



A Guide to the Sources of Late Antique and Medieval Hagiography

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1. The primary sources.

1/1. Some major collections of hagiographic sources.

Sanctuarium seu Vitae sanctorum, ed. Boninus Mombritius (Bonino Mombrizio), 2 vols. (Milan, ca. 1477; reprint edition, Paris, 1910).

De probatis sanctorum historiis ed. Laurentius Surius (Laurence Suhr), 6 vols. and index (first edition, Cologne, 1570-75; second edition, 1576-1581; third edition, Venice, 1581). Fourth edition: De probatis sanctorum vitis, 12 volumes (Cologne, 1618). Fifth edition: Historiae seu Vitae sanctorum . . ., 13 vols. (Marieta, 1875-1880). (Organized by liturgical calendar.)

Acta primorum martyrum sincera et selecta . . ., ed. Th. Ruinart (Paris, 1689). Second edition: Antwerp, 1713. Third edition: Verona, 1731. Fourth edition: Augsburg, 1802-3. Fifth edition: Regensburg, 1859.

Acta Sanctorum quotquot toto orbe coluntur, eds. Jean Bolland, et al, (original ed., 67 vols., Antwerp and Brussels, 1643-1940; second edition, 43 vols., Venice; third edition, 60 vols., Paris). (Organized by liturgical calendar.) Standard abbreviation: AASS.

Acta Sanctorum ordinis Sancti Benedicti, eds. Luc d'Achéry and Jean Mabillon, first ed., 6 vols. in 9 (Paris, 1668-1701; partial reprint edition, Brussels, 1935). (Organized by century of the "Order of St. Benedict": the first volume covers the sixth century, the sixth volume the eleventh.) Standard abbreviation: AASSOB.

1/2. Other standard collections of medieval sources which include hagiographic material.

Latin: J. P. Migne (ed.), Patrologiae cursus completus: Series latina, 221 volumes (Paris, 1841-64) [=PL]. More recent editions of many of the works contained in this collection may be found in the following ongoing series: Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum (Vienna) [=CSEL]; Corpus christianorum, series latina [=CCSL], Corpus christianorum, series graeca [=CCSG], Corpus christianorum, Continuatio mediaevalis [=CCCM](all published in Turnhout); Sources chrétiennes [=SC] (Paris).

Greek: J. P. Migne (ed.), Patrologiae cursus completus: Series graeca, 176 volumes (Paris, 1857-1876) [=PG]. Also see Sources chrétiennes (Paris).

Italy: Italia sacra, sive De episcopis italiae ad insularum adjacentium, ed. Ferdinando Ughelli, 9 vols. (Rome, 1644-62; revised edition in 10 volumes, Venice, 1717-22; reprint, 1970); Rerum italicarum scriptores ab anno aerae christianae quingentesimo ad millesimum quingentesimum, eds. Ludovico Muratori, et al., 25 vols. in 28 (Milan, 1723-1751); Rerum italicarum scriptores. Racolta degli storici italiani dal cinquecento al millecinquecento, eds. G. Carducci and V. Fiorini [revised edition of previous known as the "New Muratori"] (Cittá di Castello and Bologna, 1900-present); Fonti per storia d'Italia (Rome, 1887-present).

Iberia: España sagrada, eds. Enrique Florez, et al., 58 vols. (Madrid, 1747-1954); Portugaliae Monumenta historica a saeculo octavo post Christum usque ad quintum decimum, 6 volumes (Lisbon, 1856-97).

France: Gallia christiana, second edition, 16 volumes (Paris, 1715-1785); Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France, ed. M. Bouquet et al., 24 volumes (Paris, 1738-1833; reedition, 1896-1904). Also texts published in Chartes et diplômes relatifs à l'Histoire de France; Collection des documents inédits relatifs à l'Histoire de France; Classiques de l'Histoire de France au Moyen Age.

Germany and Empire: Monumenta Germaniae historica (Hannover and Berlin, 1826-present), particularly the Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum and the Scriptores in folio for hagiographic works. The Germania sacra, 3 vols. in 5 (Berlin, 1929-41) and Germania sacra. Neue Folge, 28 vols. (Berlin, 1962-present) also contain material of interest.

England: Rerum britannicarum medii aevi scriptores (Rolls Series), 99 volumes in 253 (London, 1858-1896). Also texts published by the Camden Society, the Early English Text Society, Nelson's Medieval Texts, and Oxford Medieval Texts.

Byzantium and the Latin east: Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae, 50 volumes (Bonn, 1828-97); Corpus fontium historiae byzantinae (Washington and Berlin, 1967-present); Recueil des historiens des Croisades: Historiens occidentaux, 5 vols. (Paris, 1841-95).

1/3 .The Bollandist repertories.

Bibliotheca hagiographica latina antiquae et mediae aetatis. 3 vols. (Subsidia hagiographica, 6 and 70; Brussels, 1898 and 1986). Standard abbreviation: BHL.

Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca, revised edition (Subsidia hagiographica, 8a; Brussels, 1957). Also see François Halkin, Novum auctarium Bibliothecae hagiographicae graecae, (Subsidia hagiographica, 65; Brussels, 1984). Standard abbreviation: BHG.

Bibliothecae hagiographicae orientalis (Subsidia hagiographica, 10; Brussels, 1910). Standard abbreviation: BHO.

1/4. Other guides to Latin and Greek hagiographic sources.

Hagiographies. Histoire internationale de la littérature hagiographique, latine et vernaculaire, en Occident, des origines à 1550, ed. Guy Philippart, 4 vols. (Turnhout: Brepols, 1994-present). The organization of the whole work is a combination of period and region: the articles included in each volume, however, are in order of preparation.

Lists of vitae: Eligius Dekkers, "Vitae Sanctorum," Clavis Patrum Latinorum (Sacris Erudiri, 3; Bruges and The Hague, 1951), pp. 357-84 (organized geographically; covers roughly from the Acts of the Martyrs to Bede; based largely on the BHL); "Biographies spirituelles," Dictionnaire de spiritualité, (Paris, 1937-present), 1:1646-78 (organized by century).

Sources from Francia: Ferdinand Lot, et al., "Vitae, Passiones, Miracula, Translationes sanctorum Galliae (500-1000)," Archivum latinitatis medii aevi, 14 (1939), pp. 183-225) and "Vitae, Passiones, Miracula, Translationes sanctorum Galliae necnon alia opera hagiographica saeculum XI in Gallia exarata (a. 1000-1108)," Archivum latinitatis medii aevi, 18 (1943), pp. 5-39.

Sources from modern Belgium: Index Scriptorum operumque latino-belgicorum medii aevi: Nouveau Répertoire des oeuvres médiolatines belges, eds. Léopold Genicot and P. Tombeur, 3 vols. in 4 (1973-present). Contains separate listing of hagiographic sources from the seventh through the twelfth centuries.

Sources from Celtic lands: Michael Lapidge and Richard Sharpe, A Bibliography of Celtic-Latin Literature, 400-1200 (Dublin, 1985).

Lists of canonization processus: André Vauchez, "Les procès de canonisation," in La sainteté en occident aux derniers siècles du moyen âge d'après les procès de canonisation et les documents hagiographiques (Rome, 1981), pp. 655-65. (Organized first by sub-genre and then chronologically.)

Lives in Byzantium and the Latin east: J. W. Nesbit, "A geographical and chronological guide to Greek saints' lives," Orientalia christiana periodica, 35 (1969), 24-46; Charles Kohler, "Rerum et Personarum quae in Actis Sanctorum Bollandistis et Analectis Bollandianis obvie ad orientem latinum spectant. Index Analyticus," in Revue de L'orient latin, 5 (1897), pp. 460-561.

Lists of relic translations: Henri Fros, "Liste des translations et inventions de l'époque carolingienne," Analecta Bollandiana, 104 (1986), pp. 427-9 and Patrick Geary, "Handlist of

Relic Thefts (ca. 800-ca. 1100)," in Furta Sacra. Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages (Princeton, 1978; second edition 1990), pp. 149-56. Both are organized alphabetically by saint.

1/5. Guides to hagiographic sources in vernacular languages.

Old French: Paul Meyer, "Légendes hagiographiques en français," Histoire littéraire de France, vol. 33 (Paris, 1906), pp. 328-458 and Robert Bossuat, Manuel bibliographique de la littérature française du Moyen Age, one volume with three supplements (Paris, 1951-86), consult indices under "saint." Also see Jean-Pierre Perrot, Le passionnaire français au moyen âge (Publications Romanes et Françaises, 200; Geneva, 1992).

Old Provençal: Clovis Brunel, Bibliographie des manuscrits littéraires en ancien provençal (Paris, 1935).

Italian: see the discussion of resources in Jacques Dalarun, Claudio Leonardi, and François Dolbeau, "Pour une 'Biblioteca agiographica italiana,'" Hagiographica, 1 (1994).

Anglo-Saxon: see the discussion of resources in E. Gordon Whatley, "Hagiography in Anglo-Saxon England: a Preliminary View from SASLC," Old English Newsletter, 23 (1990), pp. 36-46, as well as the articles by Cross and Whatley in the second volume of Hagiographies.

Middle English: Charlotte d'Evelyn and Frances Foster, "Saints' Legends," in A Manual of Writings in Middle English 1050-1500, ed. J. Burke Sevens (New Haven, 1970), 2:410-81 and 553-649; M. Görlach, "Middle English Legends, 1220-1530," in Hagiographies. Histoire internationale de la littérature hagiographique, latine et vernaculaire, en Occident, des origines à 1550, ed. Guy Philippart, 4 vols. (Turnhout: Brepols, 1994-present), 1:429-86.

Anglo-Norman: M. Thiry-Stassin, "L'hagiographie en Anglo-Normand," in Hagiographies. Histoire internationale de la littérature hagiographique, latine et vernaculaire, en Occident, des origines à 1550, ed. Guy Philippart, 4 vols. (Turnhout: Brepols, 1994-present), 1: 407-28.

Old Irish: C. Plummer, "A Tentative Catalogue of Irish Hagiography," in idem, Miscellanea Hagiographica Hibernica (Subsidia Hagiographica, 15; Brussels, 1925), pp. 171-285. Also see Pierre Grosjean, "Hagiographica celtica," Analecta Bollandiana, 55 (1937), 96-108, and for Hiberno-Latin, see Michael Lapidge and Richard Sharpe, A Bibliography of Celtic-Latin Literature, 400-1200 (Dublin, 1985).

German: see W. Williams-Krapp, "Deutschsprachige Hagiographie von ca. 1350 vis ca. 1550," in Hagiographies. Histoire internationale de la littérature hagiographique, latine et vernaculaire, en Occident, des origines à 1550, ed. Guy Philippart, 4 vols. (Turnhout: Brepols, 1994-present), 1:267-88, as well as the discussion of resources in K. Kunze, "Projekt keiner 'Bibliotheca Hagiographica Germanica,'" Analecta Bollandiana, 90 (1972), pp. 299-322. Note: an article by Kunze in the second volume of Hagiographies will cover German literature from 850 to 1350.

Scandinavian: Ole Widding, Hans Bekker-Nielsen, and Laurence Shook, "The Lives of the Saints in Old Norse Prose: A Handlist," Mediaeval Studies, 25 (1963), pp. 294-337; Margaret

Cormack, The Saints in Iceland: Their Veneration from the Conversion to 1400 (Subsidia Hagiographica, 78; Brussels, 1994).

Also see the appropriate articles in the forthcoming volumes of Hagiographies. Histoire internationale de la littérature hagiographique, latine et vernaculaire, en Occident, des origines à 1550, ed. Guy Philippart, 4 vols. (Turnhout: Brepols, 1994-present). Note: vernacular languages will be treated along with Latin sources for certain regions (Italy, Iberia, the Low Countries, Scandinavia, Hungary, and the Slavic countries, and the Celtic lands) and apart for others (England, Germany, and France).

2. Guides to the saints.

2/1. Major dictionaries of saints.

Vies des saints et des bienheureux par les reverends pères bénédictins de Paris, eds. Jules Baudot, Paul Antin, and Jacques Dubois, 13 vols. (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1935-1959).

Bibliotheca Sanctorum, Iosepho Vizzini, et al., 13 vols. (Rome: Istituto Giovanni XXIII, 1961-1970).

Histoire des saints et de la sainteté Chrétienne, ed. Francesco Chiovaro et al., 11 vols. (Paris: Hachette, 1986-8).

Lives of the Saints, ed. S. Baring Gould, revised edition, 16 vols. (Edinburgh, 1914). To be used with caution.

Butler's Lives of the Saints, revised edition by Herbert Thurston and Donald Attwater, 4 vols. (New York, 1956). To be used with caution.

2/2. Shorter dictionaries of saints.

The Oxford Dictionary of Saints, ed. David Farmer, revised edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).

The Penguin Dictionary of Saints, ed. Donald Attwater (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1965).

The Book of Saints: A Dictionary of Servants of God, compiled by the Benedictine monks of St Augustine's Abbey, Ramsgate, 6th ed. (London and Wilton, CT, 1989).

A Dictionary of Saintly Women, ed. Agnes Dunbar, 2 vols. (London, 1904-1905).

F. G. Holweck, Biographical Dictionary of the Saints (St. Louis and London, 1924).

John Coulson, The Saints: A Concise Biographical Dictionary (New York, 1958).

2/3. Major encyclopedias which include entries on saints.

Dictionary of the Middle Ages, ed. Joseph Strayer, 13 vols. (New York, 1982-1989).

New Catholic Encyclopedia, 15 vols. (New York 1967).

Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie, eds. Fernand Cabrol, Henri Leclercq, and Henri Marrou, 15 vols. (Paris, 1907-53).

Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques, ed. Alfred Baudrillart, et al., 23 volumes to date (Paris, 1912-present).

Lexikon des Mittelalters, 6 volumes to date (Munich, 1980-present).

Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche, second edition, ed. Michael Buchberger, Josef Höfer, and Karl Rahner, 10 volumes (Freiburg, 1957-68).

Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum (Stuttgart, 1950-present).

Enciclopedia Cattolica, ed. Giuseppe Pizzardo and Pio Paschini, 12 volumes (Vatican City, 1948-1954).

2/4. Shorter guides which include entries on saints.

Encyclopedia of Early Christianity, ed. Everett Ferguson, et al. (New York, 1990).

Encyclopedia of the Early Church, ed. Angelo di Berardino, trans. Adrian Walford, 2 volumes (Oxford, 1992).

Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, ed. Frank Cross and Elizabeth Livingstone, second edition (Oxford, 1974).

Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium, ed. Alexander Kazhdan, et al., 3 vols. (Oxford, 1991).

3. Guides to hagiographic literature.

3/1. Manuals of hagiography.

Hippolyte Delehaye, Les legendes hagiographiques, fourth edition (Subsidia hagiographica, 18; Brussels, 1955), ET as The Legends of the Saints, trans. V. M. Crawford (from second edition; London, 1907 and reprint, Notre Dame University Press, 1961) and trans. Donald Attwater (from fourth edition; New York: Fordham University Press, 1962); Cinq leçons sur la méthode hagiographique, (Subsidia hagiographica, 21; Brussels, 1934).

René Aigrain, L'hagiographie: ses sources, ses méthodes, son histoire (Paris, 1953).

Jacques Dubois and Jean-Loup Lemaitre, Sources et méthodes de l'hagiographie médiévale (Paris: Editions de Cerf, 1993).

Réginald Grégoire, Manuale de agiologia. Introduzione alla letteratura agiografica (Bibliotheca Montisfani, 12; Fabriano, 1987).

3/2. Histories of hagiographic scholarship.

Hippolyte Delehaye, L'oeuvre des bollandistes à travers trois siècles, second edition (Subsidia hagiographica, 13; Brussels, 1959), ET as The Work of the Bollandists through Three Centuries, 1615-1915, English ed. (Princeton, N.J., 1922).

Paul Peeters, L'oeuvre des Bollandistes, new ed. (Brussels, 1961).

David Knowles, Great Historical Enterprises: Problems in Monastic History (London, 1963) contains chapters on the Bollandistes and the Maurists.

Helen Damico and Joseph Zavadil (eds.), Medieval Scholarship: Biographical Studies on the Formation of a Discipline. Volume 1: History (New York: Garland, 1995). Particularly the articles on Jean Bolland, Jean Mabillon, Lodovico Muratori.

3/3. Typologie des sources.

Guy Philippart, Les légendiers latins et autres manuscrits hagiographiques (Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental, 24-25; Turnhout, 1977).

Jacques Dubois, Les martyrologes du moyen âge latin (Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental, 26; Turnhout, 1978).

Martin Heinzelmann, Translationsberichte und andere quellen des Reliquienkultes (Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental, 33; Turnhout, 1979).

Michel Sot, Gesta episcoporum, Gesta abbatum (Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental, 37; Turnhout, 1981).

J. Richard, Les récits de voyages et de pèlerinages (Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental, 38; Turnhout, 1981).

C. Bremond, Jacques Le Goff, Jean-Claude Schmitt, L'exemplum (Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental, 40; Turnhout, 1982).

Karl Schmid, Les Libri Vitae (Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental; Turnhout, in press).

Pietro Boglioni, Libelli miraculorum (Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental; Turnhout, in press).

3/4. Some other useful guides to medieval literature (in addition to 2/3 above).

Repertorium fontium historiae medii aevi, 5 vols. (Rome, 1962-present).

Jacques Berlioz, et al., Identifier sources et citations (l'Atelier du médiéviste, 1; Turnhout: Brepols, 1994), particularly chap. 11 on "Les sources hagiographiques."

Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters, ed. Max Manitius, 3 vols, Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, IX, 2 (Munich, 1911-31).

Orbis Latinus, ed. J. G. T. Graesse, et al., third edition, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1922; reprint, Budapest, 1972).

Répertoire topo-bibliographique des abbayes et prieurés, ed. Laurent Cottineau, 3 vols. (Mâcon, 1939-70).

Series episcoporum ecclesiae catholicae, ed. Pius Bonifacius Gams (Regensburg, 1873).

Dictionnaire de droit canonique, 7 vols., eds. A. Villien, E. Magnin, A. Amanieu, and Raoul Naz (Paris: Letouzey, 1935-65).

Dictionnaire de spiritualité, ascétique et mystique: doctrine et histoire, eds. Joseph de Guibert, Marcel Viller, F. Cavallera, et al., 16 volumes to date [to Vocation] (Paris, 1937-present).

Dictionnaire de théologie catholique, eds. A. Vacant, E. Mangenot, and E. Amann, 15 volumes (Paris, 1909-1950).

3/5. Journals of hagiographic studies.

Analecta Bollandiana (Brussels: 1882-present). A journal edited by the Bollandists. Be sure to consult the decennial indices, as well as François Halkin, Analecta bollandiana. Inventaire hagiographiques des tomes I à 100 (1882-1982) (Brussels, 1983).

Hagiographica. Rivista della Società internazionale per lo studio del Medioevo latino (Spoleto: 1994-present).

3/6. Annotated bibliographies.

Sofia Boesch Gajano (ed.), Agiografia altomedioevale (Bologna, 1976), pp. 7-48.

Stephen Wilson (ed.), Saints and Their Cults (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 309-417.

Linda Kay Davidson and Maryjane Dunn-Wood (eds.), Pilgrimage in the Middle Ages: A Research Guide (Garland Medieval Bibliographies, 16; New York: Garland, 1993).

Maryjane Dunn and Linda Kay Davidson (eds.), The Pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela: A Comprehensive Bibliography (Garland Medieval Bibliographies, 18; New York: Garland, 1994).

For recent periodical literature on hagiography and related subjects, consult the International Medieval Bibliography under "Hagiography" and other relevant headings, as well as the regular listings of recent literature provided in Analecta Bollandiana.

4. Guides to iconography.

Remigius Bäumer and Leo Scheffczyk (eds.), Marienlexikon, 4 vols. (St. Ottilien, 1988-92).

Charles Cahier, Caractéristiques des saints dans l'art populaire (Paris: Poussielgue, 1867).

Clara Erskins Clement, A Handbook of Christian Symbols and Stories of the Saints as Illustrated in Art, ed. Katherine E. Conway (Boston, 1886).

Yves Christe, Tania Velmans, Hanna Losowska, and Roland Recht, Art in the Christian World, 300-1500: A Handbook of Styles and Forms (London, 1982).

Maurice and Wilfred Drake, Saints and Their Emblems (London, 1916).

Gaston Duchet-Suchaux and Michel Pastoureau, The Bible and the Saints (Flammarion Iconographic Guides; French original, Paris, 1994; ET, New York, 1994).

Georges Ferguson, Signs and Symbols in Christian Art (Oxford, 1954).

François Garnier, Le langage de l'image au moyen âge. I: Significations et symbolique. II: Grammaire des gestes, 2 vols. (Paris, 1982-?).

George Kaftal, Iconography of the Saints in Tuscan Painting (Florence, 1952).

George Kaftal, Iconography of the Saints in the Painting of North East Italy (Florence, 1978).

George Kaftal, Iconography of the Saints in the Painting of North West Italy (Florence, 1985).

George Kaftal, Iconography of the Saints in Central and South Italian Schools of Painting (Florence, 1986).

George Kaftal, Iconography of the Saints in Tuscan Painting (Florence, 1952).

Engelbert Kirschbaum (ed.), Lexikon der Christlichen Ikonographie, 8 vols. (Rome, 1968-76). Also Lexikon christlicher Kunst: Themen, Gestalten, Symbole (Friburg, 1980).

Karl Künstle, Ikonographie der Heiligen (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1926).

R. L. P. Milburn, Saints and Their Emblems in English Churches, rev. ed. (Oxford, 1957).

Pierre Miquel, Dictionnaire symbolique des animaux (Paris, 1992).

Louis Réau, Iconographie de l'art chrétien, 3 vols. in 6 (Paris, 1955-9).

Helen Roeder, Saints and their Attributes, with a Guide to Localities and Patronage (London: Longmans, 1955).

Gertrud Schiller, Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst, 5 vols. (Gütersloh, 1966-91).

Margaret Tabor, The Saints in Art (London, 1969).

Edouard Urech, Dictionnaire des symboles chrétiens (Neuchatel, 1972).

Jacques Voisenet, Bestiaire chrétien. L'imagerie animal des auteurs du haut moyen âge (Ve-XIe s.) (Toulouse, 1994).

5. General works of hagiographic scholarship.

5/1. Theoretical and methodological approaches to reading hagiography.

Barbara Abou-el-Haj, The Medieval Cult of Saints: Formations and Transformations (Cambridge, 1994).

Patrick Corbet, Les saints ottoniens. Sainteté dynastique, sainteté royale et sainteté féminine autour de l'an mil (Beihefte der Francia, 15; Sigmaringen, 1986).

Anna Benvenuti-Papi, "In castro poenitentiae": santità e società femminile nell'Italia medievale (Italia Sacra, 45; Rome: Herder, 1990).

Lisa Bitel, Isle of the Saints: Monastic Settlement and Christian Community in Early Ireland (Ithaca, NY, 1990).

Allison Elliott, Roads to Paradise. Reading the Lives of the Early Saints (Hanover, NH, 1987).

Sharon Farmer, Communities of St. Martin: Legend and Ritual in Medieval Tours (Ithaca, 1991).

Paulo Golinelli, Indiscreta Sanctitas: Studi sui rapporti tra culti, poteri e società nel pieno medioevo (Rome, 1988).

Thomas Head, Hagiography and the Cult of Saints. The Diocese of Orléans, 800-1200 (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, fourth series, number 14; Cambridge, 1990).

Thomas Heffernan, Sacred Biography: Saints and Their Biographers in the Middle Ages (Oxford, 1988).

Aviad Kleinberg, Prophets in their Own Country: Living Saints and the Making of Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages (Chicago, 1992).

Joseph-Claude Poulin, L'ideal de sainteté dans l'Aquitaine carolingienne d'après les sources hagiographiques (750-950) (Quebec City, 1975).

Susan Ridyard, The Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England: A Study of West Saxon and east Anglian Cults (Cambridge, 1988).

Pierre-André Sigal, L'homme et le miracle dans la France médiévale (XIe-XIIe siècle) (Paris, 1985).

Gerhard Strunk, Kunst und Glaube in der Lateinischen Heiligenlegende. Zu ihrem Selbstverständnis in den Prologen (Medium Aevum, Philologische Studien, 12; Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1970).

Benedicta Ward, Miracles and the Medieval Mind. Theory, Record and Event, 1000-1215 (Philadelphia, 1982).

Donald Weinstein and Rudolph Bell, Saints and Society. The Two Worlds of Latin Christendom, 1000-1700 (Chicago, 1982).

Richard Kieckhefer, Unquiet Lives. Fourteenth-Century Saints and Their Religious Milieu (Chicago, 1984).

Gabriella Zarri, La sante vive: cultura e religiosita femminile nella prima età moderna (Sacro/Santo, 2; Turin: Rosenberg and Sellier, 1990).

5/2. Some review articles of hagiographic scholarship.

Baoudouin de Gaiffier, "Mentalité de l'hagiographie médiévale, d'après quelques travaux récents," Analecta Bollandiana, 86 (1968), 391-99.

Léopold Genicot, "Discordiae concordantium: Sur l'intérêt des textes hagiographiques," Académie royale de Belgique: Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres et des Sciences Morales et Politiques, 5 ser., vol. 51 (1965), pp. 65-75.

Henri Deroche, André Vauchez, and Jacques Maître, "Sociologie de la sainteté canonisée," Archives de sociologie des religions, 30 (1970), pp. 109-15.

Friedrich Lotter, "Legenden als Geschichtsquellen?," Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters, 27 (1971), 195-200.

Martin Heinzelmann, "Neue Aspekte der biographischen und hagiographischen Literatur in der lateinischen welt (1.-6. Jahrhundert)," Francia, 1 (1973), pp. 27-44.

Friedrich Lotter, "Methodisches zur Gewinnung historischer Erkenntnisse aus hagiographischen Quellen," Historische Zeitschrift 229 (1979), pp. 298-356.

Claudio Leonardi, "Dalla santità 'monastica' alla santità 'politica,'" Concilium, 15 (1979), pp. 1540-53.

Sofia Boesch Gajano, "Il culto dei santi: filologia, antropologia e storia," Studi storici, 23 (1982), pp. 119-36.

Paolo Golinelli, "Agiografia e storia in studi recenti," Società e storia, 19 (1983), pp. 103-20.

Jean-Claude Schmitt, "La fabrique des saints," Annales. E. S. C., 39 (1984), pp. 286-300.

John Howe, "Lectio hagiographica: review article," Catholic Historical Review, 76 (1990), 564-69.

5/3. Some collections of hagiographic scholarship.

Pellegrinaggi e culto dei santi in Europa fino alla Ia crociata (Convegni del centro di studi sulla spiritualità medievale, 4; Todi, 1963).

Sofia Boesch Gajano (ed.), Agiografia altomedioevale (Bologna, 1976).

Wolfgang Müller, Heilige in Geschichte, Legende, Kult (Karlsruhe, 1979).

Evelyne Patlagean and Pierre Riché (eds.), Hagiographie, cultures, et sociétés. IVe-XIIe siècles (Paris, 1981).

Jean-Claude Schmitt (ed.), Les saints et les stars. Le texte hagiographique dans la culture populaire (Paris, 1983).

Stephen Wilson (ed.), Saints and Their Cults (Cambridge, 1983).

Culto dei santi, istituzioni e classi sociali in età preindustriale, eds. Sofia Boesch Gajano and Luigi Sebastiani (Collana di studi storici, 1; L'Aquila: Japadre Editore, 1984).

John Hawley (ed.), Saints and Virtues (Berkeley, 1987).

Santi e demoni nell'alto medioevo occidentale (secoli V-XI), 2 vols. (Settimane di studio del centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 36; Spoleto, 1989).

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The Cult of the Saints in the Late Roman Empire: A Bibliography

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General studies.

Peter Brown, who practically invented the concept of the "late antique" world, has also provided one of the most readable introductions in [The World of Late Antiquity, 150-750](#) (London, 1971). Another excellent introduction is Averil Cameron, [The Mediterranean World in Late Antiquity, AD 395-600](#) (London, 1993). For historical background on the development of the Mediterranean *oikumene* during antiquity, consult F. E. Peters, [The Harvest of Hellenism: A History of the Near East from Alexander the Great to the Triumph of Christianity](#) (New York, 1970). On political and institutional questions in the late antique Roman Empire, see Chester Starr, [The Roman Empire, 27 B.C.-A.D. 476: A Study in Survival](#) (Oxford, 1982) and A. H. M. Jones, [The Later Roman Empire, 284-602: A Social, Economic, and Administrative Survey](#) (Baltimore, 1986).

Christian holy people and the cult of saints.

The pioneering work on the early Christian cult of saints was done by Hippolyte Delehaye: "Les premiers libelli miraculorum," [Analecta Bollandiana](#), 29 (1910), pp. 427-34; [Les passions des martyrs et les genres littéraires](#) (Brussels, 1921); "Les recueils antiques de miracles des saints," [Analecta Bollandiana](#), 43 (1925), pp. 5-85; [Sanctus: Essai sur le culte des saints dans l'antiquité](#) (Subsidia hagiographica, 17; Brussels, 1927); "Loca sanctorum," [Analecta Bollandiana](#), 48 (1930), pp. 5-64; [L'Origine du culte des martyrs](#), second edition (Subsidia hagiographica, 20; Brussels, 1933). The work retains much interest and importance, although some of Delehaye's perspective is necessarily dated.

The most influential modern work on the origins of the cult of Christian saints is that of Peter Brown, [The Cult of the Saints. Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity](#) (Chicago, 1981). There have, however, been critical responses: see, in particular, Jacques Fontaine, "Le culte des saints et ses implications sociologiques, réflexions sur un récent essai de P. Brown," [Analecta Bollandiana](#), 100 (1982), pp. 17-42 and Charles Pietri, "Les origines du culte des martyrs (d'après un ouvrage récent)," [Rivista di archeologia cristiana](#), 60 (1984), pp. 293-319.

Similarly, the article which has cast the scholarly paradigm for the study of late antique saints is Peter Brown, "The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity," in idem, Society and the Holy in Late Antiquity (Chicago, 1982), pp. 103-52. In this case, be sure to consult Brown's own ongoing reconsideration of his work in "The Saint as Exemplar in Late Antiquity," in Saints and Virtues, ed. John Hawley (Berkeley, 1987), pp. 3-14 and, even more fully, in "Arbiters of the Holy: The Christian Holy Man in Late Antiquity," in idem, Authority and the Sacred: Aspects of the Christianisation of the Roman World (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 57-78.

Non-Christian holy people in late antiquity.

The scholarly tradition of charting the origin of the cult of saints in the cult of ancient heroes has largely been discredited. Two classic statements are E. Lucius and G. Anrich, Die Anfänge des Heiligenkultes in der christlichen Kirche (Tübingen, 1904) and P. Saintyves (E. Nourry), Les saints successeurs des dieux (Paris, 1907). The later work of Theodor Klauser has not entirely lost its value: "Vom Heroon zur Märtyrbasilika. Neue archäologische Balkanfunde und ihre Deutung," Kriegsvorträge der Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms Universität, Bonn, 62 (1942), pp. 275-91; Christlicher Märtyrkult, heidnischer Heroenkult und spätjüdische Heiligenverehrung. Neue Einsichten und neue Probleme (Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, Geisteswissenschaften, 91; Cologne, 1960) (note: actually a brief lecture which occupies pp. 27-38). For more bibliography on the "pagan origins" thesis see the annotated bibliography in Wilson, Cult of the Saints, p. 325 ff.

Aline Rousselle has offered a powerful new interpretation of the continuities and discontinuities between pagan and Christian means of access to the sacred in Croire et guérir. La foi en Gaule dans l'Antiquité tardive (Paris, 1990). Beside curing shrines, other areas of late antique religious ritual serve as important background to the Christian practice of the cult of saints: Annie Dubourdieu, Les origines et le développement du culte des pénates à Rome (Collection de l'Ecole française de Rome, 118; Rome, 1989); Roland Delmaire, Largesses sacrées et 'Res Privata'. L'Aerarium' impérial et son administration du IVe au VIe siècle (Collection de l'Ecole française de Rome, 121; Rome, 1989). On the Roman ritual calendar, see Michel Meslin, La Fête des Kalendes de janvier dans l'empire romain (Collection Latomus, 115; Brussels, 1970), and for its continued power in a Christian empire, Michele Salzman, On Roman Time: The Codex-Calendar of 354 and the Rhythms of Urban Life in Late Antiquity (Berkeley, 1991).

A number of scholars have recently adapted Brown's idea of the "holy man" for studying late antique paganism: Henri Crouzel, "L'Imitation et la suite de Dieu et du Christ dans les premiers siècles chrétiens ainsi que leurs sources gréco-romaines et hébraïque," Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum, 21 (1978), pp. 7-41; Garth Fowden, "The Pagan Holy Man in Late Antique Society," Journal of Hellenic Studies, 102 (1982), 33-59; Robert Kirschner, "The Vocation of Holiness in Late Antiquity," Vigiliae Christianae, 38 (1984), pp. 105-24; Patricia Cox, Biography in Late Antiquity: A Quest for the Holy Man (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983); Glen Bowersock, Fiction as History: Nero to Julian (Berkeley, 1994). Pagan teachers and priests could act as arbiters of the sacred without having personal reputations as "holy men": A. F. Norman, "Libanius: The Teacher in an Age of Violence," in Libanios, ed. Georgios Fatouros and Tilman Krischer (Wege der Forschung, 621; Darmstadt, 1983); Richard

Gordon, "The Veil of Power: Emperors, Sacrificers and Benefactors," in Pagan Priests, ed. M. Beard and J. North (Ithaca, NY, 1990).

On Jewish holy men and women of this period, see Martin Godman, "The Roman State and the Jewish Patriarch in the Third Century," in The Galilee in Late Antiquity, ed. Lee Levine (Cambridge, MA, 1992), pp. 127-59; Ross Kraemer, "Monastic Jewish Women in Greco-Roman Egypt: Philo Judaeus on the Therapeutrides," Sisters and Workers in the Middle Ages, eds. Judith Bennett, Elizabeth Clark, Jean O'Barr, B. Anne Vilen, and Sarah Westphal-Wihl (Signs, 14.2; Winter, 1989; published separately, Chicago, 1989), pp. 342-70.

For an interesting study of late antique attitudes on spiritual beings, see Charles Pietri, "Saints et démons: L'héritage de l'agiographie antique," in Santi e demoni nell'alto medioevo occidentale (secoli V-XI), 2 vols. (Settimane di studio del centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 36; Spoleto, 1989), 1:15-90.

Martyrs and their cults.

The standard edition of the basic texts may be found in Acts of the Christian Martyrs, ed. and trans. Herbert Musurillo (Oxford, 1972). For further information on the texts, consult Timothy Barnes, "Pre-Decian Acta Martyrum," Journal of Theological Studies, 19 (1968), pp. 509-31 and Gary Bisbee, Pre-Decian Acts of Martyrs and Commentarii (Harvard Dissertations in Religion, 22; Philadelphia: Fortress Press). W. H. C. Frend has provided a good contextual history in Martyrdom and Persecution in the Early Church (Oxford, 1965). Theofried Baumeister has collected a number of primary sources on the concept of martyrdom in Genese und Entfaltung der altkirchlichen Theologie des Martyriums (Traditio Christiana, 8; Bern: Peter Lang, 1991) [FT as Genese et evolution de la théologie du martyre dans l'église ancienne (Traditio Christiana, 8; Bern: Peter Lang, 1991)]. Paul-Albert Février has considered the connection between martyrdom and sanctity in "Martyre et sainteté," in Les fonctions des saints dans le monde occidental, IIIe-XIIIe s. (Rome, 1991), pp. 51-80. Glen Bowersock's Martyrdom and Rome (Cambridge, 1995) provides an intriguing meditation on the concept in both its pagan and Christian contexts. On the parallel tradition of martyrdom in Donatist Christianity, see Paolo Mastandrea, "Passioni di martiri donatisti (BHL 4473 e 5271)," Analecta Bollandiana, 113 (1995), pp. 39-88. And note that the work of [Hippolyte Delehaye](#) discussed above remains crucial for an understanding both of the passions of the early martyrs and the development of their cult.

Theodor Baumeister has explored the scriptural and antique backgrounds to the early Christian concept of martyrdom in Die Anfänge der Theologie des Martyriums (Münsterische Beiträge zum Theologie, 45; Münster: Aschendorff, 1980). On biblical themes in these texts, see Victor Saxer, Bible et hagiographie: Textes et theme bibliques dans les Actes des martyrs authentiques de premiers siècles (Bern: Peter Lang, 1986); Marc van Uytfaenge, "La controverse biblique et patristique autour du miracle et ses répercussions sur l'hagiographie dans l'antiquité tardive et le haut moyen âge latin," in Hagiographie, cultures, et sociétés. IVe-XIIe siècles, ed. Evelyne Patlagean and Pierre Riché (Paris, 1981), pp. 205-33; Maureen Tilley, "Scripture as an Element of Social Control: Two Martyr Stories of Christian North Africa," Harvard Theological Review, 83 (1990), pp. 383-97.

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Burial in Late Antiquity.

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funéraires dans le cimetière wisigothique d'Estagel," in Hommages à Joseph Bidez et à Franz Cumont (Brussels, n. d.), pp. 177-82.

