Readers, Sanctity, and History in Early Modern Spain

Pedro de Ribadeneyra, the *Flos sanctorum*, and Catholic Community

by

Jonathan Edward Greenwood

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate and Postdoctoral
Affairs in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

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in

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**Readers, Sanctity, and History in Early Modern Spain
Pedro de Ribadeneyra, the *Flos sanctorum*, and Catholic Community**

submitted by

Jonathan Edward Greenwood, B.A. Hons.

in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts

Paul Nelles, Thesis Supervisor

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20 September 2011

ABSTRACT

In early modern Spain and amongst Jesuits, the names Lutheran, Calvinist, and Anglican were synonymous with heresy. This thesis focuses on the Jesuit Pedro de Ribadeneyra (1527-1611) and his vernacular compilation of saints' lives the *Flos sanctorum* (Flower of the Saints) in late sixteenth and early seventeenth-century Spain. While the theologies between confessions changed extensively, each drew religious inspiration and solace from reading the lives of exemplars immersed in their respective confessional discourses. While Catholicism maintained the cult and the lives of saints in devotion, Catholics toiled to make hagiography into a collection of genres fit for official veneration. Extant since the early church, hagiography was a collection of literary genres about saints, which included their lives, accounts of their relics and miracles, as well as liturgical readings about them. In the early modern era, these texts provided a representation of the impact of print on religious life. Originally, early modern compilations of saints' lives derived from the *Legenda aurea* (Golden Legend) by Jacobus de Voragine, which circulated broadly since the thirteenth century. By the sixteenth-century and especially after the Protestant Reformations, readers distrusted the lives found in the *Legenda aurea*. The *Flos sanctorum* revealed the changing perceptions of sainthood and saints' lives after the Council of Trent. Amongst Catholic hagiographers, Jesuits maintained a prominent position in this culture of reading, writing, and circulating saints' lives. As the central figure of my thesis, Ribadeneyra operated in Madrid and compiled a collection of saints' lives that corresponded with early modern Catholic discourse in the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries. His collection of saints' lives, the *Flos sanctorum*, was exceptionally popular amongst early modern Catholic readers. Simon Ditchfield acknowledges that hagiography contains an ignored component of the histories of early modern science, religion, and politics. The exceptions to this trend are the works on early modern hagiography by Ditchfield, Alison Knowles Frazier, and David Collins. Ribadeneyra's *Flos sanctorum* scarcely appears in the historiography of early modern Catholicism or Spain. Meanwhile, the study of early modern life-writing has expanded to include fruitful discussions on the lives of Protestant reformers, present in the work of Irena Backus, James Michael Weiss, and Robert Kolb. This expansion, however, has not included the study of early modern Spanish or Catholic hagiography. Themes and approaches evident in the historiography of life-writing amongst Protestant confessions appear infrequently in discussions of early modern Catholicism or Spain. This study will examine the saints' lives in Ribadeneyra's *Flos sanctorum*, which provided narratives for early modern Catholics to assert a religious identity.

IN MEMORIAM
STEPHEN MICHAEL GREENWOOD
(1959-2010)

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materials. Apart from the comedy of errors at St. Paul's University's Library about a 'homeless guy' amongst the Latin tomes (the one day I forgot to shave), their staff was courteous and always generous in their assistance. I cannot overlook the help of the Hispanic Society of America and the Biblioteca nacional de España for assisting me in getting digital and microfilm versions of early modern *Flos sanctorum* since I could not travel to New York and Madrid respectively.

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new family, the Summerfields, especially my parents-in-law, John and Virginia, who encourage the pursuit of reading and knowledge but also the appreciation of life and the outdoors. I cannot exclude other members of the Summerfield clan of the furry persuasion. They reminded me that stressing over this thesis was of little concern, especially if they did not receive pats or tummy rubs. So thank you Abby, Aspen, T-Bone, Katya, and Jack.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- BCJ:** Augustin de Backer, Aloys de Backer, and Carlos Sommervogel. *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*. 12 vols. Brussels: Oscar Schepens, 1890-[1932]. Reprint, Louvain: Bibliothèque S.I., 1960.
- BM:** Cristóbal Pérez Pastor. *Bibliografía madrileña, o, Descripción de las obras impresas en Madrid*. 3 vols. Madrid: Tipografía de Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas, y Museos, 1891-1907.
- CIV:** Mariano Alcocer y Martínez. *Catálogo razonado de obras impresas en Valladolid (1481-1800)*. Valladolid : Casa Social Católica, 1926.
- DHCJ:** *Diccionario histórico de la Compañía de Jesús, biográfico-temático*. Eds. Charles E. O'Neill and Joaquín M. Domínguez. 4 vols. Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2001.
- DHEE:** *Diccionario de histórica eclesiástica de España*. Eds. Quintín Aldea Vaquero, Tomás Marín Martínez, and José Vives. 4 vols. Madrid: Instituto Enrique Flórez, 1972-1975.
- DIE:** Juan Delgado Casado. *Diccionario de impresores españoles (siglos XV-XVII)*. 2 vols. Madrid: Arco/Libros, 1996.
- IB:** *Iberian Books: Books Published in Spanish or Portuguese or on the Iberian Peninsula before 1601 / Libros ibéricos: Libros publicados en español o portugués o en la Península Ibérica antes de 1601*. Ed. Alexander S. Wilkinson. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010.
- JS:** José Simón Díaz. *Jesuitas de los siglos XVI y XVII: escritos localizados*. Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1975.
- MHSI:** *Monumenta historica Societatis Iesu*.
- MLCT:** *Monumenta liturgica Concilii Tridentini*.
- OCSL:** *Oxford Companion to Spanish Literature*. Ed. Philip Ward. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978.
- TM:** Yolanda Clemente San Román. *Tipobibliografía madrileña: La imprenta en Madrid en el siglo XVI (1566-1600)*. 3 vols. Kassel: Edition Reichenberger, 1998.

INTRODUCTION

Saints in early modern Catholicism were exemplars of confession-based holiness and imitators of Christ's life. They served as intercessors between the living and Christ in heaven. Saints emulated not only the sanctity of Christ, but that of other saints. Hagiographies allowed accessibility to the exceptional nature of saints. Extant since the early church, hagiography was a collection of literary genres about saints, which included their lives, accounts of their relics and miracles, and liturgical readings about them.¹ In my thesis, I explore how the Society of Jesus in early modern Spain drew on hagiography to express a confessional identity in three ways: the imitation of saintly exemplars, the manufacture of genealogies of sanctity and texts, and the assembly of an orthodox community of readers. In particular, this thesis focuses on Pedro de Ribadeneyra (1527-1611) and his Castilian compilation of saints' lives, the *Flos sanctorum* (*Flower of the Saints*), in late sixteenth and early seventeenth-century Spain.² Ribadeneyra's *Flos sanctorum* provided a representation of the impact of print on religious life. His compilation, akin to most hagiographies, favoured the vernacular. Since the late-fifteenth century, when printing began in the Iberian Peninsula, printed hagiographies appeared predominately in either Castilian or Catalan.³ While Latin remained the official language

¹ Thomas Head, *Medieval Hagiography* (New York: Routledge, 2001), xiv.

² René Aigrain, *L'hagiographie: ses sources, ses méthodes, son histoire* (Paris: Bloud et Gay, 1953. Reprint, Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 2000), 305-42; Brenda Dunn-Lardeau, "De *La Légende dorée* de Jacques de Voragine aux *Fleurs des vies des saints* de Pedro de Ribadeneira," in *Les voies de l'invention aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles*, eds. Bernard Beugnot and Robert Melançon (Montréal: Université de Montréal, 1993), 23-34.

³ For example, of the hagiographies printed in Spain from 1450 to 1550, there are fourteen in Latin, whereas the remaining 118 are in the vernacular (Catalan, Valencian, and Castilian). D. de Courcelles, "Espagne de 1450 à 1550," in *Hagiographies*, ed. Guy Philipart (Turnhout: Brepols, 1994), 1:156-71, 176. This trend continues past 1550, but José Aragüés Aldaz notes that despite these trends, Latin and vernacular hagiographical traditions shared a common heritage. The main problem is the exaggeration of 'national', instead of religious hagiography. José Aragüés Aldaz, "Tendencias y realizaciones en el

of the church after Trent, Catholic devotional literature by Jesuits opted to use local vernaculars.

Originally, early modern compilations of saints' lives derived from the *Legenda aurea* (*Golden Legend*) by Jacobus de Voragine, which circulated broadly since the thirteenth century. By the sixteenth-century and especially after the Protestant Reformations, readers distrusted the lives found in the *Legenda aurea*. In this context, hagiographers renovated the collection of genres through authenticating sources and verifying information about saints' lives. Hagiographical compilations also increasingly adhered to discourses built upon explicit statements of doctrine that shaped conduct. Hagiographies represented textually the ongoing doctrinal conflicts between Spanish parishes, religious orders, and the Roman Church in the late-sixteenth century. The *Flos sanctorum* revealed the changing perceptions of sainthood and saints' lives after the Council of Trent. Amongst Catholic hagiographers, Jesuits maintained a prominent position in this culture of reading, writing, and circulating saints' lives.

Ribadeneyra compiled a collection of saints' lives that corresponded with early modern Catholic discourse in the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries. His collection of saints' lives, the *Flos sanctorum*, was exceptionally popular amongst early modern Catholic readers. In my research, I have found that the accounts in the *Flos sanctorum* depicted a saint's pious conduct through their refutation of heresy as well as their imitation of contemporaries and previous exemplars. The duplication of others' behaviour resulted in cycles of piety associated with saints, which in turn gained legitimacy through their association with the apostolic church. In some cases, the

campo de la hagiografía en España: con algunos datos para el estudio de los legendarios hispánicos," *Memoria Ecclesiae* 24 (2004): 446-49.

historical projection to include the early church established a genealogy of piety. Hagiography, as an expression of sacred history, provided legitimacy to these lineages of sanctity. I also believe that reading played an exceptional role in the formation of confession-specific behaviour through a process called observational emulation. Readers viewing the pages of the *Flos sanctorum* became witnesses to a saint's virtues, akin to a person being in the presence of a holy person. For instance, Thomas Aquinas observed the lives of the Desert Fathers through reading John Cassian's *Conferences*. Dominic as the founder of Aquinas's religious order had done the same thing, indicative of a practice imitated by Thomas. At the same time, Aquinas was a spectator of piety through the interaction with his peer, Bonaventure. This practice first emerged in the apostolic church, evident in John the Evangelist who not only wrote the life of Christ but also was present during Christ's ministries.

While neglected in the scholarship, hagiography provides insight into the cultural life of early modern Europe. For Simon Ditchfield, hagiography contains an ignored component of the histories of early modern science, religion, and politics. This sentiment is partially due to the extant historiography's perception of saints' lives as a distinctly medieval entity with no continuity into the sixteenth-century and onwards. The exceptions to this trend are the works on early modern hagiography by Ditchfield, Alison Knowles Frazier, and David Collins.⁴ Ribadeneyra's *Flos sanctorum* scarcely appears in

⁴ Simon Ditchfield, "Thinking with the Saints. Sanctity and Society in the Early Modern World," *Critical Inquiry* 35, no. 3 (Spring 2009) 554 "There is thus a sense in which hagiography—understood in the broader definition that encompasses canonisation trial records—is a substantially unwritten chapter in the histories of early modern science, politics, and even religion itself (since hagiography has been seen until relatively recently as preeminently a *medieval* genre)" Ditchfield is one exception to the tendency to envision hagiography as only a medieval collection of genres See also *idem*, Simon Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity, and History in Tridentine Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), especially 17-134, *idem*, "'Historia magistra sanctitatis': The Relationship between Historiography and Hagiography in Italy after the Council of Trent (1564–1742 ca.)," *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 3, 3rd series

the historiography of early modern Catholicism or Spain. Mentions to Ribadeneyra are few and tend to list him as a precursor to the Bollandists. Starting in the early seventeenth century, the Bollandists quickly dwarfed Ribadeneyra's hagiographical efforts through their monumental enterprise.⁵ Despite this eclipse, Ribadeneyra's *Flos sanctorum* was an incredibly popular work. This popularity demonstrates the continued interest in devotional literature amongst Catholics.⁶ It also reveals an unexpected affirmation of Catholic identity in the face of the Protestant onslaught on one of the traditional pillars of Christianity: saintliness and the nature of the sacred. Yet compilations of saints' lives had a multitude of functions, they were calendars, behavioural handbooks, and historical narratives targeted to the broadest possible readership.⁷ Meanwhile, the study of early modern life-writing has expanded to include fruitful discussions on the lives of Protestant reformers, present in the work of Irena Backus, James Michael Weiss, and Robert Kolb.⁸

This expansion, however, has not included the study of early modern Spanish or Catholic hagiography. While the association between life-writing and confession-building has been made, this area of investigation also largely excludes early modern Spain and Catholicism. Themes and approaches evident in the historiography of life-writing amongst Protestant confessions appear infrequently in discussions of early modern Catholicism or Spain. Notable exceptions to this tendency include the scholarship

(2006): 159-84; Alison Knowles Frazier, *Possible Lives: Authors and Saints in Renaissance Italy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005); David J. Collins, *Reformed Saints: Saints' Lives and their Authors in Germany, 1470-1530* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).

⁵ On the Bollandists, see David Knowles, *Great Historical Enterprises* (London: Nelson, 1963), 1-32.

⁶ Lance Lazar, "The Formation of the Pious Soul: Transalpine Demand for Jesuit Devotional Texts, 1548-1615," in *Confessionalization in Europe, 1555-1700*, eds. John M. Headley, Hans Hillerbrand, and Anthony J. Papalas (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 306-8.

⁷ Ditchfield, *Liturgy*, 117-34.

⁸ Irena Dorota Backus, *Life-Writing in Reformation Europe* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008); Robert Kolb, *For All the Saints: Changing Perceptions of Martyrdom and Sainthood in the Lutheran Reformation* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1987); James Michael Weiss, "Luther and His Colleagues on the Lives of Saints," *Harvard Library Bulletin* 33, 2 (1985): 174-95.

of Jodi Bilinkoff and Federico Palomo.⁹ I hope that my thesis contributes to this underexplored field in early modern history.

For the purposes of comparison, two other compilers of *Flos sanctorum* printed in the vicinity of Madrid and Alcalá will also feature in this study: the Hieronymite Pedro de la Vega (1478-1541) and Ribadeneyra's contemporary, Alonso de Villegas y Selvago (1534-1615).¹⁰ Prior to Ribadeneyra's compilation, the Jesuit college in Madrid had collaborated with Villegas to print his *Flos*.¹¹ The hagiographical basis of this exploration in early modern Madrid, however, will be the 1599, 1601, 1604, and 1609 editions of

⁹ Jodi Bilinkoff, "The Many 'Lives' of Pedro de Ribadeneyra," *Renaissance Quarterly* 52, no. 1 (Spring 1999): 180-96; *idem*, *Related Lives: Confessors and Their Female Penitents, 1450-1750* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005); Federico Palomo, "Corregir letras para unir espíritus. Los jesuitas y las cartas edificantes en el Portugal del siglo XVI," *Cuadernos de Historia Moderna. Anjeos* 4 (2005): 57-81.

¹⁰ *DHEE* s.v. R.M. Hornedo "Villegas, Alonso de"; *OCSL* s.v. "Villegas, Alonso de"; Aragués Aldaz, "Tendencias y realizaciones," 512-13; Billy Bussell Thompson and John Walsh, "Old Spanish Manuscripts of Prose Lives of the Saints and their Affiliation. I: Compilation A (*Gran Flos sanctorum*)," *La Corónica* 15, no. 1 (1986-87): 20; José Martínez de la Escalera, "Casiano, el Cerratense y Pedro de la Vega OSH," *Hispania sacra* 47, no. 96 (1995): 692 n. 27. Every *Flos sanctorum* printed in Spanish after 1500 features in Appendix 1: *Printed Flos sanctorum in Early Modern Spain*. Pedro de la Vega was a Hieronymite prior, originally from Burgos, who compiled the *Flos* and a chronicle of the Hieronymites. Villegas was a hagiographer of equal stature to Ribadeneyra and both originated from Toledo. While Ribadeneyra was member of a religious order, Villegas was a lay hagiographer.

Various printers produced editions of Vega's *Flos sanctorum* between 1516 and 1580. I will use two editions in this study. The first is the complete collection: Pedro de la Vega, *Flos sanctorum: la vida de nuestro señor Jesu Christo y de su sanctissima madre y de los otros santos segun la orden de sus fiestas*, rev. Martin de Lillio (Alcalá de Henares: Juan Brocar, 1558). The second only contains the front-matter and the life of Christ: Pedro de la Vega, *Flos sanctorum: la vida de nuestro señor Jesu Christo y de su sanctissima madre y de los otros santos segun la orden de sus fiestas*, rev. Martin de Lillio (Alcalá de Henares: Andrés de Angulo, 1572). Both are revisions by the Franciscan Martín Lillio, who reportedly 'corrected' any of the heterodox components in the text.

Villegas's collection began production the same year of Vega's final printing. The work appeared in five volumes throughout Spain between 1580 and 1603. I mostly use the first Madrileño edition of 1588: Alonso de Villegas y Selvago, *Flos sanctorum y historia general, de la vida y hechos de Jesu Christo, Dios y señor nuestro, y de todos los santos de que reza y haze fiesta la iglesia catholica conforme al brevario romano, reformado por decreto del sancto concilio Tridentino, junto con las vidas de los sanctos propios de Espana, y de otros extravagantes* (Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1588). On occasion, I also consult the second part of Villegas's *Flos*, which has the lives of only biblical saints: *Flos Sanctorum: segunda parte: y historia general en que se escribe la vida de la Virgen Sacratissima Madre de Dios, y Señora Nuestra y las de los santos antiguos que fueron antes de la venida de nuestro salvador al mundo* (Alcalá de Henares: Andrés Sánchez de Ezpeleta, 1609).

¹¹ Villegas, *Flos* (1588), 1v. The colophon reads: "Fecha este Colegio de la Compañia de Jesus de Madrid, á diez y ocho de Julio, de 1579." The earliest Jesuit college in Madrid proper had existed since 1570. The Colegio imperial de Madrid was a later Jesuit-run institution founded by Philip IV in 1629. Please see Gerónimo de Quintana, *La historia del origen, antigüedad, nobleza y grandeza de Madrid* (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1629), 415r-416v.

Ribadeneyra's *Flos sanctorum*.¹² Ribadeneyra's other writings will be employed to augment the findings from the *Flos sanctorum*, in particular, his correspondence and treatises.¹³

Villegas and Ribadeneyra belonged to the post-Tridentine hagiographical tradition started by Luigi Lippomano (1500-1559) and Laurentius Surius (1522/3-1578).¹⁴ While historians portray the Bollandists as the initiators of exhaustively researched and critical hagiography, they also acknowledge the impact of Lippomano and Surius upon the collection of saints' lives. Both Surius and Lippomano accumulated sacred biographies that promoted a distinctly Catholic conception of the sacred. Lippomano used his compilation to promote Catholic doctrine at the expense of Protestantism.¹⁵ Surius, meanwhile, integrated miracle stories into his redaction to encourage Catholics to believe in saintly intercession. As well, he rehabilitated the unbelievable and exaggerated

¹² Pedro de Ribadeneyra, *Flos sanctorum, o libro de las vidas de los santos* (Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1599), *idem*, *Segunda parte del Flos sanctorum, o Libro de las vidas de los santos* (Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1601), *idem*, *Flos sanctorum, o, Libro de las vidas de los Santos, en el qual se contienen las vidas de Christo nuestro Señor y de su santissima madre, y de todos los Santos de que reza la Iglesia Romana* (Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1604), *idem*, *Segunda parte del Flos sanctorum, o libro de las vidas de los santos* (Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1609) Eventually incorporated into the 1609 edition was a companion volume: *idem*, *Libro de vidas de santos que communmente llaman Extravagantes* (Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1604)

¹³ Pedro de Ribadeneyra, *Confessiones, epistolae, aliaque scripta inedita*, 2 vols, ed. Daniel Restrepo (Madrid: La editorial Ibérica, 1920-1923), MHSI 58 and 60 Other works by Ribadeneyra that I cite include Pedro de Ribadeneyra, *Historia ecclesiastica del scisma del Reyno de Inglaterra* (Antwerp: Christopher Plantin, 1588); *idem*, *Tratado de la tribulacion* (Alcalá: Juan Iñiguez de Lequerica, 1593); *idem*, *Tratado de la religion y virtudes que deve tener el Principe Christiano* (Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1595).

¹⁴ I could not consult the early modern edition of Surius, instead I used: Laurentius Surius, *Historiae seu vitae sanctorum juxta optimam coloniensem editionem*, 13 vols (Turin: Marietto, 1875-80) I will not focus on Lippomano extensively, but I do consult the three volumes of his compilations of saints' lives: Luigi Lippomano, *Sanctorum priscorum partum vitae numero centum sexagintatres, per gravissimos et probatissimos auctores conscriptae* (Venice: Segno della Speranza, 1551), *idem*, *Secundus tomus vitarum Sanctorum priscorum partum vitae numero ducentum et vigintiquinque, per gravissimos et probatissimos auctores conscriptae* (Venice: Segno della Speranza, 1553), *idem*, *Vitarum sanctorum priscorum patrum per gravissimos auctores conscriptarum* (Venice: Segno della Speranza, 1554)

¹⁵ The following is a useful biography of Lippomano's life found in a collection of documents when Lippomano was the Papal Nuncio to Poland: Henricus Damianus Wojtyska, "Introductio," in *Acta nuntiaturae Polonae* 3, 1, *Aloisius Lippomano (1555-1557)*, ed. Henricus Damianus Wojtyska (Rome: Institutum historicum polonicum Romae, 1993), i-xvii

accounts in the *Legenda aurea* to rescue the legitimacy of saintly veneration¹⁶ Their texts transformed the genre of hagiography, yet maintained a sense of continuity and tradition To better establish Ribadeneyra's place within this tradition, I will use Surius and to a lesser extent, Lippomano as they had transitioned hagiography from its late medieval tendencies Surius and Lippomano went back to the sources to establish the veracity of a saint's existence¹⁷ Both Villegas and Ribadeneyra consulted the works of Surius and Lippomano in their compilations of saints' lives

Other early modern writings will illuminate Ribadeneyra's context, such as foundational texts by Ignatius of Loyola and the Jesuit pedagogical manual, the *Ratio studiorum*¹⁸ Every Jesuit, meanwhile, was familiar with the *Spiritual Exercises* and the *Constitutions*, respectively the guide to meditation and the order's governing document¹⁹

¹⁶ There is a 1618 biography of Surius used for context "*Vita reverendi eruditi religiosi et de ecclesia optime meriti Fr Laurentii Surii*" in Laurentius Surius, *Historiae seu vitae sanctorum* (Turin: Marietto, 1875) 2 III-XI Surius noted his relationship with Lippomano in a letter to Cardinal Gabriele Paleotti An abridged version of the letter appears here in "De ratione huius operis ac de historiarum sanctorum lectionis utilitate," in Surius, *Historiae seu vitae sanctorum*, I VII-XI

Surius wasted no time in discussing Lippomano What follows is the letter's first sentence "Ante annos non adeo multos, illustrissime Cardinalis, vir immortalis memoria dignis, Aloisius Lipomanus, tum Veronensis Episcopus, aliquot Tomos edidit de Vitae Sanctorum sed confuse et absque certo ordine, quod ei tum primum hoc opus multi et sudoris et temporis suscipienti, non ita facile et promptum esset in menses distribuere Vitas, quas ex diversis auctoribus collegerat quamquam postea id in Simeone Metaphraste ab eo praestitum est" (I VII) This letter has no date but a reasonable estimation is between 1572 to 1578 due to the reference of Gregory XIII (elected in 1572) at the letter's conclusion and Surius's death in 1578

¹⁷ Aragües Aldaz, "Tendencias y realizaciones," 519-22, Ditchfield, *Liturgy* 124-26

¹⁸ "*Ratio atque institutio studiorum Societatis Iesu* (1599)," in *Ratio atque institutio studiorum Societatis Iesu*, ed Ladislaus Lukacs (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1986) 355-454 MHSI 129 Earlier versions of the *Ratio studiorum* had existed since the 1580s

¹⁹ Ignatius of Loyola, *Exercitia Spiritualia* eds Josephus Calverus and Candido de Dalmases (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1969) MHSI 100 I use the standard pagination for the four extant editions (Autographum, Versio vulgata, Versio prima a 1541, Versio prima a 1547) I use the Autographum, which is in Castilian, whereas the other editions are in Latin

As for the *Constitutions* Ignatius of Loyola, *Constitutiones Societatis Iesu* (Rome: Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu, 1936) MHSI 64 The text used is the Castilian 1594 edition based on Ignatius's original handwritten document Whenever necessary, I have consulted the following translation Ignatius of Loyola, *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*, trans George G Ganss (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1970)

The *Regulae* also provided guidance for Jesuits, but was not a traditional religious rule²⁰ Jesuits also attempted to imitate the life of Ignatius, the Society's founder and guiding light, through reading works attributed to him that circulated in manuscript²¹ Ribadeneyra's *Vita Ignati* amalgamated and supplemented these texts into one printed volume²² Conciliar texts familiar to Jesuits contained the doctrine of Trent such as the *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent* and the *Catechism*²³ An additional catechism by Jesuit Peter Canisius will localise the doctrine preached by the Society of Jesus²⁴ As well, everyday devotional works familiar to Ribadeneyra are important to this study For instance, the *Breviarium Romanum* (1569) was an abridgement of the necessary readings for devotion²⁵ The *Martyrologium Romanum* (1584) included not only martyrs but also a comprehensive list of saints venerated in Catholicism and their feast days²⁶

²⁰ *Regulae Societatis Iesu* (Tarragona Felipe Mey, 1583) Different permutations of the *Regulae* have appeared since 1545 and 1546 I chose Felipe Mey's edition since it was among the earliest printed *Regulae* in Spain (IB 10742-43, 10745-49) On the early publication history of the *Regulae*, see Jean-François Gilmont, *Les écrits spirituels des premiers Jesuites* (Rome Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1961), 82-87

²¹ The *Autobiography* appears in "Acta Patris Ignatii scripta a Lud[ovico] Gonzalez de Camara 1553/1555," in *Fontes narrative de S Ignatio de Loyola et de Societatis Iesu Initius*, eds Denis Fernandez Zapico and Candido de Dalmases (Rome Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu, 1943), 1 323-507 MHSI 66

The *Spiritual Diary* is in Ignatius of Loyola, "Ephemeris S N Ignatii," in *Institutiones Societatis Iesu* (Rome Gregorian Pontifical University, 1934), 1 86-158 MHSI 63

There are twelve volumes of Ignatius's letters Ignatius of Loyola, *Epistolae et instructiones*, 12 vols (Madrid Gabriel Lopez del Horno, 1903-11) MHSI 22, 26, 28, 29, 31, 33, 34, 36, 37, 39, 40, and 42

²² I will use a modern edition of his life of Ignatius Pedro de Ribadeneyra, *Vita Ignatii Loyolae*, ed Candido de Dalmases (Rome Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu, 1965) MHSI 93

²³ *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*, trans H J Schroeder (St Louis and London Herder Book Co, 1941), *Catechism of the Council of Trent*, trans J Donovan (Dublin W Folds and Son, 1829)

²⁴ Peter Canisius, *Opus catechisticum* (Cologne Gervinus Calenius and descendents of Johann Quentelius, 1577)

²⁵ *Breviarium Romanum Editio princeps* (1568), eds M Sodi and A M Triacca (Vatican City Libreria editrice vaticana, 1999) I have left out the *Missale Romanum* (1570) due to its considerable duplication of content from the *Breviarium*

²⁶ *Martyrologium Romanum Editio princeps* (1584), eds M Sodi and R Fusco (Vatican City Libreria editrice vaticana, 2005)

I will not discuss every saint in the *Flos sanctorum* extensively because of the compilation's large number of saints' lives.²⁷ In this thesis, we will limit ourselves to a detailed examination of twelve saints. The small number will facilitate the study of numerous overlapping developments in early modern Catholicism. Examples include the recollection of the apostolic church and the changes to medieval saints' cults. I have used the following criteria in deciding which saints to include in this thesis: saints relevant to early modern Spaniards, saints of the apostolic church, and saints that feature in Jesuit writings. The twelve examined saints do not fit all of these criteria, but represent a broad cross-section of early modern saintliness.

Saints that appeared prominently in Spanish religious life required inclusion in a compilation of sacred biographies printed in Madrid. The students Justus and Pastor were among the many patron saints of Madrid and Alcalá. They underwent martyrdom in Alcalá during Diocletian's Great Prosecution.²⁸ Spaniards also prayed to Sebastian, another martyr under Diocletian and a popular intercessor in Spain against plague and pestilence.²⁹ James the Apostle, meanwhile, was the patron saint of Spain and the Reconquista's figurehead, known as the Moor Slayer.³⁰ These three saints had local, popular, and national cults in early modern Spain. Ribadeneyra was aware of these traditions of veneration, given that he operated out of Madrid.

Many early modern religious movements wished a return to the apostolic life featured in the New Testament and the Fathers. These saints are important since they

²⁷ The number of saints' lives in *Flos sanctorum* is inconsistent. On average, the redactions contain about two-hundred lives.

²⁸ This information is from the respective saints' lives found in Alban Butler, *Butler's Lives of Saints*, rev. ed., ed. Paul Burns, 12 vols. (Collegeville, MN: Burns & Oates, 1995). For Justus and Pastor, see 8:42.

²⁹ Ibid. 1:132-33.

³⁰ Ibid. 7:196-98.

were the original imitators of Christ. The saintliness of New Testament figures provided a template for all subsequent saints. I opted to use Peter as the first pope and the founder of the Roman Church, Paul as Christianity's pivotal theologian, John as both an apostle and an evangelist, as well as Stephen as a protomartyr.³¹ Other saints to consider are those that feature prominently in Jesuit writings appear as imitators of Christ or the apostolic church. Both Dominic and Francis of Assisi as founders of medieval religious orders exemplified the religious vocation for Ignatius and surface significantly in his *Autobiography*.³² The life of Christ inspired Dominic and Francis to their mendicant vocation. The *Spiritual Exercises*, meanwhile, mention Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventure, and Augustine for their contribution to theology.³³ The mendicant saints are important due to the cycles of sanctity established between their founders and its recruits. While Thomas imitated Dominic's life, Bonaventure did the same with Francis, both perpetuating a mendicant religiosity. The continuity of sainthood within a religious order was important to the Society's efforts at integrating into Catholicism. Augustine's presence is essential since he founded a religious community without a rule and he too imitated the apostolic church.

This thesis investigates early modern religious identity expression through a text-based community, more specifically, through the publication of saints' lives. John O'Malley's vision of 'Early Modern Catholicism' encourages the historian to take into account the many faces of religious change in the early modern world. O'Malley argues that the changes in Catholicism are too broad to be confined to entrenched concepts such

³¹ Ibid. 6: 224-34; 12: 204-6, 210-12.

³² Ibid. 8: 55-66 (Dominic); 10:17-26 (Francis of Assisi).

³³ Ibid. 1: 194-200 (Thomas Aquinas); 7:111-14 (Bonaventure); 8: 279-88 (Augustine).

as Counter-Reformation and Catholic Reformation³⁴ While confessionalisation is an alluring explanation for the changes in early modern religion, it is not without its problems Confessionalisation, a concept popularised by German historians, accounts for the ruptures in early modern Christendom through analyzing the process of confession-building which occurred throughout Europe between the Peace of Augsburg (1555) and the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648). Explicit statements of doctrine, paired with the support of political rulers, defined these confessions, whether Calvinist, Lutheran, or Catholic³⁵ For one, confessionalisation has a top-down partiality, focussing on the interactions of monarchs, reformers, and church leaders. Instead of explorations of the social dynamics of religion, quite often historians have preferred to examine the 'great men' of religious history.

Another problem with the confessionalisation thesis is its model-based reductionism, which reveals an inability to depict the continuities between Christendom

³⁴ Growing out of the historiography in the nineteenth-century, historians of the Counter-Reformation and the Catholic Reformation based their interpretations on confessional and ideological lines Protestant historians used Counter-Reformation to suggest the church as a reactionary institution unable to reform itself without the provocation of the Protestant reformers Catholic historians countered with Catholic Reformation to describe a church working to reform religious life prior to Luther and continuing the practice afterwards Hubert Jedin in the early twentieth century suggested that the Roman church experienced both simultaneously Jedin suggested that this period was a 'Catholic Reformation and/or Counter-Reformation' Please see Hubert Jedin, "Catholic Reformation or Counter Reformation?" in *The Counter-Reformation The Essential Readings*, ed David M Luebke (Malden, MA Blackwell, 1999), 19-45

³⁵ Wolfgang Reinhard, "Reformation, Counter-Reformation, and the Early Modern State An Assessment," *Catholic Historical Review* 75 (1989) 383-404 I use the reprint found in *The Counter-Reformation The Essential Readings*, ed. David M Luebke (Malden, MA Blackwell, 1999), 105-28

Ute Lotz-Heumann provides an excellent overview of confessionalisation's relationship with the historiography, see Ute Lotz-Heumann, "Confessionalization," in *Reformation and Early Modern Europe A Guide to Research*, ed. David M Whitford (Kirkville, MI. Truman State University, 2008), 136-157.

Localised discussions about Spanish confessionalisation can be found in Allyson M Poska, "Confessionalization and Social Discipline in the Iberian World," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 94 (2003). 308-19, Federico Palomo, "'Disciplina christiana' Apuntes historiograficos en torno a la disciplina y el disciplinamiento social como categorías de la historia religiosa de la alta edad moderna," *Cuadernos de Historia Moderna* 18 (1997) 119-36

Helpful studies on early modern confessionalisation in France and Germany include Philip Benedict, "Confessionalization in France? Critical Reflections and New Evidence," in *The Faith and Fortunes of France's Huguenots 1600-1685* (Aldershot Ashgate, 2001), 309-26; R Po-Chia Hsia, *Social Discipline in the Reformation, Central Europe 1550-1750* (London and New York Routledge, 2002)

and confessions. Instead of investigating the differences between confessions, the confessionalization thesis encourages the study of different religious entities as interchangeable groups depriving them of any distinction.³⁶ The problems of focussing on the ‘great men’ and the reductionism are symptomatic of the ‘strong theory of confessionalization’. The ‘weak’ version emphasises the rivalry between confessions and their formation of barricades around themselves. While the ‘strong’ overemphasises the similarities between confessions, the ‘weak’ fixates on differences exclusively. As O’Malley suggested, ‘Early Modern Catholicism’ complements the confessionalisation thesis rather than refutes it. O’Malley’s notion enables the incorporation of popular religion, continuities in Christianity before and after the reformations, as well as accounting for the cultural detritus of twentieth-century historians of early modern religion.³⁷ Moreover, Thomas Kaufmann’s concept of ‘confessional cultures’ is useful since it explores how confessional churches contributed to the social and cultural life of its members. The idea of ‘confessional cultures’ also acknowledges the diversity of religious experience, instead of its uniformity, a problem which frequently plagued studies that adopted the confessionalisation thesis.³⁸

Another legacy of the historiography is the assumption that Spanish clergy were either progressive humanists who embodied a protomodernity or small-minded scholastics who challenged the humanists. This generalization featured prominently in Marcel Bataillon’s study of Erasmus’s overarching influence in sixteenth-century

³⁶ Benedict, 311-13.

³⁷ John W. O’Malley, “Was Ignatius Loyola a Church Reformer? How to Look at Early Modern Catholicism,” *Catholic Historical Review* 77, no. 2 (April 1991): 177-93. I use the reprint found in *The Counter-Reformation: The Essential Readings*, ed. David M. Luebke (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1999), 65-82.

³⁸ Lotz-Heumann, 144-45. Contrast with R. Hsia, 89-121.

Spanish religiosity. Bataillon argues that the works of Erasmus galvanised early modern Spanish religion, creating a clergy that defined themselves according to their support or disapproval of Erasmus's ideas.³⁹ The conception of the Spanish clergy as a monolithic entity oversimplifies and distorts the multifarious nature of priests in early modern Spain. As Lu Ann Homza has shown, clergy used whichever means they had at their disposal to make theological judgements and frequently lacked ideological consistency and drifted between tradition and innovation, Scholasticism and humanism.⁴⁰ While Ribadeneyra was not directly part of this intellectual culture, its influence is evident in his diverse use of ancient, medieval, and contemporary sources. Thomistic Scholasticism was as important to Ribadeneyra as the humanist veneration of antiquity. Homza's conceptions are also suggestive of the clashes and contrasts in the reading habits of early modern Catholics.

Catholics forged an 'imagined community of readers' in this period involving readers and hearers of devotional texts. This concept draws upon Roger Chartier's notion of 'reading/interpretive communities', Brian Stock's 'textual communities', and Benedict Anderson's notion of 'imagined communities'. Anderson probes the role of print media in the development of national identities through the dispersal of vernacular texts.⁴¹ This idea can be nuanced to include Chartier's conception of assembled readers engaged in the

³⁹ Marcel Bataillon, *Érasme et l'Espagne: Recherches sur l'histoire spirituelle du XVI^e siècle* (Paris: Droz 1937). I consulted the Spanish translation: *idem, Erasmo y España: Estudios sobre la historia espiritual del siglo XVI*, 2nd ed. (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1966).

⁴⁰ Lu Ann Homza, *Religious Authority in the Spanish Renaissance* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000). See also *idem*, "The Merits of Disruption and Tumult: New Scholarship on Religion and Spirituality in Spain during the Sixteenth Century," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 100 (2009): 218-34.

⁴¹ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, rev. ed. (London and New York: Verso, 1983, reprint, 2006), 9-46.

interpretation of texts.⁴² As well, Stock's notion of 'textual communities' explores the roles of individuals who have mastered a text and then use it to change a group's practices and beliefs. These texts acted as the pathways to religious perfection. The 'textual community' through its use of precedent and literacy caused conflict with the world that existed outside of the text, whether through reform or heresy.⁴³ In much the same way that print media shaped national identities in the modern period, these communities of readers asserted a religious identity through their interaction with texts written in the specific languages of confessional discourse. Within this context of a nascent 'Early Modern Catholicism', the *Flos sanctorum* and other texts expressed Catholic identity after Trent. As such, these compilations are a useful tool with which to assess the transformation of Catholicism and sainthood after the Council of Trent.

The works of Michel de Certeau, Robert Darnton, Margit Frenk, and Fernando Bouza have informed my conceptions of reading and its place within communication networks. Certeau discusses the appropriation process of reading, akin to poaching or hunting for fragments of text.⁴⁴ Darnton, meanwhile, focuses more on solitary and silent readers. He also refutes the traditional interpretation of early modern reading as a transition from intensive to extensive reading. In fact, he reveals how both coexisted in

⁴² Roger Chartier, *The Order of Books*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1994), 1-23. The work of Roger Chartier is important to the history of reading. See also Roger Chartier, "Leisure and Sociability: Reading Aloud in Early Modern Europe," in *Urban Life of the Renaissance*, eds. Susan Zimmerman and Ronald F.E. Weissman (Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 1989), 103-20; *idem*, "Reading Matter and 'Popular' Reading: From the Renaissance to the Seventeenth Century," in *A History of Reading in the West*, eds. Guglielmo Cavallo and Roger Chartier (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999), 269-83.

⁴³ Brian Stock, *The Implications of Literacy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 88-240.

⁴⁴ Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1984), 165-76.

eighteenth-century France.⁴⁵ Frenk explores the auditory component of reading. Reading is a diverse practice, done alone, in silence, aloud, or in groups. The hearer of a text is an equal participant as the reader in communication cultures.⁴⁶ Frenk's argument is particularly relevant when discussing the Jesuits due to the society's preoccupation with reading and preaching. Fernando Bouza combines the above approaches to explore how early modern Spaniards heard, saw, and read: these practices formed a hybrid means of dissemination and the acquisition of ideas and knowledge.⁴⁷ An example of how the Jesuits amalgamated reading and hearing can be found in the *Spiritual Exercises*. The exercitant initially completed the examen (a spiritual review of the conscience) alone and meditated daily on religious things. The spiritual director dictated and gave orally to the exercitant daily exercises, relevant Bible passages, and other pious texts, such as saints' lives. That day's items provided the material for the exercitant's meditation.⁴⁸ While the director did not read out the *Spiritual Exercises*, it encouraged a communal identity through the appropriation of a text. As such, reading had the potential to influence Catholic conduct, a particularly important aspect of 'Early Modern Catholicism'. In the creation of early modern confessions, authorities became involved in the daily lives of people. An example of this social disciplining of Catholic reading habits was Inquisitional censorship of the book trade. Social discipline, however, emerged in devotional texts, such as catechisms, which provided the members of a confession with

⁴⁵ Robert Darnton, "First Steps towards a History of Reading" *Australian Journal of French Studies* 23 (1986). 5-30, reprinted in *The Kiss of Lamourette Reflections on Cultural History* (New York W.W Norton & Company, 1990), 154-87.

⁴⁶ Margit Frenk, "Lectores y oidores La difusión oral de la literatura en el Siglo de Oro," in *Actas del VII Congreso de la Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas* (Rome. Bulzoni, 1982), 1 101-23

⁴⁷ Fernando Bouza, *Communication, Knowledge, and Memory in Early Modern Spain*, trans Sonia López and Michael Agnew (Philadelphia University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 1-15

⁴⁸ Ignatius, *Exercitia Spirituality*, [1-20]

their doctrine and core beliefs.⁴⁹ We will explore further early modern Catholic community by situating Ribadeneyra's lives of saints in the historiography of the Society of Jesus, hagiography, and communication networks.

The Society of Jesus developed the practice of writing their own histories approximately a half-century after their foundation in 1540. Even into the twentieth-century, histories of the order did not deviate from this sixteenth-century model. For the most part, such works consisted of biographies of pivotal Jesuits and institutional accounts of the order, whether from its inception to the present or in a specific locale.⁵⁰ Examinations of Jesuit cultural life, such as their involvement in early modern sciences, art, and spirituality, lacked rigour and had a notorious tendency to list names and little else.⁵¹ One exception in the history of Jesuit spirituality was the work of Pedro de Leturia in the mid-twentieth century, which analysed Ignatian spirituality within the cultural milieu of the period. Most relevant to this study is his examination of the influence of the Desert Fathers on Ignatius and the role of ascetic and mystical literature in Jesuit contemplation.⁵²

Recently, historians of the Society of Jesus have become increasingly interested in Jesuits' contributions to early modern religious cultures. In the process, historians of the Society consider the plurality of their experiences, whether international missions, visual

⁴⁹ O'Malley, "Ignatius Loyola," 73-80, Reinhard, 110-17.

⁵⁰ An example of twentieth-century historical biographies is William V. Bangert, *Jerome Nadal, S.J., 1507-1580: Tracking the First Generation of Jesuits* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 2002). Two institutional histories include Antonio Astrain, who focuses exclusively on Spain, and William Bangert, who creates a history of the order from its beginnings to Bangert's era. Antonio Astrain, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la asistencia de España*, 2nd ed., 7 vols. (Madrid: Razón y Fe, 1912-1925); William V. Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus* (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1972).

⁵¹ John O'Malley, "The Historiography of the Society of Jesus," in *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540-1773*, eds. John W. O'Malley et al. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 4-18.

⁵² Pedro de Leturia, *Estudios Ignacianos*, ed. Ignacio Iparraguirre, 2 vols. (Rome: Institutum historicum Societatis Iesu, 1957), 1: 96-111, 268-331.

culture, contributions to spirituality and political thought, or their involvement in communication networks⁵³ The diversity of current Jesuit research is evident in the recent essay collections on Jesuit contributions to arts, cultures, and sciences⁵⁴ I will explore a handful of themes related to the early modern Jesuits As this thesis is a study of early modern communication networks, I will discuss the Jesuit missions and its epistolary practices, its visual culture, its intellectual culture that promoted the printing of books, as well as the religious and pedagogical culture of the Jesuit colleges

While earlier institutional histories of the order had always considered Jesuit visual culture in a cursory manner, since the late-1990s, scholars have paid more attention to the Society's use of visuality to inspire devotion Two distinct themes underlie the current analysis of Jesuit visual culture The first examines the changes to European Christianity during the sixteenth-century and the use of visual media to encourage the laity to worship, to legitimise Catholic practices, and to teach Catholic doctrine While Calvinists destroyed images and Lutherans reluctantly used them for pedagogical aims, the Society employed images to encourage meditation and piety through first focusing on the external and then transitioning towards the internal⁵⁵ Thus, Jesuit visual culture depicted the early Christian martyrs as embodiments of a church battling heresy, drew connections between heresy and the plague, and created a sense of

⁵³ O'Malley, "Historiography," 24-26, *idem*, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1993), Florence Hsia, *Sojourners in a Strange Land: Jesuits and their Scientific Missions in Late Imperial China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), Robert Maryks, *Saint Cicero and the Jesuits* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), *idem*, *The Jesuit Order as a Synagogue of Jews* (Leiden: Brill, 2010)

⁵⁴ The two essay collections in question are *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts 1540-1773*, eds John W. O'Malley et al (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), *The Jesuits II: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts 1540-1773*, eds John W. O'Malley et al (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006)

⁵⁵ Paul Nelles, "Seeing and Writing: The Art of Observation in the Early Jesuit Missions," *Intellectual History Review* 20, no. 3 (2010): 322-23

grandeur for the faithful and imparted core Catholic beliefs. Key themes included a continued devotion to Mary, the Holy Family, and especially the saints.⁵⁶ At the same time, this visual impulse extended beyond church frescos and architecture as the same sensations are important to reading books and many forms of religious engagement, such as a sermon or a religious play.⁵⁷

The second theme in the current scholarship involves the Society's use of images in its role in the overseas missions. One instance of this phenomenon is the iconography of Francis Xavier, the Jesuit missionary *par excellence*. Representations of Xavier in books and paintings not only promoted the cult of Francis to the indigenous laity who attended Jesuit churches, but it provided an example for members of the Society to follow.⁵⁸ Locality did not impede the Society due to its ability to assimilate indigenous practices. Dissimilar from other religious orders, the Society excelled at negotiating between European Catholicism and localised beliefs, whether in Japan, China, India, or the Americas.⁵⁹ These tendencies whether in Europe or abroad enabled the Society to do their missionary work, even when they lacked knowledge of the area's indigenous languages. Images, akin to other pieces of material culture such as books, facilitated religious discourse, even if the intended audience had no knowledge of the language spoken to them.

⁵⁶ Gauvin Alexander Bailey, *Between Renaissance and Baroque Jesuit Art in Rome, 1565-1610* (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 2003); Christine M. Boeckl, "Plague Imagery as Metaphor for Heresy in Rubens' *The Miracle of Saint Francis Xavier*," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 27, no. 4 (1996): 979-95; Kirstin Noreen, "Ecclesiae militantis triumph: Jesuit Iconography and the Counter-Reformation," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 29, no. 3 (1998): 689-715.

⁵⁷ Jeffrey Chipps Smith, *Sensuous Worship Jesuits and the Art of the Early Catholic Reformation in Germany* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2002).

⁵⁸ Maria Cristina Osswald, "The Iconography and Cult of Francis Xavier, 1552-1640," *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 71, no. 142 (2002): 259-77.

⁵⁹ Gauvin Alexander Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America, 1542-1773* (Toronto, Buffalo, and London: University of Toronto Press, 1999); François-Marc Gagnon, *La conversion par l'image un aspect de la mission des Jésuites auprès des Indiens du Canada au XVIIe siècle* (Montréal: Bellarmin, 1975).

The Jesuits, however, built their community on multimedia. Jesuits used various media in the creation of communication networks, especially as the Society expanded during Claudio Acquaviva's tenure as Superior-General (1585-1615).⁶⁰ Letters played vital roles as they provided Provincial and Superior-Generals accounts of the events in a locality. Jesuits wrote and sent these letters, initially, quarter-annually, and after 1573, annually. Letters when collected and then printed or circulated in manuscript also functioned as devotional works. Akin to saints' lives, letters of Jesuit missionaries operated akin to manuals for living the ideal clerical life. Letters also embodied Jesuit communication networks that they formed in the early modern world.⁶¹ Just as letters relayed the news of a Jesuit mission, they also circulated within other locales to encourage other Jesuits.

Jesuits took advantage of these epistolary-based communication networks to disseminate printed works as well. In turn, bookstores and printers involved themselves in the Society's culture of texts. Jesuit authors interacted with local printers to produce their books of catechism, biography, religious controversies, as well as revised and updated works of the Church Fathers. At the same time, they also made use of the order's communicative framework to disperse and promulgate texts to read.⁶² Jesuit communication networks overlapped with other early modern arrangements, such as the Society's involvement in client-patron relationships to have their works printed in the

⁶⁰ An excellent study on one of the Society's international missions, specifically India is: Ines G Županov, *Missionary Tropics: The Catholic Frontier in India (16th and 17th Centuries)* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2005)

⁶¹ Markus Friedrich, "Circulating and Compiling the *Litterae Annuae*: Towards a History of the Jesuit System of Communication," *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 153, no. 77 (2008): 3-39; Palomo, "Corregir letras," 57-81

⁶² On the role of printers, see Bernabé Bartolomé Martínez, "Las librerías e imprentas de los Jesuitas, 1540-1767," *Hispania Sacra* 40 (1988): 315-88. On the books read and written by Jesuits, please see Dominique Bertrand, "The Society of Jesus and the Church Fathers," in *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West*, ed. Irena Dorota Backus (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 1995), 2: 889-950. See also Lazar

seventeenth century.⁶³ Texts established and made tangible the Society's cultural identity in the increasingly globalised early modern Catholic world.

History and life-writing existed as two other important components of Jesuit culture. While the Society's teaching of history had a definite humanist influence, evident in their use of Cicero and Vergil, the Jesuit historical orientation also influenced their missionary work.⁶⁴ At the same time, lives of Jesuit leaders and missionaries travelled in the same communicative framework.⁶⁵ Ribadeneyra wrote the lives of three Superior-Generals (Ignatius, Laínez, and Borgia), his own biography modelled on Augustine, and the life of a Toledan holy woman.⁶⁶ Ribadeneyra was a life-writing Jesuit and a historian of the sacred through whom he inserted himself and his religious order into Catholic religious life. Ribadeneyra built upon Surius and Lippomano's rehabilitation of sacred biographies and, as they had, refuted heresy and affirmed Catholic doctrine through the lives of saints. Ribadeneyra's textual community encouraged reform of hagiography and the nature of sanctity in early modern Catholicism. While Villegas emerged from the same Surius-based tradition in hagiography, his impact failed to extend beyond Iberia. Ribadeneyra, meanwhile, composed a sacred history from antiquity to the present day through his saints' lives. His importance is significant as preliminary results show at least seventy-four translations of his *Flos sanctorum* across Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the same period, Spanish printers produced at least eighteen

⁶³ Martha Baldwin, "Pious Ambition: Natural Philosophy and the Jesuit Quest for the Patronage of Printed Books in the Seventeenth Century," in *Jesuit Science and the Republic of Letters*, ed. Mordechai Feingold (Cambridge, MA, and London: MIT Press, 2003), 285-329.

⁶⁴ Paul Nelles, "Historia magistra antiquitatis: Cicero and Jesuit History Teaching," *Renaissance Studies* 13, no. 2 (1999): 130-172; *idem*, "Du savant au missionnaire: la doctrine, les mœurs et l'écriture de l'histoire chez les Jésuites," *XVIIe siècle* 237 (2007): 669-89; Kristine Louise Haugen, "A French Jesuit's Lectures on Vergil, 1582-1583: Jacques Sirmond between Literature, History, and Myth," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 30, no. 4 (1999): 967-85.

⁶⁵ Florence Hsia, 30-50.

⁶⁶ Bilinkoff, "Ribadeneyra," 181.

editions.⁶⁷ He was the single antecedent to the Bollandists' hagiographical monolith through his sacred biographies. Ribadeneyra's life-writing suggested the existence of a communication network comprised of saints' lives circulating amongst early modern Catholics.

While biographies feature heavily in Jesuit spiritual life and communication networks, scholars have neglected hagiography. A major contributor to this problem is the embedded assumption of hagiographical 'evolution' from the amateur *Legenda aurea* to the professional and scientific *Acta sanctorum* of the Bollandists.⁶⁸ The exceptions focus on hagiography in New France, in Italy, in Germany, and in Spain.⁶⁹ While scholars traditionally have equated the lives of saints with hagiography, this conception required augmentation to "include biographical accounts of persons regarded as holy or exemplary in their own time, even if they were not formally canonized as saints."⁷⁰ Hagiography exists alongside broader trends in early modern life-writing.

⁶⁷BCJ, 6: 1737-40, 1743-53. I generated additional results through the Karlsruhe Virtual Catalog. Each separate volume printed counts as an edition. Sommervogel lists the following translations of Ribadeneyra's *Flos sanctorum* printed throughout the seventeenth century (the number of editions appears in brackets): Castilian (ten), Flemish, German, Portuguese, Latin, and English (one each), French (forty-nine), Italian (nine). Sommervogel also notes the existence of Japanese (c. 1623) and Kaqchikel (c. 1619) editions. Kaqchikel is an indigenous Mesoamerican language part of the Mayan languages spoken by the eponymous people of central Guatemala. Herbert Rosweyde completed the Flemish translation of Ribadeneyra's *Flos sanctorum*. Rosweyde began the hagiographical project that became the Bollandists, under Jean Bolland. By the 1640s, Castilian *Flos sanctorum* expanded to a third volume evident in their subsequent publication in three folio or six quarto volumes. Single lives produced in France appeared briefly in the late 1610s. In the eighteenth-century, meanwhile, I have found the following translations: Castilian (eight), Italian (ten), German (one), Flemish and French (two apiece).

⁶⁸ Ditchfield, "Thinking with the Saints," 560. A refreshing aversion to this narrative is: Sherry L. Reames, *The Legenda aurea: A Reexamination of Its Paradoxical History* (Madison, WI, and London: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985).

⁶⁹ Aragüés Aldaz, "Tendencias y realizaciones,"; Julia Boss, "Writing a Relic: the Use of Hagiography in New France," in *Colonial Saints: Discovering the Holy in Americas, 1500-1800*, eds. Allan Greer and Jodi Bilinkoff (New York: Routledge, 2003), 211-34; Ditchfield, *Liturgy*; Teófanés Egido, "Hagiografía y estereotipos de santidad contrareformista," *Cuadernos de Historia Moderna* 25 (2000): 61-85; Alan Greer, "Colonial Saints: Gender, Race, and Hagiography in New France," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 57, no. 2 (April 2000): 323-48; *idem*, *Mohawk Saint: Catherine Tekakwitha and the Jesuits* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

⁷⁰ Bilinkoff, *Related Lives*, 3.

Specifically, historians use the concept of ‘life-writing’ as an analytical tool for examining secular and religious lives, independent of confession. At its simplest, lives are narratives that recall and celebrate the conduct of its protagonist as well as relate the context to its reader, and can be biographical or autobiographical. Amongst the varieties of biographies, Ribadeneyra’s *Flos sanctorum* continues medieval hagiographic traditions yet also echoes humanist collections of didactic lives. The medieval practice also included the lives of *beati*, beatified but not canonized persons, as well as depictions of pious contemporaries.⁷¹ Protestants also turned to biography but instead of miracles and outwardly works, these lives focused on divine intervention and assistance, corresponding to theologies of grace and predestination.⁷² While early modern historians have neglected hagiography due to their perception of it as a relic of the Middle Ages, medieval conceptions of hagiography are useful to help contextualise the practice.⁷³ Hagiography as sacred biographies sought to convey the resonances shared between saints and Christ.⁷⁴ As well, saints in the hagiographies of late antiquity exemplified conduct that the texts’ readers imitated.⁷⁵ These medieval ideas remained pertinent to the Society’s practice of ‘life-writing’.

⁷¹ For instance, on the relation between the lives male confessors wrote about their female penitents and its implications on gender, see Bilinkoff, *Related Lives*. Beatification was one part of the process of canonisation to ensure that the holy man or woman in question corresponded with Church’s doctrine.

⁷² Thomas F. Mayer and D. R. Woolf, “Introduction,” in *The Rhetorics of Life-Writing in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Thomas F. Mayer and D. R. Woolf, 1-37 (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1995), 10-16.

⁷³ For example, the work of Fernando Baños Vallejo on saints’ lives in medieval Spain was helpful to my understandings of the collections of genres; his more recent monograph builds upon his earlier research. Fernando Baños Vallejo, *La hagiografía como género literario en la Edad Media* (Oviedo: Departamento de Filología Española, 1989), *idem*, *Las vidas de santos en la literatura medieval española* (Madrid: Ediciones del Laberinto, 2003).

⁷⁴ Thomas J. Heffernan, *Sacred Biography: Saints and their Biographers in the Middle Ages* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 6-18.

⁷⁵ Peter Brown, “The Saint as Exemplar in Late Antiquity,” *Representations* 2 (1983): 1-25. A work that ties in these exemplars into early modern preaching is José Aragues Aldaz, *Deus concionator*.

The same concern is applicable to the matter of genre, since lives encompass not only biographies, but also autobiographies.⁷⁶ There is a rich scholarly literature, especially from literary studies, on early modern religious autobiography and its involvement in the construction of the self and its negotiation of gender and religious identities.⁷⁷ While identity formation is a discernible part of studies on autobiography, only Bilinkoff's *Related Lives* that focuses on the contribution of sacred biography to conceptions of community in the early modern Spain. In early modern England, Anne Dillon explores hagiography's role in religious identity expression through the English martyr Margaret Clitherow.⁷⁸

Hagiography is also associated with the study of early modern writing of history. Following Michel de Certeau, individual or compilations of saints' lives are texts preoccupied with time, place, as well as the discourse of 'virtues'. Hagiography as form of history provides longevity and precedent for a community's behaviours and actions. At the same time, these texts suggest a network for their dispersal regardless of format. Hagiographies function to perpetuate a religious collective memory and universal past to maintain the existence of a Catholic community, especially when it fights against

Mundo predicado y retorica del exemplum en los Siglos de Oro (Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 1999).

⁷⁶ Jay Rubenstein, "Biography and Autobiography in the Middle Ages," in *Writing Medieval History*, ed. Nancy Partner (London: Hodder, 2005), 22-41.

⁷⁷ One of the earlier studies is the essay collection. *Autobiography in Early Modern Spain*, eds. Nicholas Spadaccini and Jenaro Talens (Minneapolis: Prisma Institute, 1988). Much of the recent literature focuses almost exclusively on Teresa of Ávila and gender identity as featured in her autobiography. On this topic, see Gillian W.T. Alhgren, *Teresa of Avila and the Politics of Sanctity* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996); Alison Weber, *Teresa of Avila and the Rhetoric of Femininity* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990). On the study of gender through autobiography, an excellent piece is: Gabriella Zarri, "Gender and Religious Autobiography between the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation: Typologies and Examples," in *Saints, Scholars, and Politicians Gender as a Tool in Medieval Studies*, eds. Mathilde van Dijk and Renée Nij (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 227-40.

⁷⁸ Anne Dillon, *The Construction of Martyrdom in the English Catholic Community, 1535-1603* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002)

competing ideologies and virtue-based discourses found in other confessions.⁷⁹ Saints' lives operate in the same sphere as works of history and liturgy, which sought to legitimise traditions and organise time.⁸⁰ Catholics saw such 'lives' as spiritually edifying works as well as histories, whether the saints' lives in Ribadeneyra's *Flos sanctorum*, or readings in the *Breviary* and the *Martyrology*.

Jesuits created and used communication networks to disperse texts to inspire piety and to offer religious instruction to Jesuits and lay Catholics alike. There has been a good deal of work, which explores the diffusion of books across regional and national boundaries. For instance, Clive Griffin investigates the transmission of Protestant ideas into Spain amongst French itinerant print-workers through Inquisitorial documentation.⁸¹ Scholars have also examined the Protestant Reformation and its relationship to nationalised print cultures. Yet they attempt to locate the underlying similarities and distinctions between a transnational religious phenomenon and its substantiation in local contexts.⁸² Distribution networks of texts included other media than print. As evident in the Society's use of handwritten as well as printed media, these networks overlapped and could share the same intermediaries. Yet they did not behave as co-dependents, since these epistolary cultures had existed long before the arrival of print. In his work on early

⁷⁹ Michel de Certeau, *The Writing of History*, trans Tom Conley (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 269-83, especially 272 "The Life of a Saint is inscribed within the life of a group, either a church or a community. The text also implies a network of supports (oral transmission, manuscripts, or printed works) the Life of a Saint connects two apparently contrary movements. It assures a distance with respects to origins (a long-established community is distinguished from its past through the deviation that the very representation of the past constitutes). But furthermore, its return to origins allows unity to be re-established at a time when the group, through its development, runs the risk of being dispersed."

⁸⁰ See Ditchfield, *Liturgy*; *idem*, "Historia magistra sanctitatis?" Ditchfield notes the importance of seeing the considerable overlap between history and hagiography, a division ignored by nineteenth-century historians.

⁸¹ Clive Griffin, *Journeyman-printers, Heresy, and the Inquisition in Sixteenth Century Spain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

⁸² See *The Reformation and the Book*, ed Jean-François Gilmont, trans Karin Maag (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998).

modern Spain, Bouza investigates the persistence of handwritten communication cultures.⁸³ Bouza explores the negotiation of media amongst early modern Spaniards, addressing print, written, and oral cultures.⁸⁴ Another type of printed media, images, contributed to the spread of reformed and confessional ideologies and operated through oral cultures.⁸⁵ The dissemination of books by printers and authors coexisted and employed other media networks to attract and to interact with readers.

Simultaneous to this process was the ordering of texts by authorities to create an ideal library for readers. Ecclesiastic authorities such as the Spanish Inquisition censored texts considered heretical to Catholic teaching. In fact, the Inquisition effectively controlled reading habits in early modern Spain.⁸⁶ At the same time, there was a trend to fashion a “library without walls”, a collection of accumulated texts meant for reading.⁸⁷ An example of this library includes Conrad Gesner’s accumulation of every Greek, Latin, and Hebrew text printed in his *Bibliotheca universalis*.⁸⁸ While differing in purpose, the Jesuit Antonio Possevino’s *Bibliotheca selecta* was a concatenation of what Catholics

⁸³ Fernando Bouza, *Corre Manuscrito* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2001).

⁸⁴ See Bouza, *Communication*, 1-15, 39-56.

⁸⁵ The work of Robert Scribner is important here, see Robert Scribner, “Oral Culture and the Diffusion of Reformation Ideas,” *History of European Ideas* 5, no. 3 (1984): 237-56; *idem*, “Incombustible Luther: The Image of the Reformer in Early Modern Germany,” *Past and Present* 110 (February 1986): 38-68; *idem*, *For the Sake of Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).

⁸⁶ José Pardo Tomás, *Ciencia y censura: la inquisición española y los libros científicos en los siglos xvi y xvii* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1991); Virgilio Pinto Crespo, *Inquisición y control ideológico en la España del siglo xvi* (Madrid: Taurus, 1983). See also *Index de l’Inquisition espagnole 1551, 1554, 1559*, ed. J.M. de Bujanda (Sherbrooke, PQ and Geneva: Centre d’Études de la Renaissance and Librairie Droz, 1984); *Index de l’Inquisition espagnole 1583, 1584*, ed. J.M. de Bujanda (Sherbrooke and Geneva: Centre d’Études de la Renaissance and Librairie Droz, 1993).

⁸⁷ Chartier, *Order of Books*, 61-88.

⁸⁸ Paul Nelles, “Reading and Memory in the Universal Library: Conrad Gesner and the Renaissance Book,” in *Ars reminiscendi: Mind and Memory in Renaissance Culture*, eds. Donald Beecher and Grant Williams (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2009), 148-69.

ought to read that corresponded with the Society's course of study.⁸⁹ While distribution networks affected the availability of books, other structures affected the creation of libraries of permissible and forbidden texts.

Recent work on the history of reading provides some of book history's most innovative investigations. Earlier works on early modern Spanish reading practices focussed mostly on the reading of secular literature and assumed that only the educated ever read.⁹⁰ Scholarship has moved towards finding the greater literacy amongst early modern Spaniards as well as their affinity for devotional literature, evident in Inquisitional records.⁹¹ The central underlying problem of the history of reading is the greater care spent on the content rather than the process of the practice.⁹² This problematic assumption is evident in histories of the book based solely on libraries and booksellers' inventories. Owners of books do not necessarily read them. In fact, people frequently borrow books or travel elsewhere to access them.⁹³ At the same time, a persistent correlation made involves the assumption that people only read printed works, which is problematic due to the variety of early modern media, which incorporated

⁸⁹ Luigi Balsamo, "How to Doctor a Bibliography Antonio Possevino's Practice," in *Church, Censorship, and Culture in Early Modern Italy*, ed. Gigliola Fragnito, trans. Adrian Belton (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 50-78

⁹⁰ Maxime Chevalier, *Lectura y lectores en la España de los siglos XVI y XVII* (Madrid: Turner, 1976); Philippe Berger, *Libro y lectura en la Valencia del Renacimiento*, 2 vols. (Valencia: Edicions Alfons el Magnànim, 1987)

⁹¹ Sara T. Nalle, "Literacy and Culture in Early Modern Castile," *Past and Present* 125, no. 1 (1989): 65-96

⁹² Robert Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History* (New York: Vintage Books, 1985), 222 "To pass from the *what* to the *how* of reading is a difficult step."

⁹³ Bouza discusses this in *Communication*, 57-71. See also Trevor J. Dadson, *Libros, lectores y lecturas. Estudios sobre bibliotecas particulares españolas del Siglo de Oro* (Madrid: Arco/Libros, 1998), Dominique Julia, "Reading and the Counter-Reformation," in *A History of Reading in the West*, eds. Guglielmo Cavallo and Roger Chartier, trans. Lydia S. Cochrane (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999), 238-68

reading practices of some kind.⁹⁴ One solution to this dilemma is to examine the text as a visual artefact and explore how readers interacted with the text through investigating format, type, and illustrations. Another avenue for research involves the exploration of sites of reading and their appearance in culturally relevant contexts.

This study will examine the saints' lives in Ribadeneyra's *Flos sanctorum*, which provided narratives for early modern Catholics to assert a religious identity. Within this imagined religious community articulating confessional rectitude, I have found a hagiographical writer promulgating readers into participating in the observational emulation of the saints in the *Flos sanctorum*. In Ribadeneyra's conception, readers witnessed the piety featured in the text from which they appropriated the exemplary conduct of saints with the intent that they behaved as ideal Catholics. The social disciplining of Catholics through reading saints' lives also perpetuated another facet of confessional identity, namely the validity of the Roman church by illustrating its continuous existence from the apostolic age to the contemporary era. These outcomes are indicative of Ribadeneyra's participation in the Society's culture of saints who manifested in various ways. Ribadeneyra promoted these objectives through his own reading evident in the implied genealogy of texts that suggested the existence of continuities between his age and that of the apostolic church. Ribadeneyra not only imitated the saints he read within the texts, but also the ones who wrote the same works.

