

Recent Trends in the Study of Medieval Canonizations

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Abstract

Canonization processes, inquiries into a putative saint's life, merits and miracles, are rich sources for the study of lived experiences as well as religious practices of lay Christians. Studies of this field have multiplied during the 1990s and 2000s; the focus had shifted from overall categorizations and comparison of various processes to a narrower but nuanced perspective; qualitative close reading of the depositions is an important method of analysis. Currently, social history approach, everyday life, family and gender, as well as local interaction and political motivation behind the practicalities of the proceedings are pre-eminent themes in the study of medieval canonizations.

The canonization process was an outcome of tightening papal control during the Central Middle Ages: papal decision was needed to open an *inquisitio in partibus*, local inquiry into a putative saint's life, merits and miracles, and after the interrogation the information was evaluated by the papal curia. Veneration of saints, on the other hand, was already widespread in early Christianity. Sanctity and holy persons were at the core of the Christian faith, and the privilege to proclaim a person a saint was considered significant. This right was negotiated and disputed. Already in Late Antiquity episcopal support was needed for nascent cults. Thereafter, the approval of the pope was required; papal prerogative was first announced by Pope Alexander III in 1171 while the *Liber extra* of Pope Gregory IX in 1234 further delineated canonization as a papal privilege. However, the evolution of canonization rights is rather complex: examples of papal interventions are known already from the end of tenth century on. Nevertheless, papal canonization was not a prerequisite for a flourishing cult, and many new saints were venerated in medieval Europe without papal confirmation of the cult.¹

Simultaneously with the papal intervention, an official procedure for interrogation was established, with the pope sending three commissioners of high ecclesiastical rank to carry out the hearing. Local proctors helped to gather the witnesses at a suitable time and place to testify. The summoned witnesses were required to swear an oath, and their testimony was recorded by sworn notaries. Witnesses ranged from peasants to the secular and ecclesiastical elite; they were Christians who had known the candidate during his or her lifetime or had experienced or witnessed a miracle. Thus, canonization processes contained the theoretical and theological evaluations of the inquisitorial committee as well as the lived experiences of the laity. However, the practicalities of organizing a hearing, the selection of the witnesses and miracles, the questionnaire of the commissioners as well as the notarial act varied from one process to another.²

Canonization inquests were intended for practical use in the papal curia; thus the language used was Latin, and there are typically only one or a few copies of the minutiae of each hearing. Lately, many of these medieval processes have been edited and published. A number of depositions, and occasionally even whole a process, have been translated into modern languages.³

At first, the focus of the scholars was on the administrative side of the cults and on the role the saintly candidate had played in his or her community. Typically, these studies were published simultaneously with the edition of the canonization records. The seminal study in the field of medieval canonization processes is, however, André Vauchez's examination of late medieval sanctity.⁴ The formation of canonization procedures, the different typologies of sainthood in various parts of Europe and among Christians of different social status, as well as signs of sanctity and various miracles, comprise the core of this substantial study. The main task of Vauchez's book was to form an overall image of medieval canonizations, saints, and their miracles. Quantitative analysis plays an important role in the study. Its undisputed value lies in Vauchez's categorization of official saints according to different variables, as well as his classification of their miracles. Even though the bibliography is now outdated, the inventory of sources is still especially valuable as a manual for students and researchers in the field.

In researching canonization processes, the normal practice has been to combine them with other hagiographic material.⁵ A socio-historical approach was and still is prominent in the study of medieval canonization processes. This approach was particularly strong during the 1990s, but the forerunner of it was R. Finucane's *Miracles and Pilgrims*,⁶ first published in 1977. The book focused on England and the contexts and practicalities of faith healing: various forms of cure, the 'clientele' of the shrine and the geographical origin of the pilgrims. Finucane paid special attention to the social classes represented among the devotees, analyzed by quantitative methods.⁷ Similarly, the geographical origin of the pilgrims was scrutinized. Some of Finucane's most important arguments concerned the evolution of the cult. The first pilgrims to a shrine came from its immediate vicinity; they were of modest background and a large amount of them were women. But as time elapsed, the pilgrims came from further afield, the number of prosperous people increased, and the proportion of women among the pilgrims decreased. The shrine-cures turned into home-cures, and pilgrimages to petition for a favor became pilgrimages to manifest gratitude after a cure.⁸

