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THE TEXTUAL TRADITION OF THE *HISTORIA DE STATU
BELGICO ET RELIGIONE HISPANICA* BY FRANCISCO DE
ENZINAS (DRYANDER)

For most of his brief career the Spanish evangelical humanist Francisco de Enzinas (Burgos 1518 – Strasbourg 1552), known more widely as Dryander, pursued a vocation of translating classical and biblical texts for his nation. Yet he is best remembered for two original works in Latin. His eulogy to the murdered Protestant Juan Díaz, *Historia de morte sancti viri Ioannis Diazii*, was avidly read following its publication in 1546. His *Historia de statu Belgico et religione Hispanica*, the subject of the present article, had a more complex fate. Dryander composed it in 1545 shortly after his escape from a Brussels prison; it consists of vivid eye-witness accounts of recent religious conflict in the Low Countries and Spain, interwoven with the story of his failed attempt to publish a Spanish New Testament in Brabant under the protection of Charles V.¹ Although the original Latin text of *De statu Belgico* was not published until the nineteenth century, a posthumous French translation entitled *Histoire de l'estat du Pais Bas et de la religion d'Espagne* appeared in 1558.² But *De statu Belgico* reached its widest audience through the contemporary martyrologies of Rabus, Pantaleon, and Foxe — albeit abridged and, in the latter two versions, heavily paraphrased.

More than 35 years ago B. A. Vermaseren made a ground-breaking study of the circumstances surrounding *De statu Belgico*'s dissemination in his 'Autour de l'édition de l'«Histoire de l'estat du Pais Bas, et de la religion d'Espagne» par F. de Enzinas dit Dryander (1558)'.³ The Breda scholar in fact described all the sixteenth-century versions and extracts,

¹ On the events surrounding the New Testament's printing, see J.L. Nelson, "'Solo Salvador': Printing the 1543 New Testament of Francisco de Enzinas (Dryander)", *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 50 (1999), 94-116.

² For full citations of versions, see the descriptions accompanying the *stemma* below.

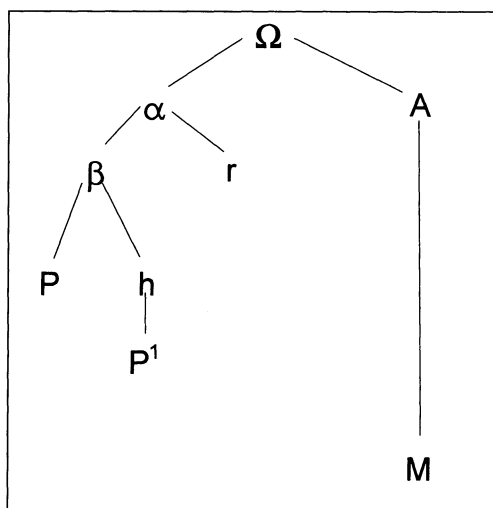
³ *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 27 (1965), 463-94 (hereafter cited as 'Vermaseren').

but the 1558 *Histoire* was his main theme because he supposed it to be the subject of most of the contemporary records. However, combining those records with new information has allowed us to shift the focus from the *Histoire* onto an attempt to print the Latin text, also in 1558. Vermaseren also initiated a study of the patrons and relatives of Enzinas's orphaned daughters who hoped to generate funds from the Spaniard's literary legacy. Developing these clues adds considerably to our understanding of the circumstances surrounding the *De statu Belgico*'s printing.

In the conclusion of his article Vermaseren said that a careful comparison of the various texts was still to be done, and that any critical study should take into account Rabus's German version. So we will begin where Vermaseren left off, by looking at the sixteenth-century textual tradition. Then we will present historical information which supports and complements the textual conclusions.

I.

The following analysis aims to establish a new *stemma codicum*. It includes the two contemporary translations alongside the Latin manuscripts, since the former occupy a special place in the sparse tradition of this text and because neither of the two extant Latin manuscripts gives the complete text. The *stemma* will have the following form:



Ω is the archetype on which all the manuscripts depend; it is datable to July 1545.

A is MS R Ab 1/21.4 of the Lehrerbibliothek des Christianeums, Altona (Hamburg). It forms part of the *Donum Kohlianum* bequeathed to the Gymnasium Christianeum in 1768 by church history professor J. P. Kohl and dates from the beginning of the seventeenth century at the latest, containing amendments and *marginalia* in the hand of Johann Wanckel (†1616), professor of church history at Wittenberg.⁴ Textually it represents a Wittenberg tradition earlier than the Strasbourg MS **P** (which dates from about 1557), remaining untouched by Dryander after he left Saxony in June 1546. The first quire of the manuscript is lacking.⁵

α represents an autograph copy found in Strasbourg in 1555 or 1556, which may have passed in 1557 into the hands of the Basle printer Johannes Oporinus, and is now lost. It was in the author's possession at least from 1550 to 1552 — long enough for him to amend it with notes and corrections, though he did not extensively revise it. This fact gives rise to the supposition that he expected eventually to publish it. The existence of **α** is consistent with the account written by 'Arcturus Gallus' and attached to MS **P**; he speaks of finding an autograph manuscript in Strasbourg.

r is the abridged German translation made by Ludwig Rabus from the Latin, most probably from the autograph **α**, before he left Strasbourg in November 1556. He published it in his *Historien der heyligen ausserwölten Gottes Zeügen, Bekennern und Martyrern*, 8 vols (Strasbourg: Samuel Emmel, 1554-58), VII (1557), fols 65r-164r, 176r-230v. The preface to this volume is dated Ulm, 6 August 1557. Vermaseren says that Rabus made 'une traduction intégrale du text latin' (p. 481) but in fact he omitted about 20 percent of Enzinas's text — corresponding to sections 26-29, 66-77, 87-90 of Socas's critical edition (see below) —

⁴ According to a note on the verso of the third leaf of the manuscript: 'liber satis distincte scriptus, pertinebat quondam ad Jo. Wanckelium, qui eundem manu ubique notavit.'

