Early Modern Nuns and the Preservation of Medieval Manuscripts:

Anne Cary and Julian's Long Text

by

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ABSTRACT

Catholic women religious who fled England with their communities during the dissolution of the monasteries (1536-41), many of whom were practicing scribes and writers, have not received the extensive scholarly attention for their cultural contributions that their Protestant counterparts have been afforded. Living in France, the Low Countries, and Portugal, the communities of exiled English nuns endured war, economic hardship, and isolation from their extended families at home in England. As the sixteenth century progressed to the seventeenth, among leading thinkers, poets, and philosophers, religious and cultural divisions mingled, multiplied, and emerged more sharply. In England, Jesuit poet Robert Southwell (?1561-95) influenced authors such as Catholic-born, increasingly anti-Jesuit John Donne (1572-1631) and Catholic convert Richard Crashaw (1612/1613-49). In France, Blaise Pascal (1623-62), influenced by Jansenism (centered at the convent of Port-Royal, which he entered in 1655), composed his *Lettres provinciales* (1656-7) attacking Jesuit casuistry, while Fénelon, François de Salignac de la Mothe (1651-1715), archbishop of Cambrai (from where a group of English nuns moved to Paris) promulgated Quietism, a spiritual practice condemned by Rome. Civil Wars stemming from confessional divides in England and France affected the early modern populace by creating unrest and overall cultural instability. Despite suffering difficulties while living in foreign countries, the displaced communities of English nuns thrived culturally. Scholars such as Caroline Bowden, Laurence Lux-Sterritt, Jaime Goodrich, and Jenna Lay have examined chronicles, life-writing, death-notices, and correspondence to deepen

understanding of the lives of exiled women religious and their works. Building on this research, my study further contextualizes seventeenth-century English Benedictine Anne Cary (1614-71) and the copy of Julian of Norwich's Long Text preserved in Anne Cary's convent Our Lady of Good Hope in Paris. Judging from the location of the manuscript copy and analyses of her handwriting (Anne wrote the constitutional documents for the Paris house), scholars have identified Anne Cary as the manuscript's scribe. Anne's copy of Julian's Long Text was intended to conserve the manuscript for the devotional use of her community. Serenus de Cressy, chaplain to the community at Our Lady of Good Hope, supervised the 1670 English printed edition made from Anne's copy of Julian's Long Text. Through de Cressy's 1670 printed edition, Julian's work reached a wider audience in England and beyond, restoring continuity to Julian's reception and securing her prominence in a literary history extending from before Anne's work to today.

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The Past Speaks: Julian's Manuscripts and Seventeenth-century Women Religious

After recovering from an illness that brought her close to death, English mystic Julian of Norwich (ca. 1343-after 1416) wrote in two interrelated works the visions that she experienced of God's maternal love for humankind. *A Vision Showed to a Devout Woman* and *A Revelation of Love* composed for her "even-christen" and written and expanded upon between the mid-1370s and 1416, have been influential among disparate groups from lay religious individuals to self-help gurus ever since; but more to the point, they were deeply meaningful to a group of exiled early modern nuns based on the Continent. The seventeenth-century nuns' stewardship and devotional use of the Long Text, among other medieval mystical treatises, registers the value of Julian of Norwich's visions, and women's religious works more generally, to their lives and monastic mission. This introduction offers a brief overview of my project's elements concerning the significance of Julian and her manuscripts within the Cambrai and Paris communities' monastic scribal work and provides some historical context on the Reformation's role in shaping practices of medieval manuscript preservation.

Julian's manuscripts have a complicated reception and circulation history. Not widely known during Julian's lifetime, her Short Text, which was the more personable of the two, was copied in two late medieval manuscripts. Her Long Text, which is more theologically sophisticated, has been her most popular and significant work (I will refer to the Long Text throughout this project as *Showings*). Julian's Long Text, which survives in three manuscripts dating from much later than the Short Text, was important

to early modern nuns, who copied and disseminated the Long Text throughout the seventeenth century. In 1670, Serenus de Cressy printed the Long Text from the Anne Cary's scribal copy which gave Julian's works a broader audience. Early modern nuns, such as the four younger daughters of the famous playwright Elizabeth Cary (Elizabeth, Anne, Mary, and Lucy) copied and stewarded medieval works that ranged from Julian of Norwich's *Showings* to Walter Hilton's *Scale of Perfection*. Mystical Continental writers, such as Birgitta of Sweden and St. Catherine of Siena, were also important to the women scribes. The breadth of English and Continental works copied reveals these nuns' interest in the mystical tradition, and female writers in particular. The copies of some of the nuns' medieval manuscripts possibly came from Sir Robert Cotton's library. The Cary sisters' spiritual director, Fr. Augustine Baker at Our Blessed Lady of Good Hope in Paris (founded in 1651), was in contact with Sir Robert Cotton, who gave him manuscript copies from his collection for the nuns to read, copy, and circulate among themselves. The scribal copying and transmission of these diverse medieval authors emphasizes a long tradition of women religious figures who wrote, copied, and circulated religious texts.

During the Reformation, Catholic (and medieval) works in England were frequently destroyed, erasing large swaths of monastic culture and prompting early modern nuns like the ones at Cambrai and Paris to become custodians of these texts (Indeed, Robert Cotton was one of the first collectors to try to acquire and preserve the manuscripts from the destroyed monasteries' libraries.)[1] Preserving manuscripts was one

[1] See the British Library's overview of Sir Robert Cotton and the Cottonian collection: https://www.bl.uk/collection-guides/cotton-manuscripts.

way the nuns maintained a thriving and vibrant communal life. Early modern nuns preserved, disseminated, and stewarded medieval mystical texts for a Catholic audience in perpetuity. The nuns' stewardship and copying of the manuscripts indicates the significance these medieval mystical tracts held for their community and their culture.

Background: Reformation contexts for early modern nuns' scribal production

The men and women who were a part of the religious orders in England and Europe lived a consistent and regulated life of prayer, dedicated to learning and work in the monastery or convent and on the grounds. Following a vow of obedience, they renounced the world and its temptations and dedicated their lives solely to God. Monasteries and nunneries took care of the people in their parish by helping them when they were sick; their members offered comfort to the dying, and their prayers for the community were believed to be efficient and valuable because they were thought to be direct lifelines to God. Most religious houses followed the Benedictine Rule, which originated from the sixth-century monk Benedict of Nursia and promoted the popular emphasis on prayer and work. However, there were other religious houses stricter than the Benedictines that some women chose (or were compelled) to join, such as the Cistercians (reformed Benedictines) or the Franciscans, with their emphases on poverty and a strictly renunciant/ascetic lifestyle that meant to emulate Jesus and the Apostles during the early eras of Christianity.

Early modern nuns and monks fled persecution and the dissolution of their monasteries in England following the "visitations" made by Cromwell's selected commissioners to dispossess the religious houses of their goods. These "visitations" were

official inspections conducted by a bishop of monasteries in his diocese. The dissolution of the monasteries had its roots in the 1530s during the reign of Henry VIII who broke with the authority of Rome to become head of the Catholic Church in England. Henry VIII displaced the Pope's authority under The Act of Supremacy, passed by Parliament in 1534. This "break" with Rome disrupted the way individuals in England worshiped, lived, and died. Henry VIII's decision initiated damage to the country's magnificent architecture, art, and culture and a way of living that had been viewed as holy and acceptable for centuries was nearly destroyed. After the Reformation, the social fabric was obliterated, as the gentry, who had appropriated monastic lands and buildings, denied charity for groups such as beggars and pilgrims. Such care and support for the poor and sick, once the domain of the monastic center, evaporated.

Henry VIII was not unaided in his momentous decision. Thomas Cranmer played a significant role in master-minding the dismantling of religious houses in England. Working with Cranmer, Thomas Cromwell also provided logistics that set in motion the legal apparatus for the monasteries and convents to be demolished, their wealth and lands appropriated for the crown. Cromwell's most recent biographer, Diarmaid MacCulloch states, "Often [the inquiries or "visitations"] have been seen to further a complete suppression of monasteries, and to concentrate on ferreting out sexual scandal, but their investigations covered many other topics on which, arguably, reform was needed, at least from an evangelical humanist point of view."[2] This drive for reform and evangelization from Cromwell and his associates was often met with extreme hostility by Catholics, who

[2] Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Thomas Cromwell: A Revolutionary Life* (London: Penguin, 2018), 295.

considered themselves believers of the "true" faith (as opposed to heretics), and laypeople were horrified at the hostility directed towards monastic life, relics, and religious festivals. However, the dissolution of the monasteries continued, and monks and nuns who dwelled within religious houses either fled the country or chose to live a new life as laypeople.

Before the dissolution, nuns and monks were the mainstay and support of the community. The religious culture of nuns and monks was intimately interconnected with the practices of the laity, and religious devotion was communal and uniform. The men and women in the Abbeys, convents and monasteries prayed and took care of the laity, assisting families experiencing hardship, while laypersons in return helped in the running of the religious houses and lands, and were often accepted to the local orders as brothers and sisters. After the dissolution, the foundation of religious and cultural life was profoundly affected. Some monks and nuns chose to follow the times, others were pensioned off, but others decided to stay true to the "old faith" and leave England to find a more tolerant country. Scholars who study this period of displaced English religious life refer to it as "exile." The nuns were exiled both spiritually because they were increasingly a nonconformist minority in England and geographically, as the sweeping religious changes from Catholicism to Protestantism caused them to move from their country to the Continent. Even though these early modern women were exiled both spiritually and physically they were neither alone nor disconnected from their monastic culture. The nuns of post-dissolution era England moved to the Continent in order to form new places to practice their faith that was Catholic and sympathetic to their way of living. Two exiled communities eventually returned to England in the 1790s, Stanbrooke

Abbey and Syon Abbey. However, most women from the earlier period never saw their homeland again.[3] Instead, they dwelled on the Continent and created new mother houses to worship in the Catholic religion. Some nuns decided to leave the mother houses to form new daughter houses, thereby propagating the faith and creating more communities that actively played a role in the politics and culture of the region. They created a strong community of nuns and founded new religious houses in areas from France to Portugal and sought to promote Catholicism through the dissemination of texts and conversions in order to bring England back into the fold of the "old faith."

The Cary Sisters: Stewardship and Copying of Spiritual Writing as Devotional Practice

While a small handful of studies focuses on early modern nuns' exilic living and their connections to medieval-era mystics, my study focuses on English exiles' commitment to copying and safeguarding medieval texts, in particular the work of Julian of Norwich. This focus on Julian may serve as a paradigm through which to understand the importance of the nuns' scribal activity to English literary history. Early modern female recusants and nuns play an understudied role in the drama of English literary history through their production, preservation, and dissemination of medieval works in (and from) their archives. Literary studies that focus on early modern English women authors have mainly addressed Protestant writing such as that of Mary Sidney Herbert or Anne Locke. Including Catholic women's writing and cultural contributions will restore

[3] The Benedictine Stanbrooke Abbey in Yorkshire and the Brigittine Syon Abbey in Plymouth have returned to England after centuries of exile on the Continent. There are other enclosed religious houses that are in England again, but these two are the main ones that have roots in a medieval and post-Reformation past; Female Enclosed Communities | UK Religious Life.

cultural balance and deepen our understanding of lost dimensions of the traditions of English literature.

Elizabeth Cary, author of *The Tragedy of Mariam* (published in 1613), converted to Catholicism in 1626. Although Cary had in total eleven children, her four younger daughters (Anne, Mary, Elizabeth, and Lucy) became Benedictine nuns who left England for the Continent. I foreground Anne and Lucy Cary in my project because of their role as authors and scribes within their convent. Anne Cary was instrumental in copying the works of medieval mystics, especially Julian of Norwich, and her scribal copies of Julian have come down to a current audience through various transmission practices. The interconnection of medieval mystic Julian and her work with the lives of early modern nuns such as the Cary sisters reveals their relevance and importance as a bridge between the two eras. Early modern nuns' writing, although perhaps because it is often anonymous, demonstrates the power of writing to transmit the shared religious faith under attack by Protestant politics and polemics during the early modern era and beyond. Their writings and therefore their voices (however mediated) have survived a time that was filled with conflict and violence. With the work of Julian of Norwich in their keeping, the nuns safeguarded medieval tracts to enact their roles as guardians of their cultural heritage. The convents' archives reveal a rich and expansive range of the books they chose to read for their delight and edification. Shared among themselves, their book culture covered a vast array of what they found to be significant but also challenged the ideal (found in religious conduct manuals such as the *Acrene Riwle* [*Acrene Wisse*]) of what female religious women read and copied in their convent homes.

On the one hand, recusant women focused on the family, kept their homes as sanctuary places for the outlawed religion and devotion became privatized; nuns, on the other hand, dwelled in the enclosed but communal outward facing space of the convent.[4] The layouts and architectural details of the convents themselves may be unique depending on the order and the geographical location; however, the building plans of the convents can also help to reveal links of the early modern nuns back to their medieval sisters through the experience of generationally inhabited space. The convent was a fortress space built to keep the world out and the nuns safe inside. Built and maintained as a site for the glory of God or the saints that they were dedicated to, convents were places of praise, labor, protection, subversion, and surveillance as well. On one hand, this concept of surveillance and confinement is especially true for the Counter-Reformation era, where Tridentine policies were in force. Such policies saw grilles, locked doors, and gatekeepers who become installed in women's convents where before there had been none. On the other hand, however, nuns used the space of the convent as a subversive area.[5] They could gain an education, pursue their creative skills, and devote their lives to God, in ways that eluded and often upended traditional values of the dominant culture that medieval and early modern women were often expected to conform to, at least

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[4] Recusants are Roman Catholic individuals who did not attend Church of England services and were subject to fines and even imprisonment.

[5] Helen Hills contends that early modern convents used space both to reveal and conceal the nuns within ("Within the Folds of Early Modern Neapolitan Convent Architecture," *Oxford Art Journal*, *V*ol. 27, No. 3 [2004]); Phillip E. Wegner argues that rather than the concept of space being seen as empty or static, more contemporary theoretical approaches see space as a productive force that shapes and influences how people act ("Space and Place in Critical Reading," in *Introducing Criticism in the 21st Century: 2nd edition*, ed. Julian Wolfreys [Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015], 233-258).

according to the official discourses. Thus, space is not a static concept but constantly changes. The architecture of convents put the nuns "on show" through outside decorations but also separated them from the world and those threatening to cross that threshold. However, even if monastic literature could often be keen to promote the idea that nuns were "dead" to the world and had no contact with family members or friends, the reality was quite different. Overall, the convents shaped versatile spaces where nuns who dwelled inside them were neither caricatures of malice nor callous recluses, as they were often portrayed in early modern Protestant works and dramas, but human beings who participated with the wider world.

The Cary sisters lived in the Benedictine Abbey Our Lady of Consolation at Cambrai, and later on, Dame Clementia and Dame Mary moved to Paris to found a daughter house. Anne (Dame Clementia) and Lucy (Dame Magdalena) are the sisters who can be identified with writing works of their own and scribal copying. Dame Clementia is linked to Anchoress Julian of Norwich and her *Showings* because her house was responsible for copying, thus protecting from destruction, the works of medieval mystics. Dame Magdalena worked in collaboration with her sisters and brother Patrick (Dom Placid) on the biographical work "The Lady Falkland: Her Life," which was about their mother and her path to conversion. Thanks to early modern nuns such as Dame Clementia, scribal copies of mystical tracts allow us to have the valuable texts of the writers, including Julian. Although Julian's original manuscripts are lost, the transcribed copies attest to the remarkable accomplishment of her accounts' preservation.

Although the idea of "looking backwards" to medieval predecessors demonstrates that early modern nuns were deeply rooted in the past, the opposite is the case too.[6] Preserving culture is a forward-looking activity. Julian's work connected the early modern nuns to the medieval past and also unified their faith in the present since they were a persecuted minority. Looking forward to perpetuity, they continued to copy down the manuscripts and kept them alive for their own use through contemplation and examination. By copying and disseminating these medieval texts (as well as books from their own era), they were also building upon new spiritual knowledge gained from figures such as Fr. Augustine Baker, the well-known contemporary Benedictine writer of ascetic and mystical theological works, who was also spiritual advisor to the Cambrai nuns. Father Baker urged the nuns at Cambrai to live an interior life with God as their guide, which (as St Theresa of Avila had noted earlier) neatly circumscribed the authority and power of a confessor. Fr. Baker's emphasis on contemplation and silent prayer, rather than the more regimented and taxing mental exercises encouraged by the nun's Jesuit Confessors, became part of a contentious debate between the English Benedictine Congregation (EBC), Fr. Baker, and the Cambrai community. The quarrel even divided the religious community between some nuns wishing to follow the mental exercises as recommended by St. Ignatius or those who desired to remain faithful to Fr. Baker's teachings. Dame Barbara Constable was a firm supporter of Fr. Baker, his teachings, and his writings, and was in conflict with the head of the EBC, Fr. Peter Salvin. Dame

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[6] Nancy Bradley Warren discusses the phrase "looking backwards" in her work *The Embodied Word: Female Spiritualities, Contested Orthodoxies, and English Religious Cultures, 1350-1700* (Notre Dame: Notre Dame University Press 2010).

Barbara Constable threatened to leave the EBC unless the Congregation ceased to intimidate their community. After a lengthy dispute, Dame Barbara Constable was triumphant: the nuns of Cambrai were allowed to follow Fr. Baker's contemplative practices and keep his works for their use.

For the exiled nuns, Julian's visions were timely for their emphasis on God's motherly care toward humanity and their deeply comforting message. In this emphasis, more clearly seen in the context of the nuns' care of her writing, Julian's works still prove to be fresh and applicable. Her relevance and timeliness were needed during the era of the early modern nuns' exile in an uncertain and war-torn world. If the religious factions in England were tumultuous, France was just as equally turbulent. France was undergoing not only civil wars, but religious divisions throughout the country. For example, the nuns at Port-Royal des Champs were viewed as harboring heterodox beliefs because of their interest in Jansenism (as put forth by the Flemish bishop Cornelius Jansen).[7] Walker even adds that because of their close proximity to Port-Royal, the nuns of Our Lady of Good Hope were under suspicion.[8] Jansenists were severe critics of the monarch's power and influence, and believed in the doctrine of "efficacious grace," which marked them, in conservative Catholics' eyes, as Calvinists. The Jansenists also challenged the supremacy of the Jesuits, who not only were allied closely with the French monarchy and conservative nobility, but were often themselves English nuns' confessors.

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[7] Port-Royal, more than a French stronghold of Jansenism | (wordpress.com).
[8] See Walker's article "Recusants, Daughters and Sisters in Christ: English Nuns and Their Communities in the Seventeenth century," in *Women, Identities, and Communities in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Stephanie Tarbin and Susan Broomhall (London: Routledge, 2008), 61-78.

The Jansenists and Jesuits often disputed in fierce theological debates with each other, thus revealing the political and religious undercurrents of France.

Furthermore, the basis of France's own "Counter-Reformation," as argued by Henri-Jean Martin in *The French Book: Religion, Absolutism, and Readership 1585-1715*, was a new type of spiritual literature. Martin first contends that in the Counter-Reformation of France "the renewal of Catholic piety developed along essentially emotional lines on the basis of a hierarchically ordered didactic literature composed of saints' lives, catechisms, meditations, and spiritual exercises of all types."[9] Such literature, was viewed as reinforcing the religious status quo, but also revealed what devout individuals were interested in reading to further their faith. The wide variety of literature reflected this troubled era of wars and disputes, as Martin points out: "This period was one of all sorts of cultural divisions. From this time on, books circulated within large linguistic regions as if in a closed circuit, and each nation lived as though in a different time period."[10] Cultural divisions in England during the seventeenth century were rife as well. For example, the writings of the Jesuit poet Robert Southwell both contrasted with and influenced non-Catholic writers, such as John Donne (born Catholic but increasingly anti-Jesuit following his conversion to Anglicanism), or Richard Crashaw (a Catholic convert). In *Conflicts of Devotion: Liturgical Poetics in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century England*, Daniel R. Gibbons contends that poets such as Southwell or Donne "attempted to work out ways of engaging their imagined audiences

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[9] Henri-Jean Martin, *The French Book: Religion, Absolutism, and Readership 1585-1715*, trans. Paul Saenger and Nadine Saenger (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1996), 18.
[10] Martin, 28-29.

that could sustain religious community in spite of the deepening confessional divides that separated English Christians from one another in spirit, and even (in the case of exiles to the Continent or the Americas) in body."[11] The confessional differences held by authors such as Southwell, Donne, or Crashaw placed them at odds with each other, but with their audiences. Nevertheless they strove to maintain and engage with an audience, no matter if one reader was a recusant Catholic or a committed Protestant. The writers marked cultural divisions in France as well, as can be seen by Blaise Pascal's *Lettres provinciales* (1556-57), or François La Mothe-Fénelon, archbishop and mystical writer who promulgated Quietism.[12] Overall, the wide-ranging controversies and disputes across the confessional divide in England and France shaped and influenced the different cultures in particular ways that nonetheless mirrored each other throughout the early modern period.

For my study's theoretical framework, reception theory and historicism augment the feminist approach that I employ for this project. Jacques Derrida argues that those who control the archive control the concept of memory itself. Along similar lines, Michel Foucault contends that the archive establishes the probability of what can be said by individuals. Initiating an interdisciplinary conversation about "the politics of the archive,"

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[11] Daniel R. Gibbons, *Conflicts of Devotion: Liturgical Poetics in Sixteenth-and-Seventeenth Century England* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2017), 21.

[12] For more information about Blaise Pascal, see A.J Krailsheimer's *Pascal* (Hill and Wang: New York, 1980). For Françoise de Salignac de la Moth-Fénelon, see James Herbert Davis Jr's *Fénelon* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1979). For further reading about Pascal's female relations and their literary importance, see John J. Conley's *The Other Pascals: The Philosophy of Jacqueline Pascal, Gilberte Pascal Périer, and Marguerite Périer* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2019).

Derrida and Foucault focus on how power and knowledge are intimately intertwined within the archival space. While Derrida and Foucault focus on the archive as a site of memory and a deeply patriarchal political space, Diane Watt addresses how reception theory is expanded and applied to women's works. Watt contends that medieval women's writings "arise out of . . . larger textual, spiritual and social communities."[13] These wide-reaching communities form around women's concerns such as vocations of marriage or religion, relationships with family or friends, and their female bodies' experiences. Exploring the convent archive as a site of memory, community, circulation, and political space deepens our understanding of women's roles in the social function of who gets to control and disseminate the literary works. Archives and the rationales that govern them can reveal gendered narratives in terms of what they include and for whom. Rather than suppressing women's book practices in cultural history, the monastic archives show places of visibility and empowerment of women's presence in spaces that have sometimes been perceived as gendered spaces of knowledge. Looking more closely at gender in the archive and gendering archival spaces can balance our understanding of literary history through the context of transmission practices.

Current Scholarship I—on Julian's Manuscript History

Julian's original manuscripts themselves are lost, but several copies of her works have been composed since the fifteenth century. In "Julian of Norwich and Her Children Today: Editions, Translations, and Versions of Her Revelations," Alexandra Barratt gives a detailed inventory of Julian's editions: "The earliest version of the *Revelations* is the

[13] Diane Watt, *Medieval Women's Writing* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007), 16.

unique copy of the Short Text in London, British Library MS Add. 37790. This copy was made sometime after 1435 from an exemplar dated 1413."[14] Barratt goes on to explain, "The only other pre-Reformation Julian manuscript, dated around 1500, is now London, Westminster Cathedral Treasury MS 4, in the Westminster Archdiocesan Archives; it contains selections from the Long Text, combined with selections from Walter Hilton. But the only complete manuscript of the Long Text is post-Reformation."[15] The post-Reformation era manuscript copy embodies the enduring appeal of Julian's work through the centuries.

The late-seventeenth-century manuscript copies of Julian's work are the Paris Manuscript (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS Fonds anglaise 40) and the Sloane Manuscript (British Library MS Sloane 2499. The Sloane Manuscript is of greatest interest to my project because Anne Cary (Dame Clementia) composed a copy that may have been based upon an earlier version that was available to her. The 1670 printed version of Julian's Long Text was printed under the supervision of Serenus Cressy, Anne Cary's chaplain. Once there are both printed and manuscript copies in evidence, the establishment of the text of Julian's works becomes even more complex to assess. From the 1670 printed edition of the *Revelations*, then follows the Upholland Manuscript (at St. John's College, Upholland, Lancashire), which was copied by various English Benedictine Cambrai nuns in the mid-seventeenth century and probably its selections

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[14] Alexandra Barratt, "Julian of Norwich and Her Children Today: Editions, Translations, and Versions of her Revelations," in *Julian of Norwich's Legacy: Medieval Mysticism and Post-Medieval Reception*, ed. Sarah Salih and Denise N. Baker (New York: Palgrave McMillian, 2009), 13.
[15] Barratt, 13-14.

were copied by Cressy's printed edition. Lastly, there was another modernized copy of Sloane 2499, now called Sloane 3705, which may have been collated with either the Paris Manuscript or Cressy's edition. Overall, the Long Text circulated among English Catholics until the nineteenth century.[16] We have to give thanks to the nuns of Paris and Cambrai who performed the scribal work of preservation of Julian's work. The communities of exiled nuns and their work merit close attention and deserve to be restored to English literary history so their contributions may be contextualized and recognized for a wider audience.

Janina Ramirez summarizes the arc of Julian's life in *Julian of Norwich: A Very Brief History*: "She was born around 1343, received her visions at the age of 30 in 1373, and was still alive in 1416."[17] Julian was an anchoress, who lived very differently from a nun or a beguine. Whereas nuns are enclosed under a particular Rule (such as the Benedictine Rule) with binding vows, and beguines (Latin: *beguinas*; Dutch: *begijn*) are individuals who lived in small, interconnected groups not under a Rule and were a vital influence in their larger community, anchorites were different.[18] Anchorites or recluses, as they were also called, were men and women who devoted their lives to God, lived in

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[16] Barratt, 13-16.
[17] Janina Ramirez, *Julian of Norwich: A Very Brief Introduction* (London: SPCK, 2016), 5.
[18] Devout women in the Low Countries at the beginning of the twelfth century were called Beguines, and were not associated with any formal vows. For more information on beguines, see these two works: Tanya Stabler Miller's *The Beguines of Medieval Paris: Gender, Patronage, and Spiritual Authority* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014) and Walter Simons's *Cities of Ladies: Beguine Communities in the Medieval Low Countries, 1200-1565* (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 2001).

rooms attached to a church or a cathedral, and lived in the urban heart of a city.[19] They prayed for the community and offered advice to petitioners.

The importance of Julian's life and her work to the seventeenth-century community demonstrates the connectedness between—or even the transtemporal character of—the religious culture of the late medieval era and the early modern period of Cary's daughters. Julian's work was not only a source of comfort and contemplation for the later nuns, but the women's work of care and safeguarding her visions (and the experiences they record) is valuable and meaningful in its own right. Julian's words of hope, such as her famous statement, "All shall be well. . . all manner of thing shall be well," that T.S. Eliot drew comfort from, and her emphasis on God's love can be appreciated by both a medieval and a modern audience.[20] Besides Julian of Norwich being one of the earliest recognized English women writers of the medieval era, her importance to this project lies also in her recourse to mystical work, which shares, as Anne Clark Bartlett and Thomas H. Bestul note, late medieval English devotional literature's expressions of "heightened degrees of emotionalism" and a "preoccupation with the tortured body of Christ" as a contemplative focus.[21] Julian's exceedingly exquisite prose in English moves her audience to savor her words and thus helps them

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[19] Liz Herbert McAvoy, *Medieval Anchoritisms: Gender, Space, and the Solitary Life* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: D.S. Brewer, 2011).
[20] Elizabeth Spearing, *Julian of Norwich: Revelations of Divine Love* (London: Penguin, 1998), 79. See also T.S. Eliot's *Four Quartets* "Burnt Norton" (New York: Harcourt Brace and Co., 1943).
[21] Anne Clark Bartlett and Thomas H. Bestul*, Cultures of Piety: Medieval English Devotional Literature in Translation*, (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1999), 2. Chapter 4 which explores the significance of Julian's text to the Cambrai and Paris communities will address the role of shared/participatory and embodied experience in the nuns' contemplative practices.

grasp the rich complexity of thought and deep theological reflection of the message that she tries to share concerning God's depth of love and his *maternal* care for his people.

Although not widely disseminated during her own lifetime, Julian of Norwich's *Showings* is important for two reasons. First, the work has enjoyed a reception as worth reading and examining — *Showings* is considered part of the "canon" as a commanding early example of English prose. Second, and most important for my purposes, her work would have been lost if not for the care, copying, and stewarding of early modern nuns such as the Cary sisters. Indeed, the seventeenth-century nuns are engaged in a kind of counter-culture of "meta-keeping" —keeping for posterity's future needs Julian's sixteen visions of God's love for humankind and boundless capacity for safekeeping and forgiveness.

Current Scholarship II —on the Cary Sisters and Exilic Community

The nuns who had the *Showings* in their keeping used Julian's visions for their learning and contemplation, and through continual use, safeguarded her work from being lost or destroyed. Medieval texts such as Julian's were not unusual for conventual women such as the Cary sisters to own or to use. Nuns viewed Julian's *Showings* and other mystical works as valuable means of spiritual contemplation. Julian's work becomes a focus of the continuity with their medieval counterparts that early modern nuns preserved in their textual stewardship as one plane of traditional devotional practices. Early modern nuns used late medieval mystical treatises as a means of consolidating their community through connecting back to a shared religious past and preserving their devotional mission to carry forward. Furthermore, the venerable tradition of copying manuscripts is

essential in understanding the way in which early modern nuns preserved and used late medieval works for their personal spiritual growth and for needs of the larger community.[22]

The groundwork for a revisionist study of the English Reformation was laid by Eamon Duffy in *The Stripping of the Altars* and developed in his more recent publications, including *Saints, Sacrilege, and Sedition*. Duffy challenges the belief that in England the Reformation was accepted with approval by the laity and that the late medieval English church was corrupt, worldly, and widely viewed as superstitious and parochial.[23] He argues that the Catholic faith shared by England's lower classes in the sixteenth century was vibrant and rich, tying one member of community to the other in shared acts of faith and devotion. Instead of the English people accepting the disrupting changes to authority brought by Henry VIII, Duffy contends that most stayed loyal to the "old faith," especially those who dwelled in rural areas, and that higher ecclesiastical figures and pro-Protestant members of the gentry struggled to quell their ardent devotion to the Catholic religion and to the Pope. When the government changed policies on Protestant principles, those who remained true to the Catholic faith adapted to the circumstances. However, they also hid rood-screens, relics, statues, and liturgical handbooks until times were more favorable for them to openly practice faith they viewed

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[22] See Michael Kulikowski's book review of *The Selected Letters of Cassiodorus: A Sixth Century Sourcebook*, trans. and ed. M. Shane Bjornlie (Oakland: University of California Press, 2020), Michael Kulikowski · Kings and Kinglets: Cassiodorus · LRB 12 August 2021.

[23] Duffy's other publications include *A People's Tragedy: Studies in the Reformation* (London: Bloomsbury Continuum, 2021), *Marking the Hours: English People and Their Prayers, 1240-1570* (New Haven: Yale, 2011), and *Fires of Faith: Catholic England under Mary Tudor* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016).

to be "correct." Not only did they adapt to circumstances and become flexible when the crown changed its view on religion, they kept alive in their collective memory the images of the saints and their intercessory powers, the primers, and prayers for the dead.

Henry VIII's children had vastly different religious upbringings. Mary was staunchly Catholic, her half-brother Edward VI was conformed to the Protestant religion, while Elizabeth, though moderately inclined, was also a Protestant. Although the country in Queen Mary's reign (1553-1558) slowly made its way back to Catholicism, the reversal of the Seymours' influence ultimately did not bear fruit, as she died without issue. The most radical shift in policy followed during the reign of Edward VI (1547-1553). His Protectorate attacked Catholic culture most fiercely, until his death in 1553. His militantly Protestant-leaning reign was where the most damage was done to church buildings, stained glass windows and statues of the saints. Following the accession of Elizabeth I in 1558, England became firmly Protestant. The succeeding generations during her long reign (1558-1603) viewed England's formerly held Catholic faith distantly— "that of another country, another world."[24] This disconnection between the previous generations who had grown up in the old faith versus those firmly Protestant fomented distrust and mockery toward nuns and monks, their way of living, and their rituals. The destruction of religious houses and centuries old knowledge also impacted early modern English people's perceptions of the "old faith." The rampant vandalism of Henry's dissolution in England severely impacted for posterity the land's rich and lively history of religion and culture. Figures of nuns were portrayed in early modern English

[24] Duffy, 593.

literature and polemic writings, such as in Christopher Marlow's 1599 play *The Jew of Malta* or Thomas Robinson's *The Anatomy of the English Nunnery at Lisbon*, as contradictory, depraved, and weak.[25] Nuns were viewed by their Protestant countrymen as unnatural, derided for the life they chose, as Protestant religious culture now promoted companionate marriages, consolidation of wealth, and children instead of celibacy for men or women dedicated to God. Nuns were conundrums—they were "Brides of Christ" and sworn to celibacy, they had no children, and consolidated strong and enduring relationships with other women in religious community. In the paradox that Pamela Joseph Benson analyzes through protofeminist texts, nuns were viewed as independent from lay women's duties, but contained by their Rule-bound roles.[26] Their freedom from marriage, childbirth, and household duties allowed enterprising and talented nuns to devote themselves to expressive and creative acts while maintaining a life of prayer, caring for the poor, and often gaining an excellent education in the balance. However, for all of their independence, nuns were enclosed in the space of their convents and bound by their vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience.

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[25] The full title of Robinson's 1622 work is *The anatomy of the English nunnery at Lisbon in Portugall Dissected and laid open by one that was sometime a yonger brother of the conuent: who (if the grace of God had not preuented him) might haue growne as old in a wicked life as the oldest among them. Published by authoritie.* Early English Books Text Creation Partnership, The anatomy of the English nunnery at Lisbon in Portugall Dissected and laid open by one that was sometime a yonger brother of the conuent: who (if the grace of God had not preuented him) might haue growne as old in a wicked life as the oldest among them. Published by authoritie. (umich.edu).

[26] Pamela Joseph Benson, *The Invention of the Renaissance Woman: The Challenge of Female Independence in the Literature and Thought of Italy and England* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992).

In *The Invention of the Renaissance Woman: The Challenge of Female Independence in the Literature and Thought of Italy and England*, Benson refers to protofeminist works such as Giovanni Boccaccio's *De Mulieribus Claris* and Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*. Benson explores how Renaissance authors created the role of a free woman — independent, yet also contained through use of literary means. This containment in the symbolic systems of culture highlights the central paradox of nuns. They were independent from the vagaries of marriage and childbirth but required to live by oaths of chastity, obedience, and humility. They dwelled in convents, some strictly cloistered and most of them enclosed, a space considered citadel, prison, and paradise. In such spaces, become "place" through their shared communal life, medieval and early modern nuns and Catholic women could and did undo the culture's constraints set on them to accomplish many-dimensioned and meaningful lives.

Where monastic literature argued for a complete rejection of the world and fleeting pleasures, most historical cloistered women never gave up their close relationships to kin and their social status played a large role in how the community was viewed as a whole by insiders and outsiders. Writing about early modern nuns and their lives on the Continent, Claire Walker explores the historical importance of women's communities that in practice differed from tendentious representations in monastic conduct literature. In *Gender and Politics in Early Modern Europe: English Convents in France and the Low Countries* (2003) and in "Recusants, Daughters, and Sisters in Christ: English Nuns and their Communities in the 17th Century," Walker argues that women's religious communities were seen as protected places for these exiled women: "The idea of the convent as a female haven persisted, and it crossed confessional

boundaries."[27] As places of safety and refuge from the world's consuming tendencies, convents also become repositories of knowledge of and continuity with the past. Notably, Walker observes that "convents would become focal points for worship and common identity among the exiled recusants."[28] Walker's work on early modern English nuns and their communal experience adds to the study of historical women religious, their lives, and the nature of their unique and occluded contributions to culture, particularly in preserving certain dimensions of literary history.

Catholic women formed a part of the religious debates during the early modern era, yet their contributions to literature have been (and were then) often ignored or derided. The contributions of early modern English Catholic women have been overlooked because scholarly studies are largely Protestant-biased. While depictions of nuns abound in the era as Jenna Lay notes in *Beyond the Cloister: Catholic Englishwomen and Early Modern Literary Culture* (2016), it is difficult to secure the name of a woman who authored a specific text because of monastic conventions that promoted humility and silence. The Benedictine Rule promotes those virtues for all members, but for women the dominant culture's gender norms double the effects of personal or individual erasure in the interests of communal life. This subduing of a woman's patronym and/or given name in monastic culture has caused early works

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[27] Claire Walker, *Gender and Politics in Early Modern Europe: English Convents in France and the Low Countries* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003), 35. See also her article "Recusants, Daughters, and Sisters in Christ: English Nuns and their Communities in the 17th Century," in *Women, Identities, and Communities in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Stephanie Tarbin and Susan Broomhall (London: Routledge, 2016), 79-94.
[28] Walker, 15.

potentially written by either recusant women or nuns to have been overlooked or ignored.[29]

Lay's work builds on Frances E. Dolan's focus on Catholic women's biographies as emulative and holy subjects for contemplation. As Dolan argues, "These texts have attracted surprisingly little critical attention, in part because the access they offer to women's voices, experiences, or self-representations is so mediated."[30] While Dolan focuses on Catholic women's biographies and how these women are connected through families and communities, for the most part the cultural work of historical medieval nuns and early modern recusant women remains understudied.[31] The problem early modern scholars have with attribution—connecting works to their authors—is one of the reasons why most people are unaware of the writing of recusants and early women religious. As Virginia Woolf famously states in her essay *A Room of One's Own*, "I would venture to guess that Anon, who wrote so many poems without signing them, was often a woman."[32] This desire for anonymity is especially significant since religious women constitutionally eschewed individuality, assumed generic, corporate names, and focused on the collective community. Thanks to intrepid scholars, some of their given and family

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[29] Lay places her recusant women and nuns in conversation with such famous male and (mainly) Protestant writers such as Christopher Marlowe, William Shakespeare, and Andrew Marvell to reveal the cross-currents of culture and faith in the vibrant political issues of the day.

