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**The Use and Abuse of Hagiography for Early Modern Life: Pedro de Ribadeneyra and his *Flos sanctorum***

In 1614, nine years following the appearance of the first volume of *Don Quixote*, Alonso Fernández de Avellaneda published a knock-off version of Cervantes's famous novel. It too presents the image of a knight whose addiction to reading romances of chivalry stimulated his imagination to the point of madness. But whereas Cervantes offered no remedy for this particular affliction, his imitator did, by providing Don Quixote with as copy of Alonso de Villegas's *Flos sanctorum*, a compilation of saints' lives written in the vernacular, that was first published in 1578.<sup>1</sup> The cure worked. Piety soon replaced distraction, a transition that Quixote explained to his trusty companion, Sancho Panza, in the following way:

Quixote: I neither read nor own any books of chivalry, but I read this *Flos sanctorum*, which is very good.

Sancho: And who was this *Flas sanctorum* [sic]? Was it a King or some giant of those windmills that turned him a year ago?

Quixote: Sancho in every way you are stupid and coarse. This book contains the lives of saints: such as Saint Lawrence who was roasted, Saint Bartholomew who was flayed, Saint Catherine who was passed through a wheel of knives and so on for all the other saints and martyrs for the entire year. Sit down and read the life of the Saint for August 20th; the Church celebrates Saint Bernard [of Clairvaux] then.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Alonso Fernández de Avellaneda, *Segundo tomo del ingenioso hidalgo don Quijote de la Mancha* (Tarragona: Felipe Roberto, 1614), 1v.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. fol. 2. "Sucedió pues en este tiempo, que un día de fiesta después de comer que hacia un calor excesivo, vino a visitarle Sancho Panza, y hallándole en su aposento leyendo en el Flos sanctorum...No leo (dijo don Quijote) el libro de caballerías, que no tengo alguno, pero leo en este Flos sanctorum, que es muy bueno. Y quien fue ese Flas Sanctorum (replico Sancho) fue Rey, o algún gigante de aquellos que se tornaron molinos ahora un ano? Toda vía Sancho (dijo don Quijote) eres necio y rudo. Este libro trata de las vidas de los Santos: como de San Lorenzo, que fue asado, de San Bartolomé que fue desollado, de Santa Catalina que fue pasada por la rueda de las navajas y así mismo de todos los demás Santos y mártires de todo el ano. Siéntate y leerte he la vida del Santo que hay a veinte de Agosto; celebra la Iglesia que es San Bernardo." I have opted to modernize spellings.

The passage is short, but it underscores the importance of flores sanctorum, a literary genre that had seemingly captured the Spanish imagination at the start of the seventeenth century.

Yet Villegas's work, reissued in no fewer than a remarkable forty-eight editions in less than thirty years, was not the only collection of saints' lives on the market. Another came from the pen of the Spanish Jesuit, Pedro de Ribadeneyra (1527-1611). First published in 1599, Ribadeneyra's *Flos Sanctorum* sold equally well, warranting further editions in 1604 and 1609, before becoming an international bestseller, appearing in Latin, Japanese, German, Flemish, French, Italian, Konkani, and Guarani.<sup>3</sup> The book's success highlights the importance of hagiography, a literary genre that has long been of interest to medievalists but which has attracted considerably less attention with reference to the early modern era, especially in the post-Tridentine Catholic world.

This paper is part of a larger project that wishes to examine Ribadeneyra as a broker of sacred objects in the emerging Catholic world. In this economy of the sacred, saints' lives, their bodies, and their portraits functioned as objects infused with the holy and disseminated widely. Sacred objects promulgated a distinct conception of Catholicism, one that reconciled local religion with the Catholic or 'universal' church of the Counter-Reformation. In the case of Ribadeneyra, these resulting tensions required constant negotiation between the practices of his locale, the Archbishopric of Toledo, and a broader, transnational Catholicism. But he also had to reconcile his corporate identity as a Jesuit. This paper will focus on the saints' lives produced by Ribadeneyra, an appropriation of an Iberian hagiographical tradition known as flores sanctorum. To begin, an introduction to hagiography, flores sanctorum, and Ribadeneyra will help situate

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<sup>3</sup> 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), 6:1737-53. Franciscans translated Ribadeneyra into Japanese and Kaqchikel. Konkani is the language of Konkan region of India, which includes Goa. Kaqchikel is the language of the Kaqchikel people of central Guatemala.

their practices locally followed by an examination of Ribadeneyra's *Flos sanctorum*. Subsequently, using three of several strands emphasized by Ribadeneyra – toledano, Jesuit, and sacred monarchy – will help to flesh out his career as a broker of sacred objects, one of which was his hagiography, the *Flos sanctorum*.

### **Hagiography: The Genre**

Flores sanctorum represent a sub-genre of hagiography, writings on the saints and a genre closely connected with the history of Christianity.<sup>4</sup> According to Thomas Heffernan, the Acts of the Apostles by Luke the Evangelist served as the model for all subsequent hagiographies.<sup>5</sup> During the mid-second century, hagiographies, written in Latin, Greek, and local vernaculars, began to appear. Some such as Athanasius's *Life of Antony the Great* and Sulpicius Severus's *Life of Martin of Tours* focused on the lives of individual Christians known for their exemplarity due to the steadfastness of their faith. Others, following the example of the Acts of the Apostles, collected these lives, especially those of martyred Christians, into composite works. In general, however, these texts did more than simply relate exempla. They were integral to the practice of cult and the conception of sanctity. As Peter Brown and Thomas Head have explained, hagiographies both confirmed the existence of a community that venerated a holy person (cult) and affirmed that person's holiness (sanctity); they also encouraged the accumulation of institutional lists of saints, such as calendars and litanies. Both saints' lives and martyrologies provided liturgical readings on a feast day in addition to supplying reading for the pious. Preachers mined these works for exempla that they incorporated into their sermons.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Early modern hagiographers rarely used the word *hagiografía*, they preferred *vidas de los santos*. One exception is: Juan Basilio Santoro, *La hagiografía y vidas de los santos del Nuevo Testamento* (Bilbao: Matthias Mares, 1580). Santoro's text or in his words, "esta hagiografía," contained the lives of saints generally.

<sup>5</sup> Thomas J. Heffernan, *Sacred Biography: Saints and Their Biographers in the Middle Ages* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 15-8.

<sup>6</sup> Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1981); idem, "The Saint as Exemplar in Late Antiquity," *Representations* 2 (1983): 1-

In the course of the Middle Ages, the compilation of hagiographies continued, mostly in the guise of *flores sanctorum*, a term which first appeared in a preface for the *Scala coeli* (Ladder to Heaven) by the French Dominican Johannes Gobi the Younger (d. c. 1350). *Flores sanctorum* followed the established practice of incorporating multiple hagiographies into a singular text. Gobi explained that he obtained some of his exempla “from the flowers of the saints [floribus sanctorum] of Jacobus de Voragine.”<sup>7</sup> Voragine’s collection, the *Golden Legend*, was just one of a long line of similar works, which began with Jerome’s *De viris illustribus* (c. 390s), and soon followed by similar compilations by Gregory of Tours (c. 538-594), Isidore of Seville (c. 560-636), Symeon Metaphrastes (second half of the tenth century). The *Golden Legend* superseded these texts; it was arguably the most widely-circulated manuscript of the Middle Ages and one which subsequently served as a model for later works, including those *flores sanctorum* of the modern era.<sup>8</sup>

Compared, however, to scholarship on medieval hagiography, the number of scholars who have studied the genre in the early modern period are relatively few. One exception is Michel de Certeau, who classified hagiographies as sub-species of history and as a genre constantly in flux, adding new lives, subtracting others, in tune with contemporary conceptions of sainthood. In addition, Certeau ‘politicized’ the genre by linking it to specific groups, who associated the lives of ‘saints’ with their locale and built ‘networks of supports’ to start and stop the dissemination of these texts for the purposes of initiating the formal proceedings for

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25; Thomas Head, *Hagiography and the Cult of Saints: The Diocese of Orléans, 800-1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 1-20, especially 14-20; David Townsend, “Hagiography,” in *Medieval Latin*, eds. F.A.C. Mantello and A.G. Rigg (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1996), 619-24.

<sup>7</sup> Johannes Gobi, *Scala coeli* (Louvain : Johann Paderborn, 1485), sig. a 3r. “ex floribus sanctorum Iacobi de Voragine.” The *Scala coeli* was a collection of exempla.

<sup>8</sup> Sherry L. Reames, *The Legenda aurea: A Re-Examination of its Paradoxical History* (Madison, WI; London: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985).

canonization in Rome.<sup>9</sup>

Meanwhile, other historians, most notably Simon Ditchfield in his work on Italian hagiographies produced after the Council of Trent (1545-1563), tend to interpret early modern hagiography as a branch of sacred history (*historia sacra*), which focuses on the emergent development of local cults. For Ditchfield, sacred history serves to ‘localize’ the history of the universal church, thus integrating local churches into the broader fabric of Catholicism.<sup>10</sup> Sacred histories came in two types: ‘straight’ and ‘select’ histories.<sup>11</sup> ‘Select’ histories tend to emphasise the good of their subjects and patrons, including monarchs, ruling families, one’s patria, and saints. Meanwhile, ‘straight’ histories were comprehensive and included the praiseworthy along with the condemnatory.

Equally suggestive is Raphaël Carrasco’s research on early modern Spanish hagiography, including flores sanctorum. Together with Certeau, Carrasco tends to relate the genre to propaganda drafted in support of a specific purpose of cause, among them, the promotion of religious orders, regional identity, and occasionally, religious nationalism.<sup>12</sup> However suggestive, Carrasco’s equation of hagiography with propaganda is oversimplified. For one thing, it is reductionist to the point of caricature. Secondly, it ignores the genre’s use by preachers interested

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<sup>9</sup> Michel de Certeau, *The Writing of History*, trans. Tom Conley (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 269-82, especially 269-73. See also Irena Dorota Backus, *Historical Method and Confessional Identity in the Era of the Reformation (1378-1615)* (Leiden: Brill, 2003); Eric Cochrane, *Historians and Historiography in the Italian Renaissance* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 445-78.

<sup>10</sup> Simon Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History in Tridentine Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 6-11, 273-327; idem, “Thinking with the Saints: Sanctity and Society in the Early Modern World,” *Critical Inquiry* 35, no. 3 (2009): 554-5; idem, “What Was Sacred History? (Mostly Roman) Catholic Uses of the Christian Past after Trent,” in *Sacred History: Uses of the Christian Past in the Renaissance World*, eds. Katherine van Liere, Simon Ditchfield, and Howard Louthan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming). Sacred histories also include martyrologies, Christian archaeology, saints’ lives (both collective and individual), in addition to histories of canonization, liturgy, bishoprics, and religious orders.

