

HILDEGARDIAN PROPHECY AND FRENCH PROPHECY COLLECTIONS, 1378–1455: A STUDY AND CRITICAL EDITION OF THE “SCHISM EXTRACTS”

BY MAGDA HAYTON

This article offers a study and critical edition of a group of passages (here called the “Schism Extracts”) that were compiled from the apocalyptic prophecies of Hildegard of Bingen and heavily annotated in response to the Great Western Schism (1378–1417). The article argues that the Extracts were created by someone with ties to the University of Paris to illuminate a French perspective on the Schism and that they circulated primarily within a Parisian milieu—both among masters at the university and among members of religious houses in and around Paris. The article outlines the main contents and themes of the Extracts and the manuscript contexts in which they are found, including five prophecy collections. While one prophecy collection is known to have been compiled by the Parisian master Simon du Bosc, it is here argued that three of the other collections were produced by Pierre d’Ailly or someone within his circle of associates. Many of the prophetic writings selected for these collections thematically concern the eschatological and reformist role of France and a future holy angelic pope (the pastor angelicus). These include the writings of John of Rupescissa, and parallels between the Extracts and John’s reading of Hildegard suggest that the compiler of the text was well-versed in John’s apocalyptic thought.

INTRODUCTION

Hildegard of Bingen (1098–1179) was one of the most widely read apocalyptic prophets of the Middle Ages. In the post-1220 period, she was predominantly known through Gebeno of Eberbach’s *Pentachronon siue speculum futurorum temporum* (*Book of Five Times or Mirror of Future Times*, ca.1220), an anthology of selections excerpted from her writings and recontextualized to focus on her apocalyptically charged teaching for monks and clerics.¹ The *Pentachronon* was

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¹ The following abbreviations are used throughout: *La Obra* = Gebenón of Eberbach, *La Obra de Gebenón*, ed. and intro. José Carlos Santos Paz, *Millennio Medievale* 46 Testi 12 La tradizione profetica 2 (Florence, 2004); *LSE* = Johannes de Rupescissa, *Liber secretorum eventuum: Edition critique, traduction et introduction historique*, ed. C. Morerod-Fattebert and intro. R. Lerner (Fribourg, 1994). For a critical edition of one version of the *Pentachronon* with an introduction and a catalogue of extant witnesses, see *La Obra. On the Pentachronon*, see also Kathryn Kerby-Fulton, *Books under Suspicion: Censorship and Tolerance of Revelatory Writing in Late Medieval England* (Notre Dame, 2006) and *Reformist Apocalypticism*

repeatedly cited, annotated, and copied in the late-fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as scribes and readers sought to understand contemporary ecclesiastical and political crises within the larger historical narrative and apocalyptic framework for reform and renewal offered by the anthology. Hildegard's reception through the *Pentachronon* in the later-medieval period has received some attention, especially her readership in England, but the depth of her influence is still not fully understood.² Here I seek to further our understanding of Hildegard's continental reception and influence in the period from 1378 to 1455 by offering a study and critical edition of a little-known abridgment of the *Pentachronon* that was fashioned in France in reaction to the election of two popes in 1378, Urban VI in Rome and Clement VII in Avignon, and the beginning of the Great Western Schism. I refer to this abridgment as the "Schism Extracts."

The Schism Extracts were popular only within territories belonging to the Avignon obedience during and after the Western Schism (1378–1417), and five of the seven extant witnesses are French prophecy collections, that is, they were created by and/or for French readers. These collections reveal a strong association between Hildegardian apocalyptic discourse and apocalyptic predictions concerning the German Empire, the French monarchy, and the papacy in the 1378–1455 period.³ Similar to Hildegard's reception at Oxford, there is compelling evidence that the network of readers and scribes through which the Schism Extracts traveled and that produced the prophecy collections in which they are found involved members of the University of Paris with ties to French interests and the French

and *Piers Plowman* (Cambridge, 1990); Magda Hayton, "Inflections of Prophetic Vision: The Reshaping of Hildegard of Bingen's Apocalypticism as Represented by Abridgments of the *Pentachronon*," (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2015).

² For Hildegard's reception in England, see Kerby-Fulton, *Books under Suspicion*; eadem, "Hildegard and the Male Reader: A Study in Insular Reception," in *Prophets Abroad: The Reception of Continental Holy Women in Late-Medieval England*, ed. R. Voaden (Cambridge, 1996), 1–18; eadem, "Prophecy and Suspicion: Closet Radicalism, Reformist Politics, and the Vogue for Hildegardiana in Ricardian England," *Speculum* 75 (2000): 318–41. For her continental reception in the 1378–1455 period, see José Carlos Santos Paz, *La Obra*; idem, *Cisma y Profecía: Estudio y Edición de la Carta de Enrique de Langenstein a Ecardo de Ders Sobre el Gran Cisma* (La Coruña, 2000); André Vauchez, "Les théologiens face aux prophéties à l'époque des papes d'Avignon et du Grand Schisme," *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome - Moyen Âge* 102 (1990): 577–88; Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *Poets, Saints, and Visionaries of the Great Schism 1378–1417* (University Park, PA, 2006); Michael Embach, *Die Schriften Hildegards von Bingen: Studien zu ihrer Überlieferung und Rezeption im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit* (Berlin, 2003); Magda Hayton, "Pierre d'Ailly's *De falsis prophetis II* and the *Collectiones* of William of St. Amour," *Viator* 44 (2013): 243–66.

³ On French apocalypticism, see Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages: A Study in Joachimism* (Notre Dame, 1993), 320–31 and Robert Lerner, "Historical Introduction" in *LSE*.

monarchy during the Schism, including Simon du Bosc (d. 1418), Pierre d'Ailly (1351–1420), and members of religious houses in and around Paris.⁴

HILDEGARD'S FIVE TIMES AND SCHISMATIC TRIBULATION IN THE *PENTACHRONON*

The compiler of the Schism Extracts was drawing on a tradition of reading Hildegard as a prophet of schism and reform that began with Gebeno of Eberbach in the early thirteenth century. When Gebeno fashioned the *Pentachronon* around 1220, his primary concern was to bring about the emendation and correction of his fellow monks and the clergy in light of an imminent schismatic tribulation that Hildegard had prophesied.⁵ To accomplish this task, Gebeno included in his anthology material from Hildegard's epistolary corpus and long excerpts from Book III of *Scivias* and Part III of the *Liber divinorum operum* (*LDO*). The latter two include Hildegard's visions of present and future history up to the death of the Antichrist, a period that she broke down into a succession of five times (from which Gebeno took *Pentachronon* for the first of his titles).⁶ Each of the times is represented by an animal: the Fiery Dog, Tawny Lion, Pale Horse, Black Pig, and Grey Wolf (*canis igneus*, *leo fuluus*, *equus pallidus*, *niger porcus*, and *lupus griseus*).

In the *Scivias*, Hildegard briefly described the general character of each time, but in the *LDO* she provided an expanded description with specific details about the events to take place and the players that would be involved. During each time the church would suffer tribulation or spiritual decline brought about by both internal corruption and external forces, such as heretics, heathens, and, ultimately, the Antichrist. Yet Hildegard's narrative is not entirely one of increasing decline before the Last Judgment, for she also predicted two moments of dramatic renewal marked by increased prophetic illumination before the Last Judgment, one during the time of the Tawny Lion and another

⁴ On Hildegard's reception at Oxford during the Schism, see Kathryn Kerby-Fulton, "Oxford," in *Europe: A Literary History, 1348–1418*, 2 vols., ed. David Wallace (Oxford, 2016), 1:208–26.

⁵ Gebeno was prior at the Cistercian abbey of Eberbach when he compiled the *Pentachronon*. For the few biographical details available for Gebeno, see *La Obra*, xiii–xvi. On his purpose in compiling the *Pentachronon*, see his *Prologus* to the work in *La Obra*, 4–6. During Hildegard's own lifetime there was the papal schism of 1159–77 between Alexander III and Victor IV, who was backed by emperor Frederick Barbarossa. On the relationship between this schism and Hildegard's reformist thought and historical program, see Kathryn Kerby-Fulton, "Prophet and Reformer: Smoke in the Vineyard," in *Voice of the Living Light: Hildegard of Bingen and Her World*, ed. Barbara Newman (Berkeley, 1998), 70–90 and Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *Poets, Saints, and Visionaries*, 23–26.

⁶ For more detailed accounts of Hildegard's apocalyptic program, see Kerby-Fulton, *Books under Suspicion, Reformist Apocalypticism*, and "Prophet and Reformer."

during the time of the Pale Horse, giving her apocalypticism a meliorist edge.⁷ Each of these moments would come in the wake of tribulation and so reading across Hildegard's five times in the *LDO* there are three cycles of decline, tribulation, and renewal, with the final cycle encompassing the terror of the Antichrist and looking forward to ultimate renewal after his death and the Last Judgment. The compiler of the Schism Extracts was especially interested in two moments Hildegard described in the *LDO*, as we will see.

The schismatic tribulation that Gebeno considered imminent (he calculated a date of 1256 as the likely time of its occurrence)⁸ was part of the first of Hildegard's cycles. It would mark the transition from the present time of the Fiery Dog to the subsequent time of the Tawny Lion and be immediately followed by widespread renewal. This tribulation would see heretical false religious, as precursors to the Antichrist, seducing lay lords and causing the true religious to be expelled from their monasteries, churches, and lands. One of the striking features of the *Pentachronon* is how Gebeno drew from Hildegard's letters to flesh out the *LDO*'s narrative; Hildegard's famous letter to the clergy of Cologne was central to his understanding of the first and fast-approaching tribulation.⁹ In this epistolary prophecy Hildegard described a tribulation specific to the secular clergy, but, by inserting it into the *LDO* narrative along with descriptions of trials to befall monastic communities found in Hildegard's other letters, Gebeno was able to present the Cologne scenario as equally threatening to monks.¹⁰

⁷ On the meliorist quality of Hildegard's apocalyptic narrative, see Kerby-Fulton's publications listed in previous note. For an alternative interpretation, see Constant Mews, "From *Scivias* to the *Liber Divinorum Operum*: Hildegard's Apocalyptic Imagination and the Call to Reform," *Journal of Religious History* 24 (2000): 44–56.

⁸ *La Obra*, 108–9.

⁹ For a detailed study of the Cologne letter including the historical context, see Konrad Bund, "Die 'Prophetin': Ein Dichter und die Niederlassung der Bettelorden in Köln; Der Brief der Hildegard von Bingen an den Kölner Klerus und das Gedicht, 'Prophetia Sancte Hyldegardis de Novis Fratribus' des Magisters Heinrich von Avranches," *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 23 (1988): 171–260. See also Kathryn Kerby-Fulton, "Hildegard of Bingen and Anti-Mendicant Propaganda," *Traditio* 43 (1987): 386–99; eadem, "When Women Preached: An Introduction to Female Homiletic, Sacramental, and Liturgical Roles in the Later Middle Ages," in *Voices in Dialogue: Reading Women in the Middle Ages*, ed. Linda Olson and Kathryn Kerby-Fulton (Notre Dame, 2005), 40–42; and Kathryn Kerby-Fulton, Magda Hayton, and Kenna Olsen, "Pseudo-Hildegardian Prophecy and Antimendicant Propaganda in Late-Medieval England: An Edition of the Most Popular Insular Text of 'Insurgent Gentes,'" in *Prophecy, Apocalypse and the Day of Doom: Proceedings of the 2000 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. Nigel Morgan, Harlaxton Medieval Studies 12 (Donington, Lincolnshire, 2004), 160–94. An English translation can be found in *The Letters of Hildegard of Bingen*, 3 vols., trans. Joseph L. Baird and Radd K. Ehrman (Oxford, 1998), 1:54–65.

¹⁰ For Gebeno's description of the tribulation, see especially his *Item de eisdem hereticis ex Apocalypsim et de vii temporibus a predicatione Christi usque in finem seculi* (*La Obra*, 88–114). Gebeno draws from Hildegard's *Epistola ad Conradum regem* and *Epistola ad Wernerum* to

As a form of divine chastisement and correction, the tribulation would lead to the reform and renewal of monks, secular clergy and, indeed, the whole of Christian society; there would be “unheard of ordinations of justice and peace” causing people to wonder “because peace has been given to them before the day of judgment.”¹¹ According to the *LDO* narrative, the hallmark of this renewed society and the reason for its peace would be increased prophetic insight with the coming of “strong men in great prophecy”:

For that peace which preceded the arrival of the incarnation of My Son will be fully perfected in those days because strong men in great prophecy will then rise up so that indeed every seed of justice will then flower in the sons and in the daughters of humanity.

Pax enim illa que aduentum incarnationis filii mei precesserat illis diebus pleniter perficietur, quoniam fortes uiri in magna propheta tunc surgent, ita ut etiam omne germen iusticie in filiis et in filiabus hominum tunc florebit.¹²

While this first of Hildegard’s predictions concerning future prophets in the *LDO* was not included in the Schism Extracts, her prediction for the time of the Pale Horse was; however, in this second instance the rise in prophetic insight is slightly different. It is not exclusive to certain “strong men” but, as a fulfillment of Joel 2:28 (“And afterward, I will pour out my Spirit on all people. Your sons and daughters will prophesy ...”), includes “many prophets and many wise ones”:

Indeed, in those days there will be many prophets and many wise ones, thus so that even the hidden things of the prophets and of the other scriptures will be made fully plain and their sons and daughters will prophesy, just as it was predicted a long time ago. ... Also, they will prophesy in the same spirit by which the prophets once announced the secrets of God and in the likeness of the teaching of the apostles whose teaching was beyond all human intellect.

