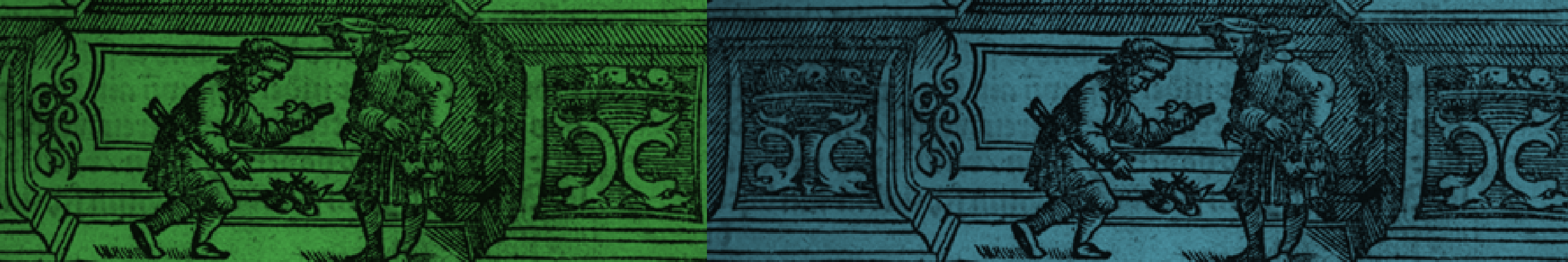


PIMO SEMINAR – WG2 IDEAS IN MOTION
BOOK OF ABSTRACTS

**SPANISH AND
ITALIAN REFORMERS:
NETWORKS,
LETTERS, MEMOIRS**

University of Seville
Facultad de Filología, Salón de Grados

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BOOK OF ABSTRACTS

(Alphabetically arranged)

Guillaume Alonge (Università di Torino) - *“Li fu rivelato Cristo, ma se ne stette in Italia”*: Celio Secondo Curione, between Exile and Nostalgia for Italy

Among the many Italian exiles *religionis causa*, the Piedmontese humanist Celio Secondo Curione seems to have a separate profile. Historiography has highlighted various aspects of his thought, emphasizing its originality. In light of the many influences he had during his years in Italy, and due to his encounters in his exile beyond the Alps, classifying him neatly as pertaining to one specific group is no easy task. Yet a careful reading of Curione's writings during his exile, when references to his Italian acquaintances are constant, on top of significant philological discoveries, strengthen the interpretation of Curione as, if not a direct disciple, at least a close follower of the Spanish heresiarch Juan de Valdés, and of the main heir and interpreter of his teachings, Marcantonio Flaminio.

James S. Amelang (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid) - *Memoirs of Mobility: The Spanish Protestants of the 1620s*

One of the more intriguing aspects of the Cold War between Catholic Spain and Protestant Spain in the early seventeenth century was the movement of confessional renegades—Catholics who became Protestants, and vice versa—between the two powers. In the vast majority of cases next to nothing is known about such individuals, and only detailed research in a wide range of archives— and a great deal of luck—could reveal some information on their experience. Yet in a small cluster of celebrated cases in the early 1620s, privileged information is available about at least three such passages in the form of printed autobiographies. The memoirs of Juan/Joan Nicolás (1621), Fernando Tejada (1623) and James Wadsworth the Younger (1629) not only contain unusually engaging narratives of the spiritual wanderings of their authors. They also shed light on the role autobiographical texts played in articulating and mobilizing confessional loyalties in a period of decreasing tension between two powers (and cultures), that had clashed head on in the previous generation.

Lucio Biasiori (Università di Padova) - "New to this religion": Prospero Africano, from Maghreb to Geneva

This paper examines the figure of Prospero d'Imperatore, a particular type of Italian exile for religious reasons. Kidnapped from the coast of North Africa at the age of three and sold as a slave in Palermo, after his release Prospero began a singular path of physical and religious mobility that took him through many Italian cities until he reached Geneva, where he was finally at ease in the company of the main exponents of the second generation of Italian exiles, from Niccolò Balbani to Galeazzo Caracciolo. Prospero was tried twice (the first time by the Spanish Inquisition, the second time by the Roman Inquisition) and sentenced to death in the early 1580s. His second dossier (of the first we only have the *relacion de causa*) is an exceptional source due to the substantial absence of defensive strategies. Although Prospero did not write anything in his own hand, we can use his declarations as a document of his self-fashioning. Through them we can ask interesting questions: How were the differences between the Spanish and Roman Inquisitions perceived? To what extent did physical mobility coincide with confessional mobility? What idea of Geneva and Calvinism could a cobbler born in North Africa have? How does the Italian heretical diaspora look like, if seen from a bottom-up perspective?

