THREE SPANISH REFORMERS OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY :

JUAN PÉREZ, CASSIODORO DE REINA,

CIPRIANO DE VALERA

BY

ARTHUR GORDON KINDER

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By A.Gordon KINDER

The aim of this thesis has been to present the lives of three men, known for their work on the Spanish Bible, together with a consideration of their extant works and an examination of their theology.

Juan Pérez, the oldest, left Seville first. He spent his life as a Calvinist pastor in Geneva, although he died in France. Besides Spanish translations of the New Testament and Psalms, he produced a number of works of Protestant theology in Spanish, intended to be introduced into Spain.

Cassiodoro de Reina and Cipriano de Valera were in the same monastery in Seville at the time when evangelical ideas were gaining a foothold in Spain. When the Inquisition began to take action against the movement, both men fled by way of Geneva to London, where they helped to found a Spanish church.

Reina became its pastor, but soon left England after he was accused of various heresies and crimes. After many difficulties and travels, he produced the first complete Bible in Spanish. After clearing his name, he became a Lutheran pastor in Antwerp, and when that city fell to the Spaniards , took his congregation to Frankfurt, where he died.

Valera settled in England. After several years at Magdalene College, Cambridge, he lived in London, where he produced a number of anti-papal books in Spanish and a revision of Reina's Bible, printed in Holland in 1602.

Unpublished manuscript material relating to all three men has been discovered and is reported. The thesis also includes a survey of the years immediately preceding their departure from Spain, and a consideration of the progress of the movement in Seville in particular. A finding-list for copies of works by Reina, Pérez and Valera is incorporated in the bibliography, and the sources for Reina's many letters are indicated.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS THESIS.

Bataillon - Marcel Bataillon Erasmo y España (2nd Spanish ed.Mexico 1966)

Bib.Wif. - Eduard Boehmer Bibliotheca Wiffeniana 3 vols. (London/ Strassburg 1883-1904)

B.F.B.S. - British & Foreign Bible Society.

B.H.R. - Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance (Geneva)

B.S.H.P.F. - Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme français, Bulletin Historique et Littéraire (Paris)

C.R. - Corpus Reformatorum (ed.C.G.Bretschneider) (Brunswick 1899)

C.S.P. - Calendar of State Papers.

Frankfurt docts. - Frankfurt City Archives, Sammelband Kirchendokumente B, Französisch-reformierte Gemeinde 195 fols.589-634.

Hessels - J.H.Hessels Ecclesiae Londino-Bataviae Archivum (Cambridge 1889)

H.S.P. - Publications of the Huguenot Society (London)

Lehnemann - Johannes Lehnemann Historische Nachricht von der vormahls im sechzehnten Jahrhundert berühmten Evangelisch=Lutherischen Kirche in Antorff (Frankfurt 1725)

Llorente - J.A?Llorente Histoire Critique de l'Inquisition d'Espagne (Paris 1817)

McFadden - William MacFadden Life and Works of Antonio del Corro (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Queen's University, Belfast)(1953)

M & P - M.Menéndez y Pelayo Historia de los Heterodoxos españoles 2nd ed. (Buenos Aires 1945)

O.D.C.C. - Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church.

R.A.E. - Reformistas Antiguos Españoles 20 vols. published by B.B.Wiffen & Luis de Usoz y Río (London/San Sebastián/ Madrid 1848-1870)

Returns - R.E.G.Kirk & E.F.Kirk Returns of Aliens dwelling in the City & Suburbs of London 3 parts (4 vols.) No.X of Publications of the Huguenot Society (Aberdeen 1908)

Schäfer - E.H.J.Schäfer Beiträge zur Geschichte des Spanischen Protestantismus 3 vols. (Gütersloh 1902)

Schickler - Baron F.de Schickler Les Eglises du Refuge en Angleterre 3 vols. (Paris 1892)

S & V - E.H.J.Schäfer Sevilla und Valladolid No.78 of Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte (Halle 1903)

3 Sp.H. - P.J.Hauben Three Spanish Heretics and the Reformation No.3 of Etudes de Philologie et d'Histoire (Geneva 1967)

PREFACE.

During the middle years of last century the Englishman, Benjamin Barron Wiffen, and the Spaniard, Luis de Usoz y Río, entered into a most fruitful partnership, the object of which was to rescue from obscurity or oblivion the works and biographies of Spanish Reformers. The labours of these two Quaker gentlemen produced twenty volumes of a series known as Reformistas Antiguos Españoles (R.A.E.), published between 1848 and 1862, in which various works were reissued, together with lengthy, rambling prefaces which gave much biographical information about the authors. Wiffen had projected a work which would give biographical and bibliographical material more systematically and in more detail, but he died before he was able to carry out his intention, and it was left to Eduard Boehmer to bring out the work in three volumes as a memorial to Wiffen. Its title was Bibliotheca Wiffeniana, 3 vols. (London/Strassburg 1883-1904). In addition, Boehmer pursued investigation into the Spanish Reformers independently and published in particular numbers of letters that he was fortunate in unearthing. Ernst H. J. Schäfer pursued the records of the Inquisition most thoroughly, and in 1902 published his monumental Beiträge zur Spanischen Inquisition, 3 vols., at Gütersloh, and sundry other articles, notably Sevilla und Valladolid (Halle 1903). At the early age of 24, Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo drew extensively on the foregoing when he prepared his Historia de los Heterodoxos (8 books) 3 vols. (1880-1881), of which the 5th book is of particular interest to us.(1) He was a brash, if talented, young man, and he was less than careful in his references.(2) His work is nevertheless valuable - if only because it draws together so many sources.

All works on Spanish Reformers must rely heavily on the work of these five men, and, although there has been considerable modification of what

(1) A second edition was published in Buenos Aires (1945), which has been used in this study.

(2) See e.g. remark in J.A.González, Valera's Method for Revising the Old Testament (unpublished Ph.D.thesis, Emory University, U.S.A.) pp.10 f. (Microfilm copy in Sheffield University Library).

they give, in the main what they wrote remains an indispensible source and a good foundation on which to build more detailed work.

The remarkable magnum opus of Marcel Bataillon Erasme et l'Espagne 2 vols (Paris 1937),[3] and his other studies of the period seemed to give an impetus to a number of studies of Illuminism, Erasmism and the Reformation in the Peninsula. The painstaking and detailed work by William McFadden Antonio del Corro (unpublished Ph.D.thesis, Queen's University, Belfast 1953) brought to light much new material in this field, much of it quite directly relevant to the present study. More recently still, the last ten years have produced an appreciable amount of work by American scholars in the field of Spanish Protestantism. Particular mention ought perhaps to be made of Three Spanish Heretics (Geneva 1967) by Paul J. Hauben, which deals with four, not three, Spanish Protestants, and over half the space is taken up by a consideration of Corro, derived directly from McFadden's thesis, and the rest of the book is a rather sketchy consideration of Reina, Valera and Saravia. It, nevertheless, introduces new material on the two who are our concern.[4]

The fact remains that since the work done in Bibliotheca Wiffeniana nobody has attempted a full biography of any of the three men here considered; Juan Pérez, Cassiodoro de Reina, Cipriano de Valera, although several people have pointed out that a biographical study of one or other of them was needed.[5] The work here presented is in the main a response to the need thus expressed.

An attempt has been made to gather together all the known facts and extant material relating to these three men. Research has revealed unpublished new material concerning in particular Reina and Valera.[5a] All three were products

(3) This was followed by a second revised and enlarged edition in Spanish (2 vols. Mexico 1950) and a third edition in Spanish, further revised (Mexico 1966).

(4) This work is very badly produced and abounds in errors of syntax and spelling. It is not without errors of fact and unwarranted speculation.

(5) e.g. McFadden p.193.

(5a) New material concerning Pérez, discovered as this thesis was almost completed, is given in Appendix II.

of the abortive Reformation movement which began in Spain in the 1540s and continued through the 1550s, but was completely stamped out by the Inquisition in the early 1560s. This movement had its origins both in native currents of evangelical thought and anti-Roman feeling and also in ideas imported from Erasmus and main-stream Reformers through literary and political contacts with more northerly countries. Some consideration is given to these phenomena to account for the presence of these men, and others like them, in 16th-Century Spain.

Juan Pérez was the product of a somewhat earlier movement in Seville than that which produced the other two, and he was their senior by possibly as much as 30 years. Fleeing from Spain in about 1550, when already fairly old, he reached Geneva, where he became a revered member of the community, pastor of a refugee Spanish congregation, and had the confidence of leaders of standing such as Calvin and Beza. He was of unimpeachable Calvinist orthodoxy, from which he never wavered, either in his life as a pastor from the arrival in Geneva to the time of his death, or in his not inconsiderable writings. Accepting a call to the pastorate of Blois in 1562, he stayed there only a short time before being appointed as one of the domestic chaplains of Renée de France at her castellany of Montargis, in which service he died in 1565. Pérez is probably best known for his Biblical translations. In 1556 he published in Geneva his version of the New Testament in Spanish, and in 1562 a Spanish version of the Psalms. These were intended to be part of a projected edition of the whole Bible which never saw the light of day. Pérez was active in collecting funds for this purpose, which others eventually put to use. Besides these Biblical works, he published a number of other theological works, intended for introduction into Spain.

Cassiodoro de Reina and Cipriano de Valera were together part of the exodus from the Seville monastery of San Isidro del Campo in 1557. They reached Geneva together, and stayed for a short time, but, immediately conditions were propitious in England after the accession of Queen Elizabeth, both came here, not without risk. From this point their paths separated: Reina's was to lead him to seven or eight countries and into considerable hardship; Valera's to a comparatively settled life in England.

Cassiodoro appears to have become the target of Roman Catholic Spanish intrigue from the moment he set foot in London. His potential usefulness to the Protestant cause seems to have been clearly discerned and little time was lost in bringing him to discredit. In a short time he managed to gather a Spanish Protestant congregation and was its pastor. He was apparently very popular and well-liked by most and was a man of good capabilities. Despite the fact that he fled in confusion to the Continent, when accused on joint charges of heresy and immorality, he left behind influential friends, amongst whom Edmund Grindal's name stands out. A reconstruction of this period of his life from hitherto unpublished documents is included in this study.(6)

His failure to stand up to the charges and to have them examined thoroughly so that he could be cleared of them dealt a blow from which his ministry never properly recovered. The readiness of leading Calvinists in London and Geneva to give credence to the charges, together with his freedom of enquiry into doctrinal matters, eventually led him out of the Calvinist fold into the Lutheran. His flight began a series of wanderings which took him to Antwerp, Frankfurt, Orleans, Béarn, Montargis, Strassburg, Basle, to name only the more important. His overriding aim was to carry Pérez's work to its conclusion and publish a Spanish version of the whole Bible, which was finally brought out in Basle in 1569. He was able to make use of the money which Pérez had collected for this purpose.

After this high point in his career, Reina returned to Frankfurt, where he had been granted citizenship, and where most of his children had been born. Fortunate discoveries have been made here, which have enabled details of his

(6) The existence of documents in Frankfurt City Archives has long been known. Boehmer mentioned them in Bib.Wif. A. van Schelven, "Cassiodorus de Reyna, Christophorus Fabricius en Gaspar Olevianus", Nederl.Arch.v.Kerkgesch.VIII (Hague 1911), described them and published two short letters only. N.Tollin, in a long article, "Cassiodore de Reina", B.S.H.P.F. 31 and 32 (Paris 1882/3), quoted from them. All three were, however, content to leave them for the most part unpublished.

family to be brought to light.[7] Although unable yet to take up active pastoral work, he was not idle in the service of the church, publishing some theological works of his own and assisting in translation and publication of others' work. During this enforced suspension of his ministerial office he supported himself and his growing family by working in the silk and book trades in connexion with the Frankfurt fairs. In this connexion, too, unpublished material has come to light.[8]

At last the opportunity came to take up a pastorate, as a Lutheran, and in Antwerp. First he returned to London to be cleared officially of the charges which had hung over him for 17 years. This ministry was not destined to last long, for the religious and political situation of Antwerp worsened, and after six or seven years he led his congregation back with him to Frankfurt. This brought him back to a situation little different from the one he had known before going to Antwerp. Although he worked to keep his flock together, neither they nor he had any official position for some time, till, shortly before his death in 1593, he was recognized by the City Council as the minister of this refugee congregation.

Cipriano de Valera moved very little after his arrival in England. Moving straight to Cambridge, he was granted the degrees of B.A. and M.A. and later became a Fellow of Magdalene College. Research here has

(7) Chance discovery of Herr Georg Itzerott's large manuscript collection of genealogical material concerning Frankfurt before 1850, use of which was kindly and freely allowed, has made known details of Reina's otherwise nebulous 'large family'. This information has been published: A.G.Kinder, "Cassiodoro de Reina and his Family", B.H.R.32 (Geneva 1970) pp. 427-431.

(8) Thanks to Herr Itzerott's help, material in the Frankfurt City Archives mainly of a legal and commercial nature, has been made available to fill out the picture of Reina's life during this period.

enabled a mysterious gap in his life to be filled.(9) During this time too he gained the M.A. of Oxford. With these degrees he moved to London, where it seems that he was a preceptor of sorts. His considerable literary output began in 1588 and continued till shortly before his death in ?1602. Most of his works were anti-Catholic polemic, but he is best known for his revision of Cassiodoro's version of the Bible: first he published the New Testament only in 1596, then the whole Bible, printed in Amsterdam in 1602. This was the first of several revisions that Reina's Bible has undergone, but four centuries later this still remains basically the version used by Spanish-speaking Protestants, and discernibly the same.

By an analysis of all the known works of these three men, an attempt has been made to analyse their theology and to illustrate their style, although at the outset it was not intended to make a theological study.

In view of the rarity of many of the original editions of works by Pérez, Reina and Valera, a finding-list for these has been incorporated into the bibliography. It cannot be claimed that this is complete. Similarly, indication has been made of the sources of the text of Reina's numerous letters.

No one can undertake research such as that presented here without the help and encouragement of many people. I should like to register here my thanks to those who have made the task possible. The initial impetus towards taking up the work was given by my Headmaster, C.W.E.Bacon, who, together with my mother, Mrs. Annie Kinder, and various other relatives and friends, has followed with interest its various stages. The major thanks must go to Professor Frank Pierce, of the Department of Hispanic Studies of Sheffield University, for his

(9) The happy discovery of the Magdalene College Exiit & Rediit Book during the course of this research revealed dated signatures of Valera, which enabled his period of residence at Cambridge to be determined more accurately than had previously been possible. This has been published: A.G.Kinder, "Unpublished Material on Cipriano de Valera", B.H.R. 31 (Geneva 1969) pp. 169 f. In addition, a preliminary statement of the work done on Valera appeared in Bulletin of Hispanic Studies 46 (Liverpool 1969) pp. 109-119.

guidance, continual help, enthusiastic encouragement and tireless co-operation in ways great and small, as he supervised this thesis from its rather vague inception to its completion. Particular thanks also must go to the Abbot and brethen of St. Michael's Roman Catholic Abbey, Farnborough, for providing facilities for writing in the early stages, and to Cheshire County Council Education Committee and the Governors of Sale County Grammar School for Boys for permitting my secondment, and to the President and Governing Body of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, for the Schoolmaster Studentship which facilitated the latter stages of redaction.

To the following persons I record my thanks for various forms of help, guidance and encouragement: Rev.Professor James Atkinson of Sheffield University; Professor Juan Bautista Avalle-Arce formerly of Smith College, Massachusetts; Professor Marcel Bataillon of the Institut de France; Bruce Boucher of Magdalen College, Oxford; Signora Clelia Conterno-Guglielminetti of Turin; the Delegitoj Esperantistaj of Antwerp, Frankfurt and Turin; Madame Monique Droin-Bridel of Geneva; Monsieur le Pasteur F.Dubois of the Eglise Reformée Française of Soho Square; Signor Luigi Firpo of Turin; Rev.Professor Jorge A.González of Berry College, Georgia; Professor Paul J.Hauben of the University of the Western Pacific; Anthony H. Hindley of St. John's College, York; Herr Georg Itzerott of Frankfurt; T.Geoffrey Reeday of the Central London Polytechnic; J.J.Roberts of Sale Grammar School; Dr.R.Rosenbohm of Frankfurt University Library; Professor A.H. Terry of Queen's University, Belfast; and to Professor Edward M.Wilson of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, who has been particularly helpful.

The following institutions have willingly and generously allowed me the use of their facilities and materials, or have provided xerox copies or microfilm of items in their collections:

Amsterdam: City Archives; Bibliotheek der Vrije Universiteit;

Antwerp: City Archives; Stadsbibliotheek;

Basle: Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität;

Belfast: Library of Queen's University;

Buenos Aires: Seminario Internacional Bautista;

Cambridge: University Archives; University Library; Pepys Library, Magdalen College;

Frankfurt on Main: City Archives; Stadt= und Universitätsbibliothek; Theologisches Zentralbibliothek des Evangelischen Gemeindeverbandes;

Geneva: City Archives; Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire; Musée Historique de la Réformation;

The Hague: Koninklijke Bibliotheek; Museum Mermanno-Westreenianum;

Halle: Universitäts= und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt;

Leyden: Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit;

London: Library of the British & Foreign Bible Society; British Museum (Reading Room and Manuscript Room); Eglise Reformée Française, Soho Square; City of London Guildhall Library; Library of Lambeth Palace; Public Record Office;

Louvain: Bibliothèque de l'Université Catholique;

Manchester: John Rylands Library; Library of Victoria University;

Oxford: Bodleian Library; University Archives; Library of Corpus Christi College; Library of Wadham College (Wiffen Collection);

Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale; Bibliothèque de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme français;

Sheffield: University Library;

Simancas: Archivo General;

Strassburg: City Archives; Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire;

Turin: Archivio di Stato (Sezioni Reunite);

Vienna: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek;

Zurich: Zentralbibliothek.

Finally, I wish to thank Mrs. Amy Ellis for her kind, patient and efficient typing of this thesis.

A. Gordon Kinder.

Sale, Cheshire.

INTRODUCTION.

The more one attempts to pinpoint the responsibility for the beginnings of the religious reform movement in certain parts of Spain during the early years of the 16th century, the further back one is bound to push the consideration, but a beginning must be made somewhere. It has been said that Spain hardly felt the influence of Protestantism, because of the reforms instituted by Cisneros, especially in the morals and training of the clergy; because of deeply-rooted faith; and because of the Inquisition, which qickly moved to extinguish its first two early centres.(1) Notwithstanding the work of Menéndez y Pelayo, Schäfer, and others mentioned in the Preface, the rather facile view seems to be quite generally held that the movements and influences which produced the Reformation elsewhere in Europe had no counterpart or parallel in Spain. Only the statement about the Inquisition is strictly true.

The Inquisition, of course, was originally set up in Spain in 1478 as a means of supervising Jewish 'new Christians'.(2) At first both Muslims and Jews were tolerated in the reconquered Spanish states, but later their conversion or expatriation was demanded, and eventually even the converts and their descendants were looked on with suspicion, especially where they had risen to any eminence in commerce, church, state or the academic world. The progressive application of the Estatutos de limpieza de sangre demonstrates this.(3) The centuries had produced in both Muslim and Jew an ingrained monotheism and iconoclasm that a political conversion was not able to wipe out easily or quickly. Both religions had a devotion to the written word of God in a holy book. Ex-Muslim and ex-Jew together would find many features of Roman Catholicism uncongenial, whilst the evangelical interpretation of the Christian faith would be much more in tune with their religious bent,

(1) Enciclopedia Univ.Ilus. entry under 'Reformación.'

(2) Bataillon pp. 59 f; H.Kamen, The Spanish Inquisition (London 1965) pp.7 f, 35 f.

(3) E.Asensio, "El erasmismo y las corrientes afines, "Rev.de filol.esp.36 (1952) p.56. For a thorough discussion of the whole question see J.Caro Baroja, Los Judíos en la España moderna (Madrid 1961) and A.Domínguez Ortiz, "Los conversos de origen judío, "Estudios de Hist. Social de Esp.VIII (1915).

particularly because of its devotion to Scripture. The role of the converso in the introduction of evangelical ideas must have been strong, and several people have focussed attention on it.(4)

Spain produced her own critics of Roman Catholicism. Pedro de Osma has been called the first Spanish Protestant, in that he rejected the power of the keys, indulgences and infallibility in his book (now lost) De confessione, condemned at Saragossa in 1498. As he founded no sect, he is called an isolated voice in Spain of the Hussites and Wicliffites.(5)

From this time on, however, there was no lack of Spaniards to attack one aspect or another of the mediaeval church. Juan de Padilla wrote Doze triunfos de los doze Apóstoles (Seville 1521) against simony.(6) Fr.Prudencio de Sundoval condemned the power and riches of the monasteries in Crónica de Carlos V.(7) Fr.Francisco de Osma inveighed against the abuses of bishops in Quinta parte del Abecedario Espiritual (Burgos 1542)(8) and Fr. Pablo de Leon asserted in Guía del Cielo (Alcalá de Henares 1553) that all that was wrong in the church originated in Rome.(9) These and others like them prepared Spain for a ready acceptance in certain quarters of Erasmus's more critical ideas - and after him, the Reformers' ideas.

Interest in the Bible too was no new thing in Spain. Several early translations of parts of the Bible existed. As early as 1260, Alfonso X 'el Sabio' of Castile and León had a version prepared which was a literal translation of the Vulgate. Alfonso V of Aragon had a similar version made for him, and in 1430 Juan II of Castile had the Rabbi Mose Arragel de

(4) Asenio, op.cit.pp. 45, 52, 59; Domínguez Ortiz, op.cit.p.79.

(5) M. & P. III pp. 348 f; J.C.Nieto, Juan de Valdés (Geneva 1970) pp 54 f points out that we have a summary of P. de Osma's book in Quodlibetum (edited in M. & P. III appendix).

(6) M. & P. V p.36.

(7) ibid.

(8) ibid. p.37.

(9) ibid.

Guadalfajara prepare a version of the Old Testament.(10) None of these had a very strong influence, since they all existed in manuscript form only, and had not the currency that a version printed in many copies could achieve. The first printed Biblical text in Spain seems to have been a version made in 1478 in the Valencian dialect (Lemosín) by the brother of St. Vincent Ferrer.(11)

Amongst the Jews in Spain during the Middle Ages various Spanish versions of the Old Testament had been made, although, besides the disadvantage of existing in manuscript only, they had the additional factors of being made for use within the Jewish community and often being written in Hebrew characters to work against their being widely known and used by Christians. Their lineal descendant was eventually the so-called Ferrara Old Testament of 1553, produced for use amongst the Spanish and Portuguese Jewish refugees who were living in Ferrara under the protection of Ercole d'Este, Duke of Ferrara.(12) Its editor was Duarte Pinel (Abraham Usque), who worked by revising the older Jewish translations.(13) It was printed at the expense of Jerónimo de Vargas (Yom Tob Atias) and was not without influence on the

(10) This version had the distinction of being printed almost exactly 500 years after it was written. Biblia (Antigua Testamento) traducida del Hebreo al Castellano por Rabí Mose Arragel de Guadalfajara. (Madrid 1920) See also A.Paz y Melia, "La Biblia puesta en romance por Rabí Mose Arragel," Homenaje a Menéndez y Pelayo (Madrid 1899) II pp.5-93.

(11) B. & F.B.S.Catalogue. This translation was made by Bonifacio Ferrer in the Charterhouse of Portaceli. It was published in a black-letter folio edition in Valencia in 1477/78.

(12) Biblia en lengua Española traduzida palabra por palabra dela verdad Hebrayca por muy excelentes letrados vista y examinada por el officio de la Inquisicion. (Ferrara 1553). It was issued in two slightly different editions, intended respectively for Christians and Jews.

(13) C. de Reina called it "la vieja Translacion Española del Viejo Testamento." Biblia (1569)**ij r. See also J.Llamas, Biblias medievales romanceadas (Madrid 1950); - "La Antigua Biblia castellana," Sefarad 4 (1944) pp.219-244; C.Roth, "Marrano Press at Ferrara," Mod.Lang.Review 28 (1943) pp.307-317; C.Ricci, "La Biblia de Ferrara," Publicaciones del Inst. de Invest. Hist. 25 (Buenos Aires 1926)

Correction slip to be inserted at p.4 (line 17)

The Complutensian Polyglot did not in fact appear between 1514 & 1517 as stated, although the setting was completed during that period, some years before the publication was licensed. It was issued in 1521.

F.J.Norton, Printing in Spain 1501-1520 (Cambridge 1966) pp.38-41

versions of Reina and Valera.[14]

This Biblical interest was not always fostered by the Bible directly, but by such publications as the Vita Christi of Ludolf of Saxony, 'el Cartujano', first issued in a Spanish translation by Fr.Ambrosio Montesino in Alcalá in 1502.[15] This was a conflation of the Gospels together with a commentary, but with the biblical words in thicker type for ease of recognition. It went through many editions. In 1485 in Saragossa Gonzalo de Santa María had published a Spanish translation of Evangelios e Epístolas, siquier liciones de los domingos e fiestas solemnes de todo el anyo e de los santos. Montesino published his correction of this translation in 1512, after which it went through many editions till it was banned by the Inquisition in 1559, together with all translations of the Scriptures into the common tongue.[16] Such works fostered interest amongst the people, for in them parts of the Bible at least wereoffered to Spaniards. Alongside them must be set the academic interest in and careful study of the Bible by humanist scholars. Cardinal Cisneros in 1502 gathered together in Alcalá de Henares his scholars who worked on the vast Complutensian Polygot edition of the Scriptures, which appeared between 1514 and 1517. Their work on establishing acceptable texts of the Hebrew Old Testament, the Greek New Testament and the Latin Vulgate was one of careful scholarship which has been judged superior to that of Erasmus, whose Greek New Testament text was much more widely circulated, also in Spain. Their work was, however, rather slavishly bound to the Vulgate, whereas Erasmus' own translation of the New Testament into Latin - of which the first edition appeared in 1516 - was quite free with regard to the Vulgate, as it was translated directly from a

(14) The intention was to reproduce closely the meaning of the Hebrew original with the help of the Latin translation of Sanctes Pagninus and his Thesaurus. When read, this version is very staccato and strange, owing to the fact that the translators tried to keep word for word to the Hebrew and made very little concession to the differences between Hebrew and Spanish grammar and syntax. True to the later Jewish tradition, the name of God (יהוה) is neither translated nor transliterated, but left as .A. throughout.

(15) Bataillon pp. 44 f.

(16) ibid p.718.

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F.J.Norton, Printing in Spain 1501-1520 (Cambridge 1966) pp.38-41

rather slavishly bound to the Vulgate, whereas Erasmus' own translation of the New Testament into Latin - of which the first edition appeared in 1516 - was quite free with regard to the Vulgate, as it was translated directly from a

(14) The intention was to reproduce closely the meaning of the Hebrew original with the help of the Latin translation of Sanctes Pagninus and his Thesaurus. When read, this version is very staccato and strange, owing to the fact that the translators tried to keep word for word to the Hebrew and made very little concession to the differences between Hebrew and Spanish grammar and syntax. True to the later Jewish tradition, the name of God (יהוה) is neither translated nor transliterated, but left as .A. throughout.

(15) Bataillon pp. 44 f.

(16) ibid p.718.

number of Greek manuscripts.[17] This translation also circulated in Spain. Francisco de Enzinas made a Spanish translation of the New Testament in 1543 in Antwerp, which was in effect a version of Erasmus' Latin New Testament.[18] It printed in heavy type those verses of Paul's epistles which teach justification by faith. This translation was almost immediately banned by the Inquisition in Spain and the Low Countries, but it is not inconceivable that some copies at least found their way into Spain.[19] Both learned and popular interest in the Bible prepared the way for a ready acceptance of Erasmus' teaching that sacred Scripture must be studied and heeded.

The reforms carried out by Cardinal Cisneros from the time of his appointment in 1495 as Archbishop of Toledo and Primate of Spain till the time of his death in 1517 tended to make ecclesiastics, especially Franciscans and Dominicans, more spiritually orientated, and, far from preventing the appearance of the Reformation:

> "... las tendencias evangélicas que constituyen el vigor de la reforma franciscana o de la reforma dominicana se encarnan en una minoría monástica entregada a la espiritualidad. Esta minoría simpatizará con Erasmo y aun llegará algunas veces a hacerse sospechosa de luteranismo."[20]

Cisneros's foundation of the University of Alcalá de Henares for the improvement in quality of clerics could not fail also to produce some minds at least which would begin to compare Biblical fundamentals with ecclesiastical reality,

(17) ibid.p.41; McCrie, History of the Reformation in Spain, p.33.

(18) Bataillon pp. 514 f, 550 f. EL NVEVO TESTAMENTO De nuestro Redemptor y Salvador IESV CHRISTO, traduzido de Griego en lengua Castellana, por Françisco de Enzinas, dedicado a la Cesarea Magestad. HABLA DIOS. Iosue.I. No se aparte el libro de esta ley de tu boca. Antes con atento animo estudiaras en el de dia y de noche: para q̃ guardes y hagas conforme a todo aquello que esta en el escrito. Por que entonzes haras prospero tu camino, y te gobernaras con prudencia. M.D.XL.III.

(19) ibid. pp.500 f. It is suggestive that Juan Pérez had worked on his translation of the New Testament in Spain, apparently using a copy of Enzinas's version. Compare extracts of both translations in Appendix XI.

(20) ibid. p.10.

and, in thought and prayer, in speech and writing, begin to strive towards an ideal which more nearly approached the evangelical norm. Cisneros also encouraged the writing and translation from Latin of devotional writings, and the publication of partial translations of the Bible. But, as Bataillon says:

> "La crisis religiosa de la época de Carlos V se explica mucho mejor cuando se sabe que el alma español, desde principios del siglo, estaba familiarizada con el Evangelio. Sin embargo, el testimonio de ello no ha de buscarse precisamente en el movimiento de Alcalá, movimiento erudito, condenado, por la altura misma de sus miras, a no ejercer sino una influencia restringida."

By this he means the movement known collectively as illuminism.(21)

From about 1512, this movement began to play its part in the preparation of Spain for Erasmian, and after them, Protestant, ideas.(22) There were and had been all over Europe analogous movements of religious revival, which antedated Erasmus and Luther. We have mentioned briefly Wycliffe and Huss; mention could be made of Savonarola's great influence in Florence, of the Brethen of the Common Life who had influenced Erasmus himself, of the movement of the Béguinages, and so on.(23) The adepts of illuminism, called alumbrados, dejados or perfectos, experienced a direct and personal contact with God which led them to feel a great spiritual liberty, especially in the face of religious formalism which they denounced. Bataillon points out that the movement cannot

(21) ibid. p.44; Nieto, op.cit.pp. 52, 56.

(22) ibid. pp.166-190, 345; R.Schevill, "Erasmus and Spain", Hisp.Review 17 (1939) p.96.

(23) A.Castro, Aspectos del vivir hispánico (Santiago de Chile 1949) p.73; M. & P. V pp.210 f; A.Selke de Sánchez, "Algunos datos nuevos sobre los Alumbrados", Bull.hisp.54 (1952) p.129. V.Beltrán de Heredia, Los corrientes de espiritualidad (Salamanca 1941) and P.Groult, Les mystiques des Pays-Bas et la littérature espagnole (Louvain 1927) both examine extensively the influence of the Low Countries in Spain.

be reduced to a doctrinal system.(24) Their great desire was to abandon themselves to the love of God, and by this mystical experience to purify the passions and the desires. They were given to ecstatic states and visions and recognised no authority but the Scriptures.(25) In their freedom of judgement with regard to the monastic life, indulgences, fasts, the reverence paid to saints, etc., their position shewed great affinity with the later pronouncements of Erasmus and Luther. The leading lights of this movement came often from the tertiaries of the mendicant orders, of whom many were women: not a few were of aristocratic extraction and the conversos also played a great part in the spread of illuminism.(26) In fact the similarity of many of their practices and tenets with those of the Muslim Sufis has been noted.(27) Many of their adepts were young clerics and monks. Noble houses often sheltered them. Originally seen as rather over-zealous pietists, eventually their preference for their own conventicles attracted the attention of the authorities and the whole movement was condemned at Toledo by the Inquisitor-General, Alonso Manrique,

(24) A.Selke de Sánchez, op.cit.p.126, gives a list of 48 propositions from which some idea of their beliefs can be deduced. They are prolix, imprecise and full of qualifications. She discerns Lutheranism in them and quotes in evidence Juan Maldonado, De felicitate christiana (Burgos 1541) who said of the alumbrados, "redolebant certe Lutherum" and that the outbreak of illuminism in Toledo was "un chispe Luterano que de no haber sido apagado de la Inquisicion, hubiera podido causar un gran incendio". Llorca, Die Spanische Inquisition und die Alumbrados (Berlin 1934) pp.29 f, on the other hand, is definite in declaring the doctrines of the alumbrados to be quite independent and different from Luther's, although their ideas were sufficiently analogous for them to be prosecuted by 1534 as heretics and Lutherans. Serrano y Sanz, "Pedro Ruiz de Alcaraz", Rev de Bib.y.Mus. VII, pp.1 f, supports the view that this alumbrados originated independently of the German movement.

(25) Bataillon p.173; Bakhuizen v.d.Brink, Juan de Valdés (Amsterdam 1962) p.175; D.de Sta.Teresa, "Juan de Valdés", Analecta Gregoriana LXXXV (1957) pp.16 f.

(26) Bataillon pp.179-182; M.Serrano y Sanz, op.cit.pp.3 f; J.C.Longhurst, "The Alumbrados of Toledo", Archiv.f.Ref.geschichte 45 (1954) pp.234 f.

(27) G.H.Williams, The Radical Reformation (London 1962) pp. 5 f; Castro op.cit. p.74; Nieto op.cit. p.57; P.Pourrat La spiritualité chrétienne (Paris, 1925) III p.128.

Archbishop of Toledo, on 23rd September 1525.[28]

Thus, by the time the first works of Erasmus began to beavailable in Spain, there was a considerable number of people with analogous ideas, ready

Correction slip to be inserted at p.8 (line 5)

The first book of Erasmus to appear in Spanish was not the Enchiridion, but Tratado o sermon del niño Jesús y en loor del estado de la niñez (Seville 1516), translated by Diego de Alcocer. F.J.Norton, op.cit.pp.12 & 176; also Desiderio Erasmo, Tratado del niño Jesús y en loor del estado de la niñez. Ahora fielmente reimpreso en facsímile con un estudio preliminar de Eugenio Asensio (Madrid, Editorial Castalia, 1968).

important in the religious life of Spain well [illegible]

Enchiridion.[30] Erasmus was distinguished by a living Christianity not entangled by the marks of excessive ritual worship or dusty scholasticism; a high standard of intellectual integrity and morality; an antipathy towards metaphysical and theological speculation; the advocacy of peace derived from tolerance and charity, together with a policy of non-involvement; and a strong satirical strain typified by the much quoted 'monachatus non est pietas.' The essential strains of Erasmianism are two: one is realistic, down to earth satire, the other a strong moralistic pietism.[31] Very rapidly many Erasmian humanists began spreading these ideas in Spain. Some had met Erasmus in Charles V's dominions outside Spain. Many of them held positions of influence in ecclesiastical and academic life. Spanish versions of Erasmus' works appeared regularly between 1527 and 1535 and often went into

(28) Selke de Sánchez, loc.cit.:
"(había) munchas personas (en el arzobispado de Toledo que) dezian, consexauan e publicauan algunas palabras que parescian desuiarse de nuestra santa fee catholica e la comun obserbancia de los fieles christianos, y que se juntauan e hacian conuenticulos particulares secreta y publicamente, e algunos se dezian alumbrados, dexados e perfectos."

(29) Bataillon pp.164 f; Teresa, op.cit.p.49.

(30) Bataillon pp.190 f.

(31) R.Crahay, "Humanisme réformiste à Réforme radicale", Revue Univ.Brux. 4 (Brussels 1967) p.298; Schevill, loc.cit.

several editions. Bataillon asserts that they enjoyed a popularity in Spain such as in no other country in Europe and that they met with not the slightest obstacle.(32) Not that Erasmus had no opponents in Spain. One indication of this is that in 1527 the Emperor's agent in Rome, Juan Pérez, obtained a letter from the Pope to the Archbishop of Toledo which was meant to protect Erasmus from attack in Spain.(33) Some of the mendicant orders, smarting under the repeated criticism from the Erasmians, pressed for a national debate to decide whether his works were heretical or not. This was finally held at Valladolid in March 1527. It broke up without coming to any firm decision, and this failure to censure it really set the seal on Erasmianism in Spain. Official approval was emphasized by a personal letter from Charles V to Erasmus, on 13th December 1527, telling him not to worry. With the Crown, the Inquisition and the majority of the Spanish Church on its side, Erasmianism was in a strong position in Spain, which was to be spoiled fairly soon by the suspicions engendered by illuminists and Protestants.(34) In fact, the auto da fe in which Pedro Ruiz de Alcaraz and Isabel de la Cruz were punished for illuminism on 22nd July 1529 at Toledo, was the same one at which Diego de Uceda had to do penance for Erasmianism.(35)

In about 1526 a number of Alumbrados and Erasmians made an abortive attempt to found a group of twelve apostles in Medina de Rioseco, whose aims, so the Inquisition reported, included a plan to reform the world by spreading their new gospel everywhere and linking up with Luther in Germany.

(32) Bataillon p.279.

(33) Bib.Wif.II p.58; Bataillon p.264, note 4 (quoting a letter of Secretary Pérez of 1st July 1527):

> "El breve para poner silencio que allá no se hable contra las obras de Erasmo, me ha dicho el Sanctiquatro que me le dará remitido al Arçobispo de Sevilla; en habiéndole le enviaré."

See also Teresa, op.cit. p.50 and Asenio, op.cit. p.79.

(34) Kamen, op.cit. pp.70 f.

(35) Longhurst, op.cit. p.243.

This and similar activities by the two groups triggered off a campaign against them by the Inquisition, apparently convinced they represented native forms of Lutheranism. Numbers of arrests and trials took place in the 1520s and 1530s, and punishments and flights from the country effectively wiped out open expression of this form of activity for some years. The purge was by no means so severe as that which was to take place in the late 1550s and early 1560s.(36) Amongst the sympathisers with this movement were the twin brothers Alfonso and Juan de Valdés, both well-known figures.(37) Alfonso was sympathetic to the claims of Luther without openly supporting him, and felt that the Papacy needed reforming. He was a great admirer of Erasmus, and at one time managed to use his influence to thwart a plan to get the Inquisition to ban the latter's works in Spain. He also carried on a correspondence with Erasmus. Alfonso died in 1532. His brother Juan had been a member of the illuminist conventicle (38)

Correction slip to be inserted at p.10 (line 16)

José F.Montesinos, in the introduction to the Clásicos Castellanos edition of Diálogo de Mercurio y Carón (Madrid 1947) pp.vii ff, demonstrates that the author of this work was Alfonso, not Juan, de Valdés, and suggests that it was printed in c.1531.

in 1529, but he was soon under attack again. He began to feel himself unsafe in Spain, which he left in 1530 for Naples, a place as yet free of the Spanish Inquisition. He was accompanied by Mateo Pascual, rector of the University of Alcalá de Henares.(40) In Italy he exercized a great influence on the

(36) Longhurst, "Julián Hernández, "B.H.R. 22 pp.90 f.

(37) For Alfonso and Juan de Valdés see Bib.Wif.I pp.66-77; McCrie op.cit. pp.60-63; Bakhuizen v.d.Brink op.cit.; Teresa, op.cit.

(38) Pourrat, op.cit. III p.130 calls Juan the theologian of illuminism. Selke de Sánchez, op.cit. p.138.

(39) J.de Valdés (ed.Bataillon) Diálogo de Doctrina Christiana. Fascimile ed. (Coimbra 1925); Longhurst Erasmus and the Spanish Inquisition, (Albuquerque 1950) pp.35, 47.

(40) Longhurst, idem pp. 54 f; --- op.cit. (Alumbrados of Toledo) p.243.

Reform movement, and published several evangelical works. He also translated parts of the Bible into Spanish, but these seem to have remained in manuscript during his lifetime. At his death in 1541 he was still a member of the Roman Catholic Church.

It is a commonplace to say that Erasmus prepared the way for Luther in Europe - and this is no less true for Spain than for the rest of the Continent. Luther went well beyond the cleaning-up of scandals and the tightening-up of morals to which Erasmus confined himself. Luther was tortured by a search for holiness that went deeper than Erasmus's desire for wisdom. Some, in fact, have doubted whether Erasmus was ever really Christian in the Gospel sense.(41) The famous debate carried out by the two publications, Erasmus's De libero arbitrio of 1524 written against Luther, and Luther's reply, De servo arbitrio of 1525, marks the break between Erasmus's purely humanist desire to tidy up the morals of the Church and the more thoroughgoing Reformation proposed by Luther - although, of course, Luther had already stepped well beyond Erasmus's limits when he defied papal authority on 10th December 1520 by burning the Bull 'Exsurge Domine' and the books of Canon Law; by reducing the number of sacraments to two in The Babylonian Captivity of the Church, 1520; and by writing To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation in 1520 in which he put forward a 'bluntly anti-Catholic programme of Church reform', attacking the idea that ecclesiastical is superior to civil authority, stating that the Church has no monopoly in the interpretation of the Bible, that not only the Pope can summon a Church council, and that all the so-called power of the Church is service and dare be nothing else, that Papal and priestly power are not evangelical. At the centre of Luther's teaching was his experience of the undeserved grace of God in the Gospel of Jesus Christ, which brought a new understanding of repentance, in that only the gospel of the grace and glory of God frees us from sin. This leads on to a new understanding of the Church, founded on faith alone. Good works without faith are themselves sin. Faith, however, is a living, busy thing

(41) R.J.Lovy, Luther (Paris 1964) p.169; J.Atkinson, Martin Luther and the Birth of Protestantism (Harmondsworth 1968)p.26.

and cannot help doing good, though not to justify itself before God. By his experience of the saving grace of God Luther had found peace for his anguished soul and he wished to spread this knowledge of bestowed righteousness.(42)

We have some evidence that Luther's works in Latin were already in Spain as early as 1519(43). The writings of German and Swiss Reformers became known first in Spain presumably by means of the German retainers at the court of Charles V and the Spanish retainers who travelled with him.(44) Not all the Spaniards at the Diet of Worms were unsympathetic to Luther's cause.(45) The Marrano merchants of the Low Countries sympathized with him because they saw in him the enemy of the Inquisition, and they began to make sure his works

(42) Lovy, ibid; F.Lau, Luther (London 1963) pp.79-84.

(43) L.Pfandl, "Spanische Lutherbild", Hist.Jahrbuch Görresgesellsch. 50 (Munich 1930) p.464 (quoting Luthers Briefwechsel I p.420):
"Dono dedit mihi Blasius Salmonius, bibliopola Lipsensis, in proximis nundinis Francofordensibus libellos varios a te elucubratos, quos ... typis meis statim excudi. Sexcentos in Galliam misimus et in Hispaniam." From a letter from the Basle printer Johann Frobenius to Luther, dated 14th February 1519.

(44) Bataillon, p.110:
"Juan de Vergara, acusado más tarde de luteranismo, dirá que era muy común escuchar .... bien .. de Lutero ... afirmará no haber comprado nunca libros de Lutero, 'estando toda la corte de Su Majestad llena dellos en Alemania' en Bormes 'yendo todo el mundo a verle, especialmente los españoles'.... Aleandro dijo ... que los españoles' ven en el (sc.Lutero) el enemigo de la Inquisición.'"
Illescas, Historia Pontifical (Burgos 1578) II p.449; Selke de Sánchez, op.cit. p.130.

(45) McCrie, op.cit. p.61 states that when Francisco de Angeli, provincial of the Order of Angeli, was at the Coronation of Charles V, he called at Basle on the way home from the Diet of Worms to have converse with Conrad Pellican about Luther and professed to agree on most points.

found their way into Spain.[46] Luther's Commentary on Galatians was translated into Spanish in 1520, and was soon followed by other works.[47] As early as 1521 Pope Leo X issued briefs to the Constable and the Admiral of Castille requiring them to adopt measures to prevent the introduction into Spain of Luther's writings and those of his sympathisers.[48] In one way and another, however, the ideas of a more radical religious Reformation began to gain currency in Spain. Indeed, Illescas felt they might well have gained the day, given a little more time, and, but for the intervention of the Inquisition, formed for quite other reasons, but whose machinery could now be brought to bear on this new situation - not against conversos who apostatized, but against the old Christians whose ideas became too radical.[49] By 1535, opposition was already hardening. On 2nd April 1525, the Inquisition banned the reading of all Lutheran books throughout Spain, and on 23rd September 1525 quasi-Lutheranism was detected in the alumbrados' teaching.[50]

(46) Bataillon p.111; P.Kalkoff, "Die Anfänge der Gegenreformation in den Niederlanden", Verein f.Ref.geschichte 79 (Halle 1903) p.43; J.J.I.v.Döllinger, Beiträge zur politischen, kirchlichen und Culturgeschichte (Vienna 1882) III p.280 quotes a letter of Aleander, the Papal Nuncio to Clement VII, date ? 1523:

> "Et Hispaniam jam depopularetur haec flamme, nisi oneraria quaedam navis referta Lutheranis libris cura Maranorum, qui in Flandria agunt, in Hispanicum idioma translatis et Antverpiae excusis, in Zelandia a caesarianis deprehensa fuisset, quid quod et in Italian et Romam ipsam hic ignis clam serpens menavit ..."

(47) J.Stoughton, The Spanish Reformers (London 1883) p.36.

(48) McCrie, op.cit.p.61.

(49) Illescas op.cit.II p.451:

> "Eran todos los presos de Valladolid, Sevilla y Toledo, personas harto calificadas: los nombres delos quales yo quise callar les aqui, por no amanzillar con su ruyn fama, la buena de sus mayores, y la generosidad de algunas casas Illustres a quien toco esta ponçoña. Eran tantos y tales, que se tuvo creydo, que si dos o tres meses mas se tardara en remediar este daño, se abrasara toda España: y vinieramos a la mas aspera desuentura, que jamas en ella se auia visto".

Geddes Misc.Tracts I p.453.

(50) Kamen, op.cit. p.71; Selke de Sánchez, op.cit. p.129.

For a time, then, Lutheran ideas gained currency, especially in Seville and Valladolid, but to a lesser extent also in other centres. The writings of other Reformers also entered Spain, often by being deliberately ordered from booksellers abroad. In this way, Oecolampadius, Melanchthon, Bugenhagen and others became known.(51) The writings of Erasmus and the Reformers found an echo in the hearts of the alumbrados, and before long the Inquisitors confused all three under the general title and condemnation of 'luteranos'. There is no doubt that this confusion has led to the Reformers' influence in Spain being overestimated on the Protestant side - there is also no doubt that, after the Inquisition had done its grisly work, their real and potential influence has been underestimated on the Spanish side.

We turn our attention now in more detail to the situation and events in Seville in the years between 1528 and 1558. Situated in Andalusia, where the admixture of races is strongest, this opulent city, the main port for the Indies, was in the full spate of its grandeur, and open to many influences, as are all large ports.(52) The very volume of the trade pouring in made the entry of books a relatively easy matter - until the Inquisition, being warned,

(51) Bataillon pp. 438 f.

(52) Valera, Dos Tratados 2nd. ed. p.199.

became too vigilant.(53) It is hardly surprizing that this was one place where the Reformers' ideas took the strongest root - even though the flower was by force of circumstances produced abroad. Eventually, only such adepts as were fortunate enough to flee the country were able to develop their evangelical spirituality - the rest had to recant or were crushed. Already Seville had its group of Erasmists, with some of whom Erasmus himself had corresponded.(54) Just as important as this contact was the communication with the new University of Alcalá. The new evangelical ideas were spread as much by sermons as by books. The pulpit had been enlivened by Erasmian ideas, and most of the significant and influential preachers of Seville had come from Alcalá.

Three men, all of whom had studied together in Alcalá, had a great influence in Seville. They were Francisco de Vargas, Juan Gil (known as Dr. Egidio) and Constantino Ponce de la Fuente. Vargas, according to Montanus, had lectured on Scripture in the University, and had died in 1550, before the Inquisition had concerned itself with the other two.(55) Schäfer,

(53) Col.doc.ined. V p.399:
"... se descubrió (en Flandes) la vasta conspiración que había entre Alemania, Flandes y España para estender el protestantismo en nuestra nación. El numero de libros que se imprimian en español fuera del reino era mayor ó á lo menos igual al que se imprimia en otras lenguas. De las imprentas de Alemania se despechaban á Flandes, y desde allí á España, al principio por los puertos de mar, y despues cuando ya hubo mas vigilancia de parte del gobierno, las enviaban á Leon de Francia desde donde se introducian en la Península por Navarra y Aragón. El centro de este comercio fraudulento y dañoso era Francfort á cuyas ferias dos veces el año se abastecian mercaderes flamencos y españoles, y despues mandaban remeses á sus corresponsales de España, no eran de pequeño bulto, sino de fardos enteros de libros. Vilman librero de Amberes tenia tiendas en Medina del Campo y Sevilla donde vendia las obras de los protestantes en latin y español. Estos libros de Francfort se deben á buen mercado para que circulasen con mayor facilidad, y no es estraño si se atiende que de España se enviaba el dinero para costear las impresiones y para socorrer á los que habian huido á Alemania, que eran muchos."
See also pp.529-532.

(54) Bataillon pp.84 f.

(55) ibid p.524; Montanus, Sanctae Inquisitionis hispanicae artes (Heidelberg 1567) p.281; S. & V. p.9; Schäfer I p.349, II p.372.

however, discerns his influence on them.[56] Egidio was for 20 years, from 1537, the canónigo magistral - i.e. the official cathedral preacher. Valera says that Egidio was influenced greatly by an Andalusian gentleman, Don Rodrigo de Valer, who brought him to a profound knowledge of the Gospel which made him bitterly regret the time 'lost' in the study of scholastic theology at Alcalá.[57] Bataillon finds this hard to accept, but anyone who has a knowledge of evangelical circles will easily recognize the recurrent phenomenon, repeated e.g. by John Wesley, of the scholar who finds his spiritual resources released by a deep religious experience and henceforth tends to condemn what went before because it had not brought him to this experience. Valer was very much in the tradition of the alumbrados. From a pleasure-loving youth he was converted in about 1540 to a life of spiritual intensity by reading a Latin Bible, which he got to know almost by heart. He then saw it as his duty to proclaim the truth he found there against the errors of the Church. The knowledge which he had reached by no human help or ministry he felt he had to share. Called before the Inquisition, he was released after a heavy fine because they thought him mad. He continued to preach in and out of season and was once more condemned in 1545 and imprisoned. Even then he would interrupt a sermon when taken to church, till he was shut up in the monastery of Nuestra Señora de Barrameda in Sanlúcar, where he died.[58] The ground had been prepared in Seville for the Erasmians - and for the Lutherans - by the alumbrados.[59] In 15 years of inspired Biblical preaching Egidio made a great name for himself.[60] Constantino, who came about

(56) S. & V. p.9.

(57) ibid. p.8; Montanus op.cit. pp.256-274; Dos Tratados p.204:
"[Valer] que en pocas horas le enseñó el oficio del predicador cristiano, aconsejándole otros estudios, y otros directores que los que hasta entonces habia tenido".

(58) Lennep, De Hervorming in Spanje (Haarlem 1901) p.201; M. & P. V pp.84 f; Montanus, op.cit. pp.259-263; Dos Tratados pp.200-204, 246:
"Pero los inquisidores que en aquel tiempo no eran malos, lo escusaban, con pensar que estaba loco".

(59) Schevill, op.cit. p.96.

(60) Bataillon pp.524 f; Montanus, op.cit. p.279; S. & V. p.8.

that time to Seville, supplied Lutheran books to him, and he introduced the new doctrines into his preaching, both in public and conventicles.(61) In 1549 Charles V proposed him as Bishop of Tortosa - but the Inquisition had begun proceedings against him. He was required by the Inquisition to abjure certain propositions, central to which was justification by faith, all of which shewed that he was an Erasmian rather than a Lutheran. As Bataillon says, he was an Erasmian up to and including his dislike of martyrdom, for he abjured on 21st August 1552 those errors listed by the Council of Trent as suspected of Lutheranism and in part condemned.(62) This leads one to suppose that the so-called Lutheranism of Seville at that time might have owed very little to Luther. Egidio was sentenced to one year in prison, which was commuted to retirement to the Charterhouse of Jerez, and on release he continued to be canónigo magistral till his death in 1555, although his sentence included a prohibition of his preaching for ten years. Later, when the outbreak of anti-Lutheran persecution came along, his bones were disinterred, his goods confiscated and he was burnt in effigy in the auto-da-fe of 1560.(63)

It is surprising that no general enquiry into other persons in Seville followed at this stage, especially as the followers of Egidio considered themselves as a church within the church, although not in breach with it. Only three persons appear to have been attainted with suspicion, Luis Hernández del Castillo in Paris, Diego de la Cruz in Flanders and Gaspar Zapata in the service of a nobleman in the court of Flanders.(64) All three lived to fight another day, and we shall meet two of them again. Such gentle treatment was possibly due to the favour in which Egidio was held by one of

(61) M. & P: V p.86.
(62) Bataillon, p.526.
(63) M. & P., V p.89.
(64) ibid. p.116.

Seville's Inquisitors, Corro. Later events were to more than compensate![65]

Such was the situation, then, at the time of the flight from Seville of Juan Pérez. Cipriano de Valera tells us that seven persons left Seville in 1555 and went to live in Geneva.[66] One of these could easily have been Juan Pérez, although we cannot say so with certainty.

The third man, Constantino Ponce de la Fuente, followed Egidio. He had accompanied the future Philip II to the Netherlands in 1548, and from 1549 onwards was confessor and chaplain to Charles V. He returned to Seville in 1553 and preached with success in the cathedral and elsewhere. He was unanimously elected to succeed Egidio as canónigo magistral in spite of opposition by the Inquisitor-General, Fernando de Valdés, who objected to his Jewish blood, and he was sworn in officially on 12th June 1557.[67] We have various writings of Constantino's, and so can examine his views at first hand. His exposition of the Psalm Beatus Vir 1546[68] puts forward the doctrines of justification by faith and of Christian perfection. His Suma de doctrina christiana 1543 is quite in the Lutheran tradition.[69] It went through five editions by 1551, and was a means of reinforcing Constantino's teaching and spreading it. It taught that faith in Christ was opposed to faith in works; that works and faith necessarily supported

(65) Corro, Epistre au Roy fol.Av verso:
"Car auparauant (mesmes selon leu cõfession) ledit Egidius estoit vn Apostre en ses presches, & vn patron & exemple de bõne vie pour inciter les autres prescheurs à l'imiter, & le suivre".
ibid
"... vn des Inquisiteurs qui auoit son [=Egidius] proces en main, me commença à faire plaintes de l'iniquité & iniustice de ses compaignons en plusieurs choses appertenãtes à leur office, & nommèement à l'endroit dudit Docteur Egidius, lequel il estimoit vray hõme de bien, personnage Chrestiẽ, & mieux viuant que tous veux qui se monstroient ses adnersaires(sic)"

(66) Dos Tratados, p.205; McCrie, op.cit. p.95.

(67) Bib.Wif.II pp.10 f; Bataillon pp.527 f; S. & V. pp.6 f.

(68) Exposicion del primer Psalmo de David,cuyo principio es Beatus vir, dividida en seissermones, por el Doctor Constantino, con privilegio, Sevilla, 1546: second edition 1556.

(69) Suma de doctrina christiana en que se contiene todo lo principal y necessario, que el hombre christiano debe de saber y obrar, Sevilla, 1544.

one another in the Christian life; that confession directly to God is preferable to auricular confession; that the eucharist is a memorial and should be taken more often than the once a year that was comman at the time; that the Gospels and Epistles should be read, if possible, in Spanish; that routine religion without a spiritual conversion was a dead thing.(70)

The manner of his preaching can be discerned in Beatus Vir. He addressed himself to the man in the street, trying to bring him to consider seriously the question of how God's law could be obeyed, and to kindle in him the spark of sanctifying faith. Such preaching, begun by Egidio, continued by Constantino, brought about a movement of reform in Seville.(71) Bataillon states that,

> "España se nos muestra, en Sevilla y en otras partes sin duda, agitada por una predicación que se podría llamar implícitamente protestante, que deriva claramente del iluminismo erasmiano, y que, entre 1535 y 1555, se adhiere a la justificación por la fe sin deducir de ella conclusiones fatales para los dogmas católicos". (72)

At the same time, and in the monasteries affected by Cisneros' reform and in the young Society of Jesus, an entirely different type of spirituality was being fostered, which Montanus depicted as requiring fasting, mortification, repetition of masses and ceremonies, confessions and the like. The dividing

(70) Bataillon, pp.535-539.

(71) ibid; M. & P. V p.92 (quoting from Alfonso García Matamoros, Opera Omnia (Alcalá 1553) fol.50 f, which passage was suppressed in later editions):

> "Est in hoc eruditorum numero Constantinus, nobilissimus concionator, cujus eloquentia sacris educata concionibus, quoad Hispali vixit, admirationem habuit, qualem quidem Cicero in perfecto oratore, dum aliquid exquisitius et divinum quaereret, inter caetera vehementer desideravit ... Sic multa communi sensu perficit, sic extra scholas et doctrinan versatur ut sum summa operis delectet auditores, putent statim e proximo medioque vulgi arrepta esse quae tamen intimis divinae philosophiae visceribus altissimas radices egerunt ... Multum itaque Constantinus debet arti, sed plus naturae et diviti venae quae plura quotidie gignit quae ars ipsa duro pertinacique studio invenisse potusset".

(72) Bataillon, p.545.

line between the two types of spirituality seems to have been Erasmus.(73) The latter dissuaded people from reading his works, as the former nourished their spiritual life from his works.(74)

Constantino preached the same doctrines as Valer and Egidio, in spite of the fate they had suffered. He became a leader in the opposition to the influence of the Jesuits, openly criticizing them in his preaching. The Inquisition called him for questioning, but could at first prove nothing.(75) Eventually the discovery of a large number of openly Lutheran documents written by him, and hidden in the house of one of his followers, Isabel Martínez, who had been imprisoned for heresy, gave the Inquisition its opportunity.(76) Constantino was imprisoned towards the end of 1558 and died there two years later, possibly by suicide.(77) His bones were disinterred and his effigy was burnt at the same auto da fe as Egidio's in 1560(78).

The Index of 1551 prohibited explicitly 'La Biblia en romance castellano o otra cualquier vulgar lengua', although it said nothing about partial translations, and the energies of the Inquisition seem to have been directed against only those Latin editions that were printed abroad.(79) A Censura

(73) Of interest, as illustrating the attitude to Luther of this party, is a poem, consisting of 36 pages of sustained invective. Fr.Christobal Mansilla, Inuectiua contra el heresiarcha Luthero (Burgos 1552), published in facsimile by A.Pérez y Gómez, El ayre de la almena 4 (Cieza 1961)

(74) Bataillon, pp.545-548; X.le Bachelet, "La théologie dans l'ordre des Jésuites", Dict.de Théol.Cath.(Paris 1947) vol.8(1) cols.1011-1014; A.Astrain, Historia de la Compañía de Jesus en la asistencia de España, 2nd ed. (Madrid 1912) I pp.lvii-lxi, 432-438. The Jesuits were established in Seville by 1554.

(75) M. & P. V pp.107-110.

(76) Montanus, pp.289 f. Montanus gives these titles: De statu Ecclesiae; De vera Ecclesia & de Ecclesia Papae quem appellabat antichristiana; De Eucharistae sacramento, & de Missae; De Iustificatione hominis; De Bullis & Indulgentjjs Papanis; De meritis hominum; De Confessione.

(77) M. & P. V p.112.

(78) Montanus pp. 290 f.

(79) Bataillon p. 552.

de Biblias undertaken in Seville, and published by the Inquisition in 1554 reveals the presence of large numbers of Bibles in the city and in the surrounding districts as far as Osuna, Jerez and Arcos. The owners were mostly clerics, but others are recorded; two booksellers and two monasteries (St.Paul and St.Thomas) had more than ten each. The provenance of these Bibles was mostly Lyons (318 copies), Paris (68 copies) and Antwerp (36 copies). Various books by Erasmus were also noted in this censura.(80)

A large number of people in Seville began to gather themselves into a conventicle, or series of conventicles that were in effect a Protestant church in embryo.(81) Valera puts their number at 800.(82) Both Cipriano de Valera in Dos Tratados and Reinaldo González Montano in Sacrae Inquisitionis Hispanicae Artes tell of their progress and downfall. The conventicles had appointed for themselves at least one preacher, Christóbal de Losada, a physician who had been one of Egidio's pupils. He was also called the superintendent of the church.(83) Menéndez y Pelayo puts the life of these conventicles at twelve years at the most.(84) They met in the homes of Isabel de Baena, Luis de Ábrego and María de Conejo.(85) At least one nobleman, Juan Ponce de León, second son of the Count of Bailén, was of their number, and had at once time offered to buy them a house for their meetings.(86) A preacher of Moorish extraction, Juan González, with his two sisters, was a strong influence in the Group.(87) Outstanding female members were María Bohórquez, an educated noblewoman, well-versed in Latin, her sister Juana, wife of Francisco de Vargas, María de Virués, and the Franciscan nun

(80) J.I.Tellechea Idigoras, "Biblias ... secuestradas por la Inquisición de Sevilla, "Bull.Hisp.64 (1962) pp.236-243.

(81) M. & P. V p.116.

(82) Dos Tratados p.207.

(83) Montanus pp.232 f; Dos Tratados pp.207, 208; Llorente II p.265; Schäfer I p.371 doubts whether he was pastor.

(84) As note 56.

(85) Montanus pp.210-213; McFadden p.62; Dos Tratados p.209.

(86) Montanus pp.200-205.

(87) ibid pp.206-209.

Francisca Chaves, of the convent of Santa Isabel.(88) Two successors of Juan Pérez at the Colegio de los Niños de la Doctrina, Fernando de San Juan and Escobar, were two other influential supporters of the teaching.(89) All levels of society were affected, although Menéndez y Pelayo would have us think otherwise.(90) In the lists of the Inquisition's punishments published by Schäfer this can be clearly seen. The membership was drawn from well beyond the immediate area of Seville.(91)

Several monasteries and convents were affected, and none as much as the monastery of San Isidro del Campo of the Order of the Observantine Hieronymites, which was situated just outside the city boundary.(92)

The Order of Spanish Hieronymites was established c.1370 and confirmed by Pope Gregory XI in 1374. Their emphasis was on the emotional rather than the intellectual side of the religious life. They exalted manual labour and attempted to live the austere life of the Christian hermit. In fact, they took the name of Jerome, not from their founder, but from the translator of the Vulgate, the 4th century hermit, whom they wished to emulate. They were sympathetic to the 'new Christians' of whom many joined the Order.(93)

(88) ibid. pp.210-213, 229 f; S. & V. p.12.

(89) M. & P. V pp. 120 f.

(90) S. & V. p.14; M. & P. IV p.41:
"... el vulgo creía con toda firmeza, y no tomó parte alguna en el movimiento luterano ... porque la intentona luterana en España tuvo un carácter muy aristocrático."

(91) Schäfer I pp.120 f; Montanus p.248 f:
"Neqz intra ipsa Coenobij septamodo continebãt diuina illa lux, vel ipsã vrbem, & ad circumuicina oppida extẽdebatur, tum libris tum sermone communicatis."

(92) Montanus pp.243 f. Besides San Isidro, the Hieronymitesses' Convent of Santa Paula, the Dominican monastery of San Pablo, and the Franciscan nunnery of Santa Isabel are mentioned.

(93) McFadden p.25; Castro op.cit. p.105; Sigüenza, Historia de los Jeronimos (Madrid 1907) XII pp.165 f:
"... en esta religion de los Isidros no auia el cuydado en lo que tocaua a la limpieza del linage ... estos padres no tenian costumbre de hazer informacion de limpieza a sus nouicios."

As in all religious orders, a tendency to slacken off was observed after the first flush of enthusiasm for the ideal. When Lope de Olmeda was elected General of the Order in 1422, he insisted on a strict observance of the rules and tried to remove what he saw to be abuses that had crept in. When, as was to be expected, his insistence met with resistance, he withdrew to a Charterhouse to observe the Carthusian religious exercises and base upon them his reforms for the Hieronymites. In 1424 Olmeda went to Rome and informed Pope Martin V of his plans. The Pope called representatives of the Order to Rome, and, after discussion, promised that nothing should be changed, but gave Olmeda permission to set up a new Order in Sevilledicocese named the Hermits of St.Jerome, who came to be known as the Observantine Hieronymites. Their rule was basically that of Augustine, but modified by the Carthusian rule: e.g. study was not allowed in the convent, nor was any monk allowed to attend university courses, (of course, it was possible to join the Order after graduation); no women were allowed within the monastery walls or into its churches; no meat was eaten and no linen worn; a fast was observed from the feast of St. Jerome till Easter. They were not forbidden to go outside the convent, and probably made considerable use of this freedom during the period 1553-1557. A community consisted of professed monks and lay-brothers. Their habit was the same as that of the Hieronymites, viz., white with a dark brown scapular and cape, the only difference being that the scapular was of a different shape and the belt was of white leather, for the Observantines.(94)

Olmeda returned to Spain in 1429 with the task of administering the Archbishopric of Seville. Soon afterwards, in 1431, he obtained for his new Order the monastery of San Isidro del Campo. Originally Cistercian, it was renowned as the burial place of the saintly Isidoro, Bishop of Seville in the early 7th century.(95) It was built by the Guzman family, who had provided accommodation for forty monks and a church and had endowed it richly.(96)

(94) McFadden pp.20-26.

(95) ibid. p.22; M. & P. V p.117.

(96) Dos Tratados p.205.

The current patron, Enrique de Guzmán, was dissatisfied with the perfunctory ways in which the Cistercians were carrying out their duties, obtained a papal brief to dislodge them, and transferred the convent to Olmeda, who lived there with the brethren.(97) It became the principal house of the Observantines, who had, at the time of our concern, six other smaller houses, one of which, Nuestra Señora del Valle at Écija, not far from Seville, with fifteen monks, was also affected by the movement.(98)

Some time before 1557 the prior of San Isidro was García Arias, a converso from Baeza, also known as el Maestro Blanco, because he was an albino.(99) He had been one of Egidio's disciples and had a reputation for Biblical knowledge. He seems to have wavered between the Erasmian-Lutheran and the Jesuit opinions. Montanus praised him for introducing the light of true religion into the monastery.(100) He worked on the monks who were already prepared for a more evangelical outlook as against the mechanical devotion of the rule by reading Savonarola and Erasmus, and he awoke in them a desire for a better form of Christianity based on a strong attachment to the Scriptures.(101) It is possible that the Jewish and Moorish origins of many of the monks helped in this process.

Then suddenly, sometime about 1553, García Arias underwent a complete volte-face. This may have been connected with the fate of Egidio - but there has been a suggestion that he had not been really sincere in his emulation of Constantino and Egidio, and that it arose out of envy of their success, but in any case he was apprehensive when the situation got out of hand and tried to reverse the process. He banned all books from the cells and attempted to

(97) McFadden pp. 23 f.

(98) The othere were: Santa Anna near Tendilla in the Kingdom of Toledo; Nuestra Señora de Gracia in Carmona; San Miguel de los Ángeles, near Pechín in the Seville area; Santa María de Barrameda in Medina Sidonia; and Santa Quiteria near Jaén.

(99) Montanus pp.237 f, 255.

(100) ibid.; McFadden pp. 34 f.

(101) Montanus p.244.

return to the strict policy of the founder.(102) The excess of mortification even led to the departure of some monks. Most of them, however, did not accept this sudden change and continued their association with the evangelicals in the city. They soon reached the conclusion that they needed books of 'Lutheran' theology to attain complete knowledge.(103)

The story is taken up by one of the ex-monks of San Isidro, Antonio del Corro, writing, it is true, more than ten years after the event, so that one must perhaps make some allowance for the entrenched Protestant position he had taken up by that time.(104) His Epistre au Roy is an apologia for his leaving the old religion.(105) Corro explains that, when Egidio was sentenced in 1550, he was puzzled and asked to see the documents of the Inquisition. When he saw them he was amazed to find that, far from agreeing with the Inquisition, he concurred with Egidio's teaching, which seemed to him to be a continual praise of Christ, of the benefits of His death and of justification by faith over

(102) McCrie p.106. Later on García Arias was to return to the evangelical point of view, and hold to it with constancy when held by the Inquisition. He perished in the fire of the auto da fe of 28th Oct.1562 (Schäfer II,p.319). Montanus 245 f; McFadden p.28; M. & P.V p.118; Lennep op.cit. p.201.

(103) Montanus p.247 f:

"Quorundam enim animi vetere iam superstitione onmino vacui, neqz in noua illa satis acquiescẽtes, dum solidirẽ quam piam institutionem requirunt, in alterius factionis magistros, qui purius docebant veritatem imprudentes inciderunt. Istorum amicitia ac consuetudine nacti sunt purioris ac solidioris cognitionis principia, in primis vero tetra illa ac horribilis opinio de Lutheranis, quos vocant, animis excuti coepta: & quãdo absolutã habituros se veritatis cognitionẽ nisi eorũ libris aliquando liceret vti, arbitrarẽtur, ne in hoc quidẽ desijt Deus eoru pijs votis respondere. Mirabili enim quadam ratione ipsis plane dormientibus intulit eis non solum quicquid eiusmodi librorũ paulo ante desiderare ausi fuerant, verum etiam quicquid opimum(sic) & pingue vel Geneuae vel vspiam per Germaniam ad illud tẽpus erat editum."

(104) Corro op.cit. fol.C jv verso:

(105) Lettre envoyée a la Maiesté dv Roy des Espaignes. &c. Antwerp, 1567.

against the 'works of hypocrisy and superstition.'[106]

When Egidio returned from his period of punishment in 1553, Corro made a point of speaking with him.[107] At about the same time he stated that he got to know Constantino, Maestro Escobar and Juan González. As Montanus and Corro agree here, we must suppose that the monks of San Isidro began in 1553 to go out of their monastery in search of purer and more solid teaching. Corro tells us he went further and wanted books by Luther and other German Reformers, and that he got them by bribery from the Inquisition. This statement he repeats in a letter to Bullinger, dated 7th July 1574.[108]

At this point we must note with Bataillon that at this period a great transformation was taking place in Spain, closely linked with the events in the vast European network of which Geneva was the centre. Genevan presses

(106) ibid. fol.A viij recto:
"...ie me suis mis à penser là dessus. Et apres auoir acheué ce propos, ie lui suppliay de me monstrer les accusations faites contre le Docteur Egidius, & les qualifications & censures des Theologiens dõnées là dessus: ce que ledit Inquisiteur fist tresvolontairement, & me monstra aussi les apologies & responces dudit Docteur alencontre.
Ayant ces papiers entre mes mains, ie cõmençay à voir choses qui me mettoient en vne estrange admiration. Car en lieu qu'on m'auoit dit, qu'Egidius estoit vn aduersaire de Iesus Christ, ie ne voioys autre chose en ses escrits, qu'vne perpetuelle louange du fils de Dieu, de la satisfaction que nous auõs receuë par le sacrifice de sa mort, la consolation q̃ doiuent prendre les consciences Chrestiennes, en la meditatiõ d'vn tel benefice: en lieu qu'õ disoit, qu'il estoit vn infidele, ie voioys qu'il mettoit vne grãde peine à louer la vertu de la foy cõtre les oeuures d'hypocrisie & superstition, q̃ l'hõme forge de soy mesme pour complaire à Dieu."

(107) McFadden p.39; Corro op.cit.fol. A vij verso:
"Ce que me donna occasion dés alors de mettre diligence de parler audit Docteur, de lire ses presches, & commẽtaires, qu'il auoit faits sur quelques liures de l'escriture Sainte."

(108) Zurich Letters (2nd series) p.156: Corro to Bullinger 7th July 1574
"Ego ex eorum numero sum ... qui tuis scriptis adjuti puriorem christianae doctrinae cognitionem acceperunt, Contigit enim mihi ante viginti annos, divini numinis providentia, idonea occasio evolvendi tuos libros, etiam ab ipsis inquisitoribus Hispanicis subministratos."
Corro op.cit.fol. A vij recto - as note 106.

were beginning to pour out evangelical propaganda intended for Spain. The Protestant Churches of Europe were becoming more self-confident and were moving to the attack. In this, those Spaniards were helping who had either remained away from Spain or who had fled from Spain because of evangelical views.(109) A Spanish catechism had already been printed in Geneva as early as 1550, (110) and had been sent in sealed envelopes to many important Spaniards in 1551.(111) Converso merchants in Antwerp, Frankfurt am Main and elsewhere were also engaged in similar ventures, providing Protestant literature for Spain, possibly for reasons both of conviction and profit. Indeed, in Antwerp a large number of Erasmian and Protestant works were printed in Spanish in the years between 1535 and 1560. These were hardly intended to remain in Belgium.(112)

Before long, by one means or another, the monks of San Isidro were much better supplied with such literature than their early mentors had been. Corro tells us he had read at least Luther, Melanchthon, and Bullinger. In 1561/62, when the Inquisition published lists of forbidden books collected in the last five years, these included works of more than eighty authors, amongst them Luther, Calvin, Zwingli, Oecolampadius, Melanchthon, Bucer, Servetus, Castellio and Osiander. The list is very complete, and the books must have had a very strong influence in such a small community.(113) In fact, it was not long before the canonical hours were replaced by readings from Scripture, and many of the more rigorous religious exercises were

(109) Bataillon pp.704 f.

(110) vid. inf. p.37.

(111) Bataillon p.704 n.23.

(112) J.Peeters-Fontainas Bibliographie des Impressions Espagnoles (2nd ed.) (Nieuwkoop 1965) gives a very full list. Col.doc.ined. V pp.399 f; McFadden p.42.

(113) The list is given by Schäfer II pp.392-400 (See Appendix I) McFadden p.42; for a similar list taken in Valladolid see Schäfer III pp.101 f.

abandoned.[114] Eventually, of San Isidro's forty residents, twentytwo were to flee or be condemned for heresy, including the Prior, the Vicar, and the Procurator. From Écija the Prior fled and the Vicar was executed.

Up to this point the views of the monks were not essentially different from those of the alumbrados and the Erasmians (reading and meditation of the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue;[115] goodwill of God towards men; a living faith which issues in charity) even when their views went so far as to condemn images.[116] But the advent of German and Swiss theological works opened their eyes to abuses not noticed before. Corro goes on to condemn the papacy,[117] auricular confession,[118] the Inquisition,[119] attrition,[120] purgatory,[121] asceticism,[122] baptismal regeneration,[123] the use of Latin, the idea of sacrifice in the Mass,[124] the monastic life in general,[125] the idea of seven sacraments instead of the two instituted by Christ.[126] Here he is plainly Protestant, and, even when allowance is made for the ten intervening years, we are left with the picture of squarely Protestant thought in Spain. And if Corro was affected, it is hardly likely that those of his companions who took flight with him and passed into Protestant communities abroad were

(114) Montanus pp.247 f:

> "Ea copia ditati ac suis ipsis magistris facti opulentiores, ita suum coenobium instituere coeperunt, vt ex duobus, qui periculoso illi negotio dederant initiũ, intra paucos menses in coenobio alioqui populoso perpauci essent, qui aliquem pietatis gustum non delibarent, mullus qui reclamaret. Iam precariae horae quas vocãt, in sacrarum literarum praelectiones erant versea: consuetae pro mortuis preces aut deletae, aut maiori ex parte occisae indulgentiae & expiationes .. in totum obsoletae ... superstitiosa ieiunia in perpetuam sobrietatem commutata ..."

Llorente IV p.243; McCrie pp.106 f.

(115) Corro op.cit.fol.A viij.
(116) ibid. fol.B vij verso.
(117) ibid. fol.B ij recto.
(118) ibid. fol.F ij verso f.
(119) ibid.fol.C iij verso.
(120) ibid.fol.B iij verso.
(121) ibid. fol.E v verso.
(122) ibid. fol.G j ff.
(123) ibid. fol.B jv verso.
(124) ibid. fol.B vj recto f.
(125) ibid. fol.B vij verso ff.
(126) ibid. fol.B v recto.

less affected.[127]

Suspicion was growing that the Inquisition was getting interested. A decision was taken to escape abroad, but a dilemma immediately presented itself. If they went in a body, they would arouse too much interest and suspicion would fall on them. If they went singly, there was a strong chance that the later ones might not be fortunate enough to escape, and might fall into the Inquisition's hands. In the event the latter plan was the only feasible one, despite the risk.[128] It was a great feat for twelve of them to escape in a single month and proceed to Geneva by

(127) ibid. fol.C ij recto:
"Voilà pourquoy, Sire, vn si grand nombre de personnes en vostre Royaume d'Espaigne, aiant entendu tels abus & superstitions de l'Englise Papalle, gemissoyent en leurs coeurs, & n'y scachans mettre autre ordre, supplioyent le Seigneur qu'il l'y mit de sa main: & ne se pouuans point contenir, disoyẽt en public & en secret quelque partie de ces abominations."

(128) McFadden p.56.

various unrecorded routes, as they had previously arranged.(129) Geneva seems to have been chosen because other Spaniards, including Juan Pérez, were already there, although it was strategically in a weak position, that is, if the Emperor should decide to attack, while the theological climate was hardly congenial to such independent thinkers as both Corro and Reina. Neither of these disadvantages need have been obvious, that is from the distance of Seville.

(129) Dos tratados pp.205 f:

"Y es que en un monasterio de los mas celebres y ricos de Sevilla llamado. S.Isidro el negocio de la verdadera religion iva tan adelante, y tan à la descubierta, que no podiendo ya mas con buena consciencia estar alli, doze de los frayles en poco tiempo se salieron, unos por una parte, y otros por otra: los quales dentro del año se vieron en Ginebra, à donde quando salieron tenian determinado de ir. no huvo ninguno dellos que no passasse grandes trances y peligros: peró de todos estos peligros los escapó Dios, y con mano potentissima los truxo à Ginebra."

Montanus 249 f:

"Cumqz iam eo res deducta esset, vt praeter robustissimum illud Missae idolum & ipsam monachatus personam, quae vestitu & capitis rasura costat, nihil propemodum conuellendum superesset, neqz id aut vltra tollerāri sine manifesto piaculo, aut conuelli demum posset sine certo periculo, neqz vt videbatur, cũ magno fructu, de deserẽdo illo nido & in Germaniã ad loca pietati liberiora commigrando cogitare captum. Ansus videbatur ingens, imo & quibusdam temerarius. Neqz enim ratio vlla apparebat qua non vnus aut alter, sed tot simul, atqz ij non solum in toto illo sodalitio authoritate praestantes, verũ etiam nonnulli ex ipsis ob singularẽ doctrinam in ipsa vrbe conspicui, deserto ac propemodum depopulato,in tota Bethica, celberrimo coenobio ab vltima pene Hispaniae ora tuto in Germaniam penetrarẽt. Neqz singulatim errepere, ijs qui postremi forẽt, sine magno erat periculo, Inquisitoribus praesertim, qui altum antea dormire somnum videbantur, nouitate ac celebritate rei a malignis quibusdam expergefactis: quare aut omnibus, qui in eo erant consilio, egrediundum erat simul, aut denum periculum de proximo impẽdens simul expectandum. Itaq: illis in ea perplexitate haerentibus, aperuit Deus rationem, qua arreptis ex occasione honestis praetextibus, intra mensem vnum duodecim elaberentur, ac diuersis itineribus Geneuae, quem locum figendis sedibus ante agressum sibi destinarant, anno tamen reuoluto, sese mutuo conspicerent."

Reports vary as to whether eleven or twelve monks fled from San Isidro some time in the later summer of 1557: the Prior Francisco de Farias, the Vicar Juan de Molina, the Procurator Pedro Pablo and the monks Antonio del Corro, Peregrino de Paz, Cassiodoro de Reina, Alonso Baptista, Miguel (sic), Cipriano de Valera, Lope Cortés, Hernando de León, Francisco de la Puerta are named. Valera adds that the Prior of Écija fled at the same time, but he does not name him.(130) The lay brother Juan de León also escaped.(131) Several lay people, including Luis de Sosa, a man from the Canaries, and Francisco de Cárdenas, a Seville merchant, also took the chance to flee at about the same time.(132) Of course, no effort was spared to apprehend those who had fled abroad, in particular those from San Isidro, but, with the exception of Juan de León, all appear to have managed to remain at liberty.(133)

They were right in their decision, but the tragedy is that it was not made quite soon enough, for the arrival of Julián Hernández with smuggled books from Geneva, intended for the conventicle, in July 1557, was the eventual cause of the full fury of the Inquisition being loosed.(134)

(130) Dos Tratados p.206.

(131) Juan de León was captured by the Inquisition in Holland at a port in Zealand as he was waiting for a boat to England in the company of Juan Fernando of Valladolid. Both were returned to Spain and later executed.

(132) Sosa was also recaptured, for he was burnt at Seville on 25th Sept. 1559. See Schäfer II p.282. Cárdenas managed to reach England, where his son was eventually naturalized.

(133) M. de la Pinta Llorente, La Inquisición española (Madrid 1948) I p.249 (quoting A:H.N.Inq.Lib.257 fol.564) a letter of Philip II:
"En lo que de aquellos frayles que se huyeron de Sevilla, luego como por vuestra carta lo suppe, mandé que se pusiesse diligencia en sauer si hauían acudido por acá, y se prendiesen, y se envio de ezquíseros, ques la parte donde podrían acudir, a nuestro embaxador que allí reside, las señas y nombres para que si allí estuuiessen, mirase que forma se podría tener en hauerlos."

(134) vid.inf.p.46.

Discovered in October by the fatal mistake of delivering a violently anti-papal pamphlet to the wrong address, Julián was imprisoned, and through him a 'thread' led to a 'large skein' of others. Before long the leaders of the movement who had remained in Seville were all captured.(135) Juan Ponce a León had fled to Écija and was taken on 4th October, before Julián himself. Juan González was arrested on 9th October. Before the end of the year monks from San Isidro were imprisoned. Christóbal de Losada and Juan de Castillana were arrested on New Year's Day.(136) Constantino Ponce de la Fuente remained at liberty till August of the following year, and in the same month García Arias was also taken.(137) Eventually, besides Arias, of San Isidro's monks Juan Crisóstomo, Juan Sastro, Diego López, Bernardino Valdés, Domingo Churruca, Gaspar de Porres, Bernardo de San Jerónimo, Miguel Carpintero, Francisco Morzillo, Benito and Andrés de Málaga, were all in custody, together with Cristóbal de Arellano of Écija.(138) The total came to about one hundred, of whom about forty were burnt in the autos da fé of 24th September 1559, 22nd December 1560 and 26th April and 28th October 1562, and the rest were condemned to various terms of imprisonment and/or degradation. Those who for reasons of prior death or absence in the safety of some Protestant land could not be arraigned were condemned <u>in absentia</u> and consigned to the flames in effigy. Isabel de Vaena's house, which had been their principal meeting-place in Seville, was razed to the ground, the site was sown with salt and a marble column bearing an inscription recording the event was erected on the spot.(139) Montanus claimed them all as Protestant martyrs.(140) But,

(135) Schäfer I p.377, II pp.356, 386.

(136) <u>idem</u>. I pp.377 f.

(137) Corro, <u>op.cit</u>. fol.K j verso; Schäfer <u>ibid</u>.

(138) McFadden p.61; Montanus pp.234 f.

(139) F. de Texeda, <u>Scrutamini Scripturas</u> (London 1624) fol.b i verso f; <u>Dos Tratados</u> p.209.

(140) Montanus, <u>loc.cit</u>.; <u>Dos Tratados</u> p.269.

as McFadden points out, they had neither liturgy, nor church buildings, nor ordained ministry, and so were only the first stage of a nascent church, which might well have developed into an indigenous Protestant Church, if the Inquisition had not intervened so savagely. Nevertheless, both Montanus and Valera give the movement the name of church.(141)

(141) Dos Tratados p.207:
"... la yglesia secreta de Sevilla."
Montanus p.218:
"Inquisitores ... in totũ illius Ecclesiae nidulã peruenerũt, ceperũt matrẽ cũ pullis, ac nidũ ipsũ in saeui illius Draconis morsu crudelissime dissiparunt. Haec prima illa piorum captura fuit, quae pijssimam illam Ecclesiam dissipauit ..."

JUAN PÉREZ DE PINEDA (PIERIUS).

There is a great deal of uncertainty about the early years of Juan Pérez's life (although much that is indisputable is known about his later life). Both his Christian name and surname are common in Spain, and the combination of the two only slightly less so. It would be no unusual matter for there to be two persons with this same name active at the same period. The choice seems to be between knowing practically nothing about his early life, or seeking to identify him positively with the Juan Pérez who was the agent in Rome of the Emperor Charles V during the sack of that city in 1527 by German troops.(1) Menéndez y Pelayo indicates that the dates do not agree very well in the first place, and that the man we are concerned with was definitely a studious ecclestiastic and not a diplomat.(2) Had the two been identical, we should have expected the diplomatic skill of the Emperor's agent to have shown itself in his later activities. Instead, what we do see is a devoted pastor, a translator of the Bible, and a writer of books of biblical devotion. In fact, the sole thread on which the case for the identity of the two hangs is that Juan Pérez, the Emperor's agent, obtained from Pope Clement VII a brief to the Inquisitor of Seville in favour of Erasmus.(3)

A few things can be said about Pérez before his flight from Spain. One concerns his birthplace. The documents of the Inquisition give this as Montilla (Province of Córdoba, Andalusia), which is near enough to Pineda

(1) The idea seems to have been first put forward by Llorente Hist.crit. de l'Inquisition d'Espagne (Paris 1817) IV p.266. The Inquisition documents on his case published by Schäfer make no mention of the fact. Wiffen, Boehmer and Usoz follow Llorente. Menéndez y Pelayo was convinced that they were not the same person; he was not even convinced that the Juan Pérez of the Colegio de la Doctrina was the same as the man of our concern. Although Menéndez y Pelayo was guilty of very heavy pro-R.C. prejudice and a desire to protect whom he couldagainst the taint of 'heresy', his arguments against the identity with the Emperor's secretary seem sound here. A letter from Mark D. Rhines of West Michigan University in February 1968 indicated that he was endeavouring to prove that the two were identical.

(2) M. & P. V.p.140.

(3) idem p.139; Bib.Wif.II p.58.

to justify the use of Pineda in his appellation. Although Pérez himself never uses this epithet, it was used by the Inquisition, which has been followed by all authorities since.(4)

Of his date of birth there is no trace, but it is assumed to be before 1520, though by how much is difficult to estimate. One takes it that he was older than Cassiodoro de Reina, whose birth we estimate between 1520 and 1527. At the time of his death in 1566 Pérez is described as an old man. This could put his birth as far back as the turn of the century. In any case, one feels he would have been too young to have been a responsible diplomat in Rome in 1527, although it is not altogether impossible.

Pérez attended the University (of Seville?) and there obtained the degree of Doctor of Theology, or perhaps Canon Law,(5) and took orders. He certainly calls himself "doctor" on the title page of his translation of the Psalms and other of his publications. Subsequently he became Director of the Colegio de la Doctrina de los Niños in Seville.(6)

The Colegio de la Doctrina de los Niños was founded prior to 1546(7) by the Municipality of Seville in a property in the Cañavererría.(8) It was a sort of orphanage in which the teaching had a strong religious bent. This teaching at the time in question seems to have been much influenced by the preaching of Egidio and Constantino Ponce de la Fuente. In 1556 Constantino lectured there on parts of the Old Testament, including Ecclesiastes.(9) In the same year the college moved to new premises, partly purchased from the nobleman Don Juan Ponce de León, who was burnt for heresy in 1559. Some years earlier, Diego de Santa Cruz, who was involved in the procedings against Egidio, had resided there. The Inquisition discovered he had fled by 1550. He reappears later in

(4) Schäfer I p.350, II p.292; R.A.E.II p.iij.

(5) R.A.E.II p.viii; Pellicer Ensayo p.120; Llorente op.cit.II p.279.

(6) Bib.Wif.II p.60; R.A.E. ibid.; Llorente op.cit.IV p.265; Schäfer II p.292.

(7) Hazañas y la Rua Maese Rodrigo (Seville 1909) p.427.

(8) McFadden p.16.

(9) Bib.Wif.II p.14.

Frankfurt, subscribing money for smuggling Spanish Protestant literature into Spain. Menéndez y Pelayo calls the college "un foco de Luteranismo"[10] and McCrie pictures the boys taking part in the procession of an auto da fe, antiphonally chanting the litany.[11]

As a general rule Pérez's writings are not in any way autobiographical, but one passage in his Epistola Consolatoria does give some idea of the life of conventional catholic piety lived by him and his circle before their radical conversion to the evangelical faith, the definiteness of which can be inferred from the ironic tone of the passage.[12] Pérez was a close friend of Egidio, Constantino Ponce de la Fuente and others who embraced the evangelical ideas in Seville.[13] When Egidio was suspected of heresy and was taken by the Inquisition in 1551, various friends of his judged it was time to leave and made their precipitate departure to Switzerland and Germany.[14] Just when Juan Pérez made his decision to escape is not known. As we have seen, in 1550 Santa Cruz had already left Seville, and he was an associate of Pérez's at the college. Juan cannot have lingered very much longer. Schäfer suggests he left Seville in about 1554.[15] The Inquisition document says he was a poor man when he left, and had no goods to confiscate.[16]

He must have been one of the first Spaniards to arrive in Geneva, and an isolated one, for in 1556, when Pérez was already well enough known to be away in Frankfurt on a mission with Calvin, Pierre Viret wrote to Calvin from Geneva that several Spanish families had arrived there and hoped God

(10) M. & P. V p.140.

(11) McCrie Works II Reformation in Spain (London 1856) p.132. He says in fact "liturgy".

(12) p.14.

(13) R.A.E.II p.viii.

(14) ibid.

(15) S. & V. p.19. See also Bib.Wif.II p.60 for a discussion of the various possible dates of departure.

(16) Schäfer I p.292.

would grant an increase of which these were but the first-fruits.[17] Nevertheless an anonymous person, who states that he was Spanish, had translated Calvin's Catechism into Spanish for publication already in 1550.[18] This is too early for it to have been done by Pérez himself and the identity of the early Spaniard in Geneva remains a puzzle.

It is open to discussion where Pérez arrived in Geneva before or after the execution of Servetus in 1553. In any case, unlike Reina, he seems to have been unaffected by it, either in his own thinking, or in the opinions of others. It has been pointed out that he was the only Spaniard in Geneva who enjoyed the complete confidence of the city leaders, both doctrinally and personally. Because of Servetus and certain Italian anti-Trinitarian writers, chief amongst whom was Castellio,[19] Spanish and Italian Protestants were almost automatically suspected of similar views by Reformed churchmen and subjected to stringent controls.

Fournier-Marcigny has given us a careful description of what it was like for an outsider to arrive in Geneva seeking religious asylum.[20] He had first to prove that he belonged to the Reformed religion. This in itself could be difficult. For some it was easy enough to provide letters of recommendation from ministers, from men of standing, from

(17) C.R. 44 p.278 letter 2529:
"P.S.Advenerunt duae ex intima Hispania familiae que se huic ecclesiae coniungerent. Laudandus Dominus, qui adorem evangelicam praedicationis ad illam quoque gentem diffudit quae tam inaccessa videbatur. Ex his primordiis maiores fructus exspectamus."

(18) CATECHISMO/A SABER ES FORMVLARIO/para instruyr los mochachos en la Chri-/stiandad: Hecho a manera de Dia-/logo, donde el Ministro de/ la Yglesia pregunta, y/el mochacho re-/sponde./Transladado de Frances en Espanol./Ephe.2./El fundamiento de la Yglesia, es la doctri-/na de los Prophetas y Apostoles../1550.
Calvin's Latin catechism for the young was published in 1545, and the French version in 1549.

(19) Sebastian Castellio (1515-1563) Protestant theologian and humanist. At first collaborated with Calvin in Geneva, but doctrinal differences led him to move to Basle, where he wrote a condemnation of the execution of Servetus and a plea for religious tolerance.

(20) F.Fournier-Marcigny Genève au XVIme siècle (Geneva 1942) pp.78 f.

churchmen of recognized worth, or from countrymen already accepted at Geneva. For those who arrived from regions where such witness was not forthcoming it was difficult, especially if they had to keep up a "front" of Roman Catholicism. Roman Catholics had to abjure the Catholic religion formally and solemnly. But once this was done, they were accepted as members of the Geneva church and as brethen, and they could without further formality apply to be recognised as "habitants". This was the first step towards citizenship - and their descendants could easily become full citizens. A former priest or monk who asked for asylum and to be received into the Genevan church found the formalities given a rather more theatrical setting before the whole Consistory formally assembled.

Later on, after doctrinal troubles had broken out in the Italian congregation, the Italians and the Spaniards were required to make further declarations of a most explicit Trinitarian kind.(21)

At first, after his arrival in Geneva, Pérez made no move to be accepted as a "habitant", but he lived sufficiently in the notice of influential persons in the city for his character to have commended itself to many. Beza wrote well of him in his Icones,(22) and, as we shall see, he was asked to accompany Calvin himself on a mission to Frankfurt.

Meanwhile he worked on his translation of the New Testament into Spanish. As he managed to publish this in 1556,(23) we must suppose that

(21) O.Grosheintz L'église italienne à Genève (Lausanne 1904) pp.88 f. C.R. 37 Op.Calv.9 pp.384 f.

(22) Beza Icones (Geneva 1580) fol.I.i.iij.

> "Horum autem sanctissimũ studium plurimum adiuuerat IOANNES PIERIUS, & ipse Hispanus, qui quũ Genevã venisset, vbi Hispanicã etiã Ecclesiã coegit, plurimos hispanica lingue sacros libros edẽdos, & Siuiliã vsque transportandos curauit: homo eximia tum doctrina, tũ in primis probitate insignis ..."

(23) EL TESTAMEN/TO NVEVO DE NVES/TRO SENOR Y SALVA-/dor Iesu Christo./ Nueua y fielmente traduzido del original Grie/go en romance Castellano./ (Device: Capital Y etc as explained in text)/EN VENECIA , EN CASA DE/ Iuan Philadelpho./M.D.LVI. See p.201.

much of the work was done before he arrived in Geneva, and that he had doubtless brought a considerable portion of it with him from Spain in the first place.(24) It is claimed in several quarters that this edition of the New Testament was in fact basically no more than a revision of Enzinas' version of 1543. If this contention is correct, then it is fairly definite proof that copies of Enzinas' version did indeed find their way into Spain, for, as we have said, Pérez must have had his work almost ready for the press before leaving Spain(25). The desire to see a Spanish vernacular evangelical version of the whole Bible was one of his major preoccupations right up to the day of his death, although it was largely unfulfilled in his lifetime.

Tablante Garrido, however, makes an interesting deduction from the arrangement of the chapter divisions in Pérez's New Testament.(26) Instead of divisions into verses, the chapters have letters given to each half-column. An average chapter is divided into A,B,C,D, but others stretch to E and F. There are also marginal cross-references to both New Testament and Old Testament, and all of them are given in the same rather unusual fashion.(27) For this to be possible for the Old Testament Tablante Garrido argues for the existence of a copy of the Old Testament with a uniform method of chapter division. This would mean that Pérez had at least a manuscript copy of the Old Testament ready for printing, and would explain his efforts to set up a fund to pay for the printing of

(24) Droz, "Impressions genevoises" B.H.R. 22 p.123.

(25) M. & P. V p.141; Glaire I p.301; Marroquín Vers.cast.de la Biblia pp.26, 35, 98, 115, 149. The claim is also made (p.98) that this can be deduced from the preface to Valera's Bible:

> "Francisco de Enzinas Burgales trasladò año de 1542. El Testamento nuevo, y lo presentò al Emperador don Carlos en Brucelas: El doctor Iuã Perez de pia memoria año de 1556. imprimio al Testamento nuevo."

where Enzinas translated, but Pérez merely printed. But this is not certain proof, as earlier Valera talks of "La Biblia de...Reyna impressa en Basilea ano de 1569". The main grounds for this claim are, however, that a comparison of the two versions reveals it.

(26) Tablante Garrido, "N.T.traducido por J.Pérez," Humanidades (1959) pp.6 f.

(27) e.g. from p.1: "Gen.21.a; 25.c; 29 d; 38 g; 46 b; 1 Par.2 b; 3 b; Ruth 4 d; 2 Sam.12 f." The Ferrara Bible was in fact the only Spanish version of the Old Testament yet in print. Its chapters are

a complete Bible in Spanish.[28] The attempt to provide sufficient money before beginning the printing was wise when we compare the difficulties experienced by Reina in the years before 1569.

The intention must have been from the outset to have these New Testaments distributed in Spain, for on the title-page the place of origin is given as "Venecia en casa de Iuan Philadelpho". Books clearly printed in Geneva were not likely to gain much currency in Spain, books printed in Venice had a much greater chance. From the device of a large capital Y, the broad stroke representing the broad way toperdition and the narrow stroke the narrow way to life, with a damned soul and a blessed soul in the appropriate places, it can be shewn that the printer was in fact Jean Crespin, the humanist and printer from Arras who had recently set up in Geneva, because it occurs frequently in other books printed by Crespin. An examination of variant pages in different copies of this New Testament leads to the conclusion that there was only one edition.[29]

In his work he was helped by a countryman, Julián Hernández, otherwise known as Julianillo, who had apparently worked as a proof reader for Spanish Protestant works in both Antwerp and Frankfurt before coming to Geneva.[30] He was responsible for seeing this and other works of Pérez's through the press in 1556 and 1557, when Pérez himself was absent in Frankfurt.[31]

The other works concerned were:

1. An edition of the catechism in Spanish in question and answer form entitled Sumario breve de la doctrina Christiana, also stated on the title-page to be printed in Venice in 1556, but by "Pietro Daniel".[32] Pérez's own name is on the title-page too and he rather impudently states on the

(28) Beza op.cit.: "facultatibus suis omnibus ad hispanica excudenda Biblia legatis". Se also K.Philip's instructions to Francisco de Alava, his representative in France, telling him to find and destroy the manuscript of the Spanish Bible after Perez's death. Col.doc.inéd. 27.p.23; Boehmer Rom.Studien (1880) pp.483 f.

(29) Tablante Garrido op.cit.p.15.

(30) Longhurst, "Julián Hernández" B.H.R.Travaux et Docs. 22 pp.90-118.

(31) Bib.Wif.II p.78.

(32) vid.inf.p. 211 ; Bonnant, "Ouvrages en langue espagnole" B.H.R.24.1.p.52.

reverseside of the title: "Fue visto y aprovado este librico por los muy reverendos señores de la Inquisicion d'España". For a work of decidedly Reformed views it was a daring move. This is a catechism, in fact, that owes much to Calvin's, but it is not a direct translation of Calvin. It bears a preface by Pérez.(33)

2. An edition of Juan de Valdés' Comentario sobre la Epistola a los Romanos, previously existing in manuscript only, for which Pérez wrote a preface.(34) It is dated 1556. This book too states that it was printed in Venice by Juan Philadelpho. The device, however, is identical with that in the New Testament and proves it to have been Jean Crespin's work. Pérez states in the preface that he had obtained the author's autograph manuscript of this work in such a battered condition that it had required a great deal of trouble to edit it for publication.(35) It has been credibly suggested that in fact its battered condition was the result of being buried for some time by a disciple of Valdés, Pietro Carnesecchi, to whom it had been entrusted by Giulia Gonzaga.(36)

3. A similar edition of Valdés' Comentario sobre la primera Epistola a los Corinthios, printed during the first half of 1557.(37) Pérez wrote for it a preface and a dedicatory epistle to Maximilian, King of Bohemia and Archduke of Austria. Like the commentary on Romans, this work of Valdés was also being printed for the first time.(38)

(33) Bib.Wif.II p.87.

(34) vid.inf.p.213.

(35) p.14: "Vino a mi poder tan estragado el original, y tan viejo por causa del largo tiempo que auia que estaua escripto dela mano del mesmo autor, que se ha passado grande trabajo en sacarlo a luz, y restituyrlo en su primera integredad y pureza ..."

(36) Nieto J.de Valdés (Geneva 1970) p.6; Ortolani Pietro Carnesecchi (Florence 1963) pp.251 ff.

(37) vid.inf.p. 217. Droz "Impressions genevoises transportées par Hernández" B.H.R.22.1.p.124.

(38) See also its preface, p.15: "...laqual hasta agora no se ha visto, ni ha salido en publico".

4. Pérez's own translation of the Psalmos de David into Spanish.(39) Once again this was printed in "Venice" and the date is 1557 "en casa de Pedro Daniel" which we can now quite confidently state to have been Jean Crespin in Geneva. Pérez dedicated this work to Maria of Austria, Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, and Regent of the Low Countries. Authorities agree that the translation is a good one, in fact excellent.(40)

5. Finally, an undated Spanish translation of a virulently anti-papal tract (originally published in Geneva in 1542 in Italian by Bernardino Ochino and subsequently in 1544 in a French translation) entitled Imagen del Antechristo.(41) This time it appears that Juan Pérez had not dared to put his name on it, for it was published under the name of Alonso de Peñafuerte. Mostauthorities have no hesitation in claiming this as a pseudonym of Pérez (though Boehmer has his doubts) on the grounds that Pérez means Peters and Peter means rock. Furthermore, it has neither date nor place of publication, fictitious or otherwise - but we know it must have been printed before the end of Spring 1557, because it was one of the books that Julianillo took with him to Spain in the summer of that year. In fact, it was the one that led to his downfall.(42)

That these were the books concerned can be calculated fairly easily,

(39) LOS/PSALMOS DE/DAVID CON SVS SV-/MARIOS EN QVE SE DE-/clara con breuedad lo con-/tenido en cada/Psalmo, agora nueua y fielmente traduzidos en/ romance Castellano por el doctor Iuan Pe-/rez, conforme ala verdad dela lengua/Sancta./Psalmo LXXXV./Muestranos Señor tu misericordia/y danos tu Salud./En Venecia en casa de Pedro Daniel./M.D.LVII. See below pp.229 ff.

(40) Although Menéndez y Pelayo (V.pp.142 f) does not really credit Pérez with capacity to translate Hebrew (or Greek), he praises the style highly, "si es original". The only version of the Psalms in print at the time was in the Ferrara Bible. In view of Pérez's possession of Valdés'N.T.commentaries, it is possible that he knew also Valdés' translation of the Psalms. Comparison of Pérez's translation with both reveals no clear dependence on either. See Appendix XI .

(41) IMAGEN DEL/ANTECHRISTO/COMPVESTA PRIME-/ro en Italiano y despues tradu-/ zida en Romançe, por Alonso d/peñafuerte./Estos batallaran cõtra el Cordero,y/el Cordero los vençera: porque es el Señor/de los señores, y el Rey de los reyes./Apocalypsi Cap.xvii./ See below p.239. Longhurst op.cit. gives the full text of the Spanish work, as does R.A.E.3 Droz op.cit. gives the full Italian text.

(42) Longhurst op.cit.pp.98. 109; Droz op.cit. p.126.

either from their dates, or because they had false names of printer or place of origin, or because they were listed as being current in Spain shortly after Julianillo's capture.(43)

Early in the Reformation period, Frankfurt am Main had become a city of refuge for continental Protestants. A congregation of French Reformed churchmen had long been established there, and during the Marian exile the city gave shelter to several learned English divines. In 1555 a sharp dispute had arisen between the minister of the French congregation, Valérand Poulain (Vallerandus Pollanus), and the members of his consistory (=church council), led by Augustin Legrand, an important French merchant of the city. The complaints against Poulain totalled 25, on matters such as rudeness, irregular election to office, dishonesty, duplicity in the election of deacons, strife with the seniors, etc.(44) The dispute had reached such proportions that the decision had been taken to ask outsiders to arbitrate, since all attempts to settle the dispute domestically had failed. The only arbitration that seemed likely to succeed was a group, acceptable to both parties, of notables, some of whom came specially from Geneva.(45) The group consisted of Calvin himself; the Polish Baron John à Lasco, superintendent of foreign congregations in Frankfurt; Robert Horne (later Bishop of Winchester), minister of the exiled English congregation; Jean Crespin, the Geneva printer already mentioned; Laurent de Normandie, a distinguished French refugee and Geneva printer and bookseller;(46) Eustace du Quesnoy(Eustathius Quercetanus), a doctor from Lausanne,

(43) Llorente p.279 lists from the prohibitory edict of 17th August 1559 the prohibition of: 1.Holy Bible in Castilian; 2.Catechism printed at Venice by Pedro Daniel; 3.Psalms of David in Spanish 1557; 4.Summary of Christian Doctrine. Also see note 46 inf. Droz loc.cit. lists all five as books carried by Julián.

(44) C.R.44 entry 2538

(45) Kingdon & Bergier, Registre de la Compagnie de Pasteurs de Genève II p.69: "Voiage de M.Calvin à Francfort. Le lendemain, qui fut le mercredi, partit monsieur Calvin pour Francfort, estant requis par l'église françoise dudit lieu et aucuns seigneurs du Conseil de ladite ville de faire ledit voiage pour l'apaisement d'aucuns troubles esmeuz en ladite église."

(46) Schlaepfer, "Laurent de Normandie," Aspects de la propagande religieuse (Geneva 1957) pp.177-230

and finally our Juan Pérez.[47]

On 12 October 1556, presumably on receipt of a letter, the city council of Geneva reported that 'Sp[ectable] Jean Calvin a remercié le Conseil du héraut qu'on lui avoit donné pour l'accompagner à Francfort.'[48] This was the great herald, Eustachius Vinzens, given by the City Council to ensure the safety of the arbitration party.

On the arrival in mid-September of the Geneva party, the commission set about hearing the complaints. They reached a conclusion on 21 September, when they promulgated next day that, although they did not want to condemn him out of hand, Poulain was at fault on most counts.[49] He solved the problem set by his contentious behaviour by handing in his resignation and leaving Frankfurt.[50]

Meanwhile Calvin, besides presiding over the commission, made efforts to obtain a union of evangelicals in Frankfurt across the Lutheran-Reformed division. These efforts were unfruitful. He also baptized and preached in the English congregation.[51] Calvin was back in Geneva by 24 November 1556,[52] while François Perrucel de la Rivière (Franciscus Perrucellus) was installed in Poulain's place as minister of the French congregation. Juan Pérez, however, remained behind in Frankfurt for at least two more years.

In Geneva, Juan's friend Julianillo was seeing his books through the press, prior to setting off with copies of them on what was to be a fateful mission to Spain. Julián Hernández, as indicated above, had been active in the evangelical book traffic with Spain in both Antwerp and Frankfurt

(47) J.G.Hottinger Helvetischer Kirchen-Geschichte (Zurich 1728) p.827 Corpus Ref. 44 entry 2538; Bib.Wif.I p.65 f; K.Bauer "Die Biziehungen Calvins zu Frankfurt a.M.," Verein fur Reformationsgeschichte(38)(Halle 1920).

(48) F-T-L Grenus Fragmens biographiques et historiques (Geneva 1815) p.23 P-E Henry Das Leben Johann Calvins (Hamburg 1844) III p.417.

(49) C.R. 44 entry 2538 "Quanquam consilii nostri non est Vallerandum damnare, ac si data opera vel consulto falsi crimine se obstrinxisset."

(50) idem entries 2538 f.

(51) Bauer op.cit. p.46; Henry op.cit.III p.417.

(52) Henry op.cit.III p.420 refers to a letter of Calvin (M/S Tigur. 24 Nov 1556) in which writing from Geneva and referring to Frankfurt he says "ex quo reversus sum".

and had even made a brief visit to Scotland.[53] He was probably converted to the evangelical faith at about the same time as Pérez in Seville, when Egidio was preaching, and it is very likely that he fled at the same time. The date of Julianillo's arrival in Geneva is not recorded, but it must have been well before Pérez's departure for Frankfurt, as time has to be allowed for their collaboration to develop. Hence, he must have come in at least 1555, if not earlier. It would be natural for him to seek our Juan Pérez, for their evangelical origins were the same, and Julián was deeply committed to the task of supplying Protestant books to Spain. In addition he was an experienced proof reader in Spanish, and for this reason would be very useful to Pérez and Crespin.[54] When Pérez left, Julián became all the more useful in seeing the books through the press.

As he worked, Julianillo determined to take some of these books to Spain himself. What more natural than to decide on Seville as his destination?[55] Some of the documents from Julián's trial still exist,[56] and from them we can gather that he accepted letters from Flanders and Germany to Protestants still in Seville. He received money from Frankfurt to defray the costs of binding the books he was to take.[57] With his consignment of books hidden in casks he made his way to Spain. 19th-century writers elaborate without foundation upon the details of the journey, about which, in fact, nothing is known. His arrival in Seville

(53) Longhurst op.cit.p.93.

(54) idem. pp.94, 97.

(55) Bif.Wif.II p.77; Crespin Histoire des vrays Tesmoins (Geneva 1570) fo.543.

(56) Longhurst op.cit.pp 109 f, 111 f gives the text of two relevant letters taken from the Inquisition records.

(57) idem. p.94.

in July 1557 is recorded by the Inquisition.(58) He was apprehended by them because he delivered what from its description was a copy of the Imagen del Antechristo in error to a cleric who had the same name as the one to whom it should have gone.(59) This cleric gave the alarm and Julián was captured on 7 October 1557. It was the beginning of a trail leading the Inquisitors to, amongst others, the monks of the monastery of San Isidro and Nuestra Señora del Valle, to whom we have referred earlier. After 3 years in prison, Julianillo still refused to abjure his evangelical beliefs, although he seems to have revealed to his tormentors something of the situation amongst Reformed Christians in Antwerp.(60) He was judged guilty of 'heresy' and burnt at the stake in an auto da fe celebrated in Seville on 22 December 1560. At the same auto da fe thirteen others were slaughtered and there were thirtyfour penetenciados and the effigies of three men were burnt. Two of the latter were already

(58) Longhurst op.cit.p.109, a letter sent from an official of the Seville Inquisition to another in Granada reads as follows:

> "Enel año de MDLVII años por jullio vino a este çibdad de Seuilla Vn onbre de Alemania de naçion español natural de Medina de Rioseco ydiota pero gran luterano: por nonbre Jullian este traya cartas y libros proybidos y muy perniciosos para muchos de esta çibdad que les enbiavan algunas personas que se avian ydo de esta tierre para Alemania para con mayor libertad ser luteranos ..."

(59) ibid. "Dio las cartas y libros para todos aquellos para quien venian entre los otras cartas venia una para un clerigo y por dar la a aquel la dio a otra del mismo nonbre por yerro el cual como vido la ponçoña dela carta y se le hizo nuevo a aquel lenguaje se admiro y tambien de ver el libro por que al prinçipio traya estanpado al papa arrodillado alos pies del demonio y dezia ser ynpreso en Seuilla al prinçipio con licencia delos señores ynquisidores y la primera propusiçion con que entrava hera dezir que no confiasemos en nuestras obras. Sintio luego mal del negocio y luego dio dello aviso alos señores ynquididores. (Sic)"

(60) idem.p.112. Julián's declaration at his trial, transcribed here, makes this quite clear, despite the attempt by Protestant writers of the 19th century to make him into more of a hero than he was.

dead: Egidio and Constantino Ponce de la Fuente; the third was Juan Pérez safe in Geneva.[61]

We know little of Juan Pérez's activity during his stay of approximately two years in Frankfurt. We know he was employed in a pastoral capacity amongst foreign Protestants resident in the city, for in May 1558 he was one of the signatories of a document that ministers of foreign congregations in Frankfurt handed to the City Senate, in which they stated their assent to the Frankfurt Recess. This was an agreement by which on 15 March 1558 the electors and other Protestant princes of Germany had fixed the terms of their religious union on conformity with the proposals of Philip Melanchthon.[62] Indeed, a letter from Perrucellus to Calvin, dated 9 June 1558,[63] makes it clear that Pérez had played a leading part in the matter of the Recess, and that his ministry in Frankfurt had been much appreciated.

(61) Schäfer II p.291.

(62) Bib.Wif.I, p.65; Fresenius Kirchen-Geschichte von Reformirten in Franckfurt (Frankfurt 1751) p.121. The City Archives of Frankfurt have no trace of the original document.

(63) C.R. Vol.45 (Op.Calv.17) col.198 f.

"S.P.Etsi nos non lateat...Multas ob causas easque necessarias hinc revocari D.Pierium, non possumus non dolere ob tanti viri non solum eruditi verum etiam pii discessum. Scimus, proh dolor, quam aegre divellamur a caris. An ulla est necessitudo aut familiaritas, quae cum huius pietate sit conferenda? Attamen quia sic visum est Deo, feremus utconque tantam iacturam, praesertim apud alios tantum emolumenti allaturam, ne Dei consilia et voluntatem impedire videamur. Decreveram pluribus ad te scribere quis sit praesens nostrae ecclesiae status, praesertim ob expliactionem seu responsionem quam dedimus ad 4 articulos quos hic noster senatus mandato principium Germaniae in eum finem nobis 20. Maii tradiderat, tum etiam de nonnullis tumultibus a quibusdam excitatis. Sed quum D.Pierius iis omnibus non solum interfuerit, verum etiam praefuerit, satius esse duxi ut haec illo quam ex meis scriptis disceres."

One thing we do know about this period of Pérez's life is that he was instrumental in setting up a fund for the printing of a Spanish edition of the whole Bible. This fund was held by Augustin Legrand, who was its chief trustee. After Pérez's death, Antonio del Corro was involved in a lengthy wrangle about this money, which by then amounted to some 1,000 crowns.(64)

It is also evident from Perrucellus' letter that Pérez had already left Frankfurt when it was written and was expected to return directly to Geneva. In any case, Juan Pérez published in Geneva in 1558 his Carta embiada a D. Philippe rey de España.(65) He cannot have delayed on his way there, for he would have to have time to see this book through the press. This work is, in fact, undated, and only three copies of it have ever been found. As to its date, Usoz in his preface to the 1887 reprint argues persuasively for its having been written in 1558 and printed by early 1559. It mentions Pope Paul IV as still alive and it does not mention the death of Charles V. Paul IV died in August 1559 and Charles V in September 1558. The book is a strongly-worded argument against the papacy, attempting to persuade the King not to support it.

The assumption is that Juan had been persuaded to return to Geneva from Frankfurt because of the arrival of a larger number of Spanish refugees, who needed a spiritual guide.(66) In fact, the Livre des Habitants of Geneva records the reception on 10 May 1557 of 'François de Cardenas' of Seville; on 14th October 1557 of 'Francesco de Farias, Peregrin de Paz, Pedro Pablo and Hernando de Leon', all of Seville.(67) Strangely enough, Juan Pérez himself was not received as a 'habitant' till 1558.(68)

(64) McFadden p. 241; Schickler III pp. 74-77.

(65) vid.inf.p. 241.

(66) Bib.Wif.I p.66.

(67) Kingdon & Bergier op.cit.p.91.

(68) idem. p.137: "Lundy 10e d'octobre 1558. Les noms des Espagnols receus le dt jour Jehan Purius, Jehan de Vivart, Jope Courtois, Melchior Dies, Jehan Moreno, Jehan de Molina, Jehan de Lion, Allonso Baptista, Ciprian de Valer."

Several of them will reappear during the course of this study.

On this same date Calvin approached the City Council on behalf of the Spaniards and they were accorded the use of the Temple St. Germain for worship at hours which suited themselves.(69) Before Pérez's return from Frankfurt the Spaniards had been members of the Italian congregation,(70) but now they were recognized as an independent congregation with a minister of their own in Juan Pérez.

Spaniards continued to arrive. In 1559 two from Saragossa, one from Alcalá de Henares and one from Córdoba were received - but a great exodus of Spaniards left Geneva for England after Elizabeth became Queen in 1558. In fact, Cassiodoro de Reina earned for himself the sobriquet of 'Moses of the Spaniards' so unsettling was his influence in Geneva. His attitude made Pérez angry.(71)

In 1559 Juan Pérez further published a Spanish version of a work by Jan Philippson (Sleidanus), published first in German in Strassburg in 1541, and in Latin in 1544. The Spanish title is Dos informaciones muy utiles, to which Juan added a preface entitled, Suplicacion a la Magestad

(69) The Temple St. Germain is right in the centre of the old city of Geneva, not far from the Town Hall. In 1968 it was being used by the Old Catholic community.

Grenus op.cit.p.24:
"Juillet 12 1557 "On ouvre le temple de St. Germain, vu la multiplication prodigieuse de peuple qui augmente tous les jours."

Livre du Conseil des Affaires de la Ville Geneva 1557-1558 Vol.54 RC (Fol 302 r
"Eglise des Hespagnols. Ledit Sr Calvin a aussi proposé que les Espagnols luy ont donné charge de requerir Messieurs de leur donner place au temple St. Germain pr y ouir la parolle de Dieu en leur langue veu quil y a ung homme ancien de bonne conversation qui leur preschera, aresté quon accorde quils preschent a St. Germain a lheure qui leur sera la plus commode." (10 Oct 1558)

(70) See lists in J.B.G.Galiffe Le refuge italien de Genève (Geneva 1881) On p.169 Pérez is listed as 'Purius' under the year 1558 - apparently just before the creation of the new congregation. See Note 19 above.

(71) vid.inf. p. 65 note 24 & Appendix VI, p.446.

del Rey.[72] Contrary to the belief of Usoz and Wiffen, this must be a translation made by Pérez from either the Latin, or, more likely, the French version published by Crespin in Geneva in 1558.[73]

In the same year he issued a Catecismo, which is a Spanish translation of Calvin's Catechisme of 1549. When this is compared with the anonymous Catechismo of 1550, it can be seen that this is a new translation of the same original. It contains, however, more material than the 1550 work, having ten pages of 'pias Oraciones', and thirteen pages of special material for catechizing before admission to communion, and finally, incorporated with it is a sixtysix page order of public worship, with sections for the Lord's Supper, marriages and sick-visiting.[74]

A number of references to Pérez are to be found in the City Archives, sometimes just as 'le ministre espagnol' - but as he was the only Spaniard ever to be a minister in Geneva at that period, it amounts to the same thing.[75] On 1 March 1560 he asked permission to print a book, which was granted, subject to making certain corrections indicated by Nicolas des Gallars. The name is not given, but it can be deduced that this was the Breve Tratado de la doctrina.[76] On 22 April 1560 he asked permission to print another, and after time had been taken to read it,

(72) vid.inf. p.245.

(73) R.A.E.12 pp.3 f. Usoz and Wiffen thought that the Spanish was an original work produced by Francisco de Enzinas. Boehmer Bib.Wif.II p.68 suggested translation from the Latin, Bonnant op.cit.p.55 from the French. In any case, Pérez has edited the text by introducing chapter headings.

(74) vid.inf.p. 249 The liturgical section has a new title and separate page numbers. Bib.Wif.II pp.46 f. Bonnant op.cit.pp. 55 f.

(75) Bib.Wif.II p.75.

(76) Livre du Conseil RC 56 1560-1562 fol.15 recto:

"Vendredi premier de Mars 1560
Ministre espagnol a requis avoir
permission dimprimer certain livre.
Estant ouye la relation du sr. syn-
dique de la maison neufve, arreste qu'on
luy permet, moyennant qu'il corrige
certaines additions a forme que luy a
este dit par spectable de Saule."

permission was granted on 3 May 1560. This time the title is given. It was his Epistola consolatoria.(77)

Thus in 1560 he published two works. The first (Breve tratado de la doctrina) was demonstrably a revision and translation of Urbanus Regius' Latin work Novae doctrinae ad veterem collatio (1526), with Pérez's own additions.(78) The title page bears no author's name, nor place of printing, and hence this book is only putatively Pérez's work - but the style is so similar to his other works that there is little doubt about it. It can be demonstrated typographically that it was printed by Crespin.(79)

The second work (Epistola consolatoria(80)) was clearly written to encourage the Seville Protestants in their sufferings, and was particularly prompted, we suppose, by the plight of Julianillo. It is highly questionable whether any copy of this book was ever seen by the people for whom it was intended. In style it is very like Pierre Viret's Epistre pour consoler les fidèles qui souffrent (Geneva 1545). This was also printed by Crespin.(81)

Also written about this time was a pamphlet, presumably based on French models, written to resemble closely a R.C.indulgence, but putting forward strongly the evangelical doctrines of grace. It is entitled Breve sumario de indulgencias y gracias, and contains no indication of

(77) idem fol.31 pecto:
"Lundi 22 d'avril 1560. Ministre espagnol aporte une copie d'epistre consolatoire pour les fideles en espagnol requierant luy permettre l'imprimer. Arreste quelle soit visitee."

fol.35 recto:
"Vendredi 3 May 1560. Prescheur espagnol. L'on a fait aussi relation que les ministres qu'ont visite le livre du dit ministre intitule L'epistre consolatoire pour les fideles qui sont persecutes en la papaulte, compose en espagnol, sont d'aduis qu'il puisse estre imprime."

(78) vid.inf. p. 253.

(79) Bib.Wif.II p.93; Bonnant op.cit.p.56 and B.H.R. 27.1.p.319.

(80) vid inf. p.262.

(81) R.A.E.18 pp.41 f; Bib.Wif.II p.96; Bonnant opp.cit.pp.56, 321.

author, date, printer or place of issue.[82] It can be shewn to have been printed by Crespin, and, since the style is quite compatible with Pérez's, it is reasonable to suppose that he was responsible for it.[83] If, as seems likely, this was the pamphlet that was carried in 1558 by Peter Veller in quantity to Antwerp for shipment to Spain, then it was printed in 1557 or earlier.[84] At the end of the pamphlet is a brief explanation of the Ten Commandments.

On 19 April 1560 Antonio del Corro wrote to Calvin from Lausanne informing him that François le Gay[85] has written to Pérez from Navarre asking him to go there is a minister. Corro asked Calvin to speak to Pérez about the matter.[86]

On 20 June 1560 the Spanish minister informed the City Council of the presence in their midst of a Spanish spy named Ferdinandus Calcas. When Calcas had been in Lyons two Spanish Protestants had been arrested. This man should be apprehended.[87]

On 14 July 1561 the Council records report that the Spanish minister

(82) vid.inf. p.224.

(83) Bonnant opp.cit.pp.52, 320 f; Bib.Wif.II p.51; R.A.E.18 p.38.

(84) vid.inf. p.27, note 112; p.95, note 11.

(85) François le Gay de Boisnormand had been sent as minister to Béarn by Calvin on 14 Oct 1557 (C.R.21 col.674). As the religious situation eased, Navarre was continually asking for ministers from Geneva. (C.R.19 col.146 f) Corro himself was later to respond to this call and spend some years in Béarn. (vid.inf.p.54ff)

(86) C.R.18 col.56 f letter 3182 (from Cod.Genev.109 fol.213):
"D.Franciscus le Guay mihi significavit hostium libertatis alicuius apertum esse in ditione regis Navarrae at ea de re literas attullisse ad D.Pierium; obsecro ut aliquid laboris impendas diligenter perquirendo a dicto D.Francisco quae sit haec commoditas et ante illius profectionem alloquarie D.Pierium ut si aliquando aliquis nostrum ex tuo consilio illuc voluerit proficisci, quo sit eundum sciat."

(87) Geneva Archives, Registre du Conseil R 17 (1560) fol.100 recto; Bib.Wif.II pp.74 f.

had been taken to hospital because he was ill.[88] Schäfer says he was 60 at the time, but gives no authority.[89] After this illness we are told he retired 'par congé'[90] and indeed he seems never to have resumed duties as a pastor in Geneva, and his congregation must have dispersed, for after 1562 Spanish names again begin to appear in the lists of the Italian congregation.

In January 1562 an edict had allowed liberty of worship to French Protestants. Immediately an appeal came to Geneva, where there was a surplus of ministers who had taken refuge there, to supply men to gather and look after the faithful. To this appeal Pérez must have responded, for, when we next meet him, he is in France. He was in Blois in 1563 when on 8 March the Huguenot leader Condé called a conference of Protestant ministers to discuss with them whether Protestants could bear arms and still observe the January edict, and whether a new agreement could be signed. The three ministers deputed to meet Condé at Orleans were: Desmaranges, minister of Orleans; Pierius, minister of Blois; and Antoine de la Rochechandieu, minister of Paris, who was later that year President of the French Reformed Church.[91] The ministers declared that the liberties accorded in January 1562 should be restored, as did a subsequent synod of

(88) Livre du Conseil RC 56 fol.215 recto:
"Semblablement a la requeste du ministre espagnol a este erreste de retirer ledit espagnol [a lhospital] jusqua ce quil soit gueri."

(89) S & V p.58.

(90) Registre miscellané bibl.msts.59 fol.364 f quoted by Bib.Wif.p.75
"[les Espagnols] eurent pour ministre 1558 Jean Pereira qui se retira par congé en 1561".

(91) Beza(?) L'histoire ecclésiastique des églises réformées (Antwerp 1580) II,p279: "Le Prince estant à Orleans demanda de communiquer avec les ministres sur les affaires qui se présentoient. Cela fut cause que 3 furent députés pour ceste effect à savoir Desmaranges ministre d'Orleans, Pierius Espagnol de nation, mais non de religion, et ministre de Bloys, et la Rochechandieu, ministre de Paris."

72 ministers, but in spite of this Condé signed on 12th March 19563 a treaty of pacification which was promulgated on 19th March as the Treaty (or Pacification) of Amboise, and which had the effect of reducing Protestant liberties. A contemporary document gives a list of ministers in France at the period, in which Pierius is listed as stationed in 'Blois ou Mers'.(92)

After the promulgation of this treaty, the position of foreign ministers in France was not easy. Realizing this, on 10th May 1565 the French Protestants of London put out a feeler to see whether Pérez would consider a call to London as an assistant to Mr. Jean Cousin (Cognatus). As he could not preach in France, and as they had had a good report of him, they wished him to be asked whether he would come to England.(93) On 17th June 1565 they received a reply from Mr. de Saules, saying that he would ask Pérez, although he did not know what his reaction would be.(94)

In any case, by early 1565 we find Pérez at Montargis as a domestic chaplain of Rénee de France, Duchess of Ferrara.

Renée had passed through Bergerac on 12th November 1564,(95) where she gathered into her household Antonio del Corro and his wife, and with them, temporarily, Cassiodoro de Reina. Corro had been active as a minister in

(92) B.S.H.P.F. Vol.9, p.296.

(93) Minutes of the Threadneedle St. Church fol.297 f. H.S.P.Vol.38 p.110.
"Jeudy 10 may 1565. Ledyt Jour monsieur Cousin Charge de Rescripure a monsieur de Saules pour Monsieur pierius ministre espagnol lequel ne peut plus prescher audyt lieu a cuase de le Edict du Roy, pour France sil se voudroit Retirer ycy aupres de nous pour ayde a monsieur Cousin, a cause que nous en oyons fort bon Raport."

(94) Minutes fol.304. H.S.P.Vol.38, p.112.
"17 de juing. Ledyt Jour Receumes letres de monsieur de Saules de monsieur de St pol et de monsieur de la Consturre ministre a paris, ledyt offre de semploier a nous asister a trouver vne ayde pour monsieur Cousin, sy on luy en Rescript, monsieur de Saules mande quil ne scayt pas bien ce que ce sera de maistre pierius. Ne scay sil vodroit venire ou non. Il mande quil luy en tiendra pourpos."

(95) McFadden p.213.

Bergerac for some time, but the arrival in the area of the itinerant French court made it imperative to implement in the region the conditions of the Pacification of Amboise, which had been largely disregarded in Béarn.(96) Corro, like Pérez, was not a naturalized French citizen and was thus disqualified from ministering to a French congregation. Reina had taken temporary refuge with Corro after his flight from England. The two of them had some plans to translate the whole Bible into Spanish.

On her progress northward, Renée had passed through Orleans, where she must have heard of Juan Pérez's situation. Corro would perhaps have been in touch with him - but in any case, Renée's interest in the Huguenot cause and sympathy with evangelical ministers in distress were well enough known for her to have been informed of his plight. Whatever the means, when she left for her chateau at Montargis, Pérez too had joined her train as a chaplain.

The appointment of Juan Pérez and Antonio del Corro as Renée's domestic chaplains was approved by her neighbours, the Protestant leaders Admiral Gaspard de Coligny and his brother Odet de Coligny, Cardinal de Châtillon, and by the 'class' of twelve ministers of the Montargis district. At the time of their appointment, however, Collonges, an ultra-Calvinist minister still held the post, from which Renée dismissed him. Corro informs us that she and Collonges did not see eye to eye on the matter of coexistence and Roman Catholics and Protestants in Montargis. The Colignys had

(96) McFadden p.212.

advised him to resign several times before he was obliged to do so.(97)

At Montargis Renée lived in defiance of the measures taken against the Huguenots. Her position as a princess of the blood royal rendered her immune from much of the law's severity. She had long been sympathetic to the evangelical cause and a special protégée of Calvin. Born to Anne of Brittany and Louis XII of France, in 1528 she had married Ercole, the son of the Duke of Ferrara, who succeeded to the title in 1534. As dowry she brought the duchy of Chartres, the county of Gisors and the castellany of Montargis. When she became duchess Calvin sent her François de Morel, seigneur de Collonges, as chaplain. She was under continual pressure from the Duke and from the papacy to abandon the evangelical religion, even to the point of being imprisoned for a fortnight in 1554. The Duke of Ferrara, however, was very tolerant to the Jewish community within his state. As we have seen in 1553, with his encouragement, they produced the Spanish translation of the Old Testament, which was not without influence on the translation of Reina and Valera. The Duke died in 1559 and Renée decided to return to her homeland. In January 1561 she settled at Montargis, where she remained till her death. Collonges remained her chaplain, but she was no friend of his bigoted anti-catholic attitude, nor of his efforts to obtain the introduction of a Geneva-type discipline to the château and town.

(97) These facts are revealed in a letter to Beza written by Corro on 3 Sept. 1568 from London. The full text is in B.S.H.P.F. Vol.50 (1901) p.211:

> "Par le moyen de Saules ils entendirent que Monsieur Colonge avoit encore fraische memoire de ce que Madame de Ferrare luy avoit chassé de sa maison, nous avoit reçu à Pierius et à moi, nous ayant [esté] chassés de nos Eglises par la rigueur de l'edict du Roy, et desja que l'aultre est mort, il veut que je paye tout seul la rage qu'il vouloit jecter sur tous deux, comme si nous eussions esté causes de sa sortie, ayant esté delibérée et conseillée par le seigneur de Chastillon et une fort honnorable compaignie des ministres là à lentour; maintenant volontiers il se veult couvrir d'un sac mouillé ... son humeur et celuy de la duchesse de Ferrare s'accordent non plus que le feu et l'eaue, et qu'il y avoit plus de deux ans que Mr. de Chastillon luy avoit conseillé de s'en sortir soubs quelque honnorable pretexte, veu que sa personne estoit si haye et par conséquent sa doctrine."

Calvin had promised to have him replaced, but had died on 28th May 1565,[98] which meant that Collonges was still in office when Pérez and Corro arrived.[99]

From the domestic accounts of Montargis we discover that Pérez was not married. Regular payments to him and to Corro are recorded, but Corro has always an additional sum for his wife. Pérez was paid 200 livres tournois a year, the average for a chaplain royal of the period, whereas Corro received 300, 100 of which was for his wife.[100] Juan Pérez's last wishes reveal that Renée was generous beyond the mere stipend she paid. Renée's disbursements show that one of the chaplain's duties was to help the poor.[101]

At Montargis, besides his duties as Renée's chaplain, Juan worked at the project dear to his heart, the translation of the whole Bible into Spanish. This was also one of Corro's concerns, and Reina's too, as we shall see. Reina did not stay long with them in Renée's chateau; he left to pursue his own way and to publish his own translation of the Bible, on which he had already been working independently in London. Details of Pérez's activity at this period is lacking.

(98) Sepp Geschiedkundige Nasporinge (Leyden 1872) III p.99.

(99) MacFadden p. 219 f.

(100) idem p.217; Archives Turin, fondo Savoia-Nemours art.806 vol.35. I have to thank Sra. Clelia Conterno of Turin for copying the entries in this and the following note. See also Appendix II.

"Ordonnance faicte par Madame pour le payement des gauges de ses officiers domestiques ... pour l'annee finissant 1565 ... Ministres Mr.Jehan pierius, ministre - 200 livres tournoises. Mr.Ant.de bellriue aussi ministre pour luy et sa femme - 300 livres tournoises." (fol. 5 recto)

"Payement faict aux ... Officiers domestiques ... Mr.Jehan pierius ministre la somme de deux livres tournoi a luy ordonnes par Madame (du mois?) somme estans doue par gaugnes ... livres estans pour compte Somme par sa La ..." (fol.20 recto)

(101) Turin idem.

"A Monsieur J Pierius ministre et m.r Targuer Duchereau (?) la somme de cent Livres ts pour distribuer aux pauvres ... de Montargis lais sommes - 100 livres tournoises." (fol.40 recto)

"A ung espagnol recommande par Monsieur Pierius ministre la somme de 5 ... escuz pistollets desguels Madame luy avoid faict don ..." (fol.56 recto)

" A ung pauvre maregaus (?) du pays de brabans nomme louys (?) de Lespagne recommende par Monsieur Pierius ... (sum of money) tournois ordonnez par Madame luy estan donnez au ... (? date)" See also Appendix II.

Nevertheless, he continued to commend himself to the high regard of others in the evangelical movement. On 28th May 1566 the Reformed ministers of Antwerp wrote to Renée asking her to grant leave to Juan and persuade him to go to Antwerp to help them in the work which had been begun there. His character was such as to arouse no scandal, he was a man of knowledge and authority, his work in France had been fruitful and blessed, and was well-known beyond his immediate circle, and in addition he was a subject of the same king as they were.(102) (It does not seem to have occurred to them that it was no recommendation with the King of Spain for a Spaniard to be a Protestant. They had completely misread the situation).

They were rather late in their request, for it is likely that by this date, or not long afterwards, Pérez had left Montargis for Paris, evidently to supervise the printing of certain books. If Corro is to be belived, the intention was to reprint the New Testament in Spanish, together with several small pamphlets - perhaps reprints of some of his earlier Geneva works. He had two other Spaniards to help him. By deduction we can say that they were Bartolomé Gomes and Diego López.(103)

This information we gather from a letter dated 20th October 1568(104)

(102) B.S.H.P.F. Vol.30, p.452:
"... il y a beaucoup de raisons qui nous induisent à requérir de Vostre Excellence ce bien, et espérons quelles proficteront envers vous pour nous l'accorder d'autant plus libéralement; singulièrement que nous désirons d'avoir un homme non seulement de savoir et d'autorité, mais aussi de counseil, qui par par l'usage et expérience des choses passées, puisse nous aider et adresser les affaires à quelque meilleur advancement par la bénédiction du Seigneur, ce que cognoissons estre en luy de long temps ainsi qu'il la montré du très grand besoing et nécessité des lieux ou il a resté en France. Joinct aussi qu'il est des sujets naturels du Roy auquel nous sommes, ce qui peu beaucoup servir tant pour le contentement et édification de ceste Eglise ... comme pour empescher les reproches, scandales et calomnies ..."

