

Chapter I

Introduction

The Mystery of a Saint

For almost eight centuries, St. Elizabeth of Hungary (1207-1231) has been celebrated as a saint and as the patroness of the Franciscan Third Order Secular and Third Order Regular. She is loved for her dedication to the poor. Yet the details of her life are still too little known. Though there is an abundance of contemporary sources for her life, there is also an abundance of later legends. Only in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries has there been any sustained attempt to disentangle the facts from the legends.

When I began my studies on Elizabeth, I was surprised how much work was still to be done on the sources, and how many of them still remained unpublished. One of the results of my early research was the uncovering of the complete text of a source that up until then was known only in fragments: The Anonymous Franciscan. My interest in this new source, with its many unknown details about Elizabeth's life, led me to study all of the sources in light of the methodological questions that have recently been raised by historians. Many have questioned how the truth about saints can be distinguished from later legends and from societal constructions of sanctity, and how medieval women's authentic voices can be found in works written from the viewpoint of a male-dominated society. I wanted to discover a method for studying the sources for Elizabeth's life that would address these concerns.

I also became acquainted with another important and controversial question: in what way was Elizabeth a part of the Franciscan movement? Was she indeed, as many writers have stated, a member of the Third Order? What type of religious life did she lead after her husband's death?

The goal of this work is to illuminate Elizabeth's life by a new study of the sources, and to answer these questions, so that her life might be brought into the mainstream of historical study.

Elizabeth's Life

The bare outlines of Elizabeth's life have long been well-known. Born in 1207, the daughter of King Andrew II of Hungary and his German wife, Gertrude of Andechs-Meran, Elizabeth was betrothed at the age of four to Ludwig IV, the young son of Landgraf Hermann I of Thuringia and taken to Wartburg castle there, to be brought up there with her future husband. They married in 1221, when Elizabeth was fourteen and Ludwig twenty-one. It was a happy marriage, which produced three children, Hermann, Sophia and Gertrude. Elizabeth shunned the pomp and frivolity of court life, and dedicated herself to the relief of the poor in her husband's

territories. She emptied the granaries to feed the poor during a famine in 1226, and built a hospital for the poor at the foot of Wartburg castle, where she nursed the sick herself.

Elizabeth aided the first group of Franciscans who came to Eisenach around 1225 by giving them a church. A Franciscan lay brother named Rodeger was her first spiritual advisor. She spun wool for the clothing of the poor and the habits of the Friars Minor. At times she would dress in rags in front of the women of her retinue, and speak of the day when she would go begging for the love of God. In accordance with the injunctions of her confessor, Conrad of Marburg, she refused any food that might have been unjustly exacted from the peasants by her husband's officials.

In 1227, Ludwig set out on crusade with Frederick II, but fell ill and died in Italy while waiting to embark for the Holy Land. Soon afterwards, persecution broke out against the young widow. Most historians in the past believed that Elizabeth was forcibly expelled from the Wartburg at her brother-in-law Heinrich's instigation. Others have thought that the expulsion took place elsewhere. Some modern historians, however, believe that Elizabeth voluntarily left the Wartburg rather than violate her conscience about eating food unjustly extorted from the poor. In either case, she is described as being reviled and persecuted by many of the powerful in the land and suffering from many hardships.

Desiring to consecrate herself to religious life, Elizabeth made her renunciation of the world in the Franciscan church in Eisenach on Good Friday, March 24, 1228. She moved to Marburg in Hesse, on the outskirts of her husband's territories. There she put on religious garb (the "gray habit"), along with several female companions, and built a hospital named for St. Francis, where she devoted herself to serving the sick and poor.

Elizabeth died on November 17, 1231, when she was only twenty-four. She was buried in her hospital chapel, amid universal mourning by the local people. Almost immediately she was the focus of tremendous popular devotion, and a number of spectacular miracles were reported at her tomb, which soon became a pilgrimage place drawing people from all over Europe. She was canonized by Pope Gregory IX in 1235. A magnificent Gothic church was built in Marburg to house her remains.

Elizabeth has remained a popular saint from the Middle Ages until now. There is a large amount of hagiographic writing, medieval and modern, about her, but much about her life and personality is still obscure. A critical approach is badly needed, and here is where the methodological issues mentioned above arise.

Finding Women's Voices

The first important question raised by study of Elizabeth is one fundamental to women's history: how can historians find the authentic voices of medieval women, especially religious women, in a society where they were considered inferior, and where their individual spiritual experiences were often either ignored or forced into officially determined channels by the male hierarchy? Women's experiences were examined, evaluated and written down for posterity by men; as a result, the women's own views of their experiences were often lost.

Some feminist historians have attempted to answer these questions by new readings of traditional texts that attempt to find the hidden reality of women's history within the tradition as it was developed by men. As Rosemary Radford Ruether has said, those texts which are produced in a context of patriarchy also "contain resources for a critique of patriarchy." These resources include overlooked passages, interior contradictions and even silences in the texts.¹

Many feminist historians are developing critical methods which can be used to examine texts by and about later medieval religious women, particularly those which purport to be their work, or a collaboration between them and male writers. These scholars study what these texts tell us about the relationship between the woman mystic and the male scribe in order to learn from them about gender dynamics in medieval society.² They use methods developed in recent years for separating the different perspectives in literary works.³ (Some of these recent studies are discussed below in the section on medieval religious women). We can learn a great deal through these methods both about individual men and women and women as a group in society.

Hagiography

A second critical question of historical method is: how can we reconstruct both history and the relationship between the individual and society in the study of hagiography? In the 1970's and 80's, interest in demography, anthropology and sociology led to a number of attempts at quantitative studies of saints' lives, that is, attempts to gather statistics about a large number of saints, and to use the results as a source of information about medieval culture. One of the first to use this method, Pierre Deloiz, argued that the "saint" (as opposed to the "person") was a construct of medieval society, and since it is the saint who appears in hagiography, it is the saint and medieval beliefs about saints, not details about individual holy people's lives, that we should seek in hagiography.⁴ A number of such quantitative studies of the saints were written in the early 1980's, including those by Michael Goodich and Weinstein and Bell.⁵

With the rise of women's history, a number of studies were devoted to women saints and mystics, including the examination of texts attributed to them and medieval lives of them, in hopes of recovering something about women's experiences. Some of the common features noted in the lives of women saints include miracles and other supernatural occurrences, visions, fasting, and other severe ascetic practices, intense identification with the suffering Christ, and Eucharist-inspired visions. There are different interpretations of this pattern. Weinstein and Bell believed that this intense interior life and emphasis on bodily suffering could be attributed to the private rather than public nature of women's lives, and their internalization of the misogyny of their culture.⁶ Bell discussed the psychological motives for the fasting of women saints, and found some similarities to the psychology of modern anorexics, though he admitted that "holy anorexia" had a predominantly spiritual goal.⁷

Other historians did not use statistics as such, but looked for broad characteristic patterns in saints' lives. Caroline Walker Bynum studied a number of medieval women who practiced extreme fasting and charitable distribution of food, often accompanied by flagellation, even self-mutilation, and intense Eucharistic devotion. Bynum attributes these practices to a complex web

of associations between women and food in medieval culture. Women saw themselves as food for others, and identified with the flesh of the suffering Christ, which is offered as food to Christians in the Eucharist.⁸

Not everyone was satisfied with the quantitative or other mass approaches. Aviad Kleinberg questioned how representative quantitative studies of medieval sanctity really are. He pointed out that the results are affected by the small number of saints studied by historians, the problem of categorizing saints, the frequent bias in lists towards Italian saints and the papal politics involved in choosing saints to canonize.⁹ Nor have the new studies of female saints mentioned above solved the various questions about religious women's lives. They do not tell us whether the described form of behavior is a common or an unusual response among women, or how to understand women whose lives, for one reason or another, do not correspond to the predominant pattern. Nor do they tell us whether the pattern itself fairly reflects medieval women's lives, or is itself a creation of a hagiography largely written by male clerics.

In fact, this view of women's spirituality as being determined by bodily experiences and visions is now being balanced by studies of medieval women's own words compared to those of their male biographers; in some cases, the women themselves often gave less importance to these experiences than the men did. Catherine of Siena's writings, for instance, show significantly less emphasis on mystical experiences involving the body than do the writings of her confessor, Raymond of Capua; her descriptions of her mystical experiences occur in the context of her apostolate and political involvement, while for Raymond they are a fascinating subject in themselves. This leads Karen Scott to wonder "whether the female mystics known to us only through hagiographic accounts would appear less otherworldly and conventionally holy if we had access to their writings as we do in Catherine's case."¹⁰ Beatrice of Nazareth, a Belgian religious, also seems to have been interested in a mysticism that would free her from the use of bodily images, while her male biographer insisted on the importance and reality of these images.¹¹ Nor do studies using the mass approach place the saints or their cults in an individual context. For instance, Bynum has been criticized for fitting female saints into too rigid a pattern by not paying enough attention to the differences between women mystics and downplaying their erotic imagery.¹²

In the 1980's, the focus of scholars began to change as developments in literary and historical studies led them to undertake more in-depth examination of particular saints, their cults and their literary and cultural contexts through examination of individual texts.¹³

For instance, Aviad Kleinberg has studied the relationship of saints during their lifetime to their "public," that is, the local or religious communities which helped create the idea of them as saints. Their admirers and biographers tended to see them in a very personal and revealing way. Often the saint collaborated, consciously or unconsciously, in the formation of his or her own hagiographic portrait. Kleinberg found that all levels of hagiography are not the same; often the earliest accounts, such as those by eyewitnesses in canonization processes, provide the most "irrelevant" personal details, those which bring the human being into focus, while later accounts tend to focus on the core of sanctity, which, because it is based on a list of standardized virtues, becomes less personal and more conventional.¹⁴

