

Luther and the Spanish Reformers

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Abstract

Few of the Spanish Reformers actually met Luther or the other Reformers in person. However, despite the drastic measures taken by the Spanish authorities to keep “Lutheran” literature from entering Spain, the Spanish Reformers were well versed in Luther’s writings. Prohibition engendered curiosity and curiosity a desire to learn more, which eventually led to acceptance of the Reformed faith, and in many cases martyrdom. This essay centers on early reactions to Luther and his message, the efforts of the Spanish ecclesiastical authorities to ban heretical literature, and the personal experiences of three men who had encounters with the northern Reformers: Francisco de Enzinas, Augustin de Cazalla, and Constantino de la Fuente.

Introduction

Although there is evidence that Luther’s writings had already entered Spain via Antwerp by 1519,¹ news of Luther himself as a person first arrived simply in the form of reports of a German friar proposing reforms in the church. A large segment of the population was ready for reforms, and they

¹ This is evidenced from a letter dated February 14, 1519, written from Basel by Johannes Froben to Luther, in which he informed him that “Blasius Salmonius, a bookseller of Leipzig, presented me with certain treatises composed by you that he bought at the last Frankfort fair,

welcomed such initiatives. Nevertheless, in the words of John Longhurst, “Although there was some momentary confusion as to who Luther was and what he represented, it was clear enough by 1521 that he was a revolutionary.”²

I. Early Testimonies

Alfonso de Valdés, one of the emperor’s secretaries, expressed alarm at the boldness with which the Reformer attacked papal authority. Also among the Spaniards belonging to the emperor’s retinue present at Worms in 1521 were men closely associated with Cardinal Cisneros. One was a Franciscan friar, Francisco de Angelis Quiñones, member of the strict observant branch of the Order of Friars Minor and as such open to reforms. Quiñones was impressed with Luther’s message, and on his way back to Spain to assist in subduing the friars involved in the *Comuneros* Revolt, which had broken out in Castile,³ he stopped at Basel, where he had a long discussion with a fellow “observant,” the renowned Hebraist Conrad Pellican, who at that time was divinity lecturer and superior at the Franciscan Minorite convent at Ruffach, France.⁴ Pellican was already sympathetic towards Luther, and shortly afterwards he would renounce his monk’s habit and embrace Luther’s teachings. Quiñones, on the other hand, though he may have had his doubts and did have sporadic contact with the *alumbrados*⁵ once he returned to Spain, and as General of the Order from 1523 to 1527 radically opposed and suppressed the practices of the “apocalyptic” *recogidos*,⁶ never yielded.

which being approved by learned men, I immediately put to press, and sent six hundred copies to France and Spain. My friends assure me, that they are sold at Paris, and read and approved of even by the Sorbonists. Several learned men there have said, that they have long wished to see divine things treated with such becoming freedom. [Francesco] Calvus, a bookseller of Pavia, himself a scholar and addicted to the muses, has carried a great part of the impression into Italy.” *Luther’s Correspondence and other Contemporary Letters*, ed. Preserved Smith (Philadelphia: The Lutheran Publication Society, 1913), 125.

² John E. Longhurst, *Luther’s Ghost in Spain, 1517–1546* (Lawrence, KS: Coronado, 1969), 13.

³ The *Comuneros* Revolt (1520–1521) was an uprising against young Charles V’s policy of appointing his Flemish courtiers to lucrative posts. Many clerics of the cathedral chapter and of the regular religious orders also favored the rebellion.

⁴ Thomas M’Crie, *History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Spain in the Sixteenth Century* (Edinburgh: W. Blackwood, 1829), 126.

⁵ *Alumbrados* (illuminated ones) is a term used to loosely describe practitioners of a mystical form of Christianity practiced in Spain during the early fifteenth century.

⁶ *Recogidos* (withdrawn ones) was a reform movement within the Franciscan Order that practiced “active seclusion” in order to achieve union with God. The apocalyptic *recogidos* proposed a millennial program for the reform of the church. See Frances Luttikhuisen, *Underground Protestantism in Sixteenth Century Spain* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2016), 61.

In 1528 he became cardinal and as such held a distinguished position in the Sacred College in Rome until his death.

Also present in Worms in 1521 was Juan de Vergara, a humanist scholar from Alcalá who had been one of Cardinal Cisneros's secretaries. Vergara had left Alcalá in 1520 for Flanders, where he became secretary to Cardinal Guillaume de Croÿ (one of Charles V's advisors) and a personal friend of Erasmus. Vergara remembered later that it was a common thing to hear people say that more men like Luther were bound to turn up; others said Luther was right in what he said, while yet others observed that Luther did well to burn the books of canons because they were not being used. In those days nobody was scandalized by such remarks.⁷ Vergara recalled that in Germany the court of his majesty was full of Luther's books⁸ and that

at first, when Luther only spoke of the need for reform in the Church ... everybody approved of him. The same persons who now write against him confess in their books that at first they were drawn to him. Almost the same thing happened in Spain in the matter of the *comunero* revolt; at first when these [revolutionaries] seemed only to be striving for certain reforms, everyone favored them. But later, when they began to behave in a shameful and reckless way, people of good sense withdrew from them and opposed them.⁹

On his return to Spain, Vergara became canon of Toledo and secretary to Alonso de Fonseca, Archbishop of Toledo (1523–34), another prominent humanist and staunch Erasmian. As the decade of the 1520s drew to a close, the anti-Erasmians were winning the day and in 1533, Vergara found himself arrested and formally denounced by the fiscal as a Lutheran, an Erasmian, and an *alumbrado*:

a heretic and apostate against our holy Catholic faith, following, holding, and believing and teaching the errors and perverse, damnable doctrine of the wicked heresiarch Martin Luther, keeping his books the better to learn and teach [the said errors], holding and believing at the same time the errors of those who are called Illuminists, which [errors] practically coincide with the said Lutheran errors.¹⁰

Of the twenty-two accusations leveled against him, the first eight referred specifically to Luther and his works.

