

VENERATION, TRANSLATION AND REFORM: THE *LIVES* OF SAINTS AND THE ENGLISH CATHOLIC COMMUNITY, c.1600–1642

by ELIZABETH FERGUSON

This article considers the impact of Catholic reform within the English Catholic community in the first half of the seventeenth century through an examination of hagiographical works published between c.1600 and 1642. In addition to the continuing popularity of regional saints in English Catholic devotion, a significant number of hagiographical texts were produced from the early seventeenth century onward, offering English Catholics a varied subject matter of contemporary and traditional saints. Particular attention is given to hagiographical accounts translated into English, the largest sub-category within this genre of literature. In doing so, this article illustrates that there was a conscious choice made by Catholic reformers and translators to place the cult of saints in England within the wider initiatives of Tridentine reform. This study also considers the accessibility of continental works for an English audience, and stresses the importance of examining the development of English Catholicism in its wider European context.¹

Introduction

Svch is that sweetnesse, and imprisable comfote of spirite (Righe Worshipfull and pious Syr) which the readinge of Saintes Liues can effecte our soules, that I fully perswade my selfe that amongst the exercises beseeming a Catholike Christiane, the readinge and perusinge of this present subiecte, will not be the leaste forcible and efficacious to induce men to embrace vertues Path, and constantly to sustaine the manifoulde afflictions which in these our miserable times are moste ordinarie and frequent with Gods best belouede seruantes....²

This statement by Edward Hughes, which he made in his dedication of the English translation of St Bonaventure's *The life of the holie father S. Francis*, encapsulates the intentions behind the initiative to publish hagiographies for an English audience in the early seventeenth century. Designed as sourcebooks containing edifying examples for the laity to read in their private devotions, lives of saints could be, and indeed likely were, used by the literate to guide their religious instruction in the absence of a priest.³ The stress placed on the importance of reading of lives of saints 'in these our miserable times' should be considered in the context of the growing reliance on devotional literature for religious instruction within the English Catholic community. As Alexandra Walsham has argued, printed texts became an increasingly

important medium through which to disseminate knowledge in the early modern period, since religious books could be used as an alternative to the religious direction of the missionary priests, providing instruction in communities which were especially difficult to access.⁴ The publication of lives of saints in the early seventeenth century can be interpreted as one response of Catholic reformers to educate the English Catholic community as well as to encourage readers to join religious orders.

The veneration of saints remained an integral part of English Catholic devotion in the post-Reformation period despite the removal of shrines, relics, and images from the religious landscape.⁵ Although the cult of saints increasingly came under the centralised control of the church in the sixteenth century, Simon Ditchfield argues there had never been so many saints integrated into Roman Catholic worship.⁶ Following a sixty-five year break, papal canonisation resumed in 1588 accompanied by the foundation of the Congregation of Sacred Rites and Ceremonies, and within the next seventy-five years there were nineteen canonisations and twenty-seven beatifications.⁷ However, even before canonisations recommenced fourteen holy men and women had received papal recognition between 1524 and 1588.⁸ The return to saint-making corresponded with a flourishing devotion to saints in Catholic communities throughout Europe. In England the cult of saints continued to play a central part of lay devotion, and holy sites throughout England and Wales remained important places of worship for the English Catholic community. Although the veneration of saints needed to be discreet, pilgrimages to holy sites showed no sign of declining and saints' relics were sought after for their curative powers.⁹ Contemporary accounts make clear that not only old and but also new relics were important in English Catholics' devotions, as the execution of missionary priests and lay Catholics from 1577 onward provided a new collection of martyrs for veneration and material objects blessed with thaumaturgic powers in addition to new sites for pilgrimage and veneration.¹⁰ While English Catholics still looked to earlier saints for guidance and protection, at the same time the collective experience of adversity and persecution, which culminated in the execution of martyrs, no doubt contributed to some sense of community and spiritual reassurance among English Catholics.

Alongside the continuing popularity of the cult of saints in English Catholic devotion a significant number of hagiographical texts were produced from the early seventeenth century onward, offering English Catholics a varied subject matter of contemporary and traditional saints, and included both English and continental examples.¹¹ In the following, this article assesses the impact of reform on this genre of religious literature for the English Catholic community. More specifically, it examines the hagiographical accounts of individual holy men and women which had been translated into English, the largest sub-category within this genre of literature. As translated works, there was nothing specifically

English about these hagiographies in terms of their subject matter, and yet they were translated, published, and distributed by and for an English market. By analysing this body of individual *Lives*, this article will consider the accessibility of continental works for an English audience, the extent to which they accommodated English Catholics' situation, and how they were thus transformed into English texts. The translated *Lives* of individual holy men and women provide a clear representation of the conscious choice by Catholic reformers and translators to bring these works to England, and of their place within wider initiatives of Tridentine reform. The prominence of translated texts over original English works had significant consequences for the development of English Catholicism in the early seventeenth century. A close examination of these translated texts reveals a distinctive and clear effort not to advocate a renewed English Catholicism based on past observances, but instead to re-work traditional exercises to incorporate Tridentine teachings on sanctity and the worship of saints.

Producing Hagiographies

Following the publication of John Fen's translation of Raymund of Capua's fourteenth-century *Life* of Catherine of Siena in 1609, twenty-three further hagiographies, excluding reprints, were translated and published by 1642.¹² This was followed by a brief hiatus in the translation of printed hagiographies which resumed again in 1656 with Ambrose Woodhead's translation of Antonio Gallonio's *The holy life of Philip Neri*, although the momentum of translating *vitae* into English did not begin again until the 1660s.¹³ This break in the translation of new hagiographical accounts after the 1630s was not only linked to instability and conflict on the continent, but also to the gap in canonisations between 1629 and 1658 following Pope Urban VIII's restrictions in 1627 on nominations for sainthood to fifty years after the death of the candidate.¹⁴ There appears to have been a close connection between contemporary beatifications and canonisations, and the translation of hagiographical accounts, as six *vitae* were translated within ten years after papal approval.¹⁵ This association was no doubt influenced by the Holy Office's 1625 centralised control over beatification which resulted in beatification becoming a prerequisite of canonisation and a requirement of papal approval.¹⁶ The publication of two further texts which anticipated beatification within the following ten years, as well as an additional two publications which recounted the lives of holy men and women whose cult was venerated long before their canonisation, should be considered in the context of the very lengthy process of the canonisation procedure which began shortly after the candidate's death.¹⁷ While the cult of saints was increasingly regulated under Roman authority, recent scholarship has illustrated that the system nevertheless remained

flexible, meaning that at the local level the 'sainthood' of a particular holy man or woman could be recognised before the official process of beatification and canonisation began.¹⁸ Additionally, medieval saints formed the subject matter of thirteen hagiographical accounts, seven of which were produced after 1629.¹⁹ The majority of these medieval saints were connected through their associations with the Franciscan order, which not only corresponded to recent reform initiatives to return to the austere lifestyle of earlier convents, but was also influenced by English Catholics' strong connection in the early seventeenth century to the Franciscan order on the continent.²⁰

There are elements in the hagiographical accounts that demonstrate continuity with medieval traditions. One of the most obvious examples is the report of visions and miracles that religious women continued to experience during fasting and Eucharistic devotion.²¹ As scholarship on the cult of saints has illustrated, the survival of stories of visions, stigmata and the miraculous in the hagiographies more generally were used to prove the sanctity of holy men and women for the process of beatification and canonisation, and formed a response to Protestant criticism of idolatry.²² While the authors did not reject traditional hagiographical themes in their writings, there is some degree of reservation regarding some of the more 'superstitious' elements in the works. For instance, the preface of Vincenzo Puccini's *The life of the holy and venerable mother suor Maria Maddalena*, translated in 1619, cautioned the reader that he or she:

not venture to freely vpon the imitation of every thing, whereof they find an example in the life of Saints, but content themselues with the knowledg of how little themselues are worth, and with admiration of that which is about their calling, or the proportion of God's grace giuen to them.²³

Although Puccini does not explicitly state what should not be imitated, the text describes at length the saint's raptures, ecstasies, and extreme fasting. Later in the preface he writes that what the reader should imitate should be limited to the virtues that the saint espoused; that is, humility, obedience, poverty and chastity. Such conservatism was certainly not novel in the early modern period, since by the late Middle Ages female mysticism increasingly came under suspicion and regulation, as the lines between sanctity and heresy increasingly became blurred; however, the tensions with which hagiographers grappled in this later period must also be placed in a post-Tridentine context.²⁴ The difficulties which miracles presented in the literature could be interpreted as being indicative of the difficulties in maintaining tradition and implementing reform. As familiar symbols of providence and sanctity, as well as serving as a requirement for saint-making, it was impossible to remove these miraculous and mystical elements from this literature, and it was precisely the connection between the miraculous and God's grace which led to its continued

prominence in the cult of saints. For example, the mystical dimensions of the lives of Teresa of Avila, Catherine of Siena, and Maria Maddelena not only contributed to their canonisations, but also their mystical visions were central to their cult. Self-regulation and historical accountability contributed to the legitimisation of the more superstitious elements of the hagiographies. Influenced by more strict criteria for sanctification following Trent, hagiographers were critical in their use of sources in the construction of their accounts. The *Lives* of newly created *beati* and saints – that is, Teresa of Avila, Ignatius of Loyola, Francis Xavier, Maria Maddalena de Pazzi, Aloysius of Gonzaga – were regulated through approbations confirming the narrative of the accounts through witnesses' testimonies, which were printed in the texts.²⁵

The translated hagiographies were a product of the Catholic Reformation, not least because of their connection to trends in canonisation. The publication of both medieval and contemporary hagiographies embodied elements of reform by presenting very specific archetypes for veneration – reformers, mystics, and missionaries – which corresponds with Peter Burke's characterisation of Counter-Reformation saint-making.²⁶ This trend included the introduction of new groups for veneration. The *Lives* of prominent Jesuits in particular offered a new body of saints for English Catholics' devotions alongside other contemporary and medieval examples. A total of four texts on the lives of Ignatius Loyola, Aloysius Gonzaga and Francis Xavier were translated in the first half of the seventeenth century, and it was their virtuous lives, as displayed in their missionary work or regimes of intensive meditation, which were to be venerated.²⁷ Collectively, these hagiographies offer a cohesive description of the intentions and labours of the Jesuit ministry. Undoubtedly, these accounts were not only intended to celebrate the life of the saint, but also to publicise the aims and achievements of the Society of Jesus. Both Pedro de Ribadeneira's *The life of the B. Father Ignatius of Loyola*, which was translated into English in 1615, and Michael Lancicius' *The glory of the B. father S. Ignatius of Loyola, founder of the Society of Jesus*, translated in 1628, highlight Ignatius' dedication to missionary work as well as the principle points of the Jesuit ministry. Both accounts sought to demonstrate Loyola's sanctity through examples of miracles which he performed. Strikingly, Lancicius' work, which was originally published in Latin in the year of Loyola's canonisation, attempted to demonstrate Loyola's sainthood by illustrating a connection between Loyola and the contemporary reformers SS Teresa of Avila, Philip Neri, Charles Borromeo and Francis Xavier, whether through examples of interaction or influence, thus placing Loyola among the new group of Counter-Reformation saints and *beati*.²⁸ These new saints and *beati*, as exemplified in the lives of Jesuits, could take a number of forms. Orazio Tosellino's *The admirable life of S. Francis Xavier*, translated into English in 1628, included strikingly almost no

information about his life before joining the Society of Jesus, and rather detailed the saint's successful missionary work.²⁹ The bulk of this book describes his excursions to convert non-Christians and reads more like an adventure story than a traditional hagiographical text. Virgilio Cerpari's *The life of B. Aloysius Gonzaga of the Society of Jesus*, translated into English in 1627, likewise offered a different image of a Jesuit priest, as it concentrated on Gonzaga's piety and venerated his devotion to spiritual reading and meditation. This text in particular is revealing with regard to the virtues of a post-Tridentine Jesuit saint with its detailed descriptions of Gonzaga's religious regime of self-reflective prayer. Common to all these accounts were the key exercises which the Society sought to promote: frequent meditation, confession, spiritual reading, and receiving the sacrament.

