

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

‘Solo Salvador’: *Printing the 1543
New Testament of Francisco de
Enzinas (Dryander)*

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I

Spain in the sixteenth century was not exempt from the movements of reform sweeping over Europe. Its enthusiastic but short-lived reception of Erasmian humanism in the 1520s is well-documented.¹ So is its even more enthusiastic suppression of native ‘Lutheran’ conventicles in the 1550s and the extinction of hope for a Protestant Church in the kingdom of the Spanish Habsburgs. These events have relegated Hispanic Protestantism to little more than a footnote in most histories.

The story, though, is not limited to the Iberian peninsula. A dedicated cadre of Spaniards did battle in the realm of ideas from places of exile in Naples, France, England, Geneva and Germany. In so doing, they contributed significantly to a core literature of evangelical humanism in Spanish. This corpus consists, in part, of translations of Reformers’ works, such as Melancthon’s *Antithesis* and Luther’s treatise on Christian

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¹ Marcel Bataillon, *Erasmus et l’Espagne: nouvelle édition en trois volumes*, Geneva 1991.

liberty, by Francisco de Enzinas (1540); Calvin's catechism, by Juan Pérez (Geneva 1556); and Calvin's *Institutes*, by Cipriano de Valera (London 1597). Translations of classics also figure prominently in the work of Francisco de Enzinas, for example Plutarch's *Lives* and the *Decades* of Livy.

Most important, in the Spanish Reformers' own judgement as well as in lasting influence, is the translation of the Bible into Spanish. This began with the publication in 1543 of Francisco de Enzinas's New Testament and culminated with Cipriano de Valera's Bible (popularly called the Reina-Valera version) in 1602, with major contributions along the way from Juan Pérez, Casiodoro de Reina and possibly Juan de Valdés.² The work of these translators is interconnected, though the relationship is not yet clear in every instance.

Of all the contributions to what became the Reina-Valera Bible, that of Francisco de Enzinas is least known. Enzinas's was the first Spanish New Testament ever printed and the first made from Greek.³ It was also unique in having been produced before Scripture in the vernacular was generally prohibited, so that its intended audience was the whole Spanish nation rather than an evangelical minority. However, it was suppressed by the imperial authorities, making copies scarce even in the latter half of the sixteenth century. For this reason, Juan Pérez, a Calvinist from Seville, published his own version at Geneva in 1556, thirteen years after that of Enzinas.

The end of a further thirteen years saw the publication of Casiodoro de Reina's *Biblia del Oso* (Basle 1569), into which the translator incorporated verbatim large sections of Pérez's New Testament. Most significant for the present purpose is Pérez's dependence upon Enzinas, for this fact establishes an organic link between the first Spanish New Testament and the Reina-Valera version (still the most widely-used Bible in the Protestant Spanish-speaking world) and enhances considerably the importance of Enzinas's biblical labours.

There is testimony to the Enzinas-Pérez connection in the records of the Spanish Inquisition. Felipe de la Torre, Royal Chaplain, was summoned before the Tribunal in 1561:

When asked if he knew of any person who had written anything against our holy faith... he said that, this witness being in Paris, he understood from others who

² A. Gordon Kinder, 'Juan Pérez de Pineda (Pierius): a Spanish Calvinist minister of the gospel in sixteenth-century Geneva', *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* liii (1976), 283-300, and *Casiodoro de Reina: Spanish reformer of the sixteenth century*, London 1975; Pedro N. Tablante Garrido, 'Del Nuevo Testamento traducido por el doctor Juan Pérez', *Humanidades* (Mérida, Venezuela), iii-iv (1959), 1-15.

³ Juan de Valdés (?1500-41) made translations from Greek of New Testament books. Chapters v-vii of St Matthew appeared in his *Dialogo de doctrina christiana* in 1529. Romans and 1 Corinthians were published in 1556 and 1557 by Jean Crespin of Geneva.

lived there that Dr Juan Pérez, [school] master, was correcting a New Testament that circulated in Spain, which had been translated by a certain Encinas.⁴

A comparison of the two translations bears this out at a number of points.

The following paper explores the circumstances of the publication of Enzinas's New Testament. It will concentrate on bibliographical and historical issues, leaving aside the larger questions of biblical text and translation. The final section will give attention to an extant variant of the New Testament's title page and preliminary material which was previously unknown to scholars. The story's primary source is Enzinas's own memoir of 1543–5, *De statu belgico*, though this aligns well with other contemporary sources. Enzinas's account provides much that is of interest, including a fascinating look into Antwerp's semi-clandestine evangelical publishing industry in the 1540s, which operated with astonishing freedom in the heart of the Emperor Charles v's patrimonial lands.

Francisco de Enzinas was born at Burgos about 1520 and died at Strasbourg in December of 1552. His life has been ably sketched by others and the principal sources recently published.⁵ The briefest details will suffice for the present purpose. Enzinas himself says that he was educated in the Low Countries. About 1537 he decided on a career in humanist letters and began working on biblical translation.⁶ He also took the surname *Dryander*. Early influenced by Erasmus, he identified himself with the evangelical cause through contacts with Reformers like Jan Laski. By 1540 his statements are clearly Protestant.⁷ After two years at the Trilingual College in Louvain, he enrolled at the University of Wittenberg in October 1541. There he lived in Philip Melanchthon's house and finished his New Testament translation, working from Erasmus's *Novum Testamentum*.⁸ He returned to Brabant early in 1543 to have it printed. In

⁴ 'Preguntado si sabe que alguna perssona aya escripto alguna cosa contra lo que tiene nuestra sa[n]cta fee e Yglesia catholica Romana... dixo que, estando este testigo en Paris, entendio de otros que alli residian que el doctor Juan Perez, maestro, corregia un Testamento Nuevo que andava en Espana, el qual avia traduzido un Encinas': *Fray Bartolomé Carranza: documentos históricos*, ed. J. I. Tellechea Idigoras, Madrid 1963, ii, pt II, 851.

⁵ The principal original sources of Enzinas's life are two: Francisco de Enzinas, *De statu belgico deque religione hispanica*, ed. Francisco Socas, Leipzig 1991, and *Epistolario*, ed. Ignacio J. García Pinilla, Geneva 1995. Enzinas's life has been sketched in Eduard Boehmer, *Bibliotheca Wiffeniana: Spanish reformers of two centuries*, Strasbourg 1874, i. 133–55, and in Enzinas, *Epistolario*, pp. xvii–xxiii.

⁶ In a letter to Calvin written 30 Oct. 1552, Enzinas refers to his fifteen years of biblical labours: *Epistolario*, letter 69.

⁷ For example, 'por solo el merito de Christo, por sola la iustitia de Christo, son de todo punto, muy complidamente, iustificados y purgados los fieles': *Breve y compendiosa institucion de la religion cristiana*, Antwerp 1540, fo. Dii(v).

⁸ Enzinas's New Testament closely reflects Erasmus' Greek text, Latin vocabulary and *Annotationes*.

November of the same year, he presented a copy to Charles v at Brussels. However, the work was suppressed and Enzinas imprisoned. In February 1545 he escaped and returned to Wittenberg.

II

Enzinas reached Louvain with his New Testament manuscript on or before 20 March 1543. His plan seems to have been to stay there while putting the finishing touches to his translation, then print the book and be back in Wittenberg by midsummer.⁹ But he was confronted with a threatening religious situation. On the eve of his arrival, twenty-eight suspected Lutherans had been arrested and their houses searched for heretical literature.¹⁰ Consequently, Enzinas's welcome among the friends of his student days turned sour when they learned he had been in Wittenberg. He spent the spring and summer partly at Antwerp with Diego Ortega, an uncle who shared his humanist interests, and partly at Louvain among his more conservative relatives. In July he witnessed the executions of some of the Louvain Lutherans.

