CHAPTER 3

The Canonization of Cultural Saints

A Dynamic Model

> For sight is more reliable than hearing, and persuades the ear if the words are uttered by trustworthy men. And so if the narrative of the beneficial things remained free from fraudulence and falsehood did not infiltrate truth, the written account of such matters would be superfluous, truth being sufficient for edification, constantly infiltrating the ears of succeeding generations in turn. But since time corrupts, either through oblivion or fraudulence, I have come to the present account from necessity, so that over the course of time oblivion should not come upon such a holy man.[1]

The concerns of the early Christian hagiographer Mark the Deacon with remembering, forgetting, fraud, fixation, and dissemination of the (written, textual) truth reflect one of the basic problems of any tradition-building: coping with *Zeitresistenz*, as Jan and Aleida Assmann would put it, outsmarting oblivion, an apparently inherent mode of human social existence.[2] It entails the basic problem of *transmission* across time and space, of ensuring lasting, durable (and controlled) reception. While composing the hagiographic account of an early Christian saint, Porphyry of Gaza, Mark the Deacon acknowledges the fact that the small community of followers, initially enchanted by the "righteous deeds" of a future saint, is always fragile, transitory, and bound to untrustworthy meanders of remembrance. His implicit question, then, is how to reach and "infiltrate" the "ears of succeeding generations in turn," how to spread the evasive *fama sanctitatis*, the fame of sanctity, and stabilize the remembrance in the long term. Or, to put it differently: how

1 Mark the Deacon, "Life of St. Porphyry of Gaza," quoted in Head, *Medieval Hagiography*, 59.

2 "The continuous process of forgetting is part of social normality," writes Aleida Assmann ("Canon and Archive," 96). Although forgetting can be passive ("natural") or active (censorship-driven), something similar can be said about remembering: "Cultural memory, then, is based on two separate functions: the presentation of a narrow selection of sacred texts, artistic masterpieces, or historic key events in a timeless framework; and the storing of documents and artefacts of the past that do not at all meet these standards but are nevertheless deemed interesting or important enough to not let them vanish on the highway to total oblivion" (ibid., 101).

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to socially construct sainthood, given the initial community of believers, who are determined yet few and weak.[3]

Of course, the hagiographer is on the right track by writing out the saintly *vita*: since time immemorial, concerns with the fixation of a text—engraved or written—have proven to be one of the key factors warranting the preservation of memory. However, history has also proven that writings are not at all eternal, and that textual concerns alone are not sufficient. Endurance never comes "naturally"; it is mediated and constructed through social institutions, and tradition can only last if there are (institutional) guards that take care of its continuous reproduction.[4] As we argue, the problem, tackled by Mark the Deacon, of the proper dissemination of a (trustworthy) narrative is *only one* of the many issues that need to be considered when speaking about the social construction of immortality—more precisely, *canonization*, be it in religious or secular contexts. In this chapter, our aim is to reach beyond the predominantly text-oriented views of the canon and to propose a new, comprehensive concept of canonization, one that can cope with a wide variety of factors that we encountered in our research on cultural saints.

Canonization, Canon, and Cultural Saints

Among the tools we have been using in order to develop the concept of cultural saints, the notion of *canonization* is a central one. It certainly enables the transfer of the idea of sainthood to the secular domain: if (Christian) sainthood is reached through the process of canonization, the result of canonization in the secular context would be cultural sainthood. However, although this analogy can certainly expose the common features of canonization in the two domains, it should not blur the numerous distinctions. Very much like the concept of the *classical, canon* has assumed a variety of complementary meanings throughout history. This is why it is necessary to take another look at the twin notions of the canon and canonization in order to further specify their significance in our discussion.

From a contemporary perspective, it is obvious that both notions are predominantly used in two distinct realms, the cultural and the religious. In each case, they can signify very divergent things. Within the arts and humanities, the term *canon* came to designate a more or less fixed body of artworks (texts, paintings, musical works, films, etc.) that have assumed an authoritative and

3 See Head, "The Holy Person in Comparative Perspective".

4 See Aleida and Jan Assmann, "Kanon und Zensur," 9–13.

exemplary character in a certain community; a corpus of works that are often labelled "masterpieces," "yardsticks," and so on. The composition of such a corpus was subject to constant change throughout history, but the basic idea of a catalogue-structured set of works that function both as a treasury of past masterpieces and as an exemplary model for future works has been present since the Hellenistic period.[5] Thus, the canon can be regarded not only as a collection of precious artworks but also as a set of guidelines that steer future production and as a means of institutionalized teaching through the educational apparatus.[6] Finally, the term *canonical* can be applied to a limited number of individual artists that have become authorities in a given culture and are usually referred to as the "classics" or the "greats". The concept of canonization would then in the first place signify the selection, establishment, and reproduction of the corpus of exemplary artworks. However, in close relation to this corpus, it would also mark the selection and inauguration of individuals, which is why one can speak of both canonized works and canonized artists. In principle, the primacy of (art)works is evident: there can be no canonization of an artist without the works to which exemplary aesthetic or ideological qualities are ascribed. In contrast to religious saints, whose *life* is the major reason for canonization, cultural saints are chiefly canonized because their *opus* is recognized as being exceptional in some sense.[7]

In the religious context, the situation seems no less complicated. In current usage—especially in Christianity, which adopted and modified the Greek concept—there are at least four surprisingly remote realms in which the terms *canon* and *canonization* are employed. They can relate to scripture, rituals, individuals, or rules (and legislation). In the first case, the canon refers to a (fixed) set of texts that are of utmost importance for the community; indeed, in one way or another, most religious traditions have cultivated the tradition of

5 See the section on ancient Greece and Rome in Chapter Two. For the catalogue-structure of the canon, see also Holter, *Kanon als Text*.

6 "Three important meanings of *canon* currently in use present it as a teaching guide, a norm or rule, and a list of basic authorities. Each of these meanings resides embryonically in the classical Greek word *kanōn*, whose earliest meaning is glossed in Liddell and Scott's *Greek-English Lexicon* as 'any straight rod or bar'" (Gorak, *The Making of the Modern Canon*, 9). Although this is certainly a relevant observation, twentieth-century criticism has mainly highlighted the meaning of the canon as a corpus of authoritative artworks (which also partly embraces the meanings of a rule or norm and a teaching guide).

