Scarred and Silenced by Her Spouses: Domestic Violence in *The Life of Dorothea von Montau*

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**ABSTRACT**

Although spousal abuse was common and socially acceptable during the Middle Ages and in female hagiography, confessors and hagiographers increasingly emphasized unnatural asceticism as a means of reliving God and connecting with Him. This paper examines how domestic violence is depicted in Johannes von Marienwerder's German vernacular vita of Dorothea von Montau, a fourteenth-century Prussian mystic and anchoress. Unlike other vitae, *The Life of Dorothea von Montau* presents God as an abusive husband. Dorothea is isolated from the world and defined by her abusive husbands, God and Adalbert. Her story of obedience is turned into evidence of her virtue. By analyzing the control each spouse has over her body and God's reactions to scenes of her suffering, this paper argues that Marienwerder's portrayal of God normalizes domestic violence. Marienwerder glorifies domestic violence to justify Dorothea's sanctity, turning a common problem in medieval households into another necessary trial Dorothea must overcome.

**Keywords:** medieval saint, domestic violence, abuse, wife, women, Middle Ages, mystic
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INTRODUCTION

Adalbert returns home and sees the fresh fish uncleaned. Impatient with his wife’s incompetence, he beats her so hard that her upper lip bleeds and her mouth swells shut. She looks up and smiles pleasantly as the onlookers marvel at her patience. Dorothea von Montau (1347-1394 CE), a fourteenth-century saint, experienced domestic violence just as women in abusive relationships do today. Domestic violence was common in the Middle Ages and in female saints’ lives but has gone unnoticed until the 1960s. However, unlike virgin martyrs and mystics before the fourteenth century, Dorothea von Montau is abused by her holy and earthly spouses: God and Adalbert.

Until recently, scholars have focused on political or criminal conflict instead of domestic disputes in female hagiography. For centuries, domestic violence against women and children has been ignored and justified as "approved corporal punishment." Domestic violence was socially and legally acceptable prior to the mid-1800s; "the actions we now understand to be in this category often signified normative behavior in a

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1 Eva Chang, UCLA Class of 2017, majored in English Literature. In Professor Arvind Thomas’ course on holy women, she became fascinated with how domestic violence is used as a device in female hagiography written in the Late Middle Ages. This paper was adapted from her English 145 research paper and the research poster she presented at UCLA Undergraduate Research Week Poster Day 2017.


3 Ibid.

4 Ibid., 6.
medieval context.”5 The terms domestic violence, domestic abuse, and familial violence are contemporary versions of medieval discipline which was divided into “charitable beatings” that maintained social and familial structures and “sinful beatings” that destroyed it.6 The father or the husband had the authority and right to discipline household members, anyone from servants to his wife.7 Supported by scriptural archetypes, edicts, and proverbial wisdom, “the meting out of household justice” was widely accepted and practiced while abused wives who retaliated or murdered their husbands in self-defense were burned at the stake for homicide and treason.8 Civil and ecclesiastical courts worked to reunite couples, silencing abused women and locking them in a cycle of abuse.9

Medieval readers and hagiographers generally accepted the necessity of moderate and controlled violence, believing in redemption for the victims’ souls and the need to help their abusers redeem themselves.10 Like the violence perpetuated in medieval households and brushed aside by ecclesiastical and legal courts, battered women in hagiography have been silenced by their confessors and readers. Their stories of obedience and endurance of marital rape and beatings are transformed into lessons of patience, humility, and constancy—Christian virtues that lead to a life in heaven.11 Interactions between saints and God in hagiographical lives have changed since physical suffering and wounds gradually became avenues of direct communication with God and spiritual freedom.12 Vitae written in the Early Middle Ages depict God as a spectator, confidant, and

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5 Ibid., 3.
6 Ibid., 3, 9, 6.
7 Ibid., 6.
8 Ibid., 3.
9 Margaret Schaus, Women and Gender in Medieval Europe: An Encyclopedia (Routledge, 2006), 219-220.
10 Salisbury, 22.
11 Ibid., 9, 12.
12 Ibid., 12.
ally as female virgin martyrs are abused by their families and spouses psychologically, physically, emotionally, and sexually. By the Late Middle Ages, God’s role in female hagiography had expanded. He became an active participant, inflicting “his own marks” on Saint Dorothea von Montau.\(^{13}\)

