

# Underground Protestantism in Sixteenth Century Spain

A Much Ignored Side of Spanish History



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Frances Luttikhuizen

# **Underground Protestantism in Sixteenth Century Spain**

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## Abbreviations

ADC	Archivo Diocesano de Cuenca
AGS	Archivo General de Simancas
AHN	Archivo Historico Nacional
BNE	Biblioteca Nacional de España
BMS	Biblioteca Municipal de Sevilla
f.	folio
doc.	Documento [document]
lib.	Libro [book]
leg.	Legajo [file, bundle]

## Timeline of Events

<i>Year</i>	<i>Event</i>
1478	Spanish Inquisition established
1479	Pedro de Osma's <i>De confessione</i> publicly burned
1490	Publication in Spanish of Jean de Gerson's <i>Menosprecio del mundo</i>
1492	Jews expelled from Spain Ximenez de Cisneros becomes Queen Isabel's confessor
1495	Cisneros becomes archbishop of Toledo
1497	Cisneros begins his reforms
1499	First statute of "purity of blood" (Toledo)
1502	Montesino translates <i>Vita Cristi</i> into Spanish Work begins on Complutensian Polyglot Bible
1504	Queen Isabel dies
1507	Cisneros becomes Inquisitor General
1508	University of Alcala opens its doors
1510	Bianda de Mendoza opens her beguine house in Guadalajara
1512	Isabel de la Cruz preaches mystical abandonment ( <i>deixamiento</i> ) in Guadalajara Montesino translates <i>Epistles and Gospels for the Liturgical Year</i>
1516	Erasmus's Greek-Latin New Testament arrives in Spain Translation of Erasmus's <i>Sermon on the Child Jesus</i> King Ferdinand dies Cisneros becomes regent
1517	Printing completed of the Complutense Polyglot Bible Charles V arrives in Spain as king of Castile and Aragon Cardinal Cisneros dies
1520	Publication of Erasmus's <i>The Education of a Christian Prince</i> Antonio de Baeza becomes governor of Escalona <i>Comunero</i> uprising in Castile
1521	Charles V meets Luther at Worms First official decree against Lutheran books
1522?	Juan de Valdes arrives in Escalona "Recogimiento" (withdrawal) practiced in Escalona

Year	Event
1523	Pedro Ruiz de Alcaraz leaves Guadalajara for Escalona Ruiz de Alcaraz and Francisco Ortiz of “recogimiento” movement part company <i>Deixados</i> meet in the palace of Diego Lopez de Pacheco (Marquis de Villena)
1524	Pedro Ruiz de Alcaraz incarcerated
1525	Juan Lopez de Celain organizes “The Twelve Apostles of Medina de Rioseco” Edict of Toledo against the <i>alumbrados-deixados</i> Translation of Erasmus’s <i>Enquiridión, Manual of a Christian Knight</i>
1527	Valladolid Conference convened to examine the writings of Erasmus
1529	<i>Auto-da-fe</i> in Toledo against <i>alumbrados</i> (Ruiz de Alcaraz, Isabel de la Cruz) Publication in Alcalá of Juan de Valdes’s <i>Dialog on Christian Doctrine</i>
1530	Juan de Valdes flees to Italy Juan Lopez de Celain burned at the stake in Granada
1531	Publication of Erasmus’s <i>Sermon on Two Psalms</i>
1532	Carlo de Sessa arrives in Spain
1534	<i>Auto-da-fe</i> in Toledo against <i>alumbrados</i>
1536	Erasmus dies; his works are prohibited in Spain
1538	First Index of Prohibited Books (Brussels)
1540	Rodrigo Valer called before the Inquisition in Seville
1542	Agustín Cazalla appointed personal chaplain of Charles V
1541	Juan de Valdes dies in Naples
1543	Francisco de Enzinas presents his New Testament to Charles V in Antwerp
1546	Council of Trent, “Decree Concerning the Edition of The Sacred Books”
1547	Charles V defeats Schmalkaldic League at the Battle of Mühlberg. “Purity of blood” decree applied to all ecclesiastical posts in Toledo Fernando de Valdes becomes Inquisitor General
1548	Constantino Ponce de la Fuente accompanies prince Philip through Europe
1550	Charles V decrees the “Edict of Blood” against heretics in Flanders Dr. Egidio incarcerated Luis Fernández, Luis del Castillo, Juan Perez de Pineda flee to Paris Carlo de Sessa returns to Spain from Italy with Protestant literature
1551	First “Index of Prohibited Books” printed in Spain
1552	Inquisition confiscates 300 Bibles in Seville Dr. Egidio brought to trial Francisco de Enzinas dies in Strasbourg
1554	Carlo de Sessa appointed <i>corregidor</i> in Toro
1555	Philip II (regent) extends statute of “purity of blood” to all official posts
1556	Charles V abdicates and retires to Yuste; Philip II ascends to the throne Perez de Pineda busy translating and editing Protestant literature in Geneva
1557	Twelve monks from the Santiponce monastery flee to Geneva Colporteur Julian Hernandez arrives in Seville and is incarcerated
1558	Members of the Protestant communities in Valladolid and Seville incarcerated Constantino Ponce de la Fuente incarcerated Fernando de Valdes publishes his Index of Forbidden Books Agustín Cazalla incarcerated Carlo de Sessa incarcerated