⁷ Longhurst, *Luther's Ghost in Spain*, 284.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 235.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 284.

¹⁰ Longhurst, *Luther's Ghost in Spain*, 230; Archivo Histórico Nacional (AHN), *Inquisición de Toledo, Proceso contra Juan de Vergara*, Leg. 223, no. 42, ff. 133r–137r.

In reply to these accusations, Vergara alleged that in the early days, before Luther's books were prohibited, he could have had them and read them because he was a doctor of theology. When he was in Germany with the emperor's court, in the service of Cardinal Guillaume de Croÿ, he recalled that at the time when Luther came to the Diet of Worms everybody, and especially the Spaniards, came there to see him. The following year, back in Spain in the service of Alonso de Fonseca, archbishop of Toledo, Vergara learned that his brother Bernardino Tovar, who was living in Alcala, had some Lutheran books. He did not know which books his brother had, but he knew he was always in the habit of buying new books. When Vergara was still in Germany, Tovar had asked him to send him books, but he did not recall Tovar asking him to send him any of Luther's books. However, if he had, and even if Vergara had understood such books to be "heretical," there still was no prohibition against them at that time. Instead, he contended, "it was considered a praiseworthy thing for a theologian, zealous for the faith, to want to see books by modern heretics in order to learn how to criticize and contradict their opinions."¹¹

II. Official Reactions

In March of 1521, only three months after Luther had been excommunicated, Pope Leo X addressed a brief to the Spanish authorities warning them against the introduction of Luther's books via the Spanish Netherlands.¹² One month later, on April 7, 1521, even before the Diet of Worms had concluded, Adrian Florensz, now inquisitor general and regent of Spain, sent the inquisitors in Aragon the following directive against the writings of Luther:

We have been informed that some persons, with evil intent and in order to sow cockles in the Church of God and to rend the seamless tunic of Christ our Redeemer, have extended their efforts to bring into Spain the works recently written by Martin Luther, of the order of Saint Augustine, which works are said to be printed [in Spanish] for publication and sale in this kingdom. It is eminently proper for the honor and service of God and the exalting of our holy Catholic faith that such works not be published or sold, nor appear anywhere in this kingdom, because they contain heretical errors and many other suspect things about the faith. We therefore direct you to order, under pain of grave censures, as well as civil and criminal punishment, that nobody dare to own, sell, or permit to be sold in public or in private, any

¹¹ Longhurst, *Luther's Ghost in Spain*, 234–36.

¹² On January 3, 1521, Pope Leo X issued the papal bull *Decet Romanum Pontificem*, which excommunicated Luther from the Catholic Church.

such books or any parts of them, and that within three days of the publication of your order ... such books, in both Latin and Spanish, be brought and presented before you. When this is done you will then burn them all in public, directing the notary of your Holy Office to record the names of all persons who possess, sell, publish and bring before you such books, and the records of their burning, including the number of books burned.¹³

It is evident that these instructions were not strictly heeded: two years later, on May 7, 1523, the *Suprema*—the Supreme Council of the Inquisition—sent a letter to the inquisitors in Navarre denouncing the distribution of Lutheran books. Moreover, it appears that more books were being translated into Spanish: the edict states that under pain of excommunication and other heavy civil punishments, anyone who has in his possession any such books—in either Latin or Spanish—must turn them in within fifteen days. Six months later, in November 1523, the Council sent out another note:

We are informed that in the province of Guipuzcoa there are some of the said [Lutheran] books [in circulation], from which it appears that you did not take the proper action to carry out our directive or to do what we charged you to do. We are very surprised at this.¹⁴

As Longhurst notes, the inquisitor general, Alonso Manrique, issued an edict on April 15, 1525, in which he complained,

“Some persons, showing little fear of God [and of the Inquisition] ... have brought into Spain and have in their possession many books of the accursed heretic Luther and his followers.” All persons were ordered to bring to the Inquisition “whatsoever books and writings of any and all works written by the said perverse heretic and his followers,” and to denounce any persons whom they knew or suspected of having such accursed books of that perverse heretic.¹⁵

By the 1530s, heresy hunting was becoming a national sport in Spain. A great public burning of Lutheran books was staged in Toledo; a similar event took place in Salamanca.¹⁶ Several of the leading Erasmians were brought to trial; others for the sake of prudence left the country. As the sixteenth century moved on, Erasmus’s most popular book in Spain, the *Enchiridion*, was becoming a double-edged sword that either led people to

¹³ Longhurst, *Luther’s Ghost in Spain*, 14; AHN, *Inquisicion*, lib. 317, f. 182r–v.

¹⁴ AHN, *Inquisicion*, lib. 319, f. 13v; f. 14r–v.

