477, 482; of Hildegard, 19, 388n8, 481; of Israel, 406; of Justice, 440; of martyrs, 443–44; and music, 374–75, 380; of the prophets, 293, 306, 309; rational/of rationality, 10,

voice(s), rational/of rationality (*cont.*)
238, 364, 374; of the Son of God, 361; of the soul, 204–5, 208, 214, 227; of virgins, 309; of the wind (God's spirit), 348–50, 352–53; of the Word, 247
Volmar of Disibodenberg, 30n11

wantonness, 126, 203, 215, 226
water(s), 34–35, 71, 132–35, 149, 164, 183–85, 207, 211, 214–17, 254, 286, 288, 308, 321–23, 326, 353, 463; above the firmament/heaven (upper), 56–57, 134, 167, 215, 297, 299, 301; below the firmament/heaven (lower), 57, 83, 132–33, 160, 297, 299, 301, 304; cascading, 207, 209, 288, 327; cycle, 57, 162–63, 165; of dishonor, 223; downpours of, 229; element of, 58n34, 59, 152n65, 220, 284, 316, 429, 431; of the eyes, 246; faithful, 102–3; fish in, 184, 321–22, 396, 400, 410; in human constitution, 284–85; in the human head, 167–70; living, 102, 208, 291, 307, 355, 388–89; as mirror of foreknowledge, 7, 16, 38, 388; muddy, 368; powers of, 100n140; as presumption and pride, 241; rushing, 207, 274, 465; and the Son of God, 380, 384–85; and spirit, 122, 291, 288, 291–92, 295, 321–22, 328, 334, 384, 442; tempering vapor of, 133; turning a mill, 172; underground, 208. *See also* air; apostles; baptism; elements; faith; flood; infidelity/unfaithfulness; moisture; soul
wealth, 278, 430, 454; spiritual, 81; worldly, 12. *See also* riches
weariness, 93, 113–14, 124, 150, 220, 229; God's lack of, 68; Hildegard's, 477
weather: as instrument of God's judgment, 55, 57, 69, 75, 77, 134, 272, 424, 428, 431. *See also individual entries for specific types of weather*
west(ern), 49n12, 69, 73–74, 91n123; cold, 177, 212; darkness of, 267, 272, 281, 396, 412; and knowledge of evil, 175; movement of celestial bodies from, 89–90; part of the City of God, 396, 412; part of the cosmic wheel, 48, 52, 59, 85, 92; part of the earth, 264–70, 272–74; part of the firmament, 132, 138; prophecy directed towards, 357, 360, 369; red circle of God's jealousy in, 266, 279–80; revolution to/from, 106, 113–14; and the setting of good works, 220; sun in the, 59, 83–84, 88–89, 149. *See also* wind(s)
wetness. *See* moisture
Wezelin, provost of St. Andreas, Cologne, 482
wheel: of the cosmos, 46–62, 65, 69, 74–75, 80, 85, 92, 99, 101, 103; of the firmament, 137, 140, 218, 453; as God's plan for history, 416–21, 424–28, 462; of Justice's chariot, 435; of worldly cares, 101. *See also* brain; counsel; eternity; God
Widmer, Bertha, 30n5, 46n1, 63n56, 82n105, 90n121, 100n140, 147n49, 155n71, 247n363, 294n128, 337n346, 338n354, 345n388, 370n59, 401n33, 402n38, 450n141, 460n188, 462n191
widow, 104
wife: as greed, 324; Solomon's ideal, 432n62; soul as, 180; taking of, 276, 324
will, 51, 114, 116, 126, 172, 206, 209, 220n255, 221, 232, 242, 251, 342, 351, 388, 410; of the Antichrist, 472n238; of desire(s), 105, 175, 449; of the devil, 277, 404, 467n207, 469–70, 474; good, 43, 76, 96, 119, 129, 202, 279, 313,

