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LIVES OF SPANISH REFORMERS.

JUAN AND ALFONSO DE VALDÉS.

TOWARDS the beginning of the sixteenth century the hereditary Regidor of Cuenca in Castile had twin-sons born to him, who, after careful training, distinguished themselves in Spanish literature, not only as authors who knew how to write their own language with classical purity, but also as religious Reformers.

Alfonso was in the suite of the Emperor Charles at his coronation in Aix-la-Chapelle, in the year 1520. He saw, in the burning of Luther's books in the following year at Worms, "not the end, but the beginning of a tragedy." It then appeared to him as impudent upon the part of the monk of Wittenberg, to declare the Pope to be a heretic and schismatic; but he nevertheless found it deplorable that the Pope showed repugnance to the convocation of a General Council, by which alone the peace of Christendom could be secured. This impossibility of bringing the Lutheran affair to an end without such a Council, was incessantly urged at Worms by the Emperor's Grand Chancellor Mercurino da Gattinara.¹⁾ Under him we meet Alfonso, in the year 1524, as an Imperial Secretary of State.

Alfonso de Valdés was a great admirer of Erasmus, whose writings, in the original and in translations, promoted the reformation

1) Aleander relates from Worms, ult. Febr. 1521: Chièvres, the most influential of the Emperors counsellors, had repeatedly said *che lui non vede questa cosa così difficile a sedare come tutti dicono, e diverso il Cancelliere dice essere impossibile saltem absque concilio et quod fata obstant, e questo è il suo proverbio; el Confessor dice che vede già quasi l'incendio acceso, li Prencipi par che dubitano assai, li prelati temono.* See Johann Friedrich in the Abhandl. d. histor. Classe d. Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss. Bd. XI, Abth. 3, München 1870, p. 109—110. And about the same time we are told from the same place: *el Cancelliere sempre ci dice che è impossibile metter fin a questa cosa senza Concilio, e che fata obstant, e certi proverbii de constellationi che lui sole plus aequo aver alle mani.* Ib. p. 120. — The Conjunction of Saturnus and Jupiter in 1504 had, according to astrological interpretations then current, given the prospect on great revolutions in church and state. The Grand Chancellor, if not believing himself in astrology, at least could not disdain the respectable power which in that age it held.

also in Spain. At the time when the monks in that country made a violent attack upon the famous scholar, and tried to get a prohibition of his works from the Inquisitors, the generous interposition of Valdés, who employed all his influence in favour of the great humanist, succeeded in preventing such a proscription. From that time we find Alfonso in correspondence with Erasmus. It was no doubt Alfonso Valdés who penned the Imperial answer to Erasmus in December 1527, expressing the joy of the Emperor on learning, by Erasmus' letter, that the insanity of the Lutherans was declining, especially in consequence of the efforts of Erasmus himself, who had published some polemical writings against Luther's *servum arbitrium*.

On the other hand, Alfonso's name is found subscribed to Imperial letters of the years 1526 and 1527, addressed to Pope Clement VII and to the College of the Cardinals, in which a General Council is most energetically demanded.²⁾ When Rome was stormed and sacked, in the year 1527, Alfonso wrote a dialogue, in order to vindicate the Emperor, and to prove that terrible catastrophe to have been a retribution upon the sins of the Papal city. In 1529 he accompanied the Emperor in his way through Italy, he attended the Pope's and Emperor's congress at Bologna, and he went on with the court to the diet in Germany. Soon after the arrival at Augsburg, he sent for Melanchthon, in order, if possible, to bring about an understanding with that champion of the Evangelicals. The intercourse of these two mild and moderate men was a very friendly one, and with the Sovereign, Valdés successfully set off the conciliatory and reasonable tone of the Protestants, and smoothed the way to a public reading of their Confession in the presence of the Emperor and the powers of the realm. For two years more did he follow Charles through Germany as his Secretary. It was with pleasure, that he saw the Emperor constrained, to yield, at the diet of Ratisbon a greater liberty to the evangelical movement.

In the autumn of 1532 Alfonso de Valdés died at Vienna. Thomas Cranmer in a despatch to King Henry VIII, dated from Villach, October 20. 1532, tells of a great infection of the plague,

2) There is an old French translation of this letter to the Cardinals, countersigned *Alphonsus Valdesius*, in the British Museum, Harleian MS. 6206.

whereof is dead many of the Emperor's household, and among other is dead Waldesius, a Spaniard, the Emperor's Chief Secretary, and was in his singular favour. He was well learned in the Latin tongue, and partly in the Greek; and whensoever the Emperor would have any thing well and exactly done in the Latin tongue, it was ever put to Waldesius.³⁾

His brother Juan sought and found more leisure for literary production. He had spent years absorbed in court-life and an insatiable perusal of chivalrous romances, but under impression of the great historic events then acting on the world's theatre, whose hidden springs his brother could out of his own experience explain, he found himself attracted by realities affecting God's glory and man's welfare.

Shortly after Alfonso had put his dialogue on the sack of Rome into circulation, Juan composed another, called Mercury and Charon. Its tendency is both political and religious. The author justifies the Emperor with respect to the challenge, which he had given to the King of France, to fight him in duel, and he depicts the then actually ruinous condition of the Christian church. He eloquently accomplishes his design, proving both his statements by arguments evolved in conversations which the ferryman of the lower world holds with different personages.⁴⁾

3) He adds: *and I suppose that he made the draught of the answer of the emperor, which I sent unto your grace inclosed with my last letters.* Those last letters were dated October 2; they are not printed with those of Oct. 20, which are found in the *Records of the Reformation*, collected by Nicholas Pocock, Oxford 1870, vol. 2, the quoted passage p. 318--9. Augustine writes to Cromwell from Bologna, October 14. 1532, ib. p. 337: *Inter caeteras causas festinationis Caesaris ex Vienna in Italiam pestis fuit in causa, qua cum multi obscuri nominis interissent, postremo secretarius Valdesius famisit animam.* The Emperor had arrived at Vienna on September 23, ib. p. 332, he left it on October 4; compare Stälin *Aufenthaltsorte K. Karls V.* in *Forschungen zur Deutschen Geschichte*, Bd. 5, Göttingen 1865.

4) The remark of Charon with respect to Alastor, in the beginning of the dialogue, hints to Erasmus dialogue between these two persons.

Stern in his dissertation on Alfonso and Juan de Valdés, says p. 37: *Le dialogue se compose de deux parties distinctes, dont la première forme un tout complet, et dont la seconde n'est qu'une suite ajoutée quelque temps après, and in a note: Quand l'auteur écrivait son introduction, la deuxième partie n'était pas composée; la fin de la première, comme le commencement de la deuxième, montrent clairement que la deuxième n'est qu'une suite postérieurement ajoutée.* That the second book

Compromised with the Holy Office by this work, Juan did not feel himself safe in Spain, and about the year 1530 he left it for Naples, where the Spanish Inquisition had not yet been established. In 1531 he went to Rome, where he stayed two years; then he returned to Naples, and probably never again left the neighbourhood of this town.⁵⁾

At Naples he wrote, in 1533, his *Dialogue on the language*, viz. the Spanish language, a work which is acknowledged to be of high authority in relation to that idiom. It was with difficulty, that some friends prevailed upon him, to devote his time to give these

is a continuation of the first, and that it was added to this one, is undoubted, but the division into two books is merely a literary one, and the author, after having written the concluding words of the first, may have immediately begun the second. I cannot concur in the opinion that the introduction had been written before the second book existed, for it is difficult to believe that the author, who confesses in the introduction, that finally he had begun to weary with this form of expressing his thoughts, should have resolved to continue it in another book.

5) As for the notice, that Juan Valdés was Governor of the Hospital of Incurables at Naples (see p. 336 of my appendix to the German translation of the Considerations), compare the statement of Carnesecchi (*Processo*, p. 381 f.), that in the lifetime of Valdés he knew at Naples a Spaniard, called Sigismundo, who had taken on himself the whole burden of the government of that hospital, without receiving for his services anything besides food and clothing.

Alfonso Valdés is said, by an author writing in the year 1647, to have been keeper of the archives at Naples. But Alfonso never saw Naples, unless he did so in his youth; and it is most probable, that Juan never held any public office (compare my appendix to the German Considerations p. 356). I owe the following extract to Vittorio Imbriani. *Catalogo | di MSS della Biblioteca | di | Camillo Minieri Riccio | Volume terzo | Napoli | presso Detken e Rockoll | 1869.* Pag. 69, n° 24. *Miscellaneo. fr. 80.* *In fol. leg. in perg. di pag. 235 di diversi caratteri per quanti sono i differenti MSS. che contiene; essi sono: 1. Ragionamento intorno alla introduzione degli Archivij per la conservazione delle scritture di Cautelle pubbliche, ordinata colla pragmatica antica in questa Città e Regno di Napoli dal Re Ferdinando d'Aragona che comincia Constitutionem diri Federici sub rubrica de Instrumentis infra octo dies a die rogationis scribendis che va con le pragmatiche unite alle Constitutioni, di pag. 34 scritte di mano dell'autore il notaio Bartolomeo San Giovanni nell'anno 1647 autografo. Tra le altre cose dicesi che quando la città di Napoli supplicò l'imperadore Carlo V per fondare l'archivio nel Tribunale di S. Lorenzo e gli altri nella Città e nelle prorincie del Reame, dopo non lievi difficoltà vinte l'imperadore alla fine mando il suo segretario Alfonso de Valdes per esercitare l'ufficio d'Archivario in questa Città e Reyno per dare esecuzione a detti Archivij, al quale la Città di Napoli fe' un donativo, perchè avene necessitato e non si fosse disturbata la speranza d'essa Città di poter fundare detto Archivio in S. Lorenzo.*

specimens of his literary studies and principles, for already all his efforts were directed to the composition of works of a devotional and biblical character. Without depreciating the various branches of what is called profane knowledge, and especially the *humaniora*, still he had learned in the school of saint Paul, to rank the gospel far above all worldly wisdom, upon subjects affecting salvation.

Towards the end of his life he was surrounded by the choicest spirits of Italy, comprising such men as Marcantonio Flaminio and Carnesecchi, Oochino and Peter Martyr Vermiglio. He had also, at that time, for his pupils and friends a circle of accomplished women, before all Giulia Gonzaga, a beauty praised by Ariosto,⁶⁾ and whose fame had spread so far, that an African corsair, in 1535, had disembarked in the *Terra di Lavoro*, in order to kidnap her as a present for the Sultan, a fate from which she narrowly escaped.

During the Emperor's residence at Naples, in 1536, at one and the same time Oochino preached there the Lent sermons with such wondrous power, that people said, the stones must cry out, Peter Martyr convened assemblies to which he expounded the Scriptures admirably, and Juan de Valdés inspired all, amongst whom he moved, with evangelical spirit. It was then, that Giulia Gonzaga, having been stirred to learn how to live in newness of life, asked of Valdés the way. His *Christian Alphabet* is a dialogue sustained by him and Giulia, and nothing is more fit to bring vividly before us the religious movement then going on around Valdés, and which, to the greatest extent, originated in himself. Giulia soon withdrew into a nunnery at Naples, where, without taking the vows, she found a quiet abode, and escaped being engulfed in the restless world, the peril to a lady of her rank and endowments which in those days and that place was scarcely otherwise to be avoided. The *Alphabet*, which Valdés gave her as a primer, composed with relation to her special personal requirements,⁷⁾ was soon followed by his explanations of Scripture.

6) Cf. also *Processo Carnesecchi* p. 84.

7) As the *Alfabeto* is but an elementary work, and limited in its design for the use of a single person, it is not without precaution available for the purpose of ascertaining the character of the author's teaching and doctrine, which is more fully exemplified in his other works.

To Giulia he dedicated the Psalms translated by him from Hebrew into Spanish, with a Spanish commentary.⁸⁾ This work has been lost; his commentaries on the Romans and the first epistle to the Corinthians, dedicated to the same lady, are printed, works of conscientious research, penetrative and yet without pretence. It appears, that he contemplated, had he been spared, to complete a commentary upon the whole of the New Testament: we find him incidentally express such a purpose at least with relation to the second epistle to the Corinthians, to the first epistle to Timothy, and to the gospels, and according to Carnesecchi he has written on all Paul's epistles, not including, however, that to the Hebrews.⁹⁾

He, doubtless, annexed his exposition to his own translation from the Greek throughout all the books, as he did in the two surviving ones on the Romans and on the first epistle to the Corinthians. And certainly to Juan de Valdés the honour is due of having been, so far as we know, the first person to undertake a translation of the Bible from the original languages into Spanish.¹⁰⁾

It is reported of Valdés, that, in a letter which he wrote treating of interpreters of holy Scripture and giving advice as to their employment, he attached but little weight to the interpretations by the Fathers. Another letter treats of justification. Incidental mention is found, in Valdés' printed works, of other doctrinal epistles written by him. From the collection of *Questions and Answers*, viz. answers of Valdés, which after his death were preparing for the press, but one specimen is extant, printed at the end of the *Alfabecto*.¹¹⁾

8) Carnesecchi thinks, that Flaminio was, in Viterbo, soon after Valdés' death, occupied in translating this commentary into Italian. Processo p. 351.

9) Processo p. 352. The *espositione sopra san Paulo* was sent by Giulia to Viterbo, where Flaminio, Carnesecchi, Cardinal Pole and Vittoria Colonna had got it in December 1541. Ib. p. 354.

10) It excites surprise to read in Enzinas' dedication to the Emperor, prefixed to his Spanish New Testament, dated October 1, 1543: *En Italia ay muchas versiones [de la sagrada Escritura], y muy varias, y las mas han salido de Napolis Patrimonio de V. M.* Here, without doubt, Enzinas alludes to Italian versions. In 1497 a Jewish translation of the Pentateuch into Spanish appeared at Venice.

11) As an abridged title-copy of a very rare book, of which I here give a fuller one, could lead to the idea that it was the Valdesian collection, I state that there is nothing of Valdés in it. *Las quattrocientas Resuestas a otras tantas preguntas, que el yllustrissimo señor don Fadrique enriquez: Almirante de Castilla y*

A sheet, entitled *In what manner Christian children are to be taught the Christian religion*, was probably written for the instruction of the children born upon Giulia Gonzaga's domains. We know this only in a Latin translation, entitled *Lac spirituale*.¹²⁾ Whilst the Italian of this tract of Valdés would seem to have been intended to be placed also in the hands of children, there was another tract of his intended for teachers, giving them hints as to the *Mode in which one should treat and preach the fundamental doctrines of the Christian religion*. This latter was printed in Italian in Rome itself in the year of the opening of the Council of Trent, and there were appended to this edition four other tracts by the same author, three upon justification by faith (among them the above mentioned letter), and one upon the Christian's certainty of justification and of glorification.¹³⁾ In the first of these five tracts he develops the following ideas. If he had to give regulations for preaching of the gospel of Christ, he

otras personas en diuersas reves embiaron a preguntar al auctor, que no quiso ser nombrado, mas de quanto era frayle menor, con quinientos proverbios de consejos y avisos, por manera de letania . . . Anno . M. D. XLV. According to the colophon the printing was finished in that year at Valladolid. [Frankfurt o. M., city libr.]

12) In the letter to Koldewey p. 27 I have said: I could not but repeat the conjecture proposed in my article on Valdés in Herzog's Cyclopaedia vol. 17, p. 20, that the *Lac* was nothing else than the pamphlet *In qual maniera*. In the place quoted, however, taking text and note together, one reads, that the *Lac* was perhaps translated from the pamphlet *Modo che si dee tenere*. The inconsistency of the quotation was caused by the circumstance, that I had, in my own copy of my article, changed the place of the sign corresponding to that note, as soon as I saw it printed, for I, in fact, thought it more likely that the *Lac spirituale pro alendis et educandis Christianorum pueris* was the tract on the manner to be adopted in *formare i figliuoli de' Cristiani*. It was an inadvertency of mine, not to think of this change, when writing to Koldewey.—Dr. W. Moeller, in the periodical *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1871, p. 726, says that my proofs for Juan Valdés authorship of the *Lac* (as Vergerio called it) are convincing.

13) Dr. Moeller ib., reviewing my edition of the *Modo che si dee tenere*, says p. 724, that the author of the Considerations is to be recognized in it in almost every sentence. — The *quinternetto* (= 10 leaves = 20 pages) which Carnesecchi, on April 30. 1544, sent from Venice to Bologna, and which he, in 1567, thought was *qualche operetta del Valdesio*, Processo p. 394 f., may have been this *Modo che si dee tenere*. As Carnesecchi wished to have it sent back to him, after it had been copied by the friends at Bologna, it probably was not printed, but in manuscript. In this case the first edition of the *Modo* would seem to have been made at a later time in the same year, or in the next year, before the Roman edition.

would prescribe, that penitence should be preached first, secondly justification by faith, and connected with this article thirdly the necessity of testifying to Christian faith by Christian works, which works, he says, will be rewarded in the present life by corporal and spiritual benefits and in this life by greater glory. Moreover he suggests, that after three warnings, the avaricious, the ambitious, the blasphemous, the gluttonous, the luxurious, the quarrelsome, and those who sought dishonest gain and who delighted in illicit plays, and at the same time those who were given to vain ceremonies and superstitious customs, attributing to creatures and to times and words more than was becoming and than holy scripture and Christian faith attributed them, should be excommunicated. Then should we, he says, in our own age see a Christian church, very similar to that of the Apostolic age. Those, however, he adds, who were not in this church, must not think themselves aliens to it, as long as they like to look at the Christian life; they themselves will by prayer and labour get into it.

We have no grounds for believing that Juan de Valdés wrote any one of his works in any other language than in his mother-tongue. He had, as he himself¹⁴⁾ says, well considered the Tuscan language (the Italian), but he did not hold himself sufficiently versed in it to qualify him to judge of the merits of Benibò's book on the *lingua volgare* (of Italy).¹⁵⁾ The five Italian tracts printed in Rome are therefore no doubt translations, of the *Alfabeto* we know the translator (who notices, that the words of the author are retained as much as possible);¹⁶⁾ and it is likewise declared by authorities, that his Considerations were written in Spanish.¹⁷⁾

14) *Diálogo de la lengua*. 1860. P. 194.

15) Ib. p. 7.

16) The translator of the *Alfabeto* was Marcantonio Magno. In Coelestin's reprint of certain disticha of Magno (which I copied from Coelestin for the memorials on the brothers Valdés which I appended to the German translation of the Considerations, p. 360) there is a typographical error in the fifth verse which begins *Nunc licet*, not *Non licet*. I correct this from the original print, now in the Ponickau library: *Vincentii Pimpinelli Archiepi Rossan. Oratio Augustae habita XIj. Kal. Julij. MDXXX. Colophon: Excusum Augustae Vind... XV. Julij. M. D. XXX.*

17) Curione in his letter prefixed to Valdés' *Considerazioni* (ed. 1860, p. 432): *Queste considerazioni, come sanno molti, furono prima dall'autore scritte in lingua*

The Spanish original of Juan de Valdés Hundred and ten divine considerations is lost, but there have been published twelve editions of translations. From Italian they have been translated into five other languages. Three editions appeared in English. To the editor of the first English translation, who scrupulously hesitated to publish it, on account of certain passages in the book, George Herbert wrote in 1638: "I wish you by all means to publish it, for these three eminent things observable therein: First, that God in the midst of Popery should open the eyes of one to understand and express so clearly and excellently the intent of the gospel in the acceptance of Christ's righteousness (as he sheweth through all his Considerations), a thing strangely buried and darkened by the adversaries, and their great stumbling block. Secondly the great honour and reverence which he everywhere bears towards our dear master and lord, concluding every Consideration almost with his holy name, and setting his merit forth so piously, for which I do so love him, that, were there nothing else, I would print it, that with it the honour of my lord might be published. Thirdly, the many pious rules of ordering our life, about mortification and observation of God's kingdom within us and the working thereof, of which he was a very diligent observer. These three things are very eminent in the author, and overweigh the defects (as I conceive), towards the publishing thereof."¹⁸⁾

To Juan Valdés' simple evangelical teaching is to be traced back the book *On the benefit of Christ*. The first author of it was a monk of the black Benedictine's, called Don Benedetto, from Mantua, who wrote it in a monastery of his order near mount Etna; then he asked his friend Marcantonio Flaminio to polish it, in order to render it more attractive, and so Flaminio, while leaving the subject unal-

Spagnuola, ma poi da una certa persona pia e degna in lingua Italiana tradotte. Carnesecchi says (Processo p. 351): *so bene che il Flaminio aveva seco [in Viterbo, in 1541 and 42] una parte degli scritti di Valdés, e credo che fussero il libro delle considerazioni, e il commento sopra li psalmi, e che andava traducendoli di Spagnolo in Italiano, per complacere alla svedetta signora [Giulia Gonzaga] che n'aveva ricercato.*

18) In the Oxford edition of Valdés' Considerations. — Compare Dr. Moeller's warm appreciation of the Considerations on p. 723 of his article quoted above note 10 and 11.

tered, remodelled the excellent tract according to his taste.¹⁹⁾ It was believed to have been extirpated by the Inquisition, when it reappeared in 1855, reprinted from a copy preserved at Cambridge, and it readily won the admiring love of all who love the gospel.

