

*Participants in the Sufferings of Christ (1 Pet 4:13):  
16th-Century Spanish Protestant Ecclesiology*

by

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## Abstract

The present study aims to expound the distinctive character of 16<sup>th</sup>-century Spanish Protestant theology, with special reference to the works of two exiled former monks from Seville, Casiodoro de Reina (c. 1520–1594) and Antonio del Corro (1527–1591), and thereby to shed light on a relatively neglected Reformation movement. A particular aim is to trace the ecclesiological significance of the Spaniards' distinctive image of the church as a persecuted people who share in Christ's sufferings in a very public way, with particular reference to standards of authority, formal ordinances, and mission in the world. In Chapter One we investigate the origins of Spanish Protestantism by considering the reforming impulse in the theology of the exiles' mentor, the Sevillian cathedral preacher Constantino Ponce de la Fuente (1502 – 1559). In Chapter Two we outline the orthodox (or 'Chalcedonian') Christological assumptions which undergird the Spanish Protestant view of salvation as participation in Christ's work as Prophet, Priest and King. In Chapter Three we examine the way in which Reina's and Corro's doctrine of the church's authority in relation to Scripture and their view of the church's whereabouts with reference to its marks of obedience, both illustrate and reinforce a nomadic theme in their theology. In Chapter Four we relate their concerns for Christian unity and holiness to their mediating approaches to disputes about the Lord's Supper. Here we give special attention to Reina's 'instrumental realism' in relation to religious signs, and to the centrality of the ministry of the Word in both reformers' sacramental theology. Finally, in Chapter Five we study the missiological aspect of Spanish Protestant ecclesiology, highlighting the way in which questions about human agency, personal holiness and religious tolerance shape a robust understanding of the church's witness in the world in general and to Muslims in particular.

## Résumé

La présente étude vise à exposer le caractère distinctif de la théologie protestante espagnole du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, notamment à travers des travaux de deux anciens moines exilés de Séville, Casiodoro de Reina (c. 1520 à 1594) et Antonio del Corro (1527-1591) et, partant, à faire la lumière sur un mouvement plutôt délaissé de la Réforme. Il s'agit en particulier de retracer l'importance ecclésiologique de l'image distinctive qu'entretiennent les Espagnols de l'Église en tant qu'un peuple persécuté qui partage les souffrances du Christ d'une façon très publique, avec l'accent sur les normes de l'autorité, les ordonnances officielles et leur mission dans le monde. Dans le premier chapitre, nous examinons les origines du protestantisme espagnol en tenant compte de l'élan réformateur retrouvé dans la théologie du conseiller des deux exilés, Constantino Ponce de la Fuente (1502-1559), prédicateur de la cathédrale de Séville. Au deuxième chapitre, nous traçons les grandes lignes des suppositions christologiques orthodoxes (ou « chalcédoniennes ») qui sous-tendent le point de vue protestant espagnol du salut comme étant la participation à l'œuvre du Christ Prêtre, Prophète, Roi. Au troisième chapitre, nous examinons la manière dont la doctrine de l'autorité de l'Église concernant l'Écriture Sainte, ainsi que l'opinion de la position de l'Église relative à ses marques d'obéissance, à la fois illustrent et renforcent un thème nomade dans leur théologie. Dans le quatrième chapitre, nous rattachons leurs préoccupations concernant l'unité et la sainteté chrétiennes à leurs approches médiatrices visant les querelles au sujet de la Cène du Seigneur. Nous portons une attention particulière au « réalisme instrumental » de Reina quant aux signes religieux et à la centralité du ministère de la Parole dans la théologie sacramentelle desdits deux réformateurs. Enfin, au chapitre cinq, nous étudions l'aspect missiologique de l'ecclésiologie protestante espagnole, soulignant la manière dont les questions concernant l'action humaine, la sainteté personnelle et la tolérance religieuse façonnent une compréhension solide du témoignage de l'Église dans le monde en général et aux musulmans en particulier.

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## List of Acronyms

|                |  |
|----------------|--|
| <i>Alfa.</i>   | Juan de Valdés, <i>Alfabeto Cristiano</i> , Madrid, 1997   |
| <i>BTD</i>     | Juan Pérez de Pineda, <i>Breve Tratado de Doctrina, util para todo Cristiano</i> , San Sebastian, 1852   |
| <i>Cate.</i>   | Constantino Ponce de la Fuente, <i>Catezismo cristiano</i> , Madrid, 1863  |
| <i>Conf.</i>   | Constantino Ponce de la Fuente, <i>Confesión de un pecador</i> , Sevilla, 2009   |
| <i>Cons.</i>   | Juan de Valdés, <i>Ziento i Diez Consideraciones</i> , London, 1863  |
| <i>CICor.</i>  | Juan de Valdés, <i>Comentario o declarazi3n familiar i compendiosa sobre la primera ep3stola de san Pablo Ap3stol a los Corintios</i> , Madrid, 1856   |
| <i>CEJ</i>     | Casiodoro de Reina, <i>Comentario al Evangelio de Juan</i> , Sevilla, 2009   |
| <i>CFII</i>    | Antonio del Corro, <i>Carta de Antonio del Corro, a Felipe II</i> , Sevilla, 2006  |
| <i>Dec.</i>    | Casiodoro de Reina, <i>Declaraci3n, o Confesi3n de Fe hecha por ciertos fieles espa3oles, que, huyendo los abusos de la iglesia Romana y la crueldad de la Inquisici3n d'Espa3a hizieron a la Iglesia de los fieles para ser en ella recibidos por hermanos en Christo</i> , Frankfurt, 1577 |
| <i>EOD</i>     | Antonio del Corro, <i>Exposici3n de la Obra de Dios</i> , Sevilla, 2006  |
| <i>EPL</i>     | Antonio del Corro, <i>Ep3stola y amable admonici3n de un ministro del Evangelio de nuestro Redentor Jesucristo, enviada a los Pastores de la Iglesia Flamenca de Amberes</i> , Sevilla, 2006   |
| <i>Epis.</i>   | Juan Pérez de Pineda, <i>Ep3stola para consolar a los fieles de Jesu Christo, que padecen persecuci3n por la confesi3n de su nombre</i> , Geneva, 1560   |
| <i>Expo.</i>   | Constantino Ponce de la Fuente, <i>Exposici3n del primer Psalmo de David</i> , Sevilla, 2009   |
| <i>CGMatt.</i> | Juan de Valdés, <i>Commentary upon the Gospel of St. Matthew</i> , London, 1882  |
| <i>Mat4</i>    | Casiodoro de Reina, <i>Cap3tulo Cuarto del Evangelio de Mateo</i> , Sevilla, 2009  |
| <i>CERom.</i>  | Juan de Valdés, <i>Comentario o declarazi3n breve i compendiosa sobre la ep3stola de san Pablo Ap3stol a los Romanos</i> , Madrid, 1856  |

- CSalm.* Juan de Valdés, *Comentario a los Salmos*, Madrid, 1885
- TCC* Cipriano de Valera, *Tratado para confirmar los pobres cativos de Berueria en la católica y antigua fe*, London, 1594

## Introduction

In his 1932 study of the spiritual history of the Spanish-speaking world, the eminent Presbyterian missionary to Latin America and ecumenist John Mackay made the provocative claim that the Christ who made it to the New World was not ‘Mary’s Son and Lord’, but ‘another religious figure with His name and some of His marks’. That is, while an imposter sailed westward with the Spanish crusaders, the real Christ ‘went to prison in Spain’, where the Inquisition was admitted as ‘a means of grace’.<sup>1</sup> For this reason, in his quest for the *other* Spanish Christ, Mackay turned first to the writings of the great Spanish mystics. In the work of John of the Cross (1542-1591), for instance, he found the ‘Lord and transfigurer of all things that have being’,<sup>2</sup> and in Theresa of Ávila’s (1515-1582) he discerned a Christ who is ‘a living, active, powerful and loving Being who requires that the soul shall have no commerce with sin if it is to have communion with Him’.<sup>3</sup> From the imprisoned Christ of the mystics Mackay then proceeded to the

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<sup>1</sup> J. A. Mackay, *The Other Spanish Christ: A Study in the Spiritual History of Spain and South America* (New York: Macmillan, 1933; facsimile reprint Eugene, Oregon: Wipf and Stock, 2001), 95, 102.

<sup>2</sup> Mackay, *The Other Spanish Christ*, 131.

<sup>3</sup> Mackay, *The Other Spanish Christ*, 132.

‘resurrection’ of the Spanish Christ in modern Spain in, e.g., the thought of ‘the last and the greatest of Spain’s mystic heretics’ Miguel de Unamuno (1864 - 1936).<sup>4</sup>

What one misses in *The Other Spanish Christ*, however, is the witness of those relatively unknown but no less important figures who in the sixteenth century travelled north instead of west, drawn by the way of Protestant reform leading to exile rather than interiority and renewal from within. Two of these, in spite of rather brief careers, secured for the Spanish Protestant movement an important spiritual link with the early reformation in Wittenberg and Strasburg through their connection with Philipp Melanchthon (1497 – 1560) and Martin Bucer (1491 – 1551), respectively. The first was Juan Díaz, who was born c. 1515 in Cuenca (central Spain), educated in Paris, served as second deputy to Bucer at the Colloquy of Regensburg (1541), authored a brief summary of Protestant doctrine,<sup>5</sup> and finally martyred, his murder plotted by his own brother Alfonso in 1546.<sup>6</sup> The other figure was Francisco de Enzinas (also Dryander), who was born c. 1520 in Burgos (northern Spain), studied in 1541 in the University of Wittenberg where he stayed with Philipp Melanchthon and prepared a Spanish translation of the New Testament,<sup>7</sup> and was jailed in Spanish-controlled Brussels in 1543 for his link with

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<sup>4</sup> Mackay, *The Other Spanish Christ*, 146-47.

<sup>5</sup> Juan Díaz, *Christianae religionis summa* (Neuburg/Danube: Johannes Kilian, 1546). Republished as *Suma de la relijion cristiana*, in *Reformistas Antiguos Españoles*, vol. 20, edited by B. Wiffen and L. Usoz y Rio (Madrid: n.p., 1865), 99-110. Here Díaz affirms core Protestant convictions, e.g., that Jesus Christ is the ‘only Priest’, ‘only Sacrifice’, and the church’s only foundation; and that the teaching of the early councils are to be received insofar as they agree with Scripture.

<sup>6</sup> See E. Boehmer, *Bibliotheca Wiffeniana: Spanish Reformers of Two Centuries*, vol. 1 (London/Strasburg: Trübner, 1874), 185-216.

<sup>7</sup> Francisco de Enzinas, *El Nuevo testamento de nuestro redemptor y Salvador Jesu Christo* (Antwerp: Stefan Mierdmann, 1543).

Lutheran reform,<sup>8</sup> although he managed to escape a year later. In 1546 he stayed for a brief time with Bucer, with whom he produced a narrative of the murder of his friend Juan Díaz in the following year. In 1548 he taught Greek at the University of Cambridge, where Bucer was regius professor at the time, but by 1549 he was back in Strasburg, where he died in 1552, victim of an epidemic.<sup>9</sup>

While occasional reference will be made to Díaz and Enzinas in this study, our main focus will be the Protestant reform movement centred in Seville. Although the impact of Protestantism was felt in the northern city of Valladolid, and in particular among the reforming circle led by Agustín Cazalla, who with twenty fellow reformers was burnt at the stake in an *auto da fé* on 21 May 1559,<sup>10</sup> it was from Seville that ‘the Spanish Protestant Reformation’s most distinguished writers and students of Scripture’ would emerge.<sup>11</sup> Specifically, a number of the Observantine Hiernonymite monks and friars of the San Isidoro del Campo monastery, located near that city, made plans to translate the Bible into the vernacular language using the original texts, following their patron Jerome (c. 347 – 420), and in the spirit of Biblical humanism of Desiderius Erasmus (c. 1469 – 1536) and Archbishop Francisco Ximénez de Cisneros (1436 - 1517). This they combined with a study of Protestant literature, having managed to obtain works

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<sup>8</sup> In 1540 he had prepared his *Breve i compendiosa institucion de la religion Christiana* (Ghent/Antwerp?: Adam Corvo, 1540), based on Luther and Calvin.

<sup>9</sup> See E. Boehmer, *Bibliotheca Wiffeniana: Spanish Reformers of Two Centuries*, vol. 1 (London/Strasburg: Trübner, 1874), 131-84.

<sup>10</sup> See Thomas M’Crie, *History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Spain in the Sixteenth Century* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1829), 226-29, 285-88.

<sup>11</sup> A. Marquez, ‘Reforma Protestante’, in *Diccionario de Historia Ecclesiastica de España*, vol. 3 ed. Q.A. Vaquero, T.M. Martínez and J.V. Gatell (Madrid: Instituto Enrique Flores, 1973), 2061.

by Luther and other German reformers.<sup>12</sup> Prominent among Protestant literature confiscated by the Holy Office were works of Calvin, Bullinger, and Melanchthon, followed by those of Luther and Zwingli.<sup>13</sup>

Of the Sevillian Protestants, two in particular will play a secondary but important role in our study for their efforts to translate and disseminate Protestant thought in Spanish from abroad. Juan Pérez de Pineda, born c. 1500 in Montilla, Andalucía, was director of the Niños de la Doctrina orphanage in Seville, following a period of diplomatic service in Italy. By 1549, as the Inquisition's proceedings against the evangelical cathedral preacher in Seville Juan Gil got underway, he made his way to Paris, and then around 1555 to Geneva, where he began to publish evangelical works for distribution in Spain, up until his death in 1568. Apart from publishing he served as a minister of the Gospel, first in Geneva among Spaniards, and then in France, where in 1564 he took up the position of domestic chaplain to 'Calvin's pupil and friend' Renée, Duchess of Ferrara.<sup>14</sup> His most significant original works are his *Breve Tratado de Doctrina* (1560), which even as an adaptation of Urbanus Regius's *Novae doctrinae ad veterem collatio*,<sup>15</sup> contains roughly one quarter of Pérez's own work,<sup>16</sup> and *Epístola para*

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<sup>12</sup> A. Gordon Kinder, *Casiodoro de Reina: Spanish Reformer of the Sixteenth Century* (London: Tamesis Books Ltd., 1975), 12. See Also A. Marquez, 'Reforma Protestante', 2060.

<sup>13</sup> Gabino Fernandez Campos, *Reforma y Contrareforma en Andalucía* (Sevilla: Biblioteca del Centro de Estudios de la Reforma, 2009), 29.

<sup>14</sup> E. Boehmer, *Bibliotheca Wiffeniana: Spanish Reformers of Two Centuries*, vol. 2 (London/Strasburg: Trübner, 1883), 70.

<sup>15</sup> Urbanus Regius, *Novae doctrinae ad veterem collatio* (Augsburg, 1526).

<sup>16</sup> Juan Pérez de Pineda, *Breve Tratado de la doctrina antigua de Dios, y de la nueva de los hombres, util y necesario para todo fiel Christiano* ([Geneva]: [Crespin], 1560). Reprinted as *Breve tratado de doctrina, util para todo Christiano, dispuesto, al parecer, por el Dr Juan Perez, año de 1560*, in *Reformistas Antiguos Españoles, vol. VII*, ed. B. Wiffen and L. Usoz y Rio ([San Sebastian: Ignacio Baroja], 1852).

*consolar a los fieles de Jesu Christo* (1560),<sup>17</sup> in which he demonstrates a ‘profound knowledge of Scripture’.<sup>18</sup>

The second secondary figure is Cipriano de Valera, born c. 1532, probably in or near Seville. As a member of the San Isidoro monastic community, whose Protestant sympathies were by this time becoming clear to the Inquisition, in about 1557 he joined eleven fellow monks as they fled by different routes to Geneva. What drew the monks to Geneva was undoubtedly Pérez de Pineda’s encouragement, for it was there that they would be able to pursue their vocation as scholars and translators. They may also have been aware that French Protestant refugees in that city were preparing to serve as missionaries back in France, stimulated by Calvin’s passion to see France converted to the reformed religion.<sup>19</sup> With publishing and ministry among fellow-Spaniards in mind, then, Valera joined some of the other monks and made his way to England, not long after Elizabeth succeeded to the throne in 1558. Based on his theological training in Seville, he was admitted as a fellow of Magdalene College, Cambridge in 1559, where he held that position until 1567. While the nature of his work in London for some twenty years remains unclear, in 1588 he began to publish a number of works intended for Spanish readers. In *Dos Tratados* (1588) he attacked papal authority and the Mass,<sup>20</sup> and in his

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<sup>17</sup> Juan Pérez de Pineda, *Epístola para consolar a los fieles de Jesu Christo, que padecen persecución por la confesión de su nombre* ([Geneva]: [Crespin], 1560)

<sup>18</sup>G. Kinder, ‘Juan Pérez de Pineda (Pierius): a Spanish Calvinist minister of the Gospel in sixteenth-century Geneva’, *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* LIII (1976), 291. For additional biographical information see Boehmer, *Bibliotheca Wiffeniana*, vol. 2, 55-100.

<sup>19</sup> Scott J. Simmons, ‘John Calvin and Missions: A Historical Study’.

[www.aplacefortruth.org/calvin.missions1.htm](http://www.aplacefortruth.org/calvin.missions1.htm) (accessed 2 Dec 2009).

<sup>20</sup> Cipriano de Valera, *Dos tratados. El primero es del Papa y de su autoridad colegido de su vida y doctrina, y de lo que los doctores y concilios antiguos y la misma sagrada Escritura enseñan. El segundo*

*Tratado para confirmar los pobres cativos de Berueria* (1594) he sought to strengthen the faith of Spanish evangelicals held captive by the Berbery pirates.<sup>21</sup> From 1596 until his death c. 1603 he managed to complete his revision of his elder colleague Casiodoro de Reina's 1569 translation of the Bible (the first complete Spanish Bible translated from the original languages),<sup>22</sup> as well as his translation into Spanish of Calvin's *Institutes* (1597).<sup>23</sup>

For their contributions to a specifically Spanish 'dialect' of Protestantism, however, two of Valera's more senior fellow monks of the San Isidoro monastery stand out in particular, and for this reason must play a central role in the present study. The first is Casiodoro de Reina, born c. 1520, in Montemolín, near Seville. After graduating from the University of Seville and joining the Order of Observantine Hieronymites, Reina became one of the 'prime movers in the development of a cell of Protestant belief in general, and in San Isidro in particular'.<sup>24</sup> Given that his stay in Geneva was relatively brief, it has been suggested that he found the city which had seen to the anti-trinitarian

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*es de la missa recopilado de los doctores y concilios y de la sagrada Escritura* ([London]: Arnold Hatfield, 1588).

<sup>21</sup> Cipriano de Valera, *Tratado para confirmar los pobres cativos de Berueria en la católica y antigua fe . . .* (London: Peter Short, 1594)

<sup>22</sup> Cipriano de Valera, *La Biblia, en que los sacros libros del viejo y nuevo testamento revista y conferida con los textos Hebreo y Griegos y con diversas translaciones por Cypriano de Valera* (Amsterdam: Lorenzo Jacobi, 1602).

<sup>23</sup> Cipriano de Valera, trans. *Institucion de la religion Christiana. Compuesta en quatro libros, y dividida en capitulos. Por Juan Calvino, y ahora nuevamente traducida en romance castellano por Cypriano de Valera* ([London]: n. pub., 1597). For additional biographical information see Boehmer, *Bibliotheca Wiffeniana*, vol. 3, 147-94; A. Gordon Kinder, 'Religious Literature as an Offensive Weapon: Cipriano de Valera's Part in England's War with Spain,' *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 19.2 (Summer, 1988), 223-235; Lewis J. Hutton, 'The Spanish Heretic: Cipriano de Valera', *Church History*, 27.1 (Mar., 1958), 23-31.

<sup>24</sup> A. Gordon Kinder, *Casiodoro de Reina: Spanish Reformer of the Sixteenth Century* (London: Tamesis Books Ltd., 1975), 19.

Miguel Serveto's (or Michael Servetus, 1511 – 1553) execution rigid and uncongenial.<sup>25</sup> However, it is more likely that he was drawn by the opportunity for ministry among fellow-Spaniards, first to Frankfurt, and then to England, where he was to be found leading a Spanish congregation in London by 1559. There, on behalf of his congregation, which was given permission to meet at the Church of St Mary Axe, and which sought to be admitted into the fellowship of Strangers' churches in that city, he composed a *Declaración, o Confesión de Fe* (1560/61).<sup>26</sup> His ministry in London was to be cut short, however, because Spanish spies saw to it that he was accused of sodomy and doctrinal error, which prompted him to leave England, such that from 1564 to 1569 he lived between Antwerp, Frankfurt, Heidelberg, Strasburg and Basel, where he worked on his translation of the Bible (eventually published in Basel, 1569). From 1570 to 1578 he lived in Frankfurt, where he published two commentaries, one on the fourth chapter of Matthew's gospel,<sup>27</sup> and the other (rather longer one) on John's gospel,<sup>28</sup> both in 1573,

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<sup>25</sup> Kinder, *Casiodoro de Reina*, 19-20. Ian Hazlett notes that in letters of 1567 to Beza, Reina indicated a desire to take up residence in Geneva, which suggests that his supposed aversion to the city has perhaps been exaggerated. See Ian Hazlett, 'Confession de Fe Christiana 1559/60-1560/61', in *Reformierte Bekenntnisschriften* Band. 2/1: 1559-1563, ed. A. Mühling and P. Opitz (Neukirchener-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2009), 124.

<sup>26</sup> On the date of the confession, signed 4 January 1559, see Hazlett, 'Confession de Fe Christiana 1559/60 – 1560/61', 124-26.

<sup>27</sup> Casiodoro de Reina, *Expositio primae partis quarti Matthaei, commonefactoria ad ecclesiam Christi* (Frankfurt: Nicolas Bassé, 1573). We shall use the Spanish edition published as *Capítulo Cuarto del Evangelio de Mateo*, in *Obras de los Reformadores Españoles del Siglo XVI*, vol. 7, trans. R. Ruiz de Pablos (Sevilla: Editorial MAD, 2009) 367-404.

<sup>28</sup> Casiodoro de Reina, *Evangelium Iannis: hoc est, iusta ac vetus apologia pro aeterna Christi divinitate* (Frankfurt: Nicolas Bassé, 1573). We shall use the Spanish edition published as *Comentario al Evangelio de Juan*. In *Obras de los Reformadores Españoles del Siglo XVI*, vol. 7, trans. R. Ruiz de Pablos (Sevilla: Editorial MAD, 2009), 59-366.

and the first printed version of his *Declaración* (1577).<sup>29</sup> In 1578 he went to London to be cleared of the charges brought against him when he was there the first time, which made it possible for him to accept a call to serve as minister to the French-speaking Lutherans in Antwerp. When Antwerp was attacked by the Spanish in 1585, however, he was forced once again to move. This time he took his congregation with him to Frankfurt, where he eventually died in 1594.<sup>30</sup>

The other central figure is Antonio del Corro, born in 1527, probably in or near Seville. Along with Valera, Reina and the other monks of Seville he made his way to Geneva in 1557. After training at Beza's Academy at Lausanne, he went in 1559 to France, taking up pastoral duties, most notably as chaplain, along with Pérez de Pineda, to Renée, Duchess of Ferrara, in 1565. He then spent a brief period in Antwerp, where he composed his most significant theological treatises: *Lettre envoyée a la majesté du roy des Espaignes* (1567),<sup>31</sup> which contains a confession of faith, and *Epistre et amiable remonstrance d'un ministre de l'evangile de nostre redempteur Jesus Christ* (1567),<sup>32</sup> on

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<sup>29</sup> Casiodoro de Reina, *Declaración, o Confesión de Fe hecha por ciertos fieles españoles, que, huyendo los abusos de la iglesia Romana y la crueldad de la Inquisición d'España hizieron a la Iglesia de los fieles para ser en ella recibidos por hermanos en Christo* (Frankfurt, 1577).

<sup>30</sup> Apart from Kinder, *Casiodoro de Reina*, for biographical information see also Boehmer, *Bibliotheca Wiffeniana*, vol. 3, 163-320; Paul J. Hauben, 'A Spanish Calvinist Church in Elizabethan London, 1559-65,' *Church History*, 34.1 (Mar., 1965), 50-56 ; Paul J. Hauben, *Three Heretics and the Spanish Reformation: Antonio del Corro, Cassiodoro de Reina, Cypriano de Valera* (Geneva: Droz, 1967), 85-107.

<sup>31</sup> Antonio del Corro, *Lettre envoyée a la majesté du roy des Espaignes* (Antwerp, 1567). We shall use the Spanish edition published as *Carta de Antonio del Corro, a Felipe II*, in *Obras de los reformadores Españoles del siglo XVI*, vol. 1, ed. E. M. Bellido and intro. A. R. García (Sevilla: Editorial MAD, 2006), 99-213.

<sup>32</sup> Antonio del Corro, *Epistre et amiable remonstrance d'un ministre de l'evangile de nostre redempteur Jesus Christ, envoyée aux pasteurs de l'eglise flamengue d'Anvers* (Antwerp: n. p., 1567). We shall use the Spanish edition published as *Epistola y amable admonición de un ministro del Evangelio de nuestro Redentor Jesucristo, enviada a los Pastores de la Iglesia Flamenca de Amberes*, in *Obras de los reformadores Españoles del siglo XVI*, vol. 1, ed. E. Monjo Bellido and intro. A. R. García (Sevilla: Editorial MAD, 2006) 49-98.

the Lord's Supper. In 1567 he settled in England, where he took up a position as reader in theology at the Inner and Middle Temples in London (1571 – 1576), and then at Christ Church, Oxford (1577 – 1587). At this time suspicions of Pelagianism, which some found in his *Tableau de l'oeuvre de Dieu* (1569),<sup>33</sup> led to a paraphrase of Paul's letter to the Romans, *Dialogus theologicus* (1574),<sup>34</sup> and to his 'Articles of the Catholike fayth' (1575),<sup>35</sup> in which he upholds a classically Augustinian view of sin and grace, and in which he borrows quite freely from Bullinger's *Second Helvetic Confession* (1566).<sup>36</sup> He died in London in 1591.<sup>37</sup>

If the nature of the Spanish Protestant dialect which is the focus of our study remains largely unknown today, this is not strictly the fault of Mackay. In Spain, since Philip II ruled with the idea it was better not to reign at all than to reign over heretics,<sup>38</sup> and as a crown-controlled Inquisition saw to it that Roman Catholic faith and culture was

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<sup>33</sup> Antonio del Corro, *Tableau de l'œuvre de Dieu* (Norwich, 1569). We shall use the Spanish edition published as *Exposición de la Obra de Dios*, in *Obras de los reformadores Españoles del siglo XVI*, vol. 1, ed. E. Monjo Bellido (Sevilla, Editorial MAD, 2006), 221-229.

<sup>34</sup> Antonio del Corro, *Dialogus theologicus. Quo epistola divi Pauli apostoli ad Romanos explanatur. Ex praelectionibus Antonii Corrani Hispalensis sacrae theologiae professoris, collectus, & concinnatus* (London: Thomas Purfoot, 1574). Also published, in the following year, as *A theological dialogue, wherein the Epistle of S. Paul the Apostle to the Romans is expounded, gathered and set together out of the readings of Antonie Corranus of Siville professor of divinitis* (London: Thomas Purfoot, 1575).

<sup>35</sup> Antonio del Corro, 'The Articles of the Catholike fayth which Anthonie Coranus Spaniarde Student of Divinitie professeth, and always hath professed', in *A theological dialogue, wherin the Epistle of S. Paul the Apostle to the Romans is expounded, gathered and set together out of the readings of Antonie Corranus* (London: Purfoote, 1575), 140-56.

<sup>36</sup> *The Second Helvetic Confession*. In *Reformed Confessions of the Sixteenth Century*, ed. A.C. Cochrane (London: SCM Press, 1966), 224-301.

<sup>37</sup> For bibliographical information see, especially, William McFadden, 'Life and Works of Antonio del Corro, 1527-1591' (PhD thesis, Queen's University, Belfast, 1953), but also Boehmer, *Bibliotheca Wiffeniana*, vol. 3, 1-46; B. A. Vermaseren, 'The Life of Antonio del Corro (1527-1591) Before his Stay in England', *Archives et Bibliothèques de Belgique* 57 (1986), 530-68; A. Gordon Kinder, 'Antonio del Corro', in *Bibliotheca Dissidentium*, vol. 7, ed. A. Séguenny (Baden-Baden: Valentin Koerner, 1986), 70-176; Hauben's *Three Heretics and the Spanish Reformation*, 3-81, is based largely on McFadden's work.

<sup>38</sup> Henry C. Sheldon, 'Protestantism in Spain', in *History of the Christian Church*, vol. 3 (New York: Thomas Crowell, 1894), 232.

safeguarded,<sup>39</sup> Spaniards had before them the constant reminder of ‘the supposed dangers of Protestantism, and of the real danger of being a Protestant in Spain’.<sup>40</sup> Under the circumstances, the memory of the evangelical movement was bound to fade quickly, as Spanish historian Jaime Contreras notes, for negative associations with the idea of *luteranismo* came to be used as a permanent means to stabilize ‘a feudal, aristocratic and authoritarian social order’.<sup>41</sup> It was only in 1847 that works of Spanish reformers were brought to light, as Quakers Benjamin Wiffen and Luis de Usos y Rio began to compile major works in their (unfortunately rare) *Reformistas Antiguos Españoles* (1847-1880).<sup>42</sup> In 1880-81 Spanish historian Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo offered a Roman Catholic appreciation in his three-volume *Historia de los heterodoxos españoles*.<sup>43</sup> In recent years the Centro de Estudios de la Reforma has generated some interest in the Spanish reformers, and in 2006 new editions of their works began to be published in Seville.<sup>44</sup>

Outside Spain, the Spanish Protestants have fared somewhat better, as Thomas M’Crie’s *History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Spain in the Sixteenth Century* (1829), Ernst Schäfer’s study of the Spanish Inquisition as it related to Protestants in *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Spanischen Protestantismus* (1902), Eduard

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<sup>39</sup> Justo Gonzalez, *A History of Christian Thought*, vol. 3: From the Protestant Reformation to the Twentieth Century (Nashville/New York: Abingdon Press, 1975), 12.

<sup>40</sup> A. Gordon Kinder, ‘Spain’, in *The Early Reformation in Europe*, ed. A. Pettegree (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1992), 235.

<sup>41</sup> Jaime Contreras, ‘The Impact of Protestantism in Spain 1520-1600,’ in *Inquisition and Society in Early Modern Europe*, ed. S. Haliczer (London: Croom Helm, 1986), 62.

<sup>42</sup> See individual works in the bibliography. A facsimile edition was produced in 1981 by the Librería Diego Gómez Flores (Barcelona).

<sup>43</sup> Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo, *Historia de los Heterodoxos Españoles*, 3 vols (Madrid: Victoriano Suárez, 1880-81).

<sup>44</sup> The first of the series, *Obras de los reformadores Españoles del siglo XVI*, edited by E. M. Bellido, introduced by A. R. García, and published by Editorial MAD in Sevilla in 2006, was devoted to Antonio del Corro’s works.

Boehmer's three-volume introduction to the lives and works of the Spanish reformers (1874 – 1904), and Marcel Bataillon's study of Erasminianism in Spain (1937),<sup>45</sup> together laid a foundation for major life-and-works studies on Corro by William McFadden (1953) and on Reina by Gordon Kinder (1975). As things stand, however, the contours of a Spanish Protestant theology have only been lightly sketched, such that Alastair Hamilton's remark that the Sevillian exiles' beliefs 'hardly correspond to those of any of the Protestant Churches north of the Alps' can only be regarded as hasty.<sup>46</sup> Here we offer a preliminary characterization of Spanish Protestant thought before turning to a brief look at the most significant critical works.

We begin by affirming that Spanish Protestant theology is, in the first place, Spanish. Representing some fundamental concerns of the indigenous illuminist (*alumbrado*) movement, it contained, on the one hand, a sustained critique of image-centered religion. If the Council of Elvira in Spain (305), and Claudius, the Spanish bishop of Turin (d. 827), had condemned the veneration of images,<sup>47</sup> the *Alumbrados* did likewise as they sought a more immediate relationship with God.<sup>48</sup> The Spanish Protestants would also inherit something of the *alumbrado* movement's evangelical spirit, insofar as they sought and promoted religious renewal through personal Bible

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<sup>45</sup> Thomas M'Crie, *History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Spain in the Sixteenth Century* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1829); Ernst Schäfer, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Spanischen Protestantismus* (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1902), Eduard Boehmer, *Bibliotheca Wiffeniana: Spanish Reformers of Two Centurie* (London/Strasburg: Trübner, 1874 – 1904); Marcel Bataillon, *Érasme el l'Espagne. Recherches sur l'histoire spirituelle du XVIe siècle* (Paris, 1937).

<sup>46</sup> Alastair Hamilton, *Heresy and Mysticism in Sixteenth-Century Spain: The Alumbrados* (Cambridge: James Clarke and Co., 1992), 106.

<sup>47</sup> M'Crie, *History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Spain*, 8-9.

<sup>48</sup> Miguel de la Pinta Llorente, 'Los Alumbrados de Sevilla', in *Aspectos Históricos del sentimiento religioso en España: ortodoxia y heterodoxia* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1961), 83f. See also J. Nieto, 'Iluminism', in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 311-313.

study. On this basis it was to benefit from the initiatives of Cardinal Ximénez de Cisneros, Archbishop of Toledo and Primate of Spain in the period 1485 to 1517, who founded the University of Alcalá de Henares as a centre for the study of the Bible,<sup>49</sup> and to appropriate concerns for simplicity in doctrine and ceremony by getting ‘back to the sources’ (*ad fontes*), i.e. to Scripture and early church tradition, the priesthood of all believers, and Christian unity, as the influence of Erasmus was felt among Spain’s educated class.<sup>50</sup> Alongside these concerns Spanish Protestants were to carry into exile the memory of their own persecution at the hands of the Inquisition, and of the particular way in which Spain had ‘settled’ the question of religious plurality by forcing the Jews and the Moors from Spain after the fall of Granada in 1492 unless they embraced the Catholic faith.

It is also quite clear that the Spanish Protestants—at least once in exile—were decidedly Protestant, compelled as they were to make a decisive break with the Roman church, along with Luther, Calvin and Zwingli. As Reina and Corro engaged the confessional traditions of northern Europe, their particular Protestant dialect developed three traits, broadly speaking. First, it can be described as *liminal*, for it bears the marks of a people ‘on the go’, often out of fear of arrest, and of a nascent reform movement which is aware of the limitations imposed upon it by its nomadic existence and cross-cultural challenges. Evidently, being viewed as refugees whose Christological orthodoxy was suspect—owing in large part to their being compatriots of the anti-Trinitarian

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<sup>49</sup> Efforts of Cisneros led to the publication of the Complutensian Polyglot Bible (1514-1517), containing the original languages (Hebrew, Chaldean, Aramaic, Greek), as well as the Vulgate and a recent Latin translation. See Kinder, ‘Spain’, 217.

<sup>50</sup> Kinder, ‘Spain’, 217-18.

Michael Servetus—and as ‘latecomers’ to the Supper disputes which *The Zurich Agreement* (or *Consensus Tigurinus*, 1549)<sup>51</sup> had reopened between Lutheran and Reformed theologians, Corro and Reina were forced to weigh in on these key theological concerns both expeditiously and carefully if they were to be welcomed into any local Protestant ministry and fellowship. While this compounded the provisional quality of their confessional statements, what came to be highlighted was the central role which ecclesiological concerns were to play in their confessional theology. If not driven by the need felt among the reformers generally to identify the true church, then through their own experience as outsiders in search of both an identity as well as recognition Reina and Corro were compelled to devote considerable attention to the nature and marks of the church. In this regard, the hallmark of their contribution to 16th-century Protestant reform is their distinctive view of the church as God’s scattered people who through their obedience identify with Christ’s sufferings in a highly public fashion, and who are sustained by the hope of reigning with him in eternity. If close in matters of doctrine to the magisterial reformers, as they found themselves as nomads and strangers of sorts in their places of sojourn they nonetheless shared with radical reformers like Menno Simons (1496 – 1561) an impulse to be separate from the world as a visible community of disciples marked by its obedience.

Secondly, this ecclesiological tradition can be described as *conciliar* to the extent that it stems from Reina and Corro’s shared desire to see Protestants speak with a single

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<sup>51</sup> *The Zurich Agreement*, in *Creeds and Confessions of Faith in the Christian Tradition*, vol. 2: *Creeds and Confessions of the Reformation Era*, ed. J. Pelikan and V. Hotchkiss (New Haven, Conn./London: Yale Univ. Press, 2003), 802-15. See also Emidio Campi and Rudi Reich, eds., *Consensus Tigurinus: Die Einigung zwischen Heinrich Bullinger und Johannes Calvin über das Abendmahl: Werden—Wertung—Bedeutung* (Zurich: Theologische Verlag Zürich, 2009).

voice. This trait is apparent in their self-understanding as outsiders who not only aim to identify with, but also seek to mediate between, various local fellowships. It is evident that while Reina and Corro sought to mediate between Lutheran and Reformed views of the Lord's Supper—thus reflecting the irenic spirit which one associates with reformers like Melanchthon and Bucer—they were clear in their rejection of the Lutheran doctrine of the ubiquity of Christ's exalted humanity. The two Spaniards viewed this point as non-negotiable, since for Reina in particular such an account of presence would have undermined his fundamentally instrumental view of the sacraments as external means of grace.

Thirdly, 16<sup>th</sup>-century Spanish Protestant ecclesiology can be regarded as a *missionary* ecclesiology, for Reina and Corro regarded evangelization through the church's exemplary life and message as fundamental to the church's identity and vocation. Motivated by an anticipation of God's glory, the multiple vocations and conditions of believers—'official' ones such as ministers and magistrates, but also extraordinary ones like literature smugglers and ordinary Christians—come to be understood as mission agents. As they developed their missionary ecclesiology, the Spanish Protestants would identify three specific missionary challenges: the problem of relating the Christian message to Muslims, the importance of unity and godliness for the success of mission, and the threat which persecution and religious intolerance presents for mission. Throughout these considerations one finds a nomadic ecclesiology underscored, as the church's mission is to an extent made the task of all believers, the dominant agent the stranger and sojourner who is on the go, and the preferred way of engagement example and persuasion rather than force.

Here we give an overview of the strengths and weaknesses of received interpretations in order to make our aim more explicit. At the outset, we note that an appreciation of the Spanish Protestants depends in part on one's view of the specific nature of the Spanish evangelical tradition which they inherited. Generally speaking, by this tradition we have in mind the kind of reform which was given shape, at least in part, on the one hand by the indigenous *alumbrado* movement, a predominantly lower-middle class movement which sought to renew Christianity according to New Testament principles and which stressed the direct work of the Spirit in the life of the believer,<sup>52</sup> and on the other hand by the 'return to the sources', i.e. the more scholarly promotion of biblical study encouraged by Cisneros and Erasmus. For this reason, the principal reformers with whom we must deal are Juan de Valdés (c. 1498 – 1541) and Constantino Ponce de la Fuente (1502 – 1559), both of whom received their theological training at Alcalá de Henares. As things stand, it is taken for granted that these two men represent the same basic evangelical tradition which we have described. So, for instance, Marcel Bataillon situates the two within a reform movement 'whose roots are in Spain itself, in Erasmian illuminism'.<sup>53</sup> Jose Nieto stresses their particular debt to the *Alumbrados*, while highlighting important parallels between their thought and that of northern reformers like Luther and Calvin. Thus he attributes Valdés's *sola fide* doctrine to the *Alumbrado* preacher Pedro Ruiz de Alcaraz,<sup>54</sup> and argues that Valdés anticipates a Reformed conviction regarding the Spirit's 'inner witness' alongside the testimony of

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<sup>52</sup> Nieto, 'Illuminism', 312.

<sup>53</sup> Marcel Bataillon, *Erasmus y España: estudios sobre la historia espiritual del siglo XVI* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1966), 517.

<sup>54</sup> J. Nieto, *Juan de Valdés (1509?-1541) and the Origins of the Spanish and Italian Reformation*. Travaux d'humanisme et Renaissance, no. 108 (Genève: Librairie Droz, 1970), 56f.

Scripture.<sup>55</sup> With regard to Ponce de la Fuente, Nieto similarly finds in the reformer an indigenous Protestantism, given that Ponce de la Fuente shares with Valdés a similar approach to biblical authority, and argues that the former's doctrine of God's sovereign election parallels that of Luther without being influenced by him.<sup>56</sup> William Jones, who observes a clear Augustinian theme of the incapacity of the human with regard to salvation, and therefore a significant departure from Erasmus,<sup>57</sup> characterizes Ponce de la Fuente's theology as a form of 'Catholic Evangelism' which was catholic in that it did not seek doctrinal reform, but evangelical for its focus in on 'inward as opposed to outward expressions of religion'.<sup>58</sup>

On closer examination, however, it is evident that Valdés and Ponce de la Fuente represent quite distinct approaches to reform. Acknowledging a significant spiritualizing development in Valdés's thought, we shall argue that his type of reform can fairly be described in terms which Jones applies to Ponce de la Fuente's theology, while that of Ponce de la Fuente himself represents a 'reformed Catholicism' which, marked in some basic ways by the Magisterial reform of Luther, Calvin and Zwingli, intends structural and doctrinal reform, and anticipates the confessional theology of the Sevillian exiles.

A second obstacle stands in the way of an adequate appreciation of Spanish Protestant ecclesiology. Not inaccurately, works by Kinder and McFadden portray Reina and Corro, respectively, as irenic theologians who stressed the practical aspects

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<sup>55</sup> Nieto, *Juan de Valdés*, 246.

<sup>56</sup> J. Nieto, *El Renacimiento y la Otra España: Vision Cultural Socioespiritual*. Travaux d'humanisme et Renaissance, no. 115 (Geneva: Droz, 1997), 246f.

<sup>57</sup> W. B. Jones, 'Constantino Ponce de la Fuente: the Problem of Protestant Influence in sixteenth-century Spain' (PhD Dissertation, Vanderbilt University, 1965), 61.

<sup>58</sup> Jones, 'Constantino Ponce de la Fuente', 65, 60.

of the Christian life in the interest of unity. However, while indispensable for their breadth of historical research, these studies are guided by a manifest attempt to minimize Reina's and Corro's Christological orthodoxy. As such, Kinder and McFadden overlook the full ecclesial implications of the Christological emphasis in their interpretation of Spanish Protestant thought. For example, McFadden maintains that Corro's Christology is mainly exemplarist, and that his non-physical interpretation of Christ's ascension is linked to a thoroughly spiritual conception of the church and the sacraments—thus tending to conflate Corro with the *Alumbrados*.<sup>59</sup> Likewise Kinder, who suspects Reina of Christological heterodoxy,<sup>60</sup> and assumes that Reina chose to be imprecise on disputed matters such as meaning of the Lord's Supper for the sake of unity,<sup>61</sup> misses Reina's fundamental concern for the church visible as expressed in a developed theology of religious signs. Thus the two authoritative introductions to the life and works of Reina and Corro tend to point one away from those qualities which are most distinctive in the Spanish Protestant confessions of faith.

The virtual eclipsing of the ecclesiological dimension of Reina's and Corro's works has been partially remedied in more recent appreciations of the two Spaniards. In his recent study of Reina's theology, Roldán-Figueroa takes for granted Reina's Christological orthodoxy, and on that basis helps to identify the doctrine of the church as a central feature in Reina's thought. Nonetheless, the assumption that Reina's

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<sup>59</sup> McFadden, 'Antonio del Corro', 693, 566, 645.

<sup>60</sup> A. Gordon Kinder, 'How Much Did Servetus Really Influence Casiodoro de Reina?', in *Hispanic Studies in Honour of Frank Pierce*, ed. J. England (Sheffield: Department of Hispanic Studies, University of Sheffield, 1980), 98-99.

<sup>61</sup> Kinder, *Casiodoro de Reina*, 82, 89.

ecclesiology is based on a voluntaristic conception of regeneration,<sup>62</sup> a spiritualized view of the sacraments,<sup>63</sup> and a view of the church primarily as a secret communion of saints,<sup>64</sup> is difficult to justify on textual grounds. Reina approaches religious signs, rather, as instruments of present grace, and in this way draws attention to the church as visible fellowship and external means of salvation which is recognized in the world by its marks of obedience. As for Corro scholarship, Rivera Garcia's recent essay on Corro as a theologian of concord lays a similar foundation for a reappraisal of Corro, but leaves the matter of Corro's ecclesiology to be explored in detail.<sup>65</sup>

Once the origins of Spanish Protestantism have been defined, then, the aim of our dissertation is to trace the impact of Reina's and Corro's Christology (and the soteriology which is linked to it) on their ecclesiology, with reference to the church's nature, authority, marks, formal ordinances, and mission. A specific goal is to demonstrate that the mark of the 'cross and affliction in the world', as Reina would put it, is bound up with a 'high' or Chalcedonian Christology, and that this doctrinal outlook in turn provides the basis for a correspondingly high and 'instrumental' doctrine of the church, defined over against the 'low' or indifferent approach which marks the Spanish 'spiritual' reform as represented by Valdés. Such an approach to the definition of the church comes to be reflected not only in their concern for issues related to the church's 'gathered' aspect

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<sup>62</sup> Rady Roldán-Figueroa, 'Casiodoro de Reina as Biblical Exegete: Studies on the 1569 Spanish Translation of the Bible' (PhD Dissertation, Boston University, 2005), 134-5.

<sup>63</sup> Roldán-Figueroa, 'Casiodoro de Reina as Biblical Exegete', 117, 130.

<sup>64</sup> Roldán-Figueroa, 'Casiodoro de Reina as Biblical Exegete', 122.

<sup>65</sup> A. Rivera Garcia, 'El Humanismo de la Reforma Española: Teología y Concordia en Antonio del Corro', in *Obras de los Reformadores Españoles del Siglo XVI: Antonio del Corro*, ed. E. M. Bellido (Sevilla: Editorial MAD, 2006), 13-48.

(especially the ministries of Word and Sacrament, as well as unity), but also in their missionary vision, as they turn their attention to questions related to the purpose, instruments and message in the church's mission in the world.

What is needed to engage existing scholarship on Spanish reform is, in the first instance, a closer textual analysis of Reina's and Corro's doctrinal works. The contextual approach is therefore to be complemented by a systematic one, i.e. one in which the significance of ecclesiology is seen in its relation to a complete confessional stance, on the assumption that the texts in question constitute attempts at a coherent exposition of Christian doctrine. Moreover, while taking into consideration differences of emphasis between Reina and Corro, I shall emphasize those opinions and concerns which they held in common in order to demonstrate that, through their shared experience as Spanish refugees, they articulate a counter-tradition to the spiritualist movement in Spain (and beyond), and thus give expression to a distinctively Spanish 'dialect' of Protestant Reform alongside Swiss, German or English variants.

Such an approach to the interpretation of 16<sup>th</sup>-century Spanish Protestantism suggests the order in which a reassessment of Corro's and Reina's works is best conducted. Here we outline the contents of each chapter, mentioning the most significant primary texts. In Chapter One we describe the shape of Ponce de la Fuente's 'reformed Catholicism' with special reference to *Exposición del Primer Salmo de David* (1546) and *Catecismo Cristiano* (1547),<sup>66</sup> over and against Valdesian reform as expressed

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<sup>66</sup> Constantino Ponce de la Fuente, *Catecismo cristiano, compuesto por el Doctor Constantino, añadiose la confession d'un pecador penitente, hecha por el mismo author* (Antwerp: Guillaume Simon, 1556). We shall use the edition published in *Reformistas Antiguos Españoles*, vol. XIX, ed. B. Wiffen and L. Usoz y Rio (Madrid: [José Alegría?], 1863), 279-358; *Exposición del primer Psalmo de David: cuyo principio es Beatus vir: dividido en seys sermones por el Doctor Constantino* (Sevilla: [Juan de León],

in *Alfabeto Cristiano, Ciento y Diez Consideraciones*, and in commentaries on the Psalms, Matthew, Romans and 1 Corinthians (all written between 1536 and 1541, if not published immediately).<sup>67</sup> In Chapter Two we complete the foundation for our study of Spanish Protestant ecclesiology with a look at the way in which Reina and Corro, through their experience of persecution and exile, expound an orthodox Christology which is linked to a marked emphasis on salvation as participation in Christ's sufferings. Texts for consideration at this point are principally Reina's *Declaración* and Corro's letter to Philip II, hereafter referred to as *Carta a Felipe II*.

From the Christological and soteriological foundation we turn to Spanish Protestant ecclesiology proper, guided structurally by the three characteristics outlined above: liminal, conciliar and missional, which are linked thematically to the three basic Reformation concerns regarding authority, the means of grace, and the Christian life. Thus in Chapter Three we shall examine the way in which a kind of reformed/radical tension which is at work in Reina's and Corro's model of the church impacts their view

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1546). We shall use the edition published in *Obras de los Reformadores Españoles del Siglo XVI*, vol. V: *Constantino Ponce de la Fuente. Exposición del Primer Salmo de David. Confesión de un Pecador*, ed. E. M. Bellido and intro. D. E. Herrero (Sevilla: MAD, 2009), 137-291.

<sup>67</sup> Juan de Valdés, *Alfabeto christiano, che insegna la vera via d'acquistare il lume delle spirito santo* ([Venice?], 1546). We shall use the edition published as *Alfabeto Cristiano, que enseña el verdadero camino de adquirir la luz del Espíritu Santo*, in Juan de Valdés, *Obras Completas I*, ed. A. Alcalá Galvez (Madrid: Fundación José Antonio de Castro, 1997), 369-492; *Le cento & e dieci divine consideratione del S. Giovanni Valdesso: nelle quale si ragiona delle cose utili, piu necessaire & piu perfette della christiana professione* (Basle, 1550). We shall use the edition published as *Ziento i diez consideraciones*, in *Reformistas Antiguos Españoles*, vol. 17, ed. L. Uzoz i Rio (London, UK: Spottiswoode, 1863); *Comentario a los Salmos escrito por Juan de Valdés en el siglo XVI i ahora impresa por primera vez*, ed. M. Carrasco (Madrid: Librería Nacional y Extranjera, 1885); *El Evangelio de San Mateo declarado por Juan de Valdés, ahora por primera vez publicado* (Madrid: Librería Nacional y Extranjera, 1880). We shall refer to the edition published as *Commentary upon the Gospel of St. Matthew*, trans. John Betts (London: Trubner and Co., 1882); *Comentario o declaración breve i compendiosa sobre la epístola de san Pablo Apóstol a los Romanos* (Venice [=Geneva]: Juan Philadelpho [=Jean Crespin], 1556), repr. in *Reformistas Antiguos Españoles*, vol. 10 & 11, ed. B. Wiffen and L. Uzoz i Rio (Madrid, 1856); *Comentario o declaración familiar, i compendiosa sobre la primera epístola de san Pablo apóstol a los Corinthios, muy útil para todos los amadores de la piedad Christiana* (Venice [=Geneva]: Juan Philadelpho [=Jean Crespin], 1557), repr.: B. Wiffen and L. Uzoz i Rio, eds., *Antiguos Españoles*, vol. 10 & 11 (Madrid, 1856).

of the church's authority in relation to that of Scripture, as well as their felt need to locate the true church with reference to its marks of obedience. These marks will play a prominent role in Reina's work in particular, as his understanding of the church's participation in Christ's work as Prophet, Priest and King lend a basic shape to the marks by which the church is to be recognized. To the confessions of faith mentioned above here we add, in particular, Corro's letter to the Antwerp pastors, hereafter referred to as *Epístola a los Pastores Luteranos*.

Chapter Four will be devoted to Reina's and Corro's sacramental theology. Here we examine the way in which a concern for unity shaped their mediating approaches to disputes about the Lord's Supper; a concern to uphold Christological orthodoxy led in Reina's case to an 'instrumental realism' in relation to religious signs; and a concern for holiness led both men to assign to the ministry of the Word a central place in their sacramental theology. In Chapter Five, finally, we study the missiological aspect of Corro's and Reina's ecclesiology, highlighting the way in which questions about human agency, personal holiness, and religious tolerance come together as the Spaniards reflect on the church's witness in the world in general and to Muslims in particular. At this point we shall consider the special relevance of Reina's commentary on Matthew chapter four, as well as Valera's *Tratado*.

Representing an attempt to build on existing scholarship by offering a systematic analysis of Corro's and Reina's ecclesiology, this dissertation aims to shed light on the specific character of a relatively neglected 16<sup>th</sup>-century Protestant movement, and thus to constitute an original contribution to Reformation studies.

## Chapter One

# Constantino Ponce de la Fuente (1502 – 1559) and the Origins of Spanish Protestantism in Seville

The precise nature of the Sevillian evangelical movement from which Corro, Reina and other exiles emerged is disputed. Until the mid 20<sup>th</sup> century, influence from the Protestant movement in northern Europe was taken for granted. Thus, from the Catholic side, the Inquisition condemned the Sevillian reformers as ‘Lutherans’,<sup>1</sup> as did the Spanish intellectual historian Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo in the 1880s.<sup>2</sup> From the Protestant side, exiled Spanish reformers honored the Sevillian evangelicals as martyrs of the ‘true’, i.e. reformed, religion,<sup>3</sup> as did the Scottish historian Thomas M’Crie in 1829.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> As Gordon Kinder notes, the term was imprecise, since it also applied to Erasmusians and illuminists (*alumbados*). See A. Gordon Kinder, *Casiodoro de Reina: Spanish Reformer of the Sixteenth Century* (London: Tamesis Books Ltd., 1975), 6.

<sup>2</sup> M. Menéndez Pelayo, *Historia de los heterodoxos españoles*, vol. 2 (Madrid: Librería Católica de San José, 1880-82), 440.

<sup>3</sup> Reinaldo González Montes, *Artes de la Santa Inquisición Española*, trans. F. Ruiz de Pablos, in *Obras de los Reformadores Españoles del Siglo XVI*, vol. IV, ed. E.M. Bellido (Sevilla: MAD, 2008), 294.

<sup>4</sup> Thomas M’Crie, *History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Spain in the Sixteenth Century* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1829).

However, beginning with Marcel Bataillon's 1937 study of Erasmianism in Spain,<sup>5</sup> scholars sought to re-contextualize the movement within a wider Spanish framework. This led to three distinct views. These agreed on the fact that the doctrine of the movement's principal theologian, Constantino Ponce de la Fuente (1502-1559),<sup>6</sup> preacher at the Cathedral in Seville (commonly known as Doctor Constantino), had to be situated within the context of the indigenous *alumbrado* movement and of biblical humanism. Differences emerged according to the weight given to various related influences. Bataillon stressed the Erasmian-Illuminist basis of Constantino's theology. William Jones argued that Constantino's theology is marked by a more Augustinian view of sin and grace than the one found in Erasmus. According to Jones, Constantino is best described as a 'Catholic Evangelical' who 'did not willfully adopt principles contrary to the main lines of Catholic dogma'.<sup>7</sup> José Nieto opted for a third view, claiming for Constantino, as he had for Constantino's fellow-student at Alcalá de Henares Juan de Valdés, an indigenous form of Protestantism. As such, through the influence of the *alumbrado* movement the two reformers arrived more or less independently at convictions very similar to those of such magisterial reformers as Luther, Calvin and Zwingli.<sup>8</sup>

That there are important insights in each of these critical perspectives is suggested by Rady Roldán-Figueroa's attempt to harmonize them by noting the complex nature of

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<sup>5</sup> Marcel Bataillon, *Erasmus y España: estudios sobre la historia espiritual del siglo XVI* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1966).

<sup>6</sup> William B. Jones, 'Constantino Ponce de la Fuente: the Problem of Protestant Influence in sixteenth-century Spain' (PhD Dissertation, Vanderbilt University, 1965), 67.

<sup>7</sup> Jones, 'Constantino Ponce de la Fuente', 71, 32.

<sup>8</sup> José C. Nieto, *El Renacimiento y la Otra España: visión cultural socioespiritual*, Travaux d'humanisme et Renaissance, no. 115 (Geneva: Droz, 1997), 362.

the ‘late medieval reformation impulses’ which played a role in Sevillian reform.<sup>9</sup>

Whether Bataillon, Jones or Nieto defines Constantino’s theology precisely is another matter. First, it is clear that by c. 1533 Constantino had moved beyond his Erasmian foundation. Secondly, while Jones is right to point out that Constantino develops the Erasmian tradition in a more Augustinian direction, his conclusion that Constantino was merely a ‘material’ (as opposed to ‘formal’) heretic, i.e. that he adhered to heresies through no fault of his own, can be debated.<sup>10</sup> Constantino’s silence on disputed issues in works which censors approved suggests self-censorship, and therefore conscious acceptance of opinions which were known to be contrary to received doctrine. For Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo, Constantino’s heresy was one of subtraction:

More than doctrine, what one finds offensive [in Constantino’s *Suma de doctrina cristiana*<sup>11</sup>] are the flavor of the language and the author’s hidden and veiled intention. On the church Catholic it is ambiguous, and when it speaks of the Head it appears to refer always to Christ. It never makes reference to the primacy of the pontiff, nor does he name him, nor does he mention purgatory or indulgences. The book, in sum, was much more dangerous for what it leaves out than for what it says. All the points of controversy are ably avoided. One detects only an effort to belittle the strengths of the human will with utmost subtlety and to diminish the merit of works, although prayer, almsgiving and fasting are recommended a great deal, auricular confession is admitted, and the matter of the mass is explained in an orthodox way.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Rady Roldán-Figueroa, ‘Casiodoro de Reina as Biblical Exegete: Studies on the 1569 Spanish Translation of the Bible’ (PhD Dissertation, Boston University, 2005), 104.

<sup>10</sup> Jones, ‘Constantino Ponce de la Fuente’, 32.

<sup>11</sup> Constantino Ponce de la Fuente, *Suma de la doctrina cristiana* (Sevilla: Juan Cromberger, 1544).

<sup>12</sup> Menéndez Pelayo, *Historia de los heterodoxos españoles*, 427-428. In his adaptation of Constantino’s *Suma* for publication in Mexico (as *Doctrina Cristiana*, 1546), bishop Juan de Zumárraga (1468 – 1548) provided a substantial ‘Suplemento’, containing instructions for the faithful on, e.g., prayers to the Saints and image veneration, as well as a doctrine of transubstantiation. See Fernando Gil, *Primeras ‘Doctrinas’ del Nuevo Mundo: Estudio histórico-teológico de las obras de fray Juan de Zumárraga (†1548)* (Buenos Aires: Facultad de Teología de la Pontificia Universidad Católica Argentina, 1993), 334-40, 583-619.

Thirdly, Nieto's thesis raises a different set of questions. On the one hand, his claim that Spanish Protestantism is an indigenous movement is hard to establish conclusively. Rather, the evidence suggests that 'northern' influence cannot be ruled out. On the other hand, his conclusion that Constantino's theology contains 'the same sentiments and formulas as the faith of Valdés and the Protestant reformation'<sup>13</sup> is imprecise on two counts: it is evident that Valdesian reform is somewhat less than reformed in some basic ways, and that Constantino's theology is un-Valdesian on those particular points. We are not hereby claiming that Constantino is a reformed theologian because he is non-Valdesian, but that an adequate definition of his reformed Catholicism—the foundation upon which the Sevillian exiles would build—depends on greater clarity regarding points of divergence.

To some extent, Constantino will remain an enigmatic figure, since a work in which he allegedly developed his Protestant views more explicitly (and of which he claimed authorship at his trial) remains lost.<sup>14</sup> Nonetheless, even his extant works, when compared with those of Valdés, reflect a reformed or Protestant impulse that implies a thorough critique of received Roman Catholic doctrine. As we shall see, both men build on an Erasmian foundation, but articulate doctrines of Word and Spirit which differ substantially: Valdés tends towards a direct, immediate view of the Spirit's work in the life of the believer, and towards a correspondingly 'low', even 'indifferent', approach to

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<sup>13</sup> Nieto, *El Renacimiento y la Otra España*, 362. See also A. Rivera Garcia, 'El Humanismo de la Reforma Española: Teología y Concordia en Antonio del Corro', in *Obras de los Reformadores Españoles del Siglo XVI: Antonio del Corro*, ed. E. M. Bellido (Sevilla: Editorial MAD, 2006), 16.

<sup>14</sup> G. Kinder, 'Ponce de la Fuente, Constantino', in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, vol. 3. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996) 294.

the visible church and its ordinances, while Constantino favors a high view of Scriptural authority which undergirds a concern for the visible church, its marks, ordinances, and structural reform. With the ultimate aim of providing a more precise definition of Constantino's reformed Catholicism, here we begin by situating him and Valdés within the context of Erasmian thought, particularly as it was received in Spain.

### **Erasmian Foundation**

Valdés was born in Cuenca c. 1500, and from 1527 to 1530 he attended the University of Alcalá, which until about 1527 served as a centre of Erasmian humanism and biblical study. As Erasmian thought came to be threatened by the Inquisition, so too were proceedings initiated against Valdés, who in 1529 produced *Diálogo de doctrina cristiana*, an ostensibly Erasmian work.<sup>15</sup> In 1531 he made his way to Rome, where he became associated with pope Clement VII's court. From there he settled in Naples, where he was on good terms with the viceroy, Pedro de Toledo. About 1535 Valdés experienced a profound religious conversion, apparently through the influence of the Italian reformer Bernardino Ochino (1487-1464), after which he increasingly turned to themes of interiority in his writings. His interaction with Ochino gave rise to the so-called Valdesian Circle of Naples, through which Valdés gave spiritual direction to Giulia Gonzaga, to whom several of his later works are dedicated, and other prominent figures such as Peter Martyr Vermigli. His post-conversion works include *Alfabeto Cristiano*, *Ziento y diez consideraciones*, as well as commentaries on the Psalms,

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<sup>15</sup> Juan de Valdés, *Dialogo de Doctrina Christiana* (English version), in *Valdes' Two Catechisms: The Dialogue on Christian Doctrine and the Christian Instruction for Children*, ed. and intro. J. Nieto, trans. W. B. and C. D. Jones (Lawrence, Kansas: Coronado Press, 1981).

Matthew, Romans and 1 Corinthians, all composed sometime between 1536 and 1541.<sup>16</sup>  
He died in 1541, in Naples.<sup>17</sup>

Constantino also came from Cuenca, where he was born in 1502, and like Valdés studied at the University of Alcalá (from 1524 to 1532). In 1534 he made his way to Seville, taking up further studies at the University in that city, and then from 1535 right up until his arrest in 1558 he served as cathedral preacher. An eloquent orator with an ability to communicate with the common person, Constantino was to become the most famous preacher in Spain during his time.<sup>18</sup> In 1544 he began to produce doctrinal works, most notably *Suma de la doctrina cristiana* (1544), *Exposición del Primer Salmo de David* (1546), *Catecismo Cristiano* (1547), and *Confesión de un pecador* (1547).<sup>19</sup> From 1548-1555 he served as preacher in the court of Charles V in Germany and the Low Countries. His teaching, however, led to increased suspicion after his return to Seville in

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<sup>16</sup> Juan de Valdés, *Alfabeto Cristiano, que enseña el verdadero camino de adquirir la luz del Espíritu Santo*, in *Obras Completas I*, ed. A. Alcalá Galvez (Madrid: Fundación José Antonio de Castro, 1997), 369-492; *Ziento i diez consideraciones*, in *Reformistas Antiguos Españoles*, vol. 17, ed. B. Wiffen and L. Uzo y Rio (London, UK: Spottiswoode, 1863); *Comentario a los Salmos* (Madrid: Librería Nacional y Extranjera, 1885); *Commentary upon the Gospel of St. Matthew*, trans. John Betts (London: Trubner and Co., 1882); *Comentario o declaración breve i compendiosa sobre la epístola de san Pablo Apóstol a los Romanos* (Venice: Juan Philadelpho, 1556) [Repr.: B. Wiffe and L. Uzo y Rio, eds., *Reformistas Antiguos Españoles*, vol. 10 & 11, 1856]; *Comentario o declaración familiar i compendiosa sobre la primera epístola de san Pablo Apóstol a los Corintios* (Venice: Juan Philadelpho, 1557) [Repr.: B. Wiffen and L. Uzo y Rio, eds., *Reformistas Antiguos Españoles*, vol. 10 & 11, 1856].

<sup>17</sup> See Jose C. Nieto, *Juan de Valdés (1509?-1541) and the Origins of the Spanish and Italian Reformation*, *Travaux d'humanisme et Renaissance*, no. 108 (Geneva: Droz, 1970).

<sup>18</sup> Bataillon, *Erasmus y España*, 528.

<sup>19</sup> Constantino Ponce de la Fuente, *Exposición del Primer Salmo de David, Confesión de un pecador*, in *Obras de los Reformadores Españoles del Siglo XVI*, vol. V: *Constantino Ponce de la Fuente. Exposición del Primer Salmo de David. Confesión de un Pecador*, ed. E. M. Bellido and intro. D. E. Herrero (Sevilla: MAD, 2009); *Catecismo Cristiano*, in *Reformistas Antiguos Españoles*, vol. XIX, ed. B. Wiffen and L. Uzo y Rio (Madrid: [José Alegría?], 1863), 279-358.

1555, and finally to his arrest and imprisonment in 1558. He died while in prison in 1559, and was burnt in effigy in 1560.<sup>20</sup>

A consideration of Erasmianism in Spain must bear in mind the *alumbrado* movement, which began to emerge around 1512, and stressed surrender (*dejamiento*) to God's love and will as well as renewal through the Spirit's direct work in the life of the individual.<sup>21</sup> In some respects, the movement prepared the soil for Erasmian thought. As Kinder points out, among the *Alumbrados* there were claims of direct encounters with God which produced a sense of liberty in the face of religious formalism. This went hand in hand with an appreciation of the Scriptures as the only authority, and a 'freedom of judgment with regard to the monastic life, indulgences, fasts, the reverence paid to saints, etc.' which anticipated views later expressed by Erasmus and Luther.<sup>22</sup> In his discussion of the Sevillian *Alumbrados*, Pinta Llorente bases his characterization of the movement on the Inquisitorial edict which condemned it as heretical, citing, in particular, its appeal to inward testimony as sufficient guidance for the holy life, its rejection of image veneration, its disdain for the sacrament of holy matrimony and other rites, and its promotion of fainting and shaking as signs of the Spirit's work.<sup>23</sup> Clearly, Spanish *illuminism* was an amorphous phenomenon which could have been taken in various directions. But through a certain confusion between illuminism, Erasmianism and

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<sup>20</sup> For full biographical information see Jones, 'Constantino Ponce de la Fuente', and Eduard Boehmer, *Bibliotheca Wiffeniana: Spanish Reformers of two centuries from 1520*, vol. 2 (London/Strasburg: K. Trübner, 1883), 1-40.

<sup>21</sup> See Alastair Hamilton, *Heresy and Mysticism in Sixteenth-Century Spain: The Alumbrados* (Cambridge: James Clarke and Co., 1992), 1-2, 39-40.

<sup>22</sup> Kinder, *Casiodoro de Reina*, 2.

<sup>23</sup> Miguel de la Pinta Llorente, 'Los Alumbrados de Sevilla', in *Aspectos Históricos del sentimiento religioso en España: ortodoxia y heterodoxia* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1961), 83f.

‘Lutheranism’, assisted in part by the Inquisition’s indifference,<sup>24</sup> the precise foundation of evangelical reform in Seville remains ambiguous.

Nieto traces the roots of Sevillian reform specifically to the *alumbrado* practice of personal Bible reading and interpretation, which implied a disavowal of hierarchical mediation and church tradition.<sup>25</sup> Bataillon grounds Spanish reform more directly in Erasmian thought, even while acknowledging the impact of illuminism. Among Erasmian concerns which were expressed by Sevillian reformers he mentions the emphasis on biblical preaching, the disdain for scholasticism, and a concern to reform ceremonies which were believed to be superstitious.<sup>26</sup> On this third point we recall Erasmus’ ‘On Mending the Peace of the Church’, in which he argued that the veneration of images and relics was to be tolerated, even if there was error in such a practice, just as the mass was to be reformed not abolished, despite the fact that abuses could be linked to an *ex opere operato* doctrine.<sup>27</sup> Unlike Bataillon, Kinder allows for Protestant influence, citing evidence that some of Luther’s works, even in Spanish translation, circulated in Spain as early as the 1520s.<sup>28</sup>

Whatever else may have impacted Valdés’ theology, it is clear that his *Diálogo* is an Erasmian work in both structure and content. Bataillon has noted the close connection between that work and Erasmus’ ‘An Inquiry Concerning Faith’ [*Inquisitio de Fide*] in

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<sup>24</sup> G. Kinder, ‘Spain’, in *The Early Reformation in Europe*, ed. A. Pettegree (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1992), 219.

<sup>25</sup> Nieto, *El Renacimiento y la Otra España*, 173.

<sup>26</sup> Bataillon, *Erasmus y España*, 525f.

<sup>27</sup> Erasmus, ‘On Mending the Peace of the Church’ [*Liber de Sarcienda Ecclesiae Concordia*], in *The Essential Erasmus*, trans. and intro. J. P. Dolan (New York: The New American Library, 1964), 380-3.

<sup>28</sup> Kinder, ‘Spain’, 221-2.

matters pertaining to the Creed, as well as structural parallels between it and Erasmian colloquies.<sup>29</sup> To these Frank James adds theological parallels between Erasmus' 'The Handbook of the Christian Soldier' [*Enchiridion Militis Christiani*] and *Diálogo*, citing in particular the 'dialectic between inner and outer religion', according to which 'inner' religion, which is foundational, accepts the validity of received Roman Catholic dogma, even while acknowledging that 'outer' religion can become corrupt.<sup>30</sup> After his conversion, as James points out, Valdés' affirmed doctrines of justification by faith alone and 'double' predestination. The first of these was undoubtedly Lutheran, if initially 'filtered . . . through a general Erasmian soteriological grid', while the second may have come through Peter Martyr Vermigli's influence.<sup>31</sup> Most notable, however, is Valdés' gradual move towards an 'otherworldly spirituality'<sup>32</sup>, and in particular to a stress on the direct work of the Spirit as found among *Alumbrados*.

Constantino's debt to Erasmus is more limited, and his theology presents a direct challenge to illuminism. Bataillon traces Erasmian themes and concerns in Constantino's *Suma de doctrina cristiana* to Valdés' *Diálogo*,<sup>33</sup> and Jones is also right to note Constantino's irenic temperament and desire to emphasize Scriptural and early church authority.<sup>34</sup> More questionable, however, are Bataillon's claim that Constantino is a

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<sup>29</sup> Frank James III, 'Juan de Valdés before and after Peter Martyr Vermigli: The Reception of Gemina Praedestinatio in Valdés' Later Thought', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 83 (1992), 182.

<sup>30</sup> James, 'Juan de Valdés', 184.

<sup>31</sup> James, 'Juan de Valdés', 188.

<sup>32</sup> J. C. McLelland, 'Valdés and Vermigli: Spirituality and the Degrees of Reform', in *Peter Martyr Vermigli and the European Reformations: Semper Reformanda*, ed. Frank A. James III (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 244. See also Jason Zuidema, *Peter Martyr Vermigli and the Outward Instruments of Divine Grace* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008), 44-47.

<sup>33</sup> Bataillon, *Erasmus y España*, 535.

<sup>34</sup> Jones, 'Constantino Ponce de la Fuente', 60.

representative of ‘implicit’ Protestantism derived from Erasmian illuminism ‘which adheres to a doctrine of justification by faith without drawing from it conclusions which would be fatal for Roman Catholic dogma’,<sup>35</sup> or Jones’s conclusion that Constantino’s works emphasized ‘a religious faith nurtured on invisible spiritual realities rather than on ceremonies’.<sup>36</sup> The beginning of a response to such an interpretation is suggested by Jones’ own observation that

the Sevillian movement, especially as seen in the life and work of Constantino Ponce de la Fuente had characteristics which are quite foreign to the Christian humanism of Erasmus in the strict sense. . . . It stressed the absolute character of God’s will and the consequent incapacity of man’s will in the work of salvation. It gave great importance to the doctrine of predestination as the theological basis for the unmerited character of grace. It emphasized the action of the word of God in bringing about repentance and regeneration.<sup>37</sup>

Once we have introduced Valdés’ mature thought as the kind which is more appropriately described as lacking in a concern for ‘external observances’, we shall turn to a study of the ways in which Constantino, by contrast, maintains a ‘high’ view of the external things of the Christian religion (e.g. the Law and Church ceremonies), and on that basis implies a reformed critique of Roman Catholic doctrine and practice in a way in which Valdesian reform does not.

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<sup>35</sup> Bataillon, *Erasmus y España*, 545. See José Ramón Guerrero, *Catecismos españoles del siglo XVI: La obra catequética del Dr. Constantino Ponce de la Fuente* (Madrid: Instituto Superior de Pastoral, 1969), 33; Jones, ‘Constantino Ponce de la Fuente’, 116, 124.

<sup>36</sup> Jones, ‘Constantino Ponce de la Fuente’, 92. On Constantino giving priority to things inward and spiritual, see Boehmer, *Bibliotheca Wiffeniana*, vol. 2, 5.

<sup>37</sup> Jones, ‘Constantino Ponce de la Fuente’, 61.

## Valdés' Doctrine of Word and Spirit

We begin with the question of Scriptural authority in Valdés' thought. Nieto's insistence that Valdés assumes the 'objective value of the Scriptures as the word of God and the promise of God' notwithstanding,<sup>38</sup> it is clear that the written Word is understood to have a provisional use, since it is used by the Spirit as a means to an immediate work in the believer's soul. As Valdés argues in Consideration 63 of his *Ziento i Diez Consideraciones*,<sup>39</sup> there comes a point at which the one who desires to know God finds that what concerns him least is Scripture, since he attends to the Spirit who is within him, 'and not to what is written in [holy Scripture]' (*Cons.* 211). Valdés continues:

And for this reason St. Peter rightly commends the study of holy Scripture, as long as man is in the dark place of human wisdom and reason; his desire is that this study should last until the light of the holy Spirit shines in man's soul; understanding that when this light has come, man no longer needs to seek the light of holy Scripture, which goes out by itself, just as the light of a candle goes out of when the rays of the sun appear, just as Moses went out through Christ's presence, and the Law through the presence of the Gospel (*Cons.* 212).