415, 437–38; of a lion, 72; of man (Jn 1.13), 60, 258; own/self-will, 104–5, 116, 199, 219, 223, 224, 241, 276, 324, 327, 340, 362, 392, 423, 440, 442; wing of, 221, 351. *See also* flesh; God; soul
William of St. Thierry, 404n44
wind(s), 10, 34, 54, 63–65, 68–69, 72–75, 79–80, 99, 106–8, 155, 169, 175–76, 268, 288, 353, 364, 405, 423, 431, 464, 478; causing earthquakes, 75; and celestial rays, 84–87; and conscience, 178; and fire, 305–6; of God's spirit, 348, 350, 352–53, 355, 404; of the Holy Spirit, 357, 360; in human body, 80, 108, 116–18; and the joints of the body, 176–81, 217–20, 248–49; east, 64–65, 84, 86, 94n128, 106, 113, 133–34, 177, 179, 217, 220–21; moving the firmament, 106, 113–14, 132, 178; north, 34n5, 79–80, 85–86, 106, 113, 133, 175, 177, 179n129, 217–19, 221–24, 248, 371, 459; and punishment, 272–73; as quickening/sustaining force, 34–35, 65, 69, 74–75, 99, 108, 118–19, 193, 209, 241, 297; and the stars, 97; source of, 108, 117; south, 72–75, 84–86, 106, 113, 133, 175, 177, 179, 217, 220–21, 248, 382; summary of, 63n55; as thoughts, 177; as temptations, 185; as twelve apostles, 382; and the virtues, 216; of the watery air, 167; west, 68–69, 86, 87, 97, 106, 133, 177, 179n129, 217, 219, 221; whirl, 116, 471; wings of, 41, 75, 175–77, 218, 222, 245–46, 378, 382–83, 410. *See also* humor(s); soul; *and individual entries for animal heads*
wine, 67–68, 148, 275, 277, 342
winepress, 472n238
wineskin, 296
wings, 229, 285, 459; of chastity, 409; of Love, 33–34, 37, 39; of other visionary figures, 266, 279–81, 351, 394–96, 399–400, 402–4. *See also* conscience; God; knowledge; rationality; Son of God; soul; wind(s)
winter, 55, 75, 153, 186, 196; cold, 13, 165, 186, 197, 202–3; dormancy, 171; depression of, 235; dryness, 169; and evil works, 169, 195; heat in, 272, 428; as human sleeping, 225; as male, 332; as marrow, 165; as old age, 202–3; as Old Testament, 453–54; in service of summer, 188, 297; solstice, 59n37, 106n163
wisdom, 68, 127, 166, 223, 231, 277, 409, 429–30, 432n62, 454–55; of Adam, 238n314; as aromatic principle of order, 246; and the divine likeness, 332, 335; God as true, 235; of God, 250, 396, 412; moisture of, 193, 219; personified, 7, 117, 231, 386–89, 394–97, 395f3.4, 413–14; and rationality, 136; of the Scriptures, 184; sister of, 192n167; of the Son of God, 379; in the soul, 152–53, 166, 193, 203, 205; spirit of, 90n121, 91, 148, 344n380; as wings of Divine Love, 34
wolf: head of (west wind), 49–53, 63, 68–69, 70n70, 73, 80, 86, 87, 91n123, 93–95, 97, 100; and humors, 109; in *Scivias,* 472; as thoughts, 119; of unbelief, 385n131. *See also* punishment(s)
woman/women, 24, 43, 104, 123, 191–92n167, 434, 451; as body, 333; flesh from flesh, 361, 379; Hildegard as, 9, 388–89; milk of, 189–90; motherhood of, 110, 123; pregnant, 217; in relation to man, 190–91, 238, 333, 442; sexual desire of, 216; temperament of, 478; unclean, 463; weakness of, 190. *See also* Eve; female/feminine; Mary, Virgin

womanish weakness: time of, 20, 427, 430–31, 439, 446
wonders: of the apostles, 426, 430, 433–34, 437; of Enoch and Elijah, 471–72; of the faithful, 198; of God, 38–39, 59, 79, 137–38, 146n46, 204, 238, 244–45, 253, 258, 298, 348, 352, 355, 365, 399, 403, 405, 407, 414–15, 434, 459, 471; of God's Son, 382, 406, 425; humans as, 243, 253, 316; in/of humans, 8, 262, 326, 407, 414–15; of the Incarnation, 309; and John the Baptist, 252–53; manifested in the feet, 258; of miracles and virtues, 350
Word of God, 4, 35, 188n153, 239, 244–52, 293, 307, 360, 383, 438; as beginning of salvation, 290; breath of, 34, 478; burning, 296; composing humankind, 370; creating, 4, 8, 34, 139, 146, 170, 176, 239, 246–50, 255–57, 263, 285, 289–91, 296, 304, 315, 321, 330, 333, 361, 383, 425, 468, 476, 478; divinity of, 248, 262; examples of, 341; grace of, 252; hand of, 350; incarnate/made flesh, 5–6, 8, 239, 245n347, 261–62, 290, 330, 346, 351, 361, 369, 430; inextinguishable, 304, 330, 333; judging, 475; as King of Kings, 361; living, 304–5, 321; and rationality, 8–9, 13, 34–35, 139, 242, 246–47, 370; (re)sounding, 34–35, 246–48, 285, 289, 430; as the Savior's humanity, 309; seed of, 343; shoot of, 361; warmth of, 251; wings of, 351. *See also* predestination; Incarnation; Jesus Christ; Son of God
work(s)/deed(s): of Abraham, 44; of the angels, 353; of an artist, 325, 346; beginning and end of, 295–96, 303, 314, 320–21; of charity, 439; of chastity, 409; of creation, 289, 298, 305, 323, 344–47; of death, 146; of the devil, 138; of Divine Love, 41; evil, 143, 146, 150, 158, 164, 169, 172, 175, 181, 187–88, 191, 195, 204, 206, 219, 314, 352, 363; of faith, 300; of the flesh, 313; of God, 4–5, 7–10, 35, 38–39, 137, 139, 243, 250, 253, 259–60, 290, 297–98, 305–6, 314–16, 328, 336, 344–47, 350–51, 360, 388, 391–93, 396, 398, 406–8, 414–15, 418–20, 458, 479; of the God's/the Lord's hand(s), 151, 210, 297–98, 375, 393; good, 8, 13–14, 37, 58, 59, 61, 66–68, 71, 72, 76–77, 91, 96, 113–14, 118, 122, 125, 128, 133, 135–36, 143, 148, 151, 158–60, 162–63, 165, 169, 174, 176–78, 181–85, 187, 190–97, 200, 202–4, 206–8, 210, 216, 220–22, 224, 226, 228, 230, 233, 237, 251, 258–60, 271, 280, 292, 295–96, 300, 301, 303, 310, 312–14, 319, 321, 330, 340, 343, 346–47, 352, 373, 375, 378n96, 392, 397, 399–400, 411, 412, 426, 436–38, 444, 446, 452, 482; good and holy, 60, 68, 150, 173, 177, 181, 193, 200, 204, 212, 214, 233; holy, 178, 196, 205, 208, 209, 281, 309, 319, 346, 375, 411, 426, 432, 439; of heaven, 14, 156, 299, 345, 347; holy, as watery air, 57–58, 70, 91n123, 101, 134, 142, 168; human, 54, 61–62, 70–71, 75, 78, 102, 104, 118, 140, 147, 149, 152, 166, 168, 176, 178–79, 181–82, 185, 187–89, 192, 194–98, 200–206, 210, 213–14, 216–17, 223, 226–31, 241–42, 247–49, 257–58, 269–71, 284, 299–300, 302–3, 309, 320, 328, 334–35, 338, 342, 351–52, 362, 377, 380, 414–15, 424, 445; just, 92, 120, 159, 186, 302, 412; of justice, 440; lawful, 226; of light, 377; malicious, 223; of mercy, 343n378; of night, 377;