[30] Frances E. Dolan, "Reading, Work, and Catholic Women's Biographies," *English Literary Renaissance*, 33, No. 3 (Autumn 2003), https://www.jstor.org/stable/43607502.

[31] A recusant is an individual who refused to attend the reformed services of the church and did not swear an oath of allegiance to the reigning monarch, which placed such individuals in jeopardy of losing their lives and estates.

[32] Virginia Woolf, *A Room of One's Own* (Harcourt: Hogarth Press, 1928), 49.

names have been uncovered, their authorship revealed for the glory of the convent and for the edification of their fellow sisters.[33]

My study helps remove sedimented layers of neglect and unfamiliarity with early Catholic women and their contributions to restore the legacy of their voices and perspectives, presenting their cultural context in both a public-facing and scholarly manner. My method follows Lay's (indeed Foucault's) historicist principle that scholars who "take a circuitous path . . . discover fresh paths and perspectives new."[34] In 1989, scholar Dorothy L. Latz lamented that recusant women had been hidden in darkness, but that "even feeble 'glow-worm light' seems preferable to total oblivion."[35] Latz pleads with her audience that "at stake here is enlightenment of a part of the English literary heritage long neglected." Connecting early modern women to their medieval counterparts promises to offer a deeper, richer analysis of the literary, cultural, and religious currents that shaped — and shape — both eras.

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[33] See groundbreaking websites such as The Orlando Project (The Orlando Project – Feminist Literary History and Digital Humanities (ualberta.ca)), The Perdita Project (Home - Perdita Manuscripts (amdigital.co.uk)), The Women Writers's Project (WWP (northeastern.edu)), and Early Modern Women Research Network (Early Modern Women Research Network / Centre for Early Modern Studies / Institutes and centres / Research / The University of Newcastle, Australia).

[34] Jenna Lay, *Beyond the Cloister: Catholic Englishwomen and Early Modern Literary Culture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), 172.

[35] Dorothy L. Latz, '*Glow-Worm' Light: Writings of 17th Century English Recusant Women from Original Manuscripts* (Austria: Institut Für Anglistik Und Amerikaniktik, 1989), 8.

Significance of Present Study—Filling in Gaps, New Discoveries, Shifting Focus

To uncover and reclaim early modern Catholic voices for our current era, scholars must challenge the pervasive Virgin/ Eve stereotype that assumes nuns must also, as women more generally, conform to binaries of the cloyingly good or the degenerately wicked. Patricia Pender elegantly lays out the challenge: "Our inherited models of literary criticism might proffer the bald binary of subversion and orthodoxy with a certain siren-like simplicity, but the growing field of early modern women's studies deserves better models."[36] Elizabeth, Anne, Mary, and Lucy Cary deserve methods of literary critical approaches better able to bring their writing and contributions more effectively into this current era's cultural repertoire. Critical attention loosed from binaries opens the complexities of women's early lives, collaborations, and works. By freeing ourselves from the binaries and misinterpretations of early modern lay and women religious, we will be able to examine more clearly what they have done and what they say.

These women—only shadows—may seem enigmatic to us now, but were once living, breathing persons, and we need to ask questions that give them voice, "Considering the omissions and holes in convent biographical practice," Ann M. Little argues, "leads us to ask different questions, to look for the stories of unknown people, and to imagine different relationships between our subjects and the world around them."[37] Little's assessment emphasizes that scholars uncovering and exploring the work

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[36] Patricia Pender, "The Critical Fortunes of the Tenth Muse: Canonicity and Its Discontents," in A *History of Early Modern Women's Writing*, ed. Patricia Phillippy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 79.
[37] Ann M. Little, *The Many Captivities of Esther Wheelwright* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 10.

of early modern nuns and recusant women must recontextualize their subjects to arrive at new questions. Scholars must expand beyond habitual boundaries and reflexive patterns to reconceive — or even unthink— how we normally perceive both nuns and women more largely during the medieval and early modern periods.

While a religious community's forward and backward looking could be perceived as insular or segregated, nevertheless, early modern women employed their fellow medieval sisters' writing in a vibrant manner applicable to their own lives. Exploring the deeply interconnected experiences of early modern women's spirituality with their medieval counterparts, Nancy Bradley Warren expresses in her introduction to *The Embodied Word* her wish to "reconsider the binaries of medieval and early modern, Catholic and Protestant, domestic and foreign, orthodoxy and heterodoxy, that have obscured important aspects of English religious cultures."[38] Warren focuses on how early modern religious women utilized the writings of medieval predecessors for contemplation and emulation—a practice of devotion that participates both forward and backward in time. Thus, Warren notes that "medieval holy women have important early modern afterlives."[39] The memories and works of medieval religious women like Julian of Norwich or Birgitta of Sweden live on due to continuous generations of communities dedicated to preserving their contributions through various kinds of cultural work (transcription as devotional practice, etc.).

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[38] Nancy Bradley Warren, *The Embodied Word: Female Spiritualities, Contested Orthodoxies, and English Religious Cultures, 1350-1700* (University of Notre Dame Press, 2010), 8.
[39] Warren, 11.

Although we know very little about Julian, her legacy has loomed large in mystical writing and in English literary history. Janina Ramirez's most recent study, *Julian of Norwich: A Very Brief History*, vividly captures the tumultuous and colorful era of the late English Middle Ages through details of Julian's life and legacy as a famous medieval mystic. Ramirez peels away the idea that her secluded, though engaged, life was disconnected or is somehow irrelevant to our contemporary experiences. Ramirez concurs that Julian, as one of the first women to write in English (as opposed to writing in Norman French or Latin), "deserves to be better known … the quality of her work, the potency of her prose, the beauty of the revelations and the broad-minded way in which she engages with Christian ideals, all mean she rewards a lifetime of study."[40] Julian can be appreciated for her comforting and astute theology by a current audience just as she was to the early modern nuns who carefully, devotedly, copied her works to ensure that they would be safeguarded for posterity—tools to further grow a spiritual community no matter the era and across the ages.

[40] Janina Ramirez, *Julian of Norwich: A Very Brief History* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 2018), xi.

Chapter 1

The Sisterhood: The Cary Sisters and the Influence of Elizabeth Cary

A 1665 Italian treatise located in the Paris Benedictine library signified its importance to the community's nuns' spiritual growth. Italian priest Fr. Geronimo de Ferrara composed a treatise to a "Lady" (Countess Maddalena della Mirandola) who resolved to become a nun.[1] Italian in origin, it was translated into English by an anonymous scribe of the Benedictine House in Paris and was titled "A Short Treatise of Three Principall Vertues and Vows of Religious Persons."[2] After greeting his noble audience as his "dearest in our Lord" and commending the "desire that you have to abandon the vanities of the world & adheere to the veracity of your eternall spouse," he goes on to, "confirm in few words your holy purpose and point you out the waies of God you are to pursue in the happy choice you are making, to the end you may not be led astray by the many errors & abusive customes of our dais."[3] The translated English text goes on to expound the virtues of chastity, poverty, and obedience.[4] One passage that

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[1] According to Tamar Herzig in *Savonarola's Women: Visions and Reform in Renaissance Italy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), Countess Maddalena della Mirandola was Maddalena Pico, the sister of Giovanfranceso Pico, an ardent follower of Savonarola. Furthermore, "Geronimo de Ferrara" is Girolamo Savonarola (1452-1498). Additionally, Maddalena dwelled in the Clarissan convent of Corpus Domini in Ferrara and had corresponded with Savonarola before taking her vows (68).

[2] A Short Treatise … 1665: a Short Treatise of the Three Principal Virtues and Vows of Religious Persons, written by f. Geronimo de Ferrara to a Lady [Countess Maddalena della Mirandola]. From an English translation [by T.W.] of 1665 (London, 1876). Held at the Archives Départementales du Nord (20H-17: 'Virtues of a Religious Person') Lille, France, 75-80.

[3] A Short Treatise, 75.

[4] The modern translator notes that "the next thirteen pages on obedience – 'Of the third vow of obedience' – are omitted," 80.

connects well to the Cary sisters (Anne, Elizabeth, Mary, and Lucy) is da Ferrara's injunction that religious people must be completely dedicated to Christ:

> [religious] must . . . aime at nothing ells but to unite, by the ligaments of charity, their soul to Christ crucified, in such strict sort that they may truly with the apostle crie out: I live now, not I, but Christ lives in me. so that daie & night their soules must entertain no other thought, their hearts no other affection, their tongue no other discourse but of their crucified Lord. [5]

The translated version of Fr. Geronimo's words places a profound charge on women religious: they are to be completely and thoroughly one with Christ. Christ is the only worthy object that women religious should be devoted to, not family or friends, and not worldly circumstances. The perfect woman religious, Geronimo counsels, should have no knowledge except that which revolves around Christ, utter no words but for the praise and glory of Christ, and love no one but Christ. Their wills and lives must be subsumed into Christ's own holy self. As we will see later on in this chapter, Anne Cary and her sister Lucy, lived lives that exemplified the model outlined in such idealistic words as Fr. Geronimo used to exhort and encourage his aristocratic audience.

In the section dedicated to chastity, Fr. Geronimo discusses several relevant matters, such as the topic of worldly familial associations and the positive benefits of reading edifying books that are worth examining. His emphasis on religious books is linked to the Cary sisters as authors and composers of their own works in several ways. First, Fr. Geronimo challenged the norm of women religious who talked with their friends or had their family come and visit them in their convents, therefore distracting them from their vocation. Although this attack may appear to be irrelevant to the subject

[5] Short Treatise, 76.

of chastity, being divided between the world and the cloister, which could breed discontent, was a very real threat to women religious. Next, in order to combat the visits of family and friends who may entice a woman religious to regret her vocation, Geronimo pressed for his audience to "read the holy hermits lives & they shall find there, sons who would not so much as endure the presence of their mothers, brothers who banished their sisters, sisters who avoided their brothers."[6] By reading hermits or saints' lives, the monastic readers would learn to resist the insidious presence of family members and their conversations. However, would reading religious books really put to flight well-meaning but troublesome friends and relatives? The Cary sisters, as will be shown later on, defied this way of thinking, since they maintained their worldly connections when difficulties arose. Nevertheless, the phrase "hermits' lives" also connects to what Geronimo's primary audience, Maddalena, Countess della Mirandola, and by extension, the women religious at Paris, would have read and consumed as a part of their daily literary diet.

Jaime Goodrich, Caroline Bowden, and Felice Lifshitz all have focused on the different facets of what nuns read and how they interacted with their literary culture. In *Writing Habits: Historicism, Philosophy, and English Benedictine Convents, 1600-1800*, Jaime Goodrich asserts that the "convent was a…locus of textual production, with a particularized culture of its own."[7] Goodrich's phrase "particularized culture" refers to convents having their own unique culture where they produced a variety of literary works

[6] Short Treatise, 79.
[7] Jaime Goodrich, *Writing Habits: Historicism, Philosophy, and English Benedictine Convents*, *1600-1800* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2021), 58.

that ensured the smooth running of the convent as well as supporting the community's spiritual growth and knowledge. Convent chronicles, letters, saints' lives, psalters, and "collections" of instructive texts and prayers made up the wide-ranging and textually rich repositories that nun's libraries held within their walls. We can see a vital literary culture that was embedded within a convent, produced and circulated by the nuns for the collective community.

Anne Cary, Bridget More, and Catherine Gascoigne separately composed passages from Julian's Long Text as a type of "keeping" of her manuscript in the monastic memory of Our Lady of Good Hope.[8] As a verb, "to keep" came into use c.1000, as the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*) notes: "The original sense may have been 'to lay hold' with the hands, and hence with the attention, 'to keep an eye upon, watch'. About 1000, it was taken to render Latin *observāre* (originally 'to watch, keep an eye upon, take note of'), and its subsequent development seems to have been largely influenced by the senses of this Latin word. . . ."[9] The term "keeping" came into use in the year 1330 as a noun. As an adjective, "keeping" came into use in 1450. The *OED* argues that "there is also close affinity between keep and hold v. (originally 'to keep watch over, keep in charge'): in many uses they are still synonymous, and many phrases

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[8] Julia Bolton Holloway has a webpage about Mother Justina Gascoigne: Justina (umilta.net) as does the website Early Modern Exiled Nuns: Justina Gascoigne – Early Modern Exiled Nuns (hypotheses.org). Although Bridget More's entry is not made available in the *ODNB*, her sister Helen (Gertrude) More is, as composed by Holloway: More, Helen [name in religion Gertrude] (1606–1633), Benedictine nun | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (mtsu.edu). For Bridget More, please see this link: Who were the Nuns? (qmul.ac.uk).

[9] *OED online*, s.v. "keep, v," accessed march 29, 2023, https://www-oed-com.ezproxy.mtsu.edu/view/Entry/102776?rskey=KNB7Bp&result=1.

which have now the one verb formerly had the other; but in later usage, at least, keep implies the exercise of stronger effort to retain."[10] The nuns of Cambrai and Paris practiced a type of "meta-keeping" that afforded the copying and preservation to remain vital and useful to them within their convent and to others beyond their time. The term "keeping" can be used as a type of theoretical framework to assess and analyze why the nuns at Our Lady of Good Hope bore a heavy charge to protect, circulate, and hold or keep within the community not only Julian's Long Text, but other medieval authors' works as well. The nuns' "keeping" of Julian's Long Text, among other works, would ensure that time, chaos, or disregard could not utterly destroy these precious manuscripts from the medieval era.[11] In "Reading Bells and Loose Papers: Reading and Writing Practices of the English Benedictine Nuns of Cambrai and Paris," Heather Wolfe contends that Cambrai became the center of a large scribal community "which included the English Benedictine monks of St. Gregory in Douai and St. Edmund's in Paris, as well as the nuns at their daughter house in Paris."[12] Because of the vibrant manuscript culture within the English Benedictine community with its emphasis on copying and preserving manuscripts for posterity, works such as Julian's Long Text were kept alive in the women's religious convents and not forgotten. As Warren reminds us, "Julian's writings and other medieval texts act as vectors for carrying the past into the present,

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[10] *OED online*, s.v. "keep v.," accessed March 29, 2023, https://www-oed-com.ezproxy.mtsu.edu/view/Entry/102785?rskey=eJST9J&result=1.
[11] See Raymond Williams's work *Keywords* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976).
[12] Heather Wolfe, "Reading Bells and Loose Papers: Reading and Writing Practices of the English Benedictine Nuns of Cambrai and Paris" in *Early Modern Women's Manuscript Writing: Selected Papers from the Trinity/ Trent Colloquium*, ed. Victoria E. Burke and Jonathan Gibson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 148.

giving past lives new life in the embodied experiences of individual nuns as well as in the collective experience of the corporate body of the monastic community."[13] Women such as Anne Cary, Dame Catherine Gascoigne, and Dame Barbara Constable studied and applied Julian's teachings to their lives, composing either her Long Text for the community's spiritual health (Anne Cary), or writing passages of the Long Text for private use, but soon accumulated into "collections" for the next generation of nuns to utilize and add onto (Dame Catherine Gascoigne and Dame Barbara Constable).

The nuns at Cambrai and Paris's unique literary community looked forward to the future and backward to a medieval, religiously more whole, past. Their literary community interwove women authors like Julian with early modern nuns such as Anne Cary, therefore extending and enlivening, in living, the medieval culture and practices into the early modern era and beyond. In "Beyond the Sea: Medieval Mystic Space and Early Modern Convents in Exile," Victoria Blud further adds that the nuns of Cambrai "were engaged and educated readers who benefited from a programme of devotion and spiritual practice that drew on the texts of the medieval mystic past. These works encouraged them to participate in a special kind of literary community… [which] ultimately included [them] in an insular medieval tradition."[14] By reading the works of the past, including those of medieval mystics, the women religious at Cambrai and Paris engaged with the past, but also continued to expand their knowledge to include current literary practices. In "Spiritual and Devotional Prose," Alison Shell points out that the

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[13] Warren, 62.
[14] Victoria Blud, "Beyond the Sea: Medieval Mystic Space and Early Modern Convents in Exile," in Gender in *Medieval Places, Spaces, and Thresholds*, ed. Victoria Blud, Diane Heath and Einat Klafler (London: Institute of Higher Research, 2019), 88.

"translations and modernization of medieval mystical and devotional writers undertaken within post-Reformation English monastic foundations on the Continent kept these traditions alive in a more continuous manner."[15] Although Shell argues that the nuns' devotional practices kept these ancient works in cultural memory, it was not because of a sense of duty or insularity. Rather, reading and copying these medieval texts was a pragmatic choice of fierce independence. Nuns chose to read specific authors that resonated with them, such as Julian of Norwich. Furthermore, reading medieval texts kept the past alive for the nuns and connected them to authors of a shared and vibrant faith. The literary practices that they engaged in, such as copying and reading from these works, also brought them closer to a past that was no longer in existence.

The choices that nuns made in regard to what nuns read was informed by their Catholic culture as well as a symbol of what personally interested them as they grew in their faith. In "Philip Sidney in the Cloister: The Reading Habits of English Nuns in Seventeenth-century Antwerp," Nicky Hallet notes that the specific choice of reading Julian's *Revelations* was a "political act."[16] The choice to read authors, such as Julian, reveals the nuns' independence. They deviated from early modern Protestant literary culture which functioned as a sign of their own spiritual autonomy.

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[15] Alison Shell, "Spiritual and Devotional Prose," in *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English: vol II 1550-1660*, ed. Gordon Braden, Robert Cummings, and Stuart Gillespie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 427.
[16] Nicky Hallett, "Philip Sidney in the Cloister: The Reading Habits of English Nuns in Seventeenth-century Antwerp" *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*, 12, no. 3 (Summer 2012): 107, https://www.jstor.org/stable/23242198.

Although the convent was meant to be a space that was divorced from politics and worldly affairs, the books that a convent owned and how the nuns interacted with their library's collections was fraught with political and personal significance. As Latz emphasizes, "Preserving their heritage from oblivion and destruction seemed to have become for the English Benedictines of Cambrai and Paris a concomitant of their spiritual vocation of contemplation . . . conscious of the urgency of handing down to posterity spiritual treasures in danger of being lost amid persecution and civil war in England."[17] As I will continue to call attention to throughout this project, the texts the nuns of Cambrai and, and even more particularly, those of Paris kept were important to preserve for the use of future generations and the Sisters could not allow them to fall into oblivion. GianCarla Periti reminds us in her book *In the Courts of Religious Ladies: Art, Vision, and Pleasure in Italian Renaissance Convents* that "creative works were meant to spur contemplative practices, to be effective tools for spiritual enlightenment."[18] Hundreds of monastic women before Anne Cary, copying and writing manuscripts and keeping them within their walls (or even circulating them within their monastic milieu), all contributed to a multiplicity of aspects of culture: experiencing spiritual growth, contemplative practice, keeping at-risk literature within the bounds of memory, and of use. Since the convent was a space where the community's books were kept safe and secure from plunder and destruction, the convent as a building and what it signified to its nuns (and those outside its walls) is important examine as well.

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[17] Latz, 11.
[18] GianCarla Periti, *In the Courts of Religious Ladies: Art, Vision, and Pleasure in Italian Renaissance Convents* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 21.

Convents were the space where knowledge and culture were kept safe by a continuous cycle of copying and writing for the benefit not only of the members of the community but of the generations that would come after. Nevertheless, the nuns that did the copying, writing, and circulating still have not received proper attention nor their due for their work. Alison Beach adds, "While scholars have long been aware that women copied books in some medieval monasteries, they have tended not to consider women's houses or double communities when investigating the origin of a book."[19] Even though Beach concentrates on the medieval era, her comment still applies to early modern women such as Anne Cary. Anne Cary and all the female monastic writers, scribes, and copyists deserve recognition of their work, time, and effort of contributing to the books that are still in circulation (and those works that are still lost or merely undiscovered in special collections in museums or private houses).

Nuns deserve having their voices heard as a part of the narrative of early modern literature and culture. Despite anonymity, these relatively marginalized voices merit an opportunity to be studied with as much interest as other early modern Protestant authors. Furthermore, nuns and recusant women need a space of their own to speak without being overshadowed by Protestant authors such as Lady Mary Wroth, Philip Sidney, or Edmund Spenser. By studying Catholic women's works alongside their more widely recognized Protestant authors, their breadth of learning, devotional practices, and diverse literary interests are made known to the individuals of today.

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[19] Alison Beach, *Women as Scribes: Book Production and Monastic Reform in 12th century Bavaria* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 4-5.

Just as early modern Catholic voices ought to be considered with the same regard as Protestants authors, so should the monastic space. Convents were multifaceted places of spirituality, culture, and familial power bases. Ulrike Strasser gives weight to the concept of convents being "places of spiritual devotion, centers of cultures, and sites of patrimonial as well as political strategizing."[20] The suppression of convents in England and their reappearance in areas such as France or Portugal displayed a spiritual need for women who wanted to dedicate their lives to God, practice their religion without fear, and remain separate from the world. Countries that were still friendly to Catholic practices provided nuns a location in which they could continue their religious practices peacefully. The convent was a symbol of religious authority, a space for knowledge and learning, as well as a place to gain spiritual fulfillment. In *Remembering Women Differently: Refiguring Rhetorical Work*, Letizia Guglielmo claims that for women's stories to be heard, they must not only have space that accommodates them, but there must also be disruption of the conventional narrative of men's voices and stories which have been given a prominent position in theory, history, and literature. She suggests that "through collective practices of interruption, women also have created spaces for women's stories and for other women's voices."[21] My dissertation is a space to give room for women such as Anne Cary to be heard through her copy of Julian's Long Text. In

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[20] Ulrike Strasser, "Embodying the Middle Ages, Advancing Modernity: Religious Women in Sixteenth-and Seventeenth Century Europe and beyond, in *Between the Middle and Modernity: Individual and Community in the Early Modern World*, ed. Charles H. Parker and Jerry H. Bentley (Lanham: Maryland, Rowman and Littlefield Publications, Inc., 2007), 237.

[21] Letizia Guglielmo, "Introduction: Re-Collection as Feminist Rhetorical Practice," in *Remembering Women Differently: Refiguring Rhetorical Work*, ed. Lynée Lewis Gaillet and Helen Gaillet Bailey (Columbia: University of South Caroline Press, 2019), 6.

keeping with the idea that female monastic voices should be heard, the convent was that rare space that women could, and often did, pursue creative and spiritual fulfillment. Within the precincts of the convent, women's voices could be heard clearly. Tonya Moutray McArthur maintains that English Protestants viewed the convent as a "locked space, frozen in medieval time, refusing to participate in progressive heteronormative culture."[22] However, for Catholics, the site of the convent was quite the reverse of an ossified relic of times past. McArthur contends that "convents were real and symbolic bastions of English Catholic education and monastic practice in a post-Reformation England … which served to legitimize their archives as repositories for both religious and lay Catholic histories . . ."[23] Convents were vibrant places of knowledge and culture, spaces where conventual archives held both female monastic works and medieval texts that were meant to be remembered and safeguarded from time and obscurity. In the convent, the nun's voices are heard and their works are rediscovered as part of a larger expansion of retrieval, as Guglielmo states that "*re-collecting* creates opportunities to expand the process of recovering women's work."[24] A good place to start in the retrieval and re-collecting of women's works is a careful examination of nuns' compositions and their spaces.

The convent was a space of significant meaning and symbolism. In *Structuring Spaces: Oral Poetics and Architecture in Early Medieval England*, Lori Ann Garner

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[22] Tonya Moutray McArthur, "Beyond the Grate: Or, English Convents and the Transmission and Preservation of Female Catholic Recusant History," in *The Catholic Church and Unruly Women Writers: Critical Essays*, ed. Jeana DelRosso, Leigh Eicke, and Ana Kothe (Basingstoke: Hampshire, Palgrave MacMillan, 2007), 119.
[23] McArthur, 119.
[24] Guglielmo, 13.

points out that certain types of structures became invested with powerful connotative meanings in specific cultural contexts."[25] Although she is discussing oral representations of architecture within Old English culture, her statement is also applicable to how convents not only made their mark on the surrounding landscape, but how these structures played a role in the cultural and religious imagination. For example, nuns have been associated with walls and structures designed to keep them inside, while keeping others out. Caesarius of Arles composed a *Regulum Virginium* (Rule for Virgins) in 512 C.E that argued for the practice of claustration. Nevertheless, the convent and its rooms that were dedicated to specific religious and cultural functions were permeable. In *Nails in the Wall: Catholic Nuns in Reformation Germany*, Amy Leonard contends that convents were spaces used not only for the women religious who resided there, but for the use of the laity as well. She asserts, "The Convent was an open, active part of the public sphere. Convents often had their own churches, open to laypersons, who would attend Mass there."[26] Thus, the convent was a multi-layered space. A similar argument is made in Bowden's essay "The English Convents in Exile and Their Neighbours: Extended Networks, Patrons, and Benefactors." Bowden argues that conventual architectural features were important for both the laity and the women religious, as they could share a sacred space together without having the laity or the nuns come into close contact with each other. Bowden further declares, "Convent churches were important liminal spaces, built to allow visitors to attend divine office without seeing the choir nuns

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[25] Lori Ann Garner, *Structuring Spaces: Oral Poetics and Architecture in Early Medieval England* (Notre Dame: Notre Dame University Press, 2011), 16.
[26] Amy Leonard, *Nails in the Wall: Catholics Nuns in Reformation Germany* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2005), 3.

who sat in a section of the chapel that was constructed at an angle or at an upper level. They were physically divided from lay visitors to the chapel by a screen."[27] The permeability of the convent not only reveals that the monastic space was not entirely remote from the world or detached from everyday concerns. The architecture of the church attached to convents signified the presence of women who had dedicated their lives to God mingling with the laity, thus providing a vital support for the spiritual health of the community.

This discussion of space made by Leonard and Bowden can extend to an examination of the *scriptorium* (where the books and manuscripts were created and copied) and the community's collection of books. Thus, the scriptorium and the places where books were stored played a large part in the overall spatial features of the convent. The *scriptorium* (Latin "a place for writing") was a vital center of the convent, but as Beach notes, "Operating a scriptorium was expensive, in terms of both materials and human capital."[28] Yet where, one wonders, where were the books kept within the convent? What was this space for books like within the convent? Unfortunately, there are no plans of either the Cambrai or Paris houses in order to precisely understand what the overall spatial features looked like.[29]

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[27] Caroline Bowden, "The English Convents in Exile and Their Neighbours: Extended Networks, Patrons, and Benefactors," in *Early Modern Exchanges: Dialogues Between Nations and Cultures, 1550-1750* (Burlington VT: Ashgate 2015), 226.
[28] Beach, 4.
[29] Fortunately, there is a blueprint of the convent at Brussels. Unfortunately, it is too small to decipher, but is located on the website by Caroline Bowden et al.: Conventual buildings and the monastic ideal – Early Modern Exiled Nuns (hypotheses.org) and this book Anon., *Chronicle of the First Monastery Founded at Brussels for English Benedictine Nuns, A.D. 1597*, Saint Mary's Abbey, Bergholt, 1898.

Furthermore, the convent may not have had a library wholly dedicated to the keeping and care of its books. The books may have been not only contained in a bookshelf, but scattered in other areas of the convent, such as the Infirmary, so that sick nuns could read or be read to by another sister. Thus, the convent was a vibrant area in which books were made available for the use of its members. In essence, it was a place filled with activity and movement. In "Gender, Celibacy, and Proscriptions of Sacred Space: Symbol and Practice," Jane Tibbets Schulenburg aptly states, "Space is neither inert nor neutral."[30] Her statement exemplifies what the Constitutions for Cambrai required of its members: "All the books must belong to the common librarie, & be kept under lock, & have written on them the name of the monasterie, & be common to all indifferentlie."[31] By looking at this passage in particular, noting the careful inventorying of the items in the collection (the community recording ownership and possession), we can see how the nuns within the convent circulated and controlled the movements of their books.

The phrase "common" underscores the idea that nuns were not supposed to own any personal possessions and to let everyone within the convent have access to what books they owned. "Common library" is also an intriguing turn of phrase because we do not know if this meant that there was a specific space dedicated to books, or if it meant

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[30] Jane Tibbets Schulenburg, "Gender, Celibacy, and Proscriptions of Sacred Space: Symbol and Practice," in *Women's Space: Patronage, Place and Gender in the Medieval Church*, ed. Virginia Chieffo Raguin and Sarah Stanbury (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005), 185.

[31] Caroline Bowden, "Building Libraries in Exile: The English Convents and Their Book Collections in the Seventeenth Century, 350, doi:10.1017/bch.2015.2, Cambrai Constitutions; Archives departementales du Nord, Lille, France; Benedictines Anglaises de Cambrai, 20. H. 1, f. 32.

other places, such as a bookcase or a locked chest. The books are to be kept locked, therefore guarded from loss or theft (possibly as in the practice of chaining books). The Paris nuns had quite a selection of books to peruse, the most important being the numerous works that Fr. Augustine Baker translated and transcribed from medieval mystical authors.

In "The Library Catalogue of the English Benedictine Nuns of Our Lady of Good Hope in Paris," Jan Rhodes mentions some works composed by Anne Cary. In the section of the Library Catalogue titled "These which follow are the [gap/ erasure] translations and collections by others," Rhodes notes, are found, "Eight collection books of the V. R. [Very Reverend] mother Mother Clementia Cary who was the beginner or foundress of our monastery of our Blessed Lady of Good Hope; four and part of the fifth are of her own handwriting" and "[Colwich MS fragment 1]: A dialogue between our Lord and a soul in great desolation, obscurity and desolation preached by our V R and dear Mother Clementia," but most importantly, the Library Catalogue also owned "Collections out of holy mother Julian."[32] Anne's and Julian's works are spatially close within the Catalogue and demonstrate that women's writing was viewed as essential at Our Lady of Good Hope.

Although there are no extant drawings of the foundations at Cambrai or Paris, nevertheless, we can look at another female monastic house to gain a sense of what a monastic space might have looked like. Looking at a plan for the Augustinian house of

[32] Jan Rhodes, "The Library Catalogue of the English Benedictine Nuns of Our Lady of Good Hope in Paris," *The Downside Review* 130, no. 459, (2012), 63.

St. Monica's at Louvain, there is no indication that the nuns had a specific place for their books. However, the books could have resided in a bookcase, chest, or any other portable object to keep them safe from danger or pilfering. A convent's library holdings all depended on funding, locality, and prestige. Books and their libraries were fragile, liable to be destroyed, lost, or deconstructed. Their potential to be lost or become missing is another reason why it is so significant that works such as Julian's Long Text or Walter Hilton's *Scale of Perfection* were kept safe from time and depredation by the nuns at Cambrai and Paris.

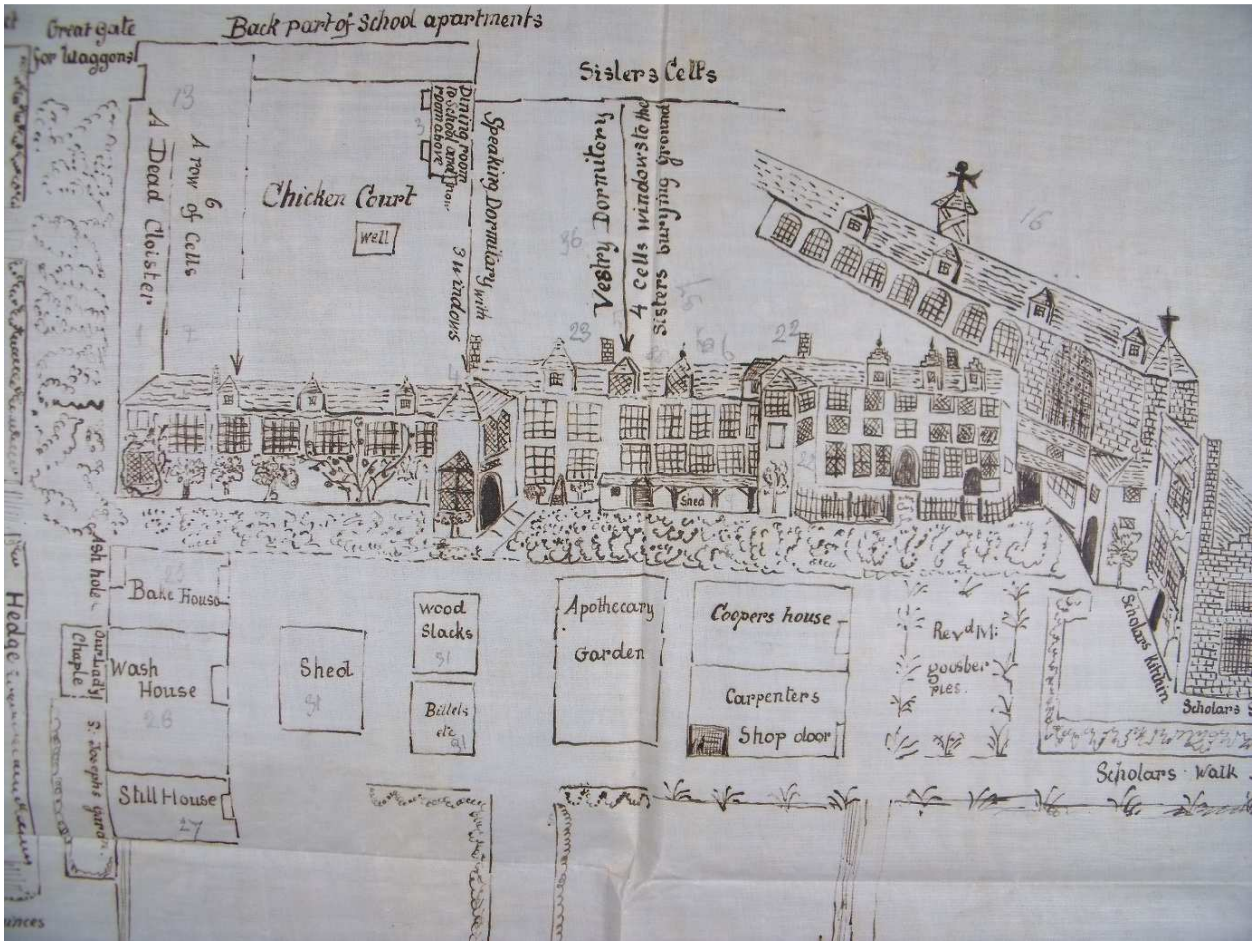

Figure 1.1 Douai Abbey Archives, A/WML St Monica's Louvain, uncatalogued: modern copy of original made for reproduction in Adam Hamilton, (ed.), *The Chronicle of the English Augustinian Canonesses Regular of the Lateran, at St.*

Monica's in Louvain 1548–1644, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1904-06). Image taken from Caroline Bowden's website, https://journals.openedition.org/erea/11123.

Returning to Fr. Geronimo and his religious treatise, he once again argues for women religious to take up enriching books to drive away temptation, as well as to keep their "virginall purity" protected: "our holy founders have for every houre of the day prescribed either spirituall exerceis, as reading good books, singing psalms & divout times meditation & prayer, or corporall, that is manuall employements."[33] Thus, the virtues of poverty, obedience, and chastity will protect a woman religious from harm, and most importantly, allow her to remain firm in her "virginall purity." Even though all that Geronimo wrote was aimed at encouraging his audience, Countess Maria, to continue in her faith and adhere to the religious life, this work was translated into English for the benefit of the Benedictine nuns at Paris. Geronimo's treatise, while expounding on chastity, poverty, and obedience, also deviated to other matters that appeared to be of some concern to him. His insistence on reading edifying literature to combat worldly and spiritual temptations was vital. The repeated emphasis on exemplary books and being spiritually well-read was obviously significant to him. Embracing poverty, being chaste in act and thought, as well as being obedient would come to nothing if not for the ability to pick up a spiritual book and apply its knowledge to a nun's life. Overall, this Italian treatise urged its audience to not only emulate poverty, chastity, and obedience, but also

[33] Short Treatise, 80.

to live as nuns for the glory of Christ, which was through reading and application of books.

The 1665 Italian treatise is pertinent to examine because the text was included among the Paris Benedictine documents, as it signified its significance to the nun's spiritual growth. The passage also underscores how the aspiring nun is to behave as she transitions from one stage (postulant) to the next (nun). Much of the passage is concerned about learning to be content with a nun's position and to concentrate on Christ alone as her sole source of happiness. The role of books and their edifying content played a large role in this journey. Furthermore, the importance of the proper conduct of the aspiring nuns and how they should act, reveals what expectations Anne, Elizabeth, Mary, and Lucy Cary would have experienced in their convent of Our Lady of Consolation at Cambrai (founded 1620). Upon joining the order, the Benedictine nuns would have sworn to keep perpetual enclosure and taken the vows of obedience, chastity, and poverty. In *The Dissolution of the Monasteries: A New History* (2021), James G. Clark quotes from Bishop Alcock: "A woman of relygyon [or a man] . . . beynge in theyr cloyster . . . they speke with God."[34] Such a statement made by the bishop would have been viewed as vitally important to women religious, including the Cary sisters. Nuns were believed to be a channel to the divine, as their prayers were effective and comforting to the community. Clark states that, in spite of their cloistering of their communities, "the religious houses still made a vital contribution to the whole spectrum of social welfare,

[34] James G. Clark, *The Dissolution of the Monasteries: A New History*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2021), 41, [Alcock b] 1497 B ir.

from hospitality to charity and health care."[35] When the social welfare was dissolved by the dissolution, Protestant-based hospitals or schools were slow to appear to fill in the gap.

The contemplative order to which the Cary sisters belonged had a strong history of intellectualism (stemming from Scholastica) that was carried on by the nuns who copied various manuscripts within their convent. Benedictine life focused on the performance of liturgy and involved a life of reading, study, and contemplation. In "Securing Souls or Telling Tales? The Politics of Cloistered Life in an English Convent," Claire Walker reveals what the nuns were expected to do for the good of the collective community: "They prayed for their salvation, that of their family and patrons, and for the success of the Catholic Church over their Protestant foes"; Walker also points out that complete withdrawal from the world to focus solely on one's relationship with God was: "the objective of every professed nun in the hope that she might attain mystical union with her God in this life and eternal salvation . . . in the next."[36] The Cary sisters' choice to become Benedictine nuns may also have had to do with their mother, Elizabeth Cary, and her appreciation of the Benedictine order for its emphasis on learning, prayer, and the erudition of its priests. Elizabeth Cary admired the Benedictines so much that, according to the "Lady Falkland: Her Life," she was admitted into a Benedictine confraternity.[37]

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[35] Clark, 135.
[36] Claire Walker, "Securing Souls or Telling Tales? The Politics of Cloistered Life in an English Convent," in *Female Monasticism in Early Modern Europe: An Interdisciplinary View*, ed. Cordula van Wyhe (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 241.
[37] Heather Wolfe, *Elizabeth Cary: Lady Falkland, Life and Letters*: *Renaissance Texts from Manuscript*, no. 4 (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2001), 217.