<i>Year</i>	<i>Event</i>
1559	<i>Autos-da-fe</i> in Valladolid against Lutherans (May 25; October 8) <i>Auto-da-fe</i> in Seville against Lutherans (September 24) Bartolome de Carranza incarcerated Cipriano de Valera translates Calvin's <i>Institutes</i> in London Philip II orders all Spanish students studying abroad to return
1560	<i>Auto-da-fe</i> in Seville against Lutherans (December 22) Constantino Ponce de la Fuente dies in prison
1562	<i>Autos-da-fe</i> in Seville against Lutherans (February; April 26; October 28)
1563	<i>Auto-da-fe</i> in Seville against Lutherans (July 11)
1565	<i>Auto-da-fe</i> in Seville against Lutherans (May 13)
1567	Duke of Alba establishes the "Court of Blood" in the Netherlands Reginaldo Gonzalez de Montes's <i>Artes de la Inquisición</i> printed
1569	Casiodoro de Reina publishes his <i>Biblia de Oso</i> in Basel
1571	Arias Montano's Expurgatory Index published
1572	<i>Biblia Regia</i> o (Antwerp Polyglot) published
1583	Index of Forbidden Books enlarged
1598	Philip II dies
1609	Philip III expels the <i>Moriscos</i> from Spain
1614	Juan Aventrot translates Heidelberg Catechism into Spanish
1631	Aventrot burned at the stake in an <i>auto-da-fe</i> in Toledo
1738	Freemasons and the Enlightenment-minded new targets of the Inquisition
1767	Jesuits expelled from Spain
1782	Ban lifted on vernacular translations of the Bible
1790	Last Index of Prohibited Books
1793	Felipe Scio's translation from the Vulgate printed in Valencia
1808	Napoleon abolishes Inquisition
1814	Ferdinand VII returns; Inquisition reestablished
1815	Jesuits readmitted
1820	Mobs storm Inquisition palace in Barcelona
1822	Juan Antonio Llorente publishes his <i>History of the Inquisition</i> in Paris
1826	Cayetano Ripoll executed in Valencia
1829	Thomas M'Crie publishes his <i>History of the Reformation in Spain</i> in Edinburgh
1834	Inquisition finally abolished
1836	British and Foreign Bible Society sends George Borrow to Spain
1844	Spanish National Historical Archives open to the public
1845–65	Luis Usoz y Rio rediscovers writings of Spanish reformers and publishes them in <i>Reformistas Antiguos Españoles</i>



## Preliminary Remarks

For it is the business and duty of historians to be exact, truthful, and wholly free from passion, and neither interest nor fear, hatred nor love, should make them swerve from the path of truth, whose mother is history, rival of time, storehouse of deeds, witness for the past, example and counsel for the present, and warning for the future.

