



- ◆ Trabajo realizado por el equipo de la Biblioteca Digital de la Fundación Universitaria San Pablo-CEU

FRANZISCO AND JAIME DE ENZINAS.

FRANZISCO de Enzinas, or Dryander, as he called himself, translating his family-name into Greek,¹⁾ was from Burgos,²⁾ and was born about the year 1520.³⁾ His parents, noble and wealthy, sent the youth to the Netherlands where they had highly esteemed relatives. When recalled to his family in Spain, towards the end of 1537, he found the influence of the great religious movement even in his native town. Pedro de Lerma, a theologian, who had lived half a century at Paris, had been driven to recant by the Spanish Inquisition, and was about to leave his own country for ever.⁴⁾ On June 4. 1539 Franzisco Enzinas matriculated at Louvain⁵⁾, where

1) Joach. Camerarius de Philippi Melanchth. ortu cet., Lps. 1566, [Halle Univ.], p. 341: *Eum nominabant Franciscum Dryandrum. Sed familiae, ut ferebant, apud suos imprimis nobilis appellatio alia erat voce gentili [viz. Enzinas], quam Graecum illud nomen quodammodo interpretaretur.* — De la Serna Santander in the *Catalogue des livres de la biblioth. de M. C. de la Serna Santander*, t. 1, Bruxelles, an XI (1803) [Halle Univ.], p. 19: *Dryander . . . Enzinas qui signifie Chêne-verd.* This means the Latin *ilex*, and from *ilicina* comes Spanish *enzina*. On the title of the French translation of the book on his captivity in Belgium he is called *du Chesne*. In the address of a letter of Bucer to him, written in the beginning of 1548, he is called *Frantz Eichman*.

2) This is evident from his book *de statu Belgicae* [see below n° 120; I quote it as *Belg.*] cap. 180. 181. 183. 186. 187. — Dr. Luis Nuñez directs a letter *Nobilissimo viro domino francisco enzinas burgensi*. It contains the passage: *cum summa essem necessitate cognatis tuis ac tui nominis studiosissimis vincetus — Burgales* he is called by Cipr. de Valera in the Exhortacion before his bible of 1602, fol. *3.

3) On his age see *Belg.* cap. 83. 107. 116. 144. 157, and 183 with Campan's note.

4) *Belg.* c. 183.

5) In the matriculation-book of the University of Louvain, of the years 1528—1569 (at present in the royal archives at Brussels: *Université de Louvain*, 42 Folio) the following names are found under 1539 *Junius IIII: Antonius Gottiris Hispanus. Dns franciscus densines Hispanus. Daunanus a Gorb Lusitanus Nobilis*. I owe this notice to Revd C. Krafft at Elberfeld, President of the *Bergische Geschichtsverein*, who had, of his own accord, the kindness to communicate it to me, in 1872.

Compare on the theologians of Louvain *Rvardi Tappart Apotheosis: Gratiano Vero autore*. [Basel Univ.]. The publisher's preface is dated 1558. Brunet 5, 655. Verus speaks also of Persevaldus (*Belg.* c. 70 sq.).

he attended the lectures of the Romanists, although he was already a decided protestant.

About the time when Francis matriculated at Louvain, and probably after having seen him there, his brother James left that University where he had specially enjoyed the friendship of the pious and mild Cassander. By their parents' will James went to Paris, which he found, as he expresses himself, less an Academy than a Babel. After having witnessed there in 1540 the burning of Claude le Peintre, a young Parisian, who resolutely suffered a cruel death for his evangelical convictions, James shook the dust from his feet and returned to the Netherlands about the end of that year. He stayed a month at Louvain, where, however, he did not again find Cassander, who had removed to Bruges. About the middle of January 1541 James went to Antwerp, following the proposal of a bookseller there, to get a Catechism printed, which James had himself translated into Spanish. On the 20th of February he writes from thence to Cassander, that he hopes to have it finished in two days, and then to return to Louvain. In the same letter he says that his brother who had previously been with him at Antwerp, had left for Wittenberg.⁶⁾ Franzisco's most ardent wish was to sit at the feet of Melancthon. "To enjoy the instruction of this man, I would travel to the very end of the civilized world," so he wrote to John à Lasco, asking him for introductions to Luther and Melancthon and other learned men of that most flourishing University. This letter to à Lasco, written May 10. 1541, is still dated from Louvain, where he had

6) *Frater enim meus Dryander, cum Leucoream abire constitisset* . . . p. 58 of Jaime's letter, on which see below n^o 115. Leucorea is a Greek translation of Wittenberg. Jaime does not mention the Christian name of his brother; no doubt, he means Franzisco. Nor does he name the Paris martyr, but from what he says I conclude without hesitation, that he speaks of Le Peintre, on whom see Crespin's *Actes des martyrs* 1565 (colophon 1564), p. 148. From this combination we find the year of the letter, which is not given by the editor. M'Cric p. 179 finds the same year 1541, comparing *Histoire des Martyrs*, f. 119, b, which means most likely the same passage quoted by me, which in the edition of 1608 is read on fol. 119 verso. M'Cric seems, however, to confound that execution of 1540 described by Dryander, with another one related by Knobelsdorf, which took place in 1542.

That Jaime was younger than Franzisco may be concluded from Jaime's words (epist. p. 58): *cum frater multum apud me valeat autoritate*.

seen à Lasco some time before, no doubt in 1540 or in 1539.⁷⁾ From Louvain Franzisco did not, however, go directly to Wittenberg, but proceeded to Paris, where he just arrived to cheer the last days of, and to do the funeral honours to, the venerable Lerma, who died in the month of August 1541.⁸⁾

On the 27. of October 1541 Franciscus Dryander Hispanus matriculated in the University of Wittenberg.⁹⁾ There he lived in Melancthon's hospitable house,¹⁰⁾ principally occupied in translating the New Testament from the Greek into Spanish. Such a version from the original was indeed a necessity of the time. The Castilian translation which king Alfonso X had had made from the Latin in the 13th century, had not been printed nor had it been circulated; nay, Enzinas, it would appear, had never heard of it. Juan Valdés' undertaking, of which Enzinas then most likely knew nothing not even by hearsay, was perhaps never brought to an end, at all events it was not even partly published. When Enzinas had completed his work, he left his dear Wittenberg, in the beginning of 1543¹¹⁾, in order to superintend the printing of the manuscript in the Netherlands.

Franzisco first went to Frisia. He visited John à Lasco at Emden, then Albert Hardenberg at Aduard, whom he succeeded in moving to decisive rupture with Romanism.¹²⁾ When Franzisco arrived at Lou-

7) On à Lasco's stay at Louvain at that time see *Gerdesii Hist. reform.* t. 3. 1749. p. 147. Franzisco writes: *cum te primum Loranii viderem*, and afterwards: *ante duos menses itineri sum accinctus, ut tuam Amplitudinem invisere . . . liceret* (at Emden). *Jam Antwerpianam perveneram, cum malus quidam genius . . . pedem reflectere coegit.*

8) Belg. c. 183.

9) *Album acad. Viteberg.* ed. Foerstemann 1841, p. 192. — On 14. Feb. of the same year was matriculated *Joannes Ramiriz Hispanus*. In the winter 1538—9 among the *pauperes gratis inscripti*: *Ferdinandus de Canaria insula una ex fortunatis*. 1520, April 21 was matriculated: *Matheus Adrianus Hispanus hebraice lingue professor et medicinarum doctor.*

10) This is to be concluded from Melancthon's words quoted in our note 22.

11) Belg. c. 2.

12) The report on Enzinas' experiences in the Netherlands from 1543 down to his liberation out of the prison, is taken from his own book *de relig. Belg. &c.*

In the Album of the University of Wittenberg we find in 1543 mense Junio: *Albertus Hardenbergk Frisius Theologiae Doctor*, among the *Pauperes gratis inscripti*. I think he is the Frisian, on whom Melancthon writes to Paul Eber 13. 7. 1543 (Corp. Ref. 5, 142 f.), as the Franciscus Hispanus of the same letter is

vain, the first news he heard was, that, the night before, twenty eight protestants had been imprisoned on account of their religion. He thought, Brussels would be a better place for him, to work unobserved; but there also he found that persecution had just begun: He returned to Louvain where he had many relatives, some of great authority in the town; he now only called on them and got a heartier welcome than he might have expected, judging from their habit and their creed. He also made a trip to Antwerp to visit an uncle. When he returned from there to Louvain, he, in July, witnessed the execution of some whose religious convictions he shared; two old women were buried alive as obstinate Lutherans. Notwithstanding such impressions he resolved to publish his New Testament. He submitted his manuscript to the theologians of Louvain. They answered that as the reading of the Holy Scriptures in the vulgar tongue had led to heresy in Germany, they could only congratulate Spaniards upon their wish, rather to dispense with a Spanish translation, than to risk it. It did not rest with the Faculty, however, either to approve or to prohibit the publication, as no Imperial mandate forbade it, whilst the Imperial Imprimatur had even been given for Bibles. Enzinas therefore left for Antwerp, where typography was then most flourishing. Some advised him to delay printing till the arrival of the Emperor, of whom he would easily get a license; but he did not think it prudent to expose his work to the danger of being stifled before it saw the light by the antievangeli- cal current at court. Thus at the cost of Enzinas the Spanish New Testament was printed by Stephen Mierdmann, who could so much the less demur at it, as only in 1538 the New Testament had been allowed to be printed in French in the same town. In a dedi-

Dryander. Melanchthon, as the letter, written from Cologne, shows, thought then that Franzisco might already have returned to Wittenberg. It was probably in 1543 at Aduard, that a copy of *Alfonsi Viruesii Philippicæ disputationes, Coloniae 1542*, now in the church library at Emden, received the dedication: *Alberto Hardebergo F. Driander*; there are found some manuscript marginal notes in that copy, the existence of which I know by a communication of Revd C. Krafft whose kindness I have already acknowledged in note 5. Melanchthon means this work of Virues in a letter of 21. 7. 1543 (Corp. Ref. 5, 147). A copy of the work is in the Halle University library.

cation to the Emperor Enzinas explained what had moved him to undertake the version and that such a one was not in contravention of any law. The title "New Testament, that is the new covenant of our Redeemer and only Saviour Jesus Christ" gave offence before the issue of the copies. Covenant, they said, was a word in favour with the Lutherans, and the adjective *only* was too provoking. Enzinas consented to omit both, and took care besides that no copy should be given away before he should have presented one to the Emperor. Charles, when he had been informed that a Castilian New Testament was in the press at Antwerp, issued the order from Cambrai on November 13 to the president of the privy council of Brabant, to prohibit the printing and distribution of it; the printer Cron had already printed other prohibited books, and the translator of this New Testament was an object of suspicion. The next day the Regent gave from Valenciennes the corresponding order to the margrave of Antwerp. He answered on the 20th: even before the receipt of this Royal letter he had notice, that Miermans (not Cron) printed the translation of Enzinas, who had promised the printer, to get him the Imperial sanction; and he the margrave had had the translation examined by some theologians of the Franciscan order, who had given their opinion that, excepting some irrelevant marginal notes, they had found scarcely anything objectionable.¹³⁾ After the arrival of the Royal order he had at once stopped the continuation of the print and also the sale. This measure could not escape Enzinas, but, that an Imperial letter was the cause of the prohibition, seems to have remained entirely unknown to him. Franzisco arrived at Brussels, on the same day with the Emperor, on November 23. 1543. The bishop of Jaen, a wellwisher of his, introduced him on the next day, sunday, to the Court. In a hall, where he found many high personages standing about, he saw the Emperor take his luncheon, sitting at his table alone, and he admired the gracefulness and dignity of his manners. When he rose, he stood leaning on a thin cane and gave ear to some brief report of a general. Then the bishop took Enzinas' hand, led him to the Emperor, and asked that his Majesty would consent to receive the dedication of this excellent

13) *il y aurait peu de scrupulosité.* See Campan vol. I, p. 644.

work of his young friend. What book is it? asked Charles, turning towards Enzinas, who answered: "It is that part of Holy Scripture, Sire, which we call the New Testament, faithfully translated by me into Spanish; wherein is principally contained the evangelical history and the epistles of the Apostles. I wished to have your Majesty, the protector of religion and pure faith, for judge and propitious examiner of this labour, and I humbly beseech, that the work, approved by the assent of your Majesty, be recommended to the Christian people under your Imperial authority." The Emperor asked the young man: Are you the author of this book? The Holy Spirit, Sire, said Enzinas, is its author, inspired by whose breath men of God have handed these divine oracles to all mankind in the Greek language; I am only a subordinate servant and feeble organ, who have translated the book into the Spanish language. Into the Castilian? asked the Emperor. Into our Castilian language, Sire; of which work, said Enzinas, I now beseech you to be patron and defender according to your clemency. Be it as you ask, replied the Sovereign; provided there be nothing suspicious in the book. Nothing in the whole work, Sire, is suspicious, assured Enzinas, unless the voice of God which sounds from heaven, the redemption by his only begotten son Jesus Christ, our Saviour, who proceeds from the bosom of the eternal Father, ought to be suspicious to Christians. Your wish is granted, concluded the Emperor, if the book is such as is represented by you and by the bishop. Charles took the copy and withdrew to his cabinet. On the next day the bishop was commissioned to hand the book to the Emperor's confessor Pedro de Soto¹⁴⁾ who was to examine whether the translation was good or bad. Enzinas returned to Antwerp. Thither the bishop wrote him that the monk seemed to be satisfied with the book which he had, however, not yet read through. As the examiner had expressed the intention to confer at Antwerp, where the Emperor was to go, with the translator in person on certain not very important points, Enzinas instantly returned to Brussels. He was received by the courtly monk with a profusion of civilities, but dismissed several

14) See on him Quetif et Echard *Scriptores ordinis praedicatorum* t. 2. p. 183 sq.

times on the pretext of business that could not be postponed. At last he made Enzinas wait in his cell, recommending him to read a chapter, concerning them in a book which he left lying open. It was Alfonso de Castro's Latin work against all heresies. The writer praised the authorities of Spain who had threatened severe punishment to those who should venture to translate the Holy Scripture, that inexhaustible source of heresies, into the popular language.¹⁵⁾ Enzinas' blood was up. The Dominican, when he returned, assumed a high and solemn strain. He spoke in harmony with that book, and added: moreover there had been raised against Enzinas the charge that he had been in Germany with Melancthon and had praised such a man's virtues and doctrines, as also that he was the author of a very pernicious book recently published. I do not know, so he concluded, how you will come off without grievous penalty. Enzinas answered broadly. He assured him that he had never edited anything besides the New Testament. He stated that to hold conversations with Luther and Melancthon was not forbidden; the Emperor himself, said he, had spoken with them. And as for spreading the New Testament, it was not only not prohibited by human laws, but it was a holy duty to do so. That the Confessor should with respect to the translation, confine himself to following the orders of his Sovereign, viz. to search whether it were exact. Soto still observed that the version as such was indeed praiseworthy,¹⁶⁾

15) I quote some passages to be compared with *Bely*. c. 105. -- *F. Alfonsi de Castro adr. omnes haecreses libri XIII. diligentius recogniti ac emendatius quam antehac typis crevisi, Coloniae 1513* [Halle Univ.]. Lib. 1. c. 13, fol 25: *Tertia demum haeresum parens et origo est sacrarum literarum in linguam vulgarem translatio, unde evenit ut ab omnibus sine allo personarum discrimine legantur. Ut autem convincantur hanc esse et saepe fuisse haeresum causam, illud imprimis statuere oportet, haeresim nunquam ex sacris literis, sed ex illarum perversa intelligentia oriri . . . Quapropter laudandum merito venit edictum illustrissimorum catholicorumque Hispaniae regum, Ferdinandi videlicet eiusque coniugis Helisabetae, quo sub gravissimis poenis prohibuerunt ne quis sacras literas in linguam vulgarem transferret aut ab alio [misprint: alia] translatas quoquo pacto retineret. Timuerunt namque prudenter plebi suae quam regendam susceperant, ne ulla occasio illi daretur errandi . . . Fol. 27: *Chon ergo plus nocuumt inferatur ex libris sacris in linguam vulgarem versis quam ex lectione gentiliu philosophorum, merito illud [versio libror. sacror.] inhihetur, etiamsi de alio [de philos.] nulla fiet [sic] prohibitio.* The first edition of de Castro's book had appeared at Paris 1534, another one at Cologne 1539.*

16) Compare Richard Simon on Franzisco Enzinas' New Testament. *Nouvelles observations sur le texte et les versions du nouveau testament. Par R. S. P. Paris 1695.*

only it would have been better to apply such great labour and carefulness to another subject. At the first step out of his door Enzinas was seized by a detachment of soldiers and brought to prison. The order came from the chancellor Granvelle, but Enzinas instantly discovered the Dominican in it, a surmise which was afterwards confirmed by the chancellor's own statement. This imprisonment happened on December 13. 1543.

After the terrible agitation of the first few days Enzinas composed himself, principally by converse with a fellow prisoner, Aegidius Tielmans, a cutler; in him the young scholar forthwith gained an elder friend, one deeply experienced in spiritual things and whose piety and edifying conduct Francis knew not adequately how to extol. On the fourth and fifth days of his detention Enzinas was brought before the members of the privy council charged with his examination. They kept strictly to their written instructions, in which the accused recognised

Seconde partie, ch. 2, p. 151 sv. After having analyzed and criticized Enzinas' preface, Simon says: *sa version qui est faite sur le texte Grec, est assez exacte . . . Il s'attache ordinairement à la version d'Erasmus, qu'il a imitée au commencement de l'Évangile de S. Jean [v. 1]. . . Une preuve de son exactitude est qu'il a mis trois fois à la marge le mot Grec λόγος ris à ris de l'Espagnol palabra. Il en use de même en quelques autres endroits, où il met une note lors qu'il voit que le mot est ambigu. Il ajoute néanmoins rarement ces petites notes qui ne regardent même pour l'ordinaire que les poids, les mesures, les monnoyes et autres choses semblables, qu'il accomode aux usages de son pays, afin de rendre sa traduction plus intelligible: mais il conserve les anciens mots dans le texte . . . Je n'examine point si ces petits éclaircissements d'Enzinas sont partout exacts: il suffit d'avoir observé en general, qu'il est judicieux en ce qu'il n'a pas pris la liberté de changer les mots de l'original dans sa version, sous pretexte de la rendre plus claire étant destinée à l'usage du simple peuple: il a renvoyé aux marges ces explications qui font le même effet sans alterer son texte. Son bon sens paroît encore en ce qu'il a évité le plus qu'il luy a été possible les periphrases, gardant le caractere des Auteurs qu'il traduisoit. Il supplée même rarement des mots pour se faire mieux entendre: il ne laisse pas nonobstant cela de se rendre intelligible, principalement à ceux qui sont tant soit peu exercés dans le stile des Livres sacrez. Mais après tout, il étoit bien difficile qu'il ne s'émancipât quelquefois: aussi a-t-il eu en quelques endroits plus d'égard au sens, qu'à la lettre de son original, comme au chap. 1. de l'Épître aux Romains v. 28. où il y a dans le Grec παρέδωκεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Θεός, et dans le Latin de la Vulgate, tradidit illos Deus, il a traduit παρέδωκε, qui signifie a livré, par permissio caer, a permis de tomber. Il a voulu adoucir cette expression qui luy a paru trop rude. [Most likely Enzinas had here no such arrière-pensée]. Mais ces adoucissements doivent plutôt trouver leur place dans une note à la marge, que dans le corps du texte.*

the pen of the Imperial confessor. Enzinas defended himself with the greatest dexterity. He declared that he had talked with Melanchthon on a great variety of subjects, especially on rhetoric and philosophy. "Whether on sacred also?" Occasionally on a few topics, the majority of which he did not then recollect. When asked how he had expressed himself to Melanchthon? he replied: of the very words it was impossible for him to give account after so long time; they might ask Melanchthon himself who had got a better memory. "What do you think of the man and of his books?" I have not read all his writings, and even if I had read them all, I should not think myself competent to pass judgment on the productions of such a great man. As for his character, I think him the most excellent man I ever saw in my life. On the next day the prisoner was called to account as to how he could venture to say such a thing about a notorious excommunicated heretic? He denied that it was certain that Melanchthon was excommunicated,¹⁷⁾ and still less had he Enzinas found any heresy in him. As it gave no offence that the learned daily spoke of the divine Plato, of Socrates as a saint, of Aristides as the just, how much more must he be warranted to call one, who at all events joined in the general confession of the Christian church, a most excellent man. Another impeachment against Enzinas was: that he had printed in capitals the Lutheran sentiment that man is justified by faith without works of the law. Although it was the compositor who had done this, without the translator's instructions, still he held it not to be inconvenient to draw the attention of the reader to it, and to warn him not to misunderstand the sentence, which moreover was not Lutheran, but Pauline. More painful than this trial were to Enzinas the visits of some of his relations, who came to the wise conclusion that all this was the consequence of his unnecessarily interfering with theology. All efforts with influential persons in favour of the prisoner failed. Soto said, the only thing which he could promise was that he would endeavour to get the affair finished in Belgium so as to prevent its being transferred to the Spanish Inquisition. Enzinas, for his conso-

¹⁷⁾ Melanchthon is found as a first class heretic in Pius' IV Index, Dilingae 1564, fol. 33. 35.

lation, studied the Psalms and wrote down prayers suggested by them; thus he perused the whole Psalter from beginning to end.¹⁸⁾ Moreover frequent visits from persons, who felt as he did in relation to the great religious struggle, cheered and strengthened him. For the prison was by no means strictly secluded from the outward world, on the contrary the jailors discipline was so lax, that he subsequently was deposed from his office.¹⁹⁾ From Brussels alone hundreds of persons went to see Enzinas. Two cavaliers also of the Imperial court, which continued at Brussels till the second of January 1544, the one a Spaniard and the other a Burgundian,²⁰⁾ repeatedly spent hours with him, and also took meals in the prison, where the keeper's brisk wife made a good fire and gave her best wine, in order to try, whether it was not possible to exhilarate the melancholy young man. The conversation, however, could not but turn on the discouraging situation of Spain, the only country in Christendom, from which the word of God was banished. Enzinas told them amongst other things the history of Franzisco de San Roman, likewise a native of Burgos and a friend of his; suddenly converted at Bremen, he was arrested at Ratisbon, as he had without reserve proclaimed the conviction burning in his heart, and was led in chains with the Emperor to Italy, even as far as Algiers, to find his earthly end at the stake in Spain.²¹⁾ During the first

18) Wiffen thought that a printed volume which he possessed and then sent to Usóz: *Los psalmos de David. Dirigidos en forma de oraciones. MDCXXVIII.* might be this work of Enzinas. I may notice that the extracts in French given among the *Pièces justificatives* of Campan's edition of Enzinas' *Mémoires* t. 2, p. 443--5, no doubt after Wiffen's copy of parts of the original, are not found in the following two different Zurich collections: *Preces Christianae ad imitationem psalmodum compositae. Tiguri 1556.* [Prohibited in Pius' IV. index. The copy in Halle Univ. libr. has only a ms. title]. *Preces sacrae ex psalmis Davidis desumptae per d. Petrum Martyrem Vermilium.* With preface of Josia Simler, dated 1564. *Tiguri 1566* [Halle Univ.] and another edition ib. 1578 [Halle Orphan-house].

19) See Campan 2, 445 f.

20) The *Burgundus* who followed *purioris doctrinae formam* c. 148. 151 perhaps was *Jacques de Bourgogne, seigneur de Falais et de Bréda en Brabant, arrière-petit-fils naturel de Philippe le Beau, duc de Bourgogne*; he left Brabant on account of his evangelical convictions at the end of 1543 or at the beginning of 1544, see Bonnet's collection of Calvin's French letters, t. 1, p. 93 f.

21) See this note at the end of our biography p. 155.

week of 1544, there was in the same prison with Enzinas a citizen of Louvain, Just van Ousberghen, who was beheaded on the 7th of January for his evangelical belief. A fortnight later Enzinas had also to part from his beloved Aegidius Tielmans, who was transferred to another dungeon, where he was tortured; on January 27th he suffered death in the flames as a stubborn heretic. After some time the judicial acts of Enzinas' own process were sent by the president of the privy council to the Court of the Emperor, whence in August 1544 arrived the injunction, to question the prisoner on several points. This was carried out the day before Charles' return to Brussels (therefore on September 30). To the former accusations was added that Enzinas had in some public place sided with Melancthon and Bucer against a priest. The defendant asked that his accusers should be named to him and confronted with him. He got for reply that nobody accused him but the Emperor. But, said Enzinas, the judge cannot be the accuser. There was nothing to do but to have patience. On one occasion of public rejoicing some murderers and robbers confined in that prison were pardoned, but none of those who had been deprived of their liberty on account of religion. At last, shortly before the Emperor's departure for Ghent (which took place on Dec. 2), the bill of indictment was handed over to Enzinas, who set to work to write his defence. In the meanwhile during the Emperor's residence in the Netherlands religious persecution took a fresh start. Enzinas was especially affected by the news that Peter Alexander, Confessor to Queen Mary, the Emperor's sister, had fled, because, on a charge of Lutheranism, his imprisonment had been decreed; on the second of January 1545 the fugitive was *in contumaciam* condemned as a heretic and his writings burnt at Brussels. In the middle of January the Emperor went to Brussels where he resided till April. The danger grew more threatening for Enzinas; nor did he delude himself about it. One evening, when leaning against a passage-door, in order to look through the grate into the open air, the door gave way. Enzinas stepped out: a second door was likewise open; he knew, the third one was closed only during night. Several times he had let opportunities escape, this time however, he felt he ought to make use of the present one. He called on a friend, they scaled the town-wall, and

half an hour after having taken his supper in his cell he found himself out of Brussels on the way towards Mechlin. It was the first of February 1545. They walked through the night, from Mechlin Enzinas reached Antwerp on horseback in two hours; there his friends kept him a whole month. When the jailor reported the prisoner's absence, the president said: let him run and don't speak of it. Whereby some were confirmed in their view that the judges themselves wished to assist Enzinas' flight. He himself doubts this, but leaves the matter undecided.

Towards the end of the preceding year Enzinas, still in prison, had found means to send a letter to Melanchthon, who praises the magnanimity of the writer.²²⁾ In the middle of March 1545 the fugitive arrived again at Wittenberg. On March 17. Melanchthon writes to his friend Joachim Camerarius at Leipsic: 'Our Spaniard Franzisco is back, saved by providence. I have asked him, to write a report.'²³⁾ In July Enzinas finished this his narrative in Latin under the title: On the state of the Netherlands and on Religion in Spain. Melanchthon, to whom it was directed, is several times adressed in it by the writer as his preceptor. Enzinas lived again as a guest in Melanchthon's house. With Belgium he remained in correspondence.²⁴⁾

22) Mel. to Joach. Camerarius 25. 12. 1544 (Corp. Ref. 5, 554): *Te vero arbitrator libentius lecturum esse Francisci Hispani nostri hospitis epistolam scriptam ex carcere Belgico, placebit enim animi magnitudo, ac filium Dei oro ut eum et nos regat et confirmet.* — I copy in this and the following notes all the passages from Melanchthon's correspondence relating to Franzisco Enzinas, excepting the two recommendation letters to England and the letters to Fr. Enz. himself.

23) Mel. Camerario 17. 3. 1545 (Corp. Ref. 5, 705): *Rediit noster Hispanus Franciscus, dirivitus liberatus, sine ope ullius hominis, quem quidem ipse norit; iussi eum historiam scribere, quam tibi offeremus.* Afterwards in the same letter: *A Schelio velim te Francisco Hispano pecuniam petere, iuxta has litteras, et dare ἀροχῆν ut vocant: dabis autem pecuniam huic nuncio afferendam, ac scribis numerum.* — Crodelio (gubern. scholae Torgens.) 21. 3. 1545 (ib. 707): *Venit huc enim Hispano nostro qui e carcere Bruxellensi erasit, viro optimo et integerrimo, alius quidam cis Bruxellensis, qui in manifesto periculo fuit; is nunc quaerit operas. Novit autem vestrum civem qui textit tapetas, quod artificium et ipse exercet . . . Nec tibi commendarem, nisi mihi Hispani nostri virtus spectata et probata esset, qui huius Belgae mores praedicat.*

24) Mel. Bordingo 17. 7. 1545 (ib. 5, 794): *scripsi aliquid eo argumento quod Franciscus Hispanus ait, se ad amicos in Belgicam misisse . . . Significare mihi poteritis an illud meum scriptum a Francisco Hispano missum istuc videritis.*

He was sure to incur some disastrous blow. He got an Imperial summons to return to prison under pain of capital punishment and the confiscation of property. In order to get precise information and to know for certain whether judgment had already been passed on him, he made in August a journey to Leipsic, where there was a commercial house that used to transact his money-matters.²⁵⁾ After the beginning of the next year he returned to Wittenberg.²⁶⁾ About the time of Luther's death, Enzinas was plunged into the greatest sorrow and agitation by a letter from his family telling him that the Emperor's confessor had taken care not only to prevent his inheriting from his parents, but also to subject them to signal infamy, which could only be avoided by a stay of Franzisco in Italy. His friend Juan Diaz proposed from Neuburg on the Danube to meet him at Nuremberg, and intended to dissuade him from that journey to the enemy's camp, but was himself murdered by fanatical Romanists as we shall relate hereafter. Not even this dreadful event daunted Enzinas, but he resolved to cross the Alps in order to obey his mother's wish.²⁷⁾ Melanchthon gave him the warmest letters of recommendation to his friends.²⁸⁾ He left Wittenberg about the end of June 1546. In August

25) Mel. Joach. Camerario 20. 8. 1545 (ib. 835): *Hospiti meo Hispano, viro prudenti integro ἐπιστολῆν diem dixerunt in Belgico syeophantiae etiam absenti. Et ex dierum numero ratiocinamur iam latam esse sententiam. Ut igitur inquirat haec et sciscitetur num ad se litterae istuc missae sint, ad vos profectus est. Dedit autem ei epistolam, et ut caussam itineris ipsius scires et quia officii te bonorum virorum calamitatibus scio. Ipse satis forti animo est, etsi includi sibi reditum ad parentes et in patriam videt. Sed tamen parentum luctu et dolore moeretur.* Compare Juan Diaz letter II.

26) On the first of January 1546 he wrote from Leipzig to Jo. Sleidanus, who on the 31 of the same month directed his answer from Antwerp to Wittenberg (see Sleidan's letter in the archives of S. Thomas, Strassburg).