of pride, 212; right/righteous, 39, 94, 242, 318, 336; of the saints, 210, 234, 373; of salvation, 195, 294; of the Son of God, 299, 338, 408–10, 427, 430, 458; spiritual, 70; of the water, 321; of wisdom, 166, 386, 389, 396–97, 413; and word, 388; worldly, 70. *See also* body; fruit(s); human person/humankind; Man; soul; viridity
world, 40, 42, 101, 103, 126, 187–88, 254–55, 406n50; beginning of, 30, 350, 419–20, 450; capacity of, 194–96, 252; circles/spheres of, 46–64, 68–69, 72–74, 79–80, 82–83, 90–91, 97–101; confusion of, 118, 284, 426–27; constitution of, 55; creation of, 54, 252, 255–56, 285, 359, 370; darkness beyond, 281; as egg, 46, 48n6, 48n10, 54–55; end of, 54, 75, 139, 239, 350, 419–20, 462, 464–65; exile of, 258; fallen, 288n84, 419; flux of, 462; favor of, 128; as globe, 55, 80; as human home, 285; illumination of, 61, 103, 138, 141, 158, 169, 219, 251, 308, 372, 391, 435; kingdoms of, 449; lust of, 77; mortal, 412; present, 425; renewed, 359, 369, 383; sea of, 402n35; Son of God in, 139n34, 155, 255, 284n67, 290, 293, 369, 383, 391, 423, 425, 429, 436, 472; sons of, 255; as tabernacle for Man, 256; turned to evil, 167, 221; transitory, 368, 419; upheld by the winds, 63, 65, 69, 99, 106, 108, 118–19; vanity of, 256; whole, 24, 36, 83, 101, 167, 219, 221, 275, 285, 308, 326, 369, 372, 391, 435; works of, 70. *See also* creation; earth; Genesis; firmament
worm(s), 384; and the devil, 42, 371; and the soul, 202. *See also* sin(s)
wrath, 72; of the devil, 369, 474; of God, 190, 192, 274–77, 348–49, 352–54. *See also* anger; rage
wrist, 180, 216–17

youth, 197, 202–3, 227, 412; joy of, 235; signified by the calves, 256

zeal, 96, 326, 342, 465; of the angels, 423; of the Church, 318; of God, 39, 24, 279n45, 355; of the Holy Spirit's gifts, 92, 148; of the soul, 172, 180; of St. Bartholomew, 438; of St. Paul, 433–34, 437n85; of the virtues' breaths, 66, 81, 100
Zion: daughter(s) of, 121–22, 431n58

INDEX OF HOLY SCRIPTURE

Note: Exegetical passages are marked in bold.

Old Testament

Genesis
1.1: 248, **287, 290, 294**
1.2: **288, 292, 295**
1.3: 38, 39, 248, **288, 293, 295**, 468
1.4: 224, 243, 299
1.4–5: **289, 293, 296**
1.5: **289, 293, 296**
1.6: **296, 298, 300**
1.7: 57, **297, 299, 301**
1.8: **297–98, 299, 302**
1.9: **304, 306, 310–11**
1.10: 299, **304, 307, 311**
1.10–11: **304, 309, 311**
1.12: 299, **305, 310, 312, 314**
1.13: **305, 310, 314**
1.15–18: **317**
1.16: 62
1.16–18: **315, 319–20**
1.18: 299, **316, 318, 320**
1.19: **316, 318, 320**
1.20: **321, 323, 327**
1.21: 299, **322, 323–24, 329**
1.21–22: **323, 327, 330**
1.23: **323, 327, 330**
1.24: **330, 335, 339**
1.24–26: 433
1.25: 299, **331, 335, 340**
1.25–26: **331, 335, 340**
1.26: 4, 43, 398, 414
1.26–27: 35, 36, 139, 244, 255
1.27: 238
1.27–28: **332, 336, 341**
1.28: 250, 448
1.29–30: **333, 337, 343**
1.31: 238, 299, **334, 339, 343, 344**, 360
2.1: **344, 345, 346**
2.2: **344, 345, 346**, 398
2.3: **344, 345, 347**
2.7: 152, 190, 206, 240, 254, 262, 297, 361, 363, 414, 433, 445
2.10: 271, 365, 377
2.10–14: 211
2.16–17: 195
2.18: 238, 442
2.18–20: 260
2.19: 361
2.19–20: 163, 203, 240, 245
2.21: 378
2.21–23: 190, 442
2.23: 361
2.24: 180
3.1: 42, 166
3.7: 283
3.9: 43, 405
3.15: 286, 340, 392
3.16: 442
3.21: 284, 405
3.21–24: 43
3.22: 376
4: 363
4.4: 372
4.10: 444
4.10–12: 104
4.10–14: 236
5.24: 471
6–8: 275
6.2: 365
6.5–8: 365
6.6: 178
7.11: 366
8.4: 425

8.20: 366
9.8–17: 367
9.13: 274
12.1: 325, 425
15.5–6: **43**
17.10–11: 410
17.10–27: 425
22.13: 44
28.12: 140
31.53–54: 366
32.12: 353
48.15: 135
49.17: 406
49.25: 135

Exodus
3.14: 45, 60, 105, 129, 137, 263, 302, 470
3.17: 307
12.29: 401
13.21–22: 459
15.1–2: 460
15.7: 283
19.16–20: 283
28.19: 436
28.21: 437
31.18: 372
33.19–23: **404–5**