¹⁵ Longhurst, *Luther’s Ghost in Spain*, 18; citing AHN, *Inquisicion de Toledo, Proceso contra Juan de Vergara*, Leg. 223, no. 42, ff. 15r–v.

¹⁶ AHN, *Inquisición de Toledo, Proceso contra fray Bernardo*, Leg. 190, no. 4. Cf. Longhurst, *Luther’s Ghost in Spain*, 20.

greater Catholic piety or to heterodox views.¹⁷ Indeed, Erasmianism was much more than a simple movement of protest against the abuses of the unworthy clergy and some ignorant friars; rather, it was a positive movement of spiritual renovation.¹⁸ By the early 1540s, though Erasmianism was no longer an articulate force in Spanish intellectual life, it had planted the seed of critical observation. As a result, many of the Spanish humanists who had earlier declared themselves Erasmians turned to the German Reformers, especially those Spaniards who had traveled abroad as part of the emperor's entourage or had taken part in the discussions at the imperial diet at Augsburg or at Trent.

III. *The Diet of Augsburg (1530)*

Alfonso de Valdés, who was present at the Diet of Augsburg in 1530, met Philip Melanchthon on that occasion. Thomas M'Crie provides details of this encounter that he gleaned from trustworthy sources:

In one of the conversations between these two learned men, held in the presence of Cornelius Schepper, an agent of the king of Denmark, Melanchthon lamented the strong prejudices which the natives of Spain had conceived against the reformers, and said that he had frequently endeavored, both by word of mouth and by letters, to convince them of the misconceptions under which they labored, but with very little success. Valdes acknowledged that it was a common opinion among his countrymen, that Luther and his followers believed neither in God nor the Trinity, in Christ nor the Virgin; and that in Spain it was thought as meritorious an action to strangle a Lutheran as to shoot a Turk.¹⁹

M'Crie contends that this event

had no inconsiderable effect in dissipating the false idea of the opinions of Luther which had hitherto been propagated. At the diet of Worms in 1521, the Spanish attendants of the emperor, instead of admiring the heroism displayed by Luther, treated him with insult. There was a marked difference in their behavior at Augsburg. Persons of note, including the emperor's confessor, who was a native of Spain, acknowledged that they had hitherto been deceived.²⁰

¹⁷ Jose C. Nieto, *Juan de Valdés and the Origins of the Spanish and Italian Reformations* (Geneva: Droz, 1970), 182.

¹⁸ Marcel Bataillon, *Erasmus y España: estudios sobre la historia espiritual del siglo XVI* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1966), 339.

¹⁹ M'Crie, *History of the Progress*, 132–33.

²⁰ Ibid., 131.

The public reading of the Augsburg Confession, the first Lutheran confession of faith, did not leave listeners indifferent. Not only the irenic spirit of the document but also its systematic presentation impressed theologians and laymen alike. This new attitude, if we can qualify it as that, did not change things in Spain, however. On June 13, 1530, the *Suprema* wrote, “there is reason to suspect that the writings of such heretics are now being brought to Spain and sold as approved works.” All tribunals were urged to obtain from booksellers a list of all the books in their shops so that the books by authors whose names were unfamiliar might be examined for theological errors. Two months later the *Suprema* sent out another circular letter:

A few days ago we were informed that Martin Luther and others among the followers and adherents of his false opinions, and inventors of other new errors, realizing that they are unable to spread their books and poisonous doctrine in these lands as freely as they would like, have introduced many of their harmful opinions under the names of Catholic authors, giving false titles to their books, and in other instances inserting glosses and additions of false expositions and errors to well-known books of approved and good doctrine. All bookstores are to be diligently searched, and because such books might already be in the hands of private parties, the inquisitors are to include in future edicts against Lutheran books a provision requiring the faithful to come forward and inform them of any Lutheran literature in such Catholic disguise.²¹

The *Suprema* kept a vigilant eye on incoming literature and on March 28, 1534, sent out a circular letter to the various courts of the Inquisition regarding Lutheran books:

As you know, some time ago we wrote you telling you to find a way that those that have books or writings or treaties of that evil heretic Martin Luther or of any of his followers or adherents should hand them over to you; and those that know of others who have them should tell to you. We believe this measure has been very successful. But because we know that many people from this country have gone to Germany in service of the Emperor, our Lord, where those evil heresies, for our sins, are very widespread and observed, it could have happened that they brought back some book, or books, containing that perverse doctrine and errors, it would be a good thing to publish the edicts anew and to add to the list more books and other authors that contain new errors and doctrines contrary to our holy Catholic faith and against the Holy Apostolic See.²²

²¹ AHN, *Inquisicion*, lib. 320, ff. 321v–322r and 343r–v.

²² AHN, *Inquisicion*, lib. 573, f. 14.

IV. Contact with the Northern Reformers

Three individuals with inquiring minds in search of more satisfying spirituality and who had direct contact with the northern Reformers deserve mention: Francisco de Enzinas, Augustin de Cazalla, and Constantino de la Fuente.