Shortly thereafter, her daughters became choir nuns of Our Lady of Consolation at Cambrai. In her essay on the scribal hands of the text "The Lady Falkland: Her Life," Wolfe provides additional information about how the choir nuns were meant to refer to themselves and to each other. She points out, "The Cambrai constitution states that the choir nuns are to refer to themselves in speech or writing as 'Sisters' to each other as 'Dames', and to the prioress and sub-prioress as 'Mother.'"[38] Thus, in speech or writing, Anne Cary would be referred to as "Sister Anne Clementia," yet to each other they would be referred to as "Dame Clementia" or "Dame Magdalena." However, it is noteworthy that in Anne's death-notice she is referred to as "Mother," no doubt because she founded the Paris community and held a position of importance as the cellarer.[39] Furthermore, the Rule of St. Benedict notes that the cellarer must be a person who is "wise, mature in conduct, temperate, not an excessive eater, not proud, excitable, offensive, dilatory or wasteful . . ." as well as that he "must show every care and concern for the sick, children, guests and the poor, knowing for certain that he will be held accountable for all of them on the day of judgment."[40] As made evident in Anne Cary's death-notice, she was a

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[38] Wolfe, "The Scribal Hands and Dating of Lady Falkland: Her Life," in *English Manuscript Studies 1100-1700*: *Writings by Early Modern Women*, ed. Peter Beale and Margaret J.M. Ezell (London: The British Library, 2000), 192.

[39] According to the *OED,* the term "found" is defined as "*transitive*. In *passive*. To be identified as present; to exist; to occur; to be located at a specific site." For further information, see this link: https://www-oed-com.ezproxy.mtsu.edu/view/Entry/70348?rskey=QwuQkG&result=1&isAdvanced=false#eid.

[40] This passage is connected to 1Tim. 3:13 (Douay Rheims Bible; all subsequent citations are from this version): "For they that have ministered well, shall purchase to themselves a good degree, and much confidence in the faith which is in Christ Jesus."

dependable and caring woman who exemplified the ideal conduct of St. Benedict's cellarer.

The Cary sisters made their professions in a short amount of time of one another, between 1638 and 1639. Mary and Lucy professed as a pair at Our Lady of Consolation at Cambrai in August 1638; in October of the same year, their sister Elizabeth also professed. Although her death-notice states that she was the eldest of the four, Anne Cary was the last sister to profess at Cambrai in 1639, thus following her younger sisters in accepting the monastic vocation. Taking new names was part of the process of a monastic vocation which underscored their transition from an old life to a new one, focused solely on God and their religious community.[41] In "Through the Grate; Or, English Convents and the Transmission and Preservation of Female Catholic Recusant History," Tonya Moutray McArthur compellingly states that "English convents provided an alternative English culture of female Catholic celibacy to that of Protestantism, marriage, and childbearing."[42] The political and religious turmoil of England, France, and the Low Countries shaped the Cary sisters' lives, nevertheless, they made the courageous choice to not only live in a Catholic land, but settle there, despite the disputes surrounding them due to wars and religious conflicts. Additionally, the Cary sisters' lives as women religious offered them a secure space where they could devote their lives to God, without

[41] Mary (Maria or Mary), Lucy (Magdalena), Elizabeth (Elizabetha or Augustina), and Anne (Clementia) were the names the Cary sisters chose as they entered into the monastic life.
[42] McArthur, 116.

the fear and punishment which would have transpired if they remained in England as recusant Catholics.[43]

After the foundation of the first Benedictine house for English nuns in Brussels (1598), other Benedictine houses dedicated solely for English recusant women appeared across France. Cambrai was established in 1623 and its daughter-house at Paris was founded by Anne Cary in 1651; Ghent was established in 1624. The monastic house at Pontoise (initially at Boulogne; a daughter house of Ghent) was founded in 1652 and Dunkirk (a second daughter house of Ghent) in 1662. Ypres, the last English Benedictine monastic house, was founded by Mary Knatchbull in 1665; this house was soon placed under Irish administration in 1682 (and is now located in Kylemore, Ireland).[44]

Our Lady of Consolation at Cambrai was the first convent where all the Cary sisters lived together; the establishment had a prestigious history. Cambrai was an offshoot of the Benedictine Brussels convent, which had failed because of dire economic straits and internal strife. According to Laurence Lux-Sterritt, Our Lady of Consolation was one of the first convents to be placed under the governance of the English Benedictine Congregation, which originated under the proposal of two Benedictine monks: Dom Rudesind Barlow and Dom Benedict Jones. Under the nine postulants who were formerly at Brussels, Our Lady of Consolation was created.[45] Two of the founding

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[43] Elizabeth Cary, their mother, was threatened with imprisonment and subject to heavy fines when the King was notified that she had converted to Catholicism.
[44] Caroline Bowden et al., About the convents – Early Modern Exiled Nuns (hypotheses.org).
[45] Laurence Lux-Sterritt, *English Benedictine Nuns in Exile: Living Spirituality* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), 10.

members of the Cambrai Benedictine convent were Catherine Gascoigne and Helen (Gertrude) More, great-great-granddaughter of Sir Thomas More.

Due to poor management and financial difficulties, Anne (Dame Clementia), her sister Mary (Dame Maria), a lay sister (Sister Scholastica Hodson), and chaplain Serenus Cressy moved from Cambrai to found a new house called Our Lady of Good Hope in Paris. Even if their faith united them, geographical separation, and later death divided the sisters: Lucy (Dame Magdalena) died at Our Lady of Consolation on the 1st of November 1650 and Anne (Dame Clementia) passed away at Our Lady of Good Hope in Paris on the 26th of April 1671.[46] Although it is not known if Lucy ever rose to a prominent position within the convent at Cambrai, Anne's death-notice mentions that she was the "cellarer", which was a position that centered on the provisions of food and drink within the convent.[47] Wolfe adds further information of the duties about a cellarer: "The cellarer dealt with 'temporallitys of *th*e Monastery,' kept the book of accounts, and was in charge of the spiritual and temporal well-being of the lay sisters."[48] Being the cellarer of Our Lady of Good Hope was a position that required an unimpeachable character, temperate behavior, and a degree of common sense and financial acumen. Due to Anne "founding" Our Lady of Good Hope, which was a priory in Paris and the daughter-house of Cambrai, she could have become the prioress because of her experience and wisdom. However, she refused to accept this position, and the new prioress was Dame Bridget More, sister of Gertrude More. Even though Anne did not become the new house's prioress, her death-

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[46] Wolfe, *Life and Letters*, XIX-XX.
[47] See chapter thirty-one in Carolinne White's translation of the duties of a cellarer. *The Rule of Benedict* (London: Penguin, 2008), 52-53.
[48] Wolfe, 488.

notice states that she was a supporter and confidant of prioress Dame Bridget More, which reveals how trusted she was by the community. The closeness between Anne and Dame Bridget reveals how women created new relationships and were supporters of leading figures within their community.

The Cary sisters (and their mother) were not originally Catholics but Protestants in late Jacobean and early Stuart England. Due to Henry VIII's decision to dissolve the monasteries and seize its riches for his own use, most of the populace was torn between the new faith and the traditional one that had sustained them for centuries. Brad S. Gregory reveals the uncertainty that the inhabitants of England felt as the dissolution of the monasteries crept its way throughout the country: "By making illegal what had been assumed for centuries, the Henrician Reformation radically altered the character of and conditions for Catholics in England throughout the subsequent Tudor regimes and indeed, as it turned out, throughout the entire early modern period."[49] But there was no clear-cut divide, as has often been assumed. And the dissolution of the monasteries was not swift and immediate, but was comprised by sluggish movements and contradictory behaviors by the Crown's visitors.

Both Duffy, and more currently James G. Clark, have written on the dissolution of the monasteries and its aftermath. Duffy explains, "The break with Rome had meant massive transfers of church property and patronage, most of it into lay hands."[50] The

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[49] Brad S. Gregory, "Situating Early Modern English Catholicism," in *Early Modern Catholic Identity, Memory, and Counter-Reformation*, ed. James E. Kelley and Susan Royal (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 28.
[50] Duffy, 561. See also James G. Clark, *The Dissolution of the Monasteries: A New History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2021).

transferal of church property also had its reverberations in Elizabeth (Tanfield) Cary's life, as her childhood home was Burford Priory in Oxfordshire, which was once an Augustinian hospital. The aftermath of the dissolution and its devastation of the religious houses and the dispersal of its nuns and monks played a huge role in shaping not only the culture of Early Modern England, but also deeply affected Elizabeth Cary and her family as well. As Duffy so forcefully puts it, "The imaginative world of the *Golden Legend* and the *Festial* was gradually obliterated from wall and window and bracket, from primer and block-print and sermon."[51] Instead of praying to the saints or reading from a breviary, the center of the reformed religion would be on Christ and his redemptive suffering, as well as on the ceremonies and rules of the prayer-book.

James G. Clark asserts that the convents and monasteries not only held a strong hold on the imagination of the English people, but also shaped the landscape around them, therefore establishing its impact onto the very fabric of English society. Nevertheless, once the monasteries and convents were suppressed, abandoned, or transformed into houses for the gentry, voices crying out against Henry VIII's decision became increasingly shrill. Clark writes that "there was a new lament for the assault that spelled its end."[52] Men such as Michael Drayton, John Speed, or Robert Some bewailed what had happened to a way of life that shaped everyone's life from birth to death.[53]

Their dissatisfaction with the suppression of the monasteries and its culture not only lead to unreconciled monastic individuals fleeing England during the later reign of

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[51] Duffy, 593.
[52] Clark, 536.
[53] Clark, 536-537.

Elizabeth I, but also shaped the religious perspectives of Catholic-leaning women such as Elizabeth Cary. In "The Lady Falkland: Her Life," it was reported that her father commented about his daughter, "This girle hath a spirit averse from Calvin."[54] Thus, unlike the rest of Elizabeth Cary's family, who were staunch Protestants, she returned to the old faith and influenced her younger daughters to convert to Catholicism. Her younger daughters took their mother's bold step further and became Benedictine nuns; geographically and spiritually separated from their family as well as from England itself., A remark made by Anne Ingleby "For us…which hath left the world altogether…" must have also loomed in the Cary sisters' minds as they made the journey from England to Cambrai to begin a new stage in their lives.[55]

Not only did Elizabeth Cary influence her younger daughters to convert to Catholicism, but she also inspired most of her children, including her younger daughters in particular, to have literary aspirations. Anne Cary made a copy from an unknown exemplar of Julian's Long Text, and the publication of this copy was then supervised by Serenus de Cressy (their chaplain) in 1670, while Lucy (in collaboration with her brother and sister) composed their mother's biography "The Lady Falkland, Her Life."[56] Anne's copy of Julian's Long Text was first produced as a printed edition by their chaplain, Serenus de Cressy, and was meant to be aimed for a broader Catholic audience. On the

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[54] Wolfe, *Life and Letters*, 108.
[55] Walker, "Securing Souls," 233; Anne Ingleby to Jacob Boonen [1623], AAM, Fonds Kloosters, Englese Benedictinessen, MS 654.12-1.
[56] "The Lady Falkland, Her Life" also has a complex authorial history. Some scholars believe that Elizabeth Cary wrote portions of it as an autobiography, others believe that it was a collaboration of Lucy, her sister Mary (Dame Maria), and her brother Patrick (Dom Placid.) See further information by Heather Wolfe in *Elizabeth Cary, Lady Falkland: Life and Letters.*

other hand, Lucy's composition reveals how a nun could use the genre conventions available to her (hagiography) and apply those same conventions to create a lively and engaging piece of literature. The legacy of both of these nuns shows how profound and lasting an influence Elizabeth Cary had on her children.

Whereas their mother Elizabeth Cary's life is more documented, her daughters' lives are shadowy because of a lack of primary materials, which makes their personal lives difficult to examine. However, because they were all residing in the same convent and shared similar interests, the Cary sisters might have formed a tight-knit relationship among themselves. In the introduction to *Sibling Relations and Gender in the Early Modern World*, Naomi J. Miller and Naomi Yavneh argue that same-sex sibling bonds from the early modern period afford, "another opportunity to evaluate all the primary paradigms of sibling bonds — reciprocity, affection, competition, and alliance building — even as we interrogate the significance of the gendering of those bonds" as they call attention to sibling groups that offer competing concepts of being women, writers, and nuns.[57] Surviving letters appear only to refer to Anne being concerned for her brother, Patrick, to have a good establishment, but he soon left the priesthood and returned to England to become a lawyer. Other letters between the siblings may have been lost, therefore it is impossible to know of the depth and warmth the sisters might have had for each other.

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[57] Naomi J. Miller and Naomi Yavneh, "Introduction: Thicker Than Water: Evaluating Sibling Relationships in the Early Modern Period," in *Sibling Relations and Gender in the Early Modern World* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 2.

Early modern conduct literature encouraged women to act according to the notions of chastity, silence, and obedience. However, for women religious such as the Cary sisters, they had to embrace the religious precepts of chastity, obedience, and, as Benedictines, stability (never leaving their enclosure). These ideals of womanly conduct influenced and shaped how the Cary sisters behaved, acted, and lived their lives. We can guess that the Cary sisters lived the ideals that Miller and Yavneh offer as paradigms—reciprocity, affection, competition, and alliance building—in the way they related to their vocations as nuns. Both Anne and Lucy also present a way in which, as Miller and Yavneh argue, "an early modern woman might situate herself as a writer or artist, negotiating a position between public and private."[58] The tension between being a writer and navigating the ideals of proper womanhood (and sisterhood) is evident among nuns and especially with the Cary sisters. Not only was Elizabeth Cary, their mother, a writer and a convert to Catholicism, but among the Cary sisters, Anne and Lucy were writers and nuns as well. How, Miller and Yavneh ask, do such alliances play out between sisters?[59] Even if we do not know the depth of their sentiments for each other, we can see that the Cary sisters remained true to their vocations as Benedictine nuns, and cultivated other relationships among the convents of Cambrai and Paris, as evidenced in their death-notices.

Relationships between early modern brothers and sisters were markedly similar to our own interactions with family: loving, exasperating, and complicated. Early Modern family dynamics, however, were also negotiated by seniority, class, and gender. This

[58] Miller and Yavneh, 3.
[59] Miller and Yavneh, 4.

pattern of hierarchy and power played out in convents as well. In "When Spiritual and Secular Families Overlap," Laurence Lux-Sterritt argues that "family patterns persisted in the convent, and when nuns renounced their blood kin, they acquired new spiritual Sisters, Mothers and Fathers."[60] Spiritual sisters, mothers, and fathers became the nun's new family, but the biological family still strongly mattered and also played a large role in networking and having influence within the convent.

The demands of biological family versus a committed religious life had a contentious tradition. Such distrust of the impact of the family on an individual pursuing a religious life for God had its roots in the words of Jesus himself: if any man come to me, and hate not his father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sisters, yea and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple."[61] Yet, the reality was quite different. Brothers and sisters, and even wives and husbands, often chose to follow God and enter separate religious houses. Lux-Sterritt further adds that even though nuns "did not always live the course of their cloistered lives concurrently . . . they constituted networks of kin which linked Catholic families and English convents through more than their common devotion and nationality."[62] Having a close relative in the same convent would mitigate the loneliness and isolation of being in exile from England, which was viewed as a commendable form of self-sacrifice.

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[60] Lux-Sterritt, "When spiritual and secular families overlap," in *English Benedictine Nuns in Exile in the Seventeenth Century: Living Spirituality* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), 50.
[61] Lk 14:25-26.
[62] Lux-Sterritt, 60.

Unlike their Continental counterparts, the convents established by the exiled English nuns were constituted predominantly of women of English nationality. Being of English origin and sharing the same faith created a bond that was never severed among women religious and created stronger links between England and its exilic monastic communities. In *Catholics Writing the Nation in Early Modern Britain and Ireland*, Christopher Highley contends that exile was "often represented [as] a multicultural contact zone in which English émigrés might feel their own sense of national distinctiveness under threat. . . ."[63] Thus, there was a strong feeling of preserving and safeguarding their heritage among lay Catholics and religious as they dwelled in countries such as France, the Low Countries, or in Portugal. That was another reason why there was appeal for English men and women religious to enter into these communities, so that they may be bound together by nationality and a shared faith.

In the case of the Cary sisters, Lux-Sterritt points out that recruitment and placement of sisters in Benedictine houses, such as Cambrai (and later Paris), were common.[64] The widespread practice of having several family members in the same religious community, including sisters, was probably why all four younger Cary sisters lived at Cambrai together to offer solidarity and comfort to each other. It was only when Cambrai grew too crowded and fell into dire financial straits that the sisters became separated as Anne left to found the new community at Paris.

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[63] Christopher Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 4.
[64] Lux-Sterritt, 60.

Marion Wynne-Davies presents a detailed look into the relationships the Cary siblings had with one another and their mother and further explores how each sibling identified with their mother. In "Sisters and Brothers: Divided Sibling Identity in the Cary Family," Wynne-Davies argues that several of the siblings (Patrick, Mary, and Lucy) collaborated with each other on the writing project "The Lady Falkland: Her Life" and how that partnership and affinity with writing stemmed from Elizabeth Cary herself. Although I will not be focusing on Lucius, Henry, or Patrick Cary, all of the Cary siblings were part of an intertwined familial base, despite their different confessional beliefs (Protestant vs. Catholic).[65]

By focusing solely on Elizabeth Cary, Anne, and Lucy and their writings, Wynne-Davies draws attention to various themes that each of their works' evidence. These literary themes include topics of conversion and religious faith, powerful and self-assured female figures, as well as a focus on learning and scholarship. These wide-ranging themes and discourses reveal not only the influence of Elizabeth Cary on her children, but also how her children could build upon what they learned from her. Wynne-Davies contends that while only the younger siblings (excluding Anne) wrote, annotated, and polished "The Lady Falkland: Her Life," the work nevertheless shows how all the Cary siblings viewed each other and their mother: "The *Life* presents a unified, although not complete, family group who are both produced by, and produce, their own version of the

[65] For more information about the Cary brothers, see the *ODNB* and Marion Wynne-Davies article "'To Have Her Children With her': Elizabeth Cary and Familial Influence," in *The Literary Career and Legacy of Elizabeth Cary, 1613-1680*, ed. Heather Wolfe (Basingstoke, Hampshire, Palgrave MacMillan, 2007).

Counter Reformation discourse."[66] Although I am not examining "The Lady Falkland: Her Life," which has already been intensively studied, Wynne-Davies's statement reveals how the Counter-Reformation, through the decision of Elizabeth Cary to convert to Catholicism, influenced and shaped some of the Cary siblings in a most transformative manner.[67]

As Elizabeth Cary was an author, so were Anne and Lucy. The separately printed editions of Julian's Long Text and "The Lady Falkland: Her Life" demonstrate creativity and a deep religious devotion. Anne's outpouring of literary works was astonishing, as she not only created a copy of Julian's Long Text, but also wrote Our Lady of Good Hope's Constitutions, as well as spiritual songs. Lucy penned "The Lady Falkland, Her Life," which has been valuable for its biographical information on the Cary sisters' mother. It is not known if Anne and Lucy's other sisters, Elizabeth (Dame Elizabetha/ Augustina) and Mary (Dame Maria) wrote anything of note because there is a gap of information in the obituaries.[68] Elizabeth and Mary's death-notices are presumably lost, yet the death-notices of Anne and Lucy offer brief glimpses of who they were as individuals and their roles within the space of their respective convents. According to her death-notice, Anne was widely viewed as a capable and humble woman. Lucy's

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[66] Marion Wynne-Davies "Sisters and Brothers: Divided Sibling Identity in the Cary Family," in *Women Writers and Familial Discourse in the English Renaissance: Relative Values* (Basingstoke: Hampshire, 2007), 108.
[67] Refer to Wolfe's *Life and Letters*, Wynne-Davies's *Women Writers and Familial Discourse in the English Renaissance: Relative Values*, and Barbara Kiefer Lewalski's *Writing Women in Jacobean England* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998) for studies of "Lady Falkland."
[68] Personal email communication with Caroline Bowden. November 19 2021.

personality in her death-notice (and as made apparent in "The Lady Falkland, Her Life") was one of spirit and wit.

In Anne's death-notice, appearing in Colwich MS R3 (St Mary's Abbey, Colwich, Staffordshire) the anonymous author briefly gives an overview of the works that Anne composed.[69] She "compile[d] for the vse of those Religious, admirable instructions for *th*e well perfor[m]ing of the diuine office in publike, and also helps for mentall prayer and deuotions, Extracted out of the workes of the truly interne and Contemplative Author the Venerable Father Augustin Baker."[70] Anne's wide-ranging compositions demonstrate the monastic emphasis on writing, the liturgy, and contemplative forms of devotion. The varied works that Anne composed show the prominence of medieval mystical authors who are not only meaningful to my project, but were also valuable to the nuns of Cambrai and Paris. Lastly, this statement demonstrates that Anne put her pen to use for the glory of God and the aid of her convent.

While discussing the trials of founding of Our Lady of Good Hope, such as the city of Paris actually being "engaged in Ciuill warrs," the author underscores the contacts that Anne, before her conversion, had made in court during the reign of Charles I and Queen Henrietta Maria, which proved both useful and vital in aiding the nuns on their mission. [71] Anne was close to Queen Henrietta Maria, as the death-notice declares that

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[69] Wolfe also adds that there is a printed version of Anne Cary's death-notice "Joseph Hansom, ed., 'The English Benedictine Nuns of the Convent of Our Blessed Lady of Good Hope in Paris . . .. Notes and Obituaries, 1652-1861,' as well as the publication called *Miscellanea*, 7, Publication of the CRS, vol.9 (London, 1911), pp. 334-41, *Life and Letters*, 479.
[70] Wolfe, *Life and Letters*, 481.
[71] Wolfe, *Life and Letters*, 481.

while at the Caroline court "she became so much in the fauour of Henerettae Daughter of France and Queene of England, that she continued in her Maiestys Court for some years. . . .[72] This closeness between the two women endured even after the civil war in England began and when the Queen went to France in exile. As soon as Anne arrived in Paris and began canvassing support for the new convent, Queen Henrietta Maria gave valuable financial support and patronage to Our Lady of Good Hope. Bowden discusses how high-ranking figures like Henrietta Maria or the French royal family could boost the prestige of a fledging convent. As Bowden asserts, Henrietta Maria's visit "to the Benedictines in November 1651 provided a royal mark of approval for the new convent."[73] Anne's other close contacts that she made during her time at court also show the assistance and support that she needed to found Our Lady of Good Hope.[74]

Anne's plea for the queen to aid her and her fledgling convent, and Henrietta Maria's speedy assistance, shows that early modern nuns did not give up their friends, family, and patrons even when entering into the religious life. Henrietta Maria's reception of Anne was not only "kind and Charitable," but throughout the years at their residence in Paris, she: "continued afterwards our best friend and Gratious Benefactris till her Maiestye deceace."[75] The support that Henrietta Maria gave to Anne and her community also brought further help from other noble individuals that Anne had known previously, as the author later on in the death-notice states that "by her industry and power of her

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[72] Wolfe, *Life and Letters*, 480.
[73] Bowden, 228.
[74] Although the death-notice does not give any concrete examples of financial support from Queen Henrietta Maria, Wolfe gives further examples of the generosity of other leading men of the Royalist court. See Wolfe's footnote on pg. 482 in *Life and Letters*.
[75] Wolfe, *Life and Letters*, 482.

friends and acquaintance we obtained our Letters of Establishment."[76] Having the letters of establishment showed proof that the nuns were a part of a legitimate order, and were given authority to start their new convent in the Paris area. Because of Anne's wide-ranging contacts during her time as a companion to Henrietta Maria, she was able to make the plan of having a daughter-house in Paris a reality. After Anne arrived in Paris and succeeded in bringing supporters to her assistance, her sister Dame Maria, and lay sister Scholastica arrived in Paris to help with the founding of Our Lady of Good Hope.

Once Anne, Dame Maria, and Sister Scholastica brought about enough support for them to live comfortably, Anne reached out to the Benedictine President Abbott Gascoigne (Peter Salvin) to send for more women religious to come and assist her. The women religious that came to Paris, were, according to Anne's death-notice, "Reuerend Mothers Mother Briget More, Mother Elizabeth Brent, Mother Justina Gascoigne, Dame Marina Appleton, and also a lay sister, Sister Gartrude Hodson, sister to her who came with Reuerend Mother Clementia first to Paris."[77] These women were viewed as the founding members of the Paris community. The figures of Bridget More and Justina Gascoigne also played a large role in Our Lady of Good Hope as leaders and supporters of learning from mystical works. In particular, they each composed passages from Julian's Long Text as a source of comfort and instruction.[78]

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[76] Wolfe, *Life and Letters*, 484.
[77] Wolfe, *Life and Letters*, 483.
[78] See Holloway's two separate webpages for Julian's influence among other women religious in the Paris and Cambrai convents: Julian of Norwich's Showing of Love: The Margaret Gascoigne/Bridget More Fragment, St Mary's Abbey, Colwich (umilta.net) and Dame Barbara Constable, O.S.B., and the Upholland Julian of Norwich Fragment (umilta.net).

The anonymous author of the death-notice moves on from the trials of founding Our Lady of Good Hope and gives a positive and commendable description of Anne and her qualities. Repeatedly in Anne's death-notice, she is often referred to as being "an example to others."[79] Furthermore the author points out with frequency that "her humility was admirable and very Edifieing,"[80] and "Her obedience, and holy simplicity, with the submission of her wil and iudgment to that of her superiours, tho neur so contrary to her owen inclination, or sensible to her nature, was uery exempler."[81] Anne's exemplarity of living a holy life and being obedient to her superiors, was a part of growing in "Religious perfection."[82] Anne's humility, wisdom, and compassionate care was lauded by the author of her death-notice, with special attention being given to how Anne excelled in the "contemplatiuve interne prayer."[83] Because of Fr. Baker's advice that the nuns should cultivate a regimen of meditative prayer, Anne became an advocate. She appreciated mystical writers who helped further her faith, and preferred Fr. Baker's translations of the medieval authors that they used to study from, "For tho: she read other books of mistike Diuines conformable to his, yet she declared she found non ^more^ easie and plean to be understood then those of *Reuerend* Father Baker . . ."[84] Since Anne found Fr. Baker's translations clear and easy to understand, she never stopped recommending them to her community. Her devotion for contemplative prayer she strenuously promoted to her monastic community, as noted in her death-notice that Anne "seemed to be always in

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[79] Wolfe, *Life and Letters*, 485.
[80] Wolfe, *Life and Letters*, 485.
[81] Wolfe, *Life and Letters*, 485-486.
[82] Wolfe, *Life and Letters*, 484.
[83] Wolfe, *Life and Letters*, 485.
[84] Wolfe, *Life and Letters,* 485.

prayer."[85] The religious climate during the mid-seventeenth century became riven with conflict and strife. The emphasis that Fr. Baker placed upon contemplative prayer, rather than the rigid Ignatian exercises that were favored by Jesuit confessors, brought about a sharp divide within the convent at Paris. Thus, Anne's advocacy for contemplative prayer was both dangerous (Fr. Baker was eventually accused of unorthodoxy and forced to leave the convent and placed at Douai) and freeing. Fr. Baker's encouragement of contemplative prayer appeared to be linked to heterodoxy, while women religious such as Dame Margaret Gascoigne and Anne Cary favored the less stringent concept of contemplative prayer. Contemplative prayer, to them, upheld the spirit of the original founder, St. Benedict of Nursia, and also was a channel to grow closer to God. Anne's intense prayer life reveals that she was committed to having an intimate relationship with God.

The author also points out that Anne and the prioress after Bridget More, Dame Justina Gascoigne, were a laudable pair: "they two jointly together with a diuine descression, and their good examples; upheld and maintained Venerable Father Bakers Instructions and consarued and increased in the hearts of the Religious the true BENEDICTIN SPIRIT."[86] The author underscores that Dame Justina Gascoigne and Anne believed that Fr. Baker's works on contemplative prayer adhered to the true "Benedictine spirit" of how their founder, St. Benedict of Nursia, desired the Christian way of life to be lived.

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[85] Wolfe, *Life and Letters*, 489.
[86] Wolfe, *Life and Letters*, 487.

Although she was frequently ill with "headacks, defluctions, and other infirmitys," Anne remained cheerful in spite of her poor health. Though Anne grew ill, she appeared to rally during Lent of 1671[87]. However, she passed away on the 26th of April, 1671. Anne's death left the whole convent devastated.[88] The last words Anne Cary (Dame Clementia) spoke were "nothing but God."[89] Her heartfelt words showed that all she desired in her life was the presence of God. God alone was her source of contentment and happiness. Although her death took her convent by surprise, the author of her death-notice offers this hopeful image of Anne Cary:

> Yet least through human fality there remaine any thing that may detaine her from the speedy possession of the Beatificall vision of Almighty God; Let us as our gratitude and oligation requireth; offer up for her our prayers and resite the deprofundes this being her Anniuesary day.[90]

As Anne was constantly in prayer, so were her fellow sisters. Their prayers would help Anne to swiftly enter into the kingdom of God for her just reward. Anne's sisters in the convent not only felt gratitude toward her, since she founded Our Lady of Good Hope and was an excellent role model for her community, but also obligation. The dual concepts of gratitude and obligation showed how much Anne mattered to the nuns at Our Lady of Good hope, and was worthy of commemoration. Since Anne was remembered

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[87] Wolfe, *Life and Letters*, 487.
[88] Wolfe, *Life and Letters*, 487.
[89] Wolfe, *Life and Letters*, 491.
[90] Wolfe, *Life and Letters*, 492.

fondly by her community, her memory would be recalled every time her anniversary day occurred.

Lucy Cary's death-notice (Dame Magdalena) was composed in a different tone from Anne's.[91] The author of Lucy's death-notice states baldly: "Shee had been some years brought up and liv'd in heresy."[92] Anne's death-notice did not outrightly state that Anne and her family were Protestants, except that her father, Viscount Falkland adhered to that faith.[93] After Lucy "cheerfully abjured her heresy" because she "had been convinced of her errors by a Reuerend Father of our holy Congregation,"[94] she modified her behavior and her sense of dress to reflect her spiritual transformation, "shee now cloathed herselfe in decent, but very homely dresse."[95] Instead of dressing in the latest fashions and being concerned with her appearance, Lucy chose to wear modest garments to demonstrate her commitment to her faith.

Like her sister Anne's intense religious vocation ("so feruent a vocation"), Lucy also had a powerful calling to devote her life to God: "Almighty God very forcibly inviting her to seek and labour for perfection . . . ."[96] Lucy accepted the call to dedicate

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[91] Lille MS 20H7; Wolfe's note also states there is a printed version: 'Records of the Abbey of Our Lady of Consolation at Cambrai, 1620-1793,' *Miscellanea, 8*, Publication of the Catholic Record Society, vol. 13 (London, 1913), pg. 79. All quotes come from Heather Wolfe's *Elizabeth Cary, Lady Falkland, Life and Letters* that I have been using for Anne and Lucy's death-notices. Furthermore, see Henry Cary, first Viscount Falkland (1575-1633) in the *ODNB*'s entry: Cary, Henry, first Viscount Falkland (c. 1575–1633), lord deputy of Ireland | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (mtsu.edu).
[92] Wolfe, *Life and Letters*, 457.
[93] Wolfe, *Life and Letters*, 479.
[94] Wolfe, *Life and Letters*, 458.
[95] Wolfe, *Life and Letters*, 458
[96] Wolfe, *Life and Letters*, 458, 480.

her life to God and lived "an infirme, sickly and suffering life . . . ."[97] Similarly to her sister Anne, Lucy was ill for most of her time in the convent, but trusted in "God's infinite goodness and providence to her . . . ."[98] Lucy's complete trust and reliance on God was a part of her spiritual transformation from "jeering Lady" to "a good example of humility, patience and obedience."[99] "Obedient" and "humble" were the words that most often described Lucy Cary in her death-notice. This reiteration of the virtues of humility and obedience no doubt occur from Lucy being perceived as an "obstinate, haughty disdainfull jeereing Lady," nevertheless, after her conversion, she became "a dutifull, obedient child."[100] Lucy's labor of growing spiritually fruitful caused her to shun her former habits of being haughty, vain, and disrespectful. Instead of behaving in an impolite and derisive manner, Lucy soon "satisfy[ied]" her faults while she dwelled in the convent.[101] While Lucy strove to overcome her shortcomings, she grew to be admired by her sisters in her convent.

While claiming Lucy as "our dear Sister Dame Lucy Magdalene Cary," the conclusion of her death-notice is not as overwrought with grief as was her sister Anne's.[102] The closing is written in an understated manner, "In fine, worn out with infirmity, patiently supported for the love of God, by which we have cause to hope shee has through God's mercy purchased a great crown, she peaceable departed this life

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[97] Wolfe, *Life and Letters*, 458-459.
[98] Wolfe, *Life and Letters*, 459.
[99] Wolfe, *Life and Letters*, 459.
[100] Wolfe, *Life and Letters*, 458.
[101] Wolfe, *Life and Letters*, 458.
[102] Wolfe, *Life and Letters*, 457.

leaving us her religious sisters a good example of humility, patience and obedience."[103] Lucy overcame her faults and became a worthy model for her community. Much as the unknown author had hoped that Anne would receive in heaven a "Beatificall vision of Almighty God," Lucy's obituarist anticipated she would have a, "great crown" that signified her reward.[104] Because of their exemplary lives as models and examples to their respective convents, Anne and Lucy were not only celebrated in their death-notices, but those death-notices evidenced the belief that both women would gain their reward in Heaven and live forever with their divine spouse in joy.

While these works are mediated by the conventions of the hagiographic genre, reading Anne and Lucy's death-notices emphasized who they were as people, their connections to the secular world, and their striving to grow closer to God. Anne, Elizabeth, Mary, and Lucy Cary's conversion to the Roman Catholic faith, and Anne and Lucy's literary works were a major portion of Elizabeth Cary's legacy. Additionally, the author of Lucy's death-notice believes Lucy's change of attitude and religion was because of Elizabeth Cary's "prayers and tears" that made the difference in the spiritual change of not only her younger daughter, but most of her children as well.[105] Elizabeth Cary, Anne and Lucy, would have been viewed as admirable subjects, worthy of remembrance and emulation for their acts of virtue and devotion. The reference to Elizabeth Cary in Lucy's death-notice and the dedication that she prayed for her children's spiritual welfare is comparable to the devotion that St. Augustine's own

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[103] Wolfe, *Life and Letters*, 459.
[104] Wolfe, *Life and Letters*, 492, 459.
[105] Wolfe, *Life and Letters*, 458.

mother, St. Monica, performed on his behalf to lead him to the Christian faith. Although Elizabeth Cary is not as prominent a figure in Anne's death-notice as she is in Lucy's, her presence is apparent in both pieces as she was referenced as a woman of piety, and a dedicated mother who was concerned about her children's souls. Furthermore, through the writings of Anne and Lucy, we have knowledge of women religious' texts that accentuate what was important to them and what they wanted to share with their audience. As Wynne-Davies further points out, the Cary siblings not only could reframe and work with their mother's discourses, but, more importantly, they also, "were able to extend that influence through their ability to inspire others to write about them."[106] Because Anne and Lucy were memorialized in their death-notices, and both were writers in their communities, they remain honored and remembered.

[106] Wynne-Davies, 139.

Chapter 2

Seventeenth-century Receptions of Julian's Long Text

Julian's Life and Background

Julian is now considered a foremost female author of the medieval era. She was an anchoress, author of two renowned mystical works, and a contemporary of prominent male writers such as Chaucer, Langland, and Rolle.[1] Julian's compositions, especially her Long Text have caused her to become renowned for her clarity of prose and her in-depth theological thinking. There are many editions and versions of her Long Text, each significant in its own way and I chose Nicholas Watson and Jacqueline Jenkins's 2006 edition because of their thoroughness and attention to detail.[2] First, I will describe Julian's life as an anchoress and her religious cultural background, then move on to examine chapters fifty-eight through sixty (LVIII, LIX, and LX) which are centered on God as mother, and how this trope is associated with Anne Cary in her role as scribe of Julian's Long Text.

As with most medieval women, Julian's life is impenetrable. There has been much contention among scholars on whether she was a learned nun, coming from the nearby Benedictine Carrow Abbey, or a laywoman who chose to embrace the anchorhold.

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[1] Both Caxton and Wynkyn de Worde had early (late fifteenth and early sixteenth century) printed compilations of famous mystics, such as Catherine of Siena. These compilations reveal Julian's reception of a larger contextual presence among Continental saints and their writings.