<sup>11</sup> Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History*, 127-8.

<sup>12</sup> 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 Molinie-Bertrand (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1996), 379.

in finding exempla of edifying Christian lives that they could incorporate into their sermons.<sup>13</sup> Early modern hagiography functioned as sacred history that promoted a community's past, sometimes several communities at once in the same text. Although invested in the past, these works articulated a group's self-imagining in the present. To imagine hagiography in this way does not rob its sacredness, but unearths the complexities of early modern Catholicism embedded within local cultures, both secular and religious.

### **Hagiography Localized: Iberia and flores sanctorum**

The history of flores sanctorum begins with the earliest Iberian adaptation of the *Golden Legend* in the thirteenth century. Initially available in Latin, producers of these manuscript flores sanctorum opted for the vernaculars, especially Catalan, Castilian, and Portuguese.<sup>14</sup> The Hieronymites Gonzalo de Ocaña (fl. 1390-1440) and then Pedro de la Vega (1478-1541) produced the best-known Castilian flores sanctorum in manuscript and then in print.<sup>15</sup> Flores sanctorum featured the lives of Christ and Mary followed by the saints, whether canonized, apocryphal, or extravagantes. The latter were holy persons 'wandering outside' the official lists, including the liturgy.<sup>16</sup> Although some of the manuscripts lacked illustrations, most of the

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<sup>13</sup> José Aragüés Aldaz, *Deus concionator : Mundo predicado y r torica del exemplum en los Siglos de Oro* (Amsterdam; Atlanta : Rodopi, 1999); idem, "Fronteras de la imitaci n hagiogr fica (I). Una ret rica de la diferencia," in *Modelos de vida en la Espa a del Siglo de Oro*, eds. Ignacio Arellano and Marc Vitse, 2 vols. (Madrid; Frankfurt am Main: Iberoamericana; Vervuert, 2007), 2:275-302.

<sup>14</sup> Fernando Ba os Vallejo, *Las vidas de santos en la literatura medieval espa ola* (Madrid : Laberinto, 2003); Billy Bussell Thompson, "Plumbei cordis, oris ferrei: la recepci n de la teolog a de Jacobus a Voragine y su *Legenda aurea* en la Pen nsula," in *Saints and their Authors*, eds. Jane E. Connolly, Alan Deyermond, and Brian Dutton (Madison: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1990), 97-106; idem and John Walsh, "Old Spanish Manuscripts of Prose Lives of the Saints and their Affiliation. I: Compilation A (Gran Flos sanctorum)," *La Cor nica* 15, no. 1 (1986-87): 17-28;  ngeles Garc a de la Borbolla, "Las fuentes hagiogr ficas hispanas en lengua vulgar (1230-1350)," in *Hagiographies*, ed. Guy Philippart, 5 vols. (Turnhout: Brepols, 1994-2010), 4: 162-73; J. Mattoso, "Le Portugal de 950   1550," in *Hagiographies*, 2: 90-2, 96-8.

<sup>15</sup> Jos  Arag es Aldaz, "Tendencias y realizaciones en el campo de la hagiograf a en Espa a (con algunos datos para el estudio de los legendarios hisp nicos)," *Memoria ecclesiae* 24 (2004): 523-60; Jos  Calveras, "Fray Gonzalo de Oca a traductor del 'Flos sanctorum' an nimo," *Analecta sacra tarraconensia* 17, no. 1 (1944): 206-8.

<sup>16</sup> This term derived from canon law and dated back to Gratian's *Decretum* of the twelfth century; it referred to anything 'wandering outside' the *Decretum*. John Gilchrist, "Canon Law," in *Medieval Latin*, eds. F.A.C. Mantello and A.G. Rigg (Washington, D.C.: 1996), 248-9.

printed *flores sanctorum* contained woodcuts to accompany the saints' lives.

But by the mid-sixteenth century, these texts came under increased ecclesiastical censure by both the Spanish and Portuguese Inquisitions.<sup>17</sup> Fear of 'superstition' attacked hagiographies due to their exaggerations of saints' deeds or their promotion of apocryphal saints. Spain in the mid-century was a culture preoccupied with heterodoxy, whether from *alumbrados*, *beatas*, or writers of saints' lives. Adaptors of *Flos sanctorum* from different religious orders, for instance, sought to purge any errors from the 1550s editions attributed to de la Vega. These practices also responded to the Council of Trent, such as the Council of Toledo (1565-1566) singling out for censure exaggerated narratives on saints: "[Believers] should refrain, however, from fabulous histories; but they should not stop from properly relating the true [accounts] of the martyrs and saints acknowledged by common consent of the Church."<sup>18</sup>

Alonso de Villegas was the first Spanish hagiographer to respond to the changes after Trent. The first edition of his *Flos sanctorum*, which incorporated the sacred works of contemporaries, most notably Luigi Lippomano and Laurentius Surius, appeared in 1578.<sup>19</sup> Villegas began his *Flos sanctorum* with the lives of Christ and Mary so that the moveable feasts of the year could be described. He then enumerated the lives of the saints following the revised Tridentine liturgy. He dedicated part of his *Flos sanctorum* to the saints of Spain, each of whom received a short description that preachers could easily draw upon and incorporate into their

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<sup>17</sup> *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), 671; *Index de l'Inquisition Portugaise 1547, 1551, 1561, 1564, 1581*, ed. J.M. Bujanda (Sherbrooke, PQ and Geneva: Centre d'Études de la Renaissance and Librairie Droz, 1995), 675.

<sup>18</sup> *Colección de cánones y de todos los concilios de la Iglesia de España y de América*, ed. Juan Tejada y Ramiro, 7 vols. (Madrid: P. Montero, 1855-62), 5:245. "Absténganse, sin embargo, de las historias fabulosas; pero no dejen de referir oportunamente las verdaderas de los mártires y santos, admitidas por común consentimiento de la iglesia."

<sup>19</sup> Alonso de Villegas, *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 hace fiesta la iglesia católica conforme al breviario romano, reformado por decreto del santo concilio Tridentino, junto con las vidas de los santos propios de España, y de otros extravagantes* (Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1588), s.n., sig. ¶ 3v.

sermons. The concluding section included the extravagantes. Although these ‘saints’ had not been officially canonized, Villegas admitted that he especially enjoyed these lives and spent “a good deal of time reading the extravagantes of the non-canonized saints. For me, this reading is of great edification and consolation and I wished that it never ended.”<sup>20</sup>

Following upon the success of the first printing of his *Flos sanctorum*, Villegas continuously added new saints and eventually the work grew into a monstrous six-volume compendia that included the Virgin Mary, ‘saints’ from the Old Testament, and additional extravagantes. Villegas’s *Flos sanctorum* contained woodcuts by Pedro Ángel, a continuation of the inclusion of images to accompany the narrative. Images also helped to thwart counterfeit editions, at least according to the portrait of Villegas that Ángel produced for inclusion in each ‘authentic’ edition.<sup>21</sup> In its entirety, Villegas’s *Flos sanctorum* contained 876 accounts of which 632 were biographies and 244 sermons that used exempla from the lives of the saints.<sup>22</sup> Apart from the earliest edition, repackaged as the ‘first volume’ of the *Flos sanctorum*, the edition with the supplementary extravagantes contained the most lives.<sup>23</sup>

Yet these later editions also contained some content at odds with orthodox hagiography. The Inquisition loomed over the genre and responded to the 1588 edition, printed in Toledo with the extravagantes, which contained the life and a wood-cut portrait of Sor María, a visionary nun who challenged Philip II’s rule in Portugal.<sup>24</sup> As a result, the Inquisition censured this volume in

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<sup>20</sup> Alonso de Villegas, *Fructus Sanctorum y quinta parte del Flos Sanctorum* (Cuenca: Juan Masselin, 1594), 4r. “yo también gasto buena parte del tiempo en leer en las vidas extravagantes de los santos no canonizados, que es para mi lectura de grande edificación y consolación, y querría que nunca se acabase”

<sup>21</sup> Villegas, *Flos sanctorum y historia general*, s.n.

<sup>22</sup> This figure excludes the sixth volume, which recounted the miracles and deeds of Christ. A hard to find volume, its first printing was the year of Villegas’s death in 1603.

<sup>23</sup> Although there were less of them, the lives of Mary and the Old Testament Patriarchs were extended narratives, occasionally subject to jarring tangents.

<sup>24</sup> Richard L. Kagan, *Lucrecia’s Dreams: Politics and Prophecy in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Berkeley; Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995), 6-7, 179 n. 19.

Spain and the Spanish World.<sup>25</sup> Villegas also catered to Iberian popular culture, including retellings of the blood libel and Spanish victories against Islam.<sup>26</sup> He even included Balthasar Gerards, the assassin of the leader of the Dutch Revolt William the Silent, among the *extravagantes*.<sup>27</sup> Although in step with Tridentine reforms, *flores sanctorum* (including the one volume by Villegas) continued to provoke an adverse reaction from Inquisitorial authorities in Rome and the Spain.<sup>28</sup> Still, Villegas was part of a thriving culture of hagiographical production in Spain after the 1580s.

### **Pedro de Ribadeneyra: The Hagiographer**

According to Raphaël Carrasco, saints' lives were a constant and prominent presence until the end of the seventeenth century and at this vanguard was the mendicant friars and the Jesuits.<sup>29</sup> After Villegas came a slew of hagiographers, including Juan Basilio Santoro, Francisco Ortíz Lucio, Juan de Marieta, and, of course, Pedro de Ribadeneyra. Born in 1527, the same year as Philip II, future champion of the Catholic Church, Ribadeneyra belonged to a wealthy merchant family of converso descent from Toledo, the seat of the Primacy of Spain. His father, Álvaro Husillo Ortíz de Cisernos, was a wealthy merchant who served on the municipal council of Toledo. He had also married Catalina de Villalobos y Ribadeneyra, from an important noble

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<sup>25</sup> “Tres cartas del Comisario del Santo Oficio en Veracruz a la Inquisición de México, acerca de libros y pinturas flamencas (1586-88),” in *Libros y librerías en el siglo XVI*, ed. Francisco Fernández del Castillo (México: Archivo General de la Nación Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1982), 350. As early as 1586, Villegas was on the Inquisition's radar: “Carta del Santo Oficio al Muy Reverendo Señor Licenciado Segura, Chantre de Guadalajara y Comisario de la Inquisición (1586),” in *Libros y librerías en el siglo XVI*, 332-4.