Many interesting statements on Valdés and the Valdesian movement are given by Carnesecchi, in his depositions before the tribunal of the Inquisition at Rome.²⁰⁾ "Although I had known Juan Valdés at Rome in the time of Pope Clement,"²¹⁾ Carnesecchi reports, "I can not say that I knew him as a theologian before the year 1540 in Naples. For in Rome I did not know, that he applied himself to the study of sacred literature, but I knew him only as a modest and well-bred courtier, and as such I liked him very much, so that the intercourse and familiarity I afterwards had with him at Naples, was a continuation of our friendship made at Rome; at Naples, however, the friendship grew a spiritual one, for I found him entirely given to the spirit, and wholly intent on the study of holy Scripture. This, however, would not have been sufficient with me, to give him so much credit as I did, he being a *gentiluomo di spada e cappa*, who had at once, for me, become a theologian, if I had not observed, what a high place he occupied in the eyes of Fra Bernardino Occhino, who then was preaching, to the admiration of every body at Naples, and who professed to receive, as it were, the themes of many of his sermons from Valdés, from whom he used to get a note on the evening, preceding the morning on which he was to mount the pulpit;²²⁾ and if

19) Carnesecchi, Processo p. 58 f. See my *Cenni* of 1861, p. 552. In substance Laderchi is right, in attributing the book to Valdés, Annal. eccles. t. 22, Colon. Agr. 1733, p. 199, in relating the final sentence on Carnesecchi (the tenor, however, of this sentence, published by Gibbings, and repeated by Manzoni, at the end of the Processo, does not name Valdés as author of the *Beneficio di Cristo*).

20) *Estratto del processo di Pietro Carnesecchi edito da Giacomo Manzoni*. Torino stamperia reale MDCCCLXX. Estr. dal Tomo X. della *Miscellanea di Storia Italiana*. Octavo. Pages numbered from 49 to 429, with four pages previous *Avvertimento*.

21) *insino al tempo di Papa Clemente*, which more accurately would be translated by: *up to the time of P. C.* Cf. also similar expressions in Tommaseo's Italian dictionary s. v. *fino*, n° 10, last ainea, and 39.

22) I have not now at my disposal the sermons of Occhino, so as to search for the traces of the influence of Valdés. I noticed long ago, that the concluding

Fra Bernardino's opinion had not harmonised with also Flaminio, whom I thought such a prudent and learned man, that he would not have been imposed upon, and so sincere and worthy, that he would not have wished to delude others, especially such a great friend of his as I was, and in a matter of such importance as is religion."²³⁾ It was by Valdés, that Flaminio had been lead to the conviction of justification by faith.²⁴⁾ Carnesecchi was introduced also, by Valdés himself, to Peter Martyr Vermiglio who was a great friend of the Spaniard.²⁵⁾ At Naples, Carnesecchi lived in the house of Giulia Gonzaga.²⁶⁾ In a letter to her, written almost twenty years afterwards, in 1559, he acknowledges, that he owed to her mediation the beneficent influence on him of Valdés' holy teaching and of the intercourse with this man, whom he knew before Donna Giulia, but not in such a manner as to have that fruit from it.²⁷⁾ Her he expressly thanked, as well that he had been delivered from superstitious and false religion, and had placed the hope of his salvation not in works but in faith, as also, that he was kept within due limits and not engulfed by Lutheranism.²⁸⁾ He believed that those, who differed from the modern Roman church in the article of justification, whilst keeping what he was persuaded to be the true catholic and apostolical faith, would be saved.²⁹⁾ But, although he accepted that fundamental article of the German religious reform, he disapproved of Luther's separation from the body of the Catholic church. That separation he especially saw in the disobedience of the head of the Protestants, manifested by refusing to appear at the Council, and to submit to its determination, and also by the contumacy against the Apostolic see. This was likewise Flaminio's view.³⁰⁾ Nor was Carnesecchi, when accepting the main doctrine of Luther and Valdés, aware of those consequences which, as he was afterwards told, could be derived from it, viz. "that we do not want the sacrament of penitence, nor contrition, nor satisfaction in

formula of Valdés' Considerations: *Jesus Christ our Lord*, recurs at the end of so many sermons of Occhino. The same conclusion is found in Peter Martyr Vermiglio's *Preces ex psalmis*, wherever one opens the book.

23) Processo p. 51 f. 24) Ib. p. 361. 25) Ib. p. 374. 26) Ib. p. 346. 27) Ib. p. 166. 184 f. 28) Ib. p. 186 f. 29) Ib. p. 198, cf. 230. 30) Ib. p. 182.

order to regain grace lost by mortal sin, nor purgatory.”³¹⁾ Valdés and Flaminio explained to him: justification by faith was taught, not only by holy Scripture,¹ but also by all the chief doctors of the church, Augustine, Chrysostom, Bernard, Origen, Hilary, Prosper and others. Those doctors, it was true, in their sermons for the people, extolled works as very necessary to our salvation, but they did so, lest people might give themselves over to licentiousness, which has been the case, Carnesecchi says before his judges, in Germany and other countries where justification by faith alone has been freely preached. His friends at Naples asserted, that all true Christians believed this article, and if not explicitly, yet implicitly, and if not earlier, it was revealed to them at death. When to such subtleties Carnesecchi replied: he found it strange, though, that there were so few persons who held that faith; they reminded him of the seventhousand who had not bent their knees to Baal, and moreover they said, that section of the preachers in the present time, who did not talk of that article, was silenced only by the same reserve, from which S. Augustine did not preach on predestination, in order not to scandalize the weak ones.³²⁾ Valdés taught justification by faith, without touching, even without hinting at, those consequences; be it, says Carnesecchi, that he did not accept them, or be it, that he dissimulated them in order not to scandalise his disciples.³³⁾ Carnesecchi was also of opinion, that he who felt himself justified by faith, could count himself among the elected, and might consequently be sure, or at least greatly confident, that he would be saved, if living that life which is becoming a true member of Christ, and if showing his faith, whenever he had an opportunity to do it, by his good works and good habits, though doing this rather from gratitude for the received benefit, and in order to glorify God, than in order to acquire eternal life, this being acquired by the merits of Christ, imputed to the believer. He did not, however, deny, that grace and justification were, by means of such works, augmented in this life, and higher degrees of glory acquired in the life to come, nor that he, who is justified, must strive to become just in himself, as he is just in Christ,

31) Ib. p. 52 f., cf. 192 f. 389.

32) Ib. p. 189 f.

33) Ib. p. 389.

acquiring the habit of this righteousness *formally*, viz. procuring to have inherent righteousness through love poured in our hearts by the Holy Spirit, and not contenting himself with that righteousness which is imputed to him, and of which he partakes by faith.³⁴⁾

Juan de Valdés died in the summer of 1541.³⁵⁾ His decease was placid.³⁶⁾ He was, in his last illness, visited also by the archbishop of Otranto, his dear friend, who used to commend his writings and discourses in matters of religion.³⁷⁾ When, in 1543, the archbishop, then a member of the Council of Trent, and his friend Carnesecchi,

34) Ib. p. 390. Compare especially Valdés tract *In qual maniera*.

35) According to Carnesecchi's statement, Valdés died a few months (*pochi mesi*) after Carnesecchi's and Flaminio's departure for Rome where they arrived in May 1541 (Processo p. 67 f., cf. 114). Their journey from Naples to Rome, if it was not a quick one, at least seems to have been performed uninterrupted (ib. p. 67), nor did they remain in Rome, but arrived in the same month of May at Florence where they stayed till October (ib. p. 361, cf. 366. 51). It was therefore at Florence, that Carnesecchi received Bonfadio's letter speaking of Valdés death, which letter I have shown to have most likely been written in August 1541 (Appendix to the German Considerations p. 356). I have verified (since that Appendix was published) that the same letter is found already in the edition of the year 1542 of the *lettere di dirarsi*, mentioned as the first edition of that collection in Renouard's *Annales de l'imprimerie des Aldé*, t. 1, Paris 1825, p. 296. I used the copy of the city-library of Frankfurt o. M. *Lettere volgari di diversi nobilissimi homini et ecclentissimi ingegni scritte in diverse materie. Libro primo. Vinegia, M. D. XLII. Colophon: In Vinegia, nell' anno M. D. XXXXII. Del mese d'Ottobrio. In casa de' figliuoli di Aldo.* The passage relating to Valdés is read on fol. 33. The only notable difference from the reprints is, that, instead of *torre*, is read *terra*.

This Juan de Valdés, the brother of Charles V Secretary of State, is, by Jo. Fecht [as, before him, by others, cf. my Cenni 553], taken for a suicide of the time of pope Julius II., *hist. eccl. supplém.* 1684. p. 179 of the *apparatus*.

... Caspar Ursinus Velius... 5. Maij 1538 subito amissus est. Quidam in Danubium injectum existimarent... Nec diversum expertus est fatum Joannes Valdesius, matrone Hispanus, qui Romae literis et industria et magnorum principum gratia ad magnas diritias evectus, multis quoque officiis ecclesiasticis clarus habebatur. Cum deperisset virginem, viri senatorii filiam, eius gratia permissu pontificis abdicato sacerdotio, ita animo ob interclusos ista ratione opulentos redditus affligebatur, ut ex editissimo loco in viam medium se praecepitem daret ossibusque collisis statim exanimaretur. Rem fuse narrat Jo. Pier. Valerianus libro de literatorum infelicitate [Cf. my Cenni p. 509]. Est et Alphonsus Valdesius, Johannis germanus, theologiae professor et concionator Burgis, Caroli Caesaris secretarius [Cf. Cenni 518]. Ad utrumque Erasmi extant epistolae. Sed Alphonsus eius esse auctor videtur, quo hoc loco comparet [epist. p. 845—6. Burgis 9 cal. Dec. 1527].

36) felice passaggio. Processo p. 114.

37) Ib. p. 377.

saw each other for the first time after Valdés' death, and could pass an evening together, at Venice, they, as it were, vied in expressing their admiration and praise of that blessed divine.³⁸⁾

When Cardinal Pole had declared on his deathbed, in 1558, that he had always held the Pope, and particularly the present one, to be the true successor of Saint Peter and the Vicar of Christ, and that he never had dissented from the papal will nor from the belief of the Roman church, such a declaration, given in the reign of Paul IV, was by Carnesecchi deemed superfluous, not to say scandalous. He and Giulia recollect that Juan Valdés had, neither in his testament nor in the discourses short before his death, made any mention of the authority of the Pope nor of the succession in the apostolate of Peter, but had simply testified, that he died with the same faith with which he had lived. Carnesecchi and Giulia did not question the Pope's succession in Peter's apostleship, but they believed the successor had got a more limited authority over the church than generally was attributed to him, for they interpreted the Roman primacy as indicative of distinction rather than of sway.³⁹⁾ Conscious, therefore, of their own dissent from the contemporary Romanism in the article of justification, and convinced that Pole had been of their sentiment, they could not but regret his last declaration, which they must have considered as apostasy or duplicity, at all events as a symptom of weakness, upon the part of a man, whose death, at the first news of it, had been deplored by them as a loss to their circle of more nearly related fellow worshippers.⁴⁰⁾ Vittoria Colonna was once advised by Pole, in whom she confided as in an oracle, to believe as if by faith alone she could be saved, and to work as if her salvation consisted in her works. Although she did not then succeed to get out of him any more definite opinion on justification,⁴¹⁾ still she gave to understand, that she knew him to differ from the views of the Council, when, just at the time when it decreed that article, he had withdrawn from Trent to a more salubrious place, on

38) Ib. p. 404. Cf. *Cenni* p. 570 f.

39) *Processo* p. 150 f. 132 f.

40) Cf. ib. p. 120. 122.

41) Ib. p. 125 f.

42) Ib. p. 405 f. Cf. 353 f. She also regretted, that he had been prevented from publishing an invective against Pope Paul IV, p. 128 f.

account of a catarrh.⁴²⁾ In fact, he acknowledged to Flaminio, that the term *merits* could not properly be used of any other person than Christ.⁴³⁾ From Viterbo, where she was staying with Pole, Carnesecchi and Flaminio, in December 1541, Vittoria expressed thanks to Giulia for having sent there Valdés' commentary on S. Paul, so much desired by those friends, and most by herself, who needed it most; and inviting her to come herself, "certainly," she writes, "it would be convenient, that, after being so well informed on the true celestial fatherland, you revisited a little your country Lombardy, for you could also help much."⁴⁴⁾ Caterina Cibo, Duchess of Camerino, likewise believed in justification by faith, conforming to Valdés doctrine, and had evangelists recommended to her by Carnesecchi.⁴⁵⁾ Also the Cardinals Contareno and Badia approved the writings of Juan de Valdés.⁴⁶⁾

Soon, after the death of Valdés, Vermiglio and Ochino left Italy, where liberty of preaching was no longer left them. For a short period the press at Venice was still suffered to spread evangelical literature. The *Benefit of Christ* was printed there and circulated in tens of thousands of copies. About the year of the opening of the Council of Trent several works of Juan de Valdés were published at Venice. Together with his brother's dialogue on the sack of Rome, there appeared Juan's dialogue between *Mercury and Charon*, his *Christian Alphabet*, and seven of his tracts on the fundamental doctrines of spiritual Christendom.⁴⁷⁾ In 1548 such a licentiousness of the press was stopped. Valdés' *Considerations* were printed at Basle, where they appeared in 1550 in Italian. The Commentaries on the Romans and on the first epistle to the Corinthians were edited in 1556 and 57 at Geneva. One of the

43) Ib. p. 406.

44) Ib. p. 353 f. Cf. 351.

45) Ib. p. 57. 58. 374. It seems therefore, I was wrong in following Laderchio in my *Cenni* p. 577

46) *Processo* p. 391. Compare Lic. Dr. Theodor Brieger: *Die Rechtfertigungslehre des Cardinal Contarini*, in the Periodical *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1872, p. 87 f.

47) Thomas Knight writes to Henry Bullinger Jan. 23. 1547 from Venice: "The gospel is daily preached here with greater purity than in any other places in Italy... The number of the faithful is daily increasing more and more. Your commentaries are daily becoming more esteemed by the Italians." P. 357—8 of Original letters relative to the English reformation, edited for the Parker Society, first portion, Cambridge 1846.

tracts was twice published, in 1554 and 56, in Germany in a Latin translation, of which a German and a Polish translation were made and very soon printed. In the Neapolitan realm persecution grew heavy; some withdrew beyond the Alps,⁴⁸⁾ many recanted, many suffered capital punishment. Giulia Gonzaga, who strictly kept to the faith imbibed by the guidance of Valdés and to the practice recommended her by him,⁴⁹⁾ was summoned to Rome, but death released her from more painful and fearful experience, at her retreat in the Neapolitan convent, in the year 1566. Probably the Roman Inquisition seized, after her death, the letters which Carnesecchi had written to her. He was imprisoned. In vain he urged, that the doctrine of Valdés on justification could not be considered to have been heretical, as long as the Council had not determined otherwise; that high authorities and dignitaries had adhered to it; that he himself, after always fluctuating in his mind, had at last

48) Of Balbani's Italian biography of one of the Neapolitan Protestant fugitives I succeeded at last to see a copy in the Berlin royal library. *Historia della vita di Galeazzo Curaciolo, chiamato il Signor Marzio, nella quale si contiene un raro e singolare esempio di costanza, e di perfezione nella pietà, e nella vera religione* [Ornament] Stampata in Genova. M. D. LXXXVII. Small Octavo. 114 pages, including title. Under the preface directed *A più lettori*, which is dated Geneva 1. Apr. 1587, Nicolao Balbani names himself. (For a special reason, I somewhat modernized, while copying, the orthography of the following extracts) P. 15. *Era in que' tempi in Napoli un gentiluomo Spagnuolo, nominato Giovanni Valdesio, il quale avendo qualche conoscenza e sentimento della verità dell'evangelio, e specialmente della dottrina della giustificazione, aveva cominciato a ritirare alcuni gentiluomini dall'ignoranza e dalle false opinioni della propria giustizia e de' meriti delle opere, e conseguentemente da molte superstizioni. Fra questi vi era un gentiluomo, congiunto alquanto di parentado con Galeazzo, nominato Gio. Francesco Caserta.* P. 39. *Successse a questo un altro combattimento ed una molto più di tutte pericolosa tentazione. Erano i discepoli del Valdesio, nominato di sopra, in gran numero in quella città di Napoli, co' quali Galeazzo conversava, come congiunto con loro in una medesima dottrina e vocazione. Questi non erano proceduti più innanzi nella conoscenza della verità che all' articolo della giustificazione per Gesù Cristo ed a ritirarsi da qualche abuso o superstizione del papato. Non lasciavano intanto di frequentare i tempi e di ritrovarsi con gli altri alle messe ed alle ordinarie idolatrie. Con questi per un tempo egli era d'accordo, cammino veramente, che lo conduceva alla perdizione ed a quella rovina, nella quale sono caduti quasi tutti gli altri, li quali sono stati perseguitati, tormentati nelle prigioni, fatti abburrare, e per la fine come relassi fatti malamente morire; fra quali fu quel Caserta da cui egli ebbe i primi principj e fondamenti della vera religione.*

49) Carnesecchi's *Processo* p. 84. 170—172. 192. 194. 385.

acquiesced in what the Council had ultimately decreed and the Pope had approved.⁵⁰⁾ He ingenuously confessed, it is true, as for the relation of inherent justice to that which is imputed, that he, not knowing exactly to discern the difference between the opinion of Valdés and the determination of the Council, was not yet quite resolved, whether he ought to condemn Valdés' doctrine on this point or not; but he declared he would submit to his judges, his intention being, entirely to conform himself in this as well as in all other articles to the orthodox catholic faith.⁵¹⁾ On some captious question he also reminded them of his not being a theologian.⁵²⁾ He was beheaded and burnt, in 1567. Soon every spark of evangelical life was choked within the reach of the Inquisition.⁵³⁾

50) Ib. p. 95. 117. 189. 190. 196. 321. 389—91. Cf. 352.

51) Ib. p. 390 f. On that doctrinal particular cf. Brieger de form. concord. Ratisb., and the article by the same on John Gropper in the *Allg. Encycl. d. W. u. K. Erste Section XCII*. 1872.

52) *Processo* p. 195.

53) I should not like to suppress here the following judgment. [Adrien Baillet] *Jugemens des Scavans t. I. Paris 1685. p. 270: puisque l'Espagne a bien été capable de mettre au monde des Deistes tout autrement pernicieux que ne peuvent être les Hérétiques, elle n'auroit point mal fait de se mettre en devoir de leur opposer de fidèles & de vaillans soldats capables de défendre la Religion Chrétienne, contre des ennemis de la Trinité & de l'Incarnation aussi détestables qu'étoient Jean Valdez, Michel Servet, & Benoist d'Espinouse que nous appelons Spinoza.* (In the edit. of Amsterdam t. I. 1725. p. 90). In 1684 *Sandii Biblth. Anti-trinitariorum* had appeared, where the names of Valdés and Servetus occur on the very first leaves. As for the so called antitrinitarianism of Valdés see my remarks at the end of the German translation of the CX Considerations p. 367 f.

For fuller information see Wiffen's Life of Juan Valdés 1865, and Boehmer's appendix to the German translation of Juan's Considerations 1870. Also Eugène Stern: *Alfonso et Juan de Valdés. Thèse présentée à la Faculté de théologie protestante de Strasbourg et soutenue publiquement le 27 novembre 1869 pour obtenir le grade de bachelier en théologie.* Maurenbrecher reviewed this dissertation, in v. Sybel's *Histor. Zeitschrift* 12^{ter} Jahrgang, 1870, Heft 3, p. 159. 160. On account of the new accession of materials this my English sketch is not merely a reproduction of what I have already said in my Italian and German articles.

Alfonso de Valdés

OFFICIAL PAPERS

and in chronological order

1520—

- 1 1524 Oct. 30 Tordesillas Investiture of Sforza. *1726. 1732.*
 2 1525 Report on the battle of Pavia. *1525.*
 3 1526 Sept. 17 Granada }
 4 — — 18 — { to the Pope. *1526 and often.*
 5 — Oct. 6 — to the Cardinals. *1526 and often.*
 6 1527 March 2 Valladolid Printing privilege for John Schoeffer at Mainz.
 7 — July 28 Valladolid. To Cardinal Salviati. *1870.*
 8 — Aug. 2 To the king of England. *1529 and in all editions and*
 9 *translations of the dialogue Mercurio, and*
 10 1613. *1739.*
 11 1528 Nov. 30 Toledo. On the duel with the French King. *1853. 18...*
 12 1529 June 29 Barcelona. Treatise between Emperor and Pope. *1726. 1735.*
 13 — Sept. 13 Piacenza. Nomination of Gonzaga as Captain. }
 14 — 21 — Nomination of the same as Chief Commander. }
 15 1530 Dec. 22 Bologna. Nomination of Mandataries for the peace with the Pope
 16 — — — &c. *1726. 1732.*
 17 1530 March 21 — Compromise between the Pope and the duke of Ferrara. }
 18 — April 10 Mantua } On the Marquise of Soragna. *1726.*
 19 — — 12 — } On the Neapolitan Treasury. *MS. at Naples.*
 20 — — 15 — On repurchase in the Neapolitan realm. *1611.*
 21 — June 5 Inspruck. On the Neapolitan Treasury. *1605.*
 22 — Aug. 11 Augsburg. Printing privilege for Levinus Panagathus. *1530.*
 23 — Nov. 6 — Arbitration between the Pope and the Duke of Ferrara. }
 24 — Dec. 21 Cologne. *1725.*
 25 — — — } Two letters to the Prince of Orange. } *MS. at Naples.*
 26 1531 — Instructions for the Treasurer of Naples. }
 27 — Jan. 7 Cologne. To the Queen of Poland. *1872.*
 28 — April 21 Ghent. Arbitration between the Pope and the Duke of Ferrara. }
 29 — June 4 — Letter of mark against Turkish corsairs. *1605.*
 30 — Aug. 15 Brussels. To the Queen of Poland. *1872.*

PRIVATE LETTERS.

1532.