[2] Nicholas Watson and Jacqueline Jenkins, eds. *The Writings of Julian of Norwich: A Vision Showed to a Devout Woman and a Revelation of Love* (University Park, Pennsylvania State University, 2006)

For example, Benedicta Ward suggests persuasively that Julian was a laywoman, while Watson and Jenkins propose she may have been a nun.[3] Julian, in both her Short and Long Texts, only offers a few brief glimpses of her personal life. In the Long Text, she mentions that she was thirty years of age when she underwent her sickness. She reveals in her second chapter that she is "unlettered." In the same chapter she tells of a priest who gave her last rites.[4]

Julian was an anchoress. They were women who devoted their lives to God, lived in rooms (cells) attached to a church or a cathedral, and dwelled in the urban heart of a city. Anchoresses prayed for their community and offered petitioners spiritual advice; for instance Margery Kempe recorded her visit to Julian in her cell to seek guidance and reassurance.[5] As Cate Gunn explains in "The Anchoress of Colne Priory: A Solitary in Community," the roots of anchoritism lie in "the Desert and with the Desert Fathers and Mothers" and the "ideals of the Desert Fathers were the inspiration for medieval anchorites, their enclosure being conceived as a desert . . . ."[6] The Desert Fathers were ascetics and hermits who left Greco-Roman cities, such as in Egypt or Syria, to live in the desert. Leaving their families and earthly possessions behind, they desired to grow closer to Christ. Famous figures such as Cassian or St. Anthony the Great, and those that

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[3] "Julian the Solitary," in *Julian Reconsidered* ed. Kenneth Leach and Benedicta Ward (Oxford: Oxford University Press, SLG Press, 1988), 106.
[4] Nicholas Watson and Jacqueline Jenkins, eds. *The Writings of Julian of Norwich: A Vision Showed to a Devout Woman and a Revelation of Love* (University Park, Pennsylvania State University, 2006), 125.
[5] *The Book of Margery Kempe* (1436-8); the most recent translation is by Anthony Bale *The Book of Margery Kempe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).
[6] Cate Gunn, "The Anchoress of Colne Priory: A Solitary in Community," in *Medieval Anchorites in Their Communities*, eds. Cate Gunn and Liz Herbert McAvoy (Woodbridge: D.S. Brewer, 2017), 47.

followed them, popularized this type of ascetic living. Christopher Brooke in his book *Age of the Cloister: The Story of Monastic Life in the Middle Ages* quotes from Cassian's *Collations* about anchorites' austere and difficult lifestyle: "They have not remained satisfied with defeating the attack which the devils secretly plan in human society, but have been ready to meet them in open war."[7] Anchorites and anchoresses like Julian were committed to thwarting spiritual evil through their willingness to live in the desert and embrace an austere life, away from the pleasures and temptations of society.

Julian in her cell, in the middle of thriving Norwich, invoked the Desert Fathers and their emphasis on detachment and abstinence. As Gunn contends, "While anchorites in medieval England often lived out their vocation in the center of communities – attached to village, town or monastic churches – the imagery of the wilderness to characterize the withdrawal and asceticism of the anchorite was still employed."[8] The cell was Julian's desert where she cultivated her relationship with God, denying herself the ties that she might share with people, and placing her focus within herself to further seek communion with God. In "The Sea Ground and the London Street: The Ascetic Self in Julian of Norwich and Thomas Hoccleve" Amy Appleford explains:

> In both its early and its later medieval manifestations, Christian asceticism invites disruption of the natural experience of interiority, human sociability, and instinctive desire, disordering and then reordering the everyday experience of

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[7] Christopher Brooke, *The Age of the Cloister: The Story of Monastic Life in the Middle Ages* (Mahwah, New Jersey, HiddenSpring, 2003), 31; *Collations*, 18, esp. cc. 5ff., quoted from Owen Chadwick. *Asceticism*, 266-267.
[8] Gunn, 47.

living into a recognizable pattern, one that is exemplary and thus imitable by others seeking similar spiritual refinement.[9]

Not only by becoming an anchoress is Julian participating in the distinguished lineage of anchorites and anchoresses that came before her, but also her life is held up as a model of piety and emulation to others. Becoming an anchoress disrupted daily life. I would argue that Julian's visions of God and his mercy brought about disruption as well as a reordering of her spiritual life. Jennifer Kolpacoff Deane asserts in her article "Pious Domesticities" that Julian "became the touchstone of a kind of living sanctity at the heart of her city" and even served as the "same revitalizing spiritual source for the urban community around her."[10] Because of Julian's sanctity as an anchoress, she brought forth within her a powerful spiritual appeal that drew in and rejuvenated her community at large. Even now, centuries later, Julian is considered by both scholars and laypeople as someone who led a life and composed writings to admire and appreciate. *Showings* is viewed as a hallmark of the anchoritic genre — just as the *Acrene Wisse*, the Katherine Group, and the *Þe Wohunge of ure Laured* (The Wooing of Our Lord) are all touchstones as well.

The regulations for entering into the anchoritic life were at first fluid, however, as the medieval era progressed, explicit and detailed rules became the norm. An individual

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[9] Amy Appleford, "The Sea Ground and the London Street: The Ascetic Self in Julian of Norwich and Thomas Hoccleve," *The Chaucer Review* 51, no. 1, (2016): 54, muse.jhu.edu/article/607548.

[10] Jennifer Kolpacoff Deane "Pious Domesticities" in *The Oxford Handbook of Women and Gender in Medieval Europe,* ed. Judith McBennett and Ruth Mazo Karras (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 372.

desiring to live this life had to seek permission from a bishop to make sure that he or she was mentally sound to be able to live this difficult lifestyle and would have to show that she had the financial wherewithal to provide for herself. E.A. Jones presents a brief overview of the rite of enclosure for an anchorite or anchoress: "The rite is conducted by a bishop or abbot. It begins with a litany, which is followed by a Mass for the dead. Following a sequence of prayers, the recluse-to-be is led to the door of his house (*domus*). The latter is blessed before the recluse is admitted, and then the celebrant leaves and, with a psalm, antiphon, and brief prayer, the ceremony concludes."[11] An example of an enclosure rite (or *ordo*) for an anchorite or anchoress may be found in the recent translation of a twelfth-century pontifical (London, British Library MS Vespasian D. xv, fols. 61r-65r). The section pertaining specifically to a woman begins, "If it is a woman, first let her lie in the west part of the church where the women customarily dwell." After the chanting and expounding of the gospel, the *Servicium* further states, "And then let the door of his home be barricaded, and when the psalm with the antiphon has been completed, as well as the prayers beginning 'It is temerity indeed' and 'God, giver of life,' let everyone go in peace." [12]

While the Vespasian *Servicium* is from the twelfth century, as one of the oldest rites of anchoritic enclosure in Britain, the text captures the importance of the tradition.

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[11] E.A. Jones, "Rites of Enclosure: The English 'Ordines" For the Enclosing of Anchorites," XII–S. XVI," *Traditio*, vol. 67, 2012, *JSTOR*: https://www.jstor.org/stable/24712364, 157.

[12] Luke Ayers, and Victoria Bahr, "A Twelfth-Century Service for Enclosing An Anchorite or Anchoress: Introduction, Latin text, and Translation," *The Expositor*: *A Journal of Undergraduate Research in the Humanities* 14, 1-12, 2019. See this link: https://digitalcommons.trinity.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1017&context=eng_expositor.

The vow of stability of place that is required of an anchorite or anchoress, though not mentioned in this particular *Servicium*, reveals that the anchorhold is also a "home," which will be the anchorite or anchoress's abode until he or she dies. Most anchorites or anchoresses were buried under their anchorhold, never leaving it for the churchyard even after death. The marked emphasis of the Vespasian *Servicium* that the anchorite or anchoress is supposed to embrace being "dead to the world," is evidenced by the dramatic jussive to "let the door of his home be barricaded."[13] The barricading or locking of the anchorhold door symbolizes that the anchorite or anchoress is no longer part of the world—in a liminal space. The Vespasian *Servicium* encapsulates what Julian decided to do with her life: leave the world to enter an in-between place of existence to devote her life to God in her cell without any unregulated interruption. The anchorhold was where Julian would remain for the rest of her life, situated in the center of Norwich.

Those choosing to live in the anchorhold had to find ways to fund their lifestyle. In her seminal study of *Anchorites and Their Patrons in Medieval England*, Anne K. Warren discusses how many anchoresses and their male counterparts gained patrons, both lay and ecclesiastical, in order for them to have the ability to in terms of material support to live the life that they had chosen. Since anchorites and anchoresses depended so heavily on the community for their food, basic necessities, and even having local servants, it was vital that the anchoress have a patron who offered a reciprocal bond with them: the anchoress prayed for the individual and gave advice, while the patron received credit for the upkeep of the anchoress's welfare and prayers were offered for the

[13] Ayers and Bahr, 19.

recipient. Warren declares that, "Medieval England . . . was an environment in which individuals chose to become religious recluses in order to assure their own salvation and in which others within the community supported these recluses the better to assure their own."[14] The relationship had a united goal: to provide salvation for both people.

To show what a relationship looked like between a royal patron and an anchoress, Alexandra Barratt provides a fourteenth-century text for the wherewithal and care for an anchoress at Whalley, located in Lancashire, England. The passage reveals both the practical and spiritual sides of medieval patronage. Henry, the Duke of Lancaster, had drawn up a legal document between himself, the community at Whalley, and the anonymous anchoress for the creation of an anchorhold and all that such an undertaking required. The selected passages from Barratt's translated text are as follows:

> TO WIT: to provide adequate and appropriate sustenance for a female recluse dwelling within the cemetery of the parish church of Whalley, and to her successor recluses there dwelling for ever, and for two women, chosen as their servants by the said recluses, and for each one of them who for the time being shall be there, praying in perpetuity for the said Duke, his ancestors and his heirs. TO WIT, to pay to the said recluses and to their successor recluses there for ever in the said abbey each week of the year, from one year to the next, seventeen loaves of convent standard, each loaf weighting fifty shillings sterling, seven loaves of the second sort of the same with, eight gallons of the superior convent ale, and three pennies for relish to be eaten with bread; and to provide and pay, from year to year in perpetuity, at the Feast of All Saints, in the said Abbey, for the same recluses and their successors there, then hard fish called stockfish, then fatty fish, ten ling, one bushel of oat flour for their soup and one bushel of rye, two gallons of oil to light their lamps, one weight of tallow for candles and also six cartloads of peat and one cartload of wood for fuel, transported by the said Abbot and his successors the place of the said recluses; and thus to recover, repair, and maintain all the houses and the enclosures which ever are there erected for the dwelling of the said recluse and her successors, and to repair them whenever it is necessary in a way appropriate to the standing of the said recluses,

[14] Anne K. Warren, *Anchorites and Their Patrons in Medieval England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 17.

> for ever in the manner in which the said houses are at present constructed, at the expense of the said Abbot and Convent, and their successors. AND to provide there a monk chaplain from the same Abbey, of a chaste way of life, and a clerk to serve him at mass, to sing masses every day in perpetuity, in the chapel of the said recluse and her successor recluses there, for the said Duke, his ancestors and his heirs for ever.[15]

The legal document between the Duke of Lancaster, the religious community at Whalley, and the anchoress of Whalley provides fascinating insight into the practical, legal, and spiritual workings of patronizing an anchoress.[16] Unlike Julian, who provides no concrete details about her life in her anchorhold, this document offers a glimpse of the varied items of material support that the anchoress needed to live: peat for fuel, fish and oat flour to eat, and candles for light. The anchoress of Whalley was meant to pray for Duke Henry, his ancestors, and his heirs, while Julian had a wider web of friends and family, townspeople, or individuals such as Margery Kempe, to pray for and to offer spiritual assistance. Although the anchoress of Whalley is unknown and this specific anchorhold was dissolved many years later, both Julian and the anonymous anchoress capture the identities and experiences of what it meant to be an anchoress during the late medieval era.

The most information that scholars can gather which can be pinpointed to Julian is the reference provided by Margery Kempe in her *Book of Margery Kempe*, who was Julian's younger contemporary. Although Margery did not mention Julian's Short and

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[15] Alexandra Barratt, "Creating an Anchorhold," in *Medieval Christianity: In Practice*, ed. Miri Rubin (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 311-317.
[16] See the *ODNB*'s entry on Henry, Duke of Lancaster for more information about his life: Henry of Lancaster [Henry of Grosmont], first duke of Lancaster (c. 1310–1361), soldier and diplomat | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (mtsu.edu). Of particular interest is his *Livre de seyntz medicines*, a prose text in Anglo-Norman written in 1354 (Stonyhurst College and in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 218).

Long texts, she did remark that Julian had written other religious works, which are now either lost or unknown. Margery came to visit Julian at her cell to seek advice and to receive assurance about her own visions. Other references to Julian come from several wills made by prominent and wealthy figures, the most famous being Isabella Ufford, the Countess of Suffolk, who left her twenty shillings.[17] Although an anchoress was enclosed in her cell, she was not cut off from the world, but rather a part of it.

By being walled up, an anchoress is rendered invisible from the secular world, but at the same time, she is visible as a powerful figure who guides and counsels those that seek her out. She partakes in her community's spiritual wellbeing and, as a wise person offers advice and comfort. Liz Herbert McAvoy argues that "the anchoritic woman and her closed-up body are projected onto the walls of stone which house her, making visible — and yet invisible — the containment necessary for the production of her sanctity."[18] The related argument made by Helen Hill regarding Neapolitan nuns and their architecture, the anchoress dwelling within the walls of an anchorhold reveals the visibility as also the invisibility of the anchoress' presence as she prays for and guides her petitioners in their spiritual lives.[19] By being walled up, an anchoress's body is rendered invisible from the secular world, but at the same time, her presence is marked as a powerful and holy one who guides and counsels those that seek her out. Another

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[17] See the British Library's page for more information about Julian: Julian of Norwich - The British Library (bl.uk).
[18] Liz Herbert McAvoy, "Writing the Flesh: Female Anchoritism and the Master Narrative," *Medieval Anchoritisms: Gender, Space, and the Solitary Life* (Woodbridge: D.S. Brewer, 2011), 109.
[19] Helen Hills, "Within the Folds of Early Modern Neapolitan Convent Architecture," *Oxford Art Journal*, *V*ol. 27, No. 3 2004.

prominent scholar, Anneke B. Mulder-Bakker, emphasizes the charismatic appeal an anchoress, such as Julian, had on the imagination of the medieval populace: "They were strong, self-assured believers who chose to live at the heart of the community and to serve God in a way that included service to their fellow human beings."[20] "Service to their fellow human beings" is exemplified when Julian calls her audience her "evencristen" and shares her visions with them for their spiritual edification and growth. By locating herself in the center of town and in service to her fellow human begins, Julian is also connected via a larger geographical and spiritual community. The idea of a shared spiritual community in the Long Text will be discussed later on in this chapter. Additionally, Julian's invisibility and visibility as an anchoress captures the essence of her decision to withdraw from the world and enter into her cell. The anchorhold was a liminal space where Julian could not only be taken care of materially through donations and servants to do the shopping, but she could also dwell on both earthly and spiritual matters. Her cell was in the middle of town, attached to the church, but she could withdraw to pray, celebrate the Mass, think, and ruminate on deeper theological matters—things that she otherwise would not have time to do if she had been a married woman with children. The Long Text was born out of visions that Julian experienced in illness, and this text has become one of the most popular and thought-provoking medieval works ever written by a woman. Now turning to examine Julian's work, I examine in

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[20] Anneke B. Mulder-Bakker, trans., Myra Heerspink Scholz, "Bees Without a King," *Lives of the Anchoresses: The Rise of the Urban Recluse in Medieval Europe* (Philadelphia: University Pennsylvania Press, 2005), 12.

detail the trope of God as Mother and how it is related to not only Julian, but also Anne Cary as her role as scribe.

The Long Text: Selected Passages

While other scholars simply call Julian's texts the Short text and the Long text, Watson and Jenkins's edition differs from other editions as they call Julian's Short Text, *A Vision Showed to a Devout Woman*, and then her Long Text, *A Revelation of Love*. For the Short Text, Watson and Jenkins have lifted the title "A Vision Showed to a Devout Woman" from the Amherst Manuscript (London, British Library Add 37790), while the Long Text a "Revelation of Love" is from the seventeenth century Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds anglais 40. The Long Text is also referred to as *The Revelation of Divine Love*, which possibly came from the 1670 printed edition. The perplexing choice of what to call Julian's Long Text adds to its complex manuscript history. An examination of the Long Text's intricate manuscript history will be further addressed in the third chapter. In addition, we also do not know if Julian recorded her visions herself or if she had a scribe take down her dictations. While Julian's life is heavily debated, so are scholars' perceptions of her Long Text. Denys Turner in his book, *Julian of Norwich: Theologian*, explores her theological beliefs, as well as challenges the assumption that she simply was a mystic. Similarly, Julia Bolton Holloway in her work *Julian Among the Books* investigates what books Julian may have read that informed her Long Text. These two examples, brief as they are, illustrate how elastic the persona of Julian is and the potentially rich background she possessed in learning and theology which influences how scholars view her and her work.

For my project, I decided to concentrate on selected chapters that were applicable to Julian as a spiritual writer and to Anne Cary as a scribe copying her work for the community at Paris. Specific themes that Julian utilizes in her Long Text that I wish to consider are God's motherly love for humanity and Julian's interest in female saints, such as Mary, mother of Christ and Mary Magdalene, devoted followers of Christ. I am also interested in the textual choices that Serenus de Cressy uses in his printed edition of the Long Text. In particular, I will be examining chapter one, chapter two, chapters fifty-eight through sixty, and the conclusion, chapter eighty-six in order to show that God's maternal love for humanity shaped Julian's perception of God, which she shared with others through her visionary experiences in her Long Text. These concepts in Julian's work connect to the Cary sisters. Anne Cary composed a copy of Julian's Long Text, signifying its importance not only as a spiritual work authored by a woman, but as a piece of literature that influenced the way the community at Our Lady of Good Hope understood God. Julian's trope of God as mother offered another way for the community at Our Lady of Good Hope to live a spiritually autonomous life with God.

In Julian's first chapter of the Long Text, she addresses her "shewings" and how she will describe them. These showings that she experienced encompass a deeper theological exploration than was undertaken in the Short text. The Long Text is an expansion and careful rumination of her divinely inspired visions. Julian delves into such topics as Christ's suffering and anguish, God's love for humanity, and how Christian individuals will suffer spiritually with elegance and clarity. I have chosen these selected passages because the noteworthy importance of Julian's perception of God as mother and because women, such as Anne Cary, valued them as a way to enrich their faith. Although

chapters one and two are vital in creating the parameters of the *Showings* and their meaning, the chapters on God as mother are significant to my study of Julian and her Long Text because Julian's God is not only maternal, but also devoted and warm. Such warmth and care are at odds with the modern secular academic conception of God as a father figure and judgmental. The God as mother trope reveals the divinity's holiness as nurturing and compassionate, thereby a much more attainable exemplar to devout women. This insight is applicable to Julian herself, as well as to Anne Cary in her role as both scribe and member of her community at Paris.

Because there is such a large emphasis on mysticism and visionary experiences in the Long Text, there are competing genres to which Julian's text can be assigned. In *Looking Inward: Devotional Reading and the Private Self in Late Medieval England*, Jennifer Bryant asserts that the genre of Julian's text should be viewed differently from its usual categories:

> Julian's work is usually placed in the genre of mystical and visionary, rather than devotional, literature. She presents her vision of the Passion as inspired, not laboriously achieved; it is from experience not from books. English devotional texts such as The *Prickynge of Love* and *The Contemplations of the Dread and Love of God* are said to be part of Julian's spiritual climate, her background, but they are not of a kind with her. Her claim of direct access to divine revelation places her instead in the category of female mystics such as Catherine of Siena,

> Mechtild of Hackeborn, and Bridged of Sweden—or, depending on organizational principles, with English mystics such as Richard Rolle and the Cloud-author.[21]

There are several key elements that need to be taken into account from this passage. Bryan categorizes Julian's work into mystical and visionary works instead of devotional literature, a categorization that begs the question, what do each of these genres mean for a contemporary audience? Mystical literature centers the experience of interacting with the divine, while visionary literature describes an event or a series of events where an individual experiences, through visual comprehension, prophetic or revelatory knowledge.[22] On the other hand, devotional literature instructs, uplifts, and exhort its audience. With this in mind, Julian's Long Text is both a mystical and a visionary work. Bryan's linking of Julian to other female Continental mystics is an essential element in Julian studies because of the shared thematic concerns that these women experienced and composed in their respective works.

Male authors, such as Richard Rolle and the anonymous author of the *Cloud of Unknowing*, also add to the diverse medieval religious literary culture. Julian's work, in association with these notable authors, indicates that there was a shared emphasis on

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[21] Jennifer Bryan, *Looking Inward: Devotional Reading and the Private Self in Late Medieval England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press 2008), 147.

[22] Niklaus Largier argues that the "affective mysticism that follows from this early turn toward a metamorphosis of the passions includes both teachings about the evocation and transformation of affections and passions and a phenomenology of emotional states of mind" ("Medieval Mysticism,") in *The Oxford Handbook of Religion and Emotion*, ed. John Corrigan [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007], 366. According to Elizabeth Petroff, medieval women's mysticism is "a succession of insights and revelations about God that gradually transformed the recipient," in *Body and Soul: Essays on Medieval Women and Mysticism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 4.

God's love, forgiveness, and incarnational theology that should not be ignored, even if one figure is from England and another from Germany or Italy. Each figure had his or her own set of subjects that he or she focused on—for example, St. Catherine of Siena discussed ecclesiastical reform—but during this time of strife (1347-1352), plague, and economic strain, it is remarkable that such a disparate group, such as Julian, St. Catherine of Siena, and Richard Rolle, among others, concentrated on similar themes in their spiritual careers. In *Chaucer: A European Life*, Marion Turner writes on the impact of the plague: "We have not experienced anything on the scale of the Black Death; no event, either natural or man-made in the twentieth or twenty-first century has destroyed that kind of proportion of the general population."[23] Not even the COVID pandemic compares to the devastation and upheaval that the Black Death wrought on the face of Europe. The repercussions from the trauma of such an experience would inevitably transform the social, religious, and political fabric of England.

Nevertheless, the division between visionary, mystical, and devotional genres also needs to be dealt with caution, as Jessica Barr in "The Vision is Not Enough: Active Knowing in Julian of Norwich," advises us.

> All too often, critical scholarship on Julian has fallen on one or the other side of this dichotomy, arguing either that the *Showings* is a work of intellectual theology or that Julian's theology is a theology of the body, centered upon physical experience and vivid images of blood, wombs, and the suffering body of Christ.

[23] Marion Turner, *Chaucer: A European Life* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019), 33.

> Ironically, critical scholarship that espouses this dichotomy threatens to re-inscribe the gendered mind (male)/ body (female) distinction that hindered women's participation in public discourse in the Middle Ages. In fact, however, Julian's text shuttles back and forth between these two modes, depending upon a constant return to each. Both reasoning and revelation are necessary for her to obtain her knowledge; *ratio* and *intellectus* are both implicated in her epistemology.[24]

As Barr asserts, attempting to dichotomize Julian's Long Text between intellectual theology or on the theological aspects of the body impairs the main purpose of the Long Text: to reveal God's love and compassion to all of humanity. In the Catholic tradition, the theology of the body has been discussed from a multitude of viewpoints. In *Forgetful of her Sex: Female Sanctity and Society, CA. 500-100*, Jane Tibbetts Schulenburg states that women "were seen as primarily carnal or bodily beings by nature, and therefore in order to lead a spiritual life they needed to deny or renounce the sexual or reproductive aspects of their being (i.e., that which specifically defined them as women) and transcend their gender."[25] Thus, Julian's use of these two modes are not fixed, but permeable. Moreover, Barr also points out that Julian's visions, though they are not experienced personally by her audience, nevertheless are available for them to contemplate and allow them to have a deeper understanding of God.

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[24] Jessica Barr, "The Vision is Not Enough: Active Knowing in Julian of Norwich," in *Willing to Know God: Dreamers and Visionaries in the Later Medieval Ages*, (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2010), 98, *JSTOR*, *j.ctv1cbn4dj.8.pdf (mtsu.edu).

[25] Jane Tibbetts Schulenburg, *Forgetful of their Sex: Female Sanctity and Society CA. 500-1100* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1998), 127.

Moving away from the first chapter of the *Revelations*, I now turn to Julian's second chapter of her Long Text. Julian notes that, "simple creature unlettered" and "living in deadly flesh," she desires to have, "thre giftes by the grace of God."[26] A modern audience could view her statement of being "unlettered" as a sign that she had low self-worth, but her statement probably suggests that she did not know Latin, the official language of the Church and diplomacy. Last of all, her statement could be seen as an expression of humility so her wider audience would not accuse her of being conceited or vain. Accusations of pride and self-love were often flung at men and women who claimed to have experienced divine revelations from God. In Julian's era, due to the constrained religious environment that was helmed by archbishop Thomas Arundel, any woman who had visions and communed with God had to walk a fine line between humility and the need to tell people what she had experienced.[27] Julian's additional statement of living in "deadly flesh" refers to her humanity and sinful nature. Modern scholars have claimed that women, according to the Pauline tenants, were meant to be subservient and silent, especially on doctrinal matters. Nevertheless, in the Long Text, Julian shared her visions through the written word and expounded on advanced theological thinking. Her insistence on sharing her visions with her "evencristen" shows that her purpose in expounding on God's love and mercy was a radical move.

Julian then explains that she asked God to grant her "thre giftes": first, "mind of the passion. The secund was bodily sicknes. The thurde was to have of Godes gifte thre

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[26] Watson and Jenkins, ll. 1-3.
[27] Margery Kempe was accused of being a Lollard because of her preaching. For more information on Thomas Arundel, see this *ODNB* entry: https://doi-org.ezproxy.mtsu.edu/10.1093/ref:odnb/713.

wounde.”[28] All three of these “giftes” emphasize Julian’s longing to grow closer to God, and concentrate solely on him, instead of worldly concerns. Ramirez concurs that Julian’s wishes are astonishing to ask of God, but, she adds that her request “taps into a deeper current in medieval spirituality, which saw identifying with Christ’s pain and suffering during the crucifixion as key to creating a stronger bond of love and understanding with him.”[29] The atmosphere during Julian’s time frame (1342-after 1416) is one of turmoil, disorder, and plague, but by asking God for a greater understanding of empathizing with Christ’s suffering and death, Julian underscores a fixed foundation of faith and hope.

Yearning to deepen her faith, she turns her mind to Christ’s passion. Julian’s “mind of the passion” connects with her desire that she might immediately “have ben that time with Mary Magdaleyne and with others that were Christus lovers” so that “I might have seen bodily the passion that our lord suffered for me . . . . ”[30] Julian’s longing to have “ben” with the group that were with Jesus at his Crucifixion and to view Christ’s death again links to a longing for a deeper understanding of Christ’s ultimate act of self-sacrifice. Julian’s desire to be there physically — “bodily” — during the Crucifixion is associated with the concept of affective piety.[31] Affective piety describes a highly emotional devotion to the humanity of Jesus and his sufferings on the Cross, which flourished during the high Middle Ages. The emphasis on Christ’s humanity and his agonies also caused some devout individuals to place crowns of thorns on their heads,

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[28] Watson and Jenkins, ll. 4-5.
[29] Ramirez, 39.
[30] Watson and Jenkins, ll. 7-9.
[31] See Kathryn M. Rudy’s work: *Virtual Pilgrimages in the Convent: Imagining Jerusalem in the Late Middle Ages* (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2011)

perform flagellations, and participate in lengthy fasts in order to connect themselves with Christ. All of these demonstrative forms link to Julian in her request for her "thre" gifts as well as to the emotionalism that surrounded the religious culture of the medieval era. St Anselm argued that devotional works could "stir up the mind of the reader to the love or fear of God, or to self-examination."[32] St. Anselm's assertion can be applied to Julian's own work, as her explanations of her showings could bring a reader to love God more and to an introspective self-examination of what was lacking in their spiritual life.

Returning to the Long Text, Julian's wish to be present with Mary Magdalene and "Christus lovers" also calls attention to a community that looks both forwards and backwards in time—a community that is indeed a conduit of timelessness. Looking backwards in time, Julian wishes to be with the apostles, including Mary Magdalene, during the Crucifixion. Julian's community is in the present. If we look further, Julian's "community" widens to the seventeenth-century Paris community, particularly to Anne Cary, who copied Julian's Long Text for preservation and learning. The monastic role of copyist concentrates on those women and men who were talented or skilled enough to write documents and copy ancient texts or contemporary letters within the scriptorium. Anne Cary played that role within her own community at Paris, as she wrote many numerous works for the sake of her community. Her copy of the Long Text was then used to create a printed version by her chaplain, Serenus de Cressy in 1670. However, there is much debate about Anne's penmanship and source attribution to documents. Edmund Colledge and James Walsh tentatively identify the hand as Anne's (MS BL 2499

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[32] *The Prayers and Meditations of St. Anselm*, trans. Benedicta Ward (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1973), 89. Bartlett and Bestul, 5.

folios), but Julia Bolton Holloway offers a much more definitive evaluation. Overall, Anne's attributed authorship of the copytext connects Anne also as an Englishwoman not only to Julian's Long Text, but also as she return Julian's work back into England and a wider audience there through the 1670 printing.

Looking "backwards and forwards" illustrates Warren's contention that "the past and the present resemble each other."[33] This looking forwards and backwards encapsulates spiritual writing such as Julian's, as her text becomes repeated and remembered by the nuns at Paris as feminine spiritual cultural practices. By using Julian's Long Text as a source for their lived experiences as women and nuns, they participated in feminine spiritual cultural practices. The shared community at Paris illustrates how the nuns utilized Julian's Long Text by their numerous copies and selected passages that have come down to the present day as a testament to their dedication and care for her work. Goodrich also adds that "spiritual writings provide crucial insight into how members of the English Benedictine convents used communal life to fulfill their vocation of growing closer to the divine."[34] Anne Cary's copying and stewardship of Julian's Long Text was a way of growing closer to God. Julian, Anne Cary, and her community at Paris belong to a shared, religiously united, monastic milieu.

Going back to the concept of a shared spiritual community, Mary Magdalene and Mary, Christ's mother, feature prominently in the Long Text. Julian presents them as examples of wisdom and faith. These two holy figures are part of a long line of

[33] Warren, 194.
[34] Goodrich, 57.

exemplary sanctified women used as models of devotion and strength. Furthermore, Julian refers to Mary Magdalene *first* as she longs to be with her during the Crucifixion. Watson and Jenkins state in a footnote that medieval authors "often take her [Mary Magdalene] love as exemplary for all of the devout, especially women."[35] Mary Magdalene's presence is significant because of her wide-spread veneration from places as varied as England, France, and Germany. She also was viewed as "apostle to the apostles" which could have been viewed as a symbol of leadership and inspiration. Mary Magdalene is called a "lover of Christus" by Julian, which emphasizes her devotion, faithfulness, and support in the service of Christ.

On the other hand, Mary, the mother of Christ, is the feminine figure *par excellence* of obedience and faithfulness for women to follow. In "Making a Place: *Imatatio Mariae* in Julian of Norwich's Self-Construction," Elissa Hansen asserts that Julian used the figure of the Virgin Mary to ground her identity and her authority as an exemplar of holiness and power: "Julian's Marian self-fashioning works to claim her niche role in the Christian community's religious practices, as she sanctions, guides, and participates in its use of intermediaries."[36] Such intermediaries were powerful to the faith and in the minds of medieval people, and Julian's use of such figures as Mary Magdalene and the Virgin Mary reinforces her spiritual authority. Hansen further points out that Julian's *imitatio* was a compelling example of "women's literary self-rendering and

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[35] Watson and Jenkins, 124.
[36] Elissa Hansen, "Making a Place: *Imitatio Mariae* in Julian of Norwich's Self-Construction," in *Reading Memory and identity in the Texts of Medieval European Holy Women*, eds. Margaret Cotter-Lynch and Brad Herzog (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan, 2012), 200.

authorization."[37] Employing saintly intercessors for Julian or any other spiritually-minded woman (such as Margery Kempe) proved to her audience that she was worthy to be listened to and her advice to be heeded with care. In "Mary of Bethany and the Hermeneutics of Remembrance," feminist biblical scholar Mary Anne Beavis explores the competing versions of female biblical figures and their role within the apostolic ministry: "Mary, Martha, and Mary Magdalene all play prominent roles in postbiblical Christian tradition. Like her saintly sisters, Mary of Bethany figured in ancient controversies over the roles and conduct of women in the early church that continue today."[38] Beavis's nuanced reading of these biblical woman adds depth to Julian's concentration on Mary Magdalene. Julian, in her Long Text, adds perspective to the role of suffering: "I might have sene bodilye the passion of oure lorde that he suffered for me, that I might have suffered with him as othere did that loved him."[39]

Julian desires to mirror her suffering upon that of Mary Magdalene, a figure whose suffering is reflected in the devout individual. Additionally, Julian wants a deeper understanding of "the compassion of our lady."[40] Julian longs for a stronger grasp of the Virgin Mary's agony and compassion as she watched her Son die on the Cross. These

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[37] Hansen, 198.
[38] Mary Anne Beavis, "Mary of Bethany and the Hermeneutics," *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 75, no. 4 (October 2013), pp. 739-755, https://www.jstor.org/stable/43728296, 755. For the controversy about the three Biblical Marys, see Sheila M. Porrer, "Jacques Lefevre d'Etaples and the Three Maries Debates," (*Travaux d'humanisme et renaissance* 451; Geneva: Droz, 2009). See also Vincent Gillespie's article "Venus in Sackcloth: The Digby *Mary Magdalen* and *Wisdom Fragment*," in *The Oxford Handbook of Tudor Drama*, ed. Thomas Betteridge and Greg Wise (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 72-92.
[39] Watson and Jenkins, II. 8-9.
[40] Watson and Jenkins, I. 10.

biblical women were for Julian holy exemplars and hallmarks of devotion. For Anne Cary, Julian was a figure to imitate and a spiritual guide to grow in her faith.

Besides the importance of Mary Magdalene and the Virgin Mary, Julian also parallels herself with Christ in the second chapter. Although Julian desires to be afflicted with illness and to be present at Christ's Crucifixion, she prays about following God's will for her desires. Julian prays, "Lord, thou wotest what I would if it be thy wille that I have it, grant it me. and if it be not thy will, good lord, be not displeased, for I will not but as thou wilt."[41] Jesus prays in the Garden of Gethsemane, "My Father, if it be possible, let this chalice pass from me. Nevertheless not as I will, but as thou wilt."[42] Comparing Julian to Christ calls attention to Julian's insistence on submitting her will to God. The similarities between Julian's and Christ's prayers draw attention to Julian's desire for holiness and emphasize her identification with the body of Christ.. She also points out that she was "thirtieth yeare olde" when she requested to become afflicted with sickness. Her age of 30 years old reflects Christ's age when he began his ministry.[43] Julian wants her life to conform to God's will and her being thirty years old places her on the cusp of an extraordinary spiritual development.

Chapters fifty-eight through sixty examine the trope of "God as Mother" that was so popular among mystics, notably Bernard. However, Bernard was not the first. Anselm of Canterbury (1033-1109) asked "And you, Jesus, are you not also a mother? Are you not the mother who, like a hen, gathers her chickens under her wings? Truly, Lord, you

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[41] Watson and Jenkins, ll. 30-31.
[42] Matt. 26:39.
[43] Watson and Jenkins, l. 32.

are a mother."[44] Bernard of Clairvaux, Marie of Oignies, and Metchild of Hackborne widely promogulated the maternal qualities of Christ. Julian's emphasis on God (or Christ) as a mother often causes scholars to wonder if she herself was a mother and bore a child, since her language and attitude appears maternal. However, the overall truth of Julian being a mother and raising a child is lost to time. Nevertheless, Julian's focus on God as Mother is both important and, from a modern standpoint, radical. Instead of bringing attention to God's qualities as an angry judge, like some secular academics promulgate, she instead points out God's maternal and compassionate attitude toward humanity.

Anne's relationships with her mother, Elizabeth Cary, and her Mother Prioress Justina Gascoigne exemplified a sympathetic understanding of motherhood. Anne's mother successfully converted her, as well as her younger siblings to Catholicism. Anne became not only a Catholic, but also a Benedictine nun. Elizabeth Cary, concerned with the care of her children's souls, brought about the means of their salvation. Additionally, Anne Cary's Mother Prioress deeply cared for Anne Cary, especially when she was frequently ill. Their close relationship revealed the principles of motherhood that both Elizabeth Cary and Mother Prioress Justina Gascoigne embodied for Anne.

In chapter fifty-eight (LVIII), Julian describes Jesus as a careful mother who works continually for our well-being. She also points out that Christ molds humanity into

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[44]Rev. John R. Fortin, O.S.B. "Saint Anselm's Prayer to Saint Paul," *The Saint Anslem Journal* 13.1 Fall 2017 (ll. 397-400), Fortin, Sixth Anselm Conference Paper.pdf, 60. Saint Anselm (1033-1109) was abbot of Bec and archbishop of Canterbury. See this *ODNB* link for further information on his life and spiritual influence: https://doi-org.ezproxy.mtsu.edu/10.1093/ref:odnb/572.

models of goodness and faith: "For in oure moder Crist we profit and encrese, and in mercy he reformeth us and restoreth, and by the vertu of his passion, his deth, and his uprising oneth us to oure substance. This worketh oure moder in mercy to all his beloved children which be to him buxom and obedient."[45] Jesus persistently works for humanity's benefit, thus our welfare is one of growth and security. Because of Christ's mercy he "reformeth….and restoreth" humanity, we are united in him. Julian termed her fellow believers as "beloved" children, which echoes Ephesians 5:1: "Be ye therefore followers of God, as most dear children."[46] Because Jesus is our "moder in mercy," humanity as children, must be "buxom and obedient" which underscores Julian's emphasis that we must respect and love Christ as both our mother and our savior. Although casting God as Mother was not an entirely new phenomenon, in *Holy Feast and Holy Fast*, Caroline Walker Bynum argues that Julian's conception of divine motherhood *was* novel in some regard in "the idea that God's motherhood, expressed in Christ, is not merely love and mercy, not merely redemption through the sacrifice of the cross, but also taking on of our physical humanity in the Incarnation, a kind of *creation* of us, as a mother gives herself to the fetus she bears."[47] Julian repeats her earlier statements, but with a deeper variation, as she maintains, "And in oure moder of mercy we have oure reforming and oure restoring, in whom oure partes be oned and all made perfite man."[48] Like a concerned mother, God reforms and restores humanity to mirror his goodness and holiness. The constant guiding

[45] Watson and Jenkins, ll. 37-41.
[46] Eph. 5:1.
[47] Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast*: *The Religious Significance of Food of Medieval Women*, (Berkley: University of California Press, 1987), 266.
[48] Watson and Jenkins, II. 47-49.

and teaching will lead humanity to be made "perfite" in God's sight, an idea exemplified in Matthew 5:48, which claims, "Be you therefore perfect, as also your heavenly Father is perfect."[49] God as Mother not only wants humanity to be redeemed and restored to his presence, but also intertwines himself with humankind. Julian's concept of God as Mother is warm, concerned for our well-being, and is intimately connected with us. This statement is further made apparent as Julian declares, "oure substance is in oure moder."[50] Julian offers her medieval audience a conceptualization of God as a tender, watchful, and compassionate mother.

