

INTERNAL EXILE: DOROTHEA OF MONTAU'S INWARD JOURNEY

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ABSTRACT

This paper deals with the physical as well as spiritual dimension of pilgrimage on the basis of the life of Dorothea of Montau as recounted by John of Marienwerder. Dorothea's extensive traveling, her marital problems, her visions and the ultimate enclosure make her a typical example of late medieval female saint. Yet, it is not only her visionary experiences but the political situation in late medieval Prussia that made John of Marienwerder perceive and construct her life as a pilgrimage which culminates with internal exile, the exile within herself, the anchoress cell in the cathedral at Marienwerder.

I never met Margaret Schlauch but her book scared the first year students who, as part of their course on the History of English literature, were studying texts and their contexts of the then, quite "alien", English medieval culture. Her student (Jacek Fisiak) was also an almost mythical and equally scary figure, terrifying third year students with the most difficult subject on the curriculum, the history of the English language. For a Polish student, Schlauch's *English medieval literature and its social foundations* (and subsequently her book on the English language) was a book full of the unfamiliar things such as Anglo-Saxon literature and mystical writings.

Margeret Schlauch wrote only a short sub-chapter on the reformers and mystics (Schlauch 1959: 208-213) out of which a page is devoted to the three mystics, Rolle, Hilton and Julian of Norwich. Julian's *Revelations of divine love* is characterized as "the emotional outpouring" (1956: 212). Schlauch writes that "her [Julian's] visions and meditations on sin and redemption are expressed in an artless language, often confused, but also at times gruesomely concrete. With her *Revelations*, mystical writing becomes what we should today call hysterical. Her brooding on the physical anguish connected with redemption reminds us of the art of certain early Flemish painters who concentrated on details of blood

and suffering against grotesque backgrounds of dreamlike horror" (1956: 212-213). I wonder what she would say about *The book of Margery Kempe* as it is was too much of "brooding and gruesome concreteness" to be included in a history of medieval literature. Given the contemporary re-definition of hysteria as well as an entirely different perspective on the mystics, Dorothea of Montau's (1347-1394) confessions, her *Liber de festis* and her later liturgically-related visions included in *Septilium* or *Seven graces* are placed in a different light. Are they emotional? Yes, they are, very much so, but at the same time similarly to Margery Kempe and other religious women, Dorothea should be seen in the context of late medieval affective piety which oscillates between outwardness of expression (or to quote Schlauch again "emotional outpourings") and inwardness of experience. Dorothea of Montau is still a relatively unknown figure, as most of the materials on her are in German and Latin. The case of Dorothea, whose life was recorded by John of Marienwerder (Jan z Kwidzyna) and is therefore known to us (unlike the life of Julian of Norwich prior to the enclosure), is a very good example of such oscillation.<sup>1</sup> As a mystic and pilgrim (to borrow an expression from Clarissa Atkinson's book on Margery Kempe) Dorothea went out into the world only to return to the enclosure, the anchorage at Kwidzyń.<sup>2</sup> Her symbolic inward journey foregrounds the pilgrimages she undertook with her husband and by herself. As such it is both the physical and the metaphysical aspects of her journeys as well as the spiritual and indeed transformative nature of medieval journeys themselves which provides the subject of my paper.

Let me add one more personal note. In the spring of 2001 my family and I decided to go on a "pilgrimage" to Kwidzyń. I had never seen the cathedral and we all wanted to see if the remains of Dorothea's cell were still there. It took us about three hours to get there from Inowrocław, where we had started, and we travelled through the old Teutonic Order Knights' territory (Toruń and upwards into the north eastern part of Poland). Then, I recalled that it took us the whole day to get to Aachen by car, which was one of the first places Dorothea visited with her husband. When they began in Gdańsk, they reached Aachen after nine weeks. Contemporary people do not think about the physicality of distance

<sup>1</sup> Dorothea's revelations, and Canon John's account of them, were influenced by the Dominicans, by the Teutonic Order to which the canon belonged, and most of all by *Liber celestis* and contemporary processes of canonization of Saint Birgitta.

<sup>2</sup> A process of canonization was begun in 1396, and although it was only successful in 1976, Dorothea's local fame and reputation remained significant. In 1409 bishop John Monch died, he was the head of the bishopric, where Dorothea had lived for 33 years. His successor, John Ryman hoped to speed up the process of Dorothea's canonization. Unfortunately the wars between Poland and the Teutonic Order (1410-1414) hindered this project. In 1417, John of Marienwerder died and in his last will he bequeathed money for Dorothea's canonization.

rather we think of places we want to get to, and not of the journeys themselves. For Dorothea, as for Margery Kempe later, the pilgrimage comprised the physicality of experience and was also a meditative journey of the mind.