- 1520 August 31 Brussels To Peter M. Angleria. *1530. 1670.*
 — October 25 Aix-la-Chapelle } Letter 1 and 3 in German *1754. 1784. 1825. 1838.*
 1521 May 13 Worms } *1854.*
 1527 June 20 Valladolid. To Erasmus. *1785.*
 — Nov. 23 Burgos. To Erasmus. *1684. 1703.*
 1528 Aug.-Oct. Madrid. To Bald. Castiglione. *1771. 1860ter. 1863.*
 Italian *1771. English 1860.*
 1531 Oct. Brussels. To Juan Jinés Sepúlveda. *15... 1602. 1780.*
 The originals of the private letters are in Latin, only n° 15 is Spanish. Translations into Spanish, of nos 1. 2. 3. 13. 36 in 1863; into English, of 1. 2. 3. 15. in 1865.

37	1531 Oct. 21 Brussels.	To the Roman catholic cantons of Switzerland. 1844.
38	— Dec. 20 —	On the Neapolitan Treasury. 1605.
39	1532 March 25	Ratification of an agreement with Neapolitan merchants. MS. at Naples.
40	— June 30 Ratisbon.	To the Queen of Poland. 1872.
41	— July 3 —	To the King of Poland. 1870.
42	— — 29 —	Privilege concerning the Provincial Governors and the Auditors in the Neapolitan realm. 1605. 1735.
43	— — — —	Grant of petitions of the Neapolitan Parliament. 1735.

Almost all these official papers are written in Latin. N° 12 is printed in Spanish, but the original was no doubt Latin. N° 34 is Spanish.

Although it remains uncertain, how far each official paper is to be attributed to the authorship of Valdés, who signed them as State Secretary, at all events this list of residences is useful for the biography of the two brothers, so often taken one for the other.

No doubt, there will be found more letters signed by Valdés, perhaps also in printed collections of State papers. A few letters, which are, as far as I know, unprinted, are also registered here.

The numbers at the end of the lines of the foregoing list mean the years of the editions.

Editions.

I. Imperial apologetics against the Pope, containing the three Imperial letters of 1526.

A. In Latin.

1. 1526.

Apologetici pro Carolo quinto imperatore libri duo. 1526.

I conclude the existence of an edition, printed in Spain before March 2. 1527, from the printing privilege, given on that day and prefixed to the Mayence edition (see here n° 3.)

Panzer, Annales typographici, vol. VII, Norimb. 1799, p. 418, after having described the edition of John Schoeffer, says: Editio sine dubio originalis, excitatur in Catal. Bibl. Svaier. p. 29. Apologetici pro Divo Carolo V. Rom. Imperat. Libri duo. Ex Balgenciacō 1526. 4. The abbreviation Catal. Bibl. Svaier. means Catalogus bibliothecae Svaierianae, Venetiis 1794. Of course, Beaugency can not be the printing place of such an Imperial publication. I think, the last place in it was occupied by the letter of the King of France to the Electors and the other States

of the Empire, dated Ex Balgenciacō die sexto mensis Octobris MDXXVI. The answer of the Emperor to the Pope, the King of France and the Venetians, Valladolid Febr. 12. 1527, appears therefore to be an accession made first in the edition of Alcalá. No doubt the Svaierian copy was printed between the middle of October 1526 and the middle of February 1527, still more probably in 1526.

2. 1527.

Invictissimi Romanorum Imperatoris Caroli huius nominis quinti, ac Hispaniarum Regis catholici ad Dvo Clementis septimi Pontificis Romani brevia responsio, in qva ab ipso Pontifice appellat: petitqve generalis christianorum omniv Concilii congregationem evm nonnullis aliis litteris, atqve actis publicis. Qvorū catalogū in proxima pagina invenies. Cvm privilegio imperiali. Colophon: Impressum est Compluti, per Michaelem De Eguia. Anno M. D. XXVII. die decimo Mensis Aprilis. 36 leares in folio.

This the title-copy and notices of Wiffen, Alfabeto Cristiano p. LXXII. (where, however, catalogorum and Eguia) and Life of Valdés p. 49. A manuscript notice of Wiffen says, that the book is printed in Roman letters, and that he sent a copy to Usóz. Usóz gives a title-copy varying in externals from Wiffen's, Dialogo de la lengua p. XIV. XV. cf. LII. (he has catalogum).

Wiffen, Life of Valdés l. c. considered this as the first and official edition for Spain.

In the Papiers d'état du Cardinal de Granvelle, publiés sous la direction de M. Ch. Weiss, tome 1, Paris 1841, p. 279 this Recueil de diverses pièces relatives à la querelle de Charles-Quint avec le Pape Clément VII, imprimé à Alcalá-de-Henarez en 1527, par Michel de Eguia, is said to be in-4°, non paginé, avec signatures et réclames. After an abbreviated title-copy, the contenu is reported thus p. 279—80. 1. Avertissement au pieux lecteur. 2. The Pope's brief of June 23. 1526. 3. The Emperor's answer, with the act of presentation, Sept. 17. 4. Second brief, June 25, and Charles' answer Sept. 18. 5. The Emperor's letter to the Cardinals' College, Oct. 6, with presentation-instrument, Dec. 12. A la suite se trouve: Pro invict. Rom. imper. Carolo, . . . ad ea quae per oratores rom. pontif. . . . ac . . . regis Franc., et Venetor., ad generalem pacem componendam nuper proposita fuerunt, responsio, per actum publicum promulgata in oppido Vallisoletano, die XII februario, anno Dni 1527.

3. 1527.

¶ Pro in- | victiss. Cæsare Carolo | Augusto, Hispaniarum Rege Catholico &c. | ad Epistolam Franci Regis ad Principes | Imperij transmissam, necnon ad apo- | logiam Madriciæ conuen- | tionis dissuasoriā, responsio, | ac erudita admodum refutatio. | Cum alijs nonnullis lectu dignissimis, | quorum omnium catalogū uer- | sa indicabit pagella. | Cvm privilegio | Cæsareo. | Antuerpiae in officina Joannis Gra-

pehi, | Anno M. D. XXVII. | die. XIX. Mens. Augu. | Ends L 8 second page with a print representing Charitas.

Therein the letter to the Cardinals, 6 Oct. 1526, fol. L 2 — to [L 6], the letter to the Pope, 18 Sept. 1526, fol. A 3 and A 4.

WOLFENBÜTTEL.

4. 1527.

Pro divo | Carolo, eivs nominis | quinto Romanorum Imperatore In- | uictissimo, pio, felice, semper Augu- | sto, Patrepatriae, in satisfactionē qui- | dem sine talione eorū quae in illum | scripta, ac pleraqz etiam in uul | gum aedita fuere, Apolo- | getici libri duo nu- | per ex Hispani- | is allati cum | alijs nō- | nullis, quorum catalogos ante cuiusqz exordi- | um reperies. | Cum gratia & Priuilegio Imperiali. | [The whole title in a frame.] Title leaf + 218 pages + colophon: Excvsā svnt haec apologetica | scripta cvm nonnullis aliis | eodem pertinentibvs Mo- | gyntiae in aedibvs Jo- | annis Schoeffer no- | nis Septemb. an- | no M. D. XXVII. | regnante in- | victissi- | mo | Romano- | rvm Caesare | Carolo eivs no | minis quin | to. | Quarto.

In the Imperial printing privilege, dated Valladolid March. 2. 1527, and directed to the Princes &c., we read the following (p. 2): . . . excudendorum curam nostro et Imperii Sa. fideli dilecto Joanni Schoeffer chalcographo Moguntino demandavimus ac per praesentes demandamus, ita ut ea solum quae in his nostris Hispaniarum Regnis excusa, in duos libellos redacta sunt (quorum primus binas Pontificis literas, quibus nos binis quoque respondemus, nostram praeterea epistolam ad ordinem seu collegium Cardinalium: alter vero literas nostras ad dilectiones vestras, ac caeteros Imperii Status, qua Gallicis satisfacimus, Gallicaem item apologiae, quae conventionem apud Marchiam Carpantanam factam eludit: refutationem, capitulaque foederis, cui Sanctissimi titulus praenotatur, cum literis Gallorum Regis complectitur, quibus ultimo loco responsio nostro nomine Pontificis, Galli et Venetorum nunciis et oratoribus [12. Febr. 1527] data accedit,) citra ullam additionem excudere, et in publicum dare possit et valeat, absque ullo impedimento: Statuimusque et decernimus auctoritate nostra Caesarea ac inhibemus, ne quis alter in universis ditionibus ac terris nobis et sacro Rom. Imperio quoquo modo subditis, praedictas literas ac libellos infra Quinquennium a prima corundem aeditione excusat. . . . His brother Ferdinand however may yet it printed in his states. Signed Carolus. Mandato Caes. et Catho. Maiest. Alphon. Valdesius Secretarius subscripsit. V. Waldkirch.*

Follow Errata, Prologus ad pium lectorem, first letter of the Pope, and long answer to it, dated Granada Sept. 17. 1526., signed El Rey. Alphonsus Valdesius, who also effected the delivery into the hands of the Papal Nuncio, as the minutes there tell.

*) no second bracket, neither here, nor after complectitur some lines above where it ought to be.

After the Pope's second letter, the Emperor's answer, Granada Sept. 18. 1526, El Rey. Alphonsus Valdesius.

The Emperor's letter to the college of Cardinals, Granada Oct. 6. 1526, Yo El Rey. Alphonsus Valdesius.

Protocol on handing over these three Imperial letters at Rome Dec. 12. Then: libri primi finis.

BERLIN Royal, HALLE Ponickau, LEIPZIG Univ.

Offered for 8 Thalers in A. Asher & C°'s Catalogue XCVI, Berlin 1870, p. 25.

5. 1527.

× Invictissimi | Romanorvm imperatoris Ca | roli, huius nominis quinti, ac Hispaniarum | regis catholici, ad duo Clemētis septimi | pontificis Romani Brevia respon | sio, in qua ab ipso pontifice | appellat: petitqz gene- | ralis Christia- | norum | omnium concilij congregationem, cum | nonnullis alijs literis, atque actis | publicis, quorū catalogū | in proxima pagi- | na inue- | nies. | Colophon: Basileac apvd Andream Cratandrym. | . s. a.

Total 44 leaves, not numbered. Quarto.

Contains only the first book of the Mayence edition, together with the prologue Pio. lectori, and besides only the accessional document of Febr. 12. 1527 from the Mayence volume, leaving out the whole second book, printed there from p. 103—207. The signature of the sheets is complete and correct in this Basle print, A—L 3. This Basle edition of one of the Apologetic libri must have been made in 1527 or 1528. The copy belonging to the Leipzig university library bears on the title the handwriting of a possessor m. april 1528, and another notice containing also the words . . . vidi nempte 1531..

LEIPZIG Univ., GOTHA Ducal.

6. 1527.

Epistole due. Altera Clementis. VII | Papae ad Karolum V. Imperatorem Aug. &c | Altera Karoli. V. Imp. Aug. | &c. Clementi respondentis. | Legisse iuuabit. | Vaticinium de Imperatore Karolo peruetustum | Anno M. D. XXVII. | [Below a cut representing the Emperor; at the left side of the title-words the arms of the Medici.] Colophon: Coloniae, Impensis honesti ciuis Petri Quentell. | Total 28 leaves. Quarto.

The Emperor's answer of Sept. 17. 1526, without signature of Valdés.

BODLEIAN. In the copy in the University library at HALLE the last leaf is wanting.

7. 1527.

Epistolae | dvae, altera Clementis VII. | Papae. ad Karolum. V. Imperatorem Aug. &c. | Altera Karoli. V, Imp. Aug. &c. Cle | menti respondentis. | Legisse iuuabit. | Anno domini M. D. XXVII. | Mense

Martio, | [*Thus ending with a comma. The letter A in Epistoiac is considerably smaller than the other letters of the word.*] *Colophon:* Excusum Coloniae, Anno . M. D. XXVII. | Total (including title) 48 leaves Octavo unnumbered, signed A to F.

WOLFENBÜTTEL. The copy in my possession is a sold *double* of the Royal library at the HAGUE.

8. 1527.

„Pro divo Carolo V... in satisfactionē quidem sine talione eorum-
quae in illum scripta ... Apologeticī libri duo. Antverpiae, apud
Godfr. Dumaeum, anno 1527, p. in — 8°, veau fauve à fit. Non cité
par van Hulthem.“

Copied from Catalogue de la bibliothèque de M. C. P. Serrure. Première partie. Bruxelles 1872. Page 162 n° 1280. In the sale by auction (Nov. 19 foll.) the copy was paid 36 francs.

The Bibliotheca Telleriana, Parisiis, M. DC. XCIII, [HALLE Ponickau], has the following article p. 302:

„Pro Carolo V. Imperatore, Apologeticī Libri duo: Epistolae, Apologiae Madriciae Conventionis dissuasoriae refutatio, & alia. Antuerp. God. Dumaei, 1527. in 8°.“

Cf. the title of the edition of 1587 (here n° 10).

In Wiffen's library is found a copy of these Apologeticī libri duo, of which the title-leaf and the last leaf are wanting. Before book 2 the printer's monogramm: G H. In Italics. Octavo. I should think, that this is a copy of God. Dumaeus' edition.

9. 1528.

Apologeticī Libri duo pro Carolo V. Imp. & alia de eadem re. Romae, apud Nicetem Pistophilum, 1528. in 4°.

Notice taken from Bibliotheca Maphiae Pinellii Veneti a Jacobo Morellio Bibliothecae Venetae d. Marci custode descripta, t. II, Venetiis MDCCCLXXXVII. [GOETTINGEN University library]. Page 106, n° 3061.

10. 1587.

Pro divo Carolo, | eivs nominis qvinto, Ro- | manorvm imperatore
invictis- | simo, pio, felice, semper av- | gusto, Patrepatriae | in satis-
factionem qvidem sine ta- | lione eorvm, qvae in illum scripta, ac
pleraqz etiam in vulgum edita fuere, | liber apologeticvs ex | Hispaniis
allatvs : et primvm An- | tuerpiae, Anno 1527. apud Godfridvm Du- |
maeum editus: Nunc vero re- | cusus Anno Christi | 1587. | Contenta
libri proxima pagina post | prologum, qui praeter alia, causas expila-
tionis Vati- | cani recenset, | docebit. | × | Quarto.

No paging, signatures of the sheets a - h 3, title being a 1. On the back of the title begins the prologue. On the first page of a 3 the end of the prologue, and the Index, exhibiting the two Papal and the three Imperial letters, with the two presentation instruments. Text a 3, second page, to h 3, second page.

It is appendix of: De cavsa Colo - | niensi. | Brevis et | perspicva | cominen-
tatio | recens edita. | Eadem adiectus est | apologeticvs li - | ber Caroli V. imp. | contra
pontifi - | cem Romanum Clemenc - | tem VII. | Anno 1527. Antuerpiae primū edi- |
tus, | nunc recusus. | Anno Domini 1588. | Title in a frame.

WOLFENBÜTTEL commentatio and apolog. liber. LEIPZIG Univ., BOEHMER's libr. the lib. apolog.

11. 1613.

The three Imperial letters in Collectio | constitutio - | num imperialium, | Tomus unus || . . . studio | V. N. Melchioris Goldasti . . . || . . . MDCXIII. || Franco-
fordiae ad Moenum. | Folio. P. 479—502.

HALLE Univ.

12. 1614.

Pro divo Carolo, eivs nominis qvinto, Romanorvm imperatore
invictissimo, pio, felice, semper avgusto, patrepatriae, in satisfactionem
quidem sine talione eorum, quae in illum à Pontifice Romano scripta,
ac pleraque etiam in vulgum aedita fuere, Apologeticī libri nuper ex
Hispania allati.

Printing privilege for Schoeffer, prologue, the two Papal letters and their
answer, the Emperor's letter to the Cardinals, with the presentation documents.
Pages 984—1016 of D. O. M. | Politica | imperialia, | Ex Bibliotheca . . . | D. Melchioris Goldasti . . . | Francofurti | Anno M. DC. XIV. | Folio (triple).

HALLE Univ.

13. circa 1670.

Raynald's Annales, Romae 1646—77. Compare n°. 13.

14. 1690.

The Imperial letter to the Cardinals, in Appendix ad fasciculum rerum extenderunt et fugiendarum, ab Ortuno Gratio editum . . . , sive tomus secundus scriptorum veterum . . . qui ecclesiae Rom. errores et abusus detegunt et damnant, necessitatemque reformationis urgent . . . Operā et studio Edwardi Brown . . . Londini . . . MDCXC. Pages 687—9. Folio.

HALLE Univ.

15. 1694.

Besides copious extract from the first apologetical letter of the Emperor, the
second one and that to the Cardinals, in Annales ecclesiastici auctore Raynaldo t.
XX. sec. edit. Colon. Agripp. M. DC. XCIII. p. 463—471 (ad a 1526. n° 22—50).
Folio.

In the notice p. 463 in marg.: Extant apud Dolgast. to. I. pag. 479. instead of
Dolgast read Goldast, see above here n° 10.

16. 1713.

The three Imperial letters *P. 479—502 of Collectio | constitu- | tionum imperi- | alium; || Editio haec recentior... || Tomus primus. || ... studio || Melchioris Gold- | asti ... ||, Francofurti ad Moenum, || ... Anno 1713. | Folio.*

HALLE Univ.

17. 1732.

Pro Divo Carolo, ejus nominis quinto, Romanorum Imperatore invictissimo, pio, felice, semper Augusto, Patre patriae, in satisfactio- nem quidem sine talione eorum, quae in illum scripta, ac pleraque in vulgum edita fuere, liber apologeticus, ex Hispaniis allatus, & primum Antwerpiae Anno 1527. apud Godfridum Dumaeum editus: Anno 1587. vero recusus, cuius contenta, . . .

The old Prologus, the two Papal letters and their answers, the Emperor's letter to the Cardinals, with the presentation documents. Col. 1961—2022 of Codex | Italiae | diplomaticus, | Joannes Christianus Lünig. | Tomus tertius. | Franco- | furti & Lipsiae, || 1732. | Folio.

HALLE Univ.

18. 1739.

The Imperial letters

to the Pope	{ 1526 Sept. 17, with presentation instrument
	— — 18
to the Cardinals	— Oct. 6

Pages 82—99 of Supplement | au | corps universel | diplomatique | du | droit des gens, | contenant | un recueil | des | traitez | et en general de tous les titres, | Qui ont échappé aux premières recherches de Mr. Du Mont. | Continué . . . par Mr. Rousset, | Tome II. Partie I. | × | A Amsterdam | M. DCC.XXXIX. | To

| A la Haye |

this title is prefixed the general one: Supplement | au | corps universel | diplomatique | du | droit des gens. | Tome troisième. | Folio.

HALLE Univ.

19. 1755.

Reprint from N° 14 in Annales auctore Raynaldo t. duodecimus Lucae MDCCLV, p. 561 sq. (also in this edition: Dolgast instead of Goldast). Folio.

LEIPZIG Univ.

20. 1782.

The two letters of the Pope and the Emperor's two answers, the Emperor's letter to the Cardinals, with presentation documents. P. 240—295 in Monvmentorum ad historiam concilii Tridentini potissimum illystrandam spectantivm amplissima collectio. T. II. Stvdio et opera Ivdoci Le Plat. Lovanii MDCCLXXXII. Quarto.

HALLE Univ.

B. In German.

21. 1529.

Newe zeyttung × | So in disem buchlein begriffen, von | vnnsern geistlichen vnd weltlichen | Herren vnd Obirkeiten. | [Follow nine lines in this arrangement.] Babst

Kaiszer

König von Franckreich

König von Engelandt

Nenlich vom Hertzogen zu Meylandt

Auch anderen Königen, Fürsten, Herren, Königreichen, Fürstenthümern, Herschafftē, Obirkeiten, Landen vnd lewten, szo dareyn getzogen. |

Erstlich ein Sendbrief des Babsts Clementis des sibenden, | an Kaiszer Karolum den funfften. | Zum andern Kaiszer Karoli des funften wogerichte antwort | auff des Babsts schreiben ader Sendbrief. | Daraus vrsachen vnd erhebunge der kriegszlewffte szo | jtzo zwischen den höchsten hewptern der Christenheit | schwebendt, darein viel vñ mancherley Lande, Völck- | er getzogen, zubefinden. | Zum dritten ein sonderlichs Pronosticon von vnserm Herren | Kaiszer, in alten büchern vnd Libereyen befunden. | 1529 | *Colophon:* Dieszer Sendtbrief ist aus dem Latein in vn- | sere Dewtsche sprach transferirt ader dolmatscht | Anno domini Thausent funfhundert vnd jm | achtvndtzentzigisten jare am tag sancti Geor- | gij, Vnd soll des Kaiszers antwort in Dewtscher | sprach mittelst Götlicher vorleyhunge kürtzlich | hernach in Druck bracht werden, volgen, vnd | auszugehen. | W. S. Quarto. Eight leaves, including title. The initials W. S. no doubt mean Wolfgang Stöckel, and this pamphlet is only the first part (containing the Pope's letter) of the work which was completed by the second part, bearing the following title:

Antwort vnsers allergnedig- | sten herren, hern Karoli, disz | namens, des fünftten, Erwelten Römischen Kai- | sers zt. auff Babsts Clementis des sibenden, | Sendtbrief, szo Kaiszerlicher Maie- | stat von seiner heilickeit | zugeschickt. | Appellation ader beruffung | Kaiszerlicher Maiestat, an ein Christenlich ge- | mein Concilium. | × Im beschlus volget auch ein sonderlich Progno | sticon, von hochgedachter Kaiszer- | licher Maiestat, | fast freudenreich allen Christenlichen Stenden zuer- | faren. | Vom Latein in Dewtsche sprach transferirt | adder Dolmatzschet. |

M. D. XXVIII. | This title in a frame formed by two parallel lines. *Colophon:* Gedruckt zu Dreszden durch Wolfgang Stöckel. 1529. Quarto. 49 leaves, title included; signed a to n; m having two leaves, n three. The text begins on the reverse of the title-leaf. Contains only the long letter d. d. Granada Sept. 17. and the Prognosticon. Both parts with the same Gothic types.

