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### Casidoro De Reina Translator of the Spanish Bible

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CASIODORO DE REINA  
TRANSLATOR OF THE SPANISH BIBLE

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A Thesis Presented to the Faculty  
of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis,  
Department of Historical Theology  
in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of  
Bachelor of Divinity

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by  
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June 1957

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

Between 1522 and 1534, Dr. Martin Luther translated the Bible from the Hebrew and Greek into the German language. In 1535, Miles Coverdale finished William Tyndale's translation and printed the first English Bible. The influence of Luther's German translation is very evident in the work of Miles Coverdale, and thereafter, the Matthew's Bible, 1537, which, in turn served as the basis for the King James Version.

Casiodoro de Reina printed the first complete Spanish Bible in 1569. The main purpose of this study is to present the biography of Casiodoro de Reina. It was considered of interest to observe what, if any, Lutheran influence could be traced in Reina's Bible translation.

At the beginning it became apparent that material available on Casiodoro de Reina was very limited and difficult to obtain. Despite this handicap, Dr. Theodore Hoyer, the advisor, encouraged the writer to continue the study.

The thesis of the Lutheran scholar, Ernst Schäfer, Seville und Valladolid, was very helpful in its description of the religious movements in Seville during the first half of the sixteenth century. Protestant Thomas McCrie in La Reforma en España en el Siglo XVI presented an overall view



of the religious history of Spain from the time of the Apostles to the sixteenth century. The work that provided the greatest assistance with the life of Casiodoro de Reina during his exile was Historia de los Heterodoxos Españoles, by the Catholic historian, Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo. His work includes the contents of Reina's correspondence which was collected by Edward Boehmer. Menéndez y Pelayo wrote with a certain objectivity, but a times, drew conclusions which betrayed his religious affiliations. He apparently endeavored to point out the differences and difficulties that arose within the body of Protestants.

Another valuable source for the presentation was B. Foster Stockwell's Prefacios a las Biblias Castellanas del Siglo XVI. In the prefaces of the Reina Bible and Valera's revised Bible, one was able to read in the authors' own words, the reason and purpose for the translation and the revision. The writer is also indebted to Claudio Gutiérrez Marin, E. G. Schwiebert, Harold J. Grimm, Philip Schaff, J. A. Llorente, John E. Longhurst, Marcel Bataillon, and Thomas M. Lindsay.

The writer tried to present his conclusions with impartiality. He will feel rewarded if the reader of this thesis will be moved to a greater appreciation of the Lutheran Reformation, which, perhaps not directly, but most certainly indirectly, influenced the presentation of the Spanish Bible; and if he will once again recall with gratitude the

sacrifices that were entailed in presenting God's infallible Word to the common man in the language he could read and understand.

## SEVILLE

By the end of the fifteenth century and beginning of the sixteenth, the condition of the Roman Church had reached such a deplorable state that reform was recognized as a necessity by all thoughtful men everywhere—men of politics, of letters, of the church. The protest was not limited to individuals, but was expressed in the representative bodies of the governments in Germany, England, and France.

Criticism was endless. One of the more common complaints was that the clergy, especially those of higher rank, occupied themselves with everything except the one thing which was their special trust—the care of souls. They concerned themselves excessively with government affairs. Furthermore, they, who were the overseers of the morals, both of the lower clergy and the parishioners, were often the worst offenders.

Humanism held one concept of reform. It deemed Scholastic theology the greatest hind to free and new learning, and therefore demanded a relaxation of the Scholastic strangle-hold.

Others maintained that the Church had lost religious itself and that the one reformation needed was a rediscovery



## CHAPTER II

### SEVILLE

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of religion and enlightenment of the individual heart and conscience.

The only country, however, where all of the various concepts of reform could be embodied in a definite plan and were successfully executed, was Spain. In the Spanish movement one is able to see clearly what the mediaeval reformers wished to effect, and what they meant by a "reformation of the Church." The plan provided certain secular controls. All canonical laws for purification of the morals of the clergy were revived and enforced. A measured accommodation was made with Humanism, but steadfast adherence to the chief doctrines of Scholastic theology was maintained. The hierarchy, the rites and usages of the mediaeval church were preserved in their entirety. Heresy was ruthlessly suppressed. Spain, therefore, furnishes the classic example of what has been termed the Catholic Reformation.

In Spain was seen the first systematic attempt to place secular powers over the clergy to combat "the deteriorating influence of the Roman Curia upon the local Church, and to restore discipline among the clergy."<sup>1</sup>

The Spanish Reformation began during the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, under the guidance of a Franciscan monk, Francisco Ximenes de Cisneros. Ximenes became father-confessor of Queen Isabella in 1492, archbishop of Toledo

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<sup>1</sup>Thomas M. Lindsay, A History of the Reformation (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1951), pp. 484-489.



and Primate of all Spain in 1495, Inquisitor General in 1507. Twenty years before the reformation broke in Germany, Cisneros started with reform. In Ximenes we see, in one person, prereformer, reformer, and counterreformer.<sup>2</sup>

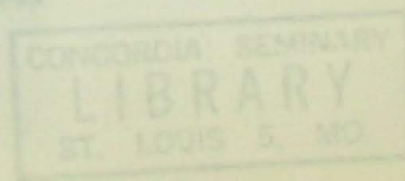
Ximenes personally visited all the monasteries and demanded full reports of the convents. After arduous labor, the Church in Spain secured a devoted clergy "whose personal life was free from the reproaches justly levelled at the higher clergy of other lands." The following phase of his reform was aimed at overcoming the ignorance and lack of culture among the clergy. In addition to the mediaeval universities of Salamanca and Valladolid, Ximenes founded one in Alcalá, another in Seville, a third at Toledo. Alcalá and Valladolid were the principal theological schools.<sup>3</sup>

On March 14, 1498, Ximenes laid the first stone of the University of Alcalá. Ximenes' dream was that from grammar, students would progress to liberal arts; from the arts to theology, enlivened by study of the Bible in the original. The university's chief claim to distinction lay in the absence of a faculty of law. Theology was the purpose and center of its existence and activity. At Alcalá Cisneros offered Thomistic, Scotistic, and Nominalistic theology.

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<sup>2</sup>Marcel Bataillon, Erasmo y España, translated from French by Antonio Alatorre (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1950), I, 1,2.

<sup>3</sup>Lindsay, op. cit., p. 491.





Nominalistic theology was a completely new idea in Spain. Another innovation in the curriculum was the study of the Bible with the help of the original languages in both Testaments.<sup>4</sup>

One of the great works that Ximenes sponsored and backed financially was a polyglot Bible. The work was begun in 1502. It was printed in the presses of Complutum or Alcalá de Henares. The six volumes were finished July 17, 1517. The Old Testament contained in three columns the original Hebrew text; the version of Jerome, called Vulgate; and the Greek of the Septuagint. At the foot of every page of the Pentateuch there was printed the Aramaic of the Targum Onkelos with its Latin translation. The New Testament contained the original Greek and Latin Vulgate. A Hebrew grammar and lexicon, a Greek vocabulary, and certain explanatory tracts were added to the work.<sup>5</sup>

Bataillon claims, "The polyglot Bible, the glory of Alcalá in the annals of Humanism, is one of the most imposing works that the science of philology, aided by the art of printing, realized in that era."<sup>6</sup>

This same Ximenes who sponsored the polyglot, was how-

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<sup>4</sup>Bataillon, op. cit., pp. 13-22.

<sup>5</sup>Thomas McCrie, Historia de la Reforma en España en el Siglo XVI, translated from English by Adam F. Sosa (Buenos Aires: Libreria La Aurora, 1942), p. 44.

<sup>6</sup>Bataillon, op. cit., p. 26.





ever, strictly opposed to the translation of the Bible into the language of the land. His belief was that Holy Scripture should be conserved exclusively in the three languages used on the superscription of the cross of Christ, and that if ever this norm was ignored, the most pernicious effects would result.

As a substitute for the Gospels and Epistles, Cardinal Ximenes obtained, or had translated, tracts dealing with mystic or monastic devotion, or biographies of exemplary individuals, both men and women such as: St. Catherine of Siena, St. Angela of Fulgino, St. Mathilda, the instructions of St. Vincent Ferrer, the meditations of Thomas Landulpho, and the life of St. Thomas a'Becket, archbishop of Canterbury.<sup>7</sup>

It is obvious that the main object of the Spanish movement was only to revive religious life within the limits defined during the Middle Ages. It allowed no innovations in the realm of religious experience. Untouched and unaltered were the hierarchy; the mediaeval conceptions concerning priesthood and sacraments; the Pope as the acknowledged and revered head of the Church; "the sacred ceremonies, decrees, ordinances, and sacred usages"; and the dogmatic theology of the mediaeval Church. Actually, the only concession to the new ideas of the period was the limitation

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<sup>7</sup>McCrie, op. cit., pp. 46, 47.



of papal interference in the affairs of national churches. At this time, the Papacy was thoroughly secularized and plainly neglecting its spiritual obligations. The mode of thought of the "new era" proposed that secular authorities of the European countries assume those duties.

Perhaps something of the new spirit crept in with the homage paid to "New Learning," appreciation of the need of an exact text of the original Scriptures, or the guarded approval of the laity's use of the Bible. Basically, however, there was no deviation which a devoted adherent of the mediæval Church could not readily accept.<sup>8</sup>

During this period of the history of Spain, three years after the posting of the Ninety-Five Theses in Wittenberg, and the year after Charles V was elected Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, Casiodoro de Reina was born. Wilfrido Artus sets the date around 1520.<sup>9</sup>

The birthplace of Casiodoro de Reina is a point on which biographers disagree. Menéndez y Pelayo claims Reina to be a Moor from Granada; Nicolas Antonio considered him from Extremadura; and Pellicer from Seville. McCrie, Artus, Schaefer, and Boehmer agree with Pellicer that Casiodoro de Reina was born in Seville.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>Lindsay, op. cit., pp. 492, 493.