1. *Francisco de Enzinas*

The Greek scholar Francisco de Enzinas (1518–1552), also known as Francis or Franz Dryander, was a native of Burgos. His uncle Pedro de Lerma had been professor of divinity at Alcalá and had represented the pro-Erasmus faction at the conference in Valladolid in 1527 called to investigate Erasmus's writings. In 1537, Lerma was denounced to the Inquisition as suspected of Lutheran opinions and spreading Erasmian views. To avoid further trouble, he moved to Paris that year, where he became dean of the faculty of theology at the Sorbonne. About that same time, Francisco and his brother Diego were sent to Antwerp for commercial training in their uncle's firms, but instead of pursuing a promising business career, in 1539 they enrolled at the Collegium Trilingue of Louvain, possibly encouraged by their uncle. At Louvain, the two brothers fell under the spell of humanist scholarship. Indeed, it was Erasmus's influence that first turned them to the world of letters and, ultimately, the evangelical faith. From Louvain, Diego went to Paris and Francisco continued his studies of Greek under Philip Melancthon at Wittenberg. In all likelihood Enzinas met Luther at this time, considering that the German Reformer was teaching there until January 1546.

In March 1542, Diego was back in Antwerp supervising the printing of a translation made by his brother Francisco of Calvin's 1538 Latin catechism, to which he had appended a translation of Martin Luther's *Freedom of the Christian Man*. The work contained a prologue by Francisco expressing the Protestant doctrine of justification by faith in a language and irenic spirit similar to that of his mentor Melancthon.²³ The following year, Francisco finished his translation of the New Testament from Greek into Spanish. In the prologue he gave three reasons for such an undertaking:

All the other nations of Europe already enjoy the privilege of having the Bible translated into their language and they call the Spaniards superstitious because they still do not have the Bible in their language. No royal or papal decree prohibits

²³ The Spanish Inquisition learned of the plan, and his family sent him to Italy for safety. Diego Enzinas was arrested by the Roman Inquisition, tried, and sentenced to the stake in Rome in 1545.

this publication. And although some may deem such translations dangerous in the time of heretics, be assured that heresies do not come from reading the Bible, but from the perverse explanations of evil men who distort the Holy Scriptures for their own perdition.²⁴

He took the manuscript to Antwerp to be printed even though the required imperial *imprimatur* was missing from the title page. He had titled the work *Nuevo Testamento, esto es, Nueva Alianza de nuestro redentor y único salvador Jesucristo* (New Testament, that is, New Covenant of our Redeemer and only Savior Jesus Christ). Prior to the printing, there were objections to the words “only” and “covenant” for their “Lutheran connotations,” and Enzinas found himself obliged to delete them.²⁵ Taking advantage of the fact that the emperor—to whom his New Testament was dedicated—was in Brussels, Enzinas arranged to present the first copy off the press to him personally. The emperor’s remark, “Are you the author of this book?” revealed his supine ignorance regarding the Word of God.²⁶ But it was the emperor’s confessor Pedro Soto who a few days later objected strongly to the publication. He argued that until then Spain had remained free from heresy by prohibiting the Bible in the vernacular and that Enzinas had behaved most presumptuously by daring to publish his New Testament in Spanish in defiance to the laws of the land.²⁷ The outcome was Francisco’s arrest and imprisonment and the destruction of the entire edition. After a dramatic escape from prison in February 1545, Enzinas made his way back to Wittenberg and published an account of his adventures: *De statu Belgico et religione Hispanica* (Report on the Situation in Flanders and the Religion of Spain), known today as his *Memorias*. It covers the period from his return to Louvain from Wittenburg in April of 1543 and the executions he witnessed there, to the printing of his New Testament and his presentation to the emperor and his escape from prison in 1545.

The following year in Basel, he published an account of the murder of his friend Juan Diaz. From Basel he traveled to Geneva to meet Calvin. In 1548, he was in Strasbourg, where he became acquainted with Martin Bucer and Caspar Hedio,²⁸ and where he met and married Margaret d’Elter, a fellow religious exile from Belgium.²⁹ Almost immediately, in solidarity with the

²⁴ “Francisco de Enzinas (1520–1552),” *Grandes traductores de la Biblia*, Promotora Española de Lingüística, www.proel.org/index.php?pagina=traductores/enzinas.

²⁵ Francisco de Enzinas, *Memorias*, trans. Francisco Socas (Madrid: Clásicas, 1992), 149–53.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 160.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 180–81.

²⁸ Matthias Zell passed away that year. After the death of Bucer in England in early 1551, Hedio was the last surviving leader of the first generation of Reformers at Strasbourg.

²⁹ Both Enzinas and his wife, as well as Hedio, died of the plague that hit Strasbourg in 1552.

ousted pastors as a result of the imposition of the *Augsburg Interim* that ordered Protestants to readopt traditional Catholic beliefs and practices, the couple left for England. With letters of recommendation from his friend Melancthon to Bishop Thomas Cranmer, Enzinas was appointed professor of Greek at the University of Cambridge. That year he was also on a committee with Cranmer, Bucer, Peter Martyr Vermigli, Pablo Fagius, and Immanuel Tremellius—fellow exiles—deliberating the reform of the Book of Common Prayer; this indicates both his level of scholarship and the high esteem the Reformers had for him. Enzinas's *Memoirs* and his collected letters, which include correspondence with Melancthon, Bullinger, Bucer, Calvin, Laski, and other Reformers, offer an interesting dimension to the history of the Reformation that deserves more attention.³⁰

2. Augustin de Cazalla

Dr. Augustin de Cazalla (1510–1559), described by the Spanish historian Gonzalo de Illescas in his *Historia Pontifical* (1568) as “the most eloquent preacher in Spain at the time,” had studied at the College of Saint Gregorio in Valladolid under Bartolome de Carranza and at the University of Alcalá de Henares under his uncle, Bishop Juan de Cazalla, former chaplain of Cardinal Cisneros. From his youth, Cazalla and his siblings had been exposed to heterodox opinions. Their father, Pedro de Cazalla, was a close friend of the Vergara brothers, Juan and Francisco, and shared their sympathies for Luther; their mother had had close links with the *alumbrados*.