⁵ The manuscript is described in Johannes Claussen, *Nachrichten über die Bibliothek nebst Verzeichnis ihrer Drucke aus dem 15. Jahrhundert* (Altona, 1897), and Johann Friedrich Lucht, *Nachrichten über die Bibliothek des Gymnasiums und die in derselben befindlichen Handschriften* (Altona, 1878), pp. 10-14. Earlier descriptions by Lucht can be found in his preface to the copy of the manuscript which he made for Luis Usóz y Ríó in 1861 (MS **M**, see below) and in a letter to B.B. Wiffen of the same year (now in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid). Lucht was library director of Altona's Gymnasium Christianeum.

and rearranged the narrative to suit his martyrological purposes. Nevertheless, where he translates Enzinas he is exact, and therefore critically valuable.

β represents a rather defective copy with important *lacunae*, perhaps produced rapidly when the Basle printer Oporinus requested a manuscript of *De statu Belgico* to be sent him from Strasbourg in April 1557. Manuscript **β** remained in Strasbourg, being the common source of the two extant textual witnesses from that city, MS **P** and the French translation. The urgency in copying and the peculiarities of **α** must have obliged the copyist to keep the external appearance and glosses of that text.

P is the manuscript copy prepared for a compositor in the Strasbourg printing house of François Perrin, containing evidence that it was used in a printing process which was never completed. It offers a text free of glosses and difficult abbreviations which could be used by compositors and correctors. It is now *Vaticanus Palatinus Latinus* 1853. Folios 27-29 of the original Latin text are missing.

h is the French translation, *Histoire de l'estat du Pais-Bas et de la religion d'Espagne, par François du Chesne* (Ste. Marie: François Perrin, 1558). The translation is akin to **P** and seems to have been done from **β**, probably in 1557.

P¹ is a partial translation from the French **h** back into Latin as a substitute for the three missing folios of manuscript **P**, into which they have been inserted. Its critical value is nil, but it has been included in the *stemma* in order to avoid confusion for anyone examining the manuscript.

M is Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, ms 13481; it is a copy of **A** ordered by Luis Usóz y Río in 1861, reproducing exactly the format of **A** ('a plana renglón'), and carried out under the supervision of Johann Friedrich Lucht, director of the library of Altona's Gymnasium Christianeum. It came to light during our investigations.

There are also the following significant nineteenth- and twentieth-century editions:

Campan is *Mémoires de Francisco de Enzinas: texte latin inédit, avec la traduction française du XVIIe siècle en regard, 1543-1545*, ed. by Charles-Alsace Campan, Société de l'Histoire de Belgique 13, 16, 2 vols (Brussels: C. Muquardt, 1862-1863; repr., Liechtenstein: Kraus, 1983); it contains the text of manuscript **A** and of the French translation **h** printed on facing pages. It is part of the series *Collection de Mémoires relatifs à l'histoire de Belgique*.

Boehmer, Eduard, 'Der Anfang von Francisco de Enzinas' *Historia de statu Belgico deque religione Hispanica*, *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 13 (1892), 346-59, prints the initial part of **P** which corresponds to the section missing from **A** and, therefore, from Campan's edition.

Socas is *Francisci Enzinatis Burgensis Historia de Statu Belgico deque Religione Hispanica*, ed. by Francisco Socas (Stuttgart and Leipzig: Teubner, 1991), a critical edition published in the *Bibliotheca Teubneriana*.

The *stemma* can be established on the basis of the following five arguments (all citations below use paragraph and line references to Socas):

1. An archetype Ω is common to both Latin manuscripts. The modern editor of *De statu Belgico*, Francisco Socas, postulated that there are errors common to both manuscripts. We are thus obliged to assume the same archetype for both; consequently, it is possible to establish a *stemma* which integrates both. The clearest example of this kind of shared error is the following:

86,11 **AP** = cuius ne mediam quidem patrem inquisitor obtulit.

Socas = cuius ne mediam quidem partem inquisitor obtulit.

There is another example in the same line which must be cited at greater length:

109,40 **AP** = blande excipiebat eius uerba, quae agnoscebat facile hominis esse non integrae mentis et plane intemperantis, ad quae tamen ipsa ualde moderate respondebat.

Campan / Socas =...ipse ualde moderate respondebat.

Also, the following passage, identical in both manuscripts, almost certainly suffers from a common *lacuna*:

44,70-75 **AP** = Etsi enim totum hoc officium illustrandi sacras litteras ad illum proprie pertinebat et, cum aliorum studiis fauet qui id quod eundem ipsum elaborare conueniebat praestiterunt, et suae tranquillitati consulit et partem aliquam officii sui tenui hoc fauore quodammodo tueri uidetur (quod alioqui profecto sine nefario scelere praetermittere non posset), tamen in tanta prauitate iudiciorum ac temporum * * * existere aliquem qui uel mediocriter de sacris literis sentiat, praesertim de grege monachorum.

In the French translation the problem was resolved in the following way (which in turn appears to have suggested Socas's interpolation)

h:...c'est grand chose qu'il se trouve quelcun...

Socas =...temporum, <magnum est> existere aliquem...

However, the authority of **h** is not acceptable over the coincidence of **AP**: the French translator simply perceived the incongruity in the Latin text and found a solution consistent with the sense of the rest of the phrase. It is likely that here there is an omission in **Ω**.