In ipsa etiam diebus multi prophete ac plurimi sapientes erunt, ita ut etiam occulta prophetarum et aliarum scripturarum sapientibus tunc ad plenum pateant et filii et filie eorum prophetent, uelut ante multa tempora predictum est. ... In eodem quoque spiritu illi prophetabunt quo prophete secreta Dei

bring monastic audiences into the tribulation scenario of the “Cologne Prophecy” (ibid., 101 and 104, respectively).

¹¹ “Sed et tam noue et tam inaudite ordinationes iusticie et pacis tunc aduenient, ut homines inde mirentur, dicentes quoniam talia prius nec uiderunt nec cognouerunt” (ibid., 17–18). On a time of peace prior to the Last Judgment, see Robert Lerner, “The Refreshment of the Saints: The Time after Antichrist as a Station for Earthly Progress in Medieval Thought,” *Traditio* 32 (1976): 97–144. For discussion of this *LDO* passage, see Kerby-Fulton, *Reformist Apocalypticism*, 47–48.

¹² *La Obra*, 18. Hildegard goes on to describe how this “unconcealed prophecy” will act as a mirror of spiritual edification for “all the faithful”: “Propheta quippe, ut prefatum est, tunc aperta erit et sapientia iocunda et robusta et omnes fideles in hiis uelut in speculo considerabunt se” (ibid., 20).

olim annuntiauerunt et in similitudine doctrine apostolorum, quorum doctrina supra omnem humanum intellectum fuit.¹³

The spiritual leadership offered by Hildegard's future prophets stems from their exegetical prophetic gifting, as the "hidden things" of the scriptures are revealed through them.¹⁴

Hildegard's idea that unmediated spiritual insight will increase in a future age after a tribulation and that it would be one of the hallmarks of that age has much in common with the better-known teachings of Joachim of Fiore (ca. 1135–1202).¹⁵ Where Hildegard foresaw two stages of increase in prophetic insight over the course of five times, Joachim prophesied a dramatic increase during his third *status* or age when spiritual leadership would be provided by certain "spiritual men" (*uiri spirituales*) endowed with "spiritual understanding" (*intellectus spiritualis*). Like Hildegard's future prophets, Joachim's spiritual men would be given unmediated understanding of the meaning of the scriptures. Also similar to Hildegard's scenario, Joachim's third age would be one of widespread renewal and peace, would come after a great tribulation (for Joachim it would be at the hands of Antichrist), and would end with the advent of a final Antichrist.¹⁶ Parallels between the teachings of the *Pentachronon* and Joachite works were recognized by medieval readers from as early as the 1240s when Hildegard and Joachim first began to be cited together as prophetic authorities; these parallels were also recognized by two of the fourteenth-century authors closely associated with the Schism Extracts, John of Rupescissa († ca. 1365) and Pierre d'Ailly, and are likely one of the reasons that the *Pentachronon* and Schism Extracts were copied alongside Joachite works in the prophecy collections discussed below.¹⁷

¹³ Ibid., 27. On "sons and daughters" prophesying, see also Acts 2:17.

¹⁴ Hildegard also wrote about the advent of "strong and wise men" who would "rise up and prophesy" in her letter to the clergy of Trier (*Epistola ad clericum*) where she described more fully their ministry as exegetically gifted spiritual leaders: "Tunc etiam fortes et sapientes uiri surgent et prophetabunt et omnia noua et uetera scripturarum et omnes sermones per Spiritum sanctum effusos colligent et intellectum eorum sicut monile cum pretiosis lapidibus ornabunt et omnes fideles in hiis uelut in speculo considerabunt se" (*La Obra*, 64). Gebeno understood this to be a further description of the future prophets expected during the time of the Tawny Lion as described in the *LDO* (ibid., 105–6).

¹⁵ On Joachim of Fiore, see Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages* (n. 3 above); E. Randolph Daniel, *Abbot Joachim of Fiore and Joachimism: Selected Articles* (Farnham, Surrey and Burlington, VT 2011); Bernard McGinn, *The Calabrian Abbot: Joachim of Fiore in the History of Western Thought* (New York, 1985); and works by Robert Lerner listed in notes 3, 11, 16, and 44. For a comparison of the apocalyptic thought of Hildegard and Joachim, see Kerby-Fulton, *Books under Suspicion*, chap. 4.

¹⁶ Robert Lerner, "Antichrists and Antichrist in Joachim of Fiore," *Speculum* 60 (1985): 553–70.

¹⁷ The earliest author to cite Hildegard and Joachim together and equate Joachim's spiritual men with Hildegard's future prophets was Alexander of Bremen in the ca. 1242 version of his *Expositio in Apocalypsim* (Alexander Minorita, *Expositio in Apocalypsim*, ed. Alois

By the late fourteenth century, the *Pentachronon* was available in numerous versions; the version used by the compiler of the Schism Extracts was one of the earliest and most popular adaptations, completed by 1250. The opening passage from Hildegard's writings in this version, a brief excerpt from *LDO* II.1.9, begins with "Cum peccata," and so for ease of reference I will refer to this version as the *PentachrononCp* or *PCp*.¹⁸ The editor of the *PentachrononCp* followed Gebeno's reading of Hildegard closely and used two short texts composed by Gebeno on the schismatic tribulation as the opening and closing texts of the anthology (something Gebeno himself had not done): *Ista dabuntur* and *Item quando*.¹⁹ *Ista dabuntur* is a short piece comprising just a rubric, "These indications will be given before that schism in which bishops and the clergy will be expelled from their own places" (*Ista dabuntur indicia ante scisma illud sub quo episcopi et clerici de locis propriis expellentur*); and the brief excerpt from the *LDO* beginning with "Cum peccata" which further describes the disendowment and expulsion of ecclesiastical persons. *Item quando* provides Gebeno's calculation of 1256 for the start of the tribulation based on his interpretations of Hildegard's prophecies.²⁰ In addition to using Gebeno's short pieces on the schismatic tribulation as bookends for the *PCp*, the editor also divided the work into three books and included a complete copy of the Cologne letter where Gebeno had only included an excerpt. The popularity of the *PCp* among fourteenth- and fifteenth-century French readers is evidenced not only by the creation of the Schism Extracts from it but also by the fact that it was included in its entirety in three of the prophecy collections discussed below.

The texts chosen for the Schism Extracts reveal that the compiler followed Gebeno's and the *PCp* editor's interest in Hildegard's presentation of reform

Wachtel, *MGH Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters* 1 [Weimar, 1955], 493–95). On the parallels between the apocalyptic narratives of Hildegard and Joachim and the common reception of the *Pentachronon* and Joachite works in the thirteenth century, see Hayton, "Inflections" (n. 1 above). On Rupescissa, see below, 12–14; on d'Ailly, see Hayton, "Pierre d'Ailly's *De falsis prophetis II*" (n. 2 above).

¹⁸ Around one third of the surviving copies of the *Pentachronon* (32 of approximately 100) are copies of the *PCp* (Santos Paz refers to the *PCp* as "redaction I, version II" in *La Obra*, lxxxviii–xcii). The three earliest witnesses date to the mid-thirteenth century: Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert I, cod. 467; Frankfurt, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, fragm. lat. I 95 (a one folio fragment originally dated to ca. 1200 but redated to sometime after 1222 by Santos Paz [ibid., ccxx]); and Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August Bibliothek, cod. 125.2 Extravagantes. The *PCp* is represented by group β in Santos Paz's edition in *La Obra*, and variant readings in the Schism Extracts agree with β against the other manuscripts indicating that they were made from a copy of this version. For a detailed study of the *PCp*, see Hayton, "Inflections."

¹⁹ *Ista dabuntur* and *Item quando* are edited by Santos Paz in *La Obra*, 107–9. For *Ista dabuntur*, see edition below, 483.

²⁰ See n. 8 above.

within the context of a schismatic tribulation. They also shared an interest in the promise of renewal associated with increased prophetic insight. However, the compiler of the Schism Extracts emphasized aspects of Hildegard's apocalyptic discourse specific to their late fourteenth-century concerns: the role of the laity in ecclesiastical reform, the breakdown of universalizing ecclesiastical and political hierarchies, namely, the papal church and the Holy Roman Empire, and the role of councils in bringing about reform. The Extracts represent a new chapter in the reception of Hildegard as an apocalyptic prophet, one in which Gebeno's presentation of her teachings was reshaped for French readers involved in Schism-era debates.

THE SCHISM EXTRACTS: CONTENTS AND THEMES

The Schism Extracts include four excerpts from the *Pentachronon*Cp: *Ista dabuntur*, two excerpts from the *LDO*, and an excerpt from the Cologne letter.²¹ Introducing these excerpts is a brief quotation from Gebeno's prologue indicating that Hildegard's prophecies received official papal and conciliar approval:

These things which follow were extracted from the books of Saint Hildegard the prophet whose books were received and canonized by Pope Eugene at the Council of Trier with many bishops and prelates presiding, as many Frankish as Teutonic, and Saint Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux.

Hec que secuntur extracta sunt de libris Sancte Hildegardis prophetisse, qui libri recepti et canonizati sunt a Papa Eugenio in Concilio Treverensi, presentibus multis episcopis et prelatibus, tam Francorum quam Theutonicorum, et Sancto Bernardo Clarevallensi Abbate.²²

With Hildegard's orthodoxy and papal approval thus announced, this abridgment continues with *Ista dabuntur*, which has not only Gebeno's original rubric but in the majority of witnesses is also annotated with "the division of the church and the destruction of the nobles" (*diuisio ecclesie et destructio nobilium*).²³

Displaced from their original context within the narrative of Hildegard's five animal times, the events described in the two excerpts from the *LDO* are presented as speaking to the same historical moment. The first excerpt is a passage that was

²¹ Latin quotations taken from edition below. All translations are my own.

²² "Schism Extracts," below 25. Cf. *La Obra*, 6. On this often quoted passage from the *Pentachronon*, see Kerby-Fulton, "Hildegard and the Male Reader" (n. 2 above); John Van Engen, "Letters and the Public *Persona* of Hildegard," in *Hildegard von Bingen in ihrem historischen Umfeld*, ed. Alfred Haverkamp (Mainz, 2000), 375–418; Laurence Moulinier, "'Et Papa libros eius canonizavit': Reflexions sur l'orthodoxie des ecrits de Hildegarde de Bingen," in *Orthodoxie, christianisme, histoire—Orthodoxy, Christianity, History*, ed. Susanna Elm, Éric Rebillard, and Antonella Romano (Rome, 2000), 177–98.

²³ Edition below, 483.

often excerpted and copied on its own in the later Middle Ages, the “*Iusticia* prophecy.”²⁴ It is taken from Hildegard’s description of her first time, that of the Fiery Dog, and it was already presented as part of the narrative of the proximate schismatic tribulation by Gebeno in his original *Pentachronon* and in the *PCp*.

The “*Iusticia* prophecy” begins by describing the avarice of the clergy and states that “the entire church grows dry through them” (*omnis ecclesia per eos arescit*).²⁵ This is corrected through the forced disendowment of the church at the hands of the laity who eventually, despite the resistance of the “pontifical dignitaries and all the monastic dignitaries in habit remaining under them” (*pontificales dignitates et omnes spirituales habitu sub eis degentes*), effect clerical humiliation and repentance.²⁶ The result is a properly governed clergy:

The greater as well as the lesser of both people [that is, of the laity and the clergy] will ordain a clergy and make sure they have the necessities and lack neither in food nor in clothing.

Tam maiores quam minores utriusque populi clerum ita ordinabunt et ea que illi sunt necessaria hoc modo disponent, ut nec in uictu nec in uestitu defectum habeant.²⁷

With material wealth properly allocated and superfluous temporal goods removed from the clergy, society flourishes and “each and every order stands in its rectitude” (*quisque ordo in sua rectitudine consistat*).²⁸ Annotations to this passage in the Schism Extracts draw the reader’s attention to the role of the laity, pointing out how “the restricted church will be humbled before the laity” (*ecclesia coram laicis coacta humiliabitur*) and how “the laity will provide necessary, but not superfluous things for the church” (*laici prouident ecclesie necessaria sed non superflua*).²⁹ Where the “*Iusticia* prophecy” speaks of the lay aristocracy working on its own to bring about reform and renewal in the face of clerical resistance, the second passage taken from the *LDO* that immediately follows in the Extracts depicts the laity working in concert with the clergy.

²⁴ On the “*Iusticia* prophecy,” 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, “Prophet and Reformer” (n. 5 above); and eadem, *Books under Suspicion*, 197.

²⁵ Edition below, 483.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 2. As a supporter of the Gregorian reform movement, Hildegard’s positive attitude toward the lay aristocracy within her reformist thought is unusual and innovative; see Kerby-Fulton, *Reformist Apocalypticism* (n. 1 above), 36–39 and eadem, “Prophet and Reformer.”

²⁷ Edition below, 486.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 486.

The second passage from the *LDO* is taken from Hildegard's depiction of the time of the Pale Horse, that is, what was originally her third time. In the full text as found in the *PCp*, Hildegard had predicted that the disruptions of pagan invaders and subsequent ecclesiastical pollution at the hand of the clergy would instigate the need for further ecclesiastical reform. However, the passage included in the Extracts begins later in Hildegard's narrative where she speaks of the decline and dissolution of the Roman *imperium* and the papal church and the subsequent flourishing of prophets and prophecy cited above. The events described in this passage are presented as though occurring simultaneously with the events described in the previous passage in the Schism Extracts even though they were distanced from the near future in the *PCp*.