7 In practice, however, the "life and deeds" of cultural saints are quite relevant, as well as the writings of saints (in cases where they exist). For the distinction of life versus work, see also Habjan, "Od kulture svetnikov do svetnikov kulture".

a (holy) scripture.[8] This concept was constitutive of the early Christian compilation of the New Testament: in contrast to the apocrypha, the canonical texts were the ones that were recognized ever since as the true "word of God". Not unlike in the artistic domain, the "canon" would thus represent a corpus of referential texts, and "canonization" would denote the process of their compilation and approbation. However, a number of divergent meanings have evolved within Christianity. Marking a set of detailed rules regarding the very central part of the mass, the "canon missae" has been defining the Christian liturgy for centuries. In this case, the word *canon* obviously stands for another kind of text; namely, the instructions for performing a ritual.[9] Furthermore, the term *canon* can refer to the "canon law," a fully developed legal system of the Roman Catholic Church used for the internal management of ecclesiastical affairs.[10] Finally, the term *canonization* is perhaps most widely used in relation to Christian saints and the process of acknowledging their saintly status. As we already demonstrated, through the centuries canonization has evolved into an elaborate and highly formalized procedure managed by the papal *Congregatio de Causis Sanctorum* (Congregation for the Causes of Saints).[11]

Quite obviously, the range of meanings ascribed to the notion of canon(ization) has always been quite diverse. It is precisely this variety of usage—past as well as present—which makes it possible to employ the concept productively in the discussion on cultural saints. In principle, we intend to remain faithful to the original abstract meaning of *canon*; namely, as mentioned in Chapter One, 'measuring rod'. This is because the notion of cultural saints connects the secular and the religious in a way analogous to the concept of canonization. In both cases, one can think of the canonized *scripture* (holy texts and artworks) and canonized *individuals* (the canon of saints and canonized artists), but one can also see the canon as a *ritual* (the veneration of saints and the veneration of great artists as cultural saints), and even as *legislation*

8 Sawyer, for instance, defines canonization primarily as "the complex process which leads to the existence, in many religious communities ancient and modern, as well as in other contexts, of a fixed 'list' or 'canon' of texts believed to be sacred, inspired or in some way special and different from all other texts" (Sawyer, *Sacred Languages and Sacred Texts*, 59). The selection and approbation of such texts is, however, always entrusted to specialized institutional guards.

9 See Cancik, "Kanon, Ritus, Ritual," 3.

10 See also the Christian penitential canons, rules concerning the penances to be done for various sins.

11 The list of possible meanings of *canon* does not really end here. The term can also signify a complex form of Orthodox Church poetry. Moreover, in music, a canon is a contrapuntal compositional technique that employs a melody with one or more imitations of the melody played or sung after a given duration.

(canon law, formal canonization procedures, and, on the other hand, secular instructions, conventions, and even laws that regulate the production of memorials, state holidays, christenings, and school curricula). Certainly, when speaking about cultural saints, one should consider canonization at the level of individuals (both as members of the group of "great ancestors" of a given community and as role models for the community's members) and scripture (again, both as items in the collection of "great works" and dynamic models for new production), as well as at the ritual and legislative levels.

As already indicated, we use the concept of canonization—which seems to most efficiently capture the many aspects of cultural saints' "afterlives"—as a primary tool that can help organize the elements relevant for what could be called the social construction of immortality. The framework proposed here is an attempt to provide a useful heuristic tool for a systematic study of various cases of cultural saints throughout Europe.[12] Studies of individual cases soon demonstrated that it is theoretically productive to distinguish between two major categories that we call *vita* and *cultus*. Whereas the *vita* refers to the individual's potentials for canonization, to what the individual himself or herself has contributed, intentionally or not, to the fact that he or she will be able to be chosen,[13] the *cultus* refers to what could be called canonization in the strict sense—that is, the (mainly posthumous) activities of other agents and social networks that direct the complex processes of collective memory. Regarding the *vita*, it should be emphasized that the canonization of cultural saints, as defined in our book, is a historical process that took place in the context of the rise of national literary cultures; in such a context, certain deeds of individuals were able to become *acta sanctorum* (saints' deeds) in the eyes of later epochs. As we described in Chapter Two, the most intensely venerated cultural saints did not appear in a vacuum; they usually occupied a certain position in the context of the awakening of a given national culture. This means that research in *vitae* should not be limited to gathering biographical material, but instead needs to be oriented towards those elements of the biographical arsenal that can explain the individual's "eligibility". In other words, among the chaotic

12 The first version was drafted in 2010 as part of the comparative research project on national poets of Slovenia and Iceland. Initially, it was devised to be able to cover writers and especially national poets. The original connection with poetry might still be visible; however, the framework was later broadened significantly so as to become applicable to the study of cultural saints in general.

13 Mentioning "her" may almost be a hypercorrection here. Whereas the medieval cult of saints was quite misogynous at first (see Head, "The Cult of the Saints"), the (nineteenth-century) cults of cultural saints demonstrated even less inclination to allow for female figures.

FIGURE 3.1 *J. Jost,* Petőfi Apotheosisa (*The Apotheosis of Petőfi*)*, a lithograph based on Franz Kollarž's drawing, last third of the nineteenth century.* SOURCE: PETŐFI LITERARY MUSEUM, BUDAPEST.[14]

threads of individual lives one has to recognize those that would go on to play an important role in the complex process of (re)interpretation, appropriation, and canonization.

Within the *vita*, categories that call for special attention certainly include the seemingly "saintly" features of artists' lives, such as confessing—that is,

14 In this lithograph, an angel (allegorically representing Hungary) is wreathing Petőfi's imaginary grave. On the tomb of a poet that died in the Hungarian Revolution and whose burial place is unknown, there are a broken sword, a roll of paper, a lyre, and a branch of laurel tied with a ribbon that carries the following inscription: "The stillness of your unmarked grave / is guarded by the national genius." Above the tomb there is the poet's bust with his parents by his side, and below the tomb are Petőfi's birthplace and his heroic death.

the declarative appurtenance to the cultural or national community—and the individual's martyrdom, suffering, or sacrifice for this community. The most relevant properties of the artworks seems to be the narration or construction of the nation's past, the imagining of the nation's future, the broadening of the repertoire, and the raising of the (aesthetic) level. Yet another set of activities typical of cultural nationalism is also relevant here: fighting for the national cause, enlightening, educating, and establishing the institutions of national culture. On the other hand, the category of *cultus* relates to the posthumous voyage of the author and his or her legacy. In this respect, one can consider how saints' days were given special significance, how (sacred) places were designated, how relics were preserved and displayed in (secular) reliquaries, how the artistic corpus was preserved and continually reproduced, how various places and institutions were christened in the saints' names, how the saints' effigies and icons have been (re)produced, and how rituals developed along with saints' legacies. Of great interest from the viewpoint of maintaining the canonical status are also hagiographies, "mantras," the educational system, and finally the new creativity inspired by a canonical corpus.[15]

This distinction between *vita* and *cultus* has been employed since the earliest stages of our research.[16] However, due to the complexity of the factors, procedures, and patterns of canonization, it required further development. Following the logic of the so-called performative turn in memory studies, which brought to the fore the role of collective rites,[17] as well as Even-Zohar's distinction between culture-as-goods and culture-as-tools,[18] it seems useful to further divide the factors of canonization within the *cultus* into two groups. The first one embraces the canonization efforts that are central to the *production* (i.e., the establishment and ratification) of the canonical status, whereas the other one compiles efforts of a more dynamic, perpetual nature; efforts concerned with the *reproduction* and continuous transmission of such a status. Adding to this an attempt to subsume the implications and consequences of canonization for society at large (*effectus*), we can present Table 3.1.

