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# The Life of Saint Hildegard

## A Pilgrimage in Seven Stations

On Friday, October 26, 2012, some thirty participants in the International Conference on “Saint Hildegard Doctor of the Church” walked on a pilgrimage to the Disibodenberg where the saint had lived for nearly 40 years. Since she was fourteen when she entered this Benedictine convent on All Saints Day, 1112 A.D., it was almost 900 years to the day when we undertook our pilgrimage. We started our path at the *Bannmühle* in Odernheim and walked up the hill via the old donkey path, the *Eselspfad*, to what is now the site of the ruins.



Disibodenberg Pilgrimage on October 26, 2012 – Foto by Jone Witschge-van Rees

As pilgrims we walked in silence in order to reflect on the life of Saint Hildegard which was presented at seven stations. At each station questions were posed as a stimulus to further reflection. Three stations were planned for the path up the hill. Up above on the hill, at the altar of the old church we held a noon prayer. Three stations were also planned for our path down the hill, however because of the heavy rain we ended up moving inside our meeting house, the *Bannmühle*.

Since that day I have guided this pilgrimage twice: once in Swabia and once again at the Disibodenberg. The written version of the seven stations that I present here is the result of these three pilgrimages. It owes the most to the writings of Hildegard herself; secondly it owes much of the text to Barbara Newman's book *Sister of Wisdom* that I translated into German in 1992-94.<sup>1</sup> Thirdly it also owes a great deal to my more recent reading of German historian Barbara Beuys' book *Das Leben der Hildegard von Bingen*. Altogether the text that I have compiled here contains more written material than I would normally read aloud in an oral form. That means I would suggest shortening and adapting this text for different groups of pilgrims.

### **The seven stations are:**

- First station:** Hildegard's childhood and visionary gift (1098-1106/1112)
- Second Station:** Entrance to the monastery of St. Disibod on All Saints Day 1112
- Third Station:** Almost forty years at the *Disibodenberg* (1112-1150)
- Fourth Station:** The revelation of the *Scivias* (1141-1152)
- Fifth Station:** The foundation of the convent at the *Rupertsberg* in Bingen (1150)
- Sixth Station:** Literary work and preaching tours
- Seventh Station:** End of Hildegard's life, her death (September 17, 1179), and her posthumous fame

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. list of literature at the end

## First Station

### Hildegard's Childhood and Visionary Gift (1098-1106/1112)

In 1098 A.D.<sup>2</sup>, a little girl was born at the manor house of *Bermersheim* near *Alzey*.<sup>3</sup> The noble parents *Hildebert* and *Mechthild* named their tenth child *Hildegard*, and, "while sighing", they dedicated her to God as a tithe. This act of dedication of a newborn child was not unusual in her time. Later in her life Hildegard accepted it for herself, though she did not recommend the practice to others. Seven of Hildegard's nine older siblings are known to us: the three brothers *Drutwin* (the oldest brother and therefore the heir), *Roricus* (later a cantor at Mainz Cathedral) and *Hugo* (later a canon in Tholey), and her four sisters, *Irmgard*, *Jutta*, *Odila* and *Clementia*, one of whom later took the veil in Hildegard's convent. In other words, four of the children chose religious life.

Up to the age of eight Hildegard grew up as an often sickly child in the family manor house, surrounded by her siblings, protected and cared for as well as possible in her time. Of course her parents had men and women servants who worked for them at their manor. On the surrounding leasehold lands the serfs were required to give a tithe of their harvest to the landlord. At the time the nobility was considered to be endowed by God with special qualities and abilities, and they did not have to do agricultural work on their own farmland. A nobleman was free ("liberatus") which also meant free to study the "liberal arts." Of course this was only possible for men (*Freiherren*) and not for women. Hildegard deeply internalized this aristocratic and hierarchical thinking and defended it throughout her life, even against criticism from the monastic reform movement.<sup>4</sup>

The twelfth century was a tumultuous time and Hildegard's family did not live at the margins but in the center of the Holy Roman Empire. The Imperial Palace at Ingelheim was located nearby. The ships on the Rhine brought goods and news from all over the world, from Scandinavia to Italy and from Spain to Jerusalem. Her family had good contacts in the "golden" city of Mainz:

Hildegard's father probably drove often from Bermersheim to Mainz, the seat of the Archbishop. Perhaps he brought a fine harness from there, because at that time Mainz armor was so popular that it was traded as far away as London. For their mother he may have

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<sup>2</sup>Hildegard was born in 1098 sometime before September 17th. On the day she died Hildegard was already in her 82nd year (*Vita Hildegard*, p.181).

<sup>3</sup> The exact birthplace of Hildegard is not known for certain. The oldest record by Abbot Trithemius of Sponheim (1462-1516) mentions the castle of Böckelheim. Sr. Marianna Schrader OSB concluded that the mention of a *Hildebert von Bermersheim* hints at the village of *Bermersheim* in Rheinhessen (1940). In contrast historian Josef Heinzelmann put forward the theory that *Niederhosenbach*, a village between Kirn and Idar-Oberstein, could be Hildegard's birthplace (1997). Recently Prof. Prof. Dr. Rainer Berndt SJ named Bermersheim again in the official booklet (*Arbeitshilfe*) on Hildegard's canonization and promotion (2013).

<sup>4</sup> *Beuys*, 36/37; cf. *Hildegard's* letter to Tengswich of Andernach.

brought expensive fabrics from the market, and, for the kitchen he brought spices from distant lands. Back at the manor the family listened as Hildebert of Bermersheim spoke about the town at the river, of the mighty walls behind which loomed the towers of magnificent churches that protected huge stone buildings, vineyards and orchards.<sup>5</sup>

In the Holy Roman Empire which contained a mere seventeen fortified cities, the old Roman bishopric of Mainz was called the "diadem of the empire". Together with the other major see city of Cologne, whose city walls had just been expanded in a semi-circular form in 1106, and with Regensburg, it was one of the three leading political and economic centers. For this reason this aristocratic family was probably always well informed about what was happening in the Holy Roman Empire: the First Crusade to the Holy Land (1096), the persecution and killing of Jews in Speyer and Mainz (1096), the escape (1199) and return of *Ruthard*, Archbishop of Mainz (1105), and, the overthrow of King *Heinrich IV* by his own son *Heinrich V* (1104) and his capture in the nearby Castle of *Böckelheim* (1105). All of this was certainly the subject of conversation at the manor. In any case, there was always "something going on," much work but also play and feasts.

