The image of the Nativity declined in popularity from the 16th century onward. As the figure of Anne was not mentioned in any of the official NT Gospels, in combination with her humane character and the fact that she was especially loved among the lower social classes in Germany, the story of the Nativity was combatted by church reformers, predominantly Martin Luther. He promoted a return to the truthfulness of the pure Gospel texts, combatting visual interpretations of the miraculous – and popularized – apocryphal texts.

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Lieke Wijnia

See also → Anne (Mother of Mary); → Immaculate Conception; → James, Protevangelium of; → Joachim (Father of Mary); → Mary (Mother of Jesus)

Mary (Mother of Jesus)

I. New Testament

1. Introduction. Mary has a prominent position in the gospels on account of her unique status as the mother of Jesus but each gospel contains different traditions about her role. Mary is portrayed positively in the birth narratives of Matt and Luke but Mark includes the mother of Jesus and Jesus' brothers and sisters among those who do not understand Jesus' mission. In John's Gospel Mary is present at Jesus' first sign at the Wedding at Cana and she is also present at the Crucifixion. In this article we will examine the key features of the distinctive portrait of Mary in the gospels.

2. The Portrayal of Mary in the Birth Narratives. ***a. The Gospel of Matthew.*** In Matt, Mary is betrothed to Joseph when she finds out that she is with child from the Holy Spirit. Matthew does not describe the emotions of Mary but focuses on the actions of Joseph. Joseph wishes to send Mary away because he believes that she has been unfaithful to him. Matthew highlights the precarious situation of Mary in the patriarchal society of the first century since she would have no husband to support herself or her child. God, however, intervenes through the appearance of an angel to Joseph in a dream. Matthew portrays Mary as the one through whom God's purposes are fulfilled. He employs a quotation from Isa to support his view that Jesus is born of a virgin (7:14 LXX). This prophecy points to the high Christology of the gospel since Jesus is given the name "Emmanuel" which is translated as "God is with us" (1:23).

Matthew presents Mary and Joseph as an ordinary couple who are caught up in political events. Wise men bring Jesus gifts of gold, frankincense, and myrrh which correspond to his royal identity. Matthew's account of Herod's plot to kill Jesus and Herod's slaughter of the children emphasizes the danger faced by Mary and her son. Mary, Joseph, and Jesus become refugees who flee at night to Egypt. The account of Jesus' birth recalls the story of the birth of Moses in Exod 2:1–10. Pharaoh ordered the deaths of the Israelite children, and Moses was protected by Pharaoh's daughter. In Matt and in Exod women have prominent roles in caring for future leaders. Matthew repeatedly refers to "the child and his mother" which highlights the role of Mary as the care-giver of Jesus (2:11, 13, 14, 20, 21) and emphasizes the close relationship between Mary and Jesus.

b. The Gospel of Luke. In Luke's Gospel the angel Gabriel appears to Mary, and announces that she will give birth to a son who will be called the "Son of the Most High" (1:32). Mary is a model of faith who describes herself as "the servant of the Lord" (1:26–38). Luke's account of Mary's song of praise (1:46–55) is reminiscent of the song of Hannah (1 Sam 2:1–10). In both passages God brings down the powerful and raises the lowly. In Luke's Gospel Mary aligns herself with the lowly, and she interprets God's choice of herself to be the mother of Jesus as a characteristic of the reversal of status in human beings which God brings about. Mary's song of praise is a prophetic speech but it takes place within the private setting of the home during her visit to Elizabeth. Mary's speech, however, becomes public when it is read aloud as part of the gospel in the public setting of the church.

In Luke's Gospel Mary and Joseph go to Bethlehem to take part in a census. Luke draws attention to the poverty of Mary and Joseph since there is no room for them in an inn. Mary places Jesus in a manger, and Jesus is visited by shepherds rather than by wise men. Matthew gives no indication of Mary's inner thoughts whereas Luke makes several references to Mary's inner reflections on the events which surround Jesus' birth. After the visit of the shepherds Luke states that Mary treasured their words and reflected on them in her heart (2:19). The inner experience of Mary is highlighted in the prophecy of Simeon who predicts that a sword would pierce her soul (2:35). In a later passage Mary and Joseph search for Jesus and find him in the

Temple debating with religious teachers. In this account Luke also mentions that Mary treasured these events in her heart (2:51).

3. The Portrayal of Mary in Mark's Gospel. Mark gives an account of the attempt of Jesus' mother, brothers, and sisters to take Jesus from his mission (3:20–35). He places the account of the visit of Jesus' family around an account of a dispute between Jesus and hostile scribes from Jerusalem (3:22–30). Mark is probably responsible for this structure since the literary technique of intercalation is a characteristic feature of his gospel (5:21–43; 11:12–25; 14:1–11), and vv. 20–21 run smoothly into vv. 31–35. Mark employs this literary technique to align the misunderstanding of Jesus' family with the opposition of the scribes. Mark's portrayal of Jesus' mother, however, differs from the presentation of the scribes. She acts out of concern for Jesus since people were saying that he was out of his mind. On the other hand the scribes say that Jesus is possessed by Beelzebul and that he casts out demons through the power of demons. Mary and Jesus' family do not appear again in the gospel but the opposition of the scribes increases (Miller: 40). Mark juxtaposes Jesus' mother, brothers and sisters who wait outside the house with the crowd who sit inside the house. Jesus identifies the members of the crowd who listen to his teaching as his mother, brother, and sister (3:33–35).

Mark's account of the lack of understanding of Jesus' family may have a historical basis since it is unlikely that early Christians would have created a negative portrayal of Jesus' mother and his family. Matthew and Luke both tone down the negative portrayal of Mary and Jesus' family (Matt 12:46–50; Luke 8:19–21). They do not include Mark's structure of intercalation which associates Mary, Jesus' brothers, and sisters with the opposition of the scribes. In Luke's account, moreover, Mary and his brothers wish to reach Jesus but they are prevented from doing so by the crowd. There is some evidence that Mary and Jesus' family do become disciples at a later stage of his mission. Jesus' mother and brothers are present with the disciples in Jerusalem after the Crucifixion (Acts 1:14), and Jesus' brother James becomes a leader of the church in Jerusalem.

4. The Mother of Jesus in John's Gospel. Mary is not named in John's Gospel, and the omission of her name emphasizes her role as the mother of Jesus. She appears at the wedding at Cana at the beginning of the gospel (2:1–12) and she is present at the Crucifixion of Jesus (19:25–27). The prominence of Mary is highlighted since the two passages in which she appears frame Jesus' mission. Mary brings the lack of wine to Jesus' attention at the wedding at Cana but Jesus replies, "Woman, what has this to do with you and me? My hour has not yet come" (2:4). Jesus is reluctant to intervene because he seeks to follow God's timing for his mission. Jesus alludes to the "hour" of his Passion (cf. 12:27–28). Mary, however, remains faithful that Jesus will alleviate the situation, and she instructs the servants to do whatever Jesus tells them. Mary is depicted as a figure of authority since she instructs the servants in a household which is not her own. Mary places her trust in Jesus, and he transforms water into abundant wine.

In this account Jesus' address "woman" to his mother is very unusual. John's use of the term "woman" recalls the identification of Eve as the "woman" in Genesis (2:23). It is possible that John portrays Mary as Eve (Brown 1978: 189–90). John looks back to the presence of Eve and Adam in the Garden of Eden before the Fall. In apocalyptic traditions the end-time is often envisaged in terms of the creation account in Genesis. In John's Gospel Jesus has come to bring eternal life and to inaugurate the new creation. Jesus' act of transforming water into wine looks forward to the fruitfulness of the new creation (cf. Amos 9:13–14). In this narrative John suggests that the new age is linked to the hour of Jesus' death. Mary prompts Jesus to carry out his first sign which reveals his glory and leads to the faith of his disciples (2:11).

At the end of the gospel the mother of Jesus and the Beloved Disciple are witnesses to the Crucifixion. Jesus announces to his mother, "Woman, here is your son" and he tells his Beloved Disciple, "Here is your mother" (19:26–27). The Beloved Disciple is a representative of all disciples, and the mother of Jesus is portrayed as "mother" to the disciples. This passage suggest that the mother of Jesus is presented as "mother Zion" who is promised numerous children (Isa 54:1–3; 61:7–13). In John's Gospel Mary becomes mother to the new eschatological community of disciples which is formed at the cross.

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Susan Miller

II. Christianity

▪ Greek and Latin Patristics ▪ Orthodox Churches ▪ Medieval Times and Reformation Era ▪ Modern Europe and America ▪ New Christian Churches and Movements ▪ World Christianity

A. Greek and Latin Patristics

The church fathers of the earliest Christian centuries are surprisingly reticent regarding Mary the mother of Jesus. "Orthodox" Christian writers of the first four centuries in fact have little to say about her, generally considering her only in relation

to her son's birth or as a model of female virginity, and there is almost no evidence of Marian cult. Then, toward the middle of the 5th century, things change suddenly: as Brian Daley writes, at this time "the figure of Mary emerged like a comet in Christian devotion and liturgical celebration throughout the world" (Daley: 6). Scholars of late ancient Christianity have often struggled to comprehend this dramatic explosion of Marian piety, in view of the relative silence by most early church fathers. Generally, it has been assumed on this basis that the ancient church in fact knew no Marian devotion. Veneration of the mother of Jesus was instead strictly a medieval development, sparked by the sudden "discovery" of the title Theotokos, "the one who gave birth to God," in the debates of the Third Ecumenical Council of Ephesus (431). Thus, Marian piety is regularly pronounced to be a direct consequence of this council that had no real history prior to the emergence of debates about the relation between Christ's humanity and divinity. Yet despite the repetition of this hypothesis, it is demonstrably false.

It is true that for the 1st century or so after her death, early Christian writers afford virtually no evidence of any devotion to Mary, although, it should be noted, in this period there is effectively no evidence of Christian devotion to any other figure besides Jesus. By the middle of the 2nd century, however, writers such as Justin Martyr (ca. 100–165) and Irenaeus of Lyons (d. 202) began to develop the theme of Mary as the New Eve, whose chastity and obedience undid the original Eve's primordial immorality and disobedience (Justin, *Dial.* 100; Irenaeus, *Haer.* 3.22.4). Accordingly, as these two writers illustrate, by the later 2nd century Christians were already beginning to conceive of Mary as a figure who plays a role in her own right within the drama of human salvation, albeit in a fashion that powerfully reinscribes patriarchal ideas of female virtue as chaste and submissive. Indeed, Irenaeus describes her as "the cause of salvation" who "rescues" the human race from its bondage to death. Through her obedience, he explains, Mary makes possible not only her own salvation but also that of all of God's creation. One should also note from this period the *Protevangelium of James*, which, although not a "patristic" text to be sure, provides some of the most important evidence for early devotion to Mary in this period (albeit in the absence of any cult) (see below "VI. Literature").

During the 3rd century, interest in Mary among the church fathers is surprisingly limited. Tertullian (ca. 160–225), for instance, also adopts the Mary-Eve typology, although he denies Mary's virginity *in partu*, that is, the persistence of her virginity in the process of giving birth. Moreover, according to Tertullian, Mary conceived and bore other children with Joseph, a point on which he stands at odds with most other patristic writers (Tertullian, *Carn. Chr.* 7, 17, 20, 23.2; *Mon.* 8.2). In Alexandria, for instance, both Clement of Alexandria (ca. 150–215; *Strom.* 7.16) and Origen of Alexandria (184/185–253/254) seem to maintain her persistence in virginity and chastity, and it would appear that Origen was probably the first writer to call Mary by the title Theotokos (Shoemaker: 66–68).

During the 4th century, Mary comes much more into focus, and the doctrine of her Divine Maternity comes evermore to the fore. Both Peter of Alexandria (bishop ca. 300–311) and Alexander of Alexandria (bishop ca. 312–328) called Mary the Theotokos in their writings from the beginning of the 4th century (Peter, *On Easter to Tricenius*; Alexander, *Letter to Alexander of Thessalonica*). Athanasius (ca. 296–373) was the first Church Father to use this term with regularity, and in doing so it seems that he sought to channel the force of popular devotion to his cause: as others have noted, the title Theotokos first came into widespread use in the context of devotion and worship rather than theological speculation and dispute (Shoemaker: 166–67). Following them, the Cappadocian fathers, Basil the Great (ca. 330–379), Gregory of Nazianzus (ca. 329–390), and Gregory of Nyssa (ca. 335–395), as well as Ephrem the Syrian (ca. 306–373) continued to place strong emphasis on Mary's Divine Maternity and her role as Theotokos (Shoemaker: 167–68). Moreover, at this time Mary was also increasingly held forth as the ideal model of Christian virginity, beginning, it would seem, with both Alexander of Alexandria and Athanasius (Shoemaker: 169), while in the west, Ambrose of Milan (ca. 340–397) would emerge as the champion of Mary as the perpetually virgin model for other virgins (*Virg.* 2.6–16; *Instit.*). Nevertheless, John Chrysostom (ca. 347–407) took a decidedly lower view of Jesus' mother, and did not hesitate to identify flaws in Mary's character, occasionally pointing to her ignorance and selfishness as moral examples for his congregations (*Hom. Jo.* 21.2; *Hom. Matt.* 4.4).

Many of these same 4th-century writers also provide the earliest patristic evidence for the beginnings of the cult of the Virgin, particularly in the guise of Marian intercessions and apparitions. Gregory of Nazianzus, for instance, records the first evidence of Marian intercession in patristic literature, while Gregory of Nyssa reports the first Marian apparition (Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oration 24*, 9–11; Gregory of Nyssa, *Life of Gregory the Thaumaturge*). Likewise, Severian of Gabala, a contemporary of Chrysostom, advocates intercessory prayer to the Virgin on multiple occasions in his writings (*Homily 6 on the Creation of the World* 10; *Homily on the Legislator* 7). Likewise, toward the end of this century and into the opening decades of the fifth, we find the first clear evidence of Marian cultic shrines and liturgical feasts, particularly in Jerusalem and Constantinople and possibly in Alexandria as well. In-

deed, Mary's veneration had already established itself significantly within the imperial capital in advance of Nestorius' arrival there, as the homilies of Proclus of Constantinople (d. 446/7) demonstrate rather clearly (Shoemaker: 208–10, 218–24). Thus, rather than the controversies over Nestorius serving as the impetus for Marian piety, as is generally maintained, Marian piety, it would seem, should instead be understood as a catalyst for the controversies over Nestorius.

Even if there can now be little question that the cult of the Virgin was already in place prior to the Council of Ephesus in many of the Roman Empire's major urban centers, it is nevertheless true that Marian piety received a substantial boost from the Third Council's decisions. What happened at Ephesus, to be sure, was not the beginning of the cult of the Virgin. Nevertheless, in its wake the Empire and the Imperial Church would increasingly embrace and promote an already existing devotion to the Virgin. These political developments, it would appear, bear the primary responsibility for the explosion of Marian piety that ensued across the Roman Empire in the middle of the 5th century. And this merger, the fusion of Marian piety with the Christian Empire and its Church, would dramatically transform the Virgin Mary's image and her veneration so that she quickly emerged as the patroness of the Roman (or Byzantine) Empire and its capital Constantinople.

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Stephen Shoemaker

B. Orthodox Churches

In the theological tradition of the Orthodox Churches, Mary is praised as the most exalted being in creation: according to a frequently sung hymn, she is "more honourable than the cherubim and incomparably more glorious than the seraphim" – her glory surpasses that of even the highest angelic ranks. The dogmatic basis for this veneration stems from her role as the *Theotokos*, the mother of God in his humanity, and the patristic idea of her womb being a workshop for the incarnation: in other words, her role is delineated by Christology (see "A. Greek and Latin Patristics"). On the other hand, her deliberate choice in living an exceptionally holy life makes her an object of imitation since she is seen as a peer to the rest of humanity and, especially in folk spirituality, easily approachable. The liturgical texts often call her προστασία, which could be translated as "protection," referring to her as the defender.

Despite Mary's prominent role in Orthodox spirituality, the Orthodox Church has a limited number of explicit dogmatic statements about her, but relies instead (as it does with many other dogmatic questions) on the combined experience and tradition of scriptural, patristic, hagiographic, liturgical, and apocryphal material to trace the contours of its teachings: the most important examples of the latter group are the *Protevangelium of James* and various later narratives on the Dormition of Mary (see "VI. Literature"). The title *Theotokos*, "Birth-giver of God," a term reappropriated by the Council of Ephesus in 431, is the most common liturgical and theological name used when speaking of her. Another prominent epithet, "Ever-Virgin," was confirmed in the Fifth Ecumenical Council of Constantinople in 553. Her role was further emphasized in the iconoclast controversies in the 8th and 9th centuries, resulting not only in numerous new hymns and homilies composed in her honor, but also in new narratives on her life (the so-called *Lives of the Virgin*; see "VI. Literature"). It also became (and continues to be) common to dedicate monasteries and churches to her name, perhaps most notably in the dedication of numerous monastic dwellings on the important monastic peninsula of Mount Athos. The inextricable connection between her and Mount Athos was further strengthened in the legendary accounts of her visit to the peninsula, after which it became popularly known as the "Garden of the Most-Holy" (Περιβόλι τῆς Παναγίας). Her life, in conjunction with Athonite spirituality, is presented as an ascetic ideal in the 14th-century hesychastic theology of Gregory Palamas.

Relatively recent developments in the Roman Catholic Church's teachings on Mary, including the establishment of the doctrines of the Immaculate Conception (1854) and the Assumption (1950), have encountered objection from several Orthodox clerics and theologians, and as a result stimulated further Orthodox theological reflection regarding the Mother of God. The former idea is rejected because the Orthodox Church does not accept the Catholic formulation of the doctrine of original sin, which is the precipitating factor in the perceived need for the Immaculate Conception. No-one inherits the legal burden of Adam and Eve's sin: instead, the inherited state of sinfulness stems from being born into a fallen world, with an inclination towards corruption, an inheritance which Mary shares with everyone else. However, her dedication to live in synergy with God's will lead to her sanctification through God's grace, and not because of any exceptional natural state: this is the reason she is also revered as an ascetic par excellence, thanks to her "monastic"

training in the temple of Jerusalem before the incarnation, as the apocryphal tradition states. The doctrine of Mary's Assumption, especially in the interpretation according to which Mary would not have experienced bodily death, is likewise problematic. The Orthodox Church emphasizes that Mary experienced bodily death (called "dormition" instead of "assumption"), but that her body was removed from the tomb on the third day after her repose: in the liturgical tradition, this resurrection is called μετάστασις ("transposition") as opposed to ἀνάστασις, used for Christ's resurrection. The Orthodox Church has not seen it necessary to make exact definitions of Mary's μετάστασις; this is also because none of the apocryphal narratives is considered an authority per se.