This thesis examines Ribadeneyra's transmission of a Catholic community through his *Flos sanctorum* in this midst of confessionalisation. How did hagiography

⁹⁴ Sara T. Nalle, "Printing and Reading Popular Religious Texts in Sixteenth-Century Spain," in *Culture and the State in Spain: 1550–1850*, eds. Tom Lewis and Francisco J. Sanchez (New York: Garland Publishing, 1999), 126–56; José Manuel Prieto Bernabé, *Lecturas y lectores: La cultura del impreso en el Madrid del Siglo de Oro (1550–1650)*, 2 vols. (Merida: Editora Regional de Extremadura, 2004).

assert Catholicism as a new confession while maintaining its sense of tradition? How did his version of the saints depict exemplary pious conduct for early modern Catholics? How did these cycles of sanctity gain longevity? What books did Ribadeneyra read in his promulgation of a confessional community of readers? Ribadeneyra not only had to distance himself from Protestant life-writers, but also had to situate himself within Catholicism's sacred history of which hagiography was part. In late-sixteenth century Spain, Ribadeneyra composed his *Flos sanctorum* in a place committed to the veneration of saints, to reading about their lives, and the refutation of any unorthodoxy. The first chapter examines the context that Ribadeneyra wrote his *Flos sanctorum* in early modern Madrid and Alcalá. While Ribadeneyra continued Lippomano and Surius's hagiographical tradition, Ribadeneyra's *Flos sanctorum* augmented his predecessors by incorporating liturgical reforms into his saints' lives. Ribadeneyra adjusted his *Flos sanctorum* so that it corresponded with Catholic practices apparent in the Gregorian calendar, the *Roman Breviary*, and the *Roman Martyrology*. Ribadeneyra concentrated his efforts on the entirety of Catholicism. Villegas and Ribadeneyra also included the lives of *extravagantes* in their *Flos sanctorum*. In particular, Ribadeneyra used the *extravagantes* for the promotion of local cults, beatified figures, as well as Jesuit exemplars. Ribadeneyra situated the Society within early modern Catholicism by integrating his order into hagiographies.

Chapter two explores Ribadeneyra's printed marginalia in the *Flos sanctorum* that reveal the books he read as a Catholic historian. Ribadeneyra also made his reading habits clear in the prologues to his *Flos sanctorum* as well as in his other writings. For Ribadeneyra, Lippomano and Surius had initiated a new approach to hagiography, which

he actively continued. Ribadeneyra also acknowledged the influence of other contemporary sacred historians, such as Caesar Baronius and his *Annales ecclesiastici*. I found that Ribadeneyra constructed a Catholic community through reading about the confession's tradition and legitimate connections with the apostolic church.

The practices of seeing exemplary conduct was evident amongst early modern Jesuits. Francis Xavier's letters encouraged other Jesuits to become missionaries, while Ribadeneyra's *Vita Ignatii* provided the pivotal virtues for every Jesuit. The final chapter explores the culture of observational emulation found in the Society and its relationship with reading. Texts became especially important after Xavier and Ignatius's deaths, since their exemplary lives required observation through reading instead of simply seeing their conduct in person. The increased reliance on observational emulation through texts was also important in the Society's age of rapid expansion under Superior-General Acquaviva. The number of Jesuits made it impossible to observe exemplars in action. Other facets of visual cultures in the Society of Jesus appeared in its performance of religious drama, its commissioning of frescos depicting saints, and its highly ornate Baroque churches, especially the order's mother church in Rome, *Il Gesù*.

Ribadeneyra's composition of hagiographies is one facet of the Society's heavily visual culture. I have found that the composition of saints' lives, however, also enabled Ribadeneyra to integrate the order into Catholicism considering the Jesuits' relative recent appearance in early modern Christianity. He also adapted the genre to conform to the observational emulation in use by Jesuits. Ribadeneyra achieved this objective by following the practices of Lippomano and Surius. In the midst of the Council of Trent, Lippomano started the practice of gathering sacred biographies from their sources. Surius

continued Lippomano's project but amended the work and removed any superfluous lives. Ribadeneyra began to write his life of Ignatius at approximately the same time that Surius worked on his hagiographical compilation. He also read Surius and Lippomano. Surius and Lippomano used their hagiographies as a proclamation of their Catholicism and as a refutation of Protestant heresy, something that resonated with Ribadeneyra. In his *Flos sanctorum*, Ribadeneyra situated himself within the Lippomano-Surius tradition of hagiography to continue an authentic compilation of glorified Catholic exemplars. To begin, we will explore who was Pedro de Ribadeneyra and how early modern Spain's cultures of religious books and hagiography influenced and impacted Ribadeneyra.

Figure 1: Political Map of Early Modern Spain

Sources: J.H. Elliott, *Imperial Spain, 1469-1716*, new ed. (London: Penguin, 2002), 16-17; DHEE s.v. 'Geografía Eclesiástica'; Helen Rawlings, *Church, Religion, and Society in Early Modern Spain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), 60.

Black roads indicate the major routes in the sixteenth century.

Spain's ecclesiastic geography had eight provinces: Santiago, Burgos, Toledo, Seville, Granada, Valencia, Zaragoza, and Tarragona. The metropole of each province shared its name with the province. Each province was then divided into dioceses with the archdiocese housing the province's metropole. **Toledo:** All of New Castile and Murcia, most of Old Castile, north-eastern León (including Valladolid), Andalusia north of the Guadalquivir River, and western half of Asturias. Seat of the Primate of Spain. **Santiago:** Galicia, Extremadura, and the rest of León. **Seville:** The western half of Andalusia south of the Guadalquivir River. **Granada:** The eastern half of Andalusia south of the Guadalquivir River. **Burgos:** The eastern half of Asturias, northern Old Castile, the Basque Provinces, and Navarre. **Zaragoza:** Aragon and Ribagorza. **Tarragona:** Catalonia. **Valencia:** Valencia.

CHAPTER 1: RIBADENEYRA AND THE *FLOS SANCTORUM*

Ribadeneyra was a writer of sacred biographies shaped by late medieval hagiographical tradition as well as its transformation during the sixteenth century. The changes to hagiographies were part of emergent confessional discourses in the later sixteenth century. His later life in Madrid was an interaction with early modern Spain's politics, its Catholicism, and its print culture. As well, his involvement in the Society of Jesus was also vital to understanding his work as a hagiographer and as an early modern Catholic, given that he spent seventy-one of his eighty-four years as a Jesuit. The aim of this chapter is to examine the context in which Ribadeneyra wrote and the way it influenced his contributions found in his hagiographical compilation, the *Flos sanctorum*.

Pedro Ortíz de Cisernos later renamed Pedro de Ribadeneyra, was born at the centre of Spanish religious life, Toledo. Ribadeneyra's father, Álvaro Husillo Ortíz de Cisneros, died in Ribadeneyra's youth.⁹⁵ His mother Catalina de Villalobos had a close relationship with her only son that only increased after the death of Ribadeneyra's father. At a young age, he adopted the surname of his maternal grandmother, which derived from the town, Riba de Neira, in Galicia's Lugo province. Ribadeneyra's family were minor nobility in Toledo with access to the corridors of religious power in early modern Spain. Toledo was the metropole of the Archdiocese of Toledo, the seat of the Primate of Spain, a prestigious and powerful ecclesiastical office. The Archdiocese had authority over the majority of Castile and cities such as Madrid, Alcalá, Cuenca, and Valladolid

⁹⁵ The subsequent biography of Ribadeneyra comes from numerous places: Bilinkoff, "Ribadeneyra," 180-83; *DHEE* s.v. Eusebio Rey "Ribadeneyra, Pedro de"; *DHCJ* s.v. M. Ruiz Jurado "Ribadeneira, Pedro de," 4: 3345-46; *OCSL* s.v. "Ribadeneyra, Pedro de". Specific episodes not mentioned in these accounts receive individual footnotes.

(see Figure 1: Political Map of Early Modern Spain). If Valladolid and later Madrid were early modern Spain's political axes, Toledo was its sacred heart.

Due to Toledo's preeminent place within the Church, a multitude of ecclesiastical luminaries frequented the city. When Cardinal Alessandro Farnese the grandson of Pope Paul III visited Toledo in 1539, Ribadeneyra seized the occasion to make an impression on Farnese. While in the papal legate's palace where Farnese stayed, Ribadeneyra impersonated a palace page in order to get close to Farnese, since he wished to serve the cardinal. On the discovery of Ribadeneyra's gambit, Farnese offered Ribadeneyra passage to Rome as well as education there since the child's brazenness had impressed him. Once in Rome, Ribadeneyra received a top-rate education while working as Farnese's page. Ribadeneyra's life changed in 1540, when he decided to abandon his position. Fearful of the consequences for his delinquency, he found asylum with Ignatius and his companions.⁹⁶ At this time, Ignatius and others were in Rome petitioning Paul III to recognise the Society of Jesus. Drawn towards the Jesuit spiritual life, Ribadeneyra decided to stay with the Jesuits. Ignatius admitted him into the order shortly thereafter, although Ribadeneyra was only fourteen. The relationship between Ribadeneyra and Ignatius was close and continued until Ignatius's death in 1556.

As a Jesuit, there were four distinct periods in Ribadeneyra's life. The first was his time spent in Italy after his admission into the order. Until 1548, he travelled between Padua, Rome, and Venice. Though Rome was the administrative centre of the Society, Ribadeneyra was educated in Padua.⁹⁷ In 1548, he received an appointment in rhetoric at

⁹⁶ O'Malley, *First*, 36.

⁹⁷ Ribadeneyra, *Confessiones*, 1:95-101.

the Jesuit College in Palermo.⁹⁸ By July 1553, Ribadeneyra was back in Rome where he stayed until 1555.⁹⁹ In that year, Ignatius sent Ribadeneyra on a mission to the Spanish Netherlands and Cologne to elucidate the Society's rule the *Constitutions* to the Jesuit houses there.¹⁰⁰ The year 1555 marked the next period of his life, spent mostly in the Low Countries. With the exception of time spent in England during the reigns of Mary I and Elizabeth I, Ribadeneyra continued to travel between Rome and the Spanish Netherlands until 1560.¹⁰¹

As Ribadeneyra wandered across Europe, his reputation as a preacher increased. In 1560, Superior General Diego Laínez made Ribadeneyra the Provincial General of Tuscany, which initiated the third period in Ribadeneyra's career as a Jesuit: his return to Italy. During this time, Ribadeneyra travelled throughout northern Italy and to Rome.¹⁰² By October 1561, Laínez transferred Ribadeneyra to Sicily with a lengthy stopover in Naples. His time in Sicily lasted until 1565, when the order recalled him to Rome.¹⁰³ His recall coincided with Laínez's death and Francis Borgia's appointment as Superior-General. He stayed in Rome from July 1565 to February 1566.¹⁰⁴ And until 1570,

⁹⁸ Ibid. 1:101-3. These letters dated from May 1551 to August 1552 confirm his presence in Palermo.

⁹⁹ Ibid. 1:103-23.

¹⁰⁰ O'Malley, *First*, 336.

¹⁰¹ Ribadeneyra, *Confessiones*, 1:123-336. According to his letters, between October 1555 and November 1556, he travelled between Brussels, Tournai, Flanders, Antwerp, and Ghent. By January 1557, he was in Florence. He then stayed in Rome between February and October of that year. In November, he was travelling back to Belgium when he posted a letter from Milan. He stayed in Brussels between December 1557 and July 1558. After which, he travelled to England, where he posted letters from London between December 1558 and February 1559. By April 1559, however, Ribadeneyra had returned to Brussels, where he stayed until May 1560.

¹⁰² Ibid. 1:336-419.

¹⁰³ Ibid. 1: 419-597. At that time, he did not leave Sicily, but travelled between Palermo, Monreale, Messina, and Syracuse.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid. 1: 597-602.

Ribadeneyra wandered between northern Italy and Rome.¹⁰⁵ Soon after the election of the fourth Superior General Everard Mercurian, Ribadeneyra returned to Spain due to failing health.¹⁰⁶ This move from Italy to Spain signalled the final period in his active life based in Spain. Between 1574 and 1577, Ribadeneyra traveled within Spain.¹⁰⁷ After April 1577, he remained in Toledo, with only a short trip to Jesús del Monte.¹⁰⁸ Unhappy about his exile from Italy, he constantly petitioned Mercurian to return there; however, the order's officials ignored Ribadeneyra's requests. Ribadeneyra eventually moved to Madrid in 1583. Other than the occasional trip to Alcalá, he stayed in Madrid until his death in 1611.¹⁰⁹

The decision to stay in Madrid enabled Ribadeneyra's writing career to continue and to expand. This vocation began in the late 1560s when General Francis Borgia commissioned Ribadeneyra to compose a life of Ignatius, as the Society required an official biography of their founder. At the same time, Borgia requested the removal of Ignatius's *Autobiography* from circulation since Borgia considered it inappropriate for popular consumption. The *Autobiography* had only circulated as a manuscript, with additions and corrections to it by Ignatius's scribe Luis Gonçalves da Câmara and the Society's administrative muscle, Jeronimo Nadal.¹¹⁰ While unspecified, Borgia's motivations might have been similar to Teresa of Ávila's desire to have the Discalced Carmelites' *Rules and Constitutions* printed. Borgia, akin to Teresa, could have disliked

¹⁰⁵ Ibid. 1:603-724. Places he travelled to include Florence, Siena, Brescia, Padua, Venice, Ferrara, Bologna, Modena, Parma, and Milan.

¹⁰⁶ There are no extant letters between 1570 and 1574.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid. 1: 724-56. He traveled between Barcelona, Madrid, Toledo (his hometown), Segovia, Seville, and Cordoba.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid. 1: 757-836, 2:14-38.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid. 2: 38-254. His correspondence declines in frequency after 1589.

¹¹⁰ *DHSJ* s.v. R. Ruiz Jurado, "Nadal, Jerónimo," 3: 2793-96; Gilmont, *Écrits*, 28-29; Ignatius, "Acta Patris Ignatii," 331-37.

the fluidity of these circulating manuscripts as well as the arbitrary omissions and additions to these texts by well-intentioned members of the order.¹¹¹ Ribadeneyra wrote to Nadal in 1567 to discuss the circulation of the *Autobiography* and the text's imperfections. While earlier in the year, he explained that his life of Ignatius followed Gonçalves's manuscript and any other writings about the Society's founder Ribadeneyra even celebrated the text's circulation.¹¹² Later that year, however, Ribadeneyra noted that other Jesuits accumulated any relevant manuscripts of Ignatius's life to avoid any contradiction with published works, the divergences in the accounts stemmed from Ignatius's failing memory due to old age.¹¹³

By 1572, Ribadeneyra completed the life, the *Vita Ignatu Loiolae*. Later, at the behest of General Acquaviva, Ribadeneyra revised and translated his biography of Ignatius, which appeared in Castilian in 1583 and remained in print subsequently. Ribadeneyra's life of Ignatius had seven Castilian and six Latin editions between 1572

¹¹¹ Bouza, *Communication*, 33

¹¹² Pedro de Ribadeneyra, "To Jerónimo Nadal, Frascati, 29 June 1567," in *Epistolae Hieronymi Nadal* (Madrid: Augustino Avrial, 1902), 3 489-90 MHSI 21 "Agora estoy en Frascada para entender en lo que V R tanto dessea, que es en scriuir la uida de nuestro bendito P Ignatio Hámelo mandado N P yo lo he aceptado muy de buena gana tengo gusto y inclinación á ello, aunque, por mi flaqueza de cabeça, me cuesta trabajo Confio en N S que se a de seruidello, si me da salud y tiempo para ello, porque temo que passados estos dos meses auré de boluer á estar en Roma por la necesidad que los collegios tienen, aunque á mi pobre juizio todo se auía de posponer á esto Scriuo en latín mediano, sin affectación ni barbaria Pienso scriuir 4 libros Scriuo esto á V R, primero por su consolación 2º, porque me ayude con sus oraciones, y de los collegios por donde passare Y sepa que las 12 missas que V R ha offrecido al scriptor desta obra me han animado mucho y me animará más saber que los otros Padres hazen lo mismo 3º, para que V.R me scriua particularmente lo que ha notado en los dichos y hechos de N P, y lo que le parece que acerca desta historia se deue guardar, para que, ya que no está presente para endereçar y corregir lo que se haze, ayude en la ausencia con lo que se puede Lo 4º, para que V R procure de executar lo que ya N P ha mandado, y, á lo que creo, scripto, á los prouinciales, etc, y es que reccojan buenamente lo que scriuió el P Luis Gonçález, óqualquiera otro scripto de la uida de N P, y lo tengan ellos y no permitan que se lea, ni ande por las manos de los nuestros ni de otros, pues, siendo cosa imperfecta, no conuiene que estorueódesminuya la fee de lo que más cumplidamente se scriue "

¹¹³ Pedro de Ribadeneyra, "To Jeronimo Nadal, Frascati, 24 October 1567," in *Epistolae Hieronymi Nadal* (Madrid: Augustino Avrial, 1902), 3 540 "El recoger los scriptos del P Luys Gonçales sobre la uida de N P no nasció de mí, sino de estos Padres que lo acordaron á N P y á Su Paternidad le paresció bien, porque publicándose lo que se scriue, no paresciesse que ay diuersidadó contradición, ó esto no tuuiesse tanta auctoridad como lo que se scriuió casi por boca de N P, el qual aunque en la substancia fue fidelísimo, en los particulares de algunas cosas es corto, y en la relación de los tiempos ya á la postre de su uejez le faltaua la memoria "

and 1611¹¹⁴ He also wrote the lives of the subsequent Superior Generals Laínez and Borgia Of the single lives, Borgia had two editions, Laínez had an edition, while the compilation of Jesuit lives had two editions¹¹⁵ Between the first printing of Ribadeneyra's *Flos* in 1599 and his death in 1611, the sacred biographies of Jesuits ceased to be printed as autonomous editions Instead, Ribadeneyra integrated them into the *Flos sanctorum*

In addition, Ribadeneyra also composed a biography of the Toledan laywoman Estefanía Manríque de Castilla and wrote his own autobiography modeled on Augustine's *Confessions* These two texts, however, were never printed and circulated in manuscript¹¹⁶ Other works include a consolatory treatise for Spaniards after the defeat of the Armada, a refutation of Machiavelli's *Prince*, and an ecclesiastic history of the English 'schism'¹¹⁷ Ribadeneyra's compilation of saints' lives, the *Flos sanctorum*, came at the very end of his career, first published in Madrid in 1599 Madrid-based printers produced most of the first editions of Ribadeneyra's works, including his Jesuit biographies Subsequently printers across the Iberian Peninsula produced editions of his works (see Figure 2 The Geography of Production of Ribadeneyra's Works)

¹¹⁴ See Appendix 2, *Printed Works of Pedro de Ribadeneyra* BCJ, 6 1726, Gilmont, *Ecrits* 7, BM 191, 211, 246-47, 457, 498, 524-25, IB 15842-45, 15860, 15867, 15874, TM 564, 618, 674, 712-13

¹¹⁵ BM 394, 457, IB 15857, 15860, 15865-67, TM 534, 564, 618

¹¹⁶ Bilinkoff, "Ribadeneyra," 181

¹¹⁷ Michel de Certeau, *Mystic Fable*, 2 vols, trans Michael B Smith (Chicago University of Chicago Press, 1992), 1 250-51, Gilmont, *Ecrits*, 32-33, 38-39, 269-76, O'Malley, "Historiography", 6-7 Ribadeneyra's printed works feature in Appendix 2

Figure 2: The Geography of Production of Ribadeneyra's Works

Figures taken from Appendix 2. Other print centres not featured on this map: Antwerp (6); Lyon (2); Ingolstadt (1) and Naples (1).

The collaboration of Madrileño printers with Ribadeneyra revealed the interconnectedness of early modern cultures of print and religion as well as their engagement with politics. The printer of Ribadeneyra's *Flos sanctorum* Luis Sánchez relied on the Spanish court and the hierarchical church for his business, evident in his setting up shop wherever Philip III installed the court, something that marks him as an establishment figure. By the late sixteenth century, the Sánchez printing house had become a fixture in Madrid. When the court moved to Valladolid in 1602, Sánchez established a press there as well though he did not cease print operations in Madrid.

Luis's brother, Lucas, looked after affairs in Valladolid. Sánchez's Valladolid operations ended four years later when the court returned to Madrid. After Luis's death in 1627, control passed to his wife, Ana de Carasa (1627-1631), and then Luis and Ana's four children.¹¹⁸ Ribadeneyra, most likely, travelled in the same circles as Sánchez. His printing of Ribadeneyra's *Flos* suggests that the political and ecclesiastic elites approved of his approach to hagiography.

Ribadeneyra worked regularly with three Madrid printers: Alonso Gómez, Pedro Madrigal, and Luis Sánchez. After Ribadeneyra decided to remain in Madrid, Gómez printed Ribadeneyra's life of Ignatius and his *Historia eclesiástica*. While the affiliation between Gómez and Ribadeneyra ended in 1589, the previous year Ribadeneyra started a working relationship with Madrigal. The most prolific of Ribadeneyra's printers, Madrigal printed the *Historia eclesiástica*, the *Tratado de la tribulación*, the *Tratado de la religión*, the lives of Ignatius and Borgia, and even a collection of pre-1599 complete works. Madrigal's press also produced Villegas's *Flos sanctorum* in Madrid in 1588, 1589, 1592, 1593, and 1594.¹¹⁹ Madrigal's books were mostly Castilian, with the occasional Latin text in folio, octavo, and then quarto sizes. His output consisted of utilitarian works, a broad category including political decrees, educational manuals, as well as medical and legal texts. Ecclesiastic and devotional works especially ones by Jesuits held a prominent place within Madrigal's list. The number of devotional books printed was comparable to the volume of utilitarian works.¹²⁰ Ecclesiastic texts included

¹¹⁸ Julián Martín Abad, *La imprenta en Alcalá de Henares, 1502-1600*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Arco/Libros, 1991), 1:117-18; *TM*, 24-25, 32-35, 41; *DIE* s.v. "Sánchez, Andrés", "Sánchez, Francisco", "Sánchez, Luis", "Sánchez, Luis (Ana de Carasa. Viuda de)", and "Sánchez, Luis (Ana de Carasa. Viuda de) [Hereñdera]".

¹¹⁹ *TM*, 19-22, 28-31; *DIE* s.v. "Gómez, Alonso", "Madrigal, Pedro". Consult Appendix 1, under *IB* 19569, *IB* 19577, *IB* 19590, *IB* 19594, and *IB* 19599

¹²⁰ Figures taken from Appendix 3, *Books Printed by the Madrigal Print House of Madrid*.

Papal bulls, rules for religious orders, Council decrees, and theological treatises. Devotional works, meanwhile, were texts meant to encourage prayer, meditation, and religious fervor. Among these books were saints' lives, prayer manuals, and recollections from the lives of Christ and Mary.

Ribadeneyra and Madrigal's relationship ended in 1595. At that point, Ribadeneyra had paired up with Sánchez, who was responsible for the many editions of the *Flos sanctorum*, the *Tratado de la religión*, and a collection of all of Ribadeneyra's works. Sánchez constantly printed the *Flos* between 1599 and 1611; after production of the *Flos*'s first and second parts in 1599 and 1601, it underwent additional print runs in 1604, 1609, and 1610. Even after Ribadeneyra's death in 1611, Sánchez continued to print works by Ribadeneyra.

While Sánchez and his dynasty printed an abundance of books in a variety of genres, religious texts predominated within his production. Most prevalent were devotional books, including saints' lives. In his pre-Valladolid era, the number of professional, ecclesiastic, and devotional works was almost equal. These books together constituted the majority of Sánchez's production. The Society of Jesus was the most represented order in Sánchez's operation at the time. The number of Castilian texts produced by Sánchez was double that of Latin ones. These tendencies continued even after Sánchez's operation diversified, when some of his printers again followed the court to Valladolid when Philip III moved it in 1602. The Valladolid branch of Sánchez's print house produced whatever the court required. As a result, most of what Sánchez printed in Valladolid was utilitarian and ecclesiastic works in Castilian.

He also maintained a printing presence within Madrid, where he printed mostly Castilian devotional works in quarto-size, mostly by Jesuits and Mercedarians. The post-Valladolid period, meanwhile, continued the practices apparent at the onset of Sánchez's printing career. He produced few Latin works, instead issuing texts in the vernacular especially in larger formats: folio and quarto. While the majority of his production consisted of devotional and ecclesiastic texts, he printed works by members of various orders including the Jesuits, the Franciscans, and the Minims.¹²¹ Sánchez, however, contributed to the hagiographical culture of post-Tridentine Spain. He had printed Villegas's *Life of Isidore* (1592) and Lope de Vega's epic poem (1599) about the same holy man.¹²² Interestingly enough, the house of Madrigal printed the later editions of Lope de Vega's poem in 1602 and 1603.¹²³

Ribadeneyra also had some interaction with the print culture of Alcalá, in particular, the printer Juan Iñiguez de Lequerica. Iñiguez issued a single edition each of the *Tratado de la tribulación* and the *Historia eclesiástica* in 1593. While Iñiguez was an active printer in Alcalá from 1570 to 1599, he also twice worked in Madrid (1583-4 and 1599). No Alcalá printer of this era printed an edition of Ribadeneyra's *Flos*. For Villegas, an edition printed by Andrés Sánchez de Ezpeleta (no relation to the previous Sánchez family) appeared in 1609. Andrés assumed control of his father's print-shop in 1607 after his father's death. Justo's wife and Andrés's mother, however, retained control of the print house until her death in 1609.¹²⁴

¹²¹ Figures taken from Appendix 4, *Books Printed by the Sánchez House of Madrid*.

¹²² BM 398 (Villegas) and 664 (Lope de Vega).

¹²³ BM 827.

¹²⁴ Martín Abad, *Alcalá* (1502-1600), 1:127-33; *TM*, 31-32; *DIE* s.v. "Iñiguez de Lequerica, Juan", "Sánchez Crespo, Justo", "Sánchez Crespo, Justo (viuda de)", and "Sánchez de Ezpeleta, Andrés".

Ribadeneyra was one of many hagiographers writing in early modern Spain. According to Raphaël Carrasco's figures and analysis, printing of hagiography between 1560 and 1629 increased constantly. This volume of hagiographies indicates the wide dissemination and demand for hagiographies in Spain. While Madrid printed eighty-three editions, the other cities produced less than a third of Madrid's amount: Barcelona (thirty), Seville (twenty-seven), Toledo (twenty-six), Valencia (twenty-five), Valladolid (twenty-three), and Salamanca (twenty-two). By way of comparison, Alcalá only produced eleven editions at that time.¹²⁵ Behind Madrid, Barcelona printed the most hagiographies in Spain, followed by Seville, Toledo, Valencia, Valladolid, and Salamanca. The other centres when taken together have approximately double the output of Madrid. As evident in the production of hagiographies, early modern Spain lacked a centralised print culture. In comparison, France had a centre of printing in Paris while Venice occupied a similar role in Italy. Interestingly, there is a noticeable variation in production levels when comparing print-runs in twenty-year durations. Returning to Carrasco's statistics, between 1560 and 1579 only twenty-five hagiographies appeared. Between 1580 and 1599, production more than tripled to seventy-nine. Finally, between 1600 and 1619, the number of first editions doubled to 161.¹²⁶

Production of *Flos* reflected this general tendency of increased hagiographical book production. Earlier versions of the *Flos sanctorum* that predated Villegas and Ribadeneyra also had numerous editions. The most popular rendition compiled by the Hieronymite monks Gonzalo de Ocaña and Pedro de la Vega had nineteen print-runs

¹²⁵ Raphaël Carrasco, "Loin des enfers: littérature hagiographique et propagande dans l'Espagne classique (XVIe et XVIIe siècle)," in *Enfers et damnations dans le monde hispanique et hispano-américain*, eds. Jean-Paul Duviols and Annie Molinié-Bertrand (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1996), 380-81.

¹²⁶ Carrasco, 370.

between 1516 and 1580.¹²⁷ The *Flos* was not a static text, but underwent perceived rehabilitation or revision by various theologians. The Franciscan Martín de Lillio revised the *Flos* of the Hieronymites Ocaña and Vega. One Zaragoza edition appeared on Spain's *Index of Prohibited Books*.¹²⁸ Of these earlier *Flos sanctorum*, printers in Zaragoza, Barcelona, Alcalá, and Seville produced most of them, which were widely dispersed along the common sixteenth century routes for trading and for travelling. The volumes of hagiographies produced do not betray a predominant print-centre, since the editions ranged from one to ten throughout the sixteenth century (see

¹²⁷Figures taken from Appendix 1.

¹²⁸*Index de 1551, 1554, 1559, 671; Index de 1583, 1584, 947.* Both have the same entry: “*Flos sanctorum*, impresso en Zaragoza, año de 1556.” While no *Flos* from that year or city exists in my findings, Bujanda points to a contemporary description of that *Flos* as “añadidas más de cincuenta hystorias que ningún otro [*Flos sanctorum*] ni en el de Zaragoza se pone” (*Index de 1551, 1554, 1559, 599; Index de 1583, 1584, 480-81*).

Figure 3: Geography of Production of Castilian *Flos Sanctorum* not by Ribadeneyra or by Villegas). This tendency contrasts with the common assumption of increased centralisation in early modern Spain. Fragmentation was the norm and was apparent in Iberian print centres.

Figure 3: Geography of Production of Castilian *Flos Sanctorum* not by Ribadeneyra or by Villegas

Figures taken from Appendix 1. For clarification purposes, Alcalá had six editions, whereas Seville had seven. The featured print-centre south-west of Valladolid is Medina del Campo.

Figure 4: Geography of Production of Castilian *Flos Sanctorum* by Villegas and by Ribadeneyra

Figures taken from Appendix 1. For clarification purposes, those centres that produced five or less editions, their exact edition counts are Cuenca (5), Alcalá (2), and Huesca (1). Huesca is the print centre located northeast of Zaragoza.

The first print-run of Ribadeneyra's *Flos* was in 1599, while Villegas' edition had appeared much earlier in 1580. The work of both Ribadeneyra and Villegas was part of a movement towards the publication and the dissemination of saints' lives originating with Lippomano and Surius. The editions of Villegas and Ribadeneyra altered this course (see **Error! Reference source not found.**). Zaragoza and to a lesser extent Alcalá continued to print *Flos sanctorum*. Production expanded in Barcelona. Other print centres emerged

as well including Cuenca, Toledo, and Madrid. When reviewing the geographies of production of Castilian *Flos sanctorum*, the print centres producing hagiographies became more centralised dependant on their associated kingdom and not on Madrid. Along with this development, there was also a noticeable trend in the formation of central and peripheral printers. For instance in the Crown of Castile, the producers of *Flos sanctorum* all work within New Castile. Madrid was the central print centre in Castile, while Cuenca, Alcalá, and Toledo were its tangential branches. At that time, Cuenca was a prosperous town due to its textile and agricultural enterprises. The Crown of Aragon, meanwhile, had printers in its most prominent cities: Zaragoza and Barcelona. The printers in an Aragonese university town, Huesca, were secondary producers of hagiographical texts. This trend reveals how Spanish printers began their consolidation of an industry and the means to disseminate religious texts such as the *Flos sanctorum*.

The *Flos sanctorum* was a popular compilation of saints' lives arranged according to the order of the liturgical calendar. Beginning in Lent, the *Flos* alternated between an episode in the life of Christ or Mary, a saint's life, the story of a community's acquisition of saintly relics, or the tale of a miraculous construction of a church, monastery, or cathedral. Different editions of the *Flos sanctorum* varied in length; for instance, Ribadeneyra's 1599 and 1601 compilation spanned approximately 1500 pages. Sixteenth-century editions tended to feature woodcut illustrations, the quality of which varied. By the seventeenth century, however, the physical appearance of a *Flos* transformed. While Villegas's hagiographical collection continued to be image-intensive, Ribadeneyra's editions were without images. Yet Ribadeneyra did provide marginal citations of textual authorities (Figure 5 outlines the visual changes to the *Flos sanctorum*).

Pedro de la Vega, *Flos sanctorum: la vida de nuestro señor Jesu Christo y de su sanctissima madre y de los otros santos segun la orden de sus fiestas*, rev. Martin de Lillio (Alcalá de Henares: Juan Brocar, 1558), 316v. Fol.

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 dor basido por su arroyo lo el adelarado le man
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 rrodo. Y fama a Julian mado alas serpientes
 que fuessen para do cuerno. Y refuzano al encan
 tador qe fuera marro. Y el adelanado Julian
 viendo esto madoo cenar las serpientes en la gar
 de sangre tallo leche de las. Y despues mando
 le cenar la lengua. E fama Julian no cessa
 de hablar en ella. Y como la costadura de la

[illegible]

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vicos. y el glorioso apouel Dan
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do prechio desines de la afen
sis del fmo: en tierra de Judea y de tamaria: y
deiquen vino a predicar a España. y vino eñte
finto apouel a predicar a España. y vino eñte
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[illegible]

66 Flos Sanctorum.

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tendia mejor, no ce fango de al-
abar al Señor. Final ne te fue. vi-
de à va madero, y uster pla, y co
este martyrio victoriosa cual io su
alma al cielo, donde fue recibida
con inextinguible fuego de to-
dos aquellos cortesanos, y espi-
ritus bienaventurados, que auian
estado a la vida tan dura y br-
ga pelea y le dauan el parabien de
auer sido de tres tyranos con vi-
toria. Fue su muerte el día en que

la Ylesia haue della comemo-
raciõ a 24 de Julio cerca de los
anos del Señor de 300. El cuerpo
de santa Christina esta en la ciu-
dad de Palermo de Sicilia, donde
es venerando, con gran con-
curso y deuociõ de todo el pue-
blo, y le ocaen por patrona y aco-
gada. De santa Christina escriuen
los Martyrologios, Romano, de
Vinaro, y de Adon, y san An-
tonino 1.ª parte. 8. capite 1.
y Adelmo Obispo, y o-
tros modernos.
(17.)

LA VIDA DE SAN- tiago el Mayor, Apostol.

2.ª. do lu-
lio.

San Glorioso Apostol
Santiago el Mayor, luz
y Patron de las Espa-
ñas, fue natural de la
promincia de Galilea, hijo de Ze-
bedeo, y de Maria Salomé, y
hermano mayor de san Juan E-
uangelista, y primo de Iesu Chri-
sto, segun la cap.ª. Fueron am-
bos hermanos pescadores, como
lo fue su padre el Zebedeo, que
uia a la ribera del mar de Ga-
lilea: y deua ser pescador rico,
pues tenia nauio proprio, y cria-
dos. San Geronimo dice q era
noble. La vida de Santiago prin-
cipalmente auemos de sacar de lo

Mar y m
ep. cap Mar
cel. rom. 1.ª

que del y de su hermano san Juan
escriuen los segros Euangelis-
tas. Y primeramente san Mateo *Mat. 4*
dize, que andaua el Señor a la
ribera del mar de Galilea, vio dos
hermanos, Diego y Juan, que
estauan en un nauio con su padre
el Zebedeo, aderezando y repa-
rando sus redes: y que los lla-
mo para que fuesen sus discipu-
los, y que ellos fueron tan obe-
dientes a este mandato del Señor,
que luego dexando las redes, a su
padre, el nauio y exercicio en que
estauan ocupados, le siguieron,
dando de mano a todas las cosas
de la tierra. Añade san Marcos, *Mar. 1*
que

Fiestas de Julio.

579

y exqu coastormenro con qu m-
 mura a confor a a aso rodia fue
 ha a lo a uero en la una, y co p lo
 casual en la san a lo a lu fua y su
 no fue a uer en el uio de qu el
 no me ro a uel que la padorma to ha
 a en co a gande la mero, y hene
 chura de po uco a a e m a y el ad o-
 do bu re uo echar de m o a m a l m
 fha y la m a uirgen con grande au-
 gura d iend o q e como a m a e uen-
 da por el uia d iro, la ponan en la
 cana, hizo la cenal de la cruz, y fue la
 bre del to m ento de la l e m a a ray-
 da la cabe y de l o uero el uio a uel
 tiempo de apolo, y a h a a a d e ntre
 m a h e o r o m a Q u e d e d i u l o n a l
 u m p r a d o, y u e r a d e l e P e e t o
 D i m a q u e e a y o a l l i m a r o y e r e m a l
 p o r f i e n t e l e c o n a u i e r o a a F e l a h a n
 a l l i a h a n d o u r o t r o j a e n l a c r u d a d
 y e n e l o f i o m a l m a d o l u a, e l q u a l
 m u n d o e n d e n d e e n l i o m a y p o n e r e n
 e l l a f u e r a d o n d e e l l i o m a u e n o a h a r
 d e m p e n e n e l m o r t o, a h a n l o a l
 S e n o h a r e o b i d a n o a l g u n o f i e l i m a
 r m a l a u e l y p o r m e d i o d e u n a r a y a
 y m e r o m a h o e c h a r o n m u c h o s a p r e-
 d e s e p e n e r e n e n d o, y m a l a f a u t
 d i m a u e n e n d o e n l a f e d e d o u
 f a y l o a f u p t a t o n y m a n e n d o. C e r-
 t a r o d i a a l e n g a y l a n e n l a b i l d a d y l o
 e n e n d a m o j o r a n c e l l a n d o d e a l b a r
 a u e n e n t e m a l i g n e m e n t e f u e a t a d a a u n a
 d e m a y a l a t e a d a, y c o n e l l e m a n t i o
 a u o l u a c a l l o f u a l m a l e n o b l o n d o
 l o o m e c h a d o e n u n a f e l e r e g o y o d e
 o l g a a q u e l l o s c o r r e c t o n e s, y e l i g n a s
 h i n a u r o t r a d o s, q u e a u a n e l l a n a l a
 u n a d e c i d o r a y l a r g a p e l e n y l o q u a l
 e l p u b l i c o d e u e r f u i d o d e t e m p t a-
 n o n c o n u i e n a. F u e f u m e r e d e l d i e n
 q u e l e t e l l a h a z e d e l l a c o m m o r a t o n
 a 14. d e l u l i o, c e r s a d e l o r a f i e n d e l S e-
 n o r d e 106. e l c u e r p o d e s a n t a C h r i s t i-
 n a e l l e n l a c a d a d d e P a l e r m e d e d i e t
 l a d o n d e e r e u e r e n c i a d o c o n g r a e d
 q u e l y d e m u n d o d e t a d o e l p a d r o y
 l a u e n p o r p a t r o n a y a b o g a d a. D e l a m

1. Christo: eicrta los Martirologios,
Romano, d. A. Guardo, y de Adria i de
Anconido i. por el Escap i y Al sumo
C. d. d. y otros modernos.

La vida de Santiago el Mayor, Apóstol.

[illegible]

The form and function of *Flos sanctorum* provided insight into their intended audience.¹²⁹ In comparing the texts produced in Alcalá and Madrid between the mid-sixteenth century and early into the reign of Philip III, several transformations are apparent (Figure 5 starting on page 48 outlines the changes to the *Flos sanctorum*). Folio was the standard size of every *Flos sanctorum* printed during this era with each page arranged in two columns. Vega and Villegas's text used foliation (numbering each leaf), whereas Ribadeneyra employed pagination (numbering each page). There was a noticeable transition from Blackletter to Roman type in these texts. Vega's redactions of sacred biographies were in rotundas, evident in the 1558 and 1572 Alcalá editions. This type fell out of fashion in the mid-sixteenth century but persisted in Spain into the final decades of that century.¹³⁰ Preliminaries in Vega's *Flos sanctorum* on the other hand were in Roman and italic types.¹³¹ Editions of Villegas and Ribadeneyra, meanwhile, used Roman and italic exclusively.¹³²

Folio-sized volumes lacked the portability of a book printed in octavo. Due to their size, readers had to have sufficient space to adequately open and read these books, whether at the pulpit, in personal or institutional libraries, or seated at a sufficiently sized chair.¹³³ An example of the latter site of reading features in El Greco's portrait of Fray Hortensio Félix Paravicino (1609). The painting had the Trinitarian brother sitting and

¹²⁹ The idea of analysing form and function of texts derives from Paul Grendler, "Form and Function in Italian Renaissance Popular Books," *Renaissance Quarterly* 46, no. 3 (Autumn 1993): 451-85.

¹³⁰ Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972 [1985]), 18.

¹³¹ Vega, *Flos sanctorum* (1558), sig. * fol. 2-3; *idem*, *Flos sanctorum* (1572), sig. A fol. 2, sig. * fol. 3.

¹³² An excellent discussion on the relationship between popular books and typology is Grendler, 459-61, 483-84. For types, see also: Gaskell, 16-25.

¹³³ Armando Petrucci, "Alli origini del libro moderno. Libri da banco, libri di bissacia, libretti da mano," *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 12 (1969): 295-313, 303-12. Petrucci discusses the change in book sizes, especially in the fifteenth century. While books had been larger and stationary, after the advent of print they became increasingly portable and corresponded with bodily proportion. A parallel change was from blackletter to Italian type, both developments attributed to the Venetian printer Aldo Manuzio.

holding a closed folio volume while simultaneously grasping a smaller book. Paravicino used his finger as a page-marker for the reduced-format book, which provided a comparison of the difference in size of early modern reading material.¹³⁴

The works also became less image-intensive, perhaps suggestive of the confidence printers had that the book would sell without any pictorial additions.¹³⁵ Vega's editions had an elaborate title page and individualised representations that corresponded with pivotal saints' lives. The illustrations in Villegas's edition were mostly stock. For instance, the lives of James the Greater, Bartholomew, Andrew, and Thomas used the same image.¹³⁶ Similarly, the lives of Peter and Paul shared a woodcut.¹³⁷ Meanwhile, printers of Villegas's *Flos sanctorum* used an archetypical picture for Popes and bishops, such as the lives of Bonaventure and Augustine.¹³⁸ Only John, Stephen, Thomas Aquinas, and Sebastian had distinct depictions.¹³⁹ Villegas's own portrait also appeared earlier in the tome.¹⁴⁰ Ribadeneyra's *Flos* lacked any pictorial depictions of saints. Only the title page of the 1609 edition had a depiction of the four Evangelists.¹⁴¹ While the Society's devotion relied heavily on visuality, some in the order felt that images were an intermediary between visible and intangible things, and that needless use of images hindered meditation more than they helped.¹⁴² Villegas's redaction featured images but used Roman type, indicative of crafting a work that could be read aloud or

¹³⁴ El Greco, *Fray Hortensio Félix Paravicino*, 1609, Boston Museum of Fine Arts, *El Greco of Toledo*, by Jonathan Brown et al. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1982), 2.

¹³⁵ Grendler, 458-59.

¹³⁶ Villegas, *Flos* (1588), 238r (James), 293r (Bartholomew), 392r (Andrew), 412v (Thomas).

¹³⁷ Ibid. 210r (Peter), 214r (Paul).

¹³⁸ Ibid. 224r (Bonaventure), 298v (Augustine).

¹³⁹ Ibid. 92v (Sebastian), 126r (Thomas Aquinas), 417r (Stephen), 419r (John).

¹⁴⁰ Ibid. 19v.

¹⁴¹ Ribadeneyra, *Flos* (1609), title-page.

¹⁴² *Directoria Exercitiorum Spiritualium (1540-1599)*, ed. Ignacio Iparraguirre (Rome: Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu, 1955), 196, 301, 395. MHSI 76. See also: Nelles, "Seeing and Writing," 323.

silently for edification. The inclusion of images corresponded with a popular, lay readership of saints' lives. Editions of Ribadeneyra's compilation were imageless and had Roman type aimed at a more professional audience, such as the clergy who would read the *Flos* aloud during preaching

The early editions of Ribadeneyra's *Flos sanctorum* featured a plethora of imitable saints who had lived from the first to the sixteenth centuries¹⁴³ Sánchez printed the first and second parts of the *Flos sanctorum* in 1599 and 1601. Each part contained lives for half of the liturgical year. The 1604 edition combined these two halves in a single volume. Sánchez also printed a companion volume, which featured saints named *extravagantes*. These lives circulated unofficially due to the saints' cults, which operated independently from Rome. The Bollandists' use of the word supports my assumptions on how Ribadeneyra employed it.¹⁴⁴ Other Castilian texts corroborated Ribadeneyra's use of the word *extravagantes*.¹⁴⁵ That said, Ribadeneyra's use of the term suggested the continued importance of the lives of *extravagantes* for Catholics, but also describes these accounts as removed from institutional devotion. By 1604, Sánchez possibly at Ribadeneyra's behest divided the *Flos sanctorum* into two distinct volumes, one for the canonical saints found within the *Breviary*, the other for the *extravagantes*.

¹⁴³ For the entirety of saints that feature within every *Flos sanctorum*, please consult, Appendix 5: *Saints of Various Flos Sanctorum*

¹⁴⁴ *Acta sanctorum Junii* (Antwerp: Peter Jacobs, 1707), 4892. The Bollandists commented on Ribadeneyra's life of Aloysius Gonzaga: "Ante Sacchinum tamen, praeter alios, qui vitam Ceparianam varias in linguas transtulerunt inde extraxit compendium pauculis adiectis, lingua Hispana, Petrus Ribadineira, typisque Matrictensibus vulgavit anno MDCIX, post Vitas Sanctorum, quos appellat *Extravagantes*, qui extra ordinem Breviarii Romani tunc erant, quae admodum *Extravagantes* vulgo audiunt multae Constitutiones Pontificae, quia extra corpus Juris Canonici vagantur."

¹⁴⁵ Aesop, *La vida y las fabulas del Esopo* (Antwerp: Plantin house, 1607), 188; Francisco Diago, *Historia de la vida exemplar libros, y mverte, del insigne y celebre maestro F. Luys de Granada* (Barcelona: Sebastian de Cormellas, 1605), 51v. For example, Aesop's fables were "Las fabulas extravagantes comiençan en esta orden." In one of Villegas's letters cited in a life of Luis de Granada, Villegas relates how he read *extravagantes*: "yo tambien gasto buena parte del tiempo en leer en las vidas extrauagantes de los santos no canonizados, que es para mi lectura de grande edificacion y consolacion"

Temporally, the majority of the saints included in Ribadeneyra's *Flos* lived during the first, third, and fourth centuries. Each century between the fourth and the eleventh centuries had between one and five saints. With the exception of the thirteenth century, each century subsequent to the eleventh possessed a single saint. Specific periods in church history had an increased number of saints in the *Flos*. The early centuries of Christianity's spread and the ongoing persecutions of Christians provided models for preachers and evangelists as well as martyrs. Meanwhile the institutionalisation of Christianity and the advent of Western monasticism witnessed the appearance of a different variety of holy men and women, namely persons who determined doctrine, governed the church, and withdrew from the world to contemplate divinity. These paths to sainthood supplemented the types modelled on early Christians. Moving forward in time, the thirteenth century was the era of the Crusades and the foundation of new religious orders, such as the Dominicans, the Franciscans, the Augustinians, and the Carmelites. The thirteenth century figures augmented the numbers of the church militant and the church triumphant.¹⁴⁶ By the early seventeenth-century, Urban VIII's legislation of canonisation required recorded examples of theological orthodoxy, heroic virtue, and miracles after death (evidence of intercession). Apparent in the process of recognising saints was an increased emphasis on the observation of their exemplarity, especially

¹⁴⁶ *Catechism*, 94. "The Church triumphant is that most glorious and happy assemblage of blessed spirits and of those souls who have triumphed over the world, the flesh, and the devil, and are now exempt from the troubles of this life, are blessed with the fruition of eternal life. The Church militant is the society of all faithful still dwelling on earth, and is called militant, because it wages eternal war with those implacable enemies, the world, the flesh, and the devil. We are not, however, hence to infer that there are two Churches: they are two constituent parts of one Church." On the development of the mendicant orders and its desire to recreate apostolic life, see: C H Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, 3rd ed. (Harlow: Pearson, 2001), 238-78

evident in early modern trials for canonisation that cross-examined witnesses.¹⁴⁷ The varieties of saintly experience were diverse as seen in Ribadeneyra's *Flos sanctorum*.

With respect to type, the saints most heavily represented in the *Flos sanctorum* are the martyrs followed by members of the church hierarchy (popes, archbishops, and bishops). The vast majority of martyrs in Ribadeneyra's compilation had lived during the second and third centuries, the time of Diocletian's persecution of Christians.¹⁴⁸ Many of the martyrs venerated as saints were amongst Christianity's earliest converts. Martyrs from other centuries were also included such as Hermenegild (sixth-century), Anastasius the Persian (seventh-century), and Peter of Verona (thirteenth-century).¹⁴⁹ Thus, in Ribadeneyra's collection of saints' lives, the martyrs flanked the apostles, the non-apostolic evangelists, and other notable New Testament figures. Interestingly, few martyrs experienced canonisation after the resumption of canonization proceedings in 1588.¹⁵⁰

A noticeable number of the bishops and archbishops contained in the *Flos* were also martyrs.¹⁵¹ Their origins were geographically diverse; these martyred bishops were from England, France, the Levant, Italy, Poland, and Northern Africa. In addition, the early bishops of Rome featured extensively in the *Flos sanctorum*, most of whom were

¹⁴⁷ Donald Weinstein and Rudolph M. Bell, *Saints and Society: Two Worlds of Christendom, 1000-1700* (Chicago and New York: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 141-64.

¹⁴⁸ The martyrs of the nascent Church continued to be important in devotion: Ditchfield, *Liturgy*, 135-47.

¹⁴⁹ Butler, 1 145, 4: 39-40, Guillermo Fatás, "La santidad y sus antecedentes Santos antiguos y santos anómalos," *Revista de Historia Jerónimo Zurita* 85 (2010): 31-33 Hermenegild was a member of the Visigothic royal family in Spain, whose martyrdom initiated the change from Arianism to the Nicene Creed amongst the Visigoths Philip II asked Sixtus V to have Hermenegild canonised

¹⁵⁰ Peter Burke, "How to be a Counter-Reformation Saint," in *Religion and Society in Early Modern Europe 1500-1800*, ed. Kaspar von Greyerz, 45-55 (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1984) I use the reprint found in *The Counter-Reformation: The Essential Readings*, ed. David M. Luebke (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1999), 131-39. Example of officially recognised early modern martyrs include Jan Nepomuk (murdered for refusing to divulge the secrets of a confession) and Fidelis of Sigmaringen

¹⁵¹ Of the twenty-five bishops and archbishops, ten were martyrs

also martyrs. Thus with a handful of exceptions, every Pope from Peter to Damasus I (reigned 366-84) appeared within the *Flos*.¹⁵² After Damasus, the continuity of the papacy developed in the *Flos* disintegrated and included only six popes after Damasus and none after the seventh century.¹⁵³ Ignatius based the Society's spirituality and missionary work partially on the accounts of the church militant as well as figures from the New Testament.

The *Flos* houses the majority of the doctors of the Church considered saints for their noted contributions to theology. The Latin doctors (Gregory the Great, Augustine, Ambrose, and Jerome) had featured in the liturgical calendar as a double rite, the same as apostles and evangelists. Their Greek counterparts (John Chrysostom, Athanasius, Basil, and Gregory Nazianzus) did not appear in Roman rites until Pius V included them in the revised *Breviary*. At the same time, Pius included Thomas Aquinas amongst these doctors and called them 'Doctors of the Church'.¹⁵⁴ This practice continued with the inclusion of Bonaventure by Sixtus V.¹⁵⁵ With that in mind, the importance of having the doctors in these redactions cannot be understated due to correlation between confession-

¹⁵² *Martyrologium*, 499-599 Using the *Roman Martyrology*, every pope from Peter to Marcellus I (reigned 305/306, exiled 306/307) was a martyr, except for Dionysius (reigned 260 to 267). After that, the martyrology lists the popes from Eusebius to Damasus as the Roman Pope. From that time, only Damasus and Sylvester I appears as popes and confessors. Ribadeneyra did not have any lives for Sixtus I, Anterus, Dionysius, Eutychian, Eusebius, and Julius I. Neither the *Roman Martyrology* nor Ribadeneyra's *Flos sanctorum* have any mention of Liberius (reigned 352 to 366). I consulted the *Liber pontificalis* for information and dates of the popes, I used the following translation *Liber pontificalis*, trans. Raymond Davis (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000), especially 1-31.

¹⁵³ *Liber pontificalis*, 31-95. The later popes represented within the *Flos* were Innocent I, Confessor (r. 401/2-17), Leo I the Great (r. 440-61), John I, Martyr (r. 523-6), Gregory I the Great, Doctor (r. 590-604), Martin I, Martyr (r. 649-53/5), Leo II (r. 682-3). On the early modern pontiffs as saints, see Ditchfield, *Liturgy*, 212-69.

¹⁵⁴ Jean-Pierre Torrell, *Saint Thomas Aquinas: His Life and his Works*, trans. Robert Royal, rev. ed., 2 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2005), 1:325. Boniface VIII had started this liturgical practice in 1295 with the Latin doctors.

¹⁵⁵ Competition between religious orders manifests when comparing the bestowal of the title 'doctor' onto Thomas Aquinas and Bonaventure. Pius V was a Dominican, who included another Dominican, Thomas, into the milieu of the Church's superlative theologians. Sixtus V, meanwhile, as a Franciscan worked towards the minor friar Bonaventure's placement amongst the other doctors. A religious order's identity sought official recognition, while maintaining distinction.

building and explicit statements of doctrine. Apart from the elevation of Thomas Aquinas and Bonaventure to Doctors, no theologian underwent canonisation between 1588 when the practice resumed and 1757.¹⁵⁶ According to Ignatius, both positive and scholastic theologians in conjunction with ecclesiastic councils, canons, and constitutions revealed the purported divine truth of the Catholic church.¹⁵⁷

Monks were also included in the *Flos sanctorum*. Two varieties of accounts on monks featured in the *Flos sanctorum* that resembled a history of western monasticism: eremitic and cenobitic lives. Hermits as practitioners of eremitic monasticism retreated to the real or the symbolic desert to depart from the world and to spend time in meditation and prayer. Cenobites were ascetics gathered in communities following a rule and led by abbots.¹⁵⁸ The lives of hermits comprise those of Antony the Anchorite, Paul of Thebes, Hilarion, and Giles.¹⁵⁹ Meanwhile, John Cassian and Sabbas were included as figures who formed religious communities and monasteries, which maintained the asceticism of the hermits. The lives of cenobites included the biography of Benedict of Nursia the composer of the *Rule of St Benedict* followed by that of Maurus, Benedict's first disciple. The narrative continued into the High Middle Ages with Romuald and Bernard of Clairvaux, who shared similarities to Cassian and Sabbas. Akin to Sabbas, Romuald as

¹⁵⁶ Burke, "Counter-Reformation Saint," 136-39.

¹⁵⁷ Ignatius, *Exercitia Spiritualia*, [363]. "Alabar la doctrina positua y escolástica, porque así como es más proprio de los doctoresposituos, así como de Sant Hierónimo, SantAugustín y de Sant Gregorio el mouer los afectos para en todo amar y seruir a Dios nuestro Señor, así en más propio de los escolásticos, así como de sanctoThomás, san Bonventura Porque los doctoresescolásticos, como sean más modernos, no solamente se aprouechan de la vera inteligencia de la Sagrada Scriptura de los posituos y sanctosdoctores, mas aun siendo ellos iluminados y esclarescidos de la virtud diuina, se ayudan de los conçilios, cánones y constituçiones de nuestra sancta madre Yglesia "

¹⁵⁸ On the beginnings of western monasticism, see Lawrence, 1-36 Ditchfield examines the aristocratic hermit as a saintly monk in Ditchfield, *Liturgy*, 148-80

¹⁵⁹ Butler, 1 101-2, 116-19; 9· 5-7, 10· 146-47 While Paul of Thebes was Christianity's first hermit, Anthony is considered the father of Western Monasticism According to the traditional accounts, Antony buried Paul after his death with a garment given to Antony as a gift from Athanasius Hilarion, meanwhile, lived according to the example of Antony. Giles did not necessarily follow the example of the Desert Fathers, he was an early example of a hermit in Western Europe

the founder of the Camaldolese Order was the founder of distinct monastic communities. Meanwhile, Bernard similar to Cassian was an abbot and theologian as well as promoter of his order the Cistercians. What separates Cassian and Sabbas from Romuald and Bernard was their adherence to the *Rule*. While the Jesuits were not monks, these accounts pertaining to monasticism were important due to their depiction of communities of religious men living together under a rule. While Jesuits did not live under a rule, the concept of community resonated amongst the early Jesuits.¹⁶⁰

The presence of women in the *Flos sanctorum* revealed the early modern dilemmas over female sanctity.¹⁶¹ While women featured in the accounts of martyrdom, they did not appear as frequently as men.¹⁶² Many of these female martyrs received the labels of virgins and martyrs to reinforce Ribadeneyra's conceptions of early modern Catholic gender norms that he wished to impart upon others. The other female saints in the *Flos*, however, corresponded to the gendered expectations of the age. For example, Praxedes was a saintly virgin, whereas Monica's sanctity was solely contingent on being both a widow and the mother of another saint. In Monica's case, the *Flos* always describes her as the mother of Saint Augustine, as if her sanctity was contingent on her

¹⁶⁰O'Malley, *First*, 335-45, 369. In comparison, Augustinians were canons regular, clerical communities rooted to a locality that follow a monastic Rule but involved themselves in public ministry. Dominicans and Franciscans were mendicants, orders of friars dedicated to public ministry. They, however, travelled from place to place. Mendicants supported themselves through begging and refused to own property (though the laxity of these ideals became the fuel for controversies in the Late Medieval and Early Modern periods). With respect to religious organisation, the Society of Jesus were clerks regular. They akin to canons regular and mendicants were active participants in public ministry. Similar to the mendicants, they were not necessarily tied to a specific area. While Polanco ransacked the rules of various orders when drawing up the *Constitutions*, they had a rule, but not a monastic one. The aim of the *Constitutions* and to a certain extent the *Regulae* were to enable cohesion in the order, not uniformity.

¹⁶¹ On the religious gender norms of the age, see: Alhgren, 6-31, Weber, 17-41.

¹⁶² The female saints in the *Flos sanctorum* were martyrs of the early Church, the majority from the third and fourth centuries. In comparison, there were thirty-six accounts of male martyrs, while only twenty concerning female martyrs. The difference between the martyrs of the first and the second centuries is minimal.

issue.¹⁶³ The descriptors for Clare of Assisi, founder of the Poor Clares, also conform to a comparable standard. In the 1601 and the 1604 editions of the *Flos* as well as in the *Breviary*, she is listed as only a virgin. No description of her as a founder of a religious order ever appears.¹⁶⁴ Ribadeneyra listed male founders of tertiary orders as founders, while he refused to apply the same name to female founders. For instance, Romuald appeared as the founder of the Camoldensians, an offshoot of the Benedictines.¹⁶⁵ Similarly, Ribadeneyra named John Gualbert as the founder of the Benedictine-derived order the Vallumbrosans.¹⁶⁶ For Ribadeneyra, women could be members of religious orders, but could not found them.

The other founders of religious orders were male and betrayed the relatively recent creation of orders. Gualbert and Romuald were active in the tenth and the eleventh centuries. Claire, Francis of Assisi, and Dominic were notable religious founders in the thirteenth century. The latest of the founders were Francis of Paola (of the Minims) and Ignatius from the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries. The saints in the *Flos sanctorum* associated with an order were religious men and women from the High and Late Middle Ages: they lacked the lineage of monastic communities for example. The Dominicans had two saints (Thomas Aquinas and Peter of Verona), whereas the Franciscans had three (Bonaventure, Anthony of Padua, and Diego de Alcalá). From the Augustinians, founded in the thirteenth century, almost a millennium after Augustine's death in 430, there was a single saint, Nicholas of Tolentino.

¹⁶³Ribadeneyra, *Flos* (1599), sig. ¶¶¶ 3r; *idem*, *Flos* (1604), sig. ¶¶ 2r.

¹⁶⁴*Breviary*, 18; Ribadeneyra, *Flos* (1601), sig. ¶ 5v; *idem*, *Flos* (1604), sig. ¶¶ 3r.

¹⁶⁵Ribadeneyra, *Flos* (1599), sig. ¶¶¶ 2v; *idem*, *Flos* (1604), sig. ¶¶ 1v.

¹⁶⁶Ribadeneyra, *Flos* (1604), sig. ¶¶ 3r.

In comparing the five editions of the *Flos sanctorum* printed during Ribadeneyra's lifetime (1599, 1601, the two 1604 works, and 1609), the more prominent saints' lives in these collections conform to the *Roman Breviary* of 1568, the Gregorian reforms to the calendar introduced in 1582, and the *Roman Martyrology* of 1584. Similar practices were evident in Villegas's *Flos sanctorum*. While the calendar of feast days in Ribadeneyra's 1599 edition contained errors, subsequent editions correctly conformed to the new Gregorian calendar.¹⁶⁷ Saints that featured in the *Martyrology* but not in the *Roman Breviary* formed another tier of sanctity, the *extravagantes*. While *extravagantes* continued to be important in Catholic devotion, they were not a part of the official Catholic liturgy and lacked the pre-eminence of the saints within the *Roman Breviary*. Ribadeneyra and Villegas constructed a new hagiographical tradition based on post-Tridentine reforms while maintaining the Lippomano-Surius tradition. While Ribadeneyra considered Lippomano and Surius important hagiographical predecessors, he also included them amongst medieval martyrologies, the *Roman Martyrology*, and Caesar Baronius's *Annales ecclesiastici* as well as his annotations to the *Roman Martyrology*. Ribadeneyra's placement of his *Flos sanctorum* amongst the Tridentine liturgical works, Surius and Lippomano's hagiography, and ecclesiastic history were part of his efforts to construct a conception of the hierarchical Catholic church in the age of confessionalisation based on observation.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁷ The calendar is found in Christopher Clavius, *Opera mathematicorum*, 5 vols. (Mainz: Johann Volmar, 1612), 5: 5-8. The erroneous Gregorian calendar featured in Ribadeneyra, *Flos* (1599), sig. ¶¶¶ fol. 2-4. The remaining calendars are *idem*, *Flos* (1601), sig. ¶ fol. 5-7; *idem*, *Flos* (1604), sig. ¶¶ fol. 1-4.

¹⁶⁸ Ribadeneyra, *Flos* (1599), sig. ¶¶ 5v-6r, "Los Autores que he seguido en escriuir estas vidas, son los mas graues, y de mayor autoridad que ay, y conocidos, y recebidos por tales de toda la Yglesia Catolica, y los Martyrologios, Romano, de Beda, Vsuardo, y Adon. Tambien me he ayudado de los piadoss trabajos de Luis Lippomano, Obispo de Verona, y del Padre fray Lorenzo Surio, monge Cartuxo, varones en vida, doctrina, y zelo de la honra de los Santos, signos de perpetua alabanza y recordacion. Y no menos me he aporuechado de los Anales, y de las anotaciones sobre el Martyrologio Romano del ilustrissimo

The developments in hagiography were apparent through an examination of saints venerated in the Province of Madrid.¹⁶⁹ Most of the saints' lives in the *Flos sanctorum* by Vega, Villegas, and Ribadeneyra appeared consistently throughout the sixteenth century. The hagiographers added saints to their redactions, such as Villegas's inclusion of Gregory of Nazianzus and Michael as well as Ribadeneyra's insertion of Diego de Alcalá. These changes corresponded with Gregory's promotion to a Doctor of the Church and Diego's canonisation.¹⁷⁰ Michael's cult had declined since the era of the Crusades, but he had a feast day unlike the other archangels Gabriel and Raphael.¹⁷¹ Quiteria, meanwhile, featured in Vega and Villegas's redactions but disappeared from them subsequently.¹⁷² Another popular saint, Scholastica, never appeared in the compilations. In the 1604 supplement, these *extravagantes* formed a separate collection alongside the

Cardenal Baronio al qual escogio el Señor en estos nuestros tiempos tan calamitosos, para que con vn estudio infatigable, è increuble diligencia, empleasse la mayor y mejor parte de su vida, en la leccion de las vidas y libros de los Santos, y con maduro y acertado juyzio resucitasse algunas cosas que estauan sepultadas, obseruasse, y recogiesse otras esparzidas, aueriguasse las dudosas, diesse luz à las oscuras, è ilustrasse la historia Ecclesiastica, con singular beneficio de la Republica Christiana"

¹⁶⁹ These community questionnaires can be found collected in *Relaciones histórico-geográfico-estadísticas de los pueblos de España hechas por iniciativa de Felipe II Provincia de Madrid*, eds Carmelo Viñas y Mey and Ramón Paz, 3 vols (Madrid Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1949), 1 8-738 The list of saints derives from the questionnaires from the Province of Madrid Abdon and Sennen, Agatha, Andrew, Anna, Antony the Anchorite, Anthony of Padua, Athanasius, Augustine, Barbara, Barnabas, Bartholomew, Benedict of Nursia, Bernardino of Siena, Blaise, Bonaventure, Brigit, Catherine of Alexandria, Cecilia, Cosmas and Damian, Diego de Alcalá, Dominic, Eugene of Toledo, Four Crowned Ones, Francis, Gabriel, George, Gregory the Great, Gregory of Nazianzus, Gregory of Nyssa, Hippolytus of Rome, Ildephonsus of Toledo, Isidore of Seville, James the Greater, James the Lesser, John the Apostle, John the Baptist, Joseph, Jude, Justus and Pastor, Luke, Mark, Martin of Tours, Mary Magdalene, Matthew, Michael, Nicolas, Pantaleon, Paul, Peter, Peter of Verona, Philip, Quiteria, Roche, Scholastica, Sebastian, Simon, Stephen, Sylvester, Thomas Aquinas, Turibius of Astorga, Valentine, and Vincent of Zaragoza

¹⁷⁰ Butler, 1 16-19, 11 102, Burke, "Counter-Reformation Saint," 132, 138 Twenty-five years after Trent, the practice of canonisation resumed in the promotion of Didacus or Diego de Alcalá, a Franciscan laybrother active as a missionary in the Canary Islands One reason for this canonisation was the petitions made for Diego by Philip II Diego's intervention yielded a miracle favourable to Philip's son Gregory of Nazianzus's most celebrated contribution is his teachings on the Trinity akin to Basil the Great

¹⁷¹ Peter Marshall and Alexandra Walsham, "Migrations of Angels in the Early Modern World," in *Angels in the Early Modern World*, eds Peter Marshall and Alexandra Walsham (Cambridge and New York Cambridge University Press, 2006), 11-12

¹⁷² Butler, 5 116 While her name appears in the *Roman Martyrology*, the details about her life are legendary For this reason, Ribadeneyra and Villegas might have dropped this saint from their roster, although her cult spanned Portugal, Spain, and southern France

Flos sanctorum “because the holy church does not read about them in the *Roman Breviary*”¹⁷³ The majority of the canonical saints and *extravagantes* were male. Of the 273 canonical saints’ lives, thirty-nine were lives of saintly women. Meanwhile, Ribadeneyra’s collection of *extravagantes* had fifty-two lives, fifteen focussed on female *extravagantes*. Gregory of Nyssa only appeared in the *extravagantes* published in 1609.¹⁷⁴ The lives of Bernardino of Siena, Brigit, and Roche had featured in the *Flos sanctorum* of Vega and Villegas, but Ribadeneyra placed them amongst the *extravagantes* in 1604 and 1609.¹⁷⁵ While *extravagantes* continued as an acceptable form of saint veneration, they lacked the prestige and relatively universal devotion of saints in the liturgical works, such as the *Breviary*.

Ribadeneyra’s construction of a new approach to hagiography also encompassed the biographies of Jesuits. Both the 1601 and the 1604 editions included the life of Ignatius of Loyola. In 1601, he featured at the conclusion of the lives of those saints found in the *Roman Breviary*. Ribadeneyra changed Ignatius’s life in the 1601 *Flos* to include other miracles not present in both his Latin and Castilian *Vita Ignati Loyolae*. In the 1604 edition, however, Ignatius resided among the *extravagantes*. Ignatius’s canonisation proceedings had begun in 1595, with trials in Spain and Italy. By 1602, Pope Clement VIII expressed concern about the veneration of Ignatius and Francis Xavier as saints or *beati* as they had not yet even received beatification. Indeed, they

¹⁷³ Ribadeneyra, *Libro de las vidas de santos*, cover page.

¹⁷⁴ Butler, 1: 64-66. Gregory advocated for a life built on imitation: “to be Christian is basically to imitate God as this imitation is proposed to us in Christ, an imitation that is an assimilation to what God actually is” (65). He and Nazianzus were cenobites.