Yet Hildegard herself reported nothing of these external historical events of her life in her later autobiographical writing. She only mentioned the year 1100, which in retrospect she understood as an "effeminate age" (*muliebre tempus*). Apparently, looking back at her life, she considered something completely different to be important to her, namely her own inner experience:

When I was first formed, when God awakened me in my mother's womb by the breath of life, he infused this vision into my soul. Because in 1100 after the incarnation of Christ, the teachings of the apostles, and the glowing righteousness upon which he had laid the foundations for Christians and clergy alike, began to diminish and to falter. At this time I was born, and with sighing did my parents consecrate me to God. In my third year I saw such a great light that my soul trembled, but because of my childhood I could not speak of it. In my eighth year I was offered to God for the spiritual life. And until my fifteenth year I saw much, and I spoke about much in a simple way, so that those who heard it were very surprised, wondering where it came from and from whom it had come. So I wondered too about the fact that when I looked deeply into my soul, I could still see with my external eyes, and that I did not hear about this from anybody else. Therefore I began to hide the vision that I saw in my soul, as best I could.<sup>6</sup>

Only much later in her life, at the age of 79, was Hildegard willing to describe her visionary experience in more detail. This is found in her letter to the Flemish monk Guibert of Gembloux:

From my early childhood, before my bones, nerves, and veins were fully strengthened, I have always seen this vision in my soul, even to the present time, when I am more than seventy years old. In this vision my soul, as God would have it, rises up high into the vault of heaven and into the changing sky and spreads itself out among different people, although they are far away from me in distant lands and places. And because I see them in this way in my soul, I observe them in accord with the shifting clouds and other created things. I do not hear them

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<sup>5</sup> *Beuys*, 39

<sup>6</sup> *Vita Hildegard* II.2, 71

with my outward ears, nor do I perceive them by the thought of my heart or any combination of my five senses, but in my soul alone, while my outward eyes are open. So I have never fallen prey to ecstasy in the visions, but I see them wide awake, day and night. And I am constantly fettered by sickness, and often in the grip of pain so intense that it threatens to kill me; but God has sustained me until now.

The light that I see thus is not spatial, but it is far, far brighter than a cloud that carries the sun. I can measure neither height, nor length, nor breath in it; and I call it “the reflection of the living light.” And as the sun, the moon, and the stars appear in water, so writings, sermons, virtues, and certain human actions take form for me and gleam within it.

Now whatever I have seen or learned in this vision remains in my memory for a long time, so that, when I have seen and heard it, I remember; and I see, hear and know all at once, and as if in an instant I learn what I know. But what I do not see, I do not know, for I am not educated, but I have simply been taught how to read. And what I write is what I see and hear in the vision. I compose no other words than those I hear, and I set them forth in unpolished Latin just as I hear them in the vision, for I am not taught in this vision to write as philosophers do. And the words in this vision are not like words uttered by the mouth of man, but like a shimmering flame, or a cloud floating in a clear sky.

Moreover, I can no more recognize the form of this light than I can gaze directly on the sphere of the sun. Sometimes – but not often – I see within this light another light, which I call “the living light.” And I cannot describe when and how I see it, but while I see it all sorrow and anguish leave me, so that then I feel like a simple girl instead of an old woman.

But because of the constant sickness that I suffer, I sometimes get tired of writing the words and visions that are there revealed to me. Yet when my soul tastes and sees them, I am so transformed that, as I say, I forget all pain and trouble. And when I see and hear things in this vision, my soul drinks them in as from a fountain, which yet still remains full and unexhausted. At no time is my soul deprived of that light which I call the reflection of the living Light, and see it as if I were gazing at a starless sky in a shining cloud. In it I see the things of which I frequently speak, and I answer my correspondents from the radiance of this living light.<sup>7</sup>

### Questions for reflection:

- *Can I comprehend the experience that Hildegard describes here?*
- *What do I understand by visionary experience?*
- *What about my own gift of imagination and vision?*
- *Why would Hildegard keep her visionary experiences hidden for so long?*

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<sup>7</sup> Newman, 6-7



## *Second Station*

### **Hildegard enters the Cloister of St. Disibod on All Saints' Day 1112**

On the eve of All Saints in the year 1112, three virgins of noble blood gather with their families at the foot of the Disibodenberg to be admitted to the flourishing monastery of St. Disibod as recluses. These are *Jutta von Sponheim* (born 1092, then 20 years old), *Hildegard von Bingen* (born 1098, then 14 years old), and another young virgin who (perhaps) is also called *Jutta*.

The hill of Disibodenberg was known from time immemorial as a holy mountain; it was already used as a sacred site in Celtic and Roman times. In the early 7th century the Irish-Scottish wandering monk St. Disibod founded a monastery on the hill with some of his companions. The foundation experienced flourish and decline over the course of time. In 1108 twelve Benedictine monks moved in, under the protection and with the encouragement of Archbishop Ruthard of Mainz, and they dared to make a new start in the destroyed buildings. So, when the three young girls arrived in 1112, the new convent was still for the most part a construction site, and it would remain so for many years (until about 1123.)

With the three girls, under the guidance of the well-born countess Jutta of Sponheim, the monastery was finally expanded by adding a women's cloister. As the superior, Lady Jutta would build up and lead a women's community, thus giving shape to something completely new. In this way the Disibodenberg, like the majority of Benedictine monasteries since the beginning of the 12th century, developed into a double monastery. Even the monks of the male cloister looked forward to that. The idea that even women could "embody" the life of a monk "in its highest perfection" (Abbot Theoger of St.Georgen), that they could found religious communities (for example, Herluka in Hirsau), and could even take over the direction of a double monastery (for example, the monastery of Fontevraud, founded in 1101 by Robert of Abrissel, which in 1115 was led by Abbess Petronella), embodied the new thinking of the time.

Countess Jutta had fought hard for this day. Fascinated by the new reform movements of the time that strove to return to the original life in Christ, she had vowed to renounce marriage during a severe illness at the age of 12 in 1104. And although many "noble and rich men" sought to marry her (*Vita Jutta II.6*, p.70), she took the veil from Bishop *Ruthard von Mainz* at the age of 14 (1106) against the wishes of her relatives. Yet she was unable to pursue her other desire, namely to go for a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, of which the First Crusade in 1096 had brought back a great deal of information. This time it was her brother, Count Meinhard who managed to prevent this with the support of Bishop *Otto von Bamberg*. The bishop convinced Jutta that she could pursue her wish to renounce the world better in a cloister, and he arranged for her entry into the newly founded monastery of Disibodenberg, not far from *Burg Sponheim* (near Schloßböckelheim in the neighborhood of Bad Kreuznach).