The trope of pilgrimage in the Middle Ages signifies a journey of one's life within the framework of the metaphorical pilgrimage of Manhood, one of the most popular Christian motifs of the Middle Ages. In the earlier Middle Ages, this trope also re-iterates the dramatization of Christian repentance in the context of resurrection. Man is a pilgrim on earth traveling through the land of exile towards his celestial home. Linked with Paul's metaphor which invited Christians to think of themselves as pilgrims, *pergerini* (the strangers, literally and visually represented in this way), the juxtaposition of exile and home is related to the placing of man's affections, an inner dimension of belonging and alienation; to inward an outer imagery, the discrimination between here and there, earth and heaven, time and eternity. Man's universal history is also a journey which began with Adam's fall and passes through God's successive revelations to mankind. Man's individual history is located in the background of Paul's discussion of the present exile from and future arrival at the celestial city alongside the constant process of choosing right and rejecting wrong. "In the pilgrimages of the historical religions the moral unit is the individual, and his/her goal is salvation or release from the sins and evils of the structural world in preparation for participation in an afterlife of pure bliss" (Turner and Turner 1978: 8). For a mystic, as well as for a more ordinary Christian-pilgrim, a journey implies a dynamic process of "becoming". The garden of paradise signifies a refuge, rest stasis, interiority and "being", but paradoxically the pilgrimage, although still a journey can also be seen as a more static and more inward process. And it is that inwardness which consigns female mystics into internal exile, the exile within themselves, which the anchorites and anchoresses see quite literally as an enclosure. For a mystic pilgrimage becomes the metaphor of a journey towards one's true self. The narrative representing "inner voyage", the drama of the alienated consciousness, seeking its real being can thus be positioned within the tradition of autobiographical and quasi-autobiographical literature. Propagated by English mystics, such as Richard Rolle or Walter Hilton, a life of meditation was contingent on detachment from the world and worldly affairs. Nonetheless, Hilton, in the second book of his *Scale of perfection*, is as much concerned with the disengagement from the worldly affairs as he is with the heightened attention paid to the desired goal. He thus endows the mystic with qualities which enable him/her to climb the ladder of perfection through the incessant struggle with oneself and one's desire to live in the world. Perfecting oneself and retreating within oneself becomes yet another image of interior pilgrimage.

The anthropologist, Victor Turner (1978), reads pilgrimage in terms of its theological background which the people recognize as the implications of the

initiating event, and through the repertoire of symbols and images that embody that experience. Turner argues that behind such journeys in Christendom lies the paradigm of the cruces, with the added purgatorial element appropriate to fallen men. While monastic contemplatives and mystics could daily make interior salvific journeys, those in the world had to exteriorize theirs in the infrequent undertaking of a pilgrimage. For the majority, pilgrimage was the great liminal experience of the religious life. If mysticism is an interior pilgrimage, pilgrimage is exteriorized mysticism (1978: 6-7). By the late Middle Ages, penitential pilgrimage, was increasingly incorporated into the system of solemn public penance (see Webb 2001: 52-53). One has to remember that while heaven and hell were timeless, purgatory existed in time. The waves of the plague were interspersed with the growing popularity of flagellants, whose "flagellum" became one of the most potent penitential symbols. Hairshirts, fasts and vigils are more mundane aspects of the transformative performance related to pilgrimages.<sup>3</sup> Both Dorothea of Montau's as well as Margery Kempe's urge to go on pilgrimages are unprecedented in medieval mystical culture.

According to Valerie M. Lagorio (1984: 173-174), Dorothea, a descendant of Dutch settlers in Prussia, was very much influenced by Birgitta of Sweden, whose mortal remains passed through Gdańsk (Danzig) in 1374 en route to burial at Vadsdena. Like Birgitta, Dorothea was married and widowed and led an intense spiritual life. Her spirituality has also been compared with that of Catherine of Sienna, although Dorothea never had any aspirations towards a public role.