BERLIN Roy. Two copies of each part; in one copy of part 1 the year 1529 on the title has been changed into 1528. In WOLFENBÜTTEL one copy of part 1 (the last number of the year illegible: 1529? 1528?), three copies of part 2 (in one copy by addition of a stroke M. D. XXVIII.). The second part in the GOTHA Ducal (to the year XXVIII on the title a stroke has been added by pen), and in the city libr. ULM.

C. In Spanish.

22. 1604.

Imperial letter of Sept. 17. 1526.

A copious summary in Spanish, lib. 15, § 18 of Sandoval's History of Charles V, first part, Valladolid 1604.

The same in the four editions of 1614, 1618, 1634, 1638, all said to have been published at Pamplona, and in the Antwerp edition of 1681. I only have used the editions Pamplona 1618 and Antwerp 1681, both in HALLE Univ. libr., and Pamplona 1634 in WOLFENBÜTTEL.

II. The other official and private letters.

The letter to the king of England, Aug. 2. 1527, is printed in all editions and translations of the Dialogue between Mercury and Charon, which are enumerated afterwards. Only the two separate reprints of 1613 and 1739 of that letter are registered here.

23. 1525.

Relacion de las nuevas de Italia, sacadas de las cartas que los capitanes y comisario del Emperador y Rey nuestro señor han escripto a su Magestat: assi de la victoria contra el rey de Francia, como de otras cosas allá acocidas: vista y corregida por el señor gran chanciller e consejo de S. M. *Este pequeño cuaderno termina en las siguientes palabras.*

Los señores del consejo de su Magestat, mandaron á mi Alonso de Valdés, secretario del illustre señor gran chanciller que ficiese imprimir la presente relacion. — Alfonso de Valdés.

Copied from p. 106 of Historia | de los | Protestantes Españoles | y de | su persecucion por Felipe II. | Obra escrita | por | Adolfo de Castro. || Cadiz || 1851. | Quarto.

De Castro remarks in the same place: del ejemplar de esta obra que existe impreso, no se deduce con evidencia ser Alfonso de Valdés el autor, sino solo quien la sacó á pública luz por orden de los señores del Consejo de Carlos.

P. J. Pidal in his article De Juan de Valdes, in the Revista Hispano-Americanana, | periódico quincenal, | bajo la dirección | de d. J. J. de Mora y d. P. de Madrazo. | Entrega 1^a. | Madrid. || 1848; Octavo, p. 18 gives another title-copy, little varying from de Castro's only in orthography and punctuation with some additional information: *Este mismo Alonso Valdes le hallamos mas adelante, en 1525, secretario del gran canciller del Emperador, y como tal dando á luz, con privilegio imperial, la relacion de la batalla de Paria..., con este título: Relacion de las nuevas de Italia, sacadas de las cartas que los capitanes y comisario del Emperador y Rey nuestro señor han escripto á su Majestad: assi de la victoria contra el Rey de Francia, como de otras cosas allá acocidas: vista y corregida por el señor gran Chanciller e consejo de su Majestad. — Opúsculo de 8 fol., en 4.^a, letra de tortis, sin año ni lugar de impresión, pero que sin duda es del año 1525, el mismo de la batalla de Paria: acaba así: Los señores del consejo de su Majestad, mandaron á mí, Alonso de Valdes, secretario del illustre señor gran Chanciller, que ficiese imprimir la presente relacion. Alfonso de Valdés.*

24. 1530.

Letters 1. 2. 3 of my chronological index of Alfonso's letters are printed in: "Petri Matyris Anglerii Mediolanensis opvs epistolarū: nuc primū et natu et mediocri cura excusum. — In Academia Complutensi in Aedibus Michaelis de Eguia Anno a Christo nato M. D. XXX. Small fol. First edition. Fine copy £. 3. 3 sh." This I take from Vincent Salvá, A catalogue of spanish and portuguese books, part. II, London 1829, p. 107. (Matyris, as above, is found in Salvá, instead of Martyris.)

25. 1530.

Pro reli | gione Christiana | res gestae in Comitijs Augustae | Vindelicorū habiti. Anno | Dni M. D. XXX. | Cam Priuilegio Caesareo. |

This title is in a border. Quarto. Text A ij to Cij. The first page of the third leaf of sheet C is occupied by the Imperial arms with the inscription Plvs ultra. The last leaf of sheet C is empty.

The printing privilege for Lerinus Panagathus at Augsburg, dated Augsburg Nov. 6. 1530, is countersigned A. Valdesius.

In BOEHMER's possession.

26. 1532.

The Emperor's letter to Erasmus in Latin, dated XIII. Dec. 1527, with Spanish translation, dated eatorze de Dez., in the Spanish translation, published in 1532, of Erasmus Colloquios. According to Usóz, Appendix of his translation of Juan Valdés Considerations, edition of 1863, p. 563 f.

27. 1557.

The Letter to Sepulveda from Brussels 1531 will be found already in the edition of Sepulveda's epistolae said to be published at Salamanca in 1557.

28. 1602.

Letter to Sepulveda Bruxellis, 18. Calend. Nouemb. 1531: Among Sepulveda's epistles, book 2, ep. 17, page 145 of: Joannis | Genesii | Sepulvedæ || opera, || ×× | Coloniae Agrippinae, || Anno CIC. IOCHI. || Quarto.

HALLE Orphanhouse.

29. 1605. 1611.

Letters of 1530 June 5 vol. 3, p. 112

— Aug. 11	1,	221
1531 June 4	1,	387
— Dec. 20	1,	238

1532 July 29 1, 488 in *Jus regni Neapolitani Carolo Tapia compilatore, Naples vol. 1. 1605. vol. 3. 1611. Folio, four leaves under one signature. The pages quoted are those on which the signature of Valdés occur.*

I have not been able to see more than the three first vols and the fifth. Vls 1—3 are in the GOETTINGEN Univ. libr., vol. 1 also in the BERLIN Royal, vol. 5. (1633) in the city libr. of FRANKFURT o. M. Vls 2 and 5 do not contain any document with the signature of Alfonso Valdés. The pages quoted above are those on which his signature occurs. I regret not to have now the vols at my disposition.

30. 1613.

Imperial letter to the King of England, August 2. 1527. The Original, which no doubt was in Latin, is not known. In the Public Record Office at London, where I personally applied for documents signed by A. Valdés, I was told, there were none.

A Spanish text of it was published first in Juan Valdés' dialogue between Mercury and Charon, and was consequently repeated in all editions and translations of it, which see enumerated hereafter.

Besides it is printed on p. 224—5 of Reichssatzung || Der Ander Theil. || Durch . . . Melchiorn Goldasten . . . × . . . Franckfurt am Mayn . . . | . . 1613. | Folio. HALLE Univ. Goldast gives only a German translation of the letter without telling where he took it. It is taken from the German translation of Valdés Dialogue between Mercury and Charon p. 53—57, of which translation the first edition was published in 1609. In Goldast the letter is misdated: 7 instead of 2 of August. The edition of 1609 of the dialogue has correctly 2, not 7. I have not now at hand the edition of the dialogue of 1613. Possibly this second edition was used by Goldast whose preface is dated March 30. 1613, Frankfurt o. M.

31. 1670.

Letters 1. 2. 3 are printed under the numbers DCLXXXIX (p. 380—382), DCXCIX (p. 389—391), DCCXXII (p. 411—412) of the Opus | epistolarum | Petri Martyris | Anglerii Mediolanensis, || × | Amstelodami, Typis Elzevirianis. || CIO IOC LXX. | Fol.

HALLE Univ.

32. 1684.

Erasmo. Burgis 9 cal. Dec. [23. Nov.] 1527.

In: Historiae ecclesiasticae ; seculi a. n. C. XVI. | supplementum; plurimorum et celeberrimorum ex illo aevo | theologorum epistolis, | ad Joannem, Erasmus et Philippum, | Marbachios, | antehac scriptis, nunc vero ex bibliotheca Marbachiana primum depromptis, | constans. . . una cum | apparatu | ad totum opus necessario, | et | tabulis chronologico-historicis, | editvm a | Jo. Fechtio, ss. th. lic. | . . . Francofurti & Spirae, | impensis Christophori Olffen, Bibliopolae. | Dvrlaci, | Typis Martini Mulleri, Anno M DC LXXXIV. | Quarto. The letter of Valdes is epist. XXXV

partis octavae, p. 845—6. Fecht p. 175 of the apparatus is right in thinking it a letter of Alfons.

HALLE Univ.

33. 1703.

Letter d. die 13. Decembris 1527. Signed Carolvs. The following notice is added: Inscriptio à tergo haec erat, Honorabili, docto, devoto, nobis dilecto Des. Erasmo Roterodamo, Consiliario nostro.

Alph. Valdesivs.

Valdés name, therefore, was found on the address, *Epist. DCCCCXV. in Desiderii Erasmi || opera omnia [Tomus tertius || Lxgdeni Batavorvm, | . . . MDCCIII. | Folio. Column 1047—8.* The text is not literally the same as that reprinted by Usóz (see n° 47) who has *Lutheranorum insaniam inclinari, whilst here declinare.*

Alf. Valdés' letter to Erasmus Burgis 23 Nov. 1527, is found in the same t. 3 in the appendix, col. 1721—2, as ep. CCCXLII. It is signed there with an asterisk as a new accession of this collection, cf. Index chronologicus prefixed to the volume, and the notice before this Index, and preface fol. 2. No doubt, it is reprinted from Fecht (here n° 32).*

HALLE Univ.

34. 1725—35.

Twelve letters:

1524 Oct. 30.	in t. III, col. 831—6.
1529 June 29.	IV, 235—52.
— Sept. 13.	III, 1883—4.
— — 21.	III, 1885—6.
— Dec. 22.	III, 162—3.
1530 March 21.	I, 1664—6.
— Apr. 10.	II, 541—6.
— — 12.	II, 545—6. (The same letter is repeated there under number VII, col. 545—8, with the erroneous date: decimo Aprilis 1536.)
— Dec. 21.	I, 1670—2.
1531 April 21.	I, 1663—74.
1532 July 29.	IV, 879—98.

— second letter of this same day IV, 897—900 of the work: Codex | Italiae | diplomaticus, || Collegit, . . . || Joannes Christianus Lünig. | × | Francofurti & Lipsiae, || 1725. |

*|| Tomus secundus. || 1726.
|| Tomus tertius. || 1732. |
|| Tomus quartus & ultimus. || 1735. |
Folio.*

HALLE Univ.

35. 1726.

Investiture of Sforza, 30. Oct. 1524. P. 398—99 of Corps universel | diplomatic | du | droit des gens; || par M. J. Du Mont, || Tome IV. Partie I. | × | A Amsterdam, || MDCCXXVI. |

Treatise between the Emperor and the Pope, 29. June 1529; diplomas for Frederik Gonçaga, 13 and 21 Sept. 1529; nomination of mandatories for the peace with the Pope, 22. Dec. 1529. P. 1—7; 49—50; 56 of the same Corps universel diplomatique [I par] J. Du Mont, . . . [II Tome IV. Partie II. [I] MDCCXXVI. [Folio. HALLE Univ.

36. 1739.

To the King of England 1527 Aug. 2, in German, reprinted from Goldast's Reichssatzungen (here n° 29), and misdated, as there: seventh, instead of second, of August. Pages 99—100 of Rousset's Supplement. to Du Mont Corps diplomatique, tome 2, partie 1. 1739. (here n° 35).

*HALLE Univ.***37. 1754.**

Letters 1 and 3 to Martyr Anglerius translated into German by Gotthold Ephraim Lessing in the third volume of his Schriften, published at Berlin in 1754 (Duodec.) in the Rettung des Cochläus, aber nur in einer Kleinigkeit p. 234—252. Cochlaeus had by a recent writer been called the inventor of the fable, that Luther's opposition against Rome proceeded from envy, which he, an Augustinian monk, had of the Dominicans, to whom the sale of indulgences had been transferred from his own order. Lessing shows that already in 1520 Alfonso de Valdés had written, after relating the origin of the Lutheran movement: Habes primam huius tragœdiæ scenam, quam monachorum odiis debemus. Dum enim Augustinensis invidet Dominicano et Dominicanus vicissim Augustinensi, atque hi etiam Franciscanis, quid quoquo poterimus præter gravissima dissidia sperare? [Before this passage he says: Lutherus . . . Dominicani fortassis invidia motus . . .] The German critic reports, that besides the letter from Brussels, in which this occurs, there is another letter on the Lutheran affair written by the same author at Worms, and a third one on another subject, all three in the epistolary of Martyr, to whom they are directed. He continues (p. 232 f.): Es verlohnet sich ohne Zweifel der Mühe, dass ich von den ersten Briefen etwas umständlicher rede, besonders da sie so wenig bekannt geworden sind. Ich wüsste nicht einen einzigen Schriftsteller, der sich mit der Reformationsgeschichte abgegeben hätte, und ihrer gedachte. Unterdessen hätten sie es doch nur allzuwohl verdient, weil sie in der That mit vieler Unpartheylichkeit geschrieben zu seyn scheinen. Ich hoffe dass eine Art von Uebersetzung derselben, dem Leser angenehm sein wird . . . After the translation he remarks, that, judging from Luther's disinterested and magnanimous character, that tale as to his envy has very little likelihood. On Valdés' two letters he adds (p. 258 f.): Ich glaube, sic verdienen auch schon deswegen einige Achtung, weil sich Valdesius über die Fehler des Papst sehr frey darinne erklärt, und genugsam zeigt, dass er das damalige Verderben der Kirche eingeschen habe. At the end, Lessing hints at some words which Pope Leo X, in the beginning of the reformation movement, dropped about invidie fratesche.

38. 1771.

Lettera [del segretario Valdes] al conte [Baldessar] Castiglione [nunzio in Ispagna.] Spanish original with Italian translation. P. 171—174 of the work: Delle lettere [del conte] Baldessar [Castiglione] ora per la prima volta date in luce [e con Annotazioni Storiche illustrate] dall'abate [Pierantonio Serassi] volume secondo [!] [vignette] In Padova [CIOIOCCLXXI. [!] Q.

*HALLE Univ.***39. 1780.**

Letter to Sepulveda, Brussels XVIII. Kal. Nov. 1531. Pag. 119 of Sepulveda's epistles in Joannis Genesii Sepulvedae [Cordubensis] opera, [cum edita, tum inedita,] accurante regia historiae academia. Volumen tertium. [Royal arms] Matriti. [!] Anno M. DCC. LXXX. [!] Q.

*HALLE Univ.***40. 1784.**

German translation of Letters 1 and 3 in Lessings sämmtliche Schriften. Dritter Theil. Berlin 1784. Octavo. P. 68—83.

41. 1785.

Letter to Erasmus dated Valladolid 12 Calend. Jul. 1527. On p. XVIII—XXII of [!] Spicilegium V. Autographorum, illustrantium rationem, quae intercessit Erasmo Roterodamo cum aulis et hominibus aevi sui præcci- puis omnique republica. Composed by Burscher who is not named in this publication. He dates at the end on p. XXX: Lipsiae, Domin. Exaudi, A. R. S. CIOIOCCLXXXV. Colophon ib.: Lipsiae, ex officina Klavbarthia.

*Published as pentecost-programm of the University of Leipzig. Quarto.**The whole series of 33 spicilegia has got the general title:*

D. Joannis Friderici Burscheri [!] spicilegia autographorum [!] illustrantivm rationem, quae intercessit Erasmo Roterodamo [!] evm avlis et hominibvs aevi sv[!] præcipvis omniqve [!] repvblica, [!] svb avspiciis [!] iubilaci [!] magisterialis semi-saecularis [!] magnifici Burscheri [!] die IX Avgvsti MDCCCII [!] collegit, edidit et præfatvs est Fridericus Leberecht Schoenemann [!] Lipsiac [!] in bibliopolio Klavbarthio [!] MDCCCII [!] LEIPZIG Univ.

The autograph of Valdés is still preserved in the Leipzig University library. I forwarded a tracing of it to Wiffen, which was sent no doubt to Usóz.

42. 1825.

German translation of Letters 1 and 3 in Lessing's sämmtliche Schriften. Vierter Band. Berlin 1825. Oct. P. 106—128.

43. 1838.

German translation of Letters 1 and 3 in Lessings sämmtliche Schriften herausgegeben von Karl Lachmann. Vierter Band. Berlin 1838. Octavo. P. 92—98.

44. 1844.

Letter of 21 Oct. 1531. P. 561—2 of Correspondenz [!] des Kaisers Karl V. Aus dem Königlichen Archiv und der Bibliothèque de Bourgogne zu Brüssel mitgetheilt von Dr. Karl Lanz. Erster Band. 1513—1532. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus. [!] 1844. [!] Oct.

45. 1853.

Letter of 30 Nov. 1528 in Lafuente's Historia de España, vol. 12, Madrid 1853, p. 497 f.

Biblioth. Wiffen.

46. 1854.

German translation of Letters 1 and 3 in Lessing's sämmtliche Schriften edited by W. von Maltzahn. Vierter Band. Leipzig 1854. Octavo. P. 95—102.

47. 1860.

Letter to count Castiglione, reprinted from Serassi, and, instead of the Italian translation, an English one, in The life and times [of] Antonio Paleario. | By M. Young. | Volume I. | London: || 1860. || Octavo. Pages 549—551.

48. 1860.

Letter to count Castiglione, reprinted from Serassi, and, instead of the Italian translation, la misma Carta original, correjida su ortografía, i tenor, by Luis Usóz i Rio, in the Appendix of his edition of Juan Valdés Diálogo de la lengua 1860, p. 8—15 (cf. Preface p. XXXVI.).

49. 1861 f.

Letter of 30 Nov. 1528 in Lafuente's Historia de España, Madrid 1861 f. I have not seen this edition.

50. 1863.

Spanish translation of the letters to Pedro Martir de Anglería (1. 2. 3.) to Erasmus 23. 11. 1527 to Sepúlveda 16. Oct. 1531) to count Castiglione, Spanish original to Erasmus, catorze de Dez. 1527 and Spanish translation this last one in Latin, dated XIII Dec., reprinted like the old translation, from the Spanish translation published 1532 of Erasmus Colloquios in the Appendix of Usóz' translation of Juan Valdés Considerations, edition of 1863.*

51. 1865.

English translation by Wiffen of the letters to Peter Martyr de Anglería from Brussels and Worms from Aix-la-Chapelle of the Emperor's reply to Erasmus, Dec. 1527, of the letter to Castiglione in Wiffen's Life and writings of Juán de Valdés 1865.

52. 1870.

Letter to Cardinal Salviati 28 July 1527, published, not from the original, but from a contemporary copy, by B. Morsolin, p. 6—7 of Archivio storico italiano | fondato da G. P. Vieusseux || Serie terza | Tomo XII—Parte 1 | Anno 1870 | In Firenze || 1870. Oct.

It is the same letters, of which I, in my Cenni sui fratelli Valdesso p. 486, had pointed out a copy as found among the Cottonian manuscripts, and had printed

*) Usóz: XVIII. Kalend. Novemb., es seguramente errata, por XVII. Cf. Cenni p. 506.

the signatures, according to a tracing forwarded to me by Wiffen. The Catalogue of the manuscripts in the Cottonian library, 1802, has on p. 404 (Vitellius B. IX. 72. fol. 139): The Emperor Charles V, to Card. Salviati; on the late events at Rome, which he disavows. (Lat.) Valladolid, July 28, 1527. The end, in the Archivio storico not only abbreviated, but also spoiled, runs thus, according to the above mentioned tracing: quibus mentem nostram proprio ore explicuimus, Reverendissima Paternitas vestra accipiet. Quam diu feliciter vivere et valere optamus Datum in opido nostro Vallisoleti die XXVIII Julii anno Domini MDXXVII Regnorum nostrorum Romanorum octavo et aliorum [number wanting].

*In the Archivio is printed Jo Cl. Rey, yo el rey
and Valdés' signature is wanting.*

Alph. Valdesius.

53. 1870.

Regi Poloniae Carolus imp. Ratisponae 3 Jul. 1532. Countersigned A. Valdés. Published by Edw. Boehmer in: Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie. || herausgegeben von | Dr. Karl Friedrich August Kahn. | Jahrgang 1870. | Zweites Heft. | Gotha, | Friedrich Andreas Perthes. | 1870. Pages 308—310. Octavo.

54. 1872.

Three Imperial letters to Bona, Queen of Poland

1531 Jan. 7

— Aug. 15

1532 June 30.

M^r Pohl, Dominicar at Frauenburg, Ostpreussen, whose kindness I have thankfully acknowledged when printing the Imperial letter of July 3. 1532, informed me upon my question whether there were not more letters signed by Valdés in the Episcopal Archives, that indeed there were four others, and at the same time he sent tracings of some lines of each of them, especially of the four signatures of A. Valdésius, together with some notices on the manuscripts. At my request, the Episcopal Secretary, Mr. Weitzenmüller, was so kind as to copy for me the three documents, the fourth being only a duplicate of one of those three. They are found in the same volume (Abtheilung D, vol. 132) with the letter printed by me in 1870.

The letter of January 1531 is signed by Charles own hand. It is countersigned by Valdés' own hand, and throughout written by the same, to judge from the words traced for me by M. Pohl: Coloniae Die [VII] Mensis [Januarij] Anno Dñi MDXXXI. Only the number and the month, put here in brackets, are written with another hand and ink. — The second copy of this letter has the notice fuit duplicita. In the tracing of the signature A. Valdesius I recognize the Secretary's own handwriting. The titles in the beginning are left out: Carolus ect. Ser^{me} ect.

The letter of Aug. 1531. is no original, and neither signed by Charles himself, nor written or countersigned by Valdés.

The letter of June 1532 is written and countersigned by Valdés' own hand, and signed by the Emperor's as in the first letter ur bonus frater Carolus I. This I, Imperator, is recognizable also in the letters of July 3. 1532, where it has been omitted in the print.