(103) vid.inf.p.109; McFadden p.242.

(104) This date is strange, in view of the date on the letter to the Bishop of London (below note 107) and the statement in it that Pérez died in 1567. It seems certain that 1567 is the correct date.

sent to Renée by Corro from Paris.[105] He also informed her that he had arrived in Paris at Pérez's lodging just in time to hear his last wishes before he died. He had been under the care of doctors and Beza tells us

(105) B.S.H.P.F. Col.30, p.456 f

"Madame, suivant le commandement que Vostre Excellence m'avoit faict, tout incontinent que j'arrivay en ceste ville de Paris, j'allay au logis de monsieur Pierius, lequel je trouvay si extrêmement malade que à une heure après minuict il rendit son esprit entre les mains du Seigneur, avec telle asseurance de son salut, que tous les assistans avons occasion de glorifier le Seigneur et en édifier nostre foy, d'autant qu'en sa mort nous avons veu une certaine vérification de la victoire que nostre Redempteur Jésus gaigna contre la mort.

Au reste ... tout ainsi que ce bon personnage vous a esté fidèle serviteur en sa vie, il ne s'est pas oublié de faire son debvoir mesmes à l'heure de sa mort, lequel me dist ces dernières parolles, qu'il vous supplioit tres humblement que ce fust vostre bon plaisir d'estre son héritière et testamentaire afin que par vostre commandement son entreprinse tant souhaittée en son vivant, fust accomplie apres sa mort: à scavoir l'impression du nouveau testament en espaignol, et quelques autres petits traittés; à quoy faire il souhaitteroit que ses livres, meubles et l'argent, que par la libéralité de Vostre Excellence luy estoit desjà assigné pour la fin de ceste année, fut employé en la ditte impression, lequel argent nonobstant le commandement de vostre lettre, n'estoit pas encores emprunté, d'autant qu'il l'avoit desdié pour payer les chirurgiens. Il avoit baillé charge de faire quelque petite provision de bled et vin pour son retour. Il souhaittoit que ce fut le bon plaisir de Vostre Excellence, que cela s'emploiast pour la nourriture de ces deux personnages espaignols qu'il tenoit en sa compagnie, vous suppliant tres humblement n'avoir point esgard au peu de moyen qu'ils ont pour vous faire service, mais que Vostre Excellence considère qu'ils sont estrangers, destitués de tout moyen et faveur en ce royaume, et que leur pérégrinacion est pour une si bonne et si juste cause, a scavoir pour suivre le pur et vrai service de Dieu."

that the cause of his death was the stone.[106] Corro further informed Renée that Pérez had named her as his sole heir, telling her that his books and furniture should be sold and the proceeds used by the Duchess to finish the task of printing that he had begun. The corn and wine he had laid in against his return he asked her to use for the two Spaniards he had with him, and he commended them to her further care. Hence Pérez really died intestate, a fact which brought its own difficulties eventually, in the continual wrangling for money to use for printing a Spanish Bible. The same was to be true for the money held by Augustin Legrand in Frankfurt. A year later, on 15th July 1658, Corro wrote something about this matter to the Bishop of London. According to Corro, Pérez had asked him to see that the printing that was in hand should be continued, as the two Spaniards had all the necessary copy. After the funeral, Corro told them that they could keep all the money and goods in Pérez's possession in Paris if they would continue the work to its conclusion, but that, since the money had come from the subscriptions of poor Spanish Protestants and from Pérez's estate, they should make an inventory so that proper accounts could be kept. When that was done he would see that 300 ducats were transferred to them from Frankfurt or elsewhere.

The two do not seem to have wished to do this. Corro accused them of desiring to use the money freely for their own ends. He reported them to the Consistory of Paris, which insisted on an inventory being made and accounts being kept. Nevertheless, said Corro, this was never done.[107]

The question of whether in fact anything of what Pérez was preparing for the press ever did get printed is interesting. We have referred earlier in this chapter to the possible existence of a manuscript version of the Spanish Bible, and to the search for this or printed copies by Spanish representatives in Paris. Boehmer twice draws attention to a

(106) Beza Icones fol.I.i.iij, "ex calcudo (sic) decessit" (a misprint for 'calculo'). Boehmer Bib.Wif.II p.70 tries to argue that this just means 'he died'. The French version, made very soon afterwards (Vrays pourtraits Geneva 1581) says, however, "mourut de la gravelle a Paris".

(107) Schickler III pp.74 f.

judgement in Paris in 1574, condemning a Spanish New Testament with Genevan notes, of which no single copy has ever been discovered,[108] and, as we shall see later, Cassiodoro de Reina tried to obtain a copy of the New Testament from Paris in order to speed the publication of his Bible in 1569.[109] The deduction seems forced on us that a new edition of Pérez's New Testament was eventually printed, but that the King of Spain's agents, or someone else, managed to gain possession of the whole printing and submitted them for condemnation. This would fit the facts as we have them.

Soon after Pérez's death, Corro continued on from Paris to Antwerp to take up the post that had been offered to Juan, for the people there had realized that Juan was old and ill and that he would atleast need a helper. They had later requested both Pérez and Corro to come together.[110]

(108) Boehmer Romanische Studien 4 (1880) pp.483 f; Bib.Wif.II pp.70, 84 f;
"... interpretatio novi Testamenti Hispanica lingua, cum scholiis juxta Genevensem editionem ... sine translatoris & typographi nomine ... hoc novum Testament. cum suis annotationibus, Hispanice versum, confectum est ut introducatur in Hispaniam Calvinismus. Est enim prope ad verbum, cum suis Scholiis desumptum ex Bibliis Genevensibus Gallice scriptis, & idcirco ejusmodi novum Testamentum propter tam perniciosas, & pestiferas annotationes quam citissime est supprimendum."

(109) vid.inf. p.109.

(110) Hessels III p.44:
"[18th Sept 1566] ... nous ecriuons a madame de Ferare pour vous obtenir auec monsieur Pierius, ou sy ne pouons cela que pour le moins vous nous soies accorde pour ce que nous auons peu desperance dobtenir lautre tant pour sa viellesse que diuerses maladies ..."

CASSIODORO DE REINA.

When we come to consider our second character, we find a man who aspired to the life of a pastor, but who found himself forced often by circumstances into commerce, yet did not ever wholly forsake pastoral preoccupation; a man who was capable of inspiring great affection in some and great antipathy in others; a man whom chance forced to move about a great deal, and who, beyond that necessity, undertook considerable journeyings, turning up disconcertingly in various unexpected places. An indefatigable writer of letters, Cassiodoro did not publish very much, but of what he did publish several things caused great controversy in their day. Many of his letters are still extant in original manuscript and he is the only one of our three subjects of whom an original portrait remains.

The place and date of birth of Reina are known only by deduction, if not conjecture. He consistently signed himself 'Hispalensis'(1) but, as it appears to have been a custom of his religious order to use the place of origin as part of the professed name, thus obscuring the family name,(2) it can be credibly argued that he came from a place named Reina, although the recordsof the Inquisition give Montemolín as his birthplace.(3) This is sufficiently near Seville to justify his use of that city as his place of origin; but so would the fact that he had studied in that city and lived in a convent there.(4) Menéndez y Pelayo took delight in reporting him to be a 'morisco granadino' on the strength of a letter written about Reina by the Ambassador's secretary from England on 5th October 1563.(5)

(1) See e.g. the dedications written inside the Bibles he presented to Basle & Frankfurt Universities; also Basle University Matriculation Book (below Note 10). Bib.Wif.II, pp.177; 298,300.

(2) Hutton, 'The Spanish Heretic', Church History, Vol.27.1.(1958) p.24.

(3) Schäfer II, p.312 f.

(4) Pellicer, Ensayo de una bibliotheca de traductores españoles (Madrid 1778) p.31.

(5) M. & P.V.p.151. This would seem to be appropriate for a heretic. The Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada (1933) repeats this ad loc., but also identifies Reina with Cipriano de Valera!

This eems to have been an attempt to discredit him, but, if it were true, it hardly matters to any but the Spaniards of the 16th century, bothered by 'limpieza de sangre.' Nicolás Antonio says that he was from Reina in Extremadura, that he was certainly a Spaniard and not Jewish.(6)

The date of Reina's birth must have been about 1520, or soon thereafter. This date is obtained by arguing back from 1573, when he described himself as 'senectutem praesertim jamdudum ingresso,'(7) and from the fact that we consider him to have been somewhat older than Cipriano de Valera (born ?1530) and the contemporary of Antonio del Corro (born 1527).

In short, nothing very definite is known of Cassiodoro at all till he was a student of the University of Seville(8) - and even this we know from later references to it by himself.(9) His graduation we assume because he was allowed to matriculate at the University of Basle in 1567,(10) and from the evidence of his erudition provided by his work and by the universal testimony of his contemporaries, together with his friendship with many erudite men. That he was an ordained priest appears from his later statement that he had said masses in Spain that had more effect than his sermons in London.(11)

After graduation he became a member of the Order of Observantine Hieronymites and lived in the monastery of San Isidro del Campo.(12) It is during his time there that we begin to have some definite information about him. Cassiodoro seems to have been one of the prime movers in the development of a cell of Protestant belief in Seville in general, and in San Isidro in particular. We are told that he made such progress in the teaching of García Arias that he managed to get almost all the monks of his

(6) N.Antonio, Bibliotheca Hispana Nova 2nd ed. (Madrid 1783) pp. 234 f.

(7) C.de Reina, Evangelium Ioannis (Frankfurt 1573) fol.a.2.r; Dietz, "Cassiodorus Reinius," Frankfurter evg.-Luth.Kirchen-kalender (1894) p.16.

(8) M. & P.V. p.150.

(9) Letter to Scholarques, Strassburg AST 48/29: "homo in literas educatus."

(10) Bib.Wif.II p.177 gives the University of Basle Matriculation Book entry: 1567 (no day specified) "Cassiodorus Reginius Hispanus 6/-".

(11) Frankfurt docts. fol.592.(below p.437).

(12) as Note 8.

convent to embrace it.[13] During the trial of María de Bohorques, natural daughter of Pedro Garcia de Xeres, reference was made to her mentor, Fr.Cassiodoro, whom Schäfer definitely identifies as Reina.[14] It is puzzling that we are told of the death at the stake of Fr. Cassiodoro.[15] One wonders, but it is hard to believe, whether there were two friars with this unusual Christian name active in the movement in Seville at the same time. What is certain is that Cassiodoro was burnt in effigy in an auto da fe on the Sunday called Cantate, 26th April 1562, on the Plaza San Francisco at Seville, along with the effigies of Valera, Corro and others.[16] There may be some confusion here in the minds of the reporters between actual death at the stake and being burnt in effigy.

Of course, as has been reported already, Reina had fled with the San Isidro exodus at a date prior to Julianillo's capture in the summer of 1557.[17] We have no record of the route he took to reach safety, but he eventually turned up in Geneva, as Pérez and others had done before him. With him came his parents.[18]

There appear to be no references in the City Records to his presence in Geneva - no doubt because he considered his stay there very temporary. Later, however, in various sources, there is reference back to his stay in Geneva. These are particularly a series of depositions in the archives of the French Church of Frankfurt a/M.[19] It is stated that every time he passed the place where Servetus had been burnt at the stake 'tears came to his eyes.'[20] Reina's opinions on Calvin and Servetus' execution are

(13) Llorente II p.262.

(14) Schäfer II p.274, 283; S. & V. p.12.

(15) Llorente II p.264.

(16) S. & V. pp. 51 f.

(17) The letter to the Scholarques, written in early 1565, says: "Quum iam per nouennium propter Euangelium Christi ex Hispania exulem." This would mean that he must have left Spain in mid-1556.

(18) Schott, "Frankfurt als Herberge," Verein f.Reformationsgesch. III (Halle 1886) p.32.

(19) The origin of these depositions is discussed below p.79. Although noted by Tollin, van Schelven and Boehmer, they have never been published. The main documents are therefore given in Appendix VI.

(20) idem fol.593.

divulged at length, and the Sardinian, Angel Victor, saw a fellow Spanish exile, Cortés, carrying a letter from Cassiodoro in Geneva to Sebastian Castellio, at Lausanne.(21) From such references we can be certain that he was in Geneva and that he was known to other members of the Spanish community there. The refugees from San Isidro, however, arrived in Geneva during Juan Pérez's absence in Frankfurt, and therefore before the formation of the Spanish congregation in St.Germain's. Reina, Corro and Valera became members of the Italian Church, and, by the time of Pérez's return, all three were ready to move on.(22) From the tone of later correspondence between them we know that Reina and Beza had met, but we cannot be sure whether it was in Geneva that they met or in Poissy later.(23) It is said that Reina exercised an unsettling effect on Spaniards in Geneva urging them to move on to England, provoking even the saintly Juan Pérez into disputation, and earning for himself the sobriquet of 'Moses of the Spaniards'.(24)

One of his San Isidro companions, Juan de León, was captured at Strassburg, by the officers of the Inquisition, on the journey from Geneva to England, and taken back to be burnt in an auto da fe in Seville.(25) Journeying between various Protestant centres was a perilous business. The King of Spain's agents were everywhere, and his authority stretched over much of Europe. A particularly close watch was kept on the ports of the Low Countries for people trying to embark for England, where a haven for persecuted continental Protestants had been created by the accession

(21) idem fol.591.

(22) Geneva M/s fr.407, fol.16; Bib.Wif.II p.210: "Ecclesiae Italorum cui omnia debeo, tum quod, dum Genevae vixi, fui ei adjunctus ..."

(23) vid.inf.p. 73.

(24) Frankfurt docts. fol.601.

(25) Tollin, "Cassiodore de Reina", B.H.S.P.F. Vol.31, p.387.

of Queen Elizabeth in 1558.[26] Once again, after the Marian interlude, people from many nations were arriving to claim religious asylum particularly in London. Amongst them came Spaniards. Cassiodoro, however, did not proceed directly to England from Geneva, but went first to Frankfurt for a brief visit.[27] He arrived soon after Elizabeth's accession, nevertheless, and with him his parents.[28] Tollin tries to argue that he had been in England before Queen Elizabeth came to the throne, but his argument is not convincing.[29]

The most numerous refugees, naturally, were those from the nearest countries, and strong, well-organized and enduring congregations of French and Flemings were quickly re-established in the City of London. The main French congregation met in the old church of St. Anthony in Threadneedle Street and the Flemings in Austin Friars. The Italians, too, for a period, had a separate existence. All these congregations were strongly Calvinist in theology and church discipline - though according to the quaint English custom of compromise they came legally under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London, who was at that time Edmund Grindal, whose years in exile in a similar position would render him sympathetic to their plight. They were left fairly free to organize themselves in the Presbyterian manner, and the Bishop did not interfere unless called in to arbitrate in a dispute,

(26) Collection de Chroniques Belges (Brussels 1882) Vol.I p.478 (quoting Simancas Sec. de Est. 812) a letter written on 19th March 1559 by Farías to the King of Spain.

> "Aqui han venido tres o quatro Españoles de Geneva llenos de santa doctrina. Seria bien hacer alguna prevencion en los lugares de la marina desos estados para que no dexasen pasar tan mala canalla, como la que aqui viene, a lo menos Espanoles, que es cosa de que los ereges se honran mucho."

(27) Schott op.cit. p.39; Bib.Wif.II p.165; S. & V. p.59.

(28) In his letter from Bergerac (vid.inf.p.454) to Reina in London, Corro wrote: "Salude de mi parte a todos esos señores y en especial a los señores sus padres." Also Frankfurt docts.fol.629; C.S.P.Eliz.I. No.170.

(29) Tollin op.cit.p.388. His argument is based on a misunderstanding of English dating of the period. See note 30.

or when his help was needed in the matter of a petition to the Queen. Their church councils (consistories) held very frequent meetings, and once a month a joint meeting of the three consistories, called the Coetus, met to discuss matters of common interest and concern. There was a certain coming and going of members between the congregations. In this situation the Spaniards found no obvious home. Some attended worship with the French, others attached themselves to the Italian Church.

With this Cassiodoro was not satisfied, and during 1559 he collected round himself a group of his countrymen, for whom he held services in a private house thrice weekly and to whom he preached in their own language. By 4th January 1559 (OS) they had written a Confession on Faith to justify their presence in London.(30) This Confessio Hispanica was considered to have been largely, if not entirely, Reina's work, and was to play an important part in his subsequent difficulties in several cities as will be seen.(31) There is some suggestion that Cipriano de Valera helped in its compilation.(32) It was carefully enough worded.

The Confession is in 21 chapters, and is clearly the work of an independent mind that will not be bound by the rigid doctrinal preconceptions of denominationalism.(33) It feels free to point out, daringly for its generation, that infant baptism is nowhere mentioned in Scripture. This must be the reason why the French Church took exception to the section

(30) It is perhaps necessary to point out that in the period covered by this study, although in other respects the same as the Gregorian calendar in use elsewhere in Europe, the English calendar celebrated New Year's Day on 25th March, in accordance with the ancient Christian practice. On the Continent the modern system of having New Year's Day on 1st January had been in vogue for some time. Thus, dates in English documents which fall during these three months need to be designated OS = old style.

(31) Bib.Wif.II p.165.

(32) 3 Sp.H. p.86.

(33) It seems that this Confession existed only in manuscript form till Reina published it in Frankfurt in 1577. The one copy noted by Boehmer in Frankfurt University Library (Bib.Wif.II p.232) was reported lost in 1968. A second edition was published in Cassel in 1601, with a parallel German translation. The German version alone was published in Amberg in 1611.

on Baptism. In the combatant situation of the period, such observations were best left unvoiced if one wished to be considered orthodox. The first chapter (on God) gives a highly orthodox statement on the Trinity, and certainly does not prepare us for the loud accusations of anti-Trinitarianism that were soon to be flung at Reina. Chapter 11, (on the Sacraments of the Christian Church) reduces the sacraments to two and takes a broadly Calvinist view of the Eucharist as a memorial. Chapter 13 (on the Lord's Supper), however, takes a fairly Lutheran, consubstantiationist, standpoint, thus foreshadowing his conversion to Lutheranism in later years. Wilkens sees the Confession as a reconciliation of the Confession of Augsburg with the 42 Articles of Ridley and Cranmer.(34) Tollin and Reina's opponents were able to detect Servetism in it. Reina himself was later to use it both to justify his Calvinist orthodoxy and to justify himself as a Lutheran minister! The main point was that it satisfied Bishop Grindal, whose goodwill was vital.

By 1560 this small Spanish congregation must have felt securely enough established to wish for recognition as an independent foreign congregation after the manner of the French, Flemings and Italians. Accordingly, Reina addressed a petition to this end to Secretary Cecil and the Bishop of London. This petition is still extant in the British Museum in Reina's own handwriting.(35) He asks for a church to be allowed them and gives various reasons. Many people, he said, were afraid to meet in a private house, because Spanish spies were more active there than they would be in a public place. People were afraid for their affairs in Spain. Whilst meetings continued in private it was easier for enemies to fabricate charges of doctrinal extravagance, which were believed by both opponents and friends alike. In a public place their beliefs would be open to view. They did not think it would cause England greater difficulties with the King of Spain than were already experienced, but if it did, they were willing to leave England rather than cause quarrels between monarchs. We have evidence that

(34) Wilkens, Geschichte des Span.Protestantismus (Gütersloh 1880) pp.154 f.

(35) Lansdowne MSS Vol.4 (Burghley Papers) art.46; Bib.Wif.II pp. 190 f. See text in Appendix III.

the Spanish ambassador, D.Álvaro de la Quadra, Bishop of Ávila, was trying unsuccessfully to entice evangelical Spaniards into the embassy in order to be able to spirit them out of England.(36)

This request was granted, and a church which had been in use as a warehouse, St. Mary Axe, was allocated for their worship, together with a royal pension of £60 for Cassiodoro.(37) Secure as this made him for the moment, Reina apparently would have preferred Corro to come and replace him.(38)

On Friday, 22nd October 1560, Cassiodoro appeared before the French consistory on behalf of the Spanish brethren, asking permission for them to make a public confession of faith before the whole congregation, because they had been suspected of holding Servetan views on the Trinity.

(36) M.Fernández Álvarez, Tres embajadores (Madrid 1951) p.210.

(37) Bib.Wif.II p.170; M. & P.V. p.137; H.S.P. 38 p.xx. A map in Ekwall, Street Names of London (Oxford 1954) shews that this church was situated in the street which now bears its name. All trace of it is now completely obliterated, and not even a plaque marks its site.

(38) Frankfurt docts. fol. 601.

He was unwilling to say who had made this accusation.(39) In view of Reina's unconcealed opinions about Servetus, his doctrines and the manner of his death, and later accusations against him, these suspicions were not unexpected, although probably groundless. But it is also a fact that the two best-known holders of Unitarian views : Servetus and Castellio ; were Spanish and Italian respectively and this tended to make Italians and Spaniards automatically suspect of similar views. Reina did himself no good by befriending persons whose doctrines were regarded with suspicion. The practice has, of course, plenty of precedent in the Gospels, and Reina was doubtless able to distinguish between a man and his beliefs. He was called to task for his friendship with Adriaan Haemstede(40) and he was criticized not only for allowing Acontius to

(39) Schickler I p.123; H.S.P. 38 p.13; Actes du consistoire de l'Eglise de Threadneedle Street 1560/65 fol.23:

"Mardy 22 Doctobre 1560 ung nomme Casiadore espagnol comparut deuant nostre consistoire Requerant au nom des aultres frères espagnol qui sont ycy en la ville De leur permetre de faire leur confesion de foy publiquement Deuant toute leglise, pour cause, se dissoit il que il ont este suspesonne de tenire quelque erreurs de seruetus, & A quoy il luy fut dit et demande sy cestoit generalment que on eut telle suspecon de eulx ou sy costoit quelqung particulier a quoy il nous dit que luy estant a Frangfort on luy en rescrivoit letre de cest ville, et de Geneve. Lequel toutfois ne nous volut dire ceulx qui cestoit qui avoient escript, mais bñ nous dit quil avoit entendut que tell suspetion estoit venu a cause dung de leur frere qui avoit dit quequant au mot, de Trinite que on ne trouve point tel mot en la Sainte Escripture, requerant que on ne le requerit point de dire son nom, car il ne le dira point vou que la chose est passe et tenu pour morte et assoupie, et que la confesion quil feront pourra satisfaire quant a cela. Dont, apres avant tout ouy ses susdits alegations luy fut respondu que lon desiroit bien seavoir celuy quy a dit ce mot touchant de la Trinite, et puis celuy quy a eut telle suspecon de eulx et que quant a faire leur confesion que on ne leur volloit refuser. Sur quoy nous dit que il savisera avec ses freres."

(40) van Schelven, Kerkeraads-Protocollen (Amsterdam 1921) p.131, H.S.P.38.p.xix Adriaan Cornelisz Haemstede (1525? - 1562?) minister of the Flemish Refugee Church, was excommunicated in November 1560 for sympathising with Anabaptists. Reina had defended him strongly, and had maintained a correspondence with him after he had gone to live in Holland. (Frankfurt docts.fol.591, 593).

attend his church, but also for appointing him to office in it.[41]

On 21st January 1560 (OS) the Spaniards carried their Confession of Faith to the French Consistory and asked for it to be formally approved by signature. They were asked to go into more detail on the subject of infant baptism and secular authority.[42] It can be seen that even at its birth Cassiodoro's Confession of Faith did not win universal acceptance.

With this somewhat reluctant approval from the French consistory, the little Spanish congregation began its separate existence. Gathering members, as it had to, from the other three foreign congregations, it was not looked on with too much favour and seems never to have had its consistory fully accepted as a constituent member of the Coetus.[43] In March 1560 (OS) some discontent is evident, in that the Flemings proposed to the French that they should call the Spanish minister before them to show them the Confession because many former members of the two congregations were now meeting with the Spaniards.[44] The Spaniards were not very

(41) van Schelven op.cit.p.137; Frankfurt docts. ibid; McFadden p.190. Giacomo Concio (Acontius) was an Italian military engineer who had been in London since 1559. He was censured for advocating tolerance to the Anabaptists and denying the importance of the virgin birth. He wished to reduce creeds to an essential minimum. He was a friend and correspondent of Haemstede.

(42) Schickler ibid; Actes fol.57:
"... sur quoy fut trouve bon quil pourroient bien ung peu plus esclarcire larticle touchant du baptesme des petitz enfans et du magistrat."

(43) Schickler ibid.

(44) H.S.P. 38, p.35; Actes fol.76:
"Item les flamens nous proposirent scavoir sil ne seroit pas bon dapeller a ladyt assemble Le ministre des Espagnol, et desiroient aussy de voire leur Confession de foy quil ont mis par Escript a cause que ceux qui se Retirent des deux Eglises sont receu auec eulx, qui est chosse a Considerer Et mesmes quant ils ont presente audyt ministre espaignol les articles et affaires quil ont eut a lencontre de maistre adrian hastedius, il ne les a point voulu voire dissant quil auoit des aultres affaires asses pour socuper pour lors fut aReste que dedans 15 jours lon se Retrouueroit encore ensemble pour ladyt affaire."

cooperative about the matter as doubtless they considered themselves an independent church, equal in standing to those of the French and Flemings. Even so, as late as April 1563 they were trying to gain recognition of their equality by being permitted to celebrate their own communion services and by their minister having a seat in the Coetus. The matter was deferred and seems never to have been resolved.(45)

It is not to be expected that the representatives of the Spanish government and the spies of the Inquisition in London would leave unnoticed this group of Spaniards and their leader. We have seen some hint of this already in the petition for a church. Several references to Reina and his flock were made in notes that passed between the Spanish Embassy and the King of Spain. The ambassador had a conversation with the Lord Chancellor and Dr. Wootton concerning charges made against the ambassador. He had reported that the Queen and Cecil greatly favoured the Spanish heretics. The ambassador replied that he had in fact written that the Spaniards had been given a large house belonging to the Bishop of London where they preached three times a week, and as evidence of the favour he pointed out that Cassiodoro was given a considerable sum of money to attend the Colloquy of Poissy. He had been aided financially by Throgmorton and the Earl of Bedford and his father and mother and the rest of them here were well

(45) van Schelven, Kerkeraads-Protocollen p.395:
"(6th April 1563) De ecclesia hispanica, quae cupit usum sacramentorum, quatenus id consultum. Differtur in aliud tempus. Item an consultum ut dominus Cassiodorus adsit menstruis coetibus."

provided for.[46]

The Colloquy of Poissy was a meeting between representatives of Protestants and Roman Catholics called together to attempt to find a way to reconcile the two opposing viewpoints and bring about religious unity in France. It was held from the end of August 1561 onwards. The Protestant representatives were headed by Beza, later aided by Peter Martyr. Amongst the twelve ministers and twenty laymen who officially represented this side was Nicolas des Gallars, Sieur de Saules, minister of the French Church in London, whose attendance had been specially requested by Admiral Coligny.[47] It may be that Cassiodoro came as an observer in des Gallars' company. The only reference to his presence there is in the above-mentioned correspondence of the Spanish Ambassador to England, from whom we also learn that he fell ill there and was aided in his distress by the English Ambassador to France, Throgmorton.[48] An imposing array of six cardinals, forty archbishops and bishops, twelve doctors of the Sorbonne

(46) A.García Hernández España y el Vizconde Palmerston (Madrid 1848)p.235, quoting Arch. gen. de Simancas - Inglaterra Leg. 815, fol. 193.

"Cargo 4º Que yo [the Spanish Ambassador] he escrito a S.M. que la Reina ha dado en Londres una Iglesia a los hereges de España los cuales he dicho que son aqui sostenidos y favorecidos della y de su consejo.

Contestacion

Yo he escrito que a los Españoles hereges que aqui estan se les ha dado una casa del Obispo de Londres muy grande en que predican tres dias de la semana como es verdad y que sean favorecidos de la Reina tambien es verdad y que a Cassiodoro que fue a la Junta de Poysy le fueron dados dineros en notable suma para el camino, y que en Poysy donde enfermo le dio dineros el Embajador Fragmarten (sic), y el conde de Betfort se los ha dado aqui ael y a su padre y madre que aqui estan y a todos los otros se les dan entretenimientos."

(47) Actes fol.118; H.S.P. 38 p.54.

(48) Throgmorton's despatches from this colloquy, however, make no reference to Reina's presence there.

and twelve experts in canon law, represented the Roman Catholic side. The King, the Queen Mother, princes of the blood royal and the Council of State completed the august assemblage, which in the end achieved nothing.(49) It must be from this time that we can date Cassiodoro's acquaintance with Beza, although it is also possible that they had met earlier in Geneva. Beza's considerable extant correspondence, written from Poissy, makes no mention of Reina, although reference is made to des Gallars and to the English ambassador.(50) If we are to believe the Spanish ambassador, Reina would have been in their company and would thus have met Beza, for Beza's later exchange of letters makes it obvious that they had had previous acquaintance. Nicolas des Gallars returned from Poissy on 14th December 1561.(51)

On 24th April 1563 Bishop Quadra reported to the King that he had intercepted a letter to Cassiodoro from a Spanish resident in Antwerp (small wonder that Corro's many letters failed to arrive !). This letter had been returned to the King's agent in Antwerp, Alonso de Canto, so that its author might be apprehended.(52) On 26th June 1563 Quadra reported the arrival of the Andalusian Francisco Zapata from Genoa with his Saragossan wife. He was a 'great heretic' and was lodging with Reina, who had recently married again. His purpose in coming was to help to revise the Spanish translation of the Bible that Cassiodoro and others were engaged upon.(53)

(49) Hauben's statement (3 Sp.H. pp.86, 101) that the Colloquy condemned the Spanish Confession of London as 'crypto-Lutheran' is not borne out by his sources.

(50) Beza Correspondence (Geneva 1963) III pp. 144-166.

(51) idem p.239; van Schelven Kerkeraads-Protocollen p.272 says 9th Dec.

(52) C.S.P. Eliz. I p.320.

(53) idem pp.339 f; M. & P.V. p.137. Since it is reported that he came via Genoa, it seems possible to identify him with the Sardinian listed by Schäfer (II p.215).

Mention of Cassiodoro's remarriage raises the question of his first marriage. So far, no record of this has come to light. Of the second marriage, if second it was, we have a declaration made by his widow in 1595.(54) She was Anna Leon, daughter of Abraham Leon of Nivelles in Belgium and widow of Dr. Thomas Le Feure and declared she had made her second marriage to Cassiodoro de Reina, Spanish preacher in London, in 1561.(55) The ambassador further reported that Reina had lost his royal pension consequent upon his marriage.(56)

In distant Béarn, Reina's close friend and old collaborator in San Isidro, Antonio del Corro was writing frequently, without apparently receiving any replies. On 24th December 1563 he wrote from Théobon in Spanish referring to a four-month silence on Reina's part, during which time he had sent many letters, hoping that he would by this means gain at least one reply.(57) The intervening letter of Reina's he had received 'almost miraculously' during a period of extreme restlessness caused by the enforced separation from Reina, for whom several passages

(54) Zülch, Frankfurter Künstler (Frankfurt 1935) p.457:
"1595 läßt Anna Leon, Witwe des französischen Predigers Cassiodorus Reinius durch Zeugen gestellen, dass sie in erster Ehe mit dem Dr. med. Thomae le Feure verheiratet war, 1561 heiratete sie zum zweiten Male in London den dort als Prediger in Spanischer Sprache tätigen Cassiodorus Reinius mit dem sie nach Frankfurt zog. Ihr Bruder Franz Leon ist Zeuge."

(55) Neither Anna nor Thomas is mentioned in the Returns, but then, nor is Reina himself.

(56) Col.doc.inéd. Vol.26 p.465:
"A Casiodoro, morisco grenadino, que ha sido fraile y predicaba a los pocos espanoles hereges que en Londres residen, quito la Reina la iglesia que le habia dado y las sesenta libras de pension, el cual habia poco que se habia casado."

(57) Corro's letter is given in full in Acta consistorii ecclesiae Londinogallicae (London 1571), which is an extremely rare work. Both Latin and Spanish texts of the letter are printed; Spanish text fol. A4* - A5***. See Appendix IX. The Bodleian Library has a copy of this work.

express inordinate affection.[58] He referred to the Spanish Bible, for the printing of which he had made careful arrangements, including paper and printer and the use of a castle from the King of Navarre where the work might be carried out. Besides money, only a proof-reader was lacking, and Corro urged Cassiodoro to bring with him for the purpose Cipriano (de Valera?), whom they had both known in San Isidro. He gives careful instructions on how to travel to Navarre from England.

Corro was not easily discouraged, for by March 1564 he had written twentyone letters to Cassiodoro since the last letter he had received from him the previous September. This is revealed in a letter written in French from Bergerac and dated 25th March 1564.[59] That letter made reference to one of Reina's that Corro had never received and Corro seemed to think it was hardly possible that Reina had not written others to him. In the September letter Reina had mentioned his plans concerning the Spanish Bible, which Corro approved whole-heartedly. He repeated that he had access to excellent facilities both for printing and for distribution to Spain. Thus it was imperative for Reina to travel to him. If, on the other hand, Reina had better to offer, then Corro would follow him to England. In any case, they must compare notes. Again, detailed instructions for Reina's journey to Bergerac follow and equally detailed instructions of how to send letters to him. Till he has a reply from Reina, all Corro's future letters will be but copies of this one.

But, whereas the Bergerac letter merely asked in general terms for Cassiodoro to bring or to send him such small treatises as he thought fit, in the letter from Théobon he specified just what he would like, viz: Osiander's books on the justification of the Christian man.[60] He goes

(58) Hessels 3.1. p.67, Cousin sums up their friendship thus: ".. et leur vnion si grande quilz ne pouuoyent viure lun sans lautre..."

(59) Hessels 3.1. p.32. See Appendix IX.

(60) Andreas Hosemann (Osiander) (1498-1552) He had played a leading part in the Reformation, particularly in the conferences of Marburg, Augsburg and Schmalkald. His later religious opinions were unpopular and he came under attach from Melanchthon and other Lutherans.

on to discuss fairly extensively Peter Martyr and the heterodox writers Caspar Schwenkfeld and Valentin Krautwald,[61] asking for Reina's observations on their teachings and on other doctrinal points. He also asks for Reina's opinion of Justus Velsius and Acontius.[62] These questions, he says, will enable Reina to understand what sort of books to send him, besides preparing him for the next time they can meet and discuss together.

The doctrinal points to which he gave closest attention are all concerned with the person of Christ: how He communicates Himself to the believer; whether the glorified Christ is a creature or not; whether or not to accept the doctrine of the ubiquity of Christ;[63] all of them questions which flutter round the teachings of Servetus like a moth round a candle flame.

It is necessary to deal with the Théobon letter in some details, in view of its subsequent history and the effect it had on the later career of Reina. Of course, Corro was not to know that by the time it would arrive in London, Reina would have fled the country. The letter was sent to Pierre du Perray for onward transmission to Reina. Perray sent it to Jacques Fichet, a French merchant in London and member of the Threadneedle Street Church. It bore an endorsement in some such words as 'For matters of importance concerning the Church of God' - probably a device of Corro's to expedite its delivery. These words were the excuse for its being opened. Fichet

(61) Caspar Schwenkfeld (1489-1561) was at first an orthodox Lutheran but deviated from this position in several ways. He had his own peculiar views on the eucharist, Christology, the indwelling of Christ in the believer, mystical piety and figurative understanding of Scripture. Valentin Krautwald (Crotoaldus) was the most important and earliest of Schwenkfeld's followers.

(62) Justus Welse (Velsius) (1520 ? - 1582 ?), doctor of medicine and botanist; lectured in philosophy in Cologne; came to London in 1563 and caused a great stir amongst the Refugee Churches with his heterodox views on the person of Christ and original ideas about 'double regeneration.' His ideas were condemned in the same year. The details of the cases of Haemstede and Velsius take up a great deal of space in the 1st volume of Acta of the Consistory of the London-Dutch Church (Guildhall Library MS7397/1).

(63) The ubiquity of Christ is the doctrine around which strife between Lutherans and Zwinglians raged. Luther held that because of ubiquity Christ's body and blood were really present in the bread and wine. He understood the phrase 'Hoc est corpus meum' to be taken literally est=est. Zwingli understood est=significat, which was more or less the Calvinist position.

had brought it to the Consistory of the French Church on 12th March 1564.[64] Jean Cousin (Cognatus) had there replaced Nicolas des Gallars in 1563, and had shown himself to be a determined opponent of Reina. With the approval of the consistory he decided to open the letter and read it. For him, despite the impropriety of opening private mail (justified by appeal to the endorsement), the letter certified Reina's guilt on doctrinal grounds, and Cousin was thereafter to seek continually to thwart Cassiodoro's aspirations when and wherever he could.

Later Corro was to be accused of Servetism on the strength interalia of this letter. It is perhaps not surprising that minds already prejudiced against the Spaniards for establishing a new congregation with members taken from theirs, and already suspicious of Spaniards, and ready anyway to smell out heterodoxy, should find in the letter confirmation of their apprehensions in Reina's case. One wonders how ministers were expected to combat heresies of which they had no knowledge. It seems necessary to take cognisance of a doctrine before it can be refuted or rejected. But those were days of bitter partisan struggle within the Church and such calm reflections and sane counsels were hardly likely to prevail.

Aware of his presence and conscious that a group of Spanish Protestants had an importance far exceeding their numerical strength, Spanish agents were active sowing trouble for Cassiodoro. Strike the head and the members are immediately affected. Their aim was, of course, to engineer his departure to some land where the Inquisition was able to lay hands on him, as it had done to his companion Juan de León in Strassburg. In some way suspicions regarding his doctrinal soundness were fanned into flame once more (this was before the arrival of the letters from Théobon and Bergerac.) Reina himself later said that he was accused on five or six charges, including Servetism and sodomy.[65]

In fact the charges against him can be pieced together from various sources, but they contain so many contradictory statements that it remains

(64) Hessels 2 p.272, 3.1.p.67.

(65) McFadden p.194; Bib.Wif.II pp.193, 199.

extremely difficult to make coherent sense of them. These sources are the minutes of the Dutch and French churches, other items from their archives, and a series of documents collected at Frankfurt in 1571, when Reina wished to become a member of the French Refugee Church there.(66) These last consist of careful transcripts made by Reina himself of the evidence collected against him and deposed at the examination of the case, together with several letters about it, of which two, written by Jean Cousin, are particularly detailed and informative as to the time-table of what happened.(67) Taken together, these documents provide accusations and hints of an amazing and unlikely combination of offences: dishonesty, embezzlement, immoral, or, at least, indiscreet, conduct with certain female members of his congregation, sodomy with a 17-year old youth (the son of one of the women concerned!), and a number of points of doctrine and ecclesiastical practice which differed from the strict Calvinism of the refugee churches, amongst which were also listed friendship with persons suspected of heterodoxy, and secrecy concerning the translation of the Bible that he was engaged upon.

On Tuesday, 31st August 1563, Cassiodoro came to the Consistory to announce that he had been accused of deceit, heresy, adultery and sodomy, and that the matter was being publicized. The prime mover in the affair seemed to be Balthasar Sánchez,(68) who accused Cassiodoro of embezzling £200, of indiscreet relations with the wife of one of the church members, and of sodomy with Jean de Bayonne.(69) Before his marriage, Reina had had an appartment in their house in Shoe Lane, as also had the French minister, des Gallars. The youth had been Reina's servant, with whom he had shared a bed for some time, since

(66) Stadtarchiv, Frankfurt an Main, Kirchendokumente B.Fr.-ref.Kirche 195 fols. 585r - 634r. As the depositions recorded in these documents remain unpublished, they are reproduced here in Appendix VI. Since these are given in full, the ensuing account will not give references to facts derived from them.

(67) idem. fols.637r - 634 r. These letters are also unpublished and are given in Appendix V.

(68) Sánchez is mentioned many times in the Returns. He was a 'spicer' and a comparatively rich man who contributed to English Government funds and became comfitmaker to the Queen's household.

(69) Returns 10.1.pp. 281, 291. "Johannes de Bayonne, sutor caligarius, Bayonensis," living in "Choulaine," (= Shoe Lane).

Reina claimed not to be able to afford another. When defending himself against this latter charge, Reina claimed to have been embarrassed by the proximity and to have had four or five 'pollutions' in his sleep. The youth appeared to be embarrassed too, and Cassiodoro had bought another bed so that they could sleep separately. The youth's version was that he had been sexually assaulted at least six or seven times, being held so tightly that he could not escape. Somehow this came to the ears of Sánchez. Cassiodoro's story was that a young visitor from Flanders was enticed away from his house by Sánchez, and that it was from him that Sánchez had his information. This visitor would seem to have been Francisco de Abrego,(70) from whom was gleaned the beginnings of the leak of information, which takes us back to the time before Reina's marriage, at least 17 months earlier, when the young de Bayonne might have been as young as 15½. This introduces a time-lag into the affair which it is hard to justify in terms of anything other than a conspiracy. Abrego says that he was sharing a bed with Jean de Bayonne Jr. shortly before Cassiodoro's wedding, and that Jean began to ask questions about Reina's wife-to-be, and then made indiscreet hints about how sexually potent Reina was. Abrego's curiosity was aroused, and he ferreted till Jean was prompted to accuse Cassiodoro of sexual assault and anal penetration on several occasions. It appears that Abrego told Sánchez on the latter's return from Cambridge, and Sánchez confided in Angel Victor (71) and together they decided to tell Zapata(72) and two other brethren. Abrego seems to have had a very poor

(70) There is no mention of him in the Returns.

(71) Returns Lo.l.p392. "Angel Victorys, Sardinien, denison, schoolmaster and his wife came for religion and are of the French Church."

(72) Gaspar Zapata is not to be confused with Francisco Zapata. Neither is mentioned in the Returns. Gaspar appears to have been a Seville printer who escaped from Spain, but whose wife was captured en route. He was burnt in effigy on 28th October 1562 (Schäfer I pp.357,376,393, II pp.320, 365) and finally returned to the fold of R.C.Spain in early 1565 (Col.doc.inéd. 26 p.540).

opinion of Cassiodoro's ability to acknowledge his faults. A feature of the case is that whoever heard the accusation was at first most reluctant to believe it. Cousin later wrote that all concerned were very much Reina's friends and had no reason to invent these accusations, but, when one reads Sánchez's depositions, one is bound to feel that at least one man was very willing to believe the worst, and very quickly too. Certainly Zapata, called a 'nobleman and former secretary to the Viceroy of Naples', very properly refused to consider the matter till he had spoken to the youth. Accordingly, the next day Zapata, Abrego and Jean de Bayonne Jr. met at St. Paul's, and the youth repeated what he had told Abrego. On this occasion he stated that Reina did not hurt him at all. Zapata and Abrego returned to consult Sánchez and Angel Victor, and together all went to tell the youth's father, whose immediate reaction seems to have been rather theatrical. He referred to this as a 'second' outrage of Reina against him. Thereafter a meeting was arranged at which Cassiodoro and Jean de Bayonne Jr. could be confronted in the presence of Zapata, Sánchez, Angel Victor and Abrego. The two last-named, by now apparently convinced of Reina's guilt, urged him to confess. Reina stuck to his story, and insisted that what a man does in his sleep he cannot be guilty of. Nevertheless, it appears that on the following Sunday he suspended himself from the ministry pending an enquiry, being, as he put it, unwilling to continue his ministry till he was cleared of the charges. As he later said, he had a far more pressing task in hand, translating the Bible, and preferred to devote his time to that, undistracted by backbiting.(73) His accusers, however, put it out that he had been suspended for heresies and crimes. Cassiodoro was called before the

(73) Geneva, Corres. eccl.M/S fr.407 fol.10v; Bib.Wif.II pp.199 f:
"... certifiant devant le Seigneur que j'avois esté blasmé et calomnié à tort de cinq ou six calomnies, que la moindre d'icelles, estant vraies, meritoit bien la corde; dont l'une estoit des herésies de Servetus, et que me voyant aussi pressé de necessité de perdre mon temps en ma defense, j'ai este d'advis de m'acquiter moi mesme de mon ministere, et pour enfuir les debats m'enfuir aussi de Londres pour vaquer es choses plus utiles à l'Eglise du Seigneur, que j'avois entre les mains."

Consistory, where he put forward his case, stating particularly that he had no need to defend his doctrine and that he wished the matter of sodomy to go before the magistrate. The Consistory declared that it would give its answer at its next meeting on the following Thursday, when the advice it duly gave was that Cassiodoro should put his case before the Bishop of London rather than a magistrate. Cassiodoro agreed to follow their advice, and then he asked whether he would be admitted to communion the following Sunday, since he felt the need of spiritual strengthening. The Consistory did not want to deny him this privilege, especially as his case had not been examined.

On the following Tuesday, 7th September 1563, Cassiodoro again appeared at the Consistory, saying that the Bishop had heard his complaint and had given him the right to choose certain men to examine the matter. He had decided to call on Messrs. "Couverdale,(74) Witinguen(75) and Withemme,"(76) and to ask the Consistory to appoint one of their number in addition. The Consistory pointed out that Cassiodoro knew them all, and that in any case he had the right to choose.

On Wednesday, 8th September 1563, the Bishop sent out letter to six men, appointing them his commissioners to examine the case on his behalf, since Cassiodoro had presented him with a long remonstrance in Latin. These men were: Jean Cousin, Minister of the French Refugee Church; Johannes Utenhovius, Minister of the Dutch Church; Rev.Robert Crowley of

(74) This is the famous Bible translator, Miles Coverdale (1488-1568), who had been in exile during Mary's reign. On 3rd March 1563 he accepted the living of St.Magnus near London Bridge.

(75) This is William Whittingham (1524-1579), a Marian exile in Geneva and Frankfurt. He was chaplain to Bedford, English ambassador to France 1560-61, and as such was as Poissy. In 1563 he was in London, and in the habit of attending the Refugee Churches.

(76) It has not been possible to identify this man.

St. Peters;[77] Rev. James Young of St. Bartolomew's;[78] Antoine Cappelle[79] and Jean Hettié,[80] Elders of the French Church. It seems possible that these six met together with those chosen by Reina as a commission of enquiry, as sodomy was an ecclesiastical offence at the time. The depositions received by them remain the main source of our information on this matter.[81]

On Thursday, 9th September, the commissioners met in the French Church, and the Bishop's letter of authority was read, after which Cassiodoro was asked to put his case. He repeated the gist of what he had written to the Bishop and named his accusers and calumniators. The commissioners then appointed a day on which they would hear the men named, viz: Monday, 13th September. Accordingly on that day, Gaspar Zapata, Balthasar Sánchez, Angel Victor, Francisco de Abrego, and Jeremias Ackermann[82] were called before the commission, and, on that occasion, were asked to comment on Reina's doctrinal views only. All five wished to place on record that they did not appear as accusers, defamers or calumniators of Cassiodoro, but that, if they were required to do so, they would submit certain points with which Reina could be confronted, and they hoped they would be shewn to be right. The commissioners insisted on their authority to require such information, and assigned Wednesday, 15th September, at 3 p.m. as the time at which they would receive written depositions concerning Reina's doctrine. Having

(77) Robert Crowley (1518? - 1588) also a Marian exile. Archdeacon of Hereford 1559, also held St.Peter's le Poor in London. On 1st September 1563 made a prebendary of St. Paul's.

(78) There is no record of a James Young at any of the three St.Bartholomew's of the period, but a James Young was one of the clergy of St.Peter's le Poor in 1563.

(79) Antoine Cappelle is mentioned several times in the Returns (10.1.pp 260, 292; 10.3.417) as a silk-weaver living in Norton Folgate Ward.

(80) Jean Hettié is not in the Returns; 10.1.p.291 mentions a Toussaint Hettier 'fibularius' from Bayonne.

(81) The copies of these depositions that we have are written in Cassiodoro's own handwriting, with various passages underlined as if to comment on or to draw out some hidden meaning. No doubt the key to the whole matter is to be found in these underlinings, if only they could be correctly interpreted.

(82) Returns 10.1.pp.275,318,386: 'Jeremias Ackerman serrararius."

complied with this order, they were told to reappear before the commission on Friday, 17th September at 2 p.m., to make their declarations about the accusation of sodomy, and they were then required to depose these in writing on Tuesday, 21st September. That same Tuesday one of the commissioners was asked to convoke Cassiodoro to appear after dinner that same day to answer the charges. Whereupon it was discovered that Cassiodoro was not at home and nobody knew where he was. By Thursday 23rd it was known that on Tuesday 21st Reina had fled London in the early hours of the morning to cross the Channel, being under the apprehension that sodomy was a capital offence, and that the simple accusation of the youth would be sufficient evidence to convict.(82a)

On Friday, 24th September, the commissioners decided to write and ask the Bishop for an appointment to report to him on the case. On the same day Reina's father appeared to excuse his son's absence. Reina's former superior, Farías, also wished to lay before them certain letters from Reina concerning the case, and letters by others in defence of Reina. Farías was refused a hearing on the grounds that he had nothing to do with the case, which seems to indicate a certain bias on the part of the commissioners. This bias is also clear in the two letters that Cousin wrote to the French Church at Frankfurt, and which are the source of the dates given above. Although he makes a point of stressing the popularity of Reina before this matter arose, he makes it clear that he was fully persuaded of his guilt. He also tells us that the commissioners never managed to get Jean de Bayonne Jr. to appear to give evidence, since the youth's father, also fearing capital punishment, shipped him overseas, in spite of assurances from the Bishop that there was nothing to fear in that direction.

Cassiodoro left behind at least three letters. One to Francisco de Farías we have already mentioned. Another was addressed to the Bishop of London, which we know from two transcripts of it made by Cousin.(83) A third went to the commissioners and contained a list of questions to be put to the youth. This last letter is now lost, but we learn of it from a

(82a) On this, see Appendix IV.

(83) One is quoted in his letter of 9th August 1572 in the Frankfurt documents (see Appendix V). The other is preserved amongst the papers of the Dutch Church (Hessels 3.1.p.36) as an endorsement to G.F.Cando's deposition (vid.inf.)

deposition made on 1st May 1564 by an Italian Protestant of Antwerp, G. Francesco Cando, reading which makes one feel that Cassiodoro was shabbily treated by his correligionaries in England.(84)

The youth was sent to Flanders, where, at least at first, he stayed in Bourbourg, a small town between Gravelines and Cassel, at the home of what may have been his maternal uncle. He was seen there on 30th October 1563 by Paschasius de la Motte(85) and Christoffle Marischal (Fabricius) and questioned by them about the affair.(86) On this occasion his memory was that he had been hurt, especially on two occasions.

Cando's deposition mentioned above states that in early February 1564 a certain G.C.(87) had come to Antwerp with a letter in Cassiodoro's handwriting, asking for Jean de Bayonne Jr. to be examined about the accusations made against Reina. The examination took place at the home of one of the Bayonnes' relatives in presence of Cando and another Italian. G.C. took no notes, and after the examination wrote an account in French, which Cando refused to sign, because there were additions and omissions and it seemed altogether too partial. In Cando's opinion the youth should have been examined properly before 'M. & Ani',(88) in London. As the above was in progress, letters about the matter from Cassiodoro arrived for both G.C. and Cando, whereupon G.C. seemed to lose interest in it and begged Cando to send help to Reina, who was now in Frankfurt. At the time of writing Cando found it strange that some were claiming that the boy had signed a declaration about the matter on 6th February

(84) Hessels 3.1.pp.35 f. The man's name is given as Cardo or Cando.

(85) Paschasius de la Motte is not mentioned in the Returns. His deposition was made later, but forms part of the Frankfurt documents, and is reproduced in Appendix VI.

(86) Chr.Marischal was a minister who is not mentioned in the Returns. His letter to Utenhovius, dated 10th April 1564, is also part of the Frankfurt documents (fol.602) but is not reproduced here, because it is given in full by Schelven Ned.Arch.v.Kerkgeschiedenis VIII (1911) p.329, and also because it repeats very closely what Paschasius wrote.

(87) Hessels 3.1.p.35 interprets this as Giovanni Cousin. There seems every reason to agree.

(88) ibid. Hessels found it impossible to guess at the meaning of these initials. I suggest they mean 'the minister and the elders.'

which was not true.[89]

We might have learnt more of the matter from the minutes of the French Church, but the relevant section was removed in 1578, when the matter was brought up again, and the section was never replaced.[90] The same is true of the minutes of the Dutch Church.[91] After the gap in the French minutes

(89) "Al principio de Febraro 1564 vene in Anuersa G.C. mostrandose afflito del caso del Cassiodoro auendo portato con lui vna istrucione di diuersi capitoli scritti de man propria de detto Cassiodoro come uoleua fusse saminato il garzone Gio di Baiona. dette G.C. condusse detto garzone in casa de vn suo compare parente di detto Gio di Baiona inpresencia di me et d'vno altro italiano che erauamo quatro in tutto cosi al longo saminasemo detto garzone senza farne scritura. che dapoi detto G.C. et il suo compare sudetto nefece scritura tra essi; vero a che me la lesse in francese, et io gli disse, che non me piaceua per esserli agionto et sminuito et mi protestaj non uolere sotto scriuere ne impaciarme inconto alcuno di questa cosa conosendo che detto G.C. era troppo parciale ... in quel tempo medesimo uene de Londra certe Litere a detto G.C. et a me per questa causa medema del Cassiodoro; a tal che G.C. me disse che non era piu besogno di nostre scriture et che tutto quello aueua fatto non era nulla et che arebe straciato il tutto, et che conoseua bene la cosa del Cassiodoro esere redutta a termine, che non poteua justificarse, pregandomi facesse opera trouar dinari per aiutare et suuenire detto Cassiodoro ... Sotto breuita dico non esere vero che io ne laltro testimonio italiano se siamo trouati presente quando il garzone sotto scrisse la samina che certo per me non ne so nulla; parimente me marauiglio che in questa supplica mostratomi et letomi sotto scritta da otto testimonj sotto il 22 di marco 1564 datta in Francfort nella qualasi contene facendo fede detti otto testimoni che la samina fu sotto scritta dal garzone sotto il di 6 Febraro presente le quatro testimonj replico non esere vero .."

(90) Actes fol.133; H.S.P. Vol.38 p.56. A note in the minutes gives this information.

(91) These records have been deposited in the Guildhall Library, London, Acta of the Consistory of the London-Dutch Church Vol.II (No.MS 7397/2 SR 83-5) ends on 5th September 1563 and Vol.III (No.MS 7397/3 SR 83-5) begins 10th November 1569. The gap indicates a missing volume at just the vital dates.

there is a reference to a letter from the Regent of Flanders to the Bishop of London concerning Cassiodoro and the son of Jean de Bayonne, who had been examined by the court at Brussels.(92) And elsewhere we are told that when questioned officially in Antwerp the youth said he had no idea what all the fuss was bout, and that he supposed it was all trumped up out of hatred for Cassiodoro.(93)

Cousin's letters mention a further examination of the youth in Antwerp by Sieur Jaques de la Croix and others, and the reference could also be interpreted to mean that Cassiodoro was also interrogated, for they sent a letter to London, declaring his innocence. This investigation could possibly be the same one as that mentioned in the previous paragraph.

Cassiodoro went to earth for a while in Antwerp, much to the chagrin of the officers of the Inquisition, who made repeated efforts to find him there.(94) Disguised as a sailor, his wife crossed over via Flushing to join him.(95)

(92) Actes fol.234; H.S.P.Vol.38: p.89.
"(16 Nov 1564) Ledyt jour Monsieur Cousin nous declaire que leuesque de Londres auoit Receu des letres de Madame la Regente de flandres touchant Casiadore et le filz de Johan de bayonne, lequel auoit este examine a lacour de bruselles et deliberoient de ne laisser Impugny vng telle subject."

(93) Memoires anonymes sur les troubles des Pays-Bas (Brussels 1869) Vol.5 pp.58 f
"Le bruict couroit qu'il [Reina] s'estoit absenté dudict Angleterre pour estre chargé et accusé du péché de sodomiste dict vulgairement bougrerie, dont il en feist aprèz sa justification par l'examen d'ung garçon en ladicte ville d'Anvers, sur la poursuyte de certains députez dudict Angleterre ayant icelluy garçon déclairé qu'il ne sçavoit que c'estoit dudict faict et qu'il n'en sçavoit à parler dudict Cassiodore, auquel se disoit avoir esté imposé ledict faict de sodomiste par une hayne et envye que ses malveullans luy portoient, disoit-il."

(94) Bib.Wif.II p.172 (quoting Archives du Roy, Fardes d'Audience 273):
"Au mois d'octobre 1563 un prisonnier français déclare devant un magistrat que 'le nomme Cassiodore, prêcheur des hérétiques, a quitté l'Angleterre depuis cinq mois, et que l'on ne sait pas où il a passé'".

(95) ibid. (Fardes d'Audience 278).

The letters he left behind and the letter of Jaques de la Croix make nonsense of the claim that he made no attempt to defend himself before he met N. des Gallars in Orleans.(96) Later, however, when these charges were again brought up in correspondence with Beza, Reina had shifted his ground somewhat, and was to state categorically that he had slept near the boy, but had had no pollution on or near him.(97)

As so often in Western Europe, the mere hint of homosexuality was an infallible method of whipping up hysteria and creating suspicion. The mention of Servetus in orthodox Calvinist circles of the period had very much the same effect. Tongues were set wagging and the rumours grew. Cousin and Utenhovius shot letters off to various people to appraise them of the affair whilst it was still, after all, sub judice. This is only one aspect of the very strange behaviour of many people concerned with the affair. One cannot help feeling that the two ministers seized on this as an ideal opportunity to work off their distrust of Cassiodoro because of his friendship with Velsius, Acontius and Haemstede, and their dislike of him engendered by his having drawn church members away from them, notwithstanding the protestations of friendship contained in Cousin's letters.

Other strange factors of the case including the following:

1. The strange and long silence of Abrego. It was at least seventeen months before the matter came to Reina's ears, and presumably a year before it was made public. If the acts did in fact take place, it is fairly easy to suppose that Jean would not talk of them, as one who was principally involved, but it is inconceivable that Abrego should be equally silent for so long, especially when we recall the glee with which he finally communicated the affair.
2. Jean de Bayonne Sr.'s evident resentment against Reina's rumoured relationship with his wife might easily have resulted in some attempt at revenge by inventing the charge and instructing his son what to say. Once launched, such a tale would make its way without much help. This supposition is further supported

(96) McFadden p.205; 3 Sp.H. p.19.
(97) Geneva, Corres.eccles. M/S fr 407, fol.20 r.

by the father's refusal to allow his son to testify, and by the speedy disappearance of the youth into Flanders, where his story, though kept up for a time, was soon changed to one more favourable to Reina.

3. Angel Victor emerges from the story as a scandalmonger, eager to keep adding to the tale till brought up short, then equally eager to retract and contradict what he has said. And finally,

4. The sinister shadow of the Inquisition cannot be ignored. Eager to engineer Reina's departure from England to a place more within its influence, it could well have set the whole story in motion. Gaspar Zapata's return to Spain in 1565 seems to be in some way connected with this.

Set against these, we must say that Grindal retained a favourable attitude to Reina throughout, and that Cassiodoro's former prior, Farías, was his consistent champion. Cipriano de Valera also was willing to speak for him years later.

Rumour grew, once Cassiodoro was accused, no doubt helped by his precipitate flight. The moral side of the accusations was exaggerated by the prurient gossip-mongers, as can be seen from the minutes of the French Church for the 10th April 1564, when these rumours were investigated. Pierre Fouet complained that Angel Victor had said that Madame Fouet was of easy virtue. Jean Giblon testified that, when he was in the company of the Spaniards, Jean Simony and Jacques Cousturier, he had heard Angel Victor say that Cassiodoro had had his pleasure of Pierre Fouet's wife, and of Jean de Bayonne's wife "who was a whore".(98) On another occasion in the same company Angel had

(98) Actes fol.136 f; H.S.P. Vol.38 p.57:

"(10th April 1565) Ledit jour piere fouet et sa femme vindrent plaindre a lencontre de Angele Espagnol disant quil blasmoit sa femme de paillardise et de deshonneur et quil auoit proeuue pour le prouuer ꝛcauoir est jehan Giblon et vng Jaques cousturier espagnol.

Jehan Giblon dit quil auoit ouy dire a Angele Victor espagnol estant en sa mason entour 15 jours deuant le caresme estant en la compagnie de Jehan simony espagnol et Jaques cousturier espagnol, quil disoit telles parolles que Casiadore auoit eut a son plaisir le femme de piere fouet et de Jehan de baione et quelle estoit vne putaine."

said that Cassiodoro kept company with one woman for one week and with the other for the next and so on. Jacques Cousturier was willing to testify to the same statements, but when Angel Victor was questioned he denied the charges and claimed they were made from hatred. He bore witness to the respectable life that Cassiodoro led, and praised his confession of faith. The accusers were told to take more care of what they said and to be more careful of the reputation of others.(99)

The doctrinal side did not escape attention. About this time, as we have seen, there arrived Corro's Théobon letter, with its references to well-known heterodox theologians and questions about doctrinal disturbances amongst the refugee Protestants. In the circumstances, it could do Cassiodoro no good. The doubts regarding his soundness on the Trinity had neve been completely allayed, and this brought them up in definite form. The minutes indicate this. On 9th June 1564, Utenhovius and Cousin were asked to examine

(99) ibid: "Item vne autre fois estant a souper auec ledyt Angele et en ladyte compagnie dit de Rechief ledyt Angele que Casiadore tenoit vne sepmaine lune des dytes femmes et lautre vne autre sepmaine, etc.
Item Jaques le cousturier espagnol dit quassy semblable pourpos, mais il ne furent Receu pourtant quil nest point de leglise.
Angele estant apelle pour estre Interrogues en nostre presence dit que lesdytes pourpos sont faulx et alegue que lesdyts tesmoings le disent par haine .... ce que on a faict contre casiadore est juste et que sa confesion de foy quil a faict est bonne selon quil a veu. lesdyts tesmoigns furent avertys de Regarder ce quil disent et de nestre sy prest a Raporter mauvais pourpos, qui son de sy grande Importance pour lhomme et sa femme. Et a piere fouet fut ditet a sa femme De ne faire sy grand bruit, etc."

what Cassiodoro had written about the Bible.(100) On the 10th April Angel Victor had declared that Cassiodoro's confession of faith was good, which presupposes that some questions had been asked about it. In minds only too ready to believe the worst, the Théobon letter merely confirmed suspicions of Reina's Sevetism. These suspicions remained obstinately active in Calvinist minds for the rest of Reina's life.

With the calmness and tolerance of a later age we can look at these charges with some detachment. Firstly one is bound to acknowledge that, once a person was suspect, it was considered normal in the 16th century to accuse him of the worst crimes, for these were, after all, the logical outcome of the incipient errors that could be discerned. The charges of sodomy and atheism (which often meant merely erroneous views about God) were particularly beloved of the 16th century polemicists. Hence, one takes the detail with a certain reserve. The fact that Reina was able to clear himself completely in 1579, to the satisfaction at least of Grindal, is itself indicative.

What meanwhile of the work that Reina saw as his overriding purpose in life? He had never ceased to work on the translation of a Spanish vernacular version of the Bible, the provision of which was a major concern of so many of the Spanish religious refugees. We have learnt that he had collaborators in this work, such as Zapata, and presumably Valera. We can deduce from Corro's two extant letters that the work had proceeded well in England, although it was not by any means finished. When the work was finally finished, he inscribed in a copy of it which he presented to Grindal a dedication in which he expressed his thanks to him for saving the manuscript from his

(100) Actes fol.152: H.S.P.Vol.38, p.63:
"Item quant a laffaire de Casiadore il a este donne charge a monsieur Utenhove et a monsieur Cousin de visiter ce que ledyt casiadore a escript sur la Bible, et monsieur leuesque a delibere de faire la fin de toute le premier de Julet et que la chose luy soit Ramentu, etc."

enemies.[101] It has been credibly suggested that the circumstances which put the manuscript into Grindal's hands would have been the occasion mentioned above, namely when Utenhovius and Cousin were asked to examine Reina's writings and report on them to the Bishop. By what means and exactly when the manuscript was restored to him we cannot say, but the Bishop's agents were in Frankfurt very soon after Reina's arrival there.

(101) The dedication, in the Bible now preserved in Queen's College, Oxford, reads:

> "Ampliss.Antistiti. ac Dno. Rmo. Edmundo Grindalo,
> Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, et totius Angliae.
> Primeti digniss ob erepta hujus Hispanicae versionis
> sacrorum librorum scripta ex hostium manibus,
> C^us^ R^us^ euisdem versionis author gratitudinis
> ergo et in perpetuae observantiae pignus.d.d."

CASSIODORO DE REINA -
FROM HIS FLIGHT FROM ENGLAND TO THE PUBLICATION OF HIS BIBLE.

The question of where Cassiodoro hid in Antwerp is intriguing. Spies were everywhere. We have seen that there was correspondence between the King of Spain's agents in London and Antwerp and that a constant watch was kept on the latter port. Perhaps, like his wife, he went via Flushing or some other port and travelled to Antwerp by land. In January 1564 a price was put on his head.(1) For some months he remained concealed and, before his whereabouts could be discovered, he himself had fled to Frankfurt, where he arrived by the end of January 1564.(2)

Antwerp's history in the 16th century was extremely turbulent. The fortunes of the evangelical Christians fluctuated enormously. Despite the Spanish presence during the period 1563-64 the city was fairly safe for Protestants, unless they happened to be native-born Spanish. Its situation made it fruitful ground for the propagation of the new ideas springing from the Reformation. Great numbers of foreign merchants, bankers and financiers who had embraced the new faith lived within its walls and it became a rallying-place and a relatively safe refuge for those who came to be called 'les

(1) Bib.Wif.II p.172; A.Bernus, Un laïque du 16me siècle: Marc Pérez (Lausanne 1895) p.15; A.A.van Schelven "Cassiodorus de Reyna" Nederlandsch Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenus VIII (Hague 1911) p.324; C.Rahlenbeck L'Inquisition et la réforme en Belgique (Anvers) (Brussels 1857) p.33 (quoting Archives du Roy, Fardes de l'Audience 273) letter from the Margrave of Antwerp to Marguerite of Parma:

> "Madame, j'entens que Sa Majesté a despendu de grandes sommes de deniers pour treuver et descouvrir le dict Cassiodoro, pour si dadventure il se retrevoit par les rues ou quelque aultre lieu, le descouvrir, promettant à celluy quelque somme dargent en cas quil le descouvriroit, comme jay faict à ceulx lesquelz en cest endroict jay entretenus."

(2) Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie vol. 27; Bib.Wif. ibid; van Schelven ibid; McFadden p.202; Hessels 3.1. p.35.

religionnaires'.[3] The Marrano merchants were particularly affected by evangelical ideas, as they were in various other centres outside Spain. In the history of the Spanish Protestant movement the Jewish Converso families played a significant part.

Because of these foreigners, the laws against heresy were not strictly applied; otherwise the whole business life of the city would have been disrupted. As early as 1550 the magistrates had opposed the setting up of the Inquisition, and the King and the governor had to agree repeatedly not to allow it.[4] There were substantial numbers of Calvinists, Lutherans and Anabaptists in the town and evangelical literature was freely printed. By 1566 Protestants had begun to feel sufficiently well-established to make demands and Calvinists began even to invade Roman Catholic churches in an excess of iconoclastic zeal.[5]

One of the leading Calvinist laymen and a rich Marrano financier was Marcos Pérez,[6] a member of a widely-spread merchant family, established in many of the strategic trading centres of Europe. He was an extremely gifted man, speaking fluent Flemish, French, German, Spanish, Italian and Latin,[7] besides being very influential amongst the commercial community of Antwerp, and wielding considerable political power. He laboured indefatigably to ship evangelical literature to Spain in great quantities. He sent via his agents Bibles, New Testaments, and catechisms. Some idea of the amounts

(3) L.v.d.Essen, "Les progrès du Lutheranisme et du Calvinisme ... Anvers" Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial= u.Wirtschaftsgeschichte Vol.12 (Berlin 1914) p.153.

(4) ibid p.154.

(5) ibid pp.158 f.

(6) For Marcos Pérez, see A.Bernus op.cit.(Note 1) and P.J.Hauben, "Marcus Pérez and Marrano Calvinism" B.H.R. 29.1. pp 121-32 (Geneva 1967).

(7) Bernus, op.cit. p.7; Bib.Wif.II p.213; Petri Rami Basilea ad senatum populumque Basiliensem (1571 ?) p.33:

"Etenim opibus magnis abundare, commercia cum omnibus christiani orbis gentibus perampla exercere: scire Flandrice, Germanice, Italice, Hispanice, Gallice; imo luculenter et eleganter Latine, liberalium artium coluisse, sacras imprimis literas evolvisse ..."

involved can be gained from the information that 30,000 copies of Calvin's Institution were sent.(8) He carried on correspondence on Protestant topics with many parts of Europe.(9) This is the man who apparently sheltered Reina and his wife during their stay in Antwerp.(10) If he did not actually shelter them in his own home, he undoubtedly arranged somewhere for them to stay and his connexions would provide the means for the next stage of Reina's journey.

Cassiodoro was lucky. On 6th October 1563 a Genevan called Augustyn Boazio was caught by means of a letter intercepted on its way to England. He said he had come to Antwerp from Bordeaux 2½ years earlier and worked as a carrier between various foreign merchants in the city. In his possession were found a number of Spanish Protestant publications, of interest because they included the very ones on which Juan Pérez and Julianillo had worked in 1557-58. He said they had been left in his shop by a certain Marc Antonio. He was sentenced to twelve years in the triremes.(11)

Reina next appears in Frankfurt, as a member of the French Reformed Church, with which he had established contact in 1558, and amongst whose congregation Juan Pérez had ministered some years earlier. After his plans to settle in London had been so cruelly upset, he appears to have chosen Frankfurt as his base and his fortunes from this time on were linked with that city. The choice was influenced, without doubt, because Frankfurt was the home of his father-in-law.

It is not clear what his intentions were at that time. Perhaps he himself had no clear idea. He had a series of grave accusations hanging over his head. He had a pressing invitation to visit the friend of his

(8) JA Goris, "Etude sur les colonies marchandes méridionales .. à Anvers" (Louvain, 1925) p.583; Bernus op.cit.p.13. Goris, ibid. p.585 quotes from the Correspondence du Cardinal Grenville:
"infinité de bibles, testaments, nouveaux catéchismes et aultres pestilentz livretz imprimez en castillan en Anvers"

(9) L.v.d.Essen, "Episodes de l'histoire religieuse et commerciale d'Anvers" Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire Vol.80 pp.529 f.

(10) Bib.Wif.II p.172, n.27; Hauben op.cit. (Note 5) p.125; Bernus op.cit. p.15.

(11) Antwerpsche Archievenblad Vol.9 pp.154 f.

San Isidro days, Corro, from whom he might expect at least some sympathy, if not help. He had, we assume, temporarily lost the manuscript of his Bible translation.(12) He had no obvious means of support in Frankfurt or anywhere else.

In 1564 he was in Orleans, where Nicolas des Gallars, late French minister in London, was now exercising his pastorate.(13) Reina must have felt that he was assured of a friendly reception there. He had attended the Colloquy of Poissy with des Gallars, and no doubt it was possible that news of the London scandal had not yet reached Orleans. Reina stayed there long enough to be able to write to Corro in the south-west and for Corro to obtain a six weeks leave of absence from his church and to travel north to Orleans to confer with both ministers in fact for several months.(14) But news travels fast, especially bad news, and it seems that des Gallars had already been informed of the situation. On 25th March 1564 he had written to Utenhovius in London praising God that Reina was found out in time and asking Him to keep such harmful people away from His flock.(15) It is hardly

(12) S. & V. p.60.

(13) McFadden p.204.

(14) McFadden p.201; Hessels III p.46 gives a series of notes from Cousin's draft of a letter; unfortunately the handwriting is most difficult to read and so that transcript is not complete:

> "Comme Cassiodore luy auoit rescrit de...pour en sauoir la verité, nestant pas encor decidée...il prenoit congé de son église permettoit daller pour 6 sepmanes. Il trouua Cassiodore a Orleans et Monsieur de Saules quil ne se meslasse trop auant de cest affaire et contre la volonté de son eglise durant 6 mois pour traiter cest affaire. Il ne la peut defendre ni contenter."

(15) McFadden p.204; Hessels II p.236 f:

> "Quae de Cassiodoro intellexi nihi fuerunt permolesta. Sed laudandus est Dominus qui in tempore talem fucum detexit. Potuisset enim temporis progressu ecclesiae multum nocere. Non frustra sane in eo aliquid latere suspicabamur. Quorundam peccata praecedunt quorundam vero subsequuntur. Auertat Dominus tantas pestes a grege sua."

likely that Corro and Reina had met since the days of San Isidro - except perhaps briefly in Geneva. One supposes that on his way to see Corro in Bergerac Reina had made it in his way to call on des Gallars. He was a highly respected Calvinist, as one of Calvin's most trusted lieutenants. If Reina could have convinced him of his innocence it would have gone a long way to restore his reputation. If he could have reached Orleans before the news of the accusation he might have succeeded. The outcome of this conference at Orleans is not clear. Writing to Beza in 1571, Reina complained that des Gallars seemed friendly towards him, yet had a poor opinion of him and did not tell him so.(16) It could do no harm to Reina, however, to plead his innocence of the dreadful charges from which he had fled, even if des Gallars was not fully convinced.

Eventually Corro took Cassiodoro back with him to Bergerac, where they were at peace for only a few months. Corro's position there was anomalous. The Pacification of Amboise had expressly excluded all foreigners from exercising pastorates amongst Protestants in France, and the magistrates of Bergerac were breaking the law of France by allowing Corro to preach there. He had strong local patrons in a Huguenot nobleman, Jean d'Escodéca, seigneur de Boesse (from whose chateau he had written the Bergerac letter) and in Jeanne d'Albret, mother of Henri IV.(17) As Reina tells us later, he was admitted to communion by Corro and another minister named Broikius.(18) McFadden says this was after having signed a declaration of innocence of the charge of sodomy.(19)

(16) Musée Hist.de la Réf., Corres.de Th.de Bèze (inédite) No.656 Cassiodoro to Beza 21st Dec. 1571; Fkft.docts.617-620.

(17) McFadden p.205.

(18) McFadden p.211; Bibliothèque de Genève MS.fr.407.Corrés.eccl. 1565-1571 fol.20 recto:

> "...avant que de m'admettre a la communion de la S.Cene du Seigneur (comm'aussi je en suys esté depuis & a Londres & en france en l'eglise de Montargis soubs le ministere de Messieurs Pierius & Corranus & en Bergerac soubs le ministere dudz Corranus et Broikius)..."

(19) McFadden <u>ibid</u>.

This period of calm, we suppose, was spent in discussion of those points raised by Corro in his Théobon letter and of the work which they both saw as their overriding task in life - the production of the Spanish translation of the Bible. No doubt Cassiodoro helped where he could in the work of preaching and pastoral care. But the calm was not to last. A royal commission under Mr. de Burie arrived in Bergerac in November 1564 and began to enquire into the religious situation. The entire civil magistracy and legal officers of the crown had been in Corro's congregation at the Temple in the 'Mercadil' and in this irregular situation they appealed to Renée de France who had passed through Bergerac on 12th November 1564. She tried to exercise her influence in favour of Bergerac, but could do nothing about Corro, who was a foreigner. Corro apparently gained her confidence and with it her patronage.(20) When she left, he went with her as her chaplain, as above reported (p. 54). With them went also Reina, to reside awhile in Montargis. He cannot have been too comfortable in the presence of Juan Pérez, whom he had so irritated in Geneva. He did not stay long, although long enough to receive communion from the two of them.(21) Early in 1565, probably February, he left for Frankfurt again, where we suppose his wife was awaiting his return.(22)

Whilst in Frankfurt in early 1565, he was approached by the French Strangers' Church in Strassburg, whose members wanted him to take up a pastorate amongst them.(23) It is not clear whether they knew of the London situation or not - but they had apparently asked various leading Calvinist divines for their opinion of Reina. On his way to Strassburg, Reina called on Gaspar Olevianus(24) in Heidelberg and stayed some time there, discussing.

(20) McFadden pp.212 f.

(21) See note 16.

(22) McFadden p.224; Bib.Wif.II p.173.

(23) Bib.Wif.ibid; 3.Sp.H. p.90.

(24) Gaspar Olevianus b.10th Aug.1536, d.15th March 1587. Studied law in Paris & Orleans. A Calvinist divine, he helped to introduce the Reformation into the Palatinate. One of the composers of the Heidelberg Catechism of 1563. Court Preacher at the Holy Ghost Church, Heidelberg, from 1562 onward.

matters with him, and with Johannes Sylvanus,[25] Franciscus Mosellanus, Boquinius, Ursinus,[26] all theologians, and a Mr. d'Honestis.[27] On his departure from Heidelberg on 19th March 1565, the three first-named saw fit to send post-haste to Strassburg a letter condemning Reina's doctrines out of hand, but reserving judgement on his morals.[28] To this Reina saw the need to reply at length from Strassburg on 24th March 1565.[29] It is by collating both these letters together with another written in August 1571 by Olevianus to Salvard, minister of the French Church in Frankfurt, in which he went over the whole matter again, that we can piece together what happened.[30] Reina went to Heidelberg to tell Olevianus, whom he had known previously, about his call to Stassburg, saying he was going to pull the French Church together.[31] He was surprised not to be received so well as he had expected.[32] The fact

(25) Johann Sylvanus. After beginning life as a R.C., progressed to Lutheranism and then Calvinism and was finally beheaded in 1572 for anti-Trinitarian views. In the light of his condemnation of Cassiodoro (Note 28 inf.) his end is rather ironical.

(26) Zacharias Beer (Ursinus) b.8th July 1534, d.16th March 1583. Left Breslau as a result of the Lutheran-Calvinist eucharistic controversy. Found his way to Heidelberg, collaborated with Olevianus and lectured in the University. Beza sent his adopted son to Heidelberg to be instructed by him (Hessels III p.631).

(27) An Italian, whom Olevianus later remembered as Modesti (Note 30 inf.)

(28) Original in MS fr.407 fol.6 recto & verso. Full text printed in Bib.Wif.II p.192 f.

(29) Original in MS fr.407 fol. 2 r - 4 v, 8 r - 11 v. Full text printed in Bib.Wif.II pp.194-201.

(30) A.A.van Schelven op.cit. pp.330 f; Frankfurt docts. fol.609.

(31) ibid p.330:
"Cassiodore est venu vers moy, Il y a quelques annees passé me declairant son intention de se vouloir laisser employer au ministère de l'église francoyse de Strassbourg pour la redresser."

(32) Bib.Wif.II p.199:
"Estant arrivé à Heydelberg, j'ai visité Olevianus pour communiquer avec lui ma vocation (car j'avois quelque cognoissance à lui de paravant), où je n'ai point esté receu de lui si amiablement que je pensois à cause qu'on lui avoit rapporté de moi que j'avois esté deposé de mon ministere à Londres, et chassé de là à cause que j'avois soustenu publiquement les erreurs de Servetus."

was that news of the London accusations had reached Heidelberg and Olevianus was suspicious of him and began to interrogate him narrowly on his doctrinal standpoint - particularly in regard to the eucharist, as Marbach had persecuted the French Church of Strassburg because of this point in its doctrine. Olevianus claimed at that time that Reina had expressed ubiquitarian views of Christ's bodily presence (and therefore a more Lutheran than Calvinist standpoint).(33) Reina had asserted that he had preferred to quit London rather than spend his time unprofitably defending himself, seeing he had much more important and useful affairs in hand. He would mean by this his Bible translation.(34) After some discussion, Reina said that Olevianus and he had parted amicably - but two days later when they again met, Olevianus was most rude to him, accusing him of having deceived Beza, des Gallars and others. A sharp argument followed, in the presence of the Italian, d'Honestis, during which Reina accused Olevianus of being the enemy of the churches of Zurich, Geneva and France in the matter of the eucharist. Olevianus retorted that he was a 'proud ass' and threatened to write to Strassburg to warn them of

(33) van Schelven op.cit.p.330:

"Or la desus d'aultant que Marbach a persécuté ceste église la a cause de la doctrine de la scene nous commençames à parler de la cène. La conférence a duré plusieurs heures devant et après disne, avec papier et encre. Les propositions qu'il maintenoit estoit que le corps de Jesus Christ n'est point seulement en ung lieu a scavoir au ciel: et voyloit prouver cela par la dextre de Dieu. La desus estant interrogue sil croyait donques que le corps de Jesus Christ fut maintenant en ce poile, ou nous estions, je ne sceu jamais tirer ny ouy ny nenny."

(34) Bib.Wif. p.200:

"... et que me voyant aussi pressé de nécessité de perdre mon temps en ma defense, j'ai esté d'advis de m'acquiter moi mesme de mon ministere, et pour enfuir les debats m'enfuir aussi de Londres pour vaquer es choses plus utiles à l'Eglise du Seigneur, que j'avois entre les mains."

Reina's heterodox views.[35] It also appeared that someone had told Olevianus that Reina had been present at a lecture of Ursinus' at the university on the divinity of the Holy Spirit at which Reina had shaken his head in disagreement. As Reina had not been present, this could not have been so;[36] and eventually, by the intercession of Mr. d'Honestis, they had reached a

(35) van Schelven op.cit. p.330:

"Et moy voyant ceste suybite et impudente menterie luy dicts: Et ego protestor te esse superbum asinum Hispanum et tibi sancte promitto me statim scripturum ad fratres Argentinenses Gallos de tuis haeresibus quas defendisti. Et iam habeo calamum in aure ut scias me esse in opere."

(36) Bib.Wif.II p.200:

"Deux jours après je l'ai visité derechef, et il m'a receu beaucoup rudement en me disant grandes injures, dont j'estois bien estonné, car je ne savois l'occasion de si grand changement en si peu de temps. Les plus petites estoient que j'estois ignorant, que je ne savois rien, etc.; les plus atroces que j'avois trompé Monsr de Beze et Monsr de Saules, et tous les gens de bien qui avoient rendu bon tesmoignage de moi. Entre les injures me amenaça de faire ce qu'il a fait, de estre mon adversaire partout etc. Donques nous ayant porté assez immodestement l'un avec l'autre, à la fin, par l'intercession de Monsr d'Honestis qu'estoit present, nous nous sommes moderés, et y a eu lieu qu'il declairaist l'occasion de ce nouveau et acerbe courroux, disant qu'on lui avoit rapporté que le jour devant j'avois esté à la leçon de M. Ursinus, lequel traitant de la divinité du Saint Esprit, j'avois corné de la teste en signe que je ne consentois pas; et lui ayant certifié que je n'y avois jamais esté, il trouva son abus, et me certifia qu'on lui avoit dit, et que par ce nouveau rapport il avoit renouvelé tous les vieux rapports de moil, adjoustant que je ne convenois pas avec lui on l'interpretation du ciel etc., et que c'estoit pour cela qu'il m'avoit receu et traité si rudement."

friendlier frame of mind. Sylvanus had even invited him to supper, which he had had to refuse, but all had parted amicably. The next day (according to Reina; a few hours later according to Olevianus) Reina came to Olevianus most affably to bid farewell and to ask whether he had any message for Sturm. Olevianus offered financial help, as he had done in the past, but this was refused. They parted on good terms. Sylvanus had been at the first discussion by chance and nearly at the end. Mosellanus had not been at the second. Neither understood French, so they must have signed Olevianus's letter in ignorance.(37)

Reina feigned surprize that such a letter of forthright condemnation should be waiting for him on his arrival at Strassburg. He had, after all, been warned. The letter merely contains strong assertions of Reina's heterodoxy, but without any detailed specification of the points at issue.

Cassiodoro's reply begins with a lengthy doctrinal statement, asserting his undivided adherence to the historic creeds and particularizing his Trinitarian orthodoxy and his views on the eucharist. He went on to

(37) ibid. p.201:

"Quant es autres qui sont soubsignés avec lui, soyez asseurés aussi que le Sylvanus n'a point esté à nostre premier colloque qu'à la moitié où il est venu d'aventure, l'autre Mosellanus n'a point esté au second, afin que vous entendiez que ce n'a point esté une assemblée faite de propos pour disputer aveque moi, comme il semble qu'ile veulent donner à entendre par sa lettre, ains se sont trouvés à pieces ainsi qu'ils venoient à l'aventure, et le mesme Sylvanus (s'il voudra dire verité) pourra tesmoigner de l'amitié de laquelle je m'en suis departi d'Olevianus la premiere fois, et de la immodeste rudece, avec laquelle il m'a receu et traité la seconde fois à cause de ce nouveau rapport de sus dit, et comme ayant treuvé qu'ils avoint esté trompés, ils ont cogneu leur faute, at Olevianus a fait avec moi grand amitié, en laquelle nous nous sommes departis, ainsi que de sus est dit. Item, vous entenderez que les deuz soubsignés ne savent rien de françois, et par ainsi qu'ils ont soubsigné ce que Olevianus leur a presenté, non pas ce qu'ils ont entendu."

protest his innocence of the charge of sodomy, adding that he expected to receive very soon from London a declaration that he had been cleared of all the charges against him.(38) Finally he gave the explanation already considered of the things that had passed between himself and Olevianus.

This reply was addressed to the Strangers' Church of Strassburg, but a copy of it must have gone to Geneva. In fact, two copies of it are preserved in Geneva, in a longer and a shorter version. With it went a letter, signed by thirteen persons in the name of the Strangers' congregation

(38) Bib.Wif.p.199:

"Quant à ma vie, de laquelle les rapporteurs vous ont voulu aussi faire soupçon de moi, je ne tiendrai pas ici long propos pour en faire purgation, ayant celle que j'ai pres de moi laquelle pourra voir quiconque voudra, et attendant aussi celle que de tout je espere que me sera envoyé de Londres en brief."

of Strassburg, testifying their support of Reina.(39) They indicated that they were fully satisfied with him and were not refusing him the pastorate; rather, he was asking them not to have him till the London matter should be satisfactorily settled.

In a letter written at the same time to the Rector and Scholarchs of Strassburg he revealed that he had by that time translated the whole of the Bible, and was now engaged upon making corrections and writing annotations

(39) Bib.Wif.II p.201 f; MS fr.Corresp.ecclés.407 fol 3 recto:

"Nous qui sommes au de soubz soubsignez, estants congregés au nom du Seigneur Jesus Christ et Son Eglise, testifions par ce present escrit qu'ayant oui la suscripte confession et response laquelle Cassiodore de Reyna, Espagnol, appellé de nous pour nous ministrer la parole du Seigneur, nous a presentee pour se purger de ces articles qui lui ont esté opposés par une lettre envoyee à nous de certains ministres de Heidelberge, nous recevons et advouons la response, et que nous sommes satisfaits de lui en cest endroit. Item, nous testifions que nous ne le renv. point pour blasme qui lui soit faite, sinon que lui mesme nous ayant prié au nom du Seigneur de nous desporter de lui jusques à ce qu'il aie resolution de certains affaires qu'il a à Londres, et juste et entiere purgation de quelques choses qui lui ont esté oposées tant de sa vie que de sa doctrine, afin qu'en la procedure de son ministere personne ne le puisse blasmer de quelque chose d'icelles comme n'estant pas suffisanment purgé, nous l'avons accordé, voyant sa petition estre juste; toutesfois avec telle condition qu'ayant la dite purgation, toutes et quantes fois il sera rappellé de cest'eglise, n'ayant nul autre just'impediment, il sera prest de ci venir, ce que lui nous a promis, etc. Et en tesmoignage de verité nous avons ici soubsigné de nos mains. Donné à Strasbourg, le jour que de sus etc. Soubsignés 13. au nom de toute la Congregation."

[13 signatures.]

and that he hoped to be finished within a year.(40) The letter was a request for admission into the ranks of pupils of the academy (? student at the university). He also referred to the request he had made for citizenship or the right to live in Strassburg, and asks for their support of this application.(41) Johann Sturm was one of the scholarchs and the Rector of the Gymnasium. He became in time one of Reina's strong supporters.

After some days, Reina went back to Frankfurt and on 22nd April 1565 he wrote to Beza, going over the whole ground again in Latin.(42) Beza's support was desirable since he had succeeded to Calvin's position as leader of the Geneva Church. Reina explained both the situation in London and that in Strassburg. He received a reply sent on 9th July, in which Beza went over the doctrinal points in minute detail.(43)

On 12th November 1565 Reina put in a second request to the Strassburg City Council asking for a resident's permit for himself and his wife and permission for his wife to carry on business in needlework to gain a

(40) Bibliothèque de Strasbourg, MS AST 48/29:
"Textum omnem non sine ingenti labore Deo tamen vires suppeditente per sexennium integrum, exili difficultate remorante opus, iam verti: correctioni & annotationibus nunc incumbo, ac eo qui hunc animum indidit ut sacrae isti occupatione me totum addicerem, conatus meos benefortunante, intra annum praelo committendum opus spero."

(41) ibid:
"Consultum vero bonum ex parte hisce meis studiis arbitrarbor ... si inter scholae vestrae alumnos primum scribar, deinde si authores mihi fueritis ut illustrissimus ac prudentiss. huius inclytae urbis Senatus me aut in numerum suorum civium admittat, aut si hoc minus fieri possit, habitandi saltem isthic licentiam tantisper mihi concedat ..."

(42) Bib.Wif.II p.204:
"Expectavi postae Argentinae 13 diebus quae esset missurus, sed frustra."

(43) ibid p.205

livelihood.(44) He gave as reason that he wanted to finish his work on the translation of the Bible and to publish it. The request was granted on the same date.(45)

Now began a time of busy movement between Strassburg, Frankfurt and Basle. These movements were occasioned by his work on the Bible, and by the silk trade on which he was engaged. In all three towns he gained the friendship and assistance of influential men. In Strassburg he became friendly, as we have said, with Johann Sturm, with Conrad Hubert, a minister who also carried on various trading agencies, and with the Italian, Girolamo Zanchi. In Basle he had a friend in Theodor Zwinger, a doctor, and the support of two Lutheran Ministers, Simon Sulzer and Huldrich Koechlein (Coccius). In Frankfurt he established close ties with Matthias Ritter the Younger, an eminent Lutheran pastor of the city and superintendent of the foreign churches. As yet he was still a Calvinist, and, though not of the highest orthodoxy, he tried to maintain his place within the Reformed community. The enmity of Olevianus and Cousin, the coolness of des Gallars and the intransigeance of Beza must have disillusioned him and cannot but have helped to ease his passage into the Lutheran fold. But at present he was a member of the French (Calvinist) Church at Frankfurt and a visitor of Reformed assemblies in the towns through which he passed.

On 22nd April 1565 he had written to Marbach from Frankfurt about the dissension concerning the eucharist, deploring the way in which those who held differing opinions wished neither to instruct nor to learn, but only to dominate. He praised the example of moderation shewn by Bucer, and assured Marbach that he himself wished to go to Strassburg not as a protagonist of any party in the dispute, but as a minister of peace and gospel unity amongst

(44) Archives de la Ville de Strasbourg, Procès verbaux des XXI 1565 fol. 397 verso f.
<u>ibid.</u>
"...frauwen arbyt negen sticken und derglychen ernären konne so bitt er nachmals myne H[erren] wöllen Ime zu eynen innwower ann nemmen."

(45) <u>ibid.</u>
"Erkannd. mann soll Ime ey Jarlang zu eynem Innwoner ann nemen doch auf syn wol halten."
There are no records of Reina ever having been received as a full bourgeois of Strassburg.

the people of God.[46] On the same date he wrote to Beza to explain the whole matter of the discussion with Olevianus and the impasse at Strassburg.[47]

Beza replied from Geneva on 23rd June 1565, not wishing to condemn, but taking up various points in the confession to the Strassburg Church, and in fact shewing some bias against Reina.[48]

On 28th January 1566 Reina saw fit to write again to Beza from Frankfurt, this time in French.[49] He elaborated the meaning of various passages in the confession which he felt might have been taken wrongly, striving to be an orthodox Calvinist, but driving himself deeper into the distrust of Beza and his friends.

In Strassburg on 1st March 1566, he wrote again to Beza,[50] enclosing two lists of objections extracted by his London accusers from his annotations to Isaiah[51] and Ezekiel.[52] (These must have been the notes intended for publication with his Bible.) The notes are on the one hand rather 'modern' in tone (e.g. he understands Isaiah 7:14 'A virgin shall conceive ... etc.' as referring to the prophet's wife and only by symbolism to Mary), and on the other hand they are very critical of the French translation. This letter pleaded once again his Calvinist orthodoxy in both his London and his Strassburg confessions and used the extracts from his notes to shew just how petty his accusers were.

The work of translating the Bible and its revision were now over and Cassiodoro entered into negotiations with Johan Herbst, better known as Oporinus, for the printing of this work.

Oporinus, besides carrying on business as a printer, was a humanist

(46) Full text is given by J.Fecht Historiae Ecclesiasticae seculi A.N.C. XVI Supplementum (Frankfurt 1684) pp. 195 f and in Lehneman pp. 158 f. Vide also Tollin p.396.

(47) Geneva MS fr Corres. ecclés. 407 fol.12 recto ff.

(48) ibid. fol.14 r & v, 15 r & v.

(49) ibid. fol.4 recto f; Bib.Wif.II p.208 f.

(50) ibid. fol. 16 recto f; Bib.Wif.II p.210 f.

(51) Given in Bib.Wif.II p.191 f & Corres.ecclés.407 fol 24 recto f.

(52) Given in Bib.Wif.II p.192 & Corres.ecclés.407 fol 25 recto.

lecturer at the University of Basle. We find out various details of his dealings with Cassiodoro from his voluminous correspondence with Conrad Hubert (Ornithopogon), the pastor who appears to have been his agent in Strassburg. Oporinus sent books in casks down the Rhine to Strassburg and there they were off-loaded for onward transmission to their destinations elsewhere in Germany and France. Cassiodoro also carried on a correspondence with Hubert, from which other details can be gleaned.

A letter dated 9th April 1567 to Beza from Reina in Strassburg speaks of the difficulties he was experiencing in finding a printer for his Bible. He really felt that Geneva would have been the best place to have this done for several reasons. The cost was less, Crespin had the experience of printing Spanish, and he would have liked the opportunity of correcting his version from material available there. Two things prevented this: the difficulty of transporting his family so far, and the people who would have been able to help him were estranged from him.(53)

On 10th June 1567 Oporinus wrote to Hubert mentioning a pamphlet by Reina on the Spanish Inquisition.(54) Apart from another possible reference

(53) Paris Bibl.Nat.f.Dupuy, Vol.103, fol 73 r f (copy in Corres.inédite de Th.de Bèze, Geneva Musée hist.Réf.):

"Etsi variis Satanae oppugnationibus continenter impetiti, tamen Bibliorum versionem, quam nostris Hispanis iam dudum molimur, eousque perduximus, ut, adiuvante Deo conatus nostros ad proximas Francofordiae nundinas typographiam adire meditemur. Ego vero ad id perficiendum nullum locum unquam existimavi Geneva commodiorem, tum ob minores sumtus, tum ob Crispini typographiam premendis Hispanicis haud infoeliciter assuetam, tum maxime quod extremam tanti operis correctioni manum ex vestra collatione imponere consilium semper fuerit.

Tam ne id pro voto meo fiat duo imprimis obstant: alterum, quod alendae familiolae meae Genevae vix ulla appareat ratio; alterum, quod ut maxime appareret, tamen lis a me animo abalienatis, quorum opera imprimis ad operis correctionem uti debuissem, tentare id nimis stultum esset."

(54) Bibliothèque de Strasbourg, Epistolae ad historiam ecclesiasticam VII O-P Vol.160 fol.190 recto; Bib.Wif.II p.211.

to it, nothing is known of this pamphlet.(55) Oporinus was not sure whether he ought to burn it or to publish it and add to the sum of knowledge about the horrible deeds of the Inquisition.(56) He sent his regards to Cassiodoro who was at Strassburg, having left Frankfurt to travel to Basle to supervise the printing of the Bible.

From Strasburg on 27th September 1567 Reina wrote to Diego López and Balthasar Gomes, both of whom had apparently stayed in Paris since the time they had co-operated with Pérez in the preparation of his New Testament and other books for the press.(57) The letter to López has survived; we know of the letter to Gomes by reference to it in López's. When Reina last saw him (in Paris in 1564 ?) Gomes had promised to help in the preparation of the Bible for the press. Now Reina wants him to come to Basle as quickly as possible to help as compositor. He will be paid the proper rate and will

(55) In a P.S. to the letter referred to in 57 inf. Reina wrote:
"Los mysterios dela Inquisicion estan impressos en latin creo q̃ por ella los veran."
Usoz y Río felt that this was the key to the problem of the real identity of Reginaldus Gonsalvius Montanus, author of Sanctae Inquisitionis hispanicae artes .. (Heidelberg 1567). Reginaldus could be a play on Reina (Regina) and Montanus could be a reference to Montemolín, Reina's birthplace. In addition, the author had clearly been a member of the San Isidro community. Menéndez y Pelayo (V p.172) dismisses the idea with the statement that Montanus's Latin was definitely better than Reina's as seen in his letters. This judgement is open to question. Usoz's suggestion is interesting, and, if true, would give us Reina's true surname, but, although the date is right and the connexion with Heidelberg is proved, one feels that it is a little contrived.

(56) "Scire etiam cuperem quid de libello ejus, quo de Hispanica per Belgicum Inquisitione egit, fiat, exustusne is sit nec ne, aut, si non sit, an non excudendum curaturus sit, et forte etiam eorum, quae interea acciderunt, auditu horrenda, historica narratione adjicere."

(57) Full text given by E.Boehmer,"Ein Brief von Cassiodoro de Reyna" Romanische Studien Vol.4 pp.483-486 (Bonn 1880).

be assured of a job in the future.(58)

Reina revealed that he had had correspondence with López previously. He asked him to send the information in this letter to Gomes, in case the latter's letter did not arrive, and to find out what Gomes was being paid so that he would know what to pay him in Basle.(59)

The letter said that Reina and Oporinus had agreed that 1100 copies of the Bible should be printed at a cost of over 500 écus. Oporinus would have 200 copies for himself and Cassiodoro and the others would have 900 to distribute.(60) He also asked them to bring a copy of the New Testament on

(58) ibid. p.486:
"Para este negocio nos vendria bien alproposito el ayuda del hr° Bartholome Gomez la qual el me prometio quando estuue alla. Con esta va vna para el enq̃ le ruego que lomas presto q̃ pudiere venga a Basilea para este effecto assegurandole q̃ enloq̃ toca ala recompensa de su trabaio se hara conel muy bien yo creo que estara occupado dessos señores en su Nueuo testamento lo qual (si ansi es) visto que el Nueuo testamento esta ya tan al cabo y q̃ para loq̃ resta se podran ayudar de componedor frances, no le estoruara esso de venirnos aayudar en tiempo. Si por ventura no esta ay V.m.le embiara esta letra con buen recaudo donde quiera que estuuiere y o ay o en otra parte le persuadira quanto pudiere a que nos haga a todos y a toda la nacion este bien."

(59) ibid. p.486:
"Si el s°r Bartholome determinare de venir, como le rogamos, V.m. procurara de saber loque alla gana para que por essa via sepamos lo q̃ aca se le dara por su salario."

(60) ibid. pp.485 f:
"Esta ya el concierto hecho con Oporino Impressor de Basilea donde sera necessario q̃ yo me halle. Esta concertado q̃ imprimira 1100 exemplares delos quales el tomara asu cuenta 200 y nos dexara 900. Estos 900 creese que no costaran arriba de 500 escudos."
But Valera in the Preface to his Bible (fol.* 6 r) says quite definitely that 2600 copies were printed.

which they had worked with Pérez.[61]

On his arrival in Basle, Reina was allowed to matriculate at the University[62] and began negotiations with the authorities for permission for the Bible to be printed. Negotiations were particularly necessary because in 1550 the City Council had forbidden the printing of books in languages other than Latin, Greek, Hebrew and German.[63] This had put an effective brake on Basle immigrants evangelizing their homelands in the same way as Genevan immigrants could. Perhaps the law was a political safeguard; France and Spanish-held Germany were right on the borders. To print a Spanish Bible would require a special setting-aside of the rule, which the Council was not willing to do without a recommendation from Johan Sturm.

On 28th October 1567 Cassiodoro wrote to Hubert, asking him to use his

(61) ibid. p.486:

"Si ouiese alguna manera conque embiarme vn exemplar delo q̃ esta impresso del Nueuo Testamento me hara muy gran merced de embiarme hasta donde la impression llega. Creo que Mons^ur Languet (quees el portador deesta) le podra dar auiso por q̃ medio melo podra encaminar."

Discussion has raged as to whether this Bible was ever printed. In this article, Boehmer argues strongly for the view that the whole impression was confiscated as soon as printed (p.484). The fact remains that no single copy of it has ever been found.

(62) Bib.Wif.II p.172 reporting University of Basle Matriculation Book, an entry not in Reina's handwriting:

"(1567) Cassiodorus Reginius Hispanus 6/-".

Also Reina Commentary Matt.IV.fol. a 2; Bib.Wif.II p.222.

(63) M.Steinmann, Johannes Oporinus (Basle 1967), (quoting Basle City Archives Ratsbücher A6 fol.143 verso):

"unnd all anderer frömbden sprachen, alls Italiänischer, Franzesischer, Englescher unnd Hispanischer müssigen, unnd in denen gantz unnd gar nützit trucken sollend."

influence to make Sturm expedite the matter of this certificate, which Sulzer and Koechlein, as Inspectors, wanted before they would move.(64) This is the first of a series of letters from Reina to Hubert which are preserved in Strassburg.

On 15th November 1567 Oporinus wrote again to Hubert with much the same request, asking him to prod Sturm to write this recommendation, since Oporinus had written to him three or four times and had had no reply. The censors suspected everything they could not understand.(65) A similar point is again made by Reina in a letter dated 13th November. He was becoming irked by the delay and the Bible was being held up. His wife was still in Strassburg when

(64) Strassburg, AST 161/83.
ibid:
"Ad promovendam nostrae versionis impressionem indigeo testimonio dnj Rectoris apud Inspectores Sulcerum et Coccium illud a dno Rectore per meas literas peto. Sed ut est crebris occupationibus continenter distractus vereor ne tantula ista illi excidat memoria. Te igitur oro ut ab eo extorqueas, ac primo quoq̃ tempore ad nos transmittas."

(65) Epist. ad hist. eccles. fol 191; Bib.Wif. II pp.211 f:
"non potui differre longius quin te certiorem redderem de Biblia nostra Hispanica, in qua, ut tandem prelo subjiciatur, nihil impedit aliud quam ut D.Cassiodorus a Sturmio nostra bona testimonia consequatur, id quod hactenus et ipse, qui ter et quater jam scripsit ad eum, et nostri censores desiderant. Vellem itaque, mi D.Conrade apud D.Sturmium efficeres, ut eo accuratius D. Casiodorum commendaret: plurimi enim id proverbii negotium, quia censores nostri omnia, quae non intelligunt, suspecta habere judicantur."

this letter was written.(66)

Meanwhile Reina was consolidating his friendships with influential people in Basle. The two Inspectors, Simon Sulzer and Huldrich Koechlein (Coccius), became sympathetic to him, and he made a lasting friendship with Oporinus' nephew, a doctor named Theodor Zwinger.(67) He was lodging in the home of Marcos Pérez, who had fled to Basle in late 1566, when the situation got difficult in Antwerp.(68) Cassiodoro's wife finally joined him there, and

(66) Strassburg AST 161/84:

"Orabam etiam ut Dominum Sturmium sollicitares ut primo quoque tempore me apud inspectores eorũ quae imprimuntur, Sulcerũ et Coctium literis suis commendaret, quando ipsis ignorantibus quis ego sim, & Hispanice linguae onmino imperitis eiusmodi commendatione adeo mihi opus esse video, ut ob illius unius defectu in promovenda nostra impressione nihil hactenus a me sit tentatum. Obsecro itaque ut, si ea in re hactenus nihil praestitit dominus Rector, eum ores meo nomine ut statim eas literas det, et a te acceptas primo quoque tempore ad nos differe cures. Quod si quidq̃ fortasse, accidit quod ne id prestetis impedimento sit, me q̃ primum potueris eius impedimenti certiorem facias, ut aliam rationem in tempore iniamus ..... Dabis obsecro hanc schedam uxori meae."

(67) Bib.Wif.II p.213; Ramus loc.cit. Ramus, the philosopher, mentions in the same sentence as Reina several other people whom Reina also must have known. See above note 7.

(68) T.Geering "Handel und Industrie der Stadt Basel (Basle 1886) p.455: The situation in Antwerp had altered suddenly with the despatch of the Duke of Alba to put down heresy in the Low Countries. M.Pérez fled to Basle in October 1566, where he became a citizen. The transfer of his vast resources to that city enabled him to set up his business enterprises and to continue to help his refugee co-religionaries. In the preface to his commentary on Matthew's Gospel, Reina wrote:

"Illam ipsum erga relictos nequaquam intermissurum, indicium mihi certum erat Perezii mei domus, qui, ut de me fuit semper egregie benemeritus, ita etiam tunc caritate ac pietate insigni, neque a me aut quovis alio, qui illius beneficentiam sit expertus, unquam satis laudata, me periculose decumbentem familiolamque meam in domum suam transtulerat, curabatque tum aegtrotos tum recte valentes humanissime."

it was in Basle that his first son (or first surviving son) was born in 1565.[69] He was named Marcus, and it seems unlikely that the reason for the name was anything other than gratitude to Marcos Pérez. He was also the child's godfather.

Passing mention is made of Reina in letters from Oporinus to Hubert written on 10th December 1567,[70] according to which Cassiodoro transmitted a Plantin Hebrew prophets to Hubert for Oporinus; and in another letter written at Christmas 1567,[71] when he took a copy of an Old Testament commentary to Flaccius Illyricus for Oporinus.

In January 1568 Reina was apparently still in Strassburg, for letters written on 7th January[72] and 12th January[73] sent greetings to him there. The letter of 7th January asks Hubert to tell Cassiodoro that the Basle City Council had given permission to print the Bible on condition that all notes were omitted, and that Cassiodoro must hasten back to Basle so that the work might begin without delay.[74] On 15th January the news was that Sulzer and Koechlein had managed to persuade the Council to allow grammatical notes in the Bible. As Oporinus was writing this third letter Cassiodoro returned.[75]

(69) Frankfurt City Archives, Bürgerbuch Vol.7, fol.179 recto:
"Marcus Cassiodorus Reinius Basiliensis Pfarrherr alhir duxit filiam civis. Juravit dies 8 10bris Anno X 1597."

(70) Epist.ad hist.eccles. fol.188; Bib.Wif.II p.212.

(71) ibid. fol.192; Bib.Wif.II p.212.

(72) ibid. fol.193; Bib.Wif. loc.cit.

(73) ibid. fol.193 r & v - This letter was missed by Boehmer in Bib.Wif.

(74) "Scripsi interea etiam ad D.Cassiodorum de Bibliis suis Hispanicis, permittere senatum nostrum ut excudantur, sed omissis onmibus annotationibus. Itaque si ita excudi ea velit, ut reditum ad nos maturet, nam in nobis nulla erit mora."

(75) ibid. fol.194; Bib.Wif.II p.212.
"...simul addens, esse a Coccio aliter primo quam post ab ipso Sulcero indicatum senatusconsultum nempe licere una cum annotationibus, grammaticalibus saltem, Bib.Hisp. edere. Et ecce, dum id molior, supervenit Cassiodorus ipse et tuas adfert literas."

By February 1568 the Bible was in production. On 6th February Oporinus wrote to Hubert saying that Cassiodoro would tell him of the progress to date.(76) In view of Marcos Pérez's letter referred to in the next paragraph, this apparently meant that the type-setting had begun in earnest. On Easter Day 1568 Girolamo Zanchi wrote to Hubert from Heidelberg asking him to transmit a letter to Cassiodoro.(77)

Reina's letters to Gomes and López do not seem to have brought a response, and at this point, Marcos Pérez tried to obtain a copy of the New Testament from Paris. In a letter dated 30th June 1568 from Basle, he wrote to ask Diego López to send him one or two copies, whatever stage of completion they had reached, since the Basle production had not yet begun.(78) This letter also seems

(76) ibid. fol.196; Bib.Wif.II p.212:
"De rebus nostris abunde te edocebit D.Cassiodorus noster, nempe de Bibliorum Hisp.editione quid actum sit."

(77) Bib.Wif.II p.212. Girolamo Zanchi (Hieronymus Zanchius)(1516-1590) was an Italian Protestant humanist theologian. Born in Brescia, he became an Augustinian and taught at Lucca. He was in Strassburg 1563-68, but left after a dispute with Marbach. In Heidelberg 1568-1576, he spent the rest of his life in Neustadt. He opposed Calvin's doctrine of predestination.

(78) Bernus op.cit.pp.42 f; McFadden pp.244 f; both quote a document from Arch.Gen.de Simancas K1509 B22 entitled 'Del herege Marcos Perez al Español que imprimia le biblia en Paris ...":
"...pesame del ynpedimento que ay en la ynpresion del testamento nuebo y ansi ynperfeto como esta rreçiuire merced que con la primera opurtunidad v.m.me ynbie un exenplar o dos por vna parte o por otra lo de aqui no esta començado aun dizen me que se començara presto en lo que toca al autor la otra dara testimonio de su piedad o ynpiedad ynprimire solamente con las anotaçiones dela ley (sic=?lengua) y asi abra menos peligro den se estropecar no me entremeto querria entremeterme bisto que no ay testamento de Juan Perez por donde conste de su ordenaçion de la muerte de ello me ha pesado mucho por la pedida que se ha halho en el pero Dios despertara a otros que suplan su falta ... con el tiempo se podra en alguna manera aberiguar si es ansi que faltan dineros para ynpression deste testamento nuebo que es que el dinero se sacara de las biblias se saquen los 400.escudos o lo que faltara para complimiento de ese otro."

to indicate that Marcos Pérez did not pay for the whole of the printing of the Basle Bible (in spite of several claims that he did) and that in fact Legrand had granted to Reina some of the Frankfurt fund set up by Juan Pérez.(79)

Some time in June 1568 Cassiodoro felt ill on leaving Strassburg for Basle and, as the journey proceeded, he felt worse. On arrival in Basle he went straight to bed, where he stayed for five weeks, gravely ill. On 4th August he was well enough to write rather shakily to Hubert to inform him that he was now on the road to recovery.(80)

During his illness, on 6th July 1568, Oporinus had died, leaving his affairs in a very chaotic state and with debts amounting to some 15,000 florins. The 400 florins he had had from Cassiodoro was a very small amount, lost in this huge debt, and Reina doubted whether he would ever see them again. His name did not figure near the top of the list of debtors.(81) In fact, as he wrote on 25th August, in Basle the rule was that citizens always came first on lists of creditors. For this reason Reina wished Hubert to find out whether Oporinus had creditors in Strassburg or Frankfurt, and, if so, to get Reina's name entered quickly on the lists in those cities.(82) Probably as a 'habitant' of both cities he would have some preference over other creditors, and could recoup there something of the loss he faced in Basle.

(79) e.g. Geering loc.cit.

(80) Strassburg AST 161/85:

> "Scis me inter ipse gravissimi imminentis morbi initia Argentorato dis cessisse: usque fefellit nos coniectura: nanque ex itineris agitatione morbus recrudescens adeo me acriter invasit Basileam ingressum ut post exactas in lecto quinque hebdomades vix tandem revizerim potius qũ convaluerim."

(81) ibid; Steinmann op.cit.p.115. (Reina said the figure was 10,000 florins.)

(82) idem. fol.86:

> "Superest ut si quid isthic noveris deberi Oporino illud primo quoque tempore intercipias. Si Argentinae nihil ei debetur, in nundinis Francofortensibus aderunt haud dubie aliqui ex multis qui ipso debebant: cura igitur ea debita, si fieri potest, rescire ac primus occupare. id vero ut sũma diligentia fiat necesse est, ne a creditoribus huius urbis civibus ..."

Meanwhile Cassiodoro addressed a request to Basle City Council, asking them to free the 400 florins he had already handed over on the grounds that it was really church property, since it had been brought together by charitable gifts. It was, as we have seen, part of the money that was held by Augustin Legrand in the fund started for the express purpose of paying for an edition of the Spanish Bible, and which Juan Pérez had been instrumental in setting up in Frankfurt. In this request Reina mentioned a printer, Thomas Guarin.(83) In his letter of 4th August he also says that the printer was holding back(84) - so it seems that Oporinus had already sub-contracted the work to Guarin, but that, since Oporinus was dead and funds might not be forthcoming, Guarin wanted some guarantee of payment before continuing the work. We know from the dedication of the finished Bible in Basle University Library that Guarin did finally print it.(85)

Thomas Guarin, or Guérin, was from Tournay. Born in 1529, he left his home town for religious reasons and settled first in Lyons, where he was a bookseller. In 1557 he moved to Basle and married the daughter of a printer named Isengrin. He set up as a printer in a small way and his device was a palm-tree.(86) But the title-page of the finished Bible carries the device of Samuel Biener (Apiarius).

(83) This letter is given in full in A.Fluri "Die Barenbibel" in Gutenbergmuseum Vol.9.2.pp 88 & 90. See Appendix No. VII.

(84) "Quod ad Biblia nostra attinet, typographus distinet vel potius eludit nos haud citra fidei suae detrimentum, cuius nullam prorsus rationem habere videtur."

(85) The dedication reads thus:

"Cassiodorus Reinius Hispanus Hispalens. inclytae huius Academiae alũnus, huius sacrorũ librorũ versionis Hispanicae autor, quam per integrum decẽnium elaborauit, et auxilio pientissimorũ ministrorũ huius Ecclesiae Basil^sis ex decreto prudentiss. Senatus typis ab honesto viro Thoma Guarino ciue Basil^si excusam demum emisit in lucem, in perpetuũ gratitudinis et obseruantiae monumentum hunc librum inclytae huic Academiae supplex dicabat. Ann.1570. Mens.Jun.
Cass.R.
Quum sedero in tenebris, Jehoua lux mea est.
Mich.6."

(86) Fluri, op.cit. Vol.9.1.p.39.

The latter was born in Basle and helped his father in his business as a printer in Strassburg, and from 1537 in Berne. In 1564 he was banned from Berne as a result of various conflicts. He tried to set up first in Solothurn, but before a year was out he went to Basle in 1565, where he printed small pamphlets and often took on sub-contracted work. What is more important, it can be shewn that he sometimes worked in others' workshops.(87) His device was a bear trying to get at a bees' nest in a tree, with bees flying all round. The bear represents Berne, and the bees are a pun on his German name, Biener. So we can suppose that the Bible was set up by Apiarius for Guarin, either in Guarin's workshop or in Apiarius's own. This is to some extent conjecture,(88) as neither name of printer, compositor nor translator appears on the Bibles (no doubt this was to facilitate their entry into Spain). Apiarius's device gives the Bible its distinguishing name: 'La Biblia del Oso.'

On 23rd December 1568 Reina asked Hubert's aid in the process of arranging the transfer of money from friends in Frankfurt by the agency of a Frankfurt silk merchant named Hans Wandenabelle, who would bring it to Strassburg. Cassiodoro wanted Hubert to receive it and pass it on. 200 florins were urgently needed for the printer, who would brook no delay.(89) A letter of 16th January 1569 shews that the money had arrived, but there was some difficulty in getting it handed over.(90) Reina wanted to make use of an Italian, Bartholomeo Versasca, as a messenger, as he had done several times in the past.

On 15th May 1569 he informed Hubert of a recurrence of the previous

(87) idem. p.40.

(88) But Fluri (p.40) gives examples of this practice, including one where Apiarius is concerned. It might be said that Cassiodoro's name does occur in the Bible, for the Preface is signed 'C.R.'

(89) Strasburg, AST 161/87.
ibid:
"nam numerandi nobis sunt statim a reditu ex nūdinis Arg. typographo, duro alioqui et difficili, & qui nisi molestissime moram ullam feret, ducenti floreni."

(90) idem. fol.161/88.

year's illness, which was now on the mend.(91) This letter reveals that Cassiodoro had hoped for the aid of a copy of the Spanish New Testament, which had not arrived. Apparently the copy of the Paris New Testament, which both he and Marcos Pérez had asked Gomes to bring, had never in fact been brought. The work of printing was proceeding apace; he expected the last sheet of the Acts of the Apostles the following day. From the II Corinthians to the end of the New Testament would take longer because of the lack of the copy of the Paris New Testament, nor could he get back from the printer his manuscript of the work already done.(92)

He referred to the money owed him by Oporinus's estate and said that not a farthing had yet been received, even though his appeal to the City Council had succeeded in so far as his name had been listed officially as a creditor. Till this matter was settled, the printing was delayed and there were 250 florins short. If anyone would lend these to him, he would sign over the debt of 400 florins to him. The hint is fairly strong that he hoped Hubert would be forthcoming with the loan of this sum. Theodor Zwinger had suggested to him that if Hubert did take over this debt, he

(91) idem. fol.161/89.
ibid.
"Quo die tuas accepi literas valetudinis ergo, quae de aegrit udinis praecedentis aestatis recursu erat valde suspecta, venam acideram triduo ante sumptis ad alios humores noxios evacuandos pharmacia. Utrũque per Dei gratiam non male cessit. Laboraveram per hosce dies, quos saepe soleo, vehementi dolore capitis, titillante nonnihil continua febri."

(92) ibid.
"Excussio nostra procedit felicissime adeo ut Actorũ Apostolicorũ postremũ folium cras sim accepturus. Ceterum quin Novi Testamenti subsidio quod aliunde versũ expectabamus destitutus plusqũ duplicatũ laborem in eo ex integro vertendo adierim, qui poteram a typographo non assequi, currente hinc prelo, hinc multiplicato labore, difficiente hinc valetudine - Subsistendum itaque erit nobis quod ad prelũ attinet per aliquot dies, tantisper dum quod superest vertendũ Novi Test. hoc est ab altera Corinthiorũ ad finẽ usque."

would get preference as a creditor much more easily than anyone else.[93]

In a P.S. to this letter he mentioned a dedicatory letter than he was considering printing at the beginning of his Bible.[94] The next letter, on 24th June, reveals that he had asked Sturm's advice about dedicating this translation to Queen Elizabeth, for which he needed Sturm's intercession.[95] Sturm carried on a correspondence with the Queen and Secretary Cecil, informing them of matters on the Continent. He indeed commended the translation to both of them in letters written in 1569.[96] Sturm's advice seems to have been not to dedicate to Elizabeth, since the translation finally appeared with a much more general dedicatory epistle. If Reina intended to circulate copies in Spain, it is hard to see why he ever had this idea - even the names of printer and translator were suppressed, and Queen Elizabeth's name was far better known than theirs.

In this letter he was still waiting for a reply about the money, although he had now received (the proofs?) of the whole Bible, both of the Old Testament and the New Testament. He mentioned that it would be better for his purpose not to have his own name on the translation.[97] This bears out the thought

(93) ibid: "Cum ea de re consuluissem optimũ virũ doctorẽ Theodorũ Zvingerũ, respondit se nullam commodiorem rationem invenire, nisi ut divenditis commode pignoribus quae apud te habes, confestam pecuniam dares faenuri fieri posse ut citius integrũ debitũ in de esses recepturus, q̃ hic creditores alii. Risi topicum remedium."

(94) ibid: "Scribo ad dñ Sturmiũ quaedam, ni fallor, tibi communicabit de nuncupatione nostro S.Bib. oro ut ad redendam nuncupatoriã epistolam, si consilium nostrum vobis probatur, eum solicites, ut quẑ primũ fieri possit ad nos transmittetur."

(95) Strassburg, AST 161/90:
"..obsecrabamqueut si prudentiae vestrae maxime probaretur unas dispiceretis an e re foret ut versionis nostrae tutelam Reginae Angliae commendaremus."

(96) The Latin text is published in: E.Boehmer, Q.F.F.Q.S.-Viro summe venerando I.F.Bruch ... Insunt Epistolae ... Johannis Sturmii ... (Sbg.1872) pp.26 f, and the English versions in Zurich Letters (Cambridge 1854) II pp.175 f.

(97) AST 161/90:
"..autoris nomine onmino suppresso ita enim expedire nunc videtur rebus meis quod si ita videtur."

that he intended to circulate copies in Spain. The reason, however, may have been because the scandal, which had caused him to leave London, had not yet died down.

On 3rd August 1569 he reported that he had received a satisfactory reply from Hubert and the return of his dedicatory epistle from Sturm. The matter of the money owed him from Oporinus' estate was still dragging on, and though the City Council now had funds they appeared to be holding on to them so that the interest would mount up.(98)

We gather that Hubert must have supplied the money needed, for three days later (6th August 1569) Cassiodoro wrote via Bartholomeo Versasca that Hubert should expect four great winecasks full of Bibles in the same ship and should store them in a previously arranged place. The rest would follow shortly.(99)

So the great work was finished. Although Reina's debt to other Spanish translators is undoubted, he did go back to the original Hebrew and Greek text in the best humanist tradition. He had been engaged on the work for 10 years.(100)

(98) Strassburg AST 161/91:

"In Oporini negotio nihil innovatum, quod sciam: qui fiat, nescio, nemo hactenus quiquam recepit. Conflata pecunia apud Dominos asservatur, fortassis eo consilio ut ex ipsius usura intra tempus aliquod, puta decenniũ, quod nunc decesset satisfaciendo creditoribus, resarciri possit."

(99) Strassburg AST fol.161/92. It is interesting that the date given here is August. The completed Bible bears a colophon "Anno del Senor M.D. LXIX en Septiembre."

(100) Preface to commentary on Matthews' Gospel:

"...in vertendis Hispanico sermone sacris bibliis per integrum decennium laborassem ..."**

The preface to the Bible says, however, (p.* v v);

"La obra nos ha durado entre las manos enteros doze años. Sacado el tiempo que nos han lleuado o enfermedades, o viajes, o otras occupaciones necessarias en nuestro destierro y pobreza, podemos affirmar, que han sido bien los nueue, que no hemos soltado la pluma de la mano, ni affloxado el estudio..."

Whole committees have taken longer to produce vernacular verions, without battling against the sort of difficulties with which Reina had to contend. His achievement is all the more remarkable when one realizes that it remains basically the translation that is still in daily use by Spanish-speaking Protestants throughout the world, although it has been through several revisions since 1569.[101]

(101) See p. 284 for title-page and discussion of the preface.

CASSIODORO DE REINA - FROM THE COMPLETION OF HIS BIBLE TO HIS ARRIVAL IN ANTWERP IN 1579.

His great task accomplished, Cassiodoro set out with his family from Basle for Frankfurt, calling at Strassburg on the way. From there he wrote to Theodor Zwinger, on 13th July 1570, returning the 30 florins he had borrowed from him, since Marcos Perez had given him a more than adequate provision for the journey.(1) He was in Frankfurt before the end of the month. On 1st August 1570, he requested the grant of citizenship from Frankfurt City Council, which was refused for the time being, although the right to live there was granted.(2) On 7th August he wrote to Hubert explaining this and describing the rigours of the journey. He mentioned that his weaker sons had not stood up to the journey very well.(3) From this we deduce that he had already more than the one child we know about.(4) Of these other children only Marcus appears to have survived infancy. Otherwise, the letter is concerned with the difficulty of finding accommodation at reasonable cost, because of the many travellers and the influx of refugees from Cologne, and with a detailed request for a large supply of tallow candles and a careful explanation of how to convey them to him via Joseph Heidelberger, a customs official.

(1) Bib.Wif.II p.224; Basle Library Fr.Gryn.II.26.fol.42.

(2) Frankfurt City Archives - Bürgerbuch 1570 fol.58 v:
"Dienstag der 1 Augusti Anno C.1570
Als cassiodorus Reynius umb die Bürgerschaft
gebetten. soll man Imessein bitt abschlagen."

(3) Strassburg AST 161/94:
"...Appulimus tandem Francofortum incolumes,
Xto ductore, licet pueri teneriores ex mol-
estia itineris eiusque incommodis nonnihil
aegrotarunt."

(4) In Reina's Preface to his Commentary on Matthew IV fol.a2 recto, a similar passage, referring to several of his children alive during the period of his stay in Basle, leads to the same conclusion; that only Marcus survived from this time. His family was well-documented as it grew up in Frankfurt:
"...quum me gravissimus ac plane letalis morbus
Basileam cum uxore et familiola recenter ingre-
ssum corripuisset? ..... Uxoris et parvulorum
liberorum memoria ..."

Friends in Frankfurt, presumably of the Reformed Church, had received him well;(5) but in view of the opposition of certain well-known Calvinists (Beza, Cousin, des Gallars, Olevianus) they were hesitant about allowing him into full fellowship of the church. They were particularly reluctant to allow him to take communion before they had once more investigated his morals and his doctrines. The pastors of the French Church, Salvard and De Banos, made enquiries about him in various quarters.(6) They received replies from Cousin in London, together with the documents of the commission of enquiry held in 1563 (which Reina carefully copied), from Nicolas Balbani, Italian minister in Geneva, from Olevianus, and from Beza. Against the wishes of the latter, they finally decided to admit Reina into fellowship, issuing a certificate to that effect on 12th July 1571.(7) Olevianus also wrote the letter already referred to in answer to a query about him from Salvard.

Accordingly, on 12th July 1571, Reina addressed a declaration to Beza so that he could be received by the French Church of Frankfurt as a full member. It goes over exactly the same ground as before, in the declaration of faith at Strassburg.(8) This apparently did not satisfy Beza, for on 25th November 1571 Reina wrote again to him, apologising for the petition in his favour that had been sent in the meantime, about which he had known nothing. This letter makes clear that the French Church had accepted Reina to take

(5) AST 161/94:
"exceperunt nos amici Francofortenses qua solent charitate, qua quidem & nunc etiam commodum utimur."

(6) Fatio & Labarthe(eds.) Registres de la Compagnie des Pasteurs de Genève, Vol.III (Geneva 1969) p.30: Jean-François Salvard, dit Dupalmier, was sent from Geneva to Frankfurt in the spring of 1571 and stayed till 1576; pp.211 f: Theophile de Banos, originally from Bordeaux, in Paris 1566-7, at University of Heidelberg 1568, went to Frankfurt 1570, in 1580 went to University of Basle.

(7) This is the origin of the file on Reina which we have called 'Frankfurt documents.' The certificate is transcribed in Appendix X together with other items from these documents.

(8) Geneva Corres.ecclés.MS fr 407 fol.18 r & v, 19 r & v; Bib.Wif.II p.216.

communion[9] in spite of Beza's opposition.[10] They had insisted on his writing to Beza to attempt to put matters right between them, which he did willingly, although he felt that there was nothing more that needed to be said. They had insisted too on a declaration of innocence of the charge of sodomy, which he also wrote out formally and deposited in the archives on the same date.[11] It is a categorical denial of the charge, declaring it to be pure calumny; he was innocent of both the act and the desire. It includes a clinical analysis of just what he had meant when he used the word 'pollution.' He had several times stated this categorically to the consistory of the French Church of London, and had made similar declarations before and been admitted to communion in London,

(9) ibid. fol.21 recto; Bib.Wif.II p.219:

"Ces jours ici estant au point d'aler à la communion de la Cene du Seigneur, le Consistoire de l'Eglise françoise de ceste ville, ayant entendu qu'il y a eu par le passé entre vous et moi quelques differents, pour l'esgard de leur office et de ma conscience m'ont requis qu'avant que d'aler à la Cene j'eusse a vous escrire quelques lettres de reconciliation, ce que je fais maintenant volontiers, veu qu'en cela je ne suis pas requis que de mon devoir, encores que j'aie desja à mon advis souffisanment acquitté ma conscience en cest endroit ..... Quant à la lettre que quelques uns de mes amis, à ce qui semble, de par deça ont envoyée à Geneve, dont j'entens qu'il y en a eu plusieurs offenses, vous veus je aussi certifier devant Dieu qu'elle n'a point esté faite ne de ma volonté ne de mon conseil ne de mon seu, et que mesmes il m'a despleu et desplait encores, qu'elle aie esté faite."

(10) Hessels Archivum II pp.372 f; writing to Jean Cousin in 1571 Beza said:

"Cassiodore ayant beaucoup tournoyé, et non, comme ie croy, sans quelque efficace enuers ceulx quj ne ueulent croire conseil, dit en fin qu'il ira pardela pour se purger. Dieu uieille le lauer si a tort on luj a mis ceste tache, sinon, le plonger du tout et noyer en son ordure affin qu'il n'en infecte des aultres plus auant. J'en ay aduertj ceux quj m'en ont escrit. Ils en feront ce qu'ils uouldront."

(11) Geneva MS fr 407 fol.20 recto; Bib.Wif.II p.220 f - see Appendix X.

Bergerac and Montargis.

Beza continued to be unconvinced, and once more Cassiodoro wrote to him, on 21st December 1571, protesting his innocence with regard to both doctrine and behaviour, since he felt he had made abundant satisfaction on this score and he is rather hurt that Beza and des Gallars seem still to be unconvinced.(12) Beza replied on 25th December 1571, and it is hard to decide whether this letter was ironic or sincere.(13) He insists that it was high time that Reina had himself officially purged of the crimes of which he was accused. When this was done he would embrace him with true charity. Reina's friendship with Corro was a further reason for continuing suspicion. There must have been another letter from Reina to Beza which has not survived, for on 9th March 1572 Beza wrote once more in a very similar vein, though rather more sharply, revealing an animosity against Spanish refugees, but none the less hoping that eventually Reina would be cleared.(14)

Meanwhile, in August 1571, another son was born to Cassiodoro's wife. He was baptized Augustus, on 16th August 1571.(15) His godfather was Augustin Legrand, and ever afterwards he was called Augustino. One is justified in supposing the entry to be a slip of the pen.

(12) Frankfurt docts. fol. 617-620.

(13) idem. fol. 631 f.

(14) idem. fol. 623-626:

> "Vous avez trotté, comme vostre compagnon Corran, d'Orient en Occident, et quoy que soit, vous aultres trouvez tousjours moyen d'eschaper là-où les aultres demeurent."
>
> "Je serai bien aise d'entendre que vous en soyez bien purgé plustost que conveincu ..... le bien vostre quand vous servirez à Dieu bien droictement."

(15) Most of the Frankfurt records of births and deaths were destroyed during the 1939-45 War. A retired gentleman, Herr George Itzerott, had, however, made extensive extracts from the registers for his genealogical studies, and these remain. Thanks are due to him for the generous manner in which he made his transcripts available for this study. The registers of births were rather unusual in that they did not record the date of birth, but the date of the baptism, which normally took place a few days later.

On the same day, 16th August 1571, Cassiodoro's request for citizenship of Frankfurt was finally granted. He remained proud of this right to the end of his life.(16)

In 1573 Reina's only daughter, Margarethe, was born.(17)

1573 also saw the publication of two commentaries by Reina on parts of the New Testament. Both are of exactly the same format, and all copies so far found have been bound together in one volume. Both are in Latin. One is an edition of a Latin version of the Gospel according to John,(18) translated directly from the Syriac by Tremellius.(19) To it Reina has added a commentary to prove the divinity of Christ, against the counter-claims of various sects, including Jews and Mohammedans. It is particularly interesting for its long epistle dedicatory to Johan Sturm which gives various biographical details of Reina's life. The other is a commentary on the 4th chapter of the Gospel according to Matthew,(20) with particular warnings about the temptations that beset those in the sacred ministry. It began, according to the preface, as annotations on the Bible, but got too long, and so he

(16) Frankfurt City Archives Bürgerbuch Vol.6 1540-85 fol.235 recto:
"Hispalis. Cassiodorus Reinius Hispalensis
Ist frembdt zum Bürger angenommen worden.
Iuravit Iovis 16a Augusti anno 71."

(17) Herr Itzerott has no day or month for this extract.

(18) See below p. 292.

(19) John Emmanuel Tremellius: b.1510, son of a Jew of Ferrara, and therefore possibly a Spanish-speaker, since this was a centre of the exiled Sephardis. He converted to Christianity and joined the Reformed Church. After some time at Strassburg he became a lecturer in Hebrew at Cambridge, but had to leave under the Marian persecutions. Spent time in Heidelberg, Metz and Sedan. Published a Syriac N.T. in Paris in 1569. Died in 1580. Reina apparently had the manuscript of the Latin version made by Tremellius directly from the Syriac, as he tells us in the Preface (pp. a 2 r & v):
"Hinc factum est vt nonnullis scripta, quae vsui Ecclesiae esse possent, tum mea, tum etiam aliena caeterum fidei meae commissa, apud me diutius delitescant ..."

(20) See below p.303.

issued it as a separate book.[21] Its dedicatory epistle to S.Sulzer and H.Koechlein of Basle is again interesting for the biographical details it contains. Both books were printed in Frankfurt by Nicholas Bassée, originally of Valenciennes. Elsewhere we are told that Reina translated Spanish works for Bassée.[22]

It is not very clear how Reina earned his livelihood at this stage, but he appears to have continued to be active in the silk and the book trades.[23] The spring and autumn fairs at Frankfurt were great centres for the supply of books in the unbound state. He mentions the sale of some of Oporinus's books in a letter to Th.Zwinger and Adam Petri, dated 9th March 1574.[24] Zwinger was Oporinus's nephew and apparently had the task of disposing of his library to help to pay his debts. Further mention of these books is made in letters to Zwinger dated 24th September 1574,[25] 27th October 1574,[26] 23rd November 1574,[27] and 6th April 1575.[28]

In a letter to Hubert dated 12th April 1574, Reina spoke of a plan of publishing a life of Bucer, which was apparently well-advanced.[29] In fact, the letter of Beza of 27th June 1565 had spoken of the plan in vaguer terms. No trace, however, of such a book by Reina remains, if one was published. In the latter he mentioned a recent visit to Strassburg, and was now sending a copy of his Commentary on John to Hubert by Theodosius Richelius.

The letter to Zwinger, dated 27th October 1574, also gives the information

(21) Preface p. a 3:
"Eam lucubratiunculum seorsim adere, utpote prolixorem quam quae annotationis nomine in volumine Noui Testamenti collocetur ..."

(22) A.Dietz Frankfurter Handelsgeschichte (Frankfurt 1910) III p.34.