The *Theotokos* holds an important position in the liturgical tradition, and she is invoked in prayers both liturgically and in everyday spirituality. Her life events are commemorated as a part of the cycle of the so-called twelve great feasts, in harmony with the ecclesiastical year. The events celebrated, either as explicitly Marian feasts or in conjunction with Christ's life, are her birth (September 8), her entrance into the temple of Jerusalem (November 21), the Nativity of Christ (December 25; a special commemoration called *Synaxis of Mary* is celebrated on the following day), the Presentation of Christ in the Temple (February 2), the Annunciation (March 25), and the Dormition (August 15). In addition to this, there are some minor celebrations, such as the feasts of her "relics": the belt (August 31) and veil (July 2, the object itself lost in our days), and her protection (October 1, although moved in the Churches of Greece and Cyprus to October 28). She is also commemorated weekly on Wednesdays and Fridays. The greatest of these celebrations is the Dormition, which is preceded by a two-week fasting period, and called also in the folk tradition the "Summer Pascha." It is a bank holiday in several Orthodox countries. In some local traditions, a deliberate liturgical parallel to Christ's Passion is made, and this festal variant (originating in Jerusalem) is celebrated with a special burial service and shroud (ἐπιτάφιος) – some local church authorities have gone so far as to ban the use of this office in order to maintain a liturgical differentiation between Christ's ἀνάστασις and Mary's μετάστασις.

Each of the feasts is adorned by a rich tradition of hymnography: in the liturgical rubrics, patristic sermons are also assigned to each feast day. However, the custom of reading these sermons is not followed in contemporary liturgical practice apart from in some monastic communities, including Mount Athos. The narratives of the feasts, and their liturgical texts, in particular, are inspired by various apocryphal sources. In addition to the Marian-themed feasts, most sets of hymns from the daily office during the rest of the year conclude with a stanza called θεοτοκίον or, on fasting days, σταυροθεοτοκίον. The former is usually a prayer to Mary or a short exposition of Chalcedonian Christology, while the latter depicts her sorrow at Christ's Crucifixion. The Ἀκάθιστος, an extensive Marian hymn from probably the 5th or 6th century, enjoys popularity and is recited daily by many believers, especially monastics. It forms an important part of the pre-Paschal period of Great Lent, especially in the Greek-speaking world, where it is recited in four parts on Friday evenings. Supplicatory services (Παράκλησις) are sung to her, again most prominently among the Greek-speaking Orthodox: they form an important part of the pre-Dormition celebrations.

A distinguishing feature of Orthodox spirituality is Mary's prominent position in iconography (see "VII. Visual Arts"). There are numerous local types of Marian depictions, and some of these are considered miracle-working (it is noteworthy that the majority of miracle-working icons depict the Virgin): every monastery in Mount Athos has at least one miracle-working Marian icon. In contrast, contemporary apparitions of Mary do not enjoy the same prominence as in the Roman Catholic tradition, even though there are some important exceptions: such is her apparition as the protector of the Greek army on the Albanian front in the war of 1940.

Indeed, Mary has also been seen throughout the history as a state protector, most notably as the protector of Constantinople (which is still reflected in hymnographic material and especially the feast of Protection on October 1); but after the fall of the Queen of Cities, she has appeared in new roles – the Greek and Cypriot custom of celebrating the feast of her Protection in conjunction with *Oxi* Day on October 28, commemorating the prime minister Metaxas' resistance to Mussolini's ultimatum in 1940, is reminiscent of this tradition. A similar tradition exists today in Ukraine, where October 1 has become a national holiday in which the armed forces are celebrated. This is a continuation of older Cossack traditions of identifying Mary's protection with military protection.

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C. Medieval Times and Reformation Era

Most modern accounts of devotion to the Virgin Mary begin with a disclaimer about how little is said about her in scripture, pointing only to the gospels (Matt 1:18–2:23; 12:46–50; Mark 3:31–35; 6:3;

Luke 1:26–2:52; John 2:1–12; 19:17–30), Acts 1:14, and Gal 4:4 as evidence for her place in Christian theology and devotion. According to medieval Christians, by contrast, Mary, like Christ, was everywhere in scripture – from Gen 1:1 to Rev 22:21, but above all in the books of the Old Testament associated with Wisdom (Proverbs, the Song of Songs, Ecclesiasticus, and the Wisdom of Solomon). As one 13th-century preacher on the *Salve Regina* put it: "Not only heaven and earth [Gen 1:1] but also other names and words of things fittingly designate the Lady … Indeed … all scripture was written concerning her and about her and because of her, and for her the whole world was made, she who is full of the grace of God [Rev 22:21] and through whom man has been redeemed, the Word of God made flesh, God humbled and man sublimed" (Fulton Brown 2017: 76). Light, heaven, sun, moon, morning star, rainbow, cloud, river, fountain, earth, paradise, valley, mountain, cedar, cypress, palm tree, rosebush, olive tree, plane tree, book, mirror, vessel of gold, city, castle, wall, tower, house of God, bridal chamber, throne, litter, ship, ark of Noah, tabernacle, temple, Holy of Holies, ark of the covenant, candelabra, mother, virgin, lady, sister, bride, daughter, queen: all were read as figures and titles of Mary through which her role as Mother of God might be discerned. Commentators on the Ave Maria including Richard of Saint-Laurent (d. ca. 1250), Conrad of Saxony (d. 1279), and Servasanctus of Faenza (d. ca. 1300) compiled vast catalogues of the names of Mary they discovered in scripture, while the author of the *Biblia Mariana* attributed to Albertus Magnus (d. 1280) found references to her in almost every book of the Old Testament as well the Gospels and Revelation.

The majority of these references came to the Latin West through the liturgies for Mary's feasts adopted from the East (Purification, Annunciation, Assumption, Nativity, and Conception). Preaching on the feast of the Virgin kept on December 26 (*Synaxis of Mary*) in AD 430, Proclus of Constantinople (d. 446) invoked a great cascade of titles taken from the scriptures with no indication that he considered them in any way novel. Mary was "the bridal chamber in which the Word took the flesh in marriage [Ps 18:6], the living bush of human nature, which the fire of a divine birth-pang did not consume [Exod 3:2], [and] the veritable swift cloud who carried in her body the one who rides upon the cherubim [Isa 19:1]." "O temple," Proclus apostrophized her, "in which God became a priest, not by changing his nature, but by his mercy clothing himself with him who was 'according to the order of Melchizedek'!" [Ps 109:4 LXX; Heb 6:20; 7:11] (Constas: 136–39). The Eastern observances arrived in the West with the Greek and Syrian popes of the 7th and 8th centuries along with the tradition of naming Mary through the figures found in the Old Testament (ark, tabernacle, temple, throne, city). By the 9th century, antiphoners for the Franko-Gregorian office included the psalms that would become standard for Matins on both her feast days and in her Hours (8, 18, 23; 44, 45, 86; 95, 96, and 97, Vulgate numbering) as well as antiphons and lessons taken from Ecclesiasticus and the Song of Songs. These texts were used throughout the Middle Ages to define Mary, the Mother of God, as the bride in whom the Lord (*Dominus*) of the psalms – identified as Christ – made his dwelling (Eccl 24:12–16).

The Protestant reformers would criticize this tradition of seeing Mary through all the creatures of creation as a way of elevating her above God or making her divine (a goddess) herself. For medieval Christians in both East and West, Mary was the creature who had been elevated above all other creatures, including the angels, not so as to rival God, but to make God visible to the world by giving birth to him in the flesh. Mary was the one, as one antiphon for her Office put it, who "destroyed all heresies in the world" because it was she who stood between the two testaments, mediating between the prophecies and signs pointing to the coming of the Savior and their fulfillment at his birth. "They that explain me shall have life everlasting," Wisdom says (Eccl 24:31). Medieval commentators read this promise as an injunction to explain Mary, the Mother of Wisdom, so that through her Wisdom might be revealed. This same understanding of Mary as mediating between affect and intellect encouraged the devotional practice of reciting the Ave Maria as a proxy for saying whole psalters in her praise, while commentators on the Song of Songs read Solomon's love song as the story (*historia*) of Christ's and Mary's love. Preachers on her feast days highlighted the way in which she had been prepared as a house for Wisdom (Prov 9:1) in both body and soul, her body pure in its virginity, her mind the most perfect mirror of God (Wis 7:26). Mary, from this perspective, was understood to have been filled not simply with grace, but with all the knowledge of creation, her mind lifted up in contemplation even as her body was filled with God (Col 2:9).

Under pressure from the reformers, by the later 16th century even Catholic preachers had shifted their emphasis on Mary away from the mystery of her creaturely role as temple of God to a more spiritualized understanding of her motherhood as a model for the soul. While the reformers like Martin Luther (d. 1546) sought to sheer Marian devotion of its papal and monastic "excess" by preaching only on the gospel passages in which she appears, reforming Catholic preachers concentrated more on the purity of her soul, particularly her humility as against the pride of Eve, and less on the reasons that the medieval preachers had given for why Mary

should have been elevated above the angels. The older tradition of seeing Mary through the figures of the Old Testament persisted doctrinally but its sense of glory faded, so much so that by the 18th century it had become the occasion for ridicule, and by the 19th century almost completely forgotten. Whereas for many modern Christians, particularly Protestants, Mary seems at best a puzzle, at worst a hindrance to understanding God, to medieval Christians, she was the key, as central to the relationship between the Old and New Testaments as her Son. As Mother of the Word, or so her medieval devotees saw her, she was the *magistra* of grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic who taught them how to read the scriptures, the one in whom the Word had become flesh and thereby become visible to the world. All of scripture was contained in her name – Maria – because she had contained him whom the earth and heavens could not contain in her womb. It was inconceivable that the scriptures could make sense without Mary, the Mother of the Lord. She, after all, was the one who had crowned him with his crown on the day of his espousals (Song 3:11) when she gave her assent to the angel: "Let it be to me according to your word" (Luke 1:38).

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Rachel Fulton Brown

D. Modern Europe and America

In the modern period, although one hesitates to generalize about something as diverse as modern Roman Catholicism, there has been a tendency in much Catholic scholarship to maximize the somewhat limited evidence for early interest in Mary. One of the most common solutions to this problem is to find ways of reading modern Mariological dogmas back into the writings of the New Testament. Such an approach finds passages from New Testament that seem reminiscent of modern Catholic doctrines, and despite the clear absence of such beliefs from early Christian literature when read on its own terms and the obvious contextual difficulties of these readings, on this basis it is often alleged that the Marian dogmas of modern Catholicism also belonged to the ancient church. While such an interpretive move is perhaps entirely appropriate within the context of Catholic dogmatics, where confidence in the eternal truth of the Church's teaching effectively requires such readings of the early evidence, these apologetic exercises fail to shed any historical light on Mary's status in earliest Christianity.

On the Protestant side, other than general neglect the tendency has been to emphasize the dearth of evidence and on this basis to refuse the existence of any significant interest in or devotion to the Virgin prior to the middle of the 5th century: the Council of Ephesus is thus often adduced as the sole and sufficient cause for what amounts to an essentially medieval cult of the Virgin. In this way the early church can be made into a largely Mary-free zone well suited to Protestantism's rejection of the elaborate and intense devotion to Mary that characterizes its parent faith. Happily, however, it would appear as if this gap may be beginning to narrow, as recent decades have seen some renewed Protestant interest in Mary, no doubt much of it inspired by broader academic and theological concerns with women's history and gender. Moreover, many mainline Protestant theologians have begun to grapple with the fact that their acceptance of the first four ecumenical councils makes Marian devotion somewhat difficult to ignore completely, while Catholic scholarship has shown an increasing willingness to embrace historical critical scholarship of the Bible, particularly since the Second Vatican Council.

No less problematic, however, is a sort of "post-Protestant" impulse evident in many modern studies that seek to discover an explanation for Christian interest in Mary by locating its genesis primarily in some larger cultural influence extraneous to the Christian tradition. Numerous studies have been published that would purport to explain Christian devotion to the Virgin Mary as the result of some foreign impulse that intruded the Christian faith or else as something fully comprehensible only in light of some modern intellectual discourse that reveals the peculiar logic underlying this reverence for Mary. Whether it be ancient goddess traditions, psychoanalysis, the "eternal feminine," or the anthropology of sacrifice, such approaches seem to insist that something else – other than the Christian tradition itself – must explain why and how the early Christians turned to Mary in prayer and veneration. Indeed, works taking such an approach are often among those most cited studies by non-spe-

cialists, particularly because they appear to operate outside of the confessional interests that govern other more theologically oriented works. Nevertheless, it is hard not to see such approaches as a kind of extension of the more avowedly Protestant view of Marian devotion as something grafted on the Christian tradition only rather late in the game. In them, Marian piety is effectively made out to be something so exotic, so discordant with fabric of the Christian faith that external influences must be identified in order to comprehend its very existence. (For further information see "Mary, Nativity of I. Christianity C. Modern Europe and America.")

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Stephen J. Shoemaker

E. New Christian Churches and Movements

Marian apparitions, whether private or public, have had a huge impact at personal, local, national, and global levels for centuries. However, few apparitions, compared to reported sightings, are officially approved by the Church. The authentic, or approved cases of Marian apparitions include, but are not exclusive to, Our Lady of Guadalupe in 1531; the Blessed Virgin Mary in Šiluva in Lithuania in 1608; the Blessed Virgin Mary at Lourdes, France, in 1858; and Our Lady of Good Help in Champion, Wisconsin (USA) in 1859. Other approved apparitions include Knock, Ireland, in 1879; and Our Lady of Fatima in Portugal in 1917 where the Virgin famously appeared to three children. In terms of Catholic doctrine, even after ecclesiastical authorities "have approved such apparitions and they are proposed by the Church as worthy of pious belief, they are not the formal object of divine Catholic faith which, as a theological virtue, can terminate only in the authority of the revealing word of God" (Jelly: 44).

In some, but not all, Protestant discourses, apparitions are treated as suspect. This is fueled by biblical accounts (2 Cor 11:14–15) whereby Satan and his demons can masquerade as angels of light, or as a lying wonder. The message must be tested for anti-biblical notions, and, if proven, the message is clearly Satanic. Yet despite this, apparitions are "social facts" in the lives of many "Marian devotional cultures". Visions of Mary, her miracles, healing acts, and messages, have brought comfort and guidance in troubled times, usually to the marginalized, who are also liminal figures. The revelation of Mary in liminal times to liminal groups or persons can be seen, beginning in Luke's gospel, and continuing to medieval visions.

The biblical figure of the self-sacrificing, virginal Mother of Jesus (Luke 1:38) has been developed extra-biblically, beyond Christian and Catholic discourses. Goddess devotees and other "religious creatives" also receive Mary, but in different ways. They include Mary in their worship of an all-pervading "Goddess," a female form of divinity who appears in various manifestations, in different countries, and in different religious traditions. An example of this is seen in the earth-reclaiming tradition of the Glastonbury Goddess movement in England. Glastonbury is known as the ancient seat of Christianity in Britain, and is the home of the first Marian shrine in Europe. Goddess devotees adopt Mary and other female Christian figures to assist in reclaiming and "re-territorializing" in the light of perceived injustices carried out by male-dominated Christianity. Mary is celebrated as one Goddess in a pantheon of many who are associated with local sacred wells and springs.

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Amy Whitehead

F. World Christianity

Mary's unprecedented response, commonly referred to as the *magnificat*, continues to inspire women and men across time and culture. In African Christianity, Mary epitomizes demureness and femininity. Her example inspires mothers, wives, sisters, aunts, and daughters in a context where to be a woman is to be enmeshed in a relational matrix characterized by mutuality of responsibility. Such mutuality accords privileges from those to whom one is a mother while demanding the duty of nurture towards all of one's children; it commands the honor that society affords anyone that would bear the status of a wife while at the same time extracting the obligations that every wife is expected to render to her husband and all the kin who address her by the name; to be a sister implies a relationship of rights and responsibilities towards one's brothers and sisters; to be an aunt similarly locates one in social relations with nephews and nieces who look up to their aunt for counsel and support without her forfeiting the culturally conventional expectation to be appropriately cared for by them, in their capacity as one's "children"; to be a daughter projects an expectation of care and protection from one's biological father and all to whom the name is socially attrib-

uted, with the reciprocal expectation of appropriate daughterly behavior towards all that one would address as "father." From the point of view of the conceptual terrain of African womanhood, Mary the mother of Jesus conjures wholesome images of socially located womanhood that is as divinely inspired as it is culturally inspiring. Within the African community of faith, the African Christian woman is seen to derive her energy and good conduct from the healthy social relationships that nurture her. From this place of unlikely strength, she extends her influence in the community by means of herself and of her resources.

Historically, women have been instruments for war and peace in Africa; war when young men had to raid enough cattle to raise bride-wealth – a precursor to honorable marriage, and peace when offered by elders as brides to appease feuding communities. Mary's vulnerability in her own patriarchal culture is therefore something that many African women identify with. Yet, from the place of abased subordination to the decisions of the significant males in her life, she takes a self-yielding crisis-inducing decision that operationalizes the ultimate eternal salvation plan. In doing so, Mary personifies great moments of crisis that are idiomatic for many African Christians, whether it is in the unplanned pregnancy that divinely befalls a betrothed teenager, or in her first son's turning away from the family business to a barely sensible let alone dangerous life vocation as a moralist in the name of God, at a time of an intensely flammable spiritual and political quagmire. Mary's iconic crisis deepens when as a mother – her own son having symbolically rejected her in preference of them that do God's will (Luke 8:19–21; Matt 12:46–50), she has to observe the death and burial of her own child (John 19:25–27). With Jesus' resurrection, his ascension, the coming of the Holy Spirit, and Mary's participation in the embryonic church (Acts 1:12–14), Mary's graded crisis culminates in exuberant hope.

By virtue of childbearing, Mary embarked on a life punctuated by a child-induced crisis that culminates in the ultimate cosmic battle of good and evil as played out at the cross of the God-child. This most honorable role of bearing and nurturing children may well be the noblest means by which many Africans participate in gradual victory of good over evil. The crisis and contestations that threaten the endeavor of contemporary parenting in Africa may still be symbolic of the significance and transformative nature of raising godly offspring. The challenges may also point to the threat that godly children pose to the kingdom of darkness and the potential that they represent for the advancement and triumph of the Kingdom of God over the kingdom of evil, a reality inaugurated by Jesus Christ. In this regard, Mary's role as the mother of Jesus continues to be a rudder that provides the impetus for an earthly parental vocation that is of divine and eternal consequence. Mary's femininity thus transcends the traditional divisions of gender and her virtuous integrity commands the imitation of all African Christian men and women, even as they embrace their parental vocation in Mary's affirmation, "be it unto me according to your word" (Luke 1:38).

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Joshua K. Rutere

III. Judaism

Contrary to what one might have expected, Mary, the mother of Jesus, appears with relative frequency in Jewish materials, though these depictions are often coded and allusive. Indeed, Mary has historically been a particularly rich site for Jewish-Christian boundary marking (Shoemaker: 775; Baumgarten: 114).

1. Mary in Early Christian Literature. Many of the earliest Christian writings are themselves, in significant senses, Jewish works. The Gospels of Matthew and Luke, in which Mary appears as part of the infancy narratives, for example, both display traits that mark them in some important ways as "Jewish." The earliest work in which Mary figures prominently, the *Protevangelium of James*, like the Gospels of Luke and Matthew, has arguably Jewish traits (Vuong). Mary is born to Anna and Joachim and given to serve in the temple at the age of three. When Mary becomes pregnant, temple officials accuse her and Joseph of having broken their commitment to chastity; they are absolved after they successfully pass an ordeal that, though it departs in significant ways, nonetheless is clearly some form of the bitter waters test of Num 5 (see "VI. Literature").