Dorothea von Montau, a Prussian mystic and anchoress, castigates herself for twenty-six years and is regularly abused by her husband Adalbert and God.\(^{14}\) She performs these “holy exercises” from eleven years of age—a year away from experiencing puberty and being of marriageable age—until she becomes an anchoress and is told to stop by God.\(^{15}\) She continues these flagellations secretly while married to Adalbert, hiding her wounds and visions until God orders her to share them with her confessor. Like many hagiographers, Johannes von Marienwerder, Dorothea’s scribe and confessor, recasts domestic violence as another trial to sanctity in *The Life of Dorothea von Montau* for political and financial reasons.\(^{16}\) Although hagiographers’ use of domestic violence to demonstrate a woman’s virtue and justify her sanctity is not unique in medieval hagiography, Marienwerder’s descriptions of wounds, wife-beating, and Dorothea’s abusive spouses are uniquely troubling.

This essay will examine the abusive behavior Dorothea suffers at the hands of her earthly spouse Adalbert and her holy spouse. By comparing and contrasting the control each has over her body and God’s reactions to scenes of her suffering, I will argue that Johannes Marienwerder’s


\(^{14}\) Ibid., 48.

\(^{15}\) Ibid., 61.


portrayal of God normalizes domestic violence in *The Life of Dorothea von Montau*. Marienwerder glorifies domestic violence in the German vernacular vita to justify Dorothea’s sanctity, turning a common problem in medieval households into another necessary trial Dorothea must overcome.

**OPEN WOUNDS AND SPIRITUAL VISIONS**

Recent scholarship has explored the violence Saint Dorothea suffers and the heavenly rewards she receives in exchange for her faith and obedience. In Albrecht Classen’s essay “Wounding the Body and Freeing the Spirit: Dorothea von Montau’s Bloody Quest for Christ, a Late-Medieval Phenomenon of the Extraordinary Kind,” Classen argues that Dorothea no longer needed to hurt herself because years of self-castigations and domestic violence have liberated her soul from its bodily prison.\(^{17}\) Her open wounds have broken “the protective skin” which acts as “a skein that threatens to suffocate the soul” and prevents access to the Godhead.\(^{18}\) Therefore, “healing appears as a threat to her endless efforts to experience a spiritual transformation through her body.”\(^{19}\) The cause or method of breaking the skin and keeping wounds bloody does not matter. Access to God and visions does: “the pain resulting from her wounds made it possible for Dorothea to return to the Godhead whenever she desired.”\(^{20}\) Classen does not make a distinction between Dorothea’s self-castigations and the wounds her spouses created.

In “Violence, Isolation, and Anchoritic Preparation: Dorothy of Montau, Anchoress of Marienwerder,” Michelle M. Sauer addresses domestic abuse prevalent during Dorothea’s sexually active years and explains how

\(^{17}\) Classen, 436.  
\(^{18}\) Classen, 437.  
\(^{19}\) Ibid.  
\(^{20}\) Ibid.
Dorothea is conditioned to accept abuse. Sauer argues that “since [Dorothea] has come to associate physical abuse with spousely affection, she recognizes God as her true spouse only through such behavior.” Although Dorothea may have unconsciously accepted physical abuse as a sign of spousal affection, God wounds Dorothea before Adalbert ever lays his hands on her.

Classen’s essay demonstrates how Dorothea experiences visions and bliss after she smiles through Adalbert’s abuse. Therefore, Dorothea’s husband Adalbert is another “painful exercise” in her pursuit of sanctity. Adalbert’s abusive ways are supposed to be tolerated since they create new wounds on Dorothea’s skin. Dorothea also must face his blows because God wanted her to:

God the Lord drove and commanded her like a laboring beast is driven to torment herself in this manner and in so doing without tarrying should move ahead to traverse the road towards eternal bliss from one painful exercise to the next... so that she would enjoy little respite. And whenever she desired to rest for a moment and refresh her tired limbs or ease her wounds, the Lord seemed to manifest himself to her by driving her with blows, admonishing her to return to work, castigations, and vigils.