The influence of Ignatian spirituality on the hagiographies extended beyond the lives of prominent Jesuit priests. Through authorship, translation or publication, the Society of Jesus can be associated with at least fifteen of the twenty-four translated works.³⁰ Yet their connection to the larger body of printed hagiographies is unsurprising. There was a strong link between the Society of Jesus and the production of English Catholic devotional material more generally, with more than two-thirds of this body of printed literature being published with the endorsement of the Society of Jesus, and almost exclusively written and/or translated by a Jesuit scholar.³¹ Moreover, as has been argued elsewhere, the Jesuits played a significant role as directors in a number of the English Franciscan convents on the continent, thus encouraging Ignatian spirituality among the cloistered women.³² Outside of the convents, Jesuit influence on lay piety is clearly evident in accounts of Jesuit interactions with the Catholic gentry, and impacted both men and women. For instance, the Jesuit John Gerard describes in his autobiography how William Wiseman devoted any spare time from the administration of his estate to reading and translating devotional books.³³ Within the first days of their meeting, Gerard had encouraged Wiseman to make the Examen with some frequency, and nurtured frequent communal worship among immediate family members during his time at Wiseman's residence at Braddocks, Essex between 1591 and 1594.³⁴ Evidence of familial participation in regular devotional exercises, guided by a spiritual advisor, is also illustrated in the Jesuit James Sharpe's (*alias* Francis Pollard) account of his missionary work in the Bapthorpe household at Osgodby in the East Riding of Yorkshire between 1607 and 1610.³⁵ Sharpe describes how all members of the household attended mass on Sundays and heard sermons, catechisms, and received spiritual lessons. During the week, two masses were held each morning; the first celebration was intended for the servants and the second service was attended by the immediate family. In the afternoon, the gentlemen and ladies of the household attended Evensong followed by the Mattins. Before going

to bed, the family again gathered to hear the Litanies.³⁶ The intensive regimes described in both Jesuits' accounts followed more general trends in religious practice among men and women with frequent access to a priest, and with priestly guidance, was something to strive for. Margaret Clitherow, whose life and martyrdom are largely known through her chaplain and biographer John Mush, spent her days in prayer and meditation, and she subjected herself to fasting and self-regulation under Mush's careful guidance.³⁷ While these examples do not explicitly illustrate the impact of hagiographical accounts on the *Lives* of Jesuits on English Catholics' devotions, they nevertheless demonstrate the influence of foreign-trained missionaries on members of the community.

Reading Hagiographies

In spite of the far greater number of men canonised in the early modern period, women dominated the subject matter of hagiographies translated in this period. The discrepancy between saint-making and hagiographies provides insight into the choices made by the translators as well as the intended audience of these works. J. T. Rhodes argues that the initial readership of these hagiographies were cloistered women, not only because of the prominence of tertiaries and cloistered men and women among the lives recounted in the works, but also because of their inclusion among Dom Augustine Baker's lists of books in the English Benedictine convent at Cambrai in c.1630.³⁸ There is certainly a link between the English orders and the hagiographical texts, and the most obvious connection is found in the English dedications inserted in the works. Among the fourteen accounts which describe the lives of holy women, as many as five are dedicated to Englishwomen who belonged to a religious order.³⁹ Three of the remaining texts likewise have links to the religious convents through the translators' affiliations.⁴⁰ The final six works can be connected to the convents through the subject matter of the accounts.⁴¹

A connection to a religious order, whether as a nun or tertiary, was a central theme in the translated hagiographical accounts of women. The *vitae* of SS Teresa of Avila and Clare of Assisi described their reform initiatives and the improvement of the religious houses, while other accounts described the virtuousness of their religious regimes both before and after joining a convent.⁴² The life of cloistered women could offer edifying examples for the female reader, not only in the descriptions of the spiritual lives of these women, but also with the inclusion of the printed rules of the religious order, as is the case in Marcos da Silva's *The rule of our holy mother S. Clare, together with the admirable life of S. Catherine of Bologna*, translated in 1621.⁴³ A strong association can certainly be made with regard to the lives of SS Catherine of Siena, Clare of Assisi, Catherine of Bologna, and Elizabeth of Portugal as well as the

life of Sister Juana Vázquez de la Cruz, since for each of these examples, the initiative to translate this material occurred within the religious houses themselves.⁴⁴ Recent scholarship has illustrated women's extensive involvement in the translation of hagiographical texts, which was carried out within the confines of the cloistered monasteries. Both the English Poor Clares Elizabeth Evelinge and Catherine Bentley have been associated with the translation of at least three hagiographical accounts in this period and it has been demonstrated that their contributions were intended to publicise Franciscan spirituality.⁴⁵ Jaime Goodrich has linked Elizabeth Evelinge's translations to wider internal tensions within the English Poor Clare movement in the early 1620s regarding what shape English Franciscanism would take and in particular to internal debates over the extent to which the Society of Jesus would continue to influence the spirituality of the English Franciscan province.⁴⁶ Elizabeth Evelinge's translation of Marcos da Silva's *The rule of our holy mother S. Clare* in particular can be seen as part of this process to inform her fellow sisters in the convent on the spiritual lives of the Franciscan exemplars SS Clare of Assisi and Catherine of Bologna, and to link her convent at Gravelines with the foundations of the order. Evelinge's dedication to St Clare rather than to a contemporary English woman (or man) in *The rule of our holy mother S. Clare* was a very deliberate choice which made clear the importance of looking to St Clare as a spiritual model, and the inclusion of the Rule of St Clare in the text served to link further a connection with earlier observances within the Poor Clare convents.⁴⁷

Broadly speaking, accounts of the lives of Franciscans encouraged the return to traditional observances within the religious houses. William Cape's 1618 translation of Marcos da Silva's *The chronicle and institution of the order of S. Francis* can be seen as a part of the initiative to return to the roots of Franciscan piety by documenting the lives of early Franciscan saints and martyrs.⁴⁸ Indeed, William Cape wrote in the preface: '[I] vndertake the Translation of this worke from French wherin it was impressed to our vulgar tounge, for your more facile and pleasant reading of the liues of so famous worthies who are indeed as exemplars, or soe manie platfformes for direction of your allreadie initiated iourney.'⁴⁹ The austere lifestyle which the Franciscan movement promoted had appealed to the post-Tridentine climate. Francis of Assisi's dedication to a life of poverty held importance not only for the Franciscans but also for other religious orders as well, including the Descalced Carmelites which Teresa of Avila had founded. The Franciscan way of life signalled a return to earlier practices, and its promotion was a reaction to corruption within the monastic orders which Protestants had objected to and which Catholic reformers sought to eradicate, as Franciscan rule encouraged members to return to the very beginning of Christian history by imitating Christ through a humble and ascetic lifestyle. The exemplary lives of Franciscans recounted in the texts encouraged both veneration and

emulation among English Catholic readers. According to Edward Hughes in his dedication in Bonaventure's *The life of the holie father S. Francis*, the saint was a model of a 'perfect life' for emulation.⁵⁰ Yet there were more tangible connections between the Franciscan models described in these translated works and the English Catholic community. While the Franciscans had diminished significantly in numbers and strength since being officially expelled from England in 1559, the English Franciscan Province was fully restored in Douay in 1629, through the initiatives of John Gennings.⁵¹ The publication of the *Lives* of Franciscans must be interpreted as part of the initiative to promote the restoration of English Franciscanism by not only promoting the apostolic poverty of the order, but by encouraging new membership in the Franciscan order. Between the time of Gennings's entry into the Franciscan order in 1614 and the foundation of this second English Franciscan province in 1629, all nine translated *Lives* of Franciscans were published.⁵² Therefore, while the initiative to publish the majority of this body of literature might have originated with the internal debate within the English convents over English Franciscan spirituality, the audience of the *Lives* of the religious men and women certainly extended outside of a cloistered environment. The English Franciscans conducted their own mission in England to recruit new members and to support the surviving English Catholic community. The re-establishment of the English Franciscan order required funds and personnel, and indeed John Gennings spent a considerable amount of time in England in 1618 raising alms for a house in Douay.⁵³ Following its establishment, properties in and around London were bequeathed by new members to the Franciscans between 1637 and 1685, providing funds for educational and publishing work carried out at Douay.⁵⁴

Indeed, a much broader readership of the *Lives* must be considered than those involved in the internal debate within the English convents over English Franciscanism. For instance, the *Lives* of founders of religious orders, although significantly fewer in number than those of religious women, certainly suggest this. On the one hand, they appealed to the needs of the cloistered environment. At the same time, the English dedications are constructed in such a way as to suggest the more general accessibility of these saints for lay Catholics' devotions. For example, Anthony Batt's dedications to Catherine Neville in *The second booke of the dialogues of S. Gregorie containinge the life and miracles of S. Benedict* links the saint not only with the Benedictines but also with his importance to the religious history of England, writing that St Benedict 'deserues a reuerent respect from all the world, but especially from English men, since his children cannot be denied the honor of conuerting this country to the faith of Christ.'⁵⁵ Simon Ditchfield has argued for a broad readership of the lives of early Christian Roman virgin martyr saints. He suggests that these works are connected to a wider discussion

about marriage and chastity in early modern Italy that had relevance not only to mothers and daughters, but also fathers and sons as well, and contributed to a Catholic model of the 'holy household'.⁵⁶ A link between hagiographical texts and 'the holy household' can be similarly suggested in at least one of the translated texts examined here: Étienne Binet's *The lives and singular vertues of Saint Elzear, count of Sabran. And of his wife the countess Delphina*, which was translated in 1638.⁵⁷ Although there are not explicit statements about this construction in the text itself, the lives described in the text certainly allude to it. The holy lives illustrated an exceptional model of the negotiation between secular duties and religious commitment by recounting how they reconciled their marital lives and their vows of chastity.