While it is apparent that the Bible may indeed serve as a reference to consult once the Spirit's work on the soul is done, the believer is encouraged to set it aside so that it might help others in the way that it has served him (*Cons.* 212). This principle is reinforced in Consideration 32, in which Valdés explains that just as the simple, uneducated man who is led by the Spirit sets aside any external image of Christ and relies on the one which the Spirit imprints on his soul, so too the learned man who is led by the Spirit makes use of Scripture as an 'Alphabet' of Christian piety

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<sup>38</sup> Nieto, *Juan de Valdés and the origins of the Spanish and Italian Reformations*, 245.

<sup>39</sup> Juan de Valdés, *Ziento i Diez Consideraciones*, in *Reformistas Antiguos Españoles*, vol. 17, ed. B. Wiffen and L. Uzoz i Rio (London, UK: Spottiswoode, 1863).

until that which pertains to Christian piety penetrates his soul . . . As such, when he desires to know one of God's secrets, he goes first of all to the book of his soul, and consults first of all with the spirit of God, and then he goes to check what he has learned with what is written in those holy books' (*Cons.* 99)

The principle of interiority is worked out systematically in Valdés' doctrine of religious knowledge, according to which God can be known in three ways. Through 'natural' knowledge, which can be had apart from faith, humans can know something of God's wisdom, goodness and omnipotence. Through 'scriptural' knowledge, 'that is through the Old Covenant', God is known as vindictive and rigorous. Such was the way in which 'the blind Hebrews' knew God. Through 'supernatural' knowledge, which is 'through Christ', and depends on God's illumination, humans can know God with certainty and clearly (*Alfa.* 424-25). That the second and third ways are understood as sharply opposed is clear in Consideration 85, in which Valdés describes the four ways to knowledge of God *through Christ*: the believer knows Christ through (a) an 'inward' revelation of his divinity and glory, 'not indeed by reference to the Holy Scriptures, but by revelation of Christ himself', (b) 'the communication of the Holy Spirit', 'not indeed by relation of Scripture, but by that which the Holy Spirit works within me', (c) 'regeneration and Christian renewal' by which we come to perceive God within us, and (d) 'a certain inward vision' by means of which believers are progressively deified (*Cons.* 295-300). Valdés sums up his spiritual approach to the written Word when he affirms in his Matthew commentary that his faith 'does not depend upon the Scriptures—nor is it

based upon them, but it depends upon inspirations and experiences, and it is based upon them' (*CGMatt.* 7-8).<sup>40</sup>

Valdés' view of the Spirit's immediate work in the heart of the believer finds a parallel in his view of the relationship between Law and Gospel. While Valdés' perspective on this matter is somewhat ambiguous, what dominates in his writings is the notion that the coming of Christ represents a complete abrogation of the Law. So, while in his commentary on Romans 7 he writes that the Decalogue serves as a means to live according to the Law for those who do not presume to be justified by the Law (*CERom.* 115), in his remarks on Matthew 5:17-19 he explains that after Jesus' ascension the Law becomes a purely inward reality, just as the Prophets are superseded. Regarding Jesus' claim not to have come to abolish, but to fulfill the Law, Valdés argues that

to affirm that by these words Christ purposed to extend the authority of the law beyond the period of his bodily presence, is not to be tolerated, since we see the opposite in evidence; for it is a fact that the law and the prophets ceased with the coming of the Holy Spirit; the Holy Spirit succeeding to their office, for He inwardly works in the people of God, a wholly spiritual community . . . (*CGMatt.* 71; cf. *Cons.* 110).

The Christian spirit is not to be found, he says, in those who 'find pleasure and relish in the law and in the prophets' (*CGMatt.* 71-2). This strict Law vs. Gospel opposition is underscored in Valdés' discussion of the first Psalm, where he explains that just as the Hebrews meditated on the Law, so 'pious Christians love that which the Holy Spirit teaches them of God's will in an inward way'. If Law pertains to matters which are temporal and of the self, Gospel has to do with eternal and divine things. Likewise, if by

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<sup>40</sup> Alastair Hamilton, who considers Valdés the 'direct link' between the Alumbrado movement and Italian evangelism, notes that in Valdés' later works the Scriptures come 'to occupy a subsidiary place beside the work of the Spirit within the soul'. See *Heresy and Mysticism in Sixteenth-Century Spain*, 40-42.

the Law one performed outward acts of service, by the Gospel believers perform inward worship and service, in ‘spirit and in truth’. By this it is not to be assumed that the Hebrews were without hope, since the Gospel was ‘hidden’ in the Law for God’s elect. By the same token, eternal life is hidden in the Gospel under the new covenant, since by ‘Gospel’, Valdés explains in his commentary on the Psalms, ‘I do not mean that which is written or stamped with ink and paper, but that which God writes and stamps in the hearts of those whom he calls and elects for his kingdom’ (*CSalm.* 16-17).

God’s election, which involves a doctrine of predestination conceived in secret and direct terms, is the ground of the believer’s justification and glorification.<sup>41</sup> This is clear in Valdés’s discussion of Romans 8:30 (‘those he predestined, he also called’, etc.), in which he explains that when ‘man senses that he is inwardly called and invited unto Christ, without having tried to seek Christ nor go to Christ, as it happens when a person goes to hear a sermon or something else out of curiosity or some other fancy’, it is because he was known by God and belonged to Christ already (*CERom.* 145). Referring to Romans 9:16 (‘It does not, therefore, depend on man’s desire or effort, but on God’s mercy’), Valdés adds that ‘man does not attain to God’s election by desiring it . . . , but only through the mercy of God’ (*CERom.* 164).

Valdés’ insistence on God’s initiative in salvation does not translate into a ‘high’ view of external instruments of salvation, however. Rather, his supersessionism regarding the Law and the Prophets, and stress on predestination as something immediate, prevailed, so that one detects in Valdés a growing indifference to ‘most of the

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<sup>41</sup> James, ‘Juan de Valdés’, 208.

externals of religion'.<sup>42</sup> By this we are not to understand that Valdés simply rejects all outward manifestations of life in the Spirit, but that he understands inward realities to give rise, more or less spontaneously, to outward forms. In this regard his advice to Giulia Gonzaga represents the inner/outer dialectic which he maintained consistently: 'Adorn the interior first of all, Señora, and I promise you that you will have no need of my advice, nor that of anyone else in the world, when it comes to putting external things in order' (*Alfa*. 455). On this basis, Valdés adopts a kind of Erasmian indifference to outward ceremonies. Outward rites, as forms which contain the hidden realities to which they point, are necessary, but subordinate to those spiritual realities. For this reason he speaks of the Gospel as hidden in the Law, and eternal life as hidden in the Gospel (*CSalm*. 17), and advises Giulia Gonzaga to approach the Sacrament confident 'that *under these species* exists the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ' (*Alfa*. 467, emphasis added). There is benefit to be gained, moreover, from the 'adoration of the most holy sacrament' because by doing so she will gain a new desire to be incorporated into Christ's passion (*Alfa*. 456-57). The indifference here, then, has perhaps to do with what Joseph McLelland refers to as an 'adiaphorist' type of Nicodemism,<sup>43</sup> whereby one tolerates received practice without feeling the urgent need to reform it since what matters most is one's attitude to the external sign.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> G. Kinder, 'Valdés, Juan de', in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, vol. 4 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 214.

<sup>43</sup> According to Theodore Beza, Nicodemism applied to those would-be Protestants in France who assumed that they could without offence to God take part in the ceremonies of the Papacy 'provided their minds were devoted to true religion'. See Carlos Eire, 'Calvin against the Nicodemites', in *War Against the Idols* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1986), 236.

<sup>44</sup> McLelland, 'Valdés and Vermigli: Spirituality and the Degrees of Reform', 249.

Although ‘external observances [are] ever a source of strife’ (*CGMatt.* 267), Valdés is motivated not by an urge to abolish the Mass, but by a desire to simplify it with a view to re-establishing its ‘ancient purity’, and to recovering evangelical simplicity by avoiding the ‘profanation of Christ’s supper’, which has come about either by way of addition or subtraction (*CICor.* 217). While he does not define those two ways, in all likelihood he has in mind the confusion of the consecrated elements with Jesus’ physical body and blood on the one hand and a rejection of the sacrament on the other, since in his own exposition of 1 Cor 11 he combines a doctrine of Christ’s ‘real presence’ with a clear memorial theme. Thus, in asking his disciples to take the bread, Valdés explains that Jesus wanted them to know that ‘this bread, which (as you see) is broken for you so that you may eat it, is My Body’, but at the same time a means to refresh their memories: ‘that just as this bread is broken for you, and you all eat of it, so this body is broken for you, being sacrificed for you . . .’ (*CICor.* 209). The *anamnesis* is especially underscored as Valdés notes that in the Supper the Corinthian Christians were ‘to revive the memory of Christ’s death’; indeed, given that Christ’s design was his commemoration, they were not to consider the eating and drinking as a means of ‘physical nourishment’, but as a way to proclaim Christ’s death, ‘reviving it in [their] memories’ (*CICor.* 205, 210).

Valdés’ concern to discern and promote pure religion under the received forms is underscored by the fact that in his later works the marks of true godliness are increasingly spiritualized, on the assumption that outward observances are just that: they may be feigned, and that by observing them the faithful so easily attract undue attention to themselves. As such, the marks of godliness which are to be sought after are those which

redound to God's glory, including 'humility of mind, modesty, meekness, sincerity', and the like (*CGMatt.* 96). Thus he understands the Sermon on the Mount to include the teaching that the faithful are to 'shun every manifestation of external sanctity, not desiring that the world should hold them to be saints' (*CGMatt.* 60). For instance, the teaching on fasting (Mt 6:16) amounts to an instruction to avoid the outward ceremony, and to treat life as a continuous fast, which is a life of 'continuous abstinence from everything in which sensuality revels' (*CGMatt.* 104). Similarly, in Consideration 17 he understands persecution of the mind, whereby the world despises them and deprives true followers of Christ of honour and fame, as 'the most cruel, most terrible, and most unsupportable martyrdom of all' (*Cons.* 49-50).

Valdés' focus on inward realities is linked, finally, to a view of spiritual pilgrimage as a process of the soul's progressive restoration until Christians are 'more or less perfect in this life' (*Cons.* 171).<sup>45</sup> The Kingdom of Heaven, in this way, is such an inward reality (*CGMatt.* 60) that the believer must choose between citizenship in God's Kingdom and citizenship in the world. As Valdés explains, those who follow

the light of the holy Spirit, being enlightened (*alumbrados*) in the knowledge of life eternal, always consider themselves as citizens of the Kingdom of God, and of eternal life, and for this reason they hate the present life, and rejoice to leave it' (*Cons.* 352).

How, then, is Valdés' type of reform best characterized? A certain 'Christ against culture' theme (H. R. Niebuhr), combined with a conviction regarding the Spirit's

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<sup>45</sup> As Frank James notes, 'perfection' is both an *alumbrado* as well as Erasmian theme (James, 185). As a doctrine it would be taken up by John Wesley, who taught that Christian perfection, as the love of God and neighbour which involves deliverance from 'all sin' and is given 'instantaneously', was not to be expected simply at one's death, but 'every moment'. See *A Plain Account of Christian Perfection* (London: The Epworth Press, 1968), 41.

priority, suggests *radical* or *spiritual* reform.<sup>46</sup> It is also *evangelical*, to the extent that Valdés sought to renew Christian ceremonies and disciplines through Gospel simplicity, and expounded on the knowledge of God through Christ in small conventicles. But it does not intend reform *in capite*, given a principled indifference to radical reform of ceremonies, and even took the reformers to task for causing division in the universal Church.<sup>47</sup> Massimo Firpo is therefore quite right to characterize Valdés as one who promoted a ‘radical spiritualism which safeguarded the authority of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, but reduced the significance of devotions, ceremonies, [and] sacramental practices’.<sup>48</sup>

### **Constantino Ponce de la Fuente and Reform in Seville**

The prevailing view of Constantino is of a ‘Nicodemite’ similar to Valdés who stressed the inner life at the expense of reform in doctrine and ceremonies. Thus Jones refers to Constantino as an irenic and ‘non-schismatic’ heretic who was not concerned with doctrinal reform, but rather held to an Erasmian ideal of purifying the sacraments.<sup>49</sup> Similarly, María Paz Aspe writes that according to Constantino, the believer ‘should worship God in spirit more than in equivocal external manifestations. Faith that matters is the one lived in the intimacy of the believer . . . It is the heart and interiority which

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<sup>46</sup> See Rufus Jones, ‘A Quaker Forerunner’, in *Friends Quarterly Examiner* 56 (1932), 47-57.

<sup>47</sup> Kinder, ‘Valdes’, 213. Domingo Ricart argues that the belief and practice of reformers like Valdés could be ‘made compatible with whichever form of the Christian life was already established’. See his *Juan de Valdés y el pensamiento religioso europeo en los siglos xvi y xvii* (Mexico City: El Colegio de Mexico, 1958), 21.

<sup>48</sup> M. Firpo, ‘The Italian Reformation and Juan de Valdes’, trans. J. Tedeschi, *Sixteenth Century Journal* 27/2 (1996), 353-64.

<sup>49</sup> Jones, ‘Constantino Ponce de la Fuente’, 65, 32, 124.

concerns [Constantino]’.<sup>50</sup> More recently, David Estrada Herrero has suggested that Constantino avoided points of controversy as a means of survival, even to the point of endorsing a high view of Sacramental efficacy against his own better judgment and ‘genuine evangelical thought’.<sup>51</sup> We must consider the extent to which Constantino’s works confirm these judgments.

We begin with the source that draws a direct link between Constantino and the Sevillian exiles, *Sanctae Inquisitionis hispanicae artes aliquot detectae, ac palam traductae* (1567), by Reginaldus Gonsalvius Montanus—evidently a pseudonym for one or more of the exiles.<sup>52</sup> As a key source of Protestant hagiography, Montanus’s work presents in detail the Inquisitors’ methods and practices, and in the final part traces the careers of some key figures of the Sevillian evangelical movement. Among these was García Arias (known as ‘Señor Blanco’ perhaps because he was an albino<sup>53</sup>), Prior of the San Isidoro Monastery. An enigmatic figure, Arias helped to prepare the way for reform at a time during which there were two kinds of preachers in Seville: a rigorist, formalist group which encouraged strict fasting and mortifications and frowned on reading of

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<sup>50</sup> Maria Paz Aspe, ‘Constantino Ponce de la Fuente, Escritor <Evangelista> del Siglo XVI’, in *Actas del VI Congreso Internacional de Hispanistas*, edited by A. Gordon and E. Rugg (Toronto: Department of Spanish and Portuguese, 1980), 73-77.

<sup>51</sup> David Estrada Herrero, Introduction, in *Obras de los Reformadores Españoles del Siglo XVI*, vol. V: *Constantino Ponce de la Fuente. Exposición del Primer Salmo de David. Confesión de un Pecador*, ed. E. M. Bellido (Sevilla: MAD, 2009), 70-71, 116.

<sup>52</sup> Reginaldus Gonsalvius Montanus, *Sanctae Inquisitionis hispanicae artes aliquot detectae, ac palam traductae* (Heidelberg, 1567). For a recent translation into Spanish, see Reinaldo González Montes, *Artes de la Santa Inquisición Española*, trans. and comment. F. Ruiz de Pablos, in *Obras de los Reformadores Españoles del Siglo XVI*, vol. IV (Sevilla: MAD, 2008). As to authorship, it is most commonly assumed that Montanus was a pseudonym for Casiodoro de Reina. See, for example, Fernandez Campos, ‘Reforma y contrarreforma en Andalucía’, 128. However, B. A. Vermaseren makes a case for Corro’s authorship in ‘The Life of Antonio del Corro (1527-1591) Before his Stay in England’, *Archives et Bibliothèques de Belgique* 57 (1986), 530-68, and in ‘Who was Reginaldus Gonsalvius Montanus? *Bibliothèque d’ Humanisme et Renaissance* 47 (1985), 47-77. Attempts to establish the precise identity of the author have thus far been inconclusive, as Ruiz de Pablos argues (17-46).

<sup>53</sup> González Montes, *Artes de la Santa Inquisición Española*, 270.

Erasmus, and a more ‘open’ group which favoured the study of the Bible and a more simple form of piety. For his part, Arias was torn between the two schools. Initially a rigorist, for a brief period he encouraged the study of Scripture with an apparent change of heart, but then re-instituted a severe communal discipline of fasts and prolonged acts of veneration of the Sacrament. On the whole, however, he is credited with having opened a window on true religion leading to the reform of the monastery (and indeed his own final repentance):<sup>54</sup> with the aid of Protestant literature from Geneva and Germany,<sup>55</sup> the monks devoted their time to theological study and worked towards abolishing practices such as the veneration of images. Instead they engaged in the dissemination of ideas and literature to nearby Seville. As it became clear that the whole venture was threatened, however, a dozen or so decided to flee, contenting themselves with banishment, poverty and shame.<sup>56</sup>

A second important figure was Juan Gil (also known as Dr. Egidio), appointed cathedral preacher in Seville in 1537. A certain Rodrigo Valer impressed upon him the need to embrace ‘the true Gospel of Christ’, so that he took up serious study of Scripture and came to regret the years he spent in the study of scholastic theology. By 1549 proceedings were initiated against him,<sup>57</sup> and he was questioned regarding his views on justification, purgatory, and ‘whether there were any more [mediators] than Christ alone’. Montanus also notes that he opposed the veneration of sacred relics and images.<sup>58</sup> In

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<sup>54</sup> González Montes, *Artes de la Santa Inquisición Española*, 279.

<sup>55</sup> Jones, ‘Constantino Ponce de la Fuente’, 235.

<sup>56</sup> González Montes, *Artes de la Santa Inquisición Española*, 278.

<sup>57</sup> Kinder, *Casiodoro de Reina*, 6-7.

<sup>58</sup> González Montes, *Artes de la Santa Inquisición Española*, 289f.

1552 Gil abjured those opinions which the Inquisition suspected as Lutheran—a fact which has been used in support of the thesis that he had been an Erasmian all along.<sup>59</sup> However, the fact that Corro would attribute the beginning of his own conversion to Gil’s ministry, and would write in 1567 that Gil’s teaching had opened his eyes to the errors regarding purgatory, indulgences, and ‘works full of superstition’,<sup>60</sup> suggests otherwise (whether or not Gil maintained similar views up until his death in 1555). Robert Spach gives evidence to support the claim that Gil’s ‘teachings bear marked resemblances to those of northern European Protestants’.<sup>61</sup>

The third key figure was Constantino: the first man, according to Montanus, ‘that brought the first fruits of true religion to Seville’.<sup>62</sup> While Juan Gil had done his part to foster true religion, it was Constantino who set it forth clearly and comprehensively.<sup>63</sup> In his narrative of Constantino’s life and work, Montanus does not speak of a conversion experience as such, as was the case with Juan Gil. Rather, the sense one gets is that

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<sup>59</sup> Kinder, *Casiodoro de Reina*, 7. See also Jaime Contreras, ‘The Impact of Protestantism in Spain 1520-1600,’ in *Inquisition and Society in Early Modern Europe*, ed. S. Haliczer (London: Croom Helm, 1986), 54-55. Likewise reluctant to regard Gil as a Protestant is Agustín Redondo, who characterizes Gil as an evangelical who, while moving away from the ‘weighty traditions of Roman Catholic doctrine’ nevertheless avoided the ‘radical negations of Lutheranism’. See his ‘El doctor Egidio y la predicación evangelista en Sevilla durante los años 1535-1549’ in *Carlos V. Europeísmo y universalidad: Religión, cultura y mentalidad*, vol. 5 (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal para la conmemoración de los centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V, 2001), 591-92.

<sup>60</sup> Antonio del Corro, *Carta enviada a la Majestad del Rey de las Españas*, in *Obras de los Reformadores Españoles del Siglo XVI*, vol. I: *Carta a los Pastores Luteranos de Amberes. Carta a Felipe II. Carta a Casiodoro de Reina. Exposición de la Obra de Dios*, ed. E. M. Bellido and intro. A. R. García (Sevilla: MAD, 2006), 17-18.

<sup>61</sup> Robert C. Spach, ‘Juan Gil and 16th Century Spanish Protestantism’, *Sixteenth Century Journal* 26.4 (Winter, 1995), 877. Likewise, Roman Catholic historian J. Ignacio Tellechea Idígoras argues that the evangelical movements in Seville and Valladolid were fundamentally Protestant, based on opinions abjured by some evangelicals before the Holy Office, as recorded in Inquisitorial records. See his ‘El Protestantismo Castellano (1558-1559): Un *topos* (M. Bataillon) convertido en *tópico* historiográfico’, in *El Erasmismo en España* (Santander: Sociedad Menéndez Pelayo, 1986), 305-321.

<sup>62</sup> González Montes, *Artes de la Santa Inquisición Española*, 294.

<sup>63</sup> González Montes, *Artes de la Santa Inquisición Española*, 303.

Constantino's search for a reformed Catholicism evolved gradually. The first stage (1524 to 1532) was one of Biblical formation. Devoted to Bible study in his youth, Constantino's training at Alcalá deepened that knowledge, and grounded him in the writings of early fathers such as Augustine, Ambrose, Tertullian and Cyprian.<sup>64</sup> The second stage (c. 1533 to 1548) reflects Constantino's strong Augustinian conviction regarding sin and grace (as noted above), and takes place in the company of his colleague Juan Gil, through whom Constantino 'had made great progress in piety as well as sound doctrine'.<sup>65</sup> In other words, in Seville Constantino benefitted in one way or another from Gil's Protestant convictions, even while opting for the way of concise and clear summaries of Christian doctrine, stated positively, rather than one of direct confrontation on disputed points. During the third stage (1548 onwards), Constantino 'grew in both wisdom and doctrine' as court preacher for Charles V in Germany and the Low Countries,<sup>66</sup> was confirmed in his reformed views through contact with Protestants,<sup>67</sup> and returned to Seville once again in order 'to set forth the light' as cathedral preacher.<sup>68</sup>

From the perspective of the exiled monks of San Isidoro, true religion involved not only a form of renewal based on a study of the Bible and a doctrine of justification by faith alone, but a thoroughgoing critique of, e.g., 'the idolatry that was committed in the worship of the bread'.<sup>69</sup> In short, true religion was reformed. We can suppose that such

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<sup>64</sup> K. Wagner, *El Doctor Constantino Ponce de la Fuente: El Hombre y su Biblioteca* (Sevilla: Diputación Provincial de Sevilla, 1979), 30-31.

<sup>65</sup> González Montes, *Artes de la Santa Inquisición Española*, 291.

<sup>66</sup> González Montes, *Artes de la Santa Inquisición Española*, 295.

<sup>67</sup> M'Crie, *History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Spain*, 209, 229.

<sup>68</sup> González Montes, *Artes de la Santa Inquisición Española*, 295.

<sup>69</sup> González Montes, *Artes de la Santa Inquisición Española*, 253-255.

opinions were articulated in Constantino's 'lost volume', in which the author, by his own confession, gave 'a candid and full confession' of his belief,<sup>70</sup> and according to Montanus challenged the authority of the Pope, the 'invention of the Mass', purgatory, merits, etc.<sup>71</sup> But while Constantino's reformed convictions developed gradually, Montanus found 'true' religion to be articulated already in Constantino's extant, i.e. 'second stage', works. For this reason, even though Jones dismisses Menéndez Pelayo's conclusions as those of one who had failed to appreciate the fact that Constantino 'lived in good faith within the church',<sup>72</sup> on closer examination it is clear that Menéndez Pelayo discerned correctly the basic reformed shape of Constantino's work.

Montanus singles out three of Constantino's works as worthy of special praise: *Catecismo cristiano*, a work which brought much light to those under 'a tyranny worse than the Babylonian', *Exposición del primer salmo de David*, a series of six sermons which reflect a profound knowledge of the Scriptures, and *Confesión de un pecador*, which, while brief, excelled for its eloquence and treatment of true godliness. It is with reference to this third work that Montanus reveals the foundation of 'true religion' for the Spanish Protestant exiles: a knowledge of the sinful state of humanity as made known through the Ten Commandments, and that the remedy is to be clothed 'with the wedding garment of Christ's righteousness' by faith, through which man is made bold to appear before God.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> M'Crie, *History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Spain*, 264.

<sup>71</sup> González Montes, *Artes de la Santa Inquisición Española*, 299.

<sup>72</sup> Jones, 'Constantino Ponce de la Fuente', 32.

<sup>73</sup> González Montes, *Artes de la Santa Inquisición Española*, 302-3.

Bearing in mind Menéndez Pelayo's three concerns regarding Constantino's theology, we can say that taken together they reflect key ways in which Protestant thought differed from Roman Catholic teaching on divine grace, authority, and the Christian life. In the first place, Menéndez Pelayo criticized Constantino for seeking 'to lessen the strengths of the human will', which was, effectively, 'to diminish the merit of works'; secondly, he missed in Constantino's work any reference to the primacy of the pope, which was to suggest an alternative view of authority; thirdly, he noted that Constantino avoids making reference to indulgences and purgatory – another clear indication of the reformed critique of Roman Catholicism. If it is objected that some of these 'Protestant' concerns can also be found in Valdés, we must add that Constantino's theology of Word and Spirit implied a reform of the church and its ordinances which was at one and the same time more and less radical than that of his compatriot: more because it implied the need for, and anticipated, reform in doctrine, and less because it was not marked by primarily otherworldly concerns.

### **Constantino Ponce de la Fuente as a Reformed Catholic**

*Confesión de un pecador* provides a useful introduction to Constantino's thought because it is there that he most passionately articulates what concerned Menéndez Pelayo in the first instance: the bondage of the human will. While the work is just what the title indicates, i.e. a personal prayer of confession to God, in content it is clearly doctrinal, for it contains a reflection on the Decalogue and the chief articles of the Christian faith. The sinner confesses that he was lost before he even knew that fact, and admits that it was God's Law which revealed to him his sinful state. Having surveyed the

Ten Commandments, he admits: ‘what I took to be freedom was slavery, and captivity to ignorance, and to the misery in which the Devil had put me’ (*Conf.* 304). It is remarkable that the sinner notes that it is even as a professing Christian that he remained unconvicted of his sin: he confesses to calling Jesus Saviour, King and Defender, even while mocking his laws, and to admitting that Jesus was the one who took on the form of a servant, gave his life as a sacrifice for sins, rose from the grave, ascended to the Father, and now intercedes for us, even while preferring to remain lost in sin (*Conf.* 306). At this point the sinner recognizes that he must ask God to speak to his heart and to tell him his true condition (*Conf.* 310), and acknowledges that the only sacrifice he can offer is that of a contrite heart, for he would not even have that if it were not for the fact that God had awakened him (*Conf.* 313).

As with Calvin, knowledge of God and knowledge of humanity’s sinful state go hand in hand.<sup>74</sup> The insight that the Law is God’s means both to convict sinners and to keep them in the godly life is made especially clear in Constantino’s *Exposición del primer salmo*. According to Constantino, ‘in only six verses’ the psalmist managed to summarize

the whole of Christian doctrine, faith, and understanding of the works and hope which a man must have in order that the redemption and sacrifice of Christ our redeemer may truly reach him, so that the eternal father may defend him, love and favour him, and make him blessed (*Expo.* 138-9).

So in six sermons Constantino offers his own summary of basic Christian doctrine, touching in particular on the basis, marks and way of blessedness.

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<sup>74</sup> John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, The Library of Christian Classics, vol. 20, ed. J.T. McNeill & trans. F.L. Battles (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1960), I.1.1.

### *The Way of Blessedness*

Because of sin, man remains ignorant of the true purpose for which he was created. As a result, some have supposed that blessedness may be found in this life, while others have believed otherwise. So in his mercy God instructs man first of all with negative commandments (Ps 1:1). The command not to walk 'in the counsel of the ungodly' is directed to the man who has the appearance of godliness but is full of inward wickedness which he makes every effort to conceal. Among such are tyrants, public officials, church leaders, adulterers and others who deceive the world (*Expo.* 149). Such wickedness gives rise to vain superstitions, false doctrines and all manner of dishonesty. As an example of corruption in the church Constantino mentions the fact that prelates appoint from 'the earth's manure' those who are to serve as guides and as a light in the world. Concerning confusion in doctrine, he argues that the counsel of the ungodly is to blame for the fact that some wish to worship one Christ, while others wish to worship another (*Expo.* 154-5). The command not to 'stand in the way of sinners' is directed to those who are both inwardly and publicly wicked, i.e. those who despise the laws of both God and men (*Expo.* 160). Finally, the command not to sit 'in the seat of scoffers' has in mind those who sit together where they can see, judge and ridicule the works of their fellow men. These are men who make of themselves idols, desiring to be gods on earth (*Expo.* 163, 168).

If asked for the remedy, the preacher replies simply by quoting the first verse of the Psalm: 'Blessed is the man that walketh not in the counsel of the ungodly'. He explains that whether one affirms this command, or teaches that the way of salvation is narrow, in either case it is the doctrine of Christ that is preached. From man's part, then,

the remedy for sin is found in turning to God, asking him to deliver us from sinners, from those who work wickedness, and from those who according to Psalm 28 speak of peace with their neighbour but have treachery hidden in their hearts (*Expo.* 155-7). The alternative is to ‘content oneself with the lie and to will to give it the colour of truth,’ for which the Lord hands us over to a reprobate mind so that we believe the lie (*Expo.* 159).

Constantino’s understanding of justification is thoroughly Augustinian. Since man is unable to turn to God and so attain to blessedness, a right relationship with God is restored only if God takes the initiative. So the Psalmist, who had no ability or strength in and of himself with which to conform his will to God’s law,

was justified by Jesus Christ, justifier of men, freed from that enslavement, strengthened and renewed with the spirit from heaven through the son of God, in whom he put his trust and in his heart offered the sacrifice of his blood before the eyes of the father (*Expo.* 190).

Indeed forgiveness of sin and knowledge of ourselves is found through the person and work of Christ alone. ‘What was impossible for man’ is possible through God’s Son, who,

taking our flesh, crucified in it our weakness, condemned our sin, so that the righteous requirements of the law might be accomplished in us (Rom 8). What we teach here is great truth, and not only great but so necessary for man’s remedy that it is impossible to attain it through another means because this is what God has determined (*Expo.* 191).

A Lutheran concern to speak of justification in terms of Christ’s ‘alien righteousness’ (*iustitia aliena*) which is ‘imputed’ to sinners, so that the believer may be ‘declared’ righteous, is not evident here. Rather, through justification righteousness is understood to be imparted, such that the believer is actually made righteous. In this way, the *event* of justification and the *process* of sanctification are intimately linked, since it is through justification that we ‘find forgiveness for our sins, knowledge to know ourselves,

abhorrence and hatred for our sinful acts, strength and correction for the way ahead, eyes with which to consider the beauty of God, confidence to follow him, a heart with which to love him, [and] charity towards our neighbours' (*Expo.* 190).

The ultimate ground of justification is God's free election of some from among the rest. Constantino asserts, with reference to Ps 1:3, that to be 'planted by streams of water' is to be elected by God, for election is 'the true foundation of the righteous and true security of his blessedness' (*Expo.* 201-2). This election is unconditional, for it is based not on what we have been or will be, but rather on the merits of Christ and his work. The man who wishes to serve God must know that even 'before he could do good or evil, he was elected and marked so that he would be righteous and, being righteous, blessed' (*Expo.* 202-3). Election is understood, moreover, with reference to the church, in whose bosom God saw fit to have his chosen ones born, so that even before they could tell right from wrong they were freed through baptism from the sin in which they were born, strengthened with divine gifts, and welcomed into God's grace and friendship (*Expo.* 203). Thus, while Valdés stresses the secret or immediate nature of the predestination and gradual perfection of the elect, Constantino speaks of the chosen as those who enjoy 'the revelation of the word of God and the use of his sacraments' and who are called, exhorted, strengthened and even punished with the divine word (*Expo.* 204).

Jones has rightly pointed out that 'living faith' (*fe viva*) presupposes knowledge of one's sinful condition, while salvation presupposes the recognition, stressed by Paul and Augustine, that man is 'powerless to obey the law in any form', and on 'confidence in the

free grace of God exhibited toward him in Christ'.<sup>75</sup> Jones is also right to note Constantino's stress on 'the action of the word of God in bringing about repentance and regeneration' and on 'the word as the main agency for reform'.<sup>76</sup> Given the way in which Constantino approaches the doctrine of justification by way of Psalm 1, one is tempted however to say more. While Constantino does not deal with the subject in forensic terms, as noted, it is evident that his 'marked for righteousness'/'being righteous, blessed' distinction is bound up with a reformed concern to regard obedience not as something which serves as a basis of justification in any way, but rather as something which flows from it.

In his exposition of the psalm, Constantino demonstrates that the (natural) human quest for blessedness begs the question of justification, since the source and scope of blessedness, as well as the remedy for sin, cannot be known apart from special grace. From there sanctification is understood to follow logically from justification. When by grace man is convicted of sin and turns to God, he comes to base his justification on the person and work of Christ alone, and blessedness, i.e. sanctification, on God as the sole source (*Expo.* 171, 190). Thus, while blessedness and righteousness are not distinguished sharply (since justification appears to include the process of sanctification, as noted above), the righteous (*justos*) are not to take blessedness (*bienaventuranza*) for granted. Rather, the righteous man can be confident that he is placed

on the path where *he may follow and obtain blessedness* and be so certain and sure that he will find it, if he does not leave the path or turn back . . . The *consummation and fulfillment of blessedness* is given to the righteous in heaven.

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<sup>75</sup> Jones, 'Constantino Ponce de la Fuente', 170, 172.

<sup>76</sup> Jones, 'Constantino Ponce de la Fuente', 61, 241.

But the word of God who promises it is so sure, that he himself calls the one who believes it and puts it into practice blessed (*Expo.* 143, emphasis added).

That obedience follows from justification (rather than the other way around), is underscored by the distinction between the Law as a means to convict sinners and the Law as a guide for holy living. In this regard Constantino's approach differs sharply from that of Valdés, for whom the Law is strictly superseded by the Gospel. For Constantino, there is a sense in which Law *is* Gospel, to the extent that the law contained in Ps 1:1, when embraced by faith, serves as an instrument of Christ's redeeming work. (By the same token, Gospel can be *mere* law as long as God's Spirit does not rescue us from sin, as in *Confesión*). Moreover, in the life of the believer the Law functions as an instrument of hope: the positive command implied in Psalm 1:2 – to delight in God's Law – is to acknowledge that God is the source of the believer's confidence that by keeping his Law he will enjoy God's presence and blessings (*Expo.* 171). Since the Law is 'a rule of purity, a mirror of beauty, a way of goodness, righteousness and mercy' (*Expo.* 172), blessedness is marked in this life by 'godly counsel, righteousness of life, and diligence in works of charity' – three godly virtues corresponding to the sinful states implied in Psalm 1:1 (*Expo.* 176).

The way of blessedness is also marked by struggle, since the way of the law is the way of the cross. While this insight will be of special concern for the Sevillian exiles, to some extent it reflects Constantino's stress on physical struggle and hardship as compared with Valdés' more spiritual understanding (as reflected, e.g., in his emphasis on the 'persecution of the mind'). As Constantino notes, the main difficulty which faces those who desire to persevere in the truth is 'the violence and multitude of those going in the opposite direction' (*Expo.* 179). The way of blessedness involves not only having the

law on one's heart, but the decision to remain on course, which involves 'resisting the violent force of the others, suffering hunger in the midst of that wicked abundance, to say yes when everyone says no, and to sooner lose one's life on that road than to turn back' (*Expo.* 181). This commitment, moreover, involves uprootedness: 'Observe the lonely state of God's chosen one, taken from his natural environment, uprooted from his family and acquaintances, taken to the land of Canaan inhabited by enemies of God'. In this way, as 'strangers and sojourners' Jesus' disciples follow the example and teaching of the Redeemer, 'who won for men the blessedness they lost, and who with his word taught the way of life' (*Expo.* 181-2).

Turning to the doctrine of reprobation, Constantino declares: 'Who is elected for heaven eternally, and who is reprobated for hell, is a great secret of divine wisdom. Man cannot, and must not, pass judgment in this matter' (*Expo.* 228). What one can say, however, is that the source of reprobation is not to be sought in God as a first cause, but in the human will to win God's favour. The first root of evil which the reprobate have instead of faith, is the desire to offer to God 'things of no value and sacrifices of vanity as they dare to think that divine goodness is such that it can be satisfied with their deceitful works' (*Expo.* 232). The just one, on the other hand, says: 'Lord, if I feel hatred for my sin, you put it there. If I have sought to rid it from my heart, it was your weapons that did it. If I advance forward, you sustain me. If I am tempted, it comes from my own baseness. If I am weak, it comes from me' (*Expo.* 269). That election and reprobation are not to be understood symmetrically, as though God by electing some prepared others for destruction, is clear from Constantino's conclusion that 'everything depends on the favor that some have and the disfavor *that others sought against themselves by*

*persevering in their wicked deeds*' (*Expo.* 275, emphasis added). This is in keeping with the last verse of the Psalm, which emphasizes God's special concern for the righteous as compared with the wicked who simply perish.

While the reprobate are marked by a lack of peace and true joy, and produce counterfeit fruits according to their own design and plan (*Expo.* 234-5), the final destiny of any sinner is in God's hands, since 'Christian charity and the greatness and goodness of the Lord's mercy for all invites us and obliges us to trust that he will put his powerful hand on any sinner, even if that sinner seem to us very abominable and wicked' (*Expo.* 244). Indeed there is hope for the sinner, for 'no matter how far he may have departed, he will not lack favor' if he 'returns to God with true repentance' (*Expo.* 290). In sum, Jones is right to observe that Constantino understood reprobation not as 'a positive decree of damnation', but as 'God's negative decision to leave certain men to the fate which their fallen state merited'.<sup>77</sup> To that extent, Constantino's doctrine anticipates that of reformers who emphasized the positive decree of election for a purpose, without developing the negative implications into a doctrine of predestination to reprobation. So, for instance, Bullinger would emphasize God's election of his own for a purpose, 'to be holy and blameless' (Eph 1:4), and insists that while 'those who were outside Christ were rejected' that 'we must hope well of all, and not rashly judge any man to be reprobate'.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> Jones, 'Constantino Ponce de la Fuente', 237.

<sup>78</sup> H. Bullinger, *The Second Helvetic Confession*, in *Reformed Confessions of the Sixteenth Century*, ed. A.C. Cochrane (London: SCM Press, 1966), 240-1.

### *The Basis and Scope of Reform*

The basis of Constantino's reformed vision is a high view of Scriptural authority. Just as the remedy for sin is to be sought in God alone, so also 'we cannot have faith apart from God's word' (*Expo.* 186), which Constantino identifies with the Law and sacred Scripture. As he writes, God 'has promised that in his entire scripture and his law there is not the smallest letter that is not true and that shall not be fulfilled (Mt 5) – or do you want me to declare that he is fooling you and that what he says in his word is not completely true?' (*Expo.* 246). As 'the general rule for our all our life and what we say and do' (*Expo.* 185), wholly inspired by the Holy Spirit (*Expo.* 282), the true teacher of doctrine and light for the way of the faithful (*Expo.* 273), divine Scripture is the standard for all teaching and the instrument with which God judges the heart (*Expo.* 223, 261).

Under the absolute authority of God's Word, Constantino locates the relative authority of the church. Given that reformed or Protestant emphases in Constantino's theology are downplayed partly on the grounds that he was a 'loyal Catholic' who promoted neither flight nor secrecy,<sup>79</sup> attention needs to be drawn to the way in which Constantino qualified the church's authority. On the one hand, he insisted that believers must submit to church discipline, which is an instrument of unity in doctrine, mission, and the sacramental life, and referred to the church as our 'mother'. Moreover, individual Christians are not to 'assume the authority of the church, and teach and require of the faithful new obligations' (*Expo.* 215). On the other hand, given that believers are 'not to admit aid or counsel which does not conform to the divine word' (*Expo.* 223), the standard to which the church is accountable is clear.

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<sup>79</sup> Jones, 'Constantino Ponce de la Fuente', 165, 396.

Indeed it is precisely the church's dependence on the Word that undergirds its instrumental role in salvation and mission. Central to this understanding is Constantino's stress on the church as a visible society as opposed to a hidden reality. While Valdés assumes that realities are hidden within outward forms (e.g. the Gospel within the Law, eternal life within the Gospel), and so implies a view of the pure or true church within the visible one, in his *Catecismo Cristiano* Constantino emphasizes the fact that the church is a visible congregation marked by one faith, one baptism, and one obedience. Thus he writes that to believe in the Church Catholic is to believe that for those who are redeemed by Christ's death

there is one Congregation which keeps the grace which was given to it by the Holy Spirit, the faith which was preached by the Holy Apostles, and the divine Commandments. When we affirm that there is this Congregation we do not mean to say that these righteous must be in one company or dwelling close to each other. This man and this other man many leagues away are of the same Congregation, and of the same Church. What unites them and makes them one is not proximity of place, but conformity in one faith, one baptism, one obedience of the Gospel, one grace and sanctification of the Holy Spirit (*Cate.* 298).

It is with reference to such a Congregation, i.e. one that lives in submission to God's Word, that Constantino can recall the church back to its missionary mandate:

if a Moor or Turk were to enter now, having no knowledge of the truth of our doctrine, but with the desire to judge the certainty of the law which we follow by what he saw among us, what medicine would he find in our leaves [cf. Ps 1:3] when he saw our prideful acts, heard our insane utterances, experienced our acts of revenge, learned of our superstitions, and succeeded in understanding the use and practice of our lies, immodesties, greed and thefts, the way in which we profane sacred things, the blasphemy and disdain for the very religion which we claim to have? (*Expo.* 212).

Given such a litany of sins, it is difficult to agree entirely with Jones when he argues that Constantino was 'principally concerned with the search of individual souls for justification and salvation' as opposed to doctrinal reform, and with faith as 'an attitude

of life rather than the acceptance of fixed propositions'.<sup>80</sup> Even more problematic is his suggestion that in *Confesión de un pecador* Constantino reflected a mystical urge 'to rise beyond sense objects to a direct comprehension of reality'.<sup>81</sup> It is precisely this kind of immediacy which Constantino avoids with his reminder, in that work and elsewhere, that God's law and Word serve as perpetual instruments of faith and true insight into one's condition. But by taking the sinner's desire for God to speak 'to his heart' (*Conf.* 310) as a sign of a mystical inclination, Jones misses in Constantino's theology the positive dynamic of God's Word, through his chosen instruments, as an agent of reform: for 'the judgment and power of Christ', he writes, is such that 'through his word and ministers, according to Isaiah (11), he will strike the wicked with the spirit of his mouth' (*Expo.* 258).

The nature of the reform which Constantino intends, then, cannot be regarded as merely spiritual. The fact that he draws attention to superstitions, false doctrines and belief in multiple Christs, as noted earlier, and insists that 'this pestilence' has spread to the homes of great kings and men, as well as to city governments, cathedral chapters, and religious orders (*Expo.* 154), suggests the 'steadfast' way which Calvin proposed to those reformed Christians who chose to remain 'in Egypt and Babylon' rather than to emigrate.<sup>82</sup> As the latter option was unlikely, given Constantino's notoriety and perhaps poor health,<sup>83</sup> it is apparent that instead of the way of quiet dissimulation the cathedral preacher chose to engage in 'aggressive struggle against idolatry', risking persecution and

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<sup>80</sup> Jones, 'Constantino Ponce de la Fuente', 65, 98.

<sup>81</sup> Jones, 'Constantino Ponce de la Fuente', 270.

<sup>82</sup> Eire, 'Calvin against the Nicodemites', 264.

<sup>83</sup> Estrada Herrero, Introduction, 75.

even martyrdom, but without assuming that martyrdom was to be the norm or displaying undue contempt for Roman Catholic worship.<sup>84</sup>

Constantino's type of reform was not limited to the reform of doctrine. Given his focus on the church as a visible company, and that he did not apparently encourage the formation of 'secret conventicles',<sup>85</sup> what Constantino has in view here is clearly structural reform, even if his route to that end appears to be a patient one. For this reason he repeatedly emphasizes the need for 'true ministers' of the Gospel, through whose ministry God convicts sinners and brings them to acknowledge their true condition before God (*Expo.* 256-7). Recalling the claim of corruption in ministerial appointments, Constantino's emphasis on true ministry suggests an Erasmian concern for the poor state of the church, but also a confidence that the remedy takes place according to God's sovereign will. Like the tree which yields fruit in season (Ps 1:3) God deals with injustice in his own time (*Expo.* 271).

Constantino's remarks on church discipline imply a concern to avoid a certain Valdesian antinomianism on the one hand and clericalism on the other. Recalling that Valdés assured Giulia Gonzaga that she would have no need for his advice when it came to putting external things in order, we note that Constantino affirms that there is one standard for those who do not wish to be God's enemies: the Ten Commandments. Of 'those who do not wish to be so holy but only to enter heaven', presuming on their freedom in Christ, Constantino writes disapprovingly: for such, 'other holy acts and devotions will suffice, things with which they canonize themselves, with which they

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<sup>84</sup> Eire, 'Calvin against the Nicodemites', 264-5.

<sup>85</sup> Jones, 'Constantino Ponce de la Fuente', 288.

imagine that they can get along and live as they please'. On the opposite temptation, which is to institute rigour or promote clericalism, he writes: 'We are not asking men to go become friars, to go sleep in the wilderness, much less that they perform miracles, nor that they speak with the angels' (*Expo.* 244-5). His call, rather, is for a simplicity which seeks to avoid the common temptation to set up one standard for saints, or those especially close to God through ecstatic experiences, and another for the average Christian.

If an Erasmian notion of the priesthood of all believers is implicit in such instructions on the practice of the Christian life, an instrumental view of signs undergirds Constantino's approach to the sacraments and sums up his reformed Catholic theology. Regarding baptism, he begins by asserting that 'just as water has virtue to wash the body on the outside, so the passion of the Son of God has virtue to wash the soul' (*Cate.* 281-2). Such language recalls that of the *First Helvetic Confession*: 'As the signs are bodily received, so these substantial, invisible and spiritual things are received in faith'.<sup>86</sup> Going further, and echoing Melancthon's claim in the *Augsburg Confession* that grace is offered through Baptism,<sup>87</sup> Constantino draws a close connection between the outward sign and the inward grace when he explains that in the rite our souls receive 'faith, charity and hope' as spiritual garments with which to stand before God, forgiveness of sins, and redemption through which we are freed from the guilt of sin (*Cate.* 337). Such a 'high' view of the sacrament, whereby the rite does not presuppose faith on the part of

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<sup>86</sup> *The First Helvetic Confession of Faith*, in *Reformed Confessions of the 16<sup>th</sup> Century*, ed. A. C. Cochrane (London: SCM Press, 1966), 107.

<sup>87</sup> P. Melancthon, *The Augsburg Confession* (1530), in *Creeds of the Churches*, ed. J. Leith (Richmond, Virginia: Knox, 1973), 70.

the baptized, but is rather its instrument, is consistent, then, with Constantino's instrumental conception of sacramental efficacy, rather than an indication of what he was prepared to affirm in order to survive as a Nicodemite.<sup>88</sup>

Following Melancthon once again, Constantino retains the sacrament of confession, and teaches that 'the Sacrifice which was offered for us on the cross ever retains its efficacy, its life, and its virtue to restore us' (*Cate.* 341). By omitting all references to means of satisfaction apart from the cross, but instead stressing the need for the Christian not to despair on account of his offence, as though there were no remedy (*Cate.* 341), but to trust in the enduring efficacy of the cross, Constantino upholds Melancthon's concern that consciences not be tormented 'with satisfactions, with indulgences, with pilgrimages and the like'.<sup>89</sup> Constantino also emphasizes the fact that the penitent ought 'to know that he is not absolved through private authority, and only by the one who absolved him, but that the benefit is communicated by the authority of the Son of God, in whose place is his Minister' (*Cate.* 344).

As Bataillon admits, 'it is quite possible, and even probable, that Constantino did not nourish, in the secret of his heart, sentiments concerning purgatory, bulls of indulgence, or the power of the Pope which were altogether catholic.'<sup>90</sup> And Jones is right to note that Constantino's aim was not to abolish, but rather to purify the sacraments.<sup>91</sup> However, Bataillon's remark remains an understatement, just as Jones' Erasmian reading of Constantino's reform on this point needs to be qualified. For, it is

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<sup>88</sup> Estrada Herrero, Introduction, 116.

<sup>89</sup> Melancthon, *The Augsburg Confession* (1530), 87.

<sup>90</sup> Bataillon, *Erasmus y España*, 529.

<sup>91</sup> Jones, 'Constantino Ponce de la Fuente', 124.

doubtful that Constantino's view of the Lord's Supper was altogether 'orthodox', such as Menéndez Pelayo claimed. Rather, it seems that he was eager to render a 'northern' conviction in terms which would be acceptable to his hearers, and thus to introduce an insight which might persuade and reform 'from within'.

While insisting on a doctrine of the 'real presence' of Christ in the sacrament, it is clear that Constantino takes this presence to be a spiritual one. Given the fact that the gathered believers communicated so infrequently, Constantino invites the faithful to take advantage of the opportunity for 'spiritual' communion (*Cate.* 350). However, the spiritual nature of communion is not a concession to the infrequency of the outward rite, but rather based on the belief that because of his ascension Jesus is present among us by his Spirit – a truth which Constantino invites his reader to recall often (*Cate.* 294-5). As such, the sacrament is fundamentally 'a representation of the death, and passion, of our Lord Jesus Christ, according to his instruction – to make a remembrance of his death until he comes to judge us' (*Cate.* 351). Constantino adds that Jesus' death, which *occurred only once* (*Cate.* 351),<sup>92</sup> is to be understood to provide sufficient sacrifice for the sins of all men (*Cate.* 299). In this way, the only sacrifice which is now offered is one of 'living faith' (*viva fe*) which the faithful offer daily 'for the same end for which it was once offered: forgiveness of sins, and to reach the spirit of heaven, so that he will enlighten us and bestow his favor on us' (*Cate.* 352).

Even as a memorial and representation, however, the sacrament remains an effective means of grace. This is because when the faithful come together in the ceremony they are 'to consider that the body and blood of the Redeemer, and the

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<sup>92</sup> Melancthon, *The Augsburg Confession* (1530), 85.

memorial of his passion, are there' (*Cate.* 351). But this of course raises the question concerning the way in which the 'there' is to be understood. Here it appears to refer either to the gathered assembly or to the ceremony as such, while elsewhere Constantino uses that term which Calvin found so distasteful, viz. 'under the species', which suggests an understanding of Christ's body as, in the words of Peter Lombard, 'hidden and covered under the form of bread' (*Inst.* IV.17.13). Is this what Constantino affirmed, against, e.g., the *First Helvetic Confession*: 'We do not believe that the body and blood of the Lord is naturally united with the bread and wine or that they are spatially enclosed within them'?<sup>93</sup>

Constantino speaks of the sacrament of Christ's body and blood as a 'pledge' which Jesus left us for greater assurance of his love for us, and as a source of 'constant aid and support against sin'. He adds that he left this aid

under the species of bread and wine, so that we would understand that just as the material bread and wine sustain man's corporal life, and give him ordinary strength, so the body and blood of the Redeemer sustain the spiritual life, and communicate very great strengths (*Cate.* 345).

What is 'under the species' of bread and wine is not, then, Christ's physical body and blood, but rather his strength and power. It is on this basis that Constantino can affirm that even though Christ is received 'in a spiritual way through faith . . . we are not on that account relieved of the obligation to receive him at the altar, because it is one benefit upon another'. The benefit of the external rite is twofold: through it the faithful are kept in peace and concord, and through frequent reception they are constantly reminded of their duty to God (*Cate.* 346). Constantino's instrumental conception of the 'pledge'

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<sup>93</sup> *The First Helvetic Confession of Faith*, 108.

which Jesus left his disciples, finally, recalls Calvin's approach to the same as 'guarantees and tokens' through which the believer is assured that 'just as bread and wine sustain physical life, so are souls fed by Christ' (*Inst.* IV.17.1).

In conclusion, our aim here has been to highlight key differences between Constantino's reformed Catholicism and Valdés's Catholic evangelicalism. In the latter, a conviction that knowledge of God or Christ is to be experienced more or less directly undergirds, most significantly, a form of indifference with respect to the visible church and its ceremonies, and encourages instead the cultivation of the inner life and a personal quest for perfection. In Constantino's thought, on the other hand, we have noted that election and 'the way of blessedness' (Ps 1) are understood in ecclesial terms, and that this concern for the visible church, which is clearly a *corpus permixtum*, is linked to three things: a high view of Scriptural authority, an instrumental approach to sacramental efficacy which echoes concerns of northern reformers such as Melancthon, Luther and Calvin, and ultimately a 'steadfast' critique of idolatry whose immediate goal was the reform of received doctrine and ceremonies and final goal integrity in witness to non-Christians.

The approach taken here differs from received interpretations as follows. While favouring Jones's Augustinian over and against Bataillon's Erasmian reading of Constantino, we have disagreed with Jones, however, when it comes to the implications of that soteriological foundation for Constantino's ecclesiology, since it is apparent that Constantino drew from a conviction regarding the absolute authority of God's Word implications which ran contrary to received Catholic dogma. Moreover, while acknowledging the indigenous dimension of biblical and evangelical renewal in Seville,

we have suggested, against Nieto, that northern influences cannot be ruled out, given evidence of Constantino's contact with northern European Protestant opinion. Finally, where Nieto stresses agreement between Constantino and Valdés in matters of doctrine, we have highlighted significant differences in order to discern the shape of the reformed Catholicism which was to endure in some form as the Sevillian exiles became scattered throughout northern Europe.

## Chapter Two

### Spanish Protestant Soteriology:

#### ‘Participants in the Sufferings of Christ’ (1 Pet 4:13)

We begin our study of the Spanish Protestant exiles’ ecclesiology with its Christological and soteriological foundation. As noted in the Introduction, Casiodoro de Reina and Antonio del Corro viewed the Church principally as God’s scattered people who identify with Christ’s sufferings in a public way, motivated by the hope of reigning with Christ. The theme of participation ‘in the sufferings of Christ, so that you may be overjoyed when his glory is revealed’ (1 Peter 4:13) is prominent not only in Corro’s and Reina’s writings, but also in works of their fellow-exiles Juan Pérez de Pineda and Cipriano de Valera. Given the late-medieval stress on following Christ in his sufferings,<sup>1</sup> as well as the Inquisition, which by 1558 had forced them all to quit Spain, the prominence of this theme is not surprising. What is noteworthy, however, is not simply the fact that the experience of persecution informed their desire, e.g., to comfort those

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<sup>1</sup> Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine. Reformation of the Church and Dogma (1300-1700)* (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 37.

who were undergoing similar trials. Rather, what stands out is the central and interpretative role that their view of God's people as participants in Christ's sufferings plays in their theology as a whole. Specifically, Reina and Corro stressed a 'high' view of Christ's person and work which undergirded what we may refer to as an instrumental view of union with him through the regenerating and sanctifying work of the Spirit. Union with Christ, in this way, was understood not primarily as a goal to be reached through personal imitation (as Juan de Valdés, e.g., would stress), but as the ground of corporate participation in Christ's work and sufferings with the hope of finally reigning with him.

This participatory view reflects a response similar to that of Ponce de la Fuente to an 'evangelical Catholicism' which intended primarily inward or 'spiritual' reform. That tradition, articulated in the popular *Imitation of Christ* (1486) by Thomas à Kempis, encouraged a view of salvation as a quest for synthesis between the individual soul and God: 'wholly united to Thee, and absorbed by Thee, and become altogether forgetful of myself'.<sup>2</sup> Here the dissolution of the believer's individuality in the divine was sought through contemplation and personal union with Christ chiefly by means of frequent participation in the Eucharist:

This I beg, this I long for, that I may be wholly united unto Thee, and may withdraw my heart from all created things, and by means of Sacred Communion, and the frequent celebrating thereof, may learn more and more to relish things heavenly and eternal.<sup>3</sup>

According to an instrumental view, on the other hand, union with Christ is conceived in relation to his work more broadly. The call to imitate Christ is there, but the

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<sup>2</sup> Thomas à Kempis, *The Imitation of Christ* (New York: Macmillan, 1959), 158.

<sup>3</sup> à Kempis, *Imitation of Christ*, 158.

initiative of the Holy Spirit is emphasized, while union with Christ is understood as the basis of believers' sharing in Christ's threefold work as Prophet, Priest and King (*munus triplex*), as that divine work which makes possible their active and public coming out 'from the camps' with Christ (Heb 13:13). With an appeal to a Christology as set forth in the letter to the Hebrews, Reina calls on readers of his *Declaración* to 'come out' by leaving behind Temple ceremonies, now that the High Priest has offered a sacrifice which is once and for all (Heb 10:12); by anticipating their reign with the Christ who now sits at God's right hand (same reference); by considering themselves 'aliens and strangers on earth' (Heb 11:13), since they look towards that 'better country' and city prepared by God (Heb 11:16); and by offering a 'sacrifice of praise' (Heb 13:15), which is to make known the true, 'Ancient [and] Catholic' faith in the world.<sup>4</sup>

The church's threefold participation in Christ's work is implicit in Bucer's words of praise for Juan Díaz, who once in exile openly sought to win fellow Spaniards 'over to Jesus Christ',<sup>5</sup> and whose murder, by his own brother, in 1546 'scandalized the Protestant world'.<sup>6</sup> In his praise for Díaz, Bucer echoes 1 Peter 4:13: 'Why should we not glory in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, which we experience here?' he asked,

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<sup>4</sup> Casiodoro de Reina, *Declaración, o Confesión de Fe hecha por ciertos fieles españoles, que, huyendo los abusos de la iglesia Romana y la crueldad de la Inquisición d'España hizieron a la Iglesia de los fieles para ser en ella recibidos por hermanos en Christo* (Frankfurt, 1577), 'Epístola del Autor al Lector' (¶1 ; 153). With the exception of the 'Appéndice', which Ian Hazlett omits in his critical edition of Reina's *Declaración*, citations are from my dual-language version provided in the Appendix, followed by Hazlett's edition. Ian Hazlett, 'Confession de Fe Christiana 1559/60-1560/61', in *Reformierte Bekenntnisschriften* Band. 2/1: 1559-156, ed. A. Mühling and P. Opitz (Neukirchener-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2009), 117-207.

<sup>5</sup> Martin Bucer, 'Preface', in *Reformistas Antiguos Españoles XX*, vol. 20, ed. B. Wiffen & L. Usoy y Rio (Madrid: José Alegría, 1865), 19.

<sup>6</sup> Gordon Kinder, 'Díaz, Juan', in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 482.

Why should we not congratulate ourselves for the fact that we have not only been caused to believe in our Lord, but also to suffer for him? . . . But we are certain that just as we suffer these evils with Christ our Lord because of our sincere invocation of God, and true worship, so also we shall reign with Him in heaven and enjoy everlasting (*sempiterna*) glory'.<sup>7</sup>

Bucer commended Díaz as one who had left behind riches, honour, and family in his native Spain, in search of his heavenly homeland. As one of Bucer's deputies at the Colloquy of Regensburg (or Ratisbon, 1541), Díaz was 'inflamed with the love of true religion', and determined to extend the Kingdom of Christ.<sup>8</sup>

It is not surprising that references to Peter's first epistle, written as it was to encourage exiles scattered throughout Asia Minor in the 'living hope through the resurrection of Jesus Christ' (1 Pet 1:3), and in which the sufferings of Christ (1 Pet 2:21, 4:1) provide the basis of the church's suffering with him (1 Pet 4:12-16, 5:9), should have been so common in the letters with which exiled Spaniards sought to console their persecuted compatriots. In his *Tratado para confirmar los pobres cativos de Berueria en la católica y antigua fe* (1594), Valera gives a detailed overview of 1 Peter in his introduction as a way to offer comfort to his reader and to outline the shape of 'the enterprise which they have undertaken': to take a stand for true religion in 'Berbery', i.e. captivity in the land of 'Moors, Indians and false Christians'. Having covered the principal themes of 1 Peter, i.e. hope amidst suffering and holy living as 'strangers and sojourners', Valera moves on to one of his principal aims in the work, which is to defend an orthodox Christology. Of special note throughout his introductory summary of 1

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<sup>7</sup> Bucer, 'Preface', 15.

<sup>8</sup> Bucer, 'Preface', 18-19. See also John Longhurst, *Luther's Ghost in Spain, 1516-1546* (Lawrence, Kansas: Coronado Press, 1969), 73-81.

Peter is the attention he devotes to the worship of Mary as a modern form of idolatry which is in view in 1 Pet 4:3.<sup>9</sup>

If 1 Peter serves to introduce Valera's 'Treatise', in Pérez de Pineda's *Epístola para consolar a los fieles de Jesu Christo, que padecen persecución por la confesión de su nombre* (1560), 1 Peter informs both the overall structure and content of the work.<sup>10</sup> Pérez de Pineda frames his letter within the assurance of divine comfort as offered in 1 Peter: He opens with the promise of the Spirit's strength for those who must endure the afflictions which are common to those who participate in Christ's reconciliation (5:9),<sup>11</sup> and closes with a prayer for the complete restoration of those who in this life have suffered 'for a little while' (5:10; *Epis.* 224). References throughout the letter to the 'living hope' given to those who are born anew through Christ's resurrection from the dead (1:3; *Epis.* 69), and are kept by God until his salvation is finally revealed (1 Pet 1:5; *Epis.* 190), reinforce the hopeful message.

Found within the work is a Christology, and a view of the church's participation in Christ, derived especially from 1 Peter. Jesus is referred to as the 'chief Pastor' (1 Pet 5:4) who will one day reward faithful overseers with a crown of glory (*Epis.* 216). He is called the 'living Stone' (1 Pet 2:4) chosen by God but rejected by men (*Epis.* 35), which emphasizes Christ's priesthood since it is implied by his people's holy priesthood (1 Pet

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<sup>9</sup> Cipriano de Valera, *Tratado para confirmar los pobres cativos de Berueria en la católica y antigua fe* (London: Peter Short, 1594), 20-26.

<sup>10</sup> For Valera's being influenced by Pineda, see A. Gordon Kinder, 'Religious Literature as an Offensive Weapon: Cipriano de Valera's Part in England's War with Spain,' *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 19.2 (Summer, 1988), 223-235. See also Lewis J. Hutton, 'The Spanish Heretic: Cipriano de Valera', *Church History*, 27.1 (Mar., 1958), 28-30.

<sup>11</sup> Juan Pérez de Pineda, *Epístola para consolar a los fieles de Jesu Christo, que padecen persecución por la confesión de su nombre* (Geneva: Crespín, 1560), 3.

2:5; *Epis.* 35). On the basis of his suffering death, Jesus is also referred to as an example for his people (2:21; *Epis.* 173). Christ's work therefore provides the ground for his People's participation in him: believers are not to be surprised that they suffer (4:12; *Epis.* 85, 98), but rather to rejoice that they are participants in Christ's sufferings (4:13; *Epis.* 95); because of Christ, they are chosen as 'living stones' who make up a 'holy priesthood' (2:5 & 9; *Epis.* 35), and elect 'for obedience' to him (1:2; *Epis.* 22). Participation in Christ is understood, finally, as a collective struggle, since God's scattered people throughout the world endure the same kind of sufferings (5:9; *Epis.* 4), and as marked by a new way of life in the world: a clear mind, self control, and mutual love (4:7ff; *Epis.* 210); speaking only 'the words of God' (4:11; *Epis.* 208), and leaving behind superstitions of men, e.g., calling on 'dead saints' to intercede, 'faithless and insane promises', frequent confession and communion to give the appearance of holiness, and the purchase of merits (*Epis.* 14).

The Spanish Protestant attraction to Peter's first epistle is well reflected in Reina and Corro's confessional theology as a whole. Three principal themes in Corro's *Carta a Felipe II*—submission to those in authority, participation in Christ's sufferings, and readiness 'to give the reason for the hope that you have' (1 Pet 3:15)—are introduced at the beginning with reference to 1 Pet 2:13-17, 4:12-19, and 3: 14-18, respectively.<sup>12</sup> Throughout his *Declaración*, Reina seeks support from 1 Peter for his exposition of Christ's work and the view of the church which follows from it: Christ is exalted King (1 Pet 3:22) and example on account of his suffering (2:21), while the church is conceived

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<sup>12</sup> Antonio del Corro, *Carta de Antonio del Corro a Felipe II*, in *Obras de los reformadores Españoles del siglo XVI: Antonio del Corro*, vol. 1, ed. E. Monjo Bellido (Sevilla: MAD, 2006), 99-100.

as a holy priesthood (2:5); God's elect and scattered 'strangers' (1:1 and 2:11), if gathered through an ordered ministry (5:1-4); a people baptized into Christ's death and resurrection (3:21); marked by holiness of life (4:7-11) and the cross (4:13); and sustained by the hope of sharing in Christ's glory (5:1).

Alongside 1 Peter's central role in Reina's and Corro's theology is their high Christology, which until now has been largely misconstrued or downplayed. Henry Tollin (1833–1902), a French Reformed interpreter of Michael Servetus, found reason to believe that the Spaniard who was put to death in Calvin's Geneva in 1553 for his Unitarian views may have played a role in the formulation of Reina's Christology. Tollin cites the testimony of Balthazar Sanchez, a former resident of that city, who claimed that Reina not only shed tears as he passed by the place of Servetus's burning but confessed that the execution represented a lapse of charity—for Servetus was a 'great man' who 'would be of great benefit to our nation'.<sup>13</sup> Tollin found evidence, moreover, of a hesitation on Reina's part to speak in unambiguous terms regarding the Trinity:

And although we understand that every believer must conform to the ways of speaking which God uses in [Holy Scripture], chiefly in the manifestation of mysteries such as this one, where human reason does not, nor cannot, reach, so as to conform with the whole Church of the godly, however, we admit the names of Trinity, and of Person, which the fathers of the ancient Church employed, using them not without great necessity (*no sin grande necesidad*) to declare what they believed against the errors and heresies of their times concerning this article (*Dec. I.4; 161*).

Oddly, Tollin rendered 'not without great necessity' as 'only in cases of great necessity' (*seulement dans les cas de grande nécessité*), and in this way regarded Reina as

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<sup>13</sup> Henri Tollin, 'Cassiodore de Reina', *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français*, XXXI (1882), 387.

Nicodemite who, in an otherwise orthodox statement of faith, managed to raise an element of doubt concerning the classical Trinitarian formula.<sup>14</sup>

While it would not be unreasonable for Reina, regardless of his views on the Trinity, to lament the death of his compatriot, the overall accuracy of Sanchez's report is thrown into question by the fact that he played a significant role, as Kinder notes, in the efforts of Spanish agents to bring trumped up charges of embezzlement, adultery and sodomy against Reina in 1563.<sup>15</sup> It is perhaps for this reason that Kinder looks for evidence of Reina's openness to Unitarianism elsewhere. He notes that Reina allowed the Italian Jacobus Acontius, who 'was censured for advocating tolerance to Anabaptists, and for denying the virgin birth', to hold office in his church,<sup>16</sup> and argues that Reina had 'at least considered' Servetus' views on the Trinity in correspondence with Corro.<sup>17</sup> On account of that friendship the French consistory in London was reluctant to receive Reina's *Declaración* wholeheartedly, and when the questions raised in Corro's letter came to light Reina came to be associated with Corro's alleged Servetism.<sup>18</sup> Kinder supposes that Reina may have intended a certain ambiguity regarding Christ's divine nature in his *Declaración*, for

although in the Spanish Confession he tried to make the orthodox statement that Jesus Christ was 'verdaderamente hombre' [truly man] and 'verdadero Dios' [true

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<sup>14</sup> Henri Tollin, 'Cassiodore de Reina', 390. See Paul J. Hauben, 'A Spanish Calvinist Church in Elizabethan London, 1559-65', *Church History*, 34.1 (Mar., 1965), 52.

<sup>15</sup> Gordon Kinder, *Casiodoro de Reina: Spanish Reformer of the sixteenth century* (London: Tamesis Books Ltd., 1975), 28, 33, 36. See also Gordon Kinder, 'Reina, Casiodoro de', in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, vol. 3 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 412. The charge of sodomy was frequently brought against the Popes by the Spanish reformers, including Valera. See Kinder 'Religious Literature as an offensive weapon,' 229.

<sup>16</sup> Kinder, *Casiodoro de Reina*, 23.

<sup>17</sup> Kinder, *Casiodoro de Reina*, 83.

<sup>18</sup> Kinder, *Casiodoro de Reina*, 23-27.

God] (Art. VIII.1, 2) he seems to betray a bias towards a more human Christ when he states ‘que era en el principio, y estava en Dios, y finalmente era Dios’ [who was in the beginning, and was in God, and finally was God] (Art. VIII.2). The force of ‘finalmente’ is equivocal, since it could indicate some form of Adoptionism whereby Christ became God, presumably at the Resurrection, although it also seems possible to interpret it as meaning ‘in short’. This ambiguity may have been deliberate.<sup>19</sup>

While Kinder admits that ‘Reina was ready in the final analysis to accept or accommodate himself to traditional doctrines’,<sup>20</sup> he is nonetheless persuaded that Reina was at least open to Unitarianism, ‘for we must suppose that his troubles sprang at least in part from an unwillingness to condemn anyone who sincerely felt himself to be a Christian’.<sup>21</sup> José Nieto suggests the same with his remark that Reina shared Servetus’ ‘autonomous conscience’.<sup>22</sup>

According to McFadden, Corro’s leanings were also decidedly anti-Trinitarian, as evidenced principally by a letter which Corro wrote to Reina on 24 December 1563. In that letter, Corro requests doctrinal works by, e.g., Gaspar Schwenkfeld, whose views on Christology were considered eccentric,<sup>23</sup> and for Reina’s opinion on the pre-incarnate Word. Specifically, Corro wondered

in what manner we can contemplate the word God promised as a remedy before he took on our flesh, and in what essence he appeared to the Fathers of the Old Testament; . . . . How, being in the world, he resided at the Father’s right hand; . .

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<sup>19</sup> Gordon Kinder, ‘How Much Did Servetus Really Influence Casiodoro de Reina?’, in *Hispanic Studies in Honour of Frank Pierce*, ed. J. England (Sheffield: Department of Hispanic Studies, University of Sheffield, 1980), 98-99.

<sup>20</sup> Gordon Kinder, ‘How Much Did Servetus Really Influence Casiodoro de Reina?’, 96.

<sup>21</sup> Gordon Kinder, *Casiodoro de Reina*, 82-83.

<sup>22</sup> José Nieto, *El Renacimiento y la Otra España: visión cultural socioespiritual*, *Travaux d’humanisme et Renaissance*, no. 115 (Geneva: Droz, 1997), 469.

<sup>23</sup> Gordon Kinder, *Casiodoro de Reina*, 26.

. [and] how, after his glorification, Jesus Christ's residence in his faithful ones is to be understood . . .<sup>24</sup>

Corro was also curious to know of what benefit it was for the Christian to know whether Christ, once glorified, was a creature or not.<sup>25</sup> Concluding that these requests suggested doubts regarding the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity, McFadden then cites as evidence of his 'scant regard for orthodox Christology' an account of Corro's supposed officiation at the funeral of a crypto-Jew in which Corro made no reference to Christ.<sup>26</sup> Further, the fact that Paul's interlocutor in Corro's exposition of Romans 9-11<sup>27</sup> mentions Jewish doubts about Jesus' Messiahship is taken as evidence of Corro's heterodoxy: 'True, Corro makes Paul reject those doubts and declare that Christ is the true Messiah. The fact however that he raised the question shows what was passing through his brain'.<sup>28</sup> From there, McFadden argues that the Christological articles in *Exposición de la obra de Dios* (1569)<sup>29</sup> present Christ 'primarily as the revelation of the goodness of God'<sup>30</sup>—an 'exemplar'—and his work as consisting 'primarily in the illumination of men's minds'.<sup>31</sup> Echoing the 'moral exemplar' (or 'moral influence') theory of Christ's atonement

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<sup>24</sup> Antonio del Corro, 'Carta de Antonio del Corro, a Casiodoro de Reina', in *Obras de los reformadores Españoles del siglo XVI: Antonio del Corro*, vol. 1, ed. E. Monjo Bellido (Sevilla: Editorial MAD, 2006), 217.

<sup>25</sup> Antonio del Corro, 'Carta de Antonio del Corro, a Casiodoro de Reina', 218.

<sup>26</sup> William McFadden, 'Life and Works of Antonio del Corro, 1527-1591' (PhD thesis, Queen's University, Belfast, 1953), 351.

<sup>27</sup> Antonio del Corro, *A theological dialogue, wherein [sic] the Epistle of S. Paul the Apostle to the Romans is expounded, gathered and set together out of the readings of Antonie Corranus . . .* (London: Purfoote, 1575).

<sup>28</sup> McFadden, 'Life and Works of Antonio del Corro', 512.

<sup>29</sup> Antonio del Corro, 'Exposición de la Obra de Dios (1569)', in *Obras de los reformadores Españoles del siglo XVI: Antonio del Corro*, vol. 1, ed. M. Monjo Bellido (Sevilla: MAD, 2006), 225-27.

<sup>30</sup> McFadden, 'Life and Works of Antonio del Corro', 641.