In this second passage from the *LDO* the downfall of papacy and empire lead to a reformed society arranged into radically different secular and ecclesiastical hierarchies — a society founded on ancient customs and guided by the spiritual leadership of Hildegard's future prophets. The secular organization that forms after the "kings and princes of many peoples who were at first subjected to the Roman *imperium* separate themselves from it" (*reges et principes multorum populorum qui prius romano imperio subiecti erant se ab illo separabunt*) is described as follows:

Each and every province and each people will then establish a king for themselves to whom they will be obedient, saying that the breadth of the Roman *imperium* was more burdensome to them than useful.

Nam unaqueque prouincia et quisque populus regem sibi tunc constituet cui obediat, dicens quod latitudo romani imperii magis sibi oneri fuit quam utilitati.³⁰

This decentralization of the secular hierarchy, annotated in the Extracts as the "destruction of the Roman Empire" (*destructio romani imperii*), is followed by the decentralization of the ecclesiastical hierarchy: "but after the imperial sceptre will have been divided in this way it will not be possible to repair it, then indeed the mitre of apostolic honor will be divided" (*Sed postquam imperiale sceptrum hoc modo diuisum fuerit nec reparari poterit tunc etiam infula apostolici honoris diuidetur*).³¹ Just as people will choose more local lay rulers, so too, in

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 487.

³¹ *Ibid.* Pierre d'Ailly refers to Hildegard's prediction of the subtraction of obedience from the Roman church in his *Tractatus de materia concilii generalis* (1402–3): "quidam spirituales ... subtractionem quoque oboedientiae ab Ecclesia Romana et alia plura scandalosa inde secutura praedixerunt, sicut patet in libris Abbatis Joachim et Hildegardis" (Francis Oakley, *The Political Thought of Pierre d'Ailly: The Voluntarist Tradition* [New Haven, 1964], 315–16). Hildegard also predicts that Rome will come to be "lying at the point of death" (*in extremis iacens*) in a passage from her letter to Pope Anastasius that was included in both Gebeno's original *Pentachronon* (*La Obra*, 71–72) and in book two of the *PCp*.

place of the papacy “they will prefer for themselves other masters and archbishops under another name in diverse regions” (*aliosque magistros et archiepiscopos sub alio nomine in diuersis regionibus sibi preferent*).³² This “destruction and annihilation of the papacy” (*destructio et adnichilacio* [adnichilacio] *papatus*), as some annotations in the Extracts put it, leaves the bishopric of Rome once more governing only Rome and “a few places adjacent to it” (*pauca illi adiacentia loca*).³³

By insisting that the papacy cannot survive as a universal institution without the corresponding secular institution of the Roman *imperium*, Hildegard suggests that a strong political presence is needed to ensure the unity of the papal church. This intimate relationship between secular and ecclesiastical institutions continues when both hierarchies are transformed into more localized arrangements that mirror one another as outlined above. It is also seen in Hildegard’s prediction that the new social order results from cooperation between the laity and the clergy. She writes that it “comes about in part by the incursion of wars, in part by the common counsel and consent of both spiritual and secular peoples” (*ex parte per bellorum incursionem euenient ex parte per commune consilium et consensum et spiritualium et secularium populorum*).³⁴ In two manuscript witnesses of the Schism Extracts, including one of the earliest, this is annotated as referring to a general council (*consilium generale*) and in a third manuscript as a description of secular and ecclesiastical leaders together deciding the fate of the papacy (*clerus et populus utriusque hierarchie destructioni iuste consentiet*).³⁵ The inclusion of this passage from the *LDO* and the annotations added to it point to a preoccupation with the reforming potential of councils and of cooperation between the lay aristocracy and ecclesiastical leaders on the part of the compiler and subsequent scribes of the Extracts.

This second excerpt from the *LDO* continues with Hildegard’s further description of the reformed society flourishing under proper secular and ecclesiastical government and concludes with the passage describing the advent of “many prophets and wise ones” (*multi prophete et sapientes*) providing spiritual leadership quoted above.³⁶ This, too, was of interest to the scribes of the Extracts who drew their readers’ attention to Hildegard’s prediction of widespread and unmediated spiritual insight with annotations; three scribes annotated the passage with “there will be prophets and wise ones in the restored church” (*prophetes et sapientes erunt in ecclesia renouata*) and a fourth with “prophets in the Roman church” (*prophete in ecclesia romana*).³⁷ The final excerpt included in the Extracts from the Cologne

³² Edition below, 487.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid., 488.

³⁷ Ibid.

letter does not mention the rise of prophecy, but it nevertheless shares the same melioristic movement and is presented as speaking to the same historical moment.

The passage selected from the Cologne letter begins with a description of the clergy's failure to carry out their pastoral duties. Their failure allows for a heretical sect, sent by the Devil, to rise up and seduce the lay princes (*maioribus principibus secularibus se coniunget*) into following them.³⁸ Thus allied with the laity, this group, who are identified as the forerunners of Antichrist, force the correction of the clergy. The success of the seducing heretics, moreover, leads those "who at that time are erring in the catholic faith to fear those men [that is, the seducers] ... and as much as they are able they will imitate them" (*qui eo tempore in fide catholica errant istos homines timebunt ... et quantum poterunt eos imitabuntur*).³⁹ The prophecy concludes with the deceivers (*deceptores*) revealed for what they are, hunted down and killed by the "princes and others of high rank ... just like rabid wolves" (*principes et alii maiores ... uelut rabidos lupos*).⁴⁰ Although at first deceived, the laity retain the positive role in reform seen in the *LDO* passages by recognizing their error and suppressing the heretics. The excerpt ends on a hopeful note for a fully reformed clergy: "then will be the dawn of justice, and your last things will be better than your former things ... and as the purest gold you will shine and thus you will remain for a long time" (*tunc aurora iusticie et nouissima uestra meliora prioribus erunt ... et quasi purissimum aurum fulgebitis et sic per longa tempora permanebitis*).⁴¹

The Schism Extracts conclude with a postscript:

These few things from the books of Saint Hildegard which are recounted above as a warning are descriptions of evils already threatening so that the things that are coming might be less troubling in that they have been foreknown. For, just as blessed Gregory says, "the spears that are seen in advance harm less. For we bear the evils of this world more tolerably, if we are armed against them by the shield of foreknowledge."

Hec pauca que de libris Sancte Hildegardis supra memorantur ad cautelam iam imminentium malorum descripta sunt ut eo minus perturbent uenientia quo fuerint prescita. Nam sicut dicit Beatus Gregorius: Iacula que preudentur minus feriunt. Quia mala mundi huius tolerabilius suscipimus, si contra hec per prescientie clipeum munimur.⁴²

The compiler of the Schism Extracts believed that the early signs of the tribulation prophesied by Hildegard were already visible and that she had provided guidance as to what was to come.

³⁸ Ibid., 489.

³⁹ Ibid., 490.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 491.

⁴¹ Ibid. See Kerby-Fulton, "A Return to the 'First Dawn of Justice,'" (n. 24 above).

⁴² Ibid.

The texts selected for the Schism Extracts demonstrate a strong interest in Hildegard's prophecies concerning the role of the laity, councils, heretics, and prophecy. In the Extracts Hildegard is presented as a prophet not only of schism and reform but also of the fate of the Holy Roman Empire and the papacy. This inflection of Hildegard's prophetic persona was further emphasized by French readers in the later-medieval period by her association in prophecy collections with other writers and works concerned with similar ideas. Where Hildegard looked to an end of empire and papacy, however, the collections look to France, the French monarchy, and a future holy pope.

CIRCULATION OF THE SCHISM EXTRACTS

The Schism Extracts circulated exclusively among French readers — ecclesiastical, monastic, and lay. Of the Extracts' seven known witnesses, dating from ca. 1379/80 to 1455, six are of certain French provenance while the seventh (and latest) is catalogued as Northern European and could also be French.⁴³ Five of the witness, moreover, are prophecy collections and the compilers of these collections were clearly preoccupied with the fate of the papacy and the possibilities for lay aristocratic participation in ecclesiastical reform and renewal. Works included in these collections promote the idea of a holy reforming pope, the *pastor angelicus*, and the political triumph of the French monarchy, including its role in the reform of the Church and the events of the Last Days.⁴⁴ These include prophetic works such as the *Oraculum Cyrilli*, the *Liber secretorum eventuum* (hereafter *LSE*) by John of Rupescissa, the *Libellus* of Telesphorus of Cosenza (fl. 1350–1400), and the “Second Charlemagne prophecy.”⁴⁵ The Extracts were also copied alongside

⁴³ The manuscript of uncertain provenance is S'Gravenhage, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, cod. 71.E.44.

⁴⁴ Hildegardian apocalypticism was not exclusively associated with the Avignon obedience or supporters of the French monarchy, as the work of Henry of Langenstein demonstrates (see Vauchez, “Les théologiens” [n. 2 above] and Santos Paz, *Cisma y Profecía* [n. 2 above]). On the *pastor angelicus* tradition, see Martha H. Fleming, *The Late Medieval Pope Prophecies: The Genus nequam Group*, *Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies* 204 (Tempe, 1999); Robert Lerner, “On the Origins of the Earliest Latin Pope Prophecies,” in *Fälschungen im Mittelalter: Internationaler Kongress der Monumenta Germaniae Historica München, 16.–19. September 1986*, ed. Jasper Detlev, vol. 5 (Hanover, 1988), 611–35; Bernard McGinn, “Angelic Pope and Papal Antichrist,” *Church History* 47 (1978): 155–73; Marjorie Reeves, “Some Popular Prophecies from the Fourteenth to the Seventeenth Centuries,” in *Popular Belief and Practice*, ed. G. J. Cuming and Derek Baker, *Studies in Church History* 8 (Cambridge, 1972), 107–34.

⁴⁵ For the *Liber secretorum eventuum* see *LSE*; for the *Libellus* see Emil Donkel, “Studien über die Prophezeiung des Fr. Telesphorus von Cosenza, O. F. M.” *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 25 (1933): 25–104; 26 (1934): 282–89; Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages* (n. 3 above), 324–31; McGinn, “Angelic Pope”; for the “Second Charlemagne Prophecy,” see Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages*, 320–31.

Joachite prophecies (including the *Super Hieremiam*, *De oneribus prophetarum*, and the *Expositio super Sibillis et Merlino*), the prophecies of Merlin, and those of the Sibyls — works associated with the *Pentachronon* since the thirteenth century.⁴⁶ A closer look at the circulation of the Extracts points to their origin and circulation among masters at the University of Paris who had close ties to the French monarchy and were heavily involved in the Schism-era councils and debate, particularly Simon du Bosc and Pierre d'Ailly. They also circulated among religious houses in and around Paris, many of which had members at the university, and one copy eventually found its way into the library of Charles of Orleans.

Simon du Bosc and Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, cod. 1355

One of the earliest dated witnesses of the Schism Extracts is a prophecy collection found in Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, cod. 1355 (**R**). The Rouen manuscript contains one of the first prophecy collections compiled in France in the wake of the Schism; it has been dated to ca. 1379–1380 and is from the Abbey of Jumièges.⁴⁷ Hélène Millet has shown that this collection belonged to Simon du Bosc (d.1418), abbot of Jumièges from 1391 and member of the law faculty at the University of Paris.⁴⁸ Simon participated in a number of councils held during the Schism, including those called by the king of France in 1395, 1396, and 1398 and the church councils of Pisa (1409), Rome (1416–1413), and Constance (1414–1418). At Constance, Simon acted as one of the judges in the trial of Jan Hus, dying shortly thereafter in 1418.

Among the prophetic writings contained in **R** is a collection found on folios 87v to 93v that was copied by three different scribes; the Schism Extracts (fols. 92v–93v) were copied by a single scribe, very likely Simon himself, who also copied a summary of John of Rupescissa's *LSE* (fols. 90r–92r) and annotated the

⁴⁶ These works were considered to be “l'eau au moulin de l'obédience avignonnaise,” to use Vauchez's phrase, by Henry of Langenstein, a supporter of the Roman obedience during the Schism (“Les théologiens,” 586). Henry objected to their use in the French apocalyptic program of Telesphorus's *Libellus*. On the association of the *Pentachronon* and Joachite prophecies in the thirteenth century, see n. 17 above.

⁴⁷ For the dating of this manuscript, see Harold Lee and Giulio Silano, “Introduction to the Text,” in *Western Mediterranean Prophecy: The School of Joachim of Fiore and the Fourteenth-Century Breviloquium* (Toronto, 1989), 151–163, at 156. See also *La Obra*, cclxxii.