Recent works on the literary collaboration between female mystics and their male scribes also see the recording of sainthood as the result of the personal relationship between a woman and an admirer or admirers who helped create the image of her sanctity.¹⁵ A saint's community relationships could be very complex, as in the case of the Franciscan tertiary Umiliana dei Cerchi, who, though a virtual recluse in her family home, had a large audience, beginning with her own female servants, and including about thirty local female tertiaries and some local friars, among them her confessor, all of whom were interviewed by her biographer, Vito da Cortona. The resulting collective portrait, though controlled by Vito, gives us an idea of the workings of a whole religious circle in Florence, in which the women's testimony might well have affected the male biographer's view.¹⁶

A new type of source was added to hagiography in the thirteenth century, and was being solidified during Elizabeth's lifetime: the papal canonization process, which required the firsthand testimony of eyewitnesses to a saint's virtues and miracles. The testimonies about Elizabeth's life are one of the early examples of such a process. The study of canonization processes has proven to be a fruitful field for the investigation of medieval concepts of sanctity. The existing processes from the thirteenth century to the end of the Middle Ages have been the subject of statistical study in a monumental work by André Vauchez.¹⁷ But even the statements by eyewitnesses, like most court testimony, are never wholly objective, and can show the effects of biases and political or ecclesiastical pressures. To many it seems that the canonization process, reflecting the already-existing view that a particular person is a saint, simply provides us with a saint's legend, as do other hagiographic texts, rather than personal details or accurate history. This suspicion is partly confirmed but also modified by the study made by Jacques Paul of the canonization process of St. Louis of Anjou, which began in 1308. Paul discovered that the local promoters of the cause relied on two Franciscan friars who had known the saint for drawing up the list of questions the interrogators would use. These friars framed the questions in such a way as to elicit replies conforming Louis' life to that of St. Francis and to the views of the Franciscan Spirituals. Many of those who knew the saint less well were strongly influenced by this questionnaire and gave stereotyped replies in conformity with it. But the plan did not entirely succeed. A number of those closest to Louis contradicted the biased questionnaire, and offered their own very detailed memories that did not conform to the pre-determined view. Paul concluded that the testimonies in the process, studied in context, could provide both genuine historical testimony about a saint and evidence of a legend in the making.¹⁸

Some feminist historians, on the other hand, are particularly suspicious of the evidence coming from such official processes. Catherine Mooney studied the various types of information available about St. Clare of Assisi: her own writings, the depositions of the nuns who knew her and testified at her process in 1253, and the biographies written by clerics. The testimonies of the nuns described Clare as being but little inferior in her holiness to the Blessed Virgin, an opinion apparently elicited from them by the male interrogators. Later biographers turned this into Clare's imitation of Mary, whereas Clare herself had written of her own following of Christ. Mooney decided that "the women's testimony, whatever it may have been when orally delivered, would then be recorded, abbreviated, or omitted entirely according to the judgment of the

supervising males.”¹⁹ Similar concerns are raised by Dyan Elliot in her study of the way that Dorothy of Montau’s confessor, John Marienwerder, worked to shape her cult and affect her canonization process. John wrote down Dorothy’s revelations, spread propaganda for her sanctity after her death, and took a role in drawing up the questionnaire used at the process. The contribution of Dorothy’s previous confessor was much less prominent; in the end, John’s view of her holiness was the one remembered.²⁰

Early processes like Elizabeth’s, however, which took place while the method was still being developed, may not have been as formulaic. Vauchez found that none of the processes carried out before 1260, with the exception of the one for St. Dominic, used a questionnaire for the examination of the saint’s virtues; in these cases, the answers of the witnesses were more spontaneous. Another benefit that Vauchez found in early canonization processes is that unlike other hagiographic texts they were not literary productions. While the questions were asked by the clerical elite, those who responded came from all classes of society, and offered a variety of viewpoints on what constitutes holiness.²¹

Though they are difficult to interpret, the unique features of these eyewitness testimonies require historians to develop a methodology for studying them that recognizes their nature as eyewitness reports and legal documents, as well as their role in the formation of hagiographic legends. This applies to Elizabeth’s case as well, all the more since these questions have as yet scarcely been raised in regard to her process.

The Women’s Religious Movement

Elizabeth was prominent in her time not only due to her position as a member of royalty, but also to the example of her life, both as a laywoman and a religious, which served as an inspiration to many other women. When her contemporary, the Beguine and mystic Mechtild of Magdeburg, asked God the reason for Elizabeth’s short life and rapid canonization, she received this answer:

It is right for a messenger to be quick. Elizabeth was and is a messenger whom I sent to wretched women living in castles who were so permeated with lust, so covered with arrogance, and so constantly engulfed in vanity that they by rights should have gone into the abyss. But many a lady followed her example to the extent they could and wanted.²²

In fact, Elizabeth’s influence led a number of other women in her century, including her cousin, St. Agnes of Bohemia, to follow her example in hospital work in Germany, France and the Low Countries. Elizabeth was one of many thirteenth-century women who sought non-traditional religious lives, often involving active service in the world.

This movement appears to have started in the twelfth century and to have grown rapidly in the thirteenth, when large numbers of women became attached to already existing forms of monastic life or to the new mendicant orders. But many others lived a common life without professing formal vows or following a monastic rule. These extra-regular women included the Beguines. They often engaged in active charity and hospital work. The nature and origins of

this movement has been a controversial subject, though studies in recent years have added much to our understanding of it.

This gives rise to a third series of questions: Where does Elizabeth fit into the women's religious movement of her time? What was the nature of her religious life? Was she a Beguine, a Franciscan tertiary, or something else? And what can we learn from her story about the lives of these non-traditional religious women?

These women have been the subject of considerable interest among historians during the last decades. In 1935, Herbert Grundmann was the first to write about the growth of religious fervor among women as a real movement and to insert it into the religious and social context of the yearning for evangelical poverty in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries that gave rise to the new mendicant orders. He believed that the poverty movement originated not in social protest among the poor, as some Marxist scholars had contended, but in the spiritual discontent among the nobility and rising merchant classes that led many men and women to reject worldly wealth and status in favor of the poor life of the Gospels. He saw the Beguines as arising early in the thirteenth century as the vanguard of the women's portion of the poverty movement. His view has formed the basis for most subsequent research.²³ Among the followers of this view is Goodich, who discovers a strong tendency in thirteenth-century saints, especially men and women in the mendicant orders, towards rebellion against their wealthy families and their lifestyle.²⁴

While Grundmann's research is still regarded as fundamental in many ways, later scholars have been able to show that the women's movement arose earlier and was more widespread than had been thought. There is some continuity between the Beguines of the thirteenth century and twelfth-century forms of religious life for women, for instance, the Premonstratensian sisters in the twelfth century, who were originally non-cloistered and engaged in care of the sick.²⁵

The uncertainty about the origins of the movement is partly due to the fact that the evidence has to be teased out from what is presented to us about individual communities, often by suspicious male clerical writers. As Jo Ann McNamara has pointed out, it is not easy to learn when the women's movement started, since so many hospices, beguinages and other women's religious houses become part of the written record only when noted by male writers or befriended by, or incorporated into some male monastic community.²⁶

The social origins of the Beguines have also come under question. It is true that the wealthy Beguines are the ones most frequently mentioned by contemporaries. Many beguinages wanted to accept only women with property who could support themselves.²⁷ But there is evidence that women from other classes were part of the movement.²⁸ Scholars have found other factors as well to account for the growth of the women's movement, including a demographic imbalance that led to a surplus of women who found it impossible to marry.²⁹ There was also the reluctance of both the traditional monastic orders and the new mendicant movement to accept the care of women, thus causing them to devise their own forms of religious life, including the beguinages and the various forms of Franciscan and Dominican religious life for women.³⁰ But the rejection of wealth still played a prominent role in women's choices. The association between the abuse of wealth and the humiliating marriage market to which women were

subjected may have made them more likely not only to reject the new mercantile economy and the accompanying usury but to flee marriage for the religious life as well.³¹

It was once thought that the type of religious life led by the Beguines was limited to northern Europe, but studies in the last twenty years have shown that it was actually quite common in Italy from the twelfth century on, where the women who followed this way of life were called *pinzochere* or *bizzocche*. In early thirteenth-century Rome in particular, it may have been difficult to distinguish between the nuns, who usually did not observe cloister, and the *bizzocche*, who mingled with them as they went freely about the city. This lasted until all the women adopted enclosure with the encouragement of St. Dominic.³²

In addition to the Beguines, the *bizzocche* and the tertiaries, there were other women who undertook a non-traditional religious life: the recluses or anchoresses, who lived alone in small cells, locked away from the world. A good number of these seem to have been poorer women who had no property to bring with them to a beguinage or religious order. Some girls from Italian rural areas, including Verdiana, Giovanna of Signa, and Cristiana da Santa Croce, worked as shepherdesses, and then as servants, usually in the city (in the case of Verdiana, on a large country estate), and later took up residence as recluses in the countryside.³³

Franciscan women were part of this religious movement. They included not only cloistered women like St. Clare and her sisters, but also women who lived in the Third Order, either “in the world” or in community, and groups of Beguines who attached themselves to the Franciscans for spiritual direction, while living their lives of active work and charitable service. This raises the question of which groups of women should be called Franciscan, and in what sense. The non-cloistered women in the Franciscan movement often have not been clearly separated from the Poor Clares on the one hand, and the Beguines and other religious women on the other. In fact, they had much in common. According to Anna Benvenuti Papi, female penitents, tertiaries, *pinzochere* and *bizzocche* in Italy, whether wealthy or not, were characterized by their essential social marginality, marked by loss of parents, widowhood, or other family disruptions.³⁴

