

Building a Center of Pilgrimage: St. Elisabethkirche in Marburg and Indulgence in the Thirteenth Century*

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Abstract

In medieval Europe, the building of a pilgrimage center often necessitated a campaign to raise funds to finance its construction, and it was supported by the church and secular authorities. Thus, pilgrimages are a classic problem in politics and economy. Nevertheless, a growing interest in the construction of sacred spaces (the so-called *inecclesiament*) has prompted a need to consider this issue from the perspective of spirituality. This study examined the dynamics that were involved in the construction of a pilgrimage center, St. Elisabethkirche, in thirteenth-century Marburg, Germany, which had been compared to the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela in Spain. As one of the oldest Gothic churches in Germany, St. Elisabethkirche was built by the Teutonic Order in the late thirteenth century against much financial and political difficulties. The building process was examined based on two sources. First, indulgence letters revealed that the papal curia was keener on the project of the Teutonic Order than the Archbishop of Mainz. Second, in response to the indulgence letters, donation charters revealed that more women donated their property to the Teutonic Order, and this observation was also made in the neighboring areas of Marburg. Consequently, these findings implied that visibility was an important factor that contributed to the construction of religious spaces.

Key Words

Medieval Germany, pilgrimage, indulgence, St. Elisabethkirche in Marburg

I

In medieval Europe, a pilgrimage was not only viewed as a journey to a holy site, but it was also seen as a metaphor for life¹⁾. Hence, besides being a religious destination, a pilgrimage center was also perceived as a halfway point between heaven and earth, with its construction requiring significant attention. This study examined the building of St. Elisabethkirche, a pilgrimage center in Marburg, Germany, which had been compared to the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela in the late Middle Ages. St. Elisabethkirche has been the subject of many systematic investigations to art history and archaeology. Recent studies have revealed that the details in the image of its patron saint and its treasury of motifs were aimed at promoting spiritual growth in lay piety²⁾. To evaluate their efficacy among believers, it is necessary to address their impact on pilgrims, in terms of how people learned about Marburg and practiced their beliefs. Besides the construction of the church, this study also examined its impact on the surrounding areas of Marburg. Through this case study of St. Elisabethkirche, a deeper insight into the distinguishing features of medieval Germany can be gleaned, including the establishment of religious and economic networks.

II

St. Elisabethkirche is one of the oldest Gothic churches in Germany, known for its stained-glass windows and golden shrine which depict the life of Saint Elisabeth of Thuringia (1207–1231)³⁾. In the first half of the thirteenth century, the motifs illustrated her as a pious widow, a caregiver of the sick, and a generous woman. The figure of Saint Francis of Assisi in one

of the windows indicates that poverty was also her primary virtue.

Elisabeth, a Hungarian princess by birth, was pious since childhood. She became the Landgravine of Thuringia by marriage and bore three children. After her husband, Landgrave Ludwig IV, died in a crusade, she left the court to take up residence in a hospital in Marburg, where St. Elisabethkirche now stands. Until her passing at the age of 24, she served the poor and sick, and devoted her life to performing charitable acts while living in poverty⁴. Against the background of her apostolic life, she gained widespread admiration. Five years after her death, she was canonized by Pope Gregory IX in 1235⁵.

Although her canonization process was a brisk affair, it was well documented by extant records which highlight three features. First, even before her canonization, Marburg was thronged by a huge number of her followers from Belgium and the Netherlands. During the thirteenth century, religious institutions that venerated her as a patron saint spread across Europe⁶. Second, the Thuringian Landgrave and the Teutonic Order intervened between 1232 to 1235. After the assassination of Conrad of Marburg, who had initiated the canonization process, the Landgrave urged the pope to canonize her, presumably for political purposes. Owing to its close relationship with the Landgraviate, the Teutonic Order and its grand master, Hermann of Salza who was thought to have originated from this area acted as mediator. Finally, the Landgrave entered the Teutonic Order⁷.

