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Hagiography

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I. Judaism

Although Judaism does not formally recognize saints, hagiography has been part of Jewish literature since early on. Two types can be discerned, roughly corresponding to the distinction between martyrs and confessors in Christian hagiography. Both types have antecedents in biblical narrative, which provided powerful models to later generations.

While the books of Maccabees never became part of the HB, the tales of martyrdom they preserve had analogies in rabbinic literature and resounded strongly with later experiences in Jewish history. The tale of the mother who encouraged her seven sons to be martyred rather than transgress (2 Macc 7) was frequently invoked in medieval Ashkenaz; it left its mark on prose accounts of the Crusade persecutions and on liturgical poetry dedicated to their commemoration, as did the tale of Daniel's companions in the furnace (Dan 3) and especially that of the ʿaqedah, the binding of Isaac (Gen 22), which was interpreted as having resulted in actual bloodshed and thus made to serve as a model for the most extreme form Jewish martyrdom took in the Middle Ages: the killing of their own children by Jewish parents in order to preclude their forced conversion to Christianity.

A second type of hagiographic narrative in Judaism revolved around protagonists who testified to the truth of the Jewish religion not in their deaths but in their lives. Like Elijah and Elisha (1 Kgs 16–22; 2 Kgs 1–13), these were essentially wonder-workers whose miracles demonstrated their particular closeness to God. A subgroup were legends of confrontation between representatives of the Jewish religion and those of other faiths. These could take the form of a contest between their respective supernatural abilities (as in Exod 7 : 8–13 or 1 Kgs 18); elsewhere, Jewish victory was ensured by the protagonist's wisdom and resourcefulness (as in Esther). In many cases, at stake in these narratives was the very existence of the Jewish community, which found itself faced with imminent expulsion, forced conversion or worse. Such tales of deliverance were widely disseminated in the various centers of medieval Jewry and ascribed to a wide variety of historical figures, such as Judah the Pious (1150–1217) or Rashi (1040–1105) for Jews living under Christian rule and Moses Maimonides (1138–1204) or Abraham ibn Ezra (1089–1164) among those in the Islamic world.

A tendency to compile the legends focused on specific figures into narrative cycles can first be discerned about a century before the advent of print. At that time, narrators also began to flesh out their heroes' biographies with birth legends or childhood stories, again drawing on biblical models (Judg 13; 1 Sam 1). A number of these cycles found their way into printed collections such as Gedaliah ibn Yaḥya's *Shalshelet ha-qabbalah* (Venice 1587) or the Yiddish *Mayse-bukh* (Basel 1602); they may have prepared the ground for later works such as *Shivḥei ha-Ari* (about Isaac Luria) or *Shivḥei ha-Besht* (about Israel Baʿal Shem Tov), collections of "praise tales" focused on leaders of popular religious movements which emerged close to their heroes' own lifetimes. Hagiographic narrative has since become a hallmark of Hasidism, while the local veneration of saints characteristic of Jewish communities in Islamic countries has begun to result in a similarly substantial literary output since their mass immigration to Israel. In recent generations, rather than expressing a religious minority's needs vis-à-vis the majority religion, the focus of hagiography in Judaism would seem to have shifted towards juxtaposing orthodox and secularized lifestyles within Jewish society.

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Lucia Raspe

II. Christianity

A. Greek and Latin Patristics and Orthodox Churches

1. Introduction. Christian hagiography comprises every kind of literature on martyrs and saints from the apocryphal gospels and acts on (see Uytfanghe 2001: 1154–171). It may also denote "the study of the evidence related to saints and martyrs" (Barnes: IX). More specifically, it may refer to the act of writing saints' lives (Krueger). These lives are thus subject to narratological analysis (Gemeinhardt 2014). The notion of hagiography stems from the 17th century. In patristic and medieval times, τὰ ἁγιόγραφα/*hagiographa* referred to OT writings, strictly speaking to the books of Wisdom (cf. Jerome's prologues to the books of Kings, Tobit, Judith, and Daniel in the Vg.; see also Isidore of Seville, *Etymolo-*

giae 6.1; Hugh of St. Victor, *Didascalicon* 4.2; Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae* II–II q. 174 a. 2 obj. 3).

This entry will focus on hagiography as the written accounts of the saints' lives. Christian hagiography is not a literary genre (although it is influenced by ancient biography): texts dealing with saints and sanctity are part of a "hagiographical discourse" (Uytfanghe 1988: 155–57). Hagiography is thus defined by (1) the protagonist's relationship to the divine sphere; (2) the aim of making holiness visible in the world; (3) the specific function of the discourse (apology, idealization of a person as rolemodel, instruction or spiritual guidance); and (4) certain features displaying holiness, for example, ascetic virtues, divine wisdom, and supernatural abilities. Related signs of holiness are also found in Jewish and pagan writings (e.g., Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, Porphyrius' *Life of Plotinus,* or Jamblichus' *On the Pythagorean Life*; see Cox). This discourse does not necessarily presuppose the existence of a cult (the "fait liturgique" postulated by the Bollandists, see Delehaye: 2; Aigrain: 251–53). With "hagiography" referring to a discourse rather than a specific literary genre, Uytfanghe (2001: 1090–91) considers the term "spiritual biography" to best encompass the essence of the written saint's life as one of many voices within said greater hagiographical discourse, but this again raises the question whether saints' lives are by necessity "biographies." Recently, Berschin (2004) and Pratsch have analyzed hagiographical topics in order to identify basic structures of hagiography within the texts themselves.

Christian hagiography in Late Antiquity is based on biblical reception (see Vos) – not surprisingly, since saints (and martyrs) are by definition imitators of Christ. This view does not exclude the influence of pagan philosophical biographies. Collections of biographies, such as Eunapius' *Lives of the Sophists,* display a literary competition between pagan and Christian conceptions of hagiography and holiness (Urbano). Nevertheless, hagiography is sufficiently explained not by its classical and contemporary literary sources but by its subject: the special relationship of God through Christ with his saints.

2. Athanasius' *Life of Anthony* as Paradigm of Patristic Hagiography. The *Life of Anthony*, written by Athanasius of Alexandria ca. 360, is a good example of this mixture of traditions and functions discernible in Christian hagiography and it is also the first text according to the definition above. This life (which is presented as a letter "to the monks living abroad") contains allusions to Porphyry's *Life of Pythagoras* (*Vit. Ant.* 14) that have led some scholars to postulate an anti-neopythagorean bias (Rubenson). Others have argued that the life is better understood with respect to biblical quotations and motifs (Bartelink) and to the early Christian martyr-