Another problem is that there is still much confusion about the nature of the Franciscan Third Order in its earliest period, before the definitive canonical approval of the Rule of Pope Nicholas IV in 1289. Formerly, historians treated the Third Order as having been founded as an original institution directly by St. Francis. Subsequent research by Meersseman and others has created a different picture: that the movement originally called the “Brothers and Sisters of Penance” arose in part out of the already-existing penitential movement. As many lay men and women became attracted to the Franciscan and Dominican teachings, the movement gradually separated into branches attached to the two orders.³⁵ St. Francis himself inspired many of the laity to do penance and wrote an exhortation for them to follow, which encapsulated many of the penitential ideas. Only recently have historians begun to separate Third Order from First Order history, and to deal with the question of early religious community life in the Third Order. One issue is that the origin of the Third Order Regular for women is still nebulous; these religious have not been clearly separated from the Third Order for seculars. Many times a woman without an institutional affiliation was later given dubious status as a tertiary.³⁶ Historians have begun

digging deeper into the history of the early female Franciscan Third Order communities and their relationship to the Beguines and Italian *pinzochere*.³⁷

Though thirteenth-century Franciscan women were a vital part of the religious ferment of their time, and their lives certainly demonstrate the difficulties medieval women faced in a male-dominated world, until recently, outside of St. Clare and her sisters, they have received very little attention by scholars outside the Franciscan Order compared to the interest in Beguines and mystics. Many of the sources have not been edited or discussed critically. English-speaking researchers still lack basic studies and commentaries on the sources for medieval Franciscan women; as a result, much that we have learned about medieval women has simply not been brought to bear on them.³⁸

Recently, however, some women scholars have sought to show that early Franciscan women did not simply have their charism delivered to them by men; they actively contributed to the development of the Franciscan movement and its spirituality.³⁹ This work has been extended by Roberta McKelvie to the founder of a Franciscan congregation in the late fourteenth century, Angelina of Montegiove.⁴⁰ Nevertheless, the study of Franciscan women, as McKelvie points out, is still at an “embryonic stage of development.”⁴¹

There were strong pressures, both internal and external, on women in religious life during Elizabeth’s lifetime. Many women were undertaking to lead non-traditional religious lives and to devote themselves to active charitable service. Yet there were continuing efforts to enforce a more rigid cloister for female religious. The hierarchy thought it important that women have male direction, but male members of both the older orders and the new mendicant orders were often unwilling to provide it. At the same time, the Fourth Lateran Council had decreed that in the future all religious must adhere to an already-existing rule. In addition, women faced tensions arising from living an active life while still trying to maintain a life of poverty and prayer.

All of these pressures affected the female Franciscan movement. In order to conform various communities of *mulieres religiosae* and penitents in central Italy to the Church’s new directives, Cardinal Ugolino, as papal legate in Tuscany in 1216-19, wrote a series of constitutions which these women could adopt, along with the Benedictine rule, which was also imposed on St. Clare and her sisters at this time. Together they formed the “Order of the Poor Enclosed Ladies.” Later, as Pope Gregory IX, Ugolino assimilated various communities of female penitents beyond the Alps to the “Order of San Damiano,” as it was now called. Thus a number of female religious communities whose origins were not Franciscan were brought under the Franciscan banner and made into enclosed nuns.⁴² Another aspect of the increasing regimentation was the imposition of strict perpetual cloister on the Poor Clares, which seems to have been a kind of early preparation for the period beginning in 1298, when all nuns were to be perpetually enclosed according to Boniface VIII’s bull *Periculoso*.⁴³ This directive, though it may have originally been intended for the traditional orders of nuns, was soon applied to the new groups of women as well.

In the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, there were increasing attempts to get the friars to assume some sort of responsibility for the direction of these religious women. This

attitude may have been adopted because of fears of women's independence and the possibility that they might adopt heretical thinking, fears which also helped produce the pressure towards cloister. According to Roberto Rusconi, *Periculoso* "sanctioned the definitive transformation of the feminine forms of religious life of Franciscan inspiration into monastic institutions of the traditional type."⁴⁴ Nevertheless, from the fourteenth century onward, many Franciscan women were determined to lead a non-cloistered life, and in spite of the odds, some succeeded.

Where does Elizabeth fit into this movement? This question goes much further than just the conflicting opinions about status and identity as a Franciscan. It was the common features in the lives of thirteenth-century Franciscan women like Elizabeth, Clare, and Agnes of Bohemia, the similar problems they faced and the similar choices they made, that led others to give them a common name. But in seeking their own charism, they were affected by juridical concerns of the hierarchy, as well as the broader strictures on women at the time. When we study what they were seeking, what compromises they may have been forced to make, and what they found most important in their vocation, we will discover something about the most intimate part of their lives. This tension between charism and outside pressures was also faced by St. Francis and his first male followers, of course, but their society had a quite different expectation of them as men. Thus the question of religious vocation is an important part of women's history.

Elizabeth and Methodological Questions

There have been a number of recent historical studies about Elizabeth, but there are many gaps in the treatment of her. To begin with, there are very few in-depth textual studies of the existing sources for her life. Very little work has been done on the sources since the preliminary editions at the beginning of the twentieth century, and it was only in the last few years that one of the most popular Latin lives of Elizabeth, the one by Dietrich of Apolda, received its first modern critical edition.⁴⁵ Neither this life nor the earlier one by Caesarius of Heisterbach has ever been translated into English. While one partial English translation of the documents of the canonization process was published fifty years ago, it has long been out of print.⁴⁶ Other works about Elizabeth have remained unedited until recently. One of these texts is perhaps the earliest known Franciscan life of Elizabeth, known as the Valenciennes life, written about 1250. The most important Franciscan document on Elizabeth, however, is a life whose author is commonly known as the Anonymous Franciscan. This is a late thirteenth-century life which contains eyewitness testimony from Elizabeth's canonization process, testimony which up until now has remained unknown, and which does not appear in the process as we now possess it. Among these testimonies are those of some Franciscan and Dominican friars who described Elizabeth's religious life, habit and conception of poverty.

Historical studies on Elizabeth have rarely explored the relationship between the sources. As a result, a number of basic questions about Elizabeth's life are still unresolved, including the events leading up to her choice of the religious life and the nature of that life. And the newly-discovered sources are still unexplored. A new study of the relationship between all the sources is greatly needed.

As yet, there are few studies that attempt to incorporate Elizabeth into the recent work in hagiography and women's studies. Although Elizabeth was a mystic, she left no written accounts of her visions; nor did she have a biographer or secretary, male or female, who knew her personally, or who could interpret her thought as did Mechtild of Magdeburg, Angela of Foligno and other women; even her confessor, Conrad of Marburg, did not write to any extent about her visions. Thus there is no extensive record of Elizabeth's mystical or visionary experiences that can be examined for their reflections of male and female perspectives, as scholars have done for other religious women. Yet we are fortunate to have, in addition to a brief letter by her confessor, Conrad of Marburg, eyewitness testimonies to her life by four women: Guda, Isentrude, Irmingard, and Elisabeth, who were close to her and who provide four different women's perspective on her life. I know of no studies, however, devoted to a feminist reading of this text that uses the methodology discussed above. There is a detailed study of Elizabeth's daily life based on the testimonies of these women by Raoul Manselli. However, while Manselli did compare the women's insights with that of Elizabeth's confessor, he did not use a specific methodology for recovering their viewpoint *as women*.⁴⁷

Clearly a new approach is needed to the sources for Elizabeth's life. It should draw on the above methods which enable the historian to account for the differences between eyewitness testimony and later literary texts in the formation of the hagiographic tradition about her; and it should also try to recover something about her as an individual woman apart from the male-dominated society's construction of her. Therefore, my purpose in this study is to analyze both the traditional and the new sources for Elizabeth's life. I will especially be concerned with how these sources regard the question of her vocation within the women's religious movement of the thirteenth century. In this way, I hope to recover her voice as a woman and her personality as a saint. I will discuss the relationship between these texts, establish their place in the hagiographic tradition about Elizabeth, and analyze their significance for historians who examine her life. I will also examine how she fits into the typical pattern of women's religious lives that some historians have uncovered.

The following chapters will help fill the gap in scholarly knowledge by making it possible to study many details of Elizabeth's religious life and service to the poor for the first time, and illuminating the ways in which Elizabeth, like other thirteenth-century religious women, had to balance her religious life between poverty, prayer, service and institutional demands. The resulting picture of her will provide new insight into the lives of medieval Franciscan women and religious women in general.

The Sources For Elizabeth's Life And The Problems In Interpreting Them

Introduction

The problems in interpreting Elizabeth's life, and in particular her religious vocation, begin with the assessment of the sources. Elizabeth left no known writings. A work called the "Revelations of St. Elizabeth" was attributed to her in the Middle Ages, but no one now accepts it as hers.⁴⁸ Therefore we must turn to works written by others for information about her. There is an abundance of sources, including Elizabeth's canonization process and a number of early lives of her. In this chapter, I will describe these sources, and what is known about the relationship between them. Then I will discuss the difficulties in interpreting some of the sources, which have led to a variety of conflicting views among historians about various aspects of Elizabeth's life.