2. Mary in Rabbinic Literature. Mary's depiction in rabbinic literature has received far less attention than that of her son. However, Mary features prominently in one of the rabbinic passages about Jesus. (These passages about Jesus generally appear only in manuscripts of the Talmud, having been censored from the printed editions common today). In this passage, a woman named *Miriam Megadla [Se'ar] Neshayya* (both the reading and the meaning of this name are unclear, though it may have something to do with being a hairdresser) appears as the mother of one Ben Padera, a figure scholars have demonstrated to be the rabbinic portrayal of Jesus (Schäfer 2007: 19–21). The name *Miriam Megadla Neshayya* may well be a play on another Mary in the Gospels – Mary Magdalene (note the similarity of

sounds between "*Megadla*" and "Magdalene") (Visotzky). This Miriam is accused of adultery, her son the result of this infidelity (*bShab* 104b; *bSan* 67a). This story sounds strikingly similar to one attributed to a Jew in Origen's *Contra Celsum*, thus suggesting that it has roots in relatively early Jewish sources.

Other rabbinic sources may suggest Jewish interest in Mary. For example, a story that appears in both the Palestinian Talmud (*pBer* 2:4 [5a]) and in slightly different form in *EkhR* 1:51 describes a mother of a child prophesied to be the messiah who ambiguously threatens to strangle her son, and later loses her baby when he is wrested from her arms by a whirlwind. Scholars have understandably debated whether this story represents a rabbinic interest in and polemic against the Virgin Mary (Hasan-Rokem; Himmelfarb 2002).

To the extent that Mary appears in rabbinic sources, she is always presented through coded references, and these passages are thus subject to differing interpretations. Schäfer has identified a passage in the Babylonian Talmud (*bBek* 8b) that perhaps parodies the notion of a virgin giving birth, comparing it to salt that has lost its flavor and to the afterbirth of a mule (Schäfer 2007: 23–24). Similar coded references to Mary may also occur in two passages that seem to allude to Mary's virginity, mocking the notion of Mary's *conceptio per aurem* (*bKet* 5a–b) and her *in partu* virginity (*bBB* 16a) (Rosenberg 2016a; 2016b).

Himmelfarb has argued that the well-known story of Miriam bat Tanhum (*EkhR* 1:50; in later reworkings of the story she is nameless, or in some medieval examples, "Hannah") also alludes to Mary. Himmelfarb points in particular to the mother's dramatic revealing of her breasts and nursing of her youngest son prior to his martyrdom, arguing that this strange scene is best explained by the important trope in Eastern Christianity of Mary as a nurser (Himmelfarb 2015: 336–40). Additionally, Himmelfarb points to the mother's contrasting of her sacrifice of seven sons with the comparatively paltry *near*-sacrifice of Isaac. But the subtext of this competition with the Jewish patriarch, Himmelfarb suggests, may be aimed at the figure of Mary instead (ibid.: 342).

3. Mary in the Toledot Yeshu. One Jewish work (or perhaps better, genre of works) in which Mary unambiguously appears is the *Toledot Yeshu*, a sort of Jewish rebuttal to Christian tales of Jesus. As in the rabbinic works, here Jesus bears the brunt of the parody, with Mary depicted only as relevant to the narrative of the male anti-hero. Several aspects of Mary's portrayal in this work are notable, however. First, Mary in the *Toledot Yeshu* is married to a respectable Torah scholar; what is more, as in Matthew, *Toledot Yeshu*'s Mary descends from King David (Schäfer 2002: 211; Gregg: 518–19).

One particularly striking aspect of Mary's depiction is the variation between different recensions of this work. Generally, it would be appear that earlier versions of the work present her in a more neutral light, the victim of sexual assault by a Roman, while in later recensions, she becomes a willing adulteress (Schäfer 2002: 211–12; see also Stanislawski: 86–87).

4. Later Appearances of Mary. Mary achieves even greater prominence – though again, generally in coded references – in a number of post-talmudic texts. Martha Himmelfarb has demonstrated the ways in which Mary's traits are both polemicized against and appropriated in the 7th-century work *Sefer Zerubbabel* (Himmelfarb 2002). That work depicts a demonic statue that, through sexual congress with Satan, produces a sort of Jewish Antichrist figure; her foil is a woman named Hepzibah, the mother of a messianic figure, and who "appears to be the Jewish answer to the new role the Virgin Mary had come to play in the Byzantine empire" (Himmelfarb 2002: 384).

Medieval European rabbis made explicit their knowledge of and concern about Mary as a figure of interest (Shoham-Steiner: 79). It is thus not surprising that a number of Jewish beliefs and practices of the time may reflect both polemic against and appropriation of Marian ideas. A medieval version of the *Alenu* prayer may allude, disparagingly, to Mary (Yuval: 193–95). Medieval and early modern Jewish women may have been aware of and made use of Marian rituals around childbirth (Baumgarten: 114–15). Interest in the biblical Miriam may also have increased as a result of Jewish awareness of Marian devotion (Shoham-Steiner).

Perhaps the most intriguing example of Mary's significance in Jewish circles in the high Middle Ages is the rise of the *Shekhinah*, a feminine aspect of divinity, in medieval Jewish mystical literature. A number of scholars have noted the similarities between the medieval Jewish notion of a female figure that functions as an intermediary between human beings and a tripartite divinity (i.e., the three *sefirot* of *ḥesed*, *gevurah*, and *tif'eret*) and the role of Mary as intercessor in medieval Christianity (Green; Schäfer 2002).

In the modern period, the significance of the Virgin Mary in Christian culture continued to penetrate into Jewish productions. The work of the painter Marc Chagall is an excellent example, often presenting Mary in ways that marked her as Jewish (Rajner).

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Michael Rosenberg

IV. Islam

The name Mary appears in the Qurʾān thirty-four times in thirty-one different verses, appearing in a higher percentage of verses in the Qurʾān than in the NT Mary (or Maryam), the mother of Jesus (ʿĪsā), is the most prominent and only named female figure in the Qurʾān, although she does not hold the highest status in Islam. That position is given to Fāṭima. Her story can be pieced together from three Meccan (S 19, 21, 23) and four Medinan sūras (S 3, 4, 5, 55). The vowelling seems to indicate correspondence with the Syriac, rather than the Hebrew, form of the name.

She is the daughter of ʿImrān and Anna (S 66:12). The commentators point out that this is a different ʿImrān from the one who is named as the father of Moses and Aaron. The commentators disagree if Hannah was the mother of Ishbaʿ (Elizabeth) or her sister. Mary's mother, Anna, consecrated her unborn child to God's service, thinking the baby would be a boy (S 3:31). Seeing that she was a girl, her mother prayed for her protection from Satan. According to Ibn Kathīr, because of this prayer both Mary and her son, Jesus, escaped the "pricking of the devil," often said to be the protection from sin and error given to prophets. Fulfilling her vow, Anna took the child to the Temple. (Some traditions have ʿImrān dying before Mary was born.) The Rabbis cast lots with reeds to see who should rear Mary (S 3:39). The lot fell to Zechariah (Zakariyyā), who made arrangements for her food and built her a small cell in the Temple. However, God miraculously provided her with food (S 3:32). Mary's story and her sinless conception of Jesus are intertwined with Zachariah's story and the birth of John the Baptist (cf. Luke 1:40). Passages speaking of Zechariah (S 3:38–41; 19:1–15; 21:89–90; cf. Luke 1:57–66) precede the passages speaking of Mary (S 3:42–51; 19:16–35; 21:91). According to tradition, when he was no longer able to care for Mary, Zechariah asked Jurayj (Joseph) a carpenter to care for her (cf. Matt 13:55; Mark 6:3).

Mary devoted herself to prayer and worship. One day when Mary had retired to a place eastward in the temple the Angel Gabriel appeared to her to tell her that she would be the mother of Jesus (S 3:45–46; 19:17–18; cf. Luke 1:26–27). The angel told her that God had "chosen thee and made thee pure, and hath preferred thee above (all) women of creation. O Mary! Be obedient to thy Lord, prostrate thyself and bow with those who bow" (S 3:42–43; cf. Luke 1:30). The commentators disagree about what she needed to be purified from. She questions the angel as to how she can have a son when she has never been unchaste (S 19:20; cf. Luke 1:34). The angel tells her that God says it is easy for him for he can create at will (S 3:47; 19:21; cf. Luke 1:35). There is, noticeably, no fiat.

According to Tabarī, Joseph was the first to notice Mary's pregnancy. When he finally brought himself to question her, she pointed out that God can do all things, including making plants grow without seeds and trees without rain. He recognized an act of God and did not push her to divulge her secret. Her pregnancy was said to have coincided with Elizabeth's. She withdrew to a far place, said to be Bethlehem (S 19:22; cf. Matt 2:1, Luke 2:4), giving birth under a palm tree. A voice informed her that there was a stream at her feet and a mere shake of the tree would drop dates into her lap (S 19:24–25), even though the fruit was out of season.

Upon returning to Jerusalem with her child the people were amazed, knowing her purity. When they asked her about the child's father she said nothing but merely pointed to the child, confusing her interlocutors, who could not understand how an infant would help to explain the answer (S 19:27–29). But the child spoke to defend the honor of his mother, declared himself a slave of God and an appointed prophet (S 19:30–33). While Muslims uphold the virgin birth, they do not consider it as evidence of Jesus' divinity.

In many of the references to Mary, the Qurʾān is clear that neither she nor Jesus are divine, taking pains to affirm God's oneness. The Qurʾān mentions the "clear proof of God's sovereignty" that are given to Jesus and that neither Jesus nor Mary are gods (S 2:87, 253; 5:116) and declares, "The Messiah, Jesus son of Mary, was only a messenger of Allah, and His word which He conveyed unto Mary, and a spirit from Him. So believe in Allah and His messengers, and say not 'Three'" (S 4:171).

One can find mosques named after Mary, as well as Muslim women visiting Churches named after her. Recitations of Sūrat Maryam (S 19) are a favorite amongst Muslim women. While Mary is held in high esteem in Islam, she is subservient to Fāṭima, especially for the Shiʿa. Mary is one of the four miraculous midwives for the birth of Fāṭima and is also said to have consoled her during her last illness. Mary is considered a spiritual inspiration, but Fāṭima is seen as the role model for Muslim women.

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Marie Nuar

V. Other Religions – Hinduism and Buddhism

Through missionary activity and the expansion of Christianity, Hindus and Buddhists have been exposed to the figure of Mary, mother of Jesus. As with Jesus, Mary permeates these cultures and exerts a special influence despite the limited success of Christianity in converting non-Western peoples to Christianity. The fact that she enjoys this widespread privilege and esteem among Christian spiritual figures is revelatory of her uniqueness in the context of the non-Abrahamic religions. The Church may be ignored, but Mary (and, Jesus), remain cherished. Wendy Wright's study of Marian devotion in Los Angeles argues that the dense religious materiality of popular religion is more fittingly communicative of the spiritual reality of Marian omnipresence than the doctrines and dogmas of theological discourse. Similarly, in India, for example, Mary's universal motherhood is made manifest in bazaars and marketplaces, in and among the people. And yet, the learned of these cultures and traditions have also reflected on *sedes sapientiae*, the Seat of Wisdom, herself. This survey will cover the engagement of Mary by Hinduism and Buddhism from the level of popular religion and devotion, as well as the considerations of philosophers and theologians. It also takes into account Christian thinkers who have complicated their religious identities by associating or identifying with Hinduism, and who have studied Marian spirituality in Hinduism and Buddhism in order to deepen their understanding of Mary.

Mariological scholars identify two ways in which Mary is implicated in the world's religions. The first consists of explicit reflection on Mary in the sacred texts and writings of other religions. The second way is to discern patterns, themes, and traits within religious texts that are analogous to Mary and Marian spirituality. This is the Marian form of religion (Roten; Panikkar). Included here is popular religious devotion to Mary in other religions, or, alternatively, the feminine divine that is reverenced and mystically encountered through incorporating Mary in certain spiritual practices.

Mary is known to Hindus and Buddhists in both ways; she is a special object of love and sentimentality, or, she is indirectly revealed through the divine feminine or women saints who exemplify the spiritual path of liberation. Without seeking to determine which form has precedence, it seems clear that the feminine archetype of the divine provides the conditions for the possibility of Marian reception in these religious cultures. On the other hand, Mary's fascination for Hindus and Buddhists seems also to reside in her distinctive qualities. For example, her nurturing and motherly affect stands in contrast to the fierce and frightening goddesses known in Indian religious culture. Attesting to her broad appeal, one source reports that more than three-quarters of pilgrims who visit Mary shrines in India hail from non-Christian backgrounds (Ghosh).

The range of perspectives on Mary in Hinduism and Buddhism and the tensions between these perspectives uncannily resemble those within the Christian tradition and its running commentary on the significance of the woman from Nazareth. Feminist and liberationist Mariological projects emphasize the humanity of Mary and her empowerment, as opposed to the masculine tendency to idealize (and marginalize) her femininity, while other theologically conservative voices seek the same end but for different reasons, that is, to limit and constrain "Mariological excess" for the purposes of orthodox christocentricity. Reminiscent of this tension, some Hindu critics polemicize the comparison of Mary, a human woman, with Hindu goddesses, characterizing them as offensive to Hindu theological sensibilities. This position lacks the reverence of orthodox and even critical Christian Mariology. It is analogous, however, to efforts to circumscribe Mary within a more definite human sphere, standing against against what Protestant and some Catholic Christian theologians have called "Mariolatry."

From the opposite direction, those within modern Christianity who seek to exalt Mary's role in the mediation of salvation, are motivated either by a Jungian focus on the indispensability of the divine feminine or theologically conservative and pietistic impulses. Modern Buddhist and Hindu perspectives

also mirror these trends, with Mary seen as the divine feminine, or functionally divinized as a source of power for interventionary transformation (Somerville; Yogeshananda; Narayanan). Although Hindu popular worship of Mary may be attributed to the enduring power of the archetype, it seems also to reflect the personification of indigenous earth and fertility myths in the person of Mary. Catholic Mariological scholar Johann Roten makes a similar case with his assertion that Mary is an ideal bridge for the encounter between cultures and religions. Her essence, Roten argues, is representative and symbolic, as opposed to highly concretized. The lack of information about her in the Gospels lends itself to this symbolic and inclusive hermeneutic. It is precisely this universality that underlies the appearance of Mary in widely diffuse cultural circumstances, such as the famed apparition of Guadalupe, where, according to believers, Mary appeared to Juan Diego at Tepeyac, a hill associated with a shrine to an Aztec goddess.

Scholars have repeatedly observed that Mary has many fervent devotees among Hindus (Bloomer; Narayanan). The multi-religious demographic of India, the regularity of daily, public expressions of devotion, and the primal instinct of popular religiosity are all factors that contribute to Mary's popularity among Hindus as well as Muslims at Catholic shrines and churches. While the latter have been known to manifest a somewhat dispassionate sensibility toward the mother of Jesus, Hindus are commonly seen alongside Indian Catholics in performing extravagant forms of devotion to Mary. Thus, at the well-known Catholic shrines of Our Lady of Good Health in in the South Indian town of Velankanni (which Pope John Paul II called the "Lourdes of the East") and the Infant Jesus Shrine in Bangalore, the number of Hindus approaching Mary often surpasses the number of Catholics. Scholars agree that Hindu pilgrims approach Marian shrines for the purposes of seeking earthly favors and the fulfillment of human desires, such as employment and health, especially fertility. Hindu devotees do not usually frequent daily or Sunday Mass at these same churches, but, in attending the shrines, draw upon their Hindu sense of the auspiciousness of sacral spaces, places, and persons. Similarly, they do not regularly offer Catholic devotions while worshiping at the shrines, unless they are instructed by a local Catholic cleric who may suggest to them some familiar Hindu ritual formulation, such as gaining a specified reward through offering a particular novena or reciting the rosary. In general, such patterns of worship draw on local Hindu customs and rites and merely transfer them into the Marian context. Hindu religious nationalist groups have decried these practices, but, it may be argued, that this perspective fails to recognize the existence of a common, religiously hybrid cultural Hindu-Indian identity. Indeed, it is not uncommon to find statues of Mary, alongside statues of other deities, enshrined in Hindu homes, for the daily devotional practice known as *pūjā*.

Similar to their lay counterparts in Catholicism, Hindus do not take into account the theological subtlety that distinguishes Mary as intercessor from God as Savior. There is some disagreement as to whether Hindu pilgrims and devotees consider Mary more powerful than the Infant Jesus, although it is indisputable that for Tamil Hindus in South India, Mary is adored as Madonna with Child (Narayanan). Kristin Bloomer, in a study of Marian possession in South India, observes Hindus seeking Mary's aid at Marian shrines declare, "*Mātā* [the mother] is *Śakti* [divine female power]," a phrase commonly used to worship the Goddess in Hinduism. Bloomer also notes that there are reports of Hindus claiming to be possessed by Mary, something they hold in common with South Indian Christian (Bloomer: 10).

Christian theologians and spiritual writers who claim complex religious identities – in particular, that of a dual Hindu-Christian belonging – have reflected theologically upon Mary in a Hindu context. Raimundo Panikkar (1918–2010), a mystic and theologian whose work blurred the boundaries between Hinduism and Christianity, was perhaps referencing Vedāntic and Yogic mysticism, as well as trends in Catholic mysticism, in his prescription of Marian spirituality as a remedy for an exaggeratedly divinized and insufficiently human religious experience (Panikkar). He also reflected on Mary as symbolizing the feminine dimension of religious experience; the female body of Mary is in heaven alongside the male body of Jesus, and both bodies are engaged in union with God. Although he wrote little about Tantrism, Panikkar was known to be influenced by Tantric philosophy and spirituality, and his reflections on the Assumption may be intelligible in that context. Jesuit comparative theologian and Indologist Francis X. Clooney published a study of the Virgin Mary and Hindu goddesses, seeking to place Mary alongside the goddess traditions in conversation to enrich the Christian theological imagination on gender and the divine (Clooney). He provides a nuanced textual comparison of the dynamics of gender, the divine, and devotion found in Hindu poetry and Catholic hymns, focusing on the complementary relationship of god and goddess; without the goddess, the god is non-efficacious and devoid of power, and so the devotee is utterly dependent on the goddess and must supplicate her wholeheartedly. As Clooney observes of one South Indian Hymn that praises Mary: "The hymn's case for turning to Mary instead of [Hindu] goddesses is implied in the attribution to her of the images of natural flourishing distinctive to Hindu goddesses. The hymn also alludes repeatedly to Hindu reli-

gious motifs and values, in order to argue against them or reinterpret their hitherto distinctive roles in relation to Mary. For instance, like [the Hindu goddesses] Śrī, Devī, and Aparāmi, Mary herself subsumes the wisdom of the tradition, learning and arts" (Clooney: 212). While aware that Mary is not the wife, but the mother of God, exercising her maternity not by divine essence but through grace, Clooney nevertheless teases out the implications of a woman who is "not-God" and yet bursts the limits of "not-God" with her mediatory power: The "not-God" of Mary becomes nearly as indispensable to divine grace as Hindu goddesses.

While Panikkar and Clooney were both clear that Mary is human and not divine, James Somerville, writing from a Hindu, devotional (*bhakti*) base challenges Christian theology to see Mary as the feminine divine incarnation, the consort of Jesus (Somerville). The Hindu philosophers of the Yoga and Vedānta schools, typically do not engage the person of Mary in their commentaries on Christianity; *bhakti* practitioners, on the other hand, are drawn to Mary as a goddess.