Nevertheless, cloistered women formed the predominant group in the *Lives* translated, which supported the Catholic Church's increasing emphasis on monastic enclosure for all religious men and women in the years after Trent. Their spiritual experiences provided universal examples of virtuous models in a post-Tridentine context. The Augustinian friar Luis de León, who had been entrusted with the task of editing Teresa of Avila's autobiography following her death, commended her life as an inspirational model for emulation.⁵⁸ Although Teresa of Avila's reform initiatives and in particular, her foundation of the reformed Carmelite convent in Avila in 1562 are described in her autobiography, it is the more controversial aspects of her experiences which are prominent in her account, and her relationship with Christ through visions, raptures, and the stigmata. The attention given to the mystical and ascetical aspects of Teresa of Avila's life was not a one-off occurrence, but rather can be seen in the hagiographical accounts of religious women more generally. Raymund of Capua's fourteenth-century account of the life of Catherine of Siena shaped many later writings and accounts of early-modern women with its emphasis on her mystical union with Christ, as demonstrated by her mystical marriage and exchange of hearts with Christ, her experience of stigmata as well as her mystical death.⁵⁹ The reproduction and translation of Catherine's *Life* in the early modern period, which retained the original narrative of her mystical experiences, is indicative of the centrality of affective spirituality in the cult of saints as a key signifier of female sanctity in the post-Tridentine period. Anthony Daza declared in his prologue to *The historie, life, and miracles, extasies and revelations of sister Joane, of the crosse* that the visions, ecstasies, and raptures which Juana Vázquez de la Cruz experienced were among the 'most important for the understanding of [her] history'.⁶⁰ His account was an emotive description of the holy woman's life that offered a detailed account of the visions and prophecies she experienced.⁶¹ However, Vincenzo Puccini's *The life of the holy and venerable mother suor Maria Maddalena de Patsi* offered the most extensive account of a holy woman's mystical experiences. Divided into two parts, the first section

offered a narrative of her life, while the second, larger part described the ecstasies and raptures she experienced and included accounts of her trances and prophetic sermons.⁶²

While the construct of mystical writing ensured that the women described continued to be characterised as vulnerable to demonic temptation, they nevertheless exhibited discipline in self-reflective meditation and exemplified noteworthy religious lives which corresponded to the reform movements of religious houses, regardless of whether or not they were contemporaries of the period. This characterisation of female sanctity was certainly not specific to an English Catholic audience, rather reflects wider initiatives to engage readers with contemporary trends.⁶³ Nevertheless, given the scrutiny it was under by the Roman Holy Office, it is striking that we find strong connections with mysticism in these translated texts. Yet we might understand the translation of these particular texts as part of the process to control and regulate female mystical model, by promoting female mystics operating only within the monastic environment.⁶⁴ The descriptions of meditation and self-reflective prayer had implications for women both within and outside the religious houses as engagement in intensive religious regimes was something to be venerated. On the one hand, it symbolised recent trends in the reformed and new religious orders on the continent. Teresa of Avila's account of her own religious regime affirmed the importance of such traditions. The spiritual benefits of the exercise of prayer and meditation were explained to the reader as were themes for concentrated prayer, which was reminiscent of the instructions provided in contemporary prayer book manuals.⁶⁵ On the other hand, the emphasis on self-reflective prayer and meditation certainly had connections to the Society of Jesus, and indeed in the case of Teresa of Avila a link between her writing and Jesuit teaching can be made. The Society of Jesus not only encouraged self-reflective prayer among its own members, but also among the more dedicated lay men and women with whom they interacted in their missionary work. Accounts of independent meditation and prayer in the hagiographical texts were part of a more general shift in post-Tridentine Catholicism, which saw Catholics turned from a collective body into individual believers.⁶⁶ As a result, descriptions of the spiritual experiences and religious routines of not only Teresa of Avila, but also religious women more generally, had much wider implications. Descriptions of the spiritual regimes of the female tertiaries often recounted their engagement with prayer and meditation before joining a religious order as a lay member. Although the construction of these narratives sought to illustrate the piety of the holy woman described, at the same time such accounts promoted the virtuousness of similar routines outside a cloistered environment. Francois Paludanus' *A short relation, of the life, of S. Elizabeth. Queen of Portugall*, translated in 1628, recounted Elizabeth of Portugal's strict spiritual regime prior to joining a religious order, whereby she spent her days

in extensive periods of prayer and meditation, which included reciting the hours, the Office of the Blessed Lady, the Vespers, and the Office of the Dead.⁶⁷ Details of the Countess Delfine's regime similarly described routine which encompassed both prayer and spiritual reading in Étienne Binet's *The lives and singular virtues of Saint Elzear, count of Sabran. And of his wife the countess Delphina*. Prior to joining the religious order after her husband's death, she spent hours at meditation, examining her conscience, reading the lives of saints, and frequently making her confession. Upon joining a religious house, she daily arranged her prayers by reading a number of texts, whether from the scriptures or from a compilation of set meditations.⁶⁸ Strikingly, descriptions of lay women's spiritual regimes in biographies of contemporary English women clearly follow to some degree the hagiographic models as described above. For example, John Mush's well-known account of the life of the English martyr Margaret Clitherow offered an idealised portrayal of the religious regime the more dedicated English Catholic should observe.⁶⁹ Her daily exercises of prayer and meditation, as mentioned above, closely follow descriptions of religious regimes in the hagiographical accounts.⁷⁰ While the manner in which Clitherow was able to practise her intense piety is certainly not characteristic of all English Catholics, arguably Mush's narrative nevertheless demonstrates the significance of quasi-monastic liturgical and devotional exercises within the home.

Hagiographies and the Wider English Catholic Community

Although by their very nature the hagiographical texts translated in this period were devotional works, they could nevertheless take on a wider political meaning for the English Catholic community. The most obvious examples are found in the English dedications inserted in the *Lives* of Jesuits. Strikingly, with the exception of *The glory of the B. father S. Ignatius, founder of the Society of Jesus*, which contained no dedication, the patrons of the texts were not fellow members of the Society as might be expected, but rather English women who were supporters of the Jesuit mission in England: Lady Anne Vaux, Lady Mary Villiers and Lady Dorothy Shirley. These dedications are significant, as they illustrate that these texts were not only intended to recruit new members into the Society, but that they also served to advertise its foundation and missionary work in order to encourage support among Catholics in England. Lady Anne Vaux, to whom the English Jesuit Michael Walpole dedicated his translation of *The life of the B. father Ignatius of Loyola*, was a Catholic recusant and well-known harbourer of Catholic priests in and around London in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and was especially known for her connection to the Jesuit-martyr Henry Garnet.⁷¹ Michael Walpole highlights the importance of Anne Vaux's work for the English mission in his dedication, writing 'Having translated, & being now to publish this

briefe History of the Blessed man F. Ignatius of Loyola; I could not doubt, but that it would be gratefull to YOV, who haue deserved so well of his children liuing in our afflicted Country. And therefore my choyce was soon made of your Self, before all others, to direct this my small labour vnto.⁷² The theme of patronage for the Jesuits' mission is similarly evident in the dedication to Lady Dorothy Shirley in Thomas Fitzherbert's translation of *The admirable life of S. Francis Xavier*, as he asks her to be 'a patronesse to your Patron, and a Mother to your holy Father S. Francis.'⁷³ In making reference to the missionary work of Francis Xavier, in this particular example Thomas Fitzherbert attempts to present Lady Dorothy Shirley as a patron of the English Jesuits' missionary work to sustain and expand the Catholic population of England. The dedication to Lady Mary Villiers, the Countess of Buckingham, in *The life of B. Aloysius Gonzaga* seeks her patronage of the English Jesuit mission more generally. The translator of the text, R[obert] S[tandford?], draws attention to the importance of her patronage for the effectiveness and success of their missionary work, writing, 'Happily would I esteeme my selfe beggered of my reputation, if by my meanes this Blessed Citizen of Heauen, speaking English to my Countrymen, might enrich either them, or me with any of his Vertues. And how better to accommodate him to speake vnto them, then vnder your Honourable Protection, I cannot well imagine.'⁷⁴ S[tandford?]'s dedication to Lady Villiers can be placed in the context of recent tensions between Jesuit and secular priests in early seventeenth-century England. Although the Villiers family offered patronage to both the secular and Jesuit priests, the Countess of Buckingham had strong links to the English Jesuit mission, having been converted to Catholicism in 1622 by the Jesuit John Percy (*alias* Fisher).⁷⁵ By the early seventeenth century, the priority of the mission had changed from making priests available in England to priests seeking the support of Catholics,⁷⁶ and the dedication to the Countess of Buckingham can be placed in the context of competition between the Jesuit and secular clergy for patronage and protection, as he declared an 'affinity' between the countess and St Aloysius Gonzaga, and encouraged her to continue to look to the Society of Jesus for spiritual direction and guidance.⁷⁷

It is clear from these dedications that the translators of the Jesuit texts sought the patronage of wealthy English Catholics, not necessarily for the production of devotional literature, but rather in their support for the mission in England. Although this wider appeal for patronage is not found in most other dedications, there are nevertheless exceptions. The most striking example is John Heigham's dedication to 'the Lady D.I.' in John Fen's translation of *The life of the blessed virgin, saint Catherine of Siena*.⁷⁸ While his dedication begins with praise for his patroness' diligence to keep up a vow of poverty, towards the end of the epistle he writes, 'Shew your selfe to be that happie mother of the Machabes, who by hir vertuous and constant example, exhorted hir children to endure all

torments, yea death it selfe, rather then to violate the law of their God.⁷⁹ Heigham's line to 'that happie mother of the Machabes' is a reference to 2 Maccabees 7 and the story of the martyrdom of seven brothers and their mother who had refused to eat pork and thus chose death rather than obey the command of King Antiochus IV.⁸⁰ While it is possible that Heigham might be making reference to an abbess who protects her nuns from temptation, the religious-political connection is nevertheless clear: 2 Maccabees 7 was a story of true devotion in opposition to a king, and of the persecution of a chosen people by a pagan ruler.⁸¹ As a result, Heigham's message has a clear political connection that goes beyond the cloistered environment of the English Catholic nuns, the immediate audience one might initially expect. Through this passage in the dedication, John Fen's translation of Raymund of Capua's *The life of the blessed virgin, saint Catherine of Siena* is transformed from a hagiographical account which venerates the life of an Italian saint into a text which addresses religion, politics, and loyalty to the crown in early seventeenth-century England. If this is the case, then we must envision a much broader audience for this text than simply the nuns of the cloistered monasteries.

The Consequence(s) of Translation

The translation of lives of saints corresponded to a more general trend in the publication of devotional literature, as more than half of all these books published in this period were translated from existing continental works, and this number rose significantly after the establishment of the English College printing presses at St Omers in 1603 and Douai in 1610.⁸² Although scholarship has made clear that in practice a vibrant devotion to British saints survived in the post-Reformation period, the translation of an existing body of printed works marked a concerted effort to move away from the veneration of regional saints.⁸³ Whether intentionally or not, the translators fostered commonalities between English and continental devotional practices. As elsewhere in Europe, reformers encouraged the veneration of more universally worshipped saints and indeed it is striking that we do not see the older, medieval English texts published on the same scale in this period.⁸⁴ Nevertheless, the decision not to publish medieval works had much more universal applications. While medieval saints continued to form the subject of some translated works, with the exception of John Fen's translation of *The life of the blessed virgin, saint Catherine of Siena* and Anthony Browne, Viscount Montague's translation of St Bonaventure's *The life of the holie father S. Francis*, the other *Lives* of medieval saints were not translations of medieval texts.