The lived realities of the laity have been the focus of more recent research: the vagaries of daily life – different types of illnesses and accidents for which the saint's help was sought – as well as family and household have become prominent themes in the study of medieval canonizations. These topics have been interconnected with the study of the practicalities of cults and communal, familial and individual interaction with the intercessors. A micro-historical approach, as well as the comparison of different processes, has been important methods of analysis.⁹

During the 1990s statistical analysis still played a role in the study of canonization processes, but the main methodology was the qualitative analysis of different depositions. The aim of many studies was to analyze social realities and the demands and opportunities of daily life as they appeared in canonization records. Simultaneously, scholars pondered the value and significance of the information found in the records: Were witnesses' answers determined by the commissioners' questionnaire? What was the role of hagiographic genre in the formation of depositions? Were the actual voices of the laity heard? For example, Michael Goodich claims that despite the notarial act, 'the precision and variety of the accounts which remain nevertheless often allows us to detect the authentic voices of a wide spectrum of participants and witnesses to the miracle'.¹⁰ However, as other scholars have noted, even if the witnesses were fairly free to recount events in their lives, the role of the commissioners, notaries, and occasionally even interpreters affected the outcome.¹¹ Furthermore, the hagiographic genre demanded that certain elements be included in the narration of a miracle, such as the desperate situation before the cure, the proper invocation, and the (sudden) recovery.¹²

Originating from the social history approach, a gendered analysis of the depositions from canonization proceedings has also become more common. An important contribution here is Sharon Farmer's *Surviving Poverty*,¹³ focused on the poor people of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Paris, in which Farmer links witnesses' gendered experiences with social status and other variables in a person's position. Scholars adopting this gendered approach have paid attention to the nuances in a person's status and identity and have scrutinized depositions by qualitative close reading. The deconstruction of depositions to find significant elements in femininity and masculinity, along with the comparison of the perspectives of the elite and the laity, has led to an emphasis on the multiplicity of medieval gender constructions.¹⁴ Interestingly, however, in the vast field of studies dedicated to feminine sanctity, canonization processes have not been fully exploited as source material, scholars having preferred to analyze the information found in *vitae*. Presumably, these were considered to contain more personal information on the protagonist's life and habits than the testimonies given by other people.¹⁵

At the end of the 1990s, a new trend among studies of medieval canonization emerged, concentrating on the judicial and practical sides of the proceedings. After all, canonization processes belonged only partly to the hagiographic genre; the recorded depositions were not only narrations of spiritual experiences like miracles but also minutiae of official hearings, whose outcomes were regulated by judicial requirements. Authors, such as Thomas Wetzstein have focused on the records as sources for understanding the canonization procedure. At the core of this new approach has been an interest in the practicalities of carrying out the hearing, the notarial act, and the demands of canon law.¹⁶ Similarly, such authors have acknowledged that canonization hearings were not restricted to the realm of theological pondering or spiritual considerations, but had political and hierarchal elements as well.¹⁷

The aforementioned themes, among others, were collected together in a seminal 2004 publication edited by G. Klaniczay, *Procès de canonisation au Moyen Âge – Medieval Canonisation Processes*. The essays in this compilation cover such themes as procedural aspects of canonization hearings, information networks, and selection of witnesses, as well as the particularities of individual hearings, namely forming an image of a saintly candidate, proving sanctity by judicial interrogation, and pondering the credibility of witnesses.¹⁸