So different and yet alike in their outward/inward drives Margery Kempe and Dorothea of Montau led the similar lives of what we would now refer to as typical middle and lower middle class housewives. On her last pilgrimage in 1433, Margery Kempe "abode in Danske [Danzig] in Ducheland about five or six weeks, and had right good cheer of many people for Our Lord's love" (Lagorio 1984: 211). At the time of her visit to Gdańsk Margery had lost her first scribe and was trying to finish her book. She soon went back home and she must have known about the forthcoming hostilities between Poland and Teutonic Order Knights. The editor of Margery's manuscript, Emily Hope, was skeptical as to whether "teutonic mystical influences reached Margery through literary or oral channels" (*The Book*: liv). At the end of April, as Hope Emily Allen claims, Margery stayed in Danzig (Gdańsk), and in June another war with the Teutonic Order began. Gdańsk was the home of Blessed Dorothea from the time of her

<sup>3</sup> In 1343 Pope Clement VI spelled out the theological rationale underpinning indulgences in the bull *Unigenitus*, by which he proclaimed the second Roman Jubilee. Because Purgatory, unlike heaven or hell existed in time, indulgences were frequently expressed in terms of days, weeks or years (Webb 2002: 21). Some scholars talked about indulgences as purporting "remission of sins".

marriage until she became an anchoress. Emily Hope Allen speculates that another anchoress might have been occupying Dorothea's cell at Marienwerder (Kwidzyna) when Margery was in Prussia. The visit to Gdańsk (Danzig), where Dorothea was still very much en vogue, may have encouraged Margery to finish or press on with *The Book*.<sup>4</sup>

For the purpose of canonization, John of Marienwerder (1343-1417),<sup>5</sup> tried to model Dorothea's life so as to be a fit subject of hagiography.<sup>6</sup> For example, she is noted as having made her first confession at the age of six. When Dorothea was six, she accidentally burnt herself with boiling water, and the family might well have been afraid for her life which most probably accounts for the reason for her confession. She grew up in a well-to-do family, but John of Marienwerder constantly stresses the fact that she had to work hard and lived in austere living conditions. She never displayed worldly interests, on the contrary, she did penance, fasted and prayed all through her childhood and was always eager to perform good deeds for the poor. Thus, from early childhood she was led by God, and even already as a child she behaved as an adult. Dorothea delighted in the stories from the pilgrims and although she was classified as "illiterata", in *Liber de festis* John of Marienwerder mentions a book which Dorothea read at night.<sup>7</sup> Her case might be similar to Julian of Norwich. She could have learned to read but not write. Her family did not consent to her entering a convent and after her father died in 1363, when Dorothea was 16, her eldest brother married her off to a man twenty years older than herself, a Gdańsk armorer Wojciech (Adalbert). She moved to Gdańsk (Długa Street), and in 1364, she had her first child. She had altogether nine children, three of them died in the epidemics of 1373, and then five more in 1382, there was only one daughter left, who became a Benedictine nun at Chełm. According to Kujawska-Komender (1957: 105), who based her work on German sources of *Geshichte Preussens*, two daughters were spared, the eldest daughter Agatha and the youngest born in 1381 (called Gertrude or Elizabeth), who became the Benedictine nun in Chełm. The daughter of Agatha, Dorothea's granddaughter, became a Cistercian nun. When Dorothea's canonization was in process, Agatha had already died.

<sup>4</sup> It may be that Margery was moved to complete her book through the influence of Dorothea's reputation; she never mentioned the Prussian woman by name but their inspiration and experiences were alike (Atkinson 1983: 180-181).

<sup>5</sup> Marienwerder was Dorothea's second confessor, her first confessor Nicholas of Hohenstein in 1389 suggested that she should travel to Marienwerder and consult canon John of Marienwerder.

<sup>6</sup> The lengthy process began a year after Dorothea's death and was abandoned in 1525 during the Reformation. For the criticism of canonization processes in general see Webb (2002: 74).

<sup>7</sup> For more see: Elliott (1999: 168-191).

Her marriage was not a happy one for her. Her husband was a typical town dweller. He liked to drink and spend money, and did not allow his wife to go against his wishes. When she started to spend more and more time in the church, i.e. do her penance and to go to mass every day he was out of control and beat her so badly that she nearly died. She did not do anything to alter her behavior; she was quiet and tried to humbly perform her household duties. One thing her husband could not make her do was to live in his world and participate in his life. In 1378 Dorothea, not unlike Margery or Angela of Foligno began to experience ecstatic states and raptures, although her husband did not have the angelic patience John Kempe had. While she forgets where she is and remains in her inner world, her husband has uncontrollable rage attacks. He beats her, sometimes so much that she loses consciousness. After one such attack, he panicked because he thought he had killed her. In order to repent for his misbehavior, he then agreed to go on a pilgrimage with her. According to Atkinson Dorothea strived and finally achieved a vow of chastity (1983: 179) and in the meantime performed the most important task of a true saint, she converted a sinner, her own husband, who thenceforth participated in most of her pilgrimages.