¹⁷⁵ Butler, 5: 107-8, 7: 180-86, 8: 162-64; Burke, “Counter-Reformation Saint,” 133. Roche’s cult existed since the fourteenth century, but lacked official recognition. Sixtus V provided Roche with two options: “either to canonise him or to obliterate him.” By the early seventeenth-century, special masses were authorised for Roche. Bernardino was a renowned Franciscan preacher in the fifteenth century, whereas Bridget was a foundress of Brigettines.

respectively underwent beatification in 1609 and 1619 before the elevation of both to sainthood in 1622.¹⁷⁶ By 1609, the biographies of five Jesuits were scattered amongst the *extravagantes*. Ignatius, Xavier, Francis Borgia, Aloysius Gonzaga, and Stanislaus Kostka. These Jesuits also had individually assigned feast days indicative in part of their ongoing canonisations and beatifications.¹⁷⁷ Thus, Ribadeneyra incorporated into his *Flos sanctorum* Jesuit ‘saints’ amongst early modern Catholic cults of saints. Other examples of a sanctified Society’s integration into early modern religious life manifested in the seventeenth century included Catholics naming churches after Xavier, the dispersal of cults for Ignatius and Xavier in Naples and Bavaria, or the sanctification trials underway for Ignatius, Xavier, Gonzaga, and Kostka.¹⁷⁸ Ribadeneyra’s inclusion of recently canonised saints and non-canonical figures, however, was inconsistent for saints outside the order. Amongst the newly minted saints, Diego de Alcalá had featured in every edition since 1599, while Jacek Odrovaz and Raymund de Peñaforte emerged in the 1609 *extravagantes*.¹⁷⁹ Of the recent *beati*, Ribadeneyra included Gonzaga and Kostka alone, while the others never made an appearance.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁶Burke, “Counter-Reformation Saint,” 133-34, Simon Ditchfield, “Coping with the ‘*Beati Moderni*’.” Canonization Procedure in the Aftermath of the Council of Trent,” in *Ite inflammate omnia*, ed Thomas M McCoog (Rome: Institutum historicum Societatis Iesu, 2010), 419-25. The process to canonise Francis began soon after his death in 1552, the venues for his trials were in India, Portugal, Spain, and Italy. For an example of a failed canonisation, see Simon Ditchfield, “How Not to be a Counter-Reformation Saint: The Attempted Canonization of Pope Gregory X, 1622-45,” *Papers of the British School at Rome* 60 (1992): 379-422.

¹⁷⁷Burke, “Counter-Reformation Saint,” 137, Ditchfield, “Coping with the ‘*Beati Moderni*’,” 416. n. 17, Ribadeneyra, *Flos sanctorum* (1609), sig. ¶ fol. 4-5. For example, June 20th for “B. Luis Gonçanga de la Compañía de Jesus”, July 31st for “B. Padre Ignacio de Loyola fundador de la Compañía de Jesus”, August 14th for “B. Estanislao KosKa, de la Compañía de Jesus”, September 30th for “B. Francisco de Borja, de la Compañía de Jesus”, December 2nd for “B. Francisco Xavier Apóstol en la India, de la Compañía de Jesus”. Gonzaga and Kostka were beatified in 1605. Ignatius and Xavier underwent canonisation in 1622 along with Teresa of Avila, Isidore the Labourer and Philip Neri. Borgia was beatified in 1624, then canonised in 1670. Kostka and Gonzaga were canonised in 1726.

¹⁷⁸Burke, “Counter-Reformation Saint,” 141-42, Ditchfield, “Coping with the ‘*Beati Moderni*’,” 425-26.

¹⁷⁹Ditchfield, “Coping with the ‘*Beati Moderni*’,” 418-19. Jacek (Jacinto) was a Polish Dominican canonised in 1594, while Raymund was part of the same order but a Spanish missionary. He was canonised

The *Flos sanctorum* genre first emerged in the fourteenth century in the Iberian Peninsula and was the progeny of the *Legenda aurea*. It was a compilation of saints' lives assembled by the Dominican friar Jacobus de Voragine in the thirteenth century. Medieval manuscripts of the *Flos sanctorum* were abridgements of the expansive *Legenda aurea*. They appeared in the *Legenda*'s original Latin as well as Castilian, Catalan, and Portuguese translations.¹⁸¹ Such abridgements were common in late medieval culture and they attempted to organise and to make readily available whatever was considered worth knowing, a practice evident in *margarita philosophiae*, or 'the pearl of philosophy'.¹⁸² By the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, these texts appeared infrequently in Latin, but had repeated printings in the vernacular.¹⁸³ Attitudes towards Voragine's collection changed prior to the sixteenth century, most evidently in the transformation of the word 'legenda'. It had previously referred to anything read, but had become a pejorative term for anything unbelievable or unfit for belief. As a result, compilations of saints' lives from Voragine's tradition adopted other names, such as

in 1601. I looked for the other figure canonised prior to 1609 Francesca RomanaPonziani amongst the *extravagantes* but did not find her there. This practice was suggestive of Ribadeneyra's omission of female canonical saints and the *extravagantes*.

¹⁸⁰ The beati in question were (with date of beatification): John of Sahagún (1601), Colette Boylet (1604), Salvatore Horta (1606), Louis Bertran (1608), Margaret of Citta di Castello (1609). Of note, John and Colette received beatification prior to Kostka and Gonzanga. The Catholic church beatified Ignatius alongside Margaret as well as after Salvatore and Louis. Ribadeneyra selected the saints that featured in the *Flos sanctorum* intentionally.

¹⁸¹ DHEE s.v. J. Vives "*Flos sanctorum*"; Baños Vallejo, *Vidas de santos*, 228-31; Billy Bussell Thompson, "'Plumbei cordis, oris ferrei:' la recepción de la teología de Jacobus a Voragine y su *Legenda aurea* en la Península," in *Saints and their Authors*, eds. Jane E. Connolly, Alan Deyermond, and Brian Dutton (Madison: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1990), 97-106; Reames, 11-15, 27-43.

¹⁸² Christel Meier, "Organisation of Knowledge and Encyclopedia *Ordo*: Functions and Purposes of a Universal Literary Genre," in *Pre-Modern Encyclopedic Texts*, ed. Peter Binkley (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 109-11.

¹⁸³ Baños Vallejo, *Vidas de santos*, 240-54.

Trésor des prédicateurs (Treasure of Preachers), *Lignum vitae* (Tree of Life), and of course, *Flos sanctorum*¹⁸⁴

Criticisms of Voragine and his *Legenda aurea* exploded in the sixteenth century, especially amongst humanists and Protestant reformers who focussed on the perceived fictions and exaggerations to the *Legenda aurea*.¹⁸⁵ For example, humanist Juan Luis Vives attacked Voragine's debasement of saintly narratives: "what an insult is this history of saints to blessed and Christian men, which is named the *Golden Legend*. What I do not know is why it is called golden, since it was written by a man with *a mouth of iron, [and] a heart of lead*."¹⁸⁶ Another example was Erasmus's satire of the genre from his colloquy *The Young Man and the Harlot* (1523), which retold the story of St Thaïs, a prostitute who repented and atoned for her sins. With acerbic wit, Erasmus's intent was to promote the preservation of chastity, albeit without the triteness of other hagiographical accounts¹⁸⁷ For both, compilations of saints' lives such as the *Legenda aurea* had become problematic collections worthy of only derision or mockery.

Protestant reformers also had reservations about hagiography, though some acknowledged its utility for Christian devotion. For Luther, these sentiments appeared in his preface to Georg Major's *Lives of the Fathers* (1544), a compilation of Lutheran-

¹⁸⁴ Reames, 61, Vega, *Flos* (1558), 1r; Vega, *Flos* (1572), 1r The title pages of Vega's editions included an image of the tree of life and in small letters *lignum vitae*

¹⁸⁵ Euan Cameron, *Enchanted Europe Superstition, Reason, and Religion, 1250-1750* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 146-73, 196-210

¹⁸⁶ Juan Luis Vives, *De disciplinis libris XII, septem de Corruptis Artibus, quinque de tradendis Disciplinis* (Naples: Typographia Simonia, 1764), 96 "Quam indigna est divis atque hominibus Christianis illa sanctorum historia, quae *Legenda aurea* nominatur, quam nescio cur auream appellant, quum scripta sit ab homine *ferrei oris, plumbei cordis* " The first printing of *De disciplinis* was 1531

¹⁸⁷ Desiderius Erasmus, "The Young Man and the Harlot," in *Collected Works of Erasmus*, vol. 39, *Colloquies*, trans. Craig R. Thompson (Toronto, Buffalo, and London: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 382-86

sanctioned saints' lives¹⁸⁸ In his preface, Luther criticised the *Legenda aurea*, also known as the *Legenda sanctorum*, for its fables and its lies The preface's first sentence summarised his disdain

This text is not the worst of those other works of satanic fury, which they call histories, or indeed, the *Legenda sanctorum*. Many of which prove incorrect and which it allowed to be put aside (intending to be unquestionable in every way), and thus it destroyed stupid imaginings and impious lies so that certain true stories might be seen to be more coherent and useful.¹⁸⁹

While Lutherans retained saints and the accompanying literature about their lives, they particularised saints according to their confession. Lutherans did not pray to saints, but rather recalled them as exemplars of pious living In accordance with the Lutheran doctrine of *sola scriptura*, only figures from the Bible could have the title of 'saint' appear with their name such as Saints Peter or Paul. Persons absent from the Bible were still saintly and appropriate for the doctrine of the priesthood of all believers, but they lacked the official title of 'saint'. For instance, Lutheran texts referred to Thomas Aquinas or to Antony the Great in de-canonised form.¹⁹⁰ Lutheran hagiographies depicted the confession-specific life of piety for Lutherans with exemplars.¹⁹¹ Good examples for Lutherans to follow in Major's *Vitae patrum* included the lives of Egyptian monks, such as Antony and Paul the Hermit.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁸ Kolb, 33-40

¹⁸⁹ Martin Luther, "D Martinus Luther, pio lectori salutem," in Georg Major, *Vitae patrum in usum ministrorum verbi quo ad eius fieri potuit reprimere* (Wittenberg [Seitz], 1544), sig A 1v "[I]nter cetera Satanic furoris opera hoc non minimum est, quod historias, seu quas vocant, *Legendas sanctorum*, q[ue] plurimas aboleverit, et quas extare passus est (haud dubie non volens), ita corruerit fabulis stultis et impiis mendaciis, ut veri multo sint similiores et utiliores gentium quaedam fabulae"

¹⁹⁰ Kolb, 11-40, 139-58, Scribner, "Incombustible Luther," 39-46, 62-68, Wiess, 174-95

¹⁹¹ Backus, *Life Writing*, 2-20, Kolb, 103-38 Compare with Melancthon's *Life of Luther* Philip Melancthon, "History of the Life and Acts of Dr Martin Luther," in *Luther's Lives*, eds Elizabeth Vandiver, Ralph Keen, and Thomas D Frazel (Manchester and New York Manchester University Press, 2001), 14-39

¹⁹² Major, *Vitae patrum*, 64r-73r (Paul the Hermit), 108r-171r (Antony) Major continued to refer to Antony as a saint

Calvinists also criticised hagiography yet also retained saints and hagiography. The Calvinist definition of sainthood, like Luther's, derived from the New Testament.¹⁹³ Calvinist saints were those set apart by God, persons saved through predestined salvation. According to Calvin, the elect and the sainted would never fall away from God. Lutherans believed that while people drift apart from God, the fallen were not removed from the godly community, rather God provided assurance for salvation. For Calvinists, God predestined salvation or damnation; once decided by the grace of God, the person could not alter or change their fate. Calvinist saints remained exemplary figures worthy of emulation since this outward sanctity suggests, but does not prove, predestined salvation. Calvinists continued to write hagiographies although the characteristics of saint changed. Calvinist 'saints' were that confession's founder and theologians.¹⁹⁴ While Calvinist biographies focused on reformers, they also shared the Lutheran tendency to communicate exemplary lives. Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists thus retained a hagiographical culture, built upon modified definitions of sainthood.

Reformed criticisms of hagiography appear most notably in John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*. In a brief prologue addressed to the reader, Foxe singled out the *Legenda*

¹⁹³ Saints are simply believers in Christ committed to living a devout life. Implied in the use of this word is a separation between this 'Christian' community and all others. For example, "Now as Peter went here and there among all the believers, he came down also to the saints living in Lydda" Acts 9:32 or "with authority received from the chief priests [the Sanhedrin], I [Agrippa II, king of Judaea] not only locked up many of the saints in prison, but I also cast my vote against them when they were being condemned to death" Acts 26:10. Paul outlines who are saints, "The gifts [Christ] gave were that some [believers] would be apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some pastors and teachers, to equip the saints for the work of ministry, for building up the Body of Christ, until all of us come to the unity of faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God, to maturity, to the measure of the full stature of Christ" Ephesians 4:11-13. All Biblical quotations come from *The Oxford Annotated Bible* (New Revised Standard Version).

¹⁹⁴ Backus, *Life Writing*, 126-38.

aurea for criticism.¹⁹⁵ Foxe fixated on the distortions to the narratives apparent in the *Legenda aurea*, likening the hagiographies to Homeric epic fictions.

Why do you not disappear with your *Golden Legends*, shameless trifler! I know that this book, as we all know it and even you yourself are not unaware, spreads the wondrous portents of falsehoods and the falsest imaginings such that I am even not willing to compare it to the tales of Homer. It is so lacking that, in truth, it has nothing in common with the holy and serious histories of the church.¹⁹⁶

Foxe indicted the reader of the *Legenda aurea* as a participant in the Catholic church's debasement of the Christian faith:

These and certain other miracles written about the saints and religious men are the proof, which are nearly all added to this *Legendary* and yet are known by us to have in no way been from that place, to such an extent that they are outlined in the *Legendary of the Pope* as highly suspect to the faithful¹⁹⁷

Obviously, sacred biography by the early and mid-sixteenth-century inspired mockery and not devotion

Books about saints, however, played a role in everyday life for both the literate and non-literate. The late medieval production of hagiographical literature continued and flourished after the advent of printing.¹⁹⁸ Preachers used saints' lives to provide examples of appropriate Christian virtue in their sermons.¹⁹⁹ People heard the occasionally fantastic

¹⁹⁵ John Foxe, *Actes and monuments of these latter and perilous days*, (1563 edition), [online], (hriOnline, Sheffield), available from: <http://www.hrionline.shef.ac.uk/foxe/>, [Accessed 28 06 2011], 9-11 Only the 1563 edition has this Latin preface (I cannot find it translated anywhere)

¹⁹⁶ Foxe, 10 "Quinapage cum *Aurea tua legenda*, nugator impudens, quem ego librum, cum omnes eum scimus, nec ipse ignoras prodigiolis mendaciorum portentis & vanissimis vndique commentis scatere, ne cum Homeri quidem fabulis conferre velim tantum abest ut cum vere feris graubusque ecclesiae historis quicquam commune habeat"

¹⁹⁷ Ibid "Sunt praetor haec & alia quaedam de Sanctis & Diuis conscripta miracula, quae propius ad *Legendam* hanc accedunt, & tamen nequaquam eo loco apud nos habentur, ut *Legendae illi Papisticae* annumerentur, etiam quae suspectissimae sunt fidei"

¹⁹⁸ Manuel Peña Díaz, "Religiosidad y libros 'populares' en el siglo XVI," in *Política, religión e inquisición en la España moderna*, ed Pablo Fernández Albaladejo et al (Madrid: Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 1996), 529-47 especially 535-39 Peña Díaz discusses other popular religious works in early modern Spain, such as books of hours as well as lives of Christ and Mary

¹⁹⁹ Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, *The Coming of the Book*, trans David Gerard, new ed (London: Verso, 1997), 47-48

tales of these saints read to them on feast days. Between 1575 and 1580, New Castilians advocated for numerous saints to protect them from various ailments and sufferings. The saints that received the greatest amount of community-based advocacy were Sebastian (protection against plague and pestilence) and Gregory of Nazianzus (vine pests). Other saints featured less prominently than Sebastian and Gregory, but still in significant numbers, such as Anne and Roche (both plague), Blaise (throat ailments), Catherine of Alexandria (plague, pests, and locusts), Antony the Great (cattle disease), Agatha (climatic conditions), and Pantaleon (vine pests).²⁰⁰ This tendency also manifested in the answers provided to Philip II's questionnaire for eighty communities within the Province of Madrid. Forty-four communities advocated for Sebastian, while thirty-four advocated for Gregory of Nazianzus. Other prominent saints in this region, advocated by six to fourteen communities, were Catherine of Alexandria and Agatha (six communities each), Blaise (eight communities), Antony the Great (nine), Anne (ten communities), and Pantaleon (fourteen communities).²⁰¹ Meanwhile during 1597, Philip II proclaimed that devotion to saints should persist amongst the people of Madrid. The city "desir[ed] to calm [God's] wrath" by adopting "the saints, his friends as our advocates and our defenders"; in this case, they selected Anne and Roche as Madrid's "patrons and advocates in the presence of God, placating the divine wrath [we] have so justly

²⁰⁰ Rawlings, 90.

²⁰¹ *Relaciones histórico-geográfico-estadísticas*, 1:8-738. I reviewed all 252 towns in the Province of Madrid that responded to Philip II's questionnaire. Here are a couple examples: Ibid. 79, 373. The community of Aravaca observe the "día de San Gregorio Nacianceno se guarda por devocion del pueblo, e que guardan las dichas dos fiestas de San Pantaleon e San Gregorio por voto del escarabajuelo e arrevolvedor de las viñas, e San Pantaleon cupo por suerte que echaron en el dicho lugar." Or the community of Meco, "se guarda, y tienen voto de holgar el día de señor San Sebastian y Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion, y que han oido decir a personas antiguas que se voto por pestilencia que hubo en la dicha villa...y que asimismo se huelga el día de San Gregorio Nacianceno en la dicha villa, y se hace procesion por el pueblo, y han oido decir que se huelga por voto que se hizo por el mucho escarabajuelo que habia en las viñas, que se las comian al tiempo que echan el fruto."

merited.”²⁰² Saints in books and as objects of veneration occupied a noticeable place with the daily lives of Spaniards ²⁰³

References from hagiographies appeared in correspondence and other writings. For instance, in María de Guevara’s *Desengaños de la corte, y mujeres valerosas* (1664), she used the depictions of exemplary saints in the *Flos sanctorum*. This essay counseled the eventual Charles II on increasing the status of Spain in Europe. On charity, she wrote “one must imitate those who have had it, such as a certain Saint Isabel, queen of Hungary, whose alms were so great that she had to be restrained.”²⁰⁴ For describing penitence, she advised “Saint Onofre left the empire and went out to the desert to do penance” and “Saint Jerome left his cardinal’s hat and went to the desert to strike his breast with a rock, disillusioned with the world.”²⁰⁵ Visual representations of saints also borrowed from hagiographical accounts. An example appeared in Miguel de Cervantes’s novel *Don Quixote*. When Don Quixote and Sancho Panza interacted with the transporters of saintly images, Quixote knew the saintly narratives of Saints George, Martin of Tours, James the Great, and Paul from memory indicating the pervasive

²⁰² Quintana, fol. 385 “deseando aplacar su ira, juzgamos por medio mas conueniente tomar los Santos, y amigos suyos por abogados, y defensores nuestros, y assi mouidos de particular confidencia, y deuocion que tenemos con la gloriosa Señora S. Ana madre de la Virgen santissima Maria madre de Dios, y Señora nuestra, y al Glorioso S. Roque, cuyos continuos milagros nos han mostrado lo mucho qué ante la diuina Magestad puede su intercession, humildemente les suplicamos sean nuestros patronos y abogados en la presencia de Dios, aplacando la diuina ira tan justamente merecida.” Underlined sections featured in the above passage

²⁰³ Saints were signifiers of community identities in sixteenth and seventeenth-century Spain, see José Ignacio Gómez Zorraquino, “Los santos patrons y la identidad de las comunidades locales en la España de los siglos XVI y XVII,” *Revista de Historia Jerónimo Zurita* 85 (2010): 39-74

²⁰⁴ María de Guevara, “*Desengaños de la corte, y mujeres valerosas*,” in *Warning to the Kings and Advice on Restoring Spain: A Bilingual Edition*, ed. and trans. Nieves Romero-Díaz, 64-111 (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 104-5. The quoted text is Romero-Díaz’s translation. The original: “imitando en la caridad a muchos, que la han tenido, como una S. Isabel Reina de Hungría, que eran tantas las limosnas que hacía, que se las moderaron.”

²⁰⁵ Guevara, 106-7. The original: “S. Honofre dejó el Imperio, y se fue a hacer penitencia al desierto” and “S. Jeronimo dejó el Capelo, y se fue al desierto a darse en los pechos con una piedra, desengañado del mundo.”

character of such accounts.²⁰⁶ The perceptions of sainthood found within *Flos sanctorum* and other hagiographical collections were highly visible in early modern Spanish books and society

Teresa of Ávila offered some insights into this phenomenon. During her canonisation proceedings, one of the reported miracles was the cure of one of Teresa's servants through their devotion to a fragment of Teresa's writings.²⁰⁷ A saint's curative properties transferred to a relic, a piece of paper stained with ink. Hagiographical literature played a prominent role in Teresa's spiritual life and was a motivator for her to recommit to her religious life: "I therefore did not read [most books], but only the lives of saints. As I find myself so lacking to their service to God, [these saints' lives] seem to encourage and revive me."²⁰⁸ Not surprisingly, Teresa chose a *Flos sanctorum* for quotidian reading by the Discalced Carmelites.²⁰⁹

The correlation between earthly existence and the implementation of saintly virtue into Teresa's life deepened through discussing specific exemplars. On temptation during prayer, Teresa directed her readers to follow the example of Jerome: "Ignore the bad thoughts. Look also at those thoughts the devil placed into St Jerome[']s mind] in the

²⁰⁶ Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *Don Quijote de la Mancha* (Madrid: Cuspa Editorial, 1977), 1017. "Y levantándose, dejó de comer y fue a quitar la cubierta de la primera imagen, que mostró ser la de San Jorge puesto a caballo, con una serpiente enroscada a los pies y la lanza atravesada por la boca, con la fiereza que suele decirse. Descubrióla el hombre, y pareció ser la San Martín puesto a caballo, que partía la capa con el pobre. Rióse don Quijote y pidió que quitasen otro lienzo, debajo del cual se descubrió la imagen del Patrón de las Españas a caballo, la espada ensangrentada, atropellando moros y pisando cabezas. Luego descubrieron otro lienzo, y pareció que encubría la caída de San Pablo del caballo abajo, con todas las circunstancias que en el retablo de su conversión suelen pintarse." For comparative purposes, I used the following English translation: Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *The Ingenious Hidalgo Don Quixote de la Mancha*, trans. John Rutherford (London: Penguin, 2003), 874-5.

²⁰⁷ Bouza, *Communication*, 38

²⁰⁸ Teresa de Ávila, *Libro de la vida* (Madrid: Taurus, 1982), 220 "y así no los leía, sino vidas de Santos, que, como yo me hallo tan corta en lo que ellos servían a Dios, esto parece me aprovecha y anima." For comparative purposes, I used the following English translation: Teresa of Ávila, *The Life of Saint Teresa of Ávila by Herself*, trans. J. M. Cohen (London: Penguin, 1957), 219.

²⁰⁹ Egido, 64

desert."²¹⁰ On general sanctity, she directed her readers towards the exemplars found in saints' lives:

Blessed is he who truly loves Him and always has Him by his side. Let us look at the glorious St Paul, from whose mouth [the name of] Jesus was never absent and who held it within his heart After I understood this, I have looked carefully into [the lives] of saints that were great contemplatives and they did not travel by another road St Francis portrays it through his wounds [his stigmata], [as does] St Anthony of Padua, St Bernard took delight in humanity, so did St Catherine of Siena, [as well as] many others that you, Lord, will know better than me.²¹¹

While modelling her behaviour upon the saints found in hagiographies, Teresa continued to venerate these intercessors as a route towards God.²¹² Teresa's treatment of saints as superlative embodiments of Christian virtue in addition to active intermediaries between God and the natural world was typical of early modern Spaniards. Hagiographies disseminated these ideals through printed books.

Hagiographies represented an ideal religious life to Catholics. During and after Trent, saints and their lives experienced a normalisation.²¹³ After Trent, parishes ideally adhered to centralised orthodoxy, while at the same time the papacy insisted that the parish was the centre of religious life. Canonisation halted abruptly with the Reformation

²¹⁰ Teresa de Ávila, 101 "No haga caso de malos pensamientos Mire que también los representaba el demonio a San Jeronimo en el desierto " Cf Teresa of Ávila, 80

²¹¹ Teresa de Ávila, 165-66 "Bienaventurado quien de verdad le amare y siempre le trajere cabe sí Miremos al glorioso San Pablo, que no parece se le caía de la boca siempre Jesús, como quien le tenía en el corazón Yo he mirado con cuidado, después que esto he entendido, de algunos santos, grandes contemplativos, y no iban por otro camino. San Francisco da nuestra de ello en las llagas, San Antonio de Padua; San Bernardo se deleitaba en la Humanidad, Santa Catalina de Sena otros muchos que vuestra merced sabra mejor que yo " Cf Teresa of Ávila, 156

²¹² Teresa de Ávila, 193 "Tomaba santos devotos porque me librasen del demonio Andabas novenas, encomendabame a San Hilarión, a San Miguel Ángel, con quien por esto tomé nuevamente devocion, y otros muchos santos importunaba mostrase el Señor la verdad " Cf Teresa of Ávila, 187

²¹³ Cameron, 219-39, Certeau, *The Mystic Fable*, 1 242-51 Certeau emphasises the increased normalisation (Certeau institutionalisation) of the Society of Jesus, evident in the devotional works becoming "less affective, more technical" (250) Certeau states this process is evident in the Society's depiction of Ignatius "as in the iconography in which the knight, the pilgrim, the reformed priest wearing the Roman habit, and episodes similar to the *Flos sanctorum* were replaced by a founder in priestly robes, bearing like a monsternce, the texts of a law inspired by God The institution had become the true founder Whatever remained of the primitive 'miracles' was there to prove that that institution was of 'our' spirit" (251)

Between 1523 and 1588, not a single saint and after 1588, no theologian and few martyr-saints underwent canonisation by the Roman Church. The majority of newly minted saints were male, Italian or Spanish, and noble clerics. These saints were most often founders of religious orders, missionaries, and pastors, which emphasised the Tridentine ideals of institutional organisation and proselytisation to heretics.²¹⁴ Continued devotion to saints persisted, which manifested in either the creation of new cults or the resurrection of dormant civic cults of already-extant saints, such as Segovia's veneration of the eighth-century Castilian hermit, Fructus, or Ávila's devotion to the first-century missionary and martyr, Secundus of Abula. At the same time, holy persons not officially recognised by the Church assumed a similar place to saints in the local religious practices of Spaniards. Occasionally, these 'saints' received recognition and underwent canonisation. Examples of figures of local devotion that underwent canonisation included Julian of Cuenca (canonised 1594) and Isidore the Labourer for Madrid (canonised 1622).²¹⁵

The scouring of the hagiographical tradition initiated amidst the Council of Trent increasingly required textual sources verifying saintliness. Sainthood was not contingent on canonisation, but rather on the perpetuation of the memory of a saint's miracles and exemplary religiosity. Local cults did not depend on written confirmation, but on continued veneration. On the other hand, an officially recognised saint had to have some historical basis through evidence, whether saints' lives or sermons. All the saints we met

²¹⁴ Burke, "Counter-Reformation Saint, 131-39. During that time, however, unofficial cults were recognised. Ditchfield, "Coping with the *'Beati Moderni'*" 419 n. 23.

²¹⁵ Sara T. Nalle, "A Saint for All Seasons: The Cult of San Julián," in *Culture and Control in Counter-Reformation Spain*, eds. Anne J. Cruz and Mary Elizabeth Perry, 25-50 (Minneapolis and Oxford: University of Minnesota Press, 1992), 26. The remainder of Nalle's essay examines this revival and the canonisation of Julian of Cuenca.

above had hagiographers: Secundus had Antonio de Cianca, Fructus had Juan de Horche, and Julian had several.²¹⁶ Ribadeneyra's printer Sánchez printed Cianca's life of Secundus in 1595.²¹⁷ Some of the printers of lives of Julian, most notably Toledo's Pedro Rodríguez and Cuenca's Juan Masselin, also printed *Flos sanctorum*.²¹⁸ Focussing on Madrid's Isidore, Villegas wrote a sacred biography, while Lope de Vega composed an epic poem.²¹⁹ As such, canonisation and hagiographical literature certified saints long revered in cults, but they did not create these exemplary figures

Ecclesiastic authorities, however, maintained that Spanish Christians were not to believe in mythical and exaggerated aspects found in some saints' lives. The Toledan Provincial Council of 1565 and 1566 in its direction to preachers promoted a hybrid of tradition and reform:

Remind the people of the ecclesiastical customs, rites, and ceremonies that the Catholic Church uses they must abstain, however, from the [excesses] of fabulous stories, but they should not stop referring to the true [accounts] of the martyrs and the saints, admitted by the common consent of the Church.²²⁰

²¹⁶ Nalle, "Saint for All Seasons," 45 n. 3, 48-50. The hagiographies mentioned are Antonio de Cianca, *Historia de la vida, invención, milagros, y translación de San Segundo, primero obispo de Avila* (Madrid: Luis Sanchez, 1595), Juan de Horche, *Historia de la vida de San Frutos, patrón de la Ciudad de Segovia y sus hermanos San Valentín y Santa Engracia* (Valladolid: C. Lasso Vaca, 1610). Julian's hagiographers include Francisco Escudero, Baltasar Porreño, Bartolomé de Segura, and J.B. Valenzuela Velázquez.

²¹⁷ BM 469.

²¹⁸ Masselin printed parts of Villegas's *Flos sanctorum* in 1593 and 1594, Rodríguez produced volumes of the same compilation in 1583, 1588, 1595. Rodríguez's father, Juan, began printing Villegas's *Flos sanctorum* in 1582. Consult Appendix 1, under BM 423 and 424, IB 19547, 19551, 19566, 19596, 19602, and 19605.

²¹⁹ Alonso de Villegas, *Vida de Isidro Labrador, cuyo cuerpo está en la iglesia parroquial de San Andrés de Madrid* (Madrid: Luis Sanchez, 1592), Lope de Vega Carpio, *Isidro* (Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1599).

²²⁰ "Concilio Provincial de Toledo, año 1565 a 1566. Sesión III – De Reforma," in *Colección de los Cánones y de todos los concilios de la Iglesia de España y América*, ed. Juan Tejada y Ramiro, 5:243-60 (Madrid: Pedro Montero, 1863), 5:245. "Recomienden el pueblo las costumbres eclesiásticas, los ritos y las ceremonias que usa la iglesia católica. Absténganse, sin embargo, de las historias fabulosas, pero no dejen de referir oportunamente las verdaderas de los mártires y los santos, admitidas por común consentimiento de la iglesia."

Such criticisms manifested in *Don Quixote*. A priest took exception with the distortion and manipulation of saintly narratives in religious plays:

Well, how about religious plays? What false miracles they invent, what apocryphal and misunderstood things they possess, attributing to one saint the miracles of another!...all to the detriment of truth and the undermining of stories, and even reproachful towards Spanish writers.²²¹

Spanish Catholics continued to venerate saints and read hagiographies, but increasingly had little patience with pious fictions, however well-intended.

In Spain during the late-sixteenth century, hagiographers accounted for these criticisms and reformed saints' lives. By then, two types of *Flos sanctorum* appeared in print. One remained closely related to the *Legenda aurea* tradition such as Pedro de la Vega's *Flos sanctorum*, which had intermittent publication between 1516 and 1580. Vega's redaction had no printings between 1558 and 1568. After the 1572 edition from Alcalá based on the 1558 text, printers from Seville produced all subsequent editions.²²² The second trajectory emerged from Luigi Lippomano and Laurentius Surius's school of hagiography. As an Italian cardinal, hagiographer, and participant at Trent, Lippomano used his compilation to provide spiritually edifying saints' lives that expressed Catholic orthodoxy. Lippomano considered his collection an important confessional weapon; it included an inventory aimed at contemporary anti-Protestant polemic: "A catalogue of those things in the following saints' lives which uphold the truth of Catholic teaching

²²¹ Cervantes, *Quijote*, 524. "Pues ¿qué, si venimos a las comedias divinas? ¡Qué de milagros falsos fingen en ellas, qué de cosas apócrifas y mal entendidas, atribuyendo a un santo los Milagros de otro!...que todo esto es en perjuicio de la verdad y en menoscabo de las historias, y aun en oprobio de los ingenios españoles." Cf. *Don Quixote*, 445-46.

²²² Aragués Aldaz, "Tendencias y realizaciones," 512-3, 521. Vega's *Flos sanctorum* had printings in 1516, 1521, 1540, 1541, 1544, 1548, 1551, 1558, 1568, 1572, 1578, 1580.

and, as it were, fortify a powerful bulwark against the heretics of our time.”²²³ The index enumerated points of Catholic doctrine that had met with Protestant objections such as good works, purgatory, the papacy, and saints themselves. The insistence on doctrinal orthodoxy was abundantly evident in Lippomano’s declaration that his collection included “expositions ..to crush the blasphemies and delusions of all contemporary heretics.” By the time of the third volume’s publication, Lippomano could note that it contained “the usual expositions against the madness of contemporary heretics.”²²⁴

Surius, meanwhile, was a German Carthusian monk and hagiographer who revised Lippomano’s works. He sought to affirm the hagiographical genealogy he shared with Lippomano and the necessity of affirming the authenticity of saints’ lives:

On the true histories of the Saints, some from the volumes of Luigi Lippomano, a very learned bishop, some from exceptional manuscript books, many of which having never before been published, are now collected together with the utmost faithfulness²²⁵

At the same time, Surius included miracles stories within his redaction of saints’ lives as an indication of the continued relevance of venerating them as intercessors. After the official church resumed their recognition of sainthood in 1588, saints’ miracles served as evidence in their trials for beatification and canonisation. Lippomano and especially Surius initiated a new approach to Catholic hagiography that asserted confessional

²²³ Lippomano, 1 sig. a 1r “Catalogus earum rerum quae in sequentibus sanctorum vitis contra haereticos nostri temporis pro catholicorum dogmatum ueritate astruuntur, atque veluti robustissimis propugnaculis fulciuntur”

²²⁴ Lippomano, 1. sig. A 1r, 2 sig. a 1r, 3 sig. a 1r. The subtitle from volumes one and two is “cum Scholijs eiusdem omnium praesentium haereticorum blasphemias et delyramenta profligantibus” Volume three, meanwhile, read “cum solitis scholijs aduersus praesentium haereticorum insanias” The remaining five volumes use variants from volumes one, two, or three

²²⁵ I could not find copies of the original editions of Surius printed in Cologne between 1570 and 1575, but I found their title here. Francis J. Thomson, “The Popularity of Peter Skarga’s *Lives of the Saints*,” in *For East is East Liber amicorum Wojciech Skalmowski*, eds. Tatjana Soldatjenkova and Emmanuel Waegemans (Louvain Peeters, 2003), 124 n. 21. “*De probatis Sanctorum historijs, partim ex tomis Aloysii Lippomani, doctissimi episcopi, partim etiam ex egregijs manuscriptis codicibus, quarum permultae antehac numquam in lucem prodierunt, nunc recens optima fide collectis*”

identity while refuting others. Their followers included the Spanish hagiographers Villegas and Ribadeneyra²²⁶

Villegas used several titles for his compilation, including: “*The Flower of the saints and general history of the life and deeds of Jesus Christ removing any apocryphal and uncertain things*” and “*The Flower of the saints and general history of the life and deeds of Jesus Christ, God and Our Lord, and of all the saints who are venerated and have a feast day in the Catholic Church that conforms to the Roman Breviary, reformed by the decrees of the holy Council of Trent, together with the lives of our saints of Spain, and of other extravagantes*”.²²⁷ Villegas invoked ecclesiastic authority through recalling the Council of Trent and the official edition of the new breviary in 1568. Villegas also localised the collection since it includes Spanish saints while integrating Spain into Roman Catholicism. The term *extravagantes* has numerous meanings in Castilian, but Villegas and later Ribadeneyra use the word to describe saints not officially part of the liturgical calendar or not canonised.²²⁸ Ribadeneyra continued Villegas’s practice of separating official saints from *extravagantes*, but removed a section dedicated to Iberian saints. Instead, Ribadeneyra chose to include exemplary Jesuits amongst the *extravagantes*, a practice that began in 1604.

²²⁶ Aigrain, 322-28, Aragués Aldaz, “Tendencias y realizaciones,” 519-22, Ditchfield, *Liturgy*, 119-30

²²⁷ IB 19548, 19560

²²⁸ *Diccionario de la lengua castellana* (Madrid Viuda de Francisco del Hierro, 1732), 3.699 “EXTRAVAGANTE adj Desreglado, sin orden, ni metodo, raro y extraordinario Lat *Irregularis, Inordinatus, Inconsuetus, Exoticus* Usado como substantivo se toma por Constitucion Eclesiástica, ó Canónica establecida por el Papa, assi dicha porque no estaba reducida, no colocada en el libro de las Decretales Lat *Extravagans, Litterae extravagantes* Se usa assimismo por el que no es del número, no tiene assiento fijo, ni está computado, no incluido, ó incorporado con alguna compañía, comunidad, ó clase de personas, ó estados, sino que libremente obra y exerce por sí y donde quiere su oficio, o cargo *Superforaneus, superveniens, inassignatus* ”

In order to grasp the significance of Ribadeneyra's emphasis on exemplary Jesuits, it is useful to examine the history of the order's development in Spain. The Jesuits had established a noticeable presence in both Madrid and Alcalá by the middle of Philip II's reign. While the early companions of Ignatius were mostly Spaniards, the expansion of the Society in Spain was initially slow with the exception of university cities such as Alcalá. By the 1550s, however, the Society had some presence in Spain's major urban centres, such as Valladolid, Barcelona, Zaragoza, Toledo, and Medina del Campo amongst others. Salamanca, Valencia, and Alcalá accounted for half of the Society's Spanish recruits during Laínez's governorship (1558-1565).²²⁹ By the start of Everard Mercurian's governorship in 1573, the order had expanded its presence elsewhere in Spain even forming distinct provinces: Aragon (Aragon, Valencia, Catalonia, and Ribagorza), Castile (Galicia, Asturias, Basque Country, Navarre, Leon, and Old Castile), Toledo (New Castile, Extremadura, and Murcia), and Andalucía. For instance, there were consistent provincial populations for Toledo (400), Castile (360), Andalusia (200), and Aragon (150). By 1580, each province's population increased such as Toledo (480), Castile (500), Andalusia (260), and Aragon (200).²³⁰ By the end of Claudio Acquaviva's tenure (1581 to 1615), the Jesuit population in Spain had grown again: for instance, Toledo (570), Castile (613), Andalusia (600), and Aragon (390).²³¹ While composing the *Flos sanctorum*, Ribadeneyra wished to integrate the Society into a confessional community through life-writing, whether on Ignatius, Borgia, Laínez, or the saints in the *Flos sanctorum*. Ribadeneyra never left Spain after the 1570s, but his earlier travels contributed to his use of hagiography as a rebuttal to Protestantism in the age of

²²⁹ Astrain, 2:39-103; O'Malley, *First*, 52-55.

²³⁰ Astrain, 3:178-79.

²³¹ Astrain, 4:753-54.

confessionalisation, akin to what Surius and Lippomano had done in the 1560s and 1570s. Ribadeneyra refuted heresy through the lives that he wrote of a cavalcade of imitable and Catholic saints as Surius and Lippomano had done previously. Ribadeneyra, however, was also an avid reader of Surius, Lippomano, and other writers that contributed to his conception of a confessional community of readers that he promulgated in his *Flos sanctorum*.

CHAPTER 2: 'TOLLE, LEGE' AND CATHOLIC COMMUNITY

Ribadeneyra's *Flos sanctorum* allowed its readers to incorporate not only the behaviour of the saints described, but also his practices as a hagiographer. As a writer of saints' lives and the translator of Augustine's *Confessions*, Ribadeneyra was well aware of the impact of reading upon Augustine's religious development.²³² In one memorable instance, Augustine heard a child's voice imploring him to read the Gospel:

Augustine heard a voice singing that said and repeated many times "Take it and read, take and read." He took the book, understanding that God had sent it to him, opening it, he read the first chapter that he found. In reading this sentence [Romans 13:13-14], a ray of light penetrated Augustine's heart, and all the darkness of his doubts vanished, and he was so changed, that he says the same with these words: "But by chance were I asked, why am I writing about the virtues and examples of the saints so that we may imitate them, have I written here about the vices and errors which in his youth Augustine had done, as these things should not be imitated, but loathed and detested?" To this I respond, that I have done this in order to imitate St. Augustine himself, who in the book of his *Confessions* portrays his life. In it, he provides a picture of his habits and vices, he cries over them, and he asks the Lord to forgive them.²³³

Ribadeneyra not only related the 'tolle, lege' episode from Augustine's *Confessions*, but also inserted himself into the narrative as an imitator of Augustine through recalling his virtues and his sins. Ribadeneyra recreated within his text an act of contrition, which remained part of Catholic and Protestant devotional life.²³⁴

²³² On reading and Augustine's *Confessions*, see Stock, 23-121.

²³³ Ribadeneyra, *Flos* (1601), 264. "Oyo vna voz con vn cantar, que dezia, y lo repetia muchas vezes *Toma y lee toma y lee*. Tomo el libro, entendiendo q[ue] Dios se lo ma[n]daua, abriole, leyo el primer capitulo que hallo. En leyendo esta sentencia, vn rayo de lux penetro el coraçon de Agustin, y todas las tinieblas de sus dudas desaparecieron, y quedo tan trocado, que el mismo dize de si estas palabras. Pero por ventura alguno pregu[n]tara, porque escriuie[n]do yo las virtudes y exemplos de los santos, para que los imitemos, he escrito aqui los vicios y errores, que en su mocedad tuuo san Agustin, los quales no se deuen imitar, sino aborrecer y detestar? A esto respondo, que lo he hecho principalmente, por imitar al mismo san Agustin, que en el libro de sus confesiones pinta su vida, y haze vn dibuxo de sus costumbres y vicios, y los llora, y pide de [e]llos perdon al Señor." See also Augustine, *Confessions*, trans. R. S. Pine-Coffin (London: Penguin, 1961), 177. The entire account is the culmination of Book 8 in the *Confessions*.

²³⁴ Please consult the following on the use of exempla: Aragües Aldaz, *Deus concionator*, Peter Burke, "Exemplarity and Anti-exemplarity in Early Modern Europe," in *The Western Time of Ancient History*, ed. Alexandra Lianeri (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 48-59; Nigel F. Palmer,

Reading contributed towards an early modern Catholic community centred on the behavioural models found in these Catholic books after Trent. For Ribadeneyra, the acquisition of saintly exemplars in the *Flos* facilitated devotion, while reinforcing the concept of a Catholic community. At the same time, the hagiographical compilation served as a manual for subsequent hagiographers. After Ribadeneyra's death in 1611, the Jesuit Cristóbal López wrote in his life of Ribadeneyra that:

Such was his devotion to Christ our Lord and his holiest Mother as well as to the saints and angels that no day passed without him reading their histories, and afterwards he avidly reviewed what he had noted down of their virtues, taking from them the fruit needed to imitate them. And before he could write the *Flos sanctorum*, he read every day the *Roman Martyrology*; and after that, Cardinal Baronius's *Annotations* of it. Looking at the authors that the Cardinal had cited, it was apparent that the Cardinal had published the fruit of his devotion, as Ribadeneyra himself would later publish his lives, well-written and composed with such devotion, discretion, truth and wisdom.²³⁵

While writing was part of Ribadeneyra's piety, the imitation of the devotional reading of saintly works animated Ribadeneyra when he compiled the *Flos sanctorum*.

Akin to the genealogy of sanctity evident in his saints' lives, Ribadeneyra traced the lineage of religious writing from its inception in the apostolic church. He placed himself as both a hagiographer and a reader of saints' lives within this genealogy. Saints possessed imitable conduct that they acquired in part through observing exemplary

"Exempla," in *Medieval Latin*, eds. F.A.C. Mantello and A.G. Rigg (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1999), 582-88.

²³⁵ Cristóbal López, "Vida del Padre Pedro de Ribadeneyra, Religioso de la Compañía de Jesús. En Madrid año de 1612" in Pedro de Ribadeneyra, *Confessiones, epistolae, aliaque scripta inedita*, ed. Daniel Restrepo (Madrid: La editorial Ibérica, 1923), 2: 460. "Fue su deuoción con Christo nuestro Señor y su Madre sanctíssima y con los sanctos y angeles de manera que nungun día se le passaua sin leer sus historias, y contaua despues con mucho gusto lo que auía notado de sus virtudes, sacando dellas el fruto que se ha de sacar para ymitarlas. Y antes que escriuiesse los *Flos sanctorum*, leía cada día el martyrologio romano; y despues quel cardenal Baronio hizo las anotaciones del, miraua los auctores quel cardenal alegana, que parece fue fructo desta su deuoción el sacar a luz, como despues sacó, sus vidas tan bien escritas y con tanta deuocion, discreción, verdad y prudencia."

behaviour of others²³⁶ The *Flos sanctorum* provided the devout with accounts of saintly virtue that they could implement into their own lives, for example in prayer²³⁷ Through reading and writing the history of Catholicism, Ribadeneyra constructed a confessional community oriented around cyclical exemplars of sainthood This hagiographer's library was a collection of works that delineated the orthodoxy, tradition, and imagined universalism of early modern Catholicism²³⁸ It also situated his efforts as a hagiographer within a larger tradition of writing saints' lives and sacred history

Towards a History of Reading in Early Modern Spain

Ribadeneyra's reading habits were those of a priest born into the minor nobility In early modern Spain, nearly all the clergy, qualified bureaucrats, merchants, the upper nobility (which excluded hidalgos) were literate, while only a third to half of the artisans, shop-keepers, and richer farmers could read²³⁹ On average, however, the literacy rate was approximately ten to fifteen percent These percentages increased in cities, whereas towns and villages with less than 500 households had lower rates of literacy²⁴⁰ Men had a higher rate of literacy than women by the end of the sixteenth century, half of the male population was literate²⁴¹ While European Protestants had higher literacy rates, the discrepancy between the estimates based on confessional lines has often been

²³⁶ Ibid. 472 "se hecha de ver esta discrecion en las vidas de los sanctos del Flos sanctorum de ambas partes, porque sabe aprovecharse de lo mas a proposito dellas y que mas puede edificar las almas de los que las leen, y dexar lo que le parece menos ymitable y que puede aprovechar menos Y lo mismo se vee en las vidas de nuestros sanctos Padres Ignacio, Laynez y Borja "

²³⁷ Lopez, 483 "Hizo el Manual de oraciones para si y para la gente deuota, en el qual resume las vidas de los mas de los sanctos del Flos sanctorum, pidiendo a Dios sus virtudes "

²³⁸ Compare with Chartier's conception of the library without walls Chartier, *Order*, 61-88

²³⁹ R A Houston, *Literacy in Early Modern Europe* (New York and London Longman, 1988), 131

²⁴⁰ Houston, 140-41

²⁴¹ Nalle, "Literacy and Culture", 67-72 Also compare, Prieto Bernabe, 1 333

exaggerated.²⁴² The rates between confessions were proportional, but locality influenced the ability to read and write more than confession

Reading and writing were integral to Ribadeneyra's religious vocation. In the *Imitation of Christ*, a good religious should never be "entirely idle, but reading or writing, in prayer or in meditation, or else be engaged in some work for the common good."²⁴³ *Flos* by Villegas or Ribadeneyra featured extensively in the libraries of clergy.²⁴⁴ For instance, Antonio de Riaño y Viedma, the parish priest of Madrid's St Michael, had the *Flos* of both Villegas and Ribadeneyra.²⁴⁵ These texts, however, were not economical, yet this expense did not prevent their widespread use.²⁴⁶ In comparison, the cost of Surius's compilation was accessible only to the wealthy, but it was a source frequently consulted by sermon writers.²⁴⁷

Other popular works of religious literature in Golden Age Madrid included the Bible, Missals, Breviaries, Books of Hours, as well as the works of Teresa of Ávila, Luis de Granada, Augustine, and Bonaventure.²⁴⁸ Other than the Bible, Catholic clergy gravitated towards catechisms, confessional manuals, commentaries and sermons by the

²⁴² Houston, 147-50

²⁴³ Kempis, 48

²⁴⁴ Prieto Bernabé, 1 227-31, 2 122, 129

²⁴⁵ Dadson, 415-16. These entries and discussion of Riaño y Viedma's library can be found in Dadson, 215-36, 416-17.

²⁴⁶ Dadson, 415-17, 470-71, 475-78, 480, 485-86, 488, 490, 497, 504, Marcelin Defourneaux, *Daily Life in Spain in the Golden Age*, trans. Newton Branch (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1970), 233-34. The numbers are estimates and betray the expense of some books. For most of the seventeenth century, Villegas's *Flos* averaged around twenty reales if unbound for the work's first volume. Ribadeneyra's work was only a few reales less expensive, averaging around fifteen reales. The costs skyrocketed if the book was to be bound. As a devotional book, it was a luxury compared to others of its kind, especially when a liveable but sparse daily income was approximately two-and-a-half reales.

Since the book inventories found in Dadson occasionally employ different monetary denominations, I will state the exchanges I have used. The base unit of coinage in Castile is a maravedí. The other units featured in Dadson were the ducat (=375 maravedís) and the real (=34 maravedís). A ducat is about equal to eleven reales. In comparison, unbound saints' lives not by either Villegas or Ribadeneyra cost between two and five reales, while a reader paid three reales for a loose-leaf *Imitation of Christ*.

²⁴⁷ Ditchfield, *Liturgy*, 126

²⁴⁸ Prieto Bernabé, 1 200-27

Church Fathers, the *Imitation of Christ*, and saints' lives. Meanwhile, the laity preferred the *Imitation*, Books of Hours, catechisms, and collections of sermons.²⁴⁹ The most prominent owners of religious books were booksellers, bureaucrats, nobles, and clergy.²⁵⁰ While the majority of the books owned by clerics were religious, their libraries also had numerous volumes of history, law, and other genres of writing, such as fiction, essays, poetry, and drama.²⁵¹ Religious books drifted between three prevalent and porous audiences of reading: early modern clerical readers of religious books desired works of piety and devotion (as did the laity), texts for ecclesiastic professionals, such as liturgical manuals or apologetics, and works for broad audiences that discussed contemporary religious and political conflicts and affairs.²⁵²

Trends in readership require more than the review of libraries' holdings. A sixteenth-century Premonstratensian Spanish friar, Tomás Quixada, remarked that

I do not go looking in the libraries
Of Archbishops, Dukes, or Marquises,
For boasting's sake assembled, just for looks,
Since rarely do their owners ever read their books.²⁵³

In addition, items from institutional and individual libraries only tell a fraction of the story. At home, books read aloud offered spiritual comfort and entertainment. Yet we cannot understate the religious element of reading since it enables another way of sharing

²⁴⁹ Julia, 243-44, 251-66

²⁵⁰ Prieto Bernabe, 1:198

²⁵¹ Prieto Bernabe, 2:102

²⁵² Paul Nelles, "Three Audiences for Religious Books in Sixteenth-Century France," in *The Sixteenth-Century Religious French Religious Book*, eds. Andrew Pettegree, Paul Nelles, and Philip Conner (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 256-85.

²⁵³ Tomás Quixada, "Consulta," in Bartolomé Villalba y Estaña, *El Pelegrino Curioso y Grandezas de España* (Madrid: Miguel Ginesta, 1886), 1:68. I used this translation due to its pithiness. Bouza, *Communication*, 65: "Que no me ando a buscar las librerías, / de Arzobispos, ni Duques, ni Marquesses, / que las tienen por sus fanfarronías / y leen en los libros pocas veces,"

the ‘fruit’ of Christian piety.²⁵⁴ Teresa of Ávila’s *Autobiography* discussed reading saints’ lives aloud. In her youth, she and her siblings would gather

we used to read the lives of saints together...as I saw the martyrdoms that the saints endured for God, it appeared to me that they bought their passage to God very inexpensively. I wanted so much to die, not for any comprehensible love, but to acquire as rapidly as they had the great joy in heaven that I saw.²⁵⁵

As found in Teresa’s account, older brothers introduced the genre of saints’ lives to female readers, a tendency echoed in the life-writing relationship between male confessors and female penitents.²⁵⁶ Sites of reading were not only libraries, but also public spaces as well as homes²⁵⁷

Another public space for reading was bookstores. For instance, Francisco de Quevedo addressing the reader of *The Swindler* admonished persons who read a book

²⁵⁴ Chartier, “Leisure and Sociability,” 104-6, 113-14, *idem*, “Reading Matter and ‘Popular’ Reading,” 276-78

²⁵⁵ Teresa de Ávila, 47-48 “juntabamonos entrambos a leer vidas de santos Como veía los martirios que por Dios las santas pasaban, parecíame compraban muy barato el ir a gozar de Dios y deseaba yo mucho morir así, no por amor que yo entendiese tenerle, sino por gozar tan en breve de los grandes bienes que leía haber en cielo ” Cf Teresa of Ávila, 23-24

²⁵⁶ On the relationship between confessors and penitents, see Bilinkoff, *Related Lives* The trope of the older brother reading a saint’s life appears in a manuscript life of Lucía de Jesús, cited from Antonio Castillo Gomez, “La biblioteca interior: experiencias y representaciones de la lectura en las autobiografías, memorias, y diarios del Siglo de Oro,” in *La Memoria de los libros*, eds Pedro M Cátedra and María Luisa López-Vidriero (Salamanca Instituto de Historia del Libro y de la Lectura, 2004), 2-23 “Olvidaseme de decir que en este mismo tiempo y edad supe milagrosamente leer y escribir sin que nadie me enseñase [] En ocasión que el hermano mayor estaba leyendo en un *Flos santorum* para que le oyéramos los demás, y de que acabo de leer, dije yo “Mas, ¿Qué vuelvo yo a leer lo que mi hermano ha leído?” Riéronse de mí, diciendo que quitase allá, que cómo podía ser aquesto que yo decía Yo porfié a que me diesen el libro [], y leí con mucho desenfado lo que había prometido, y en otra cualquier parte de aquel libro o en otro cualquieria. Pero ni por eso me daban crédito, antes me decían lo tenía de cabeza y que hacía que lo leía Yo, para verificar más esto, le pedía a un vecino que me diese lección, diciéndole que me enseñase [] Hizolo a mi petición y vióse que yo lo sabía [], quedando muy admirado, pero no haciendo de ello misterio milagroso Debió de parecerles gracia natural, y a mí también me parecía lo mismo, no discuriendo más ”

²⁵⁷ Richard L Kagan, *Lucrecia's Dreams Politics and Prophecy in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Berkeley, CA, Los Angeles, and London University of California Press, 1990), 23-25 Kagan discusses the rich visual and aural culture of early modern Madrid through the prophetess Lucrecia de León While the extent Lucrecia could read and write is not certain, she was knowledgeable about Spanish history (the Cid, Roderic, Charles V, Isabella and Ferdinand) and even Roman mythology. A lack of proficiency at reading and writing does not suggest a culturally illiteracy, but she “learned a great deal by keeping her eyes and ears open ”

piecemeal: they read fragments of a book at a bookstore and eventually read the entirety of the work without buying it.²⁵⁸ Inventories of printed books also frequently failed to account for manuscripts, of which a rich culture existed in Golden Age Spain.²⁵⁹ Lope de Vega depicted this phenomenon, while criticising printing in “Fuenteovejuna”:

Barildo: Leonelo, printing is important
 Leonelo: Without printing, many centuries have passed,
 and we do not see in this age of print
 a St Jerome, or an Augustine emerging.²⁶⁰

Lope de Vega, through Leonelo, insinuated that print has not produced a writer of the same magnitude as Jerome or Augustine.²⁶¹ An investigation of reading, therefore, required not only study of data from library inventories, but also a consideration of other sites of reading.

Reading silently, akin to Augustine’s depiction of Ambrose in the *Confessions*, was a medieval practice that persisted after the advent of print.²⁶² While both silent and audible reading contributed to a sense of Catholic community, they secured this identity in different ways. Pondering over texts in silence encouraged prayer, meditation, and self-examination, whereas audible reading encouraged community through shared

²⁵⁸ Francisco de Quevedo, *La vida del Buscón llamado Don Pablos* (Salamanca: Consejo superior de investigaciones científicas, 1965), 7. “Qve desseoso te considero Lector, o oydor (que los ciegos no pueden leer) ..pues ya le tienes en tu casa, sino es que en la del Librero le hojeas, cosa pesada para el, y que se aua de quitar con mucho rigor, que ay gorriones de libros, como de almuerços, y hombre que saca cuento leyendo a pedaços, y en diuersas vezes, y luego le zurze”

²⁵⁹ Bouza, *Corre*, 27-83.

²⁶⁰ Lope de Vega, “Fuenteovejuna,” II, i, lines 927-31. “Barildo Leonelo, la impresión es imporante. / Leonelo Sin ella muchos siglos se han pasado, / y no vemos que en éste se levante / [blank line] / un Jerónimo santo, un Agustino ” I used the following edition: Lope de Vega Carpio, *Fuenteovejuna*, ed. Donald McGrady (Barcelona: Crítica, 1993)

²⁶¹ OCSL s.v. “Fuenteovejuna.” Its first printing was 1619, while Lope de Vega had written it between 1612 and 1614. This statement is curious given the number of saints canonised since 1588 as well as the discernible Iberian presence amongst them.

²⁶² Augustine, 114. “He [Ambrose] was reviving his body with the food that it needed or refreshed his mind with reading. When he read, his eyes scanned the page and his heart explored the meaning, but his voice was silent and still. we found him reading like this in silence, for he never read aloud.” On the history of silent reading, see: Paul Saenger, *Space between Words: the Origins of Silent Reading* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997), 1-17, 83-99, 120-30, 165-82, 256-78.

discourse.²⁶³ In reading Augustine's *Confessions*, the narrative both comforted Teresa of Ávila and facilitated the improvement of the self through comparison with a revered figure.²⁶⁴ Reading was a multifaceted practice that negotiated between individual piety and collective identification with Catholicism and its universal conception of sainthood.

Ribadeneyra and the Jesuits generally were voracious readers. They favoured catechisms, spiritual biographies, polemical literature, along with devotional and meditative literature.²⁶⁵ Specific works that appeared frequently in Jesuit correspondence and writings include: Augustine's *Confessions*, the *Imitation of Christ*, Denis the Carthusian's *De quatuor novissimis*, Luis de Granada's *Tratado de la oracion*, Cassian's *Conferences*, the works of Bernard of Clairvaux, and Ludolph of Saxony's *Vita Christi*.²⁶⁶ Jesuits as readers were neither unquestioningly reverent nor unceasingly critical, but changed according to circumstance.²⁶⁷ Edification also derived from handwritten media, whether through notebooks or the voluminous correspondence which passed through the Society. Following Ignatius's practice of keeping notebooks, members of the Society also maintained their thoughts and meditations in both separate sheets and

²⁶³ Leturia, 2: 302-17.

²⁶⁴ Teresa de Ávila, 89-90. "En este tiempo me dieron las Confesiones de San Agustín, que parece el Señor lo ordenó...Yo soy aficionada a San Agustín, porque...haber sido pecador, que en los santos que después de serlo el Señor tornó a Si hallaba yo mucho Consuelo, pareciéndome en ellos había de hallar ayuda y que como los había el Señor perdonado podía hacer a mí...como comencé a leer las Confesiones, paréceme me veía yo allí. Comencé a encomendarme mucho a este glorioso Santo. Cuando llegué a su conversión y leí cómo oyó aquella voz en el huerto no me parece sino que el Señor me la dio a mí según sintió a mi corazón." Cf. Teresa of Ávila, 69.

²⁶⁵ Lazar, 291-92.

²⁶⁶ Leturia, 2: 279-86. Other widely-read works were: Antoninus *Suma historiale*, the letters of Catherine of Siena, mystical treatises by a myriad of authors (Francis of Assisi, Catherine of Siena, Henry Suso, and Hendrik Herp), Vincent Ferrer's *De vita spirituali*, as well as the theological works by Gerson, Aquinas, and Bonaventure. These selections only partially correspond with the texts featured in the *Regulae*, 257-59.

²⁶⁷ Haugen, 967-85. Through the example of the French Jesuit Jacques Sirmond and his lectures on Vergil, Haugen explores how a reader used sources, in this case an epic poem, as a verifiable historical source and its later manifestation in Sirmond's career as an ecclesiastical historian.

notebooks.²⁶⁸ The encouragement of community through texts in the Society of Jesus became institutionalised during the generalship of Claudio Acquaviva²⁶⁹

Amongst these genres, saints' lives particularly Ribadeneyra's *Flos sanctorum* maintained their popularity.²⁷⁰ Saints' lives and the *Imitation of Christ* continued to be the books frequently read by Jesuits²⁷¹ In the *Spiritual Exercises*, Ignatius directed retreatants to ponder the lives of saints while eating since it diminishes the sensual enjoyment of the food²⁷² The Jesuit *Constitutions* argued that books such as saints' lives should be read during mealtimes as they provide nourishment for the soul.²⁷³ The *Ratio studiorum*, an outline of the Society's educational program, instructed professors to enthusiastically suggest spiritual reading most especially the lives of saints²⁷⁴ The most notable example in the Society, however, was Ignatius's reading of a redaction of saints' lives. This episode appeared in his *Autobiography* and Ribadeneyra later included it in his

²⁶⁸ On notebooks, consult Ignatius, "Acta Patris Ignatii," [11], Paul Nelles, "*Libros de papel, libri bianchi, libri papyracei* Note-taking Techniques and the Role of Student Notebooks in the Early Jesuit Colleges," *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 76 (2007) 79-85, 95-102, *idem*, "Seeing and Writing," 318-26. On letters, consult Friedrich, 14-29, Palomo, "Corregir letras," 60-74

²⁶⁹ Leturia, 2 317-31

²⁷⁰ Lazar, 305-7, Leturia, 2 273-83 Cf Leturia, 2 279 "Pero hemos advertido que la recomendacion ignaciana no favorece a ningun autor determinado Es que escribe para todos los tiempos, y el *Flos sanctorum* del suyo, al que su alma tanto debia, mezclaba los grandes aciertos con defectos no menos grandes contra la critica y el buen gusto Es interesante advertir que los catalogos de lecturas recomendables para uso de la Compañía de que haremos recuento mas adelante, recogen cuidadosamente las nuevas vidas de santos de Lipomano y de Surio que van en el siglo XVI reformando el viejo *Flos sanctorum* Desde el fin del siglo, son ya autores jestuas los que sacan las consecuencias del espiritu de los ejercitos editando sus propias collectiones hagiograficas en 1595 el P G P. Maffei, en 1599 el P Pedro de Ribadeneira, en 1607 el P Eriberto Rosweyde Es sabido que este ultimo prepara el camino a la monumental coleccion de los Bolandos "

²⁷¹ *Regulae*, 257-58

²⁷² Ignatius, *Exercitia Spirituality*, [215] "Otra vez, mientras come, puede tomar otra consideración, o de vida de santos, o de alguna pía contemplación, o de algún negocio espiritual que aya de hazer, porque estando en la tal cosa attento, tomará menos delectación y sentimiento en el majar corporal "

²⁷³ Ignatius, *Constitutiones*, III, 1, [85] "precediendo la bendición y siguiéndose la action de gracias, que todos deuen dar con la deuoción y reverencia conveniente, y entre tanto que se come, dándose alguna refection assimesmo al anima, con leers algún libro pío más que difficil que todos puedan entender, y dél aprouecharse, o con predicar alguno en el tal tiempo"

²⁷⁴ "*Ratio*," 417 "Lectiorem spiritualem, praesertim de sanctorum vitis, vehementer commendat, contra vero non solum ipse ab impuris scriptoribus, et omnino in quibus sit aliquid, quod bonis moribus nocere queat, iuventuti praelegendis abstineat, sed ab iisdem etiam extra scholam legendis discipulos, quam maxime potest, deterreat "

life of Ignatius.²⁷⁵ Ribadeneyra described how Ignatius read the life of Christ and a *Flos sanctorum*, an incremental process that awakened Ignatius's piety:

It was at this very curious time when, accustomed to reading books of chivalry, and in order to pass the time in bed which his illness made long and annoying, Ignatius asked that they bring him some such vain book. God willed that they had no books in the house other than those of spiritual things, which were offered to him; which he accepted, more for entertainment than by inclination or devotion. They brought him two books, one on the life of Christ our Lord, and the other on the lives of saints, commonly called the *Flos sanctorum*. He began to read them, at first (as I said) to pass the time, then gradually out of love and pleasure. [...] Not only did he begin to enjoy them and to desire to imitate and to do what he had read, but they also changed his heart.²⁷⁶

Reading the lives of Christ and the saints thus sparked Ignatius's conversion. However, he had to first internalise the accounts and then imitate the conduct featured therein within his life.

The interaction between reading and the replication of saintly conduct reappeared in Rodríguez's *Practice of Christian Perfection*. Rodríguez was a contemporary of Ribadeneyra, both were early recruits into the Society. The Society was an institution built on multimedia; in it, reading and hearing texts promoted orthopraxy through following the example of saints and an orthodox Catholic community. Thus, Rodríguez recalling his lengthy career as a spiritual advisor and as a master of noices counseled his readers that

All the saints greatly recommend this spiritual reading. And the experience shows us well, how advantageous it is, since we have histories full of great

²⁷⁵ Ignatius, "Acta Patris Ignatii," [5-7].

²⁷⁶ Ribadeneyra, *Vita Ignati*, [87] "Era en este tiempo muy curioso, y amigo de leer libros de cavallerías, y para pasar el tiempo con la cama y enfermedad se le hazía largo y enfadoso, pidió que le truxessen algún libro desta vanidad. Quiso Dios que no huviesse ninguno en casa, sino otros de cosas espirituales que le ofrecieron; los quales él acetó, más por entretenerse en ellos que no por gusto y devoción. T[r]uxéronle dos libros, uno de la vida de Christo nuestro Señor y otro de vidas de Santos, que comúnmente llaman Flos sanctorum. Començó a leer en ellos, al principio (como dixe) por su pasatiempo, después poco a poco por afición y gusto. Y no solamente començó a gustar, mas también a trocársele el coraçón, y a querer imitar y obrar lo que leía."

conversions to the Lord acted upon this path. This reading is such a pivotal and important medium for our advancement that the founders of religious orders came to order their religious to read spiritual things each day. These founders based this reading on the doctrine of the Apostle and the authority and experience of the saints...In the Company, we have a rule for spiritual reading, that says: Twice daily the brothers must set aside time to examine their conscience, and to prayer, meditation, and reading, with all diligence in the Lord.²⁷⁷

For Rodríguez, religious reading was the gateway towards the spiritual life. It allowed the reader to perceive the virtue of saints separated by time and space, devotional literature lessened the discrepancies between present and past to provide a universal code of sanctity. In turn, saints' lives also provided examples of piety imitated by readers, an example of the appropriation of sanctity through texts. When considering the reading of *Flos sanctorum*, there was a contrast between the subjective acquisition of saintly virtue and its need for regulation. Saints' lives were empty texts until their readers assigned them divinity through language laden with religious identity.²⁷⁸ Rodríguez then placed the practice of reading saints' lives within the daily routine of Jesuit spiritual life and correlated reading with meditation, prayer, and self-reflection.

Rodríguez's discussion incorporated the senses into the acquisition of saintly exemplars through reading. He also included the types of reading found in Augustine's *Confessions*. Rodríguez advises his readers that

²⁷⁷ Alonso Rodríguez, *Exercicio de perfección y virtudes cristianas*, 3 vols (Seville: Matias Caviyo, 1609-1616), 1:381-82. "Todos los santos encomiendan mucho esta lección espiritual. I la experiencia nos muestra bien, de quanto provecho sea, pues tenemos llenas las historias de conversiones grandes, que a el Señor obrado por este camino. I assi, por ser esta lección un medio tan principal, i tan importante para nuestro aprovechamiento, los instituidores de las religiones, fundados en la doctrina del Apostol, i en la autoridad, i experiencia de los santos, vinieron a ordenar, que sus religiosos tuviessen cada dia lección espiritual. En la Compañia, tenemos regla desta lección espiritual, que dize: * Todos cada dia dos vezes de el tiempo, que les fuere señalado, al examen de su conciencia, i a la oración, meditación, i lección, con toda dilige[n]cia en el Señor *". When translating, I also consulted: *Idem, Practice of Christian Perfection and Christian Virtues*, 3 vols, trans. Joseph Rickaby (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1929). For more on Rodríguez, see *DHSJ*, J. P. Donnelly, "Rodríguez, Alonso (II)," 4:3394-95.