Unlike the prodigious amount of records that documented the canonization process, few were found on pilgrimages in the second half of the thirteenth century. Founded as a military society, it was not considered unusual for the Teutonic Order to not maintain a record on pilgrimages⁸. Previous studies

have repeatedly pointed out the contradiction between this finding and Elisabeth's sainthood⁹. As the war in the Holy Land escalated, the Teutonic Order made serious efforts to relocate itself to the Baltic region¹⁰. In spite of these difficulties, it remained part of the cult of Saint Elisabeth and requested Caesarius of Heisterbach, a Cistercian hagiographer, to write her biography shortly after she was translated. Against this backstory, how does one evaluate the construction of St. Elisabethkirche?

Among historians, the consensus is that St. Elisabethkirche had failed as a pilgrimage center because it brought fewer economic benefits to the Teutonic Order than other sources of income in the late Middle Ages¹¹. However, a closer examination of its construction uncovered the following findings. A papal letter revealed that the Teutonic Order had commenced construction on St. Elisabethkirche at around the time of her canonization. The east wing was completed in 1243; however, construction of the nave ceased in 1248. Approximately 15 years later, the Teutonic Order reopened the construction. On May 1st, 1283, the main structure of the church was completed and dedicated. Moreover, construction of the remainder of the church building continued in the following century¹². Hence, it is vital to emphasize that St. Elisabethkirche held enough importance for the Teutonic Order to resume its construction in the thirteenth century.

Although the financial aspects of the construction project remained unclear, it clearly required considerable expenditure, which was demonstrated by the remarkable mausoleum. In order to address the question of how the Teutonic Order had managed to finance the construction of St. Elisabethkirche, it is necessary to estimate its impact on the religious space that surrounded Marburg. Specifically, during its construction, how

did it expand its sociocultural influence, and how did the residents respond to this development? This study examined the indulgence letters that were related to St. Elisabethkirche and the charters that were addressed to the Teutonic Order between 1230s to 1280s. Based on their issuers, the sources were divided into two groups: church authority and the laity. This approach is useful for gaining an understanding of the expansion of church space into its current dimensions and the distribution of its followers.

III

This section examines the indulgences and charters that were granted by the clergy. Indulgence is an effective means to nudge an impulse toward religious practices. Theoretically, through penitential practice or benefaction, it could help to offset penances in the purgatory¹³⁾. While indulgences peaked in the late Middle Ages, their skillful use by the Teutonic Order occurred in the thirteenth century. In his comprehensive study of the indulgences that were granted to the Teutonic Order, Ehler demonstrated that it was common to use indulgence as a means to encourage donations to finance the construction of church buildings¹⁴⁾. St. Elisabethkirche's Collection of Indulgences is a typical example of such a practice. Ballai Marburg—the house that initiated the construction of the church—received 83 indulgence letters that were related to St. Elisabethkirche, 68 of which were issued during the period under discussion¹⁵⁾.

In Figure 1, the trend of indulgence letters that were issued in every decade is shown. Unsurprisingly, the dedication of the church had caused a sharp rise in indulgence letters in the 1280s, however, a careful examination of 1250s is needed. Although construction of St. Elisabethkirche had ceased,

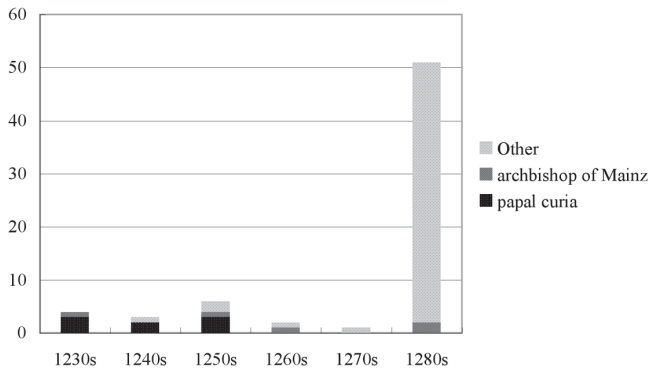


Figure 1 Indulgence for Elisabethkirche

Ballai Marburg was the second highest recipient of indulgence letters from the papal curia, the Archbishop of Mainz, and other prelates. This important finding is attributed to the practice of remission. Usually, cardinals can grant 100 days; for archbishops and bishops, this number was 40 days. For St. Elisabethkirche, the standard remission was also 40 days¹⁶⁾. However, in the later part of the decade, the remission period was extended after Pope Alexander IV and the former Bishop of Olmütz granted 100 days and a year and 80 days, respectively, to visit St. Elisabethkirche on specific dates¹⁷⁾. This extension in the remission period corresponded to an acceleration in the pace of construction of the church building. It was likely that the papal curia was keener on St. Elisabethkirche than the Archbishop of Mainz was. While the archbishop issued one letter to the Hospital in Marburg, Pope Alexander and the papal legate, Hugo, issued three letters to St. Elisabethkirche¹⁸⁾. This difference was attributed to the tensions that existed between the archbishop and the Teutonic Order. First, owing to their antagonism toward Landgrave Thuringia, successive archbishops did not support Saint Elisabeth's