<sup>9</sup>Wilfrido Artus, Los Reformadores Españoles del Siglo XVI (Buenos Aires: Editorial La Aurora, 1949), p. 17

<sup>10</sup>Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, Historia de los Heterodoxos Españoles (Buenos Aires: Librería Perlado, 1945), III, 97.



Cipriano de Valera, one of Casiodoro's classmates and reviser of his Bible translation, briefly describes Seville in Treatise on the Pope:

The city of Seville is one of the most courteous, populous, wealthy, ancient, and fertile, with the most sumptuous edifices in all Spain: its wealth is evident, for all the treasures of the West Indies flow into it; its fertility is proved by the many olive groves, wheat fields, vineyards, and groves of oranges, figs, pomegranates; even the uncultivated areas grow asparagus and the dwarf fan-palm, palmetto; livestock also abounds, especially sheep.<sup>11</sup>

Casiodoro de Reina attended the Geronimite monastery, San Isidro del Campo, two miles from Seville, on the opposite shore of the Guadalquivir River. During the occupation of the Romans, a city, Itálica, had been founded at the site. Itálica was renamed Ancient Seville; today known as Santiponce. The first inhabitants were Roman soldiers who had completed their services under Scipio. With pride they numbered among their sons the great emperors Trajan and Adrian, and the great restorer of the Church, Theodosius.

The monastery of San Isidro was under Cistercian rule until 1431. In the sixteenth century the powerful order of the Geronimites made it their home. A large and expensive monastery served as the dwelling place of these learned and happy monks.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>11</sup>Cipriano D. Valera, Los Dos Tratados Del Papa, I De La Misa (España: Casa de Arnolfo Hatfildo, 1588; reimpresso 1851), p. 241.

<sup>12</sup>E. Christ, Heroes Españoles de la Fe (Madrid: Librería Nacional y Extranjera, 1894), p. 207.



The prior of the monastery was García Arias, better known as Dr. Blanco (White) by virtue of the extreme whiteness of his hair. Though his religious convictions often wavered, E. Christ attributed to Dr. Blanco the entrance of evangelical doctrines into the monastery of San Isidro. Ernst Schäfer claims that no less than twenty-three Geronimite monks shared the Prior's religious convictions. He even lists the names: García Arias, the ex-prior Fray Francisco Farias, the vicar Juan de Molino, the procurator Fray Pedro Pablo, the choir-singer Fray Fernando de Castilblanco; the monks: Fray Gaspar de Porras, Domingo de Churruca, Diego López, Francisco de la Puerta, Cipriano de Valera, Lope Cortes, Alonso Baptista, Antonio del Corro, Juan Crisóstomo, Andres de Málaga, Francisco Morcillo, Casiodoro de Reina; the lay brethren: Fray Nelgar Carpintero Benito, Juan Sastre (de León), Bernaldo de Valdes, Hernando de San Gerónimo; and, finally, the vicar of Our Lady in the Valley in Eciija, Fray Cristóbal de Arrellano.<sup>13</sup>

In the mid-forties of the sixteenth century a new spirit pervaded the monastery. The Prior began using new books with evangelical doctrines. Already in 1519, John Froben, a famous printer of Basel sent Luther tracts to Spain written in Latin. In 1520, Froben sent Luther's

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<sup>13</sup>Ernst Schäfer, Seville und Valladolid, die Ev. Gemeinden Spaniens im Ref. Zeitalter (Halle: Ver. f. Ref. gesch. no. 78, 1903), p. 122.



commentary on Galations, also Christian Liberty, and Luther's Reply to Erasmus on Free Will. These books were translated into Spanish, apparently in Antwerp, under the dominion of Charles V, and printed at the expense of Spanish businessmen.

On March 20, 1521, Pope Leo X sent two briefs to Spain, asking that every effort be made to prevent entrance of Luther's books and those of his defenders. Upon receipt of the briefs, Cardinal Adrian ordered that these books be confiscated. After Adrian became Pope in 1523, he repeated the orders and offered whatever help was needed for the Inquisitors to carry out the demand.<sup>14</sup>

Though the reading of Luther's works was specifically forbidden, there still developed a movement called "Lutheran," which combined the ideas of the reformer with Humanist criticism and Spanish Quietism, and which from the outset met with vigorous opposition.<sup>15</sup>

While only the works of Luther were prohibited, other Protestant books were easily brought into Spain and widely distributed. Erasmus' writings were very popular. He had many friends in Spain, especially at the University of Alcalá in Henares. At the university his writings were translated into Spanish and printed.

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<sup>14</sup>McCrie, op. cit., pp. 75-77.

<sup>15</sup>Harold J. Grimm, The Reformation Era (New York: The Macmillan Company, c. 1954), pp. 275, 276.



Two occurrences that helped make Luther better known in Spain were the plundering of Rome, 1527, by Charles V, and the presentation of the Augsburg Confession in 1530. Most of the Spaniards present with Charles V at the Diet of Worms in 1521 returned to Spain with a wrong impression of Luther. Because they did not understand the Biblical reason for his historic stand upon Scripture, they thought him haughty and proud. After studying the articles of the Augsburg Confession, some of them realized their judgment of Luther had been unfair.<sup>16</sup> Some of the misconceptions clarified were that Luther and his followers did not believe in God, the Trinity, or the Virgin. (For these reasons, in Spain it was considered as meritorious to strangle a Lutheran as to shoot a Turk. Even the Emperor went with these opinions to the Diet of Augsburg.)

The question is, however, by what means had Luther's and Erasmus' books entered the monastery? Was it through the Prior himself; through two well known preachers at the cathedral, Dr. Egidio and Dr. Constantino, who taught at the monastery; or possibly through a monk, Antonio del Corro, a relative, perhaps nephew, of an Inquisitor? Antonio del Corro was able to bribe lesser officials of the Inquisition to sell him confiscated heretical books.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>16</sup>McCrie, op. cit., pp. 78, 79.

<sup>17</sup>Menéndez y Pelayo, op. cit., p. 112.



On June 13, 1533, a young preacher, Dr. Constantino Ponce de la Fuente, was called to occupy the pulpit at the Cathedral in Seville. He was born in 1500 in San Clemente and studied at the University of Alcalá in Henares. Dr. Constantino's sermons were different from those of the ordinary preachers; he dispensed with Scholasticism and instructed his flock in God's Word, showing them through Scripture, where, and how sin-weighted and repentant souls could find grace and forgiveness.<sup>18</sup>

Unfortunately, little is known about Constantino's youth, especially his student years. This lack of information makes it difficult to determine how, where, and from whom he received instruction in Christian doctrines, which differed little from justification alone by faith in the merits of Jesus, as had just recently begun to be taught in Germany. Not even his writings, Confession of a Repentant Sinner, Christian Catechism, or Exposition of Christian Doctrine reveal this interesting detail. He was very careful in his preaching and writings not to use phrases and expressions too well known by the Inquisitors as heretical. On November 1, 1548, Constantino preached to Philip II at the church in Castellon de Empurias. Philip chose Constantino to accompany him to Germany to be court chaplain at the emperor's home in Brussels. In 1550, Constantino

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<sup>18</sup>Schäfer, op. cit., p. 6.



accompanied Charles V to the Diet of Augsburg. In 1552 he returned to Madrid, where he received from Prince Philip 700 ducats annually as court chaplain. At this time he apparently did not return to Seville. In 1554, Dr. Constantino accompanied Prince Philip to England where he observed the Catholic reaction against the Protestants. In 1555 he finally returned to Seville through Barcelona.

After his return, Dr. Constantino preached more than before, and greater crowds came to hear him. In 1556 he began teaching at Colegio de la Doctrina in Seville. Rector Escobar asked him to lecture on the writings of Solomon and the book of Job. Constantino also taught at the Monastery of San Isidro del Campo. The monks carefully copied his lectures and saved them in their flight to freedom.<sup>19</sup>

Several years after Constantino began his work at the cathedral, a student companion at Alcalá was called to occupy the recently vacated position of "Magistral-Kanonikats" of Seville. Dr. Egidio was Aragonese by birth, born in Olivera; and at the time of his call to Seville, was teaching Scholastic theology in Sigüenza. Because of his strong Scholastic tendencies, his sermons were dry and lifeless. Instead of drawing people, he was driving them away. Approximately three years after his arrival in Seville, his preaching changed: his sermons became warmer, he discon-

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<sup>19</sup>Schäfer, op. cit., pp. 19-23.



tinued Scholastic themes and preached Holy Scripture. Soon people flocked to hear him as they did his friend, Dr. Constantino. The change is attributed to Rodrigo de Valer, a libertine turned ascetic. Rodrigo daily studied the Bible in Latin and knew it like few others. It is said that this Valer sought out Dr. Egidio, pointed him to Scripture, and pleaded with him to abandon Scholastic teachings. Without a doubt, Dr. Constantino also had great influence on his student companion to help him use Scripture as text and to help him see the central teachings of the Bible.

Be this as it may, about 1540 came the great change in Dr. Egidio, and both friends, without breaking with the Church, were making every effort to spread Scripture truths through sermons and private visits. They were aided by a third student companion, Dr. Vargas. He apparently died at an early age, and the only information available is that he lectured on Romans and the Psalms.

Although the matter is not absolutely certain, we gather that, through the books of Luther and Erasmus obtained openly or secretly and through the writings and teachings of Constantino and Egidio, the new spirit at the monastery was fostered and augmented.<sup>20</sup>

Another person who helped with the introduction and foundation of these new attitudes was the Prior, García

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<sup>20</sup>Scháfer, op. cit., pp. 9, 10.



Arias. He was a man of keen intellect and extensive learning but uncertain and vacillating in his behavior, due in part to his timidity, in part to caution and excessive refinement. His religious convictions were known to only very few; yet, he would declare others that held the same convictions, as heretics, when called upon to judge for the Inquisition.