Leviticus
11.9–12: 394

Numbers
17.2–8: 361
17.8: 44, 452

Deuteronomy
9.10: 372
32.2: 176, 378, 398

Judges
6.36–40: 411
16.7–12: 102

1 Samuel
1.46: 173

1 Kings
18: 371
18.21: 442
18.27: 443
19.8: 471

2 Kings
2.11: 471

1 Chronicles
29.23: 173

Ezra
5.8: 309
6.4: 309

Esther
1.20: 434

1 Maccabees
2.7: 456

2 Maccabees
2.26: 30
5.21: 181

Job
3: 235
10.3: 151
10.10: 179
10.18–19: 235
16.11: 423
17.9: **136**
31.6: 410
38.4–6: 350
40.18(23): 467
40.20(41.1): 401
40.21(41.2): 423

Psalms
1.3: **291**
2.7: 306
4.7(6): 407
6.3–4(2–3): 214
8.6–7(5–6): **210**
8.7(6): 151
15(16).2: 423
16(17).8: 376
16(17).8–9: **145**
16(17).12: **193**
17.4(18.3): 375
17.9(18.8): **192**
17.11(18.10): 41, 192, 246, 410
18.2(19.1): **297**
18.5(19.4): 382
18.11(19.10): 178, 196
21.19(22.18): **457**
21.20(22.19): **458**
26(27).13: 196, **306–7**
28(29).3: **292**
32(33).7: 296
32(33).11: 139, 398
34(35).16: 228, 237
35.10(36.9): 386
36(37).36: 355
37.6(38.5): 214
37.19(38.18): 216
37.23(38.22): 216
41(42).2: 115
41.6(42.5): 200
41.6–7(42.5–6): **208**
43.22(44.21): 464
43(44).22: 457
44.2(45.1): **360**
44.3(45.2): 369, 409
44.10(45.9): **392–93**
44.10–15(45.9–14): 376
44(45).13–14: 174
50.4–6(51.2–4): 214
50.7(51.5): 235, 258
50.19(51.17): 181
54.6(55.5): 471
62.8–9(63.7–8): 351, **375**
65(66).12: 271

Psalms (*cont.*)
68.29(69.28): 473
71(72).6: **411**
78(79).5: 280
80.3(81.2): 243
81(82).6: **341**
83.8(84.7): 67, 118, 202, 232, 259, 295, 325, 336, 338, 356, 373, 392, 426, 430
84.11(85.10): 426
87.7(88.6): 453
90.6(91.5): 190
90(91).13: 33, 458
91.5(92.4): 151
92(93).1: **407**
92(93).3–4: **355**
92(93).4: **406**
98(99).2: 348
101.12(102.11): **213**
102(103).19: **410**
103(104).2: 57
103(104).3: 246, **378**, 382, 383
103(104).19: **237**
103(104).20: **384**
109(110).1: **239**, 410, 458
110(111).10: 91, 148
113(114).3: 467
113.9(115.1): 97
117(118).16–17: **78**
117(118).18: 79, **81**
118(119).1: 86
118(119).75: 350
118(119).103: 178, 202, 482
118(119).137: **440**
118(119).174: **207**
129(130).1: 216
136(137).1–4: 380
138(139).8: **234**
141.6(142.5): 196
142(143).10: 214
149.1: 402
150.3: 210

Proverbs
1.7: 148
7.1: 166
8.22–31: 389
8.26–27: 420
8.28: 413
8.30: 420
9.10: 148
15.6: **117**
16.24: 432
21.20: 194
31.22: 432

Ecclesiastes
1.4: 400
1.7: 382
9.12: 401

Song of Songs
1.3(4): **67**
2.13: 276, 379
2.14: 406
4.11: 406, 411, 432
5.2: 173
5.7: 431, 449
6.9(10): 286
7.1: **128**
7.2: 147
8.7: 335

Wisdom
1.11: 319
1.13–14: 34, 468
2.24: 468
3.10: 371
3.17: 353
7.2: 140, 154, 179
7.10: 289, 296
7.14: 194
7.21(22): 161
7.22: 343–44, 409
7.22–8.1: 389
7.26: 38, 244
7.29: 413
8.1: 34, 152, 230, 280, 414, 420, 459
8.2: 414
8.6: 246
8.16: 414
9.3: 298
9.6: 353
11.4: 316
11.21: 388
11.23: 411
13.5: 63, 137
15.11: 34

Sirach
1.10(7): 413
4.21(18): 464
9.10 (Vg.): 72
16.18: 453
18.8–10: 164
24.5–31(3–22): 389
24.6 (Vg.): 282
24.8(5): 64, 231
38.15: 447
50.8: 346

Isaiah
2.2: 425
2.4: 454
3.18–24: 431
4.2: **452**
5.5–6: **71**
5.7: 452
5.12: 151
5.14–15: **96**
5.24: 283
5.25: 428
6.2: 394
7.14: 463
9.6: 129
11.1: 362
11.2 (Vg.): 313
11.2–3 (Vg.): 90
14.12–15: 241
14.13: 59, 423

14.13–14: 138
14.15: 138
27.1: 60
28.3: 33
28.16–17: 350
33.16–17: **102**
40.9: 348
41.4: 356, 385, 393, 415, 479
41.7: 447
42.10: 402
42.13: 232, 429
42.14: **305**
44.13: 288
45.8: 176, 378, 398
47.14: 283
52.1–2: 431
52.2–3: **121**
53.7: 76
59.3: 450
60.8: 325, **328**
66.1: 137, 149
66.15–16: 367