Along with Jutta was her relative Hildegard, who at age 14 was also by now a young woman of marriageable age. Hildegard has been with Jutta since the age of eight, that is, from the time when she "*was given to God for a spiritual life.*" (*Vita Hildegard II.2*, p.71.) We may assume that since Hildegard has been dedicated to God at her birth, it had worked out well for her parents that her relative Jutta took the veil at the age of fourteen (1106). For in that way they were able to fulfill their promise by giving their daughter to *Burg Sponheim*. As was desirable for the sons and daughters of the nobility, Hildegard could also receive a good upbringing there. Jutta, who had been instructed since early childhood by her mother *Sophie von Sponheim* in reading and writing of the Scriptures, could give her a good education. In contrast to noble boys who were trained in the art of fighting, and, who only learned to read Latin in order to be trained in the virtues of a Christian knight, noble girls had to learn to do other things:

Embroidery, weaving, horse riding, chess games, singing, dancing, the recital of poetry, and their presence in jousting tournaments belong to the occupations of noble women. It was their job to care for the entertainment and to keep the peace among the constantly fighting and contending knights at court festivities, where the women had to be placed between the knights at all times. In the Middle Ages noble women were regarded at court as peacemakers. To a girl's education belonged the teaching of religion, reading and writing.<sup>8</sup>

As Jutta, "guided by God," had decided to submit herself to the pious widow Uda von Gölheim who lived in the habit of holy religion," this opportunity also had become a chance for Hildegard (*Vita Jutta II.3* and *III.3*, p.70). For it seemed a good idea to educate both girls together (probably) at Burg Sponheim until their mutual entry into the Disibodenberg monastery.

The story that the eight-year-old girl Hildegard had already become a recluse "*locked away on the hill of St. Disibod,*" and was even walled in the monastic church in order "*to be buried with Christ and to come with him to the glory of the resurrection,*" was claimed only about fifty years later in her *Vita* in 1180<sup>9</sup>, but this idea was influential until very recently. Jutta's *vita* which is much closer in time to the event has been studied and taken more seriously (*Vita Jutta* in 1140.) In the intervening period between the accounts of the two *vitae*, times had changed. The period following the second and third Lateran Councils (1139 and 1179) had brought severe regulations for priests (such as celibacy), and for monks and nuns (such as forbidding common singing in the monastic church.)

Stability, uniformity, and strict enclosure represented now the ideals for pious women, and the famous prophetess was now expected to fit into these ideals. Hildegard and Jutta did not enter the Disibodenberg monastery as proper nuns. This fact was too well known to deny in her biography. But if the 'Vita' suggested that young Hildegard was walled in as a recluse –

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<sup>8</sup> English translation from [www.das-mittelalter.de/frauen\\_im\\_mittelalter.htm](http://www.das-mittelalter.de/frauen_im_mittelalter.htm)

<sup>9</sup> *Vita Hildegard* I.1, 53

there was no argument in favor but also none against it - then the rigorously misogynistic *Zeitgeist* at the end of the 12th century was sufficiently served.<sup>10</sup>

In contrast to this strict *Zeitgeist* at the end of the century, multiple forms of religious life for women had in fact existed at the beginning of the 12th century. Religious women were not simply and only nuns. A small incident related in the "*Life of Jutta, recluse*" written forty years earlier (*Vita Jutta*, 1140) illustrates this:

At the dawn of "the first of November, when the feast of All Saints is celebrated, an old woman named Trutwib, who in her widowhood had served the Church for many years", went to the hospice "where Lady Jutta was waiting with her girls to be admitted as recluses this day." We are told that this woman who probably lived on the monastery grounds for many years served the Lord night and day with fasting and prayer "like the prophetess Hanna in the Gospel" (Lk 2,36 f). And, in the night of All Saints, she "piously attended the early Laudes." Jutta's *Vita* would certainly not have reported this if the pious woman had not had a prescient vision of the life and death of Jutta, a vision that would accompany her until the end of her life.<sup>11</sup>

#### Questions for reflection:

- *How do I imagine the day that these three young women entered the Disibodenberg monastery?*
- *Why did not only Jutta, but also Hildegard and the third young woman, choose for themselves to follow the religious way of life and to become recluses?*
- *What moved the three women on this very special day? What moved the people who were with them? What moved Hildegard's parents, who had dedicated their daughter to God at birth "with sighs"?*
- *And what moved the monks who awaited them in the monastery?*
- *What kind of new life would that be?*

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<sup>10</sup>Beuys, 79

<sup>11</sup> *Vita Jutta*, VII.3, 76



### *Third Station*

#### **Almost 40 years at the *Disibodenberg* (1112-1159)**

Hildegard lived for many years at Disibodenberg without revealing the strange and confusing experience of her "visions" and "faces." Jutta alone must have been aware of something, or at least Jutta would have been aware of Hildegard's special gift, for Hildegard was the "faithful pupil of Lady Jutta" and "particularly familiar" with her.<sup>12</sup> According to her vita, Jutta educated Hildegard "carefully in the vesture of humility" and taught her "to sing the Psalms", in other words to learn Latin.<sup>13</sup> And then there was Volmar, the learned monk to whom Hildegard's further education was entrusted, and, who remained her lifelong friend, confidant and secretary.

The fact that Hildegard had not studied theology in any modern sense needs to be seen in the context of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. Before 1079 when Pope Gregory decreed that schools were to be established at the cathedrals of the cities of Paris, Bologna, Salamanca or Cologne (which gradually developed into the first universities in the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries), monasteries had held a monopoly in medieval culture.