(23) Commentary on John p. a 2 r.

(24) Bib.Wif.II p.224 f; Basle Fr.Gryn.II.26.fol.43r f.

(25) ibid. p.225 f; Basle ibid fol.44 r f.

(26) ibid. p.226 f; Basle ibid fol.45.

(27) ibid. p.227; Basle ibid fol.46.

(28) ibid. p.227 f; Basle ibid fol.47.

(29) Strassburg AST 161/95.

that Reina was preparing an edition of the Bibliotheca Sacra of Sixtus Senensis, to which he was adding a 'theological antidote.' This edition appeared in two volumes printed by Bassée in 1575, with no sign of the antidote, and, indeed, only a few sentences in Latin at the very end which can be attributed to Reina.(30)

On 2nd October 1575 another son, Servas, was baptized. His godfather was Servas Marell, a Walloon merchant.(31)

Mention is further made of the sale of books in a letter to Th.Zwinger dated 22nd April 1576,(32) and again on 7th April 1577.(33)

Some time in mid-1577, a chance for Reina to go to Poland arose. From a letter to Zwinger dated 23rd September 1577, it appears that he had put in a request to be considered and wished for a recommendation from Zwinger.(34) The matter is further mentioned on 1st April 1578, where it appears that a

(30) Bib.Wif.II pp.226, 303. Bibliotheca Sancta a F.Sixto Senensi ... ex praecipuis catholicae ecclessiae autoribus collecta. 2nd. ed. Copies of this edition which contain the leaves signed Qqq, by which Boehmer established Reina's connexion with the edition, are not to be found.

(31) Itzerott's transcripts.

(32) Bib.Wif.II.p.228; Basle Fr.Gryn.II.27.fol.212

(33) ibid. p.228 f; Basle ibid fol.213

(34) ibid. p.229; Basle Fr.Gryn.II.26.fol.48:
"Quod attinet profectionem meam in Poloniam, res adhuc sub deliberatione est. Neque enim tam difficilem et multis nominibus laboriosam provinciam temere suscipiendam arbitror, in hac praesertim aetate, quantumvis conditio sit amplissima et valde honorifica. Caeterum, si Deus ita disposuerit, ut abeam, senties in illo tuo negotio haud frustra te meam coluisse amicitiam, atque de bono successu nihil dubito, cum sciam negotium tibi esse cum viro bono ..."

Pole named Nicolas Firlei had some part in the negotiations.(35) After this no further mention is made of that country, and, since Cassiodoro stayed in Frankfurt, we must suppose that the negotiations came to nothing.

In 1577 Reina had printed in Frankfurt an edition of the Spanish Confession of London of 1559. It would seem that this was the first time it had appeared in print.(36) Boehmer reports a copy of it in the University Library of Frankfurt,(37) but it is no longer extant, and no other copies seem to have survived.

There are in the City Archives of Frankfurt, amongst the legal documents preserved there, the records of a long legal battle between Reina and Helias von Offenbacs, a Licentiate in Law.(38) In August 1577 Reina had rented from

(35) Ibid.p.229 f; Basle Fr.Gryn.II.33.fol.241:
"De mea profectione in Poloniam nosse cupis ? Quiesco. Idque non sine Dei providentia, ut semper alias, qui meas sortes in manu habens, et quidem valde commendatas, eas gubernat pro sua voluntate. Si illuc venissem, sensisses fructum commendationis tuae cum D.Firleio il illo negotio, de quo intelligo nundum tibi satisfactum."
Ersch & Gruber Allgemeine Encyklopädie (1846) ad.loc. The Firley family owned lands at a place in Poland with the same name. Johann Firley accepted the Reformation and filled the livings he controlled with Protestant incumbents. His son became a R.C. in 1569 and reversed Johann's policy, giving the livings to R.C.s as they became vacant.

(36) This is the deduction from the part of its preface given by Boehmer in Bib.Wif.II p.232:
"Aviendo releydo muchas veces esta Confession, à la fin me determiné de publicarla despues de mas de quinze años que fue hecha, y de auer seruido por el fin que se hizo."

(37) Boehmer gives as its title:
Declaracion, o confession de fe hecha por ciertos fieles Españoles, que huyendo los abusos de la iglesia Romana, y la crueldad de la Inquisicion d'España hizieron a la Iglesia de los fieles para ser recebidos por hermanos en Christo. Declaranse en este perqueño(sic) volumen los principales Fundamentos de la Fe y Religion Christiana necessarios a la Salud conforme a la Diuina Escriptura de donde son sacados con toda fidelidad y breuedad.

(38) Frankfurt City Archives, Judicialia R.226 Acta Cassiodori Reinij Contra Heliam von Offenbacs der Rechtenlicentiater.

Helias a store in the Haus der Groll to keep books to be sold at the Fair. Offenbacs had locked the books in the store and would not release them. Reina naturally wanted them for sale. The case was still dragging on on 13th May 1579, with no apparent progress being made.

On 15th December 1577, another of Reina's sons, Johan, was baptized. His godfather was Johan Bode, another Walloon merchant of Frankfurt.(39)

There is a further letter to Zwinger, dated 13th April 1578, dealing with book matters.(40)

On 22nd September 1578, Cassiodoro acted as Augustin Legrand's agent in the sale of a house, the Haus Braunfels, on the Liebfrauenberg, at the corner of the Neue Kräme. This was sold to the patrician Nikolaus Greiff for 3,000 florins.(41) This is of interest because in later years Reina had an apartment in that massive 4-storey, arcaded, stone-built gothic town house, with great courtyards and large warehouses.(42) In 1578, French services were held in the house, presumably before the sale.(43)

Up to this point, Cassiodoro seems to have remained a member of the French Reformed Church, and to have preached occasionally in French, and possibly even Spanish, although he was not officially one of its ministers. He had, of course, been a minister and had never been removed from the ranks of the ministry - except that his situation with regard to the London scandal had still not been regulated. There are signs, however, of his growing sympathy with the Lutheran party, and at this time he became extremely friendly with Matthias Ritter the Younger, the (Lutheran) superintendent of foreign congregations in Frankfurt.(44)

Hence, when an opportunity arose in 1578 to become a French preacher to the Lutheran Church of Antwerp, he showed interest. This church called

(39) Herr Itzerott's transcript.
(40) Bib.Wif.II p.230 f; Basle Fr.Gryn.II.26.fol.49.
(41) Baudenkmäler in Frankfurt (Frankfurt 1914) III p.62; Dietz op.cit.II p.62.
(42) Picture in Bilder zur Frankfurter Geschichte (Frankfurt 1960) p.32.
(43) Dietz.op.cit.II p.67.
(44) Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie ad.loc.

itself the Evangelical Church of the Confession of Augsburg, and its Calvinist opponents called it 'Martinist' or 'Confessionist.' This was a serious offer and Reina, who had never ceased to desire the full-time ministry, was determined to accept. Lutheran refugees from Antwerp, who had been in the city since 1567, and who were returning now that the situation was easier, asked him to go with them as their pastor.(45) It became imperative to have a settlement of the London matter, which had been hanging over his head now for some 15 years. Leaving his family in Frankfurt, he set out for England, to present himself in London for a trial of his case.

He came to England in late 1578. On the way he passed through Antwerp, from where he wrote to Matthais Ritter on 6th November 1578. He had had an 18-day boat journey, but had been well-received by the brethren. The church in Antwerp was in a poor way and short of ministers. The harvest was great, the labourers few, the difficulties many. If he could return from England cleared of the long-standing charges, he would attack the work with vigour.(46)

On Saturday, 13th December 1578, Grindal, by now Archbishop of Canterbury, sent out a letter to all foreign churches of London: because a position in Belgium was being offered to him, Cassiodoro had come of his own free will to have his case examined, so that he might with a clear conscience accept the

(45) Dechent Kirchengeschichte von Frankfurt (Frankfurt 1913) I.p.235.

(46) Lehnemann p.101; Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie Vol.50 pp.286 f:
"Post diuturnam et valde molestam navigationem appuli tandem Antuerpiam 18 die a meo a vobis discessu. Exceptus amantissime a fratribus, incepi ex eisdem cognoscere de huius ecclesiae statu, non malo sane, nisi tanta penuria ministrorum laborarent. Res est plane digna lacrymis, videre fruges, ad messem praematuras, in tanta copia propemodum perire ob messorum fidelium paucitatem, cum praesertim neque in ea paucitate omnes pro officio sint frugi ..... Quod ad me attinet, ad novam eamque multo difficiliorem profectionem iam accingor, in Angliam nimirum, veteres ibi in me calumnias dim congestas praesentia mea depulsurus, ita exigente ministerii mei conditione. Ab his si,(uti de Deo et mea innocentia spero) liber revertar, supponam hinc oneri libens humerum, cum magna etiam atque certa spe fructus."

proposal. Any who had anything against him were called to testify on Thursday, 18th December 1578 at 2 p.m. at Lambeth Palace.(47) and the minutes of the French and Dutch Consistories were sent for (and as a result both were lost to posterity.) Cousin and Utenhovius were both now dead, otherwise the affair might not have gone so well for Reina.

The French Church was now under the pastorate of Robert le Maçon de la Fontaine, and its members were not happy at this turn of events. Their main contention seemed to be that Reina had now drawn closer to the Lutheran German position and was to take up a ministry in Antwerp against the Calvinist churches.

On 15th January 1579 Bernardo de Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, wrote to Gabriel de Zayas, the Secretary to the King of Spain, that Cassiodoro had returned with letters from Johann Sturm, one of the heresiarchs of Germany, in consequence of which he was being favoured by some of the principal people in London.(48) On 22nd February a further letter informed the same addressee that Reina had been boasting that he had brought with him to England numerous copies of his version of the Bible, which he intended to send to Spain.(49) Mendoza said that he would try to discover what ships were taking them there. Reina must also have brought certain copies for presentation also. It is likely that this was the occasion on which he gave a copy to Grindal.(50) This was also no doubt the time when he made presents of various copies of his two commentaries.(51)

The affair dragged on, till finally, on 13th March 1579 (1578(OS)) before the Archbishop, Dr. Luinius (52) put five questions to Reina concerning

(47) Hessels II p.629 f.

(48) C.S.P.(Sp.) II p.630, Col.doc.ined XCI.p.311; J.B.Avalle-Arce "Dos notas," Filologia VIII (1962) p.22.

(49) ibid. p.635.

(50) This copy is now in Queen's College, Oxford. The inscription thanks Grindal for saving the manuscript from the hands of Reina's enemies. See p.92

(51) Copies in Lambeth Palace Library and Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, contain the inscription 'Ex dono Cassiodori Reinii'.

(52) William Lewin (d.1598) advocate, dean of peculiars and judge of the prerogative court of Canterbury from 1576 to his death. A friend of Sturm (Zurich Letters II pp.276,281,285).

his understanding of the eucharist.[53] He answered satisfactorily in a completely Calvinist manner, and signed a declaration stating that what he had answered should be understood to conform to the Helvetic Confession, and those of the Church of England and the London French Church. On 19th March he further signed a document accepting the Helvetic Confession as orthodox and in conformity with the word of God.[54]

One cannot help feeling, like the London French, and with Tollin, that the London signature to a Calvinist confession of faith was a strange prelude to accepting a Lutheran pastorate in Antwerp!

During this time, Cassiodoro was living in comparative indigence, as an entry in a disbursement book of the period indicates:

"Too one Cassiodorus the xth of martch 1578(OS)...xs"[55]. The book also records sums given about the same time to Corro, and from this we can suppose that the two had some contact - but it is rather significant that when, at the end of the trial, Cassiodoro wanted a helper, it was Valera who came forward.

Corro had come to London some time early in 1567 and had found the Spanish Church, of which Reina had been the pastor, disbanded and its members in two factions. The pro-Reina party, whose protagonist was the ex-prior of San Isidro, Francisco Farías, worshipped at the Italian Church, and the anti-Reina party worshipped with the French, their main spokesman being Balthasar Sánchez. Corro tried to call the Spanish Church together again with some

(53) These questions were published later in Antwerp by Reina's opponents in a trilingual text, presumably with the intention of harming him in some way. (Vid.inf.p. 142.)

(54) In the same publication:
"Ie Cassiodore Reine Hespaignol bourgeois de Francfort, Ministre de la parolle de Dieu, ai leu ceste Confession des Eglises de Suisse, laquelle i'approuue comme Orthodoxe, conforme & accordante à la parolle de Dieu, & à icelle ie soubscri de coeur en tout & par tout, a Londres ce 19. Mars 1579."

(55) A.B.Grosart(ed) The Towneley Hall MSS: The Spending of the Money of Robert Nowell (Blackburn 1877) p.62. Robert Nowell was the brother of Alexander Nowell, who became Dean of St. Paul's, after a period in exile in Strassburg & Frankfurt.

success, but after considerable upheaval in the Strangers' Churches on his account, he had despaired of his position in the Calvinist ranks and had passed into Anglicanism. After a period as reader at the Inns of Court, he was now beginning a period as lecturer in theology at Oxford. It may be that his duties did not permit him to be with his friend at this time. In any case, the bitter opposition of the Strangers' Churches to Corro might have increased Reina's difficulties, had he stood with him.(56)

The trial of Reina's case was formally over at the end of March, and to his entire satisfaction. At least, he had an official clearance (or purgation) of the charges, and was theoretically in good standing with the Calvinists. Accordingly, he presented himself to the French Consistory on 22nd March 1578(OS), with three witnesses, two of whom were Cipriano de Valera and Antonion Giustiniano, saying that he had pressing reasons to return to Germany(his wife was ill) and that he wished to be reconciled, on the terms of the Archbishop's judgement, with the church that had caused him so much trouble.(57) The French refused entry to his friends and were unwilling to accept his terms, which they saw as a demand, almost a threat, whereas they considered he ought to have adopted an attitude of respectful

(56) See McFadden pp.298-345.

(57) Schickler II p.232:

> "Il nous requérait lui faire cette faveur, et aussi lui semblait bien raisonnable, vu la sentence qu'il a obtenue, d'avoir bonne opinion de lui et le tenir en même rang et estimation qu'il avait eus auparavant ... Il ne demandait rien sinon que nous le voulussions tenir et reconnaître pour incoulpable et innocent et, pour l'ecrire en peu de mots, pour frère et homme de bien."

humility.[58] As he saw it, he had made sufficient gestures in that direction before being admitted to communion in Frankfurt, and also the Archbishop's judgement gave him certain rights. To their objections that he was now going over to the Lutherans, he replied that the Lutheran Church was just as much a church as theirs, and, if they did not accept him, he must go where he was accepted. He had expressed his reserves on various eucharistic points, viz: impanation and ubiquity, and was still acceptable to them. In any case, his appointment in Antwerp was still not mutually

(58) ibid p.235 (quoting a letter from the minister Le Maçon to Beza):
"Incontinent après nous n'avons pas failli d'estre importunés de l'admettre et recognoistre comme frère, premièrement par quelques-uns de la cour qui ont trouvé fort mauvais nostre refus, puis par Mgr. l'archevesque, lequel ayant de bonne heure faict advertir de ma résolution par s'estre animé et remonstré le danger qui en pouvoit venir néantmoins m'appela pour ce faict, mais ayant bien entendu nos raisons, je l'en rendis fort content.. ..Cassiodore puis après se présenta en ma compagnye, demandant, voire la verge à la main, que nous eussions à le tenir en pareil rang et degré qu'il avoit esté auparavant. Nous luy parlasmes à bon escient de la reconnaissance de ses faultes, puis luy declarasmes avec la conclusion pourquoy ne le pouvions nullement admettre. Ce ne fut pas sans de grandes complaintes: mays peu de jours après toutte-foys il repartit sans nous molester davantage. J'ay eu aussi quelques craintes qu'il se voulût icy nischer."

decided.[59] The French Consistory was disposed to insist on an expression of repentance - which Cassiodoro was not prepared to make, as he did not consider it necessary. He said he was not content. The reply was that he would have to be, because that was all they were prepared to do.[60] On that unsatisfactory note, the matter ended, and Reina left for the Continent.

It seems that he went to Frankfurt first, to visit his sick wife, and, because she was sick, he left her in Frankfurt and went on to Antwerp to take up his appointment.

(59) ibid p.234 (quoting Minutes of the French Consistory):

"Sur ce il remarqua que ce n'était pas ce qu'il requérait de nous, car se serait une chose inique et injuste que nous fussions autrement, mais qu'il avait estimé que, par la sentence des juges, si nous avions conçu quelque mauvaise opinion de lui, le tout maintenant devait être effacé. Puis, déclarant qu'il ne lui était rien advenu que ce qu'il pouvait avouer à tout homme, dit qu'on lui ferait tort si on pensait qu'il aurait besoin de telle avertissement qu'icelui qu'on lui avait fait; et, poursuivant son propos, dit quant à M. de Bèze qu'il a eu son consentement et par l'avis de gens graves la chose avait été débattue, il avait depuis été admis à la Cène à Francfort. Que n'étant reçu de la communion de l'Eglise française [that is, as a minister], il fut contraint de s'adresser à ceux de la Confession d'Augsbourg qu'il reconnaît aussi bien Eglise comme la nôtre, et parlant aux ministres (dont il ne se repent point) il aurait nommément résisté l'ubiquité et impanation. Quant à ceux d'Anvers, qu'il avait voirement été appelé d'eux pour les enseigner, mais qu'il n'avait encore rien résolu avec eux."

(60) ibid p.235:

"..qu'il fallait qu'il se contentât puisqu'il ne pouvait autrement et ainsi départit."

REINA'S LIFE FROM ANTWERP TO HIS DEATH IN FRANKFURT.

Circumstances in Antwerp had continued their erratic course, as far as both religion and politics were concerned. The great reversal of Protestant fortunes in 1568, which resulted in the loss of 10,000 inhabitants out of 90,000 when it capitulated to the Spanish troops in the Duke of Alva's campaign, and during which time Marcos Pérez had been expelled, had been followed by Alva's governorship of terror and the 'Spanish Fury' of November 1576, and further depopulation.

On 8th November 1576 the States General accepted the idea of a religious peace settlement, known as the Pacification of Ghent. Although it favoured the Roman Catholic religion, it tolerated the presence of Protestants in such places as they were already established. In the two northern provinces, exceptionally, the Roman Catholic religion was banned altogether. It insisted on the removal of Spanish soldiers, the suppression of the laws against heresy, and Alva's criminal ordinances. Philip II sent his brother, Don John of Austria, as governor with a mission of peace, to counteract Alva's excesses.(1)

On 12th February 1577, at Marche en Famenne, Don John signed an act, called the Perpetual Edict, by which he approved the Pacification of Ghent and promised removal of Spanish troops within 20 days, and of foreign soldiers as soon as they had been paid, and the States General promised to obey the king, to maintain and propagate the Roman Catholic faith, and to pay off the troops. Don John did not like having to do this, and the king dismissed him. The suggestion was made that the Archduke Matthias, brother of the Emperor Rudolph, would be an acceptable substitute, provided that Maurice of Nassau was Lieutenant-Governor.(2)

On 10th December 1577 the States General began to collect signatures for what was known as the New Union of Brussels, which was based on the Pacification of Ghent. Signature of the Union implied acceptance of the Pacification. Although it gave a very privileged position to the Roman Catholic religion, promising to maintain it, it also gave limited recognition to Protestants, who promised not to "violer, grever, ou endommager ceulx de ladite Religion Catholique Romaine ou par aulcun destourber lexercise dicelle."(3) On 17th December 1577 the Archduke Matthias

(1) E.Gossart La domination espagnole dans les Pays-Bas (Brussels 1906) pp.37-47.
(2) A.C.de Schrevel Recueil de documents relatifs aux Troubles (Bruges 1921) pp.120f

accepted the New Union of Brussels. Thereafter, conditions got better for the Protestants, to such an extent that, on 16th March 1578, there were 15 Protestant preaching places in the city, and these were apparently not enough.(4) On 18th May 1578 the Calvinists had the temerity to seize churches for themselves and to help to expel the Jesuits and Friars Minor from the city for their refusal to accept the Pacification of Ghent. On 29th August, a provisional religious peace was declared in the city, under the terms of which the Calvinists got four churches for their use, including the cathedral nave, the Roman Catholics being relegated to the side-chapels.(5) On the same date the Lutherans signed an agreement of 12 articles with the Antwerp City Council, and on the 6th September three churches for the use of Lutherans were added to the above four, viz: St. Michaël's convent, the Droogscherders' chapel and the Hessenhuis.(6) On 18th September 1578 Orange and his brother Jan van Nassau entered the city. On 20th October the Lutherans asked for larger premises and on 22nd October they were granted additional places for the exercise of their worship: the Carmelite refectory and the nave of St. George's church.(7)

In May 1579 there began the religious consultations of Cologne, which caused great concern amongst the Protestants of Antwerp, so much so that the Ascension Day procession (28th May) in which the Archduke Matthias was taking part was scattered by armed Calvinists and the Archduke locked in a church.(8)

The situation settled down somewhat when on 12th July 1579 a religious peace-settlement was drawn up and published by Maurice of Orange in Antwerp, under the terms of which freedom of religion was granted to Roman Catholics, Calvinists and Lutherans; each had schools, churches and hospitals, the right to preach and teach, and to conduct weddings and funerals, etc. A commission of 9 (3 Roman Catholics, 3 Calvinists, 3 Lutherans) was set up to watch over matters of religious peace.(9)

(4) E.de Moreau Histoire de l'Eglise en Belgique (Brussels 1952) V p.154.

(5) F.Prims De Groote Cultuurstrijd (no d. or pl.) I pp.53, 78.

(6) ibid p.81; J.C.Diercxsens Antverpia Christo nascens et crescens (Antwerp V p.302.

(7) Prims ibid.

(8) M.Lossen, "Aggäus Albada, "Historisches Taschenbuch 5th Ser.6th Yr.p.280.

(9) Diercxsens ibid p.364; Prims "Incident uit de Religionvrede", Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis Reeks III Jaar V pp.14-16.

The assembly in Cologne went on till January 1580. It is claimed that Cassiodoro and some of his congregation went to Cologne to attend the meetings and to know what went on there. Certainly on 27th June 1579 Reina wrote to M.Ritter from Cologne.(10) This was in any case before his official appointment. The Troubles says that he stayed in Cologne to wait for a call from his Antwerp congregation and that he began to preach in December 1579. When he did arrive he exercised his ministry in the refectory of the Carmelite convent.(11) A copy of the Antwerp Lutheran Articles of 1578, which all ministers were expected to sign on appointment, has been published by Nieuwenhuis.(12) Presumably, therefore, Reina signed his acceptance of the Confession of Augsburg and the church's discipline.

A letter dated 11th July 1579 and signed by Jean Taffin, went to London from the Antwerp Calvinists, expressing a certain dismay at Reina's intention of settling in Antwerp, and asking for the help of the London French in averting this and assuring them that the Antwerp Calvinists would do their best to see that he

(10) Zeitschr.f.d.hist.Theol. Vol.50, p.288.

(11) Bib.Wif.II p.180; Lehnemann p.82; Memoires anonymes sur les troubles des Pays-Bas III p.58:

> "En celuy temps de décembre 1579, commencha à precher ung dict Cassiodore, de ladicte nation d'Espaigne, en ladicte ville d'Anvers, au lieu du cloistre des Carmes, où avoient paravant presché lesdicts martinistes ou confessionnistes d'Ausbourg. Lequel Cassiodore Reyne se disoit ministre de l'Eglise d'icelle confession, dont il faisoit profession, oires que se disoit avoir paravant presché en Angleterre, à Londres, et y a enseigné la doctrine de ladicte religion réformée; mais s'en estoit retiré en ces Pays-Bas et soy tenu audict lieu de Collongne, jusques ad ce que lesdictz martinistes d'Anvers le mandèrent."

(12) F.J.D.Nieuwenhuis Geschiedenis der Amsterd.Luth.Gemeente (Amsterdam 1856) pp.23-26.

was kept away.[13] They did not succeed. On 6th August his appointment was officially ratified by the City Council.[14] It may be that the letter had some effect in that the exact substance of Cassiodoro's declarations before the Archbishop of Canterbury arrived in Antwerp and were soon circulated by his

(13) Hessels III.1.p.558:

"Messieurs et honnorez freres, Nous auons entendu que Cassiodoro Espagnol estant allé a Londres a obtenu de l'Euesque quelque justification des crimes dont il a esté chargé de long temps. Et que sur cela ayan requis tesmoignage de vostre Eglise il luy a este refusé. Or il est de retour en ceste ville et praticque auec les Ministres de la Confession dAusbourg auec apparence tresmanifeste que leur intention est de lestablir icy au Ministere en Langue Françoise: et que mesmes a ces fins ils font instance dauoir encore vn temple. Nous craignons que, venans a bout de leur dessein il nous sera icy vn instrument dangereux et pernicieux. Pour donc destourner ce mal de nous nous vous prions quil vous plaise nous enuoyer par le premier vn Acte de sa demande faicte a vostre Eglise et du Refus dicelle auec les raisons. Ensemble si vous auez autre conseil et ayde pour ce fait, nous en vouloir assister. Cependant nous faisons et ferons de nostre coste nostre mieux pour obuier a ce quil ne soit receu ...
(signed Jean Taffin)".

(14) Prims Register ... Religionsvrede te Antwerpen (Brussels 1954) pp.75 f:

"De gecommitteerde...gesien hebben de certificaten hem representeert van leven ende conversatie van Jacobus Bernardes, Cassiodorus Reynius, Merardus Swarte, Thyman Brakel ende Jacobus Bender ende hem geinformeert hebbende op de qualitat van deselve ende van dem persoon van Johannes Leonisie, om geadmitteert te wordene totte predicatie van de confessie van Augsburch bynnen dese stadt, en bevinden egeene oorsaken omme hennen dienst te wederleggen. Actum in de vergaderinge der gecommitteerde 6 Aug. anno 1579".

opponents in an attempt to discredit him.(15)

The assembly at Cologne finally ratified the Pacification of Ghent, the New Brussels Union and the Perpetual Edict. Its terms were published on 18th

(15) vid.letter to Ritter 11th Jan.1580 (Z.Hist.Theol.p.291):
"Dum in eo negotio nullum lapidem non movent, effecerunt tandem ut responsiones quasdam meas ad quosdam deCoena Domini articulos (quas reverendissimo archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, qui ex commissione Consilii regii de mea causa cognoscebat, praeterito anno mea manu subscriptas dederam, ut me demum ex illo labyrintho extricarem, bona tamen conscientia) effecerunt(inquam) ut has eruerent ex Anglia, et hîc vulgarent typis, thrbus linguis, meo nomine, me inscio atque inconsulto, qui tamen autor dicor, rationes pacis ineundae praetexentes, revera tamen ut me nostri ecclesiae suspectum redderent, existimationem meam elevarent apud nostros et denique ministerium meum (tam illis grave) interciperent atque infringerent."

also Troubles p.59:
"L'on disoit que lesdictz confessionnistes d'Anvers l'avoient ainsy mandé sa résidence de Francfort audict Anvers affin de y gaigner de ceulx allans ès esglises franchoises desdictz réformez en icelle ville d'Anvers; lesquelz feirent imprimer ladicte confession de Cassiodore faict audict Londres par lettres au Rme évesque de Cantourbéri, affin de veoir de sa confession qu'il enseignoit présentement audict Anvers..."

The publication is extremely rare. I have been able to find only the copy in possession of the University Library of Leyden, which was listed by Bib.Wif. Its title is as follows:
"CONFESSIO/in articulo de Coena,/CASSIODORI REINII His_pani,/ Ministri in ea Ecclesia quae Antuerpiae se Augusta/ nam Confessionem profiteri dicit, quam si eius/ Symmistae sincere profitentur, sublata erit inter/ eos & Ecclesiarum reformatarum Ministros/ contruersia./ *Confessie ofte Beleydenisse/ (angaende tpunct des Heyl.Nachtmaels)/ Cassiodori Reinij, apaignaert, dienaer inder/ kercke die haer tAntwerpen noemt te syne/ vande confessie van Ausburch, welcke beley-/ denisse sole syne mithulpers ooc oprechtelijc/ bekennen, so sal het verschil dat tusschen hen/ eñ den dienaren der gherformeerde kercken/ is, gheweert ende wechghenomen wesen./ Confession (en l'article de la Cene)/ de Cassiodore Reina Hespaignol, ministre en i-/celle Eglise qui se dict faire profession de la con-/fession d'Ausbourch en Anuers, laquelle si ses/ compaignons veulent confesser en sincerité, le/ different entre eux & les ministres des Eglises/ reformees sera osté./ A ANVERS/ Chez Giles vanden Rade./ (No date).

July 1579, and were not at all to the liking of the Antwerp Lutherans, who published on 4th August, in Dutch and French, their objections, which they addressed to the Archduke Matthias.(16) They disliked particularly the parts which established the Roman Church with special privileges. There has been some speculation on how much part Reina had in the compilation of this publication. Seeing that he was not officially appointed till 6th August, it is doubtful whether he had any part.

On 28th August Ursula López, widow of Marcos Pérez, asked permission for herself and her children to return to Antwerp. This was granted and she had returned by the 28th September.(17) It is interesting to ask oneself how far this was attributable to Cassiodoro, given the amount of time he had lodged with that family in Antwerp and Basle.

There are letters to Ritter dated 8th December 1579 and 18th December 1579.(18) In the former Cassiodoro speaks of his sick wife, still in Frankfurt. The latter dealt with the situation in Antwerp, and spoke of the opposition there had been to his working there.(19) This letter also asks Rotter to translate into Latin the Frankfurt Agenda and send it to him by Michel Bode. Reina will then translate it from Latin into French for use in his congregation.(20) A letter of 11th January 1580 to Ritter indicates that

(16) Antwerp Public Library has the following:
"Protest vande Christelijcke Ghemeynte binnen Antwerpen, toeghedaen der Confessien van Ausborch, op de Articulen vande Pacificatie van Nederlant, Chemaect tot Ceulen den xviij Julij, etc. Antwerp: MDLXXIX
and
"Protestation des fideles en la ville d'Anvers dediez a la Confession d'Ausbourg, presentée au Conseil des Estatz, sur les Articles de la Pacification du Païs-Bas: Faict à Coulogne le xviij.Iuillet, &c. Antwerp: 1579".

(17) F.Prims De Groote Cultuurstrijd I pp.310 f.

(18) Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie Vol.50 pp.289 f.

(19) ibid: "Tentat per suos Satanas firmitudinem ecclesiae nostrae multis modis, mea in primis causa, quem multi ad transtra quam hic potius esse vellent. Sed quia Christi promissione firmo utique fundamento nititur, frustra tentatori est omnia opera atque erit demum, praesertim si iuvemur vestris precibus."

(20) Agenda is the name still given by German Protestant Churches to the book used by pastors in the conduct of public worship. It corresponds to the Book of Common Order of the Church of Scotland.

this opposition came mainly from the Calvinists.[21] They were up in arms that he should be working there, though he himself had said nothing at all to provoke them. He referred to the publication without his knowledge, of the replies to the Archbishop of Canterbury. The Calvinists had pretended to do this for reasons of peace, but, in fact, had succeeded in that which they intended, namely to hinder his ministry. This was not really surprizing, for he was demonstrably a Lutheran-Calvinist - or a Calvinist-Lutheran - a position not easy to maintain in those days of strife and bitterness between those two factions. In England this might have been possible, but it made him very suspect to all his flock and to many others in strife-torn Antwerp.

He had now written, in three parts, a reply against his detractors:

1. unmasking his adversaries' intrigues;

2. setting forth the terms of the Wittenberg Concord, which he himself had signed, and stating that if the Calvinist ministers would do so too, there was hope that a long drawn-out strife over the eucharist might be ended. This was followed by a consideration of the replies to the Archbishop, which he undertook to explain privately to anyone who should ask him;

3. expressing a grave admonition to the man who was leading the Calvinists against him, Villiers, and to the magistrates of Antwerp, together with an offer to leave of his own free will if his own flock did not want him as their minister.

He doubted very much whether the magistrates would allow this to be printed and circulated. He would have sent Ritter a copy of the London replies if he

(21) ibid. pp.290-93; 290 f:

"Ii, quos vulgus hic Calvinistas, sese vero ipsi Reformatos vocant, tam graviter ferunt meum huc adventum atque ministerium, ut ferre nullo modo aut velint aut possint, idque ne uno quidem verbo hactenus a me lacessiti. Queruntur etiam apud exteros, illorum ecclesiae meo huc adventu grave vulnus esse inflictum. Cui querimoniae ego soleo respondere, illos, qui ita de me conqueruntur, imprudenter satis prodere cuiusnam ecclesiae ipsi sint, quippe ego ecclesiae Christi non vulnera infligo, sed inservio, idque non omnino inutiliter per gratiam Christi, Satanae vero et Anti christi ecclesiae vulnera infligo quam possum duriter, cuius rei testes cito omnes meos auditores".

had suspected that either Michel Bode or Bernuy had not already shewn him one.[22]

At this point comes the one reply of Ritter to Reina that we possess.[23] Although dated 28th December 1580, it replied to the letter of 11th January 1580.[24] Bode had shewn him a copy of the London Articles signed by Reina, and these caused Ritter a certain amount of concern. He wished Reina had never gone to London. The articles were just not Lutheran enough for Ritter; for instance, the bread of the eucharist must be more than just a symbol for him. We have noted earlier how strange it was for Reina to sign a Calvinist declaration as the prelude to a Lutheran ministry. In London he had declared that the Lutherans did not mind his reservations on the points of impanation and ubiquity.

(22) ibid p.291:

"Huic remorae occurrere statui mea publica responsione et declaratione, quae in summa constat tribus partibus: prima, detectione consilii autorum seu autoris huius editionis; secunda, confessione mea ingenua de Dominica coena, quae est ad verbum formula illa concordiae inter Lutherum piae memoriae et Bucerum et reliquos Witebergae inita cum suia subscriptionibus, desumpta ex historia confessionis Augustanae Chytraei, regesto adversariorum aculeo in eos ipsos istis verbis in fine confessionis: Huic confessioni verbis in sua simplici significatione acceptis sincere absque ulla fraude aut dolo malo Cassiodorus subscribit, cui, si eadem sinceritate Ministri Ecclesiae, quae in hac civitate Antuerpiana Reformata appellatur, velint addere suas subscriptiones, spes erit controversiam de coena Domini sublatam fore non solum in hac civitate, sed fortassis etiam quacunque illa viget. Hanc partem praecedit mea de illis responsionibus Anglicanis declaratio, qua ingenue illas agnosco pro meis, quas tamen non putem huic praesenti confessioni ullo modo esse contrarias, quod cuivis private rationem a me poscenti planum facere suscipio. Tertia pars constat adminitionibus, duabus valde (ni fallor) seriis, altera ad autorem huius editionis, altera ad huius urbis magistratus.....Alterum, de quo dubitamus, est, an magistratus permissurus sit evulgari hanc meam responsionem."

(23) J.B.Ritter, Evangelisches Denkmahl p.427 f.

(24) Zeit.hist.Theol. Vol.50, p. 293, footnote 2 argues the case carefully that Ritter wrote December instead of January; a mistake everyone has made at the beginning of a new year.

Ritter, at least, was not happy, and was not surprized that the document could be used against him. In fact, he seemed amazed that Reina could be so naive about it. Reina's eirenic spirit, which might have been very much at home in 20th century circles, was far too generous for the 16th century temper. In a p.s. to this letter Ritter indicated he was sending a copy of the Frankfurt Agenda already translated into French, which was more than Reina had asked of him.(25) This would be sent on when it had been polished up. Cassiodoro replied to this on 5th February 1580, indicating that he was rather hurt that his articles had caused Ritter consternation, for he had taken great care to see that they conformed to the Wittenberg Concord.(26)

Meantime, the Agenda must have arrived, for in a letter dated 1st March 1580 Reina remonstrated that he had merely asked for a quick translation into Latin, and that he would have seen it translated into French in Antwerp. (Possibly in view of the trouble over the articles, Ritter was taking no chances!). They already had in Antwerp a French catechism and French hymns set to German tunes, but common prayer and an Agenda were totally lacking.(27) In fact, as long ago as 1567, a German Lutheran Agenda (28) and a Latin version of the Confession of

(25) In his letter of 18th December 1579 Reina had asked for this to be provided:

> "Nunc tantum ..... oro, ut Agendam vestram seu formularium communium precum ad administrationis sacramentorum cures nobis Latine vertere primo quoque tempore et ad nos per Bodium transmitti ... Laborem Latine vertendi, quem credo fore exiguum, inter duos aut tres ex fratribus divides, ut et citius fieri possit et ipse, alioqui occupatus satis, leveris hoc onere."

(26) Zeit.f.d.his.Theol.50 p. 293 f.

(27) ibid pp.295 f.

> "Vellem summopere Agendam vestram ad me transmissam. Neque ego, si recte memnini, petieram ut Gallice nobis eam ipsi verteretis, sed Latine, et perfunctoria ac festinate opera, ut citius nos habere potuissemus, Gallice hic vestendam. Habemus iam psalmos et catechismum Gallice; psalmos ... ad musicam Germanorum psalmorum. Haec iam ut prelo committantur in procinctu sunt. Desunt communes preces et Agenda tota deest."

(28) Kirchenagend, oder Form und Gestalt, Wie es mit den Sacramenten und Ceremonien gehalten wird, in der Kirchen der Augspurgischen Confession zu Andorff ..... Anno 1567 (No place): Copy in British Museum.

Augsburg were provided for use in Antwerp,[29] under the guidance chiefly of M.Flaccius Illyricus (M.Vlacich of Jugoslavia) with whom Reina had had some contact in Strassburg.

Opposition to Reina flared up again when a young minister left the Calvinists to become a Lutheran. After the customary explanation, he was admitted to the pulpit.[30] The Reformed churchmen got the burgomaster to forbid it. Such events caused Cassiodoro to despair and almost made him give up the task. On 12th April, however, he wrote to say he had decided to stay, won over by the prayers of his flock and the challenge and needs of the situation.[31] This decision was apparently made in the face of financial hardship, for he asked Ritter to arrange through Paciens the sale to the Elector Palatine of a Plantin Bible for some 75-80 florins.[32]

He had decided to ask his wife and children to join him in Antwerp, but did not want this action to prejudice his rights of citizenship in Frankfurt. He

(29) Confessio ministrorvm Iesv Christi, in Ecclesia Antuerpensi, quae Augustanae Confessioni adsentitur ... Anno M.D.LXVII (No place). Copy in Amsterdam University Library.

(30) Zeit.f.hist.Theol.50 p.295; Tollin p. 293; Memoires anonymes sur les troubles III pp.145 f:

> "...ministre d'Esdain [= Hesdin] ... commencha à prescher la doctrine desdictz confessionistes dictz martinistes au lieu où preschoit ledict Cassiodore Espaignol, se retirant ainsy du ranc de ladict religion réformée; mais icelluy ministre françois s'excusoit, disant comme ledict ministre espaignol. qu'il ne preschoit que la vérité assez clère par le récit des 4 évangélistes ..."

(31) Zeit.f.hist.Theol.50 p.297:

> "Constitui tandem hic manera, piis precibus fratrum expugnatus, sed inprimis ecclesiae istius necessitate quae, ut Dei beneficio et benedictione augetur in dies, its summam sibi invidiam ab iis conciliat qui, si veri Christiani forent, deberent potius de illius incremento summopere gaudere."

(32) ibid. p.297 f:

> "Biblia illa magna Plantini quae apud nostrum Bodium asservari iussi, tibi commendo, ut videas an per dominum et carissimum fratrem nostrum Patientem divendi possit Palatino Principi. Nam neque illis valde indigeo neque, si maxime indigerem, illis uterer tam sumtuose compactis. Si aliquid effeceris, facies mihi rem valde gratam. Pretium erit ab 80 ad 75 florenos vestrates."

asked Ritter to check for him that they would not be jeopardized. It might seem risky to bring small children into such a situation, he said on 17th May 1580, but it was either that or see nothing of them. He hoped they would soon be sent to him.(33)

The work was hard, partly because of the continued bitter opposition of the Calvinists and partly because there was in Antwerp not half the number of Lutheran ministers they really needed. Those who did come were untrained and unwilling to suffer hardship for the gospel and often did not stay long.(34)

Indeed, much of the time that Reina was in Antwerp, the Lutherans were divided over a theological point concerning original sin. Flaccius had some point which was at variance with the orthodox Lutheran teaching, and carried many along with him. The point was of great subtlety in the 16th century theological tradition, and caused much harm and tumult in the church. One Peter Eggerdes was a particularly troublesome character on the Flaccian side, and eventually on 13th May 1580 the Deputies of the Church of the Confession of Augsburg of Antwerp wrote to Martin Chemnitz, Superintendent of the (Lutheran) Church of Brunswick, a long letter of explanation of the quarrel that was raging, but also giving some informative details of the state of their church in Antwerp.(35) They had barely four German preachers and two French, of whom Cassiodoro was particularly praised.(36) Mention was also made of an edition of their catechism (modelled on the Strassburg

(33) ibid: "Uxorem et familiam accerso, non tamen veluti in totum Francofortum relicturus, cupio enim adhuc agnosci et habere civis vester, qua de re scripsi ad dominum doctorem Ficardum quem spero satisfacturum hac in parte desiderio meo."

(34) ibid. pp.298 f, letter to Ritter dated 17th May 1580; Lehnemann p.101.

(35) J.G.Leuckfeld Historia Spangenbergensis pp.87-97; Lehnemann p.ibid.

(36) Leuckfeld ibid p.94:
"..ausserhalben unserer Frantzösischen Kirche, welche uns der liebe Gott aus Gnaden gegeben hat, und auch mit zweyen feinen und tüchtigen Predigern versorget hat, (welche hertzliche Sorge tragen für die Gemeine Gottes allhier und besonder der Herr Cassiodorus unser lieber Vater, der freylich Gelehrt und Gottfürchtig ist, und nach seinen Eyfer und Gottfürchtigkeit auch gegenwärtiglich dieser Sachen halber an E.a.w.schreibet) zwar gar übel mit Predigern versorget seyn ..."

catechism) which had been printed in German, French and Dutch and was shortly to be issued in Spanish. This ties up with the 'Privilege' printed in the beginning of a 1582 Dutch edition of this catechism, stating that the Archduke Matthias had given permission on 25th April 1580 for the printing of a four-language edition.(37) Reina must have been concerned with the Spanish, if not the French, edition.(38) Authorities agree that he was concerned with the compilation, not merely the translations. Two of the signatories to this letter were Jacques and Michel Bode, who turn up later as great friends of Reina in Frankfurt.

Meanwhile, in the face of opposition and difficulties, the Church of the Confession of Augsburg continued to increase. On 5th March 1580 they requested another school in St.George's church and a house to go with it.(39) On 24th March the request was for yet more room on the appointment of two more preachers,

(37) ibid p.96:

"...so senden wir .... ein Exemplar von unserm Catachismo in Niederländischer teutscher Sprache itzund neuliches gedruckt, welcher vor etlichen wenigen Tagen in Frantzösischer Sprache auch ist gedruckt worden, und ingleichen in Lateinischer Sprache wird gedruckt werden, wie wir denn denselben auch künfftig in Hispanischer Sprache übergesetzt zu thun drucken vermeynen, und derowegen das StraBburgischerExemplar (welches wir gefolget) an etlichen Orten ist vermehret ..."

The privelege granted by Archduke Matthias reads as follows:

"Seyne hoochoydt heeft toe-gelaten Arnout s'Conincx, te moghen drucken oft doen drucken desen teghenwoordighen Catechismus in vierder-hande spraken, to weten Latijn, Hoochduyts, Franchoys ende Neder-duyts: Ende verboden allen anderen Persoonen, den-seluen den tijt van drij naestcomende iaren ghedurende, binnen dese nederlanden na te drucken; oft elders ghedruct sijnde te versoopen: Op-de pene begrepen in-de Originale priuilegie, daer-af ghegheuen den 25. dach April. Anno 1580.

Gheteekent Matthias."

It will be noted that no mention is made of a Spanish edition of this permission, and it is possible that this was in fact never issued.

(38) Bib.Wif.II p.180; Jacobi & Nieuwenhuis Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis der Evang.Luth.Kerk I p.43, II p.26.

(39) Prims Groote Cultuurstrijd I p.320.

Michiel Peschard and Bernard Arnoldi.[40] For services in French they asked for the Vrouwenbroeders church (Carmelites), and, as they needed a place large enough for synods, etc., they requested the whole monastery. This seems to indicate that Reina's ministry was more successful than his letters indicate, since he had begun in the refectory, and now the church and the whole convent were being asked for. On 22nd August another German preacher was appointed, and on 12th September two more.[41] But these, no doubt, were amongst those for whom Reina had ill-concealed contempt in his letters to Ritter.[42] Several churches in the city were in use by the Lutherans at this date: St.George's, St. Walburga's, the Carmelites, the chapel of the Drapers' Guild, St. Michael's and the Burchtkerk (in the castle); yet on the 27th September a further request went in to the Archduke for larger premises still.[43]

On 17th August 1580 Reina wrote of the lack of pastors for the Lutherans.[44] They were hoping to get Chemnitz to come to Antwerp to be their superintendent.[45] If Chemnitz could not come, he earnestly requested Ritter to seek out some other

(40) ibid. p.323.

(41) ibid. pp.330 f.

(42) Lehnemann p.101; Zeit.f.hist.Theol.50 pp. 286 f, 299:
"Res est plane digna lachrymis videre fruges ad messem maturas in tanta copia propemodum perire ob messoreu fidelium paucitatem. Cum praesertim neque in ea paucitate omnes pro officio sint frugi ... Petunt undique juvari a nobis. Nos neque nobis ipsis habemus vel mediam partem Ministrorum, qui nobis essent necessarii, & hos (ut apud te unum tantam vastitatem deplorare mihi sine ulla mea fraude liceat) juvenes, imperitos, nihil fere doctos. Accersivit haec Ecclesia praeterito anno ex Osterlandia, deinde duos alios. Tres illi plenis loculis redierunt in patriam periculum hic vitantes & desiderio patriae victi, neque revera, si mansissent, melius habiturae essent hujus Ecclesiae res, quam in eorum absentia. Duo alii erant prorsus inutiles."

(43) Prims op.cit. pp.207 f.

(44) Zeit.f.hist.Theol. 50 pp.300 f.

(45) Many areas which accepted the Reformation with a Lutheran pattern retained an episcopal structure, but for anti-Roman reasons rejected the title of bishop, which they replaced by that of Superintendent or Inspector. The latter title is still in use in the Eglise Lutherienne de France.

suitable man to fill the office, as the church in Antwerp was almost entirely lacking in church order and discipline.(46) At this time his wife was still in Frankfurt.

It was in 1580 that a native of Montbéliard was appointed to the French Lutheran ministry of Antwerp. His name was Antoine Serray (Antonius Serrarius).(47) Later, in Frankfurt he and Reina were to work together again.

There is a letter to Ritter dated 'prid. Kal. M...1581'. This must, of course, be March or May.(48) He still complained of the lack of a Superintendent. Another German minister had arrived, whose salary was to be 1,200 Flemish florins (= 700 Frankfurt florins.). This, we suppose therefore, would be approximately the amount that Reina was receiving at this time. Someone meanwhile had sent to Heshusius a copy of Reina's Antwerp catechism, and Heshusius had written a condemnation of it, which added to the difficulties he was experiencing.(49) By this time his wife and children were with him in Antwerp.

Several letters written in 1581 to Conrad Schlüsselburg, a German Lutheran pastor in Antwerp, make mention of Cassiodoro, mostly to send greetings.(50) One, however, written by Chytraeus,(51) suggested that Cassiodoro would make a very suitable superintendent for the Antwerp Church of the Confession of Augsburg.(52) This suggestion does not seem to have been acted upon. It nevertheless speaks highly for Reina's standing in certain people's estimation. This letter and

(46) Zeit.f.hist.Theol. 50, p.301.

(47) Naamroll der Predikanten (Amsterdam 1777) p.86.

(48) Zeit.f.hist.Theol.50 pp.303-305.

(49) Bib.Wif. II p.182.

(50) Conradi Schlusselburgii...epistolarum volumen (Rostock 1624) pp.224-8, 264-278, 426-435.

(51) David Chytraeus (Kochhafe) (1531-1600) Lutheran theologian, from 1550 a pillar of Rostock University. Had great influence on the course of the Reformation in Sweden, Austria & Antwerp.

(52) Sclusselburg op.cit.pp.224 f. Its date is 18th July 1581:
"De Superintendente, quod vobis in primo articulo propositum est, existimo sine conscientiae offensione recipi posse. Hortatus sum deputatos, ut inspectorem ministerio praeficiant, et Cass^{m}., cujus doctrinam et studium pacis mihi praedicasti, nominavi."

another dated St. Catharine's Day, 1581, mentioned a French translation of Chytraeus's History of the Confession of Augsburg, which eventually appeared in 1583, printed in Antwerp.(53)

Up to this time Reina continually complained of the difficulties he experienced because of the unfriendliness of the Calvinists. The situation may have improved after the Antwerp City Council issued a decree on 5th August 1581 to protect the Lutherans in the same way as the Calvinists were protected.(54) It is also of note that one of the extant copies of Reina's 1569 Bible bears an autograph dedication to Jean Taffin, the Calvinist preacher who had expressed concern when Reina was first appointed.(55)

A letter to Ritter dated 9th January 1582 devoted most of its contents to enquiring about the method of administering the eucharist in Frankfurt and elsewhere, asking in particular whether, when insufficient bread and/or winehad been consecrated, a new supply should be consecrated by a repetition of the words of institution being murmured over it.(56) This letter also mentioned a sister, who might just possibly have been Cassiodoro's own sister, living in Frankfurt. In view of the custom of using the terms 'brother' and 'sister' for members of the church, it is perhaps too much to make this assumption very firmly.

The year 1582 also saw the publication of a Dutch version of the Catechism.(57) This is the publication in which the 'Privilege' issued by the Archduke is printed and Boehmer and Jacobi bring evidence to shew that there had been various earlier editions, including a possible Spanish one.(58) The Dutch edition of 1580 was

(53) ibid pp.224 f, 226 f.

(54) J.W.Pont 'De Belijdenis van de Luthersche Gemeente te Antwerpen' Nieuwe Bijdragen P.I (1907) pp.163 f.

(55) Bib.Wiff.II p.301:
"D.Joanni Tafino fratri in Christo chariss. Cass.Rein.Hisp.d.d."

(56) Zeit.fur hist.Theol. pp.305 f.

(57) Catechismvs,Dat is: Corte onderwijsinge, van de voornemste Hooft-stucken der Christelijker leere: Op Vraghe ende Antwoort ghestelt. Alsoo in de Christelijke kerke ende scholen der nedre-duytscher landen, de Confessie van Ausborch toe-gedaen synde, gheleert ende gheoeffent wordt ....
T'Hantwerpen By Arnout s'Conincx.Anno.1582.
Copy in Amsterdam University Library.

(58) The publication itself states that it is 'Van nieus neerstelije ouersien, verbetert ende vermeerdert.' Jacobi & Nieuwenhuis op.cit.I pp.43 f; Bib.Wiff. II 180, 305 f.

completely sold out in two years, thus necessitating this revision and reprint of 1582. A revision of this catechism, made by another French pastor of the Lutheran Church in Antwerp, named Allard, in 1585, became the standard adult catechism of the Dutch Lutheran Church, and remained so for several centuries.(59)

In late 1582 French troops under the command of the Duke of Brabant entered Antwerp. On 17th January 1583 an outbreak of violence by these troops, afterwards known as the 'French Fury', broke out. Much of this fury was directed against the Protestants, but Cassiodoro, with his flock, weathered the storm. Indeed later in the same year, on 5th April, there appeared in Antwerp the French translation of Chytraeus' History of the Confession of Augsburg, referred to above.(60) Schutz is categoric in attributing the translation of this to Reina, and others have followed his lead.(61) The book was ostensibly translated by Luc le Cop, but Rahlenbeck asserted that this name had been Reina's pseudonym as far back as 1563.(62) Pont, however, says, Luc le Cop was not Reina;(63) and indeed there seems little real evidence to identify the two. The book bears a preface signed by the Elders and Deputies of the Antwerp Church of the Confession of Augsburg, but there is no clear mention of Reina anywhere in the publication.

No trace of Cassiodoro's activity can be found for 1584, but his time in Antwerp was running out. Spanish troops under Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma, occupied the city on 17th August 1585, and their hostility to Protestants was evident from the first. On 18th August a treaty was signed, permitting Protestants to remain in the city for 4 years without harm, but the writing on the

(59) Jacobi & Nieuwenhuis ibid. p.44; Pont Nieuwe Bijdragen II p.146.

(60) David Chytraeus Histoire de la Confession d'Auxpourg.

(61) O.F.Schutz De Vitae Davidis Chytraei II p.360:
"de qua versione gallica,autore Cassiodoro Reinio, Ecclesiae Lutheranae gallicae, quae Antwerpiae erat, Ministro primo ita Chytraeus A.1581 ad Schlusselbergium Historiam Aug.Conf.gallica lingua isthic (Antwerpiae) exprimi nescio an latari potius, vel dolore debeam."

(62) C.Rahlenbeck L'Inquisition et la Reforme en Belgique (Anvers) (Brussels 1857) p.191.

(63) Pont Nieuwe Bijdragen III p.413. Luc le Cop did in fact exist. He was a Savoyard and signed the 'Album Amicorum' of Abraham Ortelius in Antwerp in the late 16th cent. De Gulden Passer 45 (Antwerp 1967).

wall was clear.[64] A massive exodus from the city began, which was to reduce a population of 83,000 in 1582 to one of 53,000 by 1589.[65] Reina, Serrarius and a large part of the French-speaking congregation went en bloc to Frankfurt already well before the Spanish occupation.

On 31st May 1585 Cassiodoro was instrumental in setting up, after preaching a sermon on the subject, a charitable foundation for the relief of any poor Lutherans from the low Countries, who were in Frankfurt.[66] It had the effect of keeping together the members of Reina's congregation, who felt themselves to be a corporate whole, long before they were officially recognized as a church. In fact, the charitable foundation still exists (1969) long after the congregation as a church has vanished, and amongst its possessions is a painting of Cassiodoro done by P.Fehr.[67]

By 28th September 1585 there was a request, signed by ten members of the ex-Antwerp congregation, before the City Council of Frankfurt, asking for permission to hold services in French, and requesting the appointment of Cassiodoro

(64) Articles et Conditions du Traicte p.7. Art.VI:
"tous lesdits bourgeois & inhabitãs y pourront continuer leur residence l'espace de quatre ans entiers, sans y estre recerchez ou inquietez au faict de leurs consciences, ni contraints à nouveaux sermens pour le faict de la Religion ... & en dedans ledit temps quãd bon leur semblera, librement retirer hors du pays."

(65) E de Moreau Histoire de l'Eglise en Belgique V p.331; R.Bouwmans 'Le dépeuplement d'Anvers' Revue du Nord No.115 (1947) p.190.

(66) F.Scharff 'Die niederlandische und die Franzosische Gemeinde' Archiv fur Ffts Geschichte und Kunst Vol.2 (1862) p.275; T.Schott 'Frankfurt als Herberge' Jahresbericht Vereins Reformationsgeschichte Vol.III p.40; Lehnemann gives the foundation document in full in Appendix IV to his work pp.169 f. (See also p.111).

(67) It was not possible to see this portrait during 1968 and 1969 because it was in storage during the rebuilding of an old folk's home belonging to the charitable foundation. It is reproduced by Lehnemann in black and white as a frontispiece.

as their preacher.[68] The City Council passed this for their observations to the meeting of German ministers. They were extremely reluctant, saying that Cassiodoro was old and difficult to understand (whether they meant in German, in French, or just in general is not clear) and one has the impression that they really did not trust the theology of the newcomers enough to make them fully independent.[69] Although they considered the matter on 21st October 1585, their answer was delayed till after the Fair,[70] and apparently conveniently overlooked, for a further request came upon 8th March 1586, with 19 signatures, and once more on 21st June 1586, and a fourth time on 30th August 1586.[71] None of these requests received a satisfactory answer, and there the matter had to rest for the time being.

About this time it was recorded that Reina paid tax on a property assessment of 1,500 florines[72] and again, presumably later, on a sum of 3,500 florins.[73] We suppose, therefore, that the business ventures, which he once more entered into, were a financial success. But this was not his real desire, however well he prospered in business. It may be supposed that his venture in the commercial world required him to travel away from Frankfurt from time to time. A small piece of evidence of this exists in the dedication of a book by Jean de Léry, published in 1586, describing his travels in America. The author states that

(68) Lehnemann p.125; Scharff op.cit.pp.263 f; Franckfurtische Religion Handlungen II p.371:

> "Wo denn also, so wäre sich desto weniger Conspiration unter ihnen, oder sosten Neuerung und dergleichen zubefahren, wie dan ohne des unter so wenigen Hauss-Gesässen nicht zu besorgen ist, und zwar zu dessen Versicherung dienet, unsers Bedünckens nicht wenig, daß sie zu ihren Frantzösn Prediger keinen frembden, unbekanten, sondern Hrn Cassiodorum Reins, dieser Stadt von vielen Jahren her Burget, nominiren und fürschlagen, welcher biBher mäniglich nicht anders, dann sittig und friedsam erkannt hat, vernehmen auch, daß er zu Antorff in die drey Jahrlang, sich nicht anders gehalten habe, wie dessen ihn & andern der reinen Christlichen Kirche dasebsten ihre Widersacher selbst ZeugniB geben."

(69) Scharff op.cit. pp.263 f; Lehnemann p.126.

(70) ibid. (71) ibid.

(72) F.Bothe Frankfurts wirtschaftlich-soziale Entwicklung II p.115.

(73) A.Dietz Frankfurter Handelsgeschichte II p.35.

Reina had earlier been at the court of the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, who had indicated his interest in the book. Reina had, in fact, written to the author, who now dedicated the Latin translation of the French original to the Landgrave.(74)

In 1587 the press of Nicolaus Bassée brought out a second edition of Corro's Dialogus Theologicus, a commentary on Romans.(75) It is apparent that Reina supervised the printing of this, if he was not entirely responsible for its production.(76) Otherwise, nothing at all of Cassiodoro's life in the years 1587 - 1591 appears to have survived. During these years the Netherlands Lutheran congregation held together without a proper meeting-place, despite the City Council's apparent neglect of them. It is inconceivable that Reina should not bear much of the credit for this survival during those years. It is not unlikely that some form of conventicle existed, albeit unofficially, with some form of preaching and/or Bible study in its own language.(77)

On 10th January 1582 their patience was finally rewarded when the City Council appointed Serrarius, (who had not settled in Frankfurt, but had returned to his native Montbéliard, where he was pastor of Héricourt,) as the first French preacher for the Antwerp refugees.(78) That Cassiodoro was not appointed was ostensibly because Serrarius could understand German as well as French - which was true enough. A native of Montbéliard would be well placed in that

(74) Jean de Léry, Historia navigationis in Brasiliam quae et America dicitur Preface:

> "Sextus iam fere, opinor, agitur annus, Princeps Illustrissime, ex quo doctissimus vir Cassiodorus Reinius mihi ex urbe Francofurto scripsit, se aliquãto ante cum apud Celsitudinem tuam Castellis esset, ex te audivisse, gratissimum tibi fore, si liber quem de Americana peregrinatione mea Gallice scripseram & Latine conversus tibi legendus offeretur ... Quod idem nuper a me de Reinii literis consultus multis verbis confirmavit."

(75) DIALOGVS IN EPISTOLAM D.PAVLI AD ROMANOS, ANTONIO CORRANO HISP.HISP.IN ACADEMIA OXONIENsi Professore, Theologo, autore.

(76) McFadden p.345. The Frankfurt edition in the dedication (not contained in the original London edition) has p.*:

> "Cvm hisce diebus è Germania accepissem quendam dialogum in Epistolam Apostoli Pauli ad Romanos, olim à me conscriptum, nunc verò amicorum opera iterum typis expressum, suis tamen praefationibus atque appendicibus mutilatum ..."

(77) As Lehnemann (pp.126 f) in fact says did happen.

(78) G.Florian Franckfurt am Mayn. Chronica (Frankfurt 1706) II p.66.

respect.(79) It was also hoped that a Frenchman would attract the French Calvinist refugees into the Lutheran fold.(80) There are suggestions, however, that the Frankfurt pastors generally were still very suspicious of Reina's earlier adherence to the Calvinist beliefs.(81) The services of the now officially reconstituted Antwerp Church were held at first in the Spitalkirche (Church of the Holy Ghost Hospital) in the shambles area between the Cathedral and the R.Main, but the worshippers complained quickly that, especially in summer, the stench from the butchers' shops was most upsetting, and so they were given leave to hold their services in the Bärfüsserkirche (Church of the Discalced Carmelites), which at that time was the main Lutheran church of Frankfurt.(82) We suppose that they would hold their French services at times that avoided the main German services there.

A legal document concerning Reina at this time is extant in the Frankfurt City Archives. It consists of the papers of a case begun on 5th April 1592 against Jacob Rasür of Leipzig, concerning a barrel full of goods (presumably books, but possibly silk) worth 131 florins, which had been deposited in the Nicolauskirche. The case dragged on till June 1593.(83)

On 10th February 1594 Cassiodoro wrote a long letter to Adolf Fisscher, Lutheran Minister in Amsterdam, to commend a former Antwerp Lutheran named Populerius.(84) In this letter he tries to play down the controversy concerning original sin which was raging at that time amongst Lutherans. Reina, like Corro, was well in advance of his time in his desire to reduce to a minimum theological controversy on minor points, when the tendency of the day was to

(79) Montbéliard was in the possession of Ulrich, Duke of Wurtemburg, who had early accepted the Reformation. Montbéliard was thus the first part of present-day France to go over wholly to the Protestant side (and remains so to this day). Its pastors were originally trained in Germany.

(80) Lehnemann pp.128 f.

(81) G.Guaitta Merckwurdiges VerzeichniB derer ... Evangelischen Predigern (Frankfurt 1774) p.6.

(82) Florian loc.cit; Guaitta loc.cit; Dechent Kirchengeschichte von Frankfurt (Frankfurt 1913) I p.278. This church has now been replaced by the 19th-cent.St.Paul's Church.

(83) Frankfurt City Archives, Judicialia R 283

(84) Nieuwenhuis Gesch.der Amsterd.Luth.Gemeente pp.19-22.

argue endlessly about details, which, at this distance of time, seem barely comprehensible. In this he contrasts strongly with Juan Pérez and Cipriano de Valera, who remained blameless Calvinists all their lives.

Anthonius Serrarius was physically weak and the Antwerp refugees were still determined to have their old pastor, Cassiodoro, reinstated officially. Thus once more, in March or April 1593, they requested the appointment of Reina as Serrarius' assistant, describing him as 'fine, respectable, peace-loving, learned, experienced and willing' and they offered to bear all the costs of his salary themselves, if the City Council were not willing to do so.(85) On 29th March the council accepted the request on condition that two citizens stood surety for him, and, pending a satisfactory report on trial sermons, that Reina would preach in French.(86) On 17th April Schadeus gave his report on two sermons preached by Reina, recommending his acceptance as a pastor.(87) On 20th April the Predigerministerium (Presbytery of Frankfurt) informed Reina by letter that his appointment had their official approval, subject to satisfactory replies being received from him on points of Lutheran orthodoxy, and to his making personal undertakings in addition. It seems that many of these statements were those required in any case from any Lutheran candidate for the ministry; others, however, were clearly designed to control Reina personally. He was required to signify assent to the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene Creed, the Athanasian Creed, the Confession of Augsburg, the Wittemberg Concord, the Six Articles of Schmalkald, Luther's Catechism, Bucer's Accord made for the pastors of Frankfurt and the Formula of Concord of Melanchthon. Then he had to condemn those who did not agree to the Formula of Concord, and all who adhered to the Pope,

(85) Lehnemann pp.133 f; Scharff op.cit.II p.274:
"ein feiner, ansehnlicher, friedfertiger, gelehrter, wohlerfahrener und beredter Mann."
ibid p.275:
"und soll man BeschluB von denjenigen, so ihn nicht zu besoldem socj ernptem, vernemen, was sie ihm zu geben gedacht; such ihnen utersagen, daB sie solches stipendium hinter E.E.Rath oder dessen Scholarchen erlegen, und daB derselben Hand ihn Cassiodoro gereicht werde, andere präjudicirliche Consequenz dadurch zu verhüten."

(86) ibid. p.274.

(87) ibid.

the Anabaptists, the Flaccians or neo-Manichaeans, Schwenkfeldians, Sacramentarians, Zwinglians, Calvinists and all who resembled them. He had to accept Andreas' defence against Beza and to declare his London Confession abolished, revoked and extinguished by his Antwerp Confession. Next, he had to undertake to exercise the office of pastor zealously and to remain content with it; to accept from the brethren advice, warnings and reproaches; to introduce no innovations; to keep the peace with Serarius and to consider him his equal. And finally he had to condemn strife between Calvinists and Lutherans as the blackest monster that had reared its head since the Reformation.(88) One can imagine he did this last very willingly. This declaration, dated 8th May 1593, was followed by a long explanation of the trilingual Confessio in articulo Coenae which had caused him so much trouble in Antwerp.(89) Even at this point, the past was raked up against him. A certain Banosius tried to bring it up now, but he does not appear to have had much success.(90) When Reina had made this satisfaction, he was finally appointed by the City Council on 20th July 1593.(91)

During 1593, also, the Weissfrauenkirche (former Church of the White Ladies, Cistercian nuns), which had earlier been used in turn by the English and the French Calvinist refugee congregations, was made available to the Church of the Antwerp refugees. Now they had a church building and pastors of their own - although they still had to celebrate baptisms and weddings in the Barfüsserkirche.(92)

But, after becoming a minister for the third time in his career, an office to which he felt surely called by God, and which he had never willingly quitted, he was not to live long to enjoy this reinstatement. On 15th March 1594 he died and was buried on the 17th.(93) His wife was to survive him by 18 years.(94)

Two more sets of legal documents exist in the Frankfurt Archives, which indicate that he did not entirely abandon his business activities because he had

(88) The whole declaration is given in full in Lehnemann pp.163-167.

(89) ibid.pp.167 f.

(90) Tollin p.297.

(91) Florian loc.cit.

(92) Dechent loc.cit. This building remained the church of the Antwerp congregation till its destruction during the War of 1939-1945.

(93) Frankfurt City Archives Sterbebuch (1579-1596).

(94) Sterbebuch 4 (1612-1626):
"Herrn Cassiodorij Sel.wittib Anna."

re-entered the sacred ministry. One is the Acta of the Creditors of Jacob Cehnets, which Reina's widow signed on 31st March 1594, and in which Cassiodorus Reinius + (= deceased) is listed as being owed 49 florins, 3 pounds, 18 batzen.(95) The other is a list of the creditors of Dieterics von Beferfort and his wife of Cologne, in which Michel Bode takes over the debts of Cassiodoro to the extent of 603 florins, 15 batzen.(96) Presumably Bode paid Anna Reina the sum and then had his own name entered as a creditor, much in the same way as had been done when Reina himself urgently needed money from the estate of Oporinus.

It is clear that Reina lived well before his time. In the 20th century not many eyebrows would have been raised by his mild personality and basically undogmatic theology, which, despite his signing many downright dogmatic statements in his career, remained irenic and syncretist. Whilst remaining firmly on the Protestant side of the fence, he appears to have felt at home both in the Calvinist and the Lutheran folds, nor did he seem to feel it necessary to reject the one to be in the other; and he avoided the extreme positions and hair-splitting arguments that threatened to divide both of them from within. His inclusiveness seems to have stretched as far as Anglicanism on the one hand and Unitarianism on the other - for we must suppose that his troubles sprang at least in part from an unwillingness to condemn anyone who sincerely held himself to be a Christian. It is noteworthy too that, unlike Pérez and Valera, he never wrote, so far as we know, any doctrinal polemic against the Roman Church, though he might well have written a pamphlet against the Inquisition.

(95) Judicialia Z 57 Acta Creditorum Jacob Cehnets Contra Jacob Cehnets.
(96) Judicialia W 236^{II} fol.35r & 284r.

CIPRIANO DE VALERA.

Our third man is also distinguished by the fact that very little is known about him before his departure from Spain. Although he lived a much less eventful life than Pérez, Reina and Corro, and certainly a less controversial life than the latter two, it was nevertheless he whom the Index singled out as 'el herege español', doubtless because he was a prolific writer, especially of anti-papal books and pamphlets.(1)

The year of his birth can be deduced from what he says in the Preface to his edition of Reina's Bible, published in the year 1602, in which he stated that he was then 70 and had spent 20 years from the age of 50 in its revision.(2) This means that he was born around 1532.

The place of his birth one assumes to have been Valera la Vieja in the Province of Badajoz, though documentary evidence of this is lacking.(3) We have already noted the Hieronymite custom of including the place of origin as part of the professed name.(4)

Of the period up to his entry into the Hieronymite Order there is only the information that he studied in Seville for six years in dialectics and philosophy and gained the baccalaureate.(5) This we deduce from a statement made when he was later admitted to Cambridge. As a student he knew Benito Arias Montano, who later published the famous Antwerp Polyglot Bible. In writing of him many years later, Valera says that Benito had listened very willingly to the preaching of Constantino, Egidio and the rest

(1) Index (Madrid, 1667) under C, first class, p.229. This reference supplied by Professor E.M.Wilson, is the earliest I have so far found. It would be interesting to know just when this epithet was first applied to Valera.

(2) Biblia (Amsterdam, 1602) Exhortacion al Christiano Lector prelims.fol.**1r:
"Yo siendo de 50. años comencé esta obra: y en este año de 1602, en que ha plazido à mi Dios sacarla à luz, soy de 70. años (edad es esta en que las fuerças desfallecen, la memoria se entorpece y los ojos se escurecen.) De manera que he empleado 20. años en ella."

(3) P.Besson in Revista Christiana (Madrid 1894) p.41 quoted by Bib.Wif. III p.149.

(4) Certainly Valera had great pride in Seville, which he eulogizes in a long passage in Dos Tratados (1599) p.241. See below p.354.

(5) See note 9 below.

in Seville. We may take it that this was also true of Valera himself at that period.(6) He must have entered the Order at the latest immediately after graduation - probably earlier - for, by the time of his flight from Seville in 1557, he was well-known to various other brethen, had struck up a lasting friendship with Cassiodoro de Reina, and his learning was well enough known for Corro to ask Reina to bring him to Béarn as proof-reader for his 1569 Bible. There is no more definite information about his stay in the monastery of San Isidro, but the fact that he saw fit to flee in the exodus of 1557 and become a protagonist in the campaign in Northern Protestant lands to produce evangelical literature for Spain, indicates that he was deeply involved in the movement in Seville. Like Reina, Valera was burnt in effigy on 26th April 1563,(7) and, like Reina, he arrived in Geneva by an unrecorded route.

Unlike Reina, however, Valera is referred to in the City records, besides there being various other references to his presence in Geneva. Cipriano arrived during Juan Pérez's absence in Frankfurt, and joined the Italian Church, as the Spanish congregation had not yet been organized. His name appears on a list of the members of the Italian Church in 1558.(8) When Pérez returned from Frankfurt to Geneva, Valera most likely became a member of the Spanish congregation which Pérez set up in the temple St. Germain, for he was received as a 'habitant' of Geneva on 10th October 1558, at the same time as Pérez.(9) It is probably of the Geneva period that Valera is speaking when he says that he knew familiarly Juan Pérez and Julianillo, although Cassiodoro is mentioned in the same sentence, making it possible that the time in Seville was in mind.(10)

(6) Biblia (1602) Preface, fol. *3 r f:
"Benito Arias ... Montano, al qual yo conoci estudiando en Sevilla ... Oya de muy buena gana la doctrina de los buenos predicadores en Sevilla: comodel doctor Constantino, del doctor Egidio, y de los otros tales, que Dios levanto en Sevilla en aquel tiempo."

(7) Bib.Wif.III p.149; Schäfer II p.313.

(8) Geneva Bib.Pub.et Univ. MS. suppl. 816 No.8: Libro di Memorie Diverse Della Chiesa Italiana Racolte Dà Me Vicenzo Burlamachi, In Geneva M.DC.L. fol.14: "M.D.LVIII Cipriano Valleria di Siviglia Traduttor della bjbbia."

(9) See above note 68 p. 48.

(10) Biblia (1602) ibid:
"A Iuan Perez, Cassiodoro y Iulian yo los conoci, y trate familiarmente."

But he did not stay long in Geneva. England under a Protestant monarch attracted him too, or the Mosaic blandishments of Reina persuaded him that his best interests lay there, and to England he went. There is no record of him in the minutes of the Consistory of the London French Church, but it is highly likely that he became a member of the Spanish congregation organized by Reina. Pellicer suggests he helped to compile the Spanish Confession of London.(11) This may be so, but there is no real evidence to bear out the assertion. In any case, he did not stay long in London, though he was probably still resident there when that Confession was compiled. A month after its presentation he appeared in Cambridge.

At this period there was a great shortage of staff at Cambridge, particularly staff trained in evangelical theology, and many foreigners were invited to take up posts there.(12) On 9th February 1559 (OS) Valera was incorporated into Cambridge on the strength of his record in Seville and of his erudition, and he took up residence at Magdalene College.(13) Queen Elizabeth preferred Valera to a Fellowship of Magdalene College by Royal Mandate dated 12th January

(11) J.A.Pellicer Ensayo de una bibliotheca de traductores (Madrid, 1778) p.41.

(12) E.Rosenberg Leicester, Patron of Letters (New York 1955) discusses the way in which Leicester's (and Cecil's) patronage operated for foreign Protestant refugees. The relation between patron & protégé, she says, was often a collaboration for a cause to which both men had promised themselves. The refugees had expert services to render in the form of translations of the works of the Continental Reformers to help to eradicate Roman Catholicism in England and strengthen the opposition to Spain. The patronage extended to sponsorship of refugees in schools & colleges, gifts of money, and the provision of pensions.

(13) University of Cambridge Grace Book Δ fol.56 (b)

"Co [nceditur] 9 ffeb [1559] Cypriano Valera Hispano nato et educato in Academia Hispalensi ubi per sex annos dialecticis et philosophicis L[itte]ris operam dedit, practis singulis in eadem academia, quae ad bachalaureatus gradu spectant, ut possit hic cooptari in numerum bachalaureorum artibus, sic ut per examinatores huius â[nni] eius eruditio prius approbetur et ut stet et determinet cum reliquis quaestionibus."

1560(OS)[14] and on the 12th June 1563 he was advanced to the degree of Master of Arts, the 32nd in an entry of 42 names.[15] In the College Archives there is a book entitled Exiit & Rediit records 1559-1570, which records absences of Fellows from the College. It contains many entries in Valera's own hand for

(14) Magdalene College Cambridge Archives Royal Mandates for the Election of Fellows 1567-1667 (sic). This mandate is, surprizingly, to be found in the volume so entitled, and even then, it is well out of order in the middle of the volume:

"Elizabeth R. By the Quene. Trustie & welbeloved we grete ye well. Whereas the choise & nomination of two of the fellowes of that college belongethe unto us Undrestanding that the rowmes of the same be nowe presentlie voyde and having hade good report of the towardness in lerning and honest behavior of our welbeloved John Dawbeney Bacheler of Art and Ciprian Valerie Spanyarde student there We have thought mete to choise and name them rowmes willing and requiring you therefore uppon the receipt of theis our brief to admit and place them in the same according to the statutes and maner of that house. Wherefor we require you not to faile. And thies our brief shalbe your sufficient warrant and discharge in this behaulf. Yeven under our Signet at our Pallace of Westm. the xjjth day of January the seconde yere of our reigne."

(15) Grace Book Δ fol. 68 b.

periods varying in duration from one week to one month.[16] The first of these entries is for 9th April 1560 and the last for 21st February 1567(OS). During this period the entries by Valera are morenumerous than those by any other one person. An entry for 9th July 1565 indicates that he held office within the College as treasurer and steward. The entries in this book serve to explain something that Hauben finds so puzzling with reference to an undated document in the Public Record Office, in which Valera certified that he had been a Fellow of Magdalene for eight years. Indeed his residence did last at

(16) Magdalene College archives. The entries start on fol.17/1:

"Exitus sociorum a festo michaelis 1559 reginae Elizabethae 1°
Exiit Cyprianus Valera 9 die Aprilis rediitque 24 eiusdem mensis.
(1560)
Exijt Cyprianus Valera 13 Die Octobris rediitque 24 eiusdem mensis
Rediit Johannes Dawbney sexto Novembris obtenta venis a
magistro et ... Cypranus Valera.
Exiit Cyprianus Valera 18 May redijtque i junii.
(1562)
Exijt Cyprianus Valera 16 Aprilis obtenta venia pro mense uno
ultra tempus per statuta concessum redijtque infra tp̃s prescriptũ.
(1563)
Exijt Cyprianus Valera ultimo die februarij redijtque 16 Martii.
(1564)
Exijt Cyprianus Valera 13 Octobris redijtque 20 eiusdem.
Exijt Cyprianus Valera 8 novẽbris redijtque 18 eiusdem.
Exijt Cyprianus Valera 24decembris redijtque 4 januarij.
Exijt Cyprianus Valera 17 martij redijtque 28 eiusdem.
Exijt Cyprianus Valera 21 aprilis redijtque 26 eiusdem.
exijt Owenus Owens 9° Julij reliquit m̃. Cyprianũ thesaurariũ
(1565) (et dispensatorẽ rediitque 2 August.
..... Owenus Owens reliquit dispensatorẽ M.Cyprianũ .....
Exijt Cyprianus Valera 23 decembris redijtque 12 januarij
Exijt Cyprianus Valera 14 die februarij reliquitque lectorem
pro dn̄o Limberto d Clarebachũ redijtque 25 eiusdem
Exijt Cyprianus Valera 23 martij redijtque 29 eiusdem
Exijt Cyprianus Valera 31 maij redijtque 7junii
(1567)
Exijt Cyprianus Valera 29 januarij redijtque 21 februarij

So far as I have been able to discover, this document had lain hidden in Magdalene College till discovered by me in October 1967.

least eight years.[17]

It was apparently during this Cambridge period that Cipriano was tutor to Nicholas Walsh, who afterwards became Bishop of Ossory.[18] Walsh was at Cambridge before 1562/3 and up to 1567. Hauben must surely be wrong in placing this tutorship in Valera's London period.[19] It is of interest to note in passing, in view of Valera's activities in the translation of the Bible, that Walsh was instrumental in producing the first translation of the New Testament into Irish Gaelic, and was occupied in translating the whole Bible when he was assassinated in 1585.(20) It is tempting to trace something of Cipriano's influence here.

It was on 24th December 1563, as we have seen, that Corro wrote to Reina suggesting that he should bring Valera with him to Béarn to act as proof-reader for his Bible.[21]

According to Purnell, it was during this time, viz: 1563, that Cipriano married.[22] No justification is given for this statement. The fact that he was married is, however, clear from later records. A curious book, entitled Cipriano de Valera and His Descendants, states that he was married twice, and

(17) 3 Sp.H. p.109; Public Record Office SP/46/24 fol.236:
"Ego Gulielmus Goldingham Socius aulae trinitatis, quondam magdalaenensis gymnasii sodalis testor Mrũ Clarebachũ Germanũ et Mrũ Cyprianũ nationẽ Hispanum in collegia Magdalaenae Societate potitos esse, cuius posterioris societatis collatrix est Serenissima Regina, eiusque beneficio aliquando eadem potitus sum. (sig.) Gul.Goldingham.
Ego Ciprianus Valera Hispanus testor me fuisse socium collegij Magdalenensis Cantabrigiae per octo annos quo sodalitio potitus sum beneficio Serenissimae Reginae (sig.) Cyprianus Valera."

(18) E.Leigh Treatise on Religion and Learning (London 1656) p.348.

(19) 3 Sp.H. p.109.

(20) J.Ware De Scriptoribus Hiberniae (Dublin 1639) ad loc.

(21) See above p.76.

(22) E.K.Purnell Cambridge Coll.Histories - Magdalene College (London) 1904 p.41.

lists many English descendants down to 1900.[23] One of these was the author, descent being traced through a daughter, Judith.[24] However, the contemporary records we have mention by name only one son, Isaac, though three children are referred to. Hauben asserts that John Ciprian de Cárdenas, naturalized on 15th April 1583, was also Valera's son.[25] This seems doubtful. In the absence of better records we are left with a gap, that can only be filled by conjecture, about Valera's wife and children. We can at least say that his wife was named Anne.

The Master of Magdalene, Roger Kelke, granted Valera a 'bene discessit'[26] and he was incorporated as a Master of Arts of Oxford on 21st February 1565(OS).[27] As the last entry in the Exiit & Rediit records is dated exactly two years later one wonders why he needed this Oxford degree. Three other Cambridge men took the same step with Cipriano, and their names are listed to one side of the Oxford graduands as though they were an afterthought. No trace seems to exist of his stay, if any, in Oxford, though a complete absence of any entries in his name at Magdalene for 1566/67 is suggestive. No college seems to claim him as having resided at Oxford. There is evidence, in any case, of his residence in London already by 1568.

(23) The author is Rev.N.V.Fenn (Upper Norwood 1900). The book tells practically nothing about Cipriano himself. Fenn assumes that he came from Spain already married. It is just possible that he married in Geneva. The reliability of this book may be judged from Fenn's interpretation of 'doctissimo Hebraizante' as 'doctissimo Herbaizante', from which he deduces 'very learned man and leader of the flock to pasture'! The origin of this description is a passing reference in González de Salas Compendio geographico ...por Pomponio Mela (Madrid 1644) p.f 4 v, a passage which was suppressed in later editions.

(24) A daughter Dadeth - whom I take to be the same as Judith - was mentioned in a letter by John Chamberlain in 1619. N.E.McClure quoted it in "Letters of J.Chamberlain, 'Memoirs of the American Philosphical Soc.XII (1939) ii.p.205. (This reference was kindly supplied by P.J.Hauben.)

(25) 3 Sp.H.p.111.

(26) Purnell op.cit.p.41. This document's present whereabout has not yet come to light, in spite of a lengthy search.

(27) Oxford University Registrum KK9 (1564-1582) fol.20 r:
"21° februarij (1565/6) ... Ciprianus Valera 3°anni ... artium mr̃ Cantabrigiae creati huic universitate incorporatione ..... Supplicat Mr Ciprianus Valera artium magister cantabrigiae creatus ut huic nr̃a academia incorporetur. eodemque hic conseatur gradu quo cantabrigia concess. simpliciter."

The Returns of Aliens required in Elizabeth's reign give us various glimpses of Cipriano. The first is in January 1568 when we find 'Cyprian Valere' listed with those from the French Church who were natives of King Philip's realms,(28) although, as has already been stated, the records of the French Church make no mention of him.

A letter written to the Duke of Alba by his London agent, d'Assonleville, dated May 1569, speaks of an apostate heretic Spaniard who went daily to the Spanish prisoners in the Bridewell prison and preached to them with the intention of corrupting them.(29) Usoz y Río supposed this man to have been Reina, but this could not possibly have been so, in view of his absence from England between 1564 and 1579. A certificate in Valera's handwriting in the British Museum, dated 13th September 1589, in respect of Giles Coritus, a Breton sailor, who was in Bridewell, testifying that he had been pressed into unwilling service in the Armada, indicates a connexion with those prisoners.(30) Strype records that this plea obtained freedom for the Breton.(31)

Cipriano does not appear to have been in a secure financial position, at least at first, for he was in receipt of aid from Robert Nowell, brother of the Marian exile, Alexander Nowell, Dean of St. Paul's, on at least one occasion. On 17th February 1569, when he was described as a poor, learned Spaniard, he was

(28) Returns of Aliens I p.394:
"l'eglize francoize, natifz es pais du Roy Philippe ... Cyprian Valere."

(29) M. & P.V.pp.138 f.

(30) Lansdowne MS.60 art.66 Burghley Papers:
"Est quidam Gilus Coritus in Britannia Gallica natus, qui cum esset Ulissipone coactus est relicta sua navi venire cum classe Hispanica in superioris anni infelici expeditione, is fractu navi in Hiberniam appulit, indécess una cum aliis Hispanis Bridvellam Londonensis adductus est: nullum praetex suum Britannicum tenet sermonem, erat pauper naute senex uxorem & tres filios habet ac aegrotat. Hac ex omnium qui cum eo sunt Hispanorum relatione habui aeque testificor 13 Sept 1589 (sig) Ciprianus Valera."

(31) Strype Annals (London 1834) III pp.ii & 23.

given 20 shillings.(32)

The minutes of the Consistory of the Italian Church reveal that Cipriano had transferred his allegiance there by 1571. We are told that after the fiasco of Reina's departure from London, the members of the Spanish Protestant community had adhered partly to the French congregation and partly to the Italian. There was a grouping around rivals for leadership. Those who were unfriendly towards Reina, led by Balthasar Sánchez, naturally remained where opposition to Reina was strongest, in the French Church. The leader of the other group, which attached itself to the Italians, was Francisco Farías, who had been Prior of San Isidro. One is perhaps justified in supposing them to have been those who were more sympathetic towards Reina.(33) As a friend of Reina, Valera would find himself more at home with the latter. For an unknown reason, Valera appears to have quarrelled with Corro, who at the time was himself engaged in a series of quarrels with the French and other Strangers' Churches over doctrinal points, which eventually led him into the Anglican fold. On 18th April 1571, it was stated in the Italian Consistory that Farías had written and signed an attestation for Corro, and got others to sign it too, in which he approved the doctrines and way of life of Corro and accused Cipriano of being a calumniator, a suborner and unfriendly towards Corro, and that the reason for this was Valera's overweening desire to be a minister.(34) Farías was summoned before the Consistory to give an explanation of this matter.(35) On the 20th April he appeared before the Consistory and was upbraided for his lack of charity in this affair. It appears

(32) A.B.Grosart Townley Hall MS (Blackburn 1877) p.100:
"the xvijth day of february. Geuen to Ciprian Valera
a poor Larned spanyarde as apperethe by his accquitance - 20/-".

(33) Hessels 3.1.pp.45 f gives the account of a reconciliation between Angel Victor, Balthasar Sánchez and Francisco Farías arranged by Corro. It is the transcript of a document written by Jean Cousin in almost illegible handwriting. Hessels wrongly identified Angel, and was unable to give any clue as to the identity of Balthasar and the name 'Phares.' It says of Farías: "Phares a pris la cause de Cassiodore comme si elle estoit sienne."

(34) One wonders whether this could be the strict truth. Valera himself informs us that he had never been a priest, and seems proud of the fact. Dos Tratados (1599) p.429 - see below p.374.

(35) B.M.Add.48,096(739c) fol.22 v. Because this note and the following take up so much space, they have been relegated to an appendix. (Appx.VIII)

that the document had been passed on to the Bishop, Grindal. Farías denied the whole matter, even to the writing of the document in question, despite his having been faced with evidence that he had been seen in Corro's company extracting a signature from Juan de Molinas. Farías asserted that Corro had offered Valera his friendship, but the counter-charge was strongly made that when Valera had offered the hand of fellowship to Corro, Corro had refused it and had not spoken a word. It is clear that the feeling of the meeting was very much in Valera's favour. It is also fairly certain that the consistory would have little sympathy for Corro, who was conducting a running battle with the London Strangers' Churches at the time, and whose doctrine was highly suspect to them. Finally Farías was barred from communion for a time, because he obstinately refused to admit his errors, which seem to have been well proven.(36) On the 25th of April Molinas was brought before the Consistory for the same reason, and at the same meeting Valera and his friend Antonio Giustiniano gave evidence that Farías had been trying for a long period to collect signatures for his document.(37) Farías was finally allowed back to communion, having admitted his faults, on 2nd March 1572.(38)

The Returns of Aliens for 5th May 1571 record Cipriano as a Master of Divinity of Oxford and Cambridge, living with his wife and three children, "all Spaniards born", in the Brode Street Ward of the parish of St.Sepulchre's without Newgate.(39)

Once more, on 20th December 1571, Valera is mentioned in the Minutes of the Italian Consistory, when he came to plead for Marcos de le Palma to be re-admitted to the congregation, after his having gone off to join the conventicle organized by Corro when the Rev. Giralamo had died.(40) The plea was successful although

(36) ibid. fol.23 r - 24 v. See note 28 above and Appendix VIII.

(37) ibid. fol.25 r & v.

(38) ibid. fol.32 v.

(39) Returns I p.441:
"Ciprian Valere, scolemaster, Master of Dyvinitie of Cambridg & Oxforde, his wyfe & three children all spaniardes borne."

(40) B.M.Add.48,096 fol.29 r.

the matter was raised again on 2nd February 1572, when Valera again testified on Palma's behalf.(41)

In 1573, one of Valera's companions in flight from San Isidro, Alonso Baptista, resident in Geneva, died. His will named three Spaniards living in London: Francisco Farías, Juan de Molinas and Cipriano, schoolmaster, together with Cassiodoro, then of Frankfurt, as joint and equal beneficiaries on his estate.(42)

Valer'a signature appears with those of four Englishment on a document in the British Museum dated 'Postridie idus Januarii 1575' which petitioned Lord Burghley on behalf of Stephen Richman as successor to Kelke at Magdalene College.(43)

Cipriano's family received 'lay subsidies' granted on 26th October 1576. They are listed as Ciprian, Anne and Isaac, with no mention at all of other children. Their residence has shifted to Colemanstreet Ward of St.Stephen's parish.(44) They received 12d. on that occasion and the same three names again received the subsidy on 1st August 1582.(45)

The same three names figure in the Returns for 1582/3, where they are stated to be of the Italian Church.(46) Their dwelling has changed to Candlewickstreet Ward in 1583 and Cipriano is listed as a preacher in the Returns for that year.(47) Thus we see that he resided in the City of London and, in fact, in the same district as the Strangers' Churches in Threadneedle Street and Austin Friars.

(41) ibid. fol.29 v.

(42) Bib.Wif.II pp151, 158.

(43) Lansdowne MS 21 art.46. It is signed by four Englishmen and Valera, all 'fellows and graduates of Magdalene College.'

(44) Returns, II p.192:
"Ciprian Valere, Anne his wyfe, & Izack his sonne xijd."

(45) ibid. II p.238:
"Cypryan Valeria iiijd, Anne hys wyfe iiijd, Izacke Cypryan iiijd."

(46) ibid. II p.282:
"Ciprian Valera, scholem(aste)r Anne his wief & Isaac his sonne of the Italian Church."

(47) ibid. II p. 315:
"Ciprian Valerio - Spaniard - Preacher."

How Valera gained his livelihood during this period remains largely a matter for conjecture. He is listed in the Returns as a schoolmaster and as a preacher. On the evidence of the above mentioned trouble with Farías, this latter would seem to be a courtesy title accorded to him either because of his university degree in divinity or because of his former monastic life. Hauben supposes he acted as a tutor in London. Other writers mention patronage and pensions. It is true, for instance, that Leicester was well-known as a patron of foreign Protestant refugees, as also was the Duchess of Suffolk. The former had a particular interest in members of the Italian Church and in those who wrote anti-papal polemic. Valera would have qualified on both these counts.

Valera's name occurs again in the Minutes of the Italian Consistory on 29th March 1581, when a certain Marcantonio Pigafetta refused to appear before the meeting because he objected to the presence of Cipriano, Antonio Giustiniano and Lodovico Colomberio, who, he claimed, were not members of the Consistory. His objection was overruled on the grounds that the meeting had powers to co-opt.(48)

Further activity of Valera at the Bridewell are indicated by a letter from the Genoese spy, Marcantonio Messia, to Alexander Ganavaro dated 17th September 1588. He said that there were many Spanish prisoners in the Bridewell, to whom Cipriano went regularly to preach and whom he had converted to his religion.(49)

It is rather curious to note that, just when extant contemporary records of Valera cease, his publications begin; and the reverse is true. The publication of his writings began in 1588, the year of the Armada.(50) His first book was

(48) B.M.Add. 48,096, fol. 65 r & v.

(49) C.S.P. Vol.4 (1587-1603) p.421.

(50) G.Ungerer 'The Printing of Spanish Books in Elizabethan England' The Library Vol.20 p.180 points out that one of the unexpected results of the failure of the Armada was the promotion of the output of Spanish books in England. To counter the power of Spain, the English government set up an elaborate intelligence service in the Spanish dominions and engaged a staff of hacks and translators who poured out pamphlets and libels against the enemy.

entitled Dos Tratados and was printed in London by Arnold Hatfield.(51) The printer's name, however, was given a Spanish form and the place of origin was omitted, doubtless to facilitate entry of the book into Spain. It is interesting to note that this was only the second Spanish book ever to be published in England, and it further had the distinction of being the first original edition of a Spanish work to be published in this country.(52) The work is a forthright condemnation of the papacy and the mass . It is a popularization of a great amount of scholarship, abounding in learned reference, but in a style well within the reach of ordinary readers.(53) A statement by Underhill that this book was dedicated to Thomas Egerton, later Lord Chancellor, whom he identifies as Valera's patron, is clearly a misunderstanding.(54) Valera informs us elsewhere that the cost of its publication was borne by two Flemish merchants, anxious to spread the reformed gospel in Spain.(55)

Dos Tratados was followed in 1594 by: Tratado para confirmar los pobres cativos de Berueria, printed in London by Peter Short. Copies of this work also contain the following addition: Enxambre de los falsos milagros.(56) The former is stated by Boehmer and Usoz to be addressed to the Barbary captives

(51) See below p.337. The license to print is in Arber Transcript of the Registers of the Stationers' Company (London 1876) II p.488:
"1588. 24to die Aprilis Edmonde Bolifant arnold hatfeild John Jackson Receaved of them for their licence to printe a booke, in Spanishe intituled, Tratado del Papa y de sua autoridad vnder the archBishop of Canterbury and master Warden Coldockes handes vjd."

(52) Ungerer op.cit. p.183. The first was published by Corro in 1586. It consisted of a Spanish grammar with A. de Valdés' 'Dialogo en que particularmente se tratan las cosas acaecidas en Roma, printed by Jos.Barons in Oxford.

(53) R.A.E. 6 pp.4 f; Bib.Wif.III p.152. The rather naive assumption of Usoz and Wiffen, apparently accepted by Boehmer, that Dos Tratados was basically an adaptation of J.Bale Acta Romanorum Pontificum (Basle 1558) or J.Studley's translation Pageant of the Popes (London 1574) must be considerably modified, when it is carefully read. The sources of this work are numerous, as an analysis shews. See below p. 385.

(54) See below note 65.

(55) Enxambre (1599) p.556. See below p. 321.

(56) See below p. 309.

amongst whom an evangelical revival had taken place;[57] but the suggestion is also made that these captives were a pseudonym for the persecuted evangelicals in Spain itself.[58] At this distance of time it is unlikely that this point will ever be cleared up. What is clear is that the general plan of the work is based on Juan Pérez's Epistola Consolatoria of 1560. The latter is an account of the trial of a prioress in Lisbon, the kind of scandal about the Roman Church that was the delight of the polemicist of the period.

It seems that Valera had meanwhile been working on a revision of Reina's translation of the Bible, and in 1596, two years after Reina's death, Cipriano published the New Testament part of it.[59] It was printed in London by Richard Field. Valera is not named on the title-page and the printer's name is hispanized to Ricardo del Campo. This seems evidence enough that the intention was to smuggle copies into Spain.

Field also printed in 1596: Catecismo, que significa Forma de Instruccion.[60] Except for the date and the printer's device, this is very like the catechism published by Pérez in Geneva in 1559. The evidence of date and printer suggest very strongly that Cipriano was the editor of this reprint of the earlier work.

In 1597 Valera published a translation of the fifth, and definitive, edition of Calvin's Institution, entitled, Institucion de la Religion Christiana.[61] He wrote for it a long doctrinal preface. The tone of the preface, the fact that the full version was used for the translation, and not one of the shorter versions, and the cost and actual number of copies printed, are all indications that this work was aimed at the secular and conventual clergy, rather than at

(57) Bib.Wif.III p.153; Usoz, preface to R.A.E. 8 p.xxvi.

(58) M. & P. V p.189. See below p.309 Usoz ibid discusses the point thoroughly and is convinced of the fact that it was addressed to captives in Algiers neglected by Spain.

(59) See below p. 326 Arber op.cit.III p.65:
"Thomas Chard. Entred for his copie under the handes of my lordes grace of Canterbury & the wardens, a book Intituled "El Sancto Evangelio de Jesu Christo segun San Mathei, etc" & so the whole newe testament to be printed in the Spanishe tonge - vjd."

(60) See below p.410.

(61) See below p.329.

the common people.[62] In the translation Valera makes slight emendations to the text to make the work more applicable to the Spanish situation. In the preface Valera makes it clear that it was intended to send copies into Spain in quantity.[63] Once more, the printer was Richard Field, whose name appears in a Spanish form, without place of printing.[64]

A second edition of Dos Tratados, "augmentada por el mismo Autor," appeared in 1599, with a second edition of Enxambre de los falsos Milagros included in the same volume.[65] Between the two treatises , as pages 353 f, there is the addition of a fold-out folio Tabla comparing the differences between the ancient doctrine of God and the new doctrine of men, after the manner of Pérez's Breve Tratado. Inserted into the section on the mass, between pages 538 and 539, there is another folded folio sheet, on which is printed a Tabla of the principal differences between the Roman Catholic mass and the Reformed Lord's Supper, and the similarities between the latter and Christ's institution. Once again, the printer was Richard Field, given in a hispanized form without place of publication. Two different English translations of the second edition of Dos Tratados appeared, in 1600 and 1704.[66]

(62) Institucion Preface p.*viii r; Usoz, postface to R.A.E. 8 p.eeeelv Jacinto Terán (trans.) Institución de la Religión Cristiana (Buenos Aires 1958) preface.

(63) Institucion ibid; R.A.E.8 p.eeeel r; Quick Synodicon (London 1612) II p.418 (letter from Diodati, Genevan pastor to the Synod of Alençon):
> "The new Spanish Translation of Cyprian de Vallera hath produced incredible effects in Spain, no less than three thousand Copies having penetrated by secret ways and conveyances into the very Bowels of that Kingdom."

(64) R.A.E.8 p.eeeel r; M. & P. Vp.190. The assumption by Vander Elst, accepted by Usoz and repeated by M. & P., that the cost of this edition was borne by Flemish merchants seems to be a confusion with the fact that Dos Tratados was so financed. The identification of one of these merchants as Mercos Pérez is impossible, since he had died earlier in Basle.

(65) See below p. 337.

(66) Two Treatises and A Swarme of false miracles trans. John Golburne, (London 1600) printed by John Harrison. This is a careful translation which is dedicated to Thomas Egerton, and is probably the reason why Underhill assumed that Dos Tratados was so dedicated. A Full View of Popery trans. J.Savage (London 1704) printed by Bernard Lintott. This is a rather garbled translation.

Also in 1599, a Spanish translation made by Guillermo Massan of a work by William Perkins, entitled Catholico Reformado was printed in London by Richard Field, bearing a preface written by Valera.(67) There have been suggestions that Massan was a pseudonym of Valera - but there seems very little reason why Cipriano should give his name openly in the Preface and conceal it under a pseudonym in the main work.(68) The cost of printing this work was borne by the same Massan.(69) Nothing more seems to be known about him.

In 1600, Valera published anonymously Aviso a los de la Iglesia Romana sobre la indiccion del Jubileo,(70) which is the version of a French original.(71) Although anonymous, the indications of printing and style are of the strongest to show that Valera was indeed responsible for this pamphlet. Its subject matter is such that it was clearly intended to be circulated in Spanish dominions.

Meanwhile, Cipriano was working steadily on his revision of the whole Bible translation made by Reina. In his 70th year, 1602, he published his great work in its full form: La Biblia Que es, Los sacros libros del vieio y nueuo Testamento revista y conferida con los textos Hebreos y Griegos y con diuersas translaciones; por Cypriano de Valera. En Amsterdam. En casa de Lorenço Jacobi. M.DC.II. Why he needed to go abroad for this is not clear, since, as we have seen, he had adequate facilities in England for printing Spanish. Ungerer puts forward the suggestion that Field and others had commitments that did not allow them to devote two whole years' work to this production.(72) Boehmer demonstrates that the cost of this Bible to have

(67) See below p.391.

(68) M. & P.V p.192 states quite categorically that Valera was the translator.

(69) Preface to Catholico Reformado p.A4 r, quoted below p.392.

(70) See below p.394.

(71) An answere or admonition to those of the Church of Rome, touching the Jubile, proclaimed by the Bull, made and set foorth by Pope Clement the eyght, for the yeare of our Lord 1600. Translated out of French. London, Printed by E Allde for John Wolfe.
A copy of this is in the Wiffen Collection in Wadham College, Oxford.
The French original does not seem to be known.

(72) Ungerer op.cit. p.185.

been provided by Prince Christian I of Anhalt-Bernberg.(73) It was dedicated to Prince Maurice of Nassau, and the States-General, although very few copies contain the dedication. Of those which do, only two have the original and the rest a facsimile reprint made for Usoz y Río.(74)

In the Preface to this Bible, Valera gives some details of why he felt it necessary to produce this new edition, and of how long it took him to do the work. He began the undertaking in 1582, when he was 50 years old.(75) His reason was because Reina's Bible of 1569 was printed in only 2,600 copies, which were now so well distributed that it was practically impossible to obtain one. Valera wished to make sure there was a sufficient supply of Bibles in their own language for the people of Spain. We are told that he enriched Reina's version with new notes and even altered the text somewhat, but not before he had conferred with learned and pious men and consulted various translations into other modern languages, but in the main he had followed Reina's text closely.(76) In fact, a comparison of the two versions reveals that there is surprizingly little alteration made in matters grammatical,

(73) Boehmer, "Protestantische Propaganda in Spanien, "Zeitsch.f.Kirchengesch. 18 (1897) pp. 373-390, gives a letter from Hierome de Taride dated 28th Feb. 1618 (Paris Nat.Arch.K 1471):

> "La verité du fait est tele qu'au commencement du mois de novembre 1603 le prince d'Anhalt aleman envoya à un ministre nomé Capel, qui vit encores et est à Sedan ministre et professeur de langues, pour faire entendre à Madame la duchesse de Bar, soeur du feu roi Henri quatrieme, laquele estoit lors à Nancy en Loraine, qu'il avoit fait imprimer la Bible en langue espagnole à Amstradam en Holande pour le bien et avancement des eglises refugiees, et que lui de sa part avoit trouvé moyen d'en faire passer par mer un bon nombre d'exemplaires à Sevile d'Espagne, et que son Altesse pouvoit si ele vouloit, en faire entrer tout de mesmes par les ports de Béarn et Basse Navarre dans les Royaumes d'Aragon et Haute Navarre. La dite dame ayant reçu cet avis se resolut d'envoyer en compagnie dudit Capel ministre, l'auteur du present avis à Amstradam, où etans arrivés ils furent parler à Abraham Brochard et à Jehan, Antoine et Isac Luz ou Luses qui avoient fourni à Lorenço Jacobi imprimeur les frais d'impression par l'ordonnance du dit prince d'Anhalt ..."

(74) The copy in Amsterdam University Library still has the original dedication.

(75) See above note 2 p. 161.

(76) Exhortacion, Biblia (1602) fol. *6 r; see below p. 407.

textual and use of vocabulary. Most of Reina's notes are reprinted and are given in different type from Valera's new notes. The three pages of notes which Reina gives at the end of his version are interspersed in this one ad loc. because the pages are bigger. The two most important ways in which Valera differed from Reina are that firstly he carefully deleted various passages which Reina has from the Septuagint and the Vulgate (which seems to indicate Valera's hardened Protestant standpoint in comparison with Reina's) and secondly he rearranged the books of the Old Testament into what is now the traditional Protestant manner, gathering the 14 books of the Apocrypha into a separate section between the Old Testament and the New Testament.(77)

In the Bodleian Library there are two folio volumes which, it is claimed, are Valera's manuscript of his version of the Old Testament. Careful examination of these shews that column A throughout is a copy of the Ferrara Bible text and that column B, where it exists, is a rather freer Spanish Christian version, but very unlike either Reina's or Valera's final versions and with different versification. The marginal notes are, however, interesting, for a comparison of handwriting shews that those on the first eight folios may well have been written by Reina, and those on the next eight could quite possibly have been written by Valera. After folio 16 verso there are no marginal notes. All the notes are made referring to an unversified text such as Pérez's New Testament.(78)

Valera crossed to Holland to supervise the printing of his Bible, though exactly by what route or when we do not know. A license to print was granted

(77) J.A.González, Valera's Method for Revising the O.T. (unpublished Ph.D. thesis Emory Univ.U.S.A.1967) goes very thoroughly into this question, as far as the O.T. is concerned. I am indebted to P.J.Hauben for directing me to this thesis and its author, and to Prof.F.W.Pierce for obtaining a microfilm of it for me.

(78) Bodleian MSS Bodley 366 & 367; A Catalogue of Hispanic MSS & Books before 1700 (Oxford 1962) p.30, where it is stated that the text is not identical with Valera's & that it is probably a draft. Thanks are due to Prof.E.M.Wilson of Cambridge for directing attention to the latter publication. In a letter J.A.González suggested that these might be the MS of Reina's Bible saved by Grindal, but close examination seems to rule out both this surmise and also the claim made in the catalogue.

by the States-General, and this is recorded in the dedicatory epistle, which also expressed gratitude for the kind reception Valera was given in Holland.(79) There are three proofs of his presence there, besides, that is, the Bible itself. The first is a letter written from Amsterdam on 7th November 1602 by the Dutch reformer Jan Arminius, founder of the Remonstrant Church, to Jan Uytenbogaert, a theologian of Leyden. In it he refers to the presentation of copies of this Bible to Prince Maurice by Valera and the printer.(80) There had been some quarrel between the two latter which Menéndez y Pelayo cannot help suggesting to have been about money.(81) This is not unlikely, as Arminius goes on to suggest to Uytenbogaert that he should give Cipriano as much help as he can to enable him to return to his wife, just as Arminius has given him all the help he could in Amsterdam. The old man deserved to spend the few short years that were left to him in the least inconvenience. The second indication of Valera's presence

(79) Boehmer ibid p.385 states that he had in his possession the very copy that Valera presented to the States-General, bearing Valera'a autograph inscription:

"Amplissimis, eisdemque prudentissimis viris Provinciae Hollandicae a rationibus hoc Biblicorum(!) Hispanicorum exemplar dicat ac vovet Cyprianus de Valera."

Its present whereabouts I have not discovered.

(80) Praestantium ac Eruditorum Virorvm Epistolae (Amsterdam 1660) p.134:

"Veniunt ad vos Cyprianus de Valera & Jacobus Laurentius oblaturi D.Comiti & Ordinibus exemplaria nonnulla Bibliorum Hispanicorum, quae Dei beneficio ad finem perducta sunt. Est aliquid inter illos dirimendum, quod tu compones, uterque enim tuum suffragium appellavit. Exiguum est, & facile transigetur, praesertim quum ambo viri boni sint & amici, qui hucusque amicissime & conspirantibus animis illud opus promoverunt, & ita sunt affecti ut nulla de causa amicitiam istam velint dirimi. Tu dabis operam quantum potes, ut Cyprianus in Angliam redeat ad suam exorem insigni viatico instructus, ego hic quantum potui effeci. Meretur sane bonus ille vir, ut hoc quod ipse restat brevis aevi quam minimo incommodo traducat ..."

(81) M. & P. V p.195.

was discovered by Wiffen and the original has now been lost to view.[82] It consists of a copy of I. Drusius' Ecclesiasticus Graece ad exempla Romanum, given to Valera by Matthew Slade, the English rector of the Amsterdam Gymnasium. In the front of the book the donor had written a dedication dated on the 14 Kal. October 1602, indicating that he was giving it as a farewell gift to Valera who was about to return to England.[83] At the back of the book Valera had written an autograph explanation of who the donor was, with the date 3 Kal.November 1602.[84] These two inscriptions indicate that he was on the point of departure for England. The third indication tells us that he had begun his journey and reached Middelburg. Only recently there has come to light what we should nowadays call an autograph album, owned by Samuel Radermacher, a theological student and son of a minister

(82) A note in Wiffen's own hand amongst his notes in Wadham College records: "The book containing the inscription was preserved in the Saville Library until 1861 when the book was bought from it for 16/-". There are also preserved there tracings taken by him of the inscriptions themselves.

(83) "Spectatae pietatis et eruditionis seni, reverendo in Xto. fratri D.Cypriano Valerinao: amoris aeternum duraturi pignus, Amsteldamo Batavae in Angliam redenti, hunc librum L.M.D.D. Matthaeus Sladus frh.f.prydaino-saxo ab Austroperetto Durovrigum anno .... M D C II ad xiiii Kalend Oct".

This inscription incidentally corrects the entry about Slade in the Nieuwe Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek, where Slade is said to have been born in Devon; South Perrott is in Dorset.

(84) "Insigni pietate, eruditione & diversarum linguarum cognitione, praestanti viro D.Mattheo Slado Anglo, fratriplurimum mihi observando perpetuae necessitudinis ergo, ut pote Christi glutine conglutinatae, Cyprianus de Valera Hispalensis hac tertio Kal Nov. an. 1602 Amsteldami ubi excudendorum Hispanicorum Bibliorum gratia commorabatur, scripsit. Vale y Valera la Verdad. Cyprianus de Valera."

in Middelburg.[85] It appears that Valera may have stayed at their home on his way back to England, for he had signed the album with a dedication in very similar words to those in the book given to him by Slade.

This is as far as we can at present follow Cipriano de Valera. We have no firm information as to whether he ever reached England, and no certain knowledge of the date or place of his death. A tantalizing entry in Athenae Cantabrigenses records him as still alive in 1606.[86] Others variously place his death in 1602, 1622, and 1625.[87] None of them gives references for these assertions.

It will be seen that Cipriano's writings consist mostly of translations, adaptations and revisions of the work of others. Only three can claim to be original. Yet the life and publications of this exiled Spaniard played their part in the history of the second phase of the Reformation. He lived a useful life in the land of his adoption. He tried to help his countrymen at home, and those in exile in Europe, in accordance with his convictions, by assuring a supply of evangelical literature, and to further the cause of the Reformation by issuing pamphlets useful in controversy.

(85) A Ramirez "Un testimonio inédito de Cipriano de Valera" B.H.R.vol.30, pp.145 f; Leyden University Bib.Pub.Lat.Codex Misc 2185:
"pio ac docto juveni Samueli Radermachero in signum
ac tesseram amicitiae hoc scripsit Cyprianus de
Valera Vale y Valera la Verdad Vera amicitia
christi glutine est conglutinata Midelburgi
20.Novembris anno 1602."
Ramirez's transcript as published is slightly incorrect.

(86) Cooper & Cooper Athenae Cantabrigenses (Cambridge 1913) III p.120.

(87) L.Linnhoff Spanische Protestanten und England (Emsdetten 1934) p.42. This last date is apparently provided by the publication of a second edition of Valera's Bible in Amsterdam.

GENERAL BACKGROUND AND THEOLOGICAL IDEAS.

When we consider the general background and theological ideas of Juan Pérez, Cassiodoro de Reina and Cipriano de Valera, we see at once that Reina stands out as being quite different from the other two, and that, although theologically there is little to choose between Pérez and Valera, there is much more material available regarding the latter than the former. Certainly Pérez and Valera seem to have avoided quite deliberately the doctrinal controversies that raged within Protestantism - as between Lutherans, Calvinists and Anabaptists (not to mention Unitarians) and also within these divisions. Perhaps they were glad to have havens where they could hold their evangelical doctrines in peace and wished to avoid strife. Perhaps also they were entirely satisfied with what they found. In any case, both saw it as their duty to spread to their countrymen the truth as they understood it. Reina of course had this desire too - but he contented himself with his translation of the Spanish Bible (his other publications were in Latin), whereas both Pérez and Valera published numbers of works in Spanish besides the Bible translations for which they are well-known. Reina, by contrast, took part in current debates, read the views of theologians of widely differing opinions, joined in discussion with a wide circle of people, and, as a result, earned for himself a reputation for 'unsoundness' in doctrine, which he spent a lifetime living down.

Some idea of each man can be gained by taking one or two typical works as a basis: for Juan Pérez the Epistola Consolatoria and Breve Tratado particularly; for Cipriano de Valera Dos Tratados. The task is somewhat more difficult for Cassiodoro de Reina, since the choice of published material is very limited. Reina left, however, sufficient letters and doctrinal statements to provide an alternative basis for judging his views.

On reading Pérez's work, the immediate impression one gains is that he was what John Wesley claimed to be, 'homo unius libri'. That book was, of course, the Bible. Everything Pérez wrote was heavily charged with Biblical quotations, direct and indirect, and with scriptural references and illustrations. Nevertheless he was not ignorant of other books, and in Breve Tratado he makes full use of references to a number of authors, about 20 in all, quoting from seven or eight works of Augustine, several by Cyprian,

Ambrose, Jerome and other Fathers, and more modern writers such as Jean Gerson, Jehan le Maire de Belges (Promptuaire des Conciles Paris 1547) and Bartolomeo Sacchi, Il Platina (In Vitas Summorum Pontificum opus Venice 1479). Even in Epistola Consolatoria he quotes from the lives of Agatha, Vincent, and Ignatius of Antioch and the history of persecutions by Roman Emperors. Speaking of Pérez's translation of Psalms, and comparing it with his translation of the New Testament, Menéndez y Pelayo said, "menos conocida y trabajo de más mérito, si es original, me parece la versión de los Psalmos",(1) and of the dedication and 'declaración' to the same volume he said, "están gallardísimamente escritas. Juan Pérez es prosista sobrio y vigoroso y menos resabiado que Cipriano de Valera y otros por la sequedad ginebrina".(2) He continues with praise of the fine language of the Psalms of Pérez:

> "No hay mejor de los Psalmos en prosa castellana. Ni muy libre ni muy rastrera, sin afectaciones de hebraísmo, ni locuciones exóticas, más bien literal que parafrástica, pero libre de supersticioso rabinismo, está escrita en lenguaje puro, correcto, claro y de gran lozanía y hermosura." (3)

At this distance of time it is perhaps difficult to decide whether Menéndez y Pelayo's judgement was correct that Pérez was "ni hebraizante ni hellenista sino arreglador y propagandista; hasta sospecho que ignoraba las lenguas en que los sagrados libros se escribieron".(4) Of course, his opinions must be taken carefully, because of his bias. He says, for example, that Pérez "quería darse por católico y en el prólogo habla mal de las 'sectas y errores que andan por el mundo'", without realizing that, in fact, the sects and errors referred to included Roman Catholicism!(5) He also dismisses the rest of Pérez's work, "fuera de estas traduciones [i.e. New Testament and Psalms] los demás escritos de Juan Pérez son de poca monta",(6) yet goes on to say of Epistola Consolatoria that it is "notable por la dulzura de los sentimientos y lo apacible y reposado del estilo", and that it has

(1) M. & P., V p.142.
(2) ibid., p.143.
(3) loc.cit.
(4) ibid., p.142.
(5) ibid., p.143.
(6) ibid., p.144.

"pasajes llenos de color y brío", in spite of its having too much Protestantism, too many quotations and too many repetitions.(7) One tends to agree that the work would be better if, as he suggests, it were about one third as long. Menéndez y Pelayo is content to deprecate the excellences of Pérez by saying that everybody wrote well in the 16th century anyway, and that he still conserved something of the "asceticismo católico" (as though there were no such thing as Protestant asceticism!). Such condescension is less than fair.

Theologically Pérez wasafirm adherent of Reformed doctrine, although Menéndez y Pelayo erroneously calls him a Lutheran, on the strength of his Breve Tratado, because he thought it was an adaptation of the work of a Lutheran, Urbanus Regius, "las ideas ... son las de Lutero en toda su pureza, sin mezcla de calvinismo".(8) He cannot have read the original, nor can he have compared it with Pérez's adaptation of it. In any case, nobody who was a Lutheran could have held successfully a pastorate in Geneva at the time that Pérez was there. Pérez was a Calvinist in that he produced two different versions of Calvin's Catechisme, in 1556, Sumario breve, and, in 1559, Catecismo. It is easy to forget that, save for a few points that caused great controversy in the 16th Century, there was basic agreement between Luther and Calvin upon a great number of topics. Hence, it is not in rejection of the mass, the papacy and tradition, the exaltation of the Bible, the demand for communion under both kinds, a belief in justification by faith, or even in predestination, that we must seek confirmation of Pérez's Calvinism, for all these were common to both Reformers, but in doctrines specifically Calvinist, such as the extreme form of predestinarianism known as 'double predestination', sacramental doctrine which stresses the 'memorial' aspect of the rite, or which rejects the Lutheran idea of 'ubiquity', presbyterian church order, and so on. The Epistola Consolatoria helps not at all, although it does demonstrate how thoroughly steeped in the Scriptures and Biblical doctrine Pérez was, but for specific denominational doctrine we

(7) ibid., p.148.

(8) ibid., p.145. Urbanus Regius was a Zwinglian at the time of writing the original work. To call him a Lutheran, therefore, reveals an offhand carelessness; all the more so to call Pérez a Lutheran for a Calvinist expansion of a Zwinglian work! It is true that Regius later became a Lutheran.

must go to Breve Tratado. Firstly, one can say clearly that he rejects transubstantiation out of hand:

> "Hã querido en su Missa contrahazer como ximios y burladores de Dios, toda la hystoria de la muerte y passion de Iesu Christo, con sus paños, amitos, aluas, cintas, manipulos, stolas, casullas, tunicas, y otros vestimẽtos de diuersos nombres y figuras, y con sus visages, gestos y contenancias, reuerencias, humiliaciones, Iuros, conjuros, bueltas, y rebueltas de vna parte a otra y de otra a otra, como juego de los esturdiones, y con otras mill monerias que hazen en la missa. Cõtrahaziendo (como ellos dizen) toda la passion por aquellas señales, como momios, o jugadores de passa, o representadores de farças, por sacar dineros y burlarse y hazer abiertamente escarnio de todo el pueblo Christiano; haziendo y formando a Dios de vn bocado de pan, con hechizerias, y con monstruosos resuellos y soplos de cinco palabras, eleuãdolo y presentadolo(sic) al ciego y engañado pueblo para ser adorado como Dios: guardandolo todo el año y todo tiempo en la custodia o sagrario ... para hazerlo adorar cõtra todas las ordenanças del Señor ..." (p.188)

And in the following passages there is no sign at all of consubstantiation, the doctrine of 'ubiquity' is quite ruled out, and the specifically Calvinist doctrines of the 'real presence' and the memorial aspect of the rite are put forward:

> "... la Cena del Señor nos fue dexada por memorial de su muerte y passion (p.171) ... nos es dada para acrecentar y confortar nuestra fe, inflamar nuestra charidad, y fortificar nuestra esperança con la memoria de la muerte y passion del Señor." (p.176)

> "Pormanera que nos fue instituyda la Cena, para asseguramos que por la comunion del cuerpo y sangre de Iesu Christo son mantenidas nuestras animas en la esperança de vida eterna. En la Cena nos son presentados el pã y el vino, no porque sea sustẽtado el cuerpo: porque si para este fin nos fuessen dados, conuendria dar nos y recebir mayor cãtidad ... pero no es necessario buscar en ella cosas mayores, no en el pan y el vino, sino en Dios que nos las representa por lo que alli vemos, y en ella nos amonesta por las señales visibles, para enseñar nos a buscar a Iesu Christo." (pp.176 f)

> "San Esteuan no lo [Iesu Christo] busco sobre la tierra, el qual le vio a la diestra de Dios. Empero Maria que lo buscaua en la tierra no lo pudo tocar. Si queremos pues tener vnion y comunicacion con Iesu Christo, y ser à su mesa mantenidos de su carne y de su sangre, deuemos subir adonde el esta, es a saber endereçar y alçar nuestra vista spiritual al cielo. Pues es alla el lugar donde esta puesta esta mesa ... No es necessario traer alli la boca corporal, o el viẽtre carnal, sino la boca y el vientre de la fe y del spiritu, por los quales nos conuiene primero comunicar cõ Iesu Christo." (p.178)

"Contentemonos pues en vn tan alto y diuino mysterio, con lo que nos dexo por escripto el Spiritu sancto en la diuina Escriptura y cõ que tenemos en el las señales corporales y visibles cõ la promessa y la cosa significada por ellas, y que no esto se haze por vna presencia no natural ni artificial, ni milagrosa, ni personal, sino sacramental: y que esta presencia y vnion sacramẽtal se haze con nosotros de las cosas celestiales y espirituales por la virtud del Spiritu de Dios, y que no las deuemos buscar como cosas corporales y materiales, ni en la palabra exterior, ni en señales visibles y corruptibles, como en la nueva doctrina se enseña ... mas que nos cõuiene subir a lo alto al cielo ... y comunicar de su Spiritu, y por su Spiritu recebir comunicacion, y participar de su carne y de su sangre, y de todos sus dones y gracias por medio del hombre interior y regenerado." (pp.185 f)

Besides these passages which can be said to be definitely Calvinist, there are many which are at least typically Calvinist, although the same ideas are also found in Luther. However, a very egalitarian, Calvinist view of the ministry is found in the section on Bishops:

"Ya se vee harto claramente por la doctrina Antigua de Dios como siempre ha reynado en su Yglesia la ygualdad que ay entre los que son ministros della embiados por el Spiritu sancto para gouernarla ... Vna es la vocacion y el officio de todos. La potestad que tienen es por razon de la palabra que administran: la qual siendo dada igualmente a todos, es igual la potestad en todos ... tienen entendido que la potestad que se les dio, es para edificacion, no para destruycion, y assi todo su intento y desiño es, no passar los limites della. De aqui es, que no pretenden mayorias, sino es en seruir mas fielmente al Señor, y tenerse por tanto mas obligados ..." (pp.281 f)

Thus one can conclude that Pérez was a Calvinist.

Valera too can be claimed for the Calvinists, first on the strength of having been a member, though apparently not a minister, of the Spanish, French and Italian Churches in London, and because he reissued Pérez's version of Calvin's catechism and also produced a monumental Spanish version of Calvin's Institution.(9) He was given a place, and eventually a fellowship, at Cambridge, the university which was strongly evangelical and Puritan. He chose to have his revision of Reina's Bible printed at Amsterdam - in the Calvinist Netherlands.

(9) In his preface to Institucion, p.*7, Valera speaks well of Calvin.

The translation of Calvin's Institution that he produced was evidently a work of erudition, intended for the learned in Spain, but it is, after all, a translation of someone else's work, and it is to Dos Tratados and Tratado para confirmar los cativos de Berbería that we turn for evidence of Valera's theology and the width of his learning. It is clear that Dos Tratados was intended rather for the not-so-learned, but the way in which Valera manages to popularize the width of his learning is in itself evidence of a flexible mind, as we shall see below. Tratado para confirmar los cativos de Berbería puts forward a calmer, more closely reasoned, statement of Valerds faith, and in particular, a clear exposition of his doctrine of justification by faith.(10)

Menéndez y Pelayo's judgement on Valera was that he wrote "con donaire y soltura" but that it was all spoiled by the fact that he was "un hereje vulgar" meaning, of course, that the effect for Menéndez y Pelayo was spoilt, and he spends little time on Valera because his fame is greater than his merit. "En nuestros tiempos hubiera sido periodista de mucho crédito".(11) He finds Tratado para confirmar los cativos de Berbería the best-written of Valera's works, and is willing to say of it that "no careca de cierto fervor y elocuencia".(12) He has nothing good to say of the style of the Bible of 1602. Of Dos Tratados, he says "El estilo es mas francés que español, pero vivo y animado ... volteriano en profecía"(13) and, although he does not like the subject-matter, he is willing to concede that "Valera tiene cierta gracia desvergonzada plebeya de estilo".(14) These judgements are very biased. Against them may be set that of González de Salas, who called Valera "doctissimo Hebraizante"(15) and of the compilers of the Index, who considered him sufficiently well qualified to merit the epithet "el herege español." (16)

Indeed, Dos Tratados is very prolix and, since its aim is towards the relatively unlearned, its style is 'popular'. Nevertheless, one should not allow superficial reading to obscure the fact that behind it lies an extremely widely-read mind, with a firm grasp of evangelical fundamentals. A thorough

(10) Berbería pp.72-77, and below pp. 309 f.
(11) M. & P., V p.186. (12) ibid. p.189.
(13) ibid., p.188. (14) ibid., p.189.
(15) See above p. 167 note 23.
(16) See above p. 161.

examination of the sources quoted would in fact be material for a thesis in itself, but a general consideration of some of the authors and their works used is appended to this chapter.(17) To be brief here, one can say that he quotes from over 100 authors, pagan and secular, Church Fathers, mediaeval writers, Roman Catholic authors of the 15th and 16th centuries, and several Protestant authorities. He is careful to translate Latin quotations. Spanish proverbs are drawn into service, along with rather naive stories and impish puns, but, amidst all the meandering, Valera never loses sight of his object, viz. to show, mainly from Roman Catholic sources, that the papacy is unworthy of the position accorded to it, and that the mass is a theological abomination. Throughout the work a very strong feeling for his native Spain can be seen.

Evidence of Valera's theology, like that for Pérez's, is mainly in favour of a strictly Biblical system, with not too much denominational bias, for the most part. When he speaks of the Lord's Supper, however, his emphasis is definitely Calvinist rather than Lutheran. In a long passage in Dos Tratados denouncing transubstantiation, he puts forward a clearly Calvinist view of the sacrament, where the real presence of Christ in the rite is firmly separated from the elements of bread and wine, which remain unaltered. And, just as firmly as Pérez, Valera in the passage referred to gives an interpretation which rejects the Lutheran doctrine of ubiquity.(18) His explanation of the relationship between faith and works is purely Calvinist.(19)

Also in Dos Tratados Valera, comparing the mass and the Lord's Supper, describes the latter as "Cena de las iglesias reformadas", which is the typical Calvinist usage, as opposed to the Lutheran 'evangelical'.(20) But Valera strictly avoids Lutheran versus Calvinist disputes, and his distinctive Calvinism is not aggressively denominational, although his anti-papalism is aggressive.(21) Of course, he saw the Protestant form of the Christian faith

(17) See below pp. 385-390.

(18) Dos Tratados (2nd ed.) pp.420 f; quoted below p.373.

(19) Dos Tratados pp.527f and below pp. 380f; Berbería loc.cit. (note 10).

(20) See also Tratado ... Berbería, p.36; quoted below p. 315.

(21) ibid. pp.12, 32; quoted below pp.312, 314.

as the true form, a return to purescriptural doctrine and sound teaching such as the early Church had known, and as such, the heir of the pre-Reformation Church. The Roman Church, by its unfaithfulness to the Bible, had forfeited its right to be considered the true Church. He seems rather bewildered that this fact cannot be accepted as a self-evident truth, and complains that those, whose office it should be to protect the faithful, are in fact persecuting them for their very faithfulness. The evangelical churches therefore deserve the name of 'Catholic' rather than the church of their opponents.(22)

In various places, particularly in Tratado para confirmar los cativos de Berbería and Dos Tratados, Valera expresses strong feeling against the Jews and the Muslims for having respectively refused the Messiah and falsified the Christian faith.(23) He even expresses satisfaction at the original purpose of the Inquisition, although he is bitter about its being turned against old Christians who are merely seeking to serve God as He requires.(24)

We have seen how Cassiodoro de Reina moved during the course of his life from Roman Catholicism to the Calvinist Church and finally into the Lutheran Church. On the way he was accused of Servetism (= Unitarianism), and of being interested in various suspect theologians such as Schwenkfeld, and of having sympathy for persons holding heterodox ideas. Mostpeople who have written about Reina's theological views have forgotten that it is possible for a man to have various viewpoints during his life, and that he may change his opinions, or that his religious ideas may develop. We have quite a lot of material on which to base our knowledge of his theology: he was mainly responsible for the production of two confessions of faith during his lifetime, one moderately Reformed and one claiming to be Lutheran; the accusations to which he was subjected in London resulted in the production of a number of declarations of doctrinal standpoint, some of which have survived, and his final trial in London produced another doctrinal statement about the Lord's Supper (although the published form was, admittedly, put out by his opponents).

(22) ibid., pp. 11, 33; quoted below pp.311,314; Institucion, Preface p.*7 v; quoted below p. 334 ; Biblia (1602), Preface pp.*3 v f; quoted below p.40

(23) Berberia, pp.55-59, 96 f.

(24) Dos Tratados (2nd ed.) p.197; quoted below p. 351.

Besides these there are a number of letters containing doctrinal matters, mostly written to Beza, and one very lengthy one to Adolf Fisscher, a Lutheran minister in Amsterdam.

If one takes all the above together, one can see that Reina, having been convinced of the centrality of the Bible and of the doctrine of justification by faith, found the papal Roman Catholic form of Christianity very much wanting, and wished to move to a grouping of believers where he would feel at home, seeing that the papacy refused the kind of Reformation demanded by the Reformers. He appears to have had an extremely enquiring mind, and a truly Christian temperament, willing, that is, to condemn the sin without therefore condemning the sinner, the ideas without refusing to befriend the person whose ideas he found unacceptable, and very unwilling to accept one set of ideas to the exclusion of all others.

This is what led him into trouble from the earliest days of his arrival in Protestant territory. It is clear from evidence that he felt the monolithic system of Geneva quite uncongenial. He was willing to condemn evil where he saw it, even when it meant criticizing Calvin for his intolerance, as demonstrated in its extreme form by the execution of Servetus. This gave him a reputation for 'unsoundness' from the outset, which was reinforced by the fact of his friendship for Castellio, regarded with suspicion by Geneva.

After his arrival in London, his willingness to befriend others of the same sort - that is, others whose views were held to be suspect for one reason or another, even though perhaps quite unjustly - Acontius, Velsius and Haemstede are particular examples of this - increased suspicion in some minds. He was willing to allow Acontius to be an officer of his congregation instead of condemning him. He kept up a correspondence with Haemstede after the latter had been excommunicated.(25)

When Reina finally wrote the Spanish Confession of Faith of London, it was condemned for being too vague on certain points of dispute. His spirit of peace kept him from fruitless denunciation of others' beliefs, where these were not clearly anti-Biblical. Rarely at all does he condemn a denomination by name - in fact, only in one extant book is this done, his Commentary on

(25) See Appendix VI below, p.437.

John's Gospel, where various anti-Trinitarian heterodoxies, as well as the Anabaptists and the Roman Catholics are condemned by name. If he had been able to stay in England, one feels that Reina would perhaps have found in the end a home in the Church of England, as did Corro some time later.

Reina's first doctrinal protestation after his departure from England, made at Strassburg on 24th March 1565, contains extremely forthright Calvinist statements. After a general statement of faith that accepted the ancient creeds, he says:

> "Quant à la doctrine en general, ie aduoe et reçois pour fidele et chrestieñe doctrine tout le corps de la doctrine que i'ai ouye en l'Englise de Geneve, en les Eglises Françoises à Francfort et à Londres, en lesquelles i'ay conversé coñe membre d'icelles, et en lesquelles i'ay aprins et profitté par la grace du Seigneur après ma venue d'Espagne; du consentement desquelles ie proteste en saine conscience que ce n'est pas n'y a esté mon intention de me separer touchant les principaulx points de la doctrine ..." (26)

The cautious insertion of the words 'principal points of doctrine' is perhaps significant. Reina's idea of where liberty of interpretation began and where rigid definition ended was in fact not that of the majority of Calvinists - and, in trying to be eirenic, he ended by displeasing at least those amongst whom he wished at first to live and work.

The paragraph on the Lord's Supper is moderately Calvinist, that is, it does not interpret the sacrament in a transubstantiationist nor in a consubstantiationist manner:

> "De la Cène ... ie confesse, qu'à tous les fideles y approchants en vraye foy en est rendu tesmoignage que toute la vertu de la mort du Seigneur leur est appliquée pour la remission de leurs pechez, et pour certaine, et ferme asseurance de leur reconciliation avec son Pere. Item, que pour estre faitz participans de l'incorporation avec que luy, et en estre faictz os de ses os et char de sa char, leur est donné presentialem[ent] et sustantialem[ent] son vray corps et son vray sang en viande et breuvage de leurs Ames par le moyen de la foy et par l'efficace du Sainct Esprit, par une façon toutesfoys admirable et incomprehensible à nostre humaine raison." (27)

(26) Geneva M.S.franç.407, fol.8 r; Bib.Wif.II p.194.

(27) loc.cit.

It is to be noted that Reina here avoids coming down strongly on the Calvinist side, whilst definitely avoiding the Roman and Lutheran statements. He is content to leave certain areas of faith indefinable, or, at any rate, undefined. He does go further in the following paragraph, to make the point that the body and blood of Christ are not to be sought in the bread and the wine:

> "... n'est pas de besoing, et si ne doibt pas faire de chercher ce sainct corps, et sang dedans les terriens elements du pain et du vin, comme estans là enclos et ataches necessairement pour estre prins tant des Infideles que des fideles, ou pour estre mangé corporellement auec la bouche corporelle ... (...car ainsi on ne prend pas que le sacrement exterieur ...) ains que luy se donnent es sacres symboles, ainsy qu'il à esté dit, doibt estre cherché par foy plus hault, c'est àscavoir ... où il sied à la dextre de Dieu son Pere." (28)

In this statement he rejects by implication the Lutheran position of ubiquity, which leads to consubstantiation. But he goes on to make this quite clear, by mentioning ubiquity specifically in the sixth paragraph, saying that it is "une question outrepassant les bornes de la modestie chrestienne." He quotes Bucer, whose Calvinist orthodoxy was not in question, in support of this rejection and goes on to discuss the matter at length, ending with a good Calvinist statement of the real presence:

> "Doncques d'enquerir du lieu, et de la maniere comẽt le Seigneur est au Ciel, c'est chose irreligieuse, et estrange de la pieté de la foy, laquelle laquelle [twice] doibt simplement croire, et confesser que le Seigneur Jesus demeure en ceste celeste et inaccessible gloire du Pere, et que, demeurant en icelle, il se donne à nous en sa Saincte Cene, et y est vrayement." (29)

In para. 12 of the same declaration Reina makes a plea for sanity in treatment of others for their theological statements on things which are not of the essential basis of the faith, rather in the spirit of Richard Baxter's "In necessary things, unity; in doubtful things, liberty; in all things, charity". He says

(28) Geneva M.S.franc. 407, fol.8 v; Bib.Wif.II p.195.
(29) ibid. fol.9 v; ibid. p.197.