In spite of this, the man was the instrument for introducing the light into the monastery of San Isidro at a time when it was submerged in ignorance and superstition. Without abandoning his characteristic cautious attitude, he was able to teach his brethren that the true religion was something quite different from the commonly held opinions; that it did not consist in singing matins and vespers, in realizing those acts of bodily services with which they occupied their time; and if they sought to obtain God's approval, it was necessary to know His will as revealed in Scripture. Expounding these points in his sermons and private conversations, he awakened in the minds of the monks a feeling of discontent with the routine, monotonous practices of the monastery, and a desire to attain a more enervating and pure piety.

No one can explain his sudden shift of attitudes, but he abruptly began to recommend in word and deed, acts of austerity and corporal mortifications more extreme than the monastic rules of his order demanded. This attempt to revive



superstitions produced a reaction which brought the most happy consequences to the monastery. Questioning the integrity of the man whom they had once considered an oracle, some of the more active resolved to ask advice from Egidio and his friends in Seville. Having received instruction from them, these monks began to teach the brethren in the monastery the doctrines of the Gospel in a simple and explicit form. In a few years the new opinions had leavened the entire community. The person who contributed most to bring about this state of affairs was Casiodoro de Reina.

In 1557 a radical change took place in the monastery. Enlightened by Scripture and Protestant books, the prior, superior, and the monks decided to reform their institution. Hours were dedicated to listen to dissertations on Scripture; prayers for the dead were omitted or changed to lessons for the living; indulgences and papal dispensations, a lucrative business, were completely abolished; the images were kept, but no homage given them; in place of the superstitious fast, habitual temperance was established; instead of being initiated in the vain, degrading practices of monasticism, novices were instructed in principles of true piety. Of the ancient system, nothing remained except the monastic dress and the exterior ceremony of the mass, which could not have been put aside without exposing themselves to inevitable dangers.<sup>21</sup> Schäfer adds that the majority

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<sup>21</sup>McCrie, op. cit., pp. 130, 131.



accepted and believed in the doctrine of justification by faith alone.<sup>22</sup>

The beneficial effects of this change were also felt outside the monastery. By means of conversation and circulation of written material, these zealous monks spread knowledge of the truth in all the surrounding territory, even imparting it to individual residents in towns considerably distant from Seville.<sup>23</sup> Schäfer reports introduction of Protestant teachings into the cloister of Santa Paula, though the number of nuns who actually embraced the teaching seems to have been small.<sup>24</sup>

Seville had a Protestant congregation. The number of members is frequently exaggerated. At Montanus' suggestion, one has mentioned 800 members. After discovering some heretics, one Inquisitor is supposed to have said that Seville was completely lost because it was filled with Lutherans. However, this is far from the truth, according to Schäfer, because the official acts of the Inquisition show that there were no more than 130 members. Moreover, the name "Lutheran" must always be qualified; although some were of the belief, "sola fide, sola gratia, sola scriptura," not all of those called "Lutheran" held this conviction.

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<sup>22</sup>Schäfer, op. cit., p. 11.

<sup>23</sup>McCrie, op. cit., p. 131.

<sup>24</sup>Schäfer, op. cit., p. 10.



Lutheran and heretic were synonymous to the Inquisitors. The "enlightened," Erasmians, Jewish and Moorish backsliders, were conveniently termed "Lutheran" for purposes of prosecution.

Little information is available on the manner in which the congregation was nurtured and strengthened in the faith. Schäfer supposes that small groups gathered in private homes to be instructed in the Gospel by some of the leading personalities, Dr. Constantino, Dr. Egidio, or Juan González.<sup>25</sup> In another work, Schäfer reports that Casiodoro de Reina also helped disseminate the Gospel in Seville.<sup>26</sup> One of his more famous pupils was María de Bohorques. She knew Latin, Greek, and was so well prepared in Holy Scripture that the Inquisitors had to marvel at her knowledge and firm faith.<sup>27</sup> Of the twenty-three monks who embraced the evangelical faith, Casiodoro de Reina is the only one specifically mentioned by historians as having helped bring about the spiritual change in the monastery and as having helped in the instruction of people in Seville.

The congregation organized formally and remained under the pastoral inspection of a medical doctor, Dr. Cristóbal de Losada. He was assisted in his congregational duties by

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<sup>25</sup>Schäfer, op. cit., pp. 15, 16.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., p. 16, footnote 57; Beitrage, II, 278f.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., pp. 44, 45.



Reina, who was notably successful in the ministry.<sup>28</sup>

Because the homes of Isabel de Baena, Luis de Abrego, and others were not large enough to accommodate the number of believers that gathered secretly, the congregation planned to purchase a house--a thought entertained even until 1557, the year which marked the beginning of the end.<sup>29</sup> Enemies of the new spirit in the monastery and in Seville soon began to revive; and they increased both in numbers and influence.

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<sup>28</sup>McCrie, op. cit., p. 127.

<sup>29</sup>Schäfer, op. cit., p. 24.



## CHAPTER III

### FLIGHT

Nowhere in all mediaeval Europe were Christian religion and patriotism united as in Spain; the seven-hundred-year war against the Moors strengthened the religious convictions. Separated from the rest of Europe by the Pyrenees, the Spanish people "clung more closely to that visible solidarity of all Christian people which found expression in the mediaeval conception of the mediaeval Catholic Church." Spain was the birthplace of the Dominican monastic order which created and led the Inquisition in its sternest and most savage form. Spain also supplied the Counter-Reformation with its most devoted leader, Ignatius Loyola, founder of the Society of Jesus.<sup>1</sup>

It is quite remarkable then that evangelical activity could have begun and progressed to such an extent in a city like Seville. Since the thirteenth century, Seville had been the headquarters of the Inquisition, and since 1554, the home of the Society of Jesus.

In 1474 the crowns of Castile and Aragon were united under Ferdinand and Isabella. Shortly after, Pope Sixtus IV attempted to introduce the papal Inquisition into Spain to

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<sup>1</sup>Thomas M. Lindsay, A History of the Reformation (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1951), pp. 488, 489.



crack down on Spain's judaizing "conversos." The youthful monarchs resented such encroachments on their authority; they preferred to deal with the "conversos" themselves with an inquisition of their own making, and subject to their own control. In 1478, Ferdinand opened negotiations with Sixtus IV for the establishment of a Spanish Inquisition, insisting upon the crown's right to make its own appointments and dismissals of Inquisition officials. Sixtus IV yielded.<sup>2</sup> The Bull establishing the Inquisition in Castile was issued September 17, 1480; the Catholic rulers named the first inquisitors, who began their functions January 2, 1481, in the Dominican monastery of Saint Paul in Seville. However, the tribunal did not assume its permanent form until 1483 when the Dominican Friar Thomas de Torquemada was designated general inquisitor, at first, only of Castile--then also of Aragon.<sup>3</sup>

Llorente assures us that the Spanish Inquisition was not a new creation of Ferdinand and Isabella, only an enlargement and reformation of the old Inquisition, which had existed since the thirteenth century.<sup>4</sup> The earliest

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<sup>2</sup>John E. Longhurst, Erasmus and the Spanish Inquisition: The Case of Juan de Valdes (Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1950), pp. 57, 58.

<sup>3</sup>Thomas McCrie, Historia de la Reforma en España en el Siglo XVI, translated from English by Adam F. Sosa (Buenos Aires: Libreria La Aurora, 1942), pp. 55, 56.

<sup>4</sup>Joh. Anton Llorente, Kritische Geschichte der spanischen Inquisition (1819-22), p. Intro. xii.



beginning of this institution no doubt took place in 1184 at the Council of Verona. However, the council did not establish a separate tribunal for the persecution of heretics, but rather left the matter entirely in the hands of the bishops. The Tribunal of the Inquisition was not established until 1233, when Pope Gregory IX withdrew the right to find and judge refugee heretics in France from the bishops and commended this task to the Dominican monks.<sup>5</sup>

The original Inquisition was designed to suppress heresy of every kind everywhere, but the Spanish Inquisition was a national affair for the suppression of certain definite forms of heresy. These were almost entirely the cases of relapsed converts to Judaism and Islamism (conversos), and those practicing secret rites of these faiths.<sup>6</sup>

One can say that the activity of the Inquisition was sporadic, depending largely on the general need, monarch, pope, or inquisitor. When Charles V took the Spanish throne in 1516, he attempted curtailment of the activity of the Inquisition, which had gotten out of hand under the powerful leadership of Cardinal Ximenes. His plan for reform was temporarily thwarted, however, when a serious menace from Germany forced him to proceed with utmost care. Why should he destroy the agency that could possibly save his country

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<sup>5</sup>McCrie, op. cit., pp. 51, 52.

<sup>6</sup>A. Hyatt Verrill, The Inquisition (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1931), p. 245.



from heresy? Nevertheless, during his reign the Inquisition passed through a dormant stage.<sup>7</sup>

This apparent laxity, and certain coincidental occurrences gave some people cause for thinking that Charles V was favorably inclined toward the Reformation. In a dispute with Pope Paul IV three years before Charles' death, the Pope threatened him with excommunication. Constantino Ponce de la Fuente and Agustín Cazalla, his two chaplains, had embraced the Protestant faith and his confessor, De Regla, had been obligated to abjure them. Carranza and Villalba, who attended him on his deathbed, were shortly thereafter denounced to the Inquisition. In spite of these incidents, however, there are very good reasons to believe that in his last days, Charles V hated the Protestants more than previously, and greatly lamented the fact that he had not handled them with more severity.

When Charles heard that "Lutheranism" was spreading in Spain and that a number of people apprehended had been suspected of heresy, he wrote from the monastery of St. Yuste to his daughter, regent of Spain: "Apprehend the whole bunch, and burn all of them, after employing every means to make them Christians before you punish them."

Speaking about orders that Charles V gave to the Inquisitors respecting the "heretics" in Spain, McCrie quotes

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<sup>7</sup>Longhurst, op. cit., pp. 60-62.