That means that in early medieval society monks were the carriers of higher education and the best study took place at the scriptorium of a large monastery where knowledge had been kept and conveyed from the ancient church through the Dark Ages. Studying at a Cathedral school in the High Middle Ages was a development in which Hildegard as a woman could not participate. We may assume that at least her teacher Volmar studied the seven "*liberal arts*" (as opposed to the "*artes mechanicae*" in which craftsmen were trained for a profession), in which all general knowledge had been concentrated since the year 1000. The first part is the *Trivium*, that is the study of (Latin) grammar, rhetoric and logic. Advanced students studied the *Quadrivium* which included arithmetic, geometry, music and astronomy. Only someone who had completed this standard curriculum was admitted to the higher studies of philosophy and theology.<sup>14</sup> But even though we can take for granted that the (pre-) scholastic scholars at the cathedral schools were all men, during Hildegard's lifetime certainly not all male priests had studied theology. Probably most were barely able to read their mass in Latin. That means that even in the context of their own time Magistra Jutta and Magistra Hildegard, as they were named, were highly learned women. And Volmar was the learned monk at their side who had mastered Latin grammar and how to write music notes, called *Neumen*.

During her time at the Disibodenberg, Hildegard took part in the Benedictine life of the double monastery: praying the Liturgy of the Hours and singing psalms in the monastic church; assisting at high Mass on feast days; taking care of the cloister gardens; studying the scriptures (in the *Vulgata*), and, sometimes even receiving visits from dignitaries.

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<sup>12</sup> *Vita Jutta IX*, 79

<sup>13</sup> *Vita Hildegard 1.1*, p.53; Newman, 5

<sup>14</sup> Cf. *Beuys*, 177

In 1120, after the relics of **Saint Ursula** were discovered in Cologne, some of them were brought to Disibodenberg -- dividing the relics of one saint's body was a common practice. For Hildegard, Saint Ursula, who defended her virginity bravely against the Huns together with her 11,000 virgins, was a role model and probably her favorite saint. In Ursula's honor she composed an entire mass for her feast day:

*In visione verae fidei Ursula filium amavit Dei, et cum hoc virum saeculo reliquit, et solem in aspexit ... / In a vision of true faith, Ursula loved the Son of God, and, she renounced man and the world, and looked into the sun ...*<sup>15</sup>

In 1138 Bishop **Sigward of Uppsala** came from Sweden, and consecrated three side altars and one altar in the main choir. In the film "Vision" Sigward is depicted bringing his "travel library" which included some valuable books by, among others, Greek philosophers and Arab physicians.

In 1143 Archbishop Henry of Mainz dedicated the main monastery church and its high altar to **St. John**, who in her time was believed to be at once Jesus' beloved disciple, the apostle, the evangelist and the apocalyptic seer. In naming herself later as the "trumpet of God" (Rev. 1:10) and as the "eagle", Hildegard identifies herself very much with John:

Oh, oh eagle, why do you sleep in your knowledge? Rise up from your hesitancy.<sup>16</sup>

In the same year 1143, the relics of St. **Disibod** were ceremonially buried in the high grave of the monastery church. Thirty years later, at the request of Abbot Helenger and the monks of Disibodenberg, Hildegard wrote the Saint's vita. (1170).

In this way Hildegard experienced and learned much in her nearly forty years at Disibodenberg. All the knowledge that she wrote down in Latin in later years about stones, plants and animals, as well as their meaning and healing power for humans, she must have acquired at this time. This indicates that her writing is much more original than if she had merely obtained information from Volmar or from the books in the monastery's library. Even the assumption that Hildegard has been only an "inspired vessel" who received her knowledge solely through her visions "in a direct dictation from God"<sup>17</sup> cannot be defended. Today it is rather exciting to explore which ancient and Arabic sources Hildegard might have consulted to gain her medical knowledge, even though she does not directly quote any of these authors.

Hildegard's writings contain such detailed observations of nature - such as stones, plants and animals - that in the end she can be called an early scientist who observes nature and takes great curiosity in all its creatures and processes. For example, she writes about fish:

There are certain fishes that because of their nature live at the bottom of the sea and of the rivers, in order to seek their food there; and so they furrow the ground like pigs the earth and

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<sup>15</sup> "O Ecclesia" in: Hildegard von Bingen, 11000 virgins: Chants for the Feast of St. Ursula (=CD Harmonia Mundi 907200).

<sup>16</sup> *Vita Hildegard*, 84

<sup>17</sup> Pastor Johannes Schmelzeis from Eibingen formulated this in 1879 at a time when there was no convent. See the comments of Barbara Newman in her article in this book.

eat certain plants and certain roots there by which they live long; and they also always search for other things there that befits as food. Sometimes they come almost to the middle of the waters, and sometimes they go down to the bottom and stay mainly there... Some love the day and the sunshine more than the night and the moonlight, but some love the night and the moonlight more than the day and the sunshine.<sup>18</sup>

And about the River Glan which flows around the Disibodenberg, and in which she may have observed such fish by day and by night, she writes:

The Glan springs from other rivers. Therefore its water is fairly hardy and healthy, and it is suitable for food and for the preparation of drinks, and also for baths and for washing one's face. Its fish are healthy, but they do not live long because of the harshness of the water. Also its sand is beautiful and healthy.<sup>19</sup>

To imagine that Hildegard herself washed her face in this river seems the best argument against the assumption that she has immured herself as a "recluse" for forty years and lived behind walls.

Instead we can imagine that over the years the small women's hermitage developed into a Benedictine nuns' convent. The extraordinary reputation of Magistra Jutta had meant that not only Hildegard had taken the veil from Bishop Otto of Bamberg at age 16 (in 1114) but that ten other young women entered later as postulants.

When Jutta died on December 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1136, just before Christmas, Hildegard was elected as her successor, which had been the wish of the deceased. Everybody expected that the new magistra would walk "in Jutta's footsteps" and perhaps also become like her. For Jutta had a "caring heart" and had maintained many personal contacts and had exchanged letters with people of all classes.