15 As a rule, canonical works stimulate new products in many different artistic and cultural spheres. Charles Altieri has turned his attention to the fact that the canon—by way of its curatorial and normative functions—provides both the guidelines and the context for (new) creativity (Altieri, "An Idea and Ideal of Literary Canon," 47–48).

16 At the outset, the category of *cultus* was simply called canonization. Later on, a new solution was proposed that featured the categories of *inventio* and *cultus* to grasp the production and reproduction, respectively, of the canonical status (Dović, "The Canonization of Cultural Saints: An Introduction").

17 Rigney, "Embodied Communities," 76–79.

18 Even-Zohar, "Culture as Goods, Culture as Tools".

TABLE 3.1 *Canonization of cultural saints: Analytical framework* (*abridged*)

VITA		**CULTUS**			**EFFECTUS**
Potentials for canonization		***Production of the canonical status***	***Reproduction of the canonical status***		***Consequences for society at large***
PERSONA *Potentials related to personality*		RELICS *Salvage and display of remains*	RITUALS *Commemoration and veneration*		COMMUNITY-BUILDING
AENIGMA *Potentials related to transgressions*		MEMORIALS *Establishing memory sites*	APPROPRIATION *Interpretation and usurpation*		SPATIOTEMPORAL DESIGNATION
OPERA *Potentials related to artworks*		SCRIPTURE *Concern for the primary corpus*	PROCREATIVITY *Proliferation of the secondary corpus*		COMMON IMAGINARY
ACTA *Potentials related to cultural deeds*		CONFIRMATION *Official approbation and promotion*	INDOCTRINATION *Dissemination through education*		POLITICAL TRANSFORMATION

Vita: Potentials of the Individual for Canonization

Table 3.1 is not self-explanatory and requires additional commentary. The term *vita* (appropriating the designation for the most common hagiographic genre) is obviously employed metaphorically. As already indicated, it relates to the potentials of the "candidate" for canonization—potentials that eventually become recognized as valuable by the agents of canonization.[19] Within the *vita*, four subcategories proved to be most interesting. The first one, *persona*, includes the potentials that relate to the individual's personality and (public) image. Very often, future cultural saints were highly interesting figures when it comes to their lifestyles, behaviour, and physical appearance.[20] Their characters, ideals, and lives in general were not really similar; however,

19 At a certain stage, such potentials often do become included in narratives that resemble traditional hagiography, turning into proper saintly *vitae*.

20 Physical appearance was very important even in cases when there were no photographs or reliable portraits: their absence generated the never-ending quest for the "true" image, sometimes resulting in iconic depictions resembling those of religious saints. Excellent examples of such a quest are the effigies of Prešeren and Mácha.

as individuals they were often conceived as being charismatic in some respect. Quite frequently, their appearance and lifestyle were subject to deliberate self-fashioning, which was supposed to emphasize their exceptionality; in some cases, even their dwellings were carefully distinguished.[21] When such exceptionality was not there, it would be attributed to the candidates posthumously. Another important element that affected their later canonization was the personal alliances as well as the group of followers and admirers they might have gathered during their lifetimes.[22] As a rule, these personal aspects of the *vita* resulted in a rich anecdotal legacy that was woven around the charismatic individual and later on played a significant role in his or her canonization.

The second group of factors, *aenigma*, complements those of the *persona*: it specifies various transgressions, deviations, and mysteries connected to the individual's biography. Such transgressions may be related to sins (e.g., conviviality, bohemianism, and erotic deviations), martyrdom, suffering (often interpreted as sacrifice), legendary oral traditions that sometimes even included reports on alleged miracles, and apocrypha (letters, diaries, documents, and artworks).[23] Saints with lives that are too ordinary have little appeal, and *aenigma* seems to be a powerful factor. It is hardly possible to identify a single case of a European national poet that does not include some peculiar details, and many cases seem to be literally overloaded in this respect (e.g., Mickiewicz, Prešeren, Mácha, Eminescu, Shevchenko, and Petőfi). To a certain degree, this dimension connects cultural saints to their religious counterparts. However, there is a certain distinction in the nature of transgression: the moral virtues of cultural saints were often highly questionable, and their conduct might have been closer to debauchery than to *askesis*.[24] Nevertheless, even the gravest sins could be justified in quasi-hagiographic

21 Famous examples in this respect are Goethe's house in Weimar, which already attracted pilgrims during the poet's lifetime (see Plachta, "Remembrance and Revision"), and Scott's astonishing custom-made "ancestral home" in Abbotsford, which instantly became an immense attraction (see Rigney, "Abbotsford").

22 In many cases, close friends or members of the same group became the first and most fervent postulators.

23 An excellent analysis of Taras Shevchenko's "heroic" biographies, which include hagiographic elements, is provided in Makolkin, *Name, Hero, Icon*. Another case in point would be the "miraculous" childhood of Mickiewicz as well as his outstanding artistry in poetic improvisation (see Koropeckyj, "Adam Mickiewicz," 24–27).

24 Prešeren and Burns, among others, were notorious for their passion for alcohol and women. Even the prince-bishop-poet Njegoš, often considered an exemplary ascetic, was a womanizer according to another interpretative tradition. However, these kinds of (moral) dilemmas need not be solved; their function is precisely to keep the interest alive.

narratives, and the "enigmatic" potentials proved to be of utmost importance in the course of canonization because they were manipulated and appropriated in the most creative ways.[25]

The third category, *opera*, refers to the canonization potentials related to the (art)works. In one sense or another, the body of a cultural saint's works needs to be recognized as exemplary and worthy of imitation. Moreover, at least part of the creative opus has to be recognized as groundbreaking, innovative, or foundational; this is certainly the case with literary works that have the status of a national epic. A relevant feature of these key works is their intricacy, which allows for continuous (re)interpretation, a process constitutive of emerging bourgeois societies. The receptive complexity (or even polyphony) of an opus certainly has an impact on canonization in the long term: simple and straightforward nationalist authors may be celebrated intensely at some point, but their fame wanes because it is impossible to reinterpret their legacy in new historical conjunctions.[26] Another important trait from the viewpoint of subsequent canonization concerns self-referential elements of the artworks, especially of literary works. Extensive self-fashioning employing typical (Romantic) topoi of the artist with his or her special mission and the eccentric position of a prophet or seer is a common trait of many canonized opuses.[27] It is as though the corresponding motives for canonization were anticipated in the artist's works by praising the author and his or her great artistic "ancestors," inventing the tradition, writing the essential national epics, and, finally, prophesying the nation's future. However, the types and degrees of affiliation of individual opuses with the "nation" remain quite varied.[28]

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25 See, for instance, the development of spiritualist practices in the case of Jónas Hallgrímsson, analysed in Chapter Five. However, this was not the only case of this sort: during the widely popular Hungarian spiritual séances of the early 1850s, "Petőfi was one of the most commonly manifested apparitions, and when his specter was successfully summoned, he even dictated some of his posthumous poetry to the medium" (Hites, "Rock the Cradle").