The Sources for Elizabeth's Life

The Canonization Process

The records of Elizabeth's canonization process, which began in 1232, less than a year after her death, and ended with her canonization in 1235, have long been considered the most valuable source for information about her, but there has been considerable controversy about the form in which the texts have come down to us.⁴⁹ A description of the stages of the canonization process will help illuminate the difficulties.

The process can be divided into four stages. The first is the preliminary stage where it was determined that the investigation of Elizabeth's sanctity should be undertaken. The surviving documents from this stage begin with a letter written by Elizabeth's confessor, Conrad of Marburg, to Pope Gregory IX shortly after August 10, 1232, in response to inquiries that the Pope's penitentiary, Raymond of Peñafort, had made about her life, evidently with a view to opening a process to examine her sanctity. Conrad described a preliminary inquest into the miracles worked at Elizabeth's tomb which he had presided over on August 10 of that year. He also included a brief summary of her life and virtues as he knew them from personal experience.⁵⁰ A summary of the depositions on the miracles taken that day also survives.⁵¹

The next stage, the *first examination* (the preliminary examination of 1232 was not counted in the numbering)⁵² followed quickly: by mandates of October 13 and 14, 1232, the Pope appointed a commission, consisting of Archbishop Siegfried of Mainz, Abbot Raymond of Eberbach and Master Conrad of Marburg, Elizabeth's confessor, to inquire into her virtues and

miracles. They were asked to hold on to the results of this investigation until the arrival of another mandate directing that they be sent to Rome.⁵³ This first investigation was carried out in January and February of 1233. From it we have a report containing a letter by the commissioners to the Pope, another copy of Conrad's summary of Elizabeth's life, and testimony on 106 miracles given before the commission. The commissioners stated in their letter that they had also "diligently questioned both [Elizabeth's] acquaintances and the religious and God-fearing members of her household about her way of life," but none of these depositions can be found in the existing copies of the report.⁵⁴

The process now came to a standstill for a time. In part, the delay may have come about because of the controversy that broke out between Conrad of Marburg and fellow commission member Siegfried of Mainz. Conrad, who was appointed papal inquisitor shortly after Elizabeth's death, acted without restraint and without allowing those accused of heresy to speak or call witnesses in their defense, and Siegfried opposed his over-zealous approach. Conrad even accused some of the high German nobility of heresy. The Pope had to intervene. Then, on July 30, 1233, Conrad was assassinated, apparently on the orders of some of the accused nobles.

Apparently no further progress was made in the investigation for about a year. But, following a visit by Elizabeth's brother-in-law Conrad to Rome in the summer of 1234, during which he spoke with the Pope about her process, Gregory IX sent a second set of mandates to Bishop Conrad of Hildesheim and the abbots of Georgenthal and Hersfeld on October 11, 1234, authorizing them to send the results of the previous investigation into Elizabeth's miracles to the Holy See, or if these were not available, to carry out a new investigation of trustworthy witnesses.⁵⁵

The third stage was the *second examination*, held beginning on January 1, 1235. But instead of the crusade preacher and inquisitor Conrad of Marburg, the motivating force behind this stage was the powerful Teutonic order, recently established in Marburg, to which Elizabeth's brother-in-law, Landgraf Conrad belonged. In their report, the commissioners included the miracles of the first examination of 1233. They also took down testimony on 24 new miracles. None of the copies of this report contain any testimonies on Elizabeth's life.

The only surviving testimonies about Elizabeth's life known until recently are contained in a document which is usually called the *Dicta quattuor ancillarum Sancte Elisabeth*, or the "Statements of the Four Handmaids of St. Elizabeth." These four were Guda and Isentrude, who had been noble ladies of her retinue at court and who later joined her in religious life, and Irmingard and Elizabeth, women of humble birth who served with her at her hospital in Marburg. The work is an adaptation of the testimonies of these witnesses, made into a continuous narrative in rough chronological order. There are two versions, one longer and one shorter. The title goes back to Dietrich of Apolda's designation for the longer version: *Libellus de dictis quattuor ancillarum Sancte Elisabeth confectus* (Little book made out of the statements of the handmaids of St. Elizabeth). I will call the shorter one the *Dicta* and the longer the *Libellus*, although, as will become clear later, neither version is identical with the original depositions. A number of manuscripts of the *Libellus* have a prologue on Elizabeth's virtues, beginning *Ad decus et*

honorem, and a conclusion.⁵⁶ These texts must have been widely circulated, judging by the number of manuscripts found.

The fourth stage is Elizabeth's canonization itself, which took place in Perugia on May 27, 1235. The documents associated with this stage include the bull of canonization, *Gloriosus in maiestate*, issued on June 1 by Gregory IX⁵⁷ and another letter written by the Pope a few days later to Queen Beatrice of Castile, beginning *Vas admirabile* (Wondrous Vessel).⁵⁸ Another document associated with the canonization is the *Processus et ordo canonizationis beate Elyzabet* (The canonization process and ceremony of Blessed Elizabeth), which the author explains was "written on account of certain detractions and calumnies." It describes the hearing of the witnesses in 1235 and the subsequent approval of the minutes of this examination by the Holy See. This is followed by a vivid description of the canonization ceremony itself, in which the author stresses the presence at the Pope's side of Landgraf Conrad. The document seems to have been written shortly after the canonization by a member of the Curia, perhaps Raymund of Peñafort, who had already taken part in the process on behalf of the Pope. The author never clearly specifies what "detractions and calumnies" his work was directed against, but Huyskens has suggested that the author's stress on the "sincere favor" the Pope gave to Elizabeth's cause may have been intended to allay suspicions that he was swayed in favor of her canonization by financial contributions made by Landgraf Conrad, a member of the new saint's family, which would have been tantamount to simony. In fact, while the writer does not try at all to hide the favor the Pope showed to Conrad, he also stresses that the clergy and nobility of Germany unanimously asked for Elizabeth's canonization. Huyskens noted that the work was also perhaps intended to serve as a model for the conducting of future canonization processes.⁵⁹

Even before Elizabeth's canonization process began, Gregory had been aware of her reputation for holiness. He had come to her aid when she was experiencing difficulties with her dower after her husband's death, by taking her and her property under the protection of the Holy See, and had corresponded with her, as described below.

One of the Pope's motives for wanting to declare Elizabeth a saint is suggested by the text of her bull of canonization. In it, he describes how, through the renown of Elizabeth's life and the miracles worked after her death, "the way to truth is pointed out to the unbelievers, and material accumulated for the confusion of the heretics." He added:

For by the merits of the Saint who, while enclosed in the prison of the flesh, was poor in spirit, meek of mind, wept over her sins or rather the sins of others, thirsted after justice, dedicated herself to mercy, was pure of heart, truly peace-loving, and crushed by opprobrium and persecutions, these heretics see life restored to the dead, sight to the blind, hearing to the deaf, speech to the dumb, the power of walking to the sick, by the right hand of heaven. They see these vast regions of Germany which they have tried to poison by their doctrine of death exult in many ways in the embrace of heavenly doctrine.⁶⁰

Both the Cathars and the Waldensians were active in Germany during Elizabeth's lifetime. Much of their widespread appeal was due to their claim to be living the true Christian life because of their austerity, which contrasted with the luxurious living of many clerics. Whether Conrad of Marburg's accusations against the highest members of the German nobility were true or not, they certainly give an idea of the contemporary assessment of the enormity of the problem. The Pope was aware of the need to fight heresy by positive, not just negative means. Elizabeth, a member of the aristocracy living the true Christian life, was to him a way of upholding both orthodoxy and true Christian austerity and poverty as an answer to the heretics' criticism of the Church. An example of Elizabeth's strong influence on people in this regard can be found in the depositions on the miracles. One of the witnesses of 1233 testified that she had been an adherent of the "Poor of Lyons" or the Waldensians, before returning to the Catholic faith. It seems likely that the saint's example also helped bring her back to the faith, for she later received healing through prayer to Elizabeth.⁶¹

In addition, the Pope seems to have wanted to hold Elizabeth up as a model for other women, at a time when they were attracted to dangerous beliefs and movements. In his letter to Beatrice of Castile, he extolled the virtues of the new saint, especially her service to the poor, and held her up as a "mirror" for Beatrice to look into and imitate.⁶²

In fact, according to Caesarius of Heisterbach, "[The Pope's] devotion for her was so great that he sent special letters to the different religious orders of the Church, asking and ordering that they celebrate the feast day of St. Elizabeth, which they did."⁶³

Elizabeth's cult was a genuinely popular one, as evidenced by the huge crowds of pilgrims at her tomb from the time of her death. According to Michael Goodich, who analyzed the social status of the witnesses to her miracles in the canonization process, Elizabeth was a "national" saint who appealed to all classes, but perhaps most to women and the poorer people.⁶⁴

The great attraction Elizabeth's life held for ordinary people is indicated by the existence of at least one popular ballad about her within little more than a year after her death. A fifty-year-old woman named Matilda from the town of Beidenkopf near Marburg, who had been blind in one eye, testified before the papal commissioners that as she was on her way to Elizabeth's tomb in January 1233 hoping for a cure, "she heard people singing a song in German about the separation of a tearful Elizabeth from her husband, the Landgraf Ludwig, as he was about to leave for the Holy Land. This song moved Matilda to tears; while she was weeping, she recovered the sight in her eye."⁶⁵ The popular sympathy for Elizabeth demonstrates that the common people were attracted to a married saint whose life they could understand. Her great popularity may well also have contributed to her rapid canonization.