Cazalla entered the service of Charles V in 1543 as court preacher and personal chaplain. This allowed him to travel throughout Europe with the emperor for the next ten years, during which time he had contacts with some of the most prominent Protestant leaders. He would have been present when Francisco de Enzinas presented his translation of the New Testament to the emperor in Brussels in 1543 and would have witnessed how the emperor's confessor had Enzinas arrested and his New Testaments burned. Cazalla would also have accompanied the emperor to Regensburg in 1546, where Bucer and Johann Pistorius were the main Protestant interlocutors, and where he would have learned of the death of Luther. Cazalla may not have been physically present in Augsburg, since the emperor had delegated his brother Fernando, but he would have been aware of the theological debates that centered on the Augsburg Confession and the defense of the

³⁰ Francisco de Enzinas, *Epistolario*, trans. Ignacio J. García Pinilla, Travaux d'humanisme et Renaissance 290 (Geneva: Droz, 1995).

confession written by Melanchthon.³¹ He certainly was present when Charles V decreed the *Augsburg Interim* in the spring of 1548 after he had defeated the forces of the Smalcald League. Was Charles V's "Proclamation Against Heretics" (April 1550) that allowed the Inquisition in the Netherlands to arrest any heretic an eye-opener for Cazalla? Was he present when a Protestant victory forced Charles to sign the Peace of Passau on August 2, 1552, which granted some freedoms to Protestants and ended Charles's hopes of religious unity within his empire?

In any case, by the end of 1552, Cazalla was back in Spain, first as canon preacher of the cathedral in Salamanca and in 1556 in Valladolid as chaplain to some noble families and spiritual director of the Cistercian nuns at the Monastery of Belen. Through his brother Pedro, the parish priest at Pedrosa del Rey, Augustin Cazalla may have met the Italian nobleman Carlo de Sesso, who was busy sharing his newly found faith with his acquaintances. Sesso, who had lived in Spain since he was a young boy, returned to Italy in 1550 to collect an inheritance and there came in contact with Calvinists in Vicenza. Sesso returned to Spain a changed man. He also returned with books he eagerly began sharing with his acquaintances: Calvin's *Institutes* and several of his commentaries,³² Wolfgang Musculus's commentaries on Matthew and John,³³ Joannes Brenz on John and Luke,³⁴ and Luther's *Canticum graduum*, or commentary on Psalm 130, traditionally called *De profundis*. He also brought back several copies of Juan de Valdes's *110 Considerations* in Italian, which had just come off the Oporino press in Basel.³⁵

Around Easter of 1558 the inquisitors began incarcerating evangelicals in Valladolid. The Carranza siblings were the first to be seized. The inquisition records the proceedings of the auto-da-fé held on May 21, 1559, at which Dr. Augustin Cazalla was sentenced to the stake over details regarding his theological position:

The first [sentence] was that of Dr. Augustin de Cazalla, which was read from that same pulpit. Dr. Cazalla stood up to hear his sentence. The case against Dr. Augustin de Cazalla was this: The prosecutor of the Holy Inquisition of Valladolid said that

³¹ Charles P. Arand, "The Texts of the Apology of the Augsburg Confession," *Lutheran Quarterly* 12.4 (1998): 461–84.

³² Jean Calvin, *Institutio Totius Christianae Religionis* (Geneva, 1550); *Commentarii in Epistolam Pauli ad Romanos* (Strasbourg, 1540); *Commentarii in priorem Epistolam Pauli ad Corinthios* (Strasbourg, 1546); *Commentarii in 4 epistolas ad Gal., Ephes., Philip., Coloss.* (Geneva, 1548).

³³ Wolfgang Musculus, *Commentariorum in evangelistam Ioannem* (Basel, 1545); *In Evangelistam Matthaeum Commentarii* (Basel, 1544).

³⁴ Joannes Brentius, *Evangelion quod inscribitur, secundum Ioannem* (Frankfurt, 1551); *In Evangelii quod inscribitur secundum Lucam* (Frankfurt, 1551).

³⁵ Juan de Valdés, *Le cento et dieci divine considerationi del S. Giovanni Valdesso* (Basel, 1550).

when Dr. Augustin de Cazalla was in Germany he had read, and continues to read, the works of Lutheran heretics and had learned their ways and customs and, in particular, preached and taught the doctrine of the sect of the heretic Martin Luther, and that for many years he had held these doctrines and taught them. The heresies of which he was accused were these: first, that he and his followers called themselves *alumbrados*; secondly, that if one has a living faith that Jesus Christ our Redeemer had paid for the sins of the human race the day he died on the cross, that believing this he was justified and that no other works were necessary for his salvation. He also rejected fasting, oral prayers and oral confession and acknowledged only two sacraments, namely, baptism and the Eucharist. ... Likewise, man's free will did not allow him to do good but only evil. And Cazalla was a teacher and preacher of these false doctrines and other great offenses against the holy Catholic faith.³⁶