*Don Quijote*, Book I, Ch. 9

The story of underground Protestantism in sixteenth century Catholic Spain is a significant area of Spanish history—and Reformation history—that many scholars overlook. This neglect is due in part to the overwhelming, and well-deserved, attention given to the *Siglo de Oro* (Spanish Golden Age) with its exceptional contributions to the arts and to literature. The Spanish Golden Age, which covered nearly two centuries, from the publication of Antonio de Nebrija's *Grammar of the Castilian Language* in 1492 to the death of Pedro Calderon de la Barca in 1681, produced great poets, novelists, playwrights, and painters that are still celebrated today. It was the age of Cervantes, of Quevedo, Lope de Vega, Velazquez, Zurbaran, El Greco, and others. But parallel to this great outburst of artistic euphoria, two very negative sides of Spanish history were also under way: the severe dealings of the Inquisition with religious dissidents and the Counter-Reformation. Though this aspect of Spanish history is much less glamorous and gratifying, nevertheless, it is as much part of the country's history as the former and therefore deserves as much serious study.

The history of early modern Spanish spirituality carries with it connotations of devotion and mysticism associated with the writings of Santa Teresa de Avila, San Juan de la Cruz, Fray Luis de Leon, Francisco de Osuna, and others;<sup>1</sup> the impact of the Protestant Reformation on modern Spanish spirituality is associated with much lesser known authors such as Juan Perez de Pineda, Francisco de Enzinas, Casiodoro de Reina, Cipriano de Valera, and Antonio del Corro, whose writings were banned. The dearth of English literature on the contributions of these men and the circumstances that compelled them to leave their native country and seek refuge in places where freedom of conscience was allowed motivated me to undertake this area of research.

Several excellent studies exist in English regarding the activities of the Spanish Inquisition, but there is the tendency to pass over lightly the impact of the Protestant Reformation in the Iberian Peninsula, mainly because it was thought to be so short-lived. This book is an attempt to correct this assumption

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1 See Rady Roldan-Figueroa (2010a).



and to provide English readers with an overall account of the arrival, reception, and suppression of Protestantism in sixteenth century Spain. The survey begins with the socio-political-religious context that prevailed, Cardinal Cisneros's reforms, the role of the *alumbrados-deixados* (Illuminati), and the Erasmian influence at the University of Alcalá. It then goes on to deal with the severe persecution of the underground evangelical circles in Seville and Valladolid, and the exiles, whose names and writings remained virtually unknown until the mid-nineteenth century. Our study concludes with the abolition of the Inquisition and the tireless efforts of Luis Usóz y Río to rediscover and reprint the works of these forgotten Spanish reformers.

## Primary Sources

Because the main tool for the study of the Inquisition is found in the primary sources of the period, it was essential to resort to numerous contemporary Inquisition reports, dispatches, and trial records found in the archives. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the German historian Ernst H. J. Schäfer searched through these archives and published the trial records related to the evangelical movement in Valladolid. However, because Schäfer's work—*Beiträge* (Contributions)—was published in German, few researchers had access to it until recently, thanks to Francisco Ruiz de Pablos (2014) who translated Schäfer's work into Spanish and restored the *urtexte* and the current reference numbers. Our references to Schäfer are taken from Ruiz de Pablos's Spanish edition unless otherwise indicated. Likewise, reports and trial records found in the National Historical Archives related to the evangelical movement in Seville have also been collected and published recently by Tomas Lopez Muñoz (2011). Although these two publications still remain in Spanish, they nevertheless have greatly facilitated our research. Translations of these documents are mine unless otherwise indicated.

A second contemporary source was Reginaldo Gonzalez de Montes's *Sanctae Inquisitionis hispanicae artes aliquot detect* (1567). Montes's work, referred to hereafter as *Artes*, was translated into English the year after it was first published in Latin. Our references to Montes's work are taken from the second printing of the English version (1569), which includes several appendixes, hereafter referred to as *A Discovery*. Vincent Skinner, the translator, graduated from Trinity College (University of Cambridge) in 1564. After leaving Cambridge, he went on to Lincoln's Inn, a political finishing school for young lawyers and an extension of the court. Lincoln's Inn had developed a Protestant identity in the 1560s and it was within this confessional dimension that the idea of "active citizenship"—a philosophy espoused by educational institutions which advocated that citizens

have certain roles and responsibilities to society—emerged. The main commitments of this movement were to purify the Church of England of all semblances to the Roman Catholic Church and to make their fellow citizens aware of the ensuing political consequences should Catholicism be restored. Spanish intervention in the Netherlands, just a few hours away from the English coast, was considered a real danger and a giant step in this direction hence the reception of any material describing the cruelties of the Spanish Inquisition was welcome.

