CLIVE GRIFFIN

Journeymen-Printers, Heresy, and the Inquisition in Sixteenth-Century Spain

OXFORD

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For Sue

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Contents

Abbreviations and Conventions x

1. Introduction 1
2. Denunciation, Flight, and Arrest 26
3. Proofing the Printers 49
4. Foreign Printing-Workers in Spain 75
5. Three Young Men 92
6. Two Settled Printers 118
7. The Presses 156
8. Attitudes and Customs 192
9. Beliefs 215
10. The End 252

Bibliography 267

Index 289

Abbreviations and Conventions

ACAB	Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Barcelona
ADC	Archivo Diocesano, Cuenca
ADS	Archivo Diocesano, Salamanca
ADTA	Archives Départementales du Tarn, Albi
AHN	Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid
AHPS	Archivo Histórico Provincial, Seville (this archive has absorbed the older holdings of the Archivo de Protocolos, Seville)
AHPV	Archivo Histórico Provincial, Valladolid
blanca	coin equivalent to ½ *maravedí*
BNM	Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid
caja	box
carp.	*carpeta*, or file
ducado	ducat, equivalent to 375 *maravedíes*
exp.	*expediente*, or file of papers
IAN/TTL	Instituto dos Arquivos Nacionais / Torre do Tombo, Lisbon
Inq.	Inquisición or Inquisição
leg.	*legajo*, or bundle of papers*
lib.	*libro*, or book of papers*
libro de bautismos	register of baptisms
lliura	Catalan pound
maravedí	unit of account; 34 *maravedíes* were equivalent to one silver *real*, and 375 *maravedíes* were equivalent to one gold *ducado* or ducat
Of.	*oficio* or *escribanía*, office of a notary public
pieza	separate document within an *expediente*
proceso/processo	trial
RBM	Real Biblioteca, Madrid (formerly Biblioteca de Palacio)
real	equivalent to 34 *maravedíes*
relación de autos	abbreviated record sent by provincial tribunals to the Suprema of those appearing at local *autos de fe*

*The Inquisition's papers in, for example, the Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid, are conserved in both bound volumes (*libros*) and unbound bundles of loose documents (*legajos*); it is important to distinguish between the two because each series is numbered independently.

relación de causas	abbreviated record of cases sent more or less annually by provincial tribunals to the Suprema
Suprema	Consejo de la Suprema y General Inquisición, the Madrid headquarters of the Inquisition in Spain
ULHW	Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt, Martin Luther-Universität, Halle-Wittenberg

When a document is unfoliated, folio numbers are supplied in square brackets. However, when an *expediente* consists of a single folded sheet, folio numbers are not added (i.e. 'AHN, Inq., leg. 3070, exp. 130', rather than 'AHN, Inq., leg. 3070, exp. 130, fols. [1]^{r}–[2]^{v}).

The bibliography does not contain a list of manuscript sources. References contained in my footnotes allow any interested reader to locate the originals. Quotations from primary sources are translated into English. The trial papers report in the third person all the evidence given by defendants and witnesses; I often transpose this into the first person in order to make my translations read more naturally.

The terms Holy Office (Santo Oficio) and Inquisition are synonymous.

Most of the working men and women mentioned in this book were not Spaniards, but information about them comes from the records of the Spanish and Portuguese Inquisitions. In those records foreign names are invariably accommodated to a Castilian or Portuguese ear, and it is these versions which I use unless certain what their original form was. Hence, for example, the type-caster with whom this study opens was probably called Benoît Doucet in his native France, and he was generally known in Barcelona as Benet Dolcet; however, the Inquisition's secretaries in Castile recorded him as Benito Dulcet, and this is how he appears here. The only exception I make to this is the addition of accents to names which require them in Spanish or French, thus the Netherlandish typesetter Adriaan of Alkmaar, recorded in the Inquisition's papers as Adrian Gaspar, appears here as Adrián Gaspar; Pierre and Isabel Régnier are similarly given their accent. Although consistency would demand that the Parisian bookseller called Hernando should appear as Hernando de París, for this is how the French capital is spelt in modern Castilian, he nevertheless forgoes his accent which would look strange when referring to a Frenchman in a book written in English.

When referring to the Psalms the numbering from the King James translation is used.

Map 1. Places outside Spain and Portugal mentioned.

Map 2. Places in Spain and Portugal mentioned.

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1
Introduction

In the autumn of 1569 two humble foreigners were languishing in gaol in Catholic Spain. Benito Dulcet, a 26-year-old type-founder from Lyon, had been caught red-handed in Catalonia with a Protestant book in his pocket. In October he appeared before the Barcelona inquisitors and incriminated fellow printing-workers who, he claimed, shared his sympathies with the 'new religion'.[1] Two months later, a 41-year-old Parisian known in Spain as Guillermo Herlin was being interrogated in the Inquisition's prison in the Castilian city of Toledo some 350 miles to the south-west of Barcelona. Herlin was a typesetter who had been apprehended in the nearby university town of Alcalá de Henares where he had worked at his trade for some years. Whereas Dulcet had once been employed by printers in the Toledo area, Herlin, for his part, had previously worked at Barcelona. The two men certainly knew each other. Dulcet may even have included Herlin among those he denounced to the Barcelona inquisitors as co-religionists. In his turn, Herlin was encouraged by his interrogators to point the finger at the large number of craftsmen who had been his colleagues during a long career spent in the printing industry both in Spain and abroad. He maintained in his confession that many of these artisans shared his faith in the 'Lutheran heresy' for which he was himself being tried. He included among them Benito Dulcet.[2]

[1] Letter dated 4 Dec. 1569 from the Barcelona tribunal to the Suprema: AHN, Inq., lib. 737, fol. 58^{r}; that tribunal's account of its *auto de fe* of 4 Feb. 1571: AHN, Inq., lib. 730, fols. 133^{r}–137^{r}; and the trial of Pierre Régnier: AHN, Inq., leg. 112, exp. 5 [*olim* 57], unfoliated (henceforth 'Trial of Pierre Régnier'), fol. [16]^{r}. The record of Dulcet's own trial, together with most of the papers of the Barcelona tribunal, did not survive the sacking of its archive in 1820.

[2] Herlin's own trial-papers have disappeared, but his denunciations of colleagues appear in the trial of Enrique Loe: AHN, Inq., leg. 111, exp. 13 [*olim* 45], unfoliated (henceforth 'Trial of Enrique Loe'), fol. [3]^{r}; the trial of Pierre Régnier, fols. [3]^{r}–[4]^{v}; the trial of Pierre de Rinz: AHN, Inq., leg. 112, exp. 6 [*olim* 58], unfoliated (henceforth 'Trial of Pierre de Rinz'), fol. [3]$^{r–v}$; the trial of Pierre de Ribera: AHN, Inq., leg. 112, exp. 8 [*olim* 60], unfoliated (henceforth 'Trial of Pierre de Ribera'), fol. [3]^{r}; and the trial of Isabel Régnier: ULHW, Inquisitionakten Handschriften, Yc 2^{0} 20(3), fols. 179^{r}–232^{r} (henceforth 'Trial of Isabel Régnier'), fol. 189$^{r–v}$. For Herlin's arrest at Alcalá see trial of Pierre de Ribera, fols. [15]^{v}–[16]^{r}; for his incrimination of Dulcet see letters dated 5 Jan. 1570 and 12 Jan. 1570 from the Toledo tribunal to the Suprema: AHN, Inq., leg. 3070, exps. 2 and 3. Herlin described many of his fellow-workers as *luteranos*. The Spanish Inquisition, like its Italian counterpart, employed this term to refer to sympathizers with a broad spectrum of Reformist beliefs.

The denunciations extracted from these two Frenchmen sent shock waves through the community of immigrant craftsmen who constituted the labour-force of so many sixteenth-century Spanish presses. Acting upon the evidence provided by Herlin, the Toledo inquisitors painstakingly uncovered a network of foreign heretics associated with the world of Spanish printing and bookselling. Fellow inquisitors throughout the country were alerted, master-printers were closely questioned about their staff, witnesses were interrogated by the Inquisition's agents, printing-workers and booksellers were spirited away into custody, and thousands of pages of evidence were taken down and copied by the secretaries of the Holy Office. At the *autos de fe* held in Toledo from June 1570 to May 1572 at least seven foreigners associated with the world of printing and bookselling, or with those involved in it, were handed over to the secular authorities to be burnt either in person or in effigy.[3] Others were spared the stake but punished with varying degrees of severity, many being sentenced to be chained to the oar in the living hell that was Spain's galley fleet. This book is both an attempt to reconstruct the lives, personalities, and fate of these forgotten artisans, and an investigation into what their trials can teach us about the sixteenth-century world of book production in Spain.

Benito Dulcet, Guillermo Herlin, and the numerous printing-workers who fell foul of the Spanish Inquisition in the late 1560s and early 1570s were the wrong people in the wrong place at the wrong time. The prestige of the Spanish Inquisition had been at a low ebb before 1520; Luther proved its salvation, its countering of the spread of Reformist ideas leading to the restoration of its fortunes and, eventually, to its transformation into a key political institution of state. Through concerted propaganda, the Holy Office succeeded in associating in the popular mind what it called the *secta luterana* with the two faiths which, together with Christianity, had formed the religious inheritance of Spain: Judaism and Islam. Those two religions were generally loathed by ordinary Spaniards, and the Holy Office manipulated public opinion so that this hatred of other faiths came to embrace the 'new religion'. The mass of Spaniards was recruited into the campaign against a vague *luterano* heresy and the foreign bogeyman called Luther, willingly policing deviant ideas and behaviour.

The 1520s and 1530s had seen two distinct veins of Reformist thought in Spain. On the one hand there was an Erasmian humanism whose adepts sometimes shared little other than a desire for reform; many of them were associated with the peripatetic imperial court and the University of Alcalá de Henares. On the other hand, there was the illuminism of the *alumbrados*

[3] When the Inquisition condemned to burning those who were beyond its reach because they had either died or escaped, it would parade instead a painted effigy. This was ceremonially committed to the flames, as were any accessible remains of the guilty dead.

which originated in the nearby town of Guadalajara and stressed the individual's intimate spiritual life at the expense of the outward ritual of the Catholic Church. Both movements had attracted the attention of the Inquisition which suspected their adherents of sympathizing with some aspects of Luther's teachings. One of Luther's strongest weapons was his appreciation of the potential of printing to spread his ideas; printers and booksellers consequently attracted the suspicion of the authorities throughout Europe. In England, for instance, the Catholic cleric Rowland Philips would maintain in the 1520s that 'we must root out printing or printing will root out us'.[4] As for Spain, among those arrested there on suspicion of sharing the milder views of Erasmus was the famous printer Miguel de Eguía who spent two years in a Valladolid gaol before being acquitted in 1533 or 1534.[5]

In the first half of the century, however, many religious questions were still open to discussion in Spain and were debated by those who would never have doubted their own orthodoxy.[6] As the mid-century approached social tension was growing in Castile which had to finance Charles V's campaigns abroad against the German Protestant princes. The consequent resentment was channelled into popular xenophobia and an anti-Protestant crusade. In 1547 the new archbishop of Seville, Fernando de Valdés, who was an ultra-conservative and enemy of all forms of inner spirituality, was appointed Inquisitor General. When, a decade later, clandestine groups of individuals were discovered who were 'bound together by a common attachment to a view of Christianity that owed a good deal to the theological emphases of the Protestant Reformers' rather than to Erasmian humanists or *alumbrados*, Valdés would be ideally placed to take advantage of the ensuing panic in order to consolidate the Holy Office's prestige.[7] His intransigence was to find an echo elsewhere.

In 1552 the Treaty of Passau, which foreshadowed the Peace of Augsburg signed three years later, officially recognized Protestantism within Charles V's empire, putting an end to any hope of bridging the differences between the Catholic and Reformist camps. Positions hardened. During his long reign Charles had considered himself charged with a providential mission to unite Christendom and defend it from the infidel, bringing peace and

[4] Brigden 1991: 157. Philips's words were echoed, albeit with very different intent, by John Foxe many years later when several of the printing-workers studied in this book had recently arrived in Spain: 'God works for His church . . . not with sword and target . . . but with printing, writing and reading . . . How many presses there be in the world, so many black houses there be against the high castle of St Angelo, so that either the pope must abolish knowledge and printing, or printing must at length root him out' (Neville-Sington 1999– : 605).

[5] Kamen 1998: 85–90. On Eguía see Goñi Gatzambide 1948: 35–88.

[6] Gilmont 2002: 132.

[7] This judicious formulation is quoted from Truman 1999: 3.

justice to all his subjects, while his advisers promoted the vision of a universal monarchy which he would preside over as a Christian prince.[8] At the very beginning of his reign his grand chancellor Gattinara had impressed this role upon him, and poets would echo this optimistic vision, Ariosto prophesying in his *Orlando furioso* that the whole of Christendom would be 'a single flock under a single shepherd'.[9] By the 1550s that optimism had evaporated. The struggle had been an unequal one. Not only was the Turk threatening the south-eastern borders of the empire and the western Mediterranean, but the religious antagonism, dynastic rivalry, and political ambitions which fissured Charles's unmanageably dispersed composite monarchy had proved resistant to both diplomacy and force of arms. The extraordinary wealth and power which had been concentrated in his hands had largely been squandered, and much of Germany lost to Protestantism.

In 1556 the emperor abdicated his Spanish dominions in Europe and the Americas, retiring to the monastery of Yuste. He was succeeded in those possessions by his son Philip II who cast himself in the role of Defender of the Faith and was acutely aware of the need to repress heresy in his kingdoms. In Rome a former inquisitor, the implacable Cardinal Caraffa, was elevated in 1555 to the papacy as Paul IV. Shortly afterwards, in 1557 and 1558, circles of Reformist Spaniards were unearthed in two of Spain's most important cities, Seville and Valladolid, as well as in nearby towns.[10] The result was near-hysteria among the authorities and a well-orchestrated surge of popular hatred of *luteranos*, this animosity being so strong that when members of the Valladolid cell were arrested they had to be rescued from a furious mob by the Inquisition's own agents.[11] Fernando de Valdés obtained support from both the crown and the papacy, and spearheaded the attack against *luterano* heresy on several fronts. Philip was absent in Flanders, but his father was uncompromising in the instructions he issued from his retirement. His reaction was that of a disappointed man conscious that he had failed to stem the havoc which religious schism had inflicted on his possessions north of the Pyrenees and which he had witnessed in person at the very beginning of his imperial reign. He urged the Spanish authorities to show no mercy to the sympathizers with Reformist ideas who had been discovered so close to home and to extirpate heresy root and branch from the country before preventative action came too late, as it had in northern Europe.[12] The Inquisitor General needed no encouragement to mete out

[8] Elliott 2001: 707. [9] Headley 1983: 10–12.

[10] It remains a moot point whether the Reformist cells discovered in Spain in the later 1550s can accurately be described as Protestant.

[11] Novalín 1968–71: i. 299.

[12] Ibid. 300; Tellechea Idígoras 1977: 29.

what he himself called 'exemplary punishment'.[13] He appointed hard-liners to key inquisitorial posts and coordinated a relentless campaign of repression against *luterano* heretics which culminated in the famous Valladolid and Seville *autos de fe* of 1559–62. Those *autos* were dramatic public spectacles designed to emphasize the presence and power of the Holy Office in Spain and to create in the crowds a dread of heresy.[14] At the ceremonies held in the two cities during those critical years no fewer than 100 men and women were condemned to be burnt in person or in effigy for *luteranismo*, and many more were sentenced to lesser punishments for the same crime. Philip II was present at the great Valladolid *auto de fe* celebrated in October 1559 and publicly pledged to do all in his power to promote the Inquisition's authority.[15] Only a handful of supposed *luteranos* had been executed in Spain prior to those crisis years; the mass burnings at Valladolid and Seville are a measure of the dramatic impact which the discovery of cells in those cities had upon the perception of the threat posed to Spain by Protestantism.[16]

At the same time there was a determination to put a stop to the importation, printing, and circulation of what were referred to in Spain as 'silent heretics', that is to say, heterodox writings. In the 1520s there had been an attempt to prevent Luther's works reaching Spanish readers. In the mid-century this policy was strengthened and led to a symbolic book-burning at Valladolid in early 1558, a royal decree of September of that same year concerning printing and books, and Valdés's famous index of prohibited books and authors (1559), as well as to various attempts to control the production, selling, ownership, and reading of books.[17] Not only was printed material thought to be a source of danger, it had also been the key to the unmasking of the Reformist circle at Seville, for it was the delivery of a compromising letter and book into the wrong hands that had led to the Inquisition's realization that anti-Catholic propaganda was being infiltrated into the city. The man who smuggled this material into Spain was Julián Hernández (known as Julianillo because of his diminutive stature) who was in contact abroad with leading Seville heretics who had escaped the Inquisition. He returned to Spain on two undercover missions; on the second, when the Seville circle was exposed, he was captured and burnt.

[13] Huerga 1989: 4111.

[14] Bethencourt 1992; Kamen 1998: 205, 212–13.

[15] G. Parker 1979*b*: 99–100. I take the numbers for supposed *luteranos* tried and burnt at Seville and Valladolid in those years from Gil 2000–3: i. 338–50; Alonso Burgos 1983: 107, 114; Kinder 1998: 112–13.

[16] Kamen claims that only one Spaniard had been executed for 'identifiable Lutheranism' prior to 1558 (1994: 204).

[17] García Oro Marín and Portela Silva 1999: 79–81. On the book-burning see Pinto Crespo 1983: 166–9; on the dangers of reading see Peña Díaz 1999: 89; for the royal decree see Infantes 1999; on Valdés's index see Bujanda 1984: 90–120.

As a contemporary account of the affair put it, the thoroughly orthodox recipient of one of Julianillo's books 'was astonished when he opened it and saw that it began with a printed picture of the pope abasing himself before the Devil'.[18] Crucially, the Inquisition's intervention in the compilation of indexes of prohibited books also meant that it appropriated to itself the role of defining what constituted heresy.[19] Nevertheless, there was always a great difference between legislation and its enforcement. In reality there was no effective means of controlling the importation of the large amount of material printed in Latin and Castilian abroad, while the continued existence of separate kingdoms within Spain meant that legislation governing reading matter in one region was often not applicable in another, such differences providing convenient loop-holes for those concerned with the publication or importing of books.

In the light of the wars associated with Protestantism abroad and the perceived danger of a Reformist fifth column at home, *luteranismo* came to be seen in Spain not only as a threat to the faith but also to social and political stability. Religious uniformity became a central plank of state policy, and Valdés moved fast to consolidate the Holy Office's enhanced position as the bastion against the twin threats of heresy and subversion. As a result, the panic of the late 1550s brought the Spanish Inquisition papal authority for a widening of its powers. This coincided with improved funding which at last put the institution on a reasonably sound economic footing; the pope decreed that the income due to the first canonry to fall vacant in each cathedral chapter in Spain should be transferred to the Holy Office.[20] Valdés further heightened the Spanish Inquisition's profile by having one of the most important figures in the country, Bartolomé de Carranza, apprehended in August 1559, a mere four days after the publication of the Inquisitor General's index of proscribed books which served to terrify even the most orthodox of writers.[21] The arrest of Carranza was an extraordinary move. He had himself been an adviser to the Holy Office, had preached at *autos de fe*, and was an experienced censor of books which were suspected of promoting heresy. He had not only served as imperial representative at the Council of Trent (1545–63), but Charles V had also attempted to persuade him to become confessor to his son Philip. Although Carranza had declined that invitation, he accompanied the prince in 1554 on his journey to England to marry Mary Tudor. Carranza was particularly

[18] Longhurst 1960: 109. This description identifies the book as a copy of the Spanish translation of Bernardino Ochino's *Imagen del Antechristo* printed in Geneva but falsely claiming to have been authorized by the Inquisition; the offending woodcut is reproduced by Kinder 1990: 321.

[19] Gilmont 2002: 133.

[20] Novalín 1968–71: i. 302; Dedieu 1989: 214–15, 349.

[21] K. Wagner 2000: 97–105. The great Jesuit Francisco de Borja complained in 1559 'things have reached such a pass that anybody penning a book has to tread on eggs' (Cátedra 2001: 110).

favoured at the English court by Philip and Mary and was active in the Catholic Restoration, repressing English Protestants and burning heretical books at Oxford. By 1559 he had become archbishop of Toledo, primate of all Spain, on the nomination of King Philip who had by then succeeded his father. Nevertheless, Valdés had a charge of heresy brought against Carranza and was careful to ensure that the archbishop was tainted with guilt by association with the members of the Reformist cell in Valladolid, several of whom had alluded in their trials to his *Comentarios sobre el Catechismo christiano*. Carranza had written this work at the behest of the English Synod and the papal legate to England, Cardinal Pole, in order to bring the English and their clergy back into the Catholic fold. It had been published at Antwerp in 1558 with the king's blessing, yet it was made the centrepiece of the Holy Office's case against the archbishop. Although the reasons lying behind Carranza's arrest were tangled, Valdés's message was clear: nobody in Spain, however rich, powerful, and well connected, was beyond the reach of the long arm of his reinvigorated Inquisition.[22]

As these events of national and international importance unfolded, a more local history of the repression of heresy lay behind the tenacity with which the printing-workers who are the subject of this study were pursued by the Toledo tribunal. Toledo was Castile's second city, it was the seat of the largest archbishopric in Spain, and it constituted the kingdom's spiritual centre. Its Inquisition had played a key role in the persecution of illuminism, and it was at a Toledan *auto de fe* in 1529 that the most notorious *alumbrados* had been sentenced. Within its jurisdiction also lay the University of Alcalá which, in the early years of the century, had been so closely associated with Reformist and Erasmian currents. Later, at the time of the hue and cry in Seville and Valladolid, it was one of the Toledo inquisitors whom Valdés had instructed to apprehend Carranza, and the arrest had been made in the diocese of Toledo. Only one month after this momentous event a series of anonymous anti-Catholic verses were pinned up on doorposts in many quarters of the city. The following excerpt gives some idea of their content:

> Christians awake and open your eyes,
> The enemy of Man, destruction to sow,
> Has come, and it's only right that you know
> He's among us now, the Antichrist.
>
> Pope is the name of this errant son,
> He's not alone, this treacherous bawd,

[22] Carranza de Miranda 1972: i. 38–47. Carranza's trial dragged on at Valladolid and Rome during the whole of the period covered by my study. He died in Rome in 1576 shortly after abjuring his supposed errors.

His henchmen accompany him in hordes
All lurking beneath his papal crown.[23]

Copies were even found in Toledo cathedral. This episode had a profound effect at Toledo, where it marked the beginning of the local inquisitors' concerted persecution of *luteranos*. A witch-hunt began in the city and beyond, but it was many months before the author of the verses was eventually tracked down hundreds of miles to the south. He was a cleric based at Alcalá de Henares called Sebastián Martínez.[24] It transpires that Martínez was associated with those in Seville whose Reformist sympathies had brought them to the attention of the Inquisition. Many years earlier he had served the famous court preacher Constantino Ponce de la Fuente whose views were long considered suspect.[25] As a youth Martínez had also been in the employ of one Gaspar Zapata who had been instrumental in the clandestine importing of heretical books into Seville. At an even younger age he had served a blind cleric there called Gaspar Ortiz who, in the 1550s, was to provide Julianillo with a safe house on his secret missions.[26] When Ortiz was arrested in late 1558 at the height of the Inquisition's repression of heresy in Seville, witnesses testifying against him maintained that he was a long-standing intimate of three leading Seville suspects and that he had concealed from prying eyes manuscripts written by these learned acquaintances. They were Juan Gil ('Dr Egidio'); Constantino, Egidio's successor as 'canónigo magistral' of Seville cathedral; and Francisco de Vargas, Professor of Holy Scripture in the city. Since serving Ortiz, Zapata, and Constantino, Sebastián Martínez had travelled widely, visiting Germany, attending the Council of Trent, and being ordained. It was as an adult back in Spain and on the run from the furore he had provoked at Toledo that he returned to his old haunts in the south of the country. But he did not lie low when he reached what seemed to be the safety of Seville. Just as he had done in Toledo, he continued to distribute his heretical verses in public places, much to the dismay of the authorities and the outrage of orthodox Catholics.[27] However, Martínez was not able to act with impunity at Seville. He was eventually betrayed to the local inquisitors by one Cristóbal Álvarez, arrested, and imprisoned. After a lightning trial, a death sentence was passed on him at the Seville *auto de fe*

[23] AHN, Inq., leg. 3067, exp. 133. For Toledo's investigation into these flysheets see AHN, Inq., leg. 3067, exps. 131, 132, 133, and Schäfer 1902: ii. 107–14, 312–16.

[24] He should not be confused with the Sebastián Martínez who produced the 1558 royal decree on printing and two 1559 Valladolid editions of Valdés's index of prohibited books, as well as running presses at Alcalá de Henares and Sigüenza.

[25] Letter from the Seville tribunal to Inquisitor General Valdés dated Feb. 1562: AHN, Inq., leg. 2943, exp. 52.

[26] Huerga 1989: 4129–30, 4135–40.

[27] Zamora 1903: 217.

of April 1562. At that same *auto* other members of Seville's famous Reformist cell, which had been unearthed there some five years earlier, were condemned alongside him.[28]

It emerges from the papers of the Seville Inquisition that Sebastián Martínez's professional training had not been exclusively ecclesiastical. An account of the *auto de fe* at which he was sentenced describes him as a 'cleric from Alcalá de Henares and typesetter by trade who wrote, copied out, printed, and distributed many abominable and heretical flysheets and verses in Seville, Toledo, and elsewhere'.[29] Although the Toledo inquisitors mentioned only the hand-written versions of his rhymed heresies which he distributed round their city, he had evidently also set them up clandestinely on some sort of portable press and run off multiple copies. The Seville inquisitors reported that 'we imprisoned Sebastián Martínez on 1 February 1562 confiscating from him ten silver *reales* and some large saddle-bags containing scandalous flysheets together with the press and other tools used to print them'.[30] The Inquisition's panic over his case is only too understandable given its fear of the subversive potential of printing. It was Martínez's misfortune that, while many sympathizers of Reformist ideas had escaped the clutches of the Seville tribunal and could be burnt only in effigy, he went to the stake in person. Among those who were safe from the Holy Office's attentions were two of his former masters: Zapata, who had fled abroad, and Constantino, who had succumbed to dysentery in gaol.[31] As a youth Martínez seems to have imbibed more than Reformist ideas from his masters in Seville; he may well have also received the professional training which would lead to his gruesome end, for Gaspar Zapata was himself a printer.[32] Curiously enough, when Constantino had in his turn been arrested the Seville Inquisition found among his possessions printing equipment and possibly a press.[33] It may even be the case that the Cristóbal Álvarez who betrayed Sebastián Martínez to the inquisitors at Seville was the printer of that name who was indirectly associated with Constantino as

[28] Martínez's own trial-record has been lost, but it can be partially reconstructed from the surviving fragments of other Seville trials (Huerga 1989: 4124, 4139–40). For those sentenced at the Seville *auto* of 26 April 1562 see Gil 2000–3: i. 344–7.

[29] AHN, Inq., leg. 2075, exp. 2.

[30] AHN, Inq., leg. 2943, unfoliated, and AHN, Inq., leg. 4514, exp. 15.

[31] Constantino was burnt in effigy at the Seville *auto* of 22 Dec. 1560; Zapata was burnt in effigy at the Seville *auto* of 28 Oct. 1562; Ortiz was treated more leniently, being sentenced to ten years' reclusion (Gil 2000–3: i. 340–4, 348–9).

[32] Moll 1999: 6–9.

[33] Heretical printers or printing-workers appear more than once in the Inquisition's papers dealing with the discovery of the Seville Reformist cell (Huerga 1989: 4132–3). For Constantino's printing equipment see Gil 2000–3: i. 342. Before he was arrested, Constantino had deposited a large sum of money with the Seville printer Martín de Montesdoca who was about to abandon the craft and emigrate to the New World. It is possible that the printing equipment came from that source (K. Wagner 1982: 26, 132).

well as with colleagues in the industry who were close to the Reformists in that city.[34]

Only two years after Martínez's execution, the perceived threat of heresy in Toledo was again directly linked with printers, but this time with foreign practitioners of the craft. A cell of supporters of the Reform was uncovered in the city and ruthlessly repressed by the Holy Office. It was composed of some forty individuals, all of them French speakers and many from Normandy.[35] The group centred round the Tibobil brothers and an inn run by a Lyon gem-cutter and cloth-trader called Claudio Binçon. The Tibobils, who were printers of playing cards, were originally from Évreux and had worked at their craft in several French cities as well as elsewhere in Spain. Some six or seven years before their arrest in 1564 they had come to Toledo, married Spanish wives, and set up a workshop in the city's main square where they employed several compatriots. The playing-card printers frequented Binçon's inn where they would meet a group of like-minded cloth-traders who came and went between the Iberian Peninsula and France. They would all exchange news about their homeland, sing psalms together, and reaffirm their faith. The traders smuggled Protestant books into Spain hidden in bundles of merchandise, and those members of the cell who periodically went back to France kept the others informed about the progress of the Huguenot cause there as well as instructing them in the 'new religion'. Although these men managed to pass as orthodox Catholics in Toledo for many years, they were eventually denounced to the authorities. Their crimes and sentences formed the centrepiece of the *auto de fe* celebrated at Toledo in June 1565 after which at least six of them went to the stake and others were sentenced to serve many years as galley-slaves.[36]

Given this history, when the denunciations made by Benito Dulcet and Guillermo Herlin in 1569 and 1570 raised the spectre of another, but much wider, network of heretical printers, the Toledo inquisitors responded vigorously. It may seem that their alarm was excessive, but it was predictable. As we have seen, earlier in the century native Spanish illuminists and Erasmians had been thought to represent a danger to the faith. The authorities would have been only too aware that their potential for subversion went hand in hand with a long anti-clerical tradition in Spain, widespread ignorance there of the most basic doctrines of the faith, and even religious scepticism. In the late Middle Ages and early modern period at least some Spanish Catholics expressed genuine doubts about orthodox teachings, while ignorance of the key beliefs of the Church was still common much later in the sixteenth

[34] For Álvarez's contacts with printers like Zapata and Montesdoca, see Moll 2002: 87–94.

[35] Some, at least, appear to have been refugees from the fierce repression of Huguenots at Rouen after that city was taken by Catholic forces in 1562.

[36] Thomas, 2001*a*: 419–49.

century.[37] For instance, more than 60 per cent of the men and women questioned by the Toledo Inquisition before 1550 were unable to recite even basic prayers, while in the 1580s the rural masses did not know, or only half knew, the Pater Noster, Credo, Ave Maria, and Salve Regina. When questioned by the Córdoba inquisitors, ordinary Spaniards from that region who had no contact with the 'new religion' revealed cynicism about papal indulgences, the efficacy of praying to holy images, and such fundamental issues as the existence of purgatory and the necessity for confession to a priest.[38] Paradoxically, after the Council of Trent and the drive to teach orthodox beliefs to the faithful, popular scepticism and idiosyncratic interpretations of doctrine seem to have increased in Spain as the population became more familiar with that doctrine.[39] It is, then, understandable that the authorities should have feared that Spain might prove fertile ground for Reformist ideas, and the Holy Office's determination in the 1560s to deal firmly with any foreigners who harboured Reformist sympathies is entirely consistent with its earlier repression of Reformist currents among native Spaniards. Only with the benefit of hindsight is it evident that by the 1560s Protestantism, loosely understood, was largely confined, on the one hand, to a small number of Spaniards who, like Julianillo, had fled abroad and, on the other, to foreigners living in Spain. Those foreigners did not present any real threat in mainland Spain where they were largely isolated from the native population. Indeed, while many of them would not even have considered their views unorthodox, few had any deep-rooted commitment to Protestantism.[40] It was naturally in the Inquisition's interest to exaggerate the danger posed by *luteranismo*, but fear of the damage which could be wreaked by foreigners with Reformist sympathies was nevertheless genuine in Spain in 1569. Ever since the discovery of the Valladolid and Seville cells in the late 1550s, one of the Inquisition's principal preoccupations had been *luteranismo*, even if the number of native Spaniards tried for this heresy was by the late 1560s very small.[41] Moreover, in the latter years of that decade Spain was experiencing a period of crisis and Philip II became obsessed with the danger of heresy presented by foreigners or rebellious subjects at a moment when the country appeared to be under threat on several fronts.

The three French Wars of Religion in the 1560s offered a graphic example of how religious division could lead to chaos, and had given rise to the conviction that a Huguenot conspiracy had been mounted from

[37] Edwards 1988.
[38] Haliczer 1990: 273; Redondo 1986: 335–7; Edwards 1994: 440–1.
[39] Griffiths 1997: 99, 117, 120–1.
[40] Dedieu 1989: 350; Haliczer 1990: 290; C. Wagner 1994: 497.
[41] Kamen has estimated that fewer than a dozen native Spaniards suffered for *luteranismo* in the second half of the 16th cent. (1994: 204–5).

France and from Calvinist Geneva to subvert order and the Catholic faith in Spain and its possessions. Indeed, editions of Reformist works printed at Geneva and Antwerp for export to Spain, and Protestant psalters, which constituted such an important aspect of worship in the Reformed churches, were finding their way to that country.[42] Evidence given to the Toledo inquisitors investigating a Frenchman accused of *luteranismo* suggests that in the 1560s Reformist works were readily available from foreign booksellers in Spain, even if they had to be bought under the counter.[43] The Inquisition's headquarters in Madrid, the Suprema, as well as local tribunals, attempted to prevent the smuggling into the country both of heretical books and of supposed Huguenot agents who were thought to be poised to flood over the Pyrenees from Calvinist Béarn.[44] The language used in these years reflects the Holy Office's perception of the threat posed to Spain's spiritual health by the plague of heresy. The Toledo inquisitors, for example, wrote to headquarters acknowledging receipt of a letter which had outlined some of the subterfuges employed by heretics to wage this germ warfare upon Spanish orthodoxy: 'we have received both your advice about the stratagems used by *luteranos* to infect this kingdom and your command that we warn the clergy, priests, preachers and our agents to be on their guard'.[45] In 1566 when what seemed to be a Huguenot conventicle was discovered at Teruel in Aragon, the fear was expressed that the very air was infected with heresy which would carry the contagion from those areas bordering the source of the disease, France, to the rest of Spain.[46] Any *luteranos* picked up by the Inquisition's agents were severely punished in an attempt to prevent its spread.

Combined with this dread of Protestantism there was a natural suspicion of Spain's traditional enemy on the other side of the Pyrenees, and a perception that Catalonia was particularly vulnerable to heresy emanating from France. Nor was this suspicion felt exclusively by the political and

[42] Kinder 1975: 12–13, 39; Kamen 1998: 102; Gilmont 2002: 119–34. In Sept. 1566 the governess of the Netherlands, Margaret of Parma, sent news of a plan to dispatch to Spain 30,000 copies of works by Calvin. This was a fantasy, but an alert was nevertheless issued to provincial tribunals of the Inquisition ordering them to examine bookshops and to be on their guard (e.g. ADC, Inq., lib. 225, fols. 370^{r}–372^{r}). Two years later a Catholic merchant reported that he had seen large numbers of heretical books in Lyon awaiting shipment to Spain (letter dated 14 May 1568 from the Barcelona tribunal to the Suprema: AHN, Inq., lib. 325, fol. 68^{v}).

[43] C. Wagner 1994: 496–7.

[44] For Cardinal Granvelle's warning in 1567 that Huguenots were attempting to undermine order by sending subversive books to Spain, and the Suprema's alerting of its local tribunals the following year about the ploys used by the enemy to smuggle books into the country see Haliczer 1990: 287–8. In Feb. 1572 the provincial tribunals of the Holy Office were warned by the princess of Béarn of the danger of *luterano* ministers being sent to Spain in disguise (e.g. ADC, Inq., lib. 225, fol. 567^{r}).

[45] Letter dated 31 Jan. 1572: AHN, Inq., leg. 3070, exp. 130.

[46] Haliczer 1990: 287.

ecclesiastical authorities. Well schooled to identify religious orthodoxy with the national interest, ordinary Spaniards evinced a startling degree of xenophobia, the principal victims of which were Frenchmen working in Spain. This is evident from the trial of Antonio de la Bastida, a pressman from Albi in southern France. La Bastida was arrested in 1565 after having been denounced by his Spanish workmates at Sigüenza who accused him of uttering what were known to the Inquisition as *proposiciones*.[47] He was tried at Cuenca but released, only later to be caught up in the web of denunciations spun by Benito Dulcet and Guillermo Herlin, and rearrested at Barcelona in 1570 on the orders of the Toledo tribunal. During his trial at Cuenca not only did the inquisitors consistently link the charges against him to his origin as a Frenchman, but ordinary Spaniards who had worked alongside him accused him of heresy on the grounds that he was a foreigner.[48]

If Reformist heresies were seen as a threat to mainland Spain, there were good reasons in the late 1560s for Spaniards to fear the effects of such beliefs on their possessions elsewhere. Protestants were active not only in France and Switzerland but also in the Spanish Netherlands where rebellion, synonymous with heresy in Philip II's mind, had broken out in 1566. This first Dutch revolt failed, but a second followed hard upon its heels. To make matters worse, Philip feared that his wayward son Prince Don Carlos might be embroiled in the rising and felt constrained to arrest him in 1568. This coincided with the cutting of the sea route linking the Iberian Peninsula to Spain's possessions in Flanders; the culprits were a Huguenot navy, which operated out of the French port of La Rochelle, abetted by the Netherlandish 'Sea Beggars'. The duke of Alba had been dispatched a year earlier to crush the rebellion in the Low Countries; in the winter of 1568 ships carrying money from Spain to the Brussels government were impounded in English ports by Philip's sister-in-law Elizabeth who sat upon the English throne. Elizabeth subsequently closed the Channel route to Spanish shipping for eighteen months, thereby crippling Spanish merchants. It became virtually impossible for Philip to send troops or money by ship to Spanish Flanders.[49] Growing Protestant sea power was even making inroads into his colonies in the Americas.[50]

[47] 'Propositions' were erroneous statements about the faith which were not necessarily formally heretical but nevertheless did not conform to orthodoxy as defined by the Church (Griffiths 1997: 96).

[48] Trial of Antonio de la Bastida: ADC, Inq., leg. 235, exp. 3032B (henceforth 'Trial of Antonio de la Bastida'), unfoliated, fols. [18]^{r}, [36]^{v}, [56]^{r}. On Spanish xenophobia in general, and suspicion of Frenchmen in particular, see Dedieu 1989: 26–7, 295–6; Balancy 1990.

[49] G. Parker 1972: 57; 1979*a*: 123; and the somewhat different account of this episode in Lynch 1981: i. 311–12.

[50] The first *auto de fe* of the newly established Mexican tribunal of the Inquisition, celebrated in Feb. 1574, provides a cameo of the relation between the persecution of foreign printing-workers

As if this were not enough, alongside the threat posed by Protestantism abroad and the perceived danger represented by foreign Huguenots at home, another fifth column was thought to be active within Spain. In 1568, at a time when the Turk had made serious incursions into the western Mediterranean, the nominally Christianized descendants of Spain's Moorish population, driven to desperation by Philip's increasingly repressive policies towards them, revolted in the Alpujarras in the south of the country. This rebellion on home soil raised the spectre of Spain's being lost for a second time to Islam, for the troops needed to combat it had been marched away with Alba's army to fight the Protestant rebels in the Low Countries. In the event, despite the encouragement sent to the rebels by the sultan and arms shipments from his vassal the king of Algiers, the *morisco* revolt was contained with the aid of soldiers recalled from Naples. Nevertheless, hostilities in the Alpujarras would drag on until 1570 when Philip was obliged to reach a negotiated agreement with the rebel leaders for resettlement throughout Spain of the *morisco* population of the region.[51]

The problems of 1568–70 were, then, many-stranded. Their interwoven domestic, international, economic, political, and religious dimensions constituted the gravest crisis Spain had experienced for many years. Owing to a series of unfortunate coincidences, the artisans who are the subject of this book were denounced, hunted down, arrested, and tried at this very period. It was a time when it was dangerous to step out of line in Spain, any lack of conformity being particularly serious if evinced by a foreigner. As a result, the full weight of the Holy Office fell upon these hapless men and women.[52]

Historians have long known that the records of the Inquisition's activities in several countries are an important resource. The archives of the Spanish Inquisition, in particular, have traditionally been quarried for evidence of the persecution of those minorities who were accused of heterodoxy, such as the *conversos* (Jews who had converted to Christianity), the *moriscos*, and those sympathizing with Reformist ideas. More recently, use has been made

suspected of heresy and Spain's wider crisis at this time. At that *auto* English sailors, who had been captured on one of Sir John Hawkins's incursions into the Spanish Caribbean, appeared alongside Juan Ortiz, a French printing-worker (Medina 1905: 37–8; Greenleaf 1969: 163–4). For a full account of Ortiz's trial see Fernández del Castillo 1914: 142–245.

[51] Elliott 1970: 231–41; G. Parker 1979*b*: 102–9. On the crown's exaggerated fear of a *morisco*-Ottoman conspiracy see García Cárcel 1997: 13.

[52] 1566–70 was the most intense period of persecution of *luteranos* by the Toledo tribunal (Dedieu 1986: 181), the popular demonization of Huguenots being evident from the broadsheets peddled at this time in Spanish streets (Cátedra and Vaíllo 1988: 80, 97). Foreign book-workers also fell under suspicion in Portugal at about this time, see Baião 1909: 15, 150–1, and the three trials of the French bookseller and bookbinder João de Leão: IAN/TTL, Inq. de Lisboa, processo 1366 (henceforth 'First, etc., trial of João de Leão'). For contemporary repression at Venice in particular and in Italy in general see Martin 1993: 185–6; Caponetto 1992: 439.

of inquisitional records by quantitative historians, by students of the organization and administration of the Holy Office itself, and by scholars whose interests lie in the fields of social history and historical anthropology. The results of a quantitative analysis of the series of *relaciones de autos* (the accounts of *autos de fe* sent by local tribunals to the Suprema) and *relaciones de causas* (the summary reports, sent to the Suprema more or less annually, of the cases dealt with by each local tribunal) can, for instance, highlight periods when particular groups became a central concern for the Inquisition.[53] They also indicate that, except in those areas of Spain where there was a large population of *moriscos*, the Holy Office was largely preoccupied in the second half of the sixteenth century not with the major heresies but with attempts to remedy old Christians' startling ignorance of Catholic doctrine. This allows the concern with heresy, and in particular with the Protestantism on which foreign scholars of the Spanish Inquisition have traditionally placed such emphasis, to be seen from a more balanced perspective.[54] Historians focusing on individual tribunals have provided analyses of their organization, their inquisitors, their finances, and of the minor infractions—*proposiciones*, blasphemy, bigamy, superstition, witchcraft, and errant sexual behaviour—which were tried in them.[55] At the other end of the spectrum from the quantitative historians, microhistorians have subjected small numbers of trials to minute analysis in an attempt to construct a history of *mentalités*.[56]

In this book I combine a close reading of trial-records with an examination of the tribunals' correspondence in an attempt to learn about a group of working people. Although the men and women who are the subject of my study were investigated for their supposed religious convictions, my primary interest lies both in what their trials can tell us about their personalities and the lives they led, and in something that would have been considered by their inquisitors of, at best, only marginal importance: the role played by the army of foreign craftsmen in the history of the printed book in early modern Spain.

It was an excellent account of sixteenth-century printing at Alcalá de Henares which alerted me to the potential for the historian of early printing of the records of the Spanish Inquisition.[57] During research in notarial

[53] Analyses of these *relaciones* must be cautious because they provide an incomplete record of the Inquisition's activities (Kamen 1998: 198; 1993: 218–19, 258–9).

[54] Monter 1984: 705; Henningsen 1986: 67.

[55] e.g. for Galicia see Contreras 1982; for Toledo see Dedieu 1989; for Valencia see García Cárcel 1980, Haliczer 1990; for Catalonia see Kamen 1993, Moreno Martínez 1999.

[56] For the use of Spanish Inquisition documents to this end see Dedieu 1986. Classic studies in this vein, which draw upon documents from the medieval Inquisition in France and those of the Italian Holy Office respectively, are Le Roy Ladurie 1978; Ginzburg 1980.

[57] Martín Abad 1991: i. 105, 113–14.

archives, I had come across disappointingly little evidence about the humble artisans—as opposed to master-printers—whose labour made the great works of the Spanish Golden Age available to the reading public. Spain has many such archives and, with their inventories of private libraries, bookshops, and printers' equipment, as well as their records of agreements between printers, authors, publishers, and booksellers, they are a rich source for the history of the Spanish book. However, they provide only meagre information about workers, principally because such men and women seldom drew up documents before a notary public. It is, admittedly, possible to find in notarial archives the occasional agreement between printing-journeymen and their employers, or contracts binding apprentices to master-printers, but such documents offer almost no personal details. Seville, for example, was a major centre for Spanish printing during the sixteenth century, and its Archivo Histórico Provincial is a mine of information about the industry there. However, even the contracts between employees and their masters which are conserved in that archive allow us to glean little more about the workers in the industry other than that some of them were foreign.[58]

Notarial archives in other cities are equally unhelpful to the researcher interested in the artisans who manned the presses in sixteenth-century Spain. The Barcelona archives teach us that all but one of the nine apprentices recorded as having been taken on in that city in the period 1474–1553 were Frenchmen, but tell us little more about them.[59] The Archivo Histórico de Protocolos in Zaragoza has been quarried for evidence about the world of the book during the first twenty years of the sixteenth century; it transpires that during those years more foreigners than native Spaniards are recorded in the industry there, although the majority of apprentices seem to have been Spaniards. Nevertheless, they all remain shadowy figures.[60] That archive's records have, however, been drawn upon for an ingenious piece of detective work: in the 1540s the printer Pedro Bernuz was also a notary public at Zaragoza; he must have received his clients in his own press, because he frequently called his employees away from their labours to witness the legal documents he drew up. These documents thus record the names of many of the artisans who worked in various capacities in his press, give us an idea of the rapid turnover of his staff, and incidentally suggest that about one quarter of his employees, many of whom were foreign, were illiterate.[61] Some twenty years later

[58] Gestoso y Pérez 1924: 61–8, 119; Hazañas y la Rúa 1945–9: ii. 233–79.

[59] Madurell i Marimon 1955: 330, 392–3, 589, 743, 753–6, 884; 1973: 22, 156–8, 163, 190, 216–17, 232–3; González Sugrañes 1915–18: ii. 117–18.

[60] Pedraza Gracia 1993: 38, 40, 42, 44–5, 53, 80, 100–1, 195–6, 198–9, 203, 230, 236, 242, 244–5, 254–5, 280, 290, 293, 295, 312; 1997*a*: 203–6, 221–8.

[61] Pedraza Gracia 1997*b*.

several of those same men would figure in the Toledo heresy trials which provide me with most of the information for my study. Research currently being carried out in the Archivo Histórico Provincial at Salamanca is unearthing a large number of agreements between apprentices or workers and their masters in that university city's thriving printing industry. However, such contracts again offer scant personal details, although the names which appear in them suggest that a cosmopolitan workforce may nevertheless have been more than half-Spanish in origin, and that the apprentices trained there were predominantly Spaniards. As the documents which have been studied from this Salamanca archive cover most of the sixteenth century, the larger proportion of native Spaniards who appear in them may reflect the increasing participation of Spaniards in the industry as the century wore on.[62] Notarial archives, then, can give the researcher the names, wages, and terms of employment of some of those who laboured in the early presses of Spain, but they do not indicate what sort of people the workers were nor even, in many cases, where they came from. Other archival sources are scarcely more informative. For example, baptismal registers at Salamanca record a large number of men and women associated with the world of printing and bookselling in that city and in Medina del Campo. These registers are suggestive because they allow the researcher to trace networks of kinship and friendship binding together members of the book trade but, again, they contain a record only of names and occupation, not personal details.[63] The same is largely true of those printing-workers who acted as witnesses in civil cases and whose names are recorded in documents conserved in the Archivo General de Simancas.[64]

This paucity of information about the lives of printing-workers in Spain during the early period is mirrored elsewhere in Europe.[65] Some insight into conditions and practices in the printing industry during the early period can be deduced from accounts of disputes between masters and their workers or from the regulations controlling the industry. These ordinances fall into two groups: royal or municipal regulations published from time to time governing the presses and labour relations between master-printers and employees, and in-house rules drawn up either by the owners of presses or by the 'chapel' of printing-workers. The archive of the Plantin Press at Antwerp contains several sets of such rules, some dating

[62] Bécares Botas 2002.
[63] Portal Monge and Sena Espinel 1996.
[64] e.g. García Oro Marín and Portela Silva 1999: 256–7.
[65] For early modern Italy see Motta 1895, 1916; Dondi 1969. For France see Parent 1974: 178, 309–56. For the Low Countries see Voet 1969–72: ii. 309–56. For England after the 16th cent. we have McKenzie 1958, 1961, 1974, 1978; although his lists are unsurpassed anywhere for the number of apprentices recorded, they provide little information about those printing-workers as individuals.

from the sixteenth century. The punishments exacted for the exchange of insults between workers, and the measures designed to curb drunkenness and violence in the press suggest that such problems were commonplace among printing-journeymen, while the workers' own regulations provide evidence of their pride in their calling, their high level of literacy, and the provision they made for self-help and for aiding itinerant and foreign pressmen down on their luck. However, personal detail is again almost completely absent from these documents.[66]

If notarial documents, baptismal records, and regulations governing presses and their employees are largely impersonal, a more promising source are the writings of printers and printing-workers themselves. However, these are rare in the sixteenth century, and entirely lacking for Spain. The most suggestive account is that of the Basle printer Thomas Platter who wrote his autobiography in the mid-sixteenth century. He describes, for example, how he trained up anonymous apprentices until they could compose type in Greek and Latin, how his children helped him to fold paper in his gloomy premises until their fingers bled, how when demand was high his press worked seven days a week and he was obliged to pay his employees overtime, how his men went to bed late at night above the press but would rush down to the shop when they heard him coming to blows with a colleague, and how in times of war he had to take on workmen who were so unskilled that in frustration he decided to abandon the craft. But unfortunately these are mere passing details in his autobiography and he makes no individual mention of the men who worked for him.[67]

The fullest and most stimulating studies of printing-workers in the sixteenth century are those of Natalie Zemon Davis on the *compagnons-imprimeurs* of Lyon.[68] Davis draws principally upon a complaint published on behalf of the journeymen, regulations governing the presses, contemporary lists of Huguenots at Lyon, tax rolls, a range of contemporary writings, both fictional and memoirs, and notarial documents. She uses these sources to investigate two questions: first, what role social class played in the attraction felt by some inhabitants of Lyon towards the 'new religion' and, second, whether there was a correlation between an individual's willingness to participate in social protest and his religious affiliation. She answers these questions by examining one group of the *menu peuple*, printing-workers, during a period in which Protestants gained and subsequently lost the upper hand at Lyon, and concludes that journeymen-printers there showed a particular propensity to embrace the 'new religion'. However, rather than

[66] Sabbe 1937; Voet 1961. Voet's observation is eloquent: 'Plantin did not often have much to say about his workmen' (1969–72: ii. 357).
[67] Platter 1964: 110–11, 116.
[68] Davis 1957, 1959, 1966, 1981, 1987.

explaining this by their social class or putting their readiness to agitate down to their religious sympathies, she attributes the radical views of the journeymen to their occupation. She remarks upon these men's self-confidence, pride in their education and in the prestige of their craft, independence of thought, and solidarity, suggesting that this solidarity resulted both from their communal living and working, and from a need felt by a rootless group of workers employed in an industry which had no long tradition and who took their skills wherever there was a demand for their labour. The confraternities they founded gave these itinerant journeymen a sense of belonging as well as a framework within which to organize celebrations, to sustain a society for mutual aid, and to coordinate agitation over pay and conditions. Davis maintains that the 'new religion', with its sense of fellowship among equals, proved attractive to men whose decision to enter a new craft which relied upon cooperative labour resulted in their having little love of Catholicism with its traditional hierarchies. As they travelled from city to city in search of employment the *compagnons-imprimeurs* were imbued with a tolerance of colleagues who held different beliefs from their own. Moreover, she conjectures that the very nature of their work and their contact with men of learning fostered in them a respect for ideas and for reading, especially of the scriptures, resulting in their having the confidence to challenge the orthodox beliefs of their upbringing.

It is certainly the case that a remarkable number of Lyon's printing-workers became Protestants. Before 1540 the Reformist tendency in the world of the book in that city had largely been discreet. Throughout the 1540s and 1550s the proportion of members of the industry there who were attracted to the 'new religion' grew. Publishers, master-printers, and booksellers who were sympathetic to Reformist ideas had tended to adopt a moderate stance which aspired to a spiritual renewal within the framework of the Catholic Church, but as time went on they became more audacious in producing openly Reformist editions and propaganda. Nevertheless, their views still tended to be varied and nuanced. The Reformist *compagnons-imprimeurs*, on the other hand, were more straightforwardly and openly hostile to the Catholic Church's power and rituals.[69] By the mid-1550s, the majority of people employed in the industry at Lyon appear to have been sympathetic to the Reform, and when the short-lived Protestant government took over the city in 1562 it was supported not only by many of the *compagnons* but also by some of the city's leading publishers, printers, and booksellers.[70]

[69] Gilmont (forthcoming).

[70] For the booksellers who became members of the Calvinist Consistory at Lyon see Gascon 1971: ii. 479. Even after the defeat of Protestant government at Lyon in 1563, booksellers and printers continued to form the first rank of supporters of the Reformed religion there (Gascon 1971: ii. 518).

Considering the city's large population, the international importance of its four annual fairs, the dynamism of its book production which dwarfed that of any contemporary Spanish printing centre, and its proximity to Calvinist Geneva, Lyon was not a typical case. However, many of Davis's conclusions about the attraction of the 'new religion' to printing-workers are mirrored by subsequent research into two important northern European cities which were also centres of Reformist printing: Rouen and Antwerp.[71]

The sources Davis uses in her various studies of printing at Lyon furnish evidence about the number of men employed in Lyon's printing-workshops, about the relation between publishing book-merchants, printer-publishers, master-printers, booksellers, printing-workers, and apprentices, and about certain aspects of working conditions in the presses. Her documents provide some information about the social and geographical origins of the Lyon printing-workers, their poverty, their level of literacy, and their penchant for violence. These sources even give her some grounds for speculation about the attitudes and aspirations of sixteenth-century printing-workers in general. However, although far richer than the notarial and other sorts of documents discussed above, they still suffer serious shortcomings. First, they provide insights into the printing-workers of Lyon as a group but little into them as individuals. Second, Davis's picture of the lives and attitudes of the Lyon *compagnons* is largely based on conjecture, for even her wide range of sources provides little solid evidence for some of the aspects of the lives of the printers' journeymen about which she speculates.[72]

Historians of the early printed book have thus been faced with an intractable problem. They come across the fingerprints of the humble men who produced the books they daily handle; quite literally, inky fingers and thumbs have left their mark, while the pressmen's hairs have sometimes been caught in the drying ink of the printed letters. They have, then, the sort of clues modern forensic investigation would seize upon, yet the archives have rendered up only tantalizing fragments of evidence which are almost impossible to piece together into a coherent picture.[73] Given the lack of detail to be gleaned from all these sources, the brief references made by Julián Martín Abad in his study of printing at Alcalá de Henares to the inquisitional trials of two foreign typesetters who had worked at Alcalá in the 1560s were immediately striking. When I came to read the trial-papers

[71] Benedict 1981: 80, 90; Marnef 1994: 154; 1996: 181–2.

[72] In much of her work Davis, in common with many historians attracted by microhistory, meditates upon the role of conjecture and uncertainty in the writing of history (Ginzburg 1988; Amelang 1995: 310–11).

[73] Evidence for later periods, especially outside Spain, is far fuller; see Chartier 1971; Rychner 1976, 1979, 1986; Barber 1980; Darnton 1985: 79–104.

for myself, I was astonished by the wealth of information they provide about the itinerant artisans associated with the Spanish printing industry in the sixteenth century. For example, the records make reference to the family background of these two young men, their social origins, education, professional training, and their careers in northern Europe before they crossed into Spain. They also teach us something of the working practices of Spanish presses, wages, the workers' age, marital status, friends, enemies, habits, pastimes, attitudes, fears, ambitions, the languages they spoke, the clothes they were wearing when they were arrested, how much money they had in their pockets at that time, and even their physical appearance. A pilot study in Madrid's Archivo Histórico Nacional revealed that complete records of other such trials survive. Martín Abad was not the first to have consulted some of them: Lea and Schäfer had referred to several of the cases but, typical of the time at which those great pioneers of Inquisition history were writing, their interest in these men and women was as Protestant victims of the Holy Office.[74] Much more recently Thomas has studied an impressive number of trials of foreigners in sixteenth-century Spain including several of those mentioned in this book. However, the focus of his research is not upon what the Inquisition's papers can tell us about the occupations of its victims in general nor about the printing-industry in particular.[75] It was therefore evident that the inquisitional trials of printing-workers were a unique and unexploited source for the history of the book in Spain.

Losses of the Spanish Inquisition's papers have been uneven, in particular since the sacking of its provincial archives in the early decades of the nineteenth century. Unfortunately, the trial-records of tribunals in major cities such as Seville, Valladolid, and Barcelona have almost entirely disappeared. Most of the surviving papers of the local tribunals, as well as of the institution's headquarters, are now conserved in the Archivo Histórico Nacional.[76] It is in that archive that I have examined the majority of trials of the men and women connected with the world of Spanish printing and bookselling who are studied here. Some other cases have, however, been found in the Archivo Diocesano at Cuenca, in the Arquivos Nacionais/Torre do Tombo at Lisbon, and in the Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt, Martin-Luther-Universität, Halle-Wittenberg.[77]

[74] Lea 1906–7: iii. 457; Schäfer 1902: ii. 92–9, 160–70; Pérez Pastor had previously mentioned some of the cases in passing (1887: p. xix; 1895: 435–6).

[75] Thomas 2001*a*, 2001*b*.

[76] The Archivo Histórico Nacional now holds many of the papers which, in their day, Lea and Schäfer recorded as being in the Archivo General at Simancas.

[77] For a survey of the surviving records of the Spanish Inquisition and their current whereabouts see Pérez Villanueva and Escandell Bonet 1984–2000: i. 58–89.

The documentation on which this study is based presents a range of difficulties. Most importantly, it is very incomplete. The full accounts of relatively few inquisitional trials survive, and this holds true for those of most of the men and women mentioned in the following pages. I have thus been obliged to reconstruct many of these trials as best I can. Fortunately the Suprema's archive is much fuller, and its papers contain long series of the *relaciones de causas* and *relaciones de autos* mentioned earlier. These allow information contained in the lost trials to be recuperated, in some cases from a few tantalizing details and, in others, from the large number of references scattered here and there in various series of documents. Apart from the *relaciones*, I have drawn upon related trials, eye-witness accounts of *autos de fe*, and the copious correspondence between the various provincial tribunals or between those tribunals and headquarters.

The piecing together of references to the printing-workers is particularly problematic because they were foreigners, and their names were apt to be distorted by the Inquisition's secretaries. Names also present more serious problems: as we would expect, foreign workers at this period were not generally known in Spain by the names they would have used in their own country, but rather by a Hispanicized version of their Christian name combined with their place or country of origin. Thus a French typesetter doubtless called Jean is merely referred to, and indeed signs his own name as, Juan Franco, that is 'John the Frenchman'. On occasion, place of origin is accommodated to a Spanish ear. A Netherlandish typesetter who fell foul of the Holy Office seems to have been known in Spain as Adrián Gaspar; however, one witness casually mentioned that some people called him 'Adrián Alocomar', suggesting that he had originated from Alkmaar in what is now northern Holland. This unfamiliar place-name was transformed by his workmates into a common Spanish surname—Gaspar—which sounded somewhat similar. In the literature of the time the names of fictional characters are notoriously unstable; the same is true of these documents in which individuals frequently go by several names which are used indifferently by their colleagues. For example, a Flemish typesetter appears variously as Pedro de Anvers, indicating that he was from Antwerp, Pedro impresor, or Pedro Alberto. On the other hand, a single name could be shared by more than one person. To add to the confusion, it was common everywhere at this time for humble men and women to be known by nicknames, and the foreign printing-workers studied here are no exception. Such confusion of names and nicknames makes it virtually impossible to trace any of these men in archives outside the Iberian Peninsula, for they would generally have gone by different names in other countries. On occasion it even makes it difficult to collate references to what were probably the same individuals working within Spain under different names, in different places, and at different

times. The inquisitors ran up against just the same problems and spent a good deal of time trying to sort them out.[78] If some immigrants were known by nicknames or different names from those they would have used in their own countries, others deliberately adopted aliases to cover their tracks. In 1562 Adrián Gaspar from Alkmaar had been arrested by the Zaragoza tribunal on suspicion of *luteranismo*, found guilty, and sentenced to a public flogging followed by four years' service as a galley-slave. However, when the galley in which he was rowing went down near the coast, he managed to extricate himself and swim to safety. Avoiding immediate recapture, he took a new name and set about looking for work in the Barcelona presses. He subsequently worked under this assumed identity for printers in Aragon and Castile, was arrested by the Toledo Inquisition as a result of Guillermo Herlin's denunciations, and eventually appeared at the small Toledo *auto* of August 1570.[79] Although names present considerable difficulties to the researcher, over 200 men and women connected to the world of the printed book are mentioned in these trials and associated documents. Many of them can be reliably identified, and their appearance in dated and detailed records allows us to add to the history of early Spanish printing information about hitherto unknown presses and editions issuing from them, as well as a host of previously anonymous printing-workers.

The incompleteness of the surviving archival documentation and the confusion caused by some of the names which appear in it are not, however, the principal problems presented by these sources. The Inquisition's records need to be read with caution for several further reasons. Not surprisingly, defendants were, at best, economical with the truth. When, for example, the young Flemish typesetter Enrique Loe was asked at the beginning of his trial to give a brief account of his life, he passed over in silence the time he spent working in a French press while on his way from Antwerp to Spain. It was only subsequently in his trial when answering an unrelated question that he let slip the information that he had been employed for six weeks by a Protestant printer and propagandist in the Calvinist city of La Rochelle.[80] More frequently, prisoners deliberately lied to their interrogators. All the printing-workers and their associates began by denying that they were anything other than thoroughly orthodox Catholics; only gradually, as their trials proceeded, were they induced to admit to heretical doubts and beliefs. Yet it is by no means certain in every case that their confessions were entirely trustworthy.

[78] Trial of Pierre de Ribera, fol. [20]^{r}; trial of João de Leão, fols. 134^{v}–135^{r}.

[79] *Relación de auto* of Zaragoza tribunal, Nov. 1562: AHN, Inq., lib. 988, fol. 97^{v}; trial of Isabel Régnier, fols. 195^{v}–196^{r}, 215^{r}; trial of Enrique Loe, fol. [28]^{r}; trial of Pierre de Ribera, fol. [8]^{r}; and *relación de causas* of Toledo tribunal for 1570: AHN, Inq., leg. 2105, caja 1, exp. 8.

[80] Trial of Enrique Loe, fols. [12]^{v}–[13]^{r}.

As we shall see in Chapter 3, the Inquisition laid great emphasis on secrecy; this not only had its own justification because of the sort of investigations the inquisitors were conducting but was also one of the strengths of the institution, because it ensured that the Holy Office managed to have an impact in Spain incommensurate with its limited financial resources and levels of staffing. Moreover, this secrecy meant that those who disappeared into its prisons were all the more frightened because they had little notion of what to expect from their trials. One result of their predicament was that the accused were disorientated and suggestible, and they would often tell their interrogators what they imagined those interrogators wished to hear rather than necessarily telling the truth. The researcher can therefore take neither their confessions nor their accusations of others at face value.

There is a further reason why inquisitional papers are not straightforward to interpret. While the defendants' testimony itself could be misleading, the trial-papers which record it are not neutral. The inquisitors were educated men, legalistically minded bureaucrats in the main, who were often called upon to question prisoners whose world-view differed in important respects from their own. As they attempted to make sense of the responses they were given, the inquisitors viewed what they conceived of as heretical beliefs through the lens of their own preconceptions and in the light of the Holy Office's own agenda. The trial-records, which were composed by secretaries who shared those preconceptions, could be equally distorted. Although as we read the trials we can gain an impression of hearing defendants speaking in their own voices, we nevertheless see their cases through a glass, darkly. This is because the records are not transcripts of the inquisitors' questions and the defendants' responses, for the secretaries would often summarize and order what witnesses and defendants said. Those responses were also influenced by what sort of questions were asked and how those questions were framed. For example, the *discursos de la vida*—the autobiographical sketches required from all defendants facing serious charges from about 1560 onwards—offer unique insights into the lives of sixteenth-century artisans and may appear to be spontaneous narratives. In reality they were a compilation of responses elicited by a standardized questionnaire (I provide a sample *discurso de la vida* in Chapter 5). It is therefore difficult to reconstruct what might actually have been said and, more problematical still, meant by defendants.[81]

For all these reasons the documents on which this study is based have to be handled with circumspection. However, this does not mean that they cannot furnish reliable information about the sixteenth-century world of the book and those engaged in its production; indeed, what witnesses and

[81] On the refraction of defendants' answers through the minds of the inquisitors and their secretaries see Contreras 1982: 571–6. For a balanced view of the wider debate about the reliability of inquisitional records see García Cárcel 2003.

defendants are recorded as saying about their craft and their professional lives is likely to be largely trustworthy for two reasons. First, they would often have had little motive to lie about such matters. Second, when inquisitors were bewildered by defendants' responses or were not particularly interested in them because those responses were irrelevant to their immediate purpose of rooting out heresy, they and their secretaries were unlikely to distort what they were told by filtering it through their own prejudices. The trial-papers can therefore prove most transparent when recording information marginal to the trials' purpose.[82] Some of this information emerges from asides and chance comments made by witnesses and defendants which the Holy Office's scribes dutifully recorded. They may have been of little interest to the prosecution, but they are central to my concerns.

I use these sources outlined above to tell the story of the dismantling of a network of immigrants working in the printing industry in the Iberian Peninsula during the 1560s and 1570s. After reconstructing in Chapter 2 their discovery, flight, arrest, trials, and the particular problems which arose for the Toledo and other tribunals as they were hunted down, in the following chapter I outline the trial procedure these journeymen-printers and their associates underwent. Chapter 4 seeks to explain why such a large number of foreign artisans were attracted to Spain in those fraught years and why they were so vulnerable to the attention of the Inquisition, while the following two chapters are a detailed study of the lives and careers of five representative printing-workers who fell into the Holy Office's hands. Those men, and many others like them, provide an unusual perspective 'from below' on the presses and their staff at a time when printing was radically changing the face of Europe. They describe their family origin, upbringing and education, professional training, and their chequered careers both abroad and in the Iberian Peninsula. Chapter 7 discusses what the inquisitional papers can teach us about the nature and practices of the presses in which those journeymen had been employed, while Chapters 8 and 9 examine the attitudes of these foreign artisans and what we can surmise about their religious beliefs. The final chapter follows them through the *autos de fe* at which they were sentenced and, in some cases, beyond. This study, then, reconstructs the lives and fate of otherwise anonymous artisans, while providing a new perspective on the sixteenth-century world of book production in Spain and, by extension, in western Europe.

[82] Cf. Ginzburg 1989: 163; Dedieu 1986: 168. On the usefulness of official documents to researchers investigating matters the compilers of those records would never have dreamt of see Sharpe 1991: 31.

2
Denunciation, Flight, and Arrest

At the time of the printers' arrests the Toledo tribunal of the Holy Office was not only in a hawkish and xenophobic mood, it was also seriously overstretched. Since the early 1560s much of its energy had been invested in the trial of a star defendant. Dr Sigismondo Arquer was a brilliant jurist, theologian, historian, geographer, poet, and humanist who had been educated in Italy and lived for several years in Spain, but had also spent time in Zurich, Basle, and at the peripatetic court of Charles V in northern Europe. Arquer was admired by Philip II for his wide culture and his juridical expertise, being appointed procurator to the Council of Aragon in his native Sardinia where he had a brush with the Holy Office in the 1550s. Although he had not minced his words in his *Sardiniae brevis historia et descriptio* when describing the shortcomings of the island's inquisitors and clergy, on that occasion the charges against him were dismissed as being trumped up by the many powerful enemies he had made in his homeland.[1]

On his travels Arquer had made the acquaintance of Protestant intellectuals and publishers and renewed his contact with those Reformist ideas he had first encountered as a student in Italy. More importantly he became a close friend of Gaspar de Centelles y Moncada, a Spanish noble who had surrounded himself with humanists and built up a fine library of scholarly and Erasmian works in his palace at Pedralba, outside Valencia, to which he retired, maintaining a voluminous correspondence with like-minded thinkers. When Centelles was arrested by the Valencian tribunal of the Holy Office, this correspondence was seized. A series of letters which Arquer had written to him attracted the Inquisition's attention. They were cautiously expressed, but were shot through with Arquer's confidence in the possibility of a direct spiritual relationship with God who would enlighten the elects' understanding of the scriptures, and with a particularly Italian spirituality which was considered suspect by the Holy Office in Spain. They were also imbued with echoes of Erasmus's *philosophia Christi*, the works of Juan de Valdés, and a language and tone which the Toledo inquisitors considered characteristic of *luteranismo*.

[1] Firpo 1993: 417.

Arquer was a member of an international intellectual élite who were confident that, as long as they were sufficiently discreet, they could remain within the Catholic Church yet follow their own convictions. Such optimism was misplaced in an increasingly intolerant world. Centelles was found guilty of *luteranismo* and went to the stake. Arquer was arrested in 1563 and spent more than eight years in gaol at Toledo. His trial dragged on for so long in part because he had powerful friends, something which failed to endear him to his interrogators. He was a difficult prisoner who defended himself every inch of the way but, because of his connections, had to be treated with some circumspection by his prosecutors, yet his verbosity, arrogance, and studied evasiveness could scarcely fail to exasperate them. His case was one of the most sensational to be investigated by the Toledo tribunal, and its culmination was equally spectacular. After undergoing severe torture, Arquer was sentenced to death at the Toledo *auto de fe* of June 1571. There were problems right up to the end: when it was suggested that he be strangled at the stake—a mercy normally reserved for condemned prisoners who showed contrition—the mob, incensed by Arquer's lack of repentance, demanded that he be burnt alive. A scuffle ensued during which he was wounded, eventually being committed to the flames half dead. This cosmopolitan scholar who had held high office of state was burnt alongside the only other heretic condemned to death that day: Isabel Régnier, the illiterate wife of one of the humble printers who will figure prominently in this study.[2]

Scarce resources had been expended on Arquer's trial. The Toledo inquisitors complained to headquarters about the consequently parlous state of their fabric and finances; for its part the Suprema had urged them to dispatch this costly case with all speed.[3] While this *cause célèbre* was in full swing, the Toledo tribunal found itself having to dismantle the cell of French printers of playing cards mentioned in Chapter 1, and then came the arrest of Guillermo Herlin and the consequent tracking down of the network of foreign printers and printing-workers with whom he had laboured. It is unclear who started the hare. Herlin may have been the first link in the chain which led to the arrest of these artisans, but it may equally have been some terrified prisoner of the Inquisition, whose trial has disappeared, who implicated Herlin when urged to 'unburden his or her conscience' by identifying fellow *luteranos*. On the other hand, it is possible that Dulcet denounced Herlin to the Barcelona inquisitors and thus

[2] On Arquer see Cocco 1987; Firpo 1993; Loi 2003. For an eye-witness's account of his execution see Horozco 1981: 229–30.

[3] Letter dated 11 Nov. 1568 from the Toledo inquisitors to the Suprema (Cocco 1987: 340), the Suprema to the Toledo inquisitors in reply to theirs of 17 Apr. 1570, and Toledo to the Suprema on 28 Apr. 1570, etc.: AHN, Inq., leg. 3070, exps. 15, 17, etc.

provoked the series of events that would lead to the exposure and dismantling of the network.[4] Dulcet had been in prison in Catalonia since the autumn of 1568, many months before Herlin's arrest. In October 1569 he was still implicating others, for in that month he denounced his old employer at Barcelona, the Norman printer Pierre Régnier.[5] Dulcet may, for his part, have been arrested on evidence given against him by Antonio Castelnerach, a French printing-worker from Lunac in the Aveyron, who appeared at the Barcelona *auto de fe* of May 1569 and was probably already in the hands of the Barcelona tribunal by the time Dulcet was apprehended. These two young Frenchmen knew each other because they had both worked at the same time in the Barcelona press of their compatriot Claudi Bornat.[6] While Dulcet was eventually condemned to the galleys, Castelnerach was treated more mercifully, being sentenced to three years' reclusion in the famous Benedictine monastery of Montserrat in the hills outside Barcelona.[7] This sentence may have been so lenient because Castelnerach was young and proved a *buen confitente* (contrite defendant), putting the Barcelona inquisitors on the trail of other foreign heretics like Dulcet.

Whatever the exact sequence of events, Guillermo Herlin was the spider at the centre of a complex and extensive web. He was frequently referred to by witnesses and inquisitors as 'Guillermo imprimidor', or 'Guillermo the printer', by which they meant that he was a journeyman rather than a master running his own press. As is the case with almost all the workers mentioned in this study, he was an itinerant artisan who had plied his craft in several countries. We discover from the trial of one of the people he denounced, a typesetter from Rouen called Pierre de Ribera, that Ribera had first met Herlin at Geneva in the late 1550s when one of them was an apprentice in the press of a Protestant printer recorded by the Inquisition's secretaries as 'el Roxo', presumably Matthieu de la Roche. Herlin claimed that he saw Ribera attend Calvinist services in that city. This was doubtless because he had also been at them himself, for it transpires from asides contained in several other trials that Herlin was a convinced *luterano* and that he had not only confided his beliefs to various workmates but eventually confessed them to the Toledo inquisitors.[8] It is unclear from his

[4] Although the precise relation between these two trials is not clear, a letter from the Toledo tribunal to the Suprema dated 18 Mar. 1570 (AHN, Inq., leg. 3070, exp.12) indicates that they were intertwined.

[5] Letter dated 4 Dec. 1569 from the Barcelona tribunal to the Suprema: AHN, Inq., lib. 737, fol. 58^{r}; trial of Pierre Régnier, fol. [16]^{r}.

[6] For relations between Bornat and Dulcet see Madurell i Marimon 1973: 16. Castelnerach had worked for Bornat for the three years before his arrest (trial of Pierre Régnier, fols. [16]^{v}, [17]^{v}–[18]^{r}).

[7] Barcelona tribunal to the Suprema reporting on its *auto de fe* of 15 May 1569: AHN, Inq., lib. 730, fol. 99^{r}.

[8] e.g. trial of Pierre de Rinz, fols. [3]^{r}, [18]$^{r–v}$, [19]^{v}, [20]^{v}.

statements whether he meant that it was Ribera or he who was La Roche's apprentice in Geneva, but Ribera himself maintained that he had begun to serve an apprenticeship in Antoine Cercia's press in that city, so it is more likely that it was Herlin who was bound to La Roche. If this is the case, he would have then been in his thirties, a mature but not exceptional age for an apprentice printing-worker.[9] Ribera and Herlin met up again some three or so years later in Spain, at Alcalá de Henares, where they reminisced about the old days in Switzerland.

It was not only in Geneva that Herlin had worked before going to Spain. By the 1550s Protestantism had made serious inroads into the Netherlands, particularly at Antwerp where from the mid-century Calvinism became the dominant Reformist current. In the latter years of that decade Herlin must have travelled there: three of the former colleagues he was later to accuse of *luteranismo* to the Toledo inquisitors were members of a single family of printers whom he had met at about that time in the press which one of them, Jan van der Loe, ran at Antwerp. Herlin seems to have known so much about this family and its employees that it is probable that he worked for them himself and lodged in their house. Many years later at Toledo he denounced not only the master of this press but also his brother Leonardo and their nephew Enrique. Herlin knew that these denunciations would be of particular interest to the Spanish inquisitors because in the mid-1560s Leonardo Loe had brought his young nephew Enrique to Spain, finding work in various centres of printing including Alcalá de Henares, where Herlin had renewed his acquaintance with them. Although Leonardo returned to the Low Countries, Enrique had stayed behind at Alcalá working in the presses of at least two printers, Andrés de Angulo and Juan de Villanueva. After Herlin had been apprehended there and interrogated, the inquisitors instructed their agent to go to Villanueva's press armed with a warrant for Enrique Loe's arrest. By then the young Fleming, sensing the danger he was in, had fled to Toledo. According to a contemporary resident, that city swarmed with poor workers and travellers, its houses being so tightly packed together that it constituted a rabbit warren full of cellars and attics where a man could easily escape notice.[10] Loe soon found work there as a typesetter, but Toledo did not prove a safe bolt-hole: he was eventually tracked down and arrested.[11]

Herlin had, then, lived in at least two major centres of Reformist belief north of the Pyrenees, whether out of choice or because he was obliged to take work where he could find it. Once in Spain he trekked from town to town looking for employment. Although he worked for several years in

[9] Trial of Pierre de Ribera, fols. [3]$^{r–v}$, [12]^{r}.
[10] Hurtado de Toledo 1951–63: 525.
[11] Trial of Enrique Loe, fols. [3]$^{r–v}$, [22]^{v}.

Castile, he had also evidently spent some time in Catalonia because in 1570 he was to denounce Pierre Régnier and his wife Isabel to the Toledo inquisitors, detailing the heretical statements Isabel had uttered when he was eating in their house at Barcelona some eight years previously. Not only do we know that Herlin had been in Barcelona on that occasion, but it is very likely that he had lodged with the Régniers. This is if he is to be identified with a printing-worker who was known in Barcelona as Guillot de Paris, or Guillot the Parisian. So much of what we are able to glean about Herlin's life from the trial-records of his victims coincides with the details we can piece together for this Guillot that it is almost certain that they were the same person.

When he was in prison at Toledo Pierre Régnier guessed that it was his old acquaintance Guillot de Paris who had denounced him and his wife to the Holy Office. If Guillot was, indeed, the same man as Herlin, then Pierre's presumption was correct. It was common inquisitorial practice to discount the testimony of any prosecution witness who could be shown by the defendant to be motivated by personal enmity, and Pierre Régnier presumably knew this. The inquisitors gave him pen and paper to draw up a written defence in his cell, and in this document he concentrated on discrediting Guillot, stressing the reasons why the former should wish to wreak vengeance on him.

Nine years ago a Parisian called Guillot something-or-other came to Spain from Geneva and, although he had a wife in Castile, he enticed another woman away from her husband in Zaragoza and brought her to Barcelona. He told me that she was his wife and asked me to rent them a room in my house. I agreed to do so, but when I realized that she was nothing but a common whore I refused, telling him that he was a dishonourable scoundrel. He retorted that he was a more honourable man than me, which I denied. He made to draw his sword to fight me, but I would have nothing of it and went back into my house. He then told several people that one day, somewhere, he would make me eat my words and I would pay him dearly for them. On another occasion we argued over some types that Jaume Cortey [Pierre Régnier's employer at the time] lent to Claudi Bornat. This Guillot, and a man called Pilate who worked with him, came to fetch them and they took off what other journeymen judged to be a good thirty pounds' weight of type. However, when he brought them back he failed to return three pounds of these types and I told him that he had acted very ill. We had a bitter quarrel over this matter. I beg the inquisitors not to give any credence to his testimony for he is an evil man who has been an adherent of the faith they profess in Geneva; he has long led a debauched life with two married women, and has borne false witness several times before.[12]

[12] Trial of Pierre Régnier, fols. [30]^{v}–[31]^{r}, [34]^{v}.

It seems that once Herlin was in prison at Toledo he had decided to get even with Pierre, who had insulted him, and with Isabel, who had persuaded her husband to throw him out into the street and had dishonoured him publicly by calling him 'a blackguardly knave'. The animosity between the two men was confirmed by Régnier's defence witnesses at Barcelona. For his part Régnier was careful to implicate Guillot as a fellow-heretic once he realized that he was not going to escape punishment himself. But Régnier was not the only person to quarrel with Herlin; the French compositor Pierre de Rinz, who had worked with him at Alcalá and who was denounced by Herlin, had also come to blows with him, while Pierre de Ribera, another of Herlin's victims, feared him.[13]

Herlin was clearly a dangerous man to know. By the mid-1560s he had settled at Alcalá where he found steady employment as a compositor in the town's thriving printing industry. He would befriend any foreign co-religionists who came to work in Alcalá's presses, not only sharing with them news about France, the Wars of Religion there, and the fortunes of the Huguenot cause, but also persuading them to drop their guard and to admit to him their belief in the 'new religion' they had embraced north of the Pyrenees.[14] He even went as far as encouraging them to disregard the outward demands of orthodox Catholicism. For example, Enrique Loe found himself desperate for a drink on his wedding morning as he wandered round Alcalá inviting acquaintances to the ceremony. Herlin offered him a cup of wine to slake his thirst; Loe was sorely tempted but at first refused on the grounds that he had been to confession and could not break his fast before taking communion at the wedding mass. Under pressure from Herlin, however, Loe's resolve weakened and they drank together, Herlin then teaching him a trick to disguise all trace of the wine on his breath.[15]

In view of how much Herlin knew about the private religious opinions of a host of immigrant journeymen who worked in the Spanish presses of his day, his arrest provoked panic among them. Many fled Alcalá. A Flemish colleague, one Enrique de Bueys, set off south-west for the nearby city of Toledo 'terrified that he would be arrested because certain printing-workers from Alcalá, where he had been employed, had been apprehended'. He had good reason to be afraid because he had confided to at least one companion when working at Toledo that he believed the consecrated host to be nothing but plain flour and later, with evident approval, told the same friend, when they had met up again at Medina del Campo, about the smashing of holy

[13] Ibid., fols. [46]^{r}, [51]^{r}, [58]^{v}; trial of Pierre de Rinz, fol. [3]$^{r–v}$; trial of Pierre de Ribera, fol. [14]^{v}.