27) Mel. Camerario, May 1546 (Corp. Ref. 6, 150): *Franciscus Hispanus, ut matri dolorem leniat, Italiam petere decrevit.*

28) Mel. to Hieron. Baumgartner, senator of Nurnberg, 24. 6. 1546 (ib. 180): *Nunc tibi Franciscum Hispanum commendo qui, quia multorum audit de tua excellenti virtute sermones, videre te voluit. Vir doctus est et gravis, et philosophica quadam diligentia prudentia et dexteritate actiones suas moderatur.* On the same day Mel. wrote to Vitus Theodorus, preacher at Nurnberg (ib. 179): *Hanc epistolam exhibebit tibi Franciscus Hispanus, meus contubernalis, vir doctus gravis et eximia virtute praeditus, in omni officio philosophicam diligentiam praestans. Te et d. Hieronymum Baumgartnerum videre voluit. Hieronymo igitur eum commendabis.*

he was staying at Strassburg in the house of Bucer²⁹), who on the 22. of that month gave him introductions to Ambrose Blaurer at Constance and to Vadian at S. Gall.³⁰) "He is a living letter from Wittenberg," says Bucer; "he is the soul of Philippus." First however he went to Zurich, where he made friendship with Henry Bullinger, with whom he remained in correspondence.³¹) Bullinger on September 1 directed him to Joachim Vadian, the polyhistor, physician and reformer at St. Gall,³²) who likewise continued henceforth to be in exchange of letters with Enzinas. After having visited Hieronymus Sciler at Lindau, he went by way of Constance, where he was on the 12 of

Mihi gratum facietis si cum ut me alterum complectemini. To the same, 1 July 1546 (ib. 182): *Si istuc venit Hispanus, meus contubernalis, Franciscus Dryander, iube ut mihi scribat, ac optarem eum in vestra urbe manere aliquot menses. Postea poterit iter facere, ut spero, tuto. Desiderio eius admodum teneor.* -- There is no reason to think that Franzisco Enzinas had contributed to the following tract: *Von der Vnchristlichen, tyrannischen, Inquisition, den Glauben belangend, Geschrieben aus Niderland. Wittenberg Anno M. D. XLVI.* Besides the title-leaf two leaves. [Halle Univ.] It states that according to news from Antwerp, dated July 13. 1546, the Spanish Inquisition was about to be established there as soon as the Emperor should have vanquished the Protestants, so that many had already ordered lodgings at Wittenberg.

29) Enzinas epist. III.

30) See my Strassburg program (below here n° 150) p. IV.

31) Enzinas epist. IV and following.

32) I owe to Mr Wartmann, librarian of the city library at St. Gall, the copy of a letter preserved there in original (VI. 189), of Bullinger to Vadian, dated Zurich, September 1., of which I transcribe what relates to Enzinas: *Franciscus hic Dryander, Hispanus, vir recte pius et doctus, venit at tuam humanitatem, vir clarissime, te videndi duntaxat gratia; excitus enim fama nominis tui, diu iam te videre desideravit. Est clara et magna in Hispaniis familia natus, est opulentus et longe doctissimus. Petit praeterea Lindaviam ad d. Hieronymum Seylerum, unde per Constantiam redit usque Basileam, ubi aliquamdiu agere instituit. Sanus et integer est in doctrina catholica et orthodoxa. Care autem quin ille intelligat, te favere Bucerianae toties mutatae sententiae. Non quod non sciam, recte te sentire de coena Domini, sed quod Bucerus magnifice et splendide Hispano huic praedicavit, quot et quantos in sua sententia habeat viros, inter quos te quoque nominavit. Hispanus dixit, uti mihi retulit: non arbitror virum tantum aliud sentire quam quod literis editis prodidit. Est hic Melanchthoni carissimus, de quo mira audias. Fuit apud Melanchthonem adhuc in mense Junio. Idem praecit eum apud te epistola.*

Theodor Pressel has, in 1861, published a biography of Joachim Vadian, and one of Ambrosius Blaurer of Constance, to whom is directed Enzinas' epist. XXXII.

September,³³) to Basle, where we find him in October. Here he settled, as he had given up going to Italy; the learned bookseller John Oporinus took him in his house³⁴) and soon printed two of his works. At the end of November³⁵) they had finished the narrative of the life and death of Juan Diaz, a martyr for evangelical Christendom. Of course Senarelens, his travelling companion and the witness of his last moments, was the reporter for the greatest part of the book which might be called therefore a history by Senarelens, but Enzinas, who also personally knew Diaz from former times, was, no doubt, in the literary sense of the word the author of it.³⁶)

Soon after Enzinas had sent out this book, he received the news that his brother James, to whom Juan Diaz owed the evangelical turn of his mind, had been burnt at Rome for the confession of his faith.³⁷) Three years ago James had written to a friend:³⁸) "In the holy Scriptures to add to or to take anything away from or to distort anything according to one's own mind and affection, is -- Christ love me! -- the greatest impiety, which a good Christian must not bear, no not even at the risk of his life."

33) At the margin of Bucer's introductory letter to Blaurer (see above p. 146) is written: *recept. 12. Sept.* Most likely E. himself delivered the letter. The route Constance-Basle was his intention, see our note 32.

34) Enzinas epist. VIII.

35) Epist. XII. XIII.

36) Read his expressions in epist. XV. and especially in XVI. Moreover see: *Bibliotheca instituta a Cour. Gesnero in epitomen redacta et locupletata per Josium Simlerum Tiguri 1574* [Halle Univ.] p. 131: *Claudius Senarclaeus, doctissimus iurenis, scripsisse fertur historiam Joannis Diazii Hispani, a fratre suo Alphonso impie trucidati, quod eius caedis oculus testis fuerit: sed ab alio quodam descripta ea, falsoque, ut invidiam declinaret, illi attributa, in Germania excusa est, anno 1546 cum Buceri praefatione.* Repeated in the same *Bibliotheca amplificata per Joh. Jac. Prisiunum, Tiguri 1583* [Halle Univ.] p. 156. This opinion is taken also by Luis Usóz i Rio, Ref. Esp. t. 20, p. 176. Cf. Wiffen p. 44 here above. The geographical notice, however, on the situation of Cuenca, on p. 26 of the *historia*, is thought by Usóz p. 34 an *Eurresado modo, de un extranjero, no ducho en la jografía de España*. This may well be doubted. Even in the *epistola Senarclaei* to Bucer, prefixed to the *historia*, the name *rabini* p. 17 for the papistical theologians is an expression which shows Enzinas' hand, see his *historia de statu Belgico*, then unpublished, cap. 8. Compare also our note 39 here.

37) See this note at the end of this biography p. 156.

38) James' epist. p. 62.

The Pope and the decrees of the first year of the Tridentine council were unsparingly criticized by Francisco in a treatise which appeared about new year 1547.³⁹⁾ Saint Paul's doctrine of justification by faith is his banner against the Romanists.⁴⁰⁾ Not less vehe-

39) Only between Nov. 4 and 11 he got a copy of the first three *sessiones*, epist. IX and XI; and on Nov. 26, when the history of Diaz was issued, the printing of those sessions was not completed, epist. XIII. The decrees of January 13, 1547 were not yet known to the author.

Melanchthon wrote to Albert Hardenberg on All-Saints-day 1547 (Corp. Ref. 6, 717): *Franciscus Hispanus, vir optimus et integerrimus, Basileae est. Opinor ab ipso refutationem decretorum aliquot synodi Tridentinae compositam esse, cuius exemplum an videris nescio.* — In the preface *Lectori* of the *Acta conc. Trid.* we find a peculiarly striking expression which occurs also in the Diaz history and in a letter of Francisco Enzinas. In that preface, fol. a 4, the writer says on Pope Paul III: *istam piratam non esse hominem humanum, sed potius diabolum ipsam incarnationem.* Hist. de morte Diazii p. 53: *Malrenda, non equidem te hominem humanum putabo, sed vere ferreum aut marmoreum pectus te habere indicabo.* Epist. XXIX. (May 1547): *qui in tantis cladibus ecclesiae non vehementer afficiatur, eum equidem non hominem humanum, sed potius marmoreum putabo.* By Franc. Enzinas one should think written the remarks on the Admonition, and also the *adnot. ad 3.* in which two articles the Bible translations are treated. Some parts purport to be written in Rome: adn. to decr. 1 (e 8: *in hac urbe Roma*) and to decr. 6 (m 8: *in hanc urbem Romam*, n 2: *in hac urbe Roma*), as also the postscript (r 7: *in hac urbe Roma*) and the disticha (r 7: *Romae scripta*). These disticha remind one of those accompanying the Hist. Diazii; they might all very well be by the same author. It is possible, that James sent some annotations from Rome and that Francis enlarged them, but it seems more probable that that Roman origin is a fiction introduced by Francis.

40) Adn. ad 6, fol. n 8: *cum negant hominem sola fide justificari posse, et magnam Deo, filio Dei, toti sacrae scripturae, doctrinae Paulinae injuriam faciunt, et suam manifestam impietatem, suam blasphemiam, suam impudentiam, suam insaniam stolidissime produunt. Cum fidem dico, fiduciam misericordiae Dei erga genus humanum propter Christum mediatorem intelligo, juxta Pauli et apostolorum doctrinam, non illam quam isti suis in decretis usurpant historicam notitiam, quae in diabolos quoque ipsos cadere possit, ut Jacobus ait [2, 19]: et daemones credunt.* Against Paul III, the murderer of James Enzinas, his brother Francisco says here, speaking to the fathers in council, annot. ad 4 decr.: *si aliqua omnino dignitas hominis in eis esset, praeter nomen et barbam, pudere illos deberet, si tamen aliquis pudor in eis adhuc haeret, unicum putidum sordidulum atque impium silicernium sibi universis antepone.* — One might think that Francisco Enzinas was the author of the pamphlet: *Epistola de morte Pauli tertii pont. max. deque iis quae ei post mortem eius acciderunt. Anno MDXLIX mense Decembri in lucem edita.* Colophon: *Placentiae, mense Decembri anno Christi nati MDXLIX.* Reprinted in Johan. Wolfii *Lectionum memorabilium* t. 2, p. 554 f. G. Th. Strobel, *Neue Beyträge zur Litteratur besonders des sechszehnten Jahrhundertts*, vol. 5, 1794, p. 244 f. thinks, it was written by P. P. Vergerius, although

mently than against the Pope does he express himself in his letters against the Emperor, who by holding the landgrave of Hesse prisoner (which, it is true, was not formally illegal,) had lost the reputation of fair dealing, and who had allowed the murderer of Juan Diaz to remain unpunished, and who prohibited the Holy Scriptures.

One of the first copies Francisco got of the Diaz martyrology he sent to the Cardinal du Bellay, a man of evangelical sentiments. Diaz had been correspondent of the Cardinal, to whom also the Protestant church historian Sleidanus used to send reports on public affairs. French emissaries in 1546 spoke to Jacob Sturm of Strassburg of the inclination of the Dauphin to the Protestants, whom he could not yet save from being persecuted by his father the king. At Martin Bucer's instance, in November 1546, Enzinas offered to the Cardinal, to be his correspondent in the place of his murdered countryman.⁴¹⁾

After the Anti-Tridentine Philippica had left the press, in January 1547 he made an excursion to St. Gall, no doubt by way of Zurich, which he visited also on his return in February. On March 1 he writes from Basle again, and there he remained till November, excepting the first week of May, when he was at Strassburg.⁴²⁾ In

this divine is called there *Italiae nostrae doctor et lumen*. I think the author is Celio Secondo Curione, who in the preface to Valdc's *Considerazioni* 1550 praises still Vergerio. The passage in this epistola: *genius is qui me abhinc decennium in coelum deduxerat* seems to refer to the *Pasquillus*, which Curione may have begun as early as 1541. A German translation has the title: *Ein Sendbrief, P. Aesquilij von dem tode Pauli des dritten Babsts dieses namens, Item Was ihm nach seinem tode begegnet ist. Mit zweien Vorreden. Roma. 1.* [follows a long quotation from Romans 1]. S. l. e. a. Colophon: *Impressum ex alio iam alibi impresso exemplari, quod erat uersum ex latino Placentiae excuso.* First preface by Matth. Flacius Illyricus, second probably taken from the first German edition. Q. Total 27 leaves. [Halle Univ.]

41) Epist. XII. The minute written by Dryander's hand is at Strassburg, Thomas-archives, drawer 21. On du Bellay's evangelical tendencies see G. Th. Strobel l. c. fünften Bandes erstes Stück: *Von Melanchthons Ruf nach Frankreich.* As for Jacob Sturm, see his letter of 10 May 1546 in Neudecker's *Merkwürdige Actenstücke*, 1838, p. 744 f.

42) For these and other dates of Enzinas' stays see his letters. I will not omit the following notice from a letter of Melanchthon to Vitus Theodorus, dated 23. 6. 1547 (Corp. Ref. 6, 584): *Literas ad Franciscum Hispanum scriptas, quas nuper τῷ μετῴ γραμματιστόρω tradidi, si nondum misisti, tradas huic Nicolao Argentinensi, auditori nostro, honesto adolescenti.* — Calvin writes to Monsieur de Falais, from Geneva, on the 16th of August 1547 (Lettres de J. Calvin, recueillies

October he was warned by a brother of his in Spain, to be cautious, for a Dominican monk coming from the court of the Emperor had said that steps were taken to kidnap that heretic, whom they longed to get more than they did the landgrave of Hesse.⁴³⁾ At the end of November Francisco was at Memmingen, which he left before the end of the year; in January 1548 we find him again at Basle,⁴⁴⁾ but no doubt only to arrange his affairs, for he had resolved to leave a town surrounded by kidnappers lurking in order to surprise him,⁴⁵⁾ and to go to England, where Melancthon recommended him to the king as well as to archbishop Cramer.⁴⁶⁾ Impatiently he awaited these letters of Melancthon

par Bonnet. Lettres françaises. Tome premier. 1851. P. 218: *J'ay corrigé en l'Epistre latine de Dryander ce que bon m'a semblé, vous suivrez ce qui vous semblera le meilleur. J'espère que vous pourrez juger qui m'a esmen à tracer beaucoup de choses, lesquelles je ne réprovoye point, mais me sembloient superflues, ou pour le moins qu'elles n'eussent eu nul poids vers le personnage.* I do not know to whom that letter of Enzinas was directed.

43) Epist. XXXIII.

44) Utenhoven's letter to him, 3. Jan. 1548, is directed to Basle *in aedibus viduae d. Grynei*. Probably the widow of the celebrated Simon Grynaeus. Valerandus Pollanus writes to him, 14. Febr. 1548, to Basle *apud viduam Grynaei*. John Oporinus in a letter to Valerandus Pollanus at Strassburg, 31 May 1548, says: *mitto lucernam, quam hic Fr. Dryander reliquerat et ad se mitti petierat. Aegre certe obtinere eam licuit a vidua, apud quam Franciscus habitavit.*

45) Epist. XXXVI.

46) Melancthon Cramerio, 12. 1. 1548 (Corp. Ref. 6, 781): *. . . hic meus amicus Franciscus Dryander . . . Familiaritas ei mecum est multorum annorum. Vere serranus hoc Homericum inter nos ut hospes tanquam frater diligatur. Etiam iudicio eum complexus sum. Penitus enim perspexi eius opiniones et mores ac animadverti eum excellenti ingenio praeditum esse, et praeclare instructum eruditione et de controversiis rectissime iudicare, ac prorsus alienum esse a fanaticis et seditiosis opinionibus. Morum etiam gravitatem singularem ipse cito cognosces. Et his ornamentis tantis addit veram Dei agnitionem et invocationem . . . Usui etiam cum fore in academia aliqua arbitror . . . Teque oro ut veniam des epistolae subito effusae, quam tamen veram esse iudicabis ipse ubi Francisci ingenium, eruditionem et mores dierum aliquot consuetudo ostenderit.* On the same day he wrote to king Edward (ib. 782): *Affirmo hunc Franciscum Dryandrum longa mihi consuetudine cognitum, recte excultum esse eruditione, tum vero prudentissime iudicare de religionis controversiis, ac toto animo totaque mente a fanaticis et seditiosis opinionibus abhorere. Quare eum in tuo regno in academia aliqua magno usui atque ornamento ecclesiae Dei esse posse existimo.* I think it was soon after these two letters that Melancthon wrote to Joach. Camerarius (ib. 752): *Nuncium qui Basileum ibit flagitasse literas a te spero: scripsi de Hispano nostro ad regem Anglicum et ad Cantuariensem.*

thon and others from Bucer in England, he was in great trouble, so much so that he seriously wrote of leaving Christian Europe in order to found an evangelical colony in tolerant Turkey,⁴⁷⁾ and Bullinger thought it necessary to do his best to dissuade him. Enzinas answered from Strassburg on May 20: Thy warnings would not have been able to deter me from the journey to Constantinople, did not a more narrow tie unexpectedly detain me in this part of Europe. The unforeseen incident was his betrothal with Margaret Elter.⁴⁸⁾ A few days later the marriage followed, and both left for England.⁴⁹⁾

Archbishop Cramer did honour to English hospitality, and gave Enzinas also a professorship of Greek at Cambridge.⁵⁰⁾ In this posi-

47) See this note after the biography p. 158.

48) Dryandri epist. XXXIX, my Strassburg program (below n. 150) p. IV. — His wife was cognate with the wife of Valerandus Pollanus (who had married in January 1548. He writes to Dryander from Strassburg, 6 Febr. 1548: *Hodie mensis est quod uxorem duxi*). Valer. Pollanus Dryandro, Londino Cantabrigiam, 4 May 1549: I wish to thy wife *felix puerperium; nomine quoque uxoris meae, cognatae suae, salutem dices*. Id. eid. 29 May 1549: *Uxorem tuam, affinem carissimam, rogo meo nomine plurimum salutes*. Id. eid., 17 Aug. 1549: *omne officium tibi defero et uxori tuae dulcissimae, cognatae amantissimae . . . Uxor mea cognatae suae scripserat [Dryandri uxori]. . .* (All these letters are in the archives of S. Thomas at Strassburg).

49) Jo. Oporinus in the letter to Valer. Pollanus at Strassburg, 31 März 1548, supposes that Franc. Dryander has already left Strassburg. On the 15 of July Fr. Dr. wrote from London to Matthias Claudius, see Claudius' answer of July 31 (ms. S. Thomas, Strassburg). Jo. a Lasco (op. ed. Kuyper 1866. 2, 617) writes from Emden, 19. 7. 1548: *Franciscus noster Dryander iam adest [in Anglia]*.

50) Besides Enzinas' letters see Peter Martyr's letter to Joh. Utenhoven, who was still at Canterbury, dated Oxford 15. 1. 1549: *Fratres meo nomine salutes, potissimum Franciscum [Dryandrum], quem ut dolui aegrotasse, ita iam mihi persuadeo convaluisse* (Gerdes' *Serivium antiquarium* t. 4, p. 666). Paulus Fagius Jo. Marbachio at Strassburg, dated Lambeth 26. 4. 1549 (Fecht. hist. eccles. supplem. 1684, epistolar. p. 10): *Plurima salute impertit te tuosque omnes d. P. Martyr, d. P. Alexander, d. [Franc.] Dryander, d. Antonius Gallus, d. Valerandus . . .* Bucer and Fagius wrote on the same day to the ministers at Strassburg, that they had found at Lambeth Peter Martyr, Immanuel Tremellius, Dryander and some godly Frenchmen; "all these are entertained by the archbishop" (Original letters relative to the English reformation, edited for the Parker society, by Hastings Robinson, second portion, Cambridge 1847, p. 535. From the original, written by Bucer's hand, Thomas-Archiv, Strassburg, I give the last sentence: *hos omnes fovet d. Cantuariensis*). Petrus Martyr, 1 Febr. 1549, Oxonio Cantabrigiam, Dryandro *bonarum litterarum professori*. Dryander had written him about his pro-

tion Dryander declined the offered tutorship of the duke of Suffolk.⁵¹⁾ In November 1549, leaving his family under the care of Bucer⁵²⁾ at Cambridge, where he thought to return next spring, he made a journey to Basle to get some Spanish books printed.⁵³⁾ It was, however,

fessorship in the University. Martyr writes: *cuperem ut quod Reverendissimus [archiepiscopus] de suo tibi suppeditat, istis assignatum haberes, nimirum ex ordinariis professorum stipendiis.* Dryander, epist. XI, from Cambridge 25 March 1549: *in hac universitate, ubi professionem habeo Graecarum literarum.* Isengrinus, 19 Apr. 1549, Francofurto Dryandro *Graecarum literarum apud Anglos professori.* Bucerus, Croidonio 2 Mai 1549 Dryandro *Graecae literas doctenti Cantabrigiae.* Arn. Birkmannus 1 Jun. 1549 Dryandro *Graecarum literarum professori in acad. Cantabr., Colonia Cantabrigiam.* Valer. Pollanus 17 Aug. 1549, ex aula apud Westmonasterium Dryandro *Graecarum literarum professori Cantabrigiae.*

51) See Peter Martyr's letters to Dryander, Jan. and Febr. 1549.

52) Bucer's continual love to Dryander is shown by some letters of 1549. In a letter from Croidon, 2 May 1549, addressed: *Vere nobili et doctissimo viro, domino Francisco Dryandro, Graecae literas doctenti Cantabrigiae, domino et amico suo colendo et carissimo,* the Strassburg reformer writes: *Gratiam quam possum magnam tibi habeo, optime Dryander, pro tua erga me immensa certe caritate. Dictum mihi est, debere Paulum [Fagium] et me Cantabrigiam proficisci, quod, cum tu istis sis, pergratum evenit. Tuo enim consilio me facile sic gubernabis ut, si non multum gregi dominico commodem, minus tamen incommodem. Fac itaque quod facis, ama utraque extorres, et inutiles, semper cupientes, tamen bonis prodesse.* Subscription: *Tuus totus M. Buc.* On the 19 Sept. of the same year Bucer begins a letter to the same: *Ah, mi cor.* — On 11 Oct. Bucer says: *Tu cunctos caritatis numeros aduersus me implere studes. Dominus tibi id rependat.*

53) See Dryander's letters XLVI foll. John Hooper writes rather rashly to Bullinger, London 5 Febr. 1550: *Quod ad vos redit Dryander, mittite metum; sibi consultit, nec nostra plurimum curat, dempto lucro* (Epistolae Tigurinae, below here n° 147, p. 49). And in Hastings Robinson's translation (here n° 146, first portion, p. 77) the passage has become still more unfavourable to Dryander: *he consults his own interests, and cares but little for ours when gain is out of the question.* As for the *lucrum*, one would think that the professor's pay was meant by it. Dryander himself writes to Bullinger from Basle, 17 March 1550: *deserui scholam et familiam meam cum magno meo sumptu, labore et damno,* deluded by fair words, which induced him to believe that he would get promptly printed at Basle some little books. No doubt it was this business, from which the dissension with Oporinus originated, so strongly expressed in Oporin's letter of May 26. 1550 (see note 65).

It was a consolation to Dryander, to get in the same time the expressions of Melanchthon's unvaried love. Jac. Schwartz von Ruissingen writes to Dryander from Wittenberg, 20 May 1550: *Quae certiora sunt, ex literis d. Philippi cognosces qui amore dulcissimae consuetudinis tuae adductus proprium nuncium nunc mittit ut ad nos te revocet, quod si (ut speramus et optamus) effecerit, erit nobis gratissimum, venies enim universo amicorum coetui hospes expectatissimus. Vix credas, suavissime d. Francisce, quantum te diligit: nullamque diem absque tui memoria praeterlabi sinit, saepe etiam dicit, se, nisi maximis incommodis impeditur, recta*

only after the most wearisome struggle with various difficulties that translations of his from Florus and Plutarch at last appeared in Strassburg in 1550 and 51. In Basle the magistrate would not permit books to be published in *unusual* languages. In January 1550, as his life was imperilled by frequent fainting fits, he sent some one to England to fetch his family. But it was not until June that he met his wife and his little daughter at Strassburg. There they lived two years and a half⁵⁴⁾ in easy circumstances.⁵⁵⁾ A second daughter was born to them.

In the summer of 1552 he went to Geneva to see Calvin for the first time, with whom he had begun correspondence when in the

via ad te iturum esse, sequere hoc unum optare ut quod reliquum est ritae, doctissimis tuis colloquiis tecum ei traducere concedatur. Tanta scilicet est naturae et ingeniorum vestrorum similitudo, quae vere (ut dicitur) τὴς γλώττης ἀνίτην εἶσθι.

54) Besides his own letters see Melanchthon's. Alb. Hardebergio, 27. 7. 50 (Corp. Ref. 7, 635): *Heri allatae mihi sunt literae a Francisco Dryandro qui nunc Argentorati est cum familia.* Hedioni et Marbachio, 12. 8. 50 (ib. 643): *Francisco Dryandro salutem opto, quem propter ipsius integritatem, prudentiam et eruditionem non dubito vos vestro iudicio multo ante compiceros esse.* Alb. Hardebergio, 1. 5. 52 (ib. 990): *Accepi recentes litteras a Francisco Dryandro qui narrat Argentinum tunc quidem nondum a foederatis sollicitatum fuisse ut se eis adiungeret.* Jac. Milichio, 7. 7. 52 (ib. 1024): *nuncius iturus Argentoratam . . . Scribam et ego ad meum fratrem et ad Franciscum Hispanum.* 18. 8. (ib. 1052): *Rediit ex Argentorato nuncius . . . scribit frater: . . .* — Conrad Gesner Nic. Gerbelio at Strassburg 15. 2. 51. (Fecht I. c. epistolar. p. 858) sends salutations to Dryander the Spaniard.

55) Jo. Frisius Francisco Dryandro 28. Jul. 1550 Tiguro Argentinam: *Habes hic, amicorum optime, quod dudum a me petisti, verum quod tardius illud mitto culpa in me non est rejicienda, sed potius in ipsam sculptorem qui aliis occupatus negotium hucusque distraxit. Duos iam tuae imaginis numos fusos mittit, tertium mihi ipsi servari in tui memoriam, sic enim mihi pollicitus es, sed dabo operam ne te in ingratum contulisse existimes. Valorem ipsius argenti e. e. ipsius chirographo cognosces. Nam praeter argentum nihil computavit, cum tamen horum trium numorum facturae pretium fere ad 1 fl. ascendat. Dein pro ipsa sculptura plane nihil petiit, sed tuam liberalitatem (cum sit ars libera) expectare voluit. Nullo enim inquit pretio potuisset adduci ad hunc laborem subeundum, si non ingenium tuum liberum cognovisset. Quare cum ita sit, facile erit indicare quid illi sit dandum. De poculo nobis aliquid certi scribe, nam tibi libenter morem geret. Vale, amicorum optime. Saluta nostrum Frisium [scil. Augustinum]. . . Jo. Frisius Francisco Dryandro 29 Aug. 1550 Tiguro Argentoratam: *Non dubito quin argenteos numos dudum acceperis. . . Artificem nostrum de poculo conveni: is se facturum insigne et mirabili artificio, praesertim si historia Isaaci huic inseritur, pollicitus est . . . hoc me addere iussit ut illi ad 15 aut 20 Coronatos mittas ad rei confirmationem.* Both letters are in the Thomas archives, Strassburg.*

house of Melancthon.⁵⁶⁾ There remained however at last rather a variance between Calvin and Dryander.⁵⁷⁾ In the autumn Dryander was at Augsburg.⁵⁸⁾ On the 30th of December 1552 Franzisco Enzinas died at Strassburg, from a pestilence then raging there. John Marbach preached the funeral sermon.⁵⁹⁾ Down to his last weeks the horrors of the war roundabout were doubled for him by the continued hostile devices of relatives.⁶⁰⁾ His wife died some weeks after him. Melancthon, whom he always had venerated as a father, and who called him his dear brother,⁶¹⁾ wished to take care of one of the daughters, but the Strassburg friends did not wish to part with them.⁶²⁾

56) See Enzinas' epistolas. Besides Melancthon Calvino, 1. 10. 52 (Corp. Ref. 7, 1085): *viro ἀσπτερό ἄρως ἐν ἀγγλιῶν . . . Audio Franc. Dryandrum hac aestate apud te fuisse . . . si cedendam erit ex his locis, colloqui tecum decrevi . . . Si vobis mihi scribere, poteris literas Franc. Dryandro mittere.*

57) See Calvin's last letter to him beginning *Si tibi haecenus molesta.*

58) On the 28 of Sept. Sleidanus writes to him from Strassburg to Augsburg, on the 25 of Nov. Oeco writes to him from Augsburg to Strassburg. Melancthon addresses on the 5 of October *Dryandro, Argentinae vel Argentorati* (Corp. Ref. ib. 1098), and writes on the same day *Hencelio, consuli Augustano*, (ib.): *Ubiqumque scies esse Franciscum Dryandrum, quaeso ut ei meam epistolam exhiberi cures. Vir est integerrimus et tibi familiariter notum et commendatum esse optarim.*

59) The 21 Dec. is given as the day of his death in Pauli Eberi *calendar. histor.* 1571, p. 404. Item by Abr. Bucholzer in the *Index chronolog.* behind the *Isagoge chronol.* 1596. But I found the following notice in the autograph *Diarium Johannis Marbachii* [in the Archive of S. Thomas, Strassburg]: 1552 . . . *Die 30 Decemb: ist peste gottselig gestorben D. Franciscus Dryander Hispanus, excellenti doctrina, et morum ac vitae integritate optimum habens testimonium. Sequenti die honeste sepultus est, in magna civium copia, funebrem orationem ipse habuit.* On that pestilence compare Dryander's epist. LXI.

60) Epist. LXI: *Aecedunt nobis quoque privata pericula prodilionis et insidiarum, quas propter odium doctrinae nobis tendunt etiam consanguinei.*

61) Epist. XI: *patri carissimo.* Melancthon's letter of 24 April 1551 is addressed: *Clarissimo viro, eruditione et virtute praestanti d. Francisco Dryandro, fratri suo carissimo.* The biographer of Melancthon, Joachim Camerarius, who knew Dryander personally and remained in correspondence with him, makes mention *externorum quoque hominum, cum quibus singularis usus aliquis et eximia familiaritas Philippo Mel. intercessit*, and, after having spoken of such friends from other countries, he speaks, as for Spain, only of Dryander, saying (p. 341) *Ex Hispania habuit secum virum gravem admodum constantemque et fortem in iis asserendis defendendisque quae vera atque recta esse discendo comperisset. Eum nominabant Franciscum Dryandrum* (continuation see note 1 here).