The decision to translate hagiographies into English rather than writing new texts or reprinting older English works should not, however,

be surprising given the nature of the genre of literature and the aim and purpose of these works. The strong connection between these books and the English convents, which is evident in fifteen of these accounts, certainly highlights the fact that these texts in particular were part of an internal dialogue within the cloistered orders, and indeed the publication of lives of reformers and founders of religious houses, such as SS Clare and Francis of Assisi as well as Teresa of Avila, should be seen as commemorations of the spiritual good works of these religious orders. The English translators of these hagiographies were not seeking to venerate the spirituality of specific English nuns on the continent in major publications, but rather sought to highlight the spirituality of the convents more generally. In doing so, the translators offered instructional texts for English women in the religious orders, and advertised the origins and nature of their order to Catholic women in England in the hope of acquiring new recruits. Moreover, as scholarship has previously noted, there was a strong association between the English convents and the Society of Jesus,⁸⁵ and this carried over to the translation of hagiographical material. This connection also had an impact on the decision to translate an existing body of works. On the one hand, the Society of Jesus' endorsement of translated texts conformed to the Council of Trent's initiative to see more religious men and women in cloistered religious houses, and in the case of the Catholic community in England, to increasingly see men and women join religious houses on the continent. On the other hand, the Society of Jesus' sponsorship of translation clearly indicates that the order sought to promote Catholic exercises in England which corresponded to continental customs. This is further highlighted by comparing the translated works with the original texts: thirteen of the texts were translated more or less verbatim without any additional material added by the translator; minor changes were made in six of the texts, however, they do not detract from the substance of the works. Only in five examples are there any significant differences, yet in these cases it is because the English translations are abridgements of larger or several collections.⁸⁶

But what can be said about the aims of the translators who were not connected to the English convents or religious orders? These examples are far fewer in number and much more difficult to discern. Nevertheless, the intentions of these translators are not necessarily very different and can be seen as a part of an initiative to sustain a Catholic community in England. For example, Anthony Browne, Viscount Montague's translation of St Bonventure's *The life of the holie father S. Francis* was one of several initiatives he undertook during his lifetime, albeit it was the only hagiography. Montague was involved in the distribution of devotional and polemical books in England, and employed Catholics within his household including William Cape, another translator of hagiographical accounts, to carry out this work.⁸⁷ Montague's translation of *The*

life of the holie father S. Francis corresponds not only to his support of the secular clergy in England, but also to the patronage he offered to the Franciscans to which he and his extended family had close connections.⁸⁸ It is clear from Montague's epistle that the process of translating the *Life* of St Francis was an exercise of devotion. Addressing 'all his welbeloued countrymen and country women, that desire to profit in the seruice of our Lord and Sauour', he details the virtuous dedication of the saint to his faith and in particular his embodiment of humility. Yet Montague's task of translating St Bonaventure's work was not only an exercise of personal devotion, rather it was also an effort to educate and inform fellow Catholics on the virtues of one of Catholicism's key saints. However, in order to consider fully the intentions of his translation of this work, Montague's translation of this piece must be placed in an earlier context than its publication. A few key points will be outlined here. The original epistle, dated 25 March 1604, would suggest that he undertook the translation of the work years before the hagiography appeared in English in 1610, although this particular dedication only appeared in the later 1635 edition of the text. Despite many prominent English Catholics' initial optimism when James I ascended the English throne in March 1603, by February 1604 this mood had shifted as James had become hostile to Catholicism. Montague soon became a key oppositional voice within the community, leading to his denunciation of James' anti-recusant legislation in the House of Lords on 25 June 1604, and calling for toleration.⁸⁹ Although his epistle in the *Life* of St Francis did not explicitly address English Catholics' situation in England, his suggestion that his fellow countrymen might read the life of the saint as an ideal follower of Christ was nevertheless a subtle response to the political climate. More specifically, his translation of St Bonaventure's work offered English Catholics an accessible hagiography. As English Catholics again faced greater repercussions for their faith, Montague offered them an edifying example of a saint who epitomised humility and a life of poverty while maintaining the utmost devotion to his faith.

As it has been implied throughout this study, although the hagiographies were translated more or less verbatim, the insertion of dedications gave a sense of Englishness to the works. Addressing English Catholics either inside or outside of the religious orders essentially transformed the texts with the consideration of an English audience in mind. Nevertheless, the decision to predominately translate hagiographical accounts did have implications for English Catholic practice and devotion. The material chosen for translation in print was highly selective, and as a result the veneration of a particular saint could have a very different meaning from one Catholic community to another. Both SS Teresa of Avila and Catherine of Siena will be used as case-studies to demonstrate this. Teresa of Avila was the subject of at least eleven hagiographies published between 1590 and 1677, the largest number of hagiographies for any

individual saint in this period.⁹⁰ However, only two translations were published on her life in this period: *The lyf of Mother Teresa of Jesus* in 1611 and *The flaming hart or the life of S. Teresa* in 1642. Both texts were translations of Teresa of Avila's autobiographical account, *La vida de la santa madre Teresa de Jesus* and as a result offered a uniform image of the saint.⁹¹ In contrast to the image constructed in the saint's autobiographical account, many of the hagiographers who wrote on the life of Teresa in fact downplayed her religious reforms of the Carmelite order and in particular her insistence on monastic poverty and the difficulties she faced in establishing her envisioned monastic life.⁹² The predominant image of Teresa in the post-Tridentine period was as an ecstatic mystic, a miraculous healer, and figure who upheld religious orthodoxy.⁹³ While this mystical image is evident in the English translations of the texts, it is nevertheless constructed in such a way as to emphasise Teresa's devotion to reform of the Carmelite order. A very specific characterisation of a saint is likewise found in *The life of the blessed virgin, saint Catherine of Siena*. The text itself was a translation of Raymund of Capua's account of the saint's life in *Legenda Maior*, which was not only central for Catherine's canonisation in 1461, but also corresponded with the increasing emphasis of inner spiritual reflection for men and women both within and outside of religious orders in the early modern period. While the mystical and ascetical aspects of Catherine's life were celebrated throughout Europe, in Siena as well as in Italy more generally Catherine was also a very important political figure, playing a central role in civic religion for the people of Siena. As early as the late fifteenth century, she was one of six officially recognised saintly protectors of the city and she was inscribed into the political landscape by civic authorities who used her image on civic buildings as well as on the covers of government account books.⁹⁴

But what did these differing images mean for English Catholic practice? It is clear that very specific images were presented to an English Catholic audience. Catherine of Siena is very clearly presented as a model of mystical union, and this characterisation of this saint can be attributed to the fact that her *Life* was translated in one of the English convents on the continent. Her involvement in church politics, and in particular her involvement in Florentine politics and her relations with Urban VI during the Great Schism, are only very briefly sketched in Part III of Fen's translation, and discussion of Catherine's interaction with popes Gregory XI and Urban VI in these chapters are constructed in such a way as to illustrate not only the spiritual authority of the saint, but also the virtue of her humility.⁹⁵ However, Catherine of Siena's political writing, which she was actively engaged in during her lifetime, was not translated into English and published in print.⁹⁶ Teresa of Avila was also venerated among monastic communities for her mystic and ascetic lifestyle. However, it was her reform initiatives which took precedence in

an English context. As both these examples illustrate, we must consider that there might be competing images for some of these saints whose *Lives* were translated in this period. While scholarship has pointed out that Catholic reformers sought to regulate the cult of saints by encouraging the veneration of saints universally recognised by the Catholic Church, this discrepancy between the images presented before an English audience and a continental audience (and here too there would have been differences as well) had larger repercussions for the effectiveness of establishing uniformity in religious practice. Although this does not necessarily bring into question the efforts of the Tridentine Church, it does nevertheless illustrate the continuing uniqueness of English Catholic practices within universal observances.

The significance of the decision to translate hagiographical texts for the English Catholic community is most clearly evident when compared with *Lives* originally printed in English. Scholarship has established that the veneration of British saints and recent martyrs thrived in English Catholic popular culture in the post-Reformation period.⁹⁷ Yet strikingly the publication of individual British saints' lives in print was not a popular initiative. John Falconer's 1635 edition of Robert of Shrewsbury's twelfth-century text *The admirable life of Saint Wenefride* was a product of the revival in pilgrimages to Holywell which began in the late 1570s.⁹⁸ Richard Lassels' translation of *The Life or Ecclesiastical History of St Thomas of Canterbury*, published in 1639, was the only additional hagiographical text on the life of a British saint printed before 1640; however, like Falconer's translation, it was a translation of a medieval Latin text.⁹⁹ Efforts to establish continuity between pre- and post-Reformation devotion are found instead in the larger English martyrological and hagiographical collections. *A treatise with a kalendar*, published around 1608, encouraged traditional observances and practices by offering English Catholics a table of holy and fasting days which had been previously observed in pre-Reformation England.¹⁰⁰ The author, identified by the initials J.B., sought conformity in English Catholics' devotion by encouraging pre-Reformation practices in England. He was concerned for both the observance of feast and fasting days in the country and a supposed lack of consistency in the English calendars circulating in England, regretting 'that so few yeares of intermission should worke so great a decay of deuotion, both in the common people and others, as to neglect so many Holy-daies and Fasting-daies, which by our Constitutions Prouincial we are bounded to obserue.'¹⁰¹

J.B.'s calendar can be placed in the context of the tensions between inherited Catholic devotion and post-Tridentine initiatives. According to J.T. Rhodes, J.B.'s *A treatise with a kalendar* implied two related concerns that were shared between the author and lay Catholics in England: first, that knowledge of English Catholic devotion might be lost unless it was written down; and second, that the foreign-trained

missionaries threatened the national religious identity of England.¹⁰¹ While it is difficult to conclude the extent to which either issue was of concern to lay Catholics, both matters are quite clearly illustrated in the text. J.B. was certainly worried about the knowledge of pre-Reformation practices in the country, noting that above all, an understanding of traditional observances was essential, stating that ‘it is very necessary at the least to make it knowne to our posterity, what ought to be obserued, least hereafter by longer discontinuance such thinges doe grow so farre out of practise and out of minde, that it may be thought to be lawful to omit them altogether, because they haue beene so long out of vse’.¹⁰² Friction between older Marian priests and missionaries concerning the observance of feast and fasting days in England developed as early as the late 1570s, as the missionaries sought to introduce the customs according to the Tridentine reforms, while the surviving clergy sought the continuation of distinctively English practices.¹⁰⁴ However, one must be cautious in over-emphasising the significance of J.B.’s concerns expressed in his preface to the calendar. Despite his initiative to encourage a revival in the regional veneration of saints, his efforts did not establish a trend in English hagiographical writing. Nicholas Roscarrock compiled a five-hundred page collection of British saints as early as 1607 and completed it sometime between 1616 and 1621, yet it only appeared in manuscript.¹⁰⁵ Moreover, with the exception of Jerome Porter’s *The flowers of the liues of the most renowned saincts*, published in 1632, no further collections printed before 1640 encouraged knowledge of English hagiographical practices.¹⁰⁶ This incomplete calendar contained a collection of predominantly pre-conquest British saints, listed according to their feast day from January until June.¹⁰⁷