For at least four months, he 'had deliberately postponed the printing of the New Testament on account of those public disturbances'.¹¹ With calm restored, he decided to proceed. His first step was to seek a licence from the theological faculty of Louvain. This was a route to imperial approval, as can be seen in this excerpt from the privilege in a Gospel harmony printed at Antwerp in 1539:

And inasmuch as the Dean and Priest of the church of Saint Pierre in our University of Louvain has examined and seen the said book, together with the Doctors and Theologians of the said University, and, based on its good teachings and lack of anything that could be construed as heretical, has found it to be good and useful for leading the people to piety ... we ... agree that he may and shall be allowed to print and have printed, enjoy and use, sell and distribute the said book without any impediment ... Given at Brussels ... by the emperor and his council.¹²

⁹ The translation was not quite finished, for Zsigmond Gelous, at Louvain, writes to Enzinas at Antwerp on 1 Aug. 1543: 'Si uoles aliquanto tempore manere hic, hospes tibi in lingua Graeca prodesse poterit': Enzinas, *Epistolario*, letter 1e. Philip Melanchthon, writing from Cologne to Paul Eber at Wittenberg on 13 July 1543, thought Enzinas might have returned already: *Corpus Reformatorum* v, letter 2725.

¹⁰ Interrogations began on 20 Mar. 1543: *Mémoires de Francisco de Enzinas: texte latin inédit, avec la traduction française du XVI^e siècle en regard, 1543-1545*, ed. C.-A. Campan, Brussels 1862-3, i. 492.

¹¹ 'Tum demum tempus mihi esse uisum est, ut de aeditione Noui Testamenti cogitarem, quam eo usque consulto differre uolui propter eam quam diximus status publici perturbationem': Enzinas, *De statu belgico*, 39. Occasionally, where the flow of the English demands an abbreviated quotation, I have given the complete text in the Latin original.

¹² 'Et combien que Monsieur le Doyen et Cure de l'église de Sainct Pierre en nostre Uniuersite de Louuain aye uisite & regarde le dit liuret avec les Docteurs & Theologiens

After looking over Enzinas's manuscript – superficially, for they knew no Spanish – the Louvain doctors said that 'they doubted whether it would be advantageous to the Spaniards to have the New Testament in their language, being aware that all the heresies now emerging throughout the Low Countries had no other source than the general reading of the Bible in the vernacular'. They could not, however, forbid it, 'since the emperor has not prohibited it, and has, in fact, given licence to the printers to print the Holy Scriptures without obtaining permission from the theologians'.¹³

Receiving no support from this quarter, Enzinas circulated the manuscript in Louvain among certain Spaniards whom he thought 'outstanding in learning and sobriety'.¹⁴ They assured him that the translation was well made and should be given to the public. Enzinas says: 'Satisfied with the judgement of these men, I was wholly determined to publish my New Testament, trusting above all in the aid of the Eternal Father'.¹⁵

He decided to go to Antwerp, where printing facilities were more readily available and the theologians of Louvain would not be looking over his shoulder. Another reason must have been the greater number of evangelical sympathisers as against Louvain and Brussels, where persecutions had produced a sobering effect. Testimony to the 'Lutheran' presence in Antwerp near the end of 1543 is given by the archbishop of Santiago in a letter to the emperor: 'The town of Antwerp where I stayed five weeks is so harmed by the false liberties of Luther that it makes one deeply sorry to think about it and words cannot describe it. ... May Jesus Christ... put it in [Your Majesty's] heart that the time to repair the damage is slipping away unnoticed.'¹⁶

de la dicte Universite, aussy en considerant les bonnes doctrines, sans auoir aucunes suspectes matieres d'heresie, ont trouvez le dicte liuret bon & utilite pour tire[r] le peuple a deuotion... nous... accordons... qu'il puyst & pourra imprimer & faire imprimer iouyr & user, vendre & distribuer le dict liuret sans luy faire aucun empeschement... Donne en nostre ville de Bruxelles... Par l'empereur & son conseil': *La vie de nostre Seigneur Jesu Christ par figures selon le texte des quatre euangelistes*, Kempe and Crom: Antwerp 1539. The privilege was first granted to Kempe in 1537 when he and Crom printed the Latin predecessor of this work.

¹³ 'se...dubitare quoque utrum expediat Hispanis Nouum Testamentum in suam linguam conuersum habere, siquidem non aliis fontibus haereses in tota Inferiore Germania natas esse animaduertebant quam lectione sacrorum uoluminum quae uulgo populari lingua legerentur....sed quoniam Imperator hoc non prohibuit, imo etiam facultatem praebeuit typographis imprimendi sacras literas, nulla petita nullaque impetrata a theologis uenia,...neque Hispanici Noui Testamenti aeditionem aut probare aut prohibere posse': Enzinas, *De statu belgico*, 40.

¹⁴ 'praecipuos quosdam Hispanos doctrina et grauitate praestantes': *ibid.* 41.

¹⁵ 'Horum ergo iudicio contentus decreui omnino in lucem aedere Nouum Testamentum, potissimum uero fretus aeterni Patris praesidio': *ibid.* 42.

¹⁶ 'La villa de Amberes do estuve cinco semanas esta tan dañada en las falsas libertades de Lutero que es gran lastima pensallo y faltan palabras para dezillo...Jesucristo...le

Enzinas went to Antwerp ‘one or two months after the martyrdoms at Louvain’ – probably the first days of September 1543.¹⁷ Upon arriving, he showed the manuscript to a number of people. Some suggested that ‘I should await the arrival of the emperor, which – it was said – was very near’. They thought it would be easy to obtain an imperial privilege for a work so important to the Christian commonwealth.¹⁸ Enzinas, though, rejected this cautious route and made contact with the printer.

This helps narrow the time-frame within which printing must have started. Charles V was at war with the duke of Cleves from the last week of August until 7 September. The court began to move toward Brussels on 14 September to obtain funds from the Estates of the Netherlands. However, by 19 September, the move had been aborted and the deputies of the Estates went to meet Charles at Diest, where he was immobilised by gout. When he was able to travel again, in early October, he went to join his armies on the French border.¹⁹ The final decision to print the New Testament, then, must have been taken during the second or third week of September, while the emperor was still thought to be on the point of arriving in Brussels.

Enzinas makes clear why he decided not to wait for approval:

Knowing the temperament of my people, I did not doubt that there would be certain Spaniards in the emperor’s court who would be less favourable toward the appearance at that time of the heavenly doctrine than what its dignity demanded. Consequently, there was a danger that, if I awaited the judgement of those men, they would try to suppress the work before it was born. So I decided not to submit in the least to those who counselled me [to await the emperor’s arrival].²⁰

ponga en el corazon [de V. Md.] que sin sentillo se va pasando el tiempo de remediallo’: Gaspar de Ávalos to Charles V, 3 Feb. 1544, BL, ms Add. 28,598 (Bergenroth Transcripts of Spanish State Papers). Enzinas knew Avalos but after printing the New Testament found that the archbishop had used his influence against it.

¹⁷ ‘uno aut altero mense post martyrium Louaniensium’: Enzinas, *De statu belgico*, 43. This time statement refers to the arrest of a suspected Lutheran in Louvain which occurred on a Sunday just before Enzinas left for Antwerp. I take ‘one or two months’ after July to mean later than August but not a full two months after the executions, therefore early September. The first Sunday of the month was 3 Sept.

¹⁸ ‘Quidam mihi autores fuerunt ut aduentum Imperatoris, qui iam prope adesse dicebatur, expectarem, a quo facile impetrari posse arbitrabantur, ut opus Christianae reipublicae summe necessarium et autoritate sua ornaret et priuilegio (quod uocant) insigniret’: Enzinas, *De statu belgico*, 47.

¹⁹ Vicente de Cadenas y Vicent, *Diario del Emperador Charles V (itinerarios, despachos, sucesos y efemérides relevantes de su vida)*, Madrid 1992; Alexandre Henne, *Histoire de la Belgique sous le règne de Charles-Quint*, Brussels 1865, 267. According to Henne, the opening session of the Estates was on 30 Sept. in the house where Charles was staying in Diest.