canonization¹⁹⁾. Second, the Archbishop of Mainz had lodged a complaint against the Teutonic Order. In his indulgence letter (written in 1254) concerning the hospital in Marburg, he accused the Order of having “taken the opportunity to build up, and no proper resources are available for the completion of the said hospital²⁰⁾. Pope Alexander, not only urged followers who had yet to fulfill their vows to visit the saint’s grave, but he also encouraged prelates in Austria to contribute to the building of St. Elisabethkirche²¹⁾.

In the following decade, a lack of building funds created further conflicts. Although the archbishop forbade donations of the patron rights of the church to the diocese council, the Teutonic Order continued to receive such donations after it was given an exemption by Pope Urban IV²²⁾. Consequently, the Pope could support the Teutonic Order without antagonizing the archbishop. These documents clearly demonstrated a strong dependency by the Teutonic Order on papal curia to raise the funds needed to build St. Elisabethkirche.

The 1260s and 1270s witnessed fewer indulgence letters, with these investigated in more detail in the following section. As aforementioned, there was a flood of letters in the 1280s, beginning in 1282. There were 15 letters that appealed for donations to the church dedication ceremony, and another 12 letters that urged a visit to St. Elisabethkirche on the anniversary of its dedication²³⁾. After this decade, the letters mainly called for pilgrimages to the church. After 1290, indulgence letters that pertained to its construction ceased.

A crucial finding of this survey of indulgence letters is that the 1250s were instrumental to an understanding of the attitude of the prelates toward St.

Elisabethkirche when its construction was halted. Through a combination of pilgrimages and donations, the papal curia and bishops — with the exception of the Archbishop of Mainz — provided financial support to the Teutonic Order. The archbishop had adopted an ambivalent attitude, only gaining indulgence letters for important religious ceremonies, and other documents indicated his passivity²⁴⁾. An examination of the responses to these letters have revealed his concern about them.

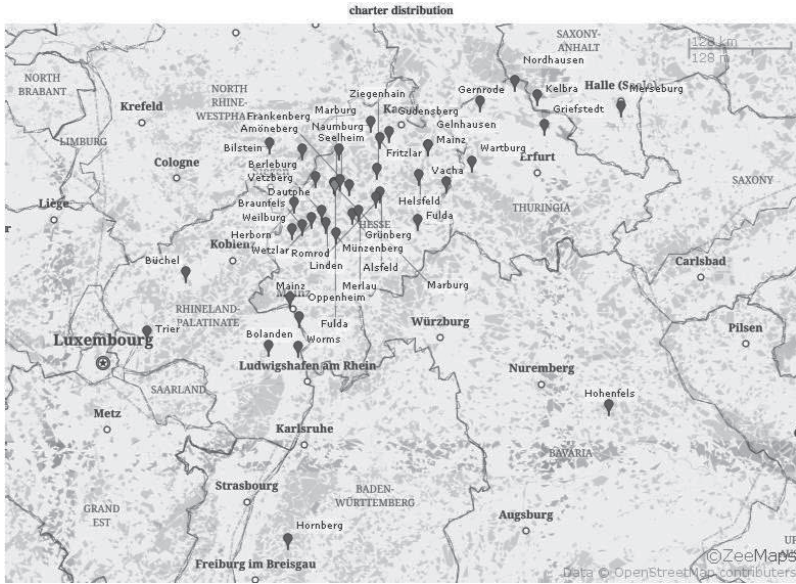
IV

In order to understand the impact of indulgence letters, the charters of Ballai Marburg were analyzed. Instead of using the pilgrims' records, this analysis focused on the collection that was published by Wyss in 1965²⁵⁾. The charters revealed how the Teutonic Order developed its reach and established its authority through economic and legal activities.