Sandoval in Historia de la Vida y Hechos del EmperadorCarlos V:

If you do not condemn them to the fire, you will commit an error as big as I committed by forgiving the life of Luther. Although I did it only because of the safe-conduct which I had given him, and the promise which I made at a moment when I thought to be able to suppress the heretics by other means. I confess I acted wrongly in this, because I was not obligated to fulfill my promise to a heretic, when he offended a lord as great as I, and also offended God. For that reason I could have, rather, I should have forgotten my word and thus avenged the offense which had been done to God. If he had alone offended me, I should have faithfully kept my word; but by not having killed him, heresy continued to progress, when his death, I am sure of that, would have drowned it in its birth.

McCrie continues to emphasize that these were not just bits of conversation. In his testament drawn up in the Netherlands, Charles asked of his son: "Be faithful to the commandments of the holy mother Church, and especially favor and support the holy office of the Inquisition against the depravity and apostasy of the heretics."

A few weeks before his death, he again asked his son to follow his orders regarding the heretics:

That the heretics be persecuted and punished as their crime deserves without excepting any guilty person, neither showing any consideration to any supplication, degree of quality. And that my intention can be completely fulfilled, I charge you to support and see to it that the holy Inquisition is patronized, because she is the means to prevent and correct so many evils, as I have determined in my testament; that in that way you fulfill your duty as prince, and that our Lord prosper you in your kingdom and protect you against your enemies, do this for my greater tranquillity and contentment.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>McCrie, op. cit., pp. 145-147.



Two years before his death, Charles V abdicated the throne in favor of his son, Philip. Philip's coronation took place in the Great Hall of the palace in Brussels on October 25, 1555. The new king was then twenty-eight years old. In appearance he resembled his father, but in speech was a Spaniard. He lacked his father's amiability, and found it impossible to yield his position to win support. Philip II did, however, resemble Charles V in many respects. Both were slow and industrious, only Philip was slower. Both had the same cynical distrust of all men, and the same belief in the divine selection of the head of the House of Hapsburg to guide all affairs of Church and State, irrespective of Popes or kings--only in Philip it amounted to a sort of gloomy mystical assurance. Both showed the same callousness to human suffering, and were absolutely unable to comprehend the force of strong religious conviction.<sup>9</sup>

From the start of Philip II's reign in 1555, the Inquisition became an instrument of papal, as well as royal authority, for the elimination of heresy. Because it was both ecclesiastical and civil in its organization and function, the institution was used by the Spanish monarch to achieve political, as well as religious, aims. So harsh were its measures that Pope Pius V protested to Philip. Even Ignatius Loyola and Santa Teresa fell under its

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<sup>9</sup>Lindsay, op. cit., pp. 240, 241.



persecution.<sup>10</sup>

The other ecclesiastical organization that was im-  
planted in Seville was the Society of Jesus. It had its  
inception, at least potentially, when, on August 15, 1534,  
Ignatius Loyola and six companions met in the chapel of  
St. Dennis at Montmartre to dedicate themselves to a life of  
service to God. Only one, Le Fevre, was a priest. In 1537  
Loyola and his companions, now ten in number, met in Venice.  
They were consecrated as priests and prepared to travel to  
Jerusalem. Loyola and two companions went to Rome to offer  
their services to Pope Paul III. They had difficulty  
gaining recognition by the Pope. However, when Contarini--  
who joined Loyola in his "exercises"--and King John III of  
Portugal--who needed missionaries for his East Indian  
Colonies--offered their support, the pope constituted the  
company an order in the Bull, *Regimini Militantis Ecclesiae*,  
in September, 1540.<sup>11</sup>

Under the direction of General Commissioner for Spain  
and India, Francisco Borja, the Jesuits made their home in  
Seville in 1554. They founded a school with the express  
purpose of fighting the "dangerous doctrines of the two  
serpents," Egidio and Constantino.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>Harold J. Grimm, The Reformation Era (New York: The  
Macmillan Company, c. 1954), p. 423.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., pp. 380, 381.

<sup>12</sup>Ernst Schäfer, Seville und Valladolid, die Ev. Gemein-  
den Spaniens im Ref. Zeitalter (Halle: Ver. f. Ref. gesch.  
no. 78, 1903), p. 20.



One can understand that an awakened Inquisition under Philip and the never dormant Jesuits made the Evangelicals' situation very difficult in Seville. Furthermore, the Evangelical leaders did not prove to be examples of fortitude under pressure. Prior García Arias has already been mentioned. Statements by Montanus, one of his pupils, indicate that the man vacillated from one side to the other. This caused discontent and mistrust in the minds of the monks already accustomed to the practice of the evangelical life.

In 1550, Dr. Egidio was designated by the emperor to occupy the vacant bishopric of Tortosa. His enemies accused him to the Inquisitors of eliminating saint worship, despising picture worship, and denying workrighteousness.<sup>13</sup> He was imprisoned in the castle of Triana, a relic of the Moors, located on the opposite side of the Guadalquivir River, to await his trial. Dr. Egidio's imprisonment was a heavy blow to the young Evangelicals in Seville; but greater was their distress when Dr. Egidio, the one who had founded them in the faith, denied his teachings to escape the fire.<sup>14</sup> This gave many reason for serious thought.

After Dr. Constantino returned to Seville in 1555 from his trip to England with Philip, he attempted to renew his friendship with the imprisoned Dr. Egidio. The difficult

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<sup>13</sup>McCrie, op. cit., p. 93.

<sup>14</sup>Schafer, op. cit., pp. 17, 18.



situation created for Dr. Constantino in trying, yet not daring openly to show the Inquisition his concern for Dr. Egidio, was resolved by the latter's death early in 1556. He died in the evangelical faith, after suffering six years of privation in the Triana castle. In February 1556, Dr. Constantino was elected to replace Dr. Egidio as "Magistral-Kanonikat." At the beginning of 1557, he was ordained in an atmosphere of apparent tranquillity. Danger was mounting, however. At Francisco Borja's instigation, the people began calling Dr. Constantino a heretic; and Borja, himself, preached it from his pulpit.

Recognizing his peril, Dr. Constantino thought to enter the Society of Jesus as a means of self-protection. Thus, the rumor circulated in Seville during autumn of 1557, that Dr. Constantino had petitioned the Provincial Father Bartolomé Bustamante to be admitted into the Jesuit order. His plan was unsuccessful, however, and he was also taken into custody.<sup>15</sup>

Some of the adherents of the evangelical doctrines foresaw the troublous times and fled early. Among them was Juan Pérez de Pineda, who immediately began a translation of the New Testament in Geneva. He may have left Seville as early as 1554. In 1555, seven persons, men and women, left Seville.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>15</sup>Scháfer, op. cit., pp. 24-27.

<sup>16</sup>Cipriano D. Valera, Los Dos Tratados Del Papa, I De La Misa (España: Casa de Arnoldo Hatfildo, 1588; reimpressos 1851), p. 247.



In view of the fact that several people had already escaped, and the increasing danger threatening Seville, the monks at San Isidro began to weigh the possibility of flight. It was not a hasty plan and many sides of the question were carefully considered. They wondered if, and how such a large number could flee without detection. On the other hand, even if many did reach safety, they would undoubtedly leave those remaining under a cloud of suspicion, and an easy prey for the Inquisition. The latter point moved them to a unanimous decision to remain together, and entrust themselves completely to the grace and providence of God. Without specifying the occasion, McCrie reports that, moved by an obscure but alarming turn of events, the monks again gathered and revoked the first resolution. Then everyone remained free to adopt his own course--to flee or to remain.<sup>17</sup>

Valera, one of the fugitive monks, records:

In the year 1557, marvelous things worthy of perpetual remembrance happened in Seville, that is, that in one of the most famous and wealthy monasteries of Seville, called San Isidro, the matter of the true religion progressed so well, and was practiced so openly, that, not being able to remain there with a clear conscience, twelve of the monks, in a short period of time left, one this way and one another way: who within a year met each other in Geneva, where before parting they agreed to meet; none of them reached destination without going through serious perils and dangers: but from all these dangers, God delivered them, and with His powerful hand brought them to Geneva.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>17</sup>McCrie, op. cit., pp. 144, 145.

<sup>18</sup>Valera, op. cit., pp. 247, 248.



Schäfer states that only eleven monks fled and lists the names: Fray Francisco Farias, the vicar Fray Juan de Molino, the procurator Fray Pedro Pablo; the brethren, Casiodoro de Reina, Antonio del Corro, Lope Corres, Hernando de Castilblanco, Cipriano de Valera, Francisco de la Puerta, Alonso Baptista and Juan Sastre. The difference in numbers between Schäfer's and Valera's reports may be explained by the fact that the vicar of Ecija, Fray Cristóbal de Arellano, started with the fugitives, but unfortunately, decided to return.<sup>19</sup>

The flight could not have been easy to effect. If Philip II ordered a strict watch over the movement of horses between Spain and France, he ordered even closer observation of the movements of men. Marin claims that the refugees were adequately disguised and aided by Spanish people to cross the frontiers.<sup>20</sup>

Although Menéndez y Pelayo writes that Casiodoro de Reina did not flee until 1559,<sup>21</sup> the accepted date is 1557. Schäfer even specifies spring or summer of 1557.<sup>19</sup> Regardless of the time of year, it was not a day too soon. The disappearance of twelve monks from a well-known monastery

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<sup>19</sup>Schäfer, op. cit., p. 29.

<sup>20</sup>Claudio Gutierrez Marin, Historia de la Reforma en España (Mexico, D. F.: Casa Unida de Publicaciones, S. de R. L., 1942), p. 124.

<sup>21</sup>Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, Historia de los Heterodoxos Españoles (Buenos Aires: Libreria Perlado, 1945), III, 97.



aroused much suspicion, which was only increased in July, 1557, with the discovery of evangelical books and New Testaments brought into the country by Julián Hernández (Julianillo). The actual discovery of the evangelical activities, however, came as the result of a Protestant church member's superstitious fear and the treason of another, who, for a time had acted as a secret emissary of the Inquisition. Once the Inquisition was definitely informed, it acted immediately; and according to McCrie, in one day took over two hundred prisoners in Seville and vicinity.