²⁰ ‘(noueram quoque nostrorum hominum ingenia neque dubitabam aliquos Hispanos in aula Imperatoris futuros, qui prodeunti nunc coelesti doctrinae malignius fauerent quam dignitas tantarum rerum postularet, eoque periculum erat fore ut opus nondum natum, si illorum praeiudicia expectarem, conarentur extinguere), statui equidem non omnino meis consultoribus... obtemperare’: Enzinas, *De statu belgico*, 47.

On the other hand, he believed that the emperor himself would approve the work if it were presented to him before advisers could turn him against it. Doubtless this was why Enzinas planned to present it to him 'the moment he arrived' in Brussels.²¹ In a detailed passage about the origin of the anti-heresy laws of 1540, Enzinas places the blame on friars and theologians who advised the emperor.²² He, in contrast, 'is predisposed, according to his good nature, to be moderate in his judgements'.²³ Enzinas may here be guilty of naivety but not of falseness or flattery; he staked his freedom and even his life on this reading of the emperor's character.

The next step was to engage a printer. Only one Antwerp man consistently produced works for the Spanish market, the bookseller-printer Jan Steels. Between 1529 and 1543 he had printed (or commissioned Jean Grapheus to print for him) at least seven editions of Antonio de Guevara's *Libro aureo*. Other Steels Spanish editions included a book of hours (1539) and Ambrosio Montesino's *Evangelios y epistolas* (1543).²⁴ The other well-known Antwerp printer of Spanish books, Martin Nuyts (Nutius or Nucio), did not begin steady production until 1544; he produced only one Spanish book in 1543, a selection of Psalms with the Lamentations of Jeremiah, translated from Latin by Hernando Jarava, chaplain to the emperor's sister Leonora.²⁵

Steels would have been an obvious choice if the only issue were the book's language. But Enzinas had to consider that he was printing a work thought suspicious in certain circles and which did not yet carry the imperial privilege. His choice was Mattheus Crom, a printer of Reformation literature.²⁶ Crom had produced at least nineteen Bibles, New Testaments and Gospel harmonies between 1536 and 1541, including editions of Tyndale and Coverdale, Le Fèvre, Erasmus' *Novum Testamentum*

²¹ 'negocium, quod tum illius aduentu confectum cupiebam': *ibid.* 54.

²² The Imperial edict of 22 Sept. 1540 prohibited Protestants' works and certain editions of the New Testament; it did not contain, however, a general prohibition of Scripture in the vernacular: *Recueil des ordonnances des Pays-Bas, deuxième série 1506-1700*, Brussels 1898, iv. 224-9; *Index des livres interdits*, ed. J. M. Bujanda, Sherbrooke 1986, ii.

²³ '[The theologians and monks] facile potuerunt sensus mitissimi Imperatoris, alioqui naturae suae bonitate ad moderata consilia compositos, peruertere': Enzinas, *De statu belgico*, 36.

²⁴ Jean Peeters-Fontainas, *Bibliographie des impressions espagnoles des Pays-Bas méridionaux*, Nieuwkoop 1965; Anne-Marie Frédéric, 'Supplément à la Bibliographie des impressions espagnoles des Pays-Bas méridionaux', *De Gulden Passer* (1977), 1-64.

²⁵ *Lo que en este libro esta traduzido de latin en lengua castellana, con vna breue exposicion, es lo siguiente. Los siete psalmos penitenciales. Los quinze psalmos del canticungrado. Las lamentaciones de jeremias. Lo qual todo la muy proerosa y christianissima senora Leonor Reyna de Francia, mando ansi traduzir y componer, la maestro hernando jarava su capellan. (Con privilegio)*, Antwerp 20 Jan.

1543.

²⁶ Anne Rouzet, *Dictionnaire des imprimeurs, libraires et éditeurs des XV^e et XVI^e siècles... en Belgique*, Nieuwkoop 1975, s.v. 'Crom, Mattheus'.

and harmonies by Branteghem and Andreas Osiander.²⁷ After 1541 his output turned more toward evangelical tracts – some of which were confiscated from the citizens arrested in Louvain.²⁸

There was a further reason why Enzinas would have turned to Crom: they already knew each other. In late 1540 or early 1541 Crom had printed a Spanish translation of Calvin's *Instruction et confession de foy* and Luther's *De libertate cristiana* with a prologue by Enzinas, under the title, *Breve y compendiosa institución de la religion christiana*. The names of writer and printer were disguised.²⁹

The enterprise at hand was less secretive. Crom assured Enzinas that 'it was legal to print all the Holy Scriptures... [and] no law of the emperor had ever prohibited [it]. He supported his assertion with the experience of himself and others in that city who had published the New Testament in nearly every language of Europe'. Enzinas replied, 'Prepare the press, then, and whatever is needed for printing'. Wanting to obtain the emperor's approval once the book was off the press, and keep ahead of any organised opposition, he would have wished to avoid delay. 'I gave [the printer] the manuscript copy and begged him to hurry the printing', he says.³⁰ Enzinas undertook to pay the costs himself.

Five works of 1543 from Crom's office bear the name of his brother-in-law, Steven Mierdmans. Enzinas's New Testament is one; its colophon reads: *Acabose de imprimir este libro en la insigne cibdad de Enueres, en casa de Esteuan Mierdmanno, impressor de libros a. 25. de Octubre, en al año [sic] del Señor de M.D.XLIII*. The reason for Mierdmann's involvement is not known, for Crom appears to have still been alive.³¹

At the start, Enzinas and his printer faced two questions: what format and appearance the book should have, and how many copies to print. The

²⁷ This total counts the variants of the Tyndale New Testament ('Mole', 'Blank Stone', 'Printer's Mark') as a single edition.

²⁸ 'Il [Jean Schats] finit par avouer que les *Postilles* ont été achetées chez Crommel': Campan, *Mémoires*, 353; see also pp. 344–5, 346–9, 364–5.

²⁹ 'Francisco de Elao' and 'Adam Coruus'. *Elao* is a Hebrew word whose Spanish equivalent is *enzina* ('oak'). The Spanish *corvo* equals the Dutch *krom*. These were deciphered by Marcel Bataillon and H. Wijnman, respectively.

³⁰ 'Respondit licere quidem omnino sacras literas imprimere sine ullius hominis concessu aut prohibitione... addebat quoque id quod res erat, nullas unquam Imperatoris leges aeditionem sacrarum literarum prohibuisse... Hanc sententiam confirmabat et suis et aliorum exemplis, qui in eadem ciuitate Nouum Testamentum in omnibus pene Europae linguis typis impressum euulgarunt... Tum ego: "praelum igitur adorna et quae ad aeditionem necessaria erunt"... tradidi ergo ei exemplar descriptum multumque orauit ut aeditionem maturaret': Enzinas, *De statu belgico*, 48–9.

³¹ Rouzet, *Dictionnaire*, s.v. 'Mierdmans, Steven'. Crom was still living in January 1545, according to a document cited by Rouzet. The following works can be added to Rouzet's bibliographies for Crom and Mierdmans: Paul Valkema Blouw, 'The Van Oldenborch and Vanden Merberghe pseudonyms, or why Frans Fraet had to die', *Quaerendo* xxii/xxiii, xxiii/xxiv (1992); L. Heijting, 'Early Reformation literature from the printing shop of M. Crom and S. Mierdmans', *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis* lxxiv (1994).

conjunction of format, typeface and illustrations determined, at least partly, how well the book would be accepted and what segment of the public would be drawn to it. To understand better the following bibliographical discussion, one needs to know how books were printed in the sixteenth century, so it is worth reviewing this very briefly here.