26 Such was the fate of the Flemish writer Hendrik Conscience, who lived to see his own monument erected in Antwerp (see De Ridder, "Conscience 1883"), or Hendrik Tollens, the much-celebrated Dutch poet-knight. On the other hand, the controversial opuses of Mácha or Eminescu had a far more complex canonization.

27 This trend can certainly be traced back to Dante (see Martinez, "Dante und der Ursprung des Kanons," 149–150) and even to the Roman poetry of Horace, Ovid, and so on.

28 This has been addressed by the panel "The Romantic (Be)Longing and National Poets: Imagining a Nation in European 19th-century Literatures" at the Sixth REELC/ENCLS Congress in Dublin in August 2015. Interestingly, it turned out that the works of national poets do not follow one single pattern in this respect: although some of them are highly

Finally, *acta* refer to potentials related to the activities of a candidate in a broader field of culture. Very often, future cultural saints played an important role in the "cultivation of culture," if not in explicit nation-building: they fought for the ideas of the national cause, enlightened and educated people, and constructed the national culture and its institutions.[29] Granted, not all of the cases recorded thus far demonstrate straightforward nationalist activities; but the key point is that during their canonization such implications were emphasized, reinterpreted, and, if necessary, invented. Among writers alone, Mácha and Hans Christian Andersen were hardly exemplary patriots, and Prešeren and Eminescu do not fit very well into the nationalist patterns either. On the other side of the spectrum, there are the extreme militant nationalists and revolutionaries, such as Petőfi and Botev, who were involved in armed struggles, or all-round cultural figures such as Maironis and Bialik.[30]

From a more general perspective, the most interesting conclusion regarding the *vitae* of the cultural saints might be that despite common tendencies there is no single straightforward pattern. The concepts listed above are not equally relevant in all cases. The lives, personalities, "virtues," opuses, and deeds of future saints were simply too different, and it is impossible to locate a set of indispensable features that would account for the saintly status. If there is structural unity, one should then seek it not in the *vitae* but in the procedures of canonization—the *cultus*.

Cultus: The Production and Reproduction of Canonical Status

The parameters subsumed under the general term *cultus*—an overall Latin word for the veneration or cult of saints—are quite numerous and comprise the canonization process in the narrower sense. In contrast to the parameters of the *vita*, they are exclusively managed by the agents that we have called *postulators*. Without drawing a very strict distinction, one group of these parameters can be seen as chiefly producing, inventing, and establishing

compatible with the needs of national movements, others had to be reinterpreted in order to establish a valid connection with the "nation".

29 See the table in Leerssen, "Nationalism and the Cultivation of Culture," 572.

30 See Pynsent, "Mácha, the Czech National Poet"; Dović, "France Prešeren"; Mihăilescu, "Mihai Eminescu"; Neubauer, "Petőfi"; Penčev "Hristo Botev"; Tereskinas, "Gendering the Body of the Lithuanian Nation"; and Abramovich, "Bialik, the Poet of the People". The case of Njegoš, a national poet and at the same time a religious and secular leader, is particularly interesting from this perspective (see Slapšak, "Petar II Petrović Njegoš").

the canonical status,[31] whereas the other group takes care of the reproduction and dissemination of such a status. We begin by taking a closer look of the parameters that are relevant for the first group and its production of the canonical status.

We have already indicated that the *relics* of cultural saints have been a constant and sometimes almost obsessive concern: efforts were made to preserve and display remains of the most various kinds. As in Christianity, corpses were central in this respect, and it is astonishing how few cases there are in which bodily remains were not relevant.[32] Imitating the common practice of *translatio*, which was constitutive of Christian saintly cults, the corporeal reliquiae of cultural saints were often ceremonially moved to a more prestigious location (*elevatio*), repatriated to the "homeland" (as in the cases of Mickiewicz and Hallgrímsson), or even put on display (as in the case of Mácha). Similarly, this kind of pious concern befell the material artistic legacy (original artworks, manuscripts, and diaries), other personal belongings (artworks, books, furniture, and accessories), locations (buildings or rooms), and in some cases even the objects touched by the future saint, which as such eventually became so-called contact relics (quite strikingly in the cases of Burns and Mickiewicz).[33]

One of the best-known relics is arguably Shakespeare's mulberry tree, which was allegedly planted by the bard himself. Attaining the status of a "genuine English rival to the true cross," it came to attract a number of pilgrims as early as the mid-eighteenth century and later became a source of quasi-relics.[34] However, in this case, as in many others, the authenticity of the relics was

31 In Dović, "The Canonization of Cultural Saints: An Introduction," this category was actually presented under the heading *inventio*. The word refers to a certain type of hagiographic account, one that reports the discovery of relics or the confirmation of their authenticity (see, e.g., Head, *Medieval Hagiography*, 279–284).

32 Even when the bodies are missing, as in the cases of Botev and Petőfi, or their authenticity is contested, corpses do remain an important issue: see Verdery, *The Political Lives of Dead Bodies*, 27–29. Among many other stories, the curious 2015 repatriation of the alleged remains of Petőfi's body to Hungary, which we discuss in the Epilogue, testifies to the fact that corpses still play an important role in canonization.

33 The general model for contact relics is Christ's cross. In medieval cults, saintly powers could be transferred to objects placed next to the saint (i.e., next to the shrine). An interesting modern echo is the scarf with Elvis Presley's sweat (see Crook, *The Architectural Setting of the Cult of Saints*, 37–50).

34 The flux of pilgrims irritated the new owner, who felled the tree and sold the timber; however, from then on the "inexhaustible stream of mulberry trinkets" materialized in toothpicks, snuffboxes, spectacle cases, and goblets, and even pieces of furniture came from that "extraordinarily bountiful" source (Rosenthal, "Shakespeare's Birthplace in Stratford," 34).