[14] Trial of Enrique Loe, fols. [10]^{r}, [13]^{r}; trial of Pierre de Ribera, fol. [14]^{v}.

[15] Trial of Enrique Loe, fol. [7]^{v}.

images in the Low Countries, doubtless referring to the iconoclastic fury which had engulfed the Netherlands in 1566.[16] His compatriot Enrique Loe also abandoned Alcalá for Toledo, travelling in the company of the Netherlandish typesetter Adrián Gaspar. This Adrián was a close friend of both Enriques and, given his history of escaping from the galleys, was eager to get away from a town where the Holy Office was looking particularly closely at foreigners associated with the printing industry.[17] As we have seen, once Loe reached what he thought of as safety at Toledo, he found employment and stayed there until he was eventually arrested. Adrián, on the other hand, had experience of the Inquisition and was more cautious. After fleeing Alcalá because 'a certain colleague [undoubtedly Herlin] had been apprehended', he lodged—and presumably worked—briefly with the Toledo printer and bookseller Miguel Ferrer. When Adrián was quizzed by the Toledo printer Juan de la Plaza concerning the whereabouts of a Norman type-caster called Pierre Relin whom the Inquisition wanted to interview, he must have sensed that the net was tightening; he changed name once again and decided to put as many miles as possible between himself and danger.[18] By early 1570 he was far away to the south at Granada where he is recorded as having told a Flemish pedlar that 'he was afraid that he would be caught because he had heard that the Toledo Inquisition was on his trail'.[19] The pressman from Albi, Antonio de la Bastida, was denounced in Toledo at the same time as the Régniers, probably also by Herlin whom he knew from when they had once worked together at Alcalá.[20] Like Adrián Gaspar, La Bastida had already survived a close encounter with the Holy Office, and was taking no chances this time. He escaped north-east heading for Barcelona.[21]

The Flemings Enrique de Bueys, Enrique Loe, and Adrián Gaspar, and the Frenchman Antonio de la Bastida are just four of the many examples of Reform-minded journeymen-printers and their associates who fled the danger triggered by the arrest of Herlin, a man who knew too much and could not be trusted to keep his mouth shut under interrogation. The bush-telegraph which operated among these journeymen and pedlars in Spain

[16] Trial of Pedro de Güerta ULHW, Inquisitionakten Handschriften, Yc 2° 20(3), fols. 233^{r} – 296^{v} (henceforth 'Trial of Pedro de Güerta'), fol. 275^{r}. I know little about this Enrique de Bueys (Buis or Moys) other than that he was a young married man, deaf, small in stature, with a pale complexion and red hair (trial of Pedro de Güerta, fols. 274^{v}–275^{r}). He may have been the 'Moya' whom La Bastida had encountered at some time before 1565 working in the Toledo presses (trial of Antonio de la Bastida, fols. [52]^{r}, [60]^{r}).

[17] Trial of Enrique Loe, fol. [28]^{r}.

[18] Trial of Pierre de Ribera, fol. [8]^{r}, and the Toledo tribunal's *relación de causas* for 1570: AHN, Inq., leg. 2105, caja 1, exp. 8.

[19] Trial of Pedro de Güerta, fol. 275^{r}.

[20] Trial of Antonio de la Bastida, fol. [60]^{r}.

[21] Griffin 2000. For La Bastida's flight see the letter from the Barcelona inquisitors to the Suprema dated 8 July 1570: AHN, Inq., lib. 737, fol. 202^{r}.

meant that such flight was not unusual when somebody who might spill the beans fell into the hands of the Holy Office, one pedlar from Antwerp maintaining that 'as soon as it is known that a Fleming has been arrested here in Spain, my compatriots spread the news among themselves'.[22] Such an early-warning system was particularly necessary because so many members of the printing industry were itinerant. Their peripatetic lives meant that somebody like Herlin was acquainted with a multitude of colleagues whom he had encountered over the years in presses throughout Spain. The inquisitors could do little immediately about those of his co-religionists who were in Alcalá when he was arrested there and who, sensing the danger they faced, had slipped away before his interrogations began to bear fruit. But the Holy Office knew that it could pick up those he denounced and who were working elsewhere in the country as long as it pounced before they got wind of his arrest, took fright, and vanished. As the Toledo inquisitors put it in a letter to the Suprema,

> two printing-workers who were in Salamanca were accused before us of *luterano* heresies and of being accomplices of the ones we have arrested at Alcalá. Because it was imperative that they be caught before they heard about these arrests, we dispatched an agent to apprehend them in Salamanca without ordering him to go through Valladolid first [to seek permission from our colleagues there] because speed was of the essence.[23]

Herlin's arrest was like a stone thrown into a pool: the ripples spread out from Alcalá to reach presses throughout the land. They touched his nearest colleagues immediately, others only after several months. He must have accused some among the printing fraternity early in his trial, so an immediate result of his arrest was a race between the Inquisition and the printers' bush-telegraph. On the one side, Toledo rapidly dispatched agents either to arrest the unsuspecting journeymen he had named, or to deliver requests to colleagues in other cities to pick them up on Toledo's behalf. On the other side, rumours of Herlin's arrest travelled rapidly from mouth to mouth, enabling some heretical workers to go to ground before they were caught. But, while some vanished, others, like the two journeymen mentioned above, were apprehended at Salamanca before they were even aware that they were at risk. A second stone was cast into the pool when, after the initial scare had passed, months of repeated interrogations seem to have turned Herlin into a cooperative source of information about further members of the world of Spanish printing whom he either remembered belatedly or about whom he learnt from the rumour-mill which was the Toledo prison itself. Thus, for example, while he had incriminated

[22] Trial of Pedro de Güerta, fol. 256^{v}.
[23] Letter from Toledo tribunal to Suprema dated 10 Nov. 1569: AHN, Inq., leg. 3069, exp. 198.

colleagues at Alcalá like Pierre de Rinz and Enrique Loe as early as October and December 1569 respectively, he did not denounce Pierre and Isabel Régnier until some nine months later when he heard from a cell-mate that they were still living in Spain.[24] The stones cast into that pool had terrifying consequences for many foreign typographers. One of the most telling descriptions of the predicament in which it placed Herlin's former colleagues, wrecking the lives they had forged in their adopted country, appears in the trial of Pierre de Ribera who learnt immediately of Herlin's arrest because they were working together at the time:

> When Guillermo the printer from Paris was picked up at Alcalá I was so frightened I would also be apprehended that I immediately took off for Salamanca where I told my confessor Fray Francisco de Alcocer that this Guillermo had been taken in for questioning and knew that I had been in Geneva. What should I do? Fray Francisco replied that I should flee, but I asked him how I could possibly abandon my wife and children.[25]

Most of those who were arrested on the evidence provided by Herlin in turn 'unburdened their consciences' by producing their own lists of fellow-heretics, the number of suspects thus increasing geometrically. The accused were, in the main, foreign master- or journeymen-printers many of whom had some connection with the Alcalá presses. Some were pedlars rather than printers, but were nevertheless associated with the world of the presses because they travelled the highways and byways selling not only ribbons and thread but also printed pictures, broadsheets, pamphlets, and books.[26]

Sometimes the links in the chain of denunciations are relatively easy to trace. For instance, one of Herlin's workmates at Alcalá was Pierre de Rinz. Herlin incriminated him during an early interrogation and, as a result, Rinz was arrested. He in turn denounced four French colleagues he had met in presses at Alcalá and Toledo, one of them being Herlin himself.[27] However, as the number of people incriminated by Herlin grew, so did the complexity of the skein of relations between them. Thus, for instance, the elderly Esteban Carrier had worked as a puller in Pierre Régnier's press at Barcelona before transferring his loyalty to Claudi Bornat in the same city.[28] When

[24] Trial of Pierre de Rinz, fol. [3]^{r}; trial of Enrique Loe, fol. [3]^{r}; trial of Pierre de Ribera, fol. [3]^{r}; trial of Pierre Régnier, fol. [3]^{r}; trial of Isabel Régnier, fol. 189^{r}.

[25] Trial of Pierre de Ribera, fols. [15]^{v}–[16]^{r}. Although Ribera was working at Alcalá when Herlin was apprehended, his wife and children lived in Salamanca; he would join them when he could find work in the presses there.

[26] When Pedro de Güerta was arrested in Mar. 1570 at Alcázar de Consuegra, a village south-east of Toledo, an inventory was made of the merchandise he was hawking round the countryside. Apart from trinkets, it consisted of over 200 printed pictures, some depicting Christ's face impressed on St Veronica's headcloth (trial of Pedro de Güerta, fol. 246^{v}).

[27] Trial of Pierre de Rinz, fols. [3]$^{r–v}$, [18]^{v}–[19]^{r}, [20]$^{r–v}$.

[28] Madurell i Marimon 1973: 51, 179. Carrier, also known as Nedo or Nedu, was variously said to have been born in 'Claramonte' (Clermont?) or Saint-Flour in the Auvergne, later becoming a

Herlin was arrested, Carrier was still in Bornat's employ but, by the time the inquisitors at Toledo received from their counterparts all over Spain details of the whereabouts of the many journeymen-printers Herlin had denounced, Carrier had moved on to Zaragoza.[29] By the summer of 1570 he and several other journeymen who had worked in the Barcelona presses had been picked up and sent to Toledo. They may all have been arrested as a direct result of Herlin's accusations; on the other hand, as the ripples slowly spread around the peninsula, these men may have been betrayed by others of Herlin's old workmates in Catalonia who were being pressed by their interrogators to come up with their own lists of 'accomplices'. There had long been bad blood between Carrier and the Régniers, so Carrier was quick to denounce the couple to the Toledo inquisitors along with other workmates. For his part, Pierre eventually accused Carrier of heresy, but only under torture. When these ex-colleagues from Barcelona all unexpectedly found themselves in the same Toledo prison, they exchanged secret messages in an effort to divine how much the Holy Office knew about them so that they could better defend themselves against the charges they faced; at the same time they continued to incriminate each other.[30]

Some of the chains of accusation were even more complex. The pedlar Pedro de Güerta was not initially denounced by Herlin. He had been arrested as a result of an accusation of heresy made by an elderly Fleming who had settled in Ocaña, some thirty miles north-east of Toledo where there was a thriving trade in the manufacture of perfumed gloves. This glover had become obsessively jealous of his young wife's imaginary relations with the youthful, tall, slim, and bearded pedlar after the two men had a drunken row. However, by the time Güerta found himself in prison at Toledo, Herlin seems to have become something of a trusty of the inquisitors, and they put the two of them in the same cell. Herlin dutifully reported back their conversations to the inquisitors, and those reports formed a major plank in the prosecution's case against Güerta.[31] This case had extensive ramifications. Soon after Güerta had been picked up by the Inquisition's agents at Alcázar de Consuegra and taken to Toledo, his close friend Pedro Alberto, a young compatriot from Antwerp, learnt of his arrest. At that time Pedro Alberto was being employed as a typesetter in Juan de la Plaza's press at Toledo, and information about the Holy Office's supposedly secret activities had evidently leaked out. Pedro Alberto was

denizen of Lyon. A large number of Frenchmen from Saint-Flour were working at Barcelona in the 1560s (Nadal and Giralt 1960: 218–19).

[29] Information given to the Valladolid tribunal by the master-printer Sebastián Martínez and passed on to Toledo in a letter dated 3 Mar. 1570 (trial of Pierre de Ribera, fol. [7]^{r}).

[30] Trial of Pierre Régnier, fols. [4]^{v}, [58]^{v}–[59]^{v}; trial of Isabel Régnier, fols. 189$^{r–v}$, 195^{v}, 215^{r}.

[31] Trial of Pedro de Güerta, fols. 235^{r}, 236^{v}, 238^{v}, 246^{r}.

terrified by the predicament in which his friend's arrest placed him: Güerta was well aware of Pedro Alberto's *luterano* sympathies and would have known that he had visited or worked in Geneva and La Rochelle.[32] As it was likely that Güerta would reveal this information under interrogation, should Pedro Alberto try to escape, running the risk of severe punishment if he was captured, or should he give himself up, confess everything, and throw himself on the inquisitors' mercy? He decided on the latter course of action, and was duly imprisoned. He was immediately placed by the inquisitors in a cell with Guillermo Herlin who extracted from him details of the whereabouts of other journeymen-printers with Reformist sympathies. One of them was Pierre de Ribera whom Pedro Alberto had recently met in Salamanca where Ribera had found work as a typesetter in Domingo de Portonariis's press after fleeing Alcalá. When Herlin had originally denounced Pierre de Ribera, he had told the Toledo inquisitors that he thought Ribera was in Valladolid; presumably no trace had been found of him there and the trail had gone cold. It was many months later that Herlin received up-to-date information about Ribera from Pedro Alberto, and he passed this on at once to the inquisitors. Ribera was apprehended at Salamanca, and brought down to Toledo where, in turn, he was tried and sentenced for *luteranismo*.[33] For his part, Pedro Alberto was found guilty of the same heresy, but treated leniently. Nevertheless, his ordeal made a strong impression on him, for he knew that any further brush with the Holy Office could lead to his being executed as a relapsed heretic.

Once Pedro Alberto had served a one-year sentence in Toledo (1570–1), the inquisitors gave him permission to go looking for work in the presses of northern Spain. In the event, he ended up at Lisbon where he was taken on by the printer Marcos Borges. While in Borges's press he heard that a former companion, the bookseller and binder João de Leão, was up before the Inquisition accused of relapsing into *luteranismo* after having abjured that crime at the Lisbon *auto de fe* of June 1565. Eager as a result of his experience at Toledo to cover himself and to make a pre-emptive strike because João knew a good deal too much about his past and evidently disliked him, Pedro Alberto volunteered evidence against this Frenchman, describing to the Portuguese inquisitors how five years earlier, in September 1566, João de Leão had contracted him to print a book in La Rochelle, had taken him there from Lisbon with a French apothecary and another printing-worker called Cornelio, and had induced him to attend a Protestant service in the French port. This was damning evidence because it

[32] Trial of Pedro de Güerta, fols. 240^{r}, 276^{r}; while being interrogated under torture Pedro de Güerta indeed implicated Pedro Alberto, later compromising himself by retracting his accusation in order to save his friend (fols. 276^{r}, 277^{v}, 278^{v}–279^{v}, 281^{r}).

[33] Ibid., fol. 276^{v}; trial of Pierre de Ribera, fols. [3]$^{r–v}$, [8]^{r}–[11]^{r}, [26]^{r}.

showed that, although in 1565 João had sworn at Lisbon to reject his heretical beliefs, he was only too ready to embrace them again once he thought he was at a safe distance from the Portuguese Inquisition's prying eyes. The prosecution case thus strengthened by Pedro Alberto's testimony, João was committed to the flames at the Lisbon *auto* of 31 January 1574.[34]

This unfortunate man's series of trials, which saw him in prison for some six years before he was paraded through the streets of the Portuguese capital and executed, drew the attention of the Spanish and Portuguese Inquisitions to numerous foreign pedlars, bookbinders, booksellers, manufacturers of playing cards, and journeymen-printers of suspect faith who were scattered all over the Iberian Peninsula. Several of these men's lives intersected with those denounced or tried at Toledo. For example, the night before João de Leão was burnt he was informed of his fate. The following morning he made what seems to have been a full confession and, in the process, implicated a host of his old companions throughout the peninsula. One of these was a man he had met at Granada and whom the Portuguese secretaries recorded as 'a French type-caster from Paris called Joham Mola who has a wife in Toledo'.[35] This was the same man who appears in the Spanish documents as Juan Molot (or Molo) and first took the young Antonio de la Bastida across the Pyrenees to work in the Zaragoza press of Pedro Bernuz after La Bastida had served his apprenticeship as a puller in Toulouse. At his trial at Cuenca in 1565 La Bastida had described this Frenchman in identical terms.[36] He was doubtless the Juan Molot who was not only mixed up with the cell of French Reformist printers of playing cards and cloth-traders arrested at Toledo in the mid-1560s but who, at about that time, also introduced João de Leão to a circle of Norman printers of playing cards in Granada who shared the same views.[37] By the time the Inquisition smashed the Toledo cell Molot was back in France, either through good luck or because he had got wind that the local tribunal was on his track. João de Leão was thus denounced at Lisbon by Pedro Alberto who himself was indirectly a victim of Guillermo Herlin and had many

[34] Third trial of João de Leão, fols. 129^{r}–132^{r}, 225^{v}, 246^{v}–247^{r}. 'Cornelio the printer' is an elusive figure. He was an itinerant journeyman from Flanders and had Reformist sympathies; Pedro Alberto had met him when Cornelio was employed by the widow of the prolific Lisbon printer Germão Galharde (ibid., fol. 257^{v}). He was being sought by the Lisbon tribunal in 1572 and may well be the same man as 'Cornelio the typesetter' whom the Toledo tribunal had been pursuing ever since the summer of 1570. Enrique Loe was acquainted with this Cornelio's parents back in the Low Countries and had met him at Salamanca in the press run by their compatriot Matías Gast for whom Pedro Alberto had himself once worked (trial of Enrique Loe, fol. [28]^{r}; third trial of João de Leão, fol. 136^{r}).

[35] Third trial of João de Leão, fol. 257^{r}.

[36] Trial of Antonio de la Bastida, fol. [47]^{r}.

[37] Third trial of João de Leão, fol. 257^{r}. Normandy, in particular the city of Rouen, was a centre for the production of playing cards which were exported throughout Europe (Benedict 1981: 15).

acquaintances in common with Herlin in the world of printing and bookselling. In his turn, João de Leão provided the Portuguese inquisitors with a long list of suspects from that world, many of whom were what the Holy Office considered *luteranos* and formed part of the network of heretical printing-workers investigated by the Toledo inquisitors. With the cooperation of several Spanish tribunals including Toledo, the Lisbon inquisitors set about hunting down these foreigners.

These trials of printers and their associates, many of whom were denounced by the shadowy figure of Guillermo Herlin, reveal a tangled web of friends, workmates, acquaintances, and enemies. What all of them have in common is that they were immigrants from France, the Low Countries, or Switzerland and were adherents of, or at least showed some sympathy towards, the 'new religion' they had encountered when working outside Spain. Those arrested on the order of the Toledo inquisitors found themselves the bewildered victims of a zealous tribunal.

Individual inquisitors could be harsh or relatively humane. They were often bureaucratic lawyers, not theologians, and were poorly paid by the institution.[38] Nevertheless, successful fulfilment of their duties, which included the prosecution of heretics, the trial of eye-catching cases, and staging of spectacular *autos de fe*, could lead to advancement in their careers and even, for some, to a coveted bishopric. Pedro Velarde, one of the inquisitors who interrogated the journeymen-printers and their associates at Toledo was rewarded for his dedication by being promoted to headquarters in Madrid.[39] As Castile's most important tribunal, Toledo had, as we have seen, a tradition of repressing *luteranismo*, while the current inquisitors were involved in the high-profile case of Dr Sigismondo Arquer. They were determined to do all in their power to eliminate the network of suspect journeymen-printers.

Because these artisans were essentially peripatetic, the Toledo inquisitors relied on the cooperation of colleagues throughout the Iberian Peninsula in their efforts to track them down. However, their disregard for the jurisdiction of other tribunals would lead to friction and even, in one case, threaten to provoke a riot. Earlier in this chapter we saw how Toledo explained to the Suprema why it had dispatched an agent direct to Salamanca to apprehend two journeymen-printers who were working there. That apparently innocent explanation of its action was, in fact, an attempt to justify why it had

[38] Inquisitional tribunals normally employed two inquisitors, one a jurist and the other a theologian, or sometimes both jurists. There was a tendency in the second half of the 16th cent. to appoint jurists rather than theologians (Moreno Martínez 2001: 430).

[39] AHN, Inq., lib. 1233, fol. 365r. When Velarde had been appointed to the Toledo tribunal several years earlier, Sigismondo Arquer had warned a fellow-prisoner that he would prove ruthless. As an experienced bureaucrat himself, Arquer recognized Velarde as an ambitious man on the way up (Cocco 1987: 323). On the promotion of careerist inquisitors see Barrio Gozalo 1999: 110.

not followed normal procedure and sought help from the Valladolid inquisitors in whose jurisdiction Salamanca fell. This self-justification was the response to a sharp rap over the knuckles administered by the Suprema.[40] The Barcelona tribunal also had serious problems with Toledo. In December 1569 the inquisitors of the Catalan tribunal protested to the Suprema about Toledo's unwillingness to cooperate over the case of Benito Dulcet. They had completed their investigations, and all they needed in order to close their file on the type-caster was some evidence held by Toledo. Barcelona complained that not only were the Toledo inquisitors withholding this information, but that they had even demanded that Dulcet be sent to them for trial together with the money his confiscated possessions had raised at auction. Toledo must again have been sharply rebuked, for its apology to the Suprema was abject.[41] This affair can be traced back to the accusations Herlin made against printing-workers residing in Catalonia. One of the most dramatic cases of Toledo's high-handedness had the same source.

Herlin denounced the Régniers to his interrogators at Toledo on 7 June 1570, once he had learnt from a cell-mate that they were still living and working at Barcelona. The Toledo inquisitors duly sent one of their *familiares* (agents), Juan Romero, to Catalonia bearing an explanatory letter addressed to their colleagues at Barcelona and a warrant to bring the couple down to Toledo for questioning. The Barcelona inquisitors ordered the arrests on 27 June; the same day they informed their colleagues in Castile that the Régniers had been apprehended and would be transferred to them with all dispatch but separately, presumably to prevent their conferring on the journey. Shortly afterwards, however, Barcelona was writing to Toledo to explain that the prisoners could not, for some unspecified reason, be sent as planned but would reach Toledo as soon as possible. In the event, Pierre was delivered in shackles to the Inquisition's prison at Toledo on 14 July and Isabel ten days later.[42] A highly charged confrontation lay behind those bland letters.

What had happened was that the Barcelona inquisitors had ordered their *alguacil mayor* (head constable), Pedro de Reinoso, to take Isabel Régnier under guard to Castile, while Juan Romero was to escort her husband and another prisoner requested by Toledo. This additional suspect turns out to have been the pressman Antonio de la Bastida who a few days later managed

[40] For a similar dispute with the Murcia tribunal over a printing-worker see the letter dated 3 Mar. 1571 from Toledo to the Suprema: AHN, Inq., leg. 3070, exp. 74, and letters dated 12 and 20 May 1571 from Murcia to the Suprema, with the Suprema's response to the first of these: AHN, Inq., leg. 2798, unnumbered exps.

[41] Letters dated 4 Dec. 1569 from Barcelona to the Suprema: AHN, Inq., lib. 737, fol. 58^{r}, and 5 Jan. 1570 from Toledo to the Suprema: AHN, Inq., leg. 3070, exp. 2.

[42] Trial of Pierre Régnier, fols. [11]^{v}, [12]^{r}, [13]^{r}, [19]$^{r–v}$; trial of Isabel Régnier, fol. 185^{r}.

to give Romero the slip.[43] The warrant for Isabel's arrest instructed Reinoso to deliver her to the Inquisition's gaol in Toledo together with something to sleep on and any clothes and linen she would require during her imprisonment.[44] All had gone smoothly until, on 4 July, the carter who had set off from the Régniers' house in the street known as the Carrer del Call with some of Isabel's possessions reached the city gate leading out of Barcelona towards Zaragoza. Here, at the Portal de Sant Antoni, he was challenged by one of the Generalitat's tax officials, or customs men, who demanded to know whether permission had been given for the export of these items and, when the carter said that it had not, refused to allow him to pass until the bundles had been examined in order to ascertain whether any dues were payable on them.[45] At that moment the officious Pedro de Reinoso rode up and immediately flew into a rage shouting that the Inquisition needed no permission to take a few old mattresses and threadbare clothes out of the city. An argument ensued during which the *alguacil* dismounted from his horse and summarily marched the customs man off to face the Barcelona inquisitors. The altercation could not have come at a worse time.

The Holy Office was a national organization, and it was the Suprema in Madrid that transferred its staff from provincial tribunal to provincial tribunal. Perceived in the eastern regions of Spain as an alien institution imposed on them from the centre, it constantly clashed with local laws and privileges.[46] Relations between the Inquisition and the Catalan authorities had long been fraught, the Barcelona tribunal's room for manœuvre being so limited by local opposition that its power was more nominal than real and its frustrated inquisitors lived in fear of physical attack. Its position in the summer of 1570 was particularly delicate.[47] The late 1560s had witnessed a series of bitter arguments between the inquisitors and the local authorities. Lying behind them were jurisdictional disputes, one of which turned on the same question that was to provoke the altercation at the Portal de Sant Antoni: the Generalitat's right to levy duty on goods handled

[43] The fact that Régnier arrived at Toledo in shackles probably reflects Juan Romero's attempt to shut the stable door after one of the horses had bolted. Romero was himself imprisoned at Toledo on 14 July 1570 and tried for La Bastida's escape (trial of Pierre Régnier, fol. [14]^{v}, and the letter dated 25 Aug. 1570 from the Suprema to Toledo: AHN, Inq., lib. 577, fol. 156^{r}).

[44] Trial of Isabel Régnier, fol. 184^{r}.

[45] The Generalitat's officials routinely examined textiles leaving Barcelona to see if they were subject to the *bolla*, a tax levied upon wool products. The Generalitat, or Diputació del General, was the standing committee of the Corts, or parliament of the Principality of Catalonia. The Diputació's original function was to raise taxes, but it effectively developed into the government of the Principality and guardian of Catalonia's liberties. Its members were called *Diputats*. For a synopsis of political structures in Barcelona see Amelang 1986: 18–21.

[46] Kamen 1993: 211–19. Throughout its history the Inquisition's higher echelons were dominated by Castilians (Barrio Gozalo 1999: 116–17).

[47] García Cárcel 1997: 95, 100; Kamen 1993: 260–1.

by inquisitional personnel.[48] The pope, the king, the bishop of Barcelona, the viceroy, and the Holy Office had eventually become embroiled in this dispute as members of the local tribunal's staff and *Diputats* were imprisoned and excommunicated by various parties in a multi-faceted and seemingly intractable controversy. The antagonism between the Inquisition and the Diputació was also entangled with both the chronic friction between the crown and the Catalans, and Philip II's fear that Catalonia was a weak point in his defence of the realm against Protestant heresy.[49] In 1569, at the height of the campaign against what was regarded as the foreign virus of heresy threatening the health of Spain, the Catalans, jealous as ever of their regional prerogatives, had refused to comply with Philip II's imposition of a new tax to finance the war against the Turk. The Inquisition chose to portray this as the behaviour of heretics, and denounced the *Diputats* to Madrid and Rome as such.[50] The crisis was, however, unexpectedly defused in the spring of 1570 when the king came to recognize the loyalty of his Catalan subjects after they had defended Perpignan against a Huguenot army.[51] Nevertheless, Catalan resentment of the Castilian inquisitors imposed upon them by Madrid was still simmering, and this ill-feeling was mutual. The inquisitors complained to the Suprema that, such was the power of the local authorities, they found it nigh on impossible to prosecute native Catalans, a situation exemplified by the case of a Catalan jurist arrested the previous year in possession of a heretical work but released three weeks later after claiming that he was unaware that its author, Martin Luther, was a *luterano*. The Suprema had been furious.[52] Then, in July 1570, just one month after the Barcelona inquisitors had at last reported to Madrid that an uneasy peace had broken out, another crisis threatened to shatter the delicate balance: the case of Isabel Régnier's bed.

When the Generalitat's customs man was dragged before the inquisitors they immediately realized that their *alguacil* had gone too far. They tried to pour oil on troubled waters by sending Reinoso and the official to one of the *Diputats*, the bishop of Vic, to sort out permission to export Isabel Régnier's paltry possessions. But it was too late: the tax official complained

[48] García Cárcel 1988: 265–7. On the complex web of interests which lay behind the friction between the Inquisition and local power-brokers in Catalonia see Contreras 1984: 112–13. Throughout 1568 and 1569 the Barcelona inquisitors were informing the Suprema about conflicts between them and the *Diputats*; see the letters from Barcelona to the Suprema: AHN, Inq., lib. 737, fols. 3^{r}, 6^{r-v}, 7^{v}, 12^{r}–13^{v}, 138^{r-v}, etc., and the Suprema's replies: AHN, Inq., lib. 325, fols. 97^{r}, 167^{v}, etc.

[49] On the friction experienced throughout the 1560s between the crown and Catalonia, and between the Inquisition and the local authorities, see García Cárcel 1997: 48–9, 78–82.

[50] García Cárcel 1988: 264; for the inquisitors' absurd accusation that the *Diputats* were in league with Geneva see Moreno Martínez 1999: 199.

[51] Bada Elias 1992: 66–9.

[52] Monter 1988, 1990: 105–6, 110–11, 239–40.

to the *Diputats* of the slight he had suffered as an employee of the Generalitat by being taken before the Holy Office. A raw nerve was touched. The enraged *Diputats* issued a warrant for the *alguacil*'s arrest, charging him with infringing their prerogatives and disturbing the peace.[53] When the inquisitors got wind of this they asked the *Regent* of Catalonia, Francesc Muntaner, who had been their adviser for many years, to intervene.[54] At the same time, the *Diputats* themselves invited Muntaner to hear their side of the story, while the viceroy—Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, prince of Melito—also approached him, fearing that this confrontation would prove a flashpoint in the long-running disputes between the Holy Office and *Diputats*. The viceroy and the *Regent* devoted several days to tense negotiations in an attempt to bring the two sides together and to avert the violence which on several occasions was on the point of erupting. On the one hand, the *Diputats* sought redress for the affront to the Generalitat by trying the Inquisition's *alguacil*. Believing the *Regent*'s efforts to resolve the issue had failed, they sent the viceroy a detailed justification of their actions and beseeched him to inform the king about the affair, stressing that their attempts to reach a compromise had been thwarted by the inquisitors' intransigence. On the other hand, the inquisitors were adamant that their personnel could be tried by no authority but themselves. One of their number fulminated in a letter to the Suprema about the arrogance of the *Diputats*, claiming that it was the legacy of bad blood between the Inquisition and the local authorities which was to blame for the uproar caused by the case of Isabel Régnier's bed that had turned the whole of Barcelona against the Holy Office.[55] After intense shuttle-diplomacy, the *Regent* and the viceroy managed to hammer out a compromise: Muntaner would take the offending *alguacil* before a formal assembly of the Diputació, Reinoso would abase himself, but he would not be tried. On 10 July the Inquisition's official duly appeared before the *Diputats* and a large gathering of the local military. As a contemporary account put it, 'leaving his staff of office outside their chamber, Pedro de Reinoso, head constable of the Holy Office, stood before the assembled *Diputats*. Holding his hat in his hand he surrendered himself up to their authority.'[56] The *Diputats*' dignity thus restored, they proceeded to state that they were within their rights to punish Reinoso, but were minded to release him as a mark of respect for Muntaner. Isabel Régnier's possessions were then formally examined, found to contain nothing on which tax was due, and the Inquisition's employee was allowed to depart escorted by the *Regent*. The crisis had been resolved by interven-

[53] Sans i Travé *et al.* 1994– : ii. 317; AHN, Inq., lib. 737, fols. 168$^{r–v}$, 171^{r}.
[54] The *Regent* headed the royal Audiència, or high court of Catalonia.
[55] AHN, Inq., lib. 737, fols. 202^{r}–203^{r}.
[56] Sans i Travé *et al.* 1994– : ii. 319.

tion at the highest level.[57] The Suprema would subsequently approve the Barcelona inquisitors' stance on this matter but warn them that their personnel should be made aware of the importance of avoiding conflict with the local authorities.[58]

The catalyst for this crisis was the Toledo inquisitors' peremptoriness. If they had acted less precipitately and with due regard to the jurisdiction of their colleagues at Barcelona, none of this need have happened. Régnier and his wife had been denounced at Toledo, but had committed no crime of heresy within that tribunal's district so should have been investigated at Barcelona. After their trials were under way in Toledo, the Suprema informed that tribunal that, having consulted the Inquisitor General, it had determined that Toledo had no standing in the case against Isabel. The inquisitors were censured and warned in future to respect the Holy Office's regulations governing such matters. They were now told in no uncertain terms that they should already have returned Isabel to Catalonia at their own expense for trial there, and were instructed that, once the Suprema had reviewed the evidence against her husband, they should hand her over to Barcelona and provide evidence that they had done so. Toledo was also ordered to send its dossier on her up to Barcelona, but the Suprema pointedly added that these papers had no authority because they were the record of an illegitimate process; nevertheless, Barcelona was to be free to consult them if it wished. The Suprema's letter delivered a stern rebuke: 'even if this case had fallen within your jurisdiction you should not have taken such precipitate action; in future you will show more restraint and moderation'.[59] Three weeks later the Suprema and the Inquisitor General modified their instructions. They confirmed that the Toledo inquisitors had no jurisdiction to investigate the Régniers' alleged crimes of heresy but, as they had begun to do so, they were to be allowed to proceed, doubtless in order to save time and money on a retrial in Barcelona.[60] The investigation had, in fact, scarcely begun at this time, and would continue well into the

[57] Francesc Muntaner's report dated 11 July 1570, the letter of the same day from Diego Hurtado de Mendoza to Philip II, and Reinoso's apology to the *Diputats*: AHN, Inq., lib. 737, fols. 168$^{r–v}$, 169^{r}–170^{v}, 171^{r}, 200^{r}–201^{r}. For an account of the affair from the *Diputats*' perspective see Sans i Travé *et al.* 1994– : ii. 316–19. The municipal authorities, the *Consellers*, supported the *Diputats* in the dispute but offered to mediate (Schwartz y Luna and Carrera y Candi 1892–1975: iv. 106–7).

[58] Letter dated 4 Aug. 1570 from the Suprema to the Barcelona tribunal: AHN, Inq., lib. 325, fol. 227$^{r–v}$.

[59] Letter dated 6 Sept. 1570 from the Suprema to the Toledo tribunal: AHN, Inq., lib. 577, fol. 164^{v} (copy in trial of Isabel Régnier, fol. 180^{r}). From this moment the Suprema seems to have kept a close eye on Toledo's handling of the Régniers' cases and, when Toledo sought permission to execute Isabel, demanded that they question her further (letter dated 29 Mar. 1571 from the Suprema to Toledo: AHN, Inq., lib. 577, fol. 211^{v}).

[60] Letter dated 28 Sept. 1570 from the Suprema to Toledo: AHN, Inq., lib. 577, fols. 171^{v}–172^{r} (copies in trials of Pierre Régnier, fol. [2]^{r}, and Isabel Régnier, fol. 181^{r}).

following year. Despite the grudging permission given to Toledo to try the Régniers, the Suprema was evidently extremely vexed by the predicament in which it had been placed by the Toledo inquisitors' high-handedness and ordered one half of the costs incurred in transferring the Régniers from Barcelona to Toledo to be withheld from the inquisitors' salaries.[61] The Suprema's continuing irritation is echoed in a dispute which took place after the *auto de fe* at which the couple's fates were sealed. The Barcelona inquisitors informed the Suprema that their colleagues at Toledo had instructed them to sell the possessions which had been confiscated from the Régniers when they had been arrested, and remit the proceeds to Toledo. Barcelona maintained that the auction would raise very little money, most of it being swallowed up in litigation with the couple's creditors in Catalonia; however, it sought permission to retain the residue rather than hand it over to Toledo. The Suprema granted this request without demur.[62]

The Toledo inquisitors' zeal had a further consequence. The large number of printers, journeymen-printers, and their associates who had been caught in their dragnet faced increasingly squalid conditions in the tribunal's prison. By January 1570 Toledo was complaining that it was unable to keep defendants in solitary confinement prior to interrogation, and the following month one of the gaolers demanded a wage-rise because he was now responsible for twenty-nine detainees, many more than the prison was meant to hold in its eleven cells. Indeed, at the *auto de fe* celebrated in the city's main square, the Plaza de Zocodover, in June of that year no fewer than thirty-nine prisoners would be sentenced, after which they were either executed or transferred elsewhere. But this still left some of the cells full. With the onset of summer, conditions became intolerable and the inquisitors tried to persuade a local monastery to accommodate a prisoner who was in holy orders, while they transferred those who had gone mad to the Nuncio, a hospital for the deranged. For many tribunals such overcrowding seems to have been an inevitable result of the crack-down on *luteranismo* and, as conditions deteriorated, prisoners frequently fell ill, went out of their minds, or managed to escape.[63]

[61] Letter dated 28 Sept. 1570 from the Suprema to Toledo's treasurer: AHN, Inq., lib. 577, fol. 172^{r}, and his acknowledgment dated 7 Oct. 1570: AHN, Inq., leg. 3070, exp. 57.

[62] Letter dated 9 July 1571 from the Barcelona tribunal to the Suprema: AHN, Inq., lib. 737, fol. 361^{r}, and the Suprema's reply dated 13 Aug. 1571: AHN, Inq., lib. 325, fol. 280^{r}.

[63] For overcrowding in the Inquisition's gaol at Toledo in 1570 see Toledo's letter to the Suprema dated 13 Jan. 1570: AHN, Inq., leg. 3069, exp. 99, and the letters dated 23 and 25 May 1570 from the Suprema to Toledo: AHN, Inq., lib. 577, fols. 109^{v}, 112^{v}. For the gaoler's demand see the letter from Toledo to the Suprema dated 1 Feb. 1570: AHN, Inq., leg. 3070, exp. 7. Many of the printing-workers and their associates fell ill in prison: trial of Pierre de Rinz, fol. [22]^{r}, trial of Isabel Régnier, fol. 205^{v}, and first and second trials of Juan Franco: ULHW, Inquisitionakten Handschriften, Yc 2^{0} 20(3), fols. 130^{r}–176^{r} (henceforth 'First, etc. trial of Juan Franco'), fols. 149^{v}, 158^{r}, 160^{r}, 161^{r}.

The Holy Office's prisons were part of a system designed to break prisoners' resistance through solitary confinement, disorientation, and interrogation. But they were not long-stay establishments, being intended for inmates only during their trial and while awaiting their sentences, which were invariably served elsewhere. Although conditions were grim, the Inquisition did, in theory, at least provide medical attention as well as food and clothing to those of its prisoners who had no possessions which could be confiscated, sold, and the income used to pay for their upkeep. This was not the case under other prison regimes of the time where inmates without families on the outside to provide for them could starve.[64] That those suffering the tender mercies of other regimes would sometimes seek transfer to the Inquisition's gaols testifies to the fact that, however harsh the conditions suffered by the Holy Office's prisoners, they compared favourably with those experienced in the secular or ecclesiastical gaols of the period.[65] Indeed, in the main, the Holy Offices's suspects seem to have been relatively humanely treated.

Despite the Inquisition's regulations, overcrowding meant that solitary confinement must have been exceptional. In the early 1570s there were an average of four to a cell at Granada, and that city was not unique in this; there had been at least three to a cell in Cuenca in the mid-1560s.[66] Official inspections of the Barcelona tribunal showed that prisoners there were sometimes crowded together in the same cell, even when they were witnesses in each other's trials; at others of the Inquisition's gaols they socialized freely.[67] The promiscuity of life under such conditions inevitably led to arguments and violence. The record of João de Leão's trials at Lisbon in the 1560s and 1570s reveal that in inquisitional prisons like the one which he tellingly described as a 'lieu tant triste', inmates spread malicious gossip about each other, accused each other of homosexual liaisons, and quarrelled. There was constant squabbling over food but, when João unfortunately found himself incarcerated with a French pedlar who suspected him

Incidence of illness increased with the onset of summer especially because the principal cause of ill health in Spain, apart from endemic poverty, was malaria (Rojo Vega 2000: 4–5, 11); winter could also take its toll: Franco was paralysed after months in a freezing cell.

[64] Pike 1983: 16–17.

[65] Kamen 1998: 184–7. At the very time the printing-workers were being held in the Holy Office's Toledo gaol, the nearby royal prison to which many of them were transferred after sentencing was described by a contemporary as 'so notoriously squalid, insanitary, and dilapidated that it seemed more like a sty for pigs than a prison for men' (Hurtado de Toledo 1951–63: 517). Inevitably some Inquisition officials abused inmates in their care, but this was not institutional policy and attracted severe punishment; see K. Wagner 1979: 120–1; Vincent 1983: 118; Cocco 1987: 304; García Cárcel 1997: 95–8; Moreno Martínez 1999: 269–70.

[66] Vincent 1983: 117; trial of Antonio de la Bastida, fol. [40]r.

[67] Moreno Martínez 1999: 263, 288–9.

of having conducted an illicit affair with his wife, a serious altercation took place and knives were drawn.[68]

On the other hand, overcrowding meant that defendants had access to information which they would have been denied if solitary confinement had been a practical possibility. When Isabel Régnier found herself in the Holy Office's gaol at Toledo she discovered that some of the men her husband had worked with in Barcelona or employed in his own press were incarcerated with her. She learnt this from one of them, Adrián Gaspar, with whom she had managed to speak through the grill of his cell. He also told her that the French pressman Esteban Carrier and her husband Pierre were in the prison.[69] The knowledge that Pierre was being interviewed by the same inquisitors who were interrogating her conditioned her responses to some of their questions. Pierre similarly seems to have got wind that several of his old colleagues and employees were fellow-inmates at Toledo, and he appears to have based his defence on this knowledge. When Enrique Loe, for his part, was being interrogated at Toledo in early 1570, he made a point of distancing himself from Guillermo Herlin, Pierre de Rinz, and Isac de Ribera, saying that he had talked as little as possible with them in the Alcalá presses and that they 'went around in a group, were very close and were always chatting together, but they shunned my company because they disliked me'.[70] There may have been some truth in this: Guillermo, Pierre, and Isac had more than nationality and language in common because they had all been journeymen-printers at Geneva in about 1562.[71] More importantly, however, these three Frenchmen were being held on charges of *luteranismo* in the same gaol as Loe and at the very

[68] Second trial of João de Leão, fols. 63^{v}, 66^{r}–68^{v}; third trial of João de Leão, fols. 122^{r}, 238^{r}–244^{r}.

[69] Trial of Isabel Régnier, fol. 215^{r}. The architect Nicolás de Vergara el Mozo's plan of the Inquisition's gaol at Toledo in 1598 shows it to have been a warren of rooms adapted from domestic buildings (Marías 1982: 58). Partition walls had been erected to prevent prisoners communicating through the bars of their cells with fellow-inmates who were walking down the passageways outside them, but this measure seems to have been ineffective (Porres Martín-Cleto 1994: 49). The Valladolid tribunal complained in 1570 that prisoners who were meant to be held incommunicado were easily able to exchange information (Pinta Llorente 1949: 155).

[70] Trial of Enrique Loe, fol. [10]^{r}.

[71] Rinz and Herlin had trained in Geneva where Isac de Ribera had been employed by the famous French printer Robert Estienne (trial of Pierre de Rinz, fols. [17]^{r}, [18]$^{r–v}$). Isac had subsequently gone to Spain where he worked in the Sigüenza press of Sebastián Martínez alongside La Bastida during the winter of 1564–5 (trial of Antonio de la Bastida, fol. [48]^{r}); by early 1566 he was at Alcalá, where he could also be found in the summer of 1569. By Nov. 1569 he was employed in Alonso Gómez's press at Madrid (trial of Pierre de Rinz, fols. [18]^{r}, [20]^{r}). He appeared alongside Loe, Rinz, and Herlin at the Toledo *auto* of 18 June 1570, being sentenced to six years in prison at Toledo (RBM, MS II/1846, fol. 64^{v} [*olim* 147^{v}]). Nevertheless, in 1573 he was released but prohibited from leaving Castile. Some five years later, when arrested at Zaragoza, he was attempting to make his way back to France. He was tried at Zaragoza and returned to the Toledo Inquisition (*relación de auto* of Zaragoza *auto* of 21 Apr. 1578: AHN, Inq., lib. 988, fols. 348^{r}, 377^{r}). It is possible that Isac, who was a native of Lyon, was the Isaac Rovière who, as a young lad, had

time that he claimed to have had little contact with them. It can be no coincidence that he chose to identify them as being particularly inimical to him, thus parrying any accusations they might make as well as any charge brought against him of guilt by association with them. In his turn, when Pierre de Rinz had been interrogated he was careful to denounce Isac de Ribera and Herlin, doubtless in a bid to defend himself against any accusations they might make against him because he knew that they were already in custody at Toledo.[72] It is significant that he did not mention Enrique Loe, for the young Fleming had not by that time been arrested so Rinz would not have felt in immediate danger of being incriminated by him.

Security was often lax in the Holy Office's gaols. João de Leão contrived to smuggle a letter out of the Lisbon tribunal's prison addressed to a compositor from Savoy called Claudio Colomb who was then working in Seville. João urged Colomb to warn a network of *luterano* book-workers, including at least two Flemish typesetters who he also thought were in Spain, to give Portugal a wide berth because the inquisitors were on their track.[73] Inquisition employees were no more reluctant to accept bribes than other officials, and there were regular complaints that they helped prisoners to communicate with their friends and family outside prison.[74] Although messages evidently circulated within the Inquisition's gaol at Toledo, I have come across no evidence that the printing-workers incarcerated there sent letters outside.[75]

Such was the state of the Holy Office's facilities at Toledo that some inmates escaped, even a star defendant like Dr Sigismondo Arquer managing to abscond for a period.[76] The Toledo inquisitors' gaol was far from unique in this; their colleagues at Cuenca, for instance, informed the Suprema that prisoners had broken out of even their most secure cells.[77] Such accounts are legion in the Inquisition's records from the sixteenth century and are typical of an institution which, far from being the well-oiled repressive machine of fiction, constantly had to make and mend. However, none of the printers, printing-workers, or their associates arrested in the late

abandoned the master-printer for whom he worked in that city and fled to Geneva where he found employment with Claude Duchien/de Huchin (Chaix 1954: 221, 238–9).

[72] Trial of Pierre de Rinz, fol. [18]^{r}.

[73] Third trial of João de Leão, fols. 121^{r}–122^{v}.

[74] Vincent 1983: 118.

[75] Notes circulated within the Inquisition's gaol at Toledo and conversations were shouted from cell to cell (Cocco 1987: 243, 271). Communication, sometimes by secret signs, tapping and coded messages, was common in Spanish gaols including those of the Inquisition (Castillo Gómez 2003).

[76] AHN, Inq., leg. 3068, exp. 74; Garibay y Zamalloa 1999: 19–20. Arquer maintained that escaping from prison was relatively straightforward; the real difficulty lay in getting out of Spain (Cocco 1987: 308–14, 327).

[77] Letter dated 7 Nov. 1567: AHN, Inq., leg. 2544, caja 1, exp. 53.

1560s and early 1570s, as the noose tightened round their informal network in Spain and Portugal, managed to escape from the Toledo gaol, although Pierre Régnier was not the only one to contemplate that solution to his tribulations.[78] As the ripples of denunciation spread out from Toledo, these unfortunate artisans gradually discovered that those with whom they had eaten, drunk, travelled, laboured, and, above all, talked on roads, in taverns, and in workshops all over the peninsula, were being spirited away from presses in towns as distant from each other as Barcelona, Salamanca, and Alcalá and brought to the Toledo prison. The prospect of facing the inquisitors terrified them, and with good reason. They were living in an alien land in which they were conscious of being viewed with suspicion by the xenophobic Spaniards who surrounded them. They were also aware of the Spanish Inquisition's reputation for passing exemplary sentences on those found guilty of heresy, and that the punishments for this crime included execution. Several of the journeymen-printers and their associates in the Toledo gaol at this time were fearful of meeting such an end or of being condemned to the oar in Spain's galley fleet, a sentence which, at least for the older ones among them, would be tantamount to a lingering death. Isabel Régnier complained to the inquisitors that she was so racked by fear that her health had been shattered by her time in prison.[79] A strong young man like Antonio de la Bastida, on the other hand, had confessed some years earlier to his cell-mate in Cuenca that he would willingly wear a *sanbenito* (the penitential tunic imposed on heretics), suffer two hundred lashes, and serve for three or four years in the galleys so long as he could avoid being burnt.[80] Although rumours about the Inquisition's methods and procedures abounded, secrecy lay at the heart of its trials. Such was the printing-workers' desperation and disorientation when they found themselves in gaol that it was not uncommon for them to contemplate suicide as the only way out of their predicament. One of the principal sources of their anxiety was ignorance of the Inquisition's trial procedure and their role in it. The next chapter examines how their trials were conducted.

[78] Trial of Pierre Régnier, fol. [9]^{r}.
[79] Trial of Isabel Régnier, fols. 202^{r}, 205^{v}.
[80] Trial of Antonio de la Bastida, fol. [41]^{r}. Juan Franco feared that he would go to the stake if he confessed his beliefs to the Inquisition (first trial of Juan Franco, fol. 149^{v}).

3
Proofing the Printers

Secrecy was the corner-stone of the Inquisition's investigations. This resulted in trials in which the dice were loaded against defendants, but the maintenance of secrecy had its logic. It safeguarded witnesses from intimidation and, more importantly, could be justified because of the peculiar nature of the transgressions the Holy Office was persecuting. Heresy was not only a crime but also a sin. In inquisitional trials the suspect's guilt was assumed from the outset, and the legal process was designed to obtain a confession of his sins. Following the model of the sacrament of penance, the inquisitors endeavoured to obtain from the accused a full admission of his heretical beliefs, a recognition that those beliefs were misguided, evidence of repentance and of a genuine wish to reform, and a humble request for forgiveness. In exchange for such a pardon, the accused would have to be willing to fulfil whatever penance the tribunal deemed appropriate. Only once he had met all these requirements could he be received back into (or 'reconciled to') the Church. As heresy was in essence a thought-crime, it was difficult to prove; the accused's own confession was therefore essential. However, the inquisitors needed to be convinced that such a confession was sincere, so trials were designed to identify as clearly as possible which confessions were genuine and which were false. This is why the defendant was not told who had denounced him nor, at least initially, informed about the nature of the accusations. If he confessed straight away and what he admitted coincided with the denunciations, the inquisitors could be confident that his confession was genuine. In such cases the accused would invariably be treated leniently as long as he repented. If, on the other hand, he insisted on denying his crimes and only admitted to them at a later stage in the process when he had been given some indication of what the evidence against him was, the inquisitors could not be certain that the confession was full and sincere.[1] Punishment would therefore normally be more severe. According to this logic not only did the inquisitors withhold essential information from the prisoner, but they tried

[1] On the advice of her advocate, Isabel Régnier thus begged the Toledo inquisitors to forgive her 'despite the fact that she had delayed until late in her trial before eventually confessing the truth' (trial of Isabel Régnier, fol. 229^{r-v}).

to ensure that he was denied the possibility of discovering any of it from others. Hence secrecy was in theory essential to every stage of the process.[2]

Not only was such secrecy fundamental to the trials, it was also used to foster an aura of power and mystery which was essential for an understaffed and underfunded institution.[3] Many ordinary Spaniards had little contact with the Inquisition, while the mass of those who did, particularly in Castile, supported its goals without being terrorized by it. Nevertheless, its aura contributed to the creation of fear at least among foreigners and acted as a deterrent to deviant behaviour.[4] Indeed, the encouragement of respect for its authority was a stated aim of the Holy Office, and the staging of *autos de fe* was an important means to that end. In 1578, only a few years after the printing-workers had been tried at Toledo, Francisco Peña was to write in his commentary on Nicolau Eimeric's classic guide for inquisitors, the *Directorium inquisitorum*: 'the aim of trials and death sentences is not to save defendants' souls but to promote the public good and induce fear'; a Barcelona inquisitor had commented a few years previously, 'I certainly think *autos* necessary in order to encourage respect both among foreigners who come here, and among the people of this country'.[5] But it was not only the Holy Office's public ceremonies which engendered such respect. Secrecy about its procedures also contributed, and the Inquisition did its utmost to ensure that this secrecy was preserved. This meant that the artisans arrested as a result of Guillermo Herlin's accusations had little idea what to expect from their trials.

Secrecy gave rise to rumour, much of it inaccurate, about what defendants should expect from their trials and what the inquisitors wanted to hear. When, for instance, the French puller Antonio de la Bastida was incarcerated at Sigüenza in 1565, he was told by a friar who happened to share his cell that the Inquisition would not be content with a confession of his past crimes but would want to hear about his future ones as well.[6] In the overcrowded gaol at Toledo frightened defendants clutched at any straw. Isabel Régnier, who was more disorientated than most, followed the advice of a cell-mate and told the Toledo inquisitors that she would confess to all wrongdoing of which witnesses accused her, whether she had committed it or not.[7] Such a stance was dangerous because the inquisitors were seeking genuine confessions to specific crimes, yet it was their insistence upon the secrecy of their procedures that gave rise to such misinformation.

[2] Gacto Fernández 1997. [3] Dedieu 1990: 64–5.
[4] Kamen 1993: 245–58; Thomas 2001*a*: 12–30.
[5] Eimeric and Peña 1996: 7; Kamen 1998: 212.
[6] Trial of Antonio de la Bastida, fol. [74]^{r}.
[7] Trial of Isabel Régnier, fol. 212^{r}. Sound advice could on occasion be provided by well-informed prisoners such as Dr Arquer who held court for many years in the Toledo gaol (Cocco 1987: 243).

The inquisitors normally ordered arrests only once evidence had been examined by their theological assessors and it had been decided that there was a case against the suspect. It was for defendants to prove their innocence. The anonymity of the witnesses who had denounced them and the initial withholding of any information about the charges of which they were accused meant that they were put under psychological pressure to admit to whatever crimes they may have committed. Rather than having anything concrete to defend themselves against, they were merely directed to examine their consciences and confess their misdemeanours. If they did so, they were told, the Inquisition would show them mercy; if not, they could expect to be harshly punished. Thus, even when innocent of the undisclosed crime for which they had been arrested, they had to rack their brains in an effort to divine who might have testified against them and on what grounds, sometimes being led to confess to crimes about which their interrogators had no prior knowledge. If guilty, prisoners were put in the impossible position of having to guess how much their anonymous accusers might have said and therefore what it would be wise to admit. Whether innocent or guilty, the prisoner was put at the maximum disadvantage.

The withholding of witnesses' identity led to a practice repeatedly encountered in the trials of the journeymen-printers. As the ripples of denunciation spread out from Toledo, one defendant accusing another who, in turn, pointed the finger at yet others, suspects were delivered to that city from all over Spain, but the Toledo tribunal had to be sure that it had taken the right people into custody. When giving testimony, witnesses were asked to provide a physical description of those they accused, Herlin describing the journeyman-printer Pierre de Ribera thus: 'he is from Normandy, is about 35 years old, has red hair and a round face, and is of middling height'.[8] In a world without photographs or identikits, such thumb-nail sketches were the best that could be provided and there was always the possibility that the wrong person would be arrested. Therefore, when new prisoners were brought to Toledo, the inquisitors would ask the accuser to identify the suspects he had denounced. The following case is typical of this procedure:

> the inquisitors ordered Enrique de Loc [*sic*] to be brought into the audience chamber and shown through a gap in the doors to Guillermo Herlin so that Loc could be identified by him. Loc was duly brought into the chamber. When Guillermo was summoned from his cell, he was shown this Enrique de Loc through a gap in the doors and, once he had seen him, he declared that the prisoner was indeed the aforementioned Enrique de Loc against whom he had testified.[9]

[8] Trial of Pierre de Ribera, fol. [3]r.

[9] Trial of Enrique Loe, fol. [7]r.

On occasion the inquisitors organized secret identity parades after apprehending suspect journeymen-printers.[10] Such practices are examples of the care the Holy Office took not only to process the right people but also to ensure that the accused would be uncertain who had denounced them.

The defendant was also kept in ignorance about trial procedure which was, in fact, strictly prescribed. The Inquisition's investigations and interrogations did not constitute a formal trial. They did not take place at a specific time in a public court but, rather, constituted an open-ended process of gathering evidence, taking witness statements, and questioning the defendant until it was decided that the charges against him were baseless, until his crimes were proved to the satisfaction of the inquisitors and their assessors, or until he made a convincing confession. A full confession of guilt was considered the ultimate legal proof, and the whole process was designed with this end in mind.[11] The inquisitors and their assessors were judge and jury. Witnesses did not testify before the accused nor did he have an opportunity to cross-examine them; neither did he have access to legal advice until an important stage in the process had already taken place.

The investigations of the printing-workers and their associates all began with a denunciation. Once that accusation and the person making it had been examined and a decision taken to pursue the case, an arrest warrant was issued, often containing a description of the accused. After he had been apprehended, sometimes many months later, a record was made of his admission to the tribunal's gaol, the gaoler drawing up a list of what he was wearing and of any money or other personal effects he was carrying. More importantly, at the time of arrest the accused's goods were seized, inventoried, and gradually sold off to pay for his maintenance in prison. Thus, when the French typesetter Juan Franco was arrested at Salamanca on the orders of the Toledo tribunal, an inventory was made of the contents of the house where he lived, which listed everything from his furniture and his family's clothes down to four uneaten oranges.[12] Such inventories provide an insight into the sort of life led by these artisans.

If the accused was eventually found guilty, his estate would be forfeit. However, even if he was acquitted and his remaining goods returned to him, he could be beggared. Considering the catastrophic effects of destitution in a society which provided little poor-relief, this prospect would have been terrifying to many defendants and had an impact upon them as soon as they were arrested. A worker whose source of income was removed, together with whatever money he had managed to save, was plunged into

[10] Trial of Pedro de Güerta, fol. 276^{r}. [11] Gacto Fernández 1993: 92.
[12] First trial of Juan Franco, fols. 133^{v}–137^{r}.

poverty when he was incarcerated. Pierre de Rinz, for example, repeatedly pleaded with the Toledo inquisitors to allow him to work: he was destitute and in rags in prison.[13] For suspects with a family to support the situation was even worse: when Juan Franco was arrested the Inquisition's agents even sold the food his growing family was to have eaten. In the case of a master-printer who had borrowed against the promise of future production, imprisonment and sequestration of his possessions could deal a death-blow to his business.[14] This was yet another source of anxiety for many of those who found themselves in the prisons of the Holy Office. Pierre Régnier, for example, had been a journeyman-printer for most of his life, working in various countries for numerous presses. The dream of many such itinerant typesetters was to become masters in their own right, but few realized that ambition. Pierre, however, had been one of the lucky ones, as he proudly recounted to the Toledo inquisitors:

> Miquel Cabrit, Joan Pau Menescal and Pedro Italiano [de Strata], all denizens of Barcelona, agreed to form a company with me, investing four hundred *ducados* to establish a press, and I went to Lyon in France some five years ago to purchase everything needed to set it up. Although it actually cost more than six hundred *ducados*, I brought all the equipment back [to Barcelona]. Since my return I have run this press, working in it myself. In the meantime I have bought out my partners' shares, and now owe them nothing, the press being entirely mine.[15]

He had thus managed to establish himself as a master-printer at Barcelona where he continued to print until he was apprehended.[16] Although the *discursos de la vida* varied in detail from prisoner to prisoner, it is unusual for financial information of this sort to be recorded in these autobiographical sketches. Its appearance here doubtless reflects Pierre's insistence on such matters as he spoke to his interrogators and, in turn, his preoccupation with his affairs which had been endangered by his enforced idleness. His arrest was to put an end to the business he had worked so hard to establish. A cell-mate reported to the inquisitors that, after he had been in prison for some three months, Pierre had become desperate: 'he is constantly agitated and nearly always in an anguished state about his case. He sometimes puts his head through the bars or the grill in the door saying that if his head can squeeze through, perhaps his body will.'[17] It was not only fear of punishment that drove him to think of escaping. He was worried sick about his

[13] Trial of Pierre de Rinz, fols. [21]^{r}, [22]^{v}.

[14] When the Salamanca printer Matías Gast was arrested by the Inquisition in 1572 production from his sequestered press immediately came to a halt (Moreno Gallego 2004: 856).

[15] Trial of Pierre Régnier, fol. [22]^{r}. See Ch. 6 for a fuller account of this new press.

[16] On Régnier's book production at Barcelona see Madurell i Marimon 1967: 130–7; Millares Carlo 1981: 49–51.

[17] Trial of Pierre Régnier, fol. [9]^{r}.

printing business; in particular his work had been interrupted just as he was in the middle of printing Vicente Montañés's highly orthodox *De principiis praenoscendis Sacrae Theologiae*, and doubtless there would be financial consequences if he failed to deliver it on time. In the event, the Barcelona printer Pedro Malo completed the edition of Montañés while Pierre languished in gaol hundreds of miles away.[18] Régnier was not only worried about work he had left unfinished; he had a full order-book, having recently signed a contract with an academic at Barcelona, Bartomeu Vilanova, to print the latter's commentary on Aristotle.[19] In his desperation over his business, Régnier contemplated reaching an accommodation with the inquisitors—a clear indication of how little he understood about the workings of the Holy Office. He told a cell-mate that 'if the inquisitors left him in possession of half his estate he would return to work, and if they put him to the torture he would confess to whatever they wished'. However, when he ingenuously broached the subject of his business with the inquisitors, complaining that his continued imprisonment was ruining him financially, he was merely instructed to confess his thought-crimes.[20]

At the beginning of the trial-record itself, the Inquisition's dossier sometimes contains a list of expenses submitted by the inquisitional agent who arrested the prisoner and escorted him under guard to the tribunal where he was to be tried. From such a document we learn, for example, that Isabel Régnier rode on a hired mount accompanied by her baggage, a muleteer, and the Barcelona Inquisition's irascible constable Pedro de Reinoso. She took fourteen days to reach Toledo from Barcelona, travelling at the height of the summer of 1570 and covering the distance of 107 leagues at the punishing rate of eight or nine leagues (some forty miles) most days with only one day's rest at Madrid. The cost of the journey came to 251 *reales*, the equivalent of twenty-five reams of good-quality imported paper or fourteen weeks' wages paid to a contemporary compositor at Toledo. We know where the party ate each day and lodged each night; we even have a record of how much was spent on the fodder for her mount.[21] The Holy Office was nothing if not meticulous in its record-keeping.

The records of the journeymen-printers who appeared before the Toledo tribunal enable the course their trials took to be reconstructed. They began

[18] Venegas 1986: 15–16. Malo may have acquired some or all Régnier's equipment when it was sold off by the Inquisition; he and subsequent Barcelona printers used several of the vignettes which had once decorated Régnier's products (Viada i Lluch 1920: 11).

[19] Madurell i Marimon 1950–1: 141–2, 162–3. It appears from the contract signed in Jan. 1570 that Régnier may have already begun to set up this work before he was arrested; it eventually appeared in 1573, again under Pedro Malo's name.

[20] Trial of Pierre Régnier, fol. [30]^{r}.

[21] Trial of Isabel Régnier, fols. 187^{r}–188^{r}. For distances between Spanish towns by contemporary routes see Villuga 1546; for the cost of paper see Rojo Vega 1996: 314; for a compositor's wages at this time see the trial of Enrique Loe, fol. [5]^{v}.

with a series of *audiencias*, or interrogations, which could take place over several weeks, and during which the defendant was formally admonished three times to examine his conscience and confess. In an early session he would give his name, origin, age, occupation, and civil state, as well as details of his genealogy, race, and any history of his family's or forebears' having been tried by the Holy Office. He would be asked whether he had been baptized a Catholic, and to recite the basic prayers. If he stood accused of a serious crime such as heresy, he would be required at one of the preliminary audiences to give a *discurso de la vida*. If his *discurso* suggested potentially fruitful lines of questioning, these would be pursued. For instance, when the French typesetter Pierre de Rinz included the information that he had begun to serve his apprenticeship in a Genevan press, the inquisitors' ears pricked up and they asked him whether he had ever attended Protestant services or sermons while in that city. When he admitted that he had done so, they questioned him about what characterized those occasions, and gradually led him round to giving them his opinion of the Genevan preachers' teaching.[22] The inquisitors were past-masters in the use of the leading question and building upon the flimsiest evidence in an effort to secure damning confessions. Those defendants who were unwary, which was the majority of the semi-educated artisans who peopled the presses of the day, could find themselves put in impossible positions or induced fatally to argue with the inquisitors about theological issues of which they had little grasp.

Some theologians in Spain were given permission to read Protestant works in order to refute them. Most Spaniards, however, knew little about Protestantism, merely believing *luteranos* to be a rabble of licentious unbelievers.[23] The author of popular spiritual treatises, Fray Francisco de Osuna, reveals characteristic ignorance in his attack on Luther: he 'is a foul-mouthed good-for-nothing who gives people the evil eye, is quick to anger, speaks haughtily, thinks only of wickedness, and spends his time stirring up trouble'.[24] The trial-records suggest that the inquisitors themselves were remarkably ill-informed about the heresies they were determined to stamp out in Spain, having little awareness of the differences between various strands of Reformist thought. Pierre de Rinz was accused at Toledo of 'having gone on numerous and diverse occasions in various places to hear *luterano* sermons and teaching in order to be instructed in the false heresies and damned errors of the accursed heretic Martin Luther'.[25] This was a formulaic accusation, yet even a superficial acquaintance with religious movements north of the Pyrenees should have taught the inquisitors that at Geneva Rinz would have been exposed to Calvin's rather than Luther's

[22] Trial of Pierre de Rinz, fols. [8]^{r}–[9]^{v}. [23] Tellechea Idígoras 1977: 27–8.
[24] Andrés 1987: 472. [25] Trial of Pierre de Rinz, fol. [15]^{r}.

teachings. Nevertheless, they stated that he 'had lived in Geneva while he was learning his craft among the *luteranos*; most Sundays he had attended their sermons, and in those sermons it was Luther's doctrine that was taught'.[26] The blanket term *luterano* employed by the inquisitors was not, it seems, merely a propagandistic ploy to direct popular animosity against an easily identified target; it reflects undiscriminating ignorance. The trial-records similarly suggest that the inquisitors at Toledo were unaware of developments in France, which they considered a land of *luteranos*. As will be seen in Chapter 5, at one stage in his trial Enrique Loe let slip that on his way from Antwerp to Spain he had worked at La Rochelle. As this French port was by then a Calvinist stronghold, a thorn in Philip II's side because it harboured Protestant pirates who preyed off Spanish vessels, and a staging-post for shipments of Reformist books bound for Spain, we might expect the inquisitors to have taken a keen interest in this admission. However, they merely asked him about what sort of religious services were held there, and then passed on.[27] When Pierre de Rinz was recounting his early life, he mentioned that his brother-in-law was a frequent correspondent of Condé. This statement provoked no recorded reaction from the Toledo inquisitors. Yet, in 1562, the very year that Rinz was discussing, Louis, prince of Condé, had become leader of the French Protestants and had seized Orléans at the beginning of the first of the French Wars of Religion. He had been a key figure throughout the troubles of the 1560s and had been killed by the Catholics at the battle of Jarnac in March 1569, less than a year before Rinz was arrested at Alcalá. More surprisingly, when talking about his period of apprenticeship, Rinz commented in passing, 'when I was in Geneva I lodged opposite the house where Calvin lived'. His interrogators do not even seem to have noticed.[28]

Such ignorance was not limited to recent events in France. Pierre Régnier told the Toledo inquisitors that, long before he arrived in Spain, 'I travelled to Rennes in Brittany where I worked at the craft of printing for three or four years. From there I went over to England at the time when our Sovereign Lord King Philip [i.e. at that stage, Prince Philip] was in that country, although I did not actually accompany him. I spent ten months working there as a printer.'[29] Their response was that everybody in England

[26] Trial of Pierre de Rinz, fol. [25]^{r}.

[27] Trial of Enrique Loe, fols. [12]^{v}–[13]^{r}. Pierre de Ribera also confessed that he had visited La Rochelle, but the Toledo inquisitors failed to question him about his stay there (trial of Pierre de Ribera, fol. 14^{r}).

[28] Trial of Pierre de Rinz, fols. [7]^{v}, [18]^{v}. Knecht 1996: 355–6, 407–8. As the news of Condé's death took only two weeks to reach Barcelona (Schwartz y Luna and Carrera y Candi 1892–1975: v. 83), the Toledo inquisitors' apparent unawareness several months later of who Condé was is remarkable.

[29] Trial of Pierre Régnier, fol. [21]^{r}.

was a *luterano*, so Régnier should confess to having been infected by heretical beliefs while he was in London. Such blanket condemnation reflected a widely held view among Spaniards ever since Henry VIII's break with Rome, even during the most conservative phase of his Reformation when the king was attempting to project himself as a Catholic prince.[30] Yet it is clear from the trial-papers that Régnier was talking about a period when the population of England was far from uniformly Protestant. He had been working in London in 1554 and possibly 1555, at the very time of the Catholic Restoration when most people in England had learnt to accommodate their beliefs to the rapidly changing religious situation in which they found themselves under Henry, his son Edward, and Mary. Régnier outlined as best he could the confusion and tensions in London during the period he had worked there, but his interrogators were oblivious to the fraught religious situation in England when their own monarch had journeyed there some fifteen years earlier to marry his fellow-Catholic Mary Tudor. For Spanish inquisitors in 1570, by which time Elizabeth was on the throne, the England of the mid-1550s was simply synonymous with heresy.

At an early session during their trials defendants were asked why they thought they had been apprehended. This question put them in a false position: if they knew the answer to the question, they would be reluctant to say so, and if they did not, they would be thrown into confusion and might again give the inquisitors information about misdemeanours of which they were not being accused. When, for example, Isabel Régnier was asked this leading question, she cast around wildly. Panic-stricken, she admitted that she and her husband had once employed in their press a fugitive from the Holy Office, and that this was what might have provoked her arrest. She then tried another tack, suggesting that she may have been the victim of a group of printing-workers at Barcelona who had long schemed to have her husband arrested by the Inquisition. Finally she conjectured that she was being interrogated because a journeyman-printer had once told her that King Philip had ordered the assassination of his son, Prince Don Carlos.[31] Back in their cells between audiences, most defendants would be racked by doubt, perplexity, and suspicion of friends, family, or acquaintances. The inducing of such a state of mental turmoil in the prisoner frequently provoked an early confession.

After his third warning, he was told that the Inquisition's *promotor fiscal* (prosecutor) was about to bring charges against him and that it would be to his advantage to make a clean breast of his crimes before those charges were formally preferred.[32] The charges invariably consisted of three elements.

[30] Marshall 2001: 39, 41–2.
[31] Trial of Isabel Régnier, fols. 195$^{r–v}$, 197^{r}, 215^{v}.
[32] Gacto Fernández 1997: 1651.

First, a blanket accusation of apostasy; most of the journeymen-printers tried at Toledo said that they had been baptized and brought up as Catholics in their native countries so they were vulnerable to such an accusation. Second, the prosecutor summarized the specific evidence the inquisitors had thus far gathered against the defendant. This consisted of any incriminating information extracted from the accused during the preliminary sessions with him, and of the denunciations which had led to his arrest in the first place. However, the Holy Office was careful not to reveal to the accused the identity of the individuals who had testified against him nor any circumstances which might allow him to infer it. Thus, for example, among the various charges brought against Isabel Régnier was one that she had referred sarcastically to the pope, but it was couched in such general terms that it was impossible for her to deduce that this accusation related to a specific conversation which had taken place some eight years earlier when she was in the company of Guillermo Herlin at Barcelona.[33] Third, the prosecutor made a standard catch-all accusation: 'Furthermore, the defendant has committed in word and deed many other heinous and less serious crimes as well as having heard and seen others committing them, but is wittingly and wickedly withholding this information.' In all the records which survive of the journeymen-printers and their associates tried at Toledo, the prosecutor concluded his charges by demanding the death penalty. He also requested that the defendant be put to the torture to extract information about his own crimes and those of others. Although these two demands were a formality, they must have struck terror into the prisoners' hearts.

The defendant's ignorance about the identity of the prosecution witnesses and the occasions on which the alleged offences took place meant that his response to the prosecution's case was often a panicked confession, a general rebuttal of the accusations, or an attempt to tailor his responses to what he supposed were the grounds for those accusations. His predicament was exacerbated by having to respond to the prosecutor's charges immediately after they had been read out to him. Only once he had done so was the defendant assigned a *letrado*, or advocate, by the inquisitors to help him construct a defence. In the case of a minor, such as Enrique Loe, who was only 20 years old, his advocate doubled up as his *curador*, a sort of guardian.[34] The evidence of prosecution witnesses was similarly read out to the defendant and his advocate, but they were not informed of the identity of the accusers and those witnesses, and the advocate was given neither an opportunity to cross-examine them nor to hold a private

[33] Trial of Isabel Régnier, fols. 189r, 198r.

[34] Trial of Enrique Loe, fol. [10]r. Males were considered adolescents up to the age of 22 although legally minors until 25.

interview with the defendant. His advice therefore tended to be limited to drawing up the defendant's response to the charges, compiling a list of questions to be asked of any witnesses the defendant named, and encouraging him to confess his crimes. It is not surprising that some defendants were suspicious of an advocate whose powers were so limited and who was appointed by the institution which was prosecuting them.[35] However, unlike the prisoner, the advocate knew the rules of procedure and could sometimes use this knowledge to defend the accused, or at least to make a case for clemency. In the case of every one of the printing-workers and their associates whose Toledo trial-records survive, the advocate assigned to them was one Bachelor Egas. He worked conscientiously within the restricted terms of his remit: acting as Enrique Loe's *curador* he improved the focus of Loe's defence, being instrumental in his being handed down a lenient sentence; it appears that his timely intervention induced the inquisitors to spare Pierre de Rinz's life; and he strove to save Isabel Régnier from the stake.[36] For their part, the inquisitors who questioned the printing-workers at Toledo and elsewhere generally performed their duties professionally and, by their own lights, fairly.

The defence mounted in the cases of the printing-workers and their associates employed three principal strategies. First, it named witnesses to support a denial of the charges and to testify to the accused's orthodoxy. Antonio de la Bastida, for example, listed sixty-nine such character witnesses during his trial at Cuenca. The inquisitors regularly went to considerable lengths and expense to locate and question such witnesses, a process which could take months or even years.[37]

Second, the defendant could discredit whomever he suspected might have testified against him. For example, Pierre Régnier and his advocate deployed a series of arguments to show that people they supposed were the prosecution's witnesses were not to be trusted: some were minors, others women; some were themselves lying heretics; they were base, uncouth people; they had not been eye-witnesses of Pierre's involvement in heretical practices, but were merely repeating hearsay evidence; his alleged offences had taken place many years previously, so why had the witnesses remained silent for so long? But the most powerful defence against his accusers was that they were his mortal enemies and so their testimony was inadmissible because it was motivated by malice.[38] Like other judicial authorities, the Holy Office customarily took allegations of personal enmity seriously and,

[35] e.g second trial of Juan Franco, fols. 161^{v}, 169^{v}.

[36] Trial of Enrique Loe, fol. [11]^{r}, etc.; trial of Pierre de Rinz, fol. [23]^{r}; trial of Isabel Régnier, fol. 222^{v}.

[37] Trial of Antonio de la Bastida, fol. [60]$^{r–v}$.

[38] Trial of Pierre Régnier, fol. [35]^{r}.

if they could be proven, the evidence provided by those enemies was disregarded. Some defendants therefore went to great lengths to discredit those they guessed might have denounced them. In the letter smuggled out of his Lisbon gaol, for example, the French bookseller and binder João de Leão begged the compositor Claudio Colomb to claim that João and a certain French pedlar were sworn enemies. He suspected that this young compatriot might incriminate him, and he was right to make this pre-emptive strike because the pedlar had, indeed, been picked up by the Seville tribunal and was giving otherwise damning testimony against him. João de Leão duly survived that trial.[39] However, as the identity of the accuser was not revealed to the defendant, he sometimes put all his efforts into establishing the enmity of a person who turned out not to be a prosecution witness, while leaving his real accusers' credibility unchallenged. On the other hand, a defendant sometimes chose to denounce as enemies everybody he could think of who might possibly have informed on him. This process inevitably turned into a lethal guessing-game. For instance, we have seen that Pierre Régnier suspected that the journeyman-printer Guillot was behind his arrest, but he could not be certain. He therefore denounced as his enemies not only Guillot and others who he knew or suspected were in prison with him, but also some forty men with whom he had worked or had dealings at Barcelona.[40] His list hit the mark, for some—and possibly all—of his original accusers figured in it. He was nevertheless found guilty of heresy because he condemned himself out of his own mouth during his interrogations and because he had failed to add his wife to his list of those who might bear witness against him. Pierre suspected that Isabel was in the Inquisition's prison at Toledo but could not be sure. He was apprehensive that she might let slip during interrogation that he had worked with *luterano* printers when they had been living in Lyon, but felt confident that she would not tell the inquisitors anything about his religious beliefs. Unbeknown to him, however, the inquisitors were alternating her interrogations with his. For her part, Isabel knew that Pierre was in the Toledo gaol. At first she was careful in her answers to protect him but eventually, racked by fear that he might have testified against her, and in what was by that time a precarious mental state brought on by ill health, terror, and bewilderment, she accused her husband of heresy. It was not until a fortnight later that, suffering great mental anguish and physical pain in the tribunal's torture chamber, Pierre reluctantly testified against her.[41]

[39] Second trial of João de Leão, fols. 102^{r}–107^{v}, 160^{v}.
[40] Trial of Pierre Régnier, fols. [33]^{r}–[34]^{v}.
[41] Ibid., fols. [9]^{r}, [59]^{r}; trial of Isabel Régnier, fols. 212^{r}, 215^{r}.

The defence's third strategy was to claim extenuating circumstances. It was frequent for the journeymen-printers and their associates on trial at Toledo to assert that they had been children or adolescents when they had performed heretical actions or uttered heretical statements; they had therefore been too young to know what they were doing. For instance Enrique Loe attempted to justify his having gone along with Protestant belief and practice when working in France, by saying that, 'as I was a child of fourteen, I didn't ask any questions but, because I was surrounded by *luteranos*, acted and thought as they did'.[42] They also pleaded ignorance, something the Holy Office was prepared to admit as a partial excuse, customarily branding the uneducated as 'unlettered ignoramuses'.[43] Thus, the French pressman Antonio de la Bastida maintained when being questioned at Sigüenza about some suspect statements he had made there concerning the pope and the saints, 'I am an ignorant youth and I didn't know that there was any heretical error in what I said because I have never been formally taught about the things I spoke of.'[44] Women could appeal to the inquisitors' misogyny by claiming an innate inability to understand matters of any import. Isabel Régnier had recourse to this defence: 'I am a woman, and we poor women cannot comprehend matters of faith, nor the holy scriptures, nor what lies behind them, so I can't explain why I used not to believe [in the power of the pope] but do so now.'[45] Enrique Loe even tried to convince his interrogators that he failed to denounce Guillermo Herlin to the inquisitors after Herlin had persuaded him to break his fast before taking communion, because 'I did not know what the Inquisition was'.[46] The inquisitors took youth and ignorance seriously as a defence: one Gil de Uquetan, a bookseller from Lyon, maintained that he would not credit that Christ had died unless this could be corroborated by somebody still alive who had witnessed the crucifixion. Gil was merely flogged for this extraordinary declaration because, as the report on his case explained, he was a lad of only 15 and it appeared that his statement was the product of his stupidity.[47]

A further extenuating circumstance was diminished responsibility resulting from drunkenness or insanity. Enrique Loe, for instance, explained away the comment he had made to Herlin that the Catholic mass was a

[42] Trial of Enrique Loe, fol. [21]^{v}.

[43] Kinder 1996: 37–49.

[44] Trial of Antonio de la Bastida, fol. [17]^{r}. The same defence was made by Catholic Spaniards captured in England. When Juan Abad, who was arrested in Salisbury in 1541, was asked for his views about the primacy of the pope, he replied that he was 'unlernyd and woolde not medle therewith'; Abad was, moreover, a priest (Marshall 2001: 31).

[45] Trial of Isabel Régnier, fol. 221^{v}.

[46] Trial of Enrique Loe, fol. [13]^{v}.

