

P R E F A C E.

Johann Gottfried Lessing de fidei confessione quam Protestantes Hispania ejecti Londini 1559 ediderunt, *Lps.* 1730, § 17 :

Historia reformationis non paucis defectibus laborat. Insigni igitur utilitate, quamvis multo labore, historiam Hispanorum Protestantium prolixiorum conscribi posse, mihi certe persuadeo. Quamvis enim libri hujus commatis rarissimi esse soleant, ex rivulis tamen, si non fontibus, hinc et inde latentibus, nonnulla meo quidem judicio deduci possent quae non contemnendam lucem historiae reformationis universali affundere posse in propatulo est.

FOR many years the late Benjamin Barron Wiffen entertained the hope that his friend Don Luis de Usóz i Rio would compile a manual of the lives and works of the Spanish Reformers from the time of Erasmus, a labour which he knew that his scholarly friend was better able to carry out than himself; and being by their great mutual attachment encouraged to cherish this hope, he for years collected materials, biographical and literary, which he contemplated placing at his friend's disposal. With Don Luis' death, which occurred in 1865, Wiffen's hope was blighted, and the further prospect of the publication of such a work as he desired, depended thenceforth upon himself, he being at that time upwards of seventy years of age. A few years previously Wiffen had made the acquaintance of Mr. and Mrs. Betts of Pembury whose companionship and sympathy with the work did much to keep the subject alive in his thoughts, and from time to time they pressed it upon him. They frequently lived and worked under the same roof with him, and however much increasing infirmity may at times have made him shrink from undertaking a labour which could appear formidable to a scholar in his prime, it nevertheless resulted in the preparation by him, during the two years which intervened between Don Luis' and his own decease, of considerable material for the present work.

In July 1868 Mrs. Betts asked me by letter, whether I would assist in preparing for the press our friend's title-pages of the works of the Spanish Reformers, together with their memoirs. Some weeks later Mr. and Mrs. Betts were at Halle, and in November my wife and I following their kind invitation staid with them at Pembury. In the quiet study of their hospitable home, I found Wiffen's manuscripts and a great many of his books ready for my perusal. An opportunity of

inspecting the other and that the greater part of Wiffen's library was afforded me by the kindness of M^r Theodore Harris at Leighton Buzzard, with whom I had the great pleasure to stay some days. To him and to his partner M^r Francis Basset, Wiffen had left without restrictions all his books and manuscripts, and there was further within the control of these his Executors a certain reserve of money applicable to the publication of the *Bibliotheca* of Spanish Reformers. I agreed with M^r Harris to undertake and complete this work, in conformity with the views of Wiffen's representatives and of our mutual friends the Betts'. When I left England, at the end of December 1868, I took with me, besides my own notices, the transcripts which had been taken for me from Wiffen's title-copies, mostly by the hand of M^{rs} Betts.

I had always highly appreciated the sagacity of Wiffen's mind which was the more admirable as he had never been trained for such studies as these, and had only begun to be occupied with them, after his retirement from business in middle life; when therefore, after his decease, his manuscripts were laid before me, together with his facsimile title-pages, his tracings and his store of various notices, I felt it to be a privilege to be called upon to carry out a work of so much industrious research and assiduous combination. And forasmuch as I knew his talents to be adorned with the unrelenting self-criticism of a true scholar, I felt sure that it would have been displeasing to him to have had his collections appear before the public, without that thorough revision which they needed. My task has therefore been to realise, as I best could, Wiffen's excellent idea.