2. **P**, **h** and **r** are independent of **A**. Manuscript **A** is not the source of the rest of the textual tradition. This can be shown by three examples. In the first place, certain errors in **A** are not shared by the other witnesses, e.g.:

97,48 **A** = huius corporis beneficio
 P = huius corporis sacrificio
 h = le sacrifice de ce corps (p. 287)
 r = opfer (f. 111r)

Secondly, **A** omits readings shared by **P**, **h**, and **r** (**A**'s omission is in brackets):

116,73-4 **P** = ...nec id unquam ab illis esset factum, <eos pronuncia-
 bam primos legis transgressores, qui caeteris exemplo esse deberent.
 quare> in eos primum animaduertendum esse...

r = Da sagt ich, sie weren die årgsten unnd ersten vheretreter
 Kheyserlicher Mayestats gesatz und gebott, die andern zu einem [...]
 furgant gesetzen weren (f. 223v)

h = ...(ce qu'ils n'avoient jamais faict), je disoy qu'eux
 mesmes estoient les premiers transgresseurs d'iceux edicts. Et pourtant
 qu'ils devoient estre les premiers puniz... (p. 230)

Finally, it is possible that **P**, **h**, and **r** share an omission over against a correct reading in **A**. The only example of this — which would allow us to assert definitely that **A** is independent from the rest of the textual tradition — is weak due to the inexact nature of the translations at this point (**P**'s omission is in brackets):

57,14 **A** = ...cumque ipsa morte <manifeste> decertantem...
 r = ...ja im kampff mit dem tod war... (f. 205v)
 h = ...et combatant contre les horreurs de la mort... (p. 112)

3. **r** is independent of **P** and **h**. The German translation by Rabus (**r**) shows itself to be independent of **P** and **h**, as demonstrated by the following two examples:

First, a text given by **r** coincides with **A**, while it is omitted by **P** and **h** (**P**'s omission is in brackets):

38,36-39 **A** = Ergo phrasis Lutheri consentanea est doctrinae propheticae et apostolicae. <si hoc affirmare uis, quod necessario ex tuis ipsius uerbis consequitur, praue in me aut in quoquam alio reprehendis quod iure in sacris literis deberes laudare. “absit” inquit “a me tantum scelus, ut dicam Lutheri doctrinam esse congruentem apostolicae”>. “atqui hoc” inquam “uere ex argumentatione tua colligitur”

r = Darauß volget, das deß Luthers lehr, der Apostolischen und Prophetischen lehr gemäß und ähnlich seye. Das sey fern von mir, sagt der Münch, das ich sagen solte, des Luthers lehr...

h = Adonc la phrase de Luther et la phrase des prophètes et apostres conuiennent ensemble. Voilà ce qu’on peut concluire de vostre argument.

In the preceding example **P** skips from one occurrence of *apostolicae* to another. The French translation has a comparable omission. The German translation of **r**, though abridged, reproduces part of the text omitted by **Ph** ('Das sey fern von mir, sagt der Münch, etc.')

Second, **P** and **h** sometimes share one variant while **A** and **r** have a different one; for example:

85,6 **A** = receptae sententiae
r = von der erkanten warheyt
P = sententiae suae
h = de sa foy

4. There is a close relationship between **P** and **h**, when compared with other sources, but one is not derived from the other; rather, both derive from a common ancestor **β**. There are many omissions in **P** and **h** which do not occur in **A** and **r**, such as the following (**P**'s omission is in brackets):

95,40 **A** = orabant etiam ualde officiose, <ut a prauis opinionibus conuerteretur,> ne cum corpore simul anima periclitaretur...

r =...er solte von seiner falschen meinung und Irrthumb abstehen, damit... (f. 107r)

h = et le prioient bien fort qu'avec le corps il ne mist pas aussi son âme au danger... (p. 192)

Nevertheless, **h** is not a direct translation of **P** because the former does not reproduce omissions which occur in the latter, as in the following two examples (**P**'s omission is in brackets).

21,12 **A** = ...ut impetum in illos <iudices> impios facerent.

h = ...à se ruer dessus ces faux juges. (p. 41)

r = ...Sie wolten doch die Richter mit Gewalt uberfallen.

(f. 85r)

92,60

A = et nescio quas <praeterea> crudelitates

h = je ne scay quelles autres cruautés (p. 186)

r = und andere greüwliche ding mehr (f. 101v)

It is necessary, therefore, to postulate a sub-archetype **β** from which **P** and **h** descend.

5. It is necessary to postulate a sub-archetype **α** which is the common ancestor of **P**, **h**, and **r**. There are many variants throughout the text which cannot be understood as mere errors but which demand an intermediate sub-archetype containing emendations; frequently, these must be read as stylistic improvements. One example will suffice:

116,75

A = eos fustuario dignos dicebam

P = eos incendio dignos dicebam

r = sie weren guter bengel und streych würdig (f. 223v)

h = qu'ils méritoient eux-mêmes d'estre bruslez (p. 215)

In this text the variant **Ph** might at first seem to refer to sub-archetype **β** established under point 3 above. However, the problem is more complex. First of all, variants of this sort are also found in **r**. In fact, a coincidence among **P**, **h** and **r** is common, as the next example shows:

96,48

A = quod ab ipso Iusto accepi

P = quod ab ipso Iusto audiui

r = vom Iusto selbs gehoeret hab (f. 109v)

h = ce que j'ay ouy dire de Juste (p. 194)

7,7

A = filios adulterinos et rebelles solebant appellare

P = filios adulterinos et rebelles solent appellare

r = Banckhart und widerspenstige kinder zunennen (f. 71r)

h = ils ont accoustumé d'appeller fils bastards et rebelles

(p. 21)

Furthermore, some readings do not fit the scheme outlined thus far. At times there are coincidences of **A** (which is a different branch of the textual tradition) with one of the testimonies descending from **β**: that is, one finds an agreement of **AP** or **Ah** against **rh** or **rP**. For example:

108,75

P = quid isti sordidi uermiculi tibi facere poterunt

r = was können dir dise stinckende und zerganckliche würmlin thun (f. 148r)

A = quid isti uermiculi tibi facere poterunt

h = Que vous pourront faire ces petits vers (p. 215)

In this example it can be seen that **A** and **h** omit the adjective that complements *uermiculi*, an adjective which can best be considered a gloss. But this gloss cannot belong exclusively to sub-archetype β , because that would not account for its presence in **r**; neither can it be a gloss in Ω , because there is a disparity of results in texts (**P** / **h**) belonging to the same branch. It is necessary to conclude that the variant appears at a different level of the tradition, constituting a sub-archetype α , from which **r** and β descend.