⁴⁸ For Simon's biography, see Hélène Millet, “Écoute et usage des prophéties par les prélats pendant le Grand Schisme,” *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome - Moyen Âge* 102 (1990): 425–55, at 431–35 and Thomas Sullivan, *Benedictine Monks at the University of Paris, A.D. 1229–1500: A Biographical Register* (Leiden, 1995), 67–69. Simon was the regent-master of the faculty of law in 1390–91, 1394, and 1403.

prophecies on the preceding folios.⁴⁹ These preceding folios contain a group of prophecies copied by another scribe under the running title *Alique prophetiae seu prenosticationes de rege Francie* (fols. 87v–89v), some of which, the scribe claims, were found in a book composed by the Catalan physician and author, Arnold of Villanova (d. 1311); a manuscript that belonged to Simon’s uncle, Nicolas du Bosc, who was the bishop of Bayeux from 1395 to 1408.⁵⁰ Among the contents listed in Nicolas du Bosc’s library is a manuscript containing *Prophe-tia sancte Hildegardis* which was likely a copy of the *Pentachronon*.⁵¹ This raises the possibility that Simon du Bosc was the compiler of the Schism Extracts, perhaps working from his uncle’s copy of the *Pentachronon* and adding the postscript with which they conclude.⁵² It is also possible, however, that Simon was copying from an earlier exemplar. In either case, the association between the Hildegardian Extracts, pro-French apocalyptic texts, and the prophetic writings of John of Rupescissa seen in Simon du Bosc’s collection is also found in other prophecy collections containing the Extracts.⁵³ A closer look at the thematic continuities between the Rouen summary of John of Rupescissa’s *LSE* and the Schism Extracts, as well as John’s own use of Hildegardian prophecy, reveals more about the association between Hildegard and apocalyptic expectations for the papacy and France in the fourteenth century.

John of Rupescissa, a Franciscan Spiritual, developed a detailed apocalyptic program while imprisoned at the papal palace in Avignon from 1349 until his death around 1365.⁵⁴ What distinguished the Franciscan Spirituals from the more conservative Conventual wing of the order was their strict interpretation of the Rule of Francis, principally with respect to poverty, and their apocalyptic spirituality.⁵⁵ They saw in their order the realization of Joachim’s *uiri spirituales*; adapting Joachite discourse, they presented St. Francis as a key figure in ecclesiastical history and a “precursor of the coming age,” that is, Joachim’s third *status*, and believed that the radical evangelical poverty they saw espoused in the Rule of

⁴⁹ On the three different scribes and the likelihood that Simon himself copied the Schism Extracts, see Millet, “Écoute et usage,” 433–35. For an edition of the Rouen summary of the *Liber secretorum eventuum*, see *LSE*.

⁵⁰ “Hec scripta est littera antiquissima in quodam libro antiquo papireo quod habet dominus Baiocensis. Illum librum composuit magister Arnaldus de Villanova,” fol. 89v. See Millet, “Écoute et usage,” 431–32.

⁵¹ See Jeanne Bignami-Odier and A. Vernet, “Les livres de Richard de Bazoques,” *Bibliothèque de l’École des chartes* 110 (1952): 124–53.

⁵² Millet first presented this possibility (“Écoute et usage,” 435), but she was unaware of the other copies of the Schism Extracts.

⁵³ See descriptions of manuscripts below, 476–79.

⁵⁴ On John of Rupescissa, see Lerner, “Historical Introduction” (n. 3 above).

⁵⁵ On the Spiritual Franciscans, see Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages*, 175–228; McGinn, “Angelic Pope”; David Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans: From Protest to Persecution in the Century after Saint Francis* (University Park, PA, 2001).

Francis was “the distinctive mark of the true *uiri spirituales*.”⁵⁶ John’s indebtedness to Joachite prophetic discourse is well documented, but he was also a close reader of Hildegard, and many of John’s ideas expressed in the *LSE* summary found in the Rouen collection align with the passages selected for the Schism Extracts.

Like the Extracts, the Rouen summary of the *LSE* argues for clerical and ecclesiastical reform, particularly a return to evangelical poverty, and speaks of an alliance of secular powers with false Christians (comprising German rulers allied with heretical Franciscans and unreformed prelates in John’s work). It also includes an unfavorable prognosis for the German Empire but a positive role for secular ruling authorities, specifically French authorities. The pro-French stance of the Rouen collection is reflected in the number of positive references included in the *LSE* summary to the role of the French kingdom (*imperium Gallicorum*), king (*rex Francorum*), and Maccabean-like soldiers (*milites strenui ex semine Gallicorum figurati in fortissimis Machebeis*) in the fight against the Antichrist and his allies.⁵⁷ Robert Lerner has even noted that John of Rupescissa’s “allusion to a general council comes out more clearly in the Rouen résumé of the *LSE* than in any of the complete copies,” something that can also be said of Hildegard’s obscure reference in the *LDO* to reforming councils highlighted in the Extracts and annotated in the Rouen collection with “*consilium generale*.”⁵⁸ A final point of continuity is the belief in an increase in prophetic insight in the post-tribulation reformed church.

As noted earlier, both Hildegardian and Joachite prophecies look forward to a flourishing of spiritual illumination in a future age after a time of tribulation, an idea highlighted in the Schism Extracts. Prophetic insight plays a key role in the renewed church in the *LSE* summary where a future pope is divinely illuminated. According to John’s narrative, after the death of the Antichrist the papal seat will move to Jerusalem and from there a holy pope will hold a series of seven councils.⁵⁹ This holy pope, moreover, will be given the same exegetical gifting as Hildegard’s future prophets and Joachim’s spiritual men: “God will open [his] understanding so that he comprehends the closed mysteries of the prophets.”⁶⁰ The continuities that the Schism Extracts share with the *LSE* summary suggest that the Extracts were compiled by someone well versed in John of Rupescissa’s apocalyptic program.

⁵⁶ McGinn, “Angelic Pope” (n. 44 above), 162.

⁵⁷ *LSE*, 225–26. According to Robert Lerner, the role of France and the French monarchy is given greater emphasis in the summary compared to the role they play in the apocalyptic program of the complete *LSE* (see Lerner, “Historical Introduction,” in *LSE*).

⁵⁸ *LSE*, 34.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 230.

⁶⁰ “Et Deus aperiet intellectum huius pontificis ut intelligat clausa misteria prophetarum,” *ibid.*

This is further supported by John's use of Hildegardian prophecies in his *Liber Ostensor*, completed in 1356. The tenth *tractatus* of the *Liber Ostensor* is entirely devoted to the interpretation of a number of Hildegard's prophecies from the *Pentachronon*, and the passages that John cites closely align with those found in the Extracts.⁶¹ John begins by noting the approval of Hildegard's works at the Council of Trier and her association with Bernard of Clairvaux. This demonstrates his familiarity with the passage from Gebeno's prologue that opens the Schism Extracts. The next citation from the *Pentachronon* is the same text that opens the Schism Extracts: *Ista dabuntur* (without the rubric). While John discusses material from the *Pentachronon* beyond what is included in the Schism Extracts (most notably Hildegard's *vita* of the Antichrist), he does include the two excerpts from the *LDO*, that is, the "Iusticia prophecy" and the passage describing the dissolution of the German Empire and papacy, leaving out only the last sentence as it is found in the Schism Extracts. Both excerpts from the *LDO* included by John in the *Liber Ostensor*, moreover, predict the coming of Hildegard's future prophets during a time of radical renewal and peace. What is more, these three passages occur in the *Liber Ostensor* in the same order as they are found in the Extracts. John does not, however, discuss or cite the Cologne letter that comprises a major portion of the Extracts.

As José Carlos Santos Paz has shown, there is a fourteenth-century French prophecy collection in a Parisian manuscript that contains works by John copied alongside an abbreviated version of the *Pentachronon* — one that aligns almost exactly with the passages he cites in the *Liber Ostensor* and that has the same unique rubrics he reproduces.⁶² Furthermore, this collection contains two works also found in the collections containing the Extracts: the *Oraculum Cyrilli* with the commentaries of John of Rupescissa and pseudo-Joachim of Fiore and a set of Merline prophecies also with glosses attributed to John of Rupescissa. Despite these similarities, the abbreviated *Pentachronon* found in this Paris manuscript could not have been the exemplar for the Schism Extracts because it lacks the rubric to *Ista dabuntur* that the Extracts carry and the excerpt from the Cologne letter.⁶³ John of Rupescissa's interest in nearly all of the

⁶¹ On Rupescissa's use of the *Pentachronon* as a source, see *La Obra*, clv–clxvii. For the tenth *tractatus* of the *Liber Ostensor*, see Jean de Roquetaillade, *Liber ostensor quod adesse festinant tempora*, ed. Clémence Thévenaz Modestin and Christine Morerod-Fattebert (Rome, 2005), 538–63.

⁶² Paris, BNF, lat. 2599, which Santos Paz dates to the fourteenth century and Grundmann to the fourteenth or fifteenth century. The excerpts from the *Pentachronon* are found on folios 253v–263r. See *La Obra*, clxviii and celi–cclii.

⁶³ Moreover, even though Rupescissa and the compiler of the Extracts focused on so many of the same passages from the *Pentachronon*, they were not working from a common version of the work. The compiler of the Extracts was working from a copy of the *PentachrononCp* (as noted above) that was itself made from redaction I of the *Pentachronon* (*La Obra*,

passages included in the Schism Extracts and the latter's association with his writings in so many manuscripts, including the earliest datable witness, strongly suggests that the compiler of the Extracts was familiar with John's works.

Simon du Bosc clearly fits this profile; however, there were others within the network of French bishops, university masters, and ecclesiastical prelates with a keen interest in the writings of John of Rupescissa.⁶⁴ Whoever produced the Schism Extracts was very likely among the circle of high-ranking churchmen involved in Schism-era politics with connections to the University of Paris and the French royal house. Pierre d'Ailly was one such person and there is evidence that he or someone within his circle produced three of the prophecy collections in which the Extracts were copied.

Pierre d'Ailly and Three French Prophecy Collections

Pierre d'Ailly is a well-known figure of the late-fourteenth and early-fifteenth centuries; he had close ties to the French throne, held a number of bishoprics, and served as chancellor at the University of Paris, eventually becoming cardinal of San Chrysogono in 1411.⁶⁵ Together with Simon du Bosc, Pierre was present at the king's councils of 1395 and 1398, as well as the Council of Pisa, and was a key figure at the Council of Constance, including the trial of Jan Hus. Throughout his career Pierre promoted clerical and ecclesiastical reform and he frequently drew from the *Pentachronon* and other medieval apocalyptic works in his treatises and sermons.⁶⁶ It is not surprising, then, that the manuscript evidence points to

lxxxii). The textual variations found in Paris, BNF, lat. 2599 and in the *Liber Ostensor* reveal that Rupescissa was working from a copy of redaction II (ibid., clxvii–clxviii).

⁶⁴ See Millet, "Écoute et usage" (n. 48 above) and "Le cardinal Martin de Zalba (†1403) face aux prophéties du Grand Schisme d'Occident," *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome - Moyen Âge* 98 (1986): 265–93. According to Millet, the two earliest surviving copies of the *Liber secretorum euentuum* are in manuscripts that belonged to French prelates ("Écoute et usage," 454).

⁶⁵ Major studies on d'Ailly include Louis Pascoe, *Church and Reform: Bishops, Theologians, and Canon Lawyers in the Thought of Pierre d'Ailly (1351–1420)* (Boston, 2005); Alan Bernstein, *Pierre d'Ailly and the Blanchard Affair: University and Chancellor of Paris at the Beginning of the Great Schism* (Leiden, 1978); Bernard Guenée, *Between Church and State: The Lives of Four French Prelates in the Late Middle Ages* (Chicago, 1991); Oakley, *The Political Thought of Pierre d'Ailly* (n. 30 above); Louis Salembier, *Le Cardinal Pierre d'Ailly: Chancelier de l'Université de Paris, évêque du Puy et de Cambrai; 1350–1420* (Tourcoing, 1932); Paul Tschackert, *Peter von Ailli (Petrus de Alliaco): Zur Geschichte des grossen abendländischen Schisma und der Reformconcilien von Pisa und Constanz* (Gotha, 1877).

⁶⁶ Pascoe, *Church and Reform*. See also idem, "Pierre d'Ailly: histoire, schisme et Antéchrist," in *Genèse et débuts du Grand Schisme d'occident*, ed. Jean Favier (Paris, 1980), 615–22; Laura Ackerman Smoller, *History, Prophecy, and the Stars: The Christian Astrology of Pierre d'Ailly, 1350–1420* (Princeton, 1994); Santos Paz, *Cisma y Profeteci* (n. 2 above), 12–21; Hayton, "Pierre d'Ailly's *De falsis prophetis II*" (n. 2 above).

the influence of Pierre d'Ailly in the circulation of the Schism Extracts and the production of three prophecy collections in which they are found.

While the stemma offered below does not give a complete picture of how the Extracts were transmitted and suggests that there were more copies in circulation than are now known, it does show that four of the seven extant witnesses descend from a common ancestor (α). All four of these manuscripts can be connected to Pierre d'Ailly. The first, Angers, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 320 (311) (A), contains an incomplete copy of Pierre's *De falsis prophetis II* (likely written between 1378 and 1381) which is the only fourteenth-century work in the manuscript except for the Schism Extracts.⁶⁷ As I have discussed elsewhere, this copy of the Extracts has unique annotations that align with Pierre's reading of Hildegardian prophecies, particularly the Cologne letter, in the early 1380s, and the exemplar from which this manuscript was copied could very well go back to a manuscript compiled by him during his final years as a student.⁶⁸ The fact that the Schism Extracts as found in A are closely related to the copies found in three prophecy collections is the first piece of evidence linking Pierre d'Ailly and his circle to the circulation of the Extracts and the compilation of these collections.