[47] The Zaragoza tribunal's account of its *auto de fe* of 22 Nov. 1562: AHN, Inq., lib. 988, fol. 93^{v}.

joke by maintaining that he must have been roaring drunk at the time.[48] This claim rang true in his case because, like so many Flemings in sixteenth-century Spain, he had the reputation of being much given to drink, although Herlin asserted that Loe was uncharacteristically sober on that occasion.[49] The authorities at Sigüenza were careful to ask witnesses whether Antonio de la Bastida was under the influence when he had uttered his suspect statements in the presence of his fellow printing-workers there.[50] The French typesetter Juan Franco, on the other hand, maintained that when he had confessed to his interrogators that he believed indulgences to be worthless and the pope powerless to grant them, he was out of his mind.[51] Some prisoners certainly did go mad in the Inquisition's gaols, while others were driven to distraction but not derangement. Again, such matters were taken seriously by the Holy Office, medical reports being commissioned on prisoners who appeared genuinely to have lost their wits.[52] One of Pierre Régnier's cell-mates was seriously disturbed and Pierre begged the inquisitors to remove him because he could no longer stand his company.[53] Some of the statements made by Pierre's wife, Isabel, suggest that she was deranged during at least some of her time in prison: on one occasion, after she had been incarcerated for some seven months at Toledo, she began screaming at the inquisitors during one of their sessions with her and ended by begging them not to send her back to her cell, claiming that a devil had taken up residence in it.[54] Antonio de la Bastida became distracted with worry during his imprisonment at Cuenca. The inquisitors were told by a cell-mate that he 'did nothing but weep and look out of the cell window and put his head into the sunlight which came in through it, seeing if he could get his head out and saying that he might well be able to squeeze through ... and that, if he couldn't escape, he'd hang himself'.[55] But, although La Bastida was suffering the mental anguish which must have been common in the gaols of the Holy Office, he neither went mad nor was burnt at the stake as he feared. When he described himself as being 'out of his mind', he was clearly referring to an extreme state of agitation, not madness. The pedlar of printed pictures, Pedro de Güerta, is an example of

[48] Trial of Enrique Loe, fol. [21]^{v}.

[49] Ibid., fols. [3]^{r}, [12]^{r}, [18]^{r}. Flemings' reputation for drunkenness was widespread among Spaniards at this time, even finding its way into printed works written in the 1570s (Rutherford 2001: 27). Foreign visitors to Spain in the early modern period remarked upon the sobriety of Spaniards and how drunkenness was frowned upon among them (K. Wagner 2001: 42).

[50] Trial of Antonio de la Bastida, fol. [10]^{v}.

[51] Second trial of Juan Franco, fol. 154^{r}.

[52] e.g. letter of Aug. 1569 from the Toledo tribunal to the Suprema: AHN, Inq., leg. 3069, exp. 180.

[53] Trial of Pierre Régnier, fol. [37]^{r}.

[54] Trial of Isabel Régnier, fols. 212^{r}, 214^{r}.

[55] Trial of Antonio de la Bastida, fol. [40]$^{r–v}$.

a defendant who feigned insanity after a confession of *luteranismo* was extracted from him under torture. He also pretended to have lost the ability to speak, answering the interrogators' questions in sign language. Ever ready to cooperate with the inquisitors, Guillermo Herlin was put in a cell with the Fleming, reporting back that his behaviour was nothing but a feint, for Güerta had spoken out loud and clear when mocking him and other prisoners. Nevertheless, the inquisitors did not rely solely upon Herlin's denunciation of Güerta. They quizzed other prisoners including a slave who provided damning evidence that the Fleming was not only perfectly rational but was 'a knowledgeable person especially about the Holy Office's prisons, being able to describe the practice followed in the gaols of the tribunals of Seville, Granada and Córdoba'. Although Güerta had not himself been an inmate of any of the Andalusian prisons, he had evidently heard all about them from compatriots who had been incarcerated in them.[56] After weighing evidence of his madness, the Toledo inquisitors and their assessors decided to put him to the torture for a second time. When it became sufficiently severe, Pedro de Güerta recovered his faculty of speech, confessed that his madness was a mere subterfuge, and condemned himself out of his own mouth. It was only a matter of time before he was committed to the flames.[57]

After the preliminary audiences were over and an advocate assigned to him, the accused was permitted to identify defence witnesses and the questions they should be asked. If he so wished, he could also enter at this stage the plea for any extenuating circumstances to be taken into consideration. Once those defence witnesses who could be located had furnished their depositions, he was questioned further. In some cases sessions took place over a short, intensive period and in others over many months during which the accused languished in prison constantly on tenterhooks about when the next interrogation might be sprung upon him. He could, if he so chose, take the initiative of seeking an audience with the inquisitors. At such audiences he would normally attempt to explain away some apparent misdemeanour, try to correct what he thought was a bad impression he had given his questioners, add some information he claimed to have forgotten to mention, or confess to a crime he had previously concealed. For example, Enrique Loe, who was accused of eating meat on a Friday, explained at one such session that he had done so because he had been suffering from fever.[58]

Of all the dangers facing the prisoner who was not bent on martyrdom, the greatest were being found to have relapsed into heresy after a previous

[56] Trial of Pedro de Güerta, fols. 238^{v}–239^{v}.
[57] Ibid., fols. 285^{r}–296^{v}.
[58] Trial of Enrique Loe, fol. [21]^{r}.

trial, and revoking a confession made during the current trial. The first was taken as evidence that the repentance shown in order to be reconciled with the Church had been feigned; the second that the confession must have been false and that the accused could therefore be fatally categorized as a *falso confitente*. However, an important difference was that the prisoner who had been tried, found guilty, and reconciled on an earlier occasion had always been made aware of the danger of relapsing. João de Leão, for instance, was tried at Lisbon for *luteranismo*, reconciled in 1565, and warned what the consequences of returning to his old faith would be. Three years later he was, indeed, accused of lapsing into heretical belief, but on that occasion the Portuguese inquisitors had insufficient evidence to condemn him to death. He realized that he had been very lucky and said as much in a smuggled letter to a friend: 'I can tell you that by a sheer miracle God, by His Grace, has spared my life.'[59] On the other hand, defendants who had no previous experience of the Holy Office and who thought better of a confession they had made during their trial were invariably unaware of the danger they were running, and many dug their own graves in this way. Pedro de Güerta, for example, was interrogated intensively at Toledo from the time of his arrest in early April 1570 until the inquisitors and their assessors resolved in late May that at their next *auto de fe* they would sentence him to the galleys for *luteranismo*. Güerta was unaware that his file had been closed, and requested a series of additional audiences at which he volunteered a mass of new evidence against his Flemish companions, several of whom were journeymen-printers who had fled from Alcalá de Henares when Guillermo Herlin was arrested there. He also confessed in more detail than previously to his own heretical beliefs. However, some days later, in early June, he sensed that he had gone too far so began to retract what he had said about his friends, going on to revoke the confessions about his own heresy. His statements became increasingly desperate as it began to dawn on him that he had painted himself into a corner. In their summing up of his case the inquisitors recorded that he had continually retracted confessions made under oath; what was already a harsh punishment of ten years at the oar was therefore changed to a death sentence.[60]

If it was considered that the accused was withholding information about others or refusing to make a full confession of his own crimes, a decision could be taken to torture him. At all crucial stages of the trial—the initial decision to arrest a suspect, the ratification of accusations made by a defendant against others, the drawing up of the final verdict—the inquisitors sought the opinion of their assessors about what course of action to

[59] Third trial of João de Leão, fol. 122^{r}.
[60] Trial of Pedro de Güerta, fols. 274^{v}–296^{v}, especially fol. 295^{v}.

follow.[61] This was also the case with torture: the whole team examined the evidence and decided whether torture would be appropriate. Sometimes the threat of torture was sufficient to extract a confession which satisfied the inquisitors. Enrique Loe, for instance, was thought to be concealing what his real beliefs had been when he worked on holy days in a French press and had eaten meat on Fridays, so it was agreed that he undergo water torture and have his limbs crushed by tightening ropes. When he was informed of this decision he broke down and confessed to harbouring *luterano* sympathies.[62] However, the threat of pain was not enough to break some of the journeymen-printers and their associates, and at least four of them were put to the torture: Antonio de la Bastida at Cuenca, Benito Dulcet at Barcelona, and both Pierre Régnier and Pedro de Güerta at Toledo. Although at 50 Régnier was a relatively old man for the period, he was tortured because the inquisitors suspected that he was concealing information in order to protect others as well as himself. As was the case with La Bastida and Güerta, only ropes were used on him. Régnier underwent this ordeal over two successive days, on the first having his arms crushed and on the second suffering the same agonies on both his arms and legs. His terror and the pain inflicted on him during these sessions loosened his tongue, and the inquisitors were eventually satisfied that he had told them the full truth.[63] Only Antonio de la Bastida did not incriminate himself or others under such duress, but he was young and presumably exceptionally strong. By the age of 13 he was a fully trained and experienced puller of the bar of printing-presses, a strenuous job even for a grown man; by 25 he had foot-slogged his way across France and Spain several times.[64] 'Vanquishing torture', as the Inquisition termed such resistance, was not considered proof of innocence; the prisoner was still considered suspect but, as the accusations against him could not be proven, he would be given a lighter sentence. In La Bastida's case he merely had to abjure his errors *de vehementi* in Cuenca cathedral and suffer perpetual banishment from the local district.[65] The only woman to be

[61] Fernández Giménez 2000: 93–128. The same assessors appear time and again in the papers of the printing-workers tried at Toledo. They customarily came from the Dominican house of San Pedro Mártir which was famous for the eminence of its theologians (Hurtado de Toledo 1951–63: 552).

[62] Trial of Enrique Loe, fols. [20]^{v}–[22]^{v}.

[63] Trial of Pierre Régnier, fols. [56]^{r}–[61]^{v}.

[64] La Bastida was probably a large man; a comrade who had worked with him at Zaragoza when La Bastida was only 14 or 15 years old thought he then looked about 18 (trial of Antonio de la Bastida, fol. [25]^{v}).

[65] Ibid., fols. [76]^{v}–[77]^{r}, and ADC, Inq., lib. 356, fol. 283^{r}. Two sorts of abjuration are commonly encountered in Inquisition trials. Abjuration *de levi* was imposed when suspicion of heresy was not strong. Abjuration *de vehementi* was demanded of a suspect when there was serious evidence against him but heresy could not be proven. The distinction was important because if a suspect who had abjured *de vehementi* was subsequently found committing heretical acts, he would be judged a relapsed heretic (Fernández Giménez 2000: 171–4).

tried at Toledo who was closely involved in the network of immigrant printers and journeymen-printers was Isabel Régnier. The inquisitors and their assessors discussed whether she should be tortured in order to induce her to inform on fellow-heretics, but the resulting vote was inconclusive. In the event she was spared this agony.[66] Any confessions extracted during a session in the torture chamber had to be ratified by the prisoner twenty-four hours after that session; in this way the Holy Office sought to ensure that the defendants had not lied simply to put an end to their pain. This reflects one of the inquisitors' principal concerns: to uncover heresy, induce the guilty to make genuine confessions, and then impose what they judged to be an appropriate punishment. To this end they tried to discover whether the heretical acts and statements of which suspects were accused were the outward manifestation of deeply held beliefs. This is why they attempted to plumb what they called the 'intention' lying behind them; if they were successful in uncovering such convictions, they tried to lead the wayward back to orthodoxy. For example, the Toledo inquisitors lectured Isabel Régnier about her belief that the consecrated host is only a memorial of Christ's body and not his actual flesh, setting out somewhat ambitiously to explain through an interpreter to this illiterate peasant the difference between accidents and substance in the theology of the real presence.[67] They gave up and condemned her to the flames only after they had concluded that she was impervious—indeed, hostile—to persuasion.

Once the trial process was complete, the inquisitors and their assessors voted on the sentence to be passed on these printers, seeking the Suprema's views when there was disagreement among them or when they wished to impose a death sentence. A summary of the case was drawn up and this, together with the sentence, was read out at the *auto de fe* at which those judged guilty appeared. If a prisoner had been pronounced guilty at the *auto* but brought back into the fold of the Church, after the ceremony he was summoned to one final audience with the inquisitors. At that session he was warned that he would be shown no mercy if he relapsed into heresy; he was also asked for his *avisos de cárcel*, in other words for any evidence he could provide against his fellow-prisoners which he had acquired during his time in gaol. This demand that he betray his companions was not without a perverse logic: if his repentance was genuine, he could now be expected to be eager to cooperate with the Inquisition in stamping out the heresy he himself had rejected. Finally, he was transferred to the secular authorities for dispatch, in the case of most of the printing-workers, to the galley fleet. The prisoner who was to be condemned to death would be informed of his fate

[66] Letter dated 31 Aug. 1570 from the Toledo tribunal to the Suprema: AHN, Inq., leg. 3070, exp. 48.

[67] Trial of Isabel Régnier, fol. 213^{v}.

the night before the *auto de fe* in order to give him time to prepare his soul. Some of the condemned, like João de Leão, then made a full confession.[68] After the *auto*, at which he would be excommunicated, such a condemned prisoner was handed over to the civil authorities for burning. At least four foreign printing-workers and their associates met this brutal end at Toledo in the early 1570s, being taken outside the city walls to the *quemadero*, or burning site, among the ruins of the old Roman circus. Three more members of the world of printing and bookselling were committed to the flames in effigy.

The length and complexity of these trials varied considerably. While a leading figure like Sigismondo Arquer saw his case drag on for many years, the journeymen-printers were men on whom the Toledo inquisitors could afford to spend a good deal less time, effort, and expense. The throughput of these humble prisoners was on occasion remarkably rapid. Guillermo Herlin had been arrested by the autumn of 1569, and appeared at the *auto* held in the Plaza de Zocodover in June 1570. Two of his victims, Enrique Loe and Pierre de Rinz, had been in prison for just over five and seven months respectively when they were paraded at that *auto*. In the case of Pedro de Güerta, a mere three months elapsed between his arrest in March 1570 and his execution after that same *auto* where, at the very least, ten immigrants associated with the world of printing were sentenced.[69] Only a few days after the June 1570 *auto* which had allowed the Toledo inquisitors to clear their cramped accommodation of so many prisoners, at least a further four printers and their associates sought by Toledo were arrested: Juan Franco in Salamanca, and Pierre Régnier, Isabel Régnier, and Antonio de la Bastida in Barcelona. Room had to be made for them and others in the overcrowded and insanitary cells. Prisoners who had been sentenced were moved rapidly out of the inquisitorial gaol. The day after Pierre de Rinz had appeared at the great June *auto* he was transferred to the royal prison at Toledo; just over a week later he was unavailable to act as a witness in Pierre de Ribera's trial because he was already in a chain-gang making its way to the coast where the galleys were stationed.[70] Nevertheless, ten days after the

[68] Third trial of João de Leão, fols. 256^{r}–259^{v}.

[69] Among the ten men who were definitely printing-workers and their associates were seven we have already encountered: the Frenchmen Isac de Ribera, Esteban Carrier, Pierre de Rinz, and Guillermo Herlin, and the Flemings Pedro Alberto, Enrique Loe, and Pedro de Güerta. Three other Frenchmen appearing at this *auto* were definitely journeymen-printers: the Gascon Juan de Cutera, Juan de Probin from northern France, and Jacques de la Oliva from Lyon. The following two foreigners may also have been printing-workers: Diego Enríquez (alias Jacome de Alberon) from the Low Countries, and Antonio Francés from Castilnovo (Châteauneuf?) near Toulouse (RBM, MS II/1846, fols. 63^{r}–65^{r} [*olim* 146^{r}–148^{r}]). At least Antonio Francés had been denounced by Herlin with whom he probably worked in the Alcalá presses (see the Toledo tribunal's letter dated 31 Dec. 1569 to the Suprema: AHN, Inq., leg. 3069, exp. 208).

[70] Trial of Pierre de Rinz, fol. [14]^{r}; trial of Pierre de Ribera, fol. [20]^{r}.

auto several prisoners still remained in the cells, and this was before the Régniers had reached Toledo.[71] A further ceremony was therefore required. It was a more modest affair staged in the Dominican monastery of San Pedro Mártir and only eight people appeared at it, none of whom was condemned to death. Among those reconciled to the Church on this occasion was the French compositor Pierre de Ribera.[72] Another typesetter, Adrián Gaspar, was not even kept back in prison to appear at a public *auto* but sentenced in the Inquisition's own premises; this may be further evidence of the pressure the Toledo tribunal was under at this time to dispatch these printers' cases expeditiously.[73] However, some trials were not completed so rapidly: Juan Franco and the Régniers spent twelve months incarcerated at Toledo before they were sentenced at the spectacular *auto* of June 1571. Juan Franco was subsequently tried for a second time and had to languish in prison for another year before being the only person to be burnt immediately after the *auto* celebrated by the Toledo tribunal in May 1572.

The length of trials depended on factors such as the importance of the defendant and the number of witnesses from distant parts of the country whom he named. However, the Inquisition's tribunals were also subject to practical restraints. Money was always a consideration. For example in the summer of 1571 the Murcia inquisitors urgently requested information from Toledo so that they could close their file on their one outstanding case, and mount an *auto de fe*; as will be seen in Chapter 10, the outstanding case was their trial of none other than Guillermo Herlin. They complained that almost all the inmates of their prison were poor and had to be fed at the institution's expense. The inquisitors were therefore anxious to process them as soon as possible at an *auto*. Immediately after that *auto*, they begged the Suprema for cash to solve an acute financial crisis.[74] Although for its part the Toledo tribunal found its economic situation markedly improved by the time the printers were tried there, its inquisitors still

[71] Letter dated 27 June 1570 from the Toledo tribunal to the Suprema: AHN, Inq., leg. 3070, exp. 33.

[72] RBM, MS II/1846, fol. 65^{v} [*olim* 48^{v}]; AHN, Inq., leg. 2105, caja 1, exp. 8; and the trial of Pierre de Ribera, fol. [26]^{v}.

[73] AHN, Inq., leg. 2105, caja 1, exp. 8. The fact that the sentence passed on Gaspar at Toledo tribunal was more or less a reimposition of the one handed down by the Zaragoza tribunal before his escape may have been a factor in the decision to sentence him in private. A parallel case is that of Juan de Rodas (also known as Juan de la Rueda), a compositor from Geneva, who had worked for Pierre Régnier at Barcelona and was in prison at Toledo by at least Feb. 1571. He was sentenced in private at some time between the June 1571 and May 1572 *autos*, having previously been tried by the Holy Office in Barcelona and transferred to Toledo at the behest of the inquisitors there (see trial of Pierre Régnier, fol. [54]^{v}; letter dated 5 Mar. 1571 from the Barcelona tribunal to the Suprema: AHN, Inq., lib. 737, fol. 305^{r}; and Toledo's *relación de causas* for 1572: AHN, Inq., leg. 2105, caja 1, exp. 10).

[74] Letters dated 20 May 1571 and 1 July 1571 from Murcia to the Suprema: AHN, Inq., leg. 2798, unnumbered exp., and leg. 2022, caja 1, exp. 5.

complained of being overworked and desperately short of funds.[75] It is difficult to assess how conventional were such complaints from local tribunals as they regularly appeared as preambles to requests for additional funding, but by the spring of 1570 the Suprema itself had become concerned at the spiralling cost of Arquer's trial and urged Toledo to bring his case to a conclusion even if this meant postponing by one month the *auto de fe* at which he would be sentenced. Toledo replied that it would hold Arquer over for another ceremony because it was anxious to avoid any delay to the *auto* planned for June. Being able to dispatch their prisoners to the stake, galleys, or secular prisons after this imminent *auto* would bring much needed relief to the overcrowding of their cells which posed a health hazard now that the hot weather had arrived.[76] The Suprema backed down, saying, 'we understand that, because of the large number of prisoners you are holding, the air in your gaol has become infected and some of its inmates are succumbing to illness'.[77] Yet the decision to go ahead with the *auto* in turn meant expediting other cases. An examination of the rhythm of audiences with Pedro de Güerta suggests that the approach of an *auto* concentrated minds. Indeed, the introduction of Herlin into Güerta's cell shortly before the *auto* of June 1570 can be explained by the inquisitors' urgent need for information to complete his case.[78] The inquisitors could thus turn a problem into a solution. According to regulations, prisoners should have been held in solitary confinement at least at the beginning of their trial. This was often not an option at Toledo. However, the placing of a cooperative prisoner in a cell with a newly arrested suspect was a useful method of obtaining information rapidly. Herlin was therefore put in with Pedro Alberto as soon as the young Fleming was apprehended, for there were only three weeks before the next *auto* was scheduled to take place.[79] On the other hand, large *autos* were expensive to stage, and the inquisitors needed to ensure that they could parade enough people before the dignitaries and populace of Toledo to put on a good show. In particular the tribunal held back for a grand *auto* heretics due to be sentenced to death. This was the case with Antonio Francés: his fate was decided by mid-December 1569, but he was kept in his cell for some six more months before the *auto* of June 1570 took place and he could be burnt.[80] A large

[75] Letter dated 4 June 1571 from the Toledo tribunal to the Suprema: AHN, Inq., leg. 3070, exp. 131.

[76] Letters dated 17 and 28 Apr. 1570 from the Toledo tribunal to the Suprema, including the Suprema's replies: AHN, Inq., leg. 3070, exps. 15 and 17.

[77] Letter dated 23 May 1570 from the Suprema to the Toledo tribunal: AHN, Inq., lib. 577, fol. 109^{v}.

[78] Trial of Pedro de Güerta, fol. 276^{v}.

[79] Trial of Pierre de Ribera, fol. [3]^{v}.

[80] Letters from the Toledo tribunal dated 15 and 31 Dec. 1569 to the Suprema: AHN, Inq., leg. 3069, exps. 205 and 208.

number of penitents destined to be reconciled with the Church had also to be kept in prison after the outcome of their cases had been settled so that an impressive ceremony could be mounted. A decision was reached in mid-December 1569, for instance, that Pierre de Rinz would be reconciled and sent to the galleys, but he did not know this, and audiences with him took place at leisurely intervals after that date. There was little hurry because he was going to be kept in prison another six months so that he could appear at the *auto* of June 1570.[81] The length of the trials of these printing-workers was, therefore, subject to several factors which had little to do with their intrinsic merits.

We shall never know how long were the trials of most of the members of the network of printers investigated at Toledo because their own detailed records have disappeared. However, from a comparison of the surviving evidence with the trials of similar workers sentenced by other tribunals, it would seem that Toledo processed some of the printers with unseemly haste. João de Leão's final trial at Lisbon lasted a full two years, while Antonio de la Bastida's minor offences had been dealt with at Sigüenza and Cuenca over a period of seven months. At Toledo, on the other hand, a mere seven weeks sufficed for Pierre de Ribera's trial, while Pedro Alberto must have been something of a record even for that tribunal: it dispatched his case in three weeks flat.

The procedure followed by the Toledo tribunal when trying these printing-workers followed the pattern outlined in this chapter. The trial-records were written in Castilian by the Inquisition's secretaries and could give the impression that the exchanges between defendants and inquisitors were generally clear and straightforward except when prisoners were deliberately obfuscatory. Such an impression, however, would be misleading. A close study of the records reveals that behind them lay the organizing minds of the secretaries who summarized the defendants' responses in the institution's idiom, intervening to clarify what must often have been muddled answers given by bewildered prisoners. In many of these trials, however, there was a more immediate problem than the defendants' incoherence: the interrogators and the accused did not share a language.

Many foreigners who were denounced to the Holy Office by Spaniards scandalized by what they appeared to be saying in casual conversations were the victims of misunderstanding because their command of Castilian was not sufficiently sophisticated to allow them to make nuanced statements.[82] Several of the journeymen-printers and their associates investigated at Toledo seem barely to have spoken the language, yet their trials were all conducted and recorded in it. Explicit references in the papers to there

[81] Trial of Pierre de Rinz, fol. [20]^{v}. [82] Monter 1987: 107.

having been any obstacle to clear communication between prisoners and inquisitors are nevertheless extremely rare. The records suggest that the defendants' responses were made in perfect Castilian, but in reality many would have responded in some sort of pidgin to questions which, at best, they only half understood. For example, the secretaries nowhere recorded that the inquisitors encountered any problem in interrogating Enrique Loe. However, when a priest from Alcalá, Dr Lorente Vaquero, was approached to attest to Loe's orthodoxy, he explained that two years earlier, when Loe had indicated that he wanted to get married, it had fallen to him to examine the young Fleming's knowledge of basic prayers and the rudiments of the Church's teachings.[83] As it soon became clear that they had no language in common, the priest had been obliged to call upon the services of a local bookseller to interpret for them. Vaquero then sent Loe to confess to a friar who knew Flemish, and the friar provided a signed certificate to prove that the confession had taken place.[84] Loe had by that stage already been living and working in Spain for at least two years, and doubtless setting up text in Castilian day after day in the presses, but whatever Spanish he then spoke must have been extremely primitive. After he had made what was accepted as a full confession by the Toledo inquisitors, he was asked why he had not previously mentioned all he now confessed. His answer was simply that he had not understood what he was asked.[85]

In extreme cases interpreters were employed but in Toledo, at least, these were men called in off the street. Few of them would have had a sufficient command of Castilian and French, or Castilian and Flemish, to translate fine points of theology.[86] On occasion it is evident that the linguistic barrier was insurmountable. Isabel Régnier, for instance, had not been outside France until the age of about 30; prior to her arrest she had lived at Barcelona where she may have picked up some Catalan but she knew no Castilian, the medium through which she was tried at Toledo albeit with the help of an interpreter of sorts. Her responses suggest that she did not understand what she was asked, and her trial developed into a dialogue of the deaf. The following exchange is not untypical of Isabel's interrogations: she rejects a fundamental tenet of orthodox belief, the real presence of

[83] After the Council of Trent confession and a knowledge of the basic tenets of the Catholic faith were, at least theoretically, prerequisites of permission to marry (Redondo 1986: 337).

[84] Trial of Enrique Loe, fol. [19]^{v}. The bookseller was Blas de Robles who financed the first edition of Cervantes's *La Galatea*. His son Francisco bought from the same author the manuscripts of both parts of *Don Quixote* and the *Novelas ejemplares* (Pérez Pastor 1897–1902: i. 141–4, 178–85, ii. 87–92; Morisse 2002: 285–320).

[85] Trial of Enrique Loe, fol. [22]^{v}.

[86] In 1567 the Barcelona tribunal, on the other hand, counted several interpreters among its staff: AHN, Inq., leg. 1592, exp. 18, fol. 108^{r}. This may reflect the large number of foreigners resident at Barcelona at that time.

Christ in the consecrated host. However, immediately before doing so, she denies ever having questioned that tenet:

> [The defendant] was told that in previous sessions she had admitted to holding and believing that the consecrated host was not the real body of Christ, so she should now confess and make clear what she really thought and believed about this.
>
> When the interpreter had made her understand the question, she denied ever having held such an opinion nor does she remember confessing to having done so. What she thinks and believes is that the host the priest elevates [during the mass] is just a symbol of Christ and his body: the bread is not Christ's actual flesh but a mere commemoration of it.[87]

On the one hand such contradictions could be symptoms of the panic she regularly claimed gripped her during interrogation. As an illiterate peasant she was without doubt also out of her depth intellectually. But one of the principal problems she and her questioners experienced was that of not understanding each other's language. At the end of her trial, when she became overwrought, she turned on her interpreter indicating that she had not even realized that his role was merely to provide a conduit between her and the inquisitors: 'She said that her conscience was clearer than the aforementioned interpreter's . . . ; she maintained that she had believed nothing which went against the faith, while the interpreter's co-religionists had taken up arms [against the Catholics] at Lyon.'[88] It is most unlikely that, as a Frenchwoman resident in Barcelona, she knew anything at all about the humble interpreter who happened to assist at her trial in Toledo. When the local inquisitors sent her dossier to Madrid seeking permission to hand her over to the secular authorities for burning, the Suprema was concerned from its reading of the papers that mutual incomprehension could lead to a miscarriage of justice. It insisted that not one but two interpreters attend a final session with her before she could be condemned, thus indicating that it thought the inquisitors' problems in making themselves understood to Isabel were not so much intellectual as linguistic.[89]

The most graphic example of such linguistic difficulties comes from the trial of Isabel's husband. Pierre Régnier had worked for eleven years at Barcelona but, although he set up books in Castilian, he was not familiar with that language, and the Toledo inquisitors, aware of this problem, assigned him a series of interpreters who could speak French. When he asked for paper to write down his defence in his cell, they obliged by providing him with a single sheet on which he duly composed this defence in what was principally French, with the odd phrase in Catalan. When he came to present it to the inquisitors, it transpired that Guillermo Madreto,

[87] Trial of Isabel Régnier, fol. 213^{v}. [88] Ibid., fol. 226^{v}. [89] Ibid., fols. 224^{r}–225^{r}.

who had interpreted at most of Régnier's previous sessions with the inquisitors, was ill.[90] They therefore sent out for another interpreter, and a Frenchman called Francisco Fazendo eventually came to help. Régnier presented his written defence but, as none of the inquisitors could read the language in which it was written, Fazendo was asked to translate it for them. Unfortunately, this elderly tinker turned out to be illiterate. At that moment, Guillermo Madreto came into the audience chamber, apparently having made a miraculous recovery. But, despite being a bookseller by trade, Madreto was equally unable to read (or to read French), and so could not translate the written statement. Régnier was consequently asked to read it out loud, while tinker and bookseller did their best to render it into Castilian orally. As both the written defence and a record of the rough and ready translation of it survive, we can see where mistranslations compromised the case for the defence which Régnier was attempting to construct.[91]

Misunderstandings were not, however, exclusively linguistic. The intervention of the secretaries as they summarized and ordered the defendants' responses necessarily involved interpretation. Indeed, at an earlier stage in the process, the very questions asked at the interrogation sessions reflected preconceptions shared by the educated and legalistic inquisitors which would have been alien to many of their humble prisoners. Distinctions such as heresy/orthodoxy or *luterano*/Christian would have had a clear meaning for the inquisitors, however poorly informed they were about the gamut of Reformist ideas. But we may wonder whether such distinctions were so clear to French or Flemish journeymen-printers who had spent their lives shuttling between Geneva, London, Antwerp, Lyon, La Rochelle, Paris, Toulouse, Spain, and Portugal, picking up an amalgam of religious opinion on their travels. It was inevitable during the interrogations that minds would not always meet, yet the trial-records only rarely allude to such mutual incomprehension. The French typesetter Juan Franco knew Castilian well. When, in his second trial at Toledo, he began to retract the confessions which had led to his first sentence at the June 1571 *auto de fe*, the inquisitor had the record of those confessions read out to him. Franco's response was:

I never said or confessed to such things, for I'm a good Christian; what happened was that the inquisitor misunderstood me. Just write down whatever you like Your Honour, for I never followed what was going on [i.e. in any of the first trial proceedings] until the moment my sentence was read out when I was on the platform

[90] Madreto was a 30-year-old bookseller who plied his trade in one of Toledo cathedral's doorways (trial of Pierre Régnier, fol. [20]^{v}).

[91] Trial of Pierre Régnier, fols. [30]^{v}–[31]^{v}, [33]^{r}–[34]^{v}.

at the *auto de fe*. I simply hadn't understood the questions the inquisitor had asked me.[92]

Like all the defendants who claimed that they did not comprehend their interrogators' questions, Juan Franco may have been lying, but it is more likely that he had been genuinely perplexed. Nor did Isabel Régnier seem to be trying to fool the inquisitors at the end of her trial when, unbeknown to her, they had already decided to apply to the Suprema for permission to have her executed. She defended herself in the following terms: 'I haven't got a wicked tongue and shouldn't be imprisoned as a strumpet, a common whore, or a thief. The people who have testified against me in Barcelona are liars, while I have told the truth. The Inquisition is a sink of iniquity; I've heard that they call me a harlot, but they are all ponces as far as I'm concerned.'[93] It is evident that she had no idea what she was being accused of nor that she had already condemned herself out of her own mouth by confessing her heretical views and then revoking that confession. Pathetically, she revealed how oblivious she was to her predicament when she pleaded for 'forgiveness and punishment if I have erred in any way; I beseech Your Honours to send me back to Barcelona with whatever punishment you see fit to impose upon me, even if it be as harsh as making me wear a penitential habit'.[94] A few weeks later she was burnt.

At the beginning of this chapter secrecy was described as the corner-stone of the Inquisition's procedure. The institution aspired to maintaining absolute secrecy about reasons for arrest, the identity of witnesses, its methods of interrogation, and its inner workings. This ambition was not always realized, for prisoners found ways to communicate both with fellow-inmates and the outside world. Nevertheless, for the foreign printers arrested in the late 1560s and early 1570s, such secrecy as could be maintained by the Holy Office was not only terrifying, but could lead them to the stake mystified right up to the moment of their execution.

But why had so many artisans crossed the Pyrenees in the first place and so fallen victim to the Inquisition? Why were there such a large number of foreign journeymen working in the Spanish printing industry in particular; and what were the risks they ran as immigrants in Spain?

[92] Second trial of Juan Franco, fols. 165^{v}–166^{r}.
[93] Trial of Isabel Régnier, fol. 212^{r}.
[94] Ibid., fol. 219^{v}.

4
Foreign Printing-Workers in Spain

The craftsmen who concern us were, in the main, young, single, and footloose. More importantly, they were foreigners. Spain had long been a destination for Frenchmen looking for work, in particular from the Midi and Languedoc. In the 1540s this migration increased significantly, the demographic expansion of Catalonia from the mid-sixteenth century to the early seventeenth being fuelled by French immigration.[1] Although it is impossible to arrive at a convincing estimate of the numbers who crossed the Pyrenees either to settle in Spain or as seasonal migrants, we do have indications of how obvious to contemporaries was the presence of Frenchmen there. The late 1550s to the early 1570s was the period when most of the journeymen-printers denounced by Guillermo Herlin were trying their luck in the peninsula only to end up in inquisitional prisons. By 1577 it was being claimed that as much as one-fifth of the population of the kingdom of Aragon was of French origin, and the same proportion has been postulated for Catalonia in the second half of the sixteenth century. Even many years later when the peak of immigration had passed, one observer—doubtless given to exaggeration—was still claiming that there were as many Frenchmen walking the streets of Barcelona as there were Catalans.[2]

There were several reasons why Spain exerted such a strong pull on Frenchmen. France had more than twice the number of inhabitants of Spain but was not a great deal larger in size, while the area just north of the Pyrenees was chronically overpopulated.[3] North-eastern Spain had long been sparsely peopled, and ever since the late fifteenth century wages there had been attractive.[4] Indeed, it has been estimated that wages in Catalonia were the highest in Europe, while Valencia's expanding economy in the 1560s likewise offered enticing rewards, sucking in French immigrants to the eastern regions of Spain.[5] In 1578 Jean Bodin would assert that migrants from the Auvergne and Limousin were earning three times as

[1] Kamen 1993: 40–1.
[2] Nadal and Giralt 1960: 218–19; Nadal 1984: 67, 69–70; Monter 1987: 107; 1988: 10; Fargas Peñarrocha 1994: 788.
[3] Nadal 1984: 65; Domínguez Ortiz 1976: 78. The rate of increase in population during the first half of 16th cent. was twice as great in France as in Spain (Greengrass 1998: 264–5).
[4] Nadal and Giralt 1960: 122–7.
[5] Nadal 1984: 71.

much in Spain as they could at home.[6] The north-east of Spain was particularly attractive to immigrant agricultural workers and artisans but, despite population growth over the course of the sixteenth century, even the more densely peopled areas of the country like Castile lacked skilled labour, thus proving a magnet for trained or semi-trained workers.[7] French artisans in many trades had long been accustomed to travelling from job to job throughout their own country, something that has come to be called by labour historians the 'tour de France'.[8] To spend time working in Spain may for some of them have been merely an extension of that traditional practice. However, the signing in 1559 of the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis between the two countries, and the outbreak of the Wars of Religion in France, with the consequent social unrest and dislocation of the French economy, provided particular incentives for Frenchmen to migrate to Spain.[9] As the Lyon bookbinder and bookseller João de Leão was to say in 1565 to his Portuguese interrogators, 'I first journeyed from my homeland to Spain to earn my living there because France was in turmoil.' When, some seven years later, he was back in prison at Lisbon and bewailing the fact that he had ever left his homeland, his fellow-inmates expressed their view that 'he should give thanks to the Lord that he had been rescued from the inferno that is France'.[10]

If Spain was attractive to a wide range of foreign artisans, it seems to have proved particularly so to printers. Many artisans in early modern Europe were highly mobile, towns and cities drawing to them a seemingly inexhaustible influx of skilled and semi-skilled workers seeking employment. Most would stay for a few weeks or months, moving on as soon as no more work was to be had.[11] Printers were one group who traditionally led such peripatetic lives. European printing with moveable types had been invented in the Rhine valley in the mid-fifteenth century, and the technology was then transferred elsewhere largely by men from that region who were ready to take their new skills abroad. The first press in France, for instance, was manned by three typographers from the Rhineland, and the first in Italy by two Germans. Spain was no exception; the 'black art' was introduced there in the early 1470s by a printer from Heidelberg known to Spaniards as Juan

[6] Thomas 2001*a*: 315. On the large number of French immigrants in the kingdom of Valencia see García Cárcel 1980: 335.

[7] Monter 1990: 106; Haliczer 1990: 287. We have more information about immigrants to Catalonia, Aragon, and Valencia than for other regions; for the latter see Jiménez Monteserín 1980: 701–3, Brumont 1994: 137–8.

[8] Farr 1988: 65–6, 157.

[9] Thomas 2001*a*: 422; Balancy 1990: 48–50. Those associated with printing and bookselling were especially vulnerable to violent attack in the France of the early 1560s (Knecht 1996: 364, 366).

[10] First trial of João de Leão, fol. 17^{r}; third trial of João de Leão, fol. 180^{r}.

[11] Farr 2000: 145.

Parix, and its fledgling printing industry in the fifteenth century was dominated by immigrants.[12] In the first half of the following century many of the leading printers and publishers were still 'German' (Rosembach at Barcelona, Coci at Zaragoza, the Cromberger dynasty at Seville, Gysser at Salamanca, Cofman at Valencia), French (Guillén de Brocar at Alcalá de Henares, Montpezat at Barcelona), or Italian (Junta at Burgos and Salamanca, Liondedei in the latter city). We know little about the compositors, beaters, pullers, and type-casters who worked for these masters, but the patchy records which survive from some Spanish towns suggest that most were also of foreign origin, often 'German' in the fifteenth century, and increasingly coming from France and Savoy in the sixteenth.[13]

The inquisitional documents dealing with journeymen-printers tried at Toledo suggest several reasons for their choosing to work in Spain, in particular a lack of guild or labour restrictions in the industry there, good employment prospects, and high wages. *Compagnons-imprimeurs* (qualified journeymen-printers) in France fought long and hard to prevent unskilled workers flooding the labour market and undercutting their wages.[14] Guilds and associations of *compagnons* in the major printing centres of Paris and Lyon attempted to prescribe the qualifications required for employment in the presses: all *compagnons-imprimeurs* were to have served an apprenticeship in the craft, all apprentice compositors were to be able to read and write, and a knowledge of Latin was even stipulated.[15] The situation in Spain at the time was very different for, although Spanish trade confraternities and guilds existed, they did not embrace printers and their employees. Labour in the industry was unregulated, and its workers frequently found employment without having served full apprenticeships, while master-printers and even booksellers there could be illiterate. The puller Antonio de la Bastida had served a full apprenticeship at Toulouse, as the compositor Pierre Régnier had done at Rouen, but they were untypical of the foreign journeymen tried at Toledo. The young Pierre de Rinz, for instance, had been bound to a printer at Geneva yet, after serving less than a third of his apprenticeship, had fled his master. Similarly, Enrique Loe had been employed in his native Antwerp as a printer's devil (the dogsbody in a press) before he went to Spain. Neither Rinz nor Loe had worked for long enough in any one Spanish printing workshop to complete an apprenticeship there. Yet when they were arrested in Castile they were both being employed by reputable printers as compositors.[16] The difference in this

[12] Odriozola 1975, 1976. [13] Martín Abad 1997: 13; Madurell i Marimon 1955: 393.
[14] Davis 1959: 205, 402, 404.
[15] Weber 1978: 83. There was always a gap between theory and reality: in 1580 about one-third of the *compagnons-imprimeurs* at Lyon who were signatories to a document could not write their names (Davis 1959: 183).
[16] Trial of Pierre de Rinz, fols. [7]^{v}–[8]^{r}; trial of Enrique Loe, fol. [6]$^{r–v}$.

respect between Spain and countries north of the Pyrenees is illustrated by testimony to the Toledo inquisitors of the French typesetter Pierre de Ribera:

> I went to Geneva where I began to learn the craft of printing, staying there for eight months. Then I travelled around France passing through various cities such as Rouen, Lyon, Limoges and La Rochelle, but couldn't find employment in any of them because I wasn't sufficiently skilled in my craft. I came to Burgos about ten years ago and was taken on at Pedro de Santillana's press where I worked for eight months. I then went to Medina del Campo and subsequently came down here to Toledo where I was employed for about three months by the printer Juan de Ayala.[17]

He can have received only the most rudimentary training during the short period he spent at Geneva, and this meant that he was not taken on by any press in his native France; however, when he reached Spain he readily found employment at Burgos, presumably as a compositor because this is the role we find him fulfilling in other Spanish presses.

The contracting of semi-qualified labour in the Spanish printing industry at this time reflects a general lack of manpower in Spain and, more particularly, skill-shortages among native Spaniards, the corollary being that journeymen-printers were able to find work there relatively easily. This was not a new situation; evidence from the mid-century testifies to the shortage of trained printing-workers in Spain and the consequent reliance of the industry on imported labour. In 1550 the first printer in the Americas, Giovanni Paoli of Lombardy, was trying to find staff to go to work in his Mexican press; he authorized his agent in Seville to look out for such craftsmen anywhere he wished in Spain, but added that he would probably have to go to France to recruit them.[18] Five years later the Seville printer Jácome Cromberger, whose father had originally sent Paoli to Mexico to set up a branch office for him there, signed an agreement with the ecclesiastical authorities at Seville. He had previously undertaken to print a series of liturgical works for them but claimed that he had been unable to find enough qualified men in Seville to do the job, so would have to print the missal at Paris or Lyon.[19] It may be more than a coincidence that several of the foreign printing-workers who appear in the present study decided to go to Spain at about this time, for they seem to have been responding to an unmet demand for labour in the Spanish printing industry. Nor would this skill shortage be short-lived. When briefing a royal

[17] Trial of Pierre de Ribera, fol. [14]^{r}. Ribera was referring to the Toledo printer Juan de Ayala Cano.

[18] García Icazbalceta 1954: 47–8.

[19] Gestoso y Pérez 1924: 74, and the agreement between Jácome Cromberger and the vicar general Gaspar Cervantes de Gaete dated 17 Oct. 1555: AHPS, Of. 10, lib. 3 of 1555, fols. 74^{r}–75^{r}.

commission set up in 1572 to investigate the reasons for the industry's shortcomings Philip II declared 'I am informed that the presses in this kingdom, and the printing and correcting of their books, are substandard and that the printers, proofreaders, compositors, and other printing-workers are not sufficiently skilled to produce books of suitable quality.'[20] This shortage of experienced typographers in Spain and the consequent ease with which foreign craftsmen found work in Spanish presses contrast markedly with the experience of the two French typesetters Pierre de Ribera and Pierre de Rinz in their homeland, a constant theme of their trials being the problem of unemployment in France. After fleeing his master in Geneva, Rinz went to Lyon looking for employment but could find none there. He then criss-crossed the country, taking on a variety of odd jobs with only very intermittent employment as a printing-worker. It transpires from the account he gave the inquisitors at Toledo that of the seven years since he had entered the craft he had been able to find work for a total of only nine months in French presses. When he recounted his years as an itinerant typesetter in Spain, on the other hand, it seems that he had seldom, if ever, been unemployed there.[21]

It was at just the time that many of the journeymen-printers tried at Toledo and elsewhere arrived in Spain that work in the industry may have become particularly difficult to come by north of the Pyrenees. Two of the major centres of printing in which they had previously been employed were Lyon and Geneva. By the middle of the sixteenth century Lyon, with its four annual fairs, was a major European centre for commercial exchange. It had also built up a dynamic printing industry which employed some 600 journeymen at the height of its activity in the 1540s.[22] However, the financial crash of the late 1550s and the Wars of Religion in the following decade created serious unemployment there. It is understandable that, in this atmosphere of instability and economic decline, Pierre Régnier should have left the Lyon presses for Barcelona. In the early 1560s journeymen-printers at Lyon who had espoused the 'new religion' were serving as soldiers against Catholic forces and, after the successful Calvinist rising of 1562, the city fell into Protestant hands until the following year.[23] Although Lyon's economic ills at the time cannot be attributed solely to this sectarian strife and change of government, the consequences were catastrophic: the king transferred the fairs to Chalon-sur-Saône, capital drained away, and economic activity slumped. With master-artisans among those heavily taxed by the Protestant government to finance the city's defence, and with the export trade interrupted, the number of presses operating there dropped sharply.

[20] Martínez Ruiz 1968: 93.
[21] Trial of Pierre de Rinz, fol. [7]^{v}.
[22] Davis 1959: 24–5, 187.
[23] Ibid. 463.

As if this were not enough, the population was decimated by the plague of 1564 which followed hard upon the heels of the successful siege of the city by Catholic forces.[24] From this period onwards, Lyon editions became less competitive and journeymen were shaken out of the city's printing industry. By the time Régnier returned there in 1565 to purchase a press for his partners in Barcelona, Protestants were under threat, and the Lyon printing industry was in serious decline. It is not surprising that Pierre was able to buy the press from a Protestant printer who had resolved to abandon the city and go to Geneva.[25] Two years later, in September 1567, when the master-printer Pierre de Huchin travelled to Lyon to escape the attentions of the Venetian Inquisition, he found it in turmoil, everybody in arms, Catholics driving out Huguenots, and all the shops closed. His arrival coincided with the outbreak of attacks on the lives and property of Protestants there, punitive taxation of merchants identified with the Reformist religion, the destruction of their places of worship, and an exodus of printers, booksellers and artisans. These attacks signalled the end of a period of relative tolerance at Lyon. The domination of the city by the Catholic party led to increased regulation of the book trade, delivering a further blow to the printing industry.[26] In 1572, just as the immigrant printing-workers tried at Toledo began their sentences, the *compagnons-imprimeurs* still at Lyon published a litany of complaints about the poverty and, as they saw it, exploitation they were then suffering.[27] Printing was very possibly the hardest hit of all the city's industries, the number of printers operating there falling by some 80 per cent between 1545 and 1571. The troubles of the 1560s lay at the heart of the decline, and one consequence was that Lyon became an exporter of journeymen-printers in that decade.[28] Unsurprisingly, some of them joined the stream of immigration into Spain, for there had long been close ties between Lyon printers and their counterparts at Barcelona, while the French city's publishers and booksellers had, more generally, been major suppliers to the Spanish market.[29]

It may similarly be the case that some of the semi-skilled journeymen who took their chances in Spain in the 1560s had been forced out of Genevan presses. Employment prospects at Geneva had been excellent from the mid-1550s, there being such a dearth of skilled labour there that partly trained men were taken on by the industry, journeymen being

[24] Gascon 1971: ii. 460, 486–7, 494–5, 506–7.
[25] Trial of Pierre Régnier, fol. [22]r.
[26] Martin 1993: 135; Gascon 1971: ii. 508–10, 513–14, 520–6, 629; Gilmont (forthcoming).
[27] Davis 1959: 179.
[28] Gascon 1971: ii. 610–11, 628.
[29] On the Lyon–Barcelona axis see Hauser 1927: 64–5; Davis 1959: 176; Peña Díaz 1996: 88–104. On Lyon's export of books to Spain see Gascon 1971: i. 106, 119; Pettas 1997: 172; Péligry 1981.

accorded privileges unknown in other crafts, and their awareness of their scarcity value making many of them arrogant.[30] All that changed in 1563 when, in view of the difficulties of recruiting qualified men, the Council of Geneva limited to thirty-four the number of presses allowed to operate in the city. This protected the interests of trained printing-workers but obliged many unskilled colleagues to look for employment elsewhere. Nevertheless, wages were low at Geneva in the 1560s, while the policing of personal conduct in accordance with the city's Calvinist moral code was uncongenial to many of the footloose young men who worked its presses.[31] In about 1562 or 1563 Pierre Régnier chatted in Barcelona with a colleague who had worked in the Genevan industry and who compared that city, its people, and its religion favourably with Spain; despite his views, however, that journeyman had gone to Catalonia.[32]

Whilst Frenchmen formerly employed at Lyon and Geneva had a strong incentive to seek work in Spain, they were not the only foreigners to be found in the presses there. Many Flemings were also recorded in the Spanish printing industry in the 1560s and 1570s. The economies of the Low Countries and Castile were interdependent and human traffic had long flowed between the two regions. Flanders was relatively overpopulated, and Flemish artisans had for many decades sought work in the Iberian Peninsula, attracted by the high wages to be earned south of the Pyrenees. But Spain may have proved particularly attractive to them in the 1560s when cities such as Antwerp were suffering sectarian violence and economic crisis.[33] In the late 1550s and the 1560s Spain therefore experienced an influx of artisans shaken out of centres abroad where the printing industry was experiencing problems or where, for religious, personal, or political reasons, circumstances were proving difficult for those men.

Availability of work and a lack of labour restrictions in Spain were combined with the high wages that could be earned there. Those wages are, however, notoriously difficult to assess accurately for the early modern period because we do not have reliable statistical series for wages and prices in Spain nor comparative ones for other countries. We therefore have to rely in the main on contemporary comments and indications gleaned from anecdotal material, but these do point to relatively high remuneration of workers in Spanish presses, as in other activities.[34] Printing-workers at Lyon, like their colleagues at Paris, were poorly paid and often could not afford to marry; if married, they were barely able to feed their families. Their employers were, in turn, at the mercy of booksellers and merchant-

[30] Chaix 1954: 34–5. [31] Martin and Chartier 1983–6: i. 329.
[32] Trial of Pierre Régnier, fol. [60]^{v}. [33] Thomas 1993: 164–6; 2001*a*: 190–2, 315.
[34] Davis 1959: 176.

publishers who could have their editions manufactured elsewhere, especially at Geneva, so master-printers strove to reduce their costs. *Compagnons-imprimeurs* therefore had to fight their masters' desire to employ large numbers of apprentices—something which would keep their own pay low. They also had to face the masters' attempts to reduce overheads by cutting back on their workers' food and drink, both of which customarily formed part of the journeymen's wages and cushioned them against inflation and the seasonal increases in the price of foodstuffs which were characteristic of the economies of the period.[35] There is no record of any such dispute between workers and masters in Spanish presses in this period, although it is evident that the journeymen were often fed by their masters. This silence may be due to a lack of organization among workers in the industry, but it may equally reflect their relative prosperity, for the few records we have of the wages paid to the printing-workers tried by the Holy Office indicate that they were high relative to what we know of prices.

The Toledo printer Juan de Ayala Cano was, for instance, paying Enrique Loe six and a half *ducados* a month as a typesetter when Loe was arrested at Toledo in late 1569.[36] In the same year that sum would have bought over thirty pairs of shoes or five large sacks of flour, and it is likely that Loe was, in addition, being provided with free board and lodging.[37] Furthermore, a comparison of such a printing-worker's income with the poverty of other young Flemish immigrants to Spain questioned by the Inquisition indicates the relatively high wages to be earned in the printing industry there.[38] When Antonio de la Bastida had been arrested in Sebastián Martínez's press at Sigüenza over four years previously, he had been owed two hundred *reales*, or some eighteen *ducados*, by his master.[39] We know that La Bastida lived in Martínez's house while in his employ, so this amount represented his pay over and above his board and lodging. We have no way of learning how long it had taken La Bastida to earn this sum, but it was certainly less than a year. In addition, he was owed money by workmates and others in Sigüenza. The total would have been sufficient to pay for two meals a day for him and a mount (if he ever had one) at Spanish inns and taverns for a period of some eight months. More importantly, it suggests that a single man on a puller's wages could put away a tidy sum to see him through lean periods if he was careful with money, as La Bastida's workmates testified he was. The clothes La Bastida wore similarly suggest that he was not poor: when he was arrested his possessions were listed as

[35] Parent 1974: 182; Davis 1959: 203, 206–7, 403–6; Gascon 1971: ii. 635–6.
[36] Trial of Enrique Loe, fol. [5]^{v}.
[37] Rojo Vega 1996: 437.
[38] Thomas 1993: 169–70.
[39] Trial of Antonio de la Bastida, fol. [8]^{v}.

an unbleached linen doublet, a new goatskin jacket, a silk hat, a Milanese cloth cap, a pair of worn embroidered cloth breeches, nine *reales* outstanding from what Diego de Nájera owes him for a cape La Bastida sold him, two worn shirts, a handkerchief, woven hose and undersocks, an old red hat, a pair of old calfskin boots, a sword with its belt straps, two hundred *reales* owed to him by the aforementioned Sebastián de Martínez, and twelve *reales* owed to him by Alonso Martínez who is a journeyman in the press.

This was at a time when journeymen travelling from job to job in France would carry with them nothing more than a tool, a sword or dagger, and a spare shirt.[40] Even Juan Franco, who had a family to feed and was not accommodated by his master, had wages due to him when he was arrested at Salamanca in the summer of 1570. The bookseller and printer who was employing him at the time declared that he owed him fifty *reales*, or some four and a half *ducados*. By the Inquisition's own reckoning a *ducado* would have bought a side of pork in Salamanca at that time.[41]

For all its limitations, the surviving evidence therefore indicates that foreign printing-workers enjoyed higher wages and better job prospects at this time in Spain than in their own country. This is hardly surprising, for it must have been the chance of improving their lot that motivated these men to abandon their native land and undertake the journey to a foreign country on the dangerous roads which criss-crossed sixteenth-century Europe. Nor were the perils over when they reached Spain and found work there. Enrique Loe's companions in France had jokingly warned him that he would end up on an inquisitional bonfire if he went to Spain, while Isabel Régnier admitted early on in her trial that she had always expected to be hauled before the Holy Office.[42] Many of the immigrants were alive to the dangers they courted by going to Spain, but the wages and opportunities there outweighed the risk; as the Flemish pedlar Pedro de Güerta put it, 'here we can earn our daily bread, and we just keep our mouths shut'.[43] This uneasiness was expressed more graphically by his compatriot, the cartographer Joris Hoefnagel, who journeyed through the country in the very years when the printing-workers investigated at Toledo were arriving in Spain. The purpose of Hoefnagel's travels was to draw panoramas of Spanish cities. In one of his pictures, however, he portrayed a figure clad in a penitential habit, and wrote underneath some verses in Flemish: 'Look on me any of you who have business with Spain, for this is the Inquisition. This is how the Holy Office deals with anybody who is not fluent in the

[40] Ibid., fols. [8]^{v}, [26]^{v}, [40]^{v}, [64]^{r}, [65]^{v}; Farr 1988: 114.
[41] First trial of Juan Franco, fols. 136^{r}, 137^{r}.
[42] Trial of Enrique Loe, fol. [13]^{v}; trial of Isabel Régnier, fol. 197^{r}.
[43] Trial of Pedro de Güerta, fol. 236^{r}.

language; many good men are persecuted and their protests ignored . . . Keep your mouth and your purse shut here; that is the rule of the world.'[44]

One of the most telling signs of Spain's attractiveness to foreign journeymen is their willingness to remain in the country even after suffering at the hands of the Inquisition. As was seen in Chapter 1, the Netherlandish typesetter Adrián Gaspar was sentenced to the galleys for *luteranismo*, but when he managed to escape he did not return to the Low Countries; rather, he continued to work under an assumed name in a series of Spanish presses. There is a suggestion in Régnier's trial that he too had previously fallen foul of the Holy Office, and he was certainly aware that there was a conspiracy among his colleagues in Barcelona to have him arrested by the Inquisition. Nevertheless, he did not leave the country while he still had the chance to do so. After his terrifying experiences in gaol at Sigüenza and Cuenca, Antonio de la Bastida did not, as far as we know, return home to France but continued to live and work in presses in Castile and Catalonia, eventually being rearrested at Barcelona. Spain may not, however, have been uniquely attractive. Although the binder João de Leão had tried his luck in both Italy and Spain, he settled for Portugal where there was considerable demand for his skills. After he had served the first sentence imposed on him by the Portuguese Inquisition, he secured permission to return to his native France on business. He could easily have remained there but chose, fatally, to return to Lisbon. Although these men were aware that they ran risks in the Iberian Peninsula, those risks were outweighed by other factors.

It is possible that the motives of some of the French workers for emigrating to the Iberian Peninsula in the first place meant that they were reluctant to return to France. Some were orthodox Catholics who sought a safe haven in Spain from Huguenot violence in their homeland. More surprisingly, however, others who held Reformist views migrated to Spain because they considered their lives to be more secure there than in their homeland.[45] They were merely willing to put on an outward show of orthodoxy, confident that they could escape back to France if the bush-telegraph provided a warning that the authorities were taking an interest in them. However, the persecution of so many of these Frenchmen should not blind us to the fact that the vast majority of immigrants never experienced problems with the Holy Office. During the height of the repression of *luteranismo* they continued to stream into Spain, especially from the Midi and Languedoc where Protestantism was widespread. If most were economic migrants, some Catholics seeking refuge from the Huguenots, and others sympathizers with Reformist ideas who were not sufficiently concerned about the Holy Office to be deterred from entering Spain, yet others

[44] Cited by Bouza Álvarez 1996: 68. [45] Thomas 2001*a*: 423.

may simply have been seeking new experiences and an escape from their restricted lives.[46] Whatever their motives for leaving their homelands, among these Frenchmen were many printing-workers seeking employment in Spanish presses.

Pierre Régnier must seldom have taken on anybody in his Barcelona press who was not French.[47] One of the principal presses operating in that city when Régnier was building up his business there was owned by the Frenchman Claudi Bornat. A list of the workers Bornat employed over a three-year period in the late 1560s is provided in the evidence one of his pressmen gave to the Inquisition. Apart from this witness, there were two compositors, a beater, a type-caster, two apprentices, and an old man who served as a puller. Almost all were from France.[48] The working language of these and many other presses must have been some form of French.[49] A more detailed picture of the personnel employed in presses in other regions of Spain is provided by the findings of a royal commission established to investigate the poor quality of Spanish printing at that time. These reports coincide approximately with the date of the Toledo trials. The commissioners inspected presses in major cities in 1572 and 1573, noting down, among other things, details of their staff. Although Philip II ordered printers at Toledo, Burgos, Medina del Campo, Salamanca, Seville, and Valladolid to be questioned, only the records for Granada and Alcalá de

[46] Balancy 1990: 48; Davis 1985: 21–2.

[47] His employees Esteban Carrier and Benito Dulcet were both from Lyon or nearby, Antoni Saliner was a Gascon, Antonio Castelnerach was from the Aveyron, Pedro la Copa (Acopa or Calopa) and a journeyman called Bastian were just recorded as Frenchmen. Régnier's apprentices, Antoni Clop, Joan Faure, and Guillen, were from Cahors, Pamiers, and Normandy respectively. The Giles de Colomies who worked for him as a typesetter was probably also of French origin. Régnier's only non-French employees about whom we have information are Juan de Rodas from Geneva, two apprentices—a Castilian called Juan and a shadowy figure called Tomás Domingo whose name suggests that he may have been a Spaniard—and the Fleming Adrián Gaspar. The origin of another of his apprentices, Guille or Guillermo de Roin (or Droin), is unclear but his name was hardly Spanish. Pierre Arbús, who was apprenticed to Régnier, is said in some of the records to be a Gascon, but his brother was a native of Perpignan, then part of Catalonia.

[48] Many of these men were also employed at some stage by Régnier (see previous note). The witness was Antonio Castelnerach, the compositors Giles de Colomies and Pedro (or Pierre) Gotard who seems to have been from Lyon, the beater Samsó Arbús from Perpignan, the type-caster Benito Dulcet, the apprentices Jacques and the Tomás Domingo previously employed by Régnier, and the old puller Antoni, whose origin is unknown (trial of Pierre Régnier, fol. [18]$^{r–v}$). According to Régnier's wife, Bornat also employed another Frenchman whom she called Guillermo Graspet or Grasset (trial of Isabel Régnier, fol. 205^{r}); he may have been the Guillem Gotfré or Godofred, the son of a Carcassonne lawyer, who in 1564 had been bound to Bornat for five years as an apprentice bookseller. In the 1570s Bornat took on at least two more apprentice booksellers, both Catalan (Madurell i Marimon 1973: 38, 156–8, 190–1, 232–3).

[49] The French printing-workers came from many areas of the country, but seem to have understood each other without difficulty. The extent of dialectal divergence in 16th-cent. France should not be forgotten; the difficulties northern French speakers experienced at this time with Occitan, the variety spoken by Antonio de la Bastida, are well documented. But nor should we underestimate the capacity of itinerant workers in a high-tech industry to strip out of their language dialectal differences which they realized caused problems for speakers from other parts of France.

Henares are known. From the former we learn that there had been three presses at Granada until shortly before the inspection: those run by the Frenchmen Hugo de Mena and René Rabut, and that of Elio Antonio de Lebrija, grandson of the famous Spanish humanist Antonio de Nebrija.[50] Unfortunately, Lebrija had just transferred his activities from Granada to Antequera so his press was not described in the commission's report.[51] In February 1573 Mena said he was employing two printing-workers, one a Frenchman and the other a Fleming. He declared that Rabut, for his part, had four employees, all Spaniards, as well as Rabut's own son who worked as compositor and proofreader because his father, who was a puller, could neither read nor write. When the inspectors visited Rabut's press he was away in Seville, but when he returned to Granada the following month he reported to them that he was by then employing five Spaniards in addition to his son. Two days later, one of those Spaniards added the names of two journeymen-printers to the ones originally listed, while also omitting two of the original four. One of the newcomers, a puller called Pierre de Floresta, must have been a Frenchman.[52] The report on the Granada presses, then, describes one press entirely worked by foreigners and another in which Spaniards dominated but which was nevertheless run by a Frenchman and employed other French-speakers. As was the case in Bernuz's Zaragoza press, there was also a rapid turnover of staff.[53]

The royal commissioners' inspection of printing at Alcalá de Henares had taken place in late 1572, some two months earlier than that of the Granada presses. There were four printing-offices operating in the town at that time. They were run by Andrés de Angulo, Sebastián Martínez, Juan Gracián (whose partner Juan de Villanueva had transferred his activities to Lleida (Lérida) by the time the inspection was carried out), and Juan Íñiguez de Lequerica y Villarreal. At least three of these master-printers had at some time employed foreign journeymen who would fall foul of the Toledo tribunal of the Inquisition. Antonio de la Bastida had worked ten years earlier for Angulo, who had subsequently employed Enrique Loe, Pierre de Rinz, Isac de Ribera, and Guillermo Herlin.[54] La Bastida had been arrested

[50] Martínez Ruiz 1968: 92–108.

[51] Lebrija set up his press at Antequera at some time between May 1572 and Feb. 1573 (Leiva Soto 2000: 30–1).

[52] Rabut had recently agreed to print an edition requiring two printing-presses to operate simultaneously; he therefore needed a workforce of some six men for that order (Obra Sierra *et al.* 1997: 63).

[53] Only Pedro la Copa seems to have been a long-term employee in Bernuz's press, serving him for the whole of the nine-year period for which records survive (Pedraza Gracia 1997*b*). Antonio de la Bastida met him in Zaragoza many years later (trial of Antonio de la Bastida, fol. [60]^{r}). La Copa subsequently found employment in Bornat's and Régnier's Barcelona presses (Madurell i Marimon 1973: 51, 179; trial of Pierre Régnier, fol. [48]$^{r–v}$).

[54] La Bastida worked for Angulo in late 1562 (trial of Antonio de la Bastida, fols. [47]^{v}, [60]^{r}), Enrique Loe some time in 1564 or 1565 (trial of Enrique Loe, fol. [3]^{v}), Pierre de Rinz in Sept.

in 1565 while engaged as a puller in the press Sebastián Martínez was then operating at Sigüenza, while Pierre de Ribera had later worked for that same printer at Alcalá.[55] Loe had been employed on various occasions by Juan de Villanueva, and was working for him when Herlin was arrested at Alcalá. Rinz and Pierre de Ribera had definitely worked for Villanueva, while Herlin implies that he had done so at some stage.[56] In 1572 Angulo, himself a Spaniard, was employing six of his compatriots, the same number of Frenchmen, one Portuguese, a Fleming, and at least three others whose nationalities were not recorded. Eight men worked in Gracián's printing-office; they were all Spaniards with the exception of Gracián himself and a Gascon.[57] Martínez, a Spaniard who in the mid-1560s had employed over a dozen men at Sigüenza, was now running a much smaller operation. He had only three employees to work the single printing-press he was using at Alcalá—he had another mothballed in his workshop. None of his staff was Castilian: the puller was a Fleming, the beater a Catalan, and the typesetter, Manuel, hailed from Portugal. The last of these was doubtless the 'Alonso Manuel, the Portuguese' whom Loe had called upon to testify to his good character over two years previously and who had then been working for Villanueva at Alcalá.[58] Unfortunately the record of the inspection of Íñiguez de Lequerica's press does not survive.[59] As with their report on Granada, the commissioners' investigation of Alcalá suggests that the Spanish printing industry was manned by a shifting and cosmopolitan workforce. Journeymen-printers came and went from city to city as well as transferring from press to press within the same town. Over half the men recorded in Alcalá's presses in late 1572 were foreign, yet the proportion of immigrants normally working in them may have been even higher because the snapshot provided by the royal commission's report was taken at a time when many of the French and Flemings had fled Alcalá in the wake of Herlin's arrest there, while others had been forcibly removed by the Holy Office. When the journeymen tried at Toledo mentioned the occasional Spaniards with whom they worked at Alcalá, they drew attention to their nationality in a

1569 (trial of Pierre de Rinz, fol. [3]^{r}), and both Isac de Ribera and Guillermo Herlin at an unspecified date (trial of Enrique Loe, fol. [10]^{r}).

[55] Trial of Antonio de la Bastida, fols. [5]^{r}–[7]^{v}; trial of Pierre de Ribera, fol. [14]^{r}.

[56] Trial of Enrique Loe, fols. [3]^{r}, [6]^{v}; trial of Pierre de Rinz, fol. [7]^{v}; trial of Pierre Régnier, fol. [3]^{v}; trial of Isabel Régnier, fol. 189^{v}. Pierre de Ribera had worked for Villanueva in the summer of 1569 (trial of Pierre de Ribera, fols. [14]^{r}, [15]^{r}).

[57] Gracián called himself Navarrese, Angulo referred to him as a Frenchman, and Martínez said Gracián was from Béarn.

[58] Trial of Enrique Loe, fols. [18]^{v}, [34]^{r}.

[59] The report on the Alcalá presses is: AHN, Universidades, leg. 135, caja 1, unnumbered exp. The only record I know which approaches the wealth of information provided by the royal commission about journeymen-printers working in particular towns is the 1668 survey of London presses (McKenzie *et al.* 1999– : iv. 794–6).

way they did not do with foreigners; in their eyes Spanish colleagues were unusual enough to warrant special mention.[60]

Although foreign workers were so essential to the printing industry, they were the object of xenophobic suspicion. Frenchmen were especially mistrusted, all being considered potential heretics because they came from a *nación sospechosa* (suspect nation) or *tierra dañada* (a tainted land), a country racked by civil war and home to the Huguenots who were thought to be conspiring to pollute Spain with heresy and overthrow the state. As the inquisitors interrogating one French printer expressed it, 'as the defendant has worked with so many people in infected lands, he cannot have escaped contagion'.[61] This suspicion is reflected in the number of Frenchmen who found themselves the object of the Inquisition's investigations. At Barcelona, for instance, well over half the men and women sentenced by the Holy Office between 1570 and 1575 were French. Those numbers rose dramatically in the years which most directly concern the journeymen-printers denounced by Guillermo Herlin: 86 per cent of the men and women who appeared at the *auto de fe* held in Barcelona in September 1570 were French, while at that tribunal's *auto* the following February all, or almost all, of them were.[62] Over 90 per cent of all those executed, burnt in effigy, or sent to the galleys by the Barcelona tribunal in the 1560s and 1570s had been born in France.[63] A comment made by one of the Barcelona tribunal's secretaries about the Lyon silversmith Nadal Radix, an acquaintance of Pierre Régnier, is telling. Radix had been denounced by his daughter-in-law and arrested, as the secretary put it, 'on the basis of her accusation and because he was a Frenchman'.[64]

Barcelona was at this time something of an extreme case: its tribunal's district was the principal focus of immigration from France, the number of Reformist sympathizers there was consequently high, and in the 1560s and 1570s the Barcelona inquisitors were anxious to enhance the prestige of the Holy Office by exerting their authority yet were constantly running up against the relative immunity of native Catalans who, as was seen in Chapter 2, were protected by civic authorities fiercely jealous of their local

[60] e.g. trial of Pierre de Rinz, fol. [10]^{r}.

[61] Trial of Pierre Régnier, fol. [22]^{v}. In the records of printers and booksellers tried by the Lisbon Inquisition in this period, France and Germany are referred to as 'terras perdidas', or lands lost to perdition (Pereira 1985: 215).

[62] Balancy (1990: 69) claims that every person who appeared at the latter *auto* was French, while Palos (1982: 23) records them as 14 Frenchmen and a Catalan.

[63] Monter 1988: 12.

[64] *Relación de causas* of Barcelona tribunal for 1589: AHN, Inq., lib. 731, fols. 31^{r}, 41^{v}–42^{v}. French becomes synonymous with *luterano* in at least the Spanish tribunals of the Inquisition which bordered France (Monter 1990: 234). In 1575 the *Diputats* were accusing the Inquisition at Barcelona of considering all France to be heretical despite being perfectly aware that most Frenchmen were Catholics (Kamen 1993: 220).

laws and privileges. This tension made immigrants in the region all the more vulnerable to a tribunal which was restricted in the main to acting against foreigners whose persecution aroused little sympathy among the Catalan élite or even among the general public.[65] It also seems that there was very little heresy among native Catalans and that, if it had not been for the presence of foreigners, the Inquisition there would have had little to occupy it.[66] Barcelona was the Spanish tribunal which concentrated most heavily on foreigners, but the three mainland tribunals falling under the Holy Office's secretariat of Aragon (Barcelona, Valencia, and Zaragoza) were all extraordinarily active in the 1560s, holding at least thirty public *autos de fe* at which most of those sentenced had been found guilty of *luteranismo*. At a time when the supply of heretics in Castile had more or less run dry, the Aragonese tribunals continued to find their victims among immigrants.[67] However, other tribunals in Spain—Córdoba and Cuenca for example—show that French immigrants also figured disproportionately in their case load; the same is true of the Spanish colonies in the New World.[68] In some northern regions of mainland Spain, those who had contact with foreigners fell under suspicion.[69] Even at Toledo in central Castile those accused and sentenced for *luteranismo* in the 1560s were almost all foreigners, again predominantly French.

The suspicion of foreigners was not, however, limited to the Spanish authorities. It was reflected at a popular level where the mere fact of their neighbours' or workmates' being immigrants was enough for Spaniards to eye them with wariness. Such an attitude was not entirely baseless because the majority of immigrants to Spain came from areas of France where what could loosely be termed 'Protestantism' was ubiquitous. The suspicion evinced by ordinary Spaniards can be illustrated from the trial of Antonio de la Bastida, the pressman from Albi in southern France who had been arrested in the small Castilian town of Sigüenza. Several ordinary Spaniards who had worked alongside him in the closely knit team which operated the Sigüenza press testified against him. They had lived with him for many months and had been his constant companions both at work and leisure. They knew him well and clearly thought highly of him, yet they still harboured doubts about him because he was not a Spaniard. The deposition made by one of them contained the following statement: 'as the aforementioned La Bastida is a foreigner, I don't consider him a good Catholic'.[70] In

[65] Blázquez Miguel 1990: 165. [66] Kamen 1993: 219–20.

[67] Monter 1990: 45, 106, 108; Kamen 1993: 231, 234.

[68] Edwards 1994: 438; Nalle 1992: 63; Medina 1905: 30, 32, 37; Fernández del Castillo 1914: 85–245; Birckel 1977: 172, 178–9.

[69] Letter dated 30 Jan. 1568 from the Suprema to Inquisitor Morel at San Sebastián: AHN, Inq., lib. 325, fols. 27^{v}–28^{r}.

[70] Trial of Antonio de la Bastida, fol. [36]^{v}.

such a climate, all immigrants were suspect, but the French doubly so at a time when heresy and 'the French disease' were popularly used as synonyms.[71] La Bastida's prosecutors at Sigüenza and Cuenca put it succinctly: 'as heresy is again widespread in the Kingdom of France and the defendant was born and brought up there, he is clearly suspect . . . He is a Frenchman so he naturally falls under particular suspicion.'[72] La Bastida was only too aware of this prejudice and strove to play down his origins, even lying that he had forgotten how to speak French.[73] When providing the inquisitors with a list of people who could attest to his religious orthodoxy, he was also careful to emphasize that these witnesses were Spaniards, especially if their names might suggest otherwise. Thus he mentions one Juan de León (the name frequently used in Spain for men from Lyon called Jean) hastily adding, 'who is a native of Seville', and an Alonso Picardo, not from Picardy but 'born in Granada'.[74] Spain was not unique, however, in its popular suspicion of Frenchmen. A type-founder questioned by the Venice tribunal in 1575 about a journeyman-printer from France, stated categorically that he believed all Frenchmen to be Huguenots.[75] Nor were the French the only victims of such suspicion in Spain. The Inquisition's papers show that a black legend had also grown up around the large number of Flemings to be found there at this time. All were popularly thought not only to be drunkards but also *luteranos*.[76]

Immigrant journeymen-printers were vulnerable not just because they came from countries where heresy was rife. They faced the problem of all outsiders in small and xenophobic communities, and they attracted the sort of suspicion always suffered by itinerant workers.[77] Coming from a kingdom which was a traditional enemy of Spain, Frenchmen were in a particularly precarious position. However, the nature of the journeymen-printers' lives, in which they laboured for long hours with other workers who were also foreign or at least similarly peripatetic, and were frequently taken on for short periods—sometimes just to print a single edition—meant that many of them never had the opportunity to integrate with the local population. It is true that some foreign printing-workers, like Juan Franco, married Spanish wives, but most did not. Unlike the converted Jews of Aragon or members of the Catalan élite sympathetic to Reformist ideas,

[71] Palos 1983: 184. [72] Trial of Antonio de la Bastida, fols. [18]^{r}, [56]^{r}.
[73] Ibid., fols. [59]^{v}–[60]^{r}. [74] Ibid., fol. [60]^{r}. [75] Martin 1993: 190, 194.
[76] Thomas 1990: 180–4. There must have been some truth in this legend: when in 1574 the Salamanca printer Matías Gast, himself a Fleming, asked Plantin to recruit a type-caster for him in Flanders, he wrote 'above all you must understand that I do not want a drunkard or anybody inclined to heresy' (Rooses and Denucé 1883–1918: iv. 117–19).
[77] French tinkers who came and went between France and Spain in the 1550s e.g. were considered potential spies by the Spanish authorities; consequently they were expelled from the country (Brumont 1994: 137–8).

journeymen-printers, whether itinerant or more settled, did not move in the privileged strata of society where political connections offered a measure of immunity from the Holy Office. Indeed, they were often despised by the native population.[78]

The foreign printing-workers were, then, as a group largely young, itinerant, and vulnerable to the Holy Office. But what were the particular circumstances, background, and careers of the men who made up that group? What were they like as individuals?

[78] Monter 1990: 324; Peña Díaz 1999: 99; Palos 1983: 184.

5
Three Young Men

Although the Inquisitional records contain physical descriptions of many of the itinerant journeymen-printers who constituted the informal network of *luteranos* smashed by the Toledo inquisitors, these descriptions tell us little more than that several were scarred, most were young, their beards just beginning to grow, and they were said to be blonde and light-skinned, just as we might expect immigrants from north of the Pyrenees to appear to Spaniards. They must also have been robust. Printing-workers, especially the pressmen among them, needed to be able to labour for long hours at a punishing rhythm and at what was monotonous but physically demanding work, especially in a hot climate. In the following two chapters I investigate what can be gleaned of a personal nature about five representative printing-workers tried by the Inquisition in the 1560s and early 1570s. This closer examination allows us to form an impression of men of very different experience and character. Four of those I have selected were French: one Norman, one from the Midi, one from Reims, and one from a neighbouring area near the town of Guise. The fifth was a Fleming. In the present chapter I study the three youngest of them, the itinerant press workers Antonio de la Bastida, Enrique Loe, and Pierre de Rinz. In Chapter 6 I examine the lives of two older and more settled immigrants.

La Bastida, a pressman from Albi, was a young man when he had a terrifying brush with the Holy Office at Sigüenza and Cuenca. He had come to Spain at the age of about 13 or 14 and had worked there ever since, apart from an interlude of about a year and a half back in France where he convalesced from an illness contracted in Catalonia, travelled, and plied his trade. During his career as a peripatetic pressman he criss-crossed the country, from the Pyrenees to southern Andalusia and from the Mediterranean coast virtually to the border with Portugal. The Flemish typesetter Enrique Loe was about 20 and had probably been in Spain for fewer than five years when he was arrested at Toledo on Christmas Eve 1569. Although he had married at Alcalá de Henares two or three years previously, he too remained essentially an itinerant journeyman. His fellow-compositor Pierre de Rinz was a 25-year-old bachelor when apprehended at Alcalá in late 1569. He had come to Spain from France fewer than three years earlier,

during which time he had been employed in northern Castile and Andalusia as well as at Alcalá, where he had found more regular work.

Antonio de la Bastida (Antoine de la Bastide)

La Bastida first fell foul of the authorities at Sigüenza in 1565, over four years before the arrest of the other printing-workers studied here. But his path later crossed theirs when he was denounced to the Holy Office for a second time in the wake of the interrogation of Guillermo Herlin and his associates early in 1570, and he was rearrested that summer on the orders of the Toledo inquisitors.

At the end of August 1565 he had been incarcerated at Sigüenza on suspicion of heresy. Some eight months earlier he and more than a dozen workmates had been sitting round the fire of their master, Sebastián Martínez, one winter's night after the day's work was over.[1] Inquisition trials suggest that it was frequently on such convivial occasions that foreign workers expressed the sort of opinions which led to their being denounced as heretics. Martínez's employees had begun discussing matters loosely connected with *luteranismo*. Religion had arisen as a topic of conversation for two reasons. One of La Bastida's colleagues, a compositor named Juan de Villarreal, had begun by recounting his journey to the Low Countries on which he had met a Flemish colleague, a fervent *luterano*, who had shocked him by openly rejoicing at the death of Henry II of France.[2] This Fleming had explained that the news was a cause for celebration because the French king had been an implacable enemy of the Huguenots; it is understandable that La Bastida should have been interested in an account of Henry II's death because he had himself been in Paris when it occurred.[3] The conversation between the Sigüenza workers then turned for some reason to 'the

[1] Sebastián Martínez printed mainly at Valladolid and Alcalá de Henares, although he also set up presses for short periods in Palencia and Sigüenza (Martín Abad 1991: i. 106–9; Delgado Casado 1996: i. 436–8). Between 1561 and 1565 he was printing mainly liturgical books at Sigüenza for the local bishop. The editions on which La Bastida would have worked there with him were the *Officium totius Hebdomade Sancte: Iuxta consuetudinem alme ecclesie Seguntine* of 1564 and the *Manuale Seguntinum* of 1565 (Odriozola 1996: nos. 598, 534).

[2] Juan de Villarreal was at this time a married man aged 28. He had worked for Sebastián Martínez in the latter's Valladolid press and returned there with his master in 1565 once they had completed their work at Sigüenza. He is, then, an example of a more settled, Spanish, printing-worker.

[3] Trial of Antonio de la Bastida, fols. $[5]^{r–v}$, $[10]^{r}$, $[22]^{r}$, $[36]^{r–v}$, $[48]^{r–v}$. Henry II died on 10 July 1559 from wounds sustained in a tournament to celebrate the marriages of Philip II to Elizabeth of Valois, the eldest daughter of the French king, and the duke of Savoy to Margaret, Henry's sister. These alliances sealed the peace treaty signed between France and Spain at Cateau-Cambrésis. The Huguenots considered Henry's death to be divine retribution for his persecution of them (Knecht 1996: 286).

saintly Brother Diego who, they claim, saved his Majesty the Prince', that is, to the subject of the fifteenth-century Fray Diego of Alcalá—the 'healing saint'—whose incorrupt corpse was venerated by successive Spanish monarchs.[4] In 1562 Prince Don Carlos, son of Philip II, had been on the point of death after falling down a staircase in the university town of Alcalá de Henares. The prince's head wound was so serious that the brilliant anatomist Andreas Vesalius had been summoned to his bedside only to be prevented in the nick of time by his Spanish colleagues from trepanning the prince, an operation which would undoubtedly have proved fatal. Instead, Fray Diego's remains were brought to the patient's bedchamber, Don Carlos touched them and then covered his infected face with his hands. His miraculous recovery dated from that moment. La Bastida would have been thoroughly familiar with those events because he had been working in the Alcalá presses at that time.