This statement alone does not clear up the whole problem because the witnesses descending from this sub-archetype α do not always contain the same readings. In the previous example the text of **h** — but not **r** or **P** — has the same omission as **A**. The most plausible hypothesis is that some emendations and additions were made to α as marginal or interlinear glosses (in the given example, the gloss would have been *sordidi*). These glosses were treated variously by copyists and translators. In β — probably a direct copy of α — their character as glosses seems to have been retained; i.e., they were not incorporated into the text. This hypothesis is strengthened by the historical circumstances surrounding the manuscripts' fortunes at Strasbourg, which will be described in Part II, below.

The hypothesis of an autograph sub-archetype α corrected by the author allows us to explain some variants that would otherwise remain puzzling. One must keep in mind that the glosses, being in the author's hand, would have considerable authority when a manuscript or printed text was being prepared. The following is an example of a set of readings that can best be understood on the basis of such a hypothesis:

9,29 **A** = plenum desperatione reliquit possessorem
 P = plenum desperatione reliquit professorem
 r = durch welche der mensch [...] ganz trostloss unn voller
 verzweiflung verlassen würt (f. 73v)
 h = laisse son homme privé de toute consolation (p. 24)

In this example **A** and **P** offer *uariae lectiones* which appear to result from an error while reading. Nevertheless, the two translations do not resolve the problem in favour of one or the other; instead they coincide in a third *varia lectio*: *mensch / homme*. Our perplexity can be resolved by supposing that *hominem* was a gloss in α , offered perhaps as an alternative to an illegible word.

27,23 **A** = in ista regione
 P = in tota regione

h = en toute ceste region

(**r** does not translate this section)

This is a surprising instance, where **h** seems to gather the *lectiones* of both Latin manuscripts. The author of the critical edition decided to edit it as *in tota ista regione*. This text can be explained by using once more the hypothesis of a gloss (which, in this case, would be *tota*): the copyist of **P** substituted it for the original while **h** preferred to join them together.

82,73

A = ...cito purus ac illibatus in patriam illam sempiternam...

P = ...cito purus ac illibatus in patriam illam coelestem...

r = ...sondern fein rin und in meinem gewissen unverseret in das himmlische ewige vatterland zu Gott...

h = ...et de passer net et impollu au pays celeste...

In this case **r** combines the two variants (*himmlische ewige* = *coelestem* + *sempiternam*). Again, this can be explained supposing that **α** placed the gloss *coelestem* alongside the original reading *sempiternam*; the gloss was preferred by **P** and **h**, while **r** used both.

59,6-7

A = ...quae ab aduersariis ad calumniam torqueri potuerunt

P = ...quae aliquo modo ab aduersariis ad calumniam

torqueri potuerunt

r = ...zwey stuck, die haben die wider wertigen mir etlicher massen zuom nachtheil deüten moegen (f. 207r)

h = ...de quoy ils povoyent faire leur prouffit, en les prenant à la rigueur extrême et en voulant user de calomnie (p. 115)

The coincidence of **h** and **A** in suppressing *aliquo modo* suggests that these two words were a gloss in **α** which were subsequently introduced into the text by **P** and **r**.

Critical consequences of this new *stemma*. Note that the following conclusions, though critically established, should be used cautiously, and do not apply to the sections not translated by **r**.

1. **M** is a *codex descriptus* of **A**, and therefore it is not necessary to collate it.
2. The relationship between **A** and **α** is one of equal validity. This, however, has no effect on variant readings which are stylistic corrections; rather, point (3) below applies to such variants.
3. As **α** appears to be a sub-archetype with autograph corrections, it seems to offer a version preferred by the author over **A**. Therefore, variants which can with a high degree of certainty be traced back to **α** must

be preferred for the critical text. To determine the attribution to α of a reading, the following criteria must be used:

- a) a coincident reading of **Ahr** against **A** represents an emendation in α ;
- b) a coincident reading of **Pr** against **Ah** represents an emendation in α ;
- c) a coincident reading of **hr** against **PA** may represent an emendation in α , although this is more difficult to demonstrate since **h** and **r** are translations;
- d) a reading of **P** against **Ahr** is not a emendation in α but an error in **P**.

4. Concerning omissions (including those of **A** which can be explained as additions to α) the following criteria must be used:

- a) preference must be given to a reading in **Ar** when there is an omission in β , because this demonstrates a coincidence of **A** and α ;
- b) preference must be given to a coincident reading of **Ahr** against **P** on the basis that the latter's reading must be an error, either of omission or addition;
- c) usually preference must be given to a reading in α against the lack of a reading in **A** on the basis that this represents either an omission in **A** or an emendation in α ;
- d) nevertheless, in some cases a reading in **A** will be preferred if an omission in α is thought likely.

The following example involves considerations beyond merely textual ones, and shows the importance of a prudent use of the above criteria:

57,45 **A** = ipsam ueritatem ac pietatem
 P = ipsamque uirtutem ac pietatem
 r = die wahrheyt (f. 205r)
 h = de vertu et piété (p. 113)

Here **Ph** agree against **Ar**. Strict use of our criteria would lead us to prefer the reading *ueritatem* of **Ar**. However, one must take into account the context, specifically the phrase *uirtutis ac pietatis amantem* that occurs just two lines before (57,43). This inclines us in favour of **Ph** and therefore β because of the parallel that the writer apparently intends to create. So we must attribute the error to Ω , and it can even be supposed that the cause was the appearance at the beginning of the next sentence (57,45) of the word *ueritatem*. The best explanation for β reflecting the author's probable meaning is that its copyist noticed the error and corrected it according to the most likely expression.

II.

These texts are not isolated artifacts, of course, but products of people and events whose traces can sometimes be found in correspondence and archival records. Handled carefully, the records complement the hypotheses suggested by critical study of the texts and in turn provide additional hypotheses about their production and relationship. The remainder of this study will look at the historical context surrounding *De statu Belgico's* transmission in the sixteenth century.

