

Readable flowers: global circulation and translation of collected saints' lives*

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Abstract

This article argues that Flowers (flores sanctorum), collections of saints' lives arranged by the liturgical calendar, were the first genre of devotional literature to have a global reach during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This article begins with the medieval origins of Flowers before analysing their dispersion in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries by the Franciscans and Jesuits. By taking a temporal long view and a transoceanic perspective, the article contributes to the scholarship on early modern evangelization, translation, global networks, and the historiographies of the Franciscans and Jesuits.

Keywords: evangelization, Franciscans, globalization, Jesuits, saints' lives, translation

In the two centuries after the Portuguese coastal navigation of Africa in the fifteenth century and the Columbian encounter of 1492, members of Catholic religious orders strove to evangelize Africa, Asia, and the Americas. The goal was to gain souls through conversions to Christianity. Texts, often in the form of printed books in non-European languages, allowed missionaries to engage with indigenous peoples by adopting local nomenclature. The use of catechisms, guides to the core principles of a religion and usually written as dialogues, is well documented in these missions. Translations, however, were hardly seamless. Catechisms often included European loanwords and terms that grafted languages apparently haphazardly. These translation problems were not unique to catechisms, as they also plagued other genres of religious writing, such as collections of sermons,

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discourses that expanded on the concepts found in catechisms, including salvation, virtue, and penance.

While catechisms and anthologies of sermons have been examined extensively in the scholarship, another format, that of *flores sanctorum* or 'flowers of the saints', has largely gone unnoticed despite their prevalence in Catholic cultures.¹ *Flores sanctorum* (henceforth Flowers) were a distinctly Iberian genre of compiled vernacular saints' lives. But during the sixteenth century, Flowers became the first genre of devotional literature to go global, a process that made Christian paragons available for audiences in local vernaculars, which ranged from Spanish and Portuguese to Amharic or Ge'ez to Nahuatl and Kaqchikel to Japanese and Konkani. Devotional literature refers to works that concentrated on individual spiritual edification rather than what catechisms, dialogues, and sermon compilations prioritized, which were doctrine and theology.

Originating in late medieval Iberia (c.1300–1500), Flowers underwent globalization during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when they appeared in African, Asian, and American languages. Franciscans and Jesuits were prolific Florists, constantly circulating and translating collections of saints' lives. While there were some Dominican and Hieronymite contributions to the genre, Franciscans and Jesuits were the agents responsible for disseminating these works as manuscripts and books in the early modern world. This article contributes to our knowledge of early modern global religious cultures by looking at a neglected genre in the scholarly discussion, by examining a sphere in which different orders and overseas empires are interwoven, and by exploring the lives of Florists, Europeans and non-Europeans alike, operating in transoceanic missions during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It builds on the work of scholars such as Luke Clossey, who has traced Jesuit global networks in which objects, money, and news circulated.² Flowers often survive only as fleeting references in correspondence, which makes it difficult to examine reception and use, which are problematic even when books and manuscripts are extant.³ This article, however, is interested more in the producers of the Flowers than their materiality. It balances a broader pluri-continental scope and a closer examination of the individual disseminators of Christian exemplarity to non-European audiences.

The historiography on Florists operating outside Europe privileges Jesuits in Asia during the generalship of Claudio Acquaviva (r.1580–1615). In his study of the mission to China, Liam Brockey uncovered the efforts of Michele Ruggieri (1543–1607) to prepare a Chinese Flower in 1583 at the behest of the Asian Visitor. As the subordinate to the famous Matteo Ricci, Ruggieri had started work on some vernacular texts, including a catechism, a confessional manual, and a Flower.⁴ Another Jesuit discussed in the scholarship is Henrique Henriques (1520–1600),

1 Vicente L. Rafael, *Translation and Christian conversion in Tagalog society under early Spanish rule*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1988; Louise M. Burkhart, *The slippery earth: Nahuatl-Christian moral dialogue in sixteenth-century Mexico*, Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 1989; William F. Hanks, *Converting words: Maya in the age of the cross*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2010; Alan Durston, *Pastoral Quechua: the history of Christian translation in colonial Peru, 1550–1650*, Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007.

2 Luke Clossey, *Salvation and globalization in the early Jesuit missions*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010. See also J. Michelle Molina, *To overcome oneself: the Jesuit ethic and spirit of global expansion, 1520–1767*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2013; Serge Gruzinski, *The eagle and the dragon: globalization and European dreams of conquest in China and America in the sixteenth century*, trans. Jean Birrell, London: Polity Press, 2014.

3 See Paul F. Grendler, 'Form and function in Italian Renaissance popular books', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 46, 3, 1993, pp. 451–85.

4 Liam Matthew Brockey, *Journey to the East: the Jesuit mission to China, 1579–1724*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007, p. 247.

a Portuguese *converso*, or person of Jewish descent, active along the Pearl Fishery Coast in south-eastern India. He saw a need for works on Christian doctrine for the region's Tamil speakers. For this reason, Henriques relied on non-Western characters in his collection of saints' lives printed in 1586. While the Flower provided worthy examples from the Christian past, Ines Županov found that this work also included a repository of names to Christianize the Tamils: 'Thus St. Lucy became *su. uluciyāl*; St. Matthew, *su. Mattēcu*'.⁵ These names were untranslatable, and therefore required an unstable grafting of Portuguese names and Tamil declensions. Despite these linguistic problems, European Jesuits endeavoured to adapt saints' lives into local vernaculars to aid in the Christianization of Asian cultures, as demonstrated by the work of Brockey and Županov. Ruggeri directed his attention to Chinese Confucians, while Henriques focused on the Hindus and Muslims of the Pearl Fishery Coast of India. Brockey and Županov, however, examined specific Jesuit missions, whereas this article provides a sense of transregional proselytization through comparative analysis of different geographical contexts. Inevitably, numerous missions go unmentioned, since I have focused only on those in which Flowers were produced.⁶

Jesuits tend to dominate the historiography, but a multitude of Florists were Franciscans. Julia McClure, Federico Palomo, and Ângela Barreto Xavier have recently explored the transoceanic reach of the Franciscan order, from its medieval origins to its seventeenth-century manifestations in the Iberian world.⁷ As Xavier has pointed out, scholarship on the Franciscans suffers from two problems: the fragmentary nature of the order's documents, especially when compared with the Jesuits; and historians' tendency to ignore the order because of its perceived archaism, despite the fact that it was the earliest Christian entity to have a global presence.⁸ In light of this recent work, this article includes both of these orders to better explain the global network of Florists distributing and then reimagining saints' lives.

The article begins by tracing the medieval origins of Flowers, followed by their transoceanic dispersion during the sixteenth century by the Franciscans and the Jesuits. The genre went into decline during the 1630s, the chronological endpoint of the article, which saw the end of the efforts to create non-European renditions of Flowers. Nevertheless, despite the importance of catechisms and books of sermons in early modern missions and in contemporary scholarship, Flowers had a central place in evangelization as a global genre of devotional literature.

5 Ines G. Županov, *Missionary tropics: the Catholic frontier in India, 16th–17th centuries*, Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan, 2005, pp. 233–4.

6 Key scholarship about the Jesuit missions discussed in this paper includes: Léon Bourdon, *La Compagnie de Jésus et le Japon*, Lisbon: Fondation Calouste Gulbenkian, 1993; Dauril Alden, *The making of an enterprise: the Society of Jesus in Portugal, its empire, and beyond, 1540–1750*, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996; Barbara Ganson, *The Guaraní under Spanish rule in the Río de la Plata*, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2003; Ana Carolina Hosne, *The Jesuit missions to China and Peru, 1570–1610*, New York: Routledge, 2013.

7 Ângela Barreto Xavier, 'Les bibliothèques virtuelles et réelles des franciscains en Inde au XVIIe siècle', in Charlotte de Castelneau-L'Estoile et al., eds., *Missions d'évangélisation et circulation des savoirs, XVIe–XVIIIe siècles*, Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2011, pp. 151–70; Ângela Barreto Xavier, 'Fr. Miguel da Purificação, entre Madrid y Roma: relato del viaje a Europa de un franciscano portugués nacido en la India', *Cuadernos de historia moderna*, 13, 2014, pp. 87–110; Federico Palomo, 'Written empires: Franciscans, texts, and the making of early modern Iberian empires', *Culture and History Digital Journal*, 5, 2, 2016, pp. 1–8; Julia McClure, *The Franciscan invention of the New World*, Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017, pp. 50–6. Classic scholarship on the Franciscans in the Americas includes Robert Ricard, *La 'conquête spirituelle' du Mexique*, Paris: Institut d'ethnologie, 1933; John Leddy Phelan, *The millennial kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1956.

8 Ângela Barreto Xavier, 'Itinerários franciscanos na Índia Seiscentista, e algumas questões de história e de método (Franciscan itineraries in seventeenth-century India, and some question of history and method)', *Lusitânia Sacra*, 18, 2006, pp. 97–116.