Michele Camaioni (Università Roma Tre) - "Apostles of Italy": Bernardino Ochino and Pietro Martire Vermigli's Letters of Exile

After the institution of the Holy Office in 1542, some hundreds of Italians abandoned the Peninsula and sought refuge in Basel, Geneva and other Reformation cities. Scholarship has pointed out the role of the Italian diaspora in the diffusion of Renaissance culture in Europe and in the conceptualization of the modern idea of toleration. Among these exiles were two noted Catholic preachers destined to become important figures of the European Reformation: the Capuchin Bernardino Ochino (Siena, 1487-Slavkov 1564) and the Canon Regular Pietro Martire Vermigli (Florence, 1499-Zurich, 1562). Called to Rome by the pope in 1542, they both fled Italy abandoning leading roles, beloved ones and Catholic faith in order to avoid persecution, quit dissimulation and finally preach the Gospel according to God's inspiration, as they explained in the works written in the first period of the exile. The paper focuses on this meaningful *corpus*, which includes handwritten epistles, consolatory letters, pamphlets and paratexts associated with printed sermon collections. The aim is to confront the rhetorical strategies, the means of self-representation and the narrative of exile developed by the two Italian exiled preachers in order to explain the reason of their flight and to facilitate their integration in the new Reformed communities.

Giorgio Caravale (Università Roma Tre) - *Exile and The Magic of Conversion: A Case Study of Francesco Pucci*

In the 1580s, a group of Italian Jesuits working closely with the papal nuncio Alberto Bolognetti launched a massive campaign to return the faithful of Cracow and Prague to Catholicism. This paper discusses this phenomenon by taking the Italian heretic Francesco Pucci as a case study. After having spent a few years at Lyon, the Florentine heretic decided to leave Italy in search of the 'divine truth'. His long religious pilgrimage across Europe took him from Paris to London and from Basel to Cracow and Prague. Two Englishmen played a major role in Pucci's five-year process of reconciliation with Catholicism: the astrologer John Dee and the magician and charlatan Edward Kelley, both of whom Pucci met in Cracow in the early 1580s. The paper will discuss a hitherto unknown account of this encounter, written by Pucci himself.

Lucia Felici (Università di Firenze) - *A Difficult Choice. The Exile religionis causa of Isabella Breseña, A Spanish Noblewoman in Italy*

This paper will analyze the life of Isabella Breseña (1510-1567), and in particular the period of her exile in the countries of the Protestant Reformation. Her biography allows us to examine the close relations between Spain and Italy in the sixteenth century, especially on a religious level, and represents an exemplary path of self-reflection on spiritual choices. In the letters she exchanged with her family, Isabella fully justified her decision to emigrate *religionis causa* despite the considerable difficulties of adaptation. It was a difficult decision, but one that was consistent with her conversion to the Reformation. Isabella, a wealthy Spanish noblewoman educated in Naples, had married the noble Spanish captain Don García Manrique. In the 1530s, she participated in the Neapolitan circle of the Spanish exile Juan de Valdés, who spread his spiritualist message among the cultural and social elites, an original synthesis of *alumbradismo*, and Erasmian and Reformed doctrines. Isabella then followed her husband when he was appointed governor of Piacenza in 1547, and helped him in the administration of the city to the degree that she was called 'governor of Piacenza'. She welcomed many heterodox, even radicals, into her court and implemented a pro-Reformation policy. Isabella chose to emigrate, but in the Reformed countries she experienced misunderstandings and problems due to her role as an unintegrated exile.

Ignacio García Pinilla (Universidad de Castilla La Mancha) - *Enzinas According to Enzinas. Autobiographical Notes of a Humanist*

Francisco de Enzinas (1518?-1552) cultivated the autobiographical genre in his *De statu Belgico deque religione Hispanica* (1545), written in Wittenberg immediately after his escape from prison in Brussels. In this work he recounts the events of the two most recent years, most notably his edition of the Castilian New Testament and his subsequent imprisonment for it. The work has often been called *Memoirs*, which is not entirely appropriate. In fact, in addition to his own experiences, the author describes the religious repression unleashed in Louvain and other parts of Belgium in 1543, and offers a picture of the degeneration of religious life in his native Castile and in the Low Countries, where he had lived as a young man. This paper will analyse Enzinas' portrayal of himself, contrasting or reinforcing it with the image of himself as seen in his correspondence. It will also attempt to understand the expository technique used in *De statu Belgico*, together with reflections on the models that may be at the basis of his conception of his own work.