Wiffen had dictated to M^{rs} Betts a list of twenty four names which should serve as a general index to the *Bibliotheca*, viz.: The twins Valdés, Dr. Constantino, Juan Diaz, Franzisco and Juan Dryander, Reinaldo Gonsalvo de Montes, Juan Perez, Corranus, Valera, Reina with his son Marcus, Texeda, Nicolas y Sacharles, Jaime Salgado, Fel. Ant. Alvarado, Aventrot, Ant. Sandoval, José Blanco (White), Juan Calderon, Raymond Montsalvaggi, Lucena, Luis de Usóz i Rio, Adolfo de Castro; in the middle, after Reina, there was to be inserted a group of different Catechisms and Confessions. This list was not however regarded by Wiffen as definitive and to include none but those named in it. In the first place we have to strike out the name of Johannes Dryander,

many of whose books Wiffen had registered; for their author was a German physician, not a brother of Francis Enzinas-Dryander, whose brother Jaime on the other hand had been omitted in the list, his only printed letter having been overlooked. I found that Wiffen's papers represented the Spanish Reformers divided into two classes; the list given above comprised the first class, to which he had besides assigned Michael Servetus; in the second class he placed Saravia, Melchior Roman, Monserrate, Gavin and others. Of Spanish translations of Erasmus, Wiffen had also made title-copies, but he did not introduce them into his proposed book on the Spanish Reformers.*) As he showed his judgment in this division, so for more reasons than one it appears to me desirable, to reserve the history of religion in Spain in the present century for a separate work. There is no publication by a Spaniard affecting the Reformation recorded by Wiffen as having been made during the last seventy years of the eighteenth century, and there occurs an interval in his first class of Reformers of 140 years, viz. between the writings of Sandoval and those of Joseph Blanco (White). On Blanco's life there exists an extensive work, published in London in 1845. Adolfo de Castro, whose *Historia de los Protestantes Españoles* appeared in Cadiz in 1851, is still living and holding office in Spain. Nor is it at present convenient to write the life of Luis de Usóz i Rio. Hence, I have resolved to refrain from extending the work to the nineteenth century, and to leave this task entirely to some, as may be hoped, native historian of the Evangelical church of Spain, who will find all the necessary materials within his reach. Concerning Aventrot (who besides his own writings appears to have edited a Spanish translation of the Heidelberg catechism), as he

*) Some notices by Wiffen on Erasmus' works published in Spanish, are to be found in my article *Erasmus in Spanien*, in the *Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Literatur*, Band IV, 1862, p. 158 f. — It may be mentioned here that perhaps the most complete collection now existing of editions of Erasmus' writings in Latin, printed during his lifetime, is in the possession of a friend of Wiffen, Frederic Seebohm of Hitchin Herts. Of the 112 numbers registered by him in Appendix E of his work *The Oxford Reformers*, 2^d ed. 1869, more than two thirds were sent to him by me from Germany, where I felt it a pleasure to collect them for him during the course of seven years, buying at his expense whatever I could find of those old editions. Since Seebohm's catalogue was published, I have sent him sixty additional numbers.

was not a Spaniard by birth, but a Fleming, it did not seem we had the right to place him among the Spanish Reformers. On the other hand, I could not think it right to exclude the above named writers of Wiffen's second class. Saravia and Gavin were, like Alvarado, whom Wiffen had received in his first class, clergymen of the Church of England, and no doubt more prominent writers than Alvarado. As for Melchior Roman, of whom we have only a pamphlet on his conversion from Romanism, and for Monserrate, who wrote several Protestant treatises, I only had to follow the *lista de algunas obras por Españoles reformados* in vol. 2. of the *Reformistas Españoles*. That list, drawn up, it seems, by Usóz with the help of Wiffen, contains this series of names: Juan Valdés, Fr. Enzinas, Dr. Constantino, Juan Perez, Valera, Montanus, Corranus, Melchior Roman, Nicholas y Sacharles, Casiod. de Reyna, Texeda, Monserrate, Salgado, Alvarado, Blanco, and moreover some anonymous writings, subsequently distributed to their authors, ascertained or presumed. It is true that Monserrate has been impugned on account of Judaism; but, as the assailant's libel (Marganetti: *Brevis remonstratio*) is full of gross ignorance, and as the questionable work, *Misericordias David fideles*, published by Monserrate in 1645 with license, has not yet been found, it would not be fair, to refuse him definitely a place in the enlarged circle of Spanish Reformers, to which he is entitled by his former publications. The question may provisionally remain open. The other second class books of Wiffen, as far as they belong to the period I intend to treat, either proved not to have been written by Spaniards or not to relate to the reformatory movement. When collecting the title-pages, Wiffen had not neglected those of Servetus, whom he even had placed, as we have said, among the Reformers of his first class; in the preliminary index of the *Bibliotheca*, however, Servetus does not occur. I find no statement why he was left out, but after mature deliberation I think it more proper to abstain from ranking him in this *Bibliotheca Wiffeniana*, and to reserve him for a monograph. The different creeds and catechisms grouped together by Wiffen, have been distributed by me according to their respective authors or translators.