<sup>31</sup> McFadden, 'Life and Works of Antonio del Corro', 616.

attributed to Peter Abelard (1079-1142), McFadden sums up Corro's Christology as follows: 'God is a merciful Father who wants men to live a virtuous and holy life. This was the lesson which Christ came to teach. Christ is an exemplar and enlightening force, the wisdom of God made flesh'.<sup>32</sup> Gordon Kinder accepts McFadden's interpretation, and finds in Corro's doctrine of the ascension a less-than-Chalcedonian Christology. Where Corro speaks of the fact that God removed Jesus Christ from the world and gave him possession of 'the celestial glory, right hand and paradise which Adam had lost because of his sin' (*EOD* 227), Kinder assumes that Corro 'comes very near to the view that Jesus was adopted into the divine life after that event. By implication, he denies the uniqueness of Christ, since all men can share in the same divine wisdom that became man at the Incarnation.'<sup>33</sup>

Roldán-Figueroa has rightly observed that 'scholars, perhaps giving too much weight to the flurry of accusations originating from the French consistory in London, have tended to locate Reina somewhere within the amorphous spiritualists and anti-Trinitarian tendencies of the sixteenth century'.<sup>34</sup> In both Reina's and Corro's case, a latent Unitarianism has been assumed based simply on the kind of questions they raised, or even just encountered, rather than from anything they stated positively and clearly. Consequently, these two Spanish Protestants are widely regarded as reformers with radical leanings, when in fact on closer examination we find that their understanding of

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<sup>32</sup> McFadden, 'Life and Works of Antonio del Corro', 693. See J.R.W. Stott, *The Cross of Christ* (Downer's Grove, Illinois: Intervarsity Press, 1986), 217-18.

<sup>33</sup> Gordon Kinder, 'Antonio del Corro', in *Bibliotheca Dissidentium*, vol. 7, ed. A. Séguenny (Baden-Baden: Valentin Koerner, 1986), 159.

<sup>34</sup> Rady Roldán-Figueroa, 'Justified without the Works of the Law: Casiodoro de Reina on Romans 3:28', in *The Formation of Clerical and Confessional Identities in Early Modern Europe*, ed. W. Janse and B. Pitkin, *Dutch Review of Church History* 85 (2005), 218.

Christ's person was orthodox, their approach to Christ's work a development of Calvin's exposition of the same, and their understanding of the church's participation in Christ informed by these perspectives and by their experience as persecuted Christians.

### **The Person and Work of Christ**

Against the anti-Trinitarian conviction that Jesus is not God's eternal Son, but merely 'the Son of the Eternal Father', as Servetus uttered in his last words,<sup>35</sup> Reina and Corro both affirmed the orthodox view. According to Reina's *Declaración*, Jesus is the 'Eternal Word', 'Firstborn', 'Only-begotten son', and the 'natural likeness and manifest image of the person of the Father' (*Dec. I.2; 160*). In his introduction to Hebrews, he writes: 'The intent and sum of this Epistle is Jesus Christ Son of God, true God and true man, who is that true, eternal, and only Prophet, King and Priest who is represented in the forms of the Law, and now truly manifested.'<sup>36</sup> With the same echo of the Definition of Chalcedon (451), Reina affirms that the Son (with the Spirit) shares the same 'substance, nature and essence' with the Father (*Dec. I.3; 161*), while being truly human (*Dec. VIII.1; 169*).<sup>37</sup> An Adoptionistic bias, which Kinder supposes might be found in Reina's 'finally was God' (*Dec. VIII.2; 169*), is unlikely, given that in his letter of 24 March 1565, to the Strangers' Church in Strasburg, Reina explicitly rejects Arianism and Servetism, and, in accordance with the Athanasian Creed, affirms 'the Unity of one God and the

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<sup>35</sup> Martin Klauber, 'Michael Servetus (1511-53)', in *The Dictionary of Historical Theology*, ed. T. Hart (Grand Rapids, Mich., 2000), 521.

<sup>36</sup> Casiodoro de Reina, *El Testamento Nuevo de Nuestro Señor Iesu Christo* (London: Ricardo del Campo [i.e. Richard Field], 1596), 620.

<sup>37</sup> See Hazlett, 'Confession de Fe Christiana 1559/60-1560/61', 161.

Trinity of the Persons of the Father and of the Son and of the Spirit in one divine essence in equal majesty and eternity'.<sup>38</sup>

For his part, Corro confesses in his *Carta a Felipe II* that the Word which was from the beginning 'became flesh for our reconciliation with the heavenly Father', of whom Jesus is 'eternally begotten' (*CFII* 127-8), and explicitly condemns heresies 'both ancient and modern, which tend to diminish or destroy the divinity or humanity of our Redeemer Jesus in whatever form' (*CFII* 146). Elsewhere he explains that God 'sent his eternal word made flesh' to assure of his love, and as if to eschew any latent anti-Trinitarianism in that phrase, Corro refers to Jesus in the following article as 'eternal word of God' (*EOD* 226). In this respect Reina's and Corro's position is consistent with that of the *French Confession of Faith* (1559), whose high Chalcedonian Christology is expressed in reaction to Servetus' heresy:

We believe that Jesus Christ, being the wisdom of God and his eternal Son, has put on our flesh, so as to be God and man in one person; man, like unto us, capable of suffering in body and soul, yet free from all stain of sin. And as to his humanity, he was the true seed of Abraham and of David, although he was conceived by the secret power of the Holy Spirit. In this we detest all the heresies that have of old troubled the Church, and especially the diabolical conceits of Servetus, which attribute a fantastical divinity to the Lord Jesus, calling him the idea and pattern of all things, and the personal or figurative Son of God, and, finally, attribute to him a body of three uncreated elements, thus confusing and destroying the two natures.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Casiodoro de Reina, 'Reponse de Cassiodore à l'Eglise sur la letter d'Olevianus', in Eduard Boehmer, *Bibliotheca Wiffeniana: Spanish Reformers of two centuries from 1520*, vol. 2 (London/Strasburg: K. Trübner, 1883), 194. Reina's most sustained defence of Christ's eternal sonship is contained in his commentary on John's gospel, which he intended as a means to refute Christological heresies, both ancient (e.g. Ebionite and Arian) and more modern (specifically Mohammedan and Servetan). See *Comentario al Evangelio de Juan*, in *Obras de los Reformadores Españoles del Siglo XVI*, vol. 7, translation and commentary R. Ruiz de Pablos (Sevilla: Editorial MAD, 2009), 74-80, 113-17, 230, 288.

<sup>39</sup> *The French Confession of Faith, 1559*, in *Reformed Confessions of the 16<sup>th</sup> Century*, ed. A. C. Cochrane (London: SCM Press, 1966), 149.

Reina's and Corro's classical and credal convictions regarding Christ's person or nature are reinforced by their treatment of Christ's work as Prophet, Priest and King. For this threefold approach to Christ's work, the so-called *munus triplex*, they are indebted to Calvin, who in his *Institutes of the Christian Religion* outlines the 'triple cure' as follows: as Prophet, Jesus carries out the work of 'herald and witness of the Father's grace' (*Inst.* II.15.2), as King he protects and defends his church (*Inst.* II.15.3), and as Priest he is that 'pure and stainless Mediator' who by his holiness reconciles sinners to God and who becomes for them an 'everlasting intercessor' (*Inst.* II.15.6).<sup>40</sup>

In the longest chapter in his confession of faith, 'On the office and dignity of the Christ' (*Dec.* IX; 169-177), Reina develops Calvin's treatment of the topic by pointing out a logical distinction between Christ's office on God's behalf and his office on behalf of humanity. Apart from emphasizing divine initiative in redemption, it is apparent that Reina is concerned here to introduce a basic structural principle for his confessional theology. Of special significance for his sacramental theology, at this point he simply distinguishes between two aspects of one divine work. Christ's work 'on God's behalf' (*para con Dios*), i.e. motivated by God directly, is described as a Prophetic work. It has to do with his work as 'Angel', 'minister' or 'Servant' of God, whose task it was 'to seek and obtain his glory, manifesting his name and true message in the world, making him known among men through the work of our redemption and the manifestation of his Gospel' (*Dec.* IX.1; 170). Moreover, it is that work of making God visible (as his

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<sup>40</sup> John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, The Library of Christian Classics, vols. 20 and 21, ed. J.T. McNeill & trans. F.L. Battles (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1960).

‘manifest image’, *Dec.* I.2; 160), and of announcing God’s righteousness (*Dec.* IX.11; 175), the ‘truth which pertains to our salvation’, and God’s will (*Dec.* IX.12; 176).

On the other hand, Reina tells us that Christ fulfills his office on behalf of humanity (*para con nosotros*), i.e. motivated by a human need, as King and Priest (*Dec.* IX.3, 171). Thus, having fulfilled his work on God’s behalf, he is made ‘supreme Monarch’ over all things by God (*Dec.* IX.2; 170), and thus becomes in the first instance King for his people. The human need in this case has to do principally with bondage, since as King Christ ‘first of all freed us from the tyranny of sin, the devil and death’, while the means to meet it is the royal victory which he accomplished as he ‘triumphed [over sin, the devil and death] in his death’ (*Dec.* IX.4; 171), to echo Colossians 2:15, and to acknowledge a fundamental link in Scripture between Christ’s crown and cross, his conquering of sin and death through his suffering. That Christ’s work as King endures is clear from the fact that he continues to protect and defend his people, being at the right hand of God’s power (*Dec.* IX.5; 171).

Turning to Christ’s Priesthood, Reina indicates that the human need in this case is to stand before God, while the means to satisfy it is, once again, Christ’s sacrificial death. As Priest, then, Christ intercedes before God on behalf of humanity, for ‘by his prayer . . . and sacrifice of his death and cross, he appeased the wrath of God, obtaining for us both entire and complete pardon from all our sins and merit and dignity to be able to appear before [God] confidently’ (*Dec.* IX.7; 172). With reference to Hebrews 7:24 and 9:26, and in accordance with Calvin’s point that Christ remains an ‘everlasting intercessor’ (*Inst.* II.15.6), Reina underscores the enduring efficacy of Christ’s Priesthood with the

reminder that ‘the power and efficacy of his Sacrifice offered once and for all, also endures, and shall last eternally’ (*Dec. IX.8; 173*).

Corro’s exposition of Christ’s threefold office as it is in and of itself likewise stresses its enduring efficacy. At the same time, when considering Christ’s work on behalf of humanity he lends a certain priority to Christ’s priestly work. In *Exposición*, he begins by mentioning Christ’s work as Prophet, but then reverses Reina’s order and notes that Christ has been, first, anointed eternal Priest, so that ‘through the sacrifice and oblation of his body, the shedding of his most precious blood, he might remove the sins of the world and erase from man’s heart the perverse teaching of Satan, the cause of his perdition and disgrace’, and, secondly, constituted King so that he might govern, strengthen and help his people’ (*EOD 226-27*). In his mention of the *munus triplex* in his *Carta a Felipe II*, Corro simply begins with Christ’s Priesthood, explaining that Jesus ‘has been called CHRIST to indicate the divine anointing of his eternal priesthood, his perpetual reign, and his most true prophetic work’ (*CFII 127*). While on McFadden’s reading Christ’s work, for Corro, ‘consists primarily in the illumination of men’s minds’,<sup>41</sup> since Christ ‘is an exemplar and enlightening force, the wisdom of God made flesh’,<sup>42</sup> it is clear from the above that the cross does not merely illustrate a divine purpose, but in fact accomplishes it. This is underscored in Corro’s remark that ‘the blood of the lamb without spot’ served to blot out ‘the rebellion and transgression of the first Adam’ (*CFII 143*).

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<sup>41</sup> William McFadden, ‘Life and Works of Antonio del Corro’, 615-16.

<sup>42</sup> William McFadden, ‘Life and Works of Antonio del Corro’, 693.

## **Participation in Christ**

The scope and efficacy of Christ's work, as expounded by Reina and Corro, has implications for the particular manner in which union with Christ is to be conceived. If the key to understanding the nature of the *munus triplex* in and of itself involved an 'on God's behalf/on behalf of humanity' distinction, which served the purpose of highlighting the truth that God's will to save flows directly from God, now a distinction is drawn between Christ's threefold work understood objectively, in and of itself, and the same work as it is understood in relation to the church, i.e. as the ground of the church's own royal, priestly and prophetic identity and calling. With an initial look at the pneumatological basis of that ecclesial reality, we shall explore the three dimensions in turn, drawing out the ecclesial and soteriological implications of each one.

As long as a 'low' and exemplarist view of Christ's person and work is assumed, as is the case with McFadden's reading of Corro's Christology, union with Christ is reduced to 'imitation' of Christ, and salvation is understood as the reward for good conduct.<sup>43</sup> Consequently, the roles of the church and the Spirit are reduced each in their own way: the church is robbed of its instrumental role with respect to Salvation, while the Spirit, being less than sovereign, is collapsed into the church or the world. A less drastic form of reductionism is at work in Valdés' notion of union with Christ. While Christ for Valdés is by no means merely an example for believers, or the Spirit less than divine, union with Christ is sought principally in sacramental terms: through meditation and mystical adoration of the sacrament, linked with imitation of Christ's passion, the

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<sup>43</sup> McFadden, 'Life and Works of Antonio del Corro', 352, 645.

believer is progressively incorporated into Christ and his resurrection.<sup>44</sup> Such gradual union is realized to the extent that believers love God,<sup>45</sup> forsake the things of the world and the flesh (*Cons.* 294), and do those things which Christ would have done (*Cons.* 320).<sup>46</sup>

The sacramental approach contrasts significantly with the more covenantal way in which Reina and Corro conceive of believers' union with Christ.<sup>47</sup> While references to sacramental incorporation are present in their works (as we shall see in Chapter Four), their clear preference for the term 'participation in Christ' reflects a more dynamic and relational model whereby believers are united through the Spirit in Christ's work and passion. Such a model is consistent with the covenantal conception of union with Christ which is at work in Reformed Christology generally. In that tradition, as Dawn Devries explains, the 'union of the two natures [of Christ] is not so much a static union in the person as a dynamic union in the action of the Mediator—specifically in his threefold office (*munus triplex*) as prophet, priest, and king'.<sup>48</sup> Specifically, under the category of 'participation', both Corro and Reina include that three-dimensional ecclesial reality which reflects, and indeed flows directly from, Christ's threefold office. That ecclesial

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<sup>44</sup> Juan de Valdés, *Alfabeto Cristiano, que enseña el verdadero camino de adquirir la luz del Espíritu Santo*, in Juan de Valdés, *Obras Completas I*, ed. A. Alcalá Galvez (Madrid: Fundación José Antonio de Castro, 1997), 456-57.

<sup>45</sup> Juan de Valdés, *Ziento i diez consideraciones*, in *Reformistas Antiguos Españoles*, vol. 17, ed. B. Wiffen and L. Uzo i Rio (London, UK: Spottiswoode, 1863), 244.

<sup>46</sup> For the reception of Valdés in England, specifically among the Little Gidding community through Nicholas Ferrar's translation of *Ziento i diez Consideraciones* in 1633, see Domingo Ricart, *Juan de Valdés y el pensamiento religioso europeo en los siglos xvi y xvii* (Mexico City: El Colegio de Mexico, 1958), 88-110.

<sup>47</sup> J.P. Baker, 'Union with Christ', in *New Dictionary of Theology*, ed. S. Ferguson, D. Wright & J.I. Packer (Downers Grove, Ill.: Intervarsity Press, 1988), 697-99.

<sup>48</sup> Dawn Devries, 'Incarnation', in *The Westminster Handbook to Reformed Theology*, ed. D. Kim (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2001), 121.

reality is made possible, moreover, by the Spirit. According to Corro, believers' union with Christ is the work of the Spirit of Christ, through whose bond their works are those 'of Christ and consequently very pleasing in the presence of the heavenly Father' (*CFII* 179-80), and through whom they shall be finally resurrected (*EOD* 228). Reina makes it clear that the Spirit's work is the result of Christ's ascension, since Christ gives believers 'secret powers of his Spirit' against temptation once he is seated 'at the right hand of the power of God' (*Dec.* IX.5; 171).

Corro advocates a view of union with Christ by the Spirit by spelling out what sort of notion is to be rejected. Once the sinner has been made free from the fear of condemnation, he writes, the Spirit makes him possess 'the heavenly Adam, Jesus Christ, true son of God and true man, so that living in him, not according to the flesh, but according to the Spirit, he might live henceforth without fear of condemnation' (*CFII* 172). Complaining that Roman Catholic theologians acknowledge no participation in Christ's body outside of the Lord's Supper (*CFII* 174), and reflecting Calvin's condemnation of Osiander's confusion of Christ's essence with that of humans (*Inst.* III.11.5), Corro denies that union with Christ involves 'some kind of metamorphosis, transmutation or transformation of the body of Christ in us which involves the destruction of his true and human nature'. Rather, since Christ is ascended 'and enjoys all power in heaven and on earth', he lives 'by faith in the hearts of those who are his true members', so that there is no divine-human confusion in believers' participation in Christ (*CFII* 180).<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> As T. F. Torrance explains, Calvin stressed Christ's vicarious humanity, such that to be one with Christ 'is to be joined to him in the human nature that he assumed from us and within which he took our place throughout the whole course of redemption . . . To be united with Christ is to be joined to him in his

In his discussion of the implications of Christ's work for the church, Reina underscores the fact that participation in Christ is a reality initiated by Christ himself. According to Calvin, Christ's work as prophet and priest becomes the basis of the church's own work of proclamation and self-offering to God (*Inst.* II.15.2; II.15.6). In the same way, in Reina's view Christ's kingship is the ground of the church's royal identity (*Dec.* IX.9; 174), as believers are 'comforted by [Christ's] might' and so defeat the world, as well as anticipate the day when they will 'finally triumph over all with the same Christ [their] King, when all the powers which have opposed him in this rebellious age have been subjected under his feet . . .' (*Dec.* IX.6; 172). Reina alerts his reader to the divine basis and fundamentally eschatological nature of the church's participation in Christ's kingship with his affirmation that the resurrection of believers depends on that of Christ as its 'first cause' (*Dec.* XXI.2; 204), and notes that the final participation of the elect in Christ's glory (*Dec.* XXI.3; 205) is certain because the righteous 'are already participants' in the divine nature by the Spirit (*Dec.* XXI.2; 204) and in the cross of Christ (*Dec.* XXI.3; 205).

Reina's doctrine of final redemption, when God shall be 'all things in all of us' (1 Cor 15:28), stresses the fullness of participation in Christ, and develops contemporary confessional statements regarding final judgment to include an exposition of the instrumental ground of resurrection. Thus, while *Augsburg XVII* merely mentions the final states of the righteous and the wicked following Christ's return, Reina declares that the Christian hope is found in 'a glorious and complete restoration of all things', 'the

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life of faith, obedience, prayer, and worship, so that we must look away from our faith, obedience, prayer and worship to what Christ is and does for us in our place and on our behalf' ('The Distinctive Character of the Reformed Tradition', *Reformed Review* 54.1, Autumn 2000, 9).

complete redemption of the children of God' (*Dec. XXI.1*; 203), and final Resurrection when all flesh shall be raised: the righteous on account of the 'seed of divinity . . . which was sown in them by the Divine Word and by faith'; the unrighteous by the power of God, rather than 'by virtue of the Spirit of the Christ, nor of the seed of divinity which they have in them (for they never received it)' (*Dec. XXI.2*; 204).<sup>50</sup> Moreover, just as the principal cause of resurrection differs, so too does the end, since the righteous 'shall be admitted to the participation of [God's] glory with Christ', while the wicked shall suffer everlasting torment in hell, deprived of the vision of God (*Dec. XXI.3*; 205).

Reina's eschatological approach to the doctrines of election and reprobation suggests a dynamic conception of election and provides a way of addressing Kinder's concern that Reina's doctrine of the 'Predestination of the wicked to eternal punishment as described in XXI:3 does not appear to harmonize with Reina's character'.<sup>51</sup> Reflecting Ponce de la Fuente's hesitation to speak of predestination and reprobation symmetrically, Reina specifically avoids a doctrine of 'double' predestination by locating the doctrine of election strictly within his final chapter. As such, while there is one earlier mention of the elect as those scattered individuals who are called together through gospel ministry (*Dec. XIV.1*; 184), Reina speaks only of the righteous as 'predestinated in Christ from

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<sup>50</sup> See Article 39 of Cranmer's *Forty-two Articles* (1553), in which we read that 'to all that bee dead their awne bodies, flesh, and bone shalbe restored, that the whole man maie (according to his workes) haue other rewarde, or punishment, as he hath lived vertuouslie, or wickedlie' (Thomas Cranmer, 'Forty-two Articles', in O. O'Donovan, *On the Thirty Nine Articles: A Conversation with Tudor Christianity*, Oxford, 1986, 154-155), and Article 37 ('Last Judgment') of Guido de Brès' *Belgic Confession* (1561), which according to Kinder may have circulated earlier in manuscript form so as to be seen by Reina (G. Kinder, 'Confesión de fe Christiana: The Spanish Protestant Confession of Faith (London 1560/61)', Univ. of Exeter, 1988, xvi).

<sup>51</sup> Gordon Kinder, ed., *Confesión de fe christiana. The Spanish Protestant confession of faith* (London, 1560/61), edited from the sole surviving copy of the bilingual edition (Cassel, 1601) (University of Exeter, 1988), 39. See also Hazlett, 'Confession de Fe Christiana 1559/60-1560/61', 204.

before the age’, while the wicked are those who are finally deprived of God’s presence, having participated in Satan’s nature and works (*Dec.* XXI.3; 205). This is consistent with his peculiar rendering of 1 Peter 2:8, in which those who stumble on the Word do not do so because they were appointed or destined to disobey or to stumble (as in, e.g., KJV, ESV, and indeed Valera’s 1602 revision of Reina’s translation). Rather, following Enzinas’ 1543 Spanish translation, they simply stumble, ‘and don’t believe in that to which they were appointed’—i.e. to belief in the Word.<sup>52</sup> Reina thus departs significantly from Bucer, who was prepared to speak of a ‘double’ predestination whereby God ‘foreknew and ordained [the reprobate] for such a fate before he created them, for he accomplishes everything according to a predetermined and settled plan’,<sup>53</sup> and anticipates Bullinger’s doctrine of ‘single’ predestination in *The Second Helvetic Confession*, according to which only the saints are understood as predestined, believers are to ‘hope well of all, and not rashly judge any man to be reprobate’, and to avoid speculating about the final number of the saved and damned.<sup>54</sup>

While the church’s participation in Christ’s kingship is expounded primarily as a proleptic reality, Reina does not overlook its present dimension. The way in which he

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<sup>52</sup> Francisco de Enzinas, *El Nuevo testamento de nuestro redemptor y Salvador Jesu Christo* (Antwerp, 1543). As Kinder notes, in his translation Reina sought to go back to the original Hebrew and Greek texts ‘in the best humanist tradition’, although his ‘debt to other Spanish translators is undoubted’ (Kinder, *Casiodoro de Reina*, 54). Next to this verse Reina cites Rom 9:33, according to which Israel’s stumbling results from their pursuit of ‘a law of righteousness’ (9:32) rather than from any appointment to disbelief. Corro appears to agree with Reina. While he asserts that ‘divine election and adoption is free, and has no foundation in our persons, nor in our merits, nor in our works’ (for ‘God illumines those whom he pleases’), Corro emphasizes the positive doctrine of predestination to life, and grounds reprobation in ‘the wickedness of man’, since ‘the Church of Satan’ is made up of those ‘who *make themselves* children of reprobation’ (*EOD* 224-5, emphasis added).

<sup>53</sup> Martin Bucer, ‘Predestination’, in *Common Places of Martin Bucer*, trans. and ed. D.F. Wright (Abingdon: Sutton Courtenay, 1972), 98.

<sup>54</sup> ‘Heinrich Bullinger, *The Second Helvetic Confession*, in *Reformed Confessions of the Sixteenth Century*, ed. A.C. Cochrane (London: SCM Press, 1966), 240-42.

speaks of participation in Christ in covenantal terms, and in relation to justification, highlights divine initiative, and reveals the legal ground on which believers participate in the blessings given to those who reign with him in the present. In his chapter on justification by faith, Reina adopts the classically reformed approach to salvation by emphasizing God's dynamic dealings with his people based on the Promise made to Abraham:

We believe that just as after the general corruption of all human nature through the sin of our First Parents and before the Promise and New Testament were made known, there was no means whereby men might be justified and brought back to the way of salvation, except through true Penitence and faith in the Promise of the blessed seed on their part, and on God's part by his mercy and goodness alone, . . . in the same way, now that the Promise is fulfilled in the Christ, neither is there, nor does there remain, any other way in which men might be justified, saved and admitted to the Covenant of the New Testament, and to the participation in its blessings, than through Penitence (which is true knowledge, repentance, regret and abhorrence of sin, with true renunciation of it and of the corrupt root from which man is born) and true and lively faith in the death and resurrection of the Lord . . . (*Dec. X.1; 177-78*).

While Reina denies that 'any human merit or satisfaction may be made' for the forgiveness of sins (*Dec. X.2; 178*), his concern is nevertheless to broaden the scope of justification along the lines proposed by Bucer. According to Calvin, justification is defined 'simply as the acceptance with which God receives us into his favor as righteous men. And we say that it consists in the remission of sins and the imputation of Christ's righteousness' (*Inst. III.11.2*). Bucer, by contrast, adds that justification includes the work of God whereby the Spirit is breathed

into those acquitted and declared righteous before him, to make immediate assault upon their corrupt ambitions and to urge on their suppression and extinction, and

on the other hand, to fashion upright attitudes to every aspect of life, to arouse and foster holy desires, conforming us speedily to the likeness of Christ.<sup>55</sup>

If Bucer, following Augustine, insists that in justification sinners are actually made righteous,<sup>56</sup> since their very lives are transformed now that they are ‘in Christ’ by the Spirit,<sup>57</sup> Reina is compelled to offer a similar definition when under justification he includes not only the remission of sins and the imputation of Christ’s righteousness and innocence, but also the ‘virtue and strength of his Spirit . . . so that, dying with him to sin, we may also be raised with him to new life of righteousness’ (*Dec. X.1*; 177-78).<sup>58</sup> That Reina is concerned to avoid a strict distinction between justification and sanctification is evident in his comment that it is by virtue of the Spirit that those who are justified are also ‘sanctified (Rom 1) and guided by [the Spirit’s] instinct in the knowledge of all truth’ (*Dec. XVII.2*; 189), and in his inclusion of the sacraments, the Ministry of the Word and Ecclesiastical discipline under ‘instruments of justification’ (as we shall see in Chapter Four).

If the church owes its participation in Christ’s work as King to Christ’s resurrection and righteousness at work in them and through them, so it owes its participation in Christ’s Priesthood to Christ’s passion: it is ‘because of [Christ] and in his name’ that believers offer their own threefold sacrifice of their lives, their praise, and their prayers, whether for themselves or for others (*Dec. IX.9*; 174, emphasis added). If a very present reality, the church’s priestly work is also the pledge of its full participation

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<sup>55</sup> Martin Bucer, ‘Justification’, in D.F. Wright, ed., *Common Places of Martin Bucer* (Abingdon: Sutton Courtenay Press, 1972), 162.

<sup>56</sup> Martin Bucer, ‘Justification’, 163.

<sup>57</sup> W. P. Stephens, *The Holy Spirit in the Theology of Martin Bucer* (Cambridge: CUP, 1970), 49.

<sup>58</sup> See Hazlett, ‘Confession de Fe Christiana 1559/60-1560/61’, 136.

in Christ's work as King, for in calling his readers to 'follow [Christ] in his shame and cross', he assures them 'that if we suffer with him, we shall also reign with him' (*Dec.* 'Appéndice' ¶6), to echo the theme of participation in Christ's sufferings in 1 Pet 4:13 and the hope which according to 2 Tim 2:12 belongs to those who endure.

The 'nomadic' significance of the believers' priestly vocation, contained in the reminder that as they 'come out' with Christ they have no 'enduring city' but instead look 'for the city that is to come' (Heb 13:14), is given special prominence in Corro's and Reina's works, as their own experience as refugees is understood with reference to a biblical 'strangers and sojourners' theme. Reina's *Declaración*, according to the title itself, is made by 'certain Spanish believers' who have sought refuge from 'the abuses of the Roman church and the cruelty of the Inquisition of Spain' (152). Given that God's elect are in this life pilgrims (*Dec.* IX.7; 173) with 'no fixed place in the world' (*Dec.* XVIII.2; 193), Reina can acknowledge God's strength as he and his fellow Bible translators endured twelve years of poverty and hardship in exile,<sup>59</sup> as well as call on fellow Spaniards to 'come out with [Christ]', as Abraham did, 'even if at present you do not know where he is taking you' (*Dec.* 'Epístola' ¶3; 154).

While Corro's confession of faith and plea for religious tolerance addressed to his king, Philip II, contains no explicit call to come out with Christ, it does present in rather more detail the nature of the hardship which Corro himself has endured, and that of others 'who are tormented, afflicted, persecuted and exiled . . . without true understanding of the cause, against all divine and human law' (*CFII* 101). Under the

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<sup>59</sup> Casiodoro de Reina, 'Amonestacion del interprete de los sacros libros al Lector y a toda la Iglesia del Senor, en que da razón de su translación ansi en general, como de algunas cosas especiales', in *La Biblia, que es los sacros libros del viejo y nuevo testamento*, trans. Casiodoro de Reina (Basel, 1569), [12].

first, Corro mentions the loss of his parents and friends (*CFII* 115), physical adversities (*CFII* 116), ‘extreme poverty and destitution’ (*CFII* 122), the espionage directed against him and fellow reformers (*CFII* 123), loss of property and inheritance (*CFII* 181), and uprootedness (*CFII* 199, 208). The sufferings of others include these as well as imprisonment (*CFII* 187), and death itself, as with the March 12<sup>th</sup>, 1567 Antwerp Massacre, just days before Corro wrote his *Carta a Felipe II*. As a first-hand witness to the Duke of Alba’s campaign against Protestants in the Low Countries, Corro explains to his king that despite screams for mercy and of surrender, a great number of the king’s subjects were exterminated by whichever means the Spanish infantry saw fit (*CFII* 202). This massacre would serve as a prelude to the famous St. Bartholemew’s Massacre of Huguenots in Paris five years later.

While Corro begs his king to consider ‘what the turks and pagans might think and judge concerning our Christian religion when they hear tell of these miserable tragedies’ (*CFII* 203), he affirms with St. Paul that ‘those who would live in sincere piety and follow Jesus Christ must suffer many persecutions’ (to paraphrase 2 Tim 3:12) (*CFII* 207). Here Corro includes himself among those whom God has not only given faith to believe in the Gospel, but those whom God has ‘made participants in his cross and affliction’ (*CFII* 123). Divine initiative is underscored by the fact that participation in the cross follows from God’s election. As Corro explains, while it is natural to want ‘to follow a religion which is well-received by all and devoid of all affliction and persecution’,

the Lord has decreed to save men by faith in his Son Jesus Christ crucified, making them participants of his temporal cross and death in order to resurrect them with him, for this reason, the sons of the Kingdom predestined to the possession of such a benefit, cannot, even when they want to, impede the

wonderful work of the Holy Spirit, nor the work in their hearts and consciences, given that divine election and adoption is free, and has no foundation in our persons, nor in our merits, nor in our works; for God illumines those whom he pleases (*CFII* 207).

Like Reina, Corro grounds participation in Christ in the justification of sinners, and links the blessings of participation to a Promise. God's promise is situated in the Garden itself, for Corro explains that after man's fall God in his mercy sought him out and 'promised that the woman's seed would crush the Serpent's head' (Gen 3) (*Expo.* 223). On that basis, justification is understood as 'the work of God through which he receives the children of Adam, who are sinners and his enemies, in grace and reconciliation, and makes them his children, members and brothers of Jesus Christ his Son' (*CFII* 169). Priority is given to divine initiative, for it is the Spirit who opens the sinner's eyes to know sin and its remedy, and who softens hearts to receive that remedy—against the Roman teaching that justification depends on the movement of one's free will, contrition, the infusion of grace, and the remission of guilt (*CFII* 167).<sup>60</sup> So, to follow Calvin, in their justification sinners are forgiven and 'covered with the mantle of innocence of the heavenly Adam' (*CFII* 170). To follow Bucer and Reina, however, Corro adds that through justification sinners are united with Christ:

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<sup>60</sup> The clear implication that divine election is unconditional makes it difficult to agree with those who have claimed Corro as a proto-Arminian. McFadden, for example, understood Corro to teach that 'election means that all men may enjoy [the privilege of justification] through the faith which the Lord has bestowed on them from above' (McFadden, 'Life and Works of Antonio del Corro', 636-37). Roldán-Figueroa, most recently, has argued that Corro's paraphrase of Romans (*Dialogus theologicus*, 1574) contains the teaching that 'election is God's decree by which only the believers are saved'. See Rady Roldán-Figueroa, 'Antonio del Corro and Paul as the Apostle of the Gospel of Universal Redemption', in *A Companion to Paul in the Reformation*, ed. R.W. Holder (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 422. When doubts were raised regarding his orthodoxy in the matter of justification, however, Archbishop Grindal declared that Corro 'embraces the pure doctrine of the Gospel, which our own and other reformed churches profess'. See C. M. Dent, *Protestant Reformers in Elizabethan Oxford* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1983), 112-13. Fundamentally, Corro insisted that he was indebted to Bullinger (McFadden, 'Life and Works of Antonio del Corro', 389).

The second benefit which man receives through justification we can call union with Christ; for it is not enough for man to be absolved and forgiven of his sins, but it is also necessary that he be a new creature, and produce a new obedience after his justification, which he will in no way be able to do except through the virtue and power of God (which is in Jesus Christ), which lives in him and gives him strength to do it (*CFII* 172).<sup>61</sup>

While Corro will declare in his ‘Articles of the Catholike fayth’ (1575) that sinners are ‘made ryghtuous and heires of the endlesse life’ in their justification,<sup>62</sup> by emphasizing the fact that a new obedience follows logically *after* justification, he appears eager not to confuse justification and sanctification, but rather to follow, e.g., Ponce de la Fuente’s distinction ‘marked for righteousness’/‘being righteous, blessed’ (as we saw in Chapter One). For this reason he speaks often of justification as a putting on, rather than infusion, of Christ’s righteousness (*CFII* 164). In all, Corro is concerned that the experience to which justification attests not be obscured by debates regarding the nature of justification:

What will be the benefit in disputing whether the righteousness of a Christian man is substance or accident, an inherent quality or a simple imputation, and similar subtleties, if we have not felt in our hearts and in our consciences the presence and operation of Jesus Christ? (*CFII* 174)

Just as doctrinal disputes suggested, for Corro, a lack of the experience to which they point, so for both him and Reina the Roman Catholic veneration of saints obscured Christ’s priestly work on behalf of and through his people. If Christ was to be regarded as the only High Priest, and the church as a holy priesthood which, according to 1 Pet 2:5,

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<sup>61</sup> For Calvin, union with Christ is the basis of the ‘double grace’ of justification on the one hand and regeneration on the other (*Inst.* III.11.1). For Corro, there is a ‘double grace’ (*doble beneficio*) to justification itself: that which Calvin refers to as justification on the one hand, and ‘union with Christ’ on the other (*CFII* 170).

<sup>62</sup> Antonio del Corro, ‘The Articles of the Catholike fayth which Antonie Corranus Spaniarde Student of Divinitie professeth, and always hath professed’, in *A theological dialogue, wherein [sic] the Epistle of S. Paul the Apostle to the Romans is expounded, gathered and set together out of the readings of Antonie Corranus* (London: Purfoote, 1575), 151.

offered ‘spiritual’ sacrifices, including believers’ lives, offerings of praise, and intercessions on behalf of themselves and others (*Dec. IX.9*; 174), the medieval cult of the saints and related practices could only obscure Christ’s unique priestly role, and consequently undermine the church’s priestly work and identity. For this reason Reina condemns ‘all invocation of the dead, no matter how holy’, as well as ‘any sacrifice, priesthood, pontificate and any other manner of appeasing or honoring God outside of [Christ’s], which alone we understand to be the legitimate one approved before God (*Dec. IX.10*; 174-75). Thus, following Melanchthon, he condemns the sacrifice of the Mass, which, together with a sacrificing priesthood, undermined Christ’s unique work and role as sole mediator.<sup>63</sup> Moreover, while not condemning image veneration explicitly, as does Bucer,<sup>64</sup> Reina calls for a form of contemplation of Christ which is not ‘idle’ and ‘fruitless’, but ‘efficacious, that through it we might also be transformed into the image of God, growing from glory to glory by the power of his Spirit’ (*Dec. IX.11*; 175). By encouraging an active and dynamic, as opposed to image-centred, form of contemplation, Reina draws attention away from the saints and towards Christ as sole Mediator, and on that basis reaffirms the whole church, and not just some of the faithful, as a holy priesthood.

For Corro, too, true worship is dynamic, and must be directed towards the well-being of others. His critique of image-centred religion is based on his interpretation of the significance of Christ’s ascension, which grounds the believer’s assurance ‘of the joy of their eternal dwelling, where their head now resides, perfectly glorified’ (*EOD* 227).

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<sup>63</sup> Melanchthon, *The Augsburg Confession* (1530), 84.

<sup>64</sup> Martin Bucer, *The Tetrapolitan Confession of 1530*, in *Reformed Confessions of the Sixteenth Century*, ed. A.C. Cochrane (London: SCM Press, 1966), 80-81.

The fact that Jesus has been removed from man's sight attests to God's desire to lift man's attention towards 'heavenly and divine things', away from things 'visible and palpable' (*EOD* 227). From there Corro adopts a classically Reformed theology of the image,<sup>65</sup> and strictly condemns 'the superstitious adoration of images and crosses', which 'under the pretext of a distinction between *latria*, *dulia* and *hyperdulia*' allowed for 'a detestable idolatry in which wood and stone receive veneration and adoration' (*CFII* 116). Likewise Corro condemns those preachers who speak of good works of their own invention, such as a trip 'to Santiago [de Compostela] or a visit to some other idol', instead of 'firm and constant hope, charity which seeks the good of others not that of oneself, the death of the old Adam which is for us a constant war' (*CFII* 112).

As we bear in mind that the medieval challenge to the church's priestly work led to a message of reform for those who remained under the Papacy, we turn, finally, to the church's participation in Christ's work as Prophet. To begin, both Corro and Reina stress that knowledge of God is a blessing in which believers participate by grace. Corro writes that 'from the beginning the Lord created men to make them participants in the knowledge of himself' (*CFII* 131)—and indeed his entire *Carta a Felipe II* reflects a passion to express 'the hope that you have' (1 Pet 3:15), which he quotes at the very beginning. In the Preface to his *Declaración*, Reina includes himself among those who have been given, 'by the Lord's mercy alone, the gift of ears to hear his voice' (*Dec.* 157). If a blessing, knowledge of God is also a task, for Reina calls on others whom God has similarly made 'participants of his light' to acknowledge the same God as the one

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<sup>65</sup> See, e.g., Bullinger, *The Second Helvetic Confession*, 229-230; Cranmer, 'Forty-two Articles', 145.

who might choose them ‘as martyrs and faithful witnesses of his truth’ (*Dec.* ‘Appéndice’ ¶6).

Reina explains that the church’s work of making God’s will known in the world is linked intimately to Christ’s teaching office. To explain how it is that ‘the Prophetic work of Christ is communicated to us’, he writes:

In this way we affirm that his work as Prophet is derived in us (as we have said of his Kingship, and of the other aspects of his Priesthood), by virtue of his Teaching office to all those who truly belong to the Christian People . . . , are taught by God (Is 54; Jn 6), and prophesy (Joel 2; Acts 2; 1 Cor 14), that is to say, know how to declare the divine will in the world, which sort of doctrine and form of teaching we understand to belong to the New Testament, or, better said, to be the practice of the same (*Dec.* IX.13; 176).

Reflected here is the fundamentally missionary thrust which is found in Calvin’s discussion of the *munus triplex*, in which Christ’s prophetic office is not only given pride of place, but it is extended to the church:

We see that [Christ] was anointed by the Spirit to be herald and witness of the Father’s grace’, and that he received the anointing ‘not only for himself that he might carry out the office of teaching, but for his whole body that the power of the Spirit might be present in the continuing preaching of the Gospel (*Inst.* II.15.2).

We might add, recalling that Christ’s work as Prophet was understood as a means of direct service to God, that in its participation in such a work the church joins Christ in a work which is ‘from above’, grounded as it is in the divine will itself. It is here, then, that we see the instrumental role of the church’s participation in Christ summed up. As Christ the King works through his people to gain the victory over the world (*Dec.* IX.6; 172), and Christ the Priest offers a sacrifice which is pleasing to God through the church’s offerings of obedience, prayer and praise (*Dec.* IX.9; 174), so Christ the Prophet

continues to declare God's 'name and true message' in the world (*Dec.* IX.1; 170) through those who taught by God 'know how to proclaim it (*Dec.* IX.13; 176).

To sum up, on the whole Reina and Corro speak with one voice about Christ and the nature of the salvation which is found through him. Against suspicions of anti-Trinitarian leanings on the part of Tollin, Kinder and McFadden, they articulate a fully Chalcedonian doctrine of Christ's dual natures, and avoid reducing Christ's work on behalf of humanity to that of 'moral exemplar'. Instead, they teach that Christ's atonement is efficacious, for it is the foundation of his people's participation in his work as Prophet, Priest, and King. Union with Christ, as such, is not one in which the divine and the human are confused, but is rather mediated by the Spirit. The Spirit's work, moreover, is seen as a justifying work, as justification is defined as both the imputation of Christ's (alien) righteousness as well as an inward work whereby sinners are raised to new life so that they might from live a life of obedience to God's will. Election is free and undeserved, but the ground of reprobation is not thereby sought in God, but only in human sin. In all of this, Reina and Corro understand the church as the company of those who share in Christ's sufferings, and as a holy priesthood whose worship is active and dynamic, rather than passive and focused on medieval mediating principles which threatened Christ's role as only Mediator.

Two principal differences between Reina's and Corro's approaches reflect, in the first instance, the different readers they had in mind. Calling his king's attention to the persecution of Protestants in the Low Countries, Corro lays special stress on the church's sharing of Christ's sufferings and sacrificial priesthood (1 Pet 4:12-19). Linked to his 'theology of the Cross' is a bold condemnation of image-centred religion, in favour of

one focused on the service of others. Reina, by contrast, gives great importance to the church's sharing in Christ's kingship, and to the hope of a Crown which awaits the 'royal priesthood' (1 Pet 2:9), since among his intended readers are those who suffer for their faith and need to hear that 'God is with us; and the promise of the Christ is more firm than the heavens themselves' (*Dec. 'Appéndice' ¶4*). Since his *Declaración* was also intended for the Strangers' Churches in London, a sharp critique of the medieval theology of the image was not essential.

Reina's and Corro's distinct emphases cannot be reduced to the above, however. They also reflect their different temperaments, and to some extent convictions, with respect to ecclesiology. For Reina, the Christological foundation we have described informs a developed 'instrumental' approach to the external things of religion, i.e. to an explicit articulation of the instrumental efficacy of Scripture, the sacraments, and the ministry of the Word. This feature has the benefit of lending systematic coherence to his theology. Corro's theology is, by contrast, occasional. While there are gaps in his confessional theology (in his *Carta a Felipe II*, for instance, a doctrine of the church as such must be deduced from his teaching on the sacraments), the strength of the less systematic approach will be found in his passionate pleas for unity and tolerance based on a Cross-centred ecclesiology. Moreover, his sharp critique of image-veneration complements Reina's 'catholic' approach, and reflects the more thoroughly Calvinist critique of image-centred religion of the Spanish exiles taken as a group.

Taken together, Reina's and Corro's 'high' view of Christ's person and work, coupled with an emphasis on the Spirit's priority in the life of Christians, in the end ground that for which the Spanish Protestant 'dialect' stands out: a 'nomadic' conception

of the church and a very public view of participation in Christ. In Chapter Three we turn to Reina's and Corro's ecclesiology proper, looking specifically at the way in which their image of the church helped to shape their views of the church's authority and whereabouts.

## Chapter Three

### The Marks and Authority of God's 'Little Flock' (John 10)

For exiled Protestants like Corro and Reina, whose soundness of doctrine and morals was at times questioned, but who called on others to separate publicly from a church which in their view enjoyed only the outward appearance of true religion, the true church was conceived in the first instance as a scattered and persecuted people, marked by holiness of life. To that extent they shared radical reformer Michael Sattler's view of the church as the 'obedient children of God . . . who have been and shall be separated from the world'.<sup>1</sup> As the need arose to declare their doctrine, however, it was clear that church tradition was to be upheld in so far as it expounded a biblical theology.<sup>2</sup> In this way, Reina and Corro allowed a Catholic insight, according to which the Church was

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<sup>1</sup> M. Sattler, *The Schleitheim Confession (1527)*, in *Creeds and Confessions of Faith in the Christian Tradition*, vol. 2: *Creeds and Confessions of the Reformation Era*, ed. J. Pelikan and V. Hotchkiss (New Haven, Conn./London: Yale Univ. Press, 2003), 696.

<sup>2</sup> A. McGrath, *Reformation Thought* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), 108.

understood as a *corpus permixtum* ('mingled of good men and bad'<sup>3</sup>), to check the radical quest for a 'pure' church, just as they rejected radical conclusions regarding, e.g., infant baptism and the need for strict separation of Church and State. This magisterial/radical tension, reflected in the attempt to combine an allegiance to tradition with an urge to separate visibly from the world, lies at the heart of Spanish Protestant reform as a distinct 'dialect' within reformation thought. In this chapter we study the ways in which the model of the church which emerged within that tension impacted their view of authority, such that Scriptural authority was conceived both classically as well as 'nomadically', just as an instrumental logic with respect to the authority of Scripture came to be applied, in Reina's case in particular, to the marks of the church.

### **Church as Catholic 'Little Flock'**

Reina's and Corro's image of the church as a persecuted and scattered flock, as their doctrine of the church in general, has largely been overlooked by scholars thus far. In Corro's case the omission is somewhat justified, since in his longer works he does not define the church directly. Rather, as Rivera Garcia points out, in *Carta a Felipe II* Corro's main concern is to expound the doctrine of justification by faith as that which divides Protestants from the Papacy,<sup>4</sup> while in *Epístola a los Pastores Luteranos*<sup>5</sup> his

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<sup>3</sup> John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, The Library of Christian Classics, vols. 20 and 21, ed. J.T. McNeill & trans. F.L. Battles (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1960), IV.1.12.

<sup>4</sup> Antonio del Corro, *Carta de Antonio del Corro a Felipe II*, in *Obras de los reformadores Españoles del siglo XVI: Antonio del Corro*, vol. 1, ed. E. Monjo Bellido (Sevilla: MAD, 2006), 99-213.

<sup>5</sup> Antonio del Corro, *Epístola y amable admonición de un ministro del Evangelio de nuestro Redentor Jesucristo, enviada a los Pastores de la Iglesia Flamenca de Amberes . . .*, in *Obras de los reformadores Españoles del siglo XVI*, vol. 1, ed. E. Monjo Bellido (Sevilla: Editorial MAD, 2006), 49-98.

focus is the Lord's Supper as the matter which divides Protestants among themselves.<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless, with his assumption that Corro viewed the church simply as 'the great mystic body of believers', McFadden fails to consider the important role of the visible church in Corro's thought.<sup>7</sup>

In 'Exposición de la Obra de Dios',<sup>8</sup> in which Corro defines the church explicitly, persecution by the reprobate is regarded as a permanent mark of the church. In Article 13 he distinguishes 'God's Church', which is the company of those who have received the seed of God, and so 'believe in him, worship him and serve him', from 'Satan's Church', defined as those who have received the Serpent's seed and so 'make themselves children of reprobation', enemies of God, and persecute the church of God (*EOD* 224-25). Accordingly, in *Carta a Felipe II* Corro initially defines the church negatively. This is in keeping with the polemical structure of his treatise, in which false doctrine is outlined first and then refuted. As such, the church is not, as the Inquisitors insisted, 'the Pope, the cardinals, bishops and inquisitors, who demonstrate by their deeds what their faith is' (*CFII* 107). It is not, moreover, that entity which asks only for the body and external ceremonies, 'in the exercise of which the most diligent is the better Christian' (*CFII* 112). Nor is it the persecuting church, which has seen fit to 'incite and inflame the princes to be cruel' and to 'prepare the gallows and light the firewood in order to burn its

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<sup>6</sup> A. Rivera Garcia, 'El Humanismo de la Reforma Española: Teología y Concordia en Antonio del Corro', in *Obras de los Reformadores Españoles del Siglo XVI: Antonio del Corro*, ed. E. M. Bellido (Sevilla: Editorial MAD, 2006), 35.

<sup>7</sup> William McFadden, 'Life and Works of Antonio del Corro, 1527-1591' (PhD thesis, Queen's University, Belfast, 1953), 52.

<sup>8</sup> Antonio del Corro, 'Exposición de la Obra de Dios (1569)', in *Obras de los reformadores Españoles del siglo XVI: Antonio del Corro*, vol. 1, ed. M. Monjo Bellido (Sevilla: MAD, 2006), 221-29.

own children which it false attributes to itself' (CFII 182). Rather, the true church is a people which is visibly called out and set apart, since God has always seen fit to distinguish his people from among all other nations (CFII 141). As Corro explains, the church prefers 'persecution, afflictions and poverty' over the security which it enjoyed in Egypt (CFII 116). From earliest times, God's people, 'persecuted by Pagan magistrates, fled to the deserts, in order to live with liberty of conscience and to avoid persecution' (CFII 118). They did this even while expecting hardship, since the Apostle Paul had written that 'those who desire to live in sincere piety and follow Jesus shall suffer much persecution', in a paraphrase of II Tim 3:12 (CFII 207).

In Reina's case, the failure to notice the prominence which he gives to the church is less justified. Roldán-Figueroa has recently sought to correct this oversight, arguing that the church serves as the 'cornerstone' of Reina's theology.<sup>9</sup> If Kinder's study was concerned mainly with the extent to which Reina upheld the orthodox views regarding the Trinity and the Lord's Supper which were required of him by those communities which he sought to join, Roldán-Figueroa argues that the principal motivation for seeking fellowship, as reflected in Reina's *Declaración*,<sup>10</sup> was a notion of the church as 'communion of saints'.<sup>11</sup> We might add that after 'The Office and Dignity of the Christ' (*Dec.* IX; 169-77), Reina's longest chapter is devoted to the marks of the Church (*Dec.*

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<sup>9</sup> Rady Roldán-Figueroa, 'Casiodoro de Reina as Biblical Exegete: Studies on the 1569 Spanish Translation of the Bible' (Th.D. Thesis, Boston University, 2004), 125.

<sup>10</sup> Casiodoro de Reina, *Declaración, o Confesión de Fe hecha por ciertos fieles españoles, que, huyendo los abusos de la iglesia Romana y la crueldad de la Inquisición d'España hizieron a la Iglesia de los fieles para ser en ella recibidos por hermanos en Christo* (Frankfurt, 1577). As before, citations are from (a) my dual-language version of the *Declaración* found in the Appendix and (b) Ian Hazlett, 'Confession de Fe Christiana 1559/60-1560/61', in *Reformierte Bekenntnisschriften* Band. 2/1: 1559-1563 ed. A. Mühling and P. Opitz (Neukirchener-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2009), 117-207.

<sup>11</sup> Roldán-Figueroa, 'Casiodoro de Reina as Biblical Exegete', 111.

XIX; 194-201), while ecclesiological material comprises fully one third of the entire confession of faith.

Like Corro, Reina envisions the church as a people which is scattered through persecution. As it longs for its ‘heavenly homeland’, (*Dec.* XVII.2; 190), having learned ‘contempt for this age and all that can be seen in it’ (*Dec.* XVII.4; 191), the church is understood to have ‘no fixed place in the world’, being ‘a pilgrim in it and dispersed throughout it’, like the early Christians scattered throughout Asia Minor on account of persecution (1 Pet 1) (*Dec.* XVIII.2; 193). It is this understanding of the church’s nature which is taken for granted in Reina’s call to fellow evangelicals in Spain to follow Christ ‘outside the camp’ (Heb 13:13), since true renewal must be outward and public as well as inward. ‘This coming out’, he writes,

must be understood as having to do with the body as well as with the soul and conscience, when one cannot remain in the land safely without communicating in the perverse cult of those in error, and by approving of it against one’s conscience through imitation, and even words; do not do this, and do not allow yourself to be persuaded that you can without offence to God take part in an external, bodily way in the false ceremony, while keeping your soul clean; because this is a manifest contradiction . . . (*Dec.* ‘Epístola’ ¶3; 154).<sup>12</sup>

In such a context the church is seen in strict opposition to the world, which only seeks to resist true religion, and to persecute those who seek ‘to escape from their miserable captivity to the liberty of the sons of God’ (*Dec.* ‘Appéndice’ ¶6).

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<sup>12</sup> Peter Martyr Vermigli’s sentiment had been the same in 1542. As Joseph McLelland explains, in that year Vermigli chose exile and reform *in capite* (not simply *in membris*), justifying it as follows to his former congregation in Lucca: ‘you are hardly unaware of the tortures which tormented my conscience because of the way of life I was following. I had to live with countless superstitions every day; not only did I have to perform superstitious rites, but also I had to demand harshly that others do many things which were contrary to what I was thinking and teaching’. See J. C. McLelland, ‘Valdés and Vermigli: Spirituality and the Degrees of Reform’, in *Peter Martyr Vermigli and the European Reformations: Semper Reformanda*, ed. Frank A. James III (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 248.

The theme of the church as an afflicted and scattered people which has been brought out of bondage, and so self-identifies in opposition to the world, is central to the radical reformation. With a deliberately apostolic tone, as if to stress the continuity between his own movement and the primitive church, Sattler encourages ‘all children of light, who are scattered everywhere’<sup>13</sup> to remain steadfast in their separation from the world, having refused to participate in the torments which God will bring upon Babylon and Egypt.<sup>14</sup> In this the church is regarded as a ‘little flock’,<sup>15</sup> marked by its obedience to the Apostolic witness regarding, e.g., in Baptism.<sup>16</sup> In the same tradition, in 1554 Menno Simons outlines the six marks of the church of Christ, as distinct from that of the Antichrist: the ‘unadulterated’ doctrine of God’s holy and divine Word, the scriptural use of the sacraments, obedience to the Word, sincere love of one’s neighbor, the confident confession of Christ’s ‘name, will, Word and ordinance’ in the face of oppression, and ‘the pressing Cross of Christ’.<sup>17</sup> It is not unreasonable to suppose that it was partially through Reina’s association with Anabaptist sympathizers, one of whom he apparently permitted to hold office in his congregation,<sup>18</sup> that his own detailed outline of the ‘infallible’ marks of the church resembled that of Menno Simons in shape and in some respects content (as we shall see in the final part of this Chapter).

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<sup>13</sup> Sattler, *The Schleithem Confession*, 696.

<sup>14</sup> Sattler, *The Schleithem Confession*, 698.

<sup>15</sup> Sattler, *The Schleithem Confession*, 699.

<sup>16</sup> Sattler, *The Schleithem Confession*, 697.

<sup>17</sup> J. Wenger, ed., *The Complete Writings of Menno Simons*, trans. L. Verduin (Scottsdale, Pa: Herald Press, 1956), 739-41.

<sup>18</sup> Gordon Kinder, *Casiodoro de Reina: Spanish Reformer of the sixteenth century* (London: Tamesis Books Ltd., 1975), 23

The parting of ways between the Spanish Protestant and the radical traditions begins to be noted as the positive benefits of separation from the world are articulated. While Sattler's articles on the sacraments stress what is to be rejected, namely infant baptism and the breaking of bread with those who practice false baptism,<sup>19</sup> Corro emphasizes the way in which the church, while scattered through persecution, is visibly gathered, e.g., in order to receive the remission of sins through corporate confession (*CFII* 157). In fact Corro understood his own experience as exile just as much as a call to a blessing as flight from persecution or hardship. As he explained to Philip II, he was motivated by what awaited him in his land of exile just as much as any internal factors. Internally, what compelled him to leave was the 'infinite number of superstitions and idolatries' which had become a source of torment (*CFII* 103). Among these was the way in which the temples of the Christian religion had become shops 'for the sale and re-sale of Jesus Christ and for the making of his blood a piece of merchandise' (*CFII* 118). Positively, however, Corro was drawn to the Low Countries by the news that 'the Lord had opened the way to the preaching of his holy Gospel', so that he made his way there partly to lend a hand with that effort and partly to 'participate in the joy and spiritual happiness which is shared by many who fear the Lord' in those lands (*CFII* 100).

The theme of being called out in order to be blessed is even more prominent in Reina's work. Those who are called out are also called into visible membership in God's 'little flock', according to John 10 (*Dec.* [Prefacio]; 157), which in its Biblical context anticipates a wider gathering, as Jesus speaks of the 'other sheep' which he intends to seek out and add to the fold (v. 16). As Reina explains, having heard God's voice and

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<sup>19</sup> Sattler, *The Schleithem Confession*, 697-98.

having been included in his flock there was nothing more that he and his congregation desired than ‘to be found in the company of those to whom the Lord has shown the same mercy’ (*Dec.* [Prefacio]; 157). Wherever God chooses to call his church together ‘there he sends his blessing and showers of abundant mercies’ (*Dec.* [Prefacio]; 158). The outward sign of unity, as we have seen, is the Lord’s Supper. Its Christological foundation is the participation of believers in Christ’s work as priest, prophet and king, as studied in Chapter Two. In practical terms, it is the fellowship which they enjoy through mutual participation in the gifts, work and trials of others:

For this cause we left our homeland and the comforts of life, such as we had in it, of our own free will, not compelled, as is often the case, by the world, or by any other temporal necessity to forsake them; considering it to be the greatest fortune if one day the Lord should grant us such a great favor, over the rest, that we should be united to such holy company personally, and so participate in its works and afflictions as well as the gifts which the Lord has given it, and that it might share in ours (*Dec.* [Prefacio]; 158)

Having made it clear in the title of his *Declaración* that one reason for leaving Spain was the Inquisition’s cruelty, here Reina completes the picture and suggests the theology behind the remainder of his title: ‘to be received . . . by brothers in Christ’ (*Dec.* 152). He insists that the motive was not material gain, but rather the desire for fellowship in the Gospel with other believers. What we have in Reina’s work is a doctrine of participation in Christ which is profoundly ecclesial, because the affirmation that ‘we are living members’ of Christ’s body (*Dec.* XIII.3; 184), which is a royal priesthood by virtue of the blessings and afflictions in which it participates, leads directly to a promise to demonstrate it ‘through the purity, piety and holiness of our whole life’ (*Dec.* XIII.3; 184) and to the request that those who perceive true Christian discipline better than them might teach and correct them (*Dec.* XV.2; 186).

Along with the positive benefits of being called out, Corro's and Reina's allegiance to tradition implied a critique of the radical reformers' quest for a 'pure' church. As Reina's openness to correction suggests, the priority of the visible church is based not on so-called 'regenerate church membership' as a key mark of the church, but rather on an instrumental view of the Church which acknowledges that while the church remains a pilgrim people, as well as a 'mixed company' this side of eternity, it remains a means of grace. It is this insight which Roldán-Figueroa overlooks in Reina's ecclesiology, since he suggests that Reina simply equates the church with the 'communion of saints', understood as that secret fellowship of those united in Christ across space and time.<sup>20</sup> While it is true that Reina teaches that the church is a spiritual reality (*Dec.* XIX.1; 194) which is 'made up of all the Righteous who have been, are, and will be in the world from Adam until the last man' (*Dec.* XVIII.2; 193), he deals with the church and the 'communion of saints', separately, avoiding confusion. Thus by 'communion of saints' Reina has in view, more specifically, that grace which binds believers together in Christ *within* the church; it is 'the eternal and indissoluble bond of Charity, with which all the members of this sacred body are joined in Christ' (*Dec.* XVIII.3; 193); it is that inner and spiritual unity in Christ which is signified by the Lord's Supper, for as Reina declares:

Since we believe, very dear brothers in the Lord, that it is your company which we seek, that is the Church of Jesus the Christ, we declare to you this our desire, which is to celebrate with you the communion of the Saints, not only with respect to its sacred symbol, which is the Lord's Supper, but with respect to what it signifies for us; for it has pleased the heavenly Father, through Jesus the Christ, to make us one same people in him, to give us one same Spirit, and the same desires for his glory, to call us to one same celestial inheritance, to mark us with the same

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<sup>20</sup> Roldán-Figueroa, 'Casiodoro de Reina as Biblical Exegete', 122.

marks of love and of the cross of the Lord Jesus, and finally to be our common Father (*Dec.* [Prefacio]; 158).

Recalling from Chapter Two the inner-outer dialectic at work in his discussion of Christ's secret work *for* believers and his outward and visible work *through* them, Reina's intent in this case is to distinguish between 'The Holy Universal Church' as the external principle or means and 'The Communion of Saints' as the inward reality, as invited by the Creed (which he offers as a summary of his confession in his Conclusion), and as required for a theology of external things which does not render them mere signs, or even mere expressions, of inward realities. Just as salvation is bound up with Catholic religion (*Dec.* 'Epístola' ¶1; 153), so too the external church is considered holy, even as a *corpus permixtum* (*Dec.* XVIII.1; 192). In Corro's words, the people of God includes not only the elect, 'but also hypocrites and those disguised who in all times have mixed themselves with the elect and have even been in fashion and preeminence in order to persecute the rest' (*CFII* 131). Reina's and Corro's concern here is consistent with Calvin's point that God, 'who could in a moment perfect his own, nevertheless desires them to grow up into manhood solely under the education of the church', by which he clearly means the visible church, 'the mother of believers', and that reality away from which 'one cannot hope for any forgiveness of sins or any salvation' (*Inst.* IV.1.4), even if it remains 'weighed down with the mixture of the wicked' (*Inst.* IV.1.12).

The Catholic and Magisterial impulse with which Reina and Corro checked sectarian conclusions regarding the visible church is particularly evident in the political implications which they draw out. While the desire to restore the purity and simplicity of the ancient, primitive church is present, so is the recognition that the church is to be a national one. According to Corro, unbiblical innovations (e.g. the doctrine of a 'second

regeneration’) and superstitions which had found their way into church tradition (*CFII* 118) were to be contrasted with the ‘simplicity and sincerity of the Apostles and Christians of the primitive church’ (*CFII* 209), even while acknowledging that the church was to be governed by the prince (*CFII* 101, 187). Likewise with Reina: even if the renewal and restoration of the Christian religion ‘in our times of such impurity and dung of human inventions’ had led to rejection by the world and increased persecution (*Dec.* ‘Appéndice’ ¶5), the church was understood as the congregation of Christians whose discipline was overseen by the prince, since ‘the faithful assembled in a particular place is none other than a Christian republic, or polis’ whose supreme head is ‘the faithful civil magistrate’ (*Dec.* XVI.3; 187-88). In this regard we note that Reina applied the term ‘congregation’ to the gathering of the faithful in one city, and not simply Eucharistic communities, since he addresses his confession of faith to the church of Jesus Christ ‘gathered (*congregada*) in London’, and defines the Universal Church as ‘the congregation of all the faithful under one faith, and under one head, who is the Christ’ (*Dec.* XVIII.3; 193).

Differences in perspective between Corro and Reina are present. On Corro’s part there is a reluctance to develop the theme of partnership in the way which Reina does. The reason for this is undoubtedly related to the fact that for him the church is marked more by the cross than by the crown. While Reina anticipates the blessings of the ‘royal priesthood’ in and through fellowship with other believers, as we recall that Corro dated his letter just three days after the Antwerp Massacre of March 12, 1567, his image of the church as a persecuted people remains more sustained.

Taken together, however, Corro's and Reina's model of the church as a catholic 'little flock' involves a critique not only of the Papacy, but of the way of reform promoted by both radical and spiritual reformers. Recalling (from Chapter One) Valdés' relative indifference to the external things of religion, such that his a vision of 'spiritual' reform did not require visible separation from the Papacy, Corro and Reina promoted a view of the church as visibly and publicly called out from the superstitious practices promoted there. Against the 'radical' call for a pure church, they acknowledged that the little flock remained a church in which the ungodly were allowed to be mixed with the godly. Opposing two types of immediatism, one in which the 'direct' work of the Spirit in the life of the believer permitted an indifference to formal ordinances and another in which tares and wheat could be separated prematurely, they upheld an instrumental view of the church which was reflected in their recognition that God raised up human instruments to renew his church (*Dec. 'Appéndice' ¶5*), just as he allowed the church to remain 'on the way' with respect to holiness of life (*Dec. XIX.13; 200-1*). In the next section we consider the impact of their 'nomadic conservative' view of the church on their approach to Scripture and tradition.

### **Scripture and Tradition(s)**

While Reina's and Corro's approach to authority was marked by a magisterial regard for the priority of Scripture over church tradition(s), particular concerns led them individually to develop a hermeneutic which emphasized the role of the Spirit in revelation. Taken together, their approach would acknowledge the necessary role of tradition, although an instrumental logic which was bound up with their emphasis on the

Spirit's role would lay the groundwork for a high, instrumental view of the marks of the church. In this section we are concerned with that foundation.

Acknowledging his admiration for Bullinger as early as 1554,<sup>21</sup> Corro followed the Swiss reformer's *Second Helvetic Confession* in identifying Scripture with God's Word at the very beginning of this outline of Christian doctrine.

This word uttered by the divine Word or by those who have been inspired by his Spirit, we refer to as Holy Scripture and not without reason, since in it we have the manifestation of the true way of complete holiness. We also call it holy to distinguish it from all human words, which are always accompanied by the infection, corruption and ignorance which all men have by nature (*CFII* 128).

Scripture, as such, comes from the very 'mouth of God', and therefore has no need to 'receive its authority neither from the popes or the councils' (*CFII* 130). Rather, it is the Spirit and not the church that makes the Scriptures authoritative, for even though 'the Spirit of God is not bound to any external means',

he has already promised and decreed that he will not teach us anything that is contrary to the doctrine which he has taught to our fathers, which has been left for us as a touchstone so that by it we might examine and know which inspirations come from the Spirit of God, and which are produced by the spirit of our flesh and vain curiosity (*CFII* 130).

As Corro insists, as long as the reader's understanding is not enlightened by the Spirit of God, the Scriptures cannot lead to eternal life (*CFII* 133).

Calvin's teaching that 'God works in his elect in two ways: within, through his Spirit; without, through his Word' (*Inst.* II.5.5), also made an unmistakable impact on Reina's approach to revelation. From the beginning of his confession of faith, God's design for creation, as well as God's nature, mercy and will to save his people are

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<sup>21</sup> Eduard Boehmer, 'Antonio del Corro', in *Bibliotheca Wiffeniana: Spanish Reformers of Two Centuries*, vol. 3 (London: Trübner, 1904), 5.

conceived instrumentally and dynamically. In the first case, God's provision for his creatures' obedience in the Garden is not such that they spontaneously and immediately do his will, without reference to externals. Rather, right from the beginning, before the fall of Adam, God provided law, 'in whose obedience he might exercise those remarkable gifts' of wisdom and will to know and serve God (*Dec. IV.1; 164*).

In his doctrine of God, which lays stress on the economic Trinity, Reina conceives God's work in human history as external Word: the nature of the One in Three (*Dec. I; 159-62*) is understood to be made manifest by the power and virtue of God's Word in Creation (*Dec. II.1; 162*), providential care (*Dec. II.2; 163*), promise of salvation (*Dec. V.2; 166*), election of one nation to renew that promise (*Dec. VI.1; 167*), giving of the Law (*Dec. VI.1; 167*), proclaimed Word through the prophets (*Dec. VI.2; 167*), and, ultimately, God's remedy for sin by sending his Son (*Dec. VII.1; 168*) to bear his name and true message (*Dec. IX.1; 170*). Accordingly, as we recall, the first manner in which Christ's office is to be understood is 'on behalf of God his Eternal Father': for his obedience as God's messenger, minister, servant, apostle (*Dec. IX.1; 170*), Jesus is now exalted to the Father's right hand (*Dec. IX.2; 170*).

Up to this point in his confession, God's redemption is explained almost exclusively in a Word-oriented way. But a theme of interiority is anticipated with the mention of the promised Holy Spirit, through whom 'good and sound will to love and obey God truly' would come (*Dec. VII.1; 168*). That this is a post-Ascension reality is made clear from the fact that the Spirit is not mentioned in Chapters II-VI (those that deal with Creation, Fall, the Promises and the Law), but only after Christ fulfills all the promises of his Father in his death, resurrection and by 'going up to the heavens in divine

majesty' (*Dec.* VII.1; 168). Based on Christ's ascension, then, his office according to the second manner, i.e. on behalf of humanity, is mediated by the power of Christ's Spirit. Thus an inward and hidden dimension to God's work is introduced: as our King, Christ frees us from sin (*Dec.* IX.4; 171), giving us 'secret powers of his Spirit' against temptation (*Dec.* IX.5; 171). As our Priest he intercedes on our behalf, regenerates us by his Spirit (*Dec.* IX.7; 172), and consecrates us as priests 'with the same oil and blessing of the divine Spirit with which he is anointed and consecrated' (*Dec.* IX.9; 174).

But to stress the fundamental unity of Word and Spirit, lest a hidden and inward divine work be understood to supersede an externally conceived one (as with Valdés and the *alumbrado* movement), Reina explains that believers are to receive 'only Jesus the Christ, and his word and Spirit' as their master (*Dec.* IX.14; 176-77).<sup>22</sup> On this basis Reina develops a high view of Scriptural authority and instrumentality. Throughout his confession the Scriptures, the Word which is the Christ, and the Word of the prophets are all understood to be God's Word, just as 'God's Word' and 'the Scriptures' are interchangeable.<sup>23</sup> In this way, the Bible is understood to be 'the only rule, light, and instrument for proving and testing the spirits, and all doctrines, to see if they are from God' (*Dec.* 'Epístola' ¶1; 153). In his Preface to the Bible, he refers to the Scriptures as lamp (Ps 119:105), shield (Prov 30:5), sword (Eph 6:17), etc., and 'profitable for teaching, for reproof, for correction, and for training in righteousness, that the man of

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<sup>22</sup> Reina reinforces a Word and Spirit doctrine in *Dec.* XV.2 (186), XVII.3 (190), XIX.7 (196-97) and XIX.12 (200).

<sup>23</sup> See, e.g., *The First Helvetic Confession of Faith*, in *Reformed Confessions of the 16<sup>th</sup> Century*, ed. A. C. Cochrane (London: SCM Press, 1966), 100.

God may be complete, equipped for every good work' (2 Tim 3:16).<sup>24</sup> If Valdés' emphasis on the immediate work of the Spirit threatened to render externals less than essential for knowledge of God, in Reina's view the Spirit's work is not simply subjective. Referring to the Holy Spirit as the one 'who is known especially in the hearts of the righteous regenerated by him, and who is declared and manifested by his words and works' (*Dec.* I. 2; 160), Reina appeals to Calvin's *testimonium internum* of the Spirit, who assures the believer that Scripture is 'self-authenticated', winning 'reverence for itself by its own majesty' (*Inst.* I.7.5).

Reina's and Corro's approach to the Law is marked by the Reformed doctrine of the Law's 'third use', and underscores their instrumental approach to Scripture. Bearing in mind the wedge which Valdés drove between the Law and the Gospel, such that the former played no positive role in the life of the Christian after Jesus' ascension, Corro speaks of the Law as that through which God chose to demonstrate to his elect 'the works and actions which [He] asks of his children' (*CFII* 141). Similarly, Reina teaches that what is abrogated and superseded are the legal sacrifices and ceremonies, as well as the 'force' (*Dec.* VII.1; 168),<sup>25</sup> 'rigor' (*Dec.* XVII.1; 189), and even 'obligation' (*Dec.* IX.4; 171) of the Law, but not the Law as such. To be sure, the Law is understood to have the second or 'negative' use, i.e. to convict the sinner and to cause him to seek a remedy (*Dec.* VI.1, 2; 167), just as the remedy itself is initially an 'inner' one:

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<sup>24</sup> Casiodoro de Reina, 'Amonestacion del interprete de los sacros libros al Lector y a toda la Iglesia del Señor, en que da razón de su translación ansi en general, como de algunas cosas especiales', in *La Biblia, que es los sacros libros del viejo y nuevo testamento*, trans. C. de Reina (Basel, 1569), [3].

<sup>25</sup> Or better, 'crushing burden', as Hazlett suggests, since Reina uses the word 'violencia'. See Hazlett, 'Confession de Fe Christiana 1559/60-1560/61', 168.

Neither do we understand the teaching which we have from him to be like the one administered in the Old Testament through the Law, which as written on tablets of stone, and remaining ever outside of man, served only to show him true righteousness, of which he was naked, and the sin which reined in him, and consequently the damnation and death to which he was subject, thus increasing sin and sickness instead of applying a remedy (*Dec. IX.12; 175-76*).

However, even though the teaching from Christ, which is now written on believers' hearts by the Spirit, is 'so sure that of its own it has no need for the confirmation of an external testimony of new miracles, or of some human or angelic authority, nor of any other aid of any kind' (*Dec. IX.12; 176*), it is also true that nothing is 'removed from the authority of the external ministry of the Gospel, nor from any other external means which are used in the Church of the Lord by the institution of the same Lord' (*Dec. IX.14; 176-77*). In this way, the Law, like (or in the form of) the Scriptures, serves an outward means to guide believers in the obedient life and knowledge of God (*Dec. IV.1; 164*), and that upon which they are to 'meditate day and night' (*Ps 1:2; Dec. XIX.8; 198*), as Ponce de la Fuente had taught in his sermons on Psalm 1.

Along with other magisterial reformers, Corro and Reina appealed not only to Scripture, but to the early church councils, as they sought to identify their own movement as catholic and Apostolic. Together they defended tradition (in the form of confessions of faith, commentaries, etc.) as necessary instruments of unity, even if they laid varying degrees of emphasis on their fallibility. While inclined towards a lower view of tradition than Reina, Corro nevertheless presupposed the validity, if not necessity, of a doctrinal standard with his confidence that his summary of Christian doctrine, as outlined for Philip II, agreed with Scripture (*CFII 126*) and was consistent with that of 'the Protestant

princes of Germany' (CFII 191).<sup>26</sup> Moreover, in responding to the disunity which he perceived among the Protestant factions in Antwerp in his *Epístola a los Pastores Luteranos*, he calls for an end to preaching against one another from the pulpits (EPL 53) and suggests a joint effort to establish which articles in the *Augsburg Confession* might be generally agreed, 'leaving the rest to be interpreted according to our intelligence' (EPL 56). What motivates Corro here is a concern to uphold the faith maintained 'from all antiquity in the Church' (EPL 75) and to challenge the sectarian spirit whereby each pastor 'keeps his separate flock' and acts as 'supreme judge' by making pronouncements against others instead of keeping his eyes 'on the advancement of the glory Jesus Christ, and of his church, which is catholic and universal' (EPL 54).