The bracketed letters are injured in the ms, and added here by conjecture. The interpunction is mine. Also have I written out abbreviations, and sometimes replaced o by ae, for instance Dominae Bonae for Domine Bone.

Carolus Augustus, divina favente clementia Romanorum Imperator, ac Germaniae, Hispaniarum, utriusque Siciliae, Hierusalem etc. Rex, Archidux Austriae, Dux Burgundiae et Galliae, Belgicae Dominus etc., Serenissimae Principi, Dominae Bonae, Regiae Poloniae, Ducissae Barri etc., Sorori et Consanguineae nostrae carissimae, salutem et fraterni amoris perpetuum incrementum. Serenissima Princeps, Soror et Consanguinea carissima. Quam Mantua ageremus, audientes Scipionem de Summa in Castris Gallorum urbem nostram Neapolim obsidione prementium fuisse, hisque tum pro se tum pro Serenitate Vestra, a qua nullum ad id mandatum habuisse sat scimus, homagium praestitisse, tametsi a Vicegrege nostro Neapolitanus gratiam et indulgunt habuerat, indignus nobis visus est, qui ullam in eo Regno nostro administrationem obtineret, et propterea hominem a gubernio [Hydrunti et Barri] depositum, atque Reverendo Episcopo Culmensi, Serenitatis Vestrae Oratori, commisimus, ut ad eam nostris verbis scriberet, quo eum hominem administratione status quem in eo Regno habet privaret. Quod cum Serenitas Vestra extemplo pro singulari sua in nos benevolentia fecerit, has ad Serenitatem Vestram scribere voluius, ut pro eo officio gratiam nos ei plurimam habuisse, et quod idem Orator de ea re scripsit e mente atque voluntate nostra processisse seiret. Quam diu feliciter vivere et regnare cupimus. Datum in civitate nostra Imperiali Coloniae, die VII. mensis Januarii anno Domini MDXXXI^o, Imperii nostri undecimo, Regnum autem nostrorum omnium quintodecimo.

Vester bonus frater

Carolus I

A. Valdesius.

Carolus etc. Serenissimae Principi, Dominae Bonae, Regiae Poloniae, Ducissae Barri etc., Sorori et Consanguineae nostrae carissimae, salutem et fraterni amoris perpetuum incrementum. Serenissima Princeps. Soror et Consanguinea carissima. Consuevimus eos commendatos habere, quorum virtus, et nobilitas vitae, morumque honestas, fides, atque diurna servitia fideliter praestita, sunt comprobata. Quae cum de strenuo viro Wenceslao Proceck, Dapifero, comperte habeantur, et ad nos usque perlata sint, cupientes illum, pro eius virtute singulari, nostra gratia qua omnes bonos prosequimur complecti. Serenitati Vestrae eundem commendandum duximus, rogantes partes suas apud coniugem suam Serenissimum Poloniae Regem, fratrem nostrum carissimum, pro eodem Wenceslao interponat, ut quam diu et fideliter servierit, et maiorem aetatis suae partem in eo servitio absenserit, digna eius pro meritis ratio et gratia habeatur. Quae veteranis, et praesertim aulicis, quemadmodum Serenitati Vestrae incognitum non est, rependi solet uberior, nedum concedi. Ea in re votis nostris non futuram Serenitatem Vestram confidimus. Datum in opido nostro Bruxellarum, die decimo quinto mensis Augusti, anno Domini MDXXXI, Imperii nostri undecimo, Regnum rumque nostrorum omnium decimo quinto.

Vester bonus frater

Carolus

A. Valdesius.

Carolus Quintus, divina favente clementia Romanorum Imperator Augustus, ac Germaniae, Hispaniarum utriusque Siciliae Hierusalem etc. Rex, Archidux Austriae, Dux Burgundiae, Comes Flandriae etc., Serenissimae Principi, Dominae Bonae, Regiae Poloniae [Ducissae] Barri, Sorori et Consanguineae nostrae carissimae salutem et fraterni amoris perpetuum incrementum. Serenissima Princeps, Soror et Consanguinea carissima. Quod Reverendum Joannem Dantiscum, Episcopum Culensem, Serenitatis Vestrae Oratorem, hucusque apud nos retinuerimus, et quae a nobis saepius Serenitatis Vestrae nomine postulavit, non concesserimus, in causa fuit non quod is studii quiequam aut diligentiae in promovendo negotio praetermiscerit, qui potius studiosissime rem apud nos egit, aut parum affectum erga Serenitatem Vestram animum in nobis invenerit, qui ei in omnibus gratificari optamus, sed tunc valetudo nostra parum prospera, tam ingentes occupationes efficerunt, quominus quae ille instantissime postulabat, et nos ex animo praestare optabamus, hucusque absolvere non potuerimus. Nunc tandem Serenitatis Vestrae rebus, si non omnino ex sententia, certe quod hoc tempore per nos praestari potuit confectis, hominem dimisimus, eumque hortati sumus ut Serenitati Vestrae nostris verbis plurimam salutem dicat, et de nostro animo ac voluntate quantum sibi polliceri possit aperiat, Serenitatem Vestram rogamus ut virum aque nobis gratum ac de Serenitate Vestra bene meritum grato animo excipiat, omnique gratia et favore prosequatur, factura in hoc rom Serenitate Vestra dignam, huic viro debitam, et nobis maiorem in modum gratam. Quam diu feliciter vivere et regnare optamus. Datum in civitate nostra Imperiali Ratispona, die ultima mensis Junii, anno Domini MDXXXII, Imperii nostri duodecimo, Regnumque nostrorum omnium decimo septimo.

Vester bonus frater

Carolus I

A. Valdesius.

Alfonso and Juan de Valdés.

Dos diálogos.

The dialogues between Mercury and Charon are found amongst Authorum incerti nominis libri prohibiti in Pius IV. Index of 1564. Cf. my Cenni p. 492.

Of the dialogues Mercurio and Lactancio there are in Spanish six editions of both together, the first probably 1529, four others of the sixteenth century the sixth 1550. Besides, Lactancio separately 1586. in Italian seven editions, the first 1546, five others probably before 1550, all before the end of the century. in English Lactancio 1590. Extracts from both 1860. 1865. in German Mercury 1609. 1613. 1643. Part of it 1714 and probably already earlier.

55. 1529? [Dos diálogos, 1. ed.]

Dialogo de Mercurio y Ca- | ron: en que allende de muchas cosas graciosas y de buena | doctrina: se cuenta lo que ha acaescido en la guerra | desdel año de mill y Quinientos y veinte y | vno hasta los desafios delos Reyes de | francia : Ynglaterra hechos al | Emperador en el año de | MDXXIIJ : [sic] [Ornamental leaf]

S. l. e. a. The whole book Gothic. Large Octavo. Breadth of the printed column 95 millimètres, height (from the last line to the top of the n of the first line) 155 millimètres, both measures pretty constant. 73 leaves, title included, registered to K. The Prohemio begins A II, the dialogue on the back of the same leaf. No numbers of pages or leaves. A very fine typographical specimen.

This appears to be the Gothic edition, from which Usóz printed his own in 1850 (see below n° 61). Whatever Usóz reports in his notes as read in his archetype, is found in the above described edition, for instance che instead of que ,Usóz p. 277, even errata like dererninate for determinate, incorrupto for incorrupto, ib. p. 235. 238, also the injured letter which makes Usóz p. 245 doubt whether to read esse or este; where Usóz has indicated a hiatus p. 228, the word mas is the last of the page in the old print. In only two instances have I found a difference between that one and Usóz's statements. He says p. 194, his original had Saco instead of Eaco, but it has (F IIII, misprinted III) faco, the f could, however, easily be mistaken for an s. And secondly, according to him p. 321, the same edition had uíños desdecalabrándose instead of niños de descalabrase; it has indeed uíños, but desde calabrarse, and I should think Usóz has made some mistake. As for orthography, he purposedly does not keep to his original, even when reporting its reading, nor are his marginal numbers, indicating the beginning of the leaves of the original, always exactly placed at the right line. Lastly, it is of no consequence that Usóz p. V calls his old edition a Quarto-volume; so most people would call it, although erroneously, as proved by the registral letters.

In one instance for que is printed che, as already stated, and in another place sangue for sangre (see our table below p. 106). Usóz remarks in the preface to his edition (below n° 61) p. VII: A mi ver estas erratas indican que el libro que las tiene se imprimió en Italia. But sangue might be misprinted for sanguine which is the ancient Spanish form from which sangre is derived, or it could like be a mistake in the manuscript, perhaps written by an Italian copyist.

ROSTOCK Univ., MUNICH. The GOETTINGEN Univ. libr. has a copy, in which are wanting the title leaf, sheet E, and the leaves H I, H VII, H VIII, J I. I have actually collated the Goettingen copy and the Munich one.

On the title-front of the Munich copy is written: Jo. Alberti Widmestadij. (Widme - as is proved by the e in Alberti).

Dialogo: en que particularmente se tratan: las cosas | acaecidas en Roma: el año de | M. D. xxvij. | A gloria de Dios y bien vniuersal dela | Republica christiana. |

S. l. e. a. The title and the whole book Gothic. Octavo. Registered a to d. The layer d has ten leaves, the last signature is d V. Therefore, title including, 34 leaves; unnumbered. Al Lector on a II; on the second page of this leaf: Argumento and the beginning of the dialogue; Segunda parte on b VI, page 2, top. The types are the identical ones of the first edition of the Mercurio; the columns are of exactly the same dimensions as in that edition; paper and watermark are the same in both. They have evidently been destined to accompany each other, and, the signatures of the Lattanzio being given in small letters, this dialogue was meant to occupy the second place.

The ROSTOCK University library has a copy of both of them, bound in one volume, first the Mercurio, than the Lattanzio. The margins of the copy are narrowly cut.

The title-leaf of this edition is prefixed to the Goettingen copy just spoken of, of the dialogo de Mercurio, of which the right title is wanting. The types are the same as in that edition of the Mercury-dialogue. Also the watermark is the same as in several leaves of our first Mercurio edition, in the Goettingen copy and in the Munich one.

Wiffen gives a title-copy from another printed copy and adds the following: „S. l. et a. In 4to. not numbered 34 leaves, registered a-d¹⁰=34. Gothic letter. — I take this to be the first edition, corresponding with the 4to edition of the Dialogo de Mercurio. The copy I have seen is a very fine one, clean, with large margins and some edges uncut at the bottom. It appears to have been formerly bound up with other tracts. Below the title is the name of a former possessor Joan. Alberti Widmestadij. It was sold by auction in Quatremère's library at Paris in 1859.“ Wiffen's notice on the registration shows that the size is octavo, as is that of the other dialogue once likewise in Widmestad's possession.

In the Preface, dated June 1555, of his edition of the Syriac New Testament, Widmanstadius (so he writes himself there) tells, that he had begun his Syriac studies at Bologna in 1529: cum ego Christianae Salutis Anno M. D. XXIX. in Diui Caroli Caesaris inuictissimi, Sacri diadematis causa Bononiam proficiscentis comitatu essem... (fol. a***3), and that he made studies in Arabic at Rome about the time of the death of the great Arabic scholar Aegidius Viterbiensis (ib. next leaf). Aegidius died 1532, Nov. 12. Widmestadij may, therefore, have known personally both Juan and Alfonso de Valdés.

Joachim Camerarius writes to George Sigismund Seld, Imperial Counsellor, who died in 1565: Cum autem nuper audiisset in omni genere doctrinae excellentis viri Dn. Johan. Alberti Widmerstadij [sic] bibliothecam ad te pervenisse... (Camerarii epist. famil., Frct. 1583, p. 113), and Andreas Masius says, in his Gram-

matica linguæ Syriæ, Antverp. 1571, p. 4: Cum igitur, ut audio, Widmanstadii libros omnes, sane non vulgares, Illustrissimus Bavarorum Dux sibi redemerit... From that time the above described copy of the Dialogo de Mercurio y Caron is in the Munich library. Widmestadij's copy of the dialogue on the sack of Rome, sold in the auction Quadremère, probably was bought by Wiffen and sent to Madrid for Usóz.

56. 15.. [Dos diálogos, 2. ed.]

Dialogo de Merenrio y | Caron: en que allende de muchas | cosas graciosas y de buena do- | etrina: se cuenta lo q̄ ha acae | scido en la guerra desdel | año de null y Quijjen- | tos y veinte y uno | hasta los desafios | delos Reyes | de Francia : Ynglaterra | hechos al Empera | dor en el año de | MDXXIIJ. | [Ornamental leaf].

S. l. e. a. The whole book Gothic. Octavo. 94 leaves, title including, registered to [M VI], leaves numbered. The leaves M VII and VIII are blank. Prohemio begins fol. 2, the dialogue fol. 3, first page, Secund libro fol. 57, first page, top. (Catchword fol. 56: Secundn). Fol. 26 is without number, some leaves are misnumbered: for 29 is printed 26, and the leaves 82, 84, 86, 88 are numbered respectively 74, 76, 78, 80, which four numbers thus recur a second time.

Dialogo: en que particu- | larmente se tratan: las cosas aca | eci- das en Roma: el año de | M. D. XXVII. | A gloria de Dios y bien vni- | uersal dela Republica | Christiana. | [Ornamental leaf.]

S. l. e. a. The first line of the title Gothic, the rest of the title Roman, the book Gothic. Octavo. 43 leaves, title included, registered to [f III], leaves numbered, the 44th unnumbered, empty. Al Lector fol. 2, Argumento and beginning of dialogue on the second page of the same leaf, Segunda parte fol. 18, p. 1, top.

This dialogue is evidently printed in the same office as the other one, and destined to accompany it.

GOETTINGEN Univ., both.

The volume, containing both dialogues, bought in Germany for the Bodleian library in 1857 (for £ 3. 12), with the inscription on the title Coll. Soc. Jesu Augustae, probably belongs to this edition.

57. 15.. [Dos diálogos, 3. ed.]

The copy of both dialogues in the BRITISH MUSEUM, in one volume, which formerly belonged to Mr Richard Heber, is, according to Wiffen, „a different edition from the two preceding, making three editions in Gothic letter.“

Unless Usóz, who, for his edition of the dialogue on the sack of Rome, used a transcript of this Gothic copy of the British Museum, has misinterpreted his information, or, which is more unlikely, Wiffen, who had himself taken the transcript, has made a mistake, the London copy in a passage found at p. 365 of Usóz' edition has, as Usóz remarks: V q. This would show, that the edition is a reprint of that which I think the second, for in this we find fol. b III: y q̄, but the y without its tail, which is broken of; ed. 4 has y q̄, ed. 1 and 5 have y que.

58. 15.. [Dos diálogos, 4. ed.]

Dialogo de Mercurio y | Caron: en que allende de muchas | cosas graciosas y de buena do | etrina: se cuenta lo q ha acae | scido en la guerra desdel | año de mill y Qujnjen | tos y veinte y vno | hasta los desafios | delos Reyes | de Francia i ynglaterra | hechos al Empe- | ria | dor en el año de | M D XXIIJ. | [Ornamental leaf]. S. l. e. a.

Title Gothic, the book in Roman Letter. Octavo. No numbers of pages or leaves. A II Prohemio, ending A III where on the first page the dialogue begins. With H begins Secund libro. The book ends on the first page of M VII, the 95th leaf, title included. The eighth leaf of sheet M is left void like the back of M VII.

Dialogo: en que particu- | larmente se tratan: las cosas aca | ecidas en Roma: el año de | M. D. XXVII. A gloria de Dios y bien vni- | uersal de la Republica | Christiana. | S. l. e. a. Only the first line of the title Gothic, the rest and the whole book in Roman letter. Octavo. No numbers of pages or leaves. a ij Al Lector. On the second page of a ij after the end of this preface Argumento and beginning of the dialogue. Segunda parte begins c ij, on the first page; ends f IV, first page. Total 44 leaves, title included.

In form and types and paper exactly equal to the edition just described of the Mercurio y Caron. The registration by small letters, whilst those of the other dialogue are large ones, shows that the printer thought, that both might well be bound together.

MUNICH, both in one volume of contemporaneous binding, first Mercurio y Caron, then the other dialogue. On the title of the former is written: Ad Conventum Monacensem ord. Erē. S. Auḡni 1733.

In the dialogue on the sack of Rome the passage bracketed by Usóz Dos diálogos p 452 is found in this edition c IV.

This edition of the Dos diálogos is printed with the same types, Gothic as well as Roman, as edition 2. Also two characteristic initials, representing human busts, occur here again in the Mercurio dialogue, the L in the beginning of the Prohemio, and the M, there in the beginning of each libro, here only in the beginning of the second.

59. 15.. [Dos diálogos, 5. ed.]

Dialogo de Mer- | cvrio y Caron: en qve allen | de de mvcas cosas graciosas | y de buena doctrina: se cuenta lo que ha acae | scido en la guerra desdel año de mill y Qui | nientos y veinte y vno hasta los de | safios delos Reyes de Francia et | ynglaterra hechos al Em- | perador en el año de | M. D. XXIIJ. | × | A woodcut representing the archangel Michael standing on Satan and threatening to pierce him; at the two sides above two little angels, below two boys.

S. l. e. a. Throughout Roman types. Octavo.

The Prohemio occupies the second leaf, the dialogue begins on the third, Secund libro on the second page of F VII. The whole ends page 2 of K VII. The last leaf of the tenth sheet is blank. Total 79 leaves, including title.

This probably is the edition of the dialogue between Mercury and Charon, of which Puigblanch, Inquisition unmasked, London 1816, vol. 2. p. 41 says: an 8vo volume, apparently printed in Flanders.

Notice on the title mvcas for muchas, and the wrong year 1523 instead of 1528.

Dialogo: en que particu- | larmente se tratan: las cosas aca | ecidas en Roma: el año de | M. D. XXVII. | Agloria de Dios y bien vni- | uersal de la Republica | Christiana. |

S. l. e. a. First line of the title Gothic, the rest and the whole book Roman. Octavo. Registration A—E IV, total 36 unnumbered leaves, title including. A II: Al Lector, ending on the second page, where, after the Argumento, begins the dialogue. B VII, p. 1: Segunda parte. E IV, p. 2: Finis.

A copy of this edition of the Lactancio-dialogue is in the National library at PARIS. Of some of the misprinted words, quoted in our table below p. 106, there are manuscript corrections.

The MUNICH library has a copy of this edition of both dialogues, bound together. In types, form and paper they exactly suit each other.

60. 1596. [Diálogo del saco de Roma, 6. ed.]

Dialogo en | qve particilar- | mente se tratan las co- | sas acaecidas en Roma: el | año de M. D. XXVII. | A la gloria de dios y bien vniuersal | de la Republica Christiana. | [Tres ornamentos] | Impreso en Paris, en el a- | ño de salud. | 1586. |

Title leaf, one leaf: el corrector de la imprimeria al prudente Lector, then p. 1—77. Octavo.

*This edition has an addition at the end, see edition 1850 p. 480.
CAMBRIDGE Trinity.*

61. 1850. [Dos diálogos, 6. ed.; Diálogo del saco de Roma, 7. ed.]

First leaf: Diálogos. | Second leaf: Dos diálogos | escritos | por Juan de Valdés, | ahora cuidadosamente reimpresos. | "Valdessio Hispanus scriptore superbiat orbis." | [— Dan. Roger. Epigr. in tum. Juelli. | Humphr. Vita Juel. 4 to. 1573] | Año de 1850. |

S. l. Octavo. On the back of the second title a passage on Juan de Valdés from a letter of Bonfadio. P. V—XIII introduction of the editor, who does not name himself, but who is known to be Luis Usóz i Rio (see above here p. 46). P. XVI old title of the Diálogo de Mercurio i Caron. P. XVIII—XX Prohemio al lector. P. 1—323 text. P. 325 title of the dialogue on the sack of Rome, from the edition of 1586. P. 326 previous notice from the same edition. P. 227—9 author's preface. P. 330 Argumento. P. 331—481 text. P. 483 Animas, ó almas, que intervienen en el Diálogo de Mercurio i Caron. P. 484 Fé de erratas.

The volume was afterwards reckoned as the fourth of the Reformistas antiguos Españosoles.

Table of various readings in different editions of the Dos diálogos.

Mercurio.

1	2	3	4	5	6
On the title MDXXVIII.	MDXXXII.	MDXXXII.	C VI	y el Venecianos	MDXXVIII.
C I y el veneciano nos	22 y el Venecianos	C III	y el Venecianos	67 i el Veneçianos	Cf. pref. VII. Cancels.
C IV el ynfante	25 en ynfante	D I	en ynfante	C V en ynfante	p. 78 el Infant
C VI platiado	28 platiado	D IV	platiado	C VII platiado	86 platicando
F IV ninos: a Faco	57 Ninos: a Faco	H I	Ninos: a Faco	F VII Ninos: a Faco	197 Minos, á Eaco
G IV mas is the last word of the last line, a full line, of the first page, the next page beginning:	67 mas is the last word of a full line; the next line on the same page having the words	J III	mas is the last word of a line in which room for an n is left, the next line on the same page beginning	G VIII mas. With full stop, the greatest part of the line after the stop being left open. The next line on the same page begins	228 mas with a series of stops indicating a hiatus at the end of the page.
Aprende decoro: la doctrina cristiana:	Aprende decoro: la doctrina cristiana:		Aprende decoro: la doctrina: the word christiana being omitted.	Aprende decoro: la doctrina; the word christiana being left out.	229 begins:
G VI parte das discordias	69 par- + teda las discordias	J V	parte da las discordias	H I	parte da las discordias
— Dereminate	— Determinate		— Determinate	H II	— Determinate
G VIII esse, but the seconds being injured (in both copies), it easily might be read t.	71 incorrupto esse	J VI	incorrupto	H III	incorrupto
H VII che	81 che	L I	che	J IV	che
J II sangue	84 sangue	L V	sangue	J VII	sangue
J VIII viños	93 viños	M VI	viños	K VII	viños
desde calabrase o lisiarse	— desde calabrase o lisiarse	—	desde calabrase o lisiarse	—	desde calabrase o lisiarse
a iiij fruir	3 fruir	a III	fruir	A III	fruir
— paresce	4 paresce	a IV	paresce	A III	paresde
b Borbon	12 Barbon	b IV	Barbon	B II	Barbon
b iiij buenas	13 buenas	b V	buenas	B III	duenas
b iiij hecho	— hecho	b VI	hecho	—	heco
— pudiesse	— pudiesse		— pudiesse	B IV	dudiese
— de	— de		— de	—	des
— mando	14 mando		— mādo	—	mand
— atadas	— aladas		— aladas	—	alades
b iiij es	15 es	b VII	en	B V	en
— ha	— has		— has	—	has
b V dineros	16 dineron	b VIII	dineron	—	dineron
— Seque	— Segue		— Segue	B VI	Segue
— mouiades	— mouiades		— mouiades	—	mouíades
d X Por cierto mandaderes	17 por cierto mandaderes	c I	por por cierto mandaderes	—	por por cierto mandaderes
	43 mandaderes	f IV		E IV	mandaderes

Lactancio.