For a collection of inscriptions from Christian sarcophagi referring to burial customs and beliefs about the afterlife, see the article "Ad sanctos" by Henri Leclercq in the Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie and Gabriel Sanders, "Le tombe et l'éternité: catégories distincts où domaines contigus? Le dossier épigraphique latin de la Rome chrétienne," Le temps de la fin de l'antiquité au moyen âge. IIIe-XIIIe siècles (Colloques internationaux du CNRS, 64; Paris, 1984), pp. 185-218. Jean-Pierre Caillet has studied mosaic epigraphy from the same period in L'Evergétisme monumental chétien en Italie et à ses marges d'après l'épigraphie des pavements de mosaïque (IVe-VIIIe s.) (Collection de l'Ecole française de Rome, 175; Rome, 1993). On the ideological elements of Roman christian sarcophagi, see Matthews, Western Aristocracies and Imperial Court, A. D. 364-425 (Oxford, 1975), pp. 197-201. On the lack of continuities around martyria and cemeteries in England, see Peter Salway, Roman Britain (Oxford, 1981) pp. 731 ff. Also see pp. 695-713 on ancient burial practices, cult, and the destruction of pagan sanctuaries.

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Pilgrimage to the Holy Land.

A good introduction to early Christian pilgrimage, particularly to Jerusalem, in the early church, see Henri Leclercq, "Pèlerinages," in DACL, 14:65-176. A full exposition of the sources may be found in Bernhard Kötting, Peregrinatio religiosa. Wallfahrten in der Antike und das Pilgerwesen in der alten Kirche (Münster, 1950). But also see the revisionist interpretation of Joan Taylor, Christians and the Holy Places: The Myth of Jewish-Christian Origins (New York, 1993). E. D. Hunt has examined Christian pilgrimage to the Holy Land in Holy Land Pilgrimage in the Later Roman Empire (AD 312-460) (Oxford, 1982) and "Gaul and the Holy Land in the Early Fifth Century," in John Drinkwater and Hugh Elton (eds.), Fifth-Century Gaul: A Crisis of Identity? (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 264-74. The most famous late antique Roman pilgrim to Jerusalem was Egeria: Egeria's Travels to the Holy Land, ed. and trans. John Wilkinson (Warminster, 1981). The most famous relic to come out of the Holy Land was that of the true cross: on the development of the tradition, which begins in this period, see Stephan Borgehammar, How the

Holy Cross Was Found: From Event to Medieval Legend, with an Appendix of Texts (Bibliotheca theologiae practicae, 47; Stockholm, 1991).

More generally, see John Wilkinson, Jerusalem Pilgrims Before the Crusades (Warminster, 1977); F. E. Peters, Jerusalem. The Holy City in the Eyes of Chroniclers, Visitors, Pilgrims, and Prophets from the Days of Abraham to the Beginnings of Modern Times (Princeton, 1985); Robert Wilken, The Land Called Holy: Palestine in Christian History and Thought (New Haven, 1992); F. E. Peters, The Distant Shrine: The Islamic Centuries in Jerusalem (New York, 1993). Allison Elliott has studied the impact of the pilgrimage motif on early Christian hagiography in Roads to Paradise: Reading the Lives of the Early Saints (Hanover, NH, 1987).

The Christianisation of Roman society.

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A collection of regional studies may be found in: Jean-Charles Picard and Yvette Duval (eds.), L'Inhumation privilégiée du IVe au VIIIe siècle en Occident (Paris, 1986).

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Italy: Alba Maria Orselli, L'Idée e il culto del santo patrono cittadino nella letteratura latina cristiana (Bologna: Zanichelli, 1965); A. P. Billanovich, "Appunti di agiografia aquileiese," Rivista di storia della chiesa in Italia, 30 (1976), pp. 5-24; Jean-Charles Picard, Le souvenir des évêques. Sépultures, listes épiscopales et culte des évêques en Italie du Nord, des origines au Xe siècle (Rome, 1988); Dieter Korol, Die frühchristlichen Wandmalereien aus den Grabbauten in Cimitile/Nola (Bonn, 1987); Salvatore Pricoco (ed.), Storia della Sicilia e tradizione agiografica

nella tarda antichità (Catanzaro: Rubbettino, 1988); Philippe Pergola, "Topographie chrétienne et archéologie de l'Antiquité tardive et du haut Moyen Age. Le cas de la Corse," Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome, Moyen Age, 103 (1991), pp. 865-7; La Calabre de la fin de l'antiquité au Moyen Age published as Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome, Moyen Age, 103.2 (1991).

North Africa: Good general background on social and religious history may be found in André Berthier, La Numidie: Rome et le Maghreb (Paris: Picard, 1981) and in the essays collected in L'Afrique dans l'occident romain (Ier siècle av. J.-C.-IVe siècle ap. J.-C.) (Collection de l'Ecole française de Rome, 134; Rome, 1990). On martyr cults: Paul-Albert Février, "Le culte des martyrs en Afrique et ses plus anciens monuments," in Corsi di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina, Ravenna, 1970 (Faenza, 1970), pp. 191-195; Paul-Albert Février, "Aux Origines du christianisme en Maurétanie césarienne," Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'Ecole française de Rome, 98 (1986), pp. 767-809; Yvette Duval, Loca Sanctorum Africae: Le culte des martyrs en Afrique du IVe au VIIIe s., 2 vols. (Collection de l'Ecole française de Rome, 82; Rome, 1982). Also see the work on Donatist martyrs mentioned above.

Near East: J. Lassus, Sanctuaires chrétiens de Syrie: essai sur la genèse, la forme et l'usage liturgique des édifices du culte chrétien en Syrie du IIIe siècle à la conquête arabe (Paris, 1947); Renate Pillinger, Das Martyrium des Heiligen Dasius (Text, Übersetzung und Kommentar) (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1988); Julia Seiber, The Urban Saint in Early Byzantine Social History (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1977).

Gaul: E. Catherine Dunn, The Gallican Saint's Life and the Late Roman Dramatic Tradition (Washington, DC, 1989); Luce Pietri, La ville de Tours du IVe au VIe siècle: Naissance d'une cité chrétienne (Rome, 1983); Aline Rousselle, Croire et guérir. La foi en Gaule dans l'Antiquité tardive (Paris, 1990); Pierre Bonnaissie, "L'évêque, le peuple et les sénateurs: scènes de la vie à Cahors, d'après la Vita Ambrosii," Annales du Midi, 102 (1990), 209-18; Paul-Albert Février, "Les Saint évêques de la fin de l'Antiquité et du haut Moyen Age dans le Sud-Est de la Gaule," Mémoires de l'Académie de Vaucluse, seventh series, 6 (1985); Jacques Fontaine, "Victrice de Rouen et les origines du monachisme dans l'ouest de la Gaule (IVe-VIe siècles)," in Aspects du monachisme en Normandie (IVe-XVIIIe siècles), ed. Lucien Musset (Paris, 1982), pp. 9-30; N. Gussne, "Adventus-Zeremoniell und translation von Reliquien: Victricius von Rouen De laude sanctorum," Frühmittelalterliche studien, 10 (1976), pp. 125-33.

Latin hagiographers of the late antiquity.

Walter Berschin has provided a general survey in Biographie und Epochenstil im lateinischen Mittelalter, I: Von der Passio Perpetuae zu den Dialogi gregors des Grossen (Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters, 8; Stuttgart: A. Hiersemann, 1986). For a concise summary of the period, try Claudio Leonardi, "I modelli dell'agiografia latina dall'epoca antica al Medioevo," in Passaggio dal mondo antico al Medioevo: da Teodorico a Gregorio Magno (Atti dei Convegni Lincei, 45; Rome, 1980), pp. 435-76. The following collections contain varied studies of patristic hagiography: L'agiografia latina nei secoli IV-VII (Augustinianum, 24; Rome, 1984); Biografia e agiografia nella letteratura cristiana antica e medievale, ed. Aldo Ceresa-Gastaldo (Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto di Scienze Religiose in Trento, 15; Bologna: EDB, 1990).

Prudentius: The standard edition of his poetry, including the Peristephanon, is by M. P. Cunningham, Aurelii Prudentii Clementis Carmina (CCSL, 126; Turnhout, 1966). The standard English translation is that by H. J. Thomson in the Loeb Classical Library (Prudentius, 2 vols. [Cambridge, MA, 1953]). There is a substantial older scholarly literature on Prudentius, but no standard biographical or interpretive work. Instead one should consult the remarkable group of recent Anglophone studies of the poet: Anne-Marie Palmer, Prudentius on the Martyrs (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989); Martha Malamud, A Poetics of Transformation: Prudentius and Classical Mythology (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1989); Michael Roberts, Poems and the Cult of the Martyrs: The Liber Peristephanon of Prudentius (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1993); J. Petruccione, "The Portrait of St. Eulalia of Merida in Prudentius' Peristephanon 3," Analecta Bollandiana, 108 (1990), pp. 81-104 and "The Martyr Death as Sacrifice; Prudentius, Peristephanon, 4.9-72," Vigiliae Christianae, 49 (1995), pp. 245-57.

Jerome: N. J. D. Kelly, Jerome: His Life, Writings, and Controversies (London, 1975); E. Coleiro, "St. Jerome's Lives of the Hermits," Vigiliae Christianae, 11 (1957), pp. 161-78; Herbert Kech, Hagiographie als christliche Unterhaltungsliteratur: Studien zum Phänomen des Erbaulichen anhand der Mönchenviten des hl. Hieronymus (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1977); Philip Rousseau, Ascetics, Authority and the Church in the Ages of Jerome and Cassian (Oxford, 1978). Ambrose: Neil McLynn, Ambrose of Milan: Church and Court in a Christian Capital (The Transformation of the Classical Heritage, 22; Berkeley, CA, 1994); E. Dassmann, "Ambrosius und die Märtyrer," Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum, 18 (1975), pp. 49-68; Ilona Opelt, "Das Bienenwunder in der Ambrosiusbiographie des Paulinus von Mailand," Vigiliae Christianae, 22 (1968), pp. 38-44.

Augustine: Peter Brown, Augustine of Hippo: A Biography (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967); D. P. de Vooght, "Les miracles dans la vie de saint Augustin," Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale, 11 (1939), 5-16; Brigitta Stoll, "Die Vita Augustini des Possidius als hagiographischer Text," Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, 102 (1991), 1-13.

Other studies of individual Latin hagiographers: Paulinus of Nola: Joseph Lienhard, Paulinus of Nola and Early Western Monasticism (Theophaneia, 28; Cologne: Peter Hanstein, 1977). Sulpicius Severus: Clare Stancliffe, Saint Martin and His Hagiographer: History and Miracle in Sulpicius Severus (Oxford, 1983). Caesarius of Arles: William Klingshirn, Caesarius of Arles: The Making of a Christian Community in Late Antique Gaul (Cambridge, 1993). Sidonius Apollinaris: C. E. Stevens, Sidonius Apollinaris and His Age (Oxford, 1933).

On hagiography devoted to women, see Marie-Louise Portmann, Die Darstellung der frau in der Geschichtsschreibung des früheren Mittelalters (Basel, 1958); Elena Giannarelli, La tipologia femminile nella biografia e nell'autobiografia cristiana del IVo secolo (Studi storici, 127; Rome, 1980); Franca Consolino, "Modelli di santità femminile nelle piu antiche passioni romane," Augustinianum, 24 (1984), pp. 83-113; Joyce Salisbury, and R. Worowicz, "The Life of Melania the Younger: A Partial Reevaluation of the Manuscript Tradition," Manuscripta, 33 (1989), pp. 137-144.

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The Cult of the Saints in the Barbarian Kingdoms: A Bibliography

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Contents: 1) [General historical studies](#); 2) [General studies of religious history](#); 3) [General hagiographic studies](#); 4) [Italy](#); 5) [Iberia](#); 6) [Gaul / Francia](#); 7) [England](#); 8) [Celtic world](#).

General historical studies.

The brief overview of J.M Wallace-Hadrill, [The Barbarian West, A. D. 400-1000](#) (London 1952 and reprints) is still useful. Judith Herrin, [The Formation of Christendom](#) (Princeton, 1987) focuses on the development of eastern and western Christianities. A good set of textbook surveys exist on the kingdoms of Gaul, Iberia, and Italy: Edward James, [The Origins of France: From Clovis to the Capetians, 500-1000](#) (London, 1982); Chris Wickham, [Early Medieval Italy: Central Power and Local Society, 400-1000](#) (London, 1981); Roger Collins, [Early Medieval Spain. Unity in Diversity, 400-1000](#) (London, 1983). Each of these works contains an excellent annotated bibliography. For more focused treatments, see Herwig Wolfram, [History of the Goths](#) (Berkeley, 1979); Giovanni Tabacco, [The Struggle for Power in Medieval Italy. Structures of Political Rule](#) (Cambridge, 1989); Raymond van Dam, [Leadership and Community in Late-Antique Gaul](#) (Berkeley, 1985); Patrick Geary, [Before France and Germany. The Creation and Transformation of the Merovingian World](#) (Oxford, 1988); Ian Wood, [The Merovingian Kingdoms, 450-751](#) (London, 1994). For Anglo-Saxon England, see either the massive survey by Frank Stenton, [Anglo-Saxon England](#), third edition (Oxford History of England, 2; Oxford, 1971), or, more briefly Peter Hunter Blair, [Introduction to Anglo-Saxon England](#), second edition (Cambridge, 1977). Several collections of essays have focused on the seventh century as a period of major cultural change in the west: [Caratteri del secolo VII in occidente](#), 2 vols. (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 5; Spoleto, 1958); [The Seventh Century: Change and Continuity](#), eds. Jacques Fontaine and J. N. Hillgarth (London, 1992); [The Age of Sutton Hoo: The Seventh Century in Northwest Europe](#), ed. Martin Carver (Woodbridge, 1992). The yearly volumes of "Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo" (Spoleto, 1954-present) each focus on a particular theme in early medieval history, contain articles in French, English, and German in addition to Italian, and are an excellent way of keeping up on developments in the field.

General studies of religious history.

Particularly useful are several volumes from the estimable Spoleto conferences: [La chiesa nei regni dell'Europa occidentale e i loro rapporti con Roma sino all'800](#), 2 vols. (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 7; Spoleto, 1960) and [La conversione al](#)

Cristianesimo nell'Europa dell'alto medioevo (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 14; Spoleto, 1967). Also see La città nell'alto medioevo (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 6; Spoleto, 1959) on the urban context, important for many developing relic cults.

General hagiographic studies.

The treatment of hagiography and the cult of saints in the later fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries has tended to be highly specific as to region, saint, or author. The general remarks of Hanns Leo Mikoletzky on the cult of saints in "Sinn und Art der Heiligung im frühen Mittelalter," Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung, 57 (1949), 83-122 still retain their value and interest. See also the interesting agenda set by Sofia Boesch Gajano, "La littérature hagiographique comme source de l'histoire ethnique, sociale, et économique de l'Occident européen entre l'antiquité et moyen âge," XX Congrès international des sciences historiques (Bucharest, 1980), 177-81. A good introduction to the *vitae* of the period may be found in Walter Berschin, Biographie und Epochenstil im lateinischen Mittelalter, II: Merovingische Biographie. Italien, Spanien und die Inseln im frühen Mittelalter (Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters, 9; Stuttgart: A. Hiersemann, 1986). Claudio Leonardi has charted changing models of sanctity in Latin hagiography in "Dalla santità 'monastica' alla santità 'politica'," Concilium, 15 (1979), pp. 1540-53; "I modelli dell'agiografia latina dall'epoca antica al Medioevo," in Passaggio dal mondo antico al Medioevo: da Teodorico a Gregorio Magno (Atti dei Convegni Lincei, 45; Rome, 1980), pp. 435-76, and "Modelli di santità tra secolo V e VII," Santi e demoni nell'alto medioevo occidentale (secoli V-XI), 2 vols. (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 36; Spoleto, 1989), pp. 261-84. Alessandro Barbero has followed an interesting theme through early medieval lives in Un santo in famiglia: vocazione religiosa e resistenze sociali nell'agiografia latina medievale (Sacrosanto, 6; Turin: Rosenberg and Sellier, 1991).

There are three useful collections of articles which focus on various aspects of sanctity in the early middle ages: Sofia Boesch Gajano, (ed.), Agiografia altomedioevale (Bologna, 1976) (which has an interesting introduction and very valuable bibliography on pp. 7-48); Santi e demoni nell'alto medioevo occidentale (secoli V-XI), 2 vols. (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 36; Spoleto, 1989); Jacques Fontaine and Jocelyn Hillgarth (eds.), Le septième siècle: Changements et continuités / The Seventh Century: Change and Continuity (London, 1992). All will henceforth be cited in short title.

A significant number of early medieval lives were devoted to female saints, and that hagiography has recently received much attention. The most ambitious scholarly project concerning these lives is that of Jane Tibbets Schulenburg. Her many essays will soon be published as: . For a general survey of the sources and scholarship, see her "Saints' Lives as a Source for the History of Women, 500-1100," in Medieval Women and the Sources of Medieval History, ed. Joel Rosenthal (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1990), pp. 285-320. Other general surveys include: Marie-Louise Portmann, Die Darstellung der frau in der Geschichtsschreibung des früheren Mittelalters (Basel, 1958); Antonella Del'Innocenti, "Agiografia femminile nel VI secolo," Biografia e agiografia nella letteratura cristiana antica e medievale, ed. Aldo Ceresa-Gastaldo (Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto di Scienze Religiose in Trento, 15; Bologna: EDB, 1990).

For general bibliography on women in the early middle ages, see Frauen im Frümittelalter: Eine ausgewählte kommentierte Bibliographie (Frankfurt, 1990).

Some studies which take a thematic approach to hagiography of the early middle ages include: Adele Simonetti, "Santi cefalofori altomedievale," Studi medievali, third series, 28 (1987): 67-121; Michel Lauwers, "La mort et le corps des saints. La scène de la mort dans les Vitae du haut Moyen Age," Le Moyen Age, 94 (1988): 21-50; Lisa Bitel, "In visu noctis: Dreams in European Hagiography and Histories, 450-900," History of Religions, 31 (1991), pp. 38-59.

One important relic cult to develop in the early middle ages did not focus on the relics of a saint, but rather on those alleged to be from the cross of Christ. See Stephan Borgehammar, How the Holy Cross Was Found: From Event to Medieval Legend, with an Appendix of Texts (Bibliotheca theologiae practicae, 47; Stockholm, 1991).

Italy.

For an overview of hagiography in Italy during this period see Claudio Leonardi, "L'agiografia latina dal Tardantico all'Altomedioevo," La cultura in Italia fra Tardo Antico e Alto Medioevo. Stato e prospettive delle ricerche (Rome, 1981). Reginald Grégoire, "Aspetti culturali della letteratura agiografica toscana," in Atti del 5 Congresso internazionale di studi sull'Alto Medioevo (Spoleto, 1973), pp. 569-625 provides an exemplary and full study of one region for the early middle ages.

One of the most significant developments in this region is that of the cults of city patrons. The best general introduction is Alba Maria Orselli, "Il santo patrono cittadino fra Tardo Antico e Alto Medioevo," in La cultura in Italia fra Tardo Antico e Alto Medioevo. Stato e prospettive delle ricerche (Rome: Herder, 1981), pp. 361-98. The most substantial work in the field remains the same author's L'Idea e il culto del santo patrono cittadino nella letteratura latina cristiana (Bologna: Zanichelli, 1965) [partially reprinted in: Agiografia altomedioevale, pp. 85-104], but also see Gian Piero Bognetti, "I 'Loca Sanctorum' e la storia della chiesa nel regno dei Longobardi," in Agiografia altomedioevale, pp. 105-43. For regional studies, see: Gian Piero Bognetti, "Le origini della consacrazione del vescovo di Pavia da parte del Pontefice Romano e la fine dell'Arianesimo presso i Longobardi," reprinted in L'età longobarda (Milan, 1966), 1:143-217; Alba Maria Orselli, "La città altomedievale e il suo santo patrono: (ancora una volta) il 'campione' pavese," Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia, 32 (1978), pp. 1-69; Alba Maria Orselli, "Immagine e miti di san Petronio nella tradizione bolognese," in La Basilica di S. Petronio in Bologna (Bologna, 1983), pp. 41-52; San Procolo e il suo culto. Una questione di agiografia altomedievale bolognese (Bologna, 1989); and the studies collected in La coscienza cittadina nei Comuni italiani del Duecento (Todi, 1972). Jean-Charles Picard has added much to the understanding of city patrons in his study of the development of the cult and memoria of local bishops: Le souvenir des évêques. Sépultures, listes épiscopales et culte des évêques en Italie du Nord, des origines au Xe siècle (Rome, 1988). Hans Conrad Peyer, Stadt und Stadtpatron im mittelalterlichen Italien (Zurich, 1955) takes up these topics in a later time period. [Note: a full reprinting of Alba Maria Orselli's work, including the monograph mentioned at the head of this paragraph, may be found in: L'Immaginario religioso della città medievale (Ravenna, 1985)]. A model edition and study of a hagiographic text from the Lombard period is

provided in Karl Schmid (ed.), Vita Walfredi und Kloster Monteverdi. Toskanisches Mönchtum zwischen langobardischer und fränkischer Herrschaft (Bibliothek des deutschen historischen Instituts in Rom, 73; Tübingen, 1991).

One of the traditionally most important texts from fifth-century Italy was Eugippius' Life of St. Severinus. For a good summary of the traditional view, see Marc van Uytenghe, "Eléments évangéliques dans la structure et la composition de la 'Vie de saint Séverin' d'Eugippius," Sacris Erudiri, 21 (1972-3), pp. 147-59 and "La Bible dans la 'Vie de saint Séverin'," Latomus, 33 (1974), pp. 324-52. For a complete revisionist deconstruction, see Friedrich Lotter, Severinus von Noricum. Legende und historische Wirklichkeit. Untersuchungen zur Phase des Uebergangs von spätantiken zu mittelalterlichen Denk- und Lebensformen (Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters, 12; Stuttgart, 1976). But also see van Uytenghe's response in "Les avatars contemporains de l'Hagiologie'. A propos d'un ouvrage récent sur saint Séverin du Norique," Francia 5 (1977), pp. 639-71. An English translation of the text may be found in Eugippius, The Life of Saint Severinus, trans. George W. Robinson (Cambridge, Mass., 1914).

The most renowned hagiographer of early medieval Italy was Gregory the Great. A fine introduction to his work may be found in Carole Straw, Gregory the Great: Perfection in Imperfection (Berkeley, 1988). More specifically on his hagiography, see Joan Petersen, The Dialogues of Gregory the Great in Their Late Antique Cultural Background (Toronto, 1984). The best edition of that work is: Grégoire le Grand, Dialogues, ed. Adalbert de Vogüé, 2 vols. (Sources chrétiennes, 251 and 260; Paris, 1978-9). Other interesting analyses include: Baudouin de Gaiffier, "Les héros des Dialogues de Grégoire le Grand inscrits au nombre des saints," Analecta Bollandiana 83 (1965), pp. 53-72; Giorgio Cracco, "Uomini di Dio e uomini di chiesa nell'alto Medioevo. Per una reinterpretazione dei "Dialogi" di Gregorio Magno," Ricerche di Storia sociale e Religiosa, 12 (1977), pp. 163-202; Sofia Boesch Gajano, "Dislivelli culturali e mediazioni ecclesiastiche nei "Dialogi" di Gregorio Magno," Quaderni Storici, 14 (1979), pp. 398-415; John McCulloh, "The Cult of Relics in the Letters and Dialogues of Pope Gregory the Great: A Lexicographical Study," Traditio, 32 (1976), 145-84; Adalbert de Vogüé, "Benoît, modèle de vie spirituelle d'après le deuxième livre des Dialogues de saint Grégoire," Collectanea Cisterciensia, 38 (1976), 147-57; Gregorio Penco, "Sulla struttura dialogica dei Dialoghi di S. Gregorio," Benedictina, 33 (1986): 329-35. William McCready, Signs of Sanctity: Miracles in the Thought of Gregory the Great (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1989) provides a misguided attempt to question the authenticity of Gregory's belief in the miraculous. For specific comparisons to other important hagiographers of the barbarian kingdoms, see Owen Chadwick, "Gregory of Tours and Gregory the Great," Journal of Theological Studies, 50 (1949), 38-49 and Paul Meyvaert, "Bede and Gregory the Great," in Benedict, Gregory, Bede, and Others (London: Variorum, 1977), 1-26. For a full bibliography of scholarly works on Gregory the Great, see Robert Godding, Bibliografia di Gregorio Magno (1890/1989) (Rome: Città Nuova, 1990).

Iberia.

The best introduction is C. Garcia Rodriguez, El culto de los santos en la Espana romana y visigota (Madrid, 1966), as well as the relevant sections of Fernando Vallejo, La hagiografía como género literario en la edad media. Tipología de doce "Vidas" individuales castellanas

(Ovideo, 1989). Relatively little exists in English of an analytic nature on hagiography in Visigothic Spain, but see Jacques Fontaine, "King Sisebut's Vita Desiderii and the Political Function of Visigothic Hagiography," and Roger Collins, "Mérida and Toldeo: 550-585," in Edward James (ed.), Visigothic Spain: New Approaches (Oxford, 1980), pp. 93-129 and 189-222. For a guide to the extensive literature in Spanish, see Roger Collins, Early Medieval Spain: Unity in Diversity, 400-1000 (London, 1983), pp. 280-2. On various primary sources, see: Angel Fabrega Grau, Pasionario hispanico (siglos VII-XI) (Barcelona, 1955); El pasionario hispanico: introduction, edicion critica y traduccion (Seville, 1987); Joseph Garvin (ed. and trans.), The "Vitas sanctorum patrum Emeritensium": Text, Translation, with and Introduction and Commentary (Washington, 1946); but see now the new edition by A. Maya Sanchez (ed.), Vitas SS Patrum Emeritensium (Corpus Christianorum, 116; 1992); Sister Consuelo Maria Aherne, Valerio of Bierzo: An Ascetic of the Late Visigothic Period (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1949); Valerio of Bierzo, La vida de San Fructuoso de Braga. Estudio y edicion critica, ed. Manuel Diaz y Diaz (Braga, 1974); Charles Lynch, Saint Braulio, Bishop of Saragossa (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1938); Sister Athanasius Braegelman, Life and Writings of Saint Ildephonsus of Toledo (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1942).

Gaul / Frankland.

The religious life of late Roman Gaul was dominated by Martin of Tours, while his hagiographer was to set the standard guide for later practitioners of the genre. Clare Stancliffe provides a thorough examination of the work of Sulpicius Severus in Saint Martin and His Hagiographer: History and Miracle in Sulpicius Severus (Oxford, 1983). Aline Rousselle, Croire et guérir. La foi en Gaule dans l'Antiquité tardive (Paris, 1990) presents a sensitive and provocative reading of the transition from Roman to Christian culture in Gaul, and of the role of Martin and his cult in that transition. A summary of her argument may be found in "From Sanctuary to Miracle-Worker: Healing in Fourth-Century Gaul," in Ritual, Religion, and the Sacred, ed. Robert Forster and Orest Ranum (Baltimore, 1982), pp. 95-127. The cult of Martin would continue to play a role of central importance in the Merovingian kingdom. Raymond Van Dam has charted the changing "Images of Saint Martin in Late Roman and Early Merovingian Gaul," Viator, 19 (1988), pp. 1-27. Also see the studies of the development of the cult of Martin by Peter Brown and Raymond Van Dam cited below, as well as the narrowly focused but useful J. van den Bosch, Capa, basilica, monasterium et le culte de Saint Martin de Tours: Etude lexicologique et semasiologique (Studia ad sermonem Latinum Christianum pertinentia, 13; Utrecht, 1959) and Christian Lelong, "Le Tombeau de saint Martin," Bulletin de la Société archéologique de Touraine, 42 (1988), pp. 91-138. For the development of that cult beyond Tours, see Eugen Ewig, "Die Martinskult im Frühmittelalter," Archiv für mittelrheinischen Kirchengeschichte, 14 (1962), pp. 11-30 [reprinted in Spätantikes und frankisches Gallien, 2 vols. (Beihefte der Francia, 3; 1979), 2:371-92]; Eugen Ewig, "Le culte de Saint Martin à l'époque franque," Revue d'histoire de l'Eglise de France, 47 (1961), pp. 1-18; [reprinted in Spätantikes und frankisches Gallien, 2 vols. (Beihefte der Francia, 3; 1979), 2:355-71]; Etienne Delaruelle, "La spiritualité des pèlerinages à Saint-Martin de Tours du Ve au Xe siècles," in Pellegrinaggi e culto dei Santi in Europa fino alla Ia crociata (Convegna del centro di studi sulla spiritualità medievale, 4; Todi, 1963), pp. 199-244. Sharon Farmer's exemplary study of twelfth-century social history,

Communities of St. Martin: Legend and Ritual in Medieval Tours (Ithaca, 1991), studies the function of Martin's cult in a later period.

Other members of the Gallo-Roman nobility continued to be important as saints for many generations: A. Reyne and D. Bréhier, Saint Eutrope, Eveque d'Orange au V siècle (Avignon, 1991); Walter Goffart, "The Conversions of Avitus of Clermont and Similar Passages in Gregory of Tours," in "To See Ourselves as Others See Us". Christians, Jews, "Others" in Late Antiquity, ed. J. Neusmen and E. S. Frerichs (Chico, CA, 1985), pp. 473-497.

It was the Franks who adopted orthodox Christianity and its notions of sanctity most quickly among the Germanic peoples. The best general introduction to religion in Frankland has been provided by J. M. Wallace-Hadrill in The Frankish Church (Oxford, 1983), but also see the perceptive analyses of Yitzhak Hen, Culture and Religion in Merovingian Gaul, A.D. 481-751 (Leiden, 1995). Both works range widely and have much to say about hagiography in particular. More specifically on monasticism, see the foundational work of Friedrich Prinz, Frühes Mönchtum in Frankreich. Kultur und Gesellschaft in Gallien, den Rheinlanden und Bayern am Beispiel der monastischen Entwicklung (4. bis 8. Jahrhundert) (Munich, 1965). Cyril Vogel has traced one aspect of religious life from hagiographic sources in "La Discipline pénitentielle en Gaule des origines au IXe siècle, le dossier hagiographique," Revue des Sciences Religieuses, 30 (1956), pp. 1-26 and 157-86.

The foundation of the modern study of Merovingian hagiography was laid by Léon van der Essen, Étude critique et littéraire sur les vitae des saints mérovingiens de l'ancienne Belgique (Conférences d'histoire et de philologie, 17; Louvain, 1907). But the essential foundation of all recent studies is the remarkable work of Frantisek Graus, Volk, Herrscher und Heiliger im Reich der Merowinger. Studeien zur Hagiographie der Merowingerzeit (Prague, 1965). A thoughtful synthesis and overview may be found in Walter Berschin, Biographie und Epochenstil im lateinischen Mittelalter, Volume 2: Merowingische Biographie: Italien, Spanien und die Inseln im frühen Mittelalter (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1988). Important methodological reflections on the use of hagiographic evidence for the general history of this period include Frantisek Graus, "Hagiographische Schriften als Quellen der 'profanen' geschichte," in Fonti medievali e problematica storiografica. Atti del congresso internazionale tenuto in occasione del 90o anniversario della fondazione dell'Istituto storico italiano (1883-1973) (Rome, 1976), pp. 375-96; Friedrich Prinz, "Gesellschaftsgeschichtliche Aspekte frühmittelalterlicher Hagiographie," Zeitschrift für Literatur, Wissenschaft und Linguistik, 3.2 (1973), pp. 17-36; Paul Fouracre, "Merovingian History and Merovingian Historiography," Past and Present 127 (1990), pp. 3-38. Specifically on the very important issue of hagiographic forgeries, see Ian Wood, "Forgery in Merovingian Hagiography," in Fälschungen im Mittelalter, 5 vols. (MGH, Scriptorum, 33; Hanover, 1988), 5:369-84. On the use of biblical and other topoi in the composition of Merovingian hagiography (and much else besides), see the work of Marc van Uytenghe: "La Bible dans les Vies de saints mérovingiennes," Revue d'histoire d'église de France, 62 (1976), pp. 103-12; "La controverse biblique et patristique autour du miracle, et ses répercussions sur l'hagiographie dans l'Antiquité tardive et le haut Moyen Age latin," in Evelyne Patlagean and Pierre Riché (eds.), Hagiographie, cultures et sociétés. IVE-XIIe siècles. Actes du Colloque organisé à Nanterre et à Paris (2-5 mai 1979) (Paris, 1981), pp. 205-33; "Modèles bibliques dans l'hagiographie," in Pierre Riché and Guy Lobrichon (eds.), Le Moyen Age et la Bible (Bible de

tous les temps, 4; Paris, 1984), pp. 449-88; "Le culte des saints et l'hagiographie face à l'écriture: Les avatars d'une relation ambiguë," Santi e demoni nell'alto medioevo occidentale, pp. 155-202. All of this is summarized in Stylisation biblique et condition humaine dans l'hagiographie mérovingienne cited above.

The two most prominent hagiographers of Merovingian Gaul were Gregory of Tours and Venantius Fortunatus. The literature on each is enormous. On Gregory, in addition to the works of Brown and Van Dam above, see Giselle de Nie, Views from a Many-Windowed Tower: Studies of Imagination in the Works of Gregory of Tours (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1987). Judith George, Venantius Fortunatus (Oxford, 1992) provides a reliable guide to this author, also see her earlier "Portraits of Two Merovingian Bishops in the Poetry of Venantius Fortunatus," Journal of Medieval History, 13 (1987), p. 189-205.

The fullest study of Merovingian *vitae* written after the deaths of Gregory of Tours and Venantius Fortunatus is provided in Marc Van Uytvanghe, Stylisation biblique et condition humaine dans l'hagiographie mérovingienne (600-750) (Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren, en Schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Letteren, 120; Brussels, 1987). Now also see the studies and translations included in Paul Fouracre and Richard Gerberding, Late Merovingian France: History and Hagiography, 640-720 (Manchester, 1996). The impact of Irish monks and their spirituality on Frankish notions of sanctity and the cult of saints is studied by some of the essays collected in Columbanus and Merovingian Monasticism, ed. H. B. Clarke and Mary Brennan (Oxford, 1981); Jean-Michel Picard (ed.), Ireland and Northern France AD 600-850 (London, 1991); Irland und Europa. Die Kirche im Frühmittelalter / Ireland and Europe. The Early Church, ed. Próinséas Ní Chatháin and Michael Richter (Stuttgart, 1984). For the development of some specific hagiographic traditions in the later Merovingian period, see: Ian Wood, "Saint Wandrille and its Hagiography," in Ian Wood and Graham Loud (eds.), Church and Chronicle in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to John Taylor (London, 1991), pp. 1-15; Robert Folz, "Tradition hagiographique et culte de Saint Dagobert, roi des Francs," Moyen Age, 69 (1963), 17-35; Karl Firsching, Die deutschen Bearbeitungen der Kilianslegende unter besonderer Berücksichtigung deutscher Legendarhandschriften des Mittelalters (Würzburg, 1973).

One of the most important themes in later Merovingian sanctity and hagiography was that of the "noble saint." For studies of the *adelsheilige*, see Friedrich Prinz, "Heiligenkult und Adelsheilige im Spiegel Merowingischer Hagiographie," Historische Zeitschrift, 204 (1967), pp. 528-44; Hagen Keller, "Adelheiliger und pauper Christi in Ekkeberts Vita sancti Haimeradi," in J. Fleckenstein and Karl Schmid (eds.), Adel und Kirche. Gerd Tellenbach zum 65. Geburtstag (Freiburg, 1968), pp. 307-23; Friedrich Prinz, "Aristocracy and Christianity in Merovingian Gaul: An Essay," in Karl Bosl, ed., Gesellschaft, Kulture Literatur. Beiträge L. Wallach gewidmet (Stuttgart, 1975), pp. 153-165; Friedrich Prinz, "Der Heilige und seine Lebenswelt Überlegungen zum gesellschafts und kulturgeschichtlichen Aussagewert von Viten und Wundererzählungen," Santi e demoni nell'alto, [see above] pp. 285-312; Karl Bosl, "Adelsheilige. Idealtypus und Wirklichkeit. Gesellschaft und Kultur im merowingerzeitlichen Bayern des 7-8 Jahrhunderts," in Clemens Baur, ed., Speculum historiale. Geschichte im Spiegel von Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsdeutung. Festschrift für J. Spörl (1965), pp. 167-187;

Lellia Ruggini, "The Crisis of the Noble Saint: The Vita Arnulfi," in The Seventh Century [see above]. pp. 116-48.