Budding collections

Flowers had their origins in the Middle Ages as works that followed the established practice of incorporating multiple saints' lives into a single text, which was part of the wider medieval compilatory genre.⁹ These collections derived from the well-known *Golden legend* of Jacobus de Voragine (1228–98), which he composed around 1260 and supplemented regularly until his death in 1298. The *Golden legend* consisted of a fluctuating number of accounts about the lives, deaths, and miracles of saints, who were exemplary figures in Christianity. Jacobus arranged the entries according to the liturgical calendar, which started with Advent in December and ended with the feast days of November. The work's presence was felt everywhere in medieval life. Priests mined the *Golden legend* for their sermons; writers and artists referred to it when representing the saints; and the accessible Latin made it easy for the devout to read about the paragons of the Christian past.¹⁰

By 1492, there were more manuscript copies of the *Golden legend* in circulation than there were of the Bible. The *Golden legend's* broad reach is also evident in its Iberian adaptations, which became known as Flowers (*flores*), a term used in other medieval genres to indicate that the contents included the best examples – in this case, saints.¹¹ The Latin label remained even after Flowers' transition into Iberian vernaculars, including Castilian, Catalan, Galician, and Portuguese.¹² Flowers remained in constant circulation first as manuscripts and then as books, with one of these compilations being among the earliest books printed in Spain, dated between 1472 and 1475. Those by the Hieronymites epitomized the transition to print first, with the manuscript by Gonzalo de Ocaña (fl. first half of the fifteenth century), which was then updated by Pedro de la Vega (d.1541).¹³ A confrère, José de Sigüenza (1544–1606), described Vega's contribution, based on Ocaña's work, as 'what they called a Flower. Spain, for many years, had nothing from this genre of History to rest its eyes upon.'¹⁴ Although there were other Flowers by unknown compilers in Spain, the Hieronymite collaboration was the most prevalent and remained in print until 1580.

By the 1590s, a global network existed in which Franciscans and Jesuits penned and disseminated Flowers. While most of these works survive as fleeting references, there was a concerted effort to produce them, which started shortly after the Columbian encounter with the New World. The Franciscans initiated the circulation and local production of these collections, which was then pursued by Jesuits in their Asian and American missions. Capuchins,

9 Ann Moss, *Printed commonplace-books and the structuring of Renaissance thought*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996.

10 The *Golden legend* has an immense historiography, but most recent is Jacques Le Goff, *In search of sacred time: Jacobus de Voragine and the Golden legend*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014.

11 Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, *Preachers, florilegia, and sermons: studies on the Manipulus florum of Thomas of Ireland*, Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1979, p. 113.

12 Atanasio López de Vicuña, 'Códice en gallego de la "Legenda aurea" o "Flos sanctorum"', *Boletín da Real Academia Galega*, 11, 101, 1916, pp. 98–9; Vanesa Hernández Amez, 'Descripción y filiación de los *flores sanctorum* medievales castellanos', PhD thesis, Universidad de Oviedo, 2008, p. 12.

13 José Calveras, 'Fray Gonzalo de Ocaña traductor del "Flos sanctorum" anónimo', *Analecta Sacra Tarracoenensia*, 17, 1, 1944, pp. 206–8; José Aragüés Aldaz, 'Tendencias y realizaciones en el campo de la hagiografía en España (con algunos datos para el estudio de los legendarios hispánicos)', *Memoria Ecclesiae*, 24, 2004, pp. 512–13.

14 José de Sigüenza, *Historia de la orden de San Jerónimo*, 2nd edn, Madrid: Bailly, Bailliére, and Sons, 1909, vol. 2, p. 343: 'que le llaman Flos sanctorum [*sic*], y en muchos años no huuo cosa en España en este genero de Historia en que poner los ojos'.

an offshoot of the Franciscans, had no known involvement in the production of these collections of saints' lives. Other notable orders, such as the Augustinians, are also noticeably absent. Hieronymites and Dominicans, however, cannot be omitted from this history since they contributed significantly to the development of the genre. Although the Dominican and Hieronymite efforts started in the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries respectively, their Florists, with two exceptions in Guatemala, never left Europe, even after the fifteenth-century Portuguese navigation of Africa and the Columbian encounter of 1492.

Dispersal and dissemination

Shortly after the arrival of Europeans in the New World, Franciscans accompanying the fleets sought Flowers for the missions. In 1501, Spanish Franciscan Alonso de Espinar (d.1513) requested breviaries, bibles, grammars, and Flowers, which were to be sent to Santo Domingo, the capital of what is now the Dominican Republic, with the intent to help the friars teach locals how to read and write.¹⁵ With Espinar's request, thus began the dissemination of Flowers outside Europe. They were part of a broader group of works to be used by missionaries in teaching and services. The Bible would have been in Latin since its translation was forbidden. Despite that, some in the vernacular were produced, such as that in Valencian in 1478.¹⁶ Breviaries are liturgical texts used to perform the Office, a series of prayers recited throughout the day. Some were in Latin, others in Spanish. Regardless of language, breviaries tended to be specific to regions and religious orders, with some of these liturgical works containing only the hymns used in the Office. The Franciscans had used their own since the thirteenth century.¹⁷ Grammars sent from Spain in 1501 would have been in Spanish, such as the famous *Grammar of the Castilian language* (*Gramática del la lengua castellana*) by Antonio de Nebrija from 1492, rather than in Taíno, the indigenous language of Hispaniola. Spaniards often regarded translation as unnecessary and would make official proclamations in Spanish to Amerindians in the decades after the Columbian encounter.¹⁸

Although Flowers were brought to overseas missions, by the 1520s Franciscans felt a need to produce adaptations in local languages. In their mission to Ethiopia, the friars wanted a Flower in 'the Ethiopian language' (*la lengua etiopia*), at least as recounted by Francisco Álvares (c.1465–1536/41), a Portuguese member of the order who later recounted his time in *A true account of the lands of Prester John in the Indies* (*Verdadeira informação das terras do Preste João das Índias*). A subsequent translation into Spanish, *History of the things of Ethiopia* (*Historia de las cosas de Etiopía*), had Álvares mentioning some of the Flower's contents: lives of Sebastian and Anthony, and what might be an account of Barlaam and Josaphat.¹⁹ The Flower probably had more content as, on average, these texts contained dozens of lives. Álvares, however, failed to say anything further about this Flower.

15 W. Michael Mathes, *The Americas' first academic library: Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco*, Sacramento, CA: California State Library Foundation, 1985, pp. 4–5.

16 The Inquisition had all copies of this Bible destroyed in 1498, bar one, which remained in Stockholm until 1697. The sole surviving copy was lost in a fire. All that remains of this incunable is two pages housed at the Hispanic Society of America. Maria de los Desamparados Cabanes Percot, 'Una fecha para la biblia valenciana de Fray Bonifacio Ferrer', *Memoria ecclesiae* 38, 2013, pp. 449–54.

17 Anna Welch, *Liturgy, books and Franciscan identity in medieval Umbria*, Leiden: Brill, 2016, pp. 66–71.

18 Matthew Restall, *Seven myths of the Spanish conquest*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003, p. 87.

19 Francisco Álvares, *Historia de las cosas de Etiopía*, trans. Thomas de Padilla, Antwerp: Juan Steelsius, 1557, fols. 108v–109r.

For example, it is unclear what he meant by the 'Ethiopian language', since that could be either Amharic or Ge'ez.

He also gave no indication as to why he included these saints, or the accounts that he employed for the Flower. One likely source was the most recent Portuguese Flower of 1513, although its entries omitted any mention of patronage. Sebastian was a third-century martyr renowned for his miraculous ability to treat plague victims. In Portugal, one of his arms, a relic, (*seu braço e reliquia*) arrived in Lisbon in 1531, after which it reportedly saved the city from subsequent waves of plague.²⁰ Anthony (1195–1231) was a Franciscan during his life; after his death he became one of the patron saints of Lisbon, and his patronage eventually encompassed both Portugal and Brazil.²¹

The account of Barlaam and Josaphat was a Christian rendition of the life of Buddha. Siddhartha and Josaphat were princes raised in the lap of luxury, but isolated from the outside world so that they would never know suffering. Eventually, the two princes ventured into the world outside their palace, and it was there that they first encountered human suffering in the form of the sick, the poor, and the dying. At this point, they turned their backs on their former lives, renounced all worldly riches, and led wholly ascetic lives. The narratives then diverged to correspond with Buddhist and Christian teachings on transcendence over suffering caused by earthly existence. Prince Josaphat had only converted to Christianity because of the influence of the Hermit Barlaam. In the Portuguese Flower of 1513, a woodcut depicted Barlaam with a tonsure and in the robes of a mendicant friar, suggestive of some association of these orders with pluri-continental evangelization.²²

Unlike the lives of Sebastian and Anthony, that for Barlaam and Josaphat had circulated in Ethiopia since the sixth century and persisted after the Franciscan departure.²³ Local Christians also collected lives in Ge'ez during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. One compilation from the fifteenth century focused on the saints of the Ethiopian church, while another from the following century included accounts of Elijah, the life and miracles of George, and the martyrdom of Mercurius of Rome, in addition to homilies about the archangels Michael and Gabriel.²⁴ Although the fate of the Flower by Álvares is uncertain, there were compilers of vernacular saints' lives in Ethiopia around the time of the Franciscan mission. Moreover, Álvares' work is the only reported case of a Flower produced in Africa, despite the extensive presence of missionaries in the Kongo, Angola, and Mozambique since the late fifteenth century.

20 The court painter Francisco de Holanda (1517–85), writing in 1571, made this claim about the saint's efficacy against the plague: Francisco de Holanda, *Da fabrica que fallece á cidade de Lisboa (Of the works that are lacking in the city of Lisbon)*, ed. Joaquim de Vasconcellos, Porto: Imprensa Portugueza, 1879, p. 19. For a sixteenth-century life of Sebastian in Portuguese, see *Ho flos sanctō[rum] em lingoaje[m] p[or]tugue[s] (The flower of the saints in the Portuguese language)*, Lisbon: Hermão de Campos and Roberte Rabelo, 1513, fols. XXX[r]–XXXI[r].

21 *Flos sanctorum em portugues*, fols. CCXLIII[r]–CCXLVII[r]. In addition to Sebastian and Anthony, Holanda listed Vincent and the martyrs Verissimus and his sisters as the patrons of Lisbon: Holanda, *Da fabrica de Lisboa*, p. 19. On the broader Lusophone context of the cult of Anthony, see Ronaldo Vainfas, 'St. Anthony in Portuguese America: saint of the restoration', in Allan Greer and Jodi Bilinkoff, eds., *Colonial saints: discovering the holy in the Americas, 1500–1800*, New York: Routledge, 2003, p. 101.