Dorothea, as is the case with many female saints of the time, had very little control over her life. Thus, fasting and controlling how much she ate become her only power, and in this way she began her inward journey. She suffered from temporary illnesses, which Marienwerder attributed to hard work and a hard life. Still, she valued her private time in the church, and this did not fare too well with Adalbert, as she occasionally forgot about her household duties which was of course the sanctioned behavior of many female saints. The harsher her life conditions became, the more inward-oriented she becomes leading an intense spiritual life. As was the case of other late Medieval saints, modesty was one of her major traits, as illustrated by the fact that she refused to dress according to her status (which is yet another necessity things of many female saints). In Dorothea's canonization process John of Marienwerder mentions Father Nicolaus (one of the brothers of Teutonic Order Knights), who from 1380 on, agreed to her weekly communion (Komender 1957: 106). He was her confessor then, and was witness to her vigils, and ecstasies. Before the encounter with John, Father Nicolaus was Dorothea's source of theological knowledge. From 1378 her life consisted of work, prayer and intense mystical life interspersed with fasts and other penitential procedures. From this year on, she experiences repeatedly ever more ecstatic and more blissful raptures. All of this, testifies to the Dorothea's fervent journeying within the soul.

In 1384, Adalbert and Dorothea went on their first pilgrimage to Aachen and Rome (where Margery went in 1433). They sold their house and their youngest child was left in the care of friends. They must have been in Rome on June 17<sup>th</sup>.

because it was on that day that many sacred relics were displayed. As Webb observes, pilgrimage to Rome encapsulated many miniature pilgrimages – visits to the seven major basilicas and other holy places (2002: 171). The physical aspect of traveling connotes penitential practices in bringing out the outward aspects of physical discomfort and suffer. According to Turner and Turner (1978: 27) “[p]ilgrimages are like cultural magnets, attracting symbols of many kinds, verbal and non-verbal, multivocal and univocal.” They claim that the decision to go on a pilgrimage takes place within the individual but brings him into fellowship with like-minded souls, both on the way and at the shrine. Both Dorothea and Adalbert cultivated a penitential ethos, when they went alone for the first time for Adalbert, pilgrimage was an expression of repentance, while for Dorothea, this long trip was also a trip within her soul, i.e. an inner journey which built up her strength to face the further hardships of her life. As a pilgrim, Dorothea traversed the mystical way achieving her goal of penance and progress alongside peaceful retreat within herself. “Pilgrimage, then, has some of the attributes of liminality in passage rites; release from mundane structure; homogenization of status; simplicity of dress and behavior; communitas; ordeal; reflection of meaning of basic religious and cultural values; ritualized enactment of correspondences between religious paradigms and shared human experiences; emergence of the integral person from multiple personae; movement from mundane center to a sacred periphery which suddenly transcendentally becomes central for the individual” (Turner and Turner 1978: 34). Similar to thousands of other European pilgrims of the times, Adalbert and Dorothea wanted to achieve the cure for their souls.<sup>8</sup> “Individual Catholic pilgrimages have in the course of time been transformed into extended and protracted forms of Eucharists and sacraments” (Turner and Turner 1978: 32). The relics, holy objects connected with saints transgress the real aspect of the pilgrimage, placing us on the unreal, the sphere which anthropologists call taboo while ludic aspects of pilgrimages bring back the ideas so frequently explored by literature. Symbolic structures: religious buildings, pictorial images, statuary, and sacralized features of the topography, things defined as sacred. The historical dimensions of medieval pilgrimage stress their personal aspects and individual ritual, individual directed towards individual salvation.