'Books were printed ... not leaf by leaf but on large sheets of paper with a number of pages on each side, which were later folded up to make groups of leaves.'³² In 'octavo' format, such as Enzinas's New Testament was, each sheet held sixteen pages, eight per side, forming eight leaves when folded. Each group of leaves was called a 'gathering' or 'signature', the latter term coming from the fact that 'each sheet was signed on the first page with a letter of the alphabet so that they could readily be arranged in alphabetical order'.³³

Typefaces were made in a variety of styles: Roman, imitating inscriptions of classical antiquity; Gothic, imitating the handwriting of medieval copyists; and Italic, a contemporary style. Gothic was popular in the early days of printing because it resembled the manuscript books people already knew. It continued to be used for vernacular books in Spain after it had fallen out of favour elsewhere. Enzinas's New Testament, though, was printed in Roman type, the marginal notes in Italic and Greek; it uses no Gothic. It is one of the earlier examples of Roman type in printed Scripture.³⁴ Enzinas's choice seems surprising in light of the popularity of Gothic type in Spain. Roman, with its link to classical antiquity, was used by the printers of Spain mostly for works in Latin.³⁵ If Enzinas intended his New Testament for the Spanish public at large, why did he make this choice?

The answer lies partly in the different situation for Spanish-language books printed in the Low Countries. There it was common practice to print Latin works in Roman type, and Dutch and English in Gothic – as can be seen in polyglot works like the *Novum Testamentum Latinogermanum* (Crom: Antwerp 1539) where the parallel columns of Dutch and Latin each have a distinctive typeface. However, Jan Steels pioneered the use of Roman type in Spanish books as early as his first edition of the *Libro aureo* in 1529. Though not the first book printed in Spanish in the Low Countries, it was the first made for the Spanish public at large. The use of Roman type was continued by Martin Nuyts. Of Spanish biblical

³² Philip Gaskell, *A new introduction to bibliography*, Oxford 1979, 51.

³³ Ibid. The alphabet consisted of 23 letters, omitting W and counting I/J and U/V as single letters.

³⁴ Italian Bibles had used it since the 1530s and the first French Bible in Roman (*Bible de l'épée*) appeared in 1540.

³⁵ Of vernacular works printed in Spain, only a very few appeared in a Roman typeface, for example Antonio de Nebrija's *Muestra de las antigüedades de España*, Fadrique de Basila: Burgos 1499.

translations other than Enzinas's New Testament, both the *Evangelios y epistolas* (Steels: Antwerp 1543) and Jarava's *Psalmos penitenciales* (Nuyts: Antwerp 1543) used Roman type.

The materials used in the New Testament were those available in the Crom–Mierdmans shop. Nothing appears to have been imported or commissioned for a more traditional Spanish appearance. Crom had previously used the same Roman type (78 mm) in the *Breve y compendiosa institucion* and Branteghem's *Vita Iesu Christi* (1541).³⁶ The six full-page woodcuts of apostles in the *Nuevo Testamento* are all found in other Crom works: St Peter and St James first appear in the Matthew Bible (1537) – much less worn than in 1543; St Luke and St John in a *Nouveau Testament* (1538),³⁷ St Mark and St Paul in a Coverdale New Testament (1539).³⁸ Six of the nine woodcut initials also appear in previous Crom impressions; a seventh is found in an Erasmus Latin New Testament printed by Martin de Keyser in 1536. It is worth noting what Enzinas did not use. Some earlier Crom Scriptures contained a woodcut depicting Pentecost in Acts and a series of illustrations in the Apocalypse. Either these were not available or Enzinas deliberately left them out.

Enzinas's use of these materials – in particular the Roman type – was in step with what was being produced in the Low Countries for the Spanish market. It was also in keeping with the fact that his New Testament was a return *ad fontes* – to the sources of the Christian religion. The classical Roman type was a visual representation of this ancient purity.³⁹

It is worth raising the question whether Enzinas was directing his New Testament only to the Spanish population outside Spain. The non-traditional look of the edition suggests this possibility. On the one hand, it seems unlikely that the Spanish community in the Low Countries alone could provide a sufficient market. In the 1540s the Spaniards in Antwerp numbered perhaps 150–200 households, with smaller numbers in Bruges, Louvain and Brussels.⁴⁰ A total of 500 households in the Low Countries seems a generous estimate. This would hardly be enough to consume a normal print-run, which was usually not less than 1,000 copies. On the

³⁶ It was later used on the last two pages of a Mierdmans impression, *Liturgia sacra*, London 1551, STC 16566.

³⁷ Misdated as 'M. D. xxxviii': Colin Clair, 'A mis-dated testament printed by Crom', *The Library* 5th ser. xvii (1962), 155–6.

³⁸ I do not know if the woodcut of St Mark appears in the 1538 Nouveau Testament because of a missing page at the beginning of Mark's Gospel in the BL copy.

³⁹ Although the compositor had a say in choosing the typeface, Enzinas was financing the publication and thus had the right of approval.

⁴⁰ J. A. Goris, *Étude sur les colonies marchandes méridionales (portugais, espagnols, italiens) à Anvers de 1488 à 1567*, New York 1971, 69–70; Herman van der Wee, *The growth of the Antwerp market and the European economy*, Louvain 1963, ii. 178–9; V. Vázquez de Prada, *Lettres marchandes d'Anvers* (École Pratique des Hautes Études – VIe Section. Centre de Recherches Historiques. Affaires et Gens d'Affaires xv), Paris, i. 162–4.

other hand, if one includes the other major centres of Spanish activity outside the Iberian peninsula (London, Rouen, Nantes, Florence), it might be possible to sell a full print-run without entering Spain. This may have been Enzinas's plan for his first edition. Nevertheless, even lacking the imperial privilege which he had hoped to obtain, some copies appear to have circulated in Spain, according to the previously cited testimony of la Torre.

Enzinas does not say how many copies Mierdmans printed and it is difficult to know with certainty. A full printing run of the hand-press era was between 1,000 and 1,500 copies, based in part on the number of sheets (both sides) that could be printed in a day.⁴¹ In theory, a job could be finished in the number of days equal to the number of sheets (gatherings) in the book. There are forty-five gatherings in the *Nuevo Testamento* and, putting together the approximate starting-date (the middle of September) with the colophon date (25 October), it appears to have been printed in not much more than thirty days – hardly enough time by this idealised standard.⁴²

Of course, 'real (as opposed to theoretical) printing was a complex craft carried out by fallible and inconsistent human beings of widely different capabilities'.⁴³ Its speed depended on the number of compositors and presses which were available (and which one could afford to hire) for a particular job. It was affected adversely by breakdowns, drunkenness and other problems. It could also be done at a faster rate than usual when there was enough incentive. If Mierdmans printed a full run in the time available, he must have taken seriously Enzinas's exhortation to 'hurry the printing', not to mention the money Enzinas was willing to pay. More than this cannot be said without hard evidence.

III

The usual procedure in first editions was to print the preliminary pages last. Enzinas's New Testament was no exception and this sequence of events can be seen clearly in *De statu belgico*. It is evidenced too by a lack

⁴¹ Gaskell, *Bibliography*, 160–70; Leon Voet, *The golden compasses: a history and evaluation of the printing and publishing activities of the Officina Plantiana at Antwerp in two volumes*, Amsterdam 1972, ii. ch. vi; Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, *The coming of the book: the impact of printing 1450–1800*, London 1976, ch. vii.

⁴² This assumes, it must be said, that the colophon gives the actual date when printing (saving the preliminaries) was completed – a potentially dangerous assumption. However, it is the best date we have.

⁴³ Gaskell, *Bibliography*, 47. For a discussion of these issues see D. F. McKenzie, 'Printers of the mind: some notes on bibliographical theories and printing house practices', *Studies in Bibliography* xxii (1969), 1–75, and J.-F. Gilmont, 'Printers by the rules', *The Library* 6th ser. ii (1980), 129–55.

of signing of the preliminary leaves (signature *a* is the first gathering of Matthew's Gospel). Enzinas's title page and preliminaries together make up sixteen pages – a single printer's sheet. All the material is in Spanish.