Between 1230 and 1289, 481 documents were published. Of these, 297 related to the disposition of property, such as land, water mills, patron rights of the church, and the right to collect taxes and labor. A total of 128 charters mentioned the locations where they were granted, and their distribution is shown in Figure 2. Amöneberg and Alsfeld, near Marburg, appeared in over 10% of the charters. Other locations were dispersed throughout the diocese of Mainz and other dioceses, such as the bishoprics Naumburg, Halberstadt, and Spyer. The names of these places suggested the wide reach of the Teutonic Order and the extent of its influence.

A trend in donations is shown in Figure 3, revealing that they nearly doubled in the 1260s before peaking in the 1270s, with their increase can be attributed to earlier indulgence campaigns. Interestingly, more donors were

Building a Center of Pilgrimage



Source: <https://zeemapstaticimages.s3.amazonaws.com/ZeeMap-4398777f8bc4620e5a188b4c1c1ce0.pdf>

Figure 2 Distribution of Charter

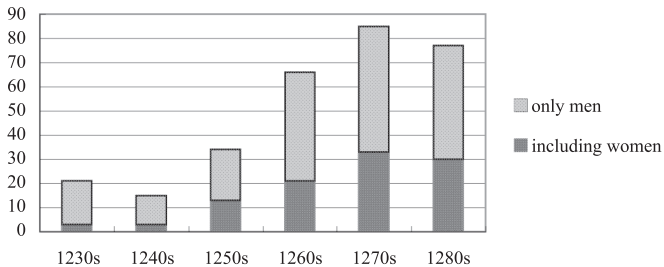


Figure 3 Donation to Elisabethkirche

women, as indicated by the darker areas in the graph. In the 1240s, most depositions were made by men, except for a few women, such as Sophia, the

Duchess of Brabant and a daughter of Saint Elisabeth²⁶⁾. In the 1250s, more women had become donors and by the 1270s, they accounted for approximately one-third of all donors. The charters revealed only privileged women who could donate their estates, however, as shown in the Appendix, they hailed from various social backgrounds such as abbesses, countesses, wives of knights, civilians, and beguines. A considerable volume of donations was also made by knights and civilians in Amöneberg and Alsfeld.

By the latter half of the thirteenth century, the Ballai Marburg of the Teutonic Order had established its religious authority and attracted female donors. Consequently, it was possible to establish that the relationship that existed between the Teutonic Order with the donors was attributed to Saint Elisabeth and the construction of St. Elisabethkirche.

V

In conclusion, I would like to emphasize that St. Elisabethkirche in Marburg was planned as a pilgrimage center to venerate Saint Elisabeth. To better understand its establishment as a religious site, this study examined the indulgence letters and charters of Ballai Marburg between the canonization of Elisabeth and the dedication of the church. The Teutonic Order received numerous indulgence letters that were addressed to pilgrims appealing for donations for Ballai to overcome its financial difficulties, who responded by donating their property.

Although the Teutonic Order clashed with the Archbishop of Mainz over their territorial and religious authorities, it received considerable support from the papal curia in the early stages of their conflict, and subsequently from the neighboring bishops and laity who contributed to the building of St.

Elisabethkirche. Eventually, the Teutonic Order appeared to have reached a pragmatic compromise with the Archbishop by becoming indulged only at important ceremonies, which further proved the geographical expansion of the cult of Saint Elisabeth.

Another striking finding was that women from various backgrounds— not just those from the aristocracy— chose to donate their property to either the Teutonic Order or St. Elisabethkirche. This phenomenon emerged after the construction of St. Elisabethkirche was interrupted for a lengthy period of time. It was well known that Saint Elisabeth attracted devout female followers across Europe who, like her, lived lives of poverty. Based on an examination of the charters, this study has demonstrated that St. Elisabethkirche fascinated women, particularly those who lived near Marburg, substantiating a diversification of cults in terms of social rank.

These findings indicate that St. Elisabethkirche, which appeared as a material substance in its visibility, contributed to the construction of religious sites. The building of the church created a pilgrimage center, drawing people from near and far, and thus cultivating new followers of the saint. As of the end of the thirteenth century, what this construction project contributed to the Teutonic Order was bond with the prelates and one with local women. More research is required to examine thier long-term influence on the spirituality in this area.