Other Early Sources

Outside of the canonization process, there are a few other early sources that date from Elizabeth's lifetime or shortly after her death. Pope Gregory IX wrote a letter of encouragement to her as she entered on her religious life, which still survives.⁶⁶ There is a brief letter describing

her death attributed to Abbess Lutrude of Wetter, and a list of the first miracles worked at her tomb, both of which date from shortly after her death.⁶⁷

An important early source is the *Gesta Ludovici* (The deeds of Ludwig), a chronicle of the life and reign of Ludwig IV of Thuringia, written by his chaplain, Berthold, not long after Ludwig's death in 1227, perhaps even while Elizabeth was still alive. It recorded the major events in the lives of the noble couple, including the births of their children, their travels, Ludwig's departure for the crusade, and his death. The original Latin text no longer exists, but portions of it were quoted in Dietrich of Apolda's life of Elizabeth (see below). There is also a later adaptation of the *Gesta* called the *Vita Ludovici*, or Life of Ludwig, made by the monks of Reinhardsbrunn, a monastery greatly favored by the ruling family of Thuringia, where Ludwig was buried. In fact, the monks apparently wrote their account of him as propaganda for his sainthood. The complete Latin text of this life is no longer extant, but portions of it can be found in the later chronicle of the abbey, the *Chronicle of Reinhardsbrunn*.⁶⁸ A German translation of the *Vita Ludovici* was made about 1330 by Friedrich Kōdiz.⁶⁹

Thirteenth-Century Lives of Elizabeth

There are several thirteenth-century lives of Elizabeth based on the early sources. First there is the brief life written in 1236 or 1237 by the Cistercian monk Caesarius of Heisterbach, at a suggestion made by Conrad of Marburg before his death, and later at the urging of the Teutonic Order. In his introductory letter addressed to Ulrich von Dürn, Prior of the house of the Teutonic Order in Marburg, and his brothers, Caesarius recalls how Ulrich had given a little notebook (*quaternulam*) containing a simple recounting of Elizabeth's life to Christian, a monk from Caesarius' monastery who had attended her translation in May 1236. Caesarius used it as his main source for his life.⁷⁰ From textual evidence, it is clear that this notebook was the shorter version of the handmaids' testimonies (the *Dicta*). He added a rhetorical polish to these statements and also contributed a few details from other sources. Since the Teutonic Order had taken it upon itself to promulgate Elizabeth's cult, Caesarius' life has something of an official character.

There is also another short life based on the *Dicta* and Conrad of Marburg's letter, which was found at the Austrian monastery of Zwettl. According to its editor, it was written between 1236 and 1239. It is largely a dry summary of the *Dicta*. From passages praising the Emperor Frederick II and describing his honored presence at Elizabeth's translation, we can deduce that it was probably written by one of Frederick's supporters, perhaps a courtier wanting to praise a saint close to the emperor.⁷¹

By far the most popular life of Elizabeth in the Middle Ages is the one completed about 1297 by a Dominican friar named Dietrich of Apolda, a native of Thuringia, who entered the order about 1247. We know that he was working on his life of Elizabeth at the same time he was writing a life of St. Dominic, a commission he received from the Minister General of his order between 1286 and 1288,⁷² and that he did not finish it until 1297. Dietrich's life of Elizabeth was not the result of any commission, but it seems to have been a labor of love for him on behalf

of a popular local saint, since he worked on it for close to ten years in between all his other duties. That he had an interest in women's mysticism is shown by the quotations from Mechtild of Magdeburg's *Flowing Light of the Godhead* in his biography of St. Dominic.⁷³

Dietrich tells us in his prologue that he used the *Libellus* and with it Conrad of Marburg's letter. But, Dietrich says, though these sources contained the "pure and simple truth," they were not completely satisfactory because they did not provide enough details about people and places, and the information was not in any kind of order. He carried out a long search for other sources, looking at chronicles in various monasteries, questioning "very old and truthful persons," and sending letters to many places. He names among his other sources a sermon by a Dominican friar named Odo, the text of which has not been discovered.⁷⁴ He also used some of the chaplain Berthold's *Gesta Ludovici*.

There is also an account of Elizabeth's life in the *Golden Legend*, written about 1260 by the Dominican friar Jacobus de Voragine.⁷⁵ Her inclusion in this collection is testament to her popularity and helped spread knowledge about her, since it was one of the most popular hagiographical works of the later Middle Ages and was translated into a number of languages.

There are a large number of vernacular medieval lives of Elizabeth. There are lives in German in both verse and prose, many of them based on Dietrich.⁷⁶ There are also several lives in French, most of them using the *Libellus* as a source, testifying to the wide popularity of this source in France. Among them is the thirteenth-century verse life written by the poet Rutebeuf.⁷⁷ Another was written by a monk named Robert of Cambigneul.⁷⁸ These works are not usually considered sources of reliable information about Elizabeth, but some of them do play a role in the formation of traditions found in the Franciscan biographies of her, as we will see later.

While a number of medieval lives, offices and other texts on Elizabeth from Germany and northern France have been published, no works about her from thirteenth-century Hungarian authors have been known up to now. It seems likely that the *Golden Legend* version of Elizabeth's life was current in Hungary in the fourteenth century, as evidenced by a beautifully illustrated legendary, made for the Angevin ruler Charles I of Hungary and his wife Elizabeth sometime between 1328 and 1333. The legendary is incomplete and scattered among various libraries, but the part which remains contains a number of lives of Hungarian saints of Elizabeth's Árpád dynasty (St. Stephen, St. Emeric), and saints of the House of Anjou (Louis of Toulouse), expressed entirely through images and written captions. Some of the missing leaves almost certainly contained a life of St. Elizabeth, probably based, like most of the others, on the *Legenda aurea*.⁷⁹ The earliest-known independent Hungarian treatments of Elizabeth's life are usually thought to be the late-fifteenth-century sermons by the Franciscans Pelbart of Temesvár and Oswald Laskai.⁸⁰ It is strange that although Elizabeth appears in early iconography in Hungary, there seem to have been almost no surviving lives, sermons or other works about her in her native land before the fifteenth century.⁸¹ Yet a legend of Elizabeth does seem to have circulated in Hungary in the thirteenth century. The *Vita* of her niece, St. Margaret of Hungary, a nun in the Dominican convent in Veszprem from 1246-1270, says that she read the lives of her saintly ancestors, including Elizabeth.⁸² This could have been the *Dicta* or *Libellus* or perhaps

some other work. As I will show later, at least one thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century Hungarian author did write a life of Elizabeth.

Franciscan Sources

Lastly, there was an early tradition about Elizabeth within the Franciscan order, which, except for a few works, is largely ignored or unknown. The source from this tradition that is probably best known and most used is the *Chronicle* of Giordano of Giano. This lively work was written around 1262 by Giordano, an Italian friar, who went on the first successful Franciscan mission to Germany beginning in 1221, and who later became the *custos* of Thuringia.⁸³ Other Franciscan works are less frequently consulted as sources. One is the *Chronicle* of Fra Salimbene, written about 1284, which mentions Elizabeth several times.⁸⁴ A short life of Elizabeth of Franciscan origin from the Bibliotheca Laurenziana in Florence has been published.⁸⁵ Nor did preachers ignore Elizabeth. Some thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Franciscan sermons about Elizabeth have also been published.⁸⁶ In addition to the Dominican sermon by friar Odo used by Dietrich, which has not been found, other early Dominican sermons about her are extant.⁸⁷

There are two important Franciscan lives of Elizabeth that have remained unpublished until just recently: the Valenciennes Life, so named because the first complete text of it was found in a manuscript in Valenciennes,⁸⁸ and the Anonymous Franciscan, which is partly based on the Valenciennes Life. While the existence of the Valenciennes Life was only signaled in the twentieth century, the existence of the Anonymous Franciscan has been known since Franciscan authors Sedulius and Wadding first used and quoted a manuscript of it in the seventeenth century, but no complete text of it has been known until recently.⁸⁹ Historians have occasionally mentioned these works, but usually only in passing. Nevertheless, they present a tradition about Elizabeth that is worth exploring.

The Anonymous Franciscan life in particular contains many anecdotes about Elizabeth and the Franciscans. From the complete text, we learn that, according to the author, she lived next to the Franciscan convent in Marburg and had close contact with the friars during the last two and a half years of her life. Most important, this source contains testimonies by some Franciscan and Dominican friars who knew Elizabeth. These testimonies appear to have come from her canonization process, though they do not appear in the *Dicta/Libellus*. Thus the Anonymous Franciscan is potentially a very important source for early eyewitness testimony about Elizabeth. Since neither it nor the other Franciscan sources have played much part in the traditional historiography on Elizabeth, they will be discussed in later chapters.

The History of Scholarship on Elizabeth

The Bollandists began collecting material on St. Elizabeth in the seventeenth century. Their volume on the saints for November was never published, though the material has been used by other scholars.⁹⁰ Modern scholarship on Elizabeth really began in Germany in the

eighteenth century with a biographical study by K. W. Justi,⁹¹ and the publication of the *Libellus* for the first time by J. B. Mencke in 1728.⁹² But these were isolated works.

It was only in the early nineteenth century that both scholarship on Elizabeth and popular devotion to her were re-inspired by the work of a young French Catholic nobleman, Charles, comte de Montalembert. During a trip to Germany in 1833, he had visited Elizabeth's church in Marburg and had become fascinated by her life. His exhaustive researches in the manuscript material in Germany and talks with German scholars resulted in a biography, *Histoire de Sainte Elizabeth de Hongrie*, first published in 1836.⁹³ Montalembert's work was deeply influenced by the Romantic spiritual enthusiasm and fascination with the Middle Ages, the French Catholic revival of that period, and the interest of German poets and philologists in their country's language and culture. The biography, while quite uncritical, was written in a vivid style, became immensely popular and went through numerous editions in several languages. Montalembert, influenced by the current spirit, stressed all of the legendary and romantic aspects of his heroine's life, but he did do some important work in uncovering and identifying the sources. While his work spurred the interest of scholars in Elizabeth's life, it created a rather uncritical legend for modern readers, and historians have had to spend much time reassessing the resulting image of her.