The title page, as reported in all copies up to now, reads: *EL NVEVO TESTAMENTO De nuestro Redemptor y Saluador IESV CHRISTO, traduzido de Griego en lengua Castellana, por Francisco de Enzinas, dedicado a la Cesarea Magestad* ('The New Testament of our redeemer and saviour Jesus Christ, translated from Greek into the Castilian language, by Francisco de Enzinas, dedicated to the Imperial Majesty') *M. D. XL.III*. The renowned literary historiographer, Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo, quotes the title this way and comments, 'He put it thus in all the copies'.⁴⁴

While this was the final form of the title – the one Enzinas published – there exists an earlier printed form: *EL NVEVO TESTAMENTO De nuestro Redemptor y solo Saluador IESV CHRISTO, traduçido de Griego en lengua Castellana, por Francisco de Enzinas, dedicado a la Cesarea Magestad. M. D. XL.III*. The interested reader will find it in copies at Cambridge University Library and the Taylor Institution, Oxford. Its principal difference consists in the word *solo* ('only') inserted before *Saluador*. Students of Enzinas's life have known that this title-page was printed because Enzinas described it in *De statu belgico*. But it was replaced, for reasons to be discussed below. Until now, all copies of it and the accompanying preliminaries were thought to have been discarded by Mierdmans.

For convenience, this set of title page and preliminaries can be referred to as the *solo* copy and the other as the official edition. The *solo* copy differs from the official edition on all sixteen pages,⁴⁵ although *De statu belgico* reports only the changes made to the title page. In the official edition, the verso of the title page has a quotation from Deuteronomy xvii and the sixteenth page is a poem, *Christo habla con los Hombres Mortales*. In the *solo* copy this placement is reversed. The other thirteen pages are a prologue to the emperor, *Al Invictissimo Monarcha Don Carlos V*. The changes made to the preliminaries will be presented here for the first time, giving a glimpse behind the editorial process.

Enzinas finished writing the prologue on 1 October 1543. The subscription is the same in both the *solo* copy and the official edition: *De*

⁴⁴ Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo, *Historia de los heterodoxos españoles*, Santander 1947, iii. 285. See also Richard Simon, *Nouvelles observations sur le texte & les versions du Nouveau Testament*, Paris 1695, 151–7; Boehmer, *Wiffeniana*, i. 168–9; B. Foster Stockwell, *El Nuevo Testamento traducido por Francisco de Enzinas (trozos selectos)*, Buenos Aires 1943; Enrique Fernández y Fernández, *Las Biblias castellanas del exilio*, Miani 1976, ch. i; A. Gordon Kinder, *Spanish Protestants and reformers in the sixteenth century: a bibliography*, London 1983; Francisco de Enzinas, *Memorias*, trans. Francisco Socas, Madrid 1992.

⁴⁵ Only these preliminary pages are significantly different. Beginning with the second gathering (Matthew's Gospel), the two editions are identical except for a scattering of compositor's errors.

Enueres, primero de Octubre del Anno de 1543. By this date, the rest of the book was in the press. After writing the prologue, Enzinas composed a title, given in Latin in *De statu belgico*, which did not include his own name.⁴⁶ The full Spanish first draft can be reconstructed as: *El Nuevo Testamento, esto es, el nuevo pacto de nuestro Redemptor y solo Salvador Iesu Christo* ('The New Testament, that is, the new covenant of our redeemer and only saviour Jesus Christ').⁴⁷

This title never made it into print. 'While the book was in the press', says Enzinas, '...[and] before the [preliminaries] were given to the printer...a Dominican friar intervened by chance.'⁴⁸ He read what Enzinas had written. The word *pacto* ('covenant') offended him because it sounded Lutheran. Enzinas responded that it was a word found in Scripture; if the Protestants used it, it must follow that they were right. The friar accused him of mixing Lutheran doctrine with the words of Scripture and appealed to members of Enzinas's family. For their sakes (Enzinas says) he deleted the offending word before going to press.

The word *solo* remained yet untouched, though Enzinas was using it to make an evangelical point: 'I decided to include [*solo*] to refute...a dangerous error and atrocious blasphemy of my fellow-citizens, who imagine I-know-not-what other saviours along with the Son of the Eternal God.'⁴⁹ The friar too 'praised that other phrase *solo Salvador*.... He knew the abuses of the common people in this area and admitted that they were an intolerable error'.⁵⁰

What was this 'error'? It was almost certainly the appeal to saints as intercessors with God. Christ the only mediator between God and humanity is a recurring theme in *De statu belgico* and in the prologue to the *Breve y compendiosa institucion*. Enzinas does not confine *sancti* to a select few

⁴⁶ The Latin is *Nouum Testamentum, hoc est, nouum foedus nostri redemptoris et solius seruatoris Iesu Christi*: Enzinas, *De statu belgico*, 50. On the omission of his own name, Enzinas says: 'In aeditione uero ipsa tuum consilium [i.e. Melanchthon's] sequi uolebam, ut librum simpliciter ecclesiae traderem nullius interpretis nomine indicato': *ibid.* 49.

⁴⁷ *Foedus* can also be translated *alianza*. I have chosen *pacto* because Enzinas in his New Testament used it alternatively with *testamento* to render διαθηκη.

⁴⁸ 'Interea temporis dum liber imprimitur...[and] Antea uero quam descriptae chartae typographo traderentur, interuenit forte fortuna monachus': *De statu belgico*, 49–50. In *De statu belgico*, Enzinas appears to use *monachus* as an all-purpose term of disparagement for those in religious life. Elsewhere he says, 'Sunt inter homines duo quaedam animantium genera, alterum theologorum, alterum monachorum, quibus nescio an unquam natura finxit quicquam generi humano perniciosius': *ibid.* 34.

⁴⁹ 'ad haec particulam exclusiuam solius seruatoris eo consilio inserendam putaui, ut...refellerem perniciosissimum nostrorum hominum errorem atque atrocem blasphemiam, qui alios nescio quos seruatores quam filium aeterni Patris somniauerunt': *ibid.* 50.

⁵⁰ 'reliquum titulum approbavit, ut alteram illam particulam *solius seruatoris* uehementer et ipse quoque laudauerit, qui uulgi superstitionem hac in parte nouerat et intolerabilem errorem esse fatebatur': *ibid.* 52.

but uses it to describe all Christians.⁵¹ This implies the rejection of a larger traditional system in which grace is mediated to the faithful through hierarchy. Looked at in this way, *solo Salvador* was a phrase that could be interpreted as dangerous to the old order. This is indeed how things turned out.

Before sending the manuscript preliminaries to the printer, Enzinas made two additions to the title page: his own name and an imperial dedication, i.e. the phrase, *dedicado a la Cesarea Magestad*. The law required the former. The latter resulted from his decision, taken just before the preliminaries went to press, personally to present the first copy to Charles v when 'he was, it seemed, about to arrive from France'.⁵²

De statu belgico describes what happened next:

When the friar was at last satisfied, I sent the papers [i.e. the *solo* title page and preliminaries] to the printer, who made many copies in almost an instant.... After the first leaf was printed, I sent a copy to one of my countrymen, a close friend who had always favoured the publishing of my New Testament, a serious man of advanced age, a theologian by profession and an expert in the three languages, easily the most learned Spaniard of my acquaintance. What is more, he had carefully read all the books of the German writers.⁵³ [But]...when he read the title of the book, he was no less upset by the words, *solo Salvador* than the friar had been by *pacto*. He assured me that he heartily defended me and my New Testament. So, if I trusted him and hoped to reap the fruit of my labours, I should have that word *solo* taken out. He did not doubt that, if it were retained, it would make the whole book suspect. I expounded my reason for putting it in and stated clearly and seriously that I had never recognised any saviour but the Son of God. He replied: 'Your opinion has some merit. I do not think it so absurd that it cannot in some sense be defended' (those were his words). 'But, because nowadays the Lutherans contend for that word, you should take my advice: it's only a little word, so remove it.' Why say more? He insisted so strongly – and others with him – that I preferred to lose a page already printed and reproduced

⁵¹ Ibid. 162.

⁵² Ibid. 49. For the purpose of dating the printing process, one must distinguish between the dedication on the title page, inserted in November when a decision was made to seek Imperial approval by a personal interview, and the prologue addressed to the emperor, written 1 October; the latter was 'praeliminarem Noui Testamenti epistolam' (ibid. 50), not a dedication, though it has been referred to as such, by, for example, Thomas McCrie, *History of the progress and suppression of the Reformation in Spain in the sixteenth century*, Edinburgh 1829, appendix i.