La Bastida was usually careful to keep his own counsel. However, wine had doubtless loosened his tongue that evening as he chatted with his colleagues after dinner, for he decided to share with them his own views on the matters they had been discussing. He was to pay a high price for this indiscretion. He first voiced his doubts about Fray Diego's cure of the prince, asserting that many figures revered in Spain as saints were nothing of the sort. He added for good measure the opinion that any bishop was as powerful in his own diocese as was the pope in Rome, and that St Peter had never held the latter position but had merely been bishop of Antioch.[5] When he was eventually denounced to the authorities, two further accusations against him were added: his workmates had noticed both his reluctance to celebrate news of a Catholic victory over the Huguenots and his coolness when they lamented the assassination of the leader of the Catholic faction in France, the duc de Guise (February 1563).[6]

On 20 April 1565 Villarreal and another of La Bastida's colleagues, Alonso Martínez, denounced him to the ecclesiastical authorities of Sigüenza.[7] They offered no explanation for their delay of some three

[4] Trial of Antonio de la Bastida, fol. [37]^{r}.

[5] Ibid., fol. [5]$^{r-v}$. There was a debate in Spain in the 1560s about whether Fray Diego's intervention or the doctors' skill lay behind the prince's recovery (Villalon 1995); this appears to be reflected in the comments La Bastida made. When he criticized Spaniards' veneration of saints' remains he may have been thinking more generally of the contemporary influx into Spain of relics 'rescued' from Protestant areas of Europe (Christian 1981: 126–41).

[6] Ibid., fol. [10]^{r}.

[7] Ibid., fol. [5]$^{r-v}$. Alonso Martínez was a journeyman-printer aged 40. Like Villarreal, he had worked for Sebastián Martínez at Valladolid and returned there from Sigüenza with him. He is probably to be identified with the Alonso Martínez who was working as a bookseller and printer at Valladolid in 1561; in 1566 he was again associated with Sebastián Martínez in that city when he witnessed the latter's sale of a printing-press to his old employee Bernardino de Santo Domingo (AHPV, Protocolos, leg. 144, fol. 211^{r}).

months in doing so, but it transpires that after their conversation the previous winter Villarreal and La Bastida had quarrelled over a game of cards, while Alonso Martínez owed the Frenchman money.[8] It is therefore likely that their motives were mixed. The prosecutor at Sigüenza initially sat on his hands. Then, after four months of inactivity, he suddenly set the inquisitorial wheels in motion: an order for La Bastida's arrest was issued on 28 August, he was incarcerated in the bishop's gaol, his possessions were impounded, and, the following day, he underwent his first interrogation.[9] Terrified of the inquisitorial process he faced, he determined to escape while he still had the chance. On the night of 30 August he filed through his shackles, breaking out of his cell at dawn and making for Alcalá. He made good time to Baides, a small village some twelve miles from Sigüenza, but as the sun grew hot thirst forced him to break cover and go down to the river Henares where he was spotted by a band of horsemen travelling to Madrid. They immediately recognized him, for a hue and cry had been raised as soon as his escape from prison had been discovered, and everybody in the area was on the lookout. As soon as they saw him in the distance they shouted, 'There goes the *luterano*', a cry which speaks volumes about the atmosphere in Spain in those years.[10] He tried to get away up the rocky hillside and in desperation hid in a tree, but was surrounded, overpowered, and returned to Sigüenza after his few hours of liberty.

Back in that town, his trial began in earnest. Journeymen-printers who had known La Bastida long before he was taken on at Sigüenza were summoned to give testimony. According to them, he was an exemplary young man who shared few of the vices they said were common in others of his age: he was a hard-worker, responsible, modest in speech and action, and assiduous in observing fasts, jubilees, and all the festivals of the Church.[11] Sigüenza came under the jurisdiction of the Cuenca tribunal of the Inquisition at that time and so, given the seriousness of the accusations, his dossier was sent to Francisco de Ayanz, inquisitor of Cuenca, who ordered him to be transferred to that city under escort. Once in Cuenca, the Frenchman was put in a cell with a priest named Juan García who was facing charges of seducing his female confessants and of celebrating mass while excommunicated. The two immediately set about preparing to tunnel out of prison. La Bastida intended to find work in Venice once he had put Spain far behind him, but just before they could put their escape plan into effect, he was transferred to another cell.[12] The priest, however, managed to get away and was on the run for

[8] Ibid., fols. [8]^{v}, [36]^{v}. [9] Ibid., fols. [7]^{r}–[8]^{v}.
[10] Ibid., fol. [12]^{r}. [11] Ibid., fols. [24]^{r}–[31]^{v}.
[12] Ibid., fol. [66]^{r}. Not only was Venice a major centre for printing, but it had long been considered an oasis of freedom by those with Reformist sympathies. By the time La Bastida set his sights on it, however, religious tolerance there was a thing of the past (Martin 1993: 185–6, 219).

several weeks.[13] When he was eventually recaptured, he confessed to their plans and offered a description of his cell-mate's behaviour in prison. As we have seen, La Bastida was desperate and even contemplated suicide, assuming that he was going to be burnt alive by the Cuenca Inquisition, but he exaggerated the danger in which he found himself. Ayanz ordered him to be put to the torture but no confession of *luterano* beliefs could be extracted from him. He showed the requisite contrition and in March 1566, accompanied in Cuenca Cathedral by a motley crew of fellow-penitents—the errant priest, a Flemish herbalist, and a local miller—he abjured his errors and was banished in perpetuity from the district.[14]

La Bastida's trial-papers provide many details about his background, others' attitudes to him, his resourcefulness, and his wariness of the Inquisition. However, it is his *discurso de la vida* which proves the richest source of information about his professional career. Together with his answers to preliminary questions recorded in the Cuenca tribunal's papers, it is reproduced below in its entirety as an example of the sort of information such *discursos* contain.

He said his name was Antonio de la Bastida and that he is a native of France, born in Albi and 25 years of age, a printing-worker by trade, and currently resident in the town of Sigüenza.

Parents
Hernando de la Bastida, 'criado' to the Bishop of Albi, deceased.[15]
Margarita de Reualer, his wife, resident at Albi

Paternal grandparents
Juan de la Bastida, merchant, citizen of Anges [Angers?], deceased.
Luisa de Narbona, native of Narbonne, deceased

Maternal grandparents
The defendant said that he did not know their names

Paternal uncles and aunts
Giles de la Bastida, formerly canon of the church of Santa Cecilia at Albi, deceased.[16]
Catalina de Ribaleri, citizen of Albi, wife of Berenguel Landes, merchant

[13] Juan García, priest of the small village of Tinajas, told La Bastida that he was a seasoned escaper (trial of Antonio de la Bastida, fols. [40]^{r}–[42]^{r}, [63]^{v}, [65]^{v}–[66]^{v}, [69]^{v}). Upon recapture he was tortured and sentenced to confinement in a monastery for three years. Fragments of his trial and the account of his escape survive as ADC, Inq., leg. 761, exp. 877. More information about this libidinous cleric is to be found in ADC, Inq., lib. 333B, fol. 211^{r}, and lib. 356, fols. 280^{v}–281^{v}, as well as in AHN, Inq., leg. 2544, caja 1, exp. 43, and exp. 52.

[14] Trial of Antonio de la Bastida, fols. [40]^{r}, [41]^{r}; ADC, Inq., lib. 333B, fols. 98^{r}, 237^{v}.

[15] The French term Antonio de la Bastida rendered in Spanish as 'criado', or servant, would have referred to the position of secretary or administrative assistant to the bishop.

[16] i.e. the Cathedral of Sainte Cécile. From at least 1533 to 1551 one Gilles Rivaler or Rivalier, possibly this man or a relation of La Bastida's mother, was *hebdomadier* and subsequently chaplain of

Maternal uncles and aunts
Elena de Ribaleri, widow of Antonio de la Costa

Brothers and sisters
He said he had none. The defendant said that he is unmarried and has no children.

He said that all his aforementioned family was of old Christian stock without taint of Moorish or Jewish blood, nor had any of them, himself included, ever been apprehended or sentenced by the Holy Office.

He knew how to cross himself, and recite fluently in Latin the Lord's Prayer, Ave Maria, Salve Regina, and the Ego Peccator.

He said that he was baptized and confirmed as a Catholic and that he goes to mass, confessing at the times stipulated by the Church, and last Lent he confessed at Sigüenza to Bachelor Manjón, a cleric from that town, and received the Holy Sacrament in Sigüenza Cathedral, and subsequently, when the jubilee was proclaimed last August, he confessed to the aforementioned Bachelor Manjón and received the Holy Sacrament in order to gain the said jubilee, and in Lent of [fifteen] sixty-four he confessed at León to a Franciscan friar whose name he cannot recall and received the Holy Sacrament in León Cathedral, and the previous Lent he confessed in Seville to a priest from Seville Cathedral whose name he does not know. He has no certificates of confession from any of these occasions.

He said that he could read and write and that he began to be taught the *Art* of Antonio[17] at Toulouse but did not continue his studies because he was put to work in a printing-press, and that it was his cousin Symon Landes who taught him in Albi how to read and write.

Asked to give his *discurso de la vida*, he said that he grew up in his father's house at Albi living there until he was 7 or 8 years old, and when he was that age a bookseller from Albi called Juan—he does not remember his surname—took him to Toulouse at his father's request to study Latin at the Colegio de Lesquila, and when he had been there for about six months, the defendant's father died so, as soon as he received that news, he abandoned his studies and was bound apprentice for a period of five years to the printer Jacques Colomiés[18] to learn the art of pulling the bar, and at the end of those five years he came to Spain in [fifteen] fifty-four with Juan Mole who was married to a woman in Toledo and was a type-caster by trade; they went together to Zaragoza where the defendant worked at his trade in the house of the printer Pedro Bernuz[19] for eight or nine months, and from there he came to Valencia and

the cathedral chapel of St Marcel, but not a canon (ADTA, registres 6E13/26, fol. 108^{r}; 6E9/3, fol. 353^{r}; 6E6/2, fol. 20^{r}; 6E6/4, fol. 30^{v}; 6E6/7, fol. 176^{v}).

[17] i.e. he began studying Latin from Antonio de Nebrija's grammar.

[18] i.e. Jacques Colomiés *père*. The Colomiés dynasty of printers was famous for publishing Catholic propaganda (Martin and Chartier 1983–6: i. 353). The French typesetter Pierre de Rinz worked at Toulouse for Jacques Colomiés *père* before going to Spain.

[19] In 1531 Bernuz he had married the niece of the famous Zaragoza printer Georg Coci, beginning his career as a printer in 1540 when he acquired half of Coci's typographical material. He printed at Zaragoza until 1571, apparently becoming prosperous in the process (Pedraza Gracia

worked for some six months in the house of the Flemish printer Juan de Mey,[20] and then for seven or eight months more in the house of Antonio de Sanahuja who was at that time a printer and bookseller,[21] and from Valencia he returned to Zaragoza working for about two months there in the house of the printer Esteuan de Nájera,[22] and afterwards he returned to Valencia but could find no position there, and after a week he went to Salamanca and worked there for a year in Andrés de Portonaris's house[23] and from time to time in that of Juan de Cánova,[24] and from there he went to Medina del Campo but could find no employment and travelled to Alcalá de Henares where there were no jobs to be had, and went to Toledo where there was no work either, and returned to Zaragoza where he could find no work, so went back to Valencia and was employed for nine months in the house of the wife of Juan de Mey, Mey himself being dead by then,[25] and then because the plague struck Valencia[26] the defendant went to Barcelona where he worked for eight or nine months in a press owned by a doctor, a bookseller and a teacher,[27] and he fell ill there and returned to the town of Albi where he lived in his mother's house for three months, and after that he went to Lyon where he worked for a year in Teobaldo Pagano's press,[28] and when peace was declared between Spain and France he went to Paris for a fortnight to see the celebrations,[29] and on his way back to his home town from Paris he fell in with a nephew of Don Juan García, a Valencian merchant, and accompanied him to Valencia, being employed as his servant for six months, and he then returned to

1991: 11–12; 1997: 29–32). Enrique Loe worked in Bernuz's press on arrival in Spain. In 1570 Pierre Régnier referred to one of his sworn enemies as 'Hubert Gotard who is working as a type-caster in Bernuz's press at Zaragoza' (trial of Pierre Régnier, fol. [33]^{v}).

[20] Juan Mey, or Jan van Mey, printed at Valencia from 1543 to 1555 (Delgado Casado 1996: i. 454–5).

[21] Antonio de Sanahuja worked as a bookseller at Valencia from 1544 to at least 1557. In 1554 he established his own press, but his production was small and his last known edition dated 1556. As both bookseller and printer he was closely associated with Juan Mey (Delgado Casado 1996: ii. 627–8). La Bastida's account indicates that he knew Sanahuja abandoned the craft of printing after he had worked for him. The French binder João de Leão worked for Sanahuja in the late 1550s and early 1560s (first trial of João de Leão, fol. 16^{v}).

[22] Esteban de Nájera printed at Zaragoza from 1550 until 1555 (Delgado Casado 1996: ii. 483).

[23] The Italian printer Andrea de Portonariis ran a press at Salamanca from 1547 until 1568 (Ruiz Fidalgo 1994: i. 65–73). At least two other French journeymen tried at Toledo had worked for him: Juan Franco (his first and second trials, fols. 131^{r}, 139^{v}, 154^{v}) and Pierre de Ribera (his trial, fol. [15]^{r}).

[24] Juan de Cánova printed at Salamanca from 1553 to 1569 (Ruiz Fidalgo 1994: i. 76–80). Cánova employed not only La Bastida but also Enrique Loe, whilst his father, Alejandro de Cánova, employed Juan Franco (his first trial, fol. 136^{r}).

[25] Juan Mey died in 1555 or 1556; his widow was Jerónima de Gales (see Ch. 7).

[26] Doubtless the plague which ravaged that city and, indeed, the whole of Spain in 1557 and 1558.

[27] The teacher was a man called Escobar to whom La Bastida refers later in his trial (fol. [60]^{v}). It is very likely that he was Francesc Escobar, Professor of Rhetoric, Oratory, and Greek at the University of Barcelona and an associate of the Frenchman Claudi Bornat whose press operated at Barcelona from 1556 to 1575. La Bastida probably meant that he had worked for Bornat who had entered into partnership with Escobar and Onofre Bruguera (both 'artium et medicine doctores') to publish books (Peña Díaz 1996: 116).

[28] The Protestant printer Thibaud Payen was active at Lyon between 1534 and 1570 (Baudrier, 1895–1950: iv. 206–90). Payen also employed Pierre de Rinz and Pierre Régnier.

[29] i.e. the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis signed in Apr. 1559.

Zaragoza, going back to Valencia and working for four months in the house of the printer Juan Navarro[30] and another four in the house of the wife of the aforementioned Juan de Mey, and then he went to Granada where he worked for fourteen months in Councillor García de Briones's press,[31] and from there he went to Córdoba where he worked for three months in the house of the printer Juan Baptista,[32] and then he set off for Seville, but on the way he fell in with some gentlemen who were travelling to the Indies, and he accompanied them to Jerez [de la Frontera] working in their employ as a servant for three months, and he then returned to Seville and was taken on for a year in the house of the printer Sebastián de Trujillo,[33] and from there he came to Toledo where he worked for three months in the house of the printer Juan de Ayala,[34] and from there he went to Alcalá de Henares where he worked for three months in the house of the printer Andrés de Angulo, and from there he went to Madrid where he stayed for about a month wandering around,[35] and afterwards he went to Burgos and worked for four months in the house of Felipe de Junta,[36] and from there he went to León where he worked for a year in the house of the printer Pedro de Celada printing breviaries for that bishopric,[37] and from there he returned to Burgos where he was another two months in Felipe de Junta's house, and from there he went to Berlanga where he was three months in Canon Robles's house working on a book called 'a centurio' which Diego de Córdoba from Burgo de Osma was printing,[38] and from there he went to Sigüenza where he has been about a year printing works for that bishopric in the house of the printer Sebastián Martínez, whence they have now brought him prisoner to this Holy Office.[39]

[30] Juan Navarro ran his press at Valencia from at least 1532 to 1543; books were subsequently signed from 1552 to 1583 'in Juan Navarro's house' but it is not known who managed the press during that period (Delgado Casado 1996: ii. 484–5).

[31] At least two editions were issued in 1563 and 1564 from the press that Elio Antonio de Lebrija ran at Granada with García de Briones, but this partnership was short-lived (Gallego Morell 1970: 43).

[32] Juan Bautista Escudero set up the first press in the city of Córdoba; he printed there between 1556 and 1583, specializing in the sort of liturgical editions on which La Bastida would also work at Burgos, León, and Sigüenza (Delgado Casado 1996: i. 205–6).

[33] Sebastián Trujillo printed at Seville from the early 1540s until 1567; his widow Ana de la Peña employed another of the French printing-workers later tried at Toledo, Pierre de Rinz. Trujillo was still alive when La Bastida worked in this press.

[34] La Bastida must be referring here to Juan de Ayala Cano, son of the better-known Toledo printer Juan de Ayala. Ayala Cano probably worked at Toledo between 1556 and 1576 (Delgado Casado 1996: i. 49–50); he also employed the Flemish typesetter Enrique Loe.

[35] Madrid became the capital in 1561; La Bastida visited it shortly afterwards. He would not have gone there in search of work as a printer because the first Madrid press was not set up until 1566.

[36] Felipe de Junta, a member of the famous Giunta family of Florence, Venice, and Lyon, ran a press at Burgos from 1560 to 1596 (Delgado Casado 1996: i. 351–2).

[37] Little is known about Celada, but it has been suggested (Delgado Casado 1996: i. 139–40) that he was active between 1548 and 1556. This period should be extended because the breviary which La Bastida helped to print on Celada's press at León must have been the *Breviarium Legionense* signed on 1 Apr. 1564 (Odriozola 1996: no. 223).

[38] This book was Francisco de Robles's *Copia sive ratio accentuum omnium fere dictionum difficilium, tam linguae latinae, quam hebraicae, nonnullarumque graecarum*. It was printed in 1564/5 by Diego Fernández de Córdoba at Berlanga de Duero in the house of the author's brother, Canon Juan de Robles. Fernández de Córdoba was mainly based at Valladolid.

[39] Trial of Antonio de la Bastida, fols. [46]^{r}–[48]^{r}.

When combined with others' testimony about him, what Antonio de la Bastida says about himself in this account and at other stages of his trial paints a picture of someone who was in several respects typical of the foreign journeymen-printers arrested by the Holy Office. For example, he appears to have been well educated in comparison with his Spanish colleagues. Although he always worked as a pressman, not as a compositor, he had at least some familiarity with Latin, and could read and write both French and Spanish, leaving several pages of evidence penned in his own clear hand and in perfect Castilian. His family counted among their number merchants and a member of Albi Cathedral's hierarchy, while his father had served the bishop. Indeed, his father may have had ambitions for Antonio, sending him to the prestigious Collège de l'Esquile in Toulouse, which was the first step to a career in the law, the Church, or government. Although circumstances obliged him to abandon his studies and take up a mechanical craft, he would impress some of his Spanish colleagues with his learning.[40]

One source of their suspicion that he held unorthodox views was what they perceived to be his attitude to the sectarian conflict which was ravaging his native land, but ordinary Spaniards would have been insensitive to the complexities of the political and religious situation in France. When Inquisitor Ayanz was sent La Bastida's papers from Sigüenza he was more interested in the 'propositions' the Frenchman was alleged to have made, and called in his theological advisers to examine them. Although it appears that La Bastida's colleagues were most outraged by his opinions about saints, those experts decided that his scepticism of such popular saints as Fray Diego de Alcalá who were not officially endorsed by the Church was not heretical.[41] However, his views on the papacy and his assertion that St Peter was merely bishop of Antioch were judged to be worthy of further investigation. Some Spanish witnesses who knew La Bastida well asserted that he would never have voiced opinions on such matters through ignorance. However, he was able to persuade his interrogators that he was not a witting heretic. As was normal in such cases, Inquisitor Ayanz tried to discover whether there were any firmly held convictions lying behind the 'propositions', but was also conscious that the defendant was frightened out of his wits whenever he faced interrogation. He accordingly allowed him pen and paper to write his defence in his cell. In it La Bastida led Ayanz to believe that the assertions he had made round Martínez's hearth were not the product of a considered theological position nor of a study of Protestant literature but were commonplaces he had heard voiced by compatriots he

[40] Trial of Antonio de la Bastida, fol. [23]^{r}; for the Collège de l'Esquile see Corraze 1937: 159.

[41] Fray Diego was not canonized until 1588, after Prince Don Carlos had importuned his father Philip II to persuade the pope in Fray Diego's favour.

had met on his travels in Spain and which he subsequently parroted. However learned La Bastida had appeared to his Spanish workmates, Ayanz concluded that he was an ignorant youth when it came to religious matters. Ayanz was a notoriously lazy inquisitor who preferred gambling and falconry to interrogations, and he decided to pursue the case no further.

La Bastida had, then, received a basic education in his native country and, although normally careful to keep his opinions to himself, had succumbed to the temptation to repeat tendentious views in front of his Spanish workmates. In this he may have shared with his compatriot Pierre de Rinz the feeling of intellectual superiority which seems to have distinguished *compagnons-imprimeurs* in France. It is, however, impossible to be sure whether La Bastida was a good Catholic who was merely out of his depth when it came to theological matters or whether he held heretical views but managed to convince his interrogators that the assertions he had made at Sigüenza were the product of ignorance. However suspect La Bastida's views, he told a cell-mate that the reason he had gone to work in Spain was to escape the excesses of the Huguenots in his native France. He may have been telling the truth: he did, after all, come from a family closely associated with the Catholic Church in Albi, and the education he received appears to have been a religiously orthodox one.[42]

Antonio de la Bastida was a resourceful man, physically strong, and self-reliant, travelling far from home, often alone, from a very early age. His *discurso de la vida* enables us to reconstruct some of those travels. He led an extraordinarily peripatetic life: he walked many thousands of miles across Castile, Aragon, and Andalusia, in addition to his journeys through France in search of employment. His return to France to convalesce and work shows that, like many of the journeymen mentioned in these trial-records, he came and went between the two countries. He would even travel long distances for the purpose of entertainment, as is witnessed by his trip from Lyon to Paris to join in the celebration of the Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis. Printing-workers like La Bastida had constantly to travel from one press to another in search of employment. In the course of his career in Spain he was contracted by no fewer than seventeen different presses located in fifteen towns; and he was obviously a good worker because the same masters were willing to take him on several times over the years. He could also turn his hand to other jobs, not being averse to working as a servant to earn his daily bread. The contracts he was given as a pressman varied in length, but they were seldom for more than a year, frequently lasted only two or three months, and were sometimes for the production of a single book. The precarious nature of their employment meant that journeymen-printers had

[42] Trial of Antonio de la Bastida, fols. [41]^{v}, [46]^{r}.

to know where work was likely to be available, and La Bastida's trial provides an insight into the effectiveness of the information network which grew up as a response to this situation. For example, Diego de Nájera not only knew La Bastida because he worked alongside him in Sigüenza and had first met him many years previously in the press which Nájera's brother ran at Zaragoza, but he was also able to confirm what the Frenchman had told the Cuenca inquisitors about his peripatetic life because comrades whom Nájera had met on his own travels round Spain had kept him abreast of La Bastida's career.[43] These printing-workers all knew each other personally or by repute, news and gossip circulating rapidly among them either by word of mouth or in the letters they exchanged.[44] The Holy Office, for its part, made use of this network to track down suspects: it only had to send an agent to any printing centre to pick up a wealth of information about those it wished to interview.[45] That is because printers and their employees invariably knew the whereabouts of anybody whom they had employed or who had been their workmates, or at the very least knew somebody who did.

Guillermo Herlin's denunciations to the Toledo inquisitors several years after La Bastida had been released from gaol in Cuenca and had temporarily disappeared from the Inquisition's records sowed panic among members of the network of foreign printing-workers, La Bastida among them. Acting on information supplied to them by Herlin, the Toledo inquisitors requested the Valladolid tribunal to detain La Bastida. The Valladolid inquisitors accordingly summoned his old employer from Sigüenza days, Sebastián Martínez, and learnt from him that La Bastida had, indeed, spent some time in Valladolid after being banished from the Cuenca district but had since moved on to Salamanca. They reported back to Toledo, adding that they had learnt that he already had a criminal record in Cuenca.[46] Although he was assiduously sought in northern Castile, La Bastida proved elusive, but was eventually tracked down and apprehended many miles

[43] Trial of Antonio de la Bastida, fol. [24]^{r}.

[44] In 1572 the Antwerp compositor Pedro Alberto described to the inquisitors of the Lisbon tribunal how he and other foreign printing-workers and booksellers in the Iberian Peninsula kept in touch by letter (third trial of João de Leão, fols. 134^{v}–135^{r}). Rychner (1976: 1930–1) notes how well informed printing-workers in 18th-cent. Switzerland were about presses they had never visited.

[45] Such informal networks tended to be more reliable as sources of information than the Inquisition's own: when the printer Montesdoca fled Seville for the New World his creditors got wind of his whereabouts in Honduras and Guatemala at the very time in the mid-1560s when the Holy Office was unable to track him down (K. Wagner 1982: 26).

[46] Letter from the Valladolid tribunal to Toledo dated 3 Mar. 1570, contained in the trial of Pierre de Ribera, fol. [7]$^{r–v}$. If La Bastida is to be identified with 'the Frenchman Antonio la Bastida' mentioned in Catalina de Cortegana's will dated 26 Apr. 1572 (AHPV, Protocolos, leg. 515, unfoliated), he had a wife by then; he would have married Catalina, probably in Valladolid, between his banishment from the district of Cuenca in 1566 and the order for his arrest issued by the Toledo tribunal in 1570.

away in Barcelona to which he was said to have fled from Castile in an attempt to avoid the attentions of the Holy Office. The Barcelona inquisitors informed their Toledo colleagues that, when he was arrested, a written certificate of his having recanted heretical opinions was discovered sewn into the lining of his breeches. This document had doubtless been issued by the Cuenca tribunal in 1566 when La Bastida had abjured his errors there.[47] The Toledo inquisitors immediately dispatched an agent to Catalonia to escort the detainee back under guard to their prison. However, La Bastida had learnt his lesson from his previous experience at the hands of the Inquisition. He was aware that, as he now stood accused for a second time of heresy after having been formally reconciled to the Church, he would be treated by the Toledo tribunal as a relapsed heretic and therefore ran the risk of ending his days at the stake. He would also have remembered how unsuccessful his attempts to escape had proved when, years before, he had planned to break out of the inquisitional gaol at Cuenca. He drew the obvious conclusion: he gave his unwary escort the slip on the way from Barcelona to Toledo, disappeared into the night, and nothing more was heard of him.[48] In this he was more fortunate than the other two representative journeymen who are the subjects of this chapter.

Enrique Loe (Hendrik van der Loe)

Enrique Loe was the youngest of these three printing-workers when he was arrested at Toledo, and the only one who had lived all his life among printers. He was less well educated and, indeed, less intelligent than colleagues like Pierre de Rinz or Antonio de la Bastida. It appears that he could not write, at least in Spanish, for he had to dictate the plea for release he submitted to the Toledo inquisitors after he had completed the sentence they had imposed on him; nevertheless he was able to sign his name, albeit in an uncertain hand.[49] He had grown up in the world of the presses but he may, like Pierre de Rinz, have been something of an outsider, apparently having been orphaned or abandoned by his parents as a baby. The earliest information we have about him dates from 1549 or 1550 when, according to his testimony, he was baptized in the church of Our Lady at Antwerp.[50] This is consistent with what else we discover about him, for the Loe family

[47] Letters from the Barcelona tribunal to the Suprema dated 8 July 1570: AHN, Inq., lib. 737, fol. 202^{r}, and from Barcelona to Toledo dated 27 June 1570, contained in the trial of Pierre Régnier, fol. [12]^{r}.

[48] Trial of Pierre Régnier, fol. [14]^{v}.

[49] Trial of Enrique Loe, fol. [29]^{r}.

[50] Ibid., fol. [6]^{r}. Unfortunately the surviving baptismal records from this church now held in the Stadsarchief at Antwerp begin some ten years after Loe's birth.

to which he was related and which brought him up resided, as did other printers, in the Kammenstraat, the commercial centre of the city, and baptized their children in the local church which would subsequently become Antwerp's cathedral.[51] Indeed, at the time of Enrique's birth his uncle, the printer and bookseller Jan van der Loe, held an official position in the church of Our Lady.[52] Enrique's comments about his early childhood are, however, ambiguous: he seems not to have known his parents or even their names, and when he was asked who his uncles and aunts were he replied that he could tell the inquisitors nothing about his family because he had been 'taken from his homeland as a child'. Yet he not only asserted that he had actually been born in Antwerp, but that he was brought up there in the household of his uncle whom he called Juan Loe.[53] Enrique would have been 8 or 9 years old when Guillermo Herlin first met him in Jan van der Loe's press in that city and concluded that all the members of the family were at that time *luteranos*. This could have been true because by the 1550s Calvinism had taken firm root at Antwerp. Members of the printing industry, which was expanding rapidly there when Enrique was growing up and which demanded a readiness to embrace new technology among its mobile and largely literate workforce, were particularly attracted to the 'new religion'.[54] On the other hand, Enrique later told the Toledo inquisitors that he had been an orthodox Catholic when he began his travels at the age of 14 and that as a child he had served as an altar-boy in Antwerp. Considering Herlin's comments about the Loe family's beliefs, this might at first seem surprising.[55] However, the Spanish Inquisition's simplistic distinction *luterano*/Christian took no account of the complex religious situation at Antwerp where many residents in those years observed the traditional Catholic rite yet also attended Calvinist gatherings, and where broad swathes of the population swung between confessions depending upon the political circumstances of the moment.[56] When attempting to rebut the prosecution's evidence against him, Loe stated:

> I lived in Antwerp just as the witness declares, but I was not a *luterano*, and am unaware what it means to be one. I was brought up at Antwerp in my uncle's house and don't know whether guests who visited, or the people who lived with me there, were *luteranos*; I was not conscious of any heresy among them and never saw them do anything that might have led me to think that they held heretical beliefs.[57]

[51] Marnef 1996: 184. [52] Rouzet 1975: 131–2.

[53] Trial of Enrique Loe, fols. [6]^{r}, [12]^{v}. Jan van der Loe printed at Antwerp from *c.*1542 to 1563; he was succeeded by his widow Anna van der Haeghen and his son Hendrik van der Loe, who is not to be confused with the Enrique who went to Spain. Jan is also recorded as Loaeus, Loëus, Loo, Loode, Loon, and Loy (Rouzet 1975: 131–2). Enrique signed himself in Toledo as Henrique Loye.

[54] Marnef 1996: 39, 176, 181–2. [55] Trial of Enrique Loe, fol. [21]^{v}.

[56] Marnef 1994: 144, 148, 159. [57] Trial of Enrique Loe, fol. [12]^{v}.

Such a disclaimer was a standard defence and is also shot through with the sort of contradictions one associates with lying for, if Enrique did not know what it meant to be a *luterano*, how could he be so sure that he was not brought up as one? But it is also possible that his statement simply reflects the child's natural assumption that the behaviour of the adults who surrounded him in his uncle's press was perfectly normal. Loe's evidence is frequently questionable. For example, he claimed in his trial that he was unaware that breaking one's fast before mass was a sin, yet later maintained that as an altar-boy at Antwerp he had learnt that 'the Roman Church taught that Jesus Christ's body was in the consecrated host'. On the other hand, although knowing something about Catholic ritual, he may nevertheless have been ignorant of some the Church's basic ordinances, because he had been brought up in a world of fluid belief. Even when he eventually confessed to having believed Reformist heresies for a brief time in his adolescence, he firmly denied that he had done so in his childhood.[58] Some years after Loe was tried, a Spanish soldier wrote that he had encountered seventeen religions and ninety-four sects at Antwerp; it would be unsurprising if the young Fleming found it difficult to distinguish what the Spanish inquisitors considered orthodox belief and practice from amid the plurality of voices which had been his childhood experience.[59]

Herlin asserted in his denunciation of the Loe family that Enrique was a compositor, but it is not clear whether he meant that Enrique was already working in this capacity when he first met him in Flanders; for his part Loe claimed no such skill in his childhood.[60] In his denunciation of the Loe family, Herlin claimed that Enrique confided in him many years later at Alcalá that he had helped to print a Bible in Flemish before leaving for Spain.[61] When confronted by the inquisitors with this accusation Loe denied it, asserting that he merely had a hand in printing an edition of Greek and Latin concordances to the Bible. If that edition could be traced, it would help to identify the master for whom Loe had worked at Antwerp but, whatever the truth of Herlin's charge and Enrique's defence, he does seem as an adolescent to have played an active part in printing in his native city.[62] His second master there, whose name was mangled by the Toledo

[58] Ibid., fols. [21]^{v}–[22]^{r}, [23]$^{r–v}$.

[59] Bergsma 1994: 68.

[60] Trial of Enrique Loe, fol. [3]^{r}.

[61] Ibid., fol. [4]^{r}. Although certain editions of the Bible in translation were banned in the Low Countries, the printing of vernacular Bibles was not prohibited there, as it was in 16th-cent. Spain (Johnston and Gilmont 1990: 210–13). Herlin and the Toledo inquisitors seem to have been unaware of this.

[62] Trial of Enrique Loe, fol. [13]^{v}. I can find no certain reference to an Antwerp edition of Greek and Latin concordances printed before Loe left for Spain. However, in Apr. 1562 a Seville bookseller put in an order for ten quarto copies of 'Concordancia majores Biblie' to be dispatched to him from Flanders (K. Wagner 2002: 488).

Inquisition's secretary as 'Pietrebirer', was probably the Antwerp publisher, bookseller, and printer, Pierre Bellère, who lived in the same street as the Loes, and who, through his professional association with the famous Antwerp printer and publisher Johan Steels to whose daughter he was married, had built up a network of international connections. Bellère represented the interests of Steels's heirs at the Basle and Frankfurt book fairs and, like his father-in-law, had strong commercial links with Spain. He was well informed about how Protestant books printed in Spanish found their way to the Iberian Peninsula from Germany via Antwerp, even admitting to bringing back to the Low Countries from Frankfurt a few Protestant pamphlets printed in Spanish. Nevertheless, he does not himself appear to have exported suspect material.[63] Loe's uncle Jan van der Loe had died in 1563, and this may have been the moment at which he left the family press to take employment down the street with his new master, whom he served until he set out on his travels to Spain in 1564 or 1565 accompanied by his uncle Leonardo. It would not have been surprising that, when he reached an appropriate age, he should have headed south from Antwerp to try his fortune. This was a frequent practice among the offspring of Flemish printers, many ordinary booksellers, pressmen, type-casters, compositors, and master-printers from Antwerp spending some years working in Spain.[64] Bellère was certainly dispatching agents at this time to sell his books there, and Jan van der Loe had been associated with the famous printer Christopher Plantin who was a major supplier of printed material to Spain.[65]

In the course of questioning, Enrique let slip that he had stopped off at La Rochelle on his way south, suggesting that he had made at least the first leg of the journey from Flanders by sea. The mention of the city appears in a somewhat garbled passage of his trial:

> When I was in Alcalá, I occasionally asked a typesetter called Guillermo Herlin how the *luteranos* were faring and what they believed in. When I [or, possibly, Herlin] returned home from La Rochelle, they were all *luteranos* [there], and when I came from Flanders they were also *luteranos* in La Rochelle. I travelled to Spain via La Rochelle and stayed there for six weeks in the house of Barthélemy Berton, a *luterano* printer, and from there I came to Spain. At that period everybody at La Rochelle was a *luterano* and mass was not celebrated there. I came from La Rochelle to Spain via Bordeaux.[66]

[63] Tellechea Idígoras 1963: 22, 40; Gilmont 2002: 128–9; Rouzet 1975: 11.
[64] Robben 1990: 4; Penney [n.d.]: 5.
[65] On Bellère's agent at Seville see K. Wagner 1996: 25; 2002: 432.
[66] Trial of Enrique Loe, fol. [12]^{v}.

This opaque account of conversations between the two journeymen-printers at Alcalá alludes to exchanges which were probably always unclear: Loe claimed not to know French and, as was seen in Chapter 3, his Spanish was extremely rudimentary; Herlin was a native French-speaker, and it is unlikely that he knew much Flemish even if he had worked for a time in Jan van der Loe's press at Antwerp. Furthermore, Loe's account was recorded by the Toledo tribunal's secretary, who doubtless had difficulty in understanding it. There are three possible interpretations of this passage: that Herlin mentioned to Enrique that he had on at least one occasion returned home to Paris via the port of La Rochelle; that Loe had travelled from Antwerp to La Rochelle, back to Flanders again, and then had visited La Rochelle for a second time on his way to Spain; or Loe could merely be saying that he went to La Rochelle just the once on his journey with Leonardo Loe from La Rochelle to Spain. In any case, it is evident that he spent six weeks in that French port. Subsequent comments he made about his time there show that he did not just lodge in Berton's house but that he and his uncle worked in that printer's press.

Enrique must have been employed there as something more than a printer's devil. In his trial he insists that the reason he worked on holy days at La Rochelle, despite his awareness that this contravened the ordinances of the Church, was not only because he would otherwise have starved but also because, had he failed to labour on those days, the two other members of his team would have had to remain idle. As printing crews normally consisted of three men, this indicates that, untrained as he was, Enrique worked as a full member of such a team at La Rochelle.[67] Given what was said in Chapter 4 about the relative difficulty of finding work in French presses, this may seem surprising; however, La Rochelle was something of an exception, for there is evidence of an acute shortage of printing-workers in that city at just the time the Loes arrived there.[68]

Barthélemy Berton was descended from a family of Limoges printers; he had converted to Calvinism, fled to Lyon, and then settled in La Rochelle, probably in 1562 at the height of religious turmoil there. He became a supplier of books for the Protestant camp, printing vitriolic anti-Catholic propaganda during the Wars of Religion. In 1563, when Protestants were granted the right to practise their religion openly at La Rochelle, Berton was employing up to six workers, at least some of whom were adherents of the 'new religion'. However in 1564, when Enrique and Leonardo disembarked in the city, he was desperate to recruit staff. The difficulty of finding skilled printing-workers at La Rochelle is illustrated by a strange case. In the

[67] Ibid., fols. [13]^{r}, [21]^{v}.

[68] As was seen in Ch. 4, Pierre de Ribera could not find work when he went to La Rochelle, but that was *c.*1559 when printing was still inactive there.

autumn of that year news reached Berton that the crew of a galley which had anchored nearby contained a trained *compagnon-imprimeur*. This artisan, a man called Robert Duparc from Rouen, turned out to be serving a sentence as a galley-slave, and had been unlucky enough to fall foul of the choleric captain of the vessel to which he had been condemned. In a fit of rage the captain had cut off one of Duparc's ears. Together with a group of businessmen from La Rochelle, Berton offered the captain a large sum for the slave's freedom, putting up over 200 *livres* himself. Documents recording the transaction were drawn up and the *compagnon-imprimeur* duly released. From this record we learn that Duparc was anxious to be given a certificate showing both that he had been officially granted his liberty and that he had not been mutilated as a punishment for theft but had been the victim of unjustified violence. These same documents show that Berton had an ulterior motive for coming to Duparc's rescue: the *compagnon* undertook to work for him in his press, reimbursing the 200 *livres* out of his wages.[69] As Berton had to go to such lengths to man his press, it is not surprising that he should so readily have taken on a lad from Flanders who, although only 14 years of age and without any knowledge of French, had grown up in the world of printing. If Berton employed Loe as a compositor, it would be no coincidence that the editions he issued in 1564 were so full of misprints.[70] The shortage of staff at La Rochelle must have been chronic in those years, for in September 1566 when Pedro Alberto, another journeyman-printer from Antwerp who knew no French, arrived there on a boat from Lisbon, Berton tried to induce him to work as a typesetter in his press.[71]

After leaving La Rochelle Enrique and his uncle made for Spain where, like many other immigrant printing-workers, they began their careers in that country at Zaragoza. As had been the case some years before with Antonio de la Bastida, their first employer was Pedro Bernuz. This may not be fortuitous, for migration of artisans was seldom willy-nilly, tending instead to follow established routes. Enrique was subsequently employed by masters in various Castilian printing centres: in Alcalá by Andrés de Angulo and Juan de Villanueva, in Salamanca by Juan María de Terranova, Juan de Cánova, Pedro Lasso Vaca, and possibly the Fleming Matías Gast, in Medina del Campo by Francisco del Canto (and perhaps his brother Mateo), and in Toledo by Juan de Ayala Cano. He had recently begun working in Ayala's press when he was denounced by Herlin and arrested there. Loe's uncle had accompanied him during his first year in Spain,

[69] Droz 1960: 13–41. 200 *livres* was a considerable sum, then equivalent at La Rochelle to the cost of six tons of wheat (Trocmé and Delafosse 1952: 88).

[70] Droz 1960: 32.

[71] Third trial of João de Leão, fols. 129$^{r–v}$, 135^{v}, 229^{v}–230^{r}.

where they worked together in at least Zaragoza, Alcalá, and Salamanca, but Leonardo had then returned to Flanders.[72]

Enrique must have been an acceptable employee because some masters were prepared to take him on more than once, but he was not an easy man. An orphan who had been on the road since adolescence, at the age of 17 he married a woman called Ana de Riaza who was probably from the Basque country or Gascony. From what Loe says in his trial, she was a good Catholic horrified by his cavalier attitude to orthodox belief and practice.[73] Having been brought up in a very different tradition at Antwerp, he may have been genuinely unfamiliar with some of the observances of the Spanish Church. When he was asked by the Toledo inquisitors to recite to them the Lord's Prayer he stumbled over the wording and clearly did not know the Salve Regina at all. However, some three years previously his knowledge of basic prayers and the articles of the faith had been tested just before he got married at Alcalá, and he was not at that stage found wanting.[74] It may be that, as he grew older, he gradually forgot what he had previously known of Catholicism; indeed, when responding to the prosecution witnesses' evidence he claimed that he was not sure whether or not his views were heretical.[75] On the other hand, his mind may simply have gone blank under interrogation. He could even have exaggerated his ignorance during his trial on the grounds that such a failing was likely to attract a lesser punishment than a witting disregard for orthodox practice. In the event, he and his advocate linked his ignorance to his youth, and the inquisitors took account of both factors when sentencing him.[76]

Enrique and Ana seem to have lived at Alcalá but he frequently had to travel elsewhere in search for work. According to one witness, he had spent little time at Alcalá since his marriage there, and we know that the couple had no children.[77] He was weak-willed and feckless, but his greatest failing in the eyes of many of his colleagues was, as he put it somewhat euphemistically, that he was 'partial to a drop of wine'. If Flemings had a reputation as drunkards, so did members of the printing industry; printing was thirsty work, especially for pressmen, and journeymen-printers everywhere were notorious for their drinking; their employers were often no different. Loe worked for Pedro Lasso Vaca at Salamanca in the late 1560s; if this is the person of that name who was repeatedly dismissed from work as a printer of bulls at the Monasterio de Nuestra Señora de Prado in Valladolid for drunkenness, he would have been a master very much after Loe's own heart.[78] Enrique was, moreover, a prickly young man who had few friends; even when he first worked at Alcalá with his uncle, at which time he would

[72] Trial of Enrique Loe, fol. [22]^{v}. [73] Ibid., fol. [8]^{r}. [74] Ibid., fols. [6]^{r}, [19]^{v}.
[75] Ibid., fol. [14]^{r}. [76] Ibid., fol. [24]^{r}. [77] Ibid., fol. [19]^{v}.
[78] Ibid., fol. [12]^{v}; for Lasso Vaca's drunkenness see Fernández 1992: 83.

have been only about 15 years old, he was so difficult that his workmates preferred not to try to engage him in conversation.[79] When invited to name witnesses who could be summoned to speak for his defence he was unable to come up with any friends, and only with difficulty remembered a few acquaintances who might testify in his favour.[80] He sometimes found himself drinking, eating, and talking with his workmates not, as he explained, because they were particularly well disposed to him but because that was just what life in printing workshops was like.[81] He was a loner, possibly because he followed the advice of his compatriot Pedro de Güerta that the safest policy as a foreigner in Spain was to keep oneself to oneself. On the other hand, he may simply have been rebarbative by nature, for his Huguenot workmates at La Rochelle had nicknamed him 'Baptiste', presumably because he kept himself apart.[82] Witnesses at his trial in Toledo could find little to say about him; for instance, the compositor and bookseller Francisco Sánchez, who worked in Andrés de Angulo's press at Alcalá, declared, 'I know nothing about Loe as I have had few dealings with him', while Guillermo Herlin stated that Loe 'was not the sort of person with whom one could converse'.[83] Others called him a tumble-down drunk, answering the Inquisition's inquiries with some measure of irony. When, for example, Antonio Canal, a pressman also employed by Angulo, was asked what acts of charity he had witnessed Loe performing, he replied that, 'the only good works I've ever seen from that Enrique have been his drinking himself senseless'.[84] These colleagues may have been reflecting that common prejudice that Flemings were heretical drunkards, but it is noteworthy that the sole witness to give Loe an unequivocally favourable character reference was his neighbour Luis López, a tavern-keeper.[85] However, as he fled from Alcalá in the wake of Herlin's arrest there and made for what he considered the safety of the teeming city of Toledo, Loe revealed a depth to his character which those who gave evidence in his trial seem not to have appreciated. He poured out his guilty conscience and sheer terror to a workmate, Adrián Gaspar, who accompanied him in the rush to get away from the town. Loe, a friendless young man who did not take his wife with him as he escaped, sought reassurance from his travelling companion for the deep-seated fears he had bottled up for years.[86] The ex-altar-boy from Antwerp now fleeing the Spanish Inquisition which considered him a *luterano* appears to have been a member of what one modern Flemish historian has termed 'the lost generation' of Flemings who, having been brought up at a time of turmoil and confusion of faiths in the Low Countries, were plagued by doubts about their religious beliefs. Many

[79] Trial of Enrique Loe, fol. [12]^{r}. [80] Ibid., fols. [18]^{r}–[20]^{r}. [81] Ibid., fol. [10]^{r}.
[82] Ibid., fol. [13]^{r}. [83] Ibid., fols. [18]^{r}, [4]^{r}, [3]^{r}. [84] Ibid., fol. [18]^{v}.
[85] Ibid., fols. [19]^{v}–[20]^{r}. [86] Ibid., fol. [28]^{r}.

presented themselves voluntarily to the Inquisition once they found themselves in Spain and sought reassurance about spiritual matters.[87] But Loe was far too scared to ask for guidance from the Holy Office; rather, he confided in his compatriot Gaspar, who would have well understood his predicament.

Pierre de Rinz (Pierre de Reims)

Pierre de Rinz was the most intelligent, probably the best educated, and, considering the range of employment he had taken before reaching Spain, one of the most experienced of the immigrant printing-workers. For these reasons he stood out from his Spanish workmates. As the illegitimate son of a Catholic priest, he would always have been something of a figure on the margin. Guillaume, his father, had three children by his mistress Claude de Letre: Marie who was married to a bookseller called Arnaud Hubert, Simon who worked as a merchant in Troyes, and Pierre himself. Understandably, given his irregular origins, Pierre did not know his grandparents. Although he had been born and brought up in the priest's house, he was unable to cross himself properly or recite the Salve Regina when questioned at Toledo.

His childhood home had been in the town the Inquisition's secretary recorded as 'Rinz', and which Pierre described both as 'near Paris' and 'on the border with Flanders'. This 'Rinz' was doubtless Reims.[88] His father appears to have destined him for higher things, sending him to Paris to study, but Pierre was forced into the printing industry when the priest died, funds for his education dried up, and at the age of 16 he was obliged by his brother-in-law Arnaud Hubert to abandon Paris. At the time of Pierre's trial at Toledo, Hubert was dealing in books at Reims, but his religious sympathies lay with the Calvinism of Geneva, and it was there that he had taken Rinz, obliging him to learn a mechanical art.[89]

Hubert's decision to take his ward to Geneva was, at the time, a logical one because the Genevan printing industry was booming and it was easy to come by employment there. He bound Pierre apprentice for two years to the French Calvinist refugee Thomas Courteau, probably to train to be a pressman, although Pierre later worked as a compositor when he was in Spain.[90] Rinz says that this was in 1562; by that time Courteau had long

[87] Thomas 1993: 165. [88] Trial of Pierre de Rinz, fol. [7]$^{r–v}$.

[89] Arnaud Hubert may have been the provincial bookseller and binder of the same name who in 1545 and 1546 was working at Paris in the Faubourg St Marcel (Coyecque 1905–24: i. 648, 806; ii. 130).

[90] Trial of Pierre de Rinz, fols. [7]^{v}, [8]^{v}. Contemporary regulations at Geneva prescribed apprenticeships of two years for a pressman and three for a compositor, although there was always some flexibility in those requirements (Gaullieur 1855: 104; Chaix 1954: 36; Weber 1978: 83).

been a resident of Geneva to which he had fled at least twelve years earlier. Courteau had set up as a printer there in 1557, doubtless acting prior to that as the famous printer Robert Estienne's agent until Estienne transferred his activities to Geneva from Paris. The two men were to form links in a chain of Reformist printers operating at Geneva and Basle.[91] Pierre's time in the city is likely to have been a rude shock after his Paris days because Eugénie Droz does not hesitate to depict Courteau as a thoroughly disreputable character who cheated his colleagues and was a tyrannical employer.[92]

From the descriptions Rinz gave of his life before arriving in Spain, it is evident that he was an observant man and that his stay in Geneva had made him familiar with religious practices there. However, he served only seven months of his two-year apprenticeship before abandoning his master to follow in the footsteps of many a journeyman-printer to Lyon where, as he observed of the craftsmen in the industry there, 'some were *luteranos* and others Catholics, because they all work together'.[93] It may be that he left Geneva as a result of the introduction of the limit on the number of presses allowed to operate there or of the relentless toil which Genevan printers were able to demand from their employees. It may equally have been that, having begun his printing career in the years prior to 1563 when labour was at a premium in the city, he had gained the impression that, despite his very limited training, employment in the printing industry was always going to be readily available. On the other hand, he may have found Geneva's regimentation of its residents' private lives uncongenial, or Courteau's treatment of his apprentices intolerable. As a convinced Protestant, Courteau would have made Rinz obey the Genevan regulation that he attend Calvinist sermons. Whether or not Pierre was exaggerating when he told the Toledo inquisitors that at Geneva he had felt 'like a Christian captive in Algiers', he evidently wanted to get away.[94] However, when he got to Lyon he could find no work and was thrown on to the charity of the *compagnons-imprimeurs* of that city who supported him from the fund they had established to help colleagues suffering such unemployment in a precarious world where not working meant not eating.[95] Giving up all

[91] Armstrong 1986: 213–15, 227, 243. For the Spanish Inquisition's banning of all Courteau's editions see Bujanda 1993: 547.

[92] Droz 1970–6: iv. 9.

[93] Trial of Pierre de Rinz, fol. [7]^{v}. There was a long tradition of tolerance among journeymen-printers at Lyon who held different religious views (Davis 1987: 8).

[94] Trial of Pierre de Rinz, fol. [8]^{v}. In the London of the 1550s masters dictated their servants' and apprentices' religious observances (Brigden 1991: 563). When Pierre de Rinz was working in a Lyon press in 1565 or 1566, his master apparently obliged him to attend a Protestant service there (trial of Pierre de Rinz, fol. [8]^{r}).

[95] Davis 1959: 212. Such institutionalized help for itinerant journeymen in France was not exclusive to the printing industry (Truant 1994: 61; Farr, 2000: 209).

hope of finding a job as a printer, he enlisted as a soldier at Metz in the war-torn region of Lorraine.

He was forced out of his military company one year later by lack of pay but managed to find a position in the Basle press run by Estienne's and Courteau's colleague Johannes Herbst (Oporinus). According to the Inquisition's records Rinz did not hesitate to label this moderate humanist scholar a *luterano*. If those records accurately reflect what Rinz told his interrogators at Toledo, this categorization of his old master was no more nuanced than the Inquisition's own use of the term *luteranismo*. Oporinus had indeed been associated with Reformers from all over Europe. In the mid-1550s, for instance, he had employed the Calvinist refugee from Mary Tudor's England, John Foxe, as an editor-cum-proofreader in his press where Foxe had compiled the forerunner of his *Book of Martyrs*.[96] Oporinus also collaborated with Spaniards who had Reformist sympathies: he worked with Francisco de Enzinas who had published Castilian translations of Calvin, Luther, and the New Testament; in 1556 he brought out a defence of vernacular readings of the Bible written by the Valencian exile Fadrique Furió Ceriol; and in the 1560s he arranged with the Spanish refugee Casiodoro de Reina to print the latter's translation of the scriptures into Castilian.[97] Nevertheless, despite his publishing Reformist authors and works, he also issued Catholic writers. His own broad-mindedness and the Basle printers' speciality in the production of editions of complete works make Rinz's claim plausible that the press was printing what he termed a 'Catholic edition of St Bernard's works' during the four months he was employed in it.[98] The only edition of St Bernard of Clairvaux's writings to which he could be referring was signed at Basle 'per haeredes Ioannis Heruagij' in March 1566 but was in fact printed by Oporinus, who had by then married Herwagen's widow. It was the second Basle edition of the *Opera* and could well have been described as 'Catholic'.[99] The chronology of Rinz's travels which can be reconstructed from the autobiography he sketched for the Toledo inquisitors suggests that he was in Basle in about 1564. It is therefore quite possible that he worked on Oporinus's edition of St Bernard: it is a magnificent book containing over five hundred large folios printed in small roman and italic types, set in Latin in two columns with meticulous punctuation, marginal notes, and two detailed indexes. Considering the enormous amount of labour involved in setting, proofreading,

[96] In 1559 Oporinus and Nicolaus Brylinger had published this sensational Latin chronicle about the tribulations of English Protestants.

[97] For Oporinus and Enzinas see Gilmont 2002: 121; for Oporinus and Furió Ceriol see Truman 1999: 89; for Oporinus and Casiodoro see Kinder 1975: 48–51, 54.

[98] Trial of Pierre de Rinz, fol. [7]^{v}.

[99] Steinmann 1967: 110. The printing of Catholic works was not automatically forbidden at Basle where profit always predominated over dogmatism (Bietenholz 1990: 246–7).

and printing this book, as well as the fact that the press is unlikely to have been exclusively dedicated to this one project during the period over which it was being typeset and copies run off, it must have taken a very long time to produce.

Pierre de Rinz did not stay in Basle for the whole time that Oporinus's St Bernard was being printed, but undertook the long journey to Paris only to discover that he could find no job in the presses there, so headed south again to work as a servant to a relation of his in the Château of Sancerre on the banks of the Loire.[100] Domestic or military service was often a temporary recourse for unemployed French journeymen-printers. From Sancerre he again looked around for printing jobs, travelling to Lyon where he was taken on for six months by a master who was recorded by the Spanish secretary as 'el paje', doubtless to be identified with the French printer, publisher, and bookseller Thibaud Payen, for whom Pierre Régnier also worked before settling in Barcelona and who had employed Antonio de la Bastida between his two periods of residence in Spain.[101] Rinz remarked to the Toledo inquisitors that, although Payen dealt with people of different religious persuasions, he judged his master to be a sympathizer with the 'new religion'. This was indeed the case. Payen's Protestant leanings went back to the 1540s, when he had printed a series of 'heretical' Bibles in the vernacular at Lyon.[102] In the same year that Rinz was arrested in Spain and Protestantism was being harshly repressed in Lyon, Payen chose to abjure his beliefs and was duly recorded as a 'reduced Huguenot'.[103] After leaving Lyon, Pierre's final post in his native land was a three-month stint in Toulouse as an employee of the same fiercely Catholic printer who had trained Antonio de la Bastida several years earlier: Jacques Colomiés *père*.

Whatever Rinz's own religious sympathies at this stage, it is evident that itinerant printing-workers in France often found themselves obliged to alternate between Huguenot and Catholic areas of their country, taking work where they could find it. This was a fact of life for them which the Spanish inquisitors, as salaried bureaucrats living in a Catholic country, failed to appreciate. During a time of sectarian tension and violence Rinz moved from an apprenticeship with a staunchly Calvinist printer at Geneva to a Catholic regiment at Metz, from a master with Reformist leanings in Basle to an orthodox relative at Sancerre, and from a Protestant printer in the religiously divided city of Lyon to employment by an intransigent Catholic propagandist at Toulouse. By his own admission, he listened to the opinions of authors, fellow-workers, and visitors who argued about

[100] Trial of Pierre de Rinz, fol. [7]^{v}.
[101] Trial of Pierre Régnier, fol. [21]^{v}; trial of Antonio de la Bastida, fol. [47]^{v}.
[102] Gilmont (forthcoming). [103] Davis 1959: 577.

religious matters while he was setting type in the presses.[104] As will be seen in Chapter 9, this experience seems to have fostered in him an independence of mind which emerged in his discussions with his interrogators at Toledo. His career in France as he travelled from job to job and zone to zone was a chequered and fraught one. In 1566 or 1567 with tensions rising once again there on the eve of the outbreak of the second War of Religion, and the repression of Protestants gaining pace at Lyon where he had recently been employed, he decided to try his luck in Spain. There may have been some truth in his assertion that he had decided to emigrate in order to flee from heresy—or at least its effects—in France.[105] Life in Catholic Spain could well have appeared an attractive alternative to the precarious and bewildering existence experienced by those peripatetic French workers who found themselves regularly having to switch religious observances as they sought employment in different regions of their divided country.

Rinz set out eastwards from Toulouse, and at Narbonne headed south for Perpignan and Barcelona. Like Antonio de la Bastida and Enrique Loe, he began his Spanish career at Zaragoza before finding temporary employment, again like Loe, in Juan de Villanueva's press at Alcalá de Henares. Villanueva was printing some substantial editions in Latin at this time, so Rinz's ignorance of Castilian would have been no impediment to his working as a compositor for this master. It is also a nice irony that, as a man who later confessed to sharing many beliefs with the Protestants, he may also have worked on some of the numerous indulgences which Villanueva was then printing.[106] Once his two-and-a-half month contract with Villanueva had ended he set off for Toledo to look for work in the presses there. When his search was unsuccessful, he quickly left the city and headed south, being taken on first for four months at Granada by Elio Antonio de Lebrija, Hugo de Mena, or René Rabut, and later at Seville where he spent some eight weeks in the press of Sebastián Trujillo's widow Ana de la Peña. After spending only about six months in Andalusia, however, Pierre returned northwards, journeying to Salamanca, Medina del Campo, Valladolid, and Segovia. He did not indicate in his trial whether he had worked in any of those towns, and it is unlikely that any press was operating in Segovia at the time he went there. He may merely have passed through those places on his travels, but he probably visited them in the hope of securing employment. Since arriving in Spain a year or so before, he must have travelled almost 1,500 miles from press to press, and this in a country where the lack of navigable rivers meant that itinerant workers often had no alternative to footslogging over rugged terrain. Whether or not he sought

[104] Trial of Pierre de Rinz, fol. [10]^{r}.
[105] Ibid., fols. [14]^{r}, [17]^{v}, [23]^{v}, [27]^{v}.
[106] Martín Abad 1991: ii. 821, 845.

and found work in the Salamanca region, his short stay in Andalusia compared with his longer periods in Castile reflects the shift north from Seville to Castile of the centre of gravity of Spanish book production and trade during the course of the sixteenth century.[107] It was back in Alcalá that he enjoyed his longest period of steady employment as a typesetter: from Christmas 1567/8 until Guillermo Herlin denounced him as a *luterano* on 15 October 1569. A warrant for Pierre's arrest in Andrés de Angulo's Alcalá press was immediately issued; six days later he was apprehended in that town with about two and a half *ducados*—almost two week's wages for a compositor—in his pocket, and transferred to Toledo.[108] At the time of his arrest he had probably been in Spain for fewer than three years, but he must have been a quick learner for he had a good grasp of Castilian. He was still a bachelor, although a casual aside in his trial reveals that he had contemplated marriage while working at Alcalá.[109]

As will be seen in Chapter 9 where the inquisitors' questioning of Pierre de Rinz is discussed in some detail, he was a relatively well educated man who was confident in his intellectual ability. He defended himself from the accusations he faced by distinguishing between what he had witnessed in Reformist centres, the description he gave others about the Protestant practices he had seen, and his own convictions. He could also draw upon what appears to have been a sound knowledge of the Bible. However, he was almost too clever for his own good. In the later stages of his trial he was so desperate to have his case concluded that he began to change his story and came very close to revoking what he had already admitted in his preliminary interrogations. It was only by pleading, on his *letrado*'s advice, confusion in the awesome presence of his interrogators that he avoided the severe punishment such revocations could attract.[110] Rinz's independence of mind did not endear him to his colleagues. Discussions with Herlin ended in blows, while he argued violently with his fellow-worker Isac de Ribera about religion, eventually shouting that if Isac, who emerges from these trials as a fanatical Calvinist, was so enamoured of the 'new religion' he should leave Spain and go to live in Geneva.[111] Herlin did not hesitate to characterize Rinz, a man who readily quoted the scriptures in Latin both to his workmates and to his interrogators, as arrogant.[112] As we shall see, if his self-confidence provoked disputes with his fellow-workers, it could be much more risky when he was being interrogated by the Holy Office.

This chapter has dealt with three representatives of the itinerant workers who were an essential but usually anonymous element in the printing industry in sixteenth-century Spain. The most skilled and widely travelled

[107] Rojo Vega, 1992*a*: 115–32. [108] Trial of Pierre de Rinz, fols. [3]$^{r–v}$, [5]^{r}–[6]^{r}.
[109] Ibid., fol. [18]^{r}. [110] Ibid., fols. [22]^{r}, [23]^{v}, [24]^{v}.
[111] Ibid., fols. [3]^{v}, [19]^{v}, [20]^{v}. [112] Ibid., fol. [3]$^{r–v}$.

of them was Antonio de la Bastida. He had begun his training at an early age and was the only one of the three to complete his craft apprenticeship. He emerges from the trial-records as a sought-after worker and popular personality who was unlucky to be arrested for some chance comments made in an unguarded moment. He did, however, learn from his experience at the hands of the Cuenca tribunal and was later enterprising enough to escape from Toledo's clutches. Enrique Loe was the least intelligent and probably worst trained of the three young men. Unlike the other two, he was born into the world of printing and appears to have drifted into his role as a compositor in Spain. He was a feckless character who was unable to construct a strong defence at his trial, but his ignorance counted in his favour when he was sentenced. Pierre de Rinz, on the other hand, was a well-informed man who entered the world of printing at an older age than the other two. His professional experience was not great when he was apprehended, but he was considered by the Toledo inquisitors the most dangerous of the three, probably because he was an intelligent person who thought hard about religious matters. He received the harshest sentence. These three young men were in many ways typical of the rootless foreigners found in presses up and down the country. However, some of their compatriots were older and had been in Spain for much longer, managing to live a more settled life. The next chapter examines two of those older workers.

6
Two Settled Printers

Although artisans in many of the trades practised in early modern Europe had to be mobile, there was always a core of itinerant workers who eventually gained more secure employment. These journeymen, who were often the most skilled, managed to establish themselves in one place and in some cases even rise to the position of master. It was difficult, however, to make the leap from employee to employer in the printing industry. This was because a printer required a large amount of capital to equip a workshop with types, a press, and all the necessary tools for such a specialized operation, as well as securing a supply of paper, which was particularly expensive in the sixteenth century.[1] For this reason, it was not uncommon for an aspirant master to acquire both a fully equipped press and adequate financial resources by marrying a printer's daughter or widow.[2] There was ample scope for such marriages because established printers would often take wives who were considerably younger than they were, leaving them as widows when they were still young women; for such widows remarriage to another printer would assure the continuity of the business they had inherited, as well as a measure of stability for themselves and their children.[3]

In Spain even among those artisans who had managed to become masters there were still many who had itinerant careers, travelling to less important towns to print a few titles, often on commission from an institution, after which they would dismantle their single printing-press and move on.[4] Around the relatively small number of more settled printers ebbed and flowed a tide of peripatetic journeymen.[5] Like the majority of immigrant printing-workers I have come across in the Inquisition's records, La Bastida, Loe, and Rinz were still itinerant in their twenties when they were arrested in Spain. Some of the printers tried with them at Toledo were, however, older, had married, had put down roots in Spain, and could not so easily return north of the Pyrenees as many younger men did when they realized

[1] Febvre and Martin 1976: 109–11.
[2] Materné 1994: 53–4; for representative examples of such marriages in 16th-cent. Spain see Griffin 1988*a*: 23–7; Moll 1992: 331.
[3] Bécares Botas 2002: 9–11.
[4] Cátedra 2001: 15.
[5] Farr 2000: 145–7.

that the Holy Office's net was tightening around them. The two artisans I have chosen to represent this older generation were both Frenchmen.

Juan Franco came from a town not far from Pierre de Rinz's birthplace in northern France. By the time he was arrested he had been working in Spain for as long as La Bastida, having arrived in his early twenties, and could be described as 'forty years old, fair-skinned, well built, and with little facial hair'.[6] He had married a Spanish woman and made Salamanca his base, finding employment there for much of his career; indeed, he may have been particularly attractive to master-printers because, as a married man, he would have been considered a steadier employee.[7] Salamanca had one of the largest universities in Europe, and its students and teachers provided a ready market for printed books; it was also ideally placed to supply the nearby town of Medina del Campo which, with its international fairs, was the hub of the book trade in Spain. Salamanca therefore became the major centre for the manufacture of books in the north-west with at least a dozen presses operating during the years Franco was based there.

Pierre Régnier, for his part, was a Norman and was over 50 when he was apprehended in Catalonia. While Franco had been employed by others all his life, by the time of his arrest Régnier had lived and worked in Barcelona for some eleven years, rising to become the owner of his own printing firm there. What Régnier and Franco had in common with the younger men studied in the previous chapter is that they were both caught up in the Toledo inquisitors' anti-*luterano* trawl. While Régnier and Franco may have settled in Spanish cities 500 miles apart, they were arrested within a week of each other in the summer of 1570.

Juan Franco

Juan Franco was denounced to the Holy Office as a *luterano* by one Juan de Probin, a travelling printing-worker from Provins, a town lying some sixty miles south-west of Paris. Probin's trial-record has not survived, but he appeared at the same Toledo *auto de fe* as many journeymen-printers denounced by Guillermo Herlin. All we know about him is that in the summer of 1570 he was condemned to wear a penitential *sanbenito* for six years as a punishment for being a 'thorough-going *luterano*'. As this sentence was so lenient, he must have abjured his heretical beliefs and impressed the inquisitors with the authenticity of his contrition, evidence of which may well have included a willingness to implicate others in his

[6] First trial of Juan Franco, fol. 133r.

[7] In the 18th-cent. presses studied by Rychner (1976: 1934–5) married printing-workers were more highly prized than bachelors.

crimes. Probin was by then about 40 years old, had plied his trade in various Spanish cities, and was well known to other printing-workers who were to fall foul of the Toledo Inquisition at this time. Antonio de la Bastida, for instance, had both encountered him at Medina del Campo and had worked with him in Pedro de Celada's press at León in 1564 when they were printing breviaries together for that diocese. Some years earlier Probin had been employed in a press at Salamanca where he had got to know Juan Franco. If, as seems likely, it was Herlin who had led the inquisitors to Juan de Probin who in turn pointed the finger at Franco, then Juan Franco was indirectly yet another of Herlin's victims.[8]

It was in January 1570 that Probin had first accused Franco of being a fellow-heretic, and he was to repeat the same claim three months later. Nevertheless, the Toledo inquisitors were uncharacteristically relaxed about following up this denunciation, waiting until mid-June of that year to issue a warrant for his arrest. This was three days before they were due to stage a large *auto de fe* which would empty some of their cells and make room for a new intake of suspects. Probin had informed his interrogators that the last he knew of Juan Franco was that he had been working in Salamanca as a compositor for the Italian Andrea de Portonariis who had since died. Although the inquisitors initially moved slowly in Franco's case, once they were in a position to accommodate him, their machine operated with astonishing rapidity. Salamanca fell under the jurisdiction of the tribunal of Valladolid, and this time the chastened Toledo inquisitors must have taken care to follow correct procedure by requesting their colleagues to make the arrest on their behalf, because it was an agent of the Valladolid tribunal who tracked Franco down some five days later to Alejandro de Cánova's press at Salamanca. Franco must have been working for Cánova for some time because, having consulted his account books, the aged printer declared that he owed Franco fifty *reales*, presumably in wages, and handed them over to Valladolid's agent. On 20 June, the contents of Juan Franco's home in Salamanca were inventoried in the presence of his wife, the notary declaring that their owner was already in custody. Some of his possessions were sold to raise the immediate costs of his upkeep in prison, and he was duly transferred to Toledo, being handed over to the Inquisition's gaoler in that city on 27 June, less than a fortnight after the warrant for his arrest had been issued.

Once in prison, Juan was asked to answer the standard questions about his life.[9] He stated that had been born into a Catholic family in about 1530 and was of rural origin: his father and grandfather before him had been

[8] RBM, MS II/1846, fol. 64^{v} [*olim* 147^{v}]; trial of Antonio de la Bastida, fol. [60]^{v}; first trial of Juan Franco, fol. 131^{r}.

[9] First trial of Juan Franco, fol. 139$^{r–v}$.

christened Jean and were peasants from Rozoy-sur-Serre in what Franco would later refer to as Picardy.[10] Despite his humble origins, he had learnt to read and write French while a child in Rozoy as well as acquiring the rudiments of Latin. At the age of 14 or 15 he had travelled to Paris to continue his studies but, just as had happened to his compatriots Pierre de Rinz and Antonio de la Bastida, after some eighteen months as a student he found that his father's allowance was insufficient to support him and he was forced to look for work. He was first employed by a royal treasury official, subsequently serving several other masters in Paris. After living for some five and a half years in the capital he decided to train as a printer.

Juan Franco was a good deal more adventurous than the other members of his family: as far as he was aware at the time of his trial, his brother Rémy was still a peasant working the land in Brunehamel, a village which was a mere hour's trudge from the place of their birth. It would have been in the early 1550s that Franco left Paris for Lyon. That city was an obvious destination for an enterprising young man wanting to try his hand at the craft of printing. On arrival he apprenticed himself to an Italian recorded as Jul de Tum, an otherwise unknown master-printer. He served him for two years and then remained in Lyon for a further two or three years where he worked for a series of masters the Inquisition's secretary took down from dictation as Benit Montagui, Luis Penot, Gran Jian, Jofre Beringer, Maestre Thomas, Guillome Renier, and several others whose names Franco could not remember. Three of these can be identified with certainty: the publisher and bookseller Louis Pesnot, the German printer Godefroy Beringen, and the Frenchman Guillaume Régnier. It is likely that another of his masters was Benoît Montaigue, who is known to have been working in the city during the years Franco lived there.[11] It is even possible that Gran Jian was the famous punch-cutter, type-caster, printer, publisher, and bookseller Robert Granjon whose innovatory type designs have left a permanent mark on the art of typography.[12] While Beringen and his brother Marcellin employed as many as twenty-six men to operate the five or six presses they

[10] Second trial of Juan Franco, fol. 169^{r}.

[11] Baudrier 1895–1950: i. 296; iii. 31, 94, 166–70; iv. 4; vi. 274; vii. 196; ix. 133, 140; xi. 328. Louis Pesnot worked in Lyon, at first on his own and later with his brother Charles, at the sign of the Salamander. In 1564 the Burgundian bookseller at Alcalá, Gaspar de la Vega, confessed to the Inquisition that a party of Protestant booksellers had been planning to travel to Spain as representatives of the leading Lyon publishers and book-merchants. He identified one of them as 'Carlos Pesnot, printer at the sign of the Salamander' (AHN, Inq., leg. 3068, caja 1, exp. 82, fol. [2]$^{r–v}$). Charles Pesnot had a branch office at Medina del Campo (Baudrier 1895–1950: iii. 122–3). On his death his nephew Pierre Landry, who had been active at Medina del Campo for over twenty years, returned to Lyon to take charge of Charles's business; Landry published many leading Spanish authors (Péligry 1981: 87).

[12] Although Granjon is thought to have moved to Lyon after Juan Franco had gone to Spain, he had spent time in that city from 1547 onwards (Baudrier 1895–1950: ii. 49, 429).

owned in the 1550s, Guillaume Régnier, and doubtless Benoît Montaigue and Maître Thomas too, would have been members of the large group of artisans who in those years each owned a single printing-press with which they struggled to keep afloat by producing books on commission for powerful Lyon publishers.[13] Franco does not say in what capacity he was employed in the Lyon presses, but two years would have been a very short time in which to become a trained compositor with his first master, even though, typically enough, he worked in that specialty once he was in Spain. What we can be sure about, however, is that he came into contact with Reformist ideas in Lyon, for at least Louis Pesnot and Godefroy Beringen were well known Protestants.[14] Indeed, later in his trial Franco confessed:

> About seventeen years ago when I was working in the press which a printer and bookseller called Master Godefroy ran in Lyon, my employer taught me that the mass was worthless and was merely the invention of some pope or other. He instructed me that the consecrated host was equally worthless and was not literally Christ's body. I believed this just as Master Godefroy explained it to me.[15]

Despite his newly acquired Reformist sympathies, Juan Franco was not intimidated by the idea of travelling to Spain. In 1553 or 1554 he was contracted to go to Salamanca with two other journeymen from Lyon to work for the Burgundian Alejandro de Cánova. This printer and bookseller had arrived in Spain forty years earlier with the Florentine Juan de Junta, a scion of the Giunta family which ran one of the leading printing and publishing businesses in Europe. Junta and Cánova went into partnership and, although the latter's name does not appear in any of their books printed at Burgos and Salamanca, he was the key figure in their production, running the business for many years during his partner's absences abroad. However, in 1552 a dispute had caused the partnership to be dissolved, and in the following year Cánova set up his own independent press at Salamanca.[16] Juan Franco and his fellow-journeymen from Lyon must have been engaged to go to Spain to work in that new venture. Although heavy shipments of books exported from Lyon to Salamanca were customarily transported by cart and river to Nantes and then by ship across the Bay of Biscay to the northern coast of Spain, Franco and his comrades took a more direct route. They made for Toulouse, crossed over the Pyrenees to Zara-

[13] Davis 1959: 196. Marcellin Beringen died *c.* 1556; in that year Godefroy Beringen signed away his printing material to his creditors, but he continued to print at Lyon until at least 1559. Godefroy was a learned man much praised by contemporary scholars at Lyon (Baudrier 1895–1950: iii. 31–2; v. 429–30).

[14] Davis 1959: 569, 577, 581. Evidence from the early 1550s links Godefroy Beringen closely with Geneva and the Reformed religion (Gilmont forthcoming).

[15] First trial of Juan Franco, fol. 148^{v}.

[16] Mano González 1998: 29–37.

goza and then headed for Salamanca, passing through Calatayud, where one of Franco's companions died. His other comrade met his death at Medina del Campo, leaving him as the sole survivor of the party to reach Salamanca.

Although Cánova had engaged the three journeymen as printers, his principal activity was bookselling, and he had in fact set up the new press for his son Juan. Franco worked for Alejandro at Salamanca for almost a year, then, once the press had been handed over to the son, followed his master to Medina del Campo where he found employment for four or five months in Guillermo de Millis's press. Millis was part of another multinational printing and publishing business with its origins in Italy and branches in Lyon and Spain. He had long been a bookseller and publisher at Medina, but ran a short-lived press there from 1551 until his death in 1555. It seems to have been at this point that Franco returned to Salamanca where he was engaged by the Italian Portonariis family, whose agent Millis had been in Medina.[17] He was to work for Andrea de Portonariis for much of his career in Spain, and it was in Andrea's press that he must have met at least two other French journeymen who were later arrested by the Toledo Inquisition on suspicion of *luteranismo*. Antonio de la Bastida was employed by Portonariis for twelve months at some time between 1555 and 1557, while Pierre de Ribera was in Andrea's press in 1567 or 1568, and was working as a typesetter for Andrea's son Domingo in May 1570 when Guillermo Herlin denounced him.[18] Franco could not have failed to meet La Bastida and Ribera there, probably working side by side with them over an extended period. He also admitted that he had exchanged views about Protestant practices with Isac de Ribera whom he says he had met in Spain, doubtless in a Salamanca press. However long he worked for Portonariis, Juan Franco's relations with Alejandro de Cánova must have remained good. Alejandro's son Juan had successfully run his new Salamanca press—together with a branch office at Cuenca—until his premature death in 1569, upon which Alejandro found himself obliged to leave his business at Medina and take over his late son's printing operation.[19] Juan Franco was working for Alejandro when he was arrested in June 1570, and it was probably on his old master's return to Salamanca that Franco had gone back to work for him. Alejandro not only spoke his mother tongue and came from the same region of France as he did, but had given him work when he had first reached Spain from Lyon so many years previously. Franco had therefore spent most of the sixteen years he had been in Spain working at Salamanca. Shortly after arriving there he had married a local woman called María Ayres, and by 1570 they had a growing family. The

[17] On the Cánovas, Millis, and the Portonariis see Ruiz Fidalgo 1994: i. 73, 97–8.
[18] Trial of Antonio de la Bastida, fol. [47]^{r}; trial of Pierre de Ribera, fols. [3]^{v}, [15]^{r}.
[19] Ruiz Fidalgo 1994: i. 98.

oldest of their surviving four children was born in the late 1550s, while in June 1570, when he was arrested, María was expecting again.

The Inquisition recognized that it had only a thin case against Franco, which rested upon a single witness's denunciation of him. Juan de Probin had accused him in general terms of being a heretic, but the evidence he adduced to support this claim was scarcely compelling. He maintained that in a conversation some eight years earlier Franco had criticized the worship of saints in Spain, asserting that the saints were in heaven and that their images on earth should not be revered in the way he saw happening around him. He had also ventured the opinion that, as no papal bulls had been issued for some four years, no more would be forthcoming. Probin told the inquisitors that he thought these comments 'had a whiff of Luther about them'. However, a further piece of evidence against Franco, which Probin provided once his old colleague had been arrested, was more unusual. On St Roque's Day some five or six years previously, as the two Frenchmen had been strolling in the streets of Salamanca with a companion from the local presses, 'a procession came by bearing a sumptuously attired statue of Our Lady. When Juan Franco saw her, he turned to me and said that she was the spitting image of La Bel Cordiel, a whore who lived at Lyon in France'.[20] It is unclear from this brief account whether it was Franco who explained the Frenchwoman's notoriety to Probin or whether it was Probin who added the clarification for the benefit of the Toledo inquisitors. What is not in doubt is Franco's opinion of her, for when closely questioned by the inquisitors he answered, 'I never said any such thing, and may I roast in hell if I did. It would never have occurred to me to compare Our Lady with a Jezebel like her. I know her; and she's a tart who plies her trade in Lyon.' He later confessed to cracking the joke.[21]

There may be more than meets the eye in these protestations. La Belle Cordière was, indeed, well known at Lyon and, as a writer and friend of writers, was a familiar figure in the world of the book there. Although she was the daughter of an illiterate artisan, Louise Labé attracted to her *salon* the flower of that city's artists, writers and intellectuals. One of Lyon's principal poets of the sixteenth century, she was an extraordinarily gifted and learned woman who has since become something of a feminist icon. She was a colourful figure, encouraging women to seek an education and ironizing the conventions of the love poetry written by her male contemporaries. Little reliable information has come down to us about her life, but it is evident that her independence of mind and behaviour aroused hostility, Jean Calvin roundly condemning her from Geneva as a 'plebeia meretrix',

[20] First trial of Juan Franco, fol. 132r. [21] Ibid., fol. 145v.

or common whore.[22] It is significant that it is this view of Labé which Juan Franco had assimilated, and this may in turn suggest something about the religious and moral attitudes he had absorbed during his years working at Lyon. Nevertheless, his trenchant judgement of her was lost on the Spanish inquisitors who had not the slightest idea who La Belle Cordière was.

The Toledo inquisitors began to interrogate Franco in earnest in July 1570. As was customary, he began by asserting his orthodoxy, but did so in terms suggesting that he was better informed than many of his colleagues, for he seems to have had Luther's criticisms at the back of his mind when he professed that 'he would never deviate from the teachings of the Fathers and what the Church's councils had prescribed'.[23] More specifically, he defended himself against the charge of harbouring *luterano* views about sacred images by claiming: 'I never said that it was heretical to worship images, but just that stupid and ignorant women do so, because I am of the opinion that only God should be worshipped. However, I am unlettered and utterly ignorant, so I accept the authority of the holy Roman Church in this matter.'[24] His statement that God alone was to be revered was bound to be of interest to the inquisitors, but Franco was quick to defend himself by claiming that he had learnt this lesson from an unimpeachable source:

> I said that the saints should not be worshipped because what is really God's due is often given instead to the saints. And when I was in Paris I heard a Catholic preacher say in a sermon that an angel had appeared to a prophet on Mount Sinai and the prophet had prostrated himself before him, but the angel had told him to get up because he wasn't himself God but just God's messenger. This is why I said that the saints should not be worshipped.[25]

In his dire predicament Franco may have invented the unidentified preacher at Paris; on the other hand he could have misremembered what he had heard over twenty years previously because his account appears to conflate various episodes from the Bible.[26]

Finding himself a prisoner of the Inquisition terrified him. He cast around desperately for reasons why he had been detained, hazarding that

[22] Champdor 1981: 119–21; Wiesner 2000: 156–7.