Regarding the lives of the Spanish Reformers, Wiffen had left sketches of but three of them, slight drafts, as they were called by

the friend to whom he dictated them, and one of these was not completed. On Tejada he repeated what he and Usóz had published in the reprint of *Carrascon*, in the first volume of the *Reformistas*. The narrative on Perez was less detailed than the account, Wiffen himself had printed in English in the second volume of that series and in the Life of Juan Valdés. The pages on Sacharles were merely a rapid abstract from this writer's autobiography in vol. VIII. of the *Reformistas*. As therefore nothing new had been added, by these extemporised drafts, to former elaborations not at all inaccessible, I did not hesitate to lay them aside and write all the lives myself.

Wiffen himself considered that his title-copies needed revision. As to many of them, he had no opportunity of making them himself or getting them made under his personal superintendence; moreover he was latterly wont to complain that his eyesight became distressingly weak; and mistakes in languages which he did not understand would necessarily occur. Concerning the size of the books, he had distinguished folios, quartos, octavos, duodecimos, disregarding, however, as is usually done, the technical meaning of these terms. After all, it was indispensable to do the title-copies and bibliographical descriptions over again. This I have done by collation with the originals. Throughout the present volume I have pointed out the libraries where the copies I perused are to be found. Wiffen's references to libraries having sometimes disappointed me, they are here given only for such books, of which I could not speak from personal inspection. The books which I have had in my hands and which I have described here, belong to more than forty libraries. Twenty five libraries in Germany afforded me collation copies: at Halle a. S. the University library, with which the library presented by Herr von Ponickau to the University of Wittenberg is now connected (of both these I was *Custos* from 1859 to 1872), likewise at Halle the library of A. H. Francke's orphanhouse and also St. Mary's Church library; the libraries of the Universities of Erlangen, Goettingen, Helmstedt (where a considerable part of the library is still remaining), Jena, Kiel, Leipzig, Rostock, Tübingen, Strassburg, where, besides the University library recently founded, the old library of the Collegium Wilhelmitanum was very useful to me; the City libraries of Colmar, Frankfurt on the Maine, Hamburg, Memmingen and Ulm; the

Royal libraries at Berlin, at Dresden, at Munich, at Stuttgart; the Ducal ones at Gotha and Wolfenbüttel; the Count's library at Wernigerode. In Switzerland the Public library at Basle, the City libraries of Bern, of Geneva, of Zurich, the Cantonal ones at Coire and at Lausanne. In the Netherlands the Royal library at the Hague and the University library at Leyden. In France the *bibliothèque* then *Impériale*, now *Nationale* at Paris. Last, not least, in England five public libraries: in London, the British Museum; at Oxford, the Bodleian and All Souls; at Cambridge, the University library and that of Trinity College. I must here embrace the opportunity publicly to acknowledge that the accessibility of the English libraries and their arrangements for the convenience of the readers are, so far as my experience goes, unequalled. Every where I met with great kindness. Whilst I express my obligation to the librarians of the above named collections, I am not under less to those of many other places, whose no less readiness was evinced to aid me in researches which proved unsuccessful. Besides the public libraries, I used some private ones: Wiffen's precious collection, that of my friend John Betts at Pembury, those of my venerable colleagues in Strassburg University, Baum, Cunitz, Reuss, and my own shelves. Moreover I owe great thanks to the administration of the St. Thomas, Archives here at Strassburg, of the Episcopal Archives at Frauenburg in Prussia, of the City Archives of Geneva, of those of the Saxon Duchies at Weimar and of the Ducal ones at Gotha.