Given different circumstances, Reina begins with a somewhat higher view of confessions of faith. Noting that Archbishop Cisneros' decision not to allow the Bible to be translated into Arabic was not only 'repugnant to the word of God', but against the teaching of 'holy Doctors' of the church like St. Jerome,<sup>27</sup> Reina highlights the organic link between Scripture and church tradition. Indeed he insists on direct continuity between the doctrine God revealed to the prophets of old and that proclaimed by reformers such as Luther. As he explains to his reader, the doctrine outlined in his own confession is simply 'Christian, Ancient [and] Catholic' (*Dec. 'Epístola' ¶1; 153*). He insists that the doctrine taught by Christ, 'propagated by his Apostles, testified and confirmed not only with so many and such wondrous miracles, but also with so much

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<sup>26</sup> In a letter of 3 July, 1571, Corro writes: 'At no time or place have I ever disputed with or differed from the reformed churches on the question of the purity of their doctrine'. See Boehmer, 'Antonio del Corro', 58.

<sup>27</sup> Casiodoro de Reina, *El Testamento Nuevo de Nvestro Señor Iesu Christo* ([London]: Ricardo del Campo [i.e. Richard Field], 1596), 5.

blood of martyrs' did not begin with Luther. Rather, God chose to use Luther and others to restore true religion within the Church, such that the proper response was to honour their ministry as that of Christ himself 'when it is shown to us that the error and ignorance is ours, and God's the grace and mercy to take us out of it through such instruments which he was pleased to use for such an illustrious work' (*Dec.* 'Appéndice' ¶5).

The nature and degree of authority which Reina attributes to his own confession of faith is reflected in the structure and salient themes of the work itself. In his work we observe that in the first instance he holds a high view of their authority, for he endeavors to establish an intimate link between what he has professed and God's Word. First, he states that the source of the faith as he has outlined it is divine:

This (Brothers in Christ) is our faith; which we understand to be attained not by human teaching or effort, since it is a pure gift of God given graciously to the world by his mercy and generosity alone, and sown by virtue of the Spirit in the hearts of those who are to be saved through Jesus the Christ (*Dec.* ['Peroración']; 206).

That by 'our faith' Reina has in mind its confession or articulation is clear from a reference to his confession as 'the summary of all Christian doctrine, revealed by God to men', and indeed identifies it with the word of God which will endure forever even though it is resisted by the world (*Dec.* 'Appéndice' ¶1,4).

Reina's high view of the visible church and its confession can be observed in remarks that his teachings on infant baptism and the Trinity conform with the Church's teaching in particular. While Reina's observation that infant baptism was not explicitly commanded in Scripture (*Dec.* XII.3; 182) suggests that Reina's quarrel with radical

reform was a qualified one, as Kinder points out,<sup>28</sup> the parting of ways between Spanish and radical reform is made clear in the way Reina proceeded having made that concession. Instead of abolishing the practice, he upheld it with an appeal to tradition:

we nevertheless conform ourselves to the Church of the Lord, which holds it to be more Scriptural to do so rather than not, since children are no less members of the Covenant than their Parents through the benefit and promise of the Lord (*Dec.* XII.3; 182).

As noted above, the Spaniards would also uphold the need for a Christian magistrate, which Anabaptists rejected as something which blurred the distinction between the church and the world.<sup>29</sup> Similarly, regarding the Trinity Reina remarks:

And although we understand that every believer must conform to the ways of speaking which God uses in [Scripture], chiefly in the manifestation of mysteries such as [the doctrine of God], where human reason does not, nor cannot, reach, so as to conform with the whole Church of the godly, however, we admit the names of Trinity, and of Person, which the fathers of the ancient Church employed, using them not without great necessity to declare what they believed against the errors and heresies of their times concerning this article (*Dec.* I.4; 161).

Reina's eagerness to note, with the magisterial reformers generally,<sup>30</sup> the continuity between reform and the Apostolic tradition is clear in his bold assertion that

we are members of the Catholic Church, and that we have no business with any sect or heresy ancient or modern that either denies the distinction of the Persons in the unity of the divine nature, or confounds the attributes and offices of each one of them, or that removes from Jesus the Christ or the Holy Spirit the being and dignity of God, placing them in the order of creatures (*Dec.* I.5; 161).

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<sup>28</sup> Kinder notes that Reina did not condemn Anabaptists by name, and opened himself to criticism from fellow Calvinists by admitting that there is no unambiguous mention of infant baptism in Scripture. See Kinder, ed., *Confesión de fe christiana. The Spanish Protestant confession of faith* (London, 1560/61) (University of Exeter, 1988), 24.

<sup>29</sup> Sattler, *The Schleithem Confession*, 700.

<sup>30</sup> See the condemnation of early and modern deviations from the Apostolic witness in, e.g., P. Melancthon, *The Augsburg Confession* (1530), in *Creeds of the Churches*, ed. J. Leith (Richmond, Virginia: Knox, 1973), 68.

In the preface to his Bible, Reina makes it clear that as long as Scripture is the rule which guides the church,<sup>31</sup> the church itself enjoys a high degree of authority, for the Catholic Christian is

the one who faithfully and simply believes and professes that which the Holy Christian Catholic Mother Church believes, possesses and maintains, determined by the Holy Spirit, the Canons of Divine Scripture, in the Holy Councils and common Creeds and summaries of the Faith, which are commonly called that of the Apostles, the Nicene Council and that of Athanasius.<sup>32</sup>

The structure of Reina's confession supports his Catholic conviction. While Roldán-Figueroa insists that *Declaración* is organized topically according to a Biblical pattern, whereby the move from the Gospels to the Acts of the Apostles is reflected in the transition from the sacraments to the doctrine of the Church,<sup>33</sup> it is rather more evident that the Apostles' Creed provides the basic structure.<sup>34</sup> Roldán-Figueroa's desire is evidently to define Reina's confessional theology as fundamentally biblical; it would be a mistake, however, to assume that Reina distinguished between a 'Biblical' and an 'Apostolic' pattern for doctrine. Clearly, he acknowledges the Apostles' Creed as the *summa* of his own summary of doctrine (*Dec.* ['Peroración']; 206): after considering theology proper, he turns to Christology, then to pneumatology, ecclesiology and eschatology. In fact, from the pneumatological material onwards, Reina's chapter headings are strictly dictated by the Creed: 'We believe in the Holy Spirit' is expounded in XVII (188-92), 'The holy Catholic Church' and 'The Communion of Saints' in XVIII (192-194), 'The Remission of Sins' in XX (201-203), and 'The Resurrection of the flesh'

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<sup>31</sup> Reina, 'Amonestacion del interprete de los sacros libros', 218.

<sup>32</sup> Reina, 'Amonestacion del interprete de los sacros libros', 212.

<sup>33</sup> Roldán-Figueroa, 'Casiodoro de Reina as Biblical Exegete', 115.

<sup>34</sup> See Hazlett, 'Confession de Fe Christiana 1559/60-1560/61', 134-35.

and ‘Life everlasting’ in XXI (203-205). Apart from a creedal basis, Reina follows Reformation formularies like the *Augsburg Confession* which begin with the doctrine of God, omitting a doctrine of Scripture altogether (with which, e.g., the *Genevan* and both *Helvetic* confessions begin), which suggests a desire to outline that which is universally held rather than to base it on a present dispute regarding authority.

As an outline of essential Christian doctrine, the confession of faith was to serve, finally, as an authoritative standard, under Scripture. As Reina declares to the fellowship of Strangers’ Churches: ‘We have contented ourselves at present with a declaration and confession of its principal articles, so that through this confession we might be known as members of the true Church of the Lord, and admitted among those who are also’ (*Dec.* [‘Peroración’]; 206). But he insists that the confession was not to be regarded as infallible. Just as he had asked his Spanish readers to examine Scripture diligently, to see if what he confessed was true, Reina asks his readers to bear with whatever faults they may find in the confession, since ‘as long as one remains in this life knowledge of the Christ . . . is a treasure of divine wisdom which cannot be exhausted’ (*Dec.* [‘Peroración’]; 206).

The Spanish Protestant approach to authority would be incomplete without due attention to the nomadic themes which one finds in Corro’s and Reina’s approach to Scriptural interpretation. Even as they upheld a high view of Scripture, and honored church tradition insofar as it remained faithful to Apostolic witness, the ‘nomadic’ hermeneutic which they introduced reflects the ‘strangers and sojourners’ theme which marked their experience. In Reina’s case, the sheer hardship of translating the Scriptures while living a life on the run reinforced a dynamic approach to Scripture reading and

study. As he remarked in the Preface to his Bible, the twelve years in which he and nine others ‘did not put down their pen’ as they worked on their translation were, while blessed constantly by God, marked by exile, poverty and sickness, during which they received little help from fellow Christians.<sup>35</sup> In this context, Reina admonished believers to study the Scriptures diligently. In the first place, in his marginal references he provides only the relevant chapters of Scripture, omitting specific verses, in hopes that the reader will approach these as ‘a very abundant commentary on what we confess in summary form’. The invitation to allow the Bible to comment, as it were, on his confession of faith, rather than the other way around, amounts to a bold affirmation of Scriptural primacy, and is in keeping with his admonition to the reader

whose desire is for God’s glory and for his own salvation not to pass over these [Bible passages] lightly, but to imitate that good and devout diligence of those who, having heard from Saint Paul the Gospel of the Christ, which the majority considered blasphemous heresy, suspended their own judgment in spite of the common one, until they saw what the divine Scriptures to which Saint Paul appealed taught regarding it, and which, returning to their homes, they studied at their leisure to see if what Paul preached was true (Acts 17) (*Dec. ‘Epístola’ ¶1; 153*).

In the second place, diligence was to be coupled with humility, for only the reader who acknowledges his inability to understand the meaning of Scripture is enlightened by God’s Spirit. ‘The duty of the Christian is to read Scripture,’ explains Reina, ‘and to speak of it with a spirit of humility, considering how incapable he is to understand it naturally, and so to call on the Lord for his Spirit to declare Scripture to him’.<sup>36</sup> If an instrumental view of Scripture is introduced here, a third element in Reina’s dynamic approach to Scripture is his emphasis on the need to translate Scripture into every

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<sup>35</sup> Casiodoro de Reina, ‘Amonestacion del interprete de los sacros libros’, 217.

<sup>36</sup> Reina, *El Testamento Nuevo*, 7.

vernacular language. While this conviction is central to the missionary thrust of his ecclesiology which will be considered in Chapter Five, we note here simply Reina's instrumental logic in his insistence that the Bible should be in the hands of everyone and every nation. On the one hand, the Scriptures were to be read by everyone, since to forbid this was 'to deprive the Church of the means by which God ordained to save the faithful',<sup>37</sup> and to permit heresies to emerge within the church.<sup>38</sup> On the other hand, they were to be translated into every vernacular tongue, 'so that no one could pretend to be ignorant'.<sup>39</sup> As such, an eighth-century Sevillian bishop saw fit to translate the Bible into Arabic, 'so that the Moors might know the Christian religion', although in later times Archbishop Cisneros (noted above), once that translation had disappeared, 'prevented its translation, which would have done so much good for the poor and ignorant *Moriscos*'<sup>40</sup>—those Muslims who were forcibly converted to Christianity beginning in the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

In Corro's case, the challenge of disunity among Protestants in Antwerp presented a special challenge for authority. Convinced that the division of Christians into 'Martinists, Zwinglians, Calvinists and the like' was an abomination to God, and as the pastors in Antwerp threatened to divide into multiple confessions, with each movement adhering to a 'fifth gospel' of its own making (*EPL* 55), Corro insisted on following 'the confession of faith which our God and Father, and Jesus Christ his Son gave us, that is, the divine word in the old and new Testament, as summaries of our religion' (*EPL* 75). In

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<sup>37</sup> Reina, *El Testamento Nuevo*, 6.

<sup>38</sup> Reina, *El Testamento Nuevo*, 7.

<sup>39</sup> Reina, *El Testamento Nuevo*, 4.

<sup>40</sup> Reina, *El Testamento Nuevo*, 5.

this sense, ‘confessions, institutions, Catechisms or commentaries’ were not to be commended as the means of directing ‘souls which desire knowledge and righteousness’ to Jesus (*EPL* 55). Yet in spite of his confidence in the self-authentication of Scripture, Corro stresses a hermeneutic of complete trust in the Spirit’s guidance as to the truth of the Scriptures, and in particular the Spirit’s authority to raise up instruments of his own choosing to maintain the truth of the Scriptures. Given that a testimony or teaching in Scripture itself could be taken in isolation, the effect of this was a doctrine of the Scriptures trustworthiness as a whole, since no single teacher was to be seen as authoritative on his own. A particular teaching of Luther or Melanchthon, or of the Apostle Peter himself, may have functioned in a given situation to win hearts over ‘sweetly’ (with respect to the Mass in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, and the Law in the 1<sup>st</sup> century) until the appropriate moment for a complete restoration of ‘the true exercise and understanding of such holy ceremonies’ (*EPL* 58). For this reason Corro’s insistence on the priority of the Holy Spirit in relation to external instruments suggests a dynamic approach to Scriptural interpretation:

Peter remains Peter, and Martin [Luther] Martin: that is to say, man can err, while the Spirit of God is to be believed and sealed by the means and instruments which he raises up to maintain the truth of the Gospel, whether that is Paul, or Zwingli, or Oecolampadius, or even someone with less authority . . . (*EPL* 59).

For Corro, the outward work of the Spirit in raising up instruments of reform goes hand in hand with the inward work in the hearts of believers. As with Reina’s promotion of personal Bible study, Corro insists that individual experience is basic for true religion:

What is the point of disputing whether righteousness of a Christian man is a substance or an accident, if it’s an inherent quality or a simple imputation and similar subtleties, if we have not felt in our hearts and in our consciences the presence and operation of Jesus Christ? (*CFII* 174).

In sum, Reina and Corro uphold the priority of Scripture over tradition over and against the Roman view, Church tradition over and against the radical view, and the instrumentality of Scripture in revelation over and against the spiritual tradition of compatriots like Valdés. In the first two instances they stood with other magisterial reformers, while with the third concern they applied a magisterial insight to a Spanish question. In the final section we examine the way in which their instrumental logic with respect to external things put together with their experience as exiles led to a felt need to develop and delineate the marks of the true church.

### **The Marks of the True Church**

Susan Schreiner has noted that Reformation theology ‘may be viewed as a debate not only about justification, but also about the question “*ubi ecclesia?*” (“Where is the Church?”)’.<sup>41</sup> With his remark that the church was not defined by its Pope, cardinals and bishops, Corro entered that debate, taking for granted the denial by Calvin and others that episcopacy was an essential mark of the church (*CFII* 107). As Calvin put it, the ‘pretense of succession [of bishops] is vain unless their descendants conserve safe and uncorrupted the truth of Christ which they have received at their fathers’ hands, and abide in it’ (*Inst.* IV.2.2).<sup>42</sup> So too Reina, when compelled to identify the visible church, began with the marks which were generally agreed by all reformers: ‘the pure preaching of the Gospel, without admixture of human doctrines or ordinances’ (*Dec.* XIX.2; 194), and ‘the

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<sup>41</sup> Susan Schreiner, ‘Church’, in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1996), 323.

<sup>42</sup> See also, e.g., H. Bullinger, *The Second Helvetic Confession*, in *Reformed Confessions of the Sixteenth Century*, ed. A.C. Cochrane (London: SCM Press, 1966), 265.

legitimate use and administration of the Sacraments, with that sincerity and purity of human additions, which appears to have been instituted by the Lord and used by his Apostles through the divine Word' (*Dec.* XIX.3; 194).

The Spanish Protestants followed Calvin in another important way as well. If, as Emidio Campi has recently argued,<sup>43</sup> there is presently a need to be reminded that Calvin, who employed images of the church as 'mother' and 'school', was concerned primarily with the church visible in his ecclesiology, the same could be said for the Spanish Protestants. For Reina and Corro, the church was not merely a secret communion of saints drawn together principally through voluntary means, as Roldán-Figueroa supposes regarding Reina's ecclesiology.<sup>44</sup> Rather, taking their cue from Calvin, for whom the Church was to be studied principally as the external means of salvation (since 'away from her bosom one cannot hope for any forgiveness of sins or any salvation', *Inst.* IV.1.4), Corro and Reina gave priority to the external corporate dimension of faith. Corro did this by acknowledging that it was the true practice of the sacraments which was to be embraced while that of the Papacy was to be rejected (as we shall see in Chapter Four), while Reina insisted that true religion was that apart from which 'there is no salvation' (*Dec.* 'Epístola' ¶1; 153).

When it came to the marks of the church, however, Reina and Corro felt the need to say more than Calvin. They did not limit their discussion to the external means of grace, contenting themselves with the claim that the church was to be found 'wherever we see the Word of God purely preached and heard, and the sacraments administered

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<sup>43</sup> Emidio Campi, 'Calvin's Understanding of the Church,' *Reformed World* 57.4 (Dec. 2007), 292.

<sup>44</sup> Roldán-Figueroa, 'Casiodoro de Reina as Biblical Exegete', 117, 122.

according to Christ's institution' (*Inst.* IV.1.9).<sup>45</sup> They even went beyond, e.g., the *Confession of the Congregation at Geneva* (1556), which under the leadership of John Knox added ecclesiastical discipline, 'which consists of admonition and correction of faults'.<sup>46</sup> Instead, the Spaniards took as their point of departure Constantino Ponce de la Fuente's confidence that the church was marked both by its proclamation of one faith and practice of one baptism as well as by its obedience to the Gospel and its grace and sanctification through the Holy Spirit.<sup>47</sup> As a way of coming to terms with the visible/invisible dialectic which was at work in this definition, and in keeping with other confessional statements which were drawn up under similar circumstances, they were inclined to expand the external signs whereby the true church of God was to be recognized—if only by believers—and to add to the preaching of the word, the sacraments, and ecclesiastical obedience marks such as charity, a desire to know God's Word, and persecution. In this final section we are interested in reflecting on their motives for this extension of the essential 'marks', and in the theology concerning the marks of the church as expounded especially by Reina, since the matter plays such a key role in his ecclesiology.

A preliminary look at the way in which the visible/invisible dialectic was dealt with by certain reformers will help to situate Corro's and Reina's distinctive approaches. Menno Simons, as noted early in this chapter, assigned the true Church of Christ six

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<sup>45</sup> Similarly, the *Geneva Confession of 1536*, article 18, says: 'we believe that the proper mark by which rightly to discern the Church of Jesus Christ is that his holy gospel be purely and faithfully preached, proclaimed, heard, and kept, that his sacraments be properly administered . . .' In *Reformed Confessions of the 16th Century*, ed. A. Cochrane (London: SCM Press, 1966), 125.

<sup>46</sup> Cochrane, ed., *Reformed Confessions*, 135.

<sup>47</sup> Constantino Ponce de la Fuente, *Catecismo Cristiano*, in *Reformistas Antiguos Españoles*, vol. XIX, ed. B. Wiffen and L. Uzo i Rio (Madrid: [José Alegría?], 1863), 298.

marks. Since the first two of these correspond, at least on the surface, to Calvin's, the remaining four—we might expect—would be those marks which arise in and through the external ministries of Word and Sacrament. That is, 'obedience to the holy Word, or the pious Christian life which is of God' (Mark 3), sincere love of neighbour (Mark 4), the confident confession of Christ's 'will, Word and ordinance' (Mark 5) and 'the pressing cross of Christ, which is borne for the sake of His testimony and Word' (Mark 6), would seem to be the 'subjective' marks of those Christians who rightly received the first two 'objective' ones. On closer examination, however, the visible/invisible dialectic which might be assumed in (or applied to) Simons' teaching is, for him, unproblematic. That is, persecution is for him just as unambiguous a sign ('a sure indicator'<sup>48</sup>) of the church of Christ as 'believer's baptism' is of 'the right and Scriptural use of the Sacraments'. In other words, all six marks can be considered signs with which inward realities are infallibly bound up, such that the invisible/visible dichotomy is minimized if not abolished.

Luther's approach, by contrast, is precisely to introduce the dichotomy, even while expanding the number of marks. For him, inward realities, such as obedience or charity, are not in principle marks in and of themselves. Rather, the 'great, divine, holy possession by which the holy church is sanctified'<sup>49</sup> consists of seven 'outward things' which God uses for that purpose.<sup>50</sup> These are: (1) the proclaimed Word, (2) Baptism, (3)

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<sup>48</sup> See Wenger, ed., *The Complete Writings of Menno Simons*, 742.

<sup>49</sup> Martin Luther, 'On the Councils and the Church', trans. C. Jacobs, in *Luther's Works, vol. 41: Church and Ministry III*, ed. E. Gritsch and intro. E. G. Rupp (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1966), 156.

<sup>50</sup> Luther, 'On the Councils and the Church', 167.

the ‘sacrament of the altar’, (4) the office of the keys, (5) the consecration of ministers;<sup>51</sup> (6) prayer, public praise and thanksgiving, and (7) misfortune or persecution endured as a ‘sacred cross’.<sup>52</sup> The instrumental approach is consistent with his view of the church as a people who daily increase in holiness, as ‘we constantly strive to attain the goal, . . . until we too shall one day become perfectly holy and no longer stand in need of forgiveness’.<sup>53</sup> However, the visible/invisible dialectic becomes problematized as the question regarding the *shape* of Christian obedience is begged, and particularly as Luther himself teaches that the true church may be sought not only where God’s word is proclaimed, but also where it is ‘believed, professed and lived’.<sup>54</sup>

With Luther’s urge to render at least these ‘subjective’ marks objective, but also with his view of sanctification as a process, Corro and Reina sought to identify and develop the marks of the obedient church, while avoiding the radical tendency to confuse the inward realities with external ones. In other words, if holiness was to be defined as a trajectory or process rather than in terms of a final product, Reina and Corro saw no barrier to identifying the church with reference to outward and visible marks such as charity, unity, mercy, a passion for Bible study, or persecution.

Taking the external or objective marks for granted, Corro deals mainly with the subjective ones, but is compelled to give to these an outward quality or sign. Regarding the mark of persecution, he argues that those who truly partake of Christ’s body demonstrate this in their ‘joy and patience in afflictions, care in mortifying the old Adam,

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<sup>51</sup> Luther, ‘On the Councils and the Church’, 149-54.

<sup>52</sup> Luther, ‘On the Councils and the Church’, 164.

<sup>53</sup> Luther, ‘On the Councils and the Church’, 166.

<sup>54</sup> Luther, ‘On the Councils and the Church’, 150.

renunciation of this world, and affection for eternal life', such that others can see it (*EPL* 66). Underscoring his concern for unity among God's persecuted people, he adds that reconciliation with God is marked by works of charity and brotherly unity for the edification of God's 'afflicted church' (*EPL* 50). Echoing Bullinger's claim that after faith the only 'inward' mark of the church is love,<sup>55</sup> Corro explains that

when the Lord wished to distinguish his disciples . . . he did not ask them to follow the Augsburg Confession, nor Martin's Catechism, or John's, but said to them: 'By this shall it be known that you are my disciples, if you love one another' (*EPL* 60).

In this way, 'lively faith' (*fe viva*) is considered visible as it 'works through charity' and seeks the good of others rather than one's own (*CFII* 112), just as the signs by which the elect may be certain of their election and reconciliation with God include continual prayer, meditation on God's Word, the gradual death of the old Adam and love of neighbour (*CFII* 180).

While Corro acknowledges the inner/outer dialectic only implicitly, Reina appeals to it as an organizing principle in his study of the marks of the church. In this regard his discussion bears close structural resemblance to that of Guido de Brès in the *Belgic Confession* (1561), which Reina may have seen in an early draft<sup>56</sup> (although the similarities could have just as much to do with the similar circumstances within which the authors found themselves). In his work, de Brès distinguishes the three marks 'by which the true church is known' (the preaching of the 'pure gospel', the 'pure administration of the sacraments instituted by Christ' and the exercise of church discipline) from 'the

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<sup>55</sup> Bullinger, 'Of the Holy Catholic Church', in *Zwingli and Bullinger*, Library of Christian Classics, vol. 24, ed. G. W. Bromley (London: SCM, 1953), 306.

<sup>56</sup> Kinder, ed., *Confesión de fe christiana*, xvi.

marks of Christians' (faith, the pursuit of righteousness, love of God and neighbour, and self-mortification), explicitly acknowledging that 'great infirmities' remain in them (article 29).<sup>57</sup> Similarly, in the title of Chapter XIX of his *Declaración*, Reina distinguishes the 'signs by means of which the external Church can be known in the world' from signs 'which identify those who belong infallibly to the spiritual and invisible one' (*Dec.* 194). Thus the church which gathers in a particular place is known by three marks (*Dec.* XIX.1; 194): 'the pure preaching of the Gospel' (*Dec.* XIX.2; 194), 'the legitimate use and administration of the Sacraments' (*Dec.* XIX.3; 195), and ecclesiastical discipline (*Dec.* XIX.4; 195). By 'pure' and 'legitimate' Reina intends something objective: a ministry of the Word which is devoid of human additions 'in matters pertaining to the salvation of men and divine worship' (*Dec.* XIX.2; 194), and a ministry of the sacraments 'which appears to have been instituted by the Lord and used by his Apostles through the divine Word' (*Dec.* XIX.3; 195).

To turn to the subjective marks, Reina appears to take his cue from Calvin's remark that God is not so 'bound to persons and places, and attached to external observances, that he has to remain among those who only have the title and appearance of the church' (*Inst.* IV.2.3). In Reina's words, no matter how covered 'the children of the age' may be with 'signs and the appearance of religion', believers may distinguish them from the true members of Christ by the 'perpetual and infallible marks of the spiritual Church' (*Dec.* XIX.5; 195-96). Then, to appeal to Calvin's doctrine of the Spirit's inner witness once again, Reina notes in his next point that it is impossible for the 'inner

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<sup>57</sup> Guido de Brès, *The Belgic Confession of Faith, 1561*, in *Reformed Confessions of the 16<sup>th</sup> Century*, ed. A. C. Cochrane (London: SCM Press, 1966), 210.

testimony of the Holy Spirit' not to be manifested through outward signs (*Dec.* XIX.6; 196).

If Reina's teaching on the marks of the spiritual church is partially motivated by Calvin, another motive appears to be, as with Corro, ecumenical. On the practical side of this concern, Reina was obliged to present his congregation as one which was faithful in doctrine and upright in discipline as it sought to enter into formal fellowship with fellow Protestants in London. His congregation's openness to examination with reference to the marks as described (*Dec.* XIX.13; 201) becomes poignant as we recall the suspicion of heresy which went hand in hand with suspicion of moral rectitude. On the doctrinal side, Reina is motivated by a concern to relate Christian unity to the marks of the church. As we recall that he adheres closely to the pattern of the Apostles' Creed, we note that his pneumatology grounds a 'nomadic' ecclesiology in which unity is closely related to discipline. Thus, while the church is dispersed throughout the world as a pilgrim people, it is made one by the Spirit under one Head and in one faith (*Dec.* XVIII.2; 193). Accordingly, believers intercede for one another even though they may be separated by great distances and through 'the fact of many nations' (*Dec.* XVIII.3; 193), and recognize one another as they meet 'in the land of their pilgrimage' with reference to the 'perpetual and infallible' marks of the spiritual church (*Dec.* XIX.5; 195-96). That Reina considers an exposition of these marks to be vital is highlighted by the fact that in a confession which otherwise adheres to the pattern of the Apostles' Creed he inserts a lengthy study on those marks in between his discussions of 'the Communion of Saints' and 'the remission of sins'.

While a visible/invisible dialectic informs the structure of the marks of the church as a whole, it is the *munus triplex*, studied in relation to Reina's Christology in Chapter Two, which shapes his exposition of the marks of the spiritual church. Implicit in Reina's discussion is the assumption that since the church participates in Christ's threefold work, and that participation is more than a secret reality, then the church must be marked accordingly. Here Reina once again gives priority to Christ's work as king, as reflected in his church, and begins with the sign by which (according to the prophet Isaiah) God's people will be known as 'a people whom God has blessed', namely the 'robe of righteousness' (Is 61:10). Galatians 5:22-23, in which the fruit of the Spirit is outlined, sums up this mark as 'purity and holiness of life' (*Dec. XIX.6; 196*). That Reina intends these as specifically *royal* marks is made clear in his association of 'righteousness and holiness of life' with the freedom won for God's people through Christ's work as king on their behalf (*Dec. IX.4; 171*). Reina's fourth mark, mercy, may be included under the royal marks of the church since it is by showing mercy that

the children of God singularly represent the mind of the heavenly Father, and resemble 'the one who makes (as the Lord says) the sun to shine on the good and the evil, and rain to fall on the righteous and the unrighteous' (*Dec. XIX.9; 198*).

Alluding to the inheritance of those who anticipate their reign with Christ, Reina makes reference to 1 Peter 3, in which the apostle, in the context of a teaching that all 'angels, authorities and powers' have been put under the lordship of the ascended Lord (v. 22), admonishes his readers to be compassionate and humble (v. 8), and to repay evil with blessing, 'because to this you were called so that you may inherit a blessing' (v. 9).

From the royal marks Reina turns to those which reflect the church's prophetic work: 'truthful discourse' (*Dec. XIX.7; 197*) and 'ardent affection . . . for the Divine

Word' (*Dec. XIX.8; 197*), which are Marks Two and Three, respectively. These belong to that prophetic people who 'know how to declare the divine will in the world' (*Dec. IX.13; 176*). With this pair Reina would seem to complicate matters, since the visible/invisible dialectic was presumably meant to apply to the marks taken as a whole rather than to the marks of the invisible church. However, both the objective word as it is uttered and the subjective affection for it are expressed in outward signs. Under the first Reina has in mind 'the very words of God' (1 Pet 4:11), i.e. a word which is 'full of godly teaching and of spiritual benefit for those who hear and read it', as opposed to words which visibly harm others (*Dec. XIX.7; 197*). Under the second he intends an 'insatiable appetite' for Scripture which is reflected in the discipline of meditating on it 'day and night' (Ps 1:2), as well as 'a continuous application to hear it, understand it and engage with it' (*Dec. XIX.8; 197*).

From the study and teaching of God's word Reina turns, finally, to those priestly marks of the invisible church: mortification and the cross. Through love for their enemies (Mark Five), believers reflect the sacrificial work of Christ, who according to 1 Pet 2 did not retaliate when he was insulted (v. 23), but 'bore our sins in his body on the tree' (v. 24) (*Dec. XIX.10; 198-99*). Through brotherly love, or 'indissoluble Charity one for another' (Mark Six), which is marked by the patience and kindness which is commended in 1 Cor 13, believers wrestle against their worldly inclination to quarrel and to be jealous of one another (1 Cor 3:3) (*Dec. XIX.11; 199*). Through 'Cross and affliction in the world' (Mark Seven), the invisible church demonstrates its 'irreconcilable enmity' with the world through on account of its confession of the Lord's name, as well as the perpetual subjection to the cross which God has ordained for those

who bear in their bodies the death of Jesus (2 Cor 4:10), since Jesus promised that his followers would be persecuted in Matthew 10 and 11 (*Dec.* XIX.12; 200).

Corro's and Reina's particular emphases with regard to marks are in keeping with their respective Christologies. Corro's stress on the cross of Christ is reflected in the priority he gives to persecution as a mark of the true church, and to the unity which is to be prized above human traditions as expressed in doctrinal formulations, since

Christian piety does not consist in word, or in the multitude of papers and books, but in the true fear of God, accompanied with lively faith, and careful mortification. And that we should make an effort by all possible means to preserve the bond of charity with one another, and to make it known through our life and example that our confession of faith is the better (*EPL* 85).

The priority which Reina lends to the royal marks, by contrast, is linked to a more confident attitude regarding the church's demonstration of holiness than the one found in Corro. For, although the church remains a pilgrim people, such that the signs 'with which God has marked his Church in all times' are not to be found in any perfect sense, 'nevertheless all of them are to be desired, and ought necessarily to be found, in the life of a Christian, if imperfectly and with faults, since these will produce in him the burning desire and continuous exercise to possess them perfectly' (*Dec.* XIX.13; 200-201).

Under marks of holiness, then, Reina places those which correspond to the church's prophetic and priestly work in that order. The result, in the first place, is that right doctrine is given an important role alongside holiness of life in the church's witness, while it is implicitly acknowledged that the corresponding marks are to serve together as a standard by which a Christian body is to be assessed. Thus, on behalf of his congregation Reina exhorts his readers 'to tolerate our shortcomings with Charity . . . and with the same Charity to teach us in that which we lack' (*Dec.* ['Peroración']; 207).

Assuming that the priestly marks correspond logically to the second ‘external’ mark of the church (‘legitimate use and administration of the sacraments’, *Dec.* XIX.3; 194-95), just as the prophetic and royal correspond to those of the proclamation of the word and ecclesiastical discipline, respectively, a second result of Reina’s order is to stress the clear priority of the Word in the Church’s life and witness. This reflects his conviction that Christ’s prophetic office calls believers not to ‘idle contemplation’ (*Dec.* IX.11; 175), but to Christ’s ‘word and Spirit as our legitimate, true and only Teacher’ (*Dec.* IX.14; 176), such that final authority rests in God’s Word as found in Scripture, above the church and its ordinances. In this regard Reina’s thought echoes de Brès’s remark that the false Church ‘ascribes more power and authority to herself and her ordinances than to the Word of God’.<sup>58</sup>

To sum up, we have sought to define Reina’s and Corro’s ecclesiology proper with reference to principal concerns of the Reformation era regarding the church’s nature, authority and marks. Addressing a matter which has been largely overlooked in received interpretations, we have taken note of the Spaniards’ fundamental concern for the church visible, as they regarded it as a persecuted and scattered people, paradoxically gathered at one and the same time as a ‘mixed’ company of the godly and ungodly. When considering the church’s authority, we have studied the way in which the tension in their image of the church was linked to a view of Scripture and tradition in which the Bible was held as the final authority, while an explicit Word and Spirit doctrine, together with the instrumental logic which flowed from it, gave rise to what we have referred to as ‘nomadic’ elements in that view of authority. In this way, Reina and Corro stressed the

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<sup>58</sup> de Brès, *The Belgic Confession of Faith*, 211.

dynamic authority of the Bible through utter dependence on the Spirit, since insight into the Scriptures' meaning depended on humble and diligent study (Reina), while reform depended on the work of the Spirit in raising up instruments of his own choosing to safeguard the truth of Scripture (Corro). Finally, we have seen that the tension in the Spanish Protestant model of the church also turned up in their approach to the Reformation debate regarding the church's whereabouts. Convinced that the external marks of the church gave rise and pointed to a reality which was not strictly invisible, they sought to locate the church with reference to its marks of obedience. Of the two reformers, Reina did the most to quantify and qualify the visible marks of the invisible church in a way that surpassed the efforts of other reformers. In the final analysis, for him the seven 'legitimate and necessary signs of the children of God and of his true people' served not only as an expression of Christ's threefold office in the life of the church, but as a standard in a double sense. On one level, it was to serve as a means of recognition, since as Reina wrote, 'we do not refuse to be assessed according to them in order to be recognized by the Church of the Lord as her legitimate members' (*Dec.* XIX.13; 201). On another level, Reina implies that the marks serve as a kind of law in the life of the Christian, since imperfections themselves served as a means to 'produce in [the believer] the burning desire and continuous exercise to possess them perfectly' (*Dec.* XIX.13; 201). In the following chapter we examine the ways in which the ecclesiological foundation studied here impacted the Spaniards' approach to the formal ministries of Word and Sacrament.

## Chapter Four

### Ceremonies ‘Outside the Camp’ (Heb 13:13)

Given the special concern of the Spanish Protestants to identify the church with reference to outward signs of holiness, how important a role did they ascribe to religious ceremonies in the life of the church? Specifically, since they regarded the church as a people called to follow Jesus ‘outside the camp’ (Heb 13:13), i.e. to leave behind Temple sacrifices (v. 11-12) and to seek ‘the city that is to come’ (v. 14), in what way would this nomadic and ‘scattered’ ecclesiological theme, reinforced by their own experience as exiles, impact their approach to the ‘gathered’ and ceremonial dimension of church life? To what extent would they carry with them into the wider debate regarding the nature of the sacraments their mentor Constantino Ponce de la Fuente’s reformed Catholic view of the sacraments as ‘effectual signs’ of grace?

As we have seen, the Spaniards’ careers took shape not simply in exile, but on the go. As perpetual outsiders whose views were questioned by their various Protestant

hosts,<sup>1</sup> Reina and Corro were especially alert to sharp divisions in that world. Given disputes about the whereabouts of Jesus in relation to the Lord's Supper, and more fundamentally about the meaning and function of religious signs, the two men sought to mediate between the various camps. While the Spaniards' irenic spirit has been noted,<sup>2</sup> the contours of their sacramental theology remain to be explored in detail.

If ecumenical in the sense that it engaged and was shaped by the Protestant debates, Reina's and Corro's sacramental theology was also independently constructed. Corro's approach can be described as occasional and minimalistic. Instead of defining the sacraments in general, he outlined his views on Baptism and the Lord's Supper on separate occasions. To Philip II he explained that Baptism was essentially a promise displayed: a demonstration of God's desire to bring about new birth.<sup>3</sup> To Lutheran pastors in Antwerp he stressed that the Lord's Supper was a means to strengthen believers in their faith, since it was a 'lively image' of a feeding on Christ which happened by faith before coming to the Table.<sup>4</sup> On the whole, Zwingli's 'indicative or declaratory'<sup>5</sup> approach to sacramental signs shaped Corro's view as he sought to affirm those things on which all Protestants agreed. Reina, for his part, did not attempt to

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<sup>1</sup> Ian Hazlett, 'Confession de Fe Christiana 1559/60-1560/61', in *Reformierte Bekenntnisschriften* Band. 2/1: 1559-1563, ed. A. Mühling and P. Opitz (Neukirchener-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2009), 124.

<sup>2</sup> Gordon Kinder, *Casiodoro de Reina: Spanish Reformer of the sixteenth century* (London: Tamesis Books Ltd., 1975), 87; Rivera García, 'El Humanismo de la Reforma Española: Teología y Concordia en Antonio del Corro', in *Obras de los Reformadores Españoles del Siglo XVI: Antonio del Corro*, ed. E. M. Bellido (Sevilla: Editorial MAD, 2006), 17.

<sup>3</sup> Antonio del Corro, *Carta enviada a la Majestad del Rey de las Españas*, in *Obras de los reformadores Españoles del siglo XVI*, vol. 1, ed. E. M. Bellido (Sevilla, Editorial MAD, 2006), 148.

<sup>4</sup> Antonio del Corro, *Epistola y amable admonición de un ministro del Evangelio de nuestro Redentor Jesucristo, enviada a los Pastores de la Iglesia Flamenca de Amberes*, in *Obras de los reformadores Españoles del siglo XVI*, vol. 1, ed. E. Monjo Bellido (Sevilla: Editorial MAD, 2006), 67.

<sup>5</sup> B.A. Gerrish, 'Eucharist', in *Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, vol. 2 (Oxford Univ. Press, 1996), 73.

reconcile opposing views by proposing a minimal standard. His ‘maximalist’ approach, which is also more systematic when compared with Corro’s, is reflected in the fact that he sought to define the sacraments (as such) as present instruments of that to which they point, and generally to reconcile Lutheran with Reformed concerns.

The same nomadic experience which compelled the Spaniards to seek unity in sacramental matters caused them to ascribe to the ministry of the Word a central role in their theology of ceremonies. Having expounded Corro’s and Reina’s sacramental theology, we shall next consider the way in which the Spanish Protestant approach to ceremonies displays its distinctive character as it turns its attention to the ‘Sacrament of the Word’. As the outward means of regular absolution, the proclamation of the Gospel assured the believer that it was precisely in the Church that the assurance of forgiveness was to be found, while underscoring the ‘nomadic’ call to self-denial and ‘lively faith’.

### **Corro: Lively Images of Divine Mercy**

On the surface, Corro appears to lend to the sacraments a relatively minor role in his theology. Neither his *Exposición de la Obra de Dios* nor his ‘Articles of the Catholike fayth’,<sup>6</sup> as summaries of Christian doctrine, contain any reference to the sacraments; while his doctrines of Baptism and the Lord’s Supper are dealt with separately in the context of disputes with Roman and Lutheran churches, respectively, rather than by an urge to discuss their meaning and function—or the meaning of the

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<sup>6</sup> Antonio del Corro, ‘Exposición de la Obra de Dios’, in *Obras de los reformadores Españoles del siglo XVI*, vol. 1. Ed. E. Monjo Bellido (Sevilla, Editorial MAD, 2006), 221-229; ‘The Articles of the Catholike fayth which Anthonie Coranus Spaniard Student of Divinitie professeth’, in *A theological dialogue, wherin [sic] the Epistle of S. Paul the Apostle to the Romans is expounded, gathered and set together out of the readings of Antonie Corranus* (London: Purfoote, 1575), 140-56.

sacraments as such—within Christian doctrine as a whole. This fact, along with Corro’s concern to emphasize the inward and spiritual reality to which outward signs point, lends some support to McFadden’s conclusion that Corro offers ‘a thoroughly spiritual interpretation which attaches so much importance to “the thing signified” that the ceremony or sign becomes of almost no effect’.<sup>7</sup>

In some instances, a low view of outward signs and religious ceremonies is apparent in Corro’s writings. While for Calvin the sacraments serve to confirm and increase faith, and ‘are charged with great effect when the Spirit works within and manifests his power’,<sup>8</sup> for Corro the outward sign and the inward work of the Spirit would seem to stand in opposition to each other. For instance, in his *Epístola a los Pastores Luteranos* he claims that participation in Christ ‘does not take place by means of water, nor wine, nor bread, nor by means of any other created thing, but only through the unspeakable work and operation of the Holy Spirit’ (65). Moreover, before saying anything at all about the formal celebration of the Lord’s Supper, he speaks of ‘eating, swallowing and digesting the heavenly bread, Jesus Christ’ once the Spirit has convicted the person of his sin and begins to give him hope (*EP* 65). Regarding the grace to which the Sacrament of Baptism points, in his *Carta a Felipe II* he stresses ‘inward’ baptism as the only means by which one may participate in Christ’s innocence and righteousness (*CFII* 150).

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<sup>7</sup> William McFadden, ‘Life and Works of Antonio del Corro, 1527-1591’ (PhD thesis, Queen’s University, Belfast, 1953), 645.

<sup>8</sup> John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion. The Library of Christian Classics*, vols. 20 and 21, ed. J.T. McNeill & trans. F.L. Battles (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1960), IV.14.9.

That Erasmus's 'thoroughly spiritual interpretation of Baptism and the Eucharist' left the most lasting impression on Corro, as McFadden argues,<sup>9</sup> is, however, questionable. To characterize Corro's attitude to ceremonies as Erasmian is to suggest the kind of indifference which leaves the outward ceremonies intact. Nonetheless, Corro's severe condemnation of image veneration has been noted. In the same spirit he criticizes the Mass as a ceremony in which divine favor was understood to be for sale (*CFII* 114), in which the priest was believed to have the power to make Jesus come in the form of 'flesh and bones' to be broken and sacrificed, and in which a piece of bread was made to be worshipped since it had the power in and of itself to calm storms, to destroy the insects that seek to damage the crops, and the like (*CFII* 115). Similarly, he condemns the Roman assumptions that in baptism the priest exorcises the devil simply by breathing on the face of the baptized, that wisdom is imparted as salt is placed in the mouth of the baptized, and that the innocence of Christ is given as the baptized infant is covered in a white habit (*CFII* 146). He adds that a 'second regeneration' brought about by taking monastic vows made matters worse because one presumed to add to what Jesus instituted in baptism (*CFII* 117). It was this 'multitude of Jewish ceremonies' mixed with pagan customs (*CFII* 142) which compelled Corro to turn his back on what he perceived as formalistic religion and to accept hardship and persecution rather than a life 'among the treasures of Egypt' (*CFII* 116).

With an appeal to Hebrews 11:24-27, which records that by faith Moses left Egypt and 'looked ahead to his reward', Corro indicates that he conceived of reform as a matter of the heart but also of the head. On this basis, the sacraments as practiced under

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<sup>9</sup> McFadden, 'Life and Works of Antonio del Corro', 52.

the Papacy were not to remain unchallenged through a kind of indifferentism, but to be rescued from Roman practice. Since ‘our papist doctors . . . have taken from the pagans and idolaters another great number [of customs], as can be seen particularly in the sacrifice of the Mass’ (*CFII* 142), Corro called for a restoration of the sacraments the use which Christ himself had instituted (*CFII* 117). In his quest for a proper understanding of Christ’s purpose for the Supper, Corro was in the first instance guided by Zwingli, who defined a sacrament as a sign or ‘public testimony’ of ‘a grace that *has been given*’.<sup>10</sup> Eager to avoid the implication that the outward sign caused the benefit which it signified in any way at all, Zwingli wrote: ‘if we think . . . that when externally used [the sacraments] cleanse internally, Judaism is restored’.<sup>11</sup> Indeed, the sacraments

are so far from conferring grace that they do not even convey or distribute it. . . . For as grace is produced or given by the Divine Spirit . . . , so this gift pertains to the Spirit alone. Moreover, a channel or vehicle is not necessary to the Spirit, for he himself is the virtue and energy whereby all things are borne, and has no need of being borne; neither do we read in the Holy Scriptures that perceptible things, as are the Sacraments, bear certainly with them the Spirit.<sup>12</sup>

For Corro, participation in Christ—which is to partake of the fruit of ‘the tree of the cross’ on which Jesus became our spiritual food—‘does not take place through the water, nor the wine, nor the bread, nor by any other created thing, but by the indescribable word and work of the Holy Spirit, who, having called the elect and predestined of God, teaches them their abominable sins and transgressions through the presentation of the divine

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<sup>10</sup> H. Zwingli, ‘A Reckoning of the Faith’, in *Creeds and Confessions of Faith in the Christian Tradition*, vol. 2: *Creeds and Confessions of the Reformation Era*, ed. J. Pelikan and V. Hotchkiss (New Haven, Conn./London: Yale Univ. Press, 2003), 262, emphasis added.

<sup>11</sup> Zwingli, ‘A Reckoning of the Faith’, 262.

<sup>12</sup> Zwingli, ‘A Reckoning of the Faith’, 260.

Law', and causes them gradually to 'eat, swallow and digest the heavenly bread, Jesus Christ' (*EP 65*). Having received such benefits believers display

such joy and patience in their afflictions and persecutions, such care in mortifying the old Adam, such renunciation of the things of this life and affection for eternal life, that their neighbours and friends who visit them see well that they partake of a meat which is different from the one received in mere ceremonies (*EP 66*).

That Corro accepts Zwingli's conviction that the bread and the wine of communion are signs which follow after grace is clear from Corro's assertion that table fellowship follows from the inward and secret feeding on Christ, and from his claim that those who have participated the body and blood of Christ by faith 'truly, essentially and really' were not to imagine that Christ was to be found enclosed within or attached any external thing (*EP 66*). Rather, Jesus' true abode was to be understood as the heart of the believer:

It is a miserable fact that in our time those who speak the most about the communion of Jesus Christ are those who happen least to experience such communion in themselves. This is clear from their writings, because they speak of Jesus Christ as either locked up in the cupboard, as enclosed within the bread, under the bread or with the bread, or as removed from us at a distance of fourteen or fifteen thousand days' journeys away. But since the true temple of Jesus Christ is none other than the heart of the faithful man, the man who looks for him outside wastes his time, while his hope will be frustrated (*EP 63*).

By relating Jesus to the believing heart in this way, evidently Corro did not wish to imply that Christ was to be reduced to 'a spiritual and moral force' located strictly within the hearts of believers, as McFadden supposes, based on the assumption that Corro was indifferent to the question as to whether the exalted Christ was a creature or not.<sup>13</sup> Corro's point, rather, is that the question of Jesus' whereabouts is not worth debating as long as his presence has not been experienced in the heart. For Corro affirmed a doctrine

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<sup>13</sup> McFadden, 'Life and Works of Antonio del Corro', 566.

of the ascension according to which God, who knows ‘man’s attachment to things visible and palpable’, as well as inability to turn his attention to heavenly things, has

removed from this world, and from the presence of carnal eyes, this Jesus Christ and eternal King, glorifying him and placing him at his right hand. . . . In this way, the person of this Saviour has taken possession of heavenly glory, right hand and paradise which Adam had lost on account of his sin . . . (*EOD* 227-228).

Corro’s ‘this Jesus Christ’ and ‘the person of this Saviour’ suggest a doctrine of Jesus’ bodily ascension, while the reason for the doctrine in the first place is intended as a safeguard against the search for Jesus within external objects within creation, as if he might be contained in them. Since he insists that Christ’s presence is never to be thought of as ‘corporal or carnal’ (*EP* 64), his point is to this extent consistent with Zwingli’s sharp rejection of the notion that ‘the body of Christ in essence and really—that is, the natural body itself’ was given to be eaten ‘with our mouth or teeth’ in the Supper.<sup>14</sup> Corro’s logic is unmistakably Zwinglian, as he points out that when Jesus said to his disciples, ‘I am the vine, and you are the branches’ (John 15:5), he could not have meant that he ‘had communicated his substance to the vine, and that the Apostles had been transformed into branches’ (*EP* 64). Corro sums up his debt to Zwingli with his remark that the faithful approach the holy table ‘firstly to certify to the whole church that they belong to the company of those who receive Jesus Christ as their only Redeemer and Saviour . . .’ (*EP* 66).

Corro’s decision not to deal with the sacraments in general highlights his different approach in each case to the outward sign in its temporal relation to the benefits received. If, as Calvin and Bullinger agreed in the *Zurich Agreement* (1549), the benefits received

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<sup>14</sup> Zwingli, ‘A Reckoning of the Faith’, 262.

through the sacraments ‘ought not to be restricted to the time at which they are administered to us’,<sup>15</sup> so Corro approached the outward sign as something which is logically prior to grace. On this basis he was unable to agree wholeheartedly with that which the *Zurich Agreement* went on to affirm: namely, that the outward sign might also coincide with the inward grace.<sup>16</sup> For Corro, baptism serves as a means to assure us

that the heavenly Father *desires* to receive us into his friendship and covenant; since in baptism he manifests, displays and presents to all of Adam’s children an exceedingly wide mercy, *desiring* to receive them in grace by washing all their stains, whether natural or acquired through the sin of their father, and by consecrating them for his holy and pure service . . . (*CFII* 147-48; emphasis added).

Here Corro echoes the *Geneva Confession* (1536): ‘Baptism is an external sign by which our Lord testifies that he desires to receive us for his children, as members of his Son Jesus’.<sup>17</sup>

Corro’s attempt to come to terms with the temporal question in relation to outward signs was undoubtedly prompted by the ambiguity in the Reformed consensus on the matter. On the one hand, it was taught that ‘baptism is a sign, a testimony and sealing, of our cleansing’.<sup>18</sup> The *Zurich Agreement* used similar terms,<sup>19</sup> as did Pérez de Pineda, who explained in his *Breve Tratado de Doctrina* that the sacraments as such are ‘lively images’ (*vivas imagenes*) which serve ‘as seals by means of which we testify that

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<sup>15</sup>*The Zurich Agreement*, in *Creeds and Confessions of Faith in the Christian Tradition*, vol. 2: *Creeds and Confessions of the Reformation Era*, ed. J. Pelikan and V. Hotchkiss (New Haven, Conn./London: Yale Univ. Press, 2003), 811.

<sup>16</sup>*The Zurich Agreement*, 810.

<sup>17</sup>*Geneva Confession*, art. 16, in *Reformed Confessions of the 16th Century*, ed. A. Cochrane (London: SCM, 1966), 124.

<sup>18</sup>Heinrich Bullinger, *The Decades of Henry Bullinger*, vol. 5 (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1849-52), 397.

<sup>19</sup>*The Zurich Agreement*, 807-8.

we are already righteous for having believed the promise'.<sup>20</sup> On the other hand, the same tradition insisted that the signs were present instruments of the grace to which they pointed. Bullinger wrote that 'we are washed clean from our sins by baptism',<sup>21</sup> the *Zurich Agreement* that baptism 'was the laver of regeneration for Cornelius',<sup>22</sup> while Pérez de Pineda affirmed that believers are nourished with Christ's body and blood 'at his table' (*BTD* 159). However, as long as the external rite was to be understood as a *testimony to* God's cleansing work, and as a means to confirm it, presumably its role as a means of present cleansing—of a present 'washing of regeneration'<sup>23</sup>—was undermined.

Corro sought to resolve the apparent contradiction by arguing that the sacrament of baptism was not to be equated with a bath or cleansing in any sense, but only pointed to one. The outward sign of baptism served principally, he explained, as a testimony on God's part: as a means by which Jesus intended for his church to 'show and represent to the whole world the admirable cleansing and purging which God accomplishes for his children through the sprinkling and shedding of the most precious and innocent blood of his own Son' (*CFII* 147). For Corro, the outward sign serves as a means to proclaim the promise of regeneration, rather than to accomplish the work presently through the rite:

And if Jesus Christ instructs his apostles to baptize in the name of the Father, of the Son and of the Holy Spirit it is not in order to give to a similar ceremony that which belongs to the grace of regeneration alone, but *to demonstrate* in holy baptism the admirable goodness and mercy of the heavenly Father, who has seen

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<sup>20</sup> Pérez de Pineda, *Breve Tratado de la doctrina antigua de Dios* (Geneva: Crespin, 1560), 112, 114.

<sup>21</sup> Heinrich Bullinger, *The Decades of Henry Bullinger. The First and Second Decades*, ed. T. Harding (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1849), 397.

<sup>22</sup> *The Zurich Agreement*, 810.

<sup>23</sup> Martin Bucer, *The Tetrapolitan Confession of 1530*, in *Reformed Confessions of the Sixteenth Century*, ed. A.C. Cochrane (London: SCM Press, 1966), 74.

fit to wash and cleanse our stains and sins with the blood of his own Son (*CFII* 147, emphasis added).

That a present benefit may be obtained through the sacrament is apparent, for Corro adds that ‘every time we celebrate this sacrament of [God’s] covenant with us, trusting that we are included in it, he will truly make us participants in the benefit displayed in this sacrament’ (*CFII* 147). But this is to be understood in the context of Corro’s conviction that the outward rite serves fundamentally as a visible display of God’s will to cleanse those who trust in him.

Corro also criticizes those who, under the Papacy, look for the grace of regeneration ‘only on the day of baptism, when they had neither the understanding, nor the will, nor faith to receive Jesus Christ’ and assume that God is in their debt even though ‘they have never felt nor experienced the washing of Christ’s blood nor the testimony of good conscience which the apostle Saint Peter requires of those who have been baptized in Jesus Christ and have received the water of his grace’ (*CFII* 112).

While McFadden suggests that this remark reflects a rejection of infant baptism on Corro’s part,<sup>24</sup> it is more likely that it serves as a reminder that the outward sign is not to be viewed as a present instrument of regeneration. In this regard, Corro’s purpose is consistent with, e.g., the *Belgic Confession*, which does not link the inward grace of Baptism temporally to the outward rite, but describes it as a ‘testimony unto us that [God] will forever be our gracious God and Father’.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> McFadden, ‘Life and Works of Antonio del Corro’, 587. See also Eduard Boehmer, ‘Antonio del Corro’, in *Bibliotheca Wiffeniana: Spanish Reformers of Two Centuries*, vol. 3 (London: Trübner, 1904), 31.

<sup>25</sup> Guido de Brès, *The Belgic Confession of Faith, 1561*, in *Reformed Confessions of the 16<sup>th</sup> Century*, ed. A. C. Cochrane (London: SCM Press, 1966), 213-14.

When it comes to the Lord's Supper, the same logic applies: if Baptism is not a bath, neither is the Lord's Supper a meal, but instead a means to point to one. This conviction and its implications have been overlooked by interpreters of Corro thus far. While serving as a needed corrective to McFadden's spiritualist interpretation of Corro's Eucharistic theology, Rivera García's Calvinist reading is not entirely justified either. Rivera García accurately characterizes Calvin's approach as one marked by (a) a rejection Luther's ubiquity doctrine in favour of one which admitted the spiritual presence of Christ in the Supper; (b) an emphasis on the role of the Holy Spirit in uniting the believer with the ascended Lord; (c) an approach to union with Christ as an event which preceded the outward sign and subsisted after it; and (d) the teaching that the Supper was to serve as a means to increase faith at it sealed and confirmed God's promise of eternal life.<sup>26</sup> With the claim that Corro's doctrine is 'profoundly' Calvinist, however, Rivera García fails to note that Corro denied that 'the spiritual substance of the Redeemer' was present for the believer in the Supper.<sup>27</sup> With reference to specifically Reformed statements, we can say that Corro agreed with Bullinger and Calvin in so far as both taught that the Supper is a means whereby God 'doth certify unto us his promise of communion, and sheweth unto us his gifts';<sup>28</sup> that 'to eat Christ's flesh and drink his blood is nothing else but to believe that Christ's body was given for us';<sup>29</sup> or that Christ was not to be regarded as fastened to or enclosed within the outward sign (*Inst.*

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<sup>26</sup> Rivera García, 'El Humanismo de la Reforma Española', 36-40.

<sup>27</sup> Rivera García, 'El Humanismo de la Reforma Española', 37.

<sup>28</sup> Bullinger, *Decades*, 403.

<sup>29</sup> Bullinger, *Decades*, 458; Calvin, *Inst.* IV.17.5.

IV.17.19).<sup>30</sup> Nonetheless, as soon as it was affirmed that in the Supper Christ ‘bids me take, eat, and drink his body and blood under the symbols of bread and wine’ (*Inst.* IV.17.32), on the assumption that true participation in Christ’s body and blood is both truly represented and ‘surely present there’ (*Inst.* IV.17.10), or that the Supper was a means to continue ‘to communicate in the body and blood of the Lord’,<sup>31</sup> Corro held back.

Corro’s hesitation appears to be linked to his critique of image-centred religion, as we have seen in Chapter Two, which is embedded even in the *Zurich Agreement*. Condemned in that work is the habit of ‘gazing in bewilderment at the elements’, which is linked to the assumption that God’s grace is ‘so tied to them that whoever has the sign receives the thing itself’.<sup>32</sup> If grace was not ‘tied’ to the sign, neither was it to be understood as contained within it, so that the believer’s confidence might rest in God alone:

Although [God] uses the ministry of the sacraments, he neither infuses his own power into them nor does he derogate in any way from the efficacy of his Spirit: but according to our ignorance, he uses them as helps, yet so that all the power remains with him alone.<sup>33</sup>

In the same spirit, Corro is eager to establish what the Supper is not. If, in his *Decades*, Bullinger had equated participation in Christ’s body and blood with belief in him,<sup>34</sup> and insisted that the sacraments were not to be thought of as ‘pipes, and certain conduits of

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<sup>30</sup> See also Bullinger, *Decades* 251, 296, 309; Pérez de Pineda, *Breve Tratado de Doctrina*, 172, 176.

<sup>31</sup> Heinrich Bullinger, *The Second Helvetic Confession*, in Cochrane, *Reformed Confessions of the 16<sup>th</sup> Century* ed. A.C. Cochrane (London: SCM Press, 1966), 286.

<sup>32</sup> *Zurich Agreement*, 809-10.

<sup>33</sup> *Zurich Agreement*, 809.

<sup>34</sup> Bullinger, *Decades*, 458.

Christ's passion, by which the grace of Christ is poured into us',<sup>35</sup> Corro similarly affirmed that true communion or participation in Christ's body and blood is not a reality which is occasioned or in any way caused by the outward sign, but instead precedes it, such that the faithful have no need 'to go searching for him in the Priests' cupboard, or in the hands of men, in order to partake of him with the bread, or with the water, because they have been assured that Jesus Christ lives in them, and that they are flesh of his flesh and bones of his bones' (*EP* 66).

Corro's rejection of the teaching that Christ's body and blood might be received 'with the bread' points to the substance of Corro's quarrel with the Antwerp Lutherans. As we saw in Chapter Three, Corro warned his readers against a kind of sectarianism (*EP* 54) which was reflected in their tendency to confuse their own tradition with the Gospel itself. Indeed Corro's primary motive for writing that letter was a desire for 'political, ecclesiastical and spiritual peace' through an increased desire for the 'edification of [God's] afflicted church' (*EP* 50). A closer look at the way in which Corro related a perceived sectarian spirit among the Lutherans in Antwerp to their Eucharistic theology will help us to situate Corro's own positive doctrine of the Supper.

In the first place, Corro claimed that Christians separate themselves from the true body of Christ whenever they 'inquire curiously' into whether Christ comes in, under, or with the bread (*EP* 60). To preach on subtleties relating to the meaning of 'right hand of God' or the ubiquity of Christ's humanity was quite unedifying, since it was a waste of time to look for the 'true temple' of Christ outside the heart of the believer (*EP* 64). As Corro insisted, by interpreting the *Augsburg Confession* in such a way as to introduce

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<sup>35</sup> Bullinger, *Decades*, 296.

such subtleties, the superintendent of the Lutheran churches in that city Matthias Illyricus (1520-1575) left Jesus ‘far removed from man’s heart’ (EP 70). To seek to persuade others that in the Supper Jesus’ body and blood were received by believer and unbeliever alike in an external way, and not just by faith, or spiritually, was one thing; but by proceeding to condemn those who taught otherwise, Illyricus effectively set himself up as another Inquisitor (EP 71-2). This approach amounted to a new form of idolatry, since the *Augsburg Confession* itself, which Illyricus claimed to interpret faithfully, said nothing about receiving Christ’s body and blood ‘really’, or ‘in an external way’ (EP 74). The claim to have the uncorrupted version of the *Augsburg Confession*, which others lacked, meant, effectively, that

we would need to come to you, as to the source, and fountain of truth and salvation. Someone who sought to make mockery of such things could say that he would have to come as on a pilgrimage to find your Archives or Libraries, as in times past one went to Jerusalem, Rome or Santiago [de Compostela] (EP 74).

As a solution Corro proposed a moratorium on preaching against one’s opponents from the pulpit (EP 53), and a common effort, based on a spirit of tolerance and of winning others over through persuasion (EP 87), to compose a confession of faith with the *Augsburg Confession* as a basis, leaving disputed points aside (EP 56). In all of this Corro admonishes his readers to practice greater mortification (EP 85), and to recognize their basic unity as fellow strangers and exiles who have followed Jesus, ‘who from infancy was a stranger in the land of the Egyptians, fleeing from the persecution of Herod’ (EP 89). Following Bullinger’s *Second Helvetic Confession* which briefly mentions that the Supper serves as a means ‘to be mindful of those whose body we have

become members’,<sup>36</sup> Corro devotes special attention to the Supper as a means of instruction in the ‘unity and charity which we ought to have towards others’, such that each member of the body adapts itself in order to aid the member that is ailing, seeks diligently to forgive others, and to interpret their faults in the best way possible (*EP 67*). To introduce a nomadic theme, Corro adds that the ceremony serves to teach us ‘to become participants in the afflictions and persecutions of our brothers, who we confess, in the Supper, to be members of Christ together with us’ (*EP 67-68*).

With this emphasis on the didactic, Word-centred function of the Supper, Corro anticipates his discussion of the ministry of the Word as the focus of regular repentance and absolution, as we shall see in the last part of this chapter, and provides the theoretical basis for his approach to the outward signs in the Supper. Insisting that Jesus never taught that his body and blood were ‘really and truly with the bread, under the bread, and in the bread’, and that the only way to receive Christ is through ‘lively faith’ and repentance (*EP 73*), Corro admits that according to his practice the memorial aspect of the Supper is stressed. The words of consecration are omitted whereby ‘the bread might hear our voice and hear the word of God, and become the body of Christ’, and the faithful are encouraged not to fix their attention on the external signs, but to ‘raise their spirits and consideration to Jesus Christ, true bread of heaven for the nourishment of our souls, who now immortal is glorified at the Father’s right hand’ (*EP 83*).

While such an approach to the ceremony would not necessarily rule out the possibility that it might serve as a means of present, spiritual communication in the body

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<sup>36</sup> Bullinger, *Second Helvetic Confession*, 287.

and blood of the ascended Lord, as, e.g. Bullinger allows,<sup>37</sup> for Corro it is precisely not a present union with Christ that the Supper effects; this has already been accomplished by faith, prior to the sacrament. What, then, was the function of the ceremony for Corro? He begins by affirming that the ceremony serves as a means of public testimony, as noted above: those ‘who have truly participated in the body and blood of Christ’ by faith and through the work of the Spirit approach the Table not in order ‘to receive Jesus Christ afresh in the bread and wine, nor grace, nor merit’, but to give testimony to other members of the church that they have accepted Jesus as their Saviour and Redeemer (*EP* 66). With his claim that the ceremony serves as a means of responding to, rather than receiving, a divine blessing, Corro makes it clear that the ceremony is to be interpreted as a representation of participation in Christ rather than as a means to it. This was not to imply that the Supper lacked any instrumental role whatever, but only that its function was not to impart a personal presence. In any case, if the Lord’s Supper was to serve as a means to *receive* Christ, that would render regeneration a process, rather than an event on which a process—that of ‘participating in Christ more and more’ (*EP* 67)—is based. That process was understood to take place not through the Supper, but rather through the Christ who already lives in them and who increases their ‘faith, hope, mortification, constancy, and steadfastness’ directly (*EP* 67).

Apart from instructing believers in unity, another particular present benefit which the Supper mediates is the assurance that Christ’s sacrificial atonement is eternal, just as God had promised that the Priest would be eternal (*EP* 66). At this point Corro’s

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<sup>37</sup> As Bullinger puts it, ‘when [the believer] now receives the sacrament, he does not receive nothing. For he progresses in continuing to communicate in the body and blood of the Lord’ (*The Second Helvetic Confession*, 286).

doctrine is consistent with his view of Baptism, regarded as a visible word of promise on God's part, and with the Reformed doctrine of the Supper as a 'seal', or means to confirm believers in their faith. As Bullinger had written concerning the Baptism that served the Ethiopian eunuch as a 'seal of the righteousness which came by faith' and as a means 'to assure unto him the continuance and increase' of God's gifts,<sup>38</sup> Pérez de Pineda referred to the Lord's Supper as 'a guarantee of [Christ's] perpetual love' (*BTD* 174), and Calvin to the sacraments as 'seals of the good will that [God] feels toward us, which by attesting that good will to us, sustain, nourish, confirm and increase our faith' (*Inst.* IV.14.7; cf. IV.17.5), so Corro explains that believers approach the Supper as a 'seal of ratification and confirmation of the grace and reconciliation announced through the preaching of the Gospel' so that faith might be increased in them (*EP* 66).

Finally, and most fundamentally for Corro, the outward sign serves as a 'lively image' of 'the inward communion and participation which [believers] have with Jesus Christ in their hearts' (*EP* 67), just as Baptism served as a 'display' of God's mercy (*CFII* 147). While this view is consistent with Calvin who, following Augustine, referred to a sacrament as a 'visible word' added to the spoken Word so that the believer (on account of his 'dullness') might perceive God's love and good will 'more expressly than by word' (*Inst.* IV.14.6),<sup>39</sup> Corro's language is closer to that of Pérez de Pineda, who defined the sacraments as 'lively images and pictures of that which the promises contain, so that our senses too might experience through palpable things that which the Lord desires to teach us through them' (*BTD* 112).

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<sup>38</sup> Bullinger, *Decades*, 312.

<sup>39</sup> See also Pérez de Pineda, *Breve Tratado de Doctrina*, 110

In sum, while Corro's rejection of the Lutheran ubiquity doctrine suggests the influence of Calvin (*Inst.* IV.17.16; IV.17.30), Corro is drawn most consistently to Bullinger's early systematic treatment of the sacraments. In his *Decades*, Bullinger had outlined the way in which the sacraments were intended 'to be witnesses and seals of the preaching of the Gospel, to exercise and try faith, and by earthly and visible things to represent and set before our eyes the deep mysteries of God'.<sup>40</sup> So while for Corro the outward sign is a 'visible word', such that God's blessings are shown, offered, and represented in 'a lively way' in these images (*EP* 68), it does not beget faith, as Calvin was prepared to teach. For Calvin, the sacrament could serve as an instrument of faith as long as it went hand in hand with the preaching of the Word (*Inst.* IV.14.4). It is not that faith is for Corro such a secret and hidden a reality that it has nothing to do with external instruments. Rather, his critique of the image evidently meant that only the proclamation of the Word could be reckoned as an outward means of faith, as we shall see when we consider his doctrine of confession.

### **Reina: External Instruments of Justification**

If Corro defined the sacraments as 'lively images' of inward realities which were temporally unrelated to the outward signs, Reina's more systematic approach, conjoined with a manifest desire to hold together a wide spectrum of Protestant opinion on the sacraments, led him to affirm that baptism and the Lord's Supper were to serve as instruments of an actually *present* inward washing and feeding, respectively. A motif of 'calling out', as well as a condemnation of 'temple' ceremonies is present in his

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<sup>40</sup> Bullinger, *Decades*, 234.

*Declaración*, but confidence in the sacraments as ‘instruments of Justification’<sup>41</sup> is linked to a conviction that they were more than testimonies to inward realities, but rather God’s means to accomplish them.

Reina’s preferred way of referring to the sacraments is unusual, and at first glance might appear to be misleading in a Protestant confession of faith. The intimate link which he draws between justification and the sacraments by proceeding directly from a discussion of Justification (*Dec. X*; 177-79) to his articles on the sacraments (*Dec. XI-XIII*; 179-184) calls to mind the Council of Trent, which defined their instrumental role in God’s work of justification as follows:

For the completion of the salutary doctrine on Justification . . . it hath seemed suitable to treat of the most holy Sacraments of the Church, through which all true justice begins, or being begun is increased, or being lost is repaired.<sup>42</sup>

In Protestant confessional statements, on the other hand (as was noted in Chapter Three), the sacraments are generally treated as a topic for ecclesiology, i.e. as articles on the sacraments are commonly located directly after those on the Church. In this way, they are structurally at a distance from purely soteriological matters, as if to present no threat to the teaching in, e.g., *The Tetrapolitan Confession* that justification is ‘to be received by faith alone’,<sup>43</sup> or in the *Belgic Confession* that it is precisely faith which is the instrument of justification:

Therefore we say with Paul, that we are justified by faith alone, or by faith without works. However, to speak more clearly, we do not mean that faith itself

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<sup>41</sup> Casiodoro de Reina, *Declaración, o Confesión de Fe hecha por ciertos fieles españoles, que, huyendo los abusos de la iglesia Romana y la crueldad de la Inquisición d’España hizieron a la Iglesia de los fieles para ser en ella recibidos por hermanos en Christo* (Frankfurt, 1577), XI.1; 179.

<sup>42</sup> *The canons and decrees of the sacred and oecumenical Council of Trent*, ed. and trans. J. Waterworth (London: Dolman, 1848), 53.

<sup>43</sup> Bucer, *The Tetrapolitan Confession*, 57.

justifies us, for it is only an instrument with which we embrace Christ our Righteousness.<sup>44</sup>

Recalling, however, Reina's conviction that justification is obtained only through repentance 'and true and lively faith in the death and resurrection of the Lord' (*Dec. X.1; 177-78*), the logical basis for his definition must be sought within the framework of the inner-outer dialectic which informs his doctrine of Word and Spirit. Fundamentally, we recall from Chapter Two, Christ's work is understood, on the one hand, as inward work, whereby he regenerates his people by his Spirit (*Dec. IX.7; 172*) and grants them 'secret powers' over temptation (*Dec. IX.5; 171*), and on the other hand as outward and visible work whereby he is active in and through his church as it participates in his threefold work as Prophet, Priest and King. Similarly, as we saw in Chapter Three, the church is understood both as an invisible reality, or 'communion of saints', and as a visibly marked community, such that the marks serve as means for believers to recognize one another in the world and to be drawn into communion. On this basis, when considering the meaning of the sacraments Reina is led to inquire into the external means by which the inward work of dying to sin and being raised to new life with Christ (*Dec. X.1; 177-78*) is accomplished. He affirms that that work is accomplished through external signs which God has seen fit to use:

Among the means, or instruments of our Justification we include with the Lord and with his Apostles the Sacraments of the Christian Church, through which the Lord on his part applies particularly, seals and confirms the benefit of our salvation, and fulfillment of his promises; and which we on our part receive by faith and also testify that we belong to his People (*Dec. XI.1; 179-80*).

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<sup>44</sup> de Brés, *The Belgic Confession of Faith*, 204.

The immediate link between the inward work of Christ and the external means to that end may have been suggested in the first instance by the *Augsburg Confession*, which, having affirmed that

we receive forgiveness of sin and become righteous before God by grace, for Christ's sake, through faith, when we believe that Christ suffered for us and that for his sake our sin is forgiven and righteousness and eternal life are given to us,

proceeds to add that God provided 'the Gospel and the sacraments', and that through these, 'as through means, he gives the Holy Spirit, who works faith, when and where he pleases, in those who hear the Gospel'.<sup>45</sup> Similarly, Calvin invites similar reflection when he affirms that while salvation is obtained through faith in Christ, it is also true that because of 'ignorance and sloth' outward helps are needed in order 'to beget and increase faith' (IV.1.1).<sup>46</sup> Whatever the source, his choice to consider an ecclesiological topic under a soteriological heading meant that the inverse also became true: justification is regarded as an explicitly ecclesial affair, inasmuch as the sacraments are understood to belong to the Church (*Dec. XI*; 179), as the inward work of Justification is made effective in and through the Church, and as the ceremonies serve as a means for believers to testify that they belong to God's people.