When Buddhism and Mary are brought together for comparative reflection, Mary and the Mahāyāna bodhisattva Guanyin are frequently paired by scholars and practitioners alike. Guanyin is the feminine form of the male bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, of Indian Buddhism, whose gender underwent a normative shift in East Asian Buddhism, in the figure of the female Guanyin (Guanshiyin; known in Japan as Kannon). Chinese scholars of religion call Guanyin the "Buddhist Madonna" (Reis-Habito 1993: 61). She is a mother to her devotees, interceding for her children to reach the Pure Land and enlightenment, and also mother to those suffering in the world. The compassionate Guanyin, who "hears the cries of the world," has affinity with Mary, who is mercifully responsive to the prayers and pleas of her children – recalling the *Memorare*: "never was it known that anyone who fled to thy protection, implored thy help, or sought thine intercession was left unaided." Both Guanyin and Mary are perfect disciples who take everlasting vows to save all beings. Ruben Habito, a Buddhist-Christian theologian, Zen master, and spiritual writer, compares the tears of the bodhisattva "which never cease to flow," according to a koan in the Japanese Zen Buddhist *Sanbō Kyōdan* lineage, with the tears of Mary at the foot of the cross of Jesus, "who bears the wounds of the universe in his body" (Habito: 150).

This connection between Mary and Guanyin/Kannon in the Japanese context has historical roots in early modern Japan. The discovery of the Maria Kannon icons that belonged to persecuted Christians covertly worshipping Mary during the Edo dynasty (1600–1868) which banned Christianity, seizing rosaries and other devotional items. Japan's "hidden Christians" were attempting to conceal their fidelity to the Christian faith and to Mary amid heightened scrutiny by presenting Kannon during the *shûmon aratame*, or the examination of religion, whom they named Maria Kannon. There are records of Japanese Buddhists (but, who were secretly Christians) instructing authorities that they worship a "Buddha by the name of Santa Maria … which is none other than Kannon" (Reis-Habito 1996: 59). The belief that Kannon could take many forms to help her devotees was established in Buddhist tradition, which may have protected the "hidden Christians" from civil persecution despite their peculiar cultic activity. Scholars speculate that this hybridity and syncretism was present from the beginning of Christianity's introduction to Japan, although there was a self-conscious differentiation between Christianity and Buddhism during the Edo prohibition. Maria Reis-Habito's historical and theological reconstruction of the Maria Kannon tradition has focused on the inner, organic connection between the two figures that lent itself to utilization by the "hidden Christians." Maria Reis-Habito and Ruben Habito, Zen practitioners and scholars, cite the historical evidence as support for an offshoot of Yamada Koun Roshi's lineage, which they named Maria Kennon Zen. It seeks to embody the Zen path of compassion manifest in Guanyin and Mary (Habito).

The Fourteenth Dalai Lama (Tenzin Gyatso) provided a commentary on the Gospels for a joint Buddhist-Christian mediation seminar, offering a Buddhist reflection on Mark 3:31–35 (Gyatso: 67). Although Jesus' seeming dismissal of his mother makes this an historically awkward text for Catholic devotees, for the Dalai Lama, it stands as a supreme example of impartial detachment and enlightened compassion. Mary, for her part, would not be offended according to Dalai Lama, as he identifies Mary with that same impartial compassion. Mary is a being of love and compassion, similar to the Tibetan bodhisattva Tara (Gyatso: 83). In a moving account, the Dalai Lama recollects visiting Lourdes as a pilgrim and experiencing a spiritual power that moved him to pray in front of an image of Mary for the continuation of the work of enlightened beings in the world. Thích Nhất Hạnh, the famed Vietnamese Zen Buddhist monk, for his part, in his classic text *Living Buddha, Living Christ*, favorably compares Catholicism's notion of Mary to the Buddhist notion of the Prajñāpāramitā, the "Perfection of Wisdom" known also as the "mother of all Buddhas" (Nhất Hạnh: 41). Nhất Hạnh, as a Buddhist, interprets the indivisible union of God the Father and Mary in service of the Buddhist notion of the two wings of enlightenment. Wisdom and understanding belong to the Father, and compassion, with mother Mary. Thích Nhất Hạnh also references Mary in the context of taking refuge in Buddhism, recalling an experience of Sri Lankan children

chanting a Buddhist prayer in the ancient Buddhist language Pāli, taking that two of them were praying to Mary (ibid.: 119). The spiritual discipline of refuge for Nhất Hạnh is a return to the wholesome mind of enlightenment, which he recognized in their childlike devotion to Mary.

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Erik Ranstrom

VI. Literature

As Mary is an iconic biblical figure without a complete canonical history, her life story has inspired a rich cultural legacy whose focus may vary according to the religious tradition (or none) of the author, and whose content often intersects with theological debates and gender politics. In Volume II of *Maria: Études sur la Sainte Vierge* edited by Hubert du Manoir (1952), the remarkable extent of Marian literature across the centuries is expounded in chapters that assess works of fiction, drama and poetry from France, Germany, England, Spain, Hungary, Italy, Holland, Poland, Portugal, Romania, and Canada. The Marian Library at the University of Dayton in the United States holds the world's largest collection of material on Mary, with publications in more than one hundred languages.

1. First Millennium. The *Protevangelium of James* treats Mary as a person of intrinsic significance and has been influential in the development of her biography, despite the fact that it has been rejected by some scholars as "inventive hagiography" (Brown et al.: 248). The narrative recounts her birth to Joachim and Anna, whose long-held desire for a child is eventually heard: "You shall conceive and bear, and your offspring shall be spoken of in the whole world" (Elliott: 58). In particular, it is recorded in the text that Mary was taken to the Temple in Jerusalem at the age of three to serve the Lord (an event that is also found in Mary's dedication to the Temple in *The Qurʾān*); her husband Joseph, who is an elderly widower, is chosen by divine intervention; and Mary's virginity *ante partum*, *in partu*, and *post partum* is attested by her unbroken hymen after the birth of Jesus. Amongst other apocryphal manuscripts, the *Infancy Gospel of Thomas* also presents a version of the life of the Holy Family, with Mary observing her child's first miracles.

The *Sub Tuum Praesidium* prayer ("We turn to you for protection"), found on a papyrus dated between the 3rd and 4th century, is the oldest known extant antiphon to the Virgin Mary. Ephrem the Syrian (d. 373) lauded Mary in verses about the Nativity; and, after the Council of Ephesus, poetry was written in Mary's honor in which she is linked allegorically with Jacob's Ladder (Gen 28:10–17). Caelius Sedulius (5th century) wrote a *Carmen paschale* (Easter poem) that claims that Mary found favor with Christ "alone of all women" (Kirchberger: 62). The *Transitus Mariae* legends, which describe the end of Mary's life on earth, appear in several languages, including 5th-century Ethiopian manuscripts. There are various accounts, including the "Palm of the Tree of Life" narratives (which spread to the West) and the "Bethlehem" traditions (largely found in the Christian East), the latter being represented by the "Six Books" apocryphon (5th and 6th centuries). In the Bethlehem narratives, Mary leaves her house in Jerusalem to reside briefly in the town where Jesus was born, before being miraculously transported back to Jerusalem with the apostles for the Dormition, in which "Christ descends to receive his mother's soul" (Shoemaker: 11).

The *Life of the Virgin*, reportedly the work of Maximus the Confessor (although the identity of the author is contentious), appeared in the 7th century and survived in the Georgian language. In addition to the Scriptures, the content draws on a range of sources, including the *Protevangelium of James*, Gregory of Nyssa's *Homily on the Nativity* and the Dormition apocrypha. Mary, who is depicted as the first "disciple" of Jesus, leads the other women who accompanied her son during his ministry, and she witnesses the Resurrection, brings the good news to the apostles, and takes on a prominent role after the Ascension. John Damascene (d. ca. 749) wrote homilies on the Nativity of Mary as well as on her Assumption. The focus on Mary's humanity and close maternal relationship with Jesus was developed by George of Nicomedia (9th century) in his homilies on the Passion, in which Mary laments her son's death.

Epiphanius the Monk (9th century) recounted the story of Mary, assigning her a lifespan of 72 years and basing his text on the Gospels and apocryphal literature. Notably, he described Mary's

light brown hair and brown eyes, which would have been in keeping with the Byzantine ideal of beauty. John the Geometer (10th century) celebrated the holiness of Mary, recalling her life in the form of a homily on her Dormition that served as a synthesis of Marian doctrine. He also asserted that Mary was the first witness to the Resurrection and played a key role in the early Church. Symeon Metaphrastes (d. ca. 1000) wrote a Marian biography in which he emphasized the part that Mary played in the life of Jesus, including her presence at the Resurrection. He claimed that the women who are recorded in the Gospel did not mention Mary's appearance at the tomb "because they feared to throw a shadow of suspicion (on the veracity of the event), if they had presented the testimony of the Mother. In this case they would be believed less" (Gambero: 48).

2. Second Millennium. French *Mariales* were written in praise of Mary by Albert the Great, Richard de St. Laurent, and Conrad of Saxony during the Middle Ages. Gautier de Coincy (d. 1236) offered an alternative to the Lady who was adored in secular Courtly Love literature by honoring Mary as a protector, healer and intercessor, for which her mediation at the wedding at Cana (John 2:1–11) gave hope. There were tales that centered on Marian shrines such as Rocamadour or Chartres Cathedral, and legends in which Mary's power thwarted Satan (in line with the belief that Gen 3:15 was a prophetic reference to Mary). The *Miracle de Théophile* (ca. 1260) by Rutebeuf is one of the more renowned tales about a monk named Theophilus, whose pact with the Devil is broken by the intervention of Mary. Caesarius of Heisterbach (d. ca. 1240) offers another popular example by recounting the oft-told legend of Beatrix, a nun who ran away with a priest. Repenting many years later, Beatrix returned to her convent to discover that Mary had taken her place during her absence and therefore hidden her sinful escapade.

The Italian Jacobus de Voragine (d. 1298) went to great lengths to explain the "brothers and sisters" of Jesus so as to defend the perpetual virginity of Mary in the famous *The Golden Legend*, which is considered to be a medieval "best seller." His compatriot Dante Alighieri (d. 1321) wrote one of the most memorable Marian lines in *The Divine Comedy:*

> Look now into the face that unto Christ
> Hath most resemblance; for its brightness only
> Is able to prepare thee to see Christ. (*Paradiso* XXXII)

When Dante's Pilgrim finds himself "within a forest dark" (*Inferno* I), it is as a result of Mary's mediation that help arrives to guide him through the afterlife, and he finally meets the mother of Jesus in Paradise:

> Thou Virgin Mother, daughter of thy Son,
> Humble and high beyond all other creature,
> The limit fixed of the eternal counsel,
> Thou art the one who such nobility
> To human nature gave, that its Creator
> Did not disdain to make himself its creature.
> Within thy womb rekindled was the love,
> By heat of which in the eternal peace
> After such wise this flower has germinated.
> (*Paradiso* XXXIII)

In Medieval England, Mary appeared in popular plays, poems and stories, including Chaucer's *The Canterbury Tales*. There were 14th-century accounts in which Mary often intervened as a *Dea ex machina* to bring an ultimate resolution, or she would sometimes plead for a sinner in a court-room setting in which Jesus was the judge. A 15th-century collection of "miracle tales" by Johannes Herolt is one example in which Jewish people (who are often presented in negative roles) convert to Christianity as a result of Mary's intervention. The Jesuit Alfonso Vagnoni (d. 1640) wrote *Shengmu xingshi* (Vita of the Virgin), which also focuses on miracle stories. Considered to be the first biography of Mary in the Chinese language, it was a useful tool in the mission to bring Christianity to the Far East.

Of particular fame is the Catholic devotional literature on Mary, including the Marian formulas of Bernard of Clairvaux (d. 1153); *The Seven Words of Mary* by Bernardine of Siena (d. 1444); *A Treatise on True Devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary* by Louis de Montfort (d. 1716); and *The Glories of Mary* by Alphonsus Liguori (d. 1787). In 1670 Pierre Corneille translated *The Little Office of the Virgin Mary* into French, dedicating his work to Queen Marie-Thérèse, the wife of King Louis XIV.

There have also been influential writings by Catholic mystics such as Catherine of Siena (d. 1380) and Mary of Jesus of Ágreda (d. 1665). Bridget of Sweden (d. 1373) witnessed the birth of Jesus in a supernatural revelation in which she saw Mary kneel "with raised hands and with her eyes intent on heaven […]. And while she was thus in prayer, I saw the One lying in her womb then move; and then and there, in a moment and the twinkling of an eye, she gave birth to a Son, from whom there went out such great and ineffable light and splendor that the sun could not be compared to it" (Boss 2000: 192). Anne Catherine Emmerich (d. 1824) also had visions of Mary that were transcribed in *The Dolorous Passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ* and *The Life of the Blessed Virgin Mary*. In 2004, she came once again to prominence when it was revealed that her work (some of which has been criticized as anti-Semitic) had inspired the screenplay for Mel Gibson's film *The Passion of the Christ* (2004, US), including a scene after the scourging of Jesus, in which Mary and Magdalene "knelt down on the ground near the pillar, and wiped up the sacred blood with the linen that Claudia Procles had sent" (Emmerich: 138).

The Catholic Revival, the Anglican poets of the New Oxford movement and the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood were responsible for a renewed enthusiasm for Marian poetry in England in the 19th century, with notable publications by Edward Caswall,

Frederick William Faber and John Henry Newman. Indeed, Newman pondered on the neglect of Mary caused by the Reformation in his poem "The Pilgrim Queen" (1849); and the medieval Latin sequence entitled "Stabat Mater" (believed to be the work of the Italian Jacopone da Todi) was translated into English by Caswall in 1849.

Evidently, Marian themes galvanized Catholic poets, and "The May Magnificat" and "The Blessed Virgin Compared to the Air we Breathe" by the Jesuit Gerard Manley Hopkins (d. 1889) are notable illustrations, as is "Je ne veux plus aimer que ma mère Marie" ("My mother Mary shall be all I love") in the *Sagesse* (Wisdom) collection by Paul Verlaine (d. 1896), who re-converted to Catholicism. Before her death, Thérèse of Lisieux (d. 1897) wrote a poem entitled "Why I love you, O Mary" that reflects on Mary's life; and some of the most famous French Marian poetry was composed by Charles Péguy (d. 1914), including "*Le Porche du Mystère de la deuxième vertu*" ("The Portal of the Mystery of Hope"). In Georges Bernanos's novel *Journal d'un curé de campagne* (Diary of a Country Priest; 1936: 212), the suffering priest is encouraged to pray to Mary, with her "eyes of gentle pity, wondering sadness, and with something more in them, never yet known or expressed, something which makes her younger than sin, younger than the race from which she sprang, and though a mother, by grace, Mother of all grace, our little youngest sister."

It is also clear that the Reformation did not prevent writers of various denominations from being enthused by Marian themes. One of the most famous lines about Mary is "Ich sehe dich in tausend Bildern" ("I see you in a thousand pictures;" 1802) by the Romantic German poet Novalis, who was raised as a Lutheran; and Sir Walter Scott's "Hymn to the Virgin" in the third Canto of "The Lady of the Lake" (1810) is the original inspiration for Schubert's "Ave Maria." John Gatta explores Marian content in the Land of the Pilgrim Fathers in *American Madonna*, drawing attention to the work of Nathaniel Hawthorne and Harriet Beecher Stowe.

In the 20th century there were new attempts to reflect on Mary's existence. Rainer Maria Rilke's *Das Marien-Leben* (The Life of the Virgin Mary; 1913) consists of thirteen poems that follow Mary from her birth to the Assumption; Yiddish writer Sholem Asch's *Mary* (1949) relates Mary's experiences from her betrothal to Joseph until the Resurrection; Norah Loft's novel *How far to Bethlehem?* (1965) focuses on the period from the Annunciation to the Nativity; and Mariologist Sarah Boss draws together episodes from the Apocrypha and New Testament to present *Mary's Story* (1999) in an illustrated book for children. Unsurprisingly, Mary plays a very minor role in Nikos Kazantzakis' controversial *The Last Temptation* (1955) because she does not understand her son's mission. In contrast, there are several publications that offer Mary's first-person narrative, including Jean-Claude Darrigaud's *L'Évangile selon Marie de Nazareth* (The Gospel according to Mary of Nazareth; 1999); and Jacqueline Saveria Huré's Marian "autobiography" *Mémoires de Marie, filled'Israël* (I Mary, daughter of Israel; 1986) emphasizes Jewish traditions to inform the reader of Mary's ancestry.

However, if the seers are to be believed, the appearance of Mary on earth does not end with her death. Since the first recorded Marian apparition to Gregory the Wonderworker (d. ca. 270), there have been thousands of reports from across the world, with variations in the physical appearance of Mary and the tone and emphasis of her words, with the Marian apparitions in Lourdes (1858) and Fatima (1917) being amongst the most famous. Emile Zola's novel entitled *Lourdes* (1894) and Joris-Karl Huysmans' *Les Foules de Lourdes* (The Crowds of Lourdes; 1906) offer opposing approaches to the French shrine. The Jewish Austrian writer Franz Werfel, who was a refugee in the little village in the Pyrenees as he fled from the Nazis during World War II, kept a vow to write the story of the visionary Bernadette Soubirous, and his novel *The Song of Bernadette* (1941) was also adapted for the screen into a Hollywood film directed by Henry King (1943, US).

In *Lumen Gentium*, one of the principal documents of Vatican II (the Second Vatican Council of 1962–65), which was an effort to modernise the Catholic Church, theologians were urged "to abstain zealously both from all gross exaggerations as well as from petty narrow-mindedness in considering the singular dignity of the Mother of God" and to "assiduously keep away from whatever, either by word or deed, could lead separated brethren or any other into error regarding the true doctrine of the Church." In addition, in line with the second wave of feminism that came to the forefront in the 1970s, Mary was identified as a symbol of patriarchal oppression by some theologians, and these negative images also found an outlet in secular literature. In *Le Deuxième Sexe* (The Second Sex), Simone de Beauvoir had already described Mary as a symbol of women's submission within a patriarchal church in 1949. "If Mary's status as spouse be denied her, it is for the purpose of exalting the Woman Mother more purely in her. But she will be glorified only in accepting the subordinate role assigned to her. 'I am the servant of the Lord.'" (Beauvoir: 203) In 1981, the French novelist Annie Ernaux joined several women writers who repudiated the Marian model espoused during their Catholic education when she presented a negative image of Mary in *La Femme gelée*(A Frozen Woman). The feminist and pacifist Elisabeth Burmeister rejected what she saw as "the false humility" of the Marian image (Kirchberger: 120), with Mary spurned "as a subservient woman, impossible model to other women, for she is both

mother and virgin" (Carroll: 51). Marina Warner's oft-quoted study of the cult of Mary entitled *Alone of all Her Sex*, first published in 1976, concluded that "the Virgin's legend will endure in its splendour and lyricism, but it will be emptied of moral significance, and thus lose its present real powers to heal and to harm" (Warner: 339).