"En un temps si bien plein de calumniateurs que d'erreurs et sectes il est merveilleusement expedient à toute l'église et à chacun fidel en particulier de faire distinction entre les articles fondementels de nostre foi et les privees declarations et sentences lesquelles ont esté tousjours libres en l'Eglise, sauve la verité de la foi." (30)

He points out that, whereas Calvin speaks highly of Luther, there are some Calvinists who condemn him as a heretic; he says that OEcolampadius has not been condemned for very similar views, nor Zwingli for not stating his eucharistic doctrine in exactly the same terms as Calvin, nor Bucer and Capito for having the same views as Luther. Calvin also wrote very well of Melanchthon. When one reads such sentiments, it becomes easier to understand that Reina could pass eventually from the Calvinist camp to the Lutheran, for one see that he did not consider himself bound to one system to the exclusion of others.(31) The effect of the intransigeant attitude of Beza and other Calvinist leaders towards him in the years between 1564 and 1578, contrasted with the friendship of various Lutheran leaders, is also a factor which cannot be ignored.

Further it is very difficult to understand how Reina should have got the reputation for Servetism. Rather, it ought to have been easy for people to have checked his views on the Trinity, when they were somewhat suspicious of him for befriending men with known Servetan views. It is true that he is reported to have said that the Trinity is nowhere specifically mentioned in Scripture (which is a mere fact, easily checked), just as he was recorded as saying that infant baptism is not mentioned in Scripture (another fact). He made sufficient forthrightly trinitarian statements in his life for this suspicion to be entirely groundless. The London Confession begins with a section on God, where, after speaking of Father, Son and Holy Spirit separately, he says:

"Creemos hallarse estas tres personas en la misma substancia, naturaleza, y essencia de vn Dios, de tal manera distinctas, que el Padre no sea el Hijo, ni el Espiritu sancto: ni el Hijo sea el Padre, ni el Espiritu sancto: ni el Espiritu sea el Padre, ni el Hijo. Eso sin derogar a la vnidad y simplicidad de vn solo Dios, por ne(sic) auer en todas tres Personas mas de vn ser diuino y simplicissimo." (32)

(30) Bib.Wif. loc.cit.

(31) Schickler, I p.234: "Que n'étant reçu de la communion de l'Eglise française, il fut contraint de s'adresser à ceux de la Confession d'Augsburg qu'il reconnaît aussi bien Eglise comme la nôtre."

(32) Confession de fe, (Cassel 1601) p.A iiij v.

Although the next paragraph of the Confession is rather cautious, the word 'Trinity' is at last used:

> "... empero por conformarnos con toda la Iglesia de los pios, admittimos los nõbres de Trinidad, y de Persona, de los quales los Padres de la Iglesia antigua vsaron vsurpando-los non sin gran necessidad para declarar lo que sentian contra los errores y heregias de sus tiempos acerca de este articulo." (33)

In his declaration to the Frankfurt Church, dated 12th July 1571, he also states expressly and clearly in refutation of the suspicions about him:

> "... perseverant en l'approbation .... des trois symboles receus de toute l'Eglise, à savoir celui qu'on appelle des Apostres, celui du Concile de Nicée et celui d'Athanase, et rejettant tous erreurs et heresies à iceux contraires (pour l'esgard principalement de la doctrine contenue et declairee es deux derniers touchant l'unique essence de Dieu et trinité de personnes) ..." (34)

This declaration also makes clear his view of the real presence in the sacrament:

> "... mon intention n'a jamais esté et n'est encores de confondre ... la chose spirituelle qui nous est presentee au sacrement de la ste Cene, à savoir la chair et le sang du Seigneur et tous ses benefices, avec le moien par lequel nous en sommes faits participans ... ces mots 'presentiellement et substantiellement! ... je les ai [utilisés] ... pour signifier la vraie presence et substance du corps et sang de Christ; protestant que je n'y recognoi toutesfois autre presence que celle que nostre foi y apprehende spirituellement, demeurant son dit corps au ciel ..." (35)

Despite all the cavilling hairsplitting with which Beza and others bombarded him, this was the position on the Trinity and the Lord's Supper which he retained right up to the eve of becoming officially a Lutheran minister. Of course, the position regarding the Trinity remained the same after that date. When Reina returned to London to be cleared of the charges that had hung over him for many years, he made a declaration on the Lord's Supper which the Calvinists felt was so orthodox that it would remove all controversy between Lutherans and Calvinists, as the title of the pamphlet they printed and circulated in Antwerp indicates:

(33) ibid., p.A v r.

(34) Bib.Wif.II p.216; Frankfurt docs. fol.605.

(35) Bib.Wif.II p.217; Frankfurt docs. fol.605.

"Confession (en l'article de la Cene) de Cassiodore Reine Hespaignol, ministre en icelle Eglise qui se dict faire profession de la confession d'Ausbourch en Anuers, laquelle si ses compaignons veulent confesser en sincerité, le different entre eux & les ministres des Eglises reformees sera osté." (36)

In this interrogation, according to the pamphlet, Reina made a fully Calvinist declaration about the sacrament, although his first answer contains a vague hint of the Lutheran position:

"Quel est le sens des parolles de la Cene, & si les parolles de la Cene doibuent estre entendus proprement ou par figure? Repons. A raison des Sacremens leur definition & nature, estans icelles actions mysticques figuratiues & significatiues, mon aduis est qu'il est necessaire de confesser qu'il y a figure és parolles de la Cene, si non que nous voulions confondre les signes auecq les choses figurees. Toutesfois il fault tellement conoiondre les choses auecq les signes, que nous facions entendre que nous ne voulons proposer des signes nuds & vuides des choses, ainsi i'enten' le pain en la saincte Cene du Seigneur signifier & aussy estre en sa maniere le corps de Iesus Christ & le vin le sang d'icelluy." (p. A.3.v.)

The declarations were sufficiently on the Calvinist side for Ritter to remonstrate with him about them, and, although the Lutherans of Frankfurt were fairly willing for Reina to be a minister in Antwerp, for which they had taken responsibility, when however he eventually moved to Frankfurt itself, it was a different matter. His ministry was resisted for a long time, but finally he was allowed to become minister of his old congregation, now in exile, but only after signing all the formularies of the Lutheran Church, and making a declaration in terms dictated to him by the Consistory of Frankfurt. One feels, on reading it, that such a declaration went somewhat against the grain for Reina, requiring him, as it did, to condemn so many people, and he is at pains to point out that he makes his declaration in the terms put to him by others:

(36) See above p. 142. The only copy of this trilingual pamphlet that has been recorded is in Leyden University Library. Lehnemann reprints the full text (Latin version) pp.160-163.

> "... eam fidei meae Confessionem, quae à me jure optimo exigitur, nimirum, apertam atque ingenuam, veluti in conspectu Dei, cordium inspectoris, neque id voce solùm, sed etiam scripto: & ut petitioni Vestrae commodius satisfaciam, Vestro ordine, imò, quoad fieri poterit, Vestris etiam verbis." (37)

After a whole-hearted acceptance of the ancient creeds and various Lutheran formularies, he abjures the errors of certain non-Lutheran or heterodox Lutheran groups (Roman Catholics, Anabaptists, Flaccians, Schwenkfeldians, Zwinglians, Calvinists), but not without again inserting the 'your' several times:

> "... sed etiam in Antithesi Vobiscum consentio, id est ... omnes eos Errores & Haereses ... veterum aut recentiorum haereticorum, verè & ex animo Vobiscum damno & execror ..." (38)

In this document he has to wriggle somewhat to escape the difficulties into which he was brought by the declarations made before the court in England in 1579. He pleads the fact that the pamphlet was put out by his opponents, who did not print the whole of what had transpired, and that, in any case, he had been a Lutheran for 14 years since that date without causing any scandal by wrong belief or evil living.(39)

To sum up, it can be said that Reina was a man whose orthodoxy on the central evangelical truths held by all Protestants cannot be doubted, but that he wished to avoid strife at all costs, seeing the Church's need to put the Gospel into practice rather than to dissipate its energies in fruitless strife over minute points of non-essential doctrine. Not that he ignored the discussion of such points, but he preferred, when allowed, to make a simple, Scriptural statement that might well be capable of several divergent interpretations, and he was unwilling to condemn, unless pushed, views which did not entirely coincide with his own, provided always that they did not contradict the Gospel truths. The last extant letter of Reina's is an excellent illustration of this. Writing to Adolf Fisscher, Lutheran minister in Amsterdam, a man who had been with him in Antwerp, on the subject of the Lutheran debate on original sin, he refers to writers who obscure truths by spiteful and fallacious craftiness:

(37) Lehnemann p.164.

(38) loc.cit.

(39) ibid. pp.167 f.

"... tamen quia negotium tibi nunc est cum literatis hominibus, qui maligna et captiosa versutia disputationem obscuriorem reddant quam ipsa sit ..." (40)

The method adopted at Antwerp would be far better, in a question of raging controversy over a minute point which threatened to do great damage to the Church, viz: to ask all ministers to avoid all public mention of it and by this means to build up the Church:

"...Populerium..intelligo virum..bonum ac simplicem, et qui sua verborum simplicitate aedificet Ecclesiam. Quapropter mi Adolphe vehementer illum tibi commendo. Videlicet ut si de rebus ipsis bene et orthodoxe nobiscum sentit...et abstinere velit ab omni contentione eorum verborum quae non intelligit, illum cures Ecclesiae restituere. Quia vere fieri potest, ut haec perniciosa contentio Ecclesiam jam Vexare inceperit, memineris qua ratione Antverpiae non tam incipientum quam magna vi jam grassantem eam Deus optimo sanctissimo et prudentissimo consilio compescuerit, prohibitis videlicet Ministris, ut ab omni ejus quaestionis mentione abstinerent, contentis res ipsas diligenter docere verbis in ipsis sacris litteris traditis et in Ecclesia usu receptis atque usitatis. Scis...quanta cum Ecclesiae tranquillitate, quanto cum fructu pietatis hujus sancti consilii beneficio per Dei gratiam, Ecclesiam continuerimus atque auxerimus adversus diaboli insidias et pessimorum illorum hominum..." (41)

Reina's learning is amply shewn by the good Latin style of his letters, and, in spite of his self-deprecatory remarks in the introduction to his Bible, by his skill in translation into Spanish from Hebrew and Greek. His two short commentaries of 1573 display quite well the width of his reading. Of Reina's version of the Bible, Menéndez y Pelayo says, "el escritor a quien debió nuestro idioma igual servicio que el italiano a Diodati era ... Casiodoro de Reina",(42) and, "como hecha en el mejor tiempo de la lengua castellana, excede mucho la versión de Casiodoro, bajo tal aspecto, a la moderna de Torres Amat, y a la desdichadísima del Padre Scio."(43)

To sum up, these three men, to whose labours we owe the first Spanish versions of the Scriptures made from the original tongues, were convinced and militant

(40) F.J.D.Nieuwenhuis, Geschiedenis der Amsterdamsche Luthersche Gemeente (Amsterdam 1856) p.20.

(41) loc.cit.

(42) M. & P. V p.150.

(43) ibid., p.197.

Protestants.[44] Pérez and Valera remained contentedly in the Calvinist fold, whereas Reina was apparently of a more open and enquiring mind, and although, impelled partly by circumstances and partly by choice, he moved finally into the Lutheran camp, he was willing to recognize Gospel principles in all the great branches of Protestantism, and was unwilling to condemn one for the sake of the other. All three were men of learning. Their education began in their early days as students at University in Spain, was continued during their time as priests and monks there, and certainly continued in their years in exile. Evidence of this is best provided by comparison of the two editions of Dos Tratados. In the eleven years between them, Valera had read many works which were published in the interval, and incorporated material from them into the second edition. The lively interest in contemporary theology shewn by Reina is further evidence. Works by many different authors are quoted in the publications of all three, revealing a width of scholarship and interest equal to that of cultured Spaniards of their day. And all three were Spaniards and proud of the fact. The immense time and trouble that they expended in the production of a vernacular Bible and of evangelical literature for Spain is alone proof of this. This Spanishness can be surmised from Reina's portrait and by the extant descriptions of his character. Valera, however, exhibits this best in certain passages in Dos Tratados where pride in his native land is expressed, and in the many apostrophes to the Spanish people in the same work.

(44) Francisco de Enzinas's New Testament of 1543 was translated from Erasmus's Latin version.

THE WORKS OF JUAN PÉREZ.

Pérez's period of literary activity thus produced the following works:

I. 1556 A Spanish version of the New Testament, with a Dedication and a Preface by Pérez.

II. 1556 Sumario breve de doctrina - an adaptation of Calvin's Catechisme, with a Preface by Pérez.

III. 1556 An edition of Juan de Valdés's Comentario sobre Romanos with a Preface by Pérez.

IV. 1557 An edition of Juan de Valdés's Comentario sobre la primera epistola a los Corinthios, with a Dedication by Pérez.

V. 1556-7 -8. Breve sumario de Indulgencias.

VI. 1557 A Spanish version of the Psalms with a Dedication and a Preface by Pérez.

VII. 1557(?) Imagen del Antechristo - a Spanish translation from the Italian of Bernardino de Ochino, with a brief Preface by Pérez.

VIII. 1558 Carta embiada a D.Philippe.

IX. 1559 Dos Informaciones - translated from the Latin of Johannes Sleidanus, prefaced by Pérez's own Suplicacion a su Magestad.

X. 1559 Catecismo - a Spanish translation of Calvin's Catechisme, with a Preface by Pérez.

XI. 1560 Breve Tratado - a free adaptation, in a much lengthier form, of Urbanus Regius's Novae doctrinae.

XII. 1560 Epistola Consolatoria.

XIII. 1567(?) A possible edition of the whole Bible in Spanish, which, if it existed at all, probably did so in manuscript form only.

Setting aside the last on the list, which is only putative, it will be seen that only four of these are original complete works, viz: V. Breve sumario de Indulgencias; VIII. Carta embiada a D.Philippe; and XII. Epistola Consolatoria; and one freely adapted work which amounts to an original work, viz: XI. Breve Tratado. The rest are translations, faithful to the original work, and therefore the compositions of others, which call for no great comment here on their matter and style. Pérez, however, added to each of these a Preface and/or a Dedication, viz. I. Dedication and Preface to the New Testament; II. Preface to Sumario breve de doctrina; III. Preface

to Valdés's Romans; IV. Preface to Valdés's I Corinthians; VI. Dedication and Preface to Psalms; VII. Preface to Imagen del Antechristo; IX. Preface entitled Suplicacion a su Magestad for Sleidanus's Dos Informaciones; and X. Preface to Catecismo.

We shall now give some consideration to each of the above-listed twelve works.

DEDICATION AND INTRODUCTION TO THE NEW TESTAMENT.

EL TESTAMEN/TO NVEVO DE NVES/TRO SENOR Y SALVA-/dor Iesu Christo./Nueua y fielmente traduzido del original Grie/go en romance Castellano./ [Device: a large capital Y with a sinner falling into flames and a saint looking towards a crown of life, with the words vertically: Estrecho el camino dela vida, y ancho el dela perdicion.]/EN VENECIA, EN CASA DE/ Iuan Philadelpho./ M.D.LVI. 8°. 12 pages Introduction + 746 pages text.

It is not difficult to find copies of Pérez's translation of the New Testament in the major libraries. It is a small 8° volume, in which the Dedicatory Epistle occupies 4½ pp. (numbered *ii recto - *iiii recto) and the Introduction 17½ pp. (numbered *iiii recto - **iiii verso.) Both have been re-issued recently in a modernized version by B.Foster Stockwell.(1)

The Dedication is addressed to Christ Himself, in words which are squarely evangelical, even though the intention was for copies of the New Testament to circulate in a distinctly hostile Spain:

> "AL TODO PODEROSO REY DE CIELOS Y TIERra Iesu Christo: verdadero Dios y hombre: muerto por nuestros pecados y resucitado por nuestra iustificacion: glorificado y sentado ala diestra dela Magestad enlos cielos: constituydo Iuez de biuos y muertos: Señor y hazedor de toda criatura, sea gloria, honrra y alabança en siglos de siglos." (p.*ii r)

Pérez says he has chosen to dedicate this New Testament to Christ for the same sort of reasons that prompt others to dedicate books to earthly rulers, plus the fact that Christ is really the author and deserves the credit for it. He was also the inspirer of the translation and He supplied the knowledge and strength necessary to bring it to a good conclusion. Pérez can honour Him in this way, by offering what is only the recital of His love and truth. Christ also watches over His word, to punish those who attack it and to reward those who obey it:

> "Que otra cosa es esta obra sino vn sumario de vuestras verdades y miseraciones, contra las quales trae guerra el mũdo noche y dia? La causa d'esta guerra, no es otra, sino el ser vuestras, y servos mesmo el autor de todas ellas, y el tener mandado quelos que quisieren ser y llamarsse vuestros, os siruan, y os conozcan

(1) Prefacios a las Biblias castellanas del siglo XVI (2 eds.) Buenos Aires/Mexico 19 & 1951, pp.47-69.

"por ellas. Portanto Señor me he acorrido a vos, tomãdoos por Patron, pues en esto (segun vuestra mãdamiento) se busca vuestra gloria. Paraque como soys autor d'esta obra que tanto amays, seays tambien tutor, y que assi tiẽblen y teman los malos de hazer nada contra ella, teniendo por cierto que la mano de vuestra potencia alcançara a tomar vengança delos que enesto fuerẽ atreuidos y desacatados: Y los que son buenos, y los que de nueuo lo quisierẽ ser, estãdo por esta via certificados de que vuestra voluntad es que se aprouechen d'ella, se gozen, y saquen el fructo paraque les ha sido dada." (pp.*ii v f)

This word is the means by which Christ's kingdom is extended. All baptized Christians have laid upon them the duty of defending this Word, amongst whom King Philip is the first, because he is the most important, and to him Pérez now addresses himself. In defending religion and propagating it, the King will be emulating the kings of the Old Testament, and serving God its author:

"Cosas altas y excelentes pertenacen alos grãdes: a vuestra alteza Rey christianissimo, pues Dios le ha tanto sublimado, perteneçe emplearsse enesta por ser la mayor, mejor y mas alta que ay enla tierra. El autor della q̃ es el vnigenito Hijo de Dios os la encomienda, paraque en deffenderla y propagarla se manifieste que es vuestra alteza del numero de aquellos sanctos Reyes amados, y amadores de Dios, que tenian entendido que la principal parte de su reynar consistia en dilatar la religion del cielo, y en procurar que fuesse conecido, y seruido el autor della." (p.*iii v)

If pagan kings have defended their vain religions with zeal, how much more ought a Christian king to defend and propagate his? Great spiritual and temporal blessings are promised to those individuals and kingdoms which honour God's Word. Evil ones who dishonour it dwindle and vanish. Any prosperity which does not take this into consideration is illusory:

"Por este medio los bienes espirituales y temporales van en crecimiento cada dia, y los males se disminuyen y deshazen: Con esto floreçe la verdad que es la regla y el niuel de regirsse asi sanctamente, y de bien gouernar alos otros. Fantastica es cierto y vana toda prosperidad dõde esto no va enla delantera. El premio pues que por este seruicio vuestra alteza reçebira enesta y enla otra vida, no sera conforme ala cortedad de nuestro entendimiento, sino conforme ala grandeza y Magestad de Dios ..." (pp.*iii v f)

The final lines consist of the usual prayer for the King's prosperity and eternal blessedness.

The Introduction which follows is entitled:

"EPISTOLA EN QVE SE DECLARA QVE COSA SEA NVEVE TESTAMENTO, Y LAS CAVsas que vuo de traduzirlo en romance."

Immediately after the progenitors of the human race has fallen from grace by disobedience, God gave a promise that the woman's seed would bruise the serpent's head and by his virtue restore mankind to the blessings and freedom they had lost. This promise was made clearerto Abraham, who was told that in his seed all nations would be blessed, which meant that Christ would be born to Abraham's descendants in the flesh. The promise was repeated to Isaac, and emphasized and clarified by the Prophets. Finally Christ came to fulfil the Law and the Promise, and to restore to God's friendship and blessing all who confessed and hated their sins:

"Venido ya el tiẽpo del cũplimiento que Dios tenia ordenado, embio al mundo a su Hijo vnigenito, el qual se hizo hõbre tomada carne humana dela sancta y siempre virgen Maria, como lo auia prophetizado Esaias. Y fue el cumplimiento y fin dela Ley, y de aquella tã repetida Promessa. Quãdo fue llegado a perfecta edad de treynta años, despues de auer reçebido el Baptismo, y vencido al tentador, començo el officio de predicacion: en que declaro al mũdo la dignidad de su persona: Quien era, y a que venia, y de quien era embiado. Como el era el que auia de ser dado enla cruz por la redempcion delos hõbres. Recibio a merced a todos quãtos a el vinierõ cõ conocimiẽto y odio de sus culpas: restituyolos ala amistad de Dios, y hizolos participes de sus bienes. Todo el tiẽpo de su predicaciõ hizo cosas admirables, y obras dignas de su persona diuina, cõ tãto poder que aũ hasta sus enemigos, y todos losque lo veyã conuẽcidos mũchas vezes dela virtud cõq̃ las hazia, cõfessauã q̃ el era el Prometido por los Prophetas, y q̃ otro que Dios no podia hazer tales obras." (pp.*iiii v f)

After His ascension, He sent His Holy Spirit to His disciples to enlighten them, and to inspire them to spread the knowledge of Christ, as His witnesses. At this point Perez gives a summary of the Apostles' christology, from which we can deduce his own, as he firmly emphasizes those points which are at variance with the official R.C. doctrine:

"Y pregonarõ que el es nuestra sabiduria, nuestra justicia, sãctificaciõ y redẽpcion: Que el es el sumo y eterno Sacerdote segũ la ordẽ de Melchisedech, que nos abrio el cielo por la potẽcia de su muerte, y entro enel con grande triũpho, y tiene alla tomada la possession del Reyno por nosotros: Y que fue el sacrificio que de simesmo ofrecio enla cruz, de virtud y efficacia tan inmensa y tã agradable a Dios, qur por ella le aplaco para siempre jamas, y gano vn irreuocable y sempiterno preuilegio de salud y de paz a todos los que creyeren, y se

"confiaren enel como en su vnico remedio: Y que Dios tomo tanto contentamiento enlo que el hizo por los hombres, que todos los que enel se confiaren, los tendra tan amparados y seguros por amor del, que ningun mal podra jamas tener dominio, ni preualeçer contra ellos: pero que siempre con seguridad nauegaran por el mar tempestuoso deste mundo hasta llegar a desembarcar al puerto dela vida eterna." (pp.*v r f)

This was the message, but God chose some of them more specifically to write down what Christ did and said, and how the Holy Spirit continued this work:

"Mas el Señor eligio dellos los que a el plugo por sus Hystoriadores y Coronistas. Los quales por su mandado, guiados por su Espiritu, a exemplo delos Prophetas, pusieron por escripto fidelissimamente las obras, las palabras, las marauillas y hazañas del Señor ... Quiso la Diuina bõdad que quedasse entre los hõbres vn fidelissimo registro, y vn perpetuo memorial de todas sus Promessas, y del cumplimiento dellas: Que nos fuesse como vn deposito de todos los bienes, para ser con ellos sustentados ordinaria y espiritualmente." (p.*v v)

This is, of course, the New Testament, or Gospel. Pérez then explains why "New" as against "Old" and that Gospel means "Good News of Christ". This is no history of dead things, but of a series of deeds that speak efficaciously to us at the present time, and by the power of the Holy Spirit effectively work in us just as they did in Christ's own day:

"La hystoria destas cosas no es semejante alas hystorias,y escripturas humanas. Las quales son cosa muerta, y narracion de cosas passadas que no tienen ya ser ni virtud. Pero esta es hystoria sagrada de obras y hechos biuos que toda via hablan, y nos enseñan a conoçer, y agradar a Dios: laqual viene juntamente acompañada del Espiritu, y virtud del Señor que los obro. Paraque assi sepamos, y creamos verdaderamente que lo mesmo que estonces Christo en persona hazia por la potẽcia de su virtud conlos que a el yuan, y lo reçebian, effetua el dia de oy, y haze realmente con todos los que leen, oyen, y reciben su Palabra. Porque puesto que el esta ausente de nosotros quãto a su presencia corporal, no por esso en su Euangelio dexa (como lo prometio) de estar presente de su poder, su verdad, su misericordia, su justicia, su virtud y su Espiritu que sana, libra, transforma y alumbra alos que le reciben, y creen como el manda." (p.*vi r)

Since Christ has now ascended and is invisible, the New Testament is a lively picture of Him, where we can see Him at work:

"... lo veamos en su Testamento: Donde con muncho fructo, y saludable aliuio de nuestras consciẽcias le podemos oyr predicar a todos, perdonar alos pecadores sus pecados, consolar alos afligidos, librar endemoniados, sanar leprosos,

"curar llagados, hartar los hambrientos, resucitar los muertos, y dar vista alos ciegos."

This gives us access to Him in all our needs, for He does not change.

Pérez then states that he had two reasons for making this translation. The first was to repay some of his debt to his nation, and the Gospel in its own tongue was the best way he could conceive to do this:

"La vna que sintiendome muy obligado al seruicio delos de mi nacion segũ la vocaciõ con que me llamo el Señor ala anũciacion de su Euãgelio, pareciome que no auia medio mas proprio para cũplir, sino en todos, alo menos en parte con mi deseo y obligaciõ, quedarsselo en su propria lẽgua, traduzido cõ toda fidelidad: obedeciẽdo enesto ala voluntad del Señor. (p.*vi v)

This was not meant to be kept hidden by being in a foreign tongue. The Gospel is of universal application, without respect of persons:

"Doctrina es necessaria a chicos y grandes, a viejos y moços, a ricos y pobres, a sieruos y libres, a ignorãtes y sabios, a altos y a baxos, a pecadores y justos. Todos tienen parte enella, y cada vno de qualquier estado, y condicion que sea, la tiene tanto mayor, quanto mas se humillare, y captiuare su entendimiento alo qu'ella enseña." (p.*vi v)

Its blessings are for those who most submit themselves in humility to its teaching:

"Para entender las sciencias humanas, y aprouechar enellas, requieresse entẽdimiẽto de hõbres. Y quãto mas agudo y subtil fuere el hõbre que las aprẽde, mas parte tiene enellas. Mas para esta sciẽcia diuina que nos dexo el Hijo de Dios, requieresse entẽdimiento alũbrado singularmẽte conla luz del cielo, el qual no se da alos hinchados cõ su proprio saber, alos que rebientan de muy entendidos, y se desdeñan de abaxarsse a oyrla, ni alos soberuios y presũptuosos, sino alos humildes, alos desconfiados de si y de sus cosas, y alos que andã con hãbre y sed de conoçer al Señor, y de seruirle segũ su volũtad. Estos tales cojen della copiosos fructos, y son los que perseuerã en su obediẽcia hasta la fin." (p.*vii r)

The wise and great according to the world's standards despire God's wisdom whereas the common people find it easy to learn of Christ, because they have no arrogance. Few clever or learned men have sufficient humility. There are only a few such named in the New Testament as followers of Christ. The afflicted, the ignorant and the common people heard Him gladly and flocked to hear Him. We see in the Gospels how the great ones of His day mostly hated Him and tried to do away with Him. By contrast, the way in which

Christ received sinners, and adapted His teaching to the minds of lowly folk is evidence of how God wishes His Word to come to all, of every condition:

> "Hallaremos tambien enla mesma hystoria inumerables enxemplos de con quanta humanidad trata Iesu Christo alos pecadores, comiendo familiarmente, y beuiẽdo con ellos. Como no se desdeña de cõuersar, y tratar conlos rudos, y simples: Quan de proposito les habla, y los enseña: De que comparaciones tan familiares, y tan comunes vsa conellos, para darles a entender lo que les dezia. Y ellos quan de voluntad le oyan, y estauan pendiẽtes de su boca para reçebir sus verdades sin hazerle contradicion, ni resistirle en nada. Que otra cosa es esto, sino vna imagen bina, y vna declaracion mas que euidente del querer de su voluntad quanto ala manifestacion de su doctrina a toda suerte, y cõdicion de personas? Porque como es Dios de todos, quiere que a todos, y a cada vno les sean manifestadas sus leyes, y ordenanças ..." (pp.*vii v f)

As it was with the spoken word, so also with the written. At Pentecost the Holy Spirit brought the gift of tongues to the disciples to enable them to spread the Gospel to the whole world. What use are all the benefits of Christ's labours and death if they are not known or understood? What is not known cannot be esteemed. Hence the present prevalence of vice and triumph of sin. The writers of the New Testament wrote in Greek, rather than Hebrew, or even Latin or Syriac, to the same end, because Greek was universally understood at the time. The Gospel is useless if hidden in a foreign tongue. There is no virtue in not understanding it:

> "Demanera quel estudio delos Apostoles era, como de hombres enseñados del Espiritu de Dios, buscar ocasiones de dar alos hombres en lengua que todos entendian el Euangelio clara y familiarmente, para d'esta manera prouocarlos a conoçer, y amar a Iesu Christo, oyendolo hablar en lenguaje que entendian. Tenian bien sabido los sanctos varones de Dios, que es cosa de ningun fructo leer el Euangelio en lengua peregrina, donde el que lee, no entiende la significacion delas palabras, ni la intencion delo que pretende enellas el que les mando escreuir. Porque que prouecho puede ninguno sacar delo que no sabe ni entiende? No ay religion, ni sanctidad ninguna en no entẽder lo que Dios quiere que todos sepã, ylo que expresamẽte tiene en mũchos lugares mãdado que todos entiendan. Porque si los Apostoles creyeran que auia alguna necessidad d'esto, o que auia alguna sãctidad en no entẽder todos el Euangelio, por idiotas y ignorãtes q̃ fuessen, sin duda ninguna lo vuierã puesto por escripto en alguna lẽgua obscura y no vsada de todo el mundo, o vuierã escripto sus Epistolas en lẽgua que no era comũ y vsada entre aquellos

"aquiẽ escreuia, paraque solamẽte los sabios dentrellos las entẽdierã, y los otros se quedarã ayunos por no auer sido exercitados en letras." (pp. *viii v f)

We ought to do likewise, so that Christ can be known clearly nowadays.

Pérez now comes to the second reason for his translation, after this lengthy digression, and here we see how very Spanish he remains, in spite of having had to leave Spain. His aim, he says, was to glorify Spain. His pride in Spain's achievements here shows, but not without a certain irony at the domestic religious upheaval:

"La otra de dos causas que arriba dize que me mouierõ a este trabajo, fue por seruir ala gloria de mi nacion: Laqual es afamada por todas partes de animosa, y de victoriosa. Y ella tãbien que se gloria d'estar la mas limpia, y la mas pura de todas las otras naciones, quãto alos errores que se han leuantado por el mũdo cõtra la religion Christiana. Vencer a otros, cosa es que se tiene por gloriosa, y muy estimada delante los hõbres: pero vẽcersse assi, es de mũcho mayor gloria, y de mayor hõrra para delante de Dios: Porque sobrepujar alos enemigos domesticos es el camino de subjectarsse a el enteramente: y vencerlos, es tãto mas glorioso, y mas de desear quãto es mas peligrosa la guerra que dentro de casa nos hazen, y quãto son mas preciosos, y mas duraderos los bienes que estã puestos por premio alos vençedores. Lo que con que se alcãça esta victoria que es la mayor, y mas illustre de todas quantas se pueden pensar eneste mũdo, es la lecion, y la inteligẽcia delo que eneste libro sagrado se contiene." (p.**i r)

Religion is best served by a thorough knowledge of the New Testament. Hence it needs to be in Spanish so that it may be properly appreciated, and so that errors in religion may be avoided. When the Gospel is hidden by not being understood, people are always in danger of being misled by false prophets, whose interest it is to keep them ignorant. Good pastors teach the truth and lead their flocks to feed in good pastures, where they find that which preserve them from sin and increase their grasp of salvation. Pastors are necessary to guide the faithful in reading the word, so they may properly follow the Good Shepherd:

"Los pastores que tienen a cargo las ouejas del Señor, y son zelosos de su gloria, y dela salud dellas, con este pasto selas deuen apaçentar, y meterlas enestas sagradas dehesas, donde comã, y se recuestẽ, y den fructos dignos del Señor cuyas son. Porque esta es la fina miera para sanarlas y preseruarlas de toda roña de vicios y pecados. Estan atemorizadas, y asombradas, por auerles hecho en creyẽte que cayran en pecado, y que moriran mala muerte, si pacẽ enestas dehesas de vida, y de paz, en que el Señor tiene tan mãdado que selas apacienten.

"Por esso es menester que el que se precia de buen pastor, se apiade dellas, y que las atrayga con amor, y cõ mansedumbre aque reciban aqui sustentacion y vida, con que pueda perseuerar en biẽ hasta la fin. Y si porũtura vuiere alguna falta de tales pastores, estonces estan las ouejas mas a peligro, y portanto es mayor las necessidad que tienẽ destos auisos diuinos, y les deuen saber, y leer con mayor cuydado: para no perder el tino en negocio tan importante qual es el de su salud: y para acertar a seguir continuamente a su buen Pastor, despertar a su siluo, y oyda su boz acojersse a su rabaño: para estar refrigeradas, y amparadas a su sombra." (pp.**ii rf)

No one loves the sheep like Him, who gave His life for them, and gave also the New Testament as a record of His labours.

Pérez then develops an argument from the misunderstanding that lies behind the word testamento, interpreting it in the sense of a "last will and testament" by the terms of which Christians inherit God's Kingdom.(2) Thus it behoves them to know its terms by reading it, so that they might benefit from it:

"Por este Testamẽto nos haze Iesu Christo herederos de su Reyno, y nos declara su vltima voluntad como suele hazer vn testador paraque sea executada despues de su muerte. Todos sin acepcion de personas somos llamados a posseer esta herencia. Ninguno es desechado della si la quiere recebir, y conoçer a Christo tal qual nos fue dado del Padre. Y por esso todos los que somos christianos deuemos guardar, leer, y aprouecharnos deste Testamẽto, como cosa que nos pertenece justissimamete. Porque quiẽ es el hijo, alqual no pertenece la herencia de su padre? Y pues todos emos reçebido el Baptismo que es la marca diuina de hijos de Dios, sin duda nos pertenecẽ las mãdas de su Testamento. Y si nos pertenece gozarlas, tãbien nos es necessario leerlas, y saberlas. Porque el menosprecio de conoçerlas y saberlas es inhabilitarsse, y entorpeçersse para venirlas a gozar. Sin este Testamẽto no podemos aspirar al Reyno de Dios, ni tener entrada enel." (pp.**ii v f)

Without knowing the New Testament we cannot distinguish good, light, truth from evil, darkness, error. Without the Gospel we err; with it we become sons of God, citizens of heaven, brothers and heirs of Christ. It shews us the true way of salvation:

"Christianos entended y sabed esto en que tãto va: Porque el ignorante pereçera con su ignoracia, el que ama las tinieblas, sera hijo y heredero dellas, y el ciego que sigue a otro ciego,

(2) O.E.D. the Late Latin word testamentum in the Biblical sense is a mistranslation of the Greek διαθεκε= covenant, agreement, not last will and testament.

"cayra conel enel hoyo. Vn solo camino ay de salud, que es conoçer y seguir a Christo: tener fe y esperança en Dios, y feruiente charidad conel proximo." (p.**iii r)

If it is not taken seriously, how can we hope to find help in time of need? How shall we find security amidst the errors and calamities of the world? The effect of the Gospel is to reproduce in the believer its own qualities. Those who deliberately resist it and condemn it, really condemn themselves and shut themselves off from its benefits:

"No produze el Euangèlio effectos contrarios, sino semejãtes a su naturaleza enlos que con humildad lo leen, y lo reciben. Como es luz, los haze hijos de luz: Como es verdad, y fuego consumidor, los haze amadores, y seguidores dela verdad, y destruydos los errores, los conserua enella, y los inflama del amor diuino, y consume y seca enellos todas malas concupisciencias ... Si munchos cierran los ojos adrede por no verla[luz], y quieren mas seguir las tinieblas del pecado que los mata, que no la luz dela verdad que les daria vida si la recibiessen. Culpa es dellos, y no della: Dellos nace su mal, y della proceden todos los bienes. No pierde ella nada de su naturaleza, pero ellos se pierden a sabiendas por dexarla, o no querer la reçebir." (p.**iii v)

This is just as it was in Christ's own day, but it did not stop Him from preaching, nor from commanding that the Gospel should be made available in a language understood by all. Misuse of a good thing does not imply that it is bad and must be banned:

"... y mandar a sus Coronistas que su doctrina, y todo lo que auia hecho fuesse puesto por escripto en lengua que todos entendiessen, paraque los que quisiessen, y vuiessen de ser saluos, tuuiessen enella bastante medio de reçebir salud. El pan y el vino son viandas necessarias para sustentacion dela vida humana. Si munchos se embriagan conel, y empoçoñan a otros, y se opilan otros conel pan, como acontece munchas vezes: no por esso se an de quitar del vso comun de todos. Estraña manera seria de corregir los vicios de vnos que son culpados, con matar de hãbre y de sed a otros que no tienen culpa." (p.**iiii r)

Just as the sun affects mud and wax differently, so the sun of the Gospel causes rebels to harden in their sin, and softens the humble to reprentance, enlightens their minds, and warms their hearts. Because some love evil, it is no reason why others should be deprived of the benefits of the Gospel. If it had been so from the beginning, nobody would ever have been saved! The Gospel is in the world so that all may have the opportunity of

attaining salvation by the mercy of God, even though some ungratefully reject it. To embrace its truth is the Christian's Glory, for by it he will enjoy eternal life:

> "Seguir pues, y abraçar esta verdad, es nuestra verdadera gloria, y lo cõ q̃ vẽcemos a nosotros mesmos, y a todos los males que nos oprimen y fatigan. Y es tambien cumplimiento dela profession que todos, cada vno por su parte hezimos en nuestro Baptismo, donde totalmente fuemos dedicados a Dios, para obedeçer y cumplir en todas cosas su sancta volũtad, y no cõsentir jamas en cosa que sea contraria a su mandamiento y ordenacion. Y pues tanto importa a todo Christiano gozar dela vida eterna, conuienele reçebir y vsar deste beneficio como medio necessario para entrar enella." (p.**iiii v)

PREFACE TO "SUMARIO BREVE DE LA DOCTRINA CHRISTIANA."

SVMARIO BRE/VE DE LA DOCTRI/NA CHRISTIANA HE-/cho por via de pregunta, y respuesta, en/manera de coloquio, para que assi la apren/dan los niños con mas facilidad, y saquen/ della mayor fructo. Enque tambien se en/seña como se han de aprouechar della/ los que la leyeren./ Compuesto por el Doctor Iuan Perez./ FVE IMPRESSO EN/ VENECIA/ EN CASA DE PIETRO DANIEL/ M. D. LVI./ CON PRIVILEGIO. 8°. Introduction 8 pp. plus Text 120 pp.

Only one copy of this work has ever been noted. It is preserved in the Nationalbibliothek of Vienna. In this small 8° volume the preface occupies 5½ pages (numbered 3 - 8). It is addressed:

"AL CHRISTIANO LECTOR SALVD enel Señor Iesu Christo."

Pérez points out that in the past parents and teachers took care to teach Christian laws to their children, so that they might grow up loving virtue. There are many people who wish to know their faith more perfectly, as well as teach it to their children, and he has tried to write a brief summary of the faith, which will be easy to learn and to teach. It is our Christian duty to teach the truth to our children and servants:

> "Agora visto que ay muchos que biuen cõ desseo de aprender ellos mesmos lo que en algo les falta quãto a la christiandad,(1) y de enseñar a sus hijos, y discipulos las leyes de su Dios, paraque aprendan porellas a conocerle, y a seruirle, ques el fin para que fuerõ criados, me parescio ser cosa Iusta por mi parte ayudarles ... Para esto he tomado vn poco de trabaio endarles por orden, y como en vn breue sumario le doctrina christiana que todo hombre que professa conocer a Dios, y a su hijo Iesu Christo nuestro señor, deue saber, y tener muy decorada, para aprender por ella el deuer Christiano, y la obligacion que tiene como tal, y saber la forma que deue tener denseñar la a sus hijos, y criados." (pp.4 f)

Although it is written for youngsters, for that reason it will be equally clear to adults. A description of the contents then follows. Perez's intention in writing it has been to serve God and help his fellow Christians:

> "My desseo ha sido enesto seruir al señor cuyo soy, y cumplir conel buen desseo de los que senzillamente dessean saber la doctrina de la christiãdad, y ser de nombre, y de obra verdaderos christianos." (pp. 6 f)

(1) This word is used here in a sense that nowadays is secondary to the main meaning of 'Christendom'. It is so used commonly by all three men.

The work is very short and can be learnt easily, because the method is to proceed by question and answer within the capacity of children and those of a childlike mind:

> "Doctrina es llana, y del señor conforme ala capacidad de los niños paraquien se escriuio, y de los grandes que se quisieren hazer niños en malicia,(2) para ser discipulos de Iesu Christo..." (p.7.)

The closing words are a prayer for the success of the Sumario in spreading the knowledge of Christ and increasing the number of the faithful:

> "... Iesu Christo: al qual plega de hazerla [doctrina] fructificar, para quel sea verdaderamente conocido, honrrado, y seruido con ella. Paraque assi el numero de sus ouejas crezca, y que alos que el ha dado tan buenos desseos de conocerle, y seruirle, vean el cumplimiento dellos para gloria de su Sancto nombre. Amen." (pp. 7 f)

(2) I.Cor.14:20: "Be not children in mind; howbeit in malice be ye babes, but in mind be ye men."

PREFACE TO J. DE VALDÉS's "COMENTARIO SOBRE LA EPISTOLA A LOS ROMANOS. COMENTA-/RIO, O DECLARACION/ BREVE, Y COMPEDIOSA(sic) SO/bre la Epistola de S.Paulo Apostol/a los Romanos, muy saluda-/ble para todo Christiano./ COMPVESTO POR IVAN/ Valdesio pio, y sincero Theologo./[Device: large capital Y, legend: Estrecho el camino dela vida, y es ancho el dela perdicion]/ EL EVANGELIO ES POTENCIA DE/ Dios para dar salud a todo creyente./ Rom.1./ EN VENECIA, EN CASA DE/ Iuan Philadelpho./M.D.LVI. 8°. 28 pages Introduction + 321 pages text.

Original copies of this work are fairly accessible. It was reprinted by Usoz and Wiffen in 1856 as volume 10 of R.A.E. The preface by Pérez is addressed 'Al Christiano Lector', and occupies 12½ pages (numbered 14 - 26) of an 8° volume.

It recounts first how the original manuscript came into his possession and how it seemed so learned and pious that he felt he must give it wider circulation. With God's help he has finished the task:

> "Por medios ordenados dela diuina prouidencia, sin yo pensarlo ni esperarlo ... vino ami poder este comentario sobre la Epistola de san Paulo alos Romancs, no menos docto, que Christiano y pio. En auer venido amis manos y auerlo hallado, me paracio (como enla verdad es assi) auer hallado vna muy rica mina de donde se puede sacar ... los thesoros inestimables del cielo ... Auiendola pues reçibido tan de gracia, tuue por cosa justa, y agradable al Señor que me hizo la merced, no alçarme conella, ni gozarla yo asolas, sino dar parte d'ella a quantos la quisierẽ reçebir, con ofrecerles motiuo, y darles medio enella de sacar el fructo espiritual ... Vino ami poder tan estragado el original, y tan viejo por causa del largo tiempo que auia que estaua escripto dela mano del mesmo autor, que se ha passado grande trabajo en sacarlo aluz, y restituyrlo en su primera integredady pureza, cõforme ala intencion del que lo compuso, que era cierto muy docto, y verdaderamente christiano. Ha nos ayudado en esto la misericordia del Señor, que segun la grandeza de quien es, socorre a muestraflaqueza, y lleua a cabo adelãte lo qu'el inspira, y plãta enlos hombres." (pp.14 f).

There are learned men, both past and present, who argue that this is a difficult epistle, and others who argue to the contrary. Those who claim it is easy, because they judge it by prudence and blind reason, understand it as little as any other part of God's word that they judge by the same standards:

> "Lo que por esta via piensan entender, à la verdad no lo entienden: Porque la prudencia humana es totalmente incapaz destos misterios: y se torna mas loca de lo que es,

"y desuaria mas en seso leyendolos, porque los tiene por vna verdadera y aueriguada locura." (p.16)

Just as Christ in His day was judged by these standards and found wanting, so human wisdom and prudence judge the faith nowadys:

"La sabiduria, y prudencia humana viene por aqui a parar en ser blasphema contra Dios, y contra sus palabras, porque por no entenderlas, se offende en ellas, y offendida, luego las condena, y las abomina. Porque todo lo que en este caso no entiende, lo tiene por error y por mas que error: y por tal lo huye, y aconseja que lo huyan los otros, y si tiene poder, los violenta, y constriñe à ello." (p.17)

Holy Scripture cannot be understood on this level, and for this reason they find it difficult:

"Las Escripturas sanctas con ser claras y resplandecientes, dadas para destruyciõ de las tinieblas que causo el pecado en el entẽdimiento humano, no se dexan entender de los soberuios y hinchados con su prudencia, y con su ignorante saber." (p.18)

Others removed all such thoughts and attitudes from their minds and read Scripture to be instructed. This is the proper way to approach it:

"Toda escriptura ha de ser leyda y entendida con el espiritu mesmo que fue escripta ... La curiosidad dela prudencia humana, y la biueza de ingenio tienẽ lugar en la leccion delas escripturas humanas fraguadas con espiritu humana." (p.18)

With the proper attitude they will draw something from what they read in Scripture.

Despite all this, the Epistle is difficult. For something to be seen, we first need eyes that are not blind, but we need also light on the object. Christ is this light:

"Dedonde es manifiesto que los que vuieren de leer la Epistola con fructo, es necessario que sean christianos, quiero dezir, encorporados en Iesu Christo, y viuificados con su Espiritu. Los que estan tan bien dispuestos, y tan biẽ animados, que biua en ellos Christo, y ellos biuan en Christo, y andan con deseo de conformarsse a el, y seguir le en todo lo que el manda, hallaran poco apoco (sin saber como) quitadas las dificultades que aqui seles podran ofrecer. A estos tales por tener buena vista, alumbrado ya el entendimiento cõ la claridad Diuina la luz les es luz, y assi biuen y estan en luz." (p.20)

To such as have this light is given the secret of God's mysteries, and not to the wise and prudent. God's word becomes all in all to them:

"Y no solo no se lisiã, ni se llagan en ellas, pero son les medicina para sus llagas, descanso y aliuio en sus trabajos, claridad y luz en sus dudas, obrando estos effectos en ellos el Espiritu de Dios que los tiene hechos su tẽplo donde mora." (p.21)

To those who trust wholeheartedly in God, this epistle is 'muy familiar y como vn deposito de grandes y celestiales bienes'. Humility is the best approach:

"Y assi vno delos proprios medios para entenderla es, abaxarsse y humlliarse(sic) con verdad, desnudãdosse su proprio sentido, mortificandolo continuamente, por recibir, y vestirsse el de Dio ..." (p.22)

In this way, much benefit will be derived from it, and more benefit will be available:

"De manera que quanto mas entendiere dela Epistola el christiano, tanto mas le parezca, y tenga mas similitud con el en las costumbres, en su humildad, y mansedumbre. Y que acabãdola de entẽder, este muy alexado delos vicios, y muy allegado à el, desuerte que pueda ser dechado de quien los otros aprendã à amar, y seguir la piedad christiana." (p.22)

This book is valuable to two reasons. Firstly, because it is learned and profitable, and secondly, because it was written by one who, because of noble birth, would normally not be interested in things of the spirit:

"[el libro] es tambien muy de preciar por ser hallado en lugar, donde pocas vezes se hallan tales thesoros. La nobleza y la hidalguia deque el mundo haze tanto caudal, desdeñasse (como se vee por esperiencia) de emplearsse enel amor, y estudio delas cosas de Dios, dandosse totalmente à las del mũdo, y poniendo en ellas todo su amor, y su afficiõ. Esta como desterrado delos que la tienen el amor al estudio delas letras diuinas, de talmanera que parece por la mayor parte que han hecho vna professsiõ(sic) de no tener que ver con ellas: como si no les tocassen à ellos todas las cosas que conciernen à la christiãdad..." (pp.22 f)

"El autor que compuso este libro era cauallero, noble y rico. Pero consydero sancta y prudentemente que consistia la verdadera nobleza, no'en tenersse por de sangre mas fina que los otros, sino en ser imitador de Christo, y en seguir las leyes de la caualleria christiana, y assi renuncio muy deveras à la nobleza carnal por seguir la espiritual delos hijos de Dios ... Fue tan diligente en su estudio, y ordeno lo para tan bien fin, y tan proprio para glorificar al Señor, que el mesmo le dio su ayuda, y lo prospero en el grandemente.

> "Porque no pretendia con el, ser sabio delos qu'el mundo precia, sino ser Christiano delos que Dios aprueua: No theologo especulatiuo, sino pratico y obrador delo que entendia: No ser tenido por letrado, sino embeuer en su animo las costumbres de Christo ..." (pp.23 f)

He goes on to praise the author's constancy as a Christian in difficulties and persecution, and his disdain of his own noble birth in his desire to serve Christ and bring others into His service. Noblemen are not exempt from the humility which is required from servants of Christ, rather they must descend 'a la baxeza que siguen los que son hidalgos de Dios'. No-one can reign with Christ who has not first suffered with Him.

Perhaps, he concludes, God will bring to light in His mercy and goodness other books on the New Testament by the same author, as profitable as this one:

> "Haz gracias christiano Lector, à Dios por sus mercedes tan copiosas, y tã dignas de quien el es. Y gozolas, y aprouechate d'ellas parasu gloria, y tu salud." (p.26)

These are the closing words of this preface, and they might well sum up most of the writings of Juan Pérez.

DEDICATORY EPISTLE AND PREFACE TO JUAN DE VALDÉS' COMENTARIO SOBRE LA PRIMERA EPISTOLA A LOS CORINTHIOS.

COMENTA-/RIO O DECLARACION FA-/MILIAR, Y COMPENDIOSA SOBRE/la primera Epistola de san Paulo Apo-/stol alos Corinthios, muy vtil para/todos los amadores dela/piedad Christiana./COMPVESTO POR IVAN/VV. pio y sincero Theologo./[Device: Y etc. as in Romans]/LA DECLARACION DE TVS PALA-/bras alumbra, y da entendimiento alos pe-/queñitos. Psalmo.119./ EN VENECIA EN CASA DE/ Iuan Philadelpho./M.D.LVII. 8°. 19 pages Introduction + 337 pages text.

Copies of the original edition of this work are quite rare. A second edition was, however, published by Usoz and Wiffen in 1856 as volume 11 or R.A.E. Pérez's additions to Valdés's text consist of a dedicatory epistle, which occupies 11½ pages (numbered 3-14) of this 8° volume; a preface entitled 'Al Christiano lector' which occupies 4 pages (numbered rather oddly 15-16-9-10, for the pagination suddenly slips back to 9 at this point and then continues throughout the book, with the resultant duplication of pp.9-16); and a summary of the argument of I Corinthians on pp.10-12 (second numbering).

The dedication is to one person, viz:

> "A LA .S. MAIESTAD DEL SERENISSIMO Y CHRISTIANISSIMO MAXIMILIANO Rey de Boemia, Archiduque de Austria, &c."

and continues in the New Testament manner, 'Iuan P.S. [alud] y paz en Iesu Christo."

All true Christian happiness, he says, comes from loving God's law. Yet, because of their freedom, men have become corrupt and have lost their happiness, and the only way to regain it is to take God's law as our guide in all things:

> "Si los primeros hombres con estar sanos y enteros despues que Dios los crio, por desuiarsse del mãdamiẽto que les auia dado, cayeron en tantos males, quales todos experimẽtamos ordinariamente, que hara agora qu'estamos corrompidos todos sus decendiẽtes, y aun de dia en dia nos vamos mas corrompiendo? Porque si estando ellos del todo libres, por apartasse d'el mandamiento de Dios, no pudieron durar enla felicidad en que fueron criados, como podran sus hijos venir a ella, sin tomar el mandamiento por guia en todas cosas, y sin tenerle singular afficion, pues carecen de tal libertad, y sanidad qual ellos tuuieron estonces?" (pp.3 f)

God's Law shews the straight and right way of life and indicates the dangers to be encountered when it is ignored. Those who despise God's Law do not understand why they suffer calamities and misfortunes. It is true that they are often very prosperous and happy. Pagan kings, in particular, seem to enjoy God's favour:

> "Bien es verdad que acontece versse munchas vezes grande prosperidad, y felices successos, dõde no se tiene cuenta ninguna cõ la Ley de Dios, ni se reuerenciã sus palabras, ni se tiene temor d'el por sus amenazas, y por sus juyzios. Los reynos de los paganos que prosperos vã! parece como que nauegan viento en popa, y que tiene Dios puestos sobre ellos los ojos, para darles munchos mas bienes en esta vida, que ellos sabriã entender, ni dessear." (p.4)

In some kingdoms that claim to be Christian, but which ignore God's Law, prosperity may be observed, but this is evidence of their spiritual sickness, as when an invalid approaching death is given all he asks for:

> "Tienen esto los hombres por señal de fauor de Dios: pero ala verdad es vna cierta demostracion de su yra, y vna aueriguacion notoria de su indignacion para con los tales. Porque los trata Dios en esto y se ha con ellos, como vn medico con vn enfermo desahuziado, q̃ por ver enel ciertos prenosticos de muerte, y que lo tiene ya enseñoreado la enfermedad, que no se despedira del hasta que lo acabe, le da todo lo que quiere y apetece, puesto que le sea contrario." (p.5)

So that prosperity is in fact a sign of God's wrath! And the wrath that comes hidden behind prosperity is much more to be feared than that which comes openly, for it lulls people into the sense of false security that God is pleased with them, and they sit back 'at ease in Zion' and become ever more careless towards the Law of God:

> "Porque por versse ellos prosperos, y cumplirsseles sus desseos, piensan quae(sic) esta bien Dios con ellos, y persuadensse vanamente que no les falta nada delo que quiere d'ellos, y les pide por su Ley: y creẽ en todo su seso que aun antes les deue el mũcho mas delo que haze con ellos. Y por esta via vienen a descuydarsse mas, y como a sepultarsse en vn profundo oluido de Dios, y a no darsseles nada por cumplir con el lo muncho(sic) que le deuẽ por ser sus criaturas, y proueerlas en todas sus necessidades." (pp.5 f)

By contrast, those kingdoms which obey and keep what God commands reap a rich harvest:

> "Mas en los reynos donde se guarda lo que Dios tiene ordenado y mandado, y donde el rey es zeloso de su gloria, y amador de la justicia y dela verdad, todo lo que por esta causa les succede, de qualquier suerte que sea, es como vna sementera donde se siembra preciosissima siniente, y como vn Agosto donde se cojen copiosissimos fructos delo sembrado." (p. 6)

Their prosperity they use to listen to God: and if adversity is their lot, it is merely so that through it they may get greater good; for the believer sees all things, good or bad, as means which God uses for good in the end. Just so the Kings of Israel suffered affliction, and through it God worked prosperity, and even sometimes the conversion of their enemies to acknowledge Israel's God. And the reverse is true, that when they were careless of God, they suffered evils and calamities, such as the captivity in Egypt and in Babylon, the disappearance of the 10 tribes, and so on. It follows that the true strength of any kingdom lies in its obedience to God's will and words:

> "En esto se manifiesta que la firmeza y prosperidad del reyno, y la fuerça del rey que lo rige consiste, no en tener sus ciudades muy bastecidas de prouisiones, no en tenerlas cercadas de gruessos, y altos muros, no en estar fornecidas de muncha y fuerta artilleria, ni en tener hecha confederacion con diuersos y poderosos principes, sino en tener a Dios propicio y fauorable, y en ser el rey obediẽte, y hõrrador suyo, y publico mantenedor delo questa ordenado y mandado por su Ley. En los reynos donde mas vuiere d'esto, aura mas fuerça, y seran mas inuincibles, y mas formidables alos enemigos: puesto caso que sean munchos, muy valientes y esforçados." (pp. 8f)

The mighty Sennacherib, King of Assyria, when he besieged Hezekiah in Jerusalem, was defeated without force of arms because Hezekiah reformed and purified the religion of Judah. This incident and its implications are considered at length to draw the conclusion that in a similar way God will reward the Christian king who studies the Scriptures and governs according to them:

> "Tales son los fauores que reciben los que ponen su fuerça y confiança en Dios, y los que le siruen, y hazen seruir como el tiene ordenado y mandado por su Ley. Cosa es decente y necessaria al rey Christiano que tiene gouierno del pueblo de Dios, y es como su capitan y guia para bien regirlo, ser exercitado en armas, para su defensa, y la delos suyos: pero mas necessaria le es ser exercitado enlas letras sagradas, para saber por ellas la voluntad de Dios, y como le ha de

"seruir para agradarle, como ha de gouernar su reyno para gloria d'el que selo dio: .,. Con esto se fortalece el rey, y se haze auisado, y diestro, y es dichoso en las guerras que emprende por la defenssa de su reyno, y sale siempre con victoria d'ellas." (pp.10 f)

In a similar manner the faithfulness of David, Moses and Joshua was rewarded with success. Such faithfulness to God's word is the secret of both temporal and spiritual well-being in any kingdom.

The King is then rather fulsomely praised in the manner of the times as a Christian king whose principles and faith are renowned in Spain and beyond:

"Bien se muestra serenissimo Rey, que ha Dios criado, y aparejado a vuestra Alteza desde su tierna edad para la real y christiana administracion, pues dõde el principio le tiene dado lo principal que se requiere para bien administrar: que es el amor de su Ley, su temor y conocimiento, su amor y su fe, y desseo grãde de seruirle, y de procurar su gloria ... auiendo le Dios ... dotado de otros munchos dones ... Delos quales el olor que portodas partes estadiffundido, es suauissimo que captiua con su amor, y atrae con su suauidad, no solo alos que han visto y comunicado con vuestra Majestad, sino tambien alos que nunca le vieron, ni comunicaron. Nuestra España quedo llena deste buen olor, y le es aficionada sobre manera por auer visto su humanidad, su equidad, su piedad Christiana y affabilidad ...")p.12)

Such considerations have moved Pérez to dedicate to the King this commentary, useful to all Christians, and much more so to a Christian king. This was done with two intentions: first, so that the King might be able to shine in his realm like the sun, and consume all that is contrary to the Gospel; second, so that the King might give an example of Christian virtue to be imitated, particularly as regards the reading and meditating of Holy Scripture, obedience to which will cause Christian virtues to increase in the land.

The closing words are a prayer for the King, which, one cannot but feel, in the light of later events, express a very vain hope:

"Alqual plega de dar su Spiritu principal a V.M. illustrissima conque sea siempre corroborado en todo bien, y pueda vsar legitimamente de sus gracias, para glorificarle en todas cosas, y que despues de larga vida sea passado d'el reyno tẽporal en que preside, al Reyno eterno, dõde goze de bienes perdurables cõ Iesu Christo nuestro vnico y verdadero Redemptor y Señor." (p.14)

The preface, addressed 'AL CHRISTIANO LECTOR', begins by saying that, since the aim of the Christian religion is to help piety and to aid our neighbour, this commentary has been obtained for publication for the first time in order to serve those two ends:

> "... y desseãdo por esta causa ayudar sinceramente con nuestro trabajo alos que desseã ser ayudados por el conocimiento dela verdad, y perseuerar en la vnion delos que la siguen, y tienẽ puesto en ella todo su amor y su afficion, hemos procurado (como cosa propria para este fin) darles la primera Epistola de S. Paulo alos Corinthios con vna breue, verdadera, y compendiosa declaracion, laqual hasta agora no se ha visto, ni ha salido en publico." (p.15)

Although not all Christians are called to be preachers or theologians, all are called to heed Christ's words if they wish to be saved. Any who claim that they do not need to do so are not deserving of the name of Christians. All Christians need to know the Word of God, whether they are learned or not, in order to be able to withstand the devil's attacks:

> "Si no es cosa propria a todos los Christianos estar instituydos para disputar en escuelas, y sustentar publicas conclusiones, es empero proprio a todos estar enseñados, para saber bien lo que Dios quiere d'ellos, y para podersse defender delas obras d'el demonio, y delas de todos los de su liga, pues la vida d'el christiano es vna perpetua guerra, en la qual el que vence, es coronado en gloria, y el que es vencido, queda para siẽpre priuado d'ella. No se escriuio la Theologia Christiana solamente para los que estã graduados, y hazen publica profession de theologos, sino tãbien para los que hazen publica profession de Christianos, y han recebido el Baptismo, que es la puerta por dõde entraron a serlo." (pp.15 f)

Paul did not write his letter to the Romans for the learned theologians of Rome, but to all Christians there, so that they could learn to conform their lives to that of Christ. Similarly, this first letter to the Corinthians was not written just to the wise, but to all the Christians in Corinth:

> "Ni tãpoco escriuio esta Epistola alos que en Corinthio eran eminentes en autoridad, y en sciencia sobre los otros, sino a todos les (sic) Christianos que auia en Corinthio: a chicos y grandes, altos y baxos, ignorantes y sabios." (p.16)

These letters were written with the purpose of inspiring and instructing the faithful and to help them to serve God properly. Although they were not originally addressed to those of the present day, they can still be of use to the same end, for neither the Christian nor the Gospel changes:

> "... por la mesma razon dado que no son embiadas alos de agora, les pertenece tambien procurar de entenderlas, paraque por medio d'ellas sean aprouechados en todo el seruicio y deuer Christiano. Porque los de agora no professan otra fe, ni tienen otro Dios, ni otro Baptismo, ni son llamados a posseer otra herencia, ni a otra bienauenturança que los de entõces." (pp.16 f)

As indeed the enemy does not change either, but he is now older and therefore more skilful; but the Word of God is still of use against him, as a weapon of both offence and defence. Christ too remains the same, and His salvation, declared by Prophets, Apostles and Evangelists, would lead us into unity and charity:

> "... paraque por esta via seamos todos vn cuerpo entero, y biuamos en vnion de paz, y de charidad vnos con otros segun lo pide la profession de nuestra religiõ sãctissima y celestial." (p.92)

This particular epistle is indispensable. It outlines the duties of ministers and how they should walk worthily of their calling. It shows how Christians soon go astray if they do not adhere to the doctrine of the cross and do not mortify the desires of the flesh. It teaches how a great variety of gifts can be contained within the Church, provided all cleave to the truth. It indicates how to return to the truth if we have left it. It gives a very detailed consideration of the Christian attitude to death, etc. Thus, provided it is read in a spirit of piety and not wrongly or frivolously, it will help the humble to become imitators of Christ:

> "Por tanto amigo Lector, huye de ser curioso mayormẽte en esta lecion, y trabaja quãto pudieres por ser pio. Lee con humildad las palabras de humildad, paraq̃ el Espũ [sic Espiritu] de gracia halle lugar en ti, y que assi vẽgas a ser delos enseñados de Dios, que pretenden en todo cõformar su animo, y su vida cõ la verdad qu'el mesmo les reuela,y les descubre por su Palabra. D'esta manera vẽdras a ser no imaginatiuo Christiano, sino pratico imitador de Christo, de cuyos bienes despues d'esta vida gozaras con el para siempre en su Reyno." (p.102)

The 'ARGVMENTO SOBRE LA PRIMERA Epistola de S. Paulo alos de Corinthio' which follows, gives a very brief summary, first of Paul's reasons for writing the letter at all, and then of the main point of each chapter, after which Perez repeats the same warning as at the end of the previous section, and hazards a guess at the place from which letter was written, although expressing his conviction that the knowledge is of no practical importance:

"Esto es sumariamente todo el intento de S. Paulo en esta Epistola, en laqual aunque ay muchas cosas que solamente pertenecian para aquellos aquien se escreuian, ay tambien algunas otras que pertenecen a estos tiempos en general, y a cada vno de nosotros en particular, que se puede bien dezir, que toda la Epistola es vtilissima para los que depojados de toda curiosidad, lleuaren en ella por guia al Espiritu sancto que lleuo S. Paulo al tiempo que la escriuio, y tuuiere alguna experiencia delo que aqui trata S.Pau.(sic) como buen Apostol de Iesu Christo nuestro Señor. Quãto al lugar dedõde fue embiada esta Epistola, si fue de Philipis, o de Epheso, no tengo por cosa muy importante aueriguarlo: y lo que menos creo es que aya sido embiada desde Philipis como esta en los libros Griegos." (p.122)

BREVE SUMARIO DE INDULGENCIAS.

BREVE SVMA-/RIO DE INDVLGEN/cias y gracias./[Device: angel blowing trumpet]/ Conuertios a mi, y sereys sal-/uos todos los moradores de/la tierra: por q̃ yo soy Dios/ que saluo, y no ay otro./ESAIAS XLV. 8º. 32 pages.

One copy only of the original work is in Wiffen's Collection, now housed in Wadham College, Oxford, of which the last two pages are missing. It is a very small 8º volume of 32 pages. The work was reprinted by Usoz y Río as Vol.18 of the R.A.E. in 1862, when the two missing pages were supplied by retranslation from the English version of 1576.(1) This R.A.E. reprint is a careful attempt to retain the format and the pagination of the original, but the spelling has been modernized to that of 1862.

Usoz y Río points out in his preface that the work has some similarity to the French translation of a work by Martin Chemnitz, Traitte des Indvlgences, printed by Jaques Chouët at Genera in 1599, and which forms the fourth part of his Examinis Concilii Tridentini (Frankfurt 1596).(2) By this statement he clearly means another work which is bound up in the same volume with it, viz: Briefve consideration sur l'an du Ivbilé. Le vrai et grand pardon general de pleniere remission des pechés. This is nothing more than a red herring, as the subject matter of this work, although it is similar in title, bears no real resemblance to Breve sumario, nor is its date right. Boehmer, however, points out that one or two other French works might well have served as models. Particularly likely is Le grand pardon de plenière remission pour toutes personnes, durant à toûjours, printed at Geneva in 1550 by Adam & Jean Rivery.(3)

Boehmer was by no means convinced that Juan Pérez was the author of Breve sumario, while Usoz y Río and Wiffen were fairly confident he was. It is difficult to make a firm decision at this distance of time, but one can say that the style and vocabulary of the prefatory Exhortacion are very similar to Perez's. This part of the work at least one can suppose to be his original work. Even in the rest there is sufficient similarity to Pérez's other known work to allow the assumption that Pérez was indeed the author, and, like all Pérez's work, it was printed by Jean Crespin.(4)

(1) vid.inf.p. 228. (2) R.A.E.18, p.xviii f. (3) Bib,Wiff. II pp.51 f

(4) Bonnant "Quelques ouvrages en langue espagnole imprimés par Crespin" B.H.R. vol.24.1.p.52.

The booklet is a very small 8vo volume of 64 pp. It is written in a style that is clearly imitative of the indulgences that were being sold, e.g. by Tetzel, in the contemporary R.C. world, and which were presumably very well-known at the time. Although, of course, the actual subject matter is forthrightly evangelical, it is couched in terminology which seems, on a casual first glance, to be that of a Roman Catholic indulgence.

The work consists of the following sections, which are printed with no headings to distinguish them except one, a fact which is dictated mainly by the method adopted.

Ai recto	Title page.
Ai verso	Exhortation.
Aij recto - Av verso	Introduction.
Av verso - Biji recto	Declaration of the Jubilee.
Bij recto - Cv recto	Various itemizations of the terms of the Jubilee.
Cv verso - Di recto	Proof-texts from the O.T. and the N.T. to justify these.
Di recto - Dij recto	Personal application of these terms to the reader, called N.
Dijverso	A minatory paragraph, threatening evil to any who act contrary to the terms above-stated.
Dij verso - Diij verso	Continuing the idea with the threat of excommunication and a curse on such persons.
Diiij recto f.	A form of Absolution.
Dv recto	A quotation from John's Gospel, ch.10.
Dv verso - Dviij recto	A consideration of the Ten Commandments.

After the exhortation, the title is repeated in more detail:

"BREVE SUMARIO DE LAS INdulgencias y gracias concedidas de nuestro Dios y Padre por Iesu Christo su Hijo a todos los fieles Christianos en este indulto y Iubileo, y mandadas publicar, para que arrepentidos de sus pecados, se conuirtieren a el, las puedan ganar y gozar para siempre."

This is followed by an introduction which is just a catena of Biblical passages beginning:

> "Qvando vino la plenitud del tiempo, y el agradable dia de la salud segun la determinacion ordenada dende los tiempos eternos ... nuestro muy santo y eterno Padre auiendo piedad de nosotros, de su libre y espontanea voluntad embio su vnigenito Hijo ..." (Aij r & v)

One notes how he calls God 'santo Padre', using a papal title; how God is

called 'rico en misericordia' in contradistinction to the R.C. teaching about the 'bank' of merits of the saints on which Indulgences claimed to draw; how God orders His goodwill to be declared publicly, to contrast the free Gospel with the sale of indulgences. (Aiij r f) Further on, Christ is given the title of 'nuastro sanctissimo y sempiterno Pontifice", another paper title. (Av r) An echo of indulgence terminology is caught in the following phrases:

> "Esta misericordia con ser general para todos, efetuose en solos aquellos que verdaderamente le creyeron, y dexada la seruidumbre del pecado, se subjetaron de coraçon a la obediencia de la verdad ..." (Aiiij r f)

> "Este es el Iubileo de plenaria remission de pecados a culpa y a pena, cõcedido graciosamente a la Yglesia de Dios, que esta esparzida por el vniuerso mundo." (Av r)

> "Ora el Padre de toda misericordia, para certificarnos de su buena voluntad con que nos quiere saluar, y sacar de las prisiones y captiuerio del demonio, auiendo depositado a su sancta Yglesia este inestimable thesoro de redempcion, de reconciliacion y de gracia, ganado por solo su Hijo vnigenito, nos lo abre agora liberalissimamente para que quantos quisieren, lo puedan gozar, con tener cada vno firme fe y confiança que por sus pecados fue derramada la sangre del Cordero sin mãzilla, vna sola vez ofrecido por vna tan cumplida y perfecta oblacion que ninguna otra, ni sacrificio se requiere, para ser verdaderamente absueltos y enteramente limpios delante de Dios." (Aviij r f)

> "A los cõtritos de coracon, q̃ aspiraren a su misericordia, cõfiados en su sangre, q̃ sean participes del fructo de su redempcion, que es, la remission de todas sus culpas y pecados." (Bij r)

> "... las gracias concedidas en este Iubileo sean irreuocables cõ priuilegio sempiterno a quantos lo tomaren. y que por otra njnguna gracia ni priuilegio les puedan ser derogadas en muerte ni en vida." (Di v)

Then various points are itemized, each introduced by the word 'Item'. These are in fact the various injunctions and promises of the Gospels, put into indulgence terminology of concessions, e.g.:

> "Item, a los mansos y sufridos que tienen por bien de ser antes injuriados, y priuados de sus bienes que consentir con los malos, les promete q̃ sera suya la heredad de toda la tierra." (Bij r)

> "Item, a los que tiene Sathanas ciegos, y captiuos, obligados a muerte, y a infierno, dando fe a lo contenido en este Iubileo, les cõcede verdadera vista, y libertad de captiuerio, y da por njnguna la obligacion contra ellos." (Bij r f)

"Item, a los que con entrañas de charidad dieren sus limosnas, para la fabrica y reparos de los tẽplos biuos q̃ Iesu Christo redimio con su preciosa sangre, que sõ los verdaderos pobres, fieles, y afligidos, les concede indulgencia plenaria, y que sean sanctificados por el Spiritu sancto, para ser hechos templo, donde para siempre el habite." (Biiij r f)

In the same way, the gospel injunctions to visit the sick, the prisoners, to help widows and orphans, the hungry, thirsty, naked, strangers, to teach the ignorant and console the sad, are introduced. In short the liberty of the Christian man is proclaimed, and his immunity from rules that are against the Gospel, from excommunication, from the Inquisition, from all censure for his beliefs, and he is enjoined to carry out the works of mercy listed in the New Testament.

Having used the papal titles for the persons of the Trinity, he goes on to call the Antichrist 'sumo Põtifice, hõbre de pecado, hijo de perdicion, y ... sus inquisidores, y ... sus falsos y encarniçados Obispos.' (Bviiij v) and the Roman Catholic Church 'ciega y Apostatica Yglesia.' (Ci r) In this section he becomes quite abusive in the 16th-century manner of polemic writing.

Christ Himself is the true Purgatory, i.e. the cleanser of the soul:

"... de todos nuestros crimines y pecados la sangre de Iesu Christo es el perfecto alimpiamiẽto, y el solo Purgatorio, y que no ay ni puede auer otro." (C ij v)

Whoever comes to Christ, even in <u>articulo mortis</u>, has full remission of sins (Ciiij v), for justification by faith alone is the one main point that is clearly seen here and is repeatedly stated:

"Item, a los que de todo coraçon creyeren en Iesu Christo, y biuieren, y obraren cõfiados en su merecimiento y Justizia, como esta mãdado en su Euangelio, les concede millones de millones de años de perdon de pecados a culpa y a pena, y jũtamete paz y reposo de consciencia ..." (Ciiij r)

Indulgences bought with money cannot bring pardon and remission of sins.

This section ends by applying this 'indulgence' to a particular person, designated by 'N' in the text, and, in contrast with the papal indulgences, its effect is not by any means to be selfishly applied to the recipient (or his defunct relative) by excusing him from 'temporal' punishments, but it enjoins him to prove his faith by his good works:

"Y por quanto vos, 'N', recebida la gracia de Dios ... distes credito a las gratuitas promessas y palabras de Dios ... se os concede todas las gracias, perdones, exenciones, indulgencias, y priuilegios,

"contenidos en este sancto Iubileo. En testimonjo de lo qual os madamos dar la presente firmada de nuestro nõbre, y sellada cõ el sello de nuestra Yglesia, Y que por señal de auer recebido esta gracia, traygays en vuestro coraçon el amor del proximo, y lo mostreys defuera por las obras." (Dj v f)

After a paragraph of condemnation, there is a form of excommunication and curse on all who contradict the terms of those evangelical 'concessions' of divine grace:

"Siguese la excommuniõ y maldiciones que el Spiritu de Dios pronuncia contra ellos, y contra sus familiares y fautores." (Dij v)

The pamphlet ends with a form of absolution, couched in the language of the confessional, and including even some of the Latin used there. The whole is thus a clever composition which has the effect of a Roman Catholic document, but which powerfully puts forward the evangelical doctrine.

The last few pages contain the Ten Commandments, with a brief explanation of the meaning of each, in the classical manner of Calvin's catechism.

It wouldappear that this was one of the books that Peter Veller had carried from Frankfurt to the Netherlands, and of which he had seen others in great quantity at Frankfurt in barrels, all destined to be exported to Spain, and presumably sold there.(5)

The work was translated into English by John Daniel and published in 1576 by Thomas East, for Andrew Mounsell, with the title: JEHOVAH, a free Pardon with many Graces therein conteyned, graunted to all Christians by our most Holy and reuerent Father God almightie the principal high Priest and Bishoppe in Heauen and Earth: First written in the Spanish tounge, and there published by a Spaniard vnknowen, (yet as it seemeth) the seruant of our said Holy Father.

(5) Col.docs.ined.V.pp.530 f:

"Pedro Vellero dijo - Los que traen los libros de los hereges en español é latin de Alemania, son algunos libreros de Anveres que van dos veces al año à la feria de Francofort donde à cada feria se traen todos los libros que hay nuevos de hereges, é allí vienen tambien los españoles, que están en Alemania, huidos de España por la religión, é de estos bajan cada año algunos á estos estados de Flandes é traen algunas cajas ó fardeles de libros de hereges para guiarlas de aquí á España ... La carta en español intitulada al Rey nuestro Señor é la Bula contrahecha por los hereges, trujo Pedro Bellero, librero de Amveres ... é otros libreros trujieron mas."

DEDICATION AND INTRODUCTION TO PÉREZ'S "PSALMOS DE DAVID".

[Ornament]/LOS/ PSALMOS DE/ DAVID CON SVS SV-/MARIOS EN QVE SE DE-/clara con breuedad lo con-/tenido en cada/ Psalmo, agora nueua y fielmente traduzidos en/ romance Castellano por el doctor Iuan Pe-/rez, conforme ala verdad dela lengua/Sancta./Psalmo LXXXV./ Muestranos Señor tu misericordia,/y danos tu Salud./ (three stars)/ En Venecia en casa de Pedro Daniel./M.D.LVII. 8°. 30 pages Introduction + 120 pages text.

Copies of this publication are not very difficult to find. Many of the larger libraries possess a copy. It is an 8° volume, of which the dedicatory epistle occupies 13½ pp. (sigs. Aii r - (Aviii)v) and the Introduction 14 pp. (sigs.Bi r - (Bvii)v). They have recently been reissued in Argentina in a modernized version by B.Foster Stockwell.(1)

The Epistola dedicatoria is addressed to Maria of Austria, sister of Charles V and Regent of the Netherlands:

> "A LA ILLVSTRISSIMA Y SERENISSIMA SEñora Doña Maria de Austria, por la gracia de Dios, Reyna de Hungria, y de Bohemia, Ec." (p.Aii r)

Our first parents, says Pérez, incited by the devil, forgot themselves, disobeyed God, and lost the benefits they were created to enjoy. We their descendents have inherited their disobedience, and the devil is anxious to keep us in subjection, lest we regain our lost state:

> "En vn profundissimo oluido de nosotros mesmos, y de Dios, Reyna serenissima, nos introduxo el pecado de nuestros primeros Padres, porque por ser sus hijos quedamos por herederos de todas las cosas en que ellos incurrierõ por auer desobedecido a Dios. Lo que pretendio con ellos y con todos sus decendientes el enemigo del genero humano, fue que no nos acordassemos delo que somos, ni tuuiessemos memoria de quien es Dios, ni delos bienes que al principio recebimos de su liberalidad, para que assi por esta via se pudiesse enseñorear, y tener pleno dominio sobre nosotros." (p.Aii r)

But God in His boundless goodness provided us in Christ with a way to free ourselves from this miserable state:

> "Para este fin ordeno que fuessemos baptizados, y encorporados en Christo, y que tuuiessemos su Nombre. Dionos lo por despertador y memorial de muy grandes y saludables cosas: y quiso que siẽdo el Christo, nos llamassemos y fuessemos nosotros Christianos." (pp. Aii r f)

(1) op.cit. Prefacios etc.

Christ restores our lost dignity, and we are constrained by His love to obey God's Law. In Adam we lost the benefits of grace and became slaves of the devil. In Christ we regain all and have victory over the devil. By Christ we are sustained in weakness, pardoned from sin, and given a place in God's kingdom. His is the source of all our blessings:

> "Por el nos mantiene, nos ampara, nos suffre en nuestras flaquezas, nos perdona nuestras faltas, y nos tiene dado de entrar en su Reyna, y de posseerlo para siempre. El es la causa de todos los bienes que tenemos, y hemos tenido en esta vida." (p. Aii v)

If we strive to imitate Christ and obey His Word, we are able to receive all God's gifts and graces, and to overcome the corruption we have inherited from Adam. Sin has so estranged us from God that we have to strive continually to climb back to the state from which we fell. To this end we must know ourselves and God, for in Him is all our happiness. We are at war within ourselves against the evil there inside:

> "La perpetua guerra que experimenta el Christiano dentro de si, y la contradicion que siente decontino, dan claramente a entender que ay en el cosas malas, y cosas buenas: vnas que agradan a Dios, y otras contrarias que le desagradan y descontentan. Si fuessen todas buenas, o todas malas, no tendria guerra: porque el mal no resiste al mal, ni el bien haze contradicion al bien. Dentro de si trae cada vno su amor proprio, su soberuia, su ambicion, su voluntad inficionada, su desconfiança, su auaricia, y su coraçon corrompido y lleno de otros munchos males semejantes." (p. Aiii r

The Prophet David (whom Pérez clearly takes to be the author of all the Psalms) knew himself well enough to recognize this sort of sin in himself and to know that it went deeper than he could prove. Therefore, he threw himself on God's mercy. In the same way, the Christian, meeting sin in himself, finds it necessary to humble himself before God and to recognize in Christ the sole remedy. Pride was the cause of our sin; humility which is born of self-knowledge prepares us and makes us willing to receive God's blessing:

> "Como la soberuia fue el principio de nuestro mal, assi la verdadera humildad que nace de este proprio conocimiento nos habilita para el bien, y nos haze llegar a Dios para recebirlo." (p. Aiii v)

Although a consideration of our own sin is salutary, it is dangerous to our spiritual health to ponder those of others. Such leads us to despise others and to think of ourselves proudly as superior beings:

> "...viene por aqui el hombre a tener en odio y menospreciar alos otros, y a persuadirsse en su coraçon por vna secreta manera que no es hermano delos hijos de Adam, sino que es de otra massa mas pura, mas acẽdrada, y mejor que la de ellos." (p.Aiii v)

What wars against the sin of Adam in us is God, not ourselves, for the only good we have is from God. His good gifts in us are much stronger than the evils we have inherited from Adam, which the devil tries to use to drag us down. By His good gifts God reigns in us, and we can thus claim to have the Kingdom of God within us, which comes because we trust Christ completely. He makes peace between us and God, and He cancels our sins:

> "Consyderando y creyendo quan firme y cierta es la salud y reconciliacion que tenemos por Christo, no embargante auer añadido nosotros munchos pecados alque heredamos de Adam, venimos a tener paz con Dios, y gozo en el Spiritu sancto, visto que todo lo que nos tenia muertos y condenados esta ya muerto y destruydo por Christo, y nosotros por el libres de muerte y de condenacion, y guardados debaxo de su amparo y tutela." (p. Aiiii v)

God gave us the name of Christ so that our love, our obedience and our piety might increase:

> "Porque en dezir, Christianos somos, declaramos en lo mesmo que Christo es nuestra cabeça, y que nosotros somos sus miembros: que el es nuestro Rey, y nosotros somos su pueblo: que tenemos a Dios por Padre ya aplacado con nosotros por amor de el: que por la virtud y potencia de su muerte estamos ya sacados del reyno del pecado, y del demonio..." (pp. Aiiii v f)

The blessings we have in Christ entirely consume the evil we inherit from Adam:

> "...sobrepujan los bienes en tanta manera que son como vn grandissimo fuego para consumir todos los males como si fuessen vna muy pequeña gota de agua." (p. Av r)

The name of Christ is so effective that the mere mention of it renders helpless the worst of devils and temptations. We must as Christians therefore mortify our base desires by the application of this name, for fear they gain the upper hand in us:

> "Por tanto nos cõuiene luchar siempre contra nuestros affectos y apetitos corrompidos, enflaquecẽdolos, y auassallãdolos quanto possible nos fuere, porque si los dexamos crecer, y enseñorear, nos vendran poco a poco a priuar delos bienes spirituales que nos gano Christo, los quales se augmentan tanto mas en nosotros, quanto descrecen los cõtrarios. Como en los jardines no crecen las buenas y olorosas yetuas, sino las riegan ordinariamente, y escardan de entre ellas las malas paraque no crezcan, y ahoguen las buenas: assi los bienes y gracias de Dios que nos son dadas por ser Christianos, no crecen en nosotros, si nos descuydamos de mortificar con ellas los cõtrarios males que sentimos." (p. Avi r)

This practice causes us to experience the fruits of the death and resurrection of Christ, and to look forward with joy to His Second Coming. But, as the Christian life is a continual war against evil, we shall not immediately experience the peace and quiet of conscience which come from knowing God and knowing ourselves. We must persevere and not lose hope, and the blessed state will one day be achieved:

> "Verdad es que no luego al principio hallaremos el reposo y la paz de consciencia que redunda de conocernos, y conocer a Dios, ni nos amañaremos tan presto como pensamos a entrar dentro de nosotros mesmos, y con Dios: pero no por esso deuemos afloxar en este tan saludable estudio, ni perder la esperança de alcançar el fructo que de el se suele cojer. Porque perseuerando en esto, quando no nos cataremos, y pluguiere al Dios de paz, nos hallaremos pacificos, y sentiremos el gusto y suauidad de sus bienes." (pp. Avi r f)

No trade is learnt in one day. The farmer has to wait months to see the fruit of his labours. There is no instant Christianity, we must work steadily in patience and hope to see finally the fruit of our labours. Humility is necessary, whatever our station in life:

> "Puestos tiene Dios continuamente sus ojos sobre los baxos y humildes para henchirlos de sus bienes. Esnos pues necessario para ser participes de ellos, y que el halle lugar en nosotros, abaxarnos, y hazernos pequeños. Bien se compadece ser grandes y altos quanto al mundo, y ser juntamente chiquitos y humildes açerca de Dios." (P. Avi v)

Queen Esther, great as she was, obtained by her humility blessings for her people. If we have an exalted station in life, it should only serve to make us abase ourselves in imitation of Christ, who abased Himself for us, disregarding His high estate. Those who follow Him in His humility will also share His glory.

Pérez then turns to address Maria directly, asserting that she knows herself and knows God as above set out, and that she follows Christ - and, since King David was similarly a master of self-knowledge and knowledge of God, it was Pérez's desire to serve and honour her by preparing this translation and dedicating it to her.(2) What we cannot understand is no use to us, but if it

(2) This seems to indicate that Pérez rather uncritically accepted the ascription of the whole book of Psalms to David, in spite of the headings to Pss.72, 74-83, 88-90, which give authors' names: Solomon, Asaph, Heman, Ethan, Moses. These are totally ignored in the "summaries" which introduce the Psalms.

is in our own language, it becomes useful to us and we come to love it:

> "Molestas nos suele ser las cosas q̃ no entẽdemos, mayormente si nos importa mũcho entenderlas, y se corre riesgo de consciencia por no saberlas, De leer en nuestra propria lengua en que nacimos las cosas que nos son necessarias a salud, venimos a tomar gusto, y afficionarnos a ellas. Porque dela inteligencia de ellas nace la deletacion, y la vtilidad." (p. Avii v)

All things were given by God for our profit, including His Word, and it is quite useless if we have it in a foreign language only, as our duty is to obey it, and we cannot obey what we do not understand:

> "Nuestra felicidad consiste en entẽder lo que Dios quiere de nosotros, y en ponerlo por obra. No es possible hazer como conuiene lo que de el nos esta mandado, y nos es necessario para alcançar salud, si primero no lo entendemos: impossible es entenderlo, teniendolo, y leyendolo en lengua que nunca aprendimos ni supimos." (pp Avii v f)

As God awakens in us a desire to know His will, we can take it as a particular sign of His goodwill that we wish to read His Word and understand it.

This book of Psalms can be to the Princess, and to all, of great spiritual benefit:

> "La lecion de este sagrado libro podra V.Alteza tener por vn deleytoso jardin en que espaciarsse, y con que recebir recreacion spũal quãdo se sintiere fatigada, y tenerla tambiẽ por vn espejo en que mirarsse ordinariamente. Por ella vera a Dios, y los munchos bienes que tiene dados alos que son miembros de su Hijo, y munchos otros prometidos, y aparejados alos que tambien lo quisieren y lo ouieren de ser: y se vera assimesmo, y tendra medio con que aprender a descrecer en si, y crecer en Dios, renuciarsse assi, y allegarsse a el." (p. Aviii r)

Because of its value to the Christian, St. Jerome recommended it to his disciples.

This dedication ends with the usual prayers for the temporal well-being of the Princess and her eventual reception into glory.

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The Introduction is entitled, "DECLARACION DEL FRVCTO Y VTILIDAD DE los Psalmos para todo Christiano."

All ills, both bodily and spiritual, have their origin in disobedience to God's Law. God has provided remedies for both, but, because the ills of the soul cannot be felt, quite commonly their existence is not recognized, and the remedies for them are disregarded:

"Para las [enfermedades] del cuerpo administro munchas medicinas corporales: mas para curar y sanar las del anima (dedonde las del cuerpo tienen su origen) por ser mayores, y mas difficiles de conocer, proueyo de remedios mayores sin comparacion, mas efficazes, y en mayor numero. Las enfermedades del cuerpo suelennos ser muy penosas, pero las del anima, por la mayor parte no se sienten: no sintiẽdosse, tampoco ay hambre ni sed del beneficio de las medicinasque (sic) les son proprias Lo que lastima al cuerpo y le da algun sinsabor, es muy encarecido, porque se vee con los ojos de carne, y se siẽte corporalmente. Mas las enfermedades del anima que la enflaquecen miserablemente, en las quales se corre cierto peligro, como no se veen cõ los ojos corporales, no se sienten, y como no se sienten, no se creen. Deaqui es que la mayor parte delos hõbres quãto por vna via son solicitos en buscar ayudas y defensiuos contra los males y dolencias del cuerpo, tanto por otra, son descuydados en buscar proprios remedios para las del anima." (p. Bi r)

This leads many Christians to live as though they had no immortal soul, and to delight exclusively in things of the flesh, neglecting the Words of God:

"...las palabras de Dios. Las quales siendonos por la Diuina clemencia dadas para nuestro vso y prouecho, las tenemos por cosas que no nos tocan, ni hablan a nosotros: y tienesse tan poca cuẽta con ellas como si no vuieran sido escriptas para nuestra enseñança y doctrina. Piensan muchos, y tienensse vanamente persuadido que la ignorancia dellas les valdra por escusa puestos delante el juyzio de Dios." (p.Bi v)

The sin which lies at the root of all this has so blinded us that we neither see, nor recognise, nor feel it.

But God is always active to awaken us to notice our state and to desire His blessings. The Psalms are a mirror to allow us to see ourselves and our needs clearly:

"En este libro delos Psalmos nos da vna nuestra muy al biuo delos vnos, y delos otros. Y nos lo propone como vn espejo cristalino muy claro para mirarnos en el, y conocer lo que somos, y lo mucho que nos falta, y que tales auemos de ser. Y para que tambien aprendamos el fin que nos hemos de proponer en todas nuestras ope aciones, y de quien nos hemos de ayudar en nuestras necessidades." (p.Bi v)

They also provide a clear picture of how God liberates us from sin and evil:

"En los Psalmos se nos enseña como es Dios el libertador, y como antes y despues de librados auemos de acudir a el con hazimiẽto de gracias, y estar pendientes de su misericordia como de causa dedonde nos viene todo nuestro bien y libertad." (p.Bii r)

Seeing these two facts together makes us realize our need and incites us to seek its remedy.

The Psalms do not provide light reading, they put forward pictures of situations which still occur in the battle of Christ and His saints against the devil and against sin:

> "Veremos aqui las batallas que Iesu Christo y sus sanctos tuuieron contra el reyno del demonio y del pecado. Sentiremos los affectos, oyremos los gemidos, los sospiros, las quexas y peticiones del y dellos. Entenderemos como se vuieron, y que es lo que hizieron en los mas graues y rezios parogismos de sus tribulaciones y angustias: como estonces derramauan sus coraçones, y selos ponian a Dios delante con sentimientos de grande tristeza: como le declarauan sus necessidades con ardentissimas affeciones de fe, y de esperança." (p.Bii r)

The books is small, but it provides sufficient help and counsel for the discouragement and weariness of spirit that the Christian meets in this life. It is a veritable pharmacy for all spiritual ills:

> "Ay medicinas proprias para las consciencias muy enfermas; ay otras para las conualecientes, y otras preseruatiuas con que las que estan ya sanas, se sustenten, y no tornen a recaer. Desuerte que aunque las enfermedades y dolencias del anima sean tales y tan muchas, empero no puede auer ninguna para la qual aqui no se halle remedio, consuelo, y auiso bastante. Y assi con justa razon se puede llamar este sagrado libro vna botica muy proueyda de todas suertes de medicinas spirituales, donde ay deposito de remedios contra todo lo que al Christiano le aquexere en la consciencia. Aqui hallara el triste con que ser consolado, y alegre: aqui el pobre con que aliuiar supobreza (sic): el pusilanime con que hazersse animoso, y el flaco en la fe con que recebir esfuerço. Aqui el afligido y acossado del mundo nido donde se meta y sea recreado en su afliciõ: El tibio en la charidad hallara grandes fuegos dela charidad de Dios con que se inflame. Aqui el interessado cõ que perder sus interesses, y captiuarsse de aquel muy grande y riquissimo interesse dela bondad del Señor. Aqui el desmayado cõfortatiuos con que perder sus desmayos. Aqui finalmẽte el que sintiere condenacion en su consciencia hallara la misericordia y verdad de Dios que lo llama y combida para librarlo della." (pp.Bii v f)

The Prophet David was divinely inspired to write these songs and hymns and the ancient people of God to sing them. It has been ordained that the Christian should still sing them today, so that, by noticing the works of God, men should be prompted to recognize His love and His goodness and how He deigns

to help them in their distress. And when all this is understood, they are prompted to persevere in love and truth.

Such treasures should not be hidden behind an unknown language. No one can avail himself in necessity of what he does not understand; it is no better than not having it at all. God, who caused the Psalms to be written, intended them to be understood, so that their benefit should be available to all:

> "que vtilidad le trae ? tanto es tener los Psalmosdesta manera cerrados, como no tenerlos. Porque tenerlos, y no vsar los para lo que son proprios, ni entender palabra dellos, es casi lo mesmo que carecer dellos. Mayormente que las obras de Dios que estan escriptas en ellos, quiso el mesmo que a todos fuessen familiares, y que fuessen como vn sol en el mundo que alumbrasse a todos, y como vn Iordan en que todos beuiessen y se remoçassen en el amor y temor suyo, cõ que refrescassen en si la memoria de sus mercedes y beneficios." (p. Biii v)

Ignorance of God's Word, caused by its not being available, has resulted in a great falling-off in Christian virtues. These songs and hymns were written in everyday language, so that ordinary people could understand them. David intended the people as they sang them to be reminded of God's greatness and goodness, to eschew idolatry, and to be incited to love God and serve Him faithfully. But no one can appreciate what he does not understand:

> "No ami ni se afficiona el coraçon humano alas cosas que no entiende ni gusta. Como sentira el sabor y suauidad del manjar quien nunca lo metio en la boca ni lo toco con sus labrios? El que dize que ama y tiene afficiõ a lo que no entiẽde, ni conoce: imaginaciõ es de amor la que tiene, y no verdadero amor: Cosa es que se finge, y piensa tener, que a la verdad no tiene." (pp. Biiii r f)

Understanding the works and ways of God is the first step towards loving and obeying Him and of venturing to trust His goodness. It is in fact fundamental. It is useless to chant the Psalms in church in an unknown tongue:

> "Quanto es comun el vso de cãtar los Psalmos en los templos casi es tan comun la falta de inteligencia que dellos se tiene. Porque la mayor parte delos que los cantan aun no entiende siquiera la significacion delas palabras, ay mucho menos el pueblo que los oye. Parece que vnos y otros han hecho voluntaria profession de no entender, contentos con solo apacentar las orejas con la melodia del canto, sin tener afficion, ni reuerencia alos mysterios que en ellos ay, por no entenderlos, y aun lo que peor y mas de doler es, por no quererlos entender." (p. Biiii v)

Some people are so completely led astray that they are convinced that they will

be saved by ignorance and lost if they once begin to understand:

> "Ay muchos tan encantados dela falsedad, y de juycio tan peruertido que forman escrupulo de entender lo que es saludable, dado de la Diuina misericordia para vida, y para consuelo y aliuio de sus trabajos. Piensan en todo su seso que en el pũto que lo entendieren, son luego perdidos: y que se estan ignorantes, dello, y andan siempre en tinieblas, derrostrãdosse a cada passo, q̃ les succedera todo prosperamẽte." (p.Biiii v)

No spiritual sickness is so bad as ignorance and disregard of the things that are for our good. The major reason for the present translation is to combat this ignorance; all the more so because the Psalms are useful to the Christian in every situation. All are tempted, all are afflicted, each in his own particular way. Who will deny the remedy to those in need of it?:

> "Quien negara que la medicina no sea propria y ordenada de Dios para los enfermos? Quien sera tan cruel que al caydo y lisiado le quite el bordon en que se ahirme para podersse leuantar? Quien sera tan inhumano que al muerto de hambre y de sed le defienda con grande violencia el beneficio comun del agua y del pan que Dios proueyo para su remedio y hartura?"

No spiritual sickness, no temptation exists, for which some help or remedy is not available in the Psalms. Human writings are useful in purely material situations, but only the divine Word can penetrate to the heart and there perform its healing work:

> "Alli le comunica alegria de coraçon en la triesteza: en la pobreza cõtento: en la flaqueza esfuerço: en el menosprecio gozo: en la tribulaciõ paciencia: en las afliciones esperança de victoria: en la enfermedad salud: y en la muerte vida eterna. Demanera que no embargãte estar en este mũdo corporalmente, biue ya en el otro por esperança." (p.Bv v)

All Scripture has this property, but especially the Psalms. They have the power to sound the heart and reveal the origin of all the weaknesses of the Christian; they show up the wiles of the devil; they teach us to be compassionate; they declare the source of our afflictions; they teach us to love those who ill-treat us, and yet to hate their sins; they instruct us how to approach God fearlessly in our tribulations, and that these same tribulations are but God's way of correcting us and setting us in the right way; they are an anchor to keep us safe in the unity of the Spirit and to help us to avoid errors; and they teach us to offer thanks to God in prosperity and adversity. Each Psalm has its own work to do:

"Delos Psalmos vnos son como guiones para encaminarnos a Dios: otros muchos como espuelas para hazernos aguijar a demandarle socorro en la aflicion: otros como freno con que refrenar nuestras concupisciencias, y todo lo que en nosotros contradize ala Ley diuina. Otros como eslabon de azero que hieren al pedernal de nuestro coraçon, y encienden fuego de amor en el. Otros como pomas de suauissimo olor con que somos preseruados dela corrupcion que suele causar el horrible hedor delos vicios que ay en el mundo. Otros como despertadores que nos inflamen y mueuan a loar al Senor por los bienes que nos haze de continuo. Y otros nos son como baculos en que ahirmarnos, y con que sustentarnos en la esperança dela vida eterna." (p.Bvi v)

Pérez then likens the Psalter to a pleasure garden where Christ rules. In this he follows the normal manner of his day and relates the Psalms to Christ for their significance:

"Vergel muy deleytoso es el Psalterio, y como vn parayso terreno, donde se oyen diuersos cantos spirituales de grande melodia y suauidad: donde se hallan Diuinos y celestiales deleytes. En el se conoce la policia delos sanctos de Dios: como son regidos y defendidos de su rey y cabeça Iesu Christo: como ellos le estan voluntariamente subjetos, y en todo pendientes del: como lo llaman, y el los oye, y se halla con ellos en todas sus apreturas y trabajos: como ellos le siguen, y el va delante dellos, enseñandoles, y desembaraçandoles el camino: como renuncian a todas las cosas de buena gana por yrsse en pos del: llamarsse sieruos suyos, y serlo verdaderamente." (pp.Bvi v f)

He closes with a number of rhetorical questions which ask whether it is right to deny the benefits that the Psalms can bring, going over all those previously outlined. Then he exhorts Christians to use the Psalms here offered to their present and future good.

One feels that such devotion to the Psalms was probably engendered by reciting the daily offices of the unreformed church, and would thus represent a carry-over of some influence from his earlier life, even though he rejected most of the devotions and practices he had formerly engaged in.(3)

(3) vid.sup.p. 36.

PREFACE TO "IMAGEN DEL ANTECHRISTO."

IMAGEN DEL/ ANTECHRISTO/ CONPVESTA PRIME-/ro en Italiano y despues tradu-/ zida en Romançe por Alonso de/ peñafuerte./ Estos batallaran cõtra el Cordero, y el Cordero los/ vençera: porque es el Señor de los señores, y/ el Rey de los reyes. Apocalypsi cap. xvii. 8°. Title + 14 pp. text.

Only two copies of this work were noted by Boehmer. One was used by Usoz to prepare a second edition in 1849 and now appears to have been lost to view.(1) This reprint appeared as part of Vol.3 of R.A.E. with modernized spelling. The other copy is in Zurich Public Library. There is, however, at least one further copy in existence in Cambridge University Library, which has a variant title-page with the additional words "Impressa en Geneua." (2) A reprint with original spelling was published in 1960.(3) The whole work is only 16 pages long, of which one is blank, one is the title-page and there are three half-page woodcuts of a strongly anti-papal nature. The extremely brief preface, which is Pérez's sole original matter, takes up the second half of p.A I v, the top half being filled by a woodcut. It is entitled "Aviso necessario," and is addressed to the 'Christiano Lector.'

Error and deceit should be seen for what they are, not overlooked because of their age. These few pages will help to dispel ignorance and point the way to life in Christ: do not allow yourself to be misled by pomp, lest you share the fate of the followers of Antichrist; rather ought you to choose the way of humility and suffering with Christ in this world, so that you will share His exultation in the next. Attention is drawn to the woodcuts which illustrate this contrast:

(1) Bib.Wif. II p.104.

(2) This copy is recorded by H.M.Adams Catalogue of Books printed on the Continent of Europe 1501-1600 (Cambridge 1967) II pp. 17, 58 but with no information other than the title. Having noted this, I must thank Prof.E.M.Wilson for locating it for me.

(3) As part of an article on Julian Hernandez by J.E.Longhurst, "Julián Hernández, Protestant Martyr," B.H.R.Trav.et Docs. 22(1960), pp.100-107.

"...el error por ser antiguo, no es preuilegiado, ni el engaño por ser enveiecido, y tener ya hechos callos, no es exempto de ser conocido por tal qual es. Porque visto que Dios ha dado tantos medios de conocello y huyllo, es señal que no quiere que estemos ya mas sepultados en ignorancia que acarrea perdicion ... No te espante la autoridad, la pompa y grãdeza dela platica destas cosas, ni te enueleses con ellas, para dexar de seguir la baxeza y cruz de Christo en este mundo. Porque ya vees en la postrera hoia el fin diverso dela una y dela otra ... el infierno, donde si no quieres yr depues dela muerte, conuienete conocido y renunciado el antechristo, oyr, conocer, y seguir a Christo en vida."

CARTA EMBIADA A D. PHILIPPE.

CARTA/EMBIADA A/NVESTRO AVGV-/STISSIMO SENOR(sic)/PRINCIPE DON/Philippe, Rey/De España, de Inglaterra de Napoles, y delas/Indias del Peru, &c. en que se declaran las/ causas delas guerras y calamidades presẽtes, y/ se descubrẽ los medios y artes cõ que son roba/dos los Españoles, y las mas vezes muertos/ quanto al cuerpo, y quanto al anima: y contra/ estos daños se ponen iuntamente algunos re-/medios que son proprios y efficazes, delos qua/les puede vsar su Majestad para conserua-/cion de sus Republicas, y cada vno de sus vas-/sallos en particular para poder los euitar, y ser/ preseruados en vida, y enrriquecidos de todo/ bien temporal y eterno./ Pues os deleytays con las sillas y çeptros, o Reyes del pue -/blo, amad la sabiduria, para que reyneys perpetuamente./amad la luz dela sabiduria todos los que presidis en los/ pueblos. Sabidu. VI. 8°. Title + 93 pages text.

This is an 8vo book of 92 pp. with no chapter divisions. Only five copies of the original edition have ever been recorded, ~~all of them outside Britain~~[1], and the text is readily available only in the reprint by Usoz and Wiffen in 1849, as part of volume 3 of R.A.E. which is a facsimile edition. They reprinted it again in 1857 as part of volume 12 of R.A.E.[2]

The letter is a dissuasive document, which attempts to show both religiously and politically that the papacy does not deserve the support of the King of Spain.

Firstly, papal aggression towards Spain is condemned. Then condemnations on theological and moral grounds are brought forward. The Popes have corrupted the Lord's Supper into the superstitious mass, they have indulged in necromancy, magic, witchcraft, devil-worship, fornication, sodomy, patricide, and so on. A list of Popes with their vices is given, leading on to the theme, so beloved of the evangelical, from the Reformation onwards, of the Pope as Antichrist and as the abomination of abominations of the Book of Revelation. The Bull 'Unam Sanctam' is criticized and the papal claims in it are demonstrated to be unscriptural, indeed anti-Biblical. The standard

(1) Bib.Wiff II p.89.

(2) This second reprint was because copies of Dos Informaciones and Carta a Don Philippe had been found in Göttingen University Library, bound in a single volume. Vol.12 intended to reprint the whole volume as it was found.

criticisms of relics, the observance of times and seasons, the Pope's waging war as a temporal lord, etc., are all given an airing.

Nobody, by definition, can gainsay the Pope, yet it is imperative that he be gainsaid:

> "Todas estas, y las demas obras del Papa, sus engaños, sus mentiras, sus hipocresias, sus doctrinas de demonios, guerras, muertes, enemistades, traiciones, y blasfemias contra Dios y contra Christo: o las haze, en cuanto persona particular, o en cuanto sucesor de S.Pedro, o en cuanto Papa." (p.61)

No private person could get away with such deeds. Peter was never Pope, and as an apostle would never have indulged in such wickedness and vice. Spaniards accept it all and so must share the blame.

The Pope takes people away from Christ. Christians ought to know and follow Christ. All the argument here, as is usual in Pérez's work, is backed up by a weight of Biblical quotation.

Better to be called a Lutheran than to follow lies:

> "Si conocer todas estas abominaciones dichas, y otras muchas que no se dicen, y detestarlas, y huillas a ellas y a sus autores, es ser Lutheranos, por esta mesma razon, las piedras, los montes, los peñascos, serán tambien Lutheranos; porque con no tener sentido, las conocen ..." (p.73)

A Lutheran is a true Christian in any case, and yet is for this very cause persecuted:

> "Porque ya, ser verdadero christiano y ser Lutherano es todo uno: puesto que los que aborrezen y persiguen a Christo, por deshonrallo mas, llaman Lutheranos a sus christianos, a los que le siguen y obedecen." (p.75)

The Pope's temporal interests have overlaid his spiritual functions to such an extent that the papacy has become a 'cancer' which has corrupted too much of the earth:

> "Matar los hombres, y engañarlos: por los cuales Christo murió: conservar y augmentar las tierras y rentas, que son cosas de que Dios no haze caso; - es suma perversion y profundísima maldad." (p.78)

Jesus Christ is the only truth and the King should follow him.

There a repetition of the moral and doctrinal faults of the papacy follows, leading up to an outburst against the whole system, demanding its overthrow:

> "Quitados los pecados, quitadas las abominaciones, quitadas las compredas y ventas que hay en él; no habria reino Papal, ni habria Papa. Porqué su reino está hecho de pecados, de abominaciones, de canonizacion de injusticias, de crueldad vestida con nombre de misericordia, y de compras y ventas." (p.88)

It is strange how blind the Spaniards are, for the Pope makes mockery of them, both politically and by his 'Visopapas, los Inquisidores', and yet they like him all the more for it, and are zealous in his defence:

> "... defender, no la fé de Christo ... sino la del Papa; no la doctrina de Christo, sino la del Papa; no las leyes de Dios, sino las de su adversario." (p.96)

The Inquisitors do not even know the language the Bible is written in, and so can hardly claim to know God's will, and yet they set out to defend the faith! In fact they wish to stamp out Bibles, and the Bible is the word of God. The plain message of the Bible is kept deliberately hidden:

> "... una tácita condicion, y es: que los que la [Biblia] predicaren y enseñaren, la enseñan de tal manera, y con tanto miramiento y recato, que por ella no se derogue nada a la tirania del Papa, ni se descubren sus engaños y doctrinas." (p.102)

Anyone who breaks papal laws is a heretic and is punished, but not one who breaks the moral law; e.g. let anyone eat meat on a Friday and see what happens, whereas to him who eats the flesh of his neighbour daily (sc. by doing him harm) nothing happens; the Inquisition never proceeds against someone who kills or wounds another, but if he damages an 'idol' he may be put to death; for blasphemy only a secular punishment is meted out, but for speaking against the Pope the weight of the Inquisition's wrath is incurred:

> "... sus Viso-papas lugares tenientes ... en el reino de V.M. son tan zeladores de la falsedad de los engaños, y tan crudos defensores de la ignorancia del bien; y tan sustentadores de los errores y mentiras del Papa, y de sus leyes y tradiciones ... por defender los ídolos matan a los Christianos, por los cuales fue muerto Jesu Christo." (pp.108 & 110)

Spain is greatly deceived by all this and apparently cannot see through the papal deceptions. Pérez repeats that the papal law and the Gospel are directly opposed and once more states that Spain and the Pope have no place together. There follows a further plea to the King to reject the papacy:

> "Resta, que V.M., como Rei solícito de la utilidad y provecho de sus Reinos; puede, y debe, en la presente necesidad usar de dos remedios proprios y eficazes contra el Papa su enemigo y de la sangre Española." (p.149)

and this is backed by financial argument that there would be no levies to go to Rome and by the historical argument that many kings of the past had fought against the papacy. The King owes this resistance to his country and his conscience - and excommunication can harm nobody.

Such an appeal was, we suppose, a vain hope, as far as the King himself was concerned; but doubtless the King was not really the main target. An open letter is usually aimed at other readers than the main addressee. In fact we have evidence of its being sent in quantity to Antwerp for onward transmission to Spain[3] - and it was banned by the Valladolid Index of 1559 (very soon after its publication), by the Antwerp Index of 1570, and by the Madrid Index of 1583, all of which seems to indicate that its passage through Antwerp and its entry into Spain had been successfully effected.[4]

(3) vid.sup.p. 27 note112 .
(4) as note 1.

SUPLICACION A SU MAGESTAD.

DOS/INFORMA-/CIONES MVY/ VTILES,/ LA VNA DIRIGIDA/ a la Magestad del Emperador/ Carlo quinto deste/ nombre: /Y/ LA OTRA, A LOS ESTA-/dos del Imperio. Y agora presentadas/al Catholico Rey don Philipe su hijo./ Que contienẽ muy necessarios auisos pa-/ra ser instruydo todo Principe Chri-/stiano en la causa del Euangelio./ Con vna suplicacion a la Magestad del/ Rey, donde se declara el officio de los/ juezes y Magistrados, y a lo es o-/bligado todo fiel Christiano, para ser/saluo./FVE IMPRESSO,/Año de/1559. 8°. 9 pages Introduction + 208 pages text.

Pérez's work forms a preface to the work of Johannes Sleidanus, which he had translated, presumably from the French edition of 1558, published by Crespin(1). One solitary original copy of this work was known to Wiffen, who found it in the Library of Göttingen University, bound in one volume together with Pérez's Carta a D.Philippe.(2) He and Usoz y Río reissued all three works as Vol.12 of R.A.E. in 1857. Later, however, Boehmer found three other copies.(3) The Suplicacion occupies 31 pages of this 8vo volume (numbered a ii - c(i)).

This preface, like most of Juan Pérez's work, is full of Biblical quotations. It is a special pleading on behalf of Protestantism, addressed to the King of Spain in measured language, charitably supposing him to be the prey of false advisers. It is really more or less a précis of the foregoing work, Carta a D. Philippe.

> "Que mayor felizidad puede tener un Principe Christiano que gobernar un pueblo que entiende a Dios, y es estudioso en su ley, y dado a hazer buenas obras conforme a lo que ella manda?" (p.5)

After a survey of Old Testament history, to show how the kings of Israel and Judah had needed prophets to keep them in the right way, a quick survey of more recent Christian history is made to show how Wiclif, Hus, Jerome of Prague and Luther had needed to speak out in the same way against non-evangelical kings. These were preachers of the Gospel and yet they were treated badly:

> "No son motines, no sediciosos y alborotadores, ni rebeldes a los magistrados, pero son verdaderos discípulos de Jesu Christo." (p.17)

(1) Bonnant op.cit.p.54.

(2) R.A.E. Vol.12, p.

(3) Bib.Wiff.II p.90.

For faithfulness to evangelical doctrine, teachers of the truth are made to suffer - because the devil is lord of the persecutors. The devil also insists on communion being taken under one kind instead of two and on clerical celibacy. Gospel religion is true religion:

> "Esta profesion seguimos, y esta doctrina, la cual no es Lutherana sino Christiana, y que tiene por autor, y conservador al Hijo de Dios, que la trajo del cielo." (p.28)

Hence those who suffer for the sake of the Gospel are imitators of Christ, and members of His body. By denying the Scriptures to God's people the Inquisitors are declaring themselves again Christ:

> "Que los inquisidores sean juezes en esta causa [i.e.against Christ and His people], manifiesto es; y que sean parte contra la verdad y los que le siguen, tambien es notorio. Por que solo el defender al pueblo a poder de censuras, que no lea en romanze las leyes y evangelio de Dios, por las cuales se había de conoscer desta causa, es harto bastante argumento y averiguacion (aun que no hubiese otra) para conoscer que son contrarios à Dios y a sus Christianos." (p.31)

How can the Inquisitors presume to correct God! It is they who are the real heretics:

> "Dejo de decir que ellos tienen por error y por herejía el verdadero y legitimo conocimiento de Jesu Christo ... pues condenan a muerte por herejes a los que [lo] tienen." (p.32)

How can the King permit this? It is after all the duty of kings to govern well, and to maintain true religion, for God is superior to all, even to princes. In the King's dominions true Christians are being killed, and if he does not put a stop to it, then he must expect divine retribution for permitting it. If he permits the Inquisition to continue its foul work, he will be deprived of the service of excellent men, and will finally end up ruler of nothing but ashes:

> "De donde por esta via se seguira necessariamente, que venga vuestra Magestad a ser Rey, no ya de hombres, que fue el intento de Dios, ... sino Rey de la ceniza y de los sanbenitos y de aquellas tan hermosas y amables figuras que estan en ellos ... ... Y de que cenizas sera Rey vuestra Magestad? De la de aquellos que son verdaderos discipulos de los santos Prophetas y Apostoles, y de Jesu Christo Maestro y Redemptor de todos." (p.36)

These ashes will be of those who wish to serve God best, and to honour their rulers, and who desire only good for the King. Thosewho obey kings and magistrates are those who have a lively fear of God to start with. It does

the nation no good to kill such men:

> "Pues, que mayor crueldad puede ser, ni que inhumanidad mas grande, que matar a los que son tan amados y amadores de Dios, y tan benéficos a los hombres, y tan pacificos y leales amadores de sus reyes y Magistrados, y de todos sus superiores?" (pp.37f)

To ill-treat such men is to dishonour God's Son, and the Inquisition is leading the King to commit this sin:

> "Por manera que a esta suma deshonrra y abatimiento de vuestra Magestad, y orfandad y disipacion de sus reinos, van secretamente encaminadas todas las diligencias de los Inquisidores, sus crueldades, sus consejos secretos, sus perversas maneras de proceder, sus vigilias, sus artes, sus confiscaciones, su sciencia, su ignorancia, sus asechanças, su deseo y ardor de derramar sangre de christianos, y finalmente, todo cuanto en este caso piensan, procuran y hacen." (pp.38f)

As chief magistrate and ruler of his realm, the King, as a Christian king, ought to judge this sacrilege by the standards of God's Word and deliver God's servants from the attacks of their persecutors:

> "Que mayor honrra, ni mayor felicidad puede tener vuestra Magestad en este mundo, ni que primicias para gozar de la bienaventurança del otro, que defender la verdad de Dios y hacer espaldas a los que la siguen, y librar los de la furia y de la rabia de tan grande multitud de perseguidores?" (pp.39f)

This would be to follow the example of the great kings of the Old Testament, and to win renown for himself as a true servant of Christ. In the reformation of his realm in conformity with the Word of God he would be confessing Christ before men, and Christ would thus recognize him in the presence of the Father. In order to shew the King the way, these two 'Informaciones' have been translated:

> "Para que vuestra Magestad vea en parte la forma que se debe tener en esta tan necessaria reformacion, nos ha parecido presentarle estas dos informaciones hechas por un varon verdaderamente pio y doctissimo ..." (p.42)

In them the King will see the method in which God would have him carry out this programme of reform and the snares to avoid. Pérez ends by begging the King to read what has been written:

> "Y porque en las cosas que nos son importantes para salud y para cumplir, como debemos, con nuestra vocacion, suele ser muchas veces perniciosa la impaciencia, suplicamos humilmente a V.S.C.R.Magestad que las lea y entienda hasta el cabo, y que tenga respecto al animo con que le es hecho este servicio,

que es cierto, muy deseoso de que tan santa y prosperamente reine en la tierra, que a la fin sea metido en el Reino del cielo." (p.43)

The work is prohibited by the Roman Index of 1607.

(4) Bib.Wiff.II p.90.

PREFACE TO 'CATECISMO' 1559

CATECISMO,/ QVE SIGNIFICA,/ FORMA DE IN-/strucion: que contiene los prin-/ cipios de la religion de Dios, v-/til y necessario para todo fiel/ Christiano:/ ¶Compuesto en manera de dialogo, don-/de pregunta el maestro, y responde el/ discipulo./ [Two hands grasping an anchor, with initials I C]/PSAL.CXIX./ ¶La declaracion de tus palabras alumbra, y/ da entendimiento a los pequennos./ NVEVAMENTE IMPRESSO/ Año de/ 1559. 8°. 14 pp. introduction + 150 pp.

Appended is:

(Ornament)/LA FORMA DE LAS/ ORACIONES Y PLE-/garias que se hazen en/la Yglesia de/ Dios./ CON LA MANERA DE AD-/ministrar los Sacramentos, y de ce-/lebrar el Matrimonio , y de co-/mo se han de visitar los enfermos./ LVCAS 18./Necessario es orar siempre, y no can-/sarse./ IVAN 16./ En verdad, en verdad os digo, que to-/das las cosas que pidierdes al Padre en mi/ Nombre, os las dara./ 8°. Title + 66 pp.

A second edition of this Catecismo was prepared by Valera and printed by Richard Field in London in 1596. Even the preface was left unchanged.

As has been said already, this catechism is a translation of Calvin's catechism; it is not therefore surprizing that this preface covers the same ground as his 'Epistre au lecteur'. It is not, however, a translation of the French preface, but an original composition.

It is entitled, 'A todos los Amadores del Señor Iesu Christo, y que biuen en la esperanca de su venida, Salud,' after the manner of a New Testament epistle. It consists of 12 pages of an 8° book (numbered 3 - 14).

The opening words set the tone; the Christian should be so like Christ that the image of God is restored in him:

> "Deuiamos, teniendo nombre Christiano, ser tales, que fuesse cada qual vn traslado de Iesu Christo: donde al biuose representassen sus condiciones: y que assi todas las obras que hiziessemos, fuessen sacadas de la ley de Dios y cõformadas con ella: De tal manera que viendo nos, los que son dados a falsas religiones, fueran cõfundidos, y constreñidos a renuciar las, por venir a ser de la religiõ del Hijo de Dios." (pp.3 f)

Pérez then contrasts the state of what he sees to be common in Roman Catholicism with what evangelical religion should be. It is not enough to hold that the laws of God are holy and just, not enough to call oneself a Christian because one has been baptized. The laws of God should come alive

in us:

"Iunto con esto pẽsauamos que nos bastaua para ser Christianos, tener las solo escriptas, auiẽdo las todas professado en nuestro baptismo, para ser por ellas imitadores de aquel en cuyo nombre fuimos baptizados. Por esta via con tan pernicioso descuydo venimos a parar en vna vida tan ciega, tan viciosa, y tan estraña de Christo, que llamando nos de su nombre Christianos, fuesse por ella blasphemado el nombre de Dios entre los que estan agenos de su conocimiento." (pp. 4 f)

The reason for this complacency is that those who should point to Christ have deprived us of true knowledge of His word and of spiritual liberty. The laws of God should be written on our hearts, not just on paper. Redeemed by the blood of Christ, we ought to serve Him as He directs:

"Ha nos dado a entẽder que somos comprados por el precio inestimable de la sangre de Christo: y que el solo es nuestra perfecta justicia y satisfacion para delante de su juyzio: y que pues le costamos tan caros, nos es necessario ser sieruos suyos: y que para seruirle conforme a su voluntad, deuemos tomar por proprio medio, seguir la pura doctrina, que el mesmo en persona enseño enel mundo conuersando con los hõbres." (p.6)

This way is in conformity with the Old Testament and with the New Testament. In these two sources is to be found all that is necessary to serve Him properly. We ought to study them to know His will and strive to work the knowledge out in our lives. This is no new teaching, but is what the Prophets taught, and the Apostles in the early Church:

"Esta forma de doctrina no es cosa nueua, como falsamente piensan los que tienen perdido el gusto para las cosas del cielo. Doctrina es, que enseñaron los Prophetas, y los Apostoles de Iesu Christo maestro de vnos y otros: y que dende el principio se enseño enla primitiua Yglesia." (p.8)

Since the earliest times the Church and Christian parents have taught their children the faith by catechism. But recently this practice has been replaced by the rite of confirmation, which involves no teaching:

"Despues andando el tiempo, disipo el demonio la Yglesia, y hizo en ella vn muy horrible esttago(sic), del qual aun enla mayor parte del mũdo se veen toda via las señales: y destruyo con su rauia esta sancta policia, tanto que no dexo sino algunas hezes y escorias, que son de tal condicion y naturaleza, que no pueden engendrar sino supersticion y vanidad, sin ninguna edificacion de Dios. Lo que se introduxo en lugar de aquel diuino enseñamiẽto, es la que agora llamã Confirmaciõ: cõ que los Obi pos(sic), confirmã alos mochachos quãdo son de tierna edad: cosa sin ningun verdadero fundamẽto, y sin fructo Christiano. Vntar con azeyte

"al mochacho la frente, y atalle vna venda, y dalle vn bofetõcillo ..." (pp. 9 f)

True confirmation is to know and understand pure doctrine and by it to be made firm in the faith:

"... vease que similitud tiene esto con enseñar puramente con biua voz la doctrina que mãdo Dios que todos chicos y grandes supiessen, y entendiessen, para ser por ella confirmados en la fe delo que confiessan, y que la tuuiessen por regla con que regirse para agradarle en todas cosas? Lo vno tiene ser verdadero y fũdamento de Dios, pues es mãdado por el, y lo que sucedio, carece de lo vno y de lo otro." (p.10)

What is needed is to learn and to teach true doctrine, as did the early Christians, so long as there were pastors 'de nombre y de obra, enseñados, y embiados de Dios a apacentar con su pura palabra y a gouernar la Yglesia.' Since then the Church has been through a period of thick darkness, but God has now called us out of the darkness to know His truth.

This Catechism contains the 10 Commandments, the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and teaching on the Sacraments, 'todo con breue, legitima y sincera declaracion, sacada de la Palabra diuina conforme a la regla y niuel de la fe.' Let those who think of this teaching as 'new' see what their own so-called Christianity is like by contrast:

"Y el que no las [estas cosas] sabe, y no entiẽde por ellas lo que Dios quiere del, ni las pone por obra, y con esto se llama Christiano, puede ver sin difficultad, quan poco le quadra el nombre que tiene, y quan lexos esta de la verdad que le corresponde: pues professa religion, cuyo autor no conoce, ni tiene inteligencia de las leyes que le tiene puestas para seruirle." (p.12)

We should see this doctrine as being as old as Christianity, and count it an honour to share the dishonour of Christ. Our only shame is that we lived so long in ignorance of Christ, whereas now we wish only to live worthily of Him:

"Y tenemos grande dolor de auer biuido toda la vida passada en tan profunda ignorancia de nuestra salud, y del Hijo de Dios solo autor della. Y con esto le suplicamos humilmẽte, que por su bondad le plega de perficionar lo que el mismo ha començado en nosotros, y hazernos siempre crecer en su conocimiento, amor y obediencia. Y esto mismo deseamos a todos aquellos que han sido redemidos por la sangre del Señor Iesu Christo, agora sean amigos, que nos amen, agora enemigos,

"que nos aborrezcã: y por ellos oramos continuamente, para que todos a vna reduzidos a su aprisco, glorifiquemos su Nombre, biuiendo conforme a su sancta voluntad: y assi cumplamos la sagrada profession hecha en nuestro Baptismo. Amen." (pp.13 f)

These are the closing words of the preface. The ideas expressed and their method of expression are by now very familiar.

BREVE TRATADO.

BREVE/ tratado de la doctrina an/tigua de Dios, y de la nue/ua de los hombres, vtil y/ necessario para todo fiel/ Christiano./ Ieremias capit. 6./ Esto dize el Señor, Estad en los cami-/nos, y mirad, y preguntad por los ca-/minos antiguos, y sabed qual es el/ buen camino, y andad por el: y halla-/reys refrigerio para vuestras animas./ S.Iuan capit. 14./ Yo soy el camino, la verdad, y la vida. Nin-/guno viene al Padre sino por mi, dize/ el Señor Todopoderoso./ Fue impresso Año de/ 1560. Small 8°. Introduction 22 pp. + text 377 pp.

Boehmer noted only four copies of this work.(1) There is in addition a copy in the British Museum. It is thus an extremely rare publication. It was reprinted with modernized spelling by Usoz in 1852 as Vol.7 of R.A.E., and again in 1871 by W.I.Knapp.(2) The original is a volume of extremely small format (2.8" x 4.2") and runs to 400 pages. It contains a 22 pp. prologue by the author, followed by 377 pp. of text, and considers in turn 20 points of conflict between Roman Catholic and Protestant doctrine and belief. Its headings are:

1. Del libero arbitrio.
2. De la confession.
3. De la satisfacion.
4. De la fe y de las obras.
5. Del merecimiento.
6. De los sacramentos.
7. De la inuocacion y seruicio de los santos.
8. De la Cena del Señor.
9. De la defẽsa de las viãdas.
10. Del ayuno.
11. De la diferencia de los dias.
12. De la oracion.
13. De los votos.
14. De los consejos del Evangelio.
15. De los Obispos.
16. Del matrimonio.
17. De las humanas tradiciones.

(1) Bib.Wif.II p.93.
(2) ibid. p.95.

18. De los Concilios de la Yglesia.

19. De la potestad del Papa.

20. Las quexas que hazẽ los ignorantes.

When these are compared with Urbanus Regius,(3) a very close similarity is noted, even to the order of the subjects under discussion. Urbanus, however, has 21 headings, of which three (de poenitentia, de peccato and de ceremonijs) are not considered by Pérez; and Pérez's last two do not appear in Regius' work. One can therefore be fairly sure that Pérez made us of Regius' Novae doctrinae ad veterem collatio, but, when the two are compared more closely, it becomes clear that this is no mere translation and adaptation of the earlier work.

Firstly, Regius' work is a much shorter one, of only 78 pp. When allowance is made for the format, which is 4.1" x 6.3", almost exactly twice that of Pérez's book, the Spanish work is still over twice as long. Even if Pérez had incorporated the whole of Regius' work, there would still be much original work. In any case, although occasionally direct translation of a passage may be found, particularly in the statement of the 'new' (i.e. Roman Catholic) doctrines, in the main this is not a direct translation. It is difficult, for example, to imagine that two such passages as the following have nothing to do with each other:

> "Non solus Christus est mediator noster, sed & sancti qui cum Christo regnant in coelis: quare inuocandi sunt tanquam mediatores ... etc." (p.27) and

> "Qve no solamẽte es Iesu Christo nuestro Medianero, sino tambien los sanctos que regnan con el en el cielo. Y que portanto los deuemos inuocar y llamar en nuestras necessidades...etc." (p.132)

Yet even here it will be seen that Pérez had not been content just to translate, but has pursued his own didactic line.

Secondly, Pérez has a very much longer Prologue than Regius, and, what in Regius is a 5½ pp. exhortation at the end, becomes in Pérez a 9 pp. 'Amonestacion a todo Christiano.'

(3) Urbanus Regius (Rieger)(1489-1541) Humanist & Reformer. Accepted the Reformation when in Augsburg, where he wrote Novae doctrinae in ? 1526, when his views were Zwinglian. He later adopted Lutheran ideas and moved to North Germany, where he was the Reformer of the Dukedom of Lüneburg.

Thirdly, Regius contents himself with stating the 'new' doctrines and in contrast setting forth the 'old' in two sections under each heading. Pérez has three sections under each heading:

"La doctrina nueua de los hombres enseña - Qve ..."

"Respuesta. La doctrina Antigua de Dios enseña - Qve ..." followed by

"Amonestacion al Christiano lector." (Which last becomes "... a todo Christiano" for the final section of the book.)

Fourthly, whereas Regius tends to be brief, almost staccato, in setting out his points and his book becomes a rather learned work of reference, the didactic and 'popular' intention of Pérez is evident from the length, particularly of the sections stating the Biblical doctrine and the amonestacion that follows.

In fact, Juan Pérez's method is to state the 'new' doctrine rather concisely; to answer it with a consideration at length of the 'old' doctrine, with ample Biblical reference (which we have learnt to expect from him), and then to follow it up by the amonestacion, which is a sort of sermon based on the foregoing, and which very often consists largely of Biblical quotations, both direct and indirect. In each case this third section is at least as long as the second one, and is often lengthier. In the first sections he gives careful reference to the official sources, and in the second and third he quotes extensively from the Fathers and the Councils as well as from the Bible. For example, on p.148 he quotes Ambrose's On the Epistle to the Romans, on p.280 Jerome's Epistola ad Titum, on p.232 Augustine's De vera innocentia, and on p.320 Tertullian's De velandis virginibus.

Most of the classic points of variance with the mediaeval catholic doctrines are here, and Pérez is clearly and vehemently on the Protestant side of the fence with a Calvinist viewpoint. For example, under the heading 'De la Cena' he says:

"la Cena ... nos fue dexada por memorial de su muerte y passion" (p.171)

and further on

"Conuiene pues a todo Christiano que dessea ser saluo, no traer yugo con los infieles, como mãda el espiritu de Dios. Y portanto deue renuciar(sic) a la missa como a cosa tan contraria à Dios, y al beneficio y redempcion de Iesu Christo." (p.199)

The question of whether Pérez used his own version of the New Testament for the quotations he gives is an interesting one. Consideration of a few taken at random leads one to the conclusion that he was either relying on memory to a large extent, or making free use of his own transation, altering the exact wording to make the quotation fit the context of what he wanted to say. Compare for instance:

"Toda la diuina Escriptura es diuinamete inspirada, y vtil para biẽ doctrinar, y instruyr en justicia." (p.25)

"Toda la Escriptura es diuinamẽte inspirada y vtil para doctrina .... para ynstrucio̅ que es en justicia." (N.T.II Tim 3)

"El que es vencido de otro, es hecho sieruo y captiuo del que lo vencio." (p.28)

"el que es de alguno vencido, es subiecto ala seruidumbre delque lo vencio." (N.T.II Peter 2)

"Yo no sabia ... que la concupiscencia era pecado, si la ley no dixera." (p.34)

"yo no auia conocido la concupiscencia si la Ley no vuiera dicho." (N.T. Rom.7)

In the Prologue, Juan Pérez makes it clear that Holy Scripture is the basis of his faith. The opening words are:

"Por vnico remedio y defensa, nos dexo Dios su palabra, para que guiados por ella, le supiessemos seruir, y nos acorriessemos a el, para ser ayudados en toda necessidad." (p.3)

He then states his thesis that the Bible has been set aside and that instead human doctrines have been taught:

"... quãdo por la malicia de los hombres es corrumpida y falsada, o se enseña en su lugar doctrinas humanas, de necessidad son por ellas induzidos en error los que las creen, y vienen a henchirse de ignorãcia y de escrupulos sin saber lo que agrada a Dios, ni el como se ha de hazer, ni adonde han de acudir por socorro en sus trabajos." (p.3)

He further states that those who wish to follow Christ, must follow the Gospel, and must therefore have a clear idea of what is true and what is false.

"Porque solos los que siguen a Christo, y siguenlo los que abraçan su pura palabra, tienen este saber y claridad. Paraque pudiessemos euitar estos daños, y que no fuessemos engañados con tomar la doctrina de los hombres por la doctrina de Dios, y las corrupciones con que falsifican su palabra, por la pureza con que el la tiene dada, nos manda el mismo por su Apostol prouar todas las cosas, y retener lo que es bueno: y que no creamos a todo spiritu, sino que prouemos los spiritus, si son de Dios, cuya palabra

"es el toque, dõde se deue hazer esta prueua y examen. Portanto es necessario, que tẽga tal sentido el Christiano, que pueda discernir entre la verdadera, y la falsa: entre la que es de Dios, y la de los hombres, paraque conocida y desechada la vna como mala y perniciosa, pueda seguir la otra, y asegurar se por ella de lo que Dios le permete, y requiere del." (pp.3 f)

Again, he declares, 'Sathanas por medio de sus ministros' (p.4) has been so successful in his efforts that men have been reduced to a 'miserable seruidumbre'; deprived of reason and judgement, they have become inferior to even the animals which perish, and accept all the false doctrines as true. Intolerable burdens have been invented, "obligando las [consciencias] a cosas que Dios aborrece, y defiende por su ley, y priuaron las de la libertad de obedecer y arrimarse a su palabra." (p.6) In short, men have become servants of Antichrist and, "en lugar de adorar a Dios y depender totalmẽte del, han nos hecho adorar a los palos, y a las piedras figurados, y vestidos como hombres y mugeres..." (p.6)

Christ, however, has opened our eyes to see the way of life and the truth of the Gospel, so that we reject the spiritual captivity of Satan. The reaction of our opponents is violent:

"Estos pues que han sido autores de nuestros engaños, crueles carniceros de nuestras cõsciencias, y ladrones de nuestras haziendas, y los discipulos dellos como los descubre agora la verdad que resplandece de lo alto, por no perder el señorio que tan impiamente se han vsurpado sobre las cõsciencias agenas, llenos agora de furor, hazen grande fuerça, paraque llamemos tinieblas a la luz de la palabra que Dios nos comunica, por la cual se nos da a conocer por Padre: y llamemos luz a las tinieblas y engaños que hasta agora han enseñado, y toda via enseñan con tanta pertinacia." (pp. 7 f)

The enemies of the Gospel call the gospel doctrines 'new' and such has always been the devil's crafty method, ever since Christ's own day, to call true doctrine 'new', whereas it is in fact as old as God:

"Por estar ignorantes de la verdad, les parecia que era cosa nueua la palabra de Dios, cõtenida en toda la diuina Escriptura, siendo la cosa mas antigua que jamas vuo entre los hombres. Que cosa sea Euangelio, y quien Iesu Christo autor del, Qual sea su virtud y efficacia, y enseñar por el a los Christianos a conocer a Dios no es cosa nueua, como aquellos pensaron estonces, y como falsamente piensan tambien el dia de oy los hombres que estan engañados, y metidos toda via en sus errores." (pp.8 f)

Man's salvation was promised by God from the beginning and Christ brought the Gospel to that end and commanded His disciples to preach it. Paul, for preaching it in Athens, was called a teacher of new doctrines. But it was not new just because it was called new:

> "Mas no porque ellos la infamauan, era nueua, ni dexaua de tener su verdad y efficacia, ni de auer la recebido de Dios, ni de ser la primera que vuo en el mũdo." (p.10)

It was not really surprising that pagans should call it new, because they had never heard it before - but it is surprising that baptized Christians should do so in these days, and, ignorant of the Gospel truth, should despise teachers of the truth and rush headlong to perdition.