ological tradition (Gemeinhardt 2012). Clearly, Anthony's life is modelled throughout according to biblical texts (for the following see Gemeinhardt 2013): Anthony's conversion to asceticism is provoked by the story of the rich young man (Matt 19:21), by Jesus' exhortation "Do not worry about tomorrow" (Matt 6:34), and by his desire to follow "the memory of the saints," that is, the first Christian community in Jerusalem (Acts 4:35–37; *Vit. Ant.* 2–3). The ascetic "does not walk according to the flesh but according to the Spirit" (Rom 8:4; *Vit. Ant.* 7.1) and conducts his spiritual life "as the Lord the God of Israel lives, before whom I stand today" (1 Kgs 17:1; *Vit. Ant.* 7.12), that is, like the prophet Elijah who occupies the privileged place as a role-model in Christian hagiography (often accompanied by John the Baptist). Being denied the glory of martyrdom by God (*Vit. Ant.* 46.6), Anthony becomes a "martyr in conscience" (2 Cor 1:12; *Vit. Ant.* 47.1) who turns the desert into a paradise where human beings and animals live in peace (Job 5:23; *Vit. Ant.* 51.5). Anthony summarizes the fundamental rule of asceticism with 2 Cor 13:5: "Examine yourselves to see whether you are living in the faith. Test yourselves!" (*Vit. Ant.* 55.6). The true ascetic, Anthony informs his disciples, is not only capable of healing the sick and expelling demons (Matt 10:8) but indeed of commanding a mountain to move "if you have faith the size of a mustard seed" (Matt 17:20; *Vit. Ant.* 83.2). By his prayer alluding to Moses who beseeches God to protect the Israelites from death in the desert (Exod 15:22–25; 17:1–7; *Vit. Ant.* 54.4), Anthony saves himself and his fellow monks from dying of thirst due to lack of water in the desert. Finally, Athanasius' claim that Anthony did not receive formal schooling but was "taught by God" (θεοδίδακτος) is biblically grounded in 1 Thess 4:9 (*Vit. Ant.* 66.2). As in the case of Moses, the location of his grave remains unknown (Deut 34:6; *Vit. Ant.* 92.2). Athanasius is entitled to administer Anthony's spiritual heritage after he received the hermit's cloak, an allusion to Elisha, who picked up Elijah's coat after the latter's ascent to heaven (2 Kgs 2:13–14; *Vit Ant.* 91.8). These examples highlight the biblical grounding of Christian hagiography in general and of this hagiographical text in particular. This text would later become the most influential life of a Christian saint (be it by copying, rewriting or substituting Athanasius' ascetic model).

3. Greek Hagiography after Athanasius. While the *Life of Anthony* is the first Greek life (βίος) in a proper sense, book 6 of Eusebius' *Church History* may already qualify as a *Life of Origen*. Eusebius' *Life of Constantine* is a panegyric but presents the dying emperor as a Christian saint (*Vit. Const.* 4.64–65; cf. Uytfanghe 2001: 1180). In the generation following Athanasius, Gregory of Nyssa adds lives of a famous woman of his own family (*Life of Macrina*) as well as

of an equally famous bishop of pre-Constantinian times (*Life of Gregory the Wonderworker*). Early cenobitic monastic tradition is canonized in the *Life of Pachomius*, which is preserved in Greek and Coptic versions and depicts the founders of many monasteries as heirs of the patriarchs, prophets, and apostles. The anonymous *History of the Monks in Egypt*, Palladius' *Lausiac History*, and the *Historia religiosa* of Theodoret of Cyrus assemble many lives of major and minor saints to a contemporary "cloud of witnesses" to the new ascetic ideal. They are supplemented by lives of single saints like the Roman noblewoman Melania (by Gerontius), who traveled to the Holy Land, or Callinicus' *Life of Hypatius*, abbot of the monastery of Rufiniane near Constantinople. In the 6th century, the *Life of Bishop Porphyrius of Gaza* (attributed to the venerated bishop's deacon Marcus but most likely written much later) narrates the Christianization of Gaza in a dramatic and apologetic manner and includes praises of the virtues and exegetical abilities of the bishop as well as accounts of miracles comparable to those in the synoptic gospels. With Cyril of Scythopolis, who wrote in Palestine in the mid-6th century, and his collections of seven monastic lives, the ideal of the monk as imitator of Christ (be he or she a hermit, a cenobitic monk or an inhabitant of the emerging Laura) is firmly established as a role-model ("Leitbild") in Greek hagiography.

4. The Beginnings of Latin Hagiography. It is often maintained that the *Life and Passion of Cyprian of Carthage* by Pontius (ca. 260) is the first hagiographical text in Latin; however, the title alluding to the biographical genre is not attested before Jerome (*Vir. ill.* 68) and, regarding its form and structure, the text is more a funeral speech than a *vita*. Latin hagiography proper begins with two early translations of Athanasius' *Life of Anthony* by an anonymous author and by Evagrius of Antioch. The Athanasian model gives immediate direction to the hagiographical discourse by being not only translated but also "rewritten" in Jerome's *Life of Paul of Thebes* and, two decades later, in his *Life of Hilarion*, which are both aimed at superseding the Greek hero of asceticism by his forerunner (Paul) and successor (Hilarion). Like Anthony, Paul is compared to Elijah (1 Kgs 17:4–6): Ravens provide bread for his daily need; when Anthony visits Paul, the amount of bread is doubled (Jerome, *Vit. Paul.* 10). Anthony witnesses Paul's ascension to heaven after his death and cries out: "Woe to me! I have seen Elijah and John in the desert, and Paul in paradise!" (*Vit. Paul.* 13). The most influential substitute to Anthony is however the *Life of Martin of Tours* written by Sulpicius Severus in 397, which is supplemented by Sulpicius' *Epistles* and *Dialogues*. Here, most of the biblical reminiscences remain implicit (Uytfanghe 1985: 582–93). Prophetic and apostolic traditions are complemented by martyrological and as-

cetic ones. While Jerome's Paul and Hilarion remain hermits, Martin acts as a missionary and a wonderworker in late 4th-century Gaul, which is still widely pagan. Famously, he shares his mantle with a pauper near Amiens and has a vision of Christ in the following night who introduces him to the choir of angels: "Martin, while still being a catechumen, has clothed me with this mantle," thereby alluding to his own words: "just as you did it to one of the least of these who are members of my family, you did it to me" (Matt 25:40; *Vit. Mart.* 3). The popularity of Martin's story is visible in its rewritings in verse by Paulinus of Périgueux (5th cent.) and Venantius Fortunatus (6th cent.) and in prose by Gregory of Tours (d. 594). While Sulpicius depicts Martin as monk and bishop (though Martin cannot stand the presence of the corrupt Gaulish bishops without losing his ascetic power to perform miracles: Sulpicius Severus, *Dial.* 3.13.5–6), lives of contemporary bishops become increasingly popular, e.g., the *Life of Ambrose* by his deacon Paulinus of Milan or the *Life of Augustine* by his fellow-bishop Possidius of Calama (Elm). In the context of the monastic island of Lérins, a tradition of holy bishops emerges which merge Roman values and rhetoric into the image of the ideal bishop (e.g., Hilary of Arles, *Sermon on the Life of Honoratus of Arles* [ca. 429]; Honoratus of Marseille, *Life of Hilary of Arles* [ca. 475]). Within the hagiographical tradition of Southern Gaul, neither miracles nor visions but humility and the ability to preach are the predominant characteristics of the bishop. The 6th-century *Life of Severinus of Noricum* written by Eugippius, which relates the fate of the Roman population of Upper Noricum during the Migration of Nations, appears as a reenactment of the OT prophets as intercessors for their people at foreign courts as well as of Moses guiding the Israelites out of Egypt and, finally, of Jesus announcing the kingdom of God by way of powerful miracles (see Von der Nahmer). The *Life of Cesary of Arles* (second half of the 6th cent.) compares its protagonist again to Elijah (ch. 2.2) but also to king Daniel (ch. 1.35). The four books of *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great (d. 604), filled with miracle stories mainly of contemporary Italian saints, and the systematic rewriting of previous hagiography by Gregory of Tours are followed by a decline of late antique Latin hagiography, though the Merovingian lives of saints testify to the continuing impact of biblical stories on hagiographical texts (Uytfanghe 1987). Since the 4th century, virgins and bishops have thus accompanied ascetics as predominant paradigms of Christian sainthood (for the literary history see Berschin [1986] and De Vogüé). All of these texts are deeply infused with biblical stories and sayings. As Ambrose of Milan claims with respect to the OT patriarchs, "the lives of holy men are models for others" (*De Ioseph* 1.1).