3. Third Millennium. Yet, despite the downturn in traditional Marian devotion in the wake of Vatican II and the feminist movement, an interest in Mary has remained in works of literature, although the approach may sometimes be irreverent or controversial, especially in the imagination of contemporary novelists in the United States. Christopher Moore's *Lamb: The Gospel according to Biff* (2002) is a satirical approach to the Gospel in which Jesus' childhood friend offers his own recollection of events, including his appreciation of Mary; and David Guterson's *Our Lady of the Forest* (2003) invents visions of Mary to instigate the plot. The disputed last "secret" of the Fatima apparitions is the subject of Steve Berry's novel *The Third Secret* (2006), which uses a tale of intrigue as an opportunity to question the Catholic Church's teachings on a variety of issues.

However, the desire to fill the omissions in the Gospel and to connect with Mary's emotions is notable in contemporary fiction. Diane Schoemperlen's *Our Lady of the Lost and Found* (2001) combines a fictional story, in which the narrator is visited by Mary (who is dressed in a blue trench coat and white running shoes) with an overview of the history of Marian devotion. Francine Rivers explores Mary's perspective in *Unafraid* (2001), in which the fictional narrative invites readers to reflect more closely on the Gospel text itself. In *Fourth Dawn* (2005) by Bodie and Brock Thoene, there is a scene in which Mary is stricken by the outrage of her parents at her unexpected pregnancy, and she later reflects on the suffering that she has caused her betrothed, Yosef. The love story of Mary and Joseph is the focus of Elizabeth Berg's *The Handmaid and the Carpenter* (2008); and Anne Rice's two *Christ the Lord* volumes (2005, 2008) are written from the perspective of Jesus, who evidently reflects upon his relationship with his mother. In *Mary of Nazareth*, Marek Halter calls his protagonist "Miriam" (as her name would appear in Hebrew or Aramaic) and emphasizes her Jewish identity. He underlines her autonomy as the mother of Jesus, but does not relate the divine origins of her pregnancy (as recorded in Luke) but only Miriam's assertion that her child was conceived without a father. Colm Tóibín's *The Testament of Mary* (2012), which was first produced as a monologue to be performed on stage and subsequently published as a novella, subverts traditional representations of Mary and focuses on the repercussions of being the mother of Jesus through the voice of an elderly (and sometimes disgruntled) woman.

4. Continuing inspiration. Mary's presence in the Gospel scenes has inspired secular writers across the centuries. The Annunciation offers opportunities to depict Mary as an obedient servant of the Lord or as an autonomous participant in the plan of Salvation, who clearly engages in dialogue with the angelic messenger in the Gospel of Luke. Indeed, her final words to Gabriel ("Here am I, the servant of the Lord; let it be with me according to your word" [Luke 1:38]) cannot be explained as part of a typical five-stage biblical Annunciation schema, for it is not a step found in the usual annunciation pattern (Brown 1993: 316).

The repercussions of Mary's "yes" at the Annunciation are treated in Paul Claudel's allegorical play *L'Annonce faite à Marie* (The Tidings brought to Mary), in which the central female protagonist, Violaine, experiences her own *fiat* when she kisses a man with leprosy and takes his illness upon herself. Just as the Annunciation scene has been re-visioned by feminist commentators to consider Mary's role as an active or passive participant, so the play underwent a number of revisions (between 1892–1940) until its final version, in which Violane's personal freedom is underlined.

The Visitation scene (Luke 1:39–56) provides the space to explore the connection between Mary and Elizabeth. In French poetry, Paul Claudel's "La Visitation" and Marie Noël's "Magnificat" witness to an unspoken bond between the kinswomen, who are united in the joy of their pregnancies. Indeed, Marie Nöel (d. 1967) leaves John and Jesus in the womb to communicate themselves, thereby celebrating the life of the unborn child. In 19th-century France, Marceline Desbordes-Valmore (d. 1859) wrote the *Cantique des mères* (Canticle of the Mothers) via the theme of The Magnificat, creating a poem in which women were pleading for the release of their sons who had been imprisoned by Louis-Philippe. The Magnificat canticle (Luke 1:46–55) itself contains a prophetic and radical message that gives hope to the poor, inspiring the German Marxist writer Wolf Biermann to see Mary as a revolutionary figure (Beinert/Petri: 262–63).

A plethora of poets focus on the Nativity, such as "On the Morning of Christ's Nativity" (1629), in which John Milton tells of "the Virgin blest"; Samuel Taylor Coleridge's "A Christmas Carol" (1799); and W. H. Auden's *For the time being*, which is a Christmas Oratorio in which the effect of Mary's *fiat* on her relationship with Joseph is considered. Psychoanalyst Françoise Dolto (1977) asserts that Mary and Joseph are an extraordinary couple who help all people to discover the depth of any encounter between an ordinary man and woman.

François-René de Chateaubriand (d. 1848) wrote of the Virgin Mother adoring her newborn infant in the chapter on the Incarnation in the *Génie du christianisme* (The Genius of Christianity). T. S. El-

iot's "Journey of the Magi" (1927) and William Butler Yeats' "The Mother of God" (1933) both dispel saccharine notions of the Christmas story. The very real dangers of childbirth that Mary could have experienced are explored in *A Flesh and Blood – Biography of the Virgin Mother*, as it was an era in which expectant mothers were known to cry out in pain for days "until it takes three women to hold you down" (Hazleton: 2). "La Charlotte" by the French poet Jehan Rictus (d. 1933) tells of a homeless girl who is on the streets on a freezing Christmas Eve and compares her situation to that of Mary and Jesus; and "Maria" by Bertolt Brecht (d. 1956) reminds the reader of the hardship that faced the family of Jesus. The traditional humble setting of the nativity scene, in which there was "no place for them in the inn" (Luke 2:7) has led to scenes in which Jesus' birth (depicted in a stable or a cave) has a resonance with people living in poverty.

Although Martin Luther (d. 1546) rejected what he saw as the excesses of the Catholic Church, he wrote in praise of Mary, including his thoughts on the birth of Jesus: "The incomparable thing, what the whole world cannot grasp, much less describe, is that from Mary's flesh and blood, he takes his human nature" (Kirchberger: 96). It is perhaps more surprising that, during his time in prison during World War II, atheist Jean-Paul Sartre wrote a nativity play called *Bariona* that includes a beautiful reflection on the relationship between Mary and the baby Jesus (Laurentin: 276).

It is Mary's stance at the cross that has been particularly inspirational. Victor Hugo (d. 1885) writes of Mary on Golgotha in "XXVI Les Malheureux" in *Les Contemplations.* Women's war literature also uses the image of the sorrowful mother to express suffering at the death of a soldier. Just as Christological themes are traditionally found in male war poetry, in which a soldier lays down his life for his fellow men, so the theme of the *mater dolorosa* allows female protagonists to express their agony. The German pacifist writer Claire Studer evoked the women praying before invisible crosses on which they visualized that their sons were hanging on the battlegrounds of the First World War; and Ilse Boy-Ed exploited the image of the *mater dolorosa* in her wartime novel *Die Opferschale* (The Sacrificial Bowl; 1916), when the Protestant heroine Katharina considered the cult of Mary and "the seven swords in the heart of the Virgin" – the traditional image of the sword piercing Mary's soul in the words of Simeon (Luke 2:35) is multiplied by the depiction of the woman's pain. Edith Stein, who died in Auschwitz in 1942, took the theme of the *Stabat Mater* in her poem "Juxta crucem tecum stare," writing that it is by the cross that Mary becomes "our mother." The female characters in Dostoevsky's novels resonate "with the experience of modern feminist theologians, who perceive Mary, the Mother of God, not as a cult figure of perpetual virginity, but as a woman who loved and suffered on behalf of her child, and whose experience offers consolation to those who grieve" (Briggs: 111).

In her Afterthoughts in a reprint of *Alone of all Her Sex*, Marina Warner added that "Mary offers a field of language and a proving ground, where the essential struggle for sexual and personal identity continues to take place" (1990: 344). From a Protestant perspective in *Glimpses of the mother of Jesus*, Beverly Roberts Gaventa (1999: x) explained that she "would delight in hearing the content of Mary's pondering" over the birth of Jesus (as in Luke 2:19) that is not recorded in the Gospel itself. Evidently, when the Evangelists do not provide the details of Mary's story, there are writers (both religious and secular) who are very willing to fill the gaps in the biblical text.

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Catherine O'Brien

VII. Visual Arts

1. Mary's Perennial Appeal for the Visual Arts. Biblical and early apocryphal accounts of the life of the Virgin Mary have had a profound influence on the visual arts throughout the Christian world and beyond. From the icons of Byzantium and the stained glass of medieval cathedrals to the frescos and paintings of the Renaissance and in venues ranging from catacombs to grottos and sacred springs her image has adorned spaces both secular and sacred over many centuries, both within the context of the orthodox cult of the church and outside its bounds. In spite of controversy, this image maintained its power throughout the Reformation in both folk devotion and the high art, and representations of Mary later traveled far and wide, especially through mechanical reproduction and the dissemination of Christian art in popular culture in the 19th and 20th centuries. Today, the figure of Mary may be seen in a wide range of sites, domestic as well as ecclesiastical, private as well as public, and she is increasingly depicted and venerated in non-Christian contexts, including Islamic, Buddhist, Hindu, and heterodox ones.

Given her long importance to religious representation, it is perhaps surprising to find that there are few mentions of Mary in the NT (see "I. New Testament"). However fragmentary – one biblical scholar has called them "glimpses" of Mary (Gaventa) – these texts were from the first the subject of intense liturgical and personal devotion, imaginative elaboration and theological speculation, and they have since generated a ramifying and still expanding set of typologies associated with Mary, each of which has something of life of its own. Among the more biblically rooted of these typologies, as we shall see in a moment, are the Annunciation, the Visitation, the Nativity, the Adoration of the Magi, the Presentation in the temple, the Crucifixion or *Stabat Mater*, and the Deposition or Descent from the cross.

These iconic moments have been augmented in both the textual and visual traditions by important and widely read apocryphal accounts of Mary's birth, early life and death, and by the application to scripture of an extended, not to say strained, mode of interpretation called by Roman Catholic exegetes the *sensus plenus*. Apocryphal writings give us further highlights of Mary's life and role, including her Immaculate Conception, her dedication in the temple, and the Dormition (Gk. *koimesis*) or Assumption into heaven at her death. Of particular importance here is the text known as the *Protoevangelion of James*. This charming narrative has never quite lost its purchase on the Christian visual imagination. In the Eastern Orthodox churches, where it has near-canonical status, is has profoundly influenced liturgy as well as iconography, and its recent re-dating to a relatively early period and its wide dissemination through digital reproduction have given it increasing importance today.

Tradition adds to the iconic moments of Mary's life of which these texts speak many and ramifying types and figures. Application of *sensus plenus* principle of interpretation to the Bible, by which Marian allusions can be read into a variety of texts otherwise unconnected to the gospel accounts of her, yields typologies such as New Eve, the Seat of Wisdom, Woman Clothed with the Sun and others.The most famous of the very early extra-biblical tropes for Mary are the Byzantine icon types where she is given the title of Hodegetria (see "Hodegetria"). Equally important, and very prominent in the West, are her representation as *Sedes Sapientiae*, or seat of Wisdom, and as the sorrowing mother standing with the disciple John before the cross, in a composition known as the Deesis. (In the East, the Deesis consists of the Virgin and John the Baptist in intercession, with Christ in the role of judge.) These are

iconographical codifications with a universal cosmic significance for Christians, but Mary's cult is as much local as international, and it has also generated a host of more particular and local manifestations of the Virgin, among which the most celebrated are perhaps Our Lady of Czestochowa, Our Lady of Lourdes, and Our Lady of Guadalupe. Each of these latter Marian representations is a locus of national and communal identity as well as of theological and soteriological significance.

What are some of the reasons for the commanding position of Mary in both Christian devotion and the Christian imaginary? And why does this figure have at the same time such a particular resonance and such a universal appeal? As has been noted, there is not a lot of scriptural warrant for this wide and intense focus, though the stories of Mary in the Bible are both remarkable and doctrinally central to the faith. And there has always been a certain theological restraint exercised in her direction by the magisterium, where the notion that she might share not only imaginative appeal but a soteriological function with her divine son – and share it from the position of a woman and a mother – seems at times in danger of threatening his exclusive reign, heavily inflected as it is with patriarchal motifs. Problems here abound, and as we shall see they often manifest in some visual awkwardness, as when Jesus and Mary are juxtaposed quasi-equally as king and queen of heaven, and yet the artist must for doctrinal reasons try to indicate a hierarchical relationship of mastery and subordination between them as well. We see this, for instance, in the coronation of the Virgin on the south portal tympanum of the Gothic Cathedral of Strasbourg (1250), where an upright Jesus crowns her inclined head.

In spite of this and other doctrinal and anthropological constraints and issues, the gestalt of the Madonna and Child has perpetual appeal, for it invokes a powerful pre-verbal experience, one that is literally beyond words – though not beyond the reach of the senses, as music and art both sublimely attest. At the same time, this image is in Christian theology deeply *associated* with words and texts, indeed with *the* Word, the logos incarnate of the opening of John's gospel. There is thus an inherent tension between image and text in Marian art that has left a mark on theology and culture alike. It is as if the extravagances of an unfettered appeal to sight, hearing, touch and even taste and to the profound veneration voked by mother and child must perpetually be restrained by textual constraints and proprieties, and by the exigencies of monotheism, while these at the same time cry out for fuller realization and appropriation at the emotional and even physiological levels.

Thus Mary's Immaculate Conception, the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Adoration of the Magi, the Presentation in the temple, the Crucifixion, her Dormition, and her Coronation as Queen of Heaven, all these moments and more seek to present Mary both as the matrix of the Logos – a particular and in many ways peculiar manifestation of a specific understanding of divinity that occurs at a very abstract conceptual level – and as a supreme and exemplary human mother, whose experience and example are at the heart of the process of conception and procreation. As her titles attest, she is both the daughter of Zion, that is of a very particular lineage and religious understanding based on revelation, and the New Eve, the progenitrix of all humankind. The greatest art has for many been the instances where these two poles are held in tension, where Mary is neither exclusively a cipher for revelation nor exclusively the mother of us all. Short of this balance, only found in the greatest examples of Marian art, there is a not infrequent descent either into a regressive infantilism and kitsch or an empty elevation into abstraction or "illustration" of some dogmatic point.

If the restraints of scriptural text and theology constrain Marian representation in some ways, however, they liberate it in others. It was Augustine, for instance, early in the tradition, who remarked somewhat tartly that the silence of the Bible on Mary's exact appearance meant that any artist would merely be doing guesswork in depicting her – perhaps a side swipe at eastern veneration of icons, which in the west was felt to fear in the direction of idolatry, yet nonetheless a telling point (*Trin.* 8.5). Many centuries later, the great critic and scholar of western art, Maurice Vloberg remarked, that "of all the works of the Supreme Artist, Mary is his eternal masterpiece; even after having brought her into temporal being, he will not reveal her secrets" (Vloberg: 581). As these remarks indicate, the issues that the figure of Mary raises for visual representation are complex, and they often require adjudication of matters that in textual form can be left to the viewer's discretion or foregone as a matter of ascetic restraint but that in visual depiction must be decided upon. You cannot make an image of Mary, for instance, without choosing a color scheme, a setting and a "look"; you may even have to decide what color her skin is and what she should be wearing. A simple peasant dress? A royal robe? The rent clothes of mourning? The accoutrements of a goddess? A proleptic habit? Determination must be made and is significant.

2. The Immaculate Conception. The visual images and large-scale paintings of Mary as Immaculate Conception (see "Immaculate Conception") that emerge from this history depict her floating in a kind of astral space, her head crowned with stars, and often with a serpent under her feet. Sometimes she is also standing on a crescent moon, surrounded by cherubs (which are perhaps also the souls of unborn babies) sheltering beneath her cloak. There is,

however, following the constraints of the text, typically no Christ child visually associated with this figure, as the narrative deals with Mary before his birth, and she is as a result isolated and exalted, seen against a cosmic backdrop that emphasizes both her power and her archetypal qualities. Peter Paul Rubens shows her as the immaculately conceived one in a swirl of drapery, more riding upon than crushing a small serpent, who displays a bitten apple in his jaws (1638, Prado, Madrid). In Francisco Zurbaran's realization of this type, a very young, barely pubescent Mary gazes with compassion but without perturbation downward at the earth far beneath her, the crescent framing a ship on the ocean, as befits her title Star of the Sea (1630, Muse Diocessano de Siguenza, Guadalajara). She is both sexually and in terms of agency in the world's affairs *hors de combat*.

At some point, the image of the Immaculate Conception becomes, in much European art, fused with representations based on two other biblical texts, neither directly pertaining to Mary but both associated with her by application of the *sensus plenus*. In these representations, Mary is associated with the female figure of Eve in Genesis, who on some readings of the ambiguous Hebrew "treads" a serpent – presumably the serpent of temptation and evil – under her feet. Mary reverses the curse of Eve's fault and fall by being perfectly obedient and perfectly ready to accept the limitations of her human identity and role, rather than falling prey to the false promise that she may become one of the gods. She is the pure complement to Eve's impurity, and in rectifying Eve's lapse she also provides the template for the rectification of Eve's daughters. This complex of ideas and images is further associated with a striking vision in Rev 12:1. In that vision a figure described only as "the woman clothed with the sun," clothed in radiant light and crowned with stars, gives birth to a boy and both are immediately menaced by a great beast. Her child is then snatched away from her for his protection, and she herself is sequestered elsewhere to await the defeat of this evil. In visual terms, both of these images depict Mary without the child in her arms, elevated beyond the human to a cosmic zone beyond human tears.

3. The Annunciation. Although a tradition of depiction of Gabriel speaking to the Virgin existed in Byzantine art, usually in monumental cycles, icons, and prominently on the paneled doors leading to the sanctuary (the Royal Doors, or Doors of Paradise), the Annunciation did not become a prominent subject in the West until the later Middle Ages. Interest in this moment reached its apogee during the Renaissance, when it became matter for some of the greatest paintings in Western art. These ranged from the sober and compelling frescoes of Giotto in the Scrovegni Chapel in Padua (1303), through Donatello's gilded relief installed in Santa Croce in Florence (ca. 1435), to the brilliant renditions of van Eyck (1434, National Gallery of Art, Washington), Van der Weyden (1435, Louvre, Paris), Fra Angelico (ca. 1450, Convent of San Marco, Florence), and Leonardo (1472–75, Uffizi Gallery, Florence). Here the representations of Mary are both firmly rooted in a human and natural world and in her earthly identity as a mother, and they are charged with a gravitas that speaks of her supreme destiny as mother of the Lord. In Leonardo's *Annunciation*, for instance, she is seen reading Scripture, which narratively speaking can only be the HB/OT, one hand marking her place in the text and the other raised as if taking an oath, a visual evocation of her response to Gabriel's announcement in Luke: "May it be done to me according to Thy word." As a faithful Daughter of Zion (one of her many titles), Mary would have known the founding story of Abraham and Isaac, known of the ordeals of the messiah in Isaiah, and thus known of the danger any such son as the angel seems to be prophesying would endure. She is here testifying that she will hold to the contract that guarantees that in spite of these ordeals and dangers her child, like Isaac, like the people of Israel, will live.