Francisco de Enzinas composed *Historia de statu Belgico et religione Hispanica* between March and July 1545 in Wittenberg at the request of Melancthon, who in turn promised it to Joachim Camerarius.⁶ Manuscript A is most likely a witness to this initial Wittenberg phase. Its ownership by Johann Wanckel places it in Wittenberg by the beginning of the seventeenth century at the latest. From a title added by Wanckel it is clear he planned to publish the text; it ends: 'ex manuscripto codice cum indice accurato nunc edita a Joanne Wankelio'. No such edition is extant, but Wanckel almost certainly was encouraged to consider such a project by the knowledge that no Latin edition was then in print. Enzinas did not publish it in his lifetime, a fact explained partly, perhaps, by the book's autobiographical nature. But it is also likely that he had no opportunity to publish it. His correspondence shows that, when he set out from Wittenberg in June 1546, he left writings and books in Melancthon's house. He asked his preceptor to forward them as soon as possible but, because of the Schmalkaldic War and Melancthon's fear that they would fall into the wrong hands, his possessions did not rejoin him until the summer of 1550, when he was settled in Strasbourg and printing Spanish translations of classical and biblical texts.⁷ It is possible,

⁶ *Philippi Melanthonis Opera quae supersunt omnia*, Corpus Reformatorum, 1-28, ed. by C.G. Bretschneider and H.E. Bindsell, 28 vols (Halle: C.A. Schwetschke, 1834-1860), V (1838), 705 (no. 3157)

⁷ Several pieces of his correspondence refer to the trouble he had in recovering his belongings: F. de Enzinas, *Epistolario*, ed. by Ignacio J. García Pinilla (Geneva: Droz, 1995), 312, 324-26, 330, 563 (hereafter cited as *Epistolario*). On his situation in Strasbourg he writes to Bullinger, 'fui ego impeditissimus [i.e., prevented from writing letters] toto anno multis et magnis laboribus': Strasbourg, 22 June 1551, in *Epistolario*, 612. On a press operated by Agustin Fries he produced at least nine editions of works both sacred and secular in the years 1550-1551. Concerning Enzinas's printed works see Eduard Boehmer, *Bibliotheca Wiffeniana: Spanish Reformers of Two Centuries from 1520*, 3 vols (Strassburg: K. Trübner, 1874-1904), I, 165-84; and Carlos Gilly, *Spanien*

therefore, that he was without a manuscript of *De statu Belgico* for four of the last six years of his life — a period of intense publishing activity in other respects.

An autograph of *De statu Belgico* was found among Enzinas's books at Strasbourg after his death (we have referred to it as α). The circumstances surrounding its discovery are given by Vermaseren, and a summary will suffice here to introduce an account of more recent findings. Enzinas died at Strasbourg in December 1552; his wife Marguerite d'Elter died about a month later. They left as heirs two daughters who were still infants.⁸ The Strasbourg authorities assigned the girls a tutor and placed them with a widow, paying 26 florins a year for their maintenance.⁹ By 1555 the city found itself in a tug-of-war with Enzinas's mother (in fact, his step-mother Beatriz de Santa Cruz) in Burgos.¹⁰ She was anxious that her grand-daughters should not be raised among 'heretics', whereas the Strasbourg city council was inclined to respect Marguerite d'Elter's dying wish that her children should not be sent to Spain, lest they be raised by 'papists'. The grandmother made contact with Strasbourg through a blood-relative in Augsburg (possibly Francisco de Salamanca, who was involved in the same business in 1559) who in turn presented a request to Johannes Sleidan's brother-in-law, Caspar von Niedbruck, at the Austrian court.¹¹ On 1 April 1555 Niedbruck asked Sleidan for information on Enzinas's legacy and told him that Enzinas's mother wished to take the girls to Spain via Antwerp. On 23 April Sleidan informed Niedbruck that the legacy of money and goods

und der Basler Buchdruck bis 1600, Basler Beiträge zur Geschichtswissenschaft, 151 (Basel - Frankfurt-am-Main: Helbing / Lichtenhahn, 1985), 326-53, 510-11.

⁸ The elder was born at Cambridge in October 1549, and the younger at Strasbourg, probably in 1551; see *Epistolario*, 494-96.

⁹ Archives Municipales de Strasbourg: Protokoll der Herren Räte und XXI, no. 37 (1559), fols 144r, 147r-v.

¹⁰ Enzinas's family connections have been largely a mystery until now. We have discovered much genealogical information (such as the identity of his step-mother) in the archives of Burgos, Simancas, and the Inquisition, and plan to publish it in due course.

¹¹ Archives Municipales de Strasbourg, AA 656, no. 35 (Salamanca's 1559 letter to Strasbourg). Salamanca was at the court of Ferdinand I, where he was 'adeliger Diener ohne Amt' from 1524 to 1548 and 1553 to 1559: Christopher Laferl, *Die Kultur der Spanier in Österreich unter Ferdinand I., 1522-1564*, Junge Wiener Romanistik, 14 (Vienna: Böhlau, 1997), p. 265 (We are grateful to Constance Mathers for this information). Caspar von Niedbruck was a man of evangelical sympathies who owed his place at court in part to Enzinas's intervention with the imperial confessor Constantino Ponce de la Fuente in 1550: *Epistolario*, 586, 598. On Niedbruck, see Viktor Bibl, *Maximilian II.: der Rätselhafte Kaiser: ein Zeitbild* (Hellerau bei Dresden: Avalun, 1929), pp. 70-71, 82, 403.

was valued at about 500 florins, while most of the books had been taken by Arnold Birckmann, the Cologne bookseller.¹² One part of the goods went to the Basle printer Johannes Oporinus; he used the type which Enzinas had commissioned for a Spanish Bible (never printed) in his own edition of Vesalius's *Humani corporis fabrica*, which has a colophon date of August 1555.¹³ Sleidan told Niedbruck that the girls were too young to be sent away, and made a counter-proposal: their grandmother should send money from Spain for their support in Strasbourg. Negotiations continued with both sides pleading poverty and neither one moving from its original position. It was in the search for further income that the Strasbourg autograph of *De statu Belgico* was found by a certain Arcturus Gallus, who recounted the discovery in a dedicatory epistle to Melanchthon attached to the Palatine manuscript. Thus far Vermaseren.