⁵³ Enzinas's description of a Spanish theologian who had read the books of the Lutherans rings true. Martín Pérez de Ayala (?1503–66), confessor to the bishop of Jaén, says in his autobiography: 'I went to Louvain at the end of 1543... there, in two years, I tried to learn a little Greek and revive the small amount of Hebrew which I had studied at Alcalá, and I went through all the books of the heretics of some repute, because the doctors who reside there have a papal privilege allowing them to do this': 'Discurso de la vida del ilustrísimo y reverendísimo Señor Don Martín de Ayala... escrito por si mismo', in *Autobiografías y memorias*, ed. M. Serrano y Sanz, Madrid 1905, 217. My translation.

many times, rather than put the entire book in jeopardy over one word. So the offending word was deleted and the first page printed anew, in deference to my inflexible judges.⁵⁴

Here, then, are the two printings of the title page and the reason for revision. The last two sentences are the source of the reasonable – but wrong, as it turns out – conclusion that the original title page was destroyed.

The two versions of the preliminaries were probably printed about the second week of November 1543. This supposition is based on Enzinas's statement that the emperor was apparently about to arrive from France. The outcome of Charles's confrontation with the French was not known until after 4 November; Charles dismissed his armies on the tenth. On the thirteenth he wrote an order from Cambrai prohibiting Enzinas's *Nuevo Testamento*. This indicates just a nine-day time-frame within which the preliminaries were printed.

Let us now look more closely at the dedication and prologue to the emperor. In deciding to dedicate his translation to the emperor, Enzinas was taking his cue from Erasmus. The prince of humanists had dedicated his paraphrase of St Matthew's Gospel to Charles v in early 1522. He included the assertion, 'since the Evangelists have written the Gospel for all, I do not see why it should not be read by all'.⁵⁵ Erasmus expanded on this in a prologue to the reader prefaced to the same work. He did not hesitate to attack the theologians who would deprive the unlearned of the New Testament: 'Those whom the world holds up as most learned are unlearned (*idiotae*) in the things of Christ.' His *Paraclesis* (1516; published

⁵⁴ 'Tandem placato monacho mitto chartas ad typographum, quas in multa exemplaria uno quasi momento transfudit. ... Cum esset primum folium impressum, misi exemplar ad quemdam Hispanum singularem amicum, qui praeter caeteros aeditioni Noui Testamenti semper fauit, hominem grauem, propectae aetatis, professione theologum, trium linguarum peritum, quem ego sane omnium Hispanorum, quos equidem nouerim, facile doctissimum iudicarem, dico amplius, qui omnes Germanorum libros attentissime perlegerat. ... Is ubi titulum libri perlegit, non minus fuit offensus illa solius seruatoris uoce quam monachus paulo ante foederis uocabulo perturbatus. dixit se quidem ex animo et mihi et Nouo Testamento fauere: quare si ipsi fidem haberem, si uberem nostri laboris fructum uellem colligere, illam uoculam solius iuberem expungi, quae alioqui toti libro, si ita maneret, magnam haud dubie suspicionem esset paritura. exponebam ego rationes, quare eam inserere uoluerim, planeque serio affirmabam nullum me praeter filium Dei seruatorem nouisse unquam. Tum ille: "neque ego consilium tuum omnino uitupero et fateor propositionem non ita esse absurdam, quin aliquo modo" (sic enim ille loquebatur) "defendi posset. sed quoniam de ea hoc tempore dimicant Lutherani, me autore unam hanc ouculam obliterabis." quid multis? sic ursit ille, sic multi simul institere, ut totum folium, quamuis impressum et in multa exemplaria transfusum, perdere quam propter unicam uocem totum librum indiscrimen uocare maluerim. Deletur igitur illa offensionis uox et rursus primum folium imprimitur, ut nostris rigidis censoribus obtemperarem': Enzinas, *De statu belgico*, 52–3.

⁵⁵ *Epistola nuncupatoria ad Carolum Caesarem...paraphrasis in euangelium Matthaei, per D. Erasmi Rot., Michael Hillenius: Antwerp 1522.*

in Spanish in 1529) rejected the opinion that the unlearned should be deprived of the Holy Scriptures – to which the Spanish translator added the gloss ‘esta opinion tienen algunos’ (‘there are some who hold this opinion’).⁵⁶

Enzinas’s prologue shows the influence of these Erasmian works as well as of the prologue to Erasmus’ *Enchiridion* written by its Spanish translator in 1526. Like Erasmus, Enzinas was keenly aware of the theologians who would keep the Scriptures from the common people. Unlike Erasmus, he avoided attacking them. Some were the emperor’s close advisers and the issue was still in doubt. His approach was to present himself as the voice of reason. He writes as one who weighs both sides of the argument – for and against Scripture in the vernacular – and sees virtue and good motives in each, but who finds the arguments in favour more persuasive. He begins his prologue with a passage that echoes the Spanish prologue to the *Enchiridion*:

There are many and widely varying opinions at present, Your Majesty, as to whether it is good to put the Holy Scripture into vernacular languages. All who have spoken about it, though they disagree, have done so with good Christian zeal and quite persuasive arguments. I (while not condemning the reasons against it) have followed the opinion of those who think it good and beneficial to the Christian commonwealth... that such versions be made.⁵⁷

The revisions Enzinas made to the prologue refine this non-critical posture. In the *solo* copy, criticisms of Spanish churchmen who opposed vernacular Scripture occasionally slip through. In the official edition they have disappeared. A phrase in the *solo* copy throws doubt on the motives of the opponents of Scripture: ‘some men have attempted very diligently, moved perhaps by good zeal, to prevent such books from being printed’.⁵⁸ The revision eliminates the word ‘perhaps’ (‘porventura’). Then there is this rather harsh sentence in the *solo* copy: ‘I trust in God, that Your Majesty will take my work well and will defend and uphold it against the

⁵⁶ Erasmus, *La paráclisis o exhortación al estudio de las letras divinas*, ed. Dámaso Alonso, in *El enquiridión (traducciones españolas del siglo xvi)*, Madrid 1932.

⁵⁷ ‘Muchos y muy varios paresceres ha auído en este tiempo, Sacra Magestad, si seria bien que la sagra[da] escritura se voluiese en lenguas vulgares. Y aunque han sido contrarios, todos los que en ello han hablado, han tenido buen zelo y Christiano, y razones harto probables. Yo (aun que no condeno los paresceres en contrario) he seguido la opinion de aquellos que piensan ser bueno y prouechoso a la Republica Christiana que... se hagan semejantes versiones.’ The prologue to the *Enquiridión*, written by Alonso Fernández, archdeacon of Alcor, begins: ‘Muchos días ha, Reverendissimo y muy Illustre Señor, que personas doctas y zelosas de la salvación de las ánimas suelen dudar si es cosa razonable y provechosa a la Religión Cristiana, que los que no aprendieron latín, assi ombres como mugeres, tengan y lean los libros de la Santa Escritura en nuestro romance y lengua común. Y por ambas partes parece aver buena intención.’

⁵⁸ ‘con mucha diligencia han procurado algunos hombres, mouidos porventura con buen zelo, que no se imprimiesen semejantes libros’.

evil tongues of slanderers.’⁵⁹ In the revision, the phrase, ‘against the evil tongues of slanderers’ (‘contra las malas lenguas de los calumniadores’) has disappeared.