FIGURE 3.2 *The reburial procession carrying the remains of Karel H. Mácha to Slavín Cemetery at Vyšehrad (Prague), 1939 (the pallbearers include the distinguished poets František Halas and Josef Knap).*
SOURCE: PAMÁTNÍK NÁRODNÍHO PÍSEMNICTVÍ, LITERÁRNÍ ARCHIV, PRAGUE.

often highly contested—which is another analogy to the forging of saintly relics in the medieval period. This similarity in the two traditions is also clear at the level of memorabilia (statuettes, effigies, and postcards) and souvenirs (substitute relics) that reminded pilgrims of their visits to the holy places. Very often, the branding and production of memorabilia eventually included even the most peculiar aspects of everyday material culture, ranging from icons, luxury editions of texts, and artwork reproductions to various accessories, beverages (e.g., Rosalía de Castro white vine), tobacco (e.g., Mickiewicz cigarettes), and food (e.g., Mozartkugeln, Prešeren chocolates, and Runeberg torte).[35] Sometimes, relics were even replicated, as in the case of the steamboat *Radetzky*, which the Bulgarian national poet and hero Hristo Botev used in 1876 in his tragic raid against the Ottomans.[36]

35 Indeed, these worship practices sometimes plainly resemble totemism (see Helgason, "The Role of Cultural Saints in European Nation States," 247–248).

36 For the legendary raid, see Penchev, "Hristo Botev". The original steamboat *Radetzky*, built in 1851, was decommissioned in 1918 and destroyed in 1924. However, the flag with a

FIGURE 3.3 *The 1966 replica of the steamboat* Radetzky *on the Danube River, Kozloduy, Bulgaria.* SOURCE: ARCHIVE OF THE BULGARIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, INSTITUTE FOR LITERATURE, SOFIA.

In terms of establishing the cults of cultural saints, the production of *memorials* has been of utmost importance. Tombstones and shrines, public monuments of various sizes (from indoor statues and busts to large outdoor monuments), musealized memorial edifices (houses, rooms, museums, and pantheons), and memorial tablets related to cultural saints have created a dense spatialized grid of symbolically invested *memory sites*.[37] As we have shown in Chapter Two, such a grid still dominates the urban landscapes of Europe and in many

coat of arms, a seal, and the original licence were preserved and presented to Boris III of Bulgaria. On the ninetieth anniversary of Botev's death, money was collected by over one million Bulgarian pupils, and the steamboat was reconstructed according to the original design. The boat opened as a museum in 1966 at Kozloduy on the Danube.

37 The concept of "lieux de mémoire" as developed by Pierre Nora has become widely used in memory studies. In most cases, "*lieux de mémoire* were created, invented, or reworked to serve the nation-state" (den Boer, "Loci memoriæ," 21). For Nora, they are symptomatic of the growing awareness of the modern break with the past: "There are *lieux de mémoire*, sites of memory, because there are no longer *milieux de mémoire*, real environments of memory" (Nora, "Between Memory and History," 7). However, we find Nora's concept too broad for our purposes because it includes celebrations, emblems, monuments, commemorations, speeches, archives, museums, and so on. Although such a scope might have theoretical advantages, in this book we opt for the term *memory sites* instead, using

ways resembles the network of Christian shrines that came to cover Europe in the Middle Ages.[38] The most important of these were tombs (or shrines), birthplaces, and large outdoor monuments. Monuments were central to the evolution of commemorative cults, and writers' houses and shrines—especially those devoted to major figures with an international reputation—became a powerful source of tourism and overall economic development; such examples include Shakespeare's house in Stratford,[39] Scott's Abbotsford in the town of Galashiels, Andersen's birthplace in Odense,[40] the Brontë Parsonage in West Yorkshire,[41] Goethe's house in Weimar,[42] (1845–1902), and innumerable other venues in all over Europe. As the Verdaguer signature brook near Folgueroles in Catalonia demonstrates, memorials of this sort can nowadays take most unusual forms.[43]

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it in the sense of "physical sites where commemorative acts take place" (Winter, "Sites of Memory," 61).

38 Brown, *The Cult of the Saints*, 6.

39 Although Shakespeare's house has attracted pilgrims for a long time, the main turn was the second half of the nineteenth century: by mid-century Shakespeare's birthplace was receiving some three thousand visitors per year (about five hundred from the US), but this figure had multiplied to thirty thousand by 1900. A "pilgrim to Shakespeare's shrine," states an early visitor's guide from 1896, was definitely awaited by a full-range "Shakespeare industry" ready to make money (see Rosenthal, "Shakespeare Birthplace in Stratford," 35–38).

40 In 1905, Ernst Bojesen, director of Gyldendal publishers, suggested that a building at Hans Jensen Street (Danish: *Hans Jensens Stræde*) nos. 43–45 in Odense, where Andersen reportedly had been born, should be turned into a museum. With financial aid from Bojesen, the town purchased the house, and in 1908 it was opened as an Andersen museum. However, Andersen himself had categorically denied that he had ever lived in this house (Olrik, *Hans Christian Andersen*, 20–39). In this respect, the Andersen Museum is reminiscent of Shakespeare's birthplace in Stratford-upon-Avon, which "is an imaginative reconstruction of a historical building in which William Shakespeare may not have been born" (Rosenthal, "Shakespeare's Birthplace in Stratford," 36).

41 The Brontë Parsonage, musealized since 1928, is one of the largest literary shrines in Britain, attracting some hundred thousand annual visitors nowadays: "what is enshrined here is the myth of three famous writing sisters . . . isolated in a stone house" in an unfriendly, bleak, windswept setting (Alexander, "Myth and Memory," 93).

42 Goethe's Weimar house already attracted pilgrims in Goethe's lifetime; towards the end of the nineteenth century, however, it turned into a holy place full of relics, a proper "national shrine" (Plachta, "Remembrance and Revision," 53). For Goethe's Frankfurt house, see Plachta, "Remembrance and Revision," 55–56; and for Rome's Goethe House (Italian: *Casa di Goethe*), see Hock, "Goethe's Home in the 'First City of the World'". See also Hendrix, "Writers' Houses as Media of Expression and Remembrance".

43 In 2012, Folgueroles Creek, running in a small park near the birthplace of the Catalan national poet, "was channelled so that its course reproduced the signature of the poet" (Cos and Jones, "Literary Tourism," 93).

FIGURE 3.4 *The Verdaguer signature brook by the artist Perejaume near Folgueroles (Catalonia), 2012.*
SOURCE: FUNDACIÓ JACINT VERDAGUER, FOLGUEROLES.