Elsewhere the tradition of Britain saints’ lives survived in martyrological accounts. John Wilson’s *The English martyrologe*, published in 1608, claimed to restore ‘that which the iniury of the tymes had violently taken... and sought to abolish all memory thereof.’¹⁰⁸ The purpose of this work was to promote knowledge of local and regional pre-conquest British saints among the English Catholic community, and to encourage their veneration alongside the recent martyrdoms since Henry VIII’s break with Rome in 1535. Thomas Worthington’s *A Catalogue of martyrs in England* was also published in 1608 and likewise encouraged the veneration of the recent Catholic martyrdoms in England.¹⁰⁹ The intentions of these two martyrologies clearly differ from the purpose of the *Martyrologium Romanum*, which was an official, uniform calendar of saints recognised by the Roman Catholic Church, published in Latin in 1582 and made obligatory for the Catholic liturgy by Pope Gregory XIII in 1584.¹¹⁰ The production of this single, liturgical calendar can be seen as part of the Holy Office’s reform efforts to establish uniformity in devotional practice. In contrast, the intentions behind both Wilson and Worthington’s martyrologies were specific to the English

Catholic community. The commemoration of recently martyred Catholics offered moral examples of obedience and self-sacrifice, and Wilson's martyrology in particular, like Robert Persons' *A treatise of three conversions of England*, sought to challenge John Foxe's Protestant claims to England's religious past.¹¹¹ The inclusion of contemporary English martyrs in Wilson's martyrology placed the recent executions within the history of persecution in the Christian Church. However, while the initiative to connect English Catholics with their past was undoubtedly significant, one must be cautious in overemphasising the role of pre-conquest saints in English Catholic practice. For instance, in contrast to the hagiographical and martyrological calendars of J.B., Porter, and Worthington which were printed only once and Wilson's martyrology which was reprinted once in 1639, William and Edward Kinsman's translation of Alfonso de Villegas' popular calendar *The lives of saints* was first published in English in 1609 and reprinted ten times by 1638.¹¹² This trend in hagiographical literature suggests two phenomena: first, there was a greater initiative among English printers and publishers on the continent to produce universally recognised saints of the Catholic Church; and second, that the calendars of British saints and martyrs were reactions to specific religious-political tensions, whether between English missionary priests, as in the context of J.B.'s calendar, or part of wider Protestant–Catholic controversies, as in the case of Wilson's martyrology.

Conclusion

The translated hagiographies offered an English Catholic audience a body of devotional literature which reflected the reforms of the Counter-Reformation, both in terms of the subject matter presented and in the construction of the texts. As this article has shown, the connection between the production of hagiographies for an English audience and the continent cannot be underestimated. Not only were the majority of works published across the Channel, but they also linked English Catholics even more closely with Catholic reform abroad. This meant that English Catholics could participate in, and be made aware of, the tensions surrounding orthodoxy in the cult of saints. More specifically, it drew attention to the holy men and women considered fit for veneration in a Counter-Reformation context while at the same time illustrating the continuing tensions in surviving traditions such as stories of the miraculous. It has been demonstrated that there were a number of reasons why the translation of hagiographies was popular, although the predominant factor was likely the strong connections which the translators and publishers had with specific religious orders on the continent.

Despite the strong links these hagiographical texts had with the continent, they nevertheless were made relevant to an English audience. The dominance of Franciscans within the texts had both English and universal

applications. On the one hand, by providing model Franciscan saints for veneration, English Catholics participated in the dialogue among both Jesuits and Franciscans surrounding the shape of early seventeenth-century English Franciscanism, and the future of the Society of Jesus' influence on the order after 1620. On the other hand, the Franciscan vow of poverty can be placed within the much broader context of the reform of convents throughout Europe. The attention given to the English convents should not be underestimated. Although by the 1620s and 1630s the hope of England returning to the Catholic fold had faded, it was nevertheless believed that these small communities could offer small havens of refuge where English Catholicism could thrive. The *Lives* of Jesuits can likewise be placed both within an English as well as a universal context. The missionary work of the Society of Jesus described in these texts advertised their efforts of converting non-Christians around the world and thus incorporated an English audience in the celebration of Counter-Reformation achievements. At the same time, however, it was precisely the descriptions of missions which closely linked English Catholics to the texts. Through more universal descriptions of persecution, they not only offered a personal connection, but also by highlighting the achievements of the order, the Jesuit authors sought support for their mission in the competition for patronage. Moreover, the translated hagiographies had much wider implications for the English Catholic community than simply within the cloistered environment. Although very few changes were made to the original accounts, as this article has shown these predominantly Italian, Spanish and French works were transformed into English texts with the insertion of new dedications to English Catholics. The choice of the dedicatee could have wider implications with regard to patronage and politics in early modern England.

The translated hagiographies of individual holy men and women made up the largest sub-category of *vitae* published in English. If we compare them to the wider body of *Lives* published for an English Catholic audience, differences are apparent, but the overall impression remains the same. These hagiographies, liturgical calendars and martyrologies recounted the lives of British saints, and it is clear from the construction of these works that the authors (or editors) were pre-occupied with establishing continuity between pre- and post-Reformation devotion, and with transmitting knowledge about Catholic beliefs and practices previously observed in England. This is, of course, not to say that the English collections were at odds with Catholic reform with their encouragement of pre-Reformation British saints. For instance, in two martyrological collections, the Jesuit-writers John Wilson and Thomas Worthington sought to reclaim the past from Protestant hagiographers who saw Protestantism as the true successor of the early church. Their connection to the Society of Jesus makes it possible to place their works in the context of the Jesuits' mission in England to foster a renewed interest in

popular and more universally-known British saints to be venerated by the whole of the English Catholic community. At the very least, devotion to British saints illustrates that the division between old and new was not always easily achieved. Both the translated and original English texts illustrate that universally recognised saints of the Catholic Church were favoured by reformers. At the same time, however, English Catholics were presented with an accessible body of literature, as the writers and translators sought to establish a link between the saints and the audience. Through the efforts of translating hagiographies English Catholics were presented with a traditional hagiographical form of devotion, but re-worked to suit a seventeenth-century audience.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF THE PRIMARY TRANSLATED
HAGIOGRAPHIES CONSULTED

- Raymund of Capua, *The life of the blessed virgin, saint Catherine of Siena*, trans. J. Fen (n.p. [Douai], 1609, *RSTC* 4830).
- St Bonaventure, *The life of the holie father S. Francis*, trans. A. Brown (Douai, 1610, *RSTC* 3271).
- Teresa of Avila, *The hyf of mother Teresa of Jesus*, trans. M. Walpole (Antwerp, 1611, *RSTC* 23948.5).
- Pedro de Ribadeneira, *The life of the B. father Ignatius of Loyola*, trans. W. M. [M. Walpole] (St Omer, 1616, *RSTC* 20967).
- Marcos da Silva, *The chronicle and institution of the order of the seraphicall father S. Francis*, trans. [W. Cape] (St Omer, 1618, *RSTC* 11314.2).
- V. Puccini, *The life of the holy and venerable mother suor Maria Maddalena de Patzi*, trans. G.B. [T. Matthew] (St Omer, 1619, *RSTC* 20483).
- Marcos da Silva, *The rule of our holy mother S. Clare, together with the admirable life of S. Catharine of Bologna*, trans. [E. Evelinge? or C. Bentley?] (n.p. [St Omer], 1621, *RSTC* 5350.7).
- . *The life of the glorious virgin S. Clare. Together with the life of S. Agnes her sister. And of another S. Agnes. Also the rule of S. Clare. And the life of S. Catharine of Bologna*, trans. [E. Evelinge? or C. Bentley?] (St Omer, 1622, *RSTC* 5350).
- Pedro de Ribadeneira, *The life of the holy patriarch Ignatius Loyola*, trans. W. M. [M. Walpole] (St Omer, 1622, *RSTC* 20968).
- J. Brousse, *The life of the reuerend Fa. Angel of Ioyeuse Capuchin preacher*, trans. R. Rookwood (Douai, 1623, *RSTC* 3902).
- V. Cepari, *The life of B. Aloysius Gonzaga of the society of Jesus*, trans. R. S[tanford?] (Paris [St Omer], 1627, *RSTC* 4912).
- A. Daza, *The historie, life, and miracles, extasies and revelations of sister Joane, of the crosse*, trans. F. Bell (St Omer, 1625, *RSTC* 6185).
- M. Lancicius, *The glory of the B. father S. Ignatius of Loyola, founder of the Society of Jesus*, trans. Anon. (Ghent, 1628, *RSTC* 15188.3).
- F. Paludanus, *A short relation, of the life, of S. Elizabeth. Queen of Portugall*, trans. C. Francis [Greenbury] (Brussels, 1628, *RSTC* 19167).
- O. Torsellino, *The admirable life of S. Francis Xavier*, trans. T. F[itzherbert] (Paris [St Omer], 1632, *RSTC* 24140).
- The history of S. Elizabeth daughter of the king of Hungary. According to sundry authours*, trans. H. Hawkins (Rouen, 1632, *RSTC* 12957).
- É. Binet, *The admirable life of S. Aldegonde princesse and foundresse of the dames chanonesses of Maubeuge in Haynalt*, trans. H. A. [H. Hawkins] (Paris [St Omer], 1632, *RSTC* 3073.3).
- Surius, *The life of S. Catherine a princely virgin, and widdow of Suecia, daughter to S. Brigit*, trans. J. Falconer (St Omer, 1632, *RSTC* 10676.5).
- P. Mathieu, *The historie of S. Elizabeth daughter of the king of Hungarie*, trans. T. H[awkins] (Brussels, 1633, *RSTC* 17663).

- L. Wadding/F. Hendricq, *The history of the angelicall virgin glorious S. Clare*, trans. M. Augustine [C. Bentley or E. Evelinge?] (Douai, 1635, *RSTC* 24924).
- É. Binet, *The liues and singular vertues of Saint Elzear, Count of Sabran. And of his wife the blessed Countesse Delphina*, trans. T. H. [Thomas Hawkins] (n. p. [Rouen], 1638, *RSTC* 3073.7).
- Francisco de Losa, *The life of Gregorie Lopes*, trans. N. N. (Paris, 1638, *RSTC* 16828).
- St Gregory, *The second booke of the dialogues of S. Gregorie containinge the life and miracles of S. Benedict. To which is adjoined the rule of the same patriarche*, trans. C. Fursdon and A. Batt (n. p. [Douai], 1638, *RSTC* 12350).
- Teresa of Avila, *The flaming hart or the life of S. Teresa*, trans. T. Matthew (Antwerp, 1642, Wing 753).

ABBREVIATIONS

- A&R* A. F. Allison and D. M. Rogers, *The Contemporary Printed Literature of the English Counter-Reformation between 1558 and 1640*, vol. II (Aldershot, 1994).
- RSTC* A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475–1640*, 2nd edition, revised and enlarged by W. A. Jackson, K. J. Ferguson and K. F. Pantzer (3 vols, 1976–91).
- Wing* D. G. Wing, *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America and of the English Books Printed in Other Countries, 1641–1700*, 2nd edition, (3 vols, 1972).

NOTES

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² St Bonaventure, *The life of the holie father S. Francis*, trans. A. Brown (Douai, 1610, *RSTC* 3271), sig. iir.