If prisoners could have expected a fair and open trial, then even the death sentence would have been a relief. However, after long imprisonment their solitude was interrupted by attempts to rob them of their spiritual comforts; at other times they were repeatedly asked to retract, with the promise of freedom; after a frank confession the evidence was used against them; they had to contemplate friends struggling in despair. Even after they were proven guilty, the captives had to wait and wait in uncertainty for the inevitable end. Most of them were imprisoned two, some, three years. Dr. Egidio suffered six years before God delivered him through death. In this manner, Philip II and the Inquisitors attempted to terrorize the nation; and prove to all Europe their zeal for the Catholic faith with persecution of heresy.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>22</sup>McCrie, op. cit., pp. 153, 154.



The last part of this dismal tragedy was the "auto de fe" (act of faith). One Spanish writer intimated that it was supposed to represent the terrors of the Day of Judgment. The most important figures on the scene were the prisoners, who, no doubt, were grateful for a glimpse of daylight after years in the dungeon. Early morning of the appointed day, the prisoners were dressed in different habits, the type of which was determined by their guilt. Those suspected of having erred lightly were dressed in black. Those who faced more serious charges wore a "San Benito," a loose, yellow knee-length tunic, drawn close around the neck. On the tunic of those who had retracted, who therefore would be strangled before being burned, were painted inverted flames, to indicate they had escaped the fire. The "San Benitos" of those condemned to burn while still living were adorned with flames, surrounded by devils carrying wood or blowing the fire. The same infamous caricatures were painted on the carton cap.

The prisoners were gathered on the patio of the prison. A company of soldiers led the procession, followed by a group of priests. Pupils from Colegio de la Doctrina marched, singing the liturgy antiphonally. Next in line came the prisoners; arranged according to degree of guilt, with the most serious offenders last, carrying torches or crosses. Each prisoner was accompanied by two officers of the Inquisition. Those condemned to die were also accompanied by two



priests. Following the prisoners were the local magistrates, the judges and public officials, a retinue of the nobility on horseback, the secular clergy and monks, and the high Inquisitorial officials with attendants. The common crowd closed the procession.

Having reached the determined site, the celebration began with a sermon, followed by reading of the prisoners' sentences. The chief Inquisitor would then "absolve" those of lesser guilt, leaving them under obligation to suffer penance, exile, beatings, forced labor, or prison.

After reading the sentences of those condemned to die, the chief official proceeded to degrade those who belonged to sacred orders, tearing from them, piece by piece, their sacerdotal garb, a ceremony deliberately carried out in such a manner that each one of its details would expose the victim to the shame and ridicule of the witnesses. Subsequently, they were formally presented to the secular judges to suffer the punishment "the civil law applied to heretics." If the individual condemned to die had already gone to his eternal rest, or had reached asylum, the ceremony described above was practiced in effigy.<sup>23</sup>

Between 1559 and 1562 the inhabitants of Seville were witnesses to four "autos de fe" in the Inquisition's effort to purge the city of heresy, the first of which was

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<sup>23</sup>McCrie, op. cit., pp. 161-164.



celebrated on September 24, 1559.

After this first taste of blood, the Inquisition tried to apprehend Dr. Juan Pérez de Pineda and other distributors of Scripture from neighboring countries. A disguised Augustinian monk, Fray Lorenzo de Villavicencio, spied in Frankfurt. The success of the Inquisition in foreign nations was negligible; however, it was possible to take by surprise two refugees in Turlingen, Holland--a Geronimite monk, Fray Juan de Leon, and Juan Sánchez of Valladolid. They were taken back to Spain in heavy chains and burned for their evangelical faith at the second Auto de Fe, December 22, 1560. This one was of special interest because among the procession of prisoners appeared three effigies representing the leaders of the Protestant group: Dr. Egidio, Dr. Juan Pérez de Pineda, and Dr. Constantino, who in February, 1560, had died at Triana castle, still firm in the evangelical faith.

The third Auto de Fe took place April 26, 1562, as previously, on San Francisco square. Although the number of people actually burned was insignificant (six), again the event was made interesting because of the persons burned in effigy. The Inquisition finally recognized the impossibility of returning the refugees; and therefore decided to declare them heretics to be burned in effigy. Among them were: the deceased Gaspar Baptista, the Geronimite monks, Fray Francisco Farias, Juan de Molino, Pedro Pablo, Casiodoro de Reina, Antonio del Corro, Lope Cortes, Hernando de Castil-



blanco, Cipriano de Valera, Francisco de la Puerta, and Alonso Baptista; and the Sevillian refugees, Pedro de Soja, Malchor Dias, María de Trigueros, Francisco de Cárdenas and his wife, Ana de Maynera.

The fourth and last Auto de Fe was October 28, 1562. The victims were: Maestro García Arias, firm in faith; his faithful disciples, Fray Cristóbal de Arrellano, Fray Juan Crisóstomo; also Juan de Vantillana (after five years of interrogation); Francisco Alvarez, Juan Baptista, and three foreigners taken from a boat, "The Angel."<sup>24</sup>

Menéndez y Pelayo makes a casual comment about the end of the Evangelical movement: "Two autos de fe in Seville, another two in Valladolid, dissolved that summer cloud." He stated that the "exaggerated shedding of blood" was much less than today would have been used by any liberal and tolerant government to suppress a military conspiracy or small insurrection.<sup>25</sup>

Not all Catholic writers agree with Menéndez y Pelayo that the Protestant movement was "just a summer cloud." McCrie quotes two writers who maintained that if the Inquisition had not stopped those preachers when it did, the Protestant religion would have spread through Spain as a fire, because people of all walks of life and of both sexes

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<sup>24</sup>Schäfer, op. cit., pp. 44-53.

<sup>25</sup>Menéndez y Pelayo, op. cit., p. 64.



were remarkably willing to accept it. The other Catholic historian wrote that the prisoners of the Inquisition in Valladolid, Seville, and Toledo were important personages. By virtue of their influence and number, he was convinced that if destruction of the movement had been delayed by even so little as two or three months, that all of Spain would have been caught in the reformation.<sup>26</sup>

Actually, the four Autos de Fe by the Inquisition all but destroyed the Evangelical church in Seville. Approximately one hundred people were killed or severely punished. The Jesuits made certain new "heresy" would not crop out again so quickly. Between 1557 and 1564 they made a Jesuit school of Colegio de la Doctrina, an orphanage, where once Dr. Egidio and Dr. Constantino had taught Holy Scripture at the invitation of Rector Escobar. They also attended to the task of cleansing the monastery of San Isidro of heresy.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>26</sup>McCrie, op. cit., p. 39.

<sup>27</sup>Schäfer, op. cit., pp. 51, 52.



## CHAPTER IV

### EXILE

From the time of Dr. Egidio's imprisonment in 1550, Spaniards who fled the Inquisition sought refuge in Geneva. There, Dr. Juan Pérez de Pineda translated and printed his New Testament in 1556. He also started a Spanish congregation. At the close of 1557 the eleven monks that fled from San Isidro reunited in Geneva.

After Dr. Juan Pérez de Pineda went to France, the Spanish congregation was served by Casiodoro de Reina and other enlightened compatriots. The Spanish group gradually disintegrated, however, because many members moved to England and other places. Most of those remaining in Geneva understood Italian and joined the Italian congregation.<sup>1</sup>

In Geneva, according to Schäfer, Casiodoro began what would be his life's work, the translation of Holy Scripture into Spanish. He went to Frankfurt in 1558, and there joined the French refugee congregation. He did not remain long, possibly because the web created by King Philip II made German soil too dangerous for Spanish Protestants. From Frankfurt, Casiodoro moved to England, where again he

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<sup>1</sup>Thomas McCrie, Historia de la Reforma en España en el Siglo XVI, translated from English by Adam F. Sosa (Buenos Aires: Libreria La Aurora, 1942), p. 211.



became a member of the French congregation and later, leader of the Spanish congregation.<sup>2</sup>

Protestant refugees from all countries considered England the safest place in Europe. The first foreign congregation started in London was a Dutch or German congregation, which gathered in the church of the Augustinian monks. The French and Italian congregations followed.

From the time of Henry VIII, many Spanish businessmen lived in England. Henry's first wife, Catherine, was from Spain. Her daughter, Mary, had many Spanish attendants; the number increased considerably after her marriage to Philip II. Little is known how some of these Spaniards were converted to Protestantism; although, according to McCrie, some authors claim the Gospel was preached in Spanish during the reign of Edward VI. However, a Spanish congregation does not appear to have existed until the time of Elizabeth. During 1559, Spanish services were celebrated in private London homes; Casiodoro de Reina was the preacher.<sup>3</sup> Queen Elizabeth granted him a sixty-pound annual pension for services rendered in the Spanish congregation and for translation work of the Bible into Spanish.

Casiodoro de Reina wrote a confession of faith.

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<sup>2</sup>Ernst Schäfer, Seville und Valladolid, die Ev. Gemeinden Spaniens im Ref. Zeitalter (Halle: Ver. f. Ref. Gesch. no. 78, 1903), p. 59.

<sup>3</sup>McCrie, op. cit., pp. 212, 213.



According to Gardesius, whom McCrie quotes, the title read as follows:

Confession of Christian Faith written by certain faithful Spaniards, who fled the abuses of the Roman Church and the cruelty of the Spanish Inquisition, who left their fatherland to be received by the Church of the Faithful, by brethren in Christ.