In the latest studies of medieval canonizations, quantitative analysis of a large body of source material has been replaced by qualitative analysis and the close reading of a more limited set of sources. Instead of comparing several processes, some recent scholars have focused on the construction of past events based on different depositions given in one case,¹⁹ connecting the formation, use, and potential manipulation of memories of miracles to the analysis of communal or familial interactions.²⁰ A current trend is the analysis of the depositions from a given process or of a certain case in the light of other types of sources from the same local context. For instance, Robert Bartlett analyzes the social, political, and cultural milieu of the Welsh border at the turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries by deconstructing the elements of the depositions in the canonization process of Thomas Cantilupe regarding the miraculous resurrection of William Craigh and combining this evidence with other source material, namely chronicles, administrative letters, and episcopal registers.²¹

Deconstruction of the process of canonization, the formation of the records, and the part of local actors in shaping those records can also be found in the profound analysis of the canonization process of Nicholas of Tolentino by Didier Lett.²² To better understand the social processes at work in this case, Lett looks to both the macro level—that is, the

requirements to open the process and the political factions involved therein—and the micro level—namely, the vocabulary and the rhetorical tools employed by witnesses and inquisitors. Local statutes and other documents facilitate the contextualization of Nicholas's canonization process and the depositions therein. Cecilia Gaposchkin has published a similar deconstruction of the cult of Saint Louis, although her focus is on the post-canonization period.²³

Studies in the field of medieval canonizations have multiplied during the 1990s and 2000s, with scholars adopting various approaches and methods and posing innovative questions. Research has evolved so that the emphasis is no longer on use of a mass of data analyzed by quantitative methods, but on a micro-historical approach and close qualitative reading of the sources. From a focus on overall images and categorizations through comparison of various processes, the scholarship has shifted to a narrower but nuanced perspective and comparison of a limited number of processes and cases. Currently, local interactions and political motivations behind the practicalities of the proceedings are prominent themes in the study of medieval canonization processes.

However, the use of personal rhetorical elements in the depositions has thus far attracted relatively little attention among scholars of canonization processes. Whereas historians have deconstructed elements of the hagiographic genre and have analyzed different topoi in canonization records, the rhetoric used by the witnesses has attracted little scrutiny.²⁴ This is undoubtedly an important field for further studies, which might take inspiration from a comparison with studies of various court records. Similarly, the interconnection between different components of Christianity, the good and the evil, revealed in the depositions and the questionnaire has not aroused keen scholarly interest. In a postface to *Procès de canonisation au Moyen Âge*-compilation, Bengt Ankarloo suggests the comparison of inquisition and canonization processes, of saints and witches, as a theme for further study.²⁵

In conclusion, medieval canonization processes are rich sources. Comparison with other types of source material, qualitative close reading of the records and deconstruction of the rhetorical elements within the depositions will doubtless continue to offer new unexploited perspectives for scholars in the future.

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Short Biography

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Notes

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¹ On canonization privileges from Late Antiquity on, see E. Kemp, *Canonization and Authority in the Western Church* (London: Oxford University Press, 1948). On canonizations before papal prerogative, see A. Vauchez, *Sainteté en Occident aux derniers siècles du Moyen Âge. D'après les procès de canonisation et les documents hagiographiques* (Rome: École française de Rome 1988), 15–67; English translation *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, Trans. by J. Birrell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). With a new introduction and an updated bibliography, foreword by R. Kieckhefer. On papal pursuits in canonization procedures during the thirteenth century, see especially R. Paciocco, *Canonizzazioni e culto dei santi nella christianitas (1198–1302)* (Assisi: Edizioni Porziuncola, 2006). The author connects canonization privilege with other papal attempts of domination within *christianitas*. Aviad Kleinberg ('Canonisation without a Canon', in G. Klaniczay (ed.), *Procès de canonisation au Moyen Âge – Medieval Canonisation Processes* (Rome: École française de Rome, 2004), 7–18) claims that canonization processes were not actually control mechanisms but more likely only a papal accolade for those who were willing to pay. See also O. Krafft, *Papsturkunde und Heiligensprechung. Die Päpstlichen Kanonisationen von Mittelalter bis zur Reformation. Ein Handbuch* (Köln: Böhlau 2005) for papal canonizations during 1066–1401 and especially various sources connected with these proceedings.