Early in the twentieth century, as part of the flurry of interest in Elizabeth occasioned by the seventh centenary of her birth in 1907, a number of German historians undertook a critical examination of the sources for her life. This interest was ecumenical; the Protestants in Germany had always admired Elizabeth for her life of charity, and Protestant scholars joined Catholic ones in the research. One German scholar, Albert Huyskens, edited both versions of the testimonies from her canonization process, the *Dicta* and the *Libellus*.⁹⁴ Another, Karl Wenck, made his own examination of the sources and the history of the canonization process, in which he strongly disputed some of Huyskens' conclusions.⁹⁵ Their work on the texts has been the foundation for historical discussion ever since. Huyskens was a Catholic and Wenck a Protestant, but both approached the material with a serious critical spirit, and engaged in extensive research to verify the historical basis for the events of Elizabeth's life.

During the earlier part of the twentieth century, most Catholic historians followed the scholarly discipline of the Bollandists, whose main concern was defending the dignity of the saints and the authentic tradition about them by firmly separating fact from legend; they excluded texts they regarded as inauthentic, especially those with a legendary flavor.⁹⁶ Jeanne Ancelet-Hustache, a Catholic historian of fine critical sense, followed this tradition. Shortly after World War II, she used the results of the previous research to write a rigorous scholarly biography of Elizabeth.⁹⁷ Her work showed the Bollandist influence in her insistence on depending almost solely on the earliest sources: that is, the *Dicta/Libellus*, Conrad's letter, the chronicle of Berthold, and a few other early documents. She considered the Franciscan tradition about Elizabeth, including the Anonymous Franciscan (then known only in a fragment), to be largely legend.

While there have been a large number of devotional lives of Elizabeth, few genuinely scholarly biographies have been written.⁹⁸ Most of the biographies and historical studies have

been in German; English-language scholarship has been meager, at least until very recently. The interpretation of Elizabeth's life has been influenced not only by religious differences between Catholics and Protestants, but by other ideological pressures as well. Ulrike Wiethaus has suggested that the traditional Catholic picture of Elizabeth – the obedient, domesticated wife – played into the Nazi ideology of the 1930's and 40's, which sought to keep women in their place.⁹⁹ One of the few attempts to go beneath the traditional surface, Elisabeth Busse-Wilson's 1931 biography, took a Freudian approach. The author explored issues of the body and sexuality in Elizabeth's life, as well as her rebellion against religious conventions. It shocked the public at the time, and, as Wiethaus pointed out, it was subsequently almost ignored until the 1980's.¹⁰⁰

Elizabeth and Recent Hagiographic Research

In addition, historical research on Elizabeth has been affected by recent trends of scholarly research in hagiography. Some authors of quantitative studies, such as Weinstein and Bell and Michael Goodich, largely limited themselves to including Elizabeth as part of their statistical survey.¹⁰¹ André Vauchez took a statistical approach to canonization processes for medieval saints from the thirteenth century on, and analyzed Elizabeth's life as part of his picture of mendicant saints, lay saints, and royal and aristocratic saints.¹⁰² While these works are useful for analyzing particular trends, they do not present anything like a complete view of Elizabeth even as a “constructed” saint of her time.

Bynum considered Elizabeth as an example of her theory about the compulsive relationship between medieval women and food because of her refusal to eat certain foods at her husband's table, which Bynum saw as a rejection of her husband's family.¹⁰³ Bynum did not study the sources on Elizabeth closely, however, or place the question of food in the context of the rest of her life. So there is some question about whether the pattern of food compulsion could be applied to her.

A few recent studies have discussed Elizabeth as an individual “person” rather than just as a “saint.” One of these is by Anja Petrakopoulos. “The figure of Elizabeth has become an icon,” she writes, “yet she had enough force to change the icon to fit her own shaping of piety.” Petrakopoulos' intention was “to study not only the image of the saint but also the historical person.”¹⁰⁴ She traces in detail how the later legends dealt with the troublesome subjects of Elizabeth's sexuality, marriage and motherhood, and provides some useful insights. Nevertheless, her methodology is somewhat disappointing. She does not discuss the relationship between the sources or differentiate between the different views of the eyewitnesses, or between these and the later developments of legend.

Brigitte Stark based her study of Elizabeth on the idea that the availability of testimonies from canonization processes and other early documents affected the writing of lives of the saints from the thirteenth century on, allowing for a more individualized portrait of a saint in later works. She traces how this happened in Elizabeth's case by studying her canonization process in comparison with later works about her, including those by Rutebeuf and Dietrich of Apolda. But once again, this author does not study the sources in depth, nor does she have a methodology

for treating them. This is most likely because her intention is not to separate historical events from legend, but simply to show how the portrayal of Elizabeth's individual traits developed from one work to another.¹⁰⁵

During 1981 and 1982, a number of important studies were published for the 750th anniversary of Elizabeth's death, providing valuable insight into the Germany of her time, the ruling family of Thuringia, her place in the women's movement, and her radical conception of poverty in response to the injustices of feudal life. There was also a study of her canonization process.¹⁰⁶ I will quote some of them in the following pages. But they did not really advance the study of the sources or methodology.

The latest feminist studies have not included much about Elizabeth, as I mentioned earlier. This is perhaps because material for the study of the relationship between a male confessor/biographer and a female saint is somewhat lacking, since her confessor, Conrad of Marburg, did not write much about her. But Jo Ann McNamara has done something to place Elizabeth in the context of the response of religious women in her time to their own marginality and how it affected their religious lives.¹⁰⁷

This short survey has shown the variety of approaches to Elizabeth's life. There are a number of areas in which work remains to be done. In particular, feminist studies on the role of gender in the perception of her need to be developed and integrated with other approaches. At the same time, there are a number of unsolved questions in regard to several aspects of her life that affect the question of her religious vocation. I will turn to the study of these next.

NOTES

Chapter I

¹ Rosemary Radford Ruether, *Sexism and God-Talk: Toward a Feminist Theology* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1993), 22.

² See, for example, the essays in Catherine M. Mooney, ed., *Gendered Voices: Medieval Saints and their Interpreters* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999); another recent studies is John Coakley, "Gender and the Authority of the Friars: The Significance of Holy Women for Thirteenth-Century Franciscans and Dominicans," *Church History* 60 (1991): 445-60.

³ See the comments by Karen Scott, "Mystical Death, Bodily Death: Catherine of Siena and Raymond of Capua on the Mystic's Encounter with God," in Mooney, *Gendered Voices*, 140-44.

⁴ Pierre Deloos, "Towards a Sociological Study of Canonized Sainthood in the Catholic Church," in Stephen Wilson, ed, *Saints and Their Cults: Studies in Religious Sociology, Folklore and History* (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 189-216.

⁵ Donald Weinstein and Rudolph M. Bell, *Saints and Society: The Two Worlds of Western Christendom, 1000-1700* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982); Michael Goodich, *Vita Perfecta: The Ideal of Sainthood in the Thirteenth Century* (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1982).

⁶ Weinstein and Bell, *Saints and Society*, 228-29.

⁷ Rudolph Bell, *Holy Anorexia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985).

⁸ Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987).

⁹ Aviad Kleinberg, *Prophets in Their Own Country: Living Saints and the Making of Sainthood in the Late Middle Ages* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 8-16.

¹⁰ Karen Scott, "Mystical Death, Bodily Death," 144.

¹¹ Amy Hollywood, "Inside Out: Beatrice of Nazareth and Her Hagiographer," in Mooney, ed., *Gendered Voices*, 78-98.

¹² See Ulrike Wiethaus, "Sexuality, Gender and the Body in Late Medieval Spirituality: Cases from Germany and the Netherlands," *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion* 7 (1991): 35-52.

¹³ For a summary of some of these trends, see Patrick Geary, "Saints, Scholars and Society: The Elusive Goal," in his *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), 9-29.

¹⁴ Kleinberg, *Prophets*, 10.

¹⁵ See the essays in Mooney, *Gendered Voices*; also Catherine Mooney, "The Authorial Role of Brother A in the Composition of Angela of Foligno's Revelations," in E. Ann Matter and John Coakley, eds., *Creative Women in Medieval and Early Modern Italy: A Religious and Artistic Renaissance* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), 34-63.

¹⁶ Anne M. Schuchman, "Literary Collaboration in the *Life* of Umiliana dei Cerchi," *Magistra: A Journal of Women's Spirituality in History* 7, 2 (Winter 2001): 5-22.

¹⁷ André Vauchez, *La sainteté en occident aux derniers siècles du moyen age, d'après les procès de canonisation et les documents hagiographiques* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1981).

¹⁸ Jacques Paul, "Témoignage historique et hagiographique dans le procès de canonisation de Louis d'Anjou," *Provence historique* 93-94 (1973): 305-317. Enrico Menestó made similar observations about attempts at control and the independence of some witnesses in his "The Apostolic Canonization Proceedings of Clare of Montefalco, 1318-1319," in Daniel Bornstein and Roberto Rusconi, eds., *Women and Religion in Medieval and Renaissance Italy* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 108-110.