²⁷⁸ Certeau, *Writing of History*, 259-65; Chartier, *Order of Books*, 30-36.

it helps to often read and hear the lives and the examples of the saints, as well as consider their excellent and heroic virtues. The church suggests their virtues to us, to awaken us out of our tepidness so that we avoid traveling as far as them. And this reading provides another advantage, if you want them with you when confused and humbled, considering the purity of life of the saints and seeing how far we are from achieving what they have²⁷⁹

In Rodríguez's discussion of two approaches to reading, he depicted the means for the faithful to obtain orthodox models of behaviour as well as its association with Catholic community. Reading and hearing the lives of saints facilitated the opportunity for the faithful to appropriate the virtues of the saints they had heard about and they were mindful of saints' failings.²⁸⁰ At the same time, the re-enactment of the qualities of saintly exemplars instituted a universalised code of conduct of an early modern confession that readers followed²⁸¹

Similar approaches to the practice of reading featured in the writings of another Jesuit contemporary of Ribadeneyra, Francisco Arias. In the prologue to the reader in his *Book on the Imitation of Christ*, Arias established that his book provided instances of Catholic virtue through Christ's life, which the example of the saints reinforced.²⁸² This

²⁷⁹ Rodríguez, 1 43-44 "Para esto ayuda a ta[m]bien mucho leer, i oir las vidas, i exe[m]plos de los santos, i considerar sus virtudes excelentes, i heroicas i para esso nos las propone la iglesia, para que ya que no lleguemos a tanto, como ellos, a lo menos, nos animemos, a salir de nuestra tibieza I trae esto otro provecho consigo quandaremos si quiera confundidos, i humillados, considerando la pureza de vida de los santos, i viendo cuan lexos estamos nosotros de llegar a lo que ellos llegaron "

²⁸⁰ Rodríguez, 1 390 "S[an] Gregorio tratando desto, dize q[ue] la sagrada Escritura, i lo mismo podemos entender, de cualquiera otra leccion espiritual, es como ponernos un espejo dela[n]te de los ojos del alma, para q[ue] en el veamos nuestro interior Porque aí conocemos, i echamos de ver lo bueno, i lo malo q[ue] tenemos I cua[n]to aporvechamos, o cua[n] lexos vamos de la perfeccion I cue[n]tan senos allí algunas vezes los hechos admirables de los santos, para animarnos a imitarlos, i para q[ue] viendo sus gra[n]des victorias, i triu[m]fos, no desmayemos en las tentaciones i trabajos "

²⁸¹ Palomo, "Corregir letras," 75-77, *idem*, "Disciplina cristiana," 127-36

²⁸² Francisco Arias, *Libro de la imitacion de Christo nuestro Señor* (Seville: Clemente Hidalgo, 1599), title page, sig. A fol. 1 "en el qual se recogen los bienes que tenemos en Christo nuestro Señor, y se comunican a los que lo imitan. Y se proponen las virtudes del mismo Señor, en que los devemos imitar, sacadas del Evangelio, y confirmadas con autoridades y exe[m]plos de santos Y saber, considerar bien los medios, con que estos bienes se alcançan de Dios, y se comunican por Dios a las almas Pues esto es, lo que pretendemos en este libro Lo primero hazer vna summa y compendio conforme a nuestra capacidad de todos estos bienes espirituales, que tenemos en Christo, y que se nos dan por su virtud y merecimiento Y tambien explicar la naturaleza y calidad de cada vna de las virtudes Theologales y Morales, y de las

text was intended to assist mental prayer, which encouraged the reader towards virtue through imagining the life of Christ:

And this book will also treat of spiritual progress, and in it we urge the imitation of the virtues of Christ, and we teach how mental prayer ought to be practiced, to remove living and effectives desires from this imitation. And in it we urge the exercise of mortification, which removes vices and passions from the heart, which prevent the perfect imitation of Christ. All of which was like a disposition, to come in particular to treat the examples and deeds of Christ, and of the virtues of his holiest life and passion, which we have to follow and imitate: and of all the good things that we have in it, and which are communicated to us by means of this blessed imitation.²⁸³

In conjunction with mental prayer, Arias considered his book a complementary tool to assist in ministries through reading aloud from the work in sermon or any other preaching.²⁸⁴ The imitation of holy exemplars practiced in early modern Catholicism was

operaciones y actos dellas. y para cada bra y exercicio de virtud traer todos, o los principales exemplos, que Christo en su vida y passion nos dio de aquella virtud, y peracion virtuosa, que estan escritos en la historia Evangelica Y no solamente los exemplos de Christo, que en comun mueven a las virtudes, y que estan tan claros y patentes en su vida, que luego se ofrecen a la consideracion de cada vno sino tambien los exemplos, que muy en particular enseñan, y persuaden las virtudes y actos dellas, y los que no se descubren luego a todos, sino que los santos Doctores en la exposicion de la historia Evangelica, y en los libros que an compuesto de varias materias espirituales, los an notado, y advertido con la copiosa y singularissima luz, que Dios les á dado para entender la Escritura sagrada, y sufrir, y ponderar las virtudes, que Christo en quanto hombre exercitó en el mundo, y los exemplos que dellas escribieron los sagrados evangelistas Y aunque es verdad, que de esta materia, que es de los bienes que tenemos en Christo, y de los exemplos, que nos dio para cada virtud, an tratado todos los santos y todos los varones sabios, que an escrito libros espirituales tocando y explicando desta materia, vnos vnos puntos, y otros notando, y declarando otros a proposito, de lo que yvan trata[n]do en sus libros mas recoger todos estos bienes en particular, y ponellos delante de los ojos, para poder sin largo estudio, y sin muchos trabajo, sino con brevedad y facilidad sabellos y co[n]siderallos, y aplicar todos los exemplos de Christo, q[ue] estan en el eva[n]gelio, a cada virtud, y peracion virtuosa, para q[ue] el que dessea aquella virtud, y procura alcançalla, vea juntos todos los hechos, con q[ue] Christo la enseña, y persuade”

²⁸³ Ibid sig. A 2r “Y viene tambien este libro a proposito del que compusimos del aprovechamiento espiritual, porque en el exhortamos a la imitacion de las virtudes de Christo, y enseñamos como la oracion mental se á de ordenar, a sacar desseos vivos y eficaces desta imitacion Y en el exhortamos al exercicio de la mortificacion, con el qual se quitan del coraçon los vicios y passiones, que impiden la perfecta imitacion de Christo. todo lo qual fue como vna disposicion, para venir en particular a tratar de los exemplos y hechos de Christo, y de las virtudes de su santissima vida y passion, que devemos seguir y imitar y de los summos bienes que en el tenemos, y se nos comunican por medio de esta santa imitacion.”

²⁸⁴ Ibid sig. A fol 3 “Servira tambien, para que los varones de Dios que se dan al exercicio santo de la oracion me[n]tal y meditacion y contemplacion de las cosas divinas, te[n]gan delante de los ojos materia copiosissima, que meditar .Fuera desto, a muchos ministros de la palabra de Dios podra ser alguna ayuda, para que quando en sermones y platicas quiera[n] declarar los mysterios de Christo, que es la materia ordinaria, de que se deve tratar en los sermones, tengan mas a la mano la inteligencia de los tales

facilitated by reading books both silently and aloud. In turn, the consumption of texts promoted an idea of community based on doctrinally-correct conduct. Reader prologues, which featured extensively in Jesuit writings, were ideal sites for exploring religious reading.

Reading Ribadeneyra and the *Flos sanctorum*

The reader prologues of Ribadeneyra's writings corroborated the relationship between reading, appropriation of behaviour, and confessional identity. In his life of Ignatius, Ribadeneyra noted that the actions and endeavours of the Society's founder will be heard as well as read, and then known by Jesuits and non-Jesuits alike.²⁸⁵ Ribadeneyra correlated an epistemology of exemplars through reading and hearing saints' lives. Through the interaction with this text, the memory created an image of Ignatius's life through which his virtues become accessible to the reader, who will then imitate them.²⁸⁶ For Ribadeneyra, the reader used this sacred biography as a memory aid so that they could recreate in their minds an exemplary Catholic life. At the same time, Ribadeneyra absolved himself from any fault in this process of recollection, which echoed the *Spiritual Exercises*.²⁸⁷

mysterios, sacada de la divina Escritura, y de la Theologia escholastica, y de la doctrina de los santos, y juntamente la aplicacion dellos a las costumbres, y vida Christiana."

²⁸⁵ Ribadeneyra, *Vita Ignatii*, 64 "Ay tambien otra razon que haze mas ligero este mi trabajo, y es el desseo grande que entiendo tienen muchos de los de fuera y todos vosotros, hermanos mios muy amados, teneis mas crecido, de oyr, leer y saber estas cosas."

²⁸⁶ Ibid. 67 "Otra ay, que es mas domestica y propia nuestra, que es de seguir e imitar a aquel que tenemos por capitan. Porque debemos tomarle por espejo de nuestra vida, y procurar con todas nuestras fuerzas de seguirle, de suerte, que, si por nuestra imperfeccion no pudieramos sacar tan al vivo y tan al propio el retrato de sus muchas y excelentes virtudes, a lo menos imitemos la sombra y rastro dellas. Y por ventura para esto os sera mi trabajo provechoso y tambien gustoso y agradable, pues el desseo de imitar haze que de contento el oyr contar lo que imitar se desea, y que sea tan gustoso el saberlo, como es el obrarlo provechoso."

²⁸⁷ Ibid. "Procurare, pues, renovar la memoria de su vida tan exemplar, que ya parece que se va olvidando, y de escribirla, si no como ella merece, a los menos de tal manera que ni el olvido la sepulte, ni el descuido la escurezca, ni se pierda por falta de escritor." See also Nelles, "Seeing and Writing," 320-23.

Ribadeneyra's life of Ignatius was a pivotal text for Jesuit spirituality. It provided a memorial to the Society's earliest saint, positioned as part of Ribadeneyra's conception of a community of authentic and Catholic believers united against all heresy. These histories provided confessionally-appropriate conduct but also facilitated an emotional engagement with the reader, who will then be inspired to imitate the virtues he or she remembered.²⁸⁸ This process of virtue-acquisition was gradual. As the reader recalled more exemplars, they undertook a pilgrimage by travelling "on the road to Christian perfection", which is an imitation of Christ.²⁸⁹ Ribadeneyra's religious community turned towards the early church, one based on "the principles of the primitive Church" and built on "the patience and strength of the saintly martyrs."²⁹⁰ Ribadeneyra's conception of Catholics as martyrs encompassed his Jesuit brethren including the members of the Society put to death during Elizabeth I's reign.²⁹¹

Reader prologues and dedications were suggestive of the work's readers as well as Jesuit patronage networks.²⁹² Ribadeneyra's prologues called "to the Christian and

²⁸⁸ Ibid 736 "Escribiendo la vida de nuestro B P Ignacio y continuándola hasta su dichoso tránsito, de industria he dexado algunos particulares exemplos de sus virtudes, que me pareció que, leydos a parte de la historia se considerarían mas atentamente y se arraigarían mas en la memoria y moverían mas el afecto de los que los leyessen, col el desseo de imitarlos "

²⁸⁹ Ibid "Y por esta causa, en este quinto y ultimo libro ire recogiendo y entresacando algunas Flos de singulares virtudes que en el vimos y conocimos muchos de los que oy somos vivos. No quiero dar la razón porque cuento algunas cosas menudas, pues escribo a mis hermanos y religiosos de la Compañía de Jesús, que ninguna cosa del padre a quien dessean imitar les parecerá pequeña. Especialmente, que no se debe tener en poco lo poco, si con ello se alcanza lo mucho, y en el camino de la perfección quien menosprecia lo baxo cerca está de aver de lo alto, y por el contrario, Christo nuestro Señor no ensena que el que es fiel en lo que es poco, también lo será en lo que es mucho "

²⁹⁰ Ribadeneyra, *Historia ecclesiastica*, sig † 5v "la paciencia y fortaleza de los santos martyres y finalmente el estrago, confusion y assolamiento de vn Reyno noble, Catolico, poderoso, y que con grande lo a luego a los principios de la primitua Yglesia tomo la fe"

²⁹¹ Ibid sig † 8v "Entre estos que han muerto por Fe en tiempo de Isabel, los principales han sido algunos Padres de nuestra Compañía, Ingleses de nacion los quales quisieron ser antes apuros tormentos descoyuntados y muertos, que apartarse vn pelo de la confession de la verdad Catolica "

²⁹² Baldwin, 297-303

benign Reader” and “to the pious Reader”.²⁹³ His patrons, meanwhile, were members of the Spanish royalty or nobility.²⁹⁴ The patrons of the *Flos sanctorum* were Margaret of Austria (the 1599, 1601, and 1604 editions), the Infanta Margaret (the 1604 edition with the *extravagantes*), and the Duchess of Feria, Jane Dormer (the 1609 edition). Even works without any obvious patrons signified a similar relationship between the writer and the printer, since the latter agreed to produce books likely to have a profit. For instance, the Plantin house of Antwerp would not have printed two editions of Ribadeneyra’s catalogue of Jesuit writings if there was not a market for it.²⁹⁵ The same applied for Ribadeneyra’s *Vita Ignati* that also lacked a patron, but nonetheless had thirteen editions throughout Europe.²⁹⁶ Villegas did not always have dedications to nobles, but had extensive printings. In the 1588 edition, Villegas dedicated the *Flos sanctorum* to Philip II, while the 1609 edition lacked a dedication. For Villegas, reading saints’ lives was akin to the creation of a cognitive image representing the good and evil within confessional discourse.²⁹⁷ While secular and official histories in early modern Spain were either for the fatherland or for a person, a similar division existed in the *Flos sanctorum* by Villegas

²⁹³ Ribadeneyra, *Flos* (1599), sig. ¶¶ 1r, 801. “Al Christiano y benigno Lector”, “Al piadoso Letor” In his other works, Ribadeneyra maintains the same language, here are some examples: *idem*, *Historia ecclesiastica*, sig. † 5r, “El Avtor al Christiano y piadoso Lector”, *idem*, *Tratado de la Religion*, sig. †† 3r, “Al Christiano y piadoso Lector” In the preface to his life of Ignatius, Ribadeneyra describes a Jesuit community: *idem*, *Vita Ignati*, 64, “A los hermanos en Christo carísimos de la Compañía de Jesus”

²⁹⁴ Ribadeneyra’s patrons are usually indicated on the title-pages of his writings. Examples include Prince Philip (later Philip III) for the *Historia ecclésiastica* and his anti-Machiavellian treatise *Tratado del principe cristiano* as well as Maria of Austria for his *Tratado de Tribulacion*.

²⁹⁵ Pedro de Ribadeneyra, *Illustrum scriptorum religionis Societatis Iesu catalogus* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1608); *idem*, *Catalogus scriptorum religionis Societatis Iesu* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1613)

²⁹⁶ In the period between the first Latin printing in 1572 and his death in 1611, there were six Latin editions and seven Castilian editions and it was printed in Venice, Madrid, Lyon, Ingolstadt, and Antwerp. The Gómez (Alonso then his widow) printing house of Madrid between 1583 and 1586 produced four editions including one Latin and Castilian edition each in 1586.

²⁹⁷ Villegas, *Flos* (1588), sig. ¶ 1r. “Y como bua image[n] representa a los presentes las vidas de los passados, y sus hechos buenos y malos, hazie[n]do á todos ciertos, de que si obraren bien, eternizara sus nombres, y los pona en la lista y catalogo de los famosos y si mal, que no por esso se olvidara dellos, sino q[ue] publicara sus malas obras, para que sean conocidos de todos los presentes y por venir, y tenidos en lo que por ellas merecieren. Y si la historia en comun trae al mundo tan importante prouecho, quanto mayor, y mas importante le traera la historia particular de vidas de santos.”

and Ribadeneyra.²⁹⁸ Villegas's sacred biographies corresponded to distinct categories according to religious practice and nationality including a dedicated section on Spanish saints. Ribadeneyra, meanwhile, did not group the lives in the same way. His *Flos sanctorum* included saints in the *Breviary*, the *extravagantes*, as well as the lives of exemplary Jesuits. Villegas continued the practice of writing histories for the fatherland, while Ribadeneyra focused more on creating confessional narratives and his order's integration into Catholicism. Ribadeneyra's work was a sacred history and an ecclesiastic history since Ribadeneyra used saints as an exploration of devotion as well.²⁹⁹

Ribadeneyra, meanwhile, equated sacred letters with devotional works, as reading the lives of saints enabled the acquisition of a repository of conduct consistent with confessional discourse. Moreover, this practice also distinguished believers from heretics based on the practice of reading and on adherence to norms of behaviour for Catholics.³⁰⁰ These saints' lives contributed to the social disciplining of Catholics and asserted the centrality of the Roman Church. The belief in Rome as the centre of the apostolic and universal church was part of a distinctly Catholic ideology. Yet many Catholics felt little if any attachment to Rome, behaving instead as Catholics according to civic, regional, and religious regulations imposed upon their community. The Roman Church as the "head and master of the others" was the fount of institutional imitation; all other

²⁹⁸ Richard L. Kagan, *Clio and the Crown: The Politics of History in Late Medieval and Early Modern Spain* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), 14.

²⁹⁹ Ditchfield, "Thinking with the Saints," 571-73. Hagiography is one instance of sacred history, which can be simultaneously universal and local. In Ribadeneyra's case, the *Flos sanctorum* depicts Jesuit as well as Catholic devotions. An excellent case study that investigates the negotiation of Catholic, religious order, and regional identities through the copatronage controversy involving James the Greater and Teresa of Ávila, see Rowe.

³⁰⁰ Ribadeneyra, *Flos* (1599), sig. ¶¶ fol. 2 "Demas desto, es vn fuerte escudo, y defensa contra los infieles q[ue] la contrastan, y vn martillo y cuchillo contra los hereges, cuyos errores y desatinos con ninguna cosa se co[n]juencen mejor, q[ue] con los exemplos de los Santos. Porq[ue] es mas excele[n]te modo de enseñar con obras, q[ue] con palabras y las obras de los Santos son santas, y contrarias en todo y por todo á los disparates y desuorios de los hereges. Y assi para conuencerlos, é interpretar las cosas dudosas, y lugares dificiles de las diuinas letras, es gran luz la vida y exe[m]plos de los Santos"

Churches whether in Smyrna, Leon, Vienna, or France were subservient to Rome³⁰¹ Ribadeneyra's mention of Smyrna revealed a certain millennialism through alluding to the Book of Revelation's discussion of the Seven Churches and the Second Coming. The Church of Smyrna was the community that would suffer persecution.³⁰² Ribadeneyra did not elaborate on the status or the role that the other Churches would play in this religious transformation. Instead, all Catholic eyes should look to Rome for spiritual leadership.

Elsewhere, Ribadeneyra contrasted the reading of hagiographies with biographies of emperors or non-Christian philosophers. In the consumption of worldly texts, the reader remained anaemic, whereas to ingest a saint's life through reading nourishes the soul:

Or again, we mixed in straw with the grain, and our speeches with wonderful examples of the saints, and we would deliver a long sermon to the people full of delicate concepts, but very far from the life of the Saint that we were discussing. And if the Lord with the flame and the fire of his spirit, does not illuminate and inflame the heart, nor guide the pen of the writer, all his words would be dry and cold, and after reading them, the Reader is left so dry and cold, and so out of substance and fruit, as if he had not read the life of a saint, but of an Emperor, or a pagan philosopher, and not achieved the main aim that one ought to have in writing the lives of the Saints.³⁰³

³⁰¹ Ibid. sig. ¶¶ 2v "Pues para nosotros que son las vidas de los Santos, sino vn dechado, y vn espejo, que deuenos tener siempre delante de nuestros ojos, para mirar en el nuestras fealdades y vicios, y emendarlos, y las heroycas virtudes dellos, para despertar nuestra tibieza, é imitarlos? Por todos estos respetos la santa Yglesia celebra las memorias de los Santos con tanto cuydado y piedad Pero no solame[n]te la Yglesia Romana, q[ue] es la cabeça y maestra de las demas, tuuo este cuydado, sino ta[m]bie[n] otras la imitaro[n], como la de Esmirna, y las de Leo[n] y Viena de Fra[n]cia"

³⁰² Revelation 2 8-11. The Society had founded a residence in Smyrna by 1623, part of the order's mission in Greece, please see *DHSJ* s v C Capizzi, "Grecia," 2 1809-11.

³⁰³ Ribadeneyra, *Flos* (1599), sig. ¶¶ 3v "Otras, que mezclamos en ellas nuestra paja con el grano, y con los exemplos marauillosos de los Sa[n]tos nuestros discursos: y aunque propongamos al pueblo vn largo sermon, lleno de delicados conceptos, pero muy agenos de la vida del Santo que tratamos. Y si el Señor con la lumbr e fuego de su espiritu, no alumbra é inflama el coraçon, y rige la pluma del escritor, todas sus palabras son secas y frias y despues de auerlas leydo, queda tan seco y frio el Lector, y tan sin xugo y fruto, como si no huiera leydo la vida de vn Santo, sino la de vn Emperador, ó de vn Filosofo Gentil: y no se consigue el fin principal que se deue tener en escreuir las vidas de los Santos " Ribadeneyra had earlier described the dangers of writing saints' lives haphazardly as a detriment to the reader who wishes to learn more about Catholic virtue. This passage is one of the many contrasts Ribadeneyra was making For him, the hagiographer must be diligent and studious

The act of reading provided the soul consolation, asserted a religious identity, and enabled the communication of proper conduct. The practice itself was imitative and initiated spiritual transformations. Ribadeneyra recalled Ignatius's conversion through reading a *Flos sanctorum* and then placed it among other transformations facilitated by books. One example was the account of the Roman noblemen and noblewomen who forfeited their worldly existence to become Christian martyrs after reading Athanasius's *Life of Antony*. Another was Giovanni Colombini's transformation from a Sienese gentleman into a founder of the Jesuati and its monasteries after reading a life of Mary of Egypt.³⁰⁴ Ribadeneyra wished to show the transformative power of hagiography, the ability of sacred biography to trigger a volte-face towards piety and living an orthodox life.

The discrepancies between readers manifested in their printed marginalia. The use of marginalia was common enough for Cervantes to lampoon it in the prologue of *Don*

³⁰⁴ Ibid sig ¶¶ fol. 4 "Pero no ha sido el menor motiuo para lleuar adela[n]te esta empresa, el acordarme q[ue] nuestro bienaue[n]turado Padre Ignacio, Padre y fundador de n[uest]ra minima Co[m]pañia de Iesus (á cuyos pechos, por particular misericordia del Señor, yo me crie) siendo soldado, y sumido en la vanidad del mundo, abrió los ojos del alma, y se conuirtio á Dios, por leer las vidas de los Santos; aunque al principio las leya mas por entretenimiento, que por deuocion. Y el saber, que el leer la vida de S[an] Antonio Abad, escrita por S[an] Atanasio, fue causa que en Roma muchos caualleros, y señoras nobilissimas, diessen de mano á todo regalo de la carne, y pompas del siglo, y tomando habito religioso, se crucificassen con Christo, como lo escriue S[an] Geronimo, alabando á santa Marcela biuda, por auer sido la primera que con su exemplo mouio á las demas. Y que S[an] Iuan Columbino, cauallero Senes, por leer la vida de santa Maria Egypciaca, se entrego con ta[n] grande feruor al seruicio del Señor, q[ue] vino á fundar la religion de los que llaman Iesuates, en Italia, donde florece, y tiene muchos monesterios. El saber esto ha sido grande estimulo para mi floxedad, y aliuio para mi poca salud porque espero que alguna alma descaminada, leyendo lo que yo escriuiere, y tocada co[n] la mano del Señor, entrará en camino, y le tomará por su guia, y por su luz y alomenos que será prouechoso para mi, el obedecer á la voz de Dios, y tomar este trabajo por solo zelo de su gloria, y ho[n]ra de los Santos, ornamento de la Yglesia Catolica, vtilidad de los fieles, y confusion de los hereges y para edificar mi alma con leer y escriuir vidas tan preciosas y admirables: y que si viniere la muerte me tomará en buena ocupacion, y los mismos Santos me alcançara[n] perdon de mis pecados, por este pequeño seruicio que yo les pretendo hazer. Y assi debaxo de la sombra y proteccion dellos, y confiado en la diuina misericordia, é inuocando el espiritu y fauor del Señor, te[n]damos las velas, y entremos en esta nauegacion, con esperança de llegar al puerto desseado."

Quixote.³⁰⁵ Sixteenth and seventeenth-century readers distrusted books.³⁰⁶ The ambivalence towards books perhaps encouraged printers to include notes printed in the text's margins.³⁰⁷ While Pedro de la Vega's *Flos* lacked any marginalia, Villegas and Ribadeneyra's redactions included printed text in the margins. Villegas had some citations, while Ribadeneyra revealed a tendency towards exhaustive research, which recalls the anecdote about how he chased down Baronius's footnotes. Marginalia had different purposes, but in the compilations they were annotations and summaries. For Villegas and Ribadeneyra, marginal annotations served as textual authorities through providing references to Scripture as well as classical or historical works. Summaries, meanwhile, abridged and contextualised the text's narratives to assist the book's reader.³⁰⁸ While Villegas's marginalia was annotative and summarising, Ribadeneyra's were strictly annotative. These notes in the margins provide a list of sources authenticating Ribadeneyra's *Flos sanctorum*. Simultaneously negotiating religious tradition as well as the humanist call to return to the sources, Ribadeneyra places his redaction of saints' lives within the corpus of sacred history from its apostolic origins through his citations.³⁰⁹ The engagement with history was not new to Ribadeneyra, since the completion of the Jesuit spiritual exercises required it. The director leading the exercises had to maintain a journal of the exercitant's contemplation, a journal that provided a basis for further enlightenment by ample contextualisation of the exercitant's

³⁰⁵ Cervantes, *Quijote*, 13-15. Cf. *Don Quixote*, 14-16.

³⁰⁶ Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 1-57.

³⁰⁷ William H. Sherman, *Used Books Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 5-15.

³⁰⁸ William W.E. Sights, *Managing Readers Printed Marginalia in English Renaissance Books* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2001), 19-60, especially 25-26; Carmen Peraita, "Marginalizing Quevedo: Reading Notes and the Humanistic Persona," in *Reading Notes*, eds. Dirk Van Hulle and Wim Van Mierlo (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2004), 37-60.

³⁰⁹ Sherman, 73-76.

thoughts and sins.³¹⁰ Marginalia portrayed what an author had read, a practice consistent with ecclesiastical writers and their use of marginalia and citations, such as the Jesuit Athanasius Kirscher and the Oratorian Baronius.³¹¹ Ribadeneyra's citations provided proof of his efforts to integrate his compilation of saints' lives into the history of Catholicism and Christianity after Protestant criticisms about sources. This process is similar to Ribadeneyra's inclusion of exemplary Jesuits amongst official saints and *extravagantes*.

Ribadeneyra as Reader

Ribadeneyra, as a Catholic reader, followed the lists of works to read and to avoid according to the protocols of confessional discourse. The church encouraged the production of numerous editions of the infamous *Index librorum prohibitorum* to inform Catholics about heretical texts. Louvain issued the first index in the 1540s, followed by subsequent editions from Italy and Spain throughout the early modern period.³¹² Instead of listing heretical texts, members of the Society produced indexes of works meant to be read. One example is the *Bibliotheca selecta* of Antonio Possevino, first printed in Rome in 1593, a compendium of Catholic orthodoxy found in books.³¹³ A bibliographical

³¹⁰ Ignatius, *Exercitia Spiritualia*, [2] "La segunda es, que la persona que da a otro modo y orden para meditar o contemplar, deue narrar fielmente la historia de la tal contemplación o meditación, discurriendo solamente por los puntos con breue o sumaria declaración, porque la persona que contempla, tomando el fundamento verdadero de la historia, discurriendo y racioncinando por sí mismo, y hallando alguna cosa que haga un poco más declarar o sentir la historia, quier por la racioncinacion propia, quier sea en quanto el entendimiento es illucidado por la virtud diuina, es de más gusto y fructo spiritual, que si el que da los exercicios hubiese mucho declarado y ampliado el sentido de la historia, porque no el mucho saber harta y satisface al ánima, mas el sentir y gustar de las cosas internamente."

³¹¹ Anthony Grafton, *The Footnote: A Curious History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), 148-76. A good summary of Baronius's contributions to historiography is Cyriac K. Pullapilly, *Caesar Baronius: Counter-Reformation Historian* (Notre Dame, IN, and London: Notre Dame University Press, 1975), 144-77.

³¹² Two of the better overviews of Inquisitional control of books can be found in Pardo Tomás, 21-45, 49-66; Pinto Crespo, 97-124, 137-46.

³¹³ *DHSJ* s.v. M. Scaduto, "Possevino, Antonio," 4:3201-3; Antonio Possevino, *Bibliotheca selecta* (Rome: Typographica Apostolica Vaticana, 1593).

enterprise that encouraged Catholics to engage with books, it followed the Society's *Ratio studiorum* and provided a comprehensive catalogue on the liberal arts, medicine, law, philosophy, and theology. Possevino envisioned bibliography as a means to decipher and reveal the history of Catholicism through books, to which he included his Jesuits brothers. The desire to compile texts into inventories was a discernible practice in sixteenth and seventeenth-century Europe. The practice was not the exclusive domain of religion, such as Conrad Gesner's *Bibliotheca universalis* that sought to compile every Latin, Greek, and Hebrew book printed since the fifteenth century.³¹⁴

Ribadeneyra's marginalia as a bibliographical enterprise received greater credibility through the inclusion of two books in his "universal library": Johannes Trithemius's *De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis* and Sixtus of Siena's *Bibliotheca sancta*.³¹⁵ While present in Ribadeneyra's *Flos*, these works were never mentioned or cited in Villegas's redaction. Trithemius was a Benedictine monk of the fifteenth and sixteenth century that compiled a list of religious authors and their biographies as well as titles. Trithemius's labours were far more exhaustive than any similar medieval catalogue.³¹⁶ Sixtus, meanwhile, was a Dominican scholar who compiled a list of sacred writers and their texts, while criticising Protestant misuse of these authors such as the Church Fathers. Sixtus's indictment concerned the Protestant ignorance of chronology, which he

³¹⁴ Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early-Modern Europe*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 1:97-98; Nelles, "Reading and Memory," 154-59. Traditionally, historians have portrayed Gesner and his Protestantism as the antithesis of the Catholic Possevino. Instead of relying on such a binary, I wish to suggest that compiling bibliographies was an emerging practice in early modern Europe.

³¹⁵ The entire listing of books can be found in Appendix 6: *The Annotations from Ribadeneyra's Flos Sanctorum*. For comparative purposes, the marginalia from Villegas features in its own appendix, Appendix 7: *The Annotations from Villegas's Flos Sanctorum*.

³¹⁶ Noel L. Brann, *The Abbot Trithemius (1462-1516): The Renaissance of Monastic Humanism* (Leiden: Brill, 1981), 204-28; Eisenstein, 1979, 1:94-95. See Johannes Trithemius, *De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis* (Basel: Amerbach 1494).

tried to illuminate in his bibliographical work³¹⁷ The Jesuit Robert Bellarmine also participated in a project similar to Sixtus though on a reduced scale³¹⁸

For Ribadeneyra, his saints' lives and his marginalia mediated between the bibliographical exhaustiveness of Trithemius and Sixtus's preoccupation with chronology³¹⁹ Akin to the genealogy of virtue apparent when comparing the lives of saints and Jesuits, Ribadeneyra created a lineage of texts upon which he built his exemplary lives³²⁰ This ordering of time and books was inherent to the structure of the *Flos sanctorum* itself through its adherence to the liturgical year The tracing of textual predecessors resembled the determination and in some cases creation of heredities found in *limpienza de sangre* or trajectories of James the Greater's impact on Spanish history³²¹ During Mercurian's tenure as Superior-General, the Society's admittance of *conversos* became a polarising affair within the order and indicative of European preoccupations with genealogical constructions³²² Ribadeneyra, himself, was not concerned with these

³¹⁷ Irena Dorota Backus, *Historical Method and Confessional Identity in the Era of the Reformation* (Leiden and Boston Brill, 2003), 212-18 See Sixtus of Siena, *Bibliotheca santa* (Venice Francesco Francesci, 1566)

³¹⁸ Backus, *Historical Method*, 227-32

³¹⁹ Ribadeneyra, *Flos* (1599), sig ¶¶ 5r "Al qual comunme[n]te yo seguire, principalmente en lo que toca a los años, y tiempo en que cada Santo viuo y murio, porque me parece q[ue] ha puesto mas cuydado y diligencia que otros, en aueriguar la Chronologia de los tiempos "

³²⁰ This concept of genealogy derives from Gabrielle Spiegel, "Genealogy Form and Function in Medieval Historical Narrative," *History and Theory* 22, no. 1 (February 1983) 43-53 The practice also manifested in early modern historiography For instance, see Ditchfield, *Liturgy*, 287-327, Anthony Grafton, *What was History? The Art of History in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge Cambridge University Press, 2007), 141-65 The preoccupation with genealogy and history is another manifestation of the confessionalisation of time Ditchfield, *Liturgy*, 320 "this importance of the accuracy of dates to discussions of saints' feasts helps to explain just why chronology occupied such a central place in Tridentine history writing "

³²¹ Rowe, 37-38, Katherine Elhott van Liere, "The Moorslayer and the Missionary James the Apostle in Spanish Historiography from Isidore of Seville to Ambrosio de Morales," *Viator* 37 (2006) 519-43

³²² Astrain, 3 589-97, Bangert, *History of the Society*, 61, 97-101, Maryks Astrain and Bangert report the changes from pro to anti-*converso* attitudes in the Society, but Maryks examines the causes or the developments of this policy Maryks illustrates the support for *conversos* to join the Society in the tenures of Ignatius, Laynez (of *converso* descent), and Borgia Ignatius's administrative muscle, Nadal, also had Jewish heritage At a town he stayed at, its Jews asked Nadal to become their Rabbi due to his fluency

earthly ties, but with spiritual lineages that bridged the Society with the early Church³²³ Through his *Flos sanctorum*, Ribadeneyra sought to make saints' lives conform to a sense of orthodoxy through expunging anything dissonant with Catholicism, whether by well-intentioned Catholics or heretics³²⁴ When he described his citation of sources, Ribadeneyra directed the reader to consult the books printed by the *Typographia Vaticana*, the printing operation associated with the Vatican Library The main concern, however, of Ribadeneyra's history was to direct the reader towards orthodox virtue through the imitation of the lives of saints³²⁵

A parallel to Possevino's bibliographical project, Ribadeneyra by means of marginalia provided a list of books to be read by the faithful At the same time, the universal library also created a sense of confessional tradition through a universal history The reading and writing of history was an integral part of Jesuit education and spiritual life, whether reading or lecturing on Roman and ecclesiastic histories as well as

at Hebrew and Jewish background! During Mercurian's time as Superior-General is when the discord in the order accelerated over the admittance of *conversos* into the Society and saw the start of anti-Judaic discrimination The next Superior, Acquaviva, also promoted the anti-*converso* agenda and forbade *converso* novices by the late-1580s Maryks also illustrates the dissenting voices in the order against such policies including Ribadeneyra, Antonio Possevino, and Juan de Mariana

³²³ Maryks, 189

³²⁴ Ribadeneyra, *Flos* (1599), sig. ¶¶ 3r "Siempre se ha tenido en la Yglesia Catolica por ocupacion de mucha loa y estima, el escriuir vidas de Santos, assi por las grandes vtilidades que de la leccion dellas se deriu[n] en todos los que las leen con desseo de aprouecharse, como por las muchas y gra[n]des dificultades que se ofrecen a qualquiera que las prete[n]de bien escriuir Especialmente que muchos hereges procuraron sembrar sus falsedades en las vidas de los Santos y tambien algunos Catolicos, o por sus intereses, o por su zelo indiscreto, fingieron y mezclaron otras, indignas de la piedad Christiana"

³²⁵ Ibid sig. ¶¶ 5r "Y el alegar sus obras, y citar los lugares, sera segun la impression Romana en folio, de la *Typographia*, o empre[n]ta Vaticana Y porque no es mi intento principal en esta historia, abarcar, ni referir todo lo que esta escrito de los Santos, sino escoger y entresacar las cosas ciertas y aueriguadas, y las que mas nos pueda[n] mouer a la imitacion de los mismos Santos, cuyas vidas escriuimos, dexare algunas cosas, que aunque esten muy recebidas entre la gente comun, no me parece que estan tan bien fundadas, ni con tanta autoridad, que yo las pueda afirmar" A case study on the *Typographia Vaticana* involving the printing of Baronius's *Ecclesiastic Annales*, see Peter J A N Rietbergen, "Printing Baronius's *Annales Ecclesiastici* (Rome, 1588-1607)," *Quaerendo* 13, no. 2 (1983): 87-102

composing the annals of the Society or its sacred biographies³²⁶ After 1588, Superior General Acquaviva decreed that members of the order could produce only sacred histories As in the case of the Jesuit Jerónimo Román de la Higuera, failure to comply with Acquaviva's mandate implied that the work was not printed and potentially had only a limited circulation³²⁷ These situations however were negotiable evident in a case from Ribadeneyra's writing career The local Jesuit Superior refused Ribadeneyra permission to publish his *Historia ecclesiastica* due to its potential promotion of heretical ideas despite the history's aggressive anti-Anglicanism As a result, Ribadeneyra assembled an advisory committee (that also rejected it), before writing to Acquaviva explaining his situation Acquaviva responded by granting his permission for the book to be produced Afterwards the brothers who had decried the work complemented Ribadeneyra and his historical contribution³²⁸ The preoccupation with religious history in the Society of Jesus included many genres, such as scriptural commentary, secular histories, epistolary collections, martyrologies, chronicles, and hagiographies Sacred histories by Jesuits had to negotiate between the order's authorities and the Jesuit writer

Broadly, the works in the margins of the *Flos sanctorum* are divisible into two categories The first category is the utilitarian texts that supported Jesuits in their ministries, in education, and in their institutional lives, such as scriptural commentary, as well as collections of letters and sermons The second variety is historical works that provided not only examples of doctrine in practice, but also the long-standing traditions across time These categorisations are porous since books can serve several functions,

³²⁶ Nelles, "Historia," 144-55

³²⁷ Kagan, *Cho and the Crown*, 259-61 A lack of printing does not cause limited circulation It is the disobeying of a superior of the Society that thwarts enthusiasm for a work to be read by other Jesuits

³²⁸ Bilinkoff, "Ribadeneyra", 192-93

such as the Bible, which is a work of history, theology, and devotion. Ribadeneyra through his employ of these different genres created a universal library depicting the universal history of the universal Church albeit in the *Flos sanctorum*'s marginalia. As a writer of officially and unofficially sanctioned saints' lives, Ribadeneyra not only contributed to this creation of an all-encompassing Catholic history but also a sense of community built upon a common spiritual heritage.

The text that preceded all others was the Bible. As a source, the Bible featured extensively in the *Flos sanctorum*'s lives of biblical figures while references to it abounded in the hagiographies of non-biblical saints. Works of biblical commentary usually accompanied many of Ribadeneyra's scriptural annotations and references. Preachers consulted commentaries to assist in their composition of sermons and interpretation of the Bible. Examples included the commentaries by Bede, Jerome, John Chrysostom, and the Jesuits Juan Maldonado and Alfonso Salmerón.³²⁹ With respect to the *Flos sanctorum*, Villegas employed the exegetical texts of Jerome, John Chrysostom, Gregory the Great, and Bede. For Gregory, Villegas referred to the pope-saint's *Magna Moralia*, which was also an exegesis on Job. The genealogy in Villegas's compilation included writers that spanned the fourth to the eighth centuries.

Ribadeneyra, meanwhile, manufactured a consistent timeline of Biblical commentators into the sixteenth century, a practice extended to other facets of this universal history and library. The Jesuit started with Villegas's list and then extended it in both directions. Ribadeneyra began his genealogy with Origen of Alexandria (second and

³²⁹ Prieto Bernabé, 1:233, 236. Commentaries, however, do not appear in the books read by Madrileños in the Golden Age. Only Chrysostom's commentaries appear amongst those frequently read due to its inclusion in a popular *opera omnia*. The Bible was also very popular and was printed in early modern Madrid in numerous editions. Reading and writing based on the works of the Church Fathers were common practice in the Society, see Nelles, "Du savant au missionnaire," 682-87.

third centuries) and culminated it with the sixteenth-century commentaries of Martin Luther (listed as Aretius Catharus) as well as the Jesuits Alfonso Salmerón and Juan Maldonado.³³⁰ While Ribadeneyra created a relatively seamless and text-based timeline, there was an extensive void between the periods of Bede and Anselm (see Figure 6, starting on page 118). Ribadeneyra also used more frequently the commentaries of Bede, Jerome, Chrysostom, Maldonado, and Salmerón, perhaps indicative of the works he perused with greater intensity. An institutional identity also emerged from this genealogy through situating the Society within a written tradition that extended back to the New Testament. This long-standing practice included the commentaries of the nascent Church as well as its doctors.

Ribadeneyra, Villegas, and preachers read collections of sermons as a supplement to commentaries as they provided preachers ideas for their own sermons. Sermons also served as models of pious living for readers who were not preachers. Villegas used the compilations of sermons by Basil the Great, Ambrose of Milan, John Chrysostom, Leo I, and Peter Damian. With the exception of Peter Damian (active in the eleventh century), Villegas used the texts by figures of the fourth and fifth centuries. Chrysostom and Peter Damian had also featured in Surius's compilation. Ribadeneyra took Villegas's foundation and expanded upon it to craft a genealogy that began with Origen of Alexandria in the second century and ended with Bernard of Clairvaux in the twelfth.³³¹

³³⁰ Hans R. Guggisberg, *Sebastian Castellio, 1515-1563 Humanist and Defender of Religious Tolerance in a Confessional Age*, trans. Bruce Gordon (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 94 n. 81. The name Aretius Catharus, or Virtuous Pure, was a pseudonym for Martin Luther.

³³¹ The entire list: Origen of Alexandria, Eusebius of Emesa, Gregory Nazianzus, Basil the Great, Gregory of Nyssa, Ambrose of Milan, John Chrysostom, Augustine, Peter Chrysologus, Maximus of Turin, Leo I, Gaudentius of Brescia, Fulgentius of Ruspe, Sophronius, Nicetas the Paphlagonian, Peter Damian, and Bernard of Clairvaux.

Examples of frequently-read collections of sermons included ones by Chrysostom, Augustine, and Ambrose³³²

While Ribadeneyra maintained the chronology for the commentaries into the sixteenth century, he handled sermons differently. The preachers most frequently employed by Ribadeneyra were of the fourth and the fifth centuries. Amongst the anthologies of sermons, Ribadeneyra used none after Bernard. In part, the lack of sermons after the twelfth century was perhaps indicative of the Jesuits' desire to return to a style of preaching not practiced since late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages, evident in the preponderance of texts from the fourth and the fifth centuries. These centuries were also the age of defining orthodoxy in Christianity through the Seven Ecumenical Councils starting with Nicaea in 325. Ribadeneyra through the inclusion of texts depicted the traditions that Jesuits and Catholics ought to adopt while recalling an age of a universal Church defining orthodoxy.

The other practical variety of texts was epistolary compilations, important to Jesuit religious life through their predominant place in institutional affairs. Letters were meant to edify and encourage other Jesuits, the most famous example was the dispersal and consumption of Francis Xavier's correspondence³³³. Letters were comparable to biographies as epistolary collections read in their entirety as they relate to the letter writer's life³³⁴. Villegas employed two collections of letters in his *Flos sanctorum*, those of Jerome and Dorotheus of Gaza. Ribadeneyra's *Flos* does not feature Dorotheus, but akin to the collections of sermons, the texts were mostly from fourth and the fifth century.

³³² Prieto Bernabe, 1 231-32, 236. Only Augustine's sermons were printed outright, Ambrose, Augustine, and Chrysostom's featured in complete works by their respective authors. Augustine in early modern Spain was frequently printed.

³³³ Lazar, 305. Friedrich lists printed compilations of Jesuit letters, 35-37.

³³⁴ Palomo, "Corregir Letras," 361-69.

writers. Moreover, Ribadeneyra's genealogy of letters only extended from the first to the seventh centuries spanning Ignatius of Antioch until Gregory the Great.³³⁵ Ribadeneyra's reading habits reflected trends of sixteenth and seventeenth-century Spain, when the letters of Augustine, Gregory the Great, and Jerome were quite popular.³³⁶ Numerous Jesuits produced editions of religious letters, such as for Jerome (Peter Canisius and Andreas Schott) and Paulinus of Nola (Herbert Roseweyde and Fronton du Duc).³³⁷ As evident from these texts, Ribadeneyra created genealogies that reified their place within a tradition, such as the continuity of biblical commentaries into the sixteenth century. These genealogies also justified genres of texts, such as correspondence and sermons, as a component that contributed to orthodoxy through Ribadeneyra's consumption of fourth and fifth-century writers of letters and sermons.

While the genealogies of professional works lend themselves to easy categorisation, the histories are much more difficult to assess due to the considerable overlap between genres of historical writing. History did not refer exclusively to a critical inquiry of the past; it included other narratives, such as sacred and secular biographies. These approaches coalesced into a universal history of Christianity through Ribadeneyra's construction of genealogies of texts, which constructed a sense of religious tradition. In turn, these works constituted a universal library for the universal Church that began with the Bible and its depictions of the primitive church. The genealogy of historical texts assembled by Ribadeneyra created a selective continuum spanning church

³³⁵ Ribadeneyra read the epistolary collections of Ignatius of Antioch, Hyginus, Cyprian, Athanasius, Jerome, Paulinus of Nola, Augustine, Severus Sulpicius, Innocent I, Atticus, Celestine I, Prosper of Aquitaine, Hilary of Arles, and Gregory the Great.

³³⁶ Prieto Bernabé, 1:233, 238-39. While Jerome and Augustine's letters were printed as standalone tomes, Gregory's letters only appeared in his complete works.

³³⁷ Bertrand, 896, 903, 908.

history from the first to the sixteenth centuries. The gaps in texts and in saints were medieval in particular those from the High Middle Ages. While Ribadeneyra never mentioned any contempt for the writings of this era, Baronius in his *Annales ecclesiastici* described the period starting with 900 CE as a “dark age” due to the lack of available writings providing light.³³⁸ Apart from scripture, texts from the early centuries of the Church employed by Ribadeneyra were works of Roman historians and early Christian theologians such as Hippolytus of Rome.³³⁹ Four distinct clusters of histories existed in this universal library of Catholic history that imitated Roman authors cited by Ribadeneyra: chronicle (Tacitus), general history (Cassius Dio), biography (Suetonius), and martyrology (Hippolytus of Rome).

The chronicle cluster modelled on Tacitus’s *Annals* was rigidly chronological and focused on an institution or a locality from the entity’s foundation until the present day of the author.³⁴⁰ Both Villegas and Ribadeneyra employed the chronicles by Datius of Milan and the Dominican Antonino de Pierozzi.³⁴¹ Independent of Ribadeneyra, Villegas used

³³⁸ Cesar Baronius, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, 10 vols (Rome: Typographica Vaticana, 1588-1602), 10, 647. “En incipit annus Redemptoris nongentesimus, tertia Indictione notatus, quo & nouum inchoatur saeculum, quo fui asperitate ac boni sterilitate ferreum, maliq[ue] exundantis deformitate plumbeum, atque inopia scriptorum appellari consuevit obscurum.” Baronius’s *Annales* explore the history of the hierarchical church from its inception to 1198. While Ribadeneyra’s *Flos sanctorum* initially dates from 1599, this conception of Baronius would not be unknown to Ribadeneyra as part of the milieu of sacred historians. Ribadeneyra obviously followed Baronius’s chronology closely.

³³⁹ For an overview of Hippolytus of Rome and his writings, consult Moreschini and Norelli, 1.232-47.

³⁴⁰ Sarah Foot, “Finding the Meaning of Form: Narrative in Annals and Chronicles,” in *Writing Medieval History*, ed. Nancy Partner (London: Hodder, 2005), 88-108. Foot’s piece was engaging, succinct, and helpful guide to differentiating between annals and chronicles. The confusion abounds due to the lack of consistency in naming these works. Keeping pace with Foot, the chronicle makes some attempts at correlating the sequential events, whereas the annal conveys continuity for its own sake. History expands upon the chronicle to form an expansive interpretation of the past. All of these historiographies possess narrative, especially when read in their entirety. While histories eventually end, chronicles and annals can perpetuate. These approaches to history only require another chronicler or annalist to attach the events of subsequent years. The preoccupation with time and the creation of tradition and identity through text resonate with this investigation.

³⁴¹ Jean-Christien-Ferdinand Hoefer, *Nouvelle biographie générale depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu’à nos jours*, 46 vols (Paris: Firmin Didot Frères, 1853-66), 12:753-54, John Bernard Walker,

the chronicles of the Augustinian Onofrio Panvinio and Marcantonio Sabellico.³⁴² While Villegas's selections betrayed a preference for writers of recent memory, Ribadeneyra opted for the genealogical route. The Jesuit's textual lineage finished with Baronius's *Annales ecclesiastici*. Apart from the chroniclers already mentioned, Ribadeneyra read a myriad of chronicles, which he incorporated into the *Flos sanctorum*. His genealogy of this historical genre included Byzantine, mendicant, and popular medieval chronicles.³⁴³ Ribadeneyra also read contemporary chroniclers, such as Morales. Ribadeneyra's reading habits echoed those of early modern Spaniards evident in his adoption of the practices found in the favoured chronicles by Baronius and Morales.³⁴⁴ One discernible omission is Jerome's chronicle, an intercessor between Eusebius and Prosper of Aquitaine.³⁴⁵ While the Jesuits had their own chronicle by Polanco, no Jesuit annals or chronicles featured in Ribadeneyra's saints' lives, perhaps because it remained unpublished in Ribadeneyra's lifetime.³⁴⁶ Another Jesuit, Pierre Madur, had edited Antonino's *Chronicle*.³⁴⁷ The

The "Chronicles" of Saint Antoninus: A Study in Historiography (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1933), 3-18, 37-52. Datus of Milan was a sixth-century Archbishop of that city, the manuscript history attributed to him (Ribadeneyra and Villegas also do the same) was of much later provenance. Antonino de Pierozzi or Antoninus of Florence (1389-1459) was a Dominican friar, well known for his confessor manuals and his chronicle.

³⁴² Peter Godman, *The Saints as Censor: Robert Bellarmine between Inquisition and Index* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 125-29; Margaret L. King, *Venetian Humanism in an Age of Patrician Dominance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 425-27. Marcantonio Sabellico (1436-1505) was a noted humanist historian based in Venice. Onofrio Panvinio (1529-1568) was a Roman historian and librarian to Cardinal Farnese as well as an Augustinian friar. While Panvinio had been the preeminent chronicler of the Church, the Jesuit Bellarmine had revealed Panvinio's errors and criticised Panvinio's chronology.

³⁴³ Ribadeneyra read the Byzantine chronicles of Nicephoros I of Constantinople and George Cedrenus. He also preferred the chronicles of the Dominicans (Antonino de Pierozzi) and the Franciscans. The popular medieval chronicles include the ones by Eusebius, Prosper of Aquitaine and Marianus Scotus.

³⁴⁴ Prieto Bernabé, 1:233, 324.

³⁴⁵ A discussion on the continuity between the chronicle tradition of Eusebius-Jerome-Prosper followed by Orosius then Bede and Isidore of Seville, see Michael I. Allen, "Universal History 300-1000," in *Historiography in the Middle Ages*, ed. Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis (Brill: Leiden and Boston, 2003), 23-35.

³⁴⁶ Polanco's *Chronicon* was the first work published by the Monumenta historica Societatis Iesu in 1894. Juan-Alfonso de Polanco, *Vita Ignatii Loiolae et rerum Societatis Jesu historia*, 6 vols. (Madrid: Typographorum Societas, 1894-98). MHSI 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11.

³⁴⁷ Bertrand, 899.

Society was scarcely sixty-years old when Ribadeneyra's *Flos* first appeared in 1599. The rise of church history was perhaps part of Acquaviva's interest in promoting the Society's written culture. It also indicated a concerted effort to integrate the Society into early modern Catholicism.

Meanwhile, the grouping of general histories mimicked Cassius Dio's *Roman History*. These works were also chronological and preoccupied with institutions as well as localities. Yet Cassius-inspired histories, dissimilar from chronicles, sought to explore the motivations of historical persona akin to Thucydides.³⁴⁸ Notable examples of this historiographical approach by Jesuits include Juan de Mariana's *Historiae de rebus Hispaniae* and Ribadeneyra's history of the English 'schism'.³⁴⁹ From this historical genre, both authors used the histories of Eusebius, Pseudo-Hegesippus, and Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopulus. Surius also employed Eusebius and Pseudo-Hegesippus in his compilation of saints' lives. Dates for the majority of the historians cited and read by Ribadeneyra ranged from the third to the eighth century.³⁵⁰ Ribadeneyra did not read any general histories from the eighth to the fourteenth century, either indicative of the changes in historiography or his assessment of this type of history from that period. The tendency towards reading Byzantine histories persisted through the appearance of Nicephorus, whose *Ecclesiastic History* was a popular work in early modern Europe and

³⁴⁸ Rosamond McKitterick, *History and Memory in the Carolingian World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 40-50. Cassius Dio was not a widely available Roman historian in the Middle Ages, the preference was for Livy, Sallust, Suetonius, and Tacitus. For Christian and Jewish history, meanwhile, medieval readers preferred Pseudo-Hegesippus, Eusebius, Jerome, and Prosper of Aquitaine. For 'Barbarian' history, the historians widely circulated included Bede, Paul the Deacon, and Gregory of Tours.

³⁴⁹ *DHCJ* s.v. N. González, "Mariana, Juan de," 3: 2506-7; Bertrand, 897; Juan de Mariana, *Historiae de rebus hispaniae libri xx* (Toledo: Pedro Roderigo, 1592). Mariana also compiled an annotated edition of Isidore of Seville's writings.

³⁵⁰ Walter Goffart, *The Narrators of Barbarian History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988), 8. The listing is as follows: third to fifth centuries (Eusebius, Pseudo-Hegesippus, Paul Orosius, and Theodoret of Cyrus), sixth to eighth centuries (Procopius, Bede, and Paul the Deacon), fourteenth (Nicephorus), and sixteenth (Fernando del Castillo).

widely available.³⁵¹ Another bestselling general history read by Ribadeneyra was Fernando del Castillo's *History of the Order of Preachers*, again pointing towards a preference for mendicant literature and also widely-read by contemporaries.³⁵² Castillo's *History* was also indicative of a late sixteenth-century trend to compose histories of the orders in Spain, a practice evident in the Dominicans, Hieronymites, and the Benedictines.³⁵³ Ribadeneyra's reading practices fused texts popular amongst early modern Spanish readers, key medieval works, as well as Byzantine and mendicant ecclesiastical histories.

Biographical expositions of a noted figure comprised the third cluster of religious history, Suetonius in his *On the Twelve Caesars* established the practice of collecting together numerous biographies. Reading Tacitus, Cassius Dio, and Suetonius by a Jesuit were surprising given their absence from Jesuit education.³⁵⁴ Hagiographies also borrowed from these Suetonian biographies. Autobiographies were also an outgrowth of Suetonius-inspired biography, the most-notable early example was Augustine's *Confessions*.³⁵⁵ That work, along with Bonaventure's *Life of St. Francis*, and Gregory the Great's *Life of St. Benedict* from the *Dialogues* were frequently read in late-sixteenth

³⁵¹ On the popularity of Nicephorus, see Franco Mormondo, "Pestilence, Apostasy, and Heresy in Seventeenth-Century Rome," in *Piety and Plague From Byzantium to the Baroque*, eds. Franco Mormondo and Thomas Worcester (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2007), 264-71.

³⁵² Prieto Bernabé, 1 321

³⁵³ Roest, 290-305; Bruce Taylor, *Structures of Reform: The Mercedarian Order in the Spanish Golden Age* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2000), 418. Also, mendicant orders had long used history (whether general histories or chronicles) and hagiography as the basis of their historical memory.

³⁵⁴ Prieto Bernabé, 1 310. Leonardo Bruni, "The Study of Literature," in *Humanist Educational Treatises*, ed. and trans. Craig W. Kallendorf (Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press, 2002), 109, "Ratio," 387, 395. Jesuits were to read an expurgated Thucydides, Gregory Nazianzen, Basil the Great, and Chrysostom in Greek, while in Latin, they were to read Caesar, Sallust, Livy, Curtius, and Vergil. Bruni, meanwhile, had advocated for the same Latin authors from the *Ratio*, but had also included Tacitus. Golden Age Spaniards did not read Cassius, but read Suetonius and Tacitus as a supplement to the reading of Caesar, Sallust, Livy, Curtius, and Vergil.

³⁵⁵ Frazier, 20-21; Heffernan, 3-37; Rubenstein, 24-27

century Spain.³⁵⁶ While the practice of reading and writing lives was crucial within the Society, these texts were not only popular amongst Jesuits but were an important part of their spiritual edification.³⁵⁷ In addition to Ignatius's autobiography, the lives of Ignatius by Ribadeneyra, Giampietro Maffei, and Daniello Bartoli were important reading in the pious development of Jesuits. Ribadeneyra's life-writing output was extensive through translating Augustine's *Confessions* as well as writing his own autobiography, the lives of women (such as Doña Estefanía Manrique de Castilla), saints in the *Flos sanctorum*, and other Jesuits.³⁵⁸

Both Ribadeneyra and Villegas cited Possidius's *Life of St. Augustine*, Simon Metaphrastes's compilation of saints' lives, and Surius.³⁵⁹ Both also made reference to Bonaventure's *Life of St. Francis*, Dietrich of Apolda's *Life of St. Dominic*, and the lives by Giovanni Garzoni.³⁶⁰ The reliance upon Possidius, Metaphrastes, Bonaventure, and Dietrich is of some significance, as these texts were also used by Surius. Ribadeneyra's tendency to read genres of text based on a genealogical schema was also practiced with biographies especially when compared with Villegas. In addition to the aforementioned texts, Ribadeneyra broadened his reading to provide a sense of continuity, a sense of tradition amongst these sacred biographies. Amongst individual lives, Ribadeneyra supplemented his reading with Gregory of Nyssa, John the Deacon of Rome, Antonio

³⁵⁶ Prieto Bernabé, 1.231, 234, 238.

³⁵⁷ Lazar, 292, 305-7.

³⁵⁸ Bilinkoff, *Related Lives*, 33-35, 39, 42-45; *idem*, "Ribadeneyra", 181, Gilmont, *Écrits*, 32-33, 272-76, O'Malley, "Historiography," 4-8. In addition to his life of Ignatius, Ribadeneyra also wrote the lives of Jesuits individually (Ignatius, Laynez, Borja, and Salmerón) and as part of the *Flos sanctorum* (Ignatius, Xavier, Gonzanga, Kostka, and Borja). The amount of lives written in the first century of the Society is astonishing!

³⁵⁹ An excellent overview of Simon Metaphrastes's life and work as well as hagiographical redactions prior to Metaphrastes can be found in Christian Høgel, *Symeon Metaphrastes: Rewriting and Canonization* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2002), 21-88, 127-34.

³⁶⁰ Frazier, 169-219, 395-414. Garzoni was a prolific life-writer with at least thirty lives attributed to him including Augustine, Catherine of Alexandria, Dominic, Gregory the Great, John the Apostle, and Thomas Aquinas. He also attempted to distance his sacred biographies from those of Jacobus de Voragine.

Pizamano, Morales, and Baronius³⁶¹ While Ribadeneyra had cited a *Life of St. James* by Isidore of Seville, it was a chapter from Isidore's *De viris illustribus*.³⁶² Apart from Surius and Metaphrastes, other collections of lives read by Ribadeneyra included Lippomano and Gregory the Great's *Dialogues*³⁶³ Ribadeneyra thus created a textual lineage that spanned most of the church's history, including the sixteenth century as evident in the works by Morales, Baronius, Lippomano, and Surius Similar tendencies noted previously also manifested here, most notably the reading of Byzantine biographers (Metaphrastes, Gregory of Nyssa) as well as the works of the mendicant friars (Pizamano, Bonaventure, Dietrich, and Garzoni). The medieval content, however, had minimal exposure. A notable omission from Ribadeneyra's list of hagiographical compilations was Voragine's *Golden Legend*³⁶⁴

The final cluster evident in this universal historical library was martyrological, a list of holy persons that included brief descriptions of their lives, deaths, and contributions to spiritual life³⁶⁵ Ribadeneyra began his genealogy of the genre with Hippolytus of Rome's *Book of the Seventy Disciples*, which provided the names and terse

³⁶¹ Bertrand, 907; Christian, 250, Frazier, 453-54, M A Lapôte, "La Souper de Jean Diacre," *Melanges d'archeologie y d'histoire* 21 (1901). 313-14; *The Brill Dictionary of Gregory of Nyssa* s v Pierre Maraval, "Chronology of Works," 164, Pullapilly, 210 The specific lives in question are Gregory's life of Gregory Thaumaturgos, John the Deacon of Rome's life of Gregory the Great, Antonio Pizamano's life of Thomas Aquinas, Morales's life of Justus and Pastor, and Baronius's life of Ambrose The first printing of Morales's *vita* was in 1568 from Alcalá by Andres de Angulo A Jesuit, Fronto Ducaeus, had edited the complete works of Gregory of Nyssa Baronius's life of Ambrose featured in his complete works

³⁶² The following is the life of James the Great found in Isidore of Seville, "*De ortu, & obitu Patrum*," in *Opera*, 2 vols (Madrid. Imprenta Real, 1599), 1 sig † 252 "Iacobus filius Zebedaei, frater Iohannis, quartus in ordine, duodecim tribubus quae sunt in dispersione gentium scripsit, atq[ue] Hispaniae & occidentalium locoru[m] gentibus Euangelium praedicavit, & in occasu mundi lucem praedicationis inruit Hic ab Herode Tertrarcha gladio caesus occubuit Sepultus in Marmarica"

³⁶³ While the *Dialogues* only features one biography (the life of St Benedict), Gregory's work is a series of expositions on the saints and their virtues reflecting similar tendencies in later redactions

³⁶⁴ Thompson, 105-6.

³⁶⁵ Michel Sot, "Local and Institutional History (300-1000)," in *Historiography in the Middle Ages*, ed Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis (Brill Leiden and Boston, 2003), 92-94 Sot situates them as an offshoot of Eusebius's *Chronicle*

descriptions of the disciples. His choice in martyrologies reflected the development of the genre becoming based on historical narratives and increasingly descriptive. Early modern Spanish readers favoured Isidore's martyrological *De ortu et orbitu Patrum* as well as the *Roman Martyrologies*, whether edited by Baronius or not.³⁶⁶ Villegas in his *Flos sanctorum* only used the *Roman Martyrology* printed in 1585. Jesuits were also interested in vernacular martyrologies, evident in Peter Canisius's German translation.³⁶⁷ This genre differed from the others through its lack of Byzantine and mendicant friar sources as well as having a widely dispersed genealogy. From Hippolytus onwards, Ribadeneyra included in his textual lineage: Gregory of Tours's *On the Glory of the Martyrs*, Isidore, Bede, Ado, Usuard, Francesco Maurolico, and the sixteenth-century *Roman Martyrologies*.³⁶⁸ The lack of martyrologies from the ninth until the sixteenth century that spanned the period between Usuard and Maurolico's martyrologies could be the result of the immense popularity of Usuard's text in the intermittant period.³⁶⁹ Akin to the other historical genres, Ribadeneyra formed a broadly-scoped history infused with a tradition

³⁶⁶ Prieto Bernabé, 1-238, 240, Moreschini and Norelli, 2 530-32, Van Liere, 523-26. Prieto Bernabé does not specify which *Roman Martyrology* (the one edited by Baronius or not) as the most frequently read. Isidore of Seville's *Fathers of the New Testament* and *On the Lives and Deaths of Saints* were sections of his *De ortu et orbitu Patrum*, a brief list of saints' deeds and deaths. Early modern Spaniards would have read this work in the popular *opera omnia* of Isidore.

³⁶⁷ *DHCJ* s v P. Begheyn, "Canisius, Pedro," 1: 633-35, Gilmont, *Écrits*, 218-19. Canisius was also a life-writer, most notably of saints Fridolin, Ida, Beatus, as well as Maurice, Ursus, and their companions.

³⁶⁸ On Gregory of Tours, consult Raymond van Dam's introduction in Gregory of Tours, *Glory of the Martyrs*, trans. Raymond van Dam (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1988), 1-17, especially 5-8. On Bede and Ado, see Henri Quentin, *Les martyrologes historiques du moyen âge* (1908 Reprint, Darmstadt: Scientia Verlag Aalen, 1969), 17-18, 47-56, 465-81. On Usuard and his use of previous martyrologies such as Jerome, Bede, and Ado, refer to Jacques Dubois, *Le martyrologe d'Usuard. Texte et commentaire* (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1965), 41-52, 103-37. Francesco Maurolico was a Benedictine mathematician who used his knowledge to compose a martyrology, first published in 1567. Edward Rosen, "Maurolico's Attitude toward Copernicus," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 101, no. 2 (April 1957): 189. On the *Roman Martyrologies* issued in the late-sixteenth century and its antecedents, see Ditchfield, *Liturgy*, 43-52.

³⁶⁹ Quentin, 675-77. The sheer volume of extant copies of Usuard's *Martyrology* is suggestive, but not indicative, of its popularity.

formed by a textual genealogy. In turn, the creation of this tradition as well as a collection of orthodox texts fostered a religious community of readers.

These assembled works facilitated the creation of a confessional identity amongst Jesuits and Catholics by providing a universal library. This universal library without walls held volumes of scriptural commentary, epistolary collections, as well as sacred histories. History was a guide to confessional conduct as well as a guide to sanctity and saints' cults. Through the *Flos sanctorum*'s marginalia, Ribadeneyra showed his readers the works he consulted and the writings that he imitated in composing his sacred biographies. As a result, readers imitated the reading habits of the hagiographer as well as the pious behaviour of a hagiography's saint. In turn, the communication networks facilitated by multimedia promoted and reified a sense of community. The result was not a single identity but several overlapping identities of Catholics that negotiated sacred spaces, biographies, and communities. In the case of Ribadeneyra, he was a member of numerous confessional reading communities, whether as a Castillian, a Madrileño, or a Jesuit. At the same time, Ribadeneyra created a sense of continuity between the early Church and post-Tridentine religious life by crafting a sense of religious tradition. Ribadeneyra included himself in the practice of crafting sacred history for an early modern community of Christians who felt that their confession was an authentic continuation of the apostolic church. All other confessions were heresies that distorted divine truth. Just as an angelic voice had told Augustine to "take it and read", Ribadeneyra incited the *Flos sanctorum*'s readers to do the same and to replicate the practices embedded within the text.