Underscoring Reina's ecclesial approach to justification is his inclusion of the Ministry of the Word and ecclesiastical discipline within the category of external instruments of Justification. God raises up ministers, he writes, 'so that his chosen ones, scattered throughout the whole world, might be called to his fold with the voice of his

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<sup>45</sup> Philipp Melancthon, *The Augsburg Confession*, in *Creeds of the Churches*, ed. J. Leith (Richmond, Virginia: Knox, 1973), 69.

<sup>46</sup> See Hazlett, 'Confession de fe Christiana', 184.

Gospel; and, being called, they might be justified through it'—i.e. through the preaching of the word (*Dec. XIV.1*; 184). Similarly, he explains that while

we are not justified through the exercise of Ecclesiastical Discipline, it appears reasonable to include it among the *external means of our Justification*, given that it is principally through it that the faithful congregated in a particular place are to be kept in righteousness, and in purity of life, as well as in the unity of Faith and agreement in the doctrine which the Church Catholic professes (*Dec. XV.1*; 186, emphasis added).

By laying the stress on God's initiative in calling together and keeping his people in one fellowship through these means, Reina accomplishes two things. On the one hand, he indicates that justification, understood as that 'twofold' work whereby sinners are declared righteous as well as made righteous (recalling Bucer's influence on Reina's doctrine, as discussed in Chapter Two), is a divine work through which sinners are reconciled both with God and with one another as they are drawn together into fellowship. This adds weight to his declared desire to be united with other believers in London by participating in their 'work and afflictions' (*Dec. ['Prefacio']*; 158) and submitting to their discipline (*Dec. XV.2*; 186), and to the close link which Reina draws between justification and sanctification.

On the other hand, the stress on divine initiative permits Reina to draw a subtle distinction with regard to the means of justification and thereby to uphold two truths which would otherwise appear to be contradictory, since it is the case that church discipline is a means of justification and in another sense it is not. Echoing Melancthon's teaching that the Lord's Supper is not to be approached as a means to obtain God's grace through the 'performance' of the ceremony (since grace comes

through faith and not works),<sup>47</sup> Reina affirms that ‘we are not justified through the exercise of Ecclesiastical discipline’. However, just as God uses the proclaimed Word and the sacraments as an external means to impart his Spirit and thereby ‘to work faith, when and where he pleases’,<sup>48</sup> so too Reina implies that church discipline is God’s chosen means of making his church holy and one. As Hazlett notes, Reina’s inclusion of discipline among the other external means of justification means that ‘discipline as an aid to sanctification relates to justification, but is not constitutive of it’.<sup>49</sup>

It is the essential coherence of Reina’s sacramental theology, grounded in systematic reflection on the nature of religious instruments, which has yet to be fully appreciated and expounded within the context of Reina’s confessional theology. Kinder has rightly noted Reina’s irenic spirit, although his conclusion that Reina was ‘basically undogmatic’<sup>50</sup> in his preference ‘to make a simple Scriptural statement that might well be capable of several divergent interpretations’,<sup>51</sup> inaccurately suggests a doctrinal imprecision which is not there. Hauben detects an intentional ambiguity in Reina’s sacramental theology motivated in part by economic and professional reasons, and concludes that Reina exhibited ‘a weakness and deviousness’ as he moved from the Calvinist to the Lutheran camp.<sup>52</sup> Roldán-Figueroa is right to draw parallels between

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<sup>47</sup> Melancthon, *Augsburg Confession*, 85.

<sup>48</sup> Melancthon, *Augsburg Confession*, 69.

<sup>49</sup> Hazlett, ‘Confession de fe Christiana’, 186.

<sup>50</sup> Kinder, *Casiodoro de Reina*, 82.

<sup>51</sup> Kinder, *Casiodoro de Reina*, 89.

<sup>52</sup> P. Hauben, *Three Heretics and the Spanish Reformation: Antonio del Corro, Cassiodoro de Reina, Cypriano de Valera* (Geneva: Droz, 1967), 100.

Reina's Eucharistic theology and that of Martin Bucer,<sup>53</sup> although he fails to appreciate the implications of Reina's instrumental approach to the sacrament.

Reina begins his treatment of the topic by seeking to provide, in a manner shared with the Protestant reformers generally, a biblical basis for restricting the number of rites through which God 'bestows particularly, seals and confirms the benefit of our salvation' (*Dec. XI.1*; 179) to two: Baptism and the Lord's Supper, instituted by Christ in, e.g., Mt 28 and Mt 26, respectively. Other rites 'which have been, or might in the future be included in this number' Reina divides into three groups: holy rites instituted by God but which are not sacraments according to the definition given (Matrimony, Holy Orders and Penance), rites with some foundation in Scripture but which are now unnecessary (Extreme Unction), and mere inventions, such as Confirmation as it 'is practiced in the Roman Church today' (*Dec. XI.3*; 180-81). In classifying these in this way Reina goes beyond Protestant confessional statements which predated his own, e.g. *Tetrapolitan*, *First Helvetic*, Geneva 1536 or *French* 1559 confessions, all of which mention only the two dominical sacraments. For a model he appears to have followed Calvin, for whom only Baptism and the Lord's Supper counted as 'testimonies of divine grace towards us' instituted by divine command (*Inst. IV.19.3*), but who allowed that the ancient rite of Penance might profitably be restored as long as it remained clear that only Baptism counted properly as the 'sacrament of penance' (*Inst. IV.19.17*). It was the Reformed approach that informed Reina's and Corro's convictions regarding the number of sacraments, against the Lutheran view which allowed Penance to occupy a secondary

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<sup>53</sup> Rady Roldán-Figueroa, 'Casiodoro de Reina as Biblical Exegete: Studies on the 1569 Spanish Translation of the Bible' (Th.D. Thesis, Boston University, 2004), 120-121.

place among the sacraments (as in, e.g., *Augsburg Confession*),<sup>54</sup> although the Spaniards would also take seriously Calvin's desire to see the ancient practice of penance restored (*Inst.* IV.19.14).

By beginning his definition of the sacraments as a visible means by which God on his part accomplishes his purposes, Reina follows Calvin, who asserts that they serve as God's means to 'confirm and seal' his promises (*Inst.* IV.14.5). Wishing however to say more than simply that a sacrament is 'an outward sign by which the Lord seals on our consciences the promises of his good will towards us in order to sustain the weakness of our faith' (*Inst.* IV.14.1), or that the sacraments serve primarily to 'announce and tell us, and (as they are guarantees and tokens) ratify among us, those things given us by divine bounty' (*Inst.* IV.14.17), he includes in his basic definition the conviction that sacraments are signs by which a benefit is applied particularly and presently. Since Calvin and Bullinger defined sacraments as 'organs by which God acts efficaciously, when he so pleases',<sup>55</sup> and through which God 'grants within us by his Spirit that which the sacraments figure to our eyes and other senses',<sup>56</sup> Reina sought to define the way in which the signs, while not bestowing grace in and of themselves, were nevertheless, by God's design, effectual means of 'the benefit of our salvation' and of 'the fulfillment of [Christ's] promises' (*Dec.* XI.1; 179-80). In this regard, Roldán-Figueroa misconstrues Reina's fundamental conviction regarding the sacraments when by 'external means' he understands 'the external witness instituted by Christ *subsequent to* the internal witness

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<sup>54</sup> Melancthon, *Augsburg Confession*, 71.

<sup>55</sup> *Zurich Agreement*, 809.

<sup>56</sup> *Zurich Agreement*, 808.

of justification by Christ's Spirit'.<sup>57</sup> Reina's sense is closer to that of Bullinger, Bucer and Capito who in the *First Helvetic Confession* declared that 'the sacraments are not simply outward signs of Christian fellowship', but rather 'signs of divine grace by which the ministers of the Church work with the Lord for the purpose and to the end which He Himself promises, offers and efficaciously provides'.<sup>58</sup>

The notion of working with the Lord to accomplish his purposes receives support from Reina's frequent references to things external, which suggests systematic reflection on the nature and function of religious signs. For him, they are aids God has seen fit not to bypass but to employ as he works an inward and spiritual reality. Far from posing a threat to God's sovereignty, they serve rather as a means to safeguard it. As Melancthon taught, the Gospel and sacraments serve as instruments through which the Spirit is given lest anyone think that the Spirit comes 'through our own preparations, thoughts and works without the external word of the Gospel'.<sup>59</sup> On this basis, Reina approached religious signs first and foremost as instruments of the benefits to which they pointed. As we noted in Chapter Three, the 'external church' was to be approached as a sign and instrument of the 'spiritual and invisible' church, since salvation was not to be sought apart from the visible fellowship. And it was this conviction that led Reina to condemn the indifference through which some might continue to participate in false ceremonies in an outward way on the grounds that it was sufficient to be reformed inwardly (*Dec. 'Epístola'* ¶3; 154). Reina's logic is clear: the fact of divine initiative in no way derogates the human instrument. The fact that Jesus was to be acknowledged as

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<sup>57</sup> Roldán-Figueroa, 'Casiodoro de Reina as Biblical Exegete', 130, emphasis added.

<sup>58</sup> *The First Helvetic Confession*, in Cochrane, *Reformed Confessions of the 16<sup>th</sup> Century*, 107.

<sup>59</sup> Melancthon, *Augsburg Confession*, 69.

our only master did not mean that anything was to be ‘removed from the authority of the *external ministry of the Gospel*, nor from any other *external means* which are used in the Church of the Lord by the institution of the same Lord’ (*Dec.* IX.14, emphasis added; 176-77). On this basis, justification understood as an inward reality was made possible in an external way by signs and instruments of God’s own choosing. For

just as it belongs to Jesus the Christ alone to justify us, and to give us the faith unto it, and the inward testimony of our Justification by his Spirit, so too it belongs to him alone to institute the means or external instruments by which this benefit is applied to us, as are the Sacraments and the Ministry of the Word (*Dec.* XI.2; 180).

Accordingly, Reina’s doctrines of Baptism and the Lord’s Supper emphasize what they are on God’s part, citing the Biblical witness.

In Baptism which is administered according to Christ’s ‘institution and commandment’, as recorded in Matthew 28:19 and Mark 16:16, and ‘in simple and ordinary water’, Reina writes,

the benefit of, and firm testimony to, the complete forgiveness of sin, complete Righteousness and lasting salvation, Regeneration through the Holy Spirit, and entry into the Kingdom of heaven, are effected for all believers, according to the Promise of the same Lord and to the declarations concerning the same Baptism which the Holy Spirit has given through the Apostles in Divine Scripture (*Dec.* XII.1; 181).

For each particular benefit Reina provides the Biblical basis: in Romans 6 forgiveness of sins (v. 22) is linked with baptism into Christ’s death (v. 3); in Galatians 3:27 to be baptized is to put on Christ’s righteousness; in 1 Peter 3:21 baptism is understood to effect salvation; in John 3:5 entry into the Kingdom of heaven is ‘through water and the Spirit’; and in John 3:7 and Titus 3:5 the washing is one of regeneration or new birth which, in the context of Reina’s confession, refers to that work of the Holy Spirit (*Dec.*

I.2; 160) whereby sinners are made new creatures (*Dec.* XVII.1; 189) and made to participate in Christ's divine nature, according to 2 Peter 1:4 (*Dec.* IX.7; 172-73).

Clearly according to Reina the Sacrament of Baptism serves not only to testify to this work of regeneration, but to accomplish it, for he notes in the margin: 'In baptism that which the words state, and that which the action of washing represents, is effected presently' (*Dec.* XII.1; 181). That it is not through any special virtue of the water, as the *Zurich Agreement* explained,<sup>60</sup> is clear from the insistence that the rite be performed 'in simple and ordinary water'. By the same token, the action of washing points to an inward work which is not prior to the ceremony. In this Reina agreed with Bucer:

Of Baptism, therefore, we confess that which Scripture in various places declares of it: that by it we are buried into Christ's death, are united into one body and put on Christ; that it is the washing of regeneration, that it washes away sins and saves us.<sup>61</sup>

Roldán-Figueroa, who is right to point out that Reina was drawn to Bucer as a conciliatory figure,<sup>62</sup> misses Reina's high instrumental view when he remarks that according to Reina Baptism 'is primarily a "confession" in which "firm witness" is given of the forgiveness of sin'.<sup>63</sup> Given that he misses Reina's point that the rite includes a present benefit as well as a testimony, Roldán-Figueroa's contention that Reina's view of regeneration was voluntaristic, anticipating Pietism, is difficult to sustain.<sup>64</sup> However, his

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<sup>60</sup> *Zurich Agreement*, 809.

<sup>61</sup> Bucer, *Tetrapolitan Confession*, 74. Similarly, the *First Helvetic Confession* refers to baptism as a 'bath of regeneration' (108), and Bucer as a 'baptism of regeneration and renewal in the Holy Spirit whereby those who are baptised have all their sins washed away', in 'Brief Summary of Christian Doctrine' (Strasburg, 1548) in *Common Places of Martin Bucer*, ed. and trans. D.F. Wright (Appleford, Abingdon, Berkshire: Sutton Courtenay Press, 1972), 84.

<sup>62</sup> Roldán-Figueroa, 'Casiodoro de Reina as Biblical Exegete', 109.

<sup>63</sup> Roldán-Figueroa, 'Casiodoro de Reina as Biblical Exegete', 117.

<sup>64</sup> Roldán-Figueroa, 'Casiodoro de Reina as Biblical Exegete', 134-5.

assertion that Baptism is in the final analysis for Reina a ‘communitarian’ act,<sup>65</sup> understood in Covenantal language,<sup>66</sup> is insightful, given that Reina defends infant baptism with reference to Church tradition and to membership in God’s Covenant:

And while there is no explicit mention in Divine Scripture that Baptism be administered to children before they reach the age of reason, we nevertheless conform ourselves to the Church of the Lord, which holds it to be more Scriptural to do so rather than not, since children are no less members of the Covenant than their Parents through the benefit and promise of the Lord (*Dec.* XII.3; 182).

On this point Reina once again follows Bucer, who admitted that the Scriptures did not require infant baptism,<sup>67</sup> but defended the practice as he defined Baptism as ‘the sacrament of the covenant that God makes with those who are his, promising to be their God and Protector’.<sup>68</sup>

Reina’s discussion of what the Lord’s Supper is on God’s part follows the same pattern of establishing the rite’s proper form and Scriptural basis, of defining the grace given as both a present benefit and testimony, and of relating the rite to God’s Covenant with his people. Thus he begins by declaring that the Supper is to be ‘administered legitimately with true Faith, with ordinary bread and wine, in memory of the Lord’s death, and in the form in which divine writ records that he instituted and administered it, and his Apostles used it’ (*Dec.* XIII.1; 182-83). With this Reina signals his agreement with fellow Protestants generally that the rite was to be restored to its primitive use, as recorded in the Gospels, and as celebrated in memory of Christ’s death, which was offered once and for all (*Dec.* IX.8; 173). That ordinary bread and wine are required

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<sup>65</sup> Roldán-Figueroa, ‘Casiodoro de Reina as Biblical Exegete’, 134.

<sup>66</sup> Roldán-Figueroa, ‘Casiodoro de Reina as Biblical Exegete’, 114.

<sup>67</sup> Bucer, *Common Places*, 30.

<sup>68</sup> Melancthon, *Augsburg Confession*, 85.

echoes his point about the water of Baptism, i.e. that the signs have no inherent power to effect the grace which they signify, while the fact that faith is necessary likewise indicates agreement with the *Augsburg Confession*, which states that ‘without faith [the Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper] is used in vain’.<sup>69</sup>

Taken by itself, Reina’s statement on the means by which believers participate in Christ’s flesh and blood might be misconstrued as Lutheran. Given Calvin’s assertion that ‘greatly mistaken are those who conceive no presence of flesh in the Supper unless it lies in the bread’ (*Inst.* IV.17.31), Reina’s conviction that Christ’s words ‘this is my body’ and ‘this is my blood’ (1 Cor 11) meant that ‘all believers are given *in the bread* the same and true body of the Lord, which was given over to death for us; and *in the wine*, his own blood, which was shed for the forgiveness of our sins’ (*Dec.* XIII.1, emphasis added; 183), would appear to place him within the Lutheran realist tradition which Calvin opposed. In that tradition, a doctrine of Christ’s body and blood being ‘really present in the Supper of our Lord under the form of bread and wine’<sup>70</sup> was linked to what Calvin referred to as ‘the monstrous notion’ that after his ascension Christ’s humanity was in all places, i.e. the ubiquity of Christ’s humanity (*Inst.* IV.17.30). In fact, Roldán-Figueroa detects a ‘growing incorporation of ubiquitarian elements to [Reina’s] Eucharistic thought’<sup>71</sup> on the assumption that Reina synthesizes a Lutheran doctrine of the ‘real presence’ with a Zwinglian reminder that the Supper is ‘a symbolic memorial’ of

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<sup>69</sup> Melancthon, *Augsburg Confession*, 85.

<sup>70</sup> Melancthon, *Augsburg Confession*, 71.

<sup>71</sup> Roldán-Figueroa, ‘Casiodoro de Reina as Biblical Exegete’, 109.

Christ's death.<sup>72</sup> Hauben agrees, suggesting that the entire chapter on the Lord's Supper lends itself to a Lutheran reading.<sup>73</sup>

It must be said, however, that the chapter insists on a Covenantal and spiritual conception of real participation in Christ which is specifically follows Calvin's emphasis. As a testimony (still on God's part), the Lord's Supper assures believers

that they are admitted into [God's] New Accord (*Concierto*) and Covenant which was ratified forever for his People by the hand of the Only Mediator Jesus the Christ, and signed with his death and blood; by virtue of which Covenant they are Spiritually fed and kept in the holy Supper with the nourishment of his Body and blood, so that they might likewise participate in his divine and eternal life being incorporated in him, and being made flesh of his flesh, bones of his bones (*Dec. XIII.2*; 183).

The notion that believers are understood to be united with Christ relationally by God's Spirit, since Jesus has ascended (as discussed in Chapter Two), supports Reina's assertion that the feeding in the Supper is spiritual. Since the gifts are given 'to all believers', Reina's doctrine implies a denial of the Lutheran conviction that the ungodly also receive.<sup>74</sup> It is undoubtedly for such reasons that McCrie and Menéndez Pelayo assume that Reina's doctrine of the Supper was Calvinist.<sup>75</sup>

Reina's intent appears to have been to secure the widest possible agreement between Calvinists and Lutherans by teaching that while the humanity of the ascended Lord was not ubiquitous, Christ could nonetheless be truly present in the bread and wine

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<sup>72</sup> Roldán-Figueroa, 'Casiodoro de Reina as Biblical Exegete', 118.

<sup>73</sup> Hauben, *Three Spanish Heretics*, 89.

<sup>74</sup> Martin Luther, *The Smalcald Articles*, in *Creeds and Confessions of Faith in the Christian Tradition*, vol. 2: *Creeds and Confessions of the Reformation Era*, ed. J. Pelikan and V. Hotchkiss (New Haven, Conn./London: Yale Univ. Press, 2003), 143.

<sup>75</sup> Thomas M' Crie, *History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Spain in the Sixteenth Century* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1829), 369; M. Menéndez Pelayo, *Historia de los heterodoxos españoles*, vol. 2 (Madrid: Librería Católica de San José, 1880-82), 475.

of communion—and not simply ‘in the Supper’ as Calvin preferred (*Inst.* IV.17.16, 18, 20, 31). That the solution was not entirely convincing is clear from a letter of 24 March 1565 in which Reina responded to Beza’s concerns that he was too much of a Lutheran.<sup>76</sup> In that letter, Reina clarified that Jesus’ body and blood were not to be sought in the elements, as though they were enclosed within them, or as if they were received by believers and unbelievers alike. Rather, Christ’s body and blood were to be sought by faith, ‘higher up, that is, in [Christ’s] glory and majesty, where he is seated at the right hand of God his Father’.<sup>77</sup> In so doing, he opts for the more dynamic notion that Christ is present ‘in the Supper’.<sup>78</sup> To that extent he comes closer to Calvin, who wrote that ‘we must establish such a presence of Christ in the Supper as may neither fasten him to the element of bread, nor enclose him in bread, nor circumscribe him in any way (all which things, it is clear, detract from his heavenly glory)’ (*Inst.* IV.17.18).

It would be a mistake to assume that Reina modified his view in any substantial way, however. His desire throughout was to establish the highest possible degree of instrumentality for the outward signs. So, to echo his words regarding Baptism, he explained that in the Supper ‘that which the words state, and which the whole external

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<sup>76</sup> Eduard Boehmer, ‘Casiodoro de Reina and his sons Marcos and Augustino’, in *Bibliotheca Wiffeniana: Spanish Reformers of Two Centuries*, vol. 3 (Strasburg: Trübner, 1904), 173.

<sup>77</sup> Casiodoro de Reina, ‘Response de Cassiodoro à l’Eglise sur la lettre d’Olevianus’ (24 Mar 1565), in Boehmer, ‘Casiodoro de Reina’, 195. Reina’s position recalls that of Peter Martyr Vermigli, who at the Colloquy of Poissy (1561) had explained that ‘the body and blood of Christ [are] really and substantially only in the heavens, yet the faithful truly receive, spiritually and through faith, the communication of His true body and his true blood, which were delivered to the cross for our sake’. See J. C. McLelland, *The Visible Words of God: An Exposition of the Sacramental Theology of Peter Martyr Vermigli A.D. 1500-1562* (Edinburgh/London: Oliver & Boyd, 1957), 287.

<sup>78</sup> Reina, ‘Response’, 197.

action of washing represents, is effected presently' (*Dec. XIII.1*; 182).<sup>79</sup> In the same letter of March 1565 he explained, with reference to Bucer's doctrine, that participation in Christ was made effective in the Supper, in which the true body and blood of Christ were given by faith 'presently and substantially', in a way which human reason could not fathom.<sup>80</sup>

That Reina's motive is at heart an ecumenical one is evident from his reference to the *Tetrapolitan Confession* (1536), in which, he notes, Bucer and Capito sought agreement with Luther in the matter of the Supper.<sup>81</sup> Mirroring Corro's critique of an ultra-Lutheranism which separated itself from other Protestants based on disagreements over the Supper, Reina implicitly critiques an extreme Calvinism which forgets that Calvin himself honored both Luther, in spite of his authorship of the doctrine of the 'carnal manducation of Christ's body',<sup>82</sup> and Melanchthon, author of the *Augsburg Confession*, as well as Zwingli, who never contemplated 'the real and substantial exhibition of the body of Christ in the Supper'.<sup>83</sup> To this point Reina adds a passionate

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<sup>79</sup> The *First Helvetic Confession* (1536) affirmed that in the Lord's Supper 'the Lord truly offers his body and blood, that is, Himself, to His own, and enables them to enjoy such fruit that He lives ever more and more in them and they in him' (108).

<sup>80</sup> Reina, 'Response', 195. Bucer had written that Christ 'does not leave heaven, neither is he naturally mingled with the bread and wine, nor locally confined in them, but gives himself to us there after a heavenly manner. . . . We teach that one must hold fast to this simple and scriptural confession, and commit to the Lord any further inessential questions . . .' (*Common Places*, 87). Bucer had rejected the Lutheran ubiquity doctrine at the Wittenberg Conference of 1536 (See D. F. Wright, 'Introduction', in *Common Places of Martin Bucer*, The Courtenay Library of Reformation Classics (Appleford, Abingdon, Berkshire, England: Courtenay Press, 1972), 36).

<sup>81</sup> Reina, 'Response', 198.

<sup>82</sup> Reina, 'Response', 197.

<sup>83</sup> Reina, 'Response', 198. As Wright notes, 'exhibitio' was Bucer's preferred term, as he insisted the Christ's presence was objective, and a 'substantial' reality ('Introduction', 35).

plea for concord,<sup>84</sup> noting that by condemning others in these secondary matters one might, in effect, condemn those very leaders whom God raised up to renew the church.<sup>85</sup>

In sum, while Kinder is surely right to assert that Reina did not feel ‘bound to one system to the exclusion of others’,<sup>86</sup> this should not be taken to mean that Reina’s doctrine of the Supper was imprecise. As Kinder notes, Reina ‘definitely avoids’ the Lutheran doctrine, favoring instead a Calvinist instrumental view of ‘real presence’.<sup>87</sup> His spiritual conception of that presence is consistent, moreover, since it is grounded upon systematic reflection on the effectual instrumentality of outward signs. Such was the view of Ponce de la Fuente, for whom the Supper was a present means of communion, since the believer was to approach the Supper confident that the body and blood of Christ were there.<sup>88</sup>

Reina’s discussion of what the sacraments are on ‘our part’ serves two main functions. On the one hand, as a secondary point in each case it underscores the notion that the sacraments are not primarily about what believers do, but about what God does in

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<sup>84</sup> As Reina’s appeals to Bucer suggest, his debt to the Strasburg reformer’s conciliatory approach to the Supper disputes is unmistakable. Bucer’s effort to mediate between a ‘realist sacramentalism, with its notions of absolutely necessary and objective inherent efficacy’ and ‘symbolist spiritualism, with its notions of introspective meditation on one’s relationship with what is basically beyond’, could apply to Reina. To this we could add the ‘Chalcedonian’ way in which the coming together of things external and internal are ‘distinct but not separate, yet involving no material fusion or hazy commixture’. See Ian Hazlett, ‘Eucharistic Communion: impulses and directions in Martin Bucer’s thought’, in *Martin Bucer: Reforming Church and Community*, ed. D.F. Wright (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1994), 81-82. Relevant here too is Peter Martyr Vermigli’s conciliatory approach to the Supper, via that which Torrance Kirby describes as an ‘instrumental realism’ which ‘seeks to reconcile the conflicting positions of Zwingli’s anti-realist sacramentarian memorialism and Luther’s hyper-realist consubstantiation’. See T. Kirby, *The Zurich Connection and Tudor Political Theology* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 15.

<sup>85</sup> Reina, ‘Response’, 197-8.

<sup>86</sup> Kinder, *Casiodoro de Reina*, 87.

<sup>87</sup> Kinder, *Casiodoro de Reina*, 86-7.

<sup>88</sup> Constantino Ponce de la Fuente, *Catecismo Cristiano*, in *Reformistas Antiguos Españoles*, vol. XIX, ed. B. Wiffen and L. Usoz y Rio (Madrid: [José Alegría?], 1863), 351.

and through them. On the other hand, it ties together Reina's ecumenical concern with his emphasis on the marks of the obedient church as discussed in Chapter Three. Thus in Baptism the church responds to God's work of regeneration by professing

perfect renunciation of the devil, of Sin, of the world, and of ourselves; and finally stripping off, death and burial of our old man with all his works and lusts, and the putting on of the New, which is created in the image of God in Righteousness and holiness, and finally Resurrection with Christ to new and heavenly life (*Dec. XII.2*; 181-82).

Likewise, in the Lord's Supper the church responds to God's work of sanctification by promising solemnly to demonstrate that they belong to Christ's body and God's Covenant family 'through the purity, piety and holiness of our whole life, and especially through the singular Charity, love and unity which will be found among us' (*Dec. XIII.3*; 184). Since Reina also approached the Ministry of the Word as an 'external means of justification' (*Dec. XIV.1*; 184), as noted earlier, it remains to consider the central role which both he and Corro attributed to regular confession as a response to the preaching of the Word.

### **The Sacrament of the Word**

Confession as practiced under the Papacy, as Pérez de Pineda explains, required those who had reached the age of discretion to confess their sins at least once a year to a priest, mentioning every sin, whether public or private, as well as the various circumstances of each sin. The Pope and the Bishops had the power to reserve for themselves special cases, depending on the severity of the sin, which could not be dealt with by ordinary priests (*BTD* 48-9). Corro mentions the numerous virtues understood to be obtained through this Sacrament. Among these were freedom from eternal death, the

right to enter paradise, the multiplication of advocates (as priests prayed for the penitent), satisfaction for sins, and the grace to avoid falling into sin (*CFII* 151).

Given the practice as it stood, Corro felt compelled to ask whether there was any need, then, to seek God's grace and Christ's intercession, since the rite appeared to accomplish everything, without the special work of the Holy Spirit (*CFII* 152). Zwingli referred to the practice as a form of 'pure idolatry', given that to assign remittance of sins 'to a creature robs God of his honor and gives it to one who is not God'.<sup>89</sup> The *French Confession of Faith* (1559) included auricular confession among those practices to be rejected since they were human inventions through which forgiveness and salvation were understood to be merited.<sup>90</sup> Similarly, Pérez de Pineda maintained that the practice of 'uttering all one's sins, public and secret, into the ear of a clergyman or friar' was nowhere to be found in Scripture (*BTD* 51). It is undoubtedly for this reason that the practice of auricular confession was not used by Calvin and those associated with him.<sup>91</sup>

The Spanish reformers' aim was not to abolish confession, but to reform it. In this regard they followed the model of Ponce de la Fuente who, while including it among the sacraments, insisted that confession in its most basic form was secret, before God, and in response to God's call, issued through his proclaimed Word 'on a thousand occasions' (*Cate.* 340). Confidence was not to be attached to what one does or can do, but in Christ's work on the cross. On this basis, the penitent Christian would experience

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<sup>89</sup> H. Zwingli, 'Sixty Seven Articles', in *Creeds and Confessions of Faith in the Christian Tradition*, vol. 2: *Creeds and Confessions of the Reformation Era*, ed. J. Pelikan and V. Hotchkiss (New Haven, Conn./London: Yale Univ. Press, 2003), 213.

<sup>90</sup> The French Confession of Faith, in *Reformed Confessions of the 16<sup>th</sup> Century*, ed. A. C. Cochrane. (London: SCM Press, 1966), 152-53.

<sup>91</sup> W. H. Griffith Thomas, *The Principles of Theology: An Introduction to the Thirty-Nine Articles* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1930), 356.

a great desire ‘to turn to the unity of the Church, and to hear there the voice proclaiming his pardon . . .’ (*Cate.* 341-42). For this the penitent Christian was to hear God’s mercy and pardon proclaimed through a ‘good Minister’, and to remember ‘that he is not absolved through private authority . . . , but that he has received this benefit on the authority of the Son of God, in whose place stands his Minister’ (*Cate.* 343-44).

While not counting it as a sacrament, Reina and Corro allowed for private confession. Reina followed Ponce de la Fuente’s approach from a strong sense that the preaching of the Gospel, together with the sacraments, was an instrument of justification whereby sinners were not only called into visible fellowship, but also kept in it, since just as their ‘corruption is perpetual’ (*Dec.* XX.3; 202) so was their need for regular confession and absolution. Following the structure of the Apostles’ Creed, he devoted one chapter of his confession to the topic: ‘Of the Remission of sins; of the power of the Keys, and of their legitimate use’ (*Dec.* XX; 201). Corro agreed that confession was not a sacrament, but driven by the conviction that true believers are visibly marked by their ‘care in mortifying the old Adam’ and ‘renunciation of the World’ (*EP* 66), he made confession a central feature of his discussion on religious ceremonies, arguing that confession was to be seen as a regular means of receiving God’s promise of forgiveness. In what follows, we shall consider the way in which the Spaniards reflected Ponce’s concerns as they sought to reform the ceremony.

In the first place, Corro and Reina understand regular confession to flow directly from the believer’s initial experience of conversion, brought about by God through his

Word. As Corro explains, as did Ponce de la Fuente in *Confesión de un Pecador*,<sup>92</sup> God uses the Law to convict the elect of their sin and of their inability to fulfill its requirements (*CFII* 152-3). From this basic act which one feels compelled to perform but which is at the same time voluntary, ‘we maintain in our churches and teach in our sermons’ various other forms of confession which flow directly from it, explains Corro. At the top of that list is the regular and private form of confession ‘which ought continually to resound in the mouth and heart of God’s children and the truly repentant’ (*CFII* 155). In his turn, Reina distinguishes between initial and regular confession when he explains that absolution which comes through the preaching of the Gospel, and ‘through which all believers are granted the remission of all sins *a culpa et a poena* and complete and true righteousness is imputed to them, by virtue of the Death and Resurrection of the Lord (*Dec.* XX.1; 201),

serves not only for the absolution of the past sins of those who are admitted to [the Church] anew, but even as a perpetual remedy for all the times they might fall into sin in whichever way, having once been made members of Jesus the Christ, since our corruption is perpetual, as is the danger of falling at any time during this life (*Dec.* XX.3; 202).

Emphasized here is the fact that secret confession directly to God is basic, since, as Calvin pointed out, ‘it is the Lord who forgives, forgets, and wipes out, sins’ (*Inst.* III.4.9). Similarly, Pérez de Pineda instructed the sinner to ‘to have recourse only to God’, through his Word, for complete forgiveness of sins (*BTD* 49).

The role of human instruments in pronouncing God’s absolution was not, for this reason, neglected. As Corro and Reina made clear, the ceremony was not to be regarded

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<sup>92</sup> Constantino Ponce de la Fuente, *Confesión de un Pecador*, ed. E. M. Bellido and intro. D. E. Herrero (Sevilla: MAD, 2009), 375.

as so secret and immediate as to have no need for outward signs. Writing in favor of at least a general confession in the congregation, Pérez de Pineda had written that ‘the pardon announced through the Gospel by its disciples and ministers is to us so firm and true, as if God himself had descended from heaven and announced it himself’ (*BTD* 58). Calvin had pointed out that private confession was not to be regarded as compulsory (*Inst.* III.4.7),<sup>93</sup> and still encouraged Christians who felt unable to free themselves from afflictions on their own (*Inst.* III.4.12)<sup>94</sup> to find a suitable person within the church, preferably pastors, ‘inasmuch as they should be especially qualified above the rest’ to hear one’s confession, and to hear from that person God’s assurance of pardon:

Thus, although all of us ought to console one another and confirm one another in assurance of divine mercy, we see that the ministers themselves have been ordained witnesses and sponsors of it to assure our consciences of forgiveness of sins, to the extent that they are said to forgive sins and to loose souls (*Inst.* III.4.12).

The ‘high doctrine of the authority of ministers’ which McNeill detects here in Calvin<sup>95</sup> must also apply to Reina, who explains that the authority to bind and loose sins belongs by Christ’s commission to ‘all legitimate Ministers of his Gospel, to whose word said power is linked’ (*Dec.* XX.2; 201-2), and to whom ‘such great obedience is due, such that the one who would obey or despise them ought to be seen as obeying or despising the same Lord, whose envoys they are’ (*Dec.* XIV.3; 185). That Reina has in mind private confession and absolution by ministers of the Gospel is apparent in his remark that it

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<sup>93</sup> See also Bucer, *Tetrapolitan Confession*, 78.

<sup>94</sup> See also Melancthon, *Augsburg Confession*, 86.

<sup>95</sup> J.T. McNeill, in Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, 636.

belongs to them to discern to whom they are to pronounce God's absolution 'on account of their true Penitence and Faith' (*Dec. XX.2*; 202).<sup>96</sup>

For his part, Corro is less concerned that private confession, when required, should involve a minister of the Gospel, since he encouraged the penitent Christian simply to seek out 'another person who is blessed with God's Spirit and who follows true and sincere piety' so that that person might administer God's words of comfort and pardon. He did, however, allow for private confession in the presence of the church's pastors and doctors, but left it up to the individual Christian to discern which were faithful (*CFII* 156). His concern here reflects that of, e.g., the *Tetrapolitan Confession*, which notes the way in which Nestorius, bishop of Constantinople, felt the need to abolish private confession after a woman was discovered to be sleeping with her confessor.<sup>97</sup> Reina, too, noted that ministers were to be received as from the Lord,

as long as their vocation to the ministry is legitimate, and as long as they do not teach a Gospel which is contrary to the one which the Lord taught and commanded to be preached among all peoples, and as long as they do not rule tyrannically over the consciences of those they are above all to serve, since the Kingdom and inheritance belongs to the Lord (*Dec. XIV.3*; 185).

Both Reina and Corro upheld, in the end, an external sign by which believers were assured of God's pardon. In this Reina, in particular, with his conviction that the Ministry of the Word was an instrument of justification, sought to express the sacramental nature of the spoken Word which was implicit in Calvin's recognition that if anything at all in the so-called Sacrament of Penance was to be considered a Sacrament it

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<sup>96</sup> We recall that Reina defines 'Penitence' as 'true knowledge, repentance, regret and abhorrence of sin, with true renunciation of it and of the corrupt root from which man is born' (*Dec. X.1*; 177-78).

<sup>97</sup> Bucer, *Tetrapolitan Confession*, 78.

was absolution, defined as ‘a ceremony to confirm our faith in forgiveness of sins’ (*Inst.* IV.19.16).

Apart from addressing abuses such as those mentioned above, Corro and Reina sought the renewal of an ordered ministry as they insisted, with the *Augsburg Confession*, that it was impossible for the faithful ‘to enumerate all trespasses and sins’.<sup>98</sup> The link between the two concerns is drawn by Reina, who notes that when it comes to pronouncing absolution to those in whom they discern evidence of true repentance ‘there is no reservation of cases for some Ministers among the rest, since there cannot be, given that all possess [authority] to the same degree’ (*Dec.* XX.2; 202).<sup>99</sup> Since Reina had stressed that ‘all sins’ were forgiven through the preaching of the Gospel and by virtue of Christ’s death (*Dec.* XX.1; 201), there were no grounds for singling out certain sins which could only be dealt with by bishops and other senior clergy.<sup>100</sup> Corro, similarly, condemned the practice of categorizing sins and corresponding absolutions according to the ranks of the clergy, from the popes to archbishops to simple bishops and right down to ordinary priests (*CFII* 152). As Pérez de Pineda had observed, the practice of listing in detail one’s sins, as well as their circumstances, had allowed the clergy to lord it over the consciences of the faithful (*BTD* 53), while the practice of ‘reserving particular cases for bishops’ gave them special authority for which there was no warrant in Scripture: ‘Bishop and priest are the same thing: they enjoy the same office, the same authority, the same power, and the same vocation; what one can do so can the other, and nothing can be reserved for one over and against the other’ (*BTD* 60-61).

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<sup>98</sup> Melancthon, *Augsburg Confession*, 71.

<sup>99</sup> See Hazlett, ‘Confession de fe Christiana’, 202.

<sup>100</sup> See Hazlett, ‘Confession de fe Christiana’, 202.

Following Calvin's discussion closely (*Inst.* III.4.9-12), and with the conviction that Penance was a 'holy ceremony ... used very modestly' by the early church fathers (*CFII* 114), Corro goes on to list four other forms of confession to be practiced in the life of the church. The first of these was public confession, following the example of David, who illustrates his own humility and disgrace but also God's goodness. The second was general confession in church before the sermon in preparation for correction by the preaching of the Gospel, and to receive absolution, confident that remission of sins is to be found 'in the church' (*CFII* 156-57). The third involved reconciliation with the person one had offended; while the fourth called for public confession before the Christian assembly, as when an offence constituted a scandal to the church (*CFII* 157). While noting that this last type of confession was distorted and abused after it was replaced by private confession, Corro notes that it is nonetheless grounded in good patristic tradition. Corro thus reveals his desire to persuade Philip II that Protestants, far from abolishing confession, were eager to retain a robust practice:

In this our adversaries, who call us heretics, will be able to see clearly that our intention is not to abolish confession in the Christian church, but rather instead of a superstitious form of confession which is filled with an infinite number of abuses we teach six types of confession drawn from and approved by the word of God (*CFII* 157).

In conclusion, the prominence given by Corro and Reina to their doctrine of confession in their treatment of Christian ceremonies is certainly significant. Apart from being the one ceremony given sustained treatment in *Carta a Felipe II*, confession becomes the 'Sacrament of the Word' through absolution, as the preached Word of God is approached as an instrument of a regular and present assurance of divine correction and pardon, so that the believer might be confident that the remission of sins is to be found 'in

the church' (*CFII* 157). In Reina's case, the doctrine is expressed as an article of faith,<sup>101</sup> and given special significance in so far as the proclamation of the Word, as the initial instrument through which the elect are called together and justified (*Dec.* XIV.1; 184),<sup>102</sup> serves logically as the foundation for Baptism and the Lord's Supper. Like Corro, Reina draws attention to the ecclesial significance of the ceremony by teaching that faithful Ministers of the Gospel, whose duty it is to pronounce God's pardon, serve as 'external means of Justification' not only to call the elect together (*Dec.* XIV.1; 184), but to keep the flock together in unity of faith, charity and discipline (*Dec.* XIV.2; 185).

The priority of the Word to which Corro's and Reina's doctrine of confession draws attention also undergirds 'nomadic' elements in their theology of ceremonies. As Reina calls on fellow Spaniards publicly to leave behind the false ceremony of the papacy (*Dec.* 'Epístola' ¶3; 154), so Corro begs Philip II to put an end to the persecution of Protestants who seek absolution 'only in the preaching and meditation on the divine word' (*CFII* 166), rather than in mandatory auricular confession (*CFII* 157), which went hand in hand with 'the multiplication of advocates before God' (*CFII* 151) and the ranking of clergy according to the kind of sins they were authorized to absolve (*CFII* 152). The presence in Rome of 'sin merchants' who offered remission of sins in exchange for money (*CFII* 157), epitomized the scandal of this return to Temple ceremonies. Added to this call to 'come out of Egypt' in the context of confession is the acknowledgement that the Christian life, while based on faith which comes from above

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<sup>101</sup> Following, perhaps, Melancthon in *Augsburg Confession*, 71, 86-87; or Bucer, *The Tetrapolitan Confession*, 78-79.

<sup>102</sup> While Reina considers first the Sacraments (*Dec.* XI to XIII; 179-84), and then the Ministry of the Word (*Dec.* XIII; 184-85), as 'external instruments of justification', when listing the marks of the 'external church' he mentions the Ministry of the Word in the first instance, followed by the sacraments and Ecclesiastical Discipline (*Dec.* XIX.2-4; 194-95).

(*CFII* 165), involves commitment to ‘lively and good works of hope, mortification and charity’ (*CFII* 166) and the conviction that the believer’s corruption remains perpetual (*Dec. XX.3*; 202).

While both Reina and Corro sought a mediating position in debates concerning the Lord’s Supper, their particular theologies of signs reflected—and to some extent shed light on—tensions within Reformed sacramental theology. Laying the stress on divine initiative in the sacraments, Reina was convinced of their present instrumental efficacy. That ordered ministry and ecclesiastical discipline were, together with these, external instruments of justification, serves not only as a reminder that Reina assumed, with Bucer,<sup>103</sup> a ‘double’ justification, but that that he sought to apply this insight to his sacramental theology. Against the charge of imprecision (Kinder) and suspicions of Lutheranism (Hauben) and of holding a view of the sacraments as signs which are subsequent to the inward grace (Roldán-Figueroa), we have observed in Reina a ‘high’ view of the efficacy of external signs, for which his *Declaración* stands out among the Reformed confessions, and which attests both to his systematic sensibility as a theologian and to a strong desire to mediate between Protestants as he made his way between Lutheran and Calvinist communities at different points in his career. Corro’s theology of signs, by contrast, reflects a sharper critique of image-centered religion. In his plea to his Catholic king on behalf of fellow Protestants, this critique informs what we have regarded as an essentially Zwinglian memorialist approach to the sacraments, against received Calvinist and spiritualist readings by Rivera García and McFadden, respectively. As Corro reacts to factionalism within Protestantism, he links the critique to his

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<sup>103</sup> Hazlett, ‘Confession de fe Christiana’, 136.

condemnation of any tradition that would consider its own word a 'fifth gospel', and from there he moves to an insistence on the priority of an inward experience of Christ reflected in self-mortification and the way of the cross.

In a plea to Francis I on behalf of persecuted Protestants in France, Reina's and Corro's fellow exile John Calvin made a case for the reform of doctrine and ceremonies out of a desire to see 'how God's truth may retain its place of honor, how Christ's Kingdom may be kept in good repair among us'.<sup>104</sup> Having studied the way in which the Spanish Protestants sought to reform religious ceremonies by stressing the centrality of the proclaimed Word, based on a liminal model of the church which was in some important ways their own, we turn next to the way in which this ecclesiological foundation shaped their view of the role of the church in relation to the commonwealth and the nations.

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<sup>104</sup> John Calvin, 'Prefatory Adress to King Francis', in *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, 11.

## Chapter Five

‘Bearing the disgrace he bore’ (Heb 13: 13):

### The Church and the World

In his magisterial study of Christian mission, the late missiologist David Bosch wrote: ‘You can’t speak of the church without speaking of mission; so you can’t think of the church without thinking of the world to which it is sent’.<sup>1</sup> On this basis we might ask: If the Spanish Protestants conceived the church as God’s persecuted people called to suffer with Christ in hopes of reigning with him in the age to come, what was to be said of the mission of the church in the present world? Or, from an institutional angle, if the church was understood to be gathered and kept in holiness through the ministries of Word and Sacrament, how was its work in and for the world to be defined?

The beginning of an answer to this question was suggested in Chapter Two, in relation to the church’s participation in Christ’s prophetic ministry. We learned there that

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<sup>1</sup> David J. Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis, 1991), 377. Similarly, J. Andrew Kirk writes that there is ‘no theology which is not missionary, since theology is, by its very nature, about fundamental concerns which affect life at all levels’. See *What is Mission?* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd Ltd., 1999), 11.

Reina regarded participation in Christ as dynamic and public, as Christians sought prophetically to declare God's will in the world.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, Corro understood his own confession of faith as a response to Peter's call to express 'the hope that you have' (1 Pet 3:15).<sup>3</sup> On the whole, however, our study until now has focussed mainly on the way in which a 'scattered' people come to be gathered. Thus we have moved from a discussion regarding the Church's foundation and essential nature to a study of its marks as a means of recognition and fellowship, and of its ministries of Word and Sacrament as the means through which (in Calvin's words) God 'invites us into the Society of Christ and holds us therein'.<sup>4</sup> In this chapter we examine the Spanish Protestant mission agenda, looking in particular at its motivation and goal, its attention to the problem of agency, and the missionary thrust and content of its message.

While arguing that Reina's overall concern was to emphasize the 'practical manifestations of Christianity' (since Reina devotes considerable attention to the life and public witness of Christians), Kinder took the subject for granted, choosing instead to situate Reina within the more or less intramural Christological and Sacramental debates of the time.<sup>5</sup> The scope of McFadden's study of Corro is similar, but goes perhaps even further in rendering these doctrinal and ceremonial matters strictly 'in house', for he

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<sup>2</sup> Casiodoro de Reina, *Declaración, o Confesión de Fe hecha por ciertos fieles españoles, que, huyendo los abusos de la iglesia Romana y la crueldad de la Inquisición d'España hizieron a la Iglesia de los fieles para ser en ella recebidos por hermanos en Christo* (Frankfurt, 1577), IX.13.

<sup>3</sup> Antonio del Corro, *Carta enviada a la Majestad del Rey de las Españas*, in *Obras de los reformadores Españoles del siglo XVI*, vol. 1, ed. E. M. Bellido (Sevilla, Editorial MAD, 2006), 100.

<sup>4</sup> John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion. The Library of Christian Classics, vols. 20 and 21*, ed. J.T. McNeill & trans. F.L. Battles (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1960), IV.

<sup>5</sup> A. G. Kinder, Introduction, *The Spanish Protestant Confession of Faith London, 1560/1561* (Exeter: The University of Exeter, 1988), xx. See also A.G. Kinder, *Casiodoro de Reina: Spanish Reformer of the Sixteenth Century* (London: Tamesis Books Ltd., 1975), 89.

assumed that Corro minimized the need for the church to evangelize non-Christians based on a ‘scant regard for orthodox Christology’ and on a confidence in ‘salvation by good conduct’.<sup>6</sup> More recent studies of the two reformers suggest an earlier blind spot. Roldán-Figueroa appeals to a notion of mission as the church’s struggle against the forces of evil by noting the central role which Reina gave to the Scriptures, their translation, and to the proclamation of the message of the sufficiency of Christ’s sacrifice, in the work of bringing about the ultimate downfall of the Antichrist.<sup>7</sup> Likewise, Rivera García’s study of Corro as a theologian of concord reminds us that while Corro did indeed promote a form of religious tolerance, his approach to proclaiming the Christian faith was guided by the convictions that there was one true religion and that the way to advance it was through persuasion.<sup>8</sup>

### **Mission Models**

An initial survey of the mission models which the Spaniards inherited or engaged will help us define the Spanish Protestant model in a preliminary way. From there, guided by the assumption that the radical/magisterial tension noted in Reina’s and Corro’s ecclesiology thus far also shapes their mission agenda, we shall seek to expound

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<sup>6</sup> W. McFadden, ‘Life and Works of Antonio del Corro (1527-1591)’, unpublished Ph.D. thesis (Queen’s University, Belfast, 1953), 351. McFadden lends weight to Corro’s supposed statement ‘si tu es Turca benefac, si tu es Judaeus benefac, si tu es Christianus benefac et salvus eris’ (351). See, however, Boehmer’s doubt that Corro ever uttered this remark (which he translates as, ‘If thou art a Turk, do well; if thou art a Jew, do well; if thou art a Christian, do well; and thou shalt be saved’. E. Boehmer, ‘Antonio del Corro’, *Bibliotheca Wiffeniana: Spanish Reformers of Two Centuries*, vol. 3 (London: Trübner, 1904), 65.

<sup>7</sup> Rady Roldán-Figueroa, ‘Casiodoro de Reina as Biblical Exegete: Studies on the 1569 Spanish Translation of the Bible’, Th.D. Thesis (Boston University, 2004), 182.

<sup>8</sup> A. Rivera García, ‘El humanismo de la Reforma Española: Teología y concordia en Antonio del Corro’, in *Obras de los Reformadores del Siglo XVI: Antonio del Corro*, ed. E. M. Bellido (Sevilla: Editorial MAD, 2006), 41-42.

the basis and scope of that task with reference to the call in Hebrews 13:13 to bear ‘the disgrace [Christ] bore’, for Reina’s and Corro’s understanding of mission shares with the radical model a nomadic sense of visible separation from the world on account of persecution, and a calling through holiness of life to reflect the sufferings of Christ in the world. For this reason they understood that God’s obedient ‘little flock’ was called to evangelize not only the as-yet unevangelized nations or those living under the Papacy, but also the churches of the Protestant reformation, since disunity and the constant temptation to worldliness meant that reformation was an ongoing task. In so doing, however, what they sought was not the restoration of a ‘pure’ Christian community—a goal which went hand in hand with a denial that rulers could have any positive Christian role to play.<sup>9</sup> Rather, Reina and Corro called instead for the church’s constant renewal, and, with the magisterial reformers generally, upheld the Christian magistrate’s missionary function as defender and promoter of true religion.

The question of the appropriate means to make known God’s will and ways in the world anticipates a central theme in the Spanish reformers’ mission agenda and provides a useful key for distinguishing the various 16<sup>th</sup>-century models of mission. According to the medieval ecclesiological model, the principal agents were priests and monks who, together with the *conquistadores*, set out from their established churches in Europe to expand the empire.<sup>10</sup> What the potential converts were to enter was, of course, the ark of salvation which was the Church, since the missionaries sought to ‘save their souls

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<sup>9</sup> Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 246-7.

<sup>10</sup> Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 228.

precisely by bringing them into the institution', as Dulles explains.<sup>11</sup> To some extent, and as long as mission is defined as the effort to reach those nations without any Gospel witness whatsoever, then the medieval hieratic model defined 16<sup>th</sup>-century mission.<sup>12</sup> Negatively, the type of missionary agency which it promoted tended to promote missionary passivity in the laity.<sup>13</sup> On the positive side, some of this model's representatives sought to gain converts through example and persuasion rather than by force. Among these were the Spaniards Raimundo Lulio (1232-1315) and Bartolomé de las Casas (1484-1566), missionaries to the Muslims in Northern Africa and to the natives of the Spanish Americas, respectively. We shall return to the example of these missionaries in due course.

Opposed to the *institutional* model is what we might refer to as a *spontaneous* mission model, as reflected in Valdés' thought. With its relative indifference to things external, including ceremonies and institutional structures, Valdés' approach collapses the traditional mission agents, as it were, into a secret, 'mystical communion', which renders the motivation for mission, as Dulles argues, obscure, since 'we cannot take it for granted that evangelization, baptism, or church membership coincides with the bestowal of the Holy Spirit'.<sup>14</sup> As we observed in Chapter One, Valdés approached the work and inspiration of the Holy Spirit in more or less immediate terms. Leaving behind an earlier

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<sup>11</sup> A. Dulles, *Models of the Church: A Critical Assessment of the Church in all its Aspects* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1974), 41-42.

<sup>12</sup> Wolfgang Reinhard, 'Missions', in *Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, vol. 3 (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1996), 67-68.

<sup>13</sup> Dulles, *Models of the Church*, 43

<sup>14</sup> Dulles, *Models of the Church*, 60.

‘civic humanism’, reflected in efforts directed towards the common good of the realm,<sup>15</sup> in his later thought Valdés adopts a certain indifference towards civic concerns, admitting that in political matters he took ‘very little interest’.<sup>16</sup> In this life, God’s kingdom becomes for him a strictly inward reality. As he put it, ‘the kingdom of heaven which [Jesus] preached was not in this present life either outward or corporeal, but inward and spiritual’.<sup>17</sup> On this basis, we might suggest that the quest for an agent in a model which understands the goal and means of mission as one and the same thing—that mystical union with Christ which we explored in Chapter Two—is to a great extent futile.<sup>18</sup>

A mission theme is not entirely absent in Valdés’ work, however. In his *Commentary on Matthew’s Gospel*, Jesus’ command to preach the gospel throughout the world is taken for granted (*Mat4.* 118), and one does discern his view of the Christian’s particular way of being in the world. He or she is marked by self-denial, as Valdés explains in his *Consideraciones*, and displays a passion for ‘spiritual things’, including Scripture reading, prayer, worship ‘in the Spirit’, contemplation of holy matters, and mortification.<sup>19</sup> The world, on the other hand, seeks only temporal things, and rejects those who seek to carry out their baptismal promises (*Cons.* 55-56). As such, Christians

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<sup>15</sup> As evidence, Daniel Crews cites Valdés’ effort to protect ‘the Neapolitan urban elite and (give) them greater share of the political power’ in the face of the tyranny of the great nobility in Charles V’s Spain. See ‘Juan de Valdés and the Comunero Revolt: An Essay on Spanish Civic Humanism,’ *Sixteenth Century Journal* 22/2 (1991), 252, 249.

<sup>16</sup> A. M. Mergal, ‘Evangelical Catholicism as Represented by Juan de Valdés’, *The Library of Christian Classics*, vol. XXV: *Spiritual and Anabaptist Writers*, ed. G.H. Williams (Philadelphia, PA: The Westminster Press, 1967), 310.

<sup>17</sup> Juan de Valdés, *Commentary upon the Gospel of St. Matthew*, trans. John Betts (London: Trubner and Co., 1882), 60.

<sup>18</sup> Dulles, *Models of the Church*, 58.

<sup>19</sup> Juan de Valdés, *Ziento i diez consideraciones*, in *Reformistas Antiguos Españoles*, vol. 17, ed. B. Wiffen and L. Usoz y Rio (London, UK: Spottiswoode, 1863), 148-49.

are understood as pilgrims in this present life (*Cons.* 349). That this identity translates into a missionary agenda with respect to the world, if spontaneously, is suggested by Valdés' idea, in *Alfabeto Christiano*, that those who put inward things in order can be assured that external things will take care of themselves.<sup>20</sup> Given that Christians are called to a kind of pilgrimage in which the world's cares and pursuits are left behind, we might suggest that a mission model emerges not so much through a positive agenda with respect to the world, e.g. to bring the lost into their fellowship, but as individual Christians, ordinary as well as 'professional', are given the opportunity to give public testimony to their heavenly citizenship as they experience the world's rejection. In this way, because individual believers only point to salvation through their example and testimony, the church is not conceived as an ark of salvation, but rather as a company of pilgrims in which the clergy/laity distinction is blurred (in keeping with the reformers' stress on the 'priesthood of all believers'), such that every Christian becomes an agent of mission understood as public witness to a reality which transcends the church.

Just as there were 'degrees' of reform, so too we observe degrees of 'coming out', with corresponding mission models. While Reina's and Corro's theology echoes themes of pilgrimage and rejection by the world, their strategy for reform was clearly not conceived in a primarily inward way, as with Valdés, but rather inclined to a model which assumed that the believer had been publicly called out by God from false religion, and so had a much more sharply defined agenda with respect to the world. The first of these models we shall refer to as *magisterial*, since it was given shape by Luther, Calvin

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<sup>20</sup>Juan de Valdés, *Alfabeto Cristiano, que enseña el verdadero camino de adquirir la luz del Espíritu Santo*, in Juan de Valdés, *Obras Completas I*, ed. A. Alcalá Galvez (Madrid: Fundación José Antonio de Castro, 1997), 455.

and others whose approach to mission involved a kind of witness whose ostensible aim was the reformation of Christendom and which was aimed in the first instance at those who continued to adhere to the errors of the Papacy.

An assessment of the magisterial reformers' specifically missionary efforts has most often been made with reference to their promotion (or lack thereof) of Christian witness in lands which had not yet been evangelized in any way. As such, it has been held that there is little to speak of by way of a missionary agenda in their teaching or example. In 1864, William Brown could 'excuse' them for their failure to engage in what in modern times one would refer to as foreign, overseas or cross-cultural mission, explaining that the Protestant Reformers' missionary efforts were so spent on propagating the Gospel throughout Christendom, that they 'could scarcely be expected to direct their attention to the heathen world'.<sup>21</sup> In 1912, Louise Creighton wrote that the leading reformers were in fact 'distinctly opposed to foreign missions', since they believed that Jesus' command to preach the Gospel to every nation no longer applied to them.<sup>22</sup> Similarly, in 1915 Charles Robinson explained that any mission to the non-Christian world that the Reformers might have undertaken was discouraged either because the return of Christ was perceived to be at hand, as the world became increasingly hostile to the Gospel (Luther), because pious heathens might be saved without it (Zwingli), or because the task of reaching the heathen belonged to God rather than man (Calvin).<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> William Brown, *The History of the Christian Missions*, vol. 1 (London: Thomas Baker, 1864), 1.

<sup>22</sup> Louise Creighton, *Missions: Their Rise and Development* (NY: Henry Holt, 1912), 47.

<sup>23</sup> Charles H. Robinson, *History of Christian Missions* (NY: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915), 42-43.

While missiologists have in more recent times been reluctant to summon the Reformers ‘before the tribunal of the modern missionary movement and [to find] them guilty for not having subscribed to a definition of mission which did not even exist in their time’,<sup>24</sup> the question regarding what counts as mission for the magisterial reformers remains, since it is widely accepted that mission has mainly to do with efforts to evangelize peoples who have not received any Gospel witness at all. As such, the reformers’ work in building national churches, or seeing to it that each nation had a Bible in its own language, is regarded only as preparation for mission.<sup>25</sup> Bosch somewhat undercuts his own inclination to define mission broadly with his suggestion that since the Reformers were busy reforming the church of their day that ‘very little happened by way of a missionary outreach during the first two centuries after the reformation.’<sup>26</sup> We shall assume Bosch’s claim that the magisterial reformers’ theology was ‘an essentially missionary theology’, since its starting point ‘was not what people could or should do for the salvation of the world, but what God has already done in Christ’,<sup>27</sup> brings us closer to the mission agenda as understood by the reformers themselves. That their conviction translated into a clear agenda is plain from the fact that they did not draw quietist conclusions from a *missio Dei* theology, but instead assumed that God used human agents of his own choosing in accomplishing his mission.<sup>28</sup> Indeed the church had a key role to

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<sup>24</sup> Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 244.

<sup>25</sup> Dana L. Robert, ‘Missions’, in *The Encyclopedia of Protestantism*, vol. 3, ed. H. Hillerbrand (NY/London: Routledge, 2004), 1259-60.

<sup>26</sup> Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 245. ‘Mission is a multifaceted ministry, in respect of witness, service, justice, healing, reconciliation, liberation, peace, evangelism, fellowship, church planting, contextualization, and much more’ (512).

<sup>27</sup> Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 244.

<sup>28</sup> Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 245.

play *as church*, since it was understood as that visible company apart from which one was not to hope for salvation (*'nulla salus extra ecclesiam'*).<sup>29</sup>

From there, we can define the magisterial mission model with reference to its motivation, image (to appeal to Dulles's typology), as well as intended target and ultimate goal more broadly. According to Bosch, if the medieval Roman Catholic agenda was guided by the call 'compel them to come in' (Luke 14:23), the Protestant missionary agenda was motivated by the conviction that the gospel was 'the power of God unto salvation to everyone who believes' (Romans 1:16).<sup>30</sup> This stress on God's sovereignty and initiative in mission meant that the church was understood primarily as a witness to that divine work, i.e. as a herald, called 'to proclaim that which it has heard, believed, and been commissioned to proclaim'.<sup>31</sup> On this basis, the reformation of Christendom was a principal aim, but not the only or final one. For the Spanish reformers, whose missionary vision would owe much to the magisterial model, witness to those in 'Babylonian captivity'—to use Luther's vivid image of the papacy—was to go hand in hand with the overall aim of taking the light of the Gospel to all nations. Moreover, given Islamic presence on the Iberian Peninsula from the 700s until the end of the fifteenth century, the task of Christian witness to Muslims would play a key role in their mission theology.

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<sup>29</sup> Martin Luther wrote: 'All outside of Christendom, be they heathen, Turks, Jews or false Christians and hypocrites, even though they may believe in and worship only one true God, do not know his mind toward them. They cannot be confident of his love and blessing. Therefore they abide in eternal wrath and perdition'. See J.N. Lenker, ed., *Luther's Catechetical Writings: God's Call to Repentance, Faith and Prayer* (Minneapolis, Minn.: The Luther Press, 1907), 126. See also Calvin, *Institutes*, IV. i. 4.

<sup>30</sup> Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 240.

<sup>31</sup> Dulles, *Models of the Church*, 76.

The fourth, or *radical*, mission model involved a radical break with Christendom, and on that basis sought to motivate the true and restored community of disciples with Jesus' 'Great Commission', i.e. the task of making disciples of all nations (Matt 28:19; Mark 16:15). It has been argued that the radical model produced 'a remarkable program of missionary outreach',<sup>32</sup> since the goal of making disciples extended not only to those under the Papacy, but also to members of 'neo-popish' (non-Anabaptist) movements which persisted in their own forms of idolatry, i.e. participation in ceremonies of the established, State churches.<sup>33</sup> For radicals, 'Protestants and Catholics alike had seduced humanity and introduced a false religion' such that 'Europe was once again a mission field'.<sup>34</sup> Specifically, the radicals believed that the papists taught 'nothing but human invention', and that Lutherans promoted violence, as well as ungodliness, based on their faulty view of James' epistle as a 'strawy epistle'.<sup>35</sup> The magisterial reformers, moreover, were believed to lead 'a comfortable, soft and easy life',<sup>36</sup> and to be condemned for practicing a kind of baptism not commanded in Scripture, i.e. infant baptism.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 246.

<sup>33</sup> Michael Sattler, 'The Schleithem Confession (1527)', in *Creeds and Confessions of Faith in the Christian Tradition*, vol. 2: *Creeds and Confessions of the Reformation Era*, J. Pelikan and V. Hotchkiss (New Haven/London: Yale Univ. Press, 2003), 699.

<sup>34</sup> Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 247.

<sup>35</sup> Menno Simons, 'The True Christian Faith', in *The Complete Writings of Menno Simons* (Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 1956), 333.

<sup>36</sup> Menno Simons, 'The True Christian Faith', 402.

<sup>37</sup> 'Again the Word of the Lord teaches, Go into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature; he that believeth and is baptized shall be saved. Here prove yourselves again. He that believes and is rightly baptized, truly repents, circumcises his heart, dies to sin, rises in Christ to new life'. Menno Simons, 'The True Christian Faith', 394.

Given the radicals' hope of restoring the church to its original purity, it is not surprising that the new agents of mission were communities of saints and martyrs.

Disregarding parish boundaries as artificial,<sup>38</sup> the radical missionaries countered the charge that they were 'vagabonds' by appealing to their principled exile, identifying themselves as persecuted 'strangers and sojourners'. As Menno Simons wrote:

Vagabonds are scamps, culprits, lazy rascals, and evildoers, who on account of their worthlessness wander from place to place and do not stay put. But we are poor miserable pilgrims, and according to the flesh sorrowful strangers, who not on account of any wickedness or crime, but for the testimony of Jesus Christ and our consciences, must flee for our lives with our poor wives and little children from before the tyrannical, bloody sword, and as a result have to earn our bread in foreign lands.<sup>39</sup>

Seeking no official approval, their clear aim was to make God's truth as they perceived it a present reality: 'we do not teach at public meetings where all men meet, yet the truth is not hushed up, but is preached here and there both by day and by night, in cities and country, with tongue and pen, and the peril of life'. Simons continues: 'we are not ashamed of the Gospel of the glory of Christ. If anyone desires to hear from us, we are prepared to teach. . . . For our most ardent desire is that the truth may be made manifest'.<sup>40</sup> Their conviction that their fellowship was the new agent of God's mission was sharpened by their belief that true Christians could not serve as magistrates. Rather, they were to follow the example of Christ, who refused to be made King.<sup>41</sup>

The recovery of true religion thus implied for the radical reformers a new community of 'obedient children of God, sons and daughters, who have been and shall be

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<sup>38</sup> Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 246.

<sup>39</sup> Menno Simons, 'Reply to False Accusations', in *The Complete Writings of Menno Simons* (Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 1956), 566.

<sup>40</sup> Menno Simons, 'Reply to False Accusations', 574-5.

<sup>41</sup> Sattler, *The Schleithem Confession*, 700.

separated from the world in all that we do and leave undone'.<sup>42</sup> The faithful congregation considered its sufferings primarily as God's means to draw his people's attention away from worldly concerns. As Simons wrote, it is good 'that our flesh is afflicted and tempted with many crosses and tribulations here upon earth' so that 'we . . . may . . . through much affliction, forsake all the transitory delights and enjoyments of earth, die unto the world and the flesh, love God alone, set our affection on things above . . .'.<sup>43</sup> With the promise of an eternal reward,<sup>44</sup> the new community regarded itself as God's persecuted little flock, as that restored ark outside of which there was only destruction: 'everything which has not been united with our God in Christ [i.e. with the new company of obedient Christians] is nothing but an abomination which we should shun'.<sup>45</sup>

As strangers and exiles themselves, and with a deep conviction that in this life the true Christian was bound to face persecution, the Spanish Protestants were sympathetic to a mission agenda which involved calling others out of error and complacency.<sup>46</sup> At the same time, they acknowledged that the pilgrim church's 'corruption is perpetual' (*Dec. XX.3; 202*), and on that basis took God's glory as their starting point, rather than the church itself, as they thought about mission. With the confidence that mission belongs to God, they avoided, on the one hand, the *institutional* or *radical* tendency to confuse God's reign with the visible community, and on the other hand the implication that the

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<sup>42</sup> Sattler, *The Schleithem Confession*, 696.

<sup>43</sup> Menno Simons, *A Foundation and Plain Instruction of the Saving Doctrine of our Lord Jesus Christ* (Lancaster, Pennsylvania: Elias Barr & Co, 1863), 309.

<sup>44</sup> Simons, *Foundation*, 317.

<sup>45</sup> Sattler, *The Schleithem Confession*, 699.

<sup>46</sup> Ian Hazlett notes that Bucer 'pursued themes dear to [the radical reformers], such as holy living, church discipline, and discerning the operation of the Spirit'. See I. Hazlett, 'Bucer', in *The Cambridge Companion to Reformation Theology*, ed. D. Bagchi and D. Steinmetz (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2004), 105.

two realities had little or nothing to do with one another, as in the *spontaneous* model. As they were convinced that obedience was both an ongoing, missionary task, but also the anticipation of a future glory, we might therefore suggest as their ‘missionary text’ 1 Peter 2:12—‘Live such good lives among the pagans that, though they accuse you of doing wrong, they may see your good deeds and glorify God on the day he visits us’.<sup>47</sup>

Recalling from Chapter Two the central role which 1 Peter played in the Spanish Protestants’ Christology, and bearing in mind the Spaniards’ assurance that suffering (of bearing Christ’s ‘disgrace’, Heb 13:13) was filled with the hope which awaited those who in obedience identified with Christ (the ‘city which is to come’, Heb 13:14), here we define the anticipation of God’s glory as expressed in 1 Peter as the principal motivation for their mission agenda. The passages from that epistle which serve as an introduction to Corro’s letter to Philip II suggest the missiological structure of his treatise: confidence in the coming ‘revelation of [God’s] glory’ (1 Peter 4:13) motivates the Christian’s verbal testimony (‘always be prepared to give an answer to everyone who asks you to give the reason for the hope that you have’ 3:15) and godly behaviour explicitly aimed at confounding ‘foolish men’ (2:15) and ‘those who speak maliciously against your good behaviour’ (3:16).<sup>48</sup>

In Reina’s *Declaración*, a Petrine theme of glory is developed more consistently throughout the work, appearing in relation to God, Christ, things to come, and to the church’s present work in the world. We learn (a) that glory belongs supremely to God,

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<sup>47</sup> Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 240.

<sup>48</sup> I. H. Marshall highlights Peter’s strong emphasis on Christian conduct as a key element in evangelism as, e.g., suffering for Christ’s sake becomes a form of public witness. See I.H. Marshall, *1 Peter* (Downers Grove, Illinois: Intervarsity Press, 1991), 26-27.

for it is that which Christ in his work on God's behalf was 'to seek and obtain' by making him known in the world (*Dec. IX.1; 170*); (b) that through his obedience to the Father, Christ received the 'most glorious prize' of being the author of salvation for all who believe in him and of having that 'glorious name' at which every knee was to bow as to a supreme King (*Dec. IX.2; 170*); (c) that, consequently, the glory of God in Christ is to be experienced in its fullness only after the general resurrection, when the just will 'share in the glory to be revealed' (1 Pet 5:1, *Dec. XXI.3; 205*); finally, we learn (d) that this glory becomes the basis of the church's present worship and witness, as believers offer 'a sacrifice of praise, the fruit of lips which confess his name' (1 Pet 2:5; Heb 13:15, *Dec. IX.9; 174*). Thus, as they anticipate their own glorification (1 Pet 1:7, *Dec. XXI.3; 205*), and learn true zeal for God's glory by following Christ's example as a living stone rejected by men (1 Pet 2:4, *Dec. XVII.4; 191*), believers find in the same glory their foundation for a lifestyle aimed at ensuring that others will come to 'glorify God on the day he visits us' (1 Pet 2:12; *Dec. XVII.1; 189*). In the same way, in his *Tratado para confirmar los pobres cativos de Berueria* Valera links Peter's admonition to stand firm in the face of persecution (1 Pet 5:9), given the promise of a 'crown of glory' (5:4), directly to public testimony: 'for it may be that the Lord will wish to use you to convert some of those who now persecute you'.<sup>49</sup> The end in view is that the 'Gentiles' (1 Pet 2:12), understood as 'Moors, Jews and false Christians' might join in the worship of God together with all the nations (Ps 117:1) when Christ is revealed (1 Pet 1:7) (*TCC 23, 62*).

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<sup>49</sup>Cipriano de Valera, *Tratado para confirmar los pobres cativos de Berueria en la católica y antigua fe* (London, 1594), 103.

In light of this eschatological hope, the Spanish reformers' ultimate goal in mission can be defined according to 1 Pet 4:11: 'that in all things God may be praised'. God's glory is the aim which is linked to the Christian's duty to speak 'as one speaking the very words of God', which Reina lists among the marks of believers (*Dec.* XIX.7; 197) with reference to the same verse, and the end of the trials which the believer must suffer, according to 1 Pet 4:12.<sup>50</sup> In this the Spaniards are indebted to Calvin, who often links a theme of God's glory to the hope that all nations will come to know God. In the concluding prayer of his Twenty-sixth sermon on Galatians (4:8-10), for example, Calvin asks that

whilst we await the day when we will be bathed in light, and see him face to face, transfigured by his *glory*, may he continually lead us along the path of salvation, that we may walk with true perseverance. May he grant this grace not only to us, but to *all the peoples and nations on earth*.<sup>51</sup>

Indeed the work of gathering churches 'from all parts of the earth', of causing them to grow, of establishing order among them, and of defeating the enemies of 'pure religion' belongs to God (*Inst.* III.20.42).

Following Calvin, Reina assumes a *missio Dei* doctrine in his own confessional theology. Through Creation God makes known his power, goodness and wisdom (*Dec.* II.2; 163); for a greater manifestation of these, and to make known his mercy after the fall of humanity God sends the promise of eternal salvation (*Dec.* V.2; 166); through a

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<sup>50</sup> Antonio del Corro, *Carta enviada a la Majestad del Rey de las Españas*, in *Obras de los reformadores Españoles del siglo XVI*, vol. 1, ed. E. M. Bellido (Sevilla, Editorial MAD, 2006), 99.

<sup>51</sup> John Calvin, 'Backsliders Have No Excuse', in *Sermons on Galatians*, trans. K. Childress (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth Trust, 1997), 398, emphasis added. Charles Chaney writes: 'The fact that the glory of God was the prime motive in early Protestant missions . . . can be traced directly to Calvin's theology'. See 'The Missionary Dynamic in the Theology of John Calvin', *Reformed Review* 17 (Mar 1964), 36-37.

covenant with his people he renews that promise (*Dec.* VI.1; 167), which is then fulfilled by his sending of the Christ (*Dec.* VII.1; 168), whose task it was to manifest God's 'name and true message in the world' (*Dec.* IX.1; 170). At the very beginning of the preface to his Bible, Reina speaks of God's work as the sending forth of light, given that Satan is 'the father of lies and author of darkness', and explains that 'the fount of this divine light is God himself, whose desire is to propagate it in the abyss of darkness'.<sup>52</sup> This echoes 1 Peter 2:9, in which God is the one who calls his people 'out of darkness and into his wonderful light'. Corro's 1569 summary of Christian doctrine, *Exposición de la Obra de Dios*, likewise stresses a *missio Dei* doctrine in its very title, while the treatise begins by declaring that God created the world, 'having resolved to manifest himself' by his word, wisdom and Spirit.<sup>53</sup> Like Reina, from there Corro stresses God's initiative, defining God's mission in terms of seeking out, calling and convincing human beings of his goodwill towards them through his promise of redemption (*EOD* 223); of giving his Law as a reminder of his benevolence (*EOD* 225); and of sending 'his eternal word made flesh' in order to destroy sin through Christ's death on the cross (*EOD* 226).