The next group of factors that play a major role in the production of canonical status is the concern for the primary corpus (of artworks), which we metaphorically label *scripture*. To a certain degree, the keen retrieval of the entire opus (up to the level of the most trivial manuscript notes)[44] may be seen as an extension of the preoccupation with relics, in which the (material) corpse is now supplemented by the (spiritual) corpus.[45] Excessive textual criticism, the boundless passion for facsimile and exact, verbatim reproduction, and the obsession with authenticity certainly link the status of artworks with that of a (holy) scripture. Various (re)editions, from popular to scholarly ones, selections, anthologies, surveys, and translations are of utmost importance to the agents of canonization, both in terms of establishing the canonical status of a given individual and in terms of providing the basis for the long-term cultivation and transmission of his or her cult. Typically, the gathering and storage of

44 Typical of such concern is the book series *Zbrana dela slovenskih pesnikov in pisateljev* (Collected Works of Slovenian Poets and Writers), which has been published since 1945.

45 As we noted in Chapter One, Prendergast playfully employs the notions of *corpse* and *corpus* in his *Chaucer's Dead Body. From Corpse to Corpus*; the analogy can be traced at least back to Ovid.

artworks, manuscripts, and paraphernalia becomes an institutionalized matter, the task of archives, museums, and universities, which in turn build their prestige upon the possession of these objects.

Finally, an important aspect is also the official *confirmation* of status: just as the Roman Catholic Church canonizes saints in a highly formal official procedure, cultural saints are—albeit less formally and usually after being unanimously canonized by a given artistic subsystem—officially approbated and promoted by political authorities at the municipal, regional, and, ultimately, state levels. This is an aspect that most closely binds canonization to political power. At this stage, the constellation of memory sites can be amplified by numerous christenings or "baptisms": countless locations (streets, squares, parks, areas, lakes, peaks, etc.), institutions, and events are given a saint's name (and thus warrant his patronage). In the case of major figures, the process is no longer limited to geographical locations with immediate relevance to a cultural saint's life and works, but extends well beyond and sometimes covers the entire territory of a (nation-)state. The image of the cultural saint is reproduced in state symbols such as currency (banknotes and coins) and stamps;[46] the saint enters prescribed school curricula and is sometimes also incorporated into the state calendar by becoming an official remembrance day.[47]

Although it is often impossible to clearly distinguish between the production and reproduction of canonical status, the parameters that we list under the rubric of reproduction as the second type of the *cultus* subsume the more dynamic aspects of canonization—those that, by enabling the perpetual transmission of canonicity across time and space, dissolve the basic dilemma of "time resistance" inherent to any community-building.[48]

The first aspect that needs to be mentioned is the aspect of *rituals*. As argued in Chapter Two, rituals have been central for the veneration of cultural saints

46 In such a way, cultural saints penetrate into everyday life as seemingly unperceived, "banal" indications or "flaggings" of nationality (see Billig, *Banal Nationalism*).

47 This usually does not happen until a sufficient level of political sovereignty has been achieved. One noteworthy exception is Galician Literature Day (*Día das Letras Galegas*), celebrated annually on 17 May. A public holiday in Galicia since 1963, it commemorates the first work published in Galician, Rosalía de Castro's *Cantares Gallegos* (1863).

48 For instance, inaugurations of memory sites (unveiling a monument, opening a writer's house, and translating relics) are crucial for the production of canonical status; however, shrines and memorials as the key venues for rituals remain vital for the continuous reproduction of the *cultus*. In fact, remembrance is always a dynamic process, and the erection of a monument does not by itself ensure a long-term memory: instead, it can "mark the beginning of amnesia unless the monument in question is continuously invested with new meaning" (Rigney, "The Dynamics of Remembrance," 345).

FIGURE 3.5 *Mihai Eminescu on the obverse of the Romanian 500 leu banknote from 2005.*

FIGURE 3.6 *Lydia Koidula on an Estonian stamp from 1993.* SOURCE: EESTI POST.

and can be seen as pivotal in terms of both the establishment and transmission of saints' canonical status. Rites of remembrance such as commemorations, unveilings, festivities, dinners, toasts, award ceremonies, exhibitions, *tableaux vivants*, and pageants were a common practice of the fashionable nineteenth-century commemorative culture that evolved around cultural saints. The patterns of veneration usually centred on some form of iconolatry: the typical model would include a procession, an effigy (i.e., a bust or an image) of a cultural saint unveiled or exhibited in public space, the honouring of the effigy by laying, for instance, a wreath, oration, and performances of new works dedicated to the cultural saint (poetry, cantatas, adaptations, etc.). Ceremonies were usually complemented by convivial events such as banquets with extensive toasts, feasts, and dancing. Whereas centenaries and other important anniversaries often inspired extremely large-scale rallies, rituals were also performed on a regular basis (usually annually). As a rule, specific "saints' days" were appointed and celebrated. The date of a cultural saint's death often received a lot of attention, not unlike in the Christian saintly cults, in which the day of a saint's death was celebrated as *dies natalis*, the day of the rebirth into the heavenly community. Mimicking medieval practices once more, ritual pilgrimages to sacred places flourished (and sometimes still do), and offerings were often placed at shrines and other memory sites.[49] In contrast to such public manifestations of the saintly cult, private idolatry could take advantage of (mechanically reproduced) effigies such as images or totem-like statuettes.

49 See Catherine Bell, *Rituals* (especially Chapter Two), for a more general typology of ritual behaviour.

Another essential aspect of the reproduction of canonicity is *appropriation*. As a rule, a massive corpus of exegetic commentaries, ranging from the popular to the hermetically academic, develops in relation to the individual and his or her opus. Within this corpus, appropriation takes place as a complex process in which those involved in the canonization negotiate the stature of their protégé: usually, they have to deal with potential rivals, interpret the body of artworks, and argue for their value both in the vernacular canon and, ultimately, within the broader context of the emerging world literature ("worlding").[50] In the process of continuous reinterpretation, which is indispensable in the reproduction of canonical status, the legacy of a cultural saint is often subject to ideological usurpation, even abuse: it is astonishing how the ideological directions that these appropriations can take may be so divergent.[51] A different facet of the process of appropriation, however, is simplification, an attempt to attract the less-educated masses. Among its effective tools are the extraction of "mantras" (i.e., popular slogans) and hagiographic mystification.[52]

A third aspect related to the abundant secondary corpus is *procreativity*. It seems that the ability to stimulate fresh production in the most varied ways is one of the key features of the artistic corpus that successfully survives over time.[53] The corpus of new works often exponentially exceeds the size of the primary corpus: sometimes a handful of poems (or paintings) are transposed into thousands of new works in all genres and artistic disciplines. New creations inspired by the primary corpus may praise and celebrate the originals and their author; they can emulate or imitate their style and themes, or simply refer to either of these in creative, intertextual playfulness. Even when they employ parody and other devices of "desacralization," the status of the source

50 For the concept of "worlding," which is of paramount importance for the national poets, see Kadir, "To World, to Globalize"; and Juvan, "Worlding Literatures between Dialogue and Hegemony".

51 See also Chapters Four and Five. In fact, virtually any thorough account of canonization of a national poet will reveal such an ambiguous legacy of interpretation.