[23] First trial of Juan Franco, fol. 140^{v}. Luther had maintained that the councils of the Universal Church had been mistaken.

[24] Ibid., fol. 145^{v}.

[25] Ibid., fol. 147^{r}.

[26] The association of prophets with Mount Sinai suggests the encounters of Moses and Elijah with God, whereas the story of an angel's telling those prostrated before him that he was a mere messenger from God could come from Tobias 12: 16–22. If Franco was indeed alluding to the latter story, he may have been doing so wittingly as proof of his orthodoxy: while the Book of Tobias was accepted as part of holy scripture by the Council of Trent, it was considered apocryphal by the Reformers. Equally, he may simply have been remembering a sermon about John's encounters with angels (Rev. 19: 10; 22: 8–9) which were shortly preceded by a reference to Mount Sinai (Rev. 14: 1).

he had been accused of holding suspect views on the clergy. He therefore asserted that he had merely found attendance at mass in Salamanca uncongenial when the celebrant had, to his certain knowledge, children just as he did.[27] But his terror soon got the better of him. He fell to his knees, crying out in anguish and weeping, eventually being induced to incriminate himself by confessing to crimes of which the inquisitors had no prior knowledge. He admitted, for instance, that he had once advised a young lad in a Salamancan press to eat meat on a Friday even although the youth did not possess a special licence to do so because he was too poor to buy one. This relatively minor admission opened the flood-gates and led him to say that he would confess to any crime of which he stood accused. Once the terror of his initial audiences with the inquisitors was over and he was returned to his cell, he began to worry about his hasty admission of guilt. After a month's deliberation he adopted the dangerous strategy of asking for a special audience with the inquisitors and retracting one detail of his confession:

> As regards the denunciation made against me that I said a statue of Our Lady looked like a prostitute called La Bel Cordiel, I deny having uttered those words. The witness who accuses me of having said this is Antonio Renaot [Arnao], and it was he who made this comment, not me. When he made it, we were both together with the French printer Juan de Probin who burst out laughing.[28]

This was a terrible mistake. Not only was he wrong to suppose that it was Arnao who had denounced him but, as we have seen, the revocation of a confession was a very serious matter.

For their part, the inquisitors immediately opened a file on yet another printing-worker, the typesetter Antonio Arnao. He was of about the same age as Franco, and is described as 'a short, thin man of over forty with a good light brown beard'.[29] At that time he was working in Domingo de Portonariis's Salamancan press in which one of his colleagues had been the Pierre de Ribera we have encountered previously.[30] Franco makes it clear that Arnao had lived in Salamanca for many years. He would work there for the rest of his life. This, together with Ribera's and Franco's own careers, is evidence of the steady demand for labour provided by presses in that city.[31]

[27] First trial of Juan Franco, fol. 140^{v}.
[28] Ibid., fol. 146^{v}.
[29] Ibid., fol. 148^{r}.
[30] Trial of Pierre de Ribera, fol. [11]^{r}.
[31] There were at least three generations of printers called Antonio Arnao who worked at Salamanca in the 16th and 17th cent. It is probable that the man accused by Franco was from the second generation. Antonio Arnao y Presiter was married on 29 July 1570 (ADS, Catedral, Libro de bautismos 1534–87, fol. 117^{v}). Entries ranging from 1571 to 1583 record the birth of at least five of his children (fols. 101^{v}, 107^{v}, 123^{v}; Portal Monge and Sena Espinel 1996: 248). It is likely that this Antonio Arnao is to be identified with the printer of that name who ran a press in the Dominican

Franco not only knew Arnao well as a workmate; they were closely associated in the network of social relations which bound members of the printing and book trade together in Salamanca. Franco's wife, for instance, was invited more than once to become the godmother of children born to members of the local printing industry. On one such occasion, a few weeks before her husband was arrested, the child concerned was the granddaughter of one of the city's early printers, Lorenzo de Liondedei; her fellow-godparent was Antonio Arnao.[32]

As Franco's trial progressed he became increasingly confused. He had confessed to having harboured doubts about the worship of sacred images, also admitting to being sceptical of indulgences. However, once he had begun to retract his confessions by claiming never to have made a joke about the statue of the Virgin, he went on to deny that he had questioned the pope's authority to issue indulgences. As he spiralled into panic he broke down and said that he was retracting his confessions because he had been advised to deny everything by somebody he had met by chance during his transfer from Salamanca to the Toledo prison and who seemed to know all about the Inquisition.[33] His confession at this stage becomes particularly interesting because, unlike most of the foreign printing-workers who admitted to retaining after their arrival in Spain some of the heretical beliefs they had absorbed in Reformist centres abroad, Franco claims that he had picked up most of his suspect ideas in Spain itself. This suggests that Reformist ideas did indeed spread among foreign members of the industry there and that the Holy Office was right to be concerned.

Franco's trial provides two examples of heresies taught within Spain by those with Protestant sympathies. At one point, apparently forgetting what he had said earlier about the sermon he claimed to have had heard in Paris, he declared that his views about saints derived from conversations he had with one Enrique Bruselete. This young man was fluent in several languages and had a shop in Toledo but spent most of his time on the road, buying and selling books in Salamanca, Medina del Campo, France, and what some said was his country of origin, Germany. He was well known among Reform-minded immigrants in Spain, and proselytized there. The bookseller Gaspar de la Vega had come across Bruselete, listing him as one of a group of co-religionists and describing him as 'Enrique Broselet, a merchant from Lyon who buys and sells a variety of goods and is to be found either at the fairs [i.e. at Medina del Campo, etc.] or in Valladolid. He is a

monastery of San Esteban in Salamanca in 1584–5, dying in the latter year (Ruiz Fidalgo 1994: i. 115–16).

[32] ADS, Catedral, Libro de bautismos 1534–87, entries for 22 Feb. 1568 and 14 Mar. 1570.

[33] First trial of Juan Franco, fol. 147^{v}.

luterano.'[34] Gaspar de la Vega had himself been mixed up with the Reformist cell at Toledo which had been ruthlessly dismantled by the Inquisition in 1564 and 1565, and which was described in Chapter 1. For his part, Juan Franco had come across Bruselete in Salamanca where, in the early 1560s, Bruselete had persuaded him that it was wrong to venerate the saints.[35] These indirect contacts are instructive because, as with the case of the French type-founder Juan Molot, they reveal a link between the cell of Reformist card-printers at Toledo and the looser network of foreign journeymen-printers throughout the country which was broken up by the Holy Office some five years later.

Juan Franco's account of another of his mentors is more detailed. He claimed to have talked frequently to Jacobus Boffaeus, a foreign *corrector* (copy-editor and/or proofreader), about aspects of the Church's teaching. Franco must have worked alongside this scholar for several years at Salamanca, and it was from him that he learnt to doubt the validity of auricular confession, as well as to question whether there was biblical authority for papal bulls and indulgences.[36] More specifically, it was when he and his fellow-compositor Antonio Arnao were setting up in type a work by a Salamancan professor of theology that the doctrine of purgatory had arisen as a topic of discussion:

> Antonio Arnao and I were in Andrea de Portonariis's press when Maître Jacques Boffeo was working there as *corrector* for the *Libro de justicia et jure* by Fray Domingo de Soto. Maître Jacques Boffeo was talking about purgatory because this book dealt with it, but he said that he could find no mention of purgatory anywhere in the Bible. Antonio Arnao replied that he fully agreed with what Maître Jacques had said.[37]

It was not unknown for compositors and pressmen in sixteenth-century presses to acquire considerable learning from the university-trained *correctores* alongside whom they worked day-in, day-out.[38] In this instance Franco and Arnao accepted Boffaeus's authority on purgatory which in turn led to their questioning a central plank in the penitential fabric of the Church, because the doctrine of purgatory was closely bound up with the sale of indulgences.

[34] AHN, Inq., leg. 3068, caja 1, exp. 82, fol. [2]^{v}.

[35] In 1558 Bruselete (Borselede, Borzaler, Barçelenque, Barseloque, etc.) had witnessed documents concerning the debts of his recently deceased employer Jacques Boyer, a French bookseller at Salamanca; other witnesses were Juan Franco's employers Andrea de Portonariis and Alejandro de Cánova (García Oro Marín and Portela Silva 1999: 245–99).

[36] First trial of Juan Franco, fols. 147^{v}–148^{r}.

[37] Second trial of Juan Franco, fol. 154^{v}. Andrea de Portonariis printed two known editions of Domingo de Soto's voluminous *De Iustitia et Iure libri decem*: the first in 1553/4 and the second in 1556 (Ruiz Fidalgo 1994: i. nos. 404, 477).

[38] Davis 1959: 154–5, 184–5.

Although the Toledo inquisitors had little evidence against Juan Franco when they arrested him in June 1570, by August he had confessed to heresy, revoked that confession, and then confirmed it again. They were thus in a position to sentence him. However, he was told nothing of this until he appeared at the tribunal's next *auto de fe* which was not held until some ten months later, by which time his health had been broken by two stifling summers and a freezing winter spent in prison, and he was complaining of being destitute. At that *auto* he was condemned to eight years as a galley-slave and the loss of all his possessions. The Holy Office sold the mattresses and sheets off his bed, his family's furniture and clothes, their stock of food, and even his youngest child's cradle which, as the Inquisition's agents were careful to note, came with its own pillow.[39]

Once those prisoners who had been sentenced to serve in the galleys had appeared at an *auto de fe*, they were normally held for a short period in secular prisons until they could be dispatched in chain-gangs to the coast. For some reason the machinery turned slowly in the summer of 1571, and it was Juan Franco's misfortune still to be an inmate of the royal prison at Toledo two months after the ceremony. This meant that the inquisitors were able to call him back to ratify his testimony against Antonio Arnao as they began to build up a dossier on Franco's old colleague. At this stage Franco made a final error of judgement. He not only denied ever having committed the crimes to which he had previously confessed, but also claimed that he had been lying when he accused Arnao of sharing his doubts about the efficacy of indulgences.[40] It is unclear what Franco's motives were. It may be that he realized that eight years in the galleys was tantamount to a death sentence for somebody of his age, and his protestations of innocence were a desperate final throw. It may be that he was so ignorant of inquisitorial practice that he really believed he might be able to convince his interrogators that he was innocent of the crimes for which he had already been sentenced. On the other hand, he may have felt guiltily responsible for the inquisitors' interest in Arnao, and was attempting to head off their persecution of this old friend. It transpires that, soon after Franco had been transferred to the royal prison, he had got a message to a Flemish printing-worker who was setting out for Salamanca.[41] Franco's version was that he asked this Fleming to warn Arnao that he had told the inquisitors about the La Belle Cordière episode, advising him to go to

[39] First trial of Juan Franco, fols. 133^{v}–137^{r}.
[40] Second trial of Juan Franco, fol. 154$^{r–v}$.
[41] Franco could not immediately remember this printing-worker's surname, but referred the inquisitors to another prisoner, Jacques de la Oliva, who would be able to tell them (ibid., fol. 155^{r}). Franco would have been acquainted with Jacques de la Oliva from Salamanca where Oliva had been employed in Andrea de Portonariis's office (trial of Pierre de Ribera, fol. [15]^{r}).

Toledo and throw himself on the inquisitors' mercy. He maintained that Arnao had been sufficiently worried by this message to travel down to Toledo to speak with him in prison. When Franco informed him in person about what he had told the inquisitors Arnao denied ever questioning orthodox beliefs, but remained silent when Franco reminded him of the joke about the statue of the Virgin, immediately turning his back on him and leaving. The inquisitors found it difficult to credit Franco's statement, accusing him instead of sending a message to Arnao warning him to escape before they caught up with him. Although the inquisitors pursued their case against Arnao, he was eventually absolved because Franco had retracted his denunciation.[42]

As for Franco, the inquisitors realized that they had unfinished business with him, and the cycle of interrogations began again. During one session Franco would confess to heresy only to retract that confession at another until, by turns frantic and fatalistic, he resigned himself to the worst:

> Do with me what you will; I owe God only one death.[43] I thoroughly deserve to be sent to the stake and burnt because I am a sinner, but I have never offended against the faith. Yet, when all is said and done, I am in God's hands, and I deserve whatever punishment is meted out to me, for I have been such an unworthy wretch. Just write down whatever you like against me, Your Honour.[44]

In desperation he called upon the Inquisition to send to France for confirmation of his orthodoxy. He tried to draw a distinction between hearing heresies in the mouths of others and believing them, between learning that there was no biblical authority for purgatory and disbelieving in it himself. The inquisitors were divided about what to do with him. They recognized that the only substantive evidence they had against him was his own confession, and that he had retracted it. But the very fact that he had confessed to heresy and subsequently revoked that confession was eventually deemed sufficient proof that he had been falsely repentant and thus deserved the most severe penalty. Headquarters in Madrid was still instructing Toledo three weeks before the *auto de fe* at which he was due to appear that he should be given a final opportunity to confess his crimes and that, if he did, his case should be reviewed. Even five days before the *auto* Toledo sought guidance from Madrid about what it should do if Franco were to make a full confession the night before the ceremony or during the very

[42] Second trial of Juan Franco, fols. 155^{r}, 159^{v}; *relación de causas* of Toledo tribunal 4 June 1571–26 May 1572: AHN, Inq., leg. 2105, caja 1, exp. 10.

[43] Franco appears to be thinking of Matt. 10: 28: physical death at the hands of men is unimportant, for what matters is God's determination whether the soul will live or die.

[44] Second trial of Juan Franco, fols. 161^{v}, 162^{r}, 165^{v}.

auto itself.[45] Nevertheless, on 26 May 1572 he was paraded with more than forty other prisoners at an *auto de fe* at Toledo. He was the only one of them to be handed over that day to the secular authorities for burning, never having seen the child his wife was expecting when he was arrested two years earlier.

Juan Franco was an enterprising and intelligent man who had received a basic education in his native France and had continued to learn from those who were better informed than he was, especially about the religious controversies of his day. Like his compatriot Pierre de Rinz, he also showed some confidence in his ability to reach his own conclusions, as a layman, about such questions. Again like Rinz, he was intellectually resourceful, putting the inquisitors into something of a quandary by his responses to their questions, for he could distinguish between having shown an interest in views they considered heretical and having adopted them himself. Before his arrest he seems to have lived an outwardly orthodox life at Salamanca married to a local woman, bringing up his family there, working for many years for the same masters, being part of a professional and social network of members of the book trades in that city, and regularly attending mass at the church of Nuestra Señora de la Vega. As regards his relations with others, none of the witnesses showed any personal hostility to him while, for his part, he was willing to put his life in some danger to warn an old companion about the predicament in which, in his terror, he had placed him. His Achilles heel was his fear of a process which had torn him from his family and familiar surroundings; this, and his evident ignorance about the Inquisition and its procedures, resulted in his handling his defence badly. His first sessions with the Toledo inquisitors reveal his panic. As his trial progressed, he became ever more anxious to rectify the impression he had made by ill-considered answers given in the grip of fear that he would be tortured or executed. As his long imprisonment undermined his health, his mood swung from desperation to dull resignation.

Franco was a good deal older than the three printing-workers who were the subject of the previous chapter, and he had managed to find reasonably regular employment at Salamanca, something that attests to his skill as a typesetter. The inventory made by the Inquisition's agents of his home indicates that his family enjoyed the necessities of life by the standards of the day. It contained a variety of clothes including velvets and ruffs as well as everyday working apparel, and he even had two swords. As the clerks listed Juan's and María's possessions, they also recorded a considerable amount of hardware (dozens of spoons and brooms, baskets, candles,

[45] Letter from the Suprema to the Toledo tribunal dated 5 May 1572: AHN, Inq., lib. 577, fol. 275^{v}; letter from the Toledo tribunal to the Suprema dated 21 May 1572: AHN, Inq., leg. 3070, exp. 163.

pans), haberdashery (rolls of cloth, a large number of ribbons, a thousand needles, equipment used to make linen thread), staple foods (chick-peas, flour, olives, oil, goose-fat, salt, vinegar, meat, honey, garlic, herbs) as well as more expensive sweetmeats (different varieties of sugar, sweets, marzipan), some luxuries (incense, spices, pepper), almost three thousand sheets of blank paper, toys, and the odd item of conspicuous consumption such as a box decorated with coral. This inventory suggests that Juan was not entirely dependent on his wages as a typesetter, but supplemented his income with some retailing, perhaps from a stall or one of the small shops which, set up in the entrances of buildings, were typical of the period. It may well be that the family all lived in this one-roomed shop, together with their stock. We saw in Chapter 5 that one response of journeymen-printers to lean periods was to travel in search of work in the presses. Another was to take on different sorts of employment altogether, for example as servants or soldiers. Franco may represent a third solution: that of diversifying his activities while remaining most of the time in a single printing centre.[46] There could, however, be another explanation for the appearance of so much merchandise in his home. Some *compagnons-imprimeurs*' wives in sixteenth-century Paris engaged independently in their own trades—often as seamstresses or vendors—thus providing another source of income for the family.[47] It is probable that María ran the shop while Juan took work in Salamanca or elsewhere. Such commercial activity may have been a common practice among the wives of older and more settled workers in the industry in Spain just as it was in France. As we shall see in Chapter 7, there is some evidence that Isabel Régnier ran a lodging-house at Barcelona. Nor were such sidelines limited to the more settled craftsmen and their wives. Even the young and single itinerant workers in the presses engaged in related activities to make ends meet. When, for instance, Isac de Ribera was arrested in Aragon in 1578 trying to flee the country after having served a prison sentence at Toledo for *luteranismo*, he was described by the Zaragoza inquisitors as both a trader and a printing-worker.[48]

Juan Franco may have left France for Spain in part because printers at Lyon were generally at the mercy of the great merchant-booksellers and publishers, while the humble printing-workers were, in turn, at the mercy of the printers. Spain offered experienced typesetters the opportunity of being able to escape the consequent poverty and even of acquiring their own press. Pierre Régnier, who appeared at the same Toledo *auto de fe* at which

[46] Parent (1974: 183) records the case of a journeyman-printer at Paris in 1551 who also worked as a fish seller.

[47] Parent 1999: 141.

[48] *Relación de auto* of Zaragoza *auto* of 21 Apr. 1578: AHN, Inq., lib. 988, fol. 348r.

Franco was first sentenced, was similarly recruited at Lyon. Like Franco, he grasped the opportunity to go to Spain, but in his case he was to fulfil that ambition of becoming a master-printer in his own right.

Pierre Régnier

When Pierre Régnier[49] was arrested he was an old man by the standards of the day.[50] He had long been married to Isabel Sandre (or Sander), his years as an itinerant journeyman-printer lay behind him, and he had settled in Catalonia. Unlike La Bastida, Loe, and Rinz, he had not been associated with the presses of Alcalá de Henares, for when he had arrived in Spain some eleven years before his arrest, he had gone straight to Barcelona, and it was there that he had spent the remainder of his working life. What he did have in common with those three young men, however, were the suspect religious opinions which he had picked up when working north of the Pyrenees and, like them, he had been denounced by Guillermo Herlin ostensibly for those opinions. His own detailed trial-record is complemented by that of his wife Isabel who not only corroborated much of what he said himself, but also provided another perspective on it. Together, the papers concerning this elderly couple offer a fascinating insight into the origins, career, and rise not of the great typographers of the early modern period—the likes of Aldus, Froben, Estienne, or Brocar—but of the minor jobbing-printers who constituted the backbone of the industry across Europe. Moreover, these records cast some light on the obscure history of sixteenth-century printing in Catalonia.

Pierre Régnier was born in about 1520 in the village of Esteville situated some ten miles north-east of Rouen near the small town of Cailly, which takes its name from the river beside which it lies in the Seine Valley. All trace of his baptism has disappeared and, although he told the inquisitors that his parents were called Cardin and Marguerite Régnier, Pierre did not indicate his father's occupation, nor did he know who any of his grandparents were.[51] When asked about his siblings he mentioned one brother and one sister; the former was, he implied, dead by the time of his arrest, but as a young man had served a local noble as his squire. This is scarcely conclusive evidence, but it gives some indication of Pierre's social origin, as does the

[49] On occasion Régnier refers to himself, and others call him, Pere Rayner, Pierre Francés, Pierre Bofin, Bossin, or Bouffine. He is not to be confused with the Pierre or Pere Botín, who was printing at Barcelona for Jaume Cortey in the 1550s (Dexeus 1988).

[50] One of Régnier's employees who was 48 years old was described by an acquaintance as an old man (trial of Pierre Régnier, fol. [52]^{r}).

[51] Parish records for Cailly do not begin until 1551 and those for Esteville itself until 1668. Unlike Spain, France has few such records from before 1539.

fact that he took no employment until the age of 16, living at home and attending school. His receiving a basic education as a child and adolescent suggests a modest but not impoverished background. At the beginning of his trial he was asked to recite the basic Catholic prayers. He was able to do so reasonably well in Latin, and may have had the rudiments of that language. If educated to a reasonable standard himself, his wife, who was the daughter of peasants from the village of Guiry-en-Vexin on the road to Paris, was illiterate, did not know the Salve Regina, and could not cross herself properly.

At the age of 16, Régnier set off to Rouen in order to learn the craft of printing, being apprenticed for four years there to an otherwise unknown master called Pierre or Paul Cupin. After completing his training, he continued working in that city for several more years before beginning his career as an itinerant journeyman. He first found employment in the Breton city of Rennes, serving in turn over a three- or four-year period two Catholic printers, Thomas Mestrard and Jean Georget, after which he returned to Rouen where he spent four or five more years as an employee of Nicholas le Roux and Pierre Hubault *père*.[52] By then in his mid-thirties, Régnier travelled further afield, setting out for England when, as we saw in Chapter 3, Prince Philip had gone there to marry Mary Tudor.[53] In London he entered into the employ of the Norman Jean le Roux. As this printer seems to have been the brother of Pierre Régnier's old master at Rouen, Nicholas le Roux, it is quite possible that Pierre had been recruited in France to go over to London to serve Jean.[54] Nicholas had printed numerous English-language and Latin editions at Rouen destined for export across the Channel and, as his employee, Pierre Régnier would have been an experienced compositor of books produced for that market.[55] However, Pierre's experience with Jean le Roux in England during the period of Mary's Catholic restoration was not a happy one. By the time he had been working in London for almost a year the English authorities were making the position of Protestants increasingly untenable. Many Protestant apologists—printers and booksellers among them—were being imprisoned or forced into

[52] Thomas Mestrard printed at Rennes 1535–48, and Jean Georget 1535–54; Nicholas le Roux printed at Rouen 1530–57, while Pierre Hubault *père*'s press is only known to have been in operation there in 1553 (Muller 1970: 94, 97).

[53] Trial of Pierre Régnier, fol. [21]^{r}. The future Philip II of Spain travelled to England in the summer of 1554, staying there until the autumn of the following year. Although Philip returned briefly in 1557, Régnier is clearly referring to the monarch's first sojourn in England.

[54] 'John de Rowse of Normandy, printer, dwelling in the parish of St Brigide' is recorded as living in Shoe Lane in 1536 and entered several times in the Subsidy Rolls in the 1540s (Duff 1905: 91). At least one edition printed in London in 1543 bears the name Jean le Roux.

[55] Frère 1867. Among the books Nicholas le Roux printed for export to England were some with Protestant leanings (Loades 1990: 277).

exile.[56] Régnier observed that the inhabitants of London were obliged to partake of mass at Easter 1555 when certificates of attendance were issued. Jean le Roux, who evidently sympathized with the 'new religion', must have panicked. One day he left his press, telling his employees that he was going to the court. In fact he abandoned them and his business, boarding a ship to the Low Countries. The last Régnier heard of him was that his master was in Antwerp and, to add insult to injury, le Roux had taken all his journeymen's back pay with him.[57]

Finding himself stranded in London after his master's flight, Pierre returned to Rouen. This was probably in 1555. He does not record whether he married Isabel before or after his stay in England, but she was his wife by the time he went to work in Paris for two months in an unidentified press, and they subsequently spent some six months in the town of Blois in the Loire Valley. There Pierre must have been an employee of the only printers then operating at Blois, Julien and Jean l'Angelier.[58] After such a precarious professional life, the couple decided to head south for Lyon where employment for journeymen-printers was more easily come by in those years. Pierre told the Spanish inquisitors that he spent four years working in various of the presses which were clustered round the Rue Mercière in that cosmopolitan city. We know for certain that he was at Lyon in September 1558, and it was probably the period 1556–9 that he spent there.[59] He worked in several Lyon presses which he failed to identify, but among the employers whom he mentioned by name figured Cécile Peysson who was the widow of the printer Corneille de Septgranges, and the Protestant printer Thibaud Payen who employed other journeymen who were to fall foul of the Toledo Inquisition.[60]

Régnier's years at Lyon were pivotal in his professional and personal life. The city's fairs and industries made it open to merchants and workers from other regions of France and abroad, and to divergent currents of thought.[61] As we have noted, the 1550s witnessed a spectacular increase in adherence to the Reform at Lyon. Journeymen-printers, who frequently alternated between working there and in the nearby Calvinist city of Geneva, were particularly susceptible to the attractions of the 'new religion' and were its

[56] King 1999– : 171.

[57] Trial of Pierre Régnier, fol. [21]^{r}.

[58] Muller 1970: 8.

[59] On 19 Sept. 1558 he witnessed at Lyon the will of Claudine Bouvet, wife of the printing-worker François Duc, another witness being a colleague called Guillaume Felix who may well have been 'le petit Felix' whom Régnier named in his Toledo trial as one of his acquaintances at Lyon (Baudrier 1895–1950: i. 374; trial of Pierre Régnier, fol. [34]^{r}).

[60] Trial of Pierre Régnier, fol. [21]^{v}. Corneille de Septgranges's last products were dated 1556 and he was dead by the following year; on occasion he printed editions financed by Payen, so the two men were evidently associated in the industry (Baudrier 1895–1950: ii. 371–81; vi. 285).

[61] Gascon 1971: ii. 464–5.

first openly militant supporters at Lyon, marching through the streets and scandalizing the local population by chanting French translations of the psalms which they spent their days running off in tens of thousands of copies. Indeed, some of those who had worked in the printing trade were so devoted to the spreading of the 'new religion' that they became Protestant pastors.[62] Pierre confessed to the Spanish inquisitors that it was during his Lyon years that he began to sympathize with Protestant heresies: the Inquisition's secretary noted in his trial-record long after he had been sentenced at Toledo that he had first taken to heart heretical beliefs in early 1558.[63] This was the very time that the number of Protestants among the Lyon *compagnons-imprimeurs* started to peak in the run-up to the Reformist take-over of the city's government in 1562. Pierre claimed that he received instruction in those beliefs from a Frenchman recorded by the Inquisition's scribes as Jaques Vibun or Bebun, possibly the printer Jacques Pugnier who was commonly known by his nickname Bergeon.[64] Pierre added that while he was in Lyon he and his wife lived for some time in the house, or press, of Cathérine Pignier who had family connections in Geneva and, together with her son Pierre, was instrumental in his conversion.[65] With the aid of his companions he in turn set about teaching Isabel the 'new religion'. In her trial Isabel mentioned that among those who joined him in instructing her was one 'Groz, Master Juan, a type-caster in Lyon'; he may well have been Jean Saulzion, nicknamed Gros Bonnet, a printing-worker and for some of his career a master-printer who is known to have been a Protestant.[66] During their four years at Lyon the Régniers were thus caught up in the heady religious atmosphere of that period, which was particularly radical among members of the printing industry.

There are two reasons why those years were also important to Pierre Régnier professionally. First, there were close commercial links between the printers, publishers, and booksellers of Lyon and their colleagues in the book trade at Barcelona. The latter not only imported books from the French city and commissioned the printing of editions there, but they also looked to Lyon for skilled workers. So it was that the Barcelona bookseller and printer Jaume Cortey recruited Régnier at Lyon in about 1559 to go to

[62] Chaix 1954: 147, 157.

[63] Trial of Pierre Régnier, fol. [67]^{r}.

[64] There appear to have been two printers or printing-workers at Lyon known as Jacques Bergeon or Berjon; they were father and son (Davis 1966: 55, 59). One of them went on to work for the Estiennes at Geneva where the social life and solidarity to which he had become accustomed among the *compagnons-imprimeurs* of Lyon landed him in hot water with the Calvinist Consistory (Gaullieur 1855: 164–5).

[65] Régnier told the Toledo inquisitors that Cathérine had been married at least three times, had two sons in Geneva, and eventually moved there herself (trial of Pierre Régnier, fols. [22]^{r}, [58]^{v}). She was probably related to the Lyon printer Guillaume Pégnier, alias Pillot.

[66] Trial of Isabel Régnier, fol. 204^{r}; Davis 1959: 578; 1966: 65.

Spain and enter his employ. Cortey was acquiring new founts in those years, so his decision to bring an experienced craftsman from Lyon to set those types may have been part of a more general programme of investment.[67] Pierre duly set out for Catalonia. He was one of the few French journeymen-printers I have encountered who took his wife to Spain with him, and this may reflect on Isabel's character or on the fact that they had no children or settled home in France. Once in Barcelona, Pierre would soon have been setting Latin and Greek for the *Institutiones rhetoricae* written by his compatriot Matthaeus Bossulus (see Chapter 7). Given the nature of Bossulus's book and its intended readership among this teacher's pupils in Barcelona, Cortey may have had an eye to supplying some of the local university's needs for printed material. Régnier says he was in Jaume's employ for five or six years, probably until the latter's death in about February 1565. He then spent some six months serving Jaume's brother, Pau, a bookseller who took over the family press in that same year.[68] The second reason why Régnier's Lyon years were so crucial was to mark his later life in more ways that he can ever have anticipated.

Two printing firms are known to have been operating at Barcelona in 1565, both in the hands of publishers-cum-booksellers rather than master-printers. A distinguishing feature of the world of the book in the Catalan capital was the dominance of such publishers and booksellers. Since 1553 their guild, the Confraria de Sant Jeroni dels Llibreters, had represented their interests, controlling entry to and training within the book trade, and in theory enjoying a monopoly on the binding and sale of books in the city. The master-printers who actually manufactured locally produced editions were the poor relations and were not represented. Indeed, while booksellers at Barcelona dealt in substantial sums of money, importing shipments of books and commissioning editions from French and Italian presses, the local printers' finances were always precarious. This unequal relationship paralleled that existing in Lyon, the city with which the Barcelona book trade was so closely associated.[69]

Barcelona's two presses were the one which Pau Cortey had recently inherited from his brother and the far more important business run by the French bookseller and publisher Claudi Bornat who employed several of

[67] Madurell i Marimon 1970: 289; Dexeus 1988: 153.

[68] Jaume Cortey printed books at Barcelona from at least 1552 until 1564; Pau then ran the press until his death in 1572 (Delgado Casado 1996: i. 163–5).

[69] Peña Díaz 1996: 106–13. The *compagnons-imprimeurs* of Lyon complained in the early 1570s that, 'the Journeymen . . . are the true Printers, doing all the most laborious and greatest part of Printing; . . . most of the Publishers and self-styled Master Printers are rather Merchants, furnishing material, tools and instruments [making their fortunes from the journeymen's] sweat, marvellous industry and often [their] blood' (Davis 1959: 179–80). Although printers in Spain were seldom prosperous, we should not exaggerate the wealth of the booksellers. The estates of most booksellers in the country show that they died poor (Rojo Vega 1994*b*: 129).

the journeymen we have already encountered. Although the number of editions printed at Barcelona for much of the early part of the century was small, by 1565 production was increasing. It was in that year that three booksellers, Miquel Cabrit, Joan Pau Menescal and Pedro Italiano de Strata, decided that the market could sustain another printing business, and formed a company with Pierre Régnier to establish this new press in the city. Régnier was the ideal partner: the booksellers could handle orders, distribution, and sales but needed somebody experienced to take charge of the technical side of the project. They would have come to know Pierre well during his years working for Jaume Cortey, and they must have trusted him as a skilful and reliable craftsman. His being a married man settled in the city may also have made him a particularly attractive commercial partner. He had a further string to his bow: he was familiar with the world of printing at Lyon, and it was there that he was to go to acquire a printing-press together with all the necessary equipment and paper for their joint venture. According to the agreement they signed on 3 November 1565, the four partners would each invest one hundred Catalan *lliuras*, or pounds, and once the press was set up Régnier would manage it for three years with the help of two assistants.[70] In the course of his trial Pierre told the Toledo inquisitors about his trip to Lyon that November in the company of Antonio Castelnerach, the young Frenchman he must have already taken on as one of his assistants. Régnier was able to purchase a printing-press there at a bargain price because, as we have seen, the Protestant printer who sold it to him had decided to leave for Geneva and was selling his equipment cheaply.[71] Nevertheless, in order to acquire everything he needed to set up the new printing-office in Barcelona Régnier had to spend well over the four hundred *lliuras* invested by the partners. It is unclear whether he had to raise more money himself to meet this additional cost when he was in Lyon, or whether he drew upon credit his partners had arranged to make available to him through bills of exchange.[72] It is surprising that, as a married man who was a mere employee of the Corteys, he had managed to save or borrow as large a sum as his quarter share of the new partnership, but this reflects the high wages which attracted skilled printing-workers to Spain in the first place and, possibly, his and Isabel's enterprise in supplementing his income from other sources (see Chapter 7).

By August 1566, when Régnier signed an agreement with his old master Pau Cortey and with Damià Bages, as representatives of the Barcelona

[70] Madurell i Marimon 1967: 130. The original investment of 400 *lliuras* was either mistranslated by the interpreter at Régnier's trial, or wrongly recorded by the Inquisition's secretary, as 400 Castilian *ducados* (see Ch. 3).

[71] Trial of Pierre Régnier, fols. [22]^{r}, [25]^{r}.

[72] Madurell i Marimon 1967: 130.

Booksellers' Company, to print a range of material for it, the new press was evidently in operation. Two of the surviving editions he produced at Barcelona that year give some idea of the breadth of that range: the first was a collection of humorous ditties published in Catalan under the title *Cobles ara novament fetes de un cavaller y una pastora*, the second Francisco de Vitoria's Latin-language *Summa sacramentorum ecclesiae*. In the following year Régnier was even setting Hebrew types. The identity of the Lyon printer who had sold Régnier the equipment he was using is elusive. However, in at least one book, the edition of Pedro Alonso de Burgos's *Libro de la preparación para la muerte* which Pierre printed at Barcelona for Damià Bages and Joan Mall in 1568, he employed a printer's mark impressed from a woodblock which had appeared at Lyon over thirty years earlier in the products of Denis de Harsy, a printer of middling importance by Lyon standards who produced a large number of liturgical editions for a variety of dioceses (including Catalan ones), folio editions of law books, humanist texts, and editions in French including works by Marot and Rabelais.[73] De Harsy appears to have stopped printing at some time in the mid-1550s, but he could nevertheless fit Régnier's description of the Lyon printer who sold him his press, for he had Protestant sympathies.[74] While some of the earliest popular editions Régnier printed in Spain employed typographical material which was very old-fashioned by the standards of Lyon printing and might well have been sculling around a workshop there since the time when de Harsy was beginning his career, others are similar to the products of contemporary Lyonnese presses and bear all the hallmarks of Régnier's experience of setting up books there. His decorative material, in particular his light and open ornamental initials, is indistinguishable from that appearing in Lyon editions of the day, while his layout frequently has a distinctively Lyonnese quality with its uncluttered and unframed title-pages printed with a handsome combination of italic and roman types.

Many of the items Régnier produced during his short career as a master-printer were published by local booksellers. But by 1568 his partnership with Cabrit, Menescal, and Strata had come to an end, he had freed himself from his obligation to the Booksellers' Company, and he was re-equipping the press of which he was by then the sole owner and commissioning new types to be cast for him.[75] He was also dealing in a small way in books, being referred to in a contemporary document as a bookseller.[76] Thanks to his decision to leave his native country, he had worked his way up from the precarious life of the peripatetic journeyman to the position of a

[73] Gültlingen 1992– : iv. 101–53.
[74] Davis 1959: 580.
[75] Madurell i Marimon 1967: 134, 137.
[76] Madurell i Marimon 1973: 52, 181.

master-printer in charge of his own firm. Unfortunately the inquisitional inventory made of Régnier's possessions in 1570 does not survive, but his business appears to have been prospering, an increasing number of editions coming from his press each year.[77]

Just as his professional advancement owed much to his years at Lyon, so that city was to play a major role in his personal tribulations. In the fateful year 1570 when Guillermo Herlin was denouncing all and sundry down in Castile, the Toledo inquisitors put him into a cell with a new detainee, Pedro de Güerta. In the course of travelling the length and breadth of Spain peddling printed woodcuts this Fleming had got to know many people engaged in the printing business. During one of his conversations with his cell-mate, Güerta happened to mention Pierre and Isabel Régnier, saying that Pierre was working at Barcelona. Herlin claimed to have been surprised by this news. We already know that he had been acquainted with the couple, but it was many years since he had heard of them and he had assumed that they had returned to live in France.[78] Now that he had learnt that they were still in Spain he immediately denounced them as *luteranos*. Referring to Pierre by the name Pierre Bofin, he described him as 'short and stocky with a good, round, pale, chubby face and a brownish beard which used to be blacker'.[79] Three days later a warrant was issued for the arrest of the Régniers.[80]

Herlin's evidence against the couple was that one day many years previously he had been eating in their Barcelona lodgings in the company of the French pressman Esteban Carrier and other colleagues when Isabel began mocking the pope, criticizing the mass, indulgences, priestly confession, and sacred images. This was enough for the Toledo inquisitors to have the Régniers apprehended at Barcelona and transferred to Castile to face interrogation. Although it was a long time since Herlin had set eyes on them, when they were admitted to the Holy Office's Toledo prison, he identified them through a crack in the door. If, as seems probable, he was the Guillot de Paris who had so long borne the couple a grudge as a result of their quarrel at Barcelona, it is not surprising that their features should have been engraved on his memory.[81]

Pierre Régnier had been under suspicion at Barcelona for some time before Herlin's denunciation provoked the couple's arrest. In October 1569

[77] Régnier had a six-year agreement to rent premises in the Carrer del Call at 16 *lliuras* p.a., and had demolished some internal walls in order to accommodate what his landlord called 'his presses'. The use of the plural form suggests that, with his expanding business, Régnier may have acquired a second printing-press (trial of Pierre Régnier, fol. [32]^{r}).

[78] Trial of Isabel Régnier, fol. 189^{r}.

[79] Trial of Pierre Régnier, fol. [3]^{r}; trial of Isabel Régnier, fol. 189^{r}.

[80] Trial of Pierre Régnier, fol. [11]^{r}.

[81] Ibid., fols. [3]^{v}, [4]^{r}.

Benito Dulcet was a prisoner of the Barcelona tribunal of the Holy Office when he decided to 'unburden his conscience' by informing on his former employer Pierre Régnier.[82] He claimed that on St Jerome's Day at the end of September 1568 he had been in Pedro Malo's press on the Carrer de Sant Domènec when one of Malo's apprentices called Sansón—doubtless Samsó Arbús—fell into conversation with him about Régnier.[83] The apprentice recalled how he had once been shown a letter written in French and sent to Bornat from Lyon. Bornat's correspondent had accused Régnier of attending *luterano* services when he had visited the French city to buy the printing-press which he subsequently operated in Barcelona. According to Samsó, Bornat had also shown this letter to Giles de Colomies, a typesetter whom he was then employing but who had previously worked for Régnier and had lodged in his house.[84] By the very nature of his work as a type-caster Dulcet spent short periods in a large number of Spanish presses picking up gossip as he went. He backed up his evidence against Régnier by telling the Barcelona inquisitors what he had learnt about him several years earlier, in about 1566, when he had been working in Bornat's press. He had there come across a compositor by the name of Pedro Gotard who had told him the very same story about Régnier's attendance at *luterano* services when he had been in France to buy the printing-press. Dulcet implied that Gotard knew what he was talking about because it was he who had taken Régnier along to hear the preachers.[85] The account was perfectly plausible because Régnier's return to Lyon had coincided with the short period when Protestant and Catholic worship coexisted openly, if uncomfortably, there. Given the faith he and his wife had adopted when last in that city, the opportunity to attend Protestant services could well have proved an irresistible temptation, and he would have done so with a false sense of

[82] Ibid., fol. [16]$^{r–v}$.

[83] Pedro Malo from Aragon was one of the most active 16th-cent. printers at Barcelona, working there from 1568 to 1590, at first in partnership with Pau Cortey and then, after Cortey's death, alone (Viada i Lluch 1920: 6). Samsó Arbús (or Narcís Samsó Argues) had worked for Bornat in the late 1560s (trial of Pierre Régnier, fol. [18]^{r}), and later went into business with him. He subsequently became a master-printer at Barcelona and in his home town of Perpignan (Madurell i Marimon 1971).

[84] Colomies may be the obscure printer Egidio de Colonies who produced at least three books at Valladolid between 1552 and 1579 (Delgado Casado 1996: i. 150–1).

[85] Gotard also told Esteban Carrier about Régnier's behaviour in Lyon (trial of Pierre Régnier, fols. [4]^{v}–[5]^{r}). Pedro Gotard is a shadowy figure but may be the man of this name who was a printer at Barcelona from 1588 to 1589 (Delgado Casado 1996: i. 294). It is likely that he was related to Hubert Gotard who worked as a type-caster in various Spanish cities and was closely associated with Bornat. Hubert was also a printer, working mainly at Barcelona from 1581 to 1589/90. During his trial at Toledo in 1570 Régnier listed Hubert Gotard among his personal enemies. The Gotards had Lyon connections, while Hubert's brother Antonio was a printer at Alcalá in the late 1580s (Baudrier 1895–1950: iii. 125, 127; Madurell i Marimon 1970: 290; Martín Abad 1991: i. 131–2).

security, believing himself to be far from the prying eyes that surrounded him in Spain.

Dulcet's denunciation was sufficiently serious for the Barcelona tribunal to summon Claudi Bornat himself to give evidence. He confirmed that one of his employees did, indeed, send him such a letter from Lyon when Régnier was in France buying the printing-press. According to Bornat, the letter had contained more information than Samsó had told Dulcet: it had warned him that Régnier was going about alerting workers at Lyon that Bornat was a *familiar*, or agent of the Holy Office, and would entrap anybody sympathetic to the 'new religion' who was reckless enough to put in an appearance at Barcelona.[86] Bornat declared that he had shown the accusatory letter to Dulcet, Giles de Colomies, and the printing-worker Pedro la Copa, translated it into Castilian, and passed it to the Barcelona inquisitors.[87] For his part, Régnier told his interrogators at Toledo that, when he returned to Barcelona from his trip to Lyon, he had got wind of the rumours circulating about him and that this had led to his being intimidated by Bornat and his associates.[88] Although neither Pierre nor Bornat mentioned anybody else's involvement in this affair, Isabel Régnier alluded in her trial to what she saw as a wider conspiracy against her husband:

> I have been thinking about this matter and all I can remember is that a young lad called Pintiaban, who worked in Pedro Malo's printing-office at Barcelona, together with others of Malo's employees I haven't met, tried to have my husband arrested by the Inquisition. However, a worker from the same press called Sansón opposed them, saying that they shouldn't attempt this.[89]

This Pintiaban was probably the Norman type-caster Pierre Pintamenan.[90] Bornat's presentation of the incriminating letter to the Barcelona inquisitors had no serious consequences at the time. They treated the whole business as a fabrication and did not even bother to summon Régnier to refute the accusations. However, he remained under surveillance.

At some time after Régnier's and his partners' press had become fully operational it had taken on a typesetter called Alejandro. Pierre and Isabel discovered from a chance comment that his real name was not Alejandro but that he was the Fleming, Adrián Gaspar, whom we have encountered before and who had adopted a false identity because he was on the run from

[86] Several years later Régnier continued to insist that Claudi was an inquisitional agent (trial of Pierre Régnier, fols. [17]^{r}, [25]^{r}). It is not impossible that he was correct because a veritable army of *familiares* served the Barcelona inquisitors in those years (Contreras 1987: 145). Nevertheless, in 1567 a list of their *familiares* had been drawn up and at that stage Bornat did not figure among them (AHN, Inq., lib. 1592, exp. 18, fols. 107^{r}–136^{r}).

[87] Trial of Pierre Régnier, fol. [17]$^{r–v}$.

[88] Ibid., fol. [25]^{r}.

[89] Trial of Isabel Régnier, fol. 197^{r}.

[90] See Ch. 8.

the Holy Office. They became alarmed and decided to dismiss him, but their other employees rallied round Adrián, persuading them to keep him on. Nevertheless, the Barcelona tribunal soon heard about this suspect character and summoned Pierre to help them with their enquiries. As a consequence Pierre insisted that the Fleming obtain a certificate from the Holy Office if he wished to continue working in the press. Again, nothing appears to have come of this affair, but Isabel was convinced that her and her husband's eventual arrest and trial at Toledo were due, at least in part, to their imprudently having employed this journeyman.[91]

Régnier's predicament at Barcelona was not made any easier by his falling out with many other members of the local book trade. He was clearly a difficult man: as one witness put it, 'Pierre Régnier has a talent for picking quarrels with any Tom, Dick or Harry', and other witnesses at his trial said the same.[92] He was cantankerous, conscious that he was unpopular with colleagues and, as something of a self-made man, sensitive about his status. When interrogations began in the Toledo gaol he maintained that his enemies' machinations must lie behind his arrest which was an outrageous affront to an honourable man like him.[93] Aware that it was prudent for defendants to allege that anybody they suspected of having given evidence against them was a personal enemy, Pierre identified so many people who allegedly had a grudge against him that the inquisitors gave him pen and paper to write down their names.[94] Back in his cell he not only fulminated against his mortal foes the journeymen-printers Guillot de Paris/Guillermo Herlin and Esteban Carrier, who he supposed had denounced him, but listed as his enemies numerous other people associated with the Barcelona book industry whom we have already encountered: Samsó Arbús, Damià Bages, Claudi Bornat, Giles de Colomies, Pedro la Copa, Pau Cortey, Tomás Domingo, Benito Dulcet, Hubert Gotard, Pedro Malo, Joan Pau Menescal, Juan de Rodas, and Joan Rojol. Among the many others he included were several also associated with the world of the printed book in the city: Pierre Arbús, Bernat Menescal, Miquel Ortis, Guillermo de Roin, Antoni Saliner, and Juan de Serrat.[95] Some of these men doubtless did feel animosity towards Régnier. He maintained, for instance, that court cases

[91] Trial of Isabel Régnier, fols. 195^{v}–196^{r}, 197^{r}, 215^{r}.

[92] Trial of Pierre Régnier, fol. [51]^{v}. The witness was Nadal Radix, a French silversmith resident at Barcelona. He had known Régnier ever since they met in Lyon many years previously and he acted as Régnier's guarantor in contracts for printing editions at Barcelona (trial of Pierre Régnier, fol. [51]^{v}; Madurell i Marimon 1951–2: 162). In 1576 he seems to have been dealing in books at Barcelona (Baudrier 1895–1950: ix. 93), and he was himself later accused of heresy but acquitted (*relación de causas* of Barcelona tribunal for 1588–9: AHN, Inq., lib. 731, fols. 31^{r}, 41^{v}–42^{r}).

[93] Trial of Pierre Régnier, fol. [20]^{v}.

[94] Ibid., fol. [29]^{r}.

[95] Pierre Arbús, brother of Samsó Arbús, had been apprenticed to Régnier. In Apr. 1572 he was probably employed in Bornat's press, but at the end of that year he was working as a puller in Juan

were pending or had been temporarily suspended between him and at least Pau Cortey, Benito Dulcet, Claudi Bornat, Joan Pau Menescal, and Miquel Ortis.[96] Likewise he claimed that he and Antoni Saliner had quarrelled over the cost of Saliner's keep while Régnier was employing him; Giles de Colomies was in dispute with him over back pay; Pedro Malo had supposedly borne false witness against him because Régnier refused to make him a partner in his firm; his employee Juan de Rodas had broken his contract and left him in the lurch right in the middle of printing an edition; and Régnier had rowed with both Joan Rojol and Juan de Serrat over some unspecified items he had lent them and which they refused to return.[97] However many of these names figured in his list of enemies just in case they proved to be among the Inquisition's prosecution witnesses, there was certainly some truth in Régnier's claim that bitter hostility existed between him and his colleagues in the world of the book at Barcelona.

His enemies fell principally into two groups: first, old employees of his who wished him ill, and, second, Barcelona's booksellers (*llibreters*) and large printer-booksellers (*llibreters-impressors*) with whom the small printers (*llibreters pràctics*), like Régnier, had always had an uneasy relationship because of the imbalance of power between them.[98] He attributed to two causes the antagonism shown him: 'many people are jealous of me, resenting me because we work in the same business', and 'the printing-workers in particular hate me because I take on and train apprentices'.[99] It was in the interest of skilled journeymen-printers to ensure that the relatively high wages they could demand and the shortage of trained labour from which they benefited should not be jeopardized by competition from an influx into the industry of low-paid, unskilled workers.[100] This had always lain at the heart of the *compagnons-imprimeurs*' attempts to regulate employment in the Lyon printing industry and may have been one reason for the

Gracián's press at Alcalá (Madurell i Marimon, 1973: 27, 191; AHN, Universidades, leg. 135, caja 1, unnumbered exp., fol. [8]^{r}). Bernat Menescal, or Manescal, and Miquel Ortis were booksellers at Barcelona. Guillermo de Roin (or Guille Droin) served as Régnier's apprentice but abandoned his master (trial of Pierre Régnier, fol. [33]^{v}). Antoni Saliner (Saliner) was a young Gascon printing-worker who confirmed that he had worked for Régnier. He married in Barcelona in 1567; Juan de Serrat was a printing-worker from Castile who, in 1566, also married in Barcelona (González Sugrañes 1915–18: ii. 282).

[96] It appears that Pierre was telling the truth when he claimed that he had taken colleagues to court. I am grateful to Ramon J. Pujades for informing me of one such case, concluded in 'Pedro Reyner's' favour in 1570: ACAB, Real Audiencia, Conclusiones Civiles 73 (1570), fol. 79.

[97] Trial of Pierre Régnier, fols. [31]^{v}, [33]^{v}; trial of Isabel Régnier, fol. 200^{r}.

[98] Madurell i Marimon 1973: p. ix.

[99] Trial of Pierre Régnier, fol. [22]^{v}.

[100] Skilled labour was scarce at Barcelona and wages accordingly high. The terms of an employment contract for a compositor recruited at Lyon in 1567 to go to work in Barcelona stipulated that the compositor was not to work for any other printer there or elsewhere in Spain (Hauser 1927: 64–5). This was doubtless an attempt on the part of his employer to control a scarce resource.

animosity to which Régnier fell victim. On the other hand, in a city where experienced workers seem to have been at a premium, the apprentices Régnier trained were frequently poached by other employers, particularly by Bornat. It is worth remembering that, before Herlin had denounced him at Toledo or Dulcet at Barcelona, it was Claudi Bornat who had first drawn Régnier to the Holy Office's attention. There had long been friction between the two men. We saw in Chapter 2 that when Régnier's old employer Jaume Cortey lent Bornat a considerable amount of expensive type and some of it was not returned, Régnier took his master's part and publicly rebuked Bornat's employees. Régnier and Bornat had refused to speak to each other for seven years.[101] After receiving news of Régnier's behaviour during his brief return to Lyon, Bornat may have informed on him out of nothing more than the belief that it was the duty of every Catholic to root out the heresy which was perceived to be infecting Spain. However, if the inquisitors had as a consequence removed Régnier from the scene, that might at the very least have coincided with Bornat's commercial interests at a time when Régnier was poised to play a key role in setting up a new press in the city. And Bornat's denunciation had been based exclusively on a letter sent to him from one of his own employees. If Régnier's claim that Bornat was a *familiar* has any truth in it, Bornat may even have been tempted to abuse the power this position conferred.

The survival of sixteenth-century Spanish books is patchy and we must be careful when drawing conclusions from an analysis of the raw number of editions known to have come from any one press of the period. Nevertheless, such information as we have suggests that Bornat had been the city's leading printer-bookseller in the early 1560s. Once Régnier's business was in full swing, however, Bornat's production declined sharply. The year 1569, for instance, by which time Pierre had re-equipped his press, saw his output double while Bornat was experiencing one the thinnest periods of his career. Claudi Bornat was an astute businessman with a thorough knowledge of the book trade at Barcelona. He also had a record of sharp practice, flouting the rules by which members of the local trade governed their affairs. He had been denounced to the Confraria de Sant Jeroni dels Llibreters on at least two occasions in the late 1550s and early 1560s.[102] When Régnier and his partners were preparing to establish their new business in 1565, Bornat may well have anticipated the effect of such competition on his own profits and attempted to smother the new press at birth. If this was the case, the incriminating letter he and others claimed that he received from Lyon would have presented him with a golden opportunity to rid himself of a potential rival.

[101] Trial of Pierre Régnier, fol. [31]r. [102] Peña Díaz 1996: 116.

When the Barcelona inquisitors had dismissed Bornat's evidence against Régnier after only the most cursory investigation, he proceeded to undermine Régnier's operation in subtler ways, either by poaching his apprentices and enticing journeymen away from his press or, at the very least, by colluding with these practices and employing workers who had broken their contracts with Régnier. Esteban Carrier was frequently the frontman for such underhand dealing. Régnier had good cause to regret having once employed him, as he recounted in the evidence he wrote down in his prison cell in Toledo:

Three years ago I employed Esteban Carrier for a month or two in my press but he left my employ with no warning saying that he had to go off to Zaragoza to collect some money he was owed. But what he really did was take a job with Claudi Bornat, and into the bargain he deviously induced all my other workers to do the same. When I realized what had happened a feud started between us. One day I happened to be walking past Bornat's shop when I saw this Carrier in there. We began to shout at each other and he came out into the street with his sword drawn. On another occasion about eighteen months ago Hernando, the bookseller from Paris who works at Zaragoza, was in Barcelona on his way to the Lyon fair.[103] He and Carrier were standing in the shop of a cobbler from Savoy when I and my apprentice Joan were on our way back from doing some business. Hernando called out to me inviting me to drink a cup of wine with him, so I and my apprentice went along. On our way back Carrier and I began a heated row and he made to draw a weapon on me but Hernando got between us and prevented a fight. Carrier has since told many people that by God's blood he'll make me pay some day.[104]

Although Esteban Carrier was the agent of this industrial sabotage, Régnier had no doubt whose hand lay behind it, and took Bornat to court. During one of his later interrogations Régnier explained through an interpreter the reason for the second of these clashes with Carrier, and intimated that his attempted prosecution of Bornat failed because of the false witness borne by Carrier. 'About a year and a half ago this Esteban Carrier and I argued and came to blows in Barcelona. What provoked the argument was Carrier's luring an apprentice away from my press, and he subsequently perjured himself over this matter. We had a fight over this and over other quarrels which had broken out between us.'[105] One witness in Régnier's trial, a former journeyman-printer now employed by Francesc Muntaner, the *Regent* of Catalonia, vividly described the upshot of this dispute: a blazing row between Régnier and Bornat in the *Regent*'s residence. The witness

[103] This French bookseller's surname appears in some Spanish records as Leballior; he was known in France as Arnaud Ballieur. He purchased books from leading Lyon publishers and in 1577 acquired the press at Zaragoza owned by Miguel de Güesa, eventually selling it on to Juan Pérez de Valdivielso (Baudrier 1895–1950: vi. 451; San Vicente Pino 1996: 22; 2003– : i. 95–9).

[104] Trial of Pierre Régnier, fol. [33]r.

[105] Ibid., fol. [31]r.

testified that the quarrel concerned one of Régnier's young apprentices who had been enticed away to Bornat's press by Carrier, but it is clear that Régnier's principal complaint to the Barcelona authorities concerned Bornat's connivance in the affair.[106]

These might appear to be storms in teacups, but in an industry in which the members of press-crews were interdependent and schedules tight such practices could ruin a master. The disappearance of an untrained apprentice would deprive him of a cheap pair of hands, while the loss of an experienced journeyman would leave him without an essential member of his team and could bring his press to a standstill, forcing him to choose between paying workmen to stand idle or dismissing the rest of the crew who had been difficult to find in the first place and may even have cost him money to recruit. Barcelona printers were prepared to pay good wages and travel expenses to skilled workers they hired from Lyon and elsewhere in Spain, but on arrival those workers would sometimes be lured away to another press.[107] The master who had invested in their recruitment would not only see his press paralysed but would lose the money he laid out to attract them to the city. Contemporary contracts between publishers and printers suggest how ruinous such a loss of investment and production could prove, because a penalty clause was included under which a printer would be fined for any delay in production. This is why in centres where labour in the industry was more regulated than it was in Spain there was an attempt to prohibit printing-workers from abandoning their masters without giving due notice.[108] According to Régnier, Carrier was not the only printing-worker who enticed away his staff: Samsó Arbús had induced his brother Pierre to leave Régnier's press where he was serving an apprenticeship, and at least two more of Régnier's apprentices, Tomás Domingo and Guillermo de Roin, were in his debt because he had taught them the craft of printing only to be repaid by their abandoning him before their apprenticeships were completed, and then speaking ill of him to anyone who would listen. Pierre Arbús and Tomás Domingo had subsequently gone to work for Bornat.

There is, however, some indication that, by the time Régnier was finally arrested, relations between him and Bornat were on the mend. When Benito Dulcet recounted the conversation about Pierre Régnier which had taken place in Malo's press some nine months before the Régniers were apprehended at Barcelona, he noted that while he and Samsó had been gossiping about Bornat and Régnier, the two printers who had not addressed a word to each other for so long were deep in conversation elsewhere in that workshop. In that same year of 1569 Régnier printed at least one book published by

[106] Ibid., fols. [46]^{r}–[47]^{v}. [107] Baudrier 1895–1950: i. 298; Moll 1992: 331.
[108] Gaullieur 1855: 106–8; Davis 1959: 204, 343.

Bornat, an edition of Erasmus's *De octo orationes partium constructione liber*, which indicates that he was prepared not only to speak to Bornat but also to take on work from him. This suggests that the rift between the two men was healing, but might also be explained by Régnier's inability to challenge the superior economic power of bookseller-publishers like Bornat, being faced with the choice of swallowing his pride or going under. Régnier had similarly declared to the Toledo inquisitors that the Barcelona booksellers Bernat Menescal, Miquel Ortis, and Damià Bages were his sworn enemies, yet in 1568 he printed an edition of Jerónimo Lloret's *Index et genealogie virorum ac mulierum* for Ortis and an edition of Pedro Alonso de Burgos's *Libro de la preparación para la muerte* for Damià Bages and Joan Mall. Nevertheless, even if Régnier's relations with Bornat were improving, he was still suspicious and, when he found himself a prisoner in Toledo, was uncertain how to confront the danger posed by this potential witness against whom he still had a case pending in the royal Audiència at Barcelona.[109] His conviction that Bornat was a *familiar* of the Holy Office who therefore enjoyed a special relationship with the inquisitors made him doubly wary. He began by playing safe, listing Bornat among his sworn enemies and instructing his advocate that witnesses should be asked to confirm the two printers' mutual antagonism. However, at the end of his audience with the inquisitors he had second thoughts and gave instructions for this request to be struck out of the record and for Bornat to be asked to testify in his favour. After returning to his cell and worrying at the problem overnight, he again pleaded that any testimony Bornat might give be disqualified on the grounds of their long-standing antipathy. As it happened, when, at the request of the Toledo tribunal, Bornat was eventually questioned in Barcelona about Régnier he was circumspect: he did not mention the letter he said he had received from Lyon over five years earlier but nor did he make any effort to get Régnier off the hook. Rather, he chose to be economical with the truth, denying any knowledge of the theft of the types from Jaume Cortey despite having been the beneficiary of this skulduggery, as other witnesses were quick to point out.[110] As others had experienced before Régnier, Bornat was not a man to be trusted. When the Barcelona inquisitors had issued an arrest warrant for Isabel Régnier they had done so on a standard form which they ordered in bulk from a local press in order to save their secretaries' having to copy out long, formulaic instructions every time a suspect was to be apprehended. Typographical analysis of this form, which survives among Isabel's trial-papers, reveals it to be an ironic symbol of the uneasy relationship between the two printers: the warrant which was the first link in the chain that led Pierre's wife to the stake had been printed in Claudi Bornat's press.

[109] Trial of Pierre Régnier, fol. [52]^{r}.

[110] Ibid., fols. [33]^{v}, [35]^{v}, [36]^{v}, [39]^{v}–[40]^{v}.

In the early stages of his trial at Toledo Pierre's main preoccupation was to return to work and save the business of which he was so proud. The inquisitors, however, had no sympathy with his worries despite the fact that their colleagues in Barcelona had asked them to reach a rapid decision about what was to be done with the possessions they had confiscated from Pierre because 'there is a press involved, and it is very important that it not be left idle'. There is no record of any reply from Toledo, and when Régnier's landlord went to inspect his premises he found the press at a standstill and the workshop closed.[111] The Toledo inquisitors were far more concerned with the Régniers' beliefs. Nevertheless, the prosecution produced little evidence against the couple, and the defence witnesses confirmed that the men who accused Pierre of being a *luterano* were not to be trusted. On the contrary, Pierre and Isabel were thought by most of the witnesses from Barcelona whom they nominated, including numerous clerics, to be good Catholics: they went regularly to mass, had a French-speaking confessor, took communion, attended sermons, gave alms, fulfilled all the requirements of a jubilee which had been celebrated at Barcelona in those years, and were known to eat fish on appropriate days. Nevertheless, none of the witnesses had ever seen either of them buy indulgences, although it transpires that Régnier had been only too happy to print material associated with the sale of such money-spinners.[112] Pierre emerges from their testimony as an upright, even priggish, figure. After the couple had languished in prison for some seven months, it was decided to put Pierre to the torture in an effort to discover what beliefs lay behind outward appearances.[113]

The excruciating pain Pierre suffered as his limbs were crushed by ropes loosened his tongue. He began by admitting that he had held *luterano* opinions when working at Lyon, but claimed to have realized the error of his ways and emigrated to Spain in order to escape such heresies. Despite this admission he tried to protect his wife by protesting that, although he had contact with *luteranos* in France, she had none. The inquisitors were aware that he was lying because, unbeknownst to him, Isabel had acknowledged many months earlier that not only had she held heretical beliefs during the entire time she and her husband had been living in Barcelona but that he had schooled her in them at Lyon. Only once she realized the implications of this confession did she try to undo the damage by denying that she knew anything about her husband's faith.[114] Pierre also attempted to mislead the inquisitors about his own Reformist sympathies, for he had

[111] Letter dated 4 July 1570 from the Barcelona tribunal to Toledo (trial of Isabel Régnier, fol. 186^{r}); trial of Pierre Régnier, fol. [32]^{r}.

[112] Trial of Pierre Régnier, fols. [44]^{r}, [53]^{r}–[54]^{r}; Madurell i Marimon 1967: 134.

[113] Trial of Pierre Régnier, fol. [55]^{v}.

[114] Trial of Isabel Régnier, fols. 202^{v}–207^{v}; trial of Pierre Régnier, fols. [9]^{r}, [58]^{r}.

evidently adhered to them long after settling in Spain. French journeymen working in the presses of Alcalá de Henares in the 1560s went out into the countryside far from prying Spanish eyes and ears when they wanted to exchange news of the Huguenot cause or discuss the 'new religion'. The Régniers and their German, Flemish, Burgundian and French co-religionists took similar precautions at Barcelona, strolling out of the city together whenever they wanted to criticize Spanish Catholics and to revel in news of Huguenot victories in France. It was within a circle of foreigners—most of them printers, journeymen-printers, or booksellers—that Régnier had moved and discussed his religious ideas at Barcelona. Despite torture, however, Pierre tried to avoid naming his wife among those with whom he had shared his Reformist beliefs. Only when the pain inflicted on him became unbearable did he eventually incriminate her, taking on himself the blame for her convictions by asserting that it was he who had been her teacher.[115] Pierre was protective of Isabel, but there are hints that their relationship may not have been straightforward.

When Pierre had thrown Guillot/Herlin out of his house in Barcelona because Guillot's partner was 'a filthy whore', the principal reason for his rage seems to have been the affront that the woman's presence gave to Isabel: 'I told the aforementioned Guillot that he was a scoundrel to try to bring such a slut into my home where my own wife lived'.[116] Much of a man's honour resided in his womenfolk, and Pierre was extremely sensitive about Isabel's public respectability. For a man on the make in Barcelona who counted among his acquaintances the *Regent* of Catalonia, the bishop, venerable canons of the cathedral, and many leading professionals, this is not surprising. However, the Flemish typesetter Adrián Gaspar, who knew the couple well, suggested—mistakenly, it turns out—that several of the journeymen-printers associated with their press who had been arrested and brought down to Castile found themselves in prison because of 'the love they bore' Isabel. It is impossible to be certain quite what was implied by this statement, but Isabel herself wrongly believed that one of the charges of which she stood accused at Toledo was that of sexual promiscuity.[117] During her final interrogation only three days before sentence was passed on her, she broke down saying, 'I am powerless to resist the impulses of the flesh, but God will forgive me and in the life to come I shall do penance for my sins'.[118] She may, then, have enjoyed intimate liaisons with the youthful

[115] Trial of Pierre Régnier, fol. [61]^{v}.
[116] Ibid., fols. [30]^{v}, [35]^{v}.
[117] Trial of Isabel Régnier, fols. 212^{r}, 215^{r}. There are hints elsewhere in her trial that Isabel, a forceful woman whose husband was by then an old man, may have been generous with her favours (fol. 226^{v}).
[118] Ibid., fol. 226^{v}.

workers employed in the press.[119] While this must remain conjectural, we can be sure that she was far from being a meek and obedient wife. According to one witness, it was she who had ordered her husband to throw Guillot out of their house and, once Pierre was managing his own press, she appears to have decided who should be employed in it and who should be shown the door. In her trial she frequently talks of 'my press' at Barcelona.[120] She was a woman of forthright views who took the lead in egging on the more reticent Frenchmen in her husband's circle to join her in mocking 'papists' and in accusing orthodox Spaniards of hypocrisy. She would pour scorn on holy images in front of an audience of printing-workers, prepare meat for them to eat on days of abstinence, and generally make a show of her disdain for the Catholic beliefs and practices by which she was surrounded in Spain. Her language could on occasion be that of a trooper: she insulted the Toledo inquisitors to their faces, accused her husband of bearing false witness against her, and eventually, brought to the point of desperation by a process she did not understand, cursed him and hoped he would rot in hell surrounded by diabolic hordes.[121]

When their separate interrogations had begun both Pierre and Isabel said that they had no offspring. This was doubtless true, but Isabel went on to claim that she once ate meat on a day of abstinence because she believed herself to be pregnant.[122] She may simply have been lying to defend herself against the charge of disobeying the Church's ordinances; on the other hand, this hapless woman may at some time have lost a child. The inquisitors, who were concerned exclusively with her faith, made strenuous efforts to persuade her to repent, but she proved an intractable defendant who was almost impossible to pin down because she constantly went back on her testimony, denying what she had plainly stated earlier in her trial and, when challenged about this, pleading stupidity and forgetfulness. Initially she was sentenced to imprisonment with the loss of all her possessions. She subsequently changed her mind once too often, also failing to show the contrition by which the inquisitors set such store.[123] The record of her interrogations leaves the reader with a vivid impression that it was an ignorant, impulsive, truculent, highly strung, bewildered, and eventually unbalanced woman—terrified of the devil she believed lurked in her cell—

[119] Another possible explanation for Gaspar's assertion is that, in accommodating and feeding these young men, Isabel Régnier had taken on the role of what French *compagnons* called their 'mère'.

[120] Ibid., fol. 205^{r}; trial of Pierre Régnier, fol. [46]^{r}.

[121] Trial of Isabel Régnier, fols. 189^{r}, 190^{r}, 195^{r}, 212^{r}, 215^{r}, 226$^{r–v}$.

[122] Ibid., fol. 222^{r}.

[123] Letter from the Toledo inquisitors to the Suprema dated 31 Aug. 1570: AHN, Inq., leg. 3070, exp. 48.

who met her gruesome end alongside Dr Sigismondo Arquer just outside Toledo on that summer's day of 1571.

Pierre's trial and that of his wife reveal a good deal about them as individuals and about his training and career; their religious beliefs are examined in Chapter 9. Pierre was an experienced printer who had been in the business for over thirty years when he was arrested. He was an assiduous worker, enterprising, ambitious, and deeply preoccupied with his hard-won press, being quick to anger whenever his professional interests were put at risk by what he thought of as sharp practice. Yet, despite his irascibility, he had friends whom he could call upon to act as character witnesses and was invited by at least one of them to act as godfather to a child. Unlike Claudi Bornat who could boast scholarly credentials, Régnier was something of a jobbing-printer who had gained his knowledge of the craft during his apprenticeship at Rouen and from his days as an itinerant journeyman.[124] He was literate, but had risen through the ranks. He was less formally educated than his compatriots Pierre de Rinz and Antonio de la Bastida; nor, despite his long career, had he worked in as many presses as these younger and more peripatetic colleagues. This may, though, indicate the high level of his skill which contributed to his rise to the position of master: he was an invaluable worker who would be taken on for long periods by at least some of the printers he served before he acquired his own press. Indeed, if his wife's account is to be believed, over the four-year period they had spent at Lyon Pierre had never been unemployed yet had worked in only three or four presses, suggesting that he was a prized employee.[125]

Pierre Régnier seems to have fallen victim to commercial rivalry at Barcelona or at least to the antipathy of colleagues and ex-employees. The grudges they bore him can be traced, at least in part, to his achievements as a self-made man and to his consciousness of his status as somebody who had risen to become a master of his craft. Those artisans in early modern Europe who wrote accounts of their lives were not only proud of their success but sensitive to the danger of hubris, likening themselves, or being likened by others, to Icarus. This allusion to a classical mythology which was customarily associated with learned culture encapsulates these working men's ambivalent attitude to their rise: they aspired to higher things while being alive to the risk of overstretching themselves.[126] One group of craftsmen who often left a record of their identity in the products they manufactured were master-printers. Their skills were the means by which learning was accessed by other minds, and many of them advertised their contribution to

[124] Madurell i Marimon 1973: 99–108; Peña Díaz 1996: 116.

[125] Trial of Isabel Régnier, fol. 196^{v}. Juan Franco, for instance, had worked for at least double that number of printers during the four or five years he had spent at Lyon.

[126] Amelang 1998: 1, 163–70.

this process by having a woodblock cut which they used to impress their distinctive emblem on the first or last page of the books which came off their presses. They thus made their mark by having a printer's mark made. Sometimes this emblem would employ a classical motif, in itself a graphic illustration of their self-image and identification with high culture.

I mentioned earlier in this chapter that Pierre Régnier used such a printer's mark at Barcelona. It depicted Daedalus flying among the clouds on a pair of the wings he had fashioned to enable him and his son Icarus to escape from the Cretan labyrinth.[127] Daedalus was famous for his talents as a craftsman, and in this emblem he soars above several ships, pointing down with one hand to the sea on which they sail. This is particularly appropriate because he was credited by the ancients with the invention of carpentry and, in particular, of ships' masts and yards; Daedalus was also reputed to be skilled—as were printers—in working with metal. With his other hand he indicates the heavens in which shines a blazing sun (see Figure 1). The emblem is accompanied by a motto which reads: 'NE HAVLT NE BAS MEDIOCREMENT', that is, 'neither aspire too high nor sink too low but maintain the Golden Mean'.[128] Daedalus's pointing to both the sun and the sea is a clear allusion to the fate of Icarus who, in his pride, flew too close to the sun which melted the wax with which his wings were attached to his arms and caused him to fall to a watery death. Régnier's use of this printers' mark is ironically apposite for three reasons. First, as an itinerant journeyman he had aspired to and achieved greater things, and his ambition appears to have been one of the reasons why he was denounced to the Inquisition. Second, his years working at Lyon were central both to his career and to his misfortune: the block he used at Barcelona came from that French city, the motto which accompanied the emblem was cut in the French language, and he was especially vulnerable in Spain because he was a Frenchman. Third, not only were his and his wife's destinies unwittingly alluded to by Daedalus's gesture—for Pierre doubtless met his end at sea chained to the oar in one of the king's galleys, while Isabel was consumed by fire—but the tawdry fate of this man who rose from humble beginnings to become a master-printer is mocked by the fact that the block he proudly impressed on his products was not even cut specially for him: it was merely an old and outdated piece of material acquired cheaply second-hand. Despite his efforts to maintain the business he had forged for himself and to appear an orthodox Catholic in his adopted city, Pierre Régnier could not escape the inquisitional labyrinth in which he was eventually trapped.

[127] On the use of this Daedalus mark at Lyon see Chèvre 1959: 79–84; Johns 1988*a*, 1988*b*; Possenti 1988: 827–34; Rawles 1993.

[128] When this printer's mark was used at Barcelona after Régnier's disappearance the French motto was carefully cut away (Viada i Lluch 1920: 7).

Figure 1. Printer's mark used by Pierre Régnier in his edition of Pedro Alonso de Burgos, *Libro de la preparación para la muerte* (Barcelona, 1568). Reproduced by permission of the Biblioteca Pública Episcopal del Seminario de Barcelona.

In this chapter and the previous one I have examined in some detail five representatives of the immigrants who worked in the Spanish printing industry during the second half of the sixteenth century and who were arrested in Castile and Catalonia in the wake of Guillermo Herlin's denunciations. An examination of their cases provides a picture of what kind of men they were and what sort of lives they had led before they were caught in the Holy Office's dragnet. The next chapter investigates how these five trials, together with a mass of other complete and fragmentary trial-records, correspondence, and reports conserved in the archives of the Spanish and Portuguese Inquisitions enable us to draw more general conclusions about what life was like in sixteenth-century presses for the workers who laboured in them.

7
The Presses

The printing-workers who appear in the inquisitional records varied in origin, professional qualifications, and experience, but the great majority were foreigners. Their average age when they were arrested or questioned in their workshops was 25, and in this they were no different from the mass of young and itinerant journeymen who manned hand presses all over Europe right up to the eighteenth century.[1] When they reached Spain the informal network of colleagues there provided them with news of employment opportunities, and it was not unusual for the younger immigrants to travel great distances in search of work, some spending a good part of each year on the road.[2] In the presses they would join a team of specialized workers. At the summit of the hierarchy were the masters, some being educated men who could print exacting scholarly editions and proofread various languages including Latin, others being illiterate or semi-literate jobbing-printers. The journeymen on occasion encountered at the base of a press's hierarchy workers who would have been happy to exchange their own harsh lot for the newcomers' wandering life. These were the slaves of African origin or descent who had no choice but to labour where their owners commanded. Only shreds of evidence about them survive, but such men were certainly employed in Spanish presses. When, for instance, one of Seville's leading printers, Juan Cromberger, died in 1540 among his possession were listed:

> a thirty-year-old black slave called Juan who is a beater; another thirty-five-year-old black slave called Antonio who is a puller in the press; another black slave called Baltasar who is a beater; another twenty-year-old black slave called Fernando who is a beater; another black slave called Antonio; another black slave called Dominguillo; a forty-year-old *morisco* slave called Francisco Núñez who is a puller.[3]

A year earlier than this Cromberger had established the first press in the New World, dispatching across the Atlantic to Mexico printing equipment and personnel including a slave whose role in the new enterprise appears to

[1] Rychner 1976: 1928.
[2] Foreign journeymen-printers may have been more disposed to travel than their Spanish counterparts, but information about the lives and movements of the latter is generally lacking.
[3] Gestoso y Pérez 1924: 74.

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have been that of puller.[4] Slaves employed in Spanish presses would have laboured alongside the sort of free workforce represented by the journeymen tried at Toledo.

Above the slaves came the young apprentices.[5] We have seen that many foreigners employed in Spanish presses had not completed an apprenticeship in their native countries and that this lack of formal qualifications was no impediment to their finding work in Spain. However, this does not mean that no apprenticeships were served in the Spanish printing industry. The binding of foreigners and native Spaniards to master-printers there is well attested.[6] In some cities outside Spain, such as Paris, Lyon, and Geneva, there were attempts to prescribe the length and terms of apprenticeships for the various printing trades, to lay down minimum qualifications for admission, and to limit the number of apprentices who could be taken on. In practice, however, the length of apprenticeships in the industry differed from place to place and time to time, ranging from as little as two years at Geneva and Antwerp to eight or nine in London.[7] Evidence from Spain is patchy and inconclusive, apprenticeship contracts varying so widely that it is difficult to discern a clear pattern. Nevertheless, most apprentice compositors in Spain served an apprenticeship of somewhere between four and six years while pressmen served between three to four years.[8] Provision was, however, constantly made for sanctions against the apprentice who abandoned his master before his training was completed, so this must have been a frequent occurrence in Spain, as elsewhere.[9] Pierre Régnier was not the only printer to have recourse to the law over apprentices who fled his employ. In the early 1550s it was probably an acute shortage of skilled labour in the industry at Seville which drove Sebastián Trujillo—the printer who later took on Antonio de la Bastida as a pressman and whose widow gave Pierre de Rinz work as a compositor—to have one Juan Díaz imprisoned until he undertook to fulfil the terms of his apprenticeship agreement. Díaz must have absconded from the press, and he was not the only one of Trujillo's workers to do so.[10]

[4] Griffin 1988*a*: 35. Slaves appear to have been employed earlier in 15th- and 16th-cent. presses at Seville (Tenorio 1901: 636), but I have found no evidence of their acting as anything but beaters or pullers.

[5] Apprentices in the book industry in the Iberian Peninsula seem to have ranged from 8 to 30 in age, but most were adolescents (first trial of João de Leão, fol. 31^{r}; trial of Isabel Régnier, fol. 205^{r}; Madurell i Marimon 1955: 330, 589, 743, 755; Berger 1987: i. 65–6; ii. 485, 490–2; Mano González 1998: 76).

[6] Gestoso y Pérez 1924: 102; Martínez Ruiz 1968: 105; Bécares Botas 2002.

[7] Hauser 1927: 24; McKenzie 1958: 294; Davis 1959: 404–5; Voet 1969–72: ii. 352; Parent 1974: 178.

[8] Pérez Pastor 1926: 201–3, 209, 271, 274, 276–7, 290; Madurell i Marimon 1955: 330, 589, 743, 755; Berger 1987: ii. 485; Moll 2003*a*: 32.

[9] e.g. Dondi 1969: 109–11.

[10] Gestoso y Pérez 1924: 114, 130–1.

It is only to be expected that apprentices should often have proved unwilling to serve the full term of their contract, for their life was harsh. Evidence from French presses indicates that when work was scarce for trained journeymen, apprentices would suffer the journeymen's resentment of the cheap labour they provided. Such resentment was expressed in the form of threats and physical attack. This was particularly the case when the *compagnons-imprimeurs* went on strike, and masters obliged the apprentices to continue working in their stead.[11] Pierre Régnier assumed that it was his employment and training of apprentices that had earned him the ill-will of journeymen at Barcelona, but in that city such apprentices would not have threatened the journeymen's jobs because skilled printing-workers were at a premium there. However, apprentices always had the potential to drive down the wages received by more experienced men, and Régnier may well have been right to see this as one reason for the animosity felt towards him. In any event, apprentices were used by their masters as a largely non-salaried workforce who would carry out the most laborious chores in the presses: they had to rise before the journeymen in order to prepare everything for the day's toil; they swept, cleaned, fetched, and carried; they dampened the paper in preparation for printing; they would sometimes enhance the puller's productivity by removing and stacking the printed sheets as they went through the press; and they cleaned the printing-presses on days when the journeymen were resting.[12] They would also gradually learn the more complex tasks performed by the experienced printers. The regulations governing Plantin's workshop in Antwerp date from the very years when the foreign workers arrested by the Inquisition were arriving in Spain. From those regulations we can infer how wide was the gap separating journeymen from the lowly apprentices who could be beaten 'as the custom is in all countries'.[13] Agreements signed in Spain show that there, as elsewhere in Europe, they were obliged to serve their master and his family in any way they were commanded. In return the apprentices would receive board and lodging, and in some cases an agreed sum of money or suit of clothes once they had completed their apprenticeship; in others they would begin to receive payment in addition to board and lodging once they had acquired particular skills.[14]

Far above the apprentice in the workshop's hierarchy would come the *corrector*.[15] Although this term is often loosely translated as 'proofreader', the ideal *corrector* would also have needed to be familiar with the technical

[11] Hauser 1927: 38, 39. [12] Mano González 1998: 77.
[13] Sabbe 1937: 175–7; Voet 1961: 5.
[14] Berger 1987: ii. 485–93; González Sugrañes 1915–18: ii. 117–18.
[15] These *correctores* were not the officials, also called *correctores* in Spain, who were employed as censors.

aspects of the printing process. He would therefore not only have checked that the words on the printed sheet had been accurately set and corresponded to the compositor's copy, but also that the imposition of the various pages on that sheet was correct. That is to say, he would ascertain that the pages would appear in the right order and the right way up once the sheet was folded and, where appropriate, tucked inside other sheets to form a gathering. He would also ensure that the pages were properly foliated or paginated, and that the compositor had set the signature marks in the right order and on the correct pages. Some *correctores* would also prepare copy for the compositors. Such preparation was essential when complex matter was to be set, but some contemporary printers believed it to be necessary even when setting straightforward manuscripts. Andrés de Angulo stated in 1572:

> in my professional judgement the reason why Spanish books contain mistakes and errata is that it is almost unheard of for an author to give the printer a properly prepared manuscript in which the spelling is accurate and the punctuation correct. This is because there are very few writers, however learned they may be, who are competent in those skills.[16]

However important the role of *correctores* was in theory, the modest size and precarious financial situation of sixteenth-century Spanish presses meant that most did not employ one even as a proofreader. Authors would sometimes check their own proofs or, on occasion, would provide somebody else to carry out this chore. One of the clauses in the agreement Pierre Régnier signed at Barcelona in 1570 to print Bartomeu Vilanova's commentaries on Aristotle stipulated that Vilanova would act as the edition's *corrector*, while some five years earlier when Antonio de la Bastida was pulling the sheets of Francisco de Robles's *Copia sive ratio accentuum omnium fere dictionum difficilium, tam linguae latinae, quam hebraicae, nonnullarumque graecarum* at Berlanga, the author's brother not only had the printing-press installed in his own house but also corrected the proofs.[17] In late 1572, during its visitation to the presses at Alcalá de Henares, the royal commission charged with investigating the state of the printing industry in Spain asked the printer Sebastián Martínez whether he employed a *corrector*. He replied that he did not and that he did all the proofreading himself.[18] Early the following year it was the turn of printers and their employees at Granada to be questioned. One of them said that

[16] AHN, Universidades, leg. 135, caja 1, unnumbered exp., fol. [6]$^{r-v}$. Moxon (1962: 192) was saying exactly the same over a hundred years later in England.