But what not everybody could see was that Jutta had also imposed a very strict form of asceticism on herself,

by vigils, praying and fasting in the cold and without clothes. Among other forms by which she inflicted terrible crucifixions and wounds to herself, from the date of inclusion, she used to wear an iron chain belt around her naked body, with which she chastised her virgin limbs.<sup>20</sup>

How much she had been torturing her body, only became fully visible to her confidant Hildegard after her death, when she had to wash her body with two other sisters:

Now as her ... students wet with their tears the body of their beloved spiritual mother and Magistra and as they looked more closely they found, among countless signs of her suffering, that the chain which she had worn on her flesh, had pressed three deeply furrowed rings around her entire body.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> *Physica* V, 287

<sup>19</sup> *Physica*, V, 223

<sup>20</sup> *Vita Jutta* IV.1-3, 71

<sup>21</sup> *Vita Jutta XIII*, 14, 78

**Questions for reflection:**

- *What thoughts and sentiments moved Hildegard when she looked at Jutta's broken body?*
- *What moved her after the death of her Magistra, whose most important confidante she had been and whose successor she was now to be? Did she want to become like Jutta?*
- *As the new Magistra, should she contradict Jutta's memory by stressing her own observations about the beauty and the healing power of nature?*
- *Should she now speak in public about her visionary experiences, which she had discussed only with Jutta up to this point?*

## Fourth Station

### The revelation of her visions and the publication of the *Scivias* (1141-1152)

Hildegard was 38 years old when she became the second Magistra at the Disibodenberg after Jutta's death. Jutta's ideal, combining public friendliness with physical punishment of her own body, did not seem to be what Hildegard wanted to make her own. In addition she did not use her authority at once to reveal her visions.

The Vita reports that instead she refrained from this "out of female shyness, out of the fear that people would talk and of the harsh judgment of humans." Only five years later, the time came "that her life and her wisdom for the salvation of many would become public ... Then, a fierce sting forced her not to hesitate any longer with the revelation of her visions." (Vita Hildegard I.3, p.55). A lengthy illness which Hildegard attributed to her refusal to follow the will of God warned her not to delay writing down her visions any longer: "In this vision I was forced under heavy pains to reveal what I had seen and heard." Finally, she entrusted herself to her teacher **Volmar**, because - as she writes - nothing was further from his thoughts than "the curious kind of many people's questioning":

Therefore he liked to listen when I spoke about these wonderful appearances. He was full of amazement and told me to write them down secretly, until he might see of what kind they were and where they came from. When he realized that they were from God, he revealed this to Abbot Kuno and from then on, he worked on them with me with great zeal.<sup>22</sup>

The events that were to follow, in which only clergy and monks -- spiritual men -- were able to examine and pass judgment on the visionary experience of this virgin, seem to be an arbitrary process. This makes it understandable why Hildegard feared and was ashamed to talk about her experiences for decades. Her Vita reports in detail that Abbot Kuno at first considered "the unusual event" and then "realized that nothing is impossible for God." Then he called "the wisest men of the monastery and let them judge about what he had heard. He questioned Hildegard about her writings and visions, and advised her to proclaim what had come down from God to her." But because his "own judgment did not appear enough to him, he felt obliged to refer the matter to the public. He traveled to the mother church in Mainz and reported the hearings to the Archbishop Heinrich and the cathedral chapter. He also showed the writings that the holy virgin had written shortly beforehand.<sup>23</sup>

Hildegard was clever enough not to leave the judgment on her visionary gift only to these clerics. In 1147 she took the initiative to write a letter to *Bernard of Clairvaux*, and in doing so showed her extraordinary sense of the realities in Church and world. In fact Bernard was probably the most influential man of her time. To him Hildegard humbly calls herself "*una paupercula feminea forma*," a "poor little female" in the sense of "pitiful in her being as a woman":

Most honorable father Bernard... I plead you in the name of the living God, please listen to me. I am concerned about this vision that appears to my spirit like a mystery. Never have I

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<sup>22</sup> *Vita Hildegard* II.2, 73

<sup>23</sup> *Vita Hildegard* II.2, 56

seen this with the outer eyes of the flesh. I – wretched as a poor little female – have, already from my childhood on, seen these great wonderful things that my tongue could not express, if the spirit of God had not told me to believe...

After two letters from her Bernard gave an answer in which he endorses Hildegard's visionary gift as a grace, and at the same time he admonishes her:

For the beloved daughter in Christ, Hildegard, brother Bernard, named Abbot of Clairvaux, is praying... With you we are glad that the grace of God is in you. In regards to us, we admonish you and entreat you that you always regard this as grace and respond to it with all your power of love and humility. As you know, "God resists the proud ones, but gives grace to the humble ones..."

This letter of confirmation would turn into Hildegard's best strategic step because when Pope Eugenius III, a Cistercian and disciple of Bernard, presided over the synod in Trier in 1147-48, Archbishop Heinrich brought the matter of Hildegard's visions to his attention.

The Bishop of Mainz and the higher clergy considered it good, that the matter of Hildegard be submitted to the Pope, to learn by his authority what to accept and what to reject. The Pope listened with great awe and in wonder to this news, and as he knew that everything is possible with God, he decided to investigate the matter fully. Therefore he sent the Bishop of Verdun, and with him the Primicerius *Adelbert* and other suitable men to the monastery where the Virgin had been living for so many years as a recluse, and he called upon these men to explore the happenings in her without causing sensation and arousing curiosity ... Hildegard gave them simple and plain information. They returned to the Pope and declared under great expectation of the assembly what they had ascertained. After the Pope had heard this, he had the writings of Hildegard submitted to him ... He held these with his own hands, took over the office of the lecturer and publicly read from them to the Archbishop, the Cardinals and all the present clergy.<sup>24</sup>

The council was unanimously impressed, especially since Bernard chose this moment to intercede for the visionary who has sought his aid. Following his suggestion, Eugenius sent a letter to Hildegard:

He directed an honorable letter to the holy Virgin in which he permitted her in the name of Christ and St. Peter to proclaim all that she sees in the Holy Spirit, and he encouraged her to write.<sup>25</sup>

From this point on, Hildegard's fame grew steadily until her death, as did the circle of her correspondents.

However there was one mistake she did not make again. From then on she no longer wrote as a weak woman in her own name, but instead she spoke as a prophet and a seer of the Living Light in the name of God. And she announced that in that effeminate time in which the learned male clerics had become lax, weak and fragile - in other words, effeminate – and did not obey, that just in this "*muliebre tempus*" paradoxically God had entrusted his mission

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<sup>24</sup> *Vita Hildegard* I.3, 56f.

<sup>25</sup> *Vita Hildegard* I.3, 57



to a woman, to shame them by his words from her mouth and to strengthen them, just as it is written:

God chose what is foolish in the world to shame the wise; God chose what is weak in the world to shame the strong; God chose what is low and despised in the world, even things that are not, to bring to nothing things that are, so that no flesh might boast in the presence of God (*1 Cor 1:27-29*).