Those who reject the truth and call the Gospel 'new' doctrine, and those who teach it heretics, as if they were the authors of the Gospel:

> "Dizen que se guarden desta doctrina que es nueua y fabricada de los hereges: Como si aquellos aquien ellos ponen tal nombre por abraçar la doctrina y justicia del cielo, fuessen autores del Euangelio, y como si fuesse el Euangelio seminario de hereges." (p.11)

They say they will remain firm in the 'old' faith of the Fathers and Councils. To these Juan Pérez replies with a great outburst in praise of Christ and His truth:

> "O gente miserable y ciega, y casi desahuziada de remedio! Que fe ay antigua, sino es la del Euangelio? Que sanctidad verdadera, sino la que por el se alcança? Que camino acertado, sino seguir a Iesu Christo, que es el camino, la verdad y la vida? Que otro Concilio, sino el que fue tenido en el cielo, y despues reuelado al mundo por Iesu Christo, que nos es dado del Padre por Maestro y enseñador? Que puede mãdar el Concilio de los hombres, congregados en su proprio nombre a titulo de Dios, sino cosas humanas? Que ay que esperar pues ya tenemos todos los articulos del Concilio de Dios resumidos en el Nueuo Testamento, donde nos es mandado oyr y seguir a Iesu Christo? Si esto no mandan los Concilios, de que siruen? Y si mãdan esto, ya esta mandado y declarado por el Señor. No resta sino ponello en esecucion." (pp.12 f)

Those attacked here are enemies of God's word and do not wish others to read it or understand it except in the way they see it, and they are so fanatical about their own views that they persecute the innocent (so-called) heretics, both teachers of the Gospel and learners, so savagely that they deny them a fair hearing and set aside all principles of equity, "Pensando que en matarlos hazen a Dios grande servicio." (p.14)

There follows a restrained but firm condemnation of such persecutors, which continues as praise of the power of the Gospel:

> "No son cierto regidos estos varones sangrientos por el spiritu y mansedumbre de Christo, el qual anda a buscar los errados, para reduzir los al camino de la verdad, a los llagados, para atar les, y sanar les sus llagas: a los pobres para enrriquecer los con sus bienes, y no para hazer les tratamiẽtos cõtrarios, pero son regidos por el spiritu de aquel que tiene por deleyte matar y derramar sangre humana, y que no puede sofrir la claridad de las obras y marauillas de Dios. Y por tanto estos no pueden sofrir esta doctrina, ni conocer al Señor cuya es, ni ver los milagros que el dia de oy por ella haze en los que la reciben, sacando los del poder de Satanas, haziendo los de lobos ouejas, de ossos y leones, corderos: de engañados y engañadores, maestros de verdad, de hijos de tinieblas, hijos de luz." (p.14).

Those who truly wish to know the Lord will consider this doctrine, the true doctrine of Christ, which has not been adulterated by false commentaries. The pure truth is found in Holy Scripture, and it was declared by God through the Prophets and the Evangelists. Human explanations are not Holy Scripture:

> "Las exposiciones que los hombres le han dado de sus proprias cabeças sin sentimiento ni Spiritu de Dios, aplicando lo no para conocer, y seguir a Iesu Christo, y mortificar los affectos de la carne y mundo, sino para cubrir sus proprios errores, en que fueron enseñados y criados. En sola la Escripture diuina esta la pureza de la verdad, y a ella nos mãda el Señor por sus Euangelistas y Prophetas que la vamos a buscar. Las exposiciones de los hombres por sanctos que ayan sido, no son sagrada Escriptura, ni tienen aquellos quilates de verdad, ni aquel spiritu con que ella fuë escripta." (p.15)

Pérez, having said that, goes on to defend the primacy and infallibility of Holy Scripture, by appeal to Augustine, Origen, Jerome, Cyprian, etc. By Scripture the Holy Spirit guides us into all truth. Men can and do err, and human doctrine is a blind guide:

> "Porque el [Euangelio] es infallible, cierto, inmudable, y no contiene que verdad. Y ellos [los hombres] son mentirosos, mudables y variables, y no nos son dados por regla de conocer y agradar a Dios." (p.17)

Up to 50 years earlier all sorts of commentaries, glosses, explanations, new laws and rules were desseminated as Christianity, in such quantity that the Gospel was completely buried beneath them and was hardly discernible, so much so that even the very words of the Gospel were unknown and like a barbaric

language. Now they call these new doctrines the old ones, and persecute those whom they call heretics for believing and teaching them. Let them only read our books and listen to our preaching and they will see that ours is the true and the old doctrine:

> "...y hallaran con verdad (si con todo tienẽ ojos para ver, y orejas para oyr) que tenemos la verdadera y antigua Doctrina venida del cielo, y reuelada por el Spiritu sancto, que es el Euãgelio eterno de Dios, que son las promessas de su reconciliacion prometidas y cumplidas en su Hijo Vnigenito, Que es aquel admirable mysterio de la piedad y misericordia que ha Dios auido de nosotros." (p.19)

This cannot be new, since God chose us in Christ before the foundation of the world to be His saints and predestined us to share the work of Christ. What follows is a recitation of the work of Christ in His Incarnation, His teaching, His Resurrection. The ancient truth cannot be new. There follows an impassioned appeal to non-evangelical Christians to join forces with the evangelicals:

> "O miserables hõbres! cesad ya de blasphemar tan desacadamente: y dad gloria a Dios con nosotros, y reuerẽciad su verdad como conuiene. No se os haga de mal desdeziros de los engaños en que estays, porque no vengays a ser endurecidos con los reprouados que no quieren creer a la verdad, pero aprueuan sus injusticias, y errores." (pp.20 f)

In stating this, Pérez finally arrives at a declaration of his purpose in writing this Tratado and feels that a consideration of it will bring people to a firm faith in God through Christ, which is, of course, the whole point of preaching the Gospel in any age:

> "Por el amor pues que deuo a todo Christiano, quise hazer este tratado harto breue, llamado la doctrina Nueua y Antigua, por el qual se podra facilmẽte conocer, si somos con razon o sin ella llamados predicadores, y seguidores de nueua doctrina. Y assi en el se puede saber y entender como es confundida la nueua doctrina por la Antigua, para responder a los que ciegos de sus interesses, oluidados de los juyzios y castigos de Dios, tienen tan perdida la verguença que se osan oponer y hazer cõtradicion a Iesu Christo, batallando contra su sancto Euangelio, lo qual es vna aueriguacion y testimonio cierto de condenacion. Por tanto os ruego a todos hermanos muy amados en el Señor, que la estudieys: y entendays que la doctrina Nueua, es la de los hombres contraria y repugnante a la que vino del cielo, y la Antigua es de Dios, para que recibiendo la y subietando os a ella, seays saluos con salud eterna, y en lo mismo tengays firmissimo testimonio de ser hijos del Altissimo, y herederos para siempre de su celestial Reyno, Amen." (pp.21 f)

Pérez's final Amonestacion assumes that his readers will now have understood the differences he has been at pains to point out:

> "Ya aueys visto, Christianos, la differencia que ay entre la luz de la palabra de Dios, y las tinieblas de las doctrinas nueuas de los hombres: quan infames y condenadas son por ella, y quan descaminados y perdidos andã los que las siguẽ." (p.392)

Better to obey God who created and redeemed us, than to remain in captivity to the devil, whose complete domination has reversed spiritual values:

> "...y assi [el demonio] a obrado en nosotros la efficacia de error, porque no emos amado su sancta palabra. La religiõ en que hasta agora emos biuido, no es sino vn hietro y vna massa de errores, y de engaños cõtrarios a Dios desuerte que lo que tiene de religiõ es solamete el nombre." (p.393)

This makes us worse than pagans and involves God's wrath. We have completely deserved destruction, but God has compassion on us and in His mercy sends His true light to illuminate the way out of darkness and error to find our salvation. And, having seen the light, our condemnation is doubly certain if we still ignore it:

> "Quã horrible sera la cõdenacion en q̃ incurriremos, si por no perder nuestra honrra, nuestra haziẽda, nuestras tierras, estados dignidades, nuestros contentos y plazeres, no queremos oyr al Hijo de Dios, ni entender lo q̃ nos dize por su palabra, para serle fieles y reduzidos a el por ella?" (p. 395)

Those who were ignorant have some excuse, but not those who know the truth and still refuse it. Those who take the broad highway to perdition turn their backs on Christ. Let us not fear the rejection and infamy of unbelievers and false believers. To know the truth is better than all riches:

> "Seamos pues agradecidos al autor de vida: oygamos su palabra: vamos por donde el nos guia: no temamos ningunos peligros, porque en yr tras del, no ay peligro." (p.399)

In any case, the end of the unrighteous is a severe enough warning. So let us persevere in faith and obedience to the Gospel as strongly as we formerly did in error and evil.

His final words:

> "Hagamosle pues fuerça cõ creer firmemẽte a la palabra de Iesu Christo. Porque la fe del Euãgelio es la que nos haze fuertes para cõbatir a todos los enemigos, y alcãçar victoria de ellos, y para penetrar los cielos, y entrar a gozar de los bienes que Dios nos tiene aparejados y prometidos. Amen." (p.400)

show how strictly Biblical is his theology and therefore his argument. The Reformers' 'sola scriptura' is certainly his, both in intention and in fact.

EPISTOLA CONSOLATORIA.

EPISTOLA PA-/RA CONSOLAR A LOS/ fieles de Iesu Christo, que/padecen persecucion por la/ confession de su Nombre:/EN que se declara el proposito y bue-/na voluntad de Dios para con ellos, y/ son confirmados contra las tentacio-/nes y horror de la muerte, y ensena-/dos como se han de regir en todo/tiempo prospero y aduerso./ MARCOS XIII./Sereys aborrecidos de todos por mi Nombre (dize/Iesu Christo) mas el que perseuerare hasta/la fin, sera saluo./ DE/ M.D.LX/Años. 8º. Title + 223 pp.

Two copies only of the original edition of this work have ever been discovered. The first was found by Wiffen and passed to Usoz y Río, who used it to produce the R.A.E. reprint.(1) It is an octavo volume of 224 pp. of which the title-page contains neither the name of the author, nor of the printer, nor the place of origin. The author's name is, however, clearly given at the beginning of the work. Of the provenance of the volume we have the further evidence of the permission granted for its printing by Geneva City Council.(2) The second came into Wiffen's possession shortly afterwards and is now in his collection in Wadham College, Oxford.(3) The second volume of R.A.E.(1848) contains a reprint 'page for page, and line for line, from the original', and, unusually for this series, retains the original spelling even to the abbreviations; only the long ſ is reduced.

This is Juan Pérez's work par excellence and eminently illustrates his method and style. Particularly noteworthy are the literary references, almost exclusively Biblical, with which this book is liberally scattered. Most of these, though not by any means all, are indicated by marginal references, and an analysis of these is interesting, since they shew the width of Pérez's knowledge of Scripture. Of the 39 Old Testament books, he has quotations from 23, including 84 references to the Psalms and 46 to Isaiah. There are reference to only three Apocryphal books, but 23 of the 27 New Testament books are quoted. Of the four Gospels, Matthew appears 72 times, Mark 12, Luke 41 and John 59. Predictably for a work of Protestant

(1) R.A.E. Vol.18 pp.ix-xii, 23 f.

(2) Geneva City Livre du Conseil RC 56 fol.31 r:

"Lundi 22 davril 1560. Ministre espagnol aporte une copie depistre Consolatoire pour les fideles espagnol."

Permission to print this work in Spanish was granted on 3rd May 1560. ibid. fol.35 r.

(3) Wiffen's manuscript notes are bound in as a preface to this copy.

theology Romans appears 66 times. In all there are 218 Old Testament, 7 Apocryphal, and 476 New Testament references. To set against these, there are just three single references to separate Lives of the Saints. Besides these indicated references, other Biblical references can be noted, both direct and indirect.

Pérez begins in New Testament epistolary style:

> "A TODOS LOS FIELES amados de Dios, y perseguidos por su Evangelio, Juan Perez salud en el mismo S. La gracia y paz de Dios nuestro Padre, y del Señor Jesu Christo sea cõ todos los que esperays en su misericordia, y le inuocays de puro coraçon, y desseays su venida, y la manifestacion de su gloria:" (p.3)

God wills that all his children should share His inheritance. He allows nothing to happen that He does not will, and all things, good or bad, work together for the good of His elect. He gave His own Son and made us members of one another in Him, so that we might bear one another's burdens:

> "... y hecho nos a todos miembros de su sancto cuerpo, no es possible que dexẽ de sentir los vnos la pena y fatiga de los otros por muy apartados que esten corporalmente." (p.4)

As a fellow Christian who appreciates their faith and their affliction he wishes to offer them some consolation:

> "Portãto hermanos mios muy amados, pues, soy participe de la misericordia que todos recebimos, en nombre y de parte del Señor que dio su vida por la nuestra, os he querido cõsolar en vuestra aflicio con que soys oprimidos del mũdo, solo porque quereys biuir fielmẽte en Jesu Christo, paraque corroborados por su palabra, sea yo tambiẽ participe del alegria de vuestra cõsolacion, y de la firmeza de vuestra fe." (pp.4 f)

It is all the more cruel that their persecutors also call themselves Christian:

> "La persequcion que padecemos es cruel y muy peligrosa. Porque los que nos persiguen no son Turcos ni Paganos en la profession, sino baptizados como nosotros, y que se dizen tener zelo de Dios, y que lo que emprenden para afligirnos, lo hazen por seruirle y merecer el cielo." (p.5)

All the more reason then for the Christian to rely on Christ, his only consolation. Without such reliance there is a tendency for the Christian to become half-hearted and finally to forget Christ entirely and fall back into worse errors than he first knew. The knowledge of Christ strengthens us against all adversity and enables us to conquer the attractions of

worldliness, and to desire the triumphof God's kingdom. Sin destroyed the image of God in us, and substituted the devil's:

> "Borro la imagẽ de Dios, que estaua insculpida en nuestra anima, a la qual fuimos criados ... Destruydo en nosotros todo lo bueno que Dios nos auia dado, quedamos llenos de todo lo malo aborrecible y contrario a el. Porque el demonio, en lugar de la imagẽ y semejança de Dios que auia en nosotros, puso la suya." (pp 8 f)

Thus we were utterly corrupt and dead in our sins, and all we did was subject to the flesh, corrupt and accursed, and we were enemies of God. Our corrupt nature was kept in check only by fear of men, and we deserved eternal condemnation:

> "Vn hombre despues de apartada el anima de las carnes, no resta sino enterrar el cuerpo, paraque sea manjar de gusanos. Estando nosotros muertos en pecados y delictos, y apartado Dios del anima, no quedaua ya sino q̃ fuessemos sepultados en el infierno, para ser hechos pasto de la muerte eterna, laqual teniamos justamẽte merecida. Demanera que si quisiera Dios dar sentencia diffinitiua cõtra nosotros y cerrarnos el processo, fueramos constreñidos por nuestra propia consciencia de aprouarla, y darnos por bien condenados, porque nuestras obras, nuestros pensamientos, nuestros desseos y coraçon, y todo lo que auia en nosotros, nos condenaua, y como que forçaua a Dios que no sufriesse tantas injusticias, ni tolerasse tan grãdes monstruos infamadores de su verdad y de la hermosura de sus obras, quales eramos nosotros en aquel estado tan miserable. Todo lo que auia en nosotoros era materia de justa cõdenacion, y que despertaua la yra y juyzio de Dios con que ser del todo cõsumidos." (pp. 12 f)

It follows that all the acts of catholic piety which we did were only sinful, since they did not issue from the love of God. For if God, by the words of the prophets and of Christ, condemns those sacrifices which His law prescribes, how much more those things that are expressly forbidden by His law, and which are now seen to be idolatry.

From such a state, then, God called us by His grace in Christ, who died to save us and reconcile us to God and to make us heirs of eternal life by the regeneration of His Holy Spirit. From this merciful call of God comes all our salvation. By the voice of Christ we were awakened to a new life from the death of sin and enabled to do good works:

> "El mal de ser pecador, es no tener ser delante de Dios, pero por llamarlo a si, le da vn ser diuino participado de la misma palabra cõ que lo llamo, antes del qual, como vn muerto no tiene suficiencia ninguna para hazer obras de biuo, assi el no puede por ninguna via hazer cosa que agrade a Dios, pero estasse dormido y posseydo de la nuerte, sin ningun sentido de vida." (p.20)

The whole initiative for this comes from God, because of the love He had for us in Christ. He chose us and made us His sons and confirmed us in righteousness and holiness.

This call of God is free, it cannot be bought:

> "Nada pudimos dar nosotros a Dios porq̃ nos eligiesse, porque no eramos quando nos elegio, y la causa toda de nuestra eleciõ estaua en Jesu Christo. Y assi tampoco le pudimos dar cosa ninguna porque nos llamasse, y nos justificasse." (p.23)

God not only called us and gave us His word, but He also gave us faith:

> "No solo nos llamo Dios, y nos dio su palabra, sino tambien por ella mediante la operacion del Spiritu sancto engendro fe en nuestros coraçones, laqual fuesse como braços y manos cõ que abraçar a Jesu Christo con todos sus bienes, y desta manera nos lleuo a el." (pp.25 f)

Everything, in short, comes from God's free grace; it cannot be earned; it is not a natural gift. Man is justified by faith, not by works, and by being justified he is freed from the penalties required by the law. Forgiveness is found only in Jesus Christ, and in no human invention or agency, and this catholic truth is the basis of the church's faith:

> "Dedõde hermanos mios, ya vemos que como no ay mas de vn Jesu Christo Redemptor del mundo, assi no ay tampoco ni puede auer otra justicia que la suya, por laqual seamos saluos, y que no ay otro ningun medio para alcançar perdon general de nuestros pecados, y reconciliacion con Dios, qua la fe y confiança con que creemos sus diuinas promessas, y nos asseguramos de todo lo que por ellas nos tiene declarado, por laqual tenemos tambien libre entrada para inuocarle como a Padre. Esta verdad catholica enseña el Spiritu sancto en su Yglesia, y con toda ella la abraçamos y seguimos nosotros enseñados y guiados por el mismo Spiritu, por cuya palabra emos recebido esta reuelacion y claridad." (pp.32 f)

We believe we are God's people, saved by grace in the faith of the Gospel. Now we are reconciled to God, we ought to offer ourselves as a living sacrifice of praise to Him, rid ourselves of false religion and of the desires of the flesh and submit ourselves to His will in all things. We should bear the fruits of the Spirit, by meditating in the Scriptures in order to know His will, and by remaining grafted onto Christ, the source of all wisdom and knowledge. Such fruit we did not bear in the days of our blindness, but denied Him by our works. He is our only Advocate and divine High Priest, but formerly we tried to approach God by way of other mediators.

We thought we were serving Christ, but we were really serving Anti-Christ.

Now we know we are Christ's true followers, for we suffer persecution, as He foretold:

> "... y por que nos ha señalado por suyos con la marca que tienen impressa todos sus escogidos: los que nos persiguen, nos desconocen, y nos tienen por estrãgeros y peregrinos, y no nos puede sofrir el nudo, como no puede tampoco sofrir al Señor Jesu Christo que nos ha hecho merced tan digna de quien el es. Y assi deuemos tener por cierto que la causa porque padecemos tantos trabajos, y somos tan vituperados y perseguidos, es ... porque esperamos en Dios biuo, que es Saluador de todos los hombres, y principalmẽte de los fieles: no embargante los falsos colores con que la cubrẽ los que nos hazen guerra." (p.42)

We are happy to have this proof that we are Christ's and to share His cross. Our opponents are so far removed from Christ's spirit that they would throw Him out of the world if they could. They persecute us just because we have faithfully heard and received the word of Christ. This cross we bear with Christ, and God will uphold us in our sufferings:

> "Pormanera que no viene la persecucion por la causa que dizen los que son ministros della, sino por la palabra, como demuestra Jesu Christo: por auer se predicado y recebido de los que ha llamado a si. Certificados en esta verdad, podremos sostener el peso de la cruz que nos es puesta por la mano de Dios, y jamas desmayaremos. Porque aunque somos flacos en nosotros, seremos fortalecidos por ella. Vnidos ya con Jesu Christo por auerlo recebido, con su fuerça sera confortado nuestra flaqueça, con su sabiduria vencida nuestra ignorancia, con su justicia agotada nuestra maldad, cõ su luz alumbradas nuestras tinieblas, cõ su bẽdicion deshecha nuestra maldicion, con su potẽcia destruydo muestro infierno, sanctificados con su sanctidad, y finalmente enrriquecidos de su merecimiento." (pp.44 f)

We are strangers on the earth and citizens of heaven. God dwells in us by His Spirit and makes us His sons, and thus brothers of Christ, and has begun the work in us which will make us like Christ. Part of this likeness is to go where He went and suffer as He did before we share His glory. None of our sufferings can equal His. God did not spare His only Son, why should we then expect to be spared?

> "Auiendo pues sido superior en las passiones por nuestra causa, justo es que no queramos ser nosotros de mejor cõdicion que el en este mũdo. Pues fue tã injuriado y afrẽtado, no es bien que seamos nosotros honrrados. Y pues fue tan pobre que no tuuo en qu reclinar la cabeça, mas la tuuo coronada de espinas, no conviene que abundemos en riquezas perecederas, ni q̃ andemos vestidos de delicadas vestiduras. Por buscar la gloria del Padre, fue cõdenado y reprouado de los hombres, no deuemos pues nosotros buscar aprouacion dellos." (p.52)

"Porque va delante Jesu Christo que lo allano de tal manera, que podemos andar por el sin peligro. Cõsideremos que la cruz y su amargura se acaba presto, y que la salida della es gloria, como lo prometio el Señor, y lo va cada dia cumpliendo con los que son perseguidos y muertos por la confession de su sancto nombre." (p.53)

If we suffer with Him, we shall reign with Him. Our afflictions are merely the means whereby God disciplines us for good, whatever our enemies may think or say to the contrary:

"No nos detengamos pues ni pongamos los ojos en los que nos afligen, porque no son sino instrumentos de que Dios vsa, varas y ministros de su volunted; pero miremos que nos aflige y castiga como a hijos por medio dellos, y que son muy otros los pensamientos de Dios que los dellos. Porque lo que haze con nosotros es para bien, y lo que ellos pretenden es para mal. El nos castiga porque nos ama, y ellos nos afligen porque nos aborrecen, y nos querrian totalmente destruyr". (p.59)

Let us bear our sufferings as Job did - or, better, as Christ our Head did. But let us remember to imitate Him in not wishing evil on our persecutors:

"Somos agora afligidos como malhechores, condenan nos por alborotadores, maldizen nos, y aborrecen nos, maldezir los emos y aborrecerlos emos nosotros? No, ni por pensamiento. Desean nos todos los males como a enemigos, dessear les emos otros semejantes? No en ninguna manera. Antes porque somos hijos de Dios, tenemos mãdamiento de hazer lo contrario." (p.61)

We are sheep in Christ's flock, and, however cruelly attacked and reviled we are, we must not attack or revile in revenge:

"Assi emos de hazer nosotros, porque el nõbre Christiano que tenemos importa todo esto. Persiguen nos los hombres con ferocidad de leones, afligen nos con crueldad y rauia de lobos, despedaçan nos como tigres, asechan nos con astucia de raposas, no dexan arte ni crueldad de que no vsan cõtra nosotros: Parecerles emos en pagarles en la misma moneda? No, no. Porque no nos llamo Dios para ser semejantes a ellos, pues en llamarnos, nos hizo desemejantes. Llamonos para ser sus hijos: luego a Jesu Christo emos de ser conformes." (p.63)

Christ is our Head, and as members we ought to follow Him by suffering evil and returning good, by loving those who persecute us. Our persecutors earn their own punishment from God, for in punishing God's faithful people they are in fact persecuting Christ himself:

"El juycio de Dios los trae oprimidos y arrastrados, la ley los tiene malditos, y las obras que hazẽ en perseguir a los fieles, dan euidẽte testimonio desto. Porque no son ellos propiamente los perseguidos, los calumniados, los condenados, los ensanbeñitados,

"encarcelados y quemados, sino Jesu Christo en ellos. Y es el que padece todos estos oprobrios y passiones." (p.65)

This is proof enough that they are captives of sin and children of error - but we should still pray for them, that they might be brought to know Christ and His salvation. In this way we are true imitators of Christ.

No doubt the cruelty impels us to anger against them and to wish to do them some mischief. The injunctions of the Bible, in both Prophets and Gospels, are against such reprisals. The true believer is secure in his trust in God. Our enemies cannot triumph over truth, nor over those who follow it, for they cannot overcome God.

It follows that what God has given cannot be taken away, but is a permanent heritage:

"Dado les ha por suyo propio con priuilegio irreuocable, que sean sus hijos, herederos de su Reyno. Que sean participes de todos sus fauores: Que sean heredad suya: Que more el y reyne en ellos para siempres: Que ellos biuã en el eternalmente, y que lo tengan por su Padre y su Dios." (p.69)

Nothing that persecutors can do really touches the Christian at the centre of his being, any more than what Christ's enemies did to Him could affect His Soul. Through it all and after it Christ was Lord and Saviour of the world; through all that they suffer, Christians remain sons of God and dwelling-places of His Holy Spirit. All ill-treatment of them is therefore in vain:

"Vano es luego el juyzio y cõdenacion que pueden hazer estos amotinados contra los fieles. Porque si el juyzio de Dios no preualece contra ellos por estar en Jesu Christo, segũ dice el Apostol, como podra preualecer el de sus enemigos? Vanas son sus sentencias y excomuniones contra ellos, porque los tiene Dios absueltos y comulgados en Christo, y hecho los participes de todos sus bienes. Confiscanles y robanles las haziendas, pero en vano: porque a Jesu Christo que es su propia y verdadera hazienda, ni se lo pueden confiscar ni robar. Prẽdenles los cuerpos, pero en su libertad se queda Jesu Christo, para alegrar y recrear sus coraçones. Por demas los queman, o los dan otros generos de muerte, porque se les queda en saluo su vida, que no puede ya morir. Vuestra vida (les dize el Apostol) esta escõdida con Christo en Dios. Vanas son finalmente las armas, y todos los otros instrumentos de que se vsa su crueldad contra ellos ... De tan desaforada locura se rie el Señor. Porque piensan que han de salir con la suya: Y que quanto mas fieles encarcelaren, y mataren, tanto mas presto le han de destruyr su Reyno, y quitarselos de entre las manos, como si la potencia dellos fuesse mayor que la de Dios. No seria de reyr ver pelear a vna hormiga contra vn elephante?

"No diriades que esta loco, y hariades burla del que batallasse contra la sombre de vn hombre, pẽsando que era?" (pp. 71 f)

God loves us in Christ, and He loves us more than anyone else can or will, and especially in our afflications:

"Amanos como a si propio. Porque somos todos los creyẽtes miembros de su mismo cuerpo, de su carne, y de sus huessos. Ninguno jamas oluido ni aborrecio su carne. Antes quando alguna parte del cuerpo esta mas llagada y enferma, el amor es mayor estonces, y la solicitud que por ella tiene la cabeça, y con mayor tenura la trata sin poder la oluidar. Desta manera en las mayores afliciones somos del mas amados, y no se puede oluidar de nosotros." (pp. 75 f)

Many passages in the Bible testify to this love of God for us, and we cannot doubt it when we consider how God has brought us from our former state into a firm experience of His mercy.

If He allows us to pass through afflictions and persecutions, it is to confirm to us that we are called by Him, to purify us from all evil, and to make us perfect. The Lord chastises those He loves, and a father takes particular care with his son and heir. It is particular proof that we are sons and heirs if we are persecuted. And if God allows His sons to be afflicted, for their purification, it follows that He will mete out far worse treatment to those who are not reconciled to Him and are unrepentant:

"Y si en nosotros que somos su casa donde el mora, comiença a castigar con tanto rigor, que hara quando del todo se vuiere inflamado su yra, y començare a tomar vengança de aquellos que son casa y tiemplo del demonio, donde es obedecida y hecha toda su voluntad?" (p. 85)

Our present sufferings are nothing to what we deserve from Him for our sins. They are also our guarantee that we shall share His reign:

"Quiẽ entiẽde por su Reyno, sino los perseguidos, encarcelados, aborrecidos, condenados, y muertos por su nõbre? Demanera q̃ aunque nos da a beuer su caliz, da nos lo cõ tãta blandura suauidad, que todo venga a cargar sobre sus hõbros, y que nosotrosseamos por el sobrelleuados. Y portanto deuemos hazerle gracias, porque teniendo merecido de beuer las horruras y escorreduras del, nos da le lo mas claro y mas facil de beuer. Pero las hezes del, que es todo el rigor de su yra, de su indignacion, todo su furor, su condenacion, su maldicion eterna, y su sentencia irreuocable estan guardadas paraque beuan los que no creen al Euangelio, pero en lugar de adorar y obedecer su verdad, le pisan y persiguen." (pp. 87 f)

Because God remains silent against our persecutors does not mean that He approves. Their present success merely means that their fall will in

the end be greater. Scripture is quite definite that evildoers will be destroyed, and just as definite that those who share Christ's sufferings will share His glory.

What we now need is patience to endure to the end, so that we shall produce the fruits of the Gospel. Patience will bring trial of our faith, to sort out the wheat from the chaff. This testing will produce hope, in proportion to the amount of affliction, which is based on sure promises of Scripture:

> "Fundada la esperança en estas promessas, y otras semejantes, dize el Apostol, que no cõfunde. Porque los que assi creemos y esperamos firmemẽte el cumplimiento de las promessas de Dios, jamas seremos defraudados del fructo de nuestra esperança, ni seremos confundidos delante de los hijos deste mundo, ni tẽdremos verguença de auer creydo las promessas diuinas. Porque verdaderamẽte alcançaremos lo que Dios nos ha dado que esperemos, que es, el cumplimiento dellas: y los hombres sin Dios nunca tendran ocasion de darnos en cara con nuestra esperança, porque necessariamẽte seremos saluos." (pp. 103 f)

The stronger our hope, the firmer our faith, the more our enemies hate us and ill-treat us, even princes, whose function ought to be to protect the faithful:

> "Ya vemos como todo lo que haze Dios, es para asegurarnos de la firmeza de la salud que nos tiene dada en Christo, y efetuar en nosotros el consejo que determino de antes de los siglos. Quanto este consejo es inmudable, tanto es mayor la rauia de los enemigos, y del demonio su capitan. El qual como es el principal ministro de las tribulaciones que padecen los fieles, haze quanto puede por alcançar dellos victoria, ministrandoles tentaciones interiores y exteriores, con que por vna via o por otra los aparte del derecho camino. Quando se ha de venir al combate, esta tan alerto y diligẽte que mas no puede ser. Todos sus exercitos estan armados y puestos apunto, para derribar a los Christianos de la firmeza que tienen en Christo. Muestrales su grandeza y aparato, paraque se enflaquezcan y desmayen considerada tanta fuerca. Estan estonces como ouejas en la boca del lobo. Dexados de los amigos y conocidos, aborrecidos y negados de los parientes, desechados, y sin ayuda de ninguno de aquellos que les eran mas intimos. Todos aprueuã, por verlos en tal estado, las sentencias de sus condenadores, como si fuessen pronunciadas por las misma boca de Dios. Aqui son grandes los(sic) angustias y congozas que sufren en su animo. Parece que el cielo y la tierra esta ayrado contra ellos, y Dios y sus criaturas les hazen guerra, para destruyrlos. Veen a los reyes y principes, que auian de ser defensores de la causa de Dios porque padecen, leuantados contra ellos, como contra los mayores enemigos que puedẽ tener en sus reynos. Cõsideran a los grãdes y a los chicos, y a toda suerte de hombres armados de vna furia infernal

"cõtra ellos, y todos juntos diziendo a bozes, Mueran, mueran los traydores enemigos de Dios. Veen por otra parte los tormentos que les estan aparejados, la verguença, la infamia, y confusion que han de recebir delante el pueblo, delãte de amigos y enemigos. Veen la triste y espantable cara de la muerte, y el verdugo aparejado para encẽder el fuego, y torcer el garote, y que en tales pressuras no ay vno que los consuele, sino que en lugar de cõsuelo, los exorten a negar y blasphemar de la redempcion de Jesu Christo. Aqui son grandes las angustias, pero aun van mas creciendo de grado en grado, porque les parece que entretanto esta Dios durmiẽdo, y que los tiene puestos en oluido. Estonces el demonio atiza mas paraque del todo vẽgan a desmayar. Procura de persuadirles que los aborrece Dios, pues los dexa tratar de Aquella manera, y no les da estonces ningun socorro. Mas dura es esta angustia que la mesma muerte." (pp. 106 ff)

All this, the devil persuades us, is God's wrath, and the idea is like a mist that fogs our view of God, whose love is behind the cloud. We must notdoubt God's love for us; we must take refuge in His word and have confidence in His promises. God has already defeated our enemies, and soon His vengeance will be evident. We must continue to trust in God and in no human agency for victory not only over our enemies, however high-born and powerful, but also over spiritual assailants of the soul. How is it that the faith of many is weak and they do not persevere to the end? Because they trust in human agencies:

"Que es la causa porque muchos desfallecen, y que se quedan atonitos perdido el animo, para perseuerar en el bien que Dios les ha hecho? y que otros estan tan tibios y frios, siendo tan grande la claridad del Euangelio que los alumbra, y tan admirables las obras que Dios muestra por el? No otra sin duda, sino que se fian vnos en otros, y toman a los hombres por su arrimo, puestos los ojos en el fauor que por medio dellos les puede venir. Vnos se fian en ser ricos, otros en ser hõrrados, otros en tener las amistades de los grandes: otros en ser generosos y de noble sangre, y otros en otras prerrogatiuas semejantes. Que otra cosa es esto sino cõfiarse en la sombra, y en el humo que se desuanecen delante las (!) ojos?" (pp. 123 f)

We are founded on the rock that is Christ, a firm foundation. God's truth is dependent on Christ, not on men. We ought, therefore, to remain faithful to Him, avail ourselves of His gifts in such a way as to persevere in His truths:

"No seamos del numero de aquellos que tienen enemistad con Dios, y toman todas sus obras por ocasion de alexarse mas del, y resfriarse en el amor que le deuen, y en compañia de los aduersarios de Christo, blasphemar su sancto nõbre. Mas como hijos obedientes y fieles,

"entendamos la intencion de nuestro Padre celestial, y saquemos de sus obras los frutos que pretende: que son, conocerlo mas a el, y humillarnos mas nosotros: y no solo no alexarnos del, como hazen los malos, pero acercarnos mas, y cobradas nueuas fuerças, persuerar en el camino de la verdad." (p. 128)

If weakness is found in some, from whom we would have expected better, we must not despise them, but take a lesson from them, not becoming proud of our own success:

"Portanto en las caydas y flaquezas de los otros, miremonos como en espejo, para conocer en ellos nuestra propia flaqueza, y humillemonos delante de Dios, porque de nosotros no somos sino desfallecimiento para el bien. Y pues todos somos llamados a cruz, y a batallar contra la soberuia y presumpciõ que ay en nosotros, ocupados en esto, ninguno juzgue siniestramente de los caydos, pero el que esta en pie, mire tambien no cayga." (p. 129)

Even if they fall so far as to deny what they knew of God's truth and accept what they know to be wrong, do not forget that God can raise the fallen to better things than those they fell from - and no-one can fall so far as to be outside God's care. He knows man's weakness.

If we ourselves should stumble beneath the weight of the cross of our afflictions, God will not forsake us. Yet remember that the crime of forsaking God's truth to worship the Beast is most serious. Not even the heathen forsake their religion, and ours is a religion of divine revelation:

"No niegan los Turcos ni los Moros su religion, no niegan los Indios ni los vassalos del Antechristo la suya, con ser todas falsas y mentirosas, y nosotros que por beneficio diuino tenemos la que es sola sancta y verdadera, venida del cielo, de la qual es autor el Señor del cielo, la auiamos de negar por vanos temores de no perder la vida? Y que es nuestra vida sin esta religion de Dios, sino vna vida de animales brutos? En que nos diferenciamos de todas las otras gentes y naciones que estan debaxo del cielo?" (pp. 135 f)

God has ever been faithful to us, and repaid us with good things, even when we deserved His wrath. He sent His son to be crucified for us and to suffer dishonour. Our call in Christ is to the cross, not to honours and gifts, but to share His afflictions:

"Mas llamonos a cruz, no a regalos, ni a hõrras, ni a deleytes desta vida. Que es veamos auerlo negado, y de donde procede tan suma miseria? sino de no auer entendido el fin paraque nos llamo, que fue, hazernos semejantes a si por afliciones. Auer pues desechado la verdad por euitar la cruz, es auerlo desechado a el.

> Porq̃ no ay Jesu Christo sin cruz, ni verdadera y saludable cruz sin Jesu Christo. Resta pues assi es, que tengamos grande dolor y arrepentimiento de auerlo assi dexado y negado, y que la vida que nos queda sea vna perpetua penitencia." (p. 137)

We must not lose sight of the fact that what is important is not that our enemies wish for our destruction, but that God is and remains our Father and desires our salvation. Whatever our offence against Him, if we are penitent He pardons and receives us.

You are now sadly persecuted because you deny the truths you formerly embraced. If your enemies force you to your knees by illtreatment, Christ is ready to receive you and to refresh and strengthen you:

> "Si os han quitado la honrra, despojado os de la hazienda los que lo aborrecen, y encerrado os en carceles, y condenado os por hereges, no impide esto nada para no yr a el, y recebir otros bienes y honrras harto mayores sin comparacion que las visibles. Porque no embargãte que los hõbres os tienen condenados como a enemigos. Dios os ama y aprueua como a hijos, y por esso os manda que vays a ser recreados por su Hijo, el qual si no os amasse, no andaria tan solicito por vuestro remedio. No pueden ser tan grandes vuestros pecados quanto es la salud que os ofrece. Ya los tiene todos destruydos y vencidos, quiere que gozeys de su victoria." (p. 143)

God's mercy is infinite; how can we then call mercy that which deprives us of great spiritual blessings and drags us deep into evil?

> "Los perseguidores del Euãgelio llaman misericordia el constreñir a los hombres a que nieguen a Dios y a Jesu Christo: que es tanto como despojadas del fructo de su redempcion, entregarlos en manos del demonio. Que otra cosa es esto sino priuarlos de infinitos bienes, y meterlos en inumerables males, a trueque de la vida del cuerpo, cosa que tan presto se acaba? Como puede auer misericordia donde es condenada la justicia y la verdad de Dios? Como pueden ser piadosos los que condenan los inocentes? y tienen por crimen digno de afrentosissima muerte el confessar a Jesu Christo, y no conocer a otro por Redemptor, ni por cabeça y viuificador de su Yglesia? En tales audiencias no preside otro que aquel que es homicida dende el principio ... No se engane pues ya mas ningun fiel, pensando que le hazen misericordia en dexarle la vida del cuerpo, pues en lo mismo lo despojan de la vida del anima, que es la fe del Euangelio de Christo." (p. 145)

The sign of this so-called mercy is a sanbenito which is nothing more than a sign of shame to one who has known the Gospel and has denied it:

> "Semejante es la señal que dan a la misericordia que hazen. Dan les vn sanbenito, que es señal de auer negado a Christo, y ser reduzidos al antechristo, de auer sido infieles a Dios, y

"fieles al demonio, de auer trocado los bienes eternos por los perecederos, y de auerse buelto al vomito y al rebolcadero del cieno. De suerte que en nada discrepa la señal de aquello de que es señal. Conuino luego que por la señal se conociesse quien son los misericordiosos, y quan agenos estan de la misericordia de Dios, y quan enemigos son de aquellos aquien el ha hecho misericordia. No deuemos pues buscar misericordia, ni esperar la de otro que de solo Dios, ni trocar su misericordia por la crueldad de los hombres y del demonio, disimulada con reboço de misericordia. Entendamos que es grande la misericordia que nos haze Dios, quando por su nombre nos quitã la vida, los que fueron puestos para conseruarnos en ella." (p. 146)

A much better sign is ill-treatment by men, for by it we know that we are in the Kingdom of Heaven. The life they offer us would be a continual death, full of anxiety and a perpetual lie; death would be better:

"Que otra cosa es la vida que nos conceden por misericordia (como ellos dizen) sino vna muerte continua, y llena de augustias y congoxas, que es despachada muchas vezes con liuianas ocasiones? Pues porque por vna cosa de tan breue y momentaneo ser, auenturaremos los bienes eternos, y la vida que no se puede acabar? Mas bienauenturada es nuestra suerte con morir tan deshonrradamente que la de nuestros matadores y condenadores. Porque nuestra muerte es testimonio de la vida que tenemos in (!) Christo, que es, nuestra resurrecion eterna. Y el matarnos y condenarnos ellos, es testimonio aueriguado de qu estan fuera de Christo, y que no tienen parte con el." (pp.146 f)

Eternal life is more significant than such a life. Death is preferable, for by it we prove that we are Christ's and that we do not deny Him. The clothing in which they kill us, although intended to dishonour us, is a badge of honour, just as were all the trappings of Christ's passion:

"Y porque no son del mundo, no les visten de vestiduras honrradas de que vsan los del mundo, sino de las deshonrradas de Jesu Christo, con que estan encubiertos y escondidos al mundo, como el lo estuuo. Visten los de vn sanbenito, y ponenles vna coroça, con demonios pintados en el, y en ella. Con el sanbenito, estan cubiertos los pechos, y las espaldas, en señal que los conoce y aprueua solo Dios ... La coroça es señal del Reyno que les gano Jesu Christo por su corona de espinas, y por las afrentas de su cruz. Por los demonios pintados, nos da Dios a entender que el pecado, la muerte, el infierno, y el demonio estan ya muertos para ellos, y que no tienen mas fuerça contra ellos, ni les pueden hazer mas mal que aquellas vanas pinturas. Porque como biuia Jesu Christo, vestido de aquellas insignias de deshonrra, assi el mismo biue y reyna debaxo de aquellas deshonrras y de aquellas vestiduras en aquellos afrentados y crucificados por su amor." (pp. 149 f)

It is shame to accept the cruelty of men and renounce the mercy of God. Return to the banner of Christ if you have left if; do not be ashamed

of the cross of Christ. Remember it was the religious leaders of the day who condemned Jesus, and just so nowadays there are always people ready to condemn and betray faithful Christians:

> "Porque jamas estuuo el Euangelio sin sus Anases, Cayphases, Pilatos, Judas, Pontifices, y Phariseos que lo contradigan y persigan. Por esta causa tãbiẽ agora los que son verdaderos discipulos de Jesu Christo andan amedrentados, corridos, y encerrados para tratar de la verdad de su Maestro: porque los Judas del Euãgelio los asechan para entregarlos, y darles la muerte por lo mucho que aborrecen al Maestro, y por sus interesses y ganancias. Y hallados y presos, se encruelecen no solo contra ellos, sino tambien contra las paredes de las casas donde ha sido anunciado Jesu Christo, hasta derribar las por tierra. En esto se vee como la Yglesia de los fieles es de la misma condicion agora que lo fue siempre en el mundo." (4) (pp.153f)

Remember Christ's words, who sent His disciples out as sheep amongst wolves. You must not expect to find charity and compassion any more than He did. All sorts of immoral men and criminals receive compassion when they are imprisoned, but not those imprisoned for faith:

> "Esta es la razon porque los ladrones, salteadores, renegadores, someticos, symoniacos, homicidas, sacrilegos, fornicarios, adulteros, y todos los semejantes, quando son presos, aura quien libremente ruegue por ellos, y les haga obras de charidad, visitandolos en las carceles, ayudandoles en su trabajo, dandoles consuelo y esfuerço. Mas si los hijos de Dios son presos, meten los en carceles, donde no vean ni sean vistos de hombres. No ay quien los consuele y esfuerce, o si quiera humanamente les hable, y vse con ellos de alguna piedad gentilica, con que naturalmente vnos hõbres se apiadan de otros que estan en miserias. Pero tienenlos siempre solos apartados vnos de otros, tratados con vna crueldad mayor que Turcos. Y porque crimines? No por otros, sino porque son justos, y tienen toda su fe y confiança en solo Jesu Christo ..." (pp. 155 f)

Judges become wild beasts when confronted by Christians. Anyone who speaks up for them is immediately suspected of being in league with them. We are truly sheep amongst wolves. Let us take the Israelites in captivity in Egypt as our example. God delivered them in their troubles. He will deliver us and destroy our enemies. We are alive in Christ; our enemies

(4) vid.sup.p. 32.

are spiritually dead:

> "De la misma manera agora los que con tanta braueza nos persiguen, y querrian raer el nombre de Dios de la tierra, tanto que no vuiesse quien lo conociesse y cõfessasse, muertos nos los tiene ya Dios, aunque por el presente no lo vemos. No ay luego porque temerlos, ni dexar la confession de nuestra fe por los males que nos amenazan, y pueden hazer. Salidos de la mar de las angustias en que agora estamos, por la via que pluguiere al Señor de sacarnos, estonces nos mostrara que estos que parecen agora biuos, y nos tratan tan sin piedad, blasphemando el nombre de Christo, y su sancto Euangelio, no son a la verdad sino cuerpos muertos, que en nada nos pueden empecer." (p. 160)

As Christ went suffering towards His glory, so our sufferings will lead us to our glory, if we persevere in the truth and in His religion. Those who suffer and die in God's just cause, should therefore rejoice that the Kingdom is theirs. We are chosen, justified and sanctified, and the persecution we suffer is a guarantee that we have received God's mercy. The world loves its own and it hates us. By the cruelty it inflicts on us, the world ensures our reception into Heaven:

> "Quando los hombres sin Dios y sin Christo nos quemaren, o dieren otros generos de muerte, entẽdamos que es aquel el remate de todos nuestros trabajos y aflicions, y que estonces nos son abiertas de par en par las puertas de la gloria de Dios, para entrar a gozar con el para siempre de todos sus bienes... ... Y pues a los mas rezios tormentos a las mas crueles muertes se nos abre el cielo, deuemos estonces correr con mayor animo sin boluer la cabeca atras, para aprehender la resurrecion de Jesu Christo, segun que somos del comprehendidos." (pp. 166 f)

Your death will not be without effect, any more than Christ's was. The ashes of your bodies will be witnesses to proclaim Christ, and even your death will be fruitful. It is a great honour to be witnesses to God's truth and Christ's salvation. Because we are justified by faith we inherit the earth. God gives us everything, including His Son. We have nothing we can give Him in return.

Many pagans have deliberately chosen death in order to gain immortality, or to escape the pains of this world. This was wrong, and we must not seek to imitate them by committing suicide. Nor should we deliberately court death, any more than we should blaspheme to escape it. It is God's prerogative to give life and to take it away. Our concern should be His truth and His glory. The Christian is no slave of death; but cannot,

however, harm him, despite appearances, for he has the gift of eternal life. Christ overcame death by His resurrection. Sin is the death of the soul, and by the forgiveness Christ gives us, we share His victory over death.

As a man, Christ faced death only because He had the sins of the world on His shoulders. Many saints have gone cheerfully to their death. Others in our way day have met the flames with songs of joy:

> "Esta virtud de Jesu Christo comunicada por la fe de su Euangelio, toda via se va continuando en sus fieles. En nuestros tiempos emos visto con nuestros propios ojos cosas admirables que ha obrado el Señor con sus hijos en medio del fuego. Visto emos hombres que siendo lleuados al fuego a firmar y sellar con su muerte la verdad del Euangelio que auian recebido, yuan con tan grande contento y alegria como si fueran a fiestas. Visto emos sanctas mugeres, y donzellas como Angeles yr tã gozosas al martirio cãtando canticos de algeria [!], como si las lleuaran a desposar con los mayores principes y señores de la tierra. Otros en medio del fuego hinchados [!] los ojos en el cielo, cantar Psalmos de alabanças al Señor por auer los hecho dignos de padecer por su nombre. Que es esto, sino fructos de auer creydo a la palabra de Dios, y de estar vnos y otros ciertos por el Spiritu sãcto q̃ yuã a ser glorificados, y a gozar del entero cũplimiento de las promessas diuinas?" (pp. 185 f)

Tyrants can only kill the body, which must die one day. They cannot kill the soul, which Christ assures us is immortal. Remade and glorified in Christ, the soul lives on:

> "Es tan misera y tan corta la potencia de los tyranos, que no puede llegar mas de hasta el cuerpo, que de suyo es mortal, y ha de morir por vna o por otra via. Con todo su poder no hazen sino acelerar vn poco la muerte, y esto a nuestro juyzio, mas no al de Dios ... Asseguranos Jesu Christo que no pueden matar al anima, pues que va en ello q̃ maten al cuerpo? Porque apartarlo por vn poco de tiẽpo del anima, es para tornarlo de nueuo a recebir immortal, y no subieto a los trabajos y peligros en que agora esta. Quando tenemos joyel de plata o de oro ya viejo y quebrado, de buena gana lo damos al oficial que lo hizo, paraque lo funda en el crisol, y nos torne a hazer otro de nueuo. Assi nuestro cuerpo viejo ya y subieto a la corrupcion del pecado, carcomido y cayendose por cada parte, porque dudaremos de darlo a Dios, paraque lo torne a fundir y a formar de nueuo, y lo saque hermoso, inmortal, ageno de corrupcion, y resplandeciente como el sol? Del anima nos dize la verdad del cielo, q̃ esta en saluo, que no puede perecer ni morir, ni ellos con todo su furor y crueldad la puedẽ matar: porque como no puede morir Dios, ni lo pueden matar sus enemigos, tampoco a ella: porque la vida que tiene, es en el y por el." (pp. 185 ff)

God alone kills and makes alive. The church of Christ will never be overcome. Christ's enemies tried to kill Him many times before His hour came, but were not able to do so till God allowed it. Ever since the light of the Gospel came to Spain, its enemies have desired to do what they now are doing:

> "Assi desde la hora que entro la luz del Euangelio en nuestra España, y començo a resplandecer, lo aborrecieron mortalmẽte los que agora persiguen, y matan a los fieles que son alumbrados y viuificados por el. Siempre quisieron lo que agora hazen, porque siempre le son enemigos y contrarios, pero no han podido concluyr su desseo hasta q̃ agora ha soltado Dios la potestad de las tinieblas, paraque assi seã examinados y purificados los fieles, y metidos en la gloria eterna que les esta guardada." (p. 190)

If we now fear what they can do, we honour them. Death will free us from their power and will turn our tears into joy. There is no doubt that the fires are fearful things, but God will give us patience to endure even them:

> "Por impossible tenemos sofrir el fuego: mayormẽte vista la suma crueldad de que vsan el dia de oy los perseguidores del Euangelio, quemando poco a poco a los fieles, para mas atormẽtarlos, y tomar mayor vengança dellos". (p. 194)

> "Luego tambien le es possible tener paciencia dentro del fuego, y sofrirlo con grande constãcia, como lo hizieron antiguamẽte, y lo hazen tambien agora los sanctos." (p. 196)

God's love to us is such that He suffers with us and will not abandon us. The fires cannot destroy the souls of the just sons of God, but merely refine them. The impious and unjust enemies of God will finally be destroyed by everlasting fire.

Let us take comfort in the words of Scripture and the examples of faith under suffering there portrayed. Let us fear God and we shall have no need to fear men. Let us make sure we cannot be persecuted for evildoing, but for no other cause than faithfulness to Christ. Let us not be secret disciples acting over-prudently to escape suffering, nor complacent, but let us stand firm in Christ and His truth, so that we may witness a good confession:

> "Porque quando menos pensaremos, se puede leuãtar alguna tempestad horrible, que lo turbe y consuma todo. Seamos como los soldados prudẽtes, y bien exercitados en guerra, que no se descuydã en la campaña, pero estan siempre puestos en orden, atendiendo quando les tocaran al arma, porque saben que haran sus

"enemigos todo lo que pudieren, por tomar los de sobresalto, quando se tuuieren por mas seguros. Y portanto estemos la barua sobre el hombro, pẽdientes siempre del Señor. Y en las persecuciones que se nos leuantaren, estando oprimidos de pobreza, miserias, infamias, y otras calamidades, conozcamos, lo primero, que tenemos bien merecido de ser oprimidos de mucho mayores males que podemos sofrir: Y lo segundo, que el principal remedio que tenemos, es acordarnos a verdadera penitencia y confession de nuestras culpas cometidas cõtra el Señor, y con esto orar cõ cierte confiança para demandarle perdon dellas. Estemos firmes, y por lo que parece de fuera, no vacilemos en la fe de la verdad." (pp. 214 f)

The tyrants of old have perished, the word of God abides for ever. Let us suffer with meekness if we have to suffer, and leave to God the vengeance. We have God with us, let us not be dismayed, any more than were the heroes of the Old Testament and the New Testament, or Christ Himself. Our persecutors are already condemned by God, whatever the appearances, and their perdition is as certain as is our blessed state, and they will vanish also without trace. The justified will live for ever, rejoicing in their Saviour. Let us, therefore, persevere, so that we may join those who have suffered before us, and receive with them the crown of victory from Christ Himself, and hear His "Contento estoy de ti sieruo bueno y fiel, porque me fuiste fiel hasta la fin: entra en el gozo de tu Señor."

Boehmer indicates a third edition, published in 1866 by the Religious Tract Society, and a fourth published in Madrid in 1874.(5) The work was translated into English by John Daniel and published in 1576 by Thomas East: An excelent comfort to all Christians, against all kinde of calamities: No lesse comfortable, then pleasant, pithy, and profitable: Compendiously compiled by John Perez, a faithfull seruant of god, a Spaniard (in Spanish) and now translated into English by John Daniel, of Clements Inne, with diuers adicions by him collected and thervnto annexed.

(5) Bib.Wiff. II p.98.

THE WORKS OF CASSIODORO DE REINA.

Reina's publications were the following:

I. 1559/60 Confession of Faith of the London Spanish Congregation, (not printed till 1577).

II. 1567 A possible pamphlet on the Spanish Inquisition (of which no copy has ever been discovered.)

III. 1569 A Spanish translation of the whole Bible, with a Preface by Reina.

IV. 1573 A Latin Commentary on John's Gospel, with a Dedication by Reina.

V. 1573 A Latin Commentary on Matthew IV, with a Dedication by Reina.

VI. 1579(?) A trilingual Confessio in Articulo de Coena, (in fact issued by his religious opponents.)

VII. 1580 A Catechism for Antwerp Lutherans (probably composed by collaboration with other Lutheran Ministers.)

VIII. 1582 A Preface in French for Luc le Cop's translation of David Chytraeus' Histoire de la Confession d'Auxpourg.

IX. 1585 The Articles of the Poor Fund of the Netherlands Church of the Confession of Augsburg in Frankfurt.

In addition, Reina prepared for the press at least two works:

X. 1575 An edition of Sixtus Senensis, Bibliotheca sancta à F.Sixto Senensi, in which a paragraph on the final page can be attributed to Reina himself.

XI. 1587 A second edition of Corro's Dialogus in epistolam D.Pauli ad Romanos.

Of these, only two are original complete works, viz: IV. Commentary on John's Gospel and V. Commentary on Matthew IV. Items I, VII and IX are probably not Reina's unaided work, and his contribution to X. is much too brief to warrant comment (although he intended to write a much longer 'Antidoton' for it.) Only one of his Prefaces is deserving of attention, viz: III. Preface to the Bible. VIII. Preface to Histoire de la Confession d'Auxpourg is, in any case, signed by the ministers and deputies of Antwerp.

Compared with Pérez and Valera, Reina wrote very few books, but many letters by him have survived, often in autograph copies, together with numerous dedications inscribed in copies of his works. Very nearly all his letters were written in Latin, several were in French, and one only of those extant was written in Spanish. A list of these is given below, with an indication of where each may be found.

THE LETTERS OF CASSIODORO DE REINA.

A list of the extant letters of Reina is given below. Many of these exist in autograph copies; others are known only from contemporary or later manuscript copies, whilst others are known by printed copies, for which we have not found the present whereabouts of the manuscript concerned, although it is not inconceivable that it is still extant. Against each letter are symbols to indicate the source(s) as follows:

* indicates where the autograph copy is to be found.

A autograph of Reina extant.

B Basle City Library.

BM British Museum.

BW published by Boehmer in Bibliotheca Wiffeniana.

F Frankfurt City Archives.

G Geneva University Library.

L parts of this letter are to be found in Lehnemann Historische Nachricht.

MHR Musée Historique de la Réformation.

MP parts of these letters are quoted by Menéndez y Pelayo in Heterodoxos.

P Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

Q published by Boehmer, Q.F.F.Q.S. ... Ioanni Friderico Bruch ... Insunt Epistolae quaedam ... Hispanorum qui Argentorati degerunt (Strassburg 1872). This 'festschrift' appears to be the publication that Boehmer (and following him Menéndez y Pelayo) confusingly refers to as his 'University Programme'.

S Strassburg Public Library.

Z published by Boehmer, Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie Vol.50 pp.285-307. The reference for these is given as 'Predigerministerium, Frankfurt', but all attempts to identify this have so far failed.

LIST OF EXTANT LETTERS BY CASSIODORO DE REINA.

1560	London	Request to Q.Elizabeth and Cecil for a church.	A.BM*BW
21st Sep 1563	London	Protestation of innocence to Bishop of London.	F(1)
24th Mar 1565	Strassburg	To the Strangers' Church of Strassburg concerning doctrine (short form)	A.G*.BW.
24th Mar 1565	Strassburg	To the Strangers' Church of Strassburg concerning doctrine (long form)	G.BW.

(1) This is known from two transcripts of it by Jean Cousin. One is quoted in a letter in F. The other is in Hessels 3.1. p.36.

22nd Apl 1565	Frankfurt	To Beza.	A.G*.BW.
22nd Apl 1565	Frankfurt	To Marbach.	L.(2)
12th Nov 1565	Strassburg	To the Scholarques requesting right to live there.	S*.
28th Jan 1566	Frankfurt	Declaration on doctrine.	A.G*.BW.
1st Mar 1566	Strassburg	To Beza.	A.G*.BW.
29th Mar 1567	Strassburg	Reply to Strassburg Church concerning the letter of Olevianus.	G.
9th Apr 1567	Strassburg	To Beza.	A.P*.MHR.
27th Sep 1567	Basle	To López (and Gómes)	A.P*. MP.(3)
28th Oct 1567	Basle	To Hubert.	A.S*.Q.
13th Nov 1567	Basle	To Hubert.	A.S*.Q.
4th Aug 1568	Basle	To Hubert.	A.S*.Q.
25th Aug 1568	Basle	To Hubert.	A.S*.MP.Q.
[1568]	Basle	Request to City Council for permission to print Bible.	B.(4)
23rd Dec 1568	Basle	To Hubert.	A.S*.MP.Q.
16th Jan 1569	Basle	To Hubert.	A.S*.Q.
15th May 1569	Basle	To Hubert.	A.S*.Q.
24th Jun 1559	Basle	To Hubert.	A.S*.MP.Q.
3rd Aug 1569	Basle	To Hubert.	A.S*.Q.
6th Aug 1569	Basle	To Hubert.	A.S*.Q.MP.
8th Dec 1569	Basle	To Hubert.	A.S*.Q.
13th Jul 1570	Strassburg	To Zwinger.	A.B*.BW.
7th Aug 1570	Frankfurt	To Hubert.	A.S*.Q.
12th Jul 1571	Frankfurt	To Beza.	A.F*.BW.G*(5)
12th Jul 1571	Frankfurt	Declaration to French Church on doctrine	

(2) Fecht, Historiae Ecclesiasticae Sec.XVI Supplementum (Frankfurt 1684) pp.195 f.

(3) Romanische Studien 4 (Bonn 1880) pp. 485 f.

(4) Gutenbergmuseum 9 (Berne 1923) p.90.

(5) Each of these two letters exists in two copies, one in Frankfurt and one in Geneva. Both are Reina's autograph.

21st Aug 1571	Frankfurt	To Beza.	A.F*.
22nd Aug 1571	Frankfurt	Declaration on doctrine and morals.	A.F*.
25th Nov 1571	Frankfurt	Further declaration of innocence.	A.F*.G*.BW.(5)
25th Nov 1571	Frankfurt	To Beza.	
21st Dec 1571	Frankfurt	To Beza.	A.F*.
9th Mar 1574	Strassburg	To Zwinger and Adam Petri.	A.B*.BW.
12th Apr 1574	Frankfurt	To Hubert.	A.S*.Q.
24th Sep 1574	Frankfurt	To Zwinger.	A.B*.BW.
27th Oct 1574	Frankfurt	To Zwinger.	A.B*.BW.
23rd Nov 1574	Frankfurt	To Zwinger.	A.B*.BW.
6th Apr 1575	Frankfurt	To Zwinger.	A.B*.BW.
22nd Apr 1576	Frankfurt	To Zwinger.	A.B*.BW.
7th Apr 1577	Frankfurt	To Zwinger.	A.B*.BW.
23rd Sep 1577	Frankfurt	To Zwinger.	A.B*.BW.
1st Apr 1578	Frankfurt	To Zwinger.	A.B*.BW.
13th Apr 1578	Frankfurt	To Zwinger.	A.B*.BW.
6th Nov 1578	Antwerp	To Ritter.	Z.L.MP.
27th Jun 1579	Cologne	To Ritter.	Z.MP.
8th Dec 1579	Antwerp	To Ritter.	Z.MP.
18th Dec 1579	Antwerp	To Ritter.	Z.L.
11th Jan 1589	Antwerp	To Ritter.	Z.L.MP.
8th Feb 1580	Antwerp	To Ritter.	Z.MP.
1st Mar 1580	Antwerp	To Ritter.	Z.L.MP.
12th Apr 1580	Antwerp	To Ritter.	Z.L.
17th May 1580	Antwerp	To Ritter.	Z.L.
17th Aug 1580	Antwerp	To Ritter.	Z.L.(6)
17th Jan 1581	Antwerp	To Zwinger.	A.B*.BW.
prid.Kal. M(?) 1581	Antwerp	To Ritter.	Z.
9th Jan 1582	Antwerp	To Ritter.	Z.
8th May 1593	Frankfurt	Declaration of orthodoxy to Lutheran Ministers of Frankfurt.	L.
10th Feb 1594	Frankfurt	To Adolf Fisscher.	(7)
undated - no place stated - To Ritter.			Z.

(6) Quoted in part by Tollin p.293.

(7) Nieuwenhuis, Gesch.der Amsterdam.Luth.Gemeente (Amsterdam 1856) pp.19-22.

INTRODUCTION TO REINA'S BIBLE OF 1569.

LA BIBLIA,/ QVE ES, LOS SA-/CROS LIBROS DEL/ VIEIO Y NVEVO TE-/STAMENTO./ Trasladada en Español./ [Device: a bear robbing honey from a bees' nest in a tree.]/ דבר אלהינו יקום לעולם/La Palabra del Dios nuestro permanece para siempre. Isa.40./ M.D.LXIX. Large 4°. Introduction 28 pp, plus 1250 pp. text.

Although this Bible is comparatively rare, many of the older libraries possess a copy each. In spite of Valera's revision of 1602, it appears that a stock of copies of the original printing of 2600 remained at Frankfurt, since such copies exist with new title-pages bearing the dates 1602, 1603 and even 1622. Besides these, a number of different title-pages exist bearing the original date of 1569.(1) In all of them, however, material other than the title-page remains the same. The format of this Bible is large 4°. It has a dedicatory preface in Latin, which occupies 14 pages (foliated +(j)r - (+vij)v) and an introduction in Spanish which takes up a further 14 pages (foliated (+vij)r - (**vj)v). The latter has recently been reprinted in a modernized version.(2)

The dedicatory preface, although signed, "Sacratissimae dignitatis vestrae observantiss. C.R.", is clearly the work of Johann Sturm, as can be demonstrated by reference to letters of Reina to Hubert dated 24th June and 3rd August 1569.(3) There had been talk in letters of dedicating it to Queen

(1) The variants and different editions are discussed at length in Bib.Wif. II pp.237-243 and B. & F.B.S. Catalogue of Printed Bibles III pp.1431 f.

(2) B.Foster Stockwell op.cit. pp.79-111.

(3) The argument is set out (with rather inaccurate references) by Menéndez y Pelayo M. & P. V. p.153 (following Boehmer). The letter of 24th June 1569 (Strassburg AST 161/90) says:

> "... per literas D.Sturmii in ipso operis limine excussas fieri autoris nomine omnino suppresso ita enim expedire nunc videtur rebus meis ..."

and that of 3rd August 1569 (AST 161/91) says:

> "Accepi ... tuas literas cum mea praefatione [i.e. the 'Amonestacion'] & scripto d.Sturmii ... iam in eo sum totus vt scriptum d.Sturmii instituto nostor accommodem ... Dño Sturmio ... ex nobis salutem dici velim: & me pro labere praefationis ingentem illi habere gratiam ..."

Elizabeth, but eventually it was addressed: "AD SERENISS. ILLVSTRISS. GENEROSOS, NOBILES, PRVDENTes: Reges, Electores, Principes, Comites, Barones, Equites, atq; Magistratus ciuitatum cum totius Europae, tum in primis S.Rom. Imperij."(4) This preface consists of an explanation, with two woodcuts, of the vision described in the first three chapters of Ezekiel. The approach is typological, reading Christian meanings into the prophet's experience, and leads onto the duty of Christian rulers to afford their protection to this translation.

Reina's own contribution is the introduction, addressed to the 'Christiano lector', and entitled:

> "AMONESTACION DEL INTERPRETE DE LOS SACROS LIBROS al Lector y a toda la Iglesia del Señor, en que da razon de su translacion ansi en general, como de algunas cosas especiales." (p.+viij r)

Satan, says Reina, finds the truth of God intolerable, because it reveals the truth about him. He therefore does his best to suppress the Holy Scriptures. It would take too long to tell of all the ways in which he has done this over the years. He cannot succeed, however, for God will frustrate all his designs, but he is pertinacious, and stirs up enemies everywhere against the Word of God. There has long been a conspiracy to prevent vernacular versions of the Bible, and it is not to be expected that this one will escape attack:

> "Los [enemigos] de lexos, dias ha que se estan despertados para impedir toda version vulgar de la Sancta Escriptura, à titulo de que los sagrados mysterios no han de ser communicados àl vulgo, y que es occasion de errores en el &c. De cerca, no le faltarán otros suppuestos, que son titulos algo mas subtiles y apparentes se leuanten contra ella, aunque por vẽtura à los vnos y à los otros no falte buena intencion, y zelo, como muchas vezes acontece, que buenas intẽciones por falta de mejor enseñamiento pensando seruir à Dios siruen àl demonio y à sus intentos." (pp.+viij r f)

Reina then answers those who oppose vernacular translations.

1. Those who are opposed to all translations of the Bible into modern languages must know that, whether they like it or not, the Word of God is His chosen instrument to communicate His truth to all men without restriction of language. All who restrict it hinder God and help Satan:

(4) Following Sturm's advice referred to in AST 161/90.

"... la Palabra de Dios contenida en los sacros libros es el verdadero y legitimo instrumento, y que por tal lo ha Dios communicado àl mundo para ser por el conocido y honrrado de todos, y que por esta via ayan salud: y esto sin exceptar de esta vniversalidad ni doctos ni indoctos, ni esta lengua ni la otra. De donde es menester que concluyan, Que prohibir la diuina Escriptura en lengua vulgar no se puede hazer sin singular injuria de Dios, y igual daño de la salud de los hombres, lo qual es pura obra de Satanas y de los que el tiene à su mandado." (p.+viij v)

2. Those who wish to keep the truth from the common people, must know that the Word of God is not a mystery designed to feed their bellies and their pride, but to be communicated to all, for all must be saved.

3. Those who say that the Bible is the cause of error, must know that Light and Truth cannot deceive nor lead astray. Reina adduces a number of Bible passages to shew that the only people to whom the Bible is a danger are those who are already destined to perdition. It would be no help at all to take from the rest their only means of salvation:

"Seria luego buena prudencia quitarlo del mundo, quitando à los buenos el vnico medio por donde se han de saluar, por quitar la occasion de hazerse peores à los que se pierden, y de suyo estan ya señalados para perdicion." (p.** j r)

4. Reina demonstrates that in God's Word itself we are commanded to read it. It cannot be proper to forbid what God's Word enjoins. And it must be in a language understood by the most ignorant, otherwise its availability is restricted. If the Bible is all that it claims to be, those who would suppress it are depriving the Christian of light for his path, of his defence against temptation, and of the instrument whereby he combats error, enlightens his ignorance, learns justice and perfects himself in good works.

The Word of God is as necessary to life as bread, water, light, etc., and should be given the same free currency as those commodities, and no ruler does good who prohibits it in any way:

"Por monstruo de desvario, enemigo del linage humano, seria tenido justamente el rey o principe, que porque ay muchos que vsan mal del pã, del agua, del vino, del fuego, de la luz, y de las otras cosas necessarias à la vida humana, o las prohibiesse del todo, o hiziesse tal estãco de ellas que no se diessen si no muy caras, y con grande escasseza. La palabra de Dios tiene todos estos titulos, porque tã bien tiene los mismos effectos para el anima, miren pues los principes del mũdo, en que opinion quieren

"ser tenidos haziendola passar por tan iniqua condiciõ. Finalmẽte como quiera que sea, es menester que se resueluan, Que ni las disputas importunas, ni las defensas violentas, ni los protextos cautelosos, ni el fuego, ni las armas, ni toda la potencia del mũdo junta podrá ya resistir, que la Palabra de Dios no corra por todo tan libremente como el Sol por el cielo, como ya lo vamos todos prouando por experiencia: y seria prudencia no poca aprender de lo experimentado para lo porvenir, y tomar otros cõsejos." (p ** j v)

To this end the Council of Trent recognized the reading of Scripture as a great good.(5) Hence it must be good to read it in Spanish, since Spanish was not excepted. To authenticate his translation for Roman Catholics, Reina claims to be a Catholic, without mentioning what kind.(6) It is doubtless his firm conviction about himself:

"Quãto à loque toca àl autor de la Translaciõ, si Catholico es, el q̃ fiel y senzillamẽte cree y professa loq̃ la sancta Madre Iglesia Christiana Catholica cree, tiene, y mãtiene, determinado por Espiritu Sãcto, por los Canones de la Diuina Escritura, en los Sãctos Cõcilios, y en los Symbolos y summas cõmunes de la Fe, que llamã comunmẽte el de los Apostoles, el de el Concilio Niceno, y el de Athanasio, Catholico es, y injuria manifiesta le hara quien no lo tuuiere por tal:.." (p ** j v)

He has sought to do a service to his nation by making this translation; it may well be that there are some unconscious errors in such a large undertaking as this.

Reina then gives some indications of the way in which he worked to produce his version. He did not follow the old Latin version, despite its venerability, because of its divergence from the original Hebrew. He made use of Sanctes

(5) On the reverse of the title-page of this Bible are printed two decrees of the Council of Trent (in Latin with Spanish translations) which permit the reading of versions of the Bible made by (Roman) Catholics, subject to certain safeguards and with the authority of a priest.

(6) Menéndez y Pelayo (M. & P.V p.157) takes Reina to task for calling himself Catholic. Doubtless Reina was conscious of the element of ambiguity in his use of the word; but it expresses the conviction widely held by Reformers, that Protestantism is no new thing, but the true Catholic faith (see e.g. Juan Pérez's Breve Tratado, etc.)

Pagninus's Latin version,(7) and of other versions, but the principle which governed his choice of words was faithfulness to the Hebrew, although he has given alternative readings in the margins. He also used the Ferrara Old Testament to give in particular the exact meaning of words and the correct tense of the Hebrew. However, he feels obliged to point out one great error in this version, where a deliberate attempt has been made to give a wrong impression of the Messiah in Isa.9:4. Whilst praising the Ferrara Old Testament in general, Reina feels bound to warn of its inadequacies, for it tries to be a word for word translation and it gives as much value to the Chaldean paraphrases as to the Hebrew.

Reina feels that he must warn his readers that he has not made a word for word translation, but has been obliged to add words to make the sense correct. He has taken care to indicate by italics or square brackets what he has done.

As for the New Testament, he would have wished that the Latin translation of the Syriac version had appeared in time for him to make use of it.(8) Not that its authority is greater than the original Greek, but it would have helped to clarify some difficult passages.

Reina next turns to consider his use of certain words. He justifies his use of 'Iehoua' rather than 'Señor', because to use the latter word would have been falsification. Avoidance of the divine name is a late Jewish

(7) B. & F.B.S. op.cit.III items 6108, 6120. Biblia.Habes in hoc libro prudens lector vtriusq; instrumenti nouam translatione aeditam a reuerendo sacrae theologiae doctore Sancte pagnino lucesi concionatore apostolico Praed icatorij ordinis. Lyons 1527/28. The earliest Latin version of the Bible in modern times made from the original Hebrew & Greek, translated by Sanctes Pagninus (1466-1541) of Lucca...a literal rendering of the original. A reprint was made at Cologne 1541. A new edition was brought out by Servetus (Lyons 1542), using a copy of the first ed. corrected by Pagninus himself. Servetus's marginal notes caused offence. In this ed. the books of the Apocrypha are interspered amongst those of the O.T. in the same way as they are in Reina's. It is interesting to speculate whether what Reina in fact used was a copy of Servetus's edition.

(8) This is Tremellius's version. See below p. 293.

superstition that came into Christian usage via the Septuagint. His translation of 'berith' by 'concierto, pacto' or 'aliança' rather than by 'testamento' he justifies on the grounds of clarity of meaning. He has introduced the new words 'reptil', 'esculptil', and 'esculptura', because there seemed to be no suitable alternative Spanish word, and the solutions adopted by the Ferrara version seemed quite unacceptable.

As for the notes, the majority are explanations of Hebraisms. Reina has given the best Spanish translation in the text, and the literal Hebrew in the margin. Notes of a doctrinal kind have been omitted, mainly for reasons of space, and because he hoped to print them in a separate work at a later date.(9)

The chapter-summaries have been kept as short as possible. Each chapter is divided into paragraphs marked ¶ , and the numbers in the summaries relate to these paragraphs.

Reina has done his best, he says; if anyone sees mistakes and wishes to improve on his effort, the very mistakes will be a help. He cannot claim infallibility for his version, yet, so far, no one more capable or qualified has undertaken this necessary work. Until a better arrives, this version will have to do. God has blessed him in all his difficulties and insufficiencies:

> "...y ninguna dubda tenemos de que nuestro trabajo no aya sido agradable a Dios, por la continua assistencia de su fauor con que auemos podido lleuar vna carga tan pesada, tan estoruada de Satanas, tan poco ayudada de Hermanos, y por tantos dias. La obra nos ha durado entre las manos enteros doze años. Sacado el tiempo que nos han lleuado o enfermedades, o viajes, o otras occupaciones necessarias en nuestro destierro y pobreza, podemos affirmar, que han sido bien los nueue, que no hemos soltado la pluma de la mano, ni affloxado el estudio en quanto las fuerças ansi del cuerpo como del animo nos han alcançado. Parte de tan luenga tardança ha sido la falta de nuestra erudicion para tan grande obra, lo qual ha sido menester recompensar con casi doblado trabajo: parte tambien ha sido la estima que Dios nos ha dado de la misma obra, y el zelo de tratarla con toda limpieza, con la qal obligacion cõ ninguna erudita ni luenga diligencia se puede àsaz satisfazer. La erudicion

(9) A few lengthier notes which would not fit into the margins were printed on two leaves (one page being blank) & bound into some copies of this Bible. One supposes that Reina's Commentaries on John's Gospel and Matthew IV were the only parts of this project that ever were produced.

"y noticia de las lenguas, aũque no ha sido ni es la que quisieramos, ha sido la que basta para (como ya arriba hemos tocado) entender los pareceres de los que mas entienden, y conferir los entre si, para poder escojer lo mas conueniente conforme al sentido y noticia que Dios nos ha hado de su palabra. Auemosnos ayudado del juyzio y doctrina ansi de los biuos como de los muertos, q̃ en la obra nos hã podido dar alguna ayuda, cõsultãdo las mas versiones que hasta aora ay, y muchas vezes los commentarios." (pp.** v v f)

He is conscious of not having done justice to the task, but can at least claim not to have corrupted the text intentionally, by omission, addition or alteration. Errors there may be, but they come from the imperfection that we all share, even the Church, in which the devil is ever at work. Nevertheless, what Reina here offers to his fellow-Spaniards is necessary and useful, and as yet there is no alternative for them to use. Although he has not himself attempted an authoritative version, he now puts forward an idea which has often been commented upon.(10) Let an official committee of pious men, learned in Greek and Hebrew and Latin, be set up that would produce two translations, a Latin one for students, and a Spanish one which would be the canonical translation for the country, declared authoritative by a national Synod, which would also watch for errors that needed correction, and would make sure that a sufficient number should be printed each year to ensure a free supply, produced with care by a single authorized printer. Such a practice would establish a norm of reference in ecclesiastical disputes, and would eliminate corrupt texts. It is noteworthy that this is almost exactly what happened in 1611 with the production of the English Authorized Version. If a practice of constant revision such as that suggested by Reina had also been accepted, the effect would have been better over the long term:

"... à las quales por vn publico Cõcilio, a lo menos nacional, y cõ el fauor del publico suppremo Magistrado se les diesse summa authoridad para q̃ estas solas tuuiessen fuerça de Escriptura canonica, por la qual se decidiesse diffinitiuamẽte, como por legitimas leyes, todo negocio o disputa Ecclesiastica ... Mas por quãto aun los dichos autores de las versiones dichas podriã tãbien auer faltado en algo, q̃ algun otro particular en algun tiẽpo podria alcançar à ver, como acõtece, y ansi mismo

(10) As e.g. Bib.Wif.II pp.174 f.

"por euitar toda especie de tyrania, seria de parecer q̃ quedasse libertad à qualquiera q̃ hallasse alguna falta en las versiones ansi authorizadas, no para emmẽdarla el de su authoridad, sino para proponerla enel Cõcilio o Synodo ... para que siendo exsaminada enel, con authoridad del mismo Synodo se emmendasse: lo qual se podia hazer con nueua impressiõ ..." (p.** vj v)

Reina closes with a short prayer that such a version may one day be produced.

COMMENTARY ON JOHN'S GOSPEL

EVANGELIVM IOANNIS:/ HOC EST,/IVSTA AC VETVS/ APOLOGIA PRO AE-/TERNA CHRISTI DIVINITATE, ATQVE/ ADEO, QVATENVS VNVM CVM EO EST, AEQVA-/litate cum Patre: aduersus impietatem Iudaeorum, Ce-/rinthi, Ebionitarum, Arrij, Mahumethis de-/mum, & illorum scholae, cum ve-/teris, tum nouae./ EX NOVO TESTAMENTO SYRO A VIRIS/ doctis nuper Latinitati donato: cum diuersa lectione ex Graecis, si quando/ illa secus habeant, ad marginem apposita: & argumentis capi-/tum, & annotationibus in quibusdam/ locis selectioribus./ Nonnula insuper adiecta sequens pagina indicat./ Per Cassiodorum Reinium Theologiae/ studiosum./ Censurae piorum, atque adeò totius Ecclesiae Dei ex verbo &/ Spiritu ipsius iudicantis omnia subijciuntor./ I. Cor. 14, 32./[Device: Occasion on a wheel, holding a razor; legend: Fronte capillata est post haec occasio calva.]/ FRANCOFVRTI,/ Ex Officina Typographica Nicolai Bassei,/M.D.LXXIII.

This is a well-printed quarto book, consisting of a 10-page dedicatory epistle (numbered a 2 r - (b3)v); a 12-page preface (numbered 1 - 12); a commentary on John's Gospel occupying 163 pages (numbered 13 - 177); and a personal apostrophe to the opponents addressed by the work occupying three pages (numbered 175, 176, 180 instead of 178 - 180).

The dedication is addressed to Johann Sturm,(1) the Strassburg Reformer:

> "CLARISS. VIRO IOANNI STVRMIO, COMPATRI SVO INPRIMIS VENERANDO, CASSIODORVS REINIUS S.P.D." (p. a 2 r)

It is particularly interesting because of the autobiographical detail it provides, especially about the short period of Reina's life that he spent in Strassburg. He was not ashamed to earn his living by the work of his hands, since he had to support his wife and family, but he would have far preferred the work of the ministry to which he felt called:

> "Haud me multũ pudet pigétue, quod opificio manuum & industria mea victus mihi & familiae nunc demũ quaeritandus sit senectutem praesertim iamdudum ingresso, neq; firmae admodum valetudinis, qui sacris oraculis, quorum studiis ab ineunte setate addictus fui, edocear, homini ex originali illa & primaeua iustitia in corruptionem lapso, ac proinde in statu poenitentiae constituto labores manuum ad quos

(1) See above p. 105. Parts of this dedication are reproduced by Lehnemann P.93 and Bib.Wif.II pp. 221 f.

"diuino decreto vt inde sibi victũ paret, dãnatus est, quouis illi otio adeò esse salubriores, vt in illis ipsis fide & timore Dei susceptis & condîtis haud paruam amissae felicitatis partem recuperare liceat ... Illud autẽ in hoc statu felici alioqui, licet operoso ac negotioso, non possum non molestè ferre, quòd occupationibus hisce secularibus, quas etiã vocant sacrae literae, ab studijs sacrarum literarum & legitima vocatione mea inseruiendi Ecclesiae Christi pro ratione accepti talenti mei, aut si mauis nummuli, plus distrahar, quàm vellem, aut etiam in initio putaram suscepti operis." (p. a 2 r)

Reina had had for several years a copy of Tremellius's Latin translation of the Syriac New Testament, to which he had intended to add his own notes before republishing it.(2) Poverty and hard work had held up this project, so he had decided to begin by publishing an annotated version of John's Gospel only. His main aim was to help others to study the truth. He did not wish for any glory from the project, and certainly desired to avoid strife and to appeal for peace.

When Sturm has read the book, he will warn of the critics it will have - but Reina says he can bear what they will have to say. He wishes only to uphold the truth and to save erring brethren from the shipwreck of their faith.

After long study of John's Gospel, he had come to the realization that its main aim and theme was the divinity of Christ:

"Dum enim in paranda aeditione Latina Voui Testamenti Syri pro mei ordinis scholasticis, vt suprà dixi, incumbo, & ad Ioannis Euangelij venio, quod arbitror me alioqui plusquàm centies legisse, ita nouum visum est, deprehẽso seria animaduersione illius scopo & occasione, vt iniuriam illi me facturum arbitrarer, nisi illud cum eiusmodi titulo & occasionis & scopi declaratione, prout in Praefatione feci,

(2) He says that this translation was made 5 years earlier. This would seem to mean, Η Καινε Διαθεκε Testamentum Novum...est autem interpretatio Syriaca Noui Testamenti...Eadem Latino sermone reddita autore Immanuele Tremelio...(Geneva 1569)(Paris 1569). The projected edition mentioned does not seem to have materalized. An edition of Tremellius's O.T. in 5 folio vols. was published in Frankfurt 1575/79, Bibliorum pars prima(2a,3a,4a,5a)Latini recens ex Hebraeo facti...ab Immanuele Tremellio & Francisco Iunio, but the N.T. was not republished till it was issued with a second edition of the O.T. by the same printer in 1577/79, when the title also included...quibus etiam adjunximus novi Testamenti libros ex sermone Syriaco ab eodem Tremellio in Latinam conversos, which made a sixth folio volume.

"seorsim emisissem in lucem: vt & seorsim in eundem finem ab ipso Auctore est aeditum, quãtumuis alia vera Euangelia, Matthaei & Marci praesertim iam extarẽt." (p.b(i)r)

He felt that he must proclaim this doctrine till others who are more qualified take up the task. In fact Zanchi anticipated him by publishing a work on the same theme when this work was already with the printer.(3)

Cassiodoro would like to dedicate this work to Johann Sturm, because of the latter's great kindness to him in befriending him when he came to Strassburg, in helping him in many ways, and in standing by him when others were reviling him:

"Et profectò cùm in mentem venit (venit autem frequentissimè) quum primùm Argentoratum veni, que me animo susceperis afflictissimum, imo & afflictione penè obrutum, ignotum tibi prorsus antea, certiorem mearum afflictionum & infectationum ex integro fieri curaueris, consolatus deinde fueris, patronum te innocentiae meae, quoad illa tibi fuit perspecta, exhibueris, perseueraueris demum constantissimè in patrocinio, vel grauiter tentatus à nonnullis, vt illud veluti parum honorificum scilicet, atque adeò periculosum abijceres: ingentem insuper quandam tempestatem quae mihi postremùm parabatur, dum Argentinae agerem pauperculus, & omni humano, praeterquàm tuo, auxilio destitutus, offensus quàm indignissimè à multis, infensus aut noxius nemini, tua prudentia & singulari illa tua bonitate à me depuleris, atque auerteris me inscio & nihil eiusmodi saeuitiae metuenti, adeò vt liberationem tuam priùs senserim quàm ipsum periculum, quod tamẽ tale ac tantum erat, vt nisi Deus per te me antequàm ingrueret, protexisset, haud passus me tam grauiter, imo tam atrociter tentari onmino supra vires, absorbuisset vtique me:..." (pp.b i v f)

To Sturm he owes everything that he now is, under God, and thus he prays God's blessing on him.

The Preface sets forth carefully the general argument for the doctrine of Christ's divinity. The Prophets foretold that the Messiah would be 'a rock of offence and a stone of stumbling,' and it is just this point of Christ's godhead that caused people to baulk and stumble.

The first victims were the Jews, of whom the vast majority rejected the

(3) For Zanchi see above p. 115. Zanchi's work referred to would be De tribus Elohim sive de uno vero Deo aeterno patre, filio et spiritu sancto (Heidelberg 1572)

Messiah, did not all accept Him as Servant,(4) but tried to mix the Law and the Gospel, retaining circumcision as a necessary rite. Thus arose the Ebionites and the Cerinthins (whose contemporary representatives were the Ethiopians and 'Saracens').(5) They form a second class of those who stumble, because they deny Christ's divinity by stressing His humanity.

John's Gospel was written to confute these heresies and to provide sufficient knowledge to assure men of their salvation:

> "Hos errores haud minus exitiales saluti hominum, quàm in Deum ipsum blasphemos, vt superstes adhuc Ioãnes Dilectus Domini Discipulus atq; Apostolus refelleret, hac historiam Euangelicam postremus Euãgelistarum conscripsisse ferunt: vt quemadmodum Christus ipse adhuc in terris degens diuinitatem suam & officium aduersus pertinaces Iudaeos proprio ore vindicarat, editis ipse postea in lucem eisdẽ Christi disputationibus, neq; noua alia apologia in eũdem vsum conficta, optimo sanè eodemq; honorifico in Magistrũ consilio, eosdem veteres errores nouùm emergentes solidè ac luculenter confutaret." (p.2)

In spite of this gospel Arius arose, 'pullus ex eisiem ouis exclusis,' once more denying Christ's divinity. In its turn, the Arian heresy gave rise to the Mohammedans, whose religion is a lineal descendent of that of the Ebionites, Cerinthians and Arians:

> "Erupit demum quaestio iam dudum orbi exitialis ex Arrianismo in apostasiam Mahumethicam, qua nihil vnquã orbi ipsi fuit exitialius. Itaq; re per historias indubitatae fidei ad originem suum relata, Muhamethica secta, quam hodie verae pietatis cultores omnes meritò execrantur, exillis est Christianis, qui in initio nascentis Ecclesiae Euangelium eum Mosaica Lege obstinatè miscuerũt. Inde Ebionitae & Cerinthiani: ex quibus postea Arriani in Mahumethanos euasêre: hi, retẽta ex auitis traditionibus Circuncisione, & aliquot a Legis parte, Christum barba illa aurea ab Arrianis illi reliqua facta adhuc spoliantes linea induerunt,..." (p.3)

The Mohammedans have spread their errors over large parts of Asia, and as far

(4) I take it that Reina here means what nowadays is usually called the 'suffering Servant.'

(5) Ebionites - a 1st & 2nd century Judaeo-Christian sect, of whom Cerinthus appears to have been a member. They held that Jesus became the Messiah at His baptism, when special power descended on Him, only to be removed before the Crucifixion. Irenaeus (Adv.haer.III.xi.i.) asserts that John wrote his Gospel to refute the Cerinthians. (O.D.C.C. ad locc).

as Spain. They represent a third class of those who stumble over Christ's godhead, those who deny, not only His divinity, but also His Messiahsip and His expiatory sacrifice.

In our day others have arisen who propagate the same errors. The way to confute them is not to write great volumes, but to repeat simply John's Gospel, emphasizing by notes the passages which particularly stress Christ's godhead:

> "Anne nouis, & eisdem, pro rei ipsius magnitudine, vastis voluminibus cùm errores longè perniciosos confutabimus, tum veritatem asseremus ? Minimè ... Itaq; Ioannis Euangelistae consilium hac in re vehementer probo, omnibusq; alijs meritò anteponendum censeo, qui eosdem errores abũdè confutari iudicauit per simplicem historiae de Christo narrationem, qua ostenditur, Christum ipsum proprio illos ore potenter confutasse ... Hoc igitur consilium sequuti ab alia noua commentatione prorsus abstinentes ipsum Joannis Euangelium recudere illis constituimus, caeterum in signitum titulo, Iustae Apologiae pro aeterna Christi diuinitate ... quemadmodum & in eundem vsum ab Joanne fuisse conscriptum, res ipsa apertè declarat. Tantũ addidimus ex nostro, praeter argumenta capitũ, ãnotationes in selectis aliquot locis, in quibus aut institutũ ipsum nostrũ, aut deniq; sermonis difficultas nonnihil lucis, enarrationisve amplioris desiderare videbatur." (p.5)

In this Gospel Christ's divinity is stated by various authorities: firstly, by God Himself and by Christ's own claim to be equal with God; secondly, by four clear declarations of John the Baptist that Christ is Messiah and that His expiatory sacrifice is available to the whole world; thirdly, by Christ's miracles, which, when compared with those credited to Him by the Mohammedans, can be seen to be far superior. In addition, a fourth authority can be cited, that of the rest of Scripture.

The modern detractors of the doctrine of Christ's godhead claim that the text of this gospel, as we have it, is corrupt. Let them produce the incorrupt version:

> "Dicent saltem, se Joannis Apostoli authoritati nihil detractum velle, sicuti neq; Christi ipsius, quem in sublimi adhuc habeant honoris gradu: infra Deum tamen. Sed Euangelium ipsius, quod nos iactamus, esse corruptissimum. Fatemur equidem corruptorum hominũ malitia, & Antistitum Religionis negligentia olim accidisse, vt pleraq; vana nedum corrupta scripta Euangeliorũ nomine in Ecclesiam

"irrepserint. At quòd illa, quibus nunc Ecclesia Christiana, vtitur, sint corrupta, probare vtiq; debet, qui affirmauerit. Probare autem nunquam poterit, nisi productis illis exemplaribus scilicet incorruptis, vnde istorum corruptiones deprehendi queat. Proferant igitur, si habent, Euangelium Ioannis incorruptius." (p.10) (6)

Reina then lists quotations from the Gospel to show Christ's godhead and His equality with the Father; and divine attributes which are possessed by Him. In fact, this Gospel defends every point of this doctrine from all detractors:

"Porrò, vt vno verbo dicam, vertant se quocunq; volent Arrius & Mahumethes, Modò Joannis historia nobis maneat inuiolata, quemadmodum ex modò allatis argumentis manere necesse est, negari non potest, Christum diuinam naturam, atque adeò essentiae diuinae vnitatem cum Patre, & eatenus aequalitatem cum eodem, sibi vindicasse: diuinos sibi honores, quemadmodum & Patri, poposcisse: neq; quum quis illi detulit, aspernatum esse: nam & his in primis nominibus à Iudaeis accusatus supplicium acerbae mortis subiuit tanquam insigniter in Deum blasphemus. At qui Filius Dei, & hominum Seruator (vt illum Arrius fatetur) Sermo ipse Dei, Virtus Dei, Anima ipsa Dei, Spiritus Dei, deniq; Legatus ac Propheta Dei verax & sanctissimus (qualem Mahumetas) mentiri vtiq; non potest. Haec expendant viri probi, & veritatis amantes, & iudicent, quî sibi constent viri illi perniciosi ac pestilẽtes, dum ex altera parte tantum ac talem virum Christum praedicant, at ex altera in propriam, & illorum perniciem, qui eos sequuntur duces, eundem ea spoliant dignitate, quam tot tantisq; argumentis sibi ipse vindicauit." (p.11)

Hence there is hardly need to adduce other arguments, such as are provided by the other three Evangelists, the Acts, and the Apostolic Epistles.

Reina ends with a prayer that his work might call the dead to life, and, by glorifying Christ, restore erring brethren to the truth.

The body of the commentary consists of the text of Tremellius's Latin translation of the Syriac Gospel, together with all the marginal apparatus that goes with it:

"EVANGELIVM SANCTVM PRAEDICATIONIS IVCHANNAN, QVOD PROTVLIT ac praedicauit Graecè in Epheso."

The name Iuchannan shews one of the peculiarities of this version. All the names are given in Syriac forms: Iuchannan (John), Musche (Moses), Vrischelem

(6) See also p.134 in the commentary.

(Jerusalem), Schemeun (Simon), Cipha (Peter), Natzerath (Nazareth), etc., and even Ieschua (Jesus) and Messia (Christ). This text is given chapter by chapter. After each chapter comes an 'Argumentum in cap...Ioannis,' very like the ones in use as chapter-headings in the older versions of most Bibles. In these summaries, the names are given their more familiar Latin forms. Then follow the 'annotationes' or commentaries, which stress particularly those passages which indicate the divinity of Christ.

In view of the frequent accusations of Servetism levelled at Reina, this commentary as a whole is interesting, and, reading a passage such as:

> "Dicimus enim cum Iohanne, Deus est charitas: dicimus etiam, Deus est ipsa bonitas, veritas, fortitudo, iustitia, sapientia, &c. quae omnes enuntiationes perinde essentiales sunt atq; haec, Pater est Deus, aut Sermo, siue Spiritus Sanctus, est Deus. In illa enim naturae diuinae admiranda simplicitate accidentibus, qualitatibus, habitibus, mullus est locus: ipsa enim sua simplicissima essentia Deus est quicquid est. Ergo quẽadmodum si cum Iobanne(sic) dixeris, Deus est charitas, periculum est nullum, vt attributa alia cum ipsa charitate confundas, haud secus minus lõge est periculi, si dixeris, Deus est ille Sermo, Deus est ille Pater, Deus est ille Spiritus Sanctus: vbi hypostases ipsae distinctis nimirùm rationibus iam sunt distinctae. & rectè & verè illud dixeris, vbi ex essentiae identitate, in ijs quae ad essentiam spectant, separari inuicem hypostases nullo modo possint, vnaquaque illarum iuxta suam propriam atque indiuiduam analogiam concurrente. Quod si illud, quo pacto fiat, nondum plenè assequimur, & absurdae inde quaepiam cogitationes mentem subeant, paruitatis nostrae recordemur, qua, ne ea quidem quae ante pedes habemus, perspicimus, nedum ista perspiciemus onmium quae in vniuersum extant, profundissima: quare & in ipso Dei verbo atque ipsius simplicitate cum omni animi submissione ac reuerentia acquiescamus." (p.19)

one is forced to wonder why it was ever possible to accuse him of Anti-Trinitarian views. Indeed, he specifically mentions Servetus's ideas to refute them, although it is to be noted that he does not condemn them as impious. Servetus is merely wrong, like the Anabaptists, Ebionites, Mohammedans and Arians:

> "Sententiam Serueti, & quorundam ex Anabaptistis, qui hîc intelligunt, carnem Christi ex Sermone illo, veluti ex materia seminaria, & concreta massa, intumuisse, ac constitisse, veluti insulsam, crassam, huic loco peregrinam, addo etiam, & de natura diuina (quasi quae in carnem conuerti, aut ex illa in carnem conuersa natura humana constare possit)

"ineptè, fabuloséq; ne dicam impiè pronuntiantem, omninò repudiandam, & ne vsquam audiatur, toto orbe exterminandam censeo." (p.22)

Another point worthy of notice is that Reina several times refers to the Hebrew of the Old Testament and to the Hebraeo-Syriac forms behind the version, in such a way as to demonstrate his familiarity with the language. This makes nonsense of Menéndez y Pelayo's claim that he knew very little Hebrew.(7)

Reina is also quite free in his attitude to Scripture, and is certainly no slavish literalist. He studiously avoids naming the author of Hebrews, saying several times, 'Author epistolae ad Hebraeos,' and even separating the author from the Apostolic epistle-writers.(8) He recognizes in the Gospel the element of commentary by the evangelist himself, where the speeches of Jesus and John the Baptist merge almost imperceptibly into theological statements about Christ:

"Non sunt (quoad ego iudico) verba Baptistae, vt nonnulli autumant, qui illa ijs quae in fine praecedentis versiculi praecesserunt, coniungunt decepti interpositione illa 15. versiculi in sententiae medio: sed sunt Euangelistae ipsius declarantis vsum illius opulentiae Christi, de qua dixit in fine 14. versiculi. versiculus enim 15. omninò est interiectus in illa sententia, cuiusmodi interpositiones frequentissimae sunt cùm in sacris omnibus scriptorib. tum maximè in hoc nostro Euangelista, quas nisi quis diligenter obseruet ac deprehendat, falli saepè in contextu necesse est. Itaque reiecto ver.15. inter 18. & 19.qui illius est proprius locus, decimum sextum decimo quarto subiungemus in paraphrasi nostra in hos 18. primos versiculos, quam mox subijciemus, vbi videre erit, quomodo ista cohaereant." (p.23)

Reina is also willing to suggest that verses are out of place in other chapters.(9) Exceptionally, as the above quotation indicates, Reina gives a paraphrase of the first 18 verses of chapter 1 in order to bring out more clearly the meaning as he sees it.

Commenting on the wedding at Cana, Cassiodoro rejects Roman Catholic doctrine of mariolatry with the same courtesy as he had accorded to Servetus:

(7) M. & P.V. pp. 154 f. See also pp. 21,23,32,33 f, 54, 61, 73,75,120,150.

(8) Also on pp. 9, 12.

(9) See also pp. 32,54,48,83.

"Qvid mihi et tibi mulier (?) q.d. Te non agnosco, vt in gratiam tui opus ministerij mei aut maturem, aut omittam. Itaque acris est repulsa humani affectus, qua ostẽdit Dei ministrum nihil in ministerio suo aggredi debere in gratiam cuiusquam mortalium neq; vlla prorsus humana se affectione vnquã duci patiatur, sed eo vno Spiritu eius à quo vocatus est, & ad opus missus." (p.39)

He admits allegorical interpretations, but firmly tries to see the passage as it struck its writer and those who first read it.(10) He relies considerably on other parts of the Bible to provide interpretations, and quotes freely from both the Old and New Testaments. Occasionally he finds it useful to use Spanish, French and even Italian to explain what he wishes to say.(11)

The desire to avoid strife can also be seen when he states a view of the eucharist opposed to the Roman Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation:

"Venire enim ad Christum ipse esus viuificantis panis est, qui famem aeternùm depellat. Venit autem ad Christum, qui toto pectore in illum credit, illiq; adhaeret. Sic interpretatur Christus ipse mox subiungens, 'Et is qui credit in me, non sitiet &c.' Igitur habes iam modum, quo ad aeternam vitam carnem Christi edas, & sanguinem bibas, siue illud in Sacramento Coenae fiat, siue extra sacramentum. Neque enim (si de substantiali carnis ipsius esu agitur, & de substantiali potu sanguinis, quae tamen non ore, iuxta Capernaitarum sensum, fiant corporis, sed mentis, re ipsa ad iustam amussim reuocata) multiplex est modus edendi: sed vnus, simplexq; Fides in ipsum. Caeterùm externa instrumenta, quibus haec fides innititur ac subleuatur, duplicia sunt, verbum nimirum promissionis solum, aut verbum ipsum sacramento, id est, externae caeremoniae adiunctum." (p.75)

Reina sees the flesh that Christ gave for the world as being on the cross, the flesh that the believer eats as being not physical:

"Ita fiet, vt ille det vobis carnẽ suam in verum, non corporis, aut oris, aut ventris, vt vos putatis, sed animae, cibum; vos vicissim comedatis non corpore, sed mente: non ore, sed fide: idque ad aeternam vitam. Fateor equidem Capernaitas haud facilè tunc ista intelligere potuisse, vtpote quibus tam erat obscurum, datarum Christum carnem suam pro mundi vita, atq; illud, se videlicet esse panem, quòd illis verbis explicabatur ver.praec. Mysterium enim crucis & mortis Christi, illiusq; virtus, neq; tum erat omnibus notum, neque Christus ipse illis verbis, 'Dabo corpus meum pro mundi vita,' illud satis explicuerat." (p.78) (12)

(10) See e.g. pp.40,53,55,173.

(11) pp. 70,117,145.

(12) Also pp.80 f.

Chapters which do not deal with the main point of his intention Reina passes over very briefly.

He is willing, however, to suppose the Greek text used for the majority of translations to be corrupt:

> "[John 14; 14] 'A me') Non dubito quin Graeci codices, in quibus (vt apparet) haec verba non leguntur, corrupti sint: quum illa, praeter Syrum, legerit quoque vetus Latinus interpres: neque verisimile sit, illos ea addidisse de suo. Sunt verò verba haud parui ponderis: quum in eisdem apertè doceamur, Petitiones fidelium cassas minimè fore: si ad Christum ipsum, vtpote verũ Deum quemadmodũ & ad Patrem, dirigantur. Innuerat procul dubio hoc ipsum Christus, quum se facturũ, idque bis, pollicetur, quicquid in ipsius nomine fuerit petitũ. Sed verba haec 'a me', non iam insinuantis sunt, sed palam, & apertè loquentis." (p.134)

He reveals himself to be rather free in his interpretation of traditional dogmas, showing a pragmatic approach, for instance, in the following discussion of the double procession of the Holy Spirit:

> "[John 16:4] 'De meo accipiet.') Frustrà haec (vt mihi quidem videtur) aduersus Graecos negantes, Spiritum Sanctum à Filio simul & Patre procedere, quod ad tertiae Personae constitutionem in Trinitate attinet, allata à Veteribus fuerunt. Verum & firmum dogma aliundè, nimirùm ex suis fontibus, firmiùs confirmandum est. Nos in praesenti ab ea disputatione supersedemus: quando neque hic agitur de processione Personae Spiritus Sancti: sed de vera Christi agnitione, quam, desumtis, et infixis atque insculptis in animis fidelium Christi verbis & doctrina, Spiritus Sanctus efficit..." (p.145)

The commentary ends on page 177, and is followed by the final section, called in the index 'Addita est eiusdem argumenti ad quendam responsio.' It is in the form of an address directly to an unnamed person, who is conceived as an opponent of the views put forward, one who accepts Christ as Messiah, Saviour and Son of God, but who cannot accept Him as equal and co-eternal with God. All Christians are God's sons, he claims. Reina reiterates his arguments, and insists especially on the difference between the sonship of Christ and the sonship of the Christian. Christ is God's son by nature, the Christian by grace and adoption:

> "Naturale est, inquit alicubi Aristoteles, quod à principio inest. inest autem maximè à principio, quod ex ipsis rei alicuius causis siue principijs illam constituentibus fluit. Christus qui, vt Apostoli verbis vtar, heri est & hodie & vsque in secula, id est, aeternus cis ac citra omnem temporis differentiam, nunquam non fuit Dei filius in diuina sua per-

"sona. Est eternus illius Sermo. Gratia illi erga caelestem Patrem aeterna fuit, ac perpetuò constitit. Ergo gratia est illi naturalis & aeterna, nõ ascititia aut tẽporanea. Nos miseri cõtra, ascitij nimirùm filij, ob id quod aliquando exosi fuimus, beneficio ac dilectione sua sumus nunc dilecti & gratiosi, atque in eam filiorum Dei dignitatem incomparabilem, & aeternam demum Dei gratiam per ipsum introducti.

Hoc discrimen inter ipsum & nos, nimirùm quòd ipse natura sit Filius non gratia, nos autem gratia non natura, nomina '<u>Vnigeniti ac Veri</u>' quae Ioannes illi tribuit, satis declarant, vt & suo loco annotauimus." (pp.174 f).

This argument terminates with an ascription of glory to the Trinity, with the final assertion: "Quod Dominus Jesus in gloria est Dei Patris. Amen."

An examination of the references made to authorities in this work reveals that the great majority are Biblical, 13 books of the Old Testament and 19 of the New Testament are quoted. In addition, Cato, Aristotle, Eusebius, Erasmus, the Talmud and Suras 2,5,11,12 & 13 of the Koran, are used.

COMMENTARY ON THE FOURTH CHAPTER OF MATTHEW'S GOSPEL

EXPOSITIO PRI=/MAE PARTIS CAPI-/TIS QVARTI MATTHAEI, COM-/MONEFACTORIA AD ECCLESIAM/Christi, De periculis piorum Mini-/strorum Verbi in tempore/cauendis./ PER CASSIODORVM REI-/NIVM THEOLOGIAE STV-/DIOSVM./[Device: Occasio, etc. with legend as in previous commentary, but differently drawn]/FRANCOFVRTI,/Ex Officina Typographica Nicolai Bassei./M.D.LXXIII. 4°. Introduction 3 pp, plus 16 pp text.

This short work is really an integral part of the volume containing the Commentary on John's Gospel, and has never so far been found separately. It contains 22 pages, consisting of a 3-page dedication (on unnumbered pages 3 - 5) and the commentary, which occupies pages 6 - 22.

The dedication is to the Basle professors, Simon Sulzer and Huldrich Koechlein:

> "PIIS IVXTA AC DOCTIS VIRIS SIMONI SVLTZERO, ET HVLDRICO COCTIO, S.THEOLOGIAE DOCTORIBVS, Ecclesiae Basiliensis pastoribus pientissimis ac vigilantiss. atque Academiae S.Theologiae professoribus, amicis ac patribus suis vnicè colendis, Cassiodorus Reinius S.P.D." (p.3)

It is interesting for the autobiographical detail it gives concerning Reina's connexion with Basle at the time of the production of his Bible. He thanks his two friends for facilitating its passage, for helping to gain the necessary permission from the City Council, for making him a member of the University, so that he could enjoy the benefits of citizenship at no expense, for their help given to himself, his wife and family, particularly during his severe illness, for bringing his family to Basle, where they stayed with Perez, without whose aid the work of 10 years would never have been brought to a successful conclusion. Sulzer and Koechlein had helped by their prayers and practical knowledge over three years, playing their part in the production of the Bible.

As in the dedication of his Commentary on John's Gospel, Reina refers to his intention to publish, with his own notes, Tremellius's translation of the Syriac New Testament and he says that, having been prevented earlier from doing so, he still found thoughts on Christ's temptations worth sharing, giving, as they do, warnings to the Church. These thoughts had become so lengthy that they could not properly be incorporated in an edition of the New Testament as mere notes. He now dedicates them to the two professors out of gratitude for their kindness, and as a memorial of their outstanding

worth as ministers.

The Commentary follows the same pattern as that on John, except that the chapter summary is transferred to the beginning from its end. Clearly, he intended to deal with verses 1-11 only, since verses 12-25 are given separately to fill up the available space.

The intention of the work is, of course, to make ministers aware of the dangers attendant upon the ministry. Reina sees the Temptations, by analogy, as warnings from Christ of what might happen to ministers. His discussion of their effect on Jesus contains nothing about the popular Messianic ideas that were current in His day, and which are the stock in trade of every commentary nowadays. On the other hand, the purpose of the Temptations of deflecting Him from His calling is made very clear:

> "Intendit satan quocunq; tandem modo Christum, abiecta vera in Deum fiducia, è statione deijcere, & ab officio redemptionis humanae reuocare ..." (p.8)

Reina believes that the Church faces much greater dangers than it has yet seen. When the Christian minister has resisted the trials brought about by hunger and the world's contempt, the devil tends to use the man's very faith as a weapon against him, by concentrating on pastors and leaders in order to subvert the Church, for the welfare of the Church has ever depended on faithful individuals:

> "Ecclesiae fortunam ita esse in terris comparatã, vt vniuersa illius siue incolumitas siue ruina ab vnis pastorib. & episcopis pendeat, negabit nemo, qui in vniuerso Ecclesiae decursu ab orbe condito animaduerterit, illis stãtibus & in officio fortiter ac fideliter perseuerãtibus eam semper cõstitisse atque floruisse: illis verò à satana aut corruptis aut quouis modo è statione depulsis, quàm pessimè habuisse. Itaque diabolus, vt compendio rem agat, pijs pastoribus inprimis & eorum ministerio incessanter insidiatur, atque in eis vnis peruertendis vires pessimi ingenij sui intendit vniuersas, ad quorum casum Ecclesiae quoque euersionem sequi necesse est. (p.10)

When the pastor sees that by his faith, by the certainty of his vocation, and by bearing the ill-will of men, he achieves nothing, he is tempted to force the issue, and instead of continuing in prayer and the study of God's word, he thinks up some great and dangerous undertaking, not inspired by God, thus throwing himself, as it were, from the pinnacle of the temple. The pastor whose main interest is money, and who, persuaded that he is not paid well

enough, leaves the Church, is no great loss. The loss of a zealous pastor, by this means, is, however, a great loss:

> "Is si mercenarius fuerit, hoc est, pro mercede tantum seruiẽs, etsi frugi alioqui videretur, eo amisso haud ita magnam Ecclesia iacturam fecerit. Sin verus, pius, fidus, ac frugi erat, citra magnum Ecclesiae damnum amitti vtique non potuit." (p.11)

for his very zeal can be his downfall and bring him into enmity with God.

One temptation remains, that of wishing to turn the Church into a kingdom, in which ambition leads the pastor to become a ruler:

> "Euangelium verò ipsum religiosam erga pastores obedientiam in populo requiret. Itaque vbi ista omnia concurrunt, haud est difficile diabolo in caeco & pessimè affecto populo, religione in superstitionem conuersa, seu vt veriùs dicam, superstitione verae religionis loco animis hominum iniecta, efficere vt ambitioso pastori eam obedientiam pietatis nomine homines certatim vltrò deferant, quam sub vero Euãgelio pio & fido pastori detulissent nunquam. Iam verò vbi semel ambitio clauum coeperit, Ecclesiae antea pauperis & abiectae loco mundanum succedit regnum, eò opulentius & splendidius quò latiùs dilatari finibus contigerit. Opes fortassis in initio regni non quaerebantur: sed vt ambitionem parere auaritiam, ita etiam studium congerendarum opum sequi necesse est. Neque tamen ad hanc molem Babylonicam exaedificandam vnius tantùm hominis opera vt id fiat, necesse est, aut vnius seculi spatio: incoeptum bonis auspicijs aedificium vnus successori, ille deinde posteritati tradit consummandũ per complura secula postea duraturum." (p.12)

Reina uses the example of the Donation of Constantine (which he prefers to think of as being by Charlemagne) to show at length how this was the downfall of the Roman Church.(1) It is in fact noteworthy that at no point in this work does Reina see false doctrine as a snare of the minister. He concentrates

(1) The Donation was a document fabricated probably in the Frankish Empire of the 8th and 9th centuries to strengthen the power of the Church and in particular the Roman see. In it the Emperor Constantine purports to confer on Pope Sylvester I primacy over other patriarchal sees and dominion over Italy and all provinces of the West. It made the Pope supreme judge of the clergy. During the Middle Ages this document was accepted even by the opponents of the papacy, but it was challenged on the 15th century and its falsity was demonstrated by Nicolas of Cusa and others. (O.D.C.C.)

on moral and spiritual dangers and reproaches the Roman Catholic Church on a purely moral issue. Domination by the pastors leads to great spiritual pride. The desire for power and pomp and glory leads Christian ministers in the end to bow down to Satan:

> "Caeterùm nae haud prudenter nimis vtrique nunc disputabimus, Rectè fecerint, nec ne, Constantinus & Syluester, quum disputandum esset potiùs, Habeátne hodie Romanus Pontifex totius orbis Imperium atque eius gloriam & opes à Christo an à diabolo. En Christus à satana oblatum reijcit: verò Christus neutiquam inficiando satanae ius, quod in illud habere se dicit: nam praelonga foret illa de iure disceptatio. Habet ille quidem orbis imperium, sed vt malis acquisitum artibus, ita etiam haud melioribus administrat. Igitur qui ab eo illud fuerit accepturus, precario accipiat, ac proinde vt benefactorem scilicet adoret priùs, ac perpetuò deinde agnoscat, necesse est. Christus de regno, vt dicimus, & regni iure omnem disceptationem praetermittens conditionem modò impiam, nedum iniquã esse ostendit, asseuerans ex Scriptura, Vni Deo adorationem deberi. Papa viderit quibus cum eo postea pactus sit cõditionibus. nam ab eo habere praesenti historia edocti dubitare neque possumus neque debemus. Iurabit fortassis se nunquam adorasse diabolum, immo neque vidisse vnquã. Fieri quidem potest: etsi fortassis ex eius praecessoribus nonnulli hoc de se verè affirmare non possint: at inficiari non potest prodigiosam idolatriã, ac totius diuini cultus corruptionem, quam tuetur. Eam nos diaboli esse adorationem, quam illi non semel, sed cõtinenter persoluit, vtpote qua illi orbis imperium & gloria constiterit, certò scimus. Neque enim timẽdum hodie est, vt ab Ecclesiae pastoribus diabolus, quos tentare aggreditur, apertè iterũ postulet, vt aut se è templi fastigio praecipitent: aut eum adorent. Nouit satis eiusmodi petitiones execrabiles fore vel ijs ipsis, qui apertè per summam auaritiam ac superbiam orbis imperium affectant. Semel illud in Christo factũ est, vt nos edoceremur," (pp 14 f)

Papa habet
Reijcit

In the beginning the Church was not so affected by the pomp and glory of this world, and had pastors who practised evangelical poverty, but who were rich in the gifts of God. As she fell to various temptations, her faithlessness has led to Mohammed in the east and to the Pope in the west.

Reina ends this part of the commentary with an apostrophe to the Church, saved by God's mercy from the damage done by faithless pastors:

> "O miseram Ecclesiae Christianae sortem, nisi Deus benignissimis illis oculis infinitae misericordiae, quo tempore superstitio, idolatria, & omnium malorum Laerna, quae diaboli adoratio & cultus per pastorum ambitionem & auaritiam in orbem Christianum inuexit, omnia occuparant, res illius planè deploratas aspexisset: vt reliquiae nobis, etsi admodum paucae, vt Iesaias ait, seruarentur." (p.16)

He then breaks in with an entreaty to the ministers of his day to beware of these temptations and to resist them. The Church's greatest danger is to reject the word of God, as well the devil knows: -

> "Adde etiam, quòd neque diabolus telum tam potentissimum, cuius vnius virtute regnum suum per tot secula constitisse nouit, quin eo nunc quoque tentet Ecclesiae vires, non omittet. Illud si aliquando contingat ob iustissimam iram Dei verbi sui contemtum in alijs, in alijs abusum vindicantis, lapsum fore non dubito longè periculosiorem funestioremq; quàm is fuerit, quem in Romana Ecclesia conspicimus." (p.17)

Christ furnishes the example; the devil can always be resisted by the use of Scripture.

In the commentary on the rest of the chapter, Reina concentrates on the need of pastors to be 'fishers of men', bringing men into the kingdom of Christ:

> "Qualis sit illorum status, qui ex mundi huius faecium lacu, & satanae imperio ad Christi Regnum per ministerium Euangelij erãt traducendi..." (p.22)

Even in this short work, Reina quotes from six books of the Old Testament and also from three of the New Testament, besides Horace and the Donation of Constantine. He also mentions six Roman Catholic authorities who had written about the donation.

THE WORKS OF CIPRIANO DE VALERA.

Valera's publications were the following:-

I. 1588 The first edition of Dos Tratados.

II. 1594 Tratado para confirmar los cativos de Berbería.

III. 1594 Enxambre de los falsos milagros.

IV. 1596 A revision of Reina's version of the New Testament with a Preface by Valera.

V. 1597 A Spanish translation of Calvin's Institution, with a Preface by Valera.

VI. 1599 A second, revised edition of Dos Tratados.

VII. 1599 A second edition of Enxambre de los falsos milagros.

VIII. 1599 The Preface for Guillermo Massan's translation of William Perkin's Catholico Reformado.

IX. 1600 Aviso sobre Jubileos, translation of a French pamphlet.

X. 1602 A revision of Reina's translation of the whole Bible, with a Dedication and Preface by Valera.

In addition, Valera produced:

XI. 1596 A second, unaltered edition of Pérez's Catecismo, in which even the Preface is retained unchanged.

Original complete works are: I. (VI) Dos Tratados; II. Tratado para confirmar los cativos de Berbería; III. (VII) Enxambre de Falsos milagros. The rest are translations, to several of which he added Prefaces which are his work, viz: IV. Preface to the New Testament; V. Preface to the Institucion; X. Dedication and Preface to the Bible; to which may be added VIII. Preface to Catholico Reformado. To these works we shall give some consideration, and, because it is unknown in its original version, we shall also look at IX. Aviso sobre Jubileos.

Besides the above works, Valera has left behind a number of manuscript remains, (although, surprizingly, no letters), but none of the items is lengthy enough to deserve consideration. They are listed in the Bibliography.

TRATADO PARA CONFIRMAR LOS CATIVOS DE BERUERIA.

TRATADO/ Para confirmar los pobres ca-/tivos de Berueria en la catolica y an-/ tigua fe, y religion Christiana, y para/ los consolar con la Palabra de Dios/ en las afliciones que padecen/ por el Evangelio de/ Iesu Christo./ Por tu causa, O Senor, nos/ matan cada dia: somos tenidos co-/mo ovejas para el degolladero. Despierta,/ porque duermes Señor? Despierta/ no te alexes para siempre./ psalmo 44,23./ Al fin deste tratado hallareys un en-/xambre de los falsos milagros, y ilusiones/ del Demonio con que Maria de la visitaci-/on priora de la Anunciada de Lisboa en-/gano a muy muchos: y de como fue/ descubierta y condenada al fin/ del año de. 1588./En casa de Pedro Shorto,/Año de.1594. 8°. Title + 105 pp. (Tratado) + 40 pp. (Enxambre).

This is a small 8° volume of 145 pages; 104 pages are taken up by the Tratado, with which are incorporated 40 pages of Enxambre de los falsos milagros It is a rare work; in fact, it has been called the rarest of all 16th-century Spanish Protestant publications, although this statement must be challenged.(1) Wiffen found only two copies in existence in the last century. The book was reissued with modernized spelling as part of volume 8 of R.A.E. in 1854, and again in Madrid in 1872.(2)

Valera begins in New Testament form:

> "A todos los pobres Catiuos de Berberia que padecen por el Evangelio de Iesu Christo Salud en el mismo Señor."

He continues with a clarification of why there was any need to write. Taken together with various other passages, this introduction makes it fairly certain that the Barbary captives did exist and were not just a pseudonym for the Protestants in Spain.(3) It seems that a movement of gospel awakening had taken place amongst the captives, causing them to leave the Roman Catholic church:

(1) Boehmer records only two copies (Bib.Wif.III p.164). There are, however, at least three copies of this work in England (see p. 476), which means that it cannot claim the title from Pérez's Epistola Consolatoria, of which only one copy is known.

(2) Bib.Wif.III p.164.

(3) M. & P. V p.189: "por más que algunos sospechan que Berbería es España, y los cautives los protestantes de Sevilla."

"Por nueva certissima, assi de palabra, como por carta he entẽdido las grandes misericordias y mercedes que el padre de las misericordias y de las mercedes os ha hecho de poco aca: que es que siendo vosotros unos pobres y miserables cativos ocupados de dia y denoche en grandes afliciones y trauajos corporales, y demas desto no siendo vosotros exercitados en la lecion de la sagrada Escritura, mas ãtes muy agenos della, y por tanto Christianos solamente en el nombre, su Majestad movido, no por vuestros meritos, ni por vuestras buenas obras ... sino por su grã misericordia ... os ha querido sacar de la ignorãcia y supersticiõ en que fuestes(sic) criados, y os ha dado à conocer à Iesu Christo ..." (p.1)

The aim, therefore, of the work was to encourage the galley-slaves in their evangelical religion. As they have left the errors of the Roman Catholic church, God now strengthens them in the true faith by suffering:

"... para que andeys como es digno de vuestra Christiana reformada religion que professays ... Porque vuestra fe que antes teniades, no era sino una fe historica, una fe muerta, qual los impios ... tienen ... una tal fe ... que pensevades que era Christiana, era fundada no sobre palabra de Dios, sino sobre sueños, ilusiones del demonio, y falsos milagros: como son los que confirman el purgatorio: los que confirman la transubstanciacion..." (p.2)

Valera proceeds next to condemn various points of Roman Catholic doctrine and practice. Transubstantiation is neatly demolished:

"... si en cien mil lugares en un momento y tienpo se dixessen cien mil missas, en cada una dellas estaria ... el mismo Christo real y carnalmẽte tamaño." (p.3)

True Christians know one Christ who had one body and His presence amongst them is in any case not bodily. Then papal infallibility - not defined, it is true till 1870, but clearly an active belief already in the 16th century - and papal domination are condemned. Their adversaries, the Roman Catholics, give too much honour and power in the church to one man, and a sinner to boot in more than a general sense. The Pope has no need to take notice of kings, councils, nor even of the whole church. He is treated like God, and he acts a though he were God:

"Este como dios, perdona pecados, inventa nuevos articulos de fe, y pronuncia ser hereges todos aquellos que no los creen: haze que los hombres honrren à dios con nuevos cultos, que nunca Dios mandó: como invocar los santos." (p.3)

This naturally leads on to a consideration of the practice of invoking saints and images, which, says Valera, is done to the practical exclusion of God from

religion. With copious Bible illustration he shews that God never told us to pray to saints, only to Himself, which refutes devotion to saints (and a fortiori the devotion to particular statues of certain saints.)

Next are considered various Roman Catholic ceremonies, beginning with the blessing of new holy water and its uses. Such uses, it is asserted, take away God's glory and are an insult to Christ's saving power. From there Valera goes on to say that the baptizing of bells is a blasphemous travesty of Christian baptism; and next he scathingly condemns contributions of money to release souls from purgatory and the tricks, such as false miracles, which are resorted to in order to induce people to pay for masses. The next few pages are taken up by little anecdotes with an anti-Roman flavour, and the reader is referred to Dos Tratados and Enxambre de los falsos milagros for more in a like vein. It is to be noted, that where the Gospel is faithfully preached and believed, such fantasies vanish:

> "Y esto es de notar, que dondequiera que la reformaciõ del Evangelio se ha en nuestros tiempos començado à predicar, todos estos falsos milagros y ilusiones del demonio hã cessado. Vee el Diablo que lo entienden, y que por esso no ganara nada, y assi cessa de molestar por esta via. Peró como artero y zorra vieja que es, inventa otras, tal es el odio que al genero humano tiene." (p.10)

True religion has no time for such fantasies, but is based on Scripture alone:

> "La verdadera religion Christiana no tiene cuenta con tales locuras. Sabe que en el culto y manera de honrar a Dios, ninguna cosa agrada a Dios, sino solamente aquello que el por su boca ha mandado, que es lo que sus santos prophetas y Apostoles han registrado en el libro, que llamamos la sagrada escritura." (p.11)

The sacrament of baptism should be reserved for the children of believers only.

God is to be worshipped in all places in spirit and in truth by the whole Church, but Antichrist, besides using the tricks above-mentioned, has found a way to keep people in ignorance and superstition, by the exercise of the infallible authority of the Pope, for the behaviour of the Popes shews them to be Antichrist:

> "Quanto al papa, los papas muchos años a esta parte son avarientos, anbiciosos, reuoltosos, luxuriosos, suzios en vida, y en doctrina, son hombres de pecado y hijos de perdicion: Antechristos por dezir lo todo en una palabre." (p.12)

The reader is again referred to Dos Tratados for confirmation of this contention

All the errors of the papacy stem from the banning of the reading of the Scriptures:

> "Y para que su falsa doctrina no se conosca ser falsa, el Papa prohibe que el pueblo no oyga, ni vea, ni por imaginacion lea, ni medite la sagrada escritura la qual es el unico medio que Dios por su gran misericordia ha dexado en el mundo para saber ... la verdadera religion. Esta es la unica causa de todos las heregias, errores, ignorancias, supersticiones y idolatrias que ay en el papado, el ignorar, el no leer, el no meditar la escritura." (p.12)

Numerous Biblical quotations are given here to shew that the Bible is the Word of God and ought to be read by Christians. The regular monastic recital in the offices of Psalm 119 without any intention of putting its sentiments into practice is put to scorn. Chrysostom is quoted at length to justify the view that regular reading of Scripture is a supreme rule of faith. According to Chrysostom it is no argument to say that they cannot understand the Bible. Ignorance of Scripture is the cause of all heresy and bad living. It follows that the Pope's prohibition of reading Scripture is against God's will, Christ's teaching and the Fathers':

> "De lo qual claramente vemos, quan impiamente aya el papa prohibido al pueblo Christiano el leer la palabra de Dios: en lo qualhaze contra el expresso mandamiento de Dios, y contralo que los prophetas, Christo, y sus Apostoles y doctores antiguos enseñaron, y por cuya lecion los santos martyres de Iesu Christo padecieron martyrio." (pp.17 f)

The next appeal is to history. The emperor Theodosius 'descendiente de casta de España' wrote out the whole New Testament and read it to his family. King Alfred of England, the Emperor Charlemagne, King Receswinth are praised for their reverence for Scripture. Illescas is quoted in praise of King Robert of France and King Alonso I of Spain for the same reason. King Recared made excellent use of the Bible in the conversion of the Arians. Since the Pope forbids the reading of the Bible, and the Bible itself (and therefore God) enjoins it, this is a further justification for calling the Pope Antichrist - and so he is. You have been liberated from his dead form of religion and brought into the liberty of the spirit by the lively Word of God:

> "Infinitas gracias pues, hermanos mios, deueys dar à Dios, que en vuestra cativiad corporal os ha dado la verdadera libertad, que es la del espiritu. Teniades una fe confusa, muerta y historica ... Aora Dios os ha dado por medio de aver oydo su palabra, una fe clara, y biva." (pp.19 f)

To preserve it you must continue reading, hearing and meditating the Word of God.

Valera commends to them particularly the epistles of Peter in the New Testament, who was writing to Jews persecuted by other Jews, and so in a similar case to his readers. At this point he quotes extensively from the New Testament text, adding his own comments in italics to draw the parallel and to continue his anti-Roman propaganda:

> "Pedro Apostol de Iesu Christo a los estrãgeros que esta esparzidos ẽ põto &c a los estrangeros que estan cativos en tierra de Moros elegidos ... por ser rociados con la sangre de Iesu Christo este es el verdadero Asperges que no el del agua que llaman bendita. ... quando Iesu Christo es manifestado: como hijos obedientes, no conformandoos con los desseos que antes teniades estando en vuestra ignorancia papistica. Siendo renacidos, no de simiente corrutible, sino de incorrutible por la palabra de Dios biviente. Esta palabra os quitava el Papa, y assi no podiades renacer en Christo la qual palabra (à pesar del Antechristo) permanece para siempre: y esta es la palabra que por el Evangelio os ha sido aora en vuestro destierro y cativerio anunciada. Y tened vuestra conversacion honesta entre los Gentiles. Entre Moros, Judios, y falsos Christianos en medio de los quales habitays. para que en lo que ellos murmuran de vosotros como de malhechores y hereges por aver de veras conocido à christo." (pp.22 f)

Valera continues in this vein, using Peter's letters as the basis of his thought, with italicized interjections. In their sufferings they must not curse their enemies, but take Christ and His sufferings as their example. God sees all, and will reward both their constancy and their oppressors' evil. They must be ready to give an explanation of their faith and why they have left the Roman fold:

> "Estad siempre aparejados para responder à cada uno que os demandare razon de la esperança que está en vosotros (y de la causa porque ayays dexado al papa.) (p.25)

They are not to be conformed to the spirit of this world, with its evils, idolatries and blasphemies. This raises the question of various hymns and prayers to Mary, which are condemned as idolatrous and blasphemous, with Biblical references. The trueway of honouring the saints is to imitate them, as they imitated Christ:

> "La verdadera honra con que devemos honrar à la santissima virgen y á los demas santos, es seguir sus pisadas, ser sus imitadores, como ellos lo fueron de Christo." (p.27)

Valera concludes his consideration of Peter's letters by an exhortation to perseverance in their sufferings and to charity towards their persecutors:

> "Concluye pues S.Pedro su epistola tan necessaria para los pobres christianos, estrangeros, y afligidos de aquel tiempo, y tan necessaria en este tiempo para vosotros pobres christianos, estrangeros, afligidos, y cativos en Berberia." (p.29)

The galley-slaves are next reminded of the Gospel, and warned that those who follow Christ must expect mockery and opposition, even from their own families. He gives examples from the Old Testament and the New Testament, and stresses that Christ Himself is the supreme example:

> "[of Jesus] unos dezian, bien dize, bien predica, propheta es, el Mexias es. Otros dezian, engañador es, blasphemo es, reboltoso es, Samaritano (q.d.herege) es, endemoniado está ..." (p.30)

As Christ was treated by the great ones of His day, so were the Apostles, and so are Christians nowadays:

> "Este mismo odio tienen los escribas y phariseos de nuestros tiempos, quiero dezir, losclerigos, frayles, los sabios del mundo, los Obispos, Cardenales y principalmente los Papas contra la reformacion, que assi quanto à la doctrina como quanto á los costumbres, hombres dotos y pios embiados de dios para recoger las reliquias de Israel q.d.los fieles ..." (p.32)

All sorts of stratagems of the devil against the Reformation have been launched in Christendom, and all to no avail:

> "Y no ha bastado, ni podido todas las astucias, estratagemas, y invenciones de nuestros adversarios, ni todas sus persecuciones, su confiscar los bienes, su afrentar y quitar la honra, su encarcelar, su açotar, su desterrar, su echar à galeras, matar y quemar à apagar y deshazer este fuego, esta dotrina Evangelica, que el espiritu santo ha encendido ... Como vemos que ha cundido por todo la Christiãdad; y aun dentro de España, que es la nacion que mas se opone a esta reformacion, ha entrado, y no como quiera, sino entre nobles gente de lustre, y ilustre, dotos y pios. Remitome á tantos Autos como à este proposito se han hecho en España." (p.32)

The more they are persecuted, the more they multiply. The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church.

The Reformers have faithfully spoken out against the abuses of Rome, as Christ and His apostles spoke out in the beginning:

> "Estos predicatores de Reformacion imitando à Christo, a los prophetas y Apostoles, condenan al fausto, sobervia, avaricia y ambicion de los eclesiasticos, su mala vida y peor dotrina:

"quieren y procuran que todo esto se reforme conforme a lo que Dios manda en la sagrada escritura ..." (p.33)

In an extended quotation from I Corinthians, Valera points out that the only way to reform manners or doctrine is by Scripture:

"...no...por sueños, ni por invenciones, ni por tradiciones de honbres(sic), sino por la sagrada escritura ..." (p.33)

He now returns to Scripture quotations referring to difficulties that the faithful must expect. The Gospel does not cause war, for it is the message of peace from the author of peace. Man's evil and his envy towards the Gospel cause war. Such antagonism will come to the captives from three directions: from Antichrist, from Jews and from Moors:

"Haziendo pues vosotros la profession que hazeys de Christianos reformados necessariamente aveys de tener mientras bivierdes en esta tierra de Berveria, conbates con tres maneras, de gentes, con Antechristianos, con Iudios, y con Moros." (p.36)

In these circumstances it is necessary that they should love one another and support one another. They should fight only with the sword of the spirit, which is the Word of God. Christ is the pattern and leader of the Christian, and like Him the Christian should not give in to the world, the flesh and the devil, but should live according to the standard of Christ.

Valera turns next to a consideration of the Jewish ideas of the Messiah and of divinity in general. He begins with a quotation from Psalm 110.1., which is remarkable in being from a Jewish version of the Psalms, and not from Reina's version or his own revision of it.(4) This is done deliberately, so that it will not be specifically Protestant:

"Dixo Adonai (que es Iehova, que los Iudios por supersticion no quieren nombrar) à mi Señor, assientate à mi derecha: fasta que ponga tus enemigos escaño de tus pies." (p.41)

He quotes the Apostles', the Nicene and the Athanasian Creeds in support of his argument against the Jews. The root of sin is rebellion against God and the sin of the Jews is in not accepting Jesus as the Messiah. In a rather smug manner the sufferings of the Jews are accepted as a just punishment for their having killed the Messiah:

(4) It is from the Ferrara version (1553).

> "Y como Christo fue vendido por 30 dineros, assi quiso Dios entre otros castigos con que los castigó, que treynta Iudios fuessen vendidos como lo cuentan las historias por un dinero. Destos Iudios vendidos 30 por un dinero cupó una buena parte à nuestra España." (p.55)

The Old Testament passages which have been traditionally regarded as proof-texts to shew that Jesus was the Messiah are gone over, and the modern Jews are further condemned for falsifying Psalm 22.16 'they pierced my hands and feet,' even though all other ancient versions give this reading.(5) The proof-texts say that the Messiah must suffer and not have a bone broken, which Valera takes as proof that Jesus was the Paschal lamb - and in support of this even rabbinical sources are quoted. The hypostatic union of man and God in Christ is insisted upon. All this in the end is summed up by saying that Jesus fulfilled what the prophets foretold of the Messiah, and that therefore He is the Messiah:

> "Concluyamos pues de aqui para confirmacion de nuestra religion Christiana, y para responder à los Iudios, que se burlan de nuestro Christo, y de nosotros porque dezimos ser venido El Mexias, Christo, o ungido, que todo es uno, que confessamos y adoramos los christianos, ser el verdadero Mexias que Dios prometió à los padres y que los sãtos prophetas ... prophetizarõ muy mucho antes, q̃ avia de venir. Pues ẽ el solo, y ẽ ningun otro concurrẽ todas las cosas que ellos prophetizaron que el Mexias avia de tener." (p.59)

This occasions a lengthy series of Old Testament and New Testament passages in support of this contention, and to shew that the Jews of the day deliberately misinterpreted Scripture to avoid the issue of Jesus' messiahship.