[17] Madurell i Marimon 1951–2: 163; trial of Antonio de la Bastida, fols. [48]^{r}, [60]^{r}. On proof-correction in early modern Spain see Pérez Pastor 1926: 197; Andrés Escapa 1999: 250–1; Andrés Escapa *et al.* 2000: 29–64; Dadson 2000: 117–19; Garza Merino 2004: 450.

[18] AHN, Universidades, leg. 135, caja 1, unnumbered exp., fol. [7]^{v}.

there was not a single *corrector* in the city, and that master-printers or one of their men checked all proofs.[19] The sort of books produced by the Spanish printing industry provides an explanation for this situation.

The mainstay of presses throughout the country was the production of pamphlets, broadsides, ABCs, official forms, collections of local laws, and reprints of works of popular devotion, entertainment, or history, all of which were printed in the vernacular. One reason for this was that so many of the learned editions in the fields of law, theology, medicine, philosophy, and humanist scholarship were printed in Latin in the great European centres of printing and copies exported to Spain. Spanish presses did not generally have the wherewithal to undertake major projects of this nature. Indeed, presses in France, Italy, and the Low Countries even printed editions in Castilian for the popular Spanish market. Many Spanish printers were thus obliged to specialize in ephemera, and it is only through archival research that the importance of this sector of the industry is now becoming apparent.[20] According to the printers questioned by the royal commission, the problems facing the industry were to be attributed less to the shortcomings of the presses themselves than to the dearth in Spain of consortia of merchant-publishers willing to invest the large sums required for major projects. Many years earlier, in 1530, a short-lived company of booksellers had been established at Salamanca and Medina del Campo along the lines of the Grande Compagnie des Libraires at Lyon. However, it did not finance the production of books in Spain but merely imported them wholesale from abroad. Even when it invested large sums in the commissioning of editions specially for the Spanish market, it turned to the Lyon presses rather than local printers to fulfil these orders. It was simply not in the interest of the principal merchant-booksellers in Spain, who often had family ties with multinational publishing businesses, to foster local Spanish production because their profits came from the import trade.[21]

The printers questioned by the royal commission forty years later not only complained about the continuing lack of investment in the industry but also that the most important and costly material for their industry, paper, was prohibitively expensive because most of it had to be imported, Spanish paper generally being of poor quality. A further problem, and one which had something of the chicken and egg about it, was that books printed in Spain were seldom distributed abroad.[22] Consequently, Spanish authors or

[19] Martínez Ruiz 1968: 103. [20] Cátedra 2002*b*: 72.

[21] Mano González 1998: 107–249 (esp. 210–13), 254; Bécares Botas 2003: 10, 17.

[22] AHN, Universidades, leg. 135, caja 1, unnumbered exp., fols. [7]^{v}–[8]^{v}; Martínez Ruiz 1968: 87–9, 96, 100, 106. Other serious problems, but not ones printers would mention to royal commissioners, were the painfully slow process of gaining the necessary licences before a work could be printed in Spain, and the financial repercussions of inquisitorial censorship which was

publishers who had an eye to the international market would often send their manuscripts to be printed outside the country rather than entrusting them to a local press, while the foreign publishers, for their part, maintained agents in Spain on the lookout for new works they could have printed abroad.[23] Even some authors and publishers whose intended market was largely the domestic Spanish one would nevertheless send their manuscripts out of the country. A typical example is that of Esteban de Garibay who set out from Spain in the late 1560s bound for Antwerp with the manuscript of his history of the Spanish kingdoms 'so I could have it better and more elegantly printed there'. His proved a cautionary tale. After exhausting his fortune on having his brain-child printed, and jeopardizing his health in the process 'because I had no respite from the treadmill of working to keep pace with four presses', he had to borrow a substantial sum to get back to Spain. On his way home highwaymen relieved him of much of that loan. The books which had cost him so deep in the purse fared no better: some of them were captured at sea by English pirates, while others went to the bottom in not just one but two shipwrecks. He claimed to have been left utterly destitute.[24]

Spanish printers' inability to compete with imports meant that they tended to rely in the main on commissions from institutions or on popular editions destined for a local or, at best, national market. These editions, and particularly the reprints which were so common in Spain, did not require careful preparation of copy nor a scholarly eye to scan the proofs. Nevertheless a lack of careful proofreading resulted in books in which misprints were, as one writer put it, 'as inevitable as a shadow is to a body, or weight is to a stone'.[25] However, there were two general exceptions to this rule.

When drawing up contracts for the production of liturgical editions, the accuracy of which was of paramount importance to the Church, the ecclesiastical authorities would arrange for a reliable cleric to prepare copy and correct proofs.[26] This is what must have happened in the mid-1560s when Sebastián Martínez was commissioned by the diocese of Sigüenza to print a series of liturgical works for its use. A cleric, Diego Manjón, was appointed as *corrector*. He lodged in Martínez's temporary premises, living, as he put it, 'day and night' with the printing-workers who were engaged on

normally exercised only after an edition had been printed. Capital invested in the production of a banned edition would be lost.

[23] Santander Rodríguez 1994: 96–7; Moll 2003*b*: 82.

[24] There was some poetic justice in this. As a *familiar*, Garibay was responsible for gathering some of the evidence against his fellow-historian Dr Sigismondo Arquer which would lead Arquer to the stake (García Oro Marín and Portela Silva 1999: 370; Garibay y Zamalloa 1999: 19–23, 147–8, 161–83; Caro Baroja 1970: 37).

[25] Juan de Molina's address to the reader in his translation of St Jerome's *Epístolas* (Seville: Juan Cromberger, 1537), fol. E_7^v.

[26] Griffin 1988*a*: 111–12.

the project. It was for this reason that he became acquainted with Antonio de la Bastida. When Manjón was called as a witness in his trial, he claimed that for about four months he had spent his working and leisure hours with the Frenchman, and that he had got to know him well, being able to vouch for his orthodoxy because he had on occasion also acted as La Bastida's confessor.[27] A similar situation seems to have arisen at Salamanca where the French typesetter Pierre de Ribera would have come across Fray Francisco de Alcocer in that city's presses. Alcocer had copy-edited the fine edition of the Roman missal which came from Andrea de Portonariis's press there in 1562, and his own works were printed at Salamanca by, among others, that same Portonariis for whom Ribera worked from time to time.[28] Alcocer became Ribera's confessor and it was to him that the desperate typesetter turned for advice after fleeing Alcalá in the wake of Guillermo Herlin's arrest by the Inquisition. In his trial Ribera suggests that Fray Francisco sympathized with his predicament because Ribera had previously told him all about his training at Geneva and the religious opinions he had imbibed there. This friar had gone out of his way to help him, probably because they knew each other well from having been colleagues in the Salamanca presses.[29]

The other circumstance in which specialist *correctores* were employed was in that minority of Spanish presses which produced learned editions. According to Juan René Rabut, a compositor at Granada, it was only in the great city of Seville and the university centres of Salamanca and Alcalá de Henares that such learned *correctores* were to be found.[30] Their role was particularly important in the preparation of the small number of Greek texts printed in Spain because, while a skilled compositor could set up type from a manuscript in Latin or the vernacular, he would not have been able to do so from a Greek manuscript brought to the press straight from a library. The *corrector* would have to edit it, resolving abbreviations, standardizing idiosyncratic spelling and punctuation, and deciding upon the conventions to be followed. In effect the *corrector* rewrote the manuscript so that the compositor would know exactly what to set.[31] The *corrector*'s

[27] Trial of Antonio de la Bastida, fols. [29]^{v}–[30]^{v}.

[28] Ruiz Fidalgo 1994: i. 67; ii. nos. 519, 567, 628, 669, 806, 1205. Trial of Pierre de Ribera, fol. [15]^{v}.

[29] Pierre de Ribera maintained that 'the friar who was my confessor at Salamanca said he couldn't shrive me so I resolved to go to Rome to seek absolution. But he sought permission to absolve me himself, telling the bishop Dr Simancas about my situation, and his request was granted' (trial of Pierre de Ribera, fol. [12]^{r}). Diego de Simancas was a member of the Consejo de la Inquisición yet, unaccountably, seems to have advised Alcocer that there was no need for Ribera to confess to the Holy Office that he had once held heretical views.

[30] Martínez Ruiz 1968: 103.

[31] Bécares Botas 1999*b*: 44. Even first editions of works in the vernacular were not usually typeset from the author's manuscript but from a fair copy written specially for the press by professional scribes (Garibay y Zamalloa 1999: 166; Garza Merino 2000: 65).

contribution to such editions was so important that he would sometimes compose a preface to them and add marginalia and epigrams as well as compiling indexes. The checking of the compositor's accuracy after the proofs had been pulled was, then, only one of the duties of a *corrector* dealing with scholarly texts. In effect he would act not only as proofreader but as copy-editor and even editor of the work.

Juan Franco discussed theological issues with one such *corrector*, Jacobus Boffaeus, as they worked together in a Salamanca press (see Chapter 6).[32] Theirs were unequal exchanges between a university-trained scholar and the son of French peasants who had received only the rudiments of an education during fewer than two years' study in Paris, but they show a foreign journeyman seeking the sort of authoritative judgements about religious issues that he did not feel competent to make himself, and then accepting those judgements uncritically. According to Franco, his fellow-compositor Antonio Arnao was similarly quick to agree with Boffaeus's pronouncements on matters of faith. This episode suggests a respect for scholarship among printing-workers who were conscious that their own education left something to be desired yet whose craft not only brought them into day-to-day contact with the printed word, but would on occasion also place them in a position to learn from those far better educated than themselves.[33] Pierre de Rinz's testimony corroborates this, for he described to the Toledo inquisitors how

> one day when I was working in Jacques Colomiés's press at Toulouse about four years ago, a group of students came in to have the defences of some theses printed. When one of them was talking about the descent of Our Lord to hell, he maintained that it should not be understood literally as Christ's harrowing of hell but that what was meant by this descent is the death he suffered upon the cross through which he redeemed mankind.[34]

Rinz does not comment on the student's views, but they had made enough of an impression on him for him to have remembered them precisely. The journeymen's conversations with authors or scholars either alongside whom they worked or whom they met casually in the presses were memorable events in their lives. A graphic example of such contact is provided by the case of a Frenchman referred to in the trial-records simply as Bossulus.

[32] On scholarly *correctores* at Salamanca see Bécares Botas 1999*b*: 46–9; 2002: 14–15, 49.

[33] Ironically, printers questioned by the royal commissioners had a low opinion of the professional competence of *correctores* in Spain (AHN, Universidades, leg. 135, caja 1, unnumbered exp., fols. [6]^{v}, [8]^{v}; Martínez Ruiz 1968: 95, 98, 99, 103, 105).

[34] Trial of Pierre de Rinz, fol. [10]^{r}. There was a common belief in the Middle Ages that Christ had descended into hell between the crucifixion and the resurrection and there had saved the souls of those who had died before having access to his message.

Matthaeus Bossulus was an academic from just outside Paris. In 1560 he had published at Barcelona a manual for students entitled *Institutiones rhetoricae*, and had dedicated it to Cosme Damià Hortolà, rector of the city's university where, thanks to Damià Hortolà, Bossulus was teaching rhetoric and Greek.[35] This book would have been one of the first Pierre Régnier typeset after he was recruited to work for Jaume Cortey. As the manuscript from which it was set contained passages in Greek, the compositor would have needed guidance and the proofs careful checking. It is therefore probable that Bossulus saw his book through the press, working closely with Régnier. Four years later Bossulus was holding a chair in oratory in Valencia where he later had another of his teaching manuals printed.[36] He was subsequently reappointed to his old post in Barcelona but a substitute had to be found early in 1569 because he had unexpectedly left the city.[37] A possible explanation is provided by the inquisitional trials of the printing-workers at Alcalá.

In the summer of 1568 Matthaeus Bossulus had appeared at Alcalá de Henares. He made straight for the town's presses where he doubtless knew that he would be welcomed by compatriots who, like him, lived in a world in which Frenchmen had reason to feel alienated from the mass of Spaniards surrounding them. Pierre de Rinz recounts his stay there, making it clear that Guillermo Herlin and others of his colleagues talked at length to Bossulus and ate with him, although Pierre claims to have declined an invitation to dine with the professor. The printing-workers who met him must have been impressed by the conversation of this teacher who was reputed to be one of the most eloquent men of the age, because they told Rinz that Bossulus 'was enormously knowledgeable', again suggesting the foreign journeymen's respect for learning which far exceeded their own. Herlin subsequently mentioned to Rinz that he and Bossulus had gone out into the countryside together to discuss 'matters of great moment'. Rinz intimated to his interrogators at Toledo that by this Herlin must have meant Reformist heresies because, when Herlin was on the point of recounting the evening's conversation to him, another colleague appeared unexpectedly and Herlin immediately fell silent.[38] This was a tell-tale reaction among Reformist sympathizers in Spain when they found themselves in the presence of people they could not trust.

The Toledo inquisitors opened a dossier on the French academic, but there is no evidence that any progress was made with his case. All this was more than a year after Bossulus's visit to Alcalá and, given the increasing controls being imposed upon Frenchmen in Catalonia and an awareness

[35] Bossulus 1560: fols. A_4^r–A_5^r. [36] Ibid. 1566. On this book see Luján Atienza 1998.
[37] Fernández Luzón 2003: 180–1, 278–81, 647.
[38] Trial of Pierre de Rinz, fols. $[18]^v$–$[19]^r$.

that his religious views were becoming known to unreliable men like Herlin, Bossulus seems to have decided that prudence was the better part of valour and returned to France. He would subsequently become rector of the Collège de Boncourt in Paris where he had at least one brush with the authorities because of his sympathies with the 'new religion'.[39]

Talking to or overhearing such learned visitors, authors, or *correctores* made a lasting impression on several of the journeymen-printers tried at Toledo, enabling them to confirm their religious doubts and leading them to accept the authority of those scholars who challenged Catholic orthodoxy. The example of Juan Franco's and Antonio Arnao's conversations with a *corrector* also reveals something about the dynamics of relationships between employees enjoying very different status within the presses who worked long hours together. Yet it is evident that the journeymen's contact with university-trained *correctores* was infrequent, and this is not surprising considering the sort of presses in which the journeymen spent much of their time in Spain.

Journeymen finding a vacancy in a Spanish press would, then, have entered a hierarchical world. Printing was a technologically advanced industry and their colleagues would have represented a range of specialist skills. Contemporary printers listed five trained men required in the ideal printing-office: *corrector*, type-caster, puller, beater, and compositor.[40] But practice often differed from theory. We have already seen that *correctores* were normally to be found only in the larger presses; this was also the case with type-casters. They were in regular demand, though, and not only when a printer wanted to expand his repertoire of types. This was because founts in constant use wore out and had to be recast or replaced. In 1572 Andrés de Angulo told the royal commission that his workforce at Alcalá consisted of four compositors, four beaters, four pullers, one *corrector*, one ink-maker, one paper-dampener, and a type-caster. His was the most substantial operation in the town at that time, with four printing-presses which were in constant use, but it is unclear from his account whether those presses provided enough work for a permanent type-caster or whether he just happened to be employing one when the commissioners visited his workshop. What is evident, however, is that many presses were not in a position

[39] In 1579 the great historian and political philosopher Juan de Mariana would write of Bossulus, 'disguising his true opinions, this heretic taught first for some time at Valencia del Cid and later in Paris; his manual of rhetoric is brilliant and without error' (Bujanda 1993: 60). For his teaching at Valencia see Teixidor y Trilles 1976: 220–1, and Felipo Orts 1993: 94, 197. It was asserted in the 19th cent. that Philip II chose him as one of Prince Don Carlos's tutors (Hoefer 1852–66: vi, cols. 829–30), but I have been unable to verify this surprising claim. Back in France, Bossulus eventually became an abbot and was apparently murdered by his own monks (Luján Atienza 1998: 32).

[40] Martínez Ruiz 1968: 106, 107.

to employ a full-time caster. The two other Alcalá printing-offices inspected on that occasion each had two printing-presses and employed only compositors, beaters, and pullers.[41] The same is true of the two offices visited at Granada the following year. As we have seen, when the commissioners first called on the printer René Rabut he was over 150 miles away in Seville where he had gone to buy some new founts because nobody in his office knew how to cast type. One of his employees added that the caster from whom Rabut made his purchase was a consummate craftsman.[42]

This Seville type-caster, named by Rabut's worker as Juan de León, was indeed a skilled artisan who supplied many printers. He was so knowledgeable about the distinctive combination of founts each of his customers used that when he was summoned to testify in an investigation he could immediately identify the printer of a piece of unsigned ephemera by glancing at its typography.[43] The fact that all Spanish presses did not employ a permanent type-caster meant that printers would sometimes purchase type from a supplier like Juan de León who had settled in a major centre. Alternatively, they would buy ready-made types imported into Spain or even acquire them abroad themselves.[44] Another solution for a master-printer was to avail himself of the services of an itinerant type-caster when he needed a new fount for his press or whenever his types were worn and needed to be melted down and recast. Many masters owned matrices, and even punches, for the types with which they printed as well as the moulds required to cast letters, but few printers had the skill to do the casting themselves.[45]

The trials of the foreign printing-workers arrested in the 1560s and 1570s provide information about these peripatetic type-casters. Benito Dulcet, with whom this study opened, was one such craftsman. When Pierre Régnier managed to buy out his three partners at Barcelona and was finally master of his own business, he re-equipped it by turning to Dulcet to provide him with new founts.[46] Dulcet constantly crops up in documents associated with the Barcelona presses, and he was evidently much in demand in the city. He had not only been contracted by Régnier, but appears to have worked in Pedro Malo's office, and he had certainly been employed by Bornat.[47] He was a married man, and Barcelona may well

[41] AHN, Universidades, leg. 135, caja 1, unnumbered exp., fols. [6]^{r}, [7]^{r}, [8]^{r}.

[42] Martínez Ruiz 1968: 106, 107. Seville supplied many Andalusian presses with types, and some printing contracts stipulated that the printer had to use a freshly cast fount (Cátedra 2001: 31, 50, 53, 284).

[43] Cátedra 2002*a*: 477–8. La Bastida knew this Juan de León from having worked at Seville in Trujillo's press (trial of Antonio de la Bastida, fol. [60]^{r}).

[44] Moll 1988: 295–304.

[45] Ibid. 1992: 334.

[46] Madurell i Marimon 1967: 134, 137.

[47] Trial of Pierre Régnier, fols. [16]^{r}, [18]^{r}.

have been his base; by the summer of 1568 he was a denizen of the city so must have been living there for at least two years.[48] However, Dulcet's craft took him round the country. The Inquisition's records indicate that, prior to his arrest at Barcelona, he had worked in Castile, albeit under an assumed name, and there are indications in the Catalan archives that he had been employed by the first press to operate in Madrid.[49]

Benito Dulcet was not the only itinerant type-caster to appear in the Inquisition's records. We have already seen that a shadowy Frenchman referred to as 'Juan Molot the type-caster' first accompanied the young puller Antonio de la Bastida to Spain and subsequently met João de Leão at Granada. Another Frenchman, Pierre Pintamenan, had come to Spain from Geneva and travelled round much of the country both casting and setting type in a variety of presses where his dogmatic religious opinions attracted a good deal of hostility from his compatriots. But a clearer insight into the sort of life such type-casters led is provided in evidence given to the Toledo inquisitors by the local printer Juan de la Plaza. In late 1569 they were attempting to track down Pierre Relin from Normandy whom they wanted for questioning, doubtless in connection with the accusations Guillermo Herlin was making at that time. They had instructed Juan de la Plaza to use his contacts to obtain information about Relin, and on 26 December he reported back to them:

In obedience to Your Honours' orders, I appear before you to testify and declare that I have discovered the whereabouts of Pierre Relin. I have questioned the Flemish compositor Adrián [i.e. Adrián Gaspar], who is currently lodging with the bookseller Miguel Ferrer in his house in the Plaza de las Cuatro Calles, and he informs me that this Pierre has spent all winter in Zaragoza casting a fount.[50] Relin had mentioned to Adrián that he was intending to set out for Lyon, but Adrián has heard nothing more about him since coming down here to Toledo. However, working in Alonso Gómez's press in Madrid there is a journeyman, whose name he doesn't know, who has recently been in Lleida. Adrián tells me that the journeyman will know whether the aforementioned Pierre is currently in that town.[51]

[48] Madurell i Marimon 1970: 289. A passing reference to Dulcet's being married is made in the Barcelona tribunal's letter of 4 Dec. 1569 to the Suprema: AHN, Inq., lib. 737, fol. 58^{r}.

[49] Letter dated 4 Dec. 1569 from the Barcelona tribunal to the Suprema: AHN, Inq., lib. 737, fol. 58^{r}; Madurell i Marimon 1973: 16, 166.

[50] Miguel Ferrer was not only a bookseller but also worked as a printer at Toledo from *c.*1556 until his death in 1572 (Delgado Casado 1996: i. 234–5). La Plaza de las Cuatro Calles was the commercial centre of Toledo, the city's principal booksellers having premises there (Porres Martín-Cleto 1988: i. 535–8).

[51] Trial of Pierre de Ribera, fol. [8]^{r}. Acting upon this information the Toledo inquisitors contacted their colleagues at Zaragoza in Dec. 1569 and again the following May (Zaragoza's letter of 17 June 1570 to Toledo contained in the trial-record of the Gascon soldier Juan Carrera: AHN, leg. 110, exp. 3, fol. [8]$^{r–v}$). Pierre Relin was an inmate of the Holy Office's prison at Toledo by 1572 (Toledo's *relación de causas* for 1572: AHN, Inq., leg. 2105, caja 1, exp. 10, where he is listed

In May of the following year Juan de la Plaza provided the inquisitors with the further information that a journeyman who was probably Relin was by then in Barcelona. In June the inquisitors got wind of his having been working at Salamanca. Relin was evidently earning a living travelling round Spain from press to press, casting type as he went.

Somewhat less mobile than these four type-casters were two versatile craftsmen whom Pierre Régnier cited in his trial as witnesses to one of his quarrels with his old employee Esteban Carrier: Pedro la Copa and Hubert Gotard. La Copa worked in Spain for many years, shuttling between Zaragoza and Barcelona where he was employed as a compositor. Pierre Régnier, however, referred to him as a type-caster when La Copa was working at Barcelona in the 1560s.[52] If he was correct to do so, this Frenchman combined two complementary crafts; he was certainly experienced enough to have done so, because he had been working in the Zaragoza presses for almost thirty years before Régnier encountered him.[53] For his part, Hubert Gotard cast type at Burgos, Zaragoza, and Barcelona, eventually becoming a master-printer in his own right and producing books at Barcelona and Tarragona.[54]

None of these itinerant type-casters was a Spaniard. Some were employed by a single printer for long periods, some moved from contract to contract largely within the same city, but most journeyed from printing centre to printing centre, casting a single fount in each press as they went, just as Relin did at Zaragoza. That job seems to have taken him more than a month, which is not surprising considering that, according to a contemporary printer, a fount could consist of some 30,000 sorts—or pieces of type—each one of which would have to be individually cast and finished by hand.[55] Their travels brought these type-casters into contact with a wide range of members of the Spanish printing industry. As they worked, they talked—often in French—and listened, eventually being able to provide the inquisitors with much useful information.[56]

erroneously as 'Juan' Relin). If he had worked at Lleida, he would have been casting type for Pedro de Robles who ran the only press then operating there.

[52] Trial of Pierre Régnier, fol. [31]^{r}.

[53] Pedraza Gracia 1997*b*: 37.

[54] Madurell i Marimon 1972: 188–96.

[55] Martínez Ruiz 1968: 95. The source of this estimate is the Granada printer Hugo de Mena, but it may reflect his experience of working on a shoestring in an unimportant centre. In 1579 a fount consisting of 44,625 sorts was sold at Barcelona (Madurell i Marimon 1970: 290). Some fifty years later 50,000 sorts was considered at Madrid to constitute an adequate fount (Cruickshank 1986: 46).

[56] It is less clear how proficient they were. In 1574 Matías Gast needed to recruit a type-caster for his Salamanca press. He automatically sent to Flanders saying that he wanted a highly skilled man; according to him, there were plenty of type-casters in Spain, but they were not up to the job (Rooses and Denucé 1883–1918: iv, 117–19).

Although Andrés de Angulo listed an ink-maker among the sixteen men working for him in 1572, it appears that few Spanish presses could have afforded to have a specialist employed in that capacity. Nevertheless printers' inventories indicate that they would normally have owned the necessary equipment. In most cases pressmen or apprentices would have taken a turn at boiling the linseed oil-based varnish and adding lamp-black or vermillion to make the appropriate colour. This process involved more than one worker, as is shown in a trial at Salamanca in the early 1550s when a young journeyman testified that 'when they make the varnish the workers eat the linseed oil spread on toast and, their hands black with varnish, eat the bread covered with ink'.[57] These workers would normally go out of town to manufacture ink because there was always a danger that the vapour given off by the heated oil would combust and burn down the cramped accommodation in which the presses were housed. As Moxon said in an English context, ink manufacture was 'laborious to the Body... noysom and ungrateful to the Sence, and by several odd accidents dangerous of Firing the Place it is made in'.[58] The court case mentioned above provides evidence that, at least in the printing-house run at that time in Salamanca for Juan de Junta by his partner Alejandro de Cánova, it was the women of the household who made the ink. Junta's wife Isabel de Basilea, assisted by her mother, would heat the oil in the courtyard, the choking fumes and risk of fire causing much annoyance to the bookseller who lived next door.[59]

The final category of workers who would be found in some printing-offices but not others were binders. It was customary to store and transport printed books in unbound sheets, but there were exceptions. When Sebastián Martínez was asked by the ecclesiastical authorities at Sigüenza to print liturgical editions for them, he would have been contracted to produce a stipulated number of copies and to deliver them, finished and bound, to those authorities for an agreed sum of money. He therefore needed binders as part of his team, and contracted two craftsmen to do this work, both of whom seem to have been Spaniards: Tomás de Velaz and Rodrigo Desparza (or De Esparza). These men were called as witnesses in Antonio de la Bastida's trial at Cuenca, and we can glean something about them from asides in their testimony. Velaz was 33 years old; at 23 Desparza was nearer La Bastida's age, and he said that they had become close friends during the year they spent working together. He told the investigators that they had talked both at work in the press and during their leisure time, some of which they had spent deep in conversation in Velaz's house. Desparza must therefore have done his binding in the press itself rather than in a separate workshop or at Velaz's lodgings. This is confirmed by his observation that,

[57] Rumeau 1971: 241. [58] Moxon 1962: 82. [59] Rumeau 1971: 235–6.

when working alongside La Bastida who was manning a printing-press, he had seen the Frenchman down tools and go off to mass as soon as he heard the cathedral bells summoning the faithful to prayer. Desparza was not a native of Sigüenza, and he said that he had previously worked at Valladolid and El Burgo de Osma. This does not, however, necessarily imply that he was a wandering craftsman. As was seen in Chapter 5, Martínez took with him to Sigüenza several men who had worked for him at Valladolid. The two binders he employed at Sigüenza may have been among the team who went with him. Similarly, Desparza's period at El Burgo de Osma was probably in the employ of another Valladolid-based printer, Diego Fernández de Córdoba, who had gone to El Burgo to produce some liturgical editions. Desparza and Velaz may have specialized in such books; by the time they gave their testimony about their colleague La Bastida they had both been working for a year binding copies of a large folio edition required for the celebration of mass in the diocese of Sigüenza.

The binder João de Leão, on the other hand, was itinerant and French. From information he gave the Portuguese inquisitors we can reconstruct some of his travels.[60] Before crossing the Pyrenees he had been in Italy—in at least Rome and Ferrara—but it is unclear whether he had been employed as a binder in those cities.[61] After returning home at the age of 20, he spent some time in northern France, eventually deciding to go to Spain. In the Iberian Peninsula he always seems to have worked as a bookbinder. He disembarked at Barcelona a year or so before Pierre Régnier settled in that city, and worked there for two months before being engaged for a short period at the Benedictine monastery of Montserrat north-west of the city. He found more stable employment when he moved to Zaragoza where he was taken on for a year by the bookseller Miguel de Suelves.[62] He then entered the employ of Antonio de Sanahuja at Valencia who had previously engaged Antonio de la Bastida as a puller in his press, but by the time João knew him Sanahuja had reverted to being a full-time bookseller. After some four years with Sanahuja, João travelled south to Granada where he worked for the French bookseller Giraldo de la Cruz for eighteen months.[63] He then decided to try his luck in Portugal. In Lisbon he was taken on by a man he referred to as 'the merchant called João d'Espanha', who is probably to be identified with the leading publisher and bookseller Joannes Hispanus.[64]

[60] Especially, the first trial of João de Leão, fols. 16^{r}–17^{r}.

[61] Ibid., fols. 25^{v}, 32^{r}.

[62] Suelves, also known as Zapila, was Zaragoza's most prolific publisher from 1549 until his death in 1573/4, when binding equipment was listed among his possessions (San Vicente Pino 2003– : 115–38).

[63] Giraldo de la Cruz was active at Granada 1549–65 (Obra Sierra *et al.* 1997: 48).

[64] In Spain, where he worked at Medina del Campo and Seville, this publisher and bookseller was known as Juan de Molina. In Portugal he was sometimes referred to as João de Molina or, more

When he was eventually apprehended at Braga in northern Portugal in early 1565, João had been working for over two years for António de Mariz.[65] In addition to the travels he sketched out for his interrogators in his initial confession, he later mentioned to them that he had been in Brittany and had visited La Rochelle several times. He had worked for other masters in Portugal, including the king's bookseller Luis Martel.[66]

João de Leão had, then, been employed in several cities throughout the Iberian Peninsula, sometimes by booksellers and on occasion by printers who bound their own products. Mariz, for instance, was not only a publisher and bookseller but also one of the three most prolific printers in sixteenth-century Portugal. João's trials provide us with information not only about his wide circle of acquaintances among peripatetic foreigners of suspect faith who worked in presses and bookshops throughout Spain and Portugal, but also about the printing industry in Portugal. As in Spain, there was a shortage of skilled binders and printers. Once he had been reconciled to the Church for the second time at the Lisbon *auto de fe* of March 1571, João was confined to the Colégio de Doutrina da Fé where he was set to work at his craft, presumably because there was a demand for bookbinding which free workers could not satisfy. This demand may well have been exceptional and caused by the large number of new liturgical books which were being imported at just that time as a result of the Council of Trent's decree that the text of breviaries and missals be revised.[67] João also offered some information about where binding was carried out. While he had worked in Mariz's office at Braga, he got to know a craftsman who customarily bound books in the doorway to his shop. However, when this man, who was a convert—or descendant of converts—from Judaism, was under pressure to finish a job he would work on Sundays and festivals of the Church. But on those occasions he would close his shop and do his binding upstairs in his house safe from prying eyes.[68]

confusingly, as 'João d'Espanha the Frenchman', his father being French and his mother from Salamanca. He was the first bookseller in the Iberian Peninsula to trade with Plantin (Bécares Botas 1999*a*: 159–60).

[65] Mariz worked at Coimbra from at least 1556 to 1599, as well as at Braga, Leiria, and Sernache dos Alhos. He styled himself royal printer, printer to the University of Coimbra, and printer to the bishop of Braga (Anselmo 1926: 238).

[66] Third trial of João de Leão, fol. 253^{v}.

[67] Copies of the new liturgical editions were normally sent to the peninsula in unbound sheets where they would be bound locally (Morisse 2002: 315). Nevertheless, the shortage of binders in Portugal is confirmed by João d'Espanha's asking Plantin in 1567 to supply him with books already bound at Antwerp, despite their costing more to transport (Rooses and Denucé 1883–1918: i. 90). Evidence of skill-shortages in the Portuguese world of the book is provided by the case of a German printer who was being tried for heresy in the 1560s by the Lisbon Inquisition; his skills were so much in demand that he was commissioned by the Cardinal Infante Dom Henrique, the Inquisitor General of Portugal no less, to set up a press in the south of the country at Évora (Pereira 1985: 218).

[68] First trial of João de Leão, fol. 34^{v}; third trial of João de Leão, fol. 165^{v}.

If *correctores*, type-casters, and binders were to be found in only some presses, the core skills without which no press could operate were those of puller, beater, and compositor. This did not mean that every printing-office had a minimum of three workers because in the smallest presses these three roles could be assumed by one or two versatile craftsmen. René Rabut, for instance, was said in the early 1570s to be both an experienced beater and a puller. When times were hard he would have worked at half press, that is to say alternately inking the type and pulling the bar. It has been calculated that some twenty years earlier, when printing arrived in the small Andalusian town of Baeza, the first press there was probably manned by a single printer, possibly aided by one assistant or an apprentice.[69] On occasion one man could print entirely on his own. The cleric Sebastián Martínez who, as was seen in Chapter 1, was burnt at Seville in 1562 doubtless worked alone when he printed his scandalous verses. However, the foreign journeymen-printers arrested by the Spanish Inquisition would have normally been taken on by masters who worked with crews of three men for each printing-press. This was the case at Alcalá where Andrés de Angulo was employing a compositor, a puller, and a beater for each of his printing-presses when his office was inspected shortly after the network of *luterano* printing-workers in that town had been smashed.[70]

The puller was a skilled worker whose duties were described to the royal commission in 1573 by three men who had between them long experience of that job. Ideally pullers should, they said, be literate; they should be able to gauge the length of lines of type and set the margins; they should know how to apply just the right amount of pressure with the bar so that the sheets printed cleanly but the lines of type were not distorted under the strain; they should ensure that the margins of the pages remained free from smudges; and they should be skilled in printing in black and red inks.[71] It is significant that these witnesses should have mentioned two-ink printing because this was a particularly intricate operation which required an experienced puller. He would first have to cut elaborate friskets to prevent the wrong colour appearing in the wrong place on the page. He would then have to put each side of the sheets through the press twice: once to print those parts of the page which were to appear in one colour, and then a

[69] Cátedra 2001: 21.

[70] Work patterns and manning levels in early modern presses are, however, far more difficult to estimate than this would suggest. While Angulo's labour force at Alcalá conforms to the pattern of a three-man crew for each printing-press, Juan Gracián, who was operating in the same place and at the same time, had two printing-presses, each with its puller and beater, but listed himself and three other compositors among his workforce (AHN, Universidades, leg. 135, caja 1, unnumbered exp., fols. [6]^{r}, [8]^{r}). Plantin normally employed two compositors per press at Antwerp (Voet 1969–72: ii. 333–4).

[71] Martínez Ruiz 1968: 105, 106, 108.

second time to print the other colour, having already removed from the forme the blocks of type which had printed the first ink. Careful positioning of the sheet was necessary, especially on its second pass through the press, because such precision would ensure that those words or other material which were to appear in the second colour were impressed in exactly the right place on the pages without overprinting the first colour. Even when printing a book entirely in black ink, the puller would have to make certain that the pages on the second side of the sheet printed squarely on the backs of those which had already been printed on the first side. To achieve this accurate register, the puller would fix the sheet over some pins, or press points, when the first side of the sheet was being printed and would use the holes thus made in the paper to guide him when positioning it for the second side. As two-ink printing required each side of a sheet to be put through the press twice, precise register, and therefore use of the press points, had to be particularly accurate. The three pullers questioned by the royal commission specifically alluded to the production of breviaries, missals, and other liturgical works when talking of two-ink printing, and it is in such editions that the use of two colours was most common. Those books used red and black ink in imitation of the rubricated manuscripts they replaced and because the printing of certain words or sections in red served as a guide to priests who used them for private meditation or, more especially, during church services. Pullers therefore had to be skilled men. In the Low Countries, Plantin's pullers received higher wages than his compositors for much of the sixteenth century, and in French presses this pay differential was particularly marked.[72]

At least four of the immigrant journeymen mentioned in the inquisitional trials were pullers, the one whose records are most detailed being Antonio de la Bastida. He was one of the few foreign journeymen arrested by the Inquisition to have served a full apprenticeship and he had done so as a puller in a French press which had a history of printing breviaries. It is significant that he specifically stated in his *discurso de la vida* that he was employed to print such books at León and Sigüenza, while several of the other presses that took him on are known to have produced service books or breviaries for their local dioceses. As a trained puller La Bastida would have been an invaluable asset to any press, but especially to one which was printing complex service books in two colours. He was probably alluding to his skill in such techniques when he tried to persuade his interrogator at Sigüenza that nobody had secretly passed him the file he used to remove his shackles and so escape from the bishop's prison there. He claimed: 'I was arrested and taken off to prison so unexpectedly when I was filing the points

[72] Gaskell 1972: 137–9, 141.

pressmen use to make holes in the paper, that I just slipped the file into my breeches.' This was a lie; he later admitted that the file had, in classic fashion, been smuggled into his cell in food delivered by a young printer's devil.[73] Yet there was a ring of truth to it because anybody who had ever visited a printing-workshop would have known how important it was for a puller to keep his press points sharp.

La Bastida's skills—he had some sixteen years' experience behind him by the time he was apprehended at Sigüenza in 1565—may well explain some oddities about his arrest. The crimes of which he stood accused had allegedly been committed the previous winter. However, the two Spanish workmates in Sebastián Martínez's press who denounced him waited until the following spring to approach the authorities. In such cases, action would normally have been swift but, as was seen in Chapter 5, the ecclesiastical prosecutor at Sigüenza took no initiative until late summer, gathering no further evidence nor even verifying the reliability of the original accusations. We know that Sebastián Martínez and his team were at the time engaged in printing liturgical works required by the diocese, and nobody, least of all a member of the ecclesiastical hierarchy at Sigüenza who had commissioned them, would have wanted to see their production stalled. The prosecutor may have bided his time until the complex process of printing the sheets in their two colours had been completed and all that remained was for the finished volumes to be bound and delivered. Only then did he have the French puller arrested and initiate proceedings against him. This not only suggests that La Bastida was a key worker in Martínez's press, but provides further evidence for the shortage of trained pullers in Spain at this time. Jácome Cromberger's agreement to print editions of a new missal, breviary, and diurnal for the diocese of Seville some ten years earlier was mentioned in Chapter 4. The sample sheets of the missal he presented for the authorities' approval were rejected because they were not up to standard, and he excused himself by blaming the shortage of sufficiently skilled workers in the city, agreeing instead to have the missals printed at Paris or Lyon. The missals would have required pullers experienced in printing in two colours, and Cromberger claimed at the time that in Spain such workers were like gold dust.[74]

The other craftsman required to man the printing-press itself was the beater. His duties were not described to the royal commissioners by the Alcalá and Granada printers, possibly because his was not considered a job demanding skills which needed to be explained to laymen. Some historians of the early presses maintain that the two pressmen—the puller and the

[73] Trial of Antonio de la Bastida, fol. [13]$^{r–v}$.

[74] Agreement dated 17 Oct. 1555: AHPS, Of. 10, lib. 3 of 1555, fols. 74^{r}–75^{r}; Griffin 1988*a*: 110–15.

beater—generally took it in turns to pull on the bar and ink the forme of type, thus sharing the particular strains each job put upon them.[75] The Alcalá and Granada printers, on the contrary, considered the beater to have a distinct role in the press, and an early seventeenth-century Spanish account describes his job as being 'the puller's assistant, and subordinate to him'. It specifies one of his duties as stirring the ink and spreading it evenly over the types, adding that the beater then had to wash the types with lye to remove the ink from them prior to their distribution back into the compositors' cases once a forme had been printed and broken up.[76] The fact that this particularly unpleasant chore fell to apprentices in some northern European presses may indicate this commentator's view of the beater's subordinate status in Spain, at least by the time he was writing. We can deduce from a seventeenth-century debate about whether beaters and pullers were mechanicals that the work of the beater was physically exacting, especially if he used good quality, thick ink which gave a sharp impression on the page, rather than diluting it to make his work easier.[77] The Inquisition's trial-papers list several printing-workers as specialist beaters, which again suggests that at this time in Spain the jobs of puller and beater were seen as complementary but distinct. It is also significant that not a single one of the men who appear as beaters in the Inquisition's records I have examined were foreigners, possibly because the beater's job could be performed by a worker who was not as trained or experienced as a puller. Indeed, most of the slaves working in the Cromberger press at Seville in the first half of the century were beaters, and the two slaves who were listed as pullers were older than those performing the subordinate role. It is significant that one of the pullers was a *morisco* because such slaves of North African origin tended to be prized at the time as more adept than those from sub-Saharan Africa; the *morisco* puller is also the only slave graced with a surname in the inventory of the press's equipment. One of the men described in the Inquisition's records as a beater at Barcelona was Samsó Arbús. He was in his early twenties when he worked for Claudi Bornat; as an older man he would become a master, signing books in his own name. This suggests that a young man might learn the craft as a beater and then, with experience, rise to take on more demanding roles in the industry.[78]

Although some of the foreign printing-workers who appear in Inquisition documents were apprentices, type-casters, binders, or pullers, most were compositors. Of the seventeen compositors named in the records, only two were Spaniards, and they merely appear as witnesses. Ten of the others were Frenchmen, and five Flemings. That is not, of course, to say that most

[75] Moll 2003*a*: 31–2; Voet 1969–71: ii. 324. [76] Suárez de Figueroa 2000: 265–6.
[77] Caramuel y Lobkowitz 2004: 152. [78] Trial of Pierre Régnier, fol. [18]r.

compositors employed in Spanish presses at the time were foreign. The Inquisition's papers deal with *luteranos* in the industry and, as for many Spaniards 'heretic' and 'foreigner' were almost synonymous, the records may give a distorted impression of the number of immigrants to be found working in it. An examination of the crews manning presses at Barcelona shortly before the investigations and trials took place, or at Alcalá de Henares and Granada shortly afterwards, might more accurately reflect the proportion of foreign compositors to be found in the industry. In the late 1560s we have an account of the men employed in Bornat's office in Barcelona: both compositors were French. Of the three men we can be sure were compositors employed at Granada in 1573, one was French, one the son of a Frenchman, and the third, who was merely recorded as Francisco Garçon, might have been either French or Spanish. A year earlier Andrés de Angulo was employing four compositors in his press at Alcalá; one was a Fleming, another a young Frenchman, and the remaining two were Spaniards. Sebastián Martínez's small operation in that same town employed just one compositor, and he was Portuguese, while Juan Gracián said that in his Alcalá press he and three Spaniards set the type. About half the compositors working in those presses at Barcelona, Granada, and Alcalá when those snapshots were taken were therefore foreign. These presses may not be representative of the whole of the Spanish printing industry, but they do suggest that a high proportion of foreigners were employed as compositors.

The fact that foreigners found work relatively easily in Spain as compositors is surprising for two reasons: their frequent ignorance of the languages spoken in that country, and their general lack of training when they arrived there. It was, of course, common practice throughout Europe in the hand-press period for foreign journeymen to be employed in printing-offices. Their unfamiliarity with the local language would have presented less of a problem in presses which specialized in editions printed in Latin and had *correctores* preparing copy than in presses printing mainly in the vernacular, which was the case with most Spanish presses of the period. One Spanish compositor, Juan René Rabut of Granada, stated that 'in order to set up Greek and other languages except Latin, the compositor must know and understand those languages. But it is not important for compositors to know Latin because they just follow the copy they are given.'[79]

Despite Rabut's assertion, in 1569 Enrique Loe was working as a compositor in Juan de Villanueva's press at Alcalá when it produced at least three editions in Castilian.[80] Loe may well have had a hand in typesetting them although he had only a nodding acquaintance with that language. As has

[79] Martínez Ruiz 1968: 102. The exception of Latin by this experienced worker is, perhaps, strange.

[80] Martín Abad 1991: ii, nos. 712, 714, 724.

been noted, Pierre Régnier's knowledge of Catalan was rudimentary and his Castilian non-existent, yet he regularly set up editions in both languages in his Barcelona press. It was possible for a compositor to follow copy letter by letter, but ignorance of the language involved must, nevertheless, have proved a considerable handicap. Unless the manuscript that a foreign typesetter was following had been scrupulously revised or he was merely imitating an earlier printed edition slavishly, he had to interpret the words in front of him, standardizing spelling and inserting punctuation as he went so that the printed version was as intelligible as possible to readers. Authors would also assume in their written instructions to compositors that they were familiar with Castilian and could use their initiative in deciding matters of presentation which depended upon an understanding of the text they were setting.[81] The Spanish theologian Juan Caramuel y Lobkowitz was to argue in the following century that, although compositors had to put up with terrible working conditions—handling freezing-cold metal types in winter sometimes meant that their fingers were so numb that they could not earn their daily bread—nevertheless their duties were intellectual, not mechanical, because they were scribes, the only difference being that they wrote with cast letters rather than a pen.[82] The compositor, then, like the *corrector*, had to use intelligence and judgement, being called upon to interpret the text he was setting. Even if he was following a previous edition word for word, he would always have had to know how to manipulate the text.[83] The reason for this is composition was not done sequentially by pages but by formes.

A forme consisted of a number of blocks of type so arranged and locked together within a frame that they would print all the pages which would appear on one side of a sheet of paper: that is to say, two pages in the case of a book in folio format, four in the case of a quarto, and eight for an octavo. While the first forme was being used to print one side of the same number of sheets as there would be copies in the whole edition, a second forme would be set. The other side of the sheets would subsequently be printed from that second forme. Those blocks of type which were to print the pages appearing on one side of a sheet of paper were arranged in the forme so that, when the sheet had been printed and folded (once for a folio book, twice for a quarto, and three times for an octavo), the pages would appear in the correct order and the right way up. This meant that, in the case of a book being printed in, for instance, octavo format, the blocks of type for pages 1, 4, 5, 8, 9, 12, 13, and 16 would normally constitute the 'outer' forme used to print one side of the sheet, and pages 2, 3, 6, 7, 10, 11, 14, and 15 the

[81] Andrés Escapa 1999: 259.
[82] Caramuel y Lobkowitz 2004: 158, 148.
[83] Lucía Megías 2003: 218.

'inner' forme used to print the other side of the sheet. Given the practice of composing by formes rather than by consecutive pages, the compositor had to set up a preordained amount of copy in each page of type. However competent the estimate of how manuscript (or even printed) copy would divide into the printed pages of the new edition being set up—a process known as casting off—it could never be absolutely accurate. This meant that the compositor would have to be familiar enough with the language he was setting to know which words could be contracted or even omitted when it turned out that he was short of space in the page of type into which he had to fit a fixed amount of copy and, on the other hand, how to resolve abbreviations or even add appropriate words not appearing in the copy if he had spare space to fill.[84]

A reasonable working knowledge of the language being typeset might therefore be thought a necessary, if not sufficient, requirement in a compositor.[85] However, what is even more arresting than the fact that many typesetters in Spain did not know the vernacular languages with which they were working, is the evidence the Inquisition documents provide of their lack of training. As we have seen, very few had completed an apprenticeship before leaving their homelands where their inadequate training meant that they had experienced difficulties in securing employment. Nevertheless, they were soon taken on by master-printers when they arrived in Spain. This would be less surprising if the foreign compositor's duties were limited to typesetting text, but they were not. For a start, he would have had to reproduce the distinctive layout and typographical style familiar to the eye of Spanish readers as well as setting his type in accordance with the conventions of the printing-house in which he had found work. But even before setting a single line of type, he had to know how to cast off. This complex process was what the beater Diego Cristóbal de Montoya was referring to when he told the royal commissioners in 1573 that 'compositors must be able to read handwriting very well so they can count

[84] Setting by formes was the normal practice during most of the 16th cent. By the 1560s some printing-houses in the principal European centres of book production had invested in enough type for pages to be set sequentially and only then locked in formes. This meant that some type would be left standing ready for printing but not immediately used on a press (Hellinga 1999– : 82). However, type was expensive, and in Spain printing-houses were undercapitalized so the older method of printing by formes, which required less type, long continued. Even in the second half of the 17th cent. an experienced craftsman like Paredes (2002: fol. 35^{v}) was still maintaining that founts being used in Spain infrequently contained enough sorts to permit setting by page. For the addition or omission of material by 16th-cent. compositors in Spain who set imperfectly cast-off copy see Moll 1998: 1051. On the important implications for textual criticism of compositors' manipulation of copy for purely practical reasons see Rico 2000.

[85] Paredes (2002: fol. 43^{v}) assumed that the compositor would be familiar with the languages he was setting, and would question what he considered authors' mistakes. If he could not, he would be using 'as little judgement in what he typesets as a parrot does in what it says'.

manuscripts'.[86] As has been shown above, this had to be done with considerable accuracy because of the common practice of setting by formes rather than pages. For example, the compositor setting the outer forme containing pages 1, 4, 5, 8, 9, 12, 13, and 16 of a book in octavo format (the outer forme of editions printed in that format was usually set first) would need to know where the as yet unset page 3 was going to end if he was to begin page 4 at the right point in the copy he was following. Casting off may not have been done throughout the whole manuscript before a single page was set, but gradually as printing progressed; however, it still demanded skill and experience.[87] It is true that a reasonably large proportion of popular works which came from Spanish presses were reprints of previous editions and so did not require the compositor to cast off a manuscript. Nevertheless, many Spanish editions were not reprints and would have been set up from manuscript. Casting off would thus have been one of the duties frequently carried out by men who had not completed their apprenticeships in France, Switzerland, or Flanders and who had come to Spain relatively raw. The trial-papers therefore offer one explanation for the poor quality which contemporaries observed in much Spanish printing of the period: quite simply, some of the key workers in the industry were not up to scratch.

The experience of foreign journeymen in the Spanish presses was varied. Sometimes they laboured in workshops equipped with several printing-presses and manned by over twenty employees who were printing scholarly editions in Latin or Greek. Sometimes they were employed by jobbing-printers with a single printing-press who kept afloat by fulfilling whatever orders they could secure from a publisher and filling gaps in their schedule with the speculative production of popular broadsides which could be rapidly run off with a minimum of investment and then peddled through the streets and villages. At other times the journeymen would have been taken on by a temporary press set up in a town to print a particular edition, normally on commission from a publisher or institution. They would on some occasions have toiled alongside learned *correctores*, and on others slaves. But whatever sort of press they worked in they operated in closely knit teams.

Throughout Europe one of the principal concerns of a master-printer was that his men's work be synchronized so that they did not receive wages for standing around idly. One means of achieving maximum efficiency was to take on more than one order at a time. Spanish printing contracts of the period frequently forbade this practice, but in reality they were honoured in the breach.[88] Once the frequency of such concurrent printing of more than

[86] Martínez Ruiz 1968: 108. [87] Dadson 2000: 104; Garza Merino 2000: 74–5, 77.
[88] Griffin 1988*a*: 131–2; Cátedra 2001: 57.

one edition is recognized, calculations of how long a book took to print and how many people were involved in its production become virtually unfathomable unless detailed work schedules or records of payment to employees survive. McKenzie's study of an English printing-house during the hand-press period, for which full documentation is available, has shown that no simple model can explain the erratic patterns of work in the industry. In a large printing-house journeymen would come and go, the number of printing-presses in operation would vary from day to day, output and costs would fluctuate.[89] However, the masters' aim was to ensure efficient use of manpower in presses which had to respond to an irregular and unpredictable supply of copy and, in Spain, of paper. Printing was a modern industry in which a large amount of capital was invested in a technology which could mass-produce identical copies of complex items in what were, in effect, factories. It required a high degree of cooperation between skilled workers. At the very time that many of the foreign journeymen-printers who appear in this study had been spirited away from those factories and were in prison or just beginning to serve their sentences, the *compagnons-imprimeurs* of Lyon, where many of those same journeymen had once found employment, described their work. Even allowing for the fact that artisans engaged in a particular craft customarily created their self-image by distinguishing themselves from those engaged in other trades, what they wrote shows they considered that it was their interdependence which set them apart from other skilled workers: 'The functions and responsibilities of the [Printers'] Journeymen are so interconnected and united that the absence or tardiness of a single one of them will make the others—four or five at each press—have to stop . . . And they must not be compared to other artisans, who work only their own day and at their own discretion.'[90] The typesetter(s) had to keep the puller and beater supplied with composed formes so that those two men could be fully occupied printing sheets throughout the working day. If the rate of composition slackened, the pressmen risked being underemployed; if composition was too rapid, the pressmen could not keep up and the compositors would have to be idle, especially as many printing-houses did not have enough type to permit them to get ahead with their work and then leave composed formes standing for long periods awaiting printing. Even more closely synchronized was the work of puller and beater. If the beater was slow to ink the types, the puller could not work to full capacity; if the puller was not quick to position the forme on the

[89] McKenzie 1969; Gaskell 1972: 164–8.

[90] Cited by Davis (1959: 195) from the *Remonstrances, et Memoires, pour les Compagnons Imprimeurs, de Paris et Lyon: Opposans. Contre les Libraires, maistres Imprimeurs desdits lieux: Et adiointz* printed anonymously at Lyon in 1572. On artisans' creation of their identity see Farr 1997: 56–74.

press with precision, to prepare the masking of the parts which were not to transfer ink to paper, and in getting into a steady rhythm with the laying on of the sheets of paper and pulling the bar, the beater would waste his time waiting to ink the types. Each worker was therefore dependent upon his companions and, as the *compagnons-imprimeurs* of Lyon wrote, if one member of the team fell ill, absented himself, or was enticed away to work for another master, the press could be paralysed.

In a Spanish context this explains Pierre Régnier's fury with those workers who abandoned him when production was in full swing, and with Bornat who poached his labour force. It also accounts for the clauses in employment agreements which made provision for heavy fines to be imposed, at least in theory, on workers who left their masters without giving due notice. Indeed, if one member of the team vanished for some reason, the others did not just idle but stood to lose their jobs. In mid-1562 Antonio de la Bastida was taken on as a puller in Sebastián Trujillo's press at Seville. There he became friends with a journeyman-printer from Rouen recorded by the Inquisition as Nicolás de Campos. When his work with Trujillo came to an end the following summer, La Bastida set out north to Toledo where he was engaged by Juan de Ayala Cano. In his *discurso de la vida*, he maintained that he was in this printer's employ for three months, but later admitted that he had lied about the time he had spent working for Ayala and that, in fact, he had left Toledo after a mere fortnight. The reason for his lie appears to have been as follows. When they had been working together at Seville, Nicolás de Campos had introduced La Bastida to a Huguenot sailor who had recently arrived on a ship travelling to Spain from Rouen. The sailor had brought news of the Protestant coup in that French city and outlined Reformist beliefs to his two compatriots; they had listened, but Nicolás had not at the time admitted to his companion that he shared the sailor's views. Many months later, when La Bastida left Andalusia for Castile, Nicolás must have gone with him, because it transpires that the two of them were taken on by Ayala to work together. One night soon after beginning their contract in Toledo, the two young men had been talking in the bed they shared above the press there. Nicolás reminded La Bastida about their conversation with the sailor and what they had learnt from him about the Rouen Huguenots' rejection of Catholic orthodoxy. He then endeavoured to persuade La Bastida to leave Spain and return with him to France where, he claimed, they could 'live in freedom, for everybody there does as he wishes'.[91] La Bastida understood this as a tacit admission of heretical convictions, an interpretation confirmed the next morning by Nicolás's panicked realization that La Bastida now knew for certain that

[91] Trial of Antonio de la Bastida, fol. [52]r.

he was a *luterano*. Alarmed that this might lead to his being denounced to the Inquisition, Nicolás immediately fled the city. Antonio de la Bastida must have initially misled his interrogator about the length of his stay at Toledo because he was afraid that suspicion would be aroused by such a short period of employment in Ayala's press, thus suggesting, incidentally, that even the briefest of contracts would have been longer than two weeks. He feared that he would be induced to provide an explanation which might lead to his being considered guilty of heresy by association. Nevertheless, he eventually confessed that he had lied to the inquisitor, adding: 'as Nicolás de Campos left the press, my employment ceased'. This aside reveals that if a member of a press-crew unexpectedly abandoned his master, his comrades could be thrown out of work by the consequent idleness of the printing-press they had manned together.[92]

Workers in the industry thus depended on each other for their livelihood. And they laboured long hours together. For Plantin's men in the Low Countries in the mid-sixteenth century the working day started at five or six in the morning and lasted some thirteen or fourteen hours. At Lyon it similarly began around five and ended at eight in the evening.[93] As for Spain, a dispute between the printer Felipe de Junta and the authorities at Burgos only two years after most of the inquisitional trials studied here had taken place indicates the length of the working day in his printing-office. The journeymen printing new service books devised as a consequence of the Council of Trent had been coming to work at his press bearing arms, but the local authorities had confiscated their weapons on the grounds that it was illegal to carry them when it was dark. Junta protested on his employees' behalf, maintaining that they sometimes started work before dawn and did not leave the press until after the curfew. At Burgos this was rung between ten and eleven o'clock on summer evenings and an hour earlier during the rest of the year.[94] His statement suggests that in summer his men could have worked as many as eighteen hours a day, and some fourteen in winter. This may, of course, not have been a typical day in his printing-house nor, indeed, in other Spanish presses, because it was doubtless the enormous demand for new service books at that time which was putting Junta and his staff under particular strain.[95] The amount of work available would always have affected the demands made of journeymen who, anyway, probably did not have regular hours, but merely accepted work as they

[92] Trial of Antonio de la Bastida, fols. [51]^{v}–[52]^{r}, [59]^{r}.

[93] Voet 1969–72: ii. 343; Gascon 1971: ii. 636. Gaskell (1972: 55) maintains that 'in the eighteenth century and before' printers worked 12 hours a day Monday to Saturday.

[94] García Oro Marín and Portela Silva 1999: 353–5.

[95] Junta's dispute with the Burgos authorities took place in late 1573 when his press was fulfilling an order for diurnals which he had accepted in Feb. of that year (Morisse 2002: 319).

needed, as they felt inclined, or as it became available. It emerges from La Bastida's trial, for instance, that the journeymen at Sigüenza sometimes finished their labours in the early afternoon and took the rest of the day off.[96] As so often in the history of printing, practice appears to have been so varied that generalizations are risky. Nevertheless, such evidence as we have points towards a punishing day's work in Spain as elsewhere when presses were operating at full capacity. In his *Plaza universal de todas ciencias y artes* of 1615 Suárez de Figueroa concludes his description of printing by saying 'the exhaustion suffered by all the workers involved in printing beggars belief'.[97] The labour was unpleasant and particularly demanding for the pressmen who had to pull the printing-press's heavy bar as many as 6,000 times in the course of a working day.[98]

The accusation that Enrique Loe had worked on festivals of the Church when employed in Barthélemy Berton's press at La Rochelle indicates what days journeymen in Spain normally took off. Loe makes it clear that Berton's workers rested on Sundays. After all, they printed Clément Marot's psalms there and would have sung in his rhymed version of the Ten Commandments:

> Six jours travaille, & au septiesme
> Soys du repos observateur,
> Toy & les tiens, car ce jour mesme
> Se reposa le Createur.[99]

For evident reasons, those workers at La Rochelle did not observe the traditional Catholic saints' days and festivals. Practice there was mirrored for a time at Rouen: Antonio de la Bastida was told by the sailor he met in Seville that the Protestants who had taken over at Rouen worked six days a week, observing no holidays except Sundays.[100] Similarly, at Geneva, only Sundays would have been a day of rest for journeymen-printers, although in the early 1560s they were campaigning to be given Wednesdays off as well because of their 'grand labeur'.[101] After the Protestants had been defeated at Lyon, one of the reasons why publishers in that city had their books printed at Geneva was that the Lyon printing-workers were allowed to take off too

[96] Trial of Antonio de la Bastida, fols. [24]^{v}–[25]^{r}.

[97] Suárez de Figueroa 2000: 166; see also Caramuel y Lobkowitz 2004: 152. The *compagnons-imprimeurs* at Lyon maintained that they needed more rest than other workers because their labour was so much more arduous (Davis 1959: 208).

[98] The daily output of a printing-press working at full capacity was consistently estimated by printers in the 16th and 17th cent. as 1,500 sheets printed on both sides (Griffin 1988*a*: 85–6; Martínez Ruiz 1968: 101; Cruickshank 1986: 61–2). Improvements in the design of presses had meant that by the 16th cent. each side of each sheet of paper required two pulls of the bar, one for the front and one for the rear half of a full-sized sheet.

[99] Marot 1995: 207–8; Droz 1960: 19, 42.

[100] Trial of Antonio de la Bastida, fol. [49]^{r}.

[101] Chaix 1954: 27–8.

many holy days. We know that apprentices cleaned the printing-presses in Plantin's workshop on Sundays, so there was presumably no printing done at Antwerp that day.

It is unclear whether Spanish presses customarily operated on Sundays. A good number of the colophons contained in sixteenth-century editions printed at Seville bear a date which turns out to be a Sunday, but the details contained in such colophons are unreliable.[102] A press in early seventeenth-century Madrid produced one edition so fast that it must have functioned on at least some Sundays, and the colophon was signed on that day of the week; nevertheless, it appears that Catholics were normally expected to rest that day.[103] Antonio de la Bastida's trial contains conflicting information. We have seen that one of his comrades testified approvingly that when La Bastida heard bells summoning him to church, he immediately left his work at the press. If it was Sunday mass which the bells were announcing, this would indicate that Martínez's press at Sigüenza functioned on that day of the week; indeed, there would have been no ordinances preventing presses from working on a Sunday as long as the printers attended mass. However, the wife of another colleague observed that La Bastida had failed to attend mass one Sunday morning, alleging that his leg was giving him pain, but in the afternoon had got up, dressed, and gone out into the streets of Sigüenza to enjoy himself. She had remarked acidly, 'if this lad can put on his shoes and get dressed to go out and idle around, why can't he attend mass?'[104] It seems that she did not expect him to go to work that day but only to church.

Journeymen in Spain would normally be expected to observe the festivals of the Church. When Juan Pérez de Moya signed a contract with an Alcalá printer in 1572 they specifically agreed that such festivals would not be considered working days.[105] Indeed, anybody labouring on such days was at risk of falling under suspicion of heresy; the Flemish pedlar Pedro de Güerta, for instance, denounced a compatriot for illuminating a book in a Madrid workshop on St Luke's Day in October 1569, despite the fact that the book was destined for the king.[106] Nevertheless, there appear to have been occasions on which printers in Spain were permitted to work openly on holy days. The following note is to be found in the manuscript from which Juan de Villalobos's *Grammaticae Graecae introductio* was set up at Salamanca in 1575–6: 'We give permission for this work to be typeset even on holy days on condition that the compositor attend mass'.[107] By the second half of the seventeenth

[102] Griffin 1992.
[103] Cruickshank 1986: 62; Thomas 1993: 169; 2001*a*: 89.
[104] Trial of Antonio de la Bastida, fol. [37]^{v}.
[105] Garza Merino 2004: 450. Respect for holy days and Sundays would leave approximately 250 working days a year (Bouza Álvarez 1995: 85–6).
[106] Trial of Pedro de Güerta, fol. 276^{v}.
[107] Andrés Escapa *et al.* 2000: 60.

century it could be argued in Spain that, as compositors were involved in intellectual labour, it was licit for them to work on holy days, while it remained forbidden for pullers and beaters, as mechanicals, to do so.[108]

Not only did workers in the printing industry labour long and hard in closely knit teams, but many of them also spent the rest of their time, including sleeping, in each other's company. As we shall see in Chapter 8, both their working and social lives revolved around the presses. The marriage of printing-workers to their former masters' wives or daughters has already been remarked upon. We should not attribute all such matches—or the frequency with which those employed in the printing industry invited colleagues and their wives to become godparents to their children—merely to self-interest. Many of these men and women spent most of their lives together, so it is only to be expected that their friends and intimates would be drawn from that world of the presses.

However, not all journeymen-printers spent all their time living, as well as working with colleagues. The dispute between Felipe de Junta and the authorities at Burgos indicates that some of those employed in Spanish presses were not accommodated in their master's press. This is confirmed by the Inquisition's records. Juan Franco and Pierre de Ribera, for instance, lived with their families in their own homes when working at Salamanca. Pierre Régnier, for his part, must have had his own lodgings in Barcelona when he too was employed there as a compositor. His years working in the industry at Lyon would have accustomed him to the *imprimeurs-taverniers* who rented a house and then let out rooms. During the period he was employed by Jaume Cortey, Régnier and his wife accommodated journeymen-printers, and this way of supplementing their income may explain in part Régnier's relative prosperity which enabled him to become a partner in a printing business a few years later.[109] Nevertheless, master-printers in Spain, like their colleagues elsewhere in Europe, generally accommodated their apprentices and at least some of their journeymen, in particular those who were single. For instance, we have seen that Antonio de la Bastida and Nicolás de Campos were given a place to sleep on an upper floor of Ayala's press at Toledo. The Flemish compositor Pedro Alberto similarly lived with his master Juan de la Plaza while he was working for him in the same city. Although the bookbinder Tomás de Velaz had separate lodgings at Sigüenza and therefore may have been a married man, Sebastián Martínez provided board and lodging in his own dwelling there for many of his workers including a married couple.[110] At Berlanga, on the other hand, it was the

[108] Caramuel y Lobkowitz 2004: 142–50.

[109] Trial of Isabel Régnier, fols. 202^{r}, 213^{r}; trial of Pierre Régnier, fol. [62]^{v}; Davis 1959: 177–9, 214–15.

[110] Trial of Antonio de la Bastida, fols. [22]^{r}, [37]^{v}, [48]^{r}.

publisher of the book La Bastida helped to print there who accommodated the press crew, together with the master-printer, his wife, and his children. However, as it was commonplace for master-printers in Spain to provide accommodation as part of their workers' wages, it is only to be expected that beds and blankets for employees should figure among the equipment of sixteenth-century Spanish printing-offices.[111]

When skilled men were hired in Lyon to go to work in Spain, free board and lodging in the master's house were often stipulated in their contract.[112] This was similarly the case with foreign and Spanish journeymen and apprentices taken on in Spain itself. The inquisitional records are full of references to conversations between workers as they ate at their master's table. When, for example, Antonio de la Bastida provoked his colleagues' suspicion at Sigüenza he had been dining with them in Sebastián Martínez's accommodation.[113] On the other hand, workers who took their own lodgings seem to have eaten at home. Herlin denounced Enrique and Leonardo Loe as *luteranos*, stating that nephew and uncle customarily ate together at Alcalá. As the provision of board and lodging by the master was normally part of a printing-worker's wages, the fact that Herlin bothered to say that the Loes shared the same table suggests that the two Flemings were not at that time being fed and accommodated by their master.[114] Even when Pierre Régnier worked for Cortey at Barcelona he ate in his own house, not only with his wife but also in the company of other French workers. This supports the speculation that he may have set up as an *imprimeur-tavernier*. Herlin claimed to have learnt about the Régniers' religious sympathies precisely because he had eaten with them in their house, together with several other journeymen-printers, at a time when Pierre Régnier was still an employee in Cortey's press. It was Isabel who proved particularly outspoken in her criticism of Catholicism, and it is unlikely that Herlin would have been privy to a married woman's views about such matters if he had not been admitted to the Régniers' home where they talked without fear of being overheard by orthodox Catalans. Indeed, it was in their home and in the context of eating that Herlin saw evidence of Isabel's beliefs put into practice when she cooked and ate meat on days of abstinence.

The Régniers' trials suggest that their house was a place where discussion could be much freer than outside in the city; this was the case both when Pierre was Cortey's employee but rented out rooms, and when he became a

[111] Document dated 7 June 1529 listing the estate of the Seville printer Jacobo Cromberger: AHPS, Of. 4, lib. [2] of 1529, unfoliated; for similar evidence from Zaragoza see Pedraza Gracia 1997*a*: 207.

[112] Baudrier 1895–1950: i. 209, 298.

[113] Trial of Antonio de la Bastida, fol. [59]^{r}.

[114] Trial of Enrique Loe, fol. [12]^{r}.

master accommodating his own workers. For instance, at some time after July 1568, by which time Pierre owned his own press, the couple had been deep in conversation at their table with Giles de Colomies, one of their employees who lodged with them. This typesetter confided in them his belief that Philip II had murdered Prince Don Carlos and, as we have seen, Isabel hazarded that this treasonable talk lay behind her arrest by the Inquisition. Her suspicion shows how little she knew about the Holy Office; but it also reveals that her husband's workers ate with them and felt safe to discuss in their home matters which the Régniers themselves considered too risky to talk about outside. This could in turn account for two events recounted in their trials. First, we have seen that Pierre was furious with Guillot/Herlin for trying to pass off as his wife a married woman he had picked up in Zaragoza, and attempting to persuade the Régniers' to allow them to cohabit in their house. His outrage can be better understood when it is appreciated that his house was one of the few places where he and his wife could speak freely, yet their lodger's behaviour violated this safe haven and even risked attracting the authorities' attention to it. Second, we have also seen that the young journeymen who worked with Pierre were able to persuade Isabel not to insist that Adrián Gaspar, alias 'Alejandro', be dismissed from the press. The influence they exerted over her was probably the result of their day-to-day contact with her as the mistress of the house where they lodged and at whose table they ate. Such intimacy in a house where mockery of orthodox Catholicism was commonplace may go some way to explaining the relations she seems to have had with some of the young foreigners employed by Pierre. Her description of what she called the 'casa prensa', or 'house-cum-press', and of the journeymen's eating together with her and Pierre reveals that they all lived in the same building on the Carrer del Call that accommodated the workshop.[115] The close acquaintance of master-printers' wives with their husbands' journeymen is mirrored in La Bastida's trial. When he was asked to name defence witnesses who could vouch for his religious orthodoxy he included the wives or widows of many of his masters. It was doubtless because he had lived in their houses and eaten the food they put before him that he judged those women to be in a position to comment on his character and beliefs.[116]

Women not only provided board and lodging for journeymen-printers but could also work alongside them. In Spain, as elsewhere, widows inherited presses, and their names sometimes appeared on the title-page or in the colophon of the editions printed in those presses. In some instances the widows had handed over management to a male relative or

[115] Trial of Isabel Régnier, fol. 195^{v}.

[116] Trial of Antonio de la Bastida, fol. [60]$^{r–v}$.

foreman who merely reproduced their names in the books he printed.[117] Other widows ran printing-offices themselves. The Cromberger press at Seville was notably enterprising during the short period it was under Brígida Maldonado's management between the death of her husband Juan Cromberger in 1540 and her son Jácome's taking over the firm some five years later. As a woman brought up from childhood at the heart of the industry—her family were booksellers at Salamanca and were related to leading printers and publishers in that city—Brígida was in a good position to supervise an important business.[118] Evidence of women actually working in the presses is more difficult to find. We have seen that they sometimes made printing-ink. Wives and daughters of printers also performed light work such as dampening the paper before it was put on the printing-press, collating the sheets, and reading copy or proofs out loud.[119] An aside in Paredes's seventeenth-century treatise on printing shows that some female owners of presses in Spain prepared copy or corrected proofs, and this may also have been the case earlier.[120] There are even cases in Italy of nuns working as compositors for presses set up in their convents, and of women working as bookbinders.[121] Moreover, some women in sixteenth-century Spain appear to have been involved in the process of printing itself. Jerónima Gales, widow of the Flemish printer Juan Mey who was based at Valencia, worked in the press she inherited, being in sole charge of the business until she married another printer, Pedro de Huete. At the time of her remarriage the local authorities feared that the couple might transfer their operation to Alcalá de Henares, and granted them a subsidy to ensure that they would continue working at Valencia 'because Pedro de Huete and his wife Jerónima Gales are very skilled in their craft and possess excellent equipment for their printing business'. The mention of Jerónima's skill is significant, and is corroborated by her later assertions about her expertise as a printer.[122] When Antonio de la Bastida was taken on as a puller at Valencia in the winter of 1560, by which time Jerónima had remarried, he says that it was she and not Pedro de Huete who employed him.[123] This leads us, in turn, to wonder about Pierre de Rinz's observation to the Toledo inquisitors that when he was in Seville he worked not 'in Sebastián Trujillo's press', but specifically for that printer's widow.[124]

[117] Moreno Gallego 2004: 856.

[118] Griffin 1993; Ruiz Fidalgo 1994: i. 66; Mano González 1998: 114–15. For evidence of women running presses in Spain and its colonies see Fernández del Castillo 1914: 138; Sánchez Cobos 2004.

[119] Platter 1964: 116; Dadson 2000: 106–7.

[120] Paredes 2002: fol. 42^{v}.

[121] D. Parker 1996: 511, 519–20.

[122] Serrano y Morales 1898–9: 301–2; Berger 1987: i. 68–9.

[123] Trial of Antonio de la Bastida, fol. [47]^{v}.

[124] Trial of Pierre de Rinz, fol. [8]^{r}.

Even if Jerónima Gales was unusual in acquiring practical skills which she employed in her own press, printers' wives or widows would have been a constant presence in the lives of the workers. An account of some of João de Leão's suspect statements, for instance, was provided by Isabel Joam, the young wife of the printer António de Mariz, João's master at Braga. She made it clear in her evidence that during the course of the two years that the French binder had worked for her husband, he had frequently expressed his religious opinions in her presence, and that she had also had ample opportunity to study his behaviour.[125] The evidence given at Sigüenza by Elvira de Salcedo, wife of the compositor Juan de Villarreal, shows that it was not just masters' wives who could be found in the country's 'casa prensas': among the witnesses La Bastida said could vouch for his orthodoxy were the wives of two fellow-journeymen with whom he had worked.[126] Such a situation was not peculiar to Spain: a list of complaints made by Plantin's employees at Antwerp against their fellow-workers included the objection that one of the journeymen allowed his wife to warm herself for too long in front of the fire which was provided for those labouring in the press.[127]

Journeymen-printers in Spain therefore often lived and worked cheek by jowl with their masters, fellow-employees, and the families of both. As we shall see in Chapter 8, they also spent much of their leisure time in each other's company. The Inquisition records provide information about how long these journeymen spent together in any one press. The French printing-worker Antonio Castelnerach, for instance, listed seven other men who were his colleagues over the three years he had worked in Claudi Bornat's press. This small number suggests that Bornat had a stable workforce during that period. Castelnerach himself must have been employed for long periods in Barcelona because he not only worked for Bornat for several years but had been employed by Pierre Régnier for at least a year before that. There is other evidence in these records for stability of labour in some Spanish cities. Pierre de Ribera was able to find employment in the Salamanca presses for some six years in the 1560s, having to seek work in other parts of the country only once during that time.[128] Salamanca seems to have been a particularly good place for these artisans to find long-term employment because there was a demand for their skills and a dearth of men to supply them. In 1565 Isabel de Basilea, by then widow of Juan de Junta, protested against a legal embargo which had paralysed her husband's old press there. In particular she complained about the deleterious effect on her business of having to continue 'to pay my printing-workers, in order to

[125] First trial of João de Leão, fols. 6r–8v. [126] Trial of Antonio de la Bastida, fol. [60]r–v.
[127] Sabbe 1937: 176. [128] Trial of Pierre de Ribera, fol. [14]r–v.

stop them leaving my employ at a time when a shortage of such workers is being experienced in this city'.[129] Long-term employment was not to be had only by those setting type or manning the printing-presses, nor just at Salamanca; as we have seen, the binder João de Leão spent no fewer than four years working for the same bookseller at Valencia.

Nevertheless, around this relatively stable core of workers a mass of other journeymen came and went. La Bastida's mere fortnight with Ayala Cano in Toledo was doubtless unusual, but many masters took him on for only eight or ten weeks at a time, while the average period he spent in any one press was seven months. It is always possible that he journeyed around the country because he was a restless individual, but a more likely explanation for his constant travels is that he would be employed to print a single edition and that, once that job was completed, he had to move on. Indeed, in one case we can be sure that he was engaged to print a single title and that, when the last sheet was run off, the press was dismantled and transported elsewhere. This book was the *Copia sive ratio accentuum omnium fere dictionum difficilium, tam linguae latinae, quam hebraicae, nonnullarumque graecarum* printed at Berlanga. The licence for this edition was issued on 24 May 1564. The colophon merely states that it was printed in that year, but different copies bear the dates 1 December 1564 and 21 February 1565. It is not clear why these two dates should appear in different states of the edition, nor is it easy to make either correspond with La Bastida's own account of his career and the testimony provided by his colleagues which have him working on the book for three months in the summer or autumn of 1564. It therefore seems that he must have left Berlanga after that time without seeing the book completed, going off to Sigüenza to take up what promised to be a better contract. If he simply misremembered when exactly it was that he had been in Berlanga, and the whole book had indeed been printed during the three months he said he had been employed on it, the work must nevertheless have been carried out extraordinarily slowly. Fernández de Córdoba's press had been set up at Berlanga exclusively to print this small octavo book, each copy of which consisted of a mere sixteen sheets printed entirely in black. Even if as many as a thousand copies were run off, La Bastida would have been operating at only between one-tenth and one-sixth of what contemporaries considered the normal capacity of a puller. He may have worked on his own at half press, but this still leaves us with a puzzlingly low output which can be only partly explained by the complexity of typesetting this particular work in several ancient languages, and the large number of corrections and changes which doubtless had to be made at proof stage. This provides a salutary

[129] Mano González 1998: 75.

lesson that theoretical levels of output in the hand-press period calculated on the assumption that production was constant can be wildly at odds with a reality which is frequently inscrutable. Whatever the explanation for the slow production of that edition at Berlanga, it was not uncommon for journeymen either to be taken on in the middle of a job or to leave before it was completed. Although inquisitional records sometimes provide evidence for the length of time workers spent in a particular press, that period being consistent with the production of a single edition, the journeymen's own testimony suggests that personnel often changed in the middle of a print-run. Many itinerant workers therefore experienced a constant turnover of colleagues as they came and went or as masters took on staff, depending on the complex permutations of the work they had on hand, and laid them off when there was no more copy to print. Nevertheless, the short time the journeymen-printers spent together was intense, and enough for them to learn a good deal about each other. This is why the inquisitional records are so full of information provided by members of the printing-trade not only about the presses but, as we shall see in the next chapter, about fellow-workers.

8
Attitudes and Customs

Any account of the attitudes and customs of the foreign journeymen working in the Spanish printing industry and their associates must be based to some extent on conjecture. This is because of the nature of the Inquisition's papers which, as was stated at the outset of this study, do not provide an objective account of their behaviour and ways of thinking, evidence for which has to be teased out of material which is largely tangential to the main business of the trials. It must also be emphasized that the inquisitional archives record individuals who might not have been typical in all respects of the mass of workers employed in Spanish presses. It is overwhelmingly those who were considered heretics who make an appearance, while those who lived unexceptionable lives have generally disappeared without trace.

A close study of five printing-workers has provided information about their geographical and social origins. Those five men came from a range of different regions of France and the Low Countries, and while some had rural origins, others were from major cities or provincial towns. Their social backgrounds also varied from the peasantry to the ecclesiastical bureaucracy, from the Flemish artisan class to the French clergy.[1] None of those five men had a father who was employed in the printing industry, and in that they are typical of the foreign journeymen-printers from those years who appear in the archives of the Spanish Inquisition.[2] Those five, and the host of foreigners they represent, were, then, generally either enterprising men willing to break with their background or forced into the industry by circumstances or by individuals who had authority over them. Most of the foreign journeymen recorded had received at least a primary education and some had even embarked on higher studies; few knew Latin, but several could read and write vernacular languages competently. Three of my five representative printing-workers happen to have been married, but the

[1] One French compositor tried at Toledo even claimed to be a member of the minor gentry (trial of Pierre de Ribera, fol. [13]^{v}).