Vincent Skinner's rendering is faithful to the original, but like all Elizabethan translators, he made profuse use of rhetorical devices such as puns, witty conceits, alliteration, and euphuistic doublets not always present in the original, nevertheless making the text a delight to read. He took special care to explain cultural references unfamiliar to his readers by incorporating clarifications. For example, "to talk by signs and watchwords, *like peddlers French* (Montes: 1569, f. 24r);"<sup>2</sup> "they are shut up in a narrow cell, where they have scarcely good elbowroom for cleanliness and light, *not much unlike Little Ease* (f. 5v);"<sup>3</sup> "[the Inquisitors] were blind *and yet as bold as Bayard* (f. 84v);"<sup>4</sup> "in civil causes even of small importance they will not admit a man's enemy, nor a liar, or a defamed person, or an idiot, or a *Bedlam* (f. 14v);"<sup>5</sup> and so on. Likewise, whenever Skinner suspected that his readers might not understand a given reference, he inserted a more familiar one. For example, where the original text states that the practice of not mentioning a witness by name is taken from the book of ancient mysteries of "Mother Eleusine,"—referring to the Eleusinian Mysteries of ancient Greece—, Skinner rendered, "This whim, I tell you, is taken out of their *Sancta Sanctorum* (f. 15v)."<sup>6</sup> Or, suspecting his readers did not know who the Cyclopes were, he used the term Termagants (f. 48v).<sup>7</sup> His clever use of alliteration can be found in added adjectives: "a *hungry* hunter," "a *curtaled* cur,"<sup>8</sup> a "*pelting* priest."<sup>9</sup> The best example of alliteration, however, is found in the Preface to the Reader, where he uses the expression "pield polling priest" as an euphemism to refer to Pope

2 The sort of slang language used by wandering beggars was known as "Peddlers' French."

3 "Little Ease" refers to the basement in the Tower of London. This chamber was built in the thickness of the wall and measured only four square feet.

4 Pierre Terrail, Lord of Bayard (1476–1524), was a French military hero known as "*le chevalier sans peur et sans reproche*" (the knight without fear or reproach).

5 An inmate of Bedlam, an insane asylum in London.

6 "*Sancta Sanctorum*" refers to a secluded, mysterious place held in the highest esteem.

7 Termagants were imaginary deities of a violent character often appearing in morality plays, which the majority of his readers would have been familiar with.

8 A short-haired dog.

9 "Pelting" was an adjective used often in the sixteenth century to mean "despicable, mean, wretched." In John Lyly's *Midas* (1592) we read, "attire never used but of old women and pelting priests."

Pius V:<sup>10</sup> “pield,” a malapropism for “pied” (two colors)—the black cloak over a white soutane worn by the Dominicans—; “polling,” one who shaves the top of his head—a tonsured friar.

A third primary source was Juan Antonio Llorente, a former secretary of the Inquisition. Llorente’s *Histoire critique de l’Inquisition d’Espagne* (1817–1818) was translated into English in 1826 as *A History of the Inquisition of Spain*. Llorente reaffirms many of the details revealed earlier by Montes, who he describes as a faithful reporter of events, and also provides new information regarding the persecution of Protestants. Our references to Llorente’s work are taken from the English edition published in Philadelphia in 1843.

## Historiographical Overview

The historiography of underground Protestantism in sixteenth century Spain begins with Reginaldo Gonzalez de Montes’s *Sanctae Inquisitionis hispanicae artes aliquot detectæ* (1567). The English version, which appeared the following year, was barely off the press when, on July 3, 1568, the Spanish ambassador in London, Guzman de Silva, reported the publication to king Philip:

A book has been printed here and has been sold publicly for the last three days and has even been fixed in certain public places in this city, a quarto nearly two inches thick, called *Declaracion evidente de diversas y subtiles astucias de la Sancta Inquisicion de Espana*. It was written in Latin by Reginaldo Gonzales Montano and has been recently translated into English, but the translator’s name is not given. I have only been able to see the prologue, which speaks very shamelessly of the pope. (Calendar, 1894).