While the emphasis above is on divine initiative, clearly God's mission is already conceived not as an immediate, secret work, but as one which involves instruments of his choosing. Thus Calvin can conclude the prayer quoted above with the hope that it might please God 'to raise up true and faithful ministers of his word' in order to show the way

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<sup>52</sup> Casiodoro de Reina, 'Amonestación del interprete de los sacros libros al Lector y a toda la Iglesia del Señor, en que da razón de su translación ansi en general, como de algunas cosas especiales', in *La Biblia, que es los sacros libros del viejo y nuevo testamento*, trans. C. de Reina (Basel, 1569), [1].

<sup>53</sup> Antonio del Corro, *Exposición de la Obra de Dios*, in *Obras de los reformadores Españoles del siglo XVI: Antonio del Corro*, ed. E. Monjo Bellido (Sevilla: Editorial MAD, 2006), 221.

of salvation.<sup>54</sup> Recalling, too, Peter's point that his readers were told the good news by human instruments 'through the Holy Spirit sent from heaven' (1 Pet 1:12), we turn to the way in which the Spanish reformers approached both the question of missionary agency as well as problems related to it as they emerged.

### **Mission Agents**

With the confidence that that mission belonged to God, the Spanish reformers recognized Bible translators as key mission agents in God's work of making known his will among the nations. In his 1602 revision of Reina's 1569 Bible, Valera stresses God's initiative and the cosmic scope of his mission accordingly, and with repeated use of the Biblical image of God's word as a light for the nations (Is 51:4, Acts 26:23) he assumes human agency in that task. With reference to the work of two Spaniards, Cisneros and Arias Montano, who 'ignited two torches of evangelical light, that illuminate the whole world' with their polyglot Bibles (Hebrew, Greek, Latin) of 1517 and 1571, respectively, Valera introduces his own work as another light that 'will illuminate our Spain', and asks his readers not to 'extinguish the light with which God wants to illuminate' them.<sup>55</sup>

In the preface to his New Testament (1596), Reina outlines the Bible translator's missionary task. As 'the word and voice of God',<sup>56</sup> the Bible is to be read by everyone: 'The same God who commanded that everyone (regardless of sex, age, or stature) should

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<sup>54</sup> Calvin, 'Backsliders Have No Excuse', 398.

<sup>55</sup> As quoted in Roldán-Figueroa, 'Casiodoro de Reina as Biblical Exegete', 172.

<sup>56</sup> Reina, *El Testamento Nuevo de Nuestro Señor Iesu Christo* (London: En casa de Ricardo del Campo [i.e. Richard Field], 1596), 3.

read holy Scripture, also commanded that it be disseminated in all languages, so that no one might claim ignorance'. Thus the Bible was originally published in the known languages of the time (Hebrew, Greek and Latin), and from there 'pious and learned men' translated it into their own vulgar tongue.<sup>57</sup> In Spain, accordingly, it was right that the ruling Goths, 'a barbarous and unbelieving people', should have the Scriptures in their own language; likewise the Moors were given a Bible in Arabic by a bishop of Seville, 'so that they might become acquainted with the Christian religion', and later, when that first translation was lost, the archbishop of Granada saw to it that converts from Islam might be instructed in the Christian religion with a new Arabic translation.<sup>58</sup> Arguing that the Bible is 'the God-ordained means to save the righteous',<sup>59</sup> Reina now offers his version in Spanish, for the conversion of Spain: 'Christian reader, accept this my work, and pray with me that God will show mercy so that our Spaniards will not only read sacred Scripture, but believing in it will live according to it, and so might be saved through the one who is our singular and only Saviour'.<sup>60</sup>

Alongside the translator, the Spanish reformers held up the minister as a missionary. According to Reina, the minister's duty to gather the faithful together in Word and Sacrament went hand in hand with his vocation in relation to the world: to teach only what Christ himself taught, and that which Christ 'commanded to be preached among all peoples', as did Paul among the Gentiles according to Galatians 2 (*Dec.*

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<sup>57</sup> Reina, *El Testamento Nuevo*, 4.

<sup>58</sup> Reina, *El Testamento Nuevo*, 5.

<sup>59</sup> Reina, *El Testamento Nuevo*, 6.

<sup>60</sup> Reina, *El Testamento Nuevo*, 8.

XIV.3; 185), with the Apostles generally throughout the world (*Dec.* ‘Appéndice’ ¶4). Corro, for his part, defines of the minister’s missionary task with reference to his own vocation. In his *Carta a Felipe II* he explains to Philip II that what drew him to Antwerp was the fact that God had opened up a way for the Gospel to be preached in the Low Countries (*CFII* 100). He was referring, specifically, to his invitation by the Calvinists to serve as preacher, and we can assume that he was at least partially drawn by those of Spanish background who were eager, as McFadden notes, to be taught the Gospel in Spanish so that they might ‘spread it on Spanish territory’.<sup>61</sup> This missionary aim is confirmed by Corro’s admission that he regarded the opening of the door in the Low Countries ultimately as a means ‘to introduce the true and sincere knowledge of Jesus Christ’ in Philip II’s realm (*CFII* 101, cf. 126). Corro underscores the public nature of his itinerant ministry when he adds that ‘a hundred thousand individuals’ could attest to the fact that he had ‘published and announced the word of the Gospel in great and celebrated cities and in the presence of princes and men who enjoy distinction among the most illustrious men of Europe’ (*CFII* 123). In comparing his own exile to that of Joseph, the ‘poor prisoner’ whose message to Pharaoh allowed Egypt to escape famine and plague (*CFII* 199), Corro draws attention to his own work as one of interpretation, on which basis he is bold to set out for the king an outline of true religion and to warn him of the disaster which he faces should he continue to allow the Protestants in his realm to endure persecution.

Of special importance among mission agents in the Spanish Reformers’ thought is the Christian magistrate. The political theme is one that the Spaniards would develop in

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<sup>61</sup> McFadden, ‘Life and Works of Antonio del Corro’, 261.

exile, as they became passionate about their countrymen's conversion to the Reformed faith and, with the relative safety of distance from their home country, sought to remedy the plight of those persecuted for embracing the Protestant religion. Back in Spain, former preacher for Emperor Charles V Constantino Ponce de la Fuente had touched on the matter only in passing, e.g. in discussions regarding the Christian's duty to honour those placed in authority, preferring to focus on central doctrines of justification by faith and the authority of Scripture as a foundation for reform.<sup>62</sup> Beginning with Pérez de Pineda, however, the exiles begin to formulate a political theology, whether in their confessional statements or as they addressed their King directly, informing him, among other things, of his duty as a Christian monarch to see to it that true religion was promoted both in his own realm and among 'the nations' generally.

In his *Suplicación a la majestad del Catholico Rei don Philipe* (1559), Pérez de Pineda asserts that the Christian magistrate is called not only to administer political and civil justice and to defend his subjects from their enemies, but 'more principally' to be concerned with the way in which God is to be served, and to be 'singularly concerned and zealous for matters of [God's] holy religion'.<sup>63</sup> Where Calvin had similarly upheld the magistrate's duty 'to cherish and protect the outward worship of God [and] to defend sound doctrine and piety' (*Inst.* IV.20.2), Pérez de Pineda emphasizes the missionary dimension: meditating on God's Law day and night, as Joshua was commanded, the

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<sup>62</sup> Constantino Ponce de la Fuente, *Catecismo Cristiano*, in *Reformistas Antiguos Españoles*, vol. XIX, ed B. Wiffen and L. Usoz y Rio (Madrid: [José Alegría?], 1863), 309.

<sup>63</sup> Pérez de Pineda, 'Suplicación a la majestad del Catholico Rei don Philipe etc.', in *Reformistas Antiguos Españoles*, vol. 12, ed. B. Wiffen and L. Usoz y Rio (Madrid: José Alegría, 1857), 3.

magistrate was to be zealous for God's glory,<sup>64</sup> and if in God's providence he had been given other lands to govern it was so that he might advance the Gospel beyond his own realm: 'to celebrate and magnify God's name, to order that the true doctrine of the Gospel be taught to the people, [and] to destroy all forms of idolatry and all false forms of worship invented by man'.<sup>65</sup>

In Reina's thought, the magistrate's missionary function is made explicit as the furtherance of God's kingdom and glory is linked to the magistrate's duty with respect to public order as well as to matters of religion. As God's instrument of public order, according to Romans 13 and 1 Peter 2, the magistrate is given the sword 'to maintain peace and tranquility in the republic, defending it from its enemies, punishing offenders, and honoring and rewarding the virtuous, all for the advancement of the Kingdom of the Christ and his glory' (*Dec. XVI.1*; 187). As head of church discipline, the magistrate

enjoys supreme authority to see to the implementation of everything that is found to pertain to the Kingdom of God and the advancement of his glory, not only in that which pertains to civil government, but also and principally in that which has to do with divine worship (*Dec. XVI.3*; 187-88).

Reina's doctrine of royal supremacy rests on the conviction that the visible, gathered church in one place is a 'Christian republic, or polis', and that while the offices of Magistrate and Minister of the Word are not to be confused, there exists in the Church a single jurisdiction, 'whose laws are the divine word and those which are in accordance with it; and whose supreme judge in the land is the Christian Magistrate' (*Dec. XVI.3*; 188).

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<sup>64</sup> Pérez de Pineda, 'Suplicación', 4.

<sup>65</sup> Pérez de Pineda, 'Suplicación', 40.

Just what exactly Reina has in view by ‘supreme judge’ with respect to matters of divine worship requires clarification. The language of supremacy echoes that of Article XXXVI of Cranmer’s *Forty-two Articles* (1553), which states: ‘The king of Englande is Supreme head in earth, nexte vnder Christe, of the Church of Englande, and Irelande’.<sup>66</sup> By referring to the magistrate as ‘supreme judge’ in religious matters, did Reina intend more than Calvin did, namely that the civil authorities were to enforce the Church’s decisions but not to decide them?<sup>67</sup> Reina’s doctrine of the Ministry of the Word makes it clear that when it comes to calling God’s people together (*Dec. XIV.1*; 184), to maintaining them in unity in doctrine and discipline (*Dec. XIV.2*; 185), and to teaching them God’s Word, ministers serve Christ directly, such that obedience to them is obedience to Christ himself (*Dec. XIV.3*; 185). This teaching reinforces Reina’s view that the vocation of the Magistrate and Minister are distinct, and suggests that the former’s authority ‘to see to the implementation’ of matters having to do with divine worship (*Dec. XVI.3*; 188) has less to do with deciding matters of doctrine and more with promotion and protection. As Bucer put it, the magistrate was ‘to exercise all possible diligence to promote and to put into effect what a minister of the Church and a preacher of the Gospel teaches and sets forth from God’s Word’.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> Thomas Cranmer, ‘Forty-two Articles’, in O. O’Donovan, *On the Thirty Nine Articles: A Conversation with Tudor Christianity* (Oxford: Latimer House, 1986), 153. The ‘high’ view expressed here may not be quite as high as Hazlett assumes, since by ‘supremo juez en la tierra’ Reina in all likelihood only intends ‘supreme judge in the land’ (rather than ‘supreme judge on earth’), as I have translated the phrase. See I. Hazlett, ‘Confession de Fe Christiana 1559/60-1560/61’, in A. Mühlhng and P. Opitz, eds., *Reformierte Bekenntnisschriften Band. 2/1: 1559-1563* (Neukirchener-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2009), 187-188.

<sup>67</sup> Hazlett, ‘Confession de Fe Christiana’, 188.

<sup>68</sup> *First Helvetic Confession*, art. 26, in *Reformed Confessions of the 16<sup>th</sup> Century*, ed. A.C. Cochrane (London: SCM, 1966), 110.

As Corro formulated his political theology, he had in mind a situation which threatened to drive a wedge between the magistrate and the minister such that the former need not be concerned at all with religious matters. Against this, Corro argues for a doctrine of royal supremacy such as we have seen in Reina, and in so doing follows Pérez de Pineda in linking the magistrate's duty regarding true religion to the extension of God's reign among the nations. Against those who would advise the king to leave matters of religion strictly in the hands of the church, Corro insists that

God's word teaches quite the opposite, and gives to kings, princes and magistrates the task of governing the Christian church, so that they might first of all establish the propagation of the pure and sound doctrine contained in the first table of [God's] law, and then keep God's people in all righteousness, law and equity (*CFII* 101).

Following Peter Martyr Vermigli's claim that 'the charge of Religion belongeth unto Princes', which was based on a rejection of a doctrine of papal supremacy,<sup>69</sup> Corro recalls the way in which the Emperor Constantine, when faced with the dispute between Arians and the Catholics, summoned a council on his own authority, 'without waiting for the authority of the Pope' (*CFII* 193). He adds that emperors such as Theodosius, Justinian and Charlemagne followed kings of the Old Testament who sought diligently 'to maintain and restore pure and sincere religion'; indeed Pope Leo maintained that the emperor was to 'bear in mind that royal power was not given to him to govern only the cities, but principally in order to be the Church's protector' (*CFII* 193). Given Corro's admiration for Bullinger, as noted in Chapter Three,<sup>70</sup> Bullinger's convictions that 'the

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<sup>69</sup> See T. Kirby, "'The Charge of Religion Belongeth unto Princes': Peter Martyr Vermigli on the Unity of Civil and Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction". *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 94 (2003), 131-144.

<sup>70</sup> Boehmer, 'Antonio del Corro', 5.

care of religion belongs especially unto the holy magistrate',<sup>71</sup> and that the most devout princes 'did their best to spread [God's Word] to all men as far as they could'<sup>72</sup> may have had some role to play in Corro's formulation of a doctrine of royal supremacy which went hand in hand with a reminder that such a responsibility would be very difficult if the king himself lacked 'a foundation in the true knowledge of God' (*CFII* 101). Finally, that Corro regarded the king's vocation as a missionary one is clear from his observation that among those who had made Flanders their home were 'Turks and Pagans' (*CFII* 201), whose opinion of Christianity depended in part on the king's decisions regarding the welfare of true religion in his lands (*CFII* 203).

If the three instruments examined above—translator, minister and magistrate—might be considered the 'ordinary' means of evangelization, problems which arose in relation to each of these vocations compelled the Spanish reformers to acknowledge the extraordinary work of unofficial missionaries, and to some extent therefore to de-professionalize mission, particularly as it was marked by 'the disgrace' which Christ bore (Heb 13:13). In the first place, the prohibition of Bible translation and the banning of certain books quite naturally led to a heightened sense of Satan's aim to thwart the *missio Dei* and to a clandestine, on-the-run ministry of Bible translation and literature smuggling.<sup>73</sup> Noting Archbishop of Toledo Ximénez de Cisneros' prohibition of an Arabic translation of the Bible, which 'would have been of such great benefit to those

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<sup>71</sup> H. Bullinger, *The Second Helvetic Confession*, in *Reformed Confessions of the Sixteenth Century*, ed. A.C. Cochrane (London: SCM Press, 1966), 330.

<sup>72</sup> H. Bullinger, *The Decades of Henry Bullinger. The First and Second Decades*, ed. T. Harding (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1849), 334.

<sup>73</sup> J.C. M'Coan, *Protestant Endurance under Popish Cruelty: A Narrative of the Reformation in Spain* (London: Binns and Goodwin, 1853), 114-119.

poor and ignorant *Moriscos* (converts from Islam), but which was denied them based on arguments ‘not taken from God’s word’,<sup>74</sup> Reina includes the archbishop (who, ironically, had contributed to the production of the polyglot Complutensian Bible produced in Alcalá de Henares in 1517), among those ‘rebels and traitors of God . . . because they forbid what God has commanded’.<sup>75</sup> Similar decisions led directly to the translator’s exile and hardship, such that, as Reina notes, Bible translation was constantly under Satan’s attack, prolonged, ‘aided so little by Brothers [in Christ]’, and accompanied by ‘illnesses, journeys, and other occupations which were necessary on account of our exile and poverty’.<sup>76</sup>

The important role of ‘cross-border’ literature evangelism in the magisterial reformers’ missionary vision is especially evident in the Spanish reformers’ efforts. Like Bucer, whose ‘pan-European mission perspective’ led him to disseminate Luther’s works in France, as well as his own work in France and Italy,<sup>77</sup> Pérez de Pineda played a central role in the production and dissemination of Protestant literature in Spain.<sup>78</sup> As Jones notes, Pérez de Pineda enlisted the help of Julian Hernandez, a fellow exile, in smuggling

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<sup>74</sup> Reina, *El Testamento Nuevo*, 5.

<sup>75</sup> Reina, *El Testamento Nuevo*, 6.

<sup>76</sup> Reina, ‘Amonestacion’, [12].

<sup>77</sup> Ian Hazlett, ‘Bucer’, 102. Bucer’s missionary vision is also noted by W.P. Stephens in *The Holy Spirit in the Theology of Martin Bucer* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1970), 8, and D. F. Wright: ‘the paramountcy of Christian love and service to all men in the younger Bucer’ anticipates ‘his subsequent irenicism’ and contributes ‘to a more vigorous missionary concern than is found in any other major reformer’. See Wright, *Common Places of Martin Bucer*, The Courtenay Library of Reformation Classics (Appleford, Abingdon, Berkshire, England: Courtenay Press, 1972), 22.

<sup>78</sup> See, e.g., Emilio Monjes Bellido’s introduction in *Epístola Consolatoria. Obras de los Reformadores Españoles del siglo XVI* (Sevilla: Editorial MAD, 2007), 12.

literature by packhorse through secondary routes.<sup>79</sup> Hernandez's missionary zeal, in turn, earned the praise of Montanus, who in his *Artes de la Santa Inquisición Española* wrote that having come 'to the knowledge of true godliness through his interactions with many learned men' in Germany, and with the desire 'to spread the Gospel light in his country', Hernandez imported 'two enormous barrels of Bibles in Spanish' into Spain.<sup>80</sup> Such an example, together with Calvin's project in Geneva to train and send refugees as missionaries to France and other parts of Europe,<sup>81</sup> must have served to reinforce the Spanish Protestants' missionary vision. So, for example, Valera introduced William Perkins' outline of Reformed doctrine, *Catholico Reformado* (1599), with the comment that the translator had published the work at his own expense out of a passion to see 'the reign of Jesus Christ advanced in the Spanish language, and that of the Antichrist (who has for so long tyrannized Spanish consciences with ignorance, superstition and idolatry) brought down'.<sup>82</sup>

In the second place, the Spaniards recognized the extraordinary missionary work of the Reformers, given the threat which the papacy presented to the ordinary ministry of

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<sup>79</sup> W.B. Jones, 'Constantino Ponce de la Fuente: the Problem of Protestant influence in sixteenth-century Spain', unpublished Ph.D. thesis (Vanderbilt Univ., Nashville, Tennessee, 1965), 437.

<sup>80</sup> Reinaldo González Montes, *Artes de la Santa Inquisición Española*, trans. and comment. F. Ruiz de Pablos, in *Obras de los Reformadores Españoles del Siglo XVI*, vol. IV (Sevilla: MAD, 2008), 260-61.

<sup>81</sup> See, e.g., Scott J Simmons, 'John Calvin and Missions: A Historical Study'. [www.aplacefortruth.org/calvin.missions1.htm](http://www.aplacefortruth.org/calvin.missions1.htm) (accessed 2 Dec 2009).

<sup>82</sup> Cipriano de Valera, 'Otra epístola al Christiano lector', in *Catholico Reformado. O una declaración que muestra quanto nos podemos conformar con la Iglesia Romana, tal, qual es el dia de hoy, en diversos puntos de la religión, y en que puntos debemos nunca jamás convenir, sino para siempre apartarnos de ella. Yten, un aviso a los aficionados de la Iglesia Romana, que muestra la dicha religión Romana ser contra los Catholicos rudimentos y fundamento del catecismo* (London: Ricardo del Campo [Richard Field], 1599), n. p. When Calvin's *Catechism* of 1545 was published in Spanish (*Catecismo. A saber es formulario para instruyr los mochachos en la Christiandad: hecho a manera de dialogo, donde el ministro y la yglesia pregunta, y el mochacho responde* (Geneva, 1550,) the anonymous translator wrote that his work reflected the desire of those who had left Spain to explain to those still there 'the usefulness of evangelical doctrine which they are taught in this city' (4).

the Word. Claiming that a full account of the way in which the ‘false pastors and teachers’ of the Church who through fear and ignorance buried the truth underneath superstition and invention would require a lengthy discourse, Reina stresses God’s initiative in reforming the Church, since he used ‘Luther, or this man, or another’ as means to cleanse the Church, adding that these were simply

instruments which God uses, to whom we still owe gratitude for their labors, reverence and obedience to their ministry, as to that of the Lord himself, when it is shown to us that the error and ignorance is ours, and God’s the grace and mercy to take us out of it through such instruments, which he was pleased to use such instruments for such an illustrious work (*Dec.* ‘Appéndice’ ¶5).

The missionary dimension of the Spanish Reformers’ work is praised by Bucer, who in writing about Díaz’s martyrdom, condemned the ‘superstition and idolatry’ which proceeded from ‘the Cave of the Roman Beast’,<sup>83</sup> and commended Díaz as one who, forsaking his homeland and inflamed with a love of true religion and a passion to propagate the kingdom of Christ, attended the Colloquy of Ratisbon (1541) with the hopes of evangelizing the fellow-Spaniards he expected to meet there.<sup>84</sup>

Thirdly, in the face of persecution and hardship, Reina and Valera in particular draw attention to the community of the faithful itself as a people in mission. With clear allusions to 1 Pet 2:12, Valera exhorts the believers held captive in Berbery (Algeria) to live a godly life in hopes that their words and witness will bring some to faith in Christ:

it may be that with your good life, and your good example of piety and good will, and your good reasoning regarding the things of God, which [your adversaries] see hear and see in you, some will be converted to the true Christian religion (*TCC* 99).

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<sup>83</sup> M. Bucer, Preface, ‘Historia de la Muerte de Juan Díaz’, in *Reformistas Antiguos Españoles*, vol. XX, ed. B. Wiffen and L. Usoz y Rio (Madrid, 1865), 11.

<sup>84</sup> Bucer, Preface, 19.

Pérez de Pineda, in his *Epístola para consolar a los fieles de Jesu Christo*, points out to believers who suffer persecution under the papacy that their persecution is especially cruel and dangerous because their persecutors are not Turks or Pagans, but baptized Christians who claim to be zealous for the things of God,<sup>85</sup> but encourages them with the reminder that they too, at one time, sought to escape God's wrath through the same sort of zeal but were then in mercy called 'declare the praises of him who called you out of darkness into his marvellous light' (1 Pet 2:9) (*Epis.* 14, 21). Reina's doctrine of the church as a missionary community is likewise grounded in key Christological motifs in 1 Pet 2, as noted earlier, such that the marks of the church—seen in this instance not as means of recognition as before, but as means of witness and service—testify to three dimensions of the church's work in and for the world: its verbal testimony, its unity, and its service.

As a 'royal priesthood' called to offer 'a sacrifice of praise' (1 Pet 2:5), understood as the confession of Christ's name (Heb 13:15) (*Dec.* IX.9; 174), the church speaks 'a word of truth' which edifies those who hear it because the one who speaks should do so 'as one speaking the very words of God' (1 Pet 4:11, *Dec.* XIX.7; 197). Here Reina implicitly acknowledges the potential for confusion between the word of the Church and the word of God, for he goes on to emphasize the community's interpretative task in the world, for the church—indeed every person who truly belongs to God's people—must 'know how to declare the divine will in the world', that is, to explain what sort of doctrine and practice is in accordance with the New Testament (*Dec.* IX.13; 176).

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<sup>85</sup> Pérez de Pineda, 'Epístola para consolar a los fieles de Jesu Christo, que padecen persecucion por la confession de su Nombre' (Geneva: Crespín, 1560), 5.

While the persecution that believers must endure on account of their participation in Christ's sufferings (1 Pet 4:13) is not regarded in itself as a form of testimony, it does serve as evidence for it, since because of its witness the church is subjected 'to the world's irreconcilable enmity and perpetual hatred' (*Dec. XIX.12*; 200).

As 'living stones' called to imitate the living Stone rejected by men (1 Pet 2:4-5) through obedience, submission to God's will, and zeal for his glory, so as to be made one in faith and love (*Dec. XVII.4*; 191), the church's unity is seen to have a missionary function, as it is for the world's benefit: believers bear such fruit of the Spirit so that the world might glorify God 'as author of such a marvellous work', be convinced of sin, be persuaded of the efficacy of Christ's death and resurrection as it considers the godliness of the faithful, and persuaded of the superiority of the Christian religion over all the false sects and superstitions of the world (*Dec. XVII.1*; 189). With the concluding reminder in this article on the 'Holy Spirit' and the 'Life of Christians' that the Spirit produces these effects so that God's people 'will be known among all the peoples of the world as a People whom God has blessed' (*Dec. XVII.5*; 191-92), Reina emphasizes once again that the work of mission is God's, fundamentally, and that it is intended for the world.

Neither is the universal scope of the *missio Dei* missing from the third way in which the marks of the church are understood to be intended for mission. As 'aliens and strangers' in the world who have been shown his mercy (1 Pet 2:10-11), the church in its earthly pilgrimage (*Dec. XIX.5*; 195-96) is marked by compassion, love and service as a witness to a divine work. Through their mercy (*Dec. XIX.9*; 198), love for their enemies (which convinces 'the children of this age' that the righteous possess a nature other than their human one, *Dec. XIX.10*; 199), and brotherly love (through which the world comes

to know that God's people are his disciples, *Dec.* XIX.11; 199), Christians once again give evidence to the world that they are a people whom God has chosen to bless (*Dec.* XIX.6; 196).

Taken together, the Spanish reformers' attention to what we have called the extraordinary instruments of mission attests to a nomadic and corporate conception of mission, and indeed of a church whose marks serve not only to determine the church's location, or as a law or guide for the believer's sanctification, as seen in Chapter Three, but also to outline the church's mission. As perpetual outsiders forced to endure considerable hardship, the church's public function is to bear witness to something which the world, apart from grace, is bound to reject. At the same time, as it serves in obedience the church hopes that through its witness the world will come to believe, and lives in the eschatological hope that the nations will also give glory to God on the day of Christ's appearing (1 Pet 1:7).

In what remains of this chapter we shall consider the way in which three main concerns—the faith and witness of fellow Spaniards in different forms of 'captivity', the quest for power and authority among ministers, and religious persecution—informed a mission agenda which had in mind the witness of the whole church on the one hand and the evangelization of the cultures, churches and political entities in which it was set on the other.<sup>86</sup> For the three specific concerns, 1 Peter continued to serve as the Spanish reformers' paradigm. The challenge of living as strangers among the 'Gentiles' (1 Pet 2:12), i.e. among other faiths, compelled Reina and Valera to issue calls to fellow

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<sup>86</sup> Christopher Sugden, 'Mission, theology of', in *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Modern Christian Thought*, ed. A. McGrath (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1993), 377.

Spaniards, whether under the papacy or Islamic rule, to ‘come out’: to embrace and give public testimony to Protestant faith and practice. In this they reveal a missionary strategy ‘from below’, since ordinary believers in adverse circumstances were expected to do the work. Turning their attention back to regular mission agents, temptations which ministers faced with respect to riches and power (5:2-3) led Reina and Corro to address Protestant pastors on the way in which a false sense of authority threatened the church’s unity (2:17, 3:8-12, 4:8-9) and mission, while the problem of religious persecution by rulers, given the command to submit to authorities (2:13-17), prompted Corro to address his king on the matter of tolerance as it was related to the propagation of the Christian religion.

### **The Problem of Other Religions**

As the Spanish reformers addressed fellow-Christians ‘in captivity’, they approached the question of mission from the vantage point of the church’s ordinary members as they faced the challenge of an alternative religion. In the ‘Epístola’ and the ‘Appéndice’ of Reina’s *Declaración*, which together serve as a frame for the 1577 edition of the work, Reina appeals to ‘Nicodemite Reformation sympathizers in Spain to come out of hiding’, as Hazlett observes.<sup>87</sup> As Spain finds herself in a state of darkness ‘of a diversity of erratic doctrines’, and with great diligence persecutes the small light that she has been given by God, Reina is aware that some of those who are given true knowledge

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<sup>87</sup> Ian Hazlett, ‘Confession de Fe Christiana’, 138. It is precisely because these two pieces belong together, as Hazlett himself suggests (‘[the content of the Appendix] could have formed part of the Epistle to the Reader’), that his choice to omit the Appendix in his edition of Reina’s confession appears arbitrary. My assumption is that the Appendix may not be as ‘far removed from the character and content of the Confession’ as he suggests, since it tends to make explicit specific condemnations of papal religion which are implicit elsewhere.

of God are tempted to participate outwardly in the ceremonies of the old religion. We recall that he warns such Christians that it is impossible to be converted in a merely inward way. Rather, an inward change is necessarily related to an outward and public one:

But you, my brother, will understand, that the first thing you must do with the light and truth which God in his mercy gives you is that you walk according to it once your soul has been reformed, that is, that you govern your whole life and works according to its teaching. For if this is true with regards to your whole state and manner of life as it is lived publicly, or in the domestic sphere, how much more should it be understood to concern the inward and outer aspects of divine worship, which is the first thing God asks of us? (*Dec.* ‘*Epístola*’ ¶3; 155)

From there, Reina indicates two ways to ‘come out’, each with a missionary aim: those who feel able to remain in the country, prepared to die rather than to participate in false ceremonies, are to seek ‘to increase the company of the faithful by sharing the light of God with those he might bring his way’. Those who through weakness feel unable to do that should know that their first duty is to remove themselves from a situation in which they might cause offence to God, i.e. leave the country, and from there to be confident that the rewards for confessing Christ’s name far surpass any temporal blessings they will have to leave behind (*Dec.* ‘*Epístola*’ ¶4; 155-56). In either case, testimony is given to God’s truth as believers become participants in Christ’s ‘shame and cross’ (*Dec.* ‘*Appéndice*’ ¶6), while the fact that Nicodemism is fundamentally a problem for mission is highlighted.<sup>88</sup>

If Reina’s aim was to encourage Christians in Spain to go public with their Protestant faith—and perhaps to complement Pérez de Pineda’s *Epístola* of 1560, written

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<sup>88</sup> As Carlos Eire notes, Calvin argued that religion could not be reduced to the interior life, since that which ‘lies buried in the heart’ cannot help but ‘break forth in the confession of faith’. See ‘Calvin against the Nicodemites’, in *War Against the Idols* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1986), 258.

to encourage Protestants in Seville who faced persecution<sup>89</sup>—Valera’s purpose in his *Tratado* of 1594 is to comfort the believers who, along with some 50,000 Spanish captives, were forced to work in the *mazmorras* (underground prisons) of the Berber pirates.<sup>90</sup> While conceivably useful as a piece of Protestant propaganda aimed at the captives in general, as Menéndez Pelayo assumes,<sup>91</sup> the intended (or at least implied) reader is the Christian who has embraced the reformed faith, leaving behind the ‘superstitions and inventions’ of the papacy (*TCC* 2), and who in his particular context faces the challenges of ‘false Christians’ (*Antichristianos*), Jews and Moors (*TCC* 36). It has been suggested that this work builds on Valera’s earlier work (‘Two Treatises on the Pope and on the Mass’, 1588), which had caused something of a Christian revival in Algiers.<sup>92</sup> As an apologetics manual aimed at aiding believers in their encounters with three principal adversaries (*TCC* 92), the treatise is structured accordingly. From an outline of the errors of papal religion (e.g. the doctrine of transubstantiation, papal infallibility, the cult of Mary, and the revival of the Pelagian heresy), and a consideration of the Jewish rejection of Jesus as Messiah, Valera turns briefly to the challenge presented by Islamic doctrine.

Some background on Spanish overtures to Islam will help to situate Valera’s work. For his work among Muslims in north Africa, Cyprus, Asia Minor and Jerusalem,

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<sup>89</sup> G. Kinder, ‘Juan Pérez de Pineda (Pierius): a Spanish Calvinist minister of the Gospel in sixteenth-century Geneva’, *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* LIII (1976), 291.

<sup>90</sup> Gabino Fernández Campos, *Reforma y Contrarreforma en Andalucía* (Sevilla: Biblioteca del CER, 2009), 106. See also A. Gordon Kinder, ‘Religious Literature as an Offensive Weapon: Cipriano de Valera’s Part in England’s War with Spain,’ *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 19.2 (Summer, 1988), 230.

<sup>91</sup> M. Menéndez Pelayo, *Historia de los Heterodoxos Españoles*, 493.

<sup>92</sup> Gabino Fernández Campos, ‘El Islam y la iglesia en España’, in *Ríos en la Soledad: Latinos que responden al llamado de los pueblos musulmanes*, F. Bertuzzi, ed. (Madrid: Editorial CLIE, 2009), 107.

and for his efforts to prepare missionaries for similar service (with the approval of Pope John XXI in 1276),<sup>93</sup> Raymond Lull (1235-1316) stands out as the most significant figure. As W. Barber writes, Lull went to Tunis c. 1291 as a wandering scholar, eager to explain the Christian doctrines of the Incarnation and the Holy Trinity, ‘since in their blindness [the Muslims] think we worship three gods’,<sup>94</sup> but prepared to convert to Islam if he could be persuaded.<sup>95</sup> As his published ‘disputations’ (between Christians and members of other faiths, particularly Islam) indicate, and as the following prayer from his reveals, Lull’s approach to the conversion of Muslims was through persuasion and example rather than by force:

Lord of Heaven, Father of all times, when Thou didst send thy Son to take upon Him human nature, He and His apostles lived in outward peace with the Jews, Pharisees and other men: never by outward violence did they capture or slay any of the unbelievers, or those who persecuted them. This outward peace they used to bring the erring to the knowledge of the truth. So, after thy example, should Christians conduct themselves towards the Saracens.<sup>96</sup>

Following Erasmus, the Spanish reformers took for granted the need to convey the Christian message to Muslims. ‘I wish to God that [the Gospels and the Epistles of Paul] were translated into every language,’ wrote Erasmus in his *Paraclesis*, ‘so that not only the people of Scotland and Ireland might read them but also that even the Turks and the Moors might read them and know them, because there is no question but that the first

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<sup>93</sup>Pablo Carrillo Luna, *Seminario Raimundo Lullio: Asesoría Misionera para la Iglesia Latina* (Miami, Florida: Misión Latinoamericana, 2005), 179-180.

<sup>94</sup> W.T.A. Barber, *Raymond Lull: The Illuminated Doctor. A Study in Medieval Missions* (London: Charles Kelly, [1903]), 46.

<sup>95</sup> Barber, *Raymond Lull*, 54.

<sup>96</sup> Barber, *Raymond Lull*, 124.

step toward Christianity is to know something about it'.<sup>97</sup> Francisco de Enzinas also developed what Fernandez Campos refers to as a 'missionary methodology', as he encouraged Christian families in particular to go to Turkey as missionaries.<sup>98</sup> In Chapter One we noted the way in which Ponce de la Fuente related the need for reform to the church's witness to Muslims; Corro, like Erasmus, was concerned that the 'Turks, Indians, and all idolatrous nations' should have the Bible in their own language (*CFII* 130). Reina intended his *Comentario al Evangelio de Juan* as a defence of Christological orthodoxy in the face of the 'Mohammedan apostasy',<sup>99</sup> which, in spite of its 'pestilential' expansion throughout Arabia, Asia Minor, Africa and Spain, or the fact that Mohammed armed himself with 'the sword and with fire, but above all with the efficacy of error and lies' (*CEJ* 77-78) could yet in God's mercy be brought back to Christ (*CEJ* 80). Finally, Valera offered a particularly Spanish solution to the Muslim question, as Hutton notes, recalling that the Council of Elvira, held in Spain in the fourth century, condemned image veneration, which if observed would have meant that 'Moors, Turks and Jews would have been converted to Christ'.<sup>100</sup>

It is in light of the perceived threat of Islam, and of ultimate confrontation, rather than genteel 'disputations' between adherents of the two faiths, that Valera's mission agenda takes shape. He begins his *Tratado* by pointing out the confusion in Islam between Law and Gospel. Following in the tradition of Arius and others who failed to

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<sup>97</sup> Quoted in W. B. Jones, 'Constantino Ponce de la Fuente', 121.

<sup>98</sup> Gabino Fernández Campos, 'El Islam y la iglesia en España', 106.

<sup>99</sup> Casiodoro de Reina, *Comentario al Evangelio de Juan. Obras de los Reformadores Españoles del Siglo XVI*, translation and commentary R. Ruiz de Pablos (Sevilla: Editorial MAD, 2009), 76.

<sup>100</sup> Quoted in L. J. Hutton, 'The Spanish Heretic: Cipriano de Valera', *Church History* 27:1 (1958), 29.

learn the lesson of the Council of Jerusalem as recorded in Acts 15 (that ‘man is justified by faith, apart from the works he commanded in his Law’), Mohammed accepted from Jewish practice circumcision and certain purity laws, and from Christianity the beliefs that Christ is the Word of God and that Jesus was born of a virgin. However, through a denial of orthodox belief regarding Christ and his work of salvation—i.e. that Jesus was eternally ‘of one substance’ with the Father, that his death was a sacrifice for the sins of the world, and that remission of sins was found through faith in him (*TCC* 96)—and by affirming that Mohammed was ‘a more excellent prophet’ sent to correct the errors of Christianity, Muslims could advance a religion based on force and violence, since Mohammed was understood to be given the sword in order to punish those who disobeyed the Koran. In this Valera adds that their religion resembled that of the Pope, since ‘both have maintained their own kingdoms while persecuting that of Christ’ (*TCC* 97). Under the circumstances, Valera offers no reason to be hopeful about any sort of conversation:

In his *Alcoran* Mohamed orders that if a Jew or Christian asks Mohammedans about their law, or religion, they are not to reply, but only to say that every generation is given its law. . . . If the Mohammedans were to accept holy scripture [as the only source of knowledge of the true God], one could enter into a dispute with them. But since they don’t accept it, one need not speak with them. For there is no point in disputing with those who deny the first principles of religion. The manner of disputation that pleases them, and which they use, has to do with weapons, fire and blood, not reason (*TCC* 97-98).

Sustained by the hope in Psalm 117 that ‘all peoples and nations’ will come to worship the true God (*TCC* 62), however, Valera is compelled, in the end, to suggest that through the captive’s good example ‘of piety and goodness’, as well as careful reasoning (*buen razonar*), some captors might embrace the true Christian religion (*TCC* 99).

Valera's work thus recapitulates a Spanish Protestant missionary concern for the Muslim world. What stands out in his letter, as in Reina's, is the way in which ordinary believers are called to endure suffering and shame for the sake of the Gospel. It is specifically noted that the captive who might through example win his or her captor, and even 'a whole kingdom', over to the Christian faith is a *cautivo* or a *cautiva*, i.e. a man or a woman (TCC 99). The hardship to be endured is referred to repeatedly, as reference is made to the misery of forced manual labor which goes on day and night (TCC 1), exile (TCC 21, 23), or the physical abuse endured as they are thrown into the *mazmorras* and forced to endure 'much hunger and misery' (TCC 24). Acknowledging this as a clear example of a mission strategy 'from below', we turn to the way in which the Spanish reformers addressed issues in mission via the ordinary agents, the minister and the magistrate.

### **The Problem of Authority**

Whatever work might be accomplished through believers in captivity, it is clear that the Spanish reformers still regarded the ordained minister as an ordinary agent of the *missio Dei*. For instance, when in his *Tratado* Valera cites examples of the way in which a Christian merchant, soldier or captive may evangelize the non-Christian, he does so recognizing the ordinary ministry of 'bishops and preachers' who for one reason or another were not in a position to carry out the work (TCC 99). In his *Capítulo Cuarto del Evangelio de Mateo* Reina understood the church in history to flourish to the extent that

ministers, in particular, ‘persevered faithfully in their ministry’.<sup>101</sup> With this in mind, we consider here Reina’s and Corro’s message to fellow Protestant ministers on the problem of authority, and its implications for the church’s mission.

When faced with confessional disputes and factionalism in the church, Reina and Corro sought a remedy by addressing the root problem of authority, and particularly the way in which human authority was to be related to that of God’s Word in Scripture. We observed in Chapters Three and Four that Corro condemned debates on secondary points (e.g. the mode of Christ’s presence in the Supper) as long as a personal experience of Christ was lacking, and in Chapter Four we noted the way in which Reina’s Eucharistic theology was motivated in part by a similar ecumenical concern. Corro specifically condemned the implicit desire of some to add to Scripture as they elevated their own doctrinal standards to the level of a ‘fifth gospel’, on the basis of which they established their own authority as new inquisitors. Reina approached the same problem by supposing that the three temptations which Jesus faced in the wilderness (Mt 4:1-11) served to illustrate the church’s past, present, and future struggles. Thus, if the Christian minister gained the victory over Satan with regard to material needs, he then faced ‘the multiple, not to say infinite, number of concerns and affairs in which one can be concerned beyond the limits of one’s vocation’ (*Mat4* 384). Here Reina had in mind the way in which ministers were tempted to confuse a matter of secondary importance (e.g. the date for Easter, or the Sunday fast) with matters truly essential to the faith, and from there create unnecessary division (*Mat4* 392), which was to abuse their authority and to ‘throw

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<sup>101</sup> Casiodoro de Reina, *Capítulo Cuarto del Evangelio de Mateo*, in *Obras de los Reformadores Españoles del Siglo XVI*, vol. 7, trans. R. Ruiz de Pablos (Sevilla: Editorial MAD, 2009), 382.

themselves down . . . from the high point of the temple in order to claim their own esteem in one another's presence' (*Mat4* 392). From there, ministers might yield to the third temptation and allow for true religion to be transformed into sheer superstition in exchange for riches, honor and unconditional authority (*Mat4* 385). For Reina, the early church had embarked on such a course through the 'Donation of Constantine', which putatively granted riches, authority and power to the Pope and his successors (*Mat4* 386-388).

In spite of these dangers, for Reina it remained true that the success of the church's mission on earth depended on its leaders—indeed 'exclusively on the pastors and bishops' (*Mat4* 382). The end in view was the church's 'eternal tranquility', with the confidence that as ministers sought God's glory persistently Satan would finally cease to tempt ministers (as he left Jesus alone, Mt 4:11; *Mat4* 400). For Corro, too, the advancement of God's kingdom and glory and the 'edification of his afflicted church' (*CFII* 50) were in view when he called on Protestant pastors in Antwerp to greater charity amidst heated disputes surrounding the Lord's Supper. Alluding to 1 Peter 2:9, he expressed the desire that 'as true ministers of God, with one accord we endeavor to announce the glory of the one who has called us to his marvelous light' (*CFII* 53), based on the conviction that effective preaching depended on unity in the essentials of catholic religion (*CFII* 54). According to Jesus' words in John 13:35, 'By this all men will know that you are my disciples, if you love one another', unity was fundamental to Christian witness (*CFII* 60).

For Reina, the question about the church's mission is closely linked to the particular kind of reform which he perceived to be at work in the church of his day. As

with Corro, reform was to be grounded in catholic doctrine, for he insists that while ‘the world’ refers to the kind of doctrine he outlines in his confession of faith ‘Lutheran, New and Heretical’, it is in fact ‘Christian, Ancient [and] Catholic’ (*Dec.* ‘Epístola’ ¶1; 153). Moreover, the intended reform is to be understood as ongoing but ‘from above’, since opposition to the Gospel remains constant (*Dec.* ‘Appéndice’ ¶6; XIX.12; 200), as does the church’s mixed nature (*Dec.* XIX.13; 200), such that it belongs to God ‘to renew and restore’ true doctrine when he sees fit to do so (*Dec.* ‘Appéndice’ ¶5). That by his ‘most powerful and at the same time most gracious hand’ God was doing just that in the present is clear from Reina’s reference to the Protestant church as *Renata*, the ‘bride of Christ’ who had in a manner escaped ‘from the ashes and ruins of Sodom and Gomorrah’ (*Mat4* 394), and was now being called out from the remains of a decadent, fifteen-hundred-year-old church (*Mat4* 395).

Reina’s metaphor underscores an exilic, disgrace-bearing understanding of reform that highlights discontinuity with respect to the church which has been abandoned and consequently a form of mission which is nomadic. While reform is conceived not so much as the restoration of the early church, on the radical assumption that the true church had ceased to exist for centuries,<sup>102</sup> but rather as the renewal of an existing, visible institution, that renewal is marked in the first instance by a public departure from the ‘dead’ church.<sup>103</sup> Accordingly, Reina stresses the visible nature of the new church, since it has been called out in order to be reconstituted (*Mat4* 394, 395), with true worship and

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<sup>102</sup> Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 247.

<sup>103</sup> The idea that a church could die is suggested by Calvin, when he writes that ‘as soon as falsehood breaks into the citadel of religion and the sum of necessary doctrine is overturned and the use of the sacraments is destroyed, surely the death of the church follows’ (*Inst.* IV.2.2).

ceremony restored (*Mat4* 396). At the same time, it must not take its renewal for granted, since Christians of some future age ‘could find themselves obligated to lament the same evils in you’, but instead must recall its disgrace and poverty, which is the ‘happiest of all [the conditions] which the church is given to enjoy in the world’ (*Mat4* 395). Marked in the second instance, then, as a humiliated church, the reformed church as the Spanish Protestants conceived it was at least in that respect close to the radical conception. A nomadic theme is present in the idea that God was calling together a people ‘with no fixed place in the world’ (*Dec.* XVIII.2; 193) in order to regroup them, and having called them together to send them out as a people prepared to bear Christ’s shame (Heb 13:13). Returning more than once in his Matthew 4 commentary to the theme of the church’s disgrace, Reina warns Christian ministers against the dangers of ‘self-admiration’ (*Mat4* 395) and of a departure from the way of ‘poverty, humility and disgrace’ through a quest for a more refined and ‘I know not what more splendid form [of religion]’ (*Mat4* 397), since these bring an end to the church’s witness on earth (*Mat4* 382).

### **The Problem of Persecution**

If for Corro the advancement of God’s glory was impeded from the church’s side by its divisions, from the political side it was the king’s inability or refusal to allow for religious diversity in his realm that stood in the way. Bearing in mind Corro’s sense of vocation as a minister to address concerns regarding the church’s mission not only to fellow ministers, but also to the magistrate, in this final section we relate Corro’s understanding of religious diversity to his plea to Philip II for tolerance with a view to

identifying the peace of the commonwealth, along with witness to other religions and ongoing reformation, as a Spanish Protestant missionary aim.

Corro's felt need to mediate—to represent not only the church's concerns to the king, but also the king's to the church—is quite clear. In his *Epistola a los Pastores Luteranos* he pleads with the Lutheran pastors to be diligent 'in bringing men through our preaching to Jesus our sovereign Doctor', rather than to insist on the supremacy of this or that confession or tradition, so that the Princes of Germany might know 'that all these questions are dead, and that we wish to live in complete reconciliation and friendship'.<sup>104</sup> On this basis Corro can say to Philip II that his purpose in Antwerp is to preach in such a way that the hearts of those of different factions might be softened through his preaching, 'so that they might at least live in peace, unity and brotherly charity' (CFII 125). With reminders that he loathes such divisions (CFII 206), that he abhors the way in which images and altars were destroyed, priests and friars were exiled, and churches and convents were burnt down before his arrival in the city (CFII 125), and that he enjoys a certain authority since has preached in the most important cities in Europe (CFII 123), Corro hopes to draw his king's attention to the plight of fellow Protestants.

Corro's specific wish is for the king 'to give an audience to the many poor consciences who lament and weep under the unbearable weight of the tyranny of the pope' (CFII 125). While it is unlikely that Corro seriously hoped that the political leader

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<sup>104</sup> Antonio del Corro, *Epistola y amable admonición de un ministro del Evangelio de nuestro Redentor Jesucristo, enviada a los Pastores de la Iglesia Flamenca de Amberes*, in *Obras de los reformadores Españoles del siglo XVI*, vol. 1, ed. E. Monjo Bellido (Sevilla: Editorial MAD, 2006), 85.

of the Counter-Reformation would hear his concern,<sup>105</sup> when one considers the Antwerp Massacre which Corro had recently witnessed, the urgency with which the letter was written, as well as the sustained nature of the plea for religious tolerance which it contains, it is reasonable to suppose that Corro was compelled by a sense of duty as a minister of the Gospel, and perhaps a conviction similar to Bullinger's regarding the mutual submission of magistrate and minister, to address his king prophetically.<sup>106</sup> Thus perhaps through the same 'sweetness and persuasion' which he asks of the Pope in his dealings with Protestants (*CFII* 182), together with a reminder that the Protestants present no challenge to classical beliefs about the Christ (*CFII* 145-46), he might first of all convince the king that conversion by force does not succeed.

Indeed part of Corro's argument against forced conversions is pragmatic. Citing the example of Jews and Muslims in Spain who never truly converted to Christianity, but who would rather leave Spain in order to return to their original practice, Corro asks

What is to be gained . . . when men are forced to receive the religion which the Pope teaches, even if it were pure and in accordance with the Gospel? It is clear that those who are forced to embrace a religion, whether individuals or peoples, never embrace it willingly. . . (*CFII* 197).

From there he insists that 'the religion of man must be free', given that external observances are of no value if one's heart is not first of all 'well taught and full of love for God's will' (*CFII* 197). With this Corro invites the king to consider the case which is being made against the church of Rome (*CFII* 183), and in so doing to imitate even

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<sup>105</sup> P.J. Hauben, *Three Spanish Heretics and the Reformation: Antonio del Corro, Casiodoro de Reina, Cipriano de Valera* (Geneva: Droz, 1967), 27.

<sup>106</sup> As Bullinger wrote, 'the politic magistrate is commanded to give ear to the ecclesiastical ruler, and the ecclesiastical minister must obey the politic governor in all things which the law commandeth'. *The Decades of Henry Bullinger*, 328. See also Torrance Kirby, 'Cura Religionis: the Prophetic Office and the Civil Magistrate', in *The Zurich connection and Tudor Political Theology* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 25-41.

Pagan kings like Mithridates VI of Pontus, ‘who learned twenty-two foreign languages in order to listen to the concerns and complaints of those who from different countries in his domain came to ask for justice’ (*CFII* 184).

By insisting that religion must be free, it is unlikely that Corro was anticipating a kind of religious pluralism. There is no necessary link between a conviction regarding ‘freedom of conscience in religious matters’ and a doctrine of ‘salvation by good conduct’ irrespective of one’s religious beliefs, as McFadden supposes.<sup>107</sup> Rather, Corro’s references to non-Christian religions as forms of idolatry and blindness (*CFII* 130, 145), together with his remark that true, i.e. reformed, Christian doctrine shows ‘the true and only means to enjoy’ the benefit of Christ’s death (*CFII* 145), strongly suggest that he did not depart from the generally-held conviction among reformers that salvation was to be obtained only in the church. What did follow from Corro’s belief regarding freedom in matters of religion was a particular method. In this regard, the approach of Bartolomé de las Casas to the indigenous peoples in the Spanish colonies is instructive:

The Kings of Castile are obliged to see to it that the Faith of Christ is preached in the form laid down by the Son of God: that is to say, peaceably, lovingly, sweetly, and charitably, by weakness and humility and good example, caring for the unbelievers, and especially for the Indians who are by nature exceedingly meek and humble, giving them gifts rather than taking gifts from them. In this way they will esteem the Christian’s God to be just and good, and so will want to belong to Him and to receive his faith and doctrine.<sup>108</sup>

When Corro writes that ‘the heart must be won over through sweetness and loving persuasion, through good example, and through fervent prayer to the Lord’ (*CFII* 198),

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<sup>107</sup> McFadden, ‘Life and Works of Antonio del Corro’, 351-52.

<sup>108</sup> From Las Casas’s ‘Treatise of Thirty Propositions’, as quoted in J. A. Mackay, *The Other Spanish Christ: A Study in the Spiritual History of Spain and South America* (Eugene, Oregon: Wipf and Stock, 2001), 46.

one might easily suppose that he was familiar either with Las Casas's *Brevissima relacion de la destruycion de las Yndias* (1552), or with the debate between the 'anticonquistador'<sup>109</sup> and Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, held before the Spanish court in 1550 in which Las Casas argued that forced conversion led ultimately to the rejection of Christianity.<sup>110</sup> Given the problem of religious plurality, then, what Corro proposed was a tolerable diversity. Noting that if in Constantinople the ruling Turks could maintain the peace between three religions, and that in Rome Christians and Jews could coexist, given that the Pope grants the Jews freedom of worship, Corro asks how much more this should be the case for Christians who profess belief in 'one God and Redeemer, and receive the same Gospel' (*CFII* 210-11).

Corro's question points to uneasy tensions in two matters related to religious diversity. In the question of the precise status of papal religion, Corro affirms a basic unity in the Gospel between reformed religion and that of the papacy, while declaring unambiguously that his opponents are 'enemies of the glory of God and followers of their own glory, defilers of the holy and divine Word' (*CFII* 134). While the need to defend the catholicity of Protestantism while making a case for papal apostasy may account for this tension, when it comes to the question of the magistrate's authority in matters of religion Corro's position reflects a certain degree of ambivalence. On the one hand, he affirms the Christian magistrate's duty to safeguard and protect sound doctrine, which involves the coercion implied in his request that Philip II 'expurgate abuses which have

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<sup>109</sup> Mackay, *The Other Spanish Christ*, 46.

<sup>110</sup> O. Chadwick, *The Reformation* (Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1972), 327. As Bosch notes, the magisterial reformers 'broke completely with any idea of using force in Christianizing people' (*Transforming Mission*, 245).

been introduced into our Christian religion' (*CFII* 101). To that extent, Corro agrees with Bullinger's assertion that magistrates safeguard Christian doctrine by judging those who draw people away from the true God.<sup>111</sup> On the other hand, Corro would seem to limit severely the king's ability to do just that when he asks him to consider it enough that his subjects obey him in external matters of property, taxes, rents, etc., and even by giving their lives if required, but to remember that 'when it comes to [one's] conscience, it belongs only to God to govern it by his holy word' (*CFII* 124).<sup>112</sup> In this he appears to be one with Luther, who, against those who argued that temporal power served to prevent heretics from deceiving the people, insisted that obedience to the magistrate applied 'only externally to taxes, revenue, honor and respect', such that 'heresy must be opposed and dealt with otherwise than the sword'.<sup>113</sup>

The tension in Corro's position can be explained with reference to an internal debate among reformers surrounding the proper use of the sword,<sup>114</sup> for it is evident that Corro was prepared to affirm one thing in principle, but compelled to make an exception in practice. Clearly, in his mind Philip II was unfit to repress heresy as long as he was not first of all instructed in God's law. Thus he explains to him that according to Deuteronomy 17:19 the king is to read the law 'all the days of his life so that he may

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<sup>111</sup> Bullinger, *Decades*, 324. See also Bullinger, *The Second Helvetic Confession*, 300.

<sup>112</sup> The apparent confusion is reflected in Rivera García's conclusion to the effect that Corro both did and did not grant the king authority to suppress heresy. See his 'El humanismo de la Reforma Española', 43.

<sup>113</sup> M. Luther, 'Temporal Authority: to what extent it should be obeyed', trans. J.J. Schindel, *Luther's Works*, vol. 5 ed. W. Brandt (St Louis, MO: Concordia Pub. House, 1955-1986), 110-114.

<sup>114</sup> Following the execution of M. Servetus in 1553, French theologian Sebastien Castellio wrote 'Whether Heretics Ought to Be Persecuted' (1554), arguing against T. Beza that the magistrate had no right to punish heretics, since he had no authority over their souls. To put human beings to death based on their religious opinions was to anticipate the Last Judgement. See Hans Rudolf Guggisberg 'Toleration', in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, vol. 4 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996) 160-163.

learn to revere the Lord his God', and begs him to consider the fact that such a foundation is essential if he wishes to maintain his subjects in the true religion (*CFII* 185). In the meantime, and lest the king find himself with no subjects left at all, but only 'skeletons hanging on the gallows, and bodies burned to ashes', Corro asks the king in the first instance to take from 'the Pope and the whole ecclesiastical hierarchy' the power to condemn (*CFII* 185). It is worth noting in this regard that in addition to theological reasons for opposing 'the Pope and his sectarians', Corro appeals to the historic rejection of the papacy by the churches of the Christian east (*CFII* 120). In the second place, Corro asks Philip II to take an interest in the debate (*CFII* 185) by calling together a council, if only on the national level, to settle matters of doctrine. In this way, the king would begin to fulfil his missionary duty, since a council would help to establish peace in the realm and rid the church of superstitions (*CFII* 193), while the end of religious persecution through tolerance would serve as a form of witness to Jews, Muslims and Indians (*CFII* 195, 203)—indicating the global thrust of Corro's missionary vision.

To sum up, we noted that the Spanish Protestant missionary vision is motivated by an anticipation of God's glory as 'the Gentiles' are evangelized through the church's exemplary obedience and witness (1 Pet 2:12). As such, a magisterial theme of God's sovereign initiative is combined with a concern for discipline, as found among the radical reformers. However, the priority which the Spaniards gave to the former meant that their focus in mission was not on the church in the first instance, as though the principal aim of mission were to expand the empire (as in the 'institutional' model), or to restore the original and 'pure' church (as with the radical model). Rather, a conviction that the church was a *corpus permixtum*, dependent on God for its life and witness, suggests a

shift towards a more instrumental, 'Chalcedonian' conception of the church according to which church and kingdom are united but never confused. By the same token, a kind of indifference to the visible church, as found in the 'spontaneous' mission model, is avoided.

Different emphases among the Spaniards are still evident. With his attention primarily on ministers and the magistrate, Corro does not develop a mission theology 'from below', such as we find in Reina and Valera. Writings of these two directed to believers 'in captivity' suggest a missionary theology which includes the laity in the mission of the whole church, while the instrumental approach to external signs which we have observed in Reina's theology throughout our study turns up in the special attention he gives to ministers as those on whom the success of mission depends, and to the marks of the church as a means of witness: reform as an inward work of God was not only to be given expression through a 'coming out' from Babylon, but was to be served by it.

We have observed that particular problems related to missionary agency give rise to a certain de-professionalizing of mission (such as one finds in the 'spontaneous' model). Problems from within the church (division and human weakness), and from without (persecution), lead to the identification of 'extraordinary' mission agents. This band of persecuted literature smugglers, Bible translators, reformers, and ordinary believers allows for mission to be conceived in more nomadic terms, such that the dominant Spanish Protestant image of the church in mission is that of the pilgrim who is on the run, ever a stranger and outsider.

Such an image strikes a radical chord as it celebrates the return of the saints and martyrs of old as key mission agents. However, as the Spanish Protestants consider the

mission of the whole people of God in relation to the complex of cultures, churches and political entities of their time, the same problems of persecution, disunity and human frailty give rise to a threefold message which speaks of a church engaged dynamically with the world it is called to serve. We find an explicit missionary concern for the conversion of ‘the nations’ through example and persuasion, a desire for the kind of ministry which is marked by simplicity and self-denial which will safeguard the ongoing reform of the church, and a longing for political tranquillity served by a mission-minded magistrate so that true religion can flourish and God’s glory will be served. In all of this, mission agents ‘from below’—the Spanish reformers included—serve the ordinary and professional ones, drawing attention to the fact that while the church in mission may be a perpetual stranger and ‘disgraced’ exile, it remains an interpretative community, prepared to speak of ‘the hope that it is in you’ (1 Pet 3:15), and to consider its sojourn as an opportunity for citizenship in the land. While lamenting his departure from Spain, Corro could still say: ‘I can no longer call myself a stranger in the country to which the Lord has sent me’ (*CFII* 205).

## Conclusion

With Corro's hopeful view of citizenship in foreign lands we are reminded that the scattered Sevillian exiles were not to enjoy the privilege of establishing a Spanish Protestant Reformation as such. Instead they added their voices to sister movements in the lands of their sojourn—principally England, the Low Countries, Germany and Switzerland—leaving the task of discerning the shape and direction of Spanish Protestant theology to later generations. Here we ask to what extent we have succeeded in shedding light on their doctrine of the church, thus contributing to a new appreciation of the peculiar place of Spanish Protestantism in sixteenth-century religious thought.

We began our study with a second look at the commonly-held assumption that the sixteenth-century Spanish evangelical movement centred in Seville was essentially 'evangelical Catholic': *evangelical* for its emphasis on renewal through Bible study and simplicity in ceremonies, but *Catholic* in that it did not encourage a break with the Papacy, either as a matter of principle, or through a kind of indifference to the external things of religion. Comparing and contrasting the theology of the leading Sevillian preacher Constantino Ponce de la Fuente with that of the evangelical Catholic spiritual

writer Juan de Valdés, we drew attention to the Protestant impulse in the reform movement to which Ponce de la Fuente gave direction and whose focus was the San Isidoro Monastery of Observant Hieronymites not far from Seville. We described that impulse with reference to Ponce de la Fuente's teachings on grace, authority and the Christian life, pointing to a 'reformed Catholicism' which intended reform in doctrine and ceremonies based on an Augustinian view of sin and grace, a high view of the authority of Scripture in relation to church tradition, and on a firm (if patient) critique of idolatry with respect to rites and ceremonies which he considered superstitious.

To complete the foundation for our study of Spanish Protestant ecclesiology we revisited another commonly-held assumption: namely, that the leading Spanish Protestants Reina and Corro were, if not overtly anti-Trinitarian like the radical reformer Miguel Serveto, at least sympathetic to a 'low' Christology (i.e. one which stressed Christ's role as 'exemplar', or his 'adoption' by the Father). Arguing that such a reading is difficult to establish on textual grounds, and, more importantly, that it reveals a significant ecclesiological blind spot in Reina and Corro scholarship, we found evidence in Reina's and Corro's writings of a classical, 'Chalcedonian' Christology which undergirds a markedly ecclesial and public conception of salvation through participation in Christ's threefold work as Prophet, Priest and King. Here we contrasted their view of the church's participation in the *munus triplex* with the notion of union with Christ achieved primarily through contemplation and the soul's gradual perfection, as found in the mystical and spiritual tradition.

With a clearer understanding of their origins in Spain and soteriological presuppositions, we turned to that overlooked but central concern in Reina's and Corro's

thought: their ecclesiology proper. Here we noted first a peculiar model of the church which combined ‘nomadic’ with catholic themes: even as a ‘little flock’ called out and separate from the world through its obedience to Christ and subject to persecution, the church was understood as a *corpus permixtum* which, being still ‘on the way’, owed its allegiance to church tradition. This fundamental tension came to be reflected in the Spanish Protestant approach to authority: a dependence on the Spirit for Biblical insight and church renewal was combined with a ‘high’ and ‘instrumental’ view of Scriptural authority, which served as a means to uphold the priority of Scripture over direct illumination (as in the spiritual tradition), or over church tradition (as in the papacy). The tension also led to one of the most remarkable features of Spanish Protestant ecclesiology. In Reina’s thought in particular, a sustained consideration of the church’s whereabouts with reference to its marks of obedience grew out of the need to develop a standard which would serve two purposes: as a means to recognize a community of strangers as the true church of God, and for that community itself to be guided in the Christian life.

Reina’s and Corro’s concern for the outward marks of holiness was reinforced by a theology of ceremonies which gave pride of place to the proclaimed Word of God as an outward means of the church’s regular confession of sin and assurance of divine pardon. Regarding the sacraments, we observed in Corro a sharp critique of idolatry, which he applied not only to the ‘superstitions’ which he discerned in papal ceremonies, but also to Protestant traditions surrounding the Lord’s Supper which had come to be regarded by their proponents as infallible. While proposing an essentially Zwinglian approach to the sacraments—as a promise of grace made visible—Corro based his plea for charity in the

‘Supper strife’ on an assumption that the manner in which Christ’s presence in the Lord’s Supper was to be conceived belonged to *adiaphora*, ‘indifferent things’. Reina’s approach, while similarly intending unity among Protestants, was far from imprecise, as it has been claimed. Rather, his proposal was guided fundamentally by a ‘reformed Catholic’ conviction regarding the instrumental efficacy of religious signs. As such, with the hope of mediating between Lutheran and Calvinist approaches, he expounded the sacraments as outward or external means of justification, thus drawing attention to their ecclesial significance.

The Spanish Protestant view of the church as a persecuted, pilgrim community marked by as well as kept in holiness through the regular sacramental life of the church was to have an impact, finally, on its missionary thrust. Recognizing a missionary vision in magisterial reform, against the common view that the reformers were too occupied with church reform to give much thought to the church’s mission to the non-Christian world, we noted that with their particular model of mission the Spanish Protestants (and here Valera joined Reina and Corro in the foreground) both expressed the magisterial conviction and complemented it with a nomadic theme. As such, to the work of formal mission agents they added that of captives and ordinary believers who through their obedience and unity might evangelize Muslims and win those under the papacy for the reformed faith. A mission model which thus focussed on the church as a company of highly mobile, persecuted believers was bound up, finally, with the conviction that the conversion of ‘the Gentiles’, whether through the efforts of the magistrate or of agents ‘from below’, was to come about by example and persuasion, not force, while the

ongoing reformation of the church was to be safeguarded through its leaders' simplicity in lifestyle and unselfish obedience to the Gospel.

Mindful of the testimony of the Spanish Christ who went 'underground' in the sixteenth century—to appeal in closing to John Mackay's metaphor—here we have considered the Spanish Christ who went into exile with those Sevillian Protestants in northern Europe. Our hope is that the present study will draw attention to a topic in Reformation studies which has suffered considerable neglect, and that as the meaning of the Protestant reformers' catholic vision is discussed and debated, the intentionally catholic, reformed and missional vision of these Spanish Protestants might find its way into the conversation.

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APPENDIX

Dual-Language (Spanish-English) Version of Casiodoro de Reina's

*Declaración, o Confesión de Fe (1577)*

Translated by Steven Griffin

*DECLARACIÓN, O*

*Confesión de Fe hecha por ciertos fieles españoles, que,  
huyendo los abusos de la iglesia Romana y la crueldad de la Inquisición d'España  
hizieron a la Iglesia de los fieles para ser en ella recibidos por hermanos en Christo.*

*Declaranse en este perqueño volumen los principales Fundamentos de la Fe y  
Religión Christiana necesarios a la salud conforme a la Divina Escritura de donde son  
sacados con toda fidelidad y brevedad.*

*DECLARATION, OR*

*Confession of Faith of certain Spanish believers, who, fleeing from  
the abuses of the Roman church and the cruelty of the Inquisition of Spain,  
presented to the Church of the faithful to be received in her as brothers in Christ.*

*Declared in this little volume are the principal Foundations of the Christian Faith and  
Religion which are necessary for salvation according to Divine Scripture from where  
they are taken with complete fidelity and brevity.*

FRANCFORD

M.D. LXXVII

## Translator's Note

The Spanish version provided in the present Spanish-English edition of Reina's confession of faith is a transcription of what may be the sole surviving copy of the 1577 version, consulted in the British Library, London, UK, but with slight modifications: First, I have omitted the brief 'Aviso al Lector' (Reina's note on handling Scripture citations in the margin), and have instead inserted Scripture references directly into the body of the text. Secondly, I have introduced marginal subtitles into the text proper, at the beginning of the relevant section, in italics. Thirdly, for greater readability, and to avoid occasional ambiguity, I have inserted accent marks, which in any case appear to be inconsistent in the original. Otherwise I have made every effort to leave the original intact.

The 1577 version, as Reina makes clear in his 'Epistle from the Author to the Reader', is the first published version of his confession of faith of January 4<sup>th</sup>, 1559. In preparing my translation I have consulted, and on several occasions have opted for translations provided in the notes of Ian Hazlett's 2008 study edition: 'Confession de Fe Christiana 1559/60 – 1560/61', in A. Mühling and P. Opitz, eds., *Reformierte Bekenntnisschriften Band. 2/1: 1559-1563* (Neukirchener-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2009), 117-207. Any mistakes in the translation are, of course, mine. Hazlett's edition is based on Gordon Kinder's 1988 edition of the 1601 Spanish-German version (believed to be the only surviving copy of the confession at the time), but collated both with the 1577 edition as well as Reina's unpublished Latin translation (c. 1578 or 79, available in the Lambeth Palace Library, London).

The present edition includes Reina's 'Epístola del Autor al Lector' (missing in the 1601 version but present in Hazlett's edition), and the 'Appéndice al Lector' (present in the 1601 version but omitted by Hazlett), as they appear in the 1577 edition. Clearly, these are additions to the original 1559 version, which was intended primarily for the fellowship of Strangers' Churches in London. However, as introductory and concluding remarks aimed ostensibly at Spanish-speaking readers 'in captivity', i.e. in Spain, they hold together thematically and structurally, as 'bookends' to the 1577 edition.

On the actual dating of the '1559' version, see Hazlett, 'Confession de Fe Christiana 1559/60 – 1560/61', 125-6.

**EPÍSTOLA DEL AUTOR  
AL LECTOR**

Aviendo releydo muchas vezes esta Cõfeisiõ, a la fin me determiné de publicarla después de más de quinze años q fue hecha, y de aver servido para el fin que se hizo. La principal causa que me meuió a ello fué, de una parte la consideración del estado miserable de nuestra España en tantas tinieblas de ignorancia de la Verdad de Dios, y en tan grandes y exquisitas diligencias ê perseguir essa poquita de luz de ella, que Dios le da, y procurar de apagarla del todo. Por otra parte considero, de quan pequeñitas ayudas (si así se puede dezir) se sirve Dios, para reencender su Verdad, y frustrar como con un soplo, todas aquellas fuerças, industrias, y diligencias del Mundo contra ella: y que podría ser, que alguna vez se quiesse servir de este pequeñito Libro para tan glorioso fin: porque así se suele Dios burlar del Mundo (Psal. 2) y de sus empresas locas contra el Reyno de su Christo, escogendo lo más flaco, lo más abatido, lo más apocado para confundir y avergonçar (1 Cor. 1) con ello lo mas fuerte del Mundo con todos su apparatus. Pareceme aver comprehendid en el todos los artículos, o fundamentos de nuestra Religión, q el mundo aora llama Lutherana, Nueva, Herética &c. y nosotros Christiana, Antigua, Cathólica, tan necesaria a todos los hombres, q fuera della no aya salud. Qual destas dos affirmaciones sea la verdadera, y cual la falsa, iuzgará el

**EPISTLE FROM THE AUTHOR  
TO THE READER**

Having re-read this Confession many times, I finally determined to publish it more than fifteen years after it was made and served the purpose for which it was intended. My main motive was, on the one hand, a consideration of the miserable state of our Spain in such darkness of ignorance regarding the Truth of God, and in taking such great and refined care in persecuting that small amount of light which God gives her, endeavoring to put it out altogether. On the other hand, I consider by what small helps (if I may put it that way) God reignites his Truth and frustrates as if with a puff all those forces, endeavors and efforts which the World brings against it; and that it could be that he might want to use this little Book for so glorious a purpose; because that is the way in which God usually mocks the World (Ps 2) and its insane undertakings against the Kingdom of his Christ, choosing the weakest, the most dejected, the most feeble to confuse and to shame (1 Cor 1) the strongest things of the World and all its pomp. It appears to me to include all the articles, or foundations of our Religion, which the World now calls Lutheran, New, Heretical, etc., and which we refer to as Christian, Ancient, Catholic, so necessary for all men, such that outside of it there is no salvation. The prudent Reader will judge which of these two affirmations is true and which one is false as he first rids himself of all

prudente Lector, desnudándose primero de todo carnal y humano affecto o pasión, y ayudándose de la palabra de Dios, que es la única regla, luz, y instrumento para probar y examinar los espíritus, y todas doctrinas, si son de Dios, o no (1 Ioa. 4). Para este fin citamos por los margines los lugares de la Escritura que hazen la prueba de lo que confessamos, acerca de los quales requerimos al Lector estudioso de la gloria de Dios, y de su propia salud, que no los passe ligeramente: antes ymite aquella buena y pía diligencia de los auditores de San Pablo, que aviendo oydo de el Evangelio del Christo, que la mayor parte tenía por blasphemias heregias, ellos, no obstante esse común iuyzio, suspendían el suyo, hasta ver lo que las divinas Escrituras alegadas por S. Pablo sonavan acerca de ello, las quales, bueltos a sus casas, examinavan con reposo, para ver, si era así como Paulo predicava (Acto 17). A tal diligencia hecha con sincero amor de la Verdad, si se juntare ardiente oración al Señor, de cuya gloria es la cuestión, creedme que el no faltará de acudir con el don de su Sabiduría y entendimiento. Digo, con sincero amor de la Verdad, porque la falta deeste en semejante exsamen castiga Dios con entregar al hombre a espíritu de error (como nos enseña el Apóstol, 2 Thes. 2) y es iusto juyzio suyo, que quien huye la Verdad, y error busca, aún la misma Escritura, que es fuente de Verdades, se le buelva mar de errores y de lazos en que cayga de espaldas, y se enrede sin poder soltarse, como dize tambien Isaías, que acontecerá a los tales (Isai. 28). Amó (s. el impío, dize David) la maldición, y venir le há; y no

carnal and human affection and passion and seeks the aid of the word of God, which is the only rule, light, and instrument for proving and testing the spirits, and all doctrines, to see if they are from God, or not (1 Jn 4). To that end we cite in the margins the passages in Scripture which prove what we confess, and call on the Reader whose desire is for God's glory and for his own salvation not to pass over these lightly, but to imitate that good and devout diligence of those who, having heard from Saint Paul the Gospel of the Christ, which the majority considered blasphemous heresy, suspended their own judgment in spite of the common one, until they saw what the divine Scriptures to which Saint Paul appealed taught regarding it, and which, returning to their homes, they studied at their leisure to see if what Paul preached was true (Acts 17). Believe me, the Lord will certainly respond with the gift of his Wisdom and understanding when such an endeavor is undertaken with sincere love for the Truth, and is linked with fervent prayer to the Lord, whose glory is the main concern. I say, with sincere love for the truth, because when it is lacking in such study God punishes man by delivering him over to a spirit of error (as the Apostle teaches in 2 Thes 2) and it is his just judgment that when a man flees from the Truth, and seeks error, even Scripture itself, which is a source of Truths, becomes for him a sea of errors and snares in which he falls backwards and becomes entangled with no way of getting loose, as Isaiah also says will happen to such people (Is 28). He (the wicked man, as David says) loved to pronounce a curse, and it

quiso la bendición, y alexarse ha del (Psal. 109).