A second piece of evidence is the presence of Pierre's *Invectiva Ezechielis prophete contra pseudo pastores* (*Invectiva*) in the prophecy collections.⁶⁹ In the *Invectiva* Pierre adopts the first-person voice of the prophet to explicate Ezekiel 34 and uses this as an occasion to launch a harsh criticism against the "evil pastors" (*malos pastores*) whom he deems responsible for the Schism and to warn of the consequences that they will suffer in the form of a tribulation. Throughout the work Pierre clearly points to those pastors holding the highest offices of the church, prelates and bishops. In the apocalyptic scenario of the *Invectiva*, as in the Schism Extracts, the failings of prelates lead to a purifying tribulation that results in ecclesiastical renewal. The work concludes on a hopeful note of expectation for many "good pastors" (*boni pastores*), particularly for one among them to take over the care of the entire flock. Like John of Rupescissa in the *LSE*, Pierre looks forward to a future holy, reforming pope. His use of prophecy to argue for the role that such a pope would play in the future reform of the Church shows that he was familiar with the tradition of *pastor angelicus* prophecies when composing the *Invectiva*.

⁶⁷ For this dating of *De falsis prophetis II*, see *ibid.*

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* Angers 320 has been dated to the late-fourteenth or early-fifteenth century, but the script likely dates to 1425–50.

⁶⁹ On the *Invectiva*, see Irving W. Raymond, "D'Ailly's *Epistola Diaboli Leviathan*," *Church History* 22 (1953): 181–91. A transcription of the *Invectiva* can be found in Tschackert, *Peter von Ailli*.

Pierre d'Ailly wrote the *Invectiva* in 1381–82, around the same time that the Extracts were created, and, outside of two fifteenth-century manuscripts devoted to his writings, the only other known witnesses of the *Invectiva* are prophecy collections containing both the Extracts and the *PentachrononCp*.⁷⁰ These collections also contain *pastor angelicus* prophecies, including the *Oraculum Cyrilli* and the *Libellus* of Telesphorus of Cosenza. It is worth noting that the *Invectiva* is not attributed to Pierre in the prophecy collections; no authorial attribution is given. This could well be due to the ban imposed around 1381 (and lasting until the early 1390s) by the French monarchy against any discussion on the part of university masters of how to end the Schism.⁷¹ The first of the collections dates to precisely this period (fourth quarter of the fourteenth century) and is found in Paris, BNF, lat. 3319 (**P**); **P** is one of the earliest witnesses of both the Extracts and the *Invectiva*.

The collection contained in **P** is actually the second half of what was originally a larger single-volume collection copied in Paris by a single scribe. This collection is now found in two manuscripts: **P** and Paris, BNF, lat. 13428, which at one time belonged to the Benedictine monastery of St. Germain-des-Prés in Paris. At some point, **P** came to the library of Charles of Orleans.⁷² From 1387 until 1411, the abbot of this monastery was one Guillelmus. Guillelmus received his doctorate in theology just a few years after Pierre d'Ailly and there is little doubt that they knew each other. Guillelmus and Pierre participated in the Blanchard affair in the 1380s and were both present, together with Simon du Bosc, at the council of French clergy in 1398.⁷³

The collection found in **P** is closely related to prophecy collections found in two Italian manuscripts dated to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries but with three significant additions: **P** also contains a copy of the *PentachrononCp*, the Schism

⁷⁰ The two compendiums of d'Ailly's works are Paris, BNF, MS lat. 3122 and Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale, 531 (490). Both are fifteenth-century manuscripts. On lat. 3122, see Palémon Glorieux, "L'oeuvre littéraire de Pierre d'Ailly: Remarques et précisions," *Mélanges de science religieuse* 22 (1965): 61–78.

⁷¹ On the ban imposed on the university masters, see Philip Daileader, "Local Experiences of the Great Western Schism," in *A Companion to the Great Western Schism (1378–1417)*, ed. Joëlle Rolo-Koster and Thomas M. Izbicki (Leiden, 2009), 92 and R. N. Swanson, *Universities, Academies and the Great Schism* (Cambridge, 2002), 67–69. Robert Shaw has suggested that during the ban monks in Paris embedded discussions about the Schism and potential solutions to end it in pastoral literature such as Pierre Pochet's *Orationarium*. See Shaw's monograph *The Celestine Monks of France, C. 1350–1450: Observant Reform in an Age of Schism, Council and War*, Church, Faith and Culture in the Medieval West (Amsterdam, forthcoming). The creation of the Schism Extracts and its circulation among monastic houses in and around Paris could be further evidence of clandestine conversations carried out during the censure.

⁷² *La Obra*, cclii.

⁷³ Sullivan, *Benedictine Monks* (n. 48 above), 134–36. See also Bernstein, *Pierre d'Ailly*.

Extracts, and, copied directly after it, Pierre's *Invectiva*.⁷⁴ These three works are appended to the end of the collection as it is found in the Italian manuscripts, suggesting that whoever compiled the collection of **P** added these three works to an already extant collection. We know that this collection was copied around the time that Pierre composed the *Invectiva*; however, around this same time he delivered a sermon in Paris, his *Sermo de sancto Francisco* (1380), in which he drew heavily from the writings of Hildegard and Gebeno found in the *Pentachronon* as well as from one of the Joachite works found in **P**, the *Super Hieremiam*.⁷⁵ The fact that Pierre d'Ailly had access to these works and that he likely already had access to a copy of the Schism Extracts, as evidenced by **A**, suggests that someone close to Pierre (Guillelmus?) or he himself was responsible for the prophecy collection found in **P/lat.** 13428. Similar evidence connects Pierre to two other prophecy collections.

The collections found in S'Gravenhage, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, cod 71.E.44 (**H**), dated to 1455, and Paris, BNF, lat. 14726 (**Pv**), dated more generally to the fifteenth century, are nearly identical and derive from the same prophecy collection. The core of the collection contained in both manuscripts comprises the *Oraculum Cyrilli* with a commentary attributed to Joachim of Fiore, excerpts from ps-Joachim's *De oneribus prophetarum* and the *Expositio super Sibillis et Merlino*, passages from the Eritrean and Tiburtine Sibyls, both glossed, selections from the prophecies of Merlin with a commentary attributed to John of Rupescissa, the *Libellus* of Telesphorus of Cosenza,⁷⁶ a long excerpt from Arnold of Villanova's *Tractatus de tempore aduentus Antichristi* (inc. *Determinationes profundae de fine seculi*), and the Schism Extracts. Among these larger works are found a number of short verse prophecies.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ The two Italian collections are Rome, Bibliotheca Vitt. Eman., 14 S. Pant. 31 (late fourteenth cent.), and Rome, Vatican Library, lat. 3820 (fifteenth cent.). The similarity among these three collections was noted by Reeves who also provides a list of their contents: *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages* (n. 3 above), 538.

⁷⁵ See Santos Paz, *Cisma y Profecía* and Pascoe, *Church and Reform*, 13–20, but note that Pascoe was unaware that d'Ailly was relying heavily on Gebeno of Eberbach's *Item de eisdem hereticis ex Apocalypsim* (n. 10 above) in this sermon. The full text of the sermon can be found in Tschackert, *Peter von Ailli*, 5.

⁷⁶ According to Emil Donkel, **H** contains the whole *Libellus* of Telesphorus except for the dedicatory letter on fols. 122–39 and only fragments on fols. 117–21 (“Studien über die Prophezeiung” [n. 45 above], 34–8); he also lists the text in **Pv** on fols. 98–114 as containing only fragments of the *Libellus* (38). However, comparison with the schematic of the *Libellus* provided by Donkel (81–82) reveals that both manuscripts are carrying the following four selections and that neither represent the complete text: 1) Chapter IV, complete (sections 1–4), 2) Chapter III, section 3 only, 3) Chapter VI, section 4 only, 4) Chapter V, complete.

⁷⁷ In **Pv** there are two short prophetic verses that are lacking in **H**, namely, *Dum nebulum scisma* (incomplete) and *Anno mille centum ter quinto bis x* (incomplete) (fol. 96v). *Dum nebulum scisma* is also found in **R** (fol. 89v) and **T** (fol. 15r).

In **H**, the larger of the two collections, this core is supplemented with a copy of the complete *PentachrononCp* added to the beginning of the collection (fols. 6r–69v), and appended at the end, directly following the Schism Extracts, two excerpts from ps-Joachim’s *De oneribus prophetarum* (fols. 142v–144r) together with Pierre d’Ailly’s *Invectiva* (fols. 144r–147r). The excerpts from *De oneribus prophetarum* and the *Expositio super Sibillis et Merlino* in both **H** and **Pv**, as well as the supplementary excerpts from the *De oneribus prophetarum* found only in **H**, speak of the fate of France.⁷⁸ Reminiscent of **P**, the collection found in **H** was likely formed by adding the *PentachrononCp* and *Invectiva* to a previously extant collection, in this case along with the further excerpts from the *De oneribus prophetarum*. The later addition is in keeping with the French readership of the Schism Extracts and strongly suggests that **H** is of French provenance like all of the other witnesses. Moreover, many of the works contained in **H** and **Pv** were familiar to Pierre d’Ailly as evidenced by his *Sermo tercio de adventu domini* of 1385.

In this sermon, Pierre refers to Cyril, Hildegard, and Joachim, along with a number of other medieval prophets and prophetic works, as he discusses whether or not one can have “knowledge about the determined time of the persecution of Antichrist or the consummation of the age” (*scientia de tempore determinato persecutionis antichristi uel consumationis seculi*).⁷⁹ These references show his familiarity with many of the works contained in **H** and **Pv**, including sibylline prophecy and a short verse prophecy.⁸⁰ Moreover, he specifically mentions the commentary on the *Oraculum Cyrilli* attributed to Joachim: “According to the prophecy of blessed Cyril and the opinion of abbot Joachim in [his] commentary of the same” (*iuxta prophetiam beati Cyrilli et sententiam abbatis Ioachim in commento eiusdem*).⁸¹ Finally, he speaks of Arnold of Villanova and lists the *Tractatus de tempore aduentus antichristi* as one of two works by Arnold that he is familiar with: “that man most skilled in the medical art, Arnold of Villanova, who in

⁷⁸ *De oneribus prophetarum* contains explicit and detailed references to France; a number of the “burdens” are devoted to this topic, in particular the “Onus Egypti” and “Aduersus Egyptum,” which speak of conflicts between France and the German empire and their effects on the church (O. Holder-Egger, “Italienische Prophetien des 13. Jahrhunderts III,” *Neues Archiv für Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 33 [1907–8]: 97–187, at 140–41, 174–77). **H** and **Pv** carry the same excerpts on fols. 98r–99r and fols. 50r–51r, respectively. These excerpts comprise the dedicatory letter from the *Expositio super Sibillis et Merlino* and “Onus Egypti” from *De oneribus prophetarum*. The second set of excerpts from *De oneribus prophetarum* in **H** comprise the “Onus Egypti” and the “Aduersus Egyptum.”

⁷⁹ *Sermo tertius de adventu Domini* as printed in *Petrus de Alliaco: Tractatus et sermones* (Strassburg, 1490), 13–14.

⁸⁰ The verse prophecy is inc. *Cum fuerint* which is found in both **H** and **Pv**. On *Cum fuerint*, see Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages*, 49–51, 56.

⁸¹ *Petrus de Alliaco*, 6.

two tractates of which one is called *De tempore aduentus Christi et Antichristi* and the other *De mysterio cymbalorum ecclesie*” (*ille artis medice peritissimus Arnaldus de Villa Noua qui in duobus tractatibus quorum unus intitulum De tempore aduentus Christi et Antichristi alius uero De mysterio cymbalorum ecclesie*).⁸² In this sermon, moreover, Pierre argues that Arnold’s calculation for the date of the Antichrist’s arrival in the mid-1370s is wrong.⁸³ Comparison of the version of Arnold of Villanova’s *Tractatus* published by Josep Perarnau and that found in **H** and **Pv** reveals that precisely that section of the work where Arnold computes the date of the Antichrist’s arrival has been omitted from the text found in **H** and **Pv**, thus providing a version that aligns with Pierre’s reading of the work.⁸⁴ All of the medieval prophets and prophetic works referenced by Pierre in this sermon of 1385 are found in **H** and **Pv**.

Given that **H** and **Pv** have the same core collection and that they postdate the *Sermo tercius de adventu domini*, it is probable that Pierre d’Ailly or someone close to him had access to a copy of this same core collection in 1385 or that they compiled such a collection themselves, omitting the offending passages from Arnold of Villanova’s *Tractatus* in the process. Whether or not this core collection originally contained the Schism Extracts (such as represented by **Pv**) at some point the *PentachrononCp*, the *Invectiva*, and the supplementary passages from the *De oneribus prophetarum* were added to create the collection found in **H**. The fact that the text of the Schism Extracts found in the prophecy collections of **H**, **Pv**, and **P** share a common ancestor not only with each other, but also with the text found in **A**, a manuscript that can likewise be connected to Pierre, is compelling evidence that all of these collections emanated from Pierre d’Ailly’s circle of associates, if not from Pierre himself.

CONCLUSION

The redeployment of Hildegardian prophecy seen in the Schism Extracts reflects the concerns of the circle of French clerics, abbots, and monks connected to the University of Paris who were involved in Schism-era debates and participated in the councils called by the French king in the 1390s. This circle includes not only Pierre d’Ailly, Simon du Bosc, and Guillelmus of St. Germain-des-Prés but also members of religious houses in and around Paris. The St. Germain-des-Prés and Rouen collections are two of the three earliest witnesses of the Extracts; the third is a manuscript (Charleville, Bibliothèque municipale, 100, **Ch**)

⁸² Ibid., 4.

⁸³ Ibid., 11. See also Guenée, *Between Church and State* (n. 65 above), 131.