Jeremiah
11.19: 76
16.19: 460
17.10: **104**
31.22: 361
32.38: 401
50.42: 348

Lamentations
1.1: 278

Ezekiel
1.1: 29
1.15–21: 140, 266
10.2–13: 140, 266
36.5: 280

Daniel
4.34(37): 350
5.29: 416
7.3–5: 49
7.9–14: 244

Hosea
6.10: **126**
10.8: 456

Joel
2.28: 462

Amos
8.4: 447
9.9: 159, 224

Habakkuk
3.19: **115**

Zephaniah
3.8: 280

Malachi
1.11: 221
4.2: 266
4.5: 471

New Testament

Matthew
1.18–21: 190
1.23: 463
2.2: 430
2.16: 379, 444
3.10: 320
3.17: 306
4.2: 471
4.18–22: 389
5.6: 68, 104, 194, 276
5.14–15: 282
5.14–16: 284
5.22: 237
5.34–35: 137
5.35: 149
5.40: 449
6.10: 287, 410
6.12: 347
6.13: 473
6.24: 104, 303, 423
7.7: 303, 328
7.14: 373
7.15: 430, 442, 447
7.16: 221
7.17–20: 135
7.24: 185
8.12: 40, 281
9.11: 120
9.12: 447
9.20: 376
10.3: 439
10.16: 73, 76, 328, 374, 406, 446
10.39: 211
11.19: 41, 120
11.27: **382**
12.32: 479
12.43–45: 371
12.50: **342**
13.5: 313
13.18–23: 237
13.43: 439
14.26: 376
16.18: 316
16.19: 447
16.24: 328
16.27: 105
17.1: 348
17.2: 416, 439
17.9: 198
18.10: 352
18.12–14: 473
18.18: 447
18.27: 347
19.29: **324**
20.9: 277
20.19: 380
21.2: 257
21.33–37: 305

Matthew (*cont.*)
21.43: **298**
22.13: 40, 281
22.18–21: 256
22.37–39: 318
22.40: 314
23: 368
23.27: 149
24.3–31: 428
24.35: 470
24.36: 368
25.12: **302**
25.30: 40, 281
26.43: 453
27.45: 218
27.51: 453
27.64: 469
28.18: 239, **346**

Mark
1.16–20: 389
1.26: 371
3.18: 439
3.29: 479
12.30–31: 318
13.3–27: 428
13.8: 460
13.31: 470
15.33: 218
16.14: 298, 313
16.15–16: 381

Luke
1.7–25: 252
1.38: 44
1.63: 188
2.7: 291
2.9–14: 391
2.10–14: 129
2.14: 452
2.47–48: 379
2.52: 429
5.31: 447
6.48: 185
7.36–50: 191
7.47: 325
8.6: 206, **312**
10.27: 318
10.33–34: 342
10.38–42: 301
11.9: 303, 328
11.33: 282
11.33–36: 284
12.10: 479
12.35: 123
14.16–24: 305
15.3–7: 473
15.4–10: 191
15.5–6: 383
15.8–9: 382
15.12: 448
15.13: 441
15.16: 118
15.18–21: 441
15.23: 97, 442
16.1–8: 169
16.13: 104, 423
16.26: 249
17.6: 198
18.13–14: 125
18.35: 122
21.7–28: 428
21.25–26: 463
21.33: 470
21.34: 329
22.31: 224
23.30: 456
23.31: **453**
23.34: 277
23.44: 218
23.44–45: 453
24.17: 380

John
1.1: 4, **244, 246**, 438
1.2: **248**
1.3: **248, 249**, 290, 361
1.3–4: **249**
1.4: **250**
1.5: 158, **251**, 360
1.6: **251, 252**
1.7: **253**
1.8: **253**
1.9: 40, **253, 254**, 435
1.9–13: 299
1.10: **255**
1.11: **256**
1.12: **257**
1.13: 60, **258**
1.14: **261–62**, 361
1.18: 291
3.4–5: 334
3.5: 122, 291, 322, 385, 442
3.6: 258
3.30: 254
4.10–14: 355
4.14: 205, 208, 389
4.34: **337**
5.19: 467
6.9: 277
6.19: 292
6.50–51: 60
6.64: 466, 468
7.38–39: 291
8.24: 295
8.44: 255, 296
10.9: 338, 396
10.12: 385, 442, 447
10.12–13: 430
10.15–16: 473
11.25: 474
11.39: 169
14.2: **325**
14.6: 394, 406
14.9: 308
14.10–11: 346
17.21: 458
19.23–24: 448, 457
19.34: 391
20.25: 432

Acts
1.3: 380
1.21–26: 382
2.1–4: 293

2.3: 381, 430
2.17: 462
2.35: 458
9.15: 453
12.2: 437
13.9: 41

Romans
1.20: 63, 137, 413
1.27: 278
8: 104
8.17: 257
8.36: 457
9.27: 353
10.18: 382
12.1: 403

1 Corinthians
3.1–2: 190, 237
3.8: 105
6.15: 347
6.20: 243, 359
7.22–23: 359
7.25–35: 435
9.23: 385
9.27: 66
11.11–12: 238
12.4–11: 313
13.12: 243, 320, 375
15.10: 434
15.28: 253, 467
15.44–46: 197
15.52: 455
15.52–53: 414
15.53: 375

2 Corinthians
3.18: 356
4.7: 200, 356, 422
12.1–4: 434
12.4: 434
12.7–10: 434

Galatians
1.19: 436
4.4–5: **424**
5.16–23: 104
5.16–24: 312
5.22–23: 135
6.7b: 189