Dorothea interprets the physical and sexual abuse she experiences as another “painful exercise” or “labor.” Not only is it a problematic and overly simple interpretation of the physical abuse and marital rape for the lay audience Marienwerder is writing to, Dorothea’s obedience and servitude to Adalbert are approved by God. He pushes her to react and not act in the face of danger. With little choice or will, Dorothea is driven like a “laboring beast” and reprimanded with blows from God. Because Dorothea is supposed to test her patience, virtue, and obedience, the end

22 Ibid., 143.
23 Marienwerder, 63.
24 Ibid.
25 Ibid.
26 Ibid.
justifies the means. An uncanny mirror of Adalbert’s treatment, God’s behavior and involvement in Dorothea’s trials normalize Dorothea’s passivity and Adalbert’s unjustified aggression. Minimized and celebrated, violence in Dorothea’s marriage becomes a model of expected behavior from one’s spouse.

Adalbert is depicted as another tool for Dorothea to reach heaven. Marienwerder argues that Dorothea remained a chaste virgin in spirit and excuses her temporal marriage: “Therefore it is well to consider that not through blind circumstance but through God’s ordinance the beloved bride of God Dorothea was betrothed to a human bridegroom.”27 Openly trying to excuse Dorothea’s marriage, Marienwerder is trying to “overcome the drawbacks of Dorothy’s case for sainthood: she was married, she was an accused heretic, and she was (supposedly) insolent.”28 Although it is a political maneuver by Marienwerder, abusive husbands recast as projects meant to be reformed and saved are not unique in the Middle Ages or the modern world.29 This manipulated portrait of Adalbert and Dorothea’s marriage leads to other lies with equally disastrous consequences. “Furthermore, married life was helpful to the blessed Dorothea insofar as she became all the more humble through the heavy load of conjugal burdens, and God was praised even more highly in the fruit her married life brought forth.”30 Marienwerder turns another drawback into a necessary obstacle: by showing how Dorothea never submits to lust despite paying the conjugal debt, he aligns her spiritual virginity to that of virgin martyrs. Because she is tested by the devil every time Adalbert expects her to fulfill her marital obligations, her fortitude is supposedly stronger than virgin martyrs who were not tested regularly and under no pressure to please their husbands in bed. However, this depiction means the marital rape and abuse in Dorothea and Adalbert’s marriage are also

27 Marienwerder, 57.
28 Sauer, 137.
29 Schaus, 221.
30 Marienwerder, 57.
“helpful” to Dorothea. Her predictable acceptance of Adalbert’s unjustified violence is praised by Marienwerder: “Even if someone offered her something evil instead of something good, she received it without sadness or sorrow, as she certainly demonstrated during her marriage.”

Marienwerder presents Dorothea as a faithful, virtuous wife to Adalbert, yet she seems to be aware of her pending sainthood and the exchange she has with God.

In addition to pressuring Dorothea to submit to an abusive husband, God forces Dorothea to laugh and lose one of the few chances she had to leave her earthly spouse. Instead of supporting her and helping her escape, God makes her stay and suffer longer. Adalbert and Dorothea originally agreed that Dorothea would remain in Finsterwald while he and their daughter would return to Prussia. Seconds before she secures her freedom in a letter from the priest, God inspires laughter, effectively ruining her hopes of staying and begging for bread:

While they were waiting for him to arrive, Dorothea was at her prayers, and it was most pleasing to her that she should remain there in misery, far from her worldly friends. Then God granted her such overflowing spiritual desire that she could not contain herself; she had to laugh out loud for joy and happiness... At that moment she thought that she had never before felt such inexpressible joy and desire for divine grace. But while her husband waited for the priest and she was so richly showered with God’s gifts, he changed his mind and regretted having granted her this freedom.

Of all the times God could have comforted Dorothea, He chooses the worst moment to make her laugh. Adalbert then misunderstands Dorothea’s laughter and changes his mind. This sequence of events proves that God is unsatisfied with Dorothea’s level of suffering and extends it. His direct manipulation is telling. Dorothea remains pure through her faithfulness and obedience to Adalbert while God—not the devil—redirects his petty involvement as a “gift” to Dorothea but inspires jealousy from Adalbert.

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31 Marienwerder, 43.
32 Marienwerder, 96.
This intervention serves to further isolate Dorothea from the world and prove her worthiness as an anchoress and saint during her marriage.

Similarly, Adalbert’s unremarkable death is glossed over even though it frees Dorothea from her legal marriage. Physically and socially isolated long before she is locked into a cell, Dorothea is allowed to become an anchoress due to his timely death. Marienwerder foreshadows her limitations and freedom before the exchange of hearts in Book 2: “The sanctity of marriage, which means the impossibility of separation, was evident in their union, for no human being but God himself severed the bond of matrimony between them through death.”