Si con estas diligencias se examinaren los lugares aqui citados de la divina Escritura, confío del Señor que el pío Lector no solamente hallará en ellos la confirmación clara y cierta de lo que confessamos, más que aún le servirá de un muy copioso comentario de lo que nosotros confessamos en summa, y con la brevedad que convenía a nuestro intento, de donde sacará enseñamiento firme y de Fe, aunque su consciencia repose, y se asegure de su camino entre tanta tiniebla de diversidad de erráticas doctrinas, como el diablo ha sembrado en el campo del Señor sobre la buena simiente de su Palabra.

Quando Dios (amigo Lector) os uviere dado este conocimiento de su Verdad, y con el aquel gozo y alegría celestial que lo acompaña, mirad que no seays ingrato a tal beneficio, y os metays en el número de aquellos de quien habla el Apóstol, que es imposible, después de un tal menosprecio, ser restaurados otra vez a penitencia (Heb. 6). Antes con la misma alegría de corazón os devéys presto resolver a tomar para vos y vuestro uso la Verdad del Señor, que aprovastes. Y porque luz no se compadece con tinieblas (2 Cor. 6) ni Christo tiene commercio con el Idolo, ni podéys beber juntos los calices de los dos, no más que juntamente soplar y sorver pondréys en efecto desde luego la vocación, del Señor, que os llama (como a un Abraham) fuera de vuestra idolatría

shall come upon him; he did not want to bless, so blessing will be far from him (Ps 109).

If the Scripture passages given here are examined with these concerns in mind, I trust the Lord that the godly Reader will not only find in them clear and certain confirmation of what we confess, but also a very abundant commentary on what we confess in summary form, and with the brevity which our purpose called for, from where he shall obtain firm and faithful teaching, so that his conscience may rest, and that he might be assured of his way through so much darkness which comes from the variety of erratic doctrines which the devil has sown in the field of the Lord over the good seed of his Word.

Having received from God (dear Reader) this knowledge of his Truth, and with it that joy and heavenly happiness which accompany it, take heed that you are not ungrateful for such a blessing, and so join the company of those for whom, as the Apostle says, it is impossible, after such a form of contempt, to be brought back once again to repentance (Heb 6). Rather, with the same joy of heart you ought to resolve immediately to take for yourself and for your use the Truth of the Lord, which you accepted. And since light has no fellowship with darkness (2 Cor 6), just as Christ has nothing to do with the Idol, neither can you drink from the chalices of both together, no more than you can blow something away while sucking it in at the same time, you must therefore obey the

(Gen. 12, Heb. 11). Desembaraços presto, y salid con él, aunque al presente no sepays donde os lleva, como Abraham hizo. Fiad del que os llamó, y os saca, qua va en vuestra compañía, y que antes faltará el cielo y la tierra que el, de llevaros a buen puerto. El captivo que se escapa de tenebrosa cárcel y duras prisiones, por summo bien tiene, verse una vez desembuelto dellas, y en ayre libre, aunque se halle desnudo, ni sepa aún por donde ha de yr. Esta salida entendelda tanto con el cuerpo, que con el ánimo y consciencia, quando no se puede quedar en la tierra con seguridad de la vida sin comunicar con los errados en su perverso culto, y aprovárselo contra la consciencia con imitación, y aún con palabra: ni los hagays, ni nadie os haga entender, que podéys sin offensa de Dios comunicar exteriormente, y con el cuerpo al falso culto, teniendo el ánimo limpio: porque esto es contradicción manifiesta, y por consiguiente imposible: porque claro está, que donde el hombre, queriendo y sabiendo, embuelve su cuerpo en immundicia, el animo no puede estar, ni quedar limpio. Demas desto, parece que lo que así lo haze, son mas sabios que el Apóstol, pues han hallado manera como beber iuntamente el cáliz del Christo y el de Belial, y quedar limpios, lo qual el tuvo por impossible. Si en tal hecho acusaran su flaqueza, y dexaran la Verdad de Dios en su enteréz, tolerables fueran. Vos empero, hermano mío, entenderéys, que el primer uso, que Dios os pide de la luz y verdad que por su misericordia os comunica, es que después de reformado el ánimo, caminéys conforme a ella, quiere

Lord who calls you (as to an Abraham) to come out of your idolatry (Gen 12; Heb 11). Break free immediately and, like Abraham, come out with him, even if at present you do not know where he is taking you. Trust the one who called you, who brings you out, who goes with you, and before whom earth and heaven will pass away, to bring you to safety. A captive who escapes from a dark jail and a harsh prison considers it the greatest good to be free from them and to be in the open air, even if he is naked and does not know where he must go. This coming out must be understood as having to do with the body as well as with the soul and conscience, when one cannot remain in the land safely without communicating in the perverse cult of those in error, and by approving of it against one's conscience through imitation, and even words; do not do this, and do not allow yourself to be persuaded that you can without offence to God take part in an external, bodily way in the false ceremony, while keeping your soul clean; because this is a manifest contradiction, and thus impossible; because it is clear that when man willfully and knowingly involves his body in filthiness his soul cannot be or remain clean. Moreover, it appears that those who do are wiser than the Apostle, since they have found a way to drink from the chalice of both the Christ and of Belial and to remain clean, which he reckoned impossible. If in so doing they were to blame such a deed on their frailty, while leaving the Truth of God intact, they might be tolerated. But you, my brother, will understand, that the first thing you must do with the light and truth

dezir, encaminéys toda vuestra vida y obras según ella os enseña. Pues si esto se ha de entender de todo vuestro estado y manera de bivar, quanto a esta vida política, o doméstica, quanto con mas razón se entenderá de lo que concierne interior y exterior mente al divino culto, que es lo primero que Dios pide de nosotros?

Al que pudiesse quedar en la tierra sin ser constreñido a hacer contra la palabra de Dios, y contra su consciencia, o estuviesse resuelto de antes morir, que dexarse vencer: en este caso yo tendría por mejor consejo, quedarse para procurar de aumentar la compañía de los fieles con comunicar la luz de Dios a los que el le truxesse a la mano. Mas donde la Verdad de Dios es perseguida, y el Fiel tiene sospecha de su flaqueza y inconstancia, no dubde el tal, que su primer dever es, ponerse fuera de offensa de Dios, o de cierto peligro della. Ni las pérdidas temporales, en que por esto uviere de incurrir, le sean de tanta estima, que no le sea de mucho mayor sin comparación la de su innocencia y lealtad delante de Dios. Iuntase a esto, las muchas y ricas promessas, y cauciones que el Señor le tiene hechas en recompensa de lo que perdiere en esta vida por la confesión de su Nombre, y profesión de su verdad, a las quales, si de veras da crédito, tanto faltará de ser en esto escasso para con Dios, que antes se tendrá por doblemente dichoso, visto que (como el Apóstol dize a los Philip.) (Phil. 1) Dios le ha hecho merced,

which God in his mercy gives you is that you walk according to it once your soul has been reformed, that is, that you govern your whole life and works according to its teaching. For if this is true with regards to your whole state and manner of life as it is lived publicly, or in the domestic sphere, how much more should it be understood to concern the inward and outer aspects of divine worship, which is the first thing God asks of us?

To the one who is able to remain in the land without being forced to act against the word of God, and against his conscience, or is resolved to die before allowing himself to be defeated, in this case I would consider it better to remain in order to strive to increase the company of the faithful by sharing the light of God with those he might bring his way. But where the Truth of God is persecuted, and the Believer suspects in himself frailty and inconstancy, let him not doubt that his first obligation is to remove himself from giving offence to God, or from the certain danger of doing so. Temporal losses that he might incur should not be of such great value that his innocence and loyalty to God should not be of incomparably greater value. We can add to this the many and rich promises and guarantees which the Lord gives him in recompense for what he loses in this life for confessing his Name and professing his truth, of which, if he truly believes, he will find no shortage in God, but will reckon himself doubly blessed since (as the Apostle says to the Philippians) God has been merciful to him not only in bringing him to faith, but also in including him in

no solo de darle que crea, más aún de meterle en el número de los que por él padecen. Este pues será el uso, que el pío Lector tendrá del conocimiento de Sincera Verdad, que el Señor le diere por la lección de este pequeñito libro, el qual no se contentará de leer sola una vez, para informarse de nuestra fe: mas si dessea ser en ella instituydo como conviene leerlo ha muchas vezes hasta que la doctrina en el contenida se plante y eche rayzes en su corazón, de tal manera que como es Fe nuestra, y de todo la Iglesia de los píos, la haga el también propia suya, por la qual biva lo que le resta de la vida a gloria del que lo crió y regeneró por Christo para ser en el glorificado Amen.

**A LA IGLESIA DEL SEÑOR IESUS  
EL CHRISTO  
congregada en Londres en nombre del  
mismo Señor, los hermanos  
Españoles que huyendo las abomina-  
ciones del Papado se recogen a ella  
gracia y paz en el mismo Señor Iesus**

[Prefacio]

*Después de avernos el Señor por su sola misericordia hecho este tan gran bien de darnos oydos con que oyésemos su boz, para que metidos en el número de su pequeña manada (Ioan. 10), le siguiésemos como a único Pastor nuestro, ninguna cosa hemos mas desseado en esta vida que hallarnos en la compañía de aquellos a quien él oviessa hecho la misma merced. No porque entendamos que la Iglesia del Señor, y la affluencia de bienes*

the number of those that suffer for him (Phil 1). This then shall be the benefit that the godly Reader will have of the knowledge of Sincere Truth which the Lord shall give him as he reads this little book, who in order to be informed of our faith will not be content to read it only once, but if he desires to be established in it as he ought he should read it many times until the doctrine contained in it is planted and takes root in his heart, such that, as it is our Faith, and of the whole Church of the godly, he shall also make it his own, and live the rest of his life according to it to the glory of the one who made him and regenerated him through Christ in order to be glorified in him. Amen.

**TO THE CHURCH OF THE LORD  
JESUS THE CHRIST  
gathered in London in the name of the  
same Lord, the Spanish brethren,  
who fleeing the abominations of the  
Papacy, seek refuge in her  
grace and peace in the same Lord Jesus**

[Preface]

*Now that we have been given, by the Lord's mercy alone, the gift of ears to hear his voice, so that having been included in the number of his little flock we might follow him as our only Pastor (John 10), there is nothing that have we desired more in this life than to be found in the company of those to whom the Lord has shown the same mercy. This is not because we believe that the Church of the Lord, and the abundance of goods which are given by*

*del cielo que por el le son comunicados, esté ligada (Mat. 16) a ciertos lugares, tiempos, o personas: mas porque sabemos, enseñados por su palabra, que dondequiera que el la quiere iuntar (Psal. 133, 67), allí le embia su bendición y la lluvia de sus largas misericordias. Por esta causa dexamos nuestra patria, y las commodidades de bivar, tales quales eran, que en ella teníamos, de nuestra libre voluntad, antes que el mundo, como lo tiene de costumbre, ni otra temporal necesidad nos compeliessse a dexarlas; teniendo por suerte dichosísima, si algún día el Señor nos hiziesse tan gran merced, sobre las demás, de que corporalmente nos iuntássemos con tan Sancta compañía para participar así de sus trabajos y afflicciones, como de los dones que el Señor le oviesse comunicado, y que ella participasse de los nuestros.*

*En tanto pues (Hermanos muy amados en el Señor) que vuestra compañía creemos ser la que nosotros buscamos, es a saber Iglesia del Señor Iesús el Christo, declaramosbos este nuestro desseo, el qual es de celebrar con vosotros la comunión de los Sanctos, no solamente quanto al sacro symbolo de ella, que es la Cena del Señor, mas también quanto a lo que nos significa: pues ha plazido al Padre celestial por Iesús el Christo, hazernos en el un mismo pueblo, darnos un mismo Espíritu, y unos mismos desseos de su gloria, llamarnos a una misma heredad celestial, marcarnos con unas mismas marcas de amor, y de la cruz del Señor Iesús, y finalmente ser el nuestro común Padre.*

*him from heaven, is bound to certain places, times and persons (Mat 16); but because we know, taught by his word, that wherever he desires to gather it, there he sends his blessing and showers of abundant mercies (Ps 133, 67). For this cause we left our homeland and the comforts of life, such as we had in it, of our own free will, not compelled, as is often the case, by the world, or by any other temporal necessity to forsake them; considering it to be the greatest fortune if one day the Lord should grant us such a great favor, over the rest, that we should be united to such holy company personally, and so to participate in its works and afflictions as well as the gifts which the Lord has given it, and that it might share in ours.*

*Since we believe, very dear brothers in the Lord, that it is your company which we seek, that is the Church of Jesus the Christ, we declare to you this our desire, which is to celebrate with you the communion of the Saints, not only with respect to its sacred symbol, which is the Lord's Supper, but with respect to what it signifies for us; for it has pleased the heavenly Father, through Jesus the Christ, to make us one same people in him, to give us one same Spirit, and the same desires for his glory, to call us to one same celestial inheritance, to mark us with the same marks of love and of the cross of the Lord Jesus, and finally to be our common Father.*

*Y para que mejor vos conste ser así (en lo que a nuestra parte toca), damosvos al presente esta nuestra confesión de Fe, por la qual podréys conocer lo que creemos, y que género de doctrina professamos, confiando de la synceridad Christiana, y de la charidad que el Señor vos avrá dado para con vuestros hermanos, que la recibiréys, leeréys, y interpretaréys con todo candor de ánimo, así como nosotros con el mismo os la offrecemos.*

*Oramos al Señor con todo affecto, nos de un mismo sentir y querer en sí, para que en su Iglesia no sea hallada división, donde en su nombre se professa summa concordia Amén. En Londres 4. de Enero. 1559.*

**DECLARACIÓN, O  
Confesión de Fe hecha por ciertos fieles españoles, que, huyendo los abusos de la iglesia Romana y la crueldad de la Inquisición d'España hizieron a la Iglesia de los fieles para ser en ella recibidos por hermanos en Christo.**

**DE DIOS**

1. *Conocimiento de Dios por la Philosophía, y mas claro por el Vieio Testamento.* Primeramente creemos y confessamos aver un solo Dios (Deut 6), de naturaleza Espiritual (Joa 4, 2 Cor 3), Eterno, Infinito (Rom 16), de infinita potentia (Gen 17, 43; Ex 15; Apo 16), sabiduría (Job 5; 2 Cor 3), y bondad (Mat

*And as greater evidence on our part we hereby submit to you this our confession of faith, by which you may know what we believe and what kind of doctrine we profess, confident in the Christian sincerity and charity which the Lord will have given you for your brethren, and that you may receive, read and interpret it with all the candor of spirit with which we offer it to you.*

*With our whole heart we pray that the Lord will give us one same mind and desire within ourselves, so that disunity might not be found in his Church, where utmost concord is professed in his name. Amen. At London, 4<sup>th</sup> of January, 1559.*

**DECLARATION, OR  
Confession of Faith of certain Spanish believers, who, fleeing from the abuses of the Roman church and the cruelty of the Inquisition of Spain, presented to the Church of the faithful to be received in her as brothers in Christ.**

**OF GOD**

1. *Knowledge of God through Philosophy, and more clearly through the Old Testament.* First we believe and confess that there is only one God (Deut 6), Spiritual by nature (John 4, 2 Cor 3), Eternal, Infinite (Rom 16), of infinite power (Gen 17, 43, Ex 15, Rev 16), wisdom (Job 5, 2 Cor 3) and goodness (Mt

19), Iusto (Ps 11), aborrecedor y riguroso castigador del peccado. Misericordioso y benigno más de lo que se puede declarar por palabra para todos los que lo aman y obedecen a sus mandamientos (Ex 20; Ps 5).

2. *Conocimiento de Dios propio del Nuevo Testamento (Mat 22, Mar 12, Luc 10).* Creemos ansimismo que en esta divina y espiritual naturaleza ay Padre, el qual es principio y fuente ansí de la divinidad como de todo lo que en el cielo y en la tierra tiene ser (Ps 2, Heb 1, Luc 1), al qual llamamos por este nombre de Padre, especialmente por ser Padre de Iesús el Christo, su Eterna Palabra (Joa 1), Primogénito (Rom 8; Heb 1) y Unigénito hijo suyo (Joa 1), y por causa de él ser Padre también de todos los fieles, que con verdadera y biva fe le conocen, y creen, y con pía y limpia vida le confiessan. Ay Hijo, el qual (como está dicho) es Iesús el Christo, retrato natural y expressa imagen de la persona del Padre (2 Cor 3, 4; Col 1; Heb 1), Primogénito ante toda criatura (Col 1), y cabeça de toda la Iglesia (Eph 1, 4, 5; Col 1). Ay Espíritu Sancto, el qual es la fuerza y efficacia de la divinidad (Cap 17 abajo), que se muestra generalmente en todas las obras de Dios, y mas claramente en el gobierno de toda la Iglesia de Iesús el Christo; y especialmente se siente en los coraçones de los píos regenerados por él, y se declara y manifiesta por sus palabras y obras.

3. Creemos hallarse estas tres personas en la misma substancia, naturaleza y essencia de un Dios, de tal

19), Just (Ps 11), detester and rigorous punisher of sin. More merciful and kind than tongue can express unto all who love him and obey his commandments (Ex 20, Ps 5).

2. *Knowledge of God according to the New Testament (Mt 22, Mk 12, Lk 10).* Likewise we believe that in this divine and spiritual nature there is Father, who is the source and fount of divinity and of everything that has being in heaven and on earth (Ps 2; Heb 1; Lk 1): whom we call by this name Father, especially because he is Father of Jesus the Christ his Eternal Word (John 1), First born (Rom 8; Heb 1) and his Only-begotten son (John 1), because of whom he is also Father of all the faithful who with true and lively faith know him and believe in him, and with a godly and pure life confess him. There is Son, who (as it is declared) is Jesus the Christ, natural likeness and manifest image of the person of the Father (2 Cor 3, 4, Col 1, Heb 1), Firstborn before all creatures (Col 1), and head of the whole Church (Eph 1, 4, 5, Col 1). There is Holy Spirit, who is the power and efficacy of divinity (chapter 17 below), who reveals himself generally in all the works of God, and more clearly in the government of the whole Church of Jesus the Christ; who is known especially in the hearts of the righteous regenerated by him, and who is declared and manifested by his words and works.

3. We believe that these three persons share in the same substance, nature and essence of one God, but in such a way

manera distintas, que el Padre no sea el Hijo ni el Espíritu Santo; ni el Hijo sea el Padre ni el Espíritu Santo; ni el Espíritu Santo el Padre ni el Hijo. Esto sin derogar a la unidad y simplicidad de un solo Dios, por no aver en todas tres personas mas de un ser divino y simplicísimo, según que hallamos avernos declarado el mismo Dios en su Sancta Palabra, por la qual enseñados lo conocemos, adoramos y confessamos ansí.

4. Y aunque entendemos que todo hombre fiel se deve conformar con las maneras de hablar de que Dios en ella usa, mayormente en la manifestación de mysterios semeiantes a éste, donde la razón humana ni alcanza, ni puede, empero por conformarnos con toda la Iglesia de los píos, admittimos los nombres de Trinidad, y de Persona, de los quales los padres de la Iglesia antigua usaron usurpándolos no sin grande necessidad para declarar lo que sentían contra los errores, y heregías de sus tiempos acerca de este artículo.

5. Por esta confesión protestamos que somos miembros de la Iglesia Católica y que ningún commercio tenemos con ninguna secta o heregía antigua ni moderna, que o niegue la distinción de las Personas en la unidad de la divina natura o confunda las propiedades y officios de cada una de ellas; o quite a Iesús el Christo, o al Espíritu Santo el ser y dignidad de Dios, poniéndolos en el orden de las criaturas.

as to remain distinct, such that the Father is neither the Son nor the Holy Spirit; the Son is neither the Father nor the Holy Spirit; the Holy Spirit is neither the Son nor the Father. This without abolishing the unity and simplicity of one only God, since there is not more than one divine and most simple being in all three persons, as the same God has declared to us in his Holy Word, which teaches us to know, adore and confess him in this manner.

4. And although we understand that every believer must conform to the ways of speaking which God uses in it, chiefly in the manifestation of mysteries such as this one, where human reason does not, nor cannot, reach, so as to conform with the whole Church of the godly, however, we admit the names of Trinity, and of Person, which the fathers of the ancient Church employed, using them not without great necessity to declare what they believed against the errors and heresies of their times concerning this article.

5. By this confession we profess that we are members of the Catholic Church, and that we have no business with any sect or heresy ancient or modern that either denies the distinction of the Persons in the unity of the divine nature, or confounds the attributes and offices of each one of them, or that removes from Jesus the Christ or the Holy Spirit the being and dignity of God, placing them in the order of creatures.

## **CAP. II**

### **De la Creación de las cosas; de la Providencia de Dios en todo lo criado; y del fin principal que Dios en ella pretendió y pretende.**

1. Creemos ansimismo, que siendo Dios de su propia naturaleza invisible, incomprehensible y ineffable (Ex 33; Deut 4; Job 9; Joa 1, 4; 1 Tim 6), a fin de comunicarse, y manifestar los thesoros de su potencia, bondad, sabiduría (Rom 1), y de su divino ser al hombre que después avía de criar, con la potencia de su Palabra que es el Christo, crió de nada los cielos y la tierra (Gen 1; Ps 33, 8, 104), y todo lo que en ello ay ansí visible como invisible (Joa 1); para que poniendo el hombre los ojos en esta tan admirable obra de su Dios, viniese en conocimiento de su Criador, y de sus condiciones; y inclinado por este conocimiento a amarle, reverenciarle, temerle, adorarle y perpetuamente obedecerle de todo su corazón, gozasse de una vida de entero y lleno contentamiento en la comunicación familiar de su hazedor durante el tiempo que su Providencia ordenasse que biviesse en este baxo mundo.

2. Item, creemos que con la misma virtud de su Palabra, con la qual al principio dio ser a las cosas, lo mantiene y sustenta todo en el ser que tiene (Heb 1); y con la providencia de su Sabiduria lo gobierna, rige, y pone en admirable concierto (Ps 107, 104, 19, 8), de tal manera que sin su voluntad ninguna cosa se haga ni pueda hazerse en el universo (Is

## **Chapter II**

### **Of the Creation of things; of God's Providence in everything that is created; and of the primary end to which God intended and intends it.**

1. We also believe that, since God is by nature invisible, incomprehensible and ineffable (Ex 33; Deut 4; Job 9, Jn 1, 4; 1 Tim 6), in order to make himself known and to manifest the treasures of his might, goodness, wisdom (Rom 1) and divine being to the man he was to create, with the power of his Word, which is the Christ, created out of nothing the heavens and the earth (Gen 1, Ps 33, 8, 104), and everything that is in them, whether visible or invisible (John 1); so that, fixing his eyes on such an admirable work of his God, man might come to the knowledge of his Creator, and of his qualities; and inclined by this knowledge to love him, reverence him, fear him, adore him, and perpetually obey him with all his heart, he might enjoy a life of complete and full contentment in the intimate fellowship with of his maker during the time that his Providence ordained that he should live in this world below.

2. Again, we believe that with the same virtue of his Word, with which he gave life to things in the beginning, he maintains and sustains everything in the life that it has (Heb 1), and with the providence of his Wisdom he governs, directs and places it in marvelous order (Ps 107, 104, 19, 8), such that apart from his will nothing is done, nor can be done in the

45; Thren 3; Joa 1), haciendo con su infinito poder y sabiduría que todo sirva a su gloria, y a la utilidad de los suyos (Is 45; Jere 18; Rom 8, 9).

**CAP. III**  
**De la creación del hombre y de su**  
**erfección, dicha otramente**  
**Justicia Original**

1. *El Hombre criado a imagen de Dios.* Creemos ansimismo que después de aver Dios criado el mundo, y todo lo que en el ay crió al hombre (Gen 2) immortal (Sabid 2), iusto (Eccl 7), bueno, sabio, benigno, misericordioso, sancto, amador de verdad; y en fin tal, que con los dones de que lo dotó, pudiesse ser en el mundo una imagen y biva representación del que lo crió (Gen 2), en la qual, como en principal obra de sus manos hecha para este solo fin de ser por ella conocido y glorificado, resplandeciesse su bondad, sanctidad, verdad, sabiduría, misericordia y limpieza; y como criatura tan excelente, fuesse colocado en el mas suppremo grado de honra que todas las otras criaturas corporales, constituído por la mano de su Criador por superior y Señor de todas; para que por todas partes quedasse obligado a la reverencia, obediencia, temor y amor de su Hazedor, y al perpetuo agradecimiento de tan grandes beneficios.

2. *Justicia Original.* Esta tan dichosa condición llamamos Original Justicia, porque de tal manera residió en el primer hombre, que de él se comunicara a todos sus descendientes con la misma naturaleza; y así podemos bien dezir, que

universe (Is 45, Lam 3, Jn 1), as by his infinite power and wisdom everything serves for his glory, and for the benefit of his own (Is 45, Jer 18, Rom 8, 9).

**Chapter III**  
**Of the creation of Man, and of his**  
**perfection, otherwise known as**  
**Original Righteousness**

1. *Man created in God's image.* We also believe that, after he created the world and everything that is in it, God created man (Gen 2) immortal (Wisd 2), righteous (Eccl 7), good, wise, kind, merciful, holy, a lover of truth, and finally such that with the gifts which he was given man might in the world reflect, and serve as a lively representation of, the one who made him (Gen 2); in which [image], as the principal work of God's hands, made for the sole purpose of being known and glorified through it, his goodness, holiness, truth, wisdom, mercy and purity might shine; and as such an excellent creature he might be given the highest place of honor among all other corporeal creatures, constituted by the hand of his Creator as superior and Lord of all of them; so that in every way he might remain under the obligation of reverence, obedience, fear and love of his Maker, and of perpetual gratitude for such great blessings.

2. *Original Righteousness.* This most blessed condition we refer to as Original Righteousness, for it so dwelt in the first man that from him it was passed on with the same nature to all his descendants, such that we can well say that in him we all

en él la posseymos todos.

### **CAP. III**

#### **De la cayda del hombre. De la facultad del humano arbitrio antes y después del peccado original; y de las penas dél, y de la causa del mal.**

1. *Libre arbitrio, propio don des estado de innocencia.* Confessamos, que aviendo el hombre recebido de la mano de Dios en su creación fuerças de sabiduría, y entereza de voluntad, con que poder conoçer, amar y servir a su criador permaneciendo en su obediencia (que es lo que communmente se llama Libre Arbitrio), recibió ansimismo ley, en la obediencia de la qual exercitasse estos admirables dones (Gen 2); la qual quebrantando de su libre voluntad, iustamente fue despoiado de la imagen de Dios, y de todos los bienes que le hazian a él semejante (Gen 3); y de sabio, bueno, justo, verdadero, misericordioso y sancto, fue buelto ignorante, maligno, impío, mentiroso y cruel, vestido de la imagen y semejanza del demonio, a quien se allegó apartándose de Dios; privado de aquella sancta libertad, en que fue criado, y hecho esclavo y siervo del peccado y del demonio (Eccl 7; 2 Pet 2).

2. *Peccado Original.* Esta corrupción de la humana naturaleza (que por estar entonces toda depositada en el primer hombre, fue toda corrompida) llamamos peccado Original, por ser falta que desde el primer hombre deciende, como de mano en mano, de padres a hijos

possessed it.

### **Chapter IV**

#### **Of man's fall. Of man's will before and after the original sin; and of its consequences; and of the cause of evil**

1. *Free will, the gift belonging to the state of innocence.* We confess that man, having received from the hand of God at his creation powers of wisdom and integrity of will with which to know, love and serve his creator as he remained in obedience to him (which is what is commonly called Free Will), received also law, in whose obedience he might exercise those remarkable gifts (Gen 2); so that as his free will was broken, he was justly deprived of God's image, and of all the blessings that made him like him (Gen 3); and having been wise, good, just, true, merciful and holy, he became ignorant, wicked, ungodly, deceitful and cruel, dressed in the image and likeness of the devil, to whom he drew near when he turned from God; deprived of that holy liberty in which he was created, and made a slave and servant of sin and of the devil (Eccl 7, 2 Pet 2).

2. *Original Sin.* This corruption of human nature (which, by being contained entirely in the first man, was entirely corrupt) we call Original sin, since it is a fault that descends from the first man, as from hand to hand, from parents to children, propagating itself with the same

propagándose con la misma naturaleza en todos sin poder faltar (Rom 5).

3. *Muerte.* Con la misma iusticia confessamos aver incurrido en la pena de muerte que en la misma Ley le fue impuesta, si traspassasse (Gen 2), y en todas las demás calamidades que en el mundo se veen, las quales entendemos aver tenido su principio de allí, y aviendo sido dadas en castigo del peccado, quiere Dios que aun duren en testimonio de su yra contra él, y para un continuo exercicio de penitencia (Gen 3, Rom 5).

4. *Causa y Origen del mal en el mundo.* Este entendemos, y confessamos aver sido el principio y la causa del mal en el mundo, y no tener otro ninguno, al qual todos los hombres quedamos subiectos, como ramas que nacimos de corrupta raíz, sucediendo por herederos en los males de nuestros padres (Rom 5), en su corrupción y condenación, como lo fuéramos de sus bienes y de su integridad, si permanecieran en aquella Iusticia.

5. Por esta confessión renunciamos a toda doctrina de hombres que enseñen otros principios del mal que el que aquí avemos confessado; o que nieguen la corrupción de la humana naturaleza por la razón dicha; o que a lo menos enseñen, no ser tanta, que no le queden al hombre fuerças y facultad de libre arbitrio, con que poder de sí mismo, o ser meyor, o disponerse para serlo delante de Dios; mayormente aviéndonos el Señor enseñado que es *necessario nacer de nuevo* (Joa 3).

nature in all without exception (Rom 5).

3. *Death.* We confess that with the same justness we have incurred the penalty of death that was imposed in the same Law, if trespassed (Gen 2), and all the other calamities which are seen in the world, which we understand to have had their beginning there, and which, having been given as punishment for sin, God wills that they should endure as a testimony of his wrath against it, and as a continuous exercise of repentance (Gen 3, Rom 5).

4. *The Cause and Origin of evil in the world.* This we understand to have been the origin and cause of evil in the world, there being no other; to which all men are subject, as branches born of a corrupt root, inheriting the evils of our fathers (Rom 5), their corruption and condemnation, as we would have their blessings and integrity, had they remained in that Righteousness.

5. Through this confession we renounce all doctrines of man which teach origins of evil other than the one we have here confessed, which deny the corruption of human nature for the reason mentioned, or even those which teach that [human corruption] is not so great as to deprive man of the strength and ability of free will to be better, or to prepare himself to do so, on his own; chiefly since the Lord has taught that it is *necessary to be born again* (Jn 3).

## CAP. V

### De las promesas de Dios, y de la Fe con que los peccadores son Iustificados, y se levantan a mejor esperanza.

1. Esta tan miserable, y por fuerças criadas del todo irreparable cayda de todo el linaje humano entendemos averla Dios tomado por ocasión para mayor manifestación de los abysmos de su poder, saber, y bondad (1 Cor 1, 2), y especialmente de su misericordia y charidad para con los hombres, haziendo que donde el peccado abundó, sobreabundasse su gracia y misericordia (Joa 3, 4; Rom 5), a la qual sola tuviesse recurso el hombre caydo, que ya por su propia iusticia era impossible salvarse.

2. *Promessa de salud en Christo.* Esta su misericordia primeramente se manifestó dando promessa de eterna salud y bendición en virtud de una bendita simiente (Gen 3) que en el mundo nacería de muger, así como de muger avía nacido la maldición; la qual Simiente sería tan poderosa (Gen 3; 1 Joa 3), que bastasse a deshazer todo el reyno del demonio; y de tanta sanctidad, que en su nombre fuessen sanctificadas y benditas todas las gentes de la tierra (Gen 12, 22, 18).

3. *Fe en la promessa.* La fe y Esperança desta promessa confessamos aver venido como de mano en mano por todos los Padres del Viejo Testamento, por virtud de la qual sola recibieron salud y bendición ni nunca uvo debaxo del cielo otro nombre, ni otro camino por donde los

## Chapter V

### Of God's promises; and of the Faith with which sinners are Justified and rise to greater hope

1. We understand that God took this most miserable and completely irreparable (as far as human power is concerned) fall of the whole human race as an occasion for a greater manifestation of the depths of his power, knowledge and goodness (1 Cor 1, 2), and especially of his mercy and love for mankind, seeing to it that where sin abounded his grace and mercy over-abounded (Jn 3, 4; Rom 5), to which alone fallen man might have recourse, since by his own righteousness he could not be saved.

2. *Promise of Salvation in Christ.* God's mercy was first manifested with the promise of eternal salvation and blessing by virtue of a blessed seed (Gen 3) which would be born in the world of a woman, just as the curse had been born of a woman; which Seed would be so mighty (Gen 3, 1; Jn 3) that it would be sufficient to overthrow the whole rule of the devil; and of such holiness that in his name all the peoples of the earth would be sanctified and blessed (Gen 12, 22, 18).

3. *Faith in the promise.* We confess that the faith and Hope of this promise have come as if from hand to hand through all the Fathers of the Old Testament, by virtue of which alone they might receive salvation and blessing, neither was there ever under heaven

hombres se salvassen (Act 4).

**CAP. VI**  
**De La Ley, y de la doctrina de los**  
**Prophetas, o del Viejo Testamento.**

1. *Viejo Testamento.* Confessamos ansimismo que estando sepultada en el mundo la memoria de esta Promesa, y ansimismo la noticia de la manera con que Dios justificava, y acceptava por suyos los peccadores justificados, accordó de escoger de entre todas las naciones de la tierra un pueblo (Gen 12; Isai 41, 46), para que en él naciesse el libertador de los hombres, y con él se diesse entero cumplimiento a todas sus promessas; con el qual Pueblo hizo pacto o concierto, renovando en él su promessa y la Iusticia de Fe; y dándole su Ley escripta en tablas de piedra (Gen 15; Ex 19, 20); para que despertados por ella los hombres al conocimiento de su corrupción (Rom 4) lo fuessen ansimismo al desseo del remedio que consistía en el cumplimiento de aquella bienaventura de promessa (Gal 3).

2. *Officio y fin de la Ley escripta.* Para este solo fin entendemos aver Dios ordenado, que sonasse su palabra en este pueblo por la bocca de sus Prophetas, y que el pueblo fuesse exercitado en muchas y diversas maneras de mandamientos, de ceremonias, y de figuras (Heb 9, 10), para que siendo por la palabra de la Ley argüido y convencido de su continuo peccado, y por la frecuencia de los sacrificios amonestado de la poca virtud de los mismos sacrificios para quitarlo del

another name or another way whereby men might be saved (Acts 4).

**Chapter VI**  
**Of the Law, and of the doctrine of the**  
**Prophets, or the Old Testament**

1. *Old Testament.* We also confess that, as the memory of this Promise lay buried in the world, as was the news of the way in which God justified and accepted justified sinners as his own, he resolved to choose from among all the nations of the earth one people (Gen 12, Isa 41, 46), so that the liberator of mankind might be born among them, and with him all the promises might be completely fulfilled; with which People he made a covenant or accord, renewing in them his promise and the Righteousness of Faith; and giving them his Law on tablets of stone (Gen 15, Ex 19, 20); so that, awakened to the knowledge of their corruption (Rom 4), men might so be drawn to the desire for its remedy, which consisted in the fulfillment of that blessedness of promise (Gal 3).

2. *Office and end of the written Law.* For this sole end do we understand God to have ordained that his word should be proclaimed among this people by the mouth of his Prophets, and that the people might be exercised in many and diverse manners of commandments, ceremonies and forms (Heb 9, 10); so that, being rebuked by, and convinced of his constant sin, by the word of the Law, and through the frequency of sacrifices reminded of the little virtue of the same sacrifices to free

todo, fuesse como forzado a entender, esperar, y pedir con ardentísimo desso la venida de aquel poderoso sacrificio, y de tanta virtud, que siendo una vez ofrecido bastasse para dar perfecta y eterna sanctificación y limpieza; a fin que desta manera, es a saber, con el exercicio de aquella forma de culto, y mucho más con el desseo del perfecto sacrificio, se preparasse a conocerlo y a recibirlo, quando Dios lo embiasse.

**CAP. VII**  
**Del Christo, y del cumplimiento de las**  
**divinas promessas por el hecho;**  
**o, Del Evangelio.**

1. Item confessamos que siendo cumplido el tiempo que Dios quiso que su Pueblo fuesse ocupado y exercitado en esta forma de culto, en cumplimiento de su promessa, y para abolición de todas las ceremonias y sacrificios Legales (Eph 1; Gal 4), y mucho más para deshazimiento del peccado, y por consiguiente de la violencia de la Ley, embió su Unigénito Hijo, hecho de muger, conforme al tenor de la promessa al principio hecha (Eph 1; Col 1; Heb 9; 1 Joa 3); el qual muriendo en la carne muerte de cruz, y siendo sepultado, y resuscitando al tercero día de entre los muertos por su propria virtud, y subiendo a los cielos en magestad de Dios, diesse cumplimiento a todas las promessas de su Eterno Padre; y en su nombre fuesse predicado a todo el mundo *Penitentia* y *remisión de peccados* a todos los creyentes (Mar 16; Luc 4, 24); a los quales

him entirely, he might be as it were driven to understand, wait and ask with the most ardent desire the coming of that mighty sacrifice, and of such virtue, that being once offered might be sufficient to give perfect and eternal sanctification and cleansing; so that in this way, that is, through the exercise of that form of ceremony, and much more with the desire of the perfect sacrifice, the people might prepare themselves to know it and receive it when God should send it.

**Chapter VII**  
**Of the Christ, and of the fulfillment of**  
**the divine promises through him;**  
**or, of the Gospel**

1. Again, we confess that, when the time that God wished for his people to be occupied and exercised with this form of ceremony was fulfilled, in order to fulfill his promise, and to abolish all the sacrifices and ceremonies of the Law (Eph 1; Gal 4), and much more in order to undo sin, and consequently the force of the Law, he sent his Only Son, made of woman, in accordance with the purpose of the promise made in the beginning (Eph 1; Col 1; Heb 9; 1 Jn 3); who, dying a bodily death on the cross, being buried, and rising on the third day from the dead by his own virtue, and going up to the heavens in divine majesty, might fulfill all the promises of his Eternal Father; and to all the world in his name might be preached *the repentance and remission of sins* for those who believe (Mk 16; Lk 4, 24), to whom might be given the Holy Spirit (Acts 2), and a good and sound

fuesse dado Espíritu Sancto (Act 2), y buena y sana voluntad para poder amar y obedecer de corazón a Dios, teniendo esculpidas en sus corazones las divinas Leyes por obra y beneficio del mismo Espíritu (Lk 2).

2. *Nuevo Testamento.* Esto entendemos ser aquel *Nuevo Testamento* que Dios tenía prometido a su Pueblo (Jer 31; Heb 9; Luc 1), ratificado y hecho firme para siempre con la muerte del Señor Jesús el Christo, y con la effusión de su sangre (Mat 26; Mar 14; Luc 22; Heb 9); que es lo que por otro nombre llamamos Evangelio, que quiere dezir, Alegre nueva, y anunciación de la paz y reconciliación que por Jesús el Christo tenemos con Dios; al qual Evangelio y eterna Aliança con Dios generalmente son llamados todos los hombres, y admittidos los que lo reciben con biva y eficaz Fe (Is 52; Mat 10; Luc 2; Rom 5, 2, 14; Gal 5; Eph 2; Phil 4; Col 3; 1 Thes 5; Mat 28; Mar 16).

### **CAP. VIII**

#### **De la naturaleza y persona del Christo.**

1. *El Christo verdadero hombre.* Confessamos, y creemos firmemente, el author de nuestra salud, que es el Christo, en lo que a su naturaleza y persona tocca, ser verdaderamente hombre, concebido por especial y maravillosa obra del Espíritu sancto, y nacido de María Virgen (Lk 1, 2) de la simiente de David, y de los Padres, según la carne, conforme a las divinas promessas a ellos hechas (Rom 1, 9), semejante en todo a nosotros, excepta

will to love and obey God truly, having the divine Laws written on their hearts, by the work and benefit of the same Spirit (Lk 2).

2. *New Testament.* This we understand to be that *New Testament* which God had promised to his people (Jer 31, Heb 9; Lk 1), ratified and established for ever with the death of the Lord Jesus the Christ, and with the shedding of his blood (Mt 26; Mk 14; Lk 22; Heb 9); which we also refer to as Gospel, which means Glad news, tidings of peace and reconciliation which we have with God through Jesus the Christ; to which Gospel and eternal Covenant all men are generally called, and given to those who receive it with lively and efficacious Faith (Is 52; Mt 10; Lk 2; Rom 5, 2, 14; Gal 5; Eph 2; Phil 4; Col 3; 1 Thes 5; Mt 28; Mk 16).

### **Chapter VIII**

#### **Of the nature and person of the Christ**

1. *The Christ, true man.* We confess, and firmly believe, that the author of our salvation, who is the Christ, is truly man in that which pertains to his nature and person, was conceived by special and marvelous work of the holy Spirit, and was born of the Virgin Mary (Lk 1, 2), of the seed of David, and of the Patriarchs, according to the flesh, in accordance with the divine promises made to them (Rom 1, 9), like us in every way, with the exception

nuestra corrupción y pecado (Phil 2; Heb 2, 4).

2. *El mismo verdadero Dios.* Ansimismo creemos ser verdaderamente Dios, pues en su Persona y subsistencia es la Palabra que era en el principio, y estava en Dios, y la qual finalmente era Dios (Jn 1; Col 1; Tit 2; Heb 1); y por la qual fueron hechas todas las cosas, y sin ella ninguna cosa fue, ni pudo ser; y por cuya potencia y virtud son aora, y fueron siempre sustentadas en su ser, como arriba lo hemos confessado en el primero y segundo capítulo desta nuestra confesión.

**Cap. IX**  
**Del officio y dignidad del Christo.**

1. *Officio del Christo para con el Padre.* En lo que a su dignidad y officio toca, entendemos ser en dos maneras. Primeramente para con Dios su Eterno Padre; y segundamente para con nosotros. Su officio para con Dios entendemos aver sido buscar y procurar su gloria, manifestando su nombre y su verdadera noticia en el mundo, y haziéndolo illustre entre los hombres por la obra de nuestra redemción, y por la manifestación de su Evangelio (Jn 8, 16). Por esta parte es llamado algunas vezes en la divina escriptura Ángel de Dios, que quiere dezir, ministro de Dios (Malach 2, Ex 14, 23, 32), otras vezes claramente Siervo de Dios, Apóstol y Pontífice de nuestra Fe (Is 42, 49, 52, 53; Ezech 32; Zach 3).

2. *Premio del Christo en quanto hombre por su obediencia.* Por aver

of our corruption and sin (Phil 2; Heb 2, 4).

2. *The Christ, true God.* So too we believe him to be truly God, for in his Person and substance he is the Word which was in the beginning, and was in God, and which finally was God (Jn 1; Col 1; Tit 2; Heb 1); and through whom all things were made, and without which nothing was nor could have been; and by whose might and virtue are now and were always sustained in his being, as we have confessed above in the first and second chapter of this our confession.

**Chapter IX**  
**Of the office and dignity of the Christ**

1. *Office of the Christ on behalf of the Father.* When it comes to his dignity and office, we understand this in two ways: First, on behalf of God his Eternal Father; and second, on our behalf. His office on God's behalf we understand to have been to seek and obtain his glory, manifesting his name and true message in the world, making him known among men through the work of our redemption and the manifestation of his Gospel (Jn 8, 16). For this he is sometimes referred to in the divine Scripture as Angel of God, which means minister of God (Mal 2; Ex. 14, 23, 32), and other times clearly as Servant of God, Apostle and Pontiff of our Faith (Is 42, 49, 52, 53; Eze 32; Zach 3).

2. *The Reward given to the Christ for his obedience as man.* For having

perfectamente obedecido al Padre en este caso hasta la muerte de cruz (Heb 2), creemos serle dado premio gloriosísimo (Luc 24; Phil 2). Lo primero, que sea author de eterna salud a todos los que en el creyeren, y le invocaren (Heb 5; Isa 53; Joel 2; Act 2; Rom 10). Lo segundo, que tenga supremo nombre sobre todo lo que se puede nombrar en los cielos y en la tierra, y que a él, y a su nombre glorioso se arrodille toda rodilla en el cielo y en la tierra (Eph 1; Phil 2; Ps 72, 9), y en los Infiernos, como a supremo Monarcha establecido por la mano de Dios para serlo, no solamente de mar a mar y desde el gran Río hasta los fines de la tierra (Ps 72; Act 4), mas aun sobre todas las obras de las manos de Dios (Ps 8; 2 Cor 15; Heb 2).

3. *Officio del Christo para con nosotros.* Su officio para con nosotros, aunque es en muchas maneras, según la diversidad de los bienes que por su medio son comunicados a los suyos, empero enseñados por la Divina Palabra lo reduzimos a dos partes principales, que son de Rey y Sacerdote (Ps 110; Heb 7).

4. *Reyno del Christo.* Por la parte que es nuestro Rey, confessamos, avernos primeramente librado de la tyrannía del peccado, del demonio, y de la muerte de los quales triumphó en su muerte (Col 2), rayendo la obligación de la Ley, por la qual éramos iustamente condenados a eterna maldición y muerte; y enclavándola consigo en la cruz, para que libres ya de todo temor, no sirvamos al peccado ni al demonio (Luc 1); mas al que nos libró de su poder, en Iusticia y en sanctidad de vida

obeyed the Father perfectly, in this case even unto death on a cross (Heb 2), we believe he was given a most glorious reward (Lk 24; Phil 2): first, he was made author of eternal salvation for all who believe in him and call on him (Heb 5; Is 53; Joel 2; Acts 2; Rom 10); second, he was given the name that is supreme above all that can be named in heaven and in earth, and that to him, and to his glorious name, every knee in heaven and on earth and under the earth should bow (Eph 1; Phil 2; Ps 72, 9), as to a supreme Monarch established by the hand of God, not only from sea to sea and from the great River until the ends of the earth (Ps 72; Acts 4), but even over all the works of God's hands (Ps 8, 2; 2 Cor 15; Heb 2).

3. *The Christ's office on our behalf.* His office on our behalf, while taking many forms, according to the diversity of the blessings which are given to his own through him, taught by the Divine Word we nevertheless reduce to two principal parts, which are those of King and Priest (Ps 110; Heb 7).

4. *The Christ's Kingship.* As our King, we confess that he first of all freed us from the tyranny of sin, of the devil and death, over which he triumphed in his death (Col 2), erasing the obligation of the Law, by which we were justly condemned to eternal damnation and death, and nailing it with himself to the cross, so that, once free from all fear, we might not serve sin or the devil (Lk 1), but him who freed us from his power, in righteousness and holiness of life all of the days that remain for us to live

todos los días que nos restan de vivir (Rom 6).

5. *Christo único libertador y redemptor nuestro.* Con el mismo poder creemos que estando a la diestra de la potencia de Dios, nos asiste, ampara y defiende (Mar 16; Act 1, 7); y nos da secretas fuerzas de su Espíritu contra todas las tentaciones así interiores como exteriores que nos vienen por parte de los mismos enemigos (Joa 15; Rom 8); con los cuales ordenó la divina Providencia que nos quedasse continua pelea, aun después de libertados de ellos (Rom 7), para humiliación nuestra, y para ejercicio de los dones que nos son dados; y ansimismo para que en nuestra flaqueza se manifieste la virtud de Jesús el Christo, que en nosotros pelea contra tan poderosos enemigos, y los vence (2 Cor 12; Rom 5; Jacob 1).

6. *El Christo en todos siglos defensor de su Iglesia.* Item, así como él fue el que en todos los siglos defendió su Iglesia contra la violencia del mundo, así también entendemos que aora él mismo es, el que la defiende y defenderá siempre dél (1 Pet 3; Ex 23, 32, 14); y en cuya potencia confortados vencemos el mundo, y esperamos alcançar siempre victoria dél (Joa 16; Eph 6; 1 Joa 5); hasta que finalmente triumphemos del todo con el mismo Christo Rey nuestro, quando serán subiectadas debaxo de sus pies todas las potestades que en este siglo rebelde le contradixeron (Ps 2, 110, 8; 1 Cor 15); para que su Reyno glorioso commençado de aquí, sea perpetuo (Luc 1), y nunca tenga ni pueda tener fin conforme a las

(Rom 6).

5. *Christ our only Liberator and Redeemer.* We believe that he assists, protects and defends us with the same power, being at the right hand of the power of God (Mk 16; Acts 1, 7); and that he gives us secret powers of his Spirit against all the temptations, both inward and outward, which come to us from the same enemies (Jn 15; Rom 8); against which divine providence has ordained that we should be in constant struggle, even once freed from them (Rom 7), for our humiliation, and in order to exercise the gifts given to us, and also so that in our weakness might be made known the virtue of Jesus the Christ, who does battle within us against such strong enemies, and defeats them (2 Cor 12; Rom 5; Jas 1).

6. *The Christ, defender of his Church in every age.* Again, just as he was the one who throughout all ages defended his Church against the violence of the world, so we also understand that he is the one who now defends it, and shall defend it, against the world (I Pet 3; Ex 23, 32, 14); and comforted by his might we defeat the world, and ever expect to attain victory over it (Jn 16; Eph 6; 1 Jn 5); until we finally triumph over all with the same Christ our King, when all the powers which have opposed him in this rebellious age have been subjected under his feet (Ps 2, 110, 8; 1 Cor 15), so that his glorious Kingdom begun here will be perpetual (Lk 1), and never have, nor be able to have, and end, according to the promises which God

promessas que Dios tiene hechas dél (Ps 45, 89).

7. *Sacerdocio del Christo. Christo Intercessor nuestro.* Por la parte que es nuestro Sacerdote, creemos lo primero, Aver sido siempre, y ser el Intercessor entre Dios y los hombres, el qual por su oración (Heb 5) y por el sacrificio de su muerte y cruz applacó la yra de Dios (Mat 26; Mar 14; Rom 4, 5; Heb 9, 10; 1 Cor 11); y nos alcanzo no solamente perdón entero y cumplido de todos nuestros peccados, mas también mérito y dignidad para poder parecer delante dél confidamente (1 Cor 3; Eph 3; Phil 3). Ansimismo nos dió no sólo nombre de hijos de Dios (Joa 1, 2, 3), mas también que realmente lo seamos comunicándonos por la virtud de su Espíritu naturaleza divina, en la qual regenerados lo seamos (2 Pet 1). Por la misma razón nos adquirió acción y derecho a la herencia de la gloria de Dios y de todos sus bienes juntamente consigo (Rom 8; Gal 3; Col 3; Tit 3; Heb 1, 9; 1 Pet 2), de que él, como Primogénito y cabeça nuestra goza por sí (1 Cor 15), y por todos sus hermanos, sentado a la diestra de la Magestad en las alturas, tanto superior a los Ángeles, quanto le es dado mas claro nombre sobre todos ellos (Heb 1; Phil 1), hasta tanto que (acabada nuestra peregrinación) nos llame y junte a sí para gozar desta gloriosa herencia juntamente consigo (Mat 26; Joa 14, 16, 17).

8. *La virtud del Sacrificio del Christo eterna (Col 1; Apo 1).* Ansimismo confessamos que, por ser su Sacerdocio

has made concerning him (Ps 45, 89).

7. *The Christ's Priesthood. The Christ, our Intercessor.* As our Priest, we believe: first, that he always was, and continues to be, the Intercessor between God and man, who by his prayer (Heb 5) and sacrifice of his death and cross, he appeased the wrath of God (Mt 26; Mk 14; Rom 4, 5; Heb 9, 10; 1 Cor 11), obtaining for us both entire and complete pardon from all our sins and merit and dignity to be able to appear before him confidently (1 Cor 3; Eph 3; Phil 3). So also he gave us not only the name of children of God (John 1, 2, 3), but also truly to be his children, imparting himself to us by his divine Spirit nature, in which we might be regenerated (2 Pet 1). For the same reason, he acquired for us access and right to the inheritance of the glory of God, and to all the blessings together with him (Rom 8; Gal 3; Col 3; Tit 3; Heb 1, 9; 1 Pet 2), which he, as First-born and our head, enjoys for himself (1 Cor 15), and for all his brethren, seated at the right hand of the Majesty on high, far above the angels since he is given a much more glorious name over all of them (Heb 1; Phil 1), until (once our pilgrimage is ended) he calls us and unites us with himself, to enjoy this glorious inheritance together with him (Mat 26; Jn 14, 16, 17).

8. *The Virtue of the Sacrifice of the Christ is eternal (Col 1; Rev 1).* So too we confess that, since his Priesthood is Eternal

Eterno (Ps 110; Heb 7), y no aver espirado con su muerte (pues él tan poco aun con ella no espiró, en quanto era Dios, ni fue possible ser detenido en las prisiones de la muerte, antes, resuscitado al tercero día eternamente vive, Act 2) el valor y efficacia de su Sacrificio una vez tan solamente ofrecido, también vive, y durará eternamente para hazer en su Iglesia los efectos ya dichos; y sentado a la diestra del padre es aun nuestro Intercessor sufficientísimo, que perpetuamente ruega y impetra por nosotros (Heb 9).

9. *El Reyno y el Sacerdocio del Christo haze reyes y sacerdotes los Christianos. Sacrificio de los Christianos sacerdotes.* Item, creemos, que ansí como la virtud y dignidad de su reyno no para solamente en su persona particular, antes llega a hazernos a nosotros también Reyes consigo, de la misma manera la virtud y dignidad de su Sacerdocio se estiende hasta nosotros, haziéndonos también Sacerdotes ungidos y consagrados consigo y por sí con el mismo olio y bendición del divino Espíritu con que él lo es (1 Pet 2; Apo 5); para que nosotros, por causa suya y en su nombre offrezcamos al Padre sacrificio, primeramente de nosotros mismos, y de nuestros cuerpos, y de toda nuestra vida, consagrándola a la gloria de su nombre, como él consagró la suya a la gloria de su Eterno Padre, para que nosotros biviésemos (Rom 6, 2; Phil 4). Lo segundo sacrificio de alabanza fruto de labios que confiessen su nombre (Heb 13; 1 Pet 2). Lo tercero, oración, por la qual pidamos en su nombre, y impetremos (Mat 7; Joa 14, 16), no solo para nosotros

(Ps 110; Heb 7), and did not end with his death (since neither did he end with it, given that he was God, nor was he able to be detained in the prison of death, but was resurrected on the third day and lives eternally, Acts 2), the power and efficacy of his Sacrifice offered once and for all, also endures, and shall last eternally to render in his Church the effects which have been mentioned; and seated at the right hand of the father he is even our most sufficient Intercessor who ever pleads and makes supplication on our behalf (Heb 9).

9. *The Kingship and Priesthood of the Christ makes Christians kings and priests. The Sacrifice of Christians as priests.* Again, we believe that, just as the virtue and dignity of his kingship does not apply only to him, but also renders us Kings with him, in the same manner the virtue and dignity of his Priesthood reaches us, making us priests also, anointed and consecrated together with him and by him with the same oil and blessing of the divine Spirit with which he is anointed and consecrated (1 Pet 2, Rev 5); so that we, because of him and in his name, might offer sacrifice to the Father: first, of ourselves, and of our bodies, and of our whole life, consecrating it to the glory of his name, as he consecrated his to the glory of his Eternal Father, so that we might live (Rom 6, 2; Phil 4); second, a sacrifice of praise, fruit of lips that confess his name (Heb 13; 1 Pet 2); third, prayer, through which we might ask and make requests in his name (Mat 7; Jn 14, 16), not only for ourselves, but for one another, his incomparable worthiness having made us

mismos, mas aun los unos por los otros, aviéndonos hecho dignos y idoneos su dignidad incomparable para poderlo hazer así (Mat 5; Phil 1; 2 Thes 1).

10. *Sacerdocio del Nuevo Testamento.* Entendiendo pues ser éste el Sacerdocio del Nuevo Testamento, y el legítimo de los christianos, así quanto es de la parte del Señor, como de los que pertenecen a su Pueblo, por esta nuestra confesión renunciamos primeramente a toda invocación de muertos aunque sanctísimos, para ser invocados de nosotros, o llamados para que interceden por nosotros. Renunciamos ansimismo a todo sacrificio, sacerdocio, pontificado, y qualquiera otra manera de aplacar, o de honrrar a Dios fuera desta, la qual sola entendemos ser la legítima y approvada delante de Dios, y qualquiera otra abominable y maldita; y malditos ansimismo y anathemas los que la enseñaren, por ser otro evangelio del que el Señor enseñó en el mundo, y del que sus Apóstoles predicaron por él (Gal 1).

11. *El Christo Profeta maestro, y doctor nuestro.* Por la misma parte que es nuestro Sacerdote entendemos convenirle lo segundo, ser también nuestro Profeta, es a saber, nuestro Maestro (Deut 18; Acto 3), y enseñador de Justicia (Isa 30; Joel 2), no como Moysén, que cubierto el rostro con un velo enseñó al Pueblo, antes por ser el resplandor de la gloria del Padre, y la natural imagen de su substancia (2 Cor 3; Heb 1), en su rostro contemplamos cara a cara la magestad de nuestro Dios (Joa 14; 2 Cor 4), no por contemplación ociosa, y de

worthy and fit to do so (Mt 5; Phil 1; 2 Thes 1).

10. *The Priesthood of the New Testament.* Understanding this, then, to be the Priesthood of the New Testament, and the legitimate one of Christians, as it belongs to the Lord and to those who belong to his people, by this confession we renounce, in the first place, all invocation of the dead, no matter how holy, to be invoked by us, or called upon so that they might intercede for us. We also renounce any sacrifice, priesthood, pontificate and any other manner of appeasing or honoring God outside of this one, which alone we understand to be the legitimate one approved before God, and any other one abominable and cursed; and also cursed and anathema those who might teach it, since it is a gospel contrary to the one the Lord taught in the world, and which the apostles preached on his behalf (Gal 1).

11. *The Christ our Prophet, teacher and doctor.* Just as he is our Priest, we understand the second thing to apply to him: that he is also our Prophet, that is our Teacher (Deut 18; Acts 3), and teacher of righteousness (Isaiah 30; Joel 2), not as Moses, who taught the people with his face covered with a veil because of the splendor of the glory of the Father and the natural image of his substance (2 Cor 3; Heb 1), in his face we contemplate the majesty of our God face to face (Jn 14; 2 Cor 4), not through idle contemplation, which is

ningún fruto, mas tan eficaz, que por ella seamos también transformados en imagen de Dios, creciendo de claridad en claridad por la fuerza de su Espíritu (2 Cor 3, Abajo Cap 17 sec 4; Heb 12).

12. *El Evangelio que género de doctrina.* El enseñamiento que dél tenemos, tampoco entendemos ser como el que por medio de la Ley se administrava en el Viejo Testamento, la qual siendo escripta en tablas de piedra, y quedándose siempre fuera del hombre, solamente servía de mostrarle la verdadera iusticia, de la qual estava desnudo, y el peccado que en él reynava, y por consiguiente la maldición y muerte a que estava subieto (Arriba cap 6), augmentándole antes el peccado desta manera, y la enfermedad, que poniéndole medicina (Rom 7). Confessamos pues ser enseñamiento de toda verdad perteneciente a nuestra salud, y al conocimiento de la voluntad de Dios, esculpido en los coraçones de los fieles por la eficacia de su Espíritu (Joa 14, 16; 1 Joa 2); tan cierto, que, de su parte, ninguna necesidad tenga para su confirmación de algun exterior testimonio de nuevos milagros, o de alguna humana o angélica autoridad, ni de otra qualquiera ayuda (Joa 1); tan entero y cumplido, que aquel a quien Dios lo diere, no esté necesitado de algún otro humano magisterio, enseñamiento, ni doctrina para conocer a Dios (Joa 2), y la manera de que quiere ser servido (Joa 4).

13. *Como se nos comunica la Prophesía del Christo.* Desta manera affirmamos derivarse en nosotros su Prophecía, como avemos dicho de su

fruitless, but so efficacious, that through it we might also be transformed into the image of God, growing from glory to glory by the power of his Spirit (2 Cor 3; Chapter 17 section 4; Heb 12).

12. *The kind of doctrine found in the Gospel.* Neither do we understand the teaching which we have from him to be like the one administered in the Old Testament through the Law, which as written on tablets of stone, and remaining ever outside of man, served only to show him true righteousness, of which he was naked, and the sin which reined in him, and consequently the damnation and death to which he was subject (Chapter 6 above), thus increasing sin and sickness instead of applying a remedy (Rom 7). We confess that it is teaching of all truth that pertains to our salvation and the knowledge of the will of God, written on the hearts of believers by the efficacy of his Spirit (Jn 14, 16; 1 Jn 2); so sure that of its own it has no need for the confirmation of an external testimony of new miracles, or of some human or angelic authority, nor of any other aid of any kind (Jn 1); being so entire and perfect that the one to whom God might give it should need no other human teaching office, instruction or doctrine to know God (Jn 2) and the way in which he wants to be served (Jn 4).

13. *The way in which the Prophetic work of Christ is communicated to us.* In this way we affirm that his work as Prophet is derived in us (as we have said of his

Reyno, y de las otras partes de su Sacerdocio, dándose por virtud de su Magisterio a todo hombre, que de verdad perteneciere al Pueblo Christiano (Abajo cap 17), que sea enseñado de Dios (Isa 54; Joa 6), y propheteze (Joel 2; Act 2; 1 Cor 14), queremos dezir, sepa declarar la divina voluntad en el mundo; el qual género de doctrina y forma de enseñamiento entendemos ser proprio del Nuevo Testamento, o por mejor dezir, ser la práctica misma dél.

14. Por esta Confesión renunciamos a todo humano Magisterio, y a toda humana doctrina para en el caso del divino culto, y de lo que concierne a nuestra salud, recibiendo a solo Iesús el Christo, y a su palabra y Espíritu por nuestro legítimo, verdadero y único Maestro, conforme a su mandamiento (Mat 23); en lo qual no entendemos derogar ninguna cosa a la authority del externo ministerio del Evangelio, ni de los demás exteriores medios que en la Iglesia del Señor se usan por institución y ordenación del mismo Señor, en cuyo Magisterio se incluye también esto, como abaxo trataremos en su lugar (Cap 14).

**CAP. X**  
**De la Iustificación por la Fe.**

1. *La manera de conseguir la remisión de los pecados siempre fue la misma desde el peccado de Adam. Penitencia. Fe.* Creemos, que como después de la general corrupción de toda la humana naturaleza por el peccado de

Kingship, and of the other aspects of his Priesthood), by virtue of his Teaching office to all those who truly belong to the Christian People (Chapter 17 below), are taught by God (Is 54; Jn 6), and prophesy (Joel 2; Acts 2; 1 Cor 14), that is to say, know how to declare the divine will in the world, which sort of doctrine and form of teaching we understand to belong to the New Testament, or, better said, to be the practice of the same.

14. By this Confession we renounce every human Teaching Office, and every human doctrine concerning divine worship, and that which pertains to our salvation, and receive only Jesus the Christ, and his word and Spirit as our legitimate, true and only Teacher, according to his commandment (Mat 23); by which we understand that nothing is removed from the authority of the external ministry of the Gospel, nor from any other external means which are used in the Church of the Lord by the institution of the same Lord, in whose Teaching Office this is also included, as we shall discuss below (Chapter 14).

**Chapter X**  
**Of Justification by Faith**

1. *The way to obtain the remission of sins was always the same since Adam's sin. Penitence. Faith.* We believe that just as after the general corruption of all human nature through the sin of our First Parents and before the Promise and New Testament

nuestros Primeros Padres, y antes de la exhibición de la Promessa, y del Nuevo Testamento ningún medio uvo por el qual los hombres fuessen justificados y reducidos al camino de salud, sino de su parte por verdadera Penitencia y fe en la Promessa de la bienaventurada simiente; y de la parte de Dios por su sola misericordia y bondad con que aceptava esta sola fe por entera iusticia en virtud de la entera Iusticia del Christo, en quien siempre estribó esta Fe (Rom 4; Ps 32; Gen 15); de la misma manera, dado ya el cumplimiento de la Promessa en el Christo, no queda, ni ay otra vía para ser los hombres iustificados, salvos, y admittidos a la Aliança del Nuevo Testamento, y a la participación de sus bienes, que por Penitencia, (La qual es verdadero conocimiento, arrepentimiento, dolor, y detestación del peccado, con verdadera abrenunciación dél, y de la corrompida raíz de donde en el hombre nace) y verdadera y biva fe en la muerte y resurrección del Señor, por el mérito y eficacia de la qual nos es dado perdón, y imputada su iusticia y inocencia (Rom 3; Gal 3), y ansimismo nos es dada virtud y fuerça de su Espíritu para que muriendo con el al peccado, resuscitemos también con el a nueva vida de iusticia (Abajo cap. 17).

2. *Purgatorio verdadero de los fieles.* Por esta confesión renunciamos a todo humano mérito o satisfacción que a la divina Iusticia se enseñe poderse hazer para alcanzar perdón del peccado, fuera del mérito y satisfacción que el Señor tiene hecha por todos los que en el creyeren; el qual solo entendemos ser nuestro

were made known, there was no means whereby men might be justified and brought back to the way of salvation, except through true Penitence and faith in the Promise of the blessed seed on their part, and on God's part by his mercy and goodness alone, with which he accepted this faith alone as complete righteousness, by virtue of the complete Righteousness of the Christ, upon whom this faith has always rested (Rom 4; Ps 32; Gen 15); in the same way, now that the Promise is fulfilled in the Christ, neither is there, nor does there remain, any other way in which men might be justified, saved and admitted to the Covenant of the New Testament, and to the participation in its blessings, than through Penitence (which is true knowledge, repentance, regret and abhorrence of sin, with true renunciation of it and of the corrupt root from which man is born) and true and lively faith in the death and resurrection of the Lord, through whose merit and efficacy we are pardoned, and his righteousness and innocence are imputed to us (Rom 3; Gal 3), just as the virtue and strength of his Spirit are given to us so that, dying with him to sin, we may also be raised with him to new life of righteousness (chapter 17 below).

2. *The true purgatory of believers.* By this confession we deny that any human merit or satisfaction may be made for divine Righteousness in order to obtain forgiveness for sin apart from the merit and satisfaction which the Lord has made for all those who believe in him; which alone we understand to be our true purgatory (Heb

verdadero purgatorio (Heb 1), y plenaria indulgencia de los peccados de los suyos a culpa y a pena (Is 53; Rom 8; Joa 3; 1 Joa 4). Y tenemos por abominable, y maldita, y de verdadero Antichristo toda doctrina que contradiga en esta parte a la desta nuestra Confesión, o enseñe otras maneras qualesquiera de remedio contra el peccado, fuera de la que se halla en sólo Iesús el Christo Crucificado por nuestros peccados, y resuscitado para nuestra iustificación (Rom 4); y se comunica a los hombres por el medio de la verdadera Penitencia y biva Fe, como está dicho. Ansimismo condenamos la doctrina de los que enseñan que siempre el Christiano ha de estar dudoso de la remisión de sus peccados, y de aver alcanzado iustificación, por ser doctrina derechamente contra la doctrina del verdadero Evangelio, el qual nos pide fe verdadera y firme; y contra el artículo del Símbolo Apostólico, Creo la remisión de los peccados, como se dirá abaxo, Capit. 20.

**CAP. XI**  
**De los Sacramentos de la Iglesia**  
**Christiana.**

1. Entre los medios, o instrumentos de nuestra Iustificación contamos con el Señor (Mar 16; Joa 3) y con sus Apóstoles (1 Pet 3) los Sacramentos de la Iglesia Christiana por los quales el Señor de su parte nos applica en particular, sella, y confirma el beneficio de nuestra salud, y el cumplimiento de sus promessas; y nosotros de la nuestra lo recibimos por la fe y testificamos lo segundo, que somos de su Pueblo (Rom 4; Gal 3); ansimismo

1), and plenary indulgence for the sins of his people *a culpa et a poena* (Is 53; Rom 8; Jn 3; 1 Jn 4). And we hold as abominable, accursed, and truly belonging to Antichrist all doctrine which contradicts this in this our Confession, or teaches any other means of remedy whatsoever for sin apart from the one which is found only in Jesus the Christ Crucified for our sins and resurrected for our justification (Rom 4) and is given to men through true Penitence and lively Faith, as declared. Likewise we condemn the doctrine of those who teach that the Christian must always doubt the remission of his sins, and of having attained justification, as being doctrine directly contrary to the doctrine of the true Gospel, which asks of us true and firm faith, and contrary to the article in the Apostles' Creed 'I believe in the remission of sins', as we shall mention below in Chapter 20.

**Chapter XI**  
**Of the Sacraments of the Christian**  
**Church**

1. Among the means, or instruments of our Justification we include with the Lord (Mk 16; Jn 3) and with his Apostles (1 Pet 3)) the Sacraments of the Christian Church, through which the Lord on his part bestows particularly, seals and confirms the benefit of our salvation, and fulfillment of his promises; and which we on our part receive by faith and also testify that we belong to his People (Rom 4; Gal 3); likewise we profess what we must do to

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| <p>professamos lo que avemos de hazer para seguirle de verdad.</p> <p>2. Acerca desto creemos primeramente que, así como a solo Iesús el Christo pertenece iustificarnos, y darnos la fe para ello, y el testimonio interior de nuestra Iustificación por su Espíritu (Is 53; Joa 8), así también a él solo pertenece instituir los medios o instrumentos externos, por los quales se nos applique este beneficio, como son los Sacramentos y el Ministerio de la Palabra, y de ellos.</p> <p>3. Destos no hallamos en la divina historia, quanto a los verdaderos Sacramentos toca, que él aya instituído más de dos (que propriamente se puedan llamar Sacramentos, instituídos y ordenados para el fin ya dicho) los quales son el Baptismo (Joa 3; Mat 29; Mar 16) y la Sancta Cena (Mat 26; Luc 22; Mar 14; 1 Cor 11). Los demás que en este número han sido puestos, o lo fueren de aquí adelante, tenemoslos por adulterinos, si son invenciones de hombres, que con blasphemo atrevimiento los inventaron (como se puede dezir de la Confirmación con el aparato con que oy se exercita en la Iglesia Romana) O si son ritos y costumbres que tengan algún fundamento en la Divina Palabra, necessarias por ventura otro tiempo, empero que aora serían supérfluas (como se puede dezir de la Unción de los enfermos, aora llamada Extrema Unción) o necessarias siempre y en todo tiempo en la Iglesia, empero que no son más que ritos, aunque sacros (como se puede entender de la Penitencia, del Orden del Ministerio y del Matrimonio)</p> | <p>follow him truly.</p> <p>2. Concerning this we first of all believe that just as it belongs to Jesus the Christ alone to justify us, and to give us the faith unto it, and the inward testimony of our Justification by his Spirit (Is 53; Jn 8), so too it belongs to him alone to institute the means or external instruments by which this benefit is given to us, as are the Sacraments and the Ministry of the Word.</p> <p>3. As far as the true Sacraments are concerned, of these we find in divine writ that he instituted only two (which can be properly called Sacraments, instituted and ordained for the purpose already mentioned), which are Baptism (Jn 3; Mt 28, Mk 16) and the Lord's Supper (Mt 26; Lk 22; Mk 14; 1 Cor 11). The others which have been, or might in the future be, included in this number, we believe to be counterfeit, if they are inventions of men, who with blasphemous audacity invented them (as can be said of the pomp and ceremony with which Confirmation is practiced in the Roman Church today); or as now superfluous, if they are rites and customs with some foundation in the Divine Word which were perhaps necessary at another time (such as the Anointing of the sick, now called Extreme Unction), or as always and at all times necessary in the Church, but not to be understood as more than rites, albeit holy ones (such as Confession, the Ordained Ministry and Matrimony), although we believe them to be and practice them as</p> |
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aunque los tenemos y observamos por ritos sacros y necesarios, instituídos de Dios, no los llamamos ni tenemos por Sacramentos en la significación arriba dicha.

## **CAP. XII Del Bautismo.**

1. *En el Bautismo presentemente se effectúa lo que suenan las palabras y lo que representa la obra del lavar.* En el Bautismo legítimamente administrado en simple y común agua en virtud de la muerte y Resurrección del Señor, y en el nombre del Padre, y del Hijo, y del Espíritu Sancto conforme a la institución y el mandamiento del mismo Señor (Mat 28; Mar 16), confessamos effectuarse el beneficio, y darse juntamente firme testimonio de entero perdón de peccado, de entera Iusticia y salud perdurable, de Regeneración por Espíritu Sancto, y de entrada en el Reyno de los cielos a todos los creyentes, conforme a la Promessa del mismo Señor (Gal 3; Tit 3; Joa 3), y a las declaraciones del mismo Bautismo, que el Espíritu Sancto tiene dadas por los Apóstoles en la Divina Escritura (En los mismos lugares; Rom 6; 1 Pet 3).

2. En la misma acción protestamos nosotros de nuestra parte perfecta abrenunciación del demonio, del Peccado, del mundo, y de nosotros mismos (En los mismos lug.); y finalmente desnudez, muerte, y sepultura de nuestro viejo hombre con todas sus obras y concupiscencias, y vestidura del Nuevo,

holy and necessary rites, instituted by God, we do not call them, neither do we hold them to be, Sacraments in the sense stated above.

## **Chapter XII Of Baptism**

1. *In Baptism that which the words state, and that which the action of washing represents, is effected presently.* In Baptism, administered legitimately, in simple and ordinary water, by virtue of the death and Resurrection of the Lord, and in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, according to the institution and commandment of the same Lord (Mt 28; Mk 16), we confess that the benefit of, and firm testimony to, the complete forgiveness of sin, complete Righteousness and lasting salvation, Regeneration through the Holy Spirit, and entry into the Kingdom of heaven, are effected for all believers, in accordance with the Promise of the same Lord (Gal 3; Tit 3; Jn 3) and with the declarations concerning the same Baptism which the Holy Spirit has given through the Apostles in Divine Scripture (Same passages; Rom 6; 1 Pet 3).