The order, in which I arranged the lives and the titles, will, I hope, appear sufficiently natural, so as to need no special apology.

Wiffen used to talk of the bibliographical and biographical work he undertook to write, as of his *Bibliotheca*, and indeed these works of the Spanish Reformers were, so to say, his library, which he placed next in his affection to the Bible. I have called my book *Bibliotheca Wiffeniana*, in order to give him the honour due to him of having conceived the idea of the composition of such a work, for the execution of which he indefatigably prepared the materials. His name is besides expressly mentioned in the course of this book wherever I was indebted to him for particulars.

His collections for the bibliographical part of the present volume were very valuable. He had not registered the official and private

papers of Alfonso de Valdés, but I derived information from him for n^o 2. 8. 52 of my catalogue. Of n^o 55—177, the following 52 were found in Wiffen's title-copies: 55—57. 60. 61. 63—69. 72. 74. 76. 77. 80. 82. 83—86. 88. 92. 95*. 96. 99—109. 112. 116. 120. 121. 123. 124 (the edition of 1572 and one former one). 133. 135. 137. 152. 153. 156. 159 (or 160 or 161). 162. 172. The responsibility, however, for the articles as they are now given under these numbers, is mine, except where I say that I rely on Wiffen. Whilst most of the libraries enumerated above are not mentioned in Wiffen's papers, or are mentioned only on the ground of my communications, others, which have remained beyond my reach, are referred to by him.

The printing of this volume was begun just two years ago. Five sheets were printed when I quitted Halle and settled in Strassburg. Here still less time is left me for this work, but, as the manuscript was nearly ready when I came here, I may hope that the printing will be completed in a couple of years.

The book had to be published in English. I should, of course, have preferred to write it in German, and to get it translated by an Englishman, had I found somebody to do it under my eye. As I was not favored with such an opportunity, I determined to write it in English myself. It would, however, have been presumptuous, to lay my lucubrations, in a language which is not my own, before the public, without a previous expurgatory censure. I have therefore read the manuscript of the narrative, as far as it was at that time advanced, to a young friend who happened to stay for only too short a time at Halle; and the proofsheets have been revised alternately by other English friends. While heartily thanking them for this cooperation, I cannot but confess that I have often had to decide myself without recurring to it, and I must therefore ask for the indulgence of my English readers.

Strassburg, in January 1874.

EDUARD BOEHMER.

Remarks on the principles followed in the descriptions of the books.

Nothing has been here reproduced in black letter. Only with regard to publications of the sixteenth century, I have expressly stated it, when such were employed. The books here described of that period, written in German, are all printed in Gothic type.

As I could not give facsimiles of the titles, I forewent also, as Wiffen had foregone, to take capitals whenever they were used in our originals. Capitals are, however, retained also in my transcripts after full stops, and where found by me as initials of words in *minuscules*, or as initials of words in capitals smaller than those initials; but in transcribing words or syllables written out in equally large capitals, I employed capitals only as initials of proper names, as well in adjectives and in adverbs as in substantives. (In the title of de Castro's *Historia de los Protestantes Españoles*, n° 23, the word *Protestantes* must be taken as a proper name; so also *al Diálogo* and *á los Origenes*, n° 79. The reason why on p. 126. 127. I have written out in capitals VAL D'ESSO, is evident).

The end of a line in a title-page is in my copies marked by a vertical stroke. Two such strokes || mean accordingly that one line of the original has been omitted in my transcript, and in the same way three strokes ≡ are a sign that two lines have been purposely left out. The omission of more than one line is often marked by |||. Wherever only a part of a line is suppressed in the copy, stops are put: ...

Even the *form* of an hyphen being occasionally a distinctive characteristic of the titles of two different editions, I was far from being too punctilious in taking care to mark or to omit, in conformity with the original prints, the hyphen before the vertical stroke indicating the end of a line. It might also have been better, if I had not left unnoticed, where printed horizontal strokes occur between printed lines (for instance in n° 72 between *Amberg* and *M DC IX*).