22 *Flos sanctorum em portugues*, fols. LXXIII[v]–LXXVIII[v].

23 Siegfried A. Schulz, 'Two Christian saints? The Barlaam and Josaphat legend', *India International Centre Quarterly*, 8, 2, 1981, pp. 131, 139.

24 Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits (henceforth BNF, DM), Ethiopien 136, *Vie de saint Takla-Häymânôt, d'Abbâ Samuel de Gadâma-Wâli, de saint Cyr*, fifteenth century; BNF, DM, Ethiopien 133, *Histoires des saints*, sixteenth century.

Soon after the translation in Ethiopia, editions in Portuguese travelled with their owners, including non-clerical ones. Baltasar Jorge Valdés (d.1546), for example, was a Portuguese nobleman who travelled to India in 1540 with a dozen books, one of which was a Flower.²⁵ More than a decade later, the Portuguese Jesuit Melchior Nunes Barreto (1520–71) was in charge of the order's college in Goa. He left India for Japan in 1554 and compiled a list of the objects he was taking, which included a 'catalogue of the saints' (*Cathalogus* [sic] *sanctorum*).²⁶ One scholar contended that the catalogue in question was a Flower.²⁷ Although precise editions cannot be determined, the Flowers in Nunes Barreto's and Valdés' possession were likely in Portuguese, a claim based on the men's origins. These concrete examples show that Flowers in European languages had a global dispersal by the mid sixteenth century.

Bouquet of Flowers

The second half of the century was when Flowers in non-European languages began to proliferate. Excluding Álvares' text in Ge'ez, fifteen Flowers appeared across the early modern world prior to 1640 (Table 1). Franciscans contributed eight (five in the Americas and three in Asia), whereas Jesuits produced five (three in Asia and two in the Americas). Dominicans, meanwhile, in what is present-day Guatemala, reportedly produced two. Nahuatl and Japanese were the best-represented languages with three Flowers each, almost half the total number. Despite records and documents speaking about fifteen, only four have survived. Printed books in Tamil and Japanese were by Jesuits, whereas the remaining pair were manuscripts penned by Franciscans in Kaqchikel and Konkani.

New Spain appeared to be the locus of Flower production. This Spanish viceroyalty, which included contemporary Mexico and Guatemala, had eight examples in six languages, specifically Nahuatl (three) and one each in Purépecha, Tehueco, Kaqchikel, Poqomchi', K'iche', and an unidentified language spoken in Guatemala. The first of these American Flowers appeared in Nahuatl, the language of the Aztec empire. Franciscan Juan de Ribas (d.1562) had penned this Flower in the aftermath of the Spanish 'conquest' of Mexico (1518–21).²⁸ He was one of the twelve 'apostles' sent to evangelize Mexico at the behest of Hernán Cortes, arriving in Tenochitlan in 1524. In an unpublished ecclesiastical history of Mexico, his fellow Franciscan Gerónimo de Mendieta (1525–1604) attributed to Ribas 'a catechism, Sunday sermons for the entire year, a brief *Flower*, and a dialogue on the Christian life'.²⁹

Unlike the earlier request for breviaries, bibles, grammars, and Flowers from Santo Domingo, Franciscan missionaries wanted different genres to use in their proselytization and elected to produce writings in local languages. The friars preferred practical genres useful for explaining the new religion and providing examples of its concepts. Catechisms are summaries used to introduce doctrine with simple diction in the vernacular. Dialogues, a popular and

25 Marcel Bataillon, *Erasmus y España: estudios sobre la historia espiritual del siglo XVI*, 2nd edn, trans. Antonio Alatorre, Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1966, p. 807.

26 Melchior Nunes Barreto, *Elenchus rerum ... in Iaponiam ablatarum*, Goa, late 1554, in Josef Wicki and John Gomes, eds., *Documenta Indica*, Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1954, vol. 3, p. 202.

27 Jesús López Gay, 'La primera biblioteca de los jesuitas en el Japón (1556): su contenido y su influencia', *Monumenta Nipponica*, 15, 3/4, 1959–60, p. 166.

28 Gerónimo de Mendieta, *Historia eclesiástica indiana, obra escrita á fines del siglo XVI*, Mexico: Díaz de León y White, 1870, p. 203.

29 *Ibid.*, p. 550: 'Fr. Juan de Ribas compuso un catecismo cristiano y sermones dominicales de todo el año: un *Flos Sanctorum* breve, y unas preguntas y respuestas de la vida cristiana.'

Table 1. Flowers from the Iberian world

Location	Compiler	Language	Date	Current status
<i>Franciscan Flowers</i>				
Ethiopia	Francisco Álvares (c.1465–1536/41)	Ge'ez?	1520–26/7	Lost
Mexico	Juan de Ribas (d.1562)	Nahuatl	1524–62	Lost
Mexico	Maturino Gilberti (1507/8–85)	Purépecha	c.1575	Unknown
Guatemala	Unknown	Unknown	1578–81	Unknown
Mexico	Juan Bautista Viseo (1555–1607)	Nahuatl	1598–;1603; 1605–07	Unknown
Guatemala	Juan de Mendoza (1539–1619)	Kaqchikel	c.1605	Newberry Library, Chicago, IL, Ayer MS 1505
India	Amador de Santana (fl.1600–20)	Konkani	1607	Bibliothèque National de France, manuscrit Indien 779
Philippines	Francisco Galvez (1574–1623)	Japanese	1614–19	Unknown
Philippines	Cosme de las Llagas (d. after 1634) and Gerónimo de la Cruz (d.1632)	Japanese	1613–32	Unknown
<i>Jesuit Flowers</i>				
China	Michele Ruggieri (1543–1607)	Guanhua?	1581–83	Unknown if completed
Mexico	Juan de Tovar (1547–1626)	Nahuatl	c.1585	Unknown
India	Henrique Henriques (1520–1600)	Tamil	1586	Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen, Orientalske Afdeling 1531 Another copy at the Biblioteca Vaticana Apostolica
Japan	Hōin Vicente (b.1538–44, d.1609) and Yōhō-Ken Paolo (b.1508–14, d.1595)	Rōmanji	1591	Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice, ANT 55091
Mexico	El Discreto (fl. early 17th century)	Tehueco	c.1612	Unknown
Rio de la Plata	José Serrano (1624–1713)	Guaraní	1705–27	Unknown
<i>Dominican Flowers</i>				
Guatemala	Francisco Viana (d.1608)	Poqomchi'	1556–1608	Unknown
Guatemala	Dionisio de Zúñiga (c.1550–1620)	K'iche'	Before 1620	Unknown

complementary format, used imagined conversations to illustrate and explain aspects of a religion. Sermons, which were often collected after their delivery, are lectures centred on some religious theme. These formats in addition to Flowers were well suited for disseminating Christian revelation since they were accessible. But texts in Spanish were an impediment to Nahua speakers, compelling Ribas and others to learn the local language and produce works in that idiom. Sermons were the most popular format in Nahuatl. Of the 122 works in that language produced before 1640, 26 were sermon compilations, 19 were catechisms, 5 were lives, and 4 were dialogues (see Table 2). These individual lives written by Franciscans focused mostly on saints affiliated with that order, such as the ever-popular Anthony of Padua.³⁰

Two of the lives were the handiwork of Juan Bautista Viseo (1555–1607), who penned a Nahua Flower at the dawn of the seventeenth century. Although precise details are not known, he was born in New Spain, took the habit in 1571, and preached in Nahuatl under the supervision of the ecclesiastical historian Mendieta. As Ribas had done, Viseo produced compilations of sermons and catechisms in Nahuatl. But Viseo expanded the range of works to include dictionaries and confessional manuals, as well as a translation of the *Imitation of Christ*, the purported devotional bestseller of the early modern period.³¹ While tempting to imagine that missionaries adhered rigidly to a cadre of works – linguistic works, confessional manuals, catechisms, and lives – which were produced in succession, the reality was very different. Based on the known dates of religious works in Nahuatl, they were produced in an ad hoc fashion with the first known writing being a 1539 catechism by Juan de Zumárraga and not a dictionary or an art (*arte*), a guide to the grammar of a language, which were not produced until 1547. Catechisms outnumbered all other genres of missionary texts in Nahuatl. Flowers and lives more broadly were not some teleological endpoint for missionaries but part and parcel of evangelization.

In the other languages of New Spain which had Flowers, the balance of works shifted and did not follow a rigid procedure. Of the fourteen known works in Purépecha, for example, there were more arts than catechisms in that mission, with no other known lives penned before 1640. Almost half of these were the work of Franciscan Maturino Gilberti (1507/8–85), active in the mid sixteenth century, who completed a catechism (1555), an art (1558), a dictionary (1559), and a translation of the Gospels (1560). The only knowledge we have about Gilberti's Flower comes from the revised edition of his *Spiritual treasure for the poor in the language of Michoacán* (*Thesoro spiritual de pobres en lengua de Michuacan*), which contains a dedicatory letter addressed to the new Bishop of Michoacán, Juan de Medina Rincón (r.1574–88). Colleagues reportedly 'have pestered me that I arranged in the language of Michoacán [i.e. Purépecha] a Flower of all the saints, which they celebrate in New Spain'.³² In the same letter, he claimed that his original

30 In addition to Anthony of Padua, Franciscans penned lives for the order's founder, Francis of Assisi, and the noted missionary Bernardino of Siena. Another work, on the Mexican child-martyrs of Tlaxcala, focused on indigenous children converted by the friars. Apart from their confrères, Franciscans also produced a narrative on the life of the Augustinian Nicholas of Tolentino.