² On technicalities in the hearings, see Vauchez, *Sainteté en Occident*, 37–60.

³ For a comprehensive list of medieval canonization processes with manuscript signums or publication details, see Vauchez, *Sainteté en Occident*, 655–65. On translated depositions, see, for example M. Goodich, *Other Middle Ages: Witnesses at the Margins of Medieval Society* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998); Vauchez, *Sainteté en Occident*, 649–52; R. Finucane, *The Rescue of the Innocents. Endangered Children in Medieval Miracles* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 171–206; and G. Bäärnhielm, 'Brynolf's mirakler', in J. Myrdal and G. Bäärnhielm, *Kvinnor, barn & fester i medeltida mirakelberättelser* (Skara: Skaraborgs Länsmuseum, 1994), 167–96. For a whole translated process, see T. Lundén (ed.), *Sankt Nikolaus av Linköping kanonisationsprocess. Processus canonizationis beati Nicolai Lincopensis. Efter en handskrift i Florens* (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1963). See also L. A. Smoller, 'The Canonization of Vincent Ferrer', in T. Head (ed.), *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology* (New York: Garland, 2000), 781–803.

⁴ Vauchez, *Sainteté en Occident*; on earlier studies on canonizations, see also M. Toynbee, *S. Louis of Toulouse and the Process of Canonisation in the Fourteenth-Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1929) and especially the sociological, quantitative studies of Pierre Deloof, P. Deloof, *Sociologie et canonisations* (Collection scientifique de la Faculté de Droit de l'Université de Liège Bd. 30) (La Haye: Martinus Nijhoff, 1969) and P. Deloof, 'Towards a Sociological Study of Canonized Sainthood in the Catholic Church', in S. Wilson (ed.), *Saints and their Cults. Studies in Religious Sociology, Folklore and History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 189–216. See also D. Gentili, 'Introduzione', in N. Occhioni O.S.A. (ed.), *Il Processo per la canonizzazione di S. Nicola da Tolentino* (Rome: Padri Agostiniani di Tolentino, École française de Rome, 1984), IX–XXVII and E. Menestò, 'Introduzione', in E. Menestò (ed.), *Il Processo di canonizzazione di Chiara da Montefalco* (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1991 [1984]), XXI–LXIX and *San Nicola, Tolentino, le Marche. Contributi e ricerche sul Processo (a. 1325) per la canonizzazione di San Nicola da Tolentino*. Convegno Internazionale di Studi. Tolentino, 4–7. Settembre 1985 (Tolentino: Tipolito A. Pezzotti, 1987).

⁵ A. Vauchez, *Les laïcs au Moyen Âge. Pratiques et expériences religieuses* (Paris: Cerf, 1987); English translation *The laity in the Middle Ages: religious beliefs and devotional practices*, introduction by D. E. Bornstein, Trans. by M. J. Schneider (Paris: Notre Dame de Paris, 1993).

⁶ R. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims. Popular Beliefs in Medieval England* (London: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1977). [Second edition New York: St. Martin's Press 1995].

⁷ A similar approach was adapted by P.-A. Sigal in *L'homme et le miracle dans la France médiévale (XIe–XIIIe siècle)* (Paris: Cerf, 1985). Sigal does not use canonization processes in his study, though but focuses on other hagiographic material.

⁸ Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims*, 130–72 and R. Finucane, 'Pilgrimages in Daily Life. Aspects of Medieval Communication Reflected in the Newly Established Cult of Thomas Cantilupe (d. 1282), its Dissemination and Effects upon outlying Hereford Villagers', in G. Jaritz and B. Schuh (eds.), *Wallfahrt und Alltag in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit* (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1992), 165–217.