Within a year of its publication in Latin, *Artes* was translated into both English and French. The following year there appeared two German versions, three Dutch versions, and two abridged versions, one in Hungarian and the other in French.<sup>11</sup> One of the Dutch renderings was done from the Latin, the other two from French, one translator was Maulumpertus Taphaea, the other was done by Joris de Raed with a prologue by the Dutch theologian Petrus Dathenus.<sup>12</sup> The printers of the two German versions—Andreas Petri and Johannes Mayer—also deserve mention. Andreas Petri belonged to a family of German printers working at Basel. He was probably a nephew of Adam Petri, who after 1517 was

10 Pius V was a Dominican priest. His papacy—1566 to 1572—coincided with the publication of *Artes*.

11 The first Spanish version of *Artes* was published in 1851. See Appendix B for these publications.

12 Today Joris de Raed is remembered for his translation of Calvin’s Institutes into Dutch and Petrus Dathenus for his translation of the Heidelberg Catechism.

primarily occupied with the publication of texts of the Protestant Reformers. Johann Mayer, the other German printer, is remembered as the publisher of the Heidelberg Catechism (1563).

In addition to the various translations of *Artes*, a reprint of the 1567 Latin version came off the Ernest Voegelin press in Heidelberg in 1603. This slightly abridged edition was compiled by Simon Stenius, professor at the University of Heidelberg. The curious title—*Seven brief essays on the Spanish Inquisition, based on Reinaldo Gonzalez Montes' report of 38 years ago*—suggests the existence of a 1565 edition. Could Stenius have meant XXXVI instead of XXXVIII—making it 1567, the date *Artes* was first printed—or was there actually an earlier manuscript edition of *Artes* in circulation in Germany? A few years later, in 1611, Joachim Ursinus [Beringer], a Lutheran pastor, published a bilingual Latin-German edition in Amberg, Bavaria.<sup>13</sup> In 1856, Luis Usoz y Rio reprinted the original Latin edition of *Artes* and included it as volume XIII in his collection *Reformistas Antiguos Españoles*. A new translation from the Latin, done by Francisco Ruiz de Pablos, appeared in 2008.

In the early years of the seventeenth century, with the growing tensions in northern Europe regarding the uncertain future of recently gained religious liberties, there was renewed interest in disclosing the “wiles and guiles” of the Spanish Inquisition. Both John Foxe and Jean Crespin mention the plight of the Spanish Protestants and the *autos-da-fe* in passing in their martyrologies, but in the enlarged edition of Crespin’s *Histoire des Martyrs* (1608, VII, ff. 521–566), Simon Goulart inserted the anonymous 1568 French rendering of *Artes* in full together with a lengthy account of the *auto-da-fe* in Valladolid held May 21, 1559, which was not part of Montes’s narrative, but which he interpolated between the second and third section. The inserted information includes a full description of the scaffolds, the names of the grandees and bishops that attended, and a brief biographical sketch of the thirty prisoners that were sentenced that day. Goulart states that he found the information regarding Valladolid in “certain letters sent to Germany.” One of such letters, entitled “*breve relación*” (brief account), is reproduced in Schäfer (2014, III, 52–63). It was a rewrite, in German, of an official report entitled “*relación verdadera*” (true account).<sup>14</sup> Schäfer notes that the language employed in the “*breve relación*” suggests that the placard was translated into German by a somewhat inexperienced translator from southern Germany with strong Protestant leanings. It is interesting to note that whereas the opening line of the official Spanish report is a paraphrased version of Proverbs 1,32 [For the waywardness of the simple will kill them, and the complacency of fools will destroy them], the non-official German version com-

13 See Appendix B for these publications.

14 BNE, ms. 2058, núm. 91, fol. 230–239, in Schäfer (2014, III, 24, doc. 378).

mences with Matthew 5,10 [Blessed are those who are persecuted because of righteousness, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven].