31 Maximilian von Habsburg, *Catholic and Protestant translations of the Imitatio Christi, 1425–1650*, Farnham: Ashgate, 2011.

32 Maturino Gilberti to Juan de Medina Rincón y de la Vega, Tzintzuntzán, c.1575, in Maturino Gilberti, *Thesoro spiritual de pobres en le[n]gua de Michuaca[n]*, rev. edn, Mexico: Antonio de Spinosa, 1575, fol. 10r–v: 'me ha[n] importunado aq[ue]l yo ordenassi [sic] en la le[n]gua de Michuaca[n] el *Flos sanctorum* de los sanctos y sanctas, que se celebran en esta nueva España'.

Table 2. Missionary works by genre. These figures do not include Flowers. The table is comprehensive, but not exhaustive.

Genre	Number
<i>Chinese</i>	
Catechism	3
Dictionary	5
Grammar	0
Confessional Guide	1
Lives	0
Miscellaneous	4
<i>Total</i>	13
<i>Japanese</i>	
Catechism	6
Dictionary	7
Grammar	1
Confessional Guide	4
Lives	3
Miscellaneous	19
<i>Total</i>	40
<i>Konkani</i>	
Catechism	5
Dictionary	3
Grammar	5
Confessional Guide	0
Lives	2
Miscellaneous	9
<i>Total</i>	24
<i>Tamil</i>	
Catechism	4
Dictionary	2
Grammar	1
Confessional Guide	1
Lives	3
Miscellaneous	15
<i>Total</i>	26
<i>Nahuatl</i>	
Catechism	19
Dictionary	10
Grammar	11
Confessional Guide	5
Lives	6
Miscellaneous	71
<i>Total</i>	122
<i>Purépecha</i>	
Catechism	4
Dictionary	1
Grammar	5
Confessional Guide	1
Lives	0
Miscellaneous	3
<i>Total</i>	14

Table 2. (Continued)

Genre	Number
<i>Languages of Guatemala (Kaqchikel, K'iche', and Poqomchi')</i>	
Catechism	2
Dictionary	6
Grammar	1
Confessional Guide	1
Lives	1
Miscellaneous	10
<i>Total</i>	21

Sources: Laures, *Kirishitan bunko*; Irma Contreras García, 'Bibliografía catequística mexicana del siglo XVII', *Boletín del Instituto de Investigaciones Bibliográficas*, 2, 1988, pp. 61–107; S. Jeyaseela Stephen, *Caste, Catholic Christianity and the language of conversion*, Delhi: Kalpaz, 2008; J. M. Braga, 'The beginnings of printing at Macao', *Studia*, 12, 1963, pp. 29–137; Viñaza, *Bibliografía española*; Carlos de Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jesus*, new edn, 4 vols., Brussels and Paris: Oscar Schepens and Alphonse Picard, 1890; Otto Zwartjes, *Portuguese missionary grammars in Asia, Africa, and Brazil, 1550–1800*, Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2011; Gomes, *Old Konkani language and literature*; Civezza, *Bibliografía sanfrancescana*.

source was Castilian, although he did not provide any additional information.³³ The first edition of the *Spiritual treasure*, printed in 1558, made no mention of the Flower, which helps date the non-extant work between 1558 and 1575, when the second edition was printed.

Although Franciscans predominated in the production of Flowers, they were not alone in their efforts. Dominicans, for example, produced works of this type in Poqomchi' and K'iche' during the first quarter of the seventeenth century, contributing to the oeuvre of these languages. Jesuits also participated in this culture of Flowers, starting with Guanhua, the language of the Chinese court and literati, by Michele Ruggieri (1581–83), Nahuatl by Juan de Tovar (c.1585), Tamil by Henrique Henriques (c.1586), and reportedly one in Tehueco (c.1612), another language of New Spain spoken in present-day Durango and Chihuahua, by an indigenous Jesuit convert identified only as the 'the Discrete One' (*El Discreto*).³⁴ Unlike most Flowers, that by Henriques, which has been analysed by Ines Županov, is extant. Lives formed only a small part of the twenty-six Tamil religious writings produced before 1640, a figure that excludes the Flower. Henriques penned a life of Christ prior to the Ascension, while his fellow Jesuit Roberto de Nobili (1577–1656) would compose lives of Christ and Mary in that language during his lifetime. The Flower was a late work by Henriques, whose earlier works were a grammar-cum-vocabulary, a catechism, and a confessional manual written between 1578 and 1580.

Active on the Fishery Coast, Henriques listed *Historia das vidas e feitos heroycos e obras insignes dos sanctos* (*History of the lives, heroic feats, and noteworthy works of the saints*) by

33 *Ibid.*, fol. 10v.

34 Andrés Pérez de Ribas, *Historia de los triumphos de nuestra santa fé entre las gentes mas barbaras y fieras en el nuevo Orbe*, Madrid: Alonso de Paredes, 1645, pp. 190–91.

Diogo do Rosário (d.1580) as one of his sources.³⁵ Rosário spent most of his life as the prior of the Dominican convent in Guimarães, some 50 kilometres north-east of Porto.³⁶ Henriques left for India in 1546, which meant that someone had brought the book to India and then the Fishery Coast, where he was based from 1547 until his death in 1600. Since Rosário's *History* was first printed in 1567 and Henriques had the Flower printed in 1586, his efforts to translate the lives of saints into Tamil had to have occurred at that time. Rosário's Flower was no pocketbook. It was approximately 1,000 folio-sized pages (305 by 483 mm), a large possession to be carried from Portugal to India.

Henriques focused the majority of the seventy-three entries in his Flower on figures from the New Testament, giving accounts of the lives of Christ, the Virgin Mary, and the apostles (see Appendix 1). His Flower was practical because it provided much of the content from the New Testament in Tamil, but it made no claim to be a translation of the Bible, which was prohibited. Henriques also featured popular saints, usually martyrs from the early church, who had a reputation for healing and providing protection against ailments and predicaments. In addition he included the founders of the more established religious orders, such as the Franciscans, Dominicans, and Benedictines, who bore their founders' names. The noted theologians Augustine, Jerome, and Bernard of Clairvaux made appearances, as did the ever-popular Anthony of Padua. However, no exemplary Jesuit – be it their founder, Ignatius Loyola, or the noted 'Apostle of India', Francis Xavier – can be found in Henriques' collection. Although his tome seems to follow the procedure of linguistic works, confessional manuals, catechisms, and lives in that order, it was a singularity. Florists did not adhere to rigid stages when developing vernacular religious texts. Instead, they responded to the demands of each mission. In addition to their ongoing production in Europe, by the time that Henriques completed his compilation in 1586, Flowers had surfaced in Asia, Africa, and the Americas, indicating the global reach of the genre.

The Flower by Japanese Jesuits

Although most Flowers left no material trace, a handful have survived into the present, such as that prepared by Henriques and Jesuits Yōhō-Ken Paolo (1508–95) and his son Hōin Vicente (b.1538–44, d.1609). In a 1593 roster for the Japanese mission, Yōhō-Ken and Hōin were among the 'Japanese brother-students that never learned Latin, only Japanese letters' (*Hermanos Japónes estudiantes que nunca aprendieron latim [sic] mas solo las Letras de Japón*). It started with Yōhō-Ken, who was a 'native of the kingdom of Wakasa, eighty-five years of age, [and] very weak, thirteen years with the Order, which received a man so old, yet so

35 Henrique Henriques, *Flos sanctorum enra, aṭiyār varalāru* (Tuttukkuṭi: Tamil Ilakkiyak Kaḷakam, 1967), p. lxi. Henriques also used Lippomano (probably for the lives by Metaphrastes) and Joachim Périon, two of the mainstays for compilers of Flowers. 'Y trasladaronse parte del *Flos Sanctorum* del muy R[everen]do P [adr]e Fray Diego del Rosario y parte del R[everendissi]mo Lipomano y de Joachin Perionio en las *Vidas de los Apostolos*, anadiendo, en algunas de las dichas fiestas, las consideraciones que me parecieron mejores para bien y provecho d'aquella Christiandad.'

36 Before 1650, the Flower was printed in 1567, 1577, 1585, 1613, 1622, and 1647. All of the editions originated from Lisbon, except those of 1567 (Braga) and 1577 (Coimbra). On the publication of the Flower during Rosário's lifetime, see António-José de Almeida, 'A mobilidade do impressor quinhentista português António de Mariz (The mobility of the sixteenth-century Portuguese printer António de Mariz)', in Natália Marinho Ferreira-Alves, ed., *Artistas e artifices e a sua mobilidade no mundo de expressão portuguesa (Artists and artifices and their mobility in the Portuguese-speaking world)*, Porto: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, 2005, pp. 60–1.

distinguished in Japanese letters. He had spent more than fifteen years as a *dojuqu* in our houses and done a great service for the Order with his words.³⁷ Born in 1508, Yōhō-Ken converted to Christianity in 1560, when he was fifty-two, an older man established in his community, who abandoned the Buddhism that predominated in sixteenth-century Japan.³⁸ Five years later, he embarked on fifteen years as a *dojuqu* or *dojoku*, an indigenous catechist, which involved preaching to audiences in Japanese to convert compatriots to Christianity. In 1580, he became a Jesuit.

The inventory then provided a brief biography of ‘the son of Yōhō-Ken Paolo and from the kingdom of Wakasa’. In 1593, Hōin was fifty-three and in good health (*robusto y de buenas fuerças*); he had become a Jesuit along with his father in 1580. The catalogue described Hōin as ‘a noteworthy and unique man among all of us [i.e. the Jesuits] in the Japanese language [and] an excellent preacher in his native tongue. He has compiled and translated into Japanese many of the spiritual and learned books written to this day in Japan.’³⁹ Although the entry made no reference to any time spent as a *dojoku*, he was held in high esteem within the order, both for his preaching and for translating books into Japanese. Conversion required books – simple catechisms written in Japanese characters, along with Flowers, which provided would-be converts with Christian paragons. To this end, Hōin, with the assistance of his father, started work on the Japanese Flower.