[2] Few printing-workers in 16th-cent. Lyon had a family connection with the industry (Davis 1987: 3), and only some 2% of the 1,338 apprentices to the English book trade 1556–1600 had parents involved with the industry (Ferdinand 1992: 65). At Paris 1535–60, on the other hand, some 25% of apprentices had a family background in the trade (Parent 1974: 176–7).

majority of the foreign journeymen encountered in the inquisitional documents were in fact young bachelors who were free to travel just as need or fancy dictated. This may explain why both Antonio de la Bastida and João de Leão made a point of describing their friend and compatriot Juan Molot as 'married to a woman in Toledo', for such a situation seems to have been unusual among them. Some of the journeymen recorded in the Inquisition's papers were, as has been shown, fully trained artisans when they arrived in Spain; others were comparative novices to the craft but had behind them experience of other sorts of work. They were, then, a motley group. However, what are immediately striking from the trial-records were the experiences they had shared in the past and continued to share in the present.

Many had laboured in the same centres north of the Pyrenees; sometimes they had even been employed by the same masters: Antonio de la Bastida and Pierre de Rinz had worked for Jacques Colomiés at Toulouse, while Pierre Régnier and La Bastida had both been employees of the Lyon printer Thibaud Payen. In the latter case they probably coincided in Payen's press in about 1559, and this could explain why La Bastida was arrested at Barcelona at the same time as the Régniers: he may well have found work with Pierre, his old colleague from Lyon days. The journeymen had all lived through periods of social turmoil and religious strife in their homelands, and there is not one of them whose life story we know who had not spent some time in a centre of Reformist ferment. Residence at Lyon and Geneva, in particular, had a formative influence on the religious beliefs of several of them, while the ethos of the community of *compagnons-imprimeurs* into which several had been incorporated in Lyon may also have affected their more secular attitudes.

When they reached Spain, the journeymen's experiences again had much in common. The Spanish printing industry was relatively small so they got to know the same presses and same people. The very nature of their craft, as well as their working and living conditions, meant that they spent a great deal of time in each other's company. There was little privacy in their world, something that explains why Pierre de Ribera was so relieved, when he secured employment at Alcalá de Henares, that he did not have to work in the same press as Herlin. He knew that, had he done so, he would have been unable to avoid that old workmate who had a suspect background and who, with his knack of persuading colleagues to talk about sensitive issues, was a dangerous man to know. As Ribera put it:

I first met Guillermo the printer when I was working in Geneva; then, some eight years ago, I bumped into him again at Alcalá, and he recognized me. He asked me how I had got on in Geneva and I replied, 'Fine'. Guillermo said, referring to our

time there, 'Just think back to those days', and I answered, 'That's all over now', and that was all. I remarked to him that I'd heard people say here in Spain that he had been in trouble for printing some wicked pamphlets, but Guillermo's response was that the affair was all water under the bridge. That was all we said to each other because on that occasion I was just passing through Alcalá. However, when I was subsequently back in that town, working there this time, I give thanks to God that I wasn't employed alongside that Guillermo so we didn't talk. If we had been labouring together we would have been sure to engage in some wicked conversation.[3]

The Inquisition's documents show not only that printing-workers from a single press were constantly in each other's company, but that the employees of different presses operating in the same city were also in and out of each other's workshops where they picked up news and gossip. This is what had happened when Benito Dulcet was in Pedro Malo's workshop at Barcelona, chatting there about Pierre Régnier with Malo's apprentice Samsó. On that occasion both Régnier himself and Claudi Bornat had also been visiting Malo's press. The printing-workers interrogated in the Inquisition's gaols would often preface their statements by saying 'when I was in such-or-such a printer's premises'; on many occasions we can be certain that they meant by this that they had been employed in that printer's press, but the vagueness of the phrase also covers the visits they made to other workshops in the towns where they were labouring and also, as can be seen from Pierre de Ribera's statement quoted above, to the presses they called into on their travels.

Looking for work in the first place meant that they made long journeys in each other's company. For example, La Bastida walked from Toulouse over the Pyrenees to Zaragoza in the company of the French type-caster Juan Molot, and later journeyed from Seville to Toledo with his compatriot and colleague Nicolás de Campos. Juan Franco set out on the long journey from Lyon to Salamanca accompanied by two journeymen-printers. Enrique Loe travelled from Antwerp to La Rochelle and then on to Zaragoza in the company of another printing-worker, his uncle. In the course of his years in Spain Enrique Loe journeyed to other cities with the same man, but subsequently travelled with other comrades like his compatriot and fellow compositor Adrián Gaspar.

These workers also seem to have spent such leisure time as they had in each other's company. This is not surprising: they found themselves in a foreign country where their craft was not organized into a guild which would provide them with an institutional identity, and they felt alienated by the prevailing atmosphere of religious intolerance and xenophobia in Spain. The lives they led meant that they frequently had no chance to integrate

[3] Trial of Pierre de Ribera, fol. [14]^{v}.

with the local population: they worked long hours in the small world of a press, and sometimes lived in a town for only a few short weeks. Some of them were not, anyway, capable of communicating in the language spoken by that population. It is therefore only to be expected that their social life would be shared with those they had come to know at work. At Salamanca, for example, when printing-workers had free time they would leave the city and go across the river Tormes to a site where country festivals were celebrated, and there they would sing in French.[4] At Sigüenza the men from Sebastián Martínez's press went to church together, sometimes walking out of the town and going down near the river Henares to visit the hermitage of Santa María de los Huertos. They also participated as a group in local religious ceremonies such as the processions which accompanied jubilees.[5] Processions figured prominently in public displays of faith in both Catholic and Protestant centres: while the printing-workers at Sigüenza processed through the town behaving in a thoroughly orthodox manner, radical journeymen-printers at Lyon paraded along the streets, raucously proclaiming their allegiance to Reformist ideas. Although the conduct of the two groups was very different, communal participation in public displays of faith would have had a similar effect of bonding the printing-workers together and affording an identity to otherwise anonymous and rootless men. Sometimes such bonding had to be more discreet. When Pierre Régnier was running his own press at Barcelona, he and his wife would invite his colleagues out into the countryside to share a picnic, being careful to ensure that no orthodox worker accompanied them. He especially recalled one such excursion when he was still an employee of Jaume Cortey. A group of fellow printing-workers, Isabel, and Pierre himself took with them a fish and a pie of cooked pork which they all shared sitting under a tree in a popular destination for such outings: a fountain near the hermitage of Sant Bertràn on the hill of Montjuïc which overlooks the city. While the Sigüenza printing-workers forged a group identity through public displays of religious orthodoxy, Régnier, his wife and his French and Flemish colleagues joked among themselves about the Catalans they saw engaging in just such a display as devout pilgrims made their way to the hermitage and the nearby church of Sant Julià. Eating their picnic at a safe distance from the faithful—for this outing took place during Lent when the sort of food Isabel had prepared for them was forbidden—the printing-workers sneeringly referred to them as hypocrites and 'papists'.[6] They resented what they perceived as the hollow, formulaic nature of Spanish Catholicism, but it is significant that it was as a group that they asserted their difference from

[4] First trial of Juan Franco, fol. 148^{v}. [5] Trial of Antonio de la Bastida, fols. [24]^{v}–[31]^{v}.
[6] Trial of Pierre Régnier, fols. [58]^{v}–[59]^{r}; trial of Isabel Régnier, fols. 190^{r}, 195^{v}, 203^{r}, 206^{r-v}, 212^{v}, 221^{r}.

the mass of the population which surrounded them. It was not enough for them to reject Catholicism individually and secretly. They felt the need to create a bond of complicity by rehearsing their shared opinions in company, consolidating that bond by eating communally food which they all knew was prohibited. Through these actions they reinforced their collective identity as a marginal group defined in opposition to the Catholic Spaniards among whom they lived.

Not all the social activities of these craftsmen involved walking the streets and countryside in groups. A characteristic response to the inquisitors' enquiries about those with whom a prisoner had discussed religious matters was that of Pierre Régnier: 'this Luis and I talked about such matters on five or six occasions in Barcelona, either in my house or at the tavern'.[7] The trials provide plenty of evidence that eating and drinking together in taverns or in their own lodgings were the journeymen's most common forms of sociability. We saw in Chapter 7 that Pierre de Rinz was invited to dine with a Reformist French professor who was known to printing-workers at Alcalá de Henares and who had experience of the Barcelona and Valencian presses. Likewise, when the French pedlar Guillermo Erin passed through the Alcalá presses at Easter 1568, Herlin invited Pierre de Rinz to eat with them, for pedlars who came and went between northern Europe and the Iberian Peninsula invariably brought news of the religious struggles in France and the Low Countries. It is no surprise to find the Inquisition questioning tavern-keepers about the printing-workers because inebriation could lead to indiscretion.[8] The journeymen-printers gambled at cards in the taverns, borrowing and lending money among themselves. Such sociability could result in close friendships.

The pedlar Pedro de Güerta talked of his colleagues in the world of the book as 'great friends who are like brothers to me', and the journeymen in Pierre Régnier's press stood by their workmate Adrián Gaspar when he was on the run from the galleys.[9] Just as orthodox Spaniards were alert to suspicious behaviour by their foreign workmates, so the latter would protect their friends and colleagues, running considerable risks for them. It was only torture that eventually induced Pierre Régnier to incriminate many of his acquaintances in Barcelona with whom he had shared *luterano* beliefs, declaring that he had previously concealed their misdemeanours through his loyalty to them. Another victim of torture, Pedro de Güerta, implicated

[7] Trial of Pierre Régnier, fol. [60]^{v}.

[8] Trial of Pierre de Rinz, fols. [22]^{v}–[23]^{r}; second trial of João de Leão, fol. 62^{r}. Taverns were regularly checked by civil authorities in Spain policing travellers, while tavern-keepers themselves sometimes questioned their guests in order to avoid problems with the Holy Office (Thomas 2001*a*: 76, 83–4).

[9] Trial of Pedro de Güerta, fol. 276^{r}.

Pedro Alberto but later tried to save the young compositor by retracting his confession and claiming that it was the devil who had induced him to incriminate his friend; by changing his testimony Güerta fatally compromised himself.[10] It was similarly Juan Franco's decision to withdraw his evidence against his comrade in the Salamanca presses, Antonio Arnao, that caused the Inquisition to reopen their case against him, eventually leading him to the stake. A Gascon printing-worker was sentenced at Toledo in the summer of 1570 for writing to a friend advising him to flee before the Holy Office could pick him up.[11] Likewise, João de Leão took the risk of smuggling a letter out of his place of confinement at Lisbon asking old workmates to warn a circle of friends in Spain not to enter Portugal because the Inquisition was on their track. This intercepted letter was a key element in the prosecution's case against him which concluded in his being condemned to death.

João de Leão's trial provides evidence that French workers in the industry stuck together as a national group. This seems also to have been the case with Flemings in Spain, and it would be only natural for men who spoke the same language and shared the same background to form tightly knit units within the broader community of peripatetic journeymen. Whereas this was virtually impossible for immigrants of other nationalities at this time because there were relatively few of them in Spain, the number of Frenchmen, and to a lesser extent Flemings, engaged in the printing industry was sufficient to enable them to keep themselves apart. The bonds of nationality also embraced those who were outside the industry, thus a French painter who arrived in Barcelona with his wife and their two children was taken in by their compatriots, Pierre and Isabel Régnier. They not only shared the Régniers' religious beliefs but, like them, they had also spent time living and working at Lyon.[12] Pedro de Güerta referred in his trial to a network of itinerant Flemings he knew in Spain; some were printing-workers, some pedlars of printed material, and others unconnected with the industry. These national groups could sometimes exclude other foreigners. Enrique Loe implies that he was cold-shouldered by other foreign journeymen-printers at Alcalá in part because they were all Frenchmen while he was a Fleming. Groups of itinerant expatriates seem to have welcomed into their midst those compatriots who had settled in Spain and had managed to integrate with the local population. Although Juan Franco, for example, had a Spanish wife, spoke Castilian, and had lived for many years at Salamanca, he spent leisure time in the company of fellow-

[10] Ibid., fols. 276^{r}, 277^{v}, 278^{v}–279^{v}, 281^{r}.
[11] RBM, MS II/1846, fol. 63^{r} [*olim* 146^{r}].
[12] Trial of Pierre Régnier, fols. [61]^{r}, [62]^{v}; trial of Isabel Régnier, fols. 202^{r}, 213^{r}. While at Lyon that painter had borne arms against Catholics.

Frenchmen. His joking with them at the expense of Spaniards suggests that he still felt to some extent on the margins of Spanish life.

Foreign journeymen did not gravitate to such groups purely because they felt an affinity towards those who spoke their own language and came from the same country. Antonio de la Bastida was so much at home in Spain after living there for many years that he said he considered himself a Spaniard, but when the chips were down his Spanish colleagues reverted to thinking of him as a foreigner and commenting on his strange accent. Spanish xenophobia meant that immigrant printing-workers were driven to seek out groups of compatriots and, when such groups were lacking, the company of other foreigners. Pedro de Güerta, for example, shared a shop at Valladolid with a Frenchman, was accused by a jealous husband of taking a fancy to his German wife, and travelled the roads of Spain with an Englishman.

João de Leão's trials reveal one of the dangers of living among such groups of foreigners. When he first went to Spain, he was conscious that it was a dangerous place for men with his convictions. He accordingly took the precaution of leaving behind in France a book which might compromise him. Nevertheless, as he became accustomed to living in the Iberian Peninsula he dropped his guard and began to share his views openly with other Frenchmen he met there. This led on to his indiscretion even in the presence of Spanish and Portuguese colleagues. When he found himself in the Inquisition's prison at Lisbon, he realized how imprudent he had been and wrote to his co-religionists advising them to learn from his mistakes: they should be warier than he had been, for careless talk cost lives.[13] However strong the bonds of comradeship, national solidarity, and even religious faith, in the end most defendants would incriminate their closest friends. As a broken Pierre Régnier put it after undergoing torture at Toledo, 'I would now willingly denounce even the father who begot me.'[14]

While printing-workers forged bonds of friendship among themselves, their living in each other's pockets also led to quarrels and fights. One of Antonio de la Bastida's companions in Sebastián Martínez's press at Sigüenza, Juan de Villarreal, recalled that he had reprimanded La Bastida sternly for his reluctance to celebrate news of a Catholic victory in France and that they had subsequently argued over cards. In rebuking La Bastida, Villarreal was acting in the characteristic manner of orthodox Spanish workers who policed their foreign colleagues in matters of faith.[15] Villarreal maintained that they had later managed to patch up their differences and

[13] Third trial of João de Leão, fols. 118^{v}–119^{r}, 122$^{r–v}$.
[14] Trial of Pierre Régnier, fol. [62]^{r}.
[15] For vigilance in the workplace in 16th-cent. Spain see Thomas 2001*a*: 79–83.

would eat and drink together, but he nevertheless denounced La Bastida to the Holy Office.[16] Deeper seated animosity between members of the industry was frequent. João de Leão, for example, seems to have been hated by the Flemish compositor Pedro Alberto whom he had employed and who volunteered evidence against him to the Lisbon Inquisition. The feeling was mutual. The reason for Pedro Alberto's grudge was that João had led him on a wild-goose chase to France, promising him a share in the profits from a publishing project they planned to undertake there and, when it seems to have fallen through, João had abandoned him without any means of sustenance.[17] Moreover, João had exposed him to danger by taking him to a Protestant service there, something which subsequently landed Pedro Alberto in very hot water when he returned to Spain. For his part João de Leão claimed that he had forsaken Pedro Alberto in France 'because of his wickedness' and because the Fleming turned out to be his enemy. Despite this animosity, in March 1571 João, who was then imprisoned at Lisbon, tried to get a message to Pedro Alberto warning him not to enter Portugal. This was not an altruistic act, for João would have known that, if the young compositor was interrogated by the Inquisition, his own life would be endangered.[18]

The difficult relations between these two foreigners suggest that it was sometimes the very proximity in which members of the industry lived and laboured that allowed them to get to know too much about each other. If this involved their suspecting or being fully aware of their companions' beliefs, there was a risk that, when one of them was interrogated by the Inquisition, they would all be put in danger. Moreover, if there was enmity between them, a denunciation was a convenient way of settling scores; the Régniers and João de Leão appear to have fallen victim to such opportunism. However, even if there was no personal animus between colleagues, it was nevertheless common for friendship to give way in the face of terror and for confidences to be betrayed. This could make friendship lethal. Thus Pierre de Rinz, Isac de Ribera, and Guillermo Herlin were said to have been close when they were working together in the presses of Alcalá de Henares. Yet, under interrogation, Guillermo denounced Pierre who, in turn, incriminated Isac.[19]

The reason why even friendship between these workers was dangerous was that their constant activity in taverns, lodgings, in the countryside, on the road, and as they carried out their repetitive tasks at work, was talking. They not only exchanged news about colleagues and other presses but also

[16] Trial of Antonio de la Bastida, fols. [10]^{r}, [36]^{v}.
[17] Third trial of João de Leão, fol. 247^{r}.
[18] Ibid., fols. 135^{v}–136^{r}, 225^{v}, 228^{r}–231^{r}, 246^{r}–247^{v}.
[19] Trial of Enrique Loe, fol. [10]^{r}; trial of Pierre de Rinz, fols. [18]^{r}, [20]^{v}.

debated current events taking place both in Spain and abroad, being confident enough of their judgement to draw their own conclusions about such matters. We have already seen that Antonio de la Bastida gave his Spanish workmates at Sigüenza the benefit of his opinions about the miraculous recovery of Philip II's son, Prince Don Carlos, and discussed the Wars of Religion in France. Those who had recently arrived from abroad brought information about political events at home such as the progress of the Huguenot cause or the iconoclastic fury unleashed in northern Europe in the second half of the 1560s. Conversation gave the printing-workers the chance to elaborate conspiracy theories about momentous events like the arrest and death of Prince Don Carlos, and also the opportunity to debate and reaffirm their religious beliefs and practices. But some of these subjects were delicate, and foreigners knew that it would be fatal to broach them openly in the presence of Spanish colleagues or orthodox compatriots. They therefore learnt to communicate through unspoken signs or tell-tale turns of phrase. For instance, once one of them discovered that another had Reformist sympathies, he would often shy away from any further allusion to religion, this reluctance being tantamount to a confirmation that he held such views himself.[20] Coded references were immediately understood by those with Reformist tendencies. To express an ambition to live in 'freedom' referred to the desire to express religious opinions in a way that was impossible in the Iberian Peninsula and to be released from the obligatory religious rituals and observances they found so irksome there. Other words carried a similar charge. Pierre de Rinz told the Toledo inquisitors that, when he was thinking of taking a Spanish girl for a wife, 'Guillermo Herlin asked me why I wanted to get married in this Babylon; I understood that by this he meant Castile and its Catholicism.'[21] Herlin's allusion echoed Luther's use of the word 'Babylon', the pope commonly being referred to among Protestants as the Antichrist, and Rome as a new version of the Babylon of which the psalmist sang. To those foreign journeymen-printers who sympathized with Reformist ideas Spain was another Babylon where they laboured in servitude. For example, Pierre Régnier came across a printing-worker called Jacques Bellioc who had learnt the craft of printing in Germany and had spent time in the Genevan presses. Bellioc was employed alongside Régnier in Jaume Cortey's printing-office at Barcelona in the early 1560s and, when they found themselves alone in the press, confided to Régnier his opinion that 'Geneva was a fine place and much better to live in than this Babylon'.[22] These signals and coded references

[20] Trial of Pierre de Rinz, fols. [18]^{v}, [20]^{v}; trial of Pierre de Ribera, fol. [3]^{r}; Thomas 2001*a*: 435.
[21] Trial of Pierre de Rinz, fol. [18]^{r}.
[22] Trial of Pierre Régnier, fol. [60]^{v}. On the use of the word 'Babylon' by Protestants in other countries see Greengrass 1984: 2; Huerga 1989: 4116; Brigden 1991: 559.

served to identify Reformist workers within the community of foreign journeymen-printers; they also strengthened their collective consciousness as a group apart.

Conversation in the presses did not centre exclusively on work, politics, and religion. It often took the form of the banter typical of groups of young men as they jeered at workmates and invented insulting names for them. At Antwerp Plantin's apprentices were formally forbidden from cheeking or nicknaming their superiors—clear evidence that they must have done so—while the journeymen themselves traded insults.[23] The French compositor and type-founder from Normandy whose real name seems to have been Pierre Pintamenan (or possibly Pintiaban), was generally despised by those of his compatriots who worked with him in the Spanish presses; Pierre de Rinz refers to him in his trial as 'Pierres Vintenaba', explaining to the inquisitors that 'this is the scornful nickname by which he's known'. The nickname may have been offensive because it played upon the French words 'vin' and 'tenir', and so ridiculed the Norman's fondness for the bottle.[24]

Laughter is often subversive, and the jokes shared by the foreign workers could have a critical edge. Humorous innuendo, both sexual and religious, was probably involved in the sly comment, referred to in Chapter 6, made by a French printing-worker to two compatriots about the statue of the Virgin Mary they saw being carried in a procession through the streets of Salamanca. That joke offers an insight into the world inhabited by those foreigners. They would have appreciated the coded allusion ('la Bel Cordiel') to Louise Labé whom at least two of them knew by sight or reputation from their Lyon days and whom they considered, albeit unjustly, to be a prostitute. The laddish allusion was funny because it could only be understood by those who knew of her, therefore having the appeal of exclusivity, and also because of the incongruity of comparing the immaculate Virgin with a woman who the printing-workers thought was on offer to anybody with the right money. However incongruous, the comparison was also wittily appropriate because the Virgin was so richly tricked out in finery ('a sumptuously attired statue of Our Lady') that she looked to the Frenchmen more like a prostitute than a demure maiden.[25] Two—and possibly all three—of those printing-workers had Reformist leanings; by comparing a statue of the Virgin to La Belle Cordière, Catholic practice of, as they perceived it, idolizing sacred images was also mocked, additional comedy

[23] Sabbe 1937: 176–7.

[24] Trial of Pierre de Rinz, fol. [18]^{v}.

[25] First trial of Juan Franco, fol. 132^{r}. There may be an echo here of Calvin's 'brothels show prostitutes dressed more virtuously and modestly than the churches show those objects which they wish to be thought of as images of virgins' (Potter and Greengrass 1983: 19).

being derived from an implicit allusion to Spaniards' naïveté in venerating that particular image which was no more celestial than a woman made of flesh and blood. The joker's lack of reverence sent a message to his companions about his religious sympathies and, at the same time, implied two further criticisms of orthodox belief and practice: the financial transactions between gullible believers and a mercenary Church (for example, the commerce in indulgences and in masses for the souls of the departed), and the worship of the Virgin Mary. The first of these criticisms was a commonplace among Reformist sympathizers. Here it was entwined with the second, for Mary, that central pillar of worship in the Catholic Church, is compared with a woman who, just like the Church, makes money out of what should never be for sale. More humorously still, Louise Labé was for these printing-workers literally a whore who sold her body, while the Church metaphorically plied the same trade, for in their eyes it was the great whore of Babylon. The joke, then, worked on several levels, and the response of the joker's companions ('Juan de Probin burst out laughing') confirmed their complicity.[26] Indeed, the risk of making such a sacrilegious observation in the midst of a crowd of Spaniards devoutly watching the procession must have added piquancy to the humour. Such occasions reinforced group identity, especially as the joke was presumably made not in the language spoken by the pious crowd but, rather, in French.

Some jokes ironized Catholicism more straightforwardly. One of Pedro de Güerta's associates maintained that Flemings in Spain often mocked orthodox belief, for instance renaming the sanctified host the 'scarified host', while João de Leão punningly ridiculed indulgences by saying that the bulls his master printed under licence at Braga were indeed 'a load of bull'.[27] A French pedlar known in Spain as Pedro Paran bumped into his colleague Güerta one day in the church of San Julián at the heart of the city of Valladolid. When Paran realized that Güerta was awaiting confession he commented, 'if only I had my biretta with me, I'd confess you myself'. Although Paran may ironically have been implying that he knew Güerta so well that his sins were an open book to him (they shared a shop or warehouse in Valladolid and had worked together for many months), the main point of the joke was that it was merely outward trappings that gave Catholic priests their authority. Satirical woodcuts of the clergy portraying them dressed in their vestments yet engaged in activities incompatible with a true vocation were the stock-in-trade of Protestant propaganda. It is no coincidence that both Güerta and Paran earned their livelihood peddling

[26] First trial of Juan Franco, fol. 146^{v}.
[27] Trial of Pedro de Güerta, fol. 234^{r}; first trial of João de Leão, fol. 18^{v}.

printed pictures throughout the country and would have seen such images abroad as well as in graphic material smuggled into Spain.[28]

If religion sometimes gave rise to jokes, the trial-records suggest that it also constituted a topic of serious conversation among the printing-workers, both Spaniards and foreigners. As far as the suspect immigrants were concerned such conversations not only conveyed the alienation many of them felt in Spain, but also gave rise to questioning, discussion, and sometimes argument among those who shared a dislike for Catholicism as it was practised in Spain but who nevertheless either had differing beliefs, or were irritated and frightened by being pestered by colleagues who wished to draw them out on the subject and who thus exposed them to danger. Pierre de Rinz asserts that when he was working with Guillermo Herlin and Isac de Ribera at Alcalá, both of whom had made it clear to him that they were *luteranos*, 'I was so careful to avoid talking to them [about religious matters] that the aforementioned Isac lost his temper with me, and the result was that on two or three occasions we drew our swords on each other.'[29] It was not for nothing that in 1563, when sectarian tension was mounting at Antwerp, Plantin forbade the discussion of religion in his press.[30]

Violence was part of the everyday experience of these men. Verbal violence took the form of swearing; thus João de Leão would call one young compatriot a 'shitty little bastard', while Isabel Régnier's choice use of words about the Toledo inquisitors presumably reflected language she had picked up during the course of half a lifetime spent in the company of printers.[31] But violence was not limited to words. Evidence from the hand-press period in northern Europe reveals that life in the presses there was harsh, beatings and brutal practical jokes being commonplace.[32] Sixteenth-century Spain was no different in this respect: fights broke out among printing-workers, arguments over underhand practices in the presses soon spilt over into violence in the streets, brawls were common in the prisons in which they were held, and some of them met a violent end.[33] Their recourse to fists or weapons is not surprising, for pressmen needed to be physically strong. The *compagnons-imprimeurs* at Lyon, where a good number of those subsequently found in Spain had once worked, were notorious for their

[28] Trial of Pedro de Güerta, fol. 277^{r}. The Inquisition was exercised in those years about the circulation in Spain of printed pictures which could spread heresy: e.g. the letter dated 3 Nov. 1571 from the Suprema to Cuenca: ADC, Inq., lib. 225, fols. 553^{r}–554^{v}. The 1583 index of prohibited books, which had been in preparation since 1569, drew attention to the danger posed by such media (Bujanda 1984: 421; 1993: 73, 885–6).

[29] Trial of Pierre de Rinz, fols. [3]^{v}, [20]^{v}.

[30] Voet 1969–72: ii. 358.

[31] Second trial of João de Leão, fol. 111^{r}; trial of Isabel Régnier, fol. 212^{r}.

[32] Darnton 1985: 81, 85, 90; Voet 1969–72: ii. 359.

[33] Trial of Pierre de Rinz, fol. [20]^{v}; trial of Pierre Régnier, fols. [34]^{v}, [33]^{r}; second trial of João de Leão, fols. 66^{r}, 68^{v}.

aggressive behaviour. They were so unruly when they marched through the streets of that city in 1550 and 1551 chanting psalms in French that they attracted censure even from men who shared their Reformist leanings. The teacher and writer Claude Baduel wrote to Calvin: 'you know only too well the depths to which printers sink in their lives and behaviour, how dissolute and violent they are, and how they are always ready to plunge shamelessly into debauchery and crime'.[34] This may have been an exaggeration, but there was always an undercurrent of violence in the presses, and not only at Lyon. Earlier in the century, *compagnons-imprimeurs* at Paris had roamed the streets in armed gangs, while it was not uncommon for London printers to find themselves up before the courts for assault.[35]

Some of the journeymen who appeared in the Inquisition's papers had a background of more purposeful violence. The type-caster Benito Dulcet was only one of several men working in Spanish presses who confessed to having borne arms against French Catholics at the time of sectarian conflict in Lyon. His compatriot João de Leão had served as a soldier between travelling in Italy and his arrival in the Iberian Peninsula. His campaigns had been waged in Picardy, and he may well have fought against Philip II at the battle of St Quentin in the summer of 1557. Pierre de Rinz, for his part, claimed to have served in a Catholic regiment at Metz at about the time of the end of the first War of Religion in France. Among the Flemings, Nicolás Flamenco, a typesetter who worked for Angulo at Alcalá, confided to Guillermo Herlin that he had fought against Catholics before emigrating to Spain.[36] But not all those who had followed the flag had done so exclusively in the sectarian conflicts of northern Europe. Herlin informed the Toledo inquisitors that he had for some time worked for Juan de Villanueva at Alcalá with one Francisco Francés. Herlin suspected that this colleague, who was originally from Lyon, had a *luterano* background and he had drawn him out. Francisco confided to him that he had taken part in the armed struggle against Catholic forces in France before going down to Spain. But, although Francisco had told Herlin when he left Alcalá in 1569 that he intended to return immediately to his native country, the Flemish pedlar Pedro de Güerta had subsequently encountered him at Salamanca raising a company of soldiers for the campaign against the rebellious *moriscos* in the Alpujarras in south-east Spain. In the summer of 1570 Francisco Francés was fighting in Andalusia alongside the men he had recruited.[37] Pedro de Güerta was himself no stranger to soldiering, for he

[34] Cited by Gilmont (forthcoming).
[35] Parent 1974: 183; Blayney 2003: 29–30.
[36] *Relación de auto* of 4 Feb. 1571 of the Barcelona tribunal: AHN, Inq., lib. 730, fol. 136^{v}; trial of Enrique Loe, fols. [4]^{v}, [12]^{v}; first trial of João de Leão, fols. 41^{v}, 45^{v}; trial of Pierre de Rinz, fol. [7]^{v}.
[37] Trial of Pierre Régnier, fol. [3]^{v}; trial of Isabel Régnier, fol. 189^{v}.

had spent over two years serving in Spanish Oran during a key period in the struggle against the Turk for supremacy in the western Mediterranean.[38] We should not be myopic; in the 1550s and 1560s the wars between France and Spain, and Spain and the Turk, had required large armies to be raised, while the Protestant and Catholic factions during the civil wars in France recruited men from all walks of life. Wandering workers everywhere took on a wide variety of jobs, among which often figured soldiering. For instance, Martin Guerre, the French peasant from Artigat made famous by Natalie Zemon Davis, fought at St Quentin, although in his case with Philip II's army.[39] Many immigrants arrested by the Spanish Inquisition in the latter half of the century had committed atrocities during the French Wars of Religion and had subsequently fled to the north of Spain fearing reprisals.[40] Nevertheless, the proportion of foreign printing-workers tried by the Inquisition who had military experience was particularly large, and it may well be that the lives they led and the sort of people they were particularly inclined them to violence.

However, any prudent traveller had to be prepared to fight, or at least to defend himself from attack. In one of Holbein's famous woodcut series of the Dance of Death, a pedlar is portrayed loaded with the goods he carried from village to village; he wears a large sword. Itinerant journeymen-printers similarly needed to be able to look after themselves. Inventories of their possessions invariably included swords or daggers, such weapons being a practical necessity in a world where to travel was to take one's life in one's hands. We have seen, for example, that when the young French bookseller Hernando de Paris was passing through Barcelona in 1569 he had stepped between Pierre Régnier and Esteban Carrier, preventing a fight. On that occasion he had been in Catalonia on his way from Zaragoza to Lyon. Before setting out on that journey he had drawn up a will, stating that he did so 'because I have to go abroad and am mindful of the danger of travelling the roads'.[41]

The sharing of the dangers of travel, as well as jokes, fights, friendship, enmity, and, in particular, mutual dependence in the serious business of earning a living gave rise to a craft community among printing-workers. This could sometimes also embrace the masters who employed them. Thus Pierre Régnier risked his life in a fight at Barcelona when he felt that the interests of his employer were being threatened. The consequent sense of group identity among printing-workers existed although—or perhaps because—they were so itinerant. Journeymen might spend only a matter of weeks together in one press, but they got to know each other well during

[38] Trial of Pedro de Güerta, fol. 253^{v}. [39] Davis 1985: 26. [40] Thomas 2001*a*: 320–2.
[41] San Vicente Pino 2003– : 95.

that period and, although they would then go their own ways, they would often meet up again in another workshop, sometimes many years later. Antonio de la Bastida's trial shows that the journeyman Diego de Nájera first met him in the mid-1550s when they worked together at Zaragoza. At that time La Bastida had only recently arrived in Spain and was 'a very young lad without a whisker on his chin'.[42] Almost a decade later, in the summer of 1564 when Diego joined the team which was printing liturgical editions at Sigüenza, he realized that one of those alongside whom he was labouring was his old acquaintance from Zaragoza days but now a grown man. Similarly, when La Bastida had been employed by Pedro de Celada at León he worked with a journeyman-printer from Medina del Campo called Juan Alonso; this same man subsequently joined both him and Nájera in Martínez's employ at Sigüenza.[43] Even when journeymen had not met for years, the grape-vine supplied them with news of each other. The bookbinder Rodrigo Desparza, for instance, could provide evidence to the Inquisition about La Bastida's orthodox Catholic behaviour when he had been printing breviaries at León. This was not because Desparza had himself been in León at the time but because workmates elsewhere had told him all about this young Frenchman's attitudes even though at that stage he had never met him.[44] The case of the Flemish typesetter Pedro Alberto and his French colleague João de Leão illustrates how effectively journeymen kept up with news of each other. Pedro Alberto had first met João at Lisbon, and had travelled with him to La Rochelle in 1566 before going on to work at Lyon. He then returned to the Iberian Peninsula where he ran into João again. Pedro Alberto subsequently found employment with printers in at least Salamanca and Toledo before giving himself up to the Holy Office and being sentenced in 1570. At liberty the following year he returned to Portugal where he gave evidence to the Lisbon inquisitors about 'João de Leão, the French bookseller, who they told me in Castile is now here in Lisbon where he has been put in prison'. Although only once during the five years since he had first met him had Pedro Alberto set eyes on João, he evidently knew all about him from news that had reached him in Spain, sometimes by word of mouth, sometimes by letter.[45]

This craft community embraced printing-workers of all origins. However, the intensive nature of the work demanded from all the journeymen, as well as the itinerant life which accompanied it, meant that this community tended to be isolated from the mass of ordinary Spaniards who were not engaged in the industry. The record of Antonio de la Bastida's trial is eloquent on this point. In 1565 he provided the inquisitors at Cuenca with

[42] Trial of Antonio de la Bastida, fols. [24]^{r}–[25]^{v}. [43] Ibid., fols. [60]^{v}, [70]^{v}.
[44] Ibid., fols. [27]^{r}–[29]^{r}. [45] Third trial of João de Leão, fols. 129^{r}–132^{r}, 134^{r}–136^{r}.

a list of sixty-nine people from towns throughout Spain who, he maintained, would be able to attest to his religious orthodoxy. With the exception of six individuals—two merchants, a cleric whom he knew as a publisher, and three men whose occupation was not recorded—all were master-printers, members of their families, printing-workers, or booksellers. After working for the best part of ten years in Spain, either he could think of almost nobody outside the industry who knew him well enough to testify on his behalf, or the ties which bound together members of the craft were so strong that it simply did not occur to him to name anybody outside it.[46]

All the women included by La Bastida were the wives of his employers or of his fellow-workers. When Pierre Régnier listed his potential defence witnesses and his personal enemies he named only two women, one the spouse of a colleague and the other probably an inn-keeper at Lyon.[47] Many of the workers in the printing industry were bachelors, and friendships and acquaintances were largely male ones. Despite the presence of masters' wives and daughters providing food and board as well as, in some cases, carrying out some of the tasks associated with running the presses, the journeymen's working life was a male one. The trial-records suggest that this was also the case with their social life. The only woman who is described in any of the trials as sharing some of the workers' leisure time is Isabel Régnier, who accompanied them on their outings to Montjuïc. As we have seen, however, her relations with her husband's employees were ambiguous. Attitudes in such a world were predictably masculine. While women used their gender as a defence during their trials, claiming the ignorance commonly attributed to them, the laddish and violent printing-workers do generally seem to have considered them to be stupid. Juan Franco thought the worship of sacred images to be a characteristic of dim-witted females, while Juan de Villarreal doubted whether his wife could have understood the heretical implications of the 'propositions' La Bastida uttered at Sigüenza.[48]

The journeymen-printers, then, belonged to a predominantly male world in which they identified with various groups and sub-groups. First, there was the wide community constituted by all members of the industry, whatever their origin and beliefs. In Spain at this time there were no confraternities of *compagnons-imprimeurs* of the sort found in France, with their re-christening of members, *bienvenues* (welcomes), *conduites* (leave-takings), and associated rituals. Nevertheless, the older and more settled workers were integrated into the wide community of the Spanish

[46] Trial of Antonio de la Bastida, fol. [60]$^{r–v}$.
[47] Trial of Pierre Régnier, fol. [34]^{r}.
[48] First trial of Juan Franco, fol. 145^{v}; trial of Antonio de la Bastida, fol. [10]^{r}.

book through their formal relations with colleagues. They and their wives were frequently invited to become godparents to the children of other men engaged in printing, thus forging a system of artificial kin with its attendant social support network.[49] The itinerant journeymen, for their part, were incorporated into this wider community through periods of intense fraternization with their fellow-printing-workers, as well as through constantly running into colleagues alongside whom they had worked or at least had heard about from others. A different, but overlapping community consisted of foreigners working in a variety of trades in Spain. Relations within this group were again reinforced through formal ceremonies and obligations; thus, for example, a settled man like Pierre Régnier was invited to become the godfather of a compatriot's daughter in Barcelona despite the father's working in the textile, not the printing industry.[50] When the immigrant workers were itinerant, identification with other foreigners in Spain was reinforced by periods in each other's company when they would reminisce about their experiences north of the Pyrenees and exchange news from home, as well as share social occasions: these foreigners travelled, ate, and drank in each other's company while they would also join together in formal ceremonies. National or linguistic groups seem to have been particularly cohesive, but bonds between foreigners of different nationalities were also evident: the Fleming Enrique Loe, for instance, invited other foreigners, including Frenchmen, to attend his wedding at Alcalá de Henares. A subset of those foreigners consisted of those employed in the printing industry; within that subset was the smaller group of foreign journeymen-printers and masters who shared Reformist sympathies.

Group identity within the industry was also based on a perception among at least some of its members that printing was qualitatively different from other crafts. Its technically innovative processes, the modernity and intricacy of the skills it demanded, the complex synchronization of those processes and skills required in the printing of a book, and the nature of the end-product which was both a manufactured object and the result of intellectual endeavour combined to endow those working in the industry with an elevated view of their status. When attempting to discover something of the attitudes of the journeymen-printers who worked in Spain we must, of course, treat with healthy scepticism William Morris's idealized view of the dedicated artisan of yore whose self-esteem was invested in his craft. It is far more probable that the men working the presses did so because it was the best means they had of earning a living, and that most would do as little work as shoddily as they could get away with. Neverthe-

[49] Truant 1994: 189–90.
[50] The father, Ramon Camps Puer, made shuttles for looms (trial of Pierre Régnier, fol. [46]^{r}).

less, those involved in the industry do seem to have had a perception of it as an élite craft.[51] One of the earliest accounts of the history of printing to be written in Castilian filled a page which would otherwise have been blank in an edition of a medieval compendium of knowledge being typeset at Seville in 1526. In that history the craft was lauded in the following terms:

> There are two main reasons why the art of printing books should be recognized as outstanding among man's most ingenious inventions. First, it combines many different techniques to achieve its goal: that of printing anything from one to 100,000 sheets of writing. Each and every one of those techniques is the product of great—one could almost say unbelievable—ingenuity. Second, printing brings enormous benefits. It is well known that before the development of printing very few people had access to knowledge either of holy scripture or of arts and sciences. Only a small number of people could afford to buy books because they were so expensive, and bookshops held small stocks. However, it is clear for all to see that since the invention of this divine art there has been an extraordinary growth throughout Christendom in the number of great men in every branch of knowledge, and that all the arts and sciences have achieved their current splendour thanks to the abundance of books.[52]

The author of this paean of praise appears to have been the printer of the compendium, Jacobo Cromberger, who had an unelevated motive for penning it. Cromberger not only ran an important press but was also a publisher and bookseller, and his brief history of printing was part of a campaign to head off the Seville authorities' threat to levy a tax on local booksellers.[53] Nevertheless, what he chose to emphasize is significant: printing was a technologically complex process, and it brought momentous benefits to religion and learning. Using a phrase which had appeared as early as 1460 in the colophon of the *Catholicon* printed at Mainz, he described it as a 'divine art'. Reformist writers in the sixteenth century who had a very different agenda similarly regarded printing as a heaven-sent gift enabling their message to be broadcast, while in the seventeenth Paredes reproduced Cromberger's account verbatim in his technical treatise on printing.[54] The very fact that its status as liberal art or mechanical craft could be debated by a theologian of the stature of Caramuel in the second half of the seventeenth century attests to the durability of the perception in Spain, as elsewhere, that printing was different from other industries, being half intellectual activity, half mechanical skill.[55]

[51] For comparative evidence from France, Italy, and the Low Countries see Davis 1959: 221–2; Benedict 1981: 80, 90; Martin 1993: 150–2; Sabbe 1937.

[52] Torre 1526: fol. k_8^r.

[53] Griffin 1988*a*: 66.

[54] The divine origin of printing was a commonplace employed by both Catholics and Protestants in the 16th cent. (Gilmont 1999: 213; Paredes 2002: fols. A_1^r, A_4^{r-v}; Bouza Álvarez 1995: 78–9).

[55] Caramuel y Lobkowitz 2004: 142–66.

Some of the printing-workers tried in Spain shared that pride in their craft. Juan Franco, for example, did not consider his work merely an 'oficio', or job, but an 'arte': as he recounted his life story to the inquisitors he said, 'I went to Paris where I lived for five years, and then I travelled to Lyon where I learnt the *art of printing*.'[56] As we have seen, in theory, at least, printing not only required a high level of skill in its practitioners, but also education. The trials of foreign journeymen who worked in Spanish presses frequently allude directly or indirectly to the level of culture they had attained. Although binding was considered a manual craft, João de Leão was nevertheless literate and was also fluent in several languages. His trial shows that he read books, was able to support his religious opinions by referring to them, and prided himself on being able to instruct his Portuguese colleagues, evidently irritating them with his loquacity.[57] The compositor Pierre de Rinz had not completed his higher studies—he said that he had studied Latin, and 'a little philosophy' at Paris—but he was not averse to impressing some of his less educated Spanish workmates with his superior learning. Even Antonio de la Bastida who, being a puller, was a mechanical, was nevertheless considered by some of his Spanish workmates to be learned. One of them testified that the Frenchman 'could read and write Latin and the vernacular, and prided himself on being able to read some of the books and other items written in those languages that we were printing, boasting that he could understand them'.[58] Male artisans in the early modern period constructed a self-image on the basis of belonging to an exclusive group, members of which, in some centres at least, had served a formal apprenticeship and had undergone a series of rituals admitting them to a mystery.[59] The reaction of the printing-workers reflects this. La Bastida complained bitterly about the loss of honour occasioned by his arrest at Sigüenza, articulating the wounded pride of a man who considered that his craft status and education conferred a certain dignity on him. Similarly, Pierre Régnier's anger that some of his men had shown insubordination by leaving his employ without permission and subsequently spoken ill of him, and his outrage at his arrest at Barcelona on the evidence of those he claimed were his social inferiors, suggest a consciousness of the status he had acquired by becoming not only a master, but a master in an elevated craft. He constantly referred to himself in his trial as an 'homme de bien', or man of honour.[60]

[56] First trial of Juan Franco, fol. 139^{v} (my emphasis). Even minor printers in 16th-cent. Spain considered themselves a cut above other manual workers there (Madurell i Marimon 1973: p. ix).

[57] Second trial of João de Leão, fol. 85^{v}.

[58] Trial of Antonio de la Bastida, fol. [23]^{r}.

[59] Farr 1997: 61, 65.

[60] La Bastida's and Régnier's emphasis on their honour reflects masters' and *compagnons*' obsession with status in early modern France (Farr 1988: 177–92).

Although some of the foreign journeymen prided themselves on their skill and learning, they could also be insouciant. Antonio de la Bastida was considered by some of his Spanish workmates to be unusually sober and reliable, yet he was capable of spending weeks on the road in order to attend public celebrations in Paris marking the end of hostilities between his adoptive homeland and the land of his birth. Enrique Loe was evidently an irresponsible young man whose fondness for drink led others to shun him. His compatriot Pedro de Güerta became so aggressive under the effects of alcohol that he eventually made an enemy of a fellow-drunk who denounced him to the Holy Office. Nicolás de Campos was reckless in his declaration of religious belief to La Bastida, and João de Leão could not rein in his tongue even when he was aware that he was in a precarious position serving a sentence as a prisoner of the Holy Office. It is impossible to discover from the Inquisition's trial-records whether every change of employer experienced by these men marked the completion of a contract, the offer of a better job, or was merely a product of the fecklessness that was a characteristic of their eighteenth-century counterparts.[61] But all these foreigners must have been sufficiently foolhardy, or enterprising, in the first place to undertake the long and hazardous journey to Spain.

It was shown in Chapter 6 that several of them were entrepreneurial in finding ways to diversify their precarious sources of income. However, the most remarkable example of such enterprise was provided by the French bookbinder João de Leão. In Portugal he had sold books in a small way, but some time in the autumn of 1566 he conceived a more ambitious project. He and a French druggist called Pierre d'Altabel, decided to take ship from Lisbon to France and there to supervise the printing of an edition which they intended to import back to Lisbon. João knew and trusted d'Altabel. They had been introduced several years earlier at Granada by the Parisian type-caster Juan Molot. João and d'Altabel had become firm friends, and had travelled together across Spain to Portugal. D'Altabel seems to have been based in La Rochelle but often visited Lisbon to sell drugs to Portuguese apothecaries, and he and João de Leão had an arrangement to trade in books: d'Altabel would bring a consignment with him when he visited Lisbon, and João would distribute them there. This was not the only interest they had in common: they shared Reformist sympathies and, according to João de Leão, the apothecary had previously had a brush with the inquisitors at Murcia on this account.[62] By the time they hit upon the idea of printing a book in France João was a prisoner of the

[61] Darnton 1985: 85.

[62] Third trial of João de Leão, fol. 257^{r-v}. D'Altabel does not appear in the surviving papers of the Murcia tribunal (García Servet 1978; Blázquez Miguel 1987); he was married to a servant or relation of the Lisbon paper-merchant and printer Nicolao Botardo.

Lisbon tribunal of the Holy Office, so had to plead for his release in order to leave the country 'to go to purchase paper and other merchandise'.[63] His application for permission to travel was made in good faith for he had no intention of staying in France once he had completed his business there. The inquisitors granted his request, and in due course he returned to Portugal despite the danger a man with his views and record courted there. Pierre d'Altabel proved more prudent, for, after shuttling between France and Portugal, he eventually settled at La Rochelle with his wife; I can find no trace of his ever having been tried at Lisbon.[64] Before setting sail from Portugal João and Pierre recruited two Flemish compositors, Cornelio and the very young Pedro Alberto, to typeset their edition in France. It was d'Altabel who had introduced João to Cornelio, who was at that time in the employ of Germão Galharde's widow in her Lisbon press. The older men may well have recruited these technicians before setting off because d'Altabel knew La Rochelle well and would have been aware that typographers were in short supply there. Their ship docked safely at Olonne and the party made its way overland to La Rochelle, but here the accounts given to the Lisbon inquisitors diverge.

Pedro Alberto maintained that his employers' plan was to print an edition of a book of hours in Portuguese, and immediately upon reaching La Rochelle they sought a licence to do so. However, the French port was by that time a Calvinist stronghold and permission for the production of such a work of Catholic devotion was denied. Nothing daunted, they decided instead to print one of Johannes Despauterius's grammars, presumably with a view to exporting it to Lisbon. Whether this account is true or not, it is plausible. Portuguese presses did not have the capacity to satisfy domestic demand. Booksellers supplied this market not only by importing books which were already on sale abroad, but by commissioning foreign presses to print editions specially for them. João de Leão and Pierre d'Altabel went one stage further in going to France themselves to arrange for and supervise the production of a title destined for Portuguese readers as well as taking specialized staff with them to do some of the printing. They were well versed in the book trade in Portugal and would naturally have chosen to publish a title which had a ready market there; the obvious choice would be books of hours which were bestsellers and very often the only work a family would own.[65] When the production of such a title proved impossible, the

[63] Second trial of João de Leão, fol. 89^{r}.

[64] Third trial of João de Leão, fol. 135^{v}.

[65] In 1568, only two years after João de Leão's and Pierre d'Altabel's journey to La Rochelle, João d'Espanha commissioned Plantin to produce an edition, or part of an edition, at Antwerp of the *Horae Beatissimae Virginis Mariae*; João d'Espanha received 1,500 copies, doubtless for the Portuguese market (Rooses and Denucé 1883–1918: i. 91, 138–9).

best alternative would have been school books, for they also were constantly in demand, copies soon being worn to pieces by young fingers. One of Despauterius's famous grammars would have fitted the bill perfectly.[66] It is unlikely that Pedro Alberto began to typeset the Despauterius at La Rochelle, but he was certainly offered employment there by the master-printer Bartolomé Berton and fed by him for the short time he stayed in the city. Nevertheless, he claimed in his evidence to the Lisbon inquisitors that he took fright when he realized how Calvinist La Rochelle was and fled to Lyon, leaving the others behind.[67]

João de Leão's account of the affair differs from that of Pedro Alberto. He maintained that he never intended to have any Portuguese books of hours printed in France but, rather, a grammar by Despauterius which was duly printed in Paris.[68] João was clearly trying to mislead the Lisbon inquisitors because he began by denying any knowledge of Pierre d'Altabel, something he later contradicted by providing an account of their long friendship. Either he or Pedro Alberto was likewise lying in their different accounts of the aborted plan to print a book of hours. Wherever the truth lay, what is evident is that João must have been something of an entrepreneur to have raised the money for the team to travel to La Rochelle and finance the printing of an edition somewhere in France. This enterprising attitude did not desert him even at the end. Twice he was tried at Lisbon and, with careful twisting of evidence and a good deal of luck, he managed both times to avoid being burnt. It was only during his third trial that he realized that he was going to be sentenced to death; he set about planning to break out of his cell and flee back to France, but by then he had made too many enemies in gaol, and his escape was foiled.[69]

His enterprise was all of a piece with the readiness of foreign journeymen-printers to leave their homeland in search of work or adventure. Many of those who went to Spain and Portugal were already seasoned travellers and were undaunted by distance and the risks presented by those countries. Indeed, several had seen military action, and were used to surviving danger. Their enterprise, the pride in their status as élite craftsmen, and their abandonment of the occupations of their forebears to train in an industry in which they had to be quick-witted and flexible enough to master modern

[66] Earlier in the century the Seville printer Jacobo Cromberger was commissioned by the king of Portugal to print a lavish compilation of laws for his kingdom. When it came to investing his own money, Cromberger chose to print a book of hours in Portuguese and a text book destined for schoolboys in that country (Griffin 1988*a*: 41–7).

[67] Third trial of João de Leão, fols. 228^{r}–231^{v}.

[68] Ibid., fols. 211^{r}–212^{r}. João maintains that he spent several weeks in Brittany after having left La Rochelle; this may have been en route for Paris (fol. 236$^{r–v}$). I have been unable to find independent evidence of a Parisian edition which would confirm João's story.

[69] Third trial of João de Leão, fols. 143^{v}, 190^{r}.

technology complement the independence of mind some of them showed in their trials. This raises the question of whether this independence may in turn have had some bearing on their religious sympathies. The next chapter examines what can be gleaned from the Inquisition's records about these foreign artisans' beliefs.

9
Beliefs

An investigation, based on inquisitional records, of the journeymen-printers' religious beliefs is problematic for two principal reasons. First, they lied to the inquisitors about those beliefs: they would normally begin by denying all the accusations against them, subsequently frame piecemeal confessions in the light of what they suspected their questioners already knew, would attempt to divine what the inquisitors wanted to hear, and would finally confess to some or all of the charges. They occasionally went on to retract those confessions. Somewhere among the denials, the half-lies, and the admissions lay the truth, but it is often impossible to be sure quite where. Second, it is not possible to generalize about the defendants' convictions. On the one hand this is because the very nature of the interrogations emphasized, and probably exaggerated, the importance of religion in their lives; religious belief may have been crucial to some of them, but others appear to have worn their faith lightly. On the other hand, as the inquisitors had a simple perception of *luteranismo*, the trial-records gloss over the variety and nuances of the printing-workers' views. Indeed, some of the journeymen fashioned their own, often idiosyncratic, meanings from what they had heard, read, and experienced. It is thus hardly surprising that they did not share uniform opinions about which we can generalize nor that their beliefs can appear confused and occasionally bewildering.

It was not strictly spiritual matters which brought the journeymen to the attention of the inquisitors in the first place. Many of the denunciations which led to their arrest were based upon their having questioned the authority of the Church or disobeyed its ordinances (what many of the defendants criticized as mere 'ceremonies'). Only as the trials proceeded were doctrinal issues broached, and then they were sometimes treated only superficially. The inquisitors, for their part, seem to have had a mental check-list of signs of *luteranismo*, many of which might seem trivial but which they considered to be symptomatic of deeper seated heresy. Thus, for example, a worker's reluctance to spend his wages on purchasing an indulgence may have had its origins in poverty or in a time-honoured resentment of the Church's wealth.[1]

[1] Redondo 1986: 344–5. The cost of orthodox observance—the purchase of indulgences, masses for the dead, candles, etc.—rose sharply during the period studied here (Thomas 2001*a*: 623–34).

However, it could also be interpreted as a symptom of support for Reformation theologians' denial of papal authority to issue such indulgences, or for their rejection of purgatory, and therefore as an attack on the Church's entire edifice of penance. Likewise, when witnesses were asked whether they had ever seen a defendant performing good works, they sometimes took the question to mean whether or not he had bought indulgences. A worker's refusal to purchase a crusade pardon, for instance, was to turn his back suspiciously on the opportunity to reduce the time he or his family spent in purgatory and to decline to cooperate in the struggle against the infidel. A lack of respect for indulgences seems to have been interpreted by those witnesses, and indeed the inquisitors themselves, as evidence that the defendant questioned the importance of good works and thus embraced the heretical doctrine of justification by faith alone. Therefore outward signs of a lack of conformity to prescribed conduct could appear to the inquisitors to be the tip of a very dangerous iceberg.

One of the commonest accusations made against the printing-workers was that they did not fast or observe days of abstinence. Pierre Régnier's defence against this accusation was that such negligence constituted a mortal sin but not a heretical act.[2] João de Leão, on the other hand, was adamant that such rules were man made. One of his accusers claimed that 'when he was talking about eating meat, João maintained that St Matthew had written "not that which goeth into the mouth defileth a man; but that which cometh out of the mouth, this defileth a man"'.[3] João was here quoting Jesus's defence of his disciples' breaking with the custom of washing their hands before eating, and his accusation that the Pharisees were seeking to impose empty rites. By referring to this passage in a different context João may have been equating Catholics with Pharisees, implicitly condemning what he considered the observance of ritual by those whose faith was skin-deep. In quoting the Bible in the first place it is probable that he placed a typically Reformist emphasis on scriptural evidence but, more importantly, he was challenging the authority of the Church. He went further when trying to persuade the printer António de Mariz's wife to eat meat during Lent, linking his rejection of the Church's prohibition to his contempt for the pope. Lent, he claimed, was merely the invention of 'some pope or other who was the son of a whore and happened to be partial to fish'.[4]

Indeed, a frequent accusation was that the printers had criticized or mocked the pope and the clergy. The Fleming who denounced Pedro de Güerta asserted in terms that were redolent of Protestant propaganda that

[2] Trial of Pierre Régnier, fol. [35]^{r}.
[3] First trial of João de Leão, fol. 19^{r}; Matt. 15: 11.
[4] Ibid., fol. 6^{v}.

Spanish priests and friars were sheep in wolves' clothing; he chose priests for particular criticism because his wife's experience in Spain was that, rather than concentrating on what she said when she went to confession, they were always distracted, looking out for pretty women coming into church.[5] João de Leão's insistence that priests and friars should marry may have been motivated as much by the common knowledge of the clergy's sexual predations as by any principled rejection of celibacy.[6] Many of the journeymen who were tried in Spain denied the need for priestly confession although while they were living there they paid lip service to the Church's requirement of an annual confession. Such scepticism had not been uncommon among Spaniards well before the Reformation, but the foreign printing-workers not only voiced doubts about a sinning priest's ability to shrive them, but also had experience of the general confession of the whole congregation practised in the Protestant centres where they had lived and worked. When Pierre de Rinz was attempting to persuade the Toledo inquisitors that he held orthodox views about confession to a priest he alluded to another alternative: that of confession to a fellow-believer who was not in holy orders. He recounted how he had resisted a workmate's attempt to convince him that, as a brother in Christ, he could give him absolution:

> Once, when I was in Alcalá, I was going to confession at the church of San Bernardo when this Isac [de Ribera] said he would accompany me. On the way there together, he suggested that we go instead into the countryside, but I replied that I was determined to go to confession. Isac retorted that he could give me absolution himself, but I insisted on going to church.[7]

Implicit in Isac's offer was a belief in the priesthood of all believers and a rejection of exclusively priestly functions which were the corner-stone of the Catholic Church. Some of the men associated with the printers, however, were genuinely confused about what they thought of auricular confession. In the final throes of his trial, when he appeared at last to make a clean breast of his beliefs, Pedro de Güerta said that he did not really know what he believed, admitting that 'sometimes I thought one should confess to a priest but at others I was of the opinion that this was unnecessary'.[8]

Almost all the journeymen-printers tried at Toledo confessed to denying the power of the pope. Some asserted that he had no more authority than any other bishop or priest, while many questioned what they interpreted simply as his attributing to himself the ability to pardon sins through the sale of indulgences, the issuing of bulls, and the proclaiming of jubilees. Many merely mocked popery in a generalized fashion and ridiculed

[5] Trial of Pedro de Güerta, fols. 236^{v}, 237^{r}. [6] First trial of João de Leão, fol. 9^{r}.
[7] Trial of Pierre de Rinz, fol. [18]^{r}. [8] Trial of Pedro de Güerta, fol. 281^{r}.

orthodox Catholics as 'papists', while Pedro de Ribera was accused of going as far as condemning the pope as the Antichrist.[9] João de Leão was the only one of those tried who had been to Rome, and he had been appalled by what he had witnessed at the papal court. Other trials do not reflect any real knowledge of the papal role in the Catholic Church: Isabel Régnier, for instance, had mocked the pope and encouraged young Frenchmen and Flemings of her acquaintance to join her in doing so at Barcelona. However, when she was countering the charge brought by the Toledo inquisitors that she believed the supreme pontiff to be invested with no special authority, she retorted that 'if the pope chose to curse the world it would be utterly destroyed'.[10] She may have said this to persuade her interrogators that she was not the heretic they suspected; on the other hand she may have been dredging up a superstition remembered from her childhood in the French countryside. Her statement may even offer a glimpse of a stratum of peasant culture erupting through the Catholic faith in which she was brought up and through the overlay of new Reformist beliefs she had acquired at Lyon.[11]

Just as some of the foreign journeymen-printers and their associates were sceptical about the priest's role as a necessary intermediary between themselves and God, so they questioned the need for the saints' or the Virgin Mary's intercession on their behalf. In particular they condemned the veneration of images. Even though most of them had arrived in Spain before 1566, they knew all about the iconoclastic fury that had swept through cities like Antwerp, and could even have witnessed such iconoclasm earlier in France. They had worshipped in churches north of the Pyrenees which had been stripped of decoration, and they would have heard sermons, sung psalms, and sometimes read pamphlets attacking Catholic idolatry. The Fleming Giles Duse, for example, confessed to the Toledo inquisitors that he was convinced that 'images should not be venerated because God commands that we should worship nothing made by the hands of men. I read this in a copy of the New Testament translated into Flemish which I had when I was in England'.[12] We have already seen how three French journeymen-printers in Salamanca joked about a particular image. Such mockery was common among foreign workers. Pierre de Rinz, for example, gave the inquisitors an account of his short stay in Toledo in 1567 when he was seeking a position with Juan de la Plaza. Although this

[9] Trial of Pedro de Ribera, fol. [17]^{v}.

[10] Trial of Isabel Régnier, fol. 212^{v}.

[11] Another explanation for her assertion is that she may simply have misunderstood curses she had heard in France; throughout the 16th cent. the papal bull *In coena Domini* was issued annually just before Easter, anathematizing sinners in the direst of terms. On the other hand, the Reformers criticized the popes as launchers of terrible curses, and their satire could be what Isabel had heard but misconstrued (Little 1993: 274–7).

[12] Trial of Pedro de Güerta, fol. 234^{v}.

printer had no work to offer him, he had nevertheless entertained his itinerant colleague. Plaza was commissioned to print for the canons of Toledo and was close to the cathedral authorities; Rinz maintains that his press was situated 'by the Cathedral clock' and that he had been entrusted with the keys to the cathedral.[13] One evening Plaza gave a private tour of the cathedral to Rinz and to the Norman Pierre Pintamenan who was then engaged casting type in Plaza's press. Like Rinz, Pintamenan had lived in Geneva, but he was one of the more radical of the printing-workers encountered in these trials; Rinz records that this compatriot spent the tour mocking the holy statues they saw that night.[14] Even Pedro de Güerta, who lived from peddling printed pictures of Christ, the Virgin, and the saints, evidently did not believe in their efficacy but would not allow his personal convictions to interfere with business. He acted out the part of the pardoner familiar from satirical literature, and would boost sales by intimidating gullible purchasers with the threat that, if they had any doubts about the practice of venerating the sort of images he peddled, he would immediately report them to the inquisitors.[15]

Although Luther had been relatively tolerant of images, these printing-workers, like Zwingli and Calvin, considered their veneration to be idolatrous. Many of them would have set up and printed Clément Marot's rhymed version of the Ten Commandments which accompanied his and Théodore de Bèze's translations of the psalms. The market for this Huguenot psalter was so great that it had become one of the major publishing projects of the whole of the sixteenth century, and its principal publisher commissioned printers at Lyon, Paris, and Geneva to produce editions for him. Some 30,000 copies were printed in Geneva alone in less than two years in the early 1560s. It is said that the noise of the presses kept the good citizens of that city awake at night as master-printers struggled to meet orders for the psalter.[16] Those masters had employed several of the printing-workers who were later to face the Toledo Inquisition and who would thus have known by heart the second commandment forbidding the making of graven images. For the inquisitors a lack of respect for images became a touchstone of *luteranismo*.

Similarly, the intoning of psalms in French was considered prima-facie proof of heresy. The bookseller Gaspar de la Vega stated: 'the singing of psalms in Clément Marot's or Théodore de Bèze's rhymed French translation is typical of *luteranos*, and you only have to witness them singing such

[13] By at least 1567 Plaza was printing for the Toledo chapter, and by 1576 styling himself 'Typographus sancte Ecclesie Toletane' (Delgado Casado 1996: ii. 541; Pérez Pastor 1887: 135).

[14] Trial of Pierre de Rinz, fol. [18]^{v}.

[15] Trial of Pedro de Güerta, fol. 271^{v}.

[16] Droz 1957: 280; Gilmont 1999: 227; Greengrass 1994: 59.

psalms to know that they are indeed heretics'.[17] Pedro de Güerta concurred, saying of his French colleague Pedro Paran: 'he's definitely a heretic because he discussed religion a lot and sang psalms'.[18] This may at first seem strange because in 1561 De Bèze had secured approval from the Catholic censors in Paris and also a royal privilege for the translations. When Plantin published De Bèze and Marot's psalms at Antwerp three years later the duchess of Parma likewise granted him a privilege on the work in the name of her half-brother Philip II.[19] However, religious differences at the time were complex and dynamic: although French Catholics had sung Marot's translations in the first half of the century, as time passed those psalms became particularly identified with Protestant worship.[20] The reasons for the suspicion of the Huguenot psalter were twofold. First, singing psalms was the means by which certain of Calvin's ideas could be widely disseminated, even if the psalter was not in itself a source of Reformist doctrine and the resulting popular Calvinism differed markedly from the theologian's own teachings. Second, cheap and handy editions of the psalter were a powerful vehicle for the building of a mass movement; singing psalms in the vernacular became central to members of that movement's sense of identity and to the creation of solidarity among literate and illiterate Protestants who, with differing degrees of understanding, affirmed Reformed doctrine.[21] Such singing was thus interpreted in Spain as a deliberate effort by the singers to set themselves apart from Catholics and to create a separate social identity. As one sentence imposed at Cuenca in the early 1560s expressed it, the guilty party 'joined with others in singing psalms in French just as *luteranos* are wont to do, this way of distinguishing themselves from Catholic Christians being a very common practice among the heretics'.[22]

The verses were closely associated in France with Protestants' sense of themselves as the beleaguered elect and had evidently made a deep impression upon the foreign journeymen working in Spanish presses.[23] The music which was often printed with them rendered the psalms particularly memorable so that, after living many years outside France, Pierre de Ribera would still sing them to himself as he sat setting type in Spain.[24] Printing workshops cannot have been quiet places: when the presses were not clattering and the journeymen not talking or joking as they worked, they sang. A statement by one of the printers of playing cards arrested in the mid-1560s is telling: while he and his workmates laboured in the Tibobil brothers' press at Toledo, Pierre Tibobil would lead the singing of French

[17] Trial of the printer of playing cards Margarin de Bendançon: AHN, Inq., leg. 112, exp. 75, fol. [18]^{r}.
[18] Trial of Pedro de Güerta, fol. 282^{r}.
[19] Droz 1957: 280–5, 287; Marnef 1996: 43.
[20] Diefendorf 1993: 43.
[21] Pettegree 1999: 16–24.
[22] Jiménez Monteserín 1980: 709–10.
[23] Diefendorf 1993: 41–2.
[24] Trial of Pierre de Ribera, fol. [15]^{v}.

psalms, and his workers would join in. He defended this practice to the inquisitors by saying that as long as they were chanting psalms at work they would not be singing dirty ditties. The implication is that there was always some sort of singing going on.[25] At Alcalá de Henares Pierre de Rinz had heard Guillermo Herlin intoning the psalms in French, but he did not specify whether this was at work or safely away from Spanish ears, for it was common for the foreign journeymen-printers to go out into the countryside when they wanted to sing together.[26] Such prudence was not only important in a Spanish context but also recalls the custom in France where Huguenots would conduct their prohibited services in the fields. On occasion we can even identify from the Spanish trial-records exactly what was being sung; Juan Franco recounts: 'about three years ago when I was working at Salamanca, I heard Juan de Probin, who is a printing-worker, singing in French outside the city in the Campo de Zurguén. The song he sang went "no honoréis a las imágenes de cualquier suerte que sean porque dios es celoso"'.[27] This is clearly a translation into Spanish, for the benefit of the inquisitors, of an excerpt from Marot's rhyming version of the Ten Commandments. The third stanza reads:

> Tailler ne te feras image
> De quelque chose que se soit,
> Si honneur luy faiz, & hommage,
> Ton Dieu jalousie en reçoit.[28]

The singing of biblical texts in French provided solace to foreigners, enabling them to maintain a link with their past in which they had internalized Marot's and De Bèze's translations and had sung them communally in their homelands. Indeed, Calvin held that the singing of spiritual songs imprinted them for ever on the memory, resulting in a special sort of communion with God.[29]

Songs are also a powerful instrument for the dissemination of protest, and Protestant propaganda was not limited to verses in French. As they walked from the French port of Olonne to La Rochelle after arriving from Lisbon, the compositors Cornelio and Pedro Alberto sang *luterano* songs in Flemish, explaining to João de Leão and Pierre d'Altabel, who did not know that language, that they had been chanted in the streets of Antwerp by Protestant martyrs on their way to the scaffold.[30] Indeed, the singing of

[25] The printers of playing cards and their associates arrested at Toledo would discover the religious persuasion of a compatriot by singing one of Marot's psalms in his presence and seeing whether the newcomer took up the words and tune. As most of the French psalms had their own tune, the melody immediately permitted the text to be recalled (Thomas 2001*a*: 429, 434–5; Pettegree 1999: 19).

[26] Blázquez Miguel 1986: 151–2. [27] First trial of Juan Franco, fol. 148^{v}.

[28] Marot 1995: 207. [29] Diefendorf 1993: 44.

[30] Third trial of João de Leão, fol. 258^{r}.

songs—in particular psalms—in the vernacular was instrumental to the spread of Protestantism in that city in the build-up to the Wonderyear of 1566.[31] Even in Spain anti-Catholic sentiment was expressed in songs sung in Castilian. The verses clandestinely printed and distributed by the heretical cleric Sebastián Martínez attest to this, while in those same years children's rhymes were being adapted in Spain to disseminate criticism of the Church.[32]

However, it is the French psalms which appear in almost all the records of the journeymen-printers. They had not been brought over the Pyrenees exclusively in the memories of these workers; so important was the role they played in the spiritual lives of some of them that they risked taking a printed copy to the peninsula. When he returned to Lisbon from a trip to France João de Leão brought with him a small edition which slipped easily into his pocket.[33] One of the Calvinist printers of playing cards arrested at Toledo similarly owned a miniature copy of Marot's psalms which was passed round that circle, some its members even copying them out for each other.[34]

The printing-workers were further accused of disrespect for prescribed norms of orthodox conduct: a reluctance to attend mass, to confess, or to partake of the eucharist; eating or drinking before the eucharist; a lack of enthusiasm for masses for the dead and for pilgrimages; working on days that were festivals of the Church; ignorance of how to cross themselves, a lack of knowledge of the traditional prayers or reciting them in a scornful manner; or a more general mockery of Catholic practice. Some of the journeymen-printers also felt the need to boast of their anti-Catholicism, while others proselytized among their companions. The French typesetter Nicolás de Campos tried to convince Antonio de la Bastida that the 'new religion' was a model he should follow; João de Leão encouraged others at Lisbon to share his convictions; and Isabel Régnier cajoled her husband's employees into an open declaration of their Reformist sympathies. Nicolás escaped, presumably back to France. João and Isabel were executed. There was nothing exceptional in those accusations. Indeed, many of them related to religious customs and practice which had long been questioned by Catholic reformers in Spain itself. More importantly, as was seen in Chapter 1, scepticism about such matters as indulgences, the veneration of holy images, the existence of purgatory, and the necessity for auricular confession to a priest had been widespread among ordinary Spaniards. However, in the 1560s doubts of this nature were dangerous, especially if expressed by those

[31] Marnef 1996: 45.

[32] Letter dated 12 Feb. 1561 from the Seville tribunal to the Suprema: AHN, Inq., leg. 2943, exp. 10. The 1583 Spanish index prohibited suspect songs and rhymes (Bujanda 1993: 72, 885).

[33] Second trial of João de Leão, fol. 71r.

[34] Thomas 2001*a*: 441–3, 447.

who were already suspect because they were foreign and had lived in Reformist centres abroad.

When it comes to doctrine the serious issues on which the trials turned included Luther's *sola fide* and *sola scriptura* (that is, justification by faith alone and the rejection of doctrine not attested in the scriptures), the sacrifice of the mass, the doctrine of the real presence, transubstantiation, purgatory, and the sacrament of penance. An examination of what can be gleaned from the surviving evidence of the trials of the two Flemings Giles Duse and Enrique Loe, as well as six French defendants, João de Leão, Antonio de la Bastida, Isabel Régnier, Pierre Régnier, Pierre de Ribera, and Pierre de Rinz, provides a spectrum of different awareness of and opinions about doctrine.

Few of the defendants stated their convictions as trenchantly as Giles Duse from Bruges, the man who brought about Pedro de Güerta's death by denouncing him to the Holy Office. Duse had been in England in about 1552, when the young Edward VI was on the throne. This was just when Protestantism was being promoted there by the crown, and Reformist theologians had streamed into the country from the continent. Duse recounted how in England he had come into contact with a Flemish preacher who converted him. As a prisoner at Toledo eighteen years later in the same gaol which was accommodating so many foreign printing-workers, he took the opportunity to witness to his Protestant convictions, explaining that he did so because he had been tormented for years by a feeling of guilt at having cravenly denied those beliefs in a previous inquisitional trial:

> I hold that in order to be saved all we need is faith and belief in God alone. The true body of Our Lord Jesus Christ is not present in the consecrated host, which is just a commemoration. The true body of Christ sits in flesh and blood on the right hand of the Father, not in the host. I know full well that I shall be burnt for my beliefs, but nothing will convince me that I am wrong. There's no such thing as purgatory. The mass was invented just to trick the dying into ordering masses to be said for their souls in purgatory; this is the origin of the mass, and it is all a swindle to rob people of their money. We should look to the passion of Christ to purge our sins when we die, because we cannot gain salvation through any good works of our own. St Paul says that everything that is held to be good in this life is considered in heaven to be worthless. The only true church resides in men's own hearts. What I believe is the Gospel-truth and is to be found in the Good Book. If Your Honours let me have a copy of the New Testament in Flemish, I'll show you the source of all I believe, for everything else is a snare and a delusion.[35]

[35] Trial of Pedro de Güerta, fols. 234^{v}, 235^{v}, 236^{v}.

The doctrinal issues mentioned above are all explicit in Duse's statement of faith, which also makes clear that he rejected the institution of the Church ('the only true church resides in men's own hearts') and that he was accustomed to handling a vernacular translation of the scriptures. The Fleming is the only defendant studied here to ask for a copy of the Bible, and this may be no coincidence because personal reading of the scriptures was particularly common among Calvinists in the Low Countries; however, given his familiarity with the Bible, his erroneous reference to St Paul is odd. His case was clear-cut: Toledo sent his trial-papers to the Suprema requesting permission to have him burnt because he was, in their words, 'a heretic of extraordinary stubbornness'.[36] Duse prayed that terror at the prospect of his inevitable end would not weaken his resolve. As he had expected, he was condemned to death at the Toledo *auto de fe* of 18 June 1570; a bystander recorded that, as he was being tied to the stake before the faggots were lit, he recanted.[37]

The journeymen-printers tried in the 1560s and 1570s seldom held such uncompromising views on doctrinal matters. However, João de Leão, who was associated with Giles Duse through a friend of a friend, may well have held a similar belief about justification by faith alone. But João was far more evasive, ducking and weaving during his three trials. However, he could not resist talking to his fellow-inmates in his Lisbon prison. One of them, Padre João Gonçales de Barbacena, suggests that the Frenchman placed suspicious emphasis upon faith: 'one day João de Leão was busy binding some books while I was praying nearby, and he began to say that Our Lord would be with me and succour me; I should put my faith in the Lord for he would suffer for us and he would not allow me to be lost'. The priest sensed that they were on dangerous ground and claimed to have responded: 'I agree we should put our faith in the Lord, but we should also perform good Christian deeds because St Paul said that faith without works is dead'.[38] Padre Gonçales's own good works seem to have been limited to writing love letters to other male prisoners and climbing into bed with them whenever he could, but he was doubtless capable of identifying a heretic when he saw one. The trial-records suggest that João had drunk deeper of Reformist doctrine than many of the other journeymen, and there are hints that he particularly aligned himself with Calvinism. When, for instance, he was talking to a fellow-prisoner at Lisbon, he inveighed against the 'libertins'; Calvin had attacked these opponents of his supremacy at Geneva, but what

[36] Letter dated 8 Mar. 1570 from the Toledo tribunal to the Suprema: AHN, Inq., leg. 3070, exp. 11.

[37] RBM, MS II/1846, fol. 65^{r} [*olim* 148^{r}].

[38] Third trial of João de Leão, fols. 165^{v}–166^{r}, duplicate at fol. 223^{r}. The priest is here mistakenly referring to Jas. 3: 20, unless he is using 'St Paul' as shorthand for all the Epistles.

is important about João's bald condemnation is that he should have used a term so closely associated with Calvin's writings against them.[39]

Others of the foreign journeymen seemed to have been less well informed about doctrinal matters. When he was in France Enrique Loe, for example, had eaten meat on Fridays, worked on Church festivals, spoken scornfully of the mass, and had doubted both the real presence and the need for auricular confession. But he maintained that these thoughts and actions were limited to the six weeks he had spent at La Rochelle when he was an adolescent and had come under the influence of Calvinist fellow-workers in the press there. He seems to have assimilated willy-nilly an assortment of Reformist ideas but was unsure whether he had ever been a heretic.[40] The Toledo inquisitors did not discern any heretical convictions in his case. Likewise, Antonio de la Bastida's 'propositions' were not considered by the Cuenca tribunal to show that he had internalized Protestant doctrine, but just that he was an ignorant stripling who spoke before he thought. The inquisitors accepted his explanation that he had made those comments 'glibly and not from the bottom of an evil heart'.[41] Indeed, neither Loe nor La Bastida seems to have held strong views about the religious matters they had discussed. They had—or they were able to persuade the inquisitors that they had—either accommodated themselves unthinkingly to the beliefs and practices which prevailed in the places where they had worked abroad, or they had merely parroted what they had been told by chance acquaintances.

The Norman compositor, Pierre de Ribera, had likewise assimilated what he had been taught when poverty and unemployment had led him to seek a training in Antoine Cercia's press at Geneva, but seems to have done so somewhat passively. He had attended Calvinist services there, and claimed that the sermons he heard had led him to reject orthodox doctrine as well as the outward norms of Catholic behaviour. Nevertheless, he was reluctant to abandon some of the old traditions which sat uneasily with his new faith. For instance, he maintained that he never doubted the need to cross himself even though his companions in the Geneva presses reprimanded him for this practice, asking him why he was always waving his hands around brushing away flies. It is no surprise that he was never allowed to partake of the Lord's supper at Geneva, because the authorities there considered him to be insufficiently well informed about the faith.[42] Many years later the Toledo inquisitors were convinced that this man who had admitted his past heresies to his Catholic wife and had anxiously obtained absolution from his confessor was genuinely contrite. They concluded that he had been

[39] Third trial of João de Leão, fol. 179^{v}.
[40] Trial of Enrique Loe, fols. [14]$^{r-v}$, [21]^{v}.
[41] Trial of Antonio de la Bastida, fol. [51]^{r}.
[42] Trial of Pierre de Ribera, fols. [12]^{v}–[13]^{r}, [20]^{v}.

led into evil ways as a young man in Geneva, but had returned to the fold in Spain; he had not internalized heretical doctrine.

The Régniers, on the other hand, were judged by the Toledo inquisitors not only to have offended against the norms of the Church but to have assimilated serious heresies. Unlike La Bastida, Loe, and Ribera, the couple could not plead the defence of youth. Pierre would have come into contact with Reformist views when employed in Jean le Roux's London press, if not even before that when he was training and working at Rouen. However, he maintained that it was not until his late thirties, during his protracted stay at Lyon, that he embraced the 'new religion'. As we have seen, he and his wife happened to be living at Lyon just at the time when Protestantism was gaining a critical mass of adherents there, particularly among those associated with the printing industry. French Protestantism had been successfully contained during the first half of the century, but it became a mass movement in the 1550s when Calvinists throughout France sensed that there was a real possibility that they might overcome Catholic supremacy in the country. This optimism would lead to the glory years of 1562 and 1563 when Protestants captured control of Lyon's government. That short period can be seen as the high point of the French Reformation when, for political and economic reasons, the machinery for repressing Protestantism had collapsed. In the event, the Huguenots were unable to capitalize upon this opportunity and their fortunes subsequently declined.[43] At Lyon the mass of Reformist printing-workers gradually became disenchanted with the 'new religion', and by the mid-1560s many were drifting back to the orthodox fold. But none of this was apparent to the Régniers: they had left Lyon in 1558 or 1559, and had therefore not witnessed the failure of French Protestantism. In Barcelona they were surrounded by an uncongenial Catholicism, and continued to cherish the religious ideas they had assimilated in the radical atmosphere of Lyon in the late 1550s. Pierre's brief return there in 1565 does not seem to have led him to question his religious opinions, possibly because in his experience 'most people in Lyon—over two thirds of them—were *luteranos*' at that time. This perception was wrong but understandable because he transacted his business in the printing district round the Rue Mercière where a disproportionate number of Protestants was still working.[44] Both before and after that visit he and his wife spoke in favour of the 'new religion' to like-minded compatriots, and they continued to advocate it in Barcelona over a dozen years after their conversion.

It is not, however, clear how much either of them really understood about the doctrinal differences between Catholicism and the Reformist ideas

[43] Greengrass 1994: 56, 59–60.