In chapter fifty-nine (LIX), Julian again orients her audience to the concept of God as Mother, as expressed in Christ. She asserts that "Thus Jhesu Crist, that doth good against evil, is oure very moder: we have oure being of him, where the ground of moderhed beginneth, with all the swete keeping of love that endlessly foloweith."[51] The statement of "where the ground of moderhed beginneth" guides Julian's audience that the source of love is God and that God's love is the source of everything.

Julian also points out the service of being a mother and motherhood itself are important aspects of her work since they tie into the service of lordship and servanthood that is critical to Julian as well. A major part of being a mother is instructing and raising children correctly, which is what Julian says that God does as a mother, as made apparent

[49] Matt. 5:48.
[50] Watson and Jenkins, ll. 50-51.
[51] Watson and Jenkins, II. 6-9.

in previous passages. And why would a mother take the time to raise and care for a child? Obviously, for love, as Julian asserts. Just as God performs for his beloved children.

Not only does Julian state once more that "God is oure moder" but she directs her audience's attention to God's statement that "I it am."[52] The phrase "I it am" is an echo to a previous chapter, chapter thirty-one (XXXI), but her explanation of this assertation by God is written thus:

> I it am, the wisdom and the kindness of moderhode. I it am, the light and the grace that is all blessed love. I it am, the trinite. I it am, the unite. I it am, the hye sovereyn goodnesse of all manner thing. I it am that maketh the to love. I it am that makith the to long. I it am, the endlesse fulfiling of all true desyers.[53]

This entire declaration encapsulates the whole Godhead and points to God as the center and fulfillment of all human love, yearning, and desire. For Julian, motherhood is the realization of wisdom and kindness, which is captured in the figure of God as Mother.

In "The Exploratory Image: God as Mother in Julian of Norwich's Revelations of Divine Love," Sarah McNamer asserts that male mystics such as the anonymous Cloud-author and Walter Hilton focus on God the Father and his masculine attributes. However, McNamer contends that Julian does something different: she adds to theological thought the concept of God as Mother, and this "is what makes her stand out with peculiar distinctness among the mystics, for it enables her to explore maternal concepts which remain relatively undeveloped by her contemporaries: immanence, unconditional love,

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[52] Watson and Jenkins, ll. 10-11.
[53] Watson and Jenkins, II. 12-16.

and mercy."[54] McNamer points out the phrases that Julian reveals about the maternal figure of God, such as immanence (God is knowable), unconditional love, and mercy are *grounded* in God — a word used frequently by Julian — and are r*evealed* by God in her visions. Although men may display maternal characteristics, Julian is bringing to the forefront God's maternal qualities in order to explain the depth and sweetness of God's love and his longing to be known by humanity.

Chapter sixty (LX) again explores the theme of love and motherhood as exemplified by God, but with further expanded variations. Julian proclaims "Oure kinde moder, our gracious moder, for he wolde holy become oure moder in all thing, he toke the grounde of his werke full lowe and full mildely in the maidens wombe."[55] Because God wanted to become humanity's mother in everything, he accepted the choice to be born into the world as a newborn to fulfill his plan to save humanity from sin. God's encompassing love for humanity reminds her of her first vision of where she saw Mary, Christ's mother: "And that shewde he in the furst, where he brought that meke maiden before the eye of my understanding, in the simpil stature as she was whan she conceived: that is to sey, oure hye God, the sovereyn wisdeom of all, in this lowe place he arrayed him and dight him all redy in oure poure flesh, himself to do the service and the office of moderhode in all thing."[56]

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[54] Sarah McNamer, "The Exploratory Image: God as Mother in Julian of Norwich's Revelations of Divine Love," *Mystics Quarterly*, 15, no. 1 (March 1989), 21-28. https://www.jstor.org/stable/20716905, 22.
[55] Watson and Jenkins, ll. 5-7.
[56] Watson and Jenkins. II. 7-11.

Christ's sacrifice of giving up the glories of Heaven to demonstrate his unconditional love for humanity, just like a mother loves and cares for her child, exemplifies the "service and the office of moderhode in all thing." Julian develops this phrase as she explains, "The moders service is nerest, rediest, and sekerest ["surest"]; nerest, for it is most of kind; rediest, for it is most of love; and sekerest, for it is most of trewth. This office ne might nor coulde never none done to the full but he alone."[57] Motherhood, in Julian's eyes, is an honorable service. God as Mother performs the ultimate act of self-sacrifice on the Cross, that no earthly mother could ever aspire to accomplish. Julian then asks rhetorically, "We wit that alle oure moders bere us to paine and to dying A, what is that?" she forcefully points out, "But oure very moder Jhesu, he alone bereth us to joye and to endlesse leving—blessed mot he be!"[58] Earthly mothers only bear their children in pain and suffering, yet Jesus reverses the earthly anguish and pain to bearing children in joy and delight, through his death and resurrection. Julian continues to delve into her ruminations on Jesus as the ultimate figure of motherhood as she expounds, "The moder may geve her childe to sucke her milke, But oure preciouis moder Jeesu, he may fede us with himself, and doth full curtesly and full tenderly with the blessed sacrament that is precious fode of very life."[59] Here Julian equates Christ's body with the Eucharist which has the ability to fulfill humanity's spiritual needs. Christ explains to Julian that He is the benevolent and beneficial caretaker of humanity's spiritual health, just as the Church offered spiritual guidance for medieval people: "All

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[57] Watson and Jenkins, ll. 12-14. See the *OED* definition for further information: sure, adj., adv., and int. : Oxford English Dictionary (mtsu.edu).
[58] Watson and Jenkins, ll.12-16.
[59] Watson and Jenkins, ll. 25-27.

the health and the life of sacraments, alle the vertu and the grace of my worde, alle the goodnesse that is ordained in holy church to the, I it am."[60] Christ is not only the Eucharist, but also the Church as it nurtures and guides its believers.

Julian gives another example of what an earthly mother performs for her child, but then contrasts her approach with Christ's method of mothering. She writes:

> "The moder may ley her childe tenderly to her brest. But oure tender mother Jhesu, he may homely lede us into his blessed brest by his sweet, open side, and shewe us therin perty of the godhed and the joys of heven, with gostely sekernesse of endlesse blisse."[61]

While the mother holds her child to her breast, Jesus invites humanity *into* his side as a sign of intimacy. A mother can guide, love, and care for her children, but believers are entwined within Christ's very godhead. By being led into Christ's side, believers are not simply with Christ, but are an inextricable part of Him. Furthermore, Christ's side embodies not only the holiness of the godhead, but also the utter delight of heaven with its unending joy.

Ultimately, as all life comes from God, he is both mother and father of humanity: "This fair, lovely worde,'moder,' it is so swete and so kinde in itself that it may not verily be saide of none, ne to none, but of him and to him that is very mother of life and of alle."[62] Julian further points out the exemplary attributes of a compassionate and merciful

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[60] Watson and Jenkins, ll. 29-31.
[61] Watson and Jenkins, II. 33-36.
[62] Watson and Jenkins, ll. 39-41.

maternal God: "To the properte of moderhede longeth kind love, wisdom, and knowing; and it is God."[63]

The word "mother" to Julian is everything that is good, sweet, and merciful. The property of motherhood is ultimately fulfilled and exemplified by God's encompassing love, knowledge, and understanding. No one, not even earthly mothers, can attain such a feat. Only God, Julian announces, can fulfill all that comes from being a mother.

Julian again reiterates that God is the perfect Mother for mankind. From lines 45-56 Julian once more expounds on God as our Mother, and how he encapsulates all that is good, merciful, and self-sacrificing. The whole concluding passage, which makes evident how God's love never changes, is as follows:

> The kinde, loving moder that woot and knoweth the neede of her childe, she kepeth it full tenderly, as the kinde and condition of moderhed will. And ever as it waxeth in age and in stature, she changeth her werking, but not her love. And when it is waxed of more age, she suffereth it that it be chastised in breking downe of vicis, to make the childe to receive vertues and grace. This werking, with all that be fair and good, oure lord doth it in hem by whom it is done. Thus he is our moder in kinde by the werking of grace in the lower perty, for love of the hyer. And he wille that we knowe it, for he wille have alle oure love fastended to him. and in this I sawe that alle oure det that we owe by Gods bidding to faderhod and moderhod is fulfilled in trew loving of God, which blessed love

[63] Watson and Jenkins, l. 42.

> Crist werketh in us. And this was shewde in alle, and namly in the hye plenteous words where he seyth: 'I it am that thou lovest.'[64]

In this conclusion of the Long Text's sixtieth chapter Julian does not only include and celebrate motherhood, but also fatherhood. God is both mother and father to humanity, and later on Julian incorporates the Holy Spirit into her discussion, therefore bringing attention to the wholeness of the trinity. God's love is reciprocated by his love for humanity and vise-versa. God's love is also continually working, through teaching and instructing, so that all be spiritually fruitful and saved from sin. God's love and continuous work is in, as Julian invokes God's firm statement: "I it am that thou lovest," which stands as the ultimate statement of who God is.

Julian's exploration of the Motherhood of God that has been examined in the specific chapters of fifty-eight to sixty shows that God's love and motherhood were of central concern to her. Julian's contemporaries and earlier figures, such as Bernard of Clairvaux (c. 1090-1153) or Anslem of Canterbury praised and promulgated God's motherly attributes. However, Julian expanded in her Long Text the concept by bringing to the forefront God's mercy, unconditional love, and his being intimately interconnected with humanity.

Before I move on to an examination of the eighty-sixth chapter of the Long Text, it is also worth considering how the selections about God as Mother would have been

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[64] Watson and Jenkins, ll. 45-56. Watson and Jenkins further add more information about Julian's phrase "lower perty." God "is our mother in a natural sense through the working of grace in the lower part of the self. Christ is in actual mother and causes the good that they do" (314, footnote 51).

perceived by Anne Cary. Although I have only focused on chapters fifty-eight through sixty, which is a small selection of the overall eight chapters that focus on God as Mother (fifty-seven through sixty-five) by assessing these three chapters, one wonders what Anne Cary would have thought of Julian's assertions as she copied them. Anne Cary and the rest of her community were virgins and never married an earthly spouse, but were instead Brides of Christ. Anne Cary and her sisters never had children. Their Protestant contemporaries (and the Cary family in particular) may have believed that they had chosen poorly since they had no husband, had no children that would support them in their old age, and had chosen a faith that was looked down upon by the English Protestant populace. Nevertheless, Anne Cary may have viewed these specific chapters as reinforcing her love of God, strengthening her own concept of God as merciful and all-loving, and could reveal how her female community exemplified these maternal and warm attributes every day through the written evidence of such behavior as evinced in their death-notices.

Once more we look at Anne's death-notice to discover what echoes can be found from Julian's Long Text that exemplify God's maternal self. When it was feared that Anne was going to die from one of her many illnesses, and her Prioress, Reverend Mother Justina Gascoigne was also ill, the two of them sent each other consolatory messages. The author writes, "Reuerend Mother Clementia sayed she should be glad to dye, so it might pleas God to spare our Very Reuerend Mother prioress, who sent word to her againe that she should be glad, if it were Gods wil to dye, that she might liue for our

support."[65] Both women were resigned that God would take either one of them to Heaven, but their separate letters also reveals they were devoted to one another. Anne herself exemplified the love of God by being "uery compassionat of the sicke and infirme . . . and with a Motherly tendernes most carefully prouided what thay wanted or might solace them. . ."[66] Anne Cary embodied the traits of tenderness, love, and compassion that God exemplified in Julian's Long Text. Even though this assessment can be considered tenuous, I maintain that these passages from Anne Cary's death-notice echo what Julian wrote about God as Mother in her Long Text. The idea of "viewing women's religious works as lived religious experience," as Goodrich so eloquently asserts, can be linked to Anne's copying of Julian's Long Text as a devotional practice, but also as an underscoring of Julian's assurance, indeed reassurance, that God is our Mother.[67] What Anne copied from Julian's Long Text about the concept of God as Mother, she witnessed in her community, and herself performed out of love and charity for her fellow sisters and the love of God.

Turning back to the Long Text, the eighty-sixth (LXXXVI) chapter is Julian's concluding chapter. Critical attention has often concentrated on the incipit: "This boke is begonne by Goddes gifte and his grace but it is not yet performed, as to my sight."[68] However, there is more to Julian's last chapter than simply this statement of endings and deferred performances. Julian may still have been thinking and examining her "shewings" from God, even after this text was "begonne", thereby revealing how her

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[65] Wolfe, *Life and Letters*, 488.
[66] Wolfe, *Life and Letters*, 488.
[67] Goodrich, 58.
[68] Watson and Jenkins, ll. 1-2.

work could build upon itself, layer upon layer, after careful consideration, inquiry, and understanding. Julian then adds, "For charite pray we alle togeder, with Goddes wurking: thanking, trusting, enjoyeng."[69] The emphasis of togetherness, a prayerful community, is striking. Through prayer and God's "wurking" this book will be "performed" to Julian's satisfaction and be shared among other like-minded believers. The believers that Julian has envisioned included women such as Anne Cary through the copying and disseminating of the Long Text within her community.

Julian explains that she often pondered over the meaning of these divine visions and the limits of her "understanding." She reports that "And fro the time that it was shewde, I desyerde oftentimes to witte what was our lords mening. Fifteen yere after and mor, I was answered in gostly understanding, seyeng thus: 'What, woldest thou wit thy lords mening in this thing? Wit it wele, love was his mening. Who shewed it the? Love. What shewid he the? Love. Wherefore shewed he it the? For love.'"[70] Love, Julian declares, was in her understanding, God's whole meaning and purpose for imposing on her the visions that she had. God's passionate, radical love for Julian herself and humanity is both astonishing and freeing. Julian grounds this all-encompassing love in human creating itself, as she asserts, "In oure making we had beginning, but the love wherein he made us was in him fro without beginning . . . ."[71] Julian's repetition of the word "beginning" captures the echoes of how this final chapter is concentrated on beginnings and endings, but also on God's infinite, timeless, and matchless love.

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[69] Watson and Jenkins, ll. 2-3.
[70] Watson and Jenkins, ll. 11-15.
[71] Watson and Jenkins, ll. 20-21.

Echoing the biblical passage of Ephesians 3:21: "to him be glory in the church and in Christ Jesus throughout all generations, forever and ever. Amen," Julian ends her book with the triumphant phrase: "And alle this shalle we see in God withouten ende. Deo gracias."[72] The Latin explicit is written by an anonymous scribe "Explicit liber revelationum Juliane anacorite Norwiche, cuius anime propicietur Deus" ("Here ends the book of the revelations of Julian, anchorite of Norwich, in whose soul may God be pleased.")[73] The *explicit* (similar to a colophon) brings attention not only to the conclusion of Julian's Long Text, as well as the phrase "in whose soul may God be pleased."[74] Julian's *explicit* follows the pattern for devout individuals who hoped and prayed that their work as well as their soul, consecrated to God satisfied God as their Creator. This is the last that we hear of Julian, as she died after 1416. Nevertheless, her legacy has not been forgotten nor ignored as the centuries have passed. Even though the monastic libraries were decimated, their books lost, destroyed, or taken as trophies by members of the gentry, Julian's Long Text survives because of nuns such as Anne Cary. In her essay "The Seventeenth-century Manuscript Tradition and the Influence of Augustine Baker," Elisabeth Dutton further posits an intriguing suggestion about the whereabouts of Julian's Long Text:

> It is possible that *A Revelation* went into exile with religious communities during the Reformation, since the extant Long Text manuscripts were owned by and probably copied in English Benedictine houses in France. Paris, Bibliothèque

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[72] Watson and Jenkins, ll. 23-24.
[73] Watson and Jenkins, ll. 25-26.
[74] Watson and Jenkins, I. 25.

> nationale Fonds Anglais MS 40, is early seventeenth: it was preserved and possibly produced by the nuns of Our Lady of Consolation in Cambrai. British Library Sloane MS 2499…is also easily seventeenth and is a much plainer manuscript, possibly in the hand of Clementina Cary, who founded Cambrai's daughter house in Paris Our Lady of Good Hope. British Library Sloane MS 3705…is later seventeenth. These three manuscripts each contain the full Long Text of *A Revelation*.[75]

Each of these manuscripts, as noted by Dutton, contributed to the consciousness of Julian and her Long Text, as well as to how her work managed to remain in circulation since the time of her death. Dutton's conjecture that the Long Text was carried into exile by the English religious communities is a plausible and remarkable thought. Because of these women, knowledge of Julian's life and her text were not destroyed or lost, but saved. Taking, holding onto, and keeping a work such as Julian's Long Text was also a defiant political and religious act by these women religious. Because they were devoted to a medieval work, such as Julian's Long Text, their preservation of it from harm, as well as the devotional practices performed by women such as Anne Cary, allowed the Long Text back into a monastic setting. The unknown exemplar that may have been taken into exile was copied by Anne Cary, woman religious of Our Lady of Good Hope, which became published through the efforts of the convent's chaplain, Serenus de Cressy, in 1670. The Long Text was printed and aimed toward a broader audience. Through Cressy's

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[75] Elisabeth Dutton, "The Seventeenth-century Manuscript Tradition and the Influence of Augustine Baker," in *A Companion to Julian of Norwich*, ed. Liz H. McAvoy, (Woodbridge, Suffolk: D.S. Brewer, 2015), 128.

publication of the Long Text, he brought about Julian's work back into a wider, more secular, community in England and beyond, to the English-speaking exiles and others.[76] To the complex manuscript history of the Long Text is where I now turn.

[76] I am in the process of attempting to find any evidence of an actual readership of Cressy's printed publication of Julian's Long Text.

Chapter 3

"Manuscripts Don't Burn": The Long Text's Complicated Manuscript History

Julian's manuscripts have a complicated reception and circulation history. Not widely known during Julian's lifetime, her Short Text was copied in two late medieval manuscripts. Her Long Text, which is more theologically sophisticated, has been her most popular and significant work. Serenus de Cressy supervised the printing of the Long Text in 1670, which led Julian's works to have a broader audience in England. Both Anne Cary's copy and Cressy's publication of the Long Text are vital in understanding and recovering nun's manuscript culture.

Julian's complex circulation history is made even more difficult because of Henry VIII's decision to disperse the monastic libraries. Some books were destroyed, others purchased by English gentry for their own libraries, or became lost. Nigel Ramsay argues in his book chapter "'The Manuscripts flew about like Butterflies': The Break-Up of English Libraries in the Sixteenth Century" that the dispersal of monastic books after the dissolution was irreparable. He gives a sense of the exceptional damage to the literary landscape that occurred during the years of 1536 and 1541:

> From the eight hundred or more monasteries, friaries and other religious houses of England, only about 5,200 library and service-books survive. If one subtracts the 1,800 that belonged to the cathedral priories (such as Durham and Worcester) that in 1541 were refounded as secular cathedrals, then the total is reduced to 3,400.

> That tens, even hundreds, of thousands of library books and service-books were destroyed in the course of a few years is undeniable. What cannot be measured, however, is how much was lost which was unique and – in textual terms – irreplaceable.[1]

The dispersal of the monastic books further reveals that countless works are gone from the British book-scape, which is an irrevocable loss. In the "The Christian West" Lucien X. Polastron shows that even though indifference and greed about monastic books were all too apparent, there were people who did care. As examples, he offers several instances of learned men who sought to rescue monastic books from being destroyed or lost:

> Matthew Parker, archbishop of Canterbury; William Cecil, counselor to Queen Elizabeth; and other noted scholars such as Cotton and Bodley, having by their own initiative collected from the merchants the remnants of these collections that had escaped burning, the little (not more than 2 percent) they managed to gather formed famous collections a century later, the core of the three greatest contemporary archives: that of Corpus Christi in Cambridge, the Bodleian of Oxford, and the British Library.[2]

Polastron's reference to Robert Cotton is crucial; Cotton is a part of the connection between the dissolution of the monasteries, Anne Cary, and the present day.

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[1] Nigel Ramsay, "'The Manuscripts flew about like Butterflies': The Break-Up of English Libraries in the Sixteenth Century," in *Lost Libraries: The Destruction of Great book Collections since Antiquity*, ed. James Raven (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2004), 138.

[2] Lucien X. Polastron, trans. Jon E. Graham, "The Christian West," in *Books on Fire: The Destruction of Libraries throughout History* (Rochester: Inner Traditions), 134.

Sir Robert Cotton, famous book collector, and his father before him, rescued the monastic books from devastation, and offered visiting scholars and friends the ability to read and copy from his vast collection.[3] Fr. Baker, spiritual advisor and friend of Anne Cary, not only had access to Cotton's library, but also sent him a letter asking about utilizing medieval books from his library for the nuns in France.[4] Nevertheless, Polastron does not mention Sir Hans Sloane (1660-1753), whose immense collection also became a significant part of the British Library.[5] He is a noteworthy figure in the relation of the Long Text's manuscript history, as Cressy's 1670 publication of Julian's Long Text is listed as shelf mark BL Sloane Manuscript 2499. Sir Hans Sloane was a collector of manuscripts and other unusual paraphernalia.[6] Polastron also does not touch on Serenus de Cressy. de Cressy, chaplain at Our Lady of Good Hope, supervised the publication of the printed edition of Julian's Long Text. Each of these individuals formed a connection in preserving Julian's copy of the Long Text today.

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[3] The current *ODNB* has very little information on Sir Robert Cotton's father, Thomas Cotton. Instead, information about him can be gleaned from *The Dictionary of National Biography 1885-1900*. The entry written by Sidney Lee mainly discusses Thomas Cotton's lineage and marriages. See this link for further information: https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Dictionary_of_National_Biography,_1885-1900/Cotton,_Robert_Bruce.

[4] Baker's letter will be discussed later on in this chapter.

[5] Sir Hans Sloane's biography can be found on the *ODNB*'s website: https://doi-org.ezproxy.mtsu.edu/10.1093/ref:odnb/25730.

[6] Fascinatingly, Julia Bolton Holloway in her webpage about the scribes of Julian's Long Text, offers this conjecture about how Sloane MS 2499 came to be in Sir Hans's possession: "It appears that Sir Hans Sloane acquired his two manuscripts, Sloane 2499 and Sloane 3705, quite early, perhaps out of medical interest in Julian's description of her near-dying." See webpage for further information about the scribes of the Long Text: The Showing's Scribes as Julian's Editors (umilta.net). Her brief discussion sheds further light on how Julian's Long Text came into Sir Han's collection, which was later dedicated to the British Library after his death.

The background context of the dispersal of the monastic libraries is the foundation for a study of the manuscript history of the Long Text. Tracing the upheaval from the dissolution of the monasteries to the seventeenth-century convent of Our Lady of Paris is valuable to the history of Julian's work because nuns such as Anne Cary prevented medieval works from being lost or forgotten. Julian's Long Text, so influential and in many editions, would not have been made available to a current audience if not for the work of Anne Cary, and others like her. Now we turn to the Long Text's manuscript history.

In "Julian of Norwich and Her Children Today: Editions, Translations, and Versions of Her Revelations," Alexandra Barratt gives a detailed inventory of the manuscript history of Julian's Short and Long Texts, "The earliest version of the *Revelations* is the unique copy of the Short Text in London, British Library MS Add. 37790. This copy was made sometime after 1435 from an exemplar dated 1413."[7] The Short Text's editions (MS Add 37790 and Westminster Cathedral Treasury MS 4) are witnesses to the pre-Reformation history of Julian's visions.

Barratt then discusses the late-seventeenth-century copies of Julian's Long Text, "The seventeenth-century Paris Manuscript (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS Fonds anglaise 40) is already to a certain extent a 'modernization,' as it has substituted then-current words for those that were already obsolete. Opinions as to its exact date still vary,

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[7] Alexandra Barratt, "Julian of Norwich and Her Children Today: Editions, Translations, and Versions of her Revelations," in *Julian of Norwich's Legacy: Medieval Mysticism and Post-Medieval Reception*, ed. Sarah Salih and Denise N. Baker (New York: Palgrave McMillian, 2009), 13.

but there is no doubt that it is Benedictine and probably belonged to the monastery of exiled English Benedictine nuns in Paris." The Sloane Manuscript (British Library MS Sloane 2499), Barratt further explains, is "dated around 1650, and it is written in a hand that resembles that of Anne Clementine Cary, a Paris Benedictine nun who died in 1671."[8] Perspectives on the Sloane manuscript's authorship are divided because of a lack of a firm identity on the scribe of the work. In a footnote to her essay, Barratt cites Edmund Colledge and James Walsh, who tentatively identify the scribal hand as Anne's. Colledge and Walsh's work called *A Book of Showings of the Anchoress Julian of Norwich*, a magisterial study of Julian's Short and Long Texts, presents their qualified evidence for the handwriting as that of Anne Cary in this passage:

> Ff. 57, 229 X 369 mm, paper, of poor quality, recent binding, a sprawling and unattractive but regular hand of c. 1650, which closely resembles that of Mother Clementina Cary, ob. 1671, foundress of the English Benedictine nunnery at Paris, and daughter of Elizabeth Falkland, to whom, the year before Clementina's death, Cressy was to dedicate his edition. Her copies of the Constitutions and of Blosius are now preserved at Colwich Abbey. They both seem more practiced and contrived than the Sloane manuscript, but none the less the resemblance is close enough to warrant the suggestion that, if the scribes are not identical, their hands were formed in the same school.'[9]

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[8] Barratt, 14.
[9] Edmund Colledge O.S.A. and James Walsh S.J., *A Book of Showings to the Anchoress Julian of Norwich: Introduction and the Short Text.* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1978), 8.

Although Colledge and Walsh's edition of Julian's Short and Long Texts has proved useful to Julian scholars, it is still unspecified how they asserted that the hand of the Sloane MS 2499 folios merely "resembles" the hand of Anne Cary, without either citing from extant scribal hands or providing images in order to compare and examine the evidence. I will provide an examination of Anne's hand in her composition of the Paris Constitutions and the attributed hand in the Sloane MS 2499, fol. 4. I give further preference to the authorship of Anne Cary because of her high literary output within her community.[10] Both Anne and her sister, Lucy Cary (Dame Magdalena), author of "The Lady Falkland, Her Life," reveal the vibrant manuscript culture of early modern women religious.

[10] Heather Wolfe, ed., *The Literary Career and Legacy of Elizabeth Cary, 1613-1680* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave McMillan, 2007). See also Wolfe's essay "The Scribal Hands and Dating of Lady Falkland: Her Life," *English Manuscript Studies* 9 (2000): 187–217.

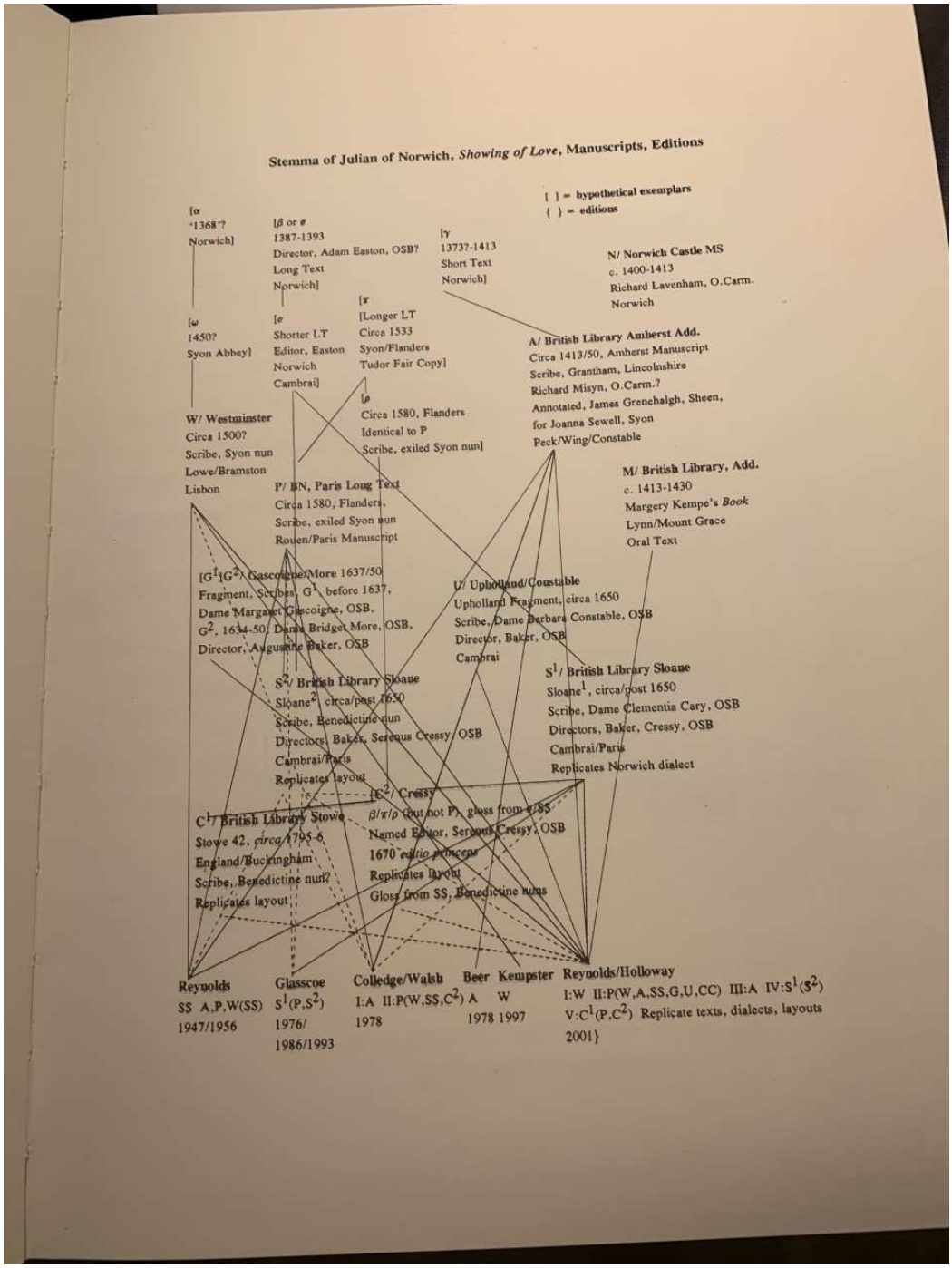


Figure 3.1 Image of the complex manuscript history of Julian's Long Text from *Showing of Love: Extant Texts and Translation.* Eds. Sr. Anna Maria Reynolds, C.P. and Julia Bolton Holloway. SISMEL: Edizioni del Galluzo, 2001.

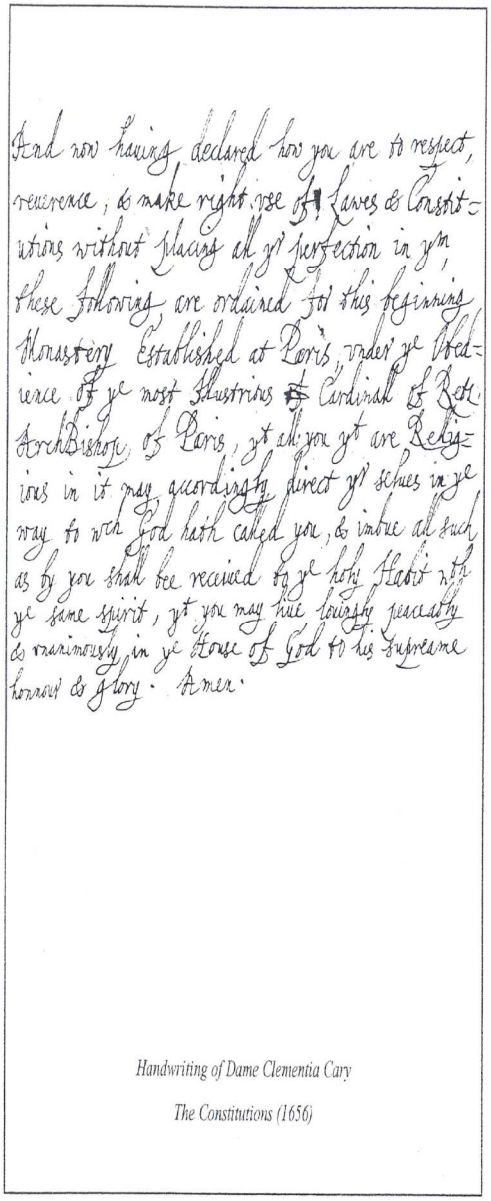
under his authority, instead of under the President of the English dictines. The Constitutions were approved by the Archbishop's sentative on 6th October 1656; two weeks later Sister Margaret ne, the patient and hard-working lay sister, was allowed to make her for life as a member of the new community.

The vows were the three Benedictine vows of Stability, ersion of Life and Obedience; plus the two additional Evangelical sels of Poverty and Chastity; and also a vow of Perpetual Enclosure monastery. After this, the sister made an offering that was unique embers of the community of Our Lady of Good Hope in Paris, ng herself for the Conversion of England:

According to ye vocation & holy Institute of ys Convent, I offer y selfe & all my actions for ye Conversion of England, in union ith our Fathers labour of ye Mission, & as they promise & veare to goe & returne as they are commanded, so will I live & ye in ys my Offering in this Convent."

When the General Chapter met in 1657, the nuns of Paris formally he English Benedictine Congregation. The spiritual ties remained g, as they very much wanted to continue to have an English dictine monk as their chaplain.

However, two of the nuns from Cambrai chose to go back to the of their profession: one of them was Dame Clementia Cary's sister, Mary. So the Paris community then had only four choir nuns and y sisters.



Handwriting of Dame Clementia Cary

The Constitutions (1656)

Figure 3.2 Image of Anne Cary's (Dame Clementia) penmanship sent to me by Sister Benedict P.A. Rowell, archivist at St Mary's Colwich. Personal email communication September 4 2022.

In "Women's Handwriting," Wolfe argues that "Elizabeth Cary and at least six of her children, Anne, Mary, Lucy, Elizabeth, Patrick and Lucius, all had cursive mixed hands with very few pen lifts, suggesting that the children were taught by their mother or each other, since this level of cursiveness was unusual in the first half of the seventeenth century."[11] If we turn to examine Anne's penmanship in a passage that she composed for the Paris Constitutions, we see that she also wrote in a cursive hand that is not only decipherable, but gives readers an insight of who she was as an author and a woman religious.

Furthermore, here is another image of Anne's (attributed) hand in the MS 2499, folio 4. If we compare the hand who composed the text in folio 4 with the hand who wrote the Paris Constitutions, there is a remarkable similarity between the two. Although this handwriting in the fourth folio of MS 2499, is hurriedly composed, the same cursive loops are comparable. In her edition of Julian's Long Text, Georgia Roman Crampton offers a brief discussion of the overall appearance of the manuscript. She states "Marginal annotation, mostly glosses on words obsolete by the seventeenth century, and *nota bene* initials show the manuscript to have had considerable use. Ink has soaked through so as to make for some loss of legibility, and lamination has not halted deterioration."[12] Even though readability is difficult, however, this manuscript is a symbol of the use and care within the community at Paris. Furthermore, as Wolfe points out, the Cary children all

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[11] Wolfe, "Women's Handwriting," in *The Cambridge Companion to Early Modern Women's Writing*, ed. Laura Lunger Knoppers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 35.
[12] Georgia Roman Crampton, *The Shewings of Julian of Norwich*. (Kalamazoo MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1994), 20-21.

wrote in a similar hand where they did not have many penlifts as they composed. In the image below, it is clear that the letters are all connected. Thus, it can be argued, by comparison of the two images, as well as the use of Wolfe's study on penmanship, that Anne Cary's authorship is likely.

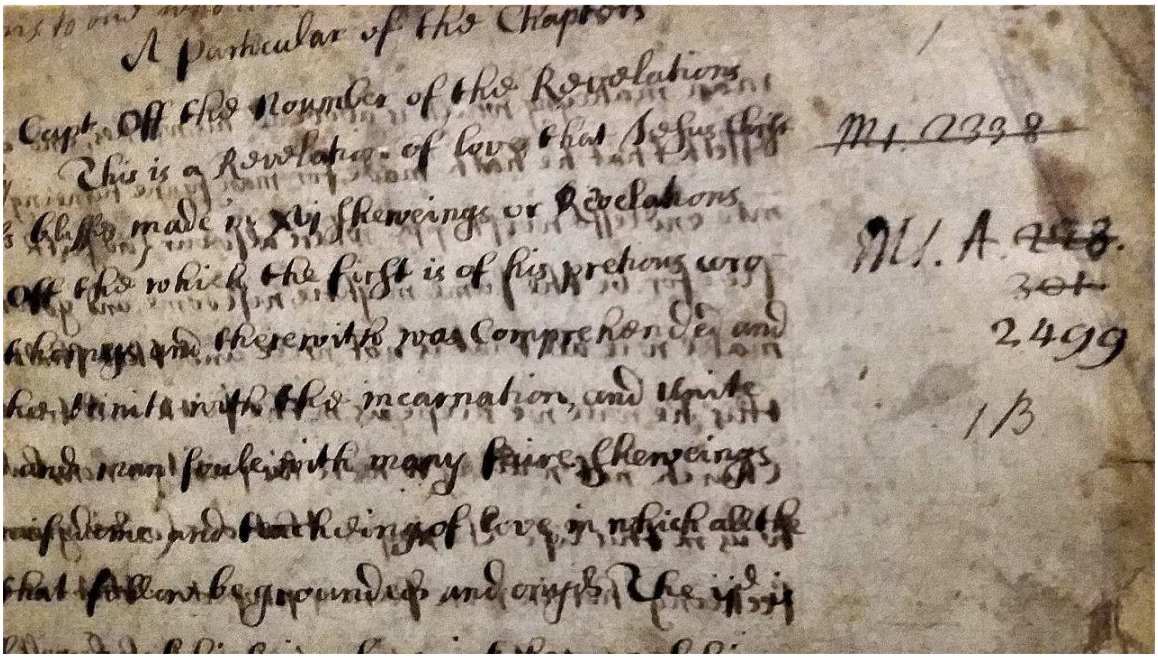

Figure 3.3 MS 2499 f. 4. Attributed hand of Anne Cary (Dame Clementia.)

Figure 3.4 'Weldon's Memorials', II, 406. Copyright Douai Abbey, Woolhampton, UK. Copy of Anne Cary's Constitutions composed by Ralph Weldon, Benedictine monk.