By the end of the pilgrimage, Dorothea and Adalbert found liberation from ordinary behavior, enclosed in the mundane life. Fulfilling the precepts of public penance, they liberated themselves from the social structures which bound them back in Prussia. If pilgrimage functions as a metaphor of change, in their case, it implied a true change of heart on the part of Adalbert. “Thus, curative charis-

<sup>8</sup> For the curative aspects of pilgrimages see Finucane (1995).

matic aspect of pilgrimage is not thought as an end in itself. In the paradigmatic Christian pilgrimage, the initiatory quality of the process is given priority, though it is initiation to, not through, a threshold. Initiation is conceived of as leading not to status elevation (though in practice it may often have that effect) but to a deeper level of religious participation" (Turner and Turner 1978: 14,15). Dorothea as we learn from Marienwerder intensely focused on the spiritual side of their journey, hers was truly the "faith travel".

On their way back, Dorothea went to a famous hermitage in Finsterwalden, which John of Marienwerder considers to be a village on the Rein which, in fact was a famous Marian sanctuary (Switzerland). That would mean that Adalbert and Dorothea went through Strassburg, Basel, Konstantz, Friedrichshafen up to the Zurich Lake and the Etzel Mountain, and then to the sanctuary, where there was a chapel with many relics. Miracles and apparitions have always been involved in Marian pilgrimage, not to mention miraculous visions. Essential to mysticism is the belief that God intervenes through chosen individuals, who receive "showings" (to use the word of Julian of Norwich). The generic term "vision" includes not only apparitions but also "imaginative visions" usually produced in the imagination during sleep. There is also the category of "intellectual visions" in which the mind perceives a spiritual truth without a sensory image – for example, St. Theresa of Avila's vision of Trinity. Supernatural images accompany pilgrimages, but Dorothea's raptures just like Margery's visions occurred as a result of the pilgrimage.<sup>9</sup> One of the most interesting visions occurred in Gdańsk, in January 1385. John of Marienwerder reports that Dorothea, age 39, experienced her first miracle, the change of heart, or one should rather say, the exchange of heart, not in the

<sup>9</sup> As Atkinson claims, Margery's resemblance to Dorothea is not limited to the circumstances of their lives as middle-class married women with many children. More significant are their shared habits of tears and the emphasis in their lives and writings on tears as evidence of sanctity. Four chapters (28-31) of the Long Latin *Life of Dorothea* are devoted to her tears. Like Margery, Dorothea referred often to the tears of Magdalene which brought the saint forgiveness. She also wept with compassion, compunction, and devotion, the three kinds of "holy tears", as did Margery to whom God said: "tears of compunction, devotion and compassion are the highest and surest gifts that I give on earth" (*The Book*: 23)". Margery at times wept "nearly all day both forenoon and afternoon also" (*The Book*: 20) and "every Good Friday in all the afore said years she was weeping and sobbing five or six hours together" (*The Book*: 128). Modeled on other holy women like Marie de Oigny, Dorothea sees her tears as a gift from God. As she spends long hours in the church she weeps for many hours. Dorothea sometimes wept for herself, sometimes for the people, as did Margery: "sometimes for her won sin, sometimes for the sin of the people, sometimes for the souls in Purgatory, sometimes for them that were in poverty and disease, for she desired to comfort them all" (*The Book*: 12). The description of Dorothea's crying in Canon John's dignified Latin text is more detached (more liturgical and objective) than Margery's account of her own experiences, but the content of the descriptions is similar. Nonetheless, crying confirms intense religiosity and spirituality.

mystical but quite literal physical sense. As John of Marienwerder describes, she was in the church and felt sick. Suddenly Jesus came up to her and took out her old heart and gave her a new one and she instantaneously felt better. The new heart gave her strength to live and the capability to love God even more than before (Marienwerder 1894: 63, 65).

Yet another similarity between Margery and Dorothea is the accusation of heresy. During her trial (which is only scantily mentioned by John of Marienwerder), Dorothea was defended by Father Nicholas of Hohenstein (Mikołaj z Pszczółek) (Kujawska-Komender 1957: 110). He was also the one who suggested that John should be her confessor. The trial and pending gossip might have contributed to Dorothea and Adalbert's decision to sell the rest of their possessions and move to Finsterwalden (Westphal), and Elliot (1999), Webb (2002) talk about Einsiedeln which was a famous Marian shrine. This time, their trip was not a pilgrimage but a true example of exile, although Dorothea wanted to condemn herself both to physical exile as well as spiritual internal exile, as her relationship with her husband worsened. They both set out on that journey in 1385, they traveled nine weeks (and actually spent the next two years abroad (1385-1387)). Robbers and highwaymen, took almost everything they had, which actually was what Dorothea wanted, as she aspired to live on charity, which however did not coincide with her husband's wishes. Adalbert fell ill during their journey but as he regained strength he continued beating his wife. In Finsterwalden, Dorothea made her home, but Adalbert wanted to return to Prussia. And again Marienwerder tells us that at first he agreed that they should separate (and eventually have a spiritual marriage, which was Dorothea's aim) and Dorothea stayed in Finsterwalden, but on the day of his departure he changed his mind and told a priest that Dorothea wanted to desert him. Consequently they both returned to Gdańsk.