Helping them with this project was Gaspar Vilela (1526–72), the Portuguese Jesuit who had converted them to Christianity. A 1565 letter reports that Vilela ‘translated some devotional books and a good doctrinal text in the same language. Now he makes a Flower for the consolation of Christians.’⁴⁰ So it continued when Vilela ‘translated this year [1566] into the tongue [of Japan] a Flower and devotional books to profit souls’.⁴¹ But the project stalled because of Vilela’s itinerant way of life, making collaboration with Yōhō-Ken and Hōin difficult. Vilela’s death in 1572 halted an already interrupted project, making father and son solely responsible for the Flower, just one of several planned adaptations of devotional works into Japanese. (By 1632, missionaries had produced some forty-one works that circulated in Japan, including six catechisms, seven dictionaries, four confessional guides, and a grammar – see Table 2.)

Apart from the aborted collaboration with Vilela and the demands of being preachers and catechists, there was the practical problem of book production when there was no local printing

37 Alessandro Valignano, *Primero catálogo de las informaciones communes de los padres y hermanos de la Compañía de Jesús de la dicha Provincia de Japón*, 1 January 1593, in Josef Franz Schütte, ed., *Monumenta historica Japoniae*, Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1975, vol. 1, p. 321: ‘Hermano Yofo Paulo, natural del reino de Vacasa, de 85 años de edad, muy debilitado, de 13 años de la Compañía, en la qual fue recebido tan viejo por hombre insigne en las Letras de Japón y aver gastado más de otros 15 años biviendo como *dojuqu* en nuestras casas y aver [h]eicho mucho servicio a la Compañía con sus Letras.’

38 Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Japonica-Sinica 6, fol. 125v: Melchior de Figueiredo to the Society of Jesus, Kuchinotsu(?), 13 September 1566.

39 Valignano, *Primero catálogo de la Provincia de Japón*, vol. 1, p. 321: ‘Hermano Foin Vicente, Japón, hijo del mismo Yofo Paulo, del reino de Vacasa, de 53 años de edad, robusto y de buenas fuerças, de 13 años de la Compañía. Es hombre insigne y singular entre todos los Nuestros en la lengua de Japón, grande predicador en su lengoa, y tiene compuesto y treslado en la lengoa japoia la major parte de los libros espirituales y doctos que hasta agora son echos en ella.’

40 Luís Fróis to the Jesuits in China and India, Macau, 20 February 1565, in *Cartas que os padres e irmãos da Companhia de Jesus que andão nos Reynos de Iapão (Letters of the fathers and brothers of the Society of Jesus that walk in the kingdoms of Japan)*, Evora: Manuel de Lyra, 1598, vol. 1, fol. 177r: ‘treslado algu[n]s liuros deuotos, & de boa doutrina na mesma lengoa. Agora vai faze[n]do o froisactorum [sic] pera consolaçãodos Christa[n]os.’

41 Luís Fróis to the Society of Jesus, Sakai, 30 June 1566, in *ibid.*, vol. 1, fol. 206v: ‘tresladou este anno [1566] na lingoa o Flos sanctoru[m], & liuros deuotos pera proueitodas almas’.

press in Japan before 1590. Bringing a press to Japan had been an ongoing effort spearheaded by the Visitor Alessandro Valignano, who had installed a European printing press in Macau in 1585. With this success, he hoped that he could obtain another one for Japan. Valignano's interest in setting up presses was pragmatic, since importing books from Europe or India was costly and plagued with delays. In a letter from 1586, he bemoaned the costs of shipping books to the East. He disliked his other options even more, which required sending a manuscript to Lisbon or Goa to be printed. Either case was less than ideal because of the likelihood that the manuscript or the resulting books would not arrive.⁴² The Japanese Jesuits elected to wait for their own press, despite the relative accessibility of the one at Macau, before printing the translations by Yōhō-Ken and Hōin. What was another six years for a Flower beset by so many deferrals?

The Flower, finally printed in 1591, contained thirty-seven lives (see Appendix 2), mostly those of the apostles and early Christian martyrs, in what is known as *rōmaji* (roman letters), Japanese written with Latin lettering. Europeans relied on roman letters, which allowed them to preach in the native tongue without learning the character-based script.⁴³ In a helpful twist, the two Jesuits provided the sources for their lives, which were often used in other Flowers. They relied heavily on Antonino of Florence's *Chronicle* (1477), the *Ecclesiastical History* by Eusebius of Caesarea (263–339), and the tenth-century *Menologion* of Symeon Metaphrastes.

Martyrdom featured extensively in this compilation, with twenty-one of the thirty-seven entries focused on the topic. Yōhō-Ken and Hōin wrote about the persecutions under the Roman Emperors Diocletian and Maximian (r.284–305) and the lives of the virgin-martyrs Eulalia (c.290–304) and Martina (d.228).⁴⁴ For these narratives, the two Jesuits used their partial translation of Luis de Granada's *Introduction to the symbols of the faith* (*Introducción del símbolo de la fe*), which was published in 1592 (though finished two years earlier).⁴⁵ The original *Introduction* began as an inventory of each of God's creations before becoming an apologetic on redemption, that is, the deliverance of Christians from sin. Yōhō-Ken and Hōin had translated the final part of the *Introduction*, wherein Luis discussed miracles with the reader – miracles that were the result of blood spilt by martyrs and efforts to convert the world to Catholicism.⁴⁶ Such associations of miracles with conversion and martyrdom were common in European devotional literature during the sixteenth century, and Yōhō-Ken and Hōin

42 Johannes Laures, *Kirishitan Bunko: a manual of books and documents on the early Christian mission in Japan*, 3rd edn, Tokyo: Sophia University Press, 1957, pp. 4–14. Important work on the Japanese press includes Richard L. Spear, 'Research on the 1593 Jesuit mission press edition of Esop's Fables', *Monumenta Nipponica*, 19, 3/4, 1964, pp. 456–65; Diego Pacheco, 'Diogo de Mesquita, SJ, and the Jesuit mission press', *Monumenta Nipponica*, 26, 3/4, 1971, pp. 431–43; Rui Manuel Loureiro, 'Jesuit textual strategies in Japan between 1549 and 1582', *Bulletin of Portuguese–Japanese Studies*, 8, 2004, pp. 39–63; and William J. Farge, 'Translating religious experience across cultures: early attempts to construct a body of Japanese Christian literature', in M. Antoni J. Üçerler, ed., *Christianity and cultures: Japan and China in comparison, 1543–1644*, Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2009, pp. 83–105.

43 The Jesuit Japanese press operated for about twenty years (1591–1610) and produced 'several dozen different works'. The books were predominantly in *rōmaji*, with few in Japanese script, *kokuji*, and were entirely in Latin or in a combination of Latin and Japanese. Thirty works survived the anti-Christian book burnings of the early seventeenth century: Michael Watson, 'A slave's wit: early Japanese translations of the life of Aesop', *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, 20, 2006, pp. 2–3. See also Shigetomo Koda, 'Notes sur la presse jésuite au Japon et plus spécialement sur les livres imprimés en caracteres japonais', *Monumenta Nipponica*, 2, 2, 1939, pp. 374–85.

44 Diocletian ruled alone from 284 to 286. At that time, the Roman empire was divided. Diocletian ruled over the east, while Maximian oversaw the western empire and remained emperor until 305.

45 Ernest Mason Satow, *The Jesuit mission press in Japan*, London: s.n., 1888, p. 5.

46 Luis de Granada, *Quinta parte de la introducción del símbolo de la Fe*, Salamanca: Cornelio Bonardo, 1588, pp. 85–9, 101–13.

transposed these ideas with the aid of Luis de Granada under the initial guidance of Vilela.⁴⁷ Reading the lives of martyrs provided some solace to the emergent Christian communities in Japan, where the danger of persecution – and possible execution – was a constant threat.

An exception to the usual fare in Hōin and Yōhō-Ken's Flower was the life of Barlaam and Josaphat, which also featured in the Ethiopian Flower of the 1520s. This time, the account referred to the spiritual leader of Japan's predominantly Buddhist population. Early modern Europeans who travelled to Asia noted the similarities between Siddhartha and Josaphat, something that carried over into the Society of Jesus, including one Japanese affiliate's transmission of the life of Siddhartha from Japan to Europe during the mid sixteenth century.⁴⁸

Yōhō-Ken and Hōin needed to use familiar stories, such as the life of Buddha, as a way of introducing Christian teachings to their audience. It was also necessary to employ different types of Japanese throughout the narrative. For the account of Josaphat and Barlaam, Keiko Ikegami determined that the translators drew on three vocabularies: Christian, royal-cum-imperial, and Buddhist. Yōhō-Ken and Hōin retained Latin and Portuguese nomenclature for Christian concepts, such as church (*Ecclesia*), God (*Deus*), cross (*Cruz*), and blessed (*beato*). Yet they also relied on the language of the imperial court: Josaphat, for example, was a prince (*voji*) and heir to the imperial throne (*taixu*), who died like an emperor (*foguio*). Buddhist terminology was not simply cast aside in favour of its Christian counterparts: Barlaam was a *doxinja*, a monk or seeker of truth, whereas the narrative transformed the word *fonzon*, originally the veneration of Buddha, into a reference to pagan idols.⁴⁹

Latin masses and tales of obscure saints would be difficult to understand since most audiences were used to vernacular and local observances. But the story of Siddhartha, given a recognizable overlay, would be more approachable, as would be other adaptations made throughout the Flower by Yōhō-Ken and Hōin. In their hands, this collection of saints' lives used Buddha to convert the Japanese. The Flower was also a repository that illustrated the apostolic church and its martyrs, which resonated with the Christian populations of Japan.