According to McCrie, this confession upheld the doctrines common to all Protestants, but in respect to the Lord's Supper, seemed to support the Reformed Churches in their controversy with the Lutherans. The date of the confession was 1559, as reported by Gardesius.<sup>4</sup> Schäfer states 1561, and continues by saying that in the same year, Casiodoro filed a petition with Secretary Cecil and Bishop Grindal, to celebrate services publicly. The petition was granted, and St. Mary Axe Church was put at his disposal.<sup>5</sup>

The assistance granted by the English government to banished Protestants, especially the Spanish subjects, greatly disturbed Pope Pius V and King Philip II of Spain. In the Bull excommunicating Elizabeth, Pope Pius V made special mention of this "offense." Thereupon, Bishop Jewel wrote a moving reply: Mentioning that the Spaniards lost or left behind everything--goods, lands, homes, he continues:

Not due to adultery, theft, or treason, however, for professing the Gospel, it pleased God to cast them from their country. The Queen, through her gracious

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<sup>4</sup>McCrie, op. cit., p. 268, note 47.

<sup>5</sup>Schäfer, op. cit., p. 59.



piety, has granted them asylum. Has the showing of mercy become a detestable thing. God wanted the children of Israel to love the foreigner because they were foreigners in the land of Egypt. The merciful will find mercy. Nevertheless, how many have come to us? Three or four thousand. Thank God this country can receive them, even if they were more. And why cannot Queen Elizabeth receive a few afflicted members of Christ, who are obligated to carry their cross? After it pleased God to keep them in their travels to our ports, should we have cruelly expelled them, or drowned them, or hanged them, or let them starve to death? Would the vicar of Christ counsel us such a thing? And if a king receives and aids them, should he for that reason be deprived of his honor? They are our brethren; they do not live for nothing. If they live in our homes, they pay rent; they do not take our land without the proper compensation. They do not beg in our streets, neither do they ask anything of us, except to breathe our air and behold our sun. They know how to work and live modestly; they are an example of virtue, work, faith, and patience. The people with whom they live are happy, because God follows them with his blessings.

Referring to the Spaniards that arrived in England during the reign of Queen Mary, the bishop contrasts them with their Protestant countrymen in the following manner:

These are few, they were many; these are poor and miserable, they were haughty and proud; these are naked, they were armed; these were despoiled by others, they came to despoil us; these were cast from their country, they came to expel us from ours; these came to save their lives; they came to take ours. If we conformed by accepting them, do not hold it against us if we receive these.

The Spanish monarch was no less disturbed than the Pope over asylum granted to Protestant subjects. Not content with persecuting them in his own territory, he pursued them into all countries where they sought refuge. Great sums of money were appropriated for maintenance of spies and other expenses related to this horrible traffic. As was



mentioned previously, periodically, in France and Germany, fugitives were captured and delivered to the Inquisition in Spain. While the Spanish did not dare use the same tactics in England, they achieved their purpose by soliciting extradition of the refugees under false charges, treason, and other crimes.<sup>6</sup>

On August 15, 1563, Philip II wrote the following note to his ambassador, Bishop Alvaro de la Cuadra:

I have seen what you told me that a certain Sir Francisco Zapata and his wife have gone there (London), and because I would be very pleased if one could find a way to get out the mentioned Sir Francisco Zapata and Casiodoro: I entreat you to look into this and inform me of the orders that one can obtain to get them out of there and bring them to these parts, or what can be done to remedy the damage they are doing there, and do this as quickly as possible, for in this you would greatly serve me.<sup>7</sup>

Casiodoro de Reina had been more fortunate than most of the refugees in that his parents had also managed to escape Spain, and were living with him in London. Early in 1563, Casiodoro married either an English or a Spanish girl. According to Schäfer, because of the marriage, Elizabeth withdrew the pension. A note written by Diego Pérez, secretary of Ambassador de la Cuadra, to Philip II, October 5, 1563, apparently corroborates the fact:

From Casiodoro de Reina, a Moor from Granada, who had been a priest and preached to the few heretics dwelling

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<sup>6</sup>McCrie, op. cit., p. 215.

<sup>7</sup>Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, Historia de los Heterodoxos Españoles (Buenos Aires: Librería Perlado, 1945), III, 88.



in London, the Queen withdrew the church she had given him, as well as the sixty pound pension. He was recently married.

Shortly after falling from royal favor, Casiodoro de Reina was accused of sodomy. He was forced to leave the once hospitable England. Even Menéndez y Pelayo admits that this accusation was probably a means to an end, and that Casiodoro successfully proved his innocence, possibly in Antwerp.<sup>8</sup> However, Philip II's royal wish was carried through, and Casiodoro de Reina was banished from England. The Bible manuscripts were saved from the hands of the enemy by Grindal, the Bishop of London.

Casiodoro next went to Antwerp where his young wife joined him. In recognition of the "damage" this zealous preacher of the Gospel was doing among his Catholic countrymen, Philip II had placed a price on his head, a circumstance which forced Casiodoro to continue his wanderings. In spite of all these trials he continued the Bible translation. In 1564 he and Antonio del Corro visited Dr. Juan Pérez de Pineda, in Montargis. Casiodoro may have mentioned the financial problems involved with the translation, which moved Dr. Juan Pérez to bequeath his estate for completion of the translation.<sup>9</sup>

In 1564, Casiodoro de Reina attended the Colloquy of

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<sup>8</sup>Menéndez y Pelayo, op. cit., p. 97.

<sup>9</sup>Scháfer, op. cit., p. 60.



Poissy with the French Huguenots. Count Bedford and the English ambassador in Paris, Fragmarten, paid Casiodoro's expenses for this journey. Did they pay the passage from London or from the Netherlands? Actually, the question is of minor significance. However, if it was from London, it would indicate that Casiodoro left England after 1563, and not 1563, the date previously mentioned.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>Menéndez y Pelayo, op. cit., p. 97.



## CHAPTER V

### THE BIBLE

By 1567, Casiodoro de Reina was in Frankfurt working diligently on the translation. His work was interrupted by a visit to Strassburg to answer a call and invitation to become pastor of the French congregation. No agreement could be reached because the Reformed leaders considered Reina too Lutheran; and he was greatly displeased with the religious fights in progress in Strassburg.<sup>1</sup> However, he apparently remained in Strassburg, preparing his edition of the Bible for printing with funds of the deceased Dr. Juan Pérez de Pineda. At this time, Casiodoro worked with literary friends, Preacher Conrad Hubert and rector of the Gymnasium, John Sturm.

Casiodoro went to Basel, the Protestant printing center. On October 28, 1567, he wrote Hubert asking a certificate from Rector Sturm, authorizing the impression of the Bible. The Basel inspectors, Sulzer and Coctio had put certain obstacles in his path because they did not know Spanish, nor did they know the translator.

Although he spent most of his time in Basel, Reina

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<sup>1</sup>Ernst Schäfer, Seville und Valladolid, die Ev. Gemeinden Spaniens im Ref. Zeitalter (Halle: Ver. f. Ref. gesch. no. 78, 1903), p. 60.



frequently traveled to Strassburg, where his wife had remained. Returning from one of these trips, he became seriously ill and was in bed five weeks. When he had recuperated, he received the bad news that John Oporino, the printer, had died, owing him the 500 florins advance deposit fee for publishing. It was impossible to collect, because Oporino was heavily in debt at the time of his death. Casiodoro sought aid from his friends in Frankfurt, who, in turn, through friends in Strassburg, were able to send him sufficient money to continue the printing.<sup>2</sup>

Casiodoro's health was very poor. He suffered continuous headaches and fever. For this reason the publishing of the Bible proceeded very slowly. Until May of 1569 he had not completed the Acts of the Apostles. Casiodoro had thought to obtain a copy of the New Testament of either Francisco de Enzinas or Juan Pérez to revise and print it. However, he was unable to obtain either, and he had to translate everything himself. Moreover, he was without money; he needed at least 250 florins additional to finish the book. Although he made claims to the Senate of Basel, he was unable to collect a penny from the inheritance of Oporino. How he finally solved this problem is not known. Nevertheless, on June 14, he wrote his friends the good news that he had received the last sheet of the Bible. He

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<sup>2</sup>Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, Historia de los Heterodoxos Españoles (Buenos Aires: Librería Perlado, 1945), III, 98.



further asked if it would be proper to dedicate the Book to the Queen of England. He asked John Sturm to write the prologue in Latin; Sturm complied, but he preferred to dedicate the Bible to the princes of Europe, and especially to those of the Holy Roman Empire.

Casiodoro de Reina informs us that he worked twelve years on the translation:

Subtracting the time lost in sickness, travel, and other necessary occupations in exile and poverty, we can affirm that in nine years I did not drop the pen, neither slackened in study as long as strength remained in body and spirit.

He humbly admitted:

Part of the long delay has been the lack of our erudition for such an important work which was necessary to compensate with double work, part has also been the estimation that God gave us concerning this work, and the zeal to handle it with all cleanliness, which obligation one cannot satisfy with any erudition, neither long diligence.<sup>3</sup>

Although 2603 copies were printed, this Bible is very rare. The title page reads as follows: "The Bible, which is, the Sacred Books of the Old and New Testament. Translated into Spanish." In the center of the page is an engraving which pictures a large tree with a keg of honey suspended from one of the branches; bees and birds are flying around the tree; a bear is eating the honey. An open Bible lies on the ground, perhaps opened to Job 23:12, a passage that may have inspired the picture. Because of the

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<sup>3</sup>B. Foster Stockwell, Prefacios a las Biblias Castellanas del Siglo XVI (Buenos Aires: Librería La Aurora, 1939), pp. 112, 113.



engraved allegory, the Bible was commonly called "of the Bear." Under the engraving are the last four words of Isaiah 40:8 written in Hebrew letters; below it the Spanish translation: "The Word of our God shall stand forever." Psalm 40. The page ends with M.D.LXIX.<sup>4</sup>

The title page does not mention the place of printing or the name of the translator. The only identification is at the end of the Prologue, where are printed the initials, "C. R."

There are copies that have the following false front page: The Bible, which is, the sacred books of the Old and New Testament. Translated into Spanish. In the library of David Aubri and Clement Scheleich. M.DC.XXii. At the end: Year of the Lord: M.D.LXIX: In September. This front page does not have the engraving of the bear, but of a Pegasus with a Caduceus.