⁹ M. Goodich, *Violence and Miracle in the Fourteenth Century. Private Grief and Public Salvation* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1995); C. Krötzel, *Pilger, Mirakel und Alltag. Formen des Verhaltens im skandinavischen Mittelalter* (Helsinki: SHS, 1994); Finucane, *The Rescue of the Innocents*; J. Myrdal and G. Bäärnhielm, *Kvinnor, barn & fester*; and J. Myrdal and G. Bäärnhielm, 'Miracles and Medieval Life. Canonization Proceedings as Source for Medieval Social History', in G. Klaniczay (ed.), *Procès de canonisation au Moyen Âge*, 101–16. On family history, see D. Lett, 'Adult Brothers and Juvenile Uncles: Generations and Age Differences in Families at the End of the Middle Ages', *The History of the Family* 6 (2001): 391–400; D. Lett, 'Brothers and Sisters. New Perspectives on Medieval Family History', in K. Mustakallio, J. Hanska, H. L. Sainio and V. Vuolanto (eds.), *Hoping for Continuity. Childhood, Education and Death in Antiquity and the Middle Ages*. Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae XXXIII. (Rome: Institutum Romanum Finlandiae, 2005), 13–23; and S. Katjala-Peltomaa, 'Parental Roles in the Canonisation Processes of Saint Nicola of Tolentino and Saint Thomas Cantilupe', in *Hoping for Continuity*, 145–55; and C. Krötzel, 'Parent Child Relation in Medieval Scandinavia According to Scandinavian Miracle Collections', *Scandinavian Journal of History* 14 (1989): 21–37. On studies of Scandinavian canonization processes, see also A. Fröjmark, *Mirakler och helgonkult. Linköpings biskopsdöme under senmedeltiden* (Uppsala: Acta universitatis upsalisensis, 1992). In many studies,

social history approach was connected to the analysis of devotional practices and formation of a cult. See, for example, S. Andrić, *The Miracles of St. John Capistran* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2000), also P.-A. Sigal, 'Le vœu et l'ex-voto dans l'Angleterre médiévale d'après le procès de canonisation de saint Thomas de Cantiloupe, évêque de Hereford (†1282)', in *Homo religiosus. Autour de Jean Delumeau* (Paris: Fayard, 1997), 285–91. Similar themes have interested the scholar of early modern era, as well. See, A. Burkardt, *Les clients des saints. Maladie et quête du miracle à travers les procès de canonisation de la première moitié du XVII^e siècle en France* (Collection de l'École française de Rome 338) (Rome: École française de Rome, 2004).

¹⁰ Goodich, *Violence and Miracle*, 9. P. Mariani also claims that in the canonization processes is heard 'viva voce di quasi muto'. P. Mariani, 'Racconto spontaneo o memoria costruita? Testi e confronto in alcuni processi di canonizzazione del secolo decimocuarto', *MEFRM* 108–1996–1, 259–319. Cf. M. Goodich, 'Mirabilis Deus in sanctis suis: Social History and Medieval Miracles', in K. Cooper and J. Gregory (eds.), *Signs, Wonders, Miracles. Representations of Divine Power in the Life of the Church* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press & Ecclesiastical History Society, 2005), 135–56 with more cautious approach to the authenticity of depositions. Cf. especially to D. Lett, *Un procès de canonisation au Moyen âge. Essai d'histoire sociale. Nicholas de Tolentino 1325* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 2008), 10 and 234–35, where the author claims that canonization records reflect social domination, and personal memories are subordinate to collective ones created by the act of interrogation.

¹¹ On commissioners' and notaries' role, see C. Krötzl, 'Prokuratoren, Notare und Dolmetscher. Zu Gestaltung und Ablauf der Zeugeneinvernahmen bei spätmittelalterlichen Kanonisationsprozessen', *Hagiographica* V (1998): 119–40; on interpretation and language used in the interrogation, see C. Krötzl, 'Vulgariter sibi exposito. Zu Übersetzung und Sprachbeherrschung im Spätmittelalter am Beispiel von Kanonisationsprozessen', *Das Mittelalter* 2 (1997): 111–8; and M. Richter, *Sprache und Gesellschaft im Mittelalter. Untersuchungen zur mündlichen Kommunikation in England von der Mitte des elften bis zum Beginn des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1979). On relationship between oral and written testimony, see also Lett, *Un procès de canonisation*, 257–70; cf. G. Klaniczay, 'Speaking about Miracles: Oral Testimony and Written Record in Medieval Canonization Trials', in A. Adamska and M. Mostert (eds.), *The Development of Literate Mentalities in East Central Europe* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 365–95.