Transatlantic exchange

During the early seventeenth century, other Franciscans produced Flowers in what are now Guatemala and India, expanding the garden of Flowers planted by that order. In 1605, Juan de Mendoza (1539–1619) translated a Flower into Kaqchikel, which is spoken in the Central Highlands of Guatemala. One bibliographer described Mendoza as a native of New Spain and a theologian of high repute.⁵⁰ He seems to have travelled across the Atlantic at least once, as shown in a passenger manifest from Seville dated 15 April 1605.⁵¹ A contemporaneous

47 Brad S. Gregory, *Salvation at stake: Christian martyrdom in early modern Europe*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999, pp. 307–10, 328.

48 Donald F. Lach, *Asia in the making of Europe*, Chicago: University of Chicago, 1970, vol. 2, book 2, p. 102.

49 Keiko Ikegami, *Barlaam and Josaphat: a transcription of MS Egerton 876 with notes, glossary, and comparative study of the Middle English and Japanese versions*, New York: AMS Press, 1999, pp. 117–21; Yōhō-Ken Paolo and Hōin Vicente, *Sanctos no gosageveono no uchi nuqigai*, Cazzusa: Japanese College of the Society of Jesus, 1591, vol. 1, pp. 239–75.

50 Marcellino Civezza, *Saggio di bibliografia geografica storica etnografica sanfrancescana*, Prato: Ranieri Guasti, 1879, p. 400.

51 Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Contratación 5286, no. 24, fol. [1]r, *Expediente de información y licencia de pasajero a Indias*, Seville, 15 April 1605: 'Fray Juan de Mendoza de la [si?] orden de san fran[cis]co de los descalzos'.

Kaqchikel chronicle reported that he led a religious procession in April 1584, said mass on the Feast of Saints Peter and Paul (29 June) 1585, and named municipal magistrates (*alcaldes*) on the Feast of the Epiphany (6 January) 1586.⁵² Mendoza listed in his Flower that he wrote the work in San Diego, Patzún (*Paçum*), a region in which the Minor Friars predominated.⁵³

In the Flower, Mendoza ordered the compilation by the liturgical calendar, starting with the feasts around Advent. Unlike the other Florists, however, he provided no preface that would help to contextualize the making and use of this text. Each of the sixty-eight entries ended with 'Amen', suggestive of use in preaching. As Henriques and Yōhō-Ken and Hōin had done, he focused on the saints of Christianity's early centuries – martyrs, popes, and apostles – as well as entries for feasts celebrating Jesus and Mary (Appendix 3). The story of Barlaam and Jospahat, which had appeared extensively in many of the aforesaid Flowers, made no appearance in Mendoza's manuscript. Another difference was the Minor Friar's use of the compilation to celebrate his confrères. Apart from the inclusion of Francis of Assisi and the ever-popular Anthony of Padua, Mendoza had accounts of the Moroccan Martyrs (d. 1220), the cardinal-cum-theologian Bonaventure (1221–74), and the patron of Patzún, Bernardino of Siena (1380–1444).⁵⁴

The liturgical adherence and celebration of the Franciscans can be explained through another Flower associated with the Guatemalan Franciscans. An eighteenth-century chronicler of the order told of a Flower in an unnamed language assembled during the tenure of Provincial Juan de Martínez (r.1578–81). This work purportedly followed an unspecified breviary, a liturgical work, and the Franciscan constitutions.⁵⁵ Both Flowers followed the liturgy, as seen in the use of the breviary and placing the texts in the order of feast days starting with Advent.

Although the Franciscans have a rule, a legislative document penned by Francis of Assisi, there were also the constitutions, which differed by province and branch of the order. In Spanish editions, the constitutions frequently accompanied the rule. While the Guatemalan constitutions cannot be located, another set from 1601, printed in Lima, encouraged the observance of 'offices [for] the saints of our order' (*los officios ... de los sa[n]ctos de nuestra orden*).⁵⁶ As mentioned earlier, offices are devotional rituals that involve prayers, psalms, and readings (often taken from the breviary). Thus the Flower, the breviary, and the constitutions had an intertextual relationship, which retold the history of the early church through the apostles and martyrs in addition to the lives of Franciscan luminaries. Mendoza, though he made no mention of the earlier Flower, must have drawn on the local traditions as practised by his confrères when preparing the Kaqchikel collection of saints' lives.

52 Judith M. Maxwell and Robert M. Hill II, ed. and trans., *Kaqchikel chronicles: the definitive edition*, Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2006, pp. 347, 357, 442, 522.

53 Newberry Library, Chicago, IL, Ayer MS 1505, Juan de Mendoza, *Flos sanctorum: ó vidas de santos en lengua kachiquel*, 1605, p. 424. On the Franciscan presence in Central America during the sixteenth century, see McClure, *Franciscan invention*, p. 104. For Guatemala, specifically, see Adriaan C. van Oss, *Catholic colonialism: a parish history of Guatemala, 1524–1821*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986, pp. 33, 43, 47; Beatriz Suñe Blanco, 'Los franciscanos en Guatemala en el siglo XVI', *Archivo Ibero-Americano*, 49, 1989, pp. 153–65.

54 Mendoza, *Flos sanctorum*, pp. 153–5, 231–5, 248–56, 277–82, 375–92.

55 Francisco Vázquez, *Chronica de la provincia del santissimo no[m]bre de Jesus de Guatemala de el orden de N[uestro] Seraphico Padre San Francisco en el Reyno de la Nueva España*, Guatemala: Imprenta de San Francisco, 1714, vol. 1, p. 674.

56 *Constituciones de los F[railes] Menores desta Provincia de los doze Apostoles del Piru*, Lima: Antonio Ricardo, 1601, fol. 4r.

Later Flowers

Two years after Mendoza's Flower came another, in 1607, this time from Goa. The Franciscan Amador de Santana wrote in Konkani, the language of Goa, with a Kandavi alphabet rather than Latin letters. In a prefatory letter in Portuguese, he claimed that Flowers were indispensable for preaching as well as for the edification of those who read or heard the text.⁵⁷ Although he did not identify his sources, in a later letter attached to the manuscript a colleague wrote that Santana had translated this work from Spanish and not Portuguese.⁵⁸ In Asia, and as exemplified by the Jesuit Henriques, the tendency was to use Portuguese Flowers and not Spanish texts. But this unexpected admission shows the interwoven nature of Flowers by the seventeenth century, when Portuguese Franciscans used Spanish sources, which were then translated into Asian vernaculars.

The contents of this work, however, are beyond the abilities of this author since the table of contents does not appear in a Latin alphabet. Although Olvinho Gomes examined the text in the context of Konkani literature amid Portuguese expansion, more work is needed to uncover its place within some twenty-four writings produced by missionaries before 1640, including five catechisms, five grammars, three dictionaries, and two additional lives (see Table 2).⁵⁹ Prior to the completion of the Flower in Konkani in 1607, there had been two catechisms and two arts in that language, demonstrating that the rigid mechanical understanding of missionary texts as starting with linguistic and grammatical texts followed by catechisms and confessional manuals before culminating with Flowers is overly simplistic, as apparent in the missions in which Flowers were produced.

Santana's Konkani Flower was the last publication in an Asian language other than Japanese. Reportedly, three Franciscans in Manila worked on Japanese Flowers between 1612 and 1634. It is unknown what came of these efforts except that the trio returned to Japan, where two died as martyrs and the other vanished from the historical record.⁶⁰ We have encountered numerous examples from across the globe of Flowers being translated during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but crafting Flowers in non-European languages had largely stalled by the 1630s. There is no clear reason why this should have been so, however, especially since there were so many missions where these texts were produced.

Catechisms, polemical works, and guides to mastering the tones of Mandarin were among the works by missionaries issued in Chinese before 1640. Although most Jesuits in China wrote some sort of devotional literature, their ranks had difficulty catering to the growing Christian population. Ministry overwhelmed writings during the seventeenth century.⁶¹ The chaotic transition from the Ming Dynasty to the Qing in 1644 probably further impeded any efforts to produce works intended to convert the Chinese to Christianity. Despite the political upheaval, European missionaries remained in China. Japan is easier to account for, since Christianity was banned in 1639 after the Shimabara Rebellion the year before, when Christians revolted

57 BNF, DM, Indien 779, Amador de Santana, *Flos sanctorum: Historia das vidas e feites heroicos e obras insignes dos santos* (*Flower of the saints: account of the lives and heroic feats and noble works of the saints*), 1607, fol. [v]r–v.

58 BNF, DM, Indien 779, Frey Francisco da Arruda to unknown recipient, Goa, 4 December 1610.

59 Olivinho Gomes, *Old Konkani language and literature: the Portuguese role*, Chandor, Goa: Konkani Sorospot Prakashan, 1999, pp. 107–22.

60 Félix Huerta, *Estado geográfico, topográfico, estadístico, histórico-religioso de la santa y apóstolica provincia de S[an] Gregorio Magno*, Binondo: M. Sánchez, 1865, pp. 391–2, 397, 403.

61 Brockey, *Journey to the east*, pp. 270–81.

against the shogunate. Despite early victories in battle, the rebels were routed and summarily executed.⁶² But in the decade prior to the Rebellion, Dominicans produced many of the religious texts, including two dictionaries, an art, and a confessional manual. In Japan, the only other lives produced after the Flower were those of Ignatius Loyola and Francis Xavier, around the time of the pair's canonization in 1622. In the Indian Peninsula, meanwhile, the Jesuit Antonio de Saldanha penned a life of Anthony of Padua in 1655, which recounted the saint's miracles performed during his lifetime and after his death.⁶³ That saint's popularity remained in place and was subject to ongoing efforts at writing his biography by missionaries.