Menéndez y Pelayo continues by quoting Brunet: "There are also copies with the false date, 1586." Also false (or editorial fraud) are: the editions of Cosmopoli, by Cristóbal Philaletes, 1567 (about which Le-Long has his doubts); 1596, attributed to Moreri; and 1603, Frankfurt, mentioned by Duchat.

Menéndez y Pelayo also provides a short description of the Bible. The pages were prepared in two columns. There

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<sup>4</sup>Stockwell, op. cit., p. 81.



were fifteen preliminary pages, two in wood, and three different numerations of the book: 1438 columns from Genesis to Ecclesiastes; 544 until Maccabees; 508 for the New Testament; one page for corrections; three for brief annotations concerning the more difficult places of both the Old and New Testaments, and one blank page at the end. The final printing is M.D.LXIX: in September.<sup>5</sup>

In the front of the Bible are the previously mentioned dedication by John Sturm, and a prologue, written by Casiodoro de Reina. The prologue has the following title: "Advice of the Interpreter of the Sacred Books to the Reader and to the Entire Church of the Lord, in which he presents general reasons for his translation, as also special matters."

In the first part of his prologue, Reina shows the necessity of the translation of the Bible in the language of the land. Next, holding himself to the third and fourth articles of the Council of Trent, he maintains that he has rendered the service that the Council suggests; but to be completely covered, he cleverly introduces himself as "Catholic":

Regarding the author of this translation, if Catholic is he who faithfully and simply believes and professes what the Holy Mother Christian Church believes, holds, and maintains, determined by the Holy Spirit, by the Canons of Divine Scriptures, in the Holy Councils and in the symbols and confessions of faith, which, are commonly called the Apostolic, the Nicene, and the

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<sup>5</sup>Menéndez y Pelayo, op. cit., p. 99.



Athanasian, then he is a Catholic, and manifest injury is done to him by him who does not consider him such.

Under the subtitle, the Common Latin version, Casiodoro informs that he did not use the Vulgate in his translation; because of its many mistakes, he considered it as any other version or reference. He claims to have generally used the translation of Santes Pagnino, considered by Hebrew scholars as the most pure. He writes:

In the difficult places, no matter how insignificant, we preferred neither this nor that version. Having had recourse to the original Hebrew, we conferred with the various versions, then used our liberty to choose what seemed most convenient without obligating ourselves to one version more than another, for differing even a little, we had of necessity to follow only one. To satisfy all the tastes in the most important places we added in the margin the interpretations we could not put in the text in order that the reader take the one he thinks best, if what we used did not satisfy him.

Although he lamented the Hebraisms and its slighting of the Messiah, Casiodoro admitted using freely the Spanish Old Testament printed in Ferrara.

Concerning additions to the text, he writes:

With all possible diligence, we tried to tie ourselves to the text without taking away or adding. It was never necessary to take away; we thus believe that in our version nothing of the text is missing, unless perchance an article, or a repetition of a verb, which, without changing the meaning a bit could be left out, and which, would it be added, would sound absurd in the Spanish language, but this happened so seldom I cannot recall an example. Additions were often necessary; some, to give greater clarity to the sentence, which in any other way would have remained hard or altogether unintelligible: with all that, we think to have done it with all moderation, that in none of the versions that we have seen (excluding only the Spanish of Ferrara) there be less additions than in this one, neither shorter ones than there are in ours, neither



to have shown them with more diligence in other type than the common text, in order that the reader know all of them, and have the liberty to utilize them, if he considers them apropos, or leave them and continue the thought of the text, if it does not fit, because in them we do not want, neither ought we harm any judgment.

In the same section he regrets that he could not use the Syriac version of the Greek, but it did not appear until the year he finished printing his Bible.

He presents various reasons why he used the name "Jehova." The first and apparently most important reason reads as follows: "It seemed to me that we could not leave it out, or change it to another without being charged with infidelity and singular sacrilege against the Law of God, in which He demands that nothing be taken away, or added."

The words, "concert," "pact," "alliance," he translated "testament." Because he, for the first time in Spanish literature uses the words "reptil," "esculptil," and "esculptura," he apologizes to the reader and explains their meanings in detail.

Concerning annotations he writes: "There are two kinds of annotations: one, which helps to explain words, figures, idioms; another, to explain the things, which without knowing them, not even clear words could help."<sup>6</sup>

Before each chapter, he put long summaries, or rather, arguments, to show the order or connection of the deeds or

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<sup>6</sup>Stockwell, op. cit., pp. 83-117.



ideas. According to Richard Simon, the annotations of Reina were, almost without exception, taken from the Zwinglian Bible of Lion of Juda or from the ancient Bibles of Geneva.<sup>7</sup> Menéndez y Pelayo also adds that Casiodoro de Reina included the Deutero-Canonical books, as had been done in all the early Lutheran Bibles.<sup>8</sup>

On August 6, Reina sent to Strassburg four large casks of Bibles and asked Hubert to pick them up "for a purpose known to him." Menéndez y Pelayo guessed to take them to Flanders and from there, ship them to Spain.

At the University of Basel, there still exists the signed volume given by Casiodoro de Reina with the dedication written in Latin:

Casiodoro de Reina, Spaniard, of Seville, student of this famous Academy, author of this Spanish translation of the Sacred Scripture, in which he worked ten full years, managed to print it with the aid of pious pastors of the Church of Basel, and by decree of the most prudent Senate, in the printing press of the honored Thomas Guerino, citizen of Basel, dedicates this book to the illustrious University, as a long lasting sign of his gratitude and respect.<sup>9</sup>

The opinion of Menéndez y Pelayo concerning the Bible is noteworthy: "Having been done during the best period of the Spanish language, in all aspects, the version of Casiodoro de Reina by far exceeds the modern of Torres Amat,

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<sup>7</sup>Menéndez y Pelayo, op. cit., p. 101.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 102, note 24.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 99.



and the most miserable of Father Scio."<sup>10</sup>

Did another Spanish Protestant Bible exist before that of Casiodoro de Reina? Boehmer asks the question after citing a letter from Philip II to his ambassador in Paris, dated April 6, 1568:

I would be much pleased had you found the original of the Spanish Bible, and at the same time gathered and burned what had been printed . . . and by all means get those two monks, of whom you write, out of there, because their remaining can bring no good fruit.

One of those monks was Antonio del Corro; the other, perhaps Diego de Santa Cruz. However, from a letter of Casiodoro to Diego Lopez, we infer that it concerned a New Testament and not a complete Bible. Antonio del Corro wrote to Casiodoro in 1563, inviting him to come to Navarre to print the Bible; a suggestion that never passed the planning stage. Menéndez y Pelayo therefore concludes that Casiodoro de Reina's Bible of 1569 was the first Spanish Protestant Bible.

Menéndez y Pelayo also raised and answered the question, "Why did Casiodoro not dare to dedicate his translation to the Queen of England?" He quoted a letter of Sturm to Elizabeth, written in September, 1569, which he thinks provides the clue. He (Reina) feared the Spaniards would look with misgivings at a book supported by such a hated patronage. The principal reason, however, seems to

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<sup>10</sup>Menéndez y Pelayo, op. cit., p. 101.



have been the fact that Casiodoro had been ignominiously expelled from England. Nevertheless, he still desired to return. Sturm acted as Reina's intercessor, and wrote a letter discussing the virtue and piety of his friend. He blamed the misfortunes that had befallen the Spaniard to the envy and malevolence of his rivals. He spoke very highly of the Spanish Bible and its translator. To obtain permission for the Bibles to be sold openly in England, Sturm sent an accompanying letter addressed to Minister William Cecil.<sup>11</sup>

Casiodoro's Bible was not destined to be soon forgotten. In 1599, Elias Hutter printed a polyglot New Testament in Nuremberg. The Spanish translation used in the edition was that of Casiodoro de Reina.<sup>12</sup>

Of the monks that originally fled the monastery of San Isidro, only a few have left a lasting impression in the history of the Christian Church. One of these was Cipriano de Valera. Valera and Reina fled together and were also burned in effigy at the same Auto de Fe in 1562. After a brief sojourn in Geneva, Cipriano established his home in England. There he was married and obtained teaching positions at the universities.

In 1588 he wrote Treatise on the Pope and on the Mass, and in 1594, Treatise to Confirm in the Christian Faith the

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<sup>11</sup>Menéndez y Pelayo, op. cit., pp. 102, 103.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 99.



Captives of Berbesia (Spain). Valera openly professed to being a follower of Calvin. Menendez y Pelayo thinks Valera lived in Geneva for some time. In 1596 he published a translation of Calvin's Catechism, and in 1597, a translation of Calvin's Institutes of the Christian Religion. In 1599 he translated The Reformed Catholic, or Declaration Which Shows How Much We Are Able to Conform with the Roman Church on Points of Religion. In 1600 he authored Announcement to the Roman Church.<sup>13</sup>

His work, however, that has been of greatest importance was the revision of the Spanish Bible, published in 1602. This work occupied him in one way or another during twenty years. Although the revised version appears without the name of the original translator, in the Exhortation, Cipriano de Valera admitted that he had used the version of Casiodoro de Reina, and expressed the following opinion: "The version of Casiodoro, according to my judgment, and according to the judgment of all who understand, is excellent, and so we have followed it, word for word, as much as possible."

Valera printed the New Testament first in London in the year 1596. The complete Bible appeared in 1602, printed not in London, but in Amsterdam from the house of Lorenzo Jacobi.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>13</sup>Menéndez y Pelayo, op. cit., pp. 120-123.

<sup>14</sup>Stockwell, op. cit., p. 122.



He removed Reina's marginal notes, abbreviated the chapter summaries, and ignored the Greek text variants and the ancient Latin translations. Menéndez y Pelayo states: "It cannot be denied, in general, Cipriano bettered the work of his predecessor, and his Bible, considered as a language text, should hold the same authority among us as the Diodati among the Italians."<sup>15</sup>

In our day the Bible is known as the Reina-Valera Edition. It occupies the same position among Spanish Bibles as the King James Version does among those in the English language. Bible societies use this text to bring God's Word into the homes of the Spanish-speaking world. Since 1602, the Reina-Valera Bible has been further revised and edited, but without changing its identity. The most recent revision will appear, God willing, Easter of 1958.