62) Melancthon *Henr. Mollero*, March 1553 (Corp. Ref. 8, 59): *Duos amissimus amicos: Erasmus Salveddensem . . . et Franciscum Hispanum Argentorati mortuum, quos propter studia et ecclesiam doleo tum cito ex hac statione abductos*

A year or two before his death he wrote to a friend: "I am working with good conscience, God be my witness. If the people of this time will not thank me, I hope there will come others in the future of better judgment, to whom our studies shall not be useless."⁶³⁾ His last care was to prepare the edition of his Bible-work, at which he had been studying fifteen years.⁶⁴⁾

esse. Jo. Marbachio, 13. 3. 53 (ib. 47 sq.): *De Francisci Dryandri morte iam ad me scripserant amici ex urbe Norica. Itaque de uocore et filiabus eram sollicitus. Tuas literas narrent et uoris mortem. Nec dubito roboris orphanos curae fore . . . Etsi nos iterum uoca exilia expectamus propter bella, tamen unam ex filiabus ad me transchli relin, nisi alibi melius collocatae sunt. Significabis igitur mihi et quomodo alantur et quid tibi videatur de meo consilio.* To the same, 26. 8. 53 (ib. 141): *Quod pie filias Francisci Dryandri nutrir et educari evatis, Deo gratiam officium est, et tibi gratiam habeo quod id mihi significasti; ubique eas commendo.* Cf. my Strassburg program of 1872, p. IV and 12. 13.

63) Epist. LVIII.

64) Epist. LXI and Calvin's answer.

Appended notes.

21) for p. 142. *Franzisco de San Roman.*

The writer of the following is that minister of the gospel who as Franzisco de Enzinas tells in his memoir, was the divine instrument for the evangelical conversion of Franzisco de San Roman. The ms. is in the Thomas-archiv at Strassburg. Jacobus [Spreng] Probest, Minister Evang. Bremae. Francisco Dryandro, Brema Wittenbergam, sabbato post Epiphaniae 1546: The Lord will smash the Antichrist also in Spain. Sanguis fratris nostri Francisci clamat nec sine fructu clamabit. Ego miser habui illum thesaurum, Franciscum scilicet, in domo mea, quem ignoravi, ut satis attendi, nunc autem fracta corporis lagena per Antichristi ministros, aliquid adoro et gratiam Dei adoro. Ebrius fuit spiritu Domini, qui tamen parum bibisse videbatur; ego, proh dolor! adhuc avidus sum et ieiunus, qui in abundantia bibere videor. Contempsit mundum, vitam suam et omnia propter Christum, quem induerat et apprehenderat fide, et constantissime nullum timens praedicavit: testatur gloriosa mors, qua glorificavit Deum, et migravit ad vitam in infinitum meliorem quam reliquit. Qui deposuit tabernaculum sui corporis et victis tormentis quiescit in cubili suo, expectans in summa securitate et dulcissima requie adventum Domini nostri Jesu Christi, per quem vicit tormenta, mortem, Satanam principem eius, mundum et omnia mala. Nec dubito quin ipsius confessio tam constans multorum corda movebit, eritque sanguis eius effusus semen ecclesiae adhuc apud Hispanos plantandae. Nos autem vere dicere possumus illud Augustini: surgunt indocti et rapiunt caelum, nos vero tardi, frigidus et fere inutiles sumus. Indoctus, imo insanus reputatus a mundo, at eorum angelis et in ecclesia Dei doctus et praeclarus est. Mirabilis certe Deus in sanctis et electis suis. S. Jacobus ab Herode occisus est, Petrus ab eodem captus est ut occideretur, sed miraculo praeclaro liberatus est, et in utroque Christus glorificatus est, in S. Jacobi morte pretiosa, in Petri liberatione mirabili. Ita b. Franciscus Hispanus ab impiis captus

Christum morte confessus est, Franciscus Dryander ex carcere liberatus est. Hispanis et impiis sophistis aliud cogitantibus; ut sic praedicetur Christus et innotescat per Franciscum b., cuius sanguis praedicat, et per Franciscum liberatum, qui lingua et vita eundem praedicat et praedicabit. impiis frementibus et in suis sordibus pereuntibus. Nec ob aliud arbitreris te liberatum quam ut liberatorem tuum praedices et glorifices, et ecclesiam Christi sanguine acquisitam iuves, quam draco cupit devorare: precorque tibi benedictionem Dei largam ut velis et possis.

37) for p. 147. *Jaime Enzinas' death.*

Frid. Swartz de Rußingen Francisco Dryandro 20. Jan. 1547: Audivi ex dno Philippo fratrem tuum combustum, quo ipso adeo sum consternatus acsi de aliquo meorum intimorum esset aliquid tale factum. Quandoquidem tamen in pia confessione obiit, non solum non dolendum, sed potius gratulandum ei iudico. *Melanchthon wrote a letter of consolation on this loss to Francisco, towards the end of January 1547, on the 23 or 27, the copies vary (Corp. Ref. 6, 372.) Calvin's letter to the same on the same occasion is dated 14. 4. 1547. Sigism. Gelous Pannonius Francisco Dryandro, Patavio Basileam, 25 Apr. 1547:* Etsi supervacaneum videtur ad te scribere quod sine dubio iam a multis accepisti de tristissima nostri Jacobi calamitate, vel potius, si recte rem aestimes, de ingenti gloria, tamen, ne de nostra necessitudine quippiam decessisse videretur, volui tuae petitioni satisfacere. Scito igitur Jacobum ante Liberalia in frequentissima circumstantium spectatorum corona immolatum esse. Modum ac rei gestae seriem scribere non possum, quia Arnoldus properat nec adhuc certo cognovi. *It would seem, therefore, that Jaime died on the 16 of March 1547, and that the former news had only anticipated the catastrophe. Balthasar Altieri writes to Franc. Dryander, Venice 22 June 1547:* De fratre tuo, qui nun cum Christo aeternae hereditatis gloria fruitur, nihil adhuc scire potui praeter gloriosissimum mortis exitum pro confessione evangelii constantissimum. *(Before this letter, in the same summer, Altieri wrote to Franc. Dryander:* De fratre tuo quod scire cupis, nihil certi habeo, ac valde miror quomodo Lucensis ille tibi affirmare pot[u]erit, se a me percepisse, fuisse Romae combustum, cum nunquam id dixerim. *The four Latin letters, from which I have made the foregoing extracts, are in the Thomas-archives at Strassburg).*

Recueil de plvsievs personnes, qui ont constamment enduré la mort, pour le nom du Seigneur. Par Jean Crespin, M. D. LVI. P. 324 — 5: . . . N. Dryander: celui qui premierement enseigne ledict [Jean] Diaze. Ainsi donc qu'il estoit à Rome, on il demeure quelques années contre son vouloir, seulement pour obeir et complaire aux sottés affections de ses parens: il fut pris par les gens mesmes de sa nation, sur l'heure qu'il se preparoit pour aller en Allemagne vers son frere, nommé François Dryander, qui l'appelloit là. Et incontinent il fut serré en une estroicte prison. Puis apres il fut interrogué de sa foy, devant une grande assemblée de gens d'apparence, et en la presence de tous les Cardinaux et Evesques, qui pour lors residoyent à Rome. Et là il maintint d'une grande constance et hardiesse la vraye doctrine de l'Évangile: et condamna ouvertement les impietez et tromperies diaboliques du grand Antechrist Romain. Tout incontinent non seulement les Cardinaux, mais aussi ceux qui estoyent là de sa nation, commencerent à crier à haute voix, qu'on le devoit brusler. Pour conclusion, ces defenseurs et ministres furieux de toute impieté et cruauté barbare firent tant par leurs efforts, qu'ils firent finir la vie à ce bon serviteur de Dieu par martyre glorieux: qui a esté admirable en la ville de Rome, au milieu de toute impieté, l'an 1546, tost apres la mort du

susdicit Jean Diaze. *The Acta martyrvum, apud Jo. Crispinum M. D. LVI., which, according to the introduction, are translated by Claude Badaellus from the French, say, under N. Driander, after having spoken of Juan Diaz's martyrdom, p. 330:* Hunc non multo post ex eadem natione Hispanus et magister eius in religione Christiana, sequutus est Driander. *Ends:* post mortem Joannis Diazii eius discipuli. *The second Latin edition:* Actiones et Monumenta Martyrum. Genevae, Joannes Crispinus, M. D. LX. *under N. Enzinas, have this passage fol. 151:* quum multis suae nationis hominibus ea quam a Deo acceperat Evangelii luce praeluxisset ac profuisset, (in quorum numero fuit Joannes Diazius cuius historiam superiori libro contexuimus) alio tandem a Domino evocatus fuit . . . (to Rome). *This second Latin text, not the first one, has the following addition after comburendum esse, fol. 151 — 2:* plerique Cardinalium ut hominis constantiam frangerent, antequam mortis sententia ferretur, hanc illi conditionem proposuerunt, ut Hispaniensi more eam reconciliatorum notam acciperet, quae a San-benito panno nomen habet. *After a notice on form and use of the Sanbenitos it continues:* Ipse vero Enzinas nullam conditionem accipere voluit, contentus ea unica quam adeo nobiliter illi Dominus tum proponebat: nempe ut sanguine suo testatam redderet verae religionis doctrinam. *The article ends:* post Diazij mortem, *without* eius discipuli. Actes des martyrs, Crespin 1565, p. 271 *on Enzinas (here, as in the editions of 1582. 1608. 1619. the N before his name is left out, nor is any Christian name of him mentioned):* ce fut luy qui premierement enseigne le dict Diaze. *The passage of the Latin between brusler and Pour conclusion is not found here, nor at the end words corresponding to eius discipuli. The article on this brother of Francisco in Ludov. Rabus' Historie der Martyrer, t. 2, 1572, fol 708 — 709, would appear to be founded on Crispin's martyrologies; there is no Christian name mentioned of this Dryander, who is also there called the teacher of Juan Diaz, his disciple. — Theod. Beza: Icones, Genevae 1580 [Halle Univ.], fol. Kk. ij: Joannes Enzinas, sive Dryander, Hispanus. Joannes Dryander in ipsa urbe Roma bestiam illam singulari magnitudine animi aliquoties in privatis coetibus detegere et redarguere aggressus, quum Joannem Diasium, quem Christo lucrifecerat, et fratrem Franciscum Dryandrum, a quibus in Germaniam evocabatur, invisere statuisset, ab aliis quibusdam Hispanis proditum, pontifex ipse Cardinalibus suis stipatus quum videre et audire voluisset, sustinere diutius sanctam ipsius libertatem non potuit. Itaque ad vim conversus innocentissimum hominem cremandum anno Domini 1545. curavit, paulo ante videlicet quam Alphonsus Diasius adiuncto ipsi carnifice, ad fratrem Joannem Diasium interficiendum Roma in Germaniam ablegaretur. (This date no doubt is erroneous.) And in the notice on Juan Diaz fol. Kk. iii. : a Joanne Dryandro cognitione Christi imbutus et Genevae confirmatus. In this book of Beza for the first time I find him called Joannes, whilst the preceding relations only put an N before the patronymic, which letter, says M'Crée (p. 180), merely intimates that the writer of the article was ignorant of the martyr's Christian name. Gerdes hist. reform. t. 3. 1749 p. 165 calls him Nicolaus, quoting for his martyrdom: Martyrol. parv. Lat. p. 321 et magn. Gall. fol. 159^b. I think with M'Crée, the name Nicolas has sprung gratuitously from the N. of Crispin's Acts, and the name John I think a misinterpretation of a J meaning James.*

47) for p. 151. *The gospel in Turkey.*

Dryandri epist. XXXVII. — Compare Juan Diaz's letter dated 9 Febr. 1546, published by me in the Strassburg University program of December 1872 [here

n^o 150] p. 7. S. — *Bucer writes from Ratisbon, 12 March 1546, to the ministers of the church of Strassburg (a copy of this letter is among Bucer's letters in the Thomas-Archiv):* Res certe in Italia et Germania ita instituuntur ut appareat Deum patrem nostram caelestem statuisse nos severiore aliqua exploratione probare. Interim tamen et in Hungaria passim Euangelion Christi publice recipitur. maxime in locis quibus imperant Turcae. In ipsa quoque Constantinopoli iam Euangelion Christi pure praedicatur nostris hominibus, et sacramenta instituto Christi praebentur: id compertum habemus etiam per eos qui ibi haec audierunt et una mensa Domini communicarunt. — *Extract from a letter to Melancthon. The autograph was in Mon. Ulstet, now burnt. A copy is in the Thomas archives, Strassburg, in the Varia ad hist. eccl. Argent. a Jac. Wencker collecta, vol. 1, fol. 264 and 265.* Video Christum potenter dominari in medio inimicorum suorum. Nam quod scribis te putare, non minorem esse servitatem Christianorum in Belgio quam sub Turcis, scito in jurisdictione Turcorum ubique libere praedicari evangelium, ut summum Dei beneficium esse dicas quod has terras a barbaris subjugari permiserit. Etsi enim corpora serviunt, certe evangelii magna lux affulsit, et est amplissima libertas spiritus, quam nostri reges, si rerum potirentur, armis et castris impedirent. Benedictus Abaeli, homo integerrimus et egregie doctus, qui ante annum isthic ordinatus est in Zeged, quae civitas est opulentissima et maxima ad Tiscam sita, et in schola et in templo magno cum favore Bassae docet, adeo us nuper in quadam disputatione ipse Bassa monachis silentium indixerit, quos non secus ac moriones habet, ac minatus est se eos ex urbe ejectionem. Quod ego et fama praenunciante et non ita multo post ex ipsis Benedicti literis certo cognovi. Stephanus Legedinus, qui aliquamdiu Wittebergae bonis artibus operam navavit, concionatur in oppido Ciglod, quod octo milliariis infra Budam Turci tenent. Emericus, qui nuper isthinc rediit, recta se Tolnam contulit, quae jacet in ulteriori ripa Danubii et Turcico praesidio onerata est. Denique licet unicuique doctori scholastico concionatori transire in illorum partes et docere ubicunque velit, sive in ludis sive in templis. Nec praemium consuetudinis diminuitur. Verum ego vereor nonnihil ne hostes eo tantum libertatem concedant ut populum ad se alliciant, qui, quia verbi divini est cupidissimus, eo confluit ubi illud pure ac sincere doceri audit. Nec illi tam dementes sunt ut silvis et desertis imperare velint, ut ea loca, quae armis subegerint et sanguine suo perreperint, deseri a colonis patiantur. Hominum frequentia gaudent. *Ἀλλὰ ἔπειτα πολλὸς γὰρ οὐκ εἶνε προσηύκει εἶνε ἐπιθῆκε Χριστὸς καταγγέλλεται.* Hanc tamen suspicionem illud infirmat quod in ipsa Turcia multi Christum annunciant. Franciscus Pius Hungarus Zegodinus nunc Galatae nunc Constantinopoli in magna auditorum frequentia docet; aliter a Gallico oratore et ab aliis Christianis qui ibi vel serviunt vel negociantur. Stephanus Majlates Vaida Transsylvanus cu alter Manasses compedibus vinctus in carcere Constantinopolitano cum Valentino Tervo concaptivo suo tenetur; audit quotidie bonas et evangelicas conciones, nuper scripsit ad uxorem Christianissimam confessionem et eam causa gloriae Christi orat ut permittat reformari ecclesias in sua jurisdictione. . . Eperies, ipso die natali Christi 1546. Sigismundus Geleus. *Read Gelous. Some letters of him to Franc. Dryander, see catalogued below. A letter of Melancthon of 1559, printed Corp. Reform. 9, 822, is directed: Sigism. Geleo praefecto regio in urbe Eperies.*

65) *Editorial plans of Franciscus Dryander.*

Extracts from letters (Thomas-archives). Jo. Oporinus writes to Fr. Dryander, 10. Aug. 1548: . . . De libro tuo Hispanico quem a me excudi volebas, quid fieri tan-

dem velis, per occasionem significabis. Non desinit autem me hortari D. Arnoldus Birekmannus, bibliopola Antuerpiensis, ut, si tu nomine tuo emittere illud velis, suo uti sumptu id cures; atque idem de Livio quoque Hispanico me sollicitat an suis sumptibus excudere velis. *Arnold Birkmann to the same, 15. Febr. 1549, Antuerpia Cantabrigiam:* quod probas conatum meum in imprimendis libris Hispanicis gaudeo, ac pro tua opera, quam mihi offers, gratiam habeo immortalem. Porro quod de Bibliis amplectendis scribis, nihil mihi contingere posset optatius quam si hoc officio tuae genti mihi gratificari liceret. Sed quia ipse nosti quantopere vestri Principes hoc opus abhorreant, quantum sit cum periculo coniunctum, non possum tibi in eo assentiri ut Biblia imprimenda suscipiam nisi tu mihi viam monstraveris privilegium pro iis apud Caesarem impetrandi. . . Quod ad reliqua exemplaria [*viz. manuscripts of other works*] attinet quae apud te esse scribis neque pauca neque levis momenti, si ea mihi credere volueris, ego operam dabo ut quam diligentissime et fidelissime imprimantur, tibi pro tuo labore et industria, quam in haec opera contulisti, quantum voles liberaliter persolvam. . . cum Joanne Frelonio diligenti typographo Lugduni egi, ut is in communem nostrum usum unum prelum Hispanicae linguae destinaret, quod ille et diligenter et fideliter facere coepit et omnia bene parata habet. Per hunc quidquid fuerit exemplarium curabo ut summa fide in lucem emittatur. De Tito Livio quod scribis, iam diu est quod me ad illum imprimendum Georgius Stequer instigavit idque communibus sumptibus. Quare ego de hoc cum Oporino Basileae egi, et non dubito quin pro ea amicitia, quantum voles constitutum habes, exemplar nobis sis bene tersum et emendatum missurus: quod ubi receperimus, de correctore commodo dispiciemus, et prelo committendum cum primis curabimus, iis characteribus quibus vitae Caesarum sunt impressae, quos spero vestris hominibus gratos fore. *Isigrinus Francisco Dryandro, Francofurti 19. Apr. 1549:* Pactum de Hispanico herbario imprimendo, iam olim inter nos factum, ratum volo, haec tamen lege, ne Latini herbarii magnitudinem transcendat: quod si eveniat, aequo pretio quod accreverit aestimabitur. *Fabianus Prulenus Francisco Dryandro, Zerbesto 16. Jan. 1547:* peto ut viridarium meum ad me remittas aut tu ipse adferas. *Arn. Birkmann to Dryander, 4. Jul. 1549, Londino Cantabrigiam:* Dictionarii tui specimen Lugdunum misi, sed eiusdem excusum exemplar nondum mihi est remissum. De bono successu in imprimendis libris Hispanicis non diffido. Si modo corrector aliquis nobis posset contingere, cuius opera Basileae utamur et in Livio et in Herbario et libris aliis maioribus qui his subiungi poterunt, neque in ulla re magis quam hac laboramus in hoc tempore. Efficiam tamen quantum per me poterit fieri diligenti et assidua investigatione ut alienius tandem nobis copia fiat. Qua in re si nos consilio et autoritate tua tu iuvare posses, facere nobis rem vehementer gratam. Interim minorum librorum imprimendorum periculum aliquod Lovanii fieri posset, ubi, licet non sit ea copia rerum omnium quae ad typographiam spectant qualis est Basileae, nihilominus tamen hoc praestari poterit ut libri diligenter et emendate et mediocriter etiam ornate excudantur. *Jo. Oporinus Conrado Huberto, 1550 postridie pentecostes [26. May], Basilea Argentinae:* De Fr. Dryandro quid agat hic tandem nescio. Videtur aliquid manuscriptum edere [*reading uncertain*]. Ego illi valedixi certis de causis, neque mihi deinceps velim esse cum eo quicquam negotii, imo nunquam illum mihi cognitum malim. Conduxi operam Augustini Frisii typographi Tigurini quem Tiguro huc vocarat, sed quia magistratus noster vetuit omnibus typographis ne cuiquam alia lingua quicquam excudere deinceps liceat quam illis

quatuor quibus hactenus a multis annis est solitum, videlicet Latina Graeca Hebraica Germanica, non potuit ille Dryandri typographus locum habere apud nos. Itaque ad vos proficiscitur, ibi (ut audio) libere omnia omnibus linguis imprimitis. Ego quod alii imprimunt nescio, id autem negotii Gastio tradam ut ad te scribat. (*It is therefore so much the more unlikely that it was Oporinus who in the same year printed the Italian Considerations of Valdés. Cf. appendix to the German Considerations p. 354.*) Jo. Gastius Huberto 19 Jun. 1550, Basilea: Rescribe de Francisco Dryandro au illi permissum ut apud vos officinam instituire possit Hispanicam, nam nostri id recusarunt homini certis ex causis. *Arnold Byrkmann to Franciscus Dryander, Argentinum;* Postremum folium quod in Livio misisti vidi, arbitror opus nunc absolutum fore. Id si ita est, dabis exemplaria nostra Josiae, sicut Argentinæ tibi in mandatis dedi, et curabis ut diligenter collationentur ne quid mancum ad nos mittatur. Praefationem antequam edas postulat Stecherus ut ad ipsum mittas, quam inspicere cupit ante editionem. Titulo libri meum symbolum appones quod tibi reliqui et meo nomine excusum scribes. Reliqua ex Stechero cognoscēs quia alio vocor. *The letter has no date; it must have been written towards the middle of the year 1550. The writer says: mercator . . . aderit ad festum Johannis Argentinæ. For the botanical work Franzisco Enzinas wrote to Luis Nuñez, Dr. of medicine, asking him for Spanish names of plants. Nuñez says in his answer (in the Thomas archives): it would be a difficult task, siquidem non magna locorum interapedine aliis aliter eadem herba pronunciatur: he would, however, do his best. Neither Franzisco de Enzinas (Dryander) nor Luis Nuñez is mentioned in Colmeiro's work La botánica y los botánicos de la península Hispano-Lusitana, Madrid 1858. Under n^o 481 is found there: Historia de las yerbas y plantas, sacada de Dioscoride Anazarbeo y otros insignes autores, con los nombres griegos, latinos y españoles, traducida nuevamente en español. Por Jarava (Juan), Ambéres, por los herederos de Byreman, 1557. Colmeiro adds: El original es de Fuchsio, y la traducción es de interés por contener muchos nombres españoles de plantas.*

66) *In order to prevent further confusion arising from an error of M'Crie (Reform. in Spain p. 177 f.; Rf. Españ. t. 20, p. 169). I state that John Dryander, the author of several works on natural science, especially astronomical and anatomical, during the second third of the sixteenth century, was not a brother of this Franzisco Enzinas, but belonged to a German family Eichmann, and was born at Wetter in Hesse on June 27. 1500, became in 1535 professor at the University of Marburg, and died as such on December 20. 1560. See, on him and his books, Strieder: Grundlage zu einer Hessischen Gelehrten und Schriftsteller Geschichte, third vol. 1783, p. 237 f.; 4th vol. 1784, p. 538. 539; 10th vol. 1795, p. 380; 12th vol. 1799, p. 348. That catalogue of his writings could however still be enlarged. Probably a brother of this professor Dryander is meant in two passages of letters of Melanchthon to Joach. Camerarius of November 1543. On the 11th Mel. writes (Corp. Ref. 5, 237): Sed haec coram. Iam enim interpellat Dryandri frater, qui satis commode vendidit hic suas machinas. And on the 29th (ib. 239): Dryandri, qui etsi non ut Vulcanus in Achillis clypeo, nec ut Archimedes in automatis, caeli orbes et sidera, sed tamen ut in hac barbarie, ubi praemia his rebus nulla sunt, medioeriter imitatur, longiusculam epistolam dedi, seu querelam potius, quam tibi exhibitam esse spero. Speaking of Enzinas, Melanchthon then would have written Franciscus Hispanus noster.*

Catalogue of letters written to Franciscus Dryander.

Dr. Charles Schmidt, at that time professor of theology at the University of Strassburg, wrote to M. Campan, the editor of Enzinas' Mémoires (preface to t. 1, p. XVII): [aux archives du séminaire protestant de Strasbourg] nous avons une centaine de lettres qui lui ont été adressées par diverses personnes dans les années 1543 à 1552; elles ont été recueillies, sans doute, après son décès par son ami Conrad Hubert. At present, however, they are scattered in eleven volumes; and there are besides some unbound ones. I have made the following chronological catalogue. All letters are autograph, except Eber's of 26 May 1550, which is a copy. Most of these letters are found in the nine volumes of epistolae variorum, which are quoted here with the numbers I to IX. The arrangement of the collection is alphabetical, according to the initials of the names of the writers. Vol. I. contains A. B, II C--E, III F, IV G, V H--L, VI M N, VII O P, VIII Q --S, IX T--Z. The Arabic number means the piece in the volume; the pieces of volumes VI and VII are not numbered. Some other letters are contained in the Epistolae Bucerianae, vol. II. and III. Moreover some letters unbound in drawer 21; these I have signed here with the simple number 21. The bracketed names and dates are not found in the originals; of course, some of my conjectures and conclusions may be corrected or more closely defined by a scholar who could spend still more time on those papers. The dates, often expressed in the old Roman stile or in the ecclesiastical, are reduced by me to our modern custom. Most of the letters are directed to Dryander; where the name Enzinas occurs, I have noticed it here.

Usóz, in the Documentos appended to vol. XX of the Reformistas, p. 114--119, has given extracts from the letters of 31th Jan. 1546 (which letter he, no doubt according to his information from Strassburg, ascribes to Arnold Birkmann, whil's I decidedly think it written by Jo. Sleidanus), 11th Febr. 1547, 16th Febr. 1547, that of Peter Alexander from Heidelberg a principios de Abril (?), del año 1547, the undated one of Altieri 1547, and a Spanish translation of the letter of 30th Nov. 1547; in the same time he shows knowledge of letters of Matth. Claudius from Sangall and other places.

1543. Aug. 1.	Sigism. Gelous, Pannonius, Lovanio	IV. 127.
— Sept. 11.	— — — — , Francoforto	IV. 128.
[154.]	Antonius Schorus, Hochstratanus, „docto et probó adole- lescenti, Francisco Dryandro“, Argentina Vitebergam	V. 73.
1545 Apr. 7.	Sigism. Torda, Pannonius, Vratislavia	IX. 107
— — 30.	Regnerus Praedinius Dryandro „to Witteberich“	VIII. 80.
— Jun. 10.	Christoph. Jonas, Königsberga in Prussia Witebergam	V. 131.
— Dec. 28.	Ezardus, comes orientalis Frisiae, Stichusa	II. 220.
1546 Jan. 4.	Christophorus, comes orient. Frisiae, Stichusa	II. 87.
[—] — 9.	Jacobus [Spreng] Probest, Brema Witebergam	VII.
[—] — 31.	[Jo. Sleidanus] Antuerpia Witembergam	21.
[—] Mart. 9.	Petrus Alexander Francisco Enzinas, Heidelberga Wite- bergam	I. 14.
— Apr. 1.	[Sigism. Torda], Posonio [Vitebergam]	21.
[—] Dec. 29.	[Ezardus, comes orient. Frisiae] Stichusa [Basileam]	21.

1550 Mai 26.	Paulus Eberus, Witeberga Basileam	21.
— — 29.	Andr. Martinus Rostochiensis, Viteberga	VI.
— Jun. 12.	Frid. Schwartz de Ruissingen, Spira Basileam	VIII. 167.
[—] — 30.	Isaac. Cellarius, Argentinam	II. 73.
[—] — —	„ „ „ [secunda epistola eiusdem dici]	II. 74.
[— medio anno]	Arnold. Byrkmannus, Argentinam	I. 99.
[— Jul. 1.]	Jo. Sleidanus, [Augusta]	VIII. 199.
— — 28.	Jo. Frisius, Tiguro Argentinam	III. 369.
[—] Aug. 8.	Seb. Castalio, „	II. 68.
— — 26.	Gaspar a Nidbruck, Spira Argentoratum	VI.
— — 27.	Erhard a Kunheim, Viteberga [Argentinam]	V. 143.
— — 29.	Jo. Frisius, Tiguro Argentoratum	IV. 73.
— Oct. 8.	Gaspar a Nidbruck, Augusta Argentoratum	VI.
— Dec. 10.	Erhard a Kunheim, Viteberga Argentinam „Straszburgk beim Hern Schleydano zu erfragen“	V. 144.
1551 Apr. 24.	Melanthon	21.
1552 Sept. 28.	[Jo. Sleidanus, Argentorato] Augustam	21.
— Oct. 13.	Matth. Claudius, Patavio Augustam	II. 103.
— Nov. 25.	Adolphus Oeco, Augusta Argentoratum	VII.
[1547 aut posterius]	Aug. 21. Philipp. Wisungus, Argentorato	IX. 206.
[— —]	Oct. 6. Antonius Sailer, Patavio Augustam	VIII. 117.
[— —]	Matth. Claudius, Basileam	II. 104.
[— —]	„ „ „	II. 106.
[— —]	Ludovicus Nunius [Nuñez], Basileam, „Nobilissimo viro, domino francisco enzinás, burgensi, bonarum literarum coryphaeo.“	21.
[1550 aut 51 aut 52]	Nov. 17. Eustathius Quercetanus, Losanna Argentoratum	VIII. 3.

In addition to these letters in the Thomas archives, Strassburg, I know of other inedited letters written to Dryander, viz.:

1547 Jun. 15.	Bucerus Myconio et Dryandro [Basileam]	Zurich city library.
		Fpist. 45. 159.
[—] Jul. 14.	Calvinus	Cod. Genev. 194. fol. 60.
[1552 Dec.]	„	Cod. Genev. 107 ^a . fol. 57.

This last letter, of which only the minute is found, probably never was sent off, on account of the news of Dryander's death.

Two letters of Melanchthon are printed in the Corpus Reformatorum, the second from Fecht's Suppl. hist. eccl.

[1547] Jan. 23 [or 27]	C. R. 6, 372 f.
[1552] Oct. 5	C. R. 7, 1098 f.

Title - copies.

112. 1540.