3. Constantino de la Fuente

Another court preacher later condemned for his heretical opinions was Dr. Constantino de la Fuente (1502–1560) from Seville. Calvete de Estrella described him as “a profound theologian, and one of the most notorious and eloquent men in the pulpit.”³⁷ The paths of these two famous preachers crossed briefly in Brussels in 1549 and again in 1550. In the summer of 1548 Constantino had been appointed Crown Prince Philip's preacher for his European tour. The tour took them to Genoa, Milan, Mantua, Trent, Innsbruck, Munich, Augsburg, Heidelberg, Ghent, Louvain, and other places, and finally ended in Brussels, where Philip's father the emperor held his court. On the return trip Prince Philip stopped again at Augsburg, which coincided with another session of the diet. The prince and his entourage attended the opening session held on July 8, 1550, where there were delegates, both Catholic and Protestant, from Mainz, Trier, Cologne, and the Palatinate. Was it there that Constantino became acquainted with Jakob Schopper, a Lutheran preacher from Biberach,³⁸ “mentioned as one who met with him, and [whose] conversation was useful in opening up Protestant truths”?³⁹ They very likely discussed the office of preacher, Constantino's pet subject, and also the topic of human depravity, one of Schopper's deep concerns.⁴⁰ Popular piety had decreased in Germany at the close of the

³⁶ Real Biblioteca de Palacio, II-2403, in Ernst H. J. Schäfer, *Protestantismo Español e Inquisición en el Siglo XVI*, trans. Francisco Ruiz de Pablos, 4 vols. (Seville: Editorial MAD, 2014), 3:7–23, doc. 377. For the full accusation, see Luttkhuizen, *Underground Protestantism in Sixteenth Century Spain*, 118–19.

³⁷ Juan Cristoval Calvete de Estrella, *El felicissimo viaje del muy alto y muy poderoso principe Don Phelippe* (Antwerp: M. Nucio, 1552), f. 7v.

³⁸ Schopper is the father of the theologian Jakob Schopper.

³⁹ M'Crie found this information in *Oratio de vita et obitu Johannis Hochmanni, recitata in Acad. Altorphina. Cui accessit historica narratio, de vita et obitu Jacobi Schopperi conscripta a Jacobo Schoppero* (Tubingae: Cellianis, 1605), 26–28.

⁴⁰ Constantino was noted for making fun of “foolish preachers,” or as Reginaldo Gonzalez de Montes puts it, “Most of all, he used to grid the foolish preachers, whereof there was never

Middle Ages. Growing luxury had spread through all ranks of society and sapped their stability; religion and morality were in many places at a low ebb.⁴¹ In 1545, Schopper showed great pessimism regarding the fruits of the new preaching: "... the young people, in these last thoroughly corrupt times, plunged into a variety of vices; an era of complete barbarism is setting in."⁴² Repeatedly at this period Luther expressed the wish that he and his loved ones might be snatched by a speedy death out of this "Satanic age." The cradle of the new evangel, Wittenberg, seemed to him a second Sodom, and the zealous, new-religion Leipzig, with its pride and its avarice, still worse than Sodom.⁴³

At Augsburg, Constantino also made acquaintance with Caspar von Nidbruck, the "undercover Protestant" diplomat, as Alexandra Kess calls him.⁴⁴ Nidbruck had asked Francisco de Enzinas, who had just returned to Strasbourg from London and was busy trying to find a printer for his translations of Lucian, Livy, and Plutarch, to arrange the meeting. The friendship between Enzinas and Nidbruck went back to their student days in Wittenberg under Melancthon in 1546. When Wittenberg University closed on November 6, 1546, because of the Smalcald War, Nidbruck transferred to the University of Erfurt, and the following year he left for Padua, where he received a doctorate in law.⁴⁵ He was back in Vienna in 1550 and had kept in touch with Enzinas all this time. It is difficult to believe that Nidbruck's interest in meeting Constantino was due merely to the fact that he was considered one of Spain's most eminent preachers. Both Enzinas and Nidbruck must have been aware of Constantino's religious empathies. Nevertheless, Nidbruck's instructions to Enzinas were these:

You need not mention the topic of religion [to Constantino], and without your engaging me too much by your promises, you may affirm this, that what he shall communicate to me will be entrusted to a confidential person. Were you disposed to

any age so full, whom the Holy Scriptures account to be the vilest sort of people that are, comparing them to salt that has lost his savor and will serve to no use." Reginaldo Gonzalez de Montes, *A Discovery and playne Declaration of Sundry Subtill Practises of the Holy Inquisition of Spayne* (London: John Daye, 1569), f. 92r.

⁴¹ Johannes Janssen, *History of the German People after the Close of the Middle Ages*, trans. A. M. Christie, 16 vols. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co, 1910), 16:1.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 16:28.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 16:20. For an overview of the pessimistic assessment of the times, see *ibid.*, 16:1–136.

⁴⁴ Alexandra Kess, *Johann Sleidan and the Protestant Vision of History* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 136.