It is precisely this conviction that underlay Hildegard's own prophetic call as she expressed it in the beginning of the *Scivias*:

O fragile human, ashes of ashes, and filth of filth! Say and write what you see and hear. But since you are timid in speaking, and simple in expounding, and untaught in writing, speak and write these things not by a human mouth, and not by the understanding of human invention, and not by the requirements of human composition, but as you see and hear them on high in the heavenly places in the wonders of God. Explain these things in such a way that the hearer, recalling the words of his instructor, may expound them in those words, according to that will, vision and instruction. Therefore, O human, speak these things that you see and hear. And write them not by yourself or any other human being, but by the will of Him Who knows, sees and disposes all things in the secrets of His mysteries.<sup>26</sup>

### Questions for Reflection:

- *Why does Hildegard believe that she lives in a weak, effeminate age? What does she associate with femininity?*
- *Why does Hildegard speak of herself in the beginning of the *Scivias* as a “fragile human” and not as a “woman?”*
- *What does it mean that Hildegard should not write what she sees and hears in human speech? Of which secrets shall she speak, and in what way?*

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<sup>26</sup> Newman, 59

## *Fifth Station*

### **The founding of the women's convent at the Rupertsberg in Bingen (ca 1150)**

After Hildegard had become famous the monastery of St. Disibod began to attract so many female postulants that they could not be housed any longer. The monastery was already considering another site or an expansion of the women's hermitage." (*Vita Hildegard* I.5, a.a.O.58). For this reason, but perhaps also because the common life of monks and nuns in the monastery had become more difficult,<sup>27</sup> Hildegard thought about moving out:

I saw in a vision and I was taught and compelled to speak out to my spiritual leaders that our site with all its things should be separated from the place where I had been consecrated to God (the monastery *Disibodenberg*)...<sup>28</sup>

The place where she now intended to found her own women's cloister was also shown to her by the Holy Spirit, according to her *Vita*. It was "the site where the river Nahe flows into the Rhine, namely, the hill which earlier received its name from the confessor Rupert."<sup>29</sup> Certainly she also appreciated that her new women's cloister would be located near the large town of *Bingen am Rhein*, for that placed it at a very exposed position along the main traffic line of the Middle Ages. The monks of Disibodenberg, especially Abbot Kuno, had a very different perspective on this. The fame of their Magistra had brought them much income, without which their monastery could not and did not want to do without. And with the fear not only of the departure of the seer but also that the dowries of the aristocratic sisters would be eliminated, they opposed this plan. In this tense situation Hildegard cleverly used her family relations to gain the support of Archbishop Heinrich of Mainz. At the same time she was afflicted by a debilitating disease, which she attributed to the fact that the fulfillment of the divine will (this was not about her personal will) had been delayed. Her *Vita* reports that Abbot Kuno, who did not believe she was ill, came to her,

in order to convince himself. After he tried with all his strength, to lift her head or to turn her to the other side, and after he could achieve not alter her state, he realized, aghast at such an unusual sign, that this was not about a human suffering but a case of divine punishment. And he understood that he could no longer oppose the divine plan, if he did not want to receive a worse punishment himself.<sup>30</sup>

After Hildegard obtained the consent of the skeptical Kuno for her plan in this way, she became - as her *Vita* reports - healthy again and was able to get up from her sickbed.

With the help of her sponsors Archbishop Heinrich and Richardis of Stade (the mother of her sister with the same name), Hildegard eventually acquired the property at the Rupertsberg. The construction of the convent began and in 1150 Hildegard and eighteen of her sisters

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<sup>27</sup> In 1139 the Second Lateran Council decided – amongst other issues - that monks and nuns should no longer be allowed to pray and to sing together in high mass, which de facto meant the end of most double monasteries in the Holy Roman Empire.

<sup>28</sup> *Vita Hildegard* II.7, 82

<sup>29</sup> *Vita Hildegard* I.5, 58

<sup>30</sup> *Vita Hildegard* I.5, 59f.

moved into the new foundation. Like the Disibodenberg, the Rupertsberg too remained a construction site for quite some time.

However, their struggle for legal and financial independence from the Disibodenberg monks continued. By 1155 Hildegard was able to secure exclusive rights to the property on the Rupertsberg. Again three years later, Heinrich's successor, Archbishop Arnold of Mainz, guaranteed protection for the new foundation and regulated the temporal and spiritual relations between the Disibodenberg and the Rupertsberg women's cloister (in this way the Disibodenberg monks were obliged to provide the nuns with a chaplain from among them.) During the negotiations over dowries, compensation and the independence of the new cloister, the health of the seer changed again and again according to the level of success or failure of her plans. Finally Hildegard waived most of the dowry of the former Disibodenberg sisters and received as compensation the protection of the Archbishop of Mainz, as well as an extensive legal independence from the Disibodenberg monks. Despite this deprivation the Rupertsberg became a fairly wealthy convent.

Guibert de Gembloux described the "miracle" of the Rupertsberg monastery in a letter from 1177:

This monastery was founded not by an emperor, nor a bishop, nor by any powerful or rich person, but it was founded by a poor, weak woman who only moved here. Within a short time, over twenty-seven years, it has become highly developed both in monastic spirit and in its architectural structures; so it is well equipped and ordered in all, not through luxurious but stately and spacious buildings as they are owned by nuns, and through the fact that water pipes have been laid in all working rooms. And all expenses for clothing and food are covered sufficiently, not only for the many guests that the house never lacks and for the various employees of which there are quite many, but also for the approximately fifty sisters.<sup>31</sup>

Guibert admired the "*beautiful atmosphere of peace and of all joy and delight*" in which the mother embraces her daughters with such love, and the daughters submit to the mother with such awe, "*so that one can hardly distinguish whether in this zeal the mother surpasses the daughters or the daughters the mother.*" About the Magistra, he writes:

She gives the requested advice to you; she solves difficult questions that she is asked; she writes books, teaches her sisters, helps sinners who come to her, and is thus completely and fully preoccupied all the time.

In 1165 Hildegard was able to found a second cloister in Eibingen on the other side of the Rhine, and to this cloister she finally admitted less well-off and non-aristocratic sisters as well. According to the legend, this cloister on the site of the present day pilgrims' church (the *Wallfahrtskirche*, not the St. Hildegard Abbey) was visited by Hildegard twice a week. By then she was already an old woman over 67, so crossing the river Rhine twice a week by boat meant quite a demanding day trip.