Many of these noble Frankish saints were female. Marie-Louise Portmann provided the first thorough study of Merovingian hagiography of female saints in Die Darstellung der frau in der Geschichtsschreibung des früheren Mittelalters (Basel, 1958). Suzanne Wemple has since used that hagiography to study the general history of Women in Frankish Society (Philadelphia, 1981), further refined in "Female Spirituality and Mysticism in Frankish Monasteries: Radegund, Balthild and Aldegund," Medieval Religious Women, Volume 1: Distant Echoes, ed. John Nichols and Lillian Shank (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1984), pp. 39-53. JoAnn McNamara has explored that same hagiography as a source for the history of women's monasticism in "A Legacy of Miracles: Hagiography and Nunneries in Merovingian Gaul," in Women of the Medieval World, eds. Julius Kirschner and Suzanne Wemple (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1985), pp. 36-52 and elsewhere. On the liturgical life of those convents, see G. Muschol, Famula Dei, Zur Liturgie in merowingischen Frauenkloostern (Beiträge zur Geschichte des älteren Mönchtums und des Benediktineriums, Veröffentlichungen des Abt-Herwegen-Instituts Maria Laach, 41; Münster, Aschendorff, 1994). Janet Nelson has provided compelling suggestions concerning this hagiographic literature in "Les femmes et l'évangélisation," Revue du Nord, 68 (1986), pp. 480-81, "Women and the Word in the Earlier Middle Ages," in W. J. Shiels and Diana Wood (eds.), Women in the Church (Studies in Church History, 27; Oxford, 1990), and "Perceptions du pouvoir chez les historiennes du Haut Moyen Age," in Les Femmes au Moyen Age, ed. Michel Rouche (Paris, 1990), pp. 77-85. Perhaps the most important of these Frankish female saints was Radegund. See F. E. Consolino, "Due agiografi per una regina: Radegonda di Turingia tra Fortunato e Baudonivia," Studi storici, 29 (1988), pp. 143-59; Sabine Gäbe, "Radegundis: sancta, regina, ancilla. Zum Heiligkeitsideal der Radegundisviten von Fortunat und Baudonivia," Francia, 16 (1989):1-30; Jean Leclercq, "La sainte Radegonde de Venance Fortunat et celle de Baudovinie," in "Fructus Centesimus": Mélanges offerts à Gérard J. M. Batelink, ed. A. A. R. Bastiaensen (Instrumenta Patristica, 19; Steenbrughe: Kluwer, 1987), pp. 207-216; Claudio Leonardi, "Fortunato e Baudonivia," in Aus Kirche und Reich. Studien zu Theologie, Politik und Recht im Mittelalter, ed. Hubert Mordek (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1983), pp. 23-32; Cristina Papa, "Radegund e Bathilde: modele di santità regia femminile nel regno merovingia," Benedictina, 36 (1989): 13-33. To put Radegund into context, see Robert Folz, Les saintes reines du moyen âge en occident (VIe-XIIIe siècles) (Subsidia hagiographica, 76; Brussels). On another Frankish royal female saint, see Robert Folz, "Tradition hagiographique et culte de sainte Bathilde, reine des Francs," Comptes rendues de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres (1975), pp. 369-385.

Many of the Frankish saints earned their reputation for sanctity in part because of their contributions to the efforts of Christianization along the borders of the Merovingian kingdoms. On this process more generally, see La Christianisation des pays entre Loire et Rhin, IVE-VIIIe siècles, ed. Pierre Riché (Revue d'Histoire de l'Eglise de France, 62, 1976); Nancy Gauthier, L'évangélisation des pays de la Moselle (Rouen, 1980); Alain Dierkens, "Quelques aspects de la christianisation du pays mosan à l'époque mérovingienne," La Civilisation mérovingienne dans le Bassin Mosan (1985). On the role of women in the process of conversion, see Janet Nelson, "Les femmes et l'évangélisation," Revue du Nord, 68 (1986), pp. 480-81 and Felice Lifshitz, "Des femmes missionnaires: L'exemple de la Gaule Franque," Revue de l'histoire ecclésiastique,

83 (1988), pp. 5-33. On the use of art in the conversion process, see Herbert Kessler, "Pictorial Narrative and Church Mission in Sixth-Century Gaul," Studies in the History of Art, 16 (1985), pp. 75-91. On specific missionary saints, see Arnold Angenendt, Monachi Peregrini. Studien zu Pirmin und den monastischen Vorstellungen des frühen Mittelalters (Munich, 1972); Eugen Ewig, "Die ältesten mainzer Patrozinien und die Frühgeschichte des Bistums Mainz," Das erste Jahrtausend, ed. V. H. Elbern (Düsseldorf, 1961-3), 1:336-43 [reprinted in Spätantikes und frankisches Gallien, 2 vols. (Beihefte der Francia, 3; 1979), 2:154-70]; J. Semmler, "Pirminius," Mitteilungen des historischen Vereins der Pfalz, 87 (1989), p. 91-113; H. Anton, "Liutwin-Bischof von Trier und Gründer von Mettlach (+um 722). Zugleich ein Beitrag zu dem historischen Wandlungsprozess im ausgehenden siebenten und im frühen achten Jahrhundert," Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Saargegend, 38/39 (1990/1991), pp. 21-51.

On the role of the cult of relics in Frankish society and religion, see Peter Brown, "Relics and Social Status in the Age of Gregory of Tours," in Society and the Holy in Late Antiquity (Chicago, 1982), pp. 222-50; Raymond Van Dam, Leadership and Community in Late Antique Gaul (Berkeley, 1985); Raymond Van Dam, Saints and Their Miracles in Late Antique Gaul (Princeton, 1993); Ian Wood, "Early Merovingian Devotion in Town and Country," Studies in Church History, 16 (1979), pp. 61-76; Friedrich Prinz, "Stadtrömisch-italische Märtyrerreliquien und fränkischer Reichsadel im Maas-Moselraum," Historisches Jahrbuch, 87 (1967), 1-25.

It was the city of Tours which provided the context for the cult of Martin. On that *civitas* during this period, see Luce Pietri, La ville de Tours du IVe au VIe siècle: Naissance d'une cité chrétienne (Rome, 1983). For an illuminating study of another *civitas*, see J. Le Maho, "Le groupe épiscopal de Rouen du IVe au Xe siècle," in Jenny Stratford (ed.), Medieval Art, Architecture, and Archaeology at Rouen (Oxford, 1993). For a guide to other *civitates*, see Nancy Gauthier and Jean-Charles Picard, Topographie chrétienne des cités de la Gaule des origines au milieu du VIIIe siècle, 8 vols. (Paris, 1983-present). (1: Trier [Belgica Prima], ed. Nancy Gauthier; 2: Aix and Embrun [Narbonensis Secunda et Alpes Maritimae], ed. Yvette Duval et al.; 3: Vienne and Arles, ed. Jacques Biarre et al.; 4: Lyon [Lugdunensis Prima], ed. Brigitte Beaujard et al.; 5: Tours [Lugdunensis Tertia], ed. Luce Pietri et al.; 6: Bourges [Aquitania Prima], ed. François Prevot et al.; 7: Narbonne [Narbonensis Prima], ed. Paul Albert Février et al.; 8: Sens [Lugdunensis Secunda], ed. Jean-Charles Picard et al.). The general remarks of Charles Pietri, "Remarques sur la topographie chrétienne des cités de la Gaule entre Loire et Rhin," Revue d'histoire de l'église de France, 62 (1976), pp. 189-204 are still useful. Eugen Ewig, "Kirche und Civitas in der Merowingerzeit," in La chiese nei regni dell'Europa occidentale e i loro rapporti con Roma sino All'800, 2 vols. (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 7; Spoleto, 1960), 1:45-71 [reprinted in Spätantikes und frankisches Gallien, 2 vols. (Beihefte der Francia, 3; 1979), 2:1-20] looks at relationship of city and suburbs from the point of view of ecclesiastical institutions and remains. On city patrons, see Eugen Ewig, "Die Kathedralpatrozinien im römischen und im fränkischen Gallien," Historisches Jahrbuch, 79 (1960), pp. 1-61 [reprinted in Spätantikes und frankisches Gallien, 2 vols. (Beihefte der Francia, 3; 1979), 2:260-317].

To understand the disposition of relics in the Merovingian kingdoms, it is essential to understand the archeology of burial practices. The fullest study of Merovingian burial remain the works of Bailey Young, "Paganisme, christianisation et rites funéraires mérovingiens," Archéologie

Médiévale, 7 (1977) and "Exemple aristocratique et mode funéraire dans la Gaule mérovingienne," Annales E. S. C., 41 (1986), pp. 386-94. But see now the important revisions offered in the ongoing research of Bonnie Effros, "Symbolic Expressions of Sanctity: Gertrude of Nivelles in the Context of Merovingian Mortuary Custom," Viator, 27 (1996), pp. 1-10 and "Beyond Cemetery Walls: Early Medieval Funerary Topography and Christian Salvation," Early Medieval Europe, 6 (1997), pp. 1-23. On one specific cult site, see G. R. Delahaye and P. Huguin, "Le sarcophage de saint Ebrégisille dans les cryptes de Jouarre," Bulletin du Groupement archéologique de Seine-et-Marne, 27 (1986), pp. 49-58. Guy Halsall has offered an exemplary model for the employment of archeological evidence, including burials, for early medieval social history in Settlement and Social Organization: The Merovingian Region of Metz (Cambridge, 1995). On the development of funerary rituals, see Frederick Paxton, Christianizing Death: The Creation of a Ritual Process in Early Medieval Europe (Ithaca, NY, 1990), a thoughtful reflection on the Christian use and development of ritual, which, however, emphasizes the Carolingian period.

On the problematic subject of the audience of hagiography, in addition to the assigned work of van Uytanghe, see Roger Collins, "Observations on the Form, Language, and Public of the Prose Biographies of Venantius Fortunatus in the Hagiography of Merovingian Gaul," in H. B. Clarke and Mary Brennan (eds.), Columbanus and Merovingian Monasticism (British Archaeological Reports, 113; London, 1981), pp. 105-31 and Michael Banniard, "Latin et communication orale en Gaule franque: le témoignage de la Vita Eligii," in The Seventh Century: Change and Continuity, pp. 58-79. On the use of the acts of the martyrs in the early middle ages: Baudouin de Gaiffier, "La Lecture des Actes des martyrs dans la prière liturgique en Occident. A propos du passionnaire hispanique," Analecta Bollandiana, 72 (1954), pp. 134-66 and "La Lecture des passions des martyrs à Rome avant le IXe siècle," Analecta Bollandiana, 87 (1969), pp. 63-78; Eric Palazzo, "Le rôle des Libelli dans la pratique liturgique du haut Moyen Age. Histoire et typologie," Revue Mabillon, new series, 1 (1990), pp. 9-36. On the perhaps even more problematic question of the audience of religious art, see the important remarks of Herbert Kessler, "Pictorial Narrative and Church Mission in Sixth-Century Gaul," Studies in the History of Art, 16 (1985), pp. 75-91.

England.

The literature on hagiography and sanctity in Anglo-Saxon England is enormous. Fortunately David Rollason has provided a comprehensive overview, with full bibliography, in Saints and Relics in Anglo-Saxon England (Oxford, 1989). But also consult Antonia Gransden, Historical Writing in England c. 550 to c. 1307 (London, 1974), pp. 67-104. Further guidance to the sources may be found in Michael Lapidge, "The Saintly Life in Anglo-Saxon England," in Malcolm Godden and Michael Lapidge (eds.), The Cambridge Companion to Old English Literature (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 243-63. Henry Mayr-Harting, The Coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England, third edition (University Park, 1991) provides a useful introduction to the conversion of England, as well as many interesting observations on Anglo-Saxon saints both in England and on the continent. See also Arnold Angenendt, "The Conversion of the Anglo-Saxons Considered Against the Background of the Early Medieval Mission," Angli e Sassoni al di qua e al di là del mare, 2 vols. (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 32; Spoleto, 1986), pp. 747-81. For a wide-ranging introduction to the most famous of

all Anglo-Saxon hagiographers, see Peter Hunter Blair, The World of Bede, second edition (Cambridge, 1990). Also see: C. G. Loomis, "The Miracle Traditions of the Venerable Bede," Speculum, 21 (1946), pp. 404-418; Bertram Colgrave, "Bede's Miracle Stories," in Bede: His Life, Time, and Writing, ed. A. Hamilton Thompson (New York, 1966), pp. 201-229; Gerald Bonner, Famulus Christi: Essays in Commemoration of the Thirteenth Centenary of the Birth of the Venerable Bede (London, 1976); Charles Thomas, Bede, Archaeology, and the Cult of Relics (Jarrow Lecture, 1973; Jarrow, 1974). Gerald Bonner, David Rollason, and Clare Stancliffe (eds.), Saint Cuthbert, His Cult and His Community to AD 1200 (Woodbridge, 1989) treats one important Anglo-Saxon saint and his cult. On the development of the cults of Anglo-Saxon royalty, see Susan Ridyard, The Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England (Cambridge, 1988), although it primarily treats texts composed after the Conquest. Specifically on the cult of the Virgin, see Mary Clayton, The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Anglo-Saxon England (Cambridge, 1990). A good introduction to the topic of changing burial practices may be found in C. J. Arnold, An Archaeology of the Early Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms, chapter 4, "The Topography of Belief." Stephanie Hollis considers much hagiographic evidence in Anglo-Saxon Women and the Church: Sharing a Common Fate (Woodbridge, 1992). Philip Rahtz summarizes the tangle of traditions surrounding one of the oldest of English shrines in English Heritage Book of Glastonbury (Batsford: English Heritage, 1994). Studies of specific hagiographic traditions include: Christine Fell, "Saint Aedelthryd: A Historical-Hagiographical Dichotomy Revisited," Nottingham Medieval Studies, 38 (1994), pp. 18-34.

The Celtic World.

Nora Chadwick, The Age of the Saints in the Early Celtic Church (London, 1961) and Kathleen Hughes, Early Christian Ireland (Ithaca, 1972) provide good introductions to the piety and hagiography of the Celtic lands. For more scholarly detail, one can consult Richard Sharpe, Medieval Irish Saints' Lives (Oxford, 1991) on Ireland, Elissa Henken, The Welsh Saints: A Study in Patterned Lives (Woodbridge, 1991) on Wales, and Bernard Merdrignac, Recherches sur l'hagiographie armoricaine du VIIème au XVème siècle: 1, Les saints bretons, témoins de dieu ou témoins des hommes? and 2, Les hagiographes et leurs publics en Bretagne au moyen âge (Saint Malo, 1985-86) on Brittany. For a comprehensive guide to the sources, see Michael Lapidge and Richard Sharpe, A Bibliography of Celtic-Latin Literature, 400-1200 (Dublin, 1985). Maire Herbert, Iona, Kells, and Derry: The History and Hagiography of the Monastic Familia of Columba (Oxford, 1988) studies one of the most important groups of monastic hagiography. Lisa Bitel, Isle of the Saints (Ithaca, 1991) makes innovative use of hagiographic sources to consider the wider religious history of early Ireland. On the idea of the miraculous in Irish hagiography, consult Jean-Michel Picard, "The Marvellous in Irish and Continental Saints' Lives of the Merovingian Period," in H. B. Clarke and Mary Brennan (eds.), Columbanus and Merovingian Monasticism (British Archaeological Reports, 113; London, 1981), pp. 91-104 and Clare Stancliffe, "The Miracle Stories in Seventh-Century Irish Saints' Lives," in The Seventh Century, pp. 87-111. On relics and shrines, see Charles Doherty, "Some Aspects of Hagiography as a Source for Irish Economic History," Peritia, 1 (1982), pp. 300-28; Charles Doherty, "The Use of Relics in Early Ireland," in Irland und Europa. Die Kirche im Frühmittelalter / Ireland and Europe. The Early Church, ed. Próinséas Ní Chatháin and Michael Richter. 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 1984), 2:89-104; A. T. Lucas, "The Social Role of Relics and Reliquaries in Ancient Ireland," Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, 116 (1986), pp. 5-37; Wendy Davies,

"Property Rights and Property Claims in Welsh *vitae* of the Eleventh Century," in Evelyne Patlagean and Pierre Riché, eds., *Hagiographies, cultures, et sociétés. IVe-XIIe siècles* (Paris, 1981), pp. 515-33. Some interesting recent articles include: P. O Riain, "St Abban: the Genesis of an Irish Saint's Life," *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress on Celtic Studies* (1988), pp. 159-70; P. O'Riain, "Sainte Brigitte: paradigme de l'abbesse celtique?," *La Femme*, ed. Michel Rouche et al. (Maubeuge, 1989), pp. 27-32; Thomas O'Loughlin, "Adomnan the Illustrious," *Innes Review*, 46 (1995), pp. 1-14.

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The Cult of the Saints in the Carolingian Empire: A Bibliography

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Contents: 1) [Genral historical studies](#); 2) [Carolingian religious legislation](#); 3) [Hagiographic Vitae](#); 4) [Cult of relics](#); 5) [Female sanctity](#); 6) [Literacy and the audience of hagiography](#); 7) [Visions and dreams](#); 8) [Neighbors of the Carolingian empire](#).

General historical studies.

A number of good introductions to Carolingian history and culture exist, among them two works by Pierre Riché, Daily Life in the World of Charlemagne, trans. Jo Ann McNamara (Philadelphia, 1978) and The Carolingians: A Family Who Forged Europe, trans. Michael Allen (Philadelphia, 1993). The most comprehensive political history available in English is Rosamond McKitterick, The Frankish Kingdoms Under the Carolingians, 751-987 (London, 1983).

Jean Chélini, L'Aube du moyen âge: Naissance de la Chrétienté occidentale (Paris, 1991) is a competent, but ultimately disappointing survey of Christian institutions and practice in the Carolingian world. J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, The Frankish Church (Oxford, 1983), pp. 258-390 has much of interest to say about the role of the church and of the saints in the Carolingian empire. On the importance of the papacy and the institutional church in the formation of the Carolingian order, see Thomas Noble, The Republic of St. Peter: The Birth of the Papal State, 680-825 (Philadelphia, 1984).

Wolfgang Braunfels (ed.), Karl der Grosse: Lebenswerk und Nachleben, 5 vols. (Dusseldorf, 1965-72) provided a "state of the art" statement about Charlemagne which included much about religion and the cult of saints. It is important, however, to remember that Charles was not thought of as "saintly" in his own time. On the development of his cult, see Robert Folz, Le souvenir et la légende de Charlemagne dans l'Empire germanique médiéval (Paris, 1950). Peter Godman and Roger Collins (eds.), Charlemagne's Heir: New Perspectives on the Reign of Louis the Pious (814-840) (Oxford, 1990) does for Louis what Braunfels once did for Charles, again with much attention to religion in general and saints in particular. Comprehensive reviews of the literature may be found in Donald Bullough "Europae Pater: Charlemagne and his Achievement in the Light of Recent Scholarship," English Historical Review, 75 (1970), pp. 59-105 and Richard Sullivan, "The Carolingian Age: Reflections on its Place in the History of the Middle Ages," Speculum, 64 (1989), pp. 267-306.

Among historians of Carolingian politics and institutions Janet Nelson has provided particularly close attention to religious life and practice. See, for example, her "Charles the Bald and the Church in Town and Countryside," Studies in Church History, 16 (1979), pp. 103-18, much elaborated in her biography Charles the Bald (London, 1992). Her essays have been collected in

Janet Nelson, Politics and Ritual in Early Medieval Europe (London, 1986) and a second volume to appear shortly from Boydell and Brewer. The essays of Donald Bullough in Carolingian Renewal: Sources and Heritage (Manchester, 1992) also have much to offer in a similar vein.

Carolingian Religious legislation.

For general guides to this legislation, see Paul Fournier and Gabriel Le Bras, Histoire des collections canoniques en occident depuis les Fausses Décrétales jusqu'au Décret de Gratien, 2 vols. (Paris, 1931-32); Carlo de Clercq, La Legislation religieuse franque. Etude sur les actes des conciles et les capitulaires, les statuts diocésains et les règles monastiques, 2 vols. (Louvain, 1936 and Antwerp, 1958); Wilifried Hartmann, Die Synoden der Karolingerzeit im Frankenreich und in Italien (Paderborn, 1989). Eric Kemp, Canonization and Authority in the Western Church (Oxford, 1948) has some interesting observations on the ways in which this legislation controlled the cult of saints.

For comprehensive editions of episcopal and ecclesiastical legislation, see the volumes of the Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Legum sectio 3, Concilia: (1) Concilia aevi Merovingici, ed. Friederich Maassen (Hannover, 1893); (2) Concilia aevi Karolini, ed. Albert Werminghoff, 2 vols. (Hannover, 1906-8); (2, supplement) Libri Carolini, ed. Hubert Bastgen (Hannover, 1924); (3) Die Konzilien der Karolingischen Teilreiche, 843-859, ed. Wilifried Hartmann (Hannover, 1984); (4, supplement) Hincmar of Reims, De divortio Lotharii regis et Theubergae reginae, ed. Letha Bohringer (Hannover, 1992); Ernst-Dieter Hehl, Die Konzilien Deutschlands und Reichsitaliens, 916-1001: Teil 1. 916-960 (MGH, Concilia, 6.1; Hannover, 1987). Note: volumes 4 (Councils, 860-78), 5 (Councils, 878-916), and 6.2 (German and Italian Councils, 960-1001), as well as a new edition of the Libri Carolini are all underway. Also see: Capitula episcoporum, ed. Peter Brommer (MGH, Capitula Episcoporum, 1; Hannover, 1984). For insight into the continuing editorial project, see Peter Brommer, "Editorische Probleme bei den 'Capitula episcoporum'," in Proceedings of the Fourth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law (Berkeley, 1980) (Monumenta Iuris Canonici, series C, 7; Vatican City, 1976), pp. 3-13.

Hagiographic Vitae.

Pierre Riché, "Les Carolingiens en quête de sainteté," in Jean-Yves Tilliette et al. (eds.), Les fonctions des saints dans le monde occidental (Rome, 1991), pp. 217-24 is an essential starting point for the consideration of Carolingian hagiography. The most general study of Carolingian vitae is Walter Berschin, Biographie und Epochenstil im lateinischen Mittelalter, III: Karolingische Biographie, 750-920 n. Chr. (Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters, 10; Stuttgart: A. Hiersemann, 1986). Alessandro Barbero, Un santo in famiglia: vocazione religiosa e resistenze sociali nell'agiografia latina medievale (Sacro/santo, 6; Turin: Rosenberg and Sellier, 1991) and I Deug-Su, "Agiografia e potere in età carolingia," in Giovanni Scoto nel suo tempo: L'organizzazione del sapere in età carolingia (Spoleto, 1989), pp. 27-80 both study particular problems in terms of a wide selection of texts. Other studies of Carolingian vitae have tended to concentrate on individual regions or authors. The most wide-ranging such study remains Joseph-Claude Poulin, L'ideal de sainteté dans l'Aquitaine carolingienne d'après les sources hagiographiques (750-950) (Quebec City, 1975). For another

regional study, see the relevant chapters of Thomas Head, Hagiography and the Cult of Saints. The Diocese of Orléans, 800-1200 (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, fourth series, number 14; Cambridge, 1990). Two important studies of the cult of saints in Italian cities begin in the Carolingian period: Paolo Golinelli, Culto dei santi e vita cittadina a Reggio Emilia (secoli IX-XII) (Modena, 1980) and Luigi Canetti, Gloriosa civitas. Culto dei santi e società cittadina a Piacenza nel Medioevo (Cristianesimo antico e medievale, 4; Bologna, 1993). Also see Joaquin Pizarro, Writing Ravenna: The Liber Pontificalis of Andreas Agnellus (Ann Arbor, MI: 1995).

On one of the most prominent hagiographers of the Carolingian world, see I Deug-Su, L'opera agiografica di Alcuino (Spoleto, 1983). For shorter studies of individual authors, see: Martin Brooke, "The Prose and Verse Hagiography of Walahfrid Strabo," in Peter Godman and Roger Collins (eds.), Charlemagne's Heir. New Perspectives on the Reign of Louis the Pious (814-840) (Oxford, 1990), pp. 551-64; Donald Bullough, "Hagiography as Patriotism: Alcuin's 'York Poem' and the Early Northumbrian Vitae sanctorum," in Evelyne Patlagean and Pierre Riché, eds., Hagiographie, cultures, et sociétés. IVe-XIIe siècles (Paris, 1981), pp. 339-359; Heinz Stiene, Wandalbert von Prüm: Vita et Miracula sancti Goaris (Peter Lang, 1981). Also see David Ganz, Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance (Beihefte der Francia, 20; Sigmaringen, 1990) for an important discussion of Paschasius Radbertus' lives of Adalhard and Wala. On verse lives consult Jean-Yves Tilliette, "Les modèles de sainteté du IXe au XIe siècle, d'après le témoignage des récits hagiographiques en vers métriques," in Santi e demoni nell'alto medioevo occidentale (secoli V-XI), 2 vols. (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 36; Spoleto, 1989), pp. 381-406.

The cult of relics.

It is the cult of relics which has received proportionally more interest. An old article by Heinrich Fichtenau still provides an interesting introduction to the status of relics in Carolingian culture, see "Zum Reliquienwesen im früheren Mittelalter," Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung, 60 (1952), pp. 60-89. Patrick Geary has provided an entertaining and absorbing study of one aspect of the cult of saints in this period in Furta Sacra. Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages (Princeton, 1978; second edition 1990). Nicole Herrmann-Mascard, Les reliques des saints. Formation coutumière d'un droit (Société d'histoire du droit, Collection d'histoire institutionnelle et sociale, 6; Paris, 1975) studies the development of various legal traditions about relics and their use; she has much to say about the Carolingian period, but the work is sloppily footnoted and must be used with caution.

On relic translations, generally see Martin Heinzemann, Translationsberichte und andere quellen des Reliquien kultes (Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental, 33; Turnhout, 1979), as well as Henri Fros, "Liste des translations et inventions de l'époque carolingienne," Analecta Bollandiana, 104 (1986), pp. 427-9; E. Dupré-Théseider, "La 'grande rapina dei corpi santi' dall'Italia all tempo di Ottone," Festschrift Percy Ernst Schramm, (Wiesbaden, 1964), 1:420-32; Pierre Riché, "Translations de reliques à l'époque carolingienne. Histoire des reliques de Saint-Malo," Le Moyen Age, 82 (1976), pp. 201-218; Roman Michalowski, "Le don d'amitié dans la société carolingienne et les Translationes sanctorum," in Evelyne Patlagean and Pierre Riché, eds., Hagiographie, cultures, et sociétés. IVe-XIIe siècles (Paris, 1981), pp. 399-416; Klemens

Honselmann, "Reliquientranslationen nach Sachsen," and "Undatierte Reliquienschenkungen für neugegründete Kirchen," in Victor Elbern, Das erste Jahrtausend, 3 vols. (Dusseldorf, 1962), 1:159-63 and 164-93; Wilhelm Hotzelt, "Translationen von Martyrerreliquien aus Rom nach Bayern im 8. Jh.," Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens, 53 (1935), pp. 286-343; Baoudouin de Gaiffier, "Relations religieuses de l'Espagne avec le Nord de la France: Transferts de reliques (VIIIe-XIIe siècle)," in idem, Recherches d'hagiographie latine (Subsidia Hagiographica, 52; Brusells, 1971), pp. 7-29; A. Belloni, "La Translatio Benedicti a Fleury e gli antichi monasteri dell'Italia settentrionale," Italia medioevale e umanistica, 27 (1984), pp. 1-16. For a model edition of a tenth-century text, see Nicholas Huyghebaert, Une translation de reliques à Gand en 944. Le Sermo de Adventu Sanctorum Wandregisili, Ansberti et Vulframni in Blandium (Brussels, 1978).

For a general study of the relationship of relics and pilgrimage in the early middle ages, see Franco Cardini, "Reliquie e pellegrinaggi," in Santi e demoni nell'alto medioevo occidentale (secoli V-XI), 2 vols. (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 36; Spoleto, 1989), pp. 981-1036. Relatively few studies of Carolingian miracle collections (as opposed to translationes) exist, but see Michel Rouche, "Miracles, maladies et psychologie de la foi à l'époque carolingienne en France," in Evelyne Patlagean and Pierre Riché, eds., Hagiographies, cultures, et sociétés. IVe-XIIe siècles (Paris, 1981), pp. 319-337 and Hubert Mordek, "Von Patrick zu Bonifatius . . . Alkuin, Ferrières, und die irischen Heiligen in einem westfränkischen Reliquienverzeichnis," in Ex Ipsis Rerum Documentis. Beiträge zur Mediävistik. Festschrift für Harald Zimmermann zum 65. Geburtstag, eds. Klaus Herbers, Hans-Hemming Kurtum, and Carlo Servatius (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1991), pp. 56-68. Caroline Brett, ed. and trans., The Monks of Redon (Woodbridge, 1989) provides an interesting, if atypical, collection of miracle stories in Latin edition and English translation. The text found in Andreas Bauch (ed.), Ein bayerisches Mirakelbuch aus der Karolingerzeit. Die Monheimer Walpurgis-Wunder des Priesters Wolfhard (Regensburg, 1979) is probably a better example of a "typical" Carolingian shrine.

One of the most important Carolingian contributions to the western hagiographic tradition was the compilation of many influential martyrologies. A good introduction in English may be found in John McCulloh, "Historical Martyrologies in the Benedictine Cultural Tradition," in Benedictine Culture, 750-1050, ed. W. Lourdaux and D. Verhelst (Mediaevalia Lovaniensia, 1.11; Leuven, 1983), pp. 114-31. More generally see Jacques Dubois, Les martyrologes du moyen âge latin (Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental, 26; Turnhout, 1978). Some important editions include: Jacques Dubois, Martyrologes d'Usuard au martyrologe romain (Abbeville, 1990); Jacques Dubois and Genevieve Renaud (eds.), Le martyrologe d'Adon, ses deux familles, ses trois recensions (Paris, 1984). On manuscript diffusion, see E. A. Overgaauw, Martyrologes manuscrits des anciens diocèses d'Utrecht et de Liège. Etude sur le développement et la diffusion du Martyrologe d'Usuard, 2 vols. (Hilversum, 1993).

The earliest large-scale evidence for monastic prayer for the dead comes from the Carolingian period. For a good introduction in English, see Donald Bullough, "Alcuin and the kingdom of heaven. Liturgy, theology, and the Carolingian age," in Carolingian Essays, ed. Uta-Renate Blumenthal (Washington, D.C., 1983), pp. 1-70. We will return to this topic in later bibliographies.

Female sanctity.

Julia Smith has presented a compelling thesis about women saints and their hagiography in "The Problem of Female Sanctity in Carolingian Europe c. 780-920," Past and Present, 146 (1995), pp. 3-37. On other aspects of the problem, see Katrien Heene, "Female Saints and Their Lives: The Geographical Distribution of the Carolingian vitae feminarum," in Aevum inter utrumque. Mélanges offerts à Gabriel Sanders, professeur émérite à l'Université de Gand (Instrumenta patristica, 23; Steenbrueh, 1991), pp. 205-25; Rosamond McKitterick, "Frauen und Schriftlichkeit im Frühmittelalter," in Hans-Werner Goetz (ed.), Weibliche Lebensgestaltung im Frühen Mittelalter (Cologne and Vienna, 1991), pp. 65-118; I Deug-Su, "La Vita Rictrudis di Ubaldo di Saint-Amand: Un'agiografia intellettuale e i santi imperfetti," Studi Medievali, third series, 31 (1990), pp. 545-582. On saintly men as advisors to women, see Jane Bishop, "Bishops as Marital Advisors in the Ninth Century," in Women of the Medieval World, ed. Julius Kirschner and Suzanne Wemple (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1985) and Albrecht Classen, "Frauenbriefe an Bontifatius. Frühmittelalterliche Literaturdenkmäler aus literarhistorischer Sicht," Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, 72 (1990), pp. 251-273. On saintly queens, see Robert Folz, Les saintes reines du moyen âge en occident (VIe-XIIIe siècles) (Subsidia hagiographica, 76; Brussels).

More generally on female sanctity in the early middle ages, see the ongoing work of Jane Tibbetts Schulenburg, in such articles as "Female Sanctity: Public and Private Roles, ca. 500-1100," in Mary Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski (eds.), Women and Power in the Middle Ages (Athens, GA, 1988), pp. 102-25, and now available as "Forgetful of Their Sex": Female Sanctity and Society, ca. 500-1100 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997).

On the only named female hagiographer of the Carolingian period, see Eva Gottschaller, Hugeburc von Heidenheim: Philologische Untersuchungen zu den Heiligenbiographen einer Nonne des achten Jahrhunderts (Münchener Beiträge zur Mediävistik und Renaissance-Forschung, 12; Munich: Arbo-Gesellschaft, 1973); Walter Berschin, "Hugeburcs Vita Willibaldi in der biographischen Tradition," Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens und seiner Zweige, 98 (1987): 31-7; Claudio Leonardi, "Modelli agiografici nel secolo VIII: da Beda a Ugeburga," in Les fonctions des saints dans le monde occidental (IIIe-XIIIe siècle) (Collection de l'Ecole française de Rome, 149; Rome: Ecole française, 1991), pp. 506-16; Francesca Vitrone, "Hugeburc di Heidenheim e le Vitae Willibaldi et Wynnebaldi," Hagiographica, 1 (1994), pp. 43-79.

Literacy and the audience of hagiography.

Much attention is now being paid to the topic of literacy in the Carolingian world. See in particular the essays collected in Rosamond McKitterick, The Carolingians and the Written Word (Cambridge, 1989). More generally on the changes in Latinity and literacy in the early middle ages, see Michel Banniard, Viva voce. Communications écrite et communication orale du IVe au IXe siècle en occidente latin (Collection des Etudes Augustiniennes, Séries moyen âge et temps modernes, 25; Paris, 1992); Michael Richter, The Formation of the Medieval West: Studies in the Oral Culture of the Barbarians (Dublin, 1994); and the essays collected in

Rosamund McKitterick (ed.), The Uses of Literacy in Early Medieval Europe (Cambridge, 1990). On the question of the continuing audience for Latin among the laity in the Carolingian world, see the pioneering work of Roger Wright, Late Latin and Early Romance in Spain and Carolingian France (ARCA Classical and Medieval Texts, Papers and Monographs, 8; Liverpool, 1982) and the essays collected in Roger Wright (ed.), Latin and the Romance Languages in the Early Middle Ages (New York, 1991). Wright was in part reacting against the views of such scholars as: Jacques Fontaine, "De la pluralité à l'unité dans le 'latin carolingien'?" in Nascita dell'Europa ed Europa Carolingia: Un'equazione da verificare, 2 vols. (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 27; Spoleto, 1981), pp. 765-805; Anita Guerreau-Jalabert, "La 'renaissance carolingienne:' modèles culturels, usages linguistiques et structures sociales," Bibliothèque d'Ecole des Chartes, 139 (1981), pp. 5-35; Michael Richter, "Kommunikationsprobleme im lateinischen Mittelalter," Historische Zeitschrift 222 (1976), pp. 43-80 and "Die Sprachenpolitik Karls des Grossen," Sprachwissenschaft 7 (1982), pp. 412-37; and Marc van Uytendaele, "Histoire du latin, protohistoire des langues romanes et histoire de la communication," Francia 11 (1983), pp. 579-613. Katrien Heene has the fullest treatment of the question of hagiographic texts in "Audire, legere, vulgo: An Attempt to Define Public Use and Comprehensibility of Carolingian Hagiography," in Latin and the Romance Languages in the Early Middle Ages, pp. 146-63 and "Merovingian and Carolingian Hagiography. Continuity or Change in Public and Aims?" Analecta Bollandiana, 107 (1989), pp. 415-428. For an exemplary study of the iconography of a hagiographic text from this period, see Cynthia Hahn, Passio Kiliani . . . Passio Margaretae: Faksimile-Ausgabe des Codex. . . Ms. I 189 . . . aus dem Besitz der Niedersächsischen Landesbibliothek Hannover (Graz, 1988).

Visions and dreams.

The genre of visions and religious dreams, particularly of the otherworld, are strongly related to hagiography. An interesting, but problematic, introduction may be found in Steven Kruger, Dreaming in the Middle Ages (Cambridge, 1992). The classic introduction to visions of the other world remains Jacques LeGoff, The Birth of Purgatory, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984). More specifically on the Carolingian world see Paul Dutton, The Politics of Dreaming in the Carolingian Empire (Lincoln, NB, 1994) and the work of Claude Carozzi: "Les Carolingiens dans l'au-delà," Haut Moyen-Age: Culture, éducation et société: Etudes offertes à Pierre Riché, ed. Michel Sot, et al. (Paris, 1990), pp. 67-76; "La géographie de l'au-delà et sa signification pendant le haut moyen âge," in Popoli e paesi nella cultura altomedievale, 2 vols. (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 29; Spoleto, 1983), pp. 423-81; "Structure et fonction de la vision de Tnugdál," in Faire croire: Modalités de la diffusion et de la réception des messages religieux du XII e au XVe siècle (Collection de l'Ecole Française de Rome; 51; Rome, 1981), pp. 223-34. Also of interest are Michel Aubrun, "Caractères et portée religieuse et sociale des 'Visiones' en Occident du VIe au XIe siècle," Cahiers de civilisation médiévale, 23 (1980), pp. 109-30 and F. Neiske, "Vision und Totengedenken," Frühmittelalterliche Studien, 20 (1986), pp. 137-85. One of the most important texts may be found in English translation in: D. A. Traill, Walahfrid Strabo's "Visio Wettini": Text, Translation and Commentary (Frankfurt, 1974). Giovanni Tabacco, "agiografia e demonologia come strumenti ideologici in età carolingia," Santi e demoni nell'alto medioevo occidentale (secoli V-XI), 2 vols. (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto

medioevo, 36; Spoleto, 1989), pp. 121-54 explores the relationships of the genres in a fascinating manner.

The neighbors of the Carolingian empire.

There are many important hagiographic traditions which are in some sense tangential to the Carolingian empire. On the lives of missionary saints, Walter Levison, England and the Continent in the Eighth Century (Oxford, 1946) remains essential. More recently, see Arnold Angenendt, Kaiserherrschaft und Königstauge: Kaiser, Könige und Papste als geistliche Patrone im der abenlandischen Missiongeschichte (Berlin, 1984). On the cult of relics of these saints, see David Parsons, "Sites and Monuments of the Anglo-Saxon Mission in Central Germany," The Archeological Journal, 140 (1983), pp. 280-321. On specific figures, see Thiofrid Schieffer, Winfrid-Bonifatius und die christliche Grundlegung Europas (1954); Timothy Reuter (ed.), The Greatest Englishman: Essays on St. Boniface and the Church at Crediton (Exeter, 1980); P. Kehl, Kult und Nachleben des heiligen Bonifacius im Mittelalter (754-1200) (Quellen und Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der Abtei und der Diözese Fulda, 26; Fulda, Parzeller Verlag, 1993); Alois Schröer, "Das geistliche bild Liudgers," in Victor Elbern (ed.), Das erste Jahrtausend, 3 vols. (Dusseldorf, 1962), 1:194-215; Hans-Joachim Reischmann (ed. and trans.), Willibrord, Apostel der Friesen: Seine Vita nach Alkuin und Thiofrid (Sigmaringen, 1989); G. Kiesel and J. Schroeder (eds.), Willibrord. Apostel der Niederlande. Gründer der Abtei Echternach (Luxemburg, 1989); Pius Engelbert, Die Vita Sturmii des Eigil von Fulda: Literarkritisch-historische Untersuchung und Edition (Marburg, 1968); Arnold Angenendt, Monachi Peregrini: Studien zu Pirmin und den monastischen Vorstellungen des frühen Mittelalters (Munich, 1972). On the materiality of local Saxon religion and efforts to combat it, see H. Homann, Der Indiculus supersitionum und verwandte Denkmäler (Gottingen, 1965) and Ruth Mazo Karras, "Pagan Survivals and Syncretism in the Conversion of Saxony," The Catholic Historical Review, 72 (1986), pp. 553-72.