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<sup>15</sup>Menéndez y Pelayo, op. cit., p. 124.



## CHAPTER VI

### THE LATTER YEARS

Having completed the Bible, by summer of 1570, Casiodoro de Reina left Basel to go to Frankfurt, where he had many friends, and where the Senate had made him a citizen of the city. He established a great friendship with Pastor Mathias Ritter. Together with Hubert, they planned to publish an edition of the complete works of Bucer, which was to contain his biography, written by Sturm. The plan was never realized.<sup>1</sup>

In Frankfurt, Casiodoro found it necessary to support himself and his family by the labors of his hands. However, Reina is author of a very rare book on the Gospel of Saint Matthew, printed in Frankfurt in 1573, dedicated to John Sturm, whom he calls "patron of his innocency, comfort in his afflictions, and his refuge in the tempests which raged against him in Strassburg." Boehmer also mentions an exposition of the first part of the fourth chapter of Saint Matthew, dedicated in 1573 to the theologians of Basel. This work is unknown, however, to Menéndez y Pelayo.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, Historia de los Heterodoxos Españoles (Buenos Aires: Librería Perlado, 1945), III, 103.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 107.



After eight years he was given an opportunity to return to the pastorate. The French congregation in Antwerp called him as pastor. Reina accepted with joy; but before assuming the position, he returned to London to brilliantly justify himself against the earlier pernicious accusation.<sup>3</sup> Menéndez y Pelayo thinks that Casiodoro cleared himself in Antwerp, but is not certain about the trip to London--he leaves that question open.<sup>4</sup>

The congregation in Antwerp was Lutheran, also called Martinist of the Augsburg Confession. The members assembled in the Carmelite cloister.

Menéndez y Pelayo was able to read Boehmer's collection of thirteen letters that Casiodoro wrote during this interval, all addressed to Mathias Ritter. In the letters, Reina mentions that the journey from Germany to Antwerp was long and difficult. He was well received by the members. They informed him of the state of the Church. It had suffered greatly because of the scarcity of pastors, and the strife created by Catholics, Calvinists, and the Reformed. Even within the congregation arose strange diversities of opinion: whether original sin was an accident or the same physical substance of man, and whether it was lawful to perform a marriage on Sunday. Casiodoro came with ample

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<sup>3</sup>Ernst Schäfer, Seville und Valladolid, die Ev. Gemeinden Spaniens im Ref. Zeitalter (Halle: Ver. f. Ref. gesch. no. 78, 1903), p. 61.

<sup>4</sup>Menéndez y Pelayo, op. cit., p. 104.



powers from the congregation of Frankfurt (main center of the Augsburg Confession) to direct and correct the disturbed brethren. However, not everything went as planned.

The following June, Casiodoro was in Cologne, perhaps desirous of retirement to Frankfurt. The pleadings, protests, even threats, of the fellow believers, nevertheless, prevailed upon him and brought about his return to Antwerp. The church was in a disastrous condition--it did not even have a formulary or book of prayers and administration of the Sacraments. Casiodoro ordered one from Frankfurt, where they rapidly translated the one in use into French.

At this time the Calvinists began to say that Casiodoro's arrival was an outrage and a serious wound for the church. They left no stone unturned in the attempt to have him removed. In England was uncovered the confession which had been submitted to the Archbishop of Canterbury. As was mentioned previously, in this confession, Reina expressed himself in Calvinistic terminology regarding the Lord's Supper. The Reformed of Antwerp triumphantly published this document in no less than three languages and distributed it profusely, with the hope of damaging Reina's reputation among the pastors of the Augsburg Confession.<sup>5</sup>

As early as January, 1567, Antonio del Corro printed this confession in Latin, French, German, and English, and

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<sup>5</sup>Menéndez y Pelayo, *op. cit.*, p. 105.



sent it to all the brethren of the Augsburg Confession. His motive at the time is not clear.<sup>6</sup>

Casiodoro immediately redacted an apology, in which he declared himself with the Wittenberg Concordia, adjusted in 1536 by Luther with Bucer and his followers; and invited all Reformed ministers to adhere to it without circumlocution, as the only means of reaching harmony on this point. He reaffirmed, moreover, that his confession of England differed in no point from the Concordia, and that no one could consider him a Calvinist or Zwinglian because he held certain opinions about matters of liberty. The magistrates of Antwerp published Casiodoro's apology; but even his friends of the Augsburg Confession, especially Ritter, did not approve the articles of London, and considered it a vain effort to attempt their reconciliation with Wittenberg orthodoxy.

In spite of these difficulties, Casiodoro managed to organize the Lutheran congregation, and prepared for printing, a Catechism, some Psalms in French with music of the German churches. Casiodoro again seriously considered returning to Frankfurt. Trouble increased. The Calvinists and those of the Augsburg Confession publicly insulted one another. Casiodoro, having no recourse to terminate it, deplored the profanation of the Gospel. Considering the

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<sup>6</sup>Thomas McCrie, Historia de la Reforma en España en el Siglo XVI, translated from English by Adam F. Sosa (Buenos Aires: Libreria La Aurora, 1942), p. 268, note 48.



shortage of pastors, however, Reina decided to remain in Antwerp. He brought his wife and children from Frankfurt and asked Mathias Ritter to sell his books. The Catechism he published in 1580 also provided reason for discord; a Lutheran pastor, unknown, and the theologian Heshusio criticized it.<sup>7</sup>

Casiodoro de Reina was suggested for Superintendent of the Church of the Augsburg Confession. A superintendent was similar to a bishop, overseer of a diocese. However, he declined, preferring to remain pastor of his French congregation. When Alexander Farnese, the Duke of Parma, gained control of Antwerp in August, 1585, Casiodoro and many of his members fled to Frankfurt.<sup>8</sup>

In Frankfurt, he lived as a patriarch among the evangelical Lutherans that had sought refuge from Holland. He again supported himself outside the church and established a business in silks. Some time later he was elected second pastor of the French Lutheran Church in Frankfurt and assumed the pastorate July 20, 1593. He was permitted to labor eight months more, until his death on March 15, 1594.

Very little is recorded about his family. He had a son, Mark, who in 1593, appears enrolled in the University of Wittenberg; he became pastor in Frankfurt two years fol-

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<sup>7</sup>Menéndez y Pelayo, op. cit., p. 106.

<sup>8</sup>Schafer, op. cit., p. 62.



lowing his father's death.

E. Christ says that to this day, in the Dutch Hall of Frankfurt, hangs a portrait of Casiodoro de Reina with these words: "Cassiodorus Reinius, born in Seville, citizen of Frankfurt on the Main, Pastor of the French Lutherans, first in Antwerp and then in Frankfurt; there he died March 15, 1594."

Below the portrait is inscribed this German verse:

A Spaniard by birth, a good Protestant  
a faithful Pastor, a man of great gifts,  
In Antwerp and here in Frankfurt well known  
was this REINIUS. What else does one want?  
In the Netherlands his name remains highly honored  
earning credit for himself working for their church.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>E. Christ, Heroes Españoles de la Fe (Madrid: Libreria Nacional y Extranjera, 1894), pp. 296-298.



## CHAPTER VII

### CONCLUSION

One is lead to a greater appreciation of the contribution Casiodoro de Reina made to humanity when one realizes the persecution, privation, humiliation, and suffering endured while translating the Bible. As the years have passed, the Reina-Valera Bible has become increasingly more important to the Spanish-speaking world.

Little is known, however, about the man who produced the translation. Nothing is recorded about his childhood and early youth. The brief references to his student years at the monastery of San Isidro add few details about his life and person. No writer described Casiodoro's physical characteristics. The portrait in Frankfurt would be the only source of information regarding his appearance.

Although Lutherans, Calvinists, and Roman Catholics admit that Casiodoro de Reina died in the Lutheran faith of the Augsburg confession, his religious life remains a comparative mystery. The earliest date that he is specifically called a "Lutheran" is 1578, the year he assumed the pastorate in Antwerp. In 1567, Casiodoro had been called to be pastor of the French congregation in Strassburg, but, according to Ernst Schäfer, the Reformed leaders considered him as being too Lutheran. One may infer from the questions



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Lutherans, Calvinists, and Roman Catholics admit that Reina died in the Lutheran faith of the Augsburg Confession. No one, however, has stated when he embraced this faith, and through what influence. The first time he is specifically called a "Lutheran" is 1578, the year he assumed the pastorate in Antwerp. In 1567, Casiodoro had been called to be pastor of the French congregation in Strassburg, but, according to Ernst Schäfer, the Reformed leaders considered him as being too Lutheran. One may infer from the questions



concerning ubiquity asked of Casiodoro by Antonio del Corro in 1563, that Casiodoro was informed, or expected to know, about the controversy raging at the time between the Lutherans and the Calvinists. The confession Casiodoro wrote in London expressed itself in Calvinistic terminology respecting the Lord's Supper. To go back further than 1559 or 1561, the year he may have written the confession, is unnecessary.

Positive traces of Lutheranism in the Bible translation of Casiodoro de Reina are negligible. He ignored the Vulgate, and held himself, in the translation, to the original texts. He included the Deutero-Canonical books, as was the custom in all the ancient Lutheran Bibles. However, these particulars would not make it "Lutheran." Actually, more Calvinistic and Zwinglian influence are apparent--he printed the Bible in Basel. In the dedication, he expressed gratitude to the pious pastors of the Church of Basel for making it possible for him to print the Bible. According to Richard Simon, quoted by Menéndez y Pelayo, the summaries were drawn from the Zwinglian Bible of Lion of Juda, or from the ancient Bibles of Geneva.

From the prologue, one derives the impression that he worked with an attitude of complete impartiality. The translation of the Book was the important thing. Moreover, this is what is sought--that above all things, the translation be faithful to the original text.



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