Two documents record attempts at Strasbourg to find more funds for the orphans. One is a letter to Arnold Birckmann, written probably during the first part of 1556 by a woman who refers to Marguerite d'Elter as her maternal aunt.¹⁴ The writer can be identified with a fair amount of certainty as Anne d'Elter, who married Guillaume Rabot de Salene, a nobleman of the Dauphiné, at Strasbourg in mid-July 1555.¹⁵ D'Elter was a religious refugee who had lived with Marguerite d'Elter and Enzinas in Cambridge and Strasbourg, and remained in the latter city after their

¹² *Sleidans Briefwechsel*, ed. by Hermann Baumgarten (Strasbourg: K. Trübner, 1881), p. 274. Vermaseren mistakenly says 'cinquante florins' (p. 484) where Sleidan gives 'quingentos florenos'.

¹³ Carlos Gilly, *Spanien und der Basler Buchdruck* [(1985)], p. 344, n. 258; Vermaseren, p. 484.

¹⁴ Simler Sammlung MS 80 (1553), no. 238; also Thesaurus Baumianus 682, fo 219r-v, printed in E. Boehmer (ed.), *Offqs: viro summe venerando Ioanni Friderico Bruch [...]* *Insunt epistolae quaedam Ioannis Sturmii et Hispanorum qui Argentorati degerunt* (Strasbourg: J.H.E. Heitz, 1872), pp. 12-13 (cf. p. iv). Neither the writer nor the date is given, but the letter is in Johannes Sturm's hand, and this fact, plus the circumstances it describes, show it to be from Strasbourg. As to the date, the letter mentions a recent visit by Sturm to Cologne; such a visit took place between December 1555 and 9 February 1556, while Justus Velsius was in prison there: see the letter of Velsius to Melanchthon, dated Cologne (the prison of St Gereon), 9 Feb. 1556, in J.V. Pollet, *Martin Bucer: études sur les relations de Bucer avec les Pays-Bas, l'électorat de Cologne et l'Allemagne du nord, avec de nombreux textes inédits*, 2 vols (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1985), II, 248-52 (248); Ph. Denis, 'Justus Velsius', in *Bibliotheca Dissidentium* (Baden-Baden: Koerner, 1980-), I, 49-95 (49).

¹⁵ Sleidan to Niedbruck, Strasbourg, 30 July 1555: 'Filiarum Dryandri cognata, Ellera [i.e., Eltera], genere nobilis ante 15 dies nupsit hic cuidam nobili Delphinati, iuveni non indocto', *Sleidans Briefwechsel*, 294.

deaths. She was described by a seventeenth-century historian of the Rabot family as a rich heiress from Germany whose marriage to Rabot was arranged by the Elector Palatine.¹⁶ Guillaume Rabot was living in Strasbourg from at least November 1554, and was received as *habitant* on 7 July 1556; he was a cavalry officer serving the Elector Palatine Frederick II, a correspondent of Calvin, and a man of letters.¹⁷ Rabot and d'Elter took a hand in the orphans' affairs from the time of their marriage, as Sleidan's letters to Niedbruck indicate;¹⁸ as late as 1559 Rabot represented the girls before the Strasbourg magistrates.¹⁹ D'Elter's letter to Birckmann was occasioned by information she had received from Jörg Stecher, the Fuggers' Antwerp factor and a long-time business associate of Enzinas.²⁰ He reported that the Antwerp merchant Diego de Santa Cruz (probably the 'frater matris Dryandri' at Antwerp mentioned by Niedbruck to Sleidan on 22 July 1555) was offering to take the girls to a childless sister of his in Spain.²¹ Marguerite d'Elter's niece

¹⁶ Carl Wahlund, 'Notice sur Guillaume Rabot, "Oratio de gente et lingua Francica"', in *Recueil de mémoires philologiques présenté a M. Gaston Paris [...] par ses élèves suédois* (Stockholm, 1889), pp. 105-14 (esp. p. 112) (cited hereafter as 'Wahlund'), based on Jean de Rabot (†1664), 'Généalogie de la maison de Rabot' (Grenoble, n. d.). On Anne d'Elter see also *Epistolario*, 492, 568.

¹⁷ Wahlund, 109-12; *Calvini opera*, *Corpus Reformatorum*, 29-87, ed. by J.W. Baum *et al.*, 59 vols (Brunswick etc.: Appelhans *et al.*, 1863-1900), XIII (1875), 590-91; XIV (1875), 665-66; XV (1876), 307-08; Philippe Denis, *Les Églises d'étrangers en Pays Rhénans (1538-1564)* (Paris: Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres", 1984), 644-45, note 5.

¹⁸ 30 July and 17 September 1555: *Sleidans Briefwechsel*, 294, 301

¹⁹ 'Dieweil die kinder noch ein bas alhie [haben], soll man dieselb und irem man, Guilhelum de Salena, auch darunder horen und wider herbringen' (3 April 1559: Protokoll der Herren Räte und XXI, no. 37 (1559), fo. 144r); '[Die geordneten reichstagsherren] bevohlen worden, ir, der kinder baß und deren haußwurt Guilhelum de Salena darunder zu horen' (*ibid.*, fols 162v-163r). (Besides consulting the originals, we have used transcripts made by Stephen F. Nelson in 1981, now in the John Rylands Library, Kinder ms A29.11.)

²⁰ Jörg Stecher appears several times in Enzinas's correspondence as handler of his goods and post. He took an active interest in the Spaniard's publications in the early 1550s: *Epistolario*, 432-34, 620 (letters of Arnold Birckmann).