Once the inquisitors realized that eyewitnesses of the *autos-da-fe* were sending reports abroad, they commissioned scribes to write up reports of the same events for broader circulation and to counteract what the others might be reporting. This was done because, as Montes (1569, ff. 53r–53v) points out,

When they began to celebrate their Triumph upon the Lutherans (as they call them), they that were present at the sight and beheld the way things were done, would write to their friends both in the realm and abroad, detailed reports of all such things as there were done and seen, especially of those that did penance, also what sentences were pronounced upon them, with the causes and circumstances of all their other punishments and penalties. But the Holy House (as daily practice makes everyone master of his craft) grew so cunning in their affairs that straightway they began to smell out the matter that it might in time turn against them and that the doctrine which they so greatly detested and abhorred might be published and spread further than they would wish, so that many, who otherwise would have continued in their blindness, if they had never heard nor seen any such reports, should be occasioned thereby to open their eyes and understandings and to confess as well the doctrine itself and receive it, and also spy the wickedness of them that persecute it. Therefore, to remedy this mischief and inconvenience, the Holy House prepared and published similar reports, brief and as were not likely to do any great harm, so that whoever wanted to inform their friends of such matters, should follow those authorized reports. Indeed, they appointed certain great penalties for the transgressors that should make up their own reports in any other more exhaustive manner than was by their order prescribed. The manner whereof was this: that after they had told who and what manner of man he was that was punished or executed, they should add: “because he held Luther’s opinions (without naming any), so and so was burned, or thus or thus punished or executed according to the truth of the matter.”

Until the Inquisition was abolished and more documents were available, Montes’s account was basically the only information in circulation regarding the procedures of the Spanish Inquisition against Protestants. In England, Skinner’s translation was reprinted in 1625 by John Bellamie under a new grandiloquent title—*A full, ample and punctually discovery of the barbarous, bloody, and inhumane practises of the Spanish Inquisition, against Protestants: with the originall thereof. Manifested in their proceedings against sundry particular persons, as well English as others, upon whom they have executed tyrannie*—and re-drafted again fifty years later by Richard Dugdale (1680) in an abridged edition. Information taken from *Artes* appeared in the various re-editions of John Foxe’s *Acts and Monuments*, in Philipp von Limborch (1816), in Johann Lorenz von Mosheim (1765), in Michael Geddes (1741), in Joseph Lavallée (1809), and John Joseph Stockdale (1810).

The general public, however, became aware of the impact of the Protestant

Reformation in the Iberian Peninsula thanks to the efforts of Juan Antonio Llorente and the Scottish historian Thomas M'Crie. Llorente, who had access to authentic documents, first published his work in French (1821). It was immediately translated into Dutch (1821), German (1823) and repeatedly into English (1826, 1827). Nevertheless, the Scottish church historian Thomas M'Crie's work (1829) became the standard text in English-speaking Protestant circles until John Stoughton published his *Spanish reformers, their memories and dwelling-places* (1883) and the American historian Henry Charles Lea produced his four-volume seminal work *History of the Inquisition in Spain* (1906–07). Thomas M'Crie had already made a name for himself as an historian with his *History of the Reformation in Italy* (1827), rapidly translated into German (1828), French (1831), and Italian (1835). His *History of the Reformation in Spain* (1829) was translated into German (1835) and Dutch (1838).<sup>15</sup> Whereas earlier authors rarely disclose their sources, M'Crie duly acknowledged, and referenced his primary sources, which included Llorente, John Strype (1709), and the 1569 printing of Skinner's *A Discovery*. M'Crie also frequently cites the German geographer-historian Anton Friedrich Büsching's *Commentatio De vestigiis Lvtheranismi in Hispania* (Traces of Lutheranism in Spain) (1755).

Other nineteenth century authors whose works appeared in English include Adolfo de Castro, Elizabeth R. Charles, and Cornelius A. Wilkens. Adolfo de Castro's *The Spanish Protestants, and Their Persecution by Philip II* (1851) and his *History of Religious Intolerance in Spain: or, an Examination of some of the causes which led to that nation's decline* (1853) met with great enthusiasm. Elizabeth R. Charles's novelized *The Martyrs of Spain and the Liberators of Holland* (1862) was often reprinted and translated into French (1866), Spanish (1871), Norwegian (1877), etc. Cornelius August Wilkens's *Die Geschichte des spanischen Protestantismus im sechzehnten Jahrhundert* (1888) enjoyed several reprints and in 1897 was translated into English and slightly abridged by Rachel Challice. All these pioneer studies became inspiration and source material for the American historian Henry Charles Lea at the turn of the century. Lea began by publishing *Chapters from the Religious History of Spain Connected with the Inquisition* (1890) and *The Moriscos of Spain, their Conversion and Expulsion* (1901). That same year, the Dutch historian Maximilian F. van Lennep published *De Hervorming in Spanje in de zestiende eeuw* (The Reformation in Spain in the Sixteenth Century) (1901; 1984), but it was Ernst H. J. Schäfer's three-volume *Beiträge* (1902) that enabled Lea to produce his four-volume *History of the Inquisition in Spain* (1906–07), as he duly acknowledged.