Figure 6: Textual Geneologies of *Flos sanctorum* based on Appendices 6 and 7

Biblical Commentaries

Villegas	Ribadeneyra	Centuries
	Origen of Alexandria, <i>Commentaries</i>	1 st -2 nd
	Victorinus of Poetovio, <i>Commentaries</i>	3 rd -4 th
	Hilary of Poitiers, <i>Commentaries</i>	4 th
	Ambrose of Milan, <i>Commentaries</i>	4 th
	Rufinus, <i>Commentarius in symbolum apostolorum</i>	4 th -5 th
Jerome. <i>Commentaries</i>	Jerome, <i>Commentaries</i>	4 th -5 th
John Chrysostom. <i>Commentaries</i>	John Chrysostom, <i>Commentaries</i>	4 th -5 th
	Theodore the Interpreter, <i>Commentaries</i>	4 th -5 th
	Augustine, <i>Commentary on John</i>	4 th -5 th
	Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, <i>On the Letter to John</i>	5 th -6 th
	Primasius, <i>Commentaries</i>	6 th
Gregory the Great. <i>Morality or a Commentary on Job</i>	Gregory the Great, <i>Morality or a Commentary on Job</i>	6 th -7 th
Bede. <i>Commentaries</i>	Bede, <i>Commentaries</i>	7 th -8 th
	Anselm, <i>Commentaries</i>	11 th -12 th
	Theophylact of Ohrid, <i>Commentaries</i>	11 th -12 th
	Rupert of Deutz, O.S.B., <i>Commentaries</i>	11 th -12 th
	Euthymius Zigabenus, <i>Commentaries</i>	11 th -12 th
	Thomas Aquinas, O.P. <i>Commentary on John 21</i>	13 th
	Nicholas of Lyra, <i>Commentaries</i>	13 th -14 th
	Aretius Catharus [=Martin Luther], <i>Commentary on 2 Corinthians</i>	15 th -16 th
	Alfonso Salmerón, S.J., <i>Commentaries</i>	16 th
	Juan Maldonado, S.J., <i>Commentaries</i>	16 th

Sermons, Orations, and Homilies

	Origen of Alexandria. <i>Sermons</i>	1 st -2 nd
	Eusebius of Emesa, <i>Book of Homilies</i>	4 th
	Gregory Nazianzus, <i>Orations</i>	4 th
Basil the Great. <i>Sermons</i>	Basil the Great, <i>Sermons</i>	4 th
	Gregory of Nyssa, <i>Sermons</i>	4 th
Ambrose of Milan. <i>Sermons</i>	Ambrose of Milan, <i>Sermons</i>	4 th
	John Chrysostom. <i>Orations</i>	4 th -5 th
John Chrysostom. <i>Sermons</i>	John Chrysostom. <i>Sermons</i>	4 th -5 th
	Augustine. <i>Sermons</i>	4 th -5 th
	Peter Chrysologus, <i>Sermons</i>	4 th -5 th
	Maximus of Turin, <i>Sermons</i>	4 th -5 th
Leo I. <i>Sermons</i>	Leo I, <i>Sermons</i>	4 th -5 th

Peter Damian. O.S.B. Sermons	Gaudentius of Brescia, <i>Sermons</i>	4 th -5 th
	Fulgentius of Ruspe, <i>Sermons</i>	5 th -6 th
	Sophronius, <i>Sermons</i>	6 th -7 th
	Nicetas the Paphlagonian, <i>Sermons</i>	10 th
	Peter Damian, O.S.B., Sermons	11 th
	Bernard of Clairvaux, O. Cist., <i>Sermons</i>	11 th -12 th

Letters

Jerome. <i>Letters</i>	Ignatius of Antioch. <i>Letters</i>	1 st -2 nd
	Hyginus. <i>Letters</i>	2 nd
	Cyprian. <i>Letters</i>	3 rd
	Athanasius. <i>Letters</i>	4 th
	Jerome. <i>Letters</i>	4 th -5 th
	Paulinus of Nola. <i>Letters</i>	4 th -5 th
	Augustine. <i>Letters</i>	4 th -5 th
	Severus Sulpicius. <i>Letters</i>	4 th -5 th
	Innocent I. <i>Letters</i>	4 th -5 th
	Atticus. <i>Letters</i>	4 th -5 th
	Celestine I. <i>Letters</i>	4 th -5 th
	Prosper of Aquitaine. <i>Letters</i>	4 th -5 th
	Hilary of Arles. <i>Letters</i>	5 th
Dorotheus of Gaza. <i>Letters</i>	Gregory the Great. <i>Letters</i>	6 th
		6 th -7 th

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Eusebius of Caesarea, Ecclesiastic History	Tacitus, <i>Annals</i>	1 st -2 nd
	Suetonius, <i>Lives of the Caesars</i>	1 st -2 nd
	Cassius Dio, <i>Roman History</i>	2 nd -3 rd
	Hippolytus of Rome, <i>Book on the Seventy Disciples</i>	2 nd -3 rd
	Eusebius of Caesarea, <i>Chronicle</i>	3 rd -4 th
	Eusebius of Caesarea, Ecclesiastic History	3 rd -4 th
	Gregory of Nyssa, <i>Life of Gregory Thaumaturgos</i>	4 th
	Pseudo-Hegesippus, De exicidio Hierosolymitano	4 th
	Prosper of Aquitaine, <i>Chronicle</i>	4 th -5 th
	Paul Orosius, <i>History against the Pagans</i>	4 th -5 th
Augustine, <i>Confessions</i> Possidius, Life of Augustine	Theodoret of Cyrus, <i>Religious History</i>	4 th -5 th
	Augustine, <i>Confessions</i>	4 th -5 th
	Possidius, Life of Augustine	4 th -5 th
	Procopius, <i>De Bello Gothico</i>	5 th
Datus of Milan, <i>Chronicle</i>	Datus of Milan, <i>Chronicle</i>	6 th

	Gregory of Tours, <i>On the Glory of the Martyrs</i>	6 th -7 th
	Isidore of Seville, <i>Fathers of the New Testament</i>	6 th -7 th
	Isidore of Seville, <i>Life of Saint James</i>	6 th -7 th
	Isidore of Seville, <i>On the Lives and Deaths of Saints</i>	6 th -7 th
	Gregory the Great, <i>Dialogues</i>	6 th -7 th
	Bede, <i>Ecclesiastical History of the English People</i>	6 th -7 th
	Bede, <i>Martyrology</i>	6 th -7 th
	Paul the Deacon, O.S.B., <i>History of the Lombards</i>	7 th -8 th
	Nicephoros I of Constantinople, <i>Chronography</i>	8 th
Ado of Vienna, <i>Chronicle</i>	Ado of Vienna, <i>Chronicle</i>	8 th -9 th
	Usuard, O.S.B., <i>Martyrology</i>	9 th
	John the Deacon of Rome, <i>Life of Gregory</i>	9 th
Simon Metaphrastes, Menalogion	Simon Metaphrastes, Menalogion	9 th
	Marianus Scotus, <i>Chronicle</i>	10 th
	George Cedrenus, <i>Compendium historiarum</i>	11 th
	<i>Chronicle of the Order of Saint Francis</i>	>13 th
	<i>Chronicle of the Minors</i>	>13 th
Bonaventure, O.F.M., Life of St. Francis	Bonaventure, O.F.M., Life of St. Francis	13 th
Dietrich of Apolda, O.P., Life of St. Dominic	Dietrich of Apolda, O.P., Life of St. Dominic	13 th
Nicephoros Callistus	Nicephoros Callistus Xanthopulus, <i>Ecclesiastical History</i>	14 th
Antonino de Pierozzi, O.P., <i>Chronicle</i>	Antonino de Pierozzi, O.P., <i>Chronicle</i>	14 th -15 th
Giovanni Garzoni, O.P., <i>Vitae</i>	Giovanni Garzoni, O.P., <i>Vitae</i>	15 th
	Antonio Pizamano, O.P., <i>Vita Thome Aquinatisi</i>	15 th
Marcus Antonius Sabellicus, <i>Enneades</i>		15 th -16 th
Onofrio Panvinio, O.S.A., <i>Ecclesiastical Chronicle</i>		16 th
	Ambrosio de Morales, <i>General Chronicle of Spain</i>	16 th
	Ambrosio de Morales, <i>The Life...of the Glorious Boy Martyrs Saints Justus and</i>	16 th

<i>Roman Martyrology</i>	<i>Pastor</i>	
	Francesco Maurolico, O.S.B., <i>Martyrology</i>	16 th
	<i>Roman Martyrology</i>	16 th
	Petrus Galesinus, O.F.M., <i>Sancti</i> <i>Bonaventurae vita</i>	16 th
	Luigi Lippomano, <i>Sanctorum priscorum</i> <i>patrum vitae</i>	16 th
Laurentius Surius, O. Cart., <i>De</i> <i>probatis sanctorum historiis</i>	Laurentius Surius, O. Cart., <i>De probatis</i> <i>sanctorum historiis</i>	16 th
	Caesar Baronius, C.O., <i>Ecclesiastic</i> <i>Annals from Christ's Nativity to 1198</i>	16 th -17 th
	Caesar Baronius, C.O., ed., <i>Roman</i> <i>Martyrology</i>	16 th -17 th
	Caesar Baronius, C.O., <i>Life of St.</i> <i>Ambrose</i>	16 th -17 th
	Fernando del Castillo, O.P., <i>History of</i> <i>the Order of Preachers</i>	16 th -17 th

CHAPTER 3: THE SAINT AS EXEMPLAR IN EARLY MODERN CATHOLICISM

Saints and exemplary Jesuits permeated Ribadeneyra's writings. They functioned as models of religious conduct, asserted community, and promoted a strong Catholic identity. Saints were part of God's plan for humanity and for the Church. They combated heresy and lead Christians to God through the example of their holy actions:

This fact is true, as I have said, of the providence and plan of the Lord, to provide assistance and help to those in the greatest need by opposing a Simon Magus with a St Peter, Prince of the Apostles, an Arius with an Athanasius; a Nestorius with a Cyril; Jovinian, Vigilantius, and Helvidius with a Jerome; Mani and Pelagius with an Augustine, and other enemy heretics with other brave leaders and protectors. The writers of ecclesiastical history rightly observe that the same day that Pelagius was born in England to pervert and darken the world with his errors, in Africa, on that very day, that great sun of the Catholic church, Augustine, was born to undo the darkness of an evil and wicked heretic with his radiance and brilliance. When the Albigensians and other even more depraved heretics disturbed the peace of God's church, and the thorns of vices and evils were fully grown and had drowned the good seed cast by the heavenly Sower, he sent into the world those two seraphim and leading lights of heaven, Saints Dominic and Francis. For Him, His children, and disciples, they resisted the heretics, uprooted errors, corrected sins, and reformed habits. They illuminated and sanctified the universe with their admirable example and doctrine, as did the Holy Fathers and as do presently his children.³⁷⁰

As apostles, Church Fathers, and founders of religious orders, saints were manifestations of virtue. They also provided exemplars for Catholics, evident in the constant contrast

³⁷⁰ Ribadeneyra, *Vita Ignati*, 315-17. "Esto es propio (como he dicho) de la providencia y conejodel Señor, socorrer y ayudar a la mayor necesidad y oponerá Simón Mago un san Pedro, príncipe de los Apóstoles a Arrio, un Atanasio, a Nestorio un Cirilo, a JovinianoVigilancio y Elvidio un Gerónimo, a Manes y Pelagio un Augustino, y a otros hereges enemigos otros valerosos capitanes y defensores. Los escritores de la historia eclesiástica con mucha razón advirtieron que el mismo día que en Inglaterra nació Pelagio para prevertir y escurecer con sus errores el mundo, ese mismo día nació en Africa aquel gran sol de la Yglesia Católica, Agustino, para deshacer con sus rayos y resplandor las tinieblas del malvado y perverso herege. Quando los Albigenses y otros hereges más desapoder[da]mente turbaban la paz de la Yglesia de Dios y las espinas de los vicios y maldades estaban más crecidas y ahogavan la buena semilla que avía sembrado el sembrador celestial, embió al mundo aquellos dos serafines y lumbreras del cielo, santo Domingo y san Francisco, para que por sí y por sus hijos y dicipulos resistiesen a los hereges, desarraigasen los errores, corrigiesen los pecados, reformassen las costumbres, alumbrassen y santificasen el universo con su admirable exemplo y dotrina, como lo hizieron los Santos Padres y hasta ahora lo hazen sus hijos."

between orthodoxy and heresy. Saintliness was also continuous, apparent in the genealogy of sanctity Ribadeneyra expounded. This began with Peter and the Apostles followed by the Church Fathers, culminating in the founders of the mendicant orders. Ribadeneyra also attempted to place Jesuits within this cycle of saintly emulation. When defending the publication of a life of Diego Laínez, Ribadeneyra argued that “if [Jesuits] examine the deeds of father Laínez with care and consideration, they will find things so admirable, akin to the things of the other saints of the Society, and perchance more imitable.”³⁷¹ By the 1590s, Ribadeneyra casually refers to notable deceased Jesuits as ‘saints’ (santos).³⁷² He expresses similar sentiments in discussing the life of Francis Borgia: “I understood that it mattered to the world to represent his admirable and heroic virtues, and the unintentional glory that would follow from many imitating his life and using his examples.”³⁷³ In sum, Ribadeneyra’s accounts of holy men and women sought to integrate the pious actions of Jesuits within early modern Catholicism and provided models of confession-appropriate conduct. Ribadeneyra not only gave examples, but also a comprehensive model for acquiring saintly conduct, akin to a behavioural manual.³⁷⁴

While the use of saints as exemplars affected Catholics broadly, it also encouraged individual devotion. For example in his *Confessions*, Ribadeneyra was remorseful about his “most serious fault [of] not trying to imitate the examples of the

³⁷¹ Pedro de Ribadeneyra, “To Gil González Dávila, 20 April 1591,” in Ribadeneyra, *Confessiones*, 2: 121-22 “si se miran las cosas del P[adr]e Laynez con atención y ponderación, se hallarán tan admirables, como las de los otros santos de la Coma, y por ventura más imitables, [a list of Laínez’s virtues and deeds] y por sola ella para imprimirse su vida.”

³⁷² Fatás, 14-15. The word *santo* derives from Roman law and its conception of *sacer* (which became *sanctus* then *santo*), a person set apart from society who can be killed by anyone but not in Roman religious rituals.

³⁷³ Pedro de Ribadeneyra, “To Juan de Borja, Acalá, 6 May 1589,” in Ribadeneyra, *Confessiones*, 2:111-12. “Entendiendo yo lo que importaba al mundo representarle sus admirables y heroicas virtudes, y la gloria accidental que se le seguiría de que muchos la imitasen y se aprovecharan de sus exemplos”

³⁷⁴ Teófilo Egido explores John of the Cross in seventeenth-century hagiographies becoming incorporated into the practice of serving as a model for saintly conduct. Egido, 66-78

saints whose lives I write, and to draw into my soul (by your grace and with the intercession of the saints) a perfect portrait of their admirable virtues.”³⁷⁵ He described his devotion in language similar to producing a visual representation of the saints. The reader of the *Flos sanctorum* would have had the opportunity to observe saintly virtue through reading, visual representations in art, or through the dramatization of saints’ lives.³⁷⁶ In his *Confessions*, Ribadeneyra related the emotional experience of these saints’ lives, “since all of the saints’ lives that I have written caused this effect [emotionally overwhelmed] in me, but much more will it be caused by the lives of our blessed father Ignatius and of our fathers [Diego] Laínez and Francis Borgia.”³⁷⁷ While Ribadeneyra’s saintly acumen was lacking, the leaders of the early Society exuded sanctity, which other Jesuits came to know and then implement into their own lives:

As I met them and very much tried, they were my friendly and most loving Fathers [Ignatius, Laínez, and Borgia]. I am so certain and faithful a witness of their holy lives and bound by many reasons to imitate their lives, but I never would have written lives for the others, when I compare my life so unlike theirs. Others have taken advantage of what I have written, and that they irrigate their fields with the examples of these holy men [santos varones], while I remain as land parched and burnt bearing no fruit. I fear, I shake, and I tremble that you have to punish me for it, and that the same holy Fathers do not recognise their son.³⁷⁸

³⁷⁵ Pedro de Ribadeneyra, “Confessiones,” in Ribadeneyra, *Confessiones*, 1:85. “Pero en lo que más me remuerde la conciencia, y conozco más graue culpa es en no auer procurado ymitar los exemplos de los sanctos cuyas vidas he escrito, y sacar en my alma (con vuestra gracia e intercesion de los sanctos) vn perfecto retrato de sus admirables virtudes”

³⁷⁶ Bangert, *History of the Society*, 59-60, 72-76; Boeckl, 979-95; Chipps Smith, 29-55. On Jesuit theatre, Bruna Filippi, “The Orator’s Performance: Gesture, Word, and Image in Theatre at the Collegio Romano,” in *Jesuits II*, 512-29. On Golden Age Spanish preaching and its connection with theatre, please see: Hilary Dansey Smith, *Preaching in the Spanish Golden Age* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), 5-28.

³⁷⁷ Ribadeneyra, “Confessiones,” 1:85. “y puesto caso que qualquiera de las vidas de los santos que he escrito causa este affecto en my, pero mucho mayor le causan las de nuestro beato Padre Ignacio y las de los Padres Laynez y Francisco de Borja.”

³⁷⁸ Ibid. 1:85-86. “Porque como los conocí y traté tanto, y fueron mis cordiales y amantísimos Padres, y soy tan cierto y fiel testigo de su sancta vida, y obligado por tantos títulos a ymitarlas aunque nunca las huiera escrito para los otros, quando considero la mía tan desemejante de la suya, y que otros se aprovechan de lo que yo he escrito, y que riegan sus campos con los exemplos destos sanctos varones, y yo

Ribadeneyra promulgated a model for reading saints' lives that was imperfect, apparent in the admittance of his failures. Ribadeneyra's *Confessions* was not meant for broad circulation, but was a written work of individual penance emulating Augustine's autobiography of the same name. In his printed lives, however, Ribadeneyra encouraged a tradition of observational emulation within his sacred biographies for contemporary Catholic culture. Imitation acquired through the senses and purported by Ribadeneyra was based on the recognition that God has sanctified the actions of contemporaries here and now. In turn, texts transmitted this piety with contemporary models of disciplined behavior through a readily perceptible repertoire of saintly action, such as preaching, confession, and conversion.³⁷⁹

Catholicism and Saintly Imitation

Saints provided a template from which Christian virtue could be moulded and formed. In the process of confession-building, Catholics drew upon late-medieval practices, while at the same time negotiating the ecclesiastical reforms of Trent. In fact, Jesuits accommodated Roman rituals to local practices. For example, every Jesuit student of theology "should have the [decrees and canons of the] Council of Trent and a volume of the Bible and should be familiar with these texts"³⁸⁰. Yet when preaching and delivering sermons,

they should strive for the edification of the people, which differs from the scholastic method, they should seek to learn the vernacular language well, to be prepared and have on hand the most useful things for the ministry, and to

me quedo como tierra seca y quemada sin fructo, temo, temo y tiemblo que me aueys vos de castigar por ello, y que los mismos sanctos Padres no me conozcan por hijo."

³⁷⁹ Palomo "Corregir letras," 60-69, *idem*, "Disciplina cristiana," 127-36.

³⁸⁰ "*Ratio*," 377. "Tridentinum Concilium omnes theologi habeant, et Bibliorum volumen, quorum lectio sit illis familiaris."

have available all the suitable means to perform this task better and for the increased fruitfulness of souls.³⁸¹

According to Tridentine doctrine, saints were not only intercessors but they served as models for the ideal Christian life and conduct.³⁸² The desire to emulate saints again manifested itself in the naming of a child at baptism. If a child received a saint's name, it would prompt that child to model their life on their namesake.³⁸³

This tendency remained scattered throughout Tridentine liturgical texts such as the *Breviary*. In an oration to St Francis in the *Breviary*, the text correlated pious conduct with salvation: "as a result of imitating [Francis], may we come to despise earthly things and always rejoice in the sharing of his heavenly gifts."³⁸⁴ The prayer to Thomas implied attaining perfection through replicating his saintly life.³⁸⁵ Finally, one of the readings for Augustine depicted his foundation of a religious community of godly men living and worshipping together that sought to recreate the apostolic way of life.³⁸⁶

The correlation between saints and Jesuit religious life also drew upon late-medieval precedents. In Thomas à Kempis's *Imitation of Christ*, saints were meant to be

³⁸¹Ignatius, *Constitutiones*, IV, viii, [120]. "Assimesmo se exercitarán en el predicar y leer en modo conueniente para la edificación del pueblo, que es diverso del scholastico, procurando tomar bien la lengua, y tener uistas y a la mano las cosas más útiles para esta officio, y ayudarse de todos medios conuenientes para majorhazerle y con más fruto de las animas." Cf. *Constitutions*, 201.

³⁸²*Canons and Decrees*, 216. "through the saints the miracles of God and salutary examples are set before the eyes of the faithful, so that they...may fashion their own life and conduct in imitation of the saints and be moved to adore and love God and cultivate piety"

³⁸³*Catechism*, 194. "this similarity of name [to a saint] will stimulate to the imitation of [the saint's] virtues and the attainment of his holiness; and we should hope and pray that he who is the model of our imitation, may also, by his advocacy, become the guardian of our safety and salvation." The Catechism has numerous mentions of people and saints as 'models of imitation', for instance, *Catechism*, 390: "We also honour our parents by the imitation of their good example: to study the life of another, as a model for imitation is the highest mark of esteem."

³⁸⁴*Breviarium*, 902. "ex eius imitatione terrena despicere, et coelestium donorum semper participatione gaudere."

³⁸⁵*Breviarium*, 750-51. "Deus, qui Ecclesiam tuam beati Thomae Confessoris tui mira eruditione clarificas, et sancta operatione foecundas...et quae docuit, intellectu conspiciere, et quae egit, imitatione complere."

³⁸⁶*Breviarum*, 871. "Quo tempore familiam instituit religiosorum, quibuscum victu communi eodemque cultu utens, eos ad apostolicae vitae doctrinaeque disciplinam diligentissime erudiebat."

a constant fixture in the lives of lay and religious persons alike. It was the only book Jesuits were allowed to own.³⁸⁷ For example, on feast days “good spiritual exercises should be renewed, and the prayers of the Saints implored more fervently than ever.”³⁸⁸ Kempis implored Christians to regard saints as persons in possession of an imitable sanctity modelled on Christ’s life. Christians must “[c]onsider the glowing example of the Holy Fathers, in whom shone true religion and perfection...How countless and constant were the trials endured by Apostles, Martyrs, Confessors, Virgins, and all those others who strove to follow in the footsteps of Christ.”³⁸⁹ Kempis’s spiritual exercises taught Christians how to contemplate the lives of saints and provided instruction in the implementation of saintly virtue in everyday life.

While a hierarchy of saints existed, a lesser saint’s contribution to Christian life was not refuted as “[a]nyone, therefore, who disparages one of the least of My Saints, in no way adds to the glory of a greater by so doing, for small and great alike are My creation.”³⁹⁰ Saints were especially helpful in the formation of conduct for religious men and women: “[t]hey were given for an example to all Religious and they should encourage us to advance in holiness.”³⁹¹ Kempis, moreover, bemoaned the spiritual laxness of his time, while celebrating the formation of new religious orders to increase devotion through respecting a Superior’s authority, following the order’s rule, and fervent

³⁸⁷O’Malley, *First*, 264-66; *Regulae Societatis Iesu*, 258. “Thomas de Kempis de imitatione Christi, et aliquot ex eiusde[m] auctoris opusculus.”

³⁸⁸ Thomas Kempis, *The Imitation of Christ*, trans. Leo Sherley-Price (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1956), 49.

³⁸⁹*Ibid.* 45.

³⁹⁰*Ibid.* 175.

³⁹¹*Ibid.* 46.

prayer.³⁹² The initial recruits of an order as well as its founder according to Kempis were to be “holy and most perfect men, who fought valiantly, and trampled the world under their feet.”³⁹³ Kempis’s call for spiritual renewal resonated with the early Jesuits especially Ignatius.

The Society of Jesus and Saintly Imitation

Amongst the texts written for the nascent society by its founder Ignatius of Loyola were directives for devotion to saints and the use of hagiographies within Jesuit spiritual life. In the Society’s spiritual manual, the *Spiritual Exercises*, Ignatius suggested that retreatants read the *Imitation of Christ*, the Gospels, or the lives of saints for spiritual edification.³⁹⁴ In that work’s additional material, Ignatius incorporated pieces from saints’ lives into his list of Christ’s mysteries.³⁹⁵ Elsewhere in the *Exercises*, he quoted from the *Life of Saint Bernard* from an earlier *Flos sanctorum*.³⁹⁶ The *Autobiography*, meanwhile, also outlined the important role hagiography had in Ignatius’s religious transformation. Ignatius did not write this work but recited it from memory to a scribe, Gonçalves, who collected and assembled Ignatius’s thoughts. During Ignatius’s convalescence from his battle injuries, there were no “false and worldly books that were known as tales of chivalry” present for Ignatius to read. Instead, his attendants provided him two books:

³⁹² Ibid 46-47. “How deep was the fervour of all Religious at the foundation of their Order! How great was their devotion in prayer, and their zeal for virtue! How strict was their observance of the Rule! What respect and obedience to the direction of a Superior flourished in those days!”

³⁹³ Ibid 47

³⁹⁴ Ignatius, *Exercitia Spirituality*, [100] “Para la segunda semana, y así para adelante, mucho aproueche el leer algunos ratos en los libros De ymitacione Xpio de los Euangelios y de vidas de sanctos” See also Leturia, 2 273-82

³⁹⁵ Ibid [310] “DE LA 12ª APARICIÓN: Apareció a Joseph ab Arimatía, como píamente se medita y se lee en la vida de los sanctos”

³⁹⁶ Ibid [351] “y si vee que es su deuidoseiucio, o a lo menos no contra, deuehazer per diametrum contra la tal tentación, iustaBernardumeidemrespondetem Necpropter te incepti, necpropter te finiam” The underlined text is the quotation from the life of Saint Bernard, which featured in an earlier *Flos sanctorum* Ibid [351 n 1] “Hanc sententiam legere potuit Ignatius in opere *Flos sanctorum* In *Vida de San Bernardo* hoc modo exprimitur “Ni por ti lo commence, ni por ti lo dexare” ”

Ludolph of Saxony's *Life of Christ* and a collection of saints' lives in Castilian³⁹⁷ After reading these works, Ignatius decided to implement the conduct of saints into his life in particular modeling himself on Dominic and Francis³⁹⁸ When Ignatius journeyed towards Manresa, he examined his conscience by meditating on the *Life of Saint Andrew* As a result, Ignatius adopted Andrew's asceticism³⁹⁹ While Ignatius often used saints' lives to inform his conduct, his mystical encounters with saints asserted their continued importance as intercessors in everyday religious life⁴⁰⁰

³⁹⁷ Ignatius, "Acta Patris Ignatii," [6] "Y porque era muy dado a leer libros mundanos y falsos, que suelen llamar de Caballerias, sintiendose bueno, pidio que le diesen algunos dellos para pasar el tiempo, mas en aquella casa no se hallo ninguno de los que el solia leer, y asi le dieron un Vita Christi y un libro de la vida de los Santos en romance "While Ignatius's autobiography does not specify the name of the collection of saints' lives, Hieronymo Nadal in 1561 suggested that Ignatius had read a *Flos sanctorum* Jeronimo Nadal, "Adhortationes Complutenses 1561," in *Fontes narrative de S Ignatio de Loyola et de Societatis Iesu Initus*, ed Candido de Dalmases (Rome Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu, 1951), 2 [4] MHSI 73 "Incomincio adunque dalhora a star meglio il N Ignatio, et essendo gia in conuales[c]entia, domando un libro de cavallerie per legger, et non vi si trovo in casa nesun libro tale, nei quali si soleva occupar, solamente si trovo un Vita Christi del Cartusiano et un libro di Vite di Santi che si chiama Flos Sanctorum in vulgar spagnolo "

³⁹⁸ Ignatius, "Acta Patris Ignatii," [7] "Porque, leyendo la vida de nuestro Señor y de los santos, se paraba a pensar, razonando consigo ¿que seria, si yo hiciere esto que hizo S Francisco, y esto que hizo S Domingo? Y asi discurria por muchas cosas que hallaba buenas, proponiendose siempre a si mismo cosas dificultosas y graves, las qualesquando proponia, le parecia hallar en si facilidad de ponerlas en obra Mas todo su discurso era decir consigo S Domingo hizo esto, pues yo lo tengo de hacer S Francisco hizo esto, pues yo lo tengo de hacer "Pedro de Leturia also compares Ignatius's use of Francis and Dominic as exemplars with Nadal's belief that Onuphrius was another, see Leturia, 1 100-11 This episode did not feature within Ribadeneyra's biography on Ignatius In fact, the original Latin edition made no mention of the *Flos sanctorum* Ribadeneyra, *Vita Ignatii*, 86-7

³⁹⁹ Ibid [24] "Y asi le vino al pensamiento la historia de un santo, el qual, para alcançar de Dios una cosa que muchos deseaba, estuvo sin comer muchos dias hasta que la alcanço " This passage comes from "Opus *Flos Sanctorum*, quod exstat in archivo Loyolaeo narrat hoc de Sto Andrea Apostolo" Ibid [24 n 2] Cf Ribadeneyra, *Vita Ignatii*, 119

⁴⁰⁰ Ignatius, "Ephemeris," 98 "De ay a vn rato, pensando por donde comencaria y acordandome que a todos Sanctos, encomendandome para que rogasen a nuestra Señora y a su hijo porque ellos me fuesen intercesores con la Sanctissima Trinidad, con mucha deuociony intension me cubri de lagrimas, y asi me fuy para confirmar las obligaciones pasadas, interloquendo muchas cosas, rogando y poniendo por intercesores a los angeles, sanctos padres, apostoles y discipulos, y a todos los sanctos, etc para nuestra Señora y su Hijo hize la confirmacion vltimada a la Sanctissima Trinidad delante de toda su corte celestial, dando gracias con mucho intenso afecto, primero a las personas diuinas, despues a nuestra Señora y a su Hijo, despues por los angeles, sanctos padres, apostoles, discipulos, a todos sanctos y santas y a todas personas que para esto me avian ayudado "

Whether through saints or other Jesuits, the imitation of virtue and good conduct was an important facet of Jesuit spiritual life.⁴⁰¹ The Jesuit *Constitutions* frequently discussed this regulation of behaviour. For example, older Jesuits established a model of good conduct for the order's younger members "because to move forward in virtue is assisted greatly by the good example of the older members that encourages the others to imitate them."⁴⁰² In Canisius's *Catechism*, a brief discussion encouraged the imitation of saints and celebration of their feasts.⁴⁰³ Observing examples of virtue complemented other components of life in the Society best seen in the Jesuit engagement with religious art and architecture for spiritual edification.⁴⁰⁴ This communication of exemplary virtue also occurred at Mass, a social institution that experienced standardization after Trent.⁴⁰⁵ During Mass, the priest would read from saints' lives to expand upon the lessons from his sermon or to celebrate a saint's feast day.⁴⁰⁶ While the saints provided superlative examples of Catholic virtue, the priest was a source of idealised confessional conduct:

⁴⁰¹ Aragués Aldaz, *Deus concionator*, 25-30

⁴⁰² Ignatius, *Constitutiones Societatis Iesu*, III, 1, [91] "Porque para passar adelante en las virtudes ayuda mucho el buen exemplo de los más antiguos que anime a los otros su imitación." Cf. *Constitutions*, 161.

⁴⁰³ An entire section of the *Catechism* focuses on "In what way do we worship and invoke saints before God?", Canisius, 81-101. The discussion on the imitation of saints appears in *idem*, 100-1. "Isidorus libro primo de Ecclesiasticis officijs, capite trigesimoquarto Festiuitates Apostoloru[m], seu in honore martyrum solennitates, antiqui patres invenerationis mysterio celebrari sanxerunt, vel ad excitandam imitationem, vel vt meritis eorum consocremur, atq[ue] orationibus adiuuemur ita tamen, vt nulli martyrm, sed ipsi Deo martyrum offeramus, quanius in memorijs martyru[m] constituamus altaria. Quis enim antistitu[m], in locis sanctorum corporu[m]] assistens altari, aliquando dixit, Offerimus tibi Petre, aut Paule, aut Cypriane? Sed quod offertur, offertur Deo, qui martyres coronauit, apud memorias eorum, quos coronauit, quo ex ipsorum locorum amore maior affectus exurgat ad auge[n]dam charitatem, & in illis, quos imitari possumus, & in illo quo adiuuante possimus. Colimus ergo martyres eo cultu dilectionis & societatis, quo & in hac vita coluntur sancti homines Dei, quorum cor ad talem pro Euangelica veritate passionem paratum esse sentimus. Sed illos tanto deuotius, qua[n]to securius post certamina omnia superata, quanto etiam fidentiore laude prae dicamus iam in illa vita feliciores victores, quam in ista adhuc vsque pugnantes."

⁴⁰⁴ Bailey, *Renaissance and Baroque*, 5-22; David M. Kowal, "Innovation and Assimilation: The Jesuit Contribution to Architectural Development in Portuguese India," in *Jesuits*, 480-504.

⁴⁰⁵ To describe and to conceptualise the mass as a social institution derives from John Bossy, "The Mass as a Social Institution, 1200-1700," *Past and Present* 100, 1 (1983): 29-61.

⁴⁰⁶ Smith, *Preaching*, 29-59.

those [men] that should be ordained are to be instructed in reciting the Mass, not only with the utmost understanding and interior devotion, but also with a good exterior manner, for the edification of those who hear the Mass. All members of the Society should use as much as possible the same ceremonies, conforming to the extent that the diversity of regions permits, to the Roman usage as the most universal and particularly in its embrace by the Apostolic See.⁴⁰⁷

Similarly, while the sermon's content was integral to the religious experience, the preacher must also exhibit fitting conduct in the delivery of the sermon.

Preacher and sermon alike instructed the audience, especially in the Jesuit colleges.⁴⁰⁸ In this letter, Ignatius explained to Antonio Brandano that preaching contributed to the development of a good Christian life. Ignatius compared the fervent preaching of the Society and its bountiful harvest with the scholastics' comparative famine due to the insufficient time spent providing moral improvement. Mass was also a site for mystic visions. Ignatius recounts that in the midpoint of the service, "[i]n these times I felt the visitations in an imprecise manner, they fixated...at times, on the saints or specific ones, there were many tears."⁴⁰⁹ Mass was not only an ideal venue to disseminate these saintly virtues through the senses for the purposes of spiritual edification, but a site for instituting a Catholic identity amongst members of the congregation.⁴¹⁰

Corresponding with Mass's spiritual offerings, Ignatius encouraged the communication of sanctified conduct through works and writings. The external conduct

⁴⁰⁷Ignatius, *Constitutiones Societatis Iesu*, IV, viii, [119-20]. "se ayan de ordenar, se instruyan en el dezir la missa, ultra de la intelligencia y deuoción interna, con buen modo exterior, para la edificación de los que oyen, usando todos los de la Compañía unas mismas ceremonias en quanto se puede, conformándose en ellas, quanto la variedad de las regiones suffriere, al uso romano, como a más uniuersal, y specialmenteabraçado por la sede apostólica " I used Ganss's translation here. *Constitutions*, 201

⁴⁰⁸Ignatius of Loyola, "To Antonio Brandano, Rome, 1 June 1551," in Ignatius of Loyola, *Epistolae et instructiones* (Madrid: Gabriel López del Horno, 1905), 3. 510 MHSI 28 "A estos exercicios se puede ayuntar el del predicar en los collegios; porque como después de la buena vida, vna de las partes que más ayudan al próximo (á lo que muy specialmente se ordena la Compañía) es la del predicar, parecía á [Ignacio] que no poco fruto se sacaria si los scolares se exercitassen en predicar"

⁴⁰⁹ Ignatius, "Ephemeris," 119-20. "En estos tiempos sentía las visitaciones indiferenter, terminándose. quando en los sanctosavn particularmente, con muchas lágrimas "

⁴¹⁰ Aragüés Aldaz, "Deus concionator," 69-77, 86-92

of Jesuits augmented by words was a great force for instituting social discipline. It was important for Jesuits “to be a good example of Christian virtue and integrity, trying to edify through good deeds more than words amongst those whom you have dealings with.”⁴¹¹ Ignatius, however, placed limits on the comparisons Jesuits might make between themselves and saints. It would be an error to say things such as “‘He knows more than St Augustine’, ‘He is another St Francis or greater’, or ‘He is another St Paul in his virtue or sanctity’.”⁴¹² He also chastised Juan de Tejada a Franciscan friar and one of Borgia’s initial spiritual directors for some of Tejada’s assertions. When Tejada asserted his superiority to Francis of Assisi, Ignatius considered Tejada irreverent for not only contrasting himself with Francis but also for comparing living persons with saints.⁴¹³ In Ignatius’s refutation of Tejada and other reformers, Ignatius drew on the saintly precedent of the Desert Fathers featured in John Cassian’s *Conferences*.⁴¹⁴ Tejada and the reformers had desired to increase time spent in prayer, but Ignatius refuted their claims with the precedent of Desert Fathers: their daily hour of prayer and its organisation.⁴¹⁵

⁴¹¹ Ignatius, *Constitutiones Societatis Iesu*, VII, iv, [182] “ser le buen exemplo de toda honestidad y uirtud Christiana, procurando no menos sino más edificar con las buenas obras que con las palabras los con quien se trata.” Cf. *Constitutions*, 281.

⁴¹² Ignatius, *Exercitia Spiritualia*, [364] “Debemos guardar en hazer comparaciones de los que somoviuos a los bienauenturados passados, que no poco se herra en esto, es a saber, en dezir: éste sabe más que santAugustín, es otro o más que san Francisco, es otro san Pablo en bondad, sanctidad ”

⁴¹³ Ignatius of Loyola, “Judicium de quibusdam opinionibus, quae falso revelationes credebantur,” in *Epistolae et instructiones* (Madrid: Gabriel López del Horno, 1911), 12–647. MHSI 42 “En la qual primeramente parece ay desacato en comparar los viuos y mortals con los sanctos, y tal en especial como san Francisco”

⁴¹⁴ Ibid. 12: 651–52 “Veyse por exemplo de los sanctos Padres anacoretas que comúnmente teni[an] oraciones que no llegauan á vna hora, como se vey en Cassiano que t[antos] psalmos dezian de vna vez, etc., como en el officio público y horas ecclesiásticas se pratica ” Cassian was also widely-read in Latin in early modern Madrid and in the order Bernabé, 1: 235, Leturia, 2: 282–96

⁴¹⁵ By 1549, the date of this letter, both Nadal and Juan-Alfonso Polanco assisted Ignatius in legislating and running the Society. This conflict between Ignatius and the reformers (Tejada, Andrés de Oviedo, and François Onfroy), who ran in the same circles as Borgia are indicative of the constant flux in the early decades of the Society. The order had to deal with parties who wished to indulge in devotional excesses, such as potentially fatal fasting and hour upon hour spent in prayer. The circle around Ignatius opted for a middle way, avoiding the harsh ascetic practices that left Ignatius with permanent ailments. See also: Leturia, 2: 193–217

Ignatius, while favouring a tangible Society dedicated to works, created a simultaneous ‘silent society’, where the basis of the order’s identity, community, and social discipline were texts.⁴¹⁶ Written instructions encouraged and ordered a Society that propounded ideals of orthodox conduct to its brethren. Letters in both Latin and the vernacular from the Jesuit provinces circulated widely to assist in the spiritual edification of other members of the Society.⁴¹⁷ The provincial was to send letters quarter-annually to both the Jesuit institutions within his province as well as to Rome. These letters transmitted recent occurrences in the province, such as the number of conversions and the building of new institutions. They also provided living exemplars through the accounts of other Jesuit deeds akin to hagiographies. Embedded within Ignatius’s use of saints as exemplars was the assertion of a distinct Jesuit identity as missionaries, preachers, and otherwise saintly men. These ideals received support through life-writing, whether saints’ lives or letters from missionaries.

Jesuits used saintly precedent to depict not only the orthodoxy of the Society, but also its place within Catholic religious life. Polanco positioned the Jesuit order’s identity within the broader realm of Catholic devotion:

some saints have notable qualities that are wanting in others, and the same is true for religious orders, thus [Ignatius] wanted the Company to have a quality, which would be equal to that of any of the other orders, even if they

⁴¹⁶Bouza, *Communication*, 32

⁴¹⁷ Friedrich, 6-20, O’Malley, *First*, 63, Palomo, “Corregir letras,” 67-79; Ignatius, *Constitutiones Societatis Iesu*, VIII, 1, [109-110] “Para que las nuevas de la Compañía puedan comunicarse a todos, seguiráse la forma siguiente. Los que son debaxo de un provincial de diuersas casas o collegios, escriuan cada principio de quarto meses una letra que contenga solamente las cosas de edificación en la lengua vulgar de la prouincia, y otra en latín del mesmo tenor, y embien la una y la otra duplicada al prouincial, para que embie la una copia latina y uulgar al general con otra suya, donde diga lo que ay notable o de edificación que no tocan los particulares, y la otra haga copier tantas vezes, que baste para dar noticia a los otros de su prouincia. En caso que se perdiessse mucho tiempo en embiar al prouincial estas letras, pueden los locales y rectores embiar al general derechamente sus cartas latina y vulgar, y la copia al prouincial. También el prouincial, quando le pareciesse, puede cometer a algunos de los locales que ausen a los demás de su prouincia, embiandoles copias de la que escriuen al prouincial.”

have other qualities that we cannot have, although we may try to equal them in some things, such as in poverty And our Reverend Father [Ignatius] wished our quality to be obedience⁴¹⁸

The virtues of saints were equated with those of religious orders as specific saints embody and exude a specific desirable quality into believers Similarly, religious orders have specific traits that they wish to share with others The discussion of obedience stressed the Jesuits' submission to papal authority⁴¹⁹ While much separated Catholics from other confessions, a confessional identity amongst Catholics manifested in their continued devotion to saints, the ongoing importance of religious orders, and the doctrine of the primacy of the pope Jesuits formed an identity built upon a religious community modeled on saints

Saintly practices were incorporated into the spiritual behaviour as well as the everyday life of Jesuits In Nadal's *Instructions*, he provided a catalogue of appropriate books to be held at the colleges and provided certain guidelines for texts that should be read For example, Jesuits used the *Martyrology* at vespers for reading or preaching⁴²⁰ Amongst the books recommended by Nadal are the collection of saints' lives by Surius and Lippomano, the *Imitation of Christ*, Ignatius's letter on obedience, the Society's quarterly letters, the works of the Church fathers, in addition to the letters and the life of

⁴¹⁸Ignatius, "To Antonio Brandano," 3 509 "desseava que assi como en vnos santos ay preeminencias que no hay en otros, y en vnareligion lo mismo respeto de otra, que assideseava en la Compañia huiesse vnapreexcellencia, con que se igualasse a qualquiera de las otras congregaciones, teniendo ellas otras que la nuestra no puede tener, aunque pueda en alguna yqualarse, como en la pobreza, y quera nuestro Rdo Padre que esta nuestra fuesse la obediencia "

⁴¹⁹Ibid "y para esta tenemos mas obligacion, poi el voto de mas que tienen los Padres, de obediencia al summo pontifice, y porque no pueden scusarse para no cumplir alguna obediencia "

⁴²⁰Hieronymo Nadal, "Instrucciones (1562)," in *Epistolae Hieronymi Nadal* (Madrid: Gabriel Lopez del Horno, 1905), 4 448 MHSI 27 "Vesperis, absoluta lectione vel praedictione, legatur martyrologium vulgariter "

Catherine of Siena ⁴²¹ The Society's third Superior-General Francis Borgia suggested that on the feast day of a saint the religious person must "read [the saint's] life and see to the repetition of that virtue, and endeavour to imitate their life, by doing some acts of this virtue that day" ⁴²² These tendencies permeated the Society's educational institutions For example, professors encouraged students to compose poems based on the events from a saint's life ⁴²³ In the rules for students at Jesuit colleges who did not belong to the order, these students must revere the saints sincerely as well as maintaining equal interest in learning, virtue, and integrity in their lives ⁴²⁴ In the Jesuit colleges, social discipline centered on models of saintly behaviour

A Jesuit contemporary of Ribadeneyra, Alonso Rodríguez, discussed the saintly discipline expected of the devout Rodríguez wrote his *Practice of Christian Perfection* for a Jesuit audience based on his long career as a spiritual advisor and as a master of novices The work's audience expanded to include devout readers not in the Society of Jesus In the *Practice of Christian Perfection*, Rodríguez suggested

Mother Church puts before us examples of the saints and celebrates their feasts If you wish to take examples that come nearer home, look to your brethren born of the same mother from the same religious order and society Fix your eyes on Father Ignatius, on a Francis Xavier and Francis Borgia, on

⁴²¹Ibid 4 448-49 "Historia sanctorum, Lipomani vel Surii cum annotationibus ad marginem Epistolae aliquae S Hieronymi, nonnullae etiam S Gregorii, S Ambrosii et S Augustini Opera aliqua deuota B Augustini, et sermones aliqui eiusdem, et deuota opera S Bernardi Nonnulla deuota opera S Bonauenturae Gerson, de imitatione Christi, vulgari etiam lingua, opera etiam aliqua deuota eiusdem Epistolae S Catharinae Senensis et vita eius Omnes has epistolas et opera prouincialis seligi curabit per idoneum aliquem, ipse vero iudicium etiam suum illius selection adhibebit an recte habeat Epistola Patris Ignatii de obedientia, quam misit ad collegium conimbricense, legi poterit, quum leguntur regulae "

⁴²²Francisco de Borja, *Tratados Espirituales* (Barcelona J Flos, 1964), 480 "Leer su vida y ver en que virtud se señalo mas, y procurer imitarle, hacienda algunos actos de aquella virtud entre dia "

⁴²³"*Ratio*", 428 "Affigantur carmina scholae parietibus alternis fere mensibus ad aliquem celebriorem diem exornandum, vel magistratus promulgandos, vel alia quapiam occasione, selectissima quaeque a discipulis descripta quales narrationes, ut rei gestae ab aliquot diuorum "

⁴²⁴"*Ratio*", 447 "Sincerum animum purumque conservare, ac diuinis legibus summa diligentia obtemperare nitantur ceterisque sanctis persaepe atque ex animo se commendant In rebus denique atque actionibus omnibus ita se gerant, ut facile quivis intelligat, eos non minus virtutum vitaeque integritatis esse, quam literarum doctrinaeque studiosos "

an Edmund Campion, and similar others that you know. Try to imitate them.⁴²⁵

The role of the religious community was to facilitate this imitation of saintly virtue, whether within the tangible society at colleges, novitiates, professed houses, or the silent society dispersed through books and letters read. In describing how Jesuits should behave, Rodriguez used a common metaphor for reading and excerpting based on a saint's recommendation:

The blessed saint Antony the Great advised the same and he said, that the religious travel, as good bees, picking the little flowers of all to make their honey. From one modesty, from another silence, from another obedience, and from another indifference, as well as resignation: in each one we have that the saint radiates the most for us to imitate. So we read what the person did and how they became such a great saint.⁴²⁶

The pursuit of saintly conduct is not contingent on location, but rather on the observation of virtue through reading a saint's life or observing holy men and women.⁴²⁷

For Rodríguez, saints' lives made religious virtue accessible to readers. Whether derived from the Gospels or later sacred biographies, these texts provided case studies in

⁴²⁵Rodríguez, 1 42 "la Iglesia nuestra madre nos pone dela[n]te el exemplo de los santos, 1 celebra fiesta dellos. I si lo quereis tomar de mas cerca, mirad los exemplos de vuestros hermanos, nacidos de un mismo vientre, de una misma religion, 1 Co[m]pañia; poned los ojos en un padre Ignacio, en un Francisco Xavier, 1 Francisco de Borja, en un Edmu[n]do Campiano, 1 enotros semejantes que sabeis Procurad de imitarlos "

⁴²⁶Ibid 1 70-1 "Pues a esto venimos a la religion, 1 poco nos aprovechará estar en ella, si no hazemos aquello a q[ue] venimos Porq[ue] no haze santos el lugar, si no la vida religiosa, 1 perfecta Dize esto mui bien S[an] Agustin, en un sermon que haze a los religiosos, q[ue] moravan en el desierto *Ecce in solitudine sumus in heremo sumus, locus tamen no facit sanctos, sed operatio bona locum sanctificabit & nos* Veis aqui hermanos mios estamos en la soledad, ya dexamos el mundo, 1 estamos en la religion. Pero el lugar no haze santos a sus moradores, si no las obras buenas, la vida religiosa, essa hara santo el lugar, 1 a nosotros tambien "

⁴²⁷Ibid 1 60 "Lo mismo aconsejava el bienaventurado san Antonio abad, 1 dezia, que el religioso a de andar, como buena aveja, cogiendo las florecitas de todos, para hazer su miel, de uno la modestia, de otro el silencio, de otro la paciencia, de otro la obediencia, 1 de otro la indiferencia, 1 resignacion en cada uno avemos de mirar aquello, en que mas resplandece, para imitarlo Assi leemos, que lo hazie el, 1 con esso vino a ser tan grande santo "

particular virtues⁴²⁸ For example, Rodriguez used the *Life of Saints Pachomius and Palemon* to depict the faultiness of pride⁴²⁹ Rodriguez also advocated for the imitation of saints to obtain humility⁴³⁰ While saints were historical figures worthy of emulation, their sanctity was unobtainable and warranted continued veneration by Catholics, whether lay or religious Catholic could approach Christian perfection through recreating the lives of saints in their quotidian affairs.

Surius, Saints' Lives, and Imitation

Jesuit directives encouraged the reading of Surius's compilation in their culture of hagiography-based observational emulation.⁴³¹ Both Ribadeneyra and Villegas mention and cite Surius in their respective *Flos sanctorum* Villegas held Lippomano and Surius in high esteem. For example, Villegas described Lippomano as the the "most learned .most religious, no less eloquent, and erudite," while Surius's saints lives were "very serious, very authentic, and true."⁴³² For Ribadeneyra, Surius and Lippomano occupied an elevated position amongst hagiographical writers as revered authorities; Ribadeneyra included them amongst the martyrologies by Bede, Usuard, and Adon as

⁴²⁸ Ibid 1 385-86 "Hugo de Santo Victor trae vn exemplo de un siervo de Dios, que por revelacion fue amonestado, que dexasse la leccion de estas cosas, 1 leyese las vidas, 1 martirios de los santos, 1 otras cosas llanas, 1 devotas, con lo cual aprovechó mucho "

⁴²⁹ Ibid 2 170 "Milagros hazia aquel mo[n]ge, de quie[n]se escrive en la vida de San Pacomio, 1 Palemon, que andava sobre las brasas, sin quemarse, en pero de aquello mismo se ensobervecio, 1 tenia en poco a los otros, 1 dezia de si mismo, este es santo, que anda sobre las brasas sin quemarse, cual de vosotros hara otro tanto? Corrigo le san Palemon viendo que era sobervia, 1 al fin vino a caer miserablemente, 1 acabar mal Llena está la Escritura, 1 las historias de los santos de semejantes exenplos "

⁴³⁰ Ibid 2 228 "Pues a esta perfeccion de humildad avemos de procurar llegar I no se nos haga esto imposible, porque con la gracia de Dios, dize san Augustin, no solamente a los Santos, sino al Señor de los Santos podemos imitar si queremos porque el mismo Señor dize, que aprendamos del "

⁴³¹ Nadal, "Instrucciones," 4 448-49 "Historia sanctorum, Lipomani vel Surii cum annotationibus ad marginem " *Regulae*, 257 Included amongst the books to be read as a supplement to Scripture "Vita sanctorum Aloysii Lipomani Vitae sanctorum Surii " See also Palomo "Corregir letras," 60-69, *idem*, "Disciplina cristiana," 127-36

⁴³² Villegas, *Flos* (1588), sig. ¶ 3v "De los autores y lugares que he referido, todos muy graues, muy autenticos, y verdaderos, recogieron, y compusieron sus grandes volumenes, el dotissimo Obispo Lippomano, y el religiosissimo, y no menos eloquente y erudito fray Laurencio Surio"

well as the *Roman Martyrology*.⁴³³ Surius's compilation focused mostly on miracles, but it also promoted saintly imitation of virtues that varied from saint to saint.⁴³⁴ In Surius's collection, saints based their conduct on Christ's example and through observing religious men and women. They then themselves became objects of imitation.

For saints, Christ was the constant paragon to follow. Starting with the apostles and incorporating subsequent generations of holy men and women, Christ established for his followers the religion's doctrine and ideal life. For instance in Surius's work, he argued that Peter and Paul's holiness manifested through the recall and replication of the life of Christ:

I remember you, O Peter, and I am struck dumb. I think about you, O Paul, and I am moved to being overwhelmed with tears. I do not know who will I talk to, or who will I speak with about your notable torments. How many prisons did you sanctify? How many chains did you glorify? How many torments did you endure? How many insults did you tolerate? In what way did you transport Christ? In what manner did you enrich churches with preaching? Deeds are blessed by your speech. Your members spattered with blood on account of the Church. You imitated Christ in all things without weakness. Your voice echoes through every land, your word to the ends of the earth.⁴³⁵

⁴³³Ribadeneyra, *Flos* (1599), sig. ¶¶ 5v. "Los Autores que he seguido en escriuir estas vidas, son los mas graues, y de mayor autoridad que ay, y conocidos, y recebidos por tales de toda la Yglesia Catolica, y los Martyrologios, Romano, de Beda, Vsuardo, y Adon. Tambien me he ayudado de los piadosos trabajos de Luis Lipomano, Obispo de Verona, y del Padre fray Lorenzo Surio, monge Cartuxo, varones en vida, doctrina, y zelo de la honra de los Santos, signos de perpetua alabanza y recordacion."

⁴³⁴Ditchfield, *Liturgy*, 124.

⁴³⁵Surius, 6. 646. "Memini tui, Petre, et obstupesco. Recordor tui, Paule, et mente emotus opprimor lacrymis. Quid enim dicam, aut quid loquar, vestras contemplans afflictiones, nescio. Quot carceres sanctificastis? Quot catenas decorastis? Quot tormenta subistis? Quot maledicta tolerastis? Quomodo Christum portastis? Quomodo praedicatione Ecclesias laetificastis? Sunt benedicta vestrae linguae instrumenta. Sanguine conspersa sunt membra vestra propter Ecclesiam. Vos sine defectu imitati estis Christum in omnibus. In omnem terram exiit vester sonus, et verba vestra in fines orbis terrae." Surius used John Chrysostom's *Homily of St. Peter*. On Chrysostom, preaching, and homilies, see Claudio Moreschini and Enrico Norelli, *Early Christian Greek and Latin Literature: A Literary History*, trans. Matthew J. O'Connell, 2 vols. (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 2005), 2: 149-53.

Other Biblical figures underwent sanctification by duplicating the life of Christ. According to Surius, Stephen's virtue was his imitation of Christ, not another saint.⁴³⁶ At the same time, the mendicant founders also saw Christ's life as a path they ought to follow. For instance, Dominic wanted to sacrifice his life for the salvation of others, echoing Christ's crucifixion.⁴³⁷ Francis, meanwhile, taught his followers not to worship him, but to be devoted to Christ. According to the life of Francis, the saint imitated Christ's life. "Francis also taught his disciples to follow with discrimination, and to follow[prudence], the charioteer of the virtues, not he who praises the flesh, but what Christ taught, whose most holy life Francis closely followed as being the example of perfection."⁴³⁸ In these hagiographies, saints emulated the life of Christ in order to regulate their personal conduct, and as a result achieved salvation for themselves as well as others.

Dominic appropriated examples from the lives of saints, such as those he read in Cassian's *Conferences*.⁴³⁹ A manual for living a spiritual life through developing the invisible and interior self, the *Conferences* provided examples of this practice through

⁴³⁶Surius, 12. 449-50. "Quam praeclara bonorum series, quam dulcis laetitiae successio! Ecce enim celebritatem ex celebritate, et gratiam pro gratia suscipimus. Hec nos excepit convivio rerum omnium Dominus, hodie excipit Domini imitator."

⁴³⁷Ibid. 8. 117. "Nec minus paratus erat pro salute proximorum ponere animam, Christum in hoc imitari gestiens." Surius based his account on the *Life of Dominic* by Dietrich of Apolda, one of several Dominican friars composing the life of Dominic for commemorative and liturgical purposes, such as Petrus Ferrandi, Constant of Orvieto, and Humbert of Romans. See Bert Roest, "Later Medieval Institutional History," in *Historiography in the Middle Ages*, ed. Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis, 277-315 (Brill: Leiden and Boston, 2003), 292.

⁴³⁸Surius, 10. 135. "Docuit insuper eos discretionem sequi, ut aurigam virtutum, non eam quam caro suadet, sed quam edocuit Christus, cuius sacratissimam vitam expressum constat esse perfectionis exemplar."

⁴³⁹Ibid. 8. 111. "Habitum igitur Canonicae religionis indutus extrinsecus servus Christi Dominicus, per Dei gratiam novum hominem intrinsecus induit, moxque in Dei timore ad totius sanctitatis studium conversus, in seipso prius exprimere curavit, quod erat alios postea docturus. Satagens igitur perfectorum imitari vestigia, et ad virtutum fastigia contendere, novitius Canonicus solícite de antiquis semitis inquirebat, ut sciret quae esset via bona, ut ambularet in ea. Unde librum illum, qui *Collationes Patrum* inscribitur, studiose legendum suscepit, deditque operam, ut lecta, intelligentia comprehenderet, affectu sentiret, effectum et re ipsa fortiter exequeretur."

Cassian's interaction and observation of Egyptian monks. Cassian realised that Christian perfection was attained through monastic vocation and discipline.⁴⁴⁰ Right conduct was an ongoing process and invited the participant to emulate sanctity through reading the life of Christ and any of the institutional church's saints.⁴⁴¹

In turn, the imitators became the imitated. For example, the life of Thomas Aquinas stressed that Thomas read and meditated upon Cassian's *Conferences* as Dominic had.⁴⁴² Yet Thomas also encouraged emulative behaviour since he was "an example, therefore, given to us...if we want to aspire to perfection."⁴⁴³ The formation of conduct occurred through study of the life of the saint in question, but also through books, since Thomas

frequently read the *Conferences* with pleasure. Indeed by observation of subtle things his emotions grew gradually warmer, and he was easily able to focus and excite the contemplation of divine things. And in this, he followed St Dominic, who in reading the same book was greatly delighted, and was inspired and moved towards a greater perfection of life.⁴⁴⁴

Imitation continued as long as there were universal and localised exemplars. In the case of Thomas, Christ was the model of sanctity above all others, while Dominic provided a

⁴⁴⁰Moreschini and Norelli, 2:433-34. See also, Steven D. Driver, *John Cassian and the Reading of Egyptian Monastic Culture* (New York and London: Routledge, 2002), especially 45-58, 107-18.

⁴⁴¹Reading, hearing, and writing were important practices in Augustine's spiritual life. An excellent study that investigates these interconnected processes (especially reading) is: Brian Stock, *Augustine the Reader: Meditation, Self-Knowledge, and the Ethics of Interpretation* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996).

⁴⁴²*Breviarium*, 751. "Collationes Patrum assidue pervolutabat; et nullum fuit scriptorum genus, in quo non esset diligentissime versatus." Italics are mine.

⁴⁴³Surius 3:76. "Exemplum igitur dedit nobis...si velimus ad perfectionem aspirare."

⁴⁴⁴*Ibid.* 3:82. "libenter solitus fuerit aliquid in Patrum Collationibus lectitare, ne ex rerum subtilium speculatione affectus eius nonnihil tepesceret, possetque se rursus facilius ad divina contemplanda colligere et erigere. Et in hoc quidem S. Dominicum sectatus est, quem eius libri lectione constat magnopere fuisse delectatum, et ad magnam vitae perfectionem incitatum atque promotum."

more immediate and knowable rendition. A similar connection was evident in the relationship between Bonaventure and Francis, the bond between disciple and founder.⁴⁴⁵

Notably, saints provided exemplars of piety and devotion. One description of Dominic referred to him as an “example of sanctity” or as an “admirable [man that] provoked others by an illustrious example”, which “he encouraged by words, and he summoned by example.”⁴⁴⁶ The portrayals of Francis employed suggestive language for the purposes of imitation, for instance

Therefore Francis, the Most Profound Servant and Friend, founder and leader of the Order of Friars Minor, avowed of poverty, the very image of patience, harbinger of truth, the mirror of sanctity, and the model of perfection of all the Gospels, blessed by heavenly grace from the lowest methodically progressed to arrive at the highest⁴⁴⁷

The use of evocative descriptors such as ‘pattern’, ‘mirror of sanctity’, ‘example of perfection’, cast Francis as a template for the Christian life, but also as a model for how this life could be reflected and gazed at. This process of emulation for a saint was methodical and required ongoing contemplation and consideration. Thus, we see that Surius described three related processes of sanctified behaviour. First, the individual used Christ’s life as a guide to living in a Christian and sanctified manner. Second, saintliness derived from earthly models either through first-hand observation or through reading.

⁴⁴⁵ Ibid 7 263 “Iam intelligis, Pater beatissime, quod et per te planius intelligebas, quis qualisve fuerit Bonaventura, de quo agimus, cuius vita et exemplis, beati Francisci religio illustrata, et doctrina.”

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid 8 110, 112. “intuentesque praeclaro provocavit exemplo et verbis hortabatur, et exemplis invitabat. Equidem felicem dixerim electum Dei Dominicum, qui tanti pontificis et viri Apostolici meruerit societate et amicitia decorari, a quo dubium non sit, illum sanctitatis exempla et religionis institutiones hausisse.”

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid 10 176 “Franciscus igitur, Servus et Amicus Altissimi, Ordinis Minorum fratrum institutor et dux, paupertatis professor, patientiae forma, veritatis praecox, sanctitatis speculum, et totius Evangelicae perfectionis exemplar, superna praeventus gratia, ordinate progressu ab infimis pervenit ad summa.” In his compilation of saints’ lives, Surius included most of Bonaventure’s life of Francis of Assisi. Surius excluded Bonaventure’s last chapter on the miracles of Francis. The life in Surius is found in Ibid 10 112-79. I compared it with Bonaventure “Vita Francisci,” in *Acta sanctorum Octobris*, 2 742-98 (Paris and Rome: Victor Palme, 1866). The chapter on Francis’s miracles appears in *idem*, 783-98.

Finally, the devout emulation of Christ and the saints transformed a pious person into an example eventually followed by others. For Surius, these three processes were especially important in religious orders with their emphasis on community and cyclical emulation of holy predecessors. When Ribadeneyra wrote his lives of Jesuits after reading Surius's redaction, most of the first generation of the Society had died. To perpetuate the virtue and the piety of these non-canonised Jesuit 'saints' required something tangible and visible, namely a book.

The Saint as Exemplar in Ribadeneyra's *Flos Sanctorum*

Ribadeneyra on the Founders Dominic and Francis of Assisi

Saintly virtue and the call to imitate such virtuous behaviour were recurrent themes in Ribadeneyra's hagiographical accounts of the founder-saints. Dominic, for example, during a famine sold off his goods including his books so that the acquired money could be used for the poor, since that was "the example of many young saints who also sold their estates to remedy the poor."⁴⁴⁸ The tendency towards finding exemplars and then following them presented itself when Dominic read Cassian's *Conferences*, which was for Dominic, a "paragon to obtain the virtues and stamp onto his soul the perfection of the Desert Fathers, which are represented in this book."⁴⁴⁹ For Ribadeneyra, reading hagiography was a part of the process of sanctification. As evident in Dominic's reading of Cassian, a saint was inscribed in a cycle of reading and saintly imitation into which the reader is drawn. The reader then perpetuated the continuity between saintliness

⁴⁴⁸Ribadeneyra, *Flos sanctorum* (1601), 112. "Y aviendo sucedido vna grande hambre, vendió las alhajas de su casa, y los libros de su estudio, para remediar las necessidades de la ge[n]te pobre y miserable; quedando en su pensamiento rico, por verse con los pobres pobre: y por el exemplo del santos moço muchos vendieron también sus haziendas, para remedio de los pobres"

⁴⁴⁹Ibid. 113. "Leya en este tiempo con mucha atención el libro de las *Colaciones* de Casiano, tomá[n]dole por dechado, para sacar virtudes del, y para estampar en su alma la perfección de los santos Padres del yermo, que en aquel libro se representan"

and texts. Through Dominic, Ribadeneyra provided another example of the process of saintly imitation.

Ribadeneyra used Francis as an example of the importance of communicating these saintly exemplars during sermons. Preaching for Francis was a time for penance since “he often told his faults in the sermon, so that the congregation looked down on him” but he would also transition “towards other things more admirable but imitable, they were a certain indication of his great zeal and profound humility.”⁴⁵⁰ The closing paragraph of Ribadeneyra’s *vita* imparted the exceptional holiness of Francis as well as the necessity to replicate Franciscan virtue: “Let us all have great devotion to this most holy Patriarch. Let us imitate (in the manner that our weakness will allow) his heroic virtues. Let us be humble.”⁴⁵¹ The use of hagiography for instilling Christian virtue was also apparent amongst the Franciscans. In writing his life of Francis, Bonaventure “has stamped upon us and others who read it, the examples of virtue more divine than human, which this Seraph [Francis] radiated onto the world.”⁴⁵² Vital to hagiographical depictions of saintly virtue were their emulation by Catholics witnessing the acts upon the page. Observable exemplars were internalised through making their mark upon the soul based on Ribadeneyra’s use of *imprimir* and *estampar*.

The propagation of saintly conduct in these lives from the *Flos sanctorum* was embedded within an emergent Catholic identity. When Dominic arrived to engage with the Albigensians and convince them of their erroneous beliefs, the result as described by

⁴⁵⁰Ibid. 421. “Y quando predicaua, muchas vezes dezía sus faltas en el sermón, para q[ue] le menospreciassen: y hazia otras cosas más admirables que imitables, que eran indicio cierto de su gran feruor, y humildad profundissima.”

⁴⁵¹Ibid. 437-38. “Tengamos todos gran deuociónco[n] este santíssimo Patriarca. Imitemos (en la manera q[ue] nuestra flaqueza pudiere) sus heroicas virtudes. Seamos humildes.”

⁴⁵²Ibid. 409. “q[ue] en escreuir esta vida tuuo san Buenauentura, para que se impriman en nosotros, y en los que la leyeren, los exemplos de virtudes, mas diuinos q[ue] humanos, con que este Serafin resplandeció en el mundo.”

Ribadeneyra was “that an enemy of the Catholic faith became a son of the church.”⁴⁵³ Part of this Catholic identity formation was contingent on the imitation of Dominic’s or of the converted heretics’ conduct. This re-enactment enabled Catholics to perform good works since “in imitation of Dominic, some rich Catholics were moved to found other similar [religious] houses.”⁴⁵⁴ Dominic’s conduct also prompted non-Catholics to convert. Dominic through “his most holy life, and heavenly doctrine, and many miracles that God had done through him...had converted almost a hundred thousand misguided and lost souls to the true and Catholic religion.”⁴⁵⁵ In Ribadeneyra’s life of Dominic, there was a constant reiteration of ‘Catholic religion’ or the ‘true church’ in order to accentuate the perceived disintegration of Christendom, while at the same time affirming the continued existence of an authentic and apostolic church.

Similar references to the ‘true’ or ‘Catholic’ religion or church appeared in Ribadeneyra’s life of Francis in tandem with the implementation of saintly virtue in daily life. For example, Pope Innocent III’s dream about Francis combined the rescue of the church in crisis with the exemplary sanctity of Francis:

When the Supreme Pontiff was sleeping one night greatly preoccupied by the calamities affecting the Church, he saw in his dreams the basilica of St. John Lateran, where he lived, threatened with great ruin and crash to the ground. In this dream, a poor and rejected man put his shoulder under the basilica, and supported it. He understood by divine instinct that this poor man was none other than the glorious saint Francis, who by his examples and teaching has

⁴⁵³Ibid. 113. “La primera noche que llegaron á tierra de hereges [the Albigensians], acertó á serlo el huésped de la posada: trauó pláticas con él sobre las cosas de la religión, y fueron tan eficaces las razones que le dio, que de enemigo de la Fe Católica, le hizo hijo de la Yglesia.”