5. Byzantine and Orthodox Hagiography. Byzantine and later Orthodox hagiography (a brief introduction is provided by Talbot; for an overview including Oriental Christianities see the contributions in Efthymiadis) are dominated by holy monks. Bishops may only qualify as holy (beginning with the funeral speech of Gregory of Nazianzus for Basil of Caesarea) if they have conducted an ascetic life before becoming bishop. Prominent examples are the *Life of Bishop Porphyrius of Gaza* (see above) and the *Life of John the Almsgiver* (written ca. 650 by Leontius of Naples). Additionally, stories about "holy fools" like Symeon of Edessa (6th cent.) become characteristic of eastern hagiography, drawing upon 1 Cor 4:10 ("We are fools for the sake of Christ"). A more recent type of holy man is the Russian *starez* (Ivanov). Even today, the hermit is the most important subject of Orthodox hagiography, be it in the Greek or Slavic tradition. Patristic collections of monastic biographies (see above) provide a wealth of hagiographical material supplemented by later lives and transmitted in so-called "Paterika" (books of the Fathers). Outstanding among them is the Paterikon of the Cave Monastery at Kiev (12th cent.). There are approximately 150 Byzantine saints' lives that were composed up until the 10th century (now systematically scrutinized by Pratsch). The 10th century brings about a thorough revision of the Greek hagiographical tradition by Symeon Metaphrastes, "the rewriter" (see Høgel), although there had been smaller "metaphrases" before (Dummer: 248). Based upon earlier collections from the iconoclastic times, already structured according to the feast days of the saints, Symeon revises the text of the patristic and early Byzantine lives while at the same time shortening and supplementing them. For private and monastic use he composes a "menologion," which would become normative for Chalcedonian Orthodoxy. While hagiographical writings had previously often been floating texts, they now become textually canonized. This is especially true for the versions of the lives from which synaxaries for liturgical use are compiled. The second millennium witnesses to further revisions of such collections in order to accommodate them to the tradition of the Orthodox Churches. Thus, hagiography is until today continuously being adapted to the plurifold Orthodox traditions.

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Peter Gemeinhardt

B. Medieval Times and Reformation Era

Early medieval hagiography often emphasizes not only the holy person's representations of biblical virtues but also his or her relation to the natural world. Many early medieval saints are portrayed as inflicting harsh penitential rituals upon themselves, partly as a sign of their contempt for the world. But this *contemptus mundi* is balanced by a respect and love for nature, and there can be inferred a longing to return to the perfect creation that predated original sin. In the world of the fallen, the holy person often manifested a sort of mastery over nature: not solely of an affective sort, but of a command over it, a command that was used to benefit the saint as well as surrounding people. This type of wondrous deed follows directly from many examples in the Bible, *via* deeds recounted in patristic hagiographical literature. Out of many examples, one can see in the Latin (ca. 9th cent.) and Old English (ca. 1100) *vitae* of St. Giles – both his command over stormy waters, thus saving a crew from shipwreck (reminiscent of Acts 27:14–44), and his ability to calm wild animals (cf. Dan 6:2–29).

Hagiographical literature of the later Middle Ages and the early modern period, in presenting the story of a person as one of notable holiness, relies most heavily on the story of Jesus of Nazareth (or, esp. in relation to female holy people, Mary serves as an explicit model). Jesus' instructions to his disciples, as in Matt 10, are a model for the actions of many saints; and of especial resonance one can signal the call to voluntary poverty given to the rich man in Mark 10:17–21, where Jesus indicates that in addition to following the Ten Commandments, one ought also to sell one's possessions and give the money to the poor. Other biblical passages that are mentioned or echoed include the works of mercy in Matt 25:35–36, the three theological virtues famously presented in 1 Cor 13:13, and the twelve modes of behavior highlighted in 2 Cor 6:3–8. Lists of virtues and vices inspired by biblical passages such as these are to be found in several hagiographical works. Grégoire (96–107) lists several early medieval *vitae* as examples, culminating with the *vita* by Marbaud of Rennes (d. 1123) of Walter of Esterp (d. 1070). Later hagiographical works, produced after the flowering of the mendicant movement and most clearly evidenced in the many *vitae* produced regarding Francis of Assisi, emphasize ties to preaching, poverty, and good works (cf. Melville).

By this time, hagiographical emphasis on miracles had increased. Those of control over the non-human parts of creation ceded in frequency and in type to another sort that was also notable in the Bible, particularly in the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles: miracles of human healing. This shift coincided with a new approach to the determination of sanctity, in which from the later 12th century onward, the papacy (relying on Peter's commission in Matt 18:18) became the arbiter of precisely who could be venerated throughout the Church as a saint. Increasingly, the determination of sanctity came to be effected not only by proof of a person's reputation for virtuous deeds and moral character, but also by cures of ailments deemed intractable by medical experts. It is clear that hagiographical documents favor such cures that have been effected in ways that mirror cures by Jesus or his apostles; this is evidenced, for example, in the way reports of miracles by Peter of the Morrone (ca. 1210–1296, who served briefly as Pope Celestine V) were considered and selected.

The language of hagiographical documents tended away from the scientific and the higher realms of rhetorical literature. Indeed, the official lives of recently canonized saints were often written in the form of a sermon. These texts could serve not only as models for sermons that preachers throughout the Church could borrow or use to write their own homiletic compositions, but they had an additional purpose of serving as material for liturgical hours. In this way, this type of hagiographical production would become simplified, and enter the eyes and ears of the faithful in a relatively plain, unadorned manner. The most immediately recognizable sources of these homiletic and liturgical texts were biblical, particularly given the later medieval practice to begin each sermon with a biblical citation, or theme, that would serve as the rhetorical and meditative base for the content of the text that would follow. Nobody would read about or hear of a saint without this biblical framework made clearly and repeatedly.

Interest in the cult of saints became greater with the passing of the years, to the point where arguably the "bestseller" of the later medieval period was the hagiographical collection known by the title *Legenda aurea* (or *Golden Legend*), by the Dominican Iacopo da Varazze (ca. 1229–1298, also known as Jacobus de Voragine). More than 1,000 late medieval manuscripts of this work are extant today, as are hundreds of codices containing sermons, by the same author, on saints from biblical times to the 13th century. These legends and sermons, so widely circulated, are ordered according the liturgical calendar, which in turn is based heavily on NT events such as the Nativity, Easter, and Pentecost. The mendicant orders, promoters of the *vita apostolica*, produced many hagiographical works. It is not surprising, therefore, that their writings often discussed Franciscan and Dominican saints, and how these friars, nuns and, in some cases, lay men and women reflected biblical themes such as preaching and voluntary poverty.