Because Marienwerder reminds his lay audience of this well-known fact, it appears that Adalbert died because he is no longer useful to God. His death proves that Dorothea has already proved herself to God. Therefore, Adalbert had to die for Dorothea to move into a cell and live only to serve God. It is only when she decides to move into a cell that God promises, “When you move into your cell, I will remove much of your misery.” This demonstrates how God not only approves of the wounds Adalbert inflicts upon Dorothea, He uses Adalbert to wound Dorothea.

God insists that she obey Adalbert yet later claims her as His possession. Married to God long before Adalbert’s death, Dorothea obeys her earthly husband as long as it does not interfere with the few moments she has with her holy spouse. Whenever she gets lost in visions, bliss, rapture, or ecstasy she forgets to do her chores and is then punished by Adalbert for her negligence. This cycle becomes repetitive in the German vita, but God breaks it once for Dorothea’s sake.

She was removed from external things and filled internally with intense love and sweetness through the grace of Our Lord and therefore refused to alight the wagon when her husband called and ordered her to do so for she thought it more appropriate to listen to

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33 Marienwerder, 60.
34 Marienwerder, 148.
what God said to her than to extricate herself from God’s dalliance at the behest of her earthly husband and be encumbered with external matters. As she hesitated, her husband became grimly infuriated and threw a tantrum over her disobedience. She became frightened by this and begged God to advise her whether or not it would be permissible for her to remain with him and to defy her husband’s command. Thereupon Our sweet Jesus answered her, saying: ‘Extricate yourself at once from my delightful dalliance and be obedient to your husband’s wishes.’ When she heard this, she climbed down from the wagon, despondent because she had to forego her delightful dalliance with Our God. And this she had to do often, both before and afterwards, to obey her husband, serve him faithfully, and receive hard knocks while serving his needs, for well-observed obedience is more pleasing to God than sacrifices.35

While God breaks this cycle of abuse to protect Dorothea, she is usually forgetful and negligent in household matters thanks to His untimely visions and ecstasy. He orders her to extricate herself as if she has the choice and power to ignore His presence and “delightful dalliance.” Caught between two spouses, Dorothea refuses to listen to Adalbert and asks God for permission to be defiant. Dorothea’s submission to Adalbert pleases Him because it is ultimately a demonstration of her humility and obedience to Him and not to Adalbert.36

The language and tantrum used to describe Adalbert’s insecurity reappear when God reprimands Dorothea for breaking His rules for anchorites. Dorothea is ignored by Mary and her child for “having conversed without asking their permission.”37 The Lord teaches her: “How could you talk to people without my permission? … I have drawn you to me, away from the world. Do you now want to draw the world to you and speak to all sorts of people?”38 He sounds extremely possessive and focuses on what He has done for her, suggesting that she prefers the world over Him. The limitations imposed on Dorothea’s speech as an anchoress are very similar

35 Marienwerder, 104-105.
36 Marienwerder, 174.
37 Marienwerder, 158.
38 Marienwerder, 159.
to those as Adalbert’s wife. “You shall live chastely in your cell, busy day and night to please no one but me. You shall live as a wife who has a strict, harsh husband because of whom she never dares to leave their house.”

The language God uses mirrors Adalbert’s beatings and verbal abuse: both sound like jealous lovers competing for attention. This may be a deliberate attempt by Marienwerder to downplay Adalbert’s abuse, yet it backfires and draws attention to Dorothea’s ready submission to all the men in her life.

In contrast, Dorothea is silent or unconscious through most of her beatings by Adalbert and wound creation by God. Her holy spouse renews and opens wounds on her body as “symbols of their inseparable love”: “As she fell asleep, he impressed one, two, four, six, or eight wounds at once and so rapidly that she herself was unable to state the number of the wounds with which Christ had endowed her body.” Because this occurs before her marriage, Dorothea may have learned to accept wounds regardless of how they were created. It is strange that He takes advantage of her while she is semi-unconscious and vulnerable. Waking up to see innumerable wounds may have warped her acceptance of violence from loved ones. These wounds from her holy bridegroom limited her mobility and sometimes confined her to bed, drawing her away from the world and to Him.

Unlike the Lord’s precise but secretive wounds, Adalbert’s physical abuse is more chaotic and originates from his external needs not being met. Since she refuses to sleep with him, Adalbert beats Dorothea for the first time.