⁴⁵⁴Ibid. 115. “Y á imitación suya se mouieron algunas personas ricas y Católicas á hacer otras casas semejantes”

⁴⁵⁵Ibid. 115. “La suma de [e]stos trabajos fue, que con su vida santissima, y doctrina celestial, y con muchos milagros que el Señor obro por él, conuirtió casi cien mil almas erradas y perdidas, á la verdadera y Católica religión.”

sustained the church of God, as he has sustained it in his lifetime, and as his blessed sons now sustain the church.⁴⁵⁶

Ribadeneyra's life of Francis correlated the love of God with obedience to the Catholic church in Rome as another expression of this nascent Catholic identity, since "Francis urged [other Friars Minor] by the love of God for holy poverty, patience, and to die for the faith of the holy Roman church."⁴⁵⁷ In the account of Francis, Ribadeneyra suggested that Catholics had to support the Papacy and the Roman church. Catholics also had to be prepared to suffer martyrdom for their confession.

The correlation between Catholic identity formation and readers deepened when the inclusion of Jesuit 'saints' was considered, especially when juxtaposed with the analysed lives of Francis and Dominic. As founders of the mendicant orders, Francis and Dominic initiated changes to medieval Christian life in the thirteenth century. While the Society of Jesus was not the same type of order, Ignatius occupied a similar place to Francis and Dominic within the *Flos sanctorum*. The later inclusion of other Jesuits as 'saints' only confirmed Ribadeneyra's desire to emulate the older religious orders and to situate Ignatius in the tradition of religious founders, such as Francis and Dominic.⁴⁵⁸ Jesuit

⁴⁵⁶Ibid 416 "Porq[ue] acostá[n]dose el sumo Po[n]tíficevna noche co[n] gra[n]des cuydados de las calamidades q[ue] padecía la Yglesia, vio en sueños, q[ue] elte[m]plo de san Iua[n] de Letrán, donde el habitaua, amenazaua gran ruyna, y se venía al suelo, y q[ue] un pobrezito y desestimado ho[m]bre ponía sus hombros debaxo del, y le suste[n]taua y por diuino instinto ente[n]dió, que este pobrezito era el glorioso san Francisco, que por sus exe[m]plos y dotrinaauía de suste[n]tar la Yglesia de Dios, como la suste[n]tó en su vida, y ahora la suste[n]ta por sus bie[n]aue[n]turados hijos "

⁴⁵⁷Ibid 435 "Después los exortó al amor de Dios, de la santa pobreza, y paciencia, y á morir por la Fe de la santa Yglesia Romana"

⁴⁵⁸O'Malley, *First*, 93 "When in 1537 the companions of Paris first began to preach in the Veneto, however, they did so in the open air and in the streets – a practice that continued throughout the period I am considering and that accounts for a great amount of the preaching in which the Jesuits engaged. They believed they were thereby imitating the practice of Jesus, his disciples, and Paul. They preached, therefore, in the streets, in public squares and markets, in hospitals, in prisons, aboard ships in dock, in fortresses, on playing fields, in hospices and hostels, in confraternities. When Jesuits preached in sites like these, they were imitating their predecessors, the friars of the mendicant orders, but they also introduced the practice into localities where it had not been known and, as they saw it, imbued it with a new zest "

readers imaged by Ribadeneyra as idealised saintly emulators endeavoured to sanctify their own behaviour, since:

How many children, and how glorious, has this most holy Patriarch [Dominic] had? From saint Thomas Aquinas, light and master of the entire Catholic church; to saint Peter Martyr, protector of the Faith and knife of the heretics; to saint Hyacinth, a mirror of holy confessors; to saint Vincent Ferrer, Apostle of his time; to saint Antoninus, Archbishop of Florence, paragon of holy prelates...and to many other blessed sons and daughters, who in number and virtue shine in the Holy Catholic church, like stars in the sky.⁴⁵⁹

Jesuit readers of the *Flos* would have recognised Ignatius as a Patriarch and the other 'saints' featured in the 1609 edition, such as Xavier, Borgia, Gonzaga, and Kostka as the issue of a distinct Catholic identity. With the exception of Dominic, Aquinas, and Peter Martyr, the Dominicans in this passage (Hyacinth, Vincent Ferrer, and Antoninus) appeared alongside the Jesuits and the other *extravagantes*.⁴⁶⁰ This practice was another perpetuation of the cycle of the sanctity transmitted between founder and followers. It was also indicative of the Jesuits' attempt to integrate the order within early modern Catholic conceptions of saintliness.

Ribadeneyra on the Doctors Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventure, and Augustine

Ribadeneyra recalled the monastic community that Augustine founded and operated "according to the way of life and the rule that the Holy Apostles followed...more

⁴⁵⁹Ribadeneyra, *Flos* (1599), 133. "Que de los hijos tantos y tan gloriosos; que ha tenido este santísimo Patriarca? A vn santo Tomas de Aquino, luz y maestro de toda la Yglesia Católica; á un san Pedro Mártir, amparador de la Fe, y cuchillo de los herejes; á vn san Iacinto, espejo de santos Confessores; á vn san Vicente Ferrer, Apóstol de su tiempo; á vn san Antonino Arçobispo de Florencia, dechado de santos Prelados...y á tantos otros bienaue[n]turados hijos e hijas, q[ue] en número y virtud resplandecen en la santa Yglesia Católica, como estrellas en el firmamento?"

⁴⁶⁰Butler, 4: 30-31, 5: 13-15; Burke, "Counter-Reformation Saint," 137; Ditchfield, "Coping with the 'Beati Moderni'," 418-19. Hyacinth (Jacek in Polish, Jacinto in Castilian) was canonised in 1594. Antoninus of Florence or Antonino de Pierozzi became an official saint in 1523, while Vincent underwent canonisation in 1455. Burke states that between 1588 and 1767, the Franciscans had a nun and seven friars canonised, while the Dominicans had three nuns and four friars, and the Jesuits had six.

by example, than by regulations.”⁴⁶¹ Through apostolic imitation, Augustine created a religious life and an identity based on saintly exemplars. At the same time, Augustine created a religious community that was not bound to a rule, something that resonated with the Society. In turn, future religious turned to Augustine to construct their own religious lives and identities through his example. Ribadeneyra contrasted the thirteenth-century foundations of the Augustinians, the Servites, and the Dominicans as an illustration of the founders’ emulation of Augustine’s life:

By which, the holy and enlightened order of the Hermits of St Augustine (in which there has always been the most learned men of an exemplary life) was the daughter of this blessed Father. Of all the numerous Canons regular, all flowed from this fount. The Servites recognise St Augustine as their master, and serve under his rule, followed by many and very distinguished monastic members. And the great Patriarch St Dominic was a Canon regular of St Augustine. Dominic gave to his illustrious order the Rule of this saint under which he himself had lived. And by observing it, Dominic arrived at the perfection that he achieved.⁴⁶²

Through this iteration of an imitative genealogy, Ribadeneyra placed the Society of Jesus within a framework of saintly imitation.

Repeatedly in the *Flos sanctorum*, a saint living in an era of discord sought to reproduce the life and the practices of a holy predecessor. This process began with Christ and only ended with the Second Coming. As the apostles emulated Christ, the cycle of saintly imitation persisted in a variety of forms. Examples in Ribadeneyra’s *Flos sanctorum* included his association of Augustine with the apostles, Dominic with

⁴⁶¹ Ribadeneyra, *Flos* (1601), 269. “y edificio dentro de la Yglesia vnmonesterio de Clerigos, segun el modo y regla que dexaron los santos Apostoles y mas con su exemplo, q[ue] con preceptos.”

⁴⁶² Ibid. 282 “Porque la sagrada y esclarecida orden de los Ermitanos de san Agustin (en la qual siempre ha auido, y ay, varones doctissimos, y de vida exemplar) en hija de [e]ste B. Padre. Las religiones de los Canonigos reglares, que son muchas, todas manaron de [e]sta fuente La de los Seruitas reconoce á san Agustin por su maestro, y milita debaxo de su regla y tras muchas y muy insignes monacales, y militares Y el gran Patriarca santo Domingo fue Canonigo reglar de san Agustin, y dio á su illustrissima orden la regla de [e]ste Santo, en la qual el mismo auia uiuido; y por la obseruancia de [e]lla llegado á la prefecio[n] que llegó ”

Augustine, or Ignatius with Dominic. Imitation of virtue was not from a single source, but involved numerous saintly individuals. Augustine modelled his conduct on the apostles. According to Ribadeneyra, Augustine also mimicked Ambrose of Milan's ability as a preacher and a writer, which moved Augustine towards excellence in reciting the liturgy and composing theological and doctrinal texts.⁴⁶³ Holy men and saints served as examples of an ideal Christian life whether the rhetorician Victorinus or St Antony the Anchorite:

Simplicianus had told Augustine about Victorinus's conversion to our holy Faith. Victorinus had taught rhetoric in Rome, so successfully that he was publicly recognised with a public statue. When he was old and proficient in all disciplines, he left paganism, and turned his eyes and heart to the Lord. This example awakened in St Augustine a desire to imitate him. He was also inspired by the life of St Antony the Abbot. Until that time, he had not heard anything about Antony's life. Augustine was told by the noteworthy African gentleman from his region named Ponticianus about two gentlemanly servants of the Emperor. After reading the life of Antony in the city of Trier, they had renounced all worldly things. They became monks, giving themselves entirely to serving the Lord.⁴⁶⁴

Through the integration of Christian virtue from saints and holy men, Augustine underwent sanctification as an instance of salvation through works. Ribadeneyra envisioned readers of saints' lives as a way of influencing others through their engagement with his Catholic model of saintly imitation.

In the *Flos sanctorum*, the practice of reading featured routinely within Ribadeneyra's cycle of saintly imitation. The spiritual progression made by Augustine

⁴⁶³Ribadeneyra, *Flos* (1601), 259-60. On Augustine's copious writings. Ibid. 275ff.

⁴⁶⁴Ibid. 261. "Por[que] Simpliciano co[n]tó á Agustín la co[n]uersion á nuestra santa Fé de Victorino, que auia enseñado Retorica en Roma, y alcançado en ella, que se le pusiesse publicamente estatua y siendo ya viejo, y en todas las cie[n]cias sapientissimo, auia dexado la Ge[n]tilidad, y buuelto los ojos y el coraçon al Señor y con este exemplo se encendio San Agustín, co[n] desse de imitarle. Tambien le esforço, el auerle referido vncauallero principal Africano, y de su tierra, llamado Ponticiano, la vida de san Antonio Abad (de la qual hasta aq[ue]lla hora no auia tenido noticia alguna) y q[ue] dos caualleros criados del Emperador, leyendola en la ciudad de Treueris, auian renu[n]ciado todas las cosas del siglo, y hechoso religiosos, y entregadose enteramente al seruicio del Señor."

was facilitated through replicating the behaviour of holy men and women and through visual performance and written media. For instance, Augustine abandoned the Manicheans through the intervention of a Catholic writer: “And having read a dispute, that a Catholic, named Elpidius, had had with [the Manicheans], Augustine began to despise that sect.”⁴⁶⁵ Spiritual epiphany emerged through both good conduct and good reading. In the Augustinian examples that Ribadeneyra employed, what assured his status as a saintly doctor were the practice of reading, Catholic virtue, and the dissemination of theology

In turn, Augustine served as an example for others to follow. For example, Thomas Aquinas appropriated the exceptional from Augustine whose life was a manual for saintliness:

Especially the scholastics, who examine, deliberate, and fathom with the weight of reason the truths of holy theology, have Augustine as their guide and teacher. And most of all, the angelic doctor St Thomas [Aquinas], was clothed in the spirit and teachings of St Augustine in such a manner, that it seemed to have transformed him, so that he drank it and soaked it in like a sponge. Thus one can understand that given the greatness of the Master, so too was the discipline just as great.⁴⁶⁶

Ribadeneyra emphasised the ongoing imitation of their predecessors’ conduct and piety. The entry into this cycle of duplicating the lives of saints through reading was evident in Ribadeneyra’s lives of doctors and founders. A continued and sustained invocation of saintly figures in church history existed for the thirteenth-century mendicant doctors Thomas and Bonaventure. Reading constituted a crucial component of Thomas and

⁴⁶⁵Ibid 259 “Y auendoleydovna disputa, que vn Catolico, llamado Elpidio, auia tenido co[n] ellos, come[n]ço á despreciar aquella secta”

⁴⁶⁶Ribadeneyra, *Flos* (1599), 275 “Especialme[n]te los Escolasticos, que examinan, apura[n], y pesan con el peso de la razon, las verdades de la santa Teologia, le tienen por su guia, y maestro Y principalmente el Doctor Angelico santo Tomas, se vistio del espiritu y dotrina de S[an] Agustin, demaneira, que parece auer se transformado en el, y beuidola, y empapadose en ella, como vna esponja de donde se puede entender, quan grande fue el Maestro, pues tan grande fue el dicipulo ”

Bonaventure's sanctity The circulation of writings enabled the formation of a community through communicating doctrine and ideals of Catholic conduct. For instance, in the life of Bonaventure, Ribadeneyra related the episode of Thomas's visitation to Bonaventure:

Another time, St Thomas went to visit St Bonaventure. There he found Bonaventure writing the life of St Francis, his father. Thomas did not wish to interrupt or to hinder Bonaventure Leaving Bonaventure, Thomas said: Let us leave the saint that labours for another.⁴⁶⁷

This passage portrayed the transmission of sanctity through texts and the imitative relationships amongst religious men. Anyone who read or observed the life of a saint became a witness and a participant in early modern Catholic mimesis.⁴⁶⁸ For Thomas, Bonaventure writing Francis's life indicated the sanctity of the subject and its author. This episode also appeared in detail in Ribadeneyra's life of Thomas.⁴⁶⁹ While the narrative differed little from that found in Bonaventure's life, Ribadeneyra explicitly stated that the purpose of hagiography was to encourage its readers towards sanctity. Bonaventure's writings set aflame the will and moved the reader towards virtuous living.⁴⁷⁰ The shared holiness of the doctors was also enumerated through the description

⁴⁶⁷Ribadeneyra, *Flos* (1601), 26 "Otra vez ye[n]do á visitar santo Tomas á S[an] Buena Ventura, halló que estaua escriuiendo la vida de san Francisco su padre, y no le quiso interrumpir, ni estoruar, antes le dexó, diciendo *Dexemos al Santo que trabaje por otro Santo* "

⁴⁶⁸ Francisco Zurbarán, *Saint Bonaventure refers Saint Thomas Aquinas to the Saviour*, 1629, Kaiser Friedrich Museum, *The Paintings of Zurbarán*, by Martin S. Soria (New York: Garden City Books, 1953), 48 These themes appear in Zurbarán's painting that features Bonaventure's study with its volumes by Jerome and Augustine (amongst others). Behind a screen, however, is an image of a crucifix that Bonaventure shows Thomas Exemplary Christianity requires the imitation of Christ and the saints.

⁴⁶⁹ Ribadeneyra, *Flos* (1599), 370 "y assi se visitauan y comunicauan como verdaderos y santos hermanos: y vndia yendo santo Tomas á visitar á S[an] Buena Ventura, y halla[n]do que estaua ocupado en escreuir la vida de su padre S[an] Francisco, no le quiso inquietar, antes se boluio sin verle, diciendo. Dexemos al santo trabajar por otro santo Porque como el era tan santo, conocía bie[n] la santidad de Buena Ventura, el seruicio que se haze á nuestro Señor en escriuir las vidas de los Santos, para que otros las imiten, quando se haze de la manera que lo hizo S[an] Buena Ventura en la vida que escriuio de S[an] Francisco "

⁴⁷⁰ Ribadeneyra, *Flos* (1601), 30 "Lo qualodia se echa bien de ver en los muchos y doctissimos libros q[ue] dexó escritos; en los quales resplandecen todas estas virtudes, y co[n] vnadotrína celestial vn fuego de amor diuino, q[ue] alu[m]bra el entendimiento de los q[ue] los lee[n], y abraza la volu[n]tad, y los entenece y mueue estrañamente "

of their piety and fraternal relationship. The mention of brotherhood bolstered the representation of these behavioural models as builders of religious communities.

At the same time, the nature of this imitation involved not only saints far removed from the thirteenth century, but the emulations of contemporaries. Examples of these practices included the mimicking the lives of their order's founders or using contemporaries as a basis for imitation. Ribadeneyra emphasised equally the importance of reading and writing in a doctor's life. Through the reading of Cassian's *Conferences*, Thomas imitated his order's founder. Dominic read the same text to inspire religiosity and to acquire models for orthodox behaviour:

the Saint stopped, and responded with great silence, forbearance, and suffering. Without being distraught or opening his mouth to complain, he provided every example of humility and gentleness...With this same humility he came to read frequently and attentively the *Conferences of the Holy Fathers* written by Cassian, imitating in this way his father, St Dominic, and making use of this reading for his spirit and progress, as a novice should. This same humility shines through admirably in that singular modesty with which St Thomas treated the other saints and doctors of the church in his writings. He venerated the doctrine of the masters as well as explaining and making obvious whatever was unclear and uncertain.⁴⁷¹

In Ribadeneyra's conception he wished to impart on the readers of the *Flos sanctorum*, Catholic identity and conduct were the culmination of the emulation of a sanctified predecessor or contemporary's behaviours, whether through reading or writing.

Yet a doctor also had to foster the religious community through exemplary piety. Bonaventure's sanctity was evident in his teaching, his governance of the Franciscans, his

⁴⁷¹Ribadeneyra, *Flos* (1599), 377 "el Santo calló, y respondio con vn silencio grande, paciencia, y sufrimiento, sin alterarse, ni abrir su boca para quejarse, dando en todo exemplo de humildad y mansedumbre D[e] esta misma humildad procedia el leer ta[n] amenudo, y co[n] ta[n]tocuydado las Colaciones de los santos Padres, escritas por Cassiano, imita[n]do en esto á su padre Sa[n]to Domingo, y siruie[n]dose de la leccio[n] d[e] ellas, para su espiritu y aprouechamie[n]to, como vnnouicio lo pudiera hazer .Esta misma humildad respla[n]deceadmirableme[n]te en aq[ue]lla modestia singular, co[n] q[ue] Sa[n]to Tomas trata en sus escritos á los otros santos y Dotores de la Yglesia, reuere[n]cia[n]do su dotrina como de maestros, y exponie[n]do y da[n]do bue[n] sentido á lo q[ue] esta escuro y dudoso "

wisdom, and the devout life he led.⁴⁷² With Thomas, his external comportment betrayed his holiness, as when “every [classmate] laid eyes on [Thomas] for his nobility, his intelligence, and much more for his example and for the dignified and spiritual modesty he radiated.”⁴⁷³ Thomas and Bonaventure through their outward demeanour revealed the inner sanctity that encouraged their religious communities towards pious and orthodox conduct. Ribadeneyra’s life of Thomas depicted this convergence of sacred qualities and the interconnectedness of pious reading and virtuous conduct. Sanctity was not singularly contingent on good works, such as charity, prayer, or asceticism. In the case of mendicant doctors, reading texts enhanced and reinforced devotion and corroborated the doctor’s piety. In this description of Thomas by Ribadeneyra, the concatenation of ideal conduct and of textual practices was made plain:

He fled from chatter and conversation. He gave much to prayer and the rest of his time he spent reading, listening, studying, and meditating with great attention upon what he had read and heard...From here, all of the friars began to look at him through different eyes. They began to esteem the ability and aptitude of Thomas, as well as to venerate his virtue and composure. His brothers understood that the great knowledge he displayed was more a communication from heaven, than acquired through study. For it seemed to them that without the special aid and favour of God, it would have been impossible for a human mind to have reached the point of wisdom that he had achieved, in such a brief time.⁴⁷⁴

⁴⁷² Ribadeneyra, *Flos* (1601), 29. “Auie[n]do pues gouernado S[an] Buenaue[n]tura muchos años su sagrada religion, y floreciendo ella por su gouierno, y el santo por la vida admirable, y dotrina excelente, y prudencia singular, de que Dios le auia dotado.”

⁴⁷³ Ribadeneyra, *Flos* (1599), 363. “Con el grande viuio ingenio q[ue] tenia, apren[n]dio de tal manera aquella cie[n]cias, q[u]e dexó muy atrasá todos sus co[n]dicipulos, y dio muestras de lo que con el tiempo auia de ser. Todos ponian los ojos en el, por su nobleza, por su ingenio, y mucho mas por su exemplo, y por la graue y alegre modestia con que resplandecia.”

⁴⁷⁴ Ibid. 368. “Huya de pláticas, y de conuersaciones. Dauase mucho á la oracion, y todo el resto del tiempo gastaua e leer, oyr, estudiar, y meditar con grande atencion, lo que auialeydo, y oydo...De aqui come[n]çaron todos los frayles á mirarle con otros ojos, y á estimar la habilidad y suficiencia de Tomás, y reuere[n]ciar su virtud y compostura, y entender, que aquella tan gran cie[n]cia q[ue] mostraua, era mascomunicacion del cielo, q[ue] adquirida por estudio, por parecerles que no era possible, que ningu[n] ingenio humano, en ta[n] breue tiempo, huuiesse podido llegar á aquel pu[n]to de sabiduria que el tenia, sin particular socorro y fauor de Dios.”

While Ribadeneyra wrote about the importance of divine inspiration to Thomas, his reading of books and human learning were also important to Ribadeneyra's conception of Thomas's sanctity. Thus, Ribadeneyra normalised the practices for saintly doctors associated with texts such as reading. It enabled them to enter into the sequence of imitation which spanned the present and the apostolic church. Another way of emulating sanctity was through the observation of saintly contemporaries.

Ribadeneyra on the Apostles Peter, Paul, John, and James the Greater

Reform movements of the sixteenth century often invoked the early church as a template for Christian sanctity and church governance. In the midst of increasing confessionalisation, the apostolic church served as a historical construct employed as a source of ecclesiastic precedents and tradition as well as foil to the perceived decadence and decline of the present. Ribadeneyra depicted apostolic saints as models of conduct. He also used the apostles' lives with the exception of Paul and James the Greater to assert specific components of Catholic identity: Peter as the founder of the Roman church and John as the sacred historian.

With respect to imitation, Ribadeneyra excluded Paul from his litany of apostolic saints. This omission could be due to Paul's status as an apostolic late-comer, since he was not one of the original twelve.⁴⁷⁵ Though early modern Catholics maintained the importance of Paul within the corpus of saints, Ribadeneyra nonetheless sought to exclude Paul from the process of observational emulation found in the *Flos sanctorum*.⁴⁷⁶

⁴⁷⁵ In his vision on the road to Damascus, Christ called Paul an apostle. After which, Paul referred to himself as the apostle of the Gentiles. The ambiguity of his apostolic title is evident in his first letter to the Corinthians, where he defends his appointment as an apostle by Christ but also suggests his inferiority to the earlier apostles due to his part in Stephen's death, see, Acts 9: 1-9, Romans 11: 13, Galatians 2: 8, 1 Corinthians 9: 1ff, 15: 9.

⁴⁷⁶ O'Malley, *First*, 73. The decision to exclude Paul from the litany of imitable saints by Ribadeneyra is baffling since the Society viewed Paul as their model for the ministry. Nadal had stated:

Meanwhile, Ribadeneyra treated Paul's feast day companion Peter as a worthy model of behaviour. The source of Peter's sanctity, according to Ribadeneyra, was the saint's innate virtue as well as his imitation of Christ.⁴⁷⁷ Peter as an apostle continued this legacy of imitation through following the example of Christ especially through crucifixion. For example as Peter was nailed upon his cross, it provided "an opportunity to imitate Christ", so that Peter "could match the beloved and immense love with that torment and death on the cross, with which the same Lord himself on another Cross had given his life for him."⁴⁷⁸ Ribadeneyra likened Peter's death to the consummation of a pilgrimage (*peregrinacion*), itself a re-enactment of a historical and a religious event.⁴⁷⁹ In the process, Ribadeneyra depicted Peter as the founder of the Christian religion and the head of the entire church, whose "spiritual jurisdiction is more widespread and extensive today, that ever was his temporal power."⁴⁸⁰ While reform played an active role in early modern Catholicism, it coexisted with the affirmation of religious and ecclesiastical traditions such as pilgrimages and recognition of the pope as a spiritual authority. Also apparent in Ribadeneyra's account of the apostolic church was the beginnings of an observational approach to imitation. Through the observation of Christ's life and passion, the apostles acquired a template of sanctified action.

"Paul signifies for us our ministry." Ribadeneyra does not provide any justification in his letters or elsewhere in the *Flos sanctorum*.

⁴⁷⁷ Ribadeneyra, *Flos* (1599), 681. "lo qual no se lee de otro santo, ni aun de Christo nuestro Redentor: porque en esta parte quiso que su sieruo se aue[n]tjasse mas, é hiziesse mayores milagros, no por su virtud, sino por la de su Señor."

⁴⁷⁸ Ibid. 689. "Alli le desnudaron, y enclauaron en la Cruz, con inestimable gozo y alegria del beatissimo Apostol, por la merced que recebia del Señor, dandole ocasion de imitarle, y co[n] aquel tome[n]to y muerte de Cruz corresponder de la manera que podia al amor entrañable, é inmenso, con q[ue] el mismo Señor en otra Cruz auia dado su vida por el."

⁴⁷⁹ Ibid. "De [e]sta manera acabó el curso de su peregrinacion el Principe de los Apostoles San Pedro, imitando con su muerte la muerte; y con su Cruz la Cruz de Christo"

⁴⁸⁰ Ibid. "y plantando la Religion Christiana, y regandola con su sangre en aquella ciudad que en aquel tiempo era señora del Imperio, y despues por la Catreda y sucession de San Pedro, auia de ser cabeça de todos los fieles que estan derramados por el vniuerso siendo mas estendida y dilatada por la juridicion espiritual que agora tiene, que jamas lo fue por la potestad te[m]poral."

Ribadeneyra's depiction of Peter made a discernible assertion of Catholic identity by invoking Peter as the founder and the leader of the church. In particular, Ribadeneyra described the first pope as a "unique and universal Shepherd of [Christ's] church" ordained by Christ. After Christ's ascension to Heaven, "Peter started to exercise his office...when the Apostles and all disciples were all together in the Cenacle; he proposed to them as head [a replacement for Judas]." ⁴⁸¹ Earlier in the account, Ribadeneyra conveyed the supernatural blessing bestowed upon Peter to lead the church:

it was Peter who God chose to be his Vicar on earth, and the sole and universal pastor of his entire church, and to whom the Lord gave the keys of the church's treasury, the dispensation of the inestimable price of his blood, and our redemption. As Peter was his worthy minister and shepherd, he was decorated with all the necessary graces and virtues. ⁴⁸²

Throughout the life of Peter, Ribadeneyra usually referred to Peter as the "universal Shepherd" as a justification of the papacy's legitimacy. ⁴⁸³ Ribadeneyra used the apostles as the start of different lineages whether his depiction of John as a protodocor of the church or his portrayal of Peter as standing at the beginning of a tradition of papal sovereignty. For Ribadeneyra, to be Catholic was to regard the Pope as the highest spiritual authority of this world. This "universal Shepherd" not only wielded authority over the Western church, but also the Eastern church since Peter had founded the Roman,

⁴⁸¹Ribadeneyra, *Flos* (1599), 680. "y le hizo Pastor vniuersal de su Yglesia, y assicomençó á exercitar su oficio, luego q[ue] subio Christo nuestro Redentor al cielo, quando estando los Apostoles y dicipulos todos juntos en el Cenaculo, les propuso como cabeça, que eligiessen otro en lugar de Judas, y cayó la fuerte sobre S[an] Matias, y fue contado en el numero de los doze Apostoles."

⁴⁸² Ibid. 679. "Finalmente Pedro fue á quien Dios escogio por su Vicario en la tierra, y por vnico y vniuersal Pastor de toda su Yglesia, y á quie[n] dio las llaues del tesoro della, y la dispensacion del precio inestimable de su sangre, y de nuestra redencion: y para que fuesse digno ministro y pastor suyo, le adorno de todas las gracias y virtudes que auia menester."

⁴⁸³ While the "unique" component of Peter's title does not always appear, Ribadeneyra portrays Peter as the "universal Shepherd." Ibid. 684 and 686.

Alexandrian, and Antiochean churches.⁴⁸⁴ Apparent in Ribadeneyra's life of Peter, the Catholic church was the *universal* church and wished to reincorporate not only Protestants, but also Christians of the eastern churches, under the control of the Pope.

The construction of tradition through history reappeared with Ribadeneyra's list of places where Peter dispatched bishops and priests. The inventory differs little from the European countries considered Catholic. Italy, France, Spain and its European holdings, such as Sicily. Yet this endeavour extended outwards to include Africa and "other islands" mirroring the global Jesuit enterprise to save souls.⁴⁸⁵ Ribadeneyra portrayed Peter as the "universal shepherd" of the Catholic church who governed the faithful of the world from the site of Peter's martyrdom and the Papacy: Rome.

Pilgrimage also appeared in Ribadeneyra's account of James the Greater, the focus of the famous trek to Santiago de Compostela in Galicia that housed his relics.⁴⁸⁶ The pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela persisted after the Protestant Reformations for Catholics who desired to attain penance. Akin to observational emulation through saints' lives, pilgrimages recreate historical events for the purposes of devotion. In turn, these practices rooted in religious history contribute to conceptions of confessional identity.

⁴⁸⁴ Ibid 692 "Finalmente toda la YglesiaCatolica ha reconocido siempre, y reconoce á Pedro por pastor vnico y vniuersal, y ha reuerte[n]ciado por Primaciales y Patriarcales las Yglesias que fundó San Pedro, que son, la Romana, Alexandrina, y Antiochena "

⁴⁸⁵ Ibid 684. "Y assi S[an] Pedro boluiendo los ojos por todas ellas, y abraça[n]dolas con su vigilancia y cuydado pastoral, las proueyó de pastores, y embio por toda Italia, Francia, España, Africa, Sicilia, y otras Islas, Obispos y Sacerdotes que las enseñassen, y alumbrassen con los resplandores del Euangelio" The Jesuits between 1540 and 1615 had founded numerous establishments across Europe, especially in Spain, Italy, Belgium, southern Germany, and France, as well as others in Poland and Latvia. Outside of Europe, the Society had active missions in India, Africa, eastern Asia (especially China and Japan), Brazil, and the Spanish colonies in the Americas and Asia. On these phenomena, see Bangert, *History of the Society*, 83-96, 142, 148-74. On the Asian mission in particular, see Florence Hsia

⁴⁸⁶ Ribadeneyra, *Flos* (1601), 72. "El qual por varios sucessos y rebueltas estuuu muchos años secreto y escondido, hasta que el Señor le reuelo y edscribio, y se trasladó á la ciudad de Compostela, donde es reuerenciad, no solamente de aquella prouincia de Galizia, y de todos los Reynos de España, sino tambien de las otras naciones de la Christianidad, q[ue] vienen en romeria á visitarle y venerarle, con gran deuocion y concurso como en el dia de su translacion, q[ue] se celebra á los 30 de Diziembre, mas largamente se dirá."

Ribadeneyra, however, chose to emphasise the desirability of imitating his virtues and his continued presence as an intercessor:

Give us, our Lord, thanks for the intercession of the same Apostle, to imitate his praiseworthy virtues in such a manner that we may deserve in this life to be protected from our invisible enemies that on every side surround us, and in the other to enjoy the glory and the crown that he enjoys, and will enjoy forever and ever.⁴⁸⁷

Ribadeneyra's assertion of perpetual sainthood was related to seventeenth-century Spanish debates about James. Early seventeenth-century Spain dealt with the co-patronage controversy, where churches, religious orders, and cities disagreed over the 'national' patron saint.

In some circles, James had become an irrelevant figure since a 'Moor-slayer' was unnecessary due to the end of the *Reconquista* more than a century earlier. Others felt that the veneration of James had to persist since he was tightly woven into Spanish and particularly Castilian history. In this midst, other parties suggested the elevation of Teresa of Ávila to co-patron saint of Spain, especially after her canonisation in 1622. The result was bitter discord over whether James, Teresa, or both were to be the patron saints of Spain.⁴⁸⁸ While he died in 1611, Ribadeneyra sought to emphasise the saint's virtues rather than the more doubtful aspects of the received accounts of his life due to the perceived legendary nature of James's biography. James, unlike the other Apostles, did not feature extensively in the New Testament, hence the lack of canonical information for Ribadeneyra to construct a narrative. Yet Ribadeneyra also trumpeted James's triumphs

⁴⁸⁷ Ibid. 74. "Denos nuestro Señor gracia por intercessio[n] del mismo Apostol, para imitar sus admirables virtudes, de tal manera, q[ue] merezcamos en ésta vida ser defendidos de nuestros enemigos inuisibles, que por todas partes nos cerca[n], y gozar en la otra de la gloria y corona q[ue] el goza, y gozará por todos los siglos de los siglos."

⁴⁸⁸ Erin Kathleen Rowe, *Saint and Nation: Santiago, Teresa of Avila, and Plural Identities in Early Modern Spain* (University Park, PN: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011), 20-106.

against the Moors through saintly intercession.⁴⁸⁹ More importantly, Ribadeneyra employed James not necessarily as a model for confessional conduct, but as an affirmation of a distinctly Iberian tradition, tracing devotion in Spain back to the early church.⁴⁹⁰

For James's older brother, John, Ribadeneyra depicted him as an exceptionally imitable saint.⁴⁹¹ Throughout the hagiographical account, Ribadeneyra emphasised that John 'gives to us' a life and examples that should be internalised by Catholics.⁴⁹² This exceptional piety began in youth, among John's brothers: "John is the first-born, is the paragon, and the model of all the others."⁴⁹³ Akin to James, Ribadeneyra presented John as an intercessor whose virtues and examples should be imitated to achieve Christian perfection.⁴⁹⁴ Brothers provided an environment for sensory-based imitation, whether the sons of Zebedee or Jesuits. Yet an equally important facet of John's imitable life was his creation of texts that document his observation of Christ's life, whether in his Gospel, Revelation, or his letters.

⁴⁸⁹Ribadeneyra, *Flos* (1601), 72-74.

⁴⁹⁰Rowe, 35-36. See also Katherine Elliott van Liere, "The Missionary and the Moorslayer: James the Apostle in Spanish Historiography from Isidore of Seville to Ambrosio de Morales," *Viator* 37 (2006): 519-43.

⁴⁹¹Mark 3:17. "James son of Zebedee and John the brother of James (to whom he gave the name Boanerges, that is, Sons of Thunder)." Cp. Ribadeneyra, *Flos* (1601), 67. "El Glorioso Apostol Sa[n]tiago el Mayor, luz y Patron de las Españas, fue natural de la prouincia de Galilea, hijo de Zebedeo, y de Maria Salomé, y hermano mayor de san Iuan Euangelista, y primo de Iesu Christo, segun la carne."

⁴⁹²Ribadeneyra, *Flos* (1601), 747. "Dandonos exemplo de la prontitud con q[ue] auemos de obedecer al Señor de todo lo criado, quando el nos llama, y nos propone alguna cosa de su seruicio como lo hizo S[an] Iuan, q[ue] por ser mas moço, y estar en la flor de su juue[n]tud, se deue estimar mas lo que hizo." Ibid. 755. "Mas como el era como vn Sol resplandecie[n]te, y diuino, con los rayos de su doctrina, y de su luz, deshazia las nieblas espessas de la ignorancia de aquella gente: y con los exemplos de su celestial vida, y con la dulçura, y santidad de sus costu[m]bres, y suauidad de su conuersacion, ablandaua, y atraía para Iesu Christo, á los que antes estauan tan lexos del, y biuia[n] en la sombra de la muerte." Ibid. 762. "Da[n]do co[n] este hecho ta[n] ilustre exe[m]plo á los Perlados del cuydado y zelo q[ue] deue[n] tener de las almas de sus subditos: y e[n]seña[n]donos q[ue] la verdadera penite[n]cia restituye al ho[m]bre la gracia q[ue] por el pecado auia p[er]dido."

⁴⁹³Ibid. 751. "Iua[n] es el primogenito, es el dechado, y modelo de todos los otros"

⁴⁹⁴Ribadeneyra, *Flos* (1601), 768. "Encomendemonos con gra[n] deuocion á el, tomemosle por intercessor, imitemos sus virtudes y exemplos, y tentendamos, q[ue] pues la suma de la perfeccion Christiana consiste en la caridad y en el amar, y ser amados de Dios"

Both in person and through his texts, John disseminated Christian doctrine throughout the nascent church Ribadeneyra described the Gospel of John as an “evangelical history”⁴⁹⁵ When compared with the other evangelists,

When he wrote of Christ, and because Christ was both God and man, John had to declare (*as a good historian*) Christ’s divinity and his humanity so that we would know who Christ was The other evangelists (as Sts Jerome and Augustine said) wrote of the Lord, declaring his humanity, his life, and the wonders he did in which God was revealed⁴⁹⁶

Ribadeneyra asserted that John’s life of Christ revealed both the divinity and humanity of the Son of God⁴⁹⁷ Subsequent sacred histories revealed the sanctity and the humanity of its subject, something implied by Ribadeneyra but never stated outright Reading, therefore, provides the integral gateway into the the cycle of imitation that began with Christ When direct observation was not possible, the sacred history provided a mirror of

⁴⁹⁵Ibid 753 “Esto es lo q[ue] hallamos en la historia Euangelica de S[an] Iuan ”

⁴⁹⁶Ibid 758 “Porq[ue] como el escriue de Christo, y Christo es Dios y ho[m]bre, auia de declarar (como bue[n] historiador) su diuinidad, y su humanidad, para que supiessemos quien era Los otros Euangelistas (como dize[n] S[an] Geronimo, y S[an] Agustin) escriuen del Señor, declarando su humanidad, su vida, y las marauillas que hizo, en las cuales se mostraua Dios ” The italics are my own

⁴⁹⁷Ribadeneyra listed his sources as Jerome’s *Against Jovinian* and Augustine’s *Thirty-Sixth Tractate on John* That *Tractate* focuses on John 8 15-18 The idea of John’s superlative portrayal of Christ’s divinity appears in Augustine when compared with the other evangelists Augustine, *Tractates on the Gospel of John*, trans John W Rettig, 5 vols (Washington, D C Catholic University of America Press, 1993), 1 81 “In the four Gospels, or rather the four books of the one Gospel, the holy Apostle John, not unjustly compared to an eagle because of his spiritual understanding, has elevated his preaching more highly and much more sublimely than the other three And in this elevation of his, he also wanted our hearts to be elevated For the three other evangelists, as though they were walking on earth with the Lord, a man, said few things about his divinity, but this [evangelist], as if he loathed to walk upon the earth, as he thundered at the very beginning of his discourse, elevated himself not only above the earth and above all the circuit of air and sky, but also above even the host of angels and above the whole heirarchy of invisible powers [cites John 1 1-3] Harmonius to such a sublime beginning as this, he also preached the rest and he spoke about the divinity of the Lord as has no other man ”

Jerome, meanwhile, explores this conception through Paul and John’s letters Jerome discusses the impossibility of recreating Christ’s divinely-inspired nativity, but we can imitate his life I think Ribadeneyra uses Jerome as an example of the inherent duality of saints, their possession of the divine, while being very human Jerome, “*Liber duo adversus Jovinianum*,” in *Patrologiae cursus completus Series latina* (Paris Vrayet, 1844-96), 23 222 “Beatus qui Pauli similis erit Felix qui audit Apostolum praecipientem, non igno scentem Hoc, inquit, volo, hoc desidero, ut imitatoresmeisitis, sicut ego Christi Ille virgo de Virgine, de incorrupta incorruptus Nos quia homines sumus, et nativtatem Salvatoris non possumus imitari, imitemur saltem conversationem Illud divinitatis est et beatitudinis, hoc humanae conditionis est et laboris Volo omnes homines similes mei esse, ut dum mei similes sunt, similes fiant et Christi, cuius ego similis sum [Cites 1 John 1 6] ”

the sanctified life. The reader, akin to the apostle, became a witness to the life of Christ.⁴⁹⁸

Ribadeneyra on the Martyrs Sebastian, Justus and Pastor, as well as Stephen

Martyrs were important to Jesuits as essential constituents of the church militant. They frequently featured in the order's visual culture.⁴⁹⁹ Ribadeneyra placed the lives of martyrs within his formulation of saintly genealogies. Yet because of their disparity and diversity, martyrs posed a problem. Ribadeneyra maintained that forfeiting one's life for Christ was an important aspect of the religious calling.⁵⁰⁰ The sheer volume of martyrs, however, created a cluster of easily confused and nearly interchangeable narratives whether they were in martyrologies or in medieval hagiographical compilations such as the *Legenda aurea*.⁵⁰¹ For example, when comparing the variety of *Flos sanctorum*, there were an abundance of accounts on Eulalia of Barcelona and Eulalia of Meridia, both were often used interchangeably. Other examples included the lives of martyrs with 'Faust' in their name and the saturation of Felices. In our comparison of the contents of Villegas and Ribadeneyra's compilations, we can discern that the Jesuit was much more selective about the martyrs' lives they inserted.

⁴⁹⁸ Palomo "Corregir letras," 60-69; *idem*, "Disciplina cristiana," 127-36

⁴⁹⁹ For example, the Jesuits published a series of engravings based on the frescos of Santo Stefano Rotondo that featured the martyrs of the early church, such as Stephen, Ignatius of Antioch, and Catherine of Alexandria: see Norren

⁵⁰⁰ Ribadeneyra, *Flos* (1599), sig. ¶¶ 6r, sig. ¶¶¶ 1v "Vno de los mayores argumentos que tenemos los Christianos para confirmacion de nuestra santa religion, es, la de los bienauenturados, y fortissimos Martyres, que por ella dieron sus vidas Porque fueron innumerables hombres y mugeres, de todos estados, condiciones, edades, y naciones, y murieron con tan estraña y admirable constancia, que assombraron y vencieron al mundo, auiedo antes sido a tormentados con todos los generos de atrozissimos y exquisitos suplicios, que el demonio, y los tyranos sus ministros pudieron inuentar, y estos gloriosos Caualleros de Christo los sufrieron con mas que humana pacie[n]cia, fortaleza, y alegria . y á la santa Yglesia, que esta armada de vnesquadron de tan luzidos, y tan inuencibles soldados: y sin que nosotros nos corramos, y cubramos nuestro rostro de verguena, viendo nuestra tibieza y floxedad; y que no bastan tan ilustres exemplos de virtud, ni tan encendidas llamas de amor diuino"

⁵⁰¹ This criticism has existed since the fifteenth-century amongst Italian humanists; the lives of martyrs that were not believable were ill suited for imitation. Moreover, if tangible relics could not be accurately placed, it also lessens the potential power of adopting the saint as exemplar. Frazier, 45-99.

Martyrs' lives, however, revealed the subtleties of Catholic religious life, whether local or transnational. These texts illustrated the complex relationships between secular and spiritual rulers. For instance, the translation of Justus and Pastor's relics from Huesca to the boy-martyrs' birthplace of Alcalá in 1568 was an involved process. It required both a papal brief and an official order from Philip II depicting a negotiation of power between secular rulers and the papacy. As well, it revealed the city's willingness to maintain its collective past and to perpetuate the memory of relevant historical persona.⁵⁰² Hagiographies about martyrs also illustrated the ongoing devotion to particular saints as intercessors. In the case of Sebastian, Christians called upon the saint to intercede and avert pestilence from ruining crops, indicating a continued practicality of saints in everyday lives.⁵⁰³ Also, Sebastian alone and in conjunction with George and Maurice were invoked as patron saints and defenders of the Roman or "universal" church against enemies of the faith.⁵⁰⁴ The hagiographies of martyr-saints were complex due to their dual perception as antiquated religious heroes and heroines as well as protectors of the faithful.

Ribadeneyra's life of Stephen, meanwhile, communicated a model of martyrdom based on both biblical and nonbiblical sources. Stephen was not only the first martyr of

⁵⁰²Ribadeneyra, *Flos* (1601), 151. "de donde el año de mil y quinientos y sesenta y ocho, co[n] breue del Papa Pio V y por mandado del Rey Catolico don Felipe II." On the relationship between the papacy and Philip II, consult: Ricardo García Carcel, "Las relaciones de la monarquía de Felipe II con la Compañía de Jesús," in *Felipe II y el Mediterráneo*, 4 vols., ed. Ernest Belenguer Cebrià, 2: 219-41 (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal para la Conmemoración de los Centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V, 1999), especially 232-35.

⁵⁰³Ribadeneyra, *Flos* (1599), 225. "Tiene todo el pueblo Christiano mucha deuocion á este Santo, por los beneficios que por su intercession continuamente recibe de la mano del Señor, especialmente en tiempo de pestilencia, mostrandose piadoso á los que se le encomiendan y piden fauor."

⁵⁰⁴*Ibid.* 223, 225. "por orden del santo Pontifice Cayo, que á la sazón presidia en la Yglesia vniuersal...Entre los que quedaron fue San Sebastian, al qual dio San Cáyo Papa titulo de Defensor de la Fe, y es la primera vez que leemos auerse dado este tan glorioso titulo por la Sede Apostolica...Tambien es cosa antigua, que la Yglesia Romana inuocque el fauor del Señor contra los enemigos de la Fe, tomando por patronos á San Sebastian, á San Iorge, y á S[an] Mauricio"

Christendom, but also “first in the list of the martyrs: because he was the first...that gave his life to Christ, and in faith, they dedicated and offered to the Lord the first fruits of the Martyrs, and Stephen, with his example, led the way to others.”⁵⁰⁵ As other New Testament saints tend to do in the *Flos*, Stephen was portrayed as actively engaging in the imitation of Christ.⁵⁰⁶ In Ribadeneyra’s conception of the early church, only the superlative exemplar (Christ) and other disciples would be imitated. Stephen’s virtues might have died with him, but his martyrdom amplified his orthodox conduct: “patience and perseverance died with him as well as all the other most excellent virtues that we should seek to imitate.”⁵⁰⁷ Ribadeneyra created an ongoing succession of sanctified emulation through the recollection of Stephen.

In this examination of early modern saints, most were models for religious conduct, which in turn suggested a Catholic community assembled through re-enacting saintly behaviour. The ultimate exemplar was and continued to be Christ. The apostles followed the life of Christ and initiated a religious community based on it. Several types of saints based on individual apostles became the template for all subsequent imitation, which required the observation of the conduct of saints, whether through reading about them or witnessing their piety. Emulating the lives of saints was an assertion of a confessional Catholic identity in the late-sixteenth century, a cultural practice evident in

⁵⁰⁵Ribadeneyra, *Flos* (1601), 744. “por esso es llamado S[an] Esteuan Protomartyr, y primicerio de los Martyres: porq[ue] fue el primero...que dio la vida por Christo, y en el fe dedicaron, y se ofrecieron al Señor las primicias de los Martyres, y el con su exemplo abrió camino á los demas”

⁵⁰⁶ Ibid. 743-44. “Imitando en esto al Señor de todo lo criado, que en la Cruz suplico al Padre eterno q[ue] perdonasse á los que le crucificauan: juzgando q[ue] hazia poco en seguir las pisadas de su Maestro, pues auia tan gran diferencia de su vida á la vida de Christo, y de muerte á muerte. Y es de creer, q[ue] el Señor oyó aquella oracion que salia de pecho tan encendido en su amor, y tan desseo de imitarle: y que muchos de los que alliestauan, y le apedrea[n], se conuirtieron, y alumbrados co[n] la luz del cielo recibieron la Fe de Christo, y murieron por ella.”

⁵⁰⁷ Ibid. 746. “la paciencia, y constancia con que murio, y todas las otras excelentissimas virtudes que nosotros deuemos procurar de imitar.”

the Society of Jesus. Changes to patterns of textual distribution accompanied this process. The circulation of saints' lives in manuscript had existed since Antiquity. What had changed was the mode of dissemination for hagiographies, which augmented extant networks with print media.

CONCLUSION

While Christ remained the prime exemplar for Catholics, saints persisted as the paragons of confession-specific virtue. Apparent in Ribadeneyra's *Flos sanctorum*, sainthood began with the imitation of Christ, followed by the creation of cycles of sanctity forming an array of exceptional men and women. I used saintly archetypes cautiously due to the numerous emulations occurring simultaneously. To enter into the succession of sainthood, one had to observe Christian virtue. I believe that Ribadeneyra suggested two forms of observational emulation. The first involves direct sensory perception, such as when the apostles witnessed Christ's ministry and death. At the same time, texts provided access to religious observational emulation. Reading the lives of the deceased provided a parallel experience, which encouraged spiritual change. For example, Dominic and Francis of Assisi's entry into the religious life was facilitated by reading the life of Christ in the Gospels and the accounts of the Desert Fathers in Cassian's *Conferences*. Both of these approaches to the imitation of exemplars appeared in the lives Ribadeneyra devoted to doctors, apostles, martyrs, and founders studied in this thesis.

The practices of seeing exemplary conduct was evident amongst early modern Jesuits. Francis Xavier's letters encouraged other Jesuits to become missionaries; meanwhile Ribadeneyra's life of Ignatius provided the pivotal virtues for every Jesuit. Texts became especially important after Xavier and Ignatius's deaths, since their exemplar lives required observation through reading instead of simply seeing their conduct in person. The increased reliance on observational emulation through texts was also important in the Society's age of rapid expansion under Superior-General

Acquaviva. The number of Jesuits made it impossible to observe exemplars in action. Other facets of visual cultures in the Society of Jesus appeared in its performance of religious drama, its commissioning of frescos depicting saints, and its highly ornate Baroque churches, especially the order's mother church in Rome, *Il Gesù*.

Ribadeneyra's composition of hagiographies is one facet of the Society's heavily visual culture. I have found that the composition of saints' lives, however, also enabled Ribadeneyra to integrate the order into Catholicism considering the Jesuits relative recent appearance in early modern Christianity. Ribadeneyra achieved this objective by following the practices of Lippomano and Surius. In the midst of the Council of Trent, Lippomano started the practice of gathering sacred biographies from their sources. Surius continued Lippomano's project but amended the work and removed any superfluous lives. Ribadeneyra began to write his life of Ignatius at approximately the same time that Surius worked on his hagiographical compilation. He also read Surius and Lippomano. Surius and Lippomano used their hagiographies as a proclamation of their Catholicism and as a refutation of Protestant heresy, something that resonated with Ribadeneyra. In his *Flos sanctorum*, Ribadeneyra situated himself within the Lippomano-Surius tradition of hagiography to continue an authentic compilation of glorified Catholic exemplars.

In late-sixteenth century Spain, Ribadeneyra composed his *Flos sanctorum* in a place committed to the veneration of saints, to reading about their lives, and the refutation of any unorthodoxy. While Ribadeneyra continued Lippomano and Surius's hagiographical tradition, Ribadeneyra's *Flos sanctorum* augmented his predecessors by incorporating liturgical reforms into his saints' lives. Ribadeneyra adjusted his *Flos sanctorum* so that it corresponded with Catholic practices apparent in the Gregorian

calendar, the *Roman Breviary*, and the *Roman Martyrology*. Ribadeneyra concentrated his efforts on the entirety of Catholicism. In the two decades after the publication of Ribadeneyra's *Flos sanctorum* in 1599, it appeared in French and Italian translations, traditional heartlands of early modern Catholicism.⁵⁰⁸ Villegas and Ribadeneyra also included the lives of *extravagantes* in their *Flos sanctorum*. In particular, Ribadeneyra used the *extravagantes* for the promotion of local cults, beatified figures, as well as Jesuit exemplars. Ribadeneyra situated the Society within early modern Catholicism by integrating his order into hagiographies, while also adapting the genre to conform to the observational emulation in use by Jesuits.

In the culture of reading saints' lives as a method of Catholic social discipline, Ribadeneyra's reading habits also legitimised his practices as a Catholic hagiographer. Early modern Catholicism emphasised a communal and universal history from the apostolic church to the present, a model that appeared in the Jesuit Canisius's *Catechism*. The community of Catholic readers built on Ribadeneyra's *Flos sanctorum* used the saints' lives for observational emulation and for tracing their history through ecclesiastical writers. For Ribadeneyra, Lippomano and Surius had initiated a new approach to hagiography, which he actively continued. Ribadeneyra also acknowledged the influence of other contemporary sacred historians, such as Caesar Baronius and his *Annales ecclesiastici*. I found that Ribadeneyra or a *Flos*'s reader entered into a Catholic community through reading about the confession's tradition and legitimate connections with the apostolic church. As well, they participated and expressed this confessional identity through social discipline based on 'seeing' the lives of saints and then imitating them.

⁵⁰⁸ *BCJ*, 6: 1743-1754

While the above findings are suggestive, more work is required. My first problem involves sources. While the increased digitization of texts has made sources more accessible, they are still gaps that archival work will lessen. Though incomplete, recently some of the original volumes of Surius's *De probatis sanctorum* have become available on Google Books, although too late for use here. I think additional consultation with the original editions of Lippomano and Surius's works would benefit my perceptions of their movement away from Voragine. At the same time, my work requires the increased study of the holdings in European libraries, such as Madrid's Biblioteca nacional de España and Archivo histórico, Paris's Bibliothèque nationale du France and Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, as well as the Society's holdings in Rome. That said, my concerns are a future consideration and do not interfere with the findings of my study.

Any additional work on the *Flos sanctorum* has to encompass the entirety of its lives featured therein. While my selectivity covers countless themes in the history of early modern Catholicism, it excludes just as many. For instance, I think more can be made about the representations of women featured in these compilations of saints' lives. How did Ribadeneyra depict female saints? Did they conform to gender stereotypes? Was he different from other early modern hagiographers? As well, embedded within the compilation is a study of attitudes towards the early modern papacy through the accounts of sainted popes. While Catholics continued their commitment to the Roman church, how did Ribadeneyra portray the popes? Was there ambivalence towards the pontiff's authority? Also further comparative work is necessary on the *extravagantes* as well as Ribadeneyra's inclusion of Jesuits amongst them.

Since Ribadeneyra's *Flos sanctorum* saw translation into French and Italian, a transnational comparison of the works in the seventeenth century would also hold much promise. Were the themes in Castilian depictions of Ribadeneyra's *Flos sanctorum* consistent in translations? Did these works become localised? Were saints' lives added, altered, or removed based on the locality? Analysing the *Flos* in this way would potentially illuminate the communication networks at play amongst Catholics in early modern Europe. The similarities in these hagiographies would indicate the 'universal' aspects of Catholicism, especially when compared with its localised components. In studying Catholic identity, I think that its variants and its continuities should take centre-stage, especially through the Society of Jesus, which became by Superior-General Claudio Acquaviva's death in 1615, an international entity.

A discernible problem in the historiography is the apparent disappearance of Ribadeneyra's hagiographical work after the initial printings of the Bollandists' massive undertaking, the *Acta sanctorum*. The number of editions and translations of Ribadeneyra's *Flos sanctorum* reveal its continued popularity. Meanwhile the Bollandists' effort at collecting hagiographies and criticising their verity and their provenance spanned the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries, which survived even after the Society's suppression between 1767 and 1814. While largely ignored, Ribadeneyra's importance lies in being not only the Society's first hagiographer, but also as the writer of one of early modern Catholic Europe's most popular religious works. The popularity of his writings reveals the continued interest in saints amongst Catholics in early modern Europe. Even after the ascent of the Bollandists, Ribadeneyra remained popular in Spain into the mid-eighteenth century. The *Dictionary of the Castilian Language*, published in

the eighteenth century, employs many of Ribadeneyra's works in its examples on vocabulary use, including his *Flos sanctorum*.⁵⁰⁹ While other confessions dismissed the miracles, relics, and intercessory nature of saints, Catholics through their reading of saints' lives remained devoted to these imitators of Christ by becoming witnesses to their example depicted on a page.

⁵⁰⁹ *Diccionario de la lengua castellana*, 3:6¶r. It used the *Historia eclesiastica*, his translations of Augustine's *Confessions* and Pseudo-Augustine's *Soliloquies*, the *Flos sanctorum*, and the *Tratado de la tribulacion*.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: PRINTED *FLOS SANCTORUM* IN EARLY MODERN SPAIN

1.1 *Flos* before Lippomano and Surius

Vorgaine, Jacobus de. *La leyenda de los santos que vulgarmente flossanctorum llaman*. Burgos: Juan de Burgos, 1500. Fol. (IB 19699)

Flos sanctorum. Valencia: Jorge Costilla, 1514. 4°. (IB 8980)

Ocaña, Gonzalo de, [and Pedro de la Vega?]. *La vida y pasión de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo y las historias de las festividades de su Sanctísima Madre, con las de los santos apóstoles, mártires, confesores, y virgines*. Zaragoza: Jorge Cocci, 1516. Fol. (IB 9725)

Flos sanctorum. Barcelona: Carles Amorós, 1519-20. Fol. (IB 8981)

Leyenda de los santos (que vulgarmente flossanctorum llaman) agora de nueva empremida. [Seville: Juan Valera de Salamanca, 1520-1]. Fol. (IB 8982 and 8983)

Vega, Pedro de la. *Flos sanctorum. La vida de nuestro señor Jesu Cristo y de su Sanctísima Madre, y de los santos, segun la orden de sus fiestas*. [Zaragoza]: s.n., 1521. (IB 19220)

Flos sanctorum. Barcelona: Carles Amorós, 1524. 4°. (IB 8984)

Vega, Pedro de la. *La vida de nuestro señor Jesu Cristo y de su Sanctísima Madre, y de los santos, segun la orden de sus fiestas*. [Zaragoza: Jorge Cocci,] 1527. (IB 19221)

Vega, Pedro de la. *La vida de nuestro señor Jesu Cristo y de su Sanctísima Madre, y de los santos, segun la orden de sus fiestas*. Zaragoza: Jorge Cocci, 1533. (IB 19223)

Vega, Pedro de la. *Libro que es llamado Vida de Jesu Christo y de sus sanctos*. Seville: Juan Cromberger, 1540. Fol. (IB 19229)

Vega, Pedro de la. *Flos sanctorum. La vida de nuestro señor Jesu Cristo y de su Sanctísima Madre, y de los santos, segun la orden de sus fiestas*. Alcalá de Henares: s.n., 1541. (IB 19230)

Vega, Pedro de la. *La vida de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo y de su Sanctísima Madre, y de los otros santos, segun la orden de sus fiestas*. Rev. Pedro de la Vega. Zaragoza: Jorge Cocci, Pedro Bernuz, and Bartolomé de Nájera, 1541. (IB 19231)

- Vega, Pedro de la. *La vida de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo y de su Sanctísima Madre, y de los otros santos, segun la orden de sus fiestas*. Rev. Pedro de la Vega. Zaragoza: Jorge Cocci, 1544. Fol. (IB 19232)
- Vega, Pedro de la. *Flos sanctorum. La vida de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo y de su Sanctísima Madre, y de los otros santos*. Rev. Pedro de la Vega. [Alcalá de Henares]: Juan de Brocar, 1545. Fol. (IB 19233)
- Flos sanctorum*. Barcelona: Carles Amorós, 1547. 4°. (IB 8986)
- Vega, Pedro de la. *Flos sanctorum. La vida de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo y de su Sanctísima Madre, y de los otros santos, segun la orden de sus fiestas*. Rev. Pedro de la Vega. Zaragoza: Bartolomé de Nájera, 1548. Fol. (IB 19234)
- Vega, Pedro de la. *La vida de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo y de su Sanctísima Madre, y de los otros santos, segun la orden de sus fiestas*. Rev. Pedro de la Vega. Zaragoza: Bartolomé de Nájera, 1551. Fol. (IB 19235)
- Leyenda de los santos que vulgarmente flossanctorum llaman*. Zaragoza: Pedro Bernuz, 1551. Fol. (IB 8988)
- Vega, Pedro de la. *La vida de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo y de su Sanctísima Madre, y de los otros santos, segun la orden de sus fiestas*. Rev. Pedro de la Vega. Zaragoza: Bartolomé de Nájera, 1554. Fol. (IB 19236)
- Leyenda de los santos que vulgarmente flossanctorum llaman*. Toledo: Juan Ferrer, 1554. (IB 8989)
- Vega, Pedro de la. *Flos sanctorum. La vida de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo y de su Sanctísima Madre, y de los otros santos*. Rev. Martín de Lillio. Alcalá de Henares: Juan de Brocar, 1558. Fol. (IB 19237)
- Vega, Pedro de la. *Flos sanctorum. La vida de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo y de su Sanctísima Madre, y de los otros santos*. Rev. Martín de Lillio. Alcalá de Henares: Andrés de Angulo, 1566. Fol. (IB 19238)
- Leyenda de los santos que vulgarmente flossanctorum llaman*. Rev. Doctor Corrasco. Alcalá de Henares: [Sebastián Martínez], 1567. Fol. (IB 8991)
- Flos sanctorum*. Seville: Juan Gutiérrez, 1568. Fol. (IB 8992)
- Flos sanctorum*. Seville: s.n., 1569. Fol. (IB 8993)
- Vega, Pedro de la. *Flos sanctorum. La vida de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo y de su Sanctísima Madre, y de los otros santos*. Rev. Martín de Lillio. Alcalá de Henares: Andrés de Angulo, 1572. Fol. (IB 19239)

Vega, Pedro de la. *Flos sanctorum. La vida de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo y de su Santísima Madre, y de los otros santos*. Rev. Gonzalo Millán y Mora. Seville: Juan Gutiérrez, 1572. Fol. (IB 19240)

Flos sanctorum. Barcelona: Jaime Cendrat and the Widow of Pere Montpesat, 1575. Fol. (IB 8994)

Vega, Pedro de la. *Flos sanctorum General. La vida de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo y de su Santísima Madre, y de los otros santos*. Rev. Juan Sánchez and Pedro de Leguizamo. Medina del Campo: Francisco del Canto, 1578. Fol. (IB 19241)

Vega, Pedro de la. *Flos sanctorum y leyenda de los sanctos*. Seville: Alonso de la Barrera and Pedro de Pineda, 1579. (IB 19242)

Vega, Pedro de la. *Flos sanctorum General. La vida de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo y de su Santísima Madre, y de los otros santos*. Rev. Francisco Pacheco. Seville: Francisco Díaz, [1580]. (IB 19243)

1.2 Flos influenced by Lippomano and Surius

Villegas y Selvago, Alonso de. *Flos Sanctorum Nuevo, y Historia General de la Vida de Christo Señor Nuestro y de todos de los santos que reza y hace fiesta la Iglesia Católica*. Zaragoza: Domingo de Portonariis, 1580. Fol. (IB 19546)

Villegas y Selvago, Alonso de. *Flos sanctorum y historia general de la vida y hechos de Jesu Christo y de todos los sanctos de que reza y hace fiesta la iglesia católica, conforme al brevario romano*. Toledo: Juan Rodríguez, 1582. Fol. (IB 19547)

Villegas y Selvago, Alonso de. *Flos sanctorum y historia general, de la vida y hechos de Jesu Christo, quitadas algunas cosas aopcriphas y inciertas. Dirigido al rey nuestro señor don Philippe segundo deste nombre*. Toledo: Juan Rodríguez, 1582. Fol. (IB 19548)

Villegas y Selvago, Alonso de. *Flos sanctorum y historia general de la vida y hechos de Jesu Christo y de todos los sanctos de que reza y hace fiesta la iglesia católica*. Zaragoza: Juan Soler, 1583. Fol. (IB 15549)

Villegas y Selvago, Alonso de. *Flos sanctorum y historia general de la vida y hechos de Jesu Christo y de todos los sanctos de que reza y hace fiesta la iglesia católica, conforme al brevario romano*. Toledo: Juan Rodríguez, 1583. Fol. (IB 19550)

Villegas y Selvago, Alonso de. *Flos sanctorum, tercera parte*. Toledo: Juan Rodríguez and Pedro Rodríguez, 1583. 8°. (IB 19551)

Villegas y Selvago, Alonso de. *Flos sanctorum*. [Toledo:] s.n., [1583]. Fol. (IB 19552)

- Villegas y Selvago, Alonso de. *Flos sanctorum*. Toledo: Juan Rodríguez, 1584. Fol. (IB 19553)
- Villegas y Selvago, Alonso de. *Flos sanctorum*. Zaragoza: Simón de Portonariis, 1585. Fol. (IB 19554)
- Villegas y Selvago, Alonso de. *Flos sanctorum, vida y hechos de Jesu Christo*. Barcelona: Damián Bages, 1586. (IB 19555)
- Villegas y Selvago, Alonso de. *Flos sanctorum, segunda parte y historia general*. Zaragoza: Simón de Portonariis, 1586. Fol. (IB 19556)
- Villegas y Selvago, Alonso de. *Flos sanctorum segunda parte, y historia general en que se escribe la vida de la virgen y las de los sanctos antiguos*. Toledo: Juan Rodríguez, 1586. (IB 19557)
- Villegas y Selvago, Alonso de. *Flos sanctorum*. Barcelona: Francisco Trinxer, 1586. Fol. (IB 19558)
- Villegas y Selvago, Alonso de. *Flos sanctorum, segunda parte y historia general en que se escribe la vida de la virgen, y la de los sanctos antiguos, que fueron antes de la venida de nuestro salvador*. Barcelona: Juan Pablo Menescal, 1586. Fol. (IB 19559)
- Villegas y Selvago, Alonso de. *Flos sanctorum y historia general, de la vida y hechos de Jesu Christo, Dios y señor nuestro, y de todos los santos de que reza y haze fiesta la iglesia catholica confrome al brevario romano, reformado por decreto del sacto concilio Tridentino, junto con las vidas de los sanctos propios de Espana, y de otros extravagantes*. Toledo: Juan Rodríguez, 1587. (IB 19560)
- Villegas y Selvago, Alonso de. *Flos sanctorum*. Barcelona: Hubert Gotard. 1587. Fol. (IB 19561 and 19562)
- Villegas y Selvago, Alonso de. *Flos sanctorum. Segunda parte*. Zaragoza: Lorenzo de Robles and Diego de Robles, 1587. Fol. (IB 19563)
- Villegas y Selvago, Alonso de. *Addicion a la tercera parte del flos sanctorum*. Barcelona: Jerónimo Genovés, 1588. Fol. (IB 19564)
- Villegas y Selvago, Alonso de. *Addicion a la tercera parte del flos sanctorum*. Huesca: Juan Pérez de Valdivielso, Juan de la Cuesta and Gil Martínez Fanés, 1588. Fol. (IB 19565)
- Villegas y Selvago, Alonso de. *Addicion a la tercera parte del flos sanctorum*. Toledo: Juan Rodríguez and Pedro Rodríguez, 1588. Fol. (IB 19566)

- Villegas y Selvago, Alonso de. *Flos sanctorum nuevo, y historia general de la vida de Jesu Christo, Dios, y señor nuestro y de todos de los santos que reza, y hace fiesta la yglesia catholica*. Venice: Félix Valgrisio and Angelo Tavano, 1588. (IB 19567)
- Villegas y Selvago, Alonso de. *Flos sanctorum y historia general de la vida y hechos de Jesu Christo*. Barcelona: Hubert Gotard, 1588. Fol. (IB 19568)
- Villegas y Selvago, Alonso de. *Flos sanctorum y historia general, de la vida y hechos de Jesu Christo, Dios y señor nuestro, y de todos los santos de que reza y haze fiesta la iglesia catholica confrome al brevario romano, reformado por decreto del sancto concilio Tridentino, junto con las vidas de los sanctos propios de Espana, y de otros extravagantes*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1588. Fol. (IB 19569)
- Villegas y Selvago, Alonso de. *Flos sanctorum, tercera parte*. Barcelona: Damián Bages and Jerónimo Genovés, 1588. Fol. (IB 19570)
- Villegas y Selvago, Alonso de. *Flos sanctorum, tercera parte*. Barcelona: Jerónimo Genovés and Jaime Cendrat, 1588. Fol. (IB 19571)
- Villegas y Selvago, Alonso de. *Flos sanctorum, tercera parte*. Zaragoza: Pedro Puig and Juan de Escarrilla, 1588. Fol. (IB 19572)
- Villegas y Selvago, Alonso de. *Flos sanctorum*. Toledo: Juan Rodríguez, 1588. Fol. (IB 19573)
- Villegas y Selvago, Alonso de. *Flos sanctorum*. Zaragoza: Lorenzo de Robles y Diego de Robles, 1588. Fol. (IB 19574)
- Villegas y Selvago, Alonso de. *Flos sanctorum*. Zaragoza: Pedro Puig, 1588. Fol. (IB 19575)
- Villegas y Selvago, Alonso de. *Flos sanctorum y historia general, de la vida y hechos de Jesu Christo, Dios y señor nuestro, y de todos los santos de que reza y haze fiesta la iglesia catholica confrome al brevario romano, reformado por decreto del sacto concilio Tridentino, junto con las vidas de los sanctos propios de Espana, y de otros extravagantes*. Zaragoza: Lorenzo de Robles and Diego de Robles, 1588. Fol. (IB 19576)
- Villegas y Selvago, Alonso de. *Flos sanctorum quarta y ultímate parte*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1589. Fol. (BM 318; IB 19577)
- Villegas y Selvago, Alonso de. *Flos sanctorum [segunda parte]*. Barcelona: Pedro Gotard, 1589. 8°. (IB 19578)