Britanny was only tangentially part of the Carolingian empire. See the analysis of Julia Smith, Province and Empire, particularly chapter 6 on hagiography and saints. See also Bernard Merdrignac, Recherches sur l'hagiographie armoricaine du VIIème au XVème siècle: 1, Les saints bretons, témoins de dieu ou témoins des hommes? and 2, Les hagiographes et leurs publics en Bretagne au moyen âge (Saint Malo, 1985-86), Jean-Claude Poulin, "Les relations entre la Bretagne carolingienne et le reste du continent d'après les sources hagiographiques," Voix d'ouest en Europe, souffles d'Europe en ouest, ed. G. Cesbron (Angers, Presses de l'Universite, 1993), p. 65-81, and Caroline Brett, "Breton Latin Literature as Evidence for Literature in the Vernacular, A.D. 800-1300," Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies, 18 (1989), pp. 1-25.

The most important new saints in Iberia during the ninth century were the martyrs of Cordoba. See in particular Kenneth Wolf, Christian Martyrs in Muslim Spain (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), although the basic study of the texts remains E. P. Colbert, The Martyrs of Cordoba (Washington, DC, 1962). Also see the psychoanalytic angle provided by Clayton Drees, "Sainthood and Suicide: The Motives of the Martyrs of Cordoba, A.D. 850-859," Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 59-90 and the eschatological perspective provided by A. Cutler, "The Ninth-Century Spanish Martyrs' Movement and the Origins of Western Christian Missions to the Muslims," Muslim World, 55 (1965), pp. 321-39. Finally, Janet Nelson has made

an intriguing suggestion concerning the Carolingian political context of this movement in "The Franks, The Martyrology of Usuard, and the Martyrs of Cordoba," in Martyrs and Martyrologies, ed. Diana Wood (Studies in Church History, 30; Oxford, 1993), pp. 67-80.

It is difficult to separate the later period of Anglo-Saxon England completely from the earlier period. The following books have useful things to say about the cult of saints in ninth and tenth-century England: David Rollason, Saints and Relics in Anglo-Saxon England (Oxford, 1989); Susan Ridyard, The Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England: A Study of West Saxon and East Anglian Cults (Cambridge, 1988); Mary Clayton, The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Anglo-Saxon England (Cambridge, 1990); Theodor Wolpers, Die englische Heiligenlegende des Mittelalters (Tübingen, 1964); Antonia Grandsen, Historical Writing in England, c. 550 to c. 1307 (London, 1974); Milton Gatch, Preaching and Theology in Anglo-Saxon England (Toronto, 1977). More specifically see David Rollason, "The Shrines of Saints in Later Anglo-Saxon England: Distribution and Significance," in The Anglo-Saxon Church. Papers on History, Architecture, and Archaeology in Honour of Dr. H. M. Taylor, ed. L. A. S. Butler and R. K. Morris (Council for British Archaeology Research Report, 60; London, 1986), pp. 32-43; David Rollason, "Relic Cults as an Instrument of Royal Policy, c. 900-c. 1050," Anglo-Saxon England, 15 (1986), pp. 91-103; Lawrence Butler, "Church Dedications and the Cults of Anglo-Saxon Saints in England," in The Anglo-Saxon Church (cited above) pp. 44-50; and the studies of David Dumville collected in Liturgy and the Ecclesiastical History of Late Anglo-Saxon England: Four Studies (Woodbridge, 1992). On some of the more renowned of late Anglo-Saxon hagiographers, see Andy Orchard, The Poetic Art of Aldhelm (Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England, 8; Cambridge, 1994); Pauline Stafford, "Church and Society in the Age of Aelfric," The Old English Homily and Its Backgrounds, ed. Paul Szarmach and B. Huppe (New York, 1978), pp. 11-42; M. R. Godden, "Aelfric's Saints' Lives and the Problem of Miracles," Leeds Studies in English, 16 (1985), pp. 83-100. L. M. Reimsma, Aelfric: An Annotated Bibliography (New York, 1987) provides fuller bibliography on the latter figure.

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The Cult of the Saints from the Tenth through the Twelfth Centuries: A Bibliography

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General historical studies.

On the development of Europe, its kingdoms, and its society after the collapse of the Carolingian empire, see Jean-Pierre Poly and Eric Bournazel, [La mutation féodale. Xe-XIIe siècles](#) (Nouvelle Clio, 16; Paris, 1980); Robert Fossier, [L'Enfance de l'Europe \(Xe-XIIe siècles\). Aspects économiques et sociaux](#), 2 vols. (Nouvelle Clio, 17; Paris, 1982); Heinrich Fichtenau, [Lebensordnung des 10. Jahrhunderts: Studien über Denkart und Existenz im einstigen Karolingerreich](#) (Stuttgart, 1984); [Il secolo de ferro: Mito e realtà del secolo X](#), 2 vols. (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 39; Spoleto, 1991); Elisabeth Magnou-Nortier (ed.), [Pouvoirs et libertés au temps des premiers capétiens](#) (Maulevrier, France: Hérault, 1992); Cinzio Violante and Johannes Fried (eds.), [Il secolo XI: Una svolta?](#) (Annali dell'Istituto Storico Italo-Germanico, Quaderno 35; Bologna: Il Mulino, 1993). For a searching reappraisal of one of the dominant paradigms in these works, see Dominique Barthelemy, "La Mutation féodale a-t-elle eu lieu?," [Annales. E. S. C.](#) (1992), pp. 367-77, significantly expanded in "Qu'est ce-que le servage, en France, au XIe siècle?" [Revue historique](#), 287 (1992), pp. 235-84 and "Qu'est ce-que le chevalerie, en France aus Xe et XIe siècles?" [Revue historique](#), 290 (1993), pp. 15-74. Two of the fundamental surveys have been translated into English: Jean-Pierre Poly and Eric Bournazel, [The Feudal Transformation, 900-1200](#), trans. Caroline Higgitt (New York, 1991) and Heinrich Fichtenau, [Living in the Tenth Century: Mentalities and Social Orders](#), trans. Patrick Geary (Chicago, 1991). Both have perceptive comments about saints and their cults; the former also has an excellent bibliography. Also see the intriguing essay of Karl Leyser, [The Ascent of Latin Europe](#) (Oxford, 1986).

Hagiographic composition.

On the composition of hagiography in this period, the work of Ludwig Zoepf, [Das Heiligen-Leben im 10. Jahrhundert](#) (Leipzig, 1908) still has worth. But see now Baudouin de Gaiffier, "Hagiographie et historiographie. Quelques aspects du problème," in [La storiografia altomedievale](#) (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medio Evo, 17; Spoleto, 1970), pp. 139-66; Pierre-André Sigal, "Histoire et hagiographie: les [Miracula](#) aux XIe et XIIe siècles," [Annales de Bretagne et des Pays de l'ouest](#), 87 (1980), pp. 237-57; Pierre-André Sigal,

"Le travail des hagiographes aux XIe et XIIe siècles: Sources d'information et méthodes de rédaction," Francia, 15 (1987), pp. 149-182 and François Dolbeau, "Les hagiographes au travail: Collecte et traitement des documents écrits (IXe-SIIe siècles)," in Manuscrits hagiographiques et travail des hagiographes, ed. Martin Heinzelmann (Sigmaringen, 1992), pp. 49-76. Friedrich Prinz suggests some of the purposes of hagiography in "Hagiographische Texte über Kult- und Wallfahrtsorte: Auftragsarbeit für kultpropaganda, persönliche Motivation, Rolle der Mönche," Hagiographica, 1 (1994), pp. 17-42. Maurice Coens analyzes some of the more common topoi found in the prologues to hagiographic works in "'Utriusque linguae peritus.' En marge d'un prologue de Thierry de Saint-Trond," Analecta Bollandiana, 76 (1958), pp. 118-50.

Saintly patronage.

My own approach to the cult of saints in the post-Carolingian period is that outlined in Thomas Head, Hagiography and the Cult of Saints. The Diocese of Orléans, 800-1200 (Cambridge, 1990). For differing views on saintly patronage, see, for example, Pierre-André Sigal, L'homme et le miracle dans la France médiévale (XIe-XIIe siècle) (Paris, 1985); Benedicta Ward, Miracles and the Medieval Mind. Theory, Record and Event, 1000-1215 (Philadelphia, 1982). And the Marxist approach to saintly patronage originally charted by Bernhard Töpfer in the 1950s remains of continuing interest; the key article is translated into English as "The Cult of Relics and Pilgrimage in Gurgundy and Aquitaine at the Time of the Monastic Reform," in Thomas Head and Richard Landes (eds.), The Peace of God: Social Violence and Religious Response in France Around the Year 1000 (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992), pp. 41-57. Attempts to chart a "national" patronage of the saints include Olivier Guillot, "Les saints des peuples et des nations dans l'Occident des VIe-Xe s. Un aperçu d'ensemble illustré par les cas des Francs en Gaule," in Santi e demoni nell'alto medioevo occidentale (secoli V-XI), 2 vols. (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 36; Spoleto, 1989), pp. 205-52 and Colette Beaune, The Birth of an Ideology: Myths and Symbols of Nation in Late Medieval France, trans Susan Ross Huston, ed. Fredric Cheyette (Berkeley, 1991) [Note: this English translation, much revised, is considered to supercede the French original]. Ursula Swinarski, Herrschen mit den Heiligen. Kirchenbesuche, Pilgerfahrten und Heiligenverehrung früh- und hoch-mittelalterlicher Herrscher (ca. 500-1200) (Bern, 1993) provides a valuable collection of evidence on the relationship of noble lords to saintly patrons.

One of the most distinctive aspects of saintly patronage is the genre of chastisement story often repeated in miracle collections: Baudouin de Gaiffier, "Les Revindications de biens dans quelques documents hagiographiques du XIe siècle," Analecta Bollandiana, 50 (1932), pp. 123-38; Auguste Dumas, "La Notion de la propriété ecclésiastique du IXe au XIe siècle," Revue d'histoire d'église de France, 26 (1940), pp. 14-34; Pierre-André Sigal, "Un aspect du culte des saints: le châtement divin aux XIe et XIIe siècles, d'après la littérature hagiographique du Midi du France," in M.-H. Vicaire, ed., La religion populaire en Languedoc du XIIIe à la moitié du XIVe siècle (Cahiers du Fanjeaux, 11; Toulouse, 1976), pp. 49-59; Henri Platelle, "Crime et châtement à Marchiennes. Etude sur la conception et le fonctionnement de la justice d'après les Miracles de sainte Rictrude (XIIIe s.)," Sacris Erudiri, 24 (1978/79), pp. 156-202. Related to these stories were the curses (often invoking saintly patronage) used by monastic communities: Lester Little, "Formules monastiques de malédiction aux IXe et Xe siècles," Revue Mabillon 58 (1975), pp. 377-99 and "La morphologie des malédictions monastiques," Annales. Economies,

sociétés, civilisations 34 (1979), pp. 43-60, now expanded in Lester Little, Benedictine Maledictions: Liturgical Cursing in Romanesque France (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1993). Monastic communities occasionally tried to coerce this form of protection: Patrick Geary, "La coercition des saints dans la pratique religieuse médiévale," in La culture populaire au Moyen Age. Etudes présentés au Quatrième colloque de l'Institut d'études médiévales de l'Université de Montréal, 2-3 avril, 1977, ed. Pierre Boglioni (Montréal, 1979), pp. 145-61 and "L'humiliation des saints," Annales. Economies, sociétés, civilisations 34 (1979), pp. 27-42, both now translated in Living with the Dead.

Pilgrimage and relics.

Generalities on Christian pilgrimage: Pierre André Sigal, Les Marcheurs de Dieu. Pèlerinages et pèlerins au Moyen Age (Paris, 1974); Jonathan Sumption, Pilgrimage. An Image of Mediaeval Religion (Totowa, NJ, 1975); Raymond Oursel, Pèlerins au Moyen Age. Les hommes, les chemins, les sanctuaires, second edition (Paris, 1978); Jean Chélini and Henry Branthomme, Les chemins de Dieu. Histoire des pèlerinages chrétiens des origines à nos jours (Paris, 1982); Edmond-René Labande, "'Ad limina': le pèlerin médiéval au terme de sa démarche," in Pierre Gallais and Yves-Jean Riou (eds.), Mélanges offerts à René Crozet, 2 vols. (Poitiers, 1966), 1:283-91 and "Pèlerinages et cultes des saints en Europe, jusqu'à la première croisade," in Pellegrinaggi e culto dei santi in Europa fino alla Ia crociata (Convegno del centro di studi sulla spiritualità medievale, 4; Todi, 1963), pp. 332-7; Benedicta Ward, Miracles and the Medieval Mind. Theory, Record and Event, 1000-1215 (Philadelphia, 1982); René Laurentin, Les routes de Dieu: Aux sources de la religion populaire. Pèlerinages, sanctuaires, apparitions (Paris, 1983); R. Stopani, Le vie di pellegrinaggio del Medioevo. Gli itinerari per Roma, Gerusalemme, Compostella (1991); Russell Barber, Pilgrimages (1991); Norbert Ohler, The Medieval Traveller (Woodbridge).

More specifically on relics and reliquaries: P. Sejourné, "Reliques," Dictionnaire de théologie catholique, vol. 13, pt. 2, cols. 2330-2365; Arnold Angenendt, Heilige und Reliquien: die Geschichte ihres Kultes vom frühen Christentum bis zur Gegenwart (Munich, 1994); Andre Grabar, Martyrium. Recherches sur le culte des reliques et l'art chrétien antique, 2 vols. (Paris, 1946 and London, 1972); Marie Madeleine Gauthier, Highways of the Faith: Relics and Reliquaries from Jerusalem to Compostela, trans. J. A. Underwood (London, 1986); J. Braun, Der christlichen Altar in seiner geschichtlichen entwicklung (Munich, 1924) and De Reliquiare des christlichen Kultes und ihre Entwicklung (Freiburg, 1940); Harald Keller, "Reliquien, in Architekturteilen beigesetzt," in Beiträge zur Kunst des Mittelalters. Festschrift für Hans Wentzel zum 60. Geburtstag (Berlin, 1975), pp. 105-114 and "Zur Entstehung der sakralen Vollskulptur in der ottonischen Zeit," in Festschrift für Hans Jantzen (Berlin, 1951), pp. 71-91.

Specifically on the cult of the true cross: Anatole Frolov, La Relique de la vraie croix. Recherches sur le développement d'un culte (Archives de l'Orient Chrétien, 7; Paris, 1961) and Les reliquaires de la vraie croix (Archives de l'Orient Chrétien, 8; Paris, 1965). On other Christological relics: Walter Berschin, Die Reichenauer Heiligblut-Reliquie (Constance, 1988).

Some articles on pilgrimage routes: Esther Cohen, "Roads and Pilgrimage. A Study in Economic Interaction," Studi Medievali, 21 (1980), pp. 321-41; Raymond Oursel, "Chemins de

transhumance, chemins de pèlerinage," Archeologia, 14 (1967); André Sors, "Chemins de pèlerinage du Rouergue et du Quercy," Revue de Rouergue, 21 (1967), pp. 65-69; Robert-Henri Bautier, "Recherches sur les routes de l'Europe médiévale," Bulletin philologique et historique du comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques (1960), p. 105-107.

Some useful anthropological and comparative perspectives on pilgrimage: Ernest Gellner, Saints of the Atlas (Chicago, 1969); Michael Gilsean, Saint and Sufi in Modern Egypt (Oxford, 1973); F. E. Peters, The Hajj: The Muslim Pilgrimage to Mecca and the Holy Places (Princeton, 1994); M. N. Pearson, Pilgrimage to Mecca: The Indian Experience, 1600-1800 (New York, 1994); Surinder Bhardwaj, Hindu Places of Pilgrimage in India. A Study in Cultural Geography (Berkeley, 1973); Victor Turner and Edith Turner, Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture. Anthropological Perspectives (New York, 1978); Stanley Tambiah, The Buddhist Saints of the Forest and the Cult of Amulets. A Study in Charisma, Hagiography, Sectarianism, and Millennial Buddhism (Cambridge, 1984); Alphonse Dupront, Du sacré. Croisades et pèlerinages. Images et langages (Paris, 1987); John Eade and Michael Sallnow (eds.), Contesting the Sacred: The Anthropology of Christian Pilgrimage (London, 1991); James Griffith, Beliefs and Holy Places: A Spiritual Geography of the Pimeria Alta (Tucson, 1992).

Italy.

A basic guide to the sources and scholarship in northern Italy can be found in Paolo Golinelli, "Italia settentrionale, 1130-1220," in Hagiographies, ed. Guy Philippart (see above), pp. 125-54 as well as in forthcoming essays in the same collection by Paolo Tomea and Claudio Leonardi. Golinelli is himself the premiere scholar of saints cult in northern Italy in the central middle ages. His works include: Culto dei santi e vita cittadina a Reggio Emilia (secoli IX-XII) (Modena, 1980); Indiscreta Sanctitas: Studi sui rapporti tra culti, poteri e società nel pieno medioevo (Rome, 1988); Città e culto dei santi nel medioevo italiano (Biblioteca di storia urbana medievale, 4; Bologna: Editrice CLUEB, 1991). He has also recently provided an interesting statement of the problem in an essay entitled "Antichi e nuovi culti cittadini al sorgere dei Comuni del nord-Italia," Hagiographica, 1 (1994), pp. 159-180. In addition to his work, see the essays in La coscienza cittadina nei comuni Italliani del Duecento (Convegni del Centro di studi sulla spiritualità medievale, 11; Todi, 1972) by Raffaello Morghen, Alba Maria Orselli, Adriano Prandi, and Raoul Manselli; Luigi Canetti, Gloriosa civitas. Culto dei santi e società cittadina a Piacenza nel Medioevo (Cristianesimo antico e medievale, 4; Bologna, 1993); George Dameron, "The Cult of St. Minias and the Struggle for Power in the Diocese of Florence, 1011-1018," Journal of Medieval History, 13 (1987), pp. 125-141; Paolo Tomea, "L'agiografia melanese nei secoli XI e XII," in Milano e il suo territorio in età comunale (XI-XIII secolo) (Spoleto, 1987), pp. 623-87 and "Le suggestioni dell'antico. Qualche riflessione sull'epistola proemiale del De situ civitatis Mediolani e sulle sue fonti," Aevum, 63 (1989), pp. 172-185; Ireneo Daniele, "Le due leggende sull'invenzione e traslazione del corpo di San Daniele Levita Matire Padovana," Atti e memorie dell'Accademia Patavina di scienze lettere ed arti, 98 (1987): 81-114 and "Analisi critica delle due leggende sull'invenzione e la traslazione del corpo di San Daniele Levita, martire di Padova," Atti e memorie dell'Accademia patavina di scienze, lettere ed arti, 100 (1987-1989), pp. 25-44. Several studies of civic and episcopal patronage in early medieval Italy continue to be relevant for this period: Alba Maria Orselli, L'Ida e il culto del santo patrono cittadino nella letteratura latina cristiana (Bologna: Zanichelli, 1965); Jean-Charles

Picard, Le souvenir des évêques. Sépultures, listes épiscopales et culte des évêques en Italie du Nord, des origines au Xe siècle (Rome, 1988); J. M. Sansterre, "Le monastere des saints-Boniface-et-Alexis sur l'Aventin et l'expansion du christianisme dans le cadre de la Renovatio Imperii Romanorum d'Otton III. Une revision," Revue Benedictine, 100 (1990), pp. 493-506; Peter Reid, Tenth-Century Latinity: Rather of Verona (Los Angeles, 1981).

On southern Italy, see G. da Costa-Louillet, "Saints de Sicile et d'Italie méridionale aux VIIe, IXe et Xe siècles," Byzantion, 29-30 (1959-60), pp. 89-173; Enrica Follieri, "Il culto dei santi nell'Italia greca," in La chiesa Greca in Italia dall'VIII al XVI secolo, 3 vols. (Italia Sacra, 20-21; Padua, 1973), 2:553-78; Oronzo Limone, "Agiografia latina nell'Italia meridionale," in La cultura in Italia fra Tardo Antico e Alto medioevo (Rome, 1981), pp. 755-69; Antonio Vuolo, Una testimonianza agiografica napoletana: il "Libellus miraculorum s. Agnelli" (sec. X) (Naples, 1987) and I "Libelli miraculorum" tra religiosità e politica (Napoli, sec. IX-XII) (Parva hagiographica, 1; Naples, 1990); Oronzo Limone (ed.), Santi monaci e santi eremiti: Alla ricerca di un modello di perfezione nella letteratura dell'Apulia normanna (Galatina, 1988); Salvatore Pricoco, "Un esempio di agiografia regionale: la Sicilia," in Santi e demoni nell'alto medioevo occidentale (secoli V-XI), 2 vols. (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 36; Spoleto, 1989), pp. 319-76; P. Chiesa and François Dolbeau, "Una traduzione amalfitana dell'XI secolo: la Vita latina di Sant'Epifanio," Studi medievali, third series, 30 (1989), pp. 909-951.

Iberia.

The two best introductions and overviews are: A. Torra Pérez, Historia y hagiografía. Textos hagiográficos hispanos de los siglos XI-XIII (Madrid, 1986) and Fernando Baños Vallejo, La Hagiografía como género literario en la Edad media: tipología de doce vidas individuales castellanas (Oviedo, 1989).

The most important development in the cult of the saints in Iberia during this period is the growth of the pilgrimage to Compostella. The bibliography on the topic is truly enormous. A guide may be found in: Maryjane Dunn and Linda Kay Davidson (eds.), The Pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela: A Comprehensive Bibliography (Garland Medieval Bibliographies, 18; New York, 1994). Key works include: Kurt Köster, Pilgerzeichen und Pilgermuscheln von mittelalterlichen Santiagostrassen (Newmünster, 1983); R. A. Fletcher, St. James Catapult: The Life and Times of Diego Gelmirez of Santiago de Compostella (Oxford, 1984); Alphonse Dupront, et al. Saint-Jacques de Compostelle: La quête du sacré (Paris, 1985); John Willaims and Alison Stones (eds.), The Codex Calixtinus and the Shrine of St. James (Jakobus-Studien, 3; Tübingen, 1992); William Melczer (trans.), The Pilgrim's Guide to Santiago de Compostella (New York: Italica Press, 1993); Annie Shaver-Crandell and Paula Gerson, with Alison Stones, The Pilgrim's Guide to Santiago de Compostella (London, 1995).

France and the Low Countries.

For guidance to the literature, both primary and secondary, of the cults of saints in France during this period, see the essays by Bonassie, Iogna-Prat, Sigal, Head (together covering most of

France south of the Loire) in the first volume of Hagiographies. Histoire internationale de la littérature hagiographique, latine et vernaculaire, en Occident, des origines à 1550, ed. Guy Philippart, 4 vols. (Turnhout: Brepols, 1994-present). Essays in later volumes will cover central and northern France and the low countries. Also of interest for general guidance are: Yves-Jean Riou, "L'historiographie de la France de l'Ouest aux Xe et XIe siècles," and Robert-Henri Bautier, "L'historiographie en France aux Xe et XIe siècles (France du Nord et de l'Est)," in La storiografia altomedievale (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medio Evo, 17; Spoleto, 1970), pp. 751-91 and pp. 793-850.

Some studies of particular regions, monasteries, pilgrimage sites, and hagiographers include: F. Baix, "L'hagiographie à Stavelot-Malmédy," Revue Bénédictine, 65 (1950), pp. 120-65; Baodouin de Gaiffier, "L'hagiographie dans le marquisat de Flandre et le duché de Basse-Lotharingie au XIe siècle," in idem, Etudes critiques d'hagiographie et d'iconologie (Subsidia hagiographica, 43; Brussels, 1967), pp. 415-507; Jacques Dubois, Une sanctuaire monastique au moyen âge: Saint-Fiacre-en-Brie (Paris, 1976); Dominique Iogna-Prat, Agni Immaculati. Recherches sur les sources hagiographiques relatives à Saint Maieul de Cluny, 954-994 (Paris, 1988); Thomas Head, Hagiography and the Cult of Saints (cited above); Ienje van't Spijker, Als door een speciaal stempel: traditie en vernieuwing in heiligenlevens uit Noordwest-Frankrijk (1050-1150) (Hilversum: Verloren, 1990); Antonella degl'Innocenti, L'opera agiografica di Marbodo di Rennes (Biblioteca di medioevo latino, 3; Spoleto, 1990). Also see some of the studies collected in Thomas Head and Richard Landes (eds.), The Peace of God: Social Violence and Religious Response in France Around the Year 1000 (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992).

Germany.

General guidance to the cult of saints in Ottonian and Salian Germany will be provided in an article by Friedrich Lotter to appear in Hagiographies, ed. Guy Philippart (cited above). In the meantime, see W. Hug, Elemente Biographie im Hochmittelalter. Untersuchungen zu Darstellungsform und Geschichtsbild der viten vom Anfang der Ottonen- bis in die Anfänge der Stauferzeit (Munich, 1957). Dieter von der Nahmer, Die lateinische Heiligenvita: Eine Einführung in die lateinische Hagiographie (Darmstadt, 1994) is a general introduction to hagiography with much of interest on German sources. The best study of hagiography and the cult of saints in the Ottonian empire is Patrick Corbet, Les saints ottoniens. Sainteté dynastique, sainteté royale et sainteté féminine autour de l'an mil (Sigmaringen, 1986). Others of interest include: Herbert Paulhart, Die Lebensbeschreibung der Kaiserin Adelheid von Abt. Odilo von Cluny (Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung, Ergänzungsband, 2.22; Graz, 1962); K. Babl, Emmeram von Regensburg. Legende und Kult (Thurn und Taxis-Studien, 8; Kallmünz, 1973); Theodor Klüppel, Reichenauer Hagiographie zwischen Walahfrid und Berno (Sigmaringen, 1980); Hubert Glasser, Franz Brunhölzl, and Sigmund Benker (eds.), Vita Corbiniani: Bischof Arbeo von Friesing und die Lebensgeschichte des Hl. Korbinian (Munich, 1983); Roman Michalowski, "Il culto dei santifondatori nei monasteri tedeschi dei secoli XI e XII. Proposte di ricerca," in Sofia Boesch Gajano and Lucia Sebastiani, (eds.), Culto dei santi, istituzioni e classi sociali in età preindustriale (Collana di studi storici, 1; Aquila, 1984), pp. 105-40; Thomas Vogtherr, Der König und der Heilige: Heinrich IV., der heilige Remaklus und die Mönche des Doppelklosters Stablo-Malmedy (Munich, 1990); David Warner, "Henry II at

Magdeburg; Kingship, Ritual and the Cult of Saints," Early Medieval Europe, 3 (1994), pp. 135-66; Christian Wildorf, "Rémarques sur la première Vie connue de saint Adelphe de Metz et le pèlerinage de Neuwiller-les-Saverne (X-XII siècles)," Revue d'Alsace, 119 (1993), pp. 31-41; Gunther Wolf, "Kaiserin Theophanu, die Ottonen und der Beginn der St. Nikolaus-Verehrung in Mitteleuropa," in Kaiserin Theophanu. Prinzessin aus der Fremde des Westreichs Grosse Kaiserin, ed. Gunther Wolf (Cologne, 1991), pp. 27-38; Eva Irlich, (trans.), Die vitae sanctae Wiboradae: Ein Heiligen-Leben des 10. Jahrhunderts als Zeitbild (St. Gall, 1970). Also see the works on episcopal and royal hagiography from Ottonian and Salian Germany in the next section.

England.

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The Celtic world.

On differing practices of the cult of relics and saints' shrines in the Celtic world, see Wendy Davies, "Property Rights and Property Claims in Welsh vitae of the Eleventh Century," in Evelyne Patlagean and Pierre Riché, eds., Hagiographies, cultures, et sociétés. IVe-XIIe siècles (Paris, 1981), pp. 515-33; Charles Doherty, "Some Aspects of Hagiography as a Source for Irish Economic History," Peritia, 1 (1982), pp. 300-28; Charles Doherty, "The Use of Relics in Early Ireland," in Irland und Europa. Die Kirche im Frühmittelalter / Ireland and Europe. The Early Church, ed. Próinséas Ní Chatháin and Michael Richter. 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 1984), 2:89-104; A. T. Lucas, "The Social Role of Relics and Reliquaries in Ancient Ireland," Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, 116 (1986), pp. 5-37; Julia Smith, "Oral and Written: Saints, Miracles, and Relics in Brittany, c. 850-1250," Speculum 65 (1990), pp. 309-43.

Scandinavia.

The best summary treatment of the conversion of Scandinavia is Birgit Sawyer, Peter Sawyer, and Ian Wood (eds.), The Christianization of Scandinavia (Alingsaas, 1987), although one should also consult the marvelous work on Icelands, Dag Strömbäck, The Conversion of Iceland (London, 1975). On more specific aspects see Fridtjov Birkeli, "The Earliest Missionary Activities From England to Norway," Nottingham Mediaeval Studies, 15 (1971), pp. 27-37; Theodore Andersson, "The Conversion of Norway According to Oddr Snorrason and Snorri Sturluson," Medieval Scandinavia, 10 (1977), pp. 83-95; Peter Sawyer, "Ethelred II, Olaf Tryggvason, and the Conversion of Norway," Scandinavian Studies, 59 (1987), pp. 299-307. The earliest native Scandinavians to be honored as saints were kings: Erich Hoffmann, Die Heiligen Könige bei den Angelsachsen und den skandinavischen Völkern. Königsheiliger und Königshaus (Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte Schleswig-Holsteins, 69; Neumünster, 1975); Bruce Dickins, "The Cult of S. Olave in the British Isles," Saga-Book of the Viking Society, 12 (1939), pp. 53-80; Tore Nyberg, "St Knud and St Knud's Church," in Hagiography and Medieval Literature. A Symposium (Odense, 1981), pp. 100-10; Peter Sawyer, "Ethelred II, Olaf Tryggvason, and the Conversion of Norway," Scandinavian Studies, 59 (1987), pp. 299-307. On the relationship of pagan and Christian cult places, see H.-E. Lidén, W. Holmqvist, and O. Olsen, "From Pagan Sanctuary to Christian Church. The Excavation of Maere Church in Trøndelag," Norwegian Archaeological Review, 2 (1969), pp. 3-32 and Olaf Olsen, "Is There a Relationship between Pagan and Christian Places of Worship in Scandinavia?" in The Anglo-Saxon Church. Papers . . . In Honour of Dr. H. M. Taylor, ed. L. A. S. Butler and R. K. Morris (Council for British Archaeology Research Report, 60; London, 1986), pp. 126-30. On pagan survivals, see Kristian Hald, "The Cult of Odin in Danish Place-Names," in Arthur Brown and Peter Foote (eds.), Early English and Norse Studies Presented to Hugh Smith (London, 1963), pp. 99-109.

Central Europe.

On the conversion of the Slavs, see Francis Dvornik, The Making of Central and Eastern Europe (London, 1949) and A. P. Vlasto, The Entry of the Slavs into Christendom (Cambridge, 1970). As in Scandinavia, the earliest saints were missionaries and kings: Bujnoch, Josef, ed. and trans., Zwischen Rom und Byzanz: Leben und Wirken der Slavenapostel Kyrillos und Methodios (Graz, 1958); Dvornik, Francis, trans., Les légendes de Constantine et de Méthode vues de Byzance, 2nd ed. (Orono, Me., 1969); Eberhard Demm, Reformmönchtum und Slavenmission im 12. Jahrhundert: wertsoziologisch-geistesgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu den Viten Bischof Ottos von Bamberg (1970); Norman Ingham, "The Sovereign as Martyr, East and West," Slavic and East European Journal, 17 (1973), 1-17; The Vita of Constantine and the Vita of Methodius, trans. Marvin Kantor and Richard White (Michigan Slavic Materials, 13; Ann Arbor, 1976); Frantisek Graus, "La sanctification du souverain dans l'Europe centrale des Xe et XIe siècles," and Alexander Gieysztor, "Saints d'implantation, saints de souche dans les pays évangélisés de l'Europe du centre-est," in Evelyne Patlagean and Pierre Riché, eds., Hagiographies, cultures, et sociétés. IVe-XIIIe siècles (Paris, 1981), pp. 559-572 and 573-84; Marvin Kantor, Medieval Slavic Lives of Saints and Princes (Michigan Slavic Studies, 5; Ann Arbor, 1983); Gail Lenhoff, The Martyred Princes Boris and Gleb: A Socio-Cultural Study of the Cult and the Texts (UCLA Slavic Studies, 19; Columbus, OH: Slavica Publishers, 1989); György Györffi, King Saint Stephan of Hungary (Boulder and New York, 1994).

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New Saints of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries: A Bibliography

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General historical studies.

Richard Southern, [The Making of the Middle Ages](#) (New Haven, 1953) is a fascinating, if highly personal, introduction to the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Robert Bartlett, [The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change, 950-1350](#) (Princeton, 1993) presents an ambitious and challenging thesis about the development and dispersion of certain social practices which constituted medieval Europe. Some useful surveys include: Christopher Brooke, [Europe in the Central Middle Ages, 950-1158](#), second edition (New York, 1987); John Mundy, [Europe in the High Middle Ages, 1150-1309](#), second edition (New York, 1991); Malcolm Barber, [The Two Cities: Medieval Europe, 1050-1320](#) (London, 1992).

The following are regional surveys for the entire later middle ages. On France: Elizabeth Hallam, [Capetian France, 987-1328](#) (London, 1980); Jean Dunbabin, [France in the Making, 843-1180](#) (Oxford, 1985); Georges Duby, [France in the Middle Ages 987-1460: From Hugh Capet to Joan of Arc](#) (Oxford, 1991). On Germany: Geoffrey Barraclough, [Medieval Germany 911-1250](#), 2 vols. (Oxford, 1938) and [The Origins of Modern Germany](#) (second edition, Oxford, 1947); Horst Fuhrmann, [Germany in the High Middle Ages](#) (Cambridge, 1986); Alfred Haverkamp, [Medieval Germany, 1056-1273](#) (Oxford, 1988). On Italy: Giovanni Tabacco, [The Struggle for Power in Medieval Italy. Structures of Political Rule](#) (Cambridge, 1989); J. K. Hyde, [Society and Politics in Medieval Italy: The Evolution of the Civil Life, 1000-1350](#) (London, 1973); John Lerner, [Italy in the Age of Dante and Petrarch, 1216-1380](#) (London, 1980); Donald Matthew, [The Norman Kingdom of Sicily](#) (Cambridge, 1992). On Iberia: Joseph O'Callaghan, [A History of Medieval Spain](#) (Ithaca, NY, 1975); Angus MacKay, [Spain in the Middle Ages: From Frontier to Empire, 1000-1500](#) (London, 1977); Bernard Reilly, [The Medieval Spains](#) (Cambridge, 1993). On England: Christopher Brooke, [From Alfred to Henry III: 871-1272](#) (Norton Library History of England, 2; London, 1961); George Holmes, [The Later Middle Ages, 1272-1485](#) (Norton Library History of England, 3; London, 1962); Colin Platt, [Medieval England. A Social History and Archaeology from the Conquest to 1600 A. D.](#) (London, 1988); Marjorie Chibnall, [Anglo-Norman England, 1066-1166](#) (Oxford, 1986); Pauline Stafford, [Unification and Conquest: A Political and Social History of England in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries](#) (London, 1989). On

the Celtic lands: Robin Frame, The Political Development of the British Isles, 1100-1400 (Oxford, 1990); Robin Frame, Colonial Ireland, 1169-1369 (Dublin, 1981); Art Cosgrove (ed.), New History of Ireland, 2: Medieval Ireland, 1169-1534 (Oxford, 1987); Geoffrey Barrow, Kingship and Unity: Scotland 1000-1306 (London, 1981); David Walker, Medieval Wales (Cambridge, 1990). On Scandinavia: P. H. Sawyer, Kings and Vikings: Scandinavia and Europe, A. D. 700-1100 (London, 1982); Jesse Byock, Medieval Iceland. Society Sagas, and Power (Berkeley, 1988); Birgit Sawyer and Peter Sawyer, Medieval Scandinavia: From Conversion to Reformation, circa 800-1500 (Minneapolis, 1993). On the Slavic lands: Jean Sedlar, East Central Europe in the Middle Ages, 1000-1500 (Seattle, 1994); John Fine, The Early Medieval Balkans. A Critical Survey from the Sixth to the Late Twelfth Century (Ann Arbor, 1983) and The Late Medieval Balkans. A Critical Survey from the Late Twelfth Century to the Ottoman Conquest (Ann Arbor, 1987); John Fennell, The Crisis of Medieval Russia, 1200-1304 (London, 1983).

General studies of religious history.