Individual biographies of saints were easier to print and to circulate in manuscript rather than the larger and bulkier Flowers. Thus the reason for the decline in production of Flowers in Asia may have more to do with practicality. However, they remained in Asian libraries, such as the book collection of Jesuit Diogo Valente, who operated in Japan and China between 1618 and his death in 1633, when six Jesuits prepared an inventory of his library, which was made up of 286 items. Among them was a substantial accumulation of Flowers, including those in Spanish and Portuguese.⁶⁴ There are no known Asian Flowers produced after the 1630s, but the full extent of their circulation in Iberian vernaculars can only be known through an extended examination of the libraries of religious institutions, which is beyond the scope of this article.

Latin America, as we have seen, produced the largest number of Flowers during the sixteenth century, with Nahuatl being the most prevalent language, but the genre was abandoned in the seventeenth century. This could stem from the ongoing movement of Spanish Flowers into the Americas by way of the Fleet of the Indies.⁶⁵ The Kaqchikel work by Mendoza from 1605 was the last surviving American Flower. No others were produced until 1705, when reportedly a Guaraní Flower was printed. Jesuit José Serrano (1634–1713) had translated the early seventeenth-century Spanish Flower by his confrère Pedro de Ribadeneyra (1527–1611) into Guaraní, which was spoken in what corresponds with present-day Paraguay.⁶⁶ While the Guaraní text has not survived, it is the only one of its type produced in South America.

Occasional individual lives of saints continued to appear in American vernaculars, although infrequently. For example, the Franciscan Agustín de Vetancurt (1620–1700) penned lives of Joseph and John the Baptist in Nahuatl during his lifetime.⁶⁷ Hispanization, the imposition of Spanish at the expense of indigenous languages, was made explicit in 1680, with the *Compilation of the laws of the kingdoms of the Indies* (*Recopilación de leyes de los Reynos*

62 George Ellison, *Deus destroyed: the image of Christianity in early modern Japan*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973, pp. 217–21.

63 Manohararāya Saradesāya, *A history of Konkani literature (from 1500–1992)*, New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 2000, pp. 50–1.

64 Real Academia de Historia, Madrid, Jesuitas 21, 9/7236, *Inventario que se fez das cousas que se acharão por morte do Senhor D. Diogo Valente Bispo de Japão (Inventory of the items found on the death of Diogo Valente, Bishop of Japan)*, 11 November 1633, fol. 737r–v. The entire work is reproduced in Noël Golvers, 'The library catalogue of Diogo Valente's book collection in Macao (1633)', *Bulletin of Portuguese–Japanese Studies*, 13, 2006, pp. 23–41.

65 Pedro J. Rueda Ramírez, *Negocio e intercambio cultural: el comercio de libros con América en la Carrera de Indias (siglo XVII)*, Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, 2005, p. 314.

66 José Bernardino Cerbin, *Aprovacion*, Asunción, 18 September 1700, in Juan Eusebio Nieremberg, *De la diferencia entre lo temporal y eterno (1705)*, trans. José Serrano, Buenos Aires: Instituto Bonaerense de Numismática y Antigüedades, 2010, n.p.

67 Conde de la Viñaza, *Bibliografía española de lenguas indígenas de América*, Madrid: Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, 1892, p. 277.

de las Indias).⁶⁸ Only in peripheral areas were indigenous languages allowed to be spoken, which could explain the appearance of the Flower in Guaraní. Despite the legislation against American languages, dictionaries, arts, confessional guides, and catechisms continued to circulate and be printed. Apart from the Guaraní Flower, the only other known collection of narratives about the saints in circulation was a work attributed to Pedro Moran (c.1685–1740), a Franciscan friar at the convent of Santo Domingo de Guatemala, who arranged these accounts as homilies written in the Mayan language of Poqomam.⁶⁹

Conclusions

Unlike the rest of the world, Flowers in Spain and Portugal remained in print into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries respectively, a reminder of their entrenched place in the Catholic culture of the Iberian Peninsula. Initially a vernacular response to the Latin *Golden Legend*, Flowers became a conduit for multilingual and transregional exchange. Members of different orders and different ethnicities brought this form of religious literature to four continents. Franciscans, Jesuits, Dominicans, and Hieronymites were all involved in their global dissemination, as well as Japanese converts, American mestizos, and Europeans from Spain, Portugal, France, and the Italian peninsula. Flowers were the first global form of devotional literature, pre-eminent during the sixteenth century but vanished by the 1630s. Equally scarce are surviving examples of these texts. Flowers in Tamil, Kaqchikel, Konkani, and romanized Japanese are all that remain of a genre in non-European languages that was once abundant in the early modern world.

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Appendix 1: Contents of the Tamil Flower (1586) by Henrique Henriques

Henriques indicated that he relied on Diogo do Rosário, Luigi Lippomano, and Joachim Périon for his Flower. He did not, however, cite specific sources in the lives contained therein.⁷⁰

68 The laws made frequent references to Hispanization and evangelization: see *Recopilación de leyes de los Reynos de las Indias*, Madrid: Julián de Paredes, 1681, vol. 1, pp. 55, 123–4.

69 Viñaza, *Bibliografía española*, p. 285.

70 Diogo do Rosário, *Historia das vidas e feitos heroycos e obras insignes dos sanctos (History of the lives and heroic feats and noteworthy works of the saints)*, Braga: Antonio de Maris, 1567; Luigi Lippomano, *Sanc-torum priscorum patrum vitae (Lives of the saints and ancient fathers)*, 4 vols., Venice, 1551–54; Joachim Périon, *De rebus gestis, vitisque Apostolorum liber (Book on the deeds and lives of the apostles)*, Paris: Charles Perrier, 1551.

Saint	Date	Type of saint
Advent (Adviento de N. Señor)		[Christ Feast]
Andrew (André apóstol)	1st century	Apostle
Augustine (Augustino)	354–430	Bishop
Adrian (Adriano)		Identity unclear
Alexis (Alexo)	4th–5th century	Confessor
Memorial of the Holy Guardian Angels (Angeles)		[Observance]
Agatha (Agatha)	3rd century	Martyr
Ascension (Acencion de N. Señor)		[Christ Feast]
Blaise (Blas)		Bishop and Martyr
Benedict of Nursia (Benito)	c.480–c.547	Patriarch of Monks
Bernard of Clairvaux (Bernardo)	1090–1153	Abbott and Theologian
Christine (Christina)		Martyr
Cecilia (Cecilia)		Martyr
Circumcision of Jesus (Circuncision de N. Señor)		[Christ Feast]
All Souls (Comemoracion de los defunctos)		[Observance]
Our Lady of Sorrows (Compacion de Na Señora en la pasion de Christo)		[Marian Feast]
Eustace (Eustachio)	d.118	Martyr
Eugenia (Eugenia)		Virgin and Martyr
Epiphany (Epifanía)		[Christ Feast]
Incarnation of Jesus (Encarnacion de N. Señor)		[Christ Feast]
Felicity and the Seven Sons (Felicitas con los siete hijos)		Martyr
Final Judgement (Juizio final)		
Ignatius of Atioch (Ignatio)	c.35–c.108	Bishop and Martyr
Martin (Martín)		Identity unclear
Mary of Egypt (Maria egipsiaca)	Possibly 5th century	Penitent
Margaret (Margarita)		Identity unclear
Christmas (Nacimiento de N. Señor)		[Christ Feast]
Birth of Mary (Nacimiento de la Virgen Na. Señora)		[Marian Feast]
Our Lady of the Snows (Nuestra Señora de las Nieves)		[Marian Feast]
Paulinus of Nola (Paulino)	353–431	Bishop
Purification of Our Lady (Purificación de Na. Señora)		[Marian Feast]
Passion of the Christ (Pación de N. Señor)		[Christ Feast]
Lent (Quaresma)		[Observance]
Resurrection of Christ (Resurrección de N. Señor)		[Christ Feast]
Pentecost (Espíritu Sancto)		[Christ Feast]
Sophia and her daughters (Sophia con sus hijas)		Martyr
Seven Sleepers (Siete Dormientes)		
Holy Trinity (Trinidad)		[Observance]
Thaïs (Tays o Taide)		Penitent
Vincent (Vicente)	d.304	Martyr
Nicholas (Nicolás)	270–343	Bishop
Lucy (Lusía)	283–304	[Virgin and Martyr]
Thomas (Thomé apóstol)	1st century	Apostle
Stephen (Estevan)	1st century	Martyr
John the Apostle (Juan apóstol y vangelista)	1st century	Apostle
Sylvester (Silvestre)	d.335	Pope
Circumcision of Jesus (Circuncision de N. Señor)		[Christ Feast]

(Continued)

Saint	Date	Type of saint
Epiphany (Epifanía)		[Christ Feast]
Sebastian (Sebastián)	d. c.288	Martyr
Apollonia (Apolonia)	d.249	Virgin and Martyr
Matthias (Mathias apóstol)	1st century	Apostle
Philip (Felippe apóstol)	1st century	Apostle
James the Lesser (Santiago menor)	1st century	[Apostle]
Invention of the Holy Cross (Invención de la cruz)	326	Discovery of the 'True Cross' by Helena, the mother of Constantine the Great
Feast of Corpus Christi (Santo Sacramento)		Celebration of the Sacrament of Communion
Anthony of Padua (Antonio)	1195–1231	Franciscan
John the Baptist (Juan Baptista)	1st century	
Peter (Pedro apóstol)	1st century	Apostle
Paul (Pablo apóstol)	1st century	
Mary Magdalene (María Magdalena)	1st century	Follower of Jesus
James the Greater (Santiago Mayor)	1st century	Apostle
Christopher (Christoval)	3rd century	Martyr
Dominic (Domingo)	1170–1221	[Founder] and Confessor
Lawrence (Lorenço)	c.225–258	Martyr
Assumption of Mary (Asumpcion de Na Señora)		[Marian Feast]
Bartholomew (Bartholome apóstol)	1st century	Apostle
Matthew (Matheo apóstol)	1st century	Apostle
Michael the Archangel (Miguel Archángel)		Archangel
Jerome (Geronymo)	c.347–420	[Confessor and Doctor]
Francis of Assisi (Francisco)	1181/2–1226	[Founder]
Simon and Jude (Simonis y Judas)	1st century	Apostle
All Saints (Todos los santos)		
Catherine of Alexandria (Cathalina)	c.287–c.305	[Virgin and Martyr]