"Reformation hagiography" differed dramatically from previous hagiographical literature on some, but not all, counts. Although it is difficult to generalize across such a diversity of reform movements of the 16th century, it may be posited that Protestant spirituality looked upon Catholic hagiography with great suspicion, as it was often deemed to encourage "superstition" relative to the cult of saints and related practices. As a result, lives of saints produced during the Protestant Reformation tended to deal heavily with the virtues and deeds of their subjects, particularly emphasizing their biblical traits. The early medieval *Vitae patrum* (edited by Georg Major, with a preface by Martin Luther) is just one example; it excised the more recent saints, and emphasized biblical virtues and imitation. In his preface, Luther is full of disdain toward material in the *Legenda aurea* that he considered to be lies and sheer imagination. In his endeavor to create images of holy people in the new Protestant world, Luther not only encouraged innovative *vitae* of worthy people, but he even wrote a hymn – "Eyn newes lied wyr heben an" / "A new song here shall be begun" – in honor of two men who had been martyred for their Lutheranism in 1523. Apart from biblical and very early saints such as the Desert Fathers, the sole people deemed truly to be saintly were the martyrs of the Protestant Reformation. The most famous and influential of these lives are to be found in the book by John Foxe (1516–1587), *Actes and monuments…*, better known as *Foxe's Book of Martyrs*, wherein the author presents the lives of English martyrs from the time of the Lollards down to those who were put to death during the reign of Queen Mary I, and drawing parallels between their faith and those of the holy people of the NT.

Catholics were to respond to the Protestant hagiographical challenge by creating new collections of *vitae*. New collections of hagiographical material, based at least in part upon archival research, were produced by Luigi Lippomano (Italy, 1500–1559), Lorenz Sauer (Germany, 1522–1578), Pedro de Ribadeneira (Spain, 1527–1611), and Heribert Rosweyde (Low Countries, 1569–1629). More than his predecessors, Rosweyde sought to base a new edition of saints' lives entirely on manuscript sources. He was not able to begin publishing his work, but his notes were effectively inherited by his Jesuit colleague Jean Bolland (1596–1665) who, realizing that Rosweyde's project could never be accomplished by one person, gathered a team of fellow Jesuits dedicated to this task. The first volume of this enterprise, the *Acta Sanctorum*, was published in 1643; dozens of volumes followed, as did over one hundred issues of the journal *Analecta Bollandiana* and dozens more monographs and books of collected editions and studies. This work is still in progress, making the Société des Bollandistes possibly the longest-running institute of historical scholarship in existence. This is not to say that hagiographical research is comfortable: after publishing doubts concerning the origins of the Carmelites, the *Acta Sanctorum* were condemned by the Spanish Inquisition in 1695, for a period of twenty years.

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George Ferzoco

C. Modern Europe and America

The problematic nature of Christian hagiography in relationship to the Bible is neatly captured by Hippolyte Delehaye (54), the leading 20th-century scholar on the subject: "[T]here is a school of hagiographers who would gladly expunge St. Peter's denial from the gospels, in order not to tarnish the halo of the leader of the apostles." Both hagiography and the related practice of saint veneration tend to veer away from the biblical sources, starting with the redefinition of the saints as "the meritorious dead" over against the NT's broader sense of the saints as "the faithful" or simply "the church." At the same time, the resilience of hagiography lies in its ability to give life to what otherwise would remain dry theory or lifeless ethics. In that sense, hagiography mirrors the narrative genres of the Bible in a way that theology rarely does.

There was no diminution of hagiography in Catholic practice after the Reformation; indeed, confessionalization encouraged the cultivation of the very practices that were most contested. But the most significant Catholic developments in hagiography took place in the 20th century. The aforementioned Delehaye and his fellow Bollandists (whose scholarly efforts had been devoted since the 16th century to the *Acta Sanctorum*) brought historical-critical method to bear on hagiography, distinguishing between what could be reasonably verified as historical and that which had the ring of pious legend. Though Delehaye's intention was to rehabilitate the saints from the mockery of contemporary skepticism, he and his associates were accused of Modernism; it was feared that the same historical method could be turned on the Bible. Ultimately, though, the method was accepted in both fields, leading later in the century to the removal of certain saints from the sanctoralis whose historical existence was very much in doubt, such as St. Christopher.

The other significant change to Catholic hagiography was the pontificate of John Paul II. His deliberate agenda was to canonize as many saints as possible, particularly in more recent Christian communities. In addition to canonizing 482 new saints – compared to the 450 canonized from the year 1000 all the way to the beginning of his pontificate in 1978 – the pope reformed the canonization process, which hitherto only religious orders could normally afford the time and money to pursue on behalf of their founders or other members. During this same period Catholic theologians, though glad of such developments, began to call for new models of sanctity to fit the radically changed circumstances of modern globalized society, among them Robert Ellsberg, Lawrence Cunningham, and Elizabeth Johnson. In this they followed the insight of a woman widely regarded as a saint, although she never consented to baptism, Simone Weil (51):

> Today it is not nearly enough merely to be a saint, but we must have the saintliness demanded by the present moment, a new saintliness itself without precedent.

Protestant hostility toward the saints remained the norm in the centuries after the Reformation and reached an apex in such Enlightenment figures as David Hume and Edward Gibbon. At the same time, a modified parallel practice of venerating if not invoking saints can be identified in many Protestant communities. Anglicans were avid readers of John Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* as were Anabaptist-Mennonites of *Martyrs Mirror*. Not only the writings of Martin Luther but his life story and image were common sources of Lutheran preaching, artwork, and identity formation, epitomized in the 1589 publication of Cyriakus Spangenberg's sermon series on the life of the reformer entitled *Theander Lutherus*. More recent Protestant movements display the same tendency, such as in Southern Baptist veneration of Lottie Moon and Pentecostal veneration

of William J. Seymour, the writing of child hagiographies by 19th-century Protestant women, and the popularity of missionary biographies as edifying reading among Evangelicals of all stripes. The most significant Protestant saint, however, is without doubt Dietrich Bonhoeffer, whose life history and its reception demonstrate remarkable parallels with classical hagiography and continue to inspire films, novels, and new biographies beyond the foundational work of his friend and hagiographer Eberhard Bethge.

Such is the power of the saints that they intrigue those beyond the community of faith and in the arts. E. M. Cioran rages against the saints' fanatical will to power via useless suffering; Edith Wyschogrod uses the altruism of saints to make a case for postmodern ethics. Graham Greene's "whisky priest" and Robert Duvall's portrayal of "The Apostle" in film are but two examples among many of the uniquely modern attraction to flawed saints. It is perhaps in such stories that the underlying biblical narrative receives its most attentive hearing in an otherwise secularizing culture. At the same time, cultural reception as a saint can also lead to sanitization or domestication. Catholic Worker activist Dorothy Day, now in the canonization process herself, famously said, "When they call you a saint it means basically that you're not to be taken seriously" (Ellsberg: 519).