During the Baroque period, the emotional and mystical intensity of this announcement of divine conception begins to take hold of the visual imagination, as in Rubens' surprised Virgin (1628, Rubenshuis, Antwerp), who turns and rises from her book as she registers the dynamic descent of a radiant light at Gabriel's imperative summons. In Titian's version (1559–64, Church of San Salvador, Venice), as in other works of the period, the huge figure of the angel dominates the frame. El Greco's treatment of the subject (1600–10, Prado, Madrid), one of the greatest of his works, invokes a streak of lightning and the descent of a dove by a huge winged angel, literally "overshadowing" the figure of Mary with an almost audible crack of thunder.

The Romantic period sees a lessening of interest in this particular typology, and in the 19th century, with the rise of mass means of reproduction, the representation of the Annunciation, like that of the Nativity, becomes largely taken over by kitsch. A partial exception is found in the Pre-Raphaelites and in the new realists, though these indicate the growing decadence and confinement to materialism and historicism of Christian art rather than any renewed or expanded vision of this type. We can think here of Dante Gabriel Rossetti's adolescent Mary as shrinking violent (1850, Tate Britain, London) and Henry Ossawa Tanner's Mary as a frightened Palestinian girl, terrified, alone, and without either companionship or comprehension of her fate (1898, Philadelphia Museum of Art).

4. The Visitation. An early Visitation (for the concept, see "Visitation") appears in a 6th-century mo-

saic in the Basilica Euphrasiana in Porec, attesting to its early inclusion in monumental cycles. Here the figures are formal in their greeting of one another and the occasion is ceremonial and grave. Much later, in Giotto's 1306 fresco for the Scrovegni Chapel in Padua, a deep subjectivity comes to the fore, as Mary grasps the arms of her visibly aged kinswoman and the two gaze into one another's eyes with great intensity. Giotto's acute understanding of scripture gives us the sense of witnessing a kind of maternal transmission, alternative or supplemental to the dominant patriarchal one, involving Elizabeth's recognition, as herself an elder in Zion pregnant with a divinely inspired son, of Mary as also bearing the lineage of Israel and indeed its promised messianic savior. At the other end of the Renaissance, we have Pontormo's Visitations (1528, Pieve di San Michele, Carmignano), less ceremonial and grave than dancing and joyous, as the two women meet in a swirl of red and blue and green drapery. Yet here, too, the narrative and theological import of this moment is not forgotten. In the somber background two similar figures, like two doppelgangers, stare out into the viewer's space with disconcerting stoicism, perhaps anticipating the death of both of these children, here still *in utero* but destined to die by execution at the height of their respective ministries.

5. The Nativity. Perhaps the most famous story of Mary in the Gospels is the Nativity (see "Nativity of Jesus"). In two slightly different versions of this narrative (Matt 1:18–24 and Luke 2:1–21), the Bible tells the story of Jesus' simple birth in a stable.

This is, however, no ordinary child, but the savior of humankind, the future king, priest and prophet of Israel, to use the later threefold typology assigned to him in theology. How to indicate in visual terms the triple destiny of this child? How to capture both his vulnerability to the forces of this world and his authority and lordship? And what role to give his parents here? Does Mary realize what she has unleashed in giving birth? And what to do with the figure of Joseph? This baby has no earthly father; he comes directly from God. What then is to be Joseph's role in his life? Is he merely supernumerary? Does his presence not seem intrusive or even disturbing not only of the intense mother son dyad but of its fundamentally a-sexual nature?

One way to handle this problem is simply to leave Joseph quite out of the frame, as many artists have done. More usually, he is depicted as a very old man, establishing at once the a-sexual nature of his relationship to Mary and his purely subsidiary role in the story. The earliest nativity, if nativity it be, is often thought to be part of a fresco in the catacomb of Priscilla in Rome, dated to about the year 200. It depicts a seated woman with a child on her lap. Near her is a prophetic figure (Isaiah, Ballam?) pointing to a star. Scholars have debated whether this image actually bears a Christian significance at all; but it is certain that by its time not only were the biblical narratives about prophetic coming of a new child messiah well known (cf. Luke 1:26–39) but apocryphal elaborations of that narrative had already begun to proliferate, as we have seen in the *Protoevangelion of James*. As Christian art emerged into the public sphere in the early centuries, there followed an extensive use of the nativity type in the iconography of the Western and Eastern churches alike. We see this first and most extensively in the icon traditions of Byzantium and the East; a famous example at St. Catherine's monastery in Sinai that can be dated s as early as the 7th century. Here, the mother and child are stylized and transcendent, as they were to remain in the visual arts for some time to come. The Nativity was also treated formally as a subject for monumental representation, especially in the decoration of the great churches, where it was a frequent theme for mosaics (e.g., St. Maria in Trastevere in Rome, 1291), and for sculptural portals and tympani relief (e.g., western façade, south portal of Notre Dame de Chartres, 12th cent.). Later in the medieval period, Mary becomes more human and more mobile, taking her place among the saints as a young mother, her child canted on her hip in *contra posto*, as in Adrien Van Wesel's Virgin and Child (Utrecht, 1415–90: Riksmuseum).

This sense of humanity and even charm comes further to the fore during the Italian Renaissance with an emphasis on the embodiment of f Mary and Jesus and the naturalistic setting of his birth. One early Renaissance painter to initiate this interest in the humanity of the figures in the Nativity, though with utmost refinement and piety, was the monk and lifelong Marian devotee Fra Angelico. His fresco for the Dominican Monastery of San Marco (1439–43) has a simplicity, a childlike symmetry, (emphasized by the two figures of the ox and ass at the center background above the sleeping child) and a devotional quality that can be seen especially in the face of the older but still vigorous Joseph. It is a quality found also in Giotto's grave and sober but humble and intent paintings of the Nativity. This emphasis on the human drama of love speaks of the influence of Francis of Assisi on both popular and learned devotion. Later, the high Renaissance saw the a proliferation of nativities , some of them remarkable, as were those of Bellini, whose half-figure Madonnas are in intimate rapport with the child, even while the viewer is distracted by exquisite depictions of the land and cityscapes of this world. Fra Lippo Lippi, whose personal life was the antithesis of monastic exemplum in spite of his clerical vocation, shows Mary in a way that skirts the very edge of propriety, attenuating her halo and incorporating some mischievous cherubini around her.

To the iconography of the Nativity proper should be added a note about the extension of this

scene into depictions of Mary holding her baby in her arms. It is an image of Mary of which the original prototype is lost, but which has been so frequently reproduced and in numerous contexts as to point to an extremely old and influential provenance. In early Egyptian monasteries, the Virgin was often shown offering her breast to her child. In later, Middle Byzantine period, the icon called the Hodegetria or "way-shower" mentioned above featured the Virgin heavily veiled and cradling her son in what seems part a gesture of protection, part one of presentation to the world. This image of the Virgin was legendary its own time, purporting to have originated with a portrait of Mary done from life by the apostle Luke. The legend was widely disseminated because it provided a putative warrant and unbroken line of succession for her depiction in art.

To return to the West, among the most famous images of Mary with her child are the many paintings of Jesus' infancy by Raphael, whose robust, calm, southern mothers speak of an unalloyed affirm delight in humanity. Marian subject matter was also theologically compelling for Raphael, however, and his renditions of the Nativity led to the painting of the *Sistine Madonna*, one of the great masterpieces of Western art (1512, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Dresden). In this painting, Mary is a fully realized human figure, but she is also and indisputably full of grace. She is holding a baby whose weight she carries easily, and that baby is himself individualized and very much of this world. At the same time, both figures float in a kind of cosmic space, out from which they gaze with a kind of level and transcendental detachment, an expression of such combined gravitas and plenitude as to have brought many – and not just the conventionally pious – to their knees. Indeed this image of Mary has generated a veritable cult of its own, of which Goethe, Nietzsche, Wagner, and Dostoevsky were avowed members.

6. The Adoration of the Magi. Many of the earliest images of Mary present her in the context of the Adoration of the Magi (Matt 2:1–12), especially on Christian sarcophagi and in Early Byzantine art. Here three exotic king/magician figures from the east are seen coming to lay ceremonial gifts at the feet of the mother and child. In the visual representations of this moment, Mary is often depicted as a seated figure in a high-backed throne-like chair, with the three male figures approaching on foot with gifts or variously disposed around her. The text allows for representation in which the figures of Mary and Jesus are increasingly associated with attributes of royal and imperial status, and often in a way that juxtaposes their humble situation to their exalted status.

Here again, however, there are issues. Are the magi venerating mother as well as child? To what extent are they foreshadowing his future destiny and death with their presents of gold for kingship, frankincense for ceremonial priesthood, and myrrh for death? What, in fact, is going to be this child's relationship to imperial power? Some of these images even anticipate the later and apocryphal but widely circulated idea that Jesus was to crown Mary Queen of Heaven in her own right after his resurrection and her translation to the heavenly realm. In Mantegna's *Adoration of the Magi* (1462, Uffizi Gallery, Florence), the caravanserai of the kings has just arrived, and the painting depicts a positively ambassadorial moment, when the appropriate gifts of tribute and treaty are presented to a Mary already regal and well-attended, even though she is holding court from the opening of a grotto.

7. The Presentation in the Temple. Luke's Gospel alone provides us with the next iconic moment in Mary's life: her presentation of Jesus in the temple (Luke 1:22–40).

Here again the depiction of this moment involves significant choices between various conceptions. Among other things, the presentation in the temple represents the moment in which Jesus is taken from his mother arms and inscribed, at least metaphorically speaking, on the patriarchal rolls of Israel. In the face of this affirmation of the child's future identity, which takes him essentially out of her purview, what is Mary's demeanor to be? Is this a moment of joy or pride, or pain and sorrow? Is Mary happily relinquishing her son into the arms of the priesthood and preparing to bow out of the picture? Or is she herself being validated as an important player in the unfolding drama of salvation? Simeon's prophecy foretells the Crucifixion and also foretells that Mary will participate in some way in Jesus' suffering on the cross, a theological notion highly charged for later debates on redemption. How is that suffering to be foreshadowed?

There are many ways of rendering these complexities in the repertoire of Marian art. Among the most compelling is Bellini's *Presentation* (1460, Fondazione Querini Stampalia), which reduces the scene to the essential figures, brought close to the viewer, against a dark background. Mary holds the baby upright, wrapped in swaddling clothes that could equally be the cerements of death, while Simon leans forward to take him from her arms. Joseph, behind them, brow furrowed, establishes and ratifies this transfer of the child into the order of Israel, a moment of which the gravity is apparent to the onlookers. It is not an occasion of celebration, but of dedication and potential danger. Rembrandt also emphasizes the portentous quality of the moment described in the text, using a rich darkness shadowed with the mystery of a fraught messianic calling, evident from the first. (1631, Royal Picture Gallery, Mauritshuis).

8. The Crucifixion or Stabat Mater. In the three Gospel accounts of the Crucifixion, only John spe-

cifically mentions Mary as witnessing her son's torture and execution (19:25–27).

The important aspects of this scene for visual representation are include both its human pathos and its typological significance as the founding moment of the church, the empowered association of Jesus' followers. This significance emerges from the symbolic importance of the two main figures in Christ's ministry: the bond between Mary and John is here read as the typological precedent for the bond between Christians in the church. The two often appear isolated and foregrounded together at the foot of the cross, and their stance, one on each side of the crucified main figure, is grieving but also formal, as befits this founding moment in the church's history. Thus in the Crucifixion from a German stained glass pane the artist has lifted the figures of Mary and John right out of the more numerously peopled narrative and placed them side-by- side, weeping, against a black background (ca. 1420, J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, inv. 2003.35).

Equally reduced to essential figures are the works of the iconographic type known as the *Stabat Mater*, where the focus is on Mary's witness to the death of her son and her presence with him during his ordeal. In the early iconographic traditions of this type, she is usually shown as more stoic than distraught, but she later appears increasingly anguished, a change represented also in the development of liturgies evoking her suffering. Not only does this anguish indicate a rising emotional intensity in the culture of the time, but a new appreciation of Mary's own role in salvation history. Her pain becomes theologically as well as narratively important as giving her some share in her son's redemptive and mediating power. It is as if the prophecy that a sword would pierce her heart also comes to fruition here, and as a result she is a participant not only in her son's ordeal but in his saving function. Thus in the *Crucifixion* of the Isenheim Altarpiece by Matthias Grunewald (1510–15, Musée Unterlinden, Colmar), one of the most harrowing paintings of the Crucifixion in the Western repertoire, a Mary, clad in pristine white as if a professed religious, swoons backward into the arms of an attendant, hands clasped together before her in what is at once agony and supplication. Paradoxically, in these later representations Mary becomes both emotionally more overcome spiritually more powerful.

Allied to the *Stabat Mater* type is the iconography showing Mary at the deposition from the cross, a Mary of profound lamentation. The visual emphasis here is not only on Mary's grief, with frequent virtuoso renditions of the face of a mother in extreme pain at the loss of her firstborn son, but on the finality of Jesus' death and the corpse-like state of his body. This emphasis makes an important doctrinal point directed in part against the perpetually arising gnostic (and Qurʾānic) view that Jesus did not "really" die on the cross but was at the last moment wafted away from this acute and definitive termination of his earthly life. Among the most famous renditions of this moment of real and palpable death is Mantegna's *The Dead Christ* (1475, Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan), where Jesus lies in his coffin, body grey and drained, while beside it Mary weeps for him, her face, though still living, also almost equally drained of life and color. Of course the supreme realization of this type is Michelangelo's *Pietà*, now in St. Peter's Cathedral in Rome, where it has magnetized the devotion of many, including that of T. S. Eliot, of whom it is recounted that on seeing it he spontaneously fell to his knees in prayer. The sorrowful Virgin also developed into an iconic type know as *Mater Dolorosa*, or *Beata Maria Virgo Perdolens* and continued into the Baroque period. Depictions of her of this type prominently display her agonized expression and manifest her pain at her son's ultimate destiny by depicting no less than seven swords piercing her heart.

9. The Dormition (Koimesis) and Assumption. Instead of the death that most humans experience, Mary's passing is qualified as a *sleep*. In the Eastern tradition, images show her laid out on a bier while the disciples gather around her body to mourn. Christ appears and takes the Virgin's soul, represented as a tiny version of her, into his hands, lifting her to heaven. In the West her dormition is followed by her bodily assumption into heaven. Although the Assumption was only defined as infallible dogma in the Western church in the mid 20th century, accounts of this miraculous transumption have circulated since early times (see "Dormition and Assumption of Mary"). These and other examples are known as part of the *transitus* tradition in Mariology, which also accounts for the recognition very early on that there were no bodily relics of the Virgin to be had. Perhaps the most famous depiction of this moment is Titian's *Assunta* (1516–18, Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, Venice), in which Mary ascends beyond the imploring hands of her earthly devotees into a golden space above the clouds, her arms lifted in ecstasy, while, above her, her creator Father, who seems to echo Michelangelo's Sistine Chapel fathering God, looks down and awaits her ascension into his heaven with brooding intensity.

10. The Theotokos. Mary's designation as Mother of God, as the Council of Ephesus had it with the title *Theotokos* (perhaps better translated from the Greek as "God-bearer"; see "Theotokos") was established on amidst a storm of controversy. More than an honorific, it is a direct consequence of and imperative testimony to the central doctrine of Christianity, often contested in the early years: that Christ was at once fully human and fully God incarnate. Much has been written about this this

doctrine and its implications, and about the great iconographical controversies that swept through the Byzantine Empire in subsequent centuries and even touched the shores of the Latin West. The persistent thorn in the flesh, or sand in the oyster shell, in these controversies was the problem of how to negotiate and depict the incursions of divinity into purely mutable and earthly material, body, blood, and bones, without the fear of blasphemy on the one hand or corruption of divine alterity, purity, and eternity on the other. A similar problem arose around the figure of Mary, who must now be both exalted and authoritative, and yet in some way still in service to and not in competition with her divine son. This tension led to some of the greatest Marian art in the early church. For the most part, this art took the form of brilliant mosaics, presiding over or near (though not *on*) the high altars of a growing ecclesiastical order.

11. The Throne of Wisdom. Mary is often depicted both West and East, as seated on a throne in a formal, frontal posture, holding on her lap the figure of Christ – an iconographical type is known as the Throne of Wisdom or *Sedes Sapientia*. The child her is usually depicted as a small adult, with the marks of imperial and political power and regency, such as a globe, a cruciform halo, and/or a scepter in his hands (Boss 2007: 160–161). This image seems to have emerged from the very early depictions of the Adoration of the Magi discussed above (cf. Parlby, "Origins of Marian Art," in Boss 2007: 120). Here, however, the Magi themselves have dropped out of the picture, and we are left with a majestic seated woman, her very pose evocative of prestige and power, grounding and framing the nascent authority of her son. Although many are sophisticated and imperial, a number of these images have a distinctly archaic quality, taking the form of small wooden statues carved in dark wood. A classic example is the Madonna of Rocamadour (Quercy, France), a 12th-century statue made of oak, suggesting the early Christian practice of worshipping images of Mary in oak trees; it has long been a pilgrimage site of mystery and healing. This and many similar images call to mind the mother-figures of pre-Christian cults, among them the very similar and very potent images of Isis and Horus, the Egyptian mother-son dyad, and of Cybele, whose cult was widespread in the Roman Empire.

12. Our Lady of Guadalupe. Among the most potent of the images of Mary in contemporary global religious culture is her depiction as Our Lady of Guadalupe, an image found on a piece of textile in her shrine in Mexico City based on a story of revelation dating from the 16th century. That story goes that an indigenous peasant named Juan Diego had a vision of Our Lady, who commanded him to establish a shrine on the very site (which site happened also to have been the site of a cult dedicated the Aztec goddess of fertility Tonantzin). However, Juan Diego found his account of this appearance treated with skepticism by the local bishop. By way of establishing her devotee's credibility, Mary herself allowed an imprint of her image to manifest on the inside of his traditional cloak, or *tilma*. The resulting figure, which shows Mary in a mandorla, crowned with stars and with cherub at her feet, is at the crossroads between native and colonial identities and has become vital not just to Mexican, but to Latino identity in general. Today, the shrine of Our Lady of Guadalupe is the third most heavily trafficked pilgrimage site in the world and this image is perhaps the most widely disseminated of Marian types. Recently, Our Lady of Guadalupe has become the patron of those making the dangerous passage from Mexico to the United States across the heavily policed national border. An unusual feature of this cult is that the image imprinted on the *tilma* in the shrine itself has something of the theological status of a Byzantine icon; gazing on it is said to give the devotee direct visual access to divinity. A. C. Brading, in a remarkable study, has traced this high theology back to the cult of Our Lady of Guadalupe in Spain and possibly even to a lingering but direct eastern influence.