Unfortunately, authors such as Wilkens failed to document many of their

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15 The first Spanish translation did not appear until 1950, translated by Adam F. Sosa. This rendering has recently been reprinted in Seville with an introduction by Doris Moreno.

statements, leaving the reader unsure of the validity of their conclusions. On the other hand, it must be remembered that although the Inquisition had been abolished, the official archives were not yet accessible to the general public until the end of the century. In this respect Schäfer's *Beiträge* was groundbreaking. Aware that too often "histories" were written that lacked the support of original documents, Schäfer basically limited his efforts to transcribing the original accounts kept in the national archives at Simancas and Madrid:

Although much research has appeared in recent times regarding the suppression of the Reformation in Spain, which is of great value for those interested in the subject of the Reformation and its history, and among these I must mention M'Crie, de Castro, and Wilkens, nevertheless, in nearly all these studies I find a serious inconvenience, that is, the authors do not quote the original sources, which is of paramount importance for any serious historical survey, especially when trying to clarify such a dark period of history. (Schäfer: 2014, I, 198).

Whereas most of the research carried out before 1950 centers on the *autos-da-fe* that took place in Seville and Valladolid, historical scholarship during the 1960s and 70s sent many historians back to the archives. This methodology has continued and has encouraged the incorporation of large segments of authentic primary material. It has also given rise to a wider range of more specific topics. Classic studies such as those by Henry Kamen (1966) and Edward Peters (1989), and more recently Joseph Perez (2005) and Michael C. Thomsett (2010), as well as statistical studies such as those carried out by Gustav Henningsen (1986), mention the persecution of evangelicals in passing, but also address the practices of the Inquisition regarding crypto-Jews, Muslims, black magic, blasphemy, bigamy, etc. On the other hand, scholars such as Marcel Bataillon, John Longhurst, Antonio Marquez, Angela Selke, Alvaro Huerga, Arthur G. Kinder, Klaus Wagner, Jose C. Nieto, Jose Luis Gonzalez Novalin, Stefania Pastore, Helen Rawlings, Werner Thomas, Lu Ann Homza, Doris Moreno, Rady Roldan-Figueroa, Michel Boeglin, etc., have branched out into specific areas attempting to offer a more in depth vision of the Reformation in Spain by explaining the rise of the evangelical movement through the *alumbrados*, the Erasmians, the persecution of foreigners, etc.<sup>16</sup> The fact that only a few of the above authors have published in English, clearly evidences the lack of material regarding the outreach of the sixteenth century evangelical movement in Spain for English-speaking readers.

Current Historical Memory Studies have produced a renewed interest in the activities of the Spanish Inquisition above and beyond its persecution of crypto-

16 Abundant primary material regarding the *alumbrados-deixados* can be found in Longhurst (1969) and Homza (2006); primary material regarding the persecution of foreigners can be found in Thomas (2001a; 2001b).

Jews and Muslims. The two great seminal works in this area belong to Marcel Bataillon (1936; 1966) and Jose C. Nieto (1970; 1997). Since it is impossible to do justice to all the fine scholarship that has appeared, we must simply refer the reader to several comprehensive bibliographies: Emile Van der Vekene (1982–92); Arthur Gordon Kinder (1999); Klaus Van der Grijp (2005); and Frances Luttikhuizen (2009). Despite these efforts, the increase in the last decade of publications focusing on the sixteenth century evangelical movement in Spain require new up-dated bibliographies. The full-scale story of the outreach of the Protestant Reformation in Spain has not been written, nor will it ever be. As the nineteenth century English historian John Stoughton (2013,17) put it,

When we have analyzed all the facts recorded in history, and have put together what serves to explain, so far as secondary causes are concerned, how it was that the Reformation failed in Spain, there is a residuum at the bottom of the crucible, as in many other cases, which must ever defy our attempts at explanation. Why the destiny of the movement in Spain was so different from that of the movement in England remains amongst the inscrutable mysteries of Providence.