¹⁹ Catherine M. Mooney, "Voice, Gender and the Portrayal of Sanctity," in Catherine M. Mooney, ed., *Gendered Voices*, 8; see also her article in the same collection, "*Imitatio Christi* or *Imitatio Mariae*?: Clare of Assisi and Her Interpreters," 52-77.

²⁰ Dyan Elliot, "Authorizing a Life: The Collaboration of Dorothea of Montau and John Marienwerder," in Mooney, *Gendered Voices*, especially 186-190.

²¹ Vauchez, *La sainteté en occident*, 4-5.

²² Mechthild von Magdeburg, *The Flowing Light of the Godhead*, translated and introduced by Frank Tobin, preface by Margot Schmidt (New York/Mahwah, N. J.: Paulist Press, 1998), 215.

²³ A recent edition: Herbert Grundmann, *Religious Movements in the Middle Ages* (Notre Dame/London: University of Notre Dame Press, 1995); for the women's movement, see especially 75-152.

²⁴ Goodich, *Vita Perfecta*, 100-123.

²⁵ Carol Neel, "The Origins of the Beguines," in Judith M. Bennett, Elizabeth A. Clark, Jean F. O'Barr, et al., eds., *Sisters and Workers in the Middle Ages* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1979), 240-260.

²⁶ Jo Ann McNamara, *Sisters in Arms: Catholic Nuns Through Two Millennia* (Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University Press, 1996), 236.

²⁷ See Grundmann, *Religious Movements in the Middle Ages*, 148-49.

²⁸ For a discussion of this question and other criticisms, see Robert Lerner's introduction to Grundmann, *Religious Movements in the Middle Ages*, xxiii-xxv.

²⁹ David Herlihy, "Women in Medieval Society," in his *The Social History of Italy and Western Europe, 700-1500* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1978), IX, 3-17.

³⁰ Brenda Bolton, "*Mulieres sanctae*," *Studies in Church History* 10 (1973): 77-95.

³¹ McNamara, *Sisters in Arms*, 235.

³² Brenda Bolton, "Daughters of Rome: All One in Christ Jesus," in W. J. Sheils and Diana Wood, eds., *Women in the Church* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1990), 101-16.

³³ Anna Benvenuti Papi, "La Serva-Patrona," in "*In castro poenitentiale: santità e società femminile nell'Italia medioevale*" (Rome: Herder Editrice e Libreria, 1990), 264-303; Mario Sensi, "Anchoresses and Penitents in Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century Umbria," in Bornstein and Rusconi, *Women and Religion in Medieval and Renaissance Italy*, 56-83.

³⁴ Anna Benvenuti Papi, "Mendicant Friars and Female *pinzochere* in Tuscany: From Social Marginality to Models of Sanctity," in Bornstein and Rusconi, *Women and Religion in Medieval and Renaissance Italy*, 86-87.

³⁵ See G. G. Meersseman, *Dossier de l'ordre de la pénitence au xiiiè siècle*, 2nd edition (Fribourg: Éditions Universitaires Fribourg Suisse, 1982); among other recent works is Mariano D'Alatri, *Aetas poenitentialis: l'antico Ordine francescano della penitenza* (Rome: Istituto Storico dei Cappuccini, 1993).

³⁶ Papi, "Mendicant Friars and Female *pinzochere* in Tuscany," 84-86.

³⁷ Raffaele Pazzelli, *The Franciscan Sisters: Outlines of History and Spirituality* (Steubenville, Ohio: Franciscan University, 1989); Raffaele Pazzelli and Lino Temperini, *Prime manifestazioni di vita comunitarie maschile e femminile nel movimento francescano della Penitenza (1215-1447)*, Atti del Convegno di Studi Francescani, Assisi, 30 giugno-3 luglio, 1981 (Rome: Analecta TOR, 1982); Anna Benvenuti Papi, "Mendicant Friars and Female *pinzochere* in Tuscany," 84-103.

³⁸ Margaret Carney, O.S.F., *The First Franciscan Woman: Clare of Assisi and Her Form of Life* (Steubenville, Ohio: Franciscan Press, 1993), 15.

³⁹ In addition to Carney's *The First Franciscan Woman*, see Ingrid J. Peterson, O.S.F., *Clare of Assisi: A Biographical Study* (Quincy, Ill.: Franciscan Press, 1993); Clara Gennaro, "Clare, Agnes and Their Earliest Followers: From the Poor Ladies of San Damiano to the Poor Clares," in Bornstein and Rusconi, *Women and Religion in Medieval and Renaissance Italy*, 39-55; Catherine Mooney, "*Imitatio Christi or Imitatio Mariae?*: Clare of Assisi and Her Interpreters," in Mooney, *Gendered Voices*, 52-77.

⁴⁰ Roberta McKelvie, O.S.F., *Retrieving a Living Tradition: Angelina of Montegiove: Franciscan, Tertiary, Beguine* (St. Bonaventure, NY: Franciscan Institute, 1997).

⁴¹ McKelvie, *Retrieving a Living Tradition*, 7.

⁴² Roberto Rusconi, "L'espansione del francescanesimo femminile nel secolo xiii," *Movimento religioso femminile e francescanesimo nel secolo xiii* (Assisi: Società Internazionale degli Studi Francescani, 1980), 277-294.

⁴³ See Elizabeth Makowski, *Canon Law and Cloistered Women: Periculoso and Its Commentators, 1298-1545* (Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1997), 31, where the relevant literature is cited.

⁴⁴ Rusconi, "L'espansione del francescanesimo femminile," 270.

⁴⁵ *Die Vita der Heiligen Elisabeth des Dietrich von Apolda*, ed. Monika Renner (Marburg: N. G. Elwert, 1993).

⁴⁶ Nesta De Robeck, *Saint Elizabeth of Hungary: A Story of Twenty-Four Years* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1954), Appendix, 155-203.

⁴⁷ Raoul Manselli, "Royal Holiness in the Daily Life of Elizabeth of Hungary: The Testimony of Her Servants," *Greyfriars Review* 11 (1997): 1-20.

Chapter II

⁴⁸ It has been attributed to a number of people, including her great-niece, Elizabeth, daughter of Andrew III of Hungary, to Elisabeth of Schönau, or even to other women. For a discussion of this question, see Alexandra Barratt, "The Revelations of St. Elizabeth of Hungary: Problems of Attribution," *The Library* (Series 6) 14, no. 1 (1992): 1-11.

⁴⁹ The most useful collection of Latin texts is the one published by Albert Huyskens in his *Quellenstudien zur Geschichte der hl. Elisabeth, Landgräfin von Thüringen* (Marburg: N. G. Elwert, 1908); Lino Temperini has recently reprinted Huyskens' texts of Conrad's letter, the *Dicta* and the "Canonization Process and Ceremony" in his *Santa Elisabetta d'Ungheria (1207-1231) gloria dei penitenti francescani* (Rome: Editrice Franciscanum, 2002), 439-465; my English translation of the texts will soon be published.

⁵⁰ The text of Conrad's letter was edited by Huyskens, *Quellenstudien*, 155-160.

⁵¹ These were edited by Arthur Wyss, *Hessisches Urkundenbuch*, vol. I: *Urkundenbuch der Deutschordens-Ballei Hessen* (Leipzig, 1879), no. 28; see Huyskens, *Quellenstudien*, 16-17 for details.

⁵² Huyskens, *Quellenstudien*, 243, 263.

⁵³ BF 1:85-86 and 86-87.

⁵⁴ The report is printed in Huyskens, *Quellenstudien*, 155. All the translations from this and other sources are mine, unless otherwise noted.

⁵⁵ Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, v. 1, p. 365; Huyskens, *Quellenstudien*, 16.

⁵⁶ See the discussion in Huyskens, *Quellenstudien*, and his edition of the *Libellus: Der sogenannte Libellus de dictis quattuor ancillarum s. Elisabeth confectus* (Kempten and Munich: Verlag der Jos. Kösel'schen Buchhandlung, 1911).

⁵⁷ Leo Santifaller's critical text of the bull of canonization can be found in *Acht Jahrhunderte Deutscher Orden in Einzeldarstellungen*, ed. Klemens Wieser (Bad Godesburg: Verlag Wissenschaftliches Archiv, 1967), 79-81.

⁵⁸ I use the edition of Fr. Lemmens, made from the original MS.; "Zur Biographie der heiligen

Elisabeth, Landgräfin von Thüringen,” *Mitteilungen des historischen Vereins des Diözeses Fulda*, 4 (1901): 2-6.

⁵⁹ Huyskens, *Quellenstudien*, 25-31.

⁶⁰ Dietrich of Apolda, *Die Vita der heiligen Elisabeth*, 137.

⁶¹ See Huyskens, *Quellenstudien*, 174-75 (Miracle 14, miracles of 1233).

⁶² Lemmens, “Zur Biographie,” 2-6.

⁶³ Caesarius of Heisterbach, “Die Schriften des Caesarius von Heisterbach über die heilige Elisabeth von Thüringen,” ed. A. Huyskens, in *Die Wundergeschichten des Caesarius von Heisterbach*, ed. A. Hilka (Bonn, 1937): 3:386.

⁶⁴ Michael Goodich, “The Politics of Canonization in the Thirteenth Century: Lay and Mendicant Saints,” in Stephen Wilson, ed., *Saints and Their Cults: Studies in Religious Sociology, Folklore and History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 172-73.

⁶⁵ This miracle is recounted in no. 84 of the deposition of 1233; Huyskens, *Quellenstudien*, 225. Verses that may be part of this song are preserved in the German version of the Life of Ludwig; see Ancelet-Hustache, *Gold Tried by Fire*, 215, 292.