„Breve | i compendiosa | institucion de la religion Christiana, necessaria para todos aquellos | que con iusto titulo quieren usur | par el nombre de Christo. Escripta | por el docto uaron Francisco | de Elao a ruego de un amigo y hermano suio | en Christo. | Impressa en Topeia por Adamo | Coruo el Anno de . 1540. *Prologo del Autor in Roman letter A—D 7, 31 leaves, 1 blank. The Institucion numbered fol. 1—110, and Indice 2 leaves, in Italic letter, a—o in 8s,—112 leaves.*

Then follows: Tractado de | la libertad Chri | stiana | in Roman letter, not numbered: *aa—kk 5,—75 leaves.* Followed by: Los siete Psal | mos que vulgarm: | te son llamados penitencia | les. *kk 6—nn 4, 28 leaves in Roman letter. And:*

Como el hombre | Christiano ha de instituir cada dia su vida. *In Italic letter, oo—ood, 4 leaves.*

Total 249 printed leaves in the volume. Very small Octavo.“

The foregoing description is of Wiffen, who adds:

„The Tractado de la Libertad Christiana is Luther's treatise on Christian Liberty; the Breve i compendiosa institucion I am induced to think is a summary of the first edition of Calvin's Summa.“

Wiffen bought a copy of Joseph Lilly, and sent it to Luis Usóz i Rio. .

I find the title in Bibliotheca Hulsiana, Hagae-Comitum 1730, t. IV. p. 374 n^o 5162 among books in 8^o: „Breve y compendiosa Institucion de la Religion Christ. por Fr. de Elao. Topeia 1540.“

I think, that Topeia is *ῥωπειά*, and that this is meant to be a translation of Ghent, as if the name of this town signified la cité gente. The Relation des troubles de Gand sous Charles-Quint, published by Gachard, Bruxelles 1846, says on that town (p. 72): C'est la plus belle et ample ville de la crestieneté, . . . et est ledit peuple de Gand assez gent, which last word the editor explains by aimable, gracieux, agréable.

The chancellor of Brabant writes to Queen Mary in October 1539: je suis cejourd'hui esté averty que, à la dernière asssemblée des réthorisiens tenue à Gand, y ont de plusieurs villes et plaches, tant de Brabant que Flandres, esté joué juyz [*jeux*] plain de malvaises et abusives doctrines et séductions, de tout tendant à l'opinion luthériaine, et que tous lesdits juyz par ensemble sont esté imprimez, pour les vendre publicquement et par tout. And the author of the Relation just quoted attributes the Ghent troubles of 1539 in part to the influence of Lutheranism (see Gachard's Introduction p. XVIII). The heretical Spanish book may have been printed at Ghent in 1540 before the arrival there of the Emperor, which took place on the 14th of February.

Prohibited in Pius' IV Index, Dilingae 1564, fol. 16 Brevis & compendiosa instructio de religione Christiana amongst Authorum incerti nominis libri; in the Antwerp Index of 1570, p. 97: Breue y compendiosa instruction de la Religion Christiana, in nuestro vulgar Castellano, impressa en Flandes, o en Alemania, o

en otra qualquier parti, Con otro libro intitulado, de la Libertad Christiana; *Index of Madrid of 1583, in de Castro's Hist. de los protest. Esp. p. 436*: Breve y compendiosa instruction de la religion christiana: con otro libro intitulado de la libertad christiana, impreso ó de mano.

One might conjecture that Elao meant Enzinas. Enzinius was accused: iste idem Franciscus est auctor et translator libelli perniciosi de libertate christiana et de libro arbitrio. (Belg. c. 267). In answering this point (c. 269. cf. 112), Enzinas states in a trustworthy manner, that he had edited nothing before his New Testament, whereby, however, it is not at all excluded that he was the translator of Luther's work, nay his assertion is given in such terms, that the question arises, whether perhaps a manuscript of Enzinas was edited by another person. As for the name Elao, not occurring, it is true, in connection with the treatise on liberty but with the Institution, it could be a hybrid kind of Hebraisation (עֵזִינָס) of the name Enzinas, of which we found already the translations Dryander, du Chesne, Eichmann.

In the Antwerp Index of 1570, p. 102, occurs: Institution de la Religion Christiana en Romance. Impressa en Wittenberg ano de 1536 sin nombre del autor. Cf. the Madrid Index of 1583 in De Castro's Historia p. 440.

113. 1540.

Melanchthon's Antithesis of the Papistical and the Evangelical doctrines, translated into Spanish.

Joh. à Lasco is speaking of this translation, in a letter written to Albert Hardenberg, in the following passage (Gerdes' Scrinium antiquarium, tom. II pars I. 1750, p. 485—6, and Kuyper's edition of Joannis a Lasco Opera t. II. 1866, p. 552—3.):

Quod scribis, te premi a quibusdam mei nominis invidia, illud equidem facile credo, sed miror tamen istos tantopere offendi meo nomine, quod aliqui adeo alibi invisum non est, ut nunc etiam Antverpiac plurimi et magni viri me officii causa inviserent, inter quos non postremus erat τὸ τῶν Ῥωμανίων βασιλέως ἀρχικαμπατεὺς [Kuyper explains: Erzkanzler], atque item Brandenburgensis Marchio, de aliis coniecturam facio. Offerebatur tum Caesaris tum Regis Romanorum diploma, quatecunque voluissem etc. nedam ut ab ulla mihi metuendum sit nominis invidia. Quae de Caesare scribis, ea iampridem scimus, ceterum fallitur, qui tibi rettulit, Regem Ferdinandum eo consilio in Germaniam profectum esse, ut fratrem a cogendo concilio excuset, longe enim aliter se res tota habet, et melius de Caesare nostro sperare debemus, quam isti praedicant. Legit pridem avidissime novum Philippi Melanchthonis libellum, qui continet antitheses Pap. et Evang. doctrinae, nec prius misit e manibus, quam totum perlegisset. Mirum est autem, quanta illic brevitate complexus sit Philippus capita religionis fore omnia. Est libellus octo non amplius plagularum, Latine, Germanice, Gallice, Hispanice et Italice, paucis tamen adhuc exemplaribus excusus. Ego tamen unum exemplar nactus eram, non tamen venale: sed ab illo, cuius supra memini, Marchione datum, sed quod tamen alteri mox amico negare non potui. Ibi demum, mi Alberte! vidisses Philippi παρόηολα, qua nunc alterum illum [Gerdesius explains: Lutherum] non aequare modo, sed plane superare etiam videtur, tametsi a conviciis proacibus in totum absteineat. Vidisses item quibus coloribus τὴν λειτουργίαν τὴν ὑμετέραν depingat, sed brevi, ut audio, prodibit libellus ipse, et auctior et accuratius scriptus, mox ut de illo Papistici Principes in hisce Spirensibus comitiis in utranlibet partem pronunciarent, quem tamen Caesar ipse fassus est, sed privatim, non posse sibi non magna ex parte probari, et non obscuram postea aliquot exemplis significationem dedit animi multo quam antea e ga Evangelii studiosos placidioris.

I think, Kuyper is right, in believing this undated letter to have been written medio anni 1540, and in alleging among his reasons, that the work of Melanchthon referred to is that on the principal differences between the doctrine of the Gospel and the doctrine of the Pope, which is known to have been published in German

in 1539. I may add some particulars. The Emperor was at Antwerp from the 13th to the 24th of May 1540 (see Staelin: Aufenthaltsorte K. Karls V, in the Forschungen zur Deutschen Geschichte, Bd. 5, Goettingen 1865). Instead of the Spirensia comitia, alluded to by Lasco, which were indicted by the Emperor's letters of April 18 1540, a conventus was held at Haguenau, where the Catholic members were invited to be present on May 23, on which day king Ferdinand was there (see Sleidanus and Seckendorf). In a letter written at Ghent on the 11th of May 1540 we read: El rey de Romanos ha estado aqui hasta el XI del presente, ques partido para su dieta, quen Espira tienen convocada (Relation des troubles de Gand, published by Guchard, Bruxelles 1846, p. 682). The marquis of Brandenburg is Albert Alcibiades, who went to the Netherlands when the Imperial court was at Ghent (see Joh. Voigt's biography of that prince, t. I. 1852, p. 54—55), which was the case from the 14th of Febr. to the 12th of May, with some short interruptions (Staelin); on the 27th of May the Marquis was at Haguenau (Seckendorf). Most likely he accompanied the king from Ghent to Haguenau. It is evident that Lasco's letter must have been written about the middle of May. The book in question he seems to have seen at Ghent. Most likely it was printed there.

The pentaglott Antitheses may have been printed for the Embassy of the Protestant Estates of Germany to the Emperor. They presented their instructions in German, Latin and French on the 24th of February 1540; on the day before, Cardinal Farnese had arrived (Neudecker's Merkwürdige Aktenstücke, 1838, p. 200 f.). On the 29. of February Dr. Sibert von Lourenborg, Counsellor of the Archbishop of Cologne and of Landgrave Philip of Hesse, writes to the Landgrave from Antwerp: „I perceive the Gospel spreading out at the Court of the Emperor and in his patrimonial dominions“, (ibi p. 208).

Most likely the Antitheses, which Lasco saw printed, were suppressed before they could be published. Nobody is known to have seen after Lasco that pentaglott edition. The little work was most probably that to which also Kuyper points, which had been published in German in 1539. In Joach. Camerarius' Synodica, Ips. 1543 [Halle Univ. libr.], we find it fol. D 4f. under the title: Expositio πνευματικός Capitulorum doctrinae Evangelicae & Papisticae, teutonice aliquando edita et nunc interpretatione Latina propagata. It is evident that Camerarius did not know of a former Latin edition, and the Latin he published appears to be his own translation. Another Latin text we find in Coelestinus' hist. com. Aug. Compare my Appentic to the German translation of Juan Valdés' Considerations p. 331. Strobel reprinted in 1783 the German text with the two Latin ones. He says that he has not seen the book mentioned by Lasco, nor was it known to G. G. Weber, Kritische Geschichte der Augspurg. Confession, erster Theil, 1783, p. 26. Dr. Bindseil, editor of Melanchthon's works, told me that he himself had also not succeeded in getting a sight of it.

Articles 6 and 8 of Camerarius, and article 17 of Coelestinus are wanting in the German reprinted by Strobel.

JAIME DE ENZINAS.

114. 1541.

Catechism, translated into Spanish by Jaime de Enzinas, printed at Antwerp in 1541.

See Jaime's letter to be quoted next, p. 66.

That he was not the author of the catechism, follows from his expressions.

115. 1617.

... Georgio Cassandro, Professori publico Brugensi ... Antwerpiae XX Februarii [1541] ... Jacobus Dryander.

In: Illustrium et clarorum virorum epistolae selectiores superiore saeculo scriptae vel a Belgis vel ad Belgas ... Lugduni Batavorum apud Ludovicum Elzevirium anno 1617. Octavo. P. 55—67.

HALLE Univ.

FRANZISCO DE ENZINAS.

Franciscus Enzinas under the Authores primae classis in Pius' IV Index prohibitorum, Dilinguae 1564, fol. 21.

New Testament.

116. 1543.

El nvevo | testamento | De nuestro Redemptor y Salvador | Jesv Christo, | traduzido de Griego en len- | gua Castellana, por Fran- | cisco de Enzinas, dedi- | cado a la Cesarea | Magestad. [Ornament: a leaf] | Habla Dios. | Josue. 1. | No se aparte el libro de esta ley de tu | boca. Antes con atento animo estu- | diaras en el de dia y de noche: para, q | guardes y hagas conforme a todo a- | quello que esta en el escrito. Por que | entonzes haras prospero tu camino, | y te gobernaras con prudencia. | M. D. XLIII.

Colophon: Acabose de imprimir este libro en la in- | signe çibdad de Enueres, en casa de Este- | uan Mierdmanno, impressor de | libros a. 25. de Octubre, en | el año del Señor de | M. D. XLIII. |

Numbered to folio 347, followed by 5 folios not numbered, total 352 leaves.

On the reverse of the title-leaf: [Ornament: a leaf] Lo que dios | manda que | haga el rei | Devt. XVII. | Follow some verses of this chapter, written out. Leaf 2 to 8, unnumbered: Al invictissimo | Monarcha Don Carlos. V. Empe- | rador Semper Augusto, Rei de | España &c. Francisco de | Enzinas, Graçia, | Salud, y Paz. | ... Subscribed: De Enueres, primero de Octubre | del Anno de 1543. | On the reverse of leaf 8: Christo habla | con los hom- | bres mor- | tales. | Follow some verses. Fol. 1—347, numbered, the translation of the N. T.; on the reverse of f. 347 begins: Tabla pa | ra hallar las episto | las y Euangelios que se cantá en

los templos | los domingos y fiestas de todo el año, confor | me al vso de la Iglesia Romana ...

WOLFENBÜTTEL, ULM, WIFFEN. In the copy in the library of Francke's orphan-house at HALLE a. S. there is wanting sheet M and at the end the tabla, excepting its first page; extant los errores que se han admittido, no colophon.

De la Serna Santander says in the catalogue of his library, Catalogue des livres de la bibliotheque de M. C. de la Serna Santander, t. 1, Bruxelles, an XI (1803) [Halle Univ.], p. 19. Ce nouveau Testament ... est sans contredit le plus rare de toutes les versions espagnoles des livres de l'Ecriture Ste. sans excepter même la fameuse bible imprimée à Ferrare. Dans la vente des livres de Mr. Camus de Limars, faite à Paris en 1786, par M. Debure l'aîné, il fut vendu cinquante-neuf liv. dix-neuf sous.

117. 1829.

Dedication by Francisco de Enzinas of his Spanish Translation of the New Testament. Translated from the original, printed at Antwerp in 1543.

Appendix N° 1. P. 401—5 of History | of the | progress and suppression | of the | reformation in Spain | in the sixteenth century. | By Thomas M'Crie, D.D. | William Blackwood, Edinburgh: and | T. Cadell, Strand, London. | M. DCCC. XXIX. | Octavo.

The last chapter of the book of Revelation in the version of the N. T. by Enzinas.

Ib. Appendix N° V. P. 414—416.

118. 1835.

Franc. de Enzinas Zueignungsschreiben zu seiner spanischen Uebersetzung des neuen Testaments.

Translated from M'Crie's English translation. P. 413—417 of Geschichte | der | Ausbreitung und Unterdrückung | der | Reformation in Spanien | im sechzehnten Jahrhunderte. | Aus dem Englischen des Dr. Thomas M'Crie | übersetzt und mit Anmerkungen begleitet | von | Gustav Plieninger. | Nebst einer Vorrede | von | Dr. F. C. Baur, | ordentl. Professor der evangelischen Theologie zu Tübingen. | Stuttgart. | Fr. Brodhag'sche Buchhandlung. | 1835. | Octavo.

The last chapter of S. John's apocalypse in Enzinas' translation reprinted from M'Crie, ib. p. 428—430.

1862. The dedication in French. See below n° 120.

History of his captivity and history of Juan Diaz.

Gerdesius says in his Historia reformationis t. III. 1749. p. 166 on Dryander's narrative of his own captivity: Extat totius hujus historiae narratio ab ipso Dryandro confecta atque edita Antwerp. 1545. lingua Latina, sed quam editionem hactenus investigare nullibi datum fuit: Est ea tamen à Ludovico Rabo in Germanicam translata. . . It is highly improbable that such an edition has been made. Rabus must have translated from a manuscript copy.

G. Th. Strobel in his careful sketch on Franc. Dryander, Neue Beiträge zur Litteratur besonders des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts, vol. 5, Nürnberg und Altdorf

1794, speaking of this author's notice on the martyrdom of some Netherlanders, says p. 229 f. Ich bin aber nicht im Stande, eine genaue Nachricht von der Ausgabe derselben zu ertheilen, da ich aller Bemühung ungeachtet solche nirgends auftreiben konnte. Doch haben alle, welche Martyrologia edirten, sie benutzt. . . Mir würde es angenehm seyn, zu erfahren, wann, wo, und in welcher Sprache Dryander diese Niederländische Martyrologium herausgegeben habe. *The first edition of the work appears to have been that of the French translation:*

119. 1558.

Histoire | de l'estat du Pais | Bas, et de la reli- | gion d'Espagne,
* * | Par François du Chesne. | A S. Marie, | par François Perrin.
M. D. LVIII. |

Translator's preface p. 3.—5. The work p. 7—247. Octavo.

WIFFEN'S libr. The copy in the DRESDEN Royal library has not the words A S. Marie; in the copy belonging to the FRANKFURT o. M. city library not only these words, but also the following par François Perrin are wanting. The title-copy given in Gallardo's biblioteca españ. t. 2. Madrid 1866, col. 927, agrees with the Frankfurt copy. Neither in Wiffen's copy nor in those at Frankfurt and Dresden is the title-leaf stuck in, but in all it is part of the first sheet. (On the Dresden copy compare my Cenni p. 518).

The French translation was made after a manuscript copy of the original. The translator says in his preface: Ayant recouivre ce livre en Latin, escrit par un autheur assez cogueu de gens doctes, tant à cause de sa pieté, assez declarée & en ses escrits & en sa conuersation, que de son seanoir es autres sciences & bonnes disciplines: sachant aussi qu'il se deuoit au brief mettre en lumiere: . . . j'ay mis peine à ce que non seulement ceux qui entendent la langue latine, mais aussi le commun populaire . . . en fust participant. And afterwards: il est & de renom, & de tres bone reputation entre les gens de bien, voire mesmes entre les meschans touchant sa vie.

It was only in January 1561 that François Perrin was received as citizen of Geneva. His father Humbert Perrin was printer at Condé sur Meuse in Lorraine. S. Marie could mean S. Marie-aux-chênes near Metz. It could, however, as well be S. Marie-aux-mines in Alsace. Both suppositions are liable to objection.

Jo. Oporinus writes to Conrad Hubert at Strasburg, 1557 postridie Quasimodo: ne obliviscaris ad me mittere corpus iuris quod apud te habes, una cum Dryandri historia, et aliis ad me pertinentibus. (Ms. in the Thomas archives, Strassburg). No doubt, this historia was a manuscript copy of the Latin original.

120. 1862.

Collection de mémoires | relatifs | a l'histoire de Belgique | Mémoires de
Francisco de Enzinas. — Histoire | de l'estat du Pays-bas et de la religion |
d'Espagne |

Second leaf, principal title:

XVI^e siècle | Mémoires | de | Francisco de Enzinas | texte Latin
inédit | avec | la traduction Française du XVI^e siècle en regard |

1543—1545 | publiés | avec notice et annotations | par Ch.-Al. Cam-
pan | Tome premier | Première partie | [*Emblem: an open book with the
words Histoire | de | Belgique, surrounded by beams, with semicircular inscription
above the book: Gardons memoire, the whole surrounded by a circular frame*] |
Bruxelles, Leipzig, Gand | Ch. Muquardt | MDCCLXII. |

*Campan's Préface p. V.—XXV. Title-leaf: Mémoires | de | Francisco de
Enzinas |. Préface du traducteur p. 1.—3. Enzinas' mémoires p. 5—271.*

Collection de Mémoires | relatifs | a l'histoire de Belgique.

*Second leaf, principal title, equal to that of the Première partie, only with
the words Deuxième partie instead of those.*

*Third leaf: Pièces justificatives. These begin on the fourth leaf p. 275 and
run to p. 656, on p. 649—656: Dédicace du Nuevo Testamento. (traduction.)*

Follows one leaf Errata. Table des matières p. 659—665.

*Colophon on special leaf: Imprime a Bruxelles | chez M. Weissen-
bruch, imprimeur du roi | aux frais et par les soins | de la | société
de l'histoire de Belgique | Février MDCCLXII. |*

First leaf of vol. 2. with title equal to that before tome premier.

*Second leaf title equal to the principal title of Tome premier, only with the
words Tome second instead of Tome premier | Première partie, with the year
MDCCLXIII, and with a stop after the word regard.*

Third leaf p. 5: Deuxième partie.

Mémoires, beginning with chapter CXV, p. 6—433.

Special leaf: Pièces justificatives. These with Avant-propos run p. 437—528.

Table des matières p. 529—537.

*Colophon on special leaf, consonant to that of tome premier, only with accent
on the last vowel of Imprimé and with the date Mars MDCCLXIII. instead of
the other one.*

Octavo.

HALLE Univ.

*In my copy, bought from Muquardt in 1873, the following note is found, printed
on a label: La Notice sur la vie et les oeuvres de Francisco de Enzinas est sous-
presse, elle sera publiée incessamment.*

121. 1546.

Historia | vera de morte san- | eti uiri Joannis Diazij Hispani, |
quem eius frater germanus Al- | phonsus Diazius, exemplum se- | quu-
tus primi parricidae Cain, | uelut alterū Abelem, nefariè in- | terfecit:
per Claudium | Senarelaum. | Cum praefatione D. Martini Buceri, in
qua de | praesenti statu Germaniae multo conti- | nentur lectu inprimis
digna. | M. D. XLVI. | Octavo.

*After the title-leaf: Dedicatory epistle to Otto Henry Prince Palatine of
the Rhine by Bucer, which ends on fol. γ 7. Psalm II, in Latin verses, on fol. γ
7 and 8. Epistle of Claude Senarclé to Bucer p. 1—22. The history 23—178.*

Christianæ religionis Summa, and Psalms 14 and 17 versified in Latin, eleven leaves without pagination. Total 124 leaves.

STRASSBURG Colleg. Wilhelm., BASLE Public, BERN City, HALLE Ponickau libr., Univ. libraries of GOETTINGEN, JENA, LEIPZIG; BRITISH MUSEUM. — A copy printed on vellum is in the library of SAINTE-GENEVIEVE in PARIS, see Catalogue de livres imprimés sur vélin, qui se trouvent dans des bibliothèques tant publiques que particulières, t. 3, Paris 1824, p. 22 (where in the title copy, reproduced line for line, I notice quo and imprimis; most likely also this vellum copy has qua and imprimis). It may be the same copy which Enzinas presented to Cardinal du Bellay (epist. XII). At present there are the arms of de Thou on the binding.

Seckendorf, Comment. de Luther. 1692, gives extracts ex [Senarclaei] libello, qui ob raritatem inter deperditos haberi potest (p. 653).

Gerdesius, Serin. antiq. t. 8, part. 1. 1763, p. 390, says, it was printed sive Basileae, sive Argentorati (neque enim locus impressionis additus legitur). Georg Veessenmeyer, Miscellaneen litterarischen und historischen Inhalts, Nürnberg 1812, in an article on the printer Hans Kilian at Neuburg o. D., says p. 76 on the book of Senarclae: Auch diese Schrift halte ich nach der Aehnlichkeit der Lettern für ein Product der Kilianischen Druckerey. Doch diesz ist bloss Vermuthung, weil kein Druckort angegeben ist. Kilian mag gute Ursache gehabt haben, nach dem Vorgang mit Diazius seinen Namen nicht zu nennen. Also in the article on Diaz, found among Veessenmeyer's papers after his death, which occurred in 1833, and printed in Illgen's Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie, Neue Folge, Bd. 1. 1837, Heft 3, p. 156 the book of Senarclaeus is said to be published Neoburgi ad Danub. It is, however, now certain that it was printed and published at Basle by Oporinus, see Dryander's letters edited by Boehmer [here n° 148] p. 391 f.

In Pius' IV Index, Dilingae 1564, fol. 17 Claudius Senarclaeus is a first class prohibited writer; cf. fol. 26: Joan. Diazius, ille, cuius mortis historiam scripsit Cernarclaei which means Senarclens. Besides we find there under Authorum incerti nominis libri prohibiti fol. 25: Historia de morte Joannis Diazii Hispani, quem frater eius germanus interfecit.

Also Martin Bucer is an author primae classis, ib. fol. 15. 32.

A copy of this edition of the Historia Diazii was offered for 8 florins in the XC. Catalog des antiquar. Bücherlagers von Fidelis Butsch Sohn, Augsburg 1873, p. 73, n° 1457: Schönes Exemplar. Von grosser Seltenheit.

122. 1763.

Claudii Senarclaei | Historia vera, de | Morte Joa. Diazii | Hispani. 1546. |

in Scrinium antiquarium | sive | miscellanea | Groningana | Tomi VIII. pars I. | × | Groningæ & Bremæ |]. A. 1763. | Quarto. P. 389 the above title, followed by Gerdesius' preface p. 389 and 390. The historia with Senarclens' and Bucer's prefaces, from the publication of 1546, p. 390—464. The original address of Bucer's preface, and the three psalms are left out. On Diaz' Summa see below n° 156.

ZURICH City.

123. 1865.

Historia de la muerte | de Juan Díaz, | por determinación tomada en Roma, | le hizo matar su hermano | Alfonso Díaz, | en la madrugada del Sábado 27 iii m. del año 1546. | Si hoc fuit justum, „Quæ potest esse pietas? quæ | sanctitas? quæ religio?“ | (Sigmondi Disertatio) | Madrid. | Año MDCCLXV. | With portrait of Juan Diaz after Beza's Icones, on a special leaf. Octavo. The original title of Senarclens' history with translation of that title, 2 leaves. Translation of the work with Bucer's preface, Suma de la relijion Cristiana by Diaz, and in Latin the two psalms, p. 5—110. Documentos collected by the editor p. 111—152. Observaciones p. 153—190, signed Madrid 1865. — L. Usóz i Rio. Indice and erratas one leaf. Prefixed title-leaf: Reformistas antiguos Españoles. | Tomo XX. | On the back list of 19 Obras ya reimpresas. This XX vol. was the last one published in Usóz' and Wiffen's life times, nor has the series been continued.

124. 1554—1572. Strassburg martyrology.

Historien | Der Heyligen Auszer - | wölten Gottes Zeügen. . . | . . . Durch | Ludouicum Rabus von Memmingen, der H. | Schrift Doctorn, vnnnd Prediger | der Kirchen zû Strasz | burg. | Der Ander Theyl. | M. D. LIIII. | Title black and red. Colophon: Getruckt zû Straszburg durch | Samuel Emmel. | M. D. LIIII. Rabus' preface is dated Strassburg 1 March 1554. Quarto (four leaves under one signature).

Fol. cclxxiiij verso begins Die History von . . . Joanne Diazio . . . | . . . hab ich . . . | . . . ausz | den Schrifften Claudij Senarclai, sampt ande - | rer so hieuen ausgangen, ver - | zeychnet. | Ends fol. CCC. A woodcut, representing the murder (Alfonso Diaz waiting outside at the door of the room in which it is perpetrated), on fol. cclxxiiij, and repeated fol. ccxcix.

STRASSBURG, UNIV. and Collegium WILHELM.

A reprint has M. D. LV. in title and colophon. Preface dated as before. The title, black and red, has the same divisions as the first edition; line 4 theyl, first edition theil. In the colophon: Sammel. Octavo (eight leaves under one signature), but the columns are just as high and as broad as those of the first edition in quarto.

The Diaz history, with the cuts, on the same pages as there.

BOEHMER.

Historien | Der Heyligen Auszer - | wölten Gottes Zeugen. . . | . . . Durch Ludouicum Rabus von Memmingen, der H. | Schrift Doctorn, vnnnd Prediger | der Kirchen zû Strasz - | burg. | Der Ander Theyl. | M. D. LV. | Title black and red. Colophon: Getruckt zû Straszburg | durch Samuel | Emmel. | M. D. LVI | Here 56, on the title 55. Rabus' preface dated March 1. 1554. Octavo (eight leaves under one signature).

Fol. CCLXXIII foll. Die History von . . . Johanne Diazio . . . ausz den Schrifften Claudij Senarclai, sampt anderer . . . Ends fol. CCC. Fol. CCLXXIII a woodcut representing the murder, the same cut on fol. CCXCIX.

BERLIN Royal.

Another copy in the BERLIN Royal has the title running as above, only other divisions and other year: Ludouicum | Rabus . . . Do - | ctorn . . . Kir - | chen zû Strasz - | burg. | Der Ander Theyl. | M. D. LVI. Black and red. The Colo-

phon like the one just mentioned. Title part of sheet one. Preface dated as in the other copy.

The history, with the two cuts, exactly on the same folios as in the other Berlin copy. From certain typographical reasons I thought this copy, as for the part containing Diaz, did not belong to an edition different from the other Berlin one.

The greater part of Enzinas' book on the state of Belgium is translated in: Historien | Der Heyligen Auszer - | wölten Gottes Zeügen, Bekenern vnd | Martyrern, so zü disen vnsern letsten zeytten, darin - | nen der Allmechtig Ewig Gott seine Kirchen mit | der reynen Lehr seines Gnadenreichen Euangeliums | Vätterlichen heymgesücht hat, hin vnd wi - | der in allen Landen worden | seind. | Alles ausz Glaubwürdigen Schrifftten | vnd Zeügnussen, zü gemeyner auffhawung der An | gefochtenen Kireben Teütscher Nation, durch Ludoui - | cum Rabus von Memmingen, der Heyligen | Schrifft Doctorn, auff eyntal - | tigst vnd wahrhaftigst | beschriben. | c. | Der Sybend Theyl. | M. D. LVII. | Lines 1. 2. 10 and the last but one red. Colophon: Getruckt zü Straszc - | burg durch Samuel | Emmel. | M. D. LVII. Preface dated Vm, den VI. Augustmonats . . . M. D. LVII . . . Rabus. Broad Octavo.

The translations from Enzinas fol. LXV—CCXXX. They begin with the imprisonments of Louvain, to which there is the previous notice: Dise History ist erstlich durch den Hochgelehrten Herren Franciscum Eneenas Burgensim, in Lateinischer spraachen (als der zür selbigen zeit zü Löui solehs alles gesehen) beschriben, Vnd yetzundt durch mich von wort zü wort, mit höchstem fleisz vnd besten treüwen verteütschet . . . Analogous passages at the head of the different chapters taken from Eneenas' Niderländische Cronick, as the book is called fol. CLIV.

As the beginning of Enzinas' Latin original is wanting in the only ms hitherto known, published by Campan (here n° 120), this German translation made from the Latin is to be compared with the French for chapters 3—6 of Enzinas' work. STRASSBURG Univ.

Historien der | Martyrer, | Ander Theil. | . . . || Durch | Ludouicum Rabus, der H. | Schrifft Doctor, vnd der Kirchen | zü Vm Superintendenten. | . . . || 1572 . Title in a frame. Colophon: Gedruckt in der Freien Statt | Straszcburg, durch Josiam Rihel. | M. D. LXXII. | Folio. Six leaves under one signature. Fol. 615—676 the greater part of Eneenas' narrative as well of his own experiences as on San Roman and other martyrs.

Fol. 688—708 book 5, ch. 27: Johannes Diazius. With this previous notice. Die warhafte Historiam, vom todtte Johannis Diazij . . . || . . . Hatt anfenglichs in Lateinischer spraach beschriben sehr fleissig, artlich vnnnd eigentlich, Claudius Senarclens. Vnnnd hab ich die selbigen, ausz seinen vnnnd andern glaubwürdigen Schrifftten vnnnd Actis, etwas weitleunffiger dann zuuor, inn vnser Teutsche spraach hienach setzen wöllen. Diaz's history in verses fol. 705, 706, from a former publication [see here n° 158], with an appendix on Alfonso Diaz's suicide.