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III. Islam

While Christian hagiography has no exact equivalent in Islam, Muslims have been telling stories of hagiographical nature about venerated personages since the dawn of Islam. The narratives, ranging in length from a line to a few pages, depict biblical prophets, the Prophet Muhammad, his Companions and Successors, the Shiʿite imams, Sufi saints and others. They were incorporated into, for example, biographies (*siyar*, sg. *sīra*), chronicles, Ḥadīth compendia, Qurʾān commentaries (*tafāsīr*, sg. *tafsīr*),

and often display features familiar from Christian hagiography: descriptions of extreme devotion, exceptional virtue, and of course miracles. The narratives were first written in the 8th century. The earliest texts including them are lost, but those recorded in the 9th century or later often survive in the approximate form their authors gave them.

These Muslim traditions often draw on the Bible, at times by explicitly citing biblical precedents and at times by silently modeling episodes from the life of the Muslim protagonist on biblical narratives. Few evince direct familiarity with the Bible; most know it through contemporary Christian or Jewish biblical lore, or the Qurʾān. While scholars have been devoting sustained attention to the relationship between the Bible and the Qurʾān, contacts between the Bible and other types of Muslim literature remain largely unmapped. What follows here are a few illustrative examples about Muḥammad. Much comparable material survives in narratives about other Muslim figures as well.

The Muslim Tradition sometimes validates events of Muḥammad's life by evoking prophetic precedents. Such sayings, usually ascribed to Muḥammad and alluding to unspecified prophets, typically begin with a variant of the phrase "Each and every prophet…/No prophet… except… (*mā min nabiyyin illā…*)." For example, the saying "Each and every prophet tended sheep" (*mā min nabiyyin illā wa-raʿā l-ghanam*; e.g., Ibn Saad: 1/1 : 79–80) represents Muḥammad as heir to Moses, David, and Jesus (e.g., Exod 3 : 1; 1 Sam 16–17; 2 Sam 7 : 8; Ps 78 : 70; John 10 : 11). Another saying, "No prophet remains in the earth for more than forty days" (*mā makatha nabiyyun fī l-arḍi akthara min arbaʿīna yawman*; ʿAbd al-Razzāq: 3 : 383) was probably inspired by the ascension of Jesus to heaven forty days after his death (Acts 1 : 3; cf. Szilágyi 2009: 140–46, and ead. 2014: 39–46; see "Ascension (General), V. Islam B. Resurrection and Ascension of Muhammad"). Examples of this type of saying could easily be multiplied.

Other Muslim traditions that model episodes of Muḥammad's life on biblical narratives lack any allusion to biblical figures. Zeev Maghen has recently demonstrated, for example, that the story of Muḥammad and Zaynab bint Jaḥsh developed under the influence of that of David and Bathsheba (Maghen 2007). Other episodes in Muḥammad's life were shaped by the Davidic narratives of the Bible to such an extent that Maghen could conclude his study by posing the question "Is Muḥammad David?" (Maghen 2008; quotation from p. 130). According to the recent study by David Powers, the life of Zayd ibn Ḥāritha, Muḥammad's adopted son, was also molded from biblical narratives (Powers). Such modeling of episodes of Muḥammad's and other Muslims' lives on biblical narratives makes their historicity dubious at best, and calls for

a re-examination of their genesis and the purpose of their circulation.

Many stories of Muḥammad's miracles are also variations on biblical narratives. According to a tradition, Muḥammad was covered by a cloud (e.g., Ibn Hishām: 181 = Guillaume 1997: 80), a story possibly inspired by the cloud in which God appeared to Moses on Mount Sinai (Exod 24:15–18). In another Muslim tradition, Muḥammad increased a small flow of water (e.g., Ibn Saad: 117–21 = Jeffery: 317–22), a feat certainly modelled on that of Moses (Exod 17:1–7; Num 20:1–13). According to yet other traditions, Muḥammad satisfied the hunger of multitudes with a small amount of food (e.g., Ibn Saad: 117, 119 = Jeffery: 316–17, 319–20), a miracle adapted from similar stories about Jesus (e.g., Matt 14:13–21, 15:32–39). Again, examples could be easily multiplied (cf. Sahas: 314–15, but on p. 322, n. 22, read Jeffery for Guillaume; Guillaume 1924: 132–42).

Some Muslim traditions do draw explicit parallels between Muḥammad and named biblical figures. According to one tradition, when Muḥammad died, some Muslims, among them the future caliph ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān, believed that he had been raised up to heaven in the same way that "Jesus son of Mary" had been raised up (*rufiʿa kamā rufiʿa ʿĪsā bnu Maryam*; Balādhurī: 1:655 and Ibn Saad: 2/2:57; cf. Szilágyi 2009: 152, and ead. 2014: 55). According to another tradition about Muḥammad's death, ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, another future caliph, thought that he "has gone to his Lord as Moses son of Amram had gone and been hidden from his people for forty days, returning to them after it was said that he had died. By God, the apostle will return as Moses returned…" (Ibn Hishām: 1/2: 1012–13 = Guillaume 1997: 682–83; cf. Szilágyi 2009: 149–50 and ead. 2014: 51–52). (See "Ascension [General], V. Islam B. Resurrection and Ascension of Muhammad".)

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IV. Literature

Hagiography is written stories of the saints' lives (*vitae*) and the study of such writings. During the times of the Christian persecutions, hagiographical works, such as the earliest independent account of a martyr, the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*, served to give Christians fortitude as well as potentially to serve as readings at liturgical celebrations of the martyrs. Once Christianity became the official religion of the Roman Empire, the hagiographical texts included other forms of sanctity, such as people living ascetic lives, church leaders, and founders of religious orders. This new focus limited the roles women could play in sanctity, although the type of life depicting women who disguised themselves as men to live monastic lives emerged. At this point in hagiography's development, the primary purpose of the works, according to Gregory of Tours, was to inspire Christians to mimic the saints' lives and actions through concrete examples.

Hagiography became very popular in the Middle Ages. Famous hagiographical collections of the Middle Ages include Gregory of Tours' *Life of the Fathers*, Aelfric of Eynsham's *The Lives of the Saints*, and Jacobus de Voragine's *Golden Legend*. Earlier collections were organized chronologically, but in the 13th century, they began to be organized based on the liturgical calendar (Legendaries). Also during this period, the stories within the Legendaries were shortened to make the collections more manageable.

The composition of hagiographical texts was not consistent. Some texts involved research, such as documentary sources; others had no research incorporated and likely came out of personal experience or oral tradition. Some were written by contemporaries of the saint; others were written many years after the saint died. During the Middle Ages, hagiographical texts emerged that focused on miracles and translations of relics that took place after the saint's death instead of focusing on the life of the saint. However, there are also parts of the texts that are relatively consistent from story to story. Stories of the non-martyr saints usually contain sections on the saint's family background, the life experiences of the saint, including miracles, and then the death and developing cult of the saint, also including miracles. Martyr stories include torture, which can be excessive, and death, but also include interrogatory scenes, which served a didactic purpose for the audience. Delahaye argues that

In numberless lives of the saints at least one of the points in this programme is supplied "from stock," and at times the whole of it is no more than a string of such commonplaces. (73)

In some cases, whole lives were simply copied from other lives due to the fact that the hagiographer's purpose was not to present an accurate biography but an ideal model to follow.