<sup>26</sup> Villegas, *Flores sanctorum y historia general*, fol. 41-6; idem, *Segunda parte y historia general en que se escribe la vida de la Virgen...y de los santos antiguos* (Toledo: Widow of Juan Rodríguez, 1588), fol. 162-5.

<sup>27</sup> Alonso de Villegas, *Flores sanctorum: Tercera parte y historia general* (Barcelona: Juan Pau Cendrath, 1588), sig. a fol. 97-8.

<sup>28</sup> *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), 947; *Index de Rome, 1590, 1593, 1596*, ed. J.M. Bujanda (Sherbrooke, PQ and Geneva: Centre d'Études de la Renaissance and Librairie Droz, 1994), 946.

<sup>29</sup> Carrasco, 369-70, 374.

family.<sup>30</sup> Little about Ribadeneyra's early life is known until 1539, when he happened to meet Cardinal Alessandro Farnese (1520-1589) then on a visit to Toledo. The cardinal subsequently recruited Ribadeneyra as a page, and took him to Rome, where he resided at the cardinal's palace for fourteen months.

Owing to some sort of unspecified transgression, Ribadeneyra aged fourteen, left the cardinal's service in 1540 and found refuge with the Society of Jesus. Later that same year, Ignatius welcomed the teenager into his new order, ten days before Paul III gave it the papal seal of approval. At this point, Ribadeneyra embarked on an academic pilgrimage that took him to the universities of Paris (1542), Louvain (1542-1543), and Padua (1545-1549). Ribadeneyra subsequently taught rhetoric in the Jesuit colleges in Palermo (1549-1552) and Rome (1553), prior to completing missions in Flanders (1553- 1557) and England (1558-1559).<sup>31</sup> But following Queen Elizabeth's coronation in 1559, the Jesuit's Superior-General Diego Laínez (r. 1558-1565) recalled Ribadeneyra to Rome in 1559 and for the next decade or so he served a number of posts in Italy.<sup>32</sup>

The same decade marks the beginning of Ribadeneyra's literary career. His first work, *Vita Ignatii Loiolae*, written at the behest of the Superior-General Francis Borgia (r. 1565-72) and published in 1572, sought to exemplify the life of Ignatius and also to provide a narrative of the early years of the Society of Jesus. By 1574, Ribadeneyra had returned to Spain for the first

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<sup>30</sup> José Gómez-Menor, "La progenie hebrea del Padre Pedro de Ribadeneira S.I.," *Sefarad* 36, no. 2 (1976): 307-32; Linda Martz, *A Network of Converso Families in Early Modern Toledo: Assimilating a Minority* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003), 110, 140.

<sup>31</sup> Pedro de Ribadeneyra, "Confessiones," in idem, *Confessiones, epistolae, aliaque scripta inedita*, 2 vols. (Madrid: La editorial Ibérica, 1920-3), 1: 4-33, 48-83; Cristóbal López, "Vida del Padre Pedro de Ribadeneyra religioso de la Compañía de Jesús (1612)," in *ibid.*, 2:433-6. Hereafter, *CESI*.

<sup>32</sup> Diego Laínez, "To Pedro de Ribadeneyra, Rome, 12 February 1558," in *Monumenta angliae*, eds. Thomas M. McCoog and László Lukács, 3 vols. (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2000), 3:230; Pedro de Ribadeneyra, "To Diego Laínez, Brussels, 4 April 1558," in *CESI*, 1: 291-5; idem, "To Caterina de Villalobos, London, 23 December 1558," in *CESI*, 1: 307-8; idem, "To Diego Laínez, London, 20 January 1559," in *CESI*, 1:310-4; idem, "To Diego Laínez, Brussels, 1 April 1559," in *CESI*, 1: 320-3. See also, Robert A. Maryks, *The Jesuit Order as a Synagogue of Jews* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 42-5.

time since childhood, residing initially in Toledo before moving to Madrid in 1583. That same year, he published a revised version of his *Vita Ignatii* in Spanish.<sup>33</sup>

At this point, Ribadeneyra's literary career moved into high gear; Juan de Mariana recalled that Ribadeneyra "published many erudite and pious books."<sup>34</sup> Ribadeneyra published his *Historia eclesiástica*, which appeared the year of the Spanish Armada's defeat, as a succinct narrative of England's transformation from a Catholic stronghold into a haven for heretics. His preoccupation with criticism and commemoration persisted into the 1590s. As an *arbitrista*, a critic of Spanish policy, he examined the difficulties facing Iberia after the defeat of the Armada in his *Tratado de la tribulación*. Dedicated to the future Philip III, Ribadeneyra composed the *Tratado del Príncipe Cristiano*, a 'Prince in Spanish', that rejected Machiavelli's precepts on governance.<sup>35</sup> But the most important books for Ribadeneyra was his "lives of [the Jesuits'] first three Superior-Generals and the other saints in addition to the edification of the faithful and the good of the [Society of Jesus]."<sup>36</sup> By his own assessment, Ribadeneyra continued to write books for purposes of edification and also to commemorate what later became the order's first saints, including Francis Borgia, during the 1590s.<sup>37</sup> That same decade, he began to write the lives of

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<sup>33</sup> Jodi Bilinkoff, "The Many 'Lives' of Pedro de Ribadeneyra," *Renaissance Quarterly* 52 (1999): 180-96.

<sup>34</sup> Juan de Mariana, "Cenotaphium a Ioanne Mariana amico positum," in Pedro de Ribadeneyra, *Catalogus scriptorum religionis Societatis Iesu*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Antwerp: Plantin House, 1613), 229. "multos libros publicavit eruditos et pios."

<sup>35</sup> Harald Braun, *Juan de Mariana and Early Modern Spanish Political Thought* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007); J.H. Elliott, "Self-Perception and Decline in Early Seventeenth-Century Spain," in *Spain and Its World, 1500-1700* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989), 247; Antonio Feros, *Kingship and Favoritism in the Spain of Philip III, 1598-1621* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 21-55; José María Iñurritegui Rodríguez, *La Gracia y la República. El lenguaje político de la teología católica y el "Príncipe Cristiano" de Pedro de Ribadeneyra* (Madrid: Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, 1998); Erin Rowe, *Saint and Nation: Santiago, Teresa of Avila, and Plural Identities in Early Modern Spain* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011), 45, 131.

<sup>36</sup> Ribadeneyra, "*Confessiones*," 1:84. "las vidas de nuestros tres primeros generales y de los otros santos, y edificación de los fieles y bien de la Compañía."

<sup>37</sup> Jodi Bilinkoff, "'A Christian and a Gentleman': Sanctity and Masculine Honor in Pedro de Ribadeneyra's *Life of Francis Borgia*," in *Francisco de Borja y su tiempo: Política, religión y cultura*, eds. Enrique García Hernán and María del Pilar Ryan (Valencia and Rome: Albatros Ediciones-IHSI, 2011), 447-55.

the ‘other saints’ for what became his *Flos sanctorum*, first published in 1599.<sup>38</sup>

Ribadeneira, as Villegas had before him, acknowledged the importance of Surius and Lippomano to the creation of his *Flos sanctorum*. Ribadeneira, however, also read the sacred histories of Cesare Baronio (1538-1607) when preparing the lives of the saints. Ribadeneira did not obscure the importance of earlier hagiographers, but Baronio was his first choice “in these most dangerous times” since

with untiring study and incredible diligence, Baronio spent the majority of his life in the reading of the lives and books of the saints. And with ripe and certain judgment, he resurrected some things that were buried; he observed and collected other scattered [things]; he ascertained what was doubtful; he gave light to the darkness and enlightened ecclesiastic history with outstanding benefit to the Christian Republic.<sup>39</sup>

In this passage, Ribadeneira described Baronio’s recovery and accumulation of sources (‘things that were buried’, ‘observed and collected other scattered things’) and his textual criticism (‘ascertained what was doubtful’). Yet the outcome of Baronio’s approach gave readers revelation through history for a ‘Christian Republic’. Ribadeneira had become what Simon Ditchfield called a ‘local Baronio,’ a sacred historian that used this methodology but for the localised past.<sup>40</sup> Throughout the *Flos sanctorum* and his earlier works, Ribadeneira used ‘Spain,’ ‘patria,’ and ‘Christian Republic’ to denote respectively the Iberian lands under the Spanish crown, one’s region or town of origin, and a broader polity. The local conception of the sacred maintained its importance into the seventeenth century, but was supplemented by changing

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<sup>38</sup> I must acknowledge lacunae in my sources, since many of Ribadeneira’s post-1580 letters remain unpublished and his history of the Jesuits in the Spanish world. This June, I intend to consult both at the Jesuit archive at Rome: Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, *Toletum*, 1-7. Locating Ribadeneira’s sermons have also proved to be difficult.

<sup>39</sup> Pedro de Ribadeneira, *Flos sanctorum, o libro de las vidas de los santos*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1599-1601), 1: sig. ¶¶ 5v-6r. “al qual escogió el Señor en estos nuestros tiempos tan calamitosos, para que con un estudio infatigable, è increíble diligencia, emplease la mayor y mejor parte de su vida, en la lección de las vidas y libros de los Santos, y con maduro y acertado juicio resucitase algunas cosas que estaban sepultadas; observase, y recogiese otras esparcidas; averiguase las dudosas; diese luz à las oscuras, è ilustrase la historia Eclesiástica, con singular beneficio de la República Cristiana.”

<sup>40</sup> Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity, and History*, 51-2, 278-85.

concepts of ‘Spain’ and ‘Christian Republic’.<sup>41</sup>

Ribadeneyra specified that his *Flos sanctorum* was to honour the saints of the Archbishopric of Toledo, the Society of Jesus, and to a lesser extent, Catholicism.<sup>42</sup> Its first printing in Madrid (1599-1601) contained the saints in the Catholic breviary of 1568 coupled with that of Ignatius. In this large folio-sized book, he organized the saints chronologically beginning with the Feast of the Circumcision of Jesus (January 1<sup>st</sup>). To assist readers, Ribadeneyra provided two indices for quick reference, one with the liturgical calendar, the other sorted alphabetically. Yet this *Flos sanctorum*, apart from its frontispiece, lacked any images. In terms of content, most of its 226 lives recounted the lives of saintly men: only thirty of the entries were on female saints. Ribadeneyra also included a modified life of Ignatius as an addendum. Most of the saints’ lives are, on average, between three and eight pages. Accounts on martyrs are frequently shorter, at times, only a page, while for other ‘species’ of saints, they had narratives twenty to thirty pages in length. Of the latter variety were specific apostles, such as Peter and Paul; doctors, including Thomas Aquinas, Jerome, Augustine, and Bonaventure; in addition to the founders of the mendicant orders, Dominic and Francis. In comparison, James the Great received a mere six pages (surprising given his importance in Spanish devotion), while Ignatius’s life ran to an exceptional seventy-three pages. Producing flores sanctorum were risky business, but for Ribadeneyra, it was worth the associated hazards if it meant the elevation of the Jesuit founder into the litany of Catholic saints.