BERLIN Royal.

125. 1555 foll.

Report from Senarclens in Jo. Sleidani de statu religionis et reipublicae, Carolo quinto Caesare, commentarii, in lib. XVII.

1555 and very many editions of the Latin original and translations.

Tappart in the book quoted above p. 133, note 5, says p. 37 on Sleidanus' history de statu religionis: Vertebatur Germanice, Belgice, Gallice, Italice, Anglice,

Hispanice: &, ut quidam narrarunt, Turcice. In the Editionum comment. Jo. Sleidani quae desiderantur a Jo. Gottlob Boehmio pr. Lips. enumeratio [Ponickau libr.], dated 1765, we find Jo. Sleidani Comm. Versio Hispanica. A Spanish translation is not found in Boehme's large collection of editions of Sleidanus' Commentary, now in the possession of the University library at Leipzig. I think that such a translation, if ever made, was never printed, and that Boehme's research was only founded on the notice given by Tappart who probably was not well informed on this subject.

126. 1556 foll.

Geneva martyrology, with translations into German and Rhacto-romance.

The list is not meant to be complete.

Joannes Crispinus is Primae classis Auctor in the Antecerp prohibitory Index 1570, p. 64.

Recueil de l'histoire de Jean Diaz. In: Recueil de plusieurs personnes, qui ont constamment enduré la mort pour le nom du Seigneur. Par Jean Crespin M. D. LVI. Octavo. On p. 275—323 a translation of the greater part of Senarclens' Historia.

LEIPZIG Univ.

Historia vera de morte Joannis Diazii in Acta martyrum. Apud Jo. Crispinum. M. D. LVI. Colophon: Excudebat Joannes Crispinus Genevae, anno domini M. D. LVI. cal. Martii. Octavo. Pages 268—316, with the subscription: Haec de Diazio ex eo libello decerpimus, qui statim ab illius morte editus est a quodam ipsius amico, qui horum testis oculatus fuerat. Itaque et ipsum loqui, et suis affectibus indulgere sivismus. The Acta give the greater part of Senarclens' historia.

HALLE a. S. Orphan-house. BAUM's libr.

Extracts from Enzinas' Hist. Belg. and a Historia memoranda de morte Joannis Diazii on fol. 126—139 of the Actiones et Monumenta Martyrum. Joannes Crispinus. M. D. IX. Octavo. The subscription of the Acta of 1556 is left out. GENEVA City, HALLE Univ., STRASSBURG Wilhelm.

Several lives from du Chesne's Histoire, without, however, naming the source, viz. IV martyrs de Brabant, Juste Insberg, Fr. de Saint-Romain, Roch de Brabant, Gilles Tilleman, are given in the Quatrieme partie des actes des martyrs. Par Jean Crespin, M. D. LXI. Octavo.

S. Mary's libr. at HALLE a. S.

The same lives as in the foregoing Quatrieme partie, and Jean Diaz after Senarclens, in the Actes des martyrs deduits en sept livres. L'Ancre de Jean Crespin. M. D. LXIII [= 65]. Colophon M. D. LXIII. [= 64]. Folio.

S. Mary's libr. at HALLE a. S.

Extracts from the Belgian persecutions and from Senarclens in all the following publications:

Histoire | des vrais Tesmoins de la veri - | te de l'Evangile || L'aucere de Jean Crespin | M. D. LXX. Folio.

BASLE Public.

Histoire | des martyrs, | [Crispin's mark] || M. D. LXXXII. | Folio.

GENEVA City. BAUM.

Märtyrbuch, Herborn 1591. Preface dated 1. Jan. 1590. In ten books. Octavo.

BASLE Public.

Martyrbuch, Herborn 1595. *Octavo.*

CUNITZ.

Martyrbuch, Basel 1597. *Octavo. Reprint of the Herborn publication.*

BASLE Public, (without title-leaf).

Martyrbuch, Sigen 1597. *Octavo.*

Martyrologium . . . Ex . . . prolixis Martyrum illis Actis, primum Gallice, dehinc etiam Germanice editis . . . compendiose translatum. Hanoviae s. a. *In ten books. Translation from the Herborn publication. Octavo.*

BASLE Public.

Histoire des martyrs. *With Crespin's anchor. M. D. XC VII. In twelve books. Folio.*

BASLE Public., LAUSANNE Canton.

Grosz Martyrbuch . . . Anfänglich in Frantzösischer spraach beschrieben . . .

Durch Paulum Crocium . . . Hanaw . . . MDCVI. *Folio.*

BASLE Public.

Histoire | des martyrs, | [Crispins mark] | M. DC. VIII. | *Folio.*

BAUM.

Martyrbuch, Herborn 1608. *Octavo.*

BAUM.

Grosz Martyrbuch . . . Hanaw . . . MDCXVII. *Folio.*

BASLE Public.

Histoire | des martyrs, || A Geneve, | Imprimé par Pierre Aubert. | M. DC. XIX.

Folio.

BAUM, CUNITZ.

In Leonhard Meyer's Geschichten der Märtyrern. Schaffhausen M. DC. LXIV.

Octavo, second hand extracts from Belg. and Senarcl.

GOETTINGEN Univ.

Das Grosse | Martyr-Buch, | Anfänglich in Frantzösischer Sprache beschrieben; Hernacher . . . treulich übersetzt und in Teutsche | Spraache gebracht, Durch | Dr. Paulum Crocium . . . | Bremen, || . . . M. DC. LXXXII. | *Folio.*

CUNITZ.

Martyrbuch, Schmalkalden 1682.

Martyrologium magnum . . . oder | Il cudesch | grand dels martyrs. || Part prima. || Primò stat tschantà in Frances dapo in Todaischk, & luossa . . . in noss Romansch | verti & contract. | Da | Conradino Riolano. | Stampà in Strada in Engadina Bassa. || Ano. M. DCCXVIII. | *The title in a frame. Quarto.*

HALLE Univ., STRASSBURG Univ.

127. 1563.

Martyrum historia . . . Pars secvnda . . . Authore Heinrico Pantaleone . . . Basileae . . . 1563. *Folio.*

BASLE Public, HALLE Univ.

Pantaleo, after having spoken of the persecution at Louvain, says p. 97: Haec omnia Franciscus Encenas qui tum Lovanii interfuit, atque ut res acta est oculis vidit, fusius descripsit, ex quo haec breviter decerpsimus, then *ib. on Persevaldus*: Haec ex Francisco Encenate, in the article on Iustus Imbsberger [Iusberg] p. 101 Encenas is mentioned as fellow-captive; with respect to Aegidius Bruxellensis p. 102: Hanc Historiam plenius Franciscus Encenas concaptivus eius descripsit atque edidit, ex quo breviter summam hanc decerpsimus. As the end of a small article on the Persecutio in Belgis 1543 et 1544 p. 103: Id quod copiosius in Lud.

Rabi li. 7. describit Franciscus Encenas. *Nowhere a trace of knowledge of the Latin original. The histories of San Romanus p. 151 f. and of Rochus p. 157 f. are taken from Crispin's Actiones et monumenta martyrum 1560; however, instead of the sentence found at the end of Sanromanus' history in the Actiones: ut pii homines ab aliis, qui viderant, accepta fideliter narrarunt, Pantaleo says p. 156: ut Franciscus Encenas (qui et Driander dictus) Hispanus in tractatu suo de martyribus fideliter descripsit et publicavit, cui hic martyr . . .*

Joannes Diazus a fratre proprio interfectus. p. 158--173 from the Geneva Actiones, with an addition on the parricide's death.

128. 1565 foll.

From the Nederlantsche Chronijcke van Franciscus Encenas two reports, one on Justus Imberger [Iusberg], the other on Rochus uit Antwerpen, are incorporated into the second edition of Adriaen Haemstede's Gheschiedenisse der Martelaren, published 1565 after Haemstede's death, fol. 319--330. See Joh. ab Utrecht Dressehuis in Kist and Royaards' Archief voor kerkelijke geschiedenis, 6^e deel. Leiden 1835, p. 85.

From the Belgian report and from Senarclens' history in De | Historie | der | martelaren, | Op nieuws neerstelyk overzien, en veelzins verneordert . . . | . . . door J. G. O. | . . . onder ieder Printverbeelding. Een korte schets der Geschiede- nisse in Dichtmaas, door . . . | Claas Bruin. | & | Te Leyden, | || 1747 | *Fol.*

BOEHMER.

129.

In Fox's Book of Martyrs, reprinted Leeds 1813, vol. 1: The martyrs of Louvaine, Giles Tilleman, persecution in Gaant and other parts of Flanders, p. 404--407. At the end the notice: The history of this persecution is at large set forth by Frank. Encenas, a very learned man, who also himself was prisoner the same time at Brussels: and to this work the reader is respectfully referred. A short notice on Franciscus Encenas p. 474, on his brother N' bernt at Rome p. 473--4. On F. san Romanus p. 469--473.

STRASSBURG Wilhelmüt.

130. 1692 foll.

Extracts from Senarclens in Viti Ludovici a Seckendorf | commentarius | De | Lutheranismò, || Francofurti & Lipsiæ, | Anno M DC XCII. | *Folio. Pages 652--656.*

STRASSBURG Univ.

The same in the edition Lps. 1691. *Folio.*

STRASSBURG Univ., HALLE Univ.

In the German translation, Historie des Lutherthums, Lpz. 1714, *Quarto, col. 2678--2686.*

STRASSBURG Univ.

In the Dutch translation of Seckendorf, t. 3, Delft 1730.

Seckendorf Hist. de la réform., abrégée par Junius & Roos, et traduite en franç. par J. J. P. T. IV, Basle, 1785. *Octavo. On Diaz p. 431--440.*

STRASSBURG Univ.

131. 1733.

Christian August Saligs | Vollständige Historie | Der | Augspurgischen Con-
fession | Zweyter Theil: | Halle, 1733. | Q. P. 21—28 extracts from *Senarclens'*
history of Diaz and from Dryander's Belgian persecutions.

HALLE Univ.

132. 1749.

*Extracts and report from Enzinas' narrative of his own undertaking and
fate in Belgium, translated into Latin from Rabus' Historien t. 7 [see here n° 12.]
in Danielis Gerdesii | historia | reformationis, | sive, annales evangelii | secundo XVI. |
passim per Europam | renovati | . . . | Tomus III. | Qui Reformationem Belgii usque
ad A. 1558 itemque | Sueciae & Daniae, complectitur. | > | Groningae & Breae, |
Anno MDCCXLIX. | Quarto. P. 166—172.*

HALLE Univ.

Council of Trent.**133. 1546.**

Acta | concilii | Tridentini, anno M. D. | XLVI. celebrati: | Vnā
cum Annotationibus pijs, | & lectu dignissimis. | Item, | Ratio, cur qui
Confessionem Augustanam | profitentur, non esse assentiendum iniquis |
Concilij Tridentini sententijs iudicarunt: | per Philippum Melanch-
thonem. | M. D. XLVI. |

*It was printed by Oporinus at Basle, see Franz. Enzinas' letters, my edition
(here n° 149) p. 395 sq.*

*Fol. a 2—8: Lectori. Admonition of the papal Legates in the first session
of the council at Trent, and the decrees of the first six sessions, each of these
seven papers followed by criticizing Annotations, fol. a 1—02 recto. Names of
persons present at the Council, fol. 02 verso—04 recto. Then Causae quare . . .
per Philippum Melanchthonem, fol. 04 verso—q 7 recto. Indulgence letter of pope
Paul III, fol. q 7 verso—r 6 recto. Lectori, fol. r 6 verso—r 7 verso. Antithesis
[sic] Pavli apostoli Tarsensis, & Pauli praesentis piratae Romani, qui se tertium
appellat, Romae scripta, a poem in disticha, fol. r 7 verso—r 8 recto. Pauli III.
pontificis Romani epistolae duae, ad Heluetios atq; Abbates, quibus & instituti
Concilij Tridentini, & suscepti cōtra Protestantē belli ratio continetur. Only these
title-words on fol. s 1 recto; the text beginning on the verso, runs to s 8 verso.
Total 19 sheets. Octavo.*

JENA Univ. (part of the last leaf is wanting; some few ms. marginal
notes are perhaps by the hand of Melanchthon).

*The Admonitio atque hortatio legatorum, beginning: Cum ipsa muneris nostri,
was not read in prima sessione, as this collection says, but in the second,
7 January 1546 (see Le Plat, ampliss. collectio 1, 38 sq.) Decrees 1—5 of these
Acta, where they are only numbered, without titles or mention of sessions, are
the following, as found in the official collection: 1: de modo vivendi et aliis in
concilio servandis (sess. 2; Jan. 7, 1540). 2: de symbolo fidei (sess. 3). 3: de
canonicis scripturis, de editione et usu sacrorum librorum (sess. 4). 4: de reformatione
(sess. 5). 5: de peccato originali (sess. 5). The sixth decree of these Acta
treats de justificatione, but is not the text adopted in session 6 on January 13, 1547.*

*No doubt these are the Annotations in acta Concilii Tridentini, occurring
amongst the Libri prohibiti, ab incerti nominis authoribus compositi in Pius' IV
Index, Dilingue 1564, fol. 14.*

*On the work of Melanchthon appended to these Acta see Schelhorn's Amoen.
hist. eccles. et lit. t. 2, p. 381 f. In December 1547 Melanchthon himself was
finishing a refutation of the Tridentine decrees, especially of the decree on justifica-
tion, see Corp. Ref. 6, 945—50.*

134. 1794.

*Extracts from these Annotations in G. Th. Strobel's Neue Beiträge zur Lit-
teratur besonders des sechszehnten Jahrhunderts, vol. 5, 1794.*

HALLE Univ.

135. 1550.

Compen- | dio de las catorze decadas | de Tito Livio Paduano,
principe de la | historia Romana, escrito en Latin | por Lucio Floro,
y al presen- | te traduzio en lengua | Castellana. | [A device: a knight
on a winged horse spearing a lion rampant] | En Argentina en casa de
Augustin Frisio, Año de | M. D. L. | Colophon: Acabose de impri- | mir
este libro d'el compen- | dio de las catorze Decadas | de Tito Livio
Paduano, prin- | cipe de la historia Romana, | en la ciudad Imperial
de Ar- | gentina, en casa de Au- | gustin Frisio en el a- | ño de
mill y qui | nientos y cincuen | ta. |

Small octavo. 167 folios, including title.

WIFFEN's libr.

Compare above note 65 Birkmann's letter to Dryander, middle of 1550.

136. 1553.

*This Compendio . . . traduzido . . . Por Francisco d'Enzinas, followed by Todas
las Décadas de Tito . . . traduzidas (no translator's name) was printed again at
Colonia Agrippina, á costas de Arnaldo Byreckmanno . . . M. D. LIII. Folio. See
Gullardo's Biblioteca Española, t. 2, Madrid 1866, col. 926. 927, and compare De
Castro's Hist. d. l. Protest. p. 118. 119. 260. 261.*

*The Catálogo de la biblioteca Salvá, 1872, t. II., after having stated that the
Spanish translation of Livy Salamanca 1497 nada tiene de comun con la de fray
Pedro de la Vega, published Çaragoça 1520 under the title Las quatorze decadas de
Tito Livio, adds in the article dedicated to the latter, p. 429 f.: Hai otra impresion
de Colonia Agrippina, 1553. Fol. corregida y aumentada por Arnaldo Birkman, de
la que se copió la ultima hecha en Madrid, imprenta real, M. DCC. XCVI. 5 vols. 4º.
From this notice one must conclude that Birkmann's Decadas are fray Pedro's
translation. I do not know whether Enzinas' Compendio has been reprinted in
this Madrid edition.*

Plutarch.

137. 1551.

El primero volumen de las vidas ... por ... Plutarcho ... traducidas ... Por Francisco d'Enzinas. [Woodcut: Caballero ginete en un caballo alado hiriendo á un leon con un venablo] | En Argentina, en casa de Augustin Frisio, ... M. D. LI.

Fuller title-copy in Gallardo's Biblioteca 2. 925, from which this abbreviation is taken. Gallardo gives the following description: 398 h [ojas]. — sign. a. A — Gg. Aaa — Mmm. — Port [ada]. — v. [uelta] en b [lunco] — Ded. al emperador Carlos V. — p. [pagina] en b. — Texto. — p. en b. — Indice. — Errat. I do not doubt that two more leaves at the end, containing the orden and the colophon, were only by accident wanting in Gallardo's copy. According to the orden, Mmm was a quaderno, whilst, if the errata ended the volume, the layer would be a terno. The volume, therefore, had 400 leaves. It follows that the dedication had five leaves. The same results from the orden, where layer a is among the ternos. a 6 verso was blank. The further description I give from my own copy (belonging to variety d) A — GG, = folios 320, numbered, contain Thesco, Romulo, Lycurgo, Numa, Solon, Publicola. Second foliation 1 — 71, = Aaa — Mmm 5: Themistocles, Furio Camillo. The backs of the leaves 105. 172. 234. 284. 320, and, in the second foliation, of 28. 71. are blank. Mmm 6 index of the lives. On the back errata. Mmm 7 la orden de los quadernos; begins: aAB, ends: Todos son ternos, excepto GG, y, Mmm, que son quadernos. Back blank. Most likely Mmm 8 was not blank, but contained the colophon as variety b. In Gallardo it is said that in all varieties the text has two foliations, 320 + 71 leaves, containing the lives in the order and division which I have related. Folio.

According to Gallardo there are three other varieties of this same edition (compare de Castro's Hist. d. l. Protest. p. 260. 261):

137^b. 1551.

The name of the translator is omitted. The year and the woodcut are the same as in the above title. Colophon: Acabose de imprimir ... en ... Argentina en casa de Augustin Frisio a costas d'el señor Pedro de Porres, en el mes de Mayo ... M. D. LI.

A copy, which WIFFEN possessed, seems to belong to this variety. He says that in the dedication Francisco d'Enzinas names himself.

137^c. 1551.

The name of the translator is omitted. The year is 1551, the woodcut is a Caballero á caballo mandoble en mano, repartiendo tajos á otros que huyen. Colophon the same as in 137^b. Gallardo: 395^b. — sign. desde la 2^a, A —. At the end a woodcut.

USOZ possessed a copy of this variety according to the description of Wiffen, who says that the woodcut on the reverse of the colophon represents a man on horseback defending himself from a lion.

The description of the fourth variety I give according to my own copy:

137^d. 1562.

Las vidas de los ilvstres y excel- | lentes Varones Griegos y Romanos, escri- | tas | primero en lengua Griega por el graue | Philosopho y verdadero histo- | riador Plutarcho de Chero- | nea, y agora nueuamen- | te traducidas en | Castellano | Por Juan Castro de Salinas. | /The enseña de la gallina gorda, with Arnold Birkman's name in it | Imprimieronse en la Imperial Ciudad de Colonia, y | vendense en Anuers en casa de Arnoldo Bire- | man, á la enseña de la Gallina gorda. | M. D. LXII. | Back blank.

Second leaf, part of the same sheet: Arnoldo Bireman al beneuolo | Lector. | VNA de las cosas... Ends on the following page: siglos que passo. | Dios te guarde.

Leaf Mmm is reprinted, because Mmm 8, the other half of the same sheet, was replaced by a new leaf containing the colophon: Acabose de imprimir | las vidas de los ilustres & excelentes Va- | rones Griegos y Romanos para- | das, en la ciudad Imperial de | Colonia, á costas de los | Herederos de Arnol- | do Bireman. Año | M. D. LXII. | Reverse blank.

Total 396 leaves.

BOEHMER's libr.

Brunet mentions, Manuel t. 4. 1863. col. 741--2, Plutarch's lives trad. en espagnol par Jean Castro de Salinas, Argentina 1561, ou Colonia y Anvers, 1562, in-fol.

I do not think with de Castro, Hist. de l. Protest. Esp., p. 116-7, and Gallardo, Biblt. Españ. t. 2, col. 924-5, that Francisco de Enzinas was the translator or the editor of Las vidas de dos ilustres varones, Simon ... y ... Lucullo ... por ... Plutarco ... traducidas ... 1547. Gallardo remarks: La impresion parece de letra del mismo grado y caracter que la de Sebastiano Grifo: Diálogos de Luciano. In the Catálogo de la biblioteca de Salvá, 1872, t. 2, where p. 653 it is said that the name of the printer of that publication of 1547 and the place of the printing are not ascertained, we find on p. 794: Dialogos de Luciano, ... traducidos de Griego en lengua Castellana. Leon, en casa de Sebastiano Grypho, año de M. D. L.

138. 1551.

Lucian.

Historia verdadera de Luciano traducida de Griego en lengua Castellana. Argentina, Augustin Frisio, M. D. LI.

4.^o 4 hojas preliminares y xxxviii fols. Solo contiene el Libro primero, é ignoro si se publicó otro.

Notice given by Pedro Salvá y Mallen in the Catálogo de la biblioteca de Salvá, Valencia 1872, t. II, n^o 1879.

That Francisco de Enzinas was the editor and most likely also the translator, is a conjecture of mine.

A. de Castro, Hist. de l. Protest. Españ. p. 260 f., ascribes to Francisco de Enzinas a Spanish translation of Flavius Josephus' Jewish Antiquities, Antwerp, Martin Nucio, 1554. But Enzinas would not have translated it from the Latin. One would rather think that the translator was Juan Martin Cordero, who in 1557 edited for the same publisher a Spanish translation of Josephus' Jewish war.

Letters.

139. 1553.

Caelio Secundo Curioni. Argentinae 8 Januarii.

In: Caelii | Secundi Curio | nis selectarum epi | stolarum Libri duo. | Basileae, per Io- | annem Oporinum. | *Colophon* p. 256: Anno Domini M. D. LIII. | Mense Martio. Epistola dedicatoria is signed: Basileae, Anno Christi | Seruatoris M. D. | LIII. | *Octavo*.

Dryander's letters: lib. 1. p. 73--74, without year.

GOETTINGEN Univ. The copy has on the title-page the ms. dedication: Clariss. D. Henrichi | Bullingeri filii. DD. | C. S. C. | Viz.: Caelius Secundus Curio, whose autograph it is.

140. 1568.

Three Latin letters to Joachim Camerarius:

Basilea 8 Nov. 1547 [not, as Strobel quotes, October]

,, 15 Jan. 1548

Argentina 3 Jul. 1550,

the letter of 1547, on fol. O 1, that of 1548 fol. N 8, that of 1550 fol. N 7, in:

Libellus Nouns, | epistolas | et alia quaedam | monumenta doctorum | superioris & huius aetatis complectens. | Quae scripta omnia eiusmodi sunt, ut eorum | cognitio neq; utilitate caritura, & no- | luptatem legentibus allatura esse | uideatur. Editus | studio | Joachimi Camerarii | Pabeperg. | Lipsiae | Johannes Rhamba | exprimebat Anno Christi | M. D. LXVIII. | Cum Priuilegio Quinquennij. | *Octavo*.

An Erratum in the first letter is corrected on the last page.

BERLIN Roy.

141. 1570.

Caelio Secundo Curioni. Argentinae 8 Januarii.

In: Olympiae | Fvlviae Moratae || . . . opera | Hyppolitae Taurellae Elegia elegantissima. | Quibus Caelij S. C. selectae Epistolae ac ora- | tiones accesserunt. | × | Basileae | apud Petrum Pernam | M. D. LXX. | *Octavo*. *Dryander's letter among the selectae epistolae, lib. 1, p. 333—335.*

BERLIN Roy.

142. 1580.

Caelio Secundo Curioni. Argentinae 8 Januarii.

In: Olympiae | Fvlviae | Moratae . . . || . . . Opera omnia cum eru- | ditorum testimonijs. | Quibus, praeter C. S. C. Epistolas selectas & | orationes: Nunc denum accesserunt, M. An- | tonij Paganutij fabulae ex Aesopo Lati- | nè factae, & Joannis Boccacij | quaedam ex Italico. | × | Basileae. | Ex officina Petri Peruae. | M. D. LXXX. | *Octavo*. *Dryander's letter among the epistolae selectae, lib. 1, p. 333—335.*

BERLIN Roy., LAUSANNE Canton.

143. 1666.

Joanni a Lasko, d. d. 10. Mai. 1541.

In: Epistolarum | ab | Illustribus & Claris | viris | scriptarum | centuriae tres. | Quas passim ex Autographis collegit ac edidit | Simon Abbes Gabbema | [Woodcut:

a man sitting before an open book] | Groningae, | Ex Officina Joannis Takoni, | CIO LOC LXVI. |

Centuriae primae epist. XVI, p. 37—43.

HALLE Univ.

I think I have seen a copy with 1663 on the title, another with 1664.

144. 1749.

Johanni a Lasco, d. d. 10. Mai. 1541

in Gerdesii hist. reform. t. III., 1749, in the appended Monumenta p. 82—86.

HALLE Univ.

145. 1843.

Letter to Melancthon, 10 Aug. 1548, published by David Schulz in Illgen's Zeitschrift für historische Theologie, zweiten Bandes zweites Stück, Leipzig 1832, p. 240. 241.

146. 1846.

Five letters of Francis Dryander, the same which are printed in Latin in the Epistolae Tigurinae of the Parker Society [see here n° 147], are translated into English, in: Original letters | relative to the English reformation, | Translated from authenticated copies of the autographs. | and edited for | The Parker Society, | by the | Rev. Hastings Robinson, D. D. F. A. S. | The first portion. | × | Cambridge: | Printed at | the university press. | M. DCCC. XLVI. *Octavo*. Letters CLXX to CLXXIV, pages 348—355.

P. 350 at letter CLXXI, which is my XLIVth, where Dryander speaks of a book, published a month or two back, which the English churches received with the greatest satisfaction, Rev. Hastings Robinson notes: Namely, the first book of Common Prayer. See Liturgies of Edward VI. Parker Society's Edit.

147. 1848.

Francis Dryander's Latin letters

1549	March 25	} to Bullinger
—	June 5	
—	June 5	to Vadian
—	Dec. 3	} to Bullinger
1552	May 2	

Epistola CLXX—CLXXIV, p. 230—235 of

Epistolae Tigurinae | de rebus potissimum | ad ecclesiae Anglicanae reformatio- nem | pertinentibus conscriptae | a. d. 1531—1558. | Ex schedis manuscriptis | in bibliotheca Tigurina aliisque servatis | Parkeriana Societatis | auspicijs editae. | × | Cantabrigiae: | typis academicis excudit J. Gul. Parker. | M. DCCC. XLVIII. | *Octavo*.

148. 1865.

Dryander's letter of 24. Nov. 1546 and excerpts of eight other letters of his, in Latin with Spanish translation by Usóz, in the Documentos to Usóz's translation of the history of Diaz [here n° 123], p. 126 foll.

1546 Oct. 6 Vadiano.

— Nov. 1. 3. 4. 11. Bullingero

— — 24 [Bellaio]

— — 26 Bullingero

— — 28 Vadiano (p. 138 erratum 1549 instead of 1546)

1547 Oct. 26 Calvino.

149. 1870.

Francisci Dryandri, Hispani, | epistolae quinquaginta. |

In: Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie . . . herausgegeben von Dr. Karl Friedrich August Kalmis. Jahrgang 1870. Gotha . . . 1870. Octavo. P. 387—442. Two pages introduction by Eduard Boehmer. Besides the text of those 50 letters; 13 others, printed or to be printed, are registered. The 63 letters are dated from 10 May 1541 to 30 October 1552.

In that publication three letters were signed only as taken from the Thomas-archiv. I now add that they are contained there in the Epistolae variorum, letter XXXVIII vol. II. 146., letters LXII and LXIII vol. II. 147.

The codex Ulstetteranus, containing two letters of Dryander printed in my collection, is now burnt with the Strassburg city library. It was so called from John Ulstetter, son-in-law of Paulus Fagius the elder.

When I printed those 50 letters, I was not aware that 5 of them (40. 43. 44. 46. 60) had already been printed by the Parker Society, in the original and in an English translation [see here n^o 147 and 146].

150. 1872.

Fr. Dryander's letter to Martin Bucer, Basileae 15. Jan. 1550, on p. 11 and 12 of a scriptum publicum of the University of Strassburg, which has the following title:

Q. f. f. q. s. | Viro summe venerando | Joanni Friderico Bruch | theologiae doctori eiusdemque professori | universitatis Argentoratensis renatae | primo rectori | diem natalem octogesima vice | pie laete feliciter celebrandum | d. XIII. decembris a. MDCCCLXXII | gratulantur | deditissimi omnium ordinum collegae. | Insunt epistolae quaedam | Joannis Sturmii et Hispanorum qui Argentorati degerunt. | Argentorati | typis expressit J. H. Ed. Heitz, universitatis typographus. | 1872. | Quarto. P. III—VI *preface signed by the editor* Eduardus Boehmer.

(P. 11, l. 19 read frustra instead of frusta).

151. 187. .

Franzisco de Enzinas' Letters to Calvin will soon be published in the Thesaurus epistolicus Calvinianus, edited by the Strassburg theologians.

Addenda. In the matriculation-book of the University of Basle, now preserved in the Public library there, Franciscus Dryander Hispanus is found under the year 1546. In the same year Coelius Secundus Curio is inscribed. No dates are noted in the whole year.

John Aurifaber to John Hales, Weimar 26th Dec. 1552: From Strasburg, Francis Driander sends a letter for Philip Melancthon: [Aurifaber] requests him [viz. Hales] to hand it to him [viz. to M.] with his [A.'s] own compliments. Calendar of State Papers, foreign series, of the reign of Edward VI., ed. by Turnbull, London 1861, p. 249.

The letter of Jan. 31. 1546, above p. 145. 161, is not by Sleidanus, who at that time was not at Antwerp, see State Papers, Henry VIII, part 5 contin. 1852, p. 39.

A German translation of Franzisco de Enzinas' memoir from Campan's edition is being prepared.

JUAN DIAZ.