For three days he kept the honorable housewife Dorothea fettered and in chains, a prisoner in his house. But she interposed the spiritual shield of patience and thus deflected the grim volleys,

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39 Marienwerder, 151.
40 Marienwerder, 49.
41 Marienwerder, 49, 51.
strokes of anger, and curses and endured them without complaint or counter argument so that her husband, mistaking her holy patience and silence for defiance and arrogance, severely beat her on the head with a chair.\textsuperscript{42}

Although her holy patience and silence are signs of her humility and obedience, Dorothea is beaten for being virtuous. Here, she chooses to be silent. In later episodes of domestic abuse, Adalbert’s beatings forcefully silence Dorothea. After she gets lost in contemplation and forgets to prepare fish quickly, Adalbert “beat her so severely on the mouth that her upper lip was cut badly by the teeth. Her mouth swelled shut hideously, which disfigured her greatly... [she] smiled at him pleasantly and affectionately.”\textsuperscript{43} Lost in ecstasy, she forgets to buy straw and returns home from the market.\textsuperscript{44} Adalbert “hit her so hard on the chest that blood shot out of her mouth and she kept spitting blood with her saliva for many days afterwards.”\textsuperscript{45} Because he hits her on the head, face, and chest, his anger is very personal yet publicly displayed on her face. Adalbert does not care that everyone can see signs of his abuse. However, Dorothea needs people to see these marks; their witness accounts and approval of her patience all contribute to her reputation as a virtuous wife. Her silence and “disfigured” face highlight Adalbert’s freedom and power to speak in his household.

Although she is “so greatly preoccupied with the Lord that she was unmindful and forgetful of external things,” the Lord does not appear or assist Dorothea as Adalbert beats her in Gdansk.\textsuperscript{46} He chooses to be silent but later claims to have protected her. In the last two years of her life, Dorothea, with permission from the Lord, tells Marienwerder about Adalbert’s abusive behavior in Gdansk. The Lord immediately wounds her

\textsuperscript{42} Marienwerder, 66.
\textsuperscript{43} Marienwerder, 100-101.
\textsuperscript{44} Marienwerder, 101.
\textsuperscript{45} Marienwerder, 101.
\textsuperscript{46} Marienwerder, 101-102.
“with many arrows of love and ignited her with hot, burning love” and says:

You must love me greatly, for I have so often pulled you away from your husband; while he was still alive and thought he possessed you, I drew you and possessed you. It is appropriate for you to speak highly of me for I have helped you, often without your knowing it, and have come to your assistance throughout your life, which was full of pain and torment. Now weep heartily and thank me profusely.47

Since Dorothea already loves her holy bridegroom and is about to pass away from heartbreaking divine love, His orders seem unnecessary and selfishly human. He owns up to creating conflict in her marriage but exaggerates his assistance. After all, He allows Adalbert to control Dorothea for over twenty years. Dorothea’s silence is not only forced upon her, she is expected to be silent and therefore, submissive throughout her life. Like her marriage with Adalbert, she rarely speaks her mind as an anchoress. Even though she shares her past, Dorothea’s present feelings and opinions are rarely shared with her confessors. Dorothea seems to have associated silence with obedience and humility. Instead, she acts as a messenger between God and her two confessors, relaying His messages and His interpretations of her life.

CONCLUSION

Through these examples of ownership, silence, and possessive behavior, it has been contended that Marienwerder’s depiction of God normalizes domestic violence. Because Dorothea is socially isolated and rewarded with bliss or divine communication after these episodes, abusive, dominating husbands are essential to Dorothea’s spiritual journey. Marienwerder justifies her temporal marriage by portraying scenes of domestic violence as necessary obstacles for a married mystic like Dorothea. After all, she learns to be silent and accepting of wounds from

47 Marienwerder, 102.
Him. These repetitive cycles of abuse—drawn out for hundreds of pages in a popular vernacular vita—may have lasting social implications for lay audience in the Late Middle Ages and beyond: they reinforce patriarchal views of women’s bodies, voices, and virtue by exemplifying what acceptable corporal punishment is and how men should teach their wives and daughters. Understanding how Dorothea is recast as a patient and virtuous wife by Marienwerder allows us to think about domestic violence in the Middle Ages as a powerful yet oppressive narrative tool in late medieval texts, how domestic violence has been ingrained in the Catholic church, and its enduring influence on the modern world.

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