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<sup>41</sup> On the concept of *patria*: J.H. Elliott, “King and *Patria* in the Hispanic World,” in idem, *Spain, Europe, and the Wider World, 1500-1800* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009), 173-92. Saints played a divisive role within histories and in a community’s self-identification. Rowe, *Saint and Nation*, 14-5; Katherine Elliott 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; José Ignacio Gómez Zorraquino, “Los santos patronos 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; William A. Christian, Jr., *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1981).

<sup>42</sup> Ribadeneyra, *Flos sanctorum* (1599-1601), sig. ¶¶ 5r.

Ribadeneyra also followed a consistent taxonomy for these saints. Although he never explicitly defined these ‘species’ of saints, his use of them was reliable. Apart from including saints from Scripture, such as the Apostles and Evangelists, the majority (135 lives) of the saints were martyrs (*martír*), men and women who died for their faith. According to Ribadeneyra, they were “one of the best arguments that we Christians have for the confirmation of our holy Religion.”<sup>43</sup> In a distant second (37 lives) were the popes (*papa*), understood in early modern Spain as the “Roman Pontiff, successor of St. Peter in his chair and in the universal governance of the Catholic Church.”<sup>44</sup> Governing the ‘universal church’, however, had to occur at a local level, hence the importance of bishops (*obispo*) and archbishops (*arzobispo*) in Ribadeneyra’s taxonomy (30 lives). As prelates and shepherds, bishops governed a legitimate local church and meditated between their bishopric and Rome.<sup>45</sup> Ribadeneyra, however, did not emphasise all officials equally since presbyters (*presbitero*), cardinals (*cardenal*), and abbots (*abad*) were the focus of, in total, only a dozen lives. These officials were in charge of governing religious practice in an abbot’s convent, in the Cardinal college, and a presbyter’s specific congregation.<sup>46</sup> Other leaders of the faithful, such as founders (*fundador*) of religious orders (6 lives) featured less prominently than bishops and popes within the *Flos sanctorum*. In sum, he chose to focus on those who had the most contact with lay peoples, true for each ‘species’ except the popes.

Ribadeneyra rounded out his taxonomy with virgins (22) and confessors (21). Terms for virgins (*virgen*) and maidens (*donzella*) were interchangeable in early seventeenth-century Spain, they referred to a woman in a ‘desireable state’ wherein she maintained her virginity and her

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<sup>43</sup> Ibid. s.n. “Uno de mayores argumentos que tenemos los Cristianos para confirmación de nuestra santa Religión.”

<sup>44</sup> Sebastián de Covarrubias, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana, o española* (Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1611), 577r. “sumo Pontífice Romano sucesor de san Pedro en su silla, y en el gobierno universal de la Iglesia Católica.”

<sup>45</sup> Covarrubias, 566v.

<sup>46</sup> Covarrubias, 2r, 200v, 595r.

chastity.<sup>47</sup> Confessors (*confessor*), at least according to Ribadeneyra, was a catch-basin ‘species’ of saint assigned to any non-martyred saint who lived truthfully and piously. Examples of confessors included the Archbishop of Seville Isidore and King Louis IX of France. While Ribadeneyra included other types of saints, including soldiers and doctors, they lacked the presence of some of the other saints in Ribadeneyra’s taxonomy. Sainthood, however, was multivalent. Ribadeneyra described John Gualbert as a founder, a confessor, and an abbot. Ribadeneyra frequently combined ‘species’ of saints to form aggregates that embodied post-Tridentine conceptions of sanctity, such as the bishop-martyr or the virgin-martyr. Two dozen lives, however, fall outside of this taxonomy. With these lives, Ribadeneyra used unique descriptors, such as ‘Holy Guardian Angel’, ‘Husband of the Mother of God’ Joseph, or ‘Widow and Mother of St. Augustine’ Monica. On occasion, Ribadeneyra left no ‘species’ for a saint, such as with the recently canonized Diego de Alcalá (c.d. 1588). While somewhat confusing, Ribadeneyra’s complex taxonomy of saints allowed him to negotiate local and universal religion.

These two levels of Catholicism appeared in the geographical distribution of the saints in the *Flos sanctorum*. A saint’s locale is not the easiest thing to determine, especially if a hagiographer makes such identification difficult. The fluidity of cult causes further problems since a saint can be venerated both locally and universally. Since Ribadeneyra included large numbers of popes, apostles, and saints with widely-disseminated cults, a comparative analysis of a saint’s place would skew the results and depict the *Flos sanctorum* as a work focused on Italy and the Holy Land, a hardly-surprising revelation. Far more interesting is an examination of the ‘Spanish’ content, which Ribadeneyra’s *Flos sanctorum* has no shortage of. In a work supposedly dedicated to Catholicism, twenty of the 226 lives focus on feasts important to

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<sup>47</sup> Covarrubias, 75v.

Spaniards, at least, when compared with Villegas's list of the 'saints of Spain'.<sup>48</sup> This number increases to 45 if patrons of places near Madrid, found in questionnaires sent out by Philip II, are integrated with Villegas's list.<sup>49</sup> Ribadeneyra himself rarely referred to patrons, except James the Greater, 'the patron of Spain', but included more saints of the archbishopric of Toledo than anywhere else, apart from Italy and the Holy Lands.

Ribadeneyra's focus on these places caused the balance of the lives to swing towards Christianity's earliest centuries. Local religion looked to this era constantly since communities, such as patrias and cities, legitimated their past by establishing continuity with the early Church in contrast with others. The decline in numbers from the fifth century onwards indicates this tendency in practice; the totals drop from 119 (for first to fourth century saints) to thirty-seven (for all subsequent saints). Many of the lives (64) lack an uncertain date, but remained on the books (and in Ribadeneyra's book) due to the longevity of these cults.

Ribadeneyra supplemented this work with *extravagantes* in 1604 and again in 1609; he organized it in the same manner as the first edition, but without an alphabetical index. Whereas Villegas had considered *extravagantes* non-canonized saints, for Ribadeneyra, they were simply saints absent from the revised breviary.<sup>50</sup> *Extravagantes* occupied approximately forty percent of

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<sup>48</sup> Villegas, *Flos sanctorum y historia general*, s.n.

<sup>49</sup> 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, Blaise, Bonaventure, Catherine of Alexandria, Cecillia, Cosmas and Damian, Diego de Alcalá, Dominic, Eugene of Toledo, Four Crowned Ones, Francis, Gabriel, George, Gregory the Great, Gregory of Nazianzus, Hippolytus of Rome, Ildephonso 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, Nicholas, Pantaleon, Paul, Peter, Philip, Roche, Sebastian, Simon, Stephen, Sylvester, Thomas Aquinas, Valentine, and Vincent of Zaragoza.

<sup>50</sup> Pedro de Ribadeneyra, *Libro de vidas de santos, que comúnmente llaman extravagantes* (Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1604), 3-4.

the *Flos sanctorum* (the lives of the saints from the breviary dominated).<sup>51</sup> 126 of the 168 extravagantes from the 1609 edition were men, while 35 examined women, evidence of the continuance of Ribadeneyra's (and the breviary's) association of sanctity with masculinity. For the most part, Ribadeneyra maintained his taxonomy among the extravagantes. He sought to emphasise martyrs (32 lives) as well as model prelates, both bishops (45) and confessors (51), at the expense of popes (1). Yet he also supplemented his taxonomy with more royalty (13), apart from kings, ('empress', 'duchess', 'queen', 'margrave') and roles for female sanctity ('nun', 'penitent'). Ribadeneyra, however, used these additions infrequently (on average one life for each term). The extravagantes also came primarily from the fourth and fifth centuries (48 lives) with additional lives from the period spanning the seventh and thirteenth centuries (64). Most of these lives averaged two to six pages, with one exception: Vicente Ferrer's fourteen-page biography.

After the extravagantes, Ribadeneyra included another section with five Jesuits, including Ignatius, a move that coincided with Ignatius's beatification the same year. Of this volume's 643 pages, Ribadeneyra used 129 – approximately twenty-one percent of the text – to relate the lives of his brethren in the Society of Jesus. Ignatius continued to have the longest life (about 45 pages), fitting for the founder of the order, while the Franciscans – Borgia and Xavier – had biographies 30 pages long apiece. The lives of the novices, Luigi Gonzaga and Stanislaus Kostka, were far shorter, respectively fifteen and seven pages each. Although Ribadeneyra expanded upon the Jesuits represented in the *Flos sanctorum*, his top priority was the promotion of Ignatius's sanctity, hopefully resulting in canonization.

Among the extravagantes (which included the Jesuits), Ribadeneyra included twenty-five Iberian exemplars, distributing them among the Iberian archbishoprics – those of Spain as well

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<sup>51</sup> Of the 1575 pages of text, the saints occupied 932 pages (60%), while the extravagantes have 643 (40%).

as Portugal. Yet he looked past the boundaries of Iberia to envision a ‘Christian Republic’.<sup>52</sup> While Iberia has a significant presence, Ribadeneyra included saints from France (nineteen saints), Eastern Christianity (at least sixteen), Italy (eleven), British Isles (nine) Germany (six), the Low Countries (five), Austro-Hungary (five), Poland (three), and Scandinavia (two). He even included Adalbert, the patron of Prague, another of the Austrian Habsburgs’ lands. Each place specialised in the ‘species’ of saints classified by Ribadeneyra. Iberian and Low Countries saints were mostly virgins, martyrs, and bishops. German and Italian saints, meanwhile, made exceptional bishops.

Ribadeneyra’s focus in the *Flos sanctorum*, both saints and extravagantes, derived, in part, from personal experience. Having personally spent time in England, he had grappled with its place in Christianity since his history on the English ‘schism’ during the sixteenth century. As well, Ignatius and Ribadeneyra were quite close, a relationship commemorated in Ribadeneyra’s *Vita Ignatii* and reflected in his *Flos sanctorum*. But the patrons of Ribadeneyra’s *Flos sanctorum* must have exerted some influence on the text. He directed the lives of the saints to Margaret of Austria, queen of Spain and wife of Philip III. In the dedicatory letters, Ribadeneyra listed the virtues of Margaret’s extended family and their assistance towards the Society of Jesus in the lands of the Austrian Habsburgs.<sup>53</sup> The editions containing the extravagantes initially had another Habsburg, Margaret of the Cross, as its patroness. Members of the court had, since the time of Isabella of Castile, commissioned the writers to produce flores sanctorum.<sup>54</sup> But Ribadeneyra ventured beyond the Habsburgs for patronage, since he dedicated the 1609 edition

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<sup>52</sup> Iñurritegui Rodríguez, 310-51.