2. Through the same act we profess on our part a perfect renunciation of the devil, of Sin, of the world, and of ourselves (Same passages); and finally stripping off, death, and burial of our old man with all his works and lusts, and the putting on of the New, which is created in the image of God in Righteousness and holiness, and finally

que es criado a imagen de Dios en Iusticia y en sanctidad; y finalmente Resurrección con Christo a nueva y celestial vida.

3. Y aunque no aya expresa mención en la Divina Escripura, que el Baptismo se dé a los niños antes que tengan uso de razón, conformámosnos empero con la Iglesia del Señor, que tiene por más conforme a la misma Escripura dárselo, que dexar de dárselo; pues que por beneficio del Señor y por su promessa no menos pertenecen a su Aliança, que los Padres.

### **CAP. XIII De la Sancta Cena**

1. *En la Cena del Señor presentemente se effectúa lo que suenan las palabras, y lo que representa toda la externa obra de ella.* En la sancta Cena del Señor administrada legítimamente con verdadera Fe, en pan común, y en vino común en memoria de la muerte del Señor, y en la forma que por la sancta historia consta averla el instituydo y administrado, y usádola sus Apóstoles (Mat 26; Mar 14; Luc 22), confessamos darse a todos los creyentes en el pan el mismo y verdadero cuerpo del Señor, que fue entregado a la muerte por nosotros; y en el vino, su propria sangre, que fue derramada por el perdón de nuestros peccados, conforme a las palabras del mismo Señor, *Tomad, éste es mi cuerpo; ésta es mi sangre, &c.* (1 Cor 11).

2. En el mismo sacramento confessamos darse a los mismos creyentes

Resurrection with Christ to new and heavenly life.

3. And while there is no explicit mention in Divine Scripture that Baptism be administered to children before they reach the age of reason, we nevertheless conform ourselves to the Church of the Lord, which holds it to be more Scriptural to do so rather than not, since children are no less members of the Covenant than their Parents through the blessing and promise of the Lord.

### **Chapter XIII Of the Lord's Supper**

1. *In the Lord's Supper that which the words state, and which the whole external action of washing represents, is effected presently.* We confess that in the holy Supper of the Lord, administered legitimately with true Faith, with ordinary bread and wine, in memory of the Lord's death, and in the form in which divine writ records that he instituted and administered it, and his Apostles used it (Mt 26; Mk 14; Lk 22), all believers are given in the bread the same and true body of the Lord, which was given up to death for us; and in the wine, his own blood, which was shed for the forgiveness of our sins, according to the words of the same Lord, *Take, this is my body; this is my blood, etc.* (1 Cor 11).

2. In the same sacrament we confess that believers are themselves given

cierto y firme testimonio de Dios, de que son admitidos a su Nuevo Concierto y Alianza ratificada eternalmente a su Pueblo en la mano del Único Mediador Iesús el Christo, y firmada con su muerte y sangre, por virtud de la qual Alianza son Espiritualmente sustentados y mantenidos en la sancta Cena con el mantenimiento de su Cuerpo y sangre (Joa 6; 1 Cor 11), para que ansimismo participen de su divina y eternal vida siendo encorporados en él, y hechos carne de su carne, y huessos de sus huessos (1 Cor 6; Eph 4).

3. En la misma acción protestamos de nuestra parte, que somos del número de los que pertenecen a este Nuevo y sacro Concierto de Dios con su Pueblo en cuyos coraçones Dios ha escripto su Ley (Jere 31). Y que nos tenemos por miembros bivos deste sacrosancto cuerpo (1 Cor 10). Ansimismo prometemos solemnemente de mostrarlo así con la limpieza, piedad y sanctidad de toda nuestra vida (1 Cor 11); y especialmente con la singular Charidad, amor y unión que entre nosotros se hallará (1 Cor 12, 13).

### **CAP. XIII**

#### **Del externo Ministerio de la Palabra, y de la autoridad de los Ministros.**

1. *Institución del externo ministerio de la palabra.* En el mismo orden de los exteriores medios de nuestra Iustificati3n, contamos también el externo Ministerio de la palabra; el qual confessamos ser instituydo del Señor a fin que sus escogidos, esparzidos por todo el mundo, sean llamados a su aprisco con la boz de su

God's certain and firm testimony that they are admitted into his New Accord and Covenant which was ratified forever for his People by the hand of the Only Mediator Jesus the Christ, and signed with his death and blood; by virtue of which Covenant they are Spiritually fed and kept in the holy Supper with the nourishment of his Body and blood (Jn 6; 1 Cor 11), so that they might likewise participate in his divine and eternal life being incorporated in him, and being made flesh of his flesh, bones of his bones (1 Cor 6; Eph 4).

3. In the same act we testify on our part that we are among the number of those who belong to this New and holy Accord between God and his people in whose hearts God has written his Law (Jer 31). And that we hold ourselves as living members of this sacrosanct body (1 Cor 10). Likewise we solemnly promise to demonstrate it through the purity, piety and holiness of our whole life (1 Cor 11), and especially through the singular Charity, love and unity which will be found among us (1 Cor 12, 13).

### **Chapter XIV**

#### **Of the external Ministry of the Word, and of the authority of Ministers**

1. *The institution of the external ministry of the word.* In the same order of the external means of our Justification, we also include the external Ministry of the word; which we confess to be instituted by the Lord so that his chosen ones, scattered throughout the whole world, might be called to his fold with the voice of his

Evangelio (Mat 10, 28; Mar 3, 16; Luc 6); y llamados, sean por ella justificados; y así se cumpla en ellos, quanto a esta parte, el propósito y intento de Dios que los escogió (Rom 8).

2. *Su officio.* Creemos ser proprio officio del mismo Señor, como de Señor de la miesse (1 Cor 12), llamar, autorizar y hazer idóneos con sus dones y espíritu a tales Ministros del Nuevo Testamento (2 Cor 3) y embiarlos a que llamen su Iglesia (Rom 10); y llamada la congregen en unidad de Fe y de Charidad; la apacienten con el pasto de su palabra; y la mantengan con la misma en Christiano concierto y disciplina (Act 2; 1 Pet 5).

3. *Su autoridad. Límites de la autoridad del ministerio.* Residiendo la autoridad del Apostolado o Ministerio de la palabra del Evangelio in solidum en el único Apóstol Ministro, y Maestro de nuestra fe el Christo, y siendo ellos embiados en su nombre y lugar por él, como está dicho (2 Cor 5; Eph 3), confessamos deverse tanto respecto y obediencia a la palabra que administran, que quien a ellos obedeciere, o menospreciare, sea visto obedecer, o menospreciar al mismo Señor, cuyos legados son (Mat 10; Luc 10; Joa 13; 1 Thes 4). Esto entendemos, siendo legítima su vocación al ministerio, y no enseñando otro Evangelio que el que el Señor enseñó, y mandó que se predicasse entre todas las gentes (Gal 1); ni enseñoreándose con tyrannía (Luc 22; 2 Cor 1; 1 Pet 5) sobre las consciencias de aquellos, a quien antes deven servir, por ser proprio Reyno y

Gospel (Mt 10, 28; Mk 3, 16; Lk 6); and, being called, they might be justified through it; so that the purpose and desire of the Lord who chose them might be fulfilled in them in this respect (Rom 8).

2. *Its office.* We believe that it belongs to the same Lord, as Lord of the harvest (1 Cor 12), to call, authorize and make fit with his gifts and Spirit such Ministers of the New Testament (2 Cor 3), and to send them to call his Church (Rom 10); and being called, to gather it in unity of Faith and Charity; to let it graze on the pasture of his word; and to maintain it with the same in Christian accord and discipline (Acts 2; 1 Pet 5).

3. *Its authority. The limits of the ministry's authority.* As the authority of Apostleship or of the Ministry of the word of the Gospel rests completely in the only Apostle Minister and Master of our faith, the Christ, we confess that to the word which is administered by those who are sent in his name, as it has been declared (2 Cor 5; Eph 3), such great obedience is due, such that the one who would obey or despise them ought to be seen as obeying or despising the same Lord, whose envoys they are (Mt 10; Lk 10; Jn 13; 1 Thes 4). This we understand to be the case as long as their vocation to the ministry is legitimate, and as long as they do not teach a Gospel which is contrary to the one which the Lord taught and commanded to be preached among all peoples (Gal 1), and as long as they do not rule tyrannically (Lk 22; 2 Cor 1; 1 Pet 5) over the consciences of those they are above all to serve, since

heredad del Señor (2 Cor 4).

**CAP. XV**  
**De la Ecclesiástica Disciplina**

1. Aunque por el ejercicio de la Ecclesiástica Disciplina no seamos iustificadas, parece que con razón la debemos poner entre los medios externos de nuestra Iustificación, en quanto por ella primeramente se procura retener a los fieles, que son congregados en algún cierto lugar, en la justicia, y limpieza de vida, y ansimismo en la unidad de Fe y consentimiento de doctrina, que professa la Iglesia Cathólica.

2. A esta Disciplina gobernada por el Espíritu de Dios, y por la regla de la divina palabra, confessamos deverse subiectar todo Fiel, en quanto la christiana libertad lo permitiere, y la Charidad de los hermanos lo demandare (Mat 18). Y así nosotros nos subiectamos a ella de buena voluntad, desseando, y pidiendo ser enseñados con Charidad de los que mejor sintieren, y corregidos con la misma en las faltas que en nosotros, como en hombres, se hallaren.

**CAP. XVI**  
**Del Magistrado político**

1. *Institución del político magistrado. Su officio.* En este mismo orden de la Ecclesiástica Disciplina ponemos el Político Magistrado en la Iglesia christiana; el qual entendemos ser ordenación de Dios (Rom 13; 1 Pet 2;

the Kingdom and inheritance belongs to the Lord (2 Cor 4).

**Chapter XV**  
**Of Ecclesiastical Discipline**

1. Although we are not justified through the exercise of Ecclesiastical Discipline, it appears reasonable to include it among the external means of our Justification, given that it is principally through it that the faithful congregated in a particular place are to be kept in righteousness, and in purity of life, as well as in the unity of Faith and agreement in the doctrine which the Church Catholic professes.

2. To this Discipline directed by the Spirit of God, and by the rule of the divine word, we confess that every faithful person ought to submit, to the extent that Christian liberty permits it and brotherly Love requires it (Mt 18). And so we submit to it with good will, desiring and asking to be taught with Charity by those who perceive it better, and corrected with the same when it comes to the faults which might be found in us, being human.

**Chapter XVI**  
**Of the Civil Magistrate**

1. *Institution of the Civil Magistrate. His office.* In this same order of Ecclesiastical Discipline we place in the Christian Church the Civil Magistrate, who we understand to be ordained by God (Rom 13; 1 Pet 2; Wisd 6), and given by his hand

Sabid 6); y serle dado de su mano el cuchillo, para mantener en paz y en reposo la república, defendiéndola de los enemigos, castigando los malhechores, y honrrando y premiando los virtuosos, todo para adelantamiento del Reyno del Christo y de su gloria.

2. *El dever del pueblo para con él.* Por este officio entendemos que toda persona de qualquier estado o condición que sea, le deve respecto, tributo, y subiección (En los lugares ya citados), entretanto que no mandare cosa contra la voluntad de Dios y su palabra (Act 4); la qual deuda entendemos devérsele, aunque sea infiel (Mat 17, 22; 1 Pet 2).

3. *El Christiano magistrado es cabeza de la Ecclesiástica disciplina.* Ansimismo entendemos, que aunque en la Iglesia Christiana sean diferentes los officios del Magistrado, y del Ministerio de la Palabra, como también son cosas diferentes el gobierno de la policía, y el Ecclesiástico orden, empero por quanto la Iglesia de los fieles congregados en algún lugar no es otra cosa que una Christiana república o policía, entendemos que, siendo fiel el político magistrado, es cabeça de la Ecclesiástica Disciplina (En los lugares ya citados), y que tiene la suprema autoridad, para hazer poner en essecución todo lo que al Reyno del Señor, y al adelantamiento de su gloria se hallare pertenecer, no sólo en lo que toca a la humana policía, mas también y principalmente en lo que tocara al divino

the sword to maintain peace and tranquility in the republic, defending it from its enemies, punishing offenders, and honoring and rewarding the virtuous, all for the advancement of the Kingdom of the Christ and his glory.

2. *The duty of the people with regards to him.* By this office we understand that every person, of whatever state or condition, owes him respect, tribute and subjection (in the passages already cited), as long as he does not give a command which is contrary to the will of God and his word (Acts 4); which obligation we understand to be owed to him even if he is an unbeliever (Mt 17, 22; 1 Pet 2).

3. *The Christian magistrate is head of Ecclesiastical discipline.* We also understand that while in the Christian Church the offices of Magistrate and of the Ministry of the Word are different, just as the civil government and the Ecclesiastical order are to be distinguished, given however that the Church of the faithful assembled in a particular place is none other than a Christian republic, or polis, we understand the faithful civil magistrate to be head of Ecclesiastical Discipline (in the passages already cited), and that he enjoys supreme authority to see to the implementation of everything that is found to pertain to the Kingdom of God and the advancement of his glory, not only in that which pertains to civil government, but also and principally in that which has to do with divine worship. Neither do we understand

culto. Ni entendemos, aver en la Iglesia de los fieles más de una sola Jurisdicción, cuyas leyes son la divina palabra, y las que con ella se conformaren; y el supremo Juez en la tierra el Christiano Magistrado.

**CAP. XVII**  
**Del Espíritu Sancto. Y de la vida de los**  
**Christianos.**

1. *Fin para el qual somos iustificados.* Dios tiene declarado en su Sancta Palabra, que el fin por el qual el libra al hombre del peccado, de la muerte y del demonio es, para que le sirva en justicia y en sanctidad de vida todos los días que biviere (Luc 1; 1 Pet 4). El fin por que lo regenera y lo haze nueva criatura por su Espíritu, es para que, dexada la imagen del viejo y terreno Adam, vista la del Nuevo y celestial, que es Christo (Joa 3; 1 Cor 15; Col 3). El fin por que lo mata por el rigor de su Ley (Rom 7; 2 Cor 3; Oseas 6), y lo sepulta con Christo es, para que por fuerça de la Fe en él ressucite, y suba a los cielos con él (Rom 6), y dexando ya de procurar las cosas del siglo (Rom 12; Tit 2; 1 Cor 7), muerto a él (Gal 6; 1 Joa 2), procure las del cielo, y biva vida celestial (Col 3) con la qual Dios sea conocido y glorificado entre los hombres como author de tan maravillosa obra (Mat 5; 1 Cor 6; 1 Pet 2) y el mundo sea convencido de su corrupción y peccado (Phil 2), y como forçado a conocer por la celestial vida de los fieles la virtud de Iesús el Christo, y la efficacia de su muerte y Resurrección; y ansimismo la ventaja que la religión christiana haze a todas las falsas sectas y

there to be in the Church of the godly more than one single Jurisdiction, whose laws are the divine word and those which are in accordance with it; and whose supreme Judge in the land is the Christian Magistrate.

**Chapter XVII**  
**Of the Holy Spirit, and of the Life of**  
**Christians**

1. *The end for which we are justified.* God has declared in his Holy Word that the end for which he frees man from sin, death and the devil is that he might serve him in righteousness and holiness of life all the days of his life (Lk 1; 1 Pet 4). The end for which he regenerates him and makes him a new creature through the Holy Spirit is that, with the image of the old and earthly Adam discarded, he might put on the New and heavenly one, which is the Christ (Jn 3; 1 Cor 15; Col 3). The end for which he puts him to death through the rigor of his Law (Rom 7; 2 Cor 3; Hos 6) and buries him with Christ is that by the strength of Faith in him he might resurrect and raise him up to the heavens with him (Rom 6), and ceasing to seek after the things of the age (Rom 12; Tit 2; 1 Cor 7), being dead to it (Gal 6; 1 Jn 2), he might seek after those of heaven, and live a heavenly life (Col 3), with which God might be known and glorified among men as author of such a marvelous work (Mt 5; 1 Cor 6; 1 Pet 2), and the world convinced of its corruption and sin (Phil 2), and compelled as it were to know, through the celestial life of the faithful, the virtue of Jesus the Christ, and the efficacy of his

supersticiones del mundo (Jacob 3; 1 Pet 2).

2. *Effectos de Espíritu Sancto en los verdaderos fieles.* Por tanto creemos y confessamos ser condición necesaria de todos los que de verdad son iustificados por verdadera Penitencia y Fe, recibir el Espíritu Sancto (Mat 3; Joa 7; Act 2), por cuya virtud son santificados (Rom 1) y guiados, por su instinto en el conocimiento de toda verdad (Joa 16; 1 Joa 2), y gobernados en todas sus empresas y obras (Rom 8); esforzados y consolados en todas sus affliciones (Joa 15, 16; Rom 8). El mismo los enhiesta y levanta en esperança cierta de la celestial patria. Enciende en sus coraçones ardientes desseos de la propagación del reyno y gloria de Dios. Los exhorta a continua oración; los enseña, dicta, prescribe y ordena sus peticiones y les da osadía para presentarse delante de Dios a mostrarle sus necesidades como a verdadero Padre, y esperar dél el cumplimiento de sus peticiones (Rom 8; Eph 1; 1 Cor 1).

3. Por la fuerça del mismo Espíritu abniegan y renuncian de todo corazón a sí mismos (Rom 8), es a saber, y a los desseos, sabiduría, consejo y determinaciones o intentos de su carne, en cuya mortificación trabajan sin cessar con toda diligencia y estudio, desseando, esperando, y pidiendo con bivos gemidos la venida de aquel glorioso día, en que les ha de ser dada cumplida y perfecta redemción, entera y llena sanctidad y

death and resurrection, and likewise the pre-eminence of the Christian religion over all false sects and superstitions of the world (Jas 3; 1 Pet 2).

2. *The effects of the Holy Spirit in true believers.* We believe and confess, accordingly, that the necessary condition for all those who are truly justified through true Penitence and Faith is to receive the Holy Spirit (Mt 3; Jn 7; Acts 2), by virtue of whom they are sanctified (Rom 1) and guided by his instinct in the knowledge of all truth (Jn 16; 1 Jn 2), and governed in all their undertakings and work (Rom 8), strengthened and comforted in all their afflictions (Jn 15, 16; Rom 8). The same Spirit lifts them up in certain hope of the heavenly homeland, ignites in their hearts burning desires to propagate the kingdom and glory of God, exhorts them to continuous prayer, teaches, prompts, determines and orders their requests, and gives them boldness to bring their needs before God, as to a true Father, and to expect him to grant their requests (Rom 8; Eph 1; 1 Cor 1).

3. By the power of the same Spirit they deny and renounce themselves with their whole hearts (Rom 8), that is, their desires, wisdom, counsel and decisions or intents of their flesh, for whose mortification they ceaselessly work with all diligence and study, desiring, expecting, and with intense groans praying for the coming of that glorious day in which they shall be given complete and perfect redemption, complete and entire holiness

limpieza siguiendo entretanto por única regla de la divina voluntad (Ps 19, 8, 119) para conocer así lo que han de mortificar en sí, como lo que han de retener y abivar, la divina Palabra y la luz del divino Espíritu, que la escribe en sus coraçones, para que puedan perseverar con gozo celestial en esta sancta obediencia no como siervos temerosos, mas como Hijos sanctamente confiados en el eterno y firme amor de su celestial Padre (Rom 6).

4. *El Christo exemplar y dechado eficaz de nuestra reformation.* Para este mismo propósito los sirve el exemplo vivo del Christo, al qual toman por único, natural y legítimo patrón de la divina imagen, a cuya semejança han de ser reformados (Mat 12; Heb 12; 1 Pet 2; Joa 13; Rom 15; Phil 2; 2 Cor 3, 4); en el qual teniendo perpetuamente puestos los ojos para aprender dél verdadera mansuedumbre, humildad, paciencia, obediencia y subiección a la voluntad del Padre celestial, zelo verdadero y perpetuo de su gloria, verdadera Charidad y amor sin doblez ni ficción entre sí, abnegación y verdadero menosprecio de este siglo y de todo lo que en el se vee, solicitud pía y lealtad en la vocación en que Dios se quiere servir de ellos, con todas las demás virtudes que pertenecen a la espiritual y celestial vida, se van transformando en él de claridad en mayor claridad (Arriba cap. 11; Joa 1; Eph 4; Col 2), sacando del todas estas virtudes, no como de otro qualquiera exemplo o patrón exterior, mas como de fuente y cabeça a ellos muy coniunta y unida por la virtud de la fe y amor que los juntó con el indissolublemente, en quien

and purity, as they follow in the meantime as their only rule of the divine will (Ps 19, 8, 119), in order to discern what they must mortify in themselves, as well as what to retain and enliven, the divine Word and light of the divine Spirit, who writes it on their hearts so that they might persevere with heavenly joy in this holy obedience, not as fearful servants, but as children with holy confidence in the eternal and firm love of their heavenly Father (Rom 6).

4. *The Christ as exemplar and efficacious model of our reformation.* For this same purpose they have the living example of the Christ, whom they accept as their only, natural and legitimate model of the divine image, in whose likeness they must be reformed (Mt 12; Heb 12; 1 Pet 2; Jn 13; Rom 15; Phil 2; 2 Cor 3, 4); with eyes ever fixed on him, to learn from him true gentleness, humility, patience, obedience and submission to the will of the heavenly Father, true and perpetual zeal for his glory, true charity and love unmixed either with duplicity or pretence, self-denial and true contempt for this age and all that can be seen in it, godly diligence and faithfulness in the vocation in which God desires to use them, with all the other virtues which belong to the spiritual and heavenly life, they are transformed into his likeness from glory into greater glory (Chapter 11 above; Jn 1; Eph 4; Col 2), drawing from him all these virtues, not as from any other example or external model, but as from a fount and head very joined and united to them by virtue of the faith and love which united them indissolubly to him, in whom they are all found, so as to be

todas están depositadas, para derivarse de allí en todos sus miembros.

5. *El Espíritu Sancto eficaz en solos sus verdaderos fieles.* Por estos efectos es conocido el Espíritu Sancto en el gobierno de la Iglesia del Señor (Arriba cap. 1); y el Pueblo Christiano ansimismo es conocido entre todas las gentes del mundo, por Pueblo a quien Dios biendixo, y por plantas de su mano para su gloria, conforme a lo que de él estava prometido por los Prophetas (Isa 60, 61; Rom 8; 1 Cor 2; Abacuc 2; Rom 1; Heb 10). Esta manera de vida es llamada en la Escripura Sancta Vida según el Espíritu. Vida Espiritual. Vida de Fe, Andar conforme al espíritu, no conforme a la carne. Conversación en los cielos, o vida celestial, por ser propia de solos aquellos que de verdad recibieron verdadero Evangelio, y tienen fe viva y eficaz, y que recibieron el Espíritu Sancto, el qual es en ellos eficaz produzidor de tales efectos.

### **CAP. XVIII**

#### **De la Sancta Iglesia Universal y de la Communi6n de los Sanctos.**

1. *La verdadera Iglesia ningún commercio espiritual tiene con los hipócritas.* Confessamos y creemos, esta sancta compañía ser sola Iglesia del Señor Iesús el Christo, en la qual, aunque exteriormente sean contados muchos hipócritas, y miembros de antichristo, permitiéndolo así el Señor para exercicio de los suyos hasta la consumaci6n del siglo, ninguna cosa deroga esto a su sanctidad, pues que con los tales ningún

derived from there in all his members.

5. *The Holy Spirit efficacious in his true faithful alone.* By these effects the Holy Spirit is known in the government of the Church of the Lord (Chapter 1 above); and likewise the Christian people among all the peoples of the world as a People whom God has blessed, and as plantings by his hand for his glory, according to what was promised concerning it by the Prophets (Isa 60, 61; Rom 8; 1 Cor 2; Hab 2; Rom 1; Heb 10). In Holy Scripture this manner of life is called the Holy Life, life according to the Spirit, Spiritual Life, the life of Faith, the walk according to the Spirit and not according to the flesh; fellowship in the heavens, or heavenly life, which belongs only to those who have truly received the true Gospel, whose faith is lively and efficacious, and who have received the Holy Spirit, who is the efficacious producer of such effects in them.

### **Chapter XVIII**

#### **Of the Holy Universal Church, and of the Communion of Saints**

1. *The true Church has no spiritual connection with hypocrites.* We confess and believe this holy company alone to be the Church of the Lord Jesus the Christ, in which, while outwardly containing many hypocrites and members of antichrist, which the Lord permits for the training of his own until the consummation of the age, this in no way diminishes its holiness, since it has no connection with God's own in that which pertains to lively faith and the Spirit,

commercio tiene en lo que toca a la biva fe, y al Espíritu con que solos los verdaderos hijos de Dios son regenerados (Mat 13, 25).

2. *No tiene en la tierra cierto asiento, porque lo tiene en el cielo.* Item confessamos, este sancto y bienaventurado Pueblo no tener en el mundo cierto lugar señalado (Mar 13); antes ser en él peregrino, y estar esparzido por todo él (1 Pet 1); lo qual tampoco deroga a su unidad y unión, por tener todos los que a él legítimamente pertenecen un mismo Padre en los cielos, ser animados y vivificados con un mismo Espíritu del Christo, tener una misma cabeza, que es el mismo Christo, y professar una misma fe en él (Eph 4); las quales condiciones entendemos ser de tanta efficacia para la unidad de la verdadera Iglesia del Señor, que no sólo no la divide la diversidad y distancia de los lugares, mas ni aun la de las edades o siglos; ni esto solamente en el tiempo del Nuevo Testamento, mas aun en el Viejo y antes dél; comprehendiendo este Sancto Pueblo todos los Iustos que han sido, son, y serán en el mundo desde Adam hasta el postrer hombre.

3. *Es congregación de todos los píos debajo de una fe, y de una cabeza que es el Christo. Communi6n de los sanctos.* Por virtud desta uni6n, y del eterno y indissolube v6nculo de Charidad, con que todos los miembros deste sagrado cuerpo est6n ligados en Christo (Joa 17; 1 Cor 6), confessamos aver entre ellos una secreta comunicaci6n no s6lo de los espirituales y corporales bienes, que cada miembro en

with which only the true children of God are regenerated (Mt 13, 25).

2. *It has no fixed seat on earth, because it has it in heaven.* Again, we confess that this holy and blessed People has no fixed place in the world (Mk 13), since it is a pilgrim in it and is dispersed throughout it (1 Pet 1); neither does this threaten its unity and union, since it includes all those who legitimately belong to one same Father in heaven, who are sustained and vivified by one same Spirit of the Christ, who have one same head, who is the same Christ, and who profess one same faith in him (Eph 4); which conditions we understand to be so efficacious for the unity of the true Church of the Lord that not only does the diversity and distance of the places not divide it, but neither does that of the ages or centuries; this is true both for the time of the New Testament as well as that of the Old and before it, since this Holy People is made up of all the Righteous who have been, are, and will be in the world from Adam until the last man.

3. *It is the congregation of all the godly under one faith, and under one head, who is the Christ. The Communion of Saints.* By virtue of this union, and of the eternal and indissoluble bond of Charity, with which all the members of this sacred body are joined in Christ (Jn 17; 1 Cor 6), we confess that there exists between them a secret bond, whereby they share not only the spiritual and corporeal blessings which

particular recibe (1 Cor 12; Eph 4), mas aun de los males y afflicciones que padecen en el mundo (Heb 10); por la qual comunicaci3n enferman con el que enferma (2 Cor 11), se escueze con el que se escandaliza, lloran con el que llora, y se alegran con el que se alegra (Rom 12), siendo entre ellos communes ans3 los males como los bienes; porque el fuerte y indissoluble v3nculo de amor, con que en el Christo est3n unidos, no suffre otra cosa; ni la distancia de los lugares, ni la diversidad de las naciones, puede impedir a lo menos el sentimiento, ni el socorro de la oraci3n con que oran los unos por los otros, aunque impida el corporal socorro.

### Cap. XIX

**De algunas se1ales por las quales la externa Iglesia puede ser conocida en el mundo; y de otras, que se1alan los que infaliblemente pertenecen a la espiritual y invisible, aora est3 en la externa congregaci3n de los fieles, aora no.**

1. *No tiene en el mundo grande apariencia como ni Christo la tuvo (Isa 53). La externa Iglesia tiene ciertas notas por las cuales es conocida.* Esta sancta Compa1a, aunque por ser Reyno espiritual, y compa1a no seg3n la carne, sea invisible a los ojos corporales y al juicio de la humana raz3n, confessamos tener algunas se1ales y notas tomadas de la divina Palabra, por las quales pueda ser conocida en el mundo, quando corporalmente aconteciere juntarse en alg3n cierto lugar.

each member in particular receives (1 Cor 12; Eph 4), but also the evils and afflictions which they suffer in the world (Heb 10); by means of which union they suffer with those who suffer (2 Cor 11), weep with those who weep, and rejoice with those who rejoice (Rom 12), as they share both the blessings and evils; for the strong and indissoluble bond of love with which they are united in the Christ is unaltered, neither can the distance between places, nor the fact of many nations, prevent at least the concern or the aid of prayer with which they pray one for another, even if it might prevent physical help.

### Chapter XIX

**Of some signs by means of which the external Church can be known in the world; and of others which identify those who belong infallibly to the spiritual and invisible one, whether they be found in the external congregation of the faithful or not**

1. *Like Christ, it is not great in appearance (Is 53). The external church has certain marks by which it is known.* We confess that this holy Company, while invisible to the physical eyes and to the judgment of human reason, as it is a spiritual Kingdom, possesses some signs and marks taken from the divine Word by which it may be know in the world when it comes together corporally in a particular place.

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| <p>2. <i>Limpieza de doctrina</i> (nota arriba cap. 7, 9, 10). La primera es, La pura predicación del Evangelio, sin mezcla de humanas doctrinas o constituciones, para en el caso de la salud de los hombres y del divino culto.</p> <p>3. <i>Legítima administración de Sacramentos</i> (arriba cap. 11, 12, 13). La segunda es, La administración y uso legítimo de los Sacramentos con aquella sinceridad y limpieza de humanas adiciones, que por la divina Palabra parece aver sido instituydos del Señor y usados de sus Apóstoles.</p> <p>4. <i>Sancta disciplina</i> (arriba cap. 15, 17). La tercera, La Eclesiástica y Christiana disciplina, exercitada por el orden y por los fines que arriba hemos declarado.</p> <p>5. <i>Notas perpetuas y infalibles de la Iglesia espiritual</i>. Mas porque puede ser, que, aún aviendo estas mismas señales, no todos los que en ellas convinieren exteriormente pertenezcan a la verdadera y espiritual Iglesia del Señor, (ansí como también por el contrario, aun aviendo en ellas algunas faltas tolerables por la humana flaqueza, no por esso luego serán exclusos de la verdadera Iglesia los que en ella comunicaren, permaneciendo en el fundamento que es el Christo) entendemos aver otras, por las quales los verdaderos miembros del Señor Iesús el Christo, no sólo ellos se podrán certificar en sus consciencias de que lo son mas aun podrán conocerse los unos a los otros, quando se toparen en la tierra de su peregrinación. Y</p> | <p>2. <i>Purity of doctrine</i> (see Chapters 7, 9 and 10 above). The first is the pure preaching of the Gospel, without admixture of human doctrines or ordinances, in matters pertaining to the salvation of men and divine worship.</p> <p>3. <i>The legitimate administration of the sacraments</i> (Chapters 11, 12 and 13 above). The second is the legitimate use and administration of the Sacraments, with that sincerity and purity of human additions, which appears to have been instituted by the Lord and used by his Apostles through the divine Word.</p> <p>4. <i>Holy discipline</i> (Chapters 15 and 17 above). The third is the Ecclesiastical and Christian discipline, as exercised according to the ends which we have declared above.</p> <p>5. <i>Perpetual and infallible marks of the spiritual Church</i>. But because it can be the case that, even when these signs are present, not all those who take part in them outwardly belong to the true and spiritual Church of the Lord (just as, by the same token, while there may be in them some tolerable faults through human weakness, not for this reason shall those who participate in them be excluded from the true Church, as they remain in the foundation, which is the Christ), we understand there to be other signs by means of which the true members of the Lord Jesus the Christ can not only be certain in their consciences that they indeed are, but can also recognize one another as they meet in the land of their pilgrimage, and can</p> |
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podrán hazer differencia entre los hijos del siglo, o del antichristo, por muy cubiertos que estén con títulos y apparenca de religión.

6. *El testimonio interno del Espiritu Sancto manifestado de fuera por sus frutos (arriba cap. 7).* La Primera es, El testimonio del Espiritu Sancto habitante en los coraçones de todos los fieles sin poder faltar (como arriba diximos en el cap. 17) el qual Espiritu Sancto es imposible que donde estuviere, dexede manifestarse por de fuera, por limpieza y sanctidad de vida (Gal 5). Esta señal nos es dada por el Espiritu Sancto en Isaías cap. 59, donde dize así, Esta será mi Aliança con ellos (a sab. con los píos de su pueblo): mi espíritu, que está en tí (habla con el Messías). Y en el cap. 61 dize, Y saberse ha en las Gentes su simiente, y su nación en medio de los pueblos; todos los que los vieren, los conocerán ser pueblo a quien Dios bendixo. Más clara aún nos la pone el Señor quando dize, Por los frutos los conoceréys, no puede el mal árbol dar buen fruto, ni el buen árbol mal fruto &c. (Mat 7).

7. *La palabra.* Aunque esta señal ya dicha tenga lugar generalmente en todas las partes de la vida del hombre Christiano, por ser árbol que plantado a las corrientes de las aguas de la divina Palabra y del Espiritu de Dios da sus frutos en abundancia y en toda sazón (Ps 1; Jere 17), ay empero algunos deestos frutos los quales antes de todos los otros se señalan y se muestran a los ojos de los que miran en ellos. Déstos el primero es la palabra, la

differentiate between the children of the age, or the antichrist, as covered as they may be with the signs and the appearance of religion.

6. *The inner testimony of the Holy Spirit manifested outwardly by his fruits.* The First is the testimony of the Holy Spirit, who lives in the hearts of all believers without fail (as we said in chapter 17 above), and who cannot but manifest himself outwardly wherever he may be, in purity and holiness of life (Gal 5). This sign is given to us by the Holy Spirit in Isaiah chapter 59, where it says: 'This shall be my Covenant with them (that is, with the godly of his people): my Spirit which is in you' (he speaks with the Messiah). And in chapter 61 it says: 'Their descendants shall be known among the nations, and their offspring in the midst of the peoples; all who see them shall acknowledge them, that they are a people whom the Lord has blessed.' More clearly still does the Lord put it when he says: 'By their fruits ye shall know them; a bad tree cannot bear good fruit, neither the good tree bad fruit, etc.' (Mt 7)

7. *Conversation.* While the above-mentioned sign is generally present in all areas of life of the Christian man, since he is a tree which, planted by the streams of waters of the Divine Word and the Spirit of God, gives its fruit in abundance in every season (Ps 1; Jer 17), there are nevertheless some of these fruits which before all the others stand out as visible and apparent to the eyes of those who look upon them. The first of these is conversation, which, just as

qual así como en el hombre impío o mundano es, o bláspHEMA contra la divina magestad, o mentirosa o iniuriosa contra los hombres, o por lo menos vana, en el hombre pío y de veras regenerado communmente es palabra de verdad, honrradora de la divina magestad, llena de enseñamiento pío, y de edificación y provecho espiritual para los que la oyen o leen (Ps 72, 9, 17, 35, 59, 135, 115). Será pues esta la Segunda señal del hombre pío y de verdad perteneciente al pueblo de Dios, la qual nos es puesta en el mismo lugar de Isafas arriba citado, donde del Espíritu de Dios y del Christo, como de raiz, luego viene a las palabras, como a primer fruto diziendo, Y mis palabras que yo he puesto en tu boca, nunca faltarán de tu boca, ni de la boca de tu simiente, ni de la boca de la simiente de tu simiente, dize el Señor, desde aora para siempre. Por el contrario el impío o mundano de la mala abundancia de su corazón habla, como el Señor dize. De aquí son las continuas amonestaciones del Apóstol a los Fieles, Si alguno hablare, hable palabra de Dios (1 Pet 4). Ninguna palabra mala salga de vuestra boca &c. (Eph 4; Col 3, 4). Por el contrario, en el hombre impío del abundancia mala del corazón la boca habla &c. (Mat 12).

8. *Affición a la divina palabra.* La tercera señal es, una ardiente affición, y cobdicia insaciable a la divina Palabra, y un estudio continuo de oyrla, entenderla y tractarla; como por el contrario, el fastidio y aborrecimiento de ella declara el ánimo del hombre impío y mundano, que ni la busca, ni la ama, ni offrecida por ocasión

in the ungodly man it is either worldly or blasphemous against the divine majesty, false, harmful to men, or at least vain, so in the godly and truly regenerate man it is commonly truthful discourse, which honors the divine majesty, full of godly teaching and of spiritual benefit for those who hear and read it (Ps 72, 9, 17, 35, 59, 135, 115). This then shall be the Second sign of the man who is godly and who truly belongs to the people of God; which we find in the same passage in Isaiah quoted above, where from the Spirit of God and of the Christ, as from a root, later come the words, as a first fruit, saying: 'and my words which I have put in your mouth, shall not depart out of your mouth, or out of the mouth of your children, or out of the mouth of your children's children, says the Lord, from this time forth and for evermore.' On the other hand, the ungodly or worldly man 'speaks out of the wicked abundance of his heart,' as the Lord says. From here we find the continuous admonitions of the Apostle to Believers: 'whoever speaks, as one who utters oracles of God' (1 Pet 4). 'Let nothing evil come out of your mouth' (Eph 4; Col 3, 4). On the contrary, in the ungodly man the mouth speaks out of the wicked abundance of his heart, etc. (Mt 12).

8. *Desire for the divine word.* The third sign is an ardent affection and insatiable appetite for the divine Word, and a continuous application to hear it, understand it and engage with it; just as, on the other hand, the soul of the ungodly or worldly man declares its disdain and abhorrence such that it neither seeks nor

que Dios le presenta, la puede sufrir (Prov 1; Joa 8; 1 Joa 3). El Señor nos pone esta señal diciendo, El que es de Dios, oye la Palabra de Dios, &c. David, Psalm. 1, En la Ley de Dios medita de día y de noche. Psal. 119, Quan dulces son tus Palabras a mi garganta, como la miel, a mi boca, &c.

9. *Misericordia y mansedumbre.*

La Quarta señal es misericordia, con la qual singularmente los hijos de Dios, representan el ingenio del Padre celestial (Luc 6; Eph 4; 1 Pet 3; Gal 6; 1 Joa 3; Joa 8), y le parecen, el qual haze (como dize el Señor) salir su sol sobre buenos y malos, y llueve sobre iustos y iniustos. Por la contraria, que es crueldad, amor de sangre, &c. reconoce el Señor y da a conocer a los suyos a los Phariseos por hijos de satanáas. El (dize) homicida era desde el principio, &c. Conciértase con esta señal la semejança de la oveja con que la naturaleza y ingenio de los hijos de Dios es perpetuamente notada en la divina Escritura (Ps 44, 74, 79, 80; Isa 11, 40; Mat 18; Joa 10, 2), y la del lobo, dragón, leon, y de otras semejantes crueles bestias con que es notada la del demonio y de todos sus hijos, Él metió la muerte en el mundo (dize el Ecclesiástico) y a él imitan todos los que son de su vando (Sabid. 2, 5).

10. *Amor para con los enemigos.*

La quinta señal es, Amor y toda manera de beneficencia para con los enemigos. Ésta también nos pone el Señor por singular marca de los hijos de Dios en el lugar alegado en la señal precedente. Amad

loves it; neither can it bear it, if it is offered to him by God (Prov 1; Jn 8; 1 Jn 3)). The Lord gives us this sign saying: 'He who is from God hears the Word of God, etc.>'; David says, 'In the Law of God does he meditate day and night' (Ps 1), and 'How sweet are thy words to my taste, sweeter than honey to my mouth, etc.' (Ps 119).

9. *Mercy and gentleness.*

The Fourth sign is mercy, with which the children of God singularly represent the mind of the heavenly Father, and resemble 'the one who makes (as the Lord says) the sun to shine on the good and the evil, and rain to fall on the righteous and the unrighteous' (Lk 6; Eph 4; 1 Pet 3; Gal 6; 1 Jn 3; Jn 8). Through its opposite, that is, cruelty, love of blood, etc., the Lord recognizes and allows his own to recognize the Pharisees as children of Satan: 'He (he says) was a murderer from the beginning, etc.' Constantly noted in divine Scripture is the way in which the likeness of sheep goes hand in hand with the nature and mind of the children of God (Ps 44, 74, 79, 80; Isa 11, 40; Mt 18; Jn 10, 2), and that of the wolf, dragon, lion and other such cruel beasts with the likeness of the devil and all his children. 'He put death in the world (says the Ecclesiast), and all those who belong to his company imitate him' (Wisd 2, 5).

10. *Love for one's enemies.*

The fifth sign is Love, and all manner of kindness towards ones' enemies. This one too the Lord shows to be a singular mark of the children of God, in the passage quoted for the preceding sign: 'Love you enemies',

(dize) a vuestros enemigos; hazed bien a los que os aborrecen, rogad por los que os calumnian y persiguen, por que seáis hijos de vuestro Padre celestial (Mat 5; Luc 6; 1 Pet 2). Ni ay argumento que más conveça a los hijos del siglo a entender que ay en los píos otra naturaleza mas que humana, que ver, que donde ellos esperavan enemistad contra enemistad, injuria contra injuria, fuerça contra fuerça (como tienen en su derecho, Es lícito apartar la fuerça con fuerça &c.) hallen misericordia, amor y beneficio, como el Apóstol testifica diziendo, Haziendo esto, amontonarás carbones de fuego sobre su cabeça.

11. *Verdadera charidad con los hermanos.* La Sexta señal es, Verdadero amor, y Charidad indissoluble de los unos para con los otros; tal, que se manifieste por de fuera con testimonios no fingidos, ni se menoscabe, o rompa con livianas ocasiones. Finalmente entendemos de la Charidad de que habla el Apóstol 1 Cor. 13, que suffre, espera y supporta todas las cosas; que es paciente, benigna, no ambiciosa, ni busca sus particulares provechos &c. y que se deve anteponer a todas las otras virtudes, aunque sea a la misma Fe, por ser (como el mismo Apóstol dize) el remate de la christiana perfección (Col 3; Joa 13-17; 1 Cor 13). Esta señal nos pone el Señor por infalible y perpetua marca de los suyos en S. Joan capit. 13, En esto (dize) conocerán los hombres que soys mis discípulos, si tuvieres amor los unos con los otros. Por la falta desta arguye el Apóstol a los Corinthios, que no son más que hombres. Entretanto (dize) que ay entre vosotros contiendas y renzillas,

he says, ‘do good to those that hate you; pray for those who slander you and persecute you, so that you may be sons of your Father who is in heaven’ (Mt 5; Lk 6; 1 Pet 2). Nothing convinces the children of the age to understand that the godly possess a nature other than the human one more than to observe that where they expected enmity for enmity, injury for injury, force for force, etc. (for they can rightfully say ‘It is lawful to resist evil with evil’), they find mercy, love and kindness, as the Apostle testifies, saying: ‘for by so doing you will heap burning coals upon his head.’

11. *True brotherly love.* The Sixth sign is True love, and indissoluble Charity one for another, such that it is manifested outwardly with testimonies which are not feigned, neither is it broken or diminished by petty pretexts. Of the charity of which the Apostle speaks in 1 Cor 13 we understand, finally, that ‘it bears all things, hopes all things, endures all things, is patient, kind, not covetous, nor does it seek its own benefits, etc.’, and that it must be placed before all the other virtues, including faith itself, since it is (as the same Apostle says) ‘the end of Christian perfection’ (Col 3; Jn 13, 14, 15, 16, 17; 1 Cor 3). The Lord gives us this sign as an infallible and perpetual mark of his own, in St. John, 13: ‘By this (he says) shall men know that you are my disciples: if you have love one for another’. The Apostle argues that the Corinthians are mere men for their lack of it: ‘For (he says) while there is jealousy and strife among you, are you not of the flesh, and behaving like ordinary

porventura no soys hombres? Y de aquí toma la ocasión para exhortarles tan copiosamente a la Charidad.

12. *Cruz.* La Séptima señal es Cruz y afflicción en el mundo, aviendo incurrido en enemistad irreconciliable y odio perpetuo con él por la profesión de la verdadera Piedad, y por la confesión del nombre del Señor; a la qual Cruz Dios tiene ordenado que su Iglesia sea perpetuamente sujeta en este mundo por las razones que el Espíritu Sancto revela en su Palabra (Rom 3, 8; 2 Cor 4, 5; Jacob 1; 1 Pet 4). El Señor en muchos lugares señala esta marca a los suyos (Joa 13-16). En verdad en verdad os digo que lloraréys, y lamentaréys vosotros, y el mundo reirá. En el mundo tendréys angustia. Si a mí me persiguieron, a vosotros también perseguirán. No ay discípulo mayor que el maestro. Si fuéssedes del mundo, el mundo amaría lo que es suyo. Mat. 10, 11. El Apóstol en muchos lugares (2 Cor 4; Phil 1; 2 Tim 3; Heb 10; Gal 6). Él mismo a los Gálatas por última prueba de su Apostolado alega esta señal como por legítima firma y sello dél, diciendo, De aquí adelante nadie me sea molesto, porque yo las marcas del Señor Iesús traigo impressas en mi cuerpo.

13. *Por estas señales se han de examinar los verdaderos Christianos.* Éstas, (y si ay otras algunas que con ellas lo puedan ser) entendemos ser las señales perpetuas y legítimas con que Dios marcó su Iglesia en todos tiempos; las quales, aunque por el presente estado (que tiene aún mezcla de corrupción, y no ha llegado,

men?’ And here he uses the occasion to exhort them so heavily to Charity.

12. *The Cross.* The Seventh sign is Cross and affliction in the world, having incurred irreconcilable enmity and its perpetual hatred through the profession of true Godliness and by confessing the name of the Lord; to which Cross God has ordained that his Church be perpetually subject in this world, for the reasons which the Holy Spirit reveals in his word (Rom 3, 8; 2 Cor 4, 5; Jas 1; 1 Pet 4). The Lord assigns this mark to his own in many places (Jn 13-16): ‘Verily, verily, I say to you that you shall weep and lament, and the world shall laugh. In the world you shall have tribulation. If they persecuted me, they shall persecute you too. A disciple is not greater than his master. If you were of the world, the world would love what is of the world’ (Mt 10, 11). Likewise the Apostle, in many passages (2 Cor 4; Phil 1; 2 Tim 3; Heb 10; Gal 6). He himself offers this sign to the Galatians as final proof and legitimate signature and seal of his Apostleship, saying: ‘Henceforth let no man trouble me; for I bear on my body the marks of Jesus.’

13. *True Christians to be assessed according to these signs.* These (and others which might be included) we hold to be the perpetual and legitimate signs with which God has marked his Church in all times; which, because of its present state (which is still mixed with corruption, and has not arrived, nor does it arrive, at complete

ni llega, a la summa perfección, antes se vive aún en esperanza de ella, cuyo cumplimiento será, como el Apóstol enseña en muchos lugares, en la resurrección de los muertos, y no antes) no se hallen tan cumplidas como aquí las avemos pintado, y es de dessear, hanse empero de hallar todas necessariamente y en la conversación del Christiano, aunque sea con sus imperfecciones y faltas; las quales faltas supllirá en el el ardiente desseo y continuo estudio de tenerlas en su perfección. Y pues las havemos puesto por tan legítimas y necessarias señales de los hijos de Dios y de su verdadero Pueblo, no refusamos de ser exsaminados por ellas para ser reconocidos de la Iglesia del Señor por legítimos miembros de ella.

**CAP. XX**  
**De la Remisión de los peccados;**  
**de la potestad de las Claves, y de su**  
**legítimo uso**

1. *Claves del Reyno de los cielos.* Confessamos aver en esta sancta Compañía potestad para ligar y soltar peccados (Joa 20), la qual authoridad el Señor llama llaves del Reyno de los cielos (Mat 18). Ésta entendemos no ser otra cosa que la pura anunciación del Evangelio, por la qual se da remisión de todos los peccados a culpa y a pena y imputación de entera y verdadera justicia a todos los creyentes en virtud de la Muerte y Resurrección del Señor; y se denuncia eterna maldición y ira de Dios sobre todos los impenitentes, rebeldes, y incrédulos a esta gloriosa nueva (Rom 1, 2; Mat 10).

perfection, since one lives in hope of it, whose fulfillment will be, as the Apostle teaches in many places, in the resurrection of the dead, and not before) are not found to be as perfect as we have depicted them here, nevertheless all of them are to be desired, and ought necessarily to be found, in the life of a Christian, if imperfectly and with faults, since these will produce in him the burning desire and continuous exercise to possess them perfectly. And since we hold them to be such legitimate and necessary signs of the children of God and of his true People, we do not refuse to be assessed according to them in order to be recognized by the Church of the Lord as her legitimate members.

**Chapter XX**  
**Of the remission of sins; of the**  
**power of the Keys, and of their**  
**legitimate use**

1. *The Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven.* We confess that this holy Company has the power to bind and loose sins (Jn 20), which authority the Lord calls the keys of the Kingdom of heaven (Mt 18). This we understand to be nothing other than the pure preaching of the Gospel, through which all believers are granted the remission of all sins *a culpa et a poena* and complete and true righteousness is imputed to them, by virtue of the Death and Resurrection of the Lord, while the eternal curse and wrath of God is pronounced on all rebellious and impenitent ones, and on those who

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| <p>2. Esta autoridad entendemos residir primera y inmediatamente en Christo, único Pontífice, Sacerdote y Pacificador nuestro (Apo 1, 3; Isa 21); y por su comisión en todos los legítimos Ministros de su Evangelio (Mat 18; Joa 20), a la palabra del qual está ligada la dicha potestad (Isa 61; Luc 4); en el uso de la qual ninguna reservación ay de casos de los unos Ministros para los otros (Joa 20), ni la puede aver, por tenerla todos en igual grado (Mat 18; 1 Joa 2), o para dar por absueltos delante del divino juicio enteramente a todos los que por verdadera Penitencia y Fe juzgaren ser capaces del perdón, o para dar por condenados en el mismo juicio a todos los impenitentes y incrédulos.</p> <p>3. Ansimismo confessamos, servir este remedio en la Iglesia del Señor, no sólo para la absolución de los peccados passados a los que de nuevo son admittidos a ella, mas aun ser en ella perpetuo para todas las vezes que después de ser hechos una vez miembros de Iesús el Christo les aconteciere caer de qualquier suerte de peccado que sea, por ser perpetua nuestra corrupción, y el peligro de caer todo el tiempo que en esta vida bivimos (Rom 7; Gal 5; 1 Joa 1); y ansimismo eterna la divina misericordia para recibrnos a perdón (Ps 130; Isa 53; Joel 2), y el Sacerdocio del Señor Iesús, y el valor de su sacrificio también eterno para interceder por nosotros delante del celestial Padre (Arriba cap. 9).</p> | <p>disbelieve this glorious news (Rom 1, 2; Mt 10).</p> <p>2. We understand that this authority resides principally and immediately in Christ, our only Pontiff, Priest and Peacemaker (Rev 1, 3; Is 21); and by his commission in all legitimate Ministers of his Gospel (Mt 18; John 20), to whose word said power is linked (Is 61; Lk 4); in the use of which there is no reservation of cases for some Ministers among the rest (Jn 20), since there cannot be, given that all possess it to the same degree (Mt 18; 1 Jn 2), whether to pronounce before the divine judgment complete absolution to those whom they deem fit to receive pardon on account of their true Penitence and Faith, or in the same judgment to pronounce condemnation on all the impenitent and unbelieving ones.</p> <p>3. We likewise confess that in the Church of the Lord this remedy serves not only for the absolution of the past sins of those who are admitted to her anew, but even as a perpetual remedy for all the times they might fall into sin in whichever way, having once been made members of Jesus the Christ, since our corruption is perpetual, as is the danger of falling at any time during this life (Rom 7; Gal 5; 1 Jn 1); and likewise eternal are the divine mercy to forgive us (Ps 130; Is 53; Joel 2), the Priesthood of the Lord Jesus, and the value of his sacrifice to intercede for us before the heavenly Father (Chapter 9 above).</p> |
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## **CAP. XXI**

**De la Resurrección de los muertos.  
Del Juicio Final. De la Vida eterna de  
los Píos. Y de la eterna muerte de los  
impíos.**

1. *Gemido perpetuo de los hijos de Dios en esta peregrinación.* Confessamos, que bivimos en esperanza de una gloriosa y entera restauración de todas las cosas (Mat 24; Mar 13; Luc 21), por la qual gemimos con todas las criaturas, que sujetadas a vanidad y corrupción por el peccado del hombre esperan también su restauración en la entera redención de los Hijos de Dios (Rom 8); en la qual esperamos alcançar entera perfección de justicia y de sanctidad, assolado del todo el reyno del peccado y de la muerte en el mundo (2 Cor 5; Gal 5), y puesto fin a toda nuestra corrupción así corporal como espiritual, y a todas las afflicciones que los hijos de Dios padecen subietadas ya las cosas al Christo (1 Cor 15; Is 25; Apo 7, 21); el qual entregará el Reyno al Padre, y Dios será todas las cosas en todos nosotros (1 Cor 15; Heb 2). Este es el Reyno de Dios, por el qual sospiramos (Mat 25; Luc 21, 22) y pedimos con ardiente oración cada día al Padre celestial que venga (Mat 6).

2. Esta entera redención Creemos que se nos dará en la Resurrección final (Col 3; 1 Joa 3), donde creemos que resucitará toda carne así de malos como de buenos; aunque así como para diversos fines, así también por diferentes principios (Job 19; Eze 37; 1 Cor 4). Los

## **Chapter XXI**

**Of the Resurrection of the dead.  
Of the Last Judgment. Of the eternal life  
of the Godly, and of the eternal death of  
the ungodly**

1. *Perpetual groaning of the children of God in this pilgrimage.* We confess that we live in hope of a glorious and complete restoration of all things (Mt 24; Mk 13; Lk 21), for which we groan with all creation, which being subject to vanity and corruption because of the sin of man also awaits its restoration in the complete redemption of the children of God (Rom 8); in which we hope to reach complete perfection of righteousness and holiness, once the whole kingdom of sin and death in the world has been completely destroyed (2 Cor 5; Gal 5), and all our corruption, both physical and spiritual, and all the afflictions which the children of God endure, have ended, when things are subjected to the Christ (1 Cor 15; Is 25; Rev 7, 21), who shall deliver the Kingdom to the Father, and God will be all things in all of us (1 Cor 15; Heb 2). This is the Kingdom of God for which we long (Mt 25; Lk 21, 22) and which we ask of the heavenly Father daily with burning devotion (Mt 6).

2. We believe that this complete redemption will be given to us at the final Resurrection (Col 3; 1 Jn 3), in which we believe that all flesh, of both the good and the wicked, shall be raised, although for different ends, as well as from different causes (Job 19; Ez 37; 1 Cor 4). We

Píos, por estar pendiente su resurrección de Iesús el Christo, como de primera causa, creemos que resuscitarán en su misma carne a vida eterna por virtud de la simiente de divinidad (Rom 8; Joa 6, 11) que en ellos se sembró por la divina Palabra, y por la fe (Mar 4; Luc 8; Joa 5; Phil 2; Jacob 2; 1 Pet 1; 1 Joa 1); a causa de la qual simiente es imposible que perpetuamente sean detenidos en las prisiones de la muerte, por la misma razón que tampoco el Señor Iesús lo pudo ser (Act 2), en cuya Resurrección tienen prenda certíssima de la suya; y experiencia infalible de lo que para en este caso podrá la naturaleza divina de que por su Espíritu son ya participantes (1 Cor 15; Col 2; 1 Thes 4). Los impíos ansimismo creemos que resuscitarán en su misma carne; mas no por virtud de Espíritu del Christo, ni de simiente de divinidad que en sí tengan (pues nunca lo recibieron), mas por la potencia de Dios, que como los crió de nada, los levantará de la muerte, para que en cuerpo y en ánima sostengan eternalmente el castigo de su yra.

3. Confessamos que después desta universal resurrección de buenos y malos, Iesu Christo, a quien el Padre tiene dada la administración del Reyno (Arriba cap. 9), y por consiguiente el Iuyzio (Joa 5; Ps 72), que se mostrará visible en potencia y magestad de Dios (Mat 26; Mar 13, 14; Luc 21; Act 1); delante del qual será presentada toda carne para recibir sentencia final de su eterno estado según sus obras (2 Tim 5; Act 19). Donde los buenos, unidos con Dios recibirán premio de eterna vida (Mat 25); y serán admitidos

believe that the Godly, whose resurrection depends on that of Jesus the Christ as its first cause, shall rise again in their same flesh to life eternal, by virtue of the seed of divinity (Rom 8; John 6, 11) which was sown in them by the Divine Word and by faith (Mk 4; Lk 8; Jn 5; Phil 2; Jas 2; 1 Pet 1; 1 Jn 1), because of which seed it is impossible for them perpetually to be detained in the prison of death, for the same reason that neither could the Lord Jesus (Acts 2), in whose Resurrection they have a most certain pledge of their own, and the infallible experience of that which divine nature, of which they are already participants by his Spirit, shall be powerful to do (1 Cor 15; Col 2; 1 Thes 4). We likewise believe that the ungodly shall rise again in their own flesh; but not by virtue of the Spirit of the Christ, nor of the seed of divinity in them (for they never received it), but by the power of God, who as he created them from nothing, shall raise them from the dead so that in body and soul they shall endure the punishment of his wrath eternally.

3. We confess that after this universal resurrection of the good and the wicked, Jesus Christ, to whom the Father has given the government of the Kingdom (Chap 9 above), and consequently the Judgment (Jn 5; Ps 72), shall become visible in power and the majesty of God (Mt 26; Mk 13, 14; Lk 21; Acts 1); before whom shall be presented all flesh to receive the final sentence pertaining to its eternal state according to its works (2 Tim 5; Acts 19). Where the good, united with God shall receive the reward of eternal life (Mt

a la participación de su gloria con Christo (1 Pet 5), como lo fueron acá por su mérito a la participación de su naturaleza y Iusticia, y ansimismo de su Cruz; para que desta manera tenga su entero cumplimiento el divino consejo, que en Christo los predestinó desde antes del siglo, los llamó y iustificó a su tiempo en él mismo, para en fin glorificarlos (Rom 8; Eph 1; 1 Pet 1; Mat 25). Los malos, comprehendidos de la eterna maldición serán diputados a eterna privación de la vista de Dios, la qual les será eterno dolor y tormento, en compañía de satanáas, cuya naturaleza participaron y cuyas obras hizieron (Mat 25); con el qual serán sepultados en el infierno en compañía de la muerte (Isa 25; Apo 7, 20), que con ellos será encerrada para que perpetuamente mueran, donde su gusano no morirá, ni su tormento tendrá fin (Ps 49; Isa 66).

**[Peroración]**

Ésta es (Hermanos en Christo) nuestra fe; la qual entendemos no alcanzarse por humano enseñamiento ni diligencia; antes ser puro don de Dios comunicado por su sola misericordia y liberalidad graciosamente al mundo; y plantado por la virtud de su Espíritu en los coraçones de los que por Iesús el Christo han de ser salvos (Eph 2). Hémosnos al presente contentado con declarar y confessar los principales artículos della, a fin que por esta confesión seamos conocidos por miembros de la verdadera Iglesia del Señor, y admitidos entre los que también lo fueren (Eph 2, 4; Col 1; 1 Pet 2;

25), and shall be admitted to the participation of his glory with Christ (1 Pet 5), as they were here by his merit admitted to the participation in his nature and Righteousness, and in his Cross, and thus the divine counsel, which predestined them in Christ from before the age, called and justified them in his time in himself, in order finally to glorify them, shall be completely accomplished (Rom 8; Eph 1; 1 Pet 1; Mt 25). The wicked, condemned to eternal damnation shall be turned over to eternal deprivation of the vision of God, which shall be for them eternal pain and torment, in the company of satan, whose nature they shared and whose works they performed (Mt 25); with whom they shall be buried in hell, together with death (Is 25; Rev 7, 20), which shall be locked up with them, so that they shall perpetually die, where their worm shall not die, neither shall their torment end (Ps 49; Is 66).

**[Peroration]**

This (Brothers in Christ) is our faith; which we understand to be attained not by human teaching or effort, since it is a pure gift of God given graciously to the world by his mercy and generosity alone, and sown by virtue of the Spirit in the hearts of those who are to be saved through Jesus the Christ (Eph 2). We have contented ourselves at present with a declaration and confession of its principal articles, so that through this confession we might be known as members of the true Church of the Lord, and admitted among those who might also be (Eph 2, 4; Col 1; 1 Pet 2; 2 Pet 3). But since we also

2 Pet 3). Mas por quanto conocemos también, que en este divino enseñamiento ninguno puede haver tanto aprovechado que no le quede mucho más por aprender, entretanto que se bive en esta vida, por ser el conocimiento del Christo (que es el principio de esta celestial sabiduría) thesoros de sabiduría divina, que no se pueden agotar (Col 1, 2); por tanto rogamos con toda humildad primeramente al Señor, cuyo proprio officio es darla, la augmente y arraigue cada día más en nuestros ánimos, hasta que lleguemos a la perfección que en el Christo nos es señalada, a la qual aspiramos (Eph 4). Segundamente rogamos, y exhortamos por el Señor a todos los que en esta fe nos son hermanos, que supporten con Charidad nuestras faltas, así todas las demás, como las que en esta nuestra Confesión podrán notar; y con la misma Charidad nos enseñen en lo que faltamos.

Para más claridad de nuestra Fe, damos en summa de nuestra Confesión a toda la Iglesia universal su commún símbolo de Fe, por el qual Creemos en Dios, Padre, Todopoderoso, Criador del cielo y de la tierra. Y en Iesús el Christo su Hijo, Único Señor nuestro. El qual fue concebido del Espíritu Sancto, y nacido de María Virgen. Padeció en tiempo de Poncio Pilato; fue crucificado, muerto y sepultado. Decendió a los infiernos. Al tercero día resucitó de los muertos. Subió a los cielos; está assentado a la diestra de Dios Padre todopoderoso. De allí ha de venir a juzgar bivos y muertos. Creemos en el Espíritu Sancto. La sancta Iglesia universal. La communion de los Sanctos.

acknowledge that in this divine teaching no one can have learned so much that he need learn little more, since as long as one remains in this life knowledge of the Christ (who is the beginning of this heavenly wisdom) is a treasure of divine wisdom which cannot be exhausted (Col 1, 2); in all humility therefore we first of all ask the Lord, whose proper office is to grant it, to increase and establish it every day in our spirits, until we arrive at the perfection which is shown to us in the Christ, and towards which we strive (Eph 4). Secondly, we ask and exhort for the sake of Christ all those who are our brothers in this faith to tolerate our shortcomings with Charity, as well as all other faults, such as those they shall be able to find in this Confession, and with the same Charity to teach us in that which we lack.

For greater clarity regarding our Faith, we give as a summary of our Confession to the whole Church universal her common Creed; by which we believe in God the Father Almighty, Creator of heaven and earth. And in Jesus the Christ his Son, our Only Lord. Who was conceived by the Holy Spirit, and born of the Virgin Mary. He suffered under Pontius Pilate; was crucified, died and was buried. He descended into hell. On the third day he rose again from the dead. He ascended into heaven; and is seated at the right hand of God the Father almighty. From there he shall come to judge the living and the dead. We believe in the Holy Spirit. The holy universal Church.

La remisión de los peccados. La resurrección de la carne. La vida eterna. AMÉN.

**APPÉNDICE**  
**Al Lector**

Ésta es (amigo Lector) la summa de toda la doctrina Christiana revelada de Dios a los hombres primeramente por sus Prophetas, y después por su Unigénito Hijo, al qual sólo manda a los hombres oyr, como a aquél que solo conoció y conoce enteramente toda su voluntad, y ante todos tiene el cargo de anunciarla en el mundo, para que por ella sepan los hombres el camino del cielo, y de la eterna vida, y se salven los que la abraçaren de todo coraçon, y con verdadera fe ordenaren por ella toda su vida, quedando todos los demás en eterna muerte y perdición.

Esta es la doctrina del verdadero Evangelio, que el Señor predicó, y confirmó con todos sus milagros, y al fin con su misma muerte y Resurrección; y la qual en su subida a los cielos encomendó a sus Apóstoles y Discipulos, que enseñassen a los hombres, como la avían oydo de él, dándoles ansimismo potestad de confirmarla con milagros y señales de tal poder, que testificassen de su verdad y certidumbre. Ésta es la que ellos predicaron por todo el mundo, y la que Dios selló y confirmó a su predicación (como el Apóstol dize) con señales y prodigios, y maravillas, y con dones evidentes del Espíritu Sancto, conforme a su voluntad (Heb 2).

The communion of Saints. The remission of sins. The resurrection of the flesh. Life eternal. AMEN.

**APPENDIX**  
**To the Reader**

This (dear reader) is the summary of all Christian doctrine, revealed by God to men firstly by his Prophets and then by his Only-begotten Son, whom alone he commands men to hear, as the only one who knew and knows his whole will completely, and who before all others has the task of announcing it in the world, so that through it men might know the way of heaven and eternal life, and so that those who embrace it with all their hearts and with true faith order their whole lives by it might be saved, while all the rest remain in eternal death and perdition.

This is the doctrine of the true Gospel which the Lord preached and confirmed with all his miracles, and ultimately with his own death and Resurrection, and which as he ascended into heaven he charged his Apostles and Disciples to teach to all men, as they had heard it from him, giving them also the power to confirm it with miracles and signs of such power as a testimony of its truth and certainty. This is the doctrine which they taught throughout the world, and which God sealed and confirmed (as the Apostle says) with signs and miracles and wonders, and with manifest gifts of the Holy Spirit, according to his will (Heb 2).

Contra esta doctrina se armó todo el mundo, y lo más poderoso y aparente de él, como lo hizo contra el Maestro y Author de ella Christo (Ps 3; Act), mientras él la predicó, hasta ponerlo en la Cruz por causa de ella, pero lo que el mundo sacó de esta su blasphema y loca empresa, fue lo mismo que sacaron los que por ella crucificaron al Señor, que fue, confirmarla más, y hazer que con su más pertinaz resistencia, a ella se aparejasse tropheo más illustre y glorioso de eterna victoria.

Esta doctrina así enseñada por el Señor Iesús, propagada por sus Apóstoles, testificada y confirmada no solamente con tantos y tan prodigiosos milagros, mas aun con tanta sangre de mártires, quedó en el mundo por único thesoro de la Iglesia Christiana, y ha quedado hasta oy, y permanecerá aún después que pereciere el mundo, porque por ser, como es, palabra de Dios, su natural es, como enseña el Propheta, permanecer eternamente (Isa). Enfurézcase el mundo quanto quisiere contra ella, conspire, concierte, acuerde, machine, ponga en effecto todos sus consejos, que todos serán dissipados y bueltos en humo, sin poder llegarlos al fin que dessea, *Porque con nosotros Dios*; y la promessa del Christo es más firme que los mismos cielos, *las puertas del Infierno no prevalecerán contra ella*.

Este aviso ha sido menester darte aquí (Lector amigo) para que nadie te haga entender, que ésta es doctrina nueva, que

The whole world, and that which is most powerful and conspicuous in it, has opposed this doctrine, as it did against its Master and Author, the Christ (Ps 3; Acts), while he preached it, even to the point of crucifying him because of it; but that which the world has gained through its blasphemous and insane undertaking has been the same as that which those who crucified the Lord for it gained, and that was to confirm it more, and to see to it that through their most obstinate resistance a more illustrious and glorious trophy of eternal victory was obtained for it.

This doctrine thus taught by the Lord Jesus, propagated by his Apostles, testified and confirmed not only with so many and such wondrous miracles, but also with so much blood of martyrs, remained in the world as the sole treasure of the Christian Church, and has remained until now, and shall endure even after the world perishes, since by being, as it is, God's word, its nature is, as the Prophet teaches, to endure eternally (Isaiah). As much as the world may become infuriated against it, conspire, bargain, plot, and put into effect all of its counsels, all shall be dissipated and turned into smoke, and shall not be able to arrive at the desired end. *For God is with us*; and the promise of the Christ is more firm than the heavens themselves; *the gates of Hell shall not prevail against it*.

It has been necessary to give this admonition to you here (dear Reader), so that no one will persuade you that this is

comenzó con Luthero, &c. Mentira es blasphema contra Dios y contra su Christo, que (como por el discurso de ella se vee claro) es su verdadero author, y defensor; el qual por su grande misericordia, y por el cumplimiento de su promessa, que le tiene hecha de eternidad, la ha querido restaurar y restituyr en nuestros tiempos de tanta immundicia y estércol de humanas invenciones y malditas supersticiones con que la ignorancia y temeridad de los falsos pastores y enseñadores de la Iglesia la han sepultado, como parece claro por sus indulgencias, jubileos, cuentas benditas, perdonanças, purgatorios, obsequias, anniversarios, invocaciones de sanctos, idolatrías enormes y inexcusables, profanación de sacramentos, con todos los demás abusos y engaños que aquí no podríamos recitar sin muy luengo discurso. Para limpiar su Iglesia de tanta suerte de immundicias, plugo al Señor servirse de Luthero, o de este hombre, o del otro. Esso nada quita ni pone en el negocio de la reformation, el qual por sí solo deve ser considerado y estimado atacarnos, sin a los instrumentos de que Dios usa, a los quales aun devemos agradecimiento por sus trabajos, reverencia y obediencia a su ministerio como al del mismo Christo, quando se nos provare ser nuestro el error y la tiniebla, y de Dios la merced y misericordia de sacarnos dél por tales instrumentos, quales a él plugo tomar para tan illustre obra.

Si el mundo aora resiste a esta doctrina, no es maravilla, porque no haze nada de nuevo, o de estraño a su condición,

new doctrine, which began with Luther, etc. Falsehood is blasphemy against God and his Christ, who (as one can clearly see from our discourse) is its true author and defender; who through his great mercy, and through the fulfillment of his promise, which he has made from eternity, has desired to renew and restore it in our times of such impurity and dung of human inventions, and cursed superstitions, with which the ignorance and temerity of the false pastors and teachers of the Church have buried it, as it seems clear through their indulgences, jubilees, blessed accounts, pardons, purgatories, presents, anniversaries, invocations of the saints, enormous and inexcusable idolatries, desecrations of the sacrament, with all the other abuses and frauds which we would not be able to recount here without a very lengthy discourse. In order to cleanse his Church of such a great manner of impurities, it pleased the Lord to use Luther, or this man, or another. This fact has no bearing on reformation, which ought to be reckoned with and understood to pertain to us on its own. They are instruments which God uses, to whom we still owe gratitude for their labors, reverence and obedience to their ministry, as to that of the Lord himself, when it is shown to us that the error and ignorance is ours, and God's the grace and mercy to take us out of it through such instruments, which he was pleased to use for such an illustrious work.

If the world now resists this doctrine it is no wonder, for it does nothing new or foreign to its condition, as would be

como lo haría si la abraçasse sin contradición alguna. Mucho menos nos deve espantar su grande diligencia en perseguirla, sus inquisidores, sus familiares, sus cárceles, más duras que la misma muerte, sus tormentos, sus sambenitos, mordazas, fuegos, y lo que al juyzio de la carne es más que todo, la vergüença de aver caydo en sus manos a título de Hereges. Porque todos estos son aspavientos y visages vanos, con que el diablo (que por ellos y en ellos obra) pretende espantar los que tentaren a salirse de su miserable captiverio a la libertad de hijos de Dios, que Christo los gane. Que si el Señor después de avernos hecho partícipes de su luz, fuere servido de llegar nuestra Fe a tales pruebas, escogiéndonos por mártires y testigos fieles de su verdad, beneficio singular suyo es, por el qual le devemos nuevo agradecimiento. Las mercedes y regalos especiales que nos comunicará en medio de tales pruebas serían más que bastante recompensa de todo nuestro padecer, quando no uviesses de aver otra. Pues cuál premio será el de aver sido compañeros de su vergüença y cruz? Salgamos salgamos con él fuera de los reales (Heb 13) llevando alguna parte del opprobrio que él llevó por nosotros, assegurados que si con él padeciéremos, con él también reynaremos. A él sea gloria, y Señorío eterno, que con el Padre y Espíritu Sancto reyna en los cielos, donde nos espera. Amén. AMÉN.

**FIN**

the case if it were to embrace it without any contradiction. Far less frightening for us should be the great diligence with which it persecutes it, its Inquisitors, its Inquisition officers, its jails more harsh than death itself, its torments, its *sanbenitos*, gags, fires, and that which (according to the judgment of the flesh) is worst of all: the shame of having fallen into their hands as Heretics. For all these are furious gesticulations and vain grimaces with which the devil (who works in and through them) pretends to frighten those who would attempt to escape from their miserable captivity to the liberty of the sons of God which Christ won for them. For if the Lord, after making us participants of his light, saw fit to bring our Faith to such trials, choosing us as martyrs and faithful witnesses of his truth, it is a blessing from him alone, for which we owe him new gratitude. The special mercies and gifts which he shall grant us in the midst of such trials would be more than enough recompense for all our suffering, there being no other reward. For what shall be the reward for having followed him in his shame and cross? Let us come out, let us come out with him from the encampments (Heb 13), carrying with us a part of the shame that he bore for us, assured that if we suffer with him, we shall also reign with him. To him be the glory and eternal Dominion, who with the Father and the Holy Spirit reigns in the heavens, where he waits for us. Amen. AMEN.

**THE END**