Guillermo González del Campo (IES Severo Ochoa, Phd Universidad de Sevilla) - *Biographical and Ideological Traces of Antonio del Corro in the Two Editions of his Dialogus Theologicus*

Antonio del Corro published *Dialogus theologicus: Quo epistola Diui Pauli apostoli ad Romanos explanatur* for the first time in 1574. In 1587 the work was republished with numerous corrections and additions, which have received little attention from modern scholars. In the work, Paul's 'Letter to the Romans' is developed point by point in a conversation between Paul and the Roman who visits him in prison. But the dialogue contains much more than an exposition of the Epistle. So far, little attention has been paid to the meaning of the words of this dialogue once they depart from what is said in the original epistle. The aim of this presentation is to detect the traces of Antonio del Corro's biography and ideology masked behind these words of these two characters of the dialogue. The *Dialogus Theologicus* has so far not received any reading from this perspective. In addition, a first analysis of the particularities of the 1587 edition is provided.

José Luis Oriente Torres (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid) - *The Life and Travails of Juan Borgoñón: A Protestant Artisan in Sixteenth-Century Madrid?*

This paper discusses the case of Juan Borgoñón, whom the Spanish Inquisition prosecuted as a Lutheran on three different occasions throughout his life (in 1566, 1584 and 1596). Borgoñón was neither a cleric nor a reformer but a simple tailor and weaver who migrated to Madrid from the Franche-Comté in order to make a living. However, his presence left a mark on everyone who listened to him crying out against the clergy, papal bulls, or the doctrine of Purgatory. Despite that, he progressed in life and his beliefs never constituted any trouble until other non-religious elements came into play. This poses the question of whether Borgoñón was a Crypto-protestant or a Lutheran at all, even if in his case there are defendant depositions and witness statements—there are three declarations about thirty years apart from Borgoñón, a ‘inquisitorial autobiography’ of sorts. These documents provide us with an image of how ideological exchanges of a religious nature took place between ordinary people while under the ‘watchful eye of the Inquisition’.

Andrew Messmer (Instituto Bíblico y Seminario Teológico de España) - *The Catholic Protestant: Casiodoro de Reina’s Theological Self-Understanding*

Casiodoro de Reina (c. 1520–1594), the Sevillian monk who fled Spain and is best known as the first to translate the Bible from its original languages into Spanish, is one of the most recognizable names within sixteenth century Spanish Protestantism. However, despite his influential roles in, among others, Strasbourg, Antwerp, and Frankfurt, and in spite of the fact that he maintained correspondence with influential figures of his time, he remains an overlooked figure in standard treatments of sixteenth century history, theology, and politics. This is due, in part, to the fact that, aside from his Bible translation, his works have received little study because they have either only recently been published or otherwise still remain unpublished. This paper seeks to expand our knowledge of Reina by analyzing his letters, prefaces, and other autobiographical references from the perspective of self-fashioning, understood as the deliberate construction of one’s self in response to authorities such as the Church and State. While there are many facets of Reina’s self-fashioning that could be studied —his pastoral life, his service to Wilhelm IV, etc.— I will focus on his theological self-fashioning, especially as it relates to his controversies with the Reformed and Lutheran traditions. The main question I will seek to answer in this paper is: How did Reina understand and present himself to his ecclesiastical opponents and friends?

Jonathan Nelson (ProMETA, San José, Costa Rica) - *Spanish Evangelical Identities in the Prologues and Incidental Texts of Juan Pérez de Pineda's Translations Printed in Geneva*

Juan Pérez de Pineda (Córdoba c.1500-Paris 1566) was a translator, author, and editor of Protestant books in Spanish which he printed at Geneva during the brief mid-sixteenth century period when the Peninsula had an active evangelical movement. This paper examines Pérez's doctrinal self-fashioning through his often free re-working of other authors' material, as well as in his original preliminaries and other texts added to these translations, which constitute nearly one quarter of his total output (and which have remained largely unexamined). Of special interest here are Pérez's two Castilian editions of Calvin's Geneva Catechism: one printed in 1556 for export to Spain, and the other in 1559 for Spanish exiles in Geneva and elsewhere on the Continent. Both have heretofore been considered mere translations of Calvin, but in fact the editions are strikingly different: while the latter is a fairly faithful version of its Genevan source, the former presents itself as an original Spanish catechism, with no mention of sources, and departs significantly from Calvin's text in its emphases, suppressions, and reworkings of key subjects like the Church, faith, and the sacraments. Pérez edited with a free hand, and with two groups of readers in view, and his shaping of the texts reveals much about the author and those whom he expected to use his books.