<sup>53</sup> Ribadeneyra, *Flos sanctorum* (1599-1601), 1:s.n; 2: sig. ¶ fol. 4.

<sup>54</sup> Anne J. Cruz, “Juana of Austria: Patron of the Arts and Regent of Spain, 1554-59,” in *The Rule of Women in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Anne J. Cruz and Mihoko Suzuki (Urbana and Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2009), 105-6; Emma Gatland, “Saintly Models: Isabel la Católica and the Commissioning of a *Flos sanctorum*,” *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 2, no. 1 (January 2010): 31-50.

of the extravagantes to the Duchess of Feria, Jane Dormer. The latter edition supplemented the Habsburg-heavy content with additional lives from the frontiers of religious conflict, namely the Low Countries, France, and Dormer's native England.<sup>55</sup>

With Ribadeneyra's patrons, taxonomy, and geographical distribution in mind, Ribadeneyra's *Flos sanctorum* served multiple purposes. I will focus on only three. His work, first of all, sought to present Toledo, his patria and the seat of the Spanish Primate, as a sacred landscape.<sup>56</sup> In this sense, his *Flos sanctorum* constituted a sacred history that sought to integrate Toledo into both the emergent, religiously-constituted idea of Spain and the redefined 'universal' church. Secondly, Ribadeneyra used the *Flos sanctorum* to promote the Society of Jesus even though it lacked, at that point, an officially recognized saint. Ribadeneyra consequently endowed Ignatius together with other early Jesuits with qualities and virtues identical to those of saintly founders of other, more established religious orders, especially the Dominicans and Franciscans. Towards this end, he ascribed to the order a number of miracles, the sine qua non of sainthood in the post-Tridentine world. Finally, the royal-heavy list of extravagantes that Ribadeneyra included in the *Flos sanctorum* suggests he endeavoured to represent the Spanish Habsburg monarchy, along with their Austrian branch, as guardians of a 'Christian Republic'. In this respect, Ribadeneyra transformed the extravagantes into manuals on sacred monarchy, in line with his role as an *arbitrista* associated with the court. Through his adaptation of saints' lives, Ribadeneyra sought to teach exemplary leadership to the Spanish court.

### **Patrons of Patria: Ribadeneyra and the Saints of Toledo**

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<sup>55</sup> Pedro de Ribadeneyra, *Segunda parte de Flos sanctorum, o libro de las vidas de santos* (Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1616), 1-4. The 1609 edition of the *Flos sanctorum* was the first to contain this life. Since my copy of that edition is incomplete, I used the 1616 edition for the lives of the extravagantes. There are no differences between the 1609 and the 1616 editions of the *Flos sanctorum*.

<sup>56</sup> Adam G. Beaver, "A Holy Land for the Catholic Monarchy: Palestine in the Making of Modern Spain, 1469–1598," (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2008), 210-23.

For Ribadeneyra sainthood was local, and linked especially to two cities: Toledo and Madrid. Contemporary descriptions of Ribadeneyra described him as a “Toletanus” or “natural de Toledo”, not of Madrid.<sup>57</sup> His *Flos sanctorum* reflected allegiance to his patria, as it represented something of a sacred landscape, a verifiable seedbed of saints. It follows that Ribadeneyra highlighted such local holies as Ildefonso, the archbishop of Toledo, together with Leocadia, martyred in 304. With Leocadia, Ribadeneyra emphasised the return of her relics to her ‘patria’ from the Low Countries in 1587.<sup>58</sup> He even had, allegedly, an active role in this translation.<sup>59</sup> Meanwhile, Ribadeneyra portrayed Ildefonso as the “light of Spain, model of the holy Prelates...ornament of his patria...born in the city of Toledo in the houses of Esteban Illán (after they were the houses of the Counts of Orgaz and now they belong to the brothers of the Society of Jesus).”<sup>60</sup> In Ribadeneyra’s estimation, Ildefonso exemplified Toledo through birth and ongoing service as archbishop as a ‘model of holy prelates’ that had national implications since he was the ‘light of Spain’. Saints in the Catholic breviary had additional importance since they contributed to local constructions of the past. But Ribadeneyra had more in his repertoire to prove the sacredness of his patria. On the eve of the Annunciation in 665, the Virgin Mary visited Ildefonso at an unspecified church and handed him a divinely crafted chasuble (vestment worn by priests to say Mass).<sup>61</sup> Ribadeneyra did not include this episode only once, but three times. He populated the Toledo of his *Flos sanctorum* with relics, miracles, and sacred objects

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<sup>57</sup> Ribadeneyra, *Flos sanctorum* (1599-1601), 1: frontispiece. “Padre Pedro de Ribadeneyra, de la Compañía de Jesús, natural de Toledo.” The legend for a portrait of Ribadeneyra labeled him in a similar fashion. See Theodor Galle. *Portrait of Pedro de Ribadeneyra* (early 17<sup>th</sup> century, re-engraving of an anonymous engraving, 17.3 x 12.6 cm), Raynor Memorial Library, Marquette University, Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Source: *Galerie illustreé de la Compagnie de Jésus*, 8 vols. (Paris: 1893), 7: plate 8. “Petrus Ribadeneira Toletanus Societatis Iesu Presbyter.”

<sup>58</sup> Ribadeneyra, *Flos sanctorum* (1599-1601), 2: 698.

<sup>59</sup> López, 2:481-2.

<sup>60</sup> Ribadeneyra, *Flos sanctorum* (1599-1601), 1: 246-7. “Arzobispo de Toledo, luz de España, espejo de santos Prelados...ornamento de su patria...nació en la ciudad de Toledo, en las casas de Esteban Illán (que después fueron de los Condes de Orgaz, y ahora son de los padres de la Compañía de Jesús).”

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.* 1: 252.

for veneration. Ribadeneyra's 'historical sources' included Leocadia's body and the divinely-crafted vestments given to Ildefonso. By including miracles and sacred objects, Ribadeneyra communicated the exemplarity of his patria.

While Ribadeneyra established Ildefonso as a model prelate, Toledo also had many exemplary archbishops due to the supposed greatness of the imperial city. He included the lives of Julian of Toledo (642-690) and Eugenius (68-103), two archbishops of Toledo and predecessors of Ildefonso.<sup>62</sup> Ribadeneyra's life of Julian depicted the archbishop's service to the city's church through councils and writings, but little else.<sup>63</sup> Ribadeneyra envisioned Julian as a fighter of heresy, since he, along with the Popes and the Councils of Toledo "condemned the errors of the Apollinarian and Monothelitan heretics that disturbed the Church in that time."<sup>64</sup> The ideal archbishop actively fought against heretic errors echoing the concerns of the Counter-Reformation. The inclusion of these saints that typified the Counter-Reformation glorified Ribadeneyra's patria and its past. The large number of bishops' lives in the *Flos sanctorum* generally indicates the institutional church's preoccupation with its agents on a local level. As the Primate of Spain, Toledo functioned as Iberia's sacred heart. This conception of its past radiated outwards from Toledo and circulated religious practices to peripheral archbishoprics, which had the potential to become universal Catholic practices. Early modern Catholicism was not simply a top-down structure, but one that negotiated with the local. On occasion, the local transformed into the universal. The model prelate of Toledo functioned as a exemplar for any Catholic prelate.

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<sup>62</sup> A timeline for the archbishops appeared in: Francisco de Pisa, *Descripción de la imperial ciudad de Toledo, o historia* (Toledo: Pedro Rodríguez, 1605), fol. 85.

<sup>63</sup> Ribadeneyra, *Flos sanctorum* (1599-1601), 1: 383-5

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.* 1: 384. "condenados los errores de los herejes Apollinaristas, y Monotelitas, que en aquel tiempo turbaban la Iglesia Católica." Apollinarianism was the belief that Jesus had a human body and a divine mind. Monothelism envisioned Jesus as having two natures (human and divine) and a divine will. The two concepts challenged the doctrine Christ's being both human and divine, although in different ways.

Toledo was not, however, only a model of governance, but also a site of personal holiness as exemplified through its martyrs. Ribadeneyra included the life of Eugenius as an example of martyred bishop and went to great lengths to emphasize him as the first bishop for the city.<sup>65</sup> Prior to this first bishop, Toledo's lacked its own shepherd. When Christianity entered into a community, especially a pagan one, martyrdoms symbolized the tensions between changes in religion, and their triumph symbolized that of the true faith. To establish the antiquity of Christianity in Toledo, Ribadeneyra used Eugenius as its earliest prelate and one of its initial martyrs to drive this point home, these two roles amplified Eugenius's commitment to both patria and the faith.<sup>66</sup> In this way, he set the standard for the subsequent archbishops. By Ildefonso's tenure, his imitation of his forebears disseminated this model of religious governance with implications for the entire Iberian Peninsula. Ribadeneyra thus established the archbishop of Toledo as a model prelate, whether as a martyr or an ecclesiastic administrator. Moreover, Toledo's martyrs, such as Eugenius and Leocadia, laid the foundation of its subsequent Christianity. Historical men, women, and things contributed to Ribadeneyra's cultivation of a sacred landscape. In examining Toledo's past, Ribadeneyra promoted a Catholicism refracted through the religious practices of his patria.

### **A Society of Saints: Ribadeneyra and the Jesuits**

In addition to Toledo (or his patria), Ribadeneyra organized his *Flos sanctorum* to promote the religious order to which he belonged since his youth. He began by proving the sanctity of its founder ten years before Ignatius was beatified (and two decades) before his canonization by Rome. The *Flos sanctorum* in this sense can be read as a commemoration of Ignatius by Ribadeneyra, since

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<sup>65</sup> Ibid., 2: 569-73.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid. 2: 572.

it allows me to remember that our blessed Father Saint Ignatius, Father and founder of our lesser Society of Jesus, as a soldier lost in the vanity of the world, opened the eyes of the soul and converted to God by the reading the lives of the Saints.<sup>67</sup>

Jesuits had also long associated *flores sanctorum* with their founder and integrated the work into their religious practices.<sup>68</sup> Ribadeneyra, in his earlier *Vita Ignatii*, specified Ignatius's collection of saints' lives as an unspecified *Flos sanctorum*, an act that supposedly encouraged his religious conversion.<sup>69</sup> Presumably in response, Ribadeneyra provided the Jesuits with their own *Flos sanctorum* so that they could imitate Ignatius's life and promote their founder's sanctity.