JOHN DIAZ¹⁾ was born at Cuenca, the birth-place of Juan and Alfonso de Valdés. From his tender youth delighted by studies, he went, after having got in Spain the necessary preparation, to the University of Paris, where he remained thirteen years or more,²⁾ thoroughly occupying himself with theology, for which purpose he also learned Hebrew. About this time Melancthon said: In Paris, and in the other academics of France, there is now a very ardent study of pious doctrine; and although they do not venture to make public profession thereof, yet the students, who read our books, bring forward many things from them in the lessons³⁾. It must have been at Paris, and in 1539 or 1540, that James Enzinas brought about a change in Diaz's mind.⁴⁾ In the beginning of 1545 Diaz left Paris and went to Geneva,⁵⁾ where he spent some months in intercourse with

1) See *historia per Senarclacum* with the introductory epistle of the author and the letters of Diaz himself. What I take elsewhere, I expressly quote. — Franz. Enzinas calls him also *Decius*, *alioqui Rupeus*, epist. II. (see here note 6); the *Ware Historia* (below note 37) has *Diasius* oder *Decius*.

2) *Historia per Senarclacum* p. 27: *Vixit Lutetiae totos tredecim annos aut eo amplius*. Compare the letter to Franziseo de Enzinas, 30 Nov. 1547, from Geneva: . . . *amicitiae, quae mihi ante quattuordecim annos cum [Johanne] Diazio coniunctissima fuit*. The contents of the letter prove that the writer was not a Spaniard, and that he lived at Paris when Juan Diaz lived there.

3) I have lost the quotation of this passage, and have tried in vain to find it again in Melancthon's letters.

4) See note 37 to our article on the two Enzinas and p. 134 ib. That the *historia per Senarclacum* does not mention this, is to be explained by the cautiousness of the author who knew James Dryander was in Rome.

5) . . . *il abandonna Paris, & se retira en la ville de Geneve avec Matthieu Budé & Jean Crespin, pour voir l'estat de l'Eglise d'icelle*. Page 240 in the *Actes des martyrs* of Jean Crespin, folio-edition of 1565 (see above here n° 126). This passage does not occur in the *Recueil* of 1556 nor in the *Actiones et monumenta* 1560, nor is it taken from the *historia per Senarclacum*. As Jean Crespin was living in 1565, we are entitled to think it his own addition. On Mathieu de Budé compare Bonnet's note in the collection of Calvin's *Lettres françaises*, t. 1. p. 239 f. Budeus is mentioned in Dryander's letter XXXI. The letter to Dryander,

Calvin⁶), who was much satisfied with his views and highly esteemed his character.⁷) In August he was with Louis and Claude de Senarclens at the possessions of their family at Bursin,⁸) not far from Rolle on the lake of Geneva. Claude had made his acquaintance at Paris and had become his familiar friend; also at Geneva they had been together. With these two brothers Diaz proceeded to Germany by way of Neuchâtel.⁹) He stopped a few days at Basle. In Strassburg he settled down. Nobody was admitted there to the Lord's Supper without publicly defining his confession of faith before the congregation. Whilst Diaz was performing this, he saw standing near him another Spaniard whom he knew rather to be accommodating himself to the creed of the town whither a pestilence had driven him from Paris, than convinced and steadfast. The presence of this fellow-countryman prevailed upon Diaz, not only to assert his own evangelical belief, but to express that he held for heretical all churches which did not acknowledge Christ as the only mediator and redeemer, the only sacrifice and satisfaction, all those in which the pure word of God and the legitimate administration of the sacraments was not found; that therefore he renounced the Pope and his church. Afterwards being alone with the same Spaniard, he said to him: You have been led here by divine providence, my brother, to witness my confession, in order to be induced to do the same for the glory of God and of his church; if however you return to Spain, you can say as an eye- and ear-witness: I have seen in Germany a Spaniard who was a prominent Lutheran and did not even in my presence hesitate to pro-

30 Nov. 1547, is thought to be written by Mathieu or Jean Budé (Ref. Esp. 20, 116); there occurs the passage: *ex quo a Diazio discessi in Lutetia*. — Calvin 1546: *Diazus Hispanus, quem apud Gallasium hic vidisti, Virete* (Ref. Esp. XX, 139). Gallasius is the friend and secretary of Calvin.

6) Enzinas epist. II. written from Wittenberg, 3 Aug. 1545, Calvino Genevac: *Est apud vos pietate ac doctrina praestans vir Johannes Decius Hispanus, quem etsi satis sua virtute apud te commendatum esse sciam, tamen cupiam vel mea causa feri commendatiorem*. As the end: *litteras quas ad Decium nostrum alioqui Rupeum mitto trades*.

7) He writes to Monsieur de Falais, 16th April 1546: *j'ay eu de piteuses nouvelles de la mort du bon Diazus*.

8) Diaz's letter I. Compare note 38.

9) Calvin to Farel, April 1546, Ref. Esp. XX, 139.

fess his Lutheran (if one should not better say Christian) faith, — provided, you venture to hint at your having ever touched these regions. The Spaniard, so addressed, smiled, no doubt thinking, he never would let any such thing transpire in the Eldorado of the Inquisitors.

When, at the end of the year, Martin Bucer was sent by the authorities of the city of Strassburg as their representative at the Colloquy to be held at Ratisbon, he obtained, on his demand, as second deputy Juan Diaz.¹⁰) Juan's candour and dignified behaviour is praised by all his evangelical friends.¹¹) Moreover Cardinal du Bellay, who enjoyed great consideration among these as protector of reformatory tendencies in France, had secured Diaz's cooperation, to be kept informed by his letters on the religious movements in Germany, a task which a judicious and pious man, as Diaz was, could easily fulfil without duplicity and with public benefit.¹²)

10) Compare Valerandus Polanus Calvino, [Argentorato] 3 Dec. 1545 (Ms. Genev.): *Bucerus ad colloquium proficiscitur intra triduum aut quadriduum . . . Proficiscitur una cum Buccero Diazus noster et d. Claudius*.

11) A portrait of him is found in Beza's *Icones* 1580, fol. *Kk. ij.* and in Gouillard's translation of the *Icones: Premiers martyrs*, p. 239, where only the frame of the portrait differs from the *Icones* [the Latin and the French in Geneva City libr.]. The portrait in *Praestantium aliquot theologorum, qui Rom. Antichristum praecipue oppugnarunt, effigies. Quibus addita elogia, librorum catalogi, operæ Iac. Verheiden. Hagæ Comitibus CIO. ID. C. II. . Folio*. [Geneva City] p. 70, and the portrait in *Jacobi Verheidenii Imagines et elogia, opera Friderici Roth-Scholtzii*, 2^a ed., Hagae Comitum 1725 [Halle Univ.] p. 54, are not simple reproductions of that in Beza's *Icones*. I could not collate the two editions of Verheiden's work. In conformity with Verheiden's edition of 1725 is the portrait in *VI pars bibliothecae chalcographicae, id est continuatio prima, iconum virorum . . . illustrium . . . sculptore Sebastiano Furckio . . . Francofurti, impens. Joh. Ammonii*. This contin. I. appeared about 1650 or in this year in which contin. II was published. [Halle Univ.]. Round the portrait, fol. 12, the words: *Johannes Diazus Hispanus theologus, ob Augustanam confessionem a fratre suo Alfonso occisus A. 1546. 27 Martii*. The portrait in Leonh. Meyer's *Martyrer Schaffhausen* 1664 [Goettingen Univ.] at p. 208 shows the dress of that in Verheiden's second edition, yet not exactly the same, and besides there are two small scenes below, one representing the murder of Diaz, the other the flight of the murderers; signed: *Johan Jacob Sultzer fecit*. I could not confront with each other the portraits by Sultzer and by Furck. From the *Icones* of Beza is taken the print in the 20th vol. of the *Reformatistas antiquos Españoles*.

12) Compare in the life of Enzinas p. 149, and here note 36.

Bucer and Diaz reached Ratisbon before Christmas 1545. Claude de Senarclens, who had stayed with his friend at Strassburg, accompanied him also on this journey. On the papal side there was as defensor for this Colloquium the Spaniard Peter Malvenda; Diaz had known him in Paris; and therefore called on him, together with his friend Senarclens. It lasted a while before Malvenda would believe the fact, that he saw Juan Diaz here, in Germany, in the society of Protestants, and as their champion. To conquer one Spaniard, said Malvenda, was more momentous for the German heretics, than to win tenthousand Germans or numberless proselytes from other nations. He for his part must say, he had grown older in six days in this heretical country than in six years elsewhere. Diaz had still two private conferences with his countryman. Malvenda tried to intimidate him, and advised him, not to wait till the Emperor arrived, but to hasten to meet him and to throw himself in repentance at the feet of the Imperial Confessor. As useless as these exhortations, were the efforts of Diaz, to convert the Romanist. The Pope, said Malvenda, could not err, being vicar of Christ. When I heard this word, says Diaz, I shuddered, and answered with acerbity: What impudence or what folly, to affirm a mortal man, stained with so many crimes, public and private, to be exempt from sin! In spite of the notorious reckless abomination which he daily perpetrates together with his Cardinals, and notwithstanding his many impious decrees which contradict straightway the formal word of God, there are those who really step forth to declare: the Pope is infallible! On the chair of Peter was sitting then Paul III, a man, as opprobrious as the worst among those who now are veiled in the aureole of infallibility.¹³⁾

13) Even Alfonso de Castro in his book against all heresies (see above, Enzinas note 15) protested against the Pope's infallibility. *Lib. 1. cap. 4: Si vero concedet aliquam viam patere qua homo ab errore acocari possit, d-cerique perperam sacram scripturam intellexisse, quero a quo docendus erit? Non ab alio homine, quia de quolibet homine causabitur illum decipi, noletque ob id interpretationem eius amplecti. Omnes enim homo errare potest in fide, etiamsi papa sit. Nam de Liberio papa constat fuisse Arianum. et Anastasium papam fuisse Nestorianis, qui historias legerit non dubitat. Quod autem alii dicunt, cum, qui erraverit in fide obstinate, iam non esse papam, ac per hoc affirmant papam nun posse esse haereticum, est in re seria verbis velle iocari. Ad hunc enim modum quis posset citra impudentiam asserere, nullum fidelem posse in fide errare, nam cum haereticus fuerit, iam desinet esse*

Diaz had already at Strassburg parted with his friends as if he was not to see them again; at this time he drew up his testament, he wrote his confession of faith (printed under the title *Summa*), and in every way prepared himself soon to leave this life. He knew the insidiousness of his enemies. Malvenda reported to the Confessor of the Emperor, the same de Soto whose acquaintance we made in Enzinas' history, and who now was successfully engaged in removing the scruples the Emperor could not yet overcome, regarding a war against the German Protestant princes.¹⁴⁾ From Soto the Diaz case was learnt by Marquina, another Spaniard who travelled between the Pope and the Imperial court for the exchange of despatches on the intended expedition against the Protestants. He brought the news to Rome where he arrived on February 23.¹⁵⁾ Thus Alfonso Diaz, who was there occupied at the law court of the *Rota*,¹⁶⁾ was apprised of what his brother was then doing. Alfonso was Juan's full and only brother, and the elder.¹⁷⁾ He instantly hurried to Ratisbon, accompanied by a man, who had functioned as executioner.

fidelis. Non enim dubitamus an haereticum esse et papam esse, coire in unum possint, sed id quaerimus an hominem, qui alias in fide errare potuisset, dignitas pontificalis efficiat a fide inderivablem. Non enim credo aliquem esse aileo impudentem papae assentatorem ut ei tribuere hoc velit ut nec errare aut in interpretatione sacrarum literarum hallucinari possit. Nam cum constet plures eorum adeo illiteratos esse ut grammaticam penitus ignorent, qui fit ut sacras literas interpretari possent? Si ergo in interpretatione sacrarum literarum quilibet homo errare potest, erit necessario iudicium interpretationis penes totam ecclesiam, penes quam ius fuerat discernendi sacras scripturas ab humanis.

14) See Navagiero's *relazione* in Albèri's collection 1,359. Compare Maurenbrocher: *Karl V. und die deutschen Protestanten. Nebst Actenstücken.* 1865. P. 100 f. 168.

15) See the documents in Maurenbrocher's just quoted book p. 69*. cf. 36*. 43*. 44*.

16) With the *historia per Senarclaeum* p. 80 compare the letter of Laetus in our note 36, and Sepulveda, de reb. gestis Caroli V, lib. 19, ep. 37: *Alfonso Diazus . . . jurisperitus.* Beza Icones 1580, fol. Kk. iii. speaking of him: *Romanae curiae advocato.*

17) His full brother according to Sepulveda ib.: *frater germanus*; to the bill of indictment, see the Pope's letter below here note 26; to Laetus and Sleidanus, see note 36 here; to *Zwei Decret*, see note 37. His only brother according to Bucer, dedicatory epistle of the *historia*, a 3 and 5 and 7 2. According to G. Major's book on the Colloquium, see note 37 here, Alfonso was the elder brother.

In the meanwhile the disputation had been cut short,¹⁸⁾ and Juan Diaz had left Ratisbon. Alfonso, after a conference with Malvenda, asked Senarcles, who was still there, for Juan's address; there were, he said, news from the court of the Emperor which were very important for Juan's prosperity. Senarcles was very distant, and only after consultation with Bucer and other friends he informed the foreigner, who had not introduced himself as Juan's brother, that Juan was in the neighbourhood of Neuburg on the Danube. He was superintending there the printing of a work of Bucer's;¹⁹⁾ there he was already on February 25 when he finished his own *Summa*.²⁰⁾ Senarcles and other friends gave warning letters for Juan to the postman

18) Compare, with what is related in the *historia per Senarclaeum*, a letter, it is not known by whom nor to whom, dated Ratisbon 28. 12. 1545 (Corp. Ref. 5, 915 f.): *Butzerum comitatus est ad Ratisbonam Hispanus quidam, vir doctus et pius. Is vixit aliquandiu cum Petro Malvenda familiariter in Gallia; postquam autem audivit, cum nomine Caesaris huc venire et fore collocutorem, salutarit eum pro veteri amicitia. Ibi tum Malvenda interrogavit Hispanum quid rerum ipse hic ageret; respondit ille, se huc profectum ut videret claros viros et cognosceret eventum huius colloquii. Malvenda subiecit: quid? colloquium? De colloquio nihil fiet, sed apertum nunc est concilium Tridentinum, ad quod pertinet de his rebus tractare.*

19) *Ut praecisset editioni libri cuiusdam Buceri.* Sleidanus, Comment. l. 17: *ut cuiusdam libri, quem typographo Nuburgensi miserat excudendum Bucerus, emendationi praecisset.* Sepulveda de reb. gestis Caroli V, lib. 19, ep. 37: *huc enim a Bucero missus venerat, ut excusionem cuiusdam libri ejus dirigeret.* Le Courrayer in his French translation of Sleidanus' Commentaries says in a note in the beginning of book 17, t. 2, à La Haye 1767, p. 192: *Quelquesuns prétendent, qu'il s'étoit fait Imprimeur, & il est certain du moins, que lorsqu'il fut assassiné, il veilloit à l'Impression de quelque Ouvrage de Bucer; mais il me semble, que c'étoit plutôt comme Correcteur que comme Imprimeur.* No doubt, he is right, and the origin of the error is to be found in a misinterpretation of a passage of the pamphlet written April 17, 1546 on the Diaz murder (see our note 37): *zu Neuburg . . . daselbst er . . . Buceri Schriften . . . in der Buchdruckerei treulich hat helfen fördern . . . Laetus* (see our note 36) is more explicit: *Diazium, quem [Bucerus] . . . misit Neuburgum . . . ut ibi librum contra Latomum ederet, et typographo emendaret.* It appeared under the title: *M. Buceri. De vera et falsa caenae dominicae administratione. Libri II. . . Altera adversus B. Latomum Responsio.* [Emblem as below n° 152] *Praefatio ad Patres et qui Deum in Synodo Tridentina timent, de causis quae pios homines ab ea Synodo absterrent. Neuburgi Danubij. VI. Aprilis. Anni Domini. M. D. XLVI.* Under Bucer's preface to the Synod: *Ratisbonæ Xij Martij. M. D. XLVI.* Under the work: *Ratisbonæ Cal. Martij. Anno Dni. M. D. XLVI.* Colophon: *Impressum Neuburgi Danubij, apud Johannem Kilianum.* Quarto. Title and prefaces 12 leaves, the work 312 pages. [Strassburg Wilhelmit.].

20) See Veeseemeyer (quoted here n° 157) p. 164.

who accompanied Alfonso, to be handed only to himself. Alfonso however contrived to get these letters even before his departure, read them with Malvenda and destroyed them. Senarcles whom Alfonso when parting had asked to keep secret what they had conversed on, especially from Malvenda, who, he said, was hostile to Juan, forthwith learned what had become of the letters, and all the friends clearly saw the falsehood of the foreigner. Immediately Juan was cautioned by an express. Alfonso gave to his brother a letter of Malvenda, who once more admonished Juan to return, promising him to hush up the business with the Confessor; Alfonso himself tried in all possible ways to draw the apostate back to the pale of the Roman church, also offering him a prebend: it was of no avail. Now he professed to be overpowered by the piety of his brother, and entreated him, to go with him to Italy, where he would be of decisive influence in the cause of the Gospel, whilst without disadvantage to the cause he could be spared from the more fortunate Germany. Juan, not having the slightest doubt of the sincerity of his brother, was full of joy; he did not, however, feel himself at liberty, to take such an important step without conferring with his friends still staying at Ratisbon whose opinion he declared himself ready to follow. They as well as Bernardino Occhino at Augsburg, to whom they wrote, answered, that they must decidedly disadvise this journey. Now Alfonso proposed, that Juan should at least accompany him as far as Augsburg, in order to submit there to what might be resolved by Occhino and a friend of Alfonso. Juan, still unsuspecting, was about to accede to this, when Bucer, Frecht, and Senarcles arrived at Neuburg and prevented him. Alfonso exhorted his brother to constancy in confessing the true religion, pressed a sum of fourteen crowns upon him for new clothes, and left, his eyes full of tears, for Augsburg, in company with his executioner. On the same day Bucer and Frecht set out for home, but Senarcles remained, in order not to leave his friend alone, who was going to finish the printing, before he returned to Strassburg.

Alfonso, on the next morning, always with his inseparable satellite, retraced his way from Augsburg to Pöttmes, a village between Augsburg and Neuburg, three German miles from either of the two places. At Pöttmes they dined with a priest and then went out to

buy a murderous weapon. They saw a joiner at work with his axe, entered into conversation with him, examined his different axes, and at last bought one which seemed the best suited to their purpose. Then they hired horses, in order to spare those on which they had come from Augsburg for a quick ride home, and they rode to a village near Neuburg called Feldkirchen, where they remained during the night. At dawn, — it was the 27th of March —, they were at the gate of the town. A groom, whom they had taken with them from Augsburg, was left outside the town with the horses. Alfonso and his lictor went to the pastor's house, where Juan was living. A lad who opened to them was sent upstairs to tell him: there was a messenger with a letter from his brother. Juan had said his evening prayer with particular fervour and minute fullness, and had passed a great part of the night in conversation on sacred matters with Senarcens, with whom he then shared the bed. When the lad brought the news, Juan jumped out, only threw on a mantle and hastened across the floor into the opposite room to receive the letter-bearer. He appeared, introduced by the lad, whom the foreigner directly sent away to fetch a fresh draught of water from the well. He delivered the letter from Alfonso, who in the meanwhile kept watch. Alfonso had written: Juan was not safe at Neuburg, a plot was at work against him, he should come to Augsburg, and as secretly as possible. Juan, to read the letter, had approached the window. The executioner, who had remained behind him, took out the axe as soon as he saw Juan deep in his brother's letter, and with one blow drove it into his temples as far as the helve. The wounded man could not utter a cry, and lest his fall should make a noise, the murderer caught him up and gently laid him on the floor; the axe was left in the wound. As the assassin was stealing downstairs,²¹⁾ Senarcens passed

21) Calvin to Farel 1546, Ref. Esp. XX, 140: *Subsecutus est [Alphonsus famulum] domum usque: de caede perpetrata fidem non habuit famulo donec cadaver spectasset ipse.* Compare the woodcut in Rabus, see above here n° 124. Camerarius in the life of Melancthon 1566, p. 244: *Omnium una voce ferebatur, Hispanum quendam familia Diassium . . . fratrem germanum obtruncandum curasse, se astante oculosque scelerato spectaculo satiente.* This could, however, but be an inference of Senarcens (*audio calcari parricidarum qui erant in ipsis gradibus*). Compare the relation of the Neuburg authorities written on the day of the catastrophe, below note 39.

by the staircase, for he also had risen and wished to learn what was going on. What a spectacle! . . . His friend was looking with dimmed eyes towards heaven, his hands folded. For an hour life continued in him, with faint winks he gave signs of his understanding when one spoke to him of God.

Half an hour after the murder the sheriffs were on horseback. The two murderers galloped at such a rate that the groom (who had no idea of what had passed) had to give up keeping with them; at Pötmes they changed horses, and had already left Augsburg when the pursuers arrived there. Only one of them, Michael Herpfer, was zealous enough to follow them up. At night, yet four hours from Insbruck, he caught up with them. They had gone to an inn and were sleeping. The landlord, apprised of the facts, awoke them an hour later than they had ordered. In the meanwhile Herpfer had given information to the authorities at Insbruck, and when the murderers had come in, they were arrested, notwithstanding their denial, and the executioner not without bloody struggles. Herpfer hastened back, and the Count Palatine, in whose dominion the murder had been perpetrated, at once sent two representatives to conduct the impeachment.²²⁾ Alfonso wrote to the Cardinals of Augsburg and of Trent, and protested against his being judged by this court, as he was a clergyman. After several remonstrances of the Palatinate deputies against procrastinations, on April 14 a letter of the Emperor was read to them, dated Dinkelsbühl, April 4, in which the Insbruck judges were ordered, not to pass sentence in this cause, on which he himself was to decide in the diet together with his brother the Roman king. On the 7th, when the Emperor was at Neuburg, the governors of the town demanded by a memorial, that his Majesty should order the Insbruck judges to despatch the cause. Charles, notwithstanding his interference by the mandate of Dinkelsbühl, answered the next day at Ingolstadt: he had not to command at Insbruck, they might apply to his brother the Roman king. The Confession of the martyr, dedicated by himself to the Prince Palatine Otto Henry, was now

22) Calvin to Farel 1546, Ref. Esp. XX, 140: *Dux Otto praefectum palatii misit qui eum [the murderer] ad supplicium postularet . . . praefectus in carcerem se una dedit.*

published, and pamphlets spread over all Germany the news of this Cain's crime to be imputed to the Romanists if they did not promptly take care to punish the ruffians. In the diet of Ratisbon the Protestant States supplicated the Emperor and the King, not to allow a murder, committed on a person protected by the Imperial safe-conduct, to remain unpunished, but their efforts were without result.

The Emperor's Confessor, Pedro de Soto, writes, on the 25th of June, from Ratisbon to the King. „The sacred nature of this affair“, he says, „and the obligation which we all have to the religion, moves me to importune Your Majesty by letters, as I have done with words when You were here. After You left, we learned that the Insbruck authorities put off sending the cause to Your Majesty, wherefore I supplicate Y. M. as humbly as possible, to order that it be done without delay and that the cause shall come to an end, for they are already more than four months in prison, and Y. M. can and must justly and saintly bestow all favour upon them. Our Lord bless You“.²³⁾

On the 28th of September 1546 the Pope wrote to the King.²⁴⁾ He relates that it had been represented to him, that Alfonso Diaz and Juan Prieto, clergymen of Cuenca,²⁵⁾ had been, on their journey to Italy, detained by secular tribunals, under the pretext that they had murdered Juan Diaz, brother of Alfonso.²⁶⁾ The Pope had invited the Cardinal who administered the church of Trent, to get the prisoners delivered to him, and to proceed according to justice. In spite of the claim of the Cardinal, the Insbruck judges had proceeded, and had now submitted the cause to the King. As the Cardinal was too much occupied with the Tridentine Council and with other affairs, the Pope now asks and admonishes the King, to send the accused, at their own cost, together with the acts, to himself, in order

23) Printed in Druffel's *Beiträge zur Reichsgeschichte 1546—1551*. München 1873. Page 11. The editor does not say to what business this letter relates; it is, however, evident, that it is the Diaz case.

24) The document is printed in von Buchholtz: *Geschichte der Regierung Ferdinand des Ersten. Urkundenband*, Wien 1838, p. 388—9. It is evident that the letter is directed to the king. The place, where it was written, can not be Turin, as is printed, but must be Terni.

25) *clerici Conchenses*.

26) *sub praetextu quod quondam Joannem Diaz ipsius Alphonsi fratrem germanum tunc in humanis degentem interfecissent*.

that he, or the judges to be deputed by him in the Roman court, might find what was just.

The later development of the affair we learn from the imperial historiographer Sepúlveda²⁷⁾ who by his narrative of the murder confirms in every respect the report of the friend of the slain. Sepúlveda also relates that Alfonso had made the journey from Rome to Germany with the intention to check, in whatever way he could, the disgrace of his brother and the infamy of his family; that he had feigned to be won by Juan's religious convictions; that, when all other means failed, he had resolved to kill his brother, in order, by one crime, to prevent many and much greater evils threatening religion, their family, their home, and all Spain. After having described the murder exactly as in the Senarelen's history, Sepúlveda dwells upon the presence of mind which Alfonso had shown in his critical situation at Insbruck, where he had intrepidly answered: unjustly they accused him of a crime, who was most deeply afflicted by his brother's death. The Emperor's historian relates that Alfonso wrote to the Imperial court where, he says, „the news unwelcome to none

27) Sepúlveda de reb. gestis Caroli V. 19, 36 sq. Opera t. II. 1780. Dr. Theodor Pauc in his book: *Johann Sleidan's Commentare über die Regierungszeit Karls V.* Leipzig 1843. p. 144 f. says: *im 19. Buche [of Sepúlveda's history of Charles V.] werden die Religionsverhandlungen zu Haguenau und Worms und der Reichstag zu Regensburg (in den Jahren 1540 u. 41) viel oberflächlicher als bei Sleidan, doch unabhängig von diesem dargestellt: unmittelbar darauf folgt fehlerhafter Weise die Ermordung des Joh. Diaz: denn diese geschah erst im J. 1546. Der Irrthum des Sepúlveda hat darin seinen Ursprung, dass dem Vorfall ebenfalls eine Versammlung zu Worms und ein Colloquium zu Regensburg vorausgingen. Diese Verwechslung würde bei einem, der deutschen Verhältnisse unkundigen, spanischen Historiographen weniger auffallen, wenn er nicht versicherte, dass der Mörder Alfonso Diaz einige Jahre später selbst nach Spanien gekommen sei und ihm alle Umstände des Mordes genau erzählt habe. Uebrigens stimmt die Erzählung der Thatsache mit Sleidan so genau überein, dass man sie für einen Auszug aus dem letzteren halten könnte, und wenn Sepúlveda schreibt, Alfonso habe ihm zu Valladolid das Ereigniss vollständiger als er es durch andere erfahren, mitgetheilt, so ist zu verwundern, dass er davon nicht mehr, sondern sogar weniger als Sleidan zu erzählen weiss. Wenigstens gewinnt dadurch der Bericht des letzteren ungemein an Glaubwürdigkeit.* Sleidanus is mentioned by Sepúlveda as one of the authors studied by him for the history of Charles. *Sleidanus*, he says, *de rebus potissimum Germanicis memorat, ad fidem historiae satis diligenter, ac potius nimis* (more than Lutheran affairs deserved). Epist. ad Neylam § 5, prefixed to the history of Charles in op. vol. 1, Matriti 1780.

of our party concerning the perpetration of that murder"²⁸, was already spread, whereupon Charles, „informed of all circumstances“, interdicted the court from passing sentence. „And not satisfied by one letter, he took orders for commanding the same thing by a second, so that his wish was easily seen to save Alfonso, whose plan and action he approved of.²⁹) So it was brought about by the care of the courtiers and the Catholics, and by the Emperor's humanity³⁰), that firstly judgment in this cause was delayed, and then, when Alfonso's clerical character had been ascertained, the affair was transferred to Trent to the bishop, and by all this the zeal and efforts of the Lutherans frustrated. For from Trent Alfonso with his servant³¹) arrived safe at Rome,³²) whence after some years he returned to Spain. And at Valladolid, in reply to my questions, he told me, first reluctantly, then not unwillingly, and more detail than I had learned from others, the whole course of the matter.”

The horror which the honest reader will feel at such principles of morality, Alfonso felt at the last himself. In 1551 he hanged himself at Trent.³³)

28) *de patrata nece multus nulli nostrorum ingratus*

29) *cuius animum factumque probabat*

30) *humanitate*

31) *ministro*. Before already: *ministro satellite*.

32) Compare Beza Icones 1580, fol. Kk. iii. on Alf. Diaz: *tam inmani scelere . . . non modo non vindicato, sed etiam Romae digno cui gratia referretur habito, ut quo spiritu ducantur Romani pontifices, amplius ambigi non possit.*

33) Johannes Manlius in his *Locorum communium collectanea* s. I. 1564 (Halle Univ. libr.) t. II. p. 156 relates as told by Philipp Melanchthon (see preface of that tome): *Alphonsus Diasius, qui anno 1546, fratrem suum Joannem Diasium interfecerat Neoburgi in Bavaria, propter solam Evangelii confessionem, cum ipse Alphonsus versaretur in aula Pontificis: in iudicio Rotae. Postea vero anno 1551, se ipsum interemit in concilio Tridentino. Inventus est enim se ipsum suspendisse a collo suae mulae.* This is combinable with what Sepúlveda states that his interview with Alfonso took place at Valladolid; in this town the historian stayed between 1546 and 1551. *Martyrum historia. Authore Heinrico Pantaleone*, Basileae 1563 (the same year at the end of the book), p. 173: *Alphonsus . . . Anno 1552 [sic] in concilio Tridentino inventus est se ipsum suspendisse, idque a collo suae mulae, ut Jo. Manlius diligens Phil. Melanctonis dictionum observator aedito libello prodidit.* Rabus appears not to have been informed of such an end of Alfonso, when he wrote, *Historien, Ander Theyl*, 1554 (preface dated Strassburg 1 march 1554), fol. CCC: it was superfluous to tell how the two murderers fled and were imprisoned, *aber durch die Baats Pfaffen . . . entledigt worden seyen. Ob sie wol aber noch*

A relative of Juan Diaz, Fernando Diaz Paterniano, lived at the end of 1547 and in the beginning of 1548 with Franzisco de Enzinas.³⁴)

Juan Diaz had ordered in his last will that the *Annotationes theologicae*, written by himself, should be sent to Franzisco de Enzinas.³⁵) It seems, this manuscript was lost and never printed.