³ For example, the Protestant polemist John Gee listed a number of hagiographical texts that were ‘sold at a high rate’ in London in the early seventeenth century, which alludes to availability of this genre of devotional literature. However, given the cost and dangers associated with producing Catholic works, their inclusion in John Gee’s list might also suggest that hagiographies were popular among the English Catholic community, see J. Gee, *The foot out of the snare: with a detection of sundry late practices of the priests and Jesuits* (London, 1624, *RSTC* 11701).

⁴ A. Walsham, ‘“Domme Preachers”? Post-Reformation English Catholicism and the Culture of Print’, *Past & Present* 168 (2000), pp. 72–123, at p. 80. Elsewhere Walsham has suggested that texts could act as partial substitutes for liturgy and rite, see idem, ‘Preaching without Speaking: Script, Print, and Religious Dissent’, in J. Crick and idem (eds.), *The Uses of Script and Print, 1300–1700* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 211–34 at pp. 226 and 232.

⁵ See especially, A. Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape: Religion, Identity, & Memory in Early Modern Britain & Ireland* (Oxford, 2011).

⁶ S. Ditchfield, ‘Tridentine Worship and the Cult of Saints’, in R. Po-Chia Hsia, *Reform and Expansion, 1500–1660* (Cambridge History of Christianity 6, 2007), pp. 201–24, at p. 206.

⁷ P. Burke, ‘How to be a Counter-Reformation Saint’, in K. von Greyerz (ed.), *Religion and Society in Early Modern Europe, 1500–1800* (London, 1984), pp. 45–54, at p. 46. Claire Copeland has recently noted, with reference to Italian scholarship, that the creation of the Congregation of Rites in 1588 did not mark the beginning of a renewed period of saint-making, as the preparation of the first saint for canonisation had begun in 1587, see C. Copeland, ‘Saints, Devotions and Canonisation in Early Modern Italy’, *History Compass* 10 (2012), pp. 260–9, at p. 261.

⁸ Ditchfield, ‘Tridentine Worship’, 207.

⁹ A. Walsham, ‘Holywell: Contesting Sacred Space in Post-Reformation Wales’, in W. Coster and A. Spicer (eds.), *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 211–36; idem, ‘Sacred Spas? Healing Springs and Religion in Post-Reformation Britain’, in B. Heal

and O. P. Grell (eds.), *The Impact of the European Reformation* (Aldershot, 2008), pp. 209–30; R. E. Scully, ‘St Winefride’s Well: The Significance and Survival of a Welch Catholic Shrine from the Early Middle Ages to the Present Day’, in M. Cormack (ed.), *Saints and their Cults in the Atlantic World* (Columbia, 2007), pp. 202–28. See also, L. McClain, *Lest we be Damned: Practical Innovation and Lived Experience among Catholics in Protestant England, 1559–1642* (New York and London, 2004), pp. 152–7.

¹⁰ For example, see H. Foley, *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus* (London, 1875–1883), vol. 4, pp. 121–33, 199–201; J. Gennings, *The life and death of Mr Edmund Geninges priest, crowned with martyrdom at London, at 10 November MDXCI* (St Omer, 1614, RSTC 11728), pp. 91–4. See also, A. Walsham, ‘Miracles and the Counter-Reformation to England’, *Historical Journal* 46 (2003), pp. 779–815 esp. pp. 794–9; A. M. Myers, ‘Father John Gerard’s Object Lessons: Relics and Devotional Objects in *Autobiography of a Hunted Priest*’, in R. Corthell (ed.), *Catholic Culture in Early Modern England* (Notre Dame, 2007), pp. 216–35. For the appropriation of new religious spaces, see L. McClain, ‘Without Church, Cathedral, or Shrine: The Search for Religious Space among Catholics in England, 1559–1625’, *Sixteenth Century Journal* 33 (2002), pp. 381–99.

¹¹ See A&R.

¹² Raymund of Capua, *The life of the blessed virgin, saint Catherine of Siena*, trans. J. Fen (n.p. [Douai], 1609, RSTC 4830). For a list of translated *vitae* published after 1609, see the list of titles in the appendix.

¹³ A. Gallonio, *The life of Philip Neri*, trans. A. Woodhead (Paris, 1659, Wing G181). Further publications of translated hagiographies were as follows: J-B Saint-Jure, *The Holy Life of Monr De Renty*, trans. E[ward], S[heldon] (London, 1658, Wing S334); [L. Assarino, Luca], *The Life of St. Anthony of Padoua*, trans. J. Burbury (Paris, 1660, Wing L2035C); St Augustine, *The Life of St Augustine*, trans. by [A. Woodhead] (London, 1660, Wing A4211); W. B., *An Abridgement of the life of S. Francis Xavier*, (St Omer, 1667, Wing B205A); D. Bouhours, *The life of St Ignatius*, (London, 1685, Wing, B3826); idem, *The life of St. Francis Xavier of the Society of Jesus*, trans. J. Dryden (London, 1688, Wing B3825).

¹⁴ For a discussion on the process of canonisation and the implications it had for the saint-making, see Burke, ‘How to be a Counter-Reformation Saint’; Ditchfield, ‘Tridentine Worship’.

¹⁵ A&R 288, 360, 689, 781, 782, and 894.

¹⁶ For the impact this might have had on sanctity, see C. Copeland, ‘Sanctity’, in A. Bamji, G. J. Janssen and Mary Leven (eds.), *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Counter-Reformation* (Aldershot, 2013), pp. 225–42 at 228–31.

¹⁷ The *Lives* of Teresa of Avila and Maddalena de Pazzi and Teresa of Avila were translated before their beatifications in 1614 and 1621 respectively. For details of the hagiographies, see A&R 545 and 783. Gregory Lopez was canonised in 1752, yet a translation of his *Life* was published in 1638. The *Life* of Dephine of Sabran was published together with that of her husband Elzear of Sabran in 1638, and while Elzear of Sabran was canonised in 1369, Dephine of Sabran was only beatified in 1694. Finally, the *Life* of Catherine of Bologna was translated into English alongside the Rule of St Clare in 1621; she was beatified in 1703 and canonised in 1712. For bibliographical details on the *Lives* of Gregory Lopez, Delphine of Sabran, and Catherine of Bologna, see A&R 119, 399 and 802. Of the contemporary saints in the texts, Capuchin Angel Joyeuse and Juana Vázquez de la Cruz were not canonised.

¹⁸ Copeland, ‘Saints, Devotions and Canonisations’, p. 263. For the lengthy process of canonisation, see Ditchfield, ‘Tridentine Worship’, pp. 209–11.

¹⁹ See A&R 265, 315, 388, 390, 399, 409 and 773.

²⁰ Nine of thirteen medieval saints were Franciscans. The remaining texts recounted the lives of two Benedictines, one Dominican and one Brigittine. For the English Franciscan convents, see P. Guilday, *The English Catholic Refugees on the Continent, 1558–1795* (London, 1914), ch. 8; C. Walker, *Gender and Politics in Early Modern Europe: English Convents in France and the Low Countries* (Basingstoke, 2003), ch. 1, esp. pp. 8–29.

²¹ At least four hagiographies translated in this period make reference to miracles associated with food: V. Puccini, *The life of the holy and venerable mother suor Maria Maddalena de Patzi*, trans. G.B. [T. Matthew] (St Omer, 1619, RSTC 20483), ch. 8; A. Daza, *The historie, life, and miracles, extasies and revelations of sister Joane, of the crosse*, trans. F. Bell (St Omer, 1625, RSTC 6185), ch. 7; F. Paludanus, *A short relation, of the life, of S. Elizabeth. Queen of Portugall*, trans. C. Francis [Greenbury] (Brussels, 1628, RSTC 19167), ch.4; L. Wadding, *The history of the angelical virgin glorious S. Clare*, trans. M. Augustine [C. Bentley or E. Evelinge?] (Douai, 1635, RSTC 24924), ch. 23. For the relationship between female spirituality and food, see C. Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley, 1987). See also, R. M. Bell, *Holy Anorexia* (Chicago, 1985);

C. Walker Bynum, *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion* (New York, 1991), ch. 4; G. M. Jantzen, *Power, Gender and Christian Mysticism* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 207–16. Cf. D. Aers and L. Stanley, *The Powers of the Holy: Religion, Politics, and Gender in Late Medieval English Culture* (University Park, PA, 1996), pp. 28–42.

²² K. P. Luria, ‘“Popular Catholicism” and the Catholic Reformation’, in K. M. Comerford and H. M. Pabel (eds.), *Early Modern Catholicism: Essays in Honour of John W. O’Malley, S.J.* (Toronto, 2001), pp. 117–21; E. Cameron, ‘For Reasoned Faith or Embattled Creed? Religion for the People in Early Modern Europe’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser, 8 (1998), pp. 165–87. For an English context, see Walsham, ‘Miracles and the Counter-Reformation to England’.

²³ Puccini, *The life of the holy and venerable mother suor Maria Maddalena de Patzi*, sig. **3v.

²⁴ For the growing ambivalence toward female mysticism, see N. Caciola, *Discerning Spirits: Divine and Demonic Possession in the Middle Ages* (New York, 2003); D. Elliott, *Proving Woman: Female Spirituality and Inquisitional Culture in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, 2004). See also, Jantzen, *Power, Gender and Christian Mysticism*, ch. 4. For an English context, see Walsham, ‘Miracles and the Counter-Reformation to England’.

²⁵ The exception to this trend in the *Life* of Francis Xavier.

²⁶ Burke, ‘How to be a Counter-Reformation Saint’, pp. 49–50.

²⁷ Pedro de Ribadeneira, *The life of the B. father Ignatius of Loyola*, trans. W. M. [M. Walpole] (St Omer, 1616, RSTC 20967); reprinted in 1622 with the title *The life of the holy patriarch* (RSTC 20968); V. Ceparì, *The life of B. Aloysius Gonzaga of the Society of Jesus*, trans. R. S[tanford?] (Paris [St Omer], 1627, RSTC 4912); M. Lancicius, *The glory of the B. father S. Ignatius of Loyola, founder of the Society of Jesus*, trans. Anon. (Ghent, 1628, RSTC 15188.3); O. Torsellino, *The admirable life of S. Francis Xavier*, trans. T. F[itzheimer] (Paris [St Omer], 1632, RSTC 24140).

²⁸ Lancicius, *The glory of the B. father S. Ignatius of Loyola*, chs. 18–21.

²⁹ For bibliographical details, see above, n. 27.

³⁰ Members of the Society of Jesus are writers and/or translators of *Lives* of: Teresa of Avila, Elizabeth of Hungary, Ignatius of Loyola, Maria Maddalena de Pazzi, Aloysius Gonzaga, Francis Xavier, Aldegond of Hainault, and Elzear and Dephine of Sabran. See *A&R* 783, 409, 781, 782, 894, 545, 689, 288, 390 and 399. A connection between printing presses and the Society of Jesus can likewise be made with the *Lives* of Catherine of Siena, Juana Vazquez de la Cruz, Francis of Assisi, and Marcos da Silvas’ accounts of Poor Clare saints. See *A&R* 52, 92, 119–20, 272.