Though we deal briefly with the plight of some of the men and women who adhered to the evangelical movement in sixteenth century Spain, the present study is an attempt to shed light on the social-political-religious context in which the movement emerged, developed, and was suppressed.<sup>17</sup> The reader may find the numerous, and sometimes lengthy, excerpts of original documents somewhat cumbersome, but as Rawdon Brown, the nineteenth century historian who spent twenty years in Venice researching the reports of Venetian ambassadors to England, and editor of what would become *Calendar of State Papers in the Archives of Venice* (1864–1886), states:

For the general reader perhaps the greatest charm of original documents is that they present the actors in all the reality of life, and not as puppets danced before the reader's eyes in the plausible and measured narrative of the historian. (*Calendar*, 1864, Preface).

In sum, through the profuse use of primary sources, we hope to offer the reader fresh insights into an obscure chapter of Spanish history and allow the actors to speak for themselves. At all times, I have tried to abide by the facts as they appear in the official records, and to stay away from commonplace statements and attitudes that wish to suppress the ugly side of history:

Long did old-fashioned English Protestants and other anti-Catholics put their attention upon words such as 'jesuitical,' 'popish,' 'jansenistic,' and 'inquisitorial' in their polemics. But possibly the most odious, and the most successfully repromoted, is the idea of the hated Inquisition as the cruel tool of the Catholic Church to crush its enemies...

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<sup>17</sup> Comprehensive lists of the men and women imprisoned and/or sent to the stake for their faith can be found in Leon de la Vega (2012).



American Know-Nothings and John Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* constantly reprinted, or even the purveyors of the post-1968 sexual revolution or abortion-on-demand today, bring up the ghost of the Inquisition to suit their diverse purposes. But what do they know of its history? (Van Hove: 1992).

It is precisely this history that we propose to explore in the following pages and in so doing I hope to clarify certain misconceptions regarding Inquisition history and to enlarge on other aspects that heretofore have been ignored such as the literature confiscated, the significant role of women in the evangelical movement in sixteenth century Spain, and the rediscovery of the writings of the Spanish Reformers. Undoubtedly, if more primary material were available in English, more scholars would be encouraged to explore these still rather unknown pages of Spanish history. This survey is another step forward in that direction.

## Chapter 1: Socio-Political Background

The confiscation of prisoners' goods is a prerogative that has always been defended most consistently by the inquisitors, as they have been persuaded by Paul's doctrine that the minister of the altar must live by the altar; consequently it is natural that those who persecute the enemies of the faith should live at their expense.  
*Manual de inquisidores* Ch. 10 (Montpellier, 1821).

The Spanish Inquisition was much more than an isolated event. It cannot be studied by itself, but in the context of other events. The decade of the 1480s brought great socio-political changes in the Iberian Peninsula. Reginaldo Gonzalez de Montes (1569, Preface) describes the situation thus:

After the wars were ended wherein Ferdinand and Isabella, of famous memory, expelled the Turks out of the territory and city of Granada,<sup>1</sup> and other places in Spain, which they had occupied for the space of 778 years, from the time of Rodrigo, the last king of Spain that was of the race and lineage of the Goths, having restored their country into the ancient estate that it was in before, and gotten to themselves perpetual fame and renown, they turned from those continual troubles and tumults of war to reforming and purging of religion.

### Implementing the Spanish Inquisition

One of the consequences of the violent anti-Jewish pogroms of the late fourteenth century throughout Spain was the mass conversion of Jews. These new converts came to be referred to as *conversos* or “new” Christians. Many *conversos*, now freed from the anti-Semitic restrictions imposed on employment, attained important positions, including positions in the government and in the Catholic Church. It did not take long, however, before the ruling class and the populace distrusted the “new” Christians. A commonly leveled accusation was that they were false converts, secretly practicing their former religion as crypto-Jews. When Alonso de Hojeda, a Dominican friar, convinced Queen Isabel of the existence of crypto-Judaism among Andalusian *conversos* during her stay in Seville in 1477, she decided to act. She appealed to the pope for permission to

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1 The Granada War began in 1482 and lasted until 1492, when Boabdil, the last Muslim ruler of the kingdom of Granada, surrendered the keys of the Alhambra Palace to the Castilian soldiers.