13. Black Madonnas. Both Our Lady of Rocamadour and the Virgin of Guadalupe are sometimes regarded as Black Madonnas, a classification that has come to cover a wide range of images of the Virgin, from the highly venerated Our Lady of Czestochowa, the patron saint of Poland to the famous Our Lady of Montserrat in Spain (see "Black Madonnas"). These images are said to find their origin in the verse "I am black but comely" spoken by the Queen of Sheba in the Song of Songs (Song 1:5 KJV). As we have seen in the case of the Virgin of Rocamadour, scholars have sometimes traced these images to pre-Christian prototypes in folk traditions of Europe. Certainly the presence throughout the Mediterranean and Romanesque world of enigmatic, dark-skinned statues of Mary is well attested: these riveting figures, whether enthroned and seated as in the *sedes sapientiae*, or standing upright in stiff, hieratic robes, are distinguished principally by symmetrical, frontal form, dark skin, and a kind of formal authority. These properties can be associated both with Byzantine icons and with Egyptian prototypes, but their contemporary sociological and political implications are obvious. They have provoked both clerical concern over their intense and potentially disruptive devotional appeal and cultic fascination with their power and mystery. In recent times, Black Madonnas have come to signify a Mary who embodies the values and defends the causes of the poor and marginalized, especially women. This role has ancient roots in Christian doctrine: the first known prayer to the Virgin, the *sub tuum praesidium*, is a prayer for mercy for the poor and dispossessed,

and Marian visions are famous for occurring to women, peasants, and outliers of various kinds (see Boss 2007; Birnbaum).

14. Marian Controversies. As we have seen, the devotional intensity generated by depictions of Mary in the visual arts has always been to some extent controversial. Theologically, of course, these representations have been seen by many as challenging the deeply held prohibition in the monotheisms against images of the divine that would seem to limit or challenge the supreme priority of the one God. Politically and in terms of ecclesiastical order, they are often felt to be equally dangerous, as they galvanize the imaginations of common people and mobilize their resistance to repressive authority. These issues, never fully resolved, emerged as early as the iconoclastic controversies of the 8th and 9th centuries, though they were to recur, with fatal consequences for art and culture, during the Reformation, which saw a return of iconoclasm across Europe. But from the first, icons in general and icons of Mary in particular, were thought too evocative of pagan practices and sensibilities for comfort and too easily deployed to catalyze various forms of heresy and rebellion against the imperial powers that be.

Yet, as the re-affirmation of the legitimacy of icons in 843 recognized, the image of Mary could also be a potent reminder of the doctrine of the Incarnation, and of her role in the economy of salvation. Nowhere are this doctrine and role more potently displayed that in the great apse mosaic of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople (867), where Mary, standing in cosmic space, presides over the altar below with astounding dignity and presence, affirming the power of an empire capable of realizing this enormous project, but even more deeply that of her own high place in the glory of a different empire, one beyond this earthly realm and irreducible to its terms.

In spite of these great monuments, devotion to Mary and her representation in art became problematic again and again in Christian tradition. Particularly devastating were the assaults on her cult and image during the Reformation, when statues and paintings of Mary were a particular target not just of polemic but of physical attack and desecration as well. By this time in Christian history, Mary's association with church hierarchy, priestcraft, corrupt monastic wealth and royal hegemony was well established, and as a result both her place in salvation history and her representation in art came under intense reprobation. We see this across Europe, from a knife assault by followers of the reformer Jan Hus in 1430 on the icon of Our Lady of Czestochowa, which bears three facial scarifications to this day as a result, to the desecration of the shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham, one of Britain's holiest sites, during which the cult image, a small and much revered wooden statue of the Virgin, was taken to London and ceremonially burned.

Reservations of a different sort have long haunted the veneration and reproduction of images of the Virgin generated by the extraordinary proliferation of individual and collective visions of her during the 19th and 20th centuries. The holy objects, photographs and tokens of her manifestations at sites like Fatima, Medjugorjie, and even Lourdes – not to mention her more outré appearances such as those at Bayside, Queens, around which developed cults with a kind of life of their own – have been something of a thorn in the flesh of the more sober members of the magisterium, attentive both to issues of heterodoxy and to their own power and control. In Haiti, for example, as Terry Rey has shown, devotional cards of Mary with cherubs, circulating independently of text or doctrine, allowed a deep syncretism between the Virgin and members of the pantheon of Vodun, including a merging of the figure of the Virgin with that of Erzulie, patroness of sexuality and fertility.

The 19th century also saw the extraordinary series of Marian apparitions that are now a widespread feature of her cult and one in many ways as controversial as the early icons. The most famous instances are the revelation of the Miraculous Medal to Catherine of Laboure mentioned above and the appearance to Bernadette of Lourdes of a figure she identified first simply as "that one," and then as Our Lady herself. Visual representations of these phenomena in accordance with verbal accounts and descriptions provided by the seers almost immediately began to abound, and these continue to be widely replicated. Prayer cards, paintings and statues of Our Lady of Lourdes, for instance, proliferated rapidly throughout Europe and the New World in that century and the next. These Marian apparitions were visual, as opposed to auditory, and they begged for capture and dissemination through drawing, painting, statuary, and later photography and videography.

15. Mary and Visual Representations in Islam. The importance of visual representations of Mary in Islam may surprise many, aware both of the supposed low profile for women in that tradition and of its core rejection of the implications of idolatry that hover over the veneration of holy images. In spite of the fierce iconoclasm of the Prophet and of Islamic tradition, however, some hadith have it that when the Prophet drove the idolators from the shrines at Mecca and destroyed their idols, he deliberately spared the image of the Virgin as too sacred to molest. As Islamic scholar Martin Lings recounts: "Apart from the icon of the Virgin Mary and the child Jesus, and a painting of an old man, said to be Abraham, the walls inside (Kaaba) had been covered with pictures of pagan deities. Placing his hand protectively over the icon, the Prophet told 'Uthman to see that all other paintings, except that of Abraham, were effaced" (Lings: 107). Here again, however, im-

age and text exist in tension, with text in this tradition predominating: verses from the Qurʾān mentioning Mary are a feature of the inscriptions on the mihrab of many mosques, including Hagia Sophia in Istanbul.

Islam, of course, sees nothing like the proliferation of visual representations of Mary in Christianity. But we do have examples of Marian art, as for example in Persian miniatures of the high medieval period and in the Mughal paintings of India they influenced. These were not, as in the Western tradition of miniature book illustration, designed for devotional use, and they seldom illustrated the Qurʾān directly. Here Mary's birth is sometimes depicted, and the specifically Qurʾānic anecdote of her pregnancy, the shaking of the palm tree to give dates for her respite.

16. Mary in the Modern and Postmodern Periods. As a seedbed for Marian representation, the cult of Mary in the late 20th and early 21st century has flourished as never before, in part from the return to religious faith in many quarters, in part through a more sophisticated feminist appreciation of female religious figures and as a result of the continued phenomenon of apparitions now famously seen and venerated in places as far apart as Japan and Africa. Now as in the past, however, the visual representation of Mary, always controversial and resistant to dogmatic control, has tended often to drift free of textual and orthodox theological constraints. The image of the divine mother cradling her child, an image deeply associated with the Virgin Mary in cultures and contexts all over the world, is now found everywhere, from the devotional spaces of many Hindu and Buddhist practitioners to the eclectic altars of contemporary spiritualists and shamans. And of course, it is now seen as kitsch on every conceivable object of consumption, from backpacks to T-shirts, from buses to billboards. Marian representation on the internet has been the object of several recent studies, and has taken on a life of its own, much to the dismay of ecclesiastical authorities.

Today the representation of Mary swings between extremes. The "pastel" Mary of popular pious devotion is in stark contrast to the "liberation" Mary of liberation theology; the "ethnic" Mary of national and/or racial purity to the "universal" Mary of goddess worship and feminine archetype and the "material" Mary of naturalistic representation. In postmodern art, she is sometimes rendered and/or mocked as a stereotyped and impossibly sanctimonious image of sexual purity and sometimes presented in edgier ways as an ambiguously vulnerable and/or threatening figure, or as the hallmark both of the normalizing culture of Christianity and/or as a sign of its oppressive aspects. Nonetheless, artists are still generating important images of the Virgin tradition in new contexts and with new meanings.

In the video repertoire, there is the video art of Bill Viola, whose lovely *The Greeting* brings into movement Pontormo's *Visitation*. To this may be added the work of Chris Ofili, the famous and notorious "elephant dung Mary," so transgressive to pious sensibilities and yet so powerful in its staring, trance-like presence; Kiki Smith's anonymous Mary as everywoman, a figure of ravaged beauty; and, more recently, Robert Gober's ambiguous installations showing Mary as both idol and victim, a stock figure from the 1950s disturbingly pierced through the womb with a strange industrial pipe. Mary is evoked with both with an effect both transgressive and tender in a set of photographs of himself called *Feinin* by artist Richard Bolai of Trinidad (https://thebookman.wordpress.com/tag/richard-bolai). In one set of these portraits, the artist dons the guise of several famous images of the Virgin from art history. He begins with among others a rather tongue in cheek riff on the work of Chris Ofili; but by the last in the set, as he himself admits, he wears with reverence and gravity for sacred motherhood a crown reminiscent of her magisterial presence in medieval art, moving his representations of her from parody to the sublime.

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Cleo Kearns

VIII. Music

The Virgin Mary as a biblical character and as a unique figure in the Christian faith has inspired countless musical works where her words, as reported in the Gospels, are cited, her personality is proposed as a model, her intercession is sought, the narratives regarding her life are retold. Indeed, similar to her biblical namesake, the sister of Moses and Aaron, the Virgin Mary of the Gospels is a poet, and possibly a musician herself (cf. Luke 1:46–56); her "musicality" brought the 14th-century German poet Heinrich von Mügeln as far as to describe the mystery of incarnation as "a seduction by music" (Rubin: 193). Marian iconography is frequently enriched by depictions of music-making angels, particularly in the scenes of her enthronement (both with the Child Jesus and after her assumption to heaven). Among the most memorable examples are the dome of Saronno, Italy, where Gaudenzio Ferrari (ca. 1475–1546) imagined Mary's Assumption as taking place amid a crowd of music-making angels, the "Madonna dell'Orchestra" by Giovanni Boccati (ca. 1410–1486), the delightful Madonna with Child by Piero di Cosimo (ca. 1461–1522; *see* → plate 14), and masterpieces by Pere Serra (ca. 1357–1409), Cosmè Tura (ca. 1433–1495), Hans Memling (ca. 1435–1494), and Luca Signorelli (ca. 1450–1523), to name but few (see also Pelikan).

Though Mary is particularly venerated in the Orthodox and Catholic Church, for whose liturgies and devotions most of the musical works in her honour were composed, the biblical roots of her cult have led innumerable composers from evangelical backgrounds to set to music at least the *Magnificat* (as in the case of Bach's *Magnificat* BWV 243 and of his masterly Cantata BWV 147: cf. Heller, discussing it in relation with Luther's enthusiastic admiration for the biblical canticle, and Frandsen on Lutheran contrafacta of Marian hymns), and occasionally other works about her. Along with oratorios and cantatas describing her life (or episodes of Jesus' life in which she features prominently), based more or less loosely on Scripture and frequently on apocrypha, Marian texts set to music often include excerpts from Song (see Fulton) or Rev, interpreted as referring to her. The tradition of writing poetry and music about Mary is extremely old, and some of the finest examples date back to the Patristic era, for example with the hymns by Romanos the Melodist (cf. Arentzen) or Ephrem the Syrian. The first transmitted prayer to Mary, *Sub tuum praesidium* (3rd cent.) has inspired beautiful musical settings starting with unaccompanied monody and up to composers such as Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, Marc-Antoine Charpentier, Charles Gounod and Camille Saint-Saëns.

1. Scripture and Marian feasts. The Gospel episode of Mary's visitation to Elizabeth (Luke 1:39–56), comprising the *Magnificat*, has been defined (Valentini: 60) as "presented with a liturgical character," in its structure, canticles and vocabulary. In turn, Mary's canticle has a central role in the Catholic liturgy of Vespers, where it is recited or sung daily, and in the corresponding services of many other Christian traditions. While referring to the dedicated *EBR* article for a more detailed discussion and examples, it is fitting to start from the *Magnificat* our discussion of Mary's role in the musical liturgy: the countless settings of her canticle (among which are also "political" paraphrases such as Fred Kaan's *Mary, Mary, quite contrary*) underpin the circular itinerary from liturgy to Scripture and vice-versa, whereby Mary inspires the Church's praise to God.

If the Catholic liturgical year is punctuated by the daily repetition of the *Magnificat*, it is also rhythmed by the major Marian solemnities, some of which are shared by other confessions. The four most important feasts are Mary's Nativity, her Purification (also known as Candlemas), the Annunciation and Assumption, while the Visitation or the memory of Mary's Sorrows have also inspired numerous musical works. As will be discussed later, these celebrations offered both the occasion and the subject matter for many oratorios and Proper items (such as Offertories or Motets). The biblical Mary is also present in several other passages of the NT, among which the Christmas and infancy narratives (see also "Holy Family [Christian] V. Music"), the wedding at Cana, Christ's Crucifixion and Pentecost. Our present discussion will focus mostly on

episodes and feasts with a tradition of Marian focus, but it should always be clear that most Christmas Oratorios, many Passions and several other works on episodes of Christ's life may include Mary as a protagonist character, or interpret the Gospel narratives through the lens of her own contemplation (cf. Luke 2:51).

2. Liturgy. Numerous Mass Ordinaries in honour of the Virgin have been composed, ranging from *cantus firmus* works, sometimes based on Marian *tenors* (taken from liturgy, but also from secular songs which could be interpreted as a homage to Mary); virtually all major composers of sacred music in the period predating the Evangelical Reformations authored "Marian" Masses, while Catholic composers continued this tradition in the following centuries, for example with the *Great Organ Mass* (1766) by Franz Joseph Haydn. Proper texts such as responsories, antiphons (both for the Mass and for the Hours), Offertories and Graduals had even more explicit references to the veneration of Mary. These compositions could be prompted by the major Marian feasts, by the titular feast of a church, or by the practice of celebrating votive Marian Masses on Saturdays.

"Marian" Vespers (characterized by the interpolation of Marian elements amid the prescribed psalmody) were also composed, and include the masterly *Vespro della Beata Vergine* (1610) by Claudio Monteverdi (see Whenham), along with many others (e.g., a setting by Franz von Biber).

The daily recitation of the Hours is concluded with a Marian "antiphon" as appropriate to the liturgical time, comprising the *Alma redemptoris Mater, Ave Regina Coelorum, Regina Coeli*, and *Salve Regina* (cf. Barré): each of these beautiful texts has received numerous settings (in particular the *Salve Regina*, see "Salve Regina"). Similarly, the angelic salutation of the "Hail Mary" (Luke 1:28), traditionally referred to as "Ave Maria," has been set to music so frequently (in the Gospel words, in the expanded version as prayed in Catholicism, or in poetic paraphrases) that it is impossible to treat it here satisfactorily, and has received specific attention in the eponymous *EBR* lemma (see "Ave Maria II. Music"). The *Ave Maria* was also included in the *Little Office of the Virgin*, an additional set of sung or recited prayers which enjoyed great popularity for centuries.

Marian hymnody, both liturgical and devotional, is a boundless field, comprising an estimate 15,000 hymns, 4,000 of which are original (O'Carroll: 175; for a history of Marian hymnody, see Budwey); some of them have become particular favourites in music (thanks to their liturgical role and/or to their literary beauty), among which a special mention is due to the *Ave Maris Stella* (8th–9th cent.). Indeed, such was the importance of these hymns that they were sometimes used as evidence in favor of particular theological theses, for example in the process of definition of Marian dogmas (O'Carroll: 175).

The most important Orthodox hymn to the Virgin is doubtless the *Akathistos* (5th–6th cent.), a magnificent song in twenty-four stanzas arranged in alphabetic order and symmetrically disposed in a Christological and ecclesiological fashion, and prayerfully narrating episodes of the Virgin's life. The *Akathistos* invites meditation on Mary's role in the history of salvation, in a strongly scripturally-inspired fashion linking NT themes to typological readings and imagery from the HB/OT. This hymn, sung "standing" (whence its name), is part of the Lent liturgy but is frequently performed in monastic worship; it has inspired both liturgical and devotional rewritings in the West, among which Mass texts and the entire form of the Litany (see below and "Litany III. Music"). Sung prayers and hymns to the *Theotokos* are also found in the Divine Liturgies of John Chrysostom and of Basil the Great, bearing witness to the crucial role of Mary in the prayer and liturgy of the Orthodox Church; here too, specific *troparia* and other chanted poetry devoted to the Virgin Mary are found for her particular feasts.

Pertaining to both liturgy and devotion, Marian Sequences partook of the medieval proliferation in the genre, and gave life to such masterpieces as Josquin Des Prez's *Ave Maria, Virgo Serena*; only one of them, the touching *Stabat Mater* developing themes from Gospel Passion narratives, was included in the 1727 Missal and later made optional; in this case, too, the abundance of masterly settings by musicians from Palestrina to Penderecki, from Rossini to Verdi, from Haydn to Dvořák, including the most celebrated of all, i.e. Pergolesi's (which Bach adapted for use by the Lutheran Church as BWV 1083: cf. Bertoglio) requires a specific discussion (see "Stabat Mater" and www.stabatmater.info). A similar liturgical/devotional status is that of Marian motets: this is in turn an immense repertoire, in which countless masterpieces are found, among them Guillaume Dufay's *Nuper rosarum flores* (1436), whose compositional proportions seemingly mirror those of the cupola of the Florentine Duomo for whose consecration it was written (Trachtenberg).

3. Devotion. Marian litanies were in turn frequently adopted in both liturgical and non-liturgical contexts (see also: "Litany III. Music"), and often sung – particularly during processions – in simple *falsobordone* settings. This did not prevent some of the greatest musicians of all times from composing more elaborate versions, particularly of the most popular series, the *Litaniae Lauretanae*. We may mention here the settings by Palestrina (various settings), Tomás Luis de Victoria (1583), Giovanni Gabrieli (1615), Claudio Monteverdi (1620), Isabella Leonarda (various settings), Francesco Durante

(various settings), Johann Michael Haydn (1765), Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1771 and 1774), Vincenzo Bellini (1817?), Luigi Cherubini (various settings), Edouard Lalo (1876), Camille Saint-Saëns (1917), Edward Elgar (1888), up to 20th-century examples such as those by Giorgio Federico Ghedini (1926), Francis Poulenc (1936), Karol Szymanowski (1933, not on liturgical texts but on lyrics by Jerzy Liebert), Jean Langlais (1944), and others.

As said, many of these litanies were sung or chanted processionally, especially by pilgrims on their way to Marian shrines, or for celebrations on the occasion of a church's titular feast. When a city's cathedral church was dedicated to Mary, the connection between devotion, faith, music and society could become very strong (see Wright as regards *Notre Dame* in Paris or Getz for Milan). To mention just one instance, the popular song *O mia bella Madunina* by D'Anzi (1934) has become a symbol for the Milanese identity, symbolized by the golden statue of the Virgin which seems to survey the city from the roof of the Duomo (cf. Castoldi/Salvi: 225). Conversely, the bell sound (frequently intoning motifs from Marian devotional songs) which used to invite the faithful to the biblical and Marian prayer of the *Angelus Domini* thrice daily represented a powerful element of social unity through faith and devotion, as well as a marker of the day's rhythm (cf. for example Pilario: 540).

Though the Rosary, the other great Western Marian devotion, is normally recited and not sung, it was given an unforgettable musical rendition in the *Rosary Sonatas* (1674) by Franz von Biber, virtuoso violin Sonatas illustrating the fifteen "mysteries" of the chaplet. Also in the domain of violin music are Antonio Vivaldi's *Concertos* RV581 and RV582 composed for the feast of Assumption and destined for performance by the girls of the Ospedale della Pietà in Venice.