Barratt also considers the 1670 version of Julian's text printed by Serenus Cressy. Once there are both printed and manuscript copies in evidence, the establishment of the text of Julian's Long Text becomes even more complex to assess. From the 1670 printed edition of the *Revelations*, comes the Upholland Manuscript. The Upholland Manuscript, which was copied by various English Benedictine Cambrai nuns in the mid-seventeenth century contains "selections from the Long Text, but these were probably copied from Cressy's printed edition rather than from an earlier manuscript."[13] Lastly, there was another modernized copy of Sloane 2499, now called Sloane 3705, which had been

[13] Barratt, 14.

collated with either the Paris Manuscript or Cressy's edition. Finally, Barratt remarks that "the nuns of Paris and Cambrai, who provided the manual labor at least to copy the manuscripts, deserve some acknowledgment too."[14] The communities of nuns who performed the scribal work of preservation merit close attention and rightfully deserve our acknowledgment of not only the labor accomplished, but also of their valuable contribution to literary history.

Anne Cary was one of the many nuns who copied and transmitted a wide variety of manuscripts not only for their convents, and wider expanse of religious houses, but also for printing. Dame Alexia Gray, an English Benedictine nun in Ghent, is credited with translating two sets of monastic guidelines for publication in 1632.[15] Julian's *Showings* was a popular choice to copy and transmit among the women religious, especially in Anne Cary's house at Paris. Renowned nuns that belonged to the same generation as Anne Cary, such as Dame Barbara Constable, Dame Margaret Gascoigne, and Dame Bridget More, all copied extracts from Julian's work to be composed in "collections" for the nuns to learn from and safeguard.[16] As Latz declares, "Preserving their heritage from oblivion and destruction seemed to have become for the English Benedictines of Cambrai and Paris a commitment of their spiritual vocation of contemplation . . . conscious of the urgency of handing down to posterity a spiritual treasure in danger of being lost amid persecution and civil war."[17] Because of the threat

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[14] Barratt, 15.
[15] Frances Dolan, *Recusant Translators: Elizabeth Cary, Alexia Gray*, (Aldershot: U.K.), 2000.
[16] They were the "class of 1650."
[17] Latz, 11.

of disorder and oppression, the nuns of Cambrai and Paris knew that their monastic heritage was precious and at risk of being lost or destroyed. For example, the Treaties of Westphalia (or the Peace of Westphalia) signaled the end of the prolonged conflict between Spain, France, and the Dutch Republic (what is now the modern Netherlands) over religious matters. Thus, after the Treaties of Westphalia, not only were the political boundaries redrawn, but religious toleration was encouraged.[18] Due to the lengthy conflict in Europe during the seventeenth century, the copies that were made of monastic texts such as Julian's or Hilton's would have better ensured their safety and longevity.

The publication of Julian's Long Text sparked a religious debate between Serenus de Cressy and Edward Stillingfleet, an Anglican theologian. Edward Stillingfleet and Serenus de Cressy fashioned different identities of the figure of Julian for their polemical battles during the Restoration era. Stillingfleet looked down upon de Cressy's inherently positive perception of Julian as a holy and devout woman. While Stillingfleet used the figure of Julian to show how superstitious and foolish Catholicism and Catholics were. In 'Have we any mother *Juliana's* among us?': The multiple identities of Julian of Norwich in Restoration England," Liam Temple argues that, "Attacks on Julian's legitimacy were part of a wider attempt by Church of England apologists such as Stillingfleet to continue the tradition of constructing Catholics as the foreign, oppressive, and dangerous 'other.'"[19] We can see by the fierce debate between Stillingfleet and de Cressy regarding

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[18] See Oxford Bibliographies entry on the Treaty of Westphalia: https://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780199743292/obo-9780199743292-0073.xml.

[19] Liam Temple, 'Have we Any Mother *Juliana's* Among us?:The Multiple Identities of Julian of Norwich in Restoration England," *British History* 33 no. 3 (2017): 385, doi:10.1017/bch.2017.3.

Julian's orthodoxy in doctrine that Julian meant a lot of things to various people: a holy woman, an upholder of the worst of Catholic superstitions, or revered spiritual author. Consequently, these multiple versions of "Julian" reveal not only the conflicting ideas about a pre-Reformation author, but also what it meant to be a follower of the "true" Church in England. Julian was the thermometer, it could be said, to gauge the religious climate in England during the early modern era.

Julian's Long Text was hardly the only late medieval text copied and transmitted in these early modern monastic houses. A blend of early and late medieval authors such as Richard Rolle, Catherine of Siena, Mechtilde of Hackeborn, and Walter Hilton were viewed as significant for examination and worthy of transmission. The task of copying and transmitting medieval and current works was a part of the nun's monastic heritage. It was also their legacy. In her essay, "Nuns and Community-centered Writing: The Benedictine Rule and the Brussells Statues," Jaime Goodrich states that each member of the religious community would contribute to the spiritual formation of their community through the preservation and collection of texts: "As successive nuns added to the texts collected by their predecessors, they participated in a joint endeavor to shape the spiritual formation of would-be nuns."[20] Not only would these "collections" composed by the nuns be used as a learning tool for potential nuns, but the copies would also be safeguarded from disasters and wars. This idea of safeguarding the texts was important because of "the inuires of the times in our hereticall poor country having defaced and

[20] Jaime Goodrich, "Nuns and Community-Centered Writing: The Benedictine Rule and Brussels Statues," *Huntingdon Library Quarterly*, Vol, 77, No. 3 (Autumn 2014), 287-303, *JSTOR:* https:///www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/hlq.2014.77.3.287, 293.

destroyed those Coppys of former prints in our Mother's tongue."[21] For example, there are numerous representations of St. Thomas à Becket (St. Thomas of Canterbury 1119/20-1170) that had been defaced, erased, or destroyed. Many manuscripts that bore his name or had his figure represented are rubbed out, defaced, or completely excised, thus revealing the intent on removing the memory and influence of St. Thomas of Canterbury throughout Henry VIII's England.[22] Because medieval texts were viewed as "suspect" by the Protestant regime in England, they were often destroyed, sold, or simply lost. Therefore, the nuns would copy these medieval authors from exemplars and circulate them among themselves in order to preserve them for future generations of nuns.

Anne's death-notice makes no mention of her copying Julian's work or any other medieval text. By way of comparison, however Elizabeth Cary wrote many lives of the saints. Besides being a renowned playwright of *The Tragedy of Mariam* (1613) and *The History of the Life, Reign, and Death of Edward II* (1626/ 1627), Elizabeth Cary penned religious biographies such as "the liues of St Mary Magdalene, St Agnes Martir, and st Elizabeth of Portingall in verse, and . . . many verses of our Blessed Lady . . ."[23] This wide-ranging list of the lives of prominently female martyrs and saints is what Anne and her fellow sisters would have copied and transmitted among themselves in their convent. The lives of these holy women show that female saints and martyrs of the past were

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[21] "Obituary Notices of the Nuns of the English Benedictine Abbey of Ghent in Flanders, 1627-1811," in *Miscellanea XI* (London, 1917), 26.
[22] For some truly beautiful manuscripts representing St. Thomas of Canterbury (and the damage that has been wrought), please see the British Library's link: Erasing Becket - Medieval manuscripts blog.
[23] Wolfe, *Life and Letters*, 141.

viewed as worthy exemplars and figures of sanctity. Copying and writing about the lives of the saints or other holy figures connected them to their English past in which England was Catholic and one with the Roman Catholic Church. Composing these religious works was a devotional act. By copying and transmitting a variety of the lives of the saints and influential religious figures of both English and Continental renown, Anne Cary and her sisters were keeping their religious (and unified) past alive, as well as offering praise to God. This act of devotion was not engendered by a void, but stretched back to the ancient Rule of St. Benedict. St. Benedict of Nursia (480-550) wrote his precepts in 516 on how the monks were to live communally under the authority of an abbot. Because *ora et labora* was a central practice for the Benedictines, Anne and her sisters prayed as they worked, and worked as they prayed, which included working in the *scriptorium*. "Writing and transcribing for edifying purposes, or as a way to assemble useful texts for contemplation, was a common practice among the Cambrai nuns, and was encouraged by their confessors," Wolfe asserts. Wolfe adds that, "The nuns conceived of devotional reading (*lectio divina*) and writing, including the reading and writing of lives, as an early stage in the course towards mystical union with God."[24] Both of these statements regarding transcribing, reading, and writing reveal how contemplative practices and the study of monastic literature proved spiritually rewarding to women religious within the convent.

As part of the monastic scribal tradition, Julian's Long Text underwent many versions and editions during the post-Reformation era, and so careful attention should be

[24] Wolfe, *Life and Letters*, 48.

given to the Sloane Manuscript. The Sloane Manuscript (British Library MS Sloane 2499) is dated circa 1650. It is called the "Sloane Manuscript" because it was named after Sir Hans Sloane (1660-1763), a physician of Christopher Monck, who was the second Duke of Albemarle and the English Governor of Jamacia. After his marriage to an heiress from Jamaica, Sloane amassed a large and wide-ranging collection of manuscripts, which included the 1670 printed edition of Julian's Long Text.[25]

The 1670 edition of Julian's Long Text was aimed toward a broader English Catholic audience. The title page is plain, only the Roman type attracts the eye, but this title page offers us a lot of detail.[26] The titlepage announces to the audience "XVI Revelations of Divine Love, Shewed to a Devout Servant of our Lord, called Mother Juliana, An Achorete of Norwich: Who Lived in the Dayes of King Edward the Third."[27] What is striking about this printed edition of Julian's Long Text is that it looks remarkably similar to a medieval manuscript. This was not an accident, but was an intentional choice. In *The British Library Guide to Writing and Scripts: History and*

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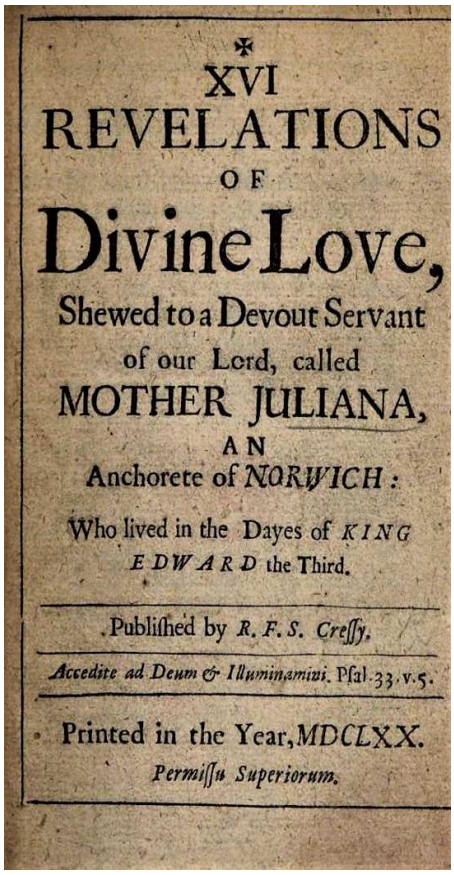
[25] It was due to his wife's fortune that Sir Hans Sloane was able to add to specimens and books to his ever-expanding collection. For more information, see the British Library's webpage about Sloane: https://www.britishmuseum.org/about-us/british-museum-story/sir-hans-sloane.

[26] Colledge and Watson offers further publication information about the 1670 printed edition from David Rogers of the Bodleian Library. Rogers states, "I am absolutely certain that Cressy's edition of Julian of Norwich was printed in England. On the second and third leaves of a band of small type ornaments knows as 'printers' flowers. These include a include small two-handled vase and two sorts of fleur-de-lys which can all be matched in English books of the same date, but are quite unlike French or Flemish ornaments of the same date, but are quite unlike French or Flemish ornaments of the same period. For example find what may be the same three small ornaments used…by William Assheton…and John Gadbury," 6.

[27] Julian, XVI. Revelations of Divine Love, shewed to a devout servant of Our Lord, called Mother Juliana ... Published by R. F. S. Cressy, (1670) http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100026983797.0x000001.

Techniques, Michelle P. Brown offers this explanation: "The early printed books (incunables, from the Latin *in cunabula* — 'in the cradle'/ 'origins') used manuscripts as their exemplars. They were influenced by their mise-en-page (layout) and the way in which they articulated text with the use of decoration and different scripts or coloured inks, as well as by handwritten scripts which were used as the models for early typefaces." Manuscript and printed text were not separated within the cultural sphere, as she further adds: "The transition from manuscript to print was gradual and evolutionary, not a total break, and printing by no means rendered handwriting redundant."[28] Although Brown contends that the transition from manuscript to print was not as rapid as previously thought, nevertheless, there are still significant distinctions between manuscripts and printed works. Even though de Cressy's printed edition is not an incunable, we can still see the permeability of manuscript and print in this printed edition of Julian's Long Text. The use of print showed how innovatively the community at Our Lady of Good Hope wished to present themselves, while also keeping the monastic traditions of manuscripts and scribal culture alive.

[28] Michelle P. Brown, *The British Library Guide to Writing and Scripts: History and Techniques* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 64.



✠
XVI
REVELATIONS
OF
Divine Love,
Shewed to a Devout Servant
of our Lord, called
MOTHER JULIANA,
AN
Anchorete of NORWICH:
Who lived in the Dayes of KING
EDWARD the Third.

Publiſhed by R. F. S. Creſſy.

Accedite ad Deum & Illuminamini. Pſal. 33. v. 5.

Printed in the Year, MDCLXX.
Permiſſu Superiorum.

Figure 3.5 Title page of Serenus de Cressy's 1670 printed edition. Colored image taken from Wikipedia Commons of the webpage of Julian of Norwich, which cites the British Library as the primary source of the printed edition.

The sprawling title of Julian's Long Text points to how little a seventeenth-century audience would recognize a fifteenth-century anchoress and perhaps would only have had a vague grasp of the era of King Edward III. Instead of the text being in Middle English, de Cressy intended to modernize to maintain accessibility for the readership he had in mind. On the title page of de Cressy's publication of the Long Text, Julian of Norwich is referred to as "Mother Juliana," which offers terms of respect and authority

for Julian to de Cressy's readers, but it also reveals her "motherly" aspects of comfort and instruction. [29] The title page's description of Julian as "Mother" tempers her authority with the "motherly" aspects of comfort and instruction. The large cast of the sort spelling of "Mother Juliana" is a prominent feature on Cressy's title page, balancing the larger and "bold-face" Divine Love, thereby signaling Julian's importance in relation to contributions to knowledge of God—she is person "devout" and worthy of being read and remembered, even by a secular audience interested widely in matters of religion.

Nancy Bradley Warren explores Julian's Long Text in her most recent work (2019). Warren writes that "Cressy sees the reader's engagement with the actual words produced by Julian as the means of effecting a connection between past and present, of reembodying the past in the present. . . ."[30] This hope of "effecting a connection" between England's unified religious past in contrast to its now pro-Protestant government is similar to Anne Cary's copying of Julian's text as a way to link her to the past as well as to glorify God in the present. Cressy's effort to make Julian accessible to a seventeenth-century audience underscores the belief that Julian and her work would be relevant to their lives.

Cressy, in the dedication to Lady Mary Blount, a Catholic noblewoman, urged her to view Julian as a kindred spirit.[31] His dedication of the Long Text to a Catholic

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[29] "Mother" was also used during the early modern era as a derisive term for an old and uneducated woman. See Warren's *Chaucer and Religious Controversies*, 103.
[30] Warren, 113.
[31] According to Nicholas Watson, Lady Mary Blount of Sodington lived in Worcestershire and was a recent convert to Catholicism. See this link for some brief information about the Dedication to Lady Mary Blount: Nicholas Watson – Houghton 75. See also Jennifer Summit's essay "From Anchorhold to Closet: Julian of Norwich in

noblewoman revealed Cressy's concern for approachability and relevance. Julian is a "Perſon of Your own Sex. . ." and therefore Lady Mary would be receptive to Julian's work since they were both devout women.[32] The dedication to Lady Mary would have informed de Cressy's audience that Catholics were a part of the English literary sphere as well as repatriating Julian back from "exile" as a person worthy of reading and imitation. de Cressy underscores that Lady Mary should "afford *Her* a place in your Cloſet."[33] By allowing Julian into her "closet," Lady Mary will learn from her as a spiritual exemplar. de Cressy addresses Lady Mary in the terms of a spiritual advisor: "you will enjoy her Saint-like Converſation, attending to her, whilſt with Humility and Joy, She recounts to you the Wonders of our *Lords* Love to *Her,* and of his *Grace* in *Her.*"[34] Lady Mary should "attend" to Julian, listening carefully to Julian's version of the "good news" of God's mercy and care, which might be applied to her own life. Not only had Julian been rendered more accessible and relevant in a printed format, this exchange between a devout noblewoman and a holy servant of God blurs the time and space of the medieval and early modern era. Julian is a woman of the medieval period, when Catholicism was the dominant religion in England, while Lady Mary is a woman of the seventeenth

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1670 and the Immanence of the Past," in *Julian of Norwich's Legacy: Medieval Mysticism and Post-Medieval Reception*, eds. Sarah Salih and Denise N. Baker (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2009), 29-47.

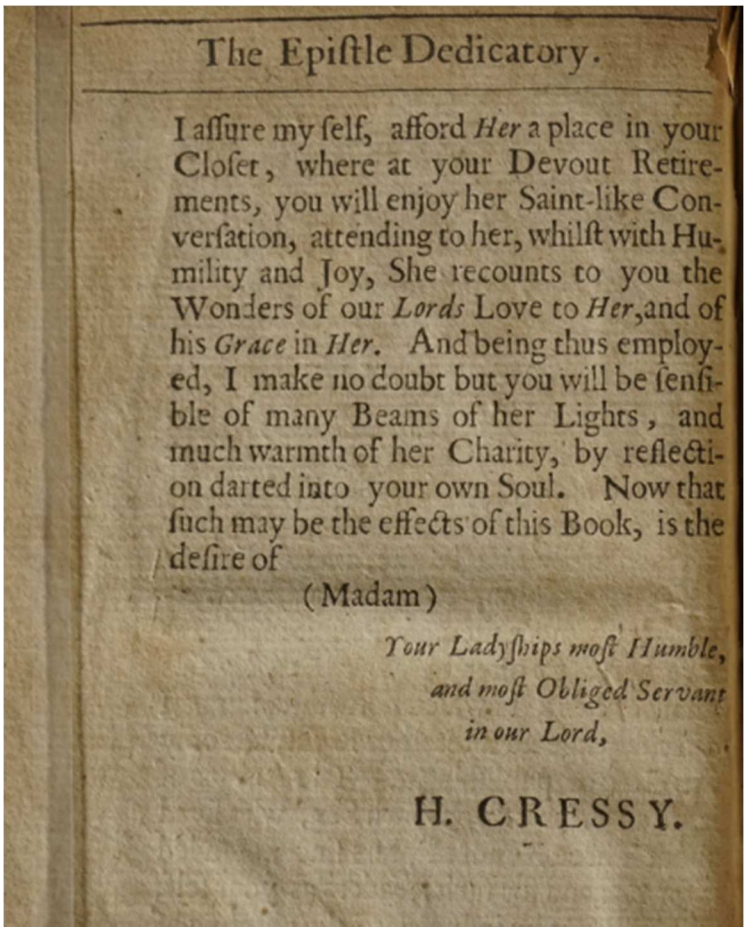
[32] Julian, XVI. Revelations of Divine Love, shewed to a devout servant of Our Lord, called Mother Juliana ... Published by R. F. S. Cressy.

[33] Julian, *XVI. Revelations of Divine Love, shewed to a devout servant of Our Lord, called Mother Juliana ... Published by R. F. S. Cressy, (1670)*, http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100026983797.0x000001.

[34] Julian, *XVI. Revelations of Divine Love, shewed to a devout servant of Our Lord, called Mother Juliana ... Published by R. F. S. Cressy, (1670)*, http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100026983797.0x000001.

century, which was not just a pro-Protestant era, but a world vastly changed from Julian's own time. Cressy characterizes the interaction of Lady Mary and Julian as a scene of privacy and domesticity.

From the medieval anchorhold to an aristocratic lady's closet, Julian of Norwich's Long Text participates in domestic Catholicism and the private world of a pious woman's prayers and meditations. Additionally, nuns were powerful models to shape female readers, both lay and conventual. Thus, using Julian as both a model and guide to spiritual perfection would have been perceived as accepted practice for an aristocratic woman such as Lady Mary. Through Cressey's printed edition, Julian's Long Text is not only re-domesticated but enjoys status as an export commodity contributing to religious debates and cultural formation in early America. Bronson Amos Alcott owned a 1670 copy of Julian's Long Text for his library at the agrarian community Fruitlands.



The Epiſtle Dedicatory.

I aſſure my ſelf, afford *Her* a place in your Cloſet, where at your Devout Retirements, you will enjoy her Saint-like Converſation, attending to her, whilſt with Humility and Joy, She recounts to you the Wonders of our *Lords* Love to *Her*, and of his *Grace* in *Her*. And being thus employed, I make no doubt but you will be ſenſible of many Beams of her Lights, and much warmth of her Charity, by reflection darted into your own Soul. Now that ſuch may be the effects of this Book, is the deſire of

(Madam)

Your Ladyſhips moſt Humble, and moſt Obliged Servant in our Lord,

H. CRESSY.

Figure 3.6 This 1670 copy of Julian's Long Text was acquired for the library [Houghton Library, Mass.] at Fruitlands, the agrarian commune founded by Amos Bronson Alcott and Charles Lane in the 1840s. *6.5 L x 4.5 W x 0.5 Th (in) AC85.Aℓ191.Zz670j. Gift of Mrs. Frederic Wolsey Pratt, 1959.*

Jennifer Summit also examines the 1670 edition of Julian's Long Text, exploring how medieval literature was consumed by the English reading public during the seventeenth century. Summit argues that, "Serenus Cressy's 1670 edition of Julian's *Revelation* participated in [a] medieval revival. . . ."[35] The reemergence of medieval authors, such as

[35] Jennifer Summit, "From Anchorhold to Closet: Julian of Norwich in 1670 and the Immanence of the Past," in *Julian of Norwich's Legacy: Medieval Mysticism and Post-*

Julian, may have been a "revival" to secular Catholics in England, but enclosed nuns had always transcribed in their convents numerous texts in their convents about the lives of the saints, such a such as St. Æthelthryth of Ely, contemporary holy men and women, and of course, other exemplary figures of the past. Distinctively English saints were popular during this time frame, rather than Continental figures. In "Veneration, Translation and Reform: The Lives of Saints and the English Catholic Community, c.1600-1642," Elizabeth Robertson asserts that the lives [*vitas*] published and circulated among Catholic circles in England reveal "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."[36] Instead of only persuading a Catholic audience to look back to their past as a guide for religious observances, these anonymously authored lives also demonstrate an emphasis on incorporating them in current, more general developments to devout individuals' spiritual practices. Robertson notes, "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. . . ."[37] Robertson's assessment can be connected to Cressy himself, Lady Mary Blount, as the addressee of Cressy's dedication of the printed Long Text, and Anne Cary, as all three used the figure of Julian for their own religious aims. Although Julian was an anchoress, her popularity

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Medieval Reception, eds. Sarah Salih and Denise N. Baker, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009, 31.

[36] Elizabeth Robertson, "Veneration, Translation and Reform: The Lives of Saints and the English Catholic Community, c.1600-1642" *Recusant History*, 32, no. 1, 2014, 39.

[37] Robertson, 43.

was apparent among both secular Catholics and, more importantly, exiled English nuns on the Continent, as is apparent by the multiple copies of the Long Text that were made in the various Benedictine communities.

Returning to the Sloane Manuscript, the address to the reader in the 1670 edition is also concerned with the accessibility and relevance of Julian of Norwich. After explaining that he preferred the "agreeable simplicity of the Stile" in Julian's work in contrast to what other individuals had suggested, de Cressy adds, "certain . . out of Fashion, Words or Phrases, I thought meet to explain in the margin."[38] Since Julian and her work are being reintroduced to a seventeenth-century Catholic audience, the language of the text is modernized, and Cressy has included glosses on Middle English words that no longer have any meaning or familiarity to his readers. Even though de Cressy attempted to find more information on Julian so his audience would know who she was and about her life, he confesses that he could not find anything "more than what she occasionally sprinkles in the Book itself."[39] Although de Cressy could not find any concrete information on Julian herself, he fashions her into a spiritual guide for Lady Mary.

After summarizing who Julian was and her extraordinary divine gift of her visions, Cressy goes on to encourage the reader to emulate Julian in her spirituality:

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[38] *Revelations, Julian, XVI. Revelations of Divine Love, shewed to a devout servant of Our Lord, called Mother Juliana ... Published by R. F. S. Cressy*, (1670), http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100026983797.0x000001.

[39] *Revelations, Julian, XVI. Revelations of Divine Love, shewed to a devout servant of Our Lord, called Mother Juliana ... Published by R. F. S. Cressy*, (1670), http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100026983797.0x000001.

> the Devout Reader, will, I hope, think himself obliged not to content himself with a fruitless admiring, but will, after her example, aspire to alike affectous, operative Contemplation of the meer Nothingnes of Creatures, of the inconceivable uglines of Sin, of the infinite tenderness & indefectibility of God's Love to his Elect, and of the omnipotency of Divine Grace working in them; to which Grace alone all Good in us is to be ascribed.[40]

Overall, de Cressy hopes that his audience will not simply admire Julian for her holiness and her visions, but also to strive to be like her in her hatred of sin and her glorifying of God for the love that He bears humankind. de Cressy desires that his "devout" audience recognize that this goodness which is ascribed to Julian comes from God. If Julian could hate sin and earnestly devote her life to God, then so can his audience, the "Elect" of early modern England. The phrase "Elect" has as a double meaning similar to the echoing effect of the "devout reader" in the Address to the Reader and the "devout servant" that is inscribed on the title page. de Cressy's phrase invoking the "elect" can mean spiritually chosen by God and it can also play on the idea that Catholics were God's "elect" since Catholicism in England was tolerated under Charles II. Thus far, I have focused on the Dedication to Lady Mary Blount and de Cressy's Address to the Reader, now I will examine more thoroughly Cressy's printed edition of the Long Text.

In conducting my examination of the Long Text, I wanted to determine whether de Cressy correctly glossed obscure Middle English words. My interest lies in viewing

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[40] *Revelations, Julian, XVI. Revelations of Divine Love, shewed to a devout servant of Our Lord, called Mother Juliana … Published by R. F. S. Cressy*, (1670), http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100026983797.0x000001.

how seventeenth-century readers interacted with Julian's late medieval text. Readers of the printed edition would have been cognizant of the fact that they were far removed in time of Julian herself. Furthermore, this exercise shows that a seventeenth-century reader, such as de Cressy, undoubtedly appreciated Julian and her Long Text, but nevertheless, would still be separated from Julian and her work by both time and culture. This exercise is an extension of the fierce debate between Stillingfleet and de Cressy with their competing versions of Julian. Nevertheless, the seventeenth-century reception of Julian and her Long Text is key in understanding how medieval authors and their texts become malleable for certain types of audience (as in the case of Stillingfleet's and de Cressy's competing versions of Julian).

The earliest passage in which this question arises appears in the first chapter of Julian's sixteen revelations in which the word "liking" is glossed to mean "pleasure."[41] The Middle English phrase "liking" or "līkinge" means, "A feeling or experience of pleasure enjoyment, delight."[42] Another example occurs in Chapter Fourteen, where de Cressy has glossed the word "medled" as "mingling." The Middle English Compendium states that the word "medled" means to "mix (things) together," which is similar to mingling.[43] As these examples demonstrate, de Cressy's definitions were accurate.[44]

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[41] After verifying on the Middle English Compendium website to see if "liking" actually meant "pleasure" to an early modern audience, I found that de Cressy was correct in his usage.

[42] *Middle English Compendium*, s.v. "Liking," accessed 10-31-21, liking and likinge - Middle English Compendium (umich.edu).

[43] *Middle English Compendium*, s.v. "Medling," accessed 10-31-2, medling and medlinge - Middle English Compendium (umich.edu).

[44] de Cressy may not have translated *all* the Middle English words correctly, but he was for the most part accurate.

Thus, when an early modern reader stumbled over an unfamiliar Middle English word while reading the text, de Cressy helpfully included a seventeenth-century modernization of what that particular word meant. de Cressy's glosses attempt to bridge the era between Julian of Norwich and the seventeenth-century readership. The glosses also draw attention to how de Cressy attempts to make Julian accessible to a wider and more general audience.

But how did Serenus de Cressy know enough Middle English to gloss his words into a seventeenth century modernization? Most scholars simply state that de Cressy glossed Middle English words from Julian's Long Text without further elaboration. However, in the wake of the dissolution of the monasteries (1536-1541), the priceless books and manuscripts that were found in monastic libraries were not only destroyed or lost, but many could also be found in antiquaries' or scholars' libraries, such as those located in the vast collection of Sir Robert Cotton.[45] A further exploration of how de Cressy and English readers of this time could have learned about languages such as Old English and Middle English from the former holdings of monastic libraries can be found in Janet Schrunk Ericksen's article "An Anglo-Saxon Psalter and an Early Modern Female Reader." Although Ericksen's article is about the Anglo-Saxon Stowe Psalter (British Library Manuscript Stowe 2), some of her suggestions can be applicable to Serenus de Cressy's knowledge of Middle English. Ericksen notes, "The transfer of monastic books into private hands is well attested, often for casual use but sometimes

[45] William Camden and Sir Robert Cotton founded the Royal Historical Society of Antiquities (act. 1586-1607). Camden was Sir Robert Cotton's teacher. See the *ODNB*'s entry: https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/72906.

with apparent historical interest."[46] During the early modern era, the historical interest in Middle English was used as a battleground to draw the lines of English canonicity and to underscore confessional differences. Catholic and Anglican polemicists argued against each other about the legitimacy and influence of medieval works on their readers. Like Old English, Middle English could also have been seen as "a functional present rather than a wholly separate and distant past."[47] Both of these suggestions indicate how de Cressy may have come into contact with Middle English and highlight its advantages for his purposes. Even if Ericksen's article does not directly include de Cressy, the circumstances of de Cressy's introduction to Middle English could be accounted for through dictionaries and lexigraphs produced at the time, as well as the monastic emphasis on copying and transmission of these texts.

Through the unknown exemplar that Anne Cary used to copy Julian's Long Text, Julian's work was transmitted within Cary's convent as a work of learning, comfort, and a link to the past. The nuns valued Julian's Long Text, as evidenced by a wide variety of extracts and copies that were made by various women religious (in particular Benedictine nuns). Not only did Anne Cary create a copy of the Long Text, her fellow Benedictine nuns, at various times in their monastic careers, either created extracts or copies of the Long Text as a guide or to instruct others.[48] With so many wide-ranging copies of

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[46] Janet Schrunk Ericksen, "An Anglo-Saxon Psalter and an Early Modern Reader," *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, Winter, 2014, 45, no. 4, 875-895, *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/4392185, 881.
[47] Ericksen, 889.
[48] See Julia Bolton Holloway's excellent website on Julian of Norwich: afterjulian (umilta.net).

Julian's work, Julian obviously resonated with women religious during the early modern period.

When de Cressy published his edition in 1670, Julian was brought back as an exemplar for domestic Catholicism in England. This edition also brought about a storm of controversy about when and where medieval authors had a place in the "English" canon and religious thought in Protestant England. However, even if the printed copy caused opposition among theologians, Julian herself returned home after being in "exile" due to the upheaval of the Protestant Reformation. De Cressy also returned to England after his own "exile" on the Continent, leaving the nuns of Paris behind. He published many more religious works and became a chaplain to Charles II's queen Catherine of Braganza.[49] We do not know what Anne Cary thought of the controversial debate between de Cressy and Stillingfleet or her reaction to the 1670 publication, since, sadly, she died a year later, in 1671.[50]

de Cressy's 1670 edition allowed for nineteenth century copies to proliferate, but before that time, Julian's text was mainly in circulation among English Catholics.[51] The Long Text brought Julian back into early modern English consciousness for a broader audience. Even now Julian and her Long Text are admired and studied by people as wide-

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[49] See Dorothy Kim on Serenus Cressy's later career, "Female Readers, Passion Devotion, and the History of MS Royal 17 A.Xxvii," *Journal of the Early Book Society for the Study of Manuscripts and Printing History,* 15 (2012), 189. https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/A321462296/LitRC?u=anon~424bd1c0&sid=googleScholar&xid=de195285.

[50] Wolfe, *Life and Letters*, XX.

[51] Barratt, 15. For Julian's early modern readers, see David J. Davis's *Experiencing God in Late Medieval and Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022).

ranging as renowned authors to university students, to private individuals. Studies on Julian today are as animated and exciting as they were in the nineteenth century. We have to thank nuns such as Anne Cary, and religious figures Fr. Augustine Baker and Serenus de Cressy, for keeping Julian of Norwich and her text available for an ever-growing readership.

The examination of the Long Text and the discussion of its complicated manuscript history causes us to ask a meaningful question: Why is Sloane MS 2499 so vital in studying women religious' manuscript culture? Anne Cary's copying of the Sloane MS reveals the rich and distinguished lineage of other fellow copyists, translators, and artists that proliferated manuscripts from the medieval era that continued into the early modern period. Copyists such as Anne Cary were engaged in a tradition that stretched back centuries to the monastic practice that copying manuscripts was a devotional act to God. Translating and copying manuscripts created a shared religious identity and furthered their monastic mission. In *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God; A Study of Monastic Culture*, Jean Leclercq contends that, "it is often affirmed that monasticism maintained tradition by copying, reading and explaining the world of the Fathers, and that is correct; but it did so also through *living* by what these books contained. This might be called an experiential mode of transmission."[52] Leclercq maintains that monastic tradition was expressed by copying, reading, and clarification of the past, but nuns and monks did not do these devotional acts by rote, but genuinely attempted to live by them. The same would have been said of Anne Cary and her

[52] Jean Leclercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God*, trans., Catherine Mahsrhi (New York: Fordham University Press, 1961), 135.

community at Our Lady of Good Hope. The nuns at Our Lady of Good Hope had at their disposal dozens of works from a variety of authors that would have continued to have grown with each successive generation of nuns. They did not just have their own library, but their own monastic archive.

Anne's friend, Fr. Augustine Baker, in his correspondence with Sir Robert Cotton, provides another piece of evidence of the value of medieval works were so valuable to both expatriate convents. Fr. Baker writes to Sir Robert Cotton to ask for copies of several suitable medieval manuscripts for the nuns to study:

> Their lives being contemplative the comon bookes of ye worlde are not for their purpose, and litle or nothing is in thes daies printed in English that is proper for them. There were manie English bookes in olde time whereof thoughe they have some, yet they want manie. And thereuppon I am in their behallfe become an humble suitor vnto you, to bestowe on them such bookes as you please, either manuscript or printed being in English, conteining contemplation Saints lives or other devotions. Hampooles [i.e., Richard Rolle's] workes are proper for them. I wishe I had Hilltons Scala perfectionis in latein; it woulde helpe the vnderstanding of the English; and some of them vnderstande latein.[53]

Baker's passage shows that Richard Rolle, hermit of Hampole, and Walter Hilton's *Scala Perfectionis* (*Scale of Perfection*) were being sought for use by the nuns for spiritual and

[53] "Survival of Mediaeval Spirituality among the Exiled English Black Monks," in *American Benedictine Review,* 25, no. 3, 1974, 291-92.

educational purposes. It is obvious that Fr. Baker found these two works in particular to be effective and beneficial for religious reading. His passage also reveals that some nuns were well-educated enough to read Latin, which was often taught to noble-born girls during the seventeenth century. Fr. Baker's comment that Hilton's work in Latin would be useful to an understanding "of the English" pertains to the Middle English copies of the text. The understanding of Middle English is likewise vital in comprehending Julian of Norwich's Long Text because this linguistic knowledge clarifies Julian's theological teaching.

Although in this case Fr. Baker makes the decision of what texts the nuns should read and copy from, in *Religious Women in Early Carolingian Francia: A Study of Manuscript Transmission & Monastic Culture*, Felice Lifshitz offers a different example that can be placed in direct contrast to Fr. Baker's judgments. Her argument is one that encapsulates how nun's chose their books and their decisions on what they decided to copy in their scriptorium. She contends that not only do women religious have "gendered networks of textual transmission" but, more vitally, their collections reflect agency:

> book production was not a matter of random chance. It required much time and immense resources, both financial and material. The entire process involved a series of deliberate choices concerning the specific texts to be acquired and copied, as well as substantial effort to identify potential sources of exemplars for copying. The process was governed by the values of the producing institution and

> conditioned by that institution's connections with other libraries and scriptoria… they deliberately selected those texts, alongside certain others.[54]

Fr. Baker's choices were acceptable, but the nuns at Our Lady of Good Hope also received them into their convent to copy, learn from, and have available in their library. Furthermore, these medieval authors such as Rolle, Hilton, and Julian of Norwich, connect the nuns of Our Lady of Good Hope to their shared monastic past. The unified religious past links to pre-Reformation women such as Leoba (?-d.782) and Clemence of Barking (fl. 1163-1200), who were famous nuns and writers. They add even more vibrancy to this study of Anne Cary and women religious' monastic manuscript culture. Not only were these medieval nuns' copyists, scribes, and composers, as Anne Cary was, but were also deeply influential to the shaping of British literature through keeping the monastic tradition alive, preserving texts, and allowing the next generation to have access to their wisdom and knowledge.

Women religious such as Leoba and Clemence of Barking were bringing glory to God through their work as copyists, illuminators, and scribes in the *scriptorium.*[55] Even though the repetitive task of copying manuscripts might be viewed as tedious to modern individuals, most nuns perceived this task as an act of religious devotion and of

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[54] Felice Lifshitz, *Religious Women in Early Carolingian Francia: A Study of Manuscript Transmission & Monastic Culture* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2014), 31.
[55] There has been a recent discovery of a German nun who was an illuminator. Archaeologists discovered that her teeth had flecks of lapis lazuli trapped in them, revealing that medieval nuns played a much larger role in illumination and writing than previously thought.

preservation of various works alive within their cultural memory, whether in their community, or printed in cosmopolitan areas such as Douai or Rome.