The terms Quarto, Octavo &c. are originally meant to set forth in how many book-leaves a sheet is divided. The criterion in most cases will be the typographical signature at the foot of the page. There are quarto-volumes smaller than octavo-volumes, and octavos smaller than duodecimos. Some examples will be useful. Jean Crespin's *Recueil* of Christian martyrs, published 1556 (below here n° 126), and the *Actiones et Monumenta* by the same 1560 (ib.), if we follow the signatures, are both in octavo, although in the latter the printed column is four times as large as in the former; according to the general usage, on the contrary, the *Actiones* would be said to be in-quarto, only because the page is so large, and the *Recueil* in-duodecimo, because it is so small. The *Dottrina vecchia e nuova* (see below under Juan Perez's *Breve tratado*), although in-quarto, has less broad columns than Constantino's *Summa* in the Antwerp edition in-octavo. In many cases, however, the progress of the signatures does not keep pace with the accession of sheets. For instance, the size of Roest's auction catalogue, published by Frederik Muller at Amsterdam in 1868, of Hebrew books left by Almanzi and others, which by most people would be called octavo, according to the signatures is quarto; but no doubt the sheets had been cut before printing, and the different signatures really belong

to the two halves of the same sheet, the second half being placed after the first instead of in the first. Often, on the contrary, several sheets are laid one in the other, or part of a sheet is laid into an entire sheet, and yet such layers have only one signature. For instance, in Valera's Bible of 1602 each signature comprehends a layer of four sheets in-folio, Pantaleo's *Acta martyrum* 1563 are arranged in layers of three in-folio, Bruin's *Historie der Martelaren* 1747 in layers of two. In accurate descriptions of in-folio volumes I have indicated how many sheets the layer has (Folio double, triple); whereas in such accurate descriptions the simple notice Folio means that each fifth page has a new signature. By the terms quarto, sexto, octavo, decimo, duodecimo, I denote such sizes in which respectively on p. 9, 13 17, 21, 25 a new signature commences, without investigating whether the ordinal number of the signature corresponds with the ordinal number of the sheet, which is not always the case. The octavo-edition and the quarto-edition of Rabus' *Gottes-Zeugen*, 2^d vol. (below n° 124) have identical column; no doubt in the octavo two sheets are combined. This seems to be the case also in the above mentioned *Actiones et monumenta*. A complete bibliographical statement would answer the questions: Which part of the sheet is the leaf? Octavo, quarto &c. How many leaves has the layer? To be seen by the signature. What dimensions has the printed column? To be measured by a scale, as I have done for n° 55.

Where I say that the leaves or the pages are not numbered, I do not mean that there is no signature.

POSTSCRIPT.

I could already make some additions to this volume. I have succeeded in purchasing a copy of the first edition (treated under n° 93) of the *Minusculem Vergerii*. I intend to republish it. The German translation of 1609 of the Mercury dialogue (n° 72) is reprinted, from this edition, in Goldast's *Reichs-Haendel* 1614 (a copy in my possession). The originals of Francis Dryander's three letters to Camerarius (n° 140) are in the Royal library at Munich, Collectio Camerariana vol. 15, n. 5—7. Cf. Halm's *Verzeichniss der handschriftlichen Sammlung der Camerarii in der k. Staatsbibliothek zu München*, München 1874, S. 37. To Professor Halm's kindness I owe copies of the letters and a facsimile of a subscription. The letters show changes introduced by another hand, which were probably made for the edition, which agrees with them. At the end of my work I shall give a supplement and corrections. Some Errata may be noticed here. P 72, 5 instead of *this* read *the eternal*. 92, n° 22, the last alinea ought to have been printed in Italics. 108, 12 a. i. cancel the sign“. 109, in n° 65 write *Mercvrio*, *archidiacono*, *privilegio*, and place a comma after *tradotti*. 123, n° 96, l. 2 *Vergerij*, l. 5 *Diser*. 124, 1 add: *Octavo*, l. 10 read *ewiger*