For a highly servicable introduction to the religious history of the eleventh and twelfth centuries in English, see Colin Morris, The Papal Monarchy: The Western Church from 1050 to 1250 (Oxford, 1989). Gerd Tellenbach, The Church in Western Europe from the Tenth to the Early Twelfth Century, trans. Timothy Reuter (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 135-353 is highly idiosyncratic and less useful. The best available survey is Apogée de la papauté et expansion de la chrétienté (1054-1274), ed. André Vauchez (Paris, 1993). The relevant volumes of the Histoire de l'Eglise depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours still have much to commend them: Augustin Fliche, La réforme grégorienne et le reconquête chrétienne (1057-1123) (Paris, 1946); Augustin Fliche, Raymond Foreville, and J. Rousset de Pina, Du premier concile du Latran à l'avènement d'Innocent III (1123-1198), 2 vols. (Paris, 1944-53). The relevant chapters of Jean Leclercq, François Vandenbroucke and Louis Bouyer, La spiritualité du moyen âge (Paris, 1961; ET: The Spirituality of the Middle Ages [New York, 1968]) are superb. For more specific information on related topics, the Dictionnaire de spiritualité, ascétique et mystique, doctrine et histoire, eds. Joseph de Guibert, Marcel Viller, F. Cavallera, et al., 16 vols. (Paris, 1937-present) is a particularly useful resource for this period. And also see collections of essays: I Laici nella 'Societas Christianas' dei Secoli XI e XII (Miscellanea del Centro di studi medioevali, 5; Milan, 1968); Le istituzioni ecclesiastiche della "Societas Christiana" dei secoli XI-XII. Diocesi, pievi e parrocchie (Miscellanea del Centro di studi medioevali, 8; Milan, 1977); La Cristianità dei secoli XI e XII in Occidente: Coscienza e Strutture di una società (Miscellanea del Centro di studi medioevali, 10; Milan, 1983).

Monasticism is central to a consideration both of Christianity and of sanctity during this period. Jean Leclercq, The Love of Learning and the Desire for God. A Study of Monastic Culture, trans. Catharine Misrahi, second edition (New York: 1977) is largely concerned with this period and provides an introduction to both the "black" and the "white" monks which is brilliant and sympathetic. David Knowles, The Monastic Order in England, second edition (Cambridge, 1962) is much more effective as a survey than the title would indicate. More general surveys include: David Knowles, Christian Monasticism (New York, 1969); Marcel Pacaut, Les ordres monastiques et religieux au Moyen Age (Paris, 1970); C. N. L. Brooke and Wim Swaan, The Monastic World, 1000-1300 (London, 1974); C. H. Lawrence, Medieval Monasticism. Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages (London, 1984). For general

bibliographical guidance to secondary literature, see Giles Constable, Medieval Monasticism: A Select Bibliography (Toronto Medieval Bibliographies, 6; Toronto, 1976). Much has traditionally been made of a "crisis" in monasticism during this period: Charles Dereine, "Odon de Tournai et la crise du cénobitisme au XI^e siècle," Revue du moyen âge latin, 4 (1948), pp. 137-54; Jean Leclercq, "La crise du monachisme aux XI^e et XII^e siècles," Bullettino dell'Istituto storico italiano per il medio evo, 70 (1958), pp. 19-41; Norman Cantor, "The Crisis of Western Monasticism, 1050-1130," American Historical Review, 66 (1960-1), pp. 47-67. The thesis has effectively been dismembered by John Van Engen, "The 'Crisis of Cenobitism' Reconsidered: Benedictine Monasticism in the Years 1050-1150," Speculum, 61 (1986), pp. 269-304.

Poverty and the apostolic life are two of the main themes of new religious movements of this period. On the social history of poverty, see Michel Mollat, The Poor in the Middle Ages: An Essay in Social History, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (New Haven, CT, 1986). On the development of poverty into a religious ideal, see the powerful essays of Marie-Dominique Chenu, Nature Man and Society in the Twelfth Century, trans. Jerome Taylor and Lester Little (New York, 1969). Lester Little has provided a convincing thesis about the importance of this ideal in a wide variety of social and religious changes in Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe (Ithaca, NY, 1978).

There was an intense, although somewhat brief, scholarly vogue for discussing the "popular religion" of the middle ages. General works on that subject generally ignored the early middle ages and are more relevant for the period after the Gregorian reform. Despite problems with the concept itself, the following books have much good in them which concerns hagiography and the cult of saints: Raoul Manselli, La religion populaire au moyen âge. Problèmes de méthode et d'histoire (Montréal, 1975); Etienne Delaruelle, La Pieté populaire au moyen âge (Turin, 1975); Bernard Plongeron (ed.), La Religion populaire dans l'occident chrétien. Approches historiques (Paris, 1975); M.-H. Vicaire (ed.), La religion populaire en Languedoc du XIII^e à la moitié du XIV^e siècle (Cahiers de Fanjeaux, 11; Toulouse, 1976); James Obelkevich (ed.), Religion and the People, 800-1700 (Chapel Hill, NC, 1979); Rosalind Brooke, and Christopher Brooke, Popular Religion in the Middle Ages. Western Europe 1000-1300 (London, 1984). On the concept, see also Jean-Claude Schmitt, "'Religion populaire' et culture folklorique," Annales ESC, 31 (1976), pp. 941-53.

Heresy of a dissenting (as opposed to a doctrinal) nature began to be (or be seen by church authorities) as problematic in the eleventh century, a trend which increased throughout the later middle ages. Heresy, of more accurately the descriptions thereof, often serve as a sort of negative image of sanctity. R. I. Moore, The Formation of a Persecuting Society. Power and Deviance in Western Europe, 950-1250 (London, 1987) provides a powerful thesis concerning the importance of heresy to the development of ecclesiastical power and government during this period. More general surveys of the topic include: Jeffrey Russell, Dissent and Reform in the Early Middle Ages (Berkeley, 1965); R. I. Moore, The Origins of European Dissent (London, 1977); Malcolm Lambert, Medieval Heresy. Popular Movements from Bogomil to Hus (London, 1977); G. Zanella, Itinerari ereticali: Patari e Catari tra Rimini e Verona (Rome, 1986). For bibliographic orientation, see Carl Berkhout and Jeffrey Russell, Medieval Heresies: A Bibliography, 1960-1979 (Toronto, 1981).

Overviews of later medieval hagiography.

André Vauchez, La sainteté en occident aux derniers siècles du moyen âge d'après les procès de canonisation et les documents hagiographiques (Rome, 1981) has set the agenda for analyzing hagiography and the cult of saints in the later middle ages. As the title suggests, he works largely from the new genre of the canonization processus. Vauchez' collections of essays enlarge on many individual points and texts: Les laïcs du Moyen âge: Pratiques et expériences religieuses (Paris, 1987; ET as The Laity in the Middle Ages: Religious Beliefs and Devotional Practices, trans. Margery Schneider [Notre Dame, 1993]); Ordini mendicanti e società italiana, XIII-XV secolo (Milan, 1990). Aviad Kleinberg, Prophets in Their Own Country: Living Saints and the Making of Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages (Chicago, 1992) has employed a slightly different approach to the processus. It is an approach less novel and more indebted to Vauchez than the author would suggest (one would be advised to consult Vauchez' review of this book in the Revue d'histoire de l'Eglise de France), but nonetheless has some very interesting analysis.

An earlier approach to the development of the ideals of sanctity in the later middle ages and early modern period depended on the statistical analysis of data derived from the hagiographic sources. The method was first developed by sociologists: Pierre Deloof, Sociologie et canonisation (Collections scientifique de la faculté de Droit de l'Université de Liège, 30; La Haye, 1969); John Broderick, "A Census of the Saints (993-1955)," American Ecclesiastical Review, 135 (1966), 87-115. Later used in part by a number of medieval historians, its fullest development is to be found in Donald Weinstein and Rudolph Bell, Saints and Society. The Two Worlds of Latin Christendom, 1000-1700 (Chicago, 1982). For a brief but convincing critique of such methodology, see Henri Deroche, André Vauchez, and Jacques Maître, "Sociologie de la sainteté canonisée," Archives de sociologie des religions, 30 (1970), pp. 109-15. Aviad Kleinburg also dissects the statistical method in the above-mentioned work.

New Saints in Traditional Molds (1): Episcopal saints.

There are numerous vitae of episcopal saints, most of them to some degree involved in the movements of ecclesiastical reform, written between 900 and 1200. Relatively little attention has been paid to these documents as hagiography, as opposed to sources for political and institutional history. The pioneering work of Ludwig Zoepf, Das Heiligen-Leben im 10. Jahrhundert (Leipzig, 1908) remains not only useful, but the fullest study of the earlier texts.

Most of the early episcopal saints came from the Empire and Lotharingia. Thus they and their lives are treated in the extensive literature on the "Reichskirche" or "Imperial Church System." The classic statement remains Ludwig Santifaller, Zur Geschichte des ottonisch-salischen Reichskirchensystems, second edition (Vienna, 1964). Useful summaries of more recent research may be found in Oskar Köhler, "Die Ottonische Reichskirche: Ein Forschungsbericht," in Adel und Kirche: Gerd Tellenbach zum 65. Geburtstag, ed. Josef Fleckenstein (Freiburg, 1968), pp. 141-204; Josef Fleckenstein, "Zum Begriff der ottonisch-salischen Reichskirche," Geschichte, Wirtschaft, Gesellschaft: Festschrift für Clemens Bauer (Berlin, 1974), pp. 61-71; Odilo Engels, "Der Reichsbischof in ottonischen und frühsalischen Zeit," in Irene Crusius (ed.), Beiträge zur Geschichte und Struktur der mittelalterliche Germania Sacra (Studien zur Germania Sacra, 17;

1989), pp. 135-76; Stefan Weinfurter (ed.), Die Salier und das Reich, 2: Die Reichskirche in der Salierzeit (Sigmaringen, 1991). A critique of the entire concept has been offered by Timothy Reuter, "The 'Imperial Church System' of the Ottonian and Salian Rulers: A Reconsideration," Journal of Ecclesiastical History, 33 (1982). See also the response by Josef Fleckenstein, "Problem und Gestalt der ottonisch-salischen Reichskirchen," in Karl Schmid (ed.), Reich und Kirche vor dem Investiturstreit: Gerd Tellenbach zum achtzigsten Geburtstag (Sigmaringen, 1985), pp. 83-98.

General works on Ottonian hagiography include W. Hug, Elemente Biographie im Hochmittelalter. Untersuchungen zu Darstellungsform und Geschichtsbild der viten vom Anfang der Ottonen- bis in die Anfänge der Stauferzeit (Munich, 1957); Patrick Corbet, Les saints ottoniens. Sainteté dynastique, sainteté royale et sainteté féminine autour de l'an mil (Sigmaringen, 1986); Dieter von der Nahmer, Die lateinische Heiligenvita: Eine Einführung in die lateinische Hagiographie (Darmstadt, 1994); Pl. Dinter, "Die Armenfürsorge in Bischofsviten des 10. bis 12. Jahrhunderts," in Arbor amoena comis. Festschrift zum 25. Jahrhundert Bestehen des Mittellateinischen Seminar der Universität Bonn, ed. E. Könsgen (Stuttgart, 1990), pp. 133-142. H. Kallfelz (ed. and trans.), Lebensbeschreibungen einiger Bischöfe des 10.-12. Jahrhunderts (Darmstadt, 1973) includes German translations of several lives of episcopal saints, such as Bruno of Cologne, as well as extensive commentary on them.

Studies of individual saintly bishops include: Friedrich Lotter, Die Vita Brunonis des Ruotger. Ihre historiographische und ideengeschichtliche Stellung (Bonn, 1958); Hermann Bannasch, Das Bistum Paderborn unter den Bischöfen Rethar und Meinwerk (983-1036) (Studien und Quellen zur Westfälischen Geschichte, 12; Paderborn, 1972); Heribert Möller, Heribert, Kanzler Ottos III. und Erzbischof von Köln (Cologne, 1977); Horst Fuhrmann, "Neues zur Biographie des Ulrich von Zell (+1093)," in Person und Gemeinschaft im Mittelalter. Karl Schmid zum funfundsechzigsten Geburtstag, ed. Gerd Althoff, et al. (Sigmaringen, Thorbecke, 1988), pp. 369-378; A. Finck von Finckenstein, "Ulrich von Augsburg und die ottonische Kirchenpolitik in der Alemannia," in Früh- und hochmittelalterlicher Adel in Schwaben und Bayern (Sigmaringendorf, 1988), pp. 261-269; Bischof Ulrich von Augsburg, 890-973: Seine Zeit-sein Leben-seine Verehrung: Festschrift aus Anlass des tausendjährigen Jubiläums seiner Kanonisation im Jahre 993, ed. M. Weitlauff (Jahrbuch des Vereins für Augsburger Bistumsgeschichte, 26-27; Augsburg 1992-1993); Bischof Otto I. von Bamberg: Reformier-Apostel der Pommern-Heiliger (1139 gestorben, 1189 heiliggesprochen) (Historischer Verein Bamberg, 125; Bamberg, 1989); G. Binding, "Bischof Benno II. von Osnabrück als archiepius et dispositio caementarii operis, architectoriae artis valde peritus," Zeitschrift des deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft, 44 (1990), pp. 53-66; Erwin Keller, Der heilige Konrad von Konstanz: Zur Tausendjahrfeier seines Todes (Karlsruhe, 1975); Helmut Maurer (ed.), Der heilige Konrad Bischof von Konstanz: Studien aus Anlass der tausendsten Wiederkehr seines Todesjahr (Friedburg, 1975).

Two sees which produced a number of saintly bishops are analyzed in: Helmut Maurer, Konstanz als ottonischer Bischofssitz (Studia zur Germania Sacra, 12; Göttingen, 1973); Jean-Louis Kupper, Liège et l'église impériale. XIe-XIIe siècles (Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège, 228; Paris, 1981). On a different side of the imperial bishops of this period, see Timothy Reuter, "Episcopi cum sua militia: The Prelate as

Warrior in the Early Staufer Era," in Warriors and Churchmen in the High Middle Ages: Essays Presented to Karl Leyser, ed. Timothy Reuter (London, 1992), pp. 79-93.

Saintly bishops in Italy. A. Caretta, "Una nuova edizione dell 'Vita' di s. Gualtiero da Lodi," Archivio Storico Lodigiano, 108 (1989), pp. 101-40; Pietro Zerbi, Tra Milano e Cluny. Momenti di vita e cultura ecclesiastica nel secolo XII (Italia Sacra, 28; Roma, 1991); Giorgio Cracco (ed.), Nuovi Studi ezzeliniani, 2 vols (Istituto storico italiano del medio evo, Nuovi studi storici, 21; Rome, 1992); Cinzio Violante (ed.), Sant'Anselmo vescovo di Lucca (1073-1086) nel quadro delle trasformazioni sociali e della riforma ecclesiastica (Istituto storico italiano del medio evo, Nuovi studi storici, 13; Rome 1993); Réginald Grégoire, San Ranieri di Pisa (1117-1160) in un ritratto agiografico inedito del secolo xiii (Biblioteca del Bollettino storico pisano, Collana storica, 36; Pisa: Pacini Editore, 1990); Anna Benvenuti Papi, Pastori di popolo: Storie e leggende di vescovi e di città nell'Italia medievale (Politica e storia, 7; Florence: Arnaud, 1988); Luigi Canetti, Gloriosa civitas. Culto dei santi e società cittadina a Piacenza nel Medioevo (Cristianesimo antico e medievale, 4; Bologna, 1993); Oronzo Limone, Santi monaci e santi eremiti: Alla ricerca di un modello di perfezione nella letteratura dell'Apulia normanna (Galatina, 1988); Stefano Brunfani and Enrico Menesto, Nel segno del santo protettore: Ubaldo vescovo, taumaturgo, santo (Quaderni del "Centro per il collegamento degli studi medievali e umanistici nell'Università di Perugia, 22; Perugia, 1990).

Saintly bishops in England. Dunstan: D. Dales, Dunstan: Saint and Statesman (Cambridge, 1988). Aethelwold: Bishop Aethelwold, His Career and Influence (Woodbridge, 1988). Wulfstan: Emma Mason, St. Wulfstan of Worcester, c. 1008-1095 (Oxford, 1990). Lanfranc of Bec: A. J. Macdonald, Lanfranc: A Study of His Life, Work and Writing, second edition (1944); Margaret Gibson, Lanfranc of Bec (Oxford, 1978); Anselm of Canterbury: R. W. Southern, Saint Anselm and his Biographer: a Study of Monastic Life and Thought, 1059-c.1130 (Cambridge, 1966) and Saint Anselm: A Portrait in a Landscape (Cambridge). Hugh of Lincoln: Adam of Eynsham, The Life of St Hugh of Lincoln (Magna Vita Sancti Hugonis), eds. Decima Douie and Hugh Farmer (London: Nelson, 1961-62); D. H. Farmer, Saint Hugh of Lincoln (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1985); Henry Mayr-Harting (ed.), St Hugh of Lincoln: Lectures Delivered at Oxford and Lincoln to Celebrate the Eighth Centenary of St Hugh's Consecration as Bishop of Lincoln (Oxford: Clarendon, 1987). The best known episcopal saint of the period was canonized as a martyr: David Knowles, Thomas Becket (London, 1970); Raymond Foreville, "Mort et survie de S. Thomas Becket," Cahiers de civilisation médiévale, 19 (1971), pp. 21-38; Raymond Foreville (ed.), Thomas Becket. Actes du Colloque international de Sédières (19-24 août 1973) (Paris, 1975); Frank Barlow, Thomas Becket (Berkeley, 1986); Thomas of Froidmont, Die Vita des heiligen Thomas Becket Erzbischof von Canterbury, ed. and trans. P. G. Schmidt (Schriften der wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft an der Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main, Geisteswissenschaftliche Reihe, 8; Stuttgart, 1991).

New Saints in Traditional Molds (2): Monastic reformers.

Abbots of traditional "black" monasteries also emerged as saints in this period, particularly in association with the Lotharingian and Cluniac reforms. As above, Ludwig Zopf, Das Heiligen-Leben im 10. Jahrhundert (Leipzig, 1908) remains useful on the earlier works.

The best survey of the Lotharingian reform remains the highly polemic work of Kassius Hallinger, Gorze-Kluny, 2 vols. (Rome, 1950-51). Also see Michel Margue, "Aspects politiques de la 'réforme' monastique en Lotharingie," Revue Bénédictine 108 (1988), 31-61. On Gerard of Brogne, see the essays collected in Revue Bénédictine, 70 (1960) and Daniel Misonne, "La restauration monastique de Gérard de Brogne," Naissance et fonctionnement des réseaux monastiques et canoniaux, (Centre Européen de Recherches sur les Congrégations et Ordres Religieux, Travaux et Recherches, 1; Saint-Etienne, 1991), p. 117-123. On the saints associated with the abbey of Gorze, see Michel Parisse and Otto Oexle (eds.), L'Abbaye de Gorze au Xe siècle (Nancy, 1993). On hagiography written at various Lotharingian monasteries, see Jean Schroeder, Bibliothek und Schule der Abtei Echternach um die Jahrtausendwende (Publications de la Section historique de l'Institut G. D. de Luxembourg, 91; Luxembourg, 1977); Alan Dierkens, "La production hagiographique à Lobbes au Xe siècle," Revue Benedictine, 93 (1983), pp. 245-59.

The broadest survey of Cluny remains Guy de Valous, Le monachisme clunisien des origines au XVe siècles. Vie intérieure des monastères et organisation de l'ordre, 2 vols. (Ligugé, 1935; reprint Paris, 1970), which is usefully updated by H. E. J. Cowdrey, The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform (Oxford, 1970) and other specialist literature. The best introduction to Cluniac hagiography is Dominique Iogna-Prat, "Panorama de l'hagiographie abbatiale clunisienne," in Martin Heinzelmann (ed.), Manuscrits hagiographiques et travail des hagiographes (Beihefte der Francia, 24; Sigmaringen, 1992), pp. 77-118. On specific Cluniac abbots who were considered saints, see Barbara Rosenwein, Rhinoceros Bound. Cluny in the Tenth Century (Philadelphia, 1982) on Odo; Dominique Iogna-Prat, Agni Immaculati. Recherches sur les sources hagiographiques relatives à Saint Maieul de Cluny, 954-994 (Paris, 1988); Noreen Hunt, Cluny Under Saint Hugh, 1049-1109 (South Bend, Ind., 1967); Frank Barlow, "The Canonization and the Early Lives of Hugh I, Abbot of Cluny," Analecta Bollandiana, 98 (1980), pp. 297-334; P. and A. Kohnle, Abt Hugo von Cluny, 1049-1109 (Sigmaringen, 1993); Patrick Henriot, "Le dossier hagiographique de saint Maieul de Cluny: à propos d'un ouvrage récent," Le Moyen Age, 97 (1991), 79-82 and Patrick Henriot, "Saint Odilon devant la mort: sur quelques données implicites du comportement religieux au XIe siècle," Le moyen âge, 96 (1990), 227-44; Jacques Hourlier, Saint Odilon, abbé de Cluny (Louvain, 1964).

On other saintly abbots associated with the Cluniac movement: Neithard Bulst, Untersuchungen zu den Klosterreformen Wilhelms von Dijon (962-1031) (Pariser historische Studien, 11; Bonn 1973); Hubert Dauphin, Le Bienheureux Richard, abbé de Saint Vanne de Verdun (+1046) (Louvain, 1946); Edmond Ortigues and Dominique Iogna-Prat, "Raoul Glaber et l'historiographie clunisienne," Studi Medievali 26 (1985), pp. 537-572. At least one reforming abbot who died in the cause of reform was considered a martyr: Patrice Cousin, Abbon de Fleury-sur-Loire. Un savant, un pasteur, un martyr à la fin du Xe siècle (Paris, 1954); Anselme Davril, "Le Culte de Saint-Abbon au moyen âge," in Actes du colloque du millénaire de la fondation du prieuré de La Réole (Bordeaux, 1979), pp. 143-58.

On monastic reformers in Italy, see L. Fellder, "Saintété, gestion du patrimoine et réforme monastique en Italie à la fin du X siècle: la Vie de saint Aldemar de Bucchianico," Médiévales, 15 (1988), pp. 51-72; François Dolbeau, "Le dossier de saint Dominique de Sora d'Albéric du

Mont Cassin à Jacques de Voragine," Mélanges de l'École française de Rome, Moyen Age, 102 (1990), pp. 7-78.

New Saints in Traditional Molds (3): Royal saints.

The basic surveys are by Robert Folz, Les saints rois du moyen âge en occident (Paris, 1984) and Les saintes reines du moyen âge en occident (VIe-XIIIe siècles) (Subsidia hagiographica, 76; Brussels). Marc Bloch, Les rois thaumaturges. Etude sur le caractère surnaturel attribué à la puissance royale particulièrement en France et en Angleterre (Publications de la Faculté des lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg, 19; Strasbourg, 1924; ET as The Royal Touch: Sacred Monarchy and Scrofula in England and France, trans. J. E. Anderson [London, 1973]) remains essential on a particular aspect of royal holiness. Jürgen Petersohn (ed.), Politik und Heiligenverehrung im Hochmittelalter (Vorträge und Forschungen, 42; Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1994) is a collection of regional studies of how dynasties cultivated the patronage of specific national or dynastic saints. Many of these were holy kings of an earlier generation. These essays provide very complete reviews of the available literature for varied kingdoms.

There are also numerous studies of individual holy kings or dynasties. On England: Susan Ridyard, The Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England (Cambridge, 1988). On Wales: Elissa Henkle, "The Saint as Secular Ruler: Aspects of Welsh Hagiography," Folklore, 98 (1987), pp. 226-32. On France: Robert-Henri Bautier, "L'Epitoma vitae regis Rotberti Pii, du moine Helgaud," Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. Comptes rendus des séances de l'année 1963 Paris, 1964, pp. 361-71; Joel Rosenthal, "Edward the Confessor and Robert the Pious: 11th Century Kingship and Biography," Mediaeval Studies, 33 (1971), pp. 7-20; Claude Carozzi, "La Vie de Robert par Helgaud de Fleury, Historiographie et hagiographie," Annales de Bretagne et des Pays de l'Ouest, 87 (1980), pp. 219-36; Claude Carozzi, "Le roi et la liturgie chez Helgaud de Fleury," in Evelyne Patlagean and Pierre Riché (eds.), Hagiographie, cultures, et sociétés. IVe-XIIe siècles (Paris, 1981), pp. 417-432. On Germany: Patrick Corbet, Les saints ottoniens. Sainteté dynastique, sainteté royale et sainteté féminine autour de l'an Mil (Beihefte der Francia, 15; Sigmaringen, 1986); Klaus Guth, Die heiligen Heinrich und Kunigunde: Leben, Legende, Kult und Kunst (Bamberg, 1986); Herbert Paulhart, Die Lebensbeschreibung der Kaiserin Adelheid von Abt. Odilo von Cluny (Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung, Ergänzungsband, 2.22; Graz, 1962); Die Lebensbeschreibungen der Königin Mathilde, ed. Bernd Schütte (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptorum rerum germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi, 66; Hannover, 1994) and Bernd Schutte, Untersuchungen zu den Lebensbeschreibungen der Königin Mathilde (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Studien und Texte, 9; Hannover, 1994). On Scandinavia: Erich Hoffmann, Die Heiligen Könige bei den Angelsachsen und den skandinavischen Völkern. Königsheliger und Königshaus (Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte Schleswig-Holsteins, 69; Neumünster, 1975). On the Hungary and the Slavic east: Norman Ingham, "The Sovereign as Martyr, East and West," Slavic and East European Journal, 17 (1973), 1-17; Gabor Klaniczay, The Uses of Supernatural Power: The Transformation of Popular Religion in Medieval and Early-Modern Europe, trans. Susan Singerman, ed. Karen Margolis (Princeton, 1990).

For further studies of the royal patronage of saints' cults, see Gabrielle Spiegel, "The Cult of Saint Denis and Capetian Kingship," Stephen Wilson (ed.), Saints and Their Cults (Cambridge,

1983), pp. 141-68; Thomas Vogtherr, Der König und der Heilige: Heinrich IV., der heilige Remaklus und die Mönche des Doppelklosters Stablo-Malmedy (Munich, 1990); Ursula Swinarski, Herrschen mit den Heiligen. Kirchenbesuche, Pilgerfahrten und Heiligenverehrung früh- und hoch-mittelalterlicher Herrscher (ca. 500-1200) (Bern, 1993).

New Saints in Traditional Molds (4): Martyrs and Holy War.

The development of the ideal of holy war into the crusades produced a new movement in the eleventh century, but that movement produced saints under the very traditional paradigm of martyr, not only in the Near East, but in Iberia as well. The best study of the development of the crusading ideal remains Carl Erdmann, Die Entstehung des Kreuzungsgedankens (Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Geistesgeschichte, 6; Stuttgart, 1955; ET as The Origin of the Idea of Crusade, trans. Marshall Baldwin and Walter Goffart [Princeton, 1977]). On martyrs in the crusades, see particularly the work of Jean Flori: "Mort et martyre des guerriers vers 1100: l'exemple de la première croisade," Cahiers de civilisation médiévale, 34 (1991), pp. 121-39; "Guerre sainte et rétributions spirituelles dans la 2e moitié du XIe siècle," Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, 85 (1990), pp. 617-49; "Pur eshalcier sainte crestienté. Croisade, guerre sainte et guerre juste dans les anceiennes chansons de geste française," Le Moyen Age, fifth series, 5 (1991), pp. 171-188; "Faut-il réhabiliter Pierre l'Ermite? (Une réévaluation des sources de la première croisade)," Cahiers de civilisation médiévale, 38 (1995), pp. 35-54. Marcus Bull, Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade: The Limousin and Gascony, c. 970-c.1130 (Oxford, 1993) has studied the relationship of the First Crusade to contemporary lay piety, while Christoph Maier, Preaching the Crusades: Mendicant Friars and the Cross in the Thirteenth Century (Cambridge, 1994) has discussed the relationship of the mendicant preaching ideal to the crusades. On the impact of the crusades on European Jewish communities, which produced non-Christian martyrs, see Robert Chazan, European Jewry and the First Crusade (Berkeley, 1988). The best short history of the crusades is Jonathan Riley-Smith, The Crusades (New Haven, 1987). More detail is provided by Steven Runciman, A History of the Crusades, 3 vols. (London, 1951-54).

New Saints in New Molds (1): Lay saints.

André Vauchez has charted the evolution of new, specifically lay ideals of sanctity in the high middle ages. For a convenient summary see his "Lay People's Sanctity in Western Europe: Evolution of a Pattern (Twelfth and Thirteenth centuries)," in Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Timea Szell, eds., Images of Sainthood in Medieval Europe (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 21-32, as well as the collection of essays mentioned above. On the origins of these new ideals, see Derek Baker, "Vir Dei: secular sanctity in the early tenth century," in G.J. Cuming and Derek Baker, eds., Popular Belief and Practice (Cambridge, 1972), 41-53 and I. Deug-Su, "Note sull'agiografia del secolo X e la santità laicale," Studi medievali, 30 (1989), 143-62.

The earliest of the non-royal lay saints is Gerbert of Aurillac: F. Lotter, "Odos Vita des Grafen Gerald von Aurillac," in W. Lourdaux and Daniel Verhelst (eds.), Benedictine Culture, 750-1050 (Mediaevalia Lovaniensia, 1.11; Louvain, 1983); Stuart Airlie, "The Anxiety of Sanctity: St. Gerald of Aurillac and his Maker," Journal of Ecclesiastical History, 43 (1992), pp. 372-95.

The main location of lay saints in this period is Italy. Some studies include: D. Piazzzi, Omobono di Cremona. Biografie dal xiii al xvi secolo. Edizione, traduzione e commento, (Cremona, 1991); Un santo laico dell'età postgregoriana: Allucio da Pescia (1070 c.s.-1134). Religione e società nei territori di Lucca e della Valdinievole (Pubblicazioni del Dipartimento di medievistica dell'Università di Pisa, 2; Rome, 1991); P. Racine, "Povertà e assistenza nel medioevo: l'esempio di Piacenza," Nuova Rivista Storica, 62 (1978), pp. 505-520 (on Raymond Palmarius).

On a fascinating early example of a lay female saint, see Isabelle Cochelin, "Evolution de la sainteté laïque: L'exemple de Juette de Huy (1158-1228)," Le Moyen Age, 95 (1989), pp. 397-417. Also see Michael Goodich, "The Politics of Canonization in the Thirteenth Century: Lay and Mendicant Saints," Church History, 44 (1975), 294-307.

New Saints in New Molds (2): Hermits.

Henrietta Leyser, Hermits and the New Monasticism. A Study of Religious Communities in Western Europe, 1000-1150 (London, 1984) provides a general introduction to the topic. For an intriguing Marxist interpretation of the phenomenon, see Ernst Werner, Pauperes Christi. Studien zu sozial-religiösen Bewegungen im Zeitalter des Reformpapsttums (Leipzig, 1956). The essays in L'eremitismo in occidente nei secoli XI e XII (Miscellanea del Centro di studi medioevali, 4; Milan, 1965) provide fuller details on the development of eremitic monasticism and ideals in this period. Henry Mayr-Harting, "Functions of a Twelfth-Century Recluse," History 60 (1975), pp. 337-352 applies Peter Brown's models directly to the eremitical hagiography of England. Johannes von Walter, Die ersten Wanderprediger Frankreichs, I: Robert von Arbrissel and II: Bernhard von Thiron; Vitalis von Savigny; Girald von Salles; Bemerkungen zur Norbert von Xanten und Heinrich von Lausanne 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1903-6) is still useful on the hagiography associated with several important French hermits, but see the more recent literature below under "new orders."

The greatest of the Italian hermits was Peter Damian, who was both hagiographer and saint: P. Dressler, Petrus Damiani: Leben und Werk (Rome, 1954) and Jean Leclercq, S. Pierre Damien, ermite et homme d'église (Rome, 1960); San Pier Damiano, nel IX centenario della morte (Cesena, 1972-73). More specifically on his hagiography, see Colin Phipps, "Romuald-model hermit: Eremitical Theory in Saint Peter Damian's Vita Beati Romuladi, chapters 16-27," Studies in Church History, 22 (1985), 65-77. On Italy also see Gregorio Penco, "L'eremitismo irregolare in Italia nei secoli XI-XII," Benedictina, 32 (1985), pp. 201-21; Francesco Cardini, Leggenda di S. Galgano confessore (Florence, 1982); Fiorangelo Morrone, La "Legenda" del beato Giovanni eremita da Tufara (Parva hagiographica, 2; Naples, 1992).

On England, see Rotha Clay, The Hermits and Anchorites of England (London, 1914); Sharon Elkins, Holy Women in Twelfth-Century England (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1988); Ann Warren, Anchorites and Their Patrons in Medieval England (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985). Our case study is a life of an English hermit. The main source for Christina of Markyate is The Life of Christina of Markyate, a Twelfth-Century Recluse, ed. and trans. C. H. Talbot (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1959; reprint, 1991). Also see Robert Hanning, The Individual in the Twelfth-Century Romance (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1977); Thomas Head, "The Marriages of Christina of Markyate,"

Viator, 21 (1990): 71-95; Christopher Holdsworth, "Christina of Markyate," in Medieval Women, ed. Derek Baker (Studies in Church History, Subsidia, 1; Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1978), pp. 185-204; Ruth Karras, "Friendship and Love in the Lives of Two Twelfth-Century English Saints," The Journal of Medieval History 14 (1988): 305-320;

New Saints in New Molds (3): The New Monastic Orders.

Vallambrosans. Sofia Boesch Gajano, "Storia e tradizione Vallombrosane," Bullettino dell'Istituto storico Italiano, 76 (1964), pp. 99-215; P. Di Re, Giovanni Gualberto nelle fonti dei secoli XI-XII (Rome, 1974); A. Del'Innocenti, "Le vite antiche di Giovanni Gualberto," Studi Medievali, third series, 25 (1985), pp. 31-91.

Carthusians. A. Ravier, S. Bruno: le premier des ermites de Chartreuse (Paris, 1967).

Fontevraud. On the relationships between men and women in the order, see Penny Gold, "Male/Female Cooperation: The Example of Fontevraud," in Medieval Religious Women, 1: Distant Echoes, ed. John Nichols and Lillian Shank (Cistercian Studies Series, 71; Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1984), pp. 151-68 and Jacqueline Smith, "Robert of Arbrissel's Relations with Women," in Medieval Women, ed. Derek Baker (Studies in Church History, Subsidia, 1; Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1978), pp. 175-84; Suzanne Tunc, "Après la mort de Robert d'Arbrissel: Le conflit entre l'abbesse et l'évêque," Le Moyen Age, fifth series, 6 (1992), pp. 379-390. On Robert of Arbrissel himself, see J.-M. Bienvenu, L'Etonnant fondateur de Fontevraud, Robert d'Arbrissel (Paris, 1981) and "Les deux vitae de Robert d'Arbrissel," in La littérature angevine médiévale (Paris, 1981), pp. 63-72; Jacques Dalarun, L'Impossible sainteté. La vie retrouvée de Robert d'Arbrissel (v. 1045-1116), fondateur de Fontevraud (Paris, 1985) and Robert d'Arbrissel, fondateur de Fontevraud (Paris, 1986).

Savigny. J. J. van Moolenbroek, Vitalis van Savigny. Bronnen en vroege cultus (Amsterdam, 1982; FT as Vital l'ermite, prédicateur itinérant, fondateur de l'abbaye Normande de Savigny, trans. A.-M. Nambot [Paris, 1990]).

Cistercians. The best introduction in English is Louis Lekai, The Cistercians: Ideals and Reality (Kent, Ohio, 1977). For further bibliography, see R. A. Donkin, A Check List of Printed Works Relating to the Cistercian Order (Rochefort, 1969). Generally on Cistercian saints, see M. Séraphin Lensen, "Aperçu historique sur la vénération des saints Cisterciens dans l'ordre de Cîteaux," Collectanea ordinis Cisterciensium reformatorum, 6 (1939), pp. 7-35 and 167-95, and 7 (1940), pp. 73-94, and 10 (1948), pp. 6-18. On Stephan Harding, see H. E. J. Cowdrey, "'Quidam frater Stephanus nomine, Anglicus natione.' The English Background of Stephen Harding," Revue Benedictine, 101 (1991), pp. 322-40. On the hagiography for Bernard of Clairvaux, see Brian McGuire, The Difficult Saint: Bernard of Clairvaux and his Tradition (Kalamazoo, 1991); Adriaan Bredero, "The Canonization of Bernard of Clairvaux," in St. Bernard of Clairvaux, ed. M. B. Pennington (Cistercian Studies Series, 28; Kalamazoo, MI, 1977), pp. 63-100; Vies et legendes de saint Bernard de Clairvaux. Création, diffusion, réception (xii-xx siècles), ed. P. Arabeyre-Chard (Commentarii Cistercienses, Textes et documents, 5; Cîteaux, 1993).

On Bernard as hagiographer, see A. Gwynn, "St. Malachy of Armagh," Irish Ecclesiastical Record, (1948), pp. 961-78, (1949), 134-48 and 317-31; Hugh Lawlor, "Notes on St. Bernard's life of St. Malachy and his Two Sermons on the Passing of St. Malachy," Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, 35 (1919), sect. C, no. 6, 230-64. On Aelred of Rievaulx, see F. M. Powicke, Aelred of Rievaulx and His Biographer Walter Daniel (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1922); Aelred Squire, Aelred of Rievaulx: A Study (London, 1969); Thomas Heffernan, "Sanctity in the Cloister: Walter Daniel's Vita Sancti Aelredi and Rhetoric," in Sacred Biography. Saints and Their Biographers in the Middle Ages (Oxford, 1988), pp. 72-122. On other Cistercian saints, see H. Schwarzmaier, "Konrad von Urach, Abt von Clairvaux und Cîteaux, Kardinalbischof von Porto um 1177-1227," in Lebensbilder aus Schwaben und Franken, 17 (1991), pp. 1-17.