- * This study is based on “Building a Center of Pilgrimage: St. Elisabethkirche in Marburg and the Indulgence in the Thirteenth Century” at the International Medieval Congress in Leeds on July 4th, 2023.

Notes

- 1) Swanson, R. N., *Religion and Devotion in Europe, c. 1215–c. 1515*, Cambridge, 1995, p. 191.
- 2) Reudenbach, B., “Kopf, Arm und Leib: Reliquien und Reliquiare der heiligen Elisabeth”, Blume, D., M. Werner (eds.), *Elisabeth von Thüringen: Eine europäische Heilige, Katalog*, Petersberg, 2007, pp. 193–202; Dinkler-von Schubert, E., “Der Elisabethschrein zu Marburg”, Meyer, A. (ed.), *Elisabeth und keine Ende ...: Zum Nachleben der heiligen Elisabeth von Thüringen*, Leipzig, 2012, pp. 89–108; Amedeck, R., “Die Edelsteine des Elisabethschreines: Fürstlicher Schmuck eines Reliquiars”, *Ibid.*, pp. 109–133.
- 3) Anette K., “Das Marburger Fenster”, Blume, D., M. Werner (eds.), *op. cit.*, pp. 234–238.
- 4) Reber, O., *Elisabeth von Thüringen: Landgräfin und Heilige: Eine Biografie*, Regensburg, 2006.
- 5) Leinweber, J., “Das kirchliche Heiligsprechungsverfahren bis zum Jahre 1234: Der Kanonisationprozess der hl. Elisabeth von Thüringen”, *Sankt Elisabeth*, pp. 128–136; Walther, H. A., “Der ‘Fall Elisabeth’ an der Kurie: Das Heiligsprechungsverfahren im Wandel des kanonischen Prozessrechts unter Papst Gregor IX (1227–1241)”, Blume D., M. Werner (eds.), *op. cit.*, pp. 177–186.
- 6) Werner, M., “Mater Hasiae – Flos Ungariae – Gloria Teutoniae: Politik und Heiligenverehrung im Nachleben der hl. Elisabeth von Thüringen”, Petersohn, J. (ed.), *Politik und Heiligenverehrung im Hochmittelalter* (Vorträge und Forschungen, 42), Sigmaringen, 1994, pp. 468–484.
- 7) Bookemann, H., “Die Anfänge des Deutschen Ordens in Marburg und die frühe Ordensgeschichte”, *Sankt Elisabeth*, pp. 137–150; Bookemann, H., *Der Deutsche Orden: Zwölf Kapitel aus seiner Geschichte*, München, 1989. Conrad of Thuringia entered the Teutonic Order to succeed Hermann of Salza, but he died in 1240.
- 8) Ehler has pointed out their poor technique in forging papal indulgence letters. Ehler, A., *Die Ablasspraxis des Deutschen Ordens im Mittelalter* (Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens, 64), Marburg, 2007, pp. 292–293.
- 9) For example, Werner, M., “Elisabeth von Thüringen, Franziskus von Assisi und Konrad von Marburg”, Blume, D., M. Werner (eds.), *op. cit.*, pp. 109–135. According to Werner, a lesser emphasis on poverty in her sainthood was

attributed to the Teutonic Order.