Another change depends on the neat shifting of a modifying phrase. Lines that refer to the right of all to read Scripture originally said: ‘It is allowed to every other nation with good reason. And because [the Spanish] presume to be first in everything, I do not know why in this, the principal thing, they are not even last.’⁶⁰ Enzinas simply moves the words, ‘with good reason’ (‘y con razon’). At a stroke, he avoids criticising those who oppose vernacular Scripture, while flattering his countrymen: ‘it is allowed to every other nation. And because [the Spanish] presume to be first in everything, *with good reason*, I do not know why in this, the principal thing, they are not even last’.⁶¹

Enzinas is also careful to avoid any suggestion that his translation is sectarian. He presents himself as a faithful Christian who recognises the authority of the Church. In the *solo* copy, he notes that the Spanish do not lack ‘ability or judgement’ (‘ingenio ni juicio’). In the official edition he adds, ‘ni doctrina’. The most telling change is in a section which anticipates the argument that heresies arise from the common people reading Scripture. The original text is: ‘heresies are born, not because the Holy Scriptures are read, but because they are misunderstood by many, and taught and handled by evil men’.⁶² The official edition supplies the clarifier, ‘in vernacular languages’ (‘en lenguas vulgares’) and then adds a key phrase: ‘heresies are born, not because the Holy Scriptures are read in vernacular languages, but because they are misunderstood by many, *and interpreted contrary to the declaration and doctrine of the church, which is the pillar and foundation of the truth*, and taught and handled by evil men’.⁶³

For someone who elsewhere calls Spanish churchmen ‘instruments of the Devil’ who kept the Scripture from the people in order to protect their own bellies,⁶⁴ this last statement must have been made with mental reservations about the nature and limits of ecclesiastical authority. As Marcel Bataillon says in another context, ‘Enzinas no doubt speaks the

⁵⁹ ‘espero en Dios, que V. M. tendra por bueno este mi trabajo, y que con su autoridad le defendera y amparara contra las malas lenguas de los calumniadores’.

⁶⁰ ‘es a todas las otras naciones *y con razon* concedido. Y pues en todo presumen ser los primeros, no se por que enesto, que es lo principal, no son ni aun los postreros’. Italics added.

⁶¹ ‘es a todas las otras naciones concedido. Y pues en todo presumen ser los primeros, *y con razon*, no se por que enesto que es lo principal, no son ni aun los postreros’. Italics added.

⁶² ‘nacen las herejias, no por ser leidas las Sagradas Escrituras, sino por ser mal entendidas de muchos, y por ser enseñadas y tratadas por hombres malos’.

⁶³ ‘nacen las herejias, no por ser leidas las Sagradas Escrituras en lenguas vulgares, sino por ser mal entendidas de muchos, *e interpretadas contra la declaracion y doctrina de la yglesia, que es columna y fundamento de la verdad*, y por ser enseñadas y tratadas por hombres malos’. Italics added.

⁶⁴ Enzinas, *De statu belgico*, 49.

truth... but not the whole truth.'⁶⁵ But it is only thus that he could hope to gain acceptance for his New Testament. The work of a Lutheran would be condemned out of hand.⁶⁶

It is precisely in this character that he and his translation came to the notice of the emperor, who says in a letter of 13 November 1543 to Louis de Schore, president of his Privy Council: 'We understand that a New Testament in Spanish is newly printed at Antwerp and that the printer is Mattheus Crom. He has previously produced other prohibited books, and the author of the said New Testament is also held in suspicion.'⁶⁷

The next day, Charles's sister Mary, regent of the Netherlands, wrote substantially the same letter to Guillaume de Werve, margrave of Antwerp. She says that the author is suspected of heresy ('l'auteur... est suspecté des nouvelles sectes') and gives an order prohibiting Crom from printing, selling or distributing the book.⁶⁸ The suspicion about Enzinas arose from two incidents: the printing of the *Breve y compendiosa institución* and his stay in Germany. These accusations came out at his trial.⁶⁹

The margrave replied six days later, saying he already knew about the book: 'I found that the author of the said Testament is a Spaniard named Francisco de Enzinas; this Francisco has had the Testament printed by one named Steven Mierdmans, and he promised him that he would obtain an imperial privilege, which he has not done.'⁷⁰ He also mentions that the book was examined by some friars, who found nothing wrong with it. Nevertheless, he promised to carry out the regent's orders and to have Mierdmans recover any copies already sold. In fact, it is not likely that this last action was necessary, since Enzinas had told Mierdmans to refrain from selling the book until he obtained imperial approval at Brussels.⁷¹

As Marcel Bataillon notes, these transactions can hardly have escaped Enzinas's notice.⁷² They occurred a full week before he presented the New

⁶⁵ Bataillon, *Erasme*, ii. 170.

⁶⁶ These are all the changes to the prologue except for three minor ones designed to enhance respect shown to authorities; 'Rei Fernando' becomes 'Rei Don Fernando'; 'Pontifice' becomes 'Summo Pontifice'; 'emperadores' becomes 'Emperadores'.

⁶⁷ 'Nous avons entendu que l'on imprime nouvellement en Anvers, le Nouveau-Testament en Castillien, et en est l'imprimeur ung nommé Mathieu Crom, comme l'on dit. Il a encoires cy-devant fait autres livres deffenduz, et est l'auteur dudict Nouveau-Testament aussi tenu suspect': 'Lettre de l'Empereur Charles-Quint a maître Loys de Schore, président du Conseil privé', in Campan, *Mémoires*, i. 642. ⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Enzinas, *De statu belgico*, 178.

⁷⁰ 'ay trouvé que l'auteur dudict Testament, est ung Espagnol nommé Francisco Eschines, lequel Francisco a fait imprimer icelluy Testament par ung nommé Estienne Miermans, auquel il avoit promis de faire avoir octroy de la Majesté Imperiale, ce qu'il n'a fayt': Campan, *Mémoires*, i. 643-4.

⁷¹ 'Absoluto opere non passus sum distrahi exemplaria, donec ego Imperatori, cui erat inscriptum et cuius aduentus quotidie Bruxellae expectabatur, primum obtulissem': Enzinas, *De statu belgico*, 53.

⁷² Bataillon, *Erasme*, i. 552-4, 590-91.

Testament to Charles v on 23 November 1543. He appears to have taken the precaution of moving copies to Diego Ortega's house. The fact that around thirty survive at present is testimony to some such subterfuge. Six years later, a letter to Enzinas mentioned his relative in Antwerp who wished to know the selling price of the copies of the New Testament which he had.⁷³ Also, while in prison, Enzinas received a request for a New Testament from a Spaniard in the imperial court, which he fulfilled.⁷⁴

That he went ahead with a personal interview with Charles v must be a testimony to his faith in the 'most gentle emperor' and his conviction that advisers were working behind the scenes without the monarch's knowledge; he must have thought them responsible for the prohibition. It was above all a demonstration of his belief in divine providence. Writing in 1545, he affirms:

It seemed to me that I had but one task: to commit to the press the work I had taken pains to produce, and then commend it to God the Father of the whole business, for whose cause it had been made. For I neither doubted then nor have I stopped firmly believing now in the divine prophecies, in which holy men of God inspired by the heavenly spirit have left a written testimony that the will of the supreme Godhead shall be carried out even against all humanity's raging, and that his eternal doctrine shall be propagated throughout the whole world. The eternal and immovable decree of the Father, speaking with a clear voice from heaven, still stands; it was eloquently prophesied by Isaiah that his word, once sown among humanity, would not return to him without an abundant harvest of souls.⁷⁵

Enzinas did not succeed in winning the approval of the emperor, though he had the support of men like Francisco de Mendoza, bishop of Jaén. It was fatal to his project that the court already suspected him as a promoter of Luther and Calvin, thanks to the *Breve y compendiosa institucion* published three years earlier. He was accused at his trial of being its author; he denied ever having printed anything except the New Testament. The solution to this apparent contradiction is found in the nice distinction between writing the book and causing it to be printed. In fact, his brother Diego printed it against his wishes. Francisco later had cause to lament

⁷³ Johannes Birckmann to Enzinas, London, 3 Apr. 1549: Enzinas, *Epistolario*, letter 46a.

⁷⁴ Idem, *De statu belgico*, 98.