Canonization.

One of the most important new developments in sanctity and hagiography during this period is the development of the ideal and practice of papal canonization. The basic survey of that development remains the outdated Eric Kemp, Canonization and Authority in the Western Church (Oxford, 1948), although even this survey did not fully replace the classic article by Stephan Kuttner, "La réserve papale du droit de canonisation," Revue historique de droit français et étranger, fourth series, 18 (1938), pp. 172-228. More up-to-date, but summary, account may be found in André Vauchez, La sainteté en occident aux derniers siècles du moyen âge d'après les procès de canonisation et les documents hagiographiques (Rome, 1981), pp. 13-69 and Bernhard Schimmelpfennig, "Heilige Päpste-päpstliche Kanonisationspolitik," in Jürgen Petersohn (ed.), Politik und Heiligenverehrung im Hochmittelalter (Vorträge und Forschungen, 42; Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1994), pp. 73-100. A useful review of the evidence for the earlier traditions of episcopal authority is provided by Agostino Amore, "Culto e Canonizzazione dei Santi nell'antichità Cristiana," in Antonianum, 52 (1977), pp. 38-80 and "La canonizzazione vescovile," Antonianum, 52 (1977), pp. 231-66. A full listing of the early evidence for papal canonization is provided by Jacobus Schlafke, De competentia in causis sanctorum decernandi a primis post Christum natum saeculis usque ad annum 1234 (Rome, 1961), although the analysis is perfunctory. Also see Marianne Schwarz, "Heiligsprechungen im 12. Jahrhundert und die Beweggründe ihrer Urheber," Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, 39 (1957), 43-62; Jakob Schlafke, "Das Recht der Bischöfe in 'Causis sanctorum' bis zum Jahre 1234," Die Kirche und ihre Ämter und Stände: Festgabe für seine Eminenz den Hochwürdigsten Herrn Joseph Kardinal Frings (Cologne, 1960), pp. 417-33; Y. Garcia y Garcia, "A propos de la canonisation des saints au XIIe siècle," Revue de droit canonique, 17 (1968), pp. 3-15; Eberhard Demm, "Zur Rolle des Wunders in der Heiligkeitskonzeption des mittelalters," Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, 57 (1975), pp. 300-44; Jürgen Petersohn, "Die päpstliche Kanonisationsdelegation des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts und die Heiligsprechung Karls des Grossen," Proceedings of the Fourth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law (Toronto, 1972) (Monumenta Iuris Canonici, series C, 5; Vatican City, 1976), pp. 163-206.

Studies of early and important cases of papal canonization include: A. Heintz, "Der Heilige Simeon von Trier, seine Kanonisation und seine Reliquien," Festschrift Alois Thomas (Trier, 1967), pp. 163-73; Bernhard Scholz, "The Canonization of Edward the Confessor," Speculum 36 (1961), pp. 38-60; S. Tunberg, "Erik den helige, Sveriges helgenkonung," Fornvännen, 36

(1941), pp. 257-78; Arne Jönsson, "Saint Eric of Sweden-The Drunken Saint?" Analecta Bollandiana, 109, (1991), pp. 331-346; Jürgen Petersohn, "Die litterae Papst Innocenz III zur Heiligsprechung der Kaiserin Kunigunde (1200)," Jahrbuch für fränkische Landesforschung, 37 (1977), pp. 1-25; Stephan Kuttner, "St. Jon of Holar. Canon Law and Hagiography," Analecta Cracoviensia, 7 (1975), pp. 367-75; Robert Folz, "La Chancellerie de Frédéric Ier et la canonisation de Charlemagne," Le Moyen Age, 70 (1964), pp. 13-31; Etienne Delaruelle and Charles Higounet, "Réformes prégréoriennes en Comminges et canonisation de S. Bertrand," Annales du Midi, 61 (1948), pp. 152-7.

On the processes of officially sanctioning cults in the Christian east, see P. Peeters, "La Canonisation des saints dans l'Eglise grecque," Analecta Bollandiana, 33 (1914), pp. 380-420 and 38 (1920), pp. 172-6 and P. Peeters, "The Canonization of Saints in the Orthodox Church," The Christian east, 12 (1931), pp. 85-9.

Marriage and sanctity.

The literature on the law and practice of marriage in medieval Christianity is enormous. Trustworthy surveys are provided in James Brundage, Law, Sex, and Christian Society in Medieval Europe (Chicago, 1987); Jean Gaudemet, Le mariage en Occident. Les moeurs et le droit (Paris, 1987); Christopher Brooke, The Medieval Idea of Marriage (Oxford, 1989). For further guidance, see M. Sheehan and D. Scardalento, Family and Marriage in Medieval Europe: A Working Bibliography (Vancouver, 1976).

Chaste marriages and lay sanctity. See particularly the new study of Dyan Elliott, Spiritual Marriage: Sexual abstinence in Medieval Wedlock (Princeton, 1993). Also see Baudouin de Gaiffier, "Intactam sponsam relinquens. A propos de la vie de s. Alexis," Analecta Bollandiana 65 (1947), pp. 157-195; Penny Gold, "The Marriage of Mary and Joseph in the Twelfth-Century Ideology of Marriage," in Sexual Practices and the Medieval Church, eds. Vern Bullough and James Brundage (Buffalo, 1982), pp. 102-117; André Vauchez, "Un nouvel idéal au XIIIe siècle: la chasteté conjugale," in idem, Les laïcs au moyen âge. Pratiques et expériences religieuses (Paris, 1987), pp. 203-209

Mystical marriage and monastic sanctity. The best summary is provided by Reginald Grégoire, "Il matrimonio mistico," in Il matrimonio nella società altomedievale, 2 vols. (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 24; Spoleto, 1977), 2: 701-794. For an interesting twist on the topos, see Caroline Bynum, "Jesus as Mother and Abbot as Mother: Some Themes in Twelfth-Century Cistercian Writing," in eadem, Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages (Berkeley, 1982), pp. 110-169.

For a review of literature on the related topic of ecclesiastical celibacy, see Jean Gaudemet, "Le célibat ecclésiastique. Le droit et la pratique du XIe au XIIIe siècles," Zeitschrift der Savigny Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Kanonistische Abteilung, 68 (1982), pp. 1-31.

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Female Sanctity in the Later Middle Ages: A Bibliography

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Contents: 1) [General studies of women and late medieval Christianity](#); 2) [Hagiographic composition](#); 3) [Beguines](#); 4) [Women in the mendicant orders](#); 5) [Clare of Assisi](#); 6) [Other female mendicant saints](#); 7) [Female religious movements in Italy](#); 8) [Sources in translation](#).

General studies of women and late medieval Christianity.

Two works which have charted the study of women and sanctity are the pioneering research of Herbert Grundmann, [Religious Movements in the Middle Ages](#), trans. Steven Rowan (German original, 1935; Notre Dame, IN: Notre Dame University Press, 1995) and the more recent work of Caroline Bynum, [Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women](#) (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987). Also see her essays published in [Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion](#) (Boston, 1990).

For bibliographic guidance beyond what is provided below, see Susan Stuard (ed.), [Women in Medieval History and Historiography](#) (Philadelphia, 1987), pp. 132-84; Joyce Salisbury, [Medieval Sexuality. A Research Guide](#) (Garland Medieval Bibliographies, 5; New York, 1990); Anne Echols and Marty Williams, [Women in Medieval Times: An Annotated Bibliography](#) (New York, 1992); Anne Echols and Marty Williams (eds.), [An Annotated Index of Medieval Women](#) (Markus Weiner, New York). Edith Ennen, [The Medieval Woman](#), trans. Edmund Jephcott (Oxford, 1990) provides an adequate summaries of the place of women in medieval society. For an excellent summary of women as writers in the twelfth and thirteenth century, see Peter Dronke, [Women Writers of the Middle Ages. A Critical Study of Texts from Perpetua \(+203\) to Marguerite Porete \(+1310\)](#) (Cambridge, 1984).

Hagiographic composition.

On the relation between female religious (among them saints) and their confessors and the ways that relationship helped to form the hagiographic and historical record, see Brian McGuire, "Holy Women and Monks in the Thirteenth Century: Friendship or Exploitation?" [Vox Benedictina](#), 6 (1989), pp. 343-73; Gabor Klaniczay, "Legends as Life-Strategies for Aspirant Saints in the Later Middle Ages," in [The Uses of Supernatural Power: The Transformation of Popular Religion in Medieval and Early-Modern Europe](#), trans. Susan Singerman (Princeton, 1990), pp. 95-111; John Coakley, "Gender and the Authority of Friars: the Significance of Holy Women for Thirteenth-Century Franciscans and Dominicans," [Church History](#), 60 (1991), pp.

445-60; John Coakley, "Friars as Confidants of Holy Women in Medieval Dominican Hagiography," in Images of Sainthood in Medieval Europe, eds. Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Timea Szell (Ithaca, NY, 1991), pp. 222-46; Ute Stargardt, "Male Clerical Authority in the Spiritual (Auto)biographies of Medieval Holy Women," in Women as Protagonists and Poets in the German Middle Ages: An Anthology of Feminist Approaches to Middle High German Literature, ed. Albrecht Classen (Göppingen, 1991), p. 209-38; Elizabeth Petroff, "Male Confessors and Female Penitents: Possibilities for Dialogue," in Body and Soul: Essays on Medieval Women and Mysticism (Oxford, 1994), pp. 139-60; John Coakley, "Friars, Sanctity, and Gender: Mendicant Encounters with Saints, 1250-1325," in Medieval Masculinities: Regarding Men in the Middle Ages, ed. Clare Lees (Medieval Cultures, 7; Minneapolis, 1994), pp. 91-110; Catherine Mooney, "The Authorial Role of Brother A. in the Composition of Angela of Foligno's Revelations," Creative Women in Medieval and Early Modern Italy, eds. E. Ann Matter and John Coakley (Philadelphia, 1994), pp. 34-63.

On related topics of hagiographic composition, Elizabeth Petroff, has examined the influence of models drawn from the Vitae Patrum in "'She Seemed to Have Come From the Desert': Italian Women Saints and the Vitae Patrum Cycle," in Body and Soul: Essays on Medieval Women and Mysticism (Oxford, 1994), pp. 110-36, while Dyan Elliott, Spiritual Marriage: Sexual Abstinence in Medieval Wedlock (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993) treats the ways in which ideas of marriage and chastity formed both sanctity and lay religious practice in the later middle ages.

Beguines.

Grundmann's own work was in large part focused on the beguines of the low countries. Ernest McDonnell, The Beguines and Beghards in Medieval Culture (New Brunswick, NJ, 1954) remains the basic introduction in English, although Carol Neel, "The Origins of the Beguines," Sisters and Workers in the Middle Ages, eds. Judith Bennett, Elizabeth Clark, Jean O'Barr, B. Anne Vilen, and Sarah Westphal-Wihl (Signs, 14.2; Winter, 1989; published separately, Chicago, 1989), pp. 321-41 provides the context for the early beguines well and concisely. For a local study of their place in the social and economic fabric, consult the somewhat dated study by Dayton Phillips, The Beguines in Medieval Strasbourg: a Study of the Social Aspect of Beguine Life (Ann Arbor, MI, 1941). Simone Roisin, L'hagiographie cistercienne dans le diocèse de Liège au XIIIe siècle (Louvain: Bibliothèque de l'Université, 1947) is the fullest consideration of the hagiographic sources. More specifically on Thomas of Cantimpré, see her "La méthode hagiographique de Thoams de Cantimpré," in Miscellanea historica in honorem Alberti de Meyer, 2 vols. (Louvain, 1946). See also the following: Benjamin de Trouyer, "Beguines et Tertiares en Belgique et aux Pays-Bax aux XII-XIVe siècles," in I Frati penitenti (see above), pp. 133-38; Brenda Bolton, "Mulieres Sanctae," Studies in Church History, 10 (1973): 77-85 and "Vitae Matrum: A Further Aspect of the Frauenfrage," Derek Baker (ed.), Medieval Women (Studies in Church History, Subsidia, 1; Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1978) and "Some Thirteenth-century Women in the Low Countries, A Special Case?" Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis, 61 (1981), pp. 7-29; Charles McCurry, "Religious Careers and Religious Devotion in Thirteenth-Century Metz," Viator, 9 (1978), pp. 325-33; Alberto Forni, "Maestri predicatori, santi moderni e nuova aristocrazia del denaro tra Parigi e Oignies nella prima metà del sec. XIII," in Culto dei santi, istituzioni e classi sociali in età preindustriale, eds. Sofia

Boesch Gajano and Luigi Sebastiani (Collana di studi storici, 1; L'Aquila: Japadre Editore, 1984), pp. 459-70; some of the works of Caroline Bynum (see above); Elizabeth Petroff, "A New Feminine Spirituality: The Beguines and Their Writings in Medieval Europe," in Body and Soul: Essays on Medieval Women and Mysticism (Oxford, 1994), pp. 51-65. The beguine movement was also active in regions other than the low countries, particularly southern France, see Pierre Peanò, "Les Béguines u Languedoc ou la crise du R.O.F. dans la France méridionale," in I Frati Penitenti (see above), pp. 139-58. Beguines were particularly drawn to the cult of Christ and the Passion, see Walter Simons and Joanna Ziegler, "Phenomenal religion in the Thirteenth Century and its Image: Elisabeth of Spalbeck and the Passion Cult," Women in the Church (Studies in Church History, 27; Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990), p. 117-126. Judith Oliver has studied a beguine devotional book which illustrates the life of Catherine of Alexandria in "Medieval alphabet soup," Gesta, 14 (1985), pp. 129-140.

Women in the mendicant orders.

The association of female orders with the mendicant movements was a difficult and multi-faceted one, both encouraged and opposed by the male mendicants. It is Grundmann who set the problem. A full consideration of one form of source material is found in Micheline de Fontette, Les religieuses à l'âge classique du droit canon: Recherches sur les structures juridiques des branches féminines des ordres (Paris, 1967). The problems posed by women for the new religious movements in the eyes of the papacy have been illuminated by Edith Pástor, "I Papi de duecento e trecento fronte alla vita religiosa femminile," in Il movimento religioso femminile in Umbria nei secoli XIII-XIV, ed. Roberto Rusconi (Florence, 1984), pp. 31-83. Roberto Rusconi has considered the expansion of female involvement in the Franciscan movement in "La chiesa e il Francescanesimo femminile," and "L'espansione del francescanesimo femminile nel secolo XIII," in Movimento religioso femminile e Francescanesimo nel secolo XIII (Assisi, 1980). The other studies collected in this volume consider more specific aspects. For a general history of the Clarissas, see Ancilla Rottger and Petra Gross, Klarissen: Geschichte und Gegenwart einer Ordensgemeinschaft (Werb, 1994). John Freed examines one important practical aspect of this problem in "Urban Development and the 'Cura monilium' in Thirteenth-Century Germany," Viator 3 (1972): 311-27. Women, however, also remained important in traditional monastic convents. See Michel Parisse, Les nonnes au Moyen Age (Le Puy, 1983); Penelope Johnson, Equal in Monastic Profession: Religious Women in Medieval France (Chicago, 1991). For a sense of convent life, see Roberta Gilchrist, Gender and Material Culture: The Archaeology of Religious Women (Routledge, 1994).

Clare of Assisi.

The critical edition of Clare's own writings is: Claire d'Assise, Ecrits, ed. Marie-France Becker, Jean-François Godet, and Thaddée Matura (Sources Chrésiennes, 325; Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1985). Now also see Giovanni Boccali, "Testamento e benedizione di S. Chiara. Nuovo codice latino," Archivum franciscanum historicum, 82 (1989): 273-305. Concordances may be found in Concordantiae verbales opusculorum s. Francisci et s. Clarae Assisiensium, ed. Giovanni Boccali (Assisi: Edizioni Porziuncola, 1976) and Opuscula sancti Francisci, Scripta sanctae Clarae: concordance, index, listes de fréquence, tables comparatives, ed. Jean-François Godet (Corpus

des sources franciscaines, 5; Louvain: Université catholique de Louvain, 1976). The major hagiographic records of Clare are Zeffirino Lazzeri (ed.), "Il processo di Santa Chiara d'Assisi," Archivum Franciscanum Historicum, 13 (1920): 403-507 and (Thomas of Celano?) Legenda sanctae Clarae virginis tratta dal ms. 338 della Bibl. comunali di Assisi, ed. Francesco Pennacchi (Assisi: Metastasio, 1910). Other contemporary records may be found (with Spanish translation) in Escritos de Santa Clara y Documentos Contemporaneos, ed. Ignacio Omaechevarria, second edition (Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 314; Madrid: Editorial Catolica, 1982) and (with French translation) in Sainte Claire d'Assise: Biographie, écrits, procès et bulle de canonisation, textes de chroniqueurs, textes législatifs, tables, ed. Damien Vorreux (Paris: Editions franciscaines, 1983). For English translations see: Clare of Assisi: Early Documents, trans. Regis Armstrong, revised edition (St. Bonaventure, New York: Franciscan Institute Publications, 1993); Francis and Clare: The Complete Works, trans. Regis Armstrong and Ignatius Brady (New York: Paulist Press, 1982); Legend and Writings of Saint Clare of Assisi, eds. Engelbert Grau and Ludwig Hardick, trans. Ignatius Brady (St. Bonaventure, NY: Franciscan Institute, 1953). The most accessible short study in English is: Rosalind Brooke and Christopher Brooke, "St. Clare," in Medieval Women, ed. Derek Baker (Studies in Church History, Subsidia, 1; Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1978), pp. 275-287. The most comprehensive overview may be found in the essays contained in: Chiara d'Assisi (Atti dei Convegni della Società di studi francescani, n. s. 3; Spoleto: Centro italiano di Studi sull'alto Medioevo, 1993). Other important studies include: Marco Bartoli, Clare of Assisi, trans. Sister Frances Teresa (Italian original, 1989; Quincy IL: Franciscan Press, 1993); Chiara, francescanesimo al femminile, ed. Davide Covi and Dino Dozzi (Collana "Studi e ricerche," 1; Rome: Edizioni Dehoniane, 1992) [original version published as a number of Laurentianum, 31 {1990}]; René-Charles Dhont, Claire parmi ses soeurs (Pax et Veritas, 10; Paris: Editions Paulines, 1971), English translation as Clare among her Sisters (St. Bonaventure, New York: Franciscan Institute Publications, 1987); G. Fortini, "The Noble Family of St. Clare of Assisi," Franciscan Studies, 42 (1986), pp. 48-67; Ezio Franceschini, Nel segno di Francesco, ed. Claudio Leonardi (Assisi: Edizioni Porziulcola, 1988); Javier Garrido, La forma de vida de Santa Clara (Aranzazu: Editorial Aranzazu, 1979) [Italian translation, Milan, 1989]; Servus Gieben (ed.), Icones sanctae Clarae. La vita di santa Chiara attraverso l'immagine (Rome: Museo Francescano, 1989); Servus Gieben (ed.), L'iconografia de Chiara d'Assisi / Clare of Assisi: Iconography (Italia Francescana, vol. 1; Rome, 1993); Lothar Hardick, "Erläuterungen," in Leben und Schriften der heiligen Klara von Assisi (Werl: Dietrich Coelde Verlag, 1952; fifth edition, 1980), pp. 154-88 [published separately in French translation as Spiritualité de sainte Claire, trans. Damien Vorreux (Paris: Editions franciscaines, 1961)]; Die heilige Klara von Assisi (Franziskanische Studien, vol. 35; Munster, 1953); Movimento religioso femminile e francescanesimo nel secolo XIII (Assisi: La Società, 1980); Lazaro Iriarte [de Aspuz], Letra y Espiritu de la Regla de Santa Clara (Valencia: Selecciones de Francescanismo, 1974) [Italian translation, Milan, 1976]; Ingrid Peterson, Clare of Assisi: A Biographical Study (Quincy, IL: Franciscan Press, 1993); Nesta de Robeck, Saint Clare of Assisi (Milwaukee, 1951); Heribert Roggen, Franciscaans-evangelische Levensstijl volgens de h. Clara van Assisi (The Hague, 1966) [published in French translation as L'Esprit de sainte Claire (Présence de saint François, 19; Paris, 1969)]; Anton Rotzetter, Klara von Assisi. Die erste franziskanische Frau, second edition (Freiburg im B.: Herder, 1993); Santa Chiara d'Assisi, 1253-1953. Studi e Cronaca del VII Centenario (Assisi, 1954). A general guide to the literature on Clare may be found in Bibliografia di Santa Chiara di Assisi, 1930-1993, eds. Pietro

Maranesi and Isidoro de Villapadierno (Quaderni di Bibliografia Francescana, 1; Rome: Istituto Storico dei Cappuccini, 1994).

Other female mendicant saints of the thirteenth century.

See in particular the studies of Anna Benvenuti Papi collected in "In castro poenitentiae": santità e società femminile nell'Italia medievale (Italia Sacra, 45; Rome: Herder, 1990). Bona of Pisa (+1208): Elizabeth Petroff, "The Rhetoric of Transgression in the Lives of Italian Women Saints," in Body and Soul: Essays on Medieval Women and Mysticism (Oxford, 1994), pp. 161-81. Elisabeth of Thuringia (or of Hungary; +1231): Jeanne Ancelet-Hustache, Gold Tried by Fire: St. Elizabeth of Hungary, trans. Paul J. Oligny and Sister Venard O'Donnell (Chicago, 1963); Leo Santifaller, "Zur Originalüberlieferung der Heiligsprechungsurkunde der Landgräfin Elisabeth von Thüringen vom Jahre 1235," in Klemens Wieser, ed., Acht Jahrhunderte Deutscher Orden in Einzeldarstellungen: Festschrift für Marian Tumlner (Bad Godesberg, 1967), 20-45; H. Zielinski, "Elisabeth von Thüringen und der Kinder: zur Geschichte der Kindheit im Mittelalter," in Elisabeth: Die deutsche Orden und Kirche, ed. U. ARnold and H. Liebing (Marburg, 1983), pp. 27-83; André Vauchez, "Charité et pauvreté chez sainte Elisabeth de Thuringe d'après les actes du procès de canonisation," in Michel Mollat, ed., Etudes sur l'histoire de la pauvreté (Paris, 1974), 163-73; Sankt Elisabeth. Fürstin Dienerin Heilige (Sigmaringen, 1981); Johanna von Herzogenberg, "Agnes von Böhmen, Elixabeth von Thüringen, Hedwig von Schlesien. Versuch eines Triptychons," 800 Jahre Franz von Assisi (Krems, 1982), pp. 150-6. Hedwig of Silesia (+1243): Joseph Gottschalk, St. Hedwig Herzogin von Schlesien (Cologne and Graz, 1964). Umiliana dei Cerchi (+1246): Anna Benvenuti Papi, "Umiliana dei Cerchi. Nascita di un culto nella Firenze del dugento," Studi Francescani, 77 (1980), pp. 87-117. Douceline of Marseilles (+1274): Claude Carozzi, "L'Estamen de sainte Douceline," Provence Historique, 23 (1973), pp. 270-9 and "Douceline et les autres," Cahiers de Fanjeaux, 11 (1976), pp. 251-67. Margaret of Cortona (+1297): F. Cardini, "Agiografia e politica; Margherita da Cortona e le vicende di una città inquieta," Studi francescani, 76 (1979), pp. 127-36; Anna Benvenuti Papi, "'Margherita Filia Ierusalem.' Una visione mistica della Terrasanta nella spiritualità femminile Francescana," in Toscana e Terrasanta nel medioevo, ed. F. Cardini (Florence, 1982), pp. 117-32; Enrico Menestò, "La mistica di Margherita da Cortona," Temi e problemi nella mistica femminile trecentesca (Rimini, 1983), pp. 183-206. Clare of Montefalco (+1308): Berengario di Donadio, Vita di Chiara da Montefalco, ed. R. Sala (Spiritualità nei secoli, 42; 1991). Humilty of Faenza (or of Florence; +1310): Pietro Zama, Santa Umiltà: La Vita e i "sermone" (Faenza, 1974); Elizabeth Petroff, "The Rhetoric of Transgression in the Lives of Italian Women Saints," and "Writing the Body: Male and Female in the Writings of Marguerite d'Oingt, Angela of Foligno, and Umiltà of Faenza," in Body and Soul: Essays on Medieval Women and Mysticism (Oxford, 1994), pp. 161-81 and 204-24.

Female religious movements in Italy.

The background and some specifics is well provided by Raoul Manselli, "La donna nella vita della chiesa tra duecento e trecento," in Il movimento religioso femminile in Umbria (see above), pp. 243-55. Studies include: Anna Benvenuti Papi, "Fratelli mendicanti e pinzochere in Toscana: dalla marginalità sociale a modello di santità," in Temi e problemi nella mistica femminile

trecentesca (Rimini, 1983), pp. 109-35; Mario Sensi, "Incarcerate e Recluse in Umbria nei secoli XIII e XIV," in Il movimento religioso femminile in Umbria (see above), pp. 85-121 and "Incarcerate e penitenti a Foligno nella prima metà del trecento," in I Frati della penitenza (see above), pp. 309-24; Brenda Bolton, "Daughters of Rome: all one in Christ Jesus!" in Women in the Church, ed. W. J. Sheils and Diana Wood (Studies in Church History, 27; Oxford, 1990), pp. 101-15.

Sources in translation.

Collections of sources in translation which contain hagiographic works concerning women include (note this list goes well before and beyond the thirteenth century): Medieval Women's Visionary Literature, ed. Elizabeth Petroff (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986); Handmaids of the Lord: The Lives of Holy Women in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages, ed. Joan Petersen (Cistercian Studies, 143; Kalamazoo, forthcoming); Sainted Women of the Dark Ages, ed. Jo Ann McNamara and John Halborg, with E. Gordon Whatley (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1992); Consolation of the Blessed, ed. Elizabeth Petroff (New York: Alta Gaia Society, 1979); The Lady as Saint: A Collection of French Hagiographic Romances of the Thirteenth Century, ed. Brigitte Cazelles (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993); A Legend of Holy Women. A Translation of Osbern Bodenham's Legends of Holy Women, ed. Sheila Delany (Notre Dame Texts in Medieval Culture, 1; Notre Dame, 1993). Translations of individual works are appearing in the following series: Classics of Western Spirituality (New York: Paulist Press); Library of Medieval Women Writers (Binghamton, NY: MRTS); Matrologia Latina (Toronto: Peregrina Publishing).

<https://web.archive.org/web/20150518164856/http://the-orb.net/encyclop/religion/hagiography/bfemale.htm>

The Mendicant Orders and Sanctity in the Thirteenth Century: A Bibliography

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Contents: 1) [General historical studies](#); 2) [General studies of religious history](#); 3) [Hagiography](#); 4) [Mendicant saints](#); 5) [Preaching](#).

General historical studies.

A convenient, if idiosyncratic, summary of the political history and social development of Europe during the thirteenth century may be found in John Mundy, Europe in the High Middle Ages, 1150-1309, second edition (New York, 1991). See also Léopold Genicot, Le XIIIe siècle européen, revised edition (Nouvelle Clio, 18; Paris, 1984). More specifically on the central kingdoms and their key monarchs, see: Maurice Powicke, The Thirteenth Century, 1216-1307 (Oxford History of England, 3; Oxford, 1962); Alan Harding, England in the Thirteenth Century (Cambridge, 1993); M. C. Prestwich, Edward I (London, 1988); Monique Bourin-Derruau, Temps d'équilibres, temps de ruptures, XIIIe siècle (Nouvelle histoire de la France médiévale, 3; Paris, 1990); Robert Fawtier, The Capetian Kings of France: Monarchy and Nation, 987-1328, trans. Lionel Butler and R. J. Adam (New York 1960); Elizabeth Hallam, Capetian France: 987-1328 (London, 1980); Jean Richard, Saint Louis, Crusader King of France, ed. Simon Lloyd, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Alfred Haverkamp, Medieval Germany, 1056-1273, trans. Helga Braun and Richard Mortimer (Oxford, 1984); David Abulafia, Frederick II: A Medieval Emperor (Oxford, 1993).

General studies of religious history.

There are a number of surveys of religious history which provide trustworthy and interesting accounts of the thirteenth century: Colin Morris, The Papal Monarchy: The Western Church from 1050 to 1250 (Oxford, 1989); Richard Southern, Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages (Harmondsworth, 1970); Friedrich Kempf, Hans-Georg Beck, Eugen Ewig, and Josef Andreas Jungmann, The Church in the Age of Feudalism (New York, 1982); Augustin Fliche, Christiane Thouzellier, and Yvonne Azais, La Chrétienté romaine (1198-1274) (Paris, 1950); André Vauchez (ed.), Apogée de la papauté et expansion de la chrétienté (1054-1274) (Paris, 1993). The Morris and the Vauchez provide particularly good bibliographies. All treat provide at least summary treatment of the major changes in pastoral care and in religious orders, changes which shaped the concepts and audience of sanctity in this period. An excellent, if impressionistic, essay on the effect of those changes may be found in Guy Lobrichon, La religion des laïcs en Occident, XIe-XVe siècles (Paris, 1994). For more detail, one may consult studies in the following collections: La mort au Moyen Ages (Strasbourg, 1977); Faire croire: Modalités de

la diffusion et de la réception des messages religieux du XII au XVe siècle (Collection de l'Ecole Française de Rome; 51; Rome, 1981); La prière au Moyen Age (Senefiance, 10; Aix, 1981).

One of the most important developments of scholastic theology, in terms of its impact on the cult of saints, was the doctrine of purgatory. The fullest treatment of the topic is Jacques Le Goff, The Birth of Purgatory, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago, 1984), although many of his specific conclusions have been disputed. For various reactions, see: Graham Robert Edward, "Purgatory: 'Birth' or Evolution?" Journal of Ecclesiastical History, 36 (1985), pp. 634-46; E. Mégier, "Deux exemples de 'prépurgatoire' chez les historiens: A propos de La naissance du Purgatoire de Jacques Le Goff," Cahiers de civilisation Médiévale, 28 (1985), pp. 45-62; R. R. Atwell, "From Augustine to Gregory the Great: An Evaluation of the Emergence of the Doctrine of Purgatory," Journal of Ecclesiastical History, 38 (1987), pp. 173-86.

Hagiography.

The most thorough examination of hagiographic sources from the thirteenth century is Michael Goodich, Vita perfecta: The Ideal of Sainthood in the Thirteenth Century (Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters, 25; Stuttgart, 1982). Summaries of the evidence may be found in articles by Goodich: "The Politics of Canonization in the Thirteenth Century: Lay and Mendicant Saints," Church History, 44 (1975), pp. 294-307 (reprinted in Stephen Wilson, ed., Saints and Their Cults [Cambridge, 1983], pp. 169-88); "A Profile of Thirteenth-Century Sainthood," Comparative Studies in Society and History, 18 (1976), pp. 429-37; "The Contours of Female Piety in Later Medieval Hagiography," Church History, 50 (1981):20-32.

Lest we think that "traditional" saints cults remained in a kind of stasis during this period, see Olivier Guyotjeannin, "Les reliques de saint Eloi à Noyon: procès et enquêtes du milieu du XIIIe siècle," Revue Mabillon, new series, 1 (1990), pp. 57-110 and Louis Carolus-Barré, "Saint Louis et la translation des corps saints," in Etudes d'histoire du droit canonique dédiées à Gabriel Le Bras (Paris, 1965), pp. 1088-112.

Perhaps the most famous royal saint of medieval Europe-Louis IX of France-reigned and was canonized in this period. The main texts may be found in volume 20 of the Reueil des historiens de la France et de la Gaule, supplemented by R. Folz, "La Sainteté de Louis IX d'après les textes liturgiques de sa fête," Revue d'histoire de l'Eglise de France, 57 (1971), pp. 31-45; David O'Connell, The Teachings of St Louis: A Critical Text (Chapel Hill, NC, 1972); David O'Connell, Les Propos de Saint-Louis (Paris, 1974); Louis Carolus-Barré, Le procès de canonisation de Saint Louis (1272-1297). Essai de reconstitution (Collection de l'Ecole Française de Rome, 195; Paris/Rome, 1994). The bibliography on Louis is enormous, but on his sanctity the best treatment is that by Robert Folz in Les saints rois du Moyen Ages en Occident (VIe-XIIIe siècles) (Brussels, 1984), supplemented by the views of E. R. Labande, "Saint Louis Pèlerin," Revue d'histoire de l'Eglise de France, 57 (1971) and Louis Carolus-Barré, "Saint Louis dans l'histoire et la légende," Annuaire Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de France (1970-1).

Cults also developed in the thirteenth century which were truly "popular" in origin, that is beyond the control of, and sometimes opposed to, clerical authority. On the cult of a rebellious baron in England, see John Theilmann, "Political Canonization and Political Symbolism in

Medieval England," Journal of British Studies, 29 (1990), pp. 241-266; J. R. Maddicott, "Follower, Leader, Pilgrim, Saint: Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, at the Shrine of Simon de Montfort, 1273," English Historical Review, 109 (1994), pp. 641-653; Claire Valente, "Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, and the Utility of Sanctity in Thirteenth-Century England," Journal of Medieval History, 21 (1995), pp. 27-49. And on the relics of a canine saintly intercessor, see the highly entertaining and interesting, if also problematic, analysis by Jean-Claude Schmitt in Le Saint lévrier. Guinefort, guérisseur d'enfants depuis le XIIIe siècle (Paris, 1979; ET: The Holy Greyhound [Cambridge, 1983]).

The Mendicant Saints.

Lester Little provides a provocative treatment of the rise of the mendicant orders which places them in their social context in Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe (Ithaca, NY, 1978). For a summary of modern scholarship and translation of the most important primary sources, see Rosalind Brooke, The Coming of the Friars (London, 1975). General surveys in English of the histories of the two most important mendicant orders may be found in J. R. H. Moorman, A History of the Franciscan Order (Oxford, 1968) and William Hinnebusch, The History of the Dominican Order, 2 vols. (New York, 1965-73). On the development of the tertiary orders of lay penitents or disciplinati associated with the mendicants, see G. G. Meersseman, Dossier de l'ordre de la pénitence au XIIIe siècle (Fribourg, 1961); Mariano d'Alatri (ed.), I frati penitenti di San Francesco nella società del due e trecento (Rome); André Simon, L'Ordre des pénitentes de Ste Marie-Madeleine en Allemagne au XIIIe siècle (Fribourg, 1918).

There are surprisingly few considerations of mendicant hagiography as a genre. But one may consult the following excellent works: Raoul Manselli, "Agiografia Francescana tra interpretazione teologica e religiosità," Agiografia nell'occidente cristiano, secoli XIII-XV (Atti dei convegni Lincei, 48; Rome, 1980), pp. 45-56; Alain Boureau, "Vitae fratrum, Vitae patrum. L'ordre dominicain et le modèle des Pères du désert au XIIIe s.," Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen Age - temps modernes, 99 (1987), 79-100; Roberto Taciocco, Da Francesco ai 'Catalogi Sanctorum.' Livelli istituzionali e immagini agiografiche nell'Ordine Francescano (secoli XIII-XIV) (Collectio Assisiensis, 20; Assisi, 1990); the essays collected in André Vauchez, Ordini mendicanti e società italiana, XIII-XV secolo (Milan, 1990). On hagiography associated with the *disciplinati*, see Fausta Casolini, "I penitenti in 'Leggende' e Cronache," in I Frati Penitenti (see above), pp. 69-85. The rise of the mendicants did not only change models of hagiography, but other modes of seeking access to the sacred. See, inter alia, Daniel Russo, "Saint François, les Franciscains et les représentations du Christ sur la croix en Ombrie au XIIIe siècle. Recherches sur la formation d'une image et sur une sensibilité esthétique au Moyen Age," Mélanges de l'École française de Rome, Moyen Age, 96 (1984), pp. 647-715. On new liturgical forms, see William Bonniwell, A History of the Dominican Liturgy, second edition (1945) and Stephan van Dijk, "Ursprung und Inhalt der franziskanischen Liturgie des 13. Jahrhunderts," Franziskanische Studien, 51 (1969).