52 This mystification is particularly typical of the earlier stages of cults and is later limited by the more rigid scholarly approach. To a certain degree, the situation can be compared to the Bollandist intervention into the prolific medieval hagiographic traditions that started in the mid-seventeenth century. Between 1643 and 1794, fifty-three volumes of *Acta Sanctorum* were published, and the number of volumes reached sixty-eight by 1940. See also Delehaye, *The Legends of the Saints*.

53 Referring to Walter Scott, Rigney defines procreativity as "the ability of his works to generate new versions of itself in other people's acts of productive remembrance," emphasizing that derivative forms of cultural production have a social life of their own and are interesting in their own right (Rigney, *The Afterlives of Walter Scott*, 50).

FIGURE 3.7 *A small book of France Prešeren's poetry in front of a (modest) selection from the secondary corpus.* PHOTOGRAPH BY MARIJAN DOVIĆ.

works is rarely seriously damaged. The original corpus can be adapted in other genres, art forms, and mediums, and translated into other languages: a single poem, for instance, can be adapted for (choral) singing, painting, or sculpture; it can become the basis of an opera, play, or movie script, or it can simply inspire new production in the most diverse ways.

Finally, *indoctrination* is an indispensable ingredient of any successful tradition-building. It is made possible by a network of intermediary structures (media and institutions), but within the (nation-)state the educational system takes over as its most powerful instrument. Minutely planned through the official curricula, indoctrination very often commences in preschool with the internalization of legends and simple biographic notions, continuing in primary school through the learning of basic concepts or "mantras" and—especially in the case of poets—through memorization and recitation. In high school, a more detailed study of the "corpus" follows, which may continue at the university and in its scholarly approach.[54] Arguably, the continuous dissemination of sets of given ideas over many generations provided by the educational system can be seen as the single most effective means of the reproduction of the canonical status of cultural saints, especially after the gradual decline of the mass commemoration culture of the late nineteenth century.

54 The level of integration into the education system may be one of the keys to explaining the differences in the trajectories of fame in individual cases.

Effectus: Consequences for Society at Large

As already seen, the cultivation of cults of cultural saints in the context of civil and invisible religion has had a number of wider social dimensions and consequences that are subsumed in our framework under the rubric *effectus*.[55] In this respect, the first such group of factors is obviously connected to *community-building*, the construction and consolidation of new communities along regional, linguistic, imperial, and, above all, national lines. By identifying with other devotees of a saint and forming affiliations in pleasurable collective remembrance rituals, individuals were interpellated—to employ a well-known Althusserian concept—into communities that were not only imagined but at the same time also embodied by such gatherings of individuals. As socially constructed common idols and exemplary models of members of these communities, cultural saints have continuously provided identification with the respective communities, functioning as their social bond.[56]

Furthermore, the veneration of cultural saints considerably marked the overall organization of time and space in the emerging nation-states because it provided *spatiotemporal designation.* At a certain stage, the entire territory of a state (or an emerging state) was mapped, semiotized by means of a dense network of memorials and christenings.[57] Granted, cultural saints were not always at the forefront of such "nationalization" of territory; sometimes other figures, such as rulers, heroes, or revolutionaries, were far more emphasized. However, cultural saints were used extensively in such cultivation of public space, especially in metropolises. On the other hand, they also helped (re)organize the secular calendar, which again brings them closer to religious saints. Cases in point include Hristo Botev, Luis de Camões, and France Prešeren; their "saints'

55 In Dović, "The Canonization of Cultural Saints: An Introduction," these social consequences were referred to as *virtutes*. In the medieval tradition, this word designated both the virtues and (sometimes dangerous) posthumous powers—the ability to perform miracles—of the religious saints. However, the term proved to be too ambiguous to be applied in this context.

56 The assumption that community-building in the nineteenth century always ran along national lines has been challenged by many scholars. However, most of the nineteenth-century commemorative cults were unquestionably linked to individual national movements. Sometimes ambitions were partly regionalized (on the basis of local pride) or expanded (to the imperial "community" or to pan-Slavic, pan-Scandinavian, and pan-Latin ideas).

57 For relations between street-naming and the legitimization of power, see Azaryahu, "The Power of Commemorative Street Names". Azaryahu emphasizes the fundamental role of street-naming in spatial organization and semiotic construction of the city as well as in the cultural production of the shared past.

days" are still celebrated as important state holidays in Bulgaria, Portugal, and Slovenia.[58]

From the viewpoint of cohesion, the veneration of cultural saints and the extensive treatment of their legacy contributed immensely to shaping the *common imaginary* of the communities in question. First and foremost, the artworks of cultural saints and the topics they addressed came to serve as repositories of cultural memory. By means of preservation, reproduction, and multiplication, the canonized "corpus" became readily available, always at hand, serving as a source of endless references and intertextual interplay. The key works of cultural saints, such as the national epics, along with their interpretations and procreative extensions, often provided the basis for shared historical awareness. At the same time, extrapolated mantras, simplified interpretations, and related iconography have continuously served as a shared means of the transmission of various social and ethical messages within a given society.

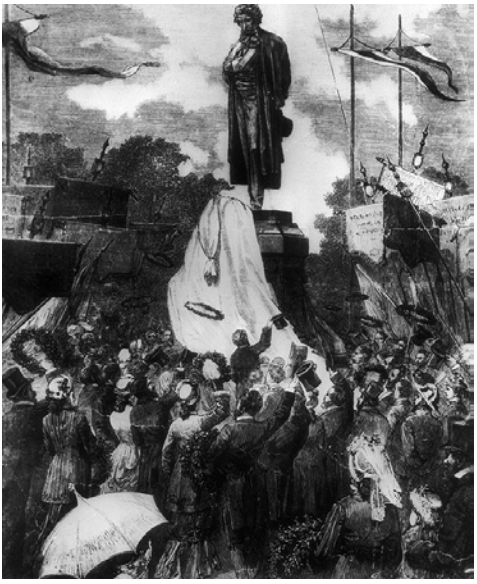

FIGURE 3.8
The unveiling of a Pushkin monument in Moscow, 6 June, 1880, lithograph.
SOURCE: YURI MOLOK, *PUSHKIN V 1937 GODU*, MOSCOW: NOVOE LITERATURNOE OBOZRENIE, 2000.

58 As we already mentioned, the secularization of both public space and the state calendar (in direct opposition to the Church) is modelled on the French Revolution (see Ozouf, *Festivals and the French Revolution*, 265–267; Ferguson, *Paris as Revolution*, 26–27). These revolutionary attempts proved far too radical to win common approval, and later reformers strove for a softer transition, allowing the peaceful coexistence of previous models.