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<sup>31</sup> *Briefwechsel*, 31-233

**Questions for reflection:**

- *What kind of worries, thoughts and plans in regard to her two foundations might have preoccupied Hildegard when she crossed the Rhine?*
- *Why did Guibert de Gembloux become so enthusiastic when describing the Rupertsberg cloister?*
- *Have I already established something in my life - perhaps a family or a house or a club? And what have been my main concerns in this enterprise?*

## Sixth Station

### Literary Work and Preaching Tours

In addition to the foundation and concern for her two convents, the Magistra also continued with her **literary activities**. With the help of Volmar and other nuns, amongst them her favorite Richardis, she was able to complete her first book, the **Scivias** (*Know the Ways*), in the Rupertsberg Scriptorium.<sup>32</sup>

Then in 1151 she started to work on a major scientific and medical encyclopedia, the *Liber subtilitatum diversarum naturarum creaturum simplicis medicinae* (=Nine Books on the Subtleties of Different Kinds of Creatures). This book is known as **Physica** and includes a comprehensive herbal, a bestiary and a lapidary, but it lacks a foreword. Hildegard supplemented this *Book of simple medicine* with her *Book of Compound Medicine*; this handbook is known as **Causae et Curae** and deals with diseases and their treatment. Unlike the *Physica* it is not written in the systematic style of the *Physica*, but rather in the style of a journal. Yet it offers Hildegard's original and rich descriptions of human sexuality.

In 1158 Hildegard began the second volume of her theology, the **Liber Vitae meritorum** (= *Book of life merits*), which she finished in 1163. In describing virtues and vices it contains Hildegard's ethics.

Her third and final visionary work **Liber divinorum operum** or *De operatione Dei* (*World and man*) occupied her time from 1163 till 1173.

At the same time she was busy composing liturgical texts and songs. Her song-play **Ordo Virtutum** and 75 of her songs **Symphonia armoniae celestium revelationum** make her one of the most important composers of music history, and that even though she could not write musical notation (*Neumen*):

But I have also written songs with melodies in praise of God and the Saints without instruction from any human being, and I have sung though I have never learned musical notation or any kind of singing.<sup>33</sup>

**Hildegard's correspondence** extended over three decades from 1147 until her death. She wrote to people of all social classes, to popes, emperors, abbots and abbesses, prelates, priests, monks, nuns and lay people, especially women. It seems that her correspondents strongly desired to receive her letters, because they were convinced that through the mouth of the prophetess God himself spoke directly to them.

One example is her letter to **Guibert of Gembloux**. This ardent Walloon monk had written her first in 1175 with a mixture of admiration and curiosity, requesting that she give him some information about her visionary experiences. In a further letter he had attached a

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<sup>32</sup> The question by whom and when the famous illuminations have been done is still an open discussion amongst scholars. Yet there is only one who still believes that Hildegard herself was the artist. The majority seems at least to believe that this most original work was done during by her nuns and under her supervision, that is, during her lifetime.

<sup>33</sup> *Beuys*, 278

catalogue of 39 more or less subtle questions which he had devised with his monks. Yet when he finally received a letter from the famous seer, he did not dare to open it immediately, but he first went

“... into the nearest church, put Hildegard’s letter on the altar and prayed fervently to the Holy Spirit for a worthy condition of his heart. Then he took the letter, read it twice, three times in silence and admiration, and almost fell into ecstasy.” On the following day “he read the letter aloud at an assembly of clergy and laity. The former Abbot Rupert of Königstal, a Premonstratensian Abbey in the diocese of Toul, sat there during the entire reading, cradled his head thoughtfully and then exclaimed enthusiastically that these words could come from nobody else than the Holy Spirit. The most astute Masters from France could not have done such a work... With their dry hearts and their inflated bent backs they make a big noise, yet lose themselves in investigations and disputes ...But this godly woman... only emphasizes the one thing that is necessary, namely, the glory of the threefold God. She draws on an inner fullness and pours it out to quench the thirst of the thirsty.”<sup>34</sup>

In political affairs as well Hildegard was a much sought-after correspondent. She knew how to take advantage of her aristocratic position for herself and her monastic foundations, and she also did not shy away from harsh criticism. The most outstanding example is her ambivalent relation to **Friedrich Barbarossa** that Barbara Newman calls “a double edged relationship.”<sup>35</sup> After the emperor was elected on March 4, 1152, he invited the famous seer from the nearby Rupertsberg to his palace in Ingelheim in the early summer of 1154; that is shortly before his coronation in Rome. We are not informed about the content of their conversation, but in 1163 he granted the Rupertsberg an edict of imperial protection in perpetuity. However when the emperor installed a new anti-pope three times in succession, and in doing so caused a schism in the Church from which many of Hildegard’s episcopal friends suffered, she did not behave like a protégée but instead opposed him. During the first schism in 1159, when he installed Victor IV against Pope Alexander III, she did not take a stand. Yet when the Emperor installed a second anti-pope, Paschal III, in 1164, Hildegard sent him a sharp rebuke by comparing him to a “*child and a madman*.” After the death of that pope in 1164, when Barbarossa stubbornly dared to support a third anti-pope (Callistus III), Hildegard hurled the wrath of God against him:

He Who Is says: I destroy contumacy, and by myself I crush the resistance of those who despise me. Woe, woe to the malice of wicked men who defy me! Hear this, king, if you wish to live; otherwise my sword shall smite you.<sup>36</sup>

Still the king remained obdurate and the schism dragged on until 1179.<sup>37</sup> Nevertheless, despite Hildegard's harsh criticism in the name of God, his letter of protection continued to preserve her cloister at the Rupertsberg from all harm during later factional unrest.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> *Briefwechsel*, 225f.

<sup>35</sup> *Newman*, 13

<sup>36</sup> *Briefwechsel*, 86, *Newman*, 13,

<sup>37</sup> In order to end the schism, the Third Lateran Council in 1179 decided that a two-thirds majority vote was necessary to elect a Pope in conclave. That is the practice up to today.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. *Newman*, 13



Hildegard's correspondence testifies that the prophetess spoke in many monasteries, cathedrals and in public places. She went on **extended preaching journeys** on boats along the rivers of the Rhine, the Main, the Neckar and the Mosel. Already an old woman over 60, she did not undertake this simply on her own initiative, but as she herself admits, she was urged to do this by, for example, the dean and the clergy of Cologne Cathedral:

I, a fearful poor woman have been urged for two years... to personally lecture about this to masters, doctors and other scholars at major places where they live.<sup>39</sup>

Thus, four preaching journeys have been re-constructed:

In 1158 her **first journey** brought her by boat along the Main River. She preached in monastic communities in Mainz, Wertheim, Würzburg, Kitzingen, Ebrach and Bamberg.