Popular piety and devotion to Mary expressed itself in a wealth of musical forms, attested from a very early time in the form of vernacular *laude* in Italy or *Leise* in the German-speaking territories, and later as *villancicos* in the Spanish-speaking countries (particularly noteworthy are those dedicated to the Virgin of Guadalupe: see Davies). Indeed, where (as sometimes happened in Catholic countries, especially after the Council of Trent) the official forms of liturgy could be perceived as distanced from the culture of the laity (also due to the use of the Latin language), most of the creative power of popular devotion was channeled into vernacular devotional songs honoring Mary. Many of these songs are particularly euphonious as they make frequent use of consonant intervals and simple rhythmical structures; their texts, which can be felt as hyper-sentimental by today's listeners, are nonetheless the genuine expression of popular piety. This does not mean that their authors were perforce uneducated laypeople; several of them were authored or inspired by writings by "Marian" saints such as Alphonsus Liguori (*Canzoncine spirituali*) or Louis Grignion de Montfort (*Cantiques des missions*). The Virgin Mary is also frequently mentioned in (or even the protagonist of) many Christmas carols throughout the world, including lullabies evoking those she may have sung to her child (a masterly and touching example of these is William Byrd's *Lullaby* [1588], evoking the time of the persecution of Catholics in Elizabethan England).

4. Songs, Operas, Oratorios, and secular music. Here too, the boundary between devotional works and "secular" music with religious references is thin, as we proceed to discuss Marian songs, oratorios and the presence of Mary in other musical compositions. The most "religious" of such works are certainly the Marian oratorios, though their literary and musical style may occasionally be very similar to that of contemporaneous opera. Of the 132 oratorios on exquisitely Marian themes surveyed (thus excluding the many others where she appears as a character), more than sixty percent were written in the 18th century. Among their composers are great artists such as Giacomo Carissimi (1629), Marc-Antoine Charpentier (ca. 1690), Alessandro Scarlatti (who wrote several Marian oratorios), Jules Massenet (1880), Nikolaj Tcherepnin (1934), and Nino Rota (1970); among the most recent examples are *Maryam* by Antoine Tisné (1989) and the series of four oratorios dedicated to Marian apparitions composed by Ivan Kurz in the 1990s. The most often-treated topics include Mary's sorrows (continuing a tradition originating in the Middle Ages with the *Planctus Mariae* and *Marienklage*, "complaints of Mary"), her Assumption (see also "Dormition and Assumption of Mary III. Music") and Annunciation, due probably both to the opportunity for performance offered by the corresponding liturgical feasts and to the dramatic possibilities presented by their narratives; other themes include such varied topics as apocalyptic subjects, based on Marian readings of Rev 12 or nationalistic celebrations.

If Mary is a principal character in numerous oratorios, she is frequently the addressee of prayerful invocation in the operatic repertoire (interestingly, most often these are intoned by female characters). The first known prayers to the Virgin in Italian operas are found in Giuseppe Verdi's *I Lombardi alla Prima Crociata* (1843) and *Giovanna d'Arco* (1845; significantly, these prayers were the object of censorship at the time: see Izzo, also about their political aspect). Perhaps more famous are "La Vergine degli Angeli" in Verdi's *La forza del destino* (1862) and Desdemona's "Ave Maria" in his *Otello* (1887). Other Marian prayers are found in Richard Wagner's *Tannhäuser* (1845), in Modest Mussorgskij's *Boris Godunov* (1874), in Pietro Mascagni's *Cavalleria rusti-*

cana (1890), in Giacomo Puccini's *La Bohème* (1896), in *Tosca* (1900, where the *Angelus* prayer is evoked) and *Suor Angelica* (1917), in Leos Janáček's *Jenůfa* (1904) and in Francis Poulenc's *Dialogues des Carmelites* (1953) to name but few.

Mary is also celebrated in numerous songs from the classical and non-classical repertoire. In the Middle Ages, a beautiful example of sung poetry about the Virgin is *The Miracles of Notre Dame* by Gautier de Coincy (1177–1236), on tunes taken from the popular repertoire of the time, setting the example for later poets/musicians (see O'Sullivan); the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* (q.v.) by Alfonso X (13th cent.) transfigured themes and imagery from troubadour poetry as a homage to the Virgin, sung to memorable tunes; this tradition (cf. Rothenberg), symbolically summarized in the hymn to the Virgin in Dante's *Paradiso* (XXXIII, 1–39), was recapitulated by Petrarch in the final poem of his Canzoniere ("Vergine bella, che di sol vestita"), set to music (sometimes as a madrigal collection) by great Renaissance composers such as Guillaume Dufay (14th cent.), Bartolomeo Tromboncino (1510), Cipriano de Rore (1548), Palestrina (1594), and others. The Virgin was indeed one of the favourite subjects of spiritual madrigals in the late Renaissance: both textual and musical rhetorical imagery taken from the secular madrigal repertoire were transfigured and reinterpreted to give them a spiritual meaning. This tradition continued in the following centuries, with sacred/spiritual songs and *Lieder* for one or more accompanied or unaccompanied voices; examples include Gaetano Donizetti's *Canzoncine sacre*, and three of Verdi's *Quattro Pezzi sacri* (1898), while Ludwig van Beethoven harmonized a traditional Marian song (*O sanctissima*), whose melody is still sung in many churches throughout Italy. The best known of these works, however, are doubtlessly the *Ave Maria* settings written by Franz Schubert (1825) and Charles Gounod (1859) (for both see "Ave Maria II. Music"). Notable examples of Marian works in 20th-century classical music (excluding settings of *Stabat Mater* and *Salve Regina*) are Hindemith's song cycle *Das Marienleben* (1922–23, on poetry by Rilke), the *Chants de Marie* (1934) by Bohuslav Martinů, the *Song to the Virgin Mary* for string sextet by Andrzej Panufnik (1964), the touching *Symphony of Sorrowful Songs* by Henryk Górecki (1977), together with works by Olivier Messiaen (e.g. many of the *Vingt Regards sur l'Enfant-Jésus* for piano, 1944), Arvo Pärt (*Mother of God and Virgin*, 1990), James MacMillan (*On the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin*, 1997) and John Tavener (among which *Sollemnitas in Conceptione Immaculata Beatae Mariae Virginis*, 2006).

In contrast with religious works inspired by Mary, there are other compositions parodying her life and character (such as *María de Buenos Aires* by Astor Piazzolla, 1968), sometimes in a provoking fashion (such as in many of Madonna's songs and albums, starting with *Like a Virgin*, 1984), while on other occasions (as in *Oh Maria / Hail Holy Queen* from the movie *Sister Act*, 1992) Marian prayers epitomize the popular image of Catholicism.

Precisely by virtue of being a religious and a cultural reference (or at least a symbol), Mary is also alluded to in many songs and lyrics of the rock and pop music domain, ranging from the prayerful supplication to the blasphemous parody; many songwriters, however, deliberately choose to leave some ambiguity surrounding their citations of Mary, so as to leave open a variety of interpretations. This is the case for the Beatles' "Let it Be" from the eponymous album (1970), where the "Mother Mary" who "comes to me" has been frequently understood to be the Virgin Mary, though originally the reference was to Paul McCartney's mother (see McLeod). Similarly open is the interpretation of the U2 song "Magnificent" (2009), although in this case Bono has reportedly affirmed that its inspiration came from the *Magnificat* (Hiatt). A rather unambiguous prayer, instead, is "Love without Tragedy / Mother Mary" by Rihanna (2012), where – significantly – the repetitions of "I'm prepared to die in the moment" seem to allude to the final invocation of the Catholic prayer "Hail Mary." The presence of Marian themes in Bruce Springsteen's output following the events of 9/11 has been also highlighted (see O'Donnell), particularly in songs such as "Mary's Place," "The Rising" (2002) and "Maria's Bed" (2005), while "Virgin Mary" (from the eponymous album, 2002) is a powerful reference to Mary in the output of the band *18 Summers*.

Though this survey is by no means aiming at completeness, it has exemplified the wealth of musical works addressed to Mary, dedicated to her, celebrating her, reinterpreting her figure and words, and frequently representing some of the most cherished religious feelings of many Christian believers.

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Chiara Bertoglio

IX. Film

In the opening scenes of the devotional film on the life of Mary entitled *Mater Dei* (dir. Emilio Cordero, 1950, IT), a woman's hand reaches out and plucks fruit from a tree. The inclusion of this garden of Eden episode draws on the Eve-Mary typology introduced by Justin Martyr (d. 165) and presents Mary as the "New Eve." Although it is acknowledged that a mistranslation of Genesis 3:15 in the Vulgate Bible ("She will crush your head") was subsequently interpreted as a prophetic reference to the mother of Jesus, Mary has maintained her status as an opponent of the devil in contemporary cinema. In *The Passion of the Christ* (dir. Mel Gibson, 2004, US), Mary comes face to face with Satan across the

Via Dolorosa; and she literally encounters a snake in *Maria di Nazaret* (dir. Giacomo Campiotti, 2012, DE/IT, *Mary of Nazareth*) in an allusion to the popular Catholic iconography in which she crushes a serpent beneath her foot.

Mary has appeared in NT productions since the silent era. In *La Vie et Passion de Notre Seigneur Jésus-Christ* (dir. Ferdinand Zecca/Lucien Nonguet, 1902–05; 1907, FR, *The Life and Passion of Jesus Christ*) and *From the Manger to the Cross* (dir. Sidney Olcott, 1912, US), she has a scriptural role at the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Flight into Egypt, the Finding in the Temple, the Wedding at Cana and the Crucifixion. As a number of films focus on Jesus' birth and childhood, she is a key figure in *The Nativity* (dir. Bernard L. Kowalski, 1978, US); *Mary and Joseph, A Story of Faith* (dir. Eric Till, 1979, CA/DE/IL); *Gli amici di Gesù-Giuseppe di Nazareth* (dir. Raffaele Mertes, 2000, IT, *Joseph of Nazareth*); *La sacra famiglia* (dir. Raffaele Mertes, 2006, IT, *The Holy Family*); *The Nativity Story* (dir. Catherine Hardwicke, 2006, US); *Un bambino di nome Gesù* (dir. Franco Rossi, 1987, IT/DE, *A Child Called Jesus*); *The Nativity* (dir. Coky Giedroyc, 2010, UK/CA); *Io sono con te* (dir. Guido Chiesa, 2010, IT, *Let it Be*); and *The Young Messiah* (dir. Cyrus Nowrasteh, 2016, US). When Mary is the titular protagonist, her storyline is developed with recourse to non-canonical material or purely artistic imagination. The *Protevangelium of James* is the source for the depiction of Mary's childhood in the Temple in Jerusalem in *Maria, figlia del suo figlio* (dir. Fabrizio Costa, 2000, IT, *Maria, Daughter of Her Son*).

Paul writes that "God sent his Son, born of a woman, born under the Law" (Gal 4:4), but Jewish actresses (such as Maia Morgenstern in *The Passion of the Christ* and Yaël Abecassis in *Maria, figlia del suo figlio*) are a rarity. Films that are produced outside Hollywood and Europe, such as *El mártir del Calvario* (dir. Miguel Morayta, 1952, MX, *The Martyr of Calvary*), *La vida de nuestro señor Jesucristo* (dir. Miguel Zacarias, 1980, MX, *The Life of Jesus Christ*), and *Karunamayudu* (dir. A. Bhimsingh, 1978, IN, aka *Dayasagar* and *Oceans of Mercy*) add a fresh perspective on the events; and the black casts in *Son of Man* (dir. Mark Dornford-May, 2006, ZA) and *Color of the Cross* (dir. Jean-Claude La Marre, 2006, US) bring questions of inculturation to the forefront.

The staging of the annunciation scene has repercussions for both Marian devotion and feminist theology, and it is important for an understanding of Mary's onscreen active or passive role in the plan of salvation. In the silent *La Vie et Passion de Notre Seigneur Jésus-Christ*, Mary spreads her arms wide to demonstrate wordlessly that she is a joyful participant in God's plan. The sound era leads Mary to identify herself as a "servant" of the Lord, so it is notable that Hardwicke omits this Gospel verse in *The Nativity Story* and does not underline Mary's "handmaiden" status. The extent to which Mary is "much perplexed" (Luke 1:29) by the annunciation is also variable: in *Jesus of Nazareth* (dir. Franco Zeffirelli, 1977, IT/UK), Mary is clearly frightened and undergoes a gamut of emotions until the moment of acceptance; whereas in Campiotti's *Maria di Nazaret* she appears immediately eager to fulfill her divine assignment. In the BBC's *The Nativity* (2010), Mary initially rejects the angel's message ("I don't believe you"), so that her sudden realization that Gabriel's words are true is greeted with an audible gasp.

Disputes over the use of the Greek word *parthenos* and its rendition in English as "virgin" or "young woman" in the prophecy of Isaiah (7:14) are not encountered in the cinema, as Mary's virginal status is not questioned before the annunciation. With occasional exceptions, one actress is matured (or rejuvenated) with the aid of the make-up department to cover Mary's onscreen lifespan. The fact that she may have been aged fourteen at the annunciation is frequently avoided in keeping with Western sensitivities. Hardwicke's *The Nativity Story* takes Mary's youth into account but is somewhat anachronistic in presenting her as a (sometimes moody) teenager who baulks at an arranged marriage.

Mary usually travels in a caravan to visit her kinswoman Elizabeth, although she demonstrates a (somewhat incongruous) self-reliance and rides alone on a donkey in *Marie de Nazareth* (dir. Jean Delannoy, 1995, FR/BE/MA, *Mary of Nazareth*). The visitation scene is also the setting for the Magnificat, but the canticle is generally curtailed, so that the focus is on Mary's blessedness rather than the revolutionary dimension to her words that is favored by the proponents of liberation theology, who regard her as a spokesperson for the poor. The whole canticle is delivered by Mary in Campiotti's *Maria di Nazaret*; and in Hardwicke's *The Nativity Story* it is heard in voice-over during the flight into Egypt – a scene that has renewed poignancy for contemporary refugees.

Mary has to reveal her unexpected pregnancy to Joseph, who is often angry or confused, especially in the contentious *Je vous salue, Marie* (dir. Jean-Luc Godard, 1985, FR/CH/UK, *Hail Mary*), which updates the narrative to 20th-century Switzerland. According to the book of Deuteronomy, the law demands that Joseph "purge the evil from [the community's] midst" (Deut 22:24). The potential punishment of death by stoning is often visualized on screen (in Zeffirelli's *Jesus of Nazareth* and Hardwicke's *The Nativity Story*, for example), only for the audience to be assured that Joseph is dreaming and Mary is unharmed. Towards the end of the 20th century there is an increased interest in gender politics and Mary demonstrates a notably independent spirit in *Mary, Mother of Jesus* (dir. Kevin Connor, 1999, US) and *Io sono con te* (dir. Guido Chiesa, 2010,

IT, *Let it Be*). Nevertheless, there has also been a recent focus on Mary's marriage to Joseph as a love match, including in the animated children's film *The Star* (dir. Timothy Reckart, 2017, US; see also plate 9).

The exact nature of the birth of Jesus was avoided on screen in the earliest productions (in *La Vie et Passion de Notre Seigneur Jésus-Christ* the baby appears miraculously in the manger via stop motion), but it is now less common for the camera to turn discreetly away. Questions about whether Mary experienced labor pains have generally been addressed in the affirmative in films since the 1970s, most violently in *Per amore, solo per amore* (dir. Giovanni Veronesi, 1993, IT, *For Love, Only For Love*) and *The Nativity* (2010).

The onscreen representations of the wedding at Cana underline Mary's intercessionary role, whether that be the discreet intervention found in *The Visual Bible: The Gospel of John* (dir. Philip Saville, 2003, CA/US) or the outright demand for Jesus to perform a miracle in *Jesus* (dir. Roger Young, 1999, CZ/IT/DE/US) when Mary insists: "The world needs to know." The latter film offers an explicit presentation of the psychoanalytical interpretation of Cana as the moment when Mary, the mother of Jesus, gives birth to the Christ (see Quéré: 164).

The identity of the "brothers" [*adelphoi*] of Jesus is usually not addressed in NT films, although Mary's younger children appear in La Marre's *Color of the Cross* to undermine the belief in her "ever virgin" status. Pasolini also incorporates the "mothers and brothers" pericope (Matt 12:46–50) but softens the message so that Mary's smiling face indicates that it is not a personal rebuff. In Zeffirelli's *Jesus of Nazareth*, Mary herself utters the words: "Anyone who obeys our Father in Heaven is his brother, his sister, his mother."

Mary accompanies her son during his preaching in several films, including *Il messia* (dir. Roberto Rossellini, 1975, IT/FR, *The Messiah*) and Delannoy's *Marie de Nazareth. The Last Temptation of Christ* (dir. Martin Scorsese, 1988, US/CA) is unusual in presenting Mary's complete oppositional stance to her son's mission, although she will later hand Jesus the wine and, controversially, join the disciples for the Last Supper.

Mary stands bravely on Calvary in *The King of Kings* (dir. Cecil B. DeMille, 1927, US); *Ecce Homo* (dir. Julien Duvivier, 1935, FR, *Golgotha*); and the colorful Hollywood epics *King of Kings* (dir. Nicholas Ray, 1961, US) and *The Greatest Story Ever Told* (dir. George Stevens, 1965, US). Even in *Il vangelo secondo Matteo* (dir. Pier Paolo Pasolini, 1964, IT/FR, *The Gospel According to St. Matthew*), which is an adaptation of the synoptic gospel in which Mary's presence at the Crucifixion is not specifically confirmed, she is at the foot of the cross. Of all the productions, *The Passion of the Christ* draws attention to her importance, leading some critics to suggest that Mel Gibson intended to show "Mary's symbolic connection with Jesus as co-redeemer, following the Roman Catholic theological perspective that Mary participates in the salvation of humankind" (Staley/Walsh: 153). Nevertheless, many Evangelicals responded enthusiastically to a film with a highly Catholic dimension, given that "love for one's son is not something specifically Catholic" (Lang: 16). In the pietà scene, when Mary holds the body of her son, she breaks the fourth wall, so as to implicate the audience in the sacrifice.

On Easter morning, Mary goes to the tomb in DeMille's *The King of Kings* and *Il messia*, despite the fact that her presence is not clearly attested in the gospels. In contrast, the Acts of the Apostles confirm that Mary was in the upper room with the disciples in Jerusalem after the Ascension (Acts 1:14) but few films have considered her life after the resurrection. Therefore, it is notable that *Full of Grace* (dir. Andrew Hyatt, 2015, US) emphasizes Mary's importance to the early Christian community, demonstrating that the cinema is still finding new angles from which to tell Mary's story.

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See also → Black Madonnas; → Dormition and Assumption of Mary; → Hodegetria; → Immaculate Conception; → Madonna; → Maria lactans; → Mary, Apocalypses of; → Mary, Lives of; → Mary, Nativity of; → Mary (Sūra 19); → Theotokos; → Virgin, Virginity

Mary (Sūra 19)

The *Sura of Mary* (*Sūrat Maryam*) is the nineteenth sura of the Qurʾān, containing 98 or 99 verses and is usually ascribed to the 'middle Meccan' period. Although Mary does play a prominent part in the sura, her story is not the only narrative included.