His small Summa takes the following train of thought. The two principal articles of Christian religion are: that God be duly revered and that men know where to find salvation. Spiritual worship is served by ceremonies which help the body. The knowledge of our salvation consists in three things: the feeling of our own misery, the knowledge of Christ, the complete faith in him. To this as well as to the worship of God we are led by three other things. First: doctrine, in the bible, symbols, the four councils, the holy fathers. Secondly: administration of the two sacraments instituted by Christ as symbols and instruments of his benevolence and merit. Thirdly: church-government, which has two cardinal points: a good magistrate and a faithful minister of the gospel.

zur zeit weltlicher straff entruhen, werden sie doch gewisse dem Allmechtigen Gott . . . nit entgehen. In the edition of 1572 Rabus relates the suicide of Alfonso after Manlius' Collectanea, but, like Pantaleon, as occurred in 1552, and the same year is given there in the verses, appended to the Zurich ones, on Juan's death (Fol. 705. 706).

34) Enzinas' letter XXXIII. Letter to Enzinas 30 Nov. 1547. Utenhovius Dryandro, 3 March 1548: *Saluta . . . ex me d. Dygasium.*

35) See a letter to Fr. Enzinas, 30 Nov. 1547.

In the city library of Zurich is a copy of the *κατάρες τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν ἀγίων πατέρων, Parisiis per Conradum Neoburgum, regium typographum. M. D. XL.* Quarto, with notes by Juan Diaz's hand. A manuscript notice on the title says: *Eram olim doctissimi et piissimi viri et sanctissimi martyris Joannis Diazii Hispani, qui Neoburgi a germano fratre Alphonso Diazio solius religionis ergo nefario planeque Cainico parricidio obruncatus est. Nunc vero sum Rod. Gualtheri Tig. ex dono Huldrychi Zuinglii Junioris 1549.* The same hand has written on fol. a where the *κατάρες* and the manuscript notes begin: *Haec ipsius Diazii manu scripta sunt.* The notes, marginal and interlinear, running over the six leaves of the 85 apostolic canons and on the first page of the then following Nicaene canons, are interesting as proving his studies. They give various readings and corrections of the Greek, explanations in Latin, quotations of the bible, of Ignatius, Hieronymus, Gratianus

36) *From private letters on the Diaz murder.*

Georgius Laetus, archigrammateus Augustae Vindelicorum, Bullingeri, 1. Aprilis 1546 (ms. Turic. Siml., according to Professor W. Baum's copy): Proh dolor,

quid accidit nudius tertius? Bucerus fovit quendam Hispanum apud se, nomine Joannem Diazium, quem ex Ratisponna misit Neuburgum ad Danubium situm, ut ibi librum contra Latomum ederet, et typographo emendaret. Habuit autem Joannes ille Diazium fratrem germanum Alphonsum, doctorem et consiliarium Romanae Rotae ut vocant, qui Neuburgum ipsum convenit et per XIV dies amice et blande quidem cum illo victitavit, volens illi persuadere ut secum Romam rediret et religioni Papae se rursus addiceret, cum autem neque blanditiis neque muneribus apud fratrem quicquam efficeret, discessit, et fratrem XIV coronatis donavit ne forte quid mali de eo suspicaretur. Ecce altero die mane sub diluculo redit Alphonsus cum famulo ad portas civitatis Neuburgi, atque, quam primum eadem aperiebantur, famulus pedester ingreditur recta ad aedes Joannis Diazii, simulans se ab Alphonso aliquid in mandatis accepisse quod illi diceret, heri autem oblivioni tradidisse, cumque sceleratus ille servus bonum illum Joannem a lecto prodeuntem necdum indutum reperisset, securi quadam caput eius in duas fere partes totum secavit, atque festinanter ad Alphonsum fratricidam ante valvas expectantem reversus est, et ambo evaserunt. Quanquam vero nonnulli latrones illos pernicies insequantur, tamen vix credo eos iam apprehendi posse, quia attigerunt regis, et episcopi Augustani ditio- nes. *Postscript*: Fratricida iste cum servo in Inspruck captivi tenentur, quomodo autem justitia illic erga eos administrabitur, tempus docebit.

Sleidamus wrote to the Cardinal du Bellay from Strassburg on April 27, 1546: Hispanus ille Diazium, tuus alumnus, 27 die Martii jussa fratris sui germani est interfectus supra Ratisbonam, eo quod nollet ad pontificatum redire. Longa est historia, sed est primum exemplum ejus generis quod in Germania sit editum. *And to the same, Strassburg May 10, 1546*: Frater parricida Diazii tui Hispani cum famulo percussore detinetur captivus Oeniponti in ditioe Ferdinandi, et rumor est ipsos liberatum iri. Quod si fiat, aestimare potes quae sint hominum futura judicia. *These letters have been printed for the first time by L. Geiger in Forschungen zur Deutschen Geschichte. Bd. X, 1870, see p. 189, 191.*

I have, above here in notes 21 and 22, given two remarkable passages of Calvin's letters.

37) *The contemporary press in German on the Diaz murder.*

Wie newlich zu New- | burg in Beiern einer | genant Alphonsus | Diasius seinen bru | der Johanem grausamlich | ermordt hatt, | allein aus hasz wider die | Einige Ewige Christliche lahr, | wie Cain den Abel ermordet. | *A woodcut: Cain slaying Abel. s. l. e. a. [1546].* Quarto, four leaves, including title. *Colophon*: Geschrieben Anno 1546. am XVII tag Apri | lis. Daran vor 3852 Jar Nohe in die Ar | ca getreten ist. Durch welchs exempel | Gott bewisen, vnd vns will erinnert haben | das wir glewben vnd wissen sollen, | vnd darumb bitten, Das Got | selbs die Kirch wunderbar- | lich erhalten wöl, wenn | gleich die welt in hau | ffen fere. [*Ponickau collection in Halle University library*]. — *Another edition*: Ware Historia | Wie newlich zu New- | burg an der Tonaw ein | Spanier, genant Alpho | sus Diasius, oder Decius. seinen leib- | lichen bruder Johannem, allein ausz | hasz wider die einige, ewige Christ- | liche lehr, wie Cain den A- | bel, grausamlich ermordet | habe. Geschriben von | Herrn Philippo Melanthon. | 1546 | s. l. Quarto, four leaves, title included. *Colophon*: Geschriben Anno 1546. am xvij. tag Aprilis, | Daran vor 3852. Jar Nohe in die Arca getret- | ten ist etc. as in the before described edition, only with other division of lines, the last words of which are these: bewisen, vnd | ... glauben vnd | ... bitten, Das | ... wun- | ... wöl, | ... die | ... hauf | ... felt. [*In the same Ponickau collection*]. — *A third variety*: Ware Historia. |

Wie newlich zu New- | burg an der Tonaw cyn Spanier, genant | Alphonsus Diasius, oder Decius, | seinen leiblichen Bruder Johannem, al- | leyn vsz hasz wider die einige, ewi | ge Christliche lehr, wie | Cain den Abel, | grausam- | lich ermordet habe. Geschrie- | ben von Herrn Philip- | po Melanthon. | *A woodcut representing Cain slaying Abel, not the same as in the first mentioned copy. S. l. e. a. Quarto, four leaves, title incl. Colophon as in the other two editions; end-words: ... Daran | ... Durch | ... ha- | ... da- | ... Kirch | ... wöl, | ... welt | ... hauffen | felt. | [In the possession of Professor Bindseil at Halle a. S.] Reprinted in the Corp. Ref. t. XX. 1851, col. 515-518. — In col. VI. 1839, col. 113-4 the same Historia is reprinted from a printed copy, at that time preserved in the library of the gymnasium at Gotha, now lost; the reprint shows the same text as the three varieties described here before. I cannot now tell whether Neudecker, Merkwürd. Aktenstücke, 1838, p. 772 or 774 is speaking of the same printed Gotha copy or of a manuscript in the same Gymnasium library; at all events, neither a manuscript nor a printed Diaz history is at present preserved there, as the librarian writes me.*

Another tract is the following. [Ornament] Ein erbermlich | geschicht. wie ein Spaniöli- | scher, vnd Rhömischer Doe- | tor, vmb des Euange- | lions willen, seinen | leiblichen bruder | ermordt hat. | Mit einer vorrede Doctor | Johan Langen zu Erf- | furt Ecclesiasten. | Anno M. D. XLVI. | Colophon: Gedruckt zu Erfurd, durch | Merten von Dolgen, zum | Gülden mohr, bey | dem Prediger | Thor. | [Ornament]. Two sheets unnumbered. Quarto. [Berlin Roy.] Another title of the same tract has Römischer instead of Rhömischer [Berlin Roy]. Reprinted in Hortleder's collection on the German war of 1546 f., 2^d ed. 1645 [Halle Univ.], Theil 2, Buch 3, Kap. 1, p. 236-240 (not in the first edition). This narrative, which J. Lange has accompanied with a preface, dated Sonnabend in Ostern (= 24 April), seems to have been written a few days after the murder (see: auff den freytag fol. B ij), and contains some notices which can be added to the Senarcleus report, which for the rest remains decisive also against some other statements of this pamphlet. We point out the interesting details fol. B ij: in Leonhart Roehlingers Haus, do sein Bruder Johan Diasius zur Herberg gelegen at Neuburg, when he was murdered; and ib. der Cammermeister, odder voigt zu Neuburgk, Michel Herpffer, einer vom Adel. It is on the other hand certain that in the Wittenberg University Album as edited by Foerstemann, Juan Diaz is not found from Melanthon's rectorate in 1538 to April 1546.

Incidentally the Diaz case is urged in writings on the Ratisbon colloquy, published in the same year. Ein warhaffter berichte vom Colloquio zu Regenspurg. Martin Bucer [author]. M. D. XLVI. s. l. Quarto [Ponickau libr.]. fol. A iij: ... Petter Maluenda (der den frommen martyr Diazium zu seiner herrlichayt, trewlich befördert) ... In the same year another edition: Ein warhafftiger berichte vom Colloquio zu Regenspurg. Martin Bucer. s. l. Quarto. [Leipzig Univ.] fol. A. iij: ... Peter Maluenda (der den frommen martyr Diazium zu seiner herlichkeit, trewlich befördert) ... Compare how Bucer characterizes Maluenda in a letter written 15th March 1546, printed in Neudecker's Merkwürdige Aktenstücke, 1838, p. 711 f. And George Major in his Bericht von dem Colloquio, edited Wittenberg 1546 [Bindseil's libr.], reprinted in Hortleder's collection, 2^d ed. 1645, Theil 1, Buch 1, Kap. 40 (p. 573 the marginal reference to Sleidamus is not found in that edition of 1546), says after having spoken of Cain and Abel. fol. A IV: Wie jtz auch, nach diesem vnsern Colloquio, kürztlich geschehen, das zween Brüder, Hispanier, einer, der elter Alphonsus Diasius genant, des Babsts diener, seinen bruder Johan-

nen Diasium ein fromen Gottfürchtigen man, mir vnd vielen andern wol bekant, eben vmb dieser [erangelischen] lere willen, vnd keiner andern sachen halben, zur Neuburg in der Pfaltz, auch jemerlichen ermordt, vnd doch von der oberkeit vnter welcher er eingezogen, vngestraft bliben, als, der do recht gethan, das er ein Ketzler erwürget habe.

Moreover we read in: Zwei Decret des Trientischen Concili . . . Erkennt auff den viij. Aprilis dises Jars . . . Gedruckt zu Strasburg in Knoblochs druckerei, Durch Georg Messerschmid . . . M. D. XLVI. Quarto. [Strassburg, Wilhelmitana]. Folio A ij: Nun wie frei vnd sicher der platz [des Concilij] seie, hastu daher wol abzunemen, das durch den Papst, vnd dises Concilij leut ist bishar so vil geschaffet, das der Römisch Hispanier Alphonsus Dietz, mit seinem mordtdiener, Johan Valdesio, zu Insbruck, nun seit dem xxviij tag des Mertzens nit hat mögen gerichtet werde. Der ein so ein gewlichen Cainischen mord an seinem leiblichen, einige, christliche bruder Johann Dietz, zu Newburg an der Thunaw hat begangen. Da er den selbigen seinen bruder durch seinen mordtdiener mit einem beihel in sein hirn geschlagen, weil [--- während] er den briefle lesen wolte, den er jm durch den mordtdiener gesant hat, eruorden lassen, vnd den mordtdiener dieweil vff der stegen [al. stiegen] verhütet [--- behütet]. Welches geschehen ist den xxvij. des Mertzens dises Jares. Ends: Es hat auch dis h. Concili geordnet vnd erkant, das die nehist künfftig Sitzung solle feria quinta, das ist, den Donstag nach dem h. Pflingstag, gehalten werlen. (Therefore Thursday 17th June). There are two other editions of this publication, printed in the same year, which have the quoted passage, with insignificant variations; the one (in the collection of Professor Bindseil, Halle a. S.) has at the end Dornstag instead of Donstag, the other (in the Leipzig Univ. libr.) has Dinstag, both have Dietz. — The name Hans Valdesius for the murderer occurs, also in the poem on the Diaz murder (below n° 158), reprinted in Rabus' martyrology 1572, t. 2; and in a marginal note of the prose text of the Diaz history already in the first edition of Rabus' Historien, Ander Theyl, 1554, fol. CCLXXXV: Etliche historien nennen jn Johanem Valdesium. His name was, however, Juan Prieto; see the papal letter above here p. 196. — The Zwei Decret are reprinted by Hortleder, book 1, chapter 45.

38) Claude de Senarelens.

Mr. A.-L. Herminjard in the Prospectus et spécimen, published Geneva 1864, of his work Correspondance des réformateurs, p. 14, on occasion of a letter of Calvin who writes about the end of April 1545: Claudius meus Senarelensis Witeberga mihi scripsit . . ., has the following note. Claude de Senarelens, gentilhomme du Pays de Vaud, né environ l'an 1519, renonça de bonne heure aux dignités ecclésiastiques auxquelles il était appelé par son oncle maternel, l'abbé de Saint-Jean de Cerlier, et fit son éducation à Bâle sous la direction du savant professeur Oporin, qui le mit en relation avec Calvin. Après avoir visité l'Allemagne, Senarelens rentra dans sa patrie et se fixa pour quelque temps à Genève, logeant dans la maison de Calvin et remplissant parfois auprès de lui les fonctions de secrétaire . . . I do not know what authorities the learned editor of the correspondence of the reformers has had for these statements; that which I have been able to find, is the following.

Claude de Senarelens studied at the University of Basle in the year 1537. Dr. Sieber, chief librarian of the Public library at Basle, who has often kind by assisted me, has, on my demand, looked through the original matriculation-book of

the University of Basle, and found, under the rectorate of Andreas Bodenstein von Carlstadt in 1537, close together the names:

Ludewicus de Senarchino

Claudius de Senarchino.

Dr. Sieber remarks that several names of this year are disfigured, for instance a native of Unterwalden is called Witterwaldensis.

A careful article, throwing light on the Senarelens family, by M. L. de Charrière, is found in his book: Les fiefs nobles de la baronnie de Cossonay, Lausanne 1858, with a supplement contained in the same scholar's Mélanges, Lausanne 1870, volumes 15 and 26 of the Mémoires et documents publiés par la Société d'histoire de la Suisse romande. The author says (t. 15, p. 206): Le village . . . de Senarelens faisait . . . partie de la châtellenie de Cossonay. L'ancienne famille, à laquelle ce village a donné son nom, existe encore. C'est la seule, des antiques familles féodales de la baronnie, que le temps ait respectée. Elle apparaît au XII^e siècle. The only mention of Claude de Senarelens that I found in M. de Charrière's books, was where he touches upon the infeudation of the priory of Perroy, in favour of that nobleman, granted the 8th Decembre 1548 by their Excellencies of Berne (t. 26, p. 39). In summer 1873 I visited the castle of Vufflens belonging to the Senarelens family, where in a few days the annual meeting of the Société d'histoire de la Suisse romande was to be held. There are no old documents whatever, the archives having been burnt about 80 years ago. M. Eugène de Senarelens had the kindness to lead me from his castle to the country-seat of M. L. de Charrière in the village Senarelens. M. de Charrière informed me that Claude de Senarelens had married a lady of Neuchâtel and had issue which is extinct, and that he was told, Claude's Album was now in the Geneva city library. I soon had it there in my hands.

Before the title leaf of the Album a genealogy was written in the year 1702, from which I copy the following:

n. et puis^s Francois de Sinarelens Seigneur de Grandey de Dullit et caetera espousa l'an 1509 Andreane fille de n. Pierre de Benè et de n. Jaquemette de Diesse

n. Louys de Sinarelens
seigneur de Grancy et Dullit espousa
[1565 in the margin] Marcionne fille de
n. et p^r Antoine de Charnoz . . .

Claude de Sinarelens
seigneur du Rosay et du priore de Per-
rueys, c'est celuy ey a qui les souhait
des ey apres nomme sont faits.

Francois . . .

Nothing on his descent neither here
nor at the end of the book, where other
genealogical notices occur, and among
them his brother Louis.

Francois de Sinarelens Seigneur de
Vufflens . . . He is the first who here is
so called.

It is clear, Louis was the elder brother. Also in the Basle matriculation book he is placed first.

On the title-leaf is written, no doubt an autograph: Claudius à Synarelens. Another hand has added: anno 1540 incepit studere Logicam.

The inscriptions are Bible-verses and pious reflections. I give all the names in the order of the original, and the dates where there are any.

Luther 1545. He writes some verses from the first psalm, a fact which is significative under the circumstances.

Melanthon 1545, April 17.

Mart. Bucer

Joh. Bugenhagius 1545

Casp. Cruciger

Jo. Brentius 1546 Ratisb.

Erhardus Schnepffius 1546 in colloquio Ratisbonensi

Petrus Martyr

Bernardinus Ochinus

Theodorus Bibliander 1548 march 13

Heinrychus Bullingerus Tigurinae ecclesiae minister, D. Claudio a Senarclens, in argumentum nunquam internoviturae amicitiae 1548 march 14.

Bullinger's hand is recognizable also outside on the parchment-cover of the book; the faded lines seem to contain only Bible-verses.

Conrad. Pellicanus.

Rod. Gualtherus Tigurinus Tigurinae ecclesiae minister, Claudio a Senarclens amico veteri amicitiae ergo scribebat. 1548, march 16

Petrus Viretus. 1561. Septemb. 26

(A chirographum Huldrychi Zwinglii is stuck in).

Christophorus Comes Palatinus ad Rhenum Boariae dux cet. scribebat haec suo Claudio Senarclens 15 Julij Rollae Anno 1568.

Haec viro nobili et docto D. Claudio Senarclens Domino in Rosay cet. in memoriam contractae amicitiae scribebam Otto ab Haël Westualus, et Ill^{us}. p. D. Chr. pal. in praef. scribebam in arce Rollana 15 Julij. A^o. 1568.

Florentius Comes de Culemborch. 1569, August 2^a.

Otho Comes Solmisius. 1569, Aug. 2^a.

We have seen in the life of Diaz, that Claude de Senarclens made the acquaintance of this Spaniard at Paris.

In 1545 Claude was sent by Calvin to Wittenberg and Strassburg in an important affair. There was a party among the Protestants in France who thought that, as it was dangerous for them to live according to their convictions, they were allowed to accommodate themselves externally to the papistical rites; they alleged the example of Nicodemus, S. John's gospel ch. 3. Already in 1543 Calvin had published a treatise against these so called Nicodemites, and another one in 1544 (see Corp. Ref. vol. 34, p. XXX f.) About the beginning of the year 1545 Capnius (Antoine Fumée, Seigneur de Blandé), in the name of many French congregations, wrote a letter to Calvin, in which he says (Corp. Ref. vol. 39, col. 827 f.): hoc unum te maxime rogo, et ecclesiarum nostrarum nomine te obtestor, ut quam primum fidelem aliquem et hoc munere maxime dignum ad Martinum, cuius sententiam plerique inprimis literis consignatam videre cupiunt, Melanchthonem et Bucero, quibus merito omnes multa tribuant, cum his tuisque literis delegates, . . . sciantque nos non . . . , illosque nos tanti facere, ut eorum certo responso non minus quam prophetarum oraculis teneri non dubitent. . . Num liceat missae interesse. . . He adds (829): Non parcas sumptibus, et id omne quod impenderis resarciam et reddam quantum iusseris, atque ita me abunde facturum meam fidem do. Calvin answered (for I should think that the letter which the Strassburg editors undoubtedly are right in thinking to have been written in January, but which they say is addressed incerto, was directed to Capnius): Quod postremis tuis literis postulabas, an exsequi deberem, aliquantisper haesitavi. Longum enim est iter, asperum et difficile. Non ante diem viceesimum

nuncius illuc [to Wittenberg] equo perveniet. Quemlibet autem mittere sine delectu, periculosum erat. Erronibus aut levibus nulla fides, pauci autem alii reperiuntur. Linguae imperito molestissima esset via. summa etiam ubique propter anni sterilitatem caritas. Ego a pecunia nequaquam instructus . . . Hue accedebat quod iam dixi, tempus consulendi Lutheri esse adhuc alienum, quia animus vixdum bene a contentione fervore resedisset. Verum quum tam vehementer instares, totque obstationibus me urgeres ut facerem, nihil mihi prius fuit quam votis tuis morem gerere. Ab honesto et non indocto adolescente impetravi, ut hanc molestiam subiret mea causa. Libellos meos ad verbum in linguam latinam verti, quos adiunxi meis literis, ut inde indicarent. Nec aliud petii meis literis, nisi ut libere simpliciterque quod sentiant proferant: nisi quod adiunxi, nequaquam mihi gratum facturos si quam mei haberent rationem. Vix ante duos menses redibit nuncius. Quadraginta enim dierum viam habet conficiendam. Quatriduum ad interquiescendum assigno. Reliquum temporis consultationi cedit. Vale. (Corp. Ref. 40, 25. 26). *We have seen above (p. 188) that Claude de Senarclens was at Geneva in the beginning of 1545. Calvinus Favello, 21 of January: Quoniam Claudio nostro mandavi, ut tibi copiose omnia exponat de quibus per alium scripturus essem, non utar longiore epistola. Si tibi prima specie displicebit meum in ipso mittendo consilium, scito me hac ratione adductum esse, quod, quum scirem, aut saltem suspicarer, eos a quibus rogatus fui hoc facturos nisi eorum voluntati morem gererem, antevertere malui. The editions of 1617 and 1667 date this letter from 1546, but it is evident that it belongs to 1545, and I should think Herminjard was aware of it, when he wrote l. c. p. 14: Ces lettres [of Calvin] étaient aussi destinées. à devancer auprès des frères d'Allemagne les démarches des réformés français. Calvinus Vireto 4 Non. Febr. (Corp. Ref. 40, 27): Melanchthoni quoque postea scripsi diligenter per Claudium Senarclensem quem alia de causa illuc mittebam Nam quorundam amicorum rogatu a Luthero, Melanchthone et Bucero petivi ut de libello meo . . . sententiam nobis suam perscriberent. Non quia mihi placeret ipsos consulere, aut quia spes aliqua successus foret. Verum quum id iam in animum induxissent Galli, sciebam omnino facturos. Malui igitur ut ex re ipsa potius indicarent quam causa inaudita. Viretus Calvino, Lausanne 7th Febr. (col. 28): Senarclensem missum abs te scribis ad Melanchthonem, quod haecenus ignoravi. Miror quod illuc proficiscens hac iter non fecerit. Calvinus Vireto, Geneva 12th Febr. (col. 32): Exemplar literarum quas Luthero et Philippo scripsi ad te mitto, ut inde intelligas cur ad eos Claudium miserim. Calvin's letter to Melanchthon (col. 12: Januario 1545 „Sie Codd. Edd. habent: 12. Cal. Febr.“) begins (col. 9): Cur hic nobilis et pius adolescens professionem hanc meo rogatu ad vos suscepit, paucis exponam. Melanchthon's answer (among his letters Corp. Ref. 5, 734 f., and with Calvin's works Corp. Ref. 34, 621 f.) is dated April 17, the same day on which he inscribed himself in Claude's Album. Bucer's assent to Melanchthon's answer is written on the 8th of May (ib. 626). Melanchthon's, Bucer's and Peter Martyr's responsa were appended to Calvin's book de vitandis superstitionibus, published 1549 (see Corp. Ref. 34).*

Senarclens soon made friends in Saxony. Crodelius, writing from Torgau to Calvin, on the 6th of March, calls him „our Claudius“ (Corp. Ref. 40. 41: Caetera Claudius noster coram exponet). During the time of Claude's stay, Franzisco de Enzinas returned to Melanchthon's house (see above p. 144), and, if they had not yet known each other at Paris, they must have become friends at this time. Diaz mentions on 29th of August 1545 a recent letter of Enzinas to Senarclens.

On the 7th of August 1545 Diaz writes from Bursin to Calvin: Te salutat Claudius noster et mater cum tota familia. — In the Memoires de Pierrefleuer, publiés par Verdeil, Lausanne 1856, we read p. 11. on the troupes of Berne and Fribourg going to assist the city of Geneva against the gentilshommes de la confrairie de la culier in the year 1530: Apres le sesjournement de Morges prindrent leur chemin droit à Geneve, et en allant bruslerent la maison du Seigneur de Sinarelens, estant à vn village appellé Bursin qui estoit fort belle maison de plaisance; fust aussi bruslée la maison au seigneur d'Aliffand (d'Aruffens) estant à vn village appellé Binet (Begnins). Aussi fust bruslé le chasteau de Rolle et plusieurs autres audit voyage.

On Claude's journey to and in Germany together with Juan Diaz we have reported above.

Some more notices on Claude will probably be afforded by Calvin's correspondence of 1545 and the following years. By the kindness of Professor Reuss I had the advantage to use and to quote here the proofsheets of vol. 40 of the Corpus Ref. down to March 1545.

Claudius in Polanus' letter to Calvin, 3^d Dec. 1545, is Senareclens.

Juan Diaz himself mentions Claude's presence at Ratisbon, writing from there on the 8th of Febr. to Falesius: Te officiose salutat Nobilis Senareclus, and on the 9th to Calvin: Salutant te omnes fratres, . . . noster etiam Senareclus.

The form Senareclus is used in Claude's epistle to Bucer, prefixed to the Historia Diazii. (Senareclus in a letter to Fr. Dryander, 30th Nov. 1547). On the title of this publication and in Bucer's dedication of the work he is written Senareclæus. In a letter to Farel, April 1546, Calvin says: duobus Senareclenis; in a letter to Fabri, April 1545, he writes Claudius Senareclensis.

In the verses in Froschouer's at Zurich publication on Juan Diaz [here n^o 158] we read: Ein Edelmann von Senareklens. Geboren in Saphoischer grentz Jung. Gottsförchtig, Claudi genant. . . . Sleidanus in the narrative on Diaz, Comment. l. 17: Claudius Senareclæus, adolescens nobilis, Sabaudus. Only in 1536 the Savoy government in the Pays de Vaud ceased and the country went under Bernese dominion.

It may be mentioned that the maison-forte de Senareclens with dependencies and the seigneurie of Itens was about 1549 sold by Dame Rose de Cossonay to Claude and Gauchier Farel, brothers of the celebrated reformer Guillaume Farel. See Pierrefleuer's Mémoires p. 322, 402, and Charrière in the quoted volumes 15, 240 f. 26, 31 f.

Joh. Oporinus writes to Conrad Hubert at Strassburg, 25th Juli 1550 (original letter in the Thomas-archiv, Strassburg): . . . huic praesentium literarum latori, viro nobili, summae fidei, et singulari amico nostro, uti committatur, qui bona fide quicquid ei meo nomine committetur curabit. Vocatur autem Juncker Ludwig (Senareclin) von Roll (frater est Claudii Senarelei qui aliquamdiu egit apud vos etiam), ex ditione Bernensi. The words which I have bracketed, were added by Oporinus between the lines, and were referred by him to the places where I have inserted them.

As for the authorship of the Historia Diazii, first of all we find the following passages in the publication itself. In the epistle, inscribed . . . Bucero . . . Senareclus, this one says p. 2 f.: . . . historiam quam a me tuis literis postulasti, de morte sancti viri Joannis Diazij, suscepi scribendam. Eam igitur ad te mitto, teque maiorem in modum oro, id quod etiam pernecessarium esse arbitror, ut tuis literis hoc exemplum posteritati commendetur. Ego prima duntaxat lineamenta duxi, ut veram et simplicissimam rei gestae imaginem, qui rebus pene omnibus interfui, hoc

tenui scripto, quasi primis et incultis lineis adumbrarem. Ad tuum officium videtur nunc pertinere, doctiss. Bucere, cuius maior est apud omnes bonos & gratia & auctoritas, easdem ipsas lineas vivis coloribus illustrare. Subscription: Ratisbon 10th May 1546. In the prefixed dedication-letter Bucer says, fol. a 3: Haec igitur pendens Claudius Senareclæus, juvenis eruditione ac virtute praestans, qui caeteris pietatis officiis generis sui nobilitatem studet exornare, voluit et se, et secum item non paucos ab isto nefario scelere dissimulatae gloriae Christi in suis martyribus liberare . . . Historiam enim vitae illius [Diazii] et mortis, breviter quidem, sed vere, religiose, atque eleganter perscripsit. Another passage of this dedication, fol. a 4: ipse quoque et in eodem oppido, et propter idem regni Christi studium, indignissima et crudelissima perpessus es, quantum iudicare possum, non sine ingenti malicia eius Cainicae generationis, cuius manibus scimus paulo ante sanctum illum virum indignissima fuisse morte peremptum, hints to the Smalcaldian war and the excesses of the Imperial troops at Neuburg, which town had been delivered to them on the 19th of September; the palace was also plundered (see Schertlin's Schmalkald. Kriege in the Scriptores rer. German. ed. Mencken., t. III, col. 1433—38). The typographical arrangement shows that Bucer's dedication has been printed after the letter of Senareclens to him had been printed. The printing of the book had not begun on the 6th October, see Dryander's letter V; on the 1. of Nov. he writes that it was in the press, letter VII; on the 11th Diaz's Confession sola ad perficiendum libellum desideratur, et cogitur prelum interquiescere donec eam alicunde nanciscamur, therefore also the dedication (and the title, on which the Summa is not mentioned) was printed. The Summa was sent by Bibliander, and on the 26th Dryander sends copies of the whole book to Zurich (letter XIII). On the 6th of Dec. he writes to Bullinger (letter XV): Cupio ex te cognoscere quomodo tibi probetur sordidula historiae narratiuncula. Argumentum sane erat, ut ex materia ipsa perspicere potuisti, dignum in quo aliquis artifex elaborasset. Sed quid facias? quando nullus eorum est qui cum laude istiusmodi argumenta tractare possint, qui manum admoveat. Certe voluntas nostra laudanda erit, etiamsi conatus non per omnia eruditorum auribus satisfaciatur. Illud sane non possum non dolere, aliquid forte detractum esse dignitati rerum propter orationis tenuitatem et ordinem fortasse perturbatiorem. Utcunque sit, juvabit, eruditoribus argumentum suppeditasse, et, si vita contingat, et aliquid melius a nobis praestari poterit, non negligemus occasionem. Bullinger must have expressed his satisfaction, for Dryander replies on the 17th (letter XVI): Fuissem tuis literis delinitus, nisi nota mihi esset mea tenuitas. Voluntas mihi non defuit, si parem habuissem dicendi facultatem. Sed juvabit extare quomodocunque scriptam istius exempli memoriam. Si vita longior contingat, non negligam aliam opportunitatem. It is clear, that Dryander gives himself as the writer of the Historia Diazii, and Bullinger, who could not but understand this perfectly well, does not appear to have expressed any doubt about it. Gesner's Bibliotheca, enriched by Simler, Zurich 1574, states with authority, that the book was not written by Senareclens, but was attributed to him by the writer, and the style confirms Dryander's assertion (see above p. 147). As for Simler's supposition: ut invidiam declinaret, I am sure, Dryander's principal reason for eclipsing himself was the wish to make the narrative so much the more impressive when told by the eye-witness in the first person. Also in his book on the Netherlands he shows rhetorical art. And Senareclens had in fact no reason not to allow this procedure of his friend, more learned than himself, and serving a cause sacred to both of them.