Francis of Assisi. On the writings by and about Francis, see John Moorman, The Sources for the Life of S. Francis of Assisi (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1940); Sophronius Clasen, Legenda antiqua des Heiligen Franziskus (Leiden, 1967); Kajetan Esser (ed.), Die "Opuscula" des hl. Franziskus von Assisi: Neue textkritische Edition (Grottaferrata, 1976);

Rosalind Brooke (ed. and trans.), The Writings of Leo, Rufino, and Angelo: Companions of St. Francis (Oxford, 1970). For English translation, see Marion Habig (ed.), St. Francis of Assisi: Writings and Early Biographies: English Omnibus of the Sources for the Life of St. Francis (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1973). For an interesting comment on the history of hagiographical scholarship concerning Francis, see Guy Philippart, "Les Bollandistes et le dossier de S. François," Gli studi francescani dal dopoguerra ad oggi, ed. Fr. Santi (Spoleto, Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1993), p. 47-71. There is an extraordinary amount of scholarship on Francis, most of it based in part on hagiographic sources. Among the universe are the following: John Moorman, Saint Francis of Assisi (London, 1950); Hilarin Felder, Die Ideale des hl. Franziskus von Assisi, 6th ed. (Paderborn, 1951); Francis De Beer, La conversion de Saint François selon Thomas de Celano: Etude comparative des texts relatifs à la conversion en Vita I et Vita II (Paris, 1963); Omer Englebert, Saint Francis of Assisi, trans. Eve Marie Cooper, 2nd ed. (Chicago, 1966); T. S. R. Boase, St. Francis of Assisi (London, 1968); San Francesco nella ricerca storica degli ultimi ottanta anni (Todi, 1971); Edward Armstrong, St. Francis, Nature Mystic: The Derivation and Significance of the Nature Stories in the Franciscan Legend (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1973); Heinrich Tilemann, Studien zur Individualität des Franziskus von Assisi (Hildesheim, 1973); Morris Bishop, Saint Francis of Assisi (Boston, 1974); Lawrence Cunningham, Saint Francis of Assisi (Boston: Twayne, 1976); Anthony Mockler, Francis of Assisi: The Wandering Years (Oxford, 1976); Stanislaw da Campagnola, Francesco d'Assisi nei suoi scritti e nelle biografie dei secoli XIII-XIV (Assisi, 1981); Stanislaw da Campagnola, "Le prime 'biografie' del santo," in Roberto Rusconi (ed.), Francesco d'Assisi: Storia e arte (Milan, 1982), pp. 36-48; Hester Gelber, "A Theater of Virtue: The Exemplary World of St. Francis of Assisi," in John Stratton Hawley (ed.), Saints and Virtues (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1987), pp. 15-35; Rona Goffen, Spirituality in Conflict: St. Francis and Giotto's Bardi Chapel (University Park, 1988); Raoul Manselli, Saint Francis of Assisi, trans. Paul Duggan (Chicago: Franciscan Herald, 1988); K. Reblin, Freund und Feind: Franziskus von Assisi im Spiegel der protestantischen Theologiegeschichte (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1988); Richard Trexler, Naked Before the Father: The Renunciation of Francis of Assisi (New York: Peter Lang, 1989). For further bibliographical guidance, see O. Schmucki, "Quellen und studien uber den Hl. Franziskus von Assisi (1987-1990)," Collectanea franciscana, 60 (1990), pp. 255-310. On the iconography and cult of Francis, see George Kaftal, St. Francis in Italian Painting (London, 1950); Isidoro Gatti, Il tomba di San Francesco nei secoli (Assisi, 1983); James Stubblebine, Assisi and the Rise of Vernacular Art (Cambridge, 1985).

Dominic Guzman. There is much less literature on Dominic, particularly on the much smaller hagiographic dossier. The standard life is M.-H. Vicaire, Histoire de S. Dominique, new ed. (Paris, 1982; ET of earlier edition, London, 1964), although William Hinebusch's The History of the Dominican Order (see above) is also useful. For a guide to the hagiography, see Christopher Brooke, "St. Dominic and his First Biographer," Medieval Church and Society (London, 1971), pp. 214-32. On vernacular versions of the lives, consult W. F. Manning, "Les Vies médiévales de Saint Dominique en langue vulgaire," and "Les Manuscrits et miniatures des Vies en langue vulgaire," Cahiers de fanjeaux, 1 (1966), pp. 48-69 and 69-73. For translations of the sources, see Jordan of Saxony, A New Life of Saint Dominic, trans. Edmond Ceslas McEniry (Columbus, Ohio: Aquinas College, 1926) and Francis Lehner (ed.), Saint Dominic: Biographical Documents (Washington, D.C., 1964).

Other early (male) mendicant saints. Anthony of Padua (+1231): Ernest Gilliat-Smith, Saint Anthony of Padua According to His Contemporaries (London and Toronto, 1926); Jacques Toussaert, Antonius von Padua: Versuch einer kritischen Biographie (Cologne, 1967). Peter the Martyr (+1252): A. Dondaine, "Saint Pierre Martyr," Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum, 23 (1953), pp. 66-162. Hyacinth of Cracow (+1257): Fabyan Windeatt, Northern Lights: The Story of Saint Hyacinth of Poland and His Companions (London, 1945). Bonaventure (+1274): Efrem Bettoni, Saint Bonaventure, trans. Angelus Gambatese (Notre Dame, Ind., 1964). Thomas Aquinas (+1274): Ch.-D. Boulogne, Saint Thomas d'Aquin: Essai biographique (Paris, 1968); Willehad Paul Eckert (ed. and trans.), Das Leben des heiligen Thomas von Aquino, erzählt von Wilhelm von Tocco, und ander Zeugnisse zu seinem Leben (Düsseldorf, 1965); Kennelm Foster (ed. and trans.), The Life of Saint Thomas Aquinas: Biographical Documents (London, 1959). Philip Benizi (+1285): D. B. Wyndham Lewis, A Florentine Portrait: Saint Philip Benizi (London, 1959). Nicholas of Tolentino (+1305): Carlos Alonso, Saggio bibliografico su San Nicola da Tolentino (Tolentino).

On the cultivation of saints cults by the mendicants, see André Vauchez, "La commune de Sienne, les ordres mendiants et le culte des saints. Histoire et enseignements d'une crise," Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire publiés par l'école française de Rome, 89 (1977), pp. 757-767 and Chiara Frugoni, "The Cities and the 'New' Saints," in Anthony Molho, Kurt Raaflaub, and Julia Emlen (eds.), City-States in Classical Antiquity and Medieval Italy (Ann Arbor, 1993).

Preaching.

Preaching was, of course, one of the most important and characteristic activities of the mendicants. David d'Avray provides an excellent introduction to the topic in The Preaching of the Friars (Oxford, 1985). For more general context, see the essays collected in Jacqueline Hamesse and Xavier Hermant (eds.), De l'homélie au sermon: Histoire de la prédication médiévale (Louvain, 1993). For preaching about the saints, see C. Piana, "I sermoni di Federico Vixconti arcivescovo di Pisa (+1277)," Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia, 6 (1952); Carlo Delcorno, "Il racconto agiografico nella predicazione dei secoli XIII-XV," Agiografia nell'occidente cristiano, secoli XIII-XV (Atti dei convegni Lincei, 48; Rome, 1980), pp. 79-114; O. Schmucki, "Zur Überlieferung der Vogelpredigt des Hl. Franziskus von Assisi," Theologische Zeitschrift, 45 (1989), p. 142-151; Nicole Bériou, "La madeleine dans les sermons parisiens du XIII^e siècle," Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome, Moyen âge, 104 (1992), pp. 269-340; Katherine Jansen, "Mary Magdalen and the Mendicants: The Preaching of Penance in the Late Middle Ages," Journal of Medieval History, 21 (1995), pp. 1-25. On a particular topic of earlier interest, see Christoph Maier, Preaching the Crusades: Mendicant Friars and the Cross in the Thirteenth Century (Cambridge, 1994). For one movement in which both preaching and eschatological imagery were essential, see Augustine Thompson, Revival Preachers and Politics in Thirteenth-Century Italy (Oxford, 1992).

Preaching served as an effective tool of pastoral care and lay education because it was at least in part carried out in the vernacular. On the language of sermons, see such work as Giles Constable, "The Language of Preaching in the Twelfth Century," Viator, 25 (1994), pp. 131-52; Michel Zink, La prédication et langue romane avant 1300 (Paris, 1982); Carlo Delcorno, "Predicazione volgare e volgarizzamenti," Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome, Moyen âge, 89 (1979), pp.

679-89; Zelina Zafrana, "Predicazione francescana ai laici," in her Da Gregorio VII a Bernardino da Siena (Perugia, 1987); Siegfried Wenzel, Macaronic Sermons: Bilingualism and Preaching in Late-Medieval England (Ann Arbor, 1994). Large amounts of Latin literature was produced, however, to serve as guides and aids in preaching. The genre of exemplary stories or exempla was closely connected to hagiography: a good introduction and survey may be had from C. Bremond, Jacques Le Goff, Jean-Claude Schmitt, L'exemplum (Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental, 40; Turnhout, 1982) supplemented by the essays collected in Rhétorique et Histoire: L'exemplum et le modèle de comportement dans le discours antique et médiéval (Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome, 92; Rome, 1980). Jacques Berlioz has studied how heroic examples other than the saints could be used in the exempla in "'Héros' païen et prédication chrétienne: Jules César dans le recueil d'exempla du dominicain Etienne de Bourbon (mort v. 1261)," in Exemplum et Similitudo: Alexander the Great and Other Heroes as Points of Reference in Medieval Literature, ed. W. J. Aerts and M. Gosman (Medievalia Groningana, 8; Groningen, 1988), pp. 123-41. An important reference guide to the primary sources is found in F. C. Tubach, Index Exemplorum: A Handbook of Medieval Religious Tales (Suomalainen Tiedakatemia-Academia Scientiarum Fennica, Folklore Fellows Communications, 204; Helsinki, 1969). One may also usefully consult several standard folkloric sources: Stith Thompson, Motif Index of Folkliterature: A Classification of Narrative Elements in Folktales, Ballads, Myths, Fables, Mediaeval Romances, Exempla, Fabliaux, Jest-books and Local Legends, 6 vols. (Suomalainen Tiedakatemia-Academia Scientiarum Fennica, Folklore Fellows Communications, 106-109 and 116-118; Helsinki, 1932-36) and A. Aarne and Stith Thompson, The Types of the Folktale: A Classification and Bibliography, third edition (Suomalainen Tiedakatemia-Academia Scientiarum Fennica, Folklore Fellows Communications, 184; Helsinki, 1973).

Collections of saints' lives were also compiled during this period, in part to serve as aids in preaching. The most famous was the Golden Legend of James of Voragine. No truly critical edition of the Latin version of this text has ever been prepared. It was subsequently translated into virtually every European vernacular. A good modern English translation of the Latin original may be found in Jacobus de Voragine, The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints, trans. William Granger Ryan, 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993). The most accessible introduction to the work in English is Sherry Reames, The Legenda Aurea: A Reexamination of Its Paradoxical History (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985). Probably the most profound interpretation has been provided by Alain Boureau, La Légende dorée: Le système narratif de Jacques de Voragine (+1298) (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1984) and L'événement sans fins: Récit et christianisme au moyen âge (Paris, 1993). Other studies include: Sister Mary Jeremy, "Caxton's Golden Legend and Voragine's Legenda Aurea," Speculum, 21 (1946), 212-21; Giselle Huot-Girard, "La justice immanente dans la Légende dorée," Cahiers d'études médiévales 1 (1974), pp. 135-147; Marie-Christine Pouchelle, "Représentations du corps dans la Légende dorée," Ethnologie française, 6 (1976), 293-308. Also see the essays collected in Brenda Dunn-Lardeau (ed.), Legenda aurea: Sept siècles de diffusion (Cahiers d'études médiévales, Cahier spécial, 2; Montréal, 1986). For the effect of the work on popular art and religion in one limited region of Europe, see the entrancing catalogue Légende dorée du Limousin: Les saints de la Haute Vienne (Limoges, 1993). There were other similar collections prepared by mendicant preachers, see Albert Poncelet, "Le Légendier de Pierre Calo," Analecta Bollandiana, 29 (1910), pp. 5-116; Jean de Mailly, OP, Abrégé des gestes et miracles des saints,

trans. Antoince Dondaine (Paris, 1947); Brigitte Cazelles, Le corps de sainteté d'après Jehan Bouche d'Or, Jehan Paulus et quelques vies des XIIe et XIIIe siècles (Geneva, 1982).

<https://web.archive.org/web/20150518164853/http://the-orb.net/encycloped/religion/hagiography/bfriars.htm>

The Culture of Devotion in the Later Middle Ages: A Bibliography

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Contents: 1) [General historical studies](#); 2) [General studies of religious history](#); 3) [Culture of devotion](#); 4) [Unbelief and heresy](#); 5) [Arts and religious life](#); 6) [Hagiography](#); 7) [Regional studies of sanctity and hagiography](#); 8) [Sanctity and the State](#); 9) [Sanctity and the family](#); 10) [Mysticism](#); 11) [Failed saints](#).

General historical studies.

A convenient summary of the political history and social development of Europe during this period may be found in Denys Hay, Europe in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries, second edition (London, 1989). On the development of states and government, see Bernard Guénée, States and Rulers in Later Medieval Europe, trans. Juliet Vale (Oxford, 1985). More specifically on specific regions see: May McKissack, The Fourteenth Century (Oxford History of England, 5; Oxford, 1969); K. A. Fowler, The Age of Plantagenet and Valois, second ed. (London, 1980); Philippe Contamine, Des pouvoirs en France: 1300-1500 (Paris, 1992); John Larner, Culture and Society in Italy, 1290-1420 (New York, 1971); Brian Pullan, A History of Early Renaissance Italy: From the Mid-Thirteenth to the Mid-Fifteenth Century (Oxford, 1973); Denys Hay and John Law, Italy in the Renaissance, 1380-1530 (Longman History of Italy, 3; London); Angus MacKay, Spain in the Middle Ages: From Frontier to Empire, 1000-1500 (London, 1977).

General studies of religious history.

The cultural and religious history of the later middle ages was long written under the shadow, or perhaps better pall, cast by Johan Huizinga's famous essay The Waning of the Middle Ages: A Study of the Forms of Life, Thought and Art in France and the Netherlands in the XIVth and XVth Centuries, trans. F. Hodman (London, 1924 and numerous reprints) which was first published in Haarlem in 1919. A view of a more vigorous late medieval religious culture developed in scholarship over a long period of time, perhaps first given coherence by Etienne Delaruelle, E. R. Labande and Paul Ourliac in L'Eglise au temps du Grand Schisme et de la crise conciliaire (1378-1449) (Paris, 1964), and again with even greater clarity by Francis Rapp in L'Eglise et la vie religieuse en occident à la fin du Moyen Age (Nouvelle Clio, 25; Paris, 1980). Both these synthetic works are milestones in the development of a history of Christianity oriented toward practice and social context. These can now be supplemented by the relevant volumes of the Histoire du chirstianisme: André Vauchez (ed.), Apogée de la papauté et expansion de la chrétienté (1054-1274) (Paris, 1993) and Un temps e'épreuves (1274-1449) (Paris, 1990). In English one can find a less full, but nonetheless very useful, synthesis in R. N.

Swanson, Religion and Devotion in Europe, c. 1215-c. 1515 (Cambridge Medieval Textbooks; Cambridge, 1995), and the highly idiosyncratic, but quite brilliant, work of John Bossy, Christianity in the West, 1400-1700 (Oxford, 1985).

These syntheses were to a large basis based on careful local studies of religious practice in the later middle ages which have appeared with regularity over the course of the past several decades. The effect of these studies has been to blur the edges of the hard dividing line in religious history once provided by the Protestant reform movements. Among these studies are: Jacques Toussaert, Le sentiment religieux en Flandre à la fin du Moyen âge (Paris, 1963); Noël Coulet, "Jalons pour une histoire religieuse d'Aix au bas-moyen âge (1150-1450)," Provence historique, 22 (1972), pp. 203-60; J. Fournée, Les normands face à la peste. Trois siècles et demi de peste en Normandie Bilan religieux et social (Flers, 1978); Richard Trexler, Public Life in Renaissance Florence (New York, 1980); Nicole Lemaître, Le Rouergue flamboyant. Le clergé et les fidèles dans le diocèse de Rodez, 1417-1563 (Paris, 1988); Dominique Viaux, La vie paroissiale à Dijon à la fin du Moyen Age (Dijon, 1988); Alain Derville, "La vie religieuse au XIVe siècle d'après les comptes de la cathédrale de Cambrai," Revue d'histoire de l'Eglise de France, 74 (1988), pp. 213-33; Eamon Duffy, The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c. 1400-c.1580 (New Haven, 1992); Robert Brentano, A New World in A Small Place: Church and Religion in the Diocese of Rieti, 1188-1378 (Berkeley, 1993); Pierrette Paravy, De la chrétienté à la réforme en Dauphiné. Evêques, fideles et deviants (vers 1340-vers 1530), 2 vols. (Collection de l'Ecole Française de Rome, 183; Paris/Rome, 1993); Daniel Bornstein, The Bianchi of 1399: Popular Devotion in Late Medieval Italy (Ithaca, NY, 1993); William Dohar, The Black Death and Pastoral Leadership: The Diocese of Hereford in the Fourteenth Century (Philadelphia, 1995); Andrew Brown, Popular Piety in Late Medieval England: the Diocese of Salisbury, 1250-1550 (Cambridge, 1995). Two useful collections of translated documents have also appeared in English: Stephen Pumfrey, Paolo Rossi and Maurice Slawinski (eds.), Science, Culture, and Popular Belief in Medieval and Renaissance Society (Manchester, 1991) and R. N. Swanson, Catholic England: Faith, Religion and Observance before the Reformation (Manchester, 1993).

The culture of devotion.

One of the hallmarks of Christian history and practice in this period is the development of what I have chosen to call a "culture of devotion" among not only the formally religious, but also the laity. An excellent introduction to lay religious life (which during this period ceases to be the oxymoron it would have been under the formal definitions of the high middle ages) is Guy Lobrichon, La religion des laïcs en Occident, XIe-XVe siècles (Paris, 1994). See also the essays collected in E. Schulte van Kessel (ed.), Women and Men in Spiritual Culture, XIV-XVII Centuries: a Meeting of North and South (The Hague, 1986). The "classic" document for defining such practice remains that published by W. A. Pantin, "Instructions for a Devout and Literate Layman," in Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt, ed. J. J. G. Alexander and Margaret Gibson (Oxford, 1976), pp. 398-422.

During the 1970s and early 1980s scholars tended to treat these problems under the rubric of "popular" religion or piety: Raoul Manselli, La religion populaire au moyen âge. Problèmes de méthode et d'histoire (Montréal, 1975); Etienne Delaruelle, La Pieté populaire au moyen âge

(Turin, 1975); Bernard Plongeron (ed.), La Religion populaire dans l'occident chrétien. Approches historiques (Paris, 1975); M.-H. Vicaire (ed.), La religion populaire en Languedoc du XIIIe à la moitié du XIVE siècle (Cahiers de Fanjeaux, 11; Toulouse, 1976); James Obelkevich (ed.), Religion and the People, 800-1700 (Chapel Hill, NC, 1979); Rosalind Brooke, and Christopher Brooke, Popular Religion in the Middle Ages. Western Europe 1000-1300 (London, 1984); Leonard Boyle, "The Fourth Lateran Council and Manuals of Popular Spirituality," in The Popular Literature of Medieval England, ed. Thomas Heffernan (Knoxville, 1985), pp. 30-43. For coherent critiques of the concept, which has since waned in popularity, see Jean-Claude Schmitt, "'Religion populaire' et culture folklorique," Annales ESC, 31 (1976), pp. 941-53 and Natalie Davis, "From 'Popular Religion' to Religious Cultures," in Reformation Europe: A Guide to Research, ed. Steven Ozment (St. Louis, MO, 1982), pp. 321-42.

The concept of "popular" religion in particular crumbled under the weight of careful studies which showed how the efforts of ecclesiastical institutions at pastoral care could also be viewed as efforts by the hierarchy to disseminate Christianity. On this trend in scholarship, see in particular Charles Trinkhaus and Heiko Oberman (eds.), The Pursuit of Holiness in Late Medieval and Renaissance Religion (Leiden, 1974); Thomas Tentler, Sin and Confession on the Eve of the Reformation (Princeton, 1977); Faire croire: Modalités de la diffusion et de la réception des messages religieux du XII au XVe siècle (Collection de l'Ecole Française de Rome; 51; Rome, 1981). Another alternative to "popular religion" and "popular culture" has been offered by the largely German school of Alltagsgeschichte: for consideration of the methodological issues, see particularly the articles collected in Mensch und Object im Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit: Leben-Alltag-Kultur. Internationaler Kongress, Krems an der donau, 27. bis 30. September 1988 (Osterreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften philosophisch-historische Klasse Sitzungsberichte, 568; Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Realienkunde des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit, 13; Vienna, 1990).

Now even these revisionist scholarly rubrics have become themselves problematic, crumbling, in our chosen field, under the weight of ever more subtle analyses of the specifics of pastoral care and ritual life, much of which can be found in the more recent studies cited below.

The Mass and the eucharist. The works of Peter Browe remain fundamental to any research on this topic: Die Verehrung der Euchaistie im Mittelalter (Munster 1933), Die eucharistischen wunder des Mittelalters (Breslau, 1938), and Die häufige Kommunion im Mittelalter (Munster 1938). Miri Rubin has presented the most ambitious overview of the cultural context of the Eucharist in late medieval Europe in Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture (Cambridge, 1991). The analysis favors English evidence and has many curious gaps. See also the very compelling analyses of John Bossy, "The Mass as a Social Institution, 1200-1700," Past and Present, 100 (1983), pp. 29-61, Charles Zika, "Hosts, Processions and Pilgrimages: Controlling the Sacred in Fifteenth-Century Germany," Past and Present, 118 (1988), pp. 25-64, and Virginia Reinburg, "Liturgy and the Laity in Late Medieval and Reformation France," Sixteenth-Century Studies, 23 (1992-3), pp. 526-47. For the theological bases of the eucharist in this period, the best introduction remains the article by J. de Ghellinck in Dictionnaire de la théologie catholique, 5:1233-1302

Other sacraments. Baptism: John Bossy, "Blood and Baptism: Kinship, Community and Christianity in Western Europe from the Fourteenth to the Seventeenth centuries," Studies in Church History, 10 (1973), pp. 129-43. Confession: John Bossy, "The Social History of Confession in the Age of the Reformation," Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, fifth series, 25 (1975), pp. 21-38; Thomas Tentler, Sin and Confession on the Eve of the Reformation (Princeton, 1977) and Pratiques de la confession. Des pères du désert à Vatican II (Paris, 1983). Marriage: William Sheehan, "The Influence of Canon Law on the Property Rights of Married Women in England," Mediaeval Studies 25 (1963), pp. 109-24 and "The Formation and Stability of Marriage in Fourteenth-Century England: Evidence of an Ely Register," Mediaeval Studies 33 (1971), pp. 228-263; R. H. Helmholz, Marriage Litigation in Medieval England (Cambridge, 1974); Charles Donahue, "The Canon Law on the Formation of Marriage and Social Practice in the Later Middle Ages," Journal of Family History 8 (1983), pp. 144-158; James Brundage, Law, Sex, and Christian Society in Medieval Europe (Chicago, 1987); Christopher Brooke, The Medieval Idea of Marriage (Oxford, 1989); Jeffrey Watt, The Making of Modern Marriage: Matrimonial Control and the Rise of Sentiment in Neuchâtel, 1550-1800 (Ithaca, NY, 1993); Anthony Molho, Marriage and Alliance in Late Medieval Florence (Cambridge, MA, 1994); Eric Carlson, Marriage and the English Reformation (Oxford, 1994); Robert Kingdon, Adultery and Divorce in Calvin's Geneva (Cambridge, MA, 1995). General iconography: Ann Nichols, Seeable Signs: The Iconography of the Seven Sacraments 1350-1544 (Woodbridge, 1994). Clerical vestments were an integral part of these rituals, see very generally Louis Trichet Le costume de clergé (Paris, 1986) and La tonsure, vie et mort d'une pratique ecclésiastique (Paris, 1990), and, for a more specifically relevant analysis, Perrine Mane and Françoise Piponnier, "Entre vie quotidienne et liturgie: le vêtement ecclésiastique à la fin du Moyen Age," Symbole des Alltags, Alltag der Symbole: Festschrift für Harry Kühnel zum 65. Geburtstag, ed. Gertrud Glaschitz et al. (Graz, 1992), pp. 469-95.

Prayer. Pierre Rézeau, Les prières aux saints en français à la fin du Moyen Age, 2 vols. (Publications romanes et françaises; Geneva: Droz, 1982-3) provides the fullest corpus of relevant texts. On the development of prayers said for specific intentions in the high medieval liturgy, see Jean Molin, "Les intentions des prières de prône, éducatrices du peuple chrétien," in Crises et réformes dans l'église de la réforme grégorienne à la préréforme (Actes du 115^e Congrès nationale des sociétés savantes, Avignon 1990; Paris, 1991), pp. 107-16. For the textual bases of his work see Jean Molin, "L'oratio communis au Moyen Age en Occident du Xe au XVe siècle," in Miscellanea liturgica in onore . . . Giacomo Lercaro (Rome, 1967), pp. 315-468 and "Quelques textes médiévaux de la prière universelle," in Traditio et progressio: Studi liturgici in onore . . . Adrien Innocent (Rome, 1988), pp. 338-58. More generally, see John Bossy, "Christian Life in the Later Middle Ages: Prayers," Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, sixth series, 1 (1991), pp. 137-48 and the differing views of Virginia Reinburg, in her comment on Bossy, pp. 148-50 and "Hearing Lay People's Prayer," in Culture and Identity in Early Modern Europe (1500-1800): Essays in Honor of Natalie Zemon Davis, ed. Barbara Diefendorf and Carla Hesse (Ann Arbor, MI, 1993), pp. 19-39. A fuller version of Reinburg's analysis of prayer is forthcoming under the title Popular Prayers in Late Medieval France (Ithaca, NY). Also see also the essays collected in La prière au Moyen Age (Senefiance, 10; Aix, 1981).

Parishes. For a useful overview, see Joseph Avril, "Quelques aspects de l'institution paroissiale après le IV^e concile du Latran," in Crises et réformes dans l'église de la réforme grégorienne à la

préréforme (Actes du 115e Congrès nationale des société savantes, Avignon 1990; Paris, 1991), pp. 93-106. Gabriel Le Bras, L'Eglise et le village (Paris, 1976); Pievi e parrocchie in Italia nei basso medioevo (sec. XIII-XV), 2 vols. (Italia Sacra, 35-6; Rome, 1984); Joseph Avril, "La paroisse médiéval et la prière pour les morts," in Jean-Loup Lemaitre (ed.), L'église et la mémoire des morts dans la France médiévale (Paris, 1986), pp. 53-67; Dominique Viaux, La vie paroissale à Dijon à la fin du moyen âge, (Publication de l'université de Bourgogne, 65; Dijon 1988); Pierre Desportes, "Réflexions sur la paroisse urbaine en France du Nord au Bas Moyen Age," Histoire de la paroisse (Angers, 1988), pp. 44-56; Gervase Rosser, "Communities of Parish and Guild in the Late Middle Ages," in S. J. Wright (ed.), Parish, Church and People: Local Studies in Lay Religion, 1350-1750 (London, 1988), pp. 29-57; La paroisse en Languedoc aux XIIIe-XIVe siècles (Cahiers de Fanjeaux, 25; Toulouse, 1990).

Preaching and exempla collections. There have been a series of influential studies of preaching in late medieval England: G. R. Owst, Preaching in Medieval England: An Introduction to Sermon Manuscripts of the Period c. 1350-1450 (Cambridge, 1926) and Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England: A Neglected Chapter in the History of English Letters and of the English People (Cambridge, 1933), J. W. Blench, Preaching in England in the later XVth and XVIth Centuries (London, 1964), and H. Leith Spencer, English Preaching in the Late Middle Ages (Oxford, 1994). Some editions and studies of the varied collections which used for that preaching include: Theodor Erbe (ed.), Mirk's Festial: A Collection of Homilies by Johannes Mirkus, I (EETS, extra series, 96; London, 1905); Fritz Kemmler, "Exempla" in Context: A Historical and Critical Study of Robert Mannyng of Brunne's "Handlyng Synne" (Tübingen, 1984). Further bibliography may be found in Thomas Heffernan, "Sermon Literature," in Middle English Prose: A Critical Guide to Major Authors and Genres, ed. A. S. G. Edwards (New Brunswick, NJ, 1984), pp. 177-207. For Italy, see the useful general essays of Carlo Delcorno, "Rassegna di studi sulla predicazione medievale e umanistica (1970-80)," Lettere italiane (1981), pp. 235-76 and "La predicazione volgare in Italia (sec. XIII-XIV). Teoria, produzione, ricezione," Revue Mabillon, n. s. 4 (1993), pp. 83-107, as well as the more thorough local study by Daniel Lesnik, Preaching in Medieval Florence. The Social World of Franciscan and Dominican Spirituality (Athens, GA, 1989). For France, see Hervé Martin, Le Métier de prédicateur en France septentrionale à la fin du moyen âge (1350-1520) (Paris, 1988) and Larissa Taylor, Soldiers of Christ: Preaching in Late Medieval and Reformation France (Oxford, 1992).

Confraternities: G. Meersseman, "Etude sur les anciennes confréries dominicaines," Archivum fratrum Praedicatorum, 20 (1950), pp. 5-113 and 21 (1951), pp. 51-96; Le mouvement confraternal au Moyen Age. France, Italie, Suisse (Collections de l'Ecole Française de Rome, 97; Rome, 1987); James Banker, Death in the Community: Memorialization and Confraternities in an Italian Commune in the Late Middle Ages (Athens, GA, 1988); C. F. Black, Italian Confraternities in the Sixteenth Century (Cambridge, 1989); John Henderson, Piety and Charity in Late Medieval Florence (Oxford, 1994); Nicholas Terpstra, Confraternities and Civic Religion in Renaissance Bologna (Cambridge, 1995).

Death. Useful older studies include J. M. Clark, The Dance of Death in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance (Glasgow, 1950), H. Rosenfeld, Der Mittelalterliche Totentanz (Munster, 1954) and R. Rudolf, Ars moriendi (Cologne, 1959). Philippe Ariès has presented a provocative, if ultimately flawed, thesis concerning changing attitudes to death in L'Homme devant la mort

(Paris, 1977)=The Hour of Our Death, trans. Helen Weaver (New York, 1981). For a more measured consideration of ritual and social change, see Sharon Strocchia, Death and Ritual in Renaissance Florence (Baltimore, 1992). See also the essays collected in La mort au Moyen Ages (Strasbourg, 1977). On funeral rituals, see Marie-Thérèse Lorcin, "Trois manières d'enterrement à Lyon de 1300-1500," Revue historique, 261 (1979), pp. 3-15; Ronald Finucane, "Sacred Corpse, Profane Carrion: Social Ideals and Death Rituals in the Later Middle Ages," in Mirrors of Mortality Studies in the Social History of Death, ed. J. Whaley (London, 1980), pp. 40-60; Christian Raynaud, "Quelques remarques sur les cérémonies funéraires à la fin du Moyen Age," Le Moyen Age, fifth series, 7 (1993), 293-310. The moment of death was, not surprisingly, a common locus of the miraculous: Christian Krötzel, "Evidentissima signa mortis: Zu Tod und Todesfeststellung in mittelalterlichen Mirakelberichten," Symbole des Alltags, Alltag der Symbole: Festschrift für Harry Kühnel zum 65. Geburtstag, ed. Gertrud Glaschitz et al. (Graz, 1992), pp. 765-75.

Pious benefactions. The most ambitious and provocative study remains Jacques Chiffolleau, La comptabilité d'au-delà: les hommes, la mort et la religion dans la région d'Avignon à la fin du Moyen Age (vers 1320-vers 1480)(Collection de l'Ecole française de Rome, 47; Rome, 1980). Clive Burgess has examined the motivation of devotion in late medieval English wills: "By Quick and By Dead': Wills and Pious Provision in Late Medieval Bristol," The English Historical Review, 102 (1987), pp. 837-48; "'A fond thing vainly invented': An Essay on Purgatory and Pious Motive in Late Medieval England," in S. J. Wright (ed.), Parish, Church and People: Local Studies in Lay Religion, 1350-1750 (London, 1988), pp. 56-84; "Late Medieval Wills and Pious Convention: Testamentary Evidence Reconsidered," in Profit, Piety, and the Professions in Later Medieval England, ed. M. A. Hicks (Gloucester, 1990), pp. 14-33. On England, also see Brian Golding, "Burials and Benefactions: an Aspect of Monastic Patronage in Thirteenth-Century England," in England in the Thirteenth Century: Proceedings of the Harlaxton Conference, ed. W. M. Ormrod (Woodbridge, 1985), pp. 64-75. For France, see Marie-Thérèse Lorcin, "Les clauses religieuses dans les testaments du plat pays lyonnais aux XIVe et XVe siècle," Le Moyen Age (1972), pp. 287-323. For Bohemia, see John Klassen, "Gifts for the Soul and Social Charity in Late Medieval Bohemia," Materielle Kultur und religiöse Stiftung im Spätmittelalter (Osterreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften philosophisch-historische klasse sitzungsberichte, 554; Vienna, 1990), pp. 61-81. On the theology behind such bequests, see R. W. Shaffern, "Learned Discussions of Indulgences for the Dead in the Middle Ages," Church History, 61 (1992), pp. 367-81. On gifts by the living as members of confraternities see Brian Pullan, Rich and Poor in Renaissance Venice; The Social Institutions of a Catholic State (Oxford, 1981); C. Vincent, Des charité bien ordonnées. Les conféries normandes de la fin du XIIIe au début du XVIe siècle (Paris, 1988), Miri Rubin, Charity and Community in Medieval Cambridge (Cambridge, 1987), and John Henderson, Piety and Charity (see above). On the memorialization of the dead in confraternities, see James Banker, Death in the Community (see above). As a counterpoint, see the neo-Marxist analysis of Samuel Cohn, Death and Property in Siena, 1205-1800: Strategies for the Afterlife (Baltimore, 1988) and The Cult of Remembrance and the Black Death: Six Renaissance Cities in Central Italy (Baltimore, 1992).

One of the most important manifestations of the culture of devotion was the movement known as the **Modern Devotion** which developed in the cities of the Low Countries. The fullest treatment

remains R. R. Post, The Modern Devotion (Leiden, 1968), supplemented by the essays collected in J.-M. Cauchies, La dévotion moderne dans les pays bourguignons et rhénans des origiens à la fin du XVIe siècle (Neuchatel, 1989). For more a a number of relevant texts, many hagiographic, in translation, see John Van Engen, Devotio Moderna: Basic Writings (New York, 1988). The introduction provides an excellent basic orientation.

Monastic life. Remember that monastic communities continued to exist and even to thrive in the later middle ages. For an entertaining look at life in such communities, which focuses on late medieval evidence, see Barbara Harvey, Living and Dying in England, 1100-1500: The Monastic Experience (Oxford, 1993).

Unbelief and heresy.

It is important to remember that not all of the laity were devout. There was a good deal of anti-clerical sentiment among the laity during the later middle ages and early modern period. A good introduction may be found in the essays collected in: Peter Dykema and Heiko Oberman, Anticlericalism in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe (Leiden, 1993). How these sentiments could be matched with piety and devotion may be seen in the Middle English literature of the fourteenth century as studied in Wendy Scase, Piers Plowman and the New Anticlericalism (Cambridge, 1989) and the superb study of Steven Justice, Writing and Rebellion: England in 1381 (The New Historicism: Studies in Cultural Poetics, 27; Berkeley, 1994). Some of the context for such accusations and problems may be found in Benoît Garnot (ed.), Le clergé délinquant (XIIIe-XVIIIe siècle) (Dijon, 1995).

More obvious exceptions to the culture of devotion would at first blush seem to be those people branded by the ecclesiastical hierarchy as heretics, except that many of them, such as the Lollards, simply differed from the orthodox in their concepts of, not their dedication to, pious devotion. More to the point, other men and women were simply indifferent to religious piety, some even sceptical. The point is made by Alexander Murray, "Piety and Impiety in Thirteenth-Century Italy," Studies in Church History, 8 (1972), pp. 83-106, Michael Goodich, "Miracles and Disbelief in the Late Middle Ages," Mediaevistik, 1 (1988), pp. 23-38, Paolo Golinelli, "Il santo gabbato: Forme di incredulità nel mondo cittadino italiano," in Città e culto dei santi nel medioevo italiano (Bologna, 1991), pp. 63-90, and, although too simplistically and grandly, by Susan Reynolds, "Social Mentalities and the Case of Medieval Scepticism," Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, sixth series, 1 (1991), pp. 21-41.

The arts and religious life.

Much of this culture of devotion focused on the use by the laity of artistic images and vernacular texts. As far as artistic objects and images goes, the point is made particularly forcefully and clearly in an exhibition catalogue prepared by Henk van Os, et al., The Art of Devotion in the Late Middle Ages in Europe, 1300-1500, trans. Michael Hoyle (Princeton, 1995). A survey of the art historical literature is impossible here, but for more general considerations of the material culture of religious devotion, see such studies as R. N. Swanson, "Medieval Liturgy as Theater: The Props," in The Church and the Arts, ed. Diana Wood (Studies in Church History, 29;

Oxford, 1992), pp. 239-53; Judy Ann Ford, "Art and Identity in the Parish Communities of Late Medieval Kent," in The Church and the Arts, ed. Diana Wood (Studies in Church History, 29; Oxford, 1992), pp. 225-37; Jeryldene Wood, "Breaking the Silence: The Poor Clares and the Visual Arts in Fifteenth-Century Italy," Renaissance Quarterly, 48 (1995), pp. 262-86, as well as the essays collected in Timothy Verdon and John Henderson (eds.), Christianity and the Renaissance: Image and Religious Imagination in the Quattrocento (Syracuse, 1990) and Craig Monson (ed.), The Crannied Wall: Women, Religion, and the Arts in Early Modern Europe (Ann Arbor, 1992). On the spiritual or religious impact of such images, see Lucy Sandler, "Face to Face with God: A Pictorial Image of the Beatific Vision," in England in the Thirteenth Century: Proceedings of the Harlaxton Conference, ed. W. M. Ormrod (Woodbridge, 1986), pp. 224-35 and Daniel Arasse, "Entre dévotion et culture: Fonctions de l'image religieuse au XVe siècle," Faire Croire, pp. 131-46. For the involvement of a saint in the world of the plastic arts, see Ann Roberts, "Chiara Gambacorta of Pisa as Patroness of the Arts," in Creative Women in Medieval and Early Modern Italy, eds. E. Ann Matter and John Coakley (Philadelphia, 1994), pp. 120-54.