Ribadeneyra used the different religious orders to explain this emergent 'Society of saints'. Mendicant founders, especially the Dominicans, the most prevalent order in the *Flos sanctorum*, produced disciples. In comparison, Ribadeneyra included the lives of eleven Dominicans, eight Franciscans, five Benedictines, four Cistercians, two Carmelites, and one life for the founders of other orders among the saints and extravagantes.<sup>70</sup> In his life of Thomas Aquinas, Ribadeneyra imagined Dominic as the father of other saints:

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 Vicente Ferrer, Apostle of his time; to saint Antonino, 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

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., 1: sig. ¶¶ 4r. "Pero no ha sido el menor motivo para llevar adelante esta empresa, el acordarme que nuestro bienaventurado Padre san Ignacio, Padre y fundador de nuestra mínima Compañía de Jesús, siendo soldado, y sumido en la vanidad del mundo, abrió los ojos del alma, y se conversión a Dios, por leer las vidas de los Santos."

<sup>68</sup> "Regulae Communes Romanae anni 1549," in *Regulae Societatis Iesu (1540-1556)*, ed. Dionysius Fernández Zapico (Rome: Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu, 1948), 162; Jerónimo Nadal, "Adhortationes Complutenses 1561," in *Fontes narrativi de S. Ignatio de Loyola et de Societatis Iesus initiis*, ed. Cándido de Dalmasas, 4 vols. (Rome: Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu, 1943-65), 2:187; idem, "Adhortationes Conimbricenses 1561," in *Fontes narrativi*, 2:153; idem, "Adhortationes Colonienses 1567," in *Fontes narrativi*, 2:405; Michele Ruggieri, "To Claudio Aquaviva, Zhaoqing, February 7, 1583," in *Opere storiche del P. Matteo Ricci*, ed. Pietro Tacchi-Venturi, 2 vols. (Macerata: F. Giorgetti, 1911-13), 2:412. See also Ines Županov, *The Catholic Frontier in India (16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> Centuries)* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2005), 232-58.

<sup>69</sup> Pedro de Ribadeneyra, "Vida de Padre Ignacio de Loyola," in idem, *Las obras de Pedro de Ribadeneyra* (Madrid: Widow of Pedro Madrigal, 1595), 3.

<sup>70</sup> The orders with minimal presence were Augustinians, Cluniacs, Camaldoleseans, Vallumbrosans, Praemonstratensians, and Minims.

church, like stars in the sky.<sup>71</sup>

Thus, canonization legitimized founder and followers, the ‘many other blessed sons’. Ribadeneyra recognized the importance of Ignatius’s canonization to his order, both corporately and among the other religious orders in order to establish its saintly source.

Ribadeneyra emphasised specific virtues of Ignatius, initially in the *Vita Ignatii*, which he cited in his subsequent *Flos sanctorum*, including humility, contempt of worldliness, charity, and love of God.<sup>72</sup> Yet these virtues were not enough. In canonizations after Trent, miracles supported the assertion of a holy man or woman’s exemplary life, which Ribadeneyra acknowledged before his subsection on Ignatius’s miracles.<sup>73</sup> From exorcism to the curing of illnesses, Ignatius intervened in the affairs of the living according to Ribadeneyra’s comprehensive inventory.<sup>74</sup> Ignatius touched people across the world, from Rome to India, with his miracles, but closer to home, Ribadeneyra noted that Madrid and Toledo had one of Ignatius’s curative miracles each. Miguel Garces of the Madrid Professed House in September 1596 had problems with his right eye, which was bloody, painful, and drooping. The pain kept Garces awake at night and a cure continued to elude him. In Rome, another Jesuit Bartolomé Pérez held the hand of Ignatius’s body and prayed for Garces’s pain to cease. Back in Madrid, Garces’s pain intensified briefly and then abated; he slept soundly that evening, when he awoke, the other brothers observed Garces’s now healthy eye.<sup>75</sup> Ignatius’s ability to cure people

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<sup>71</sup> Ribadeneyra, *Flos sanctorum* (1599-1601): 1:133. “Que de los hijos tantos y tan gloriosos; que ha tenido este santísimo Patriarca? A un santo Tomas de Aquino, luz y maestro de toda la Iglesia Católica; á un san Pedro Mártir, amparador de la Fe, y cuchillo de los herejes; á un san Jacinto, espejo de santos Confesores; á un san Vicente Ferrer, Apóstol de su tiempo; á un san Antonino Arzobispo de Florencia, dechado de santos Prelados...y á tantos otros bienaventurados hijos e hijas, que en número y virtud resplandecen en la santa Iglesia Católica, como estrellas en el firmamento?”

<sup>72</sup> Ibid. 2: 830-40.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid. 2: 847.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid. 2: 847-72.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid. 2: 862.

occurred in Toledo even earlier in 1570 or 1571.<sup>76</sup> Even amid this drive to have Ignatius's sainthood recognized, Ribadeneyra's patria was never far from his mind in the *Flos sanctorum* since he emphasized Toledo's higher status over Madrid as a sacred landscape. For the canonization of Ignatius to proceed, the Jesuits had to have recorded miracles. Without them, canonization proceedings could stall, resulting in an order, not without a saint, but a corporation without a founder recognized by Rome.

This purpose gained momentum when the Sacred Congregation of Rites (the ones in charge of deciding upon sainthood) beatified Ignatius in 1609, although Ribadeneyra cannot take all the credit. The same year, he felt bold enough to include other Jesuits on the long road to canonization in the edition of extravagantes printed.<sup>77</sup> Ribadeneyra moved Ignatius from the end of official 'saints' to a *distinct Jesuit section* after the extravagantes. Two additions, Stanislaus Kostka and Luigi Gonzaga, were recruits who died young and they had received beatification in 1605, four years before their founder was recognised. These Jesuits and the 'Apostle to the Indies', Francis Xavier, were important models for the members of the Society of Jesus since they represented Ignatius's ideals for the order: Xavier was the 'missionary', Kostka and Gonzaga were the 'novices'. Ribadeneyra also added the life of Francis Borgia, who told Ribadeneyra to write the life of Ignatius in the first place. Only after the successful canonization of Ignatius could Ribadeneyra acknowledge the sanctity of subsequent Jesuits.

### **Saints at the Habsburg Court**

While Ignatius's sanctity preoccupied Ribadeneyra, so too did the governance of the

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<sup>76</sup> Ibid. 2: 860.

<sup>77</sup> 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 beatification dates for the Jesuits are as follows: Stanislaus Kostka and Luigi Gonzaga (both 1605), Ignatius (1609), Francis Xavier (1619), and eventually Francis Borgia (1624). Canonizations occurred in 1622 (Xavier and Ignatius), 1670 (Borgia), and 1726 (Kostka and Gonzaga).

‘Christian Republic’. According to Urban VIII (r. 1623-1644), Philip II, Philip III, the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian, and the French kings, Henri IV and Louis XIII lobbied for Ignatius’s canonization.<sup>78</sup> As an *arbitrista*, Ribadeneyra petitioned the king on matters of statecraft, evident in his writings prior to the *Flos sanctorum*. But based on his patronesses, Ribadeneyra also appealed to the women of Philip III’s court. In the *Flos sanctorum*, statecraft and exemplary piety converged through Ribadeneyra’s conceptualization of a sacred monarchy using saints and extravagantes.

In the first printing of the *Flos sanctorum*, Ribadeneyra included two royal-saints, Louis IX and Hermenegild, brother of Reccared. Following Ribadeneyra’s taxonomy, Louis was a confessor, while Hermenegild functioned as a martyr. But Ribadeneyra drifted from his classifications, since Louis was also the ‘King of France’ (*Rey de Francia*) and Hermenegild was a ‘Prince of Spain’ (*Principe de España*). Ribadeneyra had used this title for Louis before in his *Vita Ignatii*, including the king among other “lights of the schools” founded by the Jesuits, but Ribadeneyra described Louis as the “mirror and exemplar of Kings.”<sup>79</sup> In his life of Francis Borgia, Ribadeneyra used Louis as an example of good kings, along with Fernando III of Castile and his son, Alfonso the Wise, who collaborated with religious orders. His implication is clear: this practice must be fostered through a close relationship between Catholic rulers and the Society of Jesus.<sup>80</sup> In his *Tratado del Príncipe*, Ribadeneyra advised the eventual Philip III on how to be a good Christian ‘prince’ using Louis IX as an exemplar.<sup>81</sup>

Within the *Flos sanctorum*, Ribadeneyra created for these kings inventories of virtues.

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<sup>78</sup> Urban VIII, “Bulla sive litterae decretales Canonizationis S. Ignatii Loiolae Societatis Iesu Fundatoris,” in Felice Contolori, *De canonizatione sanctorum* (Lyon: Laurent Durand, 1634), 791-5.

<sup>79</sup> Ribadeneyra, “Vida de Ignacio,” 126. “luz de las escuelas...espejo y dechado de Reyes.”

<sup>80</sup> Ribadeneyra, “Vida de Francisco de Borja,” in idem, *Obras de Pedro de Ribadeneyra* (Madrid: Widow of Pedro Madrigal, 1595), 301-2.

<sup>81</sup> Pedro de Ribadeneyra, *Tratado de la religión y virtudes que debe tener el Príncipe Cristiano* (Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1595), 329, 337.

Louis was devout, humble, and modest, fine qualities for a king, but these did not make Louis, to use Ribadeneyra's words, a "great and Christian king." What made Louis a model for subsequent kings was his "most zealous Catholic faith [that he] defended against the heretics and propagated among the infidels."<sup>82</sup> While this rhetoric hardly surprises, Ribadeneyra reinforced this zeal through elaborating on Louis's crusades and building of religious institutions, especially outlining the king's conversion of Muslims, which Ribadeneyra described as "moros."<sup>83</sup> At this time, concerns about Spain's morisco population simmered and eventually spilled over with their expulsion in 1609. Along with the concerns over 'moros', this life of Louis functioned as a streamlined manual on kingship emphasized by Ribadeneyra's inclusion of a speech Louis made to his son, the future Philip III of France, prior to his death. After Louis's directives on Christian kingship, securing the faith for his people, and overcoming heresy, Ribadeneyra described the included documents as "if they were kept entirely for Kings and Princes, there would be nothing more to ask, nothing more to want."<sup>84</sup> Kings, if armed with these texts, can learn the ropes on governance from saints' lives.