6	7 [= 6 of both]
sufrir	335 fruir
	—, 5 a. i. paresze
	365 Borbon
	369, 4 buenas
	370, 6 a. i. hecho
	371, 4 pudiese
	—, 10 de
	372, 4 mandó
	—, 15 atadas
	376, 2 es
	377, 14 ha
	379, 5 a. i. dineros
	381, 1 Sé que
	—, 15 moviérades
	383, 7 Por cierto
	480, 4 a. i. mandaderes

This table, taken together with the foregoing descriptions, shows the reasons for my chronological arrangement of the different editions. It appears that the original edition has been simply reprinted without intentional changes until the Paris editor of 1586 introduced some alterations; it is an exception, when even such manifest misprints as dereminate are corrected, generally even such mistakes as incorrupto are repeated through all editions.

62. 1546. [Due dialoghi, 1. ed.]

Dve dialoghi, | l'vno di Mercurio, et Caronte: | nel quale, oltre molte cose belle, gratiose, | et di bona dottrina, si racconta quel, che | accadè nella guerra dopò l'anno, | MDXXI. | L'altro di Lattantio, et di vno | archidiacono: | nel quale puntualmente si trattano le cose | auenuute in Roma nell' anno | MDXXVII. | Di Spagnuolo in Italiano | con molta ac- | enratezza et tradotti, et renisti. | MDXLVI | Con gratia, et privilegio, | per anni dieci. |

The three lines with the dates and the last line are crooked. Lines 3, 4, 5. 9, 10, 12, 13, in Italics, the rest Roman.

Octavo. Leaves numbered, not pages.

After the title leaf fol. 2 Allo ilvstre signor Virgilio Caracciolo. Ends fol. 3, second page: Di Vinegia, il . XX. di Nouembre, MDXLV. Di . V. S. Affectionato scrutore Gioan Antonio di Padona. The two leaves in Roman letters, the Prologo of the author and the whole book in Italies. Folio 120 blank, without number. The second dialogue begins fol. 121 (unnumbered), ends fol. 183. The last leaf blank, without number. Signature A to Z (without J U W). Total, title included, 184 leaves.

Mistakes in the numbers of the leaves: 50 instead of 58, — 52 instead of 61, — 54 instead of 62, — 56 instead of 64.

Folio 121, line 11: sopra ql, che

Registered, at the bottom of the page, throughout with these numbers in Italics ij, iij, iiiij.

Fol. 5 under the Prologo of the author is found the following notice: A car. 26. à ver. 11. à fac. prima dove dice in Rhene, leggasi, in pegno: onero, per ostaggi, gli altri errori si rimettano al giudicio di chi legge. The words on fol. 26 run thus: lasciasse in Hispania in Rheni i duo suoi signioli maggiori. In the original we read (ed. of 1850, p. 55): dejase en España sus dos hijos mayores en rehenes. I think the editions, in which the Spanish word is replaced by the translation, to be later. N° 65 (in my possession) has fol. 26 per hostaggi, N° 67 fol. 20, and N° 68 (latest edition) fol. 24 have ostaggi.

BERLIN Royal, ULM City (in this copy, a small part of the text in the first ten leaves is destroyed by water). I have had both copies in my hand at the same time.

63. 154.. [Due dialoghi, 2. ed.]

Dve Dialoghi. | L'vno di Mercurio, et Caronte: | nel quale, oltre molte cose belle, gratiose, | et di buona dottrina, si racconta quel, che |

accadè nella guerra dopo l'anno, MDXXI. | L'altro di Lattantio, et | di vno Archidiacono: | nel quale puntalmente si trattano le | cose auenute in Roma nell' anno | M. D. XXVII. | Di Spagnuolo in Italiano con molta accuratezza et tradotti, et reuisti, | In Vinegia | Con gratia, et priuilegio, | per anni dieci. | *Italic letter. Small Octavo. A to Z 183 leaves, so numbered.*

Wiffen's title-copy and description. I suppose the collation copy to have been that of the BRITISH MUSEUM, signed 1070 K, which I could not get, when I asked for it. For Wiffen's notices to be quoted on the editions of the Due dialoghi I must remark, that he numbers as third edition what I consider to be the second, as second my third one, as first my fourth one, my first not being known to him. He says on this his n° 3:

„The dedication is signed not Il Clario, but Gioan Antonio di Padona. It has the same initial letter as n° 2, and the same text, page for page, but differs in the divided words at the ends of the lines; the slips of the type vary; at fo. 121, line 11, is sopra q^ul che, in n° 2 sopra quel, and che in the twelfth line; n° 1 has sopra quel in the twelfth line, and che in the thirteenth. N° 2 and 3 are numbered at folio 121, n° 1 is not numbered there. This edition agrees with n° 2 in the title, the initial letters and the register; it differs in the division of words at the end of the lines in most pages.“

64. 154.. [Due dialoghi, 3. ed.]

Dve dialoghi. | L'vno di Merevrio, et Caronte: | nel quale, oltre molte cose belle, gratiose, | et di buona dottrina, si racconta quel, che | accadè nella guerra dopò l'anno, | MDXXI. | L'altro di Lattantio, et di vno | archidiacono: | nel quale puntalmente si trattano le cose | auenute in Rome nell' anno | MDXXVII. Di Spagnuolo in Italiano con molta ac- | euratezza et tradotti, et reuisti. | In Vinegia. | Con gratia, et privilegio, | per anni dieci. | *The dedication Allo illvstre signor Virgi- | lio Caracciolo | is signed MDXLV... Il Clario. 183 leaves. Wiffen notices: „So numbered, but should be 184. A to Z in eights. Small octavo. Italic letter.“ The title is in a heavier letter than n° 1, the spacing of the lines different, different initial letters and catchwords to the dedication, being the same as n° 3. The body of the work agrees page for page with n° 1, but all the initial letters are different; the type is more regular and has not the slips of n° 1. Folio 121 is numbered. It is registered throughout iij, not iii as in part of n° 1. This edition and n° 3 appear to have issued from the same press, but are clearly different editions.“*

BRITISH MUSEUM, Grenville Collection n° 10, 130.

Il Clario at that time could not but mean Isidore Clario, the learned monk, who was, by Paul III, made bishop of Foligno, in January 1547, and member of the Tridentine Council; he died in 1555. No doubt the publisher of the Due dialoghi abused his name.

65. 154.. [Due dialoghi, 4. ed.]

Dve dialoghi. | L'vno di Merevrio, et Caronte: | nel quale, oltre molte cose belle, gratiose, | et di buona dottrina, si racconta quel, che | accadè nella guerra dopò l'anno, | MDXXI. | L'altro di Lattantio, et di vno | archidiacono: | nel quale puntalmente si trattano le cose | auenute in Roma nell' anno | MDXXVII. Di Spagnuolo in Italiano con molta acce | ratezza et tradotti et reuisti. | In Vinegia. | Con gratia, et priuilegio, | per anni dieci. |

Line 5 the apostrophe above l instead of after it, the accent above the o very faint. On the whole Italic letter. Lines 1. 2. 6—5. 11. 14—16. of the title, the dedication (excluding the first line), and some lines, words and letters of the text in Roman letters. Octavo. A to Z (without J U and W). 184 leaves, title included. Fol. 21 misnumbered: 22, which number occurs a second time in its proper place; fol. 74 misnumbered: 47; fol. 116 misn.: 119; fol. 150 the O is lost in my copy as well as in that of Munich; 152 misn.: 252; 153 misn.: 145; 160 misn.: 260; 161 foll. larger numbers than before; fol. 120 between the two dialogues is blank and as well as 121 unnumbered; also 184 blank and unnumbered. Fol. 2. 3. dedication Allo illvstre signor Virgilio Caracciolo. signed: Di Vinegia, il . XX. di Novembre. M. D. XLV. Di V. S. Affectionato seruitore. Il Clario. Only the subscription differs from ed. 1, the text of the dedication is the same here as there.

MUNICH Royal. COIRE Cantonal. BOEHMER's libr.

65^b.

In B. B. WIFFEN's copy of this edition the dedication is suppressed, the first sheet being reprinted with pages having fewer lines in order to occupy the same number of leaves; the title runs thus:

Dve dialoghi | L'vno di Merevrio et Caronte: | Nel quale molte cose belle gratiose, | & di buona dottrina si racco | ta quel che accade nella | guerra dopò l'anno. | M. D. XXI. | L'altro di Latantio et | l'archidiacono. | Nel quale puntalmente si trattano le | cose auenute in Roma nell' anno | M. D. XXVII. | Di spagnuolo in Italiano, con molta | accuratezza tradotti & reuisti. | Con gratia et privilegio. | Per anni dieci |

66. 154.. [Due dialoghi, 5. ed.]

Dve dialoghi, | L'vno di Merevrio et Caronte: | Nelquale, oltre molte cose belle, gratiose, & di buona dottrina, si racconta quel, che | accade nella guerra dopò l'anno, | MDXXI. | L'altro di Lattantio et di | vno archidiacono: | Nel quale puntalmente si trattano le cose | auenute in Roma nell' anno, | MDXXVII. | Di Spagnuolo in Italiano

con molta accu- | ratezza et tradotti, et reuisti. | In Vinegia. | Con gratia et privilegio | per anni dieci |

Octavo. Wiffen says: „Folios 148, numbered consecutively, including the title. The dedication of the former editions is omitted, the author's Prologo begins on the verso of the title, 3 pages. The whole is in Italic letter. The second book of the Dialogo Mereurio begins on the verso of folio 58, and ends on the verso of folio 96,” just as in the sixth edition (n° 67). „The first leaf of register F is registered E in mistake,” as is done also in the sixth edition.

WIFFEN's libr.

My title copy from a copy in the PARIS National library agrees with this one, only, by accident, I am not sure whether I made a stroke after privilegio. I noticed from the Paris copy: Octavo. Leaves, including title, 148, numbered. On the verso of the title leaf: Prologo. La principal eagine...; ends fol. 2 verso: tutta la religion christiana. No subscription, no name. Fol. 3: Mercurio. Risuegliati.

67. 154.. [Due dialoghi, 6. ed.]

Dve | dialoghi [on each side of the word dialoghi an ornamental leaf] | lyno di Merevrio et Caronte. | Nelquale, oltre molte cose belle, gratiose, & di | buona dottrina si raconta quel, che accade | nella guerra dopo l'anno. M. D. XXI. | L'altro di Lattantio et di vno archidiacono. | Nelquale puntualmente si trattano le cose | auenute in Roma nell'anno. | M. D. XXVII. | Di Spagnuolo in Italiano con molta acutezza | & tradotti, & reuisti, | in Vinegia | con gratia et privilegio | per anni dieci. | Without year. 148 folios numbered, title (without number) included. The whole text in Italics. No translator's preface. The prologo begins on the back of the title-leaf, and occupies three pages. By mistake the first leaf of sheet F is registered E, as I observed at least in the Munich copy and in the Zurich one.

Wiffen says: „Although this edition agrees with the description of n° 4, even to the catchwords at the ends of the sheets, it differs so much in the division of the broken words at the ends of the lines and in so many instances, that it must necessarily be a different edition from n° 4, yet it is a very close reprint of it.”

Characteristic of this edition is acutezza instead of accuratezza.

MUNICH Royal, ZURICH City, BODLEIAN. Cf. my Cenni p. 489 f.

68. 15... [Due dialoghi, 7. ed.]

Dve | Dialoghi. | L'vno di Merevrio, et Caronte, | Nelquale, oltre molte cose belle, gratiose: & di | buona dottrina, si raconta quel, che | accadè nella guerra dopo l'anno, | M. D. XXI. | L'altro di Lattantio, et di vno | archidiacono: | Nel quale puntualmente si trattano le cose | auenute in Roma nell' anno, | M. D. XXVII. | Di Spagnuolo in Italiano con molta accuratezza | tradotti, & reuist. | These lasi two lines in Italics.

S. l. e. a. Octavo. It has 180 numbered leaves, including title. The Prologo begins on the back of the title-leaf, the first dialogue with fol. 3, the second with fol. 119. The last four leaves have narrower spaces.

Characteristic of this title is the puntualmente instead of the puntalments of the other editions. Wiffen says: „This edition differs from all the preceding, having the Prologo of the author in Italies, and the text in Roman letter; all the preceding having the text in Italic letter. I suppose this to be the latest edition. The first three editions have the dedication, the last three have omitted it.” Editions 1-4 have the dedication, 4^a, 5, 6, 7 have omitted it.

BERLIN Royal, MUNICH (the copy is injured by worms; in the first nine leaves some words and lines are wanting, on the title the first word). WIFFEN's libr.

The title-copy of the Due dialoghi in the Catalogvs bibliothecae Bynavianaee, Tomvs III, vol. 1, Lipsiae CI.M.CCLV [Halle Univ.] p. 1287, and that in Carlo Milanesi's collection: Il saeco di Roma del MDXXVII, Firenze, Barbera, 1867, p. XXXVIII appear to have been taken from copies of this edition (puntualmente, no et before tradotti). Milanesi says p. XXXVIII and XXXIX: Non ha data di luogo né d'anno, ma forse è stampa degli ultimi del sec. XVI o de' primi del seguente. È in - 8 piccolo, numerato a carte, che sono 180. Il 2º dialogo si contiene da carte 119 a 180.

Vivente Salvà in A catalogue of spanish and portuguese books, London 1829, [Halle Univ. libr.], p. 67 has both dialogues in Spanish and in Italian; also in his Catálogo de los libros antiguos ó escasos, Castellanos..., Paris 1836, [in my possession], p. 32, n° 432, each dialogue in both languages. The editions cannot be identified from his insufficient notices; but, as they were s. a. n. l., the dated Italian edition (my n° 62) was not among them, was the Italian copy, mentioned in the London catalogue, the acutezza-edition (my n° 67). The price asked for the two dialogues in both languages was in the London catalogue £4, in the Paris catalogue 40 fr.

69. 1590.

The sacke | of Roome, | Exsequuted by the Emperour Charles | armie enen at the Natiuitie of this Spanish | kinge Philip, | notable described in a | Spanish Dialogue, with all the Horrible | accidents of this Sacke, and abhomina- | ble sinnes, superstitions & diseases | of that Cittie, which prouoked | these iust judgements | of God. Translated latelie into the English | tounge, neuer fitter to bee read nor | deeplier considered, then enen | now at this present | time. | [Ornament] | London | Printed by Abell Jeffes | for Roger Ward | 1590.

Title-copy by Wiffen, who adds: „Quarto. Black Letter. Not numbered. Registered A to K 3 in the fours. This translation appears to have been made from the Paris edition 1586 of the Spanish; for there is the omission respecting the worship of relies at p. II 4^b, and a small addition at the end of the Dialogue, taken from Cipriano de Valera's Dos tratados.“

In the BRITISH MUSEUM according to Wiffen. WIFFEN's own copy is without the title-leaf.

70. 1860.

A summary with translations of passages of both dialogues into English in the life and times of | Aonio Paleario. | By M. Young. | Volume I. | London: | Octavo. Pages 205—222.

71. 1865.

Extracts in English from the Two dialogues in Wiffen's Life and writings of Juan de Valdés 1865, p. 52—75.

72. 1609.

Discovrs | Vber | Kayser Carolen des Fünften | mit dem König aus Franckreich | Francisco Valesio gehaltener Schlacht vor Pavien, | vnd was sich sonst nach der Gefängnusz vnd erle- | digung Königs Francisci begaben: | In zwey Bücher abgetheilt. | Vnter erzehlung dieser Geschichten kommen beyde, an | einem, als Charon, (wie man dichtet) ein höllischer Schiffmann, wel- | cher die Seelen der verstorbenen über den höllischen Flusz zu führen pflegt: vnd | anders theils Mercurius, der Götter Bott, zusammen: Diese vnterlassen biszweilen den | lauff der Histori, vnd befragen die verstorbenen Seelen, wie sie in jener Welt gehau- | set: Darauff allerscits sehr artig, vnparteisch vnd hochvernünftig, das menschlich | Leben gehandelt vnd dargestellt wirdt. | Beschrieben anfänglich durch einen erleuchten Hispanier, | vnd in Hispanischer Sprach auszgangen. | Anjetzo aber durch einen fürnehmen Herren, allen | Trehwertzigen zum besten, ins Hochteutsch | übergesetzt. | × | Amberg, | MDCIX.

Black and red. The words Discovrs, Charon, Mercurius, and the year, in Roman letters.

Colophon: Getruckt in der Churfürstlichen Statt Amberg, | durch Michael Forster. |

Quarto. Title-leaf and 178 pages. It contains the Spanish Author's preface p. 1—4, and at the end on one page [178] a table of damned and blessed souls.

GOTHA Ducal, WOLFENBÜTTEL, BOEHMER's libr.

Follow two other editions of the same translation:

73. 1613.

Discovrs | Vber | Käyser Carolen desz Fünften mit | dem König aus Frankreich Francisco | Valesio gehaltener Schlacht vor Pavien, vnd was | sich sonst nach der Gefängnusz vnd erledigung | Königs Francisci begaben: | In zwey Bücher abgetheilt. | Vnter erzehlung dieser geschichten kommen bey- | de, an einem, als Charon, (wie

man dichtet) ein hölli- | scher Schiffmann, welcher die Seelen der verstorbenen über | den höllischen Flusz zu führen pflegt; vñ anders theils Mercurius, | der Götter Bott zusammen: Diese vnterlassen biszweilen | den lauff der Histori, vnd befragen die verstorbenen | Seelen, wie sie in jener welt gehauset: Dar- | auff allerseits sehr artig vnparteisch vnd hoch- | vernünftig, das menschlich leben gehan- | delt vnd dargestellt wird. | Geschrieben anfänglich durch einen erleuchten Hispanier, vnd in Hispanischer Sprach | auszgangen. | Anjetzo aber durch einen fürnemen Herrn, | allen Trehwertzigen zum besten, ins . Hochteutsch übergesetzt. | Amberg, | M. DC. XIII. | Black and red. *The same three words as in the first edition in Roman types, also the year. Octavo. After the title leaf:*

Vorrede | Desz Avetoris, p. 1—5. Discours p. 6—276. Last leaf on what would be p. 277: Verzeichnus der . . . | Seelen. Subscription: Gedruckt in der Churf. Statt Amberg, | bey Michael Forster.

GOTHA Ducal.

74. 1643.

Dialogvs oder Ge- | spräche, | Vber | Kayser Carolen | desz Fünften, mit Francisco | Valesio Königen zu Franckreich ge- | haltener Schlacht vor Pavia, vnd | was nach dessen Loslassung sich | begeben. | In welchem Mercurius vnd Charon vnter- | schiedlichen Ständen Personen so respectivè | verdammet vnd selig worden, mit einge- | führet: | Männiglichen von hohen vnnd nidern Standt, | Geist- vnd Weltlichen, vmb trefflicher Lehren | willen nöhtig, nutzlich vnd lustig | zu lesen. | Vmb damalige Zeiten von einem gebornen Spa- | nier beschrieben, nachmals ins Hochteutsche [sie] vbersetzt, | nunmehr aber denen, so weder Frieden noch Reforma- | tion finden könnten, zum besten in weitern | Truck befördert. | × | Franckfurt, bey Matthaeo Merian, | Im Jahr 1643. | The words: Dialogvs, Mercurius, Charon, respectivè, in Roman letters.

Octavo. After title-leaf Vorrede desz Avetoris p. 3—7. Discours p. 8—248. On what would be p. 249 the Verzeichnus of the souls. No colophon.

Prefixedit is a print representing Charon and Mercury with souls walking down to them and with the prospect of others on the water and in the flames.

GOTHA Ducal. In WIFFEN's copy the print is wanting.

75. 1704.

Des Grossen Käysers | Caroli V. | Regier- | Kunst, | oder | Väterliche Instruction, | Wie sein Sohn | Philippus II. | König in Spanien,

wohl und glücklich regieren sollen. | Zu mehrerer Erleuterung, und Dien- | ste derer Hohen, besonders jungen Regen- | ten mit dienlichen Anmerkungen | heraus gegeben | von | Johann George Leib, D. | Sere- niss. ac Potentiss. Polon. Reg. & Elect. | Saxon. Consil. & Ref. Judic. Thesaur. Leipzig, 1714. | bey Johann Christian Martini, | in der Nicolai Strasse. |

Four leaves dedication to Friedrich Augusto dem Andern, Königlichen Pohlni- schen wie auch des Chur-Fürstenthums Sachsen Erb- und Chur-Printzen. Two leaves An den Leser. Then p. 1--121 text with the editor's annotations. Nine pages Register, on the ninth page some Errata. Small Octavo. Facing the title, a print representing the portrait of the Emperor Charles V.