Although Anne Cary would have not known these medieval women, they were nevertheless a critical connection to not only the idea of a unified faith, but also a lineage of women religious who played a large role in transmitting and disseminating texts within their convents. Anne Cary, whether she realized it or not, was part of this crucial literary ancestry of accomplished and erudite women religious. Because Anne Cary copied the Long Text, she not only kept Julian of Norwich in the collective monastic memory, but also through the Long Text's publication in 1670 by Serenus de Cressy, brought Julian into British awareness once again as a holy woman and author. Due to the Long Text's publication, interest in Julian grew, and flourishing studies about her and her Long Text continues to this day. The importance of such women as Leoba or Clemence of Barking should not be undervalued. These women paved the way for women such as Anne Cary and her sisters to continue to write, copy, and study texts for themselves and succeeding generations in the monastic setting. Anne Cary's "literary heritage" will now be looked at in more detail in the last chapter.

Chapter 4

"Our Foremothers": Anne Cary's Medieval Literary Heritage of Women Religious' Scribes and Authors

The passage below is about Mechtilde of Diessen (Bavaria, d. 1160) and a miracle that she experienced. The story reveals not only literacy among medieval nuns, but also their scribal culture. Mechtilde, vexed that she could not repair her pen, begged God to intervene. God answered her prayer, and her pen never failed her throughout the rest of her life.

> Saint Mechtilde, as was said earlier, was in the habit of writing. She did so to avoid eating the bread of leisure, and in this especially she believed she greatly pleased her God. She frequently brooded like a mother hen over the writing of missals and psalters because she thought – or rather she hoped – to serve the divine more earnestly in doing this. Her hope did not betray her. For one day, when she still had work remaining, she wished to repair a blunt pen, but she did not succeed. The pen was very troublesome to prepare. She was knowledgeable about cutting quills, but once cut, this quill did not respond when tested. This caused in her not a little disturbance of her spirit. "Oh," she said, "if God would only send me his messenger, who could prepare this pen for me, for I have rarely suffered this difficulty, and it is now greatly troubling me." As soon as she said this, a youth appeared. He had a beautiful face, a shining robe, and sweet speech. He said, "What troubles you, O beloved?" And she said, "I spend my time uselessly, I toil for nothing, and I do not know how to prepare my pen." He said, "Give it to me, and perhaps you will not be hindered anymore by this knowledge when you wish to prepare it." She gave it to him, and he prepared it in such a way that it remained satisfactory for her until her death: she wrote with it for the many years that she lived. After this miracle, when she spent time writing, no one could write so well, no one so quickly, no one so readily, and no one so correctly, nor could anyone imitate in likeness her hand. The pen's preparation, as I said, was permanent, but the preparer disappeared and appeared in the work of which he was the maker. I have reported this just as the daughter of the duke of

> Merania, herself a holy virgin, has testified. She, reading this little work on the life of Mechtilde, asked to add what was missing.[1]

Although this passage is devoted to Mechtilde of Diessen, an Augustinian canoness, there are several noteworthy concepts that are related to how Anne Cary participated in the tradition of religious writing. First, writing was not only important to Mechtilde, but she also believed that writing could further serve God. Secondly, the youth, an angel in disguise, performed a miracle so Mechtilde's pen would never lose its keenness. The miracle of the pen revealed that God viewed the act of writing as a symbol of wisdom and understanding of spiritual matters. Thirdly, the pen's miraculous nature was permanent, and Mechtilde reaped its gains as the only one to wield the pen and produce excellent workmanship.

Although most of the women religious who will be discussed in this chapter did not have a supernatural pen to aid them in their writing, they all were exceptional authors and have greatly contributed to women's literary history. Leoba (?-d.782), Christina of Markyate (1096, d. after 1145) and Clemence of Barking (fl. 1163-1200) shaped the way nuns incorporated spirituality as the main themes of their work. The three women examined in this final chapter are a connection between the medieval past and the seventeenth century of Anne Cary's time. In the following paragraphs, the focus will be a general discussion of nuns' writing practices and how they have been commonly viewed by modern scholars.

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[1] Engelhard of Langheim, "De eo quod angelus ei pennan temperavit." Posnan, Biblioteka Raczynskich. Rkp156, 117r-v. Martha G. Newman, A Medieval Nun, Writing - Not Even Past.

In *Convent Chronicles: Women Writing about Women and Reform in the Late Middle Ages*, Anne Winston-Allen points out that monastic women's writing is not easily categorized which causes them to be forgotten or ignored. She comments, "The question of genre is complicated by the fact that even internally these texts are not of one type. Typically they are hodgepodge collections, combining letters, inventories, financial accounts, and general advice, interspersed piecemeal within a sort of chronicle format." Furthermore, she stresses that "women's institutional writings do not fall into traditional categories or qualify as literary texts in the conventional sense, they have long been excluded from the most broadly defined canon."[2] While Winston-Allen concentrates on women religious' chronicles, her overall statement is applicable to nuns and their writing as evidenced by the "hodgepodge" aspect of the seventeenth-century "collections" of nuns that belonged to Our Lady of Good Hope. Women religious such as Anne Cary, Barbara Constable, Justina Gascoigne, or Gertrude More copied edifying works for their own use and to further their spiritual growth within their community.[3] Works authored or composed by women religious have been perceived as not original, pastiches of various genres, or not as compelling as those written by male monastics. Winston-Allen's

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[2] Anne Winston-Allen, *Convent Chronicles: Women Writing about Women and Reform in the Late Middle Ages* (University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State, University Press, 2004), 15.

[3] For more information about Barbara Constable, please see this *ODNB* link: https://doi-org.ezproxy.mtsu.edu/10.1093/ref:odnb/105819 and this *ODNB* link for Gertrude More: https://doi-org.ezproxy.mtsu.edu/10.1093/ref:odnb/19178. Julia Bolton Holloway on her webpage "Julian of Norwich's Showing of Love: The Margaret Gascoigne / Bridget More Fragment (G) St Mary's Abbey, Colwich H18,, Folios 155-161" also offers information about Margaret Gascoigne and Bridget More: Julian of Norwich's Showing of Love: The Margaret Gascoigne/Bridget More Fragment, St Mary's Abbey, Colwich (umilta.net).

argument underscores the hybridity and wide assortment of nuns' works which have the risk of being ignored, disdained, or forgotten.

Lay contends that Catholic women's writing, both lay and women religious, should be studied with a new perspective. We have to lay aside outmoded viewpoints such as nun's work being dry or banal and study their works in new ways so we can discover them anew. Lay asserts that:

> Catholic women's manuscripts and printed books necessitate a fresh look at early modern religious and literary culture, and this book demonstrates how their politically incendiary and rhetorically powerful lyrics, prayers, polemics, and hagiographical lives can reshape our understanding of both the canonical and noncanonical literature of sixteenth-and seventeenth-century England.[4]

Since nuns' and married lay Catholic women's literature have been ignored or forgotten in contemporary times as well as in literary culture, Lay brings to the foreground that introducing Catholic women's literature back into focus is crucial. Her powerful statement directs our attention to not only Anne Cary's work as a scribe but also to such women as Leoba, Christina of Markyate, and Clemence of Barking as authors and role-models.

In The *Visual and the Visionary: Art and Female Spirituality in Late Medieval Germany*, Jeffrey Hamburger also points out that scholars have normally considered nuns' work as inferior or trite. Although his primary focus are nuns as visual artists

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[4] Lay, 22.

instead of authors, his commentary is still essential to studies that are centered on nuns. Hamburger declares, "material records, whether textiles or manuscripts [are] too often dismissed as *Nonnenarbeiten* (nuns' work), [falling] outside the conventional categories of 'high art.'"[5] Scholars' dismissal of women religious causes a skewed perception of them and their work. Disdain and neglect of nun's authorial (and artistic) works greatly impacts how scholars and a broader audience treats or recognizes them and the creative acts they perform. Hamburger's analysis challenges the pervasive idea that nuns' works are not significant, when they have a lot to offer in relation to women religious' cultural milieu.

Overall, Lay, Hamburger, and Winston-Allen push back against the deep-rooted belief that nuns' work is of little value. Instead, their scholarship offers a vivid and multilayered analysis of what nuns circulated and created within their monastic communities**.** By looking back to such prominent women as Leoba, Christina, and Clemence, we can discover Anne Cary's heritage of her literary foremothers. Now we turn to Leoba and her manifold successes in the missionary field and the realm of learning.

Leoba (d.782), Benedictine nun and saint, is not only a major participant the early medieval missionary endeavors but also a significant figure in the heritage of Anne Cary. Her legacy provided nuns a space to teach, lead, and guide a religious community. Lifshitz gives an overview of Leoba's accomplishments, her influence in Anglo-Saxon

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[5] Jeffrey F. Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary: Art and Female Spirituality in Late Medieval Germany* (New York: Zone Books, 1998), 35.

cultural memory, and her spiritual career as the Abbess of Tauberbischofsheim. Lifshitz summarizes Ruldolf of Fulda's (d. 865) *vita* of Leoba, which is where we gain most of our information about her activities and achievements:

> Rudolf's Leoba was the very epitome of a Christian teacher, knowledgeable in all aspects of Christian literate culture, including scientific methods of biblical study. She was also a great missionary, called to the life by prophetic designation; trained for that life through the study of 'the holy fathers,' canonical decrees, and 'the laws of the entire ecclesiastical order;' and finally confirmed in that life by Archbishop Boniface, who even left to her his cowl (and with it, perhaps some of his official authority).[6] Rudolf wrote the *vita* of St. Leoba, composed before 837, on the orders of the famous theologian and monk, Rabanus Maurus. Since Leoba died in 779, Rudolf did not have first-hand knowledge of Leoba but gathered his information through people who knew her. He tells us he gained his information from the nuns at Tauberbischofsheim and the written notes of Mago, a monk of Fulda.[7] Rudolf states that his *vita* of Leoba was dedicated to "Hadamout, virgin of Christ," so that she would "have something to read with pleasure and imitate with profit."[8] Leoba is an admirable figure to imitate for Hadamout. Furthermore, Rudolf dedicated Leoba's *vita* to Hadamout, and his dedication shows a positive relationship between him and Hadamout. Rudolf and Hadamout are keeping

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[6] Lifshitz, 14.
[7] C.H. Talbot, *The Anglo-Saxon Missionaries in Germany: Being the lives of SS Willibrord, Boniface, Sturm, Leoba and Lebuin. Together with the Hodoeporicon of St. Willibald And a Selection From the Correspondence of St. Boniface.* London: Sheed and Ward, 1981, 204.
[8] Talbot, 205.

> Leoba in their cultural memory by setting her story down on parchment. Thus, people such as Hadamout can imitate her holy ways of living.[9] Rudolf and Hadamout's relationship can be reflected in the seemingly collaborative association between the early modern figures of Serenus Cressy and Anne Cary. The version of Anne's copy of Julian's Long Text became printed under Cressy's supervision.

The memories of the women who were close to Leoba were worthy of remembrance. Rudolph states, "I have learned from the writings of others, venerable men who heard them from four of her disciples, Agatha, Thecla, Nana and Eoloba. Each one copied them down according to his ability and left them as a memorial to posterity."[10] Watt contends that Rudolf's work on Leoba might "in its appropriation of female sources, be described as overwritten . . . ."[11] Despite this, it is still essential to note that Rudolf did include the names of Leoba's closest companions who are referred to as her disciples. Nevertheless, to cite his source material, he did incorporate their names as important connections to Leoba. Rudolf's inclusion of her disciples proves that women's testimonies were credible, and he was confident in using their stories for his own use to create Leoba's *vita.* There is speculation that the community at Tauberbischofsheim had their own *vita* of Leoba which was valuable to the nuns as well. The memory and legacy of Leoba symbolizes how important she was to women religious. The care and dedication

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[9] Diane Watt in her webpage article states that "Hadamout" is "usually identified as Hathumod of Gandersheim (c. 840-874)"; see link for further information: Anglo-Saxon Women Writers and their Manuscripts in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. | Postcards from the Archives (surrey.ac.uk).
[10] Talbot, 205.
[11] Watt,4.

that nuns and monks held towards the preservation of significant works in a religious setting emphasizes the works' value and meaning. This is also evident in an early modern setting as Anne Cary took care to copy out Julian's Long Text, and her chaplain, Serenus de Cressy, published an edition based on her work. The written record of Leoba's *vita* as well as Anne Cary's copying of Julian's Long Text keeps them alive in the cultural memory.

We first hear of Leoba when she sends a letter to Boniface asking him to pray for her parents. However, of interest are her literary talents. She writes to Boniface, "I ask thee too, deign to correct the homely style of this letter, and to send me for a model some words of thine. . . ."[12] Even though Leoba describes her letter writing as "homely," she is an eloquent writer. She then tells Boniface she also has written him a poem, "These little verses below I tried to compose according to the rules of poetic art."[13] Leoba downplays her skills, but her words nevertheless reveal her learning. She then adds, "The art I have learned from the teaching of Eadburga, who continues without ceasing to search into the divine law."[14] Eadburga, is not only Leoba's instructor, but is also erudite.[15] Leoba's letter to Boniface shows Leoba and Eadburga are well-educated in poetry and biblical exegetics. Leoba and Anne are products of their literary culture. Both wrote literary works, such as poetry to praise God, and to showcase their talents among the members of their communities. In *Women Latin Poets: Language, Gender and Authority from*

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[12] Edward Kylie, *The English Correspondence of Saint Boniface: Being for the Most Part Letters Exchanged Between the Apostle of the Germans and His English Friends* (New York: Cooper Square Publishers, 1966), 111.
[13] Kylie, 111.
[14] Kylie, 111.
[15] This Eadburga may the same Eadburga who sent Boniface a book with golden letters.

Antiquity to the Eighteenth Century, Jane Stevenson writes that Leoba's poetry to Boniface reveals that "instruction in Latin metrics was part of her convent curriculum" and her poem to Boniface was written in "hexameters, [and] strongly dependent on Aldhelm."[16] Leoba's use of hexameters shows her proficiency in poetic verse and her talent as a burgeoning poet.

In "To Have Her Children With Her': Elizabeth Cary and Familial Influence," Wynne-Davies also points out how Anne Cary was creatively influenced by her mother when she composed her own poetry. Davies notes that "There are. . . closer parallels between Cary and Anne since both wrote poetry that adopted a dramatic tone and significantly foregrounded female roles." Furthermore, not only does Anne Cary feminize her translation of the psalms, but Wynne-Davies also notes that, "trial, danger, escape, and salvation recur throughout Anne's psalm translations. . . ."[17] Leoba also used poetry to praise God, talk about emotions such as loneliness, and to engage with Boniface in correspondence. Overall, Leoba and Anne utilized spiritual poetry to display their skills and to make a statement about their faith to their audience.

Leoba's superb achievements and her marked presence in Anglo-Saxon history is critical in understanding Anne Cary's monastic literary heritage. Leoba may not have been known by Anne Cary or the nuns at Our Lady of Good Hope, yet she was a symbol of monastic literary culture. Leoba was, like Julian, an emblem of England's former

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[16] Jane Stevenson, *Women Latin Poets, Language, Gender, and Authority from Antiquity to the Eighteenth century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 93.
[17] Marion Wynne-Davies, "To Have Her Children With her': Elizabeth Cary and Familial Influence," in *The Literary Career and Legacy of Elizabeth Cary, 1613-1680*, ed. Heather Wolfe (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave McMillan, 2007), 227.

Catholic faith. Leoba played a major role in Anne's literary heritage as she was a matchless role-model in the Anglo-Saxon cultural memory. To this day, Leoba is still a notable figure and a link in the long line of women religious that played note-worthy roles in both mission-work and monastic education.

We turn now to Anglo-Norman England and bring our attention to another significant figure in the monastic heritage of Anne Cary: Christina of Markyate. Unlike Leoba's two *vitas* (one lost, one written by Rudolf of Fulda) which concentrated on Leoba's manifold accomplishments, Christina's *life* was meant to be the start of a canonization process. However, that never came about.[18] Nevertheless, the twelfth century *Life of Christina of Markyate* is still viewed as essential in understanding women religious' monastic literary history. Watt challenges the idea that texts written only for women or dedicated to women are of importance and further argues for the study of works that are also *about* women. Such is the case of Christina of Markyate's *vita*. Watt declares the value of "writing *for* and *about* women ('women-oriented')."[19] It is vital to bring attention to writings that were authored by women as well as those works who were addressed to women, women who were a part of a mixed audience, and collaborations between a woman and a male scribe, because "writing cannot be understood in isolation from its intended and/or actual readership or audience, an audience that for some [of these texts] may be not exclusively female but male or mixed."[20] Medieval writing that

[18] Christina was forgotten soon after her death because of waning interest in her life as a model of spiritual emulation.
[19] Watt, 1.
[20] Watt, 2.

was centered on women, for women, and about women, was not located in a vacuum, but part of a thriving culture that had a diverse audience.

Christina of Markyate's *vita* is *about* an admirable woman, and her *vita* can be used to explore a marginalized nun of the early medieval era. As Stephanie Hollis and Jocelyn Wogan-Browne assert in their article "St Albans and Women's Monasticism: Lives and their Foundations in Christina's World," that "Christina of Markyate can be seen as representative, perhaps, of many other under-recorded female religious lives"[21] Christina was forgotten after her death except for her presence in her *vita* (her *vita* was only discovered in the 1950s by C.H. Talbot), but as Hollis and Wogan-Browne also contend, Christina is a type of representative of nearly-forgotten or ignored nuns. However, I would further declare Christina is also representative of a woman who resolved to live her life for God under difficult circumstances brought about by her family and friends. Seventeenth-century nuns, such as Anne Cary, have also been marginalized from current literary scholarship. Anne Cary was also pressured by well-meaning friends to give up her Catholic faith to return to the reformed one of her family. The figure of Christina can be used to shed further light on women religious from the early modern period who also valiantly endured their trials in the face of opposition and pressure.

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[21] Stephanie Hollis and Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, "St Albans and Women's Monasticism: Lives and their foundations in Christina's World," eds. Samuel Fanous and Henrietta Leyser, in *Christina of Markyate: A Twelfth-Century Holy Woman* (London: Routledge, 2005), 43.

Another valuable document that centers on Christina is the St. Albans Psalter. The St. Alban's Psalter is a unique document which was either created for Christina or was modified for her use and was later meant to have a broader audience. Both the *vita* of Christina (London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius E.I, volume 2, fols. 145r–167v) and the St. Albans Psalter (Hildesheim, Dombibliothek, MS St Godehard 1) are treasured resources that describe who Christina was and her impact on her local community and beyond.[22]

The Tiberius version of Christina of Markyate's *vita* was nearly burnt in 1731 during the devastating fire at Ashburnham house. Though almost destroyed, it is the most complete account of her *vita*. However, the *vita* is either missing its conclusion or has been left unfinished. On the other hand, the St. Albans Psalter is complete and beautifully illuminated. Examining both the *vita* of Christina of Markyate and the St. Albans Psalter gives a clearer and more nuanced view of this remarkable woman and the religious culture of twelfth-century England. As the *vita* and the St. Albans Psalter are used to

[22] Diane Watt also notes that there is another source for Christina of Markyate: "Extracts of the Life of Christina of Markyate also appear in another St Albans' manuscript, London, British Library, MS Cotton Claudius E.IV, which dates to the late fourteenth or early fifteenth centuries. Like Cotton Tiberius E.I, Cotton Claudius E.IV is now bound in two volumes. The extracts of Christina's Life are part of a continuation of Matthew Paris's mid-thirteenth century *Gesta abbatum monasterii Sancti Albani* written by Thomas Walsingham in the late fourteenth century which is found in volumes 1-2, fols. 97v–321r. The extracts themselves appear in volume 1, fols.111v-113r. These sections differ slightly but significantly from the surviving Life and therefore attest to the existence of another copy of the Life, which has subsequently disappeared (Gesta abbatum, Vol. 1, ed. Riley, 98-105). They also refer directly to a copy (possibly their immediate source) held at Markyate Priory, where Christina was founding prioress (Gesta abbatum, Vol.1, ed. Riley, 104-105)." See this link for further information: Scorched, Preserved, Erased: Manuscripts Connected to Christina of Markate and her Priory | Postcards from the Archives (surrey.ac.uk).

contextualize Christina of Markyate, the death-notice of Anne Cary and her "spiritual songs" she composed can also be used as a way to better understand Anne's life.

Although all of the illustrations in the St. Albans Psalter are exquisite and deserve an in-depth analysis, the main illustration I wish to concentrate on is the Psalm 105 initial.[23]

Figure 4.1 "C" initial of St. Albans Psalter. St. Albans. Dombibliothek Hildesheim, HS St.God. 1 (Property of the Basilica of St. Godehard, Hildesheim), p. 285.

Above the initial "C" for "Confitemini," are the Latin words "Parce tuis queso monachis clementia Ihesu" translated as ("Spare your monks I beseech you, merciful kindness of Jesus.")[24] In the "C" initial, the colors are vivid shades of blue, yellow, green, and red. Furthermore, the drama of the scene shifts from the huddled monks behind Christina, who is shown to be slightly larger than the group of four, to Christ himself, who is the

[23] Jane Geddes, *The Saint Albans Psalter: A Book for Christina of Markyate* (London: The British Library, 2005), 285
[24] Geddes, 95.

largest figure. Christina has been placed in the middle by the unknown artist and is seen as being an intercessor for the monks of St. Albans. Geddes further explains that even though the initial portrays contemporary events, the illustration and its words

> relate to psalm 105 and provides a coherent precursor to psalm 106. Psalm 105 concerns Moses interceding between the wrath of God and the iniquitous Israelites, 'He said that he would destroy them had not Moses his chosen stood before him in the breach, to turn away his wrath. . . . Save us, O Lord our God, and gather us from among the heathen. Christina stands in the place of Moses.'[25]

Christina as Moses points to her intercessory presence and her relationship with the monks and Christ. If we look closer at the illustration, we notice that Christ, Christina, and the monks have their hands bound up in red string, possibly referring to Christina's mediatory qualities and the tight-knit bond she shares with the monks and Christ. The relationship between Christina, the monks, and Christ leads to a larger spiritual community. Christina as the leader and intercessor of the community, offers women such as Anne Cary, a powerful example of just what a nun could do for her community. In the mold of Christina, Anne Cary's beneficial presence within Our Lady of Good Hope was to "helpe and assist the Community. . . ."[26] Anne gave her valuable assistance to found the Paris community while utilizing her influence to procure money and support. Both of these women proved to be capable and benevolent supporters of their communities.

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[25] Geddes, 96.
[26] Wolfe, *Life and Letters*, 483.

The *vita* of Christina of Markyate adds another perspective of her dominant presence among the community at St. Albans. Although she did not compose this work, her voice still rings throughout its text as a beacon of a woman committed to devoting her life to God. Parts of Christina's life are patterned after a saint's *vita*. In *Forgetful of Their Sex: Female Sanctity and Society, C.A. 500-1100*, Jane Tibbets Schulenburg states:

> The 'typical' Life contains a combination of the following biographical information: the saint's origins, parents, and social status; birth, infancy, and adolescence (often accompanied by a life crisis); the adoption of a religious vocation within the cloister or the decision to pursue a holy life 'in the world'; and the advancement and recognition of the candidate for sanctity within her chosen career. The *vita* also provides a catalog of the satin's virtues, temptations, or trials . . . ."[27]

Even if Christina is portrayed in an idealistic manner, her life can be an inspiration to others. Her life is a model of virtue and faith. Because of Christina, who remained firm in her dedication to God despite her family's contempt, Anne Cary could also resolve to become a nun and remain a faithful Catholic. In "The Lady Falkland: Her Life," Anne's sister Lucy gives a sense of their former friend, William Chillingworth, and his strategies of persuading the siblings to return to the Church of England.[28] Lucy wrote, "he deceiving them with St ~~Paul~~ Peter saying, euery one aught to be able to giue a reason of

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[27] Jane Tibbets Schulenburg, *Forgetful of Their Sex: Female Sanctity and Society, C.A. 500-1100*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 40.

[28] William Chillingworth (1602-1644) was also close to Lucius Cary, second Viscount Falkland (1609/10-1643), the eldest son of Elizabeth Cary. See the *ODNB*'s link for more information about his life: https://doi-org.ezproxy.mtsu.edu/10.1093/ref:odnb/5308.

his faith. . . ."[29] Even if Chillingworth did not succeed in causing the siblings to reject their faith, such temptations were considered a part of the path to spiritual perfection. Christina remained steadfast in her faith, as did Anne as she endured her trials.

During a particularly difficult time when Christina's parents forbade her to visit St. Albans or speak with religious people, the anonymous author again repeats, "There is no doubt that from this moment she was worthy to be signed by the name of her Creator, in that thereafter she was called Christina. . ."[30] Christina's experiences of her parents abuse and cruelty are patterned after her namesake, St. Christina. St. Christina was so important to Christina that she included her feast day in the calendar of the St. Albans Psalter (July 24th.)[31] The early virgin martyr was mistreated and vilified by her parents for her dedication to follow Christ, just as Christina was by her family and those around her. In keeping with the theme of saintly models, Christina also narrated the story of Cecilia and Valerian to her husband, Beorhtred. Christina narrates the tale of Cecilia and Valerian to encourage her husband to remain chaste in their marriage. She "recounted to him…the story of St Cecilia and her husband Valerian, telling him how at their death they were worthy to receive crowns of undefiled chastity from the hands of an angel." She further exhorted Beorhtred to "follow their example" so that they would "become their companions in eternal glory."[32] For Christina, Cecilia and Valerian were worthy models to emulate in her marriage with Beorhtred.

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[29] Wolfe, *Life and Letters*, 170.
[30] Talbot, 15.
[31] Geddes, 91-92.
[32] Talbot,11-12.

Anne also had a particular saintly model whose words she appeared to rely on with some frequency. Anne's death-notice states that she repeated "these words of Blessed Mary of the Incarnatin, viz: Prepare my harte Lord, prepare my hart, (but to what) to the crose, to anguish, to disdain, to afflictions, and to al that it shal please thee to send me; only prepare my heart. . . ."[33] As Christina had the stories of the saints to console or encourage her, Anne used a fellow seventeenth-century holy woman to guide her in her spiritual path. Furthermore, Christina and Anne use saintly figures to aid them spiritually. For Christina, early martyrs such as Cecilia and Valerian were used to persuade her husband to remain chaste and were exemplars of godliness, while Anne frequently voiced the words of the Blessed Mary of the Incarnation as a way to embrace God's will.

Since Christina's path was being guided by God to virtue and chastity, she desired to remain a virgin for the glory of God. She does this by performing two different things. First, she secretly makes a mark on the structure of St. Albans, and secondly, she makes a personal vow to God to remain a virgin. She not only talks with Christ intimately, but also she "wished to share in their [the monks as St. Albans] fellowship" and "scratched the sign of the cross with one of her fingernails on the door so as to mark that in that monastery in particular she stowed away her heart's desire."[34] Christina's yearning to belong to the monastery at St. Albans shows that she wants to be a part of that specific lifestyle. Furthermore, this incident reveals how devoted she is to maintain her virginity

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[33] Wolfe, *Life and Letters*, 487. Wolfe also adds that Blessed Mary of the Incarnation was the professed name of Barbe Avrillot (1566-1618) who was instrumental in bringing the Discalced Carmelites to France, 487, footnote 412.
[34] Talbot. 5.

even at such a young age. Her mark on one of the monastery's doors emphasizes her determination to become a nun and a symbol to prove that she is a "Christian," intent on knowing God intimately. On the other hand, Anne initially had no desire to be a nun. Her death-notice states that she was "much pleased with the gaity and delights of such a life [at court]," but a change occurred during the "flower of her age and delights of those worldly satisfactions," because it "pleased Almighty God to giue her so feruent a vocation to seeke after more durable and solid Joys that forthwith she resolued to take leave of the Queen and Court. . . ."[35] Once God had transformed her attitude, Anne resolutely followed God's will and devoted her life to Him. Although Anne and Christina's priorities were different, both women were noted for their devout behavior and pious lifestyles.

The monk who wrote the *vita* of Christina of Markyate, described her life as "simple."[36] She lived fearlessly as one who single-mindedly chose to follow her calling as a woman of God. Unfortunately, Christina never became a canonized saint and was quickly forgotten by the community at St. Albans after the death of her friend and mentor, Abbot Geoffrey de Gorham. However, her story lives on in her *vita*. She is an inspiring and remarkable figure as a woman religious in the literary heritage of Anne Cary. Because of Christina, women could have the courage to stand firm in their desire to dedicate their lives to God, even under the most difficult of circumstances. Christina's *vita* offers us even now a story of spirit, hope, and resolve. It is my belief that Anne Cary would have admired Christina's staunchness even in the face of opposition from those

[35] Wolfe, *Life and Letters*, 480.
[36] Talbot, 70.

closest to her. After all, Christina's community viewed her as astonishing for her holiness and strength, and even today she is viewed as an exceptional woman. Christina became more well-known due to the discovery of C.H. Talbot in 1959. Anne is not as well-known nor are most of her seventeenth-century religious sisters. Nevertheless, Anne and her fellow nuns have steadily become more recognized, but there is much more work to be done.

We now turn from Christina of Markyate to Clemence of Barking. Clemence was an Anglo-Norman Benedictine nun and author of the "Life of St. Catherine" (of Alexandria) and perhaps of the "Life of St. Edward the Confessor." Like Julian of Norwich, Clemence's life is obscure, and scholars mainly know her because of her signature at the conclusion of the "Life of St. Catherine," wherein she states, "I who have translated her life am called Clemence by name. I am a nun of Barking, for love of which I took this work in hand."[37] Clemence has been perceived as one of the rare English-based women writing during the twelfth century. Her writing is eloquent, intellectually stimulating, and appealing.

In her essay "Clemence and Catherine: The *Life of St Catherine* in its Norman and Anglo-Norman Context" Diane Auslander underscores how Clemence crafted a *vita* of St Catherine that is markedly different from the Latin Vulgate version. She states that: "Clemence inserts her own voice not only to emphasize certain aspects she thought

[37] Jocelyn Wogan-Browne and Glyn. S. Burgess, *Virgin Lives and Holy Deaths: Two Exemplary Biographies for Anglo-Norman Women* (London: Everyman, 1996), 43.

important, but also to promote new concepts and even introduce new characters."[38] Clemence's voice shines through the text. Her Catherine is vibrant and eloquent, and Vincent Gillespie calls her the "literate thinking woman's saint of choice."[39] Therefore, I argue that, through Clemence's representation of St. Catherine, she offers an inspiring model of female faith and wisdom to her women-led community. Clemence's focus on Catherine of Alexandria is quite similar to the female-focused works of female saints and holy figures who inspired Anne's community. Female saints and other holy women were viewed as examples of authority and power to others on their spiritual journey. Clemence proves that women religious can write, be intelligent, and proud of their learning, just as Anne was known as a skilled linguist and author of many religious works. Even though Anne would not have known of Clemence of Barking and her arguably "feminist" text of St Catherine, I believe that Anne would have been pleased to know of a preceding female author who also wrote on similar topics.

Clemence's statement in the beginning of her *vita*: "All those who know and understand what is good have a duty to demonstrate it wisely so that by the fruit of its goodness others may be encouraged to do good deeds and to want what is good, as far as they are able" emphasizes the idea that writing religious works are edifying actions. Furthermore, the passage encourages women, whether monastic or lay, to use their talents

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[38] Diane Auslander, "Clemence and Catherine: The *Life of St Catherine* in its Norman and Anglo-Norman Context," in *Barking Abbey and Medieval Literary Culture: Authorship and authority in a Female Community*, edited by Jennifer N. Brown and Donna Alfano Bussel (Woodbridge Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2012,) 166.
[39] Vincent Gillespie, "Venus in Sackcloth: The Digby *Mary Magdalen* and *Wisdom Fragment*," in *The Oxford Handbook of Tudor Drama*, ed. Thomas Betteridge and Greg Walker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 73.

for good. I would view this statement as an assertion that Clemence is urging the monastic women in her community to use their talents for good so that others may be led to the path of righteousness.

Saint Catherine of Alexandria was an early Christian saint, and according to legend, her cult began at Mt. Sinai where she was buried. Her origins are shadowy, and her great popularity exploded when her *vita* was composed in the *Golden Legend* by Jacobus de Voragine in 1260. Auslander points out that "the saint did not, however, seem to have particular significance for Barking Abbey prior to Clemence's literary endeavors on her behalf, although it is likely that a copy of the *Vulgata* was available there."[40] Even though Catherine was associated with Norman and Anglo-Norman rulers, she was still a recognizable saint within England during this period. As with most medieval women, Auslander adds, "Clemence's background and social standing are unknown, but her skilled use of the French of England indicates that she was Anglo-Norman or had close Norman ties."[41] Since Clemence was popular with Norman royalty, Clemence's alleged Anglo-Norman origins may be why she wrote a *vita* of St. Catherine of Alexandria.

Clemence's choice of St. Catherine of Alexandria may also point to Barking Abbey's prominence in England as a religious site and its pioneering literary culture. The figure of St. Catherine also reaffirmed the aristocratic and erudite background of the Barking nuns as she is both a king's daughter and so wise that she defeated fifty clerks in a philosophical debate. Even the choice of language, Anglo-Norman, was important to

[40] Auslander, 168.
[41] Auslander, 169.

the women who lived within this trilingual culture, as Auslander states, "For Barking, the use of the French vernacular was a hallmark of its alliance with the powerful ruling elite of England and of its literary reputation in the twelfth century."[42] The choice of the Anglo-Norman language and a saint who was promoted by the Norman elite reveals Clemence's approach to fostering a lively and intellectual space within her community. Donna Alfano Bussell and Jennifer N. Brown contend in their introduction to *Barking Abbey and Medieval Literary Culture: Authorship and Authority in a Female Community* that the reputation of the nuns and the house work together:

> Clemence's Catherine stayed at Barking; they [the Nun of Barking's *Edouard*] were excerpted more than once, demonstrating that the reputation of Barking Abbey reached beyond East Anglia. The manuscript distribution of Barking texts testifies to the community's wider influence, as suggested by the Campsey manuscript and by Delbert Russell's study of the continental prose *remaniement* of Clemence's *Catherine*.[43]

Bussell and Brown's argument shows both Clemence and the "Nun of Barking" composed works which held a strong appeal to others beyond their monastery. Because of the copies which were made by other individuals and communities, Clemence in particular would have been known as a great author and her work(s) worthy of remembrance and circulation. The nuns' compositions from Barking proved that their

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[42] Auslander, 171.
[43] Donna Alfano Bussell and Jennifer N. Brown, "Introduction: Barking's Lives, the Abbey, and its Abbesses," in *Barking Abbey and Medieval Literary Culture: Authorship and Authority in a Female Community* (Woodbridge Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2012), 22.

writing was viewed as meaningful to others due to the many excerptions and copies which were made by local and non-local individuals. In the early modern era, even though Anne's works were not copied far and wide, they still proved to be invaluable and significant because the anonymous author of her death-notice mentioned them by name. Circulation, whether within one's own convent, or beyond, proved that religious works held wide appeal and appreciation by others.

The background of Clemence's literary and spiritual culture is important in understanding her composition of St. Catherine of Alexandria. As Clemence further states, "I intend to tell of someone who truly loved him and to translate her life, transposing it from Latin into the vernacular, so that it will be more pleasing to those who hear it."[44] By making Catherine's *vita* accessible to her community, her story will spread, and her miracles will be known to others, thereby encouraging them to live a holy life. Not only does Catherine's *vita* have the potential to inspire Clemence's fellow nuns, but also has the ability to persuade and influence others to follow Christianity. A work's ability to impact and inspire can also be related to Anne Cary's death-notice. Anne's death-notice was used as a resource for other nuns to study and to emulate, just as Clemence's *vita* of Catherine would have been utilized by the Barking nuns and other devout individuals. Both Clemence's Catherine and Anne Cary have the potential to encourage and transform other readers to grow in their faith.

The focus on Catherine of Alexandria as independent, wise, and a woman of great power would appeal to the aristocratic and courtly milieu of Clemence's fellow nuns. The

[44] Wogan-Browne and Burgess, 3.

emphasis on Catherine's wisdom and knowledge is made manifest, "He [her father the king] had taught her letters and how to argue a case and defend her position. There was no dialectician on earth who could defeat her in an argument."[45] Catherine's knowledge and keen rhetorical skills encourage the idea that Clemence believed her own nuns could also learn dialectics, defend their position with skill and sense, and defeat their opponents in debate.

After Maxentius forces the populace of Alexandria to sacrifice to the gods, Catherine immediately goes to confront him about his error. Her confrontation is viewed not as transgressive, but bold. She does not hide herself away within her kingdom or ignore the cruel rule of Maxentius, but she defies his pride and malice. Clemence writes that Catherine "would take the king to task and prove to him by logic that he and his law were worthy of condemnation. Confident in God and in her own intelligence, she entered the temple without fear."[46] Catherine uses logic to condemn Maxentius's evil ways, and her self-assurance paves the way for her conflict with Maxentius and the clerks who intend to rhetorically destroy her. As Tara Foster argues, "the version by Clemence of Barking stands apart [from those of Gui and Aumeric] in its treatment of the saint as an exemplary speaking woman."[47] Instead of being humiliated by her pagan opponents, Catherine employs several well-reasoned and careful arguments to persuade Maxentius and the clerks that their pagan beliefs are worthless and insult God as Creator. A passage

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[45] Wogan-Browne and Burgess, 5.
[46] Wogan-Browne and Burgess, 6.
[47] Tara Foster, "Clemence of Barking: Reshaping the Legend of Catherine of Alexandria," in *Women's Writing,* 12 no. 1, 13-27, 2005, DOI: 10.1080/09699080500200246, 15.

that echoes Clemence's words in the beginning of the *vita* are related to the concept of goodness and truthfulness: "No one should choose error if he cannot put it to good advantage."[48] Error is wrong and foolish in comparison to the illumination of truth, contends Catherine. Clemence illustrates the quandary that Maxentius is in as he "finds himself confronted by a powerful woman advocating that he should abandon his law."[49] Clemence's phrase emphasizes Catherine's intelligence, power, and confidence in her God. Her skills and talents put men such as Maxentius in an untenable position because she reveals their foolishness and arrogance. The nuns of Clemence's community at Barking may have been persuaded through Clemence's portrayal of Catherine that their ability to sway intractable figures from their sinfulness and to embrace Christ's teachings would have affirmed their spiritual potency. Foster further adds that "Clemence draws a parallel between herself and her heroine that lends authority to her own use of words and situates her as the legitimate inheritor of Catherine's discursive prowess."[50] Because Catherine is given the authority to debate with men, Clemence believes she has the same right as well. Clemence appreciates Catherine's knowledge of the liberal arts but also points out that such knowledge is viewed as paltry if not coupled with the knowledge of salvation. Maxentius can't fathom Catherine's choice to follow God, as she explains:

> But when I heard the substance of my beloved's gospel, I came to hold their learning in very low esteem, for I am completely devoted to him. I have given all

[48] Wogan-Brown and Burgress, 7.
[49] Wogan Browne and Burgess, 8.
[50] Foster, 15.