Since Jesus is both Messiah and God, the Christian can be saved by Christ only. He only can remit sins. This turns attention on to the doctrine of justification by faith. The Roman Catholics are wrong in asserting that works in addition to faith are necessary for justification:

> "Si nuestros adversarios los Papistas quisiessen advertir lo que ... ha dicho S.Pablo, lo qual en otros muchos lugares confirma, no porfiarian tanto en dezir el pecador no ser justificado por sola la fe, mas que ha menester demas de la fe obras para ser justificado." (p.72)

It is impossible to find in a sinner works that will please God. As Augustine

(5) The Hebrew word for "pierced" is so rendered by all ancient versions, but the Ferrara version, contemporary with Valera, translates it 'como leon'.

said, works follow justification. Therefore we are not justified by works. The clear message of the Gospels and the Epistles to this effect is brought out by many quotations:

> "Esta sana, santa Christiana y Catholica dotrina que el hombre sea justificado por sola la fe en Iesu Christo sin sus obras, los santos Apostoles la predicaron, los santos dotores de la yglesia catholica regida por el espiritu santo ... la enseñaron, y los santos martyres ... la confessaron y por esta confession fueron martyrizados." (p.74)

The idea of justification by works comes from human pride and is the devil's trap to persuade us that Christ is not sufficient. For confirming this truth many are still being persecuted and killed. The grade of God alone preserves us from sin and death:

> "No dize, por mis meritos, por mis lymosnas, por mis ayunos y disciplinas, como nuestros nuevos Phariseos la dizen, y enseñan aora: mas dize: la gracia de Dios me librara por Iesu Christo." (p.65 f)

All are sinners and must humble themselves before God. Our opponents see this doctrine as harmful and try to root it out:

> "Como las arañas convierten en veneno el buen xugo de las flores, de que las abejas hazen su dulce miel, assi ni mas ni menos nuestros adversarios convierten esta santa dotrina en mal y en ponçoña: dizen que es pestilencial, heretica, y abominable, y por tal la persiguen à fuego y à sangre." (p.77)

Good works justify no-one; the grace of God justifies us and reconciles us to Him. But good works are required of those who are saved, and this doctrine does not reject them. All are sinners, but all may be saved, for God calls all, and whom He calls He justifies.

God is, however, just and He cannot accept the sinner directly. For this reason Christ came to give His life. In Him perfect man and perfect God were joined to reconcile man to God by a full, sufficient and perfect sacrifice to pay the price of sin and satisfy God. The true Christian glories in the cross of Christ, but not physically as the Roman Catholics do:

> "No se gloriava el Apostol en la cruz de palo, en que Iesu Christo fue crucificado, no la honrava, ni adorava, como nuestros adversarios la mandan honrar, y adorar, y con la misma adoracion que llaman latria, que solamente dan à Dios. Esto de la cruz ha dicho como de passada, para que ninguno tome deste lugar pretexto de adorar la cruz de palo, o de plata. Porque hazer lo assi es supersticion y idolatria." (p.81)

Christ's sacrifice on the cross is sufficient to bring down all the benefits of God's grace, to enable the Christian to perform good works; for good works are the sign of justification, not its price. Regenerate man is obliged to do good works, and if he does not, he is a hypocrite and no Christian:

> "Quanto á la segunda demanda, si el hombre Christiano y regenerado por el espiritu de Dios deva; y sea obligado à hazer buenas obras, de manera que si no las haze, no sea Christiano, ni tenga parte en el reyno de Dios; Respondo, que es obligado a hazer buenas obras, y que si no las haze, no es Christiano, sino hypocrita: digo que el tal no tiene de Christiano sino el nonbre(sic)." (p.82)

The Christian religion consists of two parts: faith, by which we are justified; and works, by which we obey God and shew to the world that we have faith. So we must obey God's commands. Both the Old Testament and the New Testament insist on this; Christ says 'by their fruits ye shall know them.' Good works are acceptable sacrifices, and evil is punished eternally. Once more extensive quotations from Scripture are adduced to shew how God incites towards good and rewards it, and guides away from evil and punishes it. Good works still do not justify. Quotations from the Fathers and Doctors of the Church are now adduced: Origen, Basil, Hilary, Ambrose, Paul, John Chrysostom, Augustine; to demonstrate that they all insisted on the principle of <u>sola fide</u>. Heresies which contradicted this principle are briefly considered. Valera concludes this section by saying that he feels that they now have enough information to answer the Jews and the Antichristians:

> "Creo que de lo que avemos dicho tendreys, hermanos mios, assaz bastantes razones para confirmar nuestra fe en Christo contra las retenciones del demonio, y que tendreys harto que responder à Iudios, y á Antechristianos, quando os demandaran cuenta de vuestra fe ..." (p.92)

Attention is now turned to the Moors "cuyos cativos (porque assi ha plazido a Dios, el sabe porque y paraque)soys." Christ is the Saviour of all nations; all who believe are saved, but those who do not are damned. A marked antipathy to the Moors is shewn, and they are placed firmly in the latter category. The 'circumcision controversy' of Acts 15 is examined to shew how the desire for circumcision was an attempt to mix law and the Gospel, and that the Apostles came out definitely in favour of justification by faith, and sent our Paul and Barnabas to declare it. This same mixture of law and Gospel was taught by Ebionites, Cerinthians and Arians, and the Mahometans

are their heirs:

> "...trescientos años despues de Arrio salio Mahoma, que compuso su Alcoran, o ley, mesclando la ley de Moysen, con el Evangelio." (p.96)

They have taken from the Law circumcision, the avoidance of pork, ritual washings, etc. They took some of the Gospel too, but denied Christ's divinity and His mediation.(6)

It is an interesting coincidence that the rule of the Pope (the first to take this title) and the rule of Mahomet began at about the same time, and both persecute Christ:

> "Y assi ambos han entretenido sus reynos y perseguido al de Christo, Mahoma con su Alcoran, y el Papa con sus Decretales." (p.97)

The Mahometans do not accept the Bible, and so argument is difficult with them. Their arguments are the sword, blood and fire. Their rejection of the Bible proves that their religion is false:

> "Yten la verdadera religion se confirma en la palabra de Dios: luego donde no ay palabra de Dios no ay verdadera religion." (p.98)

Various stories from Christian history are now cited to shew the power of Scripture to convert both those of high estate and low. Captives have even managed by this means to convert their captors. If the readers stand firm, they may accomplish the same:

> "El mismo Dios que entonces por medio del mochacho frumencio, por medio de una baxa muger, por medio de Gregorio, vil y abatido cativo quanto al mundo, por medio de una donzella noble, y por otros seme jantes medios pudo hazer, y hizo que se convertiessen, no solamẽte personas particulares, sino Reyes, y reynos es el que hoy dia bive y reyna: este mismo podra aora hazer otro tanto por medio de alguno de vosotros. Estad pues firmes en la fe, y en medio de vuestros intolerables trabajos, en vuestras prisiones y mazmorras meditad lo que aveys leydo, y oydo de la Escritura sagrada. Acuerdeseos lo que nuestro Redentor padescio por vosotros, dexando os exemplo ..." (pp.102 f)

(6) cf. Reina's Commentary on John's Gospel (1573). There is some connexion between this passage and Reina's work.

Let us pray, says Valera, for the Church to be defended against Antichrist, Jews and Mohametans, and pray for the King to be subject to Scripture:

> "Orad al padre de las misericordias por su yglesia santa catholica y apostolica, que la conserue y guarde contra la tyrania de los Decretales del Papa, del Talmud de los Iudios, y del Alcoran de Mahoma. Orad por nuestra España, y principalmente por el Rey, y por todos aquellos que tienen el govierno de la republica, que dios les haga gracia de leer y meditar la sagrada Escritura sin ... la qual ... es impossible ... que ellos hagan su dever, ni que los subditos sean bien governados ..." (p.104)

Valera ends with a final exhortation to patience in their sufferings, which are nothing compared with the glory that is to be revealed in Christ Jesus, so that Christ may finally welcome them with:

> "Venid benditos de mi padre posseed el Reyno &c aparezido para vosotros desde la fundacion del mundo." (p.104)

UN ENXAMBRE DE FALSOS MILAGROS.

Two editions of this work were issued, both of them as appendices to other works. The first edition was appended to the Tratado para confirmar los catiuos de Beruería of 1594, where it occupies 40 pp. of an 8° book (numbered 105-145). The second edition is to be found at the end of the second edition of Dos Tratados in 1599, where again it take up 40 similarly-sized pages (numbered 554-594).(1) A close comparison of the two reveals no difference of text at all, except for four words in the first sentence. A reprint of the work appeared as part of R.A.E.6 in 1851.

The opening words indicate the aim of the work. It is a very handy stick with which to beat the papists, and an extremely apposite illustration of what he has said in the foregoing book(s), regarding the way in which Roman Catholic claims were bolstered up by falsified evidence:

> "Para confirmar lo que tantas vezes he dicho, que los Papistas confirman su religion con falsos milagros inventados por los Eclesiasticos, a hechos por arte del Demonio, pondre aqui una verissima historia, que cuentan dos libros papisticos, que por la providencia de Dios vinieron á mis manos." (p.105 - 1594)

The difference referred to is:

> "...tãtas vezes en estos dos Tratados he dicho..." (p.554 - 1599)

Valera remarks that he has mentioned the nun who is the subject of this book before in 'another book of 1588', by which he means Dos Tratados. This reference is interesting because he tells us of the way in which Dos Tratados was financed:

> "Dios quiso que yo escriviesse esto y que lo imprimiesse á costa de dos Christianos mercaderes Flamencos los quales por el gran zelo que tienen, de que la nacion Española participasse del beneficio del Evangelio reformado ... no perdonaron ni á costa, ni á trabajo." (pp.555 f)

(1) For transcripts of the respective titles see pp. 309, 337. Page numbers for all quotations except the first are from the 1599 edition.

Most of the work consists of a lengthy analysis of a French book by a Dominican friar, Etienne de Lusignan.(2) Also quoted in full from this book are the letters of several ecclesiastics attesting María's sanctity, and the veracity of her words and miracles. Eventually this leads on to a list of ten propositions in favour of the teaching and practice of the Roman Catholic church, which Lusignan deduces from the account of María. These are:

1. That the religious life is pleasing to God;
2. That obedience is meritorious, and so is charity;
3. That virginity is the bride of Christ;
4. That it is necessary to honour images;
5. That saints are able to intercede for us;
6. That we should recognize the sacrament of the altar;
7. That God requires this sacrifice to be repeated;
8. That the blessings of Christ cannot be attained without pains and prayers and devotions;
9. That Christ's passion is made ours by good works;
10. That miracles have always occurred in the Roman Catholic church.

This in turn leads on to a more general discussion of persons who have been claimed to have the stigmata, whose names are extracted from another book, Monarchia Ecclesiastica by Fr. Juan de Pineda, printed in Salamanca in 1588 by Juan Fernández. The original stigmatic, Francis of Assisi, and also Catherine of Siena gave the Franciscans an unfair advantage. María was the Dominicans' opportunity to get even.

All this is leading up to an account of the exposure of María's deceit and of her trial and condemnation in 1588, taken from a third book published in Seville in 1589:(3)

(2) R.A.E.6 (unnumbered p.670). In the notes to his reprint Usoz was able to identify the original publication as, Les Grands Miracles et les Tressainctes Playes, advenuz á la R.Mere Prieure auiourd'huy 1586 du Monasteire de l'Anonciade, en la ville de Lisbone, au Royaume de Portugal, de l'ordre des Freres Prescheurs, approuvez par le R.Pere Frere Loys de Granade, et autres personnes digne de foy, cõme se verrá a la fin du discours. A Paris Par Jean Bressaut 1586.

(3) See overleaf.

"O que gran santa tuviera el infierno! O que gran santa ha perdido la Iglesia Romana! Ahora que avemos oydo el Pro, oygamos el Contra. A esta esposa de Jesu Christo, tan santa, tan caritativa, y tan milagrosa, quiso el verdadero Jesu Christo (no su esposo, que era el diablo) que se le quitasse la mascara de hypocresia con que cubria, y encubria todas sus abominacines(sic), vellaquerias, supersticiones, y idolatrias." (pp.574 f)

Her proven falsehood vindicates the gospel religion and demolishes the ten points that Lusignan had so carefully erected on her story:

"Ahora para avisar à todos aquellos q̃ de veras dessean servir à Christo, de cuyo nombre se llaman Christianos, que quieren bivir conforme à su santo Evangelio y ley, y no conforme à lo q̃ los hõbres se han inventado para bivir holgando, hare aqui algunas notas y consideraciones sobre lo que se ha dicho en la vida desta santa mõja y en su sentencia." (pp.580 f)

There is in any case no need to disprove María's story, since the opponents have done this for him. Valera has done this too in Dos Tratados, to which the reader is referred. If the Papists wish to substantiate their new articles of faith, they need better proofs than false miracles:

"Peró visto que nuestros adversarios han condenado con publica sentencia todo lo contenido en las cartas de la santidad y milagros desta monja por falso, yo no tomare la pena de provar su falsedad. Solamente les diré, que quando quisieren provar sus nuevos articulos de Fé, busquen mejores pruevas. Porque sueños y falsos milagros ya no valen nada. (p.581)

True miracles are enough for gospel religion, particularly those of Christ Himself. There is certainly no need to invent more of them in such a hypocritical fashion. There is nothing in the New Testament about stigmata, nor in the Fathers. There is nothing, indeed, till after 1200, when we read of Francis of Assisi, who died in 1226. Gertrude came next, and died in 1340, followed by Lyduvina, and Catherine of Siena, who died in 1380. The Popes have commanded belief in the wounds of these stigmatics, which amounts to the

(3) Usoz published the whole of this work as Appendix 1 to R.A.E.8 pp.1-23 (new numbering). Relacion de la santidad y llagas de la madre Maria de la visitacion Priora que fue de la Anunciada de Lisboa, y lo que fue declarado en la sentencia que se dio, written by Lic. Bernaldino Rodriguez, printed by Cosme de Lara.

promulgation of a new article of faith. Valera then goes off into a lengthy consideration of various stigmatics, concluding that all are suspect in the light of the Gospel, and none more so than María:

> "Pero ahora q̃ el Señor ha dado tanta lũbre de su Evangelio, bien dificil cosa será mantenerse mucho tiẽpo en semejãte opinion de santidad. Luego se huele la hypocresia: luego levanta Dios à alguno q̃ hable, y escriva cõtra ella." (p.585)

If Maria had died before the deceit had been discovered, she would have been a saint like Francis of Assisi and the rest. Only one stigmatic whose deceit was discovered was punished by death, viz: the 'Holy Maid of Kent', Magdalene of the Cross. Other gross hypocrites and blasphemers, like María, have received the most ridiculously light punishments, which contrast greatly with the punishments meted out to those whose only crime is faithful adherence to the Gospel:

> "Cosa es contra toda justicia lo que passa en el reyno Pontificio, que uno porque diga conforme à lo que sienta en su consciencia, y conforme à lo que Dios ha revelado en su sagrada Escritura: que no conoce otro purgatorio sino la sola sangre de Christo: que no conoce otra justicia, sino la que se recibe por fe, y que ninguno ha de ser invocado sino solo Dios por solo el medio de Jesu Christo, &c. que este sin redempcion ninguna muere y con grandissima infamia quanto al mundo: y que Magdalena y María, y otras tales, siendo malditas, blasphemas, perjuras en publica audiencia, posseydas del Diablo, burladoras de la religion Christiana, de Dios, y de su Hijo Jesu Christo, Bivan. Es verdad que fueron condenadas: però no à ser quemadas: sino a ciertas fraylescas penitencias y clausuras. Levantate Señor, juzga tu causa. Mira que los que te confiessan mueren, y los que te blaspheman, biven." (p.587)

María was quite clearly possessed by the Devil, and all similar miracles are done by the Devil's art. What can be claimed for the miracles performed by María, now that she has been publicly condemned as a deceiver? Valera then cites legends about the miracles performed by consecrated wafers, as parallel cases. It is a strong disproof of Roman Catholic arguments when miracles claimed for such wafers are shown to be false. All this Valera has, in any case, gone over in detail in Tratado de la Missa, to which the reader is referred. The way in which the host is treated by Roman Catholics is nothing less than idolatry, which the First Commandment forbids. So Valera appeals to Spaniards to avoid the sin of breaking this Commandment:

"Abrid, pues, los ojos, Españoles, y entended: no os dexeys engañar en el primer articulo de la religion Christiana. Acuerdeseos que es el primer mandamiento que nuestro Dios nos manda guardar." (p.591)

False gods too are the false sanctities of such as María de la Anunciada and Magdalene of the Cross. Such deceits God abhors:

"Nuestro Dios es santo y bendito, aborece(sic) la maldad, hypocresia, supersticion, y idolatria." (p.592)

Those who believe such things and ignore the pure word of God, reject salvation and are dragged by Antichrist into hell:

"...los que no leen, ni oyen, ni dan credito à la palabra de Dios, registrada por los santos Prophetas y Apostoles, sin la qual no hay salud, crean à la mentira, con q̃ el Antechristo, y su padre el diablo los engaña por llevarlos consigo al infierno." (p.592)

Valera finally draws the conclusion, backed up by many Biblical quotations, that both the 'miracles' and the Roman Catholic interpretation of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper were inspired by the Devil, and that if one point of Roman Catholic dogma can be disproved and made to fall, all the rest falls with it, and is shewn to be superstition, ignorance, heresy and idolatry:

"[the sacrament] q̃ ellos venden por cuerpo de Christo, no es el cuerpo de Christo, ni su sacramento, que el en su santa Cena aya instituido, sino su profanaciõ. Si una vez nuestros Españoles comiençan à entender esto, el reyno Põtificio caera de todo punto: la cozina de los clerigos y de los frayles, que es la Missa y el Purgatorio, estara bien fria: y assi la demas supersticion, ignorancia, heregia, y idolatria, como cosa nueva, que ningun fundamento tiene en la palabra de Dios, sino en sueños, falsos milagros, y ilusiones de diablo caeran..." (p.593 f).

PREFACE TO VALERA'S NEW TESTAMENT OF 1596

EL/ TESTAMENTO/ NVEVO DE NVE-/stro Señor Iesu Christo ./ Luc.2.10./ Heaqui os doy nuevas de gran gozo,/que será â todo el pueblo./ [Device: anchor with the words 'Anchora spei']/ En casa de Ricardo del Campo./ M.D.XCVI. 8°. Introduction 14 pp + text 744 pp.

This edition of the New Testament is a small 8° volume of which the preface occupies 11 pp. (numbered *3recto-(*8recto)). The preface was reissued with modernized spelling in 1951 in Prefacios etc.(1)

Valera begins by shewing by means of many Scripture quotations that God commands us to read, meditate and ruminate on the Scriptures, 'la qual es la palabra y boz de Dios,' and that those who do not do so will be condemned. This rule is for all without exception 'sin hacer differencia ninguna de sexo, ni de edad, ni de qualidad.'

God also ordered the Bible to be translated into every tongue, so that nobody should be ignorant. This was first done into the commonest languages: Hebrew, Greek, Latin. Afterwards pious and learned men translated it into vernacular tongues.

Without wasting time on other countries, let us look at Spain, he says, 'porque los exemplos domesticos son los que mas mueven.' The Goths 1200 years earlier had translated the Scripture into Gothic. During the Moorish occupation the Bishop of Seville made an Arabic version. After the expulsion of the Moors the first Archbishop of Granada wished to have another Arabic version made for the instruction of Moorish converts, but was opposed by Fr. Ximénez, Archbishop of Toledo, on quite unscriptural grounds, and the version was never produced. Recently God had raised up Spaniards who have translated the Bible:

> "...el primer Arçobispo de Granada fue de parecer que la sagrada Escriptura se trasladasse en lengua Arabica (porque de la otra traslacion, hecha quando los Moros entrarõ en España, ya no avia memoria della) A este tan pio intento se opuso don Francisco Ximenez Arçobispo de Toledo, que era el todo en todo por toda España, alegando razones, no tomadas de la palabra de Dios, ni de lo que dixeron, y hizieron los sanctos Doctores de la Iglesia, sino fabricadas por juyzio de hombre, y por el consiguiente repugnantes á la palabra de Dios. Y assi se impidio la traslacion, que tanto bien huviera hecho á aquellos pobres y ignorantes Moriscos.

(1) B.F.Stockwell (ed) Prefacios a las Biblias castellanas 2nd ed. (Buenos Aires/Mexico) 1951 pp.121-127.

"Despues aca Dios movido de la misma misericordia que antes, ha levantado algunos Españoles en nuestros tiempos que han trasladado los libros sagrados." (p. *5r)

All the doctors of the Church exhorted the faithful to read and meditate on the Scriptures. Valera takes one only as an example, John Chrysostom, and summarizes his arguments for reading the Bible and against those who try to prohibit it. He then passes on to list the various symbolic names given to Scripture in the Bible itself; Sword of the Spirit, Light, Way, etc. Those who prohibit the reading of the Scriptures are responsible for heresies, since heresies come from ignorance of God's Word:

"... miren como responderan à Dios los que han prohibido la palabra de Dios à los fieles. Ellos sin duda han sido causa de tantas heregias como se han levantado en la Iglesia. Porque el ignorar la Escriptura (como dize, y muy bien, S.Chrysostomo) causa las heregîas." (pp. *6r f)

The Christian's duty is to read the Scriptures with humility. True understanding comes only by the grace of God and is impossible for the natural man.

Valera then expresses the (vain?) hope that the King of Spain would see his way to having the Scriptures printed at his own expense and that he should read them:

"Pluguiesse à nuestro Dios inspirar en el coraçon del Rey que hiziesse, y mandasse à sus costas imprimir (puesque Dios lo ha enriquecido con tantas riquezas deste mundo) la Biblia Española, ô si quiera el Testamento nuevo, y lo leyesse." (pp. *6v f)

He would thus imitate the pious rulers of the Old Testament and of more recent times, particularly 'el buen Emperador Theodosio,' who wrote out the New Testament with his own hand and use to read it to his family.

After this Valera gives an explanation of some of the words used in this version. The term Mexias is used instead of Christo when the office is meant, and Christo appears when the proper name is intended. Instead of panes sin levadura the word cenceñas is used, just as it was in the Ferrara version. The word diaconessa has been used at Rom.16.1. and I Tim.5.9. to express what before has been translated sierva or ministra.

Next are explained various printing devices. Italics have been used to indicate words not in the original, but which are needed to make it easier to understand. The sign || indicates a reference in the margin. The sign * signifies that there is a note which refers to that place. Sc. in the margin

means scilicet, and q.d. means quiere dezir. Ab. means abaxo and Ar. means arriba, referring to the same chapter.

The preface concludes with a prayer that Spaniards might not only read the Scriptures, but also be saved by means of them:

> "Christiano Lector aprovechaos deste mi trabajo, y rogad à Dios juntamente conmigo, que haga esta misericordia à nuestros Españoles que no solamente lean la sagrada Escriptura, sino que creyendola bivan conforme a ella, y assi sean salvos por medio de aquel, que es nuestro unico y solo Salvador: al qual con el Padre, y con el Espiritu sancto sea honra y gloria para siempre jamas, Amen." (p. *8r)

PREFACE TO THE TRANSLATION OF "INSTITUCION DE LA RELIGION CHRISTIANA".

INSTITVCION/ DE LA RELIGION CHRI-/STIANA; COMPVESTA EN QVATRO/ LIBROS, Y DIVIDIDA EN/ CAPITVLOS./ Por Juan Calvino./ Y ahora nuevamente traduzida en Romance/ Castellano, Por CYPRIANO/ DE VALERA./ [Device: Anchor with the words 'Anchora spei.']/ En casa de Ricardo del Campo./1597. Large 4°. 30 pp. introduction + 1060 pp. text and contents.

This work is comparatively easy to find. It is a well-produced large 8° volume of 1090 pages, of which the first 13 contain Valera's preface (numbered *iij recto - A(1) recto.) The whole work was reissued with modernized spelling by Usoz-Wiffen in two volumes in 1858 as no.14 of R.A.E. The preface was reprinted with modernized spelling in 1958 by Jacinto Terán.(1)

The preface, dated "20. de Septiembre. 1579" and signed "Vuestro muy aficionado en el Señor. C.D.V.", is addressed in New Testament manner:

> "A TODOS LOS FIELES DE LA NACION ESPAñola que dessean el adelantamiento del reyno de Jesu Christo. Salud." (p.*iij r)

A feature of this preface, compared with other words by Valera, is the very much more abundant Biblical reference, which he introduces very much as Juan Pérez does, so that certain passages are no more than a catena of quotations. Usoz points out in his preface to R.A.E. 14 that this work was surely intended for an erudite readership in Spain, and this can be seen both from Valera's preface and from the way in which he translates Calvin's original and introduces slight changes into the text.

The knowledge of God by Christ is of foremost excellence and is most profitable to men:

> "Entre todos los dones y beneficios que Dios por su misericordia comunica sin cessar à los hombres, es el principal, y el mas excelente y provechoso el verdadero conocimiento de Dios, y de nuestro Señor Jesu Christo, el qual trae à los hombres una grande alegria y quietud de coraçon en esta vida, y la eterna gloria y felicidad despues desta vida. Demanera que en este conocimiento consiste el sumo bien y la bienaventurança del hombre: como claramente lo declara la misma verdad Jesu Christo ..." (p.*iij r)

The devil is always on the watch to try to take away this great treasure and

(1) Jean Calvin (trans. Jacinto Terán) Institución de la Religión Cristiana (Buenos Aires 1958).

ensnare men in ignorance and superstition. One of his main aims is to suppress truth, either by force or by deceit. He manages to make use of even those who seem to be God's ministers:

> "Para este fin se sirve por sus ministros no solamente de los enemigos de fuera, peró aun tambien de los mismos domesticos que se glorian de ser el pueblo de Dios, y que tienen las aparencias externas." (pp. *iij r f)

Valera then gives examples of how this happened many times in the Old Testament and brought the Church of the Old Testament very low. The actions of the prelates of Jerusalem towards Christ and His Apostles illustrate this still further. The Jews, although they were extremely proud of being the chosen people of God and of their religious heritage, were nevertheless perverse and resisted the Holy Spirit. This ought to have warned us what to expect in these days, especially since Christ foretold it:

> "[Los Judios] con todo esto fueron una nacion torcida y perversa, duros de cerviz y incircuncisos de coraçon y de orejas, que resistiã siẽpre al Espiritu sancto, y no perdonaron à los sanctos Prophetas, ni aun al hijo de Dios, el autor de vida, ni à sus Discipulos. Lo qual todo bien considerado nos devria alumbrar el entendimiento, y enseñarnos que no es cosa nueva ni nunca oyda, que en estos dias postreros y vejez del mundo aya tanta ceguedad y ignorancia en el pueblo Christiano, y tanta corrupcion y malicia en los que presiden en la Iglesia, los quales con todo esto se glorian de grande sanctidad y de la sucession de los Apostoles. Porque Christo nuestro Señor y sumo doctor avisãdo à los suyos de lo que avia de acõtecer en el mundo acerca de la promulgacion de su Evãgelio hasta la fin del siglo, nos predize muy claramente todo esto ..." (p. *4 v)

The Apostles gave warning of the future apostasy of the Church and of the usurpation of God's authority by a false ruler who would command people to believe false doctrine and obey blasphemous practices such as abstention from marriage and from eating flesh meats.

The Holy Spirit wished by such clear prophecies to strengthen us when we saw them being fulfilled, and to keep us faithful in our sufferings. Our adversaries agree with the prophecies, but accuse true servants of Christ of being the deceivers:

> "Por estas tan claras y señaladas Prophecias quiso el Espiritu sancto confirmar nuestra fe, para que no fuessemos escandalizados por la grãde apostasia que avia de acontecer en la Iglesia: ni por las afliciones y crueles

"persecuciones que aviã de padecer los fieles por la cõfession de Christo y de su verdad. Quando pues en estos ultimos dias vemos claremente el cumplimiẽto destas Prophecias, es menester que consideremos ninguna cosa ahora acontecer, sino lo que por la providencia de Dios acontecio à los pios en tiempos passados: y que todo esto ha sido muy expressamẽte predicho por la boca de Christo y de sus Apostoles: como los testimonios que ya avemos alegado lo testifican. Los adversarios y perseguidores de los fieles no pueden negar estas Prophecias, y confessaran juntamente con nosotros que muchos engañadores y falsos doctoreshan salido en el mundo, que engañan à muy muchos, de los quales cada uno se deve con diligencia guardar. Peró no confessaran que ellos mismos sean estos falsos Prophetas: mas acusan falsamente por tales à los fieles siervos de Christo ..." (pp.* 5 r f)

The Christian can easily distinguish between true teachers and deceivers, but not by exercise of corrupt human judgement. The rule is clearly given in Scripture that the truth is to be found in Christ, and in Him alone. Christ is the one foundation of the truly apostolic faith. The Reformed Church confesses this faith, which is no new teaching. The deceivers are those who add to or take away from the Word of God, as do the prelates of the Roman Catholic Church, whose interest is in vain ceremonies and human traditions:

"Aquel que con atencion considerare estos testimonios, como deven ser considerados, muy facilmente entendera que no son falsos doctores ni nuevos los que enseñan al pueblo la pura doctrina del Evangelio sin añidir ni disminuyr, testificando que Iasu Christo es el cordero de Dios que quita los pecados del mundo, y que el es el camino, y la verdad, y la vida, y que ninguno viene al Padre sino por el ..... Esta es la doctrina de Christo anunciada en el mundo por sus Apostoles, y por consiguiente es doctrina sana, antigua y verdaderamente Catholica y Apostolica, por la qual los hombres alcãçan el verdadero conocimiento de Christo para consolacion y salud de sus animas. Los que la predican el dia de hoy en las Iglesias reformadas no son engañadores ni doctores nuevos, y aquellos que la oyen, confiessan y siguẽ (como es el dever de todo fiel y Catholico Christiano) no son engañados, mas se fundan y estriban sobre el fundamẽto verdadero, solido y antiguo: aunque el mundo los acusa y calumnia como à alborotadores del pueblo, y los codena [sic] como à hereges. Mas estos son los engañadores y falsos enseñadores, los que hã sido, ô son tã atrevidos de añidir, ô disminuyr algo en la palabra de Dios, mãdãdo lo que Dios prohibe, ô prohibiendo lo que su Majestad manda. De manera que obedeciendo à estos no es possible juntamente obedecer y agradar à Christo: y para obedecer y seguir à Christo es menester apartarse y huir destos como de guyas ciegas, los quales siẽdo otros nuevos Phariseos

"han invalidado el mandamiento de Dios por sus preceptos, hõrãdo à Dios en vano, enseñando doctrinas, mãdamientos de hombres. Tales son los enseñadores y perlados de la Iglesia Romana, los quales dexando las pisadas de los Apostoles y el mandamiento de Christo, no apacientan las ovejas con el verdadero mantenimiẽto de las animas, que es la palabra de Dios: peró ocupãdose en vanas ceremonias y tradiciones humanas detienen el pueblo en una crassissima ignorãcia, engañandolo con externo aparato y resplandor y con muy magnificos titulos. Porque gloriandose de ser vicarios de Christo, alexan al pueblo Christiano de la obediencia, y del salutifero conocimiento de Christo: y so pretexto y color que no pueden errar, han henchido la Christiãdad de infinitos errores y supersticiones, directamente repugnantes à la doctrina de Dios." (pp. *5 v f)

This contention can be demonstrated by shewing that the deceivers do indeed command what God forbids and forbid what God commands. God forbids the worship of images; they order them to be made and honoured. God orders us to read and meditate on the Scriptures; they forbid it severely, "como si fuesse ponçoña." Christ offers rest for the soul by a simple invitation; they teach many laborious means of attaining salvation:

"Estos por el contrario enseñan à los hombres otros mil caminos para hallar salud por indulgencias, satisfacciones, missas, meritos y intercessiones de sanctos: como si en la persona de Christo no se hallasse perfecta salud: dexando desta manera las consciencias en una perpetua inquietud y congoxa." (p. *6 v)

The Bible enjoins us to be subject to higher powers; they claim authority over rulers, and even make use of them to wage war against faithful Christians:

"...pero aun tãbien tomã autoridad y Señorio sobre los Reyes, Principes y grandes de la tierra. Y aunque S.Pablo claramente enseña que toda anima (sin excepciõ ninguna) deve ser sujeta à las potestades superiores, y la razon que da, es porque son ordenadas de Dios: con todo esso estos con una sobervia y desverguença intolerable se sirven de los Reyes, Principes, y Magistrados Christianos como de sus ministros para executar sus crueldades y persecuciones contra los fieles miẽbros de Christo, que no confiessan ni mantienen otra doctrina que la de Christo: y no buscan, ni esperã salud sino por el que es el solo autor de vida. De donde se puede concluyr que de tales perlados y maestros del pueblo, con muy grã razon se puede dezir, lo que el Propheta Esayas dize de los que en su tiempo presidiã en la Iglesia de Jerusalem: Los Governadores deste pueblo son engañadores, y los que por ellos son governados, perdidos." (p. *6 v)

Christians ought to hear and obey Christ alone and avoid false teachers and blind guides in this time of danger for the Church. Scripture gives many

warnings of this, which ought to sound loud in the ears of the faithful and bring them out of ignorance and darkness:

> "Estas sentencias y graves amonestaciones del Señor devrian con muy grã razon sonar como trompetas en las orejas de todos aquellos que aun estan adormecidos en las profundas tinieblas de ignorancia: paraque de veras se despertassen del sueño, y renunciassen à los engañadores, que con sus idolatrias y supersticiones han profanado el sanctuario de Dios, y han sido la causa de tãto derramamiẽto de sangre Christiana y inocente, y no cessan aun de atizar el fuego de persecuciones y discordias entre los Principes Christianos." (p.*vij r)

God will take up the cause of His elect and will use their afflictions as a means of spreading further His truth:

> "Lo qual por su providencia admirable, manifiestamente ha declarado en nuestros dias, quando con todos los fuegos, carçeles y cuchillos de los perseguidores no ha sido apagada la luz de la verdad, perô por el contrario ha sido mas amplamẽte propagada en muchos reynos y pueblos de la tierra, De manera que por la experiẽcia nos ha sido confirmada la notable sentencia de Tertuliano, que dize: La sangre de los Martyres es la simiente de la Iglesia." (p.*vij r)

He has raised up faithful rulers who have restored the true Gospel religion and put down idolatry, providing a refuge from the Inquisition. This is especially true of England:

> "Consideremos tambien quan benignamẽte Dios, para cõsolacion de los suyos, ha levantado por su bondad y defendido por su potencia algunos pios Reyes y Principes verdaderamente Christianos, los quales, obedeciendo à la Ley y al mandamiento de Dios, y imitando à los pios Reyes de los tiẽpos passados, hã derribado los idolos y restituydo la pura doctrina del Evãgelio, y han abierto sus Reynos y tierras para que fuessen refugio y amparo de los fieles, que como ovejas descarriadas por aca y por aculla escaparon de las manos sangrientas de los Inquisidores. Quantos millares y millares de pobres estrangeros se han acogido à Inglaterra, (dexo de nombrar otros Reynos y Republicas) por salvar sus consciencias y vidas, donde so la proteccion y amparo, primeramente de Dios, y despues de la serenissima Reyna doña Isabel han sido defendidos y amparados contra la tyrania del Antechristo y de sus hijos los Inquisidores?" (p.*vij r)

This is what the Prophets foretold. God has also raised up pious teachers of true doctrines, amongst whom is John Calvin, author of this <u>Institution</u>:

> "El mismo Dios por su infinita misericordia ha levãtado tambien otros instrumẽtos de su gracia: es a saber, pios doctores, que como fieles siervos de Christo y verdaderos pastores apacentaron la manada de Christo con la sana doctrina del

"Evangelio, y la divulgaron no solamente de boca, perô tambien por sus libros y escritos: por los quales comunicaron el talento que avian recebido del Señor à muchos pueblos y naciones del mundo. En este numero ha sido el doctissimo interprete de la sagrada Escritura Juan Calvino autor desta Institucion, en la qual el trata muy para y sinceramente los puntos y articulos que tocan à la religion Christiana, confirmando solidamente todo lo que enseña con la autoridad de la sagrada Escritura, y confuta con la palabra de Dios los errores y heregias, conforme al dever de un enseñador Christiano..." (p.*vij v)

The Institution is divided into four books: 1. concerning God the Creator; 2. concerning Christ and the salvation that comes by Him; 3. which tells of the benefits of faith in Christ; 4. concerning the external means of grace; thus providing a full declaration of the Christian faith:

"De manera que en estos quatro libros son muy Christianamente declarados todos los principales articulos de la religion Christiana y verdaderamente Catholica y Apostolica." (p.*vij v)

If the reader will read attentively and without passion or prejudice he will see that Calvin was no deceiver. By application of the above-mentioned principles, it will be seen that this Institution is orthodox, Catholic and Christian:

"Assique todo lo que cada fiel Christiano deve saber y entender de la fe, de las buenas obras, de la oracion, de las marcas externas de la Iglesia, es ampla(sic) y sinceramẽte explicado en esta Institucion, como facilmente Juzgara cada uno que la leyere con atencion y sin passion, ni opinion prejudicada. Esto solamẽte rogare al benevolo y Christiano lector, que no sea apassionado ni preocupado en su juyzio por las grandissimas calumnias y injurias, con las quales los adversarios se esfuerçan à hazer odiosissimos todos los excritos y aun el mismo nombre de Calvino, como si fuesse engañador y sembrador de heregias. Mas que se acuerde de usar de la regla que antes avemos puesto para hazer differencia entre los verdaderos enseñadores y los falsos: y hallara claramente que la doctrina contenida en esta Institucio es orthodoxa, Catholica y Christiana." (p.*vij v)

This work has been translated into many languages, and now Valera has translated it into Spanish for the benefit of his nation, which is lost in idolatry, superstition and ignorance:

"Ahora sale à luz por la misericordia de Dios en lengua Española, en la qual yo la he trasladado para servir à mi nacion, y para adelantar el reyno de Jesu Christo en nuestra España, tan miserablemente anegada en un abysmo de

"Idolatria, ignorancia y supersticiones mantenidas por la tyrania de los Inquisidores contra la Ley y palabra de Dios, y con grandissimo agravio de todos los fieles Christianos: los quales siguiendo la doctrina de Christo dessean como varones prudentes edificar su casa y fundar su fe sobre la firme peña de la verdad: y no sobre arena, que son las doctrinas y tradiciones inventadas de los hombres." (p.*viij r)

Valera dedicates the work to all faithful Spaniards at home or in exile abroad:

"Yo dedico este mi trabajo à todos los fieles de la nacion Española, sea que aun giman so el yugo de la inquisicion, ô que sean esparzidos y desterrados por tierras agenas." (p.*viij r)

He has three reasons for doing so. First, in gratitude that God has called him out of darkness. Secondly, his great desire to convert his countrymen and to direct aright their misguided zeal for God:

"La segunda causa es, el grande y encendido desseo que tengo de adelantar por todos los medios que puedo, la conversion, el conforto y la salud de mi nacion: la qual à la verdad tiene zelo de Dios, mas no cõforme à la voluntad y palabra de Dios. Porque ellos ignorando la justicia de Dios, y procurando de establecer la suya por sus proprias obras, meritos y satisfacciones humanas, no son sujetos à la justicia de Dios, y no entienden que Christo sea el fin de la Ley para justicia à qualquiera que cree." (p.*viij r)

Thirdly, so that the lack of books of sound doctrine might be supplied in Spain, where the enemy has deliberately kept the people in ignorance:

"La tercera causa que me ha movido, es la gran falta, carestia y necessidad que nuestra España tiene de libros que contengan la sana doctrina, por los quales los hombres puedan ser instruydos en la doctrina de piedad, paraque desenredados de las redes y lazos del demonio sean salvos. Tanta ha sido la astucia y malicia de nuestros adversarios, que sabiendo muy bien que por medio de buenos libros sus idolatrias, supersticiones, y engaños serian descubiertos, han puesto (como nuevos Antiocos) toda diligẽcia para destruyr y quemar los buenos libros, paraque el misero pueblo fuesse toda via detenido en el captiverio de ignorancia, la qual ellos, sin verguença ninguna, han llamado Madre de devocion." (p.*viij r)

Valera then launches into an appeal to all Spaniards who desire salvation to give heed to the teaching of Christ. What is worse than refusing to heed God and instead obeying deceivers? Why do they do so? They have only to compare the history of the Popes with the Acts of the Apostles to see where truth lies:

"Aqui pues es menester que yo suplique à todos los de mi nacion, que dessean, buscan y pretenden ser salvos, que no sean mal avisados ni negligentes en el negocio de su salud: peró que como conviene à Christianos, den lugar à la doctrina de Christo, el qual nos ha revelado y manifestado los mysterios de nuestra redẽpcion, y la voluntad de su padre celestial, del qual tenemos testimonio y mandado del cielo que lo devemos oyr ..... Abrid pues los ojos ô Españoles, y dexando à los que os engañan, obedeced à Christo y à su palabra, la qual sola es firme y inmudable para siempre. Estribad y fundad vuestra fe sobre el verdadero fundamento de los Prophetas y Apostoles, y la sola Cabeça de su Iglesia. Porque teneys en poco al Señor y à sus mandamientos, y os sujetays à el hombre de pecado, que os aparta de Christo y de vuestra salud? Porque preciays tanto su dañosa doctrina con la qual el enreda las consciencias, y apacienta las animas con viento de vanidad? Si quereys muy claramente ver y entender esto, escudriñad solamente y considerad con atencion la doctrina de Christo y los Actos de los Apostoles, cotejandolos con los actos y historias de los Papas de Roma, y hallareys manifiestamente que ay tanta differencia entre ellos, quanta ay entre la luz y las tinieblas, y entre la aparencia, ô sombra, y el cuerpo." (p.*viij v)

The final paragraph is a continuation of this appeal not to reject the grace of God, but to follow truth, refusing to be deceived, so that the name of God might be hallowed in Spain:

"No recibays en vano la gracia de Dios, que se os ofrece por la predicacion del Evangelio, por el qual el piadoso Dios estiende las manos de su misericordia para sacar à los ignorantes del hoyo y lodo de ignorancia à su conocimiento y comunion. Por lo qual si oyerdes hoy su boz (como dize el Propheta) no endurezcays vuestro coraçon: mas antes desechando las doctrinas, y tradiciones do los hombres mentirosos y engañadores, oyd à aquel que no puede mentir, seguid à aquel que no puede errar: paraque el nombre del Señor sea sanctificado en nuestra España, y que muchos siendo instruidos por la palabra de Dios, se conviertan de las tinieblas à la luz, paraque reciban por la fe en Jesu Christo remission de pecados, y la vida y bienaventurança eterna. Amen." (p.Aj r)

DOS TRATADOS

First edition: DOS TRATADOS./EL PRIMERO ES DEL/Papa y de su autoridad colegi-/do de su vida y dotrina, y de lo/que los Dotores y Concilios/ antiguos y la misma/sagrada Escritura/ enseñan./ EL SEGVNDO ES DE/ la Missa recopilado de los/ Dotores y Concilios y/ de la sagrada/ Escritura./ Toda planta, que no plantó my Padre/ celestial, sera desarraygada./Mat. 15. 13./ Cayda es, Cayda es Babylonia aquella/ gran ciudad, porque ella ha dado/ à bever à todas las gentes/ del vino de la yra de su/ fornicacion. A-/poc. 14.8./ En casa de Arnoldo Hatfildo./ Año de.1588. 8° 8pp.introduction+ 492pp.

Second edition: DOS TRATADOS./EL PRIMERO ES/ DEL PAPA Y DE SV AV-/TORIDAD, COLEGIDO DE/ su vida y dotrina./ EL SEGVNDO ES DE LA/ MISSA: EL UNO Y EL OTRO RE-/copilado de lo que los Doctores y Con-/cilios antiguos, y la sagrada/ Escritura enseñan./ Iten, un Enxambre de los falsos Mi-/lagros con que Maria de la Visitacion, Prio-/ra de la Anunciada de Lisboa engañó à muy/muchos: y de como fue descubierta/ y condenada./ Revelacion.17.1./Ven, y mostrarte he la condenacion de la gran Ramera,/ la qual está sentada sobre muchas aguas. Y vers. 15./Las aguas que has visto donde la Ramera se siente,/ son pueblos, compañas, gentes, y lenguas./ Segunda edicion, augmentada/ por el mismo Autor./ En casa de Ricardo del Campo./Año de 1599. 8°. 16 pp. introduction + 553 pp and two fold-out folio leaves. (Dos Tratados) + 40 pp (Enxambre) + 15 pp. (Tabla) + 4 pp.Index.

As we have already seen, Dos Tratados was published by Valera in two editions. The first, published in 1588, is a 488-page volume in small 8°. Examination of the two copies of this first edition of the work which are in the British Museum shews that at least the title page and the pages up to the end of the preface (viz: pp. A1 recto - A8 verso) were issued twice, in completely different type-setting, leading one to wonder whether there were two separate editions of the 1588 version , or merely two editions of the first 16 pages. The second, in 1599, stated by the title-page to be 'augmentada por el mismo Autor', is much longer, consisting of 553 pages in small 8°, with two fold-out tables, one of which replaces pp.467-473 in the original edition. Appended to this second edition are: Enxambre de los falsos milagros pp. 554-594 and on pp.594-610 a comparison of Roman Catholic and evangelical doctrine after the manner of Pérez's Breve Tratado, entitled 'Tabla ... dela doctrina antigua de Dios y de la nueva

de los hombres'. This 'tabla' clearly owes something to Urbanus Regius's Novae doctrinae ad veterae collatio. The editions of 1588 and 1599 are essentially the same, but the second takes cognizance of the intervening 11 years, bringing the history of the Popes up to date, introducing references to new works published in the interval, and adding a considerable number of anecdotes. In 1851, Usoz published a new edition of the 1599 version as vol.VI of R.A.E. adding copious notes, which include a minute comparison of the 1588 and the 1599 versions. It is also interesting to note two different translations into English; the first by Golbourne in 1600, which is excellent, and the second by Lintott in 1701, which is of a lower standard and is very free. We shall use the 1599 version for this discussion of the work, since it contains the whole of the 1588 version with additions.

Immediately after the title-page come 'Dos Sonetos en loor d'esta obra,' signed P.D.C., whose identity nobody has yet managed to discover or even to guess at. They are poor poetry, full of learned conceits and evangelical earnestness.

A preface follows, which occupies 14 pages, entitled 'Epistola al Christiano Lector', dated '15 de Iunio de 1588' and signed 'Vuestro muy afficionado hermano en el Señor. C.D.V.' This letter is identical in the 1599 version, even to the date being unaltered.

The Preface. Valera begins by pointing out that he would never have undertaken to delve into the murky filth of the papacy, if he were not convinced of the necessity of exposing it to Spain, so that its authority might be brought to an end:

> "SINO FVESSE la gran necessidad que nuestra España tiene de saber las vidas de los PAPAS, para sabiendolas guardarse dellos, y no hazer caso de su autoridad, que se han contra todo derecho divino y humano tomado sobre las consciencias, que Jesu Christo nuestro Redemptor con su muerte y passion ha hecho libres, nunca, Christiano Lector, me huviera metido en un Laberinto tan confuso y escabroso, como es escrevir vidas de Papas." (p.A2 r)

Even the Roman Catholics themselves do not agree on how many Popes there were. (At this point Valera justifies his use of the invented word 'papar' to mean 'to reign as Pope' on the analogy of 'reinar.') Nor do they agree on whether a particular Pope was good or evil, nor on their exact dates. Examples of this

disagreement follow from Spanish and Italian authors. Popes and Councils attack and contradict each other, like curs destroying one another:

> "Leed Christiano Lector, sus vidas, vereys perros que se despedaçan y comen los unos à los otros: Verreys no hombres, sino Diablos encarnados." (p.A3 v)

There is a considerable disagreement, too, about how many Popes there have been with the same name, particularly the Johns.

Valera gives reasons why certain Popes are missed from the lists by one author or another: 1. because they held office a very short time; 2. because they were not canonically elected; 3. because they were abominable either in life or in doctrine or both. Various examples of each kind are given and the reader is referred to the main work for details. Valera becomes quite sarcastic when discussing the third point:

> "Por esta causa algunos no cuentan à Lando. Leed su vida. Por la misma causa algunos no cuentan à Juan octavo, puta antes de ser Papa, y siendo Papa. Si esta razon valiesse, muy pocos serian contados por Papas. Porque todos los Papas en general desde Bonifacio tercero, hasta Sisto quinto que oy tyraniza, han sido, o en vida, o en doctrina malos. Assi no se devria contar Bonifacio octavo, de quien todos dizen, que entro como Zorra, vivio como Leon, y murio como Can, o Perro. Y no fue el solo el que hizo esto: muchos compañeros ha tenido." (pp. A4 v f)

The accounts of the lives of the Popes are more confused:

> "No ay vidas de Reyes, ni de Emperadores, seanse Christianos, Paganos, Iudios, Turcos, o Scitas, o de quales-quiera otras naciones, tan confusa, y tan diversamente escritas, como las vidas de los Papas. Y lo que es mas de maravillar, escritas, impressas, y aprovadas por sus mismos Papistas. Parece que el Espiritu santo ha echado de proposito esta confusion en el escrevir sus vidas." (p. A5 r)

This confusion, he argues, is because Rome is Babylon, and Babylon means confusion. Nowhere is this confusion more apparent thatn in the use of an unknown tongue:

> "Y con que mas proprio nombre q̃ de Babylonia, o Confusion, se puede llamar aquella Iglesia, en la qual de tal manera se ora y canta en lenguage confuso y peregrino, que uno no entiende à otro: y aun lo que peor es, muy muchas vezes el mismo que ora, o canta, no entiende lo que se dize. He os querido amigo Lector, avisar desta confusion, paraque si en un autor leyerdes." (p. A5 v)

Another example of this is the utter confusion in the numbering of different Popes called John.

Valera next informs us that he has obtained the list of Spanish monarchs concurrent with the Popes from Alonso de Cartagena's History of the Kings of Spain, Anacephalaeosis.(1)

The reason for writing the book is given as being evangelistic, to free the Spaniards from the wicked domination of the papacy, and to bring them liberty of conscience:

> "El intento y motivo q̃ me ha movido à escrivir estos dos Tratados del Papa, y de la Missa, no ha sido otro ninguno, sino un gran desseo que tengo de que los de mi nacion gozen de lasmismas misericordias, que el Señor ha hecho en estos ultimos tiempos à muchas naciones de la Europa, dandoles libertad de consciencia (y esto, no para rienda suelta servir à las concupiscencias de la carne: sino para en espiritu y enverdad servir al Dios biviente, al qual servir es reynar.) Duelome muy mucho, que mi nacion, à la qual el Señor Dios ha dado tanto ingenio, habilidad y entendimiento para las cosas del mundo (lo qual las otras naciones no lo pueden negar) en las cosas de Dios, en las cosas, que la va la salud de sus animas, o yr al cielo, o yr al infierno, sea tan tonta y tan ciega, que se dexe llevar por la nariz, que se dexe governar, atropellar y tyranizar del Papa, del hombre de pecado, del hijo de perdicion, del Antechristo, que está sentado en el tẽplo de Dios como Dios, haziendose parecer Dios: (pp.A5 v f)

The reason why this domination is possible, is because Spain has a false notion of papal authority. The Pope is not Peter's successor, and has no authority. Valera's dearest wish is to bring this home to Spain by means of this book:

> "Este primer Tratado servira de desengañarlos: mostrara muy palpable y evidentemente el Papa no ser sucessor de san Pedro, sino de Iudas, no ser Vicario de Christo, sino deSatanas ... y que por tanto no devemos obedecer al Papa, ni hacer mas caso del, ni de lo que mandare, que hazemos de lo que nuestros mortales enemigos nos mandan. La voluntad de mi coraçon, y mi oracion à Dios es por mi nacion paraque sean salvos: paraque su Majestad los libre de la potestad de las tinieblas, y los traspasse en el Reyno de su amado Hijo." (p.A6 v)

Although Spain is zealous for God, because of papal prohibition of the Word of God, other nations are benefitting from pureteaching, and Spain is not:

(1) Alonso de Cartagena (1348-1456) Anacephaleosis, Genealogia de los reyes de España (? ?) reprints (Burgos 1487) & (Granada 1545).

"Querria, si pudiesse en alguna manera provocar à mi nacion; querria que tuviessen una santa embidia à las otras naciones. Porque ellas, y no los Españoles han de leer, y oyr en su propria lengua la palabra de Dios, como está escrita en la santa Biblia? Porque ellas, y no los Españoles han de recebir los santos Sacramentos con la simplicidad, que Jesu Christo los instituyó, y celebró, con la qual mandó à su Iglesia q̃ los administrasse, sin ningunas invenciones humanas, supersticiones ni idolatrias? Este testimonio doy de mi nacion, que tienen zelo de Dios: y assi muy pocos Españoles vereys, que sean atheistas, que sean sin ninguna religion. Peró este su zelo no es segun sciencia: porq̃ no es regido por la palabra de Dios: sino por lo que manda el Antechristo de Roma: el qual les ha quitado y prohibido la lecion de la sagrada Escritura." (pp.A6 v f)

Spain is one of the main pillars of the papal edifice. If she read Scripture she would understand what the Pope was and would withdraw her support:

"Porque sabe muy bien el Antechristo que si los Españoles la leyessen, luego ellos Caerian en la cuenta, y conocerian la abominable vida de los Papas, y su impia dotrina: y assi los dexarian y detestarian. Y si España dexasse una vez al Papa, el Papa se contaria (como dizen) con los oleados: con los desahuziados, de quien no tiene esperança ninguna de vivir. O quien, si pluguiesse à Dios, ya viesse este dia." (p.A7 r)

If the Pope fell, the mass would go with him. The two stand or fall together:

"Y si el Papa cayesse, luego al momento caeria la Missa, y toda la demas idolatria, que el Papa se ha inventado. Esta es la causa porque nuestros contrarios pelean tanto por entretener y mantener la autoridad del Papa. Porque saben muy bien que caydo el Papa, toda la religion papistica de necessidad ha de caer por tierra." (pp.A7 r f)

This was the substance of a sermon preached at the Council of Trent by Pedro de la Fuente of Seville, attacking the Protestants as heretics, and asking the Council to strengthen those two pillars of the Roman Catholic Church: the Pope and the mass.(2)

Valera expresses the fervent hope that Christ will destroy these two pillars by the word of God, and that this book will also help in the task:

(2) Petrus Fontidonius (called both Fontidonio & Pedro de la Fuente by Valera) preached several sermons before the representatives of the Council of Trent. The one here specified is Oratio ad synodum Trident. Sept.30 1562 (Brixen 1562). Apart from copies of his printed sermons, no other information about this man seems to be readily available.

"Suplico à su Majestad, embie al verdadero Samson, q̃ es Christo, el qual de un rempuxon derrueque del todo estas dos colunas, y assi la casa de Dagon cayga toda por tierra ... Cierto q̃ si el Papa y su Missa fuessen colunas edificadas sobre la Roca, sobre la Piedra fundamental Christo, que ni las puertas del infierno, ni todo quanto los hombres se podrian imaginar, nunca prevalecerian contra ellas. Pero por no ser edificadas sobre este firme fundamento, sino antes sobre invenciones humanas, facilmente qualquiera cosita, que lleve alguna razon, las haze bambanear. La cosa, que totalmente las echa por tierra, es la palabra de Dios: como con la ayuda del Señor, se verá en estos dos Tratados. Espero que su Majestad, cuya causa aqui mantenemos, sacará algun fruto deste mi trabajo. A el lo encargo." (pp.A7 v f)

He further hopes that the readers will consider sensibly what he has to say and measure both the argument of this book, and what its opponents say, against the Word of God, the teachings of the Fathers and the early Councils, and natural reason, so that they may come to know God and His Law.

The Text. Compared particularly with Valera's edition of Calvin's Institucion, which is clearly aimed at the erudite Spaniard, Dos Tratados is seen to be intended as a popular work, aimed at a much less erudite section of the Spanish population. Even so, the work abounds in references to many authors, for, in the main, Valera substantiates the points he makes by reference to the Bible, the Fathers the ancient Councils, to pre-Reformation and Roman Catholic authors, rather than to the Reformers (although these latter are not altogether ignored.) When he quotes a Latin tag or author, he translates it. The work stands out as being intended for Spanish readers in Spain. To the account of the reign of each Pope is added a brief note of the contemporary Spanish monarch, and, after the middle of the 15th century, there are much lengthier accounts of Spanish history. Spanish special pleading and a Spaniard's pride in Spain are to be observed throughout, and, as we shall see, Valera breaks out quite frequently into an apostrophe to the Spanish people.(3) Nevertheless, occasionally he seems to forget he is addressing Spaniards and writes from a very English point of view, or at least from the point of view of a resident in England.

The first part of the book "del Papa y de su autoridad" consists basically of a history of the papacy, tracing chronologically the development of papal

(3) See e.g. quotations below from pp.238 f, 241 f, 278.

power and non-Biblical doctrines and practices. It is not proposed to make a full summary of this history, and it will be referred to only when a particular point seems worthy of note or quotation.

This part, however, starts, rather characteristically of the meandering and repetitive style of Valera, with a number of pages which have little to do with the Popes as such. Firstly, idolatry is defined and then condemned. Instances are drawn from the Old Testament, and then the transfer is made to Roman Catholic images, and to the miracles purported to be performed by them, and those who honour such images are by inference condemned:

> "Lo que creen es, que Dios ha infundido en estas ... imagines una cierta divinidad por representar o à la virgen Maria, ò à Christo crucificado, &c. y de aqui dizen que hazen milagros: y por esso las reverencian, y adoran. Y de tal manera fixan sus ojos, y ponẽ todo su entendimiento en honrar y adorar estas visibles imagines, que quitan la honra que à solo Dios se deve, y la dan à una imagen de palo hecha por mano de hombres. Y assi en estando en alguna afflicion, en lugar de demandar socorro à Dios por medio de su Hijo Jesu Christo, unos griten: Señora mia de Guadalupe, otros, Señora mia de Monsarrate: otros, Señor Santelmo, Señor San Blas, Senora santa Lucia, &c. De Dios, ni de su Hijo Jesu Christo no ay quien se acuerde, sino alguno en algun rincon. Y si los otros lo oyen, llamanlo de Herege Lutherano que invocó à solo Dios, à solo Jesu Christo, y no à los santos." (p.3)

This subject is more proper to the second part of the work.

Next, a survey is made of Old Testament history, picking out instances of the hardness of heart displayed by the ancient Hebrews, stressing the two captivities of Egypt and Babylon, and postulating a third which had already lasted some 1,500 years, incurred by the Jews for having rejected the Messiah.

The argument now returns to idolatry and points out how the Old Testament is full of punishments inflicted on the people of God for this sin. The Roman Catholics also commit this sin, whatever their denials:

> "La respuesta que los Romanistas dan en defensa de sus imagines, es frivola. Dizen que no adoran, ni honran las imagines, sino aquello que ellas representan. A lo qual les respondo, que tanpoco los paganos adoravan las imagines, sino aquello que las imagines representavan. Porque no creyan la imagen de Iupiter, serIupiter, sino representar à Iupiter. Quanto mas que los Romanistas no solamente man dan que se hagan imagines, que se reverencian, mas aun que se adoren." (p.8)

Valera now quotes many passages from the Fathers against images, in spite of which, he says, the Roman Catholics have even divided up the 10 Commandments in such a

way as to alter their attitude to image-worship. The duty of a good magistrate is to destroy Roman Catholic images, for which action there are excellent precedents in the Old Testament. The Fathers and philology are now brought forward to demolish the Roman Catholic argument that the Bible condemns idolatry but permits images. The Council of Elvira (335 A.D.), which condemned even paintings in churches, is considered at length. This is summed up by a blunt assertion that the Roman Catholic Church is idolatrous:

> "Si ay Pueblo o nacion que aya cometido y comete idolatria interna y externa, es la Iglesia papistica. Porque que otra cosa vemos en sus templos, en sus casas, calles, y encrucijadas sino idolos, imagines hechas, y adoradas contra el expresso mandamento de Dios?" (p.19)

This idolatry is a stumbling-block to the conversion of non-Christians:

> "Muchos de los Moros, Turcos, y Iudios se convertirian à Christo, si no fuesse por la offensa, y escandalo de las imagines que estan en los templos." (p.19)

And, in fact, the Roman Catholics' idolatry exceeds that of the pagans in that their belief is in a true sacrifice in the mass:

> "Cree el pan y el vino de su Missa (à la qual llama sacrificio) celebrada por su Papa, o por el sacerdote hecho por autoridad del Papa, ser no la representacion, ni la comemoracion de la muerte del Señor, sino su verdadero cuerpo y sangre, ser el mismo Jesu Christo ... y assi como a verdadero Dios lo adoran." (p.20)

In these two treatises Valera will shew the Popes as false priests and as Antichrist, and the mass as a false sacrifice and idolatry, and, since his purpose is not just to destroy falsehood, but to build up the truth, he will shew Christ as true High Priest, and His sacrifice as our one and only justification.

Then Valera returns to the idea in the preface to state that the Pope and the mass are the principal pillars which hold up the whole edifice of the Roman Catholic system. Both had small beginnings and have taken on huge proportions. Which is the greater evil? Valera supposes that it must be the Pope because he had created the mass, by means of which he manages to deceive the Spaniards:

> "Abre tus ojos España: o por mejor dezir, abra te los Dios, y mira en que estima el Papa tenga al Sacramento, al que el mismo te vende por tu dinero dijiendo que es tu Dios." (p.23)

Old names can change their meanings, for example the word 'tyrant'. So the word 'Pope' was not originally the title of the Roman Bishop only. It was

the familiar title of many bishops, which the Bishop of Rome has now arrogated to himself in such a way that it is now synonymous with the word 'Antichrist'.

Valera follows Bale's division of the Bishops of Rome into three classes: 1. up to Sylvester; 2. from Sylvester to Boniface III; and 3. from Boniface III to date. He considers them under these headings, passing fairly rapidly over the first and second, and concentrates particularly on the third class, of whom he uses his new verb papar, and also quite often tyranizar.

No Bishop of Rome of the first class was ever Pope, not even Peter; nor was Peter ever at Rome:

> "Preguntemos pues ahora, y principalmente à nuestros Españoles, que tanto creen estas cosas. En que tiempo vino San Pedro à Roma, quanto tiempo residio en ella, quando murio, de que genero de muerte y donde murio, quien fue su sucessor (porque unos dizen Lino, otros Clemente) ... Quitada la causa, se quita el efeto." (pp.29 f)

Proofs are adduced for this claim from Pauline writings from and about Rome. Peter's successors for about 300 years were good Christians and true bishops:

> "Al fin, estos buenos Obispos de Roma con su propria sangre sellaron el Evangelio, que avian predicado, y assi fueron Martyres ... Fueron hombres pobres en epiritu y simples de coraçon, agenos de avaricia y ambicion: fueron verdaderos Obispos por espacio de casi. 300 años." (p.32)

Valera traces a gradual build-up of papal power and non- or anti-Christian doctrines and practices during the time of the bishops of the second class:

> "Y el Antechristo començava a mostrar sus cuernos." (p.42)

He blames the practice of saying the canonical hours for the gradual abandonment of the Bible, till it had become a heretical book:

> "Esta institucion fue ocasion q̃ los eclesiasticos no leyessen la Biblia. Y assi vemos en España que muy pocos eclesiasticos tienen la Biblia en su casa ... à la Biblia en general la llaman libro de Hereges. Algun dia Dios castigara esta blasphemia." (p.43)

Those of the third class were really Popes, and therefore really Antichrist also, and Valera brings out, as he goes along, all the anti-catholic Protestant arguments with which we have become so familar during the intervening centuries: rich vestments, auricular confession, forbidding of meats, communion under one kind, the false donation of Constantine, kissing of the Pope's feet, lay holders of the papal office, images, the idolatry of the mass, extravagant titles, broken promises, celibacy of the clergy, purgatory, prayers for the dead, poison,

castration, sodomy, transubstantiation, Jubilees, 34 schisms and times when there were two or even three Popes. For everything he gives careful references to his sources. In many places we see the origin of much that he took up again in whole or in part in other books.

Commenting on the author of one of his sources, who had written between 1588 and 1599, he says:

> "Este Pedro Mexia fue un hombre muy supersticioso, y todo papistico, que procuró quanto pudo, apagar la luz del Evangelio que en su tiempo se alumbró en Sevilla: Persiguio muy mucho al buen dotor Egidio: o por mejor dezir, à Christo en Egidio, y à otros sus miembros." (p.60)

In attempting to play down the evils of the papacy, says Valera, Mexia managed to reveal a great deal about them.

Of the earlier Popes, great case is made of the one female Pope, Joan. Historical (or mythological) information apart, the existence of a female Pope rendered the Roman Catholic orders invalid by Roman Catholic standards, although Valera considers them invalid in any case:

> "Digo pues que Iuana siendo muger no era sacerdote, no siendo sacerdote, ni ordenó ni consagró: y por tanto los sacerdotes que por su autoridad fueron ordenados, no eran sacerdotes de Dios, sino de Ieroboan, o de Baal: y los que recibian sus sacramentos, digo que no tenian buena fe. Porque la fe es fundada sobre la palabra de Dios." (p.66)

Too many Roman Catholics believe in the Gospel without knowing a thing about it:

> "Porque sabed que como la mecha no arde en el candil, o lampara, mas de quanto tiene azeyte, assi tampoco la Fe bive mas de quanto tiene palabra de Dios. El que no lee, no oye, no medita la palabra de Dios, que Fe puede tener, la que llaman de creer en Dios à pies juntillos: la que llaman del Carbonero, que ni sabe lo que cree la Iglesia, ni lo que el mismo se cree." (p.67)

On Nicholas I's ban on priests living in concubinage Valera is sarcastic, hinting strongly that most priests live thus:

> "El cuerno le va creciendo à la bestia. Esta bestia fue muy severa contra los sacerdotes casados. Contra esta impiedad se opuso Hudrico obispo ...., y le escrivio una carta que mostrava bien los malditos frutos del celibado[sic].. ..Este Nicolao prohibio à todos los fieles Christianos que no oyessen missa de sacerdote amancebado: lo mismo prohibieron otros Pontificos. Si esto se guardasse muy pocas missas se oyrian: puesque la mayor parte de los sacerdotes son amencebados." (p.68)

The growth in papal independence of imperial power creates the image of the

'beast' increasing in strength:

> "Porque ya los Papas tenian crescidos los cuernos, y no se les dava nada por los Emperadores." (p.69)

The use of bribery to gain office by Formosus is the ocasion for a play on words in the Old Testament prophetic manner:

> "Formoso alcançó con dadivas al papado: aunque Sergio se le opuso muy de veras: ... Pero Hermoso con sus hermosos dones prevalecio. Este fue el Espiritu santo q̃ lo eligio." (pp.69 f)

And similarly those who gained office by violence:

> "Y assi el Christoval se hizo Papa, su violencia, ingratitud y malas artes fueron el Espiritu santo que lo eligio." (p.71)

Certainly the most interesting passages in this part of the book are those where at various points Valera apostrophizes the Spaniards he is addressing, as though his feelings get the better of him from time to time. For example, after speaking of the excesses, sexual and otherwise, of John XIII:

> "Leed esta historia [viz: the complete one in Luitprand(4)] Españoles, y vereys quien sea el Papa por quien soleys poner al tablero vuestra hazienda, honra y vida. Dios por su misericordia y por la honra de su Hijo Jesu Christo, os haga la gracia que lo conoscays." (p.75)

After a long account of how Sylvester II learned the magic arts from a Moor in Seville and used them to gain the papacy:

> "Avertid Españoles, que cosa sea la missa: pues el diablo se juega con ella y engaña, como avemos visto en este Sylvestre. Españoles sed sabios, Papa y Missa han sido mucho tiempo ha, vuestros dioses en la tierra." (pp.80 f)

And, after stating that some Roman Catholic authors try to make Sylvester II into a learned mathematician:

> "Dezid la verdad, aunque amargue. Dios no tiene necessidad de vuestras mentiras, para ensalçar su santa fe Catholica." (p.81)

John XX and his successors who elaborated the doctrine of purgatory were all undoubtedly wizards:

> "Abre España los ojos, y vee: cree à quien con grande amor te avisa: mira si esto que digo es verdad, o no." (p.82)

Valera's interest is in Spain at all times:

> "Este Urbano hizo al Arçobispo de Toledo Primado de todo España." (p.97)

(4) Luitprand (c.922 - c.972) Bishop of Cremona, wrote many historial works. The relevant one here seems to be either Antapodosis or Historia Ottonis.

> "Este Calisto hizo la yglesia de Santiago de Galizia Arçobispado, y hizo un libro de los milagros de Santiago: esto para confirmar mas la idolatria, y entretener mas la supersticion." (pp. 100 f)

> "Don Hernando, q̃ llaman el Santo, q̃ ganó à Sevilla y à Cordava (sic) y à gran parte del Andaluzia reynò en Castilla." (p.116)

> "Benedito.13.o,11. Español tan poco es contado entre los Papas, por las mismas causas que Clemente.7. Peró pues muestra España y Francia lo tuvieron Papa, no le quitaremos su lugar. Fue Español nacido en Cataluña, llamóse antes de ser Papa Pedro de Luna ... el Concilio Pisano lo depuso: despues fue depuesto en el Concilio Constanciense ... no dexó por todo esto de llamarse Papa hasta que murio." (p.157)

He cannot resist any punning nickname for a Pope or other Roman Catholic institution: "Urbano.3.al qual por ser turbulento llamaron Turbano", (p.111); "Inocencio.3. al qual los historiadores llaman nocentissimo", (p.113); "Urbano.4.instituyó ... la gran fiesta del Dios Pan, llamada Corpus Christi", (p.124); Gregorio XII is called "Errorio" (p.158); Romerias become "Ramerias", (p.206); and the Jesuits "Jebusitas or Jebuseos", (p.221); and, when discussing the numbers of pilgrims trampled to death at the Jubilee:

> "Quantos destos estuvieron mejor en sus casas trabajando para mantener à si, à sus mugeres y hijos? Peró.S.P.Q.R. Stultus populus quaerit Romam, que quiere dezir, el tonto pueblo va à Roma (mas el sabio se está en su casa). (p.175)

Discussing the decision of the Council of Elvira (properly Synod of Elvira 305 A.D.) to allow statues and paintings in churches, Valera finds justificiation for identifying the Pope with Antichrist:

> "O Papa, no vees que prohibe Dios lo que tu mandas, y manda lo que tu prohibes? Con razon te llaman Antechristo." (p.115)

All that tends away from Christ and from the Word of God is to be condemned:

> "Salve regina, antiphona tan blasphema contra Christo." (p.117)

These condemnations are uttered particularly to counteract those papal practices which seem diametrically opposed to the truth:

> "Parecíome ..., poner aqui los nõbres de las leyes con que el Papa rige su Iglesia. Jesu Christo unica cabeça universal de su universal Iglesia, rige su Iglesia con la palabra de Dios contenida en el viejo y nuevo Testamẽto, que llamamos la Biblia, que tanto nuestros adversarios aborrecen y detestan como à pestilencia, como à dotrina de demonios: y por esso prohiben la leccion della, con tan rigurosos castigos, llamandola libro de herejes. Levantate Señor, no duermas, esparzanse tus enemigos, y huygan los que aborrecen tu santa Ley ..." (p.120)

"Hasta el tiempo deste Papa [Innocent IV] no era articulo de fe, ni ley de la yglesia, que los hombres adorassen al pan, ni al vino en la Eucharistia. Este Papa fue el primero que crió un nuevo dios por su transubstanciacion: aunque es verdad que Honorio.3.começó este edificio." (p.123)

As the history approaches the end of the 15th Century and Valera's own time, the story is told in more detail and more points are discussed, and, as people and their protests begin to resemble the Protestant Reformers, more space is given to them. Lengthy consideration is given to the Council of Constance, the deposition of John XXIV, the condemnation of John Wiclif, the execution of Jan Hus and Jerome of Prague. It is when the latter are being discussed that direct praise of the Protestant Reformation enters the work:

"Muy mucho son de alabar los Bohemos, que con gran constancia han permanecido en la buena dotrina y reformacion que estos santos Martyres de Jesu Christo les enseñaron. Y tanto mas son de loar, quantos mayores trabajos y persecuciones casi. 200.años, han padecido: y hoy dia por la misericordia de Dios usan desta dotrina y reformacion, y de alli ha cundido á las regiones comarcanas Moravia y Polonia. En nuestros tiempos Dios la ha estendido por Alemaña, y de alli se ha estendido por toda la Europa, y aun ha passado el gran mar Oceano, hasta las Indias ha ido, por mas impedimentos que el Antechristo ha puesto por medio de sus Inquisidores: y mientras mas quemaran, mas cundira." (p.167)

The Popes dislike the word "reformation", and for the same reason have little time for councils. Both mean death to their power. But calls for reformation have not been made by Protestants only:

"Esto Eugenio [IV] hizo quemar muy cruelmente à un Frances llamado Thomas Rendonio Carmelita, por aver dicho que en Roma se cometian grandes abominaciones, y que la yglesia avia menester una gran reformacion, y que no se devia tener la descommunion del Papa, quando se tratava de la gloria de Christo." (pp.172 f)

Anecdotes, sometimes rather rambling, begin to appear, particularly to demonstrate how superstitious the Roman Catholic Church had become, or to highlight some practice which Valera saw as blasphemous or deceitful. These lead to outbursts from time to time, as, for example, does an account of the apparition of Mary to the Dominican, Alan de Rupe, in 1470:

"Quiẽ tendra paciencia con tã blasphemas deshonestidades, y con tã deshonestas blasphemias? Cierto yo he verguença de escrevirlas: peró es menester descubrir sus vellaquerias y verguenças, paraque España y todo el mundo las acabe de conocer." (p.182)

And a long explanation of the rosary and the indulgences to be obtained by reciting it brings this section to its culmination:

> "Mirad quanto ha cundido la supersticion de rezar Pater nostres y Avemarias por cuentas, cuyo primero inventor fue Pedro Hermitaño sin ninguna palabra de Dios, y sin ningun exemplo de Santo, ni del viejo ni del nuevo Testamento. He cõtado todos estos desvarios, blasphemias, y impiedades, para q̃ nuestros adversarios se averguencen viendo que ay quiẽ los entiende: Y assi se conviertan al Señor, que es el solo que perdone los pecados ..." (p.184)

It is interesting to note in this last passage, as in many other places, the term 'nuestros adversarios', which is one that is met with typically in Juan Pérez's writings. Up to a point this term is out of place in this book, written as it is to Roman Catholics to persuade them towards the evangelical faith. One feels that here Pérez's influence can be discerned.

The story of how Sixtus IV was cured by the apparition of S.Francis and S.Anthony arouses the following outburst, which is more or less an epitome of the whole work:

> "Veys aqui sobre que se funda la religion papistica: sobre sueños, ilusiones del demonio, falsos milagros, y mentiras. Dios por justo juyzio suyo los ciega, y dexa caer en reprobo sentido: y pues que no creen á la verdad escrita y manifestada à los hombres en el viejo y nuevo Testamento, es menester ... que crean à la mentira." (p.185)

This is followed by an extensive discussion of the practice of celebrating years of Jubilee, in which can be seen in embryo the whole of Valera's later Aviso sobre los Jubileos.

Savonarola, as a forerunner of the Reformation, has the same sort of attention paid to him as Wiclif and Hus, together with a detailed summary of his teaching and many references to the approval by Roman Catholic writers of his life and doctrines.

Valera has now arrived in his account at the closing years of the 15th Century, but, instead of being content with a brief cross-reference to the contemporary Spanish scene, he points out six 'notables cosas' that happened in Spain around the year 1492, and devotes some space to each one.

1. Alexander VI was a Spanish Pope, and an abominable holder of that office.

2. Granada was conquered and the Moors expelled from the whole of Spain. The religious intolerance inherent in the phrase 'desterrando de toda España la

falsa seta de Mahoma", has an interesting counterbalance in 3.

3. The discovery of the Indies, where mention is made of 'las crueldades que los Españoles hazian à los pobres Indios", and continues in a passage which breathes a spirit much more like that of the 20th Century(5):

> "Pluguiera à Dios, que los que han alla passado, huvieran tenido mas zelo de enseñar y augmentar la santa fe Catholica contenida en la sagrada Escritura, que no de enriquecerse á si mismos, y para enriquecerse matar y robar á diestro y á siniestro (como dizen) aquella simple gente, que tenian animas racionales como nosotros, y por quien Iesu Christo era muerto. Dezian los Indios (como Augustin de çarate lo cuenta en su historia del Peru(6)) quexandose: que los Españoles les quitavan sus Idolos, y les davan los Idolos, o imagines de España (las cruzes y Virgines Marias, &c) que adorassen: dezian, que los Españoles les quitavan las muchas mugeres, diziendoles que la ley de Iesu Christo no permitia que una sola muger, y que ellos se las tomavan para si." (p.196)

4. The Inqusition was founded. Valera seems quite complacent about the original intentions of that institution, and content to accept the idea of intolerance to other religions:

> "Entonces el Rey Don Hernando mandó que todos los Judios que quisiessẽ bivir en España se baptizassen: o sino, se fuessen d'España: y assi se fueron (como dize Sabelico)(7) ciento y veynte mil. Fue pues la Inquisicion instituida para enseñar la religion Christiana à los Judios y Moros, que se avian tornado Christianos, los quales de secreto se bolvian á sus costumbres viejas. Mas ahora aviẽdo casi cesado con Judios y Moros, se ha hecho de dia en dia mas y mas tyrana cõtra los fieles, Catholicos, y Orthodoxos Christianos, que detestando la idolatria Papistica y su vana supersticion, confiessan un solo Dios Padre, Hijo, y Espiritu santo dever ser adorado en espiritu y en verdad." (p.197)

(5) This attitude was not confined to Valera alone. It is met with in other 16th Century Spaniards, e.g.Bartholomé de las Casas (1475-1566) who laboured and wrote tirelessly to gain justice for the Indians. See his De unico vocationis modo (1535) inter alia; also L.U.Hanke The Spanish Struggle for Justice in the Conquest of the New World (Philadelphia 1949) & Bartholomé de las Casas (The Hague 1951).

(6) Augustín de Zárate (16th cent.) Historia de la conquista ... del Peru (Antwerp 1555, Venice 1563, Seville 1577, etc.)

(7) Marcantonio Coccio (c.1436-1506), known as 'Sabellico'. Italian humanist historian, from whose 92-vol. Enneades sive Rapsodiae historiarum (Venice 1498-1504) Valera drew extensively.

Needless to say, although complacent about the Inquisition's treatment of Jews and Moors, he is indignant about its treatment of Protestants:

> "Su manera de enseñar à los que ellos piensan ir errados, es injurias, afrentas, tormentos, açotes y mala vida, sanbenitos, galeras, carcel perpetua, y al fin fuego, con que queman aquellos à quien Dios por su misericordia haze constantes en la confession de su Hijo Jesu Christo. Quien quisiere saber las astucias, engaños, estratagemas y crueldades de que los Señores Inquisidores, o por mejor dezir Inquinadores de la fe, usan con las pobres ovejas de Jesu Christo deputadas para el matadero, o quemadero, lea el libro que se intitula Inquisitio Hispanica(8)... Esto es de notar que quantos han entrado en la Inquisicion, sease por lo que fuere, todos salen afrentados y con perdida de hazienda, y aun muchos de vida, y ninguno sale enseñado: tal es el tratamiento con que los Padres de la fe los tratan: no tienen el ojo à enseñarlos, sino à robarlos y matarlos." (pp.197 f)

He calls for a disinterested investigation into the Inquisition:

> "Pluguiesse à Dios, que conforme à la loable costumbre de España en las otras audiencias,(9) se embiassen juezes de residencia, hombres dotos y desapassionados, que examinassen à los Inquisidores, y à los que estan, y han estado presos en la Inquisicion: o que se descubriria!" (p.198)

And, after further condemnation of the procedures of the Inquisition, he renews the call for its abolition:

> "Contra esta tyrania hablamos. Pluguiesse à la Majestad divina, que ha entregado al Rey la espada, autoridad, y mando [sic] sobre todos quantos biven en sus Reynos, seanse seglares (como los llaman) o Eclesiasticos, de poner en el coraçon del Rey de quererse informar de los tuertos y agravios que la Inquisicion haze y poner (como es su dever) remedio en ellos. Lo qual espero que algun dia el Señor hara. Y vengara la sangre de los justos, que la Inquisicion injustamente ha derramado." (pp.201 f)

5. The Santa Hermandad was founded, which was of great benefit to Spain.

6. The 'buvas'(= VD) were introduced into Spain from the Indies as a result of sexual license.

Once more Valera is moved to protest his dislike of the task he has undertaken

(8) It hardly seems likely that this would be any other than Reginaldus Gonsalvius Montanus Sanctae Inquisitionis hispanicae artes (Heidelberg 1567) of which the author had been Valera's fellow-monk at San Isidro.

(9) This is, of course, the famous Spanish court of appeal, which functioned both in Spain and in the New World, but which, lamentably, had no jurisdiction in cases tried by the Inquisition.

after recounting Julius II's sodomy:

> "Cosas son estas que ni la pluma honesta devria escrevir, ni las orejas castas oyr: Peró es menester descubrir las verguenças de la Corte Romana, paraque no engañe mas tiempo à España. Por esso perdonadme Christiano letor." (p.209)

It is interesting to note here that a further accusation of sodomy against Cardinal Giovanni della Casa (p.234) was refuted at length in a special book by Bartholomé Martin.(10)

As one might expect, Luther's story is given a prominent place. Valera sees him as the great champion of God in the anti-papal cause:

> "Quien no se maravillarà, y espantarà de un tan gran animo, y atrevimiento tan orado, que un pobre frayle mendicante Augustino se atreviesse á hazer tal afrenta, y dar tal abofetada? ... Como pues un hombrezillo de no nada le dio [al Papa] tal golpe que lo dexò por muerto? No era Luthero, sino Dios, que elige las cosas baxas para confundir las muy altas. El hedor de las vellaquerias, y abomincaiones de los Papas, y de los Eclesiasticos havia subido hasta el cielo: ya las iniquidades de los Amorreos avian venido à su cumbre Dios derribo la sobervia del Papa, que es otro Lucifer. ... Dios por este medio nos ha trasportado de tinieblas à luz, de cativerio à libertad." (pp.211 f)

At the same time, Henry VIII's misdeeds and multiple marriages are passed over by Valera in a manner that he finds reprehensible when papist writers gloss over the Popes' iniquities.

Another expected section is that on the Jesuits. Valera is at great pains to distinguish them from the Theatines. This second edition is certainly up to date, for he discusses the Jesuits' part in an attempt to assassinate Henry IV in 1594. They are condemned in apocalyptic language:

> " [Los Jesuitas son] las langostas ... que subieron del pozo del abismo, cuyo Rey es el Angel del abismo, en Hebraico se llama Abaddon, y en Griego Apolyon ... Destruydor." (p. 224)

The Council of Trent, too, receives lengthy treatment, particularly with regard to the way it bolstered papal power.

As the account enters the 16th Century, the story becomes more detailed and anecdotes more abundant.

Paul IV, before he became Pope, wrote a book condemning the corrupt customs of the papacy, although he said nothing of the false doctrine that was in need of

(10) Bartholomé Martin Le terze Rime di Messer Giovanni della Casa (Lyons ?1750)

reform, but, on becoming Pope, he did nothing about them and became worse than his predecessors:

> "Estas cosas y otras tales contiene este libro: habla solamente de las malas costumbres y vida: però no trata de la falsa dotrina que en Roma se enseña, de la idolatria y supersticion: ni habla de la tyrania con que à fuego y à sangre son tratados los que procuren servir à Dios en espiritu y en verdad. Peró en siendo Papa como lo emendó? Hizo como sus predecesores ... que antes de ser Papas hablaron muy bien del dever del Papa: peró en siendo Papas hizieron como los demas o peor. Este echó en la carcel algunos frayles Augustinos, y à muchos Obispos, y à gran numero de fieles por causa de la religion, hizoles dar tormento. Finalmente hizoles todo quanto mal pudo. Todo esto, no por adulteros, no por incestuosos, simoniacos ni blasphemos: sino por la religion Christiana que professavan. Dexada pues la religion al rincon, ocupóse en la guerra contra nuestro Rey Don Felipe y cõtra la sangre Española." (pp. 238 f)

In a passage which pays homage to England for the asylum granted to refugees, Valera is rather carried away and begins to write as though England were his centre and not Spain:

> "... y à 17. de Noviembre [1558] murio Maria reyna de Inglaterra y el Cardenal Polo, y reynó en su lugar Doña Isabel: por medio de la qual las grandes persecuciones de fuego y sangre, carceles y destierros que la Iglesia avia padecido en Inglaterra en tiempo de la Reyna Maria, cessaron. Desta libertad por la misericordia de Dios ha gozado este reyno todos esto.40.años, que esta magnanima y prudentissima Reyna ha reynado: en el qual tiempo este reyno ha sido, y es, refugio y santuario de muy muchos estrangeros, los quales escapandose de las uñas de los gavilanes, y de los dientes de los leones, y de los lobos, se han acogido à el. Dios por su infinita misericordia lo enriquesca con sus riquezas espirituales y temporales: puesque assi ha recogido y amparado los pobres estrangeros en tiempo de tanta aflicion y calamidad." (pp.240 f)

Contemporaneous with Elizabeth's accession was the persecution in Spain, and particularly in Seville and Valladolid. Valera reveals his great local pride in an encomium on Seville:

> "La ciudad de Sevilla es una de las mas civiles, populosas, ricas, antiguas, frutiferas, y de mas suntuosos edificios que hoy dia ay en España: ser riquissima se vee claramente, puesque todo el tesoro de las Indias occidentales viene à ella, y puesque della ha el Rey un millon y medio de ducados cada año. La qual es tan gran renta, que pocos Reyes ay, que tengan tanto de todo un reyno entero: es antiquissima: puesque (si creemos à las historias) Hispalo noveno Rey de España la edifiò, del qual se llamò Hispalis: Hercules la acrescentó

"antes de la destruicion de Troya; ser frutifera se prueva por el Axarafe, donde ay tantos y tantos olivares, de los quales se saca tanta copia y abundancia de azeyte q̃ provee no solamẽte à gran parte de España, mas aun à otras muchas tierras bien distantes de España: veese tambien por las vegas de Carmona y de Xerez tan abũdantes de trigo: y por los campos, tan llenos de Viñas, naranjales, higuerales, granados, y de otros infinitos frutos. Y donde no se siembra nada, la tierra produze mucho del esparrago, y del palmito, &c. Tiene mucho ganado: y principalmẽte ovejuno, del qual embia mucha lana à Italia y à Flandres. A esta ciudad el Padre de las misericordias no solamẽte ha enriquecido haziendola tan civil, populosa, rica, antigua, frutifera, y de sumtuosos edificios, mas aun la ha enriquecido, y bendezido en toda bendicion espiritual, en bienes celestiales en Christo escogiendola antes de la fundacion del mundo (S.Pablo dize todo esto de la ciudad de Epheso) paraque ella fuesse la primera ciudad de nuestra España, que en nuestros tiempos conociesse los abusos, supersticiones y idolatrias de la Iglesia Romana, con que tanto tiempo España ha estado engañada, y conociendolas, las publicasse, como las ha publicado y divulgado, paraque se reformassen: y assi Jesu Christo reynasse en su Iglesia, y el Antechristo fuesse desterrado, destruido, y muerto." (pp. 241 f)

He then launches into the story of the growth of evangelical religion in Seville, which we have discussed elsewhere, the flight of the monks of San Isidro, the story of Julianillo and the persecution of evangelical Christians. The parallel case of Valladolid is also recorded. This situation is likened to what is recorded by Cyprian the Martyr, when the Proconsul of Africa blamed the Christians for certain disasters, which Cyprian clearly saw to have been divine punishment for the evil lives of the heathen:

"Todo esto passa al pie de la letra en nuestros tiempos: Por las mismas causas somos el dia de hoy calumniados, y injustamente condenados à cruelissimos y afrentosissimos generos de muerte, la misma condicion es ahora de la Iglesia, que era en tiempo de S.Cypriano, y de los demas santos que avemos nombrado: y como ellos se defendieron contra los Gentiles, nos defendemos ahora contra los Antechristianos. Dezimos les que Dios, embia en nuestros dias tantas calamidades de guerra, hambre y pestilencia por aver ellos profanado el culto divino y por aver honrado las criaturas en lugar del Criador: ellos no adoran à Dios en espiritu y verdad, como el manda ser adorado mas adoranlo conforme à las dotrinas y mandamientos de los hombres, y no adoran à Dios solo, sino aun tambien à los santos, y à sus imagines y retratos." (p.254).

This leads Valera into an excursus against a number of non-Biblical Roman Catholic doctrines: invocation of saints and images, the seven sacraments, the infallibility

of the Popes, Councils and Inquisitors, in justification of the statement that theirs is the wickedness that is causing calamities:

> "Vosotros pues (diremos à nuestros adversarios) soys los que aveys dexado los mandamientos de Christo, y aveys seguido las tradiciones del Antechristo, vuestro padre el Papa. Vosotros soys los que no adorays no honrays á Dios, sino adorays y honrays à las imagines contra el expresso mandamiento de Dios. Exod.20.Deut.5.y en otros muchos lugares. Acaben nuestros adversarios de entender estas y otras semejantes, ser las causas porque Dios aflige al mundo con tantas guerras, hambres, pestilencias, y con otras diversas calamidades que en nuestros dias avemos padecido, y padecemos." (p.256)

That is, in general, but turning to Spain, Valera claims that a number of calamities have occurred from the time of the persecutions:

> "Peró dexadas las historias antiguas, vengamos á lo que passa en nuestros dias, vengamos à nuestra España. Dios por su justo juyzio ha afligido muy muchas vezes à España por espacio de 40.años con guerras, hambre, pestilencia, y con otras calamidades, las quales començaron poco despues de aquella gran persecucion contra los fieles y catholicos Christianos. Esta persecucuion començando en Sevilla ha cundido casi por toda España contra gente noble y docta (como luego diremos) los sacerdotes de Baal afirman en sus escritos, pulpitos, confessiones y platicas, todo esto deverse imputar à los que ellos llaman Hereges Lutheranos: el vulgo que no sabe, ni cree otra cosa ninguna sino lo que estos Baalamitas le dizen y mandan creer, lo cree assi." (p.257)

Several incidents are recounted in support of this assertion.

A propos of very little, save for its anti-Roman flavour, a disproportionate amount of space is given to the account of a tumultuous occurence in Oxford in the reign of Mary Tudor, with explanations of English customs for Spanish readers. These calamities are blamed on the evangelicals by the Inquisitors, but it is clear that the truth is quite opposite. One day God will avenge His elect:

> "Dios, que es justo, no dexara sin castigo estas tan grandes mentiras, tan falsos testimonios, y tan fieras crueldades: su dia vendra à los Inquisidores, aunque se tarde. Porque la sangre de los justos, santos, fieles y Catholicos Christianos que han derramado, grita delante de Dios, como la sangre de Abel, diziendo: Hasta quando Señor santo y verdadero, no juzgas y vengas mustra sangre de los que moran en la tierra?" (P,264)

Valera has a wistful hope for Seville if and when that day comes. The principal meeting-houses of the Protestants should be turned into evangelical shrines:

"Si Dios algun dia haze misericordia à Sevilla, sera razon que este monesterio de San Isidro se convierta en Universidad, dõde la Theologia principalmẽte se professe. Las rentas del monesterio, que son grãdes, bastan y aun sobran para mantener la dicha Universidad: y la casa assolada de Isabel de Vaena se convierta en un publica Iglesia, donde se predique la palabra de Dios, y los Sacramentos sean administrados conforme à la Institucio de Jesu Christo, sin añidirles ni quitarles. Tan grandes y mayores cosas q̃ estas ha hecho Dios en nuestros tiempos." (p.265)

Spain only just failed to be converted to the evangelical faith last time; next time it may succeed:

"De lo qual cõcluyremos que Dios ha revelado la luz de su Evangelio en España á gente docta, y á gente de lustre, ilustre y noble: quando le plazera, hara la misma misericordia al vulgo y gente comun. En España en viendo à uno muy letrado y muy docto luego dizen que es tan docto que está en peligro de ser Lutherano: y no ay casi casa noble en España que no aya avido en ella alguno, o algunos de la religion reformada. Su Majestad por su Christo nuestro Redemptor augmente el numero para su gloria y confusion del Antechristo." (p.266)

In Valera's day the Popes have mademerchandise of the sacraments and have lost all respect for them, and in the end have become practical atheists:

"La causa es ... que los Papas siendo grandes simoniacos, han vendido los Sacramentos, y assi no los tienen para si. O por mejor hablar, la causa es, que los Papas tienen y dizen en su coraçon que no ay Dios: y assi quando estan enfermos, y se veen morir, no tienen cuenta ninguna con los sacramentos, ni con la religion Christiana. Y assi se nueren como puercos." (p.269)

A return is made to Seville for the account of a scandalous misuse of the confessional in 1563 for sexual gratification. So widespread was it, asserts Valera, that the Inquisitors had to suppress the evidence of it, but God will punish the iniquity:

"... y casi ningun Confessor fue castigado ... lo qual quitó gran congoxa al orden Eclesiastico, y toda su tristeza se les convertio en gozo. Peró su dia les vendra à los tales, y à los Inquisidores que solparon tan gran vellaqueria y abominacion. Los quales perdonando à sus amigos y domesticos padres de confession convertieron todo su odio y furia contra sus enemigos los Lutheranos: y assi los perseguieron á fuego y à sangre, no solamente en Sevilla y Valladolid, mas aun en muchas partes de España. Y desta manera Jesu Christo fue otra vez condenado en sus miembros, y Barrabas suelto." (p. 272)

In typically repetitive, but at times effective, style Valera once more praises England's treatment of religious refugees, the occasion being an account of how

futile was the effect of Pius V's bull against Queen Elizabeth[11]:

> "Este rayo tan furioso y brutal no hizo mal ninguno, todo se convertio en humo: no se oyó que un cierto trueno, y un cierto estallido como de rayos, o cohetes de mochachos. Y assi su bulla fue burla, fue una borbollita, quequando llueve se haze en el agua, y luego se deshaze. El que truxó esta bulla à Inglaterra, fue cogido y sentenciado à muerte, como traydor: y assi fue arrastrado y desquartizado, sin que su dios en la tierra, que es el Papa, lo pudiesse valer, ni aun del infierno sacar, con todas quantas missas se han dicho por el. Y la Reyna en su reyno bive y reyna triumphando de sus enemigos manteniendo y defendiendo la santa Fe catholica, y haziendo su reyno Asylo, refugio y santuario de los pobres estrangeros, que de tantas partes de la Europa huyendo de la tyrania del Antechristo Romano, se han recogido á el en estos. 40. años. El braço poderoso del Altissimo, del Dios abastado ... ha hecho esto." (pp. 273 f)

Before Luther was raised up, many people, particularly the Florentines, criticized the excesses of the papacy; which should be the cause of shame to Spain, since she did not support liberty of conscience:

> "Gran verguença para nuestros Españoles, que se precian de tan libres y de tan buenos ingenios como los Italianos, que assi se apocan y abatan haziendose esclavos del Papa, y no osando chistar contra el, por mayores vellaquerias que le vean hazer. Libertad de consciencias, libertad. A fuera, à fuera Papa el sobervio Antechristo." (pp. 274 f)

England, who claimed such liberty, has been the subject of several attacks against her by Gregory XIII:

> "Gregorio.13 ... renovó el odio ... contra la Reyna de Inglaterra: y assi procuró por todas las vias posibles, ya por fuerça (como se vido en la armada que embió à Irlanda, la qual huvo miserable fin) y por astucias y engaños (como se vido en el gran traydor Paret(12), y otros q̃ embiò, que tambien huvieron miserable fin siendo hecho quartos conforme à sus demeritos) hazerle todo el mal possible. Peró de todos estos malditos intentos libró Dios à la Reyna." (p. 275)

(11) Paul IV's bull <u>Cum ex apostolatus</u> (16th Feb.1559) had already declared that sovereigns who supported heresy forfeited their right to rule by the mere fact of their heresy. Pius V issued a bull on 25th Feb.1570 condemning Queen Elizabeth as a heretic & excommunicating her. This move was quite ineffectual Protestants were undismayed: R.Cs were swift to affirm their loyalty; and foreign R.C.powers did not take the opportunity to invade that this bull gave (them.

(12) Sir John Perrat, Lord Deputy of Ireland, reputedly bastard son of Henry VIII, was maliciously accused of high treason, particularly of encouraging the Spaniards to invade in 1588. He died in the Tower in Sept.1592, whilst awaiting reprieve or execution.

Valera meanders along, mentioning many things in the reign of this Pope, as though anxious to include as much as possible. He mentions Gregory's many children supported from papal funds, and exclaims indignantly:

> "Avertid Españoles, en que se emplea el patrimonio, que llamays de S. Pedro." (p. 275)

He tells the tale of the persecution of Valladolid in 1581-2, when two sisters were burnt at the stake, their father lighting the fire. Gregory's reform of the calendar becomes a cause for criticism:

> "Este Gregorio no teniendo que corregir en si mismo, ni en sus Eclesiasticos, ni quanto à vida, ni quanto à dotrina, se dio á corregir el Calendario anticipando diez dias al año. A este Calendario llamó Gregoriano para perpetuar su nombre." (pp. 277 f)

The side-reference to Spain at this point becomes a fairly long one, ending in an anti-papal criticism:

> "En este tiempo todos los reynos de España se reunieron: los quales desde la entrada de los moros en España, que ha ya sus 880. y tantos años, avian sido divididas. Y assi Don Felipe nuestro Rey y Señor reyna en toda España. De lo intimo de mi coraçon suplico à mi Dios, le dé à conocer quien sea el Papa." (p. 278)

Passing on to Sixtus V, Valera introduces the standard identification of Rome with the Babylon of the Book of Revelation:

> "... Felix se quiso llamar Sisto.5. porque pensó ser otro Sisto.4. y aun peor. Este en siendo Papa, como que no huviesse que corregir ni emẽder en si, en su corte Romana, en su Roma, en su Babylonia, la qual quanto á costũbres es madre de todas las fornicaciones, y abominaciones mas que bestiales, y quanto á la dotrina es Escuela de error y Tẽplo de heregia (como lo dize su afamado Petrarca ya ha sus 260. años) dase, como digo, como si no tuviesse que hazer en su casa à querer corregir ..." (p. 280)

Consideration is given in considerable detail to this Pope's actions against the Queen of England and the King of Navarre, and in his relations with the Duke of Guise, Condé, Cardinal Guise and Henry III of France, and the actions are justified or condemned as the occasion warrants by parallel references to the Old Testament and the Apocrypha. Such anti-Christian behaviour will not escape unpunished:

> "Que religion Christiana es esta, que uno sea canonizado por aver cometido lo q̃ expressamente es prohibido (como lo avemos por exemplos ya provado) en la palabra de Dios? O tiempos, o Costumbres? Peró su dia à los tales vendra: No se escaparan estos Puercos sin su S.Martin (como dizen)." (pp. 285 f)

Papal history, historical anecdotes and the parallel Spanish historical references are thus brought right up to the date of the publication of the second edition:

> "En tiempo deste Papa [Clement VIII, IX or X according to choice](13) en Septiembre de 1598: murio el Rey Don Phelipe.2. ... sucediole Don Phelipe.3. ... Dios le haga gracia q̃ cõforme à su dever y officio de Rey medite de noche, y de dia la Ley del Señor ... y cũple lo que Dios Deut.17.18. manda que el Rey haga." (p. 286)

The duties of a king are then demonstrated from the Old Testament, in the hope that Philip II will fulfil them.

With this the history of the third class of Popes is brought to a close, and we can see that they are hardly worthy of the name of Vicar of Christ:

> " [Estos Papas eran] de mala vida, y de peor dotrina, por lo qual no son, ni en ninguna manera pueden ser sucessores de S.Pedro, ni Vicarios de Christo, sino verdaderos Antechristos." (p.288)

Valera asserts that he will prove this statement by quoting the Fathers, the decrees of the ancient Councils, and principally three passages of Scripture; but first he will give a number of Spanish proverbs, which are anti-clerical in tone, to prove that ecclesiastics are given to "mala vida, luxuria, avaricia, hypocresia, simonia, ociosidad". After these proverbs come some Biblical quotations to underline what the proverbs said, ending with a prayer that the King might give free rein to true religion so that the Pope should fall from his throne.

The idea is now produced that there were two Roman empires. The first began with Romulus and Remus and grew great, till another power insinuated itself, at first eager only for the interests of the Church. But the Bishop of the Imperial City began to claim the primacy, which was resisted till the Emperor Phocas granted the title of 'Universal Bishop'. Then the second Roman empire began its rise. Both the first and the second were founded on murder. Valera once again goes over the history he has already given, but concentrating on the growth of papal power vis à vis imperial power. This is done to shew that the papacy is not founded on Christ and does not therefore deserve the title it claims:

> "De lo dicho se vee el Papado siendo, como es, edificado sobre hypocresia, astucia, avaricia, ambiciõ y tyrania, no ser edificado sobre la firme piedra, q̃ es Iesu Christo ... Y si el papado no es edificado sobre Christo, tan poco el Papa es Cabeça ni Obispo universal de la Iglesia de Dios, sino del diablo." (p. 299)

(13) In spite of the official list of Popes, there is considerable confusion in the historical sequence, largely because of times when there have been two or even three rival claimants, as Valera mentions in his preface (pp.A 3 c ff). It is, therefore, historically impossible to say whether this Pope was Clement VIII, IX or X.

Valera then sets out to demolish the argument that Peter was the first Pope. He shews from the Bible and Clement of Rome that James, the brother of Christ, held the office of senior apostle, and that Peter had no more authority than any other apostle. The book of Revelation in fact shews the Pope to be Antichrist. At all the early councils the Bishops of Rome did not preside, and some councils actually rejected Roman claims.

At first all Bishops were called 'papa', but now the Bishops of Rome have arrogated this title to themselves to signify their primacy. From the 11th Century onwards there have been those who have called the Pope Antichrist. Valera cites at length Petrarch's Sonnets 92, 107 and 108, where Rome is treated as Babylon the great whore and the Temple of heresy, and also similar passages in Dante's Inferno and Boccaccio's Decameron.(14) These Italians said everything that Luther and Calvin have said:

> "Que pudo mas dezir Luthero, ni Calvino, ni los demas escritores modernos que contra el Papa y contra su corte Romana han escrito, que lo que estos sus Italianos han dicho?" (p. 312)

More recently the same accusations have been made by others who were burnt or banished. Since then the trickle has become a flood, and men without number have written and preached against Rome and the Pope.

Once more the arguments against papal primacy, and for the equality of all bishops, are put forward, backed by quotations from the Fathers, and summed up in what seems to be a final savage passage:

> "Por su vida pues dellos podra cada uno ver ... los Papas ... desde Bonifacio.3. ... hasta Clemente.8.o,10.q̃ hoy tiraniza, aver sido notados casi todos (leanse sus historias) de terribles, enormes y nefãdos vicios y pecados: han sido hechizeros, homicidas, malquietos, rebolvedores de republicas y reynos, inquietos, vindicativos, alcahuetes, simoniacos, sodomitas, perjuros, incestuosos, nigromanticos, sacrilegos, impios, sin ningun Dios, ni religion. Siendo pues tales, concluyamos no ser sucessores de S.Pedro, sino de Iudas: no ser vicarios de Christo, sino del Diablo, y ser verdaderamente el Antechristo." (p. 317)

But the prolix style of the book will not leave well alone. Valera takes three Scripture passages which refer to Antichrist and discusses them. As he equates

(14) These references are an indication that Valera's reading was not confined to theology, polemic and history. See also pp.385ff for a more detailed statement.

the Pope with Antichrist, these passages are significant to him.

1. Daniel 11 gives three marks of Antichrist:

(a) He does not recognize the God of his fathers. The Pope forbids the reading of the Bible, makes the consecrated wafer into an idol, and claims to forgive sins (which only God can do).

(b) He rejects the love of women. The papal rule forbids clerical marriage.

(c) He will not respect any God at all. We have seen in the foregoing that the Pope is an atheist.

All this will come to an end:

> "Este es el consuelo del Christiano, que su enemigo y perseguidor el Antechristo, el Papa de Roma, acabara como merece, y assi la Iglesia será libre du su tyrania." (p. 322)

2. II Thessalonians 2 v.3. speaks of Antichrist who opposes Christ. Valera gives several instances in which the Pope opposes Christ and is therefore Antichrist:

(a) The Pope claims to be the King of Kings.

(b) Christ, being God, became man in humility. The Pope, being man, makes himself God by claiming the power of the keys and issuing indulgences.

(c) Christ commands us to read Scripture; the Pope forbids it, for fear that man should come to know Christ, and substitutes all manner of petty pieties:

> "El Papa manda y so gravissima pena que no las [Escrituras] leamos, ni veamos, de miedo que tiene que nosotros conociendo à Christo leyendo las Escrituras, lo conoscamos à el por Antechristo: y para ocuparnos con algo, mandanos leer legendas fabulosas, mandanos rezar, el rosario, que renovó Alano con tanta mentira y impiedad ... mandanos rezar tantos Pater nosters y tantas Ave Marias delante de un Crucifixo, delante de le imagen de la virgen Maria, o deste o del otro santo, o santa ... Mirad que tiene que ver el Ave Maria con el Crucifixo, o el Pater noster con la virgen Maria? Que oracion es esta, quando el que ora ni sabe, ni entiende lo que pide? O ceguedad, o ignorancia!" (p. 324)

(d) Christ bids all to come to Him: the Pope tells us to go to the Virgin Mary or to the saints.

And, of many other possible contradictions, one last one,

(e) Christ rose from the dead and ascended triumphantly; the Pope descends to Hell with Judas to be troubled there for ever.

Antichrist is not a pagan, but one who professes the Christian religion and sites in the Temple of God, as does the Pope. As the Devil works miracles to deceive, so the Pope creates or invents false miracles to deceive:

"Oceguedad ignorante y ignorancia ciega! Quantas imagines han hablado? Quantas han sudado, y aun gotas de sangre? Al crucifixo de Burgos, cree la gente ignorante, que le crece la barva y los cabellos, y aun las uñas. Que de milagros dizen, que hazen las imagines de nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, y la de Monsarrate? Quantos cativos sacan, quantos muertos resucitan, á quantos ciegos dan la vista, &c?" (p.326)

None of these miracles really happened; or, if they did, it was a device of the devil to lead astray the faithful. The Bible commands us to make no images. The doctrine of purgatory is likewise based on false visions which are contrary to Scripture:

"Si fuesse articulo de fe, seria fundado sobre la Escriptura: no es fundado, luego no es articulo de fe. Itẽ, si fuesse articulo de fe, seria uno de los doze del Symbolo de los Apostoles, no lo es, luego no es articulo de fe, sino es (como dize el Dotor Constantino) Cabeça de lobo: sirve de mantener vientres ociosos." (p. 328)

As Christ said, "False Christs and false prophets will arise," of whom the Pope is the greatest, and he does well to ban the Bible, so that his false deeds will not be exposed.

3. Revelation 17, the whole chapter, describes the great whore of Babylon, riding on the beast. Since the whore is the Pope, it follows that the beast is Rome. The Bible often uses the imagery of fornication to denote religious unfaithfulness. The Pope's clothing is exactly like the whore's. The identity is all the more complete because the Pope draws his income from the thousands of licensed prostitutes in the city. This passage also says that the whore spills the blood of the saints, as the Pope spills that of the evangelical saints:

"A quantos, y à quantos ha hecho el Papa quemar y morir à cuchillo por dezir y creer Jesu Christo ser nuestro unico y sumo põtifice, Intercessor y Medianero ...? Por creer q̃ el cuerpo, q̃ el ofrecio en el arbol de la Cruz, es el unico y solo sacrificio cõ q̃ la ira del Padre se aplaca? Por creer, q̃ por sola la fe sin respeto de ninguno de nuestras obras somos justificados? Quãta sãgre inocẽte ha tragado y derramado este lobo ravioso en nuestros tiẽpos de setenta, o, 80. años à esta parte en Alemaña, Frãcia, Inglaterra, y aun en Italia, y de 40. ò cinquenta años aca en nuestra España? Testigos son los fuegos y persecuciones de Sevilla, de Valladolid, y de otras partes en España. Que satisfacion hara esta Bestia tan cruel por vn Dotor Constantino, unica perla de nuestra España? Por un Dotor Vargas? por un Dotor Egidio? por un Don Iuan Ponce de Leon hijo del Conde de Baylen y tan cercano deudo del Duque d'Arcos? por un Christoval de Arellano dotissimo por la confession de los mismos Inquisidores? por un Jeronymo Caro? por un Licenciado Iuan

"Gonçales? por un Licenciado Losada? Todos estos fueron hombres demuy buena vida: lo qual los mismos Papistas que los conocieron, no pueden negar: y fueron pios en su dotrina. A todos estos, y à otros muchos hombres y mugeres consumio el fuego en Sevilla, o siendo condenados bivos, o desenterrados siendo ya defuntos. Todos estos fueron contemporaneos, y assi casi en un mismo tiempo quemados en Sevilla. O Sevilla, Sevilla que matas y quemas los prophetas que Dios te embia! Nombrame unos ocho de tus siervos del Papa que hoy dia bivan en ti, que se puedan comparar y paragonar assi en vida como en dotrina con los ocho que he nombrado, que entonces quemaste. Como la sangre de Abel gritava à Dios, assi tambien ahora la sangre destos Martyres grita à Dios. Debaxo de las cenizas destos bienaventurados tiene Dios escondidas muchas centellitas, las quales, quando le plazera, las soplara, y encendera de tal manera que haran otro mayor fuego que el passado. Y assi se acrecentara el numero de los fieles." (pp. 331 f)

Furthermore, Revelation says that this whore is the city which rules over the kings of the earth, as does the Roman court. The beast has seven heads, as Rome has seven hills. It has ten horns which are ten kings fighting for Antichrist against the mild Lamb, but the Lamb is invincible. In the past 80 years the Lamb with only words has gained Germany, England, Switzerland, Scotland, Denmark, Sweden, and France and Poland are ready to leave the Pope. Christ will conquer.

Now, says, Valera, he has proved from the lives of the Popes, their teachings, from the Fathers and Doctors of the Church, from the ancient Councils and from Scripture that the Pope is Antichrist. Once more, in his repetitive manner, he sums up what has been said already. If anyone still feels that the argument is not proven, there are two more points to be raised, based on two other passages of Scripture.

(1) Matthew 16. "For thou art Peter, etc ..." This claim that Peter is the rock might be acceptable if the Pope behaved like Peter and not as an atheist. In any case these words were not said to Peter personally, but to all Christians who believe as he did, as Scripture and the Fathers shew:

"Tu eres Pedro, y sobre esta piedra (quiere dezir sobre esta confession que tu heziste, diziendo, que soy el hijo de Dios) edificare mi Iglesia."

(2) John 21. "Feed my lambs, etc ..." This passage is a record of the restitution of Peter after his threefold denial of Christ. If it is necessary to true faith to believe that the Pope is the head of the Church, what of the whole Greek Church? What of those who lived at the time of Pope Joan, or at the

time of the Arian Popes, or other heretic Popes, or at times of schism with two, three or four Popes? Many extensive examples are given:

> "Qual estava la Iglesia en tales tiempos? Que miserable fuera la condicion del Christiano, si no se pudiera salvar sino creyera el Papa ser su cabeça? Que hiziera en tiempo de quatro Papas, de tres, de dos? En tiẽpo de Papas hereges, Simoniacos, y amancebados, por no dezir otra cosa peor: y de Sedevacantes tan largas? Peró la condicion del buen Catholico Christiano es felicissima: su Fe no se funda sobre hõbres sino sobre su Cabeça Christo." (p. 345)

On the preacher's principle of 'Tell them what you are going to say, say it, and then tell them what you have said', Valera once more sums up a number of papal doctrines with reference to authorities, and makes one really final, final appeal:

> "Y con todo esto España estas ciega, y no vees, ni conoces al Antechristo, al qual, pensando servir à Dios, y honrar à su Hijo Jesu Christo, adoras y honras? Dios te haga misericordia, y te abra los ojos del entendimiento paraque leas, oygas, y entiendas la voluntad de Dios, que su Majestad ha revelado en su santa Escritura ... Entonces ... abominaras los idolos ... Entonces los arrojaras de ti, los desmenuzaras y consumiras. Tanto será el odio que tendras con la idolatria! Entonces, entonces, quanto mas tu que todas las orras(sic) naciones del mundo te has en estos ultimos tiempos abatido y apocado sirviendo y adorando este monstruo, este hombre de pecado, este hijo de perdicion, esta Ramera vestida de grana y de purpura, y adornada con tãto oro y pedreria, esta Bestia, este Antechristo, este tu Papa, este tu Dios en la tierra, tanto mas teniendote por avergoçada(sic) y afrentada de lo que has hecho (porque amas, y estimas la honra tanto y mas que otra nacion) le deserviras, abominaras, y procuraras su total ruyna y perdicion. Dios te haga la gracia, y presto por el sacrificio, que su Hijo Jesu Christo, nuestro summo y unico Pontifice, Redemptor, y Señor le ofrecio. Amen." (pp. 351 f)

At this point the 1599 edition has an inserted fold-out large leaf entitled "Tabla en la qual se declara quien sea el Antechristo", which replaces pages 353 f. The purpose of this is to provide an easy reference-chart of the points discussed in the foregoing <u>tratado</u>.

On page 355 begins the second part, "Tratado de la Missa". Valera starts by saying that by steering the reader through the labyrinth of part one, he hopes he has destroyed the first column which holds up the temple of Antichrist, and he will now set about destroying the second column by shewing how the mass is a corruption of the Lord's Supper:

> "Ahora mostraremos la Missa ... ser falso sacrificio, ser una invencion diabolica, ser una profanacion de la santa Cena, que Jesu Christo nuestro redemptor instituyò". (p. 355)

When he has demonstrated this point and proved that we should flee the mass, he will go on to shew Christ as the only true sacrifice, and that the Lord's Supper is a memorial of His death.

Neither the word 'pope' nor the word 'mass' is found in the Bible. Hence, just as it is not a necessary article of faith to obey the Pope, so also it is unnecessary to faith to believe and practise the mass. To those who object that although the word may not be scriptural, the mass is, in fact, the Lord's Supper, Valera would reply that the two are as different as light from darkness; so let us use the scriptural word 'cena', the Lord's Supper.

As for the word 'mass' itself, the Romanists are not agreed about its origin and meaning, but they are agreed on its importance and value on eight main grounds:

1. because it is an expiatory sacrifice;
2. because Christ initiated it, and
3. because the Apostles speak of this institution;
4. because it is so ancient, being traceable right back to Christ himself;
5. because a great number of miracles attest its sanctity;
6. because many Scriptural passages are repeated during it;
7. because some origin of it can be traced in the Old Testament;
8. because great benefits derive from it.

Valera proposes to take the points in this order and to prove that Protestants are not 'puros hereges, pues tan desvergonçadamente hablamos contra una cosa tan excelente'. He first enters a plea for a fair hearing, asking the reader to measure both the mass and the Lord's Supper against Scripture:

> "Suplico os Christiano letor, por el zelo que tenays de la salvacion de vuestra anima, que atentamente leays, y con madureza peseys las susodichas razones, y las respuestas que les daremos, y lo demas, que quanto à este proposito diremos. Ved qual destas dos dotrinas convenga, y conforme mas con el nivel y regla de la sagrada Escritura: y esso creed. No soys bestia: entendimiento os ha dado Dios, y su Ley. Avertid bien, que no os va en ello, sino la salud de vuestra anima, ser idolatra, o no." (p. 359)

1. The mass cannot be both a sacrament and a sacrifice. A sacrifice gives to God, and a sacrament receives from God. When the Fathers say 'sacrifice' they mean that it is a memorial of the one, perfect sacrifice of Christ on the cross.

It is blasphemy to say that Christ's sacrifice was not sufficient and needs repetition. It is proper to speak of the eucharistic sacrifice, which is an offering of praise and good works to God:

> "Este genero de sacrificio no tiene que ver con aplacar la ira de Dios, con alcançar perdon de pecados, ni con merecer, ni adquerir justicia: mas solamente es para magnificar y glorificar á Dios. Este sacrificio Eucharistico en ninguna manera puede ser agradable à Dios, sino procede de aquellos, que aviendo por el otro genero de sacrificio, que llamamos Expiatorio, alcançando remission de pecados, son ya reconciliados con el, y justificados." (p. 362)

Thus, says Valera, it has been shewn that the mass is neither expiatory (only Christ's own sacrifice is this) nor eucharistic (since the Roman Catholics themselves reject this.)

2. and 3. Nor do we admit the mass to be as old as it is claimed. Christ did not celebrate it, nor Peter chant it, nor Luke mention it in Acts. Even what is claimed to be the mass of St. James can be shewn from internal evidence not to be so old as is claimed. The mass has many accretions, additions and changes. Already in Paul's time these were creeping in, and he needed to restate the simplicity of the Lord's Supper. Even so, ornament and ceremony crept in again, but for one thousand years nobody touched the central truth of the Lord's Supper till the doctrine of transubstantiation was invented:

> "Passados los mil años se atrevieron los hombres, y lo que peor es, con titulo de piedad y santidad, á tocar á lo bivo, á la substancia de la santa Cena. Començaron á dezir, que el pan no era pan, y que el vino no era vino: sino que eran convertidos, transformados y transubstanciados en cuerpo y sangre de Christo." (p. 367)

To prove this doctrine the Roman Catholics adduce Scripture, the Fathers and Doctors, although none of these in fact states the doctrine, as Valera will later shew. Since then the feast of Corpus Christi, private masses, payment masses have been introduced, and communion under one kind; although communion under both kinds had been in force for 1,400 years before it was forbidden:

> "Y esto es lo lindo, que condenan por hereges à los que reciben el sacramento en ambas especies conforme à la institucion del mismo Christo." (p. 369)

The final proof that neither Christ nor the Apostles instituted the mass is that the multiple origins of different parts by different people at various times have been well-recorded. Valera then gives the Popes concerned and their dates in detail. This proves that neither Christ nor the Apostles had anything

to do with the mass.

4. Valera considers that he has already said enough on the antiquity of the mass, but the Roman Catholics reply that God would never have allowed the Church to be deceived for so long if the mass were error. To this Valera replies that in the Old Testament God's people fell into idolatry continually, and in the New Testament Israel was not perfect:

> "Basta esto de la Iglesia del Testamento viejo: vengamos à la del nuevo. Quando el Verbo divino haziendose carne, vino al mundo, qual hallò à su Esposa la Iglesia? Bien puesta del lodo y de la tizne. Los Escribas y Phariseos, Sacerdotes y summos Pontifices lo avian todo corrompido con sus tradiciones: como ahora lo hazen Clerigos y Frayles, Obispos y Papas." (pp. 377 f)

Nowhere was the Church of Israel so clearly divided and in error as when it condemned and killed Christ and the Apostles. Hence the Church <u>can</u> be in error and is so now:

> "Quien ha derramado tanta sangre de Martyres por espacio de 70. o ochenta años aca? los que se llaman Iglesia de Jesu Christo: y principalmente los Clerigos, y Frayles, y Obispos, y sumos Pontifices." (p. 379)

This is how Antichrist will act till the end of time, as Christ foretold. But God never allowed the <u>whole</u> Church to fall into error. In the Old Testament there remained always a few faithful ones who did not bow the knee to Baal and God raised up prophets to call people back to Himself. Similarly in the New Testament God's people were not automatically free of error, and His faithful servants had to recall them. So today, some are found faithful and willing to speak the truth:

> "Dios reserva algunos, los quales opone à la tyrania del Antechristo de Roma, y al comun error, y idolatria de toda la Iglesia Romana en general." (pp. 381 f)

It is true that God will never allow the whole Church to fall into error at the same time, but this is not to be understood in the same way as the Roman Catholic Church tells it to the simple-minded.

5. Valera now recounts a number of miracles to shew the difference between those done by God to confirm the truth and confound lies (these miracles come mainly from the pages of Scriptures) and those done by the devil to deceive men and make them believe false doctrine:

> "Y falsos son los milagros que nuestros contrarios cuentan para confirmar su Missa, su Transubstanciacion, su idolatria, hechos por arte del Diablo para confirmar la falsa dotrina, engañar los simples: y aun, si ser pudiesse, à los escogidos." (p.390)

6. To say that the mass is good because it contains words of Scripture proves nothing. By this argument spells and incantations are good because they contain the names of God, Christ, etc. Spells and witchcraft also make use of ancient tongues, as does the mass. At the Last Supper Christ spoke the common tongue understood by all present. There is so much wrong in the mass that the reverse argument is true:

> "Quanto mas que esso que ay de bueno en la Missa, está tan corrompido y dañado en supersticion y idolatria, que no puede hazer ningun bien, sino muy mucho mal. Porque como un poco de levadura corrompe toda la massa, y aun poco de tosigo corrompe la mejor vianda que aya en el mundo, y el mas excelente vino mata a quien lo beve, si le han echado tantita ponçoña ... assi ni mas ni menos aun las mismas cosas que de su naturaleza son buenas, puestas en la Missa son tosigo que matan." (p. 391)

Besides which, even the words of Scripture actually used in the mass are often misapplied.

7. To claim that the mass goes back to Melchizedek in Genesis is a false exegesis of the relevant passage, since the bread and wine he offered to Abraham were no more than refreshment. It is true that the writer to Hebrews uses Melchizedek as a figure of Christ, but not in that He started the mass, but because Melchizedek was king of peace and righteousness as was Christ, and that he was a priest eternally, not like the Levitical priests. Roman Catholic priests claim to be 'priests for ever after the order of Melchizedek':

> "Desta orden de Melchisedec no espereys otro Sacerdote que Christo: sino es el Antechristo, que dira serlo: por ser (como el dize)Vicario de Christo. Este y todos sus barvirrapados y engrassados diran ser sacerdotes segun la orden de Melchisedec, y no segun la orden de Aaron." (p.395)

In fact, Christ is the only priest after the order of Melchizedek and the order of Aaron finished at the crucifixion. Hence all Roman Catholic priests are false:

> "Que Sacerdotes pues son los papisticos? Segun la desorden de Baal: y assi son enemigos de Dios y de los Prophetas que predican contra la idolatria." (p. 395)

Finally, Melchizedek's priesthood was superior to Abraham, which was why Abraham gave him tithes. Such is Christ, on whom we depend for our redemption, justification and sanctification.

Another Old Testament passage used to back up this claim is Malachi 1 : 11. 'In every place incense is offered to my name ...' The Vulgate translates the Hebrew words for incense and offering as 'sacrificatur' and 'oblatio' in order

to justify this passage. As the mass is a corruption of the Lord's Supper, it cannot in any case be an acceptable offering. The true exegesis of this passage is that the Church will no longer be coterminous with Judea, but will spread to the whole earth. This came about when the Apostles and their successors began to preach the Gospel outside Judea, so that praise and thanksgiving are offered everywhere, as the Prophets foretold. Many Old Testament passages are here quoted to shew that this is the sense in which Malachi should be understood. Although the Roman Catholics use many other Old Testament passages to back their argument, their interpetation is equally mangled.

8. The benefits claimed for the mass are based on false beliefs about it. Exaggerated claims are made for the efficacy of hearing mass, which are based on the authority of the saints and which can be found in Horas Españolas:

> "Estos articulos de Fe han consentido los Inquisidores de nuestra España muy muchos años, que anduviessen en las Horas que comunmente se rezan." (p.400)

If these have now been removed from the Horas, it is because they lead people to see the truth by reacting against them.

Having considered the claims made for the mass, Valera now turns to the damage caused by it, choosing a few examples from the many possible:

1. It profanes the Lord's Supper and diminishes the effect of Christ's death and passion.

2. In it the dead and the saints are invoked.

3. The dead and the saints are considered as intercessors in it.

4. The priest who says it and the people who hear it are alike guilty of idolatry.

5. The mass supports many other abuses, such as the adoration of images and the invention called Purgatory "que es un publico Corta-bolsas".

6. The congregation is defrauded of half the elements, and the half it does get, it gets late and badly.

7. Even if the mass were good, it is said in a strange tongue and with ridiculous gestures:

> "Y puesto caso q̃ la Missa fuesse buena, peró dizese en lẽgua estraña, que el pueblo no entiende, y con tales gestos, meneos, momerias, y monerias, que mas provocan à reyr, que à devocion." (p.401)

Valera then discusses these points in order.

1. The mass claims to repeat the sacrifice, redemption and forgiveness already performed and obtained once for all by Christ.

2. The mass uses the Nicene formula, 'Credo in unum Deum ... etc' and then adds other gods in the form of the saints. From Scripture, Valera shews that one God only is to be worshipped. The saints are finite and cannot therefore hear or help. Only God is infinite and thus able to help us:

> "... los santos: cuya bondad, caridad y potencia es limitada y comunicada de aquella infinita [de Dios]. Solo Dios es infinito, y assi està en todo lugar. Los santos son finitos: y por esso no pueden estar en todo lugar, y assi no oyen, ni veen nuestras miserias y necessidades." (p. 403)

This leads on to a digression on prayer, which Valera defines as a familiar conversation with God, in which the soul is lifted to God:

> "La oracion es un familiar coloquio y platica que el anima fiel tiene con su Dios, en la qual le muestra todas sus necessidades, paraque no solamente las oye, como Señor, mas aun como Padre las provea ... la oracion es una elevacion del alma à Dios." (pp. 403 f)

Prayer is a ladder which has four rungs, which Valera lists as follows, giving lengthy Scriptural references for each point:

(i) Necessity constrains us to pray;

(ii) God commands it;

(iii) His promises assure us that we shall be heard;

(iv) Faith obtains what in prayer is requested.

3. The priest saying mass pretends to be a mediator and fills the service with intercessions, both his own and the saints. Many Scriptural proofs are adduced to demonstrate that Christ is our only Mediator and Advocate. Yet the Roman Catholics insist on invoking the saints and remain ignorant of the fact that Christ is the Mediator:

> "En doliendo la muela, llamavan á Santa Polonia: en teniendo mal de ojos, à santa Lucia: para la garganta invocavan á San Blas: para la pestilencia à San Roque, passavan mas adelante, y desvergonçavanse poniendo por intercessora à la Magdalena para sus suzios amores. La que no se podia empreñar, ponia por intercessor, á quien si pensays? Al gran gigantó de S. Christoval, cuya legenda por ser tan fabulosa, el Papa Paulo 3, mandó quitar del Breviario Romano." (p. 409)

It is a pagan custom to use the saints like tutelary deities. This point is hammered home by several anecdotes and Bible references. Christ alone is the ground of salvation.

4. The idolatry of the mass is that it is believed that the bread and wine become the body and blood of Christ, even if the words of consecration are said by a priest who is a blatant sinner. Because Protestants disbelieve this, they are persecuted. Roman Catholics cannot see the incongruity of this belief, when mass is said in thousands of places at the same time.

The proofs the Roman Catholics put forward for this doctrine are:

(i) God is omnipotent and can create anything.

(ii) Christ's words must be taken literally.

(iii) The Doctors of the Church taught it.

To (i) the reply is, of course God is omnipotent, but He never does all that lies within His power should He so wish. For example, the world is now much wickeder than in Noah's day, but He does not destroy the world again, even thoughHe is capable of doing so. The body of Christ has ascended to the right hand of God and remains there till Christ returns in glory to judge the quick and the dead. Although God could do what the Roman Catholics say, He does not do so and their doctrine is idolatry. To (ii) of course Christ never lied; but how are we to take His words? Christ said in John's Gospel that there were two ways of eating His Flesh, carnal and spiritual. The unregenerate eat carnally and the redeemed eat spiritually. The Roman Catholics claim that they physically eat the real body of Christ. By exegesis of John 6 : 60 etc., Valera shews how wrong they are. Besides which, the Roman Catholic position supposes an absurdity at the Last Supper, of Christ having two physical bodies at the same time:

> "Porque si assi lo entendiessemos, seguirse ya un grandissimo absurdo, que Jesu Christo quando celebró su Cena tenia dos cuerpos de carne." (p. 418)

Nobody can take the sacrament spiritually without true faith. By quoting long passages from the Fathers and Scripture, Valera shews that we receive Christ not only in the sacraments, but also as we hear and obey His words. The Protestant understands Christ's words of institution as He Himself interpreted them, for 'the spirit gives life, but the flesh avails nothing'.

There follows a strong refutation of the doctrine of transubstantiation, which reveals that Valera had a definitely Calvinistic view of the eucharist,

indeed one that may be termed high Calvinist[15]:

"Entendiendo pues desta manera que dezimos, Christo estar presente en el sacramento, no seria menester anichilar la substancia del Pan ni del vino, ni transubstanciarla en la substancia del cuerpo y sangre de Christo. Confessamos pues que en este santissimo sacramento demas de aver verdadero cuerpo y sangre de Christo, en la manera que ya avemos dicho, y que el mismo Señor lo declara, confessamos, digo, que ay verdadero Pan y vino en su propria substancia y ser. Digo que el pan y el vino quanto à su substancia no han perdido nada: peró quanto à sus qualidades, digo que han ganado muy mucho. Porque por la virtud y efficacia de la institucion de Christo y de sus palabras, dexan de ser pan y vino comun, y son dedicados para significar, figurar, representar y dar el verdadero cuerpo y sangre de Christo: y de tal manera lo significan, figuran, representan, sellan y dan que qualquiera que toma este pan, y lo come, toma este vino, y lo beve dignamente, conforme à la institucion de Christo, que dize: Tomad y comed: Tomad y beved del todos, toma y recibe verdadera y realmente el cuerpo y sangre de Christo: conforme á lo que luego el Señor dize: Esto es mi cuerpo: Esto es mi sangre. Però no carnalmente, sino espiritualmente, por Fe. Y si el pan y el vino no permaneciessen en su substancia y ser, este sacramento no seria sacramento. Porque todo sacramento (¿como nuestros mismos contrarios no pueden negar) consiste en dos cosas: en cosa visible, y terrena, que ellos llaman materia, y en cosa invisible y celestial, que ellos llaman forma. Todos convenimos que la invisible y celestial es el cuerpo y sangre de Christo: quanto á la visible y terrena ay muy gran differencia entre ellos y nosotros. Porque nosotros dezimos ser la substancia del pan y del vino juntamente con sus accidentes: ellos dizen que no es la substancia del pan ni del vino, sino solos los accidentes del pan y del vino: la blancura, la redondez, el olor, sabor y color. Como que los accidentes del pan sustenten: como que los accidentes del vino alegren y conforten: no son los accidentes del pan que sustentan: sino la substancia del pan: no son los accidentes del vino, que alegran el coraçon, sino la substancia del vino convertiendose el pan y el vino en la substancia del hombre que lo come y beve. Para recebir en la Cena espiritualmente el verdadero cuerpo y sangre de Christo, es menester recebir carnal y materialmente verdadero pan y verdadero vino: porque de otra manera no avria analogia, o conveniencia entre la figura, que es el pan y el vino, y lo figurado, que es el cuerpo y sangre de Christo" (pp. 420 f)

(15) The Calvinist doctrine of the eucharist lays stress on the memorial aspect of the sacrament, and, whilst teaching the real presence of Christ, rejects any attempt to materialize this presence in the elements, in ways such as consubstantiation and transubstantiation. The sacrament, if worthily eaten, is accompanied by a spiritual feeding on Christ, but Christ is not received with the elements by unbelievers. The 'low' Calvinist position coincides with the Zwinglian idea of the sacrament as a mere memorial.

The Fathers and Scripture are quoted liberally to shew that the doctrine above-stated is an ancient one:

> "Veys aqui como el Señor, su Apostol y los dotores antiguos llaman pan y vino aquello que en el sacramento es visible y terreno: y por el mismo caso no admiten transubstanciacion ninguna: como no la ay." (p. 423)

This simple and sane doctrine takes away many absurdities and difficulties of interpretation which transubstantiation brings, for in the sacrament there is no body and no blood unless the bread and wine are eaten. Therefore, there is no need to take elaborate precautions to protect the bread and the wine from pests, decay, being dropped, etc.

Belief in transubstantiation causes great idolatry. The Athanasian Creed shows how Christ has two natures, and Scripture proves that His physical nature has risen. Any attempt to recreate it is heresy:

> "Contra este articulo de Fe hazen nuestros contrarios, quando creen que el cuerpo de Iesu Christo está en qualquiera Missa, y en quantas se celebran todos los dias por todo el mundo, y en todos los sagrarios donde lo tienen encerrado, realmente, corporalmente, carnalmente, tan grande y tamaño como estuvo en la cruz. Si esto no es heregia, que sera heregia?" (p. 425)

The Roman Catholics attempt to make a creature into God:

> "... adoran lo que un sacristan hizo entre dos hierros, y el sacerdote le dio la forma haziendolo su Dios." (p. 426)

This created God is treated with exaggerated devotion, is paraded about in processions and taken to the sick. Such was not Christ's teaching, nor the Apostles', nor the Fathers', nor even the Catholic Church's for over a thousand years:

> "... invencion es nueva, humana y diabolica, fundada sobre el mal fundamento de la transubstanciacion." (p. 426)

Even in the mass itself there are some parts which tend against the idea of transubstantiation, e.g. the prayer in the canon beginning 'Offerimus praeclerae...' where the bread and wineare treated as gifts as acceptable as the gifts of the Old Testament. If these are intended as non-transubstantiated, what need is there of Christ's unique sacrifice? If they are intended as transubstantiated, the matter is worse still, for the prayer becomes a "blasphemia blasphemissima" against Christ:

> "Que sobervia, que orgullo y presuncion es la de un miserable pecador concebido y nacido en pecado y corrupcion, y que en toda su vida no haze sino añadir pecados á pecados, atreverse à presentarse delante del acatamento de la Majestad de Dios Padre, y rogarle, que reciba y acepte à su Hijo Jesu Christo?"

To ask that God will accept the offering of Christ as He accepted the offerings of

Abel, Abraham and Melchizedek is presumptuous. Christ's offering is more than theirs. No priest can presume to pray on behalf of Christ.

Valera concludes this second point by restating his firm belief that the mass is idolatry:

> "Concluyamos pues de lo dicho, que todos quantos oyen Missa, son idolatros, pues creen esta transubstanciacion: y que el Sacerdote que la dize, tenta intencion de consagrar, o no, es doble idolatria. Porque no solamente el idolatra, mas aun haze idolatrar à todos quantos oyen su Missa. Infinitas gracias doy à mi Dios, que ya que permitio que yo con los demas por algun tiempo idolatrasse oyendo Missa, no quiso que yo jamas hiziesse idolatrar à otros diziendola". (p. 429)

(iii) In answer to the Roman Catholic claims that the Fathers and the ancient Councils teach the doctrine of transubstantiation, Valera would point out that there are as many who teach the opposite. He gives a number of quotations from Roman Catholic authorities in support of the doctrine. If indeed the defence of this doctrine depended on men, there are more than enough authorities to cite against it. Pages 432 - 437 are filled with quotations against this doctrine, and then all the Roman Catholic 'proofs' are demolished one by one right up to the most recent ones put forward by the Council of Trent. In any case, neither the Greek nor the Oriental Churches admit this doctrine.