¹² The basic elements within the hagiographic genre affected the questionnaire of the commissioners and the answers anticipated from the witnesses. On intermingling of hagiography and judicial requirements, see Paciocco *Canonizzazioni e culto dei santi*, 190–8. On elements of hagiographic genre and folk tale in the miracles of St. John Capistran, see Andrić, *The Miracles of St. John Capistran*, 225–98; cf. Klaniczay, 'Speaking about Miracles', 368–70.

¹³ S. Farmer, *Surviving Poverty in Medieval Paris. Gender, Ideology and the Daily Lives of the Poor* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2002). See also S. Farmer, 'Introduction', in S. Farmer and C. B. Pasternack (eds.), *Gender and Difference in the Middle Ages* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), IX–XXVII and S. Farmer, 'Manual Labour, Begging, and Conflicting Gender Expectations in Thirteenth-Century Paris', in *Gender and Difference*, 261–87.

¹⁴ Gendered interaction with heavenly intercessors and their interconnection with the daily life have also been analyzed by S. Katjala-Peltomaa, *Gender, Miracles and Daily Life. The Evidence of the Fourteenth-Century Canonization Processes* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009).

¹⁵ For example, canonization processes form only a minor part of source material in the following studies, M. Lehmijoki-Gardner, *Worldly Saints. Social Interaction of Dominican Penitent Women in Italy, 1200–1500* (Helsinki: SHS, 1999); C. Mooney, 'Imitatio Christi or Imitatio Mariae? Clare of Assisi and Her Interpreters', in C. Mooney (ed.), *Gendered Voices. Medieval Saints and Their Interpreters* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 52–77; N. Caciola, *Discerning Spirits. Divine and Demonic Possession in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2003); and D. Elliott, *Proving Woman. Female Spirituality and Inquisitorial Culture in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004).

¹⁶ On judicial requirements in canonization, see especially T. Wetzstein, *Heilige vor Gericht. Das Kanonisationsverfahren im europäischen Mittelalter* (Köln: Böhlau, 2004); Krötzl, 'Prokuratoren, Notare und Dolmetscher', C. Krötzl, 'Kanonisationsprozess, Socialgeschichte und Kanonisches Recht im Spätmittelalter', in M. Korpiola (ed.), *Nordic Perspectives on Medieval Canon Law* (Saarijärvi: Gummerus, 1999), 19–39; canonization procedure is also on focus in Paciocco, *Canonizzazioni e culto dei santi* and Krafft, *Papsturkunde und Heiligsprechung*.

¹⁷ On political and hierarchal elements and practicalities in the canonization of Nicholas of Tolentino, see Lett, *Un procès de canonisation*.

¹⁸ Klaniczay, *Procès de canonisation au Moyen Âge*. The procedural aspects are analyzed in the articles by M. Richter, 'Procedural Aspects of the Canonization of Lorcán Ua Tuathail', 53–65 and T. Wetzstein ('Iura novit curia. Zur Verfahrensnormierung der Kanonisationsprozesse des späten Mittelalters', 259–287). L. A. Smoller ('Northern and Southern Sanctity in the Canonization of Vincent Ferrer: the Effects of Procedural Differences on the Image of the Saint', 289–308) focuses on way the image of a saint was constructed and affected by the procedural differences; P. Golinelli ('Social Aspects in Some Italian Canonization Trials. The Choice of Witnesses', 165–80) analyzes the methods of selection of the witnesses. C. Krötzl ('Fama Sanctitatis. Die Akten der spätmittelalterlichen Kanonisationsprozesse als Quelle zu Kommunikation und Informationsvermittlung in der mittelalterlichen Gesellschaft', 223–43) focuses on the networks around canonization proceedings. M. Goodich ('Reason or Revelation? The Criteria for the Proof and Credibility on Miracles in Canonization Processes', 181–97) scrutinizes the inter-

connection of theological ponderings and judicial requirement in credibility of a miracle. This theme is further analyzed by M. Goodich in *Lives and Miracles of the Saints. Studies in Medieval Latin Hagiography* (Burlington: Ashgate Variorum, 2004) and *Miracles and Wonders. The Development of the Concept of Miracle 1150–1350* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).