Ephesians
2.20: 60, 391
2.20–21: 350
3.17: 423
6.11: 232
6.16: 232, 234

Philippians
2.7: 262
2.8: 347, 421
2.14–16: **61**
3.5: 434

Colossians
1.24: 436

1 Thessalonians
5.7: 295

2 Thessalonians
2.2–4: **464**
2.3: 455, 457, 462, **467**
2.3–4: 453
2.3–8: 367, 368
2.7: **465**
2.8: **475**

1 Timothy
3.15: 115

2 Timothy
2.3: 338
2.20–21: 200, 422

Titus
3.5: 291

Hebrews
5.12–14: 190, 237
6.4: 385
7.3: 476
10.13: 410
11.1: 413
11.9: 338

James
1.22: 300
2.17: 120
2.26: 442

1 Peter
1.20: 30
2.5: 280, 450
2.21: 421
2.22: 468
3.5: 434
5.8: 193, 408

1 John
3.15: 237
4.8: 391
4.16: 391

Revelation
1.8: 418
1.16: 416
1.17: 356, 385, 393, 415, 479
2.17: **60**
3.5: 403, 473
3.16: 342
4.4: 245, 359, 442
4.5: 348
4.8: 394
6.2: **274**
6.4: **275**
6.5: 442
6.5–6: **275**
6.8: **277**, 468
6.11: **443**, 472
6.13: 276
6.16: 456
7.9: 298, 359
7.14: 105
8.7: 367

Revelation (*cont.*)
9.1–2: 355
11.3–12: 437, 471
11.9–12: 474
12: 369
12.7: 279
12.7–9: 224, 476
12.7–10: 459
12.9: 129, 274
12.10: 355
12.10–11: **475**
12.13–14: **285**
12.15–16: **286–87**
13.2: 49, 357, 437
13.3: 469
13.8: **468**
13.13: 469
13.16: 469
14.2–3: 261
14.3–5: 309
14.4–5: 330
14.9: 469
15.2: 327
15.2–3: **308**
18.8: 367
19.8: 434
19.20: 396
20.2: 274
20.4: 469
20.7: 353
21.2: **210**
21.8: 396
21.19: 394
21.20: 436
21.21: 437
22.14: 414
22.18–19: 478

INDEX OF REFERENCES TO HILDEGARD'S WORKS

Note: All references in this index appear in footnotes; references in the main text are listed in the General Index, s.v. Hildegard of Bingen.

Cause et Cure
1.4: 35, 42, 55, 75, 118, 139
1.6: 243
1.7: 62
1.9: 133
1.15–19: 63
1.17: 249
1.18: 34
1.19: 34, 218
1.20: 190, 196
1.20–36: 82, 155
1.24: 153
1.27: 89, 118, 315
1.28: 140, 225
1.31: 155
1.33: 98
1.38: 112
1.45: 100
1.46: 288
1.50: 178, 184, 220
1.53: 196
2.57: 254
2.59: 190
2.63–64: 179
2.69: 128
2.73: 130
2.74: 58
2.76: 202
2.78: 109, 187, 199
2.81: 225, 240
2.85: 378
2.88: 190, 378
2.89: 332
2.90: 42, 385, 405
2.91: 332, 366
2.92: 363, 365
2.92–93: 365
2.93: 366
2.95: 365
2.97–127: 108
2.124: 112, 242
2.128: 190, 361
2.129–30: 171, 220
2.130: 140, 146, 152, 202, 240–43, 261, 321
2.148: 125
2.151: 110, 216
2.152–54: 194
2.161: 377
2.164: 378
2.166: 149, 377
2.176: 174
2.210: 194
2.232: 179
2.235: 384
2.244–48: 112, 199
2.270: 153
2.271–72: 241
2.276: 226
2.278: 127
2.283: 190, 238
2.284: 158
2.286: 171, 227
2.298: 128
2.306: 128, 378
2.309–11: 162
4.437: 112
5.478: 111
5.486: 272

Expl. Symb. S. Athan.
34, 35, 39, 139, 143, 155, 192, 240, 244, 248, 249, 275, 284, 350, 370, 381, 383, 384, 386, 430, 459

Gosp. Hom.
1: 72, 239, 240, 284, 331
2: 342
3: 169, 277
5: 190
7: 321, 333, 341
9: 17, 244, 249, 251, 259, 378
10–12: 379
20: 306
22: 72, 239, 240, 284, 287, 331
23: 181, 228, 277
24: 222
25: 225, 362, 371, 465

Gosp. Hom. (*cont.*)
26: 72, 118, 214
26–27: 37, 441
28: 376, 467
30: 430
31: 385
39: 239, 305, 331
40: 158, 214
42: 188
50: 199
53: 223, 366
54: 463

Let., Lets.
8: 431, 447, 456
11: 55
12: 136
15r: 12, 72, 118, 132, 140, 225, 294, 372, 402, 422, 428, 433, 468, 469
20–20r: 447
23: 9, 247
26r: 332, 427
27r: 437
31r: 247, 249, 282, 306, 388
68–69: 154
68r: 244
70r: 284
73: 302
77r: 82, 192, 237, 247, 280, 286, 294, 306, 328, 368–70, 374, 388, 402, 409, 427, 430
84r: 30, 37, 280, 301, 356, 375, 376, 381, 402, 411, 415, 424
85r/a: 33, 386, 391, 416
103r: 4, 16, 22, 30, 219, 389, 477
113r: 42, 169, 284, 294, 352, 364, 374, 401–2, 444, 476
118: 30
149r: 30, 286, 328, 430–31, 440, 453, 468, 473
155r: 82, 94, 150, 178, 251, 371, 400
158r: 157
163r: 315
164r: 342
169r: 12, 64, 442, 468, 469
170r: 261, 337, 361, 402
179: 55, 342
180: 30
189: 342
190r: 421
194: 458
195: 481
195r: 30, 421
198: 317
201r: 30, 238
206r: 459
214: 277
214–17: 481
215r: 479, 481
217: 220, 382, 479
220r: 328
223r: 42, 222, 362, 427, 429
227r: 294
234: 200, 329
250r: 190, 210, 280 393, 451
253: 280
265r: 440
271: 280
291: 342
292: 43, 284, 405, 411
297r: 256
311r: 427
315–16: 29
346: 280
366: 280
373: 38, 238
374: 247
375: 286, 370, 400, 453
381: 13, 322, 338, 378, 401
384: 234
385: 43
389: 44, 252, 261, 285–87, 289, 297, 299, 322, 337, 361, 467