The hagiographical texts were disseminated in different ways during the Middle Ages. Some collections were gathered to provide preachers with sources for their sermons and to be read on feast days. Other collections were created specifically to provide inspiration to those in specific religious houses. Once literacy increased, some lives were gathered to provide devotional books for a lay audience. While the primary purpose of the hagiographical texts was to provide inspiration to Christians, during the 13th century, when the papacy controlled the canonization process, hagiographical texts were also used to promote the cases of potential saints. Therefore, some hagiographical texts were composed before the subjects were saints, and in some cases, the subjects were not canonized. In other cases, saints' lives were composed to draw attention to the saints in order to attract pilgrims to sites that owned relics of the saints.

During the course of the Middle Ages, certain aspects of hagiography remained consistent while others varied greatly. Early hagiography was written in verse, while prose becomes more popular in the later Middle Ages. Whether in verse or prose, such texts offered episodic narratives, with later texts adding additional episodes to earlier narratives for dramatic effect or to make the narrative more adventurous. The episodes centered around specific examples of pious works of the saint, tortures the saint endured and miracles performed by the saint, either before or after death. Because the examples are meant to inspire, the text is more concerned with narrative than characterization, and many episodes appear in the lives of multiple saints.

Hagiographical tradition also had an impact on other genres of literature as well as showing similar changes over time. Like romances and chronicles, hagiographical literature is written in verse and then prose. Medieval romance literature adapted characteristics from the genre; however, in the case of romance, tortures are tied to love and faithfulness to the beloved, not to Christian fidelity. From the 13th century on, saint's plays, dramatized versions of saint's lives, were composed, adapting details from their hagiographic sources. Dramas such as the Digby play of Mary Magdalene and *Le Jeu de Saint Nicolas* use hagiographical information to entertain as well as instruct audience members. Cycle plays also drew some of their materials from such hagiographical sources as the *Legenda Aurea*, and pageants often drew on the hagiographical material, such as the pageant of Saint Katherine or of Saint Helen. Hagiographical material was also incorporated into devotional works, such as St. Cecilia in Nicholas Love's *Mirror of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Crist* (ca. 1400), and eventually into story collections that include multiple genres, such as the life of Saint Cecile in the "Second Nun's Tale" that appears in Chaucer's *Canterbury's Tales*.

The fact that many stories are not developed from accurate sources and that many contain stock stories that also appear in other narratives caused critics from the Protestant Reformation to dismiss them as unreliable. Hagiographical texts continued to be written after the medieval period, often in response to the Reformation. Later secular works also continued to use hagiographical traditions for nonreligious works. Such uses include drawing on medieval stories, such as Mann's *The Holy Sinner* (1951) and Flaubert's *The Temptation of St. Antony* (1874), using the tradition for dramatic or tragic purposes, such as Eliot's *Murder in the Cathedral* (1935) and Browning's *The Ring and the Book* (1868–69), and inverting the tradition, such as O'Connor's *Wise Blood* (1952).

More recent scholarship has acknowledged that the purpose of such works is not historical accuracy, but instead the texts are concerned with showing how the saints' actions mimic the actions of Christ in the Gospels and therefore should be imitated by the Christian community.

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Lisa LeBlanc

V. Visual Arts

From textual evidence, we know that the earliest martyr shrines had hagiographical paintings depicting their trials and executions, most likely taken from texts and sermons, as well as popular legend. Already in the 4th century, Gregory of Nyssa described the images that could be seen at St. Theodore Tyro's tomb, depicting his deeds, torture,

and death, which helped visiting pilgrims envision the saint as if he were still present among them (*Laudatio S. Theodori*). Thus, at least from the 4th century on, buildings where saints were honored were decorated with images from the saint's life in order to make the experience of venerating the saint a more visceral one. Churches, chapels, and oratories dedicated to martyrs included murals, altarpieces, reliquaries of precious materials, and, in the later Middle Ages, sculpture, architectural sculpture, and stained glass, with images of their lives and martyrdoms, illustrating their virtues and promoting their effectiveness with depictions of posthumous miracles. The Church of St. Demetrios in Thessaloniki, before a 1917 fire destroyed most of its mosaics, for example, was covered in scenes of his miraculous interventions on behalf of the city's citizens, offered in thanksgiving for the enrichment of his church and promoting the ongoing presence of the saint in the community (early 7th cent.). These reinforced and complemented the hagiographical text relating his miracles that was compiled at about the same time (*The Miracles of Saint Demetrios*). From the early Renaissance period, there is what is arguably one of the most famous fresco cycles depicting a saint's life in Italy, the upper church dedicated to St. Francis in Assisi, the detailed murals traditionally attributed to Giotto and his workshop (1290s). Perhaps more masterfully realized are Giotto's frescoes of the saint in the Bardi Chapel of the Franciscan Church of Santa Croce in Florence (ca. 1325).

Synaxaria (compilations of the Church's feast days and liturgical commemorations) and *menologia* manuscripts (month books that described details from saints' lives according to their feast days), when illuminated, include at least one scene from the life of the saint honored on that day, most commonly the scene of his or her martyrdom. The *Menologion of Basil II*, from ca. 1000, offers an example of an imperial manuscript (in actuality, a *synaxarion*, with over 430 richly illuminated half-page illustrations for each feast day (Vatican Library MS Vat. gr. 1613). The saints are often depicted at the moment of their deaths. In a similar vein, calendar icons – examples of which only survive at the monastery of St. Catherine, Mount Sinai – sometimes include a small scene of the martyrdom of the saint venerated on a particular day (e.g., February panel from a quadripartite calendar, 12th cent., Monastery of St. Catherine, Mount Sinai).

Vita icons emerged in strength in the late 12th century and early 13th century, in both the Orthodox East and in Italy, using small narrative scenes from their lives and martyrdoms, including posthumous miracles, to encircle the main devotional portrait of the saint. (There is evidence of one vita panel from the 8th cent., however, a damaged icon of St. Marina in the Byzantine Museum of the Bish-opric of Paphos, Cyprus, which indicates the possibility that vita icons existed much earlier.) These were visual equivalents of a hagiographical text (see, e.g., the vita icon of St. Catherine, 13th cent., Monastery of St. Catherine, Mount Sinai, and a similar Feast Day panel of St. Catherine, 13th cent., Museo Nazionale, Pisa). In the Latin West, these types of devotional images developed to include polyptychs with narrative scenes of the saint flanking the main icon and also would use predellas along the bottoms of altarpieces to display smaller scenes involving the saint who was featured on the main panel. These could be in relief or painted, just as altar frontals might be similarly decorated with hagiographical scenes, in relief or painted.

Apart from the visual presentation of hagiography, there was the reliance upon hagiographical textual descriptions of saints for the way they were portrayed. How saints looked was of particular importance in the veneration of their icons. Hagiographers often included descriptions of the saints' general appearances, albeit conformed to expected types such as ascetics, monks, and military saints. These descriptions reflected their roles and ages, as well as abstract, spiritual qualities, peppered with a few physical features such as white hair, flashing eyes, balding, short, bright countenance, etc. Paintings and icons not only preserved these types and guided viewers in understanding whom they were looking at and precisely what kind of saint s/he had been, they helped formulate and promulgate the accepted appearances of saints, giving form and features enough to make recognizable who was portrayed without transgressing the boundaries of the type.