PONICKAU libr. and S. MARY's church libr., both at HALLE.

The editor says in the preface to the reader: Gegenwärtige Regier-Kunst hat zum Autorem dem grossen Carolum V. . . Es verdienet also diese Schrift bey aller Welt um so viel grössere Estime und Glauben; Dieweiln sie sowohl von einem in der That grossen Keyser, der das darinnen angewiesene solide Fundament, sich wahrhaftig zu aggrandiren, durch eigene Erfahrung bestärcket befunden, geschrieben, als auch aus einem liebreichen treuen Vater-Hertze, ohne Verhehlung seiner vor-mahls begangenen eigenen Fehler, zu seines Sohnes besserer Unterweisung, und, weil er ihm solche wenige Zeit vor seinem Tode übergeben, nach darzu gleichsam Testaments weise hergeschlossen; Wie dann auch dieses kleine, aber seiner Würde nach sehr importante Werck durch und durch mit nichts als lauter klugen, weisen und heilsamen Lehren, die in allen die Prudentz und wahre Politique zum Grunde setzen, angefüllt ist. Mich hat also die Liebe zu dieser unvergleichlichen und sehr wichtigen Schrift ihrer Vortrefflichkeit wegen dergestalt eingenommen, dass ich nicht umgehen können, dieselbe mit einigen Anmerkungen zum gemeinen Dienste in gegenwärtiger Form zu ediren; Bevorab, da wir in einer solchen Zeit leben, in welcher der Freyheit Teutschlandes die täglich mehr zu, als abnehmende Macht Franekreichs immer gefährlicher anscheinen will, und man also zu deren besserer Conservation auff sein wahres Interesse zu dencken, so viel mehrere Ursache hat. Die ietzige Form aber hat mir um deswillen beliebet, dass, wie das Werck wegen seiner Kürze um so viel mehr Lust giebt, es mit Vergnügen durch zu lesen, solches auch also mit desto wenigerer Beschwerde bey sich geführet werden könne. At the end he says (p. 119 f.): Sie [this Regier-Kunst] ist umb so vielmehr zu bewundern, dieweiln sie nicht alleine eine andere Rempublicam Platonicam gleichsam statuiert, sondern auch unter ihres Allerdurchlauchtigsten Verfassers glorieuseu Regierung in der That stabiliret, und mit einen solchen, als man nur davon wünschen können, glücklich ausgeführt hat. Sie hat darmit an Carolo V. selbsten der gantzen Welt bewiesen, wie weit ihr übergrosses Vermögen gehe. Es hat hierüber noch dieser unvergleichliche Keyser, wenn man dieselbe gegen seine Historie betrachtet, darinnen seine eigene Fehler mercklich verbessert, und diese Philippo II. gar ernstlich abgerathen. Sie hätte nicht weniger wegen ihrer allzugrossen Wichtigkeit eine weit geschicktere Feder, als die meinige, auch einen nicht minder Grossen und so erfahrenen Printzen, der die vom Carolo V. hierunter geführten Absichten viel besser ausführen können, zu ihren Commentatorem erforderet. . .

In the 42th note to this Regier-Kunst, p. 62, he says: Mit denen Worten: Dasz Philippus II nicht trachten solle sein Land in Auffnehmen zubringen, ist wohl

im Texte bey der Uebersetzung ein Irrthum vorgegangen, wie solches auch der Context selbsten gibt, und solchemnach vielmehr zu erweitern oder zuvergrössern heissen soll. *From this passage it is evident that Leib had not himself made the translation which he edited, and that he had not then access to the original.*

The fact is, that this Instruction, said to be directed by the Emperor Charles V, short time before his death, to his son King Philip II, is simply taken from what the soul of a deceased king tells in Juan Valdés' dialogue of Mercury and Charon, according to the German translation, printed three times in the 17th century. Leib's text is only a little modernized.

Probably this confession had, before Leib's publication, been printed as an instruction of the Emperor Charles V to his son.

The Regierkunst begins with words corresponding to the passage conosciendo cuán pernicioso es al Príncipe. Dos diálogos 1850, p. 211, and runs, with omissions, to what is read ib. p. 240: i te guiará en todo lo que debieres hazer, including this sentence. In the German translation of 1609 the questionable passage, containing the words in auffnemmen zu bringen, is read p. 124, the Spanish has ensanchar, ed. 1850, p. 225.

The so called Instruction of the Emperor Charles V to his son Philip II, published in French by Teissier in 1699, and reprinted in 1700, is entirely different from Leib's Regierkunst, and has no connection with the Dialogue of Valdés.

Juan de Valdés.

Joan. Valdesius under the Authores primae classis in Pius' IV Index prohibitorum, Dilingae 1564, fol. 28.

1. *Dialogue between Mercury and Charon*

Spanish Italian German English, part of it.	}	see above p. 101 f.
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2. *Dialogue on the Spanish language*

Spanish 1737. 1860. 1873. Part of it 1865. English. Parts 1865.
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3. *Christian Alphabet (Spanish original lost)*

Italian 1546. 1860. Spanish 1861. English 1861. Parts 1865.

4. *The Christian's own book, a tract (Spanish original lost)*

Italian 1546. 1854. 1860. Spanish 1861. English 1852. 1861. Part of it 1865.
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5. *Commentary upon S. Paul's epistle to the Romans and first epistle to the Corinthians.*

Spanish 1556—7. 1856. English. Parts 1865. Dedication to Giulia 1638. 1861. 1865. Parts 1860.

(John Betts, the translator of the Considerations, has completed in ms. an English translation of this commentary).

6. *Ordinance for preachers (Spanish original lost)*
Italian 1544 or 1545 (perhaps to be found again)
Five tracts, of which the first that Ordinance (Spanish original of all lost)
Italian 1545. 1870.
German 1870.
7. *Catechism (Spanish original lost)*
Italian about 1545
Latin 1554 (not discovered). 155.. 1864. (1871 new title, naming J. Valdés as author)
German
first translation 1555.
second translation 1872.
Polish about 1555 (not discovered).
8. *Divine considerations (Spanish original lost)*
Italian 1550. 1860.
Spanish
first translation 1862
second translation 1855. 1863.
French 1563. (new title 1601). 1565.
Dutch 1565 (not discovered)
English
first translation 1638. 1646.
second translation 1865.
German 1869. One Consideration 1861.

[Diálogo de la lengua]

76. 1737.

Dialogo | de las lenguas. | Marcio, Valdes, | Coriolano, Torres.

This is contained on p. 1—178 of: *Origenes | de la lengua Española, | compuestos | por varios autores, | recogidos | por don Gregorio | Mayáns i Siscár, | Bibliotecario del Rei | Nuestro Señor. | tomo II. | con licencia: | En Madrid. por Juan de Zuñiga, | Año 1737. | Octavo. Compare on this dialogue also t. I, published in the same year.*

HALLE Univ.

The two volumes of Mayans' *Origenes* were offered in Hartung's at Leipzig antiquarian Verzeichniss 139 of the year 1871 for 7 Thalers.

The edition of 1860 has p. 140—141 the following note, relating to a passage on the word: cardenal: Lo que va entre [] lo suprimió Mayans en los ejemplares, para la venta jeneral: pero en otros ejemplares, probablemente de regalo, no lo suprimió. Luis de Usoz i Rio, tiene un ejemplar sin esta supresión.

77. 1860.

First title-leaf: Diálogo de la lengua. | Apéndize. | On the verso a quotation from Brozense.

Second title-leaf:

Diálogo de la lengua | (tenido ázia el A. 1533), | i | publicado por primera vez el año de 1737. | Ahora reimpreso conforme al MS. de

la Biblioteca Nazional, | único que el Editor conoce. | Por Apéndize va una Carta de A. Valdés. | „Qui sapientiae et literarum | divertium faciunt, nunquam ad | solidam sapientiam pertingent. Qui vero alias etiam á literarum | linguarumque studio abstinent, | non antiquae sapientiae sed novae | stultitiae doctores sunt habendi.“ | Madrid: Año de 1860. | Imprenta de J. Martín Alegría. | Paseo del Obelisco, núm. 2, (Chamberí). |

Quarto. Two title-leaves; p. [V]—LIII editor's introduction; p. [II]—205 text, p. 206 note, one leaf erratas; Apéndize p. [I]—71 letter of Alphonse Valdés with Baldassar Castiglione's answer.

78. 1865.

Diálogo de la lengua escrito por Juan de Valdés hacia el año 1533 en Nápoles. | (reimpreso Madrid 1860) | Marcio. Valdés. Coriolano. Pacheco.

Immediately under this head the text begins, and runs, without any annotations, on four pages, each divided in two columns, to p. 16 of the Madrid edition, concluding with the words: Si os queréis gobernar por mí, haremos d'esta manera ... At the bottom: Halle, Druck der Waisenhaus-Buchdruckerei. Without year. This piece was printed in 1865 by Dr. Boehmer as p. 5-8 of a quarto-sheet, destined to be privately given to students at the University beginning to learn Spanish. The other four pages contain grammatical paradigms and notices. There are some typographical errors in this extemporised print.

HALLE Ponickau libr.

79. 1873.

Dialogo de las lenguas.

P. 1—148 of *Origenes | de la | lengua Española, | compuestos por varios autores, | recogidos | por d. Gregorio Mayans y Siscar, | bibliotecario del rey, | publicados por primera vez en 1737, | y reimpresos ahora por la sociedad „La Amistad Librera“, | con un prólogo | de d. Juan Eugenio Hartzenbusch, | y notas | al Diálogo de las lenguas y á los Origenes de la lengua, de Mayans, por d. Eduardo de Mier. | Administracion, | Libreria de Victoriano Suarez, | calle de Jacometrezo, número 72. | 1873. | On the back of the title-leaf: Madrid. — Imprenta y estereotipia de M. Rivadeneyra, | calle del Duque de Osuna, número 3. Octavo.*

The passage on the Cardinals [see here n° 76] is fully printed. One leaf of the ms. wanting as in both former editions. Apparently, the editors do not know anything about Usóz's edition of 1860.

1865, parts in English, see n° 109.

[Alfabeto Christiano and the Christian's own book]

In Pius' IV. Index prohibitorum, Dillingae 1564. fol. 14 amongst Libri ab incerti nominis authoribus compositi: Alphabetum Christianum.

80. 1546.

Alfabeto | Christiano, | che insegnia la vera | via d'acqvistare | il lvme dello spi- | rito santo. | [Ornamental leaf] Stampata con gratia & priuilegio. | l'Anno M. D. XLVI. | s. l., probably Venice. Octavo.

On the back of the title-leaf a dedication Alla illystriss. signora la S. Donna Giulia Gonzaga sua padrona Marco Antonio Magno.

Folio 2 and 3 author's address: Alla illystrissima signora la s. donna Giulia Gonzaga. The work, fol. 4-69. Index fol. 69. 70.

Fol. 71: Del medesmo | autore. | In che maniera il Chri- | stiano ha da studiare nel suo proprio libro, | et che frutto ha da trahere dello stu- | dio, et come la santa scrittura | gli serue per interprete, o commentario. | Ends fol. 76 recto.

The only copy now known was discovered by B. B. Wiffen, who gave it to Luis USÓZ I RIO.

The above description has been given according to the reprint, see n° 82. The Facsimile of the ancient title given with the English translation, see n° 82, differs a little from the reproduction before the Italian reprint, this one having et, the facsimile &; both have stampata, not —to.

81. 1854.

In che maniera il Cristiano ha da studiare nel suo proprio libro, e che frutto ha da trarre dallo studio, e come la santa Scrittura gli serve per interprete e commentario.

Reprinted by B. B. Wiffen in the Eco di Savonarola. Anno VIII, September and October, num. 9 and 10. Londra 1854. pages 140—142 and 149—151.

82. 1860. 1861.

Alfabeto Christiano | scritto in lingua Spagnuola | per Giovanni di Valdes. | E dallo stesso manoscritto autografo recato nell' Italiano | per Marco Antonio Magno. | Ora ristampata fedelmente la versione Italiana | pagina per pagina, | con l'aggiunta di due traduzioni, | l'una in Castigliano, l'altra in Inglese. | „Valdessio Hispanus scriptore superbiat orbis.“ | [Ornamental leaf] Londra. L'anno MDCCCLX. | (Non pubblicato).

Octavo. After the title-leaf, on the back of which are two quotations, follows fol. [1]—76 the reprint of the edition of 1546. At the end two leaves errata. Edited by B. B. Wiffen.

Alfabeto Cristiano | de | Juan de Valdés. | Reimpresión fiel del traslado Italiano: | añádense ahora dos traducciones modernas, una en Castellano, otra en Inglés. | „Valdessio Hispanus scriptore superbiat orbis.“ | [Ornamental leaf] Londres. Año de MDCCCLXI. | On the back quotations. Octavo. Preface, signed: Luis de Usóz i Rio, p. [III]—VIII. Old title and prefaces p. [IX]—XV. The work with the appended treatise of Valdés p. [1]—192.

Alfabeto | Christiano, | which teaches the true way | to acquire the light of the holy spirit. | [Ornamental leaf] | Printed with permission and privilege, | in the year M. D. XLVI. | Pages [3]—212 (including this title and the author's appended treatise which begins p. 198). In one volume with the following general title and other contents:

Fore-title: Alfabeto Christiano. Title: Alfabeto Christiano | by | Juan de Valdés. | A faithful reprint of the Italian of 1546: | with two modern translations. in Spanish and in English. | „Valdessio Hispanus scriptore superbiat orbis.“ | [Ornamental leaf] | London. MDCCCLXI. | On the back, besides quotations, the notice: (Not published: only 150 copies printed, and 20 on large paper.) Octavo. A memoir, directed to Luis de Usóz i Rio, on Juan Valdés and Giulia Gonzaga, p. V—LXXXIII, besides two leaves facsimile from the Hamburg ms. of Valdés' Considerations. Follows the ancient Italian title page; reverse blank. Then the English translation p. [3]—212. Appendix and Index p. 212—246, containing also p. 216—229 Ferrar's English translation, revised by Wiffen, of Valdés' epistle to Giulia Gonzaga, dedicatory of the commentary on the Romans.

Prefixed series-title: Reformistas antiguos españoles. Tomo XV. On the back list of Obras ya reimpresas. Number 15: Alfabeto Christiano. Italiano. Español e Inglés. With the notice for this number: Se han impreso, i no para venta pública, solos 150 ejemplares; i 20 en papel de marca.

83. 1852.

Wiffen inserted an English translation of the Christian's own book, in the British Friend, 9th month 1852, Glasgow. I have not seen this.

1865, parts in English, see n° 109.

[Commentary

upon S. Paul's epistle to the Romans and first epistle to the Corinthians]
Prohibited, see Cenni p. 525.

84. 1556.

Comenta- | rio, o declaracion | breve, y compendiosa so | bre la Epistola de S. Paulo Apostol | a los Romanos, muy saluda- | ble para todo Cristiano. | Compuesto por Jvan | Valdesio pio, y sincero Theologo. | [Device, a large Y, the branches present, the narrow, the way to eternal life, the broad, that to destruction, with the words: Estrecho el camino dela vida, | y es ancho el dela perdicion.] | El evangelio es potencia de :

Dios para dar salud a todo creyente. | Rom. 1. | En Venecia, en casa de | Juan Philadelpho. | M. D. LVI. |

Octavo, 340 pages, including title. Title, Dedication A la ilustrissima señora la señora dona Julia de Gonzaga p. 3-13, Al lector (by Juan Perez) p. 14-26; the work p. 27 follow.

The printer is Jean Crespin at Geneva, see Wiffen in Reformistas Españoles XVIII, p. 42.

WOLFENBÜTTEL Ducal. HALLE Orphanhouse, BOEHMER. Cf. my Cenni p. 524.

A copy of this edition was offered by Tross in Paris in his Catalogue des livres anciens, année 1868, n° 3, for one hundred francs. In the same year Asher in Berlin, in his Catalogue LXXXV, n° 1072 and 1073 offered two copies, one for fifty thalers, another one, with less margin, for thirty two thalers.

85. 1557.

Comenta- | rio o declaracion fa- | miliar, y compendiosa sobre | la primera Epistola de san Paulo Apo- | stol a los Corinthios, muy vtil para | todos los amadores dela | piedad Christiana. | Compuesto por Jvan | VV. pio y sincero Theologo. | [Device, a large Y, the branches present the narrow, the way to eternal life, the broad that to destruction, with the words on the right and the left side, beginning at the right side and running upwards, the continuation running downwards: Estrecho el camino de la vida, y es ancho el de la perdicion. |] La declaracion de tvs pala- | bras alumbra, y da entendimiento alos pe- | queñitos. Psalmo. 119. | En Venecia en casa de | Juan Philadelpho. | M. D. LVII. | Octavo, p. 1-450, including title.

„The same reasons which prove the former commentary, printed at Geneva, apply equally to this.“ Wiffen.

WOLFENBÜTTEL Ducal, FRANKFURT o. M. City., BODLEIAN. Cf. my Cenni p. 524.

86. 1856.

La epistola | de San Pablo a los Romanos, | i la I. a los Corinthios. | Ambas traduzidas i comentadas por Juan de Valdés. | Ahora fielmente reimpresas. | Valdessio Hispanus scriptore superbiat orbis. | (Dan. Roger. Epigr. in tum. Juelli. Humphr. | Vita Juel cto. 1573.) | Año de 1856. |

S. l. Octavo. XXX p. + 4 p. not numbered, + 305 pages, and (Corinthians) XIX pages, + 3 p. not numbered, + 317 p., + 3 p. not numbered, and 60 p. of notes, total 741 pages.

First title-leaf: Reformistas antiguos Españoles. | Tomos X i XI.

87. 1860.

The beginning of the dedicatory letter to Giulia Gonzaga of the commentary of the epistle to the Romans is reprinted from the edition of 1856, with an Eng-

lish translation, in The life and times of Amio Paleario. By M. Young. Volume I. London 1860. Pages 551-2. It ends with line 16 of p. VIII of the 1856 edition.

1638. 1861. 1865, parts in English, see nos 107. 82. 109.

[Five tracts]

88. 1541.

Modo di tener nell' insegnare et nel predicare al principio della religione Christiana.

Prohibited in the Index of 1549, and in Pius IV Index of 1564.

Edition di XIII carte, i. e. 13 leaves, in ottavo, known by Vergerio, and appearing to be different from the Roman edition of 1545, and most likely earlier, 1545 or 1544. Compare above p. 71, my edition (nº 90) p. IV, my Cenni p. 529.

89. 1545.

Modo che si | dee tenere ne l'in- | segnare, & predicare il | principio della reli- | gione Christiana. | [Woodcut representing the good shepherd with a sheep in his arm] | In Roma. | M. D. XXXV. | Octavo.

Contains five treatises

Della peniten- | za Christiana. Beginning fol. A II

Della giustificatione " B VI verso

Della medesima | Giustificatione. " C III verso

Che la vita eterna | e Dono di Dio per Jesu Chri- | sto Nostro Signore.

Beginning fol. D I

Se al Christiano | conviene dubitare ch' egli sia in gra- | tia di Dio & se ha da temere il di | del Giudicio & se e bene es- | ser certo de l'vno & | amare l'altro

Beginning fol. D IIII verso.

The book ends fol. E IV verso. No paging nor foliation besides the signature. The text of each of the five treatises begins with a fine initial in frame.

FRANKFURT o. M, City library. No other copy is known to exist.

90. 1870.

Sul | Princípio della dottrina Cristiana. | Cinque trattatelli evange- | licli | di | Giovanni Valdesso, | ristampati | dall' edizione Romana del | 1545. | Halle sulla Sala | Georg Schwabe. | 1870. |

Small Octavo. P. III-VIII preface, signed Halle, gennaio 1870. Eduard Boehmer. Then on a separate leaf a facsimile of the old title-page, but without the wood-cut. Text p. 1-79.

91. 1870.

Juan de Valdés | über | die christlichen Grundlehren. Fünf evange- | lische Tractate, | gedruckt zu Rom 1545, | jetzt zuerst ins Deutsche übersetzt. | Halle a. S. | Verlag von Georg Schwabe. | 1870. |

Octavo. On the second leaf a Vorwort, dated January 1870, by Ed. Boehmer, who has also revised the translation, made by his wife. The Treatises p. 1-84.

[Catechism]

Prohibited in the Index of 1549.

Catechismus, cui titulus, Qual maniera prohibited amongst Authorum incerti nominis libri in Pius' IV Index, Dilingae 1564, fol. 17. And fol. 33 in the like rubric most probably the same book is meant under the title Maniera di tener ad insegnare i figlioli Christiani.

92. 154..

In qual maniera si doverebbono instituire i figliuoli de Christiani.

According to Vergerio, di un foglio, i. e. one sheet. See my Cenni p. 530.— I think this treatise of Valdés was transformed by Vergerio into his Lac spirituale. See above p. 71.

93. 1554.

Illustri atque optimae spei Puero D. Eberhardo, Illustrissimi Principis et Domini Domini Christophori Dueis, Wirtembergensis &c. filio primogenito Munuscum Vergerii exulis Jesu Christi. A. M. D. LIII. in 8.

This is the notice which Schelhorn gives of the book, of which he had then a copy at hand, Amoenitat. literar. t. 12. 1730. p. 620—21. I repeat, the year is 1554. Niceron, Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des hommes illustres dans la république des lettres, t. 38, Paris 1737, p. 78, has the following paragraph: Illustri atque optimae spei Puero D. Eberhardo, Illustris. Principis Christophori, Ducis Wirtembergensis, filio primogenito Munuscum Vergerii exulis Jesu Christi. Anno 1554. in 8°. C'est une traduction d'un Ouvrage Espagnol de Jean Valdes sur l'instruction des enfans, que Coelius Secundus Curion dans une Lettre écrite à Jean de Lasco, datée du 1. Novembre 1558. et inserée dans le Recueil de Simon Abbes Gabbema, dit que Vergerio a voulu faire passer pour son Ouvrage, ajoutant qu'après l'avoir dédié au fils du Duc de Wirtemberg, il en changea le titre dans un voyage qu'il fit en Pologne, et le dedia comme quelque chose de nouveau au fils du Duc d'Olika. Il se trompe cependant, quand il dit qu'il l'offrit au premier sous le titre de Lac spirituale.