LVM
Prologue: 29–30
1.2: 481
1.11(22): 237
1.15(27): 34
1.21(33): 429
1.22(34): 429
1.28(40): 309
1.34(46): 389
1.45(58): 352
1.46–47(59–60): 403
1.63(76): 354, 364
1.65(78): 35
1.72(85): 237
1.108(126): 296
2.1: 394
2.2(5): 329
2.13(21): 466
2.34(43): 326
2.36(45): 197, 243
3.2(3): 112, 242
3.6(8): 33, 386
3.7(10): 303
3.9(13): 277
3.10(14): 340
3.11(16): 277
3.22–23(30–31): 112, 242, 272

3.27(35): 364
3.38(47): 64
3.39(48): 276
3.44(55): 192, 279
3.62(78): 183
3.71(89): 365
3.80(98): 278, 286
4.2(3): 354
4.10(15): 328
4.22(30): 313
4.24(32): 238, 250, 331, 332
4.25(33): 100
4.28(36–38): 432
4.28(38): 389, 397
4.29–30(39–40): 223
4.30–31(40–42): 101
4.38(50): 63
4.41(53): 145
4.46(59): 238, 247, 309
5.5–6(8–9): 371
5.7(10): 34, 229, 247
5.13(20): 322
5.13–15(20–22): 321
5.14(21): 279
5.29(37): 64
5.31(39–40): 238, 397
5.31(40): 411
5.39(53): 249
5.77(96): 211, 253, 375, 415
5.79(98): 271
6.9(10): 272
6.10(11): 282
6.10–12(11–13): 267
6.11(12): 272
6.12(13): 282, 283
6.14(15): 39, 138
6.15(16): 145, 281
6.16(17): 42, 120
6.17(18): 193
6.22(23): 295, 321, 322, 335
6.23(24): 39, 225, 254, 313
6.26(30): 359
6.30(43–49): 309
6.30(44): 359
6.32(51–54): 33, 42, 55
6.33(55): 37
6.33–34(55–56): 474
6.37–38(59–60): 326
6.41(63): 243, 297
6.45(68): 478

Ordo
Prologue: 328, 384
Scene 1: 146, 215, 467
Scene 2: 205, 374
Scene 3: 208, 392, 409, 474
Scene 4: 466
Finale: 260, 429, 443, 444, 458, 472

Physica
1, Preface: 205
2.1: 165, 169
2.3: 184
2.11: 196
4, Preface: 283
6, Preface: 184
7.3: 231
9.8: 215

Scivias
Protestificatio/Declaration: 4, 30, 215, 477, 481
1.1: 441
1.1.1: 350
1.1.3: 421
1.2.1–2: 283
1.2.5: 281
1.2.5–6: 283
1.2.7: 282
1.2.9–10: 166, 354
1.2.10: 238
1.2.11–12: 43
1.2.11–19: 310
1.2.12: 238, 333
1.2.13: 401
1.2.15: 401
1.2.20: 179
1.2.27: 284, 315, 366
1.2.31: 374
1.3: 46–49, 88
1.3.3: 55
1.3.3–6: 82
1.3.8–9: 63
1.3.10: 55
1.3.11–12: 82
1.3.13: 63
1.3.15: 63
1.3.16: 60
1.3.19: 348
1.3.20–21: 469
1.4.1: 391
1.4.13: 179
1.4.16: 285, 291
1.4.18–20: 221
1.4.19: 220
1.4.26: 221, 226
1.4.30: 78
1.5.3: 328
1.5.6: 368
1.6.2–3: 352
1.6.4–8: 352
1.6.9–10: 352
1.6.11: 352
2.1.2: 35, 139–40
2.1.3: 306, 430
2.1.5–6: 194
2.1.8: 269, 454