Odile Panetta (University of Cambridge) - *Identity and Religious Polemic: The Case of Jacopo Aconcio*

This paper will explore the ways in which personal identity informed and shaped the writings of the heterodox Italian emigre Jacopo Aconcio of Trento (d. 1567?). With interests ranging across philosophy, engineering, and confessional polemic, Aconcio was among the most protean figures of the Italian Protestant diaspora. Over the course of his period in exile, he cultivated a network of relations with Swiss theologians, French and English philosophers, Spanish and Dutch religious exiles, and fellow Italian refugees, carefully curating his public image as a member of the European *respublica litterarum*. His encounters during his travels across Europe pushed his thinking in specific directions, drawing him into contemporary disputes over contested theological issues such as the Trinity, the source and limits of religious knowledge, and the legitimacy of religious coercion; in this context, his concerns and allegiances were molded in part by a strong sense of his own identity as a refugee *religionis causa*. At the same time, his self-fashioning as an intellectual provided him with a veneer of respectability which enabled him to put forward with impunity several radical claims, at a time when other heterodox Italians, from Bernardino Ochino to Valentino Gentile, were meeting their bitter end following open accusations of heresy for defending similar ideas. The paper will include, in appendix, four recently discovered letters addressed to Aconcio by prominent contemporary figures, from the French thinker Peter Ramus to the English diplomat Daniel Rogers.

Eduardo del Pino (Universidad de Cádiz) - *Exiled Spanish Reformers: Petrus Ximenius*

Pedro Ximénez (Petrus Ximenius, 1524-1595) studied Law and Theology at the University of Leuven, and after an extended stay in Italy, from 1555, he formed a reformist conventicle in Leuven, with which Juan Páez de Castro, Jean Matal (Iohannes Metellus), Andreas Masius and Sebastián Fox Morcillo were involved. Although he was appointed professor at the University of Leuven, the persecution of the Inquisition made him abandon his position. After being in the service of the bishop of Liège, he managed to become Professor of Philosophy at the University of Cologne (1570), a position he also had to leave in 1574 before the announcement of a pontifical audit of the University. Bonaventura Vulcanius (not a suspect for the Inquisition) replaced him. However, Ximénez did not leave Cologne. Instead, he went on to direct the city's Library. He also joined the Irenist circles of Georg Cassander, Jean Matal and Vulcanius (the latter briefly). For the Peace Conference between Calvinists and Catholics, held there in 1579, Ximénez wrote his *Dialogus de pace*. Despite the failure of the Conference, from then on Ximénez dedicated himself to what would become his magnum opus on religion and church reform, his *Demonstratio Christianae et Catholicae veritatis*, unfinished at the time of his death in 1595. His letters, scattered and unpublished in many cases, are a source of valuable material for studying humanist dissident movements and its networks.

Rafael Ramis Barceló (Institut d'Estudis Hispànics en la Modernitat, Universitat de les Illes Balears) - *The Genealogy of the Reformation in Pier Paolo Vergerio: Hispanic and Italian Authors*

This paper studies the works written by the Italian reformer and exile Pier Paolo Vergerio (1498-1565) with a view to analyzing which were the Hispanic and Italian authors that he invoked in his defense of the Reformation. Vergerio's work is a point of reference in the establishment of a genealogy of the Reformation by collecting authors who had written against the Papacy. In this sense, he not only echoed treatise writers of his time, but also sought medieval precedents, invoking authors such as Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Arnold de Vilanova, and Ramon Llull, as this paper discusses. It will be thus seen the influence that Vergerio exerted when creating a canon of reformers *avant la lettre*.

Pablo Toribio (C.S.I.C., Madrid) - *Conflicting Theology and Common Cause: Antonio del Corro, Fausto Sozzini and De sacrae scripturae auctoritate ("Hispani", 1588)*

In 1582, Fausto Sozzini (1539-1604) responded to Andreas Dudith's (1533-1589) doubts on the authority of the New Testament with a manuscript treatise written in Italian. Sozzini is traditionally considered the founder of Socinianism, the most influential antitrinitarian movement in the seventeenth century. By the time he composed this treatise he resided in Cracow, where he acted as unofficial spokesman of the ecclesia reformata minor, the antitrinitarian branch of Polish Protestantism. Sozzini's Italian original is now lost, but its Latin translation, *De sacrae scripturae auctoritate*, enjoyed considerable circulation. This translation, first published in 1588, displayed 'Seville' as its alleged place of printing and 'Domingo López, S.J.' as its author. The first edition also included a prologue which paradoxically contradicted one of Sozzini's main claims: namely, that Jesus' message as contained in the New Testament was the only source of valid religious knowledge and no additional revelation could exist beside this. In his private correspondence, however, Sozzini expressly disapproved of this edition, and particularly of its prologue. The responsible for it was in all likelihood the Sevillian exile in London Antonio del Corro (1527-1591). This paper looks into this episode and specially at the self-presentation issues involved, both from Del Corro's and from Sozzini's side, and explores the dimensions of the story as an example of collaboration, albeit partial and conflicting, between Spanish and Italian Protestant exiles.

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