Hermenegild, for Ribadeneyra, was a local take on sacred royalty, although martyred before he could assume the Spanish throne. Ribadeneyra emphasized Hermenegild's steadfastness of his Catholicism against the Arianism of his father, the result of which was his own death.<sup>85</sup> Although he followed Gregory the Great's account, Ribadeneyra downplayed Hermenegild's open revolt against his father, the king of Spain, which were central to Gregory's

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<sup>82</sup> Ribadeneyra, *Flos sanctorum* (1599-1601), 2: 246. "De la Fe Católica fue celosísimo, y por defenderla contra los herejes, y propagarla entre los infieles"

<sup>83</sup> Ibid. 248-52.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid. 2: 253. "si se guardasen enteramente de los Reyes y Príncipes, no habría mas que pedir, ni que desear."

<sup>85</sup> Ibid. 1: 471-2.

narrative.<sup>86</sup> If Ribadeneyra advocated rebellion against the crown, he would have landed in a great deal of trouble. Instead, he focused more on the subsequent impact of Hermenegild's conversion on his brother, Recarred, who left Arianism for Catholicism. This latter volte-face was one of Hermenegild's miracles, where he intervened in the affairs of the living after his death. Ribadeneyra wished to emphasize the Spanish monarchy's Catholic origins. Yet Ribadeneyra gradually began to refer to Hermenegild as king (*rey*) instead of a prince.<sup>87</sup> He extended the associations between the monarchy and the earliest Catholic 'king' in the closing paragraph of the life, where it outlined the petitioning of Sixtus V in 1587 by Philip II and the eventual Philip III to canonize Hermenegild.<sup>88</sup> Ribadeneyra provided the 'Catholic king' (*Rey Católico*) with his illustrious ancestor.

Although already present among the official saints' lives, Ribadeneyra took sacred monarchy found in the extravagantes and ran with it. Apart from Edward, whom Ribadeneyra employed in his *Tratado del Príncipe*, the *Flos sanctorum* marks their first appearance of these extravagantes in any of Ribadeneyra's works. For this heavenly court, Ribadeneyra provided another taxonomy, which included kings, king's daughters (*hija del rey*), two empresses (*emperatriz*), and other titles, including queen, margrave, and duchess.<sup>89</sup> Except for Elizabeth of Portugal, none of these extravagantes were even Iberian, most were from the lands of the Austrian Habsburgs.

Comparing the 1604 and 1609 editions and their different extravagantes (and different patronesses) suggests Ribadeneyra's intentions for the work. In the 1604 edition, Ribadeneyra catered some of his selections to his patroness, Margaret of the Cross, a cloistered Franciscan

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<sup>86</sup> Gregory the Great, *Dialogues*, trans. Odo John Zimmerman (New York: Fathers of the Church, 1999), III, 31.

<sup>87</sup> Ribadeneyra, *Flos sanctorum* (1599-1601), 1: 472-4.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.* 1: 474-5.

<sup>89</sup> The remaining titles, with one life each, were queen, prince, duchess, duke, and margrave.

nun at the Descalzas Reales monastery and Philip III's aunt. In a dedicatory letter to Margaret, Ribadeneyra singled out specific lives that he felt were of great relevance to his patroness:

St. Margaret, daughter of King Andrew of Hungary, who was a monk of St. Dominic from childhood devoted to the Lord; and also St. Isabella, a widow, a daughter as well of a King of Hungary, but a different one, and another but no lesser St. Isabella, queen of Portugal, both Isabellas.<sup>90</sup>

With his extravagantes, Ribadeneyra praised his patroness with a wink and a nod. The inclusion of two daughters of kings of Hungary (Margaret and Isabella) was not coincidental, since Margaret of the Cross's father was Maximilian, King of Hungary. Ribadeneyra also indicated his desire to commemorate someone important to Margaret, who he referred to as the empress.<sup>91</sup> I believe that this empress was Margaret's mother and sister of Charles V, the Empress María, who had died in 1603.

Yet how did these connections translate into extravagantes? This metamorphosis was accomplished primarily with the aid of miracles. These extravagantes intervened in the lives of the members of the Spanish court, in turn, justifying their political and religious leadership. Ribadeneyra indicated that the heavenly Queen of Portugal, Isabella, cured the stomach ailment of a religious, none other than Margaret of the Cross.<sup>92</sup> When alive, Isabella of Hungary touched the contagious and cured them; after death, she maintained her curing touch by intercession.<sup>93</sup> Margaret of Hungary, the niece of Isabella of Hungary, frequently healed the ailments of her cloistered sisters, a tip of the hat to his patroness, a nun at the Descalzas Reales monastery.<sup>94</sup> With these royal extravagantes, Ribadeneyra conflated religious and royal authority resulting in a spiritual justification for the Habsburg court.

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<sup>90</sup> Pedro de Ribadeneyra, *Libro de vidas de santos*, 3. "santa Margarita, hija del rey Andrés de Hungría, que fue monja de santo Domingo, y desde su niñez consagrada al Señor: y también las de santa Isabel viuda, hija así mismo de otro Rey de Hungría, y no menos las de santa Isabel, Reina de Portugal, que ambas Isabellas."

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.* 4.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.* 164.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.* 213-4.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.* 54.

Yet Ribadeneyra changed his approach when he commemorated the Empress María by associating her with the life of another empress, Helena, the mother of Constantine the Great. Instead of miracles, Ribadeneyra focused on Helena's discovery of the True Cross, while on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 326, an event commemorated with the feast of the Triumph of the Cross which was important to early modern Spaniards. Ribadeneyra also emphasized the central role held by the women at court: nurturing of the piety of their husbands and sons.<sup>95</sup> Ribadeneyra used Augustine's mother, Monica, for the same purpose.<sup>96</sup> This emphasis on women is a departure from Ribadeneyra's usual emphasis on male exemplars. Thus, Ribadeneyra used Helena to craft a thinly-veiled allegory of the Empress María, while placing these empresses amid an important feast day in Spain. During the early reign of Philip III, the women associated closest with him – Margaret of Austria, Margaret of the Cross, and the Empress María – exerted considerable political authority, something which Ribadeneyra tapped into and manipulated.<sup>97</sup> This deliberate deployment of these extravagantes recreated a royal network built on family ties with hagiographies.

Patronesses of Ribadeneyra's *Flos sanctorum* changed in 1609; Jane Dormer replaced Margaret of the Cross as the primary impetus for the extravagantes. Dormer and Ribadeneyra had met when Ribadeneyra was stationed in England.<sup>98</sup> Dormer's husband, Gómez Suárez de Figueroa (d. 1571), was the former Spanish ambassador in England during the 1550s; he had warned Ribadeneyra to leave after Elizabeth's coronation.<sup>99</sup> In a letter of dedication, Ribadeneyra specified that he had included "many lives of the admirable male and female saints

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<sup>95</sup> Ibid. 176-8.

<sup>96</sup> Ribadeneyra, *Flos sanctorum* (1599-1601), 1: 540-5.

<sup>97</sup> Feros; Magdalena S. Sánchez, *The Empress, the Queen, and the Nun: Women and Power at the Court of Philip III of Spain* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998).

<sup>98</sup> Henry Clifford, *The Life of Jane Dormer, Duchess of Feria* (London: Burns and Oates, 1887), 135-8, 184-5. I am uncertain about the extent of their interactions, since I have yet to consult Dormer's letters.

<sup>99</sup> Gómez Suárez de Figueroa, "To Pedro de Ribadeneyra, Greenwich, 22 March 1558," in *CESI*, 1:286-7.

of your nation, such as the Venerable Bede and the saints Boniface, Dunstan, Ethelwold, Edmund, Burchard, Columba, Malachi, Edith, Osyth, Walpurgis, and the most glorious King Edward the Confessor.”<sup>100</sup> Ribadeneyra viewed England as a Catholic stronghold that had dismantled its defences and allowed entry for heresy, exemplified in one of his sermons, where he concentrated his venom on Elizabeth I, who had

recognised, protected, supported, and favoured all the most pestilent ministries of Satan and diabolical masters of every error and raving that they have invented against our sacred Religion in our time. She has called them to her kingdom, and they have come from France, Scotland, Germany, and from all the other places infected with heresy. They went to England as if it was the most important university of its doctrine, as if a cave of serpents, as if a safe haven for thieves and corsairs.<sup>101</sup>

This passage conveys Ribadeneyra’s conception of England as a nucleus of heresy, welcoming others and then disseminating its errors across Europe. With this in mind, Ribadeneyra used the extravagantes to criticise England’s current state, while acknowledging a hope for its return to Catholicism. Was this sentiment his or one expressed by Dormer? I am not entirely sure, but examining the lives of the royal extravagantes, Edith and Edward the Confessor, might help dissipate any cloudiness.

Edith was, according to Ribadeneyra, a ‘virgin’ and “daughter of Edgar, king of England.”<sup>102</sup> With her life, Ribadeneyra continued the practice that he had established with Margaret of the Cross, composing the lives of royal women who entered into a cloistered life. Wilton Abbey, Edith’s home, and Descalzas Reales operated in a similar manner since both

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<sup>100</sup> Ribadeneyra, *Flos sanctorum* (1616), 4. “muchas vidas de los Santos y Santas admirables de su nación, como del Venerable Beda, y de los Santos Bonifacio, Dunstano, Etheboldo, Burcardo, Edmundo, Columbano, Malachias, Edita, Osita, Valburga, y del gloriosísimo Rey Eduardo confesor”

<sup>101</sup> Pedro de Ribadeneyra, “Exhortación para los soldados y capitanes que van a esta jornada de Inglaterra, en nombre de su Capitán General,” in idem, *Historias de la contrarreforma*, ed. Eusebio Rey (Madrid: Biblioteca de autores cristianos, 1945), 1334-5. “la que ha recogido, amparado, regalado, y favorecido a todos los pestilentísimos ministros de Satanás y maestro diabólicos de todos los errores y desvaríos que se han inventado contra nuestra sagrada Religión en nuestros tiempos, y los ha llamado a su Reino, y ellos han venido a él de Francia, Escocia, Alemania la Alta y la Baja, y de las demás provincias inficionadas de herejías, y acudido a Inglaterra como a la Universidad más principal de su doctrina, como a una cueva de serpientes, como a puerto seguro de ladrones y corsarios.”