- 10) Spense, R., “Pope Gregory IX and the Crusade on the Baltic”, *The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. 69, 1983, pp. 1–19; Arnold, U. (ed.), *Stadt und Orden: Das Verhältnis des Deutschen Orden zu den Städten in Livland, Preußen und im Deutschen Reich* (Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens, 44; Veröffentlichungen der Internationalen historischen Kommission zur Erforschung des Deutschen Ordens, 4), Marburg, 1993; Baranov, A., “Die Frühzeit des Deutschen Ordens in Livland und die Eroberung Kurlands: ein peripheres Tätigkeitsfeld?” Selart A., M. Thumser (eds.), *Livland: eine Region am Ende der Welt? Forschungen zum Verhältnis zwischen Zentrum und Peripherie im spätem Mittelalter* (Quellen und Studien zur baltischen Geschichte, 27), Cologne, Weimar, Vienna, 2017, pp. 315–345; Hermann, C., B. Aldenhoff (eds.), *Livland im Mittelalter: Geschichte und Architektur*, Petersberg, 2022.
- 11) Werner, M., “Die Heilige Elisabeth und die Anfänge des Deutschen Ordens in Marburg”, Dettmering, E., R. Grenz (eds.), *Marburger Geschichte*, Marburg, 1980, p. 160. While Demandt gave a negative evaluation, Brückner provided the opposite.
- 12) Werner, *Ibid.*, pp. 155–160.
- 13) Swanson, R. N., *Promissory Notes on the Treasury of Merits. Indulgences in Late Medieval Europe*, Leiden, 2006.
- 14) Ehler, *op. cit.*
- 15) *Ibid.*, pp. 438–450.
- 16) *Ibid.*, p. 123.
- 17) *Ibid.*, p. 440 (No. 4811, 4812).
- 18) The papal curia granted indulgence letters in 1252 (No. 4808), 1253 (No. 4809), and 1257/58? (No. 4810), while the Archbishop of Mainz did so in 1257 (No. 4812) as its second issuer.
- 19) Schwind, F., “Die Landgrafschaft Thüringen und der landgrafliche Hof zur Zeit der Elisabeth”, *Sankt Elisabeth*, pp. 29–44; Gatz, E., C. Brodkorb (eds.), *Die Bischöfe des Heiligen Römischen Reiches 1998 bis 1448: Ein biographisches Lexikon*, Berlin, 2001, pp. 395–406.
- 20) Wyss, A. (ed.), *Hessisches Urkundenbuch* (Urkundenbuch der Deutschenordens-Ballei Hessen, 1), Osnabrück, 1965, p. 101 (No. 125). “Cum igitur fraters domus Theutonice nostre dtocesis apud Marburch ad sustentationem pauperum et

egenorum ad eundem locum confluentium hospitale de novo ceperint edificare
nec proprie facultates supetant ad consummationem dicti hospitalis ...”

- 21) *Ibid.*, p. 122 (No. 158).
- 22) *Ibid.*, pp. 142–143 (No. 185).
- 23) Ehler, *op. cit.*, pp. 441–443. Donations to the church dedication ceremony, Nos. 4816–4824, Nos. 4826–4829; visit St. Elisabethkirche, Nos. 4831–4842.
- 24) The Archbishop of Mainz granted indulgence letters in 1238, 1257, 1266, 1282, and 1283. Basically, he granted no more than 40 days of remission.
- 25) Wyss, *op. cit.*, pp. 17–379. As the following paragraph shows, the charters between 1230–1289 (No. 19–503).
- 26) *Ibid.*, pp. 76–78 (No. 86–88). These donations were made for the salvation of the late Duke Heinrich of Branant by his widow, Sophia, in 1248.

Appendix: Female Donors to St. Elisabethkirche between 1230–1289
(Appearance in the Chronological Order)

Metilda, Countess of Nassau (1231)
Nunnery Ahneberg (1234)
Paulina, wife of Knight Otto of Oppenheim (1239)
Sophia, Duchess of Brabant (1248 (Mar., Apr., Jun.), 1250 (Feb., May), 1258 (Apr., Oct.), 1265 (Sep., Dec.), 1270)
Hildegunde of Fronhausen, citizen in Marburg (1250)
Adelheid of Gilsa (1250)
Bertha, wife of Knight Rupert of Rossdorf (1252, 1260, 1267)
Mechtildis of Schröck (1252)
Gisela, wife of Hertricus (1252)
Nunnery Hachborn (1252)
Mechthild of Weilburg, wife of Heinrich (1254)
Wife of Guntram of Schweinsberg (1257)
Adelheid, widow of Sibodo (1257)
Kunigunde, citizen in Marburg, Herman Zöller's one of the successors (1260)
Bertha of Schwienberg (1260)
Hedwig of Seebach (1261)
Kunigunde, Countess of Wertheim (1261)
Mechtild of Bleichenbach (1261)
Mechthild, wife of Knight Bruno of Gerwigheim (1262)
Gertrude, wife of Knight Gumpert Hobeheer (1263, 1265, 1278)
Gertrude, wife of Knight Eckhard of Liederbach (1263)
Lukardis, wife of Knight Walther of Nordecke (1267 (Jun., 16 and 23 Dec.), 1276, 1277)
Antonia, widow of Knight Gerlacus of Nordecke (1267, 1270, 1277)
Kunigunde, daughter of Knight Ludwig, Vogt of Fronhausen (1267)
Gudula, wife of Knight Jakob of Stein (1268)
Rilendis, wife of citizen Ludwig of Vrecke (1269)
Gisle, wife of Hermann, citizen of Amöneberg (1269)
Elisabeth, wife of Knight Friedrich of Langenstein (1269, 1272)
Hilla, Beguine, widow of Rudolf Rinka, citizen in Marburg (1271, 1279)
Elisabeth, wife of Giselbert of Fodisberg (1272)
Alheid, wife of Knight Johannes de Deinbach (1272)