- Villegas y Selvago, Alonso de. *Flos sanctorum, segunda parte*. Toledo: Juan Rodríguez, 1589. Fol. (IB 19579)
- Villegas y Selvago, Alonso de. *Flos sanctorum, tercera parte*. Toledo: Juan Rodríguez y Pedro Rodríguez, 1589. Fol. (IB 19580)
- Villegas y Selvago, Alonso de. *Flos sanctorum*. Barcelona: Arnau Garrich, 1589. Fol. (IB 19581)
- Villegas y Selvago, Alonso de. *Flos sanctorum, quarta y ultima parte y discursos o sermones sobre los evangelios de todas las dominicas del año, ferias de quaresma y de sanctos principales*. Barcelona: Widow of Goetard-Sebastian Cormellas, 1590. Fol. (IB 19582)
- Villegas y Selvago, Alonso de. *Flos sanctorum, quarta y ultima parte y discursos o sermones sobre los evangelios de todas las dominicas del año, ferias de quaresma y de sanctos principales*. Barcelona: Widow of Jaime Cendrat, 1590. Fol. (IB 19583)
- Villegas y Selvago, Alonso de. *Flos sanctorum, quarta y ultima parte y discursos o sermones sobre los evangelios de todas las dominicas del año, ferias de quaresma y de sanctos principales*. Barcelona: Widow of Hubert Gotard, 1590. Fol. (IB 19584)
- Villegas y Selvago, Alonso de. *Flos sanctorum*. Barcelona: Widow of Hubert Gotard, 1590. Fol. (IB 19585)
- Villegas y Selvago, Alonso de. *Flos sanctorum y historia general, de la vida y hechos de Jesu Christo, Dios y señor nuestro, y de todos los santos de que reza y haze fiesta la iglesia catholica confrome al brevario romano, reformado por decreto del sacto concilio Tridentino, junto con las vidas de los sanctos propios de Espana, y de otros extravagantes*. Toledo: Widow of Juan Rodríguez, 1591. Fol. (IB 19588)
- Villegas y Selvago, Alonso de. *Flos sanctorum, tercera parte y historia general en que se escriben las vidas de sanctos extravagantes*. Zaragoza: Lorenzo de Robles, 1591. Fol. (IB 19589)
- Villegas y Selvago, Alonso de. *Flos sanctorum*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1592. Fol. (IB 19590)
- Villegas y Selvago, Alonso de. *Flos sanctorum, quarta y ultima parte y discursos o sermones sobre los evangelios de todas las dominicas del año, ferias de quaresma y de sanctos principales*. Barcelona: Noel Baresson, 1593. Fol. (IB 19592)

- Villegas y Selvago, Alonso de. *Flos sanctorum y historia general, de la vida y hechos de Jesu Christo, Dios y señor nuestro, y de todos los santos de que reza y haze fiesta la iglesia catholica confrome al brevario romano, reformado por decreto del sacto concilio Tridentino, junto con las vidas de los sanctos propios de Espana, y de otros extravagantes*. Barcelona: Sebastián de Cormellas, 1593. Fol. (IB 19593)
- Villegas y Selvago, Alonso de. *Flos sanctorum*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1593. Fol. (IB 19594)
- Villegas y Selvago, Alonso de. *Flos sanctorum, quarta y ultima parte y discursos o sermones sobre los evangelios de todas las dominicas del año, ferias de quaresma y de sanctos principales*. Cuenca: Juan Masselin, 1593. Fol. (BM 423 and 424; IB 19596)
- Villegas y Selvago, Alonso de. *Flos sanctorum segunda parte, y historia general en que se escribe la vida de la virgen y las de los sanctos antiguos*. Toledo: Juan Jaure, 1594. Fol. (IB 19598)
- Villegas y Selvago, Alonso de. *Flos sanctorum y historia general, de la vida y de hechos de Jesu Christo, y de todos los santos*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1594. Fol. **Lost**. (BM 460; IB 19599)
- Villegas y Selvago, Alonso de. *Flos sanctorum*. Barcelona: Pablo Malo, 1594. Fol. (IB 19600)
- Villegas y Selvago, Alonso de. *Fructus sanctorum y quinta parte de flos sanctorum, que es libro de exemplos, assi de hombres illustres en sanctidad, como de otros cuyos hechos fueron dignos de reprehension y castigo*. Barcelona: Sebastián de Cormellas, 1594. Fol. (IB 19601)
- Villegas y Selvago, Alonso de. *Fructus sanctorum y quinta parte de flos sanctorum*. Cuenca: Juan Masselin, 1594. Fol. (IB 19602)
- Villegas y Selvago, Alonso de. *Fructus sanctorum y quinta parte de flos sanctorum*. Cuenca: Juan Masselin and Christiano Bernabé, 1594. Fol. (IB 19603)
- Villegas y Selvago, Alonso de. *Fructus sanctorum y quinta parte de flos sanctorum*. Zaragoza: Lorenzo de Robles, 1594. Fol. (IB 19604)
- Villegas y Selvago, Alonso de. *Flos sanctorum, tercera parte*. Toledo: Pedro Rodríguez, 1595. Fol. (IB 19605)
- Villegas y Selvago, Alonso de. *Flos sanctorum, quarta y ultima parte y discursos o sermones sobre los evangelios de todas las dominicas del año, ferias de quaresma*

- y de sanctos principales*. Cuenca: Miguel Serrano de Vargas, 1599. Fol. (IB 19608)
- Ribadeneyra, Pedro de. *Flos sanctorum o libro de las vidas de los santos*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1599. Fol. (BM 646; IB 15877)
- Villegas y Selvago, Alonso de. *Flos sanctorum segunda parte y historia general en que se escribe la vida de la virgen*. Barcelona: Juan Amello, 1600. Fol. (IB 19609)
- Ribadeneyra, Pedro de. *Segunda parte del Flos sanctorum, o libros de las Vidas de los Santos. En la qval se contienen las vidas de todos los Santos que reza la Iglesia Romana en los seys postreros meses del Año*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1601. Fol. (BM 791; JS 1548)
- Villegas y Selvago, Alonso de. *Flos sanctorum y historia general, de la vida y hechos de Jesu Christo, Dios y señor nuestro, y de todos los santos de que reza y haze fiesta la iglesia catholica confrome al brevario romano, reformado por decreto del sacto concilio Tridentino, junto con las vidas de los sanctos propios de Espana, y de otros extravagantes*. Barcelona: [Sebastián de Cormellas], 1602. Fol. (Housed at the Bibliothèque Saint-Geneviève, Paris)
- Villegas y Selvago, Alonso de. *Flos sanctorum, quarta y ultima parte y discursos o sermones sobre los evangelios de todas las dominicas del año, ferias de quaresma y de sanctos principales*. Barcelona: Jaime Cendrat, 1603. Fol. (Housed at the Biblioteca de Catalunya, Barcelona)
- Villegas y Selvago, Alonso de. *Frvctvs Sanctorum, y qvinta parte de Flos Sanctorum*. Cuenca: Luis Cano, 1604. Fol. (Housed at the Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid)
- Ribadeneyra, Pedro de. *Libro de Vidas de Santos, que communmente llaman Extravagantes; porque la santa Yglesia no reza dellos en el Breviario Romano*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1604. Fol. (BM 888; JS 1549)
- Ribadeneyra, Pedro de. *Segunda parte del Flos Sanctorum, o Libro de las Vidas de los Santos. En la qval se contienen las Vidas de muchos Santos de todos estados, que communmente llaman Extrauagantes*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1609. Fol. (BM 1068; JS 1550)
- Villegas y Selvago, Alonso de. *Flos Sanctorum: segunda parte: y historia general en que se escribe la vida de la Virgen Sacratissima Madre de Dios, y Señora Nuestra y las de los santos antiguos que fueron antes de la venida de nuestro salvador al mundo*. Alcalá de Henares: Andrés Sánchez de Ezpeleta [inside it lists the Widow of Justo Sánchez Crespo], 1609. Fol. (Julián Martín Abad, *La imprenta en Alcalá de Henares (1601-1700)*, 116)

Villegas y Selvago, Alonso de. *Flos sanctorum. Segunda parte: Vida de Nuestra Senora y de los Santos antiguos del Testamento Viejo*. Toledo: s.n., 1609. Fol. (Cristóbal Pérez Pastor, *La imprenta en Toledo*, 466)

Ribadeneyra, Pedro de. *Flos sanctorum o libro de las vidas de los santos*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1610. Fol. (BM 1114; JS 1541)

APPENDIX 2: PRINTED WORKS OF PEDRO DE RIBADENEYRA

Vita Ignatii Loiolae Societatis Iesu fundatoris, libris quinque comprehensa. Naples: Giuseppe Cacchius, 1572. 16°. (Gilmont, *Écrits*, 7)

Vida del padre Ignacio de Loyola fundador de la compañía de Jesus. Madrid: Alonso Gómez, 1583. 4°. (BM 191; IB 15842)

Vida del padre Ignacio de Loyola de la compañía de Jesus. Madrid: Widow of Alonso Gómez, 1584. 8°. (BM 211; IB 15843)

Vida del padre Ignacio de Loyola fundador de la compañía de Jesus. Madrid: Widow of Alonso Gómez, 1586. 8°. (BM 246; IB 15844)

Vita Ignatii Loiolae qui religionem clericorum societatis Iesu instituit. Madrid: Widow of Alonso Gómez, 1586. 8°. (BM 247; IB 15845)

Vita Ignatii Loiolae qui religionem clericorum societatis Iesu instituit. Antwerp: Christophe Plantin, 1587. 16°. (BCJ, vol. 6, 1726)

Historia ecclesiastica del scisma del reyno de Inglaterra. Antwerp: Christophe Plantin, 1588. 8°. (IB 15846)

Historia ecclesiastica del scisma del reyno de Inglaterra. Barcelona: Jerónimo Genovés and Jaime Cendrat, 1588. 8°. (IB 15847)

Historia ecclesiastica del scisma del reyno de Inglaterra. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1588. 8°. (BM 289 and 290; IB 15848 and 15849; TM 394 and 395)

Historia ecclesiastica del scisma del reyno de Inglaterra. Valencia: Pedro Patricio Mey, 1588. 8°. (IB 15850)

Historia ecclesiastica del scisma del reyno de Inglaterra. Zaragoza: Pedro Puig and Widow of Juan de Escarrilla, 1588. 8°. (IB 15851)

Hystoria ecclesiastica del scisma del reyno de Inglaterra, en la qual se tartan las cosas mas notables que han sucedido en quell reyno tocantes a nuestra santa religion, desde que començo hasta la muerte de la reyna de Escocia. Lisbon: Antonio Álvares, 1588. 8°. (IB 15852)

Historia ecclesiastica del scisma del reyno de Inglaterra. Madrid: Widow of Alonso Gómez, 1589. 8°. (IB 15853; TM 422)

Hystoria ecclesiastica del scisma del reyno de Inglaterra, en la qual se tartan las cosas mas notables que han sucedido en quell reyno tocantes a nuestra santa religion,

- desde que començo hasta la muerte de la reyna de Escocia.* [Lisbon:] Manuel de Lira, 1589. 8°. (IB 15854)
- Tratado de la tribulacion.* Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1589. 8°. (BM 315; IB 15855; TM 423)
- Vita Ignatii Loiolae qui religionem clericorum societatis Iesu institut.* Ingolstadt: David Sartorius, 1590. 8°. (BCJ, vol. 6, 1726)
- Vita Ignatii Loiolae qui religionem clericorum societatis Iesu institut.* Lyon: Jean Gesselin, 1590. 16°. (BCJ, vol. 6, 1726)
- Tratado de la tribulacion.* Barcelona: Jaime Cendrat, 1591. 8°. (IB 15856)
- Vida del padre Francisco de Borja, que fue duque de Gandia y despues religioso y tercero general de la compañía de Jesus.* Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1592. 4°. (BM 394; IB 15857; TM 534)
- Segunda parte de la historia ecclesiastica del scisma del reyno de Inglaterra.* Alcalá de Henares: Juan Íñiguez de Lequerica, 1593. 8°. (IB 15858)
- Tratado de la tribulacion.* Alcalá de Henares: Juan Íñiguez de Lequerica, 1593. 8°. (IB 15859)
- Vida del padre Ignacio de Loyola, fundador de la religion de la compañía de Jesus y de los padres maestro Diego Laynez, y Francisco de Borja. En las quales se continene su fundacion, progreso, y aumento, hasta el año de 1572.* Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1593-4. Fol. (BM 457; IB 15860; TM 564)
- Albert the Great. *Tratado de las virtudes intitulado parayso del alma.* Trans. Pedro de Ribadeneyra. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1593. 16°. (IB 213)
- Pseudo-Augustine. *Libros de las meditaciones y soliloquios y manual.* Trans. Pedro de Ribadeneyra. Madrid: Widow of Pedro Madrigal, 1594. 16°. (BM 426; IB 1364; TM 569)
- Historia ecclesiastica del scisma del reyno de Inglaterra. Segunda parte de la historia ecclesiastica.* Antwerp: Martin Nutius, 1594. 12° (IB 15862)
- Segunda parte de la historia ecclesiastica del scisma del reyno de Inglaterra.* Lisbon: Manuel de Lira, 1594. 8°. (IB 15863)
- Tratado de la religion y virtudes que deve tener el principe christiano, para governor y conservar sus estados. Contra lo que Nicolas Machiavelo y los politicos deste tiempo ensenan.* Antwerp: Widow of Christophe Plantin, 1594. 8°. (IB 15864)

- Vida del p.m. Diego Laynez que fve uno de los companeros del padre maestro Ignacio de Loyola en fundar la compania de Jesus y el Segundo preposito general della.* Madrid: Widow of Pedro Madrigal, 1594. (IB 15865)
- Vida del padre Francisco de Boria, que fue duque de Gandia, y despues religioso, y tercero general de la compania de Jesus y de los padres.* Madrid: Widow of Pedro Madrigal, 1594. (IB 15866)
- Vida del padre Ignacio de Loyola, fundador de la compania de Jesus y de los padres maestros Diego Laynez, y Francisco Borja.* Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1594. Fol. (IB 15867; TM 618)
- Historia ecclesiastica del scisma del reyno de Inglaterra.* Madrid: Widow of Pedro Madrigal, 1595. (IB 15868)
- Lasobras.* Madrid: Widow of Pedro Madrigal, 1595. Fol. (BM 496; IB 15869; TM 672)
- Tratado de la religion y virtudes que deve tener el principe christiano, para governor y conserver sus estados.* Madrid: Pedro II Madrigal, 1595. 4°. (BM 497; IB 15870; TM 673)
- Albertus Magnus, santo. Augustine, santo. Tratado de la tribulacion repartido en dos libros, en el primero se trata de las tribulaciones particulares y en el segundo de las generals que Dios nos embia y del remedio dellas.* Madrid: Widow of Pedro Madrigal, 1595. (IB 15872)
- Vita Ignatii Loiolae qui religionem clericorum societatis Iesu institut.* Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1595. 8°. (BM 498; TM 674)
- Augustine. Las confessions del glorioso dotor de la iglesia san Augustin.* Trans. Pedro de Ribadeneyra. Madrid: Juan de Montoya, 1596. 16°. (BM 502; IB 1366; JS 1530; TM 678)
- El libro quinto de la vida del padre Ygnacio de Loyola.* Madrid: Juan Flamenco, 1596. 16°. (BM 524; IB 15874; TM 712)
- Vidas del P. Ignacio de Loyola, P. Diego Laynez y P. Francisco de Borja.* Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1596. 12°. (BM 525; TM 713)
- Pseudo-Augustine. Libros de las meditaciones y soliloquios y manual del glorioso doctor de la iglesia san Agustin.* Trans. Pedro de Ribadeneyra. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1597. (BM 556; IB 1367)
- Tratado de la religion y virtudes que deve tener el principe christiano, para governor y conserver sus estados.* Antwerp: Plantin House and Juan Moreto, 1597. 8°. (IB 15876)

Flos sanctorum o libro de las vidas de los santos. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1599. Fol. (BM 646; IB 15877; TM 877)

Segunda parte del Flos sanctorum, o libros de las Vidas de los Santos. En la qual se contienen las vidas de todos los Santos que reza la Iglesia Romana en los seys postreros meses del Año. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1601. Fol. (BM 791; JS 1548)

Tratado de la Religion y virtudes que deve tener el Principe Christiano, para gouernar y conseruar sus estados. Contra lo que Nicolas Machiauelo y los Politicos deste tiempo enseñan. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1601. (BM 792; JS 1528)

Libro de Vidas de Santos, que communmente llaman Extravagantes; porque la santa Yglesia no reza dellos en el Breviario Romano. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1604. Fol. (BM 888; JS 1549)

Vida de Christo y de su Madre Santissima. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1604. Fol. (BM 889)

Obras del Padre Pedro de Ribadeneyra. Agora de nuevo reuistas y acrecentadas. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1605. Fol. (BM 919; JS 1495)

Tratado, en el qual se da razon del institvto de la Religion de la Compañia de Iesvs. Madrid: College of the Society of Jesus, 1605. 4°. (BM 920; JS 1554)

Manval de Oraciones, para el vso y aprouechamiento de la gente deuota. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1607. 16°. (BM 977)

Augustine. Las confessions del glorioso Dotor de la Iglesia San Agvstin. Trans. Pedro de Ribadeneyra. Valencia: Juan Chrysostomo Garriz, 1608. 16°. (JS 1531)

Illustrium scriptorum religionis Societatis Iesv catalogus. Antwerp: Plantin House and Juan Moreto, 1608. 8°. (JS 1568)

Illustrium scriptorum religionis Societatis Iesv catalogus. Lyon: Jean Pillehotte, 1609. 8°. (JS 1569)

Relacion de lo que ha svcedido en el negocio de la Canonizacion del bienauenturado P. Ignacio de Loyola, fundador de la Religion de la Compañia de Iesvs. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1609. 8°. (BM 1067)

Segunda parte del Flos Sanctorum, o Libro de las Vidas de los Santos. En la qual se contienen las Vidas de muchos Santos de todos estados, que communmente llaman Extrauagantes. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1609. Fol. (BM 1068; JS 1550)

Flos sanctorum, o libro de las vidas de los santos. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1610. Fol. (BM 1114; JS 1541)

Manual de oraciones, para el uso y aprovechamiento de la gente devota. Madrid: P. Lisao [but with Juan Flamenco's colophon], 1611. 16°. (BM 1155; JS 1562)

APPENDIX 3: BOOKS PRINTED BY THE MADRIGAL PRINT HOUSE OF MADRID

Printing Tendencies in the Madrigal Print House (1586-1604)					
Annual Production		Format Production		Linguistic Production	
Year	Amount	Size	Amount Produced	Language	Amount
1586	5	Folio	67	Castilian	142
1587	14	Quarto	50	Latin	42
1588	7	Octavo	54		
1589	10	Duodecimo	6		
1590	25	Sextodecimo	5		
1591	14				
1592	16				
1593	13				
1594	5				
1595	5				
1596	8				
1597	6				
1598	12				
1599	12				
1600	14				
1601	3				
1602	5				
1603	7				
1604	3				
s.a.	1				
Total	189				

Ogea, Diego de. O.P. *Recopilación de las cosas tocantes a la devoción del Rosario de nuestra Señora*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, s.a.. Fol. (TM 976)⁵¹⁰

3.1 Pedro Madrigal Period: 1586-1594

Advertencias que dan los Católicos Ingleses, á los Católicos de Francia del peligro en que están de perder la Religión, si admiten á la corona Príncipe herege. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1592. 8°. (TM 510)

Capítulos generales de las Cortes de Madrid, que se començaron el Año de mil y quinientos y ochenta y tres, y se fenecieron el de ochenta y cinco. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1587. Fol. (TM 350)

Capítulos generales de las Cortes del año ochenta y seys, fenecidas y publicadas en el de noventa. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1590. Fol. (TM 436)

⁵¹⁰ I have placed this entry here due to its lack of an identifiable year.

- Capítulos generales de las Cortes del año de mil quinientos y ochenta y ocho.* Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1593. Fol. (TM 545)
- Concilium Limense. Celebratum anno 1583 sub Greogrio XIII.* Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1591. 4°. (TM 480)
- Demanda y oposición de don Baltasar Colombo de Cucaro, para la cesión que pretende del mayorazgo que fundó D. Christóbal, primer Almirante de las Indias.* Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1590. Fol. (TM 441)
- Haec sunt acta capitulo generalis Romae celebrati in conventu Sanctae Mariae super Minervam.* Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1590. 4°. (TM 446)
- Ley y Premática, en que se da orden sobre la conservación y aumento de los Pósitos, y distribución del pan dellos.* Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1590. Fol. (TM 449)
- Libro de las leyes, privilegios, y provisiones reales del honrado Concejo General de la Mesta, y cabaña Real destos Reynos.* Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1590. Fol. (TM 450)
- Libro de los privilegios y Leyes del illustre y muy honrado Concejo de la Mesta general, y cabaña Real destos Reynos de Castilla, León, y Granada.* Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1586. Fol. (TM 335)
- Ordenanças para Remedio de los daños e inconvenientes, que se siguen de los descaminados y arribadas maliciosas de los Navíos, que navegan en las Indias occidentales.* Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1591. Fol. (TM 496)
- Para que los alcaldes de Corte, que conocen de los negocios civiles.* Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1587. Fol. (TM 364)
- Pragmática, en que se da la orden y forma que se ha de tener y guardar, en los tratamientos y cortesías de palabra y por escrito.* Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1586. Fol. (TM 341)
- Pragmática en que se declara que leguas se han de entender leguas comunes y vulgares y no de las que llaman legales.* Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1587. Fol. (TM 365)
- Premática en que se da la orden que se ha de tener en el traer de los lutos en estos Reynos.* Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1588. Fol. (TM 392)
- Premática, para que ningún Abogado lo pueda ser en las causas que se trataren en el Consejo y otros tribunales en que su padre, hijo, o yerno, o cuñado fuera juez.* Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1590. Fol. (TM 454)

- Premática, en que se prohíbe el arrendarse los oficios de Escribanos de Cámara, y Procuradorías, Recetorías y Escrivanías del Número.* Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1590. Fol. (TM456)
- Premática, en que se declara y amplía, la en que se prohibió arrendar oficios de Escrivanías, Receptorías, y Procuradurías, y se mandó los sirviesen por sus personas, y tuviesen de patrimonio y hazienda propia la tercia parte del valor del oficio.* Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1590. Fol. (TM457 and 458)
- Premática, de los vestidos y trajes: la qual mandó el Rey nuestro señor se publicasse el año de mil quinientos y sesenta y tres.* Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1590. Fol. (TM459)
- Premática en que se permite a los Labradores, y otras qualesquier personas que labraren, puedan vender en pan cozido todo el pan en grano que cogieren y les sobrare, proveyda su casa, registrándolo ante la justicia, y poniéndoles el precio a cómo lo hubieren de vender.* Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1590. Fol. (TM460)
- Premática, En que se prohíbe a los naturales destos Reynos no anden en ábito de romeros y peregrinos: y se da la orden que han de tener para yr á alguna romería.* Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1590. Fol. (TM461 and 462)
- Premática, para que ningún Abogado lo pueda ser en las causas que se trataren en el Consejo y otros tribunales, en que su padre, hijo, o yerno, fuere juez, y tratándose ante un juez solo no pueda abogar padre, hijo, yerno, no cuñado de tal juez.* Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1590. Fol. (TM463)
- Premática en que se revoca la en que se permitió a los labradores, y a las demás personas que cogiesen trigo de las tierras que cultivasen que lo pudiessen vender en pan cozido.* Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1591. Fol. (TM 500)
- Premática en que se da la orden en el examen de los médicos, y cirujanos, y boticarios.* Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1593. Fol. (TM 561 and 562)
- Premáticas que han salido este año de noventa y quatro, publicadas en diez y nueve días de Enero del dicho año.* Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1594. Fol. (TM610, 611, 612, 613, and 614)
- Regla primitiva y Costituciones de los Carmelitas Descalços, confirmadas por nuestro muy santo Padre Clemente VIII.* Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1592. 8°. (TM 531)
- Relación de algunos martirios, que ne nuevo han hecho los herejes en Inglaterra, y de otras cosas tocantes a nuestra santa y católica religión.* Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1590. 8°. (TM464)

- Relación de una gravíssima persecución, que un tirano de los Reynos de Japón, llamado Canbucodono, ha levantado contra los cristianos, en los años de 88 y 89.* Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1591. 8°. (TM 502)
- Relación de un Sacerdote Inglés, escrita a Flandes, a un caballero de su tierra, desterrado por ser católico.* Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1592. 8°. (TM 532)
- Siete Partidas comentadas por Gregorio López.* Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1587. Fol. (TM 370)
- Siguense las Constituciones, que se hizieron en el capítulo general de nuestra Congregación de Descalços Carmelitas, que se celebró en Madrid en la Pascua de Pentecostés.* Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1590. 8°. (TM440)
- Sumario de todas las gracias e indulgencias concedidas por nro santíssimo padre Sixto.* Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1588. 8°. (TM 398)
- Acosta, José de. S.J. *Concilium Provinciale Limense, celebratum in civitate Regum.* Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1590. 4°. (TM431)
- Acuña, Hernando de. *Varias poesías.* Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1591. 4°. (TM472)
- Álaba y Viamont, Diego de. *El prefeto capitán, instruído en la disciplina Militar, nueva ciencia de la Artillería.* Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1590. Fol. (TM432)
- Aldana, Francisco de. *Segunda parte de las obras, que se han podido hallar del capitán Francisco de Aldana.* Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1591. 8°. (TM 475)
- Alonso de Orozco. *Guarda de la lengua...Moralizado y anotado con muchos lugares de la sagrada Escritura.* Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1590. 12°. (TM433)
- Álvares, Manoel. S.J. *De constructione octo partium orationis Liber.* Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1587. 8°. (TM 346)
- . *De Constructione Octo partium orationis Liber.* Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1593. 8°. (TM 540)
- Anglés, José.O.F.M. *Flos thelogicarum quaestionum in secundum librum sententiarum nunc primum collecti, atque in lucem editi.*Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1586. 4°. (TM 325)
- Antonio, Francisco. S.J. *Avisos para soldados y gente de guerra.* Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1590. 12°. (TM434)
- Arias Dávila Puertocarrerto, Juan. *Discurso...para estar a la Gineta con gracia y hermosura.* Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1590. 8°. (TM435)

- Auger, Emondo. S.J. *Catechismus hoc est, católica christianae iuventutis institutio*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1592. Fol. (TM 513)
- Avendaño, Alfonso de. O.P. *Commentaria in Evangelium divi Matthaei*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1593. Fol. (TM 542)
- Baldesano, Guillermo. *Historia sacra de la ilustríssima legión Tebea*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1594. 4°. (TM 572)
- Barros, Alonso de. *Philosophía cortesana moralizada*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1587. 12°. (TM 347B)
- Blosio, Ludovico. O.S.B. *Instrucción espiritual y regla breve del novicio espiritual*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1587. 12°. (TM 348)
- Capilla, Andrés. O. Cart. *Obras de D. Andrés Capilla Obispo de Urgel*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1592. 4°. (TM 516)
- Centelles y Borja, Magdalena. *Pro Magdalena Centelles atque Borja, Gandiae Ducissa contra Iacobum, Franciscum, atque Michaellem Centelles, atque dicti Iacobi haeredes*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1594. Fol. (TM 577)
- Cicero. *Los deziseis libros de las Epístolas, o Cartas de M. Tulio Cicerón, vulgarmente llamadaas familiares*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1589. 8°. (TM 410)
- Cornejo, Pedro. *Compendio y breve Relación de la Liga y Confederación Francesa*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1592. 8°. (TM 520)
- Cortés, Diego. *Discursos del varón iusto, y conversión de la Madalena, con otras Flos Espirituales*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1592. 8°. (TM 521)
- Costero, Francisco. S.J. *Libellus sodalitatis, hoc est, christianarum institutionum libri tres*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1592. 16°. (TM 522)
- Ercilla y Zúñiga, Alonso de. *Tercera parte de la Araucana*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1589. 4°. (TM 412)
- . *Primera, Segunda, y Tercera Partes de la Araucana*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1590. 8°. (TM443)
- García, Pablo. *Orden que comúnmente se guarda en el Santo Oficio de la Inquisición cerca del procesar en las causas que en el se tratan*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1591. 4°. (TM 484)

- González de Mendoza, Juan. O.S.A. *Historia de las cosas más notables, ritos, y costumbres del gran Reino de la China*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1587. 8°. (TM 353)
- Gracián Dantisco, Tomás. *Arte de escribir Cartas Familiares*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1589. 12°. (TM 413)
- Guerra de Lorca, Pedro. *Catecheses Myestagogicae pro advenis ex secta Mahometana*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1586. 4°. (TM 331)
- Guevara, Pedro de. *Arte general para todas las sciencias, en dos instrumentos*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1586. 8°. (TM 332)
- . *Escala del entendimiento: en la qual se declaran las tres Artes...de Gramática, Dialéctica, Retórica, y la universal, para todas las sciencias*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1593. 8°. (TM 549)
- Gutiérrez, Juan. *Practicarum Quaestionum, super prima parte legum novae Collectionis regiae Hispaniae*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1593. Fol. (TM 550)
- Herrera y Tordesillas, Antonio de. *Historia de lo sucedido en Escocia, é Inglaterra en quarenta y quatro años que vivió María Estuarda Reyna de Escocia*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1589. 8°. (TM 415)
- . *Cinco libros...de la Historia de Portugal, y conquista de las Islas Açores, en los años 1582 y 1583*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1591. 4°. (TM 486)
- Juan deÁvila. *Obras del padre maestro Iuan de Ávila*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1588. 4°. (TM 386)
- La Marche, Olivier de. *El caballero determinado*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1590. 4°. (TM447)
- Lasso de la Vega, Gabriel. *Primera parte de Cortés valeroso, y Mexicana*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1588. 4°. (TM 388)
- León Hebreo. *La tradución del Indio de los tres Diálogos de Amor de León Hebreo*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1590. 4°. (TM448)
- Loaísa y Girón, García de. *Collectio conciliorum hispaniae, diligentia Garsiae Loaisa elaborata, eiusque vigilijs aucta*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1593. Fol. (TM 551)
- López de Montoya, Pedro. *Los quatro libros del Mysterio de la Missa, con unas anotaciones en lengua Latina sobre el sagrado Canon*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1591. 8°. (TM 489)

- Lorenzana, Rodrigo de. *Compendio de los casos ordinarios de conciencia de las materias Canónicas*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1591. 8°. (TM 490)
- Mendes de Castro, Manoel. *De Annonis civilibus Lib. XI*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1592. 4°. (TM 525)
- Mendoza, Bernardino de. *Comentarios...de los sucedido en las Guerras de los Payseys baxos, desde el Año de 1567, hasta el de 1577*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1592. 4°. (TM 526)
- Moles, Juan Bautista. O.F.M. *Dotrina e instrucción de novicios de nuevo recopilada y puesta en forma*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1591. 8°. (TM 492)
- . *Memorial de la provincia de San Gabriel, de la orden de los frayles Menores de Observancia*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1592. 4°. (TM 527)
- Monterroso y Alvarado, Gabriel de. *Práctica civil y criminal y instrucción de escribanos: dividida en nueve tratados*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1587. Fol.(TM 358)
- . *Práctica civil y criminal, y instrucción de escribanos*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1591. Fol. (TM 494)
- Mora, Juan de. *Discursos morales*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1589. 4°. (TM 417A and 417B)
- Navarro, Antonio. O.P. *Tomus primus Sermonum de Sanctis, quos sequens folium indicabit*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1593. 4°. (TM 554)
- Núñez de Avendaño, Pedro. *De exequendis mandatis regum Hispaniae, quae rectoribus civitatum dantur*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1593. Fol. (TM 555)
- . *Quadráginta responsa quibus quam plurime leges regiae explicantur, atque illustrantur*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1593. Fol. (TM 556)
- Oseguera, Diego de. *Estacionario de la Creación y Redención del Mundo*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1593. 8°. (TM 560)
- Ovando Mongollón de Paredes, Francisco. O.F.M. *Breviloquium in quartum librum magistri sententiarum*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1587. 4°. (TM 359)
- Padilla, Pedro de. O.C. *Grandezas y excelencias de la Virgen señora nuestra*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1587. 8°. (TM 362)
- Padilla, Francisco. *Oratorio real. En que se contienen muchas Oraciones, Cánticos, y Psalmos muy convenientes para rezarlos el Rey nuestro Señor por sí y por sus vasallos*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1592. 12°. (TM 528)

- Pérez de Moya, Juan. *Manual de contadores*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1589. 8°. (TM 420)
- Ramírez, Jerónimo. *De Raptu Inocentis Martyris Guardensis, libri sex*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1592. 4°. (TM 530)
- Ribadeneyra, Pedro. S.J. *Historia ecclesiastica del scisma del reyno de Inglaterra*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1588. 8°. (BM 289 and 290; IB 15848 and 15849; TM 394 and 395)
- . *Tratado de la Tribulación*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1589. 8°. (BM 315; IB 15855; TM 423)
- . *Vida de P. Francisco de Borja*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1592. 4°. (TM 534)
- . *Vida del P. Ignacio de Loyola*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1593. (TM 564)
- . *Vida del P. Ignacio de Loyola, fundador de la religión de la Compañía de Jesús: y de los Padres Maestros Diego Laynez, y Francisco de Borja*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1594. Fol. (TM 618)
- Ríos, Gregorio de los. *Agricultura de Iardines, que trata la manera que se han de criar, gobernar, y conservar las plantas*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1592. 8°. (TM 533)
- Roa Dávila, Juan. *Apologia de Iuribus principalibus, defendis, atque moderandis iuste*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1591. Fol. (TM 504)
- . *De suprema Dei providentia, atque praedestinatione, Libri tres*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1591. Fol. (TM 505)
- Sabuco, Miguel. *Nueva filosofía de la naturaleza del hombre, no conocida ni alcançada de los grandes filósofos antiguos*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1587. 8°. (TM 369)
- . *Nueva filosofía de la naturaleza del hombre, no conocida ni alcançada de los grandes filósofos antiguos*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1588. 8°. (TM 396)
- Simón Abril, Pedro. *La gramática griega escrita en lengua Castellana, para que desde luego puedan los niños aprender la lengua Griega*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1587. 8°. (TM 371)
- . *Apuntamientos, de cómo se deven reformar las dotrinas: y la manera del enseñallas, para reduzillas a su antigua entereza y perfición*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1589. 4°. (TM 425)

Solórzano, Bartolomé Salvador de. *Libro de caxa y manual de cuentas de mercaderes, y otras personas*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1590. 4°. (TM468)

Tasso, Torquato. *Jerusalem libertada*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1587. 8°. (TM 373)

Valdés, Francisco de. *Diálogo militar...En el qual se trata el oficio de Sargento mayor*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1590. 8°. (TM469)

Vargas Manrique, Luis de. *Christados o libro de los hechos de Christo*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1589. 8°. (TM 428)

Vasconcelos, Pedro Alfonso de. *De harmonia rubricarum iuris canonici prima, et secunda pars*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1590. 4°. (TM470)

Villegas y Selvago, Alonso de. *Flos sanctorum y historia general, de la vida y hechos de Jesu Christo, Dios y señor nuestro, y de todos los santos de que reza y haze fiesta la iglesia catholica confrome al brevario romano, reformado por decreto del sancto concilio Tridentino, junto con las vidas de los sanctos propios de Espana, y de otros extravagantes*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1588. Fol. (IB 19569; TB 402)

———. *Flos sanctorum quarta y última parte*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1589. Fol. (BM 318; IB 19577; TM 430)

———. *Flos sanctorum*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1592. Fol. (IB 19590)

———. *Flos Sanctorum quarta y última parte, y discursos, o sermones, sobre los Evangelios de todas las Dominicas del año*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1593. Fol. (TM 566 and 567)

———. *Flos Sanctorum, y Historia General, de la vida de y hechos de Iesu Christo...y todos los Santos*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1594. Fol. (TM 624)

3.2 Widow of Madrigal (Maria Rodriguez Rivalde) Period: 1595-1604

Bulas Apostólicas concedidas a los Hermanos de la Orden y Hospitalidad de San Juan de Dios, las quales valen en España, en las Indias y en todas partes donde esta vinieren los hermanos de dicha Hospitalidad. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1596. Fol. (TM686)

Contemptus mundi, o Menosprecio del mundo. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1596. 16°. (TM694)

Contemptus mundi, ó menosprecio del mundo. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1599. 16°. (TM 847)

- Libro de las leyes, privilegios, y provisiones reales del Honrado Concejo de la Mesta, y cabaña Real destos Reynos.* Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1595. Fol. (TM650)
- Libro de los annales de los niños que han sido baptizados en la Iglesia de San Ginés.* Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1599. Fol.(TM 851bis)
- Las siete Partidas comentadas por Gregorio López.* Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1595. (TM677)
- Ordenaciones provincials para el buen gobierno de las provincias de los Descal[c]os de S. Joseph y S. Pablo.* Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1597. Fol. (TM744)
- Premática en que se prohíbe a qualesquier personas, así naturales destos Reynos, como estrangeros, que traxeren o metieren en ellos qualesquier libros impressos, no los puedan vender sin que primero sean tassados.* Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1598. Fol.(TM 810)
- Premática en que se manda Guardar las Leyes en que se prohíbe matar terneras y terneros, y se acrecientan las penas contra los que las hizieren matar, o mataren.* Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1598. Fol.(TM 811)
- Premática que han salido este año de mil quinientos y noventa y ocho, publicadas en veynitiquatro días del mes de Iulio del dicho año.* Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1598. Fol.(TM 812 and 813)
- Premática y nueva Orden para el conocimiento y determinación de las causas civiles y criminales dada a los Alcaldes desta Corte.* Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1600. Fol.(TM 954 and 955)
- Premáticas que han salido este año de mil y seiscientos, publicadas en tres días del mes de junio del dicho año.* Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1600. Fol.(TM 956 and 957)
- Premáticas que han salido este año de mil y seyscientos, publicadas en veynte y siete días del mes de otubre del dicho año.* Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1600. Fol.(TM 958 and 959)
- Acevedo, Alfonso de. *Commentariorum iuris civilis in Hispaniae Regias Constitutiones...Tomus secundus.* Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1595. Fol. (TM626)
- . *Commentariorum Iuris Civilis in Hispaniae Regias Constitutiones, tres primos libros novae Recopilationis complectens. Tomus Primus.* Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1599. Fol.(TM 826)
- . *Commentariorum continuatio ad Leges Regias nunc denuo post Recopilationem Regiam in curijs & extra constituas.* Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1600. Fol.(TM 901)

- Amoraga, Pedro. O.Min. *Libro intitvlado Instrucción del Pecador, en dialogo*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1602. 4°. (BM 805)
- Ángeles, Juan de los. O.P. *Lucha Espiritual y Amorosa entre Dios y el Alma, en que se descubren las grandezas y triunfos del amor, y se enseña el camino excelentíssimo de los afectos*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1600. 8°. (TM 930)
- Antonio, Francisco. S.J. *Consideraciones sobre los misterios del altíssimo sacrificio de la Missa*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1596. 4°. (TM681)
- . *Consideraciones sobre los Mysterios del Altissimo sacrificio de la Missa*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1598. 4°. (TM 764)
- Ávila y Padilla, Agustín de. O.P. *Historia de la fundación y discurso de la Provincia de Santiago de México de la Orden de Predicadores, por las vidas de sus varones insignes, y casos notables de la Nueva España*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1596. Fol. (TM683)
- Aviles, Francisco de. *Nova Diligens, ac Perutilis Expositio Capitem, seu legem Praetorum, ac Iudicum syndicatus regni totius Hispaniae*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1597. Fol. (TM 717)
- Baldesano, Guillermo. *Historia sacra de la ilustríssima Legión Tebea*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1596. 4°. (TM684)
- Cortés, Jerónimo. *Libro de phisonomia natural y varios secretos de la naturaleza*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1598. 8°. (TM 780)
- . *Lunario Nuevo, perpetuo y general y Pronostico de los tiempos, universal*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1598. 8°. (TM 781)
- Cresuelo, José. S.J. *Historia de la Vida y Martyrio que padeció en Inglaterra, este año de 1595, el P. Henrique Valpolo*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1596. 8°. (TM687)
- Falcó, Jacobo. *Operum Poeticorum...Libri quinque*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1600. 8°. (TM 922)
- González, Cristóbal. O.Mer. *Segunda parte de los Discvrsos Espirituales, y predicables, sobre dozes lugares del Genesis*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1603. 4°. (BM 834)
- Gracian de la Madre de Dios, Jerónimo. O.C.D. *Dilucidario del verdadero espiritv, en que se declara, que sea espíritu verdadero: de donde mana: y sus grados*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1604. 4°. (BM 866)

- Gutiérrez, Juan. D. *Ioannis Gvtierrez almae Ecclesiae Civitatensis Canonici Doctoralis, Repetitiones sex & quatuordecim iuris Allegationes*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1604. Fol. (BM 870)
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APPENDIX 4: BOOKS BY THE SÁNCHEZ HOUSE OF MADRID

4.1 Pre-Valladolid Era (1590-1601)

Printing Tendencies in the Sánchez Print House (1590-1601)					
<i>Annual Production</i>		<i>Format Production</i>		<i>Linguistic Production</i>	
<i>Year</i>	<i>Amount</i>	<i>Size</i>	<i>Amount Produced</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Amount</i>
1590	0	Folio	25	Castilian	69
1591	5	Quarto	31	Latin	29
1592	4	Octavo	26		
1593	6	Duodecimo	3		
1594	7	Sextodecimo	6		
1595	8	T.Secundo	1		
1596	5				
1597	7	<i>Production by Order</i>		<i>Stylistic Production</i>	
1598	13	<i>Order</i>	<i>Number of Writers</i>	<i>Type of Work</i>	<i>Amount</i>
1599	16	Jesuits	10	Ecclesiastic	25
1600	20	Franciscans	4	Devotional	26
1601	7	Dominicans	3	Philosophical	3
s.a.	0	Merceds	1	Utilitarian	25
Total	98	Benedictines	1	Classics	1
		Trinitarians	1	Entertainment	11
		Hieronymite	1	Secular Histories	7

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Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1597. Fol. (BM 535)

Lazarillo de Tormes. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1600. (BM 691)

Memoria de la Passion de N.S. Iesu Christo, Por vn pobrezito Pecador. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1599. 4°. (BM 631)

Reglas de la Compañía de Iesvs, y la Carta de la obdeiencia de nuestro B.P. Ignacio.
Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1600. 16°. (BM 714)

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Romancero General, en que se contienen todos los Romances que andan impressos en las nueue partes de Romanceros. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1600. 4°. (BM 715)

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- Alaba, Pedro de. O.F.M. *Doctrinal satisfactorio de los Frayles menores de la regular Obseruancia del Serafico Padre S. Francisco*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1601. 4°. (BM 770)
- Alagón, Artal de. *Concordia de leyes divinas*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1593. 4°. (BM 399)
- Alagón, Pedro.S.J. *Compendium Manvalis Navarri, Ad commodiorem usum, tum confessoriorum, tum poenitentium, compilatum*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1594. 16°. (BM 427)
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- Aldana, Francisco de. *Todas las obras que hasta Agora se han podido hallar del Capitan Francisco de Aldana Alcayde de San Sebastian, que fue Maestro de Campo General del Rey de Portugal en la jornada de Africa, á do murio peleando*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1593. 8°. (BM 400)
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- Calderari, Cesare. *Conceptos scriptvrales sobre el Magnificat, del muy R. Cesar Calderari de Vicenza, Canonigo Lateranese*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1600. 8°. (BM 678)
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- Ceverio de Vera, Juan. *Viaie de la Tierra Santa, y descripcion de Ierusalen, y del santo monte Libano, con relacion de cosas marauillosas, assi de las prouincias de Leuante, como de las Indias de Occidente*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1597. 8°. (BM 533)
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- . *De vita et laudibvs Dei parae Mariae Virginis Meditationes qvinquaginta*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1600. 16°. (BM 683)
- Covarrubias, Antonio de. *Informacion en derecho de Don Gomez Dauila, Marques de Velada, sobre el estado de Villatoro, con don Henrique Dauila, y don Diego Dauila, que a este pleyto se opuso*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1595. Fol. (BM 470)
- Cruz, Luis de la. S.J. *Interpretatio Poetica latine incentum quinqvagina Psalmos*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1600. 8°. (BM 684)
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- Fuenmayor, Antonio de. *Vida y Hechos de Pio V. Pontifice Romano, diuidida en seis libros*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1595. 4°. (BM 473)
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- . *Tractatvs de Ivramento confirmatorio, et aliis in ivre variis resoltionibvs*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1597. Fol. (BM 538)
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- Guzmán, Diego. O.SS.T. *Tratado de la Excelencia del Sacrificio de la Ley Evangelica*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1594. 4°. (BM 436)
- Herrera y Tordesillas, Antonio de. *Primera parte de la Historia general del Mundo, de XVI años del tiempo del señor Rey don Felipe II*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1601. Fol. (BM 785)

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- Oña, Pedro de. O.Mer. *Sermon que predico a la Magestad Catolica del Rey nuestro señor Filipo III*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1599. 4°. (BM 639)

- Oviedo, Luis de. *Methodo de la coleccion y reposicion de las medicinas simples, u de su correccion y preparacion*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1595. 4°. (BM 491)
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- Pérez, Antonio. *Breve Tratado de Peste, con sus causas, señales y curacion*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1598. 8°. (BM 591)
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- . *Alfonsi Salmeronis Toletani, e Societate Iesv Theologi, Commentarii in Evangelicam Historiam & in Acta Apostolorum*. Vol. 1 Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1598. Fol. (BM 605)
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- . *Alfonsi Salmeronis Toletani, e Societate Iesv Theologi, Commentarii in Evangelicum Historiam, & in Acta Apostolorum*. Vol. 8. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1600. Fol. (BM 717)
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- Sandoval, Prudencio de. O.S.B. *Cronica del inclito Emperador de España, Don Alonso VII*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1600. Fol. (BM 718)
- . *Primera parte de las Fvundaciones de los Monesterios del glorioso Padre San Benito, que los Reyes de España fundaron y dotaron, desde los tiempos del Santo, hasta que los Moros entraron y destruyeron la tierra*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1601. Fol. (BM 799)

- Santa María, Antonio de. O.F.M. *Manual o Sumario de la Regla de los frailes Menores*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1598. 32°. (BM 607)
- Soto, Lázaro de. *Tomus primus Commentariorum in Hippocratis libros, quorum numerus sequenti pagella indicabitur*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1594. Fol. (BM 458)
- Straparola de Carvaggio, Juan Francisco. *Honesto y agradable entretenimeinto de Damas y Galanes*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1598. (BM 609)
- Torres, Pedro de. *Libro que trata de la enfermedad de las Bvbas*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1600. 4°. (BM 720)
- Vallés, Francisco de. *Tratado de las agvas Destiladas, Pesos, Y medidas de que los Boticarios deven vsar pornueva ordenança, y mandato de su Magestad, y su Real Consejo*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1592. 8°. (BM 397)
- Vega Carpio, Lope Félix de. *Arcadia, Prosas, y Versos de Lope de Vega Carpio, Secretario del Marques de Sarria*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1599. 8°. (BM 663)
- . *Isidro*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1599. 8°. (BM 664)
- Vega, Garcilaso de la. *Obras del Excelente Poeta Garci Lasso de la Vega*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1600. 12°. (BM 692)
- Verdugo y Sarria, Pedro. O.P. *Libro de los Mysterios de la Missa*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1594. 4°. (BM 459)
- Villegas y Selvago, Alonso de. *Vida de Isidro Labrador, cuyo cuerpo está en la Iglesia Parroquial de San Andrés de Madrid, escrita por el Maestro Alonso de Villegas, toledano*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1592. 8°. (BM 398)
- Yerba, Melchor de. O.F.M. *Libro llamado Refugium infirmorum, muy util y prouechoso para todo genero de gente, En el qual se contienen muchos avisos espirituales para socorro de los afligidos enfermos, y para ayudar ábien morir á los que estan el lo ultimo de su vida*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1593. 8°. (BM 425)
- Yepes, Diego de. O. Her. *Historia particular de la persecución de Inglaterra, y de los martirios mas insignes que en ella ha hauido, desde el año del Señor*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1599. 8°. (BM 667)
- Zamudio de Alfaro, Andrés. *Orden para la cvra y preservacion de las secas y carbuncos*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1599. 8°. (BM 668)
- . *Orden para la cura y preservacion de la Viruelas*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1599. 8°. (BM 669)

4.2 Valladolid Era (1602-1606)

4.2.1 Printed in Madrid

Printing Tendencies in the Madrid Branch of the Sánchez Print House (1602-1606)					
Annual Production		Format Production		Linguistic Production	
		Size	Amount Produced	Language	Amount
		Folio	12	Castilian	29
		Quarto	22	Latin	14
		Octavo	6		
Year	Amount	Sextodecimo	1	Stylistic Production	
1602	4	Production by Order		Type of Work	Amount
1603	10			Ecclesiastic	10
1604	13			Devotional	20
1605	8			Philosophical	7
1606	8			Utilitarian	5
Total	43	Order	Number of Writers	Entertainment	1
		Jesuits	5		
		Merceds	3		
		Franciscans	2		
		Augustinians	2		
		Minims	1		

Iurium, ac praeeminentiarum Compendium, & allegatio pro Ecclesia Sanctae Mariae Maioris, & de Pilari. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1606. 4°. (BM 930)

Libro de las Honras que hizo el Colegio de la Compañía de Iesvs de Madrid, a la M.C. de la Emperatriz dona Maria de Austria, fundadora del dicho Colegio, que se celebraron a 21. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1603. 4°. (BM 836)

Primera parte, del tesoro de divina poesia, donde se contienen varias obras de deuocion de diuersos autores, cuyos titulos se veran a la buelta de la hoja. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1604. 8°. (BM 894)

Relacion de las Fiestas que la Imperial Ciudad de Toledo hizo al nacimiento del Principe N.S. Felipe IIII. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1605. 4°. (BM 917)

Sumario del estado en que estan las rentas del Reyno de Portugal, y situacion que ay en ellas este ano de 1606. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1606. Fol. (BM 952)

Tratados espiritvales de algvnos Santos antiguos. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1603. 8°. (BM 851)

Vota, et Motiva sententiae latae pro Priore, & Canonicis Angelicae Ecclesiae B. Mariae Maioris de Pilari, in Curia illustrissimi domini Iustitiae Aragonum. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1606. 4°. (BM 954)

- Augustine. *Las confesiones del glorioso Dotor de la Iglesia San Agvstin*. Trans. Pedro de Ribadeneyra. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1603. 16°. (BM 829)
- Arias, Francisco. S.J. *Aprovechamiento Espiritval*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1603. 4°. (BM 830)
- Bocangelino, Nicolao. *De Febribus, morbisque malignis, & pestilentia, earumque causis, praeservatione & curatione*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1604. 4°. (BM 861)
- Bovistau, Pedro. *Historias prodigiosas y maravillosas De diuersos sucessos acaecidos en el Mundo*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1603. 8°. (BM 832)
- Collantes y Avellaneda, Santiago de. *Commentariorum Pragmaticae in favorem rei frumentariae, & agricolarum, & rerum quae agriculturae, destinate sunt, libri tres*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1606. 4°. (BM 931)
- Florencia, Jeronimo de. S.J. *Sermon que predico el Padre Geronimo de Florencia, religioso de la Compañía de Jesus, a las honras de la Sacra Cesarea Magestad de la Emperatriz Dona María que como a su Fundadora le hizo el Colegio de la Compañía Iesus de Madrid, ano de mil y seyscientos y tres*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1604. 4°. (BM 865)
- González, Cristóbal. O.Mer. *Consideraciones del agradecimiento christiano*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1606. 4°. (BM 937)
- Gregory XIII. S.D.M. *Gregorii XIII. Bvlla exemptionis, & Sedi Apostolicae immediatae subiectionis, Ecclesiae B. Mariae de Pilari, Canonorum Regularium, Ordinis S. Augustini Caesaraugust*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1606. 4°. (BM 938)
- López Pinciano, Alonso. *El Pelayo del Pinciano*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1605. 8°. (BM 908)
- Madrigal, Juan Bautista de. O.F.M. *Homiliario Evangelico en que se tratan diversas materias espirituales, y lugares notables de Escritura, en grande beneficio de las almas, y reformation de costumbres deprauadas, y abusos introduzios en el mundo*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1602. 4°. (BM 811)
- Malón de Chaide, Pedro. O.S.A. *Libro de la conversaion de la Magdalena*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1604. (BM 874)
- Montesino, Ambrosio. *Epistolas y Evangelios*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1603. (BM 843)
- Morales, Gaspar de. *Libro de las virtvdes y propiedades maravillosas de las piedras preciosas*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1605. 8°. (BM 911)

- Murcia de la Llana, Francisco. *Selecta circa libros Aristotelis de Anima subtilioris doctrine que in Complutensi Academia versatur, miro quodam ordine disposita, & in dilucidam methodum redacta*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1604. 4°. (BM 878)
- . *Selecta circa libros Aristotelis de Coelo svbtlioris doctrinae, quae in Complutensi Academia versatur, miro quodam ordine disposita, & in dilucidam methodum redacta*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1604. 4°. (BM 879)
- . *Selecta circa libros Aristotelis de Generatione, et corruptione, subtilioris doctrinae, quae in Complutensi Academia versatur, miro quodam ordine disposita, & in dilucidam quadam methodum redacta*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1604. 4°. (BM 880)
- . *Selecta de Ratione Terminorum ad Dialectiam Aristotelis subtilioris doctrinae, quae in Complutensi Academia versatur, miro quodam ordine disposita, & in dilucidam methodum redacta*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1604. 4°. (BM 881)
- Murillo, Diego. O.F.M. *Discursos predicables sobre los Evangelios que canta la Iglesia en los Domingos y Ferias, desde la Septuagessima, hasta la Resurreccion del Señor*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1602. 4°. (BM 818)
- Oña, Pedro de. O.Mer. *Primera parte de las Postrimerias del hombre compvesta por el Maestro D. Fr. Pedro de Oña Obispo de Veneçuela, del Consejo de su Magestad*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1603. Fol. (BM 845)
- Plaza de Fresneda, Cristóforo. *Commentaria in octo libros Aristotelis de Physica Avscvltatione*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1604. 4°. (BM 886)
- Ribadeneyra, Pedro de. S.J. *Libro de Vidas de Santos, que communmente llaman Extravagantes; porque la santa Yglesia no reza dellos en el Breviario Romano*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1604. Fol. (BM 888; JS 1549)
- . *Vida de Christo y de su Madre Santissima*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1604. Fol. (BM 889)
- . *Obras del Padre Pedro de Ribadeneyra. Agora de nueuo reuistas y acrecentadas*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1605. Fol. (BM 919; JS 1495)
- . *Tratado, en el qual se da razon del Institvto de la Religion de la Compania de Iesvs*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1605. 4°. (BM 920)
- Ribera, Hernando de. O.Mer. *Sermon predicado el Domingo infra octavas de la Epifania, en la yglesia de la Compañia de Iesus, el primer dia del Capitulo Prouincial que celebraron en la villa de Madrid los padres de nuestra Señora de la Merced, de la Prouincia de Castilla*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1606. 4°. (BM 948)

- Rodríguez, Manuel. *Obras Morales en Romance, Compvestas por el Padre Fray Manuel Rodriguez Lusitano, Lector en Theologia*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1602. Fol. (BM 822)
- Rubio, Antonio. *Commentarii in octo libros Aristotelis de Physico auditu, una cum dubrijs, & quaestionibus hac tempestate agistari solitis*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1605. Fol. (BM 922)
- Salmerón, Alfonso. S.J. *Alfonsi Salmeronis Tolentani, Societatis Iesu Theologi, Comentarii in omnes Epistolas B. Pauli, & Canonicas*. 4 vols. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1602. Fol. (BM 823)
- Sánchez, Tomas. S.J. *Tomus Secundus Dispytationvm de Sancto Matrimonii Sacramento*. 2 vols. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1605. Fol. (BM 923)
- Solis, Feliciano de. *Appendix ad priores Commentarios de Censibvs, sev Secundus tomus*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1605. Fol. (BM 925)
- Valderrama, Pedro de. O.S.A. *Exercicios espirituales para todos los dias de la Quaresima*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1604. 4°. (BM 895)
- Valles, Francisco de. *Cartas familiares de moralidad, escritas por el Licenciado don Francisco de Valles, natural de la villa de Madrid*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1603. 8°. (BM 853)
- Vega, Alonso de. O.Min. *Svma, llamada nveva Recopilacion, y Practica del Fvero interior, vtilissima para Confessores y penitentes, con varias resoluciones de casi innumerables casos de conciencia, tocantes a todas las materias Teologas, Canonicas, y Iuridicas, conforme a la doctrina de los Santos, y mas graues Autores, antiguos y modernos*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1606. 2 vols. Fol. (BM 953)
- Vega, Pedro de la. *Declaracion de los siete Psalmos Penitenciales*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1603. 2 vols. 4°. (BM 854)
- Villegas y Selvago, Alonso de. *Vitoria y Trivnto de Iesv Christo, y libro en que se escriven los Hechos y milagros que hizo en el mundo este Senor y Dios nuestro, doctrina que predico, preceptos, y consejos que dio*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1603. Fol. (BM 858)
- Zamora, Lorenzo de. *Monarquia mistica de la Yglesia, hecha de hieroglyphicos, sacados de hymanas y divinas letras*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1604. 4°. (BM 900)

4.2.2 Printed in Valladolid

Printing Tendencies in the Valladolid Branch of the Sánchez Print House (1602-1606)					
		Format Production		Linguistic Production	
		Size	Amount Produced	Language	Amount
Annual Production		Folio	9	Castilian	36
		Quarto	11	Latin	7
Year	Amount	Octavo	14	Stylistic Production	
1602	7	Duodecimo	3		
1603	10	Sextodecimo	2	Type of Work	Amount
1604	12	Production by Order		Ecclesiastic	9
1605	12	Order	Number of Writers	Devotional	5
1606	2	Jesuits	2	Philosophical	1
Total	43	Merceds	2	Utilitarian	21
		Cistercians	1	Entertainment	5
		Benedictines	1	Secular Histories	2
		Augustinians	1		

Compilacion de las Leyes Capitulares de la Orden de la Cavalleria de Santiago del España. Valladolid: Luis Sánchez, 1605. 4°. (CIV 490)

Definiciones de la Orden y Cavalleria de Calatrava. Valladolid: Luis Sánchez, 1605. Fol. (CIV 497)

Del Memoiral que la Duquesa de Medina de Rioseco tiene dado al Rey sobre el desempeño de la casa del Almirante de Castilla. Valladolid: Luis Sánchez, 1605. (CIV 493)

Dos discursos en que se defiende la venida y predicacion del Apostol Santiago en España. Valladolid: Luis Sánchez, 1605. 8°. (CIV 489)

En que se manda guardar la Ley que dispone que los Alcades entregadores se acompañen con las justicias ordinarias en la determinación de las causas. Valladolid: Luis Sánchez, 1602. 4°. (CIV 420)

En que se pone la forma que desde la data della en adelante se ha de guardar para poner cambios y Bancos públicos, assi en esta Corte como en las demás partes destos Reynos. Valladolid: Luis Sánchez, 1602. 4°. (CIV 421)

En que se sybe el precio del trigo a diez y ocho Reales la hanega y la ceuada a nueve Reales. Valladolid: Luis Sánchez, 1605. Fol. (CIV 502)

- Generales de las Cortes del ano de mil y quinientos y noventa y ocho, fenecidas en el de seiscientos y uno y publicadas en el de seiscientos y quarto.* Valladolid: Luis Sánchez, 1604. 4°. (CIV 449)
- Generales de las Cortes del ano de mil y quinientos y noventa y dos, fenecidas en el de noventa y ocho; y uno y publicadas en el de seyscientos y quarto.* Valladolid: Luis Sánchez, 1604. 4°. (CIV 450)
- Para que los registros de los Escriuanos Reales, que residen en la Corte de Su Magestad y en las Chancillerias.* Valladolid: Luis Sánchez, 1604. Fol. (CIV 476)
- Que el Capitan Pedro Seuil de Guarga dirigió al Rey exponiéndole las razones que habla para emprender una expedición espan, Cochinchina y aun la China.* Valladolid: Luis Sánchez, 1603. (CIV 438)
- Varias pragmáticas del Reyno hasta el año 1591.* Valladolid: Luis Sánchez, 1602. (CIV 419)
- La vida del Lazarillo de Tormes y de sus fortunas y adversidades.* Valladolid: Luis Sánchez, 1603. 12°. (CIV 435)
- Alfaro, Francisco de. *Don Francisci de Alfaro Regii in Argentina Cancelaria regnorum Pirv. Fiscalis, Procvratoris, Tractatvs de Officio Fiscalis.* Valladolid: Luis Sánchez, 1606. Fol. (CIV 514)
- Bravo, Agustino. *Las definiciones de la Orden de Caballeria de Calatrava.* Valladolid: Luis Sánchez, 1603. Fol. (CIV 430)
- Cairasco de Figueroa, Bartolomé. *Templo militante trivmphos de virtudes, destividades, y vidas de Santos.* Valladolid: Luis Sánchez, 1602. 8°. (CIV 407)
- . *Templo militante Trivnphos DE virtudes Festividades y vidas DE santos.* Valladolid: Luis Sánchez, 1603. (CIV 431)
- [Covarrubias, Antonio de.] *Información en derecho de D. Gomez Dauila, Marqués de Velada sobre el Estado de Villatoro con Don Henrique Davila que a este pleyto se cpuso.* Valladolid: Luis Sánchez, 1602. Fol. (CIV 414)
- Espinosa, Pedro de. *Primera parte de las Flos de poetas ilustres de España, dividida en dos libros.* Valladolid: Luis Sánchez, 1605. 4°. (CIV 490)
- Freitas, Serafín. O.Mer. *Repetitionem in cap. Sacris.* Valladolid: Luis Sánchez, 1604. Fol. (CIV 453)

- González de Critana, Juan. O.S.A. *Libro de la Archicofradia de la cinta de San Agustín y Santa Monica y de las indulgencias y provilegios que gozan los cotrades della y de su fundación y Bulas*. Valladolid: Luis Sánchez, 1604. 16°. (CIV 458)
- Gracian Dantisco, Lucas. *Galateo español agora nueuamente impresso y enmendado...Y la vida de Lazarillo de Tormes castigado*. Valladolid: Luis Sánchez, 1603. 12°. (CIV 434)
- Guerrero, Fernan. S.J. *Relacion anual de las cosas que han hecho los Padres de la Compañía de Jesus en la India Oriental y Japon en los años 600 y 601 y del progreso de la conversión y christianidad de aquellas partes*. Valladolid: Luis Sánchez, 1604. 8°. (CIV 462)
- Isla, Lázaro de. *Breve tratado de la Artilleria y fabrica de ella y instrumentos de fuego*. Valladolid: Luis Sánchez, 1603. 8°. (CIV 436)
- León, Andrés de. *Practica de morbo Gallico en el cual se contiene el origen y conocimiento desta efermedad y el mejor modo de curarla*. Valladolid: Luis Sánchez, 1605. 8°. (CIV 494)
- . *Tratados de Medicina, Cirugia y Anatomia por el Dr. Andres de Leon*. Valladolid: Luis Sánchez, 1605. 8°. (CIV 495)
- Madrigal, Miguel de. *Segunda parte de Romancero general y flor de diversa poesia*. Valladolid: Luis Sánchez, 1605. 4°. (CIV 496 and 505)
- Matienzo, Juan. *Dialogus Relatoris et advocati Pintiani Senatus in quo variahim inde proponuntur et longe controvertuntur ad Renunciatorum advocatorum et indicum numera eorumque*. Valladolid: Luis Sánchez, 1604. 4°. (CIV 465)
- Medrano, Don García de. *La Regla y esta blecimientos de la Caualleria de Santiago del Espada*. Valladolid: Luis Sánchez, 1603. Fol. (CIV 437)
- Mercado, Luis. *Tomus secundus, Operum Ludovici Mercati a Cubiculo Philippi Tertii*. Valladolid: Luis Sánchez, 1605. 4°. (CIV 498)
- Monter de la Cueva, Martín de. *Juris responsum in suplicatione interposita*. Valladolid: Luis Sánchez, 1602. Fol. (CIV 417)
- Núñez de Guzmán, Hernán. *Refranes o proverbios en romance que nuevamente coligio y glosó el Comendador Hernan Nuñez de Guzman*. Valladolid: Luis Sánchez, 1602. 12°. (CIV 418)
- Obregón Cereceda, Antonio de. *Discursos sobre la filosofia Moral de Aristoteles recogidos de diversos autores*. Valladolid: Luis Sánchez, 1603. 8°. (CIV 440)

- Pérez de Herrera, Cristóbal. *Defensa de las criaturas de tierna edad, y algunas dudas y adueriencias cerca de la curación y conseruacion de su salud*. Valladolid: Luis Sánchez, 1604. 16°. (CIV 471)
- . *Elogio a las esclarecidas virtvdes de la C.R.M. del Rey N.S. Don Felipe II que esta en el cielo, y de su exemplar y Christianissima muerte y carta oratoria al poderosissimo Rey de las Espanas y Nuevo Mundo D. Felipe III nuestro senor sy muy amado hijo*. Valladolid: Luis Sánchez, 1604. 4°. (CIV 470)
- . *Clipeus Pverorum sive de eorum curatione immutanda nec non valetudine tuenda animadversiones aliquot*. Valladolid: Luis Sánchez, 1604. 8°. (CIV 472)
- Pérez de Nájera, Francisco. *Ortographia Castellana Dividida en primera y segunda parte a modo de Dialogo entre dos niños de la escuela*. Valladolid: Luis Sánchez, 1604. 8°. (CIV 473)
- San Román, Antonio de. O.S.B. *Historia General de la India Oriental*. Valladolid: Luis Sánchez, 1603. 8°. (CIV 443)
- Santiago, Hernando de. O.Mer. *Consideraciones sobre todos los Evangelios de los Domingos y ferias de quaresma*. Valladolid: Luis Sánchez, 1606. 8°. (CIV 521)
- Savariago de Santana, Gaspar de. O.Cist. *Libro de la beriada de los hechos de Scipion Africano en estas partes de España*. Valladolid: Luis Sánchez, 1603. 8°. (CIV 444)
- Toledo, Francisco. S.J. *Instrvccion de Sacerdotes, y suma de casos de conciencia*. Valladolid: Luis Sánchez, 1605. 4°. (CIV 507)
- Vazquez Marmol, Juan. *Arte y Reglas para aprender a rezar el Oficio diuino, según el Breuiario reformado, y para entender el computo y Calendario*. Valladolid: Luis Sánchez, 1605. 8°. (CIV 511)
- Zamora, Lorenzo de. *Discursos sobre los misterios que en la quaresma se celebran*. Valladolid: Luis Sánchez, 1604. 8°. (CIV 484)