5. The false doctrine of purgatory supports the mass by requiring masses to be said to free souls, and it enriches ecclesiastics by selling masses at high costs:

> "El quinto daño que causa la Missa es, que demas de los dichos quatro daños mantiene muchos abusos, como es el Purgatorio. Quanto al Purgatorio, dezimos que no ay otro ningun Purgatorio, sino la sangre de Christo, que purgo nuestros pecados, por cuya purgacion somos reconciliados con el Padre eterno. Dezimos que el otro Purgatorio que nuestros contrarios han forjado sin ninguna palabra de Dios, es una Cabeça de lobo, como lo llamava el Dotor Constantino, el qual por causa de la religion de enfermedad, vegez y dura prision murio en el Castillo de Triana entre aquellos crueles Caribes y Anthropophagos, los Inquinadores digo de la Fe. El Purgatorio es un publico cortabolsas, que sin ninguna verguença, ni castigo hurta, roba y arrebata todo quanto puede para henchir las panças de aquellos vientres ociosos de Clerigos y Frayles, y de todo el orden eclesiastico. Porque de donde se han ellos enriquecido tanto? De donde se han edificado tan sumptuosos monesterios, que mas parecé Alcaçares y palacios de riquissimos Reyes y Principes, que no casas de Frayles mendigantes, ni de pobres Monges, que en tiempos passados con el trabajo de sus manos ganavan su sustento? De donde se han fundado tantas Capellanias, tantas Freyntanarios, tantas Missas rezadas y cantadas, que llaman de Requiem, sino de la loca persuasion del Purgatorio? Como la Missa entretiene al Purgatorio, assi tambien el Purgatorio entretiene à la Missa.

"Son Missa y Purgatorio, como los mulos, que uno refriega à otro. Hazian los falsos Prophetas encreyente à la pobre y simple vejezita que el anima de su padre, madre, marido, hijo, hija, o de otra persona, que bien queria, estava padeciendo gravissimos tormentos y penas en Purgatorio, y que demandava algun alivio de Missa, o Missas, que se dizessen por ella. Entonces la pobre vejezita se lo quitava de la boca, y blanca, à blanca juntava 68. blancas, que es un real, y ivase à un clerigo, y dandole el real (porque las Missas se venden por dinero) rogavale que le dixesse una Missa con gran devocion por el anima de su padre, o de otra persona que amava." (pp. 460 f)

Taking money for masses is robbery, and taking it for masses for souls in purgatory is worse. Yet we are called heretics for rejecting a doctrine which is found in neither the Old Testament nor the New Testament, nor in any of the Creeds.

6. Christ instituted the Lord's Supper with bread <u>and</u> wine. The Roman Catholics defraud the worshipper of half the sacrament and give the other half only once a year, and then it is wrapped up with so many superstitions and idolatrous practices that its value is taken away. Christ said "Drink ye all of this ..." and nobody is given anything at all to drink. Which is really heresy, that which obeys God's word, or that which rejects it?

The reasons given for refusing the wine to the people are three, and all are frivolous:

(i) Because priests and people are esentially different. This reason is pride and haughtiness.

(ii) Because wine spilt on beards would be dangerous. Why not then give it to women who have no beards? Why not order all Christians to go 'barvirrapados'? Why do priests and prelates have beards?

(iii) Because the body contains the blood and therefore wine is unnecessary. They condemn us for communicating in both kinds. They do not see that with us they condemn Christ, His Apostles, and the Church for a thousand years of its history. Valera here quotes many of the Fathers to bear out this point and to shew that originally the elements were put into the <u>hands</u> of the faithful.

7. As for saying mass in a foreign tongue, Paul said that things should be done 'decently and in order', and he refused to allow foreign tongues without interpreters. Christ spoke His own mother tongue. At Pentecost the Apostles spoke in many tongues in order to be understood by all. The pagan mysteries were celebrated in antique tongues, and so are spells and incantations. Let all understand just what the mass says, and thus see exactly what it is:

"Digan pues sus Missas á cada nacion en su lengua vulgar, paraque la entiendan, y sepan si es bueno, o malo, lo que en ella se dize: y no la digan à todas naciones en Latin: de lo qual ninguna edificacion recibe el pueblo, sino destruycion, no aprendiendo que supersticion, y idolatria." (p. 473)

Having exposed a number of 'daños', Valera will now shew a number of "absurdos y grandes inconvenientes" in the mass, which are against God, against the teaching of the Fathers, against experience, natural reason and common sense. Surprisingly, Valera declares that he wishes to avoid prolixity at this point! Hence he will give only a few examples.

1. We say that only the faithful can receive the body and blood of the Saviour. They say that the evil, the impious, Jews, Turks, pagans can receive the true body and blood of Christ. This follows from the false doctrine of transubstantiation. Passages from Scripture and the Fathers follow to shew the absurdity of this claim.

2. Then, the mass having been made into a common feast or meal by the foregoing declaration, only one person eats and denies it to the rest. Originally all ate, and those who did not partake were excommunicated. On this point, Valera uses passages from two Roman Catholic theologians, Cassander and Cochlaeus[16] and cites the example of the Greek Orthodox Church, which still distributes both elements and has no private masses. The very Roman Catholic canons excommunicate those who attend communion without communicating! Those who convert the mass back into the Lord's Supper do no evil, and amongst them the celebrant eats only if the whole congregation eats too.

3. As before stated, the doctrine of transubstantiation requires two bodies of Christ, "uno el que estava santado, y otro el que este sentado comio y dio à sus Discipulos." (p. 478)

4. It is against nature to suppose that the body of Christ can be in thousands of places at one and the same time:

"Contra el orden de la naturaleza, segun el qual ninguna cosa criada, que es finita, puede estar en diversos lugares en un mismo tiempo". (p. 478)

(16) Johann Cochlaeus (1479-1552) was an orthodox R.C. theologian. Georg Cassander (1513-1566) was an eirenic R.C. theologian, who had criticized the papacy. His attempts to reconcile R.C. & Protestant teaching brought criticisms from both sides when they were put forward at the Colloquy of Poissy.

Christ's body on earth was finite; so are bread and wine. It is against the evidence of the senses to insist on the belief that bread and wine are other than they really are. And what of the rule that requires the consecrated host to be burnt in certain cases? Is it then not the real body of Christ? And are not the resultant ashes still the real body of Christ? There are also many arguments about what the priest does at the fraction. Does he break the bread only, or Christ's real body? Roman Catholics would be free of all these strange notions if only they could accept that the bread and wine really are only bread and wine:

> "De todos estos absurdos se librarian, si confessassen con Jesu Christo, con su Apostol S.Pablo, y con la Iglesia Catholica, aver en este sacramento verdadero pan y verdadero vino: del qual pan y del qual vino corrompidos se engendran las cosas ya dichas. Assique los gusanos y cenizas se engendran y hazen, no del cuerpo de Christo, que es glorioso y está sentado à la diestra del Padre: ni de los accidentes, los quales no tienen otro ser, sino estar en algun sujeto (y ellos dizen que por milagro los accidentes en el sacramento estan sin sujeto) sino hazerse del pan y del vino, que se corrompio, o quemó." (p. 479)

Now follows an Appendix to shew the attitude of priests to the sacrament:

> "... que muy albivo muestra con maravillosos exemplos la estima en que los Papas y su gente, que llaman Eclesiasticos, tengan à su sacramento, que nos venden por Dios, y nosotros como insensatos y demasiadamente supersticiosos lo compramos à dinero contado. Abre los ojos España, y no seas mas del Papa engañada." (pp. 479 f)

Many anecdotes are related about the misuse of sacerdotal power and about disrespect for the sacrament, such as Gregory VII who threw the host into the fire because it would not prophesy for him; the application of poison via the host; people slaughtered at mass by order of the Pope; etc. Some of these have already been told once, and we are referred to the appended <u>Enxambre</u> for others.

Next Valera traces the history of the virtual abandonment of the Mozarabic riteand the introduction of the Roman mass into various parts of Spain. The Roman rite is therefore a comparative innovation in the Peninsula:

> "Notad Españoles (que pensays y creeys la Missa Latina, qual se dize el dia de hoy en España ser antiquissima dende el tiẽpo de los Apostoles) la primera Missa Latina al modo Romano aver se dicho en San Juan de la Peña en tiempo del Rey Don Sancho.1.y assi no ha en este año de 1599. sino 528.años. Si no me creeys à mi, creed al D.Illescas, y á otros q̃ dizen lo mismo que yo digo. Cosa nueva es la Missa, la qual echó á rempuxones de la Iglesia à la santa institucion de Jesu Christo: quiero dezir à su Santa Cena. Dios os haga gracia que la bolvays à poner en su lugar." (pp.503 f)

Valera explains who the Mozarabs were and how they got their office, and quotes other authorities on the subject. The Mozarabic rite which is still used in Toledo has been altered to make it approximate to the Roman mass. This appendix should help Spaniards to see how they have been deceived:

> "Que concluyremos de aqui? Dos cosas. La primera que los Papas y sus Eclesiasticos que tal hazen, son Atheistas, sin ningun Dios, ni relgion(sic). La segunda, que su sacramento Missatico, por mas q̃ ellos digan (aunque muchos dellos mismos no lo creen) ser Dios, no es Dios: sino un idolo puesto en lugar de Dios, y adorado como Dios." (p. 507)

The truth of the Lord's Supper is completely at variance with what is proclaimed in the mass.

Having come through that labyrinth, a third tratado is really needed, in which the truth can be put forward:

> "Salido con el ayuda del Señor, à quien con todo mi coraçon suplico encamine mis passos, de dos terribles laberinthos, de suziedad, y de idolatria: que son el Papa y su Missa. Ahora con la misma ayuda entraremos en un fresquissimo Vergel, en un suavissimo y santissimo huerto y jardin lleno de toda consolacion y contento, que es el Tratado del verdadero Sacerdote y del verdadero sacrificio que este nuestro sumo sacerdote ofrecio, con el qual siendo nosotros pecadores, hijos de ira, nos reconcilió con Dios. O que buenas nuevas! Oye las pues Españoles, y cree las." (p. 508)

This part can be brief, because most of the points have already been touched on in the rest of the work.

First, let the reader consider the Epistle to the Hebrews, which gives a clear picture of the Christian priesthood. Valera here proclaims the doctrine of the Trinity and the hypostatic union of Christ in terms of the Athanasian Creed and the Bible. He explains that the word Christ means Messiah and that Messiah means anointed. With Scriptural passages to back him, he states and explains Christ's offices of King, Priest and Prophet. Christ is King to give immutable laws and to see them carried out. He is Prophet to teach the will of God. He is Priest to offer Himself before God to placate the divine wrath and obtain grace for us. Valera insists on 'the one sacrifice of Himself once offered' 'as a full, perfect and sufficient sacrifice', with lengthy biblical quotations. Christ having offered Himself once (una vez is several times underlined) becomes for ever our intercessor, in contrast with the levitical priesthood, which needed to repeat its sacrifices. The sacrifice of Christ is retrospective and prospective:

> "Concluyamos pues de aqui, que con un solo sacrificio, que Jesu Christo ofrecio, y esto Una sola vez, y no mas, santificó para siẽpre jamas á todos quantos desde el principio del mundo han sido, son, y seran santificados." (p. 518)

The priesthood of the Old Testament is levitical and finite; in the New Testament it is of Melchizedek and eternal. The Roman Catholics do not have either, but the priesthood of Baal. God should convert them and thus rid the Church of such idolatry:

> "Espero en mi Dios onipotente, que algun dia avra misericordia de nuestra España, y embiara al verdadero Elias, que con la potencia de la palabra de Dios mate estos falsos Prophetas y suzios sacerdotes." (p.519)

The eucharistic sacrifice ought to be offered by all Christians, he says, stressing the priesthood of all believers:

> "Siguese de aqui, que todo Christiano, pues ofrece sacrificio, es sacerdote." (p.519)

At this point, Valera's style becomes very much like that of Juan Pérez, being almost a catena of Scriptural quotations. The sacrifice of the eucharist depends on the sacrifice of Christ, who took all the sins of the whole world on His shoulders, and made full reparation for them:

> "Y todo esto que esteriormente padecia, no era nada en conparacion de lo que internamẽte su santissima anima sentia: esto era el insoportable peso de los pecados, no suyos, sino de todos los hombres, que Dios avia puesto sobre el, por los quales el solo avia de satisfazer ..." (pp. 522 f)

On the cross, Christ felt separated from God, but He was wounded for our transgression, so that by His pains we are forgiven and reconciled to God. Christ died for each one of us and rose for our justification. Salvation comes to him who appropriates this for himself; condemnation to him who does not. With salvation come all the benefits of Christ's death and resurrection. Without Him we can do nothing. Having been bought by His precious blood, we are honoured by being called His companions, friends, brothers. The Christian, then, having appropriated the expiatory sacrifice of Christ, and offering the eucharistic sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, ought to add good works, for,

as works without faith are dead, so is faith without works.[17]

Finally, Valera wishes to speak of the institution of the Lord's Supper, and to end the work; but it takes him a further 24 pages to achieve this:

> "Conociendo el Señor el gran descuydo, negligencia y olvido que tenemos de las cosas que tocan à nuestra salvacion, instituyó, paraque no nos olvidassemos del beneficio de su muerte y passion, el santissimo sacramento de su precioso cuerpo que el entregó en la cruz, y de su preciosa sangre, que el en su passion derramó: el qual sacramento quiso que nos fuesse un memorial de todo quanto el padecio por nosotros, y del beneficio que de su muerte y passion recebimos." (p. 528)

He quotes the words of institution from the New Testament and points out that this is how Christ, His Apostles, and the Church for a thousand years celebrated the Lord's Supper. Then suddenly sprang up the idolatry of the mass. But God did not leave Himself without witnesses to argue against such evil, to their own peril, and to combat Antichrist; and their labours have been blessed:

> "Y Dios de tal manera ha bendezido el trabajo destos (como en tiempos pasdaos bendixo el trabajo de los Apostoles, gente baxa y idiota) que han echado por tierra la Missa, o Massa, o Dios Pan, que nuestros contrarios avian levantado, y han buelto á poner en su lugar la santa Cena que el Señor Jesu Christo la noche antes que padeciesse celebró con sus Discipulos. Los que tienen ojos para veer, vean: y los que tienen orejas para oyr, oygan. Paraque pues viendo y oyendo juzgue todo el mundo, si es verdad lo que dezimos, pondre aqui el orden que se tiene en nuestras Iglesias, que Dios por medio destos santos varones ha en nuestros tiempos reformado, quando se celebra la santa Cena. Oye pues España, que en tu lengua Española hablo, paraque chicos y grandes, doctos y indoctos me entiendan." (p. 531)

Pages 531-538 contain an account of the Reformed manner of celebrating the eucharist, and page 538 has also a tabulated comparison of the Lord's Supper and the mass, giving twelve points of contrast, each one under three sub-headings: 'La santa Cena del Señor,' 'La Cena de las iglesias reformadas', and 'La profana Missa del Papa'.

(17) Calvin's doctrine of faith and works did not differ greatly from Luther's but both were sharply distinguished from the R.C. doctrine of merit in good works. Men are not saved, said Calvin, <u>by</u> good works but <u>for</u> them, and they cannot do good works unless they are in a state of grace. Truly good works are motivated by loving gratitude to God for the gift of His saving grace. They are performed not to win any advantage for onself, but solely to please God. Man is saved by grace without the help of his works, but works are the evidence of his salvation. Good works are the consequence and in no sense the condition, of justification by God.

Valera claims to have shewn by now that there is no just cause why the Reformed Christians should be condemned. Let Spaniards search the Scriptures to see whether what he has said is true. Although error may become entrenched with time, truth and error cannot exist together:

> "La costumbre sin la verdad no es que un error envegecido:
> y el error mientras mas envegecido mas peligroso es." (p.540)

Truth will prevail. Here Valera quotes from III Esdras 3.38 "La Verdad Vale y Valera", which he appears to have made a personal device.(18) Christ is truth, and His truth we find in His Word, and only by His truth do we find pardon for our sins. All else is invention of men and error, as are the Pope and the mass. The best way to effect a reformation is to reduce things to first principles, as the Reformed do. Everything in Reformed practice is taken directly from Scripture without additions or subtractions. Protestants are accused of so much evil and are held in so much odium by the Roman Catholics that the accusations must be substantiated and the only fair way would be for the Pope and Protestants to appear before a properly called and constituted General Council of Christendom, to put their cases mutually as accused and accusers:

> "Oydo aveys, Christiano Letor, los enormes cargos que hazemos al Papa, quanto à vida y quanto à doctrina: mas principalmente quanto à la supersticion y idolatria de la Missa, que el dicho Papa de si mismo contra la palabra de Dios se ha invẽtado y introduzido en la Iglesia. Oydo tambien aveys los enormes cargos que el Papa nos haze. Acusanos de sobervios, contenciosos y arrogantes, que queremos saber mas que toda la Iglesia: acusanos de inobedientes à los Magistrados, rebolvedores de Republicas, provincias y Reynos: acusanos de Cismaticos de Hereges: por lo qual, como testigo, acusador y juez, concluye que no somos dignos de bivir en el mundo. Peró no basta acusar: es menester provar lo que se dize: y assi convencer al acusado. Vengamos pues à la prueva. Juntese un Concilio general, que oyga à ambas partes: concedase à cada parte hablar Libremente: El Concilio aviendo oydo à ambas partes juzque conforme à lo alegado y provado sin tener respecto ninguno à persona, pobre ni rica, sabia ni ignorante, eclesiastica ni seglar: tengase solamente cuenta con la justicia, equidad y verdad: la parte convencida por testimonios de la sagrada Escritura, y aun de los Padres y Concilios antiguos, como son los primeros quatro generales, sujetese à la censura, que el Concilio

(18) Valera inscribed this punning 'motto' in at least two other places. See above pp.180,181.

"ordenare. Parezca el Papa, y sus defensores personalmente, en el Concilio, no como juezes (pues nos acusan, y nosotros los acusamos) sino como acusadores, y acusados. Parezcamos tambien nosotros, pues los acusamos, y ellos nos acusan. Este Concilio sea convocado, como fueron los quatro primeros generales ... Este es el unico remedio para quitar las dissensiones y differencias, que hoy dia ay en la Iglesia quanto à vida y quanto à doctrina. Deste remedio en tiempos passados usó la Iglesia en semejantes casos. En el entretanto supliquemos à nuestro Dios que mueva los coraçones del Emperador, Reyes y Principes Christianos á que tomen una tal empresa para gloria de Dios, y quietud de su Iglesia: por medio de la qual empresa los vicios y falsa doctrina, supersticion, heregia, y idolatria sean condenadas, y la virtud y sana doctrina contenida en la sagrada Escritura se confirmen". (pp. 544 f)

It cannot be objected that this has been done already in the Council of Trent, for it has been shewn that Trent was neither general, nor fair, nor free. Valera proceeds to prove this point again. Roman Catholics will decline to have such a general council called, for they know that Scripture, the Fathers and the ancient Councils are against their teaching.

The last three pages of Dos Tratados are a plea to the reader, and a prayer that he will understand the truth about the Pope and the mass, and come to such a true knowledge of God that he will leave the whole papal system:

"Suplico al Señor nuestro Dios, Christiano Leter, que os ha dado desseo y voluntad de quereros informar, y saber las causas porque no queramos sujetarnos al Papa, ni queramos oyr su Missa, mas antes à lo uno y à lo otro lo detestemos, y abominemos, le plega alumbrar vuestro entendimiento paraque comprehendays lo que en estos dos Tratados se ha dicho y cõfirmado, no por dichos de hombres, sino del mismo Dios, de su sagrada Escritura, y os dé tanto animo y esfuerço, que totalmente podays salir de la impia Babylonia (que es Roma) y assi libraros de todas las enormes, abominaciones, horribles supersticiones, y detestandas idolatrias, que Roma ha inventado, entre las quales la principal es la Missa. Estas idolatrias son sin duda ninguna la principal causa, origen y manantial de todas las miserias, calamidades y guerras, con que los que se llaman Christianos, son hoy dia afligidos." (p. 551)

"Y no ay otro medio, Christiano Letor, para alcançar perdon de las supersticiones y idolatrias passadas, y para adquerir y conservar la gracia de Dios, de la qual sola deveys esperar todo bien y prosperidad, sino procurar servirle y honrarle por todos los medios, que os seran possibles, aplicãdoos con todo vuestro coraçon à todo aquello que le plaze: que es lo que su Majestad ha ordenado, y instituido en su santa palabra, huyendo por el contrario todo quanto le podra desplazer, y offender: y singularmente todo genero de idolatria, que el aborrece, y abomina mas que à todos los otros pecados y abominaciones: y como tal la castiga (como al principio del primer Tratado diximos.) Tal es la Missa. Huylda pues, y seguid la santa institucion que Jesu Christo nuestro Rey, Propheta y Sacerdote summo y unico ordenò. Esta es la santa Cena, como lo cuentan los Evangelistas y san Pablo. Hazed pues esto que Jesu Christo ordenó, y nos mandò que hiziessemos en memoria suya, (como por la misericordia de Dios con toda simplicidad, y sin ninguna superstició ni idolatria se celebra en nuestras Iglesias reformadas) y acertareys. Todos los que otra cosa hizieren, erraran. Dios os haga la gracia que acerteys, paraque no seays juntamente con este mundo condenado: y esto haga por la virtud y merito del sacrificio que nuestro sumo y unico Pontifice Christo Una sola vez le offrecio. Al qual que bive y reyna con el Padre y con el Espiritu santo, sea eterna gloria, y perpetua potencia. Amen." (pp. 552 f)

SOURCES MENTIONED BY VALERA IN HIS DOS TRATADOS.

An examination of the many works referred to by Valera in Dos Tratados is valuable, since it reveals several things which also, by inference, we may claim to be true of Pérez and Reina. We may say that these men were well in the main stream of the culture of educated Spaniards of their day, as it is also reflected in the works of those who did not embrace the Reformation and who remained in Spain, and that they kept abreast of new developments by reading the current literature as soon as it became available. They were acquainted with classical pagan authors, as well as with both Italian and Spanish secular poets. Their theological training was that of any studious Spanish cleric; they were well-versed in the early Fathers and Doctors of the Church; they had read Church History, the lives of the saints, and mediaeval theologians, as well as more recent Roman Catholic writers, particularly Spanish and Italian, and also a wide variety of Protestant authors.

This list does not claim to be exhaustive. Where Valera has mentioned the name of the work concerned, that work is listed. Where the context gives some indication of the work used, and it has seemed possible to identify a probable source, this has been indicated and marked *. Occasionally it has not been possible to make a choice from the many works of a prolific author. About ten names proved to be unidentifiable from any of the many encyclopedias, dictionaries and catalogues consulted.

PAGAN WRITERS

Vergil Aeneid Horace Epodes

SECULAR POETS - and one LEXICOGRAPHER

Boccaccio (1313-1375) Decameron

Dante (1265-1321) Inferno

Lebrija, Antonio de (1444-1532) Chronicler of Spanish Kings. Dictionarium latinum-hispanum et hispanum-latinum (1492)

Machiavelli (1469-1527)

Mantova, Fr.Battista de (1448-1516) Italian Carmelite poet. Alfonso Bk.I

Mena, Juan de (1411-1456) Spanish poet.

Petrarch (1304-1374) Sonnets 92, 107, 108

Pontano, Giovanni Gioviano (c.1426-1503) Italian poet

Sannazaro, Jacobo (1458-1531) Italian poet.

FATHERS AND DOCTORS OF THE EARLY CHURCH

Ambrose (c.339-397) De Sacramentis. Contra Symmachum.

Arnobius Afer (d.330) Adversus nationes 7 vols.

Athanasius (c.296-373)

Augustine of Hippo (354-430) De Civitate Dei Bk.4 Commentary on Psalms.

Cyprian of Carthage (d.258) Tractatus contra Demetrianum. Letters.

Cyril of Alexandria (d.444) Commentary on John's Gospel.

Damasus (c.304-384) Spanish Pope. Liber pontificalis, a book now believed to be erroneously ascribed to this author.

Dionysius of Alexandria (d.c.264)

Epiphanius (c.315-403) Panarion.

Gelasius (d.496) Adversus Eutychen.

Gregory the Great (c.540-604) Pope. Letters.

Hesychius of Jerusalem (d.c.451) Commentary on Leviticus 7 vols.

Hilary of Poitiers (c.315-367) De Trinitate.

Jerome (c.342-420) Epistle to Augustine. Epistle to Evagrius. Commentary on Ecclesiastes. Continuation of Eusebius' Chronicle.

John Chrysostom (c.347-407) De Eucharistia.

John Damascenus (c.675-c.749)

Justin Martyr (c.100-c.165) Valera says 'Questions & replies'; which may be *Dialogue with Trypho.

Lactantius (c.240-c.320) Divinae Institutiones.

Origen (c.185-c.254) Contra Celsum. Commentary on Numbers.

Paulus Orosius (5th century) *Historia adversus paganos.

Prudentius Aurelius Clemens (348-c.410) Contra Symmachum.

Sidonius Appolinaris (c.432-c.480)

Siricius (c.334-399) Bishop of Rome. Letter to the Bishops of Africa.

Tertullian (c.160-c.220) Apologeticum.

Theodoret (c.393-c.458) *Graecarum Affectionum Curatio. *Compendium.

MEDIAEVAL THEOLOGIANS AND HISTORIANS OF THE WESTERN CHURCH.

Aquinas, Thomas (c.1225-1274)

Augsburg, Ulrich of (c.800-873) [forged] Letter to Nicolas I [against celibacy].

Baconthorpe, John (d.1348?) *Quodlibeta. *Liber regis, vel thesaurus rerum ecclesiasticarum, Quatuor sententiarum libris.

Berg, Bruno von (?) Archbishop of Cologne. Fasci Tempora.

Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153) Considerationes.

Bertram of Metz (d.c.1212) Valera says 'On the body and blood of the Lord.'

Colonna, Cardinal Giovanni (13th century) There were two men of this name and title, either of which may be meant.

Freising, Otto von (c.1110-1158) Abbot. *Chronicon seu historia de duabus civitatibus (1146). *Gesta Frederici (1158)

Gembloux, Sigebert of (c.1030-1112) *Chronicon. *De Viris illustribus. *Apologia contra eos qui calumniantur Missas conjugatorum sacerdotum.

Gratian (12th century) Concordantia Discordantium Canonum (Valera quotes no.82).

Lichtenau, Conrad of (d.1240) Abbot of Ursperg. *Chronicon Urspergensis.

Luitprand (c.922-c.972) Bishop of Cremona. *Antapodosis. *Historia Ottonis.

Mandeville, Sir John (mid-14th century) *Travels.

Martiniana - a collection of canons relating to the duties and status of the clergy and laity called the Capitula Martini - by Martin, Archbishop of Braga (c.520-580).

Mont, Robert du (Robertus de Monte) (d.1186) French monk who continued Sigebert of Gembloux's Chronicles. *Sigeberti Gemblacensis coenobitae chronicon ab anno 381 ad 1113; cum insertionibus ex historia Galfridi et additionibus Roberti Abbatis Montis...

Nieheim, Dietrich von (c.1340-1418) papal notary, at Council of Constance. De Schismate (1410).

Pandulphus of Pisa (12th century) *Vitae Pontificium Romanorum usque ad Honorium II.

Paris, Matthew (c.1199-1259) monk of St.Albans. *Chronica majora (1259) Critical of ecclesiastical abuses, especially papal venality.

Salisbury, Ebrard of (c.1083-1150) Bishop of Norwich. No writings recorded in D.N.B. Attended Council at Westminster to discuss celibacy of the clergy.

Saxo Grammaticus (12th century) Danish historian. *Gesta Danorum 16 vols.

Vigne, Piero delle (Petrus de Vineis) (c.1185-1249) Italian Chancellor of Emperor Frederic II. *De potestate imperiali.

Villani, Giovanni (c.1275-1348) Florentine chronicler. *Historia universal. *Nuova chronica (1346), continued by his brother Matthew till 1363.

Viterbo, Gottfried von (Godofridus Viterbensis) (b.c.1120-?) Italian-German historian. *Memoria saeculorum.

ROMAN CATHOLIC AUTHORS OF THE 15th & 16th CENTURIES.

Alciati, Andrea (1492-1550) Italian jurist. Trattati degli Emblemi.

Antoninus (1398-1459) Archbishop of Florence. *Summa theologiae moralis (Venice 1477).

Benno, Cardinal (?) Vita et gesta Hildebrandi (1515) (Bodleian Catalogue)

Biondo, Flavio (Blondus) (c.1392-1436) *Romae instauratae 3 vols.(Rome 1444).

Breviario Dominicano (Lyons 1578)

Carrafa, Giovanni Pietro (Pope Paul IV) (1476-1559) Valera mentions 'a book against the papacy.'

Carranza, Bartholomé (1503-1576) de Miranda, Archbishop of Toledo; accused of heterodoxy by the Inquisition. Summa Conciliorum (Venice 1546).

Cartagena, Alonso de (1348-1456) Spanish converso Bishop of Burgos. Anacephaleosis, Genealogia de los reyes de España (Burgos).

Cassander, Georg (1513-1566) German eirenic R.C.theologian who criticized the papacy. *Consultatio de Articulis Religionis inter Catholicos et Protestantes Controversis (1577), *De Sacra Communione...in utraque Panis et Vini Species (1564).

Coccio, Marcantonio (Sabellico) (c.1436-1506) Humanist historian. Enneades sive Rapsodiae historiarum 92 vols. (Venice 1498-1504).

Colenuccio, Pandolfo (1444-1504) Italian politician and humanist historian. Historia de Napoles.

Cornelius Agrippa, Heinrich (1486-1535) von Nettesheim; reforming R.C. in sympathy with Protestant aims; historiographer of Charles V. De Incertitudine et Vanitate Scientiarum et Artium (1530), which attacked scholasticism, cult of saints and relics, and confined truth to the Bible alone.

Covarrubias y Orozco, Juan (d.1608), tried as a heretic. (?*)Tratado de la verdadera y falsa prophecia (Segovia 1588).

Dobeneck, Johannes (Cochlaeus) (1479-1552) controversialist and historian. *Historia Hussitarum 2 vols. (1549); *Commentaria de Acti et Scriptis M.Lutheri 1517-1546 (1549).

Fontidonius, Petrus (Pedro de la Fuente) (16th century) Oratio ad Synodum Trident. Sept.30 1562 (Brixen 1562).

Fregoso, Battista (Fulgosus) (d.1502) Venetian statesman. *De dictis factisque memorabilibus collectanea (Milan 1509)(Paris 1518) *De dictis et factis memorabilibus imperatorum principium...(Basle 1541)

Genebrard, Gilbert (1537-1597) French Benedictine. (?*)Chronographiae 4 vols. (Paris 1580).

Gigas, Girolamo (c.1480-1560) Italian jurist.

Giovio, Paolo (1483-1552) Italian Bishop. *Historiarum sui temporis libri XLV (Florence 1550-52).

Guiccardini, Francesco (1483-1540) Florentine historian & politician. *Storie fiorentine (1509).

Illescas, Gonzálo de (d.?1632) Historia pontifical y cesárea (Salamanca 1574) Historia pontifical y católica (Burgos 1578).

Maffei, Raffaele (Maffejus Volaterranus) (1455-1522) *Procopii de rebus Gothorum, Persarum ac Vandalorum 7 vols. (1531); *Commentariorum rerum urbanorum 38 vols. (Rome 1506).

Mexía, Pero (c.1500-1552) Historia imperial y cesária (Seville 1545).

Panvino, Onofrio (1530-1568) Vatican librarian. *Romanorum Pontificium pars prima (Venice 1557); *Romani Pontifices et Cardinales à Leone IX ad Paulum IV.

Piccolomini, Aeneas Silvius (Pope Pius II) (1405-1464) Libellum dialogorum de Concilii Auctoritate (1440).

Pighius, Albertus (c.1490-1542) Flemish theologian and astronomer. *Assertio hierarchiae ecclesiasticae (Cologne 1538).

Pineda, Juan de (d.1593) O.F.M. Monarchia Ecclesiastica (Salamanca 1588).

Rufus, Raymundus (16th century) *In Molinaeum (Paris 1555).

Sacchi, Bartholomé dei (Il Platina) (1421-1481) *In vitas Summorum Pontificium opus (Venice 1479).

Sánchez de Arévalo, Rodrigo (1404-1470) Bishop of Oviedo, Zamora, Calahorra, Palencia. Historia hispanica partes quattuor (1579).

Soto, Fr.Domingo de (1494-1570) O.P.

Stella Venetus, Giovanni (16th century) *Vitae ducentorum et triginta summorum pontificium (Venice 1505)(Basle 1507).

Tarafa, Francisco (16th century) De origine et rebus gestis Regum Hispaniae (Antwerp 1553) (Barcelona 1563) Also translated works by various authors whose names are mentioned by Valera.

Tixier de Ravisi, Jean (J.Ravisius Textor) (1430-1524) French humanist; Rector of the Sorbonne.

Vasaeus Brugensis, Joannes (16th century) Chronici rerum memorabilium Hispaniae (Salamanca 1552) *Rerum Hispaniae memorabilium annales a J.Vaseo et F.Tarapho ad haec usque tempum deducti (Cologne 1577).

Venero, Fr. Alonso (1488-1565) anti-Erasmian humanist of Burgos. El Enchiridion de los tiempos (Alcalá 1541).

Vergilio, Polidoro (1470-1555) Italian historian, for 50 years Archdeacon of Wells. Angliae historia libri XXVI (Basle 1534).

Zárate, Augustín de (d.c.1560) Historia del descubrimiento y de la conquista del Perú (Antwerp 1555).

PROTESTANT AUTHORS.

Bale, John (1495-1563) Bishop of Ossory. Acta Romanorum Pontificum (Basle 1558); The Pageant of the Popes (London 1574).

Barnes, Robert (d.1540) martyred at Smithfield. Vitae Romanorum Pontificum (Wittenberg 1536).

Buchmann, Theodor (Bibliander) (c.1504-?) Zwinglian theologian - succeeded to Zwingli's chair at Zurich. Studies in chronology 1551-58.

Carion, Johann (1499-1536) wrote a chronicle which was corrected and published by Melanchthon with the title Carion (Wittenberg 1531). Spanish translation by Tarafa.

Erasmus, Desiderius (1467-1536) Annotationes in I Cor. chap.8.

Foxe, John (1516-1587) Marian exile in Frankfurt, Basle & Strassburg. Book of Martyrs (Latins ed.Strassburg 1554) (English, London 1563).

Funck, Johann (Funcius) (1532-?) Chronologia...usque ad annum MDLIII (Basle 1554)

Gallus, Nicolaus (16th century) pastor of Magdeburg. Ignaea Sagitta.

Krantz, Albert (Crantzius) (c.1450-1517) Saxonia Alberti Krantz (Cologne 1520);*Saxonia et Metropolis (Cologne 1574).

Nauclerus, Johann (Verge) (1430-1510) jurist, chronicler & humanist who helped to found Tübingen University. *Memorabilium...chronici commentarii 2 vols. (Tübingen 1516).

Rivius, Johannes (1500-1553) Lutheran theologian, Rector of the College of Meissen. De religione.

Sleidanus, Johann Philippson (1506-1556) - represented South German cities at the Council of Trent, although a Protestant. *De statu religionis et republicae Carolo V Caesare commentarii 2 vols.(Strassburg 1555) English translation (London 1560).

BOOKS AND AUTHORS WHOSE CLASSIFICATION OR IDENTIFICATION HAS NOT BEEN POSSIBLE ON THE INFORMATION GIVEN BY VALERA.

Acta Conciliorum.

Baro (could be Cesare Baronius (1538-1607) *Annales Ecclesiastici 12 vols. (1588-1607))

Bostio, Arnoldo (is probably a misprint for Arnoldus Hostius (d.c.1499) German Carmelite theologian. *De illustribus viris ordinis carmelitici.)

Este (There are so many members of this family of Este, which is that of the Dukes of Ferrara, friendly to Spanish Jewish refugees, that to identify one from amongst them on the flimsy reference is not possible.)

Marcello (The evidence is not enough to decide whether Valera meant Pope Marcellus or one of the numerous Marcello family.) Poems.

Papyrio Saonense (It seems possible that this means Papyrii Massoni libri sex de episcopis urbis Romae directae (Paris 1586)

Pedro Premonstratense.

Roseo, Julio (Julius Roseus) (16th century) Scholia in librum de Jubileo Jacobi Cardinalis.

Stanislao Rutheno (This is very probably Stanislao Polono (16th century) Seville author and printer. Libro en que están compilados algunas bullas (Seville 1503)).

Tritemio, Leandre (Without the Leandre this might well be Johannes Trittheim (Trithemius) (1462-1516) Abbot of Spanheim and author of many historical compilations, also mentioned by Reina in a letter.)

VALERA'S SECOND PREFACE TO "CATHOLICO REFORMADO".

Catholico Reformado./ O / VNA DECLARA-/CION QVE MVESTRA/ QVANTO NOS PODAMOS CON-/formar con la Iglesia Romana, tal, qual,/ es el dia de hoy, en diversos puntos de la Re-/ligion: y en que puntos devamos nunca/ jamas convenir, sino para siempre/ apartarnos della./ Yten, Vn aviso à los afficionados/ à la Iglesia Romana, que muestra la dicha / Religion Romana ser contra los Catholicos/ rudimentos y fundamentos del Catecismo./ Compuesto por Guillermo Perquino Licen-/ciado en sancta Theologia, y trasladado en/ Romance Castellano per Guillermo/Massan Gentil-hombre, y à/ su costa imprimido./ [small ornament] /En casa de Ricardo del campo./1599. 8°. Introduction 16 pp. + text 326 pp.

Catholico reformado is a systematic consideration, in some 300 8° pages, of various doctrinal points where Roman Catholic and Protestant beliefs are at variance with one another. Valera's "OTRA EPISTOLA AL Christiano Lector" is a four-page second preface to this work. The pages are numbered A3 recto to (A4 verso). At the end is the date "4. de Julio de 1599", and the final valediction, "Vuestro afficionadissimo hermano en el Señor. C.D.V.", enables us to ascribe with certainty this short composition to Valera.

He begins by pointing out that Scripture warns that in the last days evil will come and that many will be led astray by false prophets. The last days are clearly here, in view of the abundance of evil:

> "Nvestro Maestro y Redemptor Jesu Christo entre otras cosas que nos enseña para salvacion de nuestras animas, nos avisa, que en los ultimos tiempos avra grandes miserias y calamidades en el mundo, y que muchos falsos Prophetas se levantaran, y engañaran à muchos ..... Lo qual vemos que al pie de la letra (como dizen) se va cumpliendo en nuestros dias, que son los ultimos tiempos: en los quales la impiedad y hypocresia con grã aplauso de casi todos los hombres reynan, la maldad se multiplica, y la caridad de todos se resfria." (p.A3)

When, asks Valera, has there been so much lack of virtue, or so much disregard of the truth? It is worse than it ever was:

> "Porque quando fueron los hombres tan sin fe, y tan sin caridad como el dia de hoy? Quando resistieron los hombres con mayor vehemencia y porfia à la verdad con armas, mẽtiras, engaños ponçoña, tyrania y hypocresia? Quando se hizo menos caso de violar la fe, el juramento y promessa, que el dia de hoy? y esto para mantener la ignorancia, supersticion y idolatria, y las tradiciones inventadas por los hombres sin ninguna palabra de Dios? Quando el odio, malicia y obstinacion de los adversarios fue mayor contra los verdaderos Christianos,

"que se rigen y goviernã (supla su Majestad las faltas y imperfecciones) por la palabra de Dios? Quando huvo mayor profanacion del sacrosancto nombre del Señor? Quando huvo mayor menosprecio de su sancta palabra, y esto con todo genero de escandalos, que el dia de hoy?" (pp.A3 f)

This catalogue of evils is enough proof that the last days are here, as they were foretold. What is the Christian to do? He must pray for strength to withstand the temptations they represent and for perseverance to continue steadfast, for the Lord has reserved great blessing for those who are truly faithful. Even in the midst of such dangers God has kept a number of faithful ones who seek to put into practice what they believe:

"...con todo esso el Señor en medio de tantos fuegos se ha reservado un numero de veraderamẽte fieles, los quales no siguiendo el comun curso de los otros hombres, adoran à Dios en espiritu y en verdad, como el quiere ser adorado: y sirven à sus proximos en todo quanto pueden, cõforme al talento q̃ su Majestad les ha dado. Y principalmẽte hazen esto quãdo se trata de adelãtar el Reyno de Christo..." (p.A4 r)

One of these faithful ones is the translator of this book. Here are given interesting details about the book and the reasons for its translation and publication. An evangelistic purpose towards Spain is foremost here:

"En este numero se deve contar un gentil-hombre, llamado Guillermo Massan, el qual aviẽdo leydo y releydo un libro pio y docto, que Guillermo Perquino Licenciado en sagrada Theologia compuso, en que se tratan los principales puntos de la religion Christiana en que en cierta manera convenimos, y los demas en que en ninguna manera podemos convenir con nuestros adversarios los Romanistas, y pareciendole muy bien (como de veras el libro es muy bueno) ha tomado la pena de trasladarlo en Español, y de à su costa imprimirlo. Y esto ha hecho por el zelo que tiene de que el Reyno de Jesu Christo sea adelantado en la lengua Española, y el del Antechristo (que tanto tiempo ha con ignorancia, supersticion y idolatria tiranizado las consciẽcias Españolas) sea abatido." (p.A4 r)

In obvious reference to his own publications, Valera hopes that this book and others will manage to bring the Word of God to Spain, and so fight and vanquish Antichrist:

"Lo qual espero en mi Dios que con este y con otros semejantes libros, en que se trata la palabra de Dios, vendra algun dia en effecto. Porque los verdaderos soldados, los verdaderas lanças, espadas, arcabuzes, mosquetes y Lombardas para hazer la guerra al Antechristo es la palabra de Dios: con esta palabra el Antechristo ha recebido mortales heridas: de las quales sin duda morira." (p.A4 r)

The battle against Antichrist is the holy war that all Christians should fight, and whoever dies in this struggle is assured of justification, sanctification and glorification by the merits of "el sumo y unico Pontifice Christo". This is declared by a true bull, not a mock papal one:

> "Esta bulla no la ha concedido el Papa, cuyas bullas son verdaderamẽte burlas, ô cosas vanas: conforme à la ethymologia del vocablo bulla, que es la borbollita que se haze en el agua. Mas ha la concedido el que no puede mẽtir ni engañar, el todo poderoso Dios, cuyo nombre es Jehova, el Dios de los dioses y el Señor de los señores." (p.A4 v)

This brief letter finishes with an exhortation to the readers to meditate on the contents of the book and thus find "doctrina que os satisfaga y resuelve en los principales puntos de la Religion Christiana".

AVISO SOBRE LOS JUBILEOS

AVISO A LOS DE/ LA IGLESIA ROMANA,/ sobre la indiccion del Iubileo, por/ la Bulla del Papa Clemente/octavo./ [Device: Anchor with the words 'Anchora Spei']/En casa de RICARDO del/ CAMPO./1600. 8°. Title + 53 pp.

Only two copies of this work were known to Wiffen. Boehmer reported that the British Museum copy was lost.(1) It is not now catalogued. The other copy is still in the library of the Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme français.(2) Boehmer lists a second edition of this work in 1624 by Jacob Wachter of Amsterdam. Even this edition is now extremely rare. It is very difficult to decide, in the absence of any more precise information, whether Valera's work was the original or a translation. An English pamphlet exists, which states on its title-page that it was translated from the French.(3 So far the French original for this has never come to light, and thus it cannot be firmly established whether Valera's Spanish was the first version, or whether it was translated from the French, or from the English. A comparison of the Spanish and the English versions shews that the Spanish is longer, having been amplified in various passages, and has about four pages added at the end. The two are very obviously related. It can be said that the agressively anti-Roman style is very typical of Valera's style in other works. The 1600 edition is an 8° book of 52 pages. It was reprinted with modernized spelling by Usoz-Wiffen in 1854 as part of vol.8 of R.A.E., where it occupies 62 pages 8° with the original pagination indicated in the margins.

Valera begins with a call to Roman Catholics to leave the error of their ways and turn their backs on the false traditions of men:

> "Pueblo, que, de Christo, os llamais Christianos, y que os nombrais Catholicos, apostolicos, y añadis Romanos: ya es tiempo que recordeis del profundo sueño, de quetanto tiempo ha habeis estado adormecidos, y que abrais vuestros ojos escurecidos, y ciegos con las tinieblas de error, con las cuales habeis sido mucho tiempo ha mantenidos por las tradiciones de los hombres, so color y pretexto de admirables tîtulos que ellos, usurpandoselos, se atribuyen." (p.1)

(1) Thanks are due to the Société for providing xerox of this work.

(2) Bib.Wif. III p.170.

(3) See p.176, note 71 .

In the manner reminiscent of Pérez's Indulgencias, Valera contrasts the Bible's declarations with papal ones, but the style is very much more agressive and antagonistic. First, he discusses the origin of the meaning of the word Bull, and says that his readers ought to consider the true bull of pardon that comes directly from Christ in person. Clement VIII has declared a new Jubilee to enslave consciences, and has dressed his Bull up with fine titles and the pretended authority of Simon Peter. The Pope says that by custom the Jubilee ought to be celebrated in Rome, but he never demonstrates that this custom springs from Christ. Christ is not custom, but truth, and we should follow truth rather than custom.

The Jubilee is a superstitious institution which springs in fact from a pagan Roman custom which used to be repeated every ten years, and in the present one are still to be seen many of the same pagan ceremonies. This modern Jubilee, however, is not really an old custom:

> "Veis aquí el origen del Jubileo edificado sobre un buen fundamento: Veis aquí un notable suzesor de los Apóstoles, los cuales nos han enseñado una perfecta libertad, y descargo del yugo de las ceremonias de la Ley: y este Bonifacio nos quiere encerrar y detener en una muy mayor servidumbre." (p.5)

It began only with Boniface VIII in 1300. For 1300 years the Christian Church had no such ceremony.

Valera then examines the character of the originator of this Jubilee, Boniface VIII, and finds it sadly wanting. From there he proceeds to consider other Popes down to the present. All the zeal of the convert against his former beliefs can be seen here, and it is all the stronger because he has seen the error ofhis previous ways. Full expression is given to such terms as Antichrist, the Scarlet Woman of Babylon, and so on. And Rome claims to be the chief residence of the Christian religion!:

> "Los Cardenales ... viven una vida mas sucia que la de Sardanapalo: pues que no solamente no tienen verguenza ninguna de llevar a pasear por Roma a sus cortesanas, que son sus putas, a vista de todo el mundo. La Sodomia es en ella tolerada, aprobada y mantenida." (p.11)

Rome is in fact the mother of harlots, as Petrarch said:

> "...la habitacion de dolores, la escuela de errores, y el tiemplo de heregia..." (p.11)

The aim of a Jubilee should be to refresh the memory with the knowledge of Jesus, not every 50 or 100 years, but Christ should be remembered as often as possible. If one particular place is going to be chosen for this, Rome is not as suitable as Bethlehem or Jerusalem:

> "Y no en Roma, de donde el Evangelio, y aun el mismo Iesu Christo, estan desterrados, sino en todo lugar donde la doctrina del Evangelio es puramente predicada, y los sanctos sacramentos administrados conforme a la institucion de.. Iesu Christo." (p.13)

Valera then demonstrates from Scripture that Peter was not the first Pope, and then shews that the Popes are not the successors of the Apostles. He gives the standard Protestant exegesis of 'Quia tu es Petrus ... etc.' and shews that the Church is founded on the rock of the faith expressed by Peter and not on Peter himself. In addition to Scripture, the lives of the Popes themselves amply disprove this tenet of the Roman Catholic church:

> "Porque sin entrar en largo discurso de las deslealtades, bellaquerias, avaricia, ambicion, tiranias intolerables, y orgullo mas que diabolico, de que la mayor parte de los que se han s ntado en esta Silla infernal, han sido orados y enriquezidos, o por mejor dezir, enredados ... Que deber de Padre, yo os suplico, o de Pastor, hazen los Papas de Roma? Hazenlo, poniendo en almoneda a Jesu Christo, y a todos sus beneficios? Hazenlo, chupando la substancia de los Reinos con sus perdones, Bullas, indulgencias, y Jubileos? o por el medio de las Annates, y de semejantes invenciones diabolicas, y todo esto para sacar dinero?" (p.17)

From Popes, Valera moves to a consideration of the adoration of images and to the way in which tradition is made a necessary addition to faith, making Scripture imperfect and unsure.

It is claimed that the Jubilee is based on Scripture. Valera demonstrates that it is in fact a massive misinterpretation of Scripture. Christ did not preach that salvation was available in one place only, nor that it was to be bought with money, nor that it was to be available only once every 100 years. He offers it to <u>all</u>, freely, on repentance, every day:

> "El hijo de Dios, ni sus Apostoles, no establecieron un cierto tiempo, ni un cierto lugar, ni ciertos dias, para exhortar los fieles a penitencia. Todos los dias, y todos los años, deben ser el año de Jubileo para todo(sic) los fieles." (p.22)

Christ and the Apostles never required anyone to come and kiss their slipper;

on the contrary, they went out with the Gospel. More examples of corrupt Popes and their practices follow to shew that Rome is indeed the home of darkness and sin:

> "En suma, todas las execraciones monstruosas tienen en Roma sus nidos: todas las confusiones, tinieblas y horror, reinan en ella poderosamente..." (p.29)

Against the claim that Rome is the spiritual Zion of the Christian, Valera points out that the Church holds this title:

> "Esto es certisimo, que la Iglesia, que es la compañia de los fieles, es la verdadera Jerusalen celestial." (p.30)

In fact, Rome is the spiritual Sodom, if anything. As pagan Rome was renowned for its wickedness, so also is present-day Rome. Tyranny, vice and depravity are rife there. If any city had the prerogative of being the first in dignity, it would be Jerusalem, because Christ suffered there, and the first Christians were martyred there also. In a very similar manner to Dos Tratados, the history of the primacy of Rome is traced, to the great discredit of the Popes. Great play is made of the Great Schism of the Church when there were two or even three Popes at a time. The Pope claims to have the keys to the Kingdom of Heaven, which do not belong to him, but to every faithful preacher of the Gospel:

> "...esta autoridad pertenece propriamente a todos aquellos que son llamados a predicar y anunciar la doctrina del Evangelio." (p.40)

Certain papal ceremonies and practices are now contrasted and compared with Christian truth.

The Pope claims to preach the Gospel of redemption, and reduces it to a piece of paper with a seal on it.

The solemn opening of doors at the Jubilee is mocked. Boniface VIII, not Christ, instituted it. The true spiritual Jubilee is proclaimed throughout the world. This is proved by many Biblical quotations. The authority the Pope claims to lord it over the Church and to dispense the grace of God comes from his election by cardinals, and derives utlimately from Satan, not from God. This is made amply clear by the way the Pope traffics in God's grace and justice.

All this is taken to prove that the Jubilee is a great confidence trick and entirely without efficacy:

> "Si, pues, pobres Catholicos Romanos, quereis estar bien asegurados de poder participar de los bienes que Jesu

"Christo nos ha traido, y nos ofrece y presenta cada dia, y por consiguiente si quereis tener reparo en vuestras consciencias, no teneis, en ninguna manera, menester de tomar tanta pena y trabajo, de ir a Roma, y estar en ella quinze dias, un mes, para en todo este tiempo visitar las basilicas y templos de Roma: ni teneis menester de la señal que con su mano haze un hombre mortal: la qual llamais cruz y bendicion, pensando, por este medio, alcançar cumplida y entera remission de la culpa y pena de vuestros pecados ... El Espiritu sancto os muestra otro camino bien differente deste, muy mas seguro, muy mas cierto ..." (p.46)

Christ is not to be fetched from afar, but is to be found within.

Valera quotes Bernard of Clairvaux on the Popes and prelates of his day, and states that the present is no different. The Popes have compounded with Mammon and are too busy stuffing their purses instead of putting down vice.

After a further consideration of corrupt Popes, we pass on to a consideration of the mass and of transubstantiation. If the latter doctrine were true, why is it necessary to travel many miles to Rome to find what is already at home? The doctrine is in fact a blasphemy and makes mockery of Christ's risen presence with His followers. Nor does the presence in Rome of the relics of Peter and Paul increase the need to go there for the Jubilee. In fact, there is no need to wait for the Jubilee year to live the Christian life:

"No es menester esperar por el año centenario del Jubileo de Roma para enmendar nuestra vida, corregir nuestros vicios, disponernos a bien hacer, para atentamente oir la palabra de Dios, contenida en la sagrada Escriptura, exercitar caridad, dar honra al que se deba honra, etc." (p.55)

The way to Christ is simple and is not by means of payments, pilgrimages or purgatory:

"Por tanto, vosotros, Señores de la Iglesia Romana, si deseais ser participes de vuestra salud, si deseais ser salvos: oid, antes, la voz del gran Pastor de los Pastores, nuestro solo Salvador y Redemptor Jesu Christo, que tan dulzemente os convida por su palabra. Venid, dize, a mi, todos los que estais trabajados y cargados, etc ... que no la voz de vuestros falsos Prophetas, que os hazen trotar de aca a aculla, y atormentando vuestras consciencias, os hazen dudar de vuestra salud: y para mas vaziar vuestras bolsas os meten delante de los ojos un fuego de Purgatorio: por el qual, despues de vosotros os haber tormentado ... con ayunos, abstinencias, peregraciones (?), y con otros ejecicios corporales es menester...que paseis...antes que entreis en paraiso." (pp.56 f)

Christ is not like that at all. He is simple and straightforward. The great Jubilee to which He calls us is not bound by place or time, but is universal and its seals are Holy Baptism and Holy Communion.

Christ is the only Head of the Church. This assertion leads on to an appeal to history to disprove the pretensions to antiquity and primacy of the papacy. The Bishops of Rome never claimed any primacy till c.600 A.D. Once again the schism of the papacy is referred to as a proof. The Pope glories in being the successor of the Apostles, yet he is no way their imitator, in manners or in doctrine. The Pope cannot be the vicar of Christ, since Christ needs no vicar on earth but the Holy Spirit, Valera lists many of the classical objections of Protestants to Roman Catholic doctrine and practice, all of which add up to a demonstration of the hypocrisy of the Roman Catholic church and proof that it is Antichrist:

> "De manera, que en el Papa y en el papado, muy claramente está cumplida la notable prophecia del Apostol S.Pablo escripta 1.Timot.4.1. diziendo: "El Espíritu dize manifiestamente, Que en los postreros tiempos, algunos apostatarán de la fé, escuchando à espíritus de error, y a doctrinas de demonios.
>
> 2. Que con hipocresía hablarán mentira teniendo cauterizada la consciencia.
>
> 3. Que prohibirán el matrimonio, y mandarán abstenerse de las viandas que Dios crio. paraque con hazimiento de gracias participassen de ellas los fieles, y los que han conozido la verdad." (pp.63 f)

These are the final words of the book, except for the quotation of Matthew 7 : 15, with its warning about putting false prophets to the test:

> "Guardaos de los falsos prophetas, que vienen a vosotros con vestidos de ovejas, mas de dentro son lobos robadores. Por sus frutos los conozereis."

DEDICATION AND PREFACE TO VALERA'S BIBLE OF 1602.

LA BIBLIA./Que es,/ LOS SACROS LIBROS/ DEL VIEIO Y NVEVO/ TESTAMENTO./Segunda Edicion./ Revista y conferida con los textos Hebreos y Griegos/y con diversas translaciones./ Por CYPRIANO de VALERA./ [Device in ornamental frame: two men planting a tree.]/La palabra de Dios permanece para siempre. Esayas 40.8./ En Amsterdam, En Casa de Lorenço Iacobi./M. DC. II. folio. Introduction 14 pp. + Text 648 pp.

Copies of this Bible are much more easily found in libraries than are copies of Reina's version. Valera's revision of 1602 is a folio volume, in which the dedication occupies two pages (unnumbered * r & v) and the preface twelve pages (numbered *2 r - ** v). The original dedication is missing from many copies, and Wiffen did his best to supply the deficiency by having 50 copie printed in facsimile and presenting them to various libraries for inclusion in their copies.(1) The preface has recently been reprinted in modernized spelling by B.Foster Stockwell.(2)

The dedication is addressed to Maurice of Nassau, Prince of Orange, and the States-General of the United Provinces. It is dated 25th September 1602 and signed "Humilde Orador de vuestras Excel. C.D.V." Valera starts by pointin out that the unsearchable providence of the God of Battles operates by giving to some and taking away from others, and makes the few victorious over the many:

> "Aunque, Potentissimos Señores, y Excellentissimo Principe, Dios admirablemente muestre su sabia Providencia y Sabiduria provida, y su Omnipotẽcia en el Govierno y administracion de todo quanto ha criado, perô particularmente, y por una via incomprehensible al ingenio humano, las muestra en el Govierno y meneo de las Guerras. Por esta causa la sagrada Escriptura inspirada por el Espiritu sancto lo llama Iehovah Sebaoth, Dios, ò Señor de los exercitos, dize que su nombre es Iehovah de los exercitos. El es el que dispone y ordena los exercitos, los Campos, los Reales, las Huestes, las Batallas y las Escaramuças. El es el q̃ da entendimiento á los unos, y lo quita à los otros. El es el que anima y esfuerça à los unos, y desanîma y acovarda à los otros. Esta es la causa que aquellos vençan, y estotros sean vencidos, y que pocos hagan huyr y destruyan à muchos." (fol. *1r)

(1) B. & F.B.S.Catalogue of Bibles II p.1434.

(2) Prefacios a las Biblias Castellanas 2nd ed. (Buenos Aires/Mexico 1951) pp.131-183.

Thus it is that under Prince Maurice's leadership God has provided a miraculous victory to the Low Countries against overwhelming odds. For this reason they should all pay heed to the contents of the Bible which he now presents to them. (It is noteworthy that he uses the term 'Catholic Church', as a Reformed churchman writing to Reformed rulers, although the term is suitably qualified):

> "Resta ahora potentissimos Señores y Excelẽtissimo Principe ... que yo en nõbre de toda la Iglesia Catholica regida por la palabra de Dios, que en este libro, que os presẽto, se contiene, les suplique que medîten, y rumien bien, como ovejas racionales, estas grandes mercedes y misericordias que el gran Iehovah de los exercitos ha hecho en nuestros dias tomãdo por medios y instrumẽtos à vuestras Excellencias." (fol.*1r)

By means of God's Word they will, be enabled to know His Law and to apply it, so that God will be honoured in Holland, and His holy day not profaned.

Valera then praises the hospitable way in which foreigners are treated in Holland, not differently from the native population. It would be natural perhaps to take care of co-religionaries who have left everything and taken refuge in Holland, but this kindness extends also to those who have come for other reasons. Valera's prayer on behalf of the exiles is that God will continue to bless the country and make the truth prosper in it.

A brief autobiographical note follows, recounting how kindly he was received when he came to request permission to print the Bible. He has duly decided to dedicate his work to them. It ought to be dedicated to God, but they as rulers are His deputies:

> "Yo, señores mios illustrissimos, vine à esta florentissima ciudad de Amsterdam con intento de imprimir la Biblia en Español, en la qual he trabajado muchos años, pensando cõ esto hazer algun servicio à mi Criador, y algun bien à mi nacion: y assi fuè(sic) à besar las manos à vuestras Exc. y les demandé licencia para imprimirla. La qual vuestras Exc. conforme à su natural ingenio de hazer bien, me concedieron y me animâron à la obra tratandome con palabras amorosissimas no como á pobre estrãgero, sino como à padre. Paraque pues quéde eterna memoria de la gentileza de vuestras Exc. para conmigo, y de mi animo grato para con vuestras Excel. hè determinado dedicarles este mi trabajo. Espero que este mi atrevimiento no les serà ingrato: principalmente si considerären, no à mi, polvo y ceniza, que lo presento: sino lo que se les presenta, que es la palabra del grã Iehovah ... Este presente á Dios, cuyo es, se deve presentar, ò à los Principes y Magistrados, que son sus substitutos, y Lugar-tenientes: y por esso el Espiritu sancto los llama <u>Elohim</u>, dioses, como psal.82.6" (fol. *v)

Acceptance of this dedication will shew that they do not hate the Spanish nation, but desire its salvation. Valera changes tense to indicate that his licence was granted and the dedication was accepted, and he finishes with a prayer for the rulers of the country.

The Preface is entitled:

> "EXHORTACION Al Christiano Lector à leer la sagrada Escriptura. En la qual se muestra quales sean los libros Canonicos, o sagrada Escriptura, y quales sean los libros Apochryphos."

It begins by stating that the Holy Scriptures are given for our salvation and to bring us to knowledge of the truth. This statement is backed up by ample Scriptural quotations to shew that meditation on God's Word brings these benefits. It is strange that the continual repetition of Psalm 119 in the offices does not seem to bring the fact home to our opponents:

> "El que quisiere saber los encomios, loores y alabanças de la palabra de Dios lea aquel grande y admirable psalmo 119, (que cada dia cantan, ò rezan nuestros adversarios en su Prima, Tercia, Sexta y Nona, y que tan pocos dellos lo entienden o consideran) donde muy de proposito exhorta David al Pio, al fiel Christiano, al que dessea y procura, servir y adorar à Dios en Espiritu y en verdad, la lecion y meditacion de la palabra de Dios ... es necessaria assi à chicos, como à grandes: assi à ricos, como à pobres: assi à doctos, como à indoctos: assi à Eclesiasticos, como à los q̃ llaman seglares." (fol. *2 r)

This contention is backed up by the ancient Councils and Doctors of the Church, and as an example of this, Valera quotes at length John Chrysostom.

Valera then takes up the argument for vernacular versions in the same terms (and often in exactly the same words) as in the preface to his New Testament of 1596. He continues his survey of Spanish versions of the Bible by listing more recent versions: the Valencian dialect version; the Ferrera Old Testament (1553) 'que es un gran thesoro de la lengua Española'; Reina's version (1569); Enzinas's New Testament (1542); Pérez's New Testament (1557); his own New Testament (1596). He mentions Julián Hernández in passing and claims familiarity with him, and with Juan Pérez and Cassiodoro de Reina.

Valera gives a detailed account of the production of the Complutensian Polygot version. Ironically, he says, the man who was responsible for it was the Inquisitor General of Spain, since it gave rise to Biblical scholars whose

doctrines passed even to the New World, and whose faithfulness to the Gospel led them into persecution and death.

When the Complutensian Polyglot went out of print, God inspired Benito Arias Montano, who had been a Seville evangelical, to produce a second edition. Valera addresses his fellow-Spaniards, asking them not to reject the light brought to them by the translators of past and present versions of the Scriptures:

> "Veys aqui Españoles, como nuestros Españoles han encẽdido dos torchas de luz evangelica, que alumbrán à todo el mundo: Y ahora otro vuestro Español enciende la tercera; la qual, ya q̃ no alumbrarà à todo el mundo, por lo menos alumbrará à nuestra España. No resistays pues al Espiritu sancto: no apagueys la lumbre con que Dios os quiere alumbrar. Servios para gloria de Dios y salud de vuestras animas deste trabajo." (fol. * 3 v)

All the evidence is that we should read the Bible. The tragedy is that there are those who wish to ban it, and so prevent the Christian from obtaining food for his soul:

> "Concluyamos de todo lo dicho: que pues el Dios todo poderoso, que crió cielo y tierra, y todo quanto se contiene en ellos, mandó tan expressamente en el viejo Testamento que todos los fieles leyessen la sagrada Escriptura, y puesque su Hijo Iesu Christo, que murió por nuestros pecados, y resuscitó por nuestra justificacion, mandó lo mismo en el nuevo Testamento, y puesque los sanctos doctores inspirados por el Espiritu sancto exhortaron à todos los fieles sin excepcion de persona ninguna à leerla, y puesq̃ los bienaventurados Martyres y los demas fieles y catholicos Christianos obedeciendo al mandamiento de su Dios, Rey y Señor para augmento de su fe y gran provecho suyo la leyeron, Concluyamos, digo, que todos aquellos que como nuevos Antiocos(3) y perseguidores de la Iglesia Orthodoxa, Catholica y Apostolica, y crueles enemigos de la salud de los hombres, prohiben lo que Dios ordenò para salvar los fieles, q̃ es el leer la sagrada Escriptura, son rebeldes á Dios, y tyranos para con la Iglesia. Y lo que peor y mas de llorar es, que los tales rebeldes han hallado discipulos que de muy buena gana los oyen, y en extremo se huelgan con semejante prohibicion de leer la sagrada Escriptura: los quales exhortan à sus pastores que no los apacienten con el pasto de vida, que no les prediquen palabra de Dios, sino fabulas, sueños y falsos milagros.* (fol.* 3 v)

(3) Antiochus IV Epiphanes, Seleucid ruler of Syria 175-163 B.C. His attempt to exterminate the Jewish religion gave rise to the Maccabean revolt.

There follow a number of Biblical quotations to shew that the Bible is essential to the Christian and that the ignorance of it is the source of heresy, since the only way to check beliefs and behaviour is by reference to the Scriptures. Yet the common people can be deceived into calling themselves Christian whilst rejecting the Bible as evil, at the behest of their false teachers. One day they will learn the true facts, perhaps too late!

> "...la palabra de Dios, que su Magestad ha revelado ... nos manda que nos governemos por ella. Y como confirmaràn con la palabra de Dios aquello que dizen, los que nunca leen la Escriptura sagrada, ni saben que cosa es? Hablo del vulgo ignorante, que se llama Christiano: los quales engañados de sus falsos prophetas, creen y assi lo dizen la Biblia ser un libro maldito y descomulgado, lleno de heregias que haze à los q̃ la leen hereges y abominables, creen que el mismo Satanas, Padre de la mentira se aya invẽtado la Biblia para destruyr cuerpos y animas de los q̃ la leyeren. Otra vez torno à dezir que hablo del vulgo ignorante mal instruydo de sus falsos Prophetas. O immensa paciencia y longanimidad de nuestro buen Dios, que con tanta paciencia sufres tales blasphemias! Però su dia vendra á los tales quando su ignorancia no los escusarà, mas sentiràn el riguroso juyzio de Dios, y entenderán la palabra de Dios permanecer para siempre; y que no la ha inventado Satanas, sino que el mismo Dios, cuyo nombre es IEHOVA, que criò cielo y tierra y todo quanto en ellos se contiene, la dictó y inspiró á sus sanctos Prophetas y Apostoles para salvar à todos los que la admitieren por palabra y voluntad de Dios, y assi se governaren por ella."
> (fol.* 3 v f)

Our adversaries attack the Scriptures with fire and sword because they know that it teaches true religion. They admit the reading of pagan authors as much less dangerous, yet the pagan philosophers teach much that is a flat contradiction of Christianity, such as licence in morals, denial of the immortality of the soul, and the invention of numerous gods. The opponents of the Gospel would have preferred it never to have been written (and here Valera quotes pronouncements of Cardinal Hosius(4)); they would prefer ignorance, calling it the mother of devotion, whereas in fact ignorance and heresy go hand in hand. The Christian's duty is to be wise in the knowledge of God, understanding the Scriptures by the inpiration of the Holy Spirit.

(4) Stanislas Hosius, Polish Cardinal who strongly opposed Protestantism. Valera gives the source as "in Confessione Petrocoviensi." (fol.* 4 r).

Here Valera again repeats part of the preface to his New Testament which speaks of the need for the King of Spain to encourage the printing and reading of the Bible. He expands it by reference to many more Christian kings who gave to their subjects the good example of reading the Scriptures, and draws the contrast with the actual situation in Spain:

> "... Don Alonso I. q̃ llamaron Catholico, recogía cõ diligẽcia los libros de la sagrada Escriptura q̃ andavã en poder de los infieles. Recogialos, digo, don Alfonso, paraq̃ no se perdiessen y paraq̃ los fieles se aprovechassen dellos. Ahora por el contrario los recogen paraq̃ los fieles, q̃ dessean servir à Dios conforme à su sancta palabra, no los lean, y si los leen, quemã los libros, y á los fieles que los leen juntamente con ellos, y en lugar de los libros de vida les dexan leer libros fabulosos y deshonestos, con que la juventud se acaba de echar á perder. gran paciencia de nuestro Dios ... Plugu[ie]sse à Dios que nuestro Rey y los demas Reyes y Principes Christianos del dia de hoy imitassen á estos sanctos Emperadores y Reyes verdaderamente Christianos, leyendo la sagrada Escriptura, meditandola y orando. Su exemplo de buena vida y doctrina haria mucho bien á sus subditos, porque qual es el Rey, tales comunmente son los subditos: o por lo menos, lo muestran ser. El Señor aya misericordia de su Iglesia, y les embie buenos Pastores y Ministros, que los instruyan en la verdadera doctrina, y no en fabulas: y assi vengan al conocimiento de la verdad, y sean salvos." (fol.* 4 v)

Since God commands all, without any exception, to read His Word, it would be best to know what are the sacred books that make up the two Testaments:

> "Y puesque Dios (como ya en lo arriba dicho avemos visto) en tantos lugares, assi del viejo Testamento, como del nuevo nos manda no solamente que leamos los libros sagrados, sino aun que los meditemos, y rumiemos: y esto no lo manda à una suerte de gente, sino à todo fiel Christiano, à toda persona que dessea ser salva: sease hombre, sease muger: moço ò viejo: rico ò pobre: Rey, o vasallo: ecclesiastico, o seglar (como los llaman) razon será, y nuestro dever haremos, so pena de ser rebeldes, que obedezcamos à lo que nuestro Dios, Padre y Señor nos manda, siendo ciertos que no nos mandarà sino lo que es sancto y bueno, y conviene para su gloria, y para nuestro bien y provecho. Y puesque lo que nos manda es negocio de tanta importancia, que no nos va en ello menos que la salud de nuestras animas, razon serà que sepamos quantos y quales sean estos sagrados libros, que devemos leer: los quales han sido inspirados y dictados por el Espiritu Sancto ..." (fol.* 4 v)

Valera then gives the Jewish list of the 22 books of the Old Testament, with

their Hebrew names,[5] which were declared the canonical scriptures of the Old Testament by the Council of Laodicea.[6] He explains the meaning of 'canonical'. It follows that any books which are added to this number are not canonical. All the Doctors and Fathers accept the 14 books of the Apocrypha as edifying, but reject their authority in matters of faith. Valera quotes at length from ancient and modern Roman Catholic writers to prove his point.[7] Three things are necessary for an Old Testament book to be canonical: 1) it must contain nothing which contradicts the faith as revealed by the Holy Spirit in the other canonical books; 2) it must have been written by a divinely inspired Prophet; 3) its original language must have been Hebrew, the vulgar tongue of the Prophets. The books of the Apocrypha fail to measure up to these tests. In addition it may be said that 4) neither Christ nor any of the Apostles quotes from an apocryphal book, and 5) the Jews declared these 22 books canonical, and rejected the Apocrypha. Valera then takes the two books of Maccabees as an example, and demonstrates their inconsistencies and other reasons why they cannot be considered canonical. He denies the Roman Catholic claim that the Church can create new canonical books. In general, there is no dispute over the New Testament, although some Roman Catholics do claim that papal decretals are canonical:

> "Quanto à los libros del nuevo Testamento ninguna diferencia ay entre nosotros y nuestros adversarios: los mismos que ellos admiten por canonicos. admitimos nosotros. con todo esto en

(5) The figure 22 is obtained by combining many books, which in present usage are separate, e.g. all 12 minor prophets are counted as one, Ruth and Judges are combined, etc.

(6) The Council of Laodicea was of course a Christian gathering. Nothing definite is known about it, even the date is uncertain. Its occurrence is assumed from the 'Canons of Laodicea', which point to a mid-4th century date. Canon 60 gives one of the earliest lists of the Canonical Scriptures. The canon of the Old Testament for the Jews was determined at the Council of Jamnia in 90 A.D.

(7) Reina's Bible contained the books of the Apocrypha interspersed amongst the books of the Old Testament, in the pre-Reformation manner. By contrast Valera brought the Apocryphal books together in a separate section between the Old Testament and the New Testament, as is now standard practice.

"una cosa no convenimos con ellos. Ellos dizen que la Iglesia puede hazer à qualquiera libro Apochrypho canonico, lo qual nosotros negamos. Porque la Iglesia no es sino aprovadora, conservadora, depositaria. y caxera de los libros, que el Espiritu sancto ha inspirado ... no es inventora. Graciano ... y Alonso de Guerra (8) ... y otros cuentan las epistolas decretales de los summos pontifices entre las escripturas canonicas, y les dan la misma autoridad. Si esto es verdad, porque no las imprimen juntamente con el Testamento Nuevo? La falsa opinion que tienen q̃ ni los summos Pontifices, ni la Iglesia, ni el concilio que la representa no pueden errar (y aun algunos añiden que ni los Inquisidores) los haze caer en semejantes desvarios." (fol.* 6 r)

Valera next turns to explain why he felt it necessary to produce his version. Reina's version had now become unobtainable and a new edition was needed. Valera saw the need for some alterations, which he had made, although he had left as much as possible of the original Reina version:

"Resta ahora dar cuenta que nos aya movido á hazer esta segunda Edicion. Cassiodoro de Reyna movido de un pio zelo de adelantar la gloria de Dios, y de hazer un señalado servicio à su nacion, en viendo se en tierra de libertad para hablar y tratar de las cosas de Dios, començò à darse á la traslacion de la Biblia. La qual traduxo; y assi año de 1569. imprimiò dos mil y seyscientos exemplares: Los quales por la misericordia de Dios se han repartido por muchas regiones. De tal manera q̃ hoy casi no se hallan exemplares, si alguno los quiere comprar. Paraque pues nuestra nacion Española no careciesse de un tan gran thesoro, como esla Biblia en su lengua, avemos tomado la pena de leer la y releerla una y muchas vezes, y la avemos enriquecido con nuevas notas, y aun avemos alterado el texto. Lo qual avemos hecho con maduro consejo y deliberacion: y no fiando nos de nosotros mismos (porque nuestra consciencia nos testifica quan pequeño sea nuestro caudal) lo avemos conferido con hombres doctos y pios, y con diversas traslaciones, que por la misericordia de Dios ay en diversas lenguas el dia de hoy. Quanto à lo demas, la version, conforme à mi juyzio, y al juyzio de todos los que la entienden, es excelente: y assi la avemos seguido, quanto avemos podido, palabra por palabra." (fol.* 6 r)

Certain principles have been followed. Thus the expression 'por ventura' has been eliminated as pagan; 'prepucio' has been substituted for 'capullo'; everything derived from the Septuagint and the Vulgate has been cut out (this mainly concerns the Song of Solomon).(9) An explanation of the marginal

(8) Alonso de Guerra, as Valera makes clear, was Alfonso Alvarez Guerrero (16th cent.), Bishop of Monopoli, and the source Thesaurus Christianae Religionis (Valencia 1536) fol.17.

(9) See next page.

signs follows. Valera would have preferred to give proper names in their original form, but has retained the usual form for the sake of clarity.[10] He then repeats Reina's argument for using 'Iehovah' instead of 'Señor', adding the etymological information that the divine name is part of the Hebrew verb 'to be', in explanation of the word 'Iah' in various Psalms, and he gives examples of why it is preferable to use 'Iehovah' as the characters of the Old Testament did. If the name had never been pronounced, how would the Romans have got the name 'Iovis' from the Jews? He also deduces that the correct pronunciation of the name must have been 'Ieveh'. He continues the argument for the use of 'Iehovah' by shewing, with ample Biblical quotations, that its use is enjoined by Scripture. But, having proved that its use is legitimate, he must warn that its misuse is condemned by God.

Further autobiographical details are now given, concerning the production of this version of the Bible. Valera worked alone and took 20 years over the task. His aim was to serve God and do good to his native land. The costs of printing were borne by pious folk.[11] He prays that God will accept his 'evening sacrifice' and that Spain will gain blessing from it:

> "El trabajo, que yo he tomado para sacar à luz esta obra, ha sido muy grande, y de muy largo tiempo: y tanto ha sido mayor, quanto yo he tenido menos ayuda de alguno de mi nacion que me ayudasse, siquiera à leer, escrevir, o corregir. Todo lo he hecho yo solo. Ha plazido à mi buen Dios de tomarme por instrumento (aunque indigno y insuficiente) para acometer una tan grande empresa, y darme fuerças y animo para no desmayar en mitad del camino, y dar con la carga en tierra. Demas desto Satanas recelandose del daño y ruyna que esta Biblia Española causarà en su reyno, ha procurado por las vias possibles, ... y con nuevos estratagemas y ardides impedirla. Mas con todo esto no ha podido salir con la suya.

(9) J.A.González, Valera's Method for Revising the Old Testament (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Emory University 1967) pp.44-48, 57-66 discusses just how successfully Valera kept to his stated intentions. In the main, he achieved his aims, save for a little inconsistency with regard to 'capullo - prepucio'.

(10) ibid. But less well-known names tend to be transliterated from the Massoretic text.

(11) The identity of these persons was established by Boehmer. See above p.177.

"Porque nuestro Dios (cuya causa en esta obra se trata) le ha tenido las riendas ... Yo siendo de 50. años comencé esta obra: y en este año de 1602. en que ha plazido à mi Dios sacarla à luz, soy de 70. años (edad es esta en que las fuerças desfallecen, la memoria se entorpece y los ojos se escurecen.) De manera que he empleado. 20. años en ella. Todo el qual trabajo doy por muy bien empleado. Mi intento ha sido servir à mi Dios, y hazer bien à mi nacion. Y que mayor bien les puedo hazer que presentarles el medio, que Dios ha ordenado para ganarle animas, el qual es la lecion de la sagrada Escriptura? Aqui se dan buenas nuevas à los pobres; Aqui se da la medicina para sanar los quebrantados de coraçon, Aqui se pregona à los captivos libertad, y à los ciegos vista; Aqui se publica el año agradable del Señor: Aqui los tristes son consolados, y lo demas que dixo Esaias cap.61 ... Plega à su Magestad quiera por su Christo acceptar este mi MINCHAH, este mi sacrificio vespertino, que yo le offrezco en mi vejez. Suplicole bendiga esta su obra, paraque su sacrosancto nombre, el qual es anunciado en ella, sea sanctificado en España, como lo es en otras naciones. Esta Biblia fue imprimida con la ayuda, y assistencia de pia gente. He dicho esto paraque su memeria(sic) sea eterna: y paraque otros à su exemplo se ocupen en semejantes obras de piedad."
(fol.** r)

The last paragraph is a plea to Spaniards, to whom God in this version is speaking in their own language, to repent and believe the truth and be saved. The preface is signed: "Vuestro Hermano en el Señor C. de V."

Like so much of Valera's work, this preface contains many learned references, although most of the Latin quotations are translated. He refers to, or quotes, 17 books of the Old Testament, 9 of the New Testament, 3 of the Apocrypha, 2 pagan authors, the Jewish Josephus, 10 Fathers of the Church, and 20 Roman Catholic authors of more recent date.

A comparison of the language of this preface with that of Reina's preface of 33 years earlier is interesting. Reina was at pains with his language, as with the lay-out of his Bible, to make it seem that the whole was the work of someone in communion with Rome, the aim being doubtless to facilitate its entry into Spain. Whilst Valera clearly intends his Bible to enter Spain, he makes no effort to disguise its Protestant origin. The frequent appearance of the term 'nuestros adversarios' is sufficient indication of this.

A TRANSCRIPT OF THE TITLE-PAGE OF THE LONDON EDITION OF THE SPANISH CATECHISM.

CATECISMO/ QVE SIGNIFICA,/ FORMA DE INSTRV-/cion: que contiene los prin-/ cipios de la religion de Dios,/ util y necessario para todo fi-/el Christiano:/ Compuesto en manera de dialogo, donde/ pregunta el maestro, y responde el dis-/cipulo./ (Device: wreathed anchor with the words ANCHORA SPEI)/ PSAL. CXIX./ La declaracion de tus palabras alumbra,/ y da entendimiento á los pequeños./ En casa de Ricardo del Campo./ M.D.XCVI. 16° Introduction15 pp. +256 pp. text.

APPENDIX I.

Schäfer, Beiträge II pp. 392-400, gives the following list of books kept in the secret store of the Inquisition in Seville. The authority is Archivo de Simancas, arch.gen.S.51, Legaje 492; which is undated but is fairly certainly 1562/3.

ANTONIUS CORVINUS.

Colloquia theologica libri 2. Colloquia theologica libri 3.
Postilla in evangelia et epistolas. Idem de Sanctis.
Theologia ex Augustino et Chrisostomo deprompta.

ANDREA OSIANDRO [i.e. The Elder].

Harmonia evangelica cum annotaciones.

ANDREAS HYPPERIUS.

In epistolam ad Romanos exegema. De causis excecationis multorum.
De honorandis magistratibus commentarius.

ANDREAS ALTAMERUS.

Conciliationes locorum. Sylva bibliorum.

ANTONII MELISII.

Liber sententiarum et fatismi dicritionis contra grecos.

ARETIUS FELINUS.

Sacrorum psalmorum libri 5.

ARSACIO SCHOEFER.

Enarratio evangeliorum dominicalium.

ABBATIS URSPERGENSIS.

Chronicon.

ALBORAYQUE.

BARTHOLOMEUS WESTHEMERUS.

Farrago concordantium bibliae. Frases sacrae scripturae.
Conciliacionum hac consensum sacrosanctae scripturae.

BERNARDINUS OCHINUS SENENSIS.

La quarte parte de le prediche en Toscano. Expositio epistolae Pauli ad Romanos.

CONRADUS LAGUS.

Methodica iuris universi.

CONSTANTINO LA FUENTE.

Doctrina christiana grande. Suma de la doctrina christiana.
Esposicion sobre el psalmo Beatus vir.
Cathecismo christiano. Confesion de un peccador.

CONRADUS GESNERUS.

Biblioteca universalis 1. et 2. tom.

CONRADUS CLAUSERUS.

De oratione liber.

CHRISTOPHORUS HOFMAN.

De penitentia commentariorum libri 3.

Comentaria in epistolam ad Philippenses.

CELII SEGUNDI CURIONIS.

Familiar y paterna ynstruccion de la cristiana religion en frances.

Selectarum epistolarum libri 2.

Quatro lettere cristiane con uno paradoso en Toscano.

CHRISTOPHORUS HEGENDORFIUS.

Annotationes in evangelium Marci.

CONRADUS PELLICANUS.

Omnia opera en 6 tomos.

Index bibliorum.

In omnes epistolas Pauli et Canonicas.

DIALOGO DE MERCURIO ET CHARON.(1)

ERASMUS ROTHERODAMUS.

Moria encomium con comento.

Ecclesiastes sive modus concionandi.

Exomologesis.

Colloquios en Romance.

Enchiridion del cavallero cristiano en Romance.

ERASMUS SARCERIUS.

In evangelia dominicalia postilla.

In Acta Apostolorum.

In epistolas Pauli ad Philippenses, Colossenses, Thesalonicenses.

In epistolas Pauli ad Corintios.

Retorica plena exemplis.

Catechismus.

In epistolas Pauli ad Galatas et Ephesios.

In Matheum et Marcum scholia.

In epistolas dominicales.

In Jessum Syrach.

In evangelium Johannis.

Locorum Comuni ex consensu divinae scripturae.

Expositiones in evangelia festivalia.

Dictionarium ecclesiasticae doctrinae.

Dialectica multis exemplis yllustrata.

Nova methodus in precipuos scripturae divine locos.

(1) By Alfonso de Valdés.

FRIDERICUS FURIUS COERIOLANUS.

Bononia sive de libris [sc.sacris] in vernaculam lingua (sic) vertendis libri 2.

FRANCISCUS LAMBERTUS.

In regulam Minoritarum et contra universas perditionis sectas.

In Micheam Naum Abacuch.

In quator ultimis (sic) minores profetas.

In Amos Abdiam et Jonam profetas.

In evangelium Luca comentarius.

GEORGIUS EMILLIUS [AEMILIUS].

Hystoria seu lectionum evangelicarum explicatio.

GUILLERMUS POSTELLUS.

De orbis tarrae concordie libri 4.

GASPAR CRUÇIGERO.

Enarrationes Symboli Niceni libri 2.

In evangelium Joannis ennarratio.

GASPAR MEGANDRO.

In epistolam Pauli ad Ephesios.

In epistolam Pauli ad Thimoteum et Titum.

HENRICUS BULINGERUS.

In quatuor evangelia en dos cuerpos.

In epistolas Pauli et canonicas.

Sermones tomus primus decas s^e^.

De graçia Dei justificante,

De scriptura[e] sancte autoritate.

Brevis Antiboaci sive secunda responsio.

Sermones decades due tomus primus.

De origine herroris.

Quo pacto cum aegrotantibus agendum sit.

Aduersus onmia catabatistarum praua dogmata.

HERMANUS BODIUS.

Vnio dessidentium.

HENRICUS CORNELIUS AGRIPA.

De oculta philosophia.

De vanitate scientiarum.

HERMANO DONO.

Farrago precipuorum exemplorum de Apostolos (sic) et Martiribus etc.

HYRONIMUS VUCLERUS.

De officio ecclesiastico politico et economico.

Ennarratio epistolarum dominicalium.

HULDERICUS ZWINGLIUS.

Omnium operum tomus primus tertius et quartus.

JACOBUS FABRUS STAPULENSIS.

In evangelia.

In epistolas Pauli.

JOANNES CALUYNUS. [= CALVIN]

Libellus de çena domini.
In Esayam prophetam.
In Paulum et canonicas et acta apostolorum.
In Genessim.
Interim adultero Germanorum.
Brevis instructio contra Anabatistas.
Institutio christianae religionis.
Harmonia evangelica.
In epistola prima ad Corinthios en frances.
Prouision hecha sobre las differencias de la Religion en frances.
Prefatio in exemplum memorabile in desperationes cuiusdam.

JOHANNES DRACONITEM.

Comentariorum evangeliorum libri 2.
In Danielem prophetam.

JOHANNES SPANGEBERGO HERDOSIANI.

Margarita theologica.
In acta apostolorum.
In epistolas dominicales.
In evangelia et epistolas dominicales et de Sanctis.

JOHANNES OECOLAMPADIUS.

In epistolas Pauli ad Romanos et Hebreos.
Annotaciones in euangelium Joannis.
In epistolam ad Colosenses conciones.
In Iob et Danielem profetam.
In Ezechielem prophetam.
In euangelium Mathei.
In Genessim.
Annotationes in Osseam, Joelem, Amos et Abdiam prophetas.

JOHANNES BUGENHAGIUS POMERANUS.

In quatuor capita priores (sic) epistole ad Corinthios.
Idem in epistolas Pauli ad Galatas, Ephessios, Philippenses, Colosenses, Thesalonicenses duas, Thimoteum duas, Titum, Philemonem et denique Hebreos.
Ennarrationes in Hieremiam prophetam.
In Deuteronomium et Samuelem hoc est in 29. lib. regum.
In Iob.
In Psalmos.
In euangelia Dominicalia.

JOACHIMUS VADIANUS.

Aphorismorum libri 6 de consideratione Eucharistiae.

JOHANNES GASTIUS.

In orationem dominicam.
Proteuangelion de natalibus Jesu Christi et ipsius matris.
Tomas secondus conuiualium sermonum.

JOHANNES YNDAGINE.

Chiromantia.

JOHANNES VALLESIUS [VALDES!]

Comentario sobre la epistola de s.Pablo ad Romanos en Romançe.

JOHAN PEREZ DE PINEDA.

Comentario sobre los psalmos de Dauid en Romançe.

JOHANNES SLEYDANUS.

De statu religionis.

JUSTUS JONAS.

Cathecismus pro pueris in ecclesiis etc.

Prefatio methodica scripture totius.

JOHANNES PISCATORIS [PISCATORIUS].

Epitome operum Augustini.

JUDOCUS WILICHIUS.

In Jonam, in Abdiam prophetas. In Euangelia dominicalia.

JOANNES RIUIUS.

Quo se pactum iuuentus in hisce religionis disidiis seuere devere.

De consciençia libri 3. De admirabili dei consilio.

De disciplinis quae de sermone agunt ut de gramatica, dialetica et Rethorica.

JOHANNES PUPERUS.

De libertate christiana.

JODOCO RIMHISIO.

In epistolam Pauli ad Philipenses.

JOHANNES AGRICOLA.

Annotationes im euangelium Lucae.

JOSEPHUS JUDEUS.

De antiquitatibus en Romançe.

JOHANNES OLDENDORPHIUS.

Proginasmata forensia.

JOHANNES BRENTIUS.

In evangelium Joannis dos tomos.
In libros Judicum.
In Annos [Amos] et Iob prophetam et acta apostolorum.
In Essodum.
In Samuelem.
In Ecclesiastem Salomonis.
In epistolam Pauli ad Philemonem.
In Josue.
In Esayam prophetam.
Idem Joannes Brentius:
In euangelium Lucae dos tomos.
Explicatio epistolae ad Galatas.
Cathecismus.
Index copiosus omnium homiliarum.
Ennarratio in euangelia dominicalia.

LUCAS LOYSIO [LOSSIUS].

In Nouum Testamentum annotationes.
Tomus secundus in Lucam et Johannem.
Eiusdem cathecismus.
Cantica sacra veteris ecclesie selecte.

LEONARDUS CULMANUS.

Thesaurus locorum ex Veteri et Novo testamento.
Breue formule examindandorum.
Quomodo aflicti agroti (sic) sunt consolandi.

MARSILIUS PATAUINUS.

Opus insigne qui Tutulion fecit auctor deffensorem pacis.

MARTINUS BUCERUS.

Ennarratio in euangelium Joannis.
Scripta duo aduersaria Bartholomei Latomi et Buceri.
In psalmos iudicum et Sophoniam prophetam.
De vera ecclesiarum doctrina.
Acta colloquii habiti in comitio Ratisbonae.
De vera et falsa cena (sic) dominicae administratione.
In Mosem hoc est pentateuchum comentarius.
In Salomonis regis conciones comentarius.

MARCELLUS PALINGENUS [PALINGENIUS].

Zodiacus vite hoc est de hominis vittae.

MARTINUS BORCHAUS [BORRHAUS].

In Aristotelis polyticorum annotationes.
In Salomonis regis conciones comentarius.
In tres Aristotelis libros de arte docendi.

MARTINUS LUTHERUS.

Omnium operum tomus primus, secundus, tertius, quartus et sextus.

MELCHIORIS RLING [KLING].

Super instituta.

MICHAEL SERUIÇIO alias VILANOUANUS [SERVET].

Tractatus contra Trinitatem.

NICOLAUS GALLUS.

Disputatio de diaphoris et mutationis presentis status.

OTHONIS PRUMFELSII.

Annotationes theologis trium linguarum.

Pandete scripturarum.

OTHONE WERMULERO.

De dignitate vsu et methodo philosophis morales.

PETRUS VIRETUS.

Dialogo de la desorden que esta al presente en el mundo en frances.

De la virtud y vsso de la palabra de Dios en françes.

Esposiçion sobre le oraçion dominical en frances.

Epistola enbiada a los fieles que conuersan entre los Papistas en frances.

De vero verbi Dei, sacramentorum et ecclesie ministerio.

Admoniçion y consolaçion a los fieles que se determinan de salir de entre los papistas

PETRO MARTIR VERMILIO.

In selectisiman (sic) epistolam prioris ad Corinthios.

Disputatio de eucharistiae sacramento.

PAULUS CONSTANTINUS PHRIGIONIS.

In leviticum explanatio.

PAULO FAGGIO.

Comentarium hebraycum Rabi Rinchi [Kimchi] in decem psalmos.

Targum hoc est paraphrasis etc.

Exegesis siue expositio dictionum hebraycorum.

PETRUS ARTOPEIUS.

De prima rerum origine aphorismi. Euangelice conciones.

PHILYPUS MELANCHTOM.

Omnium operum tomus primus et tertius.

Selectissimarum orationum tomus tertius.

In Danielem prophetam. Erothemata dialectices.

Annotationes in epistolas ad Corinthios.

Initia doctrinae physicae. De conjugio comonefaçiones collecti.

De penitençia doctrina. Selectarum declamationum tomus primus.

Hystoria de victa et actis Martini Lutheri.

POLYDORUS VERGILIUS.

De ynventoribus rerum.

REYNARDUS LORICHIUS ADAMARUS.

Funebris conciones quindecim medicinalium.

SEBASTIANUS MUNSTHERUS.

Cathologus omnium preceptorum legis Mosaicae.

In evangelium Mathei hebrayce scripto.

In vtraque Pauli epistolam ad Corinthios.

Mesias Christianorum et Judeorum etc.

Cosmographia vniversalis.

SEBASTIANUS MEYER.

In apocalipsim Joannis.

In vtramque diui Pauli epistolam ad Corinthios.

SEBASTIANUS CASTALIOM.

Salterium reliquaque sacrarum litterarum carmina.

THEODORUS BIBLIANDRUS.

De ratione temporum etc.

De legitima bindicatione christianismi.

Proteuangelion siue de natalibus Jhesu Christi.

Oratio ad enarrationem Esaye.

THOMAS VENATOR.

De virtute christiana.

VINCENTIUS OBSOPEIUS.

Epigramata greca.

WOLPHANGUS LACIUS.

Liber de passione domini nostri Jhesu Christi cum aliis.

WOLPHANGUS FABRICIUS CAPITONIS.

In Oseam prophetam.

Examerom Dei opus.

Responsio de missa, matrimonio et jure magistratus in religione.

WOLPHANGUS VBISEMBERGIUS THEOLOGUS.

Antilogia papae hoc est de corrupto ecclesiae statu.

VICTOR THEODORO.

In simplex explicatio sententiarum ex Joanne euangelista collectarum.

VRBANUS REGIUS.

Propheçie veteris Testamenti de Christo collecte.

WOLPHGANGUS MUSCULUS.

In Psalterium comentarii.

In epistolam Pauli ad Romanos.

In Genesim.

In euangelium Joannis.

In euangelium Mathei.

Derecho canonico con Annotationes de Carolo Molineo.

Colloquio de Damas.

Nuebo Testamento en Romançe.(2)

Belial de consolaçion.

Carta embiada a nuestro agustissimo senor Principe Don Phelipe Rey de España.(3)

La primera epistola de S. Pablo ad Corinthios en Romançe.(4)

Revelacion de San Pablo en Romançe.

(2) The only two available at that date were the translations by Francisco de Enzinas (Antwerp 1543) and Juan Pérez (Geneva 1556).

(3) Juan Pérez (Geneva 1558) vid.sup.p.48.

(4) Juan de Valdés, ed. Juan Pérez (Geneva 1557) vid.sup.p.41.

APPENDIX II.

A visit to the City Archives of Turin made possible a more exact transcription of the items reported on p.57 , and revealed in the Fondo Savoia-Nemours three further items which refer to Juan Pérez.

Fondo Savoia-Nemours Vol.208, art.57 (année 1564) Compte premier de Jehan du Pays. Octobre - decembre 1564:

fol.(unnumbered)recto (November 1564)

"A monsieur pierius ministre espagnol sen retournant a M[ontargis?] en don par comandement de Madame iiiite s[ols] t[ournois] pour payer le louage de ses deux chevaulx .. .. .. x lb iii s ts [=10 livres 3 sols tournois]"

fol.(unnumbered)recto (November 1564)

"A monsieur pierius ministre espagnol sen retournant a M[ontargis?] de la ville de Baugency (1) ou estoit lors Madame iiij escus ordonnez par madite dame luy estre bailly pour les distribuer aux pauures dudit M[ontargis?] .. .. x lz xbi s ts [=?10livres 10 sols tournois]"

The above two items do not appear to have been noted previously.

Fondo Savoia-Nemours Vol.208, art.35 (année 1565) Compte deuxieme de Jehan du Pays.

fol.5 recto (summary of accounts)

"Mr. Jehan pierius ministre .. .. .. ij^{c} ls ts[=200 livres tournois]
Mr. Anth$^{\tilde{}}$. de belleriue aussi ministre pour
luy et sa femme .. .. iii^{c} ls ts [=300 livres tournois]"

fol.20 recto (January 1565)

"A Mr. Jehan pierius ministre la somme de deux cent livres tournoy A luy ordonne par Madite dame en sondit estat pour ses gauges dans lannée da[vant?] compte somme par sa quitance ay rendue appart pource ay ladite somme de .. .. .. ij^{c} ls ts [=200 livres tournois]"

fol.40 recto (February 1565)

"A Monsr J Pierius ministre et Mr Targuier Ducereau (2) La somme de cent liures ts pour distribuer aux pauures necessiteulx et Indigents de Montargis ay ladite somme de .. j^{c} ls ts [= 100 livres tournois]"

fol.56 recto (March 1565)

"A ung espagnol recommande p Monsr Pierius ministre la somme de six escus pistolletz desguelz Madame luy auoit faict don ay ... . xiiii l ts xiiii s ts [= 14 livres 14 sols tournois]"

fol.128 recto (September 1565)

"A ung pauure marchand du pays de brabant nomme Jehan de

(1) Beaugency - between Blois and Orléans. (2) An architect in Renée's service.

"Aespyne (?) Recommande p Monsr pierius iiii^{te} s ts [40 sols tournois] ordonnez par Madame luy estoit donnez en don ...
ay .. .. x lb iii s ts [= 10 livres 3 sols tournois] "

In a bundle of unnumbered receipts enclosed with the 1565 accounts

"En la p[rese]nce de moy Francois chesneau Serviteur officier de Madame Renee de France douariaire de ferare et duchesse de Char[tres] Mr Jehan pierius ministre de lad[ite] dame A confesse et confesse Avoir eu et Receu comptant de Mr Jehan du pays Tresorier et payeur des gauges des gentilshomes dames damoyselles et officiers domesticques dela maison de mad[ite] dame la Somme de deux cents liures t[ournois] a luy ordonnes par lad[ite] dame en son estat pour ses gauges dã lannee commencant Le premier jour de Januyer et finissant le dẽr Jour de Decembre ensuyuant mil 6^{c} soixante cinq Delaquelle somme de ij^{c} ls ts Ledit Pierius sest tenu et tient pour entier et bien paye et en a quite et quite lad[ite] dame Icelluy Du Pays Tresorier susd[it] et tous autres Tesmoing mon seing manuel ay mys a sa requeste le xx 6e jour de Decembre lan mil 6^{c} soixante cing (sic)
Signed Chesneau "

This receipt appears to have been unnoticed hitherto. The previous receipt in the bundle is signed by Antonio del Corro (by the pseudonym of Anthoine de Bellerive). It is unfortunate that Pérez did not sign his own receipt as had Corro, since there seems to be no extant specimen of Pérez's handwriting, and this would have provided one.

APPENDIX III.

The text of Reina's request to the Bishop of London and the Queen's Secretary, Sir William Cecil, for the Spanish Protestant Refugees to be allowed their own place of worship. The original is in the British Museum, Lansdowne MSS. Vol.4, Art.46. (Bib.Wif.II pp 190 f.) It is in Reina's own handwriting and is undated.

"Summa prioris cujusdam scripti illustrissimis Dominis Episcopo Lond. et Secretario primario Regiae Majestatis exhibiti, quo ostendimus, quibus jam rationibus cogamur ad petendam facultatem ad sacras preces et contiones publice conveniendi: eosque per Christum obsecramus, ut nostris hisce rationibus animadversis hujus rei curam ex animo suscipiant.

Hactenus prudenti atque pio vestro consilio usi, Domini Amplissimi, intra privatas aedes ad preces et contiones convenimus. Jam necessitate urgemur ad petendam facultatem publice conveniendi in templo aliquo ex multis quae a piis Ministris hujus urbis ad id nobis offeruntur. Qualis vero nos urgeat necessitas, ex subsequentibus rationibus apparebit.

1. Primo. Dum in privatis aedibus convenimus, retardari experimur Regnum Christi, dum multi a nostro Coetu se subducunt, alii nobiscum convenire omnino non audent, quod periculum sibi et rebus suis creent in Hispania, ubi commercia sua habent. Notantur quippe facile, qui sese adjungunt nobis, ab adversariis hac in parte oculatissimis: id quod non fieret in publico aliquo loco, ubi cuivis ingredi est impune.

2. Secundo. Intra privatas aedes tam diu convenientes, praesertim in civitate Dei beneficio Christianis conventibus libera, ansam praebemus adversariis et nos et doctrinam nostram foedius quam antea traducendi. Aperte enim dicunt, nos portenta quaedam intra nos alere ipsis quoque Lutheranis (ut vocant) invisa, quando in civitate maxime Lutherana in publicum prodire haud ducamus nobis tutum. Neque dubito quin, ut hac calumnia impudenter nos istic impetunt, literis quoque in Hispania traducant, hac utique apparenti ratione conflaturi nobis ingens odii pondus non solum apud adversarios, verum etiam apud amicos et fratres. Rationem haberi velim hac in parte Evangelii Christi sincere a nobis annuntiati, quod hanc contumeliam haud dubie subire cogitur nostra hac ratione conveniendi.

3. Neque si, quod petimus, nobis concedatur, verendum erit ne majorem inimicitiarum cum Rege Hisp. occasionem demus: nam simul atque id noverimus,

libentius cedemus tota Anglia, quam Reges patiemur nostra causa tumultuari. Neque pudet nos tanto nostro periculo hanc quam petimus emere facultatem: caritas enim Christi urget nos, cujus hoc periculo injuriam propulsamus. Quod vero Legatus Hisp. huic actioni sit intercessurus, vix in animum induco. Primum, quod ultra annum hic jam egerimus, habuerimus coetus titulo Ecclesiae Hisp., Legatus resciverit, prohibuerit etiam suis ne nostris coetibus interessent, neque ullo modo hactenus intercesserit. Certe id aut quai non possit, aut quia nolit. Si primum, non est quod timeamus ab invalido; si alterum, gratulari etiam debemus ipsi saniorem mentem. Addo etiam quod post duodecim dies idem ipse ingenue fassus est, se nobis hactenus nunquam fuisse adversatum neque si ecclesiam velimus constituere, adversatum iri, quod neque tale quippiam habeat in mandatis, neque nobis prorsus male velit. Omitto alia quae si e sincero pectore prodierunt, spem etiam faciunt ampliorem; sui minus, necessitas demum cogit ut periculum faciamus. Tantum obsecro, viri Amplissimi, ut in mentem veniat quantula vestra opera insigniter promoturi sitis negotium Christi, si pro fide vestra officium praestetis.

Amplitudini vestrae addictissimus.

Cassiodorus Hisp."

Endorsed: 1560 for the Spaniardes ꝓfess. relligiõ in Lõdon Cassiodorus hispan^{s}. To haue a publick for ye exercise.

APPENDIX IV.

THE OFFENCE OF SODOMY IN ENGLAND AND THE CASE OF CASSIODORO DE REINA.

Cassiodoro de Reina fled from England on 21st September 1563 firmly convinced that the sodomy of which he was accused was a hanging matter. It is conceivable that he would have remained to face the court of enquiry had he not had this erroneous idea. Both his accusers and his defender, Farias, in the refugees' churches seem to have been under the same misapprehension, and thought also that the sole evidence of the youth allegedly concerned would be enough to ensure conviction and execution. The fear that the offence was punishable by death was also shared by Jean de Bayonne Sr., in spite of assurances by the Bishop of London that this was not so, and he sent his son away across the Channel to imagined safety. Jean Cousin's letter of 9th August 1572 indicates that sodomy was not a capital offence at the time of Reina's alleged offence and the enquiry into it, and that it only became so because of the scandal caused by it. An examination of the history of the law concerned shews that Reina, de Bayonne and the other refugees were wrongly informed (or, more likely, were making assumptions based on the continental practice) and also that Cousin may well have been at least partly correct. In any case, the dates accord with his statement.

Sodomy (otherwise called buggery) anciently came under ecclesiastical jurisdiction in England, and was apparently an offence that was not very severely punished. As part of Henry VIII's policy of progressive reduction of the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastiaal courts, the right to try the offence was transferred to the temporal courts, and, by an Act of 1533 (25 Henry 8 c.6), it became a felony punishable by death. The statute was re-enacted three times in Henry VIII's reign, in 1536, 1539 and 1541. It was repealed by Edward VI's first parliament in 1547, but was replaced on the statute book in 1548. Mary Tudor's first action was to repeal all statutes passed in the previous reign, the intention in this case being presumably to return the offence to the ecclesiastiaal jurisdiction. It was not put back into the statute book till 1563, when, by Statute 5 Eliz.c.17, it once more became a felony punishable by death.(1) A consideration of the extract from the relevant Act given below will shew that the parliament which enacted 5 Eliz.c.17 was held at Westminster on 12th January 1563(OS) (=1564 by the present reckoning) and that the Act was not to come into force till 1st June following (viz: 1st June 1564).

(1)See next page.

Anno Quinto Reginae Elizabethae. At the Parliament held at Westminster on the .xii. of January, in the fifthe yeere of the raigne of our Soueraigne Lady Elizabeth, by the grace of God, of Englande, Fraunce, & Irelande Queene, defender of the fayth, &c...were enacted as followeth [London] 1563(OS) fol.54 r & v:

"An Acte for the punishment of the vice of Buggerie. The .xvii. Chapter Where in the Parliament begun at London, the third day of November, in the .xxi. yeare of the late kyng of most famous memory, King Henry the eyght, and after by prorogation holden.. .in the twenty and five yeare...there was one acte and statute made, entituled: An Acte for the punishment of the vice of Buggerie, whereby the sayde detestable vyce was made Felony... Forasmuch as the sayde estatute...standeth at this present repealed and voyde, by vertue of the statute of repeale, made in the fyrste yeare of the late Queene Marie: sythen which repeale ...dyuers euyl disposed persons haue been the more bold to commit the sayd most horrible and detestable vyce of Buggery aforesayde, to the hygh displeasure of almyghtie God: Be it enacted, ordeyned, and established, by the Queene...by the assent of the Lords spiritual and temporal and the Commons...that the sayde statute...made in the .xxv.yeare of...King Henrie the eyght... every branch, clause, article and sentence therein conteyned, shal from and after the fyrst day of June next commyng, be reuiued, and from thencefoorth shal stand, remayn and be in ful force, strength and effect for euer..."

(1) H.Montgomery Hyde, The Other Love: an Historical and Contemporary Survey of Homosexuality in Britain (London 1970) pp.38ff. The following extracts from Hyde's book throw interesting light on the case of Cassiodoro, since he was jointly accused of heresy and sodomy:

"Bougre derived from the Latin Bulgarus meaning native of Bulgaria, where the Albigensian and Manichaean heresies were known to flourish. The term Bulgar, or bougre, was gradually applied to all heretics, and from being an abusive term for heresy in general bougrerie became the common appellation for the supposed sexual habits of heretics and usurers. No doubt some of the Albigensians were homosexuals, as also were some Knights Templars, who were suppressed by the Inquisition, many of the Knights confessing to their practices in the torture chambers of the Holy Office. But by and large the charge of homosexuality seems to have been part of a general 'smear' campaign employed by the Inquisition against its enemies...It was always open to the Church to 'relinquish' offenders to the secular power for punishment, as was so often done by the Inquisition in Spain, and there may well have been some who felt that, as with sorcerers, sodomists convicted by the ecclesiastical courts ought to be handed over to the civil authorities for burning. It is extremely improbable that in England they were thus 'relinquished' and that their offence was ever penalized in this way." (pp.36ff)

APPENDIX V.

Below is the text of two hitherto unpublished letters of Jean Cousin, minister of the French Protestant Church of London, written to Jean Salvard and Théodore de Banos, ministers of the French Refugee Church of Frankfurt, in answer to their request for information about Cassiodoro de Reina. The original letters, written on successive days, 8th & 9th August 1572, are preserved in Frankfurt City Archives (Sammelband Kirchendokumente B, Französisch-reformierte Kirche 195, fols.627-630 & 631-633 respectively). They have suffered damage in the same way as the other documents in this collection, and, in addition, Cousin's notoriously bad handwriting makes the task of reading them very difficult. These letters establish an exact date for Cassiodoro's flight from England, about which there have been many wild guesses, and they give many interesting details concerning the events which led up to it.

"Monsieur et frere Ayant receu vos lettres sur la fin du mois de mars, et que les marchans estoyent partis pour vostre foire ie nay eu moyen de vous donner response iusques a present. Quant a la cause de Cassiodore ie la croyé(?) pour du tout enseueli, et ie ne m'en puis souuenir que ie n'aye horreur du scandale qui en est advenu. Quant au discours des choses, il seroit fort prolixe de le vous escripre, mais seulement ie vous toucheray aucuns points. Vous dittes avoir veu quelque extrait de nostre Consistoire. ie ne scay bonnement que cest, mais il me souvient bien den auoir escrit quelque chose a mon beau frere Mr.Raymond Channet(?) ung an ou deux apres le departement de Cassiodore de ce pais ce que ie fis estant requis, comme ie suis maintenant de vous, non que iaye prins plaisir de diuulguer ce scandale car il n'a esté que trop enarome et trop cognu pour en ouvrir les bouches aux adversaires. Quant aux depositions des tesmoins envoyées a Geneue il ne se sont arrester a la main, ni a la plume, de celuy qui a escrit, mais aux parolles, desquelles iay les originaux signez des tesmoins suyvant le commandement de Monsieur levesque de Londres, et ie n'estime auoir rien anvoyé quil ne soit fidelement collationé. Le commencement de ceste cause fut tel. Le mardy 31 dAoust 1563 Monsr.Cassiodoré se presenta a nostre Consistoire mettant en avant les propos suyvans La verite iay veu grande chose a proposer. Jay chante les louanges du Sr. iusques aujourdhuy, mais iay maintenant vne chanson bien lourde. Il y a vn cas qui ne se peut celer et ne doit. Jay esté blasmé de terribles crimes dheresies meschantes & d'vn crime fort nephand: et iay cognu que cela estoit diuulgué. Jay pensé apres auoir inuoqué le Sr. et iay deliberé de mettre le cas deuant le magistrat, non pas que si vous le traitiez, il ne fust bien traité, mais pouttant que faudra user de constrainte pour faire venir les personnes, le magistrat fera mieux cela. touteffois ce ne sera point sans auoir votre conseil. Jay proposé cecy a ceux de ma compagnie lesquels mont donné leur aduis ie veux aussy auoir le vostre et de Monsr. leuesque, sur ce ie me proposeray aux questions a fin quon trouue la verite. L'histoire est telle vng homme nous a fait du nostre (?) dune main et nous empesche de lautre. cest Balthasar. Il a commencé a me blasmer disant que iestoye glorieux. vn superbe que ie me vouloye faire adorer. Il a passé plus outre que iauoye reseeu plus de 200 livres sterling que ie n'auoye point distribué comme il falloit. Jl dis que iauoye eu a faire a la femme dun de nostre compagnie. Il a tellement poursuyvy son mauvais vouloir contre moy que si quelcun venoit à nostre compagnie il lattiroit a soy par argent ou par banquet et

"gaignoit ainsy les personnes, lors il mexposoit en blasmes disant de moy ce qui bien luy sembloit, de tout cela ie donneray les tesmoins. Un ieune compagnon vient ung iour de flandres lequel ie retiray pour quelques iours en ma maison. Balthasar la rentra et luy a donné a entendre comme aux autres et aussy sest separé de moy. Ce compagnon auec le garçon de Jean de Bayonne ont tenu propos de moy, le filz de Jean de Bayonne disoit de moy: Cassiodore a bien fait de se marier il a eu a faire auec moy. Cela est venu de luy alentour iusques a Balthasar...eglise, et puis a vn gentilhomme, qui est en nostre maison. Lvn...l'autre au Consistoire mais le gentilhomme obtaint quon deuoit parler...et apres auoir parlé ensemble ilz vindrent au pere, et lenfant depose quil estoit ainsy sur de le gentilhomme parla a moy. Je luy confessay tout ce qui en estoit. Je me suis bien apperceu vn iour, dy ie, lenfant couchant auec moy: car iestoye poure et nauoye quvne couche: iapperceu vne chose qui a donné occasion a lenfant de parler de moy. Je diray la chose, conbien que ien aye honte, pour monstrer que ie ne suis coupable comme on pense. Il mest aduenu que moy estant endormy, iay eu quelque pollution iusques a 4. ou 5. fois. Je cogne(?) lors que lenfant lauoit apperceu, et ie luy dis sil apperceuoit plus que telle chose maduinst en dormant quil me resueillast. Et moy ayant honte de ma poureté iay achepté vng lict pour le separer dauec moy: Apres mes parolles le gentilhomme vouloit amener lenfant mais doutant que dautres le sauoyent ie fus daduis que ceux qui estoyent aduertis y fussent et sortis somes (?) aux champs. On a appellé lenfant a part et moy apart. Je dy au garçon: Garde que tu ne dye plus outre que la verité. ?ay ie fait telle chose ! Il respond Ouy. On luy dit nommément ?a il fait cela ! ouy. As tu senti quelque chose ! Je ne say. il me semble quouy. Puis ie me retiray et le gentilhomme vient a moy, disant si ie croyé(?) mercy quil me seroit pardonne. Je dy que si i'auoye fait cela, iadoreroye le Sr. en sa prouidence. Sur ce vsoyent de menaces dung coste a dautre. Confessez dit il la chose. Non dy ie. Je ne lay fait ne par volonte ne par consentement, mais estant endormy cela mest aduenu. Et deuant Dieu ie say que iay nulle excuse mais il nest pas ainsy deuant les hommes. Je leur dis que ie me deporteroye de mon ministere iusques ace que ceste honte seroit osté de moy. Et ilz promirent de sen taire. Depuis il est aduenu quilz sont allez vers ceux qui hantoyent mes presches. Sauez vous pourquoy Cassiodore sest demis ce nest point pour la translation de la Bible mais ce sont les heresies et crimes que le retiennent. Jay trouué en la fin que ce gentilhomme ne va point droitement en cest affaire. Quant aux heresies ie les remettray deuant vous autres et eux les proposeront mais touchant le reste ie remettray le tout deuant le magistrat. touteffois ie ne veux rien faire sans vostre conseil pour nestre redargué de temerité: Voila comme de mot a mot la harenge que Cassiodore fit deuant le Consistoire comme les Anciens quy vivent encore en ont souuenue. et comme la chose est escritte au registre. On dit a Cassiodore quon luy feroit response au prochain iour de Consistoyre, quy fut le ieudy suyvant. Nostre response fut quil deuoit prendre le conseil de Monsr. leuesque deuant que den parler au magistrat. il dit quil suyuroit nostre aduis. Il fit vne requeste que nous ninpostissions sur(?) ce aceux qui diuulgoyent le blasme contre luy pour euiter le scandale des eglises estrangieres et bailla leurs noms. Au mesme iour Cassiodore demanda conseil touchant la cene quy de deuoit faire le dimanche prochain. Il disoit: Jay bien besoin de me fortifier vng foy pour soustenir laffliction qui mest suruenue, mais

"ie ne say comment me presenter auec ceux qui ostent ma renommée. On luy respondit en ces parolles, Dautant que ceste cause nest encore mise en cognoissance, nous remettons la chose a vostre conscience et comme nous ne voulons vous deffendre la cene, aussi nous ne pouuons deffendre aux autres sans auoir plus ample information du fait.

Le mardy suyvant 7. de septembre Monsr. Cassiodore se presenta a nostre Consistoire disant que Monsr. leuesque ayant entendu sa complainte luy auoit donné liberté de choyr certains hommes pour prendre cognoissance de sa cause. Jay deliberé disoit il, de prier Monsr. Couverdal, Monsr. Witinguen et Monsr. Withenne et vous prie de me donner vng de vostre assemblée. On luy dit,vous cognoissez ceux de lassemblée, puis que leuesque vous a donne le choix, ce nest pourtant a nous de vous en nommer.

Le lendemain 8m. lettres nous furent enuoyées de la part de Monsr. leuesque. La superscription estoit. Dilectis mihi in hom...D.Joanni Cognato ecclesiae gallicanae pastori, D.Joannj Utenhovio ecclesiae germanicae seniori, D.Roberto Crowleo pastorj ad Sanctum Petrum, D.Jacobo yongo ad Sanctum Bartholomeum, ministro, Antonio Cappelle et Joanni Hettié ecclesiae gallicanae senioribus. Londinij. La somme des lettres estoit, qu'ayant ouy la complainte de Cassiodore et que pour certaines raisons il ne pouuoit vaquer pour en cognoistre, il nous en donnoit la charge pour oyr les parties, de luy en faire relat[ion]...estant vne remonstrance en latin bien prolixe que Cassiodore luy auoit presenté. Le lendemain qui estoit Jeudy 9. de Septembre les six personnes se trouuoynt en nostre temple. Les lettres de leuesque furent leües. Cassiodore fut ouy qui nous opposa les mesmes quil auoit dit a leuesque. Il nous donna les noms de ceux quil appeloit ses accusateurs et calomniateurs. Le lundy suyvant fut assigné pour oyr les parties de Cassiodore. Le lundy donc 13. dudit mois comparurent deuant nous six, deputez, Çapate, Balthasar, Angelus, Abrego, & Jeremias. Leur fut declaré en quelle authorité et pourquoy, nous les auions fait venir. On leur commanda de respondre sur deux points, quelle faulse doctrine ilz trouuoyent en Cassiodore pour vng, et quel crime enorme ilz cognoissoyent en sa vie. mais que premierement ilz respondissent de la dictrine.

Lesdicts Çapate et ses compagnons respondirent que comme accusateurs, diffamateurs ou calomniateurs quilz n'auoyent rien a dire de Cassiodore, fuste de sa doctrine, ou de sa vie, mais silz estoyent interoguez de ce quilz cognoissoyent de luy, quilz mettroyent en auant choses sur telles evidences, que par confrontation auec ledit Cassiodore ilz esperoyent que la partie se trouueroit de leur costé. Mais les deputez après plusieurs parolles auec les susdits et considerans lauthorité que leuesque nous donnoit par ses lettres (desquelles iay encore la copie) nous prinsmes aduis ensemble de dire ausdits Çapate et a ses compagnons quilz nous exhiberoyent par escrit ce quilz cognoissoyent dela doctrine et vie de Cassiodore, pour donner lieu a Cassiodore de respondre, et le confronter auec eux. On leur assigna le mercredy suyvant a 3. heures apres midi pour nous informer dela doctrine. Le mercredy qui estoit le 15. ilz donnerent leurs escripts touchant la doctrine. On leur commanda de retourner deuant les deputez a vendredy enuiron 2. heures apres midi. ce quilz feirent et furent ouys touchant le crime de sodomie. Il leur fut commandé dexhiber par escrit ce quilz auoyent depose, chacun sa deposition, pour mardy quj seroit le 21 de Septembre 1563. Le iour venu les escripts furent exhibez. Ce mesme iour charge fut donné alun des commis de dire a Cassiodore quil eust a venir Lapres disner deuant les deputez pour respondre de sa cause. Mais Cassiodore ne se trouua point et on ne sauoit quil estoit deuenu.

" Le Jeudy suyvant quj estoit le 23. de Septembre. on seut pour certain que Cassiodore sen estoit fuij le mardy precedent de grand matin pour passer la mer et depuis na esté veu en Angleterre. Cestoit le iour proprement auquel il deuoit estre confronté. Le vendredy 24. de Septembre les deputez prindrent aduis ensemble de rescripre a Monsr. leuesque et luy demander ung iour pour luy faire entendre ce quilz auoyent negotié en la cause de Cassiodore. Le mesme jour se trouua le pere de Cassiodore deuant lez deputez voulant excuser labsence de son fils. Ung autre nommé Pharias fit tout effort de bailler des escripts aux deputez tant en son nom que de Cassiodore: mais on leur respondit quon n'auoit rien a faire auec eux. Plusieurs autres choses sont ensuyvies comme diverses depositions du garçon en flandres deuant Jacques de la Croix Espagnol et autres. Il eu vng examen signé du garçon (nommé Jean de Bayonne) et des ministres quj estoyent en Anvers. Plusieurs autres choses appertenantes a nostre cause se pourront trouuer en temps et lieu. Si Cassiodore vouloit comparoistre deuant iuge competant comme il semble protester en cest escrit que vous nous avez enuoyé auec vos lettres, mais il est bien tard, pour recommencer vne telle cause.

Voila messrs. et freres le discours le plus bref que iay peu faire et le plus simple sans amplifications, et dequoy ie puis rendre raison deuant ung chacun par les memoires quj se trouueront quand besoin sera. Je ne vous mande point les copies des escripts de ceux quj ont deposé, La chose seroit trop prolixe.

Au reste quant a lescrit de Cassiodore que mavez enuoyé, outre plusieurs choses qui me semblent bien stupides (?) et sans fondement, ie trouue fort estrange quil se vante d'auoir esté ala cene avec nous pour quelques fois sans nulle contradiction survenant (?). Au plus il ny sauroit auoir esté quvne seule fois, et encore estoint remis asa conscience que vous pouvez veoir par ce qui est escrit cy dessus.

Icy faisant fin prieray nostre bon Dieu Messrs. et freres donner a Cassiodore ung vray sentiment de ses fautes auec pardon et remission dicelles, a vous accroissant de ses graces et sa benediction sus vos labeurs.
De Londres ce 8. dAoust 1572

Vostre entier frere et humble serviteur
Jean Cousin
ministre de leglise françoise

[Endorsement]
La procedure de la cause de Cassiodore enuoyé de Londres.

Messieurs et honnores freres Je vous ay envoye a mon aduis ce que vous requeriez touchant la cause de Cassiodore. Il me deplait bien fort que ledit personnage na suyuj melieur conseil, ce que ie passe le plus pour raison des graces que Dieu luy auoit fait, dont leglise en pouvoit recevoir vtilite. mais sans une doute cest vng artifice de Sathan de donner telles bricolles aux pouvres hommes quj pouuoyent seruir a Dieu et a son eglise plus que dautres. Il les amorse par ses illusions aux concupiscences vilaines et puis Dieu exerçant son iuste iugement les laisse trebuscher en sens reprouué ou bien les veut humilier et esprouuer a fin quilz se recognoissent quelz ilz sont en eux mesmes, pour ne se glorifier sinon en celuy seul duquel procede tout ce que nous auons du bien. Quant a ce personnage luy estant en ce pais, sil est comme on ma dit, iamais homme de son estat ne fut plus caressé, ne mieux aimé quil estoit, non seulement il auoit moyen de se bien entretenir, mais aussi de faire beaucoup de bien a dautres

"de sa nation, et il commençoit le plus a prosperer ce malheur est advenu. Lequel en son commencement estoit petit et aisé á remedier, mais il sest escarmouché et na point recogneu celuy qui le frappoit, mais il sest irrité le plus contre ceux qui (comme ie croy) procuroyent son bien, son honneur, et son salut. Quant a moy ayant consideré souvent toutes les procedures de ce personnage, et tout ce que iay apperceu en sa cause, ie ne me puis persuader autrement sinon quil est grandement coupable de tout ce qui a esté deposé contre luy. Les raisons Quant au garson qui luy auoit esté serviteur, qui est ce qui iamais leust induit a inuenter si vilaines choses, ales dire et repeter devant tant de gens, auec vne perseuerance incredible. Il se trouuera pres dune demidouzaine dexamens et tousiours est demeuré constant. Je dy examens deuant gens notables. Le pere de lenfant a este effrayé des parolles de son filz et iamais na esté possible de luy persuader de faire venir son filz pour estre examiné de deputez, encor que leuesque lasseuroit quil ny auoit aucun danger, car il ny auoit pourtant eu de loy capitale en Angleterre contre le peché de Sodome, sinon depuis cest esclandre(1), cela faut il notter que le pere enuoya incontinent son filz outre la mer, quand il vit que le fait venoit en lumiere. Quant aux deportemens de Cassiodore plusieurs choses sont a remarquer, des la premiere heure quon luy parle de cest affaire il fut espouuanté en soymesme et depuis a continué. Tous estoyent ses amis, ou ie suis grandement trompé, Lenfant, le pere, ceux qui lont admonesté des premiers, son assemblee, nostre Consistoire, Leuesque homme humain sil y en a en Angleterre, amateur des eglises estrangeres, et quj desiroit de supporter Cassiodore comme ses lettres le tesmoignent. Quant aux deputez, luy mesme Cassiodore les auoit choisis, comme ie croy, du nombre de ses amis, et ie say que tous auoyent tresbonne affection que ce scandale ne vinst en lumiere, ie le dy de tous, et lafferme de mon costé specialement. Cassiodore na seu appliquer toutes ces choses a son prouffit et ie ne puis penser quj en ayt esté la principale cause sinon quil a voulu couurir par moyens illicites ce que Dieu instamment vouloit reveler. et ainsy il sest precipité en plusieurs endrois. Je trouue fort mauuais quil sest deposé de son ministere de son authorité particuliere. cela me fait penser que sa conscience estoit fort troublee audedans puis quil abbandonnoit vne chose si sainte au dehors, cela nest pas la constance des serviteurs de Dieu quand tout le monde conspire contre eux. Il y a vng second point La remonstrance quil presenta a monsr. leuesque par escrit est pleine de grandes inuectiues contre ceux qui deuoyent parler de son affaire et qui fraternellement lauoyent admonestez selon la regle de Jesus Christ. Math.18. Il y a vng autre point Le propre iour quil deuoit estre confronté , quil deuoit respondre pour soy mesme et soutenir son innocence, voire si innocence estoit en luy, il quitta son droit et senfuit honteusement, Je ne pense pourtant quil y ayt homme sage qui puisse approuuer une telle lascheté, et en chose de si grande importance, en esgard a la personne quil soustenoit consideré immesurement(?) quil auoit vsé de ces parolles forsant sa complainte a leuesque. Quod si vel leuiter tam tetro crimine contaminatus resertus fuero, non recuso subire vim acerrimus supplicium; neque (quod ipso a supplicio longé grauius existimo) infame ad posteros nomen turpissimj criminis nota conspurcatam. Si vero ob gravissima alioquj mea(?) puncta(?) quae et multa et gravia autem coram Deo agnosco, aut ob fidej et constantiae meae per...aut ob quod ius aliud, arcanum providentiae suae consilium, ad

(1) It is a fact that at the time of Reina's alleged offence and the inquiry into it sodomy was not a criminal offence. Cousin's claim concerning its becoming so may well be true. See above , Appendix IV , for an examination of this point.

"tam turpe incendium usque negligere constituerit Deus innocentiam meam eamque permiserit tam grauj calomnia ad tempus superiori: nihilominus contumeliosissime in oculis hominum mors aio sibj bene conscio fidele coram Deo testimonium innocentiae suae ferentj(?) ad gloriam nominis suj speciosissima erit. Neque me iam multum detenet alterius partis, etsi turpissimum ad distinctum rej examen discensurum, quj et vetera et noua exempla in pijs hominibus ob oculos habeam vindicatae a Deo innocentiae, etsi validioribus falsis attestationibus impetite. Et quidem si tantj criminis aliqua ex parte mihi essem male conscius prodire in lucem non contenderem, quin potius abirem, consulerem turpi fuga turpissimae vitae. Siquidem iam sunt amplius duo menses, quod huic sentinae habeo admotas nares. Vnde neque tempus, neque rationes, ad subtrahendum meo periculo defererunt. Sed Christo gratia, cui toto animj, et corporis mei conatu inseruiuj hactenus, nuncque inseruio, quj vires atque animum suppeditat, ne impuris calumniatoribus terga vertam, etsi tam impotenti calomniae, tam asserto testimonio, tam obfirmatis adversarijs sit resistendum. Il y a aussi plusieurs indices et pratiques dezquelles Cassiodore a vsé pour effacer ce blasme depuis sa retraite de Londres, mais auec peu de prouffit comme les issues le monstrent Le sieur Jaques de la Croix, que iestime estre vng homme de bonne pieté, en peut bien sauoir quelquechose, et autres quj ont signé auec luy certaines lettres attestatoires de linnocence de Cassiodore quj furent enuoyées a Monsr. leuesque de Londres, auec vng examen Lan 1564. Quel besoin estoit il daller mendier des attestations pour le temps passé, ou il falloit respondre du present. et de courrir si loing iusques a mettre en peine leglise Italienne de Geneue comme il se conste par vng escrit signe de la iustice; la ou il pouuoit respondre sans danger au lieu duquel il sestoit retire sans constrainte. Finalement en escrit quil vous a presente rend assez ample tesmoignage que le pouvre homme na point consideré les absurditéz desquelles facilement on le pourroit contrairier sil nestoit point transporté en sa propre cause. Je vous prie seulement de considerer ce quil dit des pollutions, iamais on na douté des pollutions reales, ne luy mesme aussi, mais il sexcusoit que cestoit en dormant, maintenant il dit ie n'entens point de quelque effusion de semence, de laquelle ie suis bien certain que iamais ne mest aduenu alentour. Sa harangue deuant nostre Consistoire porte que lenfant lauoit bien apperceu, dont il auoit eu honte. Ladmonesta de le resueiller, achepta vng lict pour le separer. Toutes les depositions de lenfant mesme, celle quil fit deuant Jaques de la Croix et laquelle a esté enuoyée de Francfort a Londres que seroit ce de tout cela sinon des imaginations reales fondées sur les pollutions spermelles de Cassiodore ?

Je ne me veux amuser plus auant sur ces choses. Il me suffit de vous auoir touché aucuns points, Lesquelz se pourroint notter en la cause de Cassiodore. Cest vng dormir vrayment pernicieux quand lhomme ne se peut resveiller en son vice, cest pour neant que nous cerchons des fueilles auec Adam, Dieu a plus de moyens de descouurir nostre turpitude, quil ny a de fueilles au bois pour la cacher. Cependant Dieu vueille garder a chacun son droit, et a son eglise le sien: et descouurir les hypocrites en leurs dissimulations. Icy faisant fin ie prie nostre bon Dieu Messieurs et freres de vous remplir des dons de son saint Esprit de zele prudence et charité pour vous employer vertueusement en vostre St.ministere, a la gloire de son nom et edification de son eglise. De Londres ce 9 dAoust 1572.

" Si lopportunité m'eust esté donné ie vous eusse mandé quelque chose des nouuelles quj voltigent, ie me suis arresté a choses plus serieuses, et vous prie freres de vous employer enuers Cassiodore sil y a moyen de le redresser, autrement gardez vous et veillez sur vostre troupeau. [Here there is a line very carefully crossed out.]

Monsieur de Banos Jay souuent eu de vos lettres vous estant a Paris: ie vous prie de continuer pour le moins es foires et ie respondray de mon costé.

Quant a vous Monsr. Saluart Jay ouy beaucoup de bien de vous par Monsr. Cheualier quj sest retiré a Caem en Normandie, si vous luy escriuez ie feray tenir(?) vos dedans(?) si a moy, ie vous en sauray gré.

Quant a ces escripts ie les remets a vostre prudence vous sauez a quj nous seruons, et de quj nous deuons nous garder.

Vostre affectionné frere et serviteur
Jean Cousin."

An account of the above two letters has been accepted for publication: A.G.Kinder, "Two unpublished letters of Jean Cousin," H.S.P. Proceedings (1971).

APPENDIX VI.

This is the text of depositions concerning the doctrine and morals of Cassiodoro de Reina laid before the Bishop of London's commissioners soon after Reina's flight from England in 1563. The documents from which the following is taken consist of copies made from the originals by Reina himself, an interesting feature of which is the underlining of certain phrases by Reina. These autograph transcripts by Reina are preserved in the Stadtarchiv, Frankfurt am Main (Sammelband Kirchendokumente B, Französisch-reformierte Kirche 195, fols.589-602). They have suffered a certain amount of damage, with the resultant loss of some words on every page (and whole sentences on a few pages).

"Ce mercredi 15 de Septemb. 1563. nous les commissayres estans assemblez par le commandement de Monsr. l'Evesque avons resceu les tesmoignages suyvans sur la cause de Cassiodore.

[The deposition by Gaspar Zapata]

Viri optimi ac integerrimi. Quandoquidem ab Illmo. Domino Episcopo Lond. est vobis tradita ex provincia cog... doctrinae vitae et morum D. Cassiodori, et ego autoritate vestra sum vocatus et exponam id quod sentiam de eius doctrina, primum profiteor coram Domino Deo et Angelis eius, atque coram vobis, viri iudices, qui Dei personam representatis, me hui non accedere tanquam accusatorem aut calumniatorem D.Cassiodori. vt ille falso mihi et aliis imponit: quod quidem pernego atque in hoc conscientiam ipsius requiro, et illius familiarium, ac praesertim conscientiam Balthasaris Sanchez, et Angeli Victorii, et Francisci de Abrego et Aliorum: qui omnes optimè norunt me post confessionem quam edidit adolescentulus illa de flagitio nefando, me inquit exhortatum esse omnes qui rei conscii erant, vt nos gereremus in hac causa ex verbo Dei, corrigentes ... eum fraternè: si quidem erat crimen adhuc occultum, et ne permitteremus diuulgari, quo vitaretur scandalum. quod ita factum est. Accedo igitur coram vobis tanquam Dei organum, quo illi visum est vti in hac inquisitione, vt reddam dum taxat testimonium verum et incorruptum de iis quae scio de doctrina et vita Cassiodori. Anterim Deum opt.max. precor, vt mihi adsit virtute Spiritus sui caelestis, qui me ducat in omnem veritatem.

Quod ad doctrinam attinet, non est mihi suspectus Cassiodorus ante confessionem Adolescentuli, licet aliqua audiuerim, quae possunt mihi gignere suspitionem: et maximè Italus quidam machinis tallicis praefectus mihi dixit Aureliae tempore obsidionis. prox^a praeteritae, Londini habetis (inquit) immistrum Hispanum apprimà doctum et pium, quem scio non confitero nisi vnicum Deum, non duos, vt vos qui asseritis, Christum esse verum Deum. Tamen his verbis non fui inductus, hoc de Cassiodoro crederem et verò intellecta confessione adolescentuli, mentem meam...Deum...dixit Deus omnipotens quid hoc est ? quomodo iste...a, traditus sit in tam reprobum sensum, vt praeter...et...sui oblitus, perpeteauerit ? scelus tam prodigiosum ? et quis hoc patefecisset, nisi tu: Domine, cuius admirabilis est prouidentia et curam in gubernanda tua Ecclesia ? qui ex ore illius adolescentuli extorseris hanc confessionem ? Certè domine, hoc admirabili iudicio tuo aliquid maius tentas. Fortassè impiè hic sentit de Eterno filio tuo: proinde hoc indigno scelere multò aliud indignius patefacere vis, atque ita

"cum ad resipiscentiam adducere.