⁷⁵ 'quod unum esse officii mei uidebatur, elaboratum opus praelo committerem, deinde totius negotii Deo patri, cuius agebatur causa, commendarem. neque enim aut tum dubitare poteram aut nunc desino constanter fidere diuinis oraculis, quibus sancti Dei homines spiritu coelesti afflati scriptum reliquerunt, fore ut uoluntas supremi numinis etiam contra omnium hominum furores compleatur eiusque aeterna doctrina toto terrarum orbe propagetur. Extat sempiternum atque immutabile decretum Patris de coelo clara uoce sonantis, quo diserte per Esaiam pollicetur nunquam ipsius uerbum semel inter homines disseminatum sine ingenti animarum fructu ad se esse reuersurum': ibid. 47–8. The Scripture is Isaiah lv. 11. Enzinas's version differs from the Vulgate.

‘the evils produced for both me and the whole Christian commonwealth by [Diego’s] imprudent temerity’.⁷⁶

The realities of Europe had changed in the two decades since Erasmus dedicated his Matthew prologue to the emperor. In 1522 many persons – including Spaniards – hailed the possibility of Erasmian reform and saw the young emperor as its champion. Lutheranism was less formed and the connection between humanism and heresy not as clear. At the same time Charles was still something of a foreigner in Spain. But in November of 1543 Charles was strong and Spain was the base of his power – the main source of money and loyal troops for his life-long crusades against Turks and Lutherans. He had reunited the Netherlands, was allied with England, and had faced down Francis I. Frustration with the intransigence of Lutheranism and fear of its influence had caused Charles to resolve to reduce it by force; these things had also strengthened the position of the Spanish anti-Erasmians.

Within this reactionary context Charles’s confessor, Pedro de Soto, successfully preached the view that Ferdinand and Isabel had long before prohibited the reading of Scripture by the common people in Spain because it was the source of heresies. He based this on the *Adversus omnes haereses* of Alfonso de Castro, a popular book of his day.⁷⁷ It is debatable whether there was a historical precedent for the absolute prohibition of vernacular Scripture in Spain; this was more in keeping with the post-Luther reality. But the belief that history sanctioned it certainly did have influence. In *De statu belgico*, Enzinas places on Soto most of the blame for banning his New Testament.

Enzinas was imprisoned in Brussels for fifteen months. He was treated reasonably well, his family kept his case from being transferred to the Spanish Inquisition, and when he escaped Louis de Schore, president of the emperor’s Privy Council, is reported to have ignored the incident.⁷⁸ He returned to Wittenberg with the memory of his own experiences and of religious persecution in Brabant, which became *De statu belgico*, ‘among the most moving documents of neo-Latin literature’.⁷⁹ His efforts to play a part in the renewal of Church and letters continued without interruption until his untimely death at the end of 1552.

⁷⁶ ‘Quantum vero malorum illa inconsulta temeritas et mihi et toti Reipublicae peperit’: Enzinas, *Epistolario*, letter 4.

⁷⁷ Idem, *De statu belgico*, 67. Editions of *Adversus omnes haereses* include 1534 (first) and 1543.

⁷⁸ Ibid. 191.

⁷⁹ Jozef Ijsewijn, *Companion to neo-Latin studies*, Louvain 1990, i. 106.

APPENDIX

Extant copies of Enzinas's Nuevo Testamento

Bibliographers concerned with Enzinas's New Testament have often commented on its rarity. If one takes their lists together, they note about a dozen extant copies.⁸⁰ This figure is too low. At least twenty-nine copies exist in libraries of western Europe and America.⁸¹ This survival rate after four and a half centuries adds weight, I think, to the suggestion that Enzinas anticipated a possible order of confiscation and that he sequestered copies until the furore should have blown over. It is also possible that the imperial order was carried out with less than full rigour by the local authorities.

The existence of the two *solo* copies is puzzling since they were not intended to be sold. It is possible that, if the sheets of *solo* preliminaries were not consigned *en masse* to the rubbish heap (an unlikely event) but saved for use as scrap, a few may have been used as originally intended following the imperial ban, at which juncture, after all, the suppression of the word *solo* was a moot point. Alternatively, it seems reasonable that Enzinas, while still at liberty, could have had some *solo* copies bound for his own or friends' use.

Volumes in the following finder's list marked thus (*) are taken from printed library catalogues, with the source noted in a footnote. The existence of all other copies has been confirmed either in person or by recent (1997) letter.

Germany

Constance, Heinrich-Suso Gymnasium
 Halle, Francke's Orphan House
 Lübeck, Stadtbibliothek
 Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek
 Ulm, Stadtbibliothek
 Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek

Great Britain

Cambridge, British and Foreign Bible Society Library (Cambridge University Library)

⁸⁰ For example, Simon, *Nouvelles observations*, 151; Daniel Gerdes, *Florilegium historico-criticum librorum rariorum*, Groningen–Bremen, 1740, 110; *Catalogue des livres de la bibliothèque de M. C. de La Serna Santander*, Brussels 1803, i. 19; Menéndez Pelayo, *Heterodoxos*, i. 854; Antonio Palau y Dulcet, *Manual del librero hispano-americano*, Barcelona 1923, s.v. 'Biblia: Nuevo Testamento en castellano'.

⁸¹ In addition to the 28 copies listed in this Appendix, I know of one in a private collection in Spain.

Cambridge University Library
 Cambridge University Library (*solo*)⁸²
 Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland
 Hartlebury, The Bishop of Worcester's House, Hurd Library⁸³
 Manchester, John Rylands
 London, BL (two copies)
 Oxford, Bodleian
 Oxford, Taylor Institution (*solo*)⁸⁴
 Oxford, Wadham College⁸⁵

Italy

Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale
 Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria
 * Parma, Biblioteca Palatina⁸⁶

Other continental libraries

Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität
 Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1er
 Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek

⁸² No Spanish Scriptures are listed in Cambridge University Library's sixteenth- and seventeenth-century catalogues (CUL, ms CUR 31.1, nos 3, 6, 7; *Catalogue of the old library*, unclassified CUL ms). This *solo* copy arrived in 1715 along with the 30,000 volumes of Bishop Moore's collection known as the Royal Library. Moore (d. 1714) owned two Enzinas New Testaments (Bodleian Library, ms Add. D.81, fo. 424, lines 20, 22). The CUL catalogues of Moore's books compiled toward the middle of the century include just one Enzinas New Testament – the *solo* copy (*Catalogus bibliothecae Moorianaë*, unclassified CUL ms, under 'Evangelia Quatuor-Hispanicum', repeated under 'Testamentum'; *Bibliotheca Biblica*, CUL, ms Oo.7.60, p. 38). The class-mark listed in these catalogues still appears (crossed-through) on the *solo* copy's title page. On Moore's books and Cambridge see David McKitterick, *Cambridge University Library: a history: the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries*, Cambridge 1986.

⁸³ Richard Hurd, who collected this library, was at Emmanuel College in 1742. He may have purchased his copy from the sales of duplicates of Moore's books held by the university that year. This would account for the second Moore copy, which is no longer in Cambridge University Library.

⁸⁴ Donated to the Taylor Institution by George Parker, senior assistant of the Bodleian, in 1905. Other than notices to this effect, it bears no ownership marks at all. Parker wrote on the flyleaf, 'Apparently no copy of this first edition has been offered for sale, of recent years', which may mean that he knew it to be a 'first edition' of Enzinas's work; or he may simply mean, 'the first of the Spanish scripture translations'.

⁸⁵ There are two Enzinas New Testaments listed in George Parker's catalogues of the Wiffen collection made in 1881 (BL, ms Add. 31,862; Wadham College ms catalogue) but only one is in the library today. Its preliminary pages have been cut out. Bibliographical evidence strongly suggests that the second Wadham copy is now in the John Rylands.

⁸⁶ *Istituto centrale per il catalogo unico delle biblioteche italiane e per le informazioni bibliografiche. Bibbia: catalogo di edizioni a stampa 1501–1957*, ed. L. Mugnoli, Rome 1983.

Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional

* Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale⁸⁷

United States

New York City, Hispanic Society of America (two copies)

Princeton, Firestone Library

⁸⁷ *Catalogue général des livres imprimés de la Bibliothèque Nationale: auteurs*, Paris 1931, s.v.
'Enzinas (Francisco de) Éd.'