³¹ E. Ferguson, ‘Religion by the Book: Negotiating Catholic Devotion in Post-Reformation England, 1570–1625’, unpubl. DPhil diss. Oxford 2011, p. 242; for a comprehensive annotated list of Catholic literature in English, see *A&R*. For a brief comparison of the differences between the texts associated with the Society of Jesus and other religious orders, see Ferguson, ‘Religion by the Book’, pp. 242–4.

³² Guilday, *The English Catholic Refugees on the Continent*, pp. 164–7, 259, 278–9; Walker, *Gender and Politics in Early Modern Europe*, pp. 44, 131, 134–43 and 147.

³³ According to Gerard, among the books he translated were Ignatius of Loyola’s *Spiritual Exercises*, *The Dialogues of Saint Gregory* and Jerome Platus’ *De Bono Statu Religiosi*, see J. Gerard, *John Gerard: The Autobiography of an Elizabethan*, trans. P. Caraman (London, 1951), p. 29.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

³⁵ James Sharp, born in Bradford in the West Riding of Yorkshire, entered the English College at Valladolid on 12 June 1602 and was ordained a priest on 14 April 1604. He was admitted as a member of the Society of Jesus in 1607–8 and was sent to England. After three years on the mission he returned to continent where he taught Hebrew and Latin at the English College at Louvain. He returned to England briefly in 1611 and again (under the name Francis Pollard) between 1621 and 1628. See ‘Father James Sharpe’s Recollections of the Yorkshire Mission’, in J. Morris (ed.), *The Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers Related by Themselves*, vol. iii (London, 1877), pp. 441–70; J. T. Cliffe, ‘Babthorpe Family’, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online* (Oxford, 2004).

³⁶ Morris, *Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers*, iii, pp. 467–8.

³⁷ J. Mush ‘A True Report of the Life and Martyrdom of Mrs. Margaret Clitherow’, in Morris, *Troubles*, iii (London, 1877), pp. 360–432. For an analysis of Mush’s account see M. Claridge, *Margaret Clitherow (1556?–1586)* (London, 1966); C. Cross, ‘An Elizabethan Martyrologist and his Martyr: John Mush and Margaret Clitherow’, in D. Wood (ed.), *Martyrs and Martyrologies* (Studies in Church History 30, 1993), pp. 271–81; A. Dillon, *The Construction*

of *Martyrdom in the English Catholic Community, 1535–1603* (Aldershot, 2002), ch. 6; P. Lake and M. Questier, ‘Margaret Clitherow, Catholic Non-Conformity, Martyrology and the Politics of Religious Change in Elizabethan England’ *Past & Present* 185 (2004), pp. 43–90; see also, idem, *The Trials of Margaret Clitherow. Persecution, Martyrdom and the Politics of Sanctity in Elizabethan England* (London, 2011).

³⁸ J. T. Rhodes, ‘English Books of Martyrs and Saints of the Late Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries’, *Recusant History* 22 (1994), pp. 7–25 at pp. 12–13. A connection can also be made to the exiled Benedictine Syon Abbey, as it likewise contains a number of hagiographical texts in its collection published in this same period.

³⁹ The *Life* of Maria Maddalena de Pazzi was dedicated to the Benedictine abbess, Lady Mary Percy (*A&R* 545); the *Life* of Juana Vazquez de la Cruz was dedicated to Poor Clare nuns, Margaret and Elizabeth Radcliffe (*A&R* 52); the *Life* of Elizabeth of Portugal was dedicated to the abbess of the English Franciscan monastery at Brussels, Katherine Francis (*A&R* 360); the *Life* of Elizabeth of Hungary was dedicated to Lady Jane Englefield *A&R* (409). Given the description in the preface to the *Life* of Catherine of Siena, it is likely that this text was also dedicated to an Englishwoman in one of the convents on the continent (*A&R* 272).

⁴⁰ L. Wadding/F. Hendricq, *The history of the angelicall virgin glorious S. Clare*, trans. M. Augustine [C. Bentley or E. Evelinge?] (Douai, 1635, *RSTC* 24924); Marcos da Silva, *The rule of our holy mother S. Clare, together with the admirable life of S. Catharine of Bologna*, trans. [E. Evelinge? or C. Bentley?] (n.p. [St Omer], 1621, *RSTC* 5350.7); idem, *The life of the glorious virgin S. Clare. Together with the life of S. Agnes her sister. And of another S. Agnes. Also the rule of S. Clare. And the life of S. Catharine of Bologna*, trans. [E. Evelinge? or C. Bentley?] (St Omer, 1622, *RSTC* 5350).

⁴¹ Teresa of Avila, *The lyf of Mother Teresa of Jesus*, trans. M. Walpole (Antwerp, 1611, *RSTC* 23948.5); idem, *The flaming hart or the life of the glorious S. Teresa*, trans. T. Matthew (Antwerp, 1642, *Wing* 753); É. Binet, *The admirable life of S. Aldegonde princesse and foundresse of the dames chanonesses of Maubeuge in Haynalt*, trans. H. A. [H. Hawkins] (Paris [St Omer], 1632, *RSTC* 3073.3); Surlus, *The life of S. Catherine a princely virgin, and widow of Suecia, daughter to S. Brigit*, trans. J. Falconer (St Omer, 1632, *RSTC* 10676.5); *The history of S. Elizabeth daughter of the king of Hungary. According to sundry authours*, trans. H. Hawkins (Rouen, 1632, *RSTC* 12957); P. Mathieu, *The historie of S. Elizabeth daughter of the king of Hungarie*, trans. T. H[awkins] (Brussels, 1633, *RSTC* 17663).

⁴² See, for example, Marcos da Silva, ‘The admirable life of S. Catharine of Bologna’, in idem, *The rule of our holy mother S. Clare, together with the admirable life of S. Catharine of Bologna*, trans. [E. Evelinge? or C. Bentley?] (n.p. [St Omer], 1621, *RSTC* 5350.7); Paludanus, *A short relation, of the life, of S. Elizabeth*; É. Binet, ‘The life of S. Delphina and wife of Saint Elzear, Count of Arian’, in idem, *The lives and singular vertues of saint Elzear, count of Sabran, and of his wife the blessed countesse Delphina, both virgins and married*, trans. T. H[awkins] (n.p. [Rouen], 1638, *RSTC* 3073.7).

⁴³ For bibliographical references, see above, n. 42.

⁴⁴ This conclusion is based on the affiliation of the translators of the texts with the English convents.

⁴⁵ F. Korsten, ‘Introductory Note’, in B. S. Travistky and A. Lake Prescott (eds.), *Elizabeth Evelinge I* (Printed Writings, 1500–1640, pt. 3, vol. 3, *The Early Modern Englishwoman: A Facimile Library of Essential Works* 1, 2002), pp. ix–xv; J. and F. Blom, ‘Introductory Note’, in B. S. Travistky and A. Lake Prescott (eds.), *Elizabeth Evelinge II* (Printed Writings, 1500–1640, pt. 3, vol. 5, *The Early Modern Englishwoman: A Facimile Library of Essential Works* 1, 2002), pp. ix–xvi; C. Walker, ‘Introductory Note’, in B. S. Travistky and A. Lake Prescott (eds.), *Elizabeth Evelinge III* (Printed Writings, 1500–1640, pt. 4, vol. 1, *The Early Modern Englishwoman: A Facimile Library of Essential Works* 1, 2006), pp. ix–xviii; *A&R* 117–18 and 120.

⁴⁶ J. Goodrich, ‘“Ensigne-Bearers of Saint Clare”: Elizabeth Evelinge’s Early Translations and the Restoration of English Franciscanism’, in M. White (ed.), *English Women, Religion, and Textual Production, 1500–1625* (Farnham, 2011), pp. 94–100.

⁴⁷ See also Goodrich’s analysis on how Elizabeth’s Evelinge’s translations sought to strengthen Franciscanism in the convent, *ibid.*

⁴⁸ Marcos da Silva, *The chronicle and institution of the order of the seraphicall father S. Francis*, trans. [W. Cape] (St Omer, 1618, *RSTC* 11314.2); Goodrich, ‘“Ensigne-Bearers of Saint Clare”’, p. 92.

⁴⁹ Da Silva, *The chronicle and institution*, sig. A2r.

⁵⁰ Bonaventure, *The life of the holie father S. Francis*, sig. a2v.

⁵¹ For a description of the establishment of the Second English Franciscan province, see Guilday, *The English Catholic Refugees*, pp. 286–7.

- ⁵² These Franciscans whose lives are described in eight hagiographical accounts are as follows: Francis Assisi, Catherine of Bologna, Clare of Assisi, Agnes of Assisi, Angel Joyeuse, Juana Vazquez de la Cruz, Elizabeth of Portugal, and Elizabeth of Hungary. For bibliographical information on this *vitae*, see *A&R* 52, 92, 117–18, 120, 360, 388, 409, and 687.
- ⁵³ Guilday, *The English Catholic Refugees*, p. 288.
- ⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 291.
- ⁵⁵ Gregory, *The second booke of the dialogues of S. Gregorie containinge the life and miracles of S. Benedict*, sig. A3r–v.
- ⁵⁶ S. Ditchfield, ‘An Early Christian School of Sanctity’, in *idem Christianity and Community in the West* (Aldershot, 2001) pp. 183–205.
- ⁵⁷ Binet, *The lives and singular vertues of saint Elzear, count of Sabran, and of his wife the blessed countesse Delphina*.
- ⁵⁸ For the careful and deliberate construction of Teresa of Avila’s autobiography during her lifetime and the restrictions on its publication in the immediate years following her death, see A. Weber, *Teresa of Avila and the Rhetoric of Femininity* (Princeton, 1990), ch. 2; C. Slade, *Saint Teresa of Avila: Author of a Heroic Life* (Berkeley, 1995), ch. 1; G. Ahlgren, *Teresa of Avila and the Politics of Sanctity* (Ithaca, 1996), chs. 3 and 5.
- ⁵⁹ K. Scott, ‘St. Catherine of Siena, “Apostola”’, *Church History* 61 (1992), 34–46, at p. 36. For medieval examples of the connection between medieval female mystical union with Christ, see, for example, E. A. Matter, ‘Mystical Marriage’, in L. Scaraffia and G. Zarri (eds.), *Women and Faith: Catholic Religious Life in Italy from Late Antiquity to the Present* (Cambridge, MA, 1999), pp. 31–41; B. McGinn, ‘The Abyss of Love: The Language of Mystical Union among Medieval Women’, in E. R. Elder (ed.), *The Joy of Learning and the Love of God: Studies in Honor of Jean Leclercq* (Kalamazoo, MI, 1995), pp. 95–120; A. Holywood, *The Soul as Virgin Wife: Mechthild of Magdeburg, Marguerite Porete, and Meister Eckhart* (Notre Dame and London, 1995), ch. 3; H. E. Keller, *My Secret is Mine: Studies on Religion and Eros in the German Middle Ages* (Zurich, 2000), esp. ch. 3; C. Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast*, pp. 153–61; Jantzen, *Power, Gender and Christian Mysticism*, pp. 137–49.
- ⁶⁰ Daza, *The historie, life, and miracles*, sig. *3v.
- ⁶¹ *Ibid.*, chs. 6 and 8.
- ⁶² For example, see Puccini, *The life of the holy and venerable mother suor Maria Maddalena de Patzi*, chs. 10, 14 and 18.
- ⁶³ For comparison, see S. Haliczler’s discussion of the appeal of female mystics among women in Spain in his work *Between Exaltation and Infamy: Female Mystics in the Golden Age of Spain* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 27–31.
- ⁶⁴ This connection between female sanctity, mysticism and monastic orders has been argued elsewhere: G. Zarri, ‘Female Sanctity, 1500–1660’, in R. Po-Chia Hsia, *Reform and Expansion, 1500–1660* (Cambridge History of Christianity 6, 2007), pp. 180–200, at 198.
- ⁶⁵ Among the themes presented were: examining one’s conscience, remedies against temptation, explanations on how to carry out prayer and the spiritual benefits of thinking about Christ’s humanity, see Teresa of Avila, *The lyf of Mother Teresa of Jesus*, chs. 8–19. Cf. Gaspar de Loarte, *The exercise of a Christian life*, trans. [S. Brinkley] (n.p. [London], 1579, no RSTC number); Luis de Granada, *A memoriall of a Christian life. Wherein are treated all such things, as apperteyne vnto a Christian to doe*, trans. R. Hopkins (Rouen, 1586, RSTC 16903).
- ⁶⁶ J. Bossy, ‘The Counter-Reformation and the People of Europe’, *Past & Present* 47 (1970), p. 62.
- ⁶⁷ Paludanus, *A short relation, of the life, of S. Elizabeth*, ch. 3.
- ⁶⁸ Binet, *The lives and singular vertues of Saint Elzear, count of Sabran*, pt. 2, ch. 7.
- ⁶⁹ Mush, ‘A True Report of the Life and Martyrdom of Mrs. Margaret Clitherow’.
- ⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 390–4.
- ⁷¹ The Lady Anne Vaux provided assistance to a number missionaries including Garnet. See, for example, Foley, *Records of the English Province*, vol. 1, pp. 461–2; The National Archives, State Papers 12/152/97; 12/179/1; 12/249/75; 14/17/13; 14/19/16; 14/216/70; 14/216/121; 14/216/242.
- ⁷² Ribadeneira, *The life of the B. father Ignatius of Loyola*, sig. A2v–r.
- ⁷³ Torsellino, *The admirable life of S. Francis Xavier*, sig. A2v.
- ⁷⁴ Cepari, *The life of B. Aloysius Gonzaga*, sig. *1v.
- ⁷⁵ Foley, *Records of the English Province*, vol. 1, p. 532; M. Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England: Politics, Aristocratic Patronage and Religion, c. 1550–1640* (Cambridge, 2006), p. 395.
- ⁷⁶ C. Haigh, ‘From Monopoly to Minority: Catholicism in Early Modern England’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser, 31 (1981), 129–47, at p. 142.