Consequently, the cults of cultural saints played an important role in a paradigmatic *political transformation*. As the new modes of allegiance were gradually replacing the imperial and religious ones, adherence to the new cultural communities, which were increasingly organized along linguistic and/or ethnic principles, became crucial for social cohesion.[59] Undoubtedly, the veneration of cultural saints significantly altered the patterns of cultural domination, often inspiring nationalist passions and the "unification" of multiethnic and multilingual areas, which in turn led to conflicts between the dominant and minority communities. Furthermore, cultural saints were a mighty tool from the viewpoint of the formation of new, nationalized elites and their social mobility. The engagement with canonization was never only a preoccupation of ciphers: quite the contrary, it was usually practised by prominent figures with the highest cultural and political ambitions. Instead of treating canonization as merely a game or a battle within the aesthetic field, it should be realized that it was directly connected to the sphere of power and authority in the emerging nation-states, providing the legitimization of the new elites and enabling the redistribution of symbolic, cultural, political, and even economic capital.[60]

From a very general perspective, the important role of cultural saints and their cults in the development of what has been called the "Europe of Nations" is indisputable. Needless to say, the elements of the model presented above should always be viewed in a broad historical context: in each individual case of cultural canonization, the general social, cultural, and political circumstances ought to be carefully considered. For instance, it is obviously very relevant whether a given cultural community is in the position of subordination or domination.[61] The ethnic and linguistic variety (or unity) in a given territory is also factor of utmost importance. The degree of modernization (including secularization) and functional differentiation of a given literary culture is also relevant, especially in relation to the institutional infrastructure.[62] In this respect, we want to build on Miroslav Hroch's comparative approach, particularly his distinction between the three phases reached by individual national movements at certain points in history and their relation to social revolutions. According to Hroch, in phase A, the discovery of a nation and its past legacies is limited to a dispersed group of intellectuals; in phase B, agitation for the national cause is systematically taken over by a larger group of protagonists;

59 See Anderson, *Imagined Communities*; Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism*.

60 Hroch, "From National Movement," 10–12.

61 One only need compare the fate of Mickiewicz in the three partitions of Poland to understand the point (see Neubauer, "Figures," 15–18).

62 See Leerssen, "Nationalism and the Cultivation of Culture," 28–29.

TABLE 3.2 *Canonization of cultural saints: Analytical framework (full)*

VITA		CULTUS . . .
POTENTIALS ***of the individual for canonization***		***PRODUCTION*** ***of the canonical status***
PERSONA *Potentials related to personality* – Charisma – Exceptionality – Appearance and lifestyle – Alliances and followers – Anecdotal legacy		RELICS *Salvage and display of remains* – Translation or repatriation of corporeal reliquiae – Preservation of artworks, belongings, and buildings – Fabrication of quasi-relics – Material memorabilia
AENIGMA *Potentials related to transgressions* – Sins – Suffering and martyrdom – Mysteries – Miracles – Apocrypha		MEMORIALS *Establishing memory sites* – Tombstones and shrines – Memorial tablets – Indoor statues and busts – Outdoor monuments – Memorial edifices (houses, rooms, museums, pantheons)
OPERA *Potentials related to artworks* – Exemplarity – Intricacy and innovation – Appropriating or inventing the (national) past – Prophetism – Self-sacralization (artistic cult)		SCRIPTURE *– Concern for the primary corpus* – Retrieval of the entire opus – Excessive textual criticism – Facsimiles and re-editions – Authenticity obsession – Institutionalized gathering and storage
ACTA *Potentials related to cultural deeds* – Cultivation of culture – Enlightening and educating – Founding institutions – Confessing nationalism – Public struggle (discourse, politics, armed resistance)		CONFIRMATION *Official approbation and promotion* – Christening of locations and institutions – Image on state symbols (currency, stamps) – Official remembrance days – School curricula

. . . CULTUS		EFFECTUS
REPRODUCTION ***of the canonical status***		***CONSEQUENCES*** ***for society at large***
RITUALS *Commemoration and veneration* – Centenaries, saints' days – Unveilings, pilgrimages, offerings – Processions, pageants, tableaux – Iconolatry – Banquets, toasting, dance		COMMUNITY-BUILDING – Pleasure of collective rituals – Construction of common idols – Identification with the—commemorative community – Interpellation into the community (national, regional, imperial)
APPROPRIATION *Interpretation and usurpation* – Exegesis – Stature negotiation (vernacular canon / "worlding") – Extraction of mantras – Hagiographic mystification – Ideological abuse		SPATIOTEMPORAL DESIGNATION – Cultivation of public space – Cultural colonization of metropolises – Nationalization of geography – Reorganization of the secular calendar
PROCREATIVITY *Proliferation of the secondary corpus* – Creative intertextual references – Praising, celebration, imitation – Parody and de-sacralization – Adaptation to other artistic genres, media, or languages		COMMON IMAGINARY – Repository of collective memory – Common referential intertextual basis – Shared historical awareness – Transmission of social and ethical – messages
INDOCTRINATION *Dissemination through education* – Legends and simple biographic notions (preschool) – Mantras (primary school) – Memorization, recitation (primary and high school) – Investigations into the corpus (high school, university)		POLITICAL TRANSFORMATION – Redistribution of symbolic, cultural, and political capital – Legitimation of new elites – New modes of allegiance and social cohesion – Altered patterns of cultural domination

and in the final phase, C, this agitation is adopted by the masses.[63] It seems that the final phase very often coincides with peaks in the commemorative cults of some of the most prominent cultural saints.

We are certainly aware that there is still a lot to be done in terms of comparative research on cultural saints. Nevertheless, we hope that the full framework presented in the Table 3.2 will prove to be a useful tool in collecting and organizing data. As seen in the second part of the book, which is dedicated to the two major cultural saints of Slovenia and Iceland, this is not a simple task because each individual case requires thorough knowledge of a given culture and an interdisciplinary approach to numerous, sometimes obscure sources. On the basis of recent and emerging studies, productive answers to many crucial questions related to European cultural saints will become feasible. From the perspective of individual (proto-)national cultures, it will be possible to explain why certain individuals were singled out as cultural saints, whereas others were not. Moreover, from the comparative perspective, it will be possible to account for differences between cultures, such as the divergent statures of cultural saints in relation to other secular (or religious) figures, or the difference between cultures that focus heavily on a single person, those in which the veneration is dispersed among many persons, and those in which cultural saints do not play a significant role at all. Furthermore, it will be necessary to address the different timeliness of cults, especially the question of why certain cultural saints are still effective today whereas others have fallen into oblivion. Finally, by gaining insight into the complicated relations between vernacular and global patterns of canonization due to which some cultural saints become transnational stars and others do not, a valuable contribution can be made to current studies on transnational hyper-canonicity.

63 See Hroch, "From National Movement," 6–10.