⁴⁵ Luka Ilic, "Calvin, Flacius, Nidbruck, and Lutheran Historiography," in Herman J. Selderhuis and Arnold Huijgen, eds., *Calvinus Pastor Ecclesiae: Papers of the Eleventh International Congress on Calvin Research* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2016), 321.

confer with him upon your own affairs, that would be best done by your informing him of them when I shall be at Augsburg, for I shall easily ascertain how he is affected towards pure Evangelical doctrine, and how he is affected towards you, as also what others think of you.⁴⁶

These words indicate how cautious persons were of committing themselves on the subject of religion. After the interview, Nidbruck wrote again to Enzinas, saying,

The venerable man, Dr. Constantino, has received me with great friendliness, and, what with his wisdom and learning, I doubt not that he will be able, assisted by your counsel, to promote what I have proposed, which he promised that he will do, and I do not mistrust his good will.⁴⁷

There is no record of what Nidbruck had in mind with the phrase “to promote what I have proposed,” but considering that he was royal librarian for Emperor Ferdinand I in Vienna, and that he belonged to the diplomatic core, their conversation must have centered around books. Nidbruck was well connected.⁴⁸ His position at the Habsburg court would have allowed him to pursue contacts with Catholics and Protestants alike, especially bearing in mind Maximilian II’s rather tolerant attitude towards Protestantism.⁴⁹ Was Nidbruck already beginning to gather information for Matthias Flacius’s proposed church history? Did he know that Constantino’s friend Dr. Egidio had just been arrested on charges of preaching Lutheran doctrines? What advantages did the meeting at Augsburg with Nidbruck have for Constantino? Were arrangements made for Nidbruck to send Constantino literature via diplomatic service? Was the arrival in Seville in the fall of 1550 of a large trunk of “Lutheran” books sent from Brussels by Gaspar Zapata, camouflaged between the belongings of a nobleman returning to Seville, a result of this meeting?⁵⁰ The trunk of books was seized and a dispatch was immediately sent from the *Suprema* to Emperor Charles V in Brussels, stating,

⁴⁶ John Stoughton, *The Spanish Reformers: Their Memories and Dwelling-Places* (1883; repr., London: Forgotten Books, 2013), 140.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 141.

⁴⁸ Illic, “Calvin, Flacius, Nidbruck,” 319–32.

⁴⁹ Kess, *Johann Sleidan*, 133.

⁵⁰ Timewise, this is perfectly feasible. The two men met in April. The trunk of books arrived in the fall.

Instructions for his majesty's court: First, let Gaspar Zapata, servant of Fadrique Enriquez, brother of the Marquis of Tarifa, who lives in his majesty's court, be examined under oath and tell and declare if he knows where the priest Diego de la Cruz, who lived some years in Seville and is now in Flanders. Gaspar Zapata should also be asked if he delivered a trunk of Lutheran books to Antonio de Guzman, a knight from Seville, when he left Brussels. These books have been seized by the Inquisitors at Seville. Have him declare who the books were for and if he sent them in his own name or in the name of another, and who wrote to him asking him to send them and who bought them and anything else related to this business, such as what he did with them before he embarked, etc., that is, anything else that might shed light on the case. This information should then be carefully and secretly sent to the Inquisitor General or to the Supreme Council of this kingdom of Spain in a sealed envelope.⁵¹

The very fact that the *Suprema* insisted on such secrecy makes us suspect that these "Lutheran" books were meant for Constantino. In the list of confiscated books inventoried around 1563, there are three works published in Augsburg, which could have been purchased by Constantino that day in 1550 or sent later. The three books were Arsatius Schofer's *Enarrationes Evangeliorum Dominicalium* (Augsburg, 1539), Bernardino Ochino's *Expositio Epistolae diui Pauli ad Romanos* (Augsburg, 1550), and *Omnium operum Divi Avrelii Avgvstini, episcopi hipponensis* (Augsburg, 1537), a collection of Saint Augustine's works by Johannes Pistorius the Elder (Johannes Pessellius). These confiscated books may have formed part of Constantino's secret library discovered by the inquisitors in 1561.

Another confiscated library was the one belonging to the Dominican friar Domingo de Guzman. Guzman was among the recipients of the books smuggled in by Julian Hernandez in the summer of 1557. When the inquisitors got word that Guzman was one of the recipients, orders were given that he be confined to his rooms while his books and papers were taken to Triana for examination.⁵² It took the inquisitors over a month to examine his large library. Finally, on March 3, 1558, Guzman himself was taken to Triana and put in solitary confinement.⁵³ His books, already confiscated, were put in secret keeping. Instructions were sent from the Supreme Council that no one should have access to them. A year later, on November 2, 1559, the Council asked the inquisitors at Seville to search among them for a commentary by Luther on Isaiah or on the Prophets, and also one on the Epistle of Paul to the Galatians. The commentaries were found and duly

⁵¹ AHN, *Inquisición*, lib. 574, f. 216r.