²¹ On Diego de Santa Cruz see J.A. Goris, *Étude sur les colonies marchandes méridionales (portugais, espagnols, italiens) à Anvers de 1488 à 1567*, facsim. reprint (New York: Burt Franklin, 1971), 166, 187, 250, 307; and *Antwerpse schepenbrieven* (Brussels: Rijksarchief te Antwerpen, 1959), entries 532, 2247. The entries cover the dates 1540-1558. He should not be confused with a 'Diego de Santa Cruz' — in fact, Diego de la Cruz — suspected in 1558 of introducing heterodox literature into Spain from Antwerp; on the latter see R.W. Truman and A. Gordon Kinder, 'The Pursuit of Spanish Heretics in the Low Countries: the activities of Alonso del Canto, 1561-1564', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 30 (1979), 65-93 (74-75).

informed Birckmann that Enzinas and her aunt ‘parum reliquerunt haeredibus, et id quod reliquerunt prope consumptum est’. With this plea, she asked him to intercede with the Spanish relatives and persuade them to send money, promising receipts for everything, according to Strasbourg custom.

The second record of an attempt to find funds for the orphans is the epistle of Arturus Gallus attached to MS **P**, describing the discovery of the autograph:

Accidit itaque hoc anno, praeceptor obseruande, quum Argentinae degerem propter priuatas occupationes, ut a pupillarum affine, uiro nobili et de pupillis bene merito, uocarer ad euoluendos libros atque excutiendos Francisci Enzinatis in gratiam orphanarum, quo ex paternis lucubrationibus fructum aliquem a typographis acciperent. Cui operi dum intentus essem incidi in *Historiam de statu Belgico et religione Hispanica Francisci Enzinatis* manu propria scriptam quam tibi dedicabat. Quod omnibus gratum fuit. [...] Placuit igitur haeredibus, cognatis, affinibus ac amicis, ut tuo auspicio in publicum prodiret. [...] quaeso igitur, doctissime praeceptor, ut *Historiam de statu Belgico et religione Hispanica*, quam Franciscus superstes tibi inscribere uoluit, illam iam in publicum tuo nomine euulgatam, qua humanitate praeditus es, accipias. Quod a te uno ore omnes uehementer petimus. [...] Argentinae (Socas, 2).

This ‘*Historia* manu propria scripta’ we have called manuscript **α**. Most notable in the account is the reference to a ‘pupillarum affinis, vir nobilis’ at whose request Gallus acted — a Strasbourg nobleman related to the orphans by marriage and actively seeking their welfare. Guillaume Rabot is the only man known to fit this description. More puzzling, though, is the identity of Gallus himself: a man of business from outside Strasbourg, with a knowledge of books and their market-value, and with some interest in the affairs of Enzinas and his heirs. Vermaseren was not able to identify him, though he supposed that he and the French translator of Enzinas’s book were one and the same person, since both claimed to have recovered the manuscript (the *Histoire*’s preface begins: ‘Ayant recouré ce livre en Latin [...] i’ay mis peine, etc.’ (p. 3)). However, Carlos Gilly has suggested that Gallus was Arnold Birckmann, ‘gallus’ being a male incarnation of the *gallina gorda* that was his printer’s mark. This is plausible, given Birckmann’s connections with Enzinas’s publishing affairs before and after the latter’s death, his book-seller’s expertise, and his involvement (as we have shown) on two other occasions in the affairs of Enzinas’s estate. His first action — taking away

Enzinas's books — has the appearance of a mere business transaction. But Marguerite's niece in her letter made an appeal to friendship and charity, and in this capacity one finds 'Gallus' acting as an advisor to Rabot in Strasbourg.

On this set of hypotheses, the manuscript must have been discovered after July 1555, when Rabot married Anne d'Elter. Further evidence of this — albeit of a negative sort — is the fact that Sleidan made no use of *De statu Belgico* in his *De statu religionis et reipublicae Carolo V Caesare commentarii*, which came from the press at Strasbourg in March or April 1555, although he did cite Enzinas's *Historia de morte Ioannis Diazii* (in Book XVII). Birckmann, then, must have gone through Enzinas's books twice: once when he took away most of the unsold stock from the Spaniard's Strasbourg printing-house in or before April 1555, and again when, in Strasbourg on private business after July 1555, he went through additional material at Rabot's request. As to the latest possible date for the manuscript's discovery, Boehmer argued that it must have been 1556 because Enzinas's text was used in preparing vol. VII of Ludwig Rabus's *Historien*, which carries a colophon date of 6 August 1557.²² We can only add that it would be surprising indeed if Rabus became acquainted with the Strasbourg manuscript after his departure for Ulm on 22 November 1556.

Rabus was the first to use *De statu Belgico* for publication purposes and, on the textual evidence given in Part I, above, it is likely that he translated directly from the autograph which we have called α . If the French version was being translated at the same time, a copy (which we have called β) could have been made as early as 1556. But certainly by the spring of 1557 a reason arose for making a copy of the manuscript. On 26 April 1557 Oporinus wrote to Conrad Hubert, 'ne obliviscaris ad me mittere corpus iuris quod apud te habes, una cum Driandri historia, et aliis ad me pertinentibus'.²³ That this *historia* was *De statu Belgico*, and that it was in fact sent, can be confirmed from John Foxe's note in his *Actes and Monuments* that 'Franc. Encenas[']s [...] book written in Latin, I myself have seen and read, remaining in the hands of John Oporine at Basill'.²⁴ Foxe was at Basel between November 1555 and October 1559. There is no question that he was referring to *De statu*

²² Boehmer, 'Der Anfang von Francisco de Enzinas' *Historia de statu Belgico*', 358.

²³ Cited in Boehmer, *Bibliotheca Wiffeniana*, I, 170.

²⁴ John Foxe, *Actes and Monuments* (London: John Day, 1563), p. 384.

Belgico, for the note is attached to accounts of persecution based on Enzinas's text.²⁵ The Basle manuscript makes no further appearances in contemporary records. It, along with the autograph **a** (if they were not one and the same), has disappeared.

What of a printed Latin edition? Gallus (or Birckmann) said it was 'iam in publicum [...] euulgata', clearly believing that his epistle to Melanchthon would preface a Latin edition whose appearance was imminent. The French translator, too, treated it as a *fait accompli*:

Ayant recouré ce livre en Latin, [...] sachant aussi qu'il se deuoit en brief mettre en lumière, i'ay mis peine à ce que non seulement ceux qui entendent la langue latine, mais aussi le comun populaire [...] en fust participant (*Histoire*, p. 3).