Scivias (*cont.*)
2.1.11: 286
2.2: 438
2.2.5: 24
2.2.6: 430
2.2.7: 292, 388
2.2.8: 409
2.3: 280
2.3.9: 286
2.3.13: 438
2.3.27: 179
2.4.5: 391, 404
2.5: 346
2.5.1: 291, 438
2.5.5–8: 300, 374
2.5.5–22: 276
2.5.6–8: 280
2.5.8: 309
2.5.13: 280, 438
2.5.14: 290
2.5.15: 435
2.5.16: 252
2.5.26–28: 335
2.5.37–38: 335
2.5.38: 317
2.6: 291
2.6.1: 291, 393
2.6.9: 454
2.6.22–25: 372
2.6.24: 398
2.6.26: 291
2.6.28: 291
2.6.61: 468
2.6.78: 278
2.6.102: 402
2.7.3–10: 41
2.7.22: 442
3.1: 215
3.1.5: 97
3.1.8: 369, 379
3.1.9: 351
3.1.12: 215
3.1.14: 137–38, 353–54
3.1.14–16: 283
3.1.16: 376
3.2: 348, 402
3.2.7: 370
3.2.9: 78, 377
3.2.13: 372
3.2.13–16: 370
3.2.19: 36, 40, 240, 423
3.2.20: 256, 382
3.2.22: 240, 332
3.2.25: 90
3.3.8: 437
3.3.10: 421
3.3.10–12: 234
3.4.3: 180
3.4.6: 100
3.4.7–8: 369
3.4.7–9: 306, 384
3.4.8–9: 361
3.5.1–7: 192, 279
3.5.19: 294, 362
3.6.7: 175, 303
3.6.33: 71
3.7.3: 180
3.7.7: 374, 381
3.8.1: 206
3.8.15: 345, 398
3.8.18: 206, 374
3.8.24: 174
3.9.13–14: 100
3.9.13–15: 292
3.9.16–17: 381
3.9.25: 389, 396
3.10.1: 179
3.11: 7, 286
3.11.2: 445–46
3.11.3: 450
3.11.4: 456
3.11.5: 462
3.11.6: 472
3.11.16: 437
3.11.17: 100
3.11.19: 421
3.11.23: 345
3.11.24: 455
3.11.25: 463
3.11.27: 469
3.11.29: 364
3.11.31–32: 469
3.11.33–36: 471
3.11.37: 474
3.11.38: 475
3.11.39: 475
3.12.3–4: 197
3.12.15: 315, 474
3.13.1a: 205, 290, 389
3.13.1b: 276, 362, 410
3.13.2a: 356
3.13.2b: 9, 352
3.13.3a: 241, 292, 362, 369
3.13.3b: 188, 292, 384
3.13.4a: 118, 293, 382
3.13.4b: 293
3.13.5a: 374, 442
3.13.6a: 374, 281
3.13.7b: 374
3.13.12: 10

Solution
1: 288
2: 57
3: 198, 377
4: 378
6: 198, 377
8: 377
26: 140, 225, 388
32: 377
33: 271
38: 242

Symphonia
1. O vis eternitatis: 139, 291, 370, 376, 408
2. O virtus Sapientie: 34, 399
3. O quam mirabilis est: 38, 350

5. O cruor sanguinis: 453
7. O eterne Deus: 286
8. Ave Maria, o auctrix vite: 205
8–23: 191
9. O clarissima mater: 382, 384, 392
10. O splendidissima gemma: 205, 290, 389
11. Hodie aperuit: 286, 290
13. Cum processit factura: 248, 284, 372
14. Cum erubuerint: 284
15. O frondens virga: 286
16. O quam magnum miraculum: 255
17. Ave generosa: 378, 398
18. Alleluia! O virga mediatrix: 290
19. O viridissima virga: 398, 437–38
20. O virga ac diadema: 286, 290, 342, 409
21. O tu suavissima virga: 276, 362, 410
23. O tu illustrata: 400
24. Spiritus sanctus vivificans vita: 231, 288
25. Karitas habundat: 238
27. O ignee Spiritus: 41, 240
28. O ignis Spiritus Paracliti: 103, 231, 236, 250, 403
29. O gloriosissimi lux vivens angeli: 356
30. O vos angeli: 9, 352
31. O spectabiles viri: 241, 292, 362, 369
32. O vos felices radices: 188, 292, 384
33. O cohors milicie floris: 118, 293, 382
34. O lucidissima apostolorum: 293
35. O speculum columbe: 374, 438
36. O dulcis electe: 438
37. O victoriosissimi triumphatores: 374, 442
40. O successores: 374, 381
44. O beata infantia: 437–38
46–48: 229
47. O beatissime Ruperte: 185
49. O Ierusalem: 226, 229, 280
50. Mathias sanctus: 432
53. O Euchari in leta via: 188
54. Columba aspexit: 103, 229, 328, 386, 437–38, 471
56. O nobilissima viriditas: 374
57. O dulcissime amator: 210, 309, 393
59. Rex noster promptus est: 444
63. In matutinis laudibus: 190
65. Cum vox sanguinis: 444
66. O virgo Ecclesia: 393
69. O choruscans lux: 281
O factura Dei: 129, 381, 390–91
O magna res: 192

Vita (*Life*)
2.1: 477
2.1–2: 481
2.2: 30, 389, 427, 477–78
2.5: 389, 477
2.9: 374, 389, 459, 477
2.16: 4–5, 29
3.20–23: 154
3.21: 244
3.23: 125
3.23–24: 389, 477
3.24: 305

RECENT VOLUMES IN THE FATHERS OF THE CHURCH, MEDIAEVAL CONTINUATION

ALBERT THE GREAT, *On the Body of the Lord,* translated by Sr. Albert Marie Surmanski, OP, Volume 17 (2017)

PETER THE VENERABLE, *Writings Against the Saracens,* translated by Irven M. Resnick, Volume 16 (2016)

JOHN DUNS SCOTUS, *Questions on Aristotle's* Categories, translated by Lloyd A. Newton, Volume 15 (2014)

PETER THE VENERABLE, *Against the Inveterate Obduracy of the Jews,* translated by Irven M. Resnick, Volume 14 (2013)

ROBERT GROSSETESTE, *On the Cessation of the Laws,* translated by Stephen M. Hildebrand, Volume 13 (2012)

PETER ABELARD, *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans,* translated by Steven R. Cartwright, Volume 12 (2011)

THOMAS AQUINAS, *The Academic Sermons,* translated by Mark-Robin Hoogland, CP, Volume 11 (2010)

LANFRANC OF CANTERBURY, *On the Body and Blood of the Lord,* and GUITMUND OF AVERSA, *On the Truth of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Eucharist,* translated by Mark G. Vaillancourt, Volume 10 (2009)

ALBERT THE GREAT, *Questions Concerning Aristotle's* On Animals, translated by Irven M. Resnick and Kenneth F. Kitchell, Jr., Volume 9 (2008)

PETRUS ALFONSI, *Dialogue Against the Jews,* translated by Irven M. Resnick, Volume 8 (2006)

Ms.
1942