Tum paulo post cepi confessionem fidei, quam ille suo nomine et aliorum Hispanorum obtulerat. Ecclesiae Gallicanae, considerare, et in ea annotaui quaedam, quae in animo meo grauem suspitionem gignauit. Ea igitur (viri docti et pii) porro discutienda et examinanda. Primùm in tota eius confessione non inuenio, vbi fateatur, Christum Dominum esse aeternum filium Dei ab eterno genitum a Patre: nec vbi discutis verbis fateatur duas naturas, nempè diuinam et humanam hypostaticà esse vnitas in Christo, quod est suspectum in confessione fidei: maximè eorum qui erant tunc suspecti hereseos Serueti...in hac vrbe.

In primo cap. sect.2. suae confessionis descriptio personae filii est mihi suspecta: quia etsi dicat esse representationem et expressam imaginem substantiae Patris, et haec de diuina Christi essentia praedicatur: tamen loquutio est translatio, et potius ad nos relationem habet, quàm ad Patrem, vt sciamus quid in Christo quaerendum sit. neque Apostoli consilium fuit tradere ibi quid simile intus habeat Pater cum filio, sed qualiter Deus nobis patefit in Christo. Ergo in descriptione personarum filii antequam indueret carnem diserte et clarè dicendum erat, Jesum Christum, quatenus Deus est, esse Filium Patris vnicum ab Eterno genitum, non factum, verum Deum cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto, coeternum, consubstantialem et Patri equalem. Porro si nomen substantiae Cassiodoro denovit essentiam, absurdè dicitur Filium, quatenus Deus est, esse expressam imaginem substantiae Patris, cum eadem sit, et quidem simplex vtriusque essentia. Sectione 5 eiusdem cap. dicit sic, vel auferat à Christo...Spiritu Sancto dignitatem Dei. nam multi sunt qui illi attribuunt dignitatem Dei, et auferunt essentiam et eternitatem. Tertio. mihi est valde suspectus propterea quod non solum fatetur Christi esse Filium naturalem Dei, sed asserit, et sic docet, omnes regenitos per verbum et fidem esse filios Dei naturales quia illis datur Spiritus Sanctus et communicatur seu infunditur natura diuina, iuxta illu...Petri, Sumus consortes naturae diuinae. At verò si regeniti sunt filii naturales, ergo sunt filii essentiales. argumento à natura ad essentiam. Igitur sunt eiusdem essentiae et substantiae cum Deo, quod est nimis absurdum. Inquo videtur assentiri haereticis nostri temporis qui asserunt, filium Dei esse Deum essentialem, quos refutat D.Calvinus in libello qui inscribitur, Impietas Valentini etcetera. Quarto, ego audiui a Cassiodoro hanc propositionem, Pater producit filium per verbum quae quidem propositio auget mihi suspitionem. Nam cum quaesiissem ab eo, an crederet Christum esse Filium Dei Eternem (sunt enim qui dicunt tunc cepisse cum verbum caro factum est) respondit, Quemadmodum nos sumus praecogniti a Deo ab eterno, postea aut cum tempore sumus regenti per verbum et fidem, ita Pater (inquit ille) producit filium per verbum. et cum ego intulissem, Ergo filius est aliquid distinctum a verbo tunc expediuit se nec affirmando nec negando dicens, Ego credo cum omnibus piis et cum ipso Athanasio. Proinde suspicor illum habere cum Serueto Christum esse Eternum filium, quin praecognitus, et non quia sit ab eterno genitus à Patre,

Quinto. Capit.8. sect.1. cum agit de natura et persona Christi, dicit, Confitemur et credimur firmiter, Authorem nostrae salutis, nempe Christum, quod ad naturam et personam illius attinet, esse verum hominem ...ptum. etcetera. vbi nomen naturae simpliciter posit est mihi suspitio ...quia...bus naturis vnitis in Christo hypostaticè. Et quoniam...Deum, quid mirum ? Idem Arriani, Seruet. et Val. fatentur.

Sexto. Cap.9. Sect.2. dicit, Dedit item nobis non solum nomen

"filiorum, sed etiam vt realiter sinus, communicans nobis virtute sui spiritus naturam diuinam: Vbi asserit quod superius tetigi.

Septimo. Cap.10. Sect.2. partitur iustificationem hominis inter hominem et Deum. dicit enim hominem iustificari, ex parte hominis (inquit) per veram poenitentiam et fidem, et ex parte Dei per suam solam misericordiam et liberalitatem. At Scriptura in solidum attribuit gratuiter misericordiae Dei iustificationem, et docet, fidem, quae iustitiam Christi apprehendimus, domum Spiritus Sancti esse, et similiter Poenitentiam.

Octauò. Cap.21. sect.2. dicit, Credimus, quod omnis caro resurget tam bonorum, quam malorum, licet quemadmodum ad diuersos fines ita etiam diuersis principiis. Pii enim. quia eorum resurrectio pendet à Christi resurrectione vt a prima causa, resurgent in eadem carne ad vitam eternam virtute seminis diuinitatis quod in ipsis seminatum fuit per diuinum verbum et fidem. Ratione cuius seminis est impossibile eos perpetuo detineri vinculis mortis, eadem ratione qua Christus non potuit detineri. In cuius resurrectione habent pignus certissimum suae resurrectionis et probationem experimentalem de eo quod in hoc casu poterit natura diuina cuius per spiritum Dei iam sunt participes. Doctrina haec est mihi suspecta.

Atque superiora, viri iudices, suspecta sunt, a me non odio aut maleuolentia dicta, sed iussu vestro, amore religionis, et verae pietatis ad gloriam omnipotantis Dei et Christi filii sui Eterni Domini nostri et ecclesiae suae.

Illud etiam non est omittendum Cassiodorum adiunctum Ecclesiae Gallicae et Flandricae non interfuisse congregationibus et conciliis initis singulis mensibus vt eum vtràque Ecclesia conferret, declaretque charitatis, religionis et doctrinae vnitatem ac vinculum, quin potius, vt intellexi, semper haec neglexit, licet fuerit prouocatus. Contra, eos intimos habuit, qui vel aduersentur, vel excisi erant, vt schismatici et haeretici ab vtrique ecclesia. Hoc est testimonium quo ad doctrinam Cassiodori.

Gaspar Çapata.

La deposition d'Angelus.

Tres honnorez Seigneurs. Puisque vous m'avez commandé par ordre du Reverendissime Euesque de Londres de dire ce que je scay et soubçonne de la doctrine de Cassiodore, je proteste devant Dieu et ses anges et vous de dire simplement la verite.

1. Premierement. donques je scay que luy tout incontinent qu'il eut a frankfort vng livre de Seruet, le baisa, et dict, que jamais il ne cognust bien Dieu iusques ace qu'il eut ce liure-la, et que Seruet seul auoit entendu le mistere de la Trinite. ceci m'a dict Lion et Cortes de Luy.

2. Que Seruet auoit esté brusle iniustement. Ceci m'a dict Lion, Cortes, et Herrere qu'il disoit.

3. Que Jesus Christ estoit la Parolle eternelle de Dieu, non pas fils eternel: mais que l'hors il commença d'estre fils quand il print chair humaine. allegoit le passage Verbum caro factum est...Ceci ont dit les autres de luy.

4. Qu'on pouvoit bien tenir secrete...sans mourir pour elle pour ce qu'elle estoit dangereuse et scandaleuse. Ceci m'a dict Lion de luy.

5. Qu'il disoit n'y auoit point de charité a Geneue. et que lá on ne preschoit point de la mortification ne de la charité. sinon tout contre

"les moynes. ceci m'a dict Lion de luy.
6. Qu'il n'estoit pas bon de fayre eglise Espagnole à Geneue pour la crainte du Magistrat.
7. Qu'il à escript vne letre a Castalio le suscript de laquelle estoit Docto et pio viro Sebastiano Castalioni. Je l'ay veüe es mains de Cortez à Losanne laquelle Cassiodore envoyait de Geneue.
8. Que nous sommes non seulement enfans adoptiffs de Dieu mais aussi maturels pourtant que Dieu nous communique sa nature diuine. allegoit le passage de S.Pierre, Sumus consortes diuinae naturae. et adioustoit que c'estoit doctrine de grande consolation, et l'aultre imperfaicte et a demi. ceci je ay ouy deux foix en ses sermons.
9. Que nous pouuons enfreindre l'election de Dieu eternelle, perdre la foy, et l'esprit de Dieu. Je luy dis que beaucoup de meschans perdent le goust de la misericorde de Dieu, non pas les vrayement esleus. Il respondit que Dauid estoit vrayement esleu: mais neantmoins dict Spiritum rectum tuum ne auferas à me. par lequel declaire qu'on peut perdre la grace. ceci m'a dict luy mesme.
10. Qu'il a admi Acontio non seulement aux sermons, mais il l'a faict cheff des congregations et assemblees secretes.
11. Qu'il a fauorisé a Adrian qui fut banni.
12. Qu'on debuoit fayre la cene comme S.Paul dict, Que les Corinthiens la faisoint. C'est en prenant vng repas tous ensemble, et non pas ainsi qu'on l'administre a Geneue. Ceci m'a dict Herrere de luy.
13. Finalement Sa confession de foy m'est fort suspecte en l'article de la Trinité et des troys personnes lesquelles il n'admet rondement, mais pour se conformer avecque les eglises. Le mesme dict du Baptesme des enfans. Ce qu'il ne debuoit pas fayre, comm'il semble, en vne petite confession de foy on debuoit estre brieff, clair, et rond.

Angelus Victorius Sardres.

Le tesmoignage de Francisco Abrego de la doctrine de Cassiodore et de ses compagnons.

il nous appelle faux freres, pour tant que nous ne nous accordions a leurs opinions. Lion m'a dict, que les Anabaptistes font bien de n'admettre point la Trinite ne troys personnes ce qu'il louoit fort. Item, qu'vng Espagnol puni pour Anabaptiste a Anuers fut sauué, et ne fut condamné pour cela combien qu'il mourut pour tell'opinion.
Item, il loua Seruet disant que depuis les Apostres null n'à parlé mieux. et qu'il ne fut point entendu.
Item Herrere me dict le mesme du dict Seruet, lequel estoit avecque le mesme Lion.
Item le mesme Herrere me dict en presence de Gaspar Çapata que conbien que les Anabaptistes le creussent que Jesus Christ...sauueur n'auoit point prins chair de la vierge les tenoit pour...
Item François de la...point d'authorite en l'escripture par laquelle conste que les enfans doibuent estre baptizés. et que plusieurs croyent par songes et non par autorité de l'escripture: pour me monstrer qu'ils ne doibuent estre Baptizés.
Item je soubçonne de Cassiodore, a scauoyr de sa foy, de ce que ses compagnons m'ont dict, et aussi bien pource que je scay de sa vie, et pour sa confession de foy qu'il a faicte, et pource qu'il a caché ce qu'il à traduict de la Bible en Espagnol.

Franciscus Abrego.

Tesmoignage de Balthasar Sanchez.

Messieurs puisque vous m'auez demandé de rendre tesmoignage dela doctrine de Cassiodore, je vous proteste deuant Dieu de confesser la verite de ce que je soubçonne de luy.

Premierement Cortes et Lion incontinent qu'ils vindrent ace pays, me dirent que Cassiodore disoit que les noms de Trinité et de Persones ne vauloint rient: mais qu'ils estoint forgez des hommes contre la parolle de Dieu.

Item Lion m'a dict que les Juiffs et les Turques ne se convertissoint point a nostre religion pout autant que nous faisons trois dieus. ce que luy auoit dict Cassiodore.

Item le mesme Lion apporta à ma maison vng liure imprimè lequel traictoit, qu'on ne debuoit point brusler les heretiques. ce que Lion defendoit et me fit a croyre.

Item le mesme Lion me dict incontinent apres, que Monsr Caluin fit brusler Seruet a Geneue iniustement et par enuie: pource que Seruet disoit qu'incontinent qu'il sortiroit dela prison donneroit à cognoistre qui estoit Monsr Caluin.

Item Lion et Cortez me dirent que Monsr Caluin n'entendit point Seruet, et qu'ils croyent qu'il se repentoit de l'auoyr brusler contre sa conscience, et qu'il n'en feroit brusler plus jamais ce qu'ils auuoint ouy dire a Cassiodore.

Item le dict Lion me dict que Monsr Caluin fit vng liure de ne point brusler les heretiques puis estant prins Seruet en fit vng aultre tout contrayre de brusler les heretiques.(1)

Pour ma certitude et repos de ma conscience je demanday à Cassiodore incontinent qu'il vint d'Almayne, pourquoy Seruet auoit esté bruslé, respondit, Par faute de charité.

Item, que Seruet estoit vng grand homme, et que s'il eust vescu, il eust faict grand profit à nostre nation.

Item, qu'en Espagne auoit dict des messes qui firent plus grand profit qu'aucuns sermons de Londres.

Item, que quand il passoit a Geneue par le lieu ou il fut bruslé, les larmes luy tomboint des yeulx.

Item, qu'il croyoit que si l'euangile venoit a France, Geneue seroit vn aultre Rome, ce qu'il disoit pour la iustice de Geneue.

Item, qu'à Geneue on ne preschoit d'autre chose que contre le pape et les moynes et non pas des choses d'edification.

Item, il a tenu grande familiarite avecque les enemis de l'eglise Flamande.

Item, il à esleu pour estre cheff de nostre consistoyre Aconcio.

Item il envoyoit secrets messages a Adrian banny.

(1)Calvin's first book was indeed Commentary on the De Clementis of Seneca (Paris 1532), which, since Seneca's treatise was written to persuade Nero to be more benevolent to his subjects, is generally supposed to have been written in the hope of bringing Francis I to consider a policy of clemency towards the Protestants he was persecuting, although F.Wendel (Calvin (London 1963) pp.27ff) maintains that the work cannot be taken in this sense. After Servetus's execution, Calvin wrote, Defence of the orthodox faith concerning the Holy Trinity (Geneva 1553) to defend his attitude to Servetus's trial & the principle of repressing heresy by the secular sword.

"Item il me semble qu'il a faict mal de cacher ce qu'il a traduict de la bible en Espagnol il seroit bon qu'on l'examinast bien.

Balthasar Sanchez.

Testimonium Jer...versum a Germanice à Joanne Wttenhou...

De Confessione Hispanica Cassiodori del...meam sententiam grauia pun...deprehendi quae mihi malam sus...am gignunt, cum antea haberent occasionem in eam inquirendi.

Primum. cap.1. vbi scribit de diuinitate Filii, minus dicit quoque par est, iuxta meam opinionem, posteaque non scribit Filium esse sine principio sicut et Patrem.

Eodem cap. praebat suspitionem omittendo verbum Personae, cuius loco vtitur res: ait enim, istae tres res.

Eodem cap. vtitur his verbis, Trinitas est Persona, scribit enim, quo nos conformemus ecclesiis fidelium, ideo admittimus haed nomine Trinitas et Persona. Haec paulo ante dicit quod captus humanus non possit comprehendere neque intelligere.

Cap.21. de resurrectione mortuorum scribit quod fideles resurgent virtute diuini seminis quod in ipsis seminatum est per verbum Dei et fidem: et quod impii etiam resurgent non quidem virtute diuinitatis, sed virtute Dei, qui ipsos suscitabit.

In articulo fidei scribit ipse Jesum Christum filium Dei vnicum Dominum nostrum, sed non vnicum seu vnigenitum filium.

Atque sunt praecipua puncta quae habeo ex ipsius confessione, tametsi et innumera sunt alia vnde suspitionem capere liceat: rerum ea iudicio vestro relinquo, quippe qui maioribus domis dotati estis hûque iudices commissi estis.

Tempore excommunicationis Adriani Haemsteri ad ipsum postulans ab ipso consilium, nimirum quid picturus essem in ea causa quaternas ad consensum eiusdem excommunicationis attineret. Tinc suasit ipse mihi omnino silerem, neque me ei rei commiscerem, et casu qua hic interrogarer, dicerem, me adeo non sapere, vt quiquem in ea re agitare possem: et posteaque ipsi coepissent, etiam absoluerent.

Ipso quoque Bartholomei die nuper praeterito loquens cum D^no^ Capata, agnoscebat ipse in mea praesentia quod fideles essent naturales filii Dei, quemadmodum et Christus Jesus vnde intelligo Christiani esse filium Dei. adoptione quemadmodum et nos. similiter leo redarguit me ante annum vnum dicens crassam esse haeresim credere, Christum esse a semine mariae, dicens quoque omnes comburi debere qui hoc dicerent et crederent. Atque verba frequenter conspuebat probrosissimeque ac plane contemptim se gerebat.

Cassiodorus quoque mihi suspectus est quod versionem suam Bibliorum absconderit suppresseritque. similiter quod se Ministerio ipse abdicaverit.

Ita subscriptum Jeremias Ackerman.

Ce Mardi 21 de Septembre nous les commissaires estans assemblez auuons reseu la deposition des tesmoins par escript touchant la vie de Cassiodore comm'on leur auoit enioinct.

[Deposition of Gaspar Zapata.]

Viri iudices, Dicturo iussu vestro de crimine quod Ioannes filius Ioannis de Vayona sponte confessus est Cassiodorum a Reina perpetrasse, mihi inprimis praefandum est coram vobis (viri integerrimi) me ante hac

"semper voluisse atque nunc velle hanc rem omnino sepultam, et in eo totis viribus incubuisse ne patefieret, ob gravissimas considerationes quin hoc praetextu narrationem rei extenuasse, quoties cum familiaribus Cassiodori, quibus eam libuit communicare, in eum sermonem incidissem. Sed quando Domini prouidentia factum est, vt praeter votum...vobis sit exponenda, idque instantia illius, cuius maxime opo...n ingenue ac bona fide quod mihi compertum ....

Deum aut suppremum iudicem precor mihi spiritu suo adsit sincero et candido affectu eum inuocanti quo reddam testimonium veritati, neque et illo pacto me sinet deuiare, neque ab ea discedere. Omissis igitur aliis quae possent non mediocriter Cassiodorum grauare, à quibus libenter abstineo, ita se res habet.

Quadam die mensis Julii. proximè praeteriti accessit ad me Franciscus de Abrego, et nuntiauit intellexisse se a Joanne filio Joannis de Vayona adolescentulo annis nato decem et septem, Cassiodorum eo veluti scorto fuisse abusum. quod mihi denuntiauit Franciscus de Abrego, ex declaratione ipsius licebit cognoscere. proinde non opus est hîc interseratur. Ego verò respondi me nullo pacto posse credere de Cassiodoro tam prodigiosum scelus. Admoneo hominem vt taceat, ac nemine dicat. Ille autem, si mihi non adhibes fidem, adolescentulum conueni: ex eo comperies rem ita se habere. Tunc Franciscus adducit adolescentulum nescio quo praetextu ad templum D.Pauli me ibi expectante: et salutato adolescentulo dixi, Adeo stultus est Joannes vt rem gravissimam et periculi et detrimenti maximi plenam quam oporteret in tenebris esse sepultam palam feceris ? et obiurgans eum tace (inquit) et obmutesce: nam magnum cum tibi tum maxime Cassiodoro poteris dare damnum. At ille, Domine (inquit) nemini patefeci, nisi huic Francisco, cui asserenti et mihi et aliis duobus Flandris patefecisti, vt nudius tertius significasti, Joannes assentit, addiditque non declarasse nomen, neque unde Cassiodorus venire in suspitionem. Tunc interrogatus quid illi Cassiodorus fecerit, respondit verecunde et nimis pudore suffusus, abusum esse eo, cum simul eodem in lecto dormirent. Hîc mihi veniam dabunt castissimae vestrum omnium aures, si obscoenitate verborum fuerint offensae, atque argumento imputabitis rei et turpissimae et indignissimae.

Interrogatus igitur an intromiserit membrum, affirmauit ita esse, atque digito suo indice ostendit mensuram. Interrogatus an tum senserit aliquam dolorem, respondit non, sed postridie illius diei laborauit (inquit) fluxu ventris. Interrogatus quoties eum esset aggressus Cassiodorus, respondit primo in cubiculo inferiore quod est in scala edium semel. deinde in superiore vbi quinquies aut sexies et pluries etiam donec me superauerim a lecto. Interrogatus an fuerint frequentes illi congressus. Respondit a primo congressus qui fuit in cubiculo scalae ad secundum qui fuit in superiore, praeteriere, vt mihi videtur, 30. aut 40. dies. posthunc frequenter me est aggressus, aliquando duabus solum interiectis noctibusque, aliisque quatuor. Interrogatus, cur sinebat se violari, respondit, Is me amplexabatur retro adeo arcte vt non possem effugere. Interrogatus quanto tempore durabat ille actus, respondit quarta parte horae, vt mihi videbatur. Interrogatus an Cassiodorus dicere ei quicquam, respondit, Cassiodorus quaerebat à me se aliquid senserem aut mali quicquam passus essem; et ego respondebam, non domine. nihilo minus is dicebat, Da mihi veniam Joannes, da mihi veniam. atque orantè et precibus efflagitanti vt tacerem, nil ei respondebam eram enim animo consternatus, et extra me ipsum, ac proinde nil morabar. Hoc aiebat esse factum post primam illam coniunctionem. Interrogatus an paren-

"tes eius essent rei conscii. Respondit, minime. quin precatus est me ne quicquam deicerem. Cassiodoro neque parientibus. Iterum cum iuueni occurrerem et eum in superiorem sermonem conducerem, conatus sum variis quaestionibus eius animum explorare, vt mihi certo posset de eius constantia vel inconstantia constare. at iuuenis constanter perstitit in criminis confessione, neque dimotus est vel pilum de substantia facti. Porro Franciscus de Abrego quo die me huius rei fecerat certiorem, communicauerit item eam Balthasaro Sanchez et Angelo Victorio. proinde...ad eos referre quod de confessione adolescentulis e...quod factum est ac decretum adire qu...prudenter et considerate...ger...n. Considerat...enim esse et maximi et ponderis, ob idque non temere procendentum. Consilio igitur huius viri visum fuit nobis facturum optimum si res iudicaretur patri adolescentuli vt pietate et conspectu commotus filius depromerat purius rei veritatem. ex pectore. Tum petii a Vayona vt filium in agrum educeret, atque ibi priue inuocato Domino simulque eius indicio ob oculo posito iuueni, pater ad eum sic, Capio fili mi abste scire quid rei tibi cum Cassiodoro contigerit. Caue autem fili ne falsum contra proximum proferas, neque viro immerenti falsi criminis notam inuras. Time ergo Deum, et eius iudicium, et fatere veritatem, filius autem copiose lacrymas effundens et pollicitus se eum dicturum, confessione coram patre edita non absimili a superiore confirmauit eam et ratam bel...fecit. Vayona (credo) attestabitur mihi, examinetur. Sed interim videre erat lamentabili patris et filii spaectaculum. Uterque profuse lacrymabatur: hic quidem in terram defixis oculis semiuiuus: ille verò in coelum, inuocansque Deum, in haec verba prorupit, Domine elargire mihi quaeso tollerantiam qua possim sustinere hanc secundam iniuriam mihi ab homine isto factum, longe profecto grauiorem priore. Significabat autem scandalum suscitatum ob nimiam hominis tum familiaritatem tum consociationem cum uxore.

Tandem adii Cassiodorum, nam mihi seniori tradita fuit haec prouintia vt fraterne eum corrigerem et simul etiam acriter reprehenderem, quo resipisceret et daret gloriam Deo. Id erat enim mostrum votum, nqcque aliud quicquam requirebatur. Sed quid ego hac mea diligentia sim consequutus, experientia testater. Traducor enim ab homine et iam male audio cum nihil minus sim promeritus. Attamen hoc me consolatur, quod iudicio Dei sistimur. Christus enim Dominus per vos iudicium exercet. Alocutus igitur Cassiodorum, dixi, Aspice me Cassiodore non vt Gasparum Capatam sed tanquam Angelum e coelo ad te missum. Turpitudo tua est iam reuelata. Constat te confessione cuiusdam iuuenis peccatum sodomiae perpetrasse. Resipisce igitur et de gloriam Deo Altissimo. Id solum remedii est tibi reliquum. Sin minus neque effugies iram Dei neque magistratus vindictam. Interea dum ego hunc sermonem facerem, ille vultu, gestu, et totius corporis habitu, animi sibi male conscii edidit significationem, ita à quouis vel stupido posset facile intelligi. Et Correptus ingenti pauore et sensu iudicii Dei profecto, sine me (inquit) respirare. et quum nudasset et aperuisset pectus, animo aliquantul...recepto pollicetur se dicturum veritatem. et fassus est se quinque aut sex pollutiones habuisse cum lateri adhaeret adolescentulus ille filius Ioannis de Vayona. primam quidem in cubiculo ab illo annotato, reliquas autem in superiore: sed sibi euenisse dormienti absque consensu voluntatis, ac proinde citra culpam. Cum autem intellexisset rei huius esse conscios Balthasarum, Angelum, et Franciscum, praeterea et patrem iuuenis, precatus est vt illos congregarent quod ilicò factum est. Conuenimus igitur vnà in agro, Vayona cum filio, Balthazar, Angelus et Franciscus, similiter et Cassiodorus. Ibi autem auditis eorum confessionibus, vtique perstitit in sententia. Sed interrogatus vlterius adolescentulus an dormiret Cassiodorus quando ille abutebatur, nam propter confessionem Cassiodori opus fuit

"vt expediretur haec quaestio, respondit, se nescire. Verum est (inquit) Cassiodorus me admonuisse, vt si quid sentirem, cum euigilassem. quod quidem a me semel factum est vltimo cum speraui me ab illius lecto. nam tentanti me illo congressu dormire. Tunc adstantes dixerunt adolescentulo et praesertim Angelus, Vide quid dicas et caue ne falso loquaris. Si verum non est hactenus assensisti, dicito, non. Si verum est, dicito, si. Cui adolescens coram omnibus cum multis lacrymis respondit Hispanice, si que me lo hizo. quod Gallice sonet, Ouy, ouy, qu'il m'a faict cela. Tunc ego cum Cassiodoro seorsum aliquantulum separatus ab aliis, dixi, Opus est ...vt veritatem fatearis,...gatiua, quia quoad ex animis istorum coniic... Magistratum. at ille respondit, nullam...it iuuenem à lecto cum primum contigisset ille primo...habuisse tunc inspirationem diuinam quam postea nihili habuit. Caeterum videns se vrgari ab aliis vt agnosceret culpam et glaoriam daret Deo, quorum sermones non repetam, nisi Joannis de Vayona qui dicebat, Agnosce Cassiodore cum Dauide, esto Dauid, esto Dauid. Tunc Cassiodorus, Optimè video (inquit) excusationes meas apud vos nullius esse momenti, Proinde ego me constituo omnino reum. ac è vestigio prostratus humi tantus quantus est (vsus est enim caeremonia quadam monastica mihi nunquam visa) osculatus est terram (semel qtque iterum precatus veniam. et cum eum erigeremus, et oraret vt tacerem), promisimus.

Posthoc dominica proxima destitit a ministerio, habita oratione ad omnes Hispanos dicens se esse inhabilem ad illud..., atque habere testimonium propriae conscientiae voluntatem Dei esse vt disisteret.

Post aliquot dies rogauit me vt rem istam exponerent familiaribus et intimis suis, ita enim sibi expedire. Causabatur autem Franciscum de Abrego non posse se continere, quin aliquid effutiret vnde possent amici rem suspicari. Ego verò respondi, minime opus esse illa diligentia: me daturam operam vt Franciscus taceret. Sed eo instante et precibus postulante vt sibi hanc rem gratissimam facerem polliceor me praesiturum quod ipse efflagitabat. Itaque congregatis eius amicis exposui eis confessionem adolescentuli et Cassiodori: et cum finem narrandi fecissem, dixi, Haec res modo est occulta, et necessè est ob grauissimas causas ab omnibus nobis occultari et sepeliri. proinde opus est silentio nobis imposito eam praeterire. Quod ad me attinet, quia non sum in ea constitutus index praeripiendi Deo iudicium non est animus. Adolescens asserit, Cassiodorus negat, nitamur nunc negatiua dum peccatum est occultum, quod erit tutius, quamuis scio affirmationem in hoc casu potiorem esse negatione quae nihil probat in iure. Tunc conuersus ad Franciscum de Farias (is erat in Hispania monasterii prior) dixi, Domine Farias si causa haec agitaretur in Hispania, non ignoras procedendam esse ad torturam. nam adolescentis testimonium in hoc casu sufficiens est. Et ille respondit, ita esse.

Haec sunt quae de hac re mihi sunt comperta bona fide a me recitata ad gloriam Dei Dominj nostri et ecclesiae suae bonum.

Gaspar Capata.

Testimonium Balthasaris Sanchez de Vita Cassiodori Latine redditum.

Quod ad filium Joannis de Vayona attinet, cum id detectum fuit, ego eram tum Cantabrigiae proinde profiteor mihi esse significatum nihil penitus agitanti: neque credebam cum nuntiaretur. Porro postquam redii Cantabrigia proficiscor in templum more meo, et cum finita contione aliqui ex fratribus ad me accederunt et gratulati essent reditum, accessit et

"Franciscus de Abrego aliquantulum sub tristis et cogitabundus, ac mihi statim dixit, Domine nescio quid sim facturus, putabam enim me huc venisse vt inter probos viros agerem, et credo me frustratum. Ego vero respondi, Quid rei est ? euenitne tibi ? Tunc ille, Quendam ex nostris qui et praefertur caeteris tum dignitate tum sanctitate arbitror satanam esse. Et ego contrario petii vt significare mihi vellet quisnam esset. Ille autem, Cassiodorus (inquit) is est. nam comperio esse sodomitam, et non audeo eum adire reprehendendi causa absque consilio aliquorum fratrum, quia minister est, et praestat authoritate. Tunc me magna tenuit admiratio, et nolebam id de Cassiodoro credere: quaero tum à Francisco, cuinam communicauerat illud. Respondit, Domino Gaspari Çapatae. Et quid tibi dixit, inquam ? Is vero (inquit Franciscus) dicit se nolle credere, donec conueniet iuuenem atque serutetur illius animum. Optime inquit, Tu ergo interim face et nemini dicas atque caue...ne rem Flandriae quibuscum verseris, palam feceris. nam si quid ia...Posthaec venit ad me D.Çap[ata]...qui quidam fa...ingenuè ad tutum, quod ei in F...plus: si volebam conuenire eum, se credere non recusaturum iuuenem eandem coram me edere confessionem. At ego dixi, me nolle cum iuuene loqui, et ita decretum fuit donec eum possem conuenire coram Cassiodoro facie ad faciem. Tunc item intelexi eandem rem Angelo Victorio esse cognitam. quapropter nos quatuor conuenimus deliberaturi quo pacto res nobis esset gerenda, vt hominem adduceremus ad proprii defectus confessionem alii nemini praebentos scandalum. Tunc dixi, me habere cognitam perspectumque ingenium Cassiodori, proinde opus esse vt optimo consilio et christiano in ea re procederemus. Quare decretum est adire consilii capiendi gratia virum quendam et pium et orthodoxum, cui rem aperuimus nominibus personarum suppressis. Is verò dixit, Quare non conuenitis de hac re ministrum vestrum? cui ego respondi, Me credere Cassiodorus de hac re potius nociturum quam adiuturum, ac proinde nolle adire eum. Is tunc primum adhortatus est, vt in re procederemus vt Christianos viros decet: cui respondimus, nihil aliud a nobis quaeri. Addidimusque, illum qui illud crimen admisisset, esse hominem vafrum, et sophistam, vt pote qui monachus fuisset. Tunc ille dixit, O monachus fuit, et vafer est, vt dicitis: ergo opus est vt caute vos geratis: nam qui huic vitio assueti sunt, in procinctu habent paratum responsum cum deprehenduntur. Proinde cauete vobis, ne is postea oneret vos alique calumnia. Itaque consilium meum est, vt vobiscum assumetis patrem iuuenis, videatisque an coram patre velit filius crimen fateri, et ita maiore vi muniti eritis, qua possitis resistere malefactori et calumniatori. Tunc discessimus: et D.Çapata duxit patrem et filium in agrum. Quid ibi adhuc sit, is et pater referent. Item D.Çapata solus conuenit Cassiodorum cum esset in sua bibliotheca. Is etiam referet, quae ibi fuerunt acta. illo eodem die sumus omnes congregati in agro rogati a Cassiodoro. Scilicet D.Çapata, Angelus, Franciscus, etego: tum etiam Vayona cum filio. Voluit aut Cassiodorus vt in agro esset conuentus, ne quid pater suus aut alii, si domi essent, olfacerent. Ibi examinatus fuit Cassiodorus seorsim, et sponte fassus est quicquid cum iuuene sibi euenisse dormienti sibi euenisse. Se habuisse nescio quot pollutiones nocturnas et somnia turpia, cum esse aliquoties calidior solito. Se dicere iuueni, quod si quid sentiret, eum euigilaret. Tunc vocatus adolescens, et coram omnibus interrogatus, constanter perstitit dicens cum lacrymis, Ita est, cum mecum rem habuit, repetens ter eadem verba. Tunc ego dixit Cassiodoro, Noli veritatem obscurare, quin potius fatere, considerans adolescentulum in hoc casu esse fide dignum. Ergo fatere ingenue nihil simulans: hoc pacto ignoscet tibi

"Dominus Deus. Multis aliis terminibus fuit admonitus, ab aliis dicentibus nos non quaerere ruinam, quin potius salutem. Vide quid adolescens dicat: nempe te eum constrictum tenuisse retro: se voluisse euadere et non posse. Ad quae Cassiodorus respondens, dixit, fieri potuisse se eum tenere complexum, membroque suo in vas adolescentuli intromisso, tamen se non eiecisse intus semen: quia inueniebar (inquit) experrectus, quando effluebat. De eo aut quod homo dormiens committat ei culpam non imputatum iri. Caeterum Angelus Victorius, qui loquutus est cum eo omnium postremus, Video te (inquit) domine, nolle veritatem ingenue fateri. At qui Deus ex ore tuo, uel te inuito, sermonem veritatis extorquet. Si res haec discutienda esset coram Gallis aut Flandris, aederent profecto horrendum spectaculum de te. Nam quas fassus es pollutiones nimis satis sunt vt condemnationem meritam subires. Cui Cassiodorus respondit, Verum est Domino. Tunc prosequutus Angelus dixit, Agnosce igitur culpam, et da gloriam Deo, quod solum a te requirimus, et nil al...ille lacrymis obortis, dixit, Video meas ex..lt... reddo omnino reum. et continuò...tum propter culpam, tum scandalum p...bis. Post rodauit nos necui quicquam diceremus, vt vitaretur scandalum...quod promissimus hac lega, si signa poenitentiae ostenderet. Ille vero dixit, nos visuros in eo signorum poenitentiae satis.

Dominica sequenti distitit sponte non inuitus a ministerio dicens publice, se sentire quod voluntas Dei erat vt relinqueret contionandi munus: hoc enim testimonium ei reddere propriam ipsius conscientiam, quod quidem consideratione dignum mihi visum fuit, propterea quod dominica praeterita orationem habuerat de eligandis senioribus. Postea voluit hinc descendere Francofordiam versus, nemine cogente neque vlla causa necessaria intercedente. Item constat adolescentulum mansisse in vrbe 30. aut 40. dies post reuelatum crimen, quo tempore neque verbum fecit Cassiodorus de hac re: quin submissione et deiectione animi veram poenitentiam simulauit. Haec est, quod meminisse licet, veritas coram Deo et Angelis eius. Iterumque profiteor ne merique istius hominis quaesisse neque quaerere ruinam aut infamiam, quin potius si qua afficitur, ipsummet esse authorem alioqui credo Deum velle eum patefactum, et quemadmodum dixi initio huius testimonii mei, quando haec res reuelata fuit, non eram in vrbe: neque unquam cogitassem in tanto viro tam indignum scelus deprehendi posse.

Balthasar Sanchez.

Testimonium Francisci Abrego Latine redditum.

Quum paucis diebus a nuptis Cassiodori a Reyna irem cubitum in hospitium Joannis de Vayona vt solitus eram, et ego et Joannes filius eius exutis vestibus conscenderemus lectum dormituri, is quaesiuit a me, vt valeret uxor Cassiodori, Cui respondi bene valere. At ille, Credo (inquit) nam poterit sibi gratulari quod nacta sit virum qui ei optimi satisfaciet, quippe qui magna vi et potentia sit praeditus. Ex his verbis conieci iuuenem aliquid scire de Cassiodoro, sed nihil minus quam quod postea exposuit. Ego igitur eum, vt declaret quo esum id dicaret, et quam ob causam. at ille recusare. ego vero instare: Dic mihi quaeso quam ob rem, scisne quicquam bene poteris fidei meae committere. seruabo depositum. Ille vero, Nihil est (inquit) ac si quid sit, scire tua non refert: desine obtundere. Ego aut nimis iam accensus rei cognoscendae, signae esset, instantius vegebam iuuenem, donec is victus, vel potius imminente iam hora tanto sceleri detegendo praeordinata, incipit rem exponere. Dormiebamus (inquit) ego et dominus Cassiodorus simul in eodem lecto. Optime scio quid is valeat.

"Quid (inquam) scis, dic iam. Tunc Joannes, Quid sum dicturus, Hizomelo, id est, mecum rem habuit. At ego, Que te hizo ? id est, quid tibi fecit ? Jocaris Joannes. Tunc ille affirmauit Cassiodorum abusum fuisse eo retro, narrans fere omnia quae in congressibus, et post interueneant. Ego aut vix poteram credere. tenebar enim magna admiratione: nihilominus tamen, interrogavi eum, quoties, vbi et quando id factum esset: et respondit, Quinquies, aut sexies et pluries etiam congressus est mecum intromisso membro, quod signauit suo indice. Post primum congressum aiebat se laborasse fluxu ventris. et Cassiodorum arripere eum dormientem et tenere complexum retro vt non posset euadere: et mane rogare eum cum lacrymis vt nemini diceret. Id enim euenisse cum dormiret, et multa alia addidit quae non prosequor. Id autem factum esse aiebat in cubiculo quod est in scala aedium Cassiodori, et in alio superiori. Quando vero id contigerat, Dominus de Saula qui fuit minister in hac Ecclesia, habitabat in eisdem aedibus: et tunc Cassiodorus discesserat in contabernio parentum propterea Joannes iste inseruiebat ei, ac dormiebat cum eo. Posthaec, cum semper obuersaretur animo tam indignum scelus, nihil aliud agebam quatuor aut quinque noctes cum essemus vna in lecto...are Joannes...vt viderem...staret dictis. Is vero consta...alios duos Flandros praeter...pressisse et Flandros esse...communicaret rem hanc sumpta occasione ab alia quam illi narrarunt. Ea quidem res magnum mihi peperit scandalum, propterea quod recens veneram ex Flandris aliquantula luce perditus, ex maximo desiderio cognoscendae veritatem Euangelii, ac parum abfuit quin redirem ad papatum, nisi Dominus me donasset maiore fide. Tunc decretum est rem deferre ad Dominum Gasparem Capatam, et simul ad alios duos ex fratribus, quos visum est mihi ei adiungere, vt quid in ea opus esset facto, mecum perspicarent. Quod si obtemperandum esset animi mei affectui, recta ilico me ad Magistratum conferrem. nam quid facerem commotus graui punitione digno scelere ? Praeterea volui renegare ascitis aliquot sociis, quo maior esset authoritas, et indubitata fides. Intellexeram enim Cassiodorum esse hominem, qui raro aut nunquam agnoscere vult proprios defectus; ac si corrigendi eum assumerem potestatem grauaturum aliqua calumnia. Adii igitur Çapatam, et exposita re, ille noluit mihi credere, quin addidit, nullam se fidem ad habiturum, nisi audito prius iuuene atque sufficienter examinato. Et constituto sequenti die conueniendo iuueni iuimus ad templum D.Pauli, quo adducto et salutato, dixit ei Çapata, Cur esset adeo insanus, qui secreta sua aliis reuelaret tam temere: iniunxitque ei ne posthac cuique dicaret: quia tum sibi cum Cassiodoro magnum posset adferre detrimentum. Joannes quaesiuit, sciretne Cassiodorus se eam rem patefecisse: cui Çapata, Minime (inquit) neque nunc quicquam ei dicemus. Sed dic Joannes, quid tibi Cassiodorus fecit, et quomodo. nam licet Franciscus narrauerit, tu potius in hoc casu audiendus et credendus. Tunc coram me et Çapata nimis verecunde exposuit quod intea mihi soli, et cum pluribus aliis circumstantiis de quibus eum Çapata interrogauerat.

audita igitur iuuenis confessione distincta et clare celiberauimus ego et Çapata, Item Balthasar Sanchez et Angelus Victorius (ii enim erant quos asciueram in testimonium huius rei, alii aut erant familiares Cassiodoro, vt pote monachi eiusdem monasterii) conuenire quendam virum doctrina et pietate insignem vt nobis consuleret ex Dei verbo quomodo nos gerere debebamus in hac re citra noxam nostram et proximi. Concilio igitur istius viri (cui profecto hoc nomine multam debemus gratiam alioque procederamus in causa vt imprudentes et inconsiderati homines) decretum fuit assumere nobiscum patrem adolescentuli. nam reputabamus plurimum in hac re momenti habiturum conspectum paternum et authoritatem ergo filium. et confessionem coram patre edita delinquentem aptius conuictum iri de crimine, vt agnosceret culpam et

"daret gloriam Deo: tum etiam ansam ei ereptam, ne postea insurgeret in nos insolenter, vt solent qui tergiversationibus et calumnis perpetrant scelera, nimis impudenter, contegunt. Çapata aut fuit commissum vt exequendo consilio operam praestaret suam: vt quando ex eius declaratione et Joannis de Vayona constabit de confessione adolescentuli quam coram patre edidit in agro, supersedeo ab ea, tum etiam ab ea quam fecit Cassiodorus domi suae priusquam adduceretur in agrum. Vbi postea congregati sumus omnes, nempe Çapata, Balthasar, Angelus et ego: item Joannes de Vayona cum filio. Et Çapata adduxit secum Cassiodorum, atque in omnium praesentia (?) constanter perseuerauit adolescens in suis confessionibus. Item Cassiodorus fassus est se habuisse quinque aut sex pollutiones dormiens cum iuuene filio Joannis de Vayona. et cum obiieceretur quae iuuenis fatebatur, dixit, se dormientem commisisse, si quid commiserit, absque determinatione: et quod dormienti non erat imputanda culpa. quod responsum mihi visum est esse prius excogitatum quando se pollueret cum adolescentulo. Tandem cum ei cum Balthasar, Angelus et Vayona diceret, ne tergiversaretur, sed agnitione culpae daret gloriam Deo, dixit lacrymis obortis, Video mihi non valituras apud vos quas adduco excusationes, proinde confiteor...omnino. nam prius dicebat, se non agnoscere ...ulum separare a suo lecto post primam...eam bis osculatus est, petiitque veniam...igitur eum iussimus homo animo esse,...quia rogauit...pr...fuit.+++

Hoc est testimonium Francisci de Abrego, quod quidem constanter assero esse verum coram Domino Deo et Angelis eius.

+++Postea sequenti dominica abdicauit se ministerio. et quoniam ignori eorum quae agebuntur eum rogabant magnis precibus, ne vellet desistere, dixit in omnium consessu se esse ineptum in praesentiorum ad id munus testimonio propriae conscientiae.

Testimonium Jeremiae Ackerman de vita Cassiodori latine redditum à Joanne Wtenhouio rogatu fratrum.

In isthac re nihil habeo peculiare quod tester, cum nihil norim praeterque ab iis qui ipsum iuuenem ipsum inquisiuerunt, ad peccati agnitionem adduxerunt, quod ipsum ipsimet melius testari poterunt, quam ipse possim. Hoc tantum habeo, quod puerum meum qui est frater ipsius iuuenis interrogaui, qui mihi dixit quod ipsius frater agnouisset quod Cassiodorus ei tule quippiam sex aut septem vicibus fecisset, idque diuersis temporibus. Interrogaui quoque iuuenem meum, cur non ex templo indicasset, respondit metum obstitisse. Adhaec ait quoque puer meus, quod sit satis pecuniarum semper habuerit quamdiu apud eum esset, quam Cassiodorus illius dominus ei daret, neque unquam interrogaret in quem vsum eam collocaret. Vnde mihi videtur quod ipsum seduxerit.

Ita subscriptum Jeremias Ackerman.

Le tesmoignage d'Angelus Victorius.

Il me semble qu'il à faict mal contre le vouloyr des Anciens de tracter si familierement banquetant en compagnie plusieurs foix et demorant tout seul auecque la femme de Jan de Vayone en sa chambre, comme Je l'ay trouue auecque elle deux foiz, ce qui est mal et scandaleux en vng ministre, Espagnol, et jeune.

Il me semble qu'ayant promis de vouloyr prescher pour rien au commencement, comm'aussi il prescheá pres d'un an pour neant, debuoit aussi continuer sans demander apres salayre lequel il refusá au commencement. Item, il m'a offensé en ce qu'il proposa qu'il ne voulbit point prescher,

"mais qu'il en faulloit appeller vng aultre qui est en Nauarre,(1) et que pour ce faire il seroit bon qu'on luy constituast des-ja vng bon salayre, lequel il prendroit iusques a cequ'il vint. mais neantmoins peu apres qu'il eust le salayre, il voulust auuoyr le ministere.
Item il m'a offense enceque sans fayre prieres, ne sans donner espace, mais tout soudainement proposa en consistoyre qu'on ne luy donnast point ne comme a ceux qui ont beaucoup, ne a ceux qui ont peu. et que Monsr de Saules auoit cinquente liures, et qu'ils regardassent qu'il ne peuuoit auuoyr moins de 40 liures, cē qui luy fut facile d'impetrer de dix qu'ils estoyent, desquels n'eust honte de demander 40 liures.
Item il m'a offensé de ce qu'oultre cela prennoit les presents lesquels on luy bailloit pensant qu'il n'auuoit riem.
Item il me semble qu'il a dissipé l'eglise des Espagnols de Geneue solicitant ceux qu'il a peu a s'endepartir, tellement qu'on l'appelloit la le Moise des Espagnols. Monsieur Pierius aussi qui jamais ne luy a escript ne rescript il me semble aussi bien que les autres Espagnols qui sont à Geneue, en est fort offensé. Voyre il en a eu des grandes querelles.
Item le fils de Jan de Vayone a confessé clairement comment il a esté abusé de luy du vice abominable de sodomie. Et...se retiroit...le suiuoit et estrignoit entre ses bras. Et que le matin...fit quelquechose en dormant, qu'il...foix plus chault qu'il ne souloit,...auecque l'enfant et qu'incontinent il s'esueilloit,...quoy...respondis, que la chose estoit a iuger des F$_{r}$ançois et Flamencs, qu'on en fairoit horrible espectacle de luy: combien qu'il ne confessast la chose mais seulement ce qu'il disoit des pollutions. Tant i a que Dieu qui ne veut nulle chose cachee luy arrachoit ces parolles-la contre son vouloir, les quelles estoyent àsez souffisantes pour le condemner. combien qu'a la verité le jeune garson estoit ence sac-la croyble, et que l'on ne penseroit point que quand il l'estraignoit entre ses bras et qu'il le suiuoit de pres quand il s'enfuyoit, qu'il l'enseignast le paternoster. Pourtant (di-je) cognoissez vostre faulte, et donnez gloire a Dieu. Alhors il dict, Je voy que mes excuses ne me seruent de rien, pourtant je me rend coupable de tout. Alhors il se jettá par terre deux foys, et demandá perdon a Dieu et a nous. Ce faict il nous pria de n'endire rien à personne pour euiter l'escandale, et nous luy prometismes par serment, s'il se repentoit de bon coeur.

Deux ou trois jours apres desistá de prescher de soy mesme disant qu'il ne se sentoit souffisant, et autres choses de sa conscience, com'il m'a esté dict.

Apres Je n'en sçay combien de jours contre ce qu'il nous auoit prie de n'endire rien il pria Monsr Çapata qu'il manifestast le cas comm'il auoit esté aux aultres Espagnols ses familiers et qui auuoint esté en vng mesme monastere en Espagne. Je soubçonne qu'il faisoit cela pour fayre que le dict Monsr Çapata (qui est noble, lequel à esté secretayre du Vice-Roy de Naples et pourtant son tesmoignage vault beaucoup) amoindrit la chose: mais il dit la verité.

Deus optimus maximus, qui vindicauit à doloribus mortis vnigenitum filium suum vindicet etiam Cassiodorum, si fuerit innocens; sin aliter, ita illum puniat, vt eius anima incolumis saluaque sit.

Angelus Victorius.

(1) This would of course be Antonio del Corro.

"Le tesmoignage de Paschasius dela Motte Flamend membre de l'eglise Flamende de Londres.

Moy allant de Londres a Grauelines de Flandres pour les affayres d'vng mien parent en compagnie de Christofle Marischal (1) ministre de l'Euangile, lequel alloit pour les mesmes affayres, passant de Grauelines pour aller à Cassel par Barbourg, par fortune et sans y penser Je rencontray en Barburg (2) Jean fils de Jean de Vayone, ce quel ie cognoissoy bien a Londres: et il me demandá de son pere s'il estoit viff ou mort de la peste. Et l'homme qui le tenoit en sa maison me donna deux lettres pour la mere du jeune garson et pour vn'aultre personne: et le jeune garson sortit de Bourburg auec moy parlant iusques à demi lieue plus ou moins, et moy ayant entendu l'affayre que l'on disoit qu'il auuoit confessé en Londres deuant quatr'ou cinq personnages, qu'il me le disse, et qu'il regardast bien de dire la verite, car ce n'estoit chose de peu d'importance de dire cela d'vng ministre. et il me respondit que ce qu'il auuoit confessé en Londres estoit vray. Alhors Je luy demanday de me dire comme la chose auoit esté, et combien de temps il estoit que cela auuoit esté, et le jeune garson tout honteux me dict que Cassiodore l'auuoit abusé du peché qui est contre nature, et je luy demanday s'il auuoit senti quand Cassiodore luy fit celá, et il me respondit qu'ouy, sur tout deux foix il se sentit mal, et qu'acheué l'affayre luy sortoit dela villenie par derriere. et qu'il s'en vouloit fuyr, mais ne pouuoit point, d'aultant qu'il le tenoit embracé par derriere. et aussi bien avecque sa grande honte il me dict d'aultres particuliertez que mes oureilles ne pouuoint point endurer. Tout ceci il dict à moy seul parlant par le chemin. Apres je me retiray vng peu auec luy et Christofle Marischal afinque n'ouyssent point les propos les femmes qui venoyent en nostre compagnie et deuant C...repetá et confirmá le jeune garson le mesme ...st la verité deuant Dieu et ses Anges. ...de sa volonté sans estre induict ne co... Aussi bien me par...Bourburg l'homme qui tenoit le jeune garson, et il me contá tout cest'affayre, me disant qu'il l'auuoit ainsi entendu du jeune garson car il le luy auoit demandé par plusieurs foix."

(1) Otherwise known as Christophorus Fabricius.

(2) i.e. Bourbourg (Département du Nord), about half-way between Gravelines and Cassel.

APPENDIX VII.

The text of Reina's request to Basle City Council for permission to print his Spanish Bible. The undated original is in Basle City Archives, Handel und Gewerke JJJ 1 (Fluri, "Die Bärenbibel", Gutenbergmuseun, Vol.9, 1 & 2, pp 88 &90). It is not Reina's autograph, and the signature "Reimius" instead of "Reinius" confirms this.

"Edlen, gestrengen, erenvesten, frommhen, fürsichtigen, ersamen und wysen, insunders günstige, lieb herren und vätter, mine geringen, aber guttwilligen dienst seyen üw(er) genoden zuvor angebotten mit demuttiger früntlicher pith, von anligender notturfft wegen, dise min schlächte supplication miltigklich zuvernemmhen.

Genedig h. vor üw E(rsamen)W(ysheit) bin ich veruckter zeit erschinen und angezeigt, wie der allmechtig Gott noch siner barmherzigkeit von tag zu tag der reinen religion dess h. Evangelii in Hispanien thüren uffthue und zugang macht, ohne zwyfel inn disen letsten tagen willens, jmhe sin kilchen aldo ouch zuerwytern und zusamlen. Diewyl aber noch zur zeit offene predigen (von verfolgung wegen) nit dörffen gehalten werden, haben eiferige herzen vermeint, fruchtbarlichen und nutzlich zusin, wo die h.Bibel in Hispanischer sproch klorlich und luter verdolmetschet wurde und durch den truck under die gemein verfertiget, wie das vor 50 joren inn Tütschennland, volgends Engelland und inn kurzem inn Frankennrych zu des h. lob und viler heil herrlich beschehen.

Das erste theil, belangen die translation, ist mir,als dem neben andren sprochen mines vätterlands art zu reheden wolbekant, ufferlegt, dorumb ich dann nun manch jor min arbeit nit gespart und fast zuhin das end erreicht hab.

Das ander aber mit der impression, war h.Oporino säliger dechtmuss befohlen, und doruff 400 gulden geben, welche von biderben lüthen almusens wys (das einem lobichen roth zu Frankfurt wol wüssend, und ich, so mans begert, von jmhe schin und zügnuss darlegen kan) uffgehept und eigneschossen. Dergestalt, das wann die exemplar und Biblinen verkoufft werdend, so solle söllich elemosina und gelt widerumb erlösst, an die mangelbaren und dürfftigen verwendt werden.

Wie aber inn allem hand werch und fürnemmhen mit üw g. günstigen verwilligen, h. Oporinus gestorben, ouch sine sachen schuldvorderer halben geschaffet, ist üw E. W. von unnötten zu erscheinen, als deren E. W. es gnugsam bekant.

Heizwüschen aber, so könden mir inn angefangner h. geschrifft, so h.

Thoman Guarin etwan wyt inn truck procht, nit fürfaren; die guten lüt, so eingeschossen habend, belangt übel und unser vatterland wirt lang uffgehalten. Derhalben von min und aller erstgemelter wägen, so von wägen der eheren Gottes pithen und flechen ich zu üw E. W., die bisshar gute bücher (was ist aber bessers dann Gottes wort) redlich inn allerley sprochen hatt verfertigen lassen, wöllend so wol thun und disen handel nit zu übrigen schuld vordern rächnen, denen er gantz unglich ist, us denen ursachen, das dis gelt h. Oporino nit gelichen, weder haller noch pfennig darvon erfordert, begert noch gheischen, sunder us dem allmusen gnommhen, zu Gottes und der kilchen nutz darzellt ist, ouch onhe merklichen schaden der zeit (do alles Oporini erlösst) nit mag verzug han, wir hettend sy langest gantz wol bedörfft und noch yede stund.

Hieneben hoffend wir, wo die schuldvorderer durch üw. g. dohin zu vermögen, das es jnen mheer glück denn schaden zeitlich und ewig bringen werde, wo sy fürderlich und vordannen kilchengut widerkehrend. Und erbüten mich darneben mit gnugsamer versicherung gschrifftlich und durch bürgschafft, wann sach, das noch aller ustheilung nit yetlichem sin gnusame bezalung widerfart, so solle ouch ich (sovil sich min abgang ziehen wirt) schaden erliden, das also ich keinen vorteil für sy zu haben begeren, sunder mit andern burgern zuglich (noch üw. g. nechster erkantnuss) gon will, usgenommhen das die hohe nott erforderet, mich yezdann mit denen 400 gulden dis werk der Bibel zu fürdern, vor allen dingen abzurichten.

Hiemit befelch ich üw. g. und E. W. dem allmechtigen Gott inn sinen schutz und schirm.

V.S.E.W.undertheniger gehorsamer Cassiodorus Reimius us Hispanien."

APPENDIX VIII.

Extracts from the Verbali della Chiesa Italiana di Londra (B.M.Add.48,096 (739c)) as Notes35 &36 from pages169 f.

fol.22 v:

"Fu detto nel conistoro come Francesco farias, havena di sua propria mano scritta et signata et indotto altri a sottoscriversi et affirmari una attestatione data al Corrano, per la quale egli et gli altri, approuando la vita et la dottrina del detto Corrano accusauano Cipriano Valera di colloniatroe, e sobornatore e come nimico di Corro, per il desiderio, come essi dicono in detta attestattione, che il detto Cipriano hauena di esser fatto ministro, et percio fu ordinato che il detto farias fussi chiamato al consistorio per dar ragione del tutto."

fol.23 r - 24 v:

"Comparue listesso giorno Francesco Farias, il guale essendo domandato se egli sapava la cagione per la guale egli era stato chiamato, rispose che credeua ben saperla, ma che gli pareva meglio che il ministro istesso glie la dicesse, et essendogli fatto instanza che egli stesso la dicesi, poi che gli pareua di saperla. Comincio a dire, ch'ei pensava cio esser per cagion d'una lettera ch'egli havea scritta al vescovo per conto di Corrano. Essendogli poi dal ministro dette molte ragioni per laquali egli poteva ben chiaramente vedere gli errori ch'ei commesso haueua, contra la dottrina e disciplina...affermando pero esser vero che il principio della nimista tra Cipriano e Corro, era causato del desiderio del detto Cipriano de esser fatto ministro. Et essendo dal ministro domandato se fusse vero che il detto Cipriano, per ottenir il ministerio, hauesse subornati alcuni mercadanti, come si dice contenersi nel suo scritto. Rispose di non haver scritto, ne meno mai detto talli parole. ma che egli era ben verissime che la lor nimista non era causata daltronde seno dal ministerio da Cipriano desiderato et che egli si era piu volta intromesso per ridurgli in buone amistà, e che da Cipriano mai haueua ciu potuto ottenare. A cui fu risposto, che si haueua di Cipriano altra informatione, et che egli no voleva pace con cuiegli et altri tenessero sospetto in dottrina. Et per confermar guesto gli fu detto che in publica congregatione Cipriano havea detto al Corro ch'ei confessasse Eterno il Padre, eterne il figlinolo, eterno lo Spirito Sto et che egli gli darebbe la mano et l'harebbe per fratello, et che il Corrano non gli respose pur una parole, a che farias rispose che allora fu da M/ Girolamo ministro Cipriano ripreso, come colui che havesce parlato fuor di tempo e luoco a cui fu risposto che per questo non dovea il Corro mancar di far una si vera e santa confessione se egli cosi sentiva, essendone richiesto in presenza di tanti fratelli.

Essendo oltre a cio farias ripreso d'haver solecitato altri a sottoscriversi alla detta sua lettera. Rispose non esser vero, all'hora gli fu detto, come per cosi haveano inteso che egli haveva piu, volte era ita a solicitar Giovan di Molinas suo compagno a sottoscriversi, a che ultimammente ui era ito con Corro istesso et havevalo molto solecitato, adducendogli molti ragioni per indurlo a fare il voler loro, come finalmente fatta havevano. E farias negò il tutto, anzi disse, Molinas essersi spontanea-

APPENDIX VIII(contd.)

"mente piu volta offerto et essendogli detto che Molinas diceva tutto il contrario, rispose ch'ei mentiva, et qui Antonio Giustiniano e Cipriano affermarono haver udito de la boca di Molinas che egli era stato piu volta da farias solecitato, andandole a trover a sua propria casa, etirandolo da parte da la moglie di detto Molinas, come ella istessa ancore ha confessato, et che ultimamente ui era andato incompagna del Corro, e che facendo egli difficultà di sottoscreversi la lettera, gli havevano dette molte ragioni, e principalmente che la carità richiedeva che egli desse tal testimonio ad un suo fratello il guale (come, ei dice, che gli dicevano detto Corro e Farias) era gio per esser rimesso al ministerio, e che tutto era gui accordato e che altro non mancava se non detto lor testimonio, e che egli a tali et molte altre ragioni da loro propostegli, haveva fatto quanto il chiedavano a che di cio era malcontento.

A questo farias rispose che se Molinas haveva dette tali parole, ch'ei havea mentito. Et essendo poi domandato, come poteva esser vero quel che ei havea affermato, cio à d'haver datto una lettera al vescovo, segnata solamente de lui e de Molinas, per purgarsi, come di sopra e detto, visto che il Corro istesso haveva mostrato il detto scritto segnato da molti essenda a la Tavola del vescovo di Cicester, con dir molte ingiurie al detto Cipriano il quale era ini(?) presente et alla medesima tavola a desinare, et al quale guiui fu detto il detto scritto a leggre, qual egli lesse, a cognobe la mano, e vide i sottoscritti che erano molti. Rispose farias che no haveva fatto una copia e data a Comissarij i guali havevano la causa del Corrano nelle mani."

APPENDIX IX.

Cofro's letter from Théobon to Reina, dated 24th December 1563, reproduced from Acta consistorii ecclesiae Londinogallicae, cum responsio A.Corrani... (London 1571). Corro gives both a Latin (presumably the original) form and a Spanish one, which is given here:

"La gracia, paz, y consuelo que Iesu Christo nuestro solo Redemptor pretendio dexar y dexo a sus verdaderos discipulos en tanto que biuiessen en este mundo, sea con v.m.

Señor y amado hermano, yo auia pensado que multiplicar mis cartas, seria causa de recebir alguna de v.m. Pero auiendo quatro meses esperado respuesta suya, no puedo conjecturar otra cosa, sino ô que mis cartas no sean venidas a sus manos, ô que las suyas no pueden facilmente passar para venir à las mias. Yo tengo tal apprehension de la prouidencia del Señor, que creo su Magestad darà orden en esse negocio, y se emplearà de tal suerte, que nos podamos communicar, ô por palabra, ô por escrito. Lo primero que me haze esperar esto, es veer que el Señor ha despertado en mi vn tal desseo desta communicacion, que creo auiendo el despertado el apetito, no lo dexarà sin hartura. De mas desto veo, que mi intencion en buscar este contento, se desnuda de dia en dia de los interesses que la carne podria buscar. Lo tercero, considero leyendo y releyendo su carta, que este mismo desseo està arraygado en su coraçon. y ansi me certifico, que este negocio se menea por la poderosa mano del, que junta las dispersiones de Israël, quando viene la hora de su voluntad. Resta que lo mas dulçamente y passo à passo que sera possible esta nuestra junta le haga en alguna parte, sin violentar los medios que podriamos tomar para ponerla en execucion. De mi parte es verdad (poniendo por testigo el Espiritu del Señor) que si estuuiera libre de compañia (la qual de tal manera me es compañia, que es vna parte de mi mismo) mas ha de tres años que vuiesse bolado por alla, desde el dia que vide y conosci quan impossible me era biuir sin v.m. Pero pues Dios lo ha querido assi, que yo no pueda andar mas de priessa que al passo de buey (como dizen) y aun atado al yugo con cojundas y lazos, esperarè al Señor, de tal orden que serà agradable à su Magestad. Con todos estos contrapesos el año passado auia determinado de hazer my hato, y irle à buscar, sin saber aun adonde estaua. Pero auiendo andado treynta leguas, començaron por aca à condemnar tanto mi liuiandad y mudança, que fue constreñido à hazer posa, y dilatar mi viaje. En el qual tiempo recebi su carta casi milagrosamente. y viendo lo contenido en ella, assi de su desseo de vernos, como de la impression de la Biblia, determinè de esperar este inuierno su determinacion, la qual holgaria saber de cierto y con breuedad, para que yo pudiesse poner orden aqui à mis negocios, y dar respuesta assegurada à los que se pretenden seruir de mi. Porque si v.m. determina de venir por aca, yo no harè mudança alguna, antes entretendrè los amigos de por aca, afin que ayuden en algo à nuestras deliberaciones. Tocante à la impression, creo tendremos buen recaudo, y à escoger solamente aurà alguna difficultad en la correction. Y por esto, si v.m. no piensa emplearse: traygale al Señor Cypriano en su compañia. Su viaje podrà ser passandose en Flandres: y de alli venirse en las vrcas Flamencas hasta la

"Rochelle, y hasta Bordeaux. Y en las cosas que tuuiere necessidad de encaminar hazia aca, fieze de vn mercader de Bourdeaux, que llaman Pierre du Perrey, del qual le embio aqui vna carta, para que vea mi diligencia en escreuirle, y su voluntad en hazernos plazer. Y si poruentura determinare de venir por tierra, y no se atreuiere à cargarse de los dineros de la impression, dexelos en manos seguras de algun mercader de Anuerez que aqui hallaremos respondente para recebirlos por poliza de cambio. Y si el Señor Iaques Fixer le dixere que este mercader de Bordeaux tiene por alla correspondencias, fiese que si à el viene adereçada la poliza, nos hara todo el plazer possible, y es bien rico, que no dilatarà por pobreza el pagamiento.

A este mismo rogue, como vera en su carta, que hiziesse dar à v.m. quatro escudos, para que me comprasse algunos tractados ô libros, que piense me haran prouecho. Entre los quales querria auer los libros de don Gaspar, y de Valentino Crotoaldo, y de otros que tractassen la doctrina de nuestra Religion, con edificacion de nuestras consciencias. Porque cierto ya estoy fastidiado de Hebraismos y Helenismos, y los luengos commentarios no me dan gusto ni sabor alguno. Estos libros me podrà v.m. adereçar al dicho mercader de Bordeaux, y el pagarà el flete.

Holgarme ya mucho, de que en sus primeras cartas me hiziesse vn discurso sobre vna demanda que estando en Losana le hize, conuiene à saber, Del conoscimiento que vn Christiano deue tener de Iesu Christo, segun los tres tiempos diuersos de su ser, es à saber, En que manera podremos contemplar la palabra prometida de Dios, por remedio del hombre, antes que tomasse nuestra carne, y en que essencia aparecio à los Padres del viejo Testamento. Item del segundo estado, Como estando enel mundo, residia à la diestra de su Padre, iuxta illud, Et nemo ascendit in coelum, nisi qui descendit de coelo, Filius hominis qui est in coelo,&c. Item tocante al tercero estado, Despues de su glorificacion, holgaria saber que residencia haze Iesu Christo en los fieles, y por que comparaciones se puede esto entender. Y para este effecto querria me buscasse y embiasse los libros, que Osiandro escriuio De la Iustificacion del hombre Christiano, donde prueua, que essencialmente Christo se communica à los fieles. Y sobre este punto querria que me declarasse vn lugar de S.Iuan 17. Vt omnes vnum sint, sicut tu Pater in me, & ego in te, vt & ipsi in nobis vnũ sint, vt credat mundus quod tu me miseris, &c.

Item holgaria mucho saber, que opinion se tiene por alla de Velsio, y del Señor Aconcio Italiano, de los quales vn ministro de sancta fee (1) me dio nueuas, meneando la cabeça. Y preguntandole por v.m. mostrò auerse contentado muy mucho. Y entonces yo dixe entre mi: Si scires donum Dei, & quia est qui loquitur tecum, &c. Dizeme este, que essa gente ha mal entendido vn librico de Pedro Martyr De Christi natura, escritto contra la Vbiquidad. Sobre el qual punto holgaria saber, lo que v.m. siente, Sit necesse, nec ne, Christum esse vbique secundũ humanam naturam. Y de que seruiria al Christiano la affirmacion d'esta doctrina y presencialidad. Y sobre este punto holgaria de veer vn librico impresso en Alemaña, cuyo argumento es, Christum esse vbique, &c.

Item holgaria saber, que edificacion puede dar à vna anima Christiana, de saber, Si Christo glorificado sea creatura, ô no. Porque en la Religion Christiana, donde todas las cosas se deuen endereçar à edificacion, no introduzgamos questiones superfluas y sin fructo. Porque veo que el Señor

(1) Sainte-Foy-la-Grande (Gironde) on the Dordogne.

"Don Gaspar toma tanto à pechos este negocio, que existimat actum iam esse de Christiana pietate veroque Dei cultu, ni ambabus, quod aiunt, vlnis hanc doctrinam recipiamus.

Item desseo mucho saber, que manera de celebracion de Cena tienen en vso las yglesias, donde reside el Señor Crotoaldo, y que interpretacion dan à las palabras de Christo. Porque en estos tratadicos mas emplea su tiempo en impugnar la falsedad, que no en mostrar lo q̃ entiende de la verdad.

Viendo v.m. tantas demandas juntas, bien sé que hallara difficil el responder à todas de vna vez. Pero mi intencion es prepararle para quando nos veamos, y que en el entretanto en cada carta de las que me embiare no se oluide de poner vna añadidura. Seruira tambien de auisarle que manera de libros yo queria que me embiasse. Porque los escoja segun la necessidad que vee en estas demandas.

Resta que le auise de mi deliberacion, que es, de no escreuirle cosa que sea mas nueua que esta, antes pienso hazer tres ô quatro traslados desta misma.

Este dia de la feria vino aqui vn Imprimidor, à hazer concierto conmigo, de lo que podria constar la impression de la Biblia. Antes todas cosas demanda Corrector, para que se pueda bien sancar de su negocio. Y dize, que si le damos el papel, y Corrector sustentado à nuestro gasto, que nos dara mil y dozientos volumines in folio commun imprimidos con distinction de versetes, por quatro reales y medio cada exemplar. Y si el pusiere el papel, pide por cada exẽplar seys reales. Quanto à la commodidad de papel, aqui la ay grande, porque estamos cerca de tres ô quatro molines. Ofrece el Imprimidor de assentar la prensa, donde nosotros quizieremos. Y para este effecto la Reyna de Nauarra nos prestarà vno de sus castillos que sera mas commodo. Y assi sera menester que v.m. embie respuesta de su determinacion, lo mas presto que sera possible, para que yo hable à la Reyna, antes que se vaya à Francia. Y seria lo mejor que el mismo viniesse en persona, y que ambos diessemos orden al negocio. Y aun que quede algo por trasladar, entretanto q̃ se adereça la prensa se podra hazer. Poque entienda que para poner los negocios en astillero, son menester mas de dos otros meses. Item es menester adelantar dozientos escudos al Imprimidor. Sobre todo esto me embie respuesta lo mas presto que sera possible. Hare sin embiando encomiendas à todos essos Señores juntamente, y à cada vno en particular. De Teobon à 24. de Deziembre de 1563.

Tuus ex animo, Antonio d'el Corro." (pp.A4 verso - A6 verso)

Corro's letter from Bergerac to Reina, dated 25th March 1564, reproduced from Hessels, 3, 1, pp.32ff.:

"Monsieur et tresaymé frere. Il me seroit presque impossible de uous pouuoir raconter les grandes diligences que i'ay fait de huict moys en ça à fin d'entendre quelque nouelle certaine de vous. Ce que ne m'a esté possible: et vous certifie que ne tient pas à lettres. Car voycy la vint et vniesme, et estant ia las d'escrire en Espagnol pour me soulager i'ay usé de la main et langue d'autruy, et ay deliberé de continuer en la sorte, iusques à ce qu'il uous plaise m'enuoyer response.

" La somme de toutes mes lettres passées est telle, uous faire entendre comment le moys de Septembre passé ie receus vne lettre vostre qui m'adressastes par mons^r le Blanc aduocat de Bourdeaux: me faisant mention d'une autre, laquelle ie ne receus point: ny autre aucune quatre ans a. Vous me fistes entendre de vostre deliberation touchant à la Bible Espagnole: laquelle i'approuue grandement, et m'employeray de toute mon affection en tout ce que sera en ma puissance. Je trouue icy assez bonnes commoditez pour le tout. Si vous en aués de meilleures ie uous suyuray. Mais pour ce faire il faudra que vous venez part deça. Et ce pendant que nous conferons noz papiers: le Seigneur nous donra le meilleur aduis, que estimera estre expedient à sa gloire. De quelques iours en ça ay trouué icy quelques Portugalois,lesquels ont traffique en Espagne: et sont bien affectionez à fauoriser noz entreprinses en ce qu'ils pourront. Le moyen de distribuer les liures sera assez commode en ces quartiers d'ores en auant, ou la liberté de la religion, et predication de l'Euangile est publique. Reste seulement, que pour donner ordre á noz affaires, vous prenes la peine de venir part deça. Car sans legitime occasion et euidence d'icelle ie n'oseroye partir d'icy: ny donner las occasions de legereté qu'ay fait iusques icy: pensant d'un iour à autre uous aller trouuer. Mais quand vous viendries cela satisferoit à tout le monde, et on verra que la necessité me contraint à uous suyure: et non point la fastidie que i'aye prins de ce païs comme on l'estime pour le present. Du moyen commode pour vostre voyage vous y penserez. Mais à ce que m'ont dit ceux qui sont venus l'année passée de Londres, estiment que ce seroit le meilleur de descendre à la Royselle. la ou vous trouuerés vn ministre apellé monsieur de Nord, lequel est de mes amys, et vous acheminera vers Bourdeaux: ou monsieur le Blanc vous receura fort voluntiers: et adressera au lieu de ma residence. En venant part deça noblies point de me porter quelques petis traités tels que vous aduiserez: ou me les enuoyeres par les premiers. Le moyen de m'escrire sera assez facile si vous adresses les lettres audit ministre Nord à la Roysselle: auquel i'aduertiray que me las face tenir: ou par la voye de Bourdeaux, las adressant au sire Pierre du Perray, marchand de Bourdeaux pres du palais: ou par quelque autre voye que vous estimeres commode. Il à vn marchand à Tholose qu'on apelle Bernoye, lequel a des facteurs à Enuers, et à Londres. Si vous adressez vos lettres par lesditz facteurs: mettes leur une couuerte que s'adresse à madamoiselle de sainct Estienne espagnol, demeurant à la rue des Perolieres, à Tholose: et ladite damoiselle me las fera tenir. Jusques a ce que i'aye response de vous, mes lettres ne seront que le double de ceste icy.

Señor por otras abra V.M. recebido mi excusa de no iscreuirle en mi lengua ni de mi mano; ruegole que esto no sea ocasion de dexarme de escreuir lo mas presto que le sera possible. Salude de mi parte a todos esos señores y en especial a los señores sus padres. De ...ssa(1) çerca de de Bergerac a 25 de Março de 1564.

Si en absencia del Señor Cassiodoro otro alguno recibiere esta, ruegole que me responda por la uia que dira Syre Jaques Fichet.

Tuus ex animo si unquam
Antonius Corranus, dit Belleriue.

Endorsement in a different hand Lettres pour estre adressées au Sire Jaques Fichet Marchand de Londres pour les bailler à Monsieur Cassiodore Espagnol, ou en son absence à ses parents A Londres." (pp.32ff)

(1) McFadden (p.205) shews that this place was Boisse, home of Sieur Jean d' Escodéca. Hessels was unable to decipher the word.

APPENDIX X.

Reina's declaration concerning the accusation of sodomy made against him. This exists in two autograph copies made by Reina, dated 25th November 1571. One was sent to Beza, and is preserved in Geneva (M.S.franç. 407, Corresp.ecclésiast. 1565-1571, fol.20 r); the other was kept by the French Reformed Church of Frankfurt (Frankfurt docts. fol.615 r). It was published by Boehmer (Bib.Wif. II pp.220f).

"Je Cassiodore de Reyna, Espagnol, ministre de la parole du Seigneur, par le passé de l'Eglise des Espagnols à Londres, bourgeois à present de la ville de Francfort, estant requis de Messieurs et freres en Christ les ministres, deputés et diacres de l'eglise Françoise recueillie en ceste ville de Francfort, de laquelle aussi je suis receu membre, de declarer ma conscience & faire solemnelle protestation de mon innocence touchant le crime nefande & detestable de sodomie contre moi pretendu entre plusieurs autres blasmes qui me furent à tort mises de sus à Londres au cours de mon ministere, il y ait environ 8 ans, ce que les sus dits ont requis de moi pour leur satisfaction avant que de m'admettre à la communication de la S.Cene du Seigneur (comm'aussi je en suys esté depuis & à Londres, & en France en l'Eglise de Montargis soubs le ministere de Messieurs Pierius & Corranus, & en Bergerac soubs le ministere dudit Corranus & Broikius), d'autant que mon innocence n'est pas encores declarée par sentence de iuge competente, - confesse & proteste devant Dieu juge des vivans & des morts, que ç'a esté une pure calomnie, et que j'en suis innocent et de fait & de volonté, ainsi que je l'ai par plusieurs fois protesté & confessé tant au Consistoire de l'Eglise françoise de Londres, de laquelle j'estois membre, qu'ailleurs.

Item, promets et proteste de le faire ainsi apparoistre por juge legitime, & qu'il ne tiendra pas à moi que je n'aie ma legitime purgation dedens un an au plus tost, dont j'en fairai apparoistre ma diligence au Consistoire de cest'Eglise, si Dieu m'en donne la vie & l'opportunité, & qu'il n'a pas tenu à moi qu'elle n'aie esté faite, il y a longtemps, mais à quelques empeschemens de consequence qui se sont interposés.

Item, d'autant que les sus dits Ss ministres m'ont monstré un escrit lequel ils estiment estre un tesmoignage du Consistoire de l'Eglise françoise de Londres des propos que j'y avois tenus touchant le mesm'affaire, lequel escrit je n'ai pas recognu ne advoué pour certaines raisons, neanmoins, estant requis d'eux d'advouer ou declarer le mot de pollution y contenu, je declare soubs la mesme protestation, qu'aux propos que j'ai tenus audit Consistoire ou ailleurs touchant la declaration de ma conscience audit affaire, je puis avoir usé en mon discours de ces mots de pollution ou polluer ou pollu, disant m'estre trouvé quelques fois en des songes & fantasies pollues & ordes en dormant pendant que le garson couchoit pres de moi; ce que je n'entens pas de quelque effusion de semence, de laquelle j'en suis bien certain & asseuré que jamais ne m'est advenue alentour ou sus le corps dudit garson, ainsi qu'on m'a enjoint de declarar, mais seulement l'entens je des songes & fantaisies vileines, ordes & pollues, ainsi qu'il advient aux hommes en dormant. Et d'autant que la question est maintenant d'un esclaireissement de ma conscience, et que j'ai entendu qu'aucuns ont prins en mauvaise part les dits mots de pollution, voire jusques là que de

"me charger comme d'avoir confessé es dits mots ou l'acte ou pour le moins quelque grande partie, je declare, soubs la mesme protestation, qu'en cest endroit, quant à ce qui concerne la signification des dits mots, rien ne m'est à moi advenu qui ne puiss'advenir à tout homme de bien, demorant encores homme de bien. Item que ces dits mots là en rien m'ont graivé devant ledit Consistoire où je les puis avoir usurpé pour me defendre, ou empescher (sic) en quelque maniere qui soit, la communion de la Cene, à laquelle j'ai esté par après aveque eux par quelquesfois sans aucune contradiction d'homme vivant jusques au jour de mon departement d'Angleterre.

Et en tesmoignage de ceste mienne protestation et declaration j'ai donné cest present escrit soubsigné de ma main. Fait à Frankfort ce 25 de Nouvembre 1571.

Cassiodore de Reyne

À monssur Monss^{ur} de Beze, ministre de la parole du Seigneur, Geneve."

Reina's declaration concerning certain doctrinal points made to satisfy the ministers of the French Reformed Church of Frankfurt before they would accept him into membership and to communion. Although it is addressed to Beza, Reina's autograph copy exists in Frankfurt (Frankfurt docts. fol. 605ff). It was published by Boehmer (Bib.Wif. II pp.216-219)

"A Monsr Monsr de Beze à Geneve.

Le soubsigné Cassiodore de Reyne, aiant conferé(1) avec les ministres de l'Eglise françoise recueillie en cette ville de Francfort sur les articles de ma confession de foi jadis par moi presentee à l'Eglise françoise de Strasbourg le 24 de Mars 1565, et estant par eux requis de leur bailler une plus claire declaration de ce que je sens principalement sus ces points, de la s^{te} Cene de nostre Sgr Jesus Christ, de son ascension au ciel, et session à la dextre de Dieu son pere, leur ai declairé & declaire en toute sincerité que j'entens les articles de madite confession tout ainsi qu'il est porté par ce present escrit signé de ma main.

À savoir: Qu'en premier lieu perseverant en l'approbation de tous les livres canoniques de la s^{te} escriture du viel & nouveau testament & des trois symboles receus de toute l'Eglise, à savoir celui qu'on appelle des Apostres, celui du Concile de Nicée & celui d'Athanase, et rejettant tous erreurs & heresies à iceux contraires (pour l'escgard principalement de la doctrine contenue & declairee es deux derniers touchant l'unique essence de Dieu & trinité des personnes), suivant le premier article de madite confession,

j'approuve aussi & reçois sans aucune exception ni restriction toute la doctrine comprinse en la confession de foi des Eglises reformees de France qui commence: nous croions, &c., comme estant vraiement fondee et entierement conforme en toutes ses parties à la pure parole de Dieu & doctrine des Prophetes & Apostres. Laquelle pour plus grande certitude je suis prest & promets signer toutesfois & quantes que j'en serai par eux requis (comme je l'ai desja approuvee & signee autresfois). Et ce pour satisfaire au 2e point de madite confession.

(1) Boehmer here has 'conversé.'

" Quant au 3°, je declaire que mon intention n'a jamais esté & n'est encores de confondre par icelui la chose spirituelle qui nous est presentee au sacrement de la s^te Cene, à savoir la chair & le sang du Seigneur & tous ses benefices, avec le moien par lequel nous en sommes faits participans & le droit & legitime usage de ce sacrement. Et quant à ces mots "presentiellement & substantiellement," je desire d'estre supporté si je les ai usurpé outre leur naive signification (aiant esgard au lieu auquel j'estois) pour signifier la vraie presence & substance du corps & sang de Christ; protestant que je n'y recognoi toutesfois autre presence que celle que nostre foi y apprehende spirituellement, demeurant son dit corps au ciel & non ailleurs, comme il sera dit après.

Quant au 4 article, je recognoi y avoir usé de ce mot "necessaire" non à autre intention que pour forclorre & rejetter du tout l'opinion de ceux qui attachent tellement le corps & le sang de Christ aux signes visibles du pain & du vin qu'ils estiment que nuls ne peuvent recevoir ces signes qu'il [s]ne reçoivent] aussi veritablement la chose par iceux signifiee, soit fidele ou infidele. Laquelle opinion je condamne là. Et touchant les mots symbolisans avec le formulaire de l'administration de la Cene qu'on recite communement en la celebration d'icelle, je les entens au mesme sens que portent les paroles dudit formulaire, n'aiant eu lors nullement intention de rien innover ou changer quant audit sens , combien que j'aie usé d'autres paroles, ni moins d'establir quelque autre presence du corps de Christ en terre que celle dont j'ai parlé ce de sus.

Quant au 5 article, ce que j'y ai allegué, le passage de St. Paul [Rom.] 10, & 6, 7 & 8, ç'a esté seulement pour declairer en general la vertu & efficace de la foi en l'apprehension des choses spirituelles de Christ qui nous sont proposees en sa parole, & non pour vouloir precisement l'appliquer à la manducation du corps d'icelui en la Cene, ou favoriser à l'opinion de la manducation orale & charnelle, comme je sai que l'Apostre n'a eu là ceste intention.

Pour l'esgard des paroles & sentences de feu Monsr Bucere que j'ai alleguees tant au 6 qu'au 10 article, je n'ai nullement pretendu de les appliquer contre ceux qui suivent la confession des eglises reformees ou de France ou du pais des Suisses & les laisse au sens de l'auteur d'icelles, n'en voulant abuser contre personne.

Quant au 8 article, combien que j'aie estimé pouvoir sans reprehension declairer l'article de l'ascension de nostre Seigneur par celui de sa session à la dextre de Dieu pour l'affinité d'iceux, si est ce que je n'ai onques pretendu ni pensé de confondre les dits articles en leur substance & particuliere doctrine. Ains submettant madite interpretation au jugement de l'Eglise & fideles docteurs en icelle, je proteste de recognoistre la diversité & distinction des dits articles en ceste maniere: c'est que suivant le 7 article de madite confession, je recognoi que celui de l'ascension nous enseigne que le corps naturel de nostre Seigneur Jesus Christ a esté visiblement eslevé de la terre & de ce bas monde pour menter au ciel où il occupe un lieu certain circonscrit selon la dimension d'icelui, estant à present là & non ailleurs, voire pour y estre contenu jusques au temps de son dernier advenement, comme St. Pierre le tesmoigne, Act.3, v.2. Et quant à celui de sa session à la dextre de Dieu son pere, il nous monstre & declaire simplement non point la deification de son corps ou quelque presence infinie & invisible d'icelui en la terre, mais la condition & estat de sa gloire, majesté

"& puissance, laquelle comme mediateur il a obtenue après sa resurrection, & obtient encores maitenant, aiant esté declairé & establi de Dieu son pere pour roi & dominateur du ciel & de la terre, comme lui mesme le tesmoigne, Math.28, v.18. Laquelle gloire, majesté & puissance signifiee par ladite session n'a point osté ni aboli les proprietés naturelles de son corps, ains les lui laisse toutes en leur entier, tellement qu'il n'est maintenant non plus exempt au ciel de la condition locale & circonscrite, qu'il estoit pendant qu'il conversoit encor ici bas après sa resurrection, ou que nos corps seront, après qu'ils seront aussi ressuscités pour estre faits conformes à son corps glorieux, comme parle St. Paul Philip.3, v.21. Voila quelle est mon intelligence quant à ces deux articles; par laquelle je declaire aussi que j'ai non plus voulu confondre au 9 article de ma confession l'article de ladite ascension au ciel avec la glorification de la chair de Christ, ni le lieu auquel son corps est contenu ou circonscrit au ciel avec la gloire de laquelle il a prins visiblement possession lorsqu'il y monta à la veue de ses Apostres. Suivant donc ceste mienne declaration touchant ces deux articles, je proteste n'approuver & n'avoir en rien voulu symboliser ni consentir à l'opinion de ceux qui imaginent une ubiquité ou omnipresence invisible du corps de Christ, par laquelle ils veulent qu'il soit present corporellement partout & mesmes conjoint inseparablement en ou avec ou sous le pain de la Cene, aneantissant, en tant qu'en eux est, par une telle opinion la verité du corps naturel de Christ, en tant qu'ils le pensent infini, incirconscrit & invisible, le feignant estre present en divers lieux, voire mesmes partout en un mesme instant, ce qui ne peut competer qu'à la seule nature divine & non à l'humaine qui est finie, visible & circonscrit.

Finalement pour comprendre toute la resolution de tous ces points & les appliquer à la doctrine de la ste Cene, je confesse en somme librement & de coeur qu'en icelle, & mesme en la simple parole de Dieu, Jesus Christ se donne soi mesme aux fideles avec tous ses biens, en vie eternelle, & que la foi est le seul moien ou instrument de ceste communication & union spirituelle que nous avons avec lui. Parquoi je conclus que Jesus Christ par sa vertu divine, spirituelle & incomprehensible, pour l'esgard de laquelle seulement nous recognoissons sa presence en la terre, est vraiement present en son eglise, mais quant à la substance de la chair, elle a esté vraiement & realement eslevee aux cieux hors de ce bas monde, n'estant plus en la terre ni ailleurs qu'aux cieux & par ainsi autant esloingnee, quant à la distance locale, de nous qui sommes en terre, comme ce qui est par de sus tous les cieux est esloingné de ces bas lieux terrestres; & neanmoins que par foi nous ne laissons d'estre faits participans d'icelle spirituellement, avec une telle efficace & certitude que nostre ame en est vraiement nourrie & sustentee en esperance de la vie eternelle, & ainsi estant incorporés avec Christ par ceste communication spirituelle nous sommes faits os de ses os & chair de sa chair en vertu de sa promesse.

Voila quelle est ma foi pure & simple, suivant laquelle je desire & requiers que tout ce que je peux jamais avoir dit & escrit de ceste matiere soit prins & entendu. Je voi que par faute de me povoir si bien expliquer comme j'eusse desiré, aucuns aiant peu prendre occasion d'estimer que j'aie creu ou senti autrement que je ne sens ou croi à present, & afin que nul ne doute ci après de ma sincerité & droite croiance en tous ces points, j'ai

"signé de ma amin la presente declaration à la requeste desdits ministres qui ont conferé avec moi, promettant au surplus de perseverer en ceste foi & doctrine & de me renger en toutes choses au jugement de l'Eglise du Seigneur, à laquelle je soubmets & ma personne & tous mes escrits, desirant estre tenu & recogneu pour vrai membre d'icelle.

Fait à Francfort ce xii de Jullet 1571."

The text of the certificate given to Reina by the ministers of the Frankfurt French Reformed Church, Jean Salvard and Théophile de Banos. This has hitherto remained unpublished. It is to be found in the Frankfurt documents (Frankfurt docts. fol.607)

"Nous soubsignez a present Ministres du St. Evangile en lEglise francoise recuillie en ceste ville de francfort ayans veu, et leu la suscrite declaration a nous presentée par ledict M. Cassiodore de Reyne parlaquelle Il nous proteste de la purete de sa doctrine sur les points dont il auoit este par nous requis. Auons accepté et approuuè sadicte declaration la recognoissans pour pure et conforme a la parolle de Dieu ET en signe de nostre approbation auons adiousté icy noz signatures declairans en estre bien satisfaictz et contens. ET ce en nom de nostre compagnie qui nous en a donnè la charge.

faict a francfort ce 12 de Juillet 1571

(signed) J.Salvard - T.De Banos "

APPENDIX XI.

A comparison of passages of Scripture in various versions.

I. Psalm 23.

(a) Ferrara version (1553)

+A+ Mi pastor no desfalecere+ En moradas de hermollo me fara yazer: sobre aguas de folganças me guyara+ Mi alma fara tomar: guyarmea por senderos de justedad por su nombre+ Tambien aun que ande en valle de tiniebla no temere de mal por que tu comigo: tu verdugo y tu asufrencia ellos me conortaran+ Ordenaras delãte mi mesa enfrente mis angustiadores: auiciaste con olio mi cabeça mi vaso harto+ Decierto bien y merced me seguiran todos dias de mis vidas y reposare en casa de .A. por longura de dias+

(b) Juan de Valdés (d.1541)

El SEÑOR es mi pastor, nunca padeceré necessidad. En dehesas de yerva me hará reposar, hazia aguas apazibles me guiará. A mi anima la retornará, llevaráme por caminos de justicia, por el nombre suyo. Aun quando andaré por valle umbroso de muerte, ningun mal temeré, porque tu serás conmigo, tu baston y tu cayado ellos me consolarán. Aparejarás en mi presencia mesa delante de los que me atribulan, untaste con olio mi cabeça, mi vaso sta colmado. Ciertamente bien y misericordia me seguirán todos los dias de mi vida, y moraré en la casa del SEÑOR por longueza de dias.

(c) Juan Pérez (1562)

El Señor es mi Pastor, no me faltera nada. 2 En dehesas verdas y sombrosas me haze recostar: lleuame antecojido alas aguas suaues. 3 Recrea mi anima, y guiame por las sendas de justicia , por su sancto Nombre. 4 Aunque camine por el valle dela sombra de muerte, no temere ningun mal: poque tu estas conmigo: tu baculo, y tu cayado me consuelan. 5 Tu has aparejado la mesa delante de mi en presencia delos que me atribulan: has engrassado mi cabeça con vnguento, y mi copa esta reuertiendo. 6 Ciertamente tu misericordia y clemencia me seguiran todos los dias de mi vida: y morare longitud de dias en la casa del Señor.

(d) Cassiodoro de Reina (1569)

Iehouah es mi pastor, no me faltará. 2 En lugares de yerua me hará yazer: junto à aguas de reposo me pastoreará. 3 Hará boluer mi alma: guiarmehá por sendas de justicia, por su nombre. 4 Aunq̃ ande en valle de sombra de muerte, no temeré algun mal, porque tu estarás cõmigo: tu vara, y tu cayado, ellos me cõnortarán (sic). 5 Adornarás mesa delante de mi en presencia de mis angustiadores: vngiste mi cabeça con olio, mi copa está reuertiendo. 6 Ciertamente el bien y la misericordia me seguirán todos los dias de mi vida: y en la Casa de Iehoua reposaré por luengos dias.

(e) Cipriano de Valera (1602)

This version reproduces Reina's, except for the substitution of 'azeyte' for 'olio' in v.5.

II Genesis 1, vv.1-7

(a) Rabbi Mose Arragel de Guadalfajara (1430)

En el prinçipio crio el Señor los çielos e la tierra. E la tierra era vana e vazia e tenebra sobre fazes del abismo. E el espiritu de del [sic] Señor era rretraydo sobre fazes de las aguas. Dixo el Señor: fecha sea lux. E vido el Señor la lux que buena era, e diuidio la lux de la teniebra. E llamo el Señor a la lux dia e a la teniebra llamo noche: e fue vespera e fue mañana dia vno. Dixo el Señor: sea fecho firmamento en medio delas aguas, el qual diuision faga de aguas a aguas. E fizo el Señor el firmamento, e diuidio delas aguas que eran enssome del firmamento alas aguas que eran ynso del firmamento; e fecho assy fue.

(b) Ferrara version (1553)

En Prinçipios crio el dio alos çielos y ala tierra+ Y la tierra era vana y vazia: Y escuridad sobre façes de abysmo: y espirito del dio se mouia sobre façes de las aguas+ Y dixo el dio sea luz: y fue luz+ Y vido el dio ala luz q̃ buena: y aparto el dio entre la luz y entre la escuridad+ Y llamo el dio ala luz dia: y ala escuridad llamo noche: y fue tarde y fue mañana dia vno+ Y dixo el dio sea espandidura en medio de las aguas: y sea apartante entre aguas y aguas+ Y hizo el dio ala espãdidura: y aparto entre las aguas q̃ de baxo a la espãdidura y entre las aguas q̃ de arriba a la espandidura: y fue assi+

(c) Cassiodoro de Reina (1569)

En el principio crio Dios los cielos, y la tierra. 2 Y la tierra estaua desadornada y vazia, y las tinieblas <u>estauan</u> sobre la haz del abismo, y el espiritu de Dios se mouia sobre la haz de las aguas. 3 Y dixo Dios, Sea la luz: y fue la luz. 4 Y vido Dios que la luz <u>era</u> buena: y apartó Dios à la luz de las tinieblas. 5 Y llamó Dios à la luz Dia, y à las tinieblas llamó Noche: y fue la tarde y la mañana Vn dia. 6 Y dixo Dios, Sea <u>vn</u> estendimiento en medio de las aguas, y haga apartamiento entre aguas y aguas. 7 Y hizo Dios <u>vn</u> estendimiento, y apartó las aguas que <u>estan</u> debaxo del estendimiento de las aguas que <u>estan</u> sobre el estendimiento: y fue ansi.

(d) Cipriano de Valera (1602)

Apart from changing v and u to agree with modern usage, Valera has no alteration to Reina's version. ~~is to omit the final 'las' in v.6, so that the verse ends, 'entre aguas y aguas.'~~

III Leviticus 11, vv.1-4, 20-23, 29-30

(a) Rabbi Mose Arragel de Guadalfajara (1430)

Fablo Dios a Moysen e a Aron diziendoles: Fablad a los fijos de Israel, diziendoles: estas son las animales que comeredes de todas las de quatro pies que son sobre la tierra. Toda aquella que touiere pata e fuere fendida de vñas e alçare rrumio en la de quatro pies, esa comeredes. Pero esto es lo que non comeredes: de los que alçan rrumio e fienden vñas: el camello, avnque alçe rrumio, pues que non fiende pata, enconado es para vos otros...toda serpiente delas aues que anda sobre quatro, enconados sean para vosotros. Pero esto comeredes: de toda serpiente de las aues que

andan sobre quatro que tienen rrodillas de suso a sus pies para saltar conellos sobre la tierra. Estos comeredes de ellos: la lagosta a su lynaje, el lagostino a su lynaje, e el lagosto a su lynaje, e la langosta a su lynaje...Esto es para vos otros lo enconado: en las serpientes que se mueuen sobre la tierra: la comadreja e el rraton e el sapo a su lynaje. E la anacha e el coha e la lagarteja e el galapago e el tinsameth. Estos son los enconados para vos otros e todas las serpientes: qualquier que tanxiere en ellos seyendo muertos, sea enconado fasta la biespera.

(b) Ferrara version (1553)

Y fablo .A. a Moseh y a Aharõ por dezir aellos+ Fablad a hijos de Ysrael por dezir: esta la animalia q̃ comeredes de toda la quatropea q̃ sobre la tierra+ Todo vñan vña y fendiẽ fẽdedura de vñas alça rumio ẽ la quatropea a ella comeredes+ Saluo a este no comades de alçantes el rumio y de vñantes la vña: al camello q̃ alça rumio el y vña no el vñan ẽconado el a vos+... Todo remouible del aue el andan sobre quatro abominaciõ ella a vos+ Saluo a este comeredes de todo remouible del aue el andã sobre quatro q̃ ael rodillas de arriba a sus pies por saltar conellas sobre la trr̃a+ A estos dellos comeredes a la langosta asu manera y al lagostĩ asu manera y al Hareghol a su manera y al haghob a su manera+...Y este avos el ẽconado cñl remouible la remouiẽ sobre la trr̃a la comadreja y el ratõ y el sapo a su manera+ y el erizo y la lagartija y el caracol y la babosa y el topo+ Estos los ẽconados a vos en toda la remouible: todo el tocã enellos ẽ su morir se ẽconara fasta la tarde+

(c) Cassiodoro de Reina (1569)

Y habló Iehoua à Moysen, y à Aaron, diziendoles, 2 Hablad à los hijos de Israel, diziẽdo, Estos son los animales, que comereys de todos los animales, que estan sobre la tierra: 3 Todo animal de pesuño, y que tiene los pesuños hẽdidos, y que rumia, de entre los animales, este comereys. 4 Estos empero no comereys de los que rumian, y de los que tienen pesuño: El camello, porque rumia, mas no tiene pesuño, tenerloeys por immundo...Todo reptil de aue que anduuiere sobre quatro pies tendreys en abominaciõ. 21 Emperó esto comereys de todo reptil de aues que anda sobre quatro pies que tuuiere piernas aliende de sus pies, para saltar con ellas sobre la tierra. 22Estos comereys deellos, La langosta segun su especie, y el lagostin segun su especie, y el haregol segun su especie, y el hahgab segun su especie. 23 Todo otro reptil de aues, q̃ tenga quatro pies tendreys en abominacion... 29 Item, estos tendreys por immundos de los reptiles que van arastrando sobre la tierra, La comadreja, y el ratón, y la rana segun su especie. 30 Y el erizo, y el lagarto, y el caracol, y la bauosa, y el topo.

(d) Cipriano de Valera (1602)

This passage is exactly the same as that of Reina.

IV I Samuel 13, vv.1-3 (of which the Hebrew text is deficient.)

(a) Rabbi Mose Arragel de Guadalfajara (1430)

Fiio de un año era Saul quando regno, e dos años regno sobre Israhel. E eligio Saul tres mill omnes de Israel. e con Saul andauan los dos mill en Machmas en el monte de Bethel, e los otros mill que estouiesen con Jonathe

en Gabaath, Beniamin e la otra gente embio cada uno a su tauernaculo e a su casa. E firio e mato Jonathas un consul, o de titolo quesy de rey de los philisteos, e Saul toco su buzina e tronpa por toda la tierra diziendo: oyganlo los ebreos.

(b) Farrara version (1553)

Como hijo de año Saul en su reynar: y dos años reyno sobre Ysrael+ Y escogio ya el Saul tres mil de Ysrael y fueron con Saul dos mil en Michmas y en mõte de Beth-El y mil fueron cõ Yonathan en Gibhab de Binyamin: y resto del pueblo embio cada vno a sus tiendas+ Y firio Yonathan a presidente de Pelistim en Gebha: y oyeron Pelistim y Saul tañio con corneta en toda la tierra por dezir: oyran los Hebreos+

(c) Cassiodoro de Reina (1569)

Hijo de vn año era Saul quãdo reynó: y dos años reynó sobre Israel, 2 Quando Saul se escogió tres mil de Israel: los dos mil estuuierõ con Saul en Machmas, y en el monte de Bethel, y los mil estuuieron con Ionathan en Gabaa de Ben-iamin: y embió à todo el otro pueblo cada vno a sus tiendas. 3 Y Ionathan hirió la guarnicion de los Philistheos, q̃ estaua enel collado, y oyerõ lo los Philistheos, y Saul hizo tocar trompeta por tõda la tierra diziendo, Oygan lo los Ebreos.

(d) Cipriano de Valera (1602)

This passage is exactly the same as Reina's.

V Luke 1, vv.1-4 (a passage notoriously difficult to render into good English

(a) Francisco de Enzinas (1543)

PROLOGO DEL EVANGELISTA. Pves que muchos han puesto mano en escrebir por orden la historia de aquellas cosas que son de certissima fee entre nosotros, asi como nos lo han referido aquellos mismos que desde el prinçipio lo vieron, y fueron ministros de la palabra: hame paresçido tanbien ami, que desde el prinçipio he cõsiderado todas las cosas con diligençia, de escrebirte por orden, o buen Theophilo, para que tu conoscas la çertidumbre de aquellas palabras en las quales tu has sido enseñado.

(b) Juan Pérez (1556)

Prologo del Euangelista. Pues que munchos an començado a escreuir por orden la hystoria de aquellas cosas que entre nosotros sõ certissimas, como nos las hã dado los que dende el principio las auian ellos mesmos visto, y auian sido ministros dela palabra: ame parecido tambiẽ ami, despues de auello todo desde el principio diligentemente comprehendido, de escriuirte por orden, ó muy bien Theophilo, para que reconozcas la certidumbre delas palabras, enlas quales has sido enseñado.

(c) Cassiodoro de Reina (1569)

Aviendo muchos tẽtado à poner en ordẽ la historia de las cosas q̃ entre nosotros hã sido certissimas, 2 Como nos lo enseñaron los que desde el principio lo vieron de sus ojos, y fueron ministros del negocio: 3 Hame parecido tambien à mi, despues de auer entẽdido todas las cosas desde el principio con diligencia, escreuirte las por orden, buen Theophilo,

24 (sic) Paraque conozcas la verdad de las cosas, en las cuales has sido enseñado.

(d) Cipriano de Valera (1596 & 1602)

1. Aviendo muchos tentado á poner en orden la historia de las cosas que entre nosotros han sido certissimas: 2 Como nos las enseñaron los que dende el principio las vieron de sus ojos, y fueron ministros del negocio. 3 Hame parecido tambien á mi despues de aver entendido todas las cosas dende el principio con diligencia, escrevirte las por orden, o buen Theophilo.
4 Paraque conozcas la certidumbre de las cosas, en las quales has sido enseñado.

VI John's Gospel 1, vv.1-5

(a) Francisco de Enzinas (1543)

En el prinçipio era la palabra, y la palabra estaba con Dios , y Dios era la palabra. Esta estaba en el prinçipio con Dios. Todas las cosas por esta fueron hechas. Y sin ella nada es hecho, de lo que es hecho. En esta estaba la vida, y la vida era la luz de los hombres. Y la Luz en las tinieblas reluçe, y las tinieblas no la comprehendieron.

(b) Juan Pérez (1556)

Enel principio era la Palabra, y la Palabra estaua con Dios: y Dios era la Palabra. Esta estaua al principio cõ Dios. Todas las cosas son hechas por ella: y sin ella nĩguna cosa es hecha, de lo que es hecho. En ella estaua la vida, y la vida era la luz delos hõbres. Y la luz resplandeçe enlas tinieblas, y las tinieblas no la comprehendieron.

(c) Cassiodoro de Reina (1569)

En el principio ya era la Palabra: y la Palabra era acerca de Dios, y Dios era la Palabra. 2 Esta era enel principio acerca de Dios. 3 Todas las cosas por esta fueron hechas: y sin ella nada de lo que es hecho, fue hecho. 4 En ella estaua la vida . y la vida era la Luz de los hombres. 5 Y la luz en las tinieblas resplandece. mas las tinieblas no la comprehendieron.

(d) Cipriano de Valera (1596 & 1602)

En el principio era la Palabra: la Palabra era acerca de Dios: y aquella Palabra era Dios. 2 Esta era en el principio acerca de Dios. 3 Todas las cosas por esta fueron hechas: y sin ella nada de lo que es hecho, fue hecho. 4 En ella estava la vida, y la vida era la luz de los hombres. 5 Y la luz en las tinieblas resplandece: mas las tinieblas no la comprehendieron.

Further comparisons between various Spanish versions of the Bible may be found in Bib.Wif. II pp.322 - 352

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A. WORKS OF JUAN PÉREZ

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Sumario breve de la doctrina Christiana hecho por via de pregunta, y respuesta, en manera de coloquio, para que assi la aprendan los niños con mas facilidad, y saquen della mayor fructo. Enque tambien se enseña como se han de aprouechar della los que la leyeren.
Venice [=in reality Geneva] 1556

Only known copy in Nationalbibliothek, Vienna.

Breve sumario de indulgencias y gracias. [Geneva] [1557?]

Only known copy in Wadham College, Oxford.

Carta embiada a nuestro augustissimo Senor principe Don Philippe, Rey De España, de Inglaterra, de Napoles, y delas Indias del Peru, &c. en que se declaran las causas delas guerras y calamidades presẽtes, y se descubrẽ los medios y artes cõ que son robados los Españoles, y las mas vezes muertos quanto al cuerpo, y quanto al anima: y contra estos daños se ponen juntamente algunos remedios que son proprios y efficazes, delos quales puede usar su Majestad para conseruacion de sus Republicas, y cada uno de sus vassallos en particular para poder los evitar, y ser preservados en vida, y enrriquecidos de todo bien temporal y eterno. [Geneva] [1557]

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Breve tratado de la doctrina Antigua de Dios, y de la nueva de los hombres, util y necessario para todo fiel Christiano. [Geneva] 1560

Copies in British Museum; Wadham College, Oxford.

Breve sumario de indulgencias y gracias. [Geneva] [1557?]

Only known copy in Wadham College, Oxford.

Epistola para consolar a los fieles de Iesu Christo, que padecen persecucion por la confession de su Nombre: En que se declara el proposito y buena voluntad de Dios para con ellos, y son confirmados contra las tentaciones y horror de la muerte, y enseñados como se han de regir en todo tiempo prospero y adverso. [Geneva] 1560

Only known copy in Wadham College, Oxford.

Jehovah. A free Pardon with many Graces therein conteyned, graunted to all Christians by our most Holy and reverent Father God almightie the principal high Priest and Bishoppe in Heaven and Earth: First written in the Spanish tounge, and there published by a Spaniard unknowen, (yet as it seemeth) the servant of our said Holy Father. And now Translated into the mother English tounge by John Danyel of Clements Inne. London 1576

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Breve tratado de doctrina, util para todo Cristiano. (Dispuesto, al parezer, por el Dr. Juan Perez. Año de 1560) Ahora fielmente reimpreso. Vol. 7 of R.A.E. [San Sebastián] 1852

Epistola consolatoria. By Juan Perez, one of the Spanish reformers in the sixteenth century. Now reprinted page for page from the original, with a notice of the author in English and in Spanish. Vol. 2 of R.A.E. London 1848

Epistola Consolatoria por Juan Perez, Reformador en el siglo XVI. London 1866

An excelent comfort to all Christians, against all kinde of calamities: No lesse comfortable then pleasant, pithy, and profitable: Compendiously compiled by Juan Perez, a faithfull servant of god, a Spaniard (in Spanish) and now translated into English by John Daniel, of Clements Inne, with divers adicions by him collected and thereunto annexed. London 1576

Copies in Bodleian Library

II Translations

El Testamento nueuo de nuestro Señor y Salvador Iesu Christo. Nueva y fielmente traduzido del original Griego en romance Castellano. Venice [= in reality Geneva] 1556

Copies in British Museum; B.F.B.S.; Wadham College, Oxford (3 copies); Cambridge University Library (2 copies); Emmanuel College, Cambridge; Magdalene College, Cambridge; Hispanic Soc. of America

Los Psalmos de David con sus sumarios en que se declara con brevedad lo contenido en cada Psalmo, agora nueva y fielmente traduzidos en romançe Castellano por el doctor Iuan Perez, conforme ala verdad dela lengua sancta. Venice [= in reality Geneva] 1557

Copies in British Museum; Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; Wadham College, Oxford; John Rylands (2 copies).

Imagen del antechristo conpuesta primero en Italiano y despues traduzida en Romançe por Alonso de Peñafuerte. [Geneva] [1557?]

Copies in Zürich City Library; Cambridge University Library.

Catecismo, que significa Forma de instrucion: que contiene los principios de la religion de Dios, util y necessario para todo fiel Christiano: Compuesto en manera de dialogo, donde pregunta el maestro, y responde el discipulo. [Geneva] 1559

Copies in British Museum; Musée Historique de la Réformation, Geneva; Hispanic Society of America.

TEXT CUT OFF IN THE ORIGINAL

Dos Informaciones muy utiles, la una dirigida a la Magestad del Emperador Carlo quinto deste nombre: y la otra, a los estados del Imperio. Y agora presentadas al Catholico Rey don Philipe su hijo. Que contienẽ muy necessarios auisos para ser instruydo todo Principe Christiano en la causa del Euangelio. Con una suplicacion a la Magestad del Rey, donde de declara el officio de los juezes y Magistrados, y a lo que es obligado todo fiel Christiano para ser saluo. [Geneva] 1559

Copies in Nationalbibliothek, Vienna; Göttingen University.

Dos Informaziones: una dirijida al Emperador Carlos V., i otra, a los Estados del Imperio; obra, al parezér, de Franzisco de Enzinas. Prezede una Suplicacion a D.Felipe II. obra, al parezér, del Dr.Juan Perez. Ahora fielmente reimpresas, i seguidas de varios Apéndizes. Vol. 12 of R.A.E. [San Sebastián] 1857

III Works edited by, and containing a preface by Pérez.

Comentario o declaracion familiar, y compendiosa sobre la primera Epistola de san Paulo Apostol alos Corinthios, muy util para todos los amadores dela piedad Christiana. Compuesto por Iuan VV. pio y sincero Theologo. Venice [=in reality Geneva] 1557

Copies in Bodleian; Wadham College, Oxford; Prof.E.M.Wilson, Cambridge; Middle Temple Library; Trinity College, Cambridge; Clare College, Cambridge.

Comentario o declaracion breve y compendiosa sobre la Epistola de san Paulo Apostol, alos Roamanos, muy saludable para todo Christiano. Compuesto por Iuan Valdesio, pio y sincero theologo. Venice [=in reality Geneva] 1556

Copies in British Museum; B.F.B.S.; Cambridge University Library; Middle Temple Library; Trinity College, Cambridge.

Comentario sobre la Epistola de San Pablo a los Romanos. Vol. 10 of R.A.E. Madrid 1856

Comentario sobre la primera Epistola de San Pablo a los Corinthios. Vol. 11 of R.A.E. Madrid 1856

B. WORKS OF CASSIODORO DE REINA

I Original Works.

[Declaracion, o confession de fe hecha por ciertos fieles Españoles, que huyendo los abusos de la iglesia Romana, y la crueldad de la Inquisicion d'España hizieron a la Iglesia de los fieles para ser en ella recebidos por hermanos en Christo. Declaranse en este perqueño (sic) volumen los principales Fundamentos de la Fe y Religion Christiana necessarios à la salud conforme a la Divina Escriptura de donde son sacados con toda fidelidad y brevedad. Frankfurt 1577]

The only copy of this to be noted (by Boehmer Bib.Wif.II p.232) was reported missing when asked for in Frankfurt University Library in 1968.

Confession de fe Christiana, hecha por ciertos fieles Espannoles, los quales huyendo los abusos de la Iglesia Romana, y la crueldad de la Inquisition d'España, dexaron su patria, para ser recebidos de la Iglesia de los fieles por hermanos en Christo, etc. Cassel 1601

Only known copy in University Library, Halle.

Christlich und in Gottes Wort wohlgegründtes GlaubensbekanntnuB Der verfolgten Evangelischen Kirchen in und ausser Hispanien gestellt durch etliche Christgläubige Hispanier, welche wegen der Inquisition ihr Vatterland verlassen. Amberg 1611

Copy in British Museum.

Evangelium Ioannis: hoc est, Iusta ac vetus apologia pro aeterna Christi divinitate, atque adeo, quatenus unum cum eo est, aequalitate cum Patre: adversus impietatem Iudaeorum, Cerinthi, Ebionitarum, Arrij, Mahumethis, & illorum scholae, cum veteris, tum novae. Frankfurt 1573

Expositio primae partis capitis quarti Matthaei, commonefactoria ad ecclesiam Christi, De periculis piorum Ministrorum Verbi in tempore cavendis. Frankfurt 1573

Copies of these two works (bound together) in Frankfurt University Library*; Bodleian; Cambridge University Library; Lambeth Palace Library+; St.John's College, Cambridge; Peterhouse, Cambridge; Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge+; Emmanuel College, Cambridge; Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

Confessio in articulo de Coena, Cassiodori Reinii Hispani, Ministri in ea Ecclesia quae Antuerpiae se Augustanam Confessionem profiteri dicit, quam si eius Symmistae sincere profitentur, sublata erit inter eos & Ecclesiarum reformatarum Ministros controversia. Antwerp [1578?]

Only known copy in Leyden University Library.

II Translation.

La Biblia, que es, los sacros libros del vieio y nuevo testamento. [Basle] 1569

Copies in British Museum; Frankfurt University Library*; Basle Public Library*; B.F.B.S.; John Rylands; Corpus Chriati College, Oxford; Queen's College, Oxford*; Cambridge University Library (2 copies); Trinity College, Cambridge; Queens' College, Cambridge; Pembroke College, Cambridge; King's College, Cambridge; Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; Magdalen College, Oxford; Worcester College, Oxford; Hispanic Soc. of America (2 copies); Prof. E.M. Wilson, Cambridge.

III Works edited by Reina.

CORRO, Antonio del
Dialogus in epistolam D. Pauli ad Romanos. 2nd. ed. Frankfurt 1587

Copies in Bodleian; Queen's College, Oxford; Frankfurt University Library; Leyden University Library; Basle Public Library; Trinity College, Dublin.

SISTO DA SIENA (SIXTUS SENENSIS)
Bibliotheca Sancta à F.Sixto Senensi...ex praecepuis catholicae ecclesiae autoribus collecta. 2nd.ed. Frankfurt 1575

Copies in Bodleian; British Museum (both without the four leaves signed Qqq, which indicate Reina's connexion with the edition.)

* Contains an autograph dedication by Reina. + Marked as being a gift from the author.

C. WORKS OF CIPRIANO DE VALERA.

I Original Works.

Dos Tratados. El primero es del Papa y de su autoridad...El segundo es de la Missa recopilado de los Doctores y Concilios y de la sagrada Escritura.
[London] 1588

Copies in British Museum (2 copies); Bodleian; John Rylands; Edinburgh Public Library.

Dos Tratados. El primero es del Papa y de su autoridad...El segundo es de la Missa...Segunda edicion augmentada por el mismo autor.
[London] 1599

Copies in British Museum; Bodleian; Wadham College, Oxford (2 copies); St.Andrews Public Library; Hispanic Soc. of America.

Enxambre de los falsos milagros y ilusiones del demonio, con que María de la Visitacion, priora de la Anunziada de Lisboa engaño a muy muchos...
[London] 1594

Copies bound in with Tratado para confirmar los cativos de Berbería.

Enxambre de los falsos milagros...etc. 2nd.ed.
[London]
1599

Copies bound in with Dos Tratados 2nd.ed.

Two Treatises: The first, of the lives of the Popes, and their doctrine. The second, of the Masse: the one and the other collected of that, which the Doctors, and ancient Councels and the sacred Scripture do teach. Also, A Swarme of false Miracles, wherewith Marie de la Visitacion, Prioresse de la Annuntiada of Lisbon, deceiued very many: and how she was discouered, and condemned. London 1600

Copies in Bodleian; Cambridge University Library; Merton College, Oxford; Queen's College, Oxford; Wadham College, Oxford; Trinity College, Dublin; Hispanic Soc. of America; Emmanuel College, Cambridge.

A Full view of popery, In a Satyrical Account of the lives of the Popes,&c. From the Pretended Succession of St.Peter, To the Present Pope Clement XI... To this is added, a confutation of the Mass, and a vindication of Reform'd Devotion. In two Parts. Written by a Learned Spanish Convert, and Address'd to his Countrymen... London 1704

Copies in Wadham College, Oxford; Manchester University Library; Prof.E.M. Wilson, Cambridge.

Tratado para confirmar los pobres cativos de Beruería en la catolica y antigua fe, y religion Christiana, y para los consolar con la Palabra de Dios en las afliciones que padecen por el Evangelio de Iesu Christo.
[London] 1594

Copies in British Museum; Bodleian; John Rylands.

Aviso a los de la Iglesia Romana sobre la indiccion del Jubileo por la bulla del Papa Clemente octavo. [London] 1600

Only known copy in Library of the Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme français, Paris.

Los dos tratados del Papa, i de la Misa. Escritos por Cipriano D.Valera; i por él publicados primero el a.1588, luego el a.1599: i ahora fielmente reimpresos. Vol. 6 of R.A.E. [Madrid] 1851

Tratado para confirmar en la fe Cristiana a los cautivos de Berbería. Compuesto por Zipriano d. Valera. i por él publicado el a, 1594. Aviso a los de la iglèsia Romana sobre jubileos. Compuesto por el mismo, i publicado el a. 1600. El Español reformado publicado el año 1621. Ahora fielmente reimpresos, con un Apéndize. [San Sebastián] 1854

II Works translated or revised by Valera.

El Testamento nuevo de nuestro Señor Iesu Christo. [London] 1596

Copies in British Museum; B.F.B.S.; John Rylands; Wadham College, Oxford (2 copies); Hertford College, Oxford; Prof.E.M.Wilson, Cambridge; Hispanic Soc. of America; Cambridge University Library.

Institucion de la Religion Christiana. Compuesta en quatro libros, y dividida en capitulos. Por Juan Calvino. Y ahora nuevamente traduzida en Romance Castellano por Cypriano de Valera. [London] 1597

Copies in British Museum; Bodleian; Hertford College, Oxford; Emmanuel College, Cambridge; Worcester Cathedral; Hispanic Soc. of America.

La Biblia, Que es, Los sacros libros del vieio y nuevo Testamento. Segunda edicion. Amsterdam 1602

Copies in British Museum; Bodleian; B.F.B.S.; Amsterdam University Library; Wadham College, Oxford; Christ Church, Oxford; Merton College, Oxford; Worcester College, Oxford; Prof.E.M.Wilson, Cambridge; Hispanic Soc. of America (3 copies).

Instituzion religiosa, escrita por Juan Calvino, el año 1536; y traduzida al Castellano por Zipriano de Valera. Segunda vez fielmente impresa, en el mismo número de páginas. Vol. 14 (2 parts) of R.A.E. [Madrid] 1858

III Work edited by Valera.

Catecismo, que significa forma de instruccion. 2nd.ed. [London] 1596

Copies in British Museum; Trinity College, Dublin.

IV Work containing a preface by Valera.

Catholico Reformado. O una declaracion que muestra quanto nos podamos conformar con la Iglesia Romana, tal, qual es el dia de hoy, en diversos puntos de la Religion: y en que puntos devamos nunca jamas convenir, sino para siempre apartarnos della. [London] 1599

Copies in British Museum; Bodleian (2 copies)

Part III OTHER WORKS USED

(ACTA)

Acta consistorii ecclesiae Londinogallicae, cvm responsio Antonii Corrani. Ex qvorvm lectione facile qvivs intelligere poterit statum controuersiae inter Ioannem Cusinem...et A^m Corranum Hispanorum peregrinorum Concionatorem. London 1571

Actes du Consistoire de l'Eglise Française de Threadneedle Street, Londres. Vol.I 1560-1565 Vol.38 of H.S.P. Frome 1937

(AGENDA)

Agenda. Christliche Kirchenordnung der Gemeinde Gottes, so in Antorff der waren, reinen, unverfelschten Augspurgischen Confession zugethan. Schmalkalden 1567

ANDERSON, Christppher

Historical Sketches of the Native Irish & their Descendants. Edinburgh 1828

(ANTWERP)

Antwerpsche Archievenblad Vols.2, 9, 10, 12, 14. Antwerp (undated)

ANTONIO, Nicolás

Bibliotheca Hispana Nova: sive Hispanorum Scriptorum qui ab anno MD. ad MD. CLXXXIV floruere Notitia. 2nd. revised ed. Madrid 1783

AMES, Joseph (ed. HERBERT, William)

Typographical Antiquities: or an Historical Account of the Origin & Progress of Printing in Great Britain & Ireland, etc. 3 vols. London 1875

(ARCHITEKTEN UND INGENIEUR VEREIN)

Frankfurt a/M und seine Bauten. Frankfurt 1886

ARBER, Edward (ed.)

A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London 1554-1640 Vols.II & III London 1876

(ARTICLES)

Articles et Conditions du Traicté fait & conclu entre l'Altesse du Prince de Parme, Pleasance, &c., Lieutenant, Gouverneur & Capitaine general és pays de pardeça au nom de sa Maiesté...d'une part, & la ville d'Anvers d'autre part, le xviij iour d'Aoust, l'an M.D.LXXXV. Antwerp 1588

ASENSIO, Eugenio

"El erasmismo y las corrientes espirituales afines," Revista de filología española, Vol.36, parts 1/2 pp.31-99 Madrid 1952

AVALLE-ARCE, Juan Bautista

"Dos notas de heterodoxia," Filología, Vol.VIII, pp.15-26
Buenos Aires 1962

AZUR, Uriel D.

"Casiodoro de Reina en la Historia," La Biblia en América Latina, No.91, pp.24-27 Mexico 1969

BÁEZ-CAMARGO, Gonzálo

"La Biblia en el Renacimiento y la Reforma," La Biblia en América Latina, No.88, pp.3-6 Mexico 1969

BAKHUIZEN VAN DEN BRINK, Jan Nicolas

"Juan de Valdés, Reformator in Spanje en Italië 1529-1541," Mededelingen der Koninklijke Nederlanse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Nieuwe Reeks, Deel 25, No.3, pp.167-212 Amsterdam 1962

Juan de Valdés reformateur en Espagne et en Italie 1529-1541. 2nd.ed. No.11 of B.H.R.Etudes de Philologie et d'Histoire.
Geneva 1969

BALE, John, Bishop of Ossory

Acta Romanorum Pontificorum a dispersione discipulorum Christi, usq; ad tempora Pauli quarti, etc. Basle 1558

ibid. 2nd.ed. Frankfurt 1567

---"---(trans.J.S[tudley])

The pageant of the Popes, Contayninge the lyves of all the Bishops of Rome, from the beginninge of them to the yeare of Grace 1555, etc.
London 1574

BARUZI, Jean

"Un moment de la lutte contre le Protestantisme et l'Illuminisme en Espagne au XVIe siècle," Revue d'histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses (1927), pp.541-553 Strassburg 1927

BATAILLON, Marcel (Trans. ALATORRE, Antonio)

Erasmo y España, estudios sobre la historia espiritual del siglo XVI.
Mexico 1950

ibid. 2nd. Spanish ed. Mexico 1966

(BAUDENKMÄLER)

Die Baudenkmäler in Frankfurt am Main. 3 vols.
Frankfurt 1914

BAUER, Karl

Valérand Poullain, ein kirchengeschichliches Zeitbild aus der Mitte des Sechzehnten Jahrhunderts. Elberfeld 1927

"Die Beziehungen Calvins zu Frankfurt a.M.," Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte, No.36 (133), pp.1-76
Halle/Leipzig 1920

BAYLE, Pierre

Critique générale de l'Histoire du Calvinisme de Mr. Maimbourg.
Villefranche 1684

BECKER, Wilhelm

Immanuel Tremellius. Ein Proselytenleben im Zeitalter der Reformation. No.8 of Institutum Judaicum. Leipzig 1891

BEINART, H.

"The Judaizing Movement in the Order of San Jeronimo in Castille," Scripta Hierosolymitana, Vol.VII, pp.167-192 Jerusalem 1961

BELTRÁN DE HEREDIA, Vicente

Los corrientes de espiritualidad entre los dominicos de Castilla durante la primera mitad del Siglo XVI. Biblioteca de teólogos españoles, Vol.7 Salamanca 1941

BERGER, S.

"Les Bibles castillanes," Romania, Vol.28, No.112, pp.360-408 Paris 1899

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"Un laïque du seizième siècle: Marc Perez, ancien de l'Eglise réformée d'Anvers," Revue religieuse de la Suisse romande, Vol.XXVIII, No.6, pp.266-282 & No.7, pp.324-327. Lausanne 1895

BESSER, Gustav Adolf

Geschichte der Frankfurter Flüchtlingsgemeinden 1554-1588. Halle 1906

BETTS, John T. (ed.)

The Governor of Madrid's Bible. [London?] undated

BEZA, Theodore de

Icones, id est, Verae Imagines virorum doctrina simul et pietate illustrium, quorum praecipue ministerio partim bonarum literarum studia sunt restituta, partim vera Religio in variis urbis Christiani religionibus, nostra patrumque memoria fuit instaurata:...etc Geneva 1580

Les vrays pourtraits des hommes illustres en piété et doctrine, du travail desquels DIEU s'est servi en ces derniers temps, pour remettre sus la vraye Religion en diuers pays de la Chrestienté. [Geneva] 1581

Epistolarum Theologicarum Theodori Bezae Vezelii, liber unus, secunda editio. Geneva 1575

---"--- (eds. H.Aubert, H.Maylen, A.Dufour)

Correspondence de Théodore de Bèze. Vol. III 1559-1561 Geneva 1963
Vol. IV 1562-1565 Geneva 1970

(BILDER)

Bilder zu Frankfurter Geschichte. Frankfurt 1950

BLAES J.B. & HENNER Alex.(eds.)

Mémoires anonymes sur les troubles des Pays-Bas 1565-1580. 5 vols. Brussels/Ghent/Leipzig 1859-66

BLÜMMER, Franz

Renata von Ferrara - ein Lebensbild aus der Zeit der Reformation. Frankfurt 1870

BOEHMER, Eduard

Bibliotheca Wiffeniana - Spanish Reformers of Two Centuries from 1520 - Their Lives and Writings according to the late Benjamin B.Wiffen's Plan and with the use of his materials. 3 vols. Strassburg/London 1883-1904

Q.F.F.Q.S.Viro summae venerando Ioanni Friderico Bruch...Primo rectori diem natalem octogesima vice...Insunt Epistolae quaedam Ioannis Sturmii et Hispanorum qui Argentorati degerunt. Strassburg 1872

"Ein Brief von Cassiodoro de Reyna," Romanische Studien, Band 4, pp.483-486 Bonn 1880

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"Cassiodori Reinii epistolae tredecim ad Matthiam Ritterum datae," Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie, Vol.50, pp.285-307 Gotha 1870

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"Note sur quelques ouvrages en langue espagnole imprimés à Genève par Jean Crespin (1557-1560)," B.H.R. , Vol.24, No.1, pp.50-57 Geneva 1962

"Nouvelle note sur les imprimés genevois en langue espagnole dus aux presses de Jean Crespin (1557-1560)," B.H.R., Vol.27, No.1, pp.318-321 Geneva 1965

BOTHE, Friedrich

Frankfurts Wirtschaftlich-soziale Entwicklung vor dem dreissigjährigen Kriege und der Fettmilchaufstand (1612-1616): Part II Statistische Bearbeitungen und Urkundliche Belege. Frankfurt 1920

BOASE, C.W. (ed.)

Register of the University of Oxford, Vol.I Oxford 1885

BOUMANS, René

"Le dépeuplement d'Anvers dans le dernier quart du XVIe siècle," Revue du Nord, No.115, pp.181-194 Lille/Arras 1947

BRETSCHNEIDER, Carl Gottlieb (ed.)

Corpus Reformatorum Vol.37 (Opera Calvini Vol.9) & vol.44(Opera Calvini Vol.16) Brunswick 1870-77

BRITISH & FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY (eds. T.H.Darlow & H.F.Moule)

Historical Catalogue of the printed editions of Holy Scripture in the Library of the B.& F.B.S. with manuscript additions. 4 Vols. London 1903

BURN, John Southerden

The History of the French, Walloon, Dutch & other Foreign Protestant Refugees settled in England from the Reign of Henry VIII to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes: with notes of their Trade & Commerce, copious extracts from the Registers; Lists of early settlers, ministers, etc. London 1846

THE BIBLE

Biblia Sacra: Vulgatae editionis Sixti V Pontificis Maximi jussu recognita et Clementis VIII auctoritate edita. Lyons 1827

La Biblia (see above, Cassiodoro de Reina) Basle 1569

La Biblia (see above, Cipriano de Valera) Amsterdam 1602

Biblia en lengua Española traduzida palabra por palabra dela verdad Hebrayca por muy excelentes letrados vista y examinada por el officio de la Inquisicion. Ferrara 1553

El Psalterio de David tradvzido en Lengua Castellana conforme à la verdad Hebraica. Lyons 1550

Los Proverbios de Salomon declarados en lengua Castellana conforme à la verdad Hebraica. Lyons 1550

Biblia (Antigua Testamento) traducida del Hebreo al Castellano por Rabí Mose Arragel de Guadalfajara (1422-1433?) y publicada por el Duque de Berwick y Alba. 3 vols. Madrid 1920

El nuevo testamento De nuestro Redemptor y Salvador Iesu Christo. Antwerp 1543

El Testamento Nuevo (see above, Juan Pérez) Geneva 1556

El Testamento Nuevo (see above, Cipriano de Valera) [London] 1596

CALVIN, Jean

Le Catechisme: C'est à dire le formulaire d'instruire les enfans en la Chrestienté en maniere de dialogue où le ministre interrogue, & l'enfant respond. Geneva 1549

Catechismus Ecclesiae Genevēsis, Hoc est, Formula erudiendi pueros in doctrina Christi. Geneva 1550

Opera quae supersunt omnia Vol.9. Vol.37 of Corpus Reformatorum (see above) & Vol.16, Vol.44 of Corpus Reformatorum Brunswick 1870-77

---"---(trans.C.de Valera)

Institucion de la Religion Christiana. (see above) [London] 1597

---"---(trans. Jacinto Terán)

Institución de la Religión Cristiana. Vol. 15 of Obras Clásicas de la Reforma. Buenos Aires/Mexico 1958

(CALENDAR)

Calendar of State Papers - Foreign Series - 1561-1562
London 1866

CARO BAROJA, Julio

Los Judíos en la España moderna y contemporánea.
Madrid 1961

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Le terze Rime di Messer Giovanni della Casa.
Lyons [1756?]

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Aspectos del vivir hispánico - espiritualismo, mesianismo, actitud personal en los siglos XIV al XVI. Santiago de Chile 1949

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Historia de los protestantes españoles y de su persecución por Felipe II.
Cadiz 1851

---"--- (trans. Thomas Parker)

The Spanish Protestants, & their Persecution by Philip II.
London 1851

(CATALOGUE)

A Catalogue of Hispanic Manuscripts and Books before 1700 from the Bodleian Library and Oxford College Libraries exhibited at the Taylor Institution 6-11 Sept. Oxford 1962

(CATECHISM)

Catechismo. A saber as formulario para instruyr los mochachos en la Christiandad: Hecho a manera de Dialogo, donde el Ministro de la Yglesia pregunta, y el mochacho responde. Transladado de Frances en Español.
[Geneva] 1550

Catechismus. Dat is Corte onderwijsinge vande voornemste Hooftstucken der Christelijker leere: Op Vraghe ende Antwoort ghestelt, Alsoo inde Christelijke Kerkẽ ende scholen der nederduytscher landen de Confessie van Ausborch toe-gedaan synde, gheleert ende gheoffent wordt. 2nd.ed.
Antwerp 1582

Catechismus, Dat is Onder-Wijsinghe van-de voorneemste hooft-stucken der Christelijker leere: Op Vraghe ende Antwoort ghestelt Door Franciscum Alardum, eertijts dineer des Godelijken woorts toot Antwerpen in-de Schure, etc. Antwerp 1585

CHRIST, E.

Spanische Glaubenshelden. Reformationsbilder.
Basle 1886

CHEMNITZ, Martin (Chemnitius)

Examinis Concilii Tridentini, per D.D.Martinum Chemnizium scripti, opus integrum, quatuor partes...etc. Part IV De Indulgentiis.
Frankfurt 1596

CHYTRAEUS, David (the Elder) (trans.Luc le Cop)

Histoire de la Confession d'Auxpourg. Antwerp 1582

CLEMENT, David

Bibliothèque curieuse, historique et critique, ou catalogue raisonné des livres difficiles à trouver. 3 vols. Göttingen 1752

(COLLECTION)

Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España, Vols.25, 27, 91 Madrid 1854 etc.

Collection de Chroniques Belges - Relations politiques des Pays-Bas et de l'Angleterre sous le règne de Philippe II. Vols. I & II. Brussels 1882

COLLINET, Robert

La Réformation en Belgique au XVIe siècle. Vol.I of Histoire du Protestantisme en Belgique et au Congo Belge. 2nd.ed. Brussels 1958

(CONFESSION)

Confessie oft bekentenisse des Geloofs van sommige vorsten ende Steden der keyserlycker Mayesteyt (op den Rycxdach tot Ausborch) ouergegheuen. Frankfurt 1567

Confessio ministrorum Iesu Christi, in Ecclesia Antverpensi, quae Augustanae Confessioni adsentitur. [Frankfurt?] 1567

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Athenae Cantabrigenses. Vol.I 1586-1600. Cambridge 1861
Vol.III 1609-1611. Cambridge 1913

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Carta a Cassiodoro de Reina (from Théobon 24 Dec.1563) in Vol.8 of R.A.E. Madrid 1862

Lettre envoyée a la Maiesté du Roy des Espaignes, &c. Antwerp 1567

Dialogus theologicus. Quo Epistola divi Pauli Apostoli ad Romanos explanatur. London 1574

Dialogus in epistolam D.Pauli ad Romanos. 2nd.ed. Frankfurt 1587

Epistre et aimable remonstrance d'un Ministre de l'Evangile de nostre Redempteur Iesvs Christ, enuoyée aux Pasteurs de l'Eglise Flamengue d'Anuers, lesquelz se nomment de la Confession d'Augsbourg, les exhortant à concorde et amitié auec les autres Ministres de l'Evangile. (?) 1567

CRAHAY, Roland

"De l'Humanisme réformiste à la Réforme radicale," Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles, No.4 Nouvelle Série, pp.295-325 Brussels 1967

CRESPIN, Jean

Histoire des Martyrs persecutez et mis a mort pour la verité de l'Euangile, depuis le temps des Apostres iusques à l'an 1574.
Geneva 1582

DECHENT, Hermann

Kirchengeschichte von Frankfurt an Main seit der Reformation. 2 vols.
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"The Guevaras of Stenicot," Bulletin of Hispanic Studies, Vol.37, pp.215-221
Liverpool 1960

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