In 1160 she embarked on a **second journey**. This time going south toward Lorraine, she stopped in Metz and Krauftal; on Pentecost she preached publicly in the cathedral city of Trier.

Her **third journey**, from 1161 to 1163, led down the Rhine to Boppard, Andernach, Siegburg, Cologne and Werden. The letter that she wrote at the urging of Dean Philip after her visit reflected the tenor of her sermon, in which she literally seemed to read the riot act to her listeners. However she did not write these things in her own name but in the name of the one "who this is and who will come", as well as to the "shepherds of the Church":

I have appointed you as the sun and the other stars, so that you shall give light to the people by the fire of your teachings!

But what do these shepherds do instead, or rather, what do they **not** do? Obstinate and self-willed, they do not proclaim justly the righteousness of God.

You are the night that breathes the darkness, and you are like people who do not work and who do not walk in the light because of your lethargy! ... You have no eyes when your works do not give light to the people in the fire of the Holy Spirit and your life does not give a good example for them... You are thrown to the ground and you are no support for the church, but you have escaped into the caves of your lust. And because of your disgusting wealth and your greed as well as other vanities you do not instruct your subordinates and you do not allow them to search for wisdom from you ... You are a wicked example in the hearts of men.<sup>40</sup>

After another serious illness lasting from 1167 until 1170, the seeress, now in her seventies, undertook a **fourth and final preaching tour** in Swabia, visiting *Rodenkirchen*, *Maulbronn*, *Hirsau*, *Kirchheim* and *Zwiefalten*.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>39</sup>*Briefwechsel*, 172

<sup>40</sup> *Briefwechsel*, 169f.

<sup>41</sup> *Newman*, 12

**Questions for reflection:**

- *How does Hildegard understand her prophetic office?*
- *Do we see the prophetess Hildegard today primarily as a mystical visionary, as a writer, as a composer, as a doctor, or rather as a politician?*
- *How can we explain the fact that until modern times no other Christian woman has left a comparable literary and musical work as her legacy?*

## *Seventh Station*

### **End of her Life, Death and Posthumous Fame**

The last years of her life brought the perhaps most painful test for Hildegard. In 1178 an interdict was imposed on the women's community of the 80-year-old abbess by the Bishop of Mainz and by its canons. That meant that the nuns were not only forbidden to receive communion, but also to sing in the convent church. The alleged reason for this ban was the burial of an excommunicated nobleman in the Rupertsberg churchyard. The canons of Mainz Cathedral demanded that his bones be exhumed. Hildegard rejected this and instead solemnly blessed the grave with her abbatial staff. One can speculate today about the real religious or political reasons. However the conflict went on for a year and was not resolved until shortly before Hildegard's death. Only with vehement and continued protest writings, and with the support of Archbishop Philipp of Cologne, did the abbess finally succeed in having the ban repealed in March 1179.

Two points are illustrated in this conflict: first, Hildegard's determination not to resign and not to give in just in order to keep peace in her old age is impressive.<sup>42</sup> Secondly, we owe to this circumstance a unique testimony in the history of music. Only because of the interdict did the seer and composer write a long epistle to the prelates of Mainz in which she passionately defends the importance of the liturgical music that is forbidden to her and her nuns under the interdict. Hildegard's wonderful melodic compositions for high female voices already show that tones and sounds do not merely have an earthly dimension for her. Instead music stands in harmonic relation with the entire Cosmos, and by their singing humans add their voices to the heavenly singing of the choirs of angels.

Consider that in the same way that the Body of Christ was generated in the immaculate Virgin Mary by the Holy Spirit, the singing of God's praise through the Holy Spirit was rooted in the Church as an echo of the celestial harmony. The body, however, is the garment of the soul which possesses a loud voice, and therefore the body should praise God by its voice with the soul. Significantly therefore the prophetic spirit demands to praise God with resounding and jubilant cymbals and other musical instruments that wise people and scholars have invented.<sup>43</sup>

Only half a year after the happy end of this conflict, Hildegard died. This is described in her Vita:

After the holy mother had performed many arduous battles with devotion, she felt disgusted by the present life and wished every day to be dissolved and to be with Christ. (Phil 1:23). God heard her wish and revealed to her, as she had desired before, in a prophetic spirit her end, which she also predicted to the sisters. For some time she was afflicted with a disease and then in her eighty-second year on September 17 (1179), in a blessed dying, she went to

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<sup>42</sup> Cf. *Beuys*, 346

<sup>43</sup> *Arbeitshilfe*, 51

her heavenly bridegroom. Her daughters, whose whole joy and consolation she had been, took part in the passing away of their beloved mother through bitter weeping.<sup>44</sup>

The veneration of Hildegard as a saint began immediately after her death, and Pope Gregory IX opened the canonization process in 1233. The judgment of William of Auxerre of the Theological Faculty of Paris was sought, and he declared that "Hildegard's writings do not contain human but divine words." Possibly for technical reasons, this process was not completed.

The inquisitors did their work shoddily and failed to record names, dates and places in their account of Hildegard's miracles... Legend has it that the Saint's miracles had ceased because a steady stream of pilgrims had been disturbing the nuns, who asked the bishop if he might order their deceased founder, under obedience, to work no more wonders.<sup>45</sup>

Although Hildegard had been venerated as a Saint in the Rhineland for centuries, and, although she is also listed in the *Acta Sanctorum*, the official Calendar of Saints in the Catholic Church, more than 800 years after her death had passed before Pope Benedict XVI officially canonized her for the whole Catholic Church on Pentecost Monday, May 10, 2012. On October 7 of the same year, also by the personal intervention of the German pope, Hildegard – the fourth woman after Teresa of Avila, Catherine of Siena and Therese of Lisieux – was promoted as a *Doctor of the Church*.

### Questions for reflection:

- *What does it mean to me that Hildegard of Bingen has been canonized and promoted as Doctor of the Church?*
- *What can I possibly learn from Hildegard?*

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<sup>44</sup> *Vita Hildegard* II 27, p.131

<sup>45</sup> *Newman*, 31

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