39) *Official papers on the steps, taken by the German Princes and States with the Emperor and the Roman king on the Diaz affair, are found in the Archives of the Saxon duchies at WEIMAR. I owe the following communications to the Master of the Rolls there, Dr. Burkhardt.*

27 März schreiben die Statthalter aus Neuburg an die Regenten im Oberland versammelt, dass heute früh vor 5 Uhr der Mord geschehen. Juan Diaz ist mit einem Pfeil [— beil] an der rechten Seite dermaassen in das Haupt verwundet worden, dass ihm das Hirn alsbald herausgefallen, und er in der 3ten Stunde mit Tod abgegangen. Viele eilen dem Mörder nach, dem Bürgermeister von Augsburg ist der Mord berichtet. Wir erfahren eben, dass des entlebten Bruder selbst bei ihm dem entlebten neben seinem Knecht gewesen ist; welcher aber unter ihnen die That gethan, kann man nicht wissen. Des Entlebten Gesell ist allererst aus seiner Schlafkammer gangen, wie die Thäter nach der That die Stiegen abgelaufen sein.

22 April instruiren die Neuburger Statthalter ihren Gesandten Gabriel Arnoldt, dass der Handel stattdlich beratschlagt werde.

27 April 46 schreibt Wilhelm Vogt Dr. an die Statthalter zu Neuburg aus Inspruck, sich der Sache ernstlicher als bisher anzunehmen, weil der Bischof von Trient sich der Sache annimmt, denn in dieser Stunde ist meo iudicio ein Trientischer Rijhianer hier gewesen, der zu dem Mörder verlangt, aber nicht hineingelassen, sondern nur in Gegenwart von 3 Secretarien und ihm durch das Fenster lateinisch habe verhandeln dürfen. Es soll die Bewachung der Mörder gewechselt werden. Mittheilung über die Kosten: 5 Wächter 10 fl., die Gerichtspersonen 59 fl. 13 Kr.

28 April schreibt Ott Heinrich an den Landgrafen, dass derselbe seine Rätthe am Reichstag wegen der Frage instruiren möge.

An demselben Tage Churfürst Friedrich aus Heidelberg an denselben.

5 Mai macht Philipp von Hessen an Churfürst Johann Friedrich von Sachsen Mittheilung von diesem Schreiben des Churfürsten Friedrich und Ott-Heinrich's, und beantragt das Vorgehen des Reichstages beim Kaiser, indem er das Ausschreiben der Neuburger Regierung (26 Seiten) beilegt.

11 Mai. Churfürst Joh. Friedrich entspricht dem Hessischen Antrag. *The document in the Ducal library at Gotha. Cod. chart. A n° 452. fol. 154. 155. mentioned by Neudecker. Merkwürd. Aktenstücke 1838, is a copy of this mandate of the 11th of Mai. The Gotha ms was copied for me by the archivist and librarian Dr. A. Beck, and collated by Dr. Burkhardt with the Weimar ms. The Gotha text is modernized. Seckendorf comm. de Luth. 1692 (also 1694) p. 636—7, gives the essential contents of this mandate, as also of a letter of Duke Mauritius of Saxe to the Landgrave, dated 27th May.*

2 June. *Supplication of the States of Ratisbon to the Emperor. The Weimar ms is a contemporary copy. It is printed here from a transcript sent me by Dr. Burkhardt (on some orthographic changes, it is here not worth while to say anything). I have added some few readings of a transcript taken by Professor W. Baum of Strassburg University from another contemporary copy (varying almost only in orthography); it has the inscription: Supplication der Augspurgischen Confessions und Religions verwandten Stende an die Rom. Key. M. des frommen ermordeten Johanns Diasii halber beschehen, and begins with the fuller address: Alle. durchleuchtigster grossmechtigster unüberwindlichster Römischer Keyser allergnedigster Herr. In my notes, B means Baum's transcript, W the Weimar transcript.*

Allergenedigster herr; unser genedigst genedig herrn und obern haben mit bekümmertem beschwerlichem gemüte vermerkt, wellicher massen der Christlich und gelert man weiland Johann Diasius ain geborner Hispanier selliger, als sich derselb nach seinem abziehen von dem negst allhie gehaltenen Colloquio (in welchem er einem dieser theils Colloquenten zugeordnet und also in E. K. M. geleit begriffen gewest) gegen Neuburg an der Tunaw gelegen zu verrichtung etzlicher gemeiner und Christlicher sachen begeben und sich daselbst wie auch an andern orten in seinem wandel und leben ehrlich und wol gehalten, in bemeldter statt Neuburg durch ein unmenschlich und erschrecklich mord, welches sein leiblich bruder Alphonsus Diasius sampt seinem knechte an ihme betrüglich begangen, entleibt, wie auch nach demselben die beide thetter durch ihr geschwinde darvor bestellte anschlege ihrer empfinden auf der post darvon getrachtet, doch aber aus sonderer Gottes verordnung ereilet und zu Inspruck durch statthalter und gemeiner landschaft regenten zu Neuburg diener einen zur fangnusz gebracht worden sein.

Und ob wol der R. K. M. unsers allergenedigsten herrn regirung zu Inspruck anfangs in fanglicher einziehung der mörder, auch volgend auf erstgemeldter statthalter und gemeiner landschaft regenten zu Neuburg rechtmessiges anhalten ob sollicher erschrecklichen that mit unzeitlich miszfallen empfangen und die thetter dem landgericht zu Sonnenberg im Inthal zu peinlichem rechten uberantworten, darauf auch der landrichter und ein ehrbar landgericht zwai urteil ergehen und publiciren lassen, so sein doch hoch und obgedacht unser genedigst genedig herrn und obern weiter berichtet, das der regirung zu Neuburg gesandten zu volziehung ihrer sachen kein weiteren process erlangen mugen, sonder were ihnen zuletzt ein schreiben von E. K. M. an die regirung zu Inspruck ausgegangen am dat. Dunkelspulhel den 4. Marcii*) nebst vorschinen haltends vorgelesen worden, des ungewerlichen inhalts: dieweil E. Kay. M. so vil berichts empfangen, das villeicht die sach anderer gestalt dann sie angegeben sein möcht, geschaffen das demnach die Kö. regirung alle angefangene process und handlung gegen gedachten Alphonso bis zu E. K. und der Rom. K. M. ankunfft auf gegenwärtigen reichstag allhie, allda sich E. Kay. M. mit Ihrer K. M. zu unterreden gedechte, anstellen und von dannen Ihrer beider Kay. und Ko. M. bescheids gewarten sollten.

Dieweil nun Ihre Churf. F. G. und sie aus sollichem E. K. M. schreiben befinden, das dieselb an zweifel diser that mit ungrund zu erledigung der thetter berichtet und derhalben in keinen zweifel stellen, da E. K. M. der wahrhaftigen beständigen gelegenheit begangnes übels erinnert, das sie sich, als ein löblicher Keyser, beschützer der frumen und verfolger der bösen, zu diser Ihrer anstellung der process nicht allein nicht hette bewegen lassen, sonder vilmehr die verdinte ernstliche straff darinnen verfuget, so haben hoch gedacht unser genedigst genedig herrn und obern fur notwendig geachtet, uns auch ein solliches zu thun auferleget und bevolhen, E. K. M. dises unmenschlichen mordes mit grund der wahrheit zu berichten.

Und nemlich: als bemeldter Alphonsus Diasius mit seinem knechte und mordgesellen auf der post von Rom gegen Augspurg und von dannen hicher (seinen entlebten bruder Johannem Diasium zu suchen), und zuletzt, da er ihnen allhier nicht funden, gen Neuburg an der Tunaw gelegen kummen, hat er sich erstlich doselb gegen demselben seine bruder ganz freundlich und brüderlich in worten und werken bewisen, auch etzliche vil tage bei ihme zu Neuburg vorharret und sich

*) Martii also in L. Read Aprilis.

understanden, denselben mit vilen freundlichen ermanungen und bitten zu bewegen, sich widerumb in Italien, da er mit seinen von Gott empfangenen genaden mehr gutes dann in Deutzschland schaffen möcht, zu begeben.

Nachdem aber bemeldter Johannes Diasius dem Alphonso seinem brudern aus empfangem rathe etzlicher vorstendiger und gutherzigen personen dasselb geweigert, ist er nichts desto weniger mit angenommener freundlichkeit von ihme abgeschieden, ihnen mit etzlichen cronen vorehret, mit verner anzeig, das er eilends gen Rom postiren müsz, wollt ihme aber jder zeit allen brüderlichen willen beweisen, ihme auch von Augspurg aus wider schreiben. Und hat sich also Alphonsus und sein knecht durch ainen burger von Neuburg gen Augspurg furen lassen, denselben furter widerumb nach seiner belohnunge heimgeschickt, mit dem begeren sich vor seinem hinwegfaren bei ihme dem Alphonso anzuzeigen, wie er dann gethan, dem postmaister in abwesen des Alphonsi sein abreisen zu erkennen gegeben, und wiewol ihme von demselbigen postmaister wider geantwortet, bemeldter Alphonsus wer noch vorhanden, aber gestern dermassen beweinet gewesen, das er nit schreiben kunt, derhalben möcht er wol wider heimziehen, so haben sich doch die bede thetter sampt ainem boten mit ainer Augspurgischen büchsen zu Augspurg aufgemacht, ihren weg wider auf Neuburg genohmen und unterwegs in dem dorf Bothmesz ihr morgenmalzeit gehalten, alldo dann obgemeldter furmann und Alexin Morolt*) (wellicher mit dem Alphonso davor von Neuburg auf Augspurg gefahren) im wirtshaus daselbst sie die thetter ob der morgenmalzeit betreten. Darmit nun die thetter ihr fursetzlich mord unvorhindert und desto statlicher möchten vorbringen, ist Alphonsus dem furmann und Alexio Morolten**) bittlich angelegen, disen tag bei ihme zu Bothmesz zu verharren, mit dem erbieten, das er ihnen ihr zerung wollt ausrichten, welches sie auf sollich bescheen ansuchen bewilliget und sich nicht anders vorsehen, dann das die beide thetter bei ihnen daselbst bleiben sollten, so haben sie doch aber bald hernacher befunden, das Alphonsus und sein knecht ihre rosze zu Bothmesz stehen lassen, andere geruhete pferd entlehnet, auch der ende ein wolgeschliffen beil umb 15 batzen erkaufet und sich nach***) denselbigen tag von dem furman und dem Morolt†) aus dem bemeldten dorf Bothmesz gethan und ihr nachtleger in ainem dorf nahe bei Neuburg gelegen gehalten und sich nachgeends tages den 27 Marcii in der frue gen Neuburg in abwesens des mehrer theils von der regirung daselbst (wie ihme wol bewust gewesen) vofuget, die pferd in der vorstatt gelassen, dem boten denen sie mitgefurt den rock mit der botenbüchsen, kappen und hut genohmen, den knecht darnit vorklaidet, und ist der herr und knecht alsobald in die statt gangen, der bot aber bei den pferden bliben. Wie nun sie beide in des bruders Johann Diasii herberg zu Neuburg auf dem platz gelegen kumen, hat sich der knecht hinauf in Johann Diasii gemach vofuget, denselbigen aufwecken lassen, ihme volgends ainen brief uberantwortet, der herr aber ist mitler zeit am††) haus bemeldter herberg bei der thür dieselbige zu vorhuten belieben. Und wie derselb Johannes Diasius sollichen brief ane alle fursorge angefangen zu lesen, hat ihme der knecht (wie vormutlich undern lesen) mit vormeldten beihel hinderruck dergestalt in das haupt verwundet, das er gleich umbfallen und ihme das beil in dem kopf stecken bliben und bald darnach mit tod in Gott vorschieden ist. Nach volnbrachter sollicher mordthat sein sie bede mörder auf die pferd und in wenig stunden gen Augspurg, auch auf der vorhin bestellten post bis gen Inspruck gekummen, und sich die sachen ihrer niderlage und des furgenohmenen process

*) B: Moraldt. **) B: Moraldten. ***) B: noch. †) B: Moralt ††) B: im.

halb zugetragen, wie E. K. M. oben genedigst vormerkt, auch aus statthalter und regenten zu Neuburg gethanen bericht E. K. M. negst doselbst gegeben allenthalben weiter vernohmen haben, und E. K. M., so sie es fur notwendig achten würden, mit verner wahrer anführung und umstenden dargethan werden mag.

Demnach dieweil sich dann die sachen in massen wie itzt erzelt grundlich und wahrlich erhalten, der ehrlich man Diasius, wellicher von vil trefflichen leuten vorgemeldts seines besserlichen bescheidlichen und frommen wandels gute zeugnuß hatt, durch angezeigt fursetzlich vormessliche und unerhörte that im schein angenommener brüderlicher frew in E. K. M. gegebenem geleit jemerlich und übel von seinem leiblichen bruder und seinem knecht ermordet, wie solliches im fall der mörder widersprechens zum rechten genugsam beweislich dargethan werden mag, so bitten E. Kay. M. wir anstatt hoch und obgelachter unserer genedigsten und genedigen herren und obern allerunderthenigist, E. K. M. wöllen sollichem unserm wahrhaftigen beweislichen und offenbaren berichte mehr dem jenen, die ane allen grund der wahrheit den handel anderer gestalt furtragen, glauben geben; solliche unmenschliche mord und übel an dem frommen Diasio begangen mit allen seinen wichtigen gelegenheiten und umstenden und was aus vorbleibender straff im reich allenthalben fur beschwerliche nachreden und unrath erfolgen möchte genedigst erwegen, zu gemüt furen, und als das oberste haupt und beschirmer der gerechtigkeit zu rach und straff desselben die sachen, obgemeldten Ihrem genedigsten von Dunkelspuhel aus beschehen erbieten nach, dahin richten, auch bei der K.*) M. genedigst befurdern, darmit das angefangene recht in disem fall nicht gesperret, sondern wirklich geöffnet, gegen den thettern wie recht vofaren und sie andern zum exempel ihre vordinte straff und lohn also empfahn, das dardurch dise und dergleichen sonderlich in deutzscher nation vor unerhörten mörderi furhutt und vor denselbigen meniglich so vil dester mehr in frid und ruhe wonen mage, wie dann hochgedacht unser genedigst und genedig herren, obern und wir E. K. M. zu demselbigen aus angebornen keiserlichen tugenden genaigt**) wissen. Das werden umb***) E. K. M. Ihre Churf. F. G. ic. genaden †) und sie neben der belonung, die E. Kay. M. derhalben ane zweifel von Gott dem allmechtigen empfahn wirdet, in schuldiger gehorsam undertheniglich vordinen.

E. Ro. Ka. M.
allerunderthenigiste
gehorsame

der Churf. F. Graven Stett und Stend der Augspurgischen Confession und Religion rethe, gesandten und botschaften itzt auf gegenwärtigem Reichstag zu Regenspurg bei einander.††)

An Ro. Kay. May. unsern allergsten herrn.

6. Juni. Originalconcept. Die sächs. Räte melden dem Churfürsten, dass sie dem Befehle gemäss (notabene der v. Minckwitz) am Mittwoch nächst verg. [2 Juni] bei K. May. wegen des Diaz Ermordung Audienz gehabt Dem Kaiser ist die Sache mündlich vorgetragen, wie in Abschrift beiliegt. (8 kleine Seiten, verfasst jedenfalls von v. Minckwitz, doch nur die Form ist eine andere als in der vorstehend

*) B: Kön.

**) The word genaigt is found in B, in my transcript from the Weimar copy a blank is left in the place of this word.

***) umb in B; W has vnns.

†) ic, which seems to be meant by a sign in B, is wanting in W; genaden is written only in W.

††) versamlet is added in B.

mitgetheilten Supplicationsschrift.) Der Kaiser hat ihnen gegen Gebrauch die Hand beim Empfang und beim Abschied geboten. „Volgendes Dornstags ist die Ro. Ko. My., mit vermeldung was die Stende der Augspurgischen Confession bei R. K. May. suchen lassen und warumb dieselbe nicht zuvorn bei ihrer K. M. als der ordentlichen oberkeit zu Insbruck furgenommen, auch underthenigst angelangt worden, und das diese ursache angezeigt weil die Churfürsten und Stende der Augspurg. Confession vernommen das der peinliche process wider die mörder nicht von ihrer K. My., sondern durch das Kay. rescript ist zu ruche gestellt, so hetten ihre Churf. F. G. und sie fur notwendig erwogen, das die Kay. M. anfangs derwegen underthenigst zu brichten und zu bitten sein sollte, inhalts ihrer K. M. ubergebenen supplicationsschrift, davon der K. M. gleichlautende copei uberantwortet worden. Was nun beide ihre Ky. und Kgl. Myten fur andwort gegeben, das werden E. Ch. F. G. innerwards befinden. Aber Herzog Moritz und die beide Markgrafen zu Brandenburg Herr Albrecht und Herr Johanns noch ihrer F. G. Rethen seint bei erwentem antragen und andworten, auch zuvorn in der beratschlagung dieser sachen nicht gewest, dann Herzog Moritz hatt sich erbotten fur sich selbst Kay. und Ko. May. hierumb anzulangen. So befinden wir diese Stende nicht vast geneigt Markgraf Albrechten zu diesen und dergleichen handlungen zu ziehen und Markgraf Hansen ist hivor auch kein meldung geschehen, ane das mochten villeicht E. F. G. one zuordnung der ihren nicht mangel haben sein lassen. welches etc. Datum Regensburg am Sontag Exaudi [6. Juni] Anno XLVI. Rethen.

Inclosure: Uf den andern Juni anno 46 hat die Kay. May. uf der Churf. etc. mündlich furbringen und ubergeben Supplication in sachen Johannem Diasium belangende disse antwort gegeben. Ihr Kay. M. hette ihr antragen gehört und möge nicht abne sein das I. My. auf etzlicher furbitt an die regirung zu Insbruck geschrieben, das sie bis zu Ihrer M. ankunft lieber weiter nicht verfahren sollten. No[ta:] Der Kayser hat bei dissen worten dem v. Naves eingeredt und wieder erzehlt. Es wurde auch aus solchem Ihrer M. schreiben anderst nicht befunden dan das sie die sachen anstehen lassen sollten bis zu ankunft der K. M. mit derselbigen ferner zu reden. Dieweil nun die Ko. M. allhie ankommen, so wollt Ihr May. mit deren [sic] daraus reden und hierin ein gnedigs und billichs einsehen haben und mochten derhalben die rethe und gesandten bei der Ko. M. auch ansuchen.

Die Ro. Ko. May. hat das underthenig anbringen, so die stende der Augspurgischen Confession in namen ihrer gst. g. h. und obern von wegen der gefangenen so zu Isbruck einkommen seint gehört. Und dieweil Ihr Ko. May. aus solchem ihrem underthenigen anbringen verstanden, das sie disse sachen an Kay. May. haben gelangen lassen, inhalt der schrift so sie Ihrer K. May. ubergeben, so wollt Ihre May. notturtf erfordern, sich darin zu ersuchen, welchs I. M. mit ehister gelegenheit thun und sich mit K. M. ferner underreden, auch volgendes mit gebürlicher gnediger antwort vernehmen lassen. Actum d. 3 Juni.

Juan Diaz is a first class prohibited writer in Pius' IV Index, Dilingue 1564, fol. 26 (compare above here n° 121).

Summa.

152. 1546.

Christianae re- | ligionis Summa. | Ad illustrissimum Principem Do- | minum D. Ottonem Heinricum Pa- | latinum Rheni, & utriusq;

Ba- | uariae Ducem &c. | (*An oval device: a female figure sewing letters from a sieve.*) | Per clarissimum uirum Ioannem | Diazivm Hispanum. | Neuburgi Danubij conscripta, III. Kalendas Martij. | Anno M.D.XLVI. | *Colophon:* Impressum Neuburgi Danubij apud Ioannem | Kilianvm, Principalis Quæsturæ | scribam. Anno M.D.XLVI. |

It begins on the reverse of the title. One sheet in octavo. On the whole in large Italic letters.

STRASSBURG Wilhelm. FRANKFURT o. M. City, BODLEIAN.

153. 1546.

Christianae reli- | gionis Summa: | Ad illustrissimum Principem Dominum D. | Ottonem Heinricum Palatinum Rhe- | ni, & utriusq; Bauariae | Ducem, &c. | Ioanne Diazio Hispa- | no autore. | *Immediately under this, on the same page, begins the text of the Summa, which runs from fol. m 2 to n 2 first page. Appended to Historia . . . Diazij . . . per . . . Senarelacum, see n° 121 above.*

154. 1692.

Christianae Religionis Summa . . . Joanne Diazio Hispano autore. *Reprinted in Viti Ludovici a Seckendorf Commentarius de Lutheranism, Francof. & Lps. 1692, p. 657—658.*

STRASSBURG Univ.

155. 1694.

The same in the second edition of Seckendorf's Commentary, Lps. 1694, p. 657—658.

It is actually a new print, as is evident from different divisions of lines, and from forms of letters and numbers.

STRASSBURG Univ., HALLE Univ.

In the German, in the Dutch and in the French Seckendorf, above n° 130, the Summa is not translated.

156. 1763.

Joannis Diazii | Christianae Religionis | summa. |

From the Senarclens book in Scriinium antiquarium t. VIII. pars I. 1763 [see above n° 122], p. 465—471. With a few introductory remarks of Gerdessus p. 465.

ZURICH City.

157. 1837.

Illustrissimo Principi Domino D. Ottoni Heyurico Palatino Rheni et utriusque Bavariae Duci et Domino suo elementissimo J. Diazius.

Dedication of the Summa, wanting in the editions and translations of it and printed from the author's autograph for the first time in Illgens histor. Zeitschrift, Neue Folge, Bd. 1, 1837. Heft 3, S. 158—160, in an article of Georg Veesenmeyer, librarian of the city of Ulm: Des evangelischen Märtyrers Johannes Diazius

Dedication seiner Schrift: Christianae religionis summa, where there is also found p. 161 — 164

a collation by Veesenmeyer of Diaz's ms. of the Summa with the first edition. Veesenmeyer says that the handwriting is quite equal to that of the notes added by Diaz's hand to the copy of the *zürcher* *der* *apostolor* *zai* *der* *eztor* *avrodor* preserved in the city library of Zurich (see above note 35). As for the omission of the dedicatory letter in the editions Veesenmeyer observes p. 158: ich vermuthe, der erste Herausgeber, welcher höchstwahrscheinlich Bucer ist, habe die Stelle in der Dedic., worin von dem Wegschaffen der Bilder aus den Kirchen als einem echten Kennzeichen der Reformation die Rede ist, für den Pfalzgrafen anstössig gefunden, welcher hierüber gar nicht Zwinglisch und Bucerisch dachte, und so auch die Stelle, worin von ecclesiis nondum hic in proximo satis reformatis gesprochen wird. Er wollte die Dedication also lieber ganz weglassen als verstümmelt geben. After the death of Veesenmeyer, which occurred in 1833, the Original ms of Diaz's Summa, which belonged to him, was with other mss and books sold to the antiquarian Butsch at Augsburg. It is not in the city library of Ulm.

The words on the title: clarissimum virum show that Juan Diaz was not himself the editor. The expression of the preface of the Zurich translation (our n^o 158): sin Bekanntusz des Christenlichen gloubens. die er vulang vor sinem tod in Latinischer spraach durch den truck mengklichem zu läsen vnd vrteilen gehen hat, is not quite exact.

German translations.

158. 1547.

Zurich translation.

Der Gloub vñ | leer, ouch läben vñnd tod | des hochgeleertē gott-
säligen Doctor | Johann Dietzen, vñd trütwen zügen | vñsers Herren
Jesu Christi, der zū | Nützburg an der Donow vonn sy- | nem lyblichē
brüder ermürdt ist wor | den vñ des heiligen Christen- | lichen glou-
bens willen, am | xxvj. tag Mertzens, im | M. D. XLvj. Jar. | Getruckt
zū Zürich by Chri- | stoffel Froshouer. |

After the title-leaf: Vorred of the editor. Folio [a 4] second page begins Ein Summ vñd kurtzer begriff des waren Christenlichen gloubens, gestellt vom hochgeleerten vñd würdigen herren Doctor Johañ Diazium, säliger gedächtnusz. Ends fol. b v, second page, where begins Kurtze vñd warhaffte erzellung in Pütschē rymen des läbens vñd sterbens Herr Johan Dietzen . . ., running to the end of the pamphlet. The last page is empty. Not paged, two sheets, octavo.

STRASSBURG Wilhelm.

I think, this in the publication, to which Franc. Dryander refers in his letter to Bullinger, Nov. 3. 1546: A domino Theodoro postulabis summam confessionis fidei Diazii Latinam. quam ipse fecit Germanicam. Theodorus no doubt is Bibliander, and ipse is of course the same. This translation is not found in the list of Bibliander's publications in Lau's Schweitzer. Lexicon, Theil 4, Zurich 1750, p. 12 f.

The verses refer to a cut (Ein einigen brüder hat er gehan, Wie man jñ hie gemalt sicht ston), which according to all likelihood never belonged to this edition, and are therefore most likely reprinted from a separate edition containing a cut on the title-leaf. The last facts mentioned are the Emperor's answer at Ingol-

stadt (April 8), and the general opinion in Germany: man werd die schelmen lassen gon.

Strassburg translation.

159. 1554.

ein kurtzer Sumarischer begriff Christlicher Religion, so von disem vñserm theirē Bekenner vñ Martyrer Joani Diazio, an den Durchleüchtigstē Hochgebornen Fürsten vñnd Herren, Herren Otthoheinrichen Pfaltzgraffen bey Rhein, ic. Schriftlich gestellet worden ist.

In Rabus' Historien. Ander Theyl, 1554, [see here n^o 124], fol. CCC—CCCV. The translation is independant from the Zurich one [n^o 158].

160. 1555.

In Rabus' Ander Theyl, 1555, [see here n^o 124, my copy] the same on the same leaves.

161. 1556.

In Rabus' Ander Theil 1555—6 [see here n^o 124], the same on the same leaves.

162. 1572.

In Rabus' edition of 1572 [see here n^o 124] the same on fol. 706 verso—708.

163. 1606.

In Gross Martyrbuch. MDCVI. Fol. [above n^o 126] the Summa is given in Rabus' translation, somewhat altered.

164. 1617.

The same as 1606 in Gross Martyrbuch. MDCXVII. Fol. [above n^o 126].

165. 1682.

The same in Das Grosse Martyr-Buch. M. DC. LXXXII. [above n^o 126] P. 326—328.

French translation (see above n^o 126).

166. 1565.

Confession de foy, qui est vn sommaire de la religion Chrestienne in Actes des martyrs, M. D. LXIII. P. 252—5.

167. 1570.

The same in Histoire des vrayes Tesmoins. M. D. LXX. Fol. 159. 160.

168. 1582.

The same in Histoire des martyrs. M. D. LXXXII. Fol. 167. 168.

169. 1597.

The same in Histoire des martyrs. M. D. XCVII. Fol. 167. 168.

170. 1608.

The same in Histoire des martyrs. M. DC. VIII. Fol. 167. 168.

171. 1619.

The same in Histoire des martyrs. M. DC. XIX. Fol. 179. 180.

In the Rhaeto-romance translation of the Geneva martyrology [above n^o 126] and in the Dutch Historie der martelaren 1747 [above n^o 128] the Summa of Diaz is not translated.

172. 1865. Spanish translation.

Summa de la reliji3n Cristiana.

*Us3z's translation, p. 99--106 of t. XX of the Reformistas antig. Esp. (above n3 123).***Letters****173.** 1667.Oechino Joannes Diaz, Neoburgi 22 martii 1546. *Printed in Latin in Historiae ecclesiasticae novi testamenti t. IX. authore Jo. Henr. Hottingero. Tiguri 1667, p. 282 -3. Octavo.**HALLE Univ.***174.** 1764.*The same reprinted from Hottinger, on p. 996 - 7 of Johann Georg Schelhorn's, [; Erg3tzlichkeiten] aus der [Kirchenhistorie] und Literatur, [; Zehendes St3ck.] > [Uhn, 1764.] Octavo.**HALLE Univ.***175.** 1865.*Three Latin letters*

IV. 1546 Febr. 8 Falesio

VIII. — Mart. 13 Calvino

IX. — — 22 Ochino [third edition]

*in Reform. Espa3n. t. XX, p. 120 — 126. 112.**The numbers, which I, here and in the following, have given to Diaz's letters, relate to the chronological order.***176.** 1872.*Two Latin letters*

VI 1546 Febr. 9. Paulo Fagio

VII — on the same day Praesuli [Bellaio]

*edited by Edw. Boehmer on p. 1--10 of the program of Strassburg University, December 1872 (see above n3 150).***177.** 187. .*Four Latin letters to Calvin*

I. [1545] August 7

II. [—] — 29

III. 1546 January 19

V. — February 9

will soon be published, together with the other five already printed, in the Thesaurus epistolicus Calvinianus edited by the Strassburg theologians.