Finally, hagiography tells us of how the first icons – portraits – of saints were often painted by first-hand witnesses during their life times, or shortly after their deaths. This became especially important in the defense of icons in the East, when their function was questioned, for the direct transmission of the portrait from the original lent the icon veracity and authority.

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Katherine Marsengill

VI. Music

Considering the overall biblicality of hagiographical literature (see the previous articles on Hagiography), it must be noted from the outset that to look for the musical reception of the Bible connected to hagiography is to a large extent the same as looking for musical settings of hagiographical texts or narratives, as these are more or less directly based on biblical texts or models. The liturgical contexts to which many of such compositions belonged further provided a grand overall biblical context for individual settings of hagiographical texts about saints.

In a chapter entitled "Hagiography as Devotion: Writing in the Cult of the Saints," Derek Krueger has discussed Greek hagiography between the 4th and the 7th centuries arguing that the studied texts were written as part of the devotion to the saints. Pointing to the "cultic function of the production of these texts," Krueger claims that "far from conceiving of the hagiographer as a mere observer, these writers expected that narrating the lives of the saints constituted participation in their cults" (Krueger: 63, 92). Raymond Van Dam, discussing the 4th-century Latin *Passio*, an account of the suffering of the forty martyrs who had refused to perform pagan sacrifices, points out how this text was not only a "component of the liturgy" but also "a representation of the liturgy itself," along the way referencing the chanting of biblical psalms (Van Dam: 136, see also 147). During the Middle Ages, and beyond in churches which preserved cults of saints, hymns and other songs based on lives of saints have generally been part of saints' offices for liturgical celebrations of saints' days as far back as such offices have been preserved (see further below).

Augustine, in his *De civitate dei* (written 413-25) comments on the liturgical practices pertaining to cults of saints emphasizing that in contrast to pagans, Christians do not sacrifice to saints in temples as if they were gods; shrines erected for saints are memorial places "as to men who are dead, but whose spirits are living with God." The saints are named, not invoked, at the sacrifice (i.e., the Eucharist) which the priest offers "to the one God, not to the martyrs (although he offers it at their shrine) because he is God's priest, not theirs" (Augustine 1984: 1047). Augustine did, however, acknowledge that saints would intercede for the faithful, but to what extent his distinctions were understood and were representative for the devotions to saints at his time and generally is a complex question beyond the scope of this article. The cited statement in any case makes it clear that liturgical (memorial) practices involving the celebration of the Eucharist (i.e., of a mass) at saints' shrines were normal at this time, as also attested to by Augustine in his *Confessiones* (vi.2). Thus biblical texts would have been sung (chanted) at liturgical celebrations at saints' shrines as at liturgical ceremonies in general (as also attested to by Augustine in his critical discussion of liturgical song in *Confessiones* (x.33).

Numerous hymns connected to the veneration of saints have been preserved since antiquity, as exemplified by several of Ambrose's hymns (4th century), *Aeterna Christi munera* (The eternal gifts that Christ bestowed); *Agnes beatae virginis* (It is the day of Agnes' birth), *Apostolorum passio* (The suffering the Apostles bore), and *Victor, Nabor, Felix* (Victor, Nabor, Felix, all three; Walsh/Husch: 42–45, 22–25, 34–37, and 28–31). Noting that "the cult of saints was in its infancy in the early sixth century" Frederick S. Paxton has pointed to (rare) references in the West from the later 6th century (e.g., by Gregory of Tours) to votive masses (i.e., masses for special occasions) in honor of St. Sigismund, performed in order to remedy fevers. Through the singing of his mass, healing became possible, also for those who were not able to travel to his grave (Paxton: 25–28).

Comprehensive knowledge about songs for saints' offices and masses in the West has primarily come down to us after the Carolingian liturgical reforms around 800 in the so-called *sanctorale* (the "Proper of the Saints"), the section of a liturgical book containing the "proper", i.e., the not generally repeated, items for each saint's feast, (for the division of liturgical books and the liturgical year in the *sanctorale* and the *temporale*, see "Liturgy III. Christianity. A. Medieval Latin Liturgy," "Liturgy VI. Music. B. Christian Music," Hiley: 300–302; Harper: 49–53 and 65–66; and Dyer et al.). Since the Carolingian reforms also led to the development of musical notation during the 9th century, we begin to know about the melodies from this time onwards, although more accurate transcriptions can only be made from later notations (generally after the 11th century). The Compiègne Antiphoner (second half of the 9th century), a book of chants for the Divine Office, is the earliest preserved liturgical book containing notated songs for all parts of the Divine Office, including also saints' offices, e.g., for St. Benedict and St. Peter (Jacobsson; Jacobsson/Haug).

Liturgically, saints' offices were structured as all other divine offices (based on the structure for the seven daily and one nightly prayer prescribed in the *Rule of Benedict*, written in the first half of the 6th century), thus with the biblical psalms as the main textual basis. Texts from saints' lives (or legends) would be used especially in hymns as well as in antiphons connected to the chanting of the psalms and the *Magnificat* (the latter during Vespers) and, not least, in the responsories, among these especially the great responsories of the nightly Matins (normally divided in three so-called Nocturns). For the mass of a saint's day, hagiographical texts would primarily be included through sequences and tropes, but also often in the introit. As already stated, the saint's narrative(s) which formed the ba-

sis for the celebration of a saint's day often appropriated biblical elements and would in addition be juxtaposed with biblical texts, not least from the psalms, in the overall composition of the offices and masses.

Decus regni et libertas, "Adornment and liberty of the kingdom," was sung as the last responsory for Matins in two medieval offices for the Danish royal saint, Knud Lavard (canonized by a papal bull in 1169), the office for his martyrdom and the office for his translation. It contains the phrase "You open the ears of the deaf, give speaking tongues to the dumb, make the lame walk, and the blind see" clearly referring to Matt 11:5 and Luke 4:18. In the responsory, these signs of the kingdom of God, which in the biblical context refer to Jesus' miraculous deeds, are appropriated to St. Knud in response to what in the previous reading has been stated about him: "Our glorious father and patron Knud appeared pleasing to God among His chosen grains… Thus the mighty martyr, falling on the ground, grew to heaven and happily multiplied his fruits with God and men" (ET Chesnutt: 154–55; for the original notated Lat. text, see Bergsagel: 2:21–22; see also Petersen: 84–87).

Throughout the Middle Ages proper songs in various liturgical genres for the Divine Office as well as for the mass were composed in large quantities as the number of saints' days increased. For centuries such celebrations had mainly been authorized by bishops, but increasingly during the 12th century a centralized papal process of canonization took form. This, however, did not prevent local (also public) veneration of saints who had not been officially canonized, in taking place.

The so-called "Common of Saints" (*commune sanctorum*) provided chants and texts to be generally used for saints of different categories, martyrs, confessors, apostles, evangelists, bishops, virgins and others. Particularly important or prominent saints would receive individually composed offices (Dyer et al.). The text for saints' offices would often be in prose, but saints' offices were also composed as versified offices (Björkvall/Haug; Jacobsson/Haug), among the latter the so-called rhymed offices were also common; more than 1,500 rhymed offices have been preserved from the Middle Ages (Jacobsson/Haug).