¹⁹ J. Hanska, 'The Hanging of William Cragh: Anatomy of a Miracle', *Journal of Medieval History* 27 (2001): 121–38; R. Finucane, 'The Toddler in the Ditch: A Case of Parental Neglect?' in M. Goodich (ed.), *Voices from the Bench. The Narratives of Lesser Folk in Medieval Trials* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan 2006).

²⁰ Mariani 'Racconto spontaneo o memoria costruita?'; L. Smoller, 'Miracle, Memory, and Meaning in the Canonization of Vincent Ferrer, 1453–1454', *Speculum* 73 (1998): 429–54; Hanska, 'The Hanging of William Cragh', 121–38; Katajala-Peltomaa, *Gender, Miracles and Daily Life*, 247–87.

²¹ R. Bartlett, *The Hanged Man: A Story of Miracle, Memory, and Colonialism in the Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004).

²² Lett, *Un procès de canonisation*.

²³ This study is mostly based on homilectic sources and only fragmentarily preserved canonization process is not the main focus. C. Gaposchkin, *The Making of Saint Louis: Kingship, Sanctity, and Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008). Cf. T. Wetzstein, "'Ad informationem apostolicae sedis'". Die Verehrung des Werner von Oberwesel und die Kultuntersuchung von 1426', T. Frank, M. Matheus and S. Reichert (eds.), *Wege zum Heil. Pilger und Heilige Orte an Mosel und Rhein* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner 2009), 97–134 on evolution of cult of Werner of Oberwesel.

²⁴ See, however, the collection of essays edited by M. Goodich, *Voices from the Bench*. Cf. Smoller, 'Miracle, Memory, and Meaning', and S. Katajala-Peltomaa, 'Hoiva, sukupuoli ja todistaminen 1300-luvun kanonisaatioprosesseissa', *Naistutkimus* 3 (2009): 36–46. On changes in a miracle story on various levels of the process, see D. Lett, 'De la dissemblance à la ressemblance: construction sociale et métamorphoses des récits de miracles dans le procès de canonisation et l'abbreviation maior de Nicolas de Tolentino (1325–1328)', in M. Gouillet and M. Heinzelmann (eds.), *Miracles, vies et réécritures dans l'occident médiéval* (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke verlag 2006), 121–47 and Klaniczay, 'Speaking about Miracles.'

²⁵ B. Ankarloo, 'Postface: saints and witches', in *Procès de canonisation au Moyen Âge*, 363–8; see also P. Dinzelsbacher, *Heilige oder Hexen. Schicksale auffälliger Frauen* (Düsseldorf: Patmos, 1995). Cf. N. Caciola, *Discerning Spirits* and D. Elliott, *Proving Woman*, where main focus is on the vitae of female mystics. On possession and delivery miracles, see A. Boureau, 'Saints et démons dans les procès de canonisation du début du XIVe siècle', in *Procès de canonisation*, 199–221; A. Boureau, *Satan Hérétique. Histoire de la Démonologie. Naissance de la démonologie dans l'Occident médiéval. (1280–1330)* (Paris: Odile Jacob, 2004); L. A. Smoller, 'A Case of Demonic Possession in Fifteenth-Century Brittany: Perrin Hervé and the Nascent Cult of Vincent Ferrer', in *Voices from the Bench*, 149–76; and M. Goodich, 'Sexuality, Family, and the Supernatural in the Fourteenth Century', *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 4/4 (1994): 493–515.

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