One of the most significant set of devotional images in the late middle ages was that found in the Book of Hours. A convenient introduction may be found in Janet Backhouse, Books of Hours (Oxford, 1985). A much fuller overview may be obtained from the exhibition catalogue, Time Sanctified: The book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life, ed. Roger Wieck (Baltimore, 1988), particularly the essay by Roger Wieck. The essay by Virginia Reinburg in that volume provides an excellent introduction to the devotional use of books of hours; the analysis will be expanded in the forthcoming Popular Prayer in Late Medieval France (Ithaca, NY). Some other catalogues which contain many excellent examples of books of hours include François Avril, Manuscript Painting at the Court of France: the Fourteenth Century, 1310-1380 (Paris, 1978); Marcel Thomas, The Golden Age: Manuscript Painting at the Time of Jean, Duc de Berry (1979); Richard Marks and Nigel Morgan, The Golden Age of English Manuscript Painting, 1200-1500 (1981); Alain Arnould, Jean Michel Massing, et al., Splendours of Flanders: Late Medieval Art in Cambridge Collections (Cambridge, 1993); James Marrow, et al., The Golden Age of Dutch Manuscript Painting (New York, 1990).

Compelling analyses of the use of images in devotion and religious life have been outlined recently by several scholars. Hans Belting, The Image and its Public in the Middle Ages: Form and Function of Early Paintings of the Passion, trans. Mark Bartusis and Raymond Meyer (German original, 1981; New York, 1989) and Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image Before the Era of Art, trans. Edmund Jephcott (German original, 1990; Chicago, 1993); David Freedburg, The Power of Images (Chicago, 1989); Michael Camille, The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image-Making in Medieval Art (Cambridge, 1989); Jeffrey Hamburger, "The Use of Images in the Patoral Care of Nuns: The Case of Heinrich Suso and the Dominicans," Art Bulletin, 71 (1989), pp. 20-46, "The Visital and the Visionary: The Image in Late Medieval Monastic Devotions," Viator, 20 (1989), pp. 161-82, and "A Liber Precum in Sélestat and the Development of the illustrated Prayer Book in Germany," Art Bulletin, 73 (1991), pp. 210-36; Christiane Raynaud, Images et pouvoirs au moyen âge (Paris, 1993); Flora Lewis, "The Veronica: Image, Legend, and the Viewer," in W. M. Ormrod (ed.), England in the Thirteenth Century: Proceedings of the Harlaxton Conference (Woodbridge, 1985), pp. 100-6 and "Rewarding Devotion: Indulgences and the Promotion of Images," in The Church and the Arts, ed. Diana Wood (Studies in Church History, 29; Oxford, 1992), pp. 179-92.

Images with miraculous or devotional reputations were also the focus of pilgrimages, see, for example, Virginia Reinburg, "Les Pèlerins de Notre-Dame du Puy," Revue d'histoire de l'église de France 75 (1989), pp. 297-314; Il Volto Santo: Storia e Culto, eds. C. Baracchini and M. Filieri (Lucca, 1982) and Diana Webb, "The Holy Face of Lucca," Anglo-Norman Studies, 9 (1986), pp. 227-237; William Hood, "The Sacro Monte of Varallo: Renaissance Art and Popular Religion," in Monasticism and the Arts, ed. Timothy Verdon (Syracuse, 1984), pp. 291-311.

Altarpieces were one of the most important expressions of religious devotion in art, and one which frequently employed the iconography of the saints. Recent work on Italian altarpieces includes: Peter Humfrey and Martin Kemp, eds., The Altarpiece in the Renaissance (Cambridge, 1990); Peter Humfrey, The Altarpiece in Renaissance Venice (New Haven, 1993); Eve Borsook and Fiorella Gioffredi (eds.), Italian Altarpieces 1250-1550: Function and Design (Oxford, 1994).

Artistic expression of belief was particularly important in burying the rich and powerful. On the setting of royal tombs, see Paul Binsky, Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets: Kingship and the Representation of Power, 1200-1400 (New Haven, CT, 1995) for England. On the tombs of the popes, see Jeanne Vielliard, "Les tombeaux des papes du Moyen Age à Rome et en Italie," Moyen Age, 30, second series (1929), pp. 191-216 and Julian Gardner, The Tomb and the Tiara: Curial Tomb Sculpture in Rome and Avignon in the Later Middle Ages (Oxford, 1992).

Hagiography.

Beyond the work of André Vauchez, the fullest examination of the experience of sanctity and the writing of hagiography in the fourteenth century is Richard Kieckhefer, Unquiet Lives. Fourteenth-Century Saints and Their Religious Milieu (Chicago, 1984). His essay "Holiness and the Culture of Devotion: Remarks on Some Late Medieval Male Saints," in Images of Sainthood in Medieval Europe, eds. Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Timea Szell (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991), pp. 288-305 also provides an excellent brief examination of how the culture of devotion shaped notions of sanctity, as well as how the desire to attain sanctity or salvation shaped the culture of devotion. More recently Michael Goodich has mined the material provided by the miracle stories contained within canonization processes in Violence and Miracle in the Fourteenth Century: Private Grief and Public Salvation (Chicago, 1995). See also the essays collected in Agiografia nell'occidente cristiano, secoli XIII-XV (Atti dei convegni Lincei, 48; Rome, 1980).

In the later middle ages religious communities produced serial biographies of their honored members which provided what was in essence a new hagiographic genre. For the lives produced by the Bretheren of the Common Life, see the work of Van Engen above. For "convent chronicles" from communities of mendicant nuns, see Siegfried Ringler, Viten- und Offenbarungsliteratur in Frauenklöstern des Mittelalters. Quellen und Studien (Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters, 72; Zurich, 1980) and Dewey Kramer, "'Arise and Give the Convent Bread': Christine Ebner, the Convent Chronicle of Engelthal, and the Call to Ministry among Fourteenth-Century Religious Women," in Women as Protagonists and Poets in the German Middle Ages: An Anthology of Feminist Approaches to Middle High German Literature, ed. Albrecht Classen (Göppingen, 1991), pp. 187-207; Jeffrey

Hamburger, "The Liber miraculorum of Unterlinden: An Icon in its Convent Setting," The Sacred Image East and West, ed. Robert Ousterhout and Leslie Brubaker (Illinois Byzantine Studies, 4; Urbana, IL, 1995), pp. 147-90.

On the development of vernacular collections of saints lives in this period, see Scrittori di religione del trecento volgarizzamenti, ed. Giuseppe de Luca (Turin, 1977); Dominique de Courcelles, Les histoires des saints, la priere et la mort en Catalogne (Textes et documents du Centre de recherche sur l'Espagne des 16e et 17e siècles, 1; Paris, 1990); Jean-Pierre Perrot, Le passionnaire français au moyen âge (Publications Romanes et Françaises, 200; Geneva, 1992); Pamela Gehrke, Saint and Scribes: Medieval Hagiography in its Manuscript Context (University of California Publications in Modern Philology, 126; Berkeley, 1993); Katherine Gill, "Women and the Production of Religious Literature in the Vernacular, 1300-1500," in Creative Women in Medieval and Early Modern Italy: a Religious and Artistic Renaissance, ed. E. Ann Matter and John Coakley (Philadelphia, 1994), pp. 64-104.

Regional studies of sanctity and hagiography.

Much recent work has been by Italian scholars, and even some foreigners, on the Italian saints of the late medieval and early modern period. The fullest monographic study is Gabriella Zarri, La sante vive: cultura e religiosità femminile nella prima età moderna (Sacro/santo, 2; Turin: Rosenberg and Sellier, 1990). But see also the excellent collections of essays: Culto dei santi, istituzioni e classi sociali in età preindustriale, eds. Sofia Boesch Gajano and Luigi Sebastiani (Collana di studi storici, 1; L'Aquila: Japadre Editore, 1984); Raccolte di vite di santi dal XIII al XVIII secolo. Strutture, messaggi, fruizioni, ed. Sofia Boesch Gajano (Fasano di Brindisi: Schena Editore, 1990); Luoghi sacri e spazia della santità, eds. Sofia Boesch Gajano and Lucretia Scaraffia (Sacro/santo, 1; Turin: Rosenberg and Sellier, 1990); Finzione e santità tra medioevo e età moderna, ed. Gabriella Zarri (Sacro/santo, 7; Turin: Rosenberg and Sellier, 1991); Modelli di comportamento/modelli di santità. Contrasti, intersezioni, complementarità, eds. Giulia Barone, Marina Caffiero, Francesco Scorza Barcellona (Sacro/santo, 10; Turin: Rosenberg and Sellier, 1994). Some more specific studies include: Fernanda Sorelli, La santità imitabile: "Leggenda di Maria da Venezia" di Tommaso da Siena (Venice, 1984); Simon of Rome, Libro over Legenda della beata Helena da Udene, ed. Andrea Tilatti (Udine, 1988); Santa Filippa Mareri e il monastero di Borgo San Pietro nella storia del Cicolano (Rieti, 1989); Lucetta Scaraffia, La santa degli impossibili. Vicende e significati della devozione a S. Rita (Sacro/santo, 3; Turin: Rosenberg and Sellier, 1990); Filippo Roitolo, Il portinaio di S. Francesco B. Gerardo da Valen O. Min. =Palermo 19-XII-1342 (Palermo, 1992). Two useful review essays are: Jean-Michel Sallmann, "Il santo e le rappresentazioni della santità: Problemi di metodo," Quaderni storici, 41 (1979), pp. 584-602 and Gabriella Zarri, "Le sante vive: Per una tipologia della santità femminile nel primo cinquecento," Annali dell'Istituto Storico Italo Germanico in Trento, 6 (1980), pp. 371-445.

Several of the most important saints of the late middle ages were **Italian**. On Catherine of Siena (+1380), see: Robert Fawtier, Sainte Catherine de Sienne, Essai de critique des sources: Sources hagiographiques (Paris, 1921); Robert Fawtier and L. Canet, La Double expérience de Catherine Benincasa (sainte Catherine de Sienne) (Paris, 1948); Raymond of Capua, Life of Catherine of Siena, trans. Conleth Kearns (Wilmington, DE, 1980); The Letters of Catherine of Siena.

Volume I, trans. Suzanne Noffke (Binghamton, NY, 1988); Karen Scott, "Urban Spaces, Women's Networks, and the Lay Apostolate in the Siena of Catherine Benincasa," in Creative Women in Medieval and Early Modern Italy, eds. E. Ann Matter and John Coakley (Philadelphia, 1994), pp. 105-19. On Francesca Romana (+1440), see: Placido Tommaso Lugano (ed.), I Processi inediti per Francesca Bussa dei Ponziani (Santa Francesca Romana) 1440-1453 (Studi e testi, 120; Vatican City, 1945); Una santa tutta romana. Saggi e ricerche nel VI Centenario nella nascita di Francesca Bussa dei Ponziani (1384-1984), ed. Giorgio Picasso (Siena: Monte Oliveto Maggiore, 1984); J. Pennington, "Semi-Religious Women in Fifteenth-Century Rome," Mededelingen van het Nederlands Instituut te Rome, 48 (1987), pp. 115-45; Marie-Pascal Dickson, Jubilation dans la lumière divine: Françoise Romaine, 1384-1440 d'après le récit de ses visions transcrit par Jean Mattiotti, son père spirituel (Paris, 1989); Guy Boanas and Lyndal Roper, "Feminine Piety in Fifteenth-Century Rome: Santa Francesca Romana," Disciplines of Faith: Studies in Religion, Politics and Patriarchy, ed. Jim Obelkevich, Lyndal Roper, and Raphael Samuel (London), pp. 177-93; Guilia Barone, "La canonizzazione di francesca Romana (1608): la riproposta di un modello agiografico medievale," in Finzione e santità tra medioevo e età moderna, ed. Gabriella Zarri (Sacro/santo, 7; Turin: Rosenberg and Sellier, 1991), pp. 264-79; Katerine Gill, "The Open Monastery in Italy: Two Examples from Rome," in The Crannied Wall: Women, Religion, and the Arts in Early Modern Europe, ed. Craig Monson (Ann Arbor, 1992). On Bernadino of Siena (+1444), see: Iris Origo, The World of San Bernardino (London, 1963); Lothar Schläpfer, Das Leben des heiligen Bernhardin von Siena (Düsseldorf, 1965); Bernadino predicatore nella società del suo tempo (Todi, 1976); Ph. Jansen, "Un exemple de sainteté thaumaturgique à la fin du moyen age: les miracles de saint Bernardin de Sienne," Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome: Moyen Age - Temps modernes, 96 (1984), pp. 129-151. On a saint of less obvious overall importance, see the following intriguing studies, Jacques Dalarun, "Jeanne de Signa, ermite toscane du XIVe siècle, ou la sainteté ordinaire," and Daniel Russo, "Jeanne de Signa ou l'iconographie au féminin. Etude sur les fresques de l'église paroissiale de Signa (milieu du XVe siècle)," Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome, Moyen Age, 98 (1986), pp. 161-99 and 201-18.

There were fewer "new" saints in **France**, but see such studies as Matthew Tobin, "Le "Livre des révélations" de Marie Robine (+1399). Etude et édition," Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome, Moyen Age, 98 (1986), pp. 229-64; M. Somme, "Sainte Colette de Corbie et la réforme franciscaine en Picardie et en Flandre au XV siècle," Horizons marins itinéraires spirituels, 2 vols. (Paris, Publications de la Sorbonne, 1987), 1: 255-64. Nonetheless local studies there have tended to emphasize the development of shrines and cults. Louis of Anjou at Toulouse: Margaret Toynbee, St. Louis of Toulouse and the Process of Canonization in the Fourteenth Century (Manchester, 1929); M. H. Lauent, Le culte de Saint Louis d'Anjou à Marseille au XIVe siècle. Les documents de Louis Antoine de Ruffi (Temi e Testi, 2; Rome, 1954); Jacques Paul, "Miracles et mentalité religieuse populaire à Marseille au début du XIVe siècle," Cahiers de Fanjeaux, 11 (1966), pp. 61-90 and "Témoignage historique et hagiographie dans le procès de canonisation de Louis d'Anjou," Provence Historique, 23 (1973), pp. 305-17; J. Gardner, "The Cult of a Fourteenth-Century Saint: the Iconography of Louis of Toulouse," I Francescani nel Trecento, (Perugia, Centro di studi francescani, 1988), p. 169-193. Delphina at Marseille: André Vauchez, "La Religion populaire dans la France méridionale au XIVe siècle d'après les procès de canonisation," Cahiers de Fanjeaux, 11 (1966), pp. 91-107. Charles of Blois at Perigueux: André Vauchez, "Devotion et vie quotidienne à Perigueux au temps de Charles V d'après un recueil de

Miracles de Charles de Blois," Mélanges offerts a Bernard Chevalier. Villes, bonnes villes, cites et capitales (Tours, 1989), pp. 305-314. Le Puy: Virginia Reinburg, "Les Pèlerins de Notre-Dame du Puy," Revue d'histoire de l'église de France 75 (1989), pp. 297-314. Catherine of Fierbois: Yves Chauvin (ed.), Livre des miracles de Sainte-Catherine-de-Fierbois, 1375-1470 (Poitiers, 1976), (ET of earlier edition: Andrew Lang, The Miracles of Madame sainte Katherine of Fierbois [1897]), see also Chauvin's analysis in "Le Livre des Miracles de Sainte-Catherine-de-Fierbois," Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest, fourth series, 13 (1975), pp. 281-311. Urban V: Gerard Veyssiere, "Le rayonnement géographique du culte d'Urbain V," Mémoires de l'Académie de Vaucluse, 7 series, 6 (1985), p. 137-151; Agaune: Jacques Rossiaud, "Pèlerins à Saint-Maurice d'Agaune: Les métamorphoses de Thébains à la fin du moyen-âge."

A great deal of excellent anglophone scholarship has been devoted recently to religious practice in late medieval and early modern **Spain**: William Christian, Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain (Princeton, 1981); William Christian, Apparitions in Late Medieval and Renaissance Spain (Princeton, 1981); Sara Nalle, God in La Manch: Religious Reform and the People of Cuenca (); Ronald Surtz, Guitar of God; Ronald Surtz, Writing Women in Late Medieval and Early Modern Spain: The Mothers of Saint Teresa of Avila (Philadelphia, 1995); Jodi Bilinkoff, The Avila of Saint Teresa. Religious Reform in a Sixteenth-Century City (Ithaca, NY, 1989); Alison Weber, Teresa of Avila and the Rhetoric of Femininity (1990); Carlos Eire, From Madrid to Purgatory: The Art and Craft of Dying in Sixteenth-Century Spain (Cambridge, 1995). Also see the recent work by William Christian on modern Spain, Moving Crucifixes in Modern Spain (Princeton, 1992).

Germany. The most ambitious interpretation of pilgrimage in late medieval Germany is that which has been evolved in numerous publications by Lionel Rothkrug. An adequate introduction to this intriguing, but highly problematic, hypothesis may be found in "Popular Religion and Holy Shrines. Their Influence on the Origins of the German Reformation and Their Role in German Cultural Development," in Religion and the People, 800-1700, ed. James Obelkevich (Chapel Hill, 1979), pp. 20-86. Also see R. W. Scribner, "Ritual and popular Religion in Catholic Germany at the Time of the Reformation," Journal of ecclesiastical History, 35 (1984), pp. 47-77; Steven Sargent, "Miracle Books and Pilgrimage Shrines in Late Medieval Bavaria," Historical Reflections / Réflexions historiques, 13 (1986), pp. 455-71; Christopher Wood, "Ritual and the Virgin on the Column: The Cult of the Schöne Maria in Regensburg," Journal of Ritual Studies, 6 (1992), pp. 87-107.

The margins of Europe. Christian Krotzl, Mirakel und Alltag. Formen des Verhaltens im skandinavischen Mittelalter (12.-15 Jahrhundert) (Studia Historica, 46; Helsinki: Societas Historica Finlandiae, 1994); L'Eglise et le peuple chrétien dans les pays de l'Europe du Centre-Est et du Nord (XIVe-XVe s.) (Collection de l'Ecole française de Rome, 128; Rome, 1990). One of the most important saints of the later middle ages was Bridget of Sweden, for general orientation see the essays collected in Santa Brigida profeta dei tempi nuovi - Saint Bridget Prophetess of New Ages (Rome, 1993).

Sanctity and the state.

Royal sanctity perdured into the late middle ages, see Gabor Klaniczay, "The Cult of Dynastic Saints in Central Europe: Fourteenth-Century Agnevs and Luxemburgs," in The Uses of Supernatural Power: The Transformation of Popular Religion in Medieval and Early-Modern Europe, trans. Susan Singerman (Princeton, 1990), pp. 111-28. On saints as national patrons, see Colette Beaune, The Birth of an Ideology: Myths and Symbols of Nation in Late Medieval France, trans. Susan Ross Huston, ed. Fredric Cheyette (Berkeley, 1991); Christian de Merindol, "Saint Michel et la monarchie française à la fin du moyen age dans le conflit franco-anglais," in La "France anglaise" au moyen age. Colloque des historiens medievistes francais et britanniques (Actes du 111 congres national des societes savantes, Poitiers, 1986, Section d'histoire medievale et de philologie, Paris, 1988), pp. 513-542; E. Marosi, "Der heilige Ladislaus als ungarischer Nationalheiliger. Bemerkungen zu seiner Ikonographie im 14, 15 Jahrhundert," Acta Historiae Artium Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, 33 (1987), pp. 211-256. For the more ordinary piety of a late medieval monarch, see Michael Prestwich, "The Piety of Edward I," in England in the Thirteenth Century: Proceedings of the Harlaxton Conference, ed. W. M. Ormrod (Woodbridge, 1985).

On other political uses of canonization, see John Theilmann, "Political Canonization and Political Symbolism in Medieval England," Journal of British Studies, 29 (1990), pp. 241-266; Colette Beaune and Nicole Lemaitre, "Prophétie et politique dans la France du Midi au XVe siècle," in André Vauchez (ed.), Les textes prophétiques et la prophétie en Occident (XIIe-XVIe siècle) (Mélanges de l'École française de Rome, Moyen Age, 102.2; Rome, 1990), pp. 597-616. Political ideals and ends could be developed in the cults of other "saints", see Winfried Trusen, "Der 'heilige' Roland und das Kaiserrecht," in Festschrift Nikolaus Grass zum 70. Geburtstag, ed. Kurt Ebert (Innsbruck, 1986), pp. 395-406.

Sanctity and the Family.

The definition of sanctity came to utilize more of familial roles in the later middle ages. On the saintliness of mothers, see the essays collected in Anneke Mulder-Bakker (ed.), Sanctity and Motherhood: Essays on Holy Mothers in the Middle Ages (Garland, 1995). The more general religious role of the mother has been considered in Clarissa Atkinson, The Oldest Vocation: Christian Motherhood in the Medieval West (Ithaca, NY, 1993); Jean Delameau (ed.), La religion de ma mère: La rôle des femmes dans la transmission de la foi (Paris, 1992). Widowhood had its own possibilities for saintliness: Isabelle Cochelin, "In secectute bona: pour une typologie de la vieillesse dans l'hagiographie monastique des XIIe et XIIIe siècles," in Les ages de la vie au Moyen age (Cultures et civilisations médiévales, 7; Paris, 1992), pp. 119-38. Children were common recipients of miracles in the later middle ages: see, generally, Michael Goodich, "Il fanciullo come fulcro di miracli e potere spirituale (XIII e XIV secolo)," in Potere carismatici e infomali, ed. A. Paravicini-Bagliani and A. Vauchez (Palermo, 1992), pp. 38-57 and Christian Krötzel, "Christian Parent-Child Relations in Medieval Scandinavia according to Scandinavian Miracle Collections," Scandinavian Journal of History, 14 (1989), pp. 21-37; more specifically on Elizabeth of Thuringia's miraculous interventions in the lives of children, see H. Zielinski, "Elisabeth von Thuringen und der Kinder: zur Geschichte der Kindheit im Mittelalter," in Elisabeth: Die deutsche Orden und Kirche, ed. U. Arnold and H. Liebing (Marburg, 1983), pp. 27-83 and André Vauchez, "Charité et pauvreté chez sainte Elisabeth de Thuringe d'après les actes du procès de canonisation," in Michel Mollat, ed., Études sur l'histoire de la pauvreté

(Paris, 1974), 163-73. Occasional servants were also celebrated, as shown by Michael Goodich, "Ancilla Dei: The Servant as Saint in the Late Middle Ages," in Women of the Medieval World, ed. Julius Kirschner and Suzanne Wemple (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1985), 119-36.

Families often took up devotion to a particular saint, see, for example, John Freed, "Devotion to St. James and Family Identity: The Thurns of Salzburg," Journal of Medieval History, 13 (1987), p. 207-222. One of the most increasingly pervasive forms of saintly patronage was to be found in personal names. Benjamin Kedar, "Noms de saints et mentalité populaire à Gênes au XIV^e siècle," Le Moyen Age, 73 (1967), pp. 431-46, Cristiane Klapisch-Zuber, "The Name 'remade': The Transmission of Given Names in Florence in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," Women, Family, and Ritual in Renaissance Italy (Chicago, 1985), David Herlihy, "Tuscan Names, 1200-1530," Renaissance Quarterly, 41 (1988), pp. 561-82, and Steven Sargent, "Saints' Cults and Naming Patterns in Bavaria, 1400-1600," Catholic Historical Review, 76 (1990), pp. 673-96 all chart a major change in the late middle ages. O. Leys has suggested an earlier change: "La Substitutions de noms chrétiens aux noms préchrétiens en Flandre occidentale avant 1225," Fifth International Congress of Toponymy and Anthonymy (Salamanca, 1958). On the use of patron saints in the naming of boats, see Geneviève and Henri Bresc, "Les saints protecteurs de bateaux, 1200-1460," Ethnologie Française, 9 (1979), pp. 161-77.

Many general histories of the family in the later middle ages have heavily mined the anecdotal evidence provided by collections of miracle stories. See, for example, David Herlihy, Medieval Households (Cambridge, MA, 1985); Cristiane Klapisch-Zuber, Women, Family, and Ritual in Renaissance Florence, trans. Lydia Cochrane (Chicago, 1985); John Boswell, The Kindness of Strangers: The Abandonment of Children in Western Europe from Late Antiquity to the Renaissance (New York, 1988); Shulamith Shahar, Childhood in the Middle Ages (London, 1990); Barbara Hanawalt, Growing Up in Medieval London: The Experience of Childhood in History (Oxford, 1993).

Mysticism.

One of the most common characteristics of the new saints of the late middle ages was visionary or mystical experiences. They often discussed these experiences in works written by their own hand or through an amanuensis, thus producing a considerable body of works by recognized saints on the experiences which garnered their saintly reputation, a genre some scholars have called "autohagiography." The following collections of essays provide a good sense of the state of current scholarship on visions, prophecy, and mysticism in the later middle ages: many contain articles on specific saints or hagiographers: "Parole inspiré" et pouvoir charismatique published as part of Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome, Moyen Age, 98.1 (Rome, 1986); Peter Dinzelbacher and Dieter Bauer (eds.), Religiöse Frauenbewegung und mystische Frömmigkeit im Mittelalter (Cologne: Bohlau Verlag, 1988); André Vauchez (ed.), Les textes prophétiques et la prophétie en Occident (XII^e-XVI^e siècle) (Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome, Moyen Age, 102.2; Rome, 1990); Daniel Bornstein and Roberto Rusconi (eds.), Mistiche e devote nell'Italia tardomedievale (Nuovo Medioevo, 40; Naples, 1992); Ulrike Wiethaus (ed.), Maps of Flesh and Light: The Religious Experience of Medieval Women Mystics (Syracuse, 1993); E. Ann Matter and John Coakley (eds.), Creative Women in Medieval and Early Modern Italy (Philadelphia, 1994); Frances Beer, Women and Mystical Experience in the Middle Ages

(Woodbridge); Potere carismatici e infomali, ed. A. Paravicini-Bagliani and A. Vauchez (Palermo, 1992). Giovanni Poazzi and Claudio Leonardi (eds.), Scrittrici mistiche italiane (Genoa, 1988) provides a useful overview of works written in Italy. For bibliography on works in German, consult Gertrud Jaron Lewis, Bibliographie zur deutschen frauenmystik des Mittelalters. Mit einem Anhang zu Beatrijs van Nazareth und Hadewijch (Bibliographien zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters, 10; Berlin, 1989). For one study of the impact of mysticism on a wider audience, see David Wallace, "Mystics and Followers in Siena and East Anglia: A Study in Taxonomy, Class and Cultural Mediation," The Medieval Mystical Tradition in England, ed. Marion Glasscoe (1984), pp. 169-91.

Failed saints.

In the late medieval and early modern period we begin to find accusations made that people are simulating the devotional practices of sanctity. Such charges were pursued in ecclesiastical courts. The fullest treatment is in the essays collected in Gabriella Zarri (ed.), Falsa santi e simulazione in età moderna (Sacro santo, 7; Turin, 1991); But also see Jacques Dalarun, "La part du faux. Les Bienheureux Andrea et Giovanni, Franciscains de Rimini au XIV siecle," Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome. Moyen age, 102 (1990), pp. 79-129; Anne Schutte, "Per Speculum in Enigmate: Failed Saints, Artists, and Self-Construction of the Female Body in Early Modern Italy," in Creative Women in Medieval and Early Modern Italy, eds. E. Ann Matter and John Coakley (Philadelphia, 1994), pp. 185-201

One could interpret the intrepid English laywoman and autobiographer Margery Kempe as a would-be saint who failed. The bibliography is vast, but recent treatments which touch on her devotional practices at length include: Anthony Goodman, "The Piety of John Brunhman's Daughter, of Lynn," in Medieval Women, ed. Derek Baker (Studies in Church History, Subsidia, 1; Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1978), pp. 347-58; Susan Dickman, "Margery Kempe and the English Devotional Tradition," in The Medieval Mystical Tradition in England, ed. Marion Glasscoe (Exeter, 1980), pp. 156-72; Clarissa Atkinson, The Life and the Book of Margery Kempe (Ithaca, NY); Karma Lochrie, Margery Kempe and Translations of the Flesh (Philadelphia, 1991); Sandra McEntire (ed.), Margery Kempe: A Book of Essays (New York, 1992).

One of the most famous saints of the late middle ages, Joan of Arc, was executed for heresy in the fifteenth century and not canonized until the twentieth. Etienne Delaruelle has provided a sophisticated study of the personal piety of Joan of Arc in "La Spiritualité de Jeanne d'Arc," in idem, La Piété populaire (Turin, 1975), pp. 355-88, as well as the role of saintly intercessors in that piety in "L'Archange Saint Michel dans la spiritualité de Jeanne d'Arc," in La Piété populaire (Turin, 1975), pp. 389-400.

Scholars have recently begun to treat the charges made against witches and heretics as a kind of "anti-sanctity." See, among others, Edith Ennen, "Zuberinnen und fromme Frauen-Ketzerinnen und Hexen," in Peter Segl (ed.), Der Hexenhammer: Entstehung und Umfeld des Malleus maleficarum von 1487 (Cologn, 1988); Dinora Corsi, "Dal sacrificio al maleficio. La donna e il sacro nell'eresia e nella stregoneria," Quaderni medievali, 29 (1990), pp. 8-62; Peter Dinzelsbacher, "Heilige oder Hexen?" in Dieter Simon (ed.), Religiöse Devianz: Untersuchungen

zu sozialen, rechtlichen und theologischen Reaktionen auf religiöse Abweichung im westlichen und östlichen Mittelalter (Frankfurt, 1990); Gabor Klaniczay, "Hungary: The Accusations and the Universe of Popular Magic," in Bengt Ankarloo and Gustav Henningsen (eds.), Early Modern European Witchcraft: Centres and Peripheries (Oxford, 1990), 240 ff.

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A General Bibliography for Research in the History of Medieval Christianity

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Prolegomena: David Knowles, Great Historical Enterprises (London, 1964) provides an extremely interesting and compelling overview of the development of certain of the major collections of medieval documents; Marcel Pacaut, Guide de l'étudiant en histoire médiévale (Paris, 1973) provides a better concise bibliography than anything currently available for purchase in English; Jacques Berlioz, et al., Identifier sources et citations (L'Atelier du médiéviste, 1; Turnhout, 1994) provides an annotated guide to bibliography as well as to individual genres of sources; Louis John Paetow, A Guide to the Study of Medieval History, second revised edition (London, 1932) remains, although necessarily dated, still useful as the most ambitious bibliographical (and implicitly historiographical) synoptic survey of medieval studies ever undertaken; this has been revised and updated by Gray Boyce as Literature of Medieval History, 1930-1975, 5 volumes (Millwood, NY, 1981) in a work that is far more comprehensive and, although less intellectually compelling and extremely frustrating in its organization, quite useful. Also useful is E. V. Crosby, C. J. Bishko, and R. L. Kellogg, Medieval Studies: A Bibliographical Guide (New York: Garland, 1983). For recent periodical literature, see the topical index provided by the International Medieval Bibliography.

1. Major collections of sources (largely narrative).

Patristics, theology, and church history: J. P. Migne (ed.), Patrologiae cursus completus: Series graeca, 176 volumes (Paris, 1857-1876); Patrologiae cursus completus: Series latina, 221 volumes (Paris, 1841-64). More recent editions of many of the works contained in these collections may be found in the following ongoing series: Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum (Vienna); Corpus christianorum, series latina, Corpus christianorum, series graeca, Corpus christianorum, Continuatio mediaevalis (all published in Turnhout); Sources chrétiennes (Paris). Also see Henry Denzinger, Enchiridion symbolorum: definitionum et declarationum de rebus fidei et morum, 34th ed., ed. Schoenenmetzer (Freiburg, 1967) [a short handbook of doctrinal pronouncements].

Bible: the standard version of the Vetus Latina is Pierre Sabatier (ed.), Bibliorum sacrorum latinae versiones antiquae seu Vetus italica, 3 volumes (Reims, 1743-49); this is currently in the process of a modern edition in Vetus latina. Die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel (Beuron, 1951-present); there are numerous editions of the Vulgate, the most recent of which is Nova vulgata Bibliorum Sacrorum editio, cum commentariis (Turnhout, 1986); this is also currently in the course of a modern edition in Biblia sacra iuxta latinam vulgatam versionem (Rome, 1926-present). A standard translation of the Vulgate into English may be found in The Holy Bible: Douay Version (Douay, 1609, with many reeditions and reprints). One standard concordance to the Vulgate is Concordantiarum ss. scripturae manuale (Paris, 1939 and reprints).

Church councils and canon law: Philippe Labbe and Gabriel Cossart (eds.), Sacrosancta concilia, 17 volumes in 18 (Paris, 1671-73); revised edition by N. Coleti, 23 volumes (Venice, 1728-33); Giovanni Mansi (ed.), Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio, 31 vols. (Florence and Venice, 1759-98); revised edition of the latter by J.-B. Martin and L. Petit, 53 vols. in 60 (Paris, 1899-27; reprint, Graz, 1960-

62); Erich Caspar (ed.), Corpus Iuris Canonici, 1: Decretum Magistri Gratiani (Leipzig, 1879); Emil Friedberg (ed.), Corpus Iuris Canonici, 2: Decretales Gregorii IX (Leipzig, 1881).

Hagiography: Sanctuarium, seu Vitae sanctorum, ed. Boninus Mombritius (Bonino Mombrizio), 2 vols. (Milan, ca. 1477; reprint edition, Paris, 1910); Acta sanctorum ordinis sancti Benedicti, ed. Luc d'Achéry and Jean Mabillon, first edition, 9 vols. (Paris, 1668-1701); Acta Sanctorum quotquot toto orbe coluntur, eds. Jean Bolland, Daniel Papenbroeck, et al., first edition (Antwerp and Brussels, 1643-present); De probatis sanctorum historiis ed. Laurentius Surius [Laurence Suhr], 6 vols. and index (first edition, Cologne, 1570-75; second edition, 1576-1581; third edition, Venice, 1581; fourth edition in 12 volumes, Cologne, 1618; fifth edition in 13 volumes [Historiae seu Vitae sanctorum . . .], Marieta, 1875-1880).

Italy: Italia sacra, sive De episcopis Italiae ad insularum adjacentium, ed. Ferdinando Ughelli, 9 vols. (Rome, 1644-62; revised edition in 10 volumes, Venice, 1717-22; reprint, 1970); Ludovico Muratori, et al. (eds.), Rerum italicarum scriptores ab anno aerae christianae quingentesimo ad millesimum quingentesimum, 25 vols. in 28 (Milan, 1723-1751); G. Carducci and V. Fiorini, Rerum italicarum scriptores. Raccolta degli storici italiani dal cinquecento al millecinquecento [revised edition of previous known as the "New Muratori"] (Città di Castello and Bologna, 1900-present); Fonti per storia d'Italia (Rome, 1887-present); Regesta chartarum Italiae, 32 volumes (Rome, 1907-present).

Iberia: España sagrada, eds. Enrique Florez, et al., 58 vols. (Madrid, 1747-1954); Portugaliae Monumenta historica a saeculo octavo post Christum usque ad quintum decimum, 6 volumes (Lisbon, 1856-97).

France: Gallia christiana, second edition, 16 volumes (Paris, 1715-1785); Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France, ed. M. Bouquet et al., 24 volumes (Paris, 1738-1833; reedition, 1896-1904). Also texts published in Chartes et diplômes relatifs à l'Histoire de France; Collection des documents inédits relatifs à l'Histoire de France; Classiques de l'Histoire de France au Moyen Age.

Germany and Empire: Monumenta Germaniae historica (Hannover and Berlin, 1826-present).

England: Rerum britannicarum medii aevi scriptores (Rolls Series), 99 volumes in 253 (London, 1858-1896). Also texts published by the Camden Society, the Early English Text Society, Nelson's Medieval Texts, and Oxford Medieval Texts.

Byzantium and the east: Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae, 50 volumes (Bonn, 1828-97); Corpus fontium historiae byzantinae (Washington and Berlin, 1967-present); Recueil des historiens des Croisades: Historiens occidentaux, 5 vols. (Paris, 1841-95).

2. Guides to sources.

General: A. Potthast, Bibliotheca historica medii aevi. Wegweiser durch die Geschichtswerke des europäischen Mittelalters bis 1500 (Berlin, 1862; new edition in 2 volumes, Graz, 1954); Repertorium fontium historiae medii aevi, 5 volumes to date (Rome, 1962-present) [known as the "new Potthast"]; Max Manitius, Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters, 3 volumes (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, IX, 2; Munich, 1911-31); Franz Brunhölzl, Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters, 2 volumes to date (Munich, 1975-present) [a French translation is also underway]; János Bak, Medieval Narrative Sources: A Chronological Guide (New York, 1987); Thesaurus linguae Latinae . . . Index librorum, scriptorum, inscriptionum ex quibus exempla afferuntur, fifth edition (Leipzig, 1990); Raoul van Caenegem, Introduction aux sources de l'histoire médiévale (Turnhout: Brepols, 1995). And now see the extremely useful advice and bibliographies provided in Jacques Berlioz, et al. (eds.),

Identifier sources et citations (L'atelier du médiéviste, 1; Turnhout, 1994) [organized into chapters by type of source].

Patristic: Eligius Dekkers, Clavis patrum latinorum, second edition (Steenbrugge, 1961) and M. Geerard, Clavis patrum graecorum (Turnhout, 1974-83). See also J. Machielsen (ed.), Clavis patristica pseudepigraphorum medii aevi, I: Homiletica, 2 vols. (Turnhout: Brepols, 1990) and Clavis patristica pseudepigraphorum medii aevi, II: Theologica, exegetica, ascetica, monastica, 2 vols. (Turnhout: Brepols, 1994).

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