⁶⁶ There are editions of two different manuscripts of this letter: they can be found in Klaus J. Heinisch, “Ein Brief Gregors IX an die hl. Elisabeth,” *FS 25* (1938): 379-82, and Karl Wenck, “Die heilige Elisabeth und Papst Gregor IX,” *Hochland 5* (1907-1908): 129-47.

⁶⁷ These were edited by Huyskens, *Quellenstudien*, 92-94.

⁶⁸ “Cronica Reinhardsbrunnensis,” ed. O. Holder-Egger, in *MGH SS 30*, part 1 (1896): 490-658.

⁶⁹ Heinrich Rückert, ed., *Das Leben des Heiligen Ludwig, Landgrafen in Thüringen, Gehmahls der heiligen Elisabeth, nach der lateinischen Urschrift übersetzt von Friedrich Ködiz von Salfeld* (Leipzig, 1851).

⁷⁰ Caesarius of Heisterbach, “Die Schriften des Caesarius von Heisterbach,” 3:331-90.

⁷¹ The life is found in Zwettl, Stiftsbibliothek, cod. 326. It was edited by Diodorus Henniges, OFM, as “Vita sanctae Elisabeth, landgraviae Thuringiae, auctore anonymo, nunc primum in lucem edita,” *AFH 2* (1909): 240-68; see also H. Beumann, “Bericht aus dem Umkreis Kaiser Friedrichs II. über den Besuch am 1. Mai 1236 in Marburg,” *Sankt Elisabeth*, 511.

⁷² Matthias Werner, “Die Elisabeth-Vita des Dietrich von Apolda als Beispiel spätmittelalterlicher Hagiographie,” *Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsbewusstsein im späten Mittelalter*, Vorträge und Forschungen 31, herausgegeben von H. Patze (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1987), 523-541.

⁷³ Frank Tobin, *Mechtild von Magdeburg: A Medieval Mystic in Modern Eyes* (Columbia, SC: Camden House 1995), 5.

⁷⁴ Dietrich of Apolda, *Die Vita der heiligen Elisabeth*, 21-22.

⁷⁵ For the date, see Giovanni Paolo Maggioni’s introduction to the critical edition: Jacobus de Voragine, O. P., *Legenda aurea: edizione critica* (Tavarnuzze: SISMEL: Edizioni del Galluzzo, 1998), xiii.

⁷⁶ See, for example, Werner Stannat, *Das Leben der heiligen Elisabeth in drei mittelniederdeutschen Handschriften aus Wolfenbüttel und Hannover* (Marburg, 1953), for three verse lives in German, based on Dietrich.

⁷⁷ *La vie sainte Elysabel* edited, with an extensive introduction in Edmond Faral and Julia Bastin, *Oeuvres complètes de Rutebeuf* (Paris: Editions A. and J. Picard, 1960), 2:60-123, text on 101-23.

⁷⁸ *Chi commenche de Sainte Yzabel*, edited as a supplement in Jubinal, *Oeuvres complètes de Rutebeuf* (Paris: Pannier, 1839), 2:360-412 (from Paris. Bibl. Nat. fr. 19531; 13th century, ff. 112-32v).

⁷⁹ F. Levardy, "Il Leggendario ungherese degli Angiò conservato nella Biblioteca Vaticana, nel Morgan Library e nell'Emitage," *Acta Historiae Artium Academiae Scientiarum Hungariae* 9 (1963): 75-108, especially 97-99.

⁸⁰ These works are discussed in Fortunatos Boros, OFM, "Die hl. Elisabeth in der ungarischen Geschichte," FS 18 (1931): 237-39.

⁸¹ See Boros, "Die hl. Elisabeth in der ungarischen Geschichte," 236; see also Innocenz Takács, "Die Verehrung der hl. Elisabeth in Ungarn," FS 18 (1931): 252.

⁸² *Vita ex Petri Ranzani, Epitomerer. Hung.*, ASS, Januarii 3:523, no. 11; see also Takacs, "Die Verehrung der hl. Elisabeth in Ungarn," 252.

⁸³ *Chronica Fratris Iordani*, in AF, I, especially nos. 9-10 and 25.

⁸⁴ Salimbene d'Adam, *Cronica*, ed. Giuseppe Scalia (Turnhout, 1998), 1:53 (51 in the 1966 ed.).

⁸⁵ L. Lemmens, "Zur Biographie," 14-19.

⁸⁶ See, for example Cesare Cenci, OFM, "Noterelle su Fr. Giacomo da Tresanti, lettore predicatore," AFH 86 (1993): 119-128, which contains portions of his sermons on Elizabeth.

⁸⁷ Among them is a sermon by the Dominican Peregrinus of Oppeln, given around 1300, published by Gerard de Martel, "Trois sermons inédits du xiiiè siècle sur Ruth 3, 11," AFH 89 (1996): 404-410.

⁸⁸ Portions of the Valenciennes MS. were published by Ilona Király, "Egy XIII századi szent Erzsébet-legenda," *Egyetemes Philologiai Közlöny (Archivum Philologicum)* 59 (1935): 64-72.

⁸⁹ Huyskens published some passages from the Koblenz MS. and from Wadding's quotations in the notes to his edition of the *Libellus*, passim. My edition, based on the manuscripts from Koblenz and Trier, was published as: "A New Life of St. Elizabeth of Hungary: The Anonymous Franciscan," AFH 93 (2000): 29-78; and later, with a corrected text, in my doctoral dissertation: "St. Elizabeth of Hungary and the Franciscan Tradition," (New York: Fordham University, 2000).

⁹⁰ See Huyskens, *Quellenstudien*, 31-40 for a listing of this material, found under the date of November 19, Elizabeth's feast day at the time.

⁹¹ *Elisabeth die Heilige, Landgräfin von Thüringen* (Zürich, 1797).

⁹² J. B. Mencke, ed., *Libellus de dictis quatuor ancillarum S. Elisabethae sive examen miraculorum eius*, in *Scriptores rerum germanicarum praecipue Saxoniarum* (Leipzig, 1728), II, 2007-2034.

⁹³ There are numerous editions of this work in many languages, including English. I will use the

following, unless otherwise specified: *Histoire de Sainte Elisabeth de Hongrie* (Paris: Lecoffre, 1861). The work has recently been republished in France: *La vie de saint Elisabeth de Hongrie*, Preface de Guy Bedouelle, OP (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2005).

⁹⁴ Huyskens, *Quellenstudien* and *Libellus* (see above).

⁹⁵ Karl Wenck, "Quellenuntersuchungen und Text zur Geschichte der hl. Elisabeth. I. Über die *Dicta quattuor ancillarum sanctae Elisabeth*," *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für alter deutsche Geschichtskunde* 34 (1908): 427-502.

⁹⁶ See, for example, the principles enunciated by the Bollandist Hippolyte Delehaye in his *The Legends of the Saints: an Introduction to Hagiography* (London: Longmans, Green, 1907).

⁹⁷ *Sainte Elisabeth de Hongrie* (Paris: Editions Franciscaines, 1947); translated into English as *Gold Tried by Fire: St Elizabeth of Hungary* (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1963); subsequent citations will be from the English edition.

⁹⁸ Other good twentieth-century biographies are: Maria Maresch, *Elisabeth von Thüringen* (Bonn: Verlag des Buchgemeind, 1931); Ernst Wilhelm Wiess, *Elisabeth von Thüringen: die Provokation der Heiligkeit* (Esslingen: Bechtle, 1993); and Norbert Ohler, *Elisabeth von Thüringen: Fürstin in Dienst der Niedrigsten* (Göttingen-Zurich: Musterschmidt-Verlag, 1984).

⁹⁹ See Ulrike Wiethaus, "Feminist Historiography as Pornography: St. Elisabeth of Thuringia in Nazi Germany," *Medieval Feminist Newsletter*, no. 24 (Fall 1997): 46-54.

¹⁰⁰ Elisabeth Busse-Wilson, *Das Leben der Heiligen Elisabeth von Thüringen: Das Abbild einer mittelalterlichen Seele* (Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1931).

¹⁰¹ Michael Goodich, *Vita Perfecta*, passim, especially 173-77, tables throughout the text and master table on 224; Weinstein and Bell, *Saints and Society*, 203, 257.

¹⁰² Vauchez, *La sainteté en occident*, 295, 317.

¹⁰³ Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast*, especially 135-36, 193, 203-304, 224.

¹⁰⁴ Anja Petrakopoulos, "Sanctity and Motherhood: St. Elizabeth of Thuringia," in Anneke B. Mulder-Bakker, ed., *Sanctity and Motherhood: Essays on Holy Mothers in the Middle Ages* (New York: Garland, 1995), 259.

¹⁰⁵ Brigitte Stark, "Elisabeth von Thüringen. Die Entdeckung individueller Züge in der Biographie einer Heiligen," in *Individuum und Individualität im Mittelalter* (Berlin/New York: W. de Gruyter, 1996), 704-21.

¹⁰⁶ See the studies contained in: *Elisabeth, der Deutschen Orden und ihre Kirche*; in F. Jurgensmeier, ed., *So also, Herr. . . Elisabeth von Thüringen (1207-1231)* (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag J. Knecht, 1982); and in *Sankt Elisabeth: Fürstin, Dienerin, Heilige. Aufsätze, Dokumentation, Katalog* (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1981).

¹⁰⁷ McNamara, *Sisters in Arms*, 243-45; and "The Need to Give: Suffering and Female Sanctity in the Middle Ages," in Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Timea Szell, eds., *Images of Sainthood in Medieval Europe* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1991), 207-208.