⁵² *Ibid.*, lib. 575, ff. 57r–57v.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, lib. 575, f. 59r.

sent to Toledo. Information regarding Guzman is scanty. The text appended to the 1569 English edition of Montes's *Artes* reads thus:

In the same Act there was brought onto the scaffold one called Fray Domingo de Guzman, a Dominican Friar and a preacher, one of the cloister of St. Paul in Seville, who, having brought divers Lutheran books (as they commonly term them in Spain), lent the same to divers in Seville, and began to profess the gospel and to preach it to others, whereupon, he was apprehended and committed to prison. But, for as much as he was bastard brother to the Duke of Medina Sidonia, and in hope of preferment to some archbishopric, he openly recanted. Howbeit, the inquisitors, fearing to allow any that had been at any time inclined towards like heresy to be preferred to any such place of authority and countenance, first commanded that all his books, which were about 1000 volumes, should be burnt before his face, despite his recantation, and awarded him to perpetual prison.⁵⁴

Fray Guzman's sentence, pronounced at the auto-da-fé held in Seville on July 11, 1563, sheds more light on his involvement in the evangelical movement at Seville:

Fray Domingo de Guzman, preacher of the Order of Santo Domingo, resident in the monastery of San Pablo of Seville. For things of the Lutheran sect and for having favored and protecting persons of the Lutheran sect and having brought out of Flanders many copies of heretical books and for having them a lot of time in his possession and reading in them and discussing with other persons that belonged to the above mentioned Lutheran sect, is sentenced to appear on the scaffold in a simple robe and a low scapular, with his head uncovered and a wax candle in his hand. He is to publicly retract the proposals in the memorial signed by the inquisitors, and be declared suspicious, in accordance with the memorial. He is to abjure *de vehementi* [solemnly renouncing a major error]⁵⁵ and be dismissed from his order and removed from the office of priest. He is not allowed to celebrate Mass, confess, preach, discuss, read, speak or communicate with anyone other than those persons permitted by the lord inquisitors. He is permanently prohibited to voice his opinion, either actively or passively, and is to be confined for life in the monastery or prison-house designated and is to comply with the spiritual and temporal penitence assigned him under penalty of backsliding. And all the books found in his possession must be burned publicly in San Francisco square.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ Montes, *A Discovery*, Appendix.

⁵⁵ Montes elaborates on the term: "They call it *Abjuration de vehementi* when, in hearing and debating any man's cause, it is not clear what is to be determined due to lack of sufficient proof, and because the party himself confessed nothing that deserved any manner of punishment. Therefore, upon such a fellow, whom they can neither by justice condemn for a heretic, nor of their consciences absolve and set at liberty for a good Catholic, they give sentence upon him as upon one 'vehemently suspected.' And so, according to their suspicion, they cause him to abjure. And such a man, being afterward found guilty, be it in the least matter touching papistry, they take for a relapse and condemn to the fire." Montes, *A Discovery*, f. 58r.

⁵⁶ AHN, *Inquisición*, leg. 2075, doc. 3.

Conclusion

Despite the edicts and confiscations, prohibited literature continued to arrive. In 1563 and again in 1564 numerous bales coming from Lyon were intercepted at the French border.⁵⁷ From Lyon books were shipped to La Rochelle, an important Huguenot stronghold on the Atlantic coast, and from there were sent camouflaged along with other merchandise to Seville. One would suppose that after the severe repression and the autos-de-fé carried out between 1558 and 1563, there would have been no potential buyers or readers of Protestant literature left in Seville. The authors of the books reported confiscated in 1563 in Seville, many of which may have belonged to either Constantino's or Guzman's library, include

Aemilius, Agricola, Agrippa, Althamerus, Aretius, Atropaeus [Becker], Bibliander, Bonnus, Brenz (12), Brunfels, Bucer, Bullinger (8), Calvin (10), Capito, Clauserus, Corvinus, Creutziger, Culmann, Curione, Draconites, Erasmus, Fagius, Flacius, Flavius, Gallus, Gast, Gesner, Hegendorphius, Hoffman, Hyperius, Indagine, Jonas, Kling, Lagus, Lambertus, Lazius, Lefèvre d'Étaples, Lorch, Lossius, Luther, Megander, Melancthon (10), Meyer, Münster, Musculus, Obsopoeus, Oecolampadius (10), Osiander, Patavinus, Pellicanus, Piscator [Pessellius], Postel, Pupper von Goch, Regius, Rivius, Sarcerius (16), Schofer, Sleidanus, Spangenberg, Spira, Urspergensis, Vadianus, Venatorius, Vergilius, Vermigli, Viret, Vitus, Wellerus, Werdmüller, Westhemerus, Willich, Zwingli.⁵⁸

Enlarging the Index did not solve the problem. Clandestine literature continued to enter or come to light. Among the two hundred confiscated books inventoried in 1583 by Dr. Heredia were a dozen Spanish Bibles, Calvin's commentary on Isaiah, Musculus's commentary on Romans, Savonarola's *Exposicion del psalmo Inte domine speraui*, a book by Justus Jonas, several by Petrus Ramus and by Conrad Gesner, and a half dozen by Erasmus.⁵⁹ That the majority of all these volumes were in Latin implies a highly educated readership. Were they priests or laypersons? Likewise, the vast range of authors implies a knowledgeable readership. Who chose the titles?

Hopefully this brief sketch of the impact of Luther and the first generation of northern Reformers on the Spanish Reformers may encourage further study. The impact of Calvin and the second generation of northern Reformers on Juan Perez de Pineda and the Hieronymite monks that fled Seville in 1557 requires another essay.

⁵⁷ Werner Thomas, *La represión del protestantismo en España, 1517–1648* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2001), 242.

⁵⁸ See Luttkhuizen, *Underground Protestantism*, Appendix A. Numbers between brackets indicate an exceptional number of titles.

⁵⁹ AHN, *Inquisición*, leg. 4426, doc. 31.