⁸⁴ Josep Perarnau, “El text primitiu del *De mysterio cymbalorum Ecclesiae* d’Arnau de Vilanova en apèndix, el seu *Tractatus de tempore aduentus Antichristi*,” *Arxiu de textos catalans antics* 7–8 (1989): 134–69.

belonging to the Carthusian monastery just north of Paris, De Mont-Dieu. The connections between the Carthusians and the University of Paris are well known and they participated in the French council of 1395, advising on solutions to the Schism alongside Simon du Bosc and Pierre d'Ailly.⁸⁵ The Carthusian copy, along with the fifteenth-century copies from the library of St. Victor in Paris (Paris, BNF, lat. 14726, P_v) and from the abbey of Marmoutier (Tours, Bibliothèque municipale, cod. 520, T) which had a number of monks at the university, all point to Paris as the origin and locus of dissemination of the Extracts.⁸⁶

The interest in Hildegardian prophecy on the part of French members of the University of Paris and within the Avignon obedience from the onset of the Western Schism through the mid-fifteenth century is deserving of further study. The earliest witnesses of the Extracts place their creation during the period when members of the university were banned from discussing solutions to the Schism, the same period during which d'Ailly composed the *Invectiva* and began to circulate it anonymously. This suggests that the prophetic writings of Hildegard and John of Rupescissa as well as the other works contained in the collections provided alternative and anonymous means to continue discussing the Schism. By editing and abridging certain works and by copying selected works together in collections, the publicists of these prophecies could effectively present their own arguments through the prophetic voice of their sources, just as Pierre d'Ailly adopted the voice of the prophet Ezekiel in the *Invectiva*. The prophetic authority enjoyed by Hildegard's prophetic writings in the *Pentachronon* (and reiterated in the opening passage of the Extracts) made them an ideal source for such a project.

THE MANUSCRIPTS

The following descriptions of the manuscript witnesses of the Schism Extracts are meant to provide basic details but are not exhaustive descriptions.⁸⁷

A Angers, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 320 (311), 4/4 14th to 1/2 15th cent. (1425–1450?), France, Monastery of La Baumette

1r–137r	Gérard de Liège, <i>De doctrina cordis</i>
137v–172r	William of Saint-Amour, <i>Tractatus de periculis novissimorum temporum</i> (first and last folios only; fols. 138r–171v have been removed)
172v–177r	Hildegard of Bingen, Schism Extracts

⁸⁵ M. L. Bellaguet, *Chronique du religieux de St. Denys*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1839–52), 236. For the Carthusian opinion published for the council, see Edmond Martène and Ursin Durand, *Veretrum Scriptorum Monumentorum Amplissima Collectio*, vol. 7 (New York, 1968), 474–79.

⁸⁶ On the monks from Marmoutier who studied at the University of Paris, see Sullivan, *Benedictine Monks* (n. 48 above).

⁸⁷ For further details and bibliography, see the manuscript catalogue in *La Obra*.

- 177v–179v Bernard of Clairvaux, selections
 179v–182v Hildebert, verses, prayers, and other selections
 183r–184v Rabanus Maurus, prayer in verse and prose
 185r–185v Helymandus
 186r Honorius of Autun, excerpt from *De dimensione terre*
 186v–194v Pierre d’Ailly, *De falsis prophetis II*, incomplete

Ch Charleville, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 100, 14th cent., France, Carthusian Charterhouse of De Mont-Dieu

- 1r–7r^b Sermons in French
 8r–10v Life of Thomas of Canterbury
 11r–104r Sermons in Latin
 Gospel of the Passion in French
 Poems to the Virgin
 144r–147v Hildegard of Bingen, Schism Extracts
 148r–150v Anecdotes of Cistercian monks and other various short excerpts

H S’Gravenhage, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, cod 71.E.44, 1455, Northern Europe, unknown⁸⁸

- 1r–5v Table of Contents
 6r–69v Gebeno of Eberbach, *Pentachronon sive speculum futurorum temporum* (PCp version)
 70r–98r *Oraculum Cyrilli* with commentary by ps-Joachim of Fiore
 98r–103r ps-Joachim of Fiore, *Aliqua dicta*
 excerpts from *De oneribus prophetarum* and *Expositio duper Sibillis et Merlino*
 verse prophecies
 other short prophecies under the rubric *De prophetiis*
 103r–111r Eritrean Sibyl
 111r–115r Tiburtine Sibyl
 116r *Versus reperti in quodam lapide in anglie*
 116r–v Prophecies of Merlin, excerpts with glosses by John of Rupescissa
 117r–130v Telesphorus of Cosenza, *Libellus*, excerpts
 130v–139v Arnold of Villanova, *Tractatus de tempore adventus Antichristi*, excerpts
 140r–142v Hildegard of Bingen, Schism Extracts
 142v–144r ps-Joachim of Fiore, *De oneribus prophetarum*, excerpts
 144r–147v Pierre d’Ailly, *Invectiva Ezechielis prophete*

⁸⁸ **H** is dated to the fifteenth century in the library catalogue and to 1500 by Reeves in *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages*, 542. However, on fol. 59v the scribe has put the following gloss: “citra annum 1410 usque ad presentem 1455 supra quem credi potest multiplici sunt per univrsam orbem fratres dicte de stricta observacio.”

P Paris, BNF, lat. 3319, 4/4 14th cent., post-1381/2 France, Abbey of St. Germain-des-Prés and then the library of Charles of Orleans⁸⁹

1r-v	Eritrean Sibyl
1v-3v	Prophecies of Merlin
3v-5r	Samian Sibyl
5r-9v	Prophecies of Merlin
9v-26v	ps-Joachim of Fiore, <i>Expositio super Sibillis et Merlino</i> , long version
26v-28r	Raynerius <i>De decem plagas</i>
28r-38v	ps-Joachim of Fiore, <i>Expositio super Sibillis et Merlino</i> , short version
38v	ps-Joachim of Fiore, verse prophecy, incomplete
38v-39v	Delphic Sibyl
40r-v	ps-Joachim of Fiore, <i>Pro regno Siculo</i> , incomplete <i>Cum ad me ruine</i> , incomplete
41r-88v	Gebeno of Eberbach, <i>Pentachronon sive speculum futurorum temporum</i> , without introductory letter, see below fol. 95r-v (<i>PCp</i> version)
88r-91v	Hildegard of Bingen, Schism Extracts
91v-94v	Pierre d'Ailly, <i>Invectiva Ezechielis prophete</i>
95r-v	Gebeno of Eberbach, Introductory letter to the <i>Pentachronon</i>

P was originally the second half of a larger collection, the other half of which is now Paris, BNF, lat. 13428. The contents of lat. 13428 are:

1r-54v	<i>Expositio abbatis Joachim super Jheremiam prophetam</i>
55r-66v	<i>Liber Abbatis Joachim de oneribus prophetarum</i>
67r-68r	<i>Secuntur uerba quedam de dictis Ioachim Abbatis explanatiua super Ieremiam</i>
68r-79r	<i>Sequitur nunc explanatio predictorum capitulorum secundum diuersis prophetas concordantes in eorum sententia</i>
79r-104r	<i>Liber abbatis Ioachim de oneribus prouinciarum</i>

Pv Paris, BNF, lat. 14726, 15th cent., France, Abbey of St. Victor

50r-51r	ps-Joachim of Fiore, <i>Aliqua dicta</i> excerpts from <i>De oneribus prophetarum</i> and <i>Expositio super Sibillis et Merlino</i>
51r-76v	<i>Oraculum Cyrilli</i> with commentary by ps-Joachim of Fiore
76v-81r	ps-Joachim of Fiore, <i>De prophetis</i>
82r-90r	Eritrean Sibyl
90r-93v	Tiburtine Sibyl
94v	<i>Versus reperti in quodam lapidem in anglie</i>
94v-96v	Prophecies of Merlin, excerpts with glosses by John of Rupescissa Verse prophecies
98r-114r	Telesphorus of Cosenza, <i>Libellus</i> , excerpts
114v	blank

⁸⁹ **P** is dated to the end of the fourteenth century by Reeves in *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages*, 537 and Santos Paz (*La Obra*, celi). As the manuscript contains the *Invectiva Ezechielis prophete* written by d'Ailly in 1381/82, I have dated it to 1381/82-ca. 1400.

- 115r–125r Arnold of Villanova, *Tractatus de tempore adventus Antichristi*, excerpts
 125v blank
 126r–129r Hildegard of Bingen, Schism Extracts
- R** Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, cod. 1355, 14th cent., ca. 1379–80,⁹⁰ France, Abbey of Jumièges
- 87v–89r Prophecies about the king of France
 89r–89v Various short prose and verse prophecies
 90r–91r John of Rupescissa, *Liber secretorum eventuum*, excerpt
 91r Three verse prophecies
 91v–92v Hildegard of Bingen, Schism Extracts
- T** Tours, Bibliothèque municipale, cod. 520, ca. 1422,⁹¹ France, Abbey of Marmoutier⁹²
- 18v–32 Arnold of Villanova, exposition of a prophecy
De oneribus orbis, thought to be the work of Rupescissa according to annotator
 John of Rupescissa, i) *Vade mecum in tribulatione*, ii) excerpts from his works, iii) *De petracissa*
- 52v–57v *Breviloquium, Distinctio 5*, attributed to John Rupescissa or Joachim of Fiore⁹³
- 109r–110v Brigitte of Sweden
 111r–115r Hildegard of Bingen, Schism Extracts
 115r–127v Marie Rubine, Vasconensis
 on the church, pope, and France
 letter to Charles VI
- 160–214v Gebeno of Eberbach, *Pentachronon sive speculum futurorum temporum (PCp version)*
- 215r–218r Pierre d’Ailly, *Inuectiua Hezechielas prophete contra pseudo pastores*
 222r–225v Papal prophecies, *Genus nequam*, illustrated
 226–229v Papal prophecies attributed to Joachim of Fiore or John of Rupescissa

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE WITNESSES

While there is no evidence that any one manuscript served as another’s exemplar, there are a number of significant errors by which we can conjecture the relationship between the witnesses. The first set of errors are shared by **A, H, P,** and **Pv**

⁹⁰ Lee and Silano, “Introduction to the Text” (n. 47 above), 156.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² On this prophecy collection see Matthew Tobin, “Une collection de textes prophétiques du XVe siècle: le manuscrit 520 de la Bibliothèque de Tours,” *Mélanges de l’École française de Rome - Moyen Âge* 102 (1990): 417–23.

⁹³ Ibid.

against the rest of the witnesses and show that they descend from a common ancestor (α):

- p. 2 ista **ChRT** : *om.* **AHPPv**
- p. 3 genti iudeorum precepit **ChRT** : precepit genti iudeorum **AHPPv**
- p. 3 eius **ChRT** : dei **AHPPv**
- p. 5 qui **ChRT** : *om.* **AHPPv**
- p. 6 maioribus **ChRT** : *om.* **AHPPv**

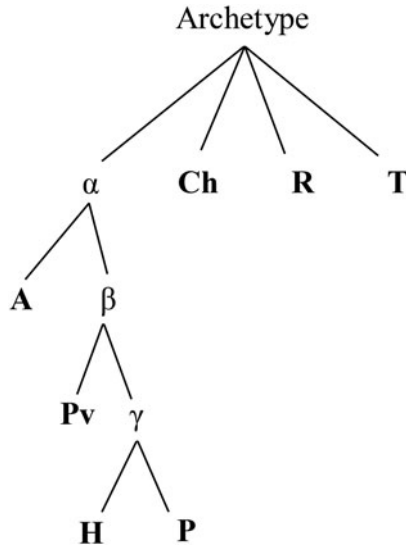
There are also three errors shared by **H**, **P**, and **Pv** against the rest of the witnesses suggesting that they, too, descend from a common ancestor (β):

- p. 2 conceditur : concedetur **HPPv**
- p. 3 inimici eorum : inimicorum **HPPv**
- p. 5 dicit : dixit **HPPv**

Moreover, there are three errors common to only **H** and **P** (γ):

- p. 4 consueuerant : consueuerunt **HP**
- p. 6 occultis : oculis **HP**
- p. 6 helye : hodie **HP**

These errors suggest the following stemma:



There are a few places where it is not clear what reading the archetype carried, but at no time was it necessary to use conjecture. For example:

- p. 5 uiciis **R P** *p.c.* **A** : deuitus **Ch Pv** : de intus **H** : uirus **T**
 p. 5 adeo **Ch H A** : a deo **R T Pv** : ab eo **P** (a diabolo *PCp*)
 p. 6 polluunt **T** : polluuntur **R** : pollunt **Ch A Pv P H**

There are also three instances where the archetype was in error. For one, editorial intervention was necessary, but in the remaining two instances corrections were made by one or more scribes and so the readings of those manuscripts were used for the edition:

- p. 3 indixit **Pv H** : induxit **Ch R T A P**
 p. 4 ubicumque et : ubicumque *MSS*
 p. 4 magister **P** : prelatus **T** : *om.* **Ch R A Pv H**

MARGINAL ANNOTATIONS

The distribution of marginal annotations suggests that the original text was itself annotated. The only witness completely lacking annotations is **Pv**; however, the text in this manuscript was not completed with empty spaces left for all of the rubrics and capital initials. It is impossible to know with certainty whether or not the exemplar used by the scribe of **Pv** was annotated, but, given the fact that the other members of β (**H** and **P**) are annotated, it is likely that **Pv** would have carried some annotations had it been completed. **P** has no marginal annotations, but there is evidence that it was copied from an annotated exemplar: the addition of *Diuisio ecclesie* after the first rubric (interlinear, below, 1), an addition it has in common with **H** as a rubric and with **A** and **Ch** as an annotation (marginal).