> my love to him, in return for his love which pleases me so much, him alone I worship in the Trinity, three persons in unity, for he alone is God and saviour.[51]

Catherine's breadth of learning pales beside the offer of salvation, and her priorities have shifted from philosophical matters to spiritual ones.

Catherine's knowledge of philosophy and Classical knowledge are set aside for devotion to Christ as the "Beloved." Such passionate statements made by Catherine astound and infuriate Maxentius, who foreshadows the martyrdom of Catherine when he insists, "If she then refuses to obey us or serve our gods, I shall seek such torments for her that her arguments will be of little worth."[52] Indeed, an angel tells Catherine that she will be martyred for Christ's sake since she rose to his defense: "you will receive a crown of glory" and "You will dwell for ever in the choir of virgins, where you will behold your spouse for evermore."[53] Through Catherine's persuasive rhetoric and glorious death for Christ, many "will abandon their pagan beliefs."[54] Because of Catherine's dedication to the "true" faith, the gospel will spread to others as the clerks assert, "since our mothers bore us, we have never heard a woman speak so, or debate so wisely. She is not revealing foolish things to us, but matters full of truth."[55] Their assertation reveals that Catherine brings truth, goodness, and light to the pagans of her homeland. She is not leading people astray by false beliefs, but to the authentic truth of Christ and his salvation.

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[51] Wogan-Browne and Burgess, 9.
[52] Wogan-Browne and Burgess, 9.
[53] Wogan-Browne and Burgess, 11-12.
[54] Wogan-Browne and Burgess, 11.
[55] Wogan-Browne and Burgess, 19.

As Catherine's skillful rhetoric about Christ led the clerks to turn away from paganism, through her devotion to Christ, she also challenged traditional familial values. Sharing the good news of salvation with the wife of Maxentius, she then encourages the queen "not to fear this mortal husband. You must not fear his power, or even desire his love. But place all your desire in him who can condemn or save you, and who in exchange for these transient pains will give us everlasting joys."[56] Instead of being loyal to her earthly husband, Catherine persuades the queen to center her desires on Christ. Catherine's exhortations for the queen to give up her husband and his love is similar to Christ's statement: "And every one that hath left house, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands for my name's sake, shall receive an hundredfold, and shall possess life everlasting."[57] Furthermore, such a challenge of authority is well-evident in the life of Elizabeth Cary, Anne's mother, since she made the decision to become Catholic. In a letter from Alexander Cook to Archbishop James Ussher, he states that Elizabeth Cary had become, in the early modern phrase "a Papist." He writes:

> Mr Mountague, Mr Cosens, and the Colledge (as it is called) at Durham-house, are sensible of the disgrace which they sustain by reason of her fall. Mr Mountague told her, That dying an English Papist, she died in the state of Damnation. Mr Coosens told her, That she had sinned damnably in departing from that Church wherein she was born and baptized, before she had consulted with the Governors thereof.[58]

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[56] Wogan-Browne and Burgess, 28.
[57] Douay-Rheims Bible, Matt.19:29.
[58] Wolfe, *Life and Letters* "Alexander Cook to Archbishop James Ussher," 264-265.

Although her friends condemned her decision, Elizabeth Cary stood her ground and remained true to her faith. Even though she did not die for her faith, as Clemence's Saint Catherine or Maxentius's queen did, nevertheless, she did suffer a period of imprisonment and her allowance was halted by her husband.

Saint Catherine's appeal to concentrate completely on Christ instead of the family was revolutionary during late Antiquity and beyond. Catherine's instruction is also associated with the nuns of Barking. It also reaffirmed to Clemence's audience the way of life they had chosen was a worthy pursuit. There is no better way to showcase this disruption of the family as evidenced in "The Lady Falkland: Her Life." Lucy Cary's comment about her father being upset with her mother's conversion is particularly illuminating, "he seemed to thinke her only blamable, in the wrong he conceaved she did her Lord and herself in changing her religion. . . ."[59] Because Elizabeth Cary converted from Protestantism to Catholicism, she put at risk Lord Falkland's hopes for honors and appointments. Belonging to the Catholic faith could be viewed as dangerous and disrupting to traditional standards of faith and family values.

Clemence even puts forward the idea of God and Mary, the mother of Christ, as perfect intertwined parent-child relationships: "There too is the beautiful queen, who is both mother and maiden. Within her chaste body she bore her good maker who created her. He is her son and her father, and she is his daughter and his mother."[60] Earthly marriage, such as the one that Maxentius and his queen had, is filled with grief and death,

[59] Wolfe, *Life and Letters*, 133.
[60] Wogan-Browne and Burgess, 29.

but through Christ and his offer of salvation, the family narrative can be transformed into something good. The community at Barking believed that their virginal identities would have brought greater favor and blessings from God than their married counterparts. According to Jerome, virgins gained a hundred-fold reward over their married sisters.[61] As Catherine makes clear to the queen, "There too is the choir of young women, virgins and chaste maidens who despised mortal lovers, choosing instead the chaste love of God."[62] Catherine's statement would have upheld the nuns of Barking way of life as well as recalled the stories of saints, such as Catherine or Agnes, who chose to remain virgins due to their devotion to God

A saint such as Catherine brought renown and glory to women who were called brides of Christ because of her wisdom, faith, and boldness in defending Christ from detractors. As Jocelyn Wogan-Browne argues, "a professionally virgin author chooses to re-work a virgin *passio* (very few of which are known to have written by a woman) and adapts it by minimizing the salaciousness of torture of women and emphasizing the intellectual and emotional realities of choosing career virginity."[63] Clemence's positive assessment of her community living life for God reveals the way nuns could concentrate on intellectual and spiritual growth. In seventeenth-century England, Catholicism was

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[61] Jerome, Letter 409 (to Geruchia), A letter from Jerome (409) | Epistolae (columbia.edu).
[62] Wogan-Browne and Burgess, 29-30.
[63] Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, "Women and Anglo-Norman Hagiography" in *Women and Literature in Britain 1150-1500*, ed. Carole M. Meale (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 68.

looked down upon, but those who made the courageous decision to follow their spiritual callings were viewed by fellow recusants as laudable.[64]

Returning to Clemence's *vita*, through the machinations of Maxentius and the evil provost Cursates, Catherine is beheaded. Her prayer for the sake "of all those who will need my help, and who for your sake will love me so much that they will seek your help through me, give them, lord good help in their life and in their death…so that through your grace I may be able to help them" reveals Catherine to be a powerful intercessor for those who pray to her.[65] Catherine further prays that God bless and protect her followers: "Keep them…from adversity and from severe illness and from plague and famine…" and "give them plenty in their herds, their fruit and their wheat."[66] All people who pray to Catherine will be heard, as God promises Catherine, "All those who commemorate you here will be received by me there in glory. In their pain and sorrow, I shall be swift to succour them."[67] Catherine becomes worthy of remembrance because of her willingness to sacrifice her life for God. As Clemence beseeches in the conclusion of her *vita*: "Now let us pray that by her goodness she will obtain for us the will to love God and to serve him and come to a happy end. Amen."[68] Because Catherine loved God so much that she dedicated her life to him, so Clemence hopes that her audience will be influenced by Catherine's holy life and good death to be more like her. Clemence entreats her audience

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[64] Some notable and high-profile Catholic conversions were, for example, Serenus Cressy, Elizabeth Cary, and Anne, Lady Newport, wife of Mountjoy Blount, 1st Earl of Newport. See Wolfe's *The Lady Falkland: Her Life and Letters*.
[65] Wogan-Browne and Burgess, 41.
[66] Wogan-Browne and Burgess, 41.
[67] Wogan-Browne and Burgess, 42.
[68] Wogan-Browne and Burgess, 43.

to "hear this book and who listen to it with a receptive heart to pray to God on my behalf, that he may place my soul in paradise and guard my body while it is alive."[69] As Clemence composed this *vita* for love of Catherine and to provide her monastic audience with a holy exemplar to pattern their lives after, so Clemence implores others to remember her and to pray for her. Her words have come down through the centuries, and we can hear her voice once again.

By hearing Clemence's voice, we also hear Anne's voice as it comes down to us in her copy of Julian's Long Text, as well as the commemoration of her life in her death-notice. Because of women such as Clemence, nuns such as Anne had the means to continue writing and composing for a monastic audience. Anne's talents like Clemence's were put to good use for the sake of her community.

Leoba, Christina of Markyate, and Clemence of Barking each played a large part within their monastic culture which leads to Anne Cary in the seventeenth century and her copy of Julian's Long Text. Leoba, because of her powerful presence as a missionary and saintly figure in Old English and Carolingian memories; Christina of Markyate, for remaining faithful and dedicated to Christ amidst great difficulties; and lastly, Clemence of Barking, for her resounding voice as author and Benedictine nun. They all point to the path that allowed women such as Anne or her fellow sisters at Our Lady of Good Hope to continue to copy, circulate, transmit manuscripts in a space that was sympathetic to their ideals and talents. Because of them, Anne Cary could copy Julian's Long Text, so it

[69] Wogan-Brown and Burgess, 43.

could spread even further to a broader audience while allowing Julian to return to English literary history once again.[70]

[70] Another equally momentous occasion, although occurring much before Anne and Lucy Cary's time, was the dissolution of Barking Abbey. Henry VIII's decision to tear down such a prestigious house would have been of much significance to Anne and Lucy Cary. The abbey was formally surrendered by the abbess, and the thirty nuns, in the abbey's chapter-house on 14 November 1539. Please see this link for further information about Barking Abbey: https://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/essex/vol2/pp115-122.

Conclusion

"Let Us See Rather . . . More like Janus'': Looking Back to the Past, with Hope for the Future

My project originally was not about Anne Cary at all. Initially, I had planned to write about Elizabeth Cary and her play, *The Tragedy of Mariam*, but I kept returning to her daughters. In particular, Anne and Lucy intrigued me because they were not only authors in their own right, but it became increasingly clear that they were, for me, representative of seventeenth-century women religious in exile. Since an already extensive amount of scholarship had been generated on both Elizabeth Cary and Lucy's text "The Lady Falkland: Her Life," my interest soon shifted to examine the connection more fully between Julian of Norwich and Anne Cary, attributed scribe of the Long Text. Associating a fourteenth-century anchoress with a seventeenth-century exiled nun may be viewed as being too broad a subject, but I disagree. Such similarities and yes, differences, make up the multi-layered perspectives and threads that are comprised of medieval and early modern studies. Retrieval of early modern women, especially those who were women religious, are significant in the field of women's studies. Thus, by looking at early modern women's compositions we add another layer of understanding to women religious, such as Anne Cary. Those women religious looked to the past and to the present to preserve their heritage and to build upon what they already knew. Therefore, both medieval and early modern fields will be enriched by this steady layering of contextual details in the processes of reclamation and rediscovery.

Though Julian herself and her Long Text have been studied in depth and discussed since the nineteenth century, seventeenth-century English Catholic women

religious such as Anne Cary, have often been ignored and their literary output misunderstood. However, instead of dichotomizing the medieval from the early modern period, we begin to see connections and overlaps between the two eras. Julian was influential to women religious such as Anne, while Anne was pivotal in not only preserving Julian's Long Text from destruction and loss, but also played a large role in having Julian's text as a printed edition.

Julian wrote two of the greatest spiritual works on the love of God and human frailty that have ever come down to us. As in the case of Anne, composer of spiritual songs, compiler of her house's Constitutions, and copyist of Julian's Long Text, her literary output was prolific. Even though Julian and Anne were separated not only by time, but by a transformed religious structure, both women are connected through their faith and their literary work. Without Julian of Norwich, there would be no Anne Cary. Without the dissolution of the monasteries, Elizabeth Cary could not have returned to the faith of her forebears, nor could her daughters go across the sea to live in France at a Benedictine convent.

Although the dissolution of the monasteries brought about great upheaval and exiled nuns were shaped by this religious trauma, there was an unforeseen gain in the exile they endured. Notwithstanding the isolation and hardships that many of the women religious who belonged to the Benedictine houses of Cambrai and Paris faced, Walker notes the shared hardships, "drew the potential monastic competitors together into a loose congregation of mutually supportive independent institutions . . . "[71] Because of this

[71] Walker, 175.

shared affinity, each convent that was affiliated with the EBC had a successful relationship not only with the Congregation, but also with their fellow co-religionists. Speaking more intimately, those who chose the religious life and grew close with their sisters, drew on their care and encouragement. Such warm and supportive relationships amongst the sisters were well attested in literary pieces, such as death-notices. For example, Anne and her Prioress, Dame Bridget More, grew to depend on each other as well as mutually encouraging each other. Such positive and warm relationships would have eased the longing for home, soothed the isolation the nuns felt while they dwelled not only in a foreign country, but also lived under the post-Tridentine strictures of enclosure. Encouragement, support, and collaboration were some of the fruits that were reaped while exiled women religious dwelled within their convents on the Continent. Nevertheless, conflicts and in-fighting could and did happen. These disputes were demonstrated by Lady Mary Percy's dispute within her convent during her tenure as Abbess (reigned 1616-1642), or the EBC's drawn-out quarrel over the Baker papers which the community ferociously and successfully fought to keep within their walls for their use.[72]

[72] For the pro-Jesuit conflict that emerged at Lady Mary's convent see Goodrich's article "Nuns and Community-Centered Writing: the Benedictine Rule and the Brussels Statutes" [Nuns and Community-Centered Writing on JSTOR] and Who were the Nuns? (qmul.ac.uk). For further information on Lady Mary Percy, see the *ODNB's* link: https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/66980. For a discussion of the EBC's dispute with the Paris nuns over Fr. Baker's manuscripts, see Walker's essay "Spiritual Property: The English Benedictine Nuns of Cambrai and the Dispute over the Baker Manuscripts" in *Women, Property, and the Law in Early Modern England*, ed. Nancy E. Wright, Margaret W. Ferguson, and A.R. Buck (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 237-255.

Although threatened by the dissolution of the monasteries and recurring conflicts in early modern England, women religious and their compositions did not utterly vanish. Instead, by moving to the sympathetic Catholic-dominated Continent, they managed to prosper, and their literary culture flourished, even in the most difficult of circumstances. Even though the works composed and circulated within the monastic community may appear to be rooted in the past, rather, early modern nuns built upon and expanded classic works from that same past to create a vivid tapestry of knowledge and learning.

Fr. Augustine Baker was a promoter of copying religious texts, and those who adhered to his teachings followed in his footsteps. However, as noted previously, the nuns did not blindly accept his ideas, but, as I have argued, *chose* what to copy and circulate within the convent. Their agency and literary production were substantial. Copying from Rolle or Julian aided women religious in the community of Our Lady of Good Hope to grow spiritually, facilitated in the preservation of knowledge that was at-risk of becoming lost or destroyed, and extended their knowledge of the monastic past that was once shared by all.

Through the study of selected passages from Julian's Long Text and further inquiry of Anne Cary's role as copyist of Julian's Long Text, we see a continuation and expansion of what women religious wrote and wanted to share within their communities. Marie-France Guénette urges her audience to "seek how early modern women established themselves in society by embracing the written word and navigating the networks of print culture" and also adds that "female participation in cultural…networks was both visible

and intentional."[73] Guénette's statements can be connected to Anne Cary and her fellow sisters as they navigated the thriving appeal of both manuscript and print culture. Both Anne Cary's link to the publication of Julian's Long Text through her chaplain's supervision, and Dame Alexia Gray of the Benedictine Brussels community, reveal that early modern women religious did not shun print culture and were not averse at having their works (either composed or translated) printed. Rather, they utilized both formats to pursue their goals. As Highley contends, even though printing in and getting books published while in exile was a difficult matter, lay Catholics and religious continued to participate in their textual communities back home: "textual labor offered Catholic activists a way of reconnecting with their homeland and of coping with the trauma of their displacement."[74] For example, Dame Alexia Gray used her translation of the Benedictine Rule to demonstrate that her community remained faithful to the EBC's injunctions. Thus, she could prove to the larger Catholic community that her monastery at Brussels was orderly and well-run, so new recruits and their families would be interested in patronizing the monastery and living there as women religious. Unlike the clear reason that Dame Alexia Gray published her translation, for Anne, her purpose (or Cressy's purpose) of printing the Long Text is not as straightforward. Likely, it was printed because the Long Text was aimed at a broader audience, and Julian was a well-regarded model for the Paris community, thus introducing her presence once again in England.

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[73] Marie-France Guénette, "Introduction: Special Issue, Women's Authorial Agency, and Print Culture," *Renaissance and Reformation / Renaissance et Réforme* 42, no. 4 (2019): 159–62. https://www.jstor.org/stable/26894250, 160.
[74] Highley, 41.

Additionally, Guénette's emphasis on women's participation in their culture is key in understanding the importance of rediscovering and retrieving neglected or ignored nuns' lives and works. Anne Cary's mother, Elizabeth, was renowned for her writing, especially *The Tragedy of Mariam* and was often the dedicatee of many early modern poets such as Michael Drayton and John Davies.[75] As I have argued, Elizabeth Cary's marked influence on her daughters themselves becoming authors is necessary to understand that nuns did not ignore or reject their literary culture. Instead, women religious such as Anne Cary and her biological sisters modified their literary culture to suit the circumstances within the post-Tridentine convent. What they wrote was intentional and meant to be utilized for the community. Taking Anne's influence, as it were, even further within her convent, her friendship with Fr. Augustine Baker ensured that his own translation copies of the medieval mystics remained in current use within the Paris convent. Thus, because of Anne's friendship with a renowned figure of Benedictine spirituality, it is evident that Anne cultivated her own—albeit monastic—influence. Because of this, she is still remembered for her compositions and her role as the attributed scribe of Julian's Long Text. Taking the time to learn of Anne and her role as scribe of Julian's Long Text was an act of rediscovery and reclamation for studies dedicated to early modern women and their works.

For Anne and her community, at Cambrai and later Paris, the medieval mystics and the texts that they copied, proved to be the main output of their literary efforts.

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[75] John Davies was her tutor. Michael Drayton may have been as well. For further information, see *Renaissance Drama by Women: Texts and Documents*, ed. S.P. Cerasano and Marion Wynne-Davies (London: Routledge), 1996.

Copied works of Walter Hilton, Richard Rolle, and of course, Julian, all added another tangible layer that connected the community at Cambrai and Paris. Furthermore, their work linked them not only the unified English medieval past, but made them part of a venerable tradition of copying and disseminating noteworthy works for utilization and knowledge-keeping. Such devotional acts stretched back to the early Christian era monastic centers, of which Anne and her community were a part of.

Moreover, as we have seen, Julian was quite popular within the Cambrai and Paris communities. Her popularity was due in no small part to her compassionate theology and the prevalence of female saints and holy women that the nuns were so attracted to. In particular, Margaret Gascoigne, Bridget More, Barbara Constable, and Anne Cary all contributed to keeping Julian and her Long Text alive in the monastic memory by copying passages of the Long Text or copying all of the Long Text for preservation and safeguarding within their community. Because of these women, such as Anne Cary, Julian and her Long Text are here today. Anne Cary, as well as her other sisters in her community, deserve acknowledgement of their accomplishments. By using Julian and her Long Text as a foundation for studying early modern women religious and their compositions, we gain insight into their vibrant literary heritage which was worth preserving for future generations, as it remains today. This is how we move forward.

However, as acknowledged in death-notices by their fellow sisters and their works composed in catalogues, such as the catalogue of Our Lady of Good Hope (Mazarine MS 4058), many contemporary scholars are not aware of the exiled nuns and their literary contributions. Nevertheless, further study is still ongoing which has, subsequently,

brought about a rich and lively field of the study of early modern monastic women. This project is another steppingstone in uncovering the reality of early modern women religious and their lives on the Continent.

For further potential paths of inquiry, I envision exploring the possibility of a 1670 readership for Julian's printed edition of the Long Text. Such a feasible exploration would add depth and richness to the ongoing study of Julian and her readership within the early modern era. Since figures such as Edward Stillingfleet and Serenus Cressy created competing versions of Julian during the Restoration, such insights of her and her printed Long Text should also prove to be just as multilayered and complicated as were her readers' perspectives.

Another path of inquiry would be an examination of Anne Cary's attributed works that are documented in the Paris Catalogue. Anne Cary wrote, what is described by Latz as "spiritual songs," and she also translated the psalms. Her spiritual songs were meant for the comfort of those who were sick, and no doubt the psalms that she translated were to strengthen her faith and to provide comfort during difficult times. Reciting and translating the psalms was an ancient monastic practice, and translations were often viewed as an acceptable activity for women. Nevertheless, a woman could use her ability as a translator for subversive ends and modify the meanings of the text.[76] Moreover, a

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[76] See Deborah Uman's *Women as Translators in Early Modern England* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2012), Jaime Goodrich's *Faithful Translators: Authorship, Gender, and Religion in Early Modern England* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2014), *A History of Early Modern Women's Writing*, ed. Patricia Phillipy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), last (but not least!) Hilary Brown's *Women & Early Modern Cultures of Translation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022)

careful study of what Anne Cary composed would add another layer of understanding compositional and poetic practices of seventeenth-century women religious. Anne Cary's works would also make a viable way of further studying the literary culture by women religious in the community at Paris. Furthermore, these two paths of investigation would not only expand current Julian studies, but shed further light on underrepresented women religious such as Anne Cary.

Recovering women's voices through the use of feminist theory has been the groundwork of my project. As Maureen Quilligan notes, history has the "ability not only to mischaracterize but also to utterly forget important women from the past"[77] Because history tends to concentrate on grand narratives, larger-than-life figures (those are predominately male, Caucasian, nominally pro-Protestant) and of those who tend to continue retelling and repeating such stories, reveals a narrow-minded outlook on history and people's lives, *especially women's lives.* However, I believe that my project has provided further groundwork for studies on women religious and the ties that connect them to each other and beyond. As Walker contends, "post-Reformation English nuns need to be integrated more fully into the histories of early modern women, religion, politics and society in both England and Europe."[78] I agree that further integration needs to happen, but I would also further argue that looking back and forward is crucial in not only understanding early modern women religious, but of their *predecessors*. These

[77] Maureen Quilligan, *When Women Ruled The World: Making the Renaissance in Europe* (New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 2021), 160.
[78] Walker, 177.

connections reveal the diversity and appeal that medieval women religious had for early modern nuns, such as Anne Cary.

As I continue to look forward in making this project a full-length study, I turn to a discussion of other theories that could expand my focus. In particular, I believe that art theory would develop deeper affinities between what women religious created for themselves and their communities. We have seen, for one example, how German nuns produced colorful and affective works of art for spiritual contemplation. Hamburger undoubtedly is one of the most renowned scholars of this field, and it would be worthwhile to incorporate his theories into my own work. Materialistic culture is another avenue I am keen to interweave with my project, especially since Bynum's recent work would be a good place to explore.[79] Religious objects that were used and owned by women religious would be a useful starting point as they offer another view of life within the convent. Furthermore, material objects reveal the personality and the preferences of nuns within the convent.

It has been a pleasure discovering Anne Cary and her role as copyist of Julian's Long Text. It is my sincere wish that she would have been pleased with my endeavors as I hope my discussion will bring her and her work into the standard corpus of early modern studies. Still, there is much work to be done; further opportunities of investigation and careful scrutinizing of early modern women's literary production (lay and, in particular, women religious) are needed. However, thanks to women like Anne

[79] Bynum, *Dissimilar Similitudes: Devotional Objects in Late Medieval* Europe (New York: Zone Books), 2020.

Cary, we are able to forge ahead and continue a serious examination of women authors and scribes to reconfigure the narrative of both lay *and* women religious' authored works.

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APPENDICES

Descriptive Bibliography of the 1670 printed edition of Julian of Norwich's Long Text

The first printed edition of Julian of Norwich's Showings was published in 1670, by Serenus de Cressy (Hugh Paulinus [Paulin] de Cressy, 1605-1674). Formerly a Protestant, Serenus de Cressy converted to Catholicism in 1646, and became a Benedictine chaplain to the community at Paris. At Our Lady of Good Hope. He knew Anne Cary (Dame Clementia), sister of Viscount Lucius Cary and was her chaplain. Anne Cary made a copy of Julian's Long Text and Cressy published it for a broader English audience during the reign of Charles II. The title of the 1670 printed edition is referred to as "XVI revelations of divine love, shewed to a devout servant of our Lord, called Mother Juliana, an achorete of Norwich: who lived in the dayes of King Edward the Third. Published by R.F.S. Cressy." The Long Text is also referred to as Sloane MS 2499 because it was formerly owned by Sir Hans Sloane, physician to the Governor of Jamacia. Sir Hans possibly owned the text because of Julian's near-death experiences, as Sir Hans owned many manuscripts devoted to medicine. After his death in 1753 to the British Library, Sloane's executers bequeathed Julian's Long Text to the British Library.

The second copy of the Long Text is Paris, Bibliotheque nationale de France, Fonds Anglais MS 40, dating from the 17th century (as does the 1670 edition) and Sloane MS

3705, dating to the first of the 18th century, which is thought be a copy of Sloane MS 2499.

The English Short Title Catalogue (STC) lists the *revelations* as having nineteen copies.

The British Library possesses twelve copies: Cambridge University (includes Sir Geoffrey Keyes Collection, British and Foreign Bible Society, and Peterborough Cathedral), Cambridge university Trinity College, Downside Abbey, Dr. Williams's Library, King's Lynn Library, Lambeth Palace Library, London Oratory, Marsh's Library, Oxford University (Bodleian Library), Senate House Library (University of London), Ushaw College.

There is one copy located in Europe at Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preussischer Kulturbesitz - Berlin, Germany.

In North America, there are six copies of the manuscript: two copies at the Folger Shakespeare Library, General Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal (New York), Harvard University, Henry E. Huntingdon Library and Art Gallery, and Vassar College.

For an electronic location of *revelation* there is the website Early English Books Online (EEBO); {Reproductions of the originals in the Bodleian Library (reel 1438:48) and Trinity College Library, Cambridge University (reel 1656:31).} Furthermore, there is microfilm available that is titled as "Marlborough, England: Adam Matthew Publications; Oxford, England: Bodleian Photographic Service. 1998. 1 microfilm reel; 35 mm. (Women Advising Women: Part 5: Women's writing and advice, c1450-1720, from the

Bodleian Library, Oxford; reel 4:1).” Additional information about this electronic copy is “Identified as Wing J1188 on UMI microfilm set ‘Early English books, 1641-1700’, reel 1656, and as Wing C6904 on reel 1438.”

The physical characteristics of Julian’s Long text is of paper. The dimensions are 370 x 325 mm, mounted on paper guards to fit a volume with a width of 260 mm (text space: 330/340 x 165/170 mm).

The foliation is ff. 57 (= 3 unfoliated paper flyleaves at the beginning = 5 at the end); original pagination ‘1-‘110’ in the upper right corners throughout has been crossed out and replaced with modern foliation in pencil; 1 unfolaited paper pastedown on f. [iii] verso (bibliographical notes) and 1 on f. 58v (note of examination).

Collation: each leaf has been mounted separately onto a paper guard.

The script is of the 17th century and the binding is of the British Museum in-house; blue half leather binding with the arms of Hans Sloane gold stamped on the outside upper cover, rebound in 1972.

The title page of the 1670 edition is in plain black letters with the lengthy title of “XVI revelations of divine love, shewed to a devout servant of our Lord, called Mother Juliana, an achorete of Norwich: who lived in the dayes of King Edward the Third. Published by R.F.S. Cressy.” Below Cressy’s name is the phrase “Accedite ad Deum & Illuminaniui. Pfal. 33 v.5. [I sought the Lord, and he heeded me; and he carried me away from my tribulations” Psalm 33 v. 5 and Approach him and be enlightened and your faces will not be confounded (v. 6).]

Printed in the Year, MDCLXX (1670). The last line of title page states Permieffu Superiorum [permission of superiors] which means that Cressy gained the permission of his ecclesiastical Superior, the Abbot of Lambspring (also referred to as Lamspringe Abbey; German: Stift Lamspringe, later Kloster Lamspringe) to publish Julian's Long Text. Cressy's ecclesiastical superior may have been John Placid Gascoigne, 1657-1681.

The 1670 Cressy edition broke the obscurity which had surrounded Julian, but The Shewings has not been at all well known until this century. Cressy was reprinted in 1843, in 1864, and again in 1902. New work from manuscripts came in 1877 with Henry Collins's modernization of the British Library's Sloane 2499 (S1), that long text which possibly is in the hand of Anne Clementine Cary. However, it was Grace Warrack's 1901 version of S1, with its sympathetic, informed introduction, which introduced most early twentieth-century readers to Julian. Dean W. R. Inge's *Studies of English Mystics* of 1906 (where, among others, a young T. S. Eliot read of her), based upon a lecture series of 1905, spread her name, and Evelyn Underhill's works on mysticism and her now often-quoted characterization of Julian as the "first English woman of letters" in the Cambridge Medieval History (1932; VII, 807) brought Julian to the attention of readers. Nonetheless, not until the seventies have editions of the manuscripts, rather than versions or modernizations, been published. Marion Glasscoe's edition of S1 appeared in 1976, and Frances Beer's text of the short version in 1978. That was the year, too, of the Colledge and Walsh two-volume edition including both texts, a comprehensive introduction, and a critical apparatus that provides a basis for other students of Julian.

The successive medieval volumes in the *Oxford History of English Literature* plot the acceleration of interest in Julian. When E. K. Chambers wrote English Literature at the Close of the Middle Ages, published in 1945, he did not once refer to her; H. S. Bennett's Chaucer and the Fifteenth Century, published in 1947, gives her one reference in passing. But J. A. W. Bennett's Middle English Literature, completed by Douglas Gray, published in 1986, gives Julian a dozen dense pages. To be sure, from the turn of the century forward, the evidence is that Julian's audience of few was in one way or another extremely fit: William Butler Yeats, Charles Williams, Aldous Huxley, T. S. Eliot, Thomas Merton, Denise Levertov, Iris Murdoch, and Dorothy Day are on record among that audience. Even before the appearance of editions of the manuscripts, the dedication of the reconstructed parish church of St. Julian in 1953 and the 1973 sixth centenary of the showings occasioned celebratory and scholarly publication. Fittingly, Julian's contemporary audience includes those who use her book as she probably had assumed it might be used; towards the close of the eighties, 150 Julian groups in Great Britain were meeting for prayer and spiritual companionship (Jantzen, p. 12).

Here is a selection of Julian's Long and Short Text that have been made available from the late seventeenth century to the early twentieth century.

Long Text

London, British Library MS Sloane 2499.

London, British Library MS Sloane 3705.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS Fonds anglais 40.

Short Text

London, British Library MS Additional 37790, fols. 97-115.

Selections

London, Westminster Cathedral Treasury MS 4, fols. 72v-112v.

Upholland, Lancashire, The Upholland Anthology, fols. 114r-117v.

Editions

Long Text

Cressy, H. [Hugh/ Serenus], ed. *XVI Revelations of Divine Love, Shewed to a Devout Servant of our Lord, called Mother Juliana, an Anchorete of Norwich: Who lived in the Dayes of King Edward the Third.* London, 1670; rpt. 1843, 1864, and 1902, with prefaces by, respectively, G. H. Parker, I. T. Hecker, and George Tyrrell. [Based upon the Paris manuscript.]

Glasscoe, Marion, ed. *Julian of Norwich, A Revelation of Love*. Exeter Medieval English Texts. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1976; rev. ed., 1986. [Based upon Sloane 2499. Introduction and glossary.]

Colledge, Edmund, and James Walsh, eds. *A Book of Showings of the Anchoress Julian of Norwich*. 2 vols. Studies and Texts 35. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1978. [Based upon the Paris manuscript; both long and short texts with a full apparatus. Introduction includes a full description of the manuscripts, discussion of scribes and

owners, an account of linguistic characteristics of the manuscripts, a summary of what is known about biography, and an essay on Julian's intellectual formation. Appendix of rhetorical figures, index of scriptural citations, and glossary.]

Short text

Beer, Frances, ed. Julian of Norwich's Revelations of Divine Love: The Shorter Version, ed. from BL Add. MS 37790. Middle English Texts 8. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1978. [Extensive introduction and notes.]

Selections

Owen, Hywel W., ed. "An Edition of the Upholland Anthology." B.A. dissertation Liverpool, 1962.

---, and Luke Bell. "The Upholland Anthology: An Augustine Baker Manuscript," *The Downside Review* 107 (1989), 274-92. [The first installment of three successive issues printing extracts of the manuscript.]

Modernizations and translations

Long Text

Collins, Henry, ed. and trans. *Revelations of Divine Love, Shewed to a Devout Anchoress, by Name Mother Julian of Norwich.* London: Thomas Richardson and Sons, 1877.

Warrack, Grace, ed. *Revelations of Divine Love, Recorded by Julian, Anchoress at Norwich, Anno Domini 1373: A Version from the MS. in the British Museum.* London: Methuen and Co., 1901. [Frequently rpt.]

Hudleston, Roger, ed. *Revelations of Divine Love, Shewed to a Devout Ankress, by Name Julian of Norwich.* London: Burns and Oates, 1927; 2nd ed. Westminster, MD: The Newman Press, 1952.

Wolters, Clifton, trans. *Julian of Norwich: Revelations of Divine Love*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1966.

Del Mastro, M. L., trans. *Juliana of Norwich: Revelations of Divine Love*. Garden City, NY: Image Books/Doubleday, 1977. [Introduction includes brief accounts of Richard Rolle, the author of The Cloud of Unknowing, Walter Hilton, and Margery Kempe, pp. 46-74.]

Colledge, Edmund, and James Walsh, trans. *Julian of Norwich: Showings.* The Classics of Western Spirituality. New York: Paulist Press, 1978. Pp. 175-343. [Contains both long and short texts. Introduction of 104 pages, preface by Jean Leclercq, topical index.]

Short Text

Harford, Dundas, ed. and trans. *Comfortable Words for Christ's Lovers, Being the Visions and Voices Vouchsafed to Lady Julian, Recluse at Norwich in 137*3. London: H. R. Allenson, 1911. [Rpt. 1912, and, in 1925, under the title The Shewings of Lady Julian Recluse at Norwich, 1373.]

Reynolds, Anna Maria, ed. and trans. *A Shewing of God's Love: The Shorter Version of Sixteen Revelations of Divine Love* by Julian of Norwich. Edited and partially

modernized from the fifteenth-century manuscript. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1958.

re references in the margins of the
hand is identifiable by comparing it to autograph letters
Clarendon, clarifies, corrects, and expands upon *Life*'s narrative,
ticular concerning his father's time in Holland, and his own 'kid-
ng' from Great Tew.[46] All but two of Patrick's marginal additions
been severely cropped (cropped additions appear on fols. 1, 39v,
44). I have not been able to identify the last hand, written in the
est ink and thickest nib,[47] which supplies the surnames of English
edictine monks referred to only by their first name or alias in the text.

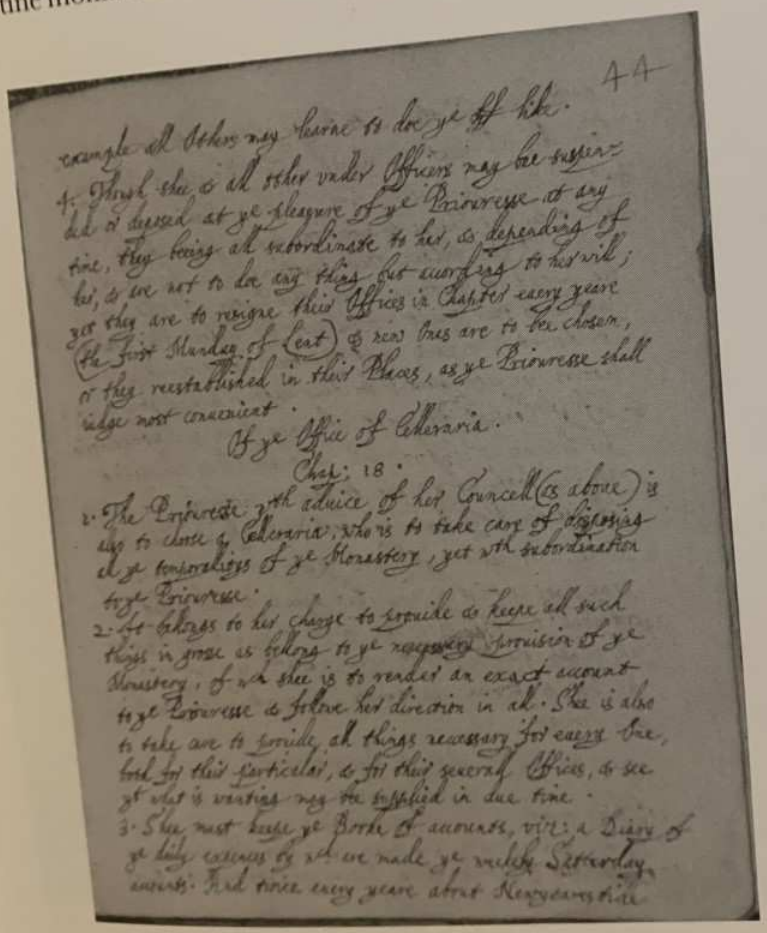

PLATE 3. *A page in the* Constitution of Our Lady of Good Hope*: Colwich, Staffordshire, St Mary's Abbey,* MS *P2, fol. 44r (Original page size 190 × 150mm.) Reproduced by permission of St Mary's Abbey, Colwich.*

Additional image of Anne Cary's handwriting from *Showing of Love: Extant Texts and Translation.* Eds. Sr. Anna Maria Reynolds, C.P. and Julia Bolton Holloway. SISMEL: Edizioni del Galluzo, 2001.