<sup>102</sup> Ribadeneyra, *Flos sanctorum* (1616), 392.

provided a cloistered existence for female nobility, expanding the court into one that negotiated between heaven and earth. Again, Ribadeneyra emphasized Edith's miracles, specifically, the driving out of demons.<sup>103</sup> But Ribadeneyra's critical eye could not leave England unblemished. After the death of Edgar, Edith's brother Edward assumed the throne, but soon after, when Edward went to visit his step-brother, Edith had a vision and saw Edward's untimely death. Nobles loyal to Edward visited the monastery and offered her the throne, an offer she promptly refused, since she could not "part from the embraces of her sweet husband, Jesus Christ."<sup>104</sup> With this episode, Ribadeneyra used Edith as a foil to criticize Elizabeth, the Virgin Queen, since everything Edith represented was at odds with Elizabeth's theology, be it monasteries, miracles, and visions. Readers, especially Dormer, would have picked up on the parallels between this narrative and the period between Henry VIII's death and Elizabeth's coronation, the focus of Ribadeneyra's *Historia eclesiástica*. Unlike Edith, Elizabeth contributed to English instability, rather than diminish it. Ribadeneyra's royal women participated in politics, but maintained their piety first and foremost.

If Edith was an exemplary virgin and king's daughter, then Edward was a good king and confessor, at least according to Ribadeneyra's taxonomy. He had previously used Edward in his *Tratado del Príncipe*, along with Louis IX, to discuss good examples of Christian kingship.<sup>105</sup> This praiseworthy tone persisted in the *Flos sanctorum*, although tempered by Ribadeneyra's indictment of England in his *Historia eclesiástica*. Early into his life of Edward the Confessor, Ribadeneyra depicted Edward travelling to Rome to visit his patron, Peter.<sup>106</sup> By the early seventeenth century, no English monarch would venerate a pope or complete a pilgrimage

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<sup>103</sup> Ibid. 393-4.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid. 393. "ninguna...podría apartar los abrazos de su dulce esposo Jesús Cristo."

<sup>105</sup> Ribadeneyra, *Tratado de Príncipe Cristiano*, 337.

<sup>106</sup> Ribadeneyra, *Flos sanctorum* (1616), 30.

anywhere, especially the epicentre of Catholicism. English law also punished the assertion or preservation of papal jurisdiction. Aware of English practices from Dormer and personal experience, Ribadeneyra used Edward's life to criticize the abandonment of 'Catholic' practices by the Protestant monarchs of England. Embedded within this criticism, Ribadeneyra also subverted the legal practices of the English and in turn, that monarch's authority.

In addition to England, Ribadeneyra consistently inserted other royals from places associated with the Habsburg lands, both Spanish and Austrian.<sup>107</sup> The odd man out in Ribadeneyra's taxonomy and geographical focus was William X, the Duke of Aquitaine as well as a hermit and confessor. Ribadeneyra represented Louis IX as an ideal monarch, but with William, Ribadeneyra used the duke as a foil to Louis, although never stated outright. While Louis never veered off course, William did exactly that, since he backed the antipope Anicletus II instead of Pope Innocent II during the schism of 1130, a decision condemned by the bishops of William's lands. Only after Bernard of Clairvaux intervened in the matter did William realize his error and switch sides.<sup>108</sup> In this account in others, Ribadeneyra had saints intervene in political affairs. Yet there was a moral to this tale; Ribadeneyra selected this duke from southern France to criticize another southerner, Henri IV of France. The Spanish monarchy under Philip II backed the Catholic League during the French Wars of Religion against Henri and the Huguenots in addition to the moderate Politiques.<sup>109</sup> Even after the Edict of Nantes, the Catholic League fixated on Henri's Protestantism and manufactured apprehension over the sincerity of Henri's conversion to Catholicism. While Bernard's intervention saved William, Ribadeneyra implied

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<sup>107</sup> Ribadeneyra included kings Wenceslaus of Bohemia and Stephen of Hungary; Empress Chunegunde of Luxembourg; Prince Emeric of Hungary; Duchess Hedwig of Poland; and Leopold III, Margrave of Austria. More work is required to further understand the Habsburgs' interactions among their Spanish and Austrian branches.

<sup>108</sup> Ribadeneyra, *Flos sanctorum* (1616), 123-4.

<sup>109</sup> Mack P. Holt, *The French Wars of Religion, 1562-1629*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 156-77.

that Henri lacked a saint to intercede in his affairs. Thus, the extravagantes offered various instructions and directions on saintly leadership for men and women, whether secular or religious.

### Conclusion

Ribadeneyra's *Flos sanctorum* aimed high as it was part sacred history, part saint promotion, and part statecraft manual. It probably had other uses, which are still to be explored. For instance, Ribadeneyra weaved the lives of model prelates into the accounts of the royals. Was he trying to suggest that spiritual leadership of the 'Christian Republic' required monarchs and bishops acting in co-operation? The extravagantes also had numerous accounts that disseminated an early-seventeenth century conception of Islam in addition to figures from popular and learned culture. The extravagantes are a rich, and largely untapped, source that encourage investigation into early modern society, but these lives are not transparent. According to Peter Burke, 'saints' in the broadest sense function as "cultural indicators" but so do their hagiographers.<sup>110</sup> Through the use of sacred history, Ribadeneyra promulgated cults important to his patria and religious order, in doing so, he sought to integrate the saints and extravagantes of the *Flos sanctorum* into the fabric of early modern Catholicism, although steeped in Iberian and corporate cultures that he negotiated.

Much is still to be learned about its reception as well, as it is often difficult to separate Ribadeneyra's *Flos sanctorum* from that of similar works, namely by Villegas. For instance at sea, ship's crews owned copies of these works in addition to chivalric romances.<sup>111</sup> Although rich examples, the record keepers failed to specify which flores sanctorum, resulting in endless

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<sup>110</sup> Peter Burke, "How to be a Counter-Reformation Saint," in *The Counter-Reformation: The Essential Readings*, ed. David M. Luebke (Malden, MA; Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), 130.

<sup>111</sup> The *visitas de las naos* between 1579 and 1599 reveal numerous *Flos sanctorum* traveling with sailors as personal effects, not only merchandise. See *Libros y libreros en el siglo XVI*, 380-1, 386, 389, 390, 392, 394, 407, 415-9, 426, 437, 439.

speculation over the reception of these hagiographical compilations. Fortunately, artists did a much better job of recording what they had read and how they used their reading within their art. The best known example is Francisco Pacheco's *Arte de la pintura*, although printed in 1649, it was a work of ongoing revision and collaboration in the early-seventeenth century.<sup>112</sup> Pacheco's section on iconography relied heavily on Ribadeneyra's *Flos sanctorum*, especially when relating the proper way to represent Ignatius of Loyola.<sup>113</sup> Except for the work of Odile Delenda, work on artists' appropriation of Ribadeneyra's *Flos sanctorum* remains underexplored.<sup>114</sup>

By Ribadeneyra's death in 1611, his *Flos sanctorum* had been translated in both French and Italian. The French translator, René Gaultier, changed Ribadeneyra's *Flos sanctorum* considerably. He axed the extravagantes completely, including the French saints, and also excised the lives of Jesuits and the local saints for Toledo.<sup>115</sup> In contrast, the Italian texts by Grazio Maria Grazi followed the originals closely.<sup>116</sup> Unlike the originals, however, both the French and Italian editions included images with the saints' lives. After Ribadeneyra's death, the *Flos sanctorum* spread rapidly across the Catholic world. English recusants, who had printed an translation of Villegas as early as 1607, produced flores sanctorum but conflated Villegas and Ribadeneyra haphazardly.<sup>117</sup> The noted Jesuit hagiographer and inspiration for the Bollandists, Heribert Rosweyde, translated the *Flos sanctorum* into Flemish by 1619. Back in Spain, the

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<sup>112</sup> Jonathan Brown, *Images and Ideas in Seventeenth-Century Spanish Painting* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), 44-62.

<sup>113</sup> Francisco Pacheco, *Arte de la pintura*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Manuel Galiano, 1866), 2: 268-319, especially 312-9 on Ignatius.

<sup>114</sup> Odile Delenda, "Nadal, Ribadeneira, et Pacheco: l'influence des premiers jésuites sur l'art espagnol du Siècle d'or," in *Baroque vision jésuite: du Tintoret à Rubens*, ed. Alain Tapié (Paris: Somogy éditions d'art, 2003), 233-47.

<sup>115</sup> Pedro de Ribadeneyra and René Gaultier, *Les fleurs des vies des saints et des festes de toute l'année, suyuant l'usage du Calendrier Romain reformé* (Paris: Guillaume de la Noüe, 1606).

<sup>116</sup> Pedro de Ribadeneyra and Grazio Maria Grazi, *Flos sanctorum, cioè, vite de' santi*. 2 vols. (Venice: Giambattista Ciotti, 1604-5).

<sup>117</sup> The work also had English adaptations but they were a hodgepodge of the works by Villegas, Ribadeneyra, and other hagiographers. Carla Gardina Pestana, "Martyred by the Saints: Quaker Executions in Seventeenth-Century Massachusetts," in *Colonial Saints: Discovering the Holy in the Americas, 1500-1800*, eds. Allan Greer and Jodi Bilinkoff (New York: Routledge, 2003), 188 n. 15.

production of *flores sanctorum* did not cease after Ribadeneyra's death. His printer, Luis Sánchez, reprinted the text in 1616 and 1624 without any modification to the original text.

Sánchez's printings always coincided with specific events in Habsburg Spain. 1609 saw the beatification of Ignatius and the expulsion of the moriscos. The 1616 edition appeared a year after Louis XIII's marriage to the Spanish Infanta Ana of Austria. This publication also overlapped with the Uskok War fought between England, the United Provinces, and Venice against the Spanish and Austrian Habsburgs. The link between royal marriages and *flores sanctorum* appeared again, since the Spanish Match lined up with the printing of the 1624 Castilian *Flos sanctorum*. English recusant printers also produced editions for the same event.<sup>118</sup> Other editions, however, did not have a political tinge. For example, the Barcelonan printer Sebastián de Cormellas took upon himself to produce another edition in 1623, a year after Ignatius's canonization. On average, each decade during the seventeenth century had at least two printings of Ribadeneyra's *Flos sanctorum*, whether in Castilian or translation. These translations provoke interest since they extend the sphere of promulgation, but also serve as sites of reception themselves. Fernández de Avellaneda's *Don Quixote* had described Villegas's *Flos sanctorum* as a 'book [that] contains the lives of saints...for the entire year.' Ribadeneyra would have modified this definition: the local *Flos sanctorum* was a sacred history for the entirety of Christendom.

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<sup>118</sup> Alexander Samson, "1623 and the Politics of Translation," in *The Spanish Match: Prince Charles Journey to Madrid, 1623*, ed. Alexander Samson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 96-8.

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