Kunigunde, wife of Heidinrich (1272)
Adelheid, widow of Knight Gottfried of Rodenstein (1272)
Alheid, widow of Knight Albert of Romrode (1272 (Apr., Jun.), 1273, 1274, 1278)
Elisabeth, daughter of Ludwig of Romrode (1272)
Gysela, wife of Knight Richolfus (1272, 1281)
Hedwig, wife of Eckhard, citizen in Wetzler (1272, 1287)
Mechthild, wife of Knight Dimar of Kalsmunt (1273, 1279, 1282)
Englina, wife of Wipodo (1273)
Bertha, mother of Friedrich of Kalsmunt (1274)
Hedwig, Countess of Ziegenhain (1275, 1280)
Mechtild, wife of Knight Wiegund of Schrecksbach (1275)
Hedwig, Beguine of Mornshausen (1275)
Iggihildis, wife of Knight Sigfried Frasz (1276)
Walpurga, wife of Conrad, citizen of Fritzlar (1277)
Agnes, wife of Tilmann of Hohenfels (1277)
Agnes, Countess of Nassau (1277, 1287)
Elisabeth, daughter of Knight Fleming (1277)
Odilia, daughter of Knight Fleming (1277)
Alheid, widow of Hartmann Rosche (1278)
Elisabeth, wife of Herdan of Ruhlkirchen (1278 (Jul., Dec.))
Cristina, widow of shultheissen Richwin of Alsfeld (1278, 1279)
Aleydis, wife of Heinrich of Worsbendel (1279)
Gertrude, wife of Knight Berthold of Ehringshausen (1279)
Alheid, wife of Hugo Hesse (1279)
Jutta, Abbess of nunnery Ramsen (c.1280)
Hatzega, wife of Friedrich, citizen in Alsfeld (1280)
Adelheid, daughter of Gerlach of Merlau (1281)
Sara, daughter of Gerlach of Merlau (1281)
Wife of Knight Friedrich of Schlitz (1281)
Isentrude, wife of Simon of Schlitz (1281)
Hildegunde, wife of Knight Gyso of Steinau (1281)
Mechthild, wife of Heinrich of Romrode (1281)
Elisabeth, wife of Heinrich of Gossfeldern (1282)
Jutta, mother of Heinrich of Gossfeldern (1282)
Jutta, daughter of Heineich Finke (1283)

Jutta, widow of Knight Volpert Schwerzel (1283)
Elisabeth, wife of Werner of Bolanden, imperialis aule dapifer (1284)
Aldeid, wife of Hartmann of Möllen (1285)
Elisabeth of Radenhausen (1285)
Gertrude, wife of Wiegand Dythero, citizen of Wetzlar (1285)
Nunnery Wissenstein (1285, 1286, 1287)
Hilla, wife of Hermannus de Molunheim (1285)
Bertha of Naumburg (1286)
Hadewig, wife of Ludwig, citizen in Volpert (1286)
Jutta, wife of Knight Eckard of Felsberg (1286)
Alheid, wife of Conrad if Reye, citizen of Wetzlar (1286)
Hildegunde, wife of citizen Wetzlar (1287)
Nunnery Caldern (1287)
Benigna, wife of Knight Dietrich of Tiefenbach (1288)
Elisabeth, neighbor of Herden of Ruhlkirchen (1288)
Kunigunde of Driedorf (1288)
Kunigunde of Wetzlar (1288)
Ermetrude, wife of Ludwig, citizen in Marburg (1288)
Begnina, daughter of Conrad of Gifflitz (1288)
Berhta, Abbess of nunnery Essen (1289)