Nevertheless, Dorothea managed to obtain the consent for spiritual marriage, which enabled her to increase her penitential practices. Her desired goal was to withdraw from the world while when she was a wife, bound by marital duties, she could not spend her days on prayer. At the same time her ecstasies became more frequent but also more exhausting. She also went on a pilgrimage to the Virgin Mary Church in Koszalin (Kujawska-Komender 1957: 114). Her religious practices were so severe that she became seriously sick. Yet, soon after recovering she started to think about yet another pilgrimage to Rome. This time she joined a group of pilgrims. John of Marienwerder claims that Dorothea did not sleep throughout the entire journey, except for one night when they reached Rome. She stayed in Rome to celebrate the anniversary called for by the Pope, Urban VI (1389-1390). In Rome she spent her days at prayer and again she was had numerous visions. She visiting various churches for eight weeks. However, soon she became sick for a period of about seven weeks. She went to hospital,

but dreamt of going to church and was almost entirely forgotten by her fellow pilgrims.<sup>10</sup> During this entire journey she was withdrawing within herself. Such spiritual excess was dismissed by writers such as Walter Hilton, however, Dorothea's like Margery's understanding of the efficacy of penance is incontrovertibly connected with visiting holy places. As Victor and Edith Turner observe, "pilgrimage is very much involved in this perennial, universal drama, cutting across cultures, societies, politics, language groups and ethnicities. In the uncertainty regarding that drama's climax pilgrimage itself is regarded as a "good work" (1978: 16, 17). Dorothea stayed in Rome until Easter 1390, and then returned to Gdańsk, where she arrived on May 15<sup>th</sup>, on a Sunday. Her husband had just died, which she learned about from a vision.

After his death, Dorothea went from Gdańsk to Kwidzyń to be confessed by Canon John. Dorothea more intently began to travel within herself, concentrating on "interior pilgrimage". She then decided to close her earthly affairs. She sold the rest of her possessions and rented a room at a Teutonic order tertiary, Katarzyna Mulner. At Kwidzyń, Canon John began to write down her confessions, and would only do so during her confession so as to ensure the truthfulness of her account. After a yearly trial, the bishopric decided to build the cell neighboring the Kwidzyń Cathedral. Her new place of abode was ready at the beginning of May 1393 and on May 2<sup>nd</sup>, after the regular procedure, Dorothea was immured and stayed in her cell for 14 months. Her body rested in the Cathedral until the reformation in Prussia. She was attended by Canon John of Marienwerder, who wrote her *Life and Revelations*. In fact he wrote four versions of her story,<sup>11</sup> one soon after her death and three some time later in the service of her canonization. Canon John validated Dorothea's experiences both during her life as well as later.

### Conclusion

Dorothea of Montau was the contemporary of Julian of Norwich, and as is the case of Julian of Norwich she decided to conclude her life in the anchorage. Sainly women frequently fought with their bodies through fasts and vigils but anchorage signifies the denial of human physicality. These women wanted to die to the world either through extreme fast and other penitential practices or through the abnegation of their existence in the world. For Dorothea the cell becomes the real picture of interior Jerusalem, which she built in the course of her

<sup>10</sup> One day she wanted to go to church to see the scarf of St. Veronica, two people had to carry her. They left her on the street claiming that she was too heavy (another hagiographic aspect). She had to learn to walk with the aid of a chair.

<sup>11</sup> Her experiences were recorded by her spiritual director John of Marienwerder in her *Vita* and *Septilium* or *Seven graces* received by Dorothea, and the *Liber de festis*.<sup>11</sup>

pilgrimages inside and outside herself. Dorothea's (similarly to Margery's) life re-captures processional character of medieval culture in which flagellants, kings, queens and convicts were all united under the holy aim of pilgrimage. Solitary expeditions are built around the images of the journeys within, inward pilgrimages, sometimes crowned with withdrawal into the anchorage, and that is certainly the case of Dorothea's inward journey.

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