4.3 Post-Valladolid Era (1607-1611)

Printing Tendencies of the Sánchez Print House (1607-1611)					
Annual Production		Format Production		Linguistic Production	
Year	Amount	Size	Amount Produced	Language	Amount
1607	4	Folio	15	Castilian	41
1608	10	Quarto	16	Latin	3
1609	13	Octavo	7	Stylistic Production	
1610	6	Duodecimo	1		
1611	11	Sextodecimo	3		
Total	44	Production by Order			
		Order	Number of Writers	Type of Work	Amount
		Franciscans	4	Ecclesiastic	12
		Jesuits	3	Devotional	20
		Minims	2	Utilitarian	8
		Dominicans	1	Secular Histories	4
		Merceds	1		
		Augustinians	1		
		D. Carmelite	1		
		Hieronymite	1		

Alegacion en derecho por Doña Francisca Colon de Toledo, sobre la sucesión en possession del Estado y Ducado de Veragua. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1608. Fol. (BM 984)

El Ivramento que la Señora Infanta doña Ana, por si, y en nombre del señor Infante don Carlos, y la señora Infanta doña Maria sus hermanos hizieron al Principe don Felipe nuestro señor. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1608. Fol. (BM 1006)

Difiniciones y Establecimientos de la orden y Cavalleria de Alcantara. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1609. Fol. (BM 1027)

Manera de rezar sus horas los Comendadores y Caballeros de la Orden de Alcantara, y la Regla de San Benito. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1609. 8°. (BM 1028)

Augustine. Meditaciones, Soliloquios, y Manual. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1608. (BM 983)

Ávila, Esteban de. S.J. *Tratado de Domicilio.* Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1609. 8°. (BM 1031)

Barona de Valdivielso, Pedro. O.F.M. *Hospicio de S. Francisco, y Espeio de bienhechores de las Religiones.* Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1609. 4°. (BM 1032)

- Bavia, Luis de. *Tercera Parte de la Historia Pontifical y Catolica, Compvesta y ordenada por el D. Luis de Brauia, Capellan del Rey nuestro señor, en su Real Capilla de Granada*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1608. Fol. (BM 991)
- Bermúdez de Pedraza, Francisco. *Antigvedad y Excelencias de Granada*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1608. 4°. (BM 992)
- Cabrera, Pedro de. O.Her. *Fratri Petri de Cabrera, Cordybensis, Sacrae Theologiae Magistri, ex ordine Divi Hieronymi, de Sacramentis in genere de auxilio praeuio, & de Baptismo*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1611. Fol. (BM 1124)
- Cabrera de Córdoba, Luis. *De Historia, para enterderla y escriuirla*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1611. 4°. (BM 1125)
- Cayrasco de Figueroa, Bartolomé. *Terecera parte del Templo militante, festividades, y vidas de Santos, declaracion y triunfos de svs virtvdes, y partes que en ellos resplandecieron*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1609. Fol. (BM 1035)
- Cetina, Melchor de. O.F.M. *Discvrsos sobre la vida y milagros del glorioso padre san Diego, de la Orden del Serafico padre S. Francisco*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1609. 4°. (BM 1037)
- Covarrubias Orozco, Sebastián de. *Emblemas morales de Don Sebastian de Couarrubias Orozco, Capellan del Rey N.S. Maestrescuola, y Canonigo de Cuenca, Consultor del Santo Oficio*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1610. 4°. (BM 1088)
- . *Tesoro de la Lengva Castellana, o Española*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1611. Fol. (BM 1130)
- Davila, Sancho. *De la veneracion que se debe a los cverpos de los Sanctos y á sus Reliquias y de la singular con que se a de adorar el cuerpo de Iesu Christo nuestro Señor en el sanctissimo Sacramento*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1611. Fol. (BM 1132)
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- . *Segunda parte del Flos Sanctorum, o Libro de las Vidas de los Santos. En la qual se contienen las Vidas de muchos Santos de todos estados, que communmente llaman Extrauagantes*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1609. Fol. (BM 1068; JS 1550)
- . *Flos sanctorum o libro de las vidas de los santos*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1610. Fol. (BM 1114; JS 1541)
- Tamayo, Francisco. O.Min. *Primera Parte de las grandezas y meioras de Christo, en que por discursos se tratan los misterios mayores de su Concepcion, vida y muerte*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1610. 4°. (BM 1116)
- Teresa de Jesús. O.C.D. *Los libros de la B. Madre Teresa de Iesvs*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1611. 4°. (BM 1157)
- Vega, Alonso de. O.Min. *Epitome o Compendio de la Syma llamada Nueua Recopilacion y pratica del fuero interior del P.F. Alonso de Vega, de la sagrada Religion de los Minimos del gloriosissimo Patriarca san Francisco de Paula, y en ella el mas minimo*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1610. 4°. (BM 1120)
- Vega, Diego de la. *Empleo y exercicio santo, sobre los Evangelios de las Doctrinas despues de Pentecostes*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1607. 4°. (BM 979)

APPENDIX 5: SAINTS OF VARIOUS *FLOS SANCTORUM*

AV – Alonso de Villegas

MR - *Martyrologium Romanum*

PR – Pedro de Ribadeneyra

PV – Pedro de la Vega

NAME	PV (1556)	MR (1584)	AV (1588)	PR (1599)	PR (1601)	PR (1604)	PR (1609)	AV (1609)
4 Crowned Ones		✓	✓		✓	✓		
5 Martyrs		✓	✓					
7 Brothers		✓	✓		✓	✓		
7 Sleepers		✓	✓				✓	
12 Martyrs		✓	✓		✓			
40 Martyrs	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		
11,000 Virgins	✓	✓	✓		✓			
Aaron		✓						✓
Abdon and Sennen	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		
Abel								✓
Abildus		✓					✓	
Abraham		✓					✓	✓
Abundius		✓	✓					
Acacius		✓	✓	✓				
Acisclus and Victoria	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓	
Acursius and his Companions		✓					✓	
Adam and Eve								✓
Adelbert of Prague		✓					✓	
Adelelmo		✓	✓					
Adrian and Natalia	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		
Agapitus		✓	✓		✓	✓		
Agatangelus		✓					✓	
Agatha	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		
Agnes	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		
Albert, Bishop and Martyr		✓					✓	
Albert the Carmelite		✓	✓				✓	
Pope Alexander	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		
Alexis	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		
Amador		✓	✓					
Ambrose, Archbishop of Milan	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		
Amos		✓						
Pope Anacletus		✓	✓		✓	✓		
Ananias		✓	✓					
Anastasia	✓	✓	✓		✓			
Anastasius		✓	✓	✓		✓		
Andronicus and Anatasia		✓					✓	
Anastasius, Felix, and Digna		✓	✓					
Andrew the Apostle	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		
Andrew of Fiesoli		✓						
Angel the Carmelite		✓	✓					
Pope Anicetus		✓	✓	✓		✓		
Anna, mother of Mary	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		
Anselm		✓	✓			✓	✓	

NAME	PV (1556)	MR (1584)	AV (1588)	PR (1599)	PR (1601)	PR (1604)	PR (1609)	AV (1609)
Antony the Anchorite	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		
Antony of Florence		✓	✓			✓	✓	
Antony the Martyr	✓	✓	✓					
Antony of Padua	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		
Apollonaire	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		
Apollonia	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		
Aquitanicus			✓					
Aranasius				✓				
Arcadius		✓	✓					
Archileus		✓		✓				
Argirmirus		✓	✓					
Arsenius		✓					✓	
Asela		✓					✓	
Athanasius		✓	✓			✓		
Attilanus		✓	✓					
Augustine of Hippo	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		
Aurea		✓	✓					
Aycardo the Abbot		✓					✓	
Barak and Deborah								✓
Barbara	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		
Barlaam and Josephat		✓	✓			✓	✓	
Barnabas the Apostle	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		
Bartholomew the Apostle	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		
Baruch								✓
Basil	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		
Basilides, Cirinus, Nabor, and Nazarius		✓	✓	✓		✓		
Basilisa		✓					✓	
Bede		✓					✓	
Benedict of Nursia	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		
Bernard of Clairvaux		✓	✓		✓	✓		
Bernard Martyr		✓	✓					
Bernardino of Siena	✓	✓	✓			✓		
Bernardo and his Companions	✓	✓	✓				✓	
Bibiana	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		
Blaise	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		
Blaise of Spain			✓					
Boaz and Ruth								✓
Bonaventure	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		
Boniface	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	
Bonito		✓					✓	
Braulius	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓	
Brice	✓	✓	✓				✓	
Brigit the Martyr	✓		✓					
Briget of Sweden			✓			✓	✓	
Brigid of Scotland		✓				✓	✓	
Bruno		✓	✓			✓	✓	
Burcadus		✓					✓	
Pope Caius		✓	✓	✓		✓		
Pope Callixtus I	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		
Carphorus and Abundius		✓	✓					
Carthusian Martyrs		✓	✓					

NAME	PV (1556)	MR (1584)	AV (1588)	PR (1599)	PR (1601)	PR (1604)	PR (1609)	AV (1609)
Casilda			✓				✓	
Cassian		✓	✓		✓	✓		
Catherine of Alexandria	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		
Catherine of Siena		✓	✓			✓		
Catherine of Sweden		✓					✓	
Cecilia and her Companions	✓		✓		✓	✓		
Celedonius and Emeterius							✓	
Centolla and Helena		✓	✓					
Cerbonius	✓	✓						
Cesarius of Arles		✓					✓	
Chrisantus and Darius	✓	✓	✓		✓			
Christophorus and Levuigildo		✓	✓					
Christina	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		
Christopher	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		
Clara of Monte Falco		✓				✓	✓	
Clare	✓		✓		✓	✓		
Claudius, Nicostratus, Sinphorianus, Castorius, and Simplicius		✓	✓		✓	✓		
Pope Clement	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		
Clement, Anciranus, Agatangelus		✓					✓	
Pope Cletus		✓	✓	✓				
Columba		✓	✓					
Columbanus		✓					✓	
Cornelius the Centurion		✓	✓					
Pope Cornelius and Cebrian	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		
Cosmas and Damian	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		
Crecencia		✓		✓				
Crispin and Crispinianus		✓	✓					
Cristeta		✓					✓	
Crysogonus			✓		✓	✓		
Cunigunda							✓	
Cyprian		✓	✓		✓	✓		
Cyriacus, Largus, etc	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		
Cyriacus and Paula		✓	✓					
Cyril the Hieronymite		✓	✓			✓	✓	
Cyril of Alexandria		✓	✓			✓	✓	
Cyrinus		✓		✓				
Cyrus and John	✓	✓						
Pope Damasus	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		
Daniel		✓						✓
King David of Israel		✓						✓
Dennis and his Companions	✓	✓						
Dennis the Areopagite and his Companions		✓	✓		✓	✓		
Diego de Alcalá					✓	✓		
Diego Aleman de Santodomingo							✓	
Diphna		✓					✓	
Dominic	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		
Dominic of the Causeway	✓	✓	✓				✓	
Dominic of Silos	✓	✓					✓	

NAME	PV (1556)	MR (1584)	AV (1588)	PR (1599)	PR (1601)	PR (1604)	PR (1609)	AV (1609)
Donatus	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		
Dorothy		✓	✓	✓		✓		
Dunstan		✓					✓	
Edita		✓					✓	
Edmund		✓					✓	
Edward the Confessor		✓					✓	
Elesmes			✓					
Pope Eleuterus		✓	✓	✓				
Elijah		✓						✓
Elisha		✓						✓
Elizabeth of Hungary	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓	
Elizabeth of Portugal		✓	✓			✓	✓	
Emerencia		✓	✓	✓		✓		
Emeterius and Celedonius			✓				✓	
Emericus							✓	
Emilianus			✓					
Enecon			✓					
Engratia and the Eighteen Companions	✓		✓			✓	✓	
Enoch								✓
Ephrem the Syrian		✓					✓	
Epiphanius		✓	✓			✓	✓	
Epimachus		✓	✓	✓				
Epitacius and Basileus		✓	✓					
Equicus		✓					✓	
Erasmus	✓	✓	✓	✓				
Espiridon							✓	
Esther								✓
Eteboldus		✓					✓	
Eucherius		✓					✓	
Euencius		✓		✓				
Eugene of Toledo	✓	✓	✓			✓		
Eugenia		✓	✓					
Euphemia and Other Martyrs		✓	✓					
Euphemia, Martyr of Spain		✓	✓					
Euphrasia		✓	✓				✓	
Eulalia of Barcelona	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓	
Eulalia of Merida		✓	✓			✓	✓	
Eulogius of Cordova		✓	✓			✓	✓	
Eurosia			✓					
Eusebius	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		
Eusebius of Vercelli		✓				✓		
Eusemia	✓				✓	✓		
Eutichius		✓	✓					
Eustachius and his Companions	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		
Pope Evaristus		✓			✓			
Ezekiel		✓						✓
Pope Fabian		✓	✓	✓				
Fabian and Sebastian	✓	✓				✓		
Facundus and Primitivus	✓	✓	✓				✓	
Faith			✓					
Fandila		✓	✓					

NAME	PV (1556)	MR (1584)	AV (1588)	PR (1599)	PR (1601)	PR (1604)	PR (1609)	AV (1609)
Faustinus and Jovita		✓	✓	✓		✓		
Faustinus, Marcus, and Adria		✓	✓		✓			
Faustus, Januarius, and Martial		✓	✓				✓	
Felician	✓	✓		✓				
Felicissimus and Agapitus		✓				✓		
Felicity and her Sons	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		
Felix the Martyr		✓	✓			✓		
Felix the Presbyter		✓	✓	✓				
Pope Felix		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
Felix and Audactus		✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	
Felix and Cucusate		✓	✓				✓	
Felix and Simplicianus	✓	✓						
Firmius		✓	✓					
Flora and Mary		✓	✓					
Florence the Virgin		✓	✓					
Florentius		✓	✓					
Francis of Assisi	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		
Francis de Paul	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		
Froylanus			✓					
Fructase		✓	✓				✓	
Fructase, Augurius, and Eulogius		✓	✓					
Frutus of Segovia			✓					
Fulgencius		✓	✓			✓	✓	
Gabriel the Archangel	✓		✓	✓		✓		
Gamaliel, Nicodemus, and Abibon		✓				✓		
Ganada of Oran			✓					
Genovefa		✓					✓	
George	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		
George the Monk		✓	✓					
Gerald		✓	✓				✓	
German of Paris		✓					✓	
German the Martyr		✓					✓	
German of Augerre		✓					✓	
Gervase and Protase	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		
Gideon		✓						✓
Gilles	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		
Gines, Writer and Martyr			✓			✓	✓	
Gines the Martyr			✓			✓	✓	
Godoleva							✓	
Gonzalez de Amatante			✓					
Gordianus and Epimacus		✓	✓	✓		✓		
Gorgonius		✓	✓		✓	✓		
Pope Gregory	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		
Gregory of Nanzianzus		✓	✓	✓		✓		
Gregory of Ostia		✓	✓					
Gregory Thaumaturgus		✓	✓		✓	✓		
Gregory of Tours		✓					✓	
Gregory of Nyssa		✓					✓	
Grisogonus	✓							
Gudula		✓					✓	

NAME	PV (1556)	MR (1584)	AV (1588)	PR (1599)	PR (1601)	PR (1604)	PR (1609)	AV (1609)
Gumarus		✓					✓	
Gumesindus		✓	✓					
Guria and Abildus							✓	
Habencius		✓	✓					
Habukkuk								✓
Haggai								✓
Hedweg of Andechs		✓					✓	
Helena, Mother of Constantine		✓	✓			✓	✓	
Helias, Paul, and Isidore			✓					
Helus and Eligius			✓					
Hermenegaudius		✓	✓					
Hermenegild		✓	✓	✓		✓		
Hermes	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		
Hermogenes and Donatus		✓	✓					
Hezekiah								✓
Hieremias		✓	✓					
Hilary	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		
Hilarion		✓	✓		✓	✓		
Hippolytus		✓	✓		✓			
Homobonus		✓					✓	
Honorius, Eutycius, and Stephen		✓	✓					
Hosea								✓
Hugo		✓				✓	✓	
Hugon of Granoble								
Humbert							✓	
Hyacinth, O P.		✓					✓	
Pope Hyginus		✓	✓	✓		✓		
Ignatius of Antioch	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		
Ildephonsus of Toledo	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		
Innumerable Martyrs of Zaragoza	✓	✓	✓					
Pope Innocent		✓	✓		✓	✓		
Irene		✓	✓			✓		
Ireneus		✓	✓			✓	✓	
Isaac								✓
Isaac the Monk		✓	✓					
Isacius		✓					✓	
Isaiah								✓
Isidore of Seville	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		
Ivan							✓	
Jacob		✓						✓
James the Greater	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		
James the Lesser	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		
James of Nisive		✓					✓	
James the Intercessor		✓					✓	
James the Hermit		✓					✓	
Januarius		✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	
Jehoshaphat								✓
Jehoshaphat, martyr							✓	
Jephthah								✓
Jeremiah								✓
Jerome	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		

NAME	PV (1556)	MR (1584)	AV (1588)	PR (1599)	PR (1601)	PR (1604)	PR (1609)	AV (1609)
Job		✓						
Joel		✓						
Pope John	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		
John the Apostle	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		
John the Apostle (before the Latin Gates)		✓	✓			✓		
John the Baptist (Beheading)	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		
John the Baptist (Birth)	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		
John Calabita		✓				✓	✓	
John Climacus		✓	✓			✓	✓	
John Chrysostom	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		
John the Damascene		✓	✓			✓	✓	
John Eleemosynarius		✓	✓					
John Gualbert		✓			✓	✓		
John Limosnero		✓				✓	✓	
John and Paul, martyrs	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		
Jonah		✓						✓
Josiah								✓
Joseph, father of Christ	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		
Joseph, son of Rachel								✓
Joshua		✓						✓
Juan de Ortega	✓	✓	✓				✓	
Judah Maccabee								✓
Judas		✓						✓
Judith								✓
Julian of Cuenca			✓			✓	✓	
Julian of Toledo		✓	✓	✓		✓		
Julian and Bastilisa		✓	✓			✓	✓	
Juliana		✓	✓				✓	
Justa and Rufina	✓	✓	✓					
Justina and Cebrian	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		
Justinus		✓	✓			✓	✓	
Justus		✓	✓					
Justus and Pastor	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		
Juvenal		✓	✓					
Lambert	✓	✓	✓					
Laurianus of Seville		✓	✓				✓	
Lawrence	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	
Lazarus (from Luke 16 19-31)								✓
Lea, nun		✓					✓	
Leander of Seville	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓	
Pope Leo	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		
Pope Leo II		✓	✓	✓		✓		
Leocadia	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		
Leonard	✓	✓	✓					
Leopold, Marquis of Austra		✓					✓	
Liberata and her Sisters		✓	✓					
Licerius		✓	✓					
Liduvina							✓	
Pope Linus		✓	✓		✓	✓		
Longinus the Centurion		✓	✓			✓	✓	
Louis, bishop of Tolosa	✓	✓	✓				✓	

NAME	PV (1556)	MR (1584)	AV (1588)	PR (1599)	PR (1601)	PR (1604)	PR (1609)	AV (1609)
King Louis of France	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		
Lot								✓
Pope Lucius		✓				✓		
Lucrecia		✓	✓					
Lucy	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		
Lucy the Widow	✓	✓						
Lucy and Germinianus		✓	✓		✓			
Luke the Evangelist	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		
Lupe		✓					✓	
Lutgardis		✓					✓	
Macarius of Egypt		✓					✓	
Macarius of Alexandria		✓					✓	
Macrina		✓					✓	
Maginus		✓	✓					
Malachi		✓						✓
Malachi, bishop of Ireland		✓					✓	
Malchus		✓	✓			✓	✓	
Mancius		✓	✓					
Marcelina		✓					✓	
Marcelinus	✓	✓		✓		✓		
Pope Marcelinus	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		
Marcellus the Centurion		✓	✓				✓	
Pope Marcellus		✓	✓	✓		✓		
Marcellus and Apuleius		✓	✓		✓	✓		
Marcus and Marcellianus		✓	✓	✓		✓		
Margaret	✓	✓	✓			✓		
Margaret of Hungary		✓				✓	✓	
Marina or Margarita	✓	✓	✓					
Marina		✓	✓					
Marius, Martha, Audifax, and Abachum		✓		✓		✓		
Pope Mark		✓	✓		✓	✓		
Mark the Evangelist	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		
Marius and Other Martyrs		✓	✓	✓				
Martha, Virgin and Guest of Christ	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		
Martha, Virgin and Martyr		✓	✓	✓				
Martial, bishop	✓	✓						
Pope Martin	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		
Martin of Bracaraense		✓	✓					
Matin of Leon		✓	✓					
Martin of Tours	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		
Martina	✓	✓						
Martinianus		✓	✓			✓	✓	
Mary Magdalene	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		
Mary of Egypt	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓	
Matrona		✓	✓					
Matthew the Apostle	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		
Matthias the Apostle	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		
Maurice and His Companions	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		
Maurilio of Angiers		✓					✓	
Mauro, abbot	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		

NAME	PV (1556)	MR (1584)	AV (1588)	PR (1599)	PR (1601)	PR (1604)	PR (1609)	AV (1609)
Maxelende							✓	
Melania		✓					✓	
Melchizedek								✓
Menas	✓		✓		✓	✓		
Micah								✓
Michael		✓	✓	✓				
Millan							✓	
Pope Miltiades		✓	✓		✓	✓		
Monica		✓	✓	✓		✓		
Moses		✓						✓
Moses, hermit and bishop		✓					✓	
Moses, hermit		✓					✓	
Nabor and Felix	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
Nahum		✓						✓
Narciscus		✓	✓				✓	
Nazarius and Celsus	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
Nereus and Archileus	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		
Nicasius		✓	✓					
Nicephorus		✓				✓	✓	
Nicholas	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		
Nicholas of Tolentino		✓			✓	✓		
Nicomedes		✓	✓		✓	✓		
Noah								✓
Norbert		✓					✓	
Nunillo and Alodia		✓	✓					
Obadiah								✓
Odilon		✓					✓	
Odon		✓	✓			✓		
Olalla	✓							
Onias								✓
Onuphrius	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓	
Orencius and Paciencia		✓	✓					
Oseta							✓	
Pacianus		✓	✓					
Paconius		✓					✓	
Pancras	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		
Pantaleon	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		
Patrick		✓	✓					
Paul the Apostle	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		
Paul the Apostle (Conversion)	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		
Paul the Hermit	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		
Paula, widow	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓	
Paulinus, bishop	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		
Pelagia		✓	✓			✓	✓	
Pelagius		✓	✓				✓	
Perpetua and Felicity		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
Pope Peter of Alexandria	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		
Peter the Apostle	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
Peter the Apostle (In Chains)	✓	✓	✓			✓		
Peter the Apostle (Imprisoned)	✓	✓						
Peter Bracarense		✓	✓					

NAME	PV (1556)	MR (1584)	AV (1588)	PR (1599)	PR (1601)	PR (1604)	PR (1609)	AV (1609)
Peter Celestine		✓					✓	
Peter Crisolous		✓					✓	
Peter Gonzalez Telmo		✓	✓			✓	✓	
Peter of Osma		✓	✓					
Peter of Seville		✓	✓					
Peter Ubalabomso		✓	✓					
Peter of Verona	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		
Peter and Marcelinus	✓	✓	✓	✓				
Petronila	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		
Petronius		✓					✓	
Philip	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		
Pope Pius		✓	✓		✓	✓		
Placidus		✓			✓	✓		
Polycarp		✓	✓	✓		✓		
Pomposa		✓	✓					
Pope Poncianus		✓	✓		✓	✓		
Poncus		✓	✓					
Potenciana			✓	✓		✓		
Praxedes		✓	✓		✓	✓		
Prefectus			✓					
Primus and Felician	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		
Prisca		✓	✓	✓		✓		
Primitivus		✓					✓	
Processus and Martinianus	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		
Procopius		✓					✓	
Prosperus		✓	✓			✓	✓	
Protus, Hyacinth and Eugenia	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		
Prudence		✓	✓					
Quinteria	✓	✓	✓					
Raymond of Peñaforte			✓				✓	
Remi	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		
Robert		✓	✓					
Roche	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓	
Rodesindo			✓					
Romanus Ostiarius		✓	✓		✓	✓		
Roman the Monk		✓	✓					
Romuald		✓		✓		✓		
Ruderico		✓	✓					
Rufina and Secunda	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		
Sabbas the Abbot	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		
Sabina	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	
Salomon			✓					
Samson								✓
Samuel		✓						✓
Sancho		✓	✓					
Sandalus		✓	✓					
Saturninus and Sisinius		✓	✓		✓	✓		
Saturninus and Honestus		✓	✓					
Sebastian	✓	✓	✓	✓				
Secundinus		✓	✓					
Sergius and Bacchus	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		
Servandus and Germain	✓	✓	✓				✓	

NAME	PV (1556)	MR (1584)	AV (1588)	PR (1599)	PR (1601)	PR (1604)	PR (1609)	AV (1609)
Servant of God, a monk			✓					
Servulus							✓	
Severin		✓	✓					
Sidonius							✓	
Simeon		✓	✓	✓				
Simeon Metaphrastes		✓	✓			✓		
Simeon Stylites		✓	✓			✓	✓	
Simon and Judas, Apostles	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		
Simplicianus, Faustus, and Beatrice		✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	
Sinforosa and Her Seven Sons		✓	✓		✓	✓		
Pope Sixtus II	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		
King Solomon								✓
Pope Soter		✓	✓	✓		✓		
Stanislaus		✓		✓		✓		
Stephen the Protomartyr	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		
Pope Stephen		✓	✓		✓			
King Stephen of Hungary		✓					✓	
Susanna		✓	✓		✓	✓		
Susanna, wife of Joachim		✓						✓
Pope Sylvester		✓	✓		✓			
Pope Sylvester	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		
Symphorianus		✓	✓		✓			
Pope Telesphorus		✓				✓		
Thecla			✓		✓	✓		
Theloy			✓					
Theodemiro, monk and martyr		✓	✓					
Theodora of Alexandria		✓	✓			✓	✓	
Theodora, virgin and martyr		✓	✓			✓	✓	
Theodore	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	
Theodosius		✓					✓	
Theotonius			✓					
Theodulus				✓				
Thomas the Apostle	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		
Thomas Aquinas	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		
Thomas a Beckett		✓	✓		✓	✓		
Timothy		✓	✓	✓				
Timothy and Sinforianus	✓		✓		✓	✓		
Tirburcius the Martyr	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓		
Tirburcius, Valerianus, and Maximus			✓	✓				
Tobias		✓						✓
Torcatus and other saintly bishops and confessors		✓	✓				✓	
Toribius, Bishop	✓		✓				✓	
Trifon, Respicius, and Ninfa			✓		✓	✓		
Udalrico of Augusta							✓	
Pope Urban	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		
Ursula with the Eleven Thousand Virgins	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		
Valentine	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		

NAME	PV (1556)	MR (1584)	AV (1588)	PR (1599)	PR (1601)	PR (1604)	PR (1609)	AV (1609)
Valerian, Tiburcius, and Maximus		✓		✓		✓		
Valerius of Seville	✓	✓	✓					
Venilde			✓					
Verissimus, Maxima, and Julia		✓	✓					
Pope Victor		✓	✓		✓	✓		
Victor of Bracarense		✓	✓					
Victor, Stercatus, and Antinogenes		✓	✓					
Victoria of Benamarin		✓	✓				✓	
Victorinus the Abbot		✓	✓					
Vincent of Colibre		✓	✓					
Vincent Ferrer	✓	✓	✓			✓		
Vincent of Leon		✓	✓					
Vincent the Martyr	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		
Vincent, Sabina, and Cristeta	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓	
Vitalis	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		
Vitalis and Agricola	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		
Vitus, Modestus, and Crecencia	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		
Walburga		✓					✓	
Wenceslaus I of Bohemia		✓					✓	
William of Aquitaine							✓	
Wistremundus		✓	✓					
Zechariah		✓						✓
Zechariah, father of John the Baptist		✓						
Zechariah Ben Jehoiada								✓
Zenobius of Florence		✓					✓	
Zephariah								✓
Pope Zepherinus		✓	✓		✓	✓		
Zerubbabel, Ezra, and Nehemiah								✓
Zoylo		✓	✓					
Francis Borgia							✓	
Francis Xavier							✓	
Ignatius of Loyola					✓	✓	✓	
Luis de Gonzaga							✓	
Stanislaus Kostka							✓	

APPENDIX 6: THE ANNOTATIONS FROM RIBADENEYRA'S *FLOS SANCTORUM*

Texts that appear in bold featured in Laurentius Surius's *De probatis sanctorum historiis*.

1. *Bible*.⁵¹¹
 - a. Featured In: Francis, Thomas Aquinas, Peter, Paul, James the Greater, Justus and Pastor, Stephen, John.
2. *Chronicle of the Order of Saint Francis*.⁵¹²
 - a. Featured In: Bonaventure.
3. *Chronicle of the Minors*.⁵¹³
 - a. Featured In: Francis.
4. *Decrees from the Council of Florence*.⁵¹⁴
 - a. Featured In: Augustine.
5. *Decrees from the Eighth Council of Toledo*.⁵¹⁵
 - a. Featured In: Augustine.
6. *Decrees from the Third Council of Carthage*.⁵¹⁶
 - a. Featured In: Augustine.
7. *Micrologus de ecclesiasticis observationibus*.⁵¹⁷
 - a. Featured In: Paul.
8. *Roman Martyrology*.⁵¹⁸
 - a. Featured In: Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventure, Paul, Justus and Pastor.
9. *Synodical Letter by the Council of Ephesus to the Clerics of Constantinople*.⁵¹⁹
 - a. Featured In: John.
10. Ado of Vienna. *Chronicle*.⁵²⁰
 - a. Featured In: Augustine, Paul, Justus and Pastor, Sebastian.
11. Ambrose of Milan. *Commentaries*.⁵²¹
 - a. Featured In: Paul.
12. Ambrose of Milan. *Explanation of the Psalms*.⁵²²
 - a. Featured In: John.
13. Ambrose of Milan. *On the Offices of Ministers*.⁵²³
 - a. Featured In: Augustine.
14. Ambrose of Milan. *On Faith*.⁵²⁴

⁵¹¹*Flos* (1599), 369, 380, 678-82, 685-86, 691-92, 694-96, 698-706, 708; *Flos* (1601), 66-67, 69, 71, 150, 258, 264-65, 268, 414-15, 424, 435, 739, 743-44, 746-50, 752-54, 759, 765-67.

⁵¹²*Flos* (1601), 31.

⁵¹³*Flos* (1601), 410-11, 413, 415-17, 419-20, 434, 436-37.

⁵¹⁴*Flos* (1601), 277.

⁵¹⁵*Flos* (1601), 277.

⁵¹⁶*Flos* (1601), 269.

⁵¹⁷*Flos* (1599), 694.

⁵¹⁸*Flos* (1599), 383, 705, 707; *Flos* (1601), 31, 151.

⁵¹⁹*Flos* (1601), 754.

⁵²⁰*Flos* (1599), 225, 705; *Flos* (1601), 151, 284.

⁵²¹*Flos* (1599), 699.

⁵²²*Flos* (1601), 765.

⁵²³*Flos* (1601), 279.

⁵²⁴*Flos* (1601), 748, 759.

- a Featured In John
- 15 Ambrose of Milan *On Repentance* ⁵²⁵
 - a Featured In Stephen
- 16 Ambrose of Milan *Sermons* ⁵²⁶
 - a Featured In Augustine, Peter, Sebastian, John
- 17 Anastasius *Quaestiones in scriptura* ⁵²⁷
 - a Featured In Peter
- 18 Anselm *Commentaries* ⁵²⁸
 - a Featured In Paul
- 19 Athanasius *Letters* ⁵²⁹
 - a Featured In Paul
- 20 Antonino de Pierozzi O P *Chronicle* ⁵³⁰
 - a Featured In Dominic, Francis, Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventure, Augustine, Justus and Pastor
- 21 Arator *De actibus Apostolorum* ⁵³¹
 - a Featured In Peter
- 22 Arnobius of Sicca *Adversus Nationes* ⁵³²
 - a Featured In Peter
- 23 Atticus *Letters* ⁵³³
 - a Featured In Peter
- 24 Augustine *Against Julian* ⁵³⁴
 - a Featured In Augustine
- 25 Augustine *Answer to the Letters of Petilian, Bishop of Cirta* ⁵³⁵
 - a Featured In Augustine
- 26 Augustine *Brief Collations on the Third Day* ⁵³⁶
 - a Featured In Augustine
- 27 Augustine *City of God* ⁵³⁷
 - a Featured In Peter, Stephen, John
- 28 Augustine *Commentary on John* ⁵³⁸
 - a Featured In John
- 29 Augustine *Confessions* ⁵³⁹
 - a Featured In Augustine, Paul, John

⁵²⁵*Flos* (1601), 744

⁵²⁶*Flos* (1599), 225, 688, 707, *Flos* (1601), 284, 763

⁵²⁷*Flos* (1599), 686

⁵²⁸*Flos* (1599), 697

⁵²⁹*Flos* (1599), 705

⁵³⁰*Flos* (1599), 383, *Flos* (1601), 31, 134, 151, 279, 421

⁵³¹*Flos* (1599), 681

⁵³²*Flos* (1599), 687

⁵³³*Flos* (1599), 692

⁵³⁴*Flos* (1601), 278

⁵³⁵*Flos* (1601), 267

⁵³⁶*Flos* (1601), 269 I am unsure whether this work, concerning Genesis, is the one against the Manicheans or the unfinished literal interpretation of Genesis

⁵³⁷*Flos* (1599), 691, *Flos* (1601), 746, 759

⁵³⁸*Flos* (1601), 757

⁵³⁹*Flos* (1599), 699, *Flos* (1601), 256-64, 759

30. Augustine. *Expositions on the Psalms*.⁵⁴⁰
 - a. Featured In: Augustine.
31. Augustine. *Letters*.⁵⁴¹
 - a. Featured In: Augustine, Peter, Paul.
32. Augustine. *On Christian Doctrine*.⁵⁴²
 - a. Featured In: Augustine.
33. Augustine. *On the Harmony of the Evangelists*.⁵⁴³
 - a. Featured In: Peter, John.
34. Augustine. *On the Work of Monks*.⁵⁴⁴
 - a. Featured In: Augustine.
35. Augustine. *Questions*.⁵⁴⁵
 - a. Featured In: John.
36. Augustine. *Retractions*.⁵⁴⁶
 - a. Featured In: Augustine.
37. Augustine. *Proceedings with Emeritus*.⁵⁴⁷
 - a. Featured In: Augustine.
38. Augustine. *Sermons*.⁵⁴⁸
 - a. Featured In: Augustine, Sebastian, Stephen.
39. Augustine. *Treatises on the Gospel of John*.⁵⁴⁹
 - a. Featured In: Peter, John.
40. Baronius, Caesar. C.O. *Ecclesiastic Annals from Christ's Nativity to 1198*.⁵⁵⁰
 - a. Featured In: Augustine, Peter, Paul, James the Greater, Sebastian, John.
41. Baronius, Caesar. C.O. *Life of St. Ambrose*.⁵⁵¹
 - a. Featured In: Augustine.
42. Baronius, Caesar. C.O. ed. *Roman Martyrology*.⁵⁵²
 - a. Featured In: Francis, Peter, Paul, James the Greater, Justus and Pastor, Sebastian, Stephen, John.
43. Basil the Great. *Sermons*.⁵⁵³
 - a. Featured In: John.
44. Bede. *Ecclesiastic History of the English People*.⁵⁵⁴
 - a. Featured In: Sebastian.
45. Bede. *Commentaries*.⁵⁵⁵

⁵⁴⁰*Flos* (1601), 270.

⁵⁴¹*Flos* (1599), 687, 697; *Flos* (1601), 268-69, 271-72, 278, 282.

⁵⁴²*Flos* (1601), 268.

⁵⁴³*Flos* (1599), 690; *Flos* (1601), 748, 765.

⁵⁴⁴*Flos* (1601), 270.

⁵⁴⁵*Flos* (1601), 764.

⁵⁴⁶*Flos* (1601), 264, 274.

⁵⁴⁷*Flos* (1601), 274.

⁵⁴⁸*Flos* (1599), 225; *Flos* (1601), 267, 269-70, 279, 739, 743-44, 746.

⁵⁴⁹*Flos* (1599), 691; *Flos* (1601), 758, 763.

⁵⁵⁰*Flos* (1599), 225, 682-84, 686, 688-90, 693, 705-7; *Flos* (1601), 71-72, 255, 265, 268-71, 273, 282-84, 745, 747, 760, 763-64.

⁵⁵¹*Flos* (1601), 266.

⁵⁵²*Flos* (1599), 225, 690-91, 694, 705; *Flos* (1601), 69, 151, 265, 434, 436, 745, 760, 764.

⁵⁵³*Flos* (1601), 759.

⁵⁵⁴*Flos* (1599), 225.

- a. Featured In: Peter, John.
- 46. Bede. *Martyrology*.⁵⁵⁶
 - a. Featured In: Paul, Justus and Pastor.
- 47. Bede. *On the Age of the World*.⁵⁵⁷
 - a. Featured In: Augustine, John.
- 48. Bellarmine, Robert. S.J. *Controversies*.⁵⁵⁸
 - a. Featured In: Peter.
- 49. Bernard of Clairvaux. O. Cist. *On Consideration*.⁵⁵⁹
 - a. Featured In: Peter.
- 50. Bernard of Clairvaux. O. Cist. *Sermons*.⁵⁶⁰
 - a. Featured In: Augustine.
- 51. **Bonaventure. O.F.M. *Life of St. Francis***.⁵⁶¹
 - a. Featured In: Francis.
- 52. Bonaventure. O.F.M. *Soliloquay on the Four Spiritual Exercises*.⁵⁶²
 - a. Featured In: Bonaventure.
- 53. Cassiodorus. *Roman Psalter*.⁵⁶³
 - a. Featured In: Augustine.
- 54. Cassius Dio. *Roman History*.⁵⁶⁴
 - a. Featured In: Peter.
- 55. Castillo, Fernando del. O.P. *History of the Order of Preachers*.⁵⁶⁵
 - a. Featured In: Dominic, Thomas Aquinas.
- 56. Catharus, Aretius [=Luther, Martin]. *Commentary on 2 Corinthians*.⁵⁶⁶
 - a. Featured In: Paul.
- 57. Cattani da Diacceto, Francesco the Younger.⁵⁶⁷
 - a. Featured In: Dominic.
- 58. Cedrenus, George. *Compendium historiarum*.⁵⁶⁸
 - a. Featured In: John.
- 59. Celestine I. *Letters*.⁵⁶⁹
 - a. Featured In: Augustine.
- 60. Clement I. *Apostolic Canons*.⁵⁷⁰
 - a. Featured In: Stephen.
- 61. Clement of Alexandria. *Stromata (Miscellanies)*.⁵⁷¹

⁵⁵⁵*Flos* (1599), 682; *Flos* (1601), 747, 765.

⁵⁵⁶*Flos* (1599), 705; *Flos* (1601), 151.

⁵⁵⁷*Flos* (1601), 277, 284, 764.

⁵⁵⁸*Flos* (1599), 691.

⁵⁵⁹*Flos* (1599), 691.

⁵⁶⁰*Flos* (1601), 277, 746.

⁵⁶¹*Flos* (1601), 421, 432, 436.

⁵⁶²*Flos* (1601), 29.

⁵⁶³*Flos* (1601), 277.

⁵⁶⁴*Flos* (1599), 686.

⁵⁶⁵*Flos* (1599), 383; *Flos* (1601), 111, 120-21, 123-24, 128, 131-34.

⁵⁶⁶*Flos* (1599), 697.

⁵⁶⁷*Flos* (1601), 134.

⁵⁶⁸*Flos* (1601), 764.

⁵⁶⁹*Flos* (1601), 277.

⁵⁷⁰*Flos* (1601), 740, 745.

- a. Featured In: Peter.
- 62. Clement V. *Constitutiones*.⁵⁷²
 - a. Featured In: Peter.
- 63. Clichtove, Josse van. Unknown Work.⁵⁷³
 - a. Featured In: Paul.
- 64. Cyprian. *Letters*.⁵⁷⁴
 - a. Featured In: Peter.
- 65. Cyril of Alexandria. *Against Julian*.⁵⁷⁵
 - a. Featured In: John.
- 66. Cyril of Jerusalem. *Catechism*.⁵⁷⁶
 - a. Featured In: Peter, Paul.
- 67. Datius of Milan. *Chronicle*.⁵⁷⁷
 - a. Featured In: Augustine.
- 68. **Dietrich of Apolda. O.P. *Life of St. Dominic***.⁵⁷⁸
 - a. Featured In: Dominic.
- 69. Dorotheus of Tyre. *Synopsis*.⁵⁷⁹
 - a. Featured In: Stephen, John.
- 70. Durand, Guillaume. *Rationale divinorum officiorum*.⁵⁸⁰
 - a. Featured In: Paul.
- 71. Epiphanius of Salamis. *Adversus Haereses*.⁵⁸¹
 - a. Featured In: Peter, Paul, John.
- 72. Eusebius of Caesarea. *Chronicle*.⁵⁸²
 - a. Featured In: Peter, Paul, James the Greater, John.
- 73. **Eusebius of Caesarea. *Ecclesiastic History***.⁵⁸³
 - a. Featured In: Peter, James the Greater, John.
- 74. Eusebius of Caesarea. *On the Evangelists*.⁵⁸⁴
 - a. Featured In: John.
- 75. Eusebius of Emesea. *Book of Homilies*.⁵⁸⁵
 - a. Featured In: Paul, Stephen.
- 76. Euthymius Zigabenus. *Commentaries*.⁵⁸⁶
 - a. Featured In: John.
- 77. Flaminio, Marcantonio. *Carmina sacra*.⁵⁸⁷

⁵⁷¹*Flos* (1599), 682, 691, 693.

⁵⁷²*Flos* (1599), 687.

⁵⁷³*Flos* (1599), 697.

⁵⁷⁴*Flos* (1599), 684.

⁵⁷⁵*Flos* (1601), 759.

⁵⁷⁶*Flos* (1599), 687, 705.

⁵⁷⁷*Flos* (1601), 266.

⁵⁷⁸*Flos* (1601), 111.

⁵⁷⁹*Flos* (1601), 745, 757.

⁵⁸⁰*Flos* (1599), 697.

⁵⁸¹*Flos* (1599), 683, 687, 705; *Flos* (1601), 764.

⁵⁸²*Flos* (1599), 693, 704; *Flos* (1601), 72, 763.

⁵⁸³*Flos* (1599), 682, 687, 690, 693; *Flos* (1601), 71, 756-57, 761-63.

⁵⁸⁴*Flos* (1601), 759.

⁵⁸⁵*Flos* (1599), 707; *Flos* (1601), 741, 746

⁵⁸⁶*Flos* (1601), 748.

- a. Featured In: Dominic.
- 78. Fulgentius of Ruspe. *Sermons*.⁵⁸⁸
 - a. Featured In: Stephen.
- 79. Garzoni, Giovanni.O.P. *Vitae*.⁵⁸⁹
 - a. Featured In: Dominic, Thomas Aquinas.
- 80. Gaudentius of Bresca. *Sermons*.⁵⁹⁰
 - a. Featured In: Paul.
- 81. Gerson, Jean. *De examine doctrinarum*.⁵⁹¹
 - a. Featured In: Bonaventure.
- 82. Gratian. *Decretum*.⁵⁹²
 - a. Featured In: Peter
- 83. Gregory the Great. *Dialogues*.⁵⁹³
 - a. Featured In: Sebastian.
- 84. Gregory the Great. *Letters*.⁵⁹⁴
 - a. Featured In: Augustine, Peter.
- 85. Gregory the Great. *Moralityor a Commentary on Job*.⁵⁹⁵
 - a. Featured In: Paul.
- 86. Gregory Nazianzus. *Orations*.⁵⁹⁶
 - a. Featured In: Peter, Paul.
- 87. Gregory of Nyssa. *Life of Gregory Thaumaturgos*.⁵⁹⁷
 - a. Featured In: John.
- 88. Gregory of Nyssa. *On the Inscriptions of the Psalms*.⁵⁹⁸
 - a. Featured In: Peter.
- 89. Gregory of Nyssa. *Sermons*.⁵⁹⁹
 - a. Featured In: Stephen, John.
- 90. Gregory of Tours. *On the Glory of the Martyrs*.⁶⁰⁰
 - a. Featured In: Paul, John.
- 91. Hilary of Arles. *Letters*.⁶⁰¹
 - a. Featured In: Augustine.
- 92. Hilary of Poitiers. *Commentaries*.⁶⁰²
 - a. Featured In: John.
- 93. Hippolytus of Rome. *Book on the Seventy Disciples*.⁶⁰³

⁵⁸⁷*Flos* (1601), 134.

⁵⁸⁸*Flos* (1601), 745-46.

⁵⁸⁹*Flos* (1599), 383; *Flos* (1601), 134.

⁵⁹⁰*Flos* (1599), 708.

⁵⁹¹*Flos* (1601), 30.

⁵⁹²*Flos* (1599), 690.

⁵⁹³*Flos* (1599), 225.

⁵⁹⁴*Flos* (1599), 684, 691; *Flos* (1601), 277.

⁵⁹⁵*Flos* (1599), 705.

⁵⁹⁶*Flos* (1599), 680, 697.

⁵⁹⁷*Flos* (1601), 768.

⁵⁹⁸*Flos* (1599), 688.

⁵⁹⁹*Flos* (1601), 746, 748.

⁶⁰⁰*Flos* (1599), 708; *Flos* (1601), 757, 763, 765.

⁶⁰¹*Flos* (1601), 277.

⁶⁰²*Flos* (1601), 748.

- a. Featured In: Paul, Stephen.
- 94. Hugh of St. Victor. *Questions on 2 Corinthians*.⁶⁰⁴
 - a. Featured In: Paul.
- 95. Hydatius. *On the Trinity against the Arians*.⁶⁰⁵
 - a. Featured In: John.
- 96. Hyginus. *Letters*.⁶⁰⁶
 - a. Featured In: John.
- 97. Ignatius of Antioch. *Letters*.⁶⁰⁷
 - a. Featured In: Peter, Stephen.
- 98. Innocent I. *Letters*.⁶⁰⁸
 - a. Featured In: Peter.
- 99. Irenaeus of Lyons. *Adversus Haereses*.⁶⁰⁹
 - a. Featured In: Peter, John.
- 100. Isidore of Seville. *Fathers of the New Testament*.⁶¹⁰
 - a. Featured In: John.
- 101. Isidore of Seville. *Life of Saint James*.⁶¹¹
 - a. Featured In: James the Greater.
- 102. Isidore of Seville. *Mozarabic Breviary*.⁶¹²
 - a. Featured In: Justus and Pastor.
- 103. Isidore of Seville. *Mozarabic Missal*.⁶¹³
 - a. Featured In: Justus and Pastor.
- 104. Isidore of Seville. *On the Lives and Deaths of Saints*.⁶¹⁴
 - a. Featured In: Paul.
- 105. Jansen, Cornelius the Elder. *Concordia evangelica*.⁶¹⁵
 - a. Featured In: John.
- 106. Jerome. *Against Jovinianus*.⁶¹⁶
 - a. Featured In: John.
- 107. Jerome. *Commentaries*.⁶¹⁷
 - a. Featured In: Paul, John.
- 108. Jerome. *Epitaph to Marcella*.⁶¹⁸
 - a. Featured In: James the Greater, John.
- 109. Jerome. *Letters*.⁶¹⁹

⁶⁰³*Flos* (1599), 705; *Flos* (1601), 745.

⁶⁰⁴*Flos* (1599), 697.

⁶⁰⁵*Flos* (1601), 764.

⁶⁰⁶*Flos* (1601), 764.

⁶⁰⁷*Flos* (1599), 683; *Flos* (1601), 745.

⁶⁰⁸*Flos* (1599), 684.

⁶⁰⁹*Flos* (1599), 683; *Flos* (1601), 757.

⁶¹⁰*Flos* (1601), 757, 760, 763.

⁶¹¹*Flos* (1601), 71.

⁶¹²*Flos* (1601), 150-51.

⁶¹³*Flos* (1601), 150.

⁶¹⁴*Flos* (1599), 705.

⁶¹⁵*Flos* (1601), 767.

⁶¹⁶*Flos* (1601), 758, 767.

⁶¹⁷*Flos* (1599), 699, 705; *Flos* (1601), 757, 762.

⁶¹⁸*Flos* (1601), 66, 746.

- a. Featured In: Augustine, Peter, Paul, John.
- 110. John Chrysostom. *Adhoration ad Theodorum lapsum*.⁶²⁰
 - a. Featured In: John.
- 111. John Chrysostom. *Against Those Who Oppose the Monastic Life*.⁶²¹
 - a. Featured In: Peter.
- 112. John Chrysostom. *Commentaries*.⁶²²
 - a. Featured In: Paul, John.
- 113. John Chrysostom. *Orationes*.⁶²³
 - a. Featured In: Paul.
- 114. **John Chrysostom. Sermons**.⁶²⁴
 - a. Featured In: Peter, Paul, John.
- 115. John of Damascus. *De fide*.⁶²⁵
 - a. Featured In: Paul.
- 116. John the Deacon of Rome. *Life of Gregory*.⁶²⁶
 - a. Featured In: John.
- 117. Justinian. *Corpus Iuris Civilis*.⁶²⁷
 - a. Featured In: Augustine.
- 118. Justinus. *First Apology to Antonius Pius*.⁶²⁸
 - a. Featured In: Peter.
- 119. Leo I. *Sermons*.⁶²⁹
 - a. Featured In: Paul.
- 120. Lippomano, Luigi. *Sanctorum priscorum patrum vitae*.⁶³⁰
 - a. Featured In: John.
- 121. Luis de León. O.S.A. *Guide to Preachers*.⁶³¹
 - a. Featured In: Dominic.
- 122. Maldonado, Juan. S.J. *Commentaries*.⁶³²
 - a. Featured In: John.
- 123. Marianus Scotus. *Chronicle*.⁶³³
 - a. Featured In: Augustine.
- 124. Marulus Spalatensis, Marcus. *De institutione bene vivendi per exempla sanctorum*.⁶³⁴
 - a. Featured In: Francis.

⁶¹⁹*Flos* (1599), 684, 697, 704; *Flos* (1601), 268, 276, 278, 757, 760, 763.

⁶²⁰*Flos* (1601), 761.

⁶²¹*Flos* (1599), 688.

⁶²²*Flos* (1599), 697, 705; *Flos* (1601), 748, 765.

⁶²³*Flos* (1599), 707.

⁶²⁴*Flos* (1599), 680-81, 697, 699, 705, 707; *Flos* (1601), 749, 759, 763.

⁶²⁵*Flos* (1599), 697.

⁶²⁶*Flos* (1601), 765.

⁶²⁷*Flos* (1601), 270. Especially Book I, Title IV.

⁶²⁸*Flos* (1599), 683.

⁶²⁹*Flos* (1599), 708.

⁶³⁰*Flos* (1601), 757.

⁶³¹*Flos* (1601), 130.

⁶³²*Flos* (1601), 747-48, 759, 763.

⁶³³*Flos* (1601), 284.

⁶³⁴*Flos* (1601), 421.

125. Maurolico, Francesco. O.S.B. *Martyrology*.⁶³⁵
 - a. Featured In: Peter.
126. Maximus of Turin. *Sermons*.⁶³⁶
 - a. Featured In: Peter.
127. Morales, Ambrosio de. *The Life...of the Glorious Boy Martyrs Saints Justus and Pastor*.⁶³⁷
 - a. Featured In: Justus and Pastor.
128. Morales, Ambrosio de. *General Chronicle of Spain*.⁶³⁸
 - a. Featured In: James the Greater, Justus and Pastor.
129. Nicephoros I of Constantinople. *Chronography*.⁶³⁹
 - a. Featured In: Peter, Stephen, John.
130. Nicephoros Callistus Xanthopulus. *Ecclesiastical History*.⁶⁴⁰
 - a. Featured In: Paul.
131. Nicetas the Paphlagonian. *Sermons*.⁶⁴¹
 - a. Featured In: Stephen.
132. Nicholas of Lyra. *Commentaries*.⁶⁴²
 - a. Featured In: Paul.
133. Origen of Alexandria. *Commentaries*.⁶⁴³
 - a. Featured In: Peter, Paul.
134. Origen of Alexandria. *Sermons*.⁶⁴⁴
 - a. Featured In: John.
135. Paralipus. *Question 18*.⁶⁴⁵
 - a. Featured In: Paul.
136. Paul the Deacon. O.S.B. *History of the Lombards*.⁶⁴⁶
 - a. Featured In: Augustine, Sebastian.
137. Paulinus of Nola. *Letters*.⁶⁴⁷
 - a. Featured In: Augustine, Peter.
138. Paul Orosius. *History against the Pagans*.⁶⁴⁸
 - a. Featured In: Peter.
139. Peter Chrysologus. *Sermons*.⁶⁴⁹
 - a. Featured In: Stephen.
140. **Peter Damian. O.S.B. *Sermons***.⁶⁵⁰

⁶³⁵*Flos* (1599), 678.

⁶³⁶*Flos* (1599), 687.

⁶³⁷*Flos* (1601), 151.

⁶³⁸*Flos* (1601), 70, 151.

⁶³⁹*Flos* (1599), 689; *Flos* (1601), 745, 757, 763-64.

⁶⁴⁰*Flos* (1599), 707.

⁶⁴¹*Flos* (1601), 746.

⁶⁴²*Flos* (1599), 697.

⁶⁴³*Flos* (1599), 693, 699.

⁶⁴⁴*Flos* (1601), 765.

⁶⁴⁵*Flos* (1599), 697.

⁶⁴⁶*Flos* (1599), 225; *Flos* (1601), 284.

⁶⁴⁷*Flos* (1599), 690; *Flos* (1601), 276.

⁶⁴⁸*Flos* (1599), 691.

⁶⁴⁹*Flos* (1601), 746.

⁶⁵⁰*Flos* (1599), 692.

- a. Featured In: Peter.
- 141. Petrus Galesinus. O.F.M. *Sancti Bonaventurae vita*.⁶⁵¹
 - a. Featured In: Bonaventure.
- 142. Philastrius. *Liber de haeresibus*.⁶⁵²
 - a. Featured In: Peter.
- 143. Pius V. *Brief on the Celebration of the Feast of These Saints*.⁶⁵³
 - a. Featured In: Justus and Pastor.
- 144. Pizamano, Antonio. O.P. *Vita Thome Aquinatisi*.⁶⁵⁴
 - a. Featured In: Thomas Aquinas.
- 145. **Possidius. *Life of Augustine***.⁶⁵⁵
 - a. Featured In: Augustine.
- 146. Primasius. *Commentaries*.⁶⁵⁶
 - a. Featured In: John.
- 147. Procopius. *De Bello Gothico*.⁶⁵⁷
 - a. Featured In: Peter.
- 148. Prochorus. *On the Life of John*.⁶⁵⁸
 - a. Featured In: John.
- 149. Prosper of Aquitaine. *On the Contemplative Life*.⁶⁵⁹
 - a. Featured In: Augustine.
- 150. Prosper of Aquitaine. *Chronicle*.⁶⁶⁰
 - a. Featured In: Augustine.
- 151. Prosper of Aquitaine. *Letters*.⁶⁶¹
 - a. Featured In: Augustine.
- 152. Prudentius. Unknown Work.⁶⁶²
 - a. Featured In: Paul, Justus and Pastor.
- 153. Pseudo-Augustine. *Book of Meditations and Soliloquies and Manual*.⁶⁶³
 - a. Featured In: Augustine.
- 154. Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite. *On the Letter to John*.⁶⁶⁴
 - a. Featured In: John.
- 155. Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite. *On Celestial Hierarchy*.⁶⁶⁵
 - a. Featured In: Paul, John.
- 156. Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite. *On the Divine Names*.⁶⁶⁶

⁶⁵¹*Flos* (1601), 28-29, 31.

⁶⁵²*Flos* (1599), 687.

⁶⁵³*Flos* (1601), 149.

⁶⁵⁴*Flos* (1599), 383.

⁶⁵⁵*Flos* (1601), 255, 266-67, 269, 270-72, 275, 279-80, 283-84.

⁶⁵⁶*Flos* (1601), 756.

⁶⁵⁷*Flos* (1599), 691.

⁶⁵⁸*Flos* (1601), 757, 760.

⁶⁵⁹*Flos* (1601), 276.

⁶⁶⁰*Flos* (1601), 283.

⁶⁶¹*Flos* (1601), 276.

⁶⁶²*Flos* (1599), 694; *Flos* (1601), 151.

⁶⁶³*Flos* (1601), 281-82.

⁶⁶⁴*Flos* (1601), 765.

⁶⁶⁵*Flos* (1599), 697; *Flos* (1601), 766.

⁶⁶⁶*Flos* (1599), 682, 706.

- a. Featured In: Peter, Paul.
- 157. **Pseudo-Hegesippus. *De exicidio Hierosolymitano*.**⁶⁶⁷
 - a. Featured In: Peter.
- 158. Randulph of Tongres. *Book for the Observant Canons*.⁶⁶⁸
 - a. Featured In: Augustine.
- 159. Rupert of Deutz. O.S.B. *Commentaries*.⁶⁶⁹
 - a. Featured In: John.
- 160. Rupert of Deutz. O.S.B. *On the Works of the Holy Spirit*.⁶⁷⁰
 - a. Featured In: Augustine.
- 161. Reggio, Paolo.⁶⁷¹
 - a. Featured In: Thomas Aquinas.
- 162. Romeo, David.⁶⁷²
 - a. Featured In: Thomas Aquinas.
- 163. Rufinus. *Commentarius in symbolum apostolorum*.⁶⁷³
 - a. Featured In: Peter.
- 164. Salmerón, Alfonso. S.J. *Commentaries*.⁶⁷⁴
 - a. Featured In: Peter, James the Greater, John.
- 165. Suetonius. *Lives of the Caesars*.⁶⁷⁵
 - a. Featured In: Peter.
- 166. Severus Sulpicus. *Letters*.⁶⁷⁶
 - a. Featured In: Augustine.
- 167. **Simon Metaphrastes. *Lives of Saints Peter and Paul*.**⁶⁷⁷
 - a. Featured In: Peter, Paul.
- 168. **Simon Metaphrastes. *Life of Saint John*.**⁶⁷⁸
 - a. Featured In: James the Greater, John.
- 169. **Simon Metaphrastes. *Menalogion*.**⁶⁷⁹
 - a. Featured In: John.
- 170. **Sixtus IV. O.F.M. *Bull for Bonaventure's Canonisation*.**⁶⁸⁰
 - a. Featured In: Bonaventure.
- 171. Sixtus V. O.F.M. *Bull*.⁶⁸¹
 - a. Featured In: Bonaventure.
- 172. Sixtus of Siena. O.P. *Bibliotheca sancta*.⁶⁸²

⁶⁶⁷*Flos* (1599), 687-88.

⁶⁶⁸*Flos* (1601), 266.

⁶⁶⁹*Flos* (1601), 747.

⁶⁷⁰*Flos* (1601), 277.

⁶⁷¹*Flos* (1599), 383.

⁶⁷²*Flos* (1599), 383.

⁶⁷³*Flos* (1599), 693.

⁶⁷⁴*Flos* (1599), 682, 690; *Flos* (1601), 72, 747, 764.

⁶⁷⁵*Flos* (1599), 686.

⁶⁷⁶*Flos* (1601), 276.

⁶⁷⁷*Flos* (1599), 683-84, 688, 699, 705.

⁶⁷⁸*Flos* (1601), 67, 755, 760, 763.

⁶⁷⁹*Flos* (1601), 764. The *Menalogion* was the ten-volume collection of saints' lives and the source for the lives of Peter, Paul, and John used by Ribadeneyra and Surius.

⁶⁸⁰*Flos* (1601), 31.

⁶⁸¹*Flos* (1601), 31.

- a. Featured In: Thomas Aquinas, Augustine, Peter.
- 173. Sophronius. *By Jerusalem*.⁶⁸³
 - a. Featured In: Peter.
- 174. Sophronius. *Sermons*.⁶⁸⁴
 - a. Featured In: Paul.
- 175. Suidas. *Lexicon*.⁶⁸⁵
 - a. Featured In: John.
- 176. Surius, Laurentius. O. Cart. *De probatis sanctorum historiis*.⁶⁸⁶
 - a. Featured In: Dominic, Thomas Aquinas, Justus and Pastor.
- 177. Tacitus. *Annals*.⁶⁸⁷
 - a. Featured In: Peter.
- 178. Tertullian. *Against Praxeamus*.⁶⁸⁸
 - a. Featured In: Paul.
- 179. Tertullian. *Apologeticus pro Christianis*.⁶⁸⁹
 - a. Featured In: Peter.
- 180. Tertullian. *On the Soul*.⁶⁹⁰
 - a. Featured In: John.
- 181. Theodore the Interpreter. *Commentaries*.⁶⁹¹
 - a. Featured In: Paul.
- 182. Theodoret of Cyrus. *Religious History*.⁶⁹²
 - a. Featured In: John.
- 183. Theophylact of Ohrid. *Commentaries*.⁶⁹³
 - a. Featured In: John.
- 184. Thomas Aquinas. O.P. *Commentary on John 21*.⁶⁹⁴
 - a. Featured In: John.
- 185. Thomas Aquinas. O.P. *Summa Theologia*.⁶⁹⁵
 - a. Featured In: Paul, John.
- 186. Trithemius, Johannes. O.S.B. *De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*.⁶⁹⁶
 - a. Featured In: Bonaventure.
- 187. Usuard. O.S.B. *Martyrology*.⁶⁹⁷
 - a. Featured In: Justus and Pastor, Sebastian, John.
- 188. Victorinus of Poetovio. *Commentaries*.⁶⁹⁸

⁶⁸²*Flos* (1599), 383, 693; *Flos* (1601), 268.

⁶⁸³*Flos* (1599), 693.

⁶⁸⁴*Flos* (1599), 705.

⁶⁸⁵*Flos* (1601), 764.

⁶⁸⁶*Flos* (1599), 383; *Flos* (1601), 134, 151.

⁶⁸⁷*Flos* (1599), 686.

⁶⁸⁸*Flos* (1599), 697.

⁶⁸⁹*Flos* (1599), 686.

⁶⁹⁰*Flos* (1601), 763.

⁶⁹¹*Flos* (1599), 705.

⁶⁹²*Flos* (1601), 764.

⁶⁹³*Flos* (1601), 757, 763.

⁶⁹⁴*Flos* (1601), 763.

⁶⁹⁵*Flos* (1599), 697; *Flos* (1601), 763.

⁶⁹⁶*Flos* (1601), 31.

⁶⁹⁷*Flos* (1599), 225; *Flos* (1601), 151, 764.

a. Featured In: John.

⁶⁹⁸*Flos* (1601), 756.

APPENDIX 7: THE ANNOTATIONS FROM VILLEGAS'S *FLOS SANCTORUM*

1. *Bible*.⁶⁹⁹
 - a. Featured In: James the Greater, John, Stephen.
2. *Historia de Señora María de Pilar*.⁷⁰⁰
 - a. Featured In: James the Greater.
3. *Roman Martyrology*.⁷⁰¹
 - a. Featured In: Augustine.
4. Ado of Vienna. *Chronicle*.⁷⁰²
 - a. Featured In: Paul.
5. Ambrose of Milan: *On Faith*.⁷⁰³
 - a. Featured In: Peter.
6. Ambrose of Milan. *Sermons*.⁷⁰⁴
 - a. Featured In: Peter.
7. Antonino de Pierozzi.O.P. *Chronicle*.⁷⁰⁵
 - a. Featured In: Dominic, Francis, Augustine.
8. Athanasius, *Apologies*.⁷⁰⁶
 - a. Featured In: Peter.
9. Augustine. *Against Faustus*.⁷⁰⁷
 - a. Featured In: Paul.
10. Augustine. *Against Julian*.⁷⁰⁸
 - a. Featured In: Augustine.
11. Augustine. *Confessions*.⁷⁰⁹
 - a. Featured In: Augustine.
12. Basil the Great/Hilary of Poitiers. *Refutation against Eunomius/Against the Arians*.⁷¹⁰
 - a. Featured In: Peter.
13. Basil the Great. *Sermons*.⁷¹¹
 - a. Featured In: John.
14. Bede. *Commentaries*.⁷¹²
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 - a. Featured In: Francis.

⁶⁹⁹ Villegas, *Flos* (1588), 238v, 418r, 420r.

⁷⁰⁰ Ibid. 239r.

⁷⁰¹ Ibid. 300v.

⁷⁰² Ibid. 216r.

⁷⁰³ Ibid. 210v.

⁷⁰⁴ Ibid. 212v, 213r.

⁷⁰⁵ Ibid. 260v, 299r, 339v, fol. 342.

⁷⁰⁶ Ibid. 213r.

⁷⁰⁷ Ibid. 214v.

⁷⁰⁸ Ibid. 299r.

⁷⁰⁹ Ibid. 299r, 301r.

⁷¹⁰ Ibid. 213r.

⁷¹¹ Ibid. 210v.

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⁷¹³ Ibid. 339v.

- 16 Claude D'Espence *De Continentia* ⁷¹⁴
a Featured In Peter
- 17 Clement of Alexandria *Stromata (Miscellanies)* ⁷¹⁵
a Featured In John
- 18 Datus of Milan *Chronicle* ⁷¹⁶
a Featured In Augustine
- 19 **Dietrich of Apolda. O.P. *Life of St. Dominic.*** ⁷¹⁷
a Featured In Dominic
- 20 Dorotheus of Gaza *Letters* ⁷¹⁸
a Featured In Paul
- 21 Epiphanius of Salamis *Adversus Haereses* ⁷¹⁹
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- 22 **Eusebius of Caesarea. *Ecclesiastic History.*** ⁷²⁰
a Featured In James the Greater, Stephen, John
- 23 Garzoni, Giovanni O P *Vitae* ⁷²¹
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a Featured In Paul
- 25 Isidore of Seville *Mozarabic Breviary* ⁷²³
a Featured In Justus and Pastor
- 26 Isidore of Seville *Mozarabic Missal* ⁷²⁴
a Featured In Justus and Pastor
- 27 Jerome *Against Jovinianus* ⁷²⁵
a Featured In John
- 28 Jerome *Commentaries* ⁷²⁶
a Featured In John
- 29 Jerome *Epitaph to Marcella* ⁷²⁷
a Featured In James the Greater
- 30 Jerome *Letters* ⁷²⁸
a Featured In John, Paul
- 31 John Chrysostom *Adhoratio ad Theodorum lapsum* ⁷²⁹
a Featured In John

⁷¹⁴Ibid 213r

⁷¹⁵Ibid 422v

⁷¹⁶Ibid 300v

⁷¹⁷Ibid 260v

⁷¹⁸Ibid 216r

⁷¹⁹Ibid 216r

⁷²⁰Ibid 231v, 419r, 421r, 422r

⁷²¹Ibid 127v

⁷²²Ibid 216r

⁷²³Ibid 2 12v

⁷²⁴Ibid 2 12v

⁷²⁵Ibid 421v

⁷²⁶Ibid fol 421

⁷²⁷Ibid 238v

⁷²⁸Ibid 214v, 421r

⁷²⁹Ibid 422v

32. John Chrysostom. *Against Those Who Oppose the Monastic Life*.⁷³⁰
 - a. Featured In: Peter.
33. John Chrysostom. *Commentaries*.⁷³¹
 - a. Featured In: Paul.
34. **John Chrysostom. *Sermons***.⁷³²
 - a. Featured In: John, Paul.
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⁷³⁶Ibid. 423r.

⁷³⁷Ibid. 423r.

⁷³⁸Ibid. 299r.

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⁷⁴⁴Ibid. 126v, 127v, 225r.

⁷⁴⁵Ibid. fol. 421.

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