After the discovery of *De statu Belgico* the guardians of Dryander's orphans — '[ut] ex paternis lucubrationibus fructum aliquem a typographis acciperent' — would have looked for a printer willing to publish it in integral form. Perhaps they ran into resistance, for nothing came from the press in 1556 or 1557. Near the end of 1557, however, Pierre Estiart arrived in Strasbourg from Geneva, having left the latter city after a spell in prison for attempting to print an unauthorised book. He was willing to accept *De statu Belgico* and hired the Strasbourg printer François Perrin to do the press-work. For this purpose MS **P** was prepared from MS **β**.

Perrin began to print the Latin edition in January 1558. Manuscript **P** has marginal notes in two hands: one a corrector's, the other a compositor's. The latter marks page breaks, and page and folio numbers. The corrector's hand — which extends considerably further than the compositor's — clarifies abbreviated or doubtful words in the text, in order to allow accurate counting of words.²⁶ This is consistent with preparing a printed edition. The last compositor's mark is '60 / 12 d' —

²⁵ Foxe's immediate source was not Enzinas's original, however, but excerpts from *De statu Belgico* prepared by Henri Pantaleon for his *Martyrum historia, pars secunda* (Basle, 1563). Pantaleon in turn took these from Rabus. On the use of *De statu Belgico* in contemporary martyrologies see Boehmer, *Bibliotheca Wiffeniana*, I, 173-78; Vermaseren, pp. 481-84; J.L. Nelson, 'Francisco de Enzinas (Dryander) and Spanish evangelical humanism before the Council of Trent', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Manchester (1999), pp. 184-89 and Appendix 3 (p. 253).

²⁶ The corrector's notes extend to the last sheet of quire N, whereas the compositor's marks reach the last sheet of quire F. (Each quire or 'termio' is made up of three folio sheets of manuscript folded in half, making a six-leaved signature.) The notes and marks were first observed by Carlos Gilly.

that is, page 60, or the twelfth page of signature 'd', of a printed octavo. In the usual way of working, printing would have been done as each signature was corrected and composed, in order for type to be re-used. Therefore, it is reasonable to suppose, on this evidence alone, that three signatures or sheets (48 pages) were printed.

External evidence supports this supposition. The *Acta* of the Strasbourg magistrates for 12 January 1558 record that Latin and French manuscript copies of *Vom Stand oder Wesen der Nederland. unnd der Hispanischen Religion* were submitted to the Council for approval, and that approval was refused because of problems already caused by Sleidan's *De statu religionis*. However, on 29 January the magistrates learned that a printer living in the Krentzgeslin had *De statu Belgico et religione Hispanica* in press. Two days later the printer, François Perrin, appeared before them, saying that his employer, Pierre Estiart, had assured him that he was permitted to print the work, and that it treated the Holy Roman Emperor respectfully throughout. Perrin was ordered to stop work and to take the printed sheets to the chancery. On 3 February, the magistrates agreed to uphold an order of punishment against Estiart, but to return to him the exemplar and 'die gedruckten drei bogen', so that he might print the work elsewhere if he wished. Vermaseren supposed that these three printed sheets were from the French translation, but the coincidence with the compositor's notes in MS **P** makes it clear that it was the Latin edition that was *sub prelo*, and that the manuscript in question originated as a compositor's fair copy for Perrin.

Unlike the Latin, the French version was successfully published in 1558. A proper study of it has never been undertaken, and our supposed knowledge of it has been diminished in proportion to what we now know about the printing of the Latin text. Vermaseren reproduced and described the various title-pages of the *Histoire* and found that there were two emissions (i.e., variant printings of the same edition) by François Perrin that were printed at 'S. Marie'. Vermaseren takes this to be Ste.-Marie-aux-Mines in Alsace, though he cautions that it may in fact be a false imprint for Strasbourg. As to the translation itself, Campan asserted that 'le style du traducteur est évidemment celui de l'école du célèbre réformateur de Genève', though he did not elaborate (I, xv). The translator has never been identified. But it is worth noting that Guillaume Rabot not only would have had an interest in seeing it produced but also had the skills to translate it. Some years before, in 1550, he published a translation into French of Roger Bacon's *Speculum*

alchemiae, and two decades later was Professor of French at the University of Wittenberg, where his lecture *Oratio de gente et lingua Francica* was published in 1572.²⁷ One should keep in mind, too, that if Gilly is right in identifying Gallus with Birckmann — a German —, Vermaseren must have been wrong in thinking Gallus was the French translator. Yet the translator, like Gallus, claimed to have discovered the autograph of *De statu Belgico* himself. It seems to us that the best solution is to identify the French translator with Gallus's 'vir nobilis' who initiated the investigation of Enzinas's papers. He, as we have shown, was probably Rabot. However, these must remain speculations until a detailed study of the text of the *Histoire* can be made.

In conclusion: the lost Strasbourg autograph (α) contained authorial emendations whose existence emerges from a comparison of extant variants. Rabus's text in particular is a valuable tool (as Vermaseren supposed it would be) for producing a clearer picture of α and of the relationships among all the texts. At the same time, the fact that α contained emendations suggests that Enzinas was working toward an edition of the Latin text, which circumstances and, ultimately, his death prevented. The Strasbourg guardians of Enzinas's heirs, principally Rabot and d'Elter, encouraged the same project, supplemented with a French translation for the general public. The Latin edition was partially printed before being aborted due to official opposition; the French version alone was completed. The text, translator, and circumstances surrounding the latter's printing await further investigation.

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²⁷ The text of the *Oratio* is printed in Wahlund, 119-48. On Rabot's translation of the *Miroir d'Alchemie* (published at Lyon in 1557) see H. Baudrier *et al.*, *Bibliographie lyonnaise: recherches sur les imprimeurs, libraires, relieurs et fondeurs de lettres de Lyon au XVIe siècle* 12 vols (Lyon: Brun, 1895-1921; Geneva: Slatkine, 1999), X, 254-56.