⁷⁷ Ceparì, *The life of B. Aloysius Gonzaga*, sig. *2v.

⁷⁸ Although the Lady D. I. is not identified, she was most likely an Englishwoman who belonged to one of the Third Orders of St Francis.

⁷⁹ Raymund of Capua, *The life of the blessed virgin, saint Catherine of Siena*, sig. A8r.

⁸⁰ According to the account, the six eldest brothers were martyred first. Their mother was then interrogated and refused to eat the flesh of the pig. Antiochus then had her youngest son brought before him, thinking that the mother would encourage her youngest son to obey the command of the king. To Antiochus' surprise, the mother sacrificed the life of her son (and herself) for her religious beliefs.

⁸¹ Antiochus IV had ordered the deaths of children, women and the elderly in Jerusalem, and defiled the temple. According to the story, the temple was dedicated to Olympian Zeus and the altar was adorned with pagan items. Jewish law was outlawed and Dionysiac customs were introduced. The story of conflict under Antiochus IV is documented in 2 Macc. 2–8., esp. 2 Macc. 5.

⁸² See above, n. 31.

⁸³ On the survival of British saints, see above, n. 9.

⁸⁴ Within the same period, only three *Lives* of individual British saints were published: J. Porter, *The flowers of the lives of the most renowned saints of the kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland* (Douai, 1632, RSTC 20124); Robert, Prior of Shrewsbury, *The admirable life of Saint Wenefride virgin, martyr, abbesse*, trans. J. F[alconer] (n.p. [St Omer], 1635, RSTC 21102); C. Baronius, *The life or the ecclesiastical historie of S. Thomas archbishop of Canterbury*, trans. A. B. (Cologne [Paris], 1639, RSTC 1019).

⁸⁵ See above, n. 32.

⁸⁶ The verbatim texts are (with A&R numbers in brackets): RSTC 4830 (272); 23948.5 (783); 11314.2 (357); 20483 (545); 4912 (689); 6185 (52); 15188.3 (894); 24140 (288); 3073.3 (390); 17663 (409); 3073.7 (399); 16828 (802); *Wing* 753. The texts with minor changes are: 3271 (92); 19167 (360); 20967 (781); 20968 (782); 3902 (687); 12350 (315). The texts taken from larger collections are: 5350.7 (119); 5350 (120); 12957 (388); 24924 (773); 10676.5 (265). Information on the translation of RSTC 19167 is taken from J. and F. Blom (eds.), *Catherine Greenbury and Mary Percy* (Aldershot, 2006), p. xiii.

⁸⁷ Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England*, p. 317.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 331–2.

⁸⁹ Questier argues that as James began to renege on his initial promises to Catholics, Montague came forward as he sought a significant part in the leadership of the Catholic community, *ibid.*, pp. 271–2.

⁹⁰ Haliczzer, *Female Mystics in the Golden Age of Spain*, p. 60.

⁹¹ Teresa of Avila, *The flaming hart or the life of S. Teresa*, trans. T. Matthew (Antwerp, 1642, *Wing* 753).

⁹² J. Bilinkoff, *The Avila of Saint Teresa: Religious Reform in a Sixteenth-Century City* (Ithaca, 1989), p. 200.

⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ G. Parsons, *The Cult of Saint Catherine of Siena: A Study in Civil Religion* (Aldershot, 2008), pp. 30 and 34; F. T. Luong argues that Catherine of Siena's 'real' and constructed image must be placed in the context of Sienese and Italian politics, see his *The Sainthood Politics of Catherine of Siena* (Ithaca, 2006).

⁹⁵ Raymund of Capua, *The life of the blessed virgin, saint Catherine of Siena*, part 3, chs. 15–21.

⁹⁶ While this study is limited to printed texts, it is, of course, possible that her political writings circulated in manuscript form.

⁹⁷ See especially: Walsham, 'Miracles and the Counter-Reformation to England'; Dillon, *The Construction of Martyrdom in the English Catholic Community*.

⁹⁸ Robert, Prior of Shrewsbury, *The admirable life of Saint Wenefride virgin, martyr, abbesse translated into English by IF. of the Society of Jesus* (n.p. [St Omer], 1635, RSTC 21102). J. T. Rhodes has also identified a work on the life of Saint Edward the Confessor written by Jerome Porter in 1710, see Rhodes, 'English Books of Martyrs and Saints', p. 11 and n. 52. For recent examinations of Holywell's importance as an important site for pilgrimage, see also A. Walsham, 'Sacred Spas?' and R.E. Scully, 'St. Winefride's Well'.

⁹⁹ C. Baronius, *The life or the ecclesiastical historie of S. Thomas archbishop of Canterbury*, trans. R. Lassels (Cologne, 1639, RSTC 1019). Two biographies of Sir Thomas More were also published in the early seventeenth century, see A&R 547 and 688. Additionally, we might add to the list the biographies of Margaret Clitherow and Lady Magdalen, Viscountess of Montague. Several editions of John Mush's account of Margaret Clitherow's life has been printed: *An*

Abstracte of the Life and Martirdome of Mistres Margaret Clitherowe (Mechline, 1619, No STC number), J. Mush, *Life and Death of Margaret Clitherow*, ed. William Nicolson (London, 1849) and 'A True Report of the Life and Martyrdom of Mrs. Margaret Clitherow', in Morris, *Troubles*, iii (London, 1877), pp. 360–432. Lady Magdalen, Viscountess of Montague's life was published in English as follows: Richard Smith, *The life of the most honourable and virtuous lady the La. Magdalen Viscountesse Montague*, trans. C[hristopher?]. F[Davenport?] (n. p. [St Omer], 1609, RSTC 22811).

¹⁰⁰ J. B., *A treatise with a kalendar, and the proofes thereof, concerning the holy-daies and fasting-daies in England* (n.p.d. [Printed secretly in England, c.1608], RSTC 1047).

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

¹⁰² Rhodes, 'English Books of Martyrs and Saints', p. 10.

¹⁰³ *A treatise with a kalendar*, pp. 10–11.

¹⁰⁴ R. Persons, 'A Storie of Domesticall Difficulties in the Englishe Catholike Cause', in J. H. Pollen *Miscellanea II*, CRS 2 (London, 1906), cap. 26 at pp. 176–7.

¹⁰⁵ N. Orme, *Nicholas Roscarrock* (St Endellion, 2000), pp. 8–13; *idem*, 'Nicholas Roscarrock (c.1548–1633/4)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online* (Oxford, 2004).

¹⁰⁶ J. Porter, *The flowers of the liues* (Douai, 1632, RSTC 20124). According to *A&R*, the second tome was never printed.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, sig. a3v. Despite the similarities between the content of Porter's *The flowers of the liues* and Wilson's *The English Martyrologe*, the texts are not identical. Both contain quite a number of saints which do not appear in the other text. Most obviously, on days with no British saints' feasts, Wilson placed the names of 'our ancient Saintes' that have no proper festivities in the English Catholic church.

¹⁰⁸ J. Wilson, *The English martyrologe conteyning a summary of the liues of the glorious and renowned saintes of the three kingdomes, England, Scotland, and Ireland...By a Catholicke priest* (St Omer, 1608, RSTC 25771), sig. *2v.

¹⁰⁹ T. Worthington, *A catalogue of martyrs in England: for profession of the Catholique religion, since the yeare of our Lord, 1535...vnto this yeare 1608* (n.p.d. [Douai?, 1608], no RSTC number).

¹¹⁰ *Martyrologium Romanum* was first published in 1583 by Pope Gregory XIII. A second edition was published in the same year. The third edition, published in 1584, was made obligatory. Further editions were published, including in 1586 and 1589 by Ceasar Baronio. *Martyrologium Romanum* contains an extensive list of the saints and martyrs recognised by the Catholic Church, according to the order of their feasts. *Martyrologium romanum ad novam kalandarii rationem, et ecclesisaticae historiae veritatem* (Rome, 1583). Although it likely circulated in England, it was not published in English until 1627: *The Roman martyrologe, according to the reformed calendar faithfully translated out of Latin into English, by G.K. of the Society of Jesus* (St Omer, 1627, RSTC 17533).

¹¹¹ R. Persons, *A treatise of three conuersions of England from paganisme to Christian religion... Divided into three partes.* (n.p., 1603, RSTC 19416).

¹¹² A. Villegas, *Flos Sanctorum. The liues of saints. Written in Spanish by...Alfonso Villegas*, trans. W. and E. Kinsman (n.p.d. [1609], RSTC 24730). Reprinted in 1610, 1614, 1615, 1621, 1623, 1628, 1630, 1634, 1636, 1638 (*A&R* 477–86).