Petrus Paulus Vergerius figures among the Authores primae classis in Pius' IV Index, Dilingae 1564, fol. 35, cf. 39.

The pamphlet, so much searched for, appeared at last in the LV. Catalog des antiquar. Bücherlagers von Fidelis Butsch in Augsburg, Januar 1868, p. 21, n. 425. I telegraphed to Mr. Butsch, in order to get the book, but it was sold, nor could I learn, to whom. The title-copy in the catalogue is somewhat abbreviated; the description says: 8 ff. 8. S. 1. 554.

94. 155..

Lac spirituale, | pro alendis ac edvean- | dis Christianorum pue-
ris ad | gloriam Dei. | Mvnscvlm Vergerii. | Illustrissimo Domino
Nicolao, Illu- | strissimi Principis D. Nicolai Radiuli | Dvcis Olicae ac
Nesuuisi. Palatini Vil | nensis, &c. Primogenito. | Adiecta svnt. | Prima

Christiana religionis elementa, Latinis, Græcis, | Germanicis & Polonicis carminibus reddita, | per | Andream Tricesivm | equitem Polonum, & | Mathiam Stoivm Regio- | montanum, Philosophie & Medicine Doctorem. | Item Hymni quotidiani. | II. Ti-
mooth. III. | Persistito in his quæ didicisti, & quæ tibi coneredita sunt, sciens à
quo didiceris, & quòd à pueru sacras literas noueris, quæ te | possunt eruditum
reddere, ad salutem quæ est | in Christo Jesu. | Octavo.

On the back of the title-leaf Tricesii dodecastichon.

A ij Lac spirituale — b iij.

Under Amen is read: Ex Italico, Versus est etiam Germanice
& Polonice. Excudebat Joannes Daubman | nus Regiomonti Borussiæ.
WOLFENBÜTTEL.

95. 1864.

Lac spirituale. | Institutio | puerorum Christianorum | Vergeriana. |
Edidit | F. Koldewey. | Brunsvigae | sumptibus Alfredi Bruhn.
MDCCCLXIV. | Octavo. 32 pages, including title. Text of the Lac p. 7—17.
Observations by the editor and Dr. Eduard Boehmer, p. 19 foll.
HALLE Ponickau libr.

95^b. 1871.

Lac Spirituale. | Johannis de Valdés | institutio puerorum chri-
stianæ | edidit | Fridericus Koldewey. | Accedit epistola Eduardi Boeh-
mer ad editorem data | de libri scriptore. | Editio altera. | Halis, | Sum-
ptibus G. Aemilii Barthel. | MDCCCLXXI. |

Besides this title-leaf, and a second leaf with a Praefatio of Koldewey (wherein also some typographical errors, especially of Boehmer's epistle, are corrected), it is the identical edition of 1864, not a new print.

HALLE Ponickau.

96. 1555.

Ein Edel | Schriftlich Kleinath vnnd | Verehrung des Ehrwürdi-
gen | Herrn Petri Pauli Vergerii, An des | Durchleuchtigen Hochgebor-
nen Für- | sten vnd Herrn, Herrn Christoffs Her- | tzogen zù Wür-
temberg, w. erstgebor- | nen Son, Hern Eberhartum, lateinisch |
geschriften: Dieser zeit aber zù nutz vnd | wolfarth aller Christlichen
lieben | Jugendlt ins Teutsch ge- | bracht. | 2. Timoth. 3. | Weil du
von kind auff die heilige | Schriftt weisest, kan dich die selbig vn- |
derweisen zùr seligkeit durch den Glau- | ben an Christum Jesum. |
Tübingen | Anno D. M. LV. {sic}

*In red the words Ein Edel, then Herrn Petri inclus. to Eberhartum inclus.,
moreover 2. Timoth. 3 and Tübingen.*

A I (title) to C 4. No numeration of pages or leaves.

Behind the title follows: Den chrwürdigen, Hochgelerten Herrn, Hieronymo Gerharto, beider Rechten Doctorn, vnd fürstlichen Württembergischen Rhat vnd Dienern. Six pages dedication by the translator, with the subscription: Dettlingen Schloszberg, den 22. Augusti. Anno sc. 55. E. E. Dienstwilliger M. Bartholomeus Hagen Pfarrer zu Dettingen.

Then: Vergerii Vorrede. Weil ich durch tägliche vnd langwirige erfahrung weisz, das dem menschlichen Geschlecht von seiner art vnnd natur disz laster angeborn ist. Ends on the second page with the words: zu zeitlichem verderben vnd ewigen verdammnusz raichen würt.

The work itself 27 pages. Begins: Erstlichs soll die Jugendt vor allen dingen wissen. Ends: wo er in der heilgen Schrift etwas liset oder hört lesen.

At the end on two pages: Vermanung an alle Christliche Eltern. Ends: wölclem sei glori, ehr vnd herlichkeit in ewigkeit, Amen.

GOETTINGEN Univ.

97. 1872.

Geistliche Milch | für Christenkinder, um sie damit zur Ehre Gottes zu nähren und aufzuziehen. | Von | Juan de Valdés. | Aus dem Lateinischen des P. P. Vergerio | von Ludwig de Marées. |

In Christliches Volksblatt, edited by Gustav Stutzer, Pastor zu Erkerode bei Braunschweig, published by G. Emil Barthel in Halle a. S., Sechster Jahrgang. Nr. 30. 21. Juli 1872. P. 273—279, with a short Vorwort des Uebersetzers p. 273—4. The translator is minister of the gospel at Zeitz. Octavo.

HALLE Ponickau libr.

98. 185..

A Polish translation of the Lac spirituale is mentioned in the second, the Koenigsberg edition of the Latin (see above n° 92).

[Considerations]

99. 1550.

Le cento & dieci di | uine Considerationi del S. | Giouâni Valdesso: nelle qua- | li si ragiona delle cose uti | li, piu necessarie, & piu perfet | te della Christiana | professione. | I Cor. II. | Noi vi ragionamo della perfetta sa- | pientia, non della sapientia di questo | mundo, &c. | In Basilea, M. D. L. |

Octavo. Curione's preface fol. a2—a7. Tavola a8—b4. Considerations A 1 —Hh 4, 244 leaves. Neither leaves nor pages are numbered, but at the head of the columns stand the numbers of the considerations. The body of the book in Italics. A facsimile of the title is given with my reprint (see here n° 100) p. 441, with Usóz' translation first ed. (here n° 102), and second ed. (here n° 103) p. 460, and with Wiffen's Life of Valdés (here n° 109) p. 180.

HALLE Orphanhouse, ULM City, COIRE Cantonal library, CAMBRIDGE Trinity, HAMBURG City (see F. L. Hoffmann's notice in the Intelligenzblatt zum Serapeum 1862, 15 February, p. 20). Cf. my Cenni p. 534.

In the Catalogue de livres rares et curieux en vente aux prix marqués à la librairie Bachelin-Deflorenne, Paris 1872, p. 186, n° 2435, a copy, not bound, was offered for 480 francs, sur le titre l'envoi autographe: Exculo D. Gasparro a Zydbruck (?) Lelius Sozinus, d. d. Bel exemplaire. Légères monillures aux derniers ff. No doubt the questionable name is Nydbruck. There are letters of him in S. Thomas archives, Strassburg; see below in the article on Enzinas.

Cœlius Secundus Curio is among the first rate prohibited writers in Pius' IV. Index, Dilingae 1564, fol. 16.

100. 1860.

Le cento e dieci | divine considerazioni | di | Giovanni Valdesso. | Halle in Sassonia. | MDCCCLX. |

110 copies have the name of the bookseller: E. Anton. between the printing place and the year, in a separate line.

Octavo. The title and tavola XII p., second title one leaf. The work p. 1—425; Epistola del primo editore with notice on this one (Curione) p. 427—437; Confronto della edizione del 1550 con la presente del 1860 p. 439—475; Cenni biografici sui fratelli Giovanni e Alfonso di Valdesso. 1861. p. 477—598, Documento inedito p. 599—603. Supplimenti p. 604; one leaf with errata. Total 620 pages. Besides, one leaf facsimile, belonging to p. 484. On p. 598 the name of the editor is subscribed: Eduard Boehmer.

Many copies were distributed to public libraries, cf. above p. 61.

Facsimiles of the title-page, in the Spanish translation of 1863 (here n° 103) p. 461, and in Wiffen's Life of Valdés (here n° 109) p. 181, both without the name of E. Anton.

101. 1862.

Ziento i diez consideraciones | leidas i explicadas házia el | año de 1538 i 1539. | Por Juán de Valdés. | Conforme a un ms. Castellano | escrito el a. 1558 | existente en la biblioteca de Hamburg, | I ahora publicada por vez primera | con un facsimile. | Valdesio Hispanus scriptore superbiat Orbis. | España . Año MDCCCLXII.

Octavó. Two title leaves, the work p. 1—544, besides notes p. 1—18, errata 2 pages, fascimile 2 leaves.

The title given above is the second. First title: Reformistas antiguos | Españoles. | N° XVI. |

Facsimiles of the chief title-page, in the Spanish translation of 1863 (here n° 103) p. 467, and in Wiffen's Life of Valdés (here n° 109) p. 190.

102. 1855.

Ziento i diez | consideraciones | de | Juan de Valdés. | Ahora publicadas por primera vez en castellano. | "Valdessio Hispanus Scriptore superbiat Orbis." | (Dan. Roger. Epigr. in tum. Juelli. Humphr. | Vita Juel. 4to. 1573.) | Año de MDCCCLV. |

Octavo. Titles 5 leaves; Curione's preface in Italian and Spanish p. 2—21, tabla p. 23—36, the work p. 37—544, editor's appendix 55 p., errata 1 leaf, additional Advertencias 2 leaves, total 615 pages. First title leaf: Reformistas antiguos | Espanoles. | Tomo IX.

It was translated by Don Luis Usóz i Rio. Only 208 copies printed.

Facsimiles of the chief title-page, in the second edition of 1863 (here n° 103) p. 466, and in Wiffen's Life of Valdés (here n° 109) p. 188.

103. 1863.

Ziento i diez consideraciones | de | Juán de Valdés. | Primera vez publicadas en Castellano, el a. 1855 | por | Luis de Usóz i Rio | i ahora correjidas nuevamente con mayor cuidado. | "Valdesio Hispanus scriptore superbiat orbis." | Dan. Roger. Epigr. in tun. Juelli Humphr. Vita Juel. 4to. 1573. | [Ornamental leaf] | Año de MDCCCLXIII. |

Octavo. XXXI pages title, Curione's preface, tabla; considerations p. 1—426; variantes p. 427—457; twelve title-pages of the editions and of the Hamburg ms. p. 459—470; apéndize (containing various information on the brothers John and Alphonse Valdés) p. 471—725; tablas, advertencias, erratas 727—734.

Colophon: Impreso en Londres: | En casa de G. A. Claro del Bosque. | Acabose de imprimir | En el 28º del décimo mes | del Año 1863.

Prefixed title: Reformistas antiguos | Espanoles. | Tomo XVII.

Facsimiles of the chief title-page, in the work itself p. 468, and in Wiffen's Life of Valdés p. 189.

104. 1563.

Cent | et dix con- | syderations | divines de Jan de VAL D'ESSO, | Traduites premierement, d'Espai- | nol en langue Italienne, & de nou- | ueau mises en François, par | C. K. P. | [A derice: a salamander in flames, with inscription at the sides: durer, mourir, | & non perir. | A Lyon, | Par Claude Senneton, | M. D. LXIII. |

Pages 708 [misnumbered 608] including title; besides table: 9 unnumbered leaves; total 726 pages. Octavo.

Colophon: A Lyon, | Par Jean d'Ogerolles, | 1563.

Facsimiles of the title, in the Spanish translation of 1863 (here n° 103) p. 462, and in Wiffen's Life of Valdés (here n° 109) p. 182.

OXFORD ALL Souls, PARIS Nationale.

104^b. 1601.

Les divines | considerations, | et sainctes meditations | de Jean de VAL D'ESSO Gentil-homme Espaignol. | Touchant tout ce qui est necessaire, pour la per- | fection de la vie Chrestienne. | Traduittes par C. K. P. | Reueuës de nouveau, & rapportees fidelement à l'Exemplaire | Espaignol, & amplifiees de la Table des prin- | cipales matieres traictées par l'Auteur. | × | A Lyon, | Par Pierre Picard. | 1601.

a 2, a 3 and a 4: Le tradvetevr av lectevr, dated: Lyon 10 Sept. 1600. Then immediately p. 17 foll. the old edition of 1563, sheets b to Y inclus. Sheet Z is reprinted, it consists of only 3 printed leaves; on page 1 and 3 and 4 of this reprint the catch-word is wanting, and of course the publisher's mark: d'Ogerolles 1563, the corresponding page of the reprint being blank.

Facsimiles of the title, in the Spanish translation of 1863 (here n° 103) p. 470, and in Wiffen's Life of Valdés (here n° 109) p. 184.

PARIS Nationale.

105. 1565.

Cent | et dix con- | syderations | divines de Jan | de VAL D'ESSO. | Traduites premierement, d'Es- | paingol en langue Ita- | lienne, | & de nouueau mises en , François, par | C. K. P. | A Paris, — | Par Mathurin Preust, à l'escu | de Venise, rue S. Jaques. | 1565. | This title is within an engraved border.

Small octavo. Curione's epistle and Valdés' text p. 1—658 (title-leaf included). Table 7 leaves.

Facsimiles of the title, in both editions of Usóz's translation (here n°s 102 and 103), in the second on p. 463, and in Wiffen's Life of Valdés (here n° 109) p. 183. PARIS Nationale.

106. 1665.

Jo. Valdessi Godsalige Anmerckingen uyt het Italiansche overgeset, 1565. 8vo.

Not discovered. A copy was in the library of Zach. Conrad Uffenbach of Frankfort in 1729—35. See Boehmer's Cenni p. 536—7. The translator was Adriamus Gorinus, preacher of the Waalsch evangelical congregation at Emden in Frisia; in consequence of difference of theological views between him and other protestant ministers of that country (Cenni p. 583 f.) he resigned his office and left that place in 1568. — He is not identical with Adriaan van Haemstede. See Joh. ab Utrecht Dresselhuis in Kist and Royaards Archief t. VI., Leiden 1835, p. 64. 65. Haemstede died in 1562, see ibid. p. 45, and: van der Aa Woordenboek t. VIII, 1. 1867. p. 52. I make these remarks, because Wiffen, Life of Valdés, p. 192, wrote: Dutch Translation [by Adrian Hamsted?]

107. 1638.

The hundred and ten | considerations | of signior | John Valdesso: | treating of those | things which are most profitable, most | necessary, and most perfect in our | Christian Profession. | Written in Spanish, | Brought out of Italy by Vergerius, and | first set forth in Italian at Basil by | Coeli Secundus Curio, | Anno 1550. | Afterward translated into French, and Printed | at Lyons 1563. and again at Paris 1565. | And now translated out of the Italian | Copy into English, with No-

tes. | Whereunto is added an Epistle of the Author's, | or a Preface to his Divine Commentary | upon the Romans. | I Cor. 2 | Howbeit we speak wisdome amongst them that are per- | feet, yet not the wisdome of this world. | Oxford, | Printed by Leonard Lichfield, Printer to the University, Ann. Dom. 1638.

Quarto. Title 1 leaf. Publisher to reader: 1 leaf, notes concerning the dubious and offensire passages in the Considerations 4^{1/2} leaves, Curione's introduction 3 leaves, table 4^{1/2}, Thomas Jackson's censure 1 leaf letter of George Herbert 1 leaf. Text p. 1—311. Epistle dedicatory of Valdés to his commentary upon the Romans, eleven unnumbered pages. Errata?

The translation was made by Nicholas Farrer.

BODLEIAN.

A copy of this Oxford edition of 1638 of the English translation of Valdés' Considerations was offered, in Quaritch's catalogue n° 280, published London, October 1871, p. 148, and again in his miscellaneous catalogue n° 38, London 1872, p. 14, for £2. 2s. (calf, the Marquis of Hastings' copy).

Facsimiles of the title, in both editions of Usóz's translation (here n° 102 and 103), in the second on p. 464, and in Wiffen's Life of Valdés (here n° 109) p. 185.

108. 1646.

Divine | considerations | Treating | Of those things which are most profi- | table, most necessary, and most perfect in our Christian | Profession. | By | John Valdesso. | I. Cor. 2. 6. Howbeit we speak wisdome amongst them | that are perfect; yet not the wisdome of | this world. | Cambridge: | Printed for E. D. by Roger Daniel, Printer | to the University. 1646. |

The title in a border. Small octavo. 476 pages. This is Nicholas Farrer's translation revised.

LAMBETH (according to Wiffen). WIFFEN (one leaf wanting, but replaced by facsim.)

Facsimile of the title in the Spanish translation, of 1863, (here n° 103) p. 465, and in Wiffen's Life of Valdés (here n° 109) p. 186.

109. 1865.

Life and writings | of | Juan de Valdés, | otherwise Valdesso, | Spanish reformer in the sixteenth century, | by Benjamin B. Wiffen. | With | A Translation from the Italian | of his | Hundred and Ten Considerations, | by | John T. Betts. | Valdesio Hispanus scriptore superbiat orbis. | Daniel Rogers. | Non Moritura. — Giulia Gonzaga's Motto, p. 112. | [Ornamental leaf] | London: | Bernard Quaritch, 15 Piccadilly. | 1865. | [The right of Translation and Reproduction is reserved.] | With

portrait of Giulia Gonzaga. Wiffen says: „No portraits have been put into the copies issued by the Publisher; they are only put into copies issued by myself and sent by me to friends and libraries.“ Royal Octavo. Pages XIII (titles included) and 590.

P. 179—192 title-facsimiles, the same as in the Spanish 1863 translation, of editions of the Considerations, and of the Hamburg MS.; and notice on the not yet discovered Dutch edition. Next leaf: Juan de Valdés. | Part. II. Next leaf: The hundred and ten considerations | of Juan de Valdés. | Translated from the Italian | by | John T. Betts. | [Ornamental leaf]. Translator's preface p. 197—200. Curione's introduction and Valdés' text p. 201—583; besides a separate leaf with note to cons. LXIII. p. 392. Index to the considerations p. 585—586.

Wiffen has given in English, parts of the dialogue Mercurio (see above n° 71.); of the Diálogo de la lengua, on p. 95—102; of the Alfabeto Christiano, p. 118—136; of the two Commentaries to S. Paul's epistles, p. 140—153; with the dedication to Giulia, p. 154—159; of the Christian's own book, p. 172—3.

110. 1861.

The sixty third consideration in German, translated by Ludwig Giesebricht, p. 327—330 in his article Die Brüder Valdes, in Damaris. | Eine Zeitschrift | von | Ludwig Giesebricht. | 1861. | Stettin, 1861. | Verlag von Th. von der Nahmer. | Müller'sche Buchhandlung. | Octavo.

111. 1870.

Juan de Valdés: | Hundertundzehn | Göttliche Betrachtungen. | Aus dem Italienischen. | Mit einem Anhang: | Ueber | die Zwillingsschwestern Juan und Alfonso de Valdés | von | Eduard Böhmer. | Halle ^{1/2}S. | Verlag von Georg Schwabe. | 1870. |

Octavo After the title-leaf p. III—VIII: Vorwort, dated September 1869 (printed after the book was printed). The translation of the Considerations p. 1—314. It is made by Hedwig Böhmer, the editor's wife. Then the Appendix. Life of the brothers Valdés p. 315—368. On Spirit and Scripture (on occasion of Consideration 63) p. 369—380. Corrections for the Italian text of the Considerations, p. 381—384, with some corrections for Curione's preface and Böhmer's Cenni (cf. above here n° 100), p. 384. Corrections for this German translation, p. 385. List of the considerations and titles of the pieces of the Appendix p. 386—392.

When sheet 8 was printed, I got the Catálogo de la biblioteca de Salvá, Valencia 1872. The second volume of it affords me some additions to the article on Valdés. The Alcalá edition of the Imperial apology against the Pope (my n° 2) and the Antwerp edition (my n° 8) are found under Salvá's n° 2861. He has an edition Barcelona 1625 of Sandoval's History of Charles V. (n° 3179, see my n° 22). The edition en let. gót. of the dos diálogos n° 2918 is my n° 56 (or 57?), the other edition, described in the first place under the same n° is my n° 59; the Dve dialoghi n° 2919 are my n° 66. As for Mayáns' edition of the Dialogo de las lenguas, my n° 76, Salrú says n° 2321: El Sr. D. Pascual de Gayangos me aseguró que en la mayor parte de los ejemplares se castraron ciertos pasajes los cuales fueron sustituidos por puntitos; en el mío no encuentro nada suprimido. After having described the commentaries of Juan de Valdés upon the epistle to the Romans and the first epistle to the Corinthians, he says p. 822: sus obras obtuvieron ya el honor de ser anatematizadas por el Santo Oficio, é incluidas en su Indice espurgatorio desde el año 1559: á esto se debe indudablemente una no pequeña parte de su celebridad, y el gran empeño con que se las ha buscado por todos los hombres ilustrados. El hecho es que hoy día se consideran estos tratados como dos libros preciosos por su rareza . . . He oido decir que algún sugeto más racional que los inquisidores antiguos, ha reimpreso en los tiempos modernos estas producciones de Valdés, y las de algunos de los reformadores españoles del siglo XVI.

A copy of n° 81 is in my possession.