R and **H** have the most complete set of annotations which they share in common and with which **Ch**, **A**, and **T** agree at times. The annotations common to **R** and **H** likely extend back to the original text.

The annotations of **A** at times diverge from those of **R** and **H** and bear the marks of scribal intervention.

In the case of **T**, the scribe clearly had their own interests when annotating. It should be noted that **T** does have an annotation similar to that in **R** and **H** in one instance: “nota seductores per quos afflicetur clerus” (below, 5) where **RH** reads “De seductoribus et seductis per quos affligetur ecclesia.”

Note on the Presentation of the Edition

In the edition below, rubrics are reproduced in the same size text but italicized and centered. I have chosen to put the annotations within the body of the text and not within the apparatus below because they are an integral part of the text. The annotations were intended to provide a guide for the late-medieval readers of Hildegard’s prophecies, and, if they were relegated to the apparatus below, this important aspect of the textual history of the Extracts would not be as

immediately available. Moreover, seeing where the annotations agree and disagree among the witnesses without having to refer to an apparatus at the bottom of the page allows modern readers more readily to assess what aspects of Hildegard's prophetic discourse were of interest to the various scribes.

Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Toronto

Keywords: apocalypticism, Great Western Schism, Hildegard of Bingen, John of Rupescissa, Pierre d'Ailly, prophecy, University of Paris

THE SCHISM EXTRACTS
CRITICAL EDITION

^a*Hec que secuntur extracta sunt de libris Sancte Hildegardis prophetisse, qui libri recepti et canonizati sunt a Papa Eugenio in Concilio Treverensi, presentibus multis episcopis et prelatiis, tam Francorum quam Theutonicorum, et Sancto Bernardo Clarevallensi Abbate.*

^a Hildegardis T

^b*Ista dabuntur indicia ante scisma illud sub quo episcopi et clerici de locis propriis expellentur] om. P^v*

^b libro diuinorum operum capitula .ix. secunde partis T

Diuisio ecclesie et destructio nobilium add. T

Diuisio ecclesie add. H P

^cCum peccata hec in populis se invicem coniunxerint, scilicet odium, homicidium, sodomiticum peccatum, tunc constitutio legis Dei diuidetur et ecclesia quasi uidua concucietur. ^dEt principes, nobiles et diuites per consimiles suos atque minores de locis suis expellentur et de ciuitate in ciuitatem fugabuntur. Nobilitasque generis eorum ad nichilum deducetur et de diuiciis in paupertatem redigentur. Ista omnia fient tunc, cum antiquus serpens uarietatem morum et uarietatem uestimentorum in populis sibilabit, quem ipsi imitabuntur¹ et uariabunt.

^c diuisio ecclesie A diuisio ecclesie destructio nobilium R Ch

^d nobilium destructio A ad hoc merlinus vatis britannicus calamistrati diuersa uellera portabunt et exterior habitus interiora signabunt T uarietatem uestium Ch

Item ex eisdem libris] de persecutione graui ecclesie add. A

Sequitur de criminibus ecclesie T

^eIusticia postquam ad supernum iudicem querelam suam dixit iusto iudicio suo super preuaricatores rectitudinis inducet tirrannidem inimicorum eorum et illos super eos grassari² permittet, sic ad inuicem dicentes: “Quamdiu rapaces lupos istos patiemur et tolerabimus qui medici esse deberent et non sunt? Sed quoniam potestatem loquendi, ligandi et soluendi habent, idcirco ferocissime nos capiunt ^fsceleraque eorum super nos cadunt et omnis ecclesia per eos arescit quia quod iustum est non clamant et legem destruunt et quasi lupi agnos nos deorant atque in crapula

^e crimina ecclesie R H Ch

^f Hildegardis T

¹ imitabuntur] mutabuntur Ch P^v P H

² grassari] crassari R T

uoraces sunt et adulteria quam plurima perpetrant et per talia peccata absque misericordia nos iudicant. Raptores etiam ecclesiarum sunt et per auariciam queque possunt deglutiunt atque cum officiis suis nos pauperes et egenos faciunt ac seipsos et nos contaminant. ^gQuapropter iusto iudicio diiudicemus et diuidamus³ eos quia seductores magis quam doctores existunt et hoc idcirco eis faciamus ne pereamus, quoniam si sic perseuerauerint totam regionem sibi subiciendo disturbabunt. ^hNunc autem dicamus eis quod ipsi iustam religionem, habitum et officium suum compleant, quemadmodum antiqui patres illa constituerunt, uel a nobis recedant et ea que habent relinquunt.”

Sequitur de recto regimine et uita honesta clericorum et prelatorum in ecclesia et expulsionem eorum de suis prediis T

ⁱHec et hiis similia diuino iudicio excitati illis acriter opponunt atque super illos irruentes dicunt: “Nolumus hos regnare super nos cum prediis et agris ac⁴ aliis secularibus rebus super quas principes constituti sumus. Et quomodo decet ut tonsi cum stolis et casulis suis plures milites et plura arma quam nos habeant? Sed et nobis conueniens non est ut clericus miles sit et miles clericus. ^jUnde abstrahamus eis quod non recte sed iniuste habent. Diligenter autem consideremus quid cum magna discretionem pro animabus defunctorum oblatum sit et illud eis relinquamus, quoniam hoc eis rapina non est. ^kOmnipotens enim spiritus recte diuisit omnia, celum scilicet celestibus, et terram terrestribus, atque hoc modo iusta diuisio inter filios hominum sit, uidelicet quod spirituales homines ea habeant que ad ipsos respiciunt, seculares autem ea que eis conueniunt, ita ut neutra pars istorum aliam per rapinam opprimat. Deus quidem non precepit ut tunica uel pallium alteri filio daretur et alter nudus remaneret, sed iussit ut illi pallium, illi tunica tribueretur. Pallium itaque seculares propter amplitudinem secularis cure et propter filios suos, qui semper crescunt

^g laycorum sententia A

^h ecclesia cogetur iuste uiuere R H

ⁱ ecclesie expellentur suis prediis et possessionibus R sententia executio A

^j ecclesia reueretur ad antiquam paupertatem uelit nolit R H ecclesia reueretur ad antiquam paupertatem Ch iusta moderatio A

^k celum celestibus [celi MSS] dominus terram autem dedit filiis hominum R A Hildegardis T

³ diuidamus] diiudicamus A Pv P H

⁴ ac] et R T

et multiplicantur, habeant, tunica uero spirituali populo conceditur,⁵ ne in uestitu deficiat et ne plus quam necesse sit possideat. ^lQuapropter iudicamus et eligimus ut omnia, que predicta sunt, recte diuidantur atque ubicumque pallium cum tunica in spiritualibus inuenitur, ibi pallium subtrahatur⁶ et indigentibus detur, ne per inopiam consumantur.” Et sic tandem per hanc iudicalem sententiam omnia ista⁷ secundum uoluntates suas perficere conabuntur. ^mSed pontificales dignitates et omnes spirituales habitu sub eis degentes illis cum clausura celi primitus resistere multum laborabunt. Sed cum tandem persenserint quod non potestate ligandi et soluendi nec confirmatione oblationum suarum nec strepitu armorum nec blanditiis nec minis ipsis resistere poterunt, diuino iudicio territi, inanem et superbam fiduciam quam prius in semetipsis semper habuerant deponentes ⁿet in se redeuntes, coram illis humiliabuntur atque ululando clamabunt et dicent: “Quia omnipotentem Deum in ordine officii nostri abiecimus, ideo super nos confusio hec inducta est, uidelicet ut ab illis opprimamur et humiliemur quos opprimere et humiliare debueramus. Nam illis super quos principes constituti eramus et hiis qui nobis per disciplinam subiciebantur Deus funem subiectionis abstraxit et nobis eos dominari permittit. ^oQuapropter consideremus quod iusta Dei iudicia patimur, quoniam regna mundi nobis subiugare uoluimus, sicut et nos sub iugo Dei esse debebamus et quia uoluntatem cuiusque carnis et concupiscentie fecimus, nec ob hoc ullus arguere nos audebat. Deus ^penim genti Iudeorum precepit⁸ ut sacrificia de animalibus creatori suo offerent sed illi iussa eius⁹ contempnentes in omnes carnales sensus se conuertebant, unde et gentes alienigenarum super eos inducte sunt. Nobis autem uiuum et¹⁰ spirituale sacrificium ut offeramus

^l sententia contra clerum
R H Ch sententia per laicos
contra clerum **T**

^m clerus recurrit ad
solitam superbiam **R H Ch**
clerus ad solitam [selitam
MS] ubi recurrit
superbiam **A**

ⁿ ecclesia coram laicis
coacta humiliabitur **R H**
uexacio ecclesie
intellectum dabit **A**

^o uexacio dat ecclesie
intellectum **R H Ch**
penitentia et humilis
confessio ecclesiae **A**
Hildegardis **T**

^p nota de hec omnia **T**

⁵ conceditur] concedetur **Pv P H**

⁶ subtrahatur] substrahatur **Ch A Pv P H**

⁷ ista] *om.* **A Pv P H**

⁸ genti Iudeorum precepit] precepit genti Iudeorum **A Pv P H**

⁹ eius] Dei **A Pv P H**

¹⁰ uiuum et] uiuum (*exp.?*) unum *ss* et **T** unum **P** unum et **H**

indixit,¹¹ sed nos illud pollutis manibus tractare non pertinuimus et, cum diademate sceptri sui nos coronaret, super omnia nos exaltauimus atque concupiscentias carnis nostre omnibus modis compleuimus et ideo inimici nostri super nos grassantur quemadmodum prioribus preuaricatoribus inimici eorum¹² dominati sunt.”⁹ Et tunc tam maiores quam minores utriusque populi clerum ita ordinabunt et ea que illi sunt necessaria hoc modo disponent, ut nec in uictu nec in uestitu defectum habeant et a secularibus huiusmodi opprobria deinceps non sustineant. Hec autem tam in spiritali quam in seculari populo quasi in prima hora diei incipientur et deinde uelut in tertia in plenum opus perducentur et tandem quemadmodum¹³ ^rin sexta ex toto perficientur et omnes gradus hominum¹⁴ quasi post sextam considerabuntur. Et in alium modum quam modo sint disponentur ita, scilicet, ut quisque ordo in sua rectitudine consistat et etiam liberi ad honorem libertatis sue et famuli ad debitam seruitutem subiectionis sue redeant.

Item ex eisdem libris] scilicet Diuinorum Operum add.

R Sancte Hildegardis add. **A** om. **Pv**

Habentur ista que sequuntur et sunt de destructione principum et romani imperii add. T

^sIn diebus autem illis imperatores Romane dignitatis a fortitudine, qua prius romanum imperium strenue tenuerant descendentes, in gloria sua imbecilles fient, ita ut imperium in manibus eorum diuino iudicio paulatim decrescat et deficiat, quoniam ipsi inualidi et trepidi et seruiles et turpes in moribus existentes in omnibus inutiles erunt. Et a populo quidem honorari uellent, sed prosperitatem populi non querent et ideo etiam uenerari et honorari non poterunt. ^tQuapropter etiam reges et principes multorum populorum, qui prius romano imperio subiecti erant, se ab illo separabunt nec ulterius ei subicientur et sic romanum

^q laici prouident ecclesie non superflua sed necessaria **R** laici prouident ecclesie necessaria <aria> sed non superflua **H** ecclesia habebit necessaria non superflua **A**

^r tota ecclesia in melius reformabitur **R** tota ecclesia in melius reformetur **H** hic tangitur ecclesie renouatio **A**

^s destructio romani imperii **R H** destructio imperii romani **A**

^t Hildegardis **T**

¹¹ indixit] induxit **Ch R T A P**

¹² inimici eorum] inimicorum **Pv P H**

¹³ quemadmodum] quamadmodum **Ch T A P H**

¹⁴ omnes gradus hominum] omnis hominum gradus **A** omnis gradus hominum **Pv H**

imperium in defectum dispergetur. ^uNam unaqueque prouincia et quisque¹⁵ populus regem sibi tunc constituet cui obediat, dicens quod latitudo romani imperii magis sibi oneri fuit quam utilitati. ^vSed postquam imperiale sceptrum hoc modo diuisum fuerit nec reparari poterit, tunc etiam infula apostolici honoris diuidetur. Cum enim nec principes nec reliqui homines, tam spiritualis quam secularis ordinis, in apostolico nomine nullam [*sic*] inuenient cum religione dignitatem, honorem nominis illius inminent. ^wAliosque magistros et archiepiscopos sub alio nomine in diuersis regionibus sibi preferent, ita etiam ut apostolicus eo tempore, dilacione honoris pristinae dignitatis attenuatus, romam et pauca illi adiacentia loca uix etiam tunc infulam suam obtineat. ^xHec autem ex parte per bellorum incursionem¹⁶ euenient, ex parte quoque per commune consilium et consensum et spiritualium et secularium populorum perficientur, illis hortantibus ut quisquis secularis princeps regnum et populum suum muniat et regat ubicumque^y et¹⁷ quilibet archiepiscopus seu alius spiritualis magister subditos suos ad rectitudinem discipline constringat, ne deinceps malis illis quibus diuino nutu prius afflictus sunt iterum affligantur et tunc iniquitas iterum aliquantulum debilis iacebit.¹⁸ ^zInterdum quoque surgere attemptabit, sed iusticia in rectitudine sua in terra stabit, ita ut homines illorum dierum ad antiquas consuetudines et disciplinas antiquorum hominum in honestate se conuertant et eas teneant et obseruent sicut antiqui illas tenere et obseruare consueuerant.¹⁹ ^aSed etiam tunc unusquisque rex et principes ac ecclesiastice dignitatis magister²⁰ seipsum in alio castigabit, cum alium iusticiam obseruare et honeste uiuere uidebit atque unaqueque gens correctionem sub alia sumet, cum illam ad bonum proficere et ad rectitudinem surgere uidebit.