Ellen Catherine Dunn studied records of Gallican saints' feasts in the 6th century and has suggested that saints' lives may at least sometimes have been performed at saints' vigils by jugglers and mimes. She also speculated that this eventually might have led to the establishing of saints' plays (Dunn:143–44; see also 70–72 and 83–101). Sung saints' plays in Latin have been preserved from the 12th century, probably connected to the cult of saints. The Fleury Playbook (see "Fleury Playbook") contains four St. Nicholas plays based on legends of St. Nicholas (Brockett). Also, vernacular saints' plays are found, for instance in Perugia in the 14th century "as part of cycles of music-dramas" for liturgical feasts in confraternity contexts (Falvey; see also "Confraternity"). In the context of confraternities, numerous vernacular *laude* (devotional songs) were written for use in confraternity celebrations of saints' days, as for instance *laude* in honor of St. Francis, St. Lawrence, St. Bernard, St. Agnes and others (Dürrer: 2: Table of Contents, v–viii).

The Protestant reformers of the 16th century abolished the cults of the saints (although they did not deny the notion of sainthood as such; see Heming). Receptions of saints and of their cults in music are found also in more recent Protestant cultures, but the hagiographical character of the cults has then been generalized as part of a regional or National and normally moral, cultural memory (see Petersen [forthcoming]). In the Catholic and Orthodox churches cults of saints have continued up to modern times, and increasing amounts of saints have thus led to ever larger amounts of liturgical saints' songs.

Also large-scale non-liturgical compositions have set hagiographical saints' narratives. Among hagiographical oratorios, Alessandro Scarlatti's *San Filippo Neri* (Rome 1705; see Pagano et al.) should be mentioned as well as oratorios on St. Francis of Assisi (see "Francis of Assisi IV. Music"). Arguably the most famous hagiographical oratorio is Franz Liszt's *Die Legende von der heiligen Elisabeth*, "Legend of St. Elisabeth" to a libretto by Otto Roquette (1862, see Smither: 203–26).

Even operas have treated saints in (more or less) hagiographical ways. Siglind Bruhn has discussed representations of "the religious quest" in modern operas (after 1945) in her *Saints in the Limelight*. Here the notion of a saint is broadly understood, including also Buddha, Martin Luther, and Dietrich Bonhoeffer among the treated protagonists in operas. Among operas discussed, however, there are several which are hagiographical also in the limited, traditional sense, based on the lives of well-known (canonized) saints as e.g., St Francis of Assisi, who is portrayed in four modern operas, most famously so in Olivier Messiaen's clearly hagiographical *Saint François d'Assise*, first performed 1983 (Bruhn: 360–90; see also "Francis of Assisi IV. Music"). Bruhn also discusses operas that treat their hagiographical narratives and materials in ambiguous ways, e.g., Ildebrando Pizzetti's *Assassinio nella cattedrale* (1958) based on T.S. Eliot's *Murder in the Cathedral* (Bruhn: 92–98; see also "Hagiography IV. Literature" concerning Eliot's play) and Nils Holger Petersen's *Vigilie for Thomas Becket* (A Vigil for Thomas Becket, 1989), "Petersen's Vigil for a Disputed Saint" (Bruhn: 103–16 (103)). Here as in Peter Maxwell Davies, *The Martyrdom of St. Magnus* (1976), based on the life of St. Magnus of the Orkney Islands, medie-

val liturgy and drama informs the shape of the operatic work (Bruhn: 533–46; see also 578–79).

Joan of Arc has been portrayed in three modern operas, most well-known among these is Arthur Honegger and Paul Claudel's dramatic oratorio *Jeanne d'Arc au bûcher* (Joan of Arc at the Stake; 1935/44; Bruhn: 66–77). Joan of Arc was also portrayed in 19th-century opera in Giuseppe Verdi's *Giovanna d'Arco* (1845, to a libretto by Temistocle Solera, partly after Schiller's play *Die Jungfrau von Orléans*, 1801). Also in the 19th century, Richard Wagner portrayed a saint in a free hagiographical way in his *Tannhäuser* (1845, rev. 1860–61); his Elisabeth is based on St. Elisabeth of Thuringia, and her intercession for Tannhäuser in the end brings him God's gracious salvation (see the discussion in "Grace VII. Music").

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Nils Holger Petersen

VII. Film

Jon Boorstin proposes three purposes for film production – voyeuristic, vicarious, and visceral (Boorstin). Scrutinized in light of Boorstin's proposal, hagiographical films are most likely to have three purposes imbedded in three generic types: investigation, verification, and veneration. In most cases, hagiographical films make biblical references, either textually or visually, in order to maximize each type's purpose.

Joan of Arc (dir. Luc Besson, 1999, US, a.k.a. *The Messenger: The Story of Joan of Arc*) and *Romero* (dir. John Duigan, 1989, US) are two good examples of the investigation type. As highly informative biopics (providing something new or unknown to the audience), the two films suggest how their titular saints think about God or how each perceives the Bible. Biblical references are made accordingly, especially biblical images. The adamant image of the child Jesus that appears in *Joan of Arc* seems to suggest that Joan, yet an adolescent who had a very strong sense of justice, envisioned Jesus as her own age with the same sense of justice. By situating the archbishop in his appropriate historical context, *Romero* shows how he came to read biblical texts through the lens of liberation theology. In short, with the help of biblical images, the former film performs a psychological-voyeuristic investigation of Joan's mind, while *Romero* provides important information about its titular saint.

The Song of Bernadette (dir. Henry King, 1943, US) and *Luther* (dir. Eric Till, 2003, US/DE) represent the verification type of hagiographical film. Films of this type tend to advocate God-commissioned lives of Christian saints. Thus, biblical references typically appear in these films for the purpose of verification or justification of the "idiosyncratic" behaviors of the saintly figure in question. *The Song* displays Mary, the mother of Jesus, with a dazzling halo, whom only Bernadette sees as a special revelation. In *Luther*, the cross and sacramental elements play an important role in portraying Luther as a person of sincere faith rooted in ancient forms of Christian piety. These films do not necessarily encourage audience identification with the saints. Yet still, the powerful usage of biblical images affirm the reasons behind the faithful acts of the saints and allure the audience to emulate the lives of saints or at least to aspire to the same mysterious experiences the saints had.

The veneration type of hagiographical film is most typical among the three. Like Greek icons of

the Orthodox Church and ceiling paintings of the Catholic Church, these films depict the hero/ine saints in the most glorified manner possible. Biblical references reinforce this impression. For instance, *Francis of Assisi* (dir. Michael Curtiz, 1961, US) beautifies St. Francis as one who literarily obeys and practices Jesus' teachings on serving the poor as a self-denying person (Matt 19:21; Luke 9:3; 9:24). *The Message* (dir. Moustapha Akkad, 1977, LB/LY/KW/MA/UK) amplifies the sainthood of Muhammad by affirming the mysterious visit of the angel Gabriel, following the mythic-historical record.

These three types overlap frequently for mixed purposes. In most cases, the Bible itself or biblical references provide authority and support for all three types and their mixed aims.

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See also →Acts, Apocryphal; →Antony of the Desert, Saint; →Ascetics, Asceticism; →Biography, Ancient; →Gospels, Apocryphal; →Holiness; →Martin of Tours; →Martyr, Martyrdom; →Saints