Appendix 2: Contents of the Japanese Flower (1591) by Yōhō-Ken Paolo and Hōin Vicente

Saint	Date	Type of saint	Source
Peter (S. Pedro)	1st century	Apostle	Several Doctors
Paul (Sam Pavlo)	1st century	Apostle	Symeon Metaphrastes
Andrew (Sancto Andre)	1st century	Apostle	Antonino
James the Lesser (Sancto Iacobe Menor)	1st century	Apostle	Eusebius of Caesaria
John the Evangelist (San Ioan Evangelista)	1st century		Miletus of Laodicea
James the Greater (Sanctiagio Maior)	1st century	Apostle	Antonino
Thomas (Santhome)	1st century	Apostle	Isidore of Seville
Philip (San Philippe)	1st century	Apostle	Isidore of Seville and Antonino

(Continued)

Saint	Date	Type of saint	Source
Bartolomew (San Bartholomeu)	1st century	Apostle	Symeon Metaphrastes
Matthew (San Matthevs)	1st century	Apostle	Antonino
Simon and Jude (San Simon to San Ivdas Thadev)	1st century	Apostle	Antonino
Matthias (San Matthias)	1st century	Apostle	A discourse on his feast-day
Ignatius of Antioch (Antiochia no bispo Sancto Ignatio)	c.35–c.108	Bishop and Martyr	Eusebius and Antonino
Francis of Assisi (Patriarcha San Francisco)	1181/2–1226	Founder	Bonaventure and Antonino
Uncertain (Sancta Febro)		Virgin and Martyr	Symeon Metaphrastes
Barlaam and Josaphat (S. Barlan to S. Iosaphat)	Legendary		John the Damascene
Eustace (S. Evstacio)	d.118	Martyr	Antonino and Petrus de Natalibus
Joseph (Patriarcha Ioseph)	1st century		
Sebastian (Sancto Sebastian)	d. c.288	Martyr	Common, but Antonino
Catherine (Sancta Catherina)	c.287–c.305	Virgin and Martyr	Symeon Metaphrastes
Alexis (Sancto Aleixo)	4th–5th century	Confessor	Symeon Metaphrastes
Eugenia (Sancta Evgenia)		Virgin and Martyr	Jerome (<i>Vitae partum</i>) and Antonino
Stephen (S. Esteuan)	1st century	Martyr	Acts (misattributed to Luke the Evangelist) and an <i>Ecclesiastical history</i> , likely referring to that by Eusebius
Lawrence (S. Lavrencio)	c.225–258	Martyr	Antonino
Vincent (S Vicente)	d.304	Martyr	Antonino
Testimony of the Martyrs		Martyr	Luis de Granada, <i>Introduction</i>
<i>Persecutions by Diocletian and Maximian</i>	284–305		
<i>Eulalia (Sancta Olalha)</i>	c.290–304	Virgin and Martyr	
<i>Martina (Sancta Martina)</i>	d.228	Virgin and Martyr	
Anastasia (Santa Anastasia)	d.304	Virgin and Martyr	Symeon Metaphrastes
Clement (San Clemente) and Agathangelus (S. Agatangelo)	d.312	Martyr	
Persecutions in Lyon and Vienne by Antoninus Verus [really Marcus Aurelius]	177–80		Eusebius
Persecution of the Faithful in Persia during the reign of Sapor II	337–79		
<i>Simeon Barsabae (S. Simeon) and the 16,000</i>	d.345	Martyr	
Polycarp of Smyrna (S. Policarpo)	69–156	Martyr and Bishop	Eusebius
On the battles and victories of the martyrs			
On the persecutions of Christians by every Emperor			

Appendix 3: Contents of the Kaqchikel Flower (1605) by Juan de Mendoza

No sources for the accounts are given in the manuscript.

Saint	Date	Type of Saint
Andrew (Sant Andres)	1st century	Apostle
Bibiana (Sancta Bibiana)	4th century	Virgin and Martyr
Barbara (Sancta Barbara)	3rd century	Martyr
Sabbas (sant Saba)	439–532	Abbot
Nicholas (S. Nicolas)	270–343	Bishop
Ambrose (sant Ambrosio)	c.340–397	Doctor and Confessor
Immaculate Conception		[Marian Feast]
Melchiades (sant Melchiades)	d.314	Pope and Martyr
Damasus (sant Damaso)	c.305–384	Pope
Lucy (Sancta Lucia)	283–304	[Virgin and Martyr]
Thomas (Sancto Tome)	1st century	Apostle
Probably Christmas (Vae runimaeih ralaxic kahauul Jesuxpto rugahol Dios nim atiarish)		[Christ Feast]
Anastasia (sancta Anaestasia)	d.304	[Virgin and Martyr]
Stephen (sant Esteuan)	1st century	Martyr
John the Apostle (san Ju° apóstol)	1st century	Apostle
Holy Innocents (inocentes quibi e Martyres)	1st century	Martyr
Thomas Beckett of Canterbury (sancto Tomas arçobispo de Canturia)	1119/20–1170	Archbishop and Martyr
Sylvester (sant siluestre)	d.335	Pope
Circumcision of Jesus (circuncision)		[Christ Feast]
Epiphany (Epifania)		[Christ Feast]
Hyginus (Sant yginio)	d. c.142	Pope and Martyr
Hilary (Sant Ylario)	c.310–c.367	Bishop
Felix of Nola (Sant Felix)	d. c.250	[Martyr]
Paul the Hermit (sant Pablo nabe hermitanio)	d. c.341	Hermit
Berard, Peter, Adjutus, Accursius, and Otho (berardo pedro adjudo acinsio othon)	d. 1220	Martyrs and Franciscans
Marcellus (sant Marcello)	d. 309	Pope and Martyr
Anthony (S. Antonio)	c.251–356	Abbot
Chair of St. Peter (rubicathe drade Sant Pedro)		[Peter-related Feast]
Sebastian (s. Sebastiam)	d. c.288	Martyr
Purification of Our Lady (purificacion)	1st century	[Marian Feast]
Apollonia (sancta Apolonia)	d. 249	Virgin and Martyr
Matthias (sant Mathias)	1st century	Apostle
Gregory the Great (sant Gregorio)	c.540–604	Doctor
Joseph (s. Joseph)	1st century	Husband of Mary
Annunciation of the Lord (Anunçiaçion)		[Marian Feast]
George (s. Gorge)	b. 275–81; d. 303	Martyr
Mark (san Marcos eua[n]gelista)	1st century	Evangelist
Philip (s. Phelipe)	1st century	Apostle
James the Lesser (sanctiagio)	1st century	[Apostle]
Invention of the Holy Cross (Sancta Cruz invencion)	326	Discovery of the 'True Cross' by Helena, the mother of Constantine the Great

(Continued)

Saint	Date	Type of Saint
Bernardino of Siena (Ahaulz S. Bernadino alz Sant Fran ^{co} Padre)	1380–1444	Franciscan
Barnabas (s. Barnabe)	1st century	Apostle
Feast of Corpus Christi (Sacramento)		Celebration of the Sacrament of Communion
Anthony of Padua (S. Antonino nlz sam Fran ^{co} P ^e)	1195–1231	Franciscan
John the Baptist (sant Juan baptista)	1st century	
Peter (s. Pedro)	1st century	Apostle
Paul (sa[n] Pablo)	1st century	
Bonaventure (s. Buenaventura)	1221–74	Cardinal, Bishop, and Franciscan
Mary Magdalene (s. maria magdalena)	1st century	Follower of Jesus
James the Greater (sanctiago)	1st century	Apostle
Christopher (s. xptoual)	3rd century	Martyr
Anne (s ^{ta} Ana rute s ^{ta} Maria)	1st century	Mother of Mary
Dominic (s. Dnmgo)	1170–1221	[Founder] and Confessor
Transfiguration of the Lord (transfiguraçion)		[Christ Feast]
Lawrence (s. lorenço)	c.225–258	Martyr
Claire of Assisi (sancta clara)	1194–1253	Virgin
Assumption of Mary (sancta maria assumçion)		[Marian Feast]
Bartolomew (s. bartolome)	1st century	Apostle
Uncertain Marian Feast (ralaxie kaloeo lalzire sancta Maria)		Possibilities include the Birth and the Holy Name of Mary, as well as the Feast of Our Lady of Sorrows
Matthew (sant Matheo)	1st century	Apostle
Michael the Archangel (s. Miguel arcangel)		Archangel
Jerome (s. hieronimo)	c.347–420	[Confessor and Doctor]
Francis of Assisi (sant Francisco)	1181/2–1226	[Founder]
Luke (s. Lucas)	1st century	Evangelist
Simon and Jude (simon + Judas)	1st century	Apostle
All Saints (Vacamixtika chap rucholic rulemiepe quizih conotia[e?] sanctos)		These feasts have been identified based on the liturgical order employed by Mendoza in his Flower
All Souls (Vaehalal tzihtahox chupamqui eihz caminaki)		by Mendoza in his Flower
Catherine of Alexandria (sancta cathalina alz alexandria)	c.287–c.305	[Virgin and Martyr]