^u uide(?) idem ??? T

^v destructio et adnichilacio
[adnichilacio] papatus R H
destructio papatus A

^w papa contentus sit roma
sua et locis uicinioribus R
H Ch

^x consilium generale R H
clerus et populus
utriusque hierarchie
destructioni iuste
consentiet A

^y quilibet prelati super
subditos suos erit papa R
H

^z renouatio religionis et
uniuersalis ecclesie R H
renouatio religionis et
ecclesie Ch renouatio
ecclesie uniuersalis in omni
sanctitate A

^a unus in alio corrigetur et
<a> b bonum proficietur
H

¹⁵ quisque] quisquis R A Pv P H

¹⁶ adiacentia ... ellorum incurionem] *illeg.* H

¹⁷ ubicumque et] ubicumque MSS

¹⁸ iacebit] iacebat Ch T P

¹⁹ consueuerant] consueuerunt P H

²⁰ magister] prelati T *om.* Ch R A Pv H

Aer quoque tunc iterum suavis erit et fructus terre utiles et homines suaues et fortes erunt. ^bIn ipsis etiam diebus multi prophete et sapientes erunt. Ita etiam ut occulta prophetarum et aliarum scripturarum sapientibus tunc ad plenum pateant et filii et filie eorum prophetent, uelut ante multa tempora dictum est, ^cet hoc in tali puritate ueritatis fiet ut aerei spiritus irrisionem illis tunc facere non possint. In eodem quoque spiritu illi prophetabunt quo prophete secreta Dei annuauerunt et in similitudinem doctrine quorum doctrina super omnem doctrinam humanam fuit.

Item ex epistola Sancte Hyldegardis ad Colonenses]
Item ex epistola Hildegardis ad Colonenses Ch Item ex
epistola ipsius Sancte Hildegardis ad Colonenses

A om. Pv

^dAudiui uocem de uiuente luce dicentem: “O Filia Syon, corona honoris capitis filiorum tuorum inclinabitur et pallium dilatacionis diuitiarum eorum minuetur quod eis ad uiuendum et subditos suos ad docendum dedi! Nam et uerba ad nutriendum paruulos meos eis data sunt que ipsis recto et confruenti tempore non prebent, unde sicut peregrini filii fame multi defecerunt, quoniam recta doctrina non reficiuntur, uocemque habet et non clamant. Opera etiam eis data sunt et non operantur. ^eGloriam absque merito habere uolunt et meritum absque opere. Qui gloriam habere cum Deo uult, proprietatem suam abscondat et qui meritum apud Deum habere desiderat, opus ad hoc exhibeat. Sed quia hoc non facitis, et ad seruos seruorum computabimini et ipsi iudices uestri erunt ac libertas uestra a uobis declinabit sicut benedictio a Chanaam. ^fIsta flagella precurrent alia autem²¹ et postea alia et peiora uenient. Nam dyabolus in semetipso dicit de uobis: ‘Escas epulantium et conuiuia omnis uoluntatis mee in istis inuenio. Sed et oculi et aures et uenter meus ac uene mee de spumis istorum plene sunt et ubera mea plena sunt de uiciis²² eorum. Nam ipsi laborare in Deo suo nolunt, sed eum quasi nichilum computant.

^b prophetes et sapientes erunt in ecclesia renouata **R H Ch** prophete in ecclesia romana **A** Hildegardis **T**
^c spiritus erroris non habebit locum in ecclesiam **R H**

^d ecclesia nudabitur diuiciis et gloria seculari **R H Ch** comunacio et querimonia dei contra ecclesiam **A**

^e absque merito hec mala paciatur ecclesia **H**

^f dyabolus pascitur in criminibus clericorum **R H** dyabolus in criminibus clericorum pascitur **A** dyabolus **T**

²¹ autem] ante **Ch Pv P H**

²² uiciis] *p.c.* **A** deuitus **Ch Pv** de intus **H** uirus **T**

Quapropter incipiam cum eis militare et iocando cum eis ludere, quoniam ego eos in agro Domini sui laborantes non inuenio quemadmodum Dominus eorum ipsis iubet. ^gSed o uos, discipuli et subditi mei, multo plus eis coram populo disciplinati estis! Et quia sic estis, erigite uos super illos et omnes diuitias et omnem honorem eorum abstrahite ab eis ac omnino dispoliantes suffocate eos! Hec diabolus in semetipso dicit²³ et etiam in multis iudicio dei complebit. ^hSed ego qui sum audientibus me dico in tempore illo istud fiet quemdam errantem populum peiorem erranti populo, ⁱqui nunc est super uos preuaricantes, preuaricatoris ruina cadet, quia ubique uos persequetur et ^jqui opera uestra non celabit, sed qui ea denudabit et qui²⁴ de uobis dicit: ‘Isti²⁵ scorpiones sunt in moribus et in operibus serpentinis.’ Sed et quasi zelo Domini de uobis imprecabitur: *iter impiorum peribit*. [Ps. 1.6] Nam uias uestras in iniquitate uestra ad interemptionem deridebunt et subsannabunt. ^kSed populus iste qui hec faciet adeo²⁶ seductus est et missus qui pallida facie ueniet et in omni sanctitate se componet et maioribus²⁷ principibus secularibus se coniunget. Quibus de uobis sic dicit: ^lQuare hos uobiscum tenetis et quare hos uobiscum patimini qui totam terram in maculosis iniquitatibus suis²⁸ polluunt?²⁹ Isti enim ebriosi et luxuriosi sunt et nisi eos a uobis abiciatis, tota ecclesia destruetur.’ ^mPopulus autem qui hec de uobis dicit uilibus capis,³⁰ que alieni coloris sunt, induitur et recto modo tonsus incedet atque omnibus moribus suis placidum et quietum se ostendet hominibus. Auariciam quoque non amat, pecuniam non habet ac in occultis³¹ suis tantam abstinenciam imitatur quod etiam uix ullus ex eis reprehendi

^g dyabolus hortatur suis (suos **H**) ad persecutionem ecclesiae **R H** dyabolus hortatur suos aduersos ecclesiam **A** Hildegardis **T**

^hDeus aperit per quos ecclesia persecutionem pacietur **R H** Deus aperit per quas affligetur ecclesia **A**
ⁱ opera clericorum obiciuntur eis in destructionem eorum **T**
^j crimina clericorum palam per istos denudabuntur **R H**

^k de seductoribus et seductis per quos affligetur ecclesia **R H** seductores isti laicis coniunguntur **A** nota seductores per quos afflicetur clerus **T**
^l de ?du\ois/ et moribus ipsorum seductorum **R**

^m de ficta castitate horum seductorum **R H** de ficta sanctitate istorum seducatorum **A** nota ??? horum ???torum **T**

²³ dicit] dixit **Pv P H**

²⁴ qui] *om.* **A Pv P H**

²⁵ isti] ipsi **R T**

²⁶ adeo] a deo **R T Pv** ab eo **P** (a diabolo *PCp*)

²⁷ maioribus] *om.* **A Pv P H**

²⁸ suis] *om.* **A Pv P H**

²⁹ polluunt] polluuntur **R** pollunt **Ch A Pv P H**

³⁰ *Intellige* cappis

³¹ occultis] oculis **H P**

poterit. Diabolus enim homines istos hoc modo infudit quod castitatem eis non aufert et quod castos eos esse permittit, cum castitatem eos habere uoluerint.³² Et iterum ita de se dicit: ‘Castitatem et continentiam Deus diligit, quod et ego in istis imitabor.’ ^aEt sic idem antiquus hostis per aereos spiritus eosdem homines inflat ita quod ab incestis peccatis se abstinent. Unde mulieres non amant, sed eas fugiunt et ita in omni sanctitate hominibus se ostendent ac illudentibus uerbis dicent: ^o‘Ceteri homines qui ante nos castitatem habere uolebant ut assum piscem se torrebant. Nulla autem pollutio carnis et concupiscencie nos tangere audet, quia sancti sumus et spiritu sancto infundimur. Vah³³ errantes homines qui nunc sunt! Nesciunt quid faciunt, sicut et illi qui nos in prioribus temporibus precesserunt.’ ^pNam alii homines, qui eo tempore in fide catholica errant, istos homines timebunt et seruili officio eis ministrabunt et quantum poterunt eos imitabuntur. Tunc de conuersatione istorum populus gaudebit, quoniam eis iusti uidebuntur. ^qCumque isti cursum erroris sui hoc modo confirmauerint doctores et sapientes qui tunc in fide catholica fideliter persistunt undique persequentes expellent, sed tamen non omnes, quoniam aliqui illorum fortissimi milites in iusticia Dei sunt, ^rsed et quasdam congregationes sanctorum quorum congregatio sancta est mouere non poterunt. ^sQuapropter diuitibus et principibus consilium dant ut eosdem ecclesiarum magistros ac reliquos spirituales homines, scilicet subditos eorum, ^tfustibus et lignis coherceant quatinus iusti fiant. Et in aliquibus hoc complebitur unde alii territi contremiscent. ^uSed tamen sicut Helye³⁴ dictum est, multi iustorum seruabuntur qui in errore isto non confundentur nec a fundamentis suis destruentur. ^vSeductores autem isti in conceptione erroris sui mulieribus dicent: ‘Licitum non est nos uobiscum esse, sed quia rectos doctores non habetis,

^a de seductoribus illius temporis **A**

^o isti insultabunt sanctis antiqui temporis **R H**
exer? horum iactancia **A**

^p errantes in fide catholica istis seductoribus iungentur **R H**

^q isti persequentes doctores et sapientes ecclesie **R** isti doctores ecclesie persequentur **A**
Hildegardis **T**

^r de sanctis congregationibus **R H A**

^s ecclesia cogetur per istos bene iuste et sancte uiuere **R H**

^t uiolenter expulsio ad ??? **A**

^u multi iustorum seruabuntur ab errore istorum **R H**

^v qualiter luxuria et secta istorum finaliter denudabitur **R H** isti per luxuriam destruentur **A**

³² uoluerint] noluerit **T** noluerint **Ch Pv A H** uoluerit **P**

³³ Vah] Ve **Ch A** Vach **T** quosi ε uasi *corr. ad* quasi **Pv**

³⁴ Helye] hodie **P H**

nobis obedite et quecumque³⁵ uobis dicimus aut precipimus facite et salue eritis.’ Et hoc modo feminas in errorem suum ducunt et eas sibi contrahunt. Unde et ipsi in superbia animi sui dicent: ‘Omnes superauimus.’ Qui tamen postea eisdem feminis secreta luxuria³⁶ commiscebuntur et tota iniquitas et secta eorum denudabitur. ^wInfideles autem homines isti et a diabolo seducti scopa uestra erunt ad castigandum uos, quoniam Deum non pure colitis et tamdiu cruciabunt uos quousque iniusticie et iniquitates uestre purgentur. ^xIsti autem illi deceptores non sunt illi qui ante nouissimum diem uenturi sunt, cum diabolus in altum uolauerit et ipse sicut in initio contra Deum pugnare ceperit, sed ipsi precurrens germen eorum sunt. ^ySed tamen postquam in peruersitatibus Baal et in aliis prauis operibus sic inuenti fuerint, principes et alii maiores in eos irruent et uelut rabidos lupos³⁷ eos occident ubi eos inuenerint. ^zTunc aurora iusticie et nouissima uestra meliora prioribus erunt ac de omnibus preteritis timorati eritis et quasi purissimum aurum fulgebitis et sic per longa tempora permanebitis.”

*Hec pauca que de libris Sancte Hildegardis supra memorantur ad cautelam iam imminentium malorum descripta sunt ut eo minus perturbent uenientia quo fuerint prescita. Nam sicut dicit Beatus Gregorius: Iacula que preuidentur minus feriunt. Quia mala mundi huius tolerabilius suscipimus si contra hec per prescientie clipeum munimur.*³⁸

^w isti erunt flagellum ecclesie quo eius crimina purgabuntur **R H** scopa sunt ecclesie **A**
^x isti non sunt illi seductores qui uenturi sunt tempore antichristi **R H** isti uenient ante tempus antichristi **A**
^y qualiter isti seductores finaliter destruentur **R H T** mors istorum **A**

^z post predicta flagella ecclesia in melius renouabitur **R H** purgatis peccatis renouabitur ecclesia **A**

³⁵ quecumque] queque **R T**

³⁶ luxuria] per luxuriam **P** luxuriam **Pv H**

³⁷ rabidos lupos] lupos rapidos **A T** rapidos lupos **R Pv H**

³⁸ Hec pauca ... munimur] explicat *add.* **T** Deo gratias. Sancta barbara purissima uirgo que corporeum obprobrium sustinuisti deum exorasti ut qui te in memoria aberant ab omnibus uituperatam huius saeculi liberarentur. Te supliciter exoracio [sic] ut deum exorare digneris quatenus [sic] continui amore obtineas ut me ab omni mala infami<a> *add.* **Ch** Ex predictis Beate Hyldegardis uerbis non incongrue potest notari quod ista per ordinem euenient: Romani imperii destructio; Papatus adnichilatio [adnihilatio]; Principum interfectio; Ecclesie persecutio; Uniuersalis ecclesie renouatio **A**