[44] Trial of Pierre Régnier, fol. [22]r; Gascon 1971: ii. 518.

which they had absorbed. The couple's criticism of the pope, indulgences, and priestly confession was enough to make the Toledo inquisitors place them in their capacious category of *luteranos*. But Isabel was an ignorant woman who showed herself to be in turn bewildered and belligerent when questioned about matters of real moment. She was eventually burnt for what the tribunal regarded as her dogmatic *luteranismo* as well as for having admitted to a series of heretical opinions and then retracted what she had confessed. The evidence provided by witnesses during her trial shows that she had repeatedly disobeyed the Church's ordinances and also encouraged others to join her in doing so. More importantly, however, her audiences with the inquisitors persuaded them that she could not be induced to reject her heretical views about the fundamental doctrine of the real presence. She maintained:

> the host is just flour and water. It is a commemorative symbol of Jesus Christ, not his body and flesh. We shouldn't eat Christ's flesh, for we'd be bad Christians to do so. If Your Honours think differently, you're wrong. I just can't believe that Christ's flesh is in the host because if we really did eat his body when we swallowed the host, there would be no point in searching for him elsewhere; we would have eaten him all up and there would be none of him left.[45]

This statement appears to be woven from two distinct strands. On the one hand was a popular version of Calvin's and some other Reformist theologians' interpretation of the eucharist as a sacred memory of Christ's sacrifice, which is doubtless something she had been taught at Lyon. On the other hand was the sort of peasant common sense which—even long after post-Tridentine efforts to inculcate the essential doctrines of the Church into the minds of the faithful—still led many uneducated Catholics in Spain to question the real presence.[46] She was similarly commonsensical when she begged the inquisitors to stop questioning her about her religious convictions, alleging that whatever she happened to believe was her own affair and did not affect them.[47] However, her trial-record leaves the reader with the impression that, amid all her muddle and contradictions, she felt she would be on safer ground if she were to grasp hold of one idea and refuse to let go of it despite repeated interrogation. It is most unlikely that she realized that she had made a fatal choice in selecting the eucharist as her sticking point. As two worlds clashed uncomprehendingly—those of the peasant and the bureaucrat, the illiterate Frenchwoman and the learned Spaniard, the convert to the 'new religion' and the orthodox Catholic—it is understandable that even the most patient of inquisitors should have

[45] Trial of Isabel Régnier, fols. 214^{r}, 216^{v}, 217^{r}.
[46] Griffiths 1997: 102–3.
[47] Trial of Isabel Régnier, fol. 226^{v}.

considered her defiance on this central issue of doctrine as diabolically inspired obduracy.

Her husband was more timorous and showed himself to be far less uncompromising. Although he confessed to having at one time thought the host to be nothing more than a piece of bread, he claimed to have abandoned that view many years before his trial, and he managed to persuade the inquisitors that he was genuinely contrite. His interrogations did not concentrate on doctrine but, rather, on other *luteranos* to whom he could lead the inquisitors, and on more superficial infringements of the norms of orthodox behaviour. This may be because he appears from his trial-record to have vacillated about his beliefs and because there was no evidence that he had attempted to spread heresy among his companions.

Pierre Régnier told his interrogators that when he was living and working in Lyon in the late 1550s he was instructed that the mass was worthless. He seems, however, to have been undecided about that teaching and continued to hear mass from time to time there while also attending Protestant services. The inquisitors added a marginal note to his trial-papers implying that his admission that he was dissuaded from regular attendance at mass showed that he rejected it utterly.[48] However, his views were a good deal less clear-cut. We have seen from Enrique Loe's experiences that beliefs at Antwerp were fluid. This was also the case at Lyon when Pierre had been living there, and his intermittent attendance at mass reflects a world in which inherited beliefs were being challenged, but time-honoured practices died hard among men and women who were encountering, but not fully assimilating, attractive new teachings.

There is also at least one anomaly in Pierre's trial which suggests that his experiences of the different faiths he had encountered on his travels in France, England, and Spain had left him confused. At one point in his defence he drew up a list of men and women living at Lyon and Barcelona who could testify 'how I have lived soberly and honourably as a good Christian and have always fulfilled sincerely and without hypocrisy the obligations placed upon us by God and the holy mother Church'.[49] Several of the character witnesses he said would vouch for his orthodoxy were Catalan dignitaries and clerics whose testimony he doubtless thought would carry weight with the inquisitors. However, among the other witnesses he nominated to testify to his godly life at Lyon was an old companion he named as Claude de Langres. Claude Chameroix from Langres in Burgundy was prominent among the Lyon *compagnons-imprimeurs*, serving as an officer of the semi-clandestine Compagnie des Griffarins, or Company of Gluttons, initiating new journeymen into the rites of their confraternity

[48] Trial of Pierre Régnier, fol. [58]r. [49] Ibid., fol. [34]r.

and organizing workers in their disputes with master-printers over pay and conditions. After Pierre and his wife had left Lyon for Spain, Claude joined the urban militia to which so many printing-workers belonged as a cover for the confraternity and which the Calvinists used to wrest control of the city from the Catholics. He spent some time in the late 1550s and early 1560s in Geneva before returning to Lyon, possibly as a master-printer. He was undoubtedly a Protestant and was a close associate of his famous co-religionist the printer Jean de Tournes to whom he bound his own son apprentice.[50] Had the Toledo inquisitors sent to Lyon for information about Chameroix, the result would have been enough to condemn Pierre as guilty of heresy by association. It is puzzling, then, why he named this particular companion. The fact he did so suggests his ignorance about the predicament in which he found himself at Toledo, as well as a naïve trust that, because Chameroix was a prominent and respected figure from the world in which he had lived at Lyon, he would serve his defence in Spain. It looks suspiciously as if Pierre had little appreciation of the unsubtle distinction Spanish inquisitors drew between Catholics and heretics, and this may well have had its roots in his experience of working in the Lyon presses.

Natalie Zemon Davis observed that solidarity among printing-workers in that city was stronger than the bonds of religion, and subsequent studies of *compagnonnage* have revealed how members of particular trades in *ancien régime* France forged bonds of mutual support and brotherhood.[51] Régnier may have taken those values to heart during his Lyon years, for they would go some way to explaining his subsequent reluctance to incriminate colleagues in the printing industry. With the exception of his sworn enemy Guillot whom he had denounced early in his trial, it was not until he was tortured that he began to confess his own heresies and to implicate others. When he was asked why he had not volunteered evidence against them earlier he replied straightforwardly that he wished to protect them. A sense of solidarity with other defendants is apparent even after his having to witness the passing of a death sentence on his own wife at the Toledo *auto de fe* of June 1571. After that ceremony he was transferred to the royal prison to await dispatch to the coast where he would begin his training as a galley-slave. Among those who shared his cell were Juan Franco and a painter who had been tried at Toledo under the name of Rafael Roca of Turin. According to Franco, this Roca told his cell-mates that, far from being the Italian the Inquisition assumed, he was really a Frenchman called Jacques Amelon. He boasted to his compatriots of his exploits, recounting his escape from another inquisitional prison.[52] What

[50] Cartier 1937: i. 144; Davis 1959: 571; Davis 1981: 17–23. [51] Truant 1994: 189–90.

[52] Horozco 1981: 232. For Franco's information about this prisoner and for Régnier's evidence in the case see the trial of Roca/Amelon: AHN, Inq., leg. 112, exp. 12, unfoliated, fols. [48]^{r}–[58]^{r}, and the second trial of Juan Franco, fol. 155^{r}.

is significant is that Régnier, albeit recently reconciled with the Church, chose not to disclose to the authorities that they had been duped by this resourceful artist who then appears to have gone on to attempt another escape. By his silence Régnier exposed himself to danger, but he seems to have been distinguished by a sense of loyalty to his comrades that few reciprocated.

It may be the case that Pierre's religious views were, at least in part, the result of his being a malleable man who absorbed a certain ethos in the Lyon presses and, together with it, a series of Reformist ideas. Once his wife had been initiated into the same beliefs, her firm convictions sustained him in that new faith when they were living at Barcelona. Nevertheless, there are tantalizing hints that he may also have come into contact with ideas of unbelief and religious tolerance. His old friend Nadal Radix was denounced to the Inquisition for saying that 'birth and death are all there is; the only difference between a man and a chicken is the way they are born and the way they die', by which he seems to have meant that he denied the soul and the afterlife.[53] It is most unlikely that Pierre and Nadal would not have discussed their religious beliefs, or lack of them, over the years, for such discussions with his compatriots are certainly alluded to in Régnier's own trial. When, for instance, he was led into the torture chamber at Toledo and stripped in preparation for having his arms crushed, panic induced him to cast around for things to confess. Among them was an occasion when 'a flint-maker from Burgundy, who is married and lives in Barcelona, said to me that the Turk lived according to his law [i.e. religion] just as we Christians live according to ours'.[54] Unfortunately, when he was asked to explain what he understood to be the implications of that assertion, Pierre merely broke down begging for mercy, and the interrogators never followed up their question. It may be, however, that the conversation he recalled reflected itinerant journeymen's experience of living in a variety of towns and countries where different faiths were dominant. It may also be the case that Régnier's own experience of working alongside Catholic and Protestant colleagues in the Lyon presses had predisposed him towards religious tolerance.[55] There is a hint of a similar attitude in the trial of Antonio de la Bastida. One of the accusations made against him by a Spanish printing-worker was that he had taken the heretics' side when conversing about a victory which French Catholic forces had gained over a Huguenot army. However, the witness's denunciation suggests that he had misconstrued La Bastida's open-mindedness as support for the enemy: 'when I was

[53] *Relación de causas* of Barcelona tribunal for 1588–9: AHN, Inq., lib. 731, fols. 41^{v}–42^{r}.

[54] Trial of Pierre Régnier, fol. [61]^{r}.

[55] Popular belief in the equivalence of faiths, religious tolerance, and scepticism are recorded in a wide variety of places in the medieval and early modern periods (Ginzburg 1980: 49–50, 92–3; Edwards 1988: 16, 19–23; Thomas 2001*a*: 479–80).

celebrating the Catholic triumph this La Bastida said that it couldn't really be called a victory because the *luteranos*, for their part, had also captured and slain their enemies just as the Catholics had done'.[56] Like Régnier, La Bastida had travelled widely, working among both Protestants and Catholics. His reported statement may have been a non-sectarian lament for the chaos and bloodshed into which his homeland had been plunged by the Wars of Religion, yet any nuanced view of those civil wars was lost on his Spanish workmate. Such anti-dogmatic statements made by Frenchmen who had experience of different faiths were frequently misconstrued as heretical in Spain.[57]

Whether or not La Bastida's and Pierre Régnier's experience had indeed taught them a certain tolerance, neither of them showed the knowledge or discrimination of printing-workers like Pierre de Rinz. Guillermo Herlin said of him:

> This Pierre maintained that Christ is not literally in the host, and that communion should be celebrated in the way the Lord's supper is at Geneva and in some parts of France. He knows Latin and can provide evidence to support his opinions, for he understands such things better than I do. He is a *luterano* just like I was, and admitted as much, telling me that he shared all my views with the one exception that he believed in the sacrament of confession, maintaining that St James said that sinners should confess their trespasses.[58]

Herlin's account of Rinz's beliefs is intriguing, although it differs in some fundamental respects from what Pierre himself told the inquisitors. Rinz had listened to many a Calvinist sermon before going to Spain, especially while he was Courteau's apprentice at Geneva. There he would have heard Calvin's view of the eucharist. But it is Rinz's opinion on the validity of confession to a priest that suggests that he was a surprisingly sophisticated thinker. Calvin, together with other Reformers like Bucer and Zwingli, rejected the individual auricular confession required by the Catholic Church, attacking it as a butchery of conscience. In his liturgy he replaced it with a general confession and absolution.[59] Luther, on the other hand, did not regard confession as wholly without merit, particularly if scriptural authority could be found for it. Herlin appears to have believed everything he had been taught at Geneva, so his assertion that Rinz's views differed from his own on this point suggests that, in accepting the validity of confession, Rinz was not referring to Calvin's general confession and absolution. Herlin's comments imply that Rinz inclined more to Luther's position when he cited the Epistle of James in support of auricular confession. But

[56] Trial of Antonio de la Bastida, fol. [10]r.
[57] Kamen 1993: 221.
[58] Trial of Pierre de Rinz, fol. [3]r.
[59] Potter and Greengrass 1983: 34.

Rinz found authority for his view about this matter in a source which Luther himself had called an epistle of straw because it seemed to allow justification by works, not faith.[60] Pierre de Rinz emerges, then, as an independent thinker who supported his views by reference to the scriptures.

Rinz's own declarations to the Toledo inquisitors show that he had a vivid memory of the sermons he had heard north of the Pyrenees. He was also sensitive to the points on which they differed from Catholic teaching. This proved an element in his undoing because the prosecutor at his trial successfully argued that his detailed recall of the Geneva preachers' opinions proved that he sympathized with them.[61] It is true that Rinz was able to provide a lucid account of what he had seen and heard at the services he had attended there, including a description of communion in two kinds. However, he did so in terms which suggest intelligent objectivity, describing how the preachers would

> read the Gospels and offer their own interpretation of them making reference to the Epistles of St Paul. There was a table covered with cloths, and some thin white loaves were brought from a house and a piece given to all the congregation who ate the bread and drank wine with it. The *luteranos* maintained that this was the form of communion advocated by St Paul. The ministers and preachers distributed the bread saying in French, 'hoc est corpus meum quod pro vobis tradetur'.[62] The married people and adults among the congregation then came up in turn to the large table to take communion. The *luteranos* rejected holy images, supporting this view by citing the authority of David who says that those who worship such images will be like them.[63]

As he put it himself in a reasoned manner when telling the Spanish inquisitors about what he heard at Calvinist sermons in Geneva,

> although I attended *luterano* sermons I didn't approve of everything that was said in them. Some of the opinions expressed were good—as is bound to be the case with any sermon—and these I accepted while disregarding those that were not. I went each Sunday to the *luterano* services and sermons because everybody was obliged to and, although I listened to them, I didn't agree with everything the preachers said, so I just accepted the good points and rejected the bad.[64]

This attitude to Reformist teaching, which would seem so reasonable today, was by the late 1560s anathema to the Spanish Inquisition.[65] With a priest for a father, Rinz had presumably been brought up in a Catholic household. According to his own account, after he had left Reims and Paris he had regularly heard the Bible cited and interpreted by Reformist preachers, observing how they used biblical authority such as St Paul's Epistles to

[60] Jas. 5: 16. [61] Trial of Pierre de Rinz, fol. [15]^{v}. [62] e.g. Luke 22: 19.
[63] Trial of Pierre de Rinz, fols. [8]^{v}–[9]^{r}. [64] Ibid., fols. [8]^{v}, [13]^{r}.
[65] Tellechea Idígoras 1977: 31–2.

support their religious convictions. This goes some way to explaining his familiarity with passages of holy writ. The conflicting ideas on theological matters with which he came into contact while working in Switzerland, France, and Spain may also account for his confidence in his ability to assess critically some of the interpretations of such passages made by those invested with authority by rival confessions. The following excerpt from his trial offers some insights into this cast of mind:

When he was summoned to the audience chamber, the defendant fell on his knees and admitted that he had believed and agreed with what the *luteranos* taught about there being no need for the Christian to fast and that he should not revere holy images because the saints did not reside on earth but in heaven, and so no such idols should be made, as it says in the psalm 'in exitu Israel de Egypto'.[66] Similarly he believed that there should be no mass. When Christ was on the cross he saved all of us; when he said 'omne consummatum est', everything was accomplished and so there was no need for more sacrifices.[67] The defendant also believed that the Christian should not go on pilgrimages because they were worthless. Our Lord Jesus Christ had redeemed mankind through his death and all the Christian should do was to pray to God, and God alone. As the gospel says, 'everything you ask the Father for in my name shall be granted you', and all prayers should be directed only to the Almighty.[68] As regards the eucharist, the defendant had held and believed that the host really was the body of Our Lord Jesus Christ just as it says in the Bible, 'Hoc est corpus meum' even though the *luteranos* said that the host was only a spiritual representation of Christ's body. Although he had heard the *luteranos* say that the Christian should not confess his sins to another person, for all men are sinners, he had always believed that he should do so, just as the Bible says 'quorum remiseritis peccata'.[69] The defendant claimed that he had not confessed all this before because he had been too terrified and was in a state of mental turmoil. He admitted that until he came to Spain in order to get away from the *luteranos*, he had held these beliefs and had then abandoned them with the exception that, up to a year ago, he had still thought that the Christian should not venerate images or fast.[70]

If this is an honest confession of the beliefs he held at some time, they suggest a mind able to discriminate between various strands of Reformist thought. For instance, his statement that no more sacrifice is required goes to the heart of the differences between Catholic and Reformist belief. According to the latter, Christ made his sacrifice once and for all on the cross, and the communion service is a commemoration of that sacrifice. For the former, however, the sacrifice is repeated at every mass when the priest

[66] Ps. 115: 12–16.
[67] Rinz (or possibly the Inquisition's scribe) here conflates John 19: 28 with John 19: 30.
[68] John 15: 16 or John 16: 23. Rinz implicitly denies the need to pray to saints for their intercession.
[69] John 20: 23.
[70] Trial of Pierre de Rinz, fols. [13]^{v}–[14]^{r}.

changes bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, re-enacting the incarnation and the crucifixion: God becomes flesh, and Christ dies sacrificially upon the altar for man's salvation. Nevertheless, while Rinz rejects the traditional understanding of the eucharist, he claims to favour a literal interpretation of 'est' in the Vulgate's account of Christ's statement to the disciples 'hoc est corpus meum' at the last supper ('is' rather than 'signifies' or 'represents'). This suggests that he accepted, or purported to accept, the orthodox doctrine of the real presence of Christ in the consecrated host (although his belief in the real presence also conformed to Luther's teaching as opposed to that of sacramentarians like Zwingli who taught that Christ was only symbolically in the host).[71] Thus far what he told the inquisitors in this confession would be compatible with an acceptance of Lutheran doctrine. However, his rejection of holy images is to be associated more with Calvin's and Zwingli's teaching than with that of Luther. Finally, what he said about the necessity for auricular confession is more difficult to interpret. If he meant that he believed confession to a priest to be a compulsory discipline, then he rejected Reformist teaching and followed orthodox Catholic doctrine. This would be corroborated by his claim that he had rejected the offer to confess him made by his fellow-worker in the Alcalá presses, Isac de Ribera. If, on the other hand, he was referring to voluntary confession and the absolution of sin by a pastor, he would have been following Luther's rather than Calvin or Zwingli's teachings.

This amalgam of ideas could, of course, be interpreted as showing that on his travels Rinz had picked up a hotchpotch of opinions or, on the other hand, that his confession was a botched attempt to deceive his interrogators. It is, however, less important to conjecture how much of what he admitted to the Toledo inquisitors was true than to examine what this confession tells us about his way of thinking. He evidently believed himself capable of discrimination in matters of considerable moment. When Guillermo Herlin denounced Pierre de Rinz to the Inquisition, he maintained that Rinz had told him that Christ was not literally present in the consecrated host. Rinz defended himself from this accusation by saying that he had merely explained to Herlin what *luteranos*, in this case probably Calvinists, believed about the host, drawing a distinction which Herlin simply did not comprehend.[72] Likewise, when casting about for reasons why he had been apprehended, Rinz admitted that shortly before his arrest he had been discussing Jews and Moors in Angulo's press at Alcalá when he was asked by a Spanish workmate whether he thought Jewish beliefs were to be preferred to those of the *luteranos*. Rinz claims that he replied that the latter were preferable because the *luteranos* at least accepted the

[71] McGrath 1993: 168–70. [72] Trial of Pierre de Rinz, fols. [3]^{r}, [20]^{r}.

Trinity.[73] The fact that he suspected that this conversation may have lain behind his arrest suggests that he was aware that the distinction he had made could easily be misconstrued.

Although he admitted to the Toledo inquisitors that he used to agree with Reformist teachings against the mass, pilgrimages, and the intercession of the saints, he said that he had abandoned those views when he reached Spain. Other more specifically Calvinist (or, possibly, Zwinglian) opinions, such as the condemnation of images, apparently died harder. He claimed that he had abandoned these last vestiges of heresy after hearing one Dr Ramírez preach at Alcalá.[74] He therefore portrayed himself as somebody who listened attentively, was open to persuasion, and who could weigh up the individual teachings of competing creeds, understand holy writ for himself, and seek scriptural evidence rather than relying either on the authority of the Catholic Church or on the teachings of a single Reformist theologian. This was a bold stance in a world in which the major Protestant confessions were no less anxious than the Catholic Church to retain control over theology.

It also seems that he differentiated between what the inquisitors would consider doctrinal matters and questions which he assumed would be of less concern to them. Thus one of his opening gambits was merely to confess to doubts over the efficacy of fasting and veneration of holy images while denying the more serious charge of having heard Genevan preachers attack the mass.[75] It was only later in his trial that he admitted to having held fundamental heretical beliefs. He also proved resourceful in defending himself. Surmising—incorrectly, as it turned out—that the inquisitors were interested exclusively in what he had believed while on Spanish territory, he predated his rejection of most of his heretical ideas to six months before crossing the Pyrenees.[76] Similarly, he claimed very late on in his trial that he had not voluntarily confessed his former beliefs because he had held heretical opinions only before coming to Spain and so considered himself to be covered by the king of France's general pardon to those of his subjects who had committed religious offences.[77] When asked which parts of the Reformist sermons he had heard at Geneva he agreed with, he was quick to gloss over his original assertion that any sermon was bound to contain some right thinking, claiming that it was the passages cited from the scriptures that he approved of and not the preachers' interpretations of them.[78]

[73] Ibid., fol. [10]^{r}. [74] Ibid., fol. [18]^{r}. [75] Ibid., fol. [8]^{v}. [76] Ibid., fol. [23]^{v}.

[77] Ibid., fols. [23]^{v}–[24]^{r}. It is not clear to which royal pardon he was referring but, if it was an amnesty for those who held the heretical beliefs he accepted when serving as an apprentice at Geneva in 1562, he was probably thinking of the Peace of Amboise (1563) or Longjumeau (1568).

[78] Trial of Pierre de Rinz, fol. [9]^{r}.

Rinz therefore reveals himself to be a quick-witted man; religion mattered to him and, unlike his contemporaries Antonio de la Bastida and Enrique Loe, he had thought hard about it. But this had not resulted in the stark convictions which led Giles Duse to the stake, or the ignorant stubbornness which saw Isabel Régnier share that same fate. Rinz does not seem to have been easily persuaded in matters of faith, as were Pierre Régnier and Pierre de Ribera, but was receptive to argument and evidence. He therefore evinced the self-confidence which was not uncommon among printing-workers proud to be members of an élite craft and, as men who had some contact with scholars and the world of learning, able to think for themselves. As an itinerant worker he was exposed to the competing claims of the different confessions preached in the centres where he had lived and worked, and he had drawn his own conclusions from them.

The trials studied here show that the beliefs of these journeymen and their associates were far from uniform and were not always clearly thought out. These men had in the main been born into Catholic families, some of which, like those of Antonio de la Bastida and Pierre de Rinz, were associated with the Church. There was at the time, however, a recognition among many orthodox Catholics that the Church needed revitalizing, traditional practices reformed, and abuses eliminated. Some of the journeymen's rejection of inherited faith and customs may have been influenced by such currents of reform within Catholicism itself. In the course of their travels they then came into contact with Protestantism. However, a wide variety of Protestant beliefs and practices coexisted in northern Europe, and not only did they differ from town to town but they also changed over time, so the foreign journeymen arriving in the Iberian Peninsula would have already experienced rival claims to religious truth in the various Reformist centres where they had worked. This lack of a single, authoritative alternative to Catholicism seems to have encouraged some of them to think for themselves. Their trial-records reveal that in some towns they had attended mass, could remember the Catholic sermons they had heard, and had pondered those sermons. In others they had gone to Reformist services—dutifully claiming in retrospect that they had done so under duress—and could provide an informed account to the inquisitors of the rituals followed in those services. Again, they had heard, remembered, and thought about what the preachers had said, even if in some cases linguistic barriers or defective recall led them to create idiosyncratic meanings from what they had heard. In yet other centres, they had attended both orthodox and Reformist services. On the one hand they were attracted by novelty; on the other, tradition provided comfort. The journeymen did not base their opinions solely upon what was asserted by the preachers who wielded spiritual authority in the Catholic and Reformed Churches. They discussed

religion with their colleagues in the presses and elsewhere; they took to heart comments made by men they happened to meet at the docks, on the road, and in taverns; they fell under the influence of uneducated or semi-educated proselytizers. They therefore came into contact with a variety of Reformist ideas as these filtered down by word of mouth from theologians to ordinary people. In the process these ideas would have been simplified, distorted, and doubtless adulterated with superstition, popular belief, and working men's resentment of a hierarchical Church which made financial demands upon them. As one of those found guilty of *luteranismo* at the Barcelona *auto de fe* celebrated in September 1570 had complained, 'to give offerings to the clergy is merely to fatten up Our Lord's pigs; souls in purgatory do not eat bread or money'.[79] On the other hand, there is also evidence that the printing-workers overheard learned men of different persuasions debating religious issues inside, and sometimes even outside, the presses. On occasion they asked these scholars their opinions on specific religious questions, seeking authoritative answers in a world in which traditional certainties were under assault. Their views, then, were influenced both from above and below.

All those sources of information and opinion were oral ones. Although the printing-workers were, in the main, literate and earned their livelihood from the written word, they nevertheless inhabited a world in which ideas were conveyed predominantly through speech.[80] This was recognized by the inquisitors who accused them of listening to sermons, hearing heretical opinions, and discussing them with others. When they were denounced, it was invariably for something they had said rather than something they had done. Once arrested, they were accused of assimilating heterodox ideas by word of mouth in France, Switzerland, the Low Countries, and England, and of debating them with others in Spain or Portugal. The attempts of the Holy Office (and not just the Holy Office) to control reading are well known: it censored printed editions, it issued indexes of prohibited books and authors, it tried to prevent the importation of suspicious works, and it inspected bookshops in an endeavour to curtail the circulation of printed material once it had arrived in the peninsula. However, what it seems to have feared above all was the spread of heresy through the spoken word. The leading Reformers for their part also expected the 'new religion' to be spread in the main orally. The visual aspects of religious rites were sidelined in their services and emphasis firmly placed on the spoken and sung word. This may explain an odd response given to the inquisitors by Pierre de Rinz. With their Catholic assumptions about the mass, they must have asked the unrecorded question 'What did you see at the Calvinist services you

[79] Bada Elias 1970: 91. [80] Gilmont 1999: 224.

attended in Geneva?' As it was what was heard that was more important in those services, he replied: 'I saw the *luteranos* singing psalms.'[81]

Even when initially trying to deny that he had absorbed Reformist ideas north of the Pyrenees Pierre Régnier implicitly acknowledged that any such ideas he may have come across had been communicated through the spoken word, maintaining: 'I don't remember who said them because they went in one ear and out of the other.'[82] When he eventually confessed to having been converted to some of the precepts of the 'new religion', he singled out a workmate as well as Cathérine Pignier and her son Pierre as having instructed him informally while he was living with the Pigniers at Lyon. Juan Franco similarly admitted that he had been taught the 'new religion' by one of his employers in that city. In both cases such teaching would have been oral. Régnier then passed on his newly acquired faith to his wife by talking to her, for she was illiterate. Although a few journeymen admitted to having acquired heretical opinions in Spain itself, once again this was through conversation and discussion. Thus, as we have seen, Juan Franco claimed to have picked up some of his religious ideas from colleagues with whom he had talked in Spanish presses or from members of the book trade he came across in Spain. Although Antonio de la Bastida prided himself on his education, he admitted that his religious ideas came not from reading but from listening and conversation.[83]

The inquisitors assumed that the social status of the printing-workers and their associates meant that they had imbibed their opinions by word of mouth, but the distinction between the written and spoken word at that period was not clear-cut: while the literate participated in oral culture, the illiterate and semi-literate enjoyed access to the written word through hearing works read out aloud. The circle of French printers of playing cards at Toledo, for instance, went out into the vineyards not only to sing together but also to listen to one of their number reading from a copy of Calvin's writings which they had smuggled into Spain.[84] It was common for such reading to be punctuated by the readers' observations, offering through speech an interpretation of the written word.[85] In England Giles Duse had held a Flemish translation of the Bible in his hand when attending Protestant sermons, and had followed the preachers' readings, thus becoming familiar with the scriptures and able to read them for himself. As we shall see, João de Leão had constantly carried with him a printed sermon in the form of a poem—an example not of the printed word's being made oral through reading aloud, but of the spoken word's being recreated

[81] Trial of Pierre de Rinz, fol. [9]r. [82] Trial of Pierre Régnier, fol. [29]r.
[83] Trial of Antonio de la Bastida, fols. [50]r, [52]r.
[84] Thomas 2001*a*: 438–9, 441–3; Blázquez Miguel 1986: 151–2.
[85] Peña Díaz 2002: 87–8.

in writing. When Pedro Alberto was questioned about the Calvinist service he had attended in La Rochelle, the Lisbon inquisitors were anxious to know whether he had seen the French *luteranos* holding books (presumably the Huguenot psalter) in their hands on that occasion. They must have considered such use of print either as itself a sign of heresy or as a means of promulgating heretical doctrine. In the Protestant camp, however, the psalter served more to reinforce the words and music of psalms already known by heart than to impart new ideas or information.[86] There was, then, a constant interaction between the printed and spoken, or sung, word.

When working abroad the journeymen typeset or printed off both orthodox Catholic editions and ones that the Spanish inquisitors would have condemned as heretical. But in Spain any such heretical editions would always have been exceptional, the journeymen being engaged to print what their publishers trusted were Catholic or religiously neutral works. However, the trials show that they did not always labour over such writings unthinkingly. Antonio de la Bastida pored over the printed sheets as they came off the press. Others were eager to discuss them, sometimes drawing heterodox conclusions from those discussions, as happened when Juan Franco, Antonio Arnao, and Jacobus Boffaeus talked in that Salamanca press about a book they were printing. But occasionally their work in the Iberian Peninsula brought them unexpectedly into contact with printed matter of a heretical stamp. One day in 1563 António de Mariz returned to the northern Portuguese town of Braga with a supply of new books which he had acquired in Lisbon from João de Leão's old master João d'Espanha. That merchant bookseller had continued to go to his suppliers at Lyon even when that city was under Protestant control in the early 1560s. The books had been wrapped up in sheets of waste paper, and when the parcels were undone, those sheets were eagerly examined by Mariz, his wife, his father-in-law who was a journeyman-printer, and by João de Leão. As they were printed in French João translated them into Portuguese for the others, identifying them as coming from an edition of Calvin's catechism. He was able to do this with confidence because he had been lent a copy of that work when he was in Valencia many years earlier. His Portuguese colleagues were both fascinated and terrified, and after listening to João's translation they carefully burnt every last shred of the offending wrappers.[87]

Outside their professional work some of the journeymen and their associates who appear in the trials had read books; on occasion they identified the titles and even mentioned what their reaction to reading them had been. Others appeared not to have possessed a single work.

[86] Gilmont 1999: 227.
[87] First trial of João de Leão, fols. 6r–7v, 8v, 9v–10r, 24r–29v; third trial of João de Leão, fol. 256r.

When, for instance, the contents of Juan Franco's home in Salamanca were inventoried by the Holy Office's agents, no book was found among his or his wife's possessions. This is scarcely surprising; when Brígida Maldonado died in Seville in 1590 she owned only one book; yet she had run one of the most important printing firms in the country. Her single book, a work of popular hagiography, was fifty years old and had been printed by the family press when she had been in charge of it.[88] If the journeymen owned any printed work, it would be one which provided solace on their travels, although some of them also lent, borrowed, sold, and bought additional items. João de Leão returned to Lisbon from France with a copy of a French translation of the psalms, while the type-caster Benito Dulcet was arrested with a Protestant book in his pocket. João de Leão bought and sold books as part of his job, but he also read suspect ones that he passed to trusted friends in Portugal. A witness at his trial testified that João once gave a mutual acquaintance in Lisbon a copy of 'Porphyrio', telling him never to lend it to anybody else because it was dynamite. João must have read it or at least known something about its content.[89] When the Flemish typesetter Pedro Alberto, on the other hand, was arrested, his paltry possessions were listed as 'four *blancas*, a razor-like knife, and a small book of hours'; presumably that little volume was an orthodox book of devotion.[90] Under torture in Toledo his compatriot Pedro de Güerta claimed that he had never possessed any books at all (or had never read any), with the exception of a 'doctrina cristiana', or simple guide to the faith, which a priest who heard his confession at Valladolid had obliged him to buy.[91] Güerta may well have been lying, for it is implausible that, as a pedlar of printed pictures, he had not occasionally stocked other printed items in his pack.

João de Leão was exceptional in claiming that the beliefs he had espoused had their origin in reading: he had, so he said, gleaned all his suspect opinions from a single book. It is worth examining this assertion because it provides an insight into how he, and indeed others of these artisans, may have made use of printed material:

[88] Inventory of Brígida's Maldonado's estate dated 8 June 1590: AHPS, Of. 6, lib. 2 of 1590, fol. 914^{r}; Griffin 1993: 110.

[89] Third trial of João de Leão, fol. 161^{r}. The identity of this book is unclear, especially as the recipient was a tavern-keeper who presumably did not read the classical languages. In the late 1540s, when there was a clampdown on Reformist heresy at Venice, a representative of members of the book trade there enquired whether the authorities wanted works by Porphyry called in. This ancient philosopher had written against Christianity, and fragments of his attack had survived (Bujanda 1987: 45).

[90] Trial of Pedro de Güerta, fol. 276^{v}. This book may, on the other hand, have been a talisman to ward off evil rather than something to read; for the magical qualities of books of hours see Colomer Amat 1998–9: 130.

[91] Trial of Pedro de Güerta, fols. 271^{v}, 272^{v}.

I learnt the heresies which I have confessed from reading a book given to me in France and entitled 'fontena da vida'. This book was in French and was by Theodoro Besso. It also contained some of the psalms of David translated into French by Clemente Marothe as well as a sermon on the Good Shepherd written by that same author. While I was following the flag in Picardy I would read this book, and I derived pleasure from it, believing it to be good. I was of the opinion that I would gain salvation by following its teaching.

He must have realized that it would have been judged heretical in the Iberian Peninsula because he added 'as I was leaving France to go to Barcelona and thence to Spain [*sic*], I didn't dare to bring this book with me. So I left it in France with a friend who was a *luterano*.'[92]

As a binder and bookseller, João must have known what he was doing when talking about books; however, no surviving edition corresponds to his description. Nevertheless, the three constituent elements he mentioned can be identified. He may therefore have owned a copy of an edition which combined all three works but is now unknown, or the volume he described may have contained three separate titles bound together.[93] The *Fons vitae* was an anonymous little collection of biblical quotations—predominantly from the Old Testament—accompanied by consolatory examples, the Lord's Prayer, etc. Possibly of Flemish origin, it had first been published at Antwerp in 1533, and was subsequently translated into several vernaculars. Compilations of excerpts from the scriptures were among the most popular publications printed in the Low Countries during the sixteenth century, and the Flemish-language *Fonteyne des levens* was one of the most widely known of them.[94] The French version, the *Fontaine de la vie*, became popular in France and was reprinted several times.[95] The earliest surviving copy of this translation comes from an edition which had appeared in 1542 and was proscribed by the Sorbonne the following year. However, the Paris censors' concern lay not with the *Fontaine* itself but with a short guide to the faith which accompanied it in the 1542 edition and was designed for the instruction of children. This guide was Lutheran in inspiration, containing no reference to the sacrament of penance and implying that absolution by a priest was unnecessary. Although the Sorbonne had no objection to the *Fontaine*, both French and Flemish versions were listed in the Antwerp index of 1570.[96] Eugénie Droz, who studied the rare surviving copies of

[92] First trial of João de Leão, fol. 45$^{r–v}$.

[93] In 1541 Antoine des Gois produced at Antwerp an edition of 30 psalms translated by Marot, together with the *Sermon du bon pasteur et du mauvais*. It is always possible that it was a copy of this or a similar combined edition which in João de Leão's volume was bound together with the 'fontena da vida'.

[94] Johnston 1990: 173. [95] Higman 1996: 226–7.

[96] Ibid. 1979: 89–90; Bujanda 1988: 288–90, 344. This prohibition was carried over to the 1583 Spanish index (Bujanda 1993: 682–3).

various editions of this work, concluded that some of the excerpts it contained alluded to sensitive issues such as justification by faith, but that overall it was a moderate work and that the compiler's choice of biblical quotations was not tendentious.[97]

As for the psalms, we have already seen that they were widely read and sung in their rhymed French translation. It is possible that the identification of Théodore de Bèze as the author of the *Fontaine* was not so much João's mistake as a misunderstanding by the Portuguese scribe taking down the evidence he gave the inquisitors, for João may well have mentioned De Bèze alongside Marot as translators of the French psalms. The *Sermon tres utile et salutaire du bon pasteur & du mauvais, prins & extraict du X chapitre de sainct Jehan. Compose & mis en rithme françoise* was commonly attributed at the time to Clément Marot. It also appeared under the title *Bergerie du bon pasteur* and was censured by the Sorbonne and Louvain as well as being included among the handful of books printed in French which the 1559 Valdés index proscribed in Spain.[98]

It would appear from João de Leão's description of his composite book that it did, indeed, contain material which would have attracted the Spanish or Portuguese inquisitors' attention: the psalms would be suspect because they provided a vernacular translation of part of the scriptures and were identified with Protestant subversion, while the rhymed *Sermon* was of Protestant inspiration and argued, for instance, for justification by faith alone. However, the three titles João's volume contained scarcely constituted the primer of the 'new religion' which he claimed. Nevertheless, he told the Portuguese inquisitors that this book which he carried with him as a young soldier taught him the whole gamut of heresies which he later confessed and which it manifestly did not contain. In singling out this book he may have been assuming that his interrogators would want to identify one source for all of his convictions. But how could he reconstruct in his memory, let alone explain, the cocktail of argument, teaching, overheard conversations, church attendance, reading, and observation which together had prompted his conversion? Faced with the impossibility of this task, he may have simplified his experience for the benefit of his questioners, reading retrospectively into a little book of which he had fond memories a range of ideas he had assimilated in different ways on his travels through several countries. This also suggests that popular reading matter could be less a direct source of information and opinions than a springboard or mnemonic for the sixteenth-century reader. Carlo Ginzburg argued that his Menocchio reinvented the few texts he had read and, combining them with ideas he had

[97] Droz 1970–6: i. 295–306, 318–21.

[98] Bujanda 1984: 585–6, 658. On the identity of the *Sermon*'s author, Almanque Papillon, see Mayer 1965. The Spanish index of 1583 banned all Marot's works (Bujanda 1993: 673).

picked up from what was predominantly an oral culture, forged an idiosyncratic cosmology. João de Leão was a very different sort of person from the Italian miller; he was a well-travelled man who spoke and wrote at least French, Spanish, and Portuguese as well as being able to quote in Latin from the Bible. He had rubbed shoulders with scholars, and at one time was employed as a binder for the king of Portugal. Yet he looked back to one book he had owned in France and recreated imaginatively the influence it had exerted upon him. It is significant that, just before he described this little volume to his interrogators, he mentioned how he had discussed religion with fellow-soldiers in Picardy and, as he was only a young man at the time, how he had imitated them in thought and deed.[99] It may be that what he learnt in conversation with his Protestant comrades-in-arms encouraged him to draw upon his personal experience—in Rome he had been outraged by the sight of the pope sitting on his throne while cardinals kissed the papal slipper—and reach his own conclusions about the religious controversies which were raging in France, subsequently reading those conclusions back into the *Fontaine de la vie*.

A similar process may explain some of the journeymen's understanding of what they had heard rather than read. In Chapter 6 Juan Franco's brief account of a sermon he had attended in Paris was reproduced. He gave this when he was being interrogated about his attitude to the veneration of holy images, and he seemingly did so in order to justify his belief that God alone should be worshipped. He may, of course, have realized that he had been manœuvred into voicing an opinion which was dangerously close to a Reformist condemnation of Catholic idolatry, and so rapidly invented what he hoped would appear to be an orthodox authority for that opinion. On the other hand, he may indeed have remembered what the priest had said in Paris because he had often thought about it. But his conflation of two different episodes from the Bible in his faulty recall of the sermon could indicate how he had unwittingly modified its content over the years he had meditated upon it. More importantly, Franco appears to have recreated the sermon in the light of what he had been taught at Lyon several years after leaving Paris. The journeymen and their associates fashioned their own meanings from the written and oral sources with which they came into contact. It is therefore only to be expected that they would not all share the same views and that their beliefs often appear confused and occasionally bewildering, as is the case of Isabel Régnier's assertion that, like some Borgesian poet, the pope could destroy the world with a single word.

Whatever the true extent of these foreigners' learning, they prized knowledge and writing. Their pride in being able to read, their risking their lives

[99] First trial of João de Leão, fols. 41^{v}–42^{r}.

by carrying with them collections of psalms which they doubtless already had by heart, and their quoting of printed sources for their opinions all attest to a respect for the written word. Such respect is unsurprising in men who made a living from reproducing it hundreds of thousands of times, but they were not unique in this, for there was at the time a popular belief in the magical properties of writing.[100] The wearing of 'nóminas'—pieces of paper or parchment containing prayers or names of saints—to guard against the evil eye, illness, or danger was widespread, and printers were not slow to exploit such popular credulity. Among the stock held in Jacobo Cromberger's Seville warehouse on his death in 1528 were 8,000 printed sheets of such 'nóminas' and over 1,000 deluxe versions coloured by hand. None have survived.[101] In the very years that the printing-workers were tried some Church leaders in Spain were attempting in vain to put an end to such superstition.[102]

However great the printing-workers' respect for writing, we find that they had acquired their convictions entirely or in part orally: through listening, discussion, and, occasionally, through the interaction of the written and the spoken word. As a rule they had assimilated those views before reaching the Iberian Peninsula. Once there, they generally conformed to the outward demands of Catholicism as practised in Spain. The journeymen went there in order to earn their livelihood, and many of them were aware that their religious opinions meant that they ran the risk of falling foul of the Inquisition, but they all seem to have assumed that they would be safe if they were discreet. The fact that most of them had been in the country a long time before they were arrested suggests either that they had not attracted the Inquisition's attention or that, after carefully keeping up their guard for several years they had then dropped it. Sometimes their indiscretion seems to have been due to carelessness, sometimes to overconfidence, and sometimes to a compulsion to talk or to define themselves as members of a group apart, a compulsion which may well have been a product of the double life they led.

This double life could take a terrible toll. Giles Duse, for example, complained: 'for a long time I have suffered from stomach pains; sometimes I have taken to the bottle and have got drunk. The reason is the anguish I have felt because I have not been able to speak openly about my faith in the new religion.'[103] By 1570, after having lived in Spain for many years, Duse

[100] Cátedra 2002*a*: 97–8.

[101] Griffin 1988*b*: 216. A large stock of 'nóminas' was similarly held in the warehouse of the Toledo printer Juan de Ayala in 1556 (Blanco Sánchez 1987: 215).

[102] Bouza Álvarez 2001: 93–108. For the use of 'nóminas' in the Spanish countryside see Redondo 1986: 361–3. They were prohibited in the Spanish Inquisition's 1583 index (Bujanda 1993: 72, 884).

[103] Trial of Pedro de Güerta, fol. 236r.

was racked less by fear of exposure than by guilt at concealing his beliefs both in his daily life and, on an earlier occasion, before the inquisitors. Nine years previously he had been arrested by the Toledo tribunal for asserting that what the Holy Office termed 'simple fornication' (sexual relations between a bachelor and a spinster) was not a sin, a view which he shared with many an orthodox Spaniard. On that occasion he had been interrogated about his beliefs but must have denied them, because he had been sentenced merely to wear a *sanbenito*.[104] This tormented man's guilt at not proclaiming his true faith seems to have contributed to his developing stomach ulcers. His condition can only have been exacerbated by his heavy drinking which probably had the same cause. He attempted to assuage his feelings of isolation in an alien world by looking out for any passing Flemish travellers or beggars and inviting them home to eat with him, offering them a bed, and clothing them when they were in need. During their short stay with him he would risk discussing his religious convictions with these strangers.[105] The reader of what remains of his trial-record senses his mixture of terror and relief when he was arrested, plucked up the courage to defy the inquisitors who embodied all that he despised, and made a clean breast of his beliefs.

In Duse's guilt we may glimpse the influence of Calvin's attacks on temporizers or dissimulators whom he labelled Nicodemites. Calvin demanded that those who had embraced the 'new religion' should have the courage of their convictions and witness to their beliefs even if that invited martyrdom, the only alternative being exile for conscience's sake. There has been considerable debate about whether Nicodemism was a conscious adherence to a tradition of spiritual principles seen right across Europe in the first half of the sixteenth century or whether it was, more simply, a consequence of the fear of persecution felt by those with Reformist sympathies who found themselves living in Catholic areas.[106] There is no evidence in the trial-records studied here that these modest men's and women's concealment of their faith had any other cause than their apprehension that openness would lead them straight to the Inquisition, and some of them fall into Calvin's own category of merchants or members of the common people who were too timid to face persecution.[107] However, the scorn poured by Calvin upon those who denied their true

[104] Ibid., fol. 237^{v}.

[105] Ibid., fols. 235^{r}, 236^{r}.

[106] Some historians of Nicodemism distinguish between the Nicodemite who, in all good conscience, believed that concealing his religious convictions was not incompatible with them, and the temporizer, or crypto-Protestant, who was distinctly uncomfortable at having to dissemble (Wanegffelen 1997: 70–4).

[107] Eire 1979: 67.

faith publicly may well have lain behind the agonies of conscience which Duse suffered.[108]

Duse was not one of the journeymen-printers, but among them were several who seem to have been kindred spirits. Guillermo Herlin's constant attempts to provoke discussion with his fellow-printers about the 'new religion', the successes of the Huguenots during the Wars of Religion, and the glories of Geneva show that, like Duse, he was not content just to get on with his work and keep his opinions to himself. He felt a need not only to share his views with others but to have them confirmed by those of his colleagues at Alcalá whom he managed to draw out. In this book he has been depicted as the epicentre of the denunciations which led many to the stake or the galleys, and his colleagues may have considered him so dangerous because he was a busybody with a wagging tongue. He may equally have been a man tormented by guilt at concealing his faith. Other shadowy figures like the journeyman-printer Isac de Ribera and the type-caster Pierre Pintamenan, both of whom were Frenchmen who had lived and worked at Geneva, also appear to have felt a need not only to witness to their faith but also to persuade others to do the same, albeit in private.

The majority of the journeymen, however, either kept their beliefs to themselves or shared them only with those they trusted, while doing their utmost to conceal their suspect opinions from the Spaniards who surrounded them. All the foreign workers arrested regularly attended mass in Spain or Portugal, had confessors, and obeyed the ordinances of the Church, although several of them confided to like-minded colleagues that they observed such rituals only to keep up appearances. The type-caster Benito Dulcet was denounced for telling a witness that, although he thought the mass was worth no more than a pair of old shoes, he attended in order to conceal the fact that he had been a *luterano* in France.[109] Pedro de Güerta managed to communicate to the deaf printing-worker Enrique de Bueys that 'he went to mass just because people expected it of him', and Enrique replied that he did just the same. When Güerta added that, although he traded in holy pictures he despised them, Enrique responded that 'one would have to be off one's head to have faith in such things'.[110] Other journeymen were more aware that, as foreigners surrounded by religious beliefs and practices which were uncongenial to them, they might succumb to the temptation to reveal to their compatriots more than was wise. Thus the compositor Pierre de Ribera maintained, 'if

[108] The mental torment of crypto-Protestants obliged to conceal their faith and conform outwardly to Catholic rite should not be underestimated (Brigden 1991: 559–60).

[109] The Barcelona tribunal's account of its *auto de fe* of 4 Feb. 1571: AHN, Inq., lib. 730, fol. 136^{v}.

[110] Trial of Pedro de Güerta, fol. 275^{v}.

I have had dealings with foreigners and *luteranos*, I have not opened up to them. I've always tried to be silent when I've been working, and on rest days I've kept myself to myself and not gone around with any of my workmates.'[111]

Although Pierre Régnier and, in particular, his wife could be forthright in their criticism of Spanish Catholics when alone with their French and Flemish colleagues, they put on a convincing show of orthodoxy during the eleven years they lived in Barcelona. The bishop of Barcelona's ex-vicar general, Joan Grisol, testified that he believed the couple to be good Catholics. Grisol could speak French and so he had acted as confessor to the Régniers. Indeed, the fact that he also confessed the Régniers' employees suggests that Pierre had behaved outwardly as an orthodox master, obliging his staff to fulfil their Catholic obligations. The couple had gone to the vicar general for confession more than a dozen times, that is to say approximately once a year, as was normal. He had not only seen them at mass where he had administered the holy sacrament to them, but had also observed them obeying the Church's regulations about refraining from eating meat on days of abstinence.[112] Nevertheless, as Isabel admitted to the Toledo inquisitors: 'all the time I was living in Barcelona I secretly held to those *luterano* errors of faith but, although I believed them in my heart, I didn't give any sign of them in my behaviour.'[113] Many of those in Barcelona who knew only the couple's public face saw no reason to question their orthodoxy but were also aware that an outward appearance of devotion could conceal heresy. The *Regent* of Catalonia, for instance, who had to deal with the crisis occasioned by the conflict between the inquisitors and the *Diputats* over Isabel Régnier's bedding and was doubtless relieved to have seen the last of the couple, testified: 'I know Pierre Régnier by sight because he was my neighbour. I always thought him a good Christian until I heard that he had been arrested by the Holy Office; then I began to have my doubts.'[114]

All these immigrants must have experienced some fear, for the slightest slip could result in denunciation. However indiscreet the Régniers had been on occasion, they were aware of the risks they ran in their adoptive home. When they accommodated a French family who shared their religious views, Isabel was horrified that the wife should openly prepare meat on days of abstinence, and she obliged her to go to an upper floor of the house to cook it.[115] As Isabel was not the slightest concerned about disobeying the Church's ordinances, it is evident that it was the risk of her lodgers' being discovered, together with the potential consequences for her and her

[111] Trial of Pierre de Ribera, fol. [15]^{v}.
[112] Trial of Pierre Régnier, fol. [53]^{r}.
[113] Trial of Isabel Régnier, fol. 206^{r}.
[114] Trial of Pierre Régnier, fol. [44]^{v}.
[115] Trial of Isabel Régnier, fol. 213^{r}.

husband, that worried her. They had to be vigilant. Although some caught themselves singing Marot's psalms as they were distracted by their work in the presses, others were more careful. In his final confession João de Leão told the Lisbon inquisitors about a French friend in that city who would sing Marot's translations when he was alone in his house, but when the Catholic with whom he shared his lodgings was present he would be sure to keep quiet.[116] Sometimes their caution could take on almost comic proportions. The French printing-worker Jacques de la Oliva was so terrified about the risk posed by his comrades' singing of psalms that when Pierre de Ribera intoned a popular proverb, Oliva immediately assumed that it must be heretical. Ribera recounted the occasion to his interrogators at Toledo: 'two or three years ago when I was working in Andrea de Portonariis's press at Salamanca I recited the line "ede bibe lude post mortem nulla voluptas". Jacques de la Oliva, who has also been brought down to this prison, told me to keep quiet saying that some *luterano* must have written that line.'[117]

Many of these immigrant printers therefore lived on the edge: looking over their shoulder, but also tempted, sometimes irresistibly, to share their doubts and faith. In some cases their stress is palpable. The few times they could get away into the countryside to worship together must have provided welcome respite, but even there they would not have been above suspicion.[118] Although some seem to have been racked by guilt at not having the courage to witness to their beliefs in the 'new religion', it seems that others were genuinely tormented by having turned their back on the old one. Juan Franco exemplifies the predicament of such men. Although he had been instructed in *luterano* ideas in France, he had lived for a long time in Spain where, as we have seen, he married, settled with his family, and was integrated into the network of social relations created by members of the world of the book at Salamanca. In that city he lived as an orthodox Catholic, even his wife being ignorant of his *luterano* past. When he was arrested and taken down to Toledo, he became desperate not just about his fate in this world, but also about his preparations for the next. He beseeched the inquisitors to assuage his anxieties, begging to know whether he could have been legitimately shriven of having once held heretical views or whether he continued to live in a state of sin despite his efforts to gain absolution:

after having offended Our Lord by taking to heart the heresies to which I have confessed, I was seized by a longing to forsake them and return to the bosom of the holy mother Church. So I made a point of seeking help and advice from some priests, but they all told me that this was a matter for the Inquisition and that they couldn't

[116] Third trial of João de Leão, fol. 258^{v}.

[117] Trial of Pierre de Ribera, fol. [15]^{r}. This proverb was not classical in origin, but was widely known as a summary of Epicureanism. It may have originated in a drinking song.

[118] Jiménez Monteserín 1980: 726.

shrive me. About two years ago when I was in Salamanca, a jubilee was proclaimed during which I fasted, prayed, went to confession, took communion and joined a procession of penitents like in Holy Week. By fulfilling all those requirements I tried to gain the absolution which is the jubilee's reward, and I went to the church of San Martín to make my confession to a priest. I told him about all my sins and the heresies I have confessed here in prison, but once he had heard me out he refused to shrive me because he said it was not in his power to do so. I left the church weeping bitterly and sought out another priest. I made my confession to him in that same church but, as I didn't mention anything about my heretical beliefs, he gave me absolution. I don't remember if I took communion on that occasion. I have been racked by doubts about whether I was right to do what I did and whether I have really been absolved of my crimes of heresy by virtue of the jubilee I have mentioned. This is my motive for asking for this audience. The reason why, at the first sessions I had with you, I failed to confess the heretical beliefs I now acknowledge, was my fear of being burnt for them.[119]

This confession has the ring of truth about it and suggests a man sharing the mental distress experienced by Giles Duse but, while Duse had suffered agonies of conscience because he had not been courageous enough to witness to his Protestant convictions, Juan Franco was terrified that he might never be accepted back into the orthodox faith of his childhood.

In this chapter we have seen that among the journeymen-printers and their associates tried by the Inquisition there was a wide range of religious belief, various degrees of thoughtfulness about matters of faith, and differing strengths of conviction. The friction between dogmatic Protestants like Pierre Pintamenan or Isac de Ribera and other foreign printing-workers they met testifies to this variety. However, the trials tend to obscure fundamental differences among Protestant confessions because all the prisoners were simply accused of a blanket *luteranismo* by inquisitors who had only a rudimentary understanding of the Reformist beliefs they were investigating. The trial-records allow us to glimpse the defendants' beliefs only through a glass, darkly. Nevertheless, it does appear that, even though the nature of the trials may well exaggerate the role which religion played in their lives, for some of them belief was a central facet of their identity as foreigners in Catholic Spain and of their relations with others. Many of them had only a superficial familiarity with Reformist doctrine and had assimilated an unsystematic mixture of notions about religious issues, while others appear to have thought hard, forging their own, sometimes idiosyncratic, faith. However, there are details in some of the trial-records which can only be explained by ignorance or by the anarchic period through which the journeymen-printers lived. For instance, João de Leão's application to

[119] First trial of Juan Franco, fol. 149r–v.

the Calvinist authorities at La Rochelle for a licence to print a book of hours is decidedly odd considering the religious situation in that city in 1566. On the other hand, Juan Franco's doubts about whether he could be absolved of sins he had deliberately concealed during confession, and Enrique Loe's apparent confusion as an ex-altar-boy whether it was licit to break one's fast before mass suggest real ignorance of Catholic belief and practice.

It was suggested in Chapter 8 that these foreign artisans' pride in their level of culture, perception that they were engaged in an élite craft, enterprise, willingness to face risks in a foreign land, and experience of the different confessions they encountered in their peripatetic lives may have been associated with an independent cast of mind. But is there a discernible link between these men's craft and their religious affiliations? It cannot have been their inclination towards the 'new religion' that induced them to choose printing as a career in the first place because some of them, like Pierre Régnier, had been converted when already members of the industry, while others, such as Pierre de Rinz, had been forced into the craft by their elders. On the other hand, it was not something intrinsic to printing which predisposed these workers to embrace Reformist ideas, for the great majority of master-printers and their staff in Spain, as elsewhere in Catholic Europe, must have been thoroughly orthodox. Rather, it appears that it was the journeymen-printers' upbringing, training, or employment in centres of Reformist fervent north of the Pyrenees, as well as their constant contact both there and in the Iberian Peninsula itself with a mobile community of like-minded foreigners, which resulted in those journeymen's attraction to and retention of what the Inquisition judged to be heretical beliefs.

It may also be the case that the confidence in their own judgement evinced by some of them had its origins in their relatively high level of education, their close association with the written word, and their identification with a modern craft which was perceived to lie mid-way between the intellectual and the mechanical. This self-confidence may have predisposed them to question inherited orthodoxies and to embrace new ideas. If so, it could be argued that there was at least an indirect link between their craft and their religious beliefs. The journeymen themselves were conscious that a large number of sympathizers with Reformist ideas were employed in the industry. Antonio de la Bastida, for one, implied that the French printing industry was full of them, claiming that he left his homeland 'and came to Spain so I would no longer have to witness the wicked lives that many printing-workers, being *luteranos*, led'.[120] João de Leão went further, associating journeymen-printers (presumably he meant the foreigners among them) in Spain itself with the 'new religion': he boasted to a

[120] Trial of Antonio de la Bastida, fol. [51]^{v}.

fellow-prisoner that 'there is no *luterano* heretic in all these Spanish kingdoms whom I am not able to recognize as such and with whom I am not personally acquainted', adding that 'out of 100 printing-workers there's not one who isn't a heretic'.[121]

[121] Third trial of João de Leão, fol. 161r, and his second trial, fol. 71r.

10
The End

This study began with accusations made by Benito Dulcet and Guillermo Herlin against their former workmates. Before those two men had been arrested in the late 1560s at Barcelona and Alcalá de Henares respectively, others associated with the world of printing in the Iberian Peninsula had from time to time been tried by the Inquisition. Antonio de la Bastida, João de Leão, and the members of the *luterano* circle of playing-card printers at Toledo, which included the bookseller Gaspar de la Vega, had been apprehended in the mid-1560s and tried at Cuenca, Lisbon, and Toledo. There was nothing new in this: some thirty years previously the printer Miguel de Eguía had languished in a Valladolid gaol for many months before being cleared of suspicion of *luteranismo*, and in 1545 four French booksellers had been sentenced at Zaragoza for the same crime.

But the arrest of Dulcet, and especially Herlin, at a moment of crisis in Spain resulted in a different scale of inquisitorial activity against members of the industry. A large number were investigated, and some thirty sentenced in the late 1560s and early 1570s as the Holy Office dismantled a network of supposedly *luterano* journeymen-printers which stretched from Salamanca to Granada and from Barcelona to Lisbon. The stream of accusations made by Herlin against his workmates resulted in panic among foreign journeymen-printers with a history of Reformist associations. Not only did many of them flee to other Spanish towns from Alcalá de Henares, which seems at that time to have harboured an informal *luterano* circle in its presses, but a considerable number went to ground all over the peninsula. Some, like the puller or beater Nicolás de Campos and the type-caster Pierre Pintamenan, had doubtless already managed to escape back home to France. Others followed them. Their unlucky or less prudent colleagues were gradually picked up by the Inquisition's agents. Toledo was the hub of the investigations. Sentences for those found guilty varied: of those tried by other tribunals, only João de Leão was executed; at Toledo, however, Juan Franco, Isabel Régnier, Pedro de Güerta, and Güerta's acquaintance Giles Duse all went to the stake, while others were committed to the flames in effigy because they had escaped the Inquisition's clutches.[1]

[1] The Frenchman Antonio Francés who was burnt at Toledo may also have been a printing-worker.

Two categories of apostate received a mandatory death sentence at an *auto de fe*: heretics who were unrepentant, and those who had relapsed into heresy after previously abjuring their errors *de vehementi* and being received back into the Church. The unrepentant included those who denied their heresies (*negativos*) and those who, while acknowledging their views to be heretical, refused to recant (*pertinaces*). Giles Duse is an example of an unrepentant *luterano*; João de Leão of a relapsed heretic.[2] Others, like Isabel Régnier and Juan Franco, eventually confessed to holding heretical opinions but then revoked their confessions, showing that these must have been false; they therefore fell into the category of *fictos confitentes* and were condemned to death as impenitent heretics. Prisoners who were executed suffered excommunication, forfeited the possessions they had acquired since adopting their heretical views, and were handed over to the secular authorities for burning. Their families and descendants suffered serious sanctions.

Most of the printing-workers and their associates arrested in the 1560s and 1570s were not executed but reconciled to the Church and prescribed penances. In reality these were criminal sentences, the tribunal determining their nature and length. For example, at the *auto de fe* celebrated in Toledo's Plaza de Zocodover on 18 June 1570 at which Pedro de Güerta and Giles Duse were condemned to death, six journeymen-printers were given relatively light penances. Juan Cutera was to receive one hundred lashes and was obliged to abjure *de levi* for warning a heretic to flee the Inquisition. The two young Flemish compositors Enrique Loe and Pedro Alberto were each incarcerated for one year, probably in a monastery, and ordered to wear a *sanbenito* during that time; however, at the *auto* itself the inquisitors released Pedro Alberto from the obligation of wearing the penitential tunic. Jacques de la Oliva was sentenced to a *sanbenito* for eight years, but was not imprisoned. Esteban Carrier was to wear a *sanbenito* for the same period but was also given a hundred lashes; his case was somewhat different from that of the other printing-workers because he had managed to combine heresy with bigamy.[3] The journeyman-printer Isac de Ribera, for his part, was imprisoned for six years although, as was observed in Chapter 2, he was released after serving only half that term. Other sentences passed on journeymen-printers at that *auto* were, however, much harsher: Pierre de Rinz was dispatched to the galleys for four years while Guillermo Herlin and Juan de Probin were each to serve six at the oar.[4]

[2] Duse may also have been deemed a relapsed heretic because he had presumably abjured his errors at his first trial many years previously.

[3] It was not unusual for married immigrants from France to start a second family in Spain or even to marry again there (Davis 1985: 157).

[4] RBM, MS II/1846, fols. 63^{r}–65^{r} [*olim* 146^{r}–148^{r}].

Two months after that spectacular *auto*, a smaller ceremony was held in the Dominican house of San Pedro Mártir at Toledo. Only eight people were paraded, one being the French typesetter Pierre de Ribera who was sentenced to four years in the galleys. Another was the German wife of Giles Duse, Bárbara Benavides, who had presumably been arrested at the same time as her husband. Initially the Toledo tribunal had voted to absolve her *ab instantia*, which meant that she was released but her case could be reopened at any time. It evidently was, because at the *auto* of August 1570 she was declared guilty of *luteranismo*, reconciled to the Church, and imprisoned for four years. The elusive Flemish compositor Adrián Gaspar was sentenced at about this time to serve four years at the oar before being returned to the Zaragoza tribunal which had first dispatched him to the galleys.[5]

The *auto de fe* held in the Plaza de Zocodover in June 1571 was a large affair, with thirty-three prisoners paraded in person and another three in effigy; six of them were associated with the world of the book.[6] Isabel Régnier was burnt, as were the effigies of Esteban Carrier and two booksellers from Toulouse, Juan Temporal and Juan de Perusa (or Periosa). Carrier was condemned to death *in absentia* because he had disregarded a provision contained in his sentence the previous year that he should not leave Castile, therefore proving that the readiness he had shown to fulfil the penance prescribed him by the inquisitors was false and he was really an impenitent heretic. However, he had put many miles between himself and Toledo and could not be traced. He was nevertheless excommunicated and would consequently have been liable to execution by anybody catching up with him. At the same ceremony Pierre Régnier was condemned to six years in the galleys, and Juan Franco to eight.

The next *auto* to be held at Toledo was the following May, but some time before that the Genevan typesetter Juan de Rodas who had worked in Pierre Régnier's Barcelona press was sentenced to two years' reclusion.[7] It was at the grand *auto* of May 1572 that Franco would appear again, this time to be condemned to death. Of the forty-three prisoners who appeared in the Plaza de Zocodover on that occasion he was the only one to be burnt, and was the last of the printing-workers studied here to be sentenced. By then the network of heretical journeymen and their associates had been smashed, its members executed, taken out of circulation, forced to flee, or severely chastened. Only a handful walked free. Two of them were the French

[5] RBM, MS II/1846, fol. 65$^{r–v}$ [*olim* 148$^{r–v}$]; trial of Pierre de Ribera, fol. [26]^{v}; Toledo tribunal's *relaciones de causas* for 1569–70 and 1570, and the *relación* of its *auto* of 13 Aug. 1570: AHN, Inq., leg. 2105, caja 1, exp. 8.

[6] Horozco 1981: 229–36.

[7] Toledo tribunal's *relación de causas* dated 26 May 1572: AHN, Inq., leg. 2105, caja 1, exp. 10.

printing-worker Pierre Relin and Juan Franco's old colleague from Salamanca, Antonio Arnao. The latter was absolved and released at some time in 1572 because Franco, the sole prosecution witness, had withdrawn his accusation against him. Relin was freed at about the same time, his trial suspended because the prosecution witnesses had vanished.[8]

Sentences passed on the journeymen therefore ranged from death to the obligation of wearing a penitential habit. The latter may seem a relatively light punishment, but the effect of such public humiliation suffered by a skilled artisan jealous of his reputation and honour should not be underestimated; nor, if he had a family which intended to stay in Spain, should the lasting shame experienced by its members who, once the *sanbenito* had ceased to be worn, would see it hanging in their local church for posterity. Even if they were theoretically received back into the bosom of the Church, those who were reconciled were stigmatized at the *auto* and for ever afterwards, while their descendants were barred from holding public office. The loss of property of those reconciled to the Church would also have been a hard blow, especially to those with dependents.

Although the death penalty was mandatory in some cases, the tribunal used its discretion in others where it had to make a judgement about the sincerity of the accused's confession and repentance. Signs of contrition and humility were therefore crucial. A dramatic illustration of this occurred during the *auto* at which Pedro de Güerta and Giles Duse were condemned to the stake. Another prisoner due to be burnt with them after that ceremony was a *morisca* slave called Bernaldina. At the eleventh hour, after the death sentence had been pronounced on her at the *auto* itself, she fell to her knees and recanted, humbly begging the inquisitors for mercy. She was led away for further questioning, and her sentence reduced to one year's confinement in a convent.[9] In addition to contrition and repentance, the inquisitors also took into consideration extenuating circumstances. For example, Pedro Alberto had denied the validity of auricular confession, had been of the opinion that the faithful should be given both bread and wine during communion as was the custom in the Reformed churches, had attended a Calvinist service at La Rochelle, and was found guilty of *luteranismo*. Nevertheless his punishment was light. Unfortunately his trial-papers have not survived, but the probable explanation for the tribunal's clemency was not only the mitigating factor that he was still a minor but his having presented himself voluntarily to the Inquisition and made a full confession. He had presumably made a clean breast of his beliefs early in his trial, which would be one reason why that trial was so rapid.

[8] Toledo tribunal's *relación de causas* for 1572: AHN, Inq., leg. 2105, caja 1, exp. 10.
[9] RBM, MS II/1846, fol. 65$^{r–v}$ [*olim* 148$^{r–v}$].

Enrique Loe, on the other hand, had been arrested on the basis of a credible denunciation, and had refused to admit to a whole gamut of heretical beliefs until a late stage of his trial when faced with the prospect of torture. The inquisitors and their assessors could therefore have imposed a severe sentence on him. However, their vote was recorded as follows: 'Given the fact that this prisoner is an ignorant minor, the members of the tribunal agreed unanimously that he be reconciled to the Church. All his possessions shall be forfeit, and he himself incarcerated for a year during which time he shall be obliged to wear a *sanbenito*.'[10] A further reason for the leniency with which he was treated may have been the fact that he had held his *luterano* views lightly and for only a short time. Juan de Rodas's trial-record, like that of Pedro Alberto, has been lost, but his two-year confinement at Toledo, during which time he was to receive religious education from a Dominican instructor, suggests that he similarly attracted a light sentence because he was young and, having been brought up in Calvinist Geneva, ignorant of the faith. Isac de Ribera was treated somewhat more severely, but again his youth was what probably ensured that he was spared the galleys.

Pierre de Rinz was a very different sort of defendant from Pedro Alberto, Enrique Loe, Juan de Rodas, and Isac de Ribera. He had thought hard about religious matters and, when he adopted many of the Reformist ideas he encountered in Switzerland and France, he had been perfectly aware that he was turning his back on the orthodox faith of his childhood. Although he had been an adolescent when apprenticed at Geneva, he had reached the age of majority by the time of his arrest. The tribunal acknowledged how contritely he eventually confessed to all his crimes but, because he was intelligent and probably cocky in the early stages of his trial, the inquisitors discerned a heretical 'intention' in his case and judged him far more culpable than his workmate Enrique Loe. Although Bachelor Baptista Velez, one of the inquisitors' assessors, was sufficiently impressed by the sincerity of Rinz's repentance to argue that four years wearing a *sanbenito* would be punishment enough, his was a lone voice on the tribunal, and Rinz was condemned to the galleys.[11]

The longest sentence at the oar meted out to any of the printing-workers was the eight years imposed upon Juan Franco at the end of his first trial. The reasons why the Toledo tribunal voted unanimously to commit Juan Franco to the galleys for so long are evident from its summing up. They found him a recalcitrant defendant who constantly denied wrongdoing and, when he realized that he had to give ground, did so piecemeal. Even as he appeared to be making a satisfactory confession, the inquisitors received fresh information against him—the joke about Louise Labé, La Belle

[10] Trial of Enrique Loe, fol. [24]^{r}.

[11] Trial of Pierre de Rinz, fol. [21]^{v}.

Cordière—and concluded that he was concealing further transgressions. His having held a wide range of Reformist beliefs for many years before he was arrested was a particularly damning factor highlighted by the tribunal, and his mature age may also have influenced its decision. Franco was petrified throughout his trial, and his records are heart-wrenching for the modern reader. His plight did not move the inquisitors. This is not because they were monsters, but because his terror cast further doubt on the sincerity of the confessions he made: they would have suspected such confessions to have been provoked more by fear than by a genuine desire to repent. It can have come as no surprise to them when trying him for a second time that he proved to be, at least by their lights, an impenitent heretic who revoked his earlier admissions, thus showing them to have been false. Only one of those voting on the outcome of Franco's second trial was opposed to his being executed, and that objection was overruled.[12]

The stake spared Franco his eight years at the oar, but such a term would anyway have been tantamount to a death sentence for a man of his age. The galleys were the most feared punishment after the stake, and with good reason. A contemporary commander with experience of the Spanish fleets observed that, while Turks and Berbers made good rowers, the life expectancy of Europeans pulling the oar was short. More than one rower in ten of the crews expired annually, and very few reached their fortieth birthday. It has been calculated that in the contemporary Venetian galley-fleet at least half the crews succumbed before their sentences were completed. Exertion, poor food, cold, and sickness accounted for many fatalities in the insanitary conditions aboard where the oarsmen sat in their own filth—an approaching galley would sometimes be smelt before it was seen, and passengers were apt to faint at the stench. When the ships were engaged in combat, the rowers would suffer more acutely: their hands could be broken when their oars clashed with those of enemy ships being boarded, and slaves invariably drowned when their floating prisons were sunk.[13]

At least two of the printing-workers studied here survived those appalling conditions. The French compositor Pierre de Ribera was 31 years old in the summer of 1570 when he was found guilty of *luteranismo* and sent to the galleys. In June 1575 his wife Inés Carrera presented a petition to the Toledo inquisitors requesting a transcript of his sentence.[14] He had served more than the four years to which he had been condemned, but his paperwork had been mislaid, and so the fleet refused to release him. Her request was granted, but Ribera's predicament was not unusual because

[12] Second trial of Juan Franco, fol. 162$^{r–v}$.

[13] Molina Heredia 1994: 414–15; Heras Santos 1990: 132–3. On the Venetian galleys see Pullan 1983: 67. For the stink of the galleys see Beeching 1982: 16; Marañón 1943: 103.

[14] Trial of Pierre de Ribera, fol. [28]^{r}.

release from the galleys was far from guaranteed once a convict's prescribed term of servitude had expired. This was an endemic abuse of the galley system but was particularly severe at this time.[15] Not only had the journeymen-printers been arrested at one of the worst moments to be tried for Protestant heresy in Spain, but they had been dispatched to the galleys at a crucial period of naval hostilities against the Turk, when the fleet was overstretched and commanders were reluctant to lose experienced rowers. The other journeyman-printer who is known to have survived the galleys was Pierre de Rinz. Once he had completed his four-year sentence he must have written to the Toledo inquisitors begging to be released. An inquisitional bureaucrat added the following undated memo to Rinz's records: 'it appears from his trial-papers that the aforementioned Pierre de Rinz has served his sentence . . . and his years at the oar have aged him so much that he is now like an old man. Your Honour may well feel disposed to grant his request.'[16] One or two years were normally enough to break a rower's health. Rinz's sentence had broken his, for this prematurely aged convict would then have been only about 29 years old. But he was alive. Whether the brutal labour of rowing had incapacitated him for the delicate task of selecting and setting small printing-types we cannot tell, for there is no record of the work he did when released. All we have is an enigmatic letter written in the summer of 1596 and slipped into his file. It is the only surviving indication that he might still have been in Spain twenty-seven years after his initial arrest and once again attracting the Holy Office's attention.[17]

Four general criteria can be discerned which determined the sentences imposed upon the foreign printing-workers found guilty of *luteranismo*: pedagogic and deterrent potential, practical usefulness, the social and political atmosphere of the moment, and the discretionary powers given to the tribunal.[18] The *auto de fe* itself, with its elaborate staging and its celebration on Sundays or holidays when the maximum number of spectators would attend, was designed to display the power of the Inquisition, to reaffirm the faith shared by those present, and to emphasize the abominable nature of heresy which was considered in law to be the most heinous crime it was possible to commit.[19] Those paraded were publicly shamed: they not only appeared bareheaded and clad in their penitential tunics, but their sentences were shouted out to the crowd. Those like Esteban Carrier or Juan de Cutera who were to be flogged were ignominiously processed through the streets accompanied by a crier cataloguing their sins. An

[15] Sevilla y Solanas 1917: 83. [16] Trial of Pierre de Rinz, fol. [14]r.
[17] Ibid., fol. [11]r. [18] Gacto Fernández 1993: 93–6; Fernández Giménez 2000: 160–2.
[19] Bethencourt 1992: 157–9.

example was therefore made of the guilty, and the public accordingly indoctrinated. The sentences read out at the *auto* included a summary of the crimes of which they were accused, thus instructing spectators what were the errant beliefs and behaviour they should avoid and denounce. The punishments meted out to the guilty taught the onlookers what was the price to be paid for offending against conformity.[20] At least once a year the Holy Office's Edict of Faith was read out in public, so Spaniards were alerted to the signs of heresy, but the *auto de fe* with its fearsome sentences provided a more graphic lesson.

Sentencing *luteranos* to the galleys solved a series of problems. The fleet required a constant supply of replacement rowers and, at the time the printing-workers were tried, galley slavery was becoming the most common form of penal servitude for males convicted in the civil courts.[21] For its part, the Inquisition could not accommodate prisoners serving their sentences, and the cost of feeding and caring for them would have been prohibitive. Service at the oar was therefore a pragmatic solution. The length of the sentences imposed upon those destined for the oar was normally between three and ten years. This was not for a judicial but a practical reason: it took about one year to train a rower, so it would have been uneconomic for him then to serve for a brief period; the shortest sentence given to any of the printing-workers who was sent to the galleys was therefore three years, and most were dispatched for longer.[22] While Barcelona condemned Benito Dulcet to three years at the oar, the Toledo tribunal handed down sentences of four, six, and eight years to the printing-workers. They were equally pragmatic when sentencing Jacques de la Oliva. His trial-record has disappeared, but we know that he was found guilty of *luteranismo* 'in all his opinions', and that the Suprema thought that he should have been condemned to the oar. In their defensive reply to headquarters the Toledo inquisitors explained that they had treated him leniently because, at more than 60, he appeared too frail to be of any use in the galleys. Sentences were therefore determined by factors other than the strictly legal merits of the case.[23]

They could also be a product of the immediate interests of the Holy Office as an institution. There is no evidence that the supposedly *luterano* printing-workers had a subversive influence upon the Spaniards who

[20] On the pedagogic nature of sentencing see Dedieu 1987: 143–4.

[21] Pike 1983: 4, 6–7.

[22] Sevilla y Solanas 1917: 33. In 1568 inquisitional tribunals were instructed that, for this reason, they should not sentence prisoners to the galleys for fewer than three or four years (letters dated 15 and 16 Jan. 1568 from the Suprema to tribunals: AHN, Inq., lib. 1233, fol. 343^{r}, and lib. 325, fol. 23^{v}).

[23] Letter from the Toledo tribunal to the Suprema dated 27 June 1570: AHN, Inq., leg. 3070, exp. 32.

surrounded them as there was little contact between the two groups, and the workers generally comported themselves outwardly as devout Catholics. However, the atmosphere of the time was fraught, and the Toledo tribunal itself seems to have been in a bullish mood. These factors appear to have been reflected in the harsh punishments meted out to the workers.

The printing-workers and their associates studied in this book were, then, victims not only of a judicial process which was loaded against them, but of a series of particularly unfavourable circumstances: a political crisis in Spain, the tense international situation, the heightened perception of a Protestant threat, a moment of especially vehement xenophobia, and a time when the Toledo inquisitors were very aware of the institutional interests both of the Holy Office as a whole and of their tribunal in particular.[24] The latter's personnel were anxious to stage spectacular ceremonies for their immediate public at Toledo and to prove their zeal to the Suprema. In such an atmosphere recantations like that of the *morisca* Bernaldina must have been a public relations coup. In his account of the *auto* at which she dramatically acknowledged the error of her ways a bystander described the breathtaking sequence of events not once but twice, demonstrating his fascination with that last-minute reprieve which would have been accompanied by public rejoicing at a soul saved from the very threshold of hell.[25]

The atmosphere which emerges from the Inquisition's records of the time was febrile, but a series of more sober conclusions can be drawn from them. The Holy Office's archives have long been quarried for information on a wide range of subjects, particularly the history of Jews and of Protestants. They have also provided information for social and cultural historians as well as for historians of ideas. This study, however, shows how important they can be for historians of the book. Other researchers have examined the records for what they can tell us about censorship, reading, and the circulation of printed material in the sixteenth century, but my principal interest has been to learn about the craftsmen who laboured together in the production of that material. Information about such workers is rare throughout Europe, and seldom provides any picture of them as individuals. The papers of the Spanish and Portuguese Inquisitions, however, can

[24] The printing-workers arrested in the 1560s and 1570s account for a large proportion of the Frenchmen burnt or sent to the galleys by the Toledo tribunal in those years. If we base our calculations on Monter's figures for French prisoners sentenced at Toledo 1560–1600 (1987: 99), we find that some 20% of the Frenchmen burnt in person, 12% in effigy, and 30% of those sent to the galleys were members of the world of printing and bookselling.

[25] The climax of the *autos* was always the penitents' recantation and reconciliation, not the burning of those who had been condemned to death. The celebration of the inquisitors' achievement in leading penitents back to the Church is what lay at the heart of the public reaffirmation of faith which was the *auto de fe*. The sermon preached at that particular *auto* in Toledo took as its subject the parable of the lost sheep (RBM, MS II/1846, fols. 63^{r}, 65^{r} [*olim* 146^{r}, 148^{r}]).

be used to reconstruct the geographical and social origin, educational and professional training, travels, careers, standard of living, and even the attitudes, beliefs, and ambitions of one group of such artisans.

A study of the inquisitional trials also offers insights into the Spanish book industry in the 1560s and 1570s. For example, the importance of Lyon as a source of labour for the Iberian presses is shown by the recruitment there of skilled men like Pierre Régnier and Juan Franco, and this also illustrates the shortage of trained journeymen in Spain at this time. The movement and recruitment of printing-workers which can be reconstructed from the Holy Office's archives allow us to trace significant axes in the industry, for instance those of Lyon–Salamanca and Lyon–Barcelona. Moreover, the small number of journeymen studied here who found work in Andalusian cities indicates that by the 1560s the industry's centre of gravity had shifted from the south of Spain to northern Castile. The documents similarly provide evidence of wage levels and working practices in the industry, for example, the lending or hiring of types by one printer to another, and the length of time it took to print certain editions. Peripatetic presses were more common in the history of Spanish printing than studies of production by established presses in major centres have led us to assume. We find, for instance, Diego Fernández de Córdoba transporting a printing-press to a small town in order to fulfil a commission to produce a single edition, and then moving on. Likewise Sebastián Martínez not only sets up a branch office at Sigüenza specifically to produce a series of liturgical editions for that diocese, but also takes a number of his employees with him, returning with them to his base at Valladolid once the order is completed. But not all Martínez's employees at Sigüenza had previously worked for him at Valladolid. He contracted some itinerant craftsmen to work in his branch office on just one of those editions, while others were taken on to print the whole series. The production of those liturgical editions at Sigüenza thus provides evidence of various sorts of travelling printing-worker. In addition, the trials indicate how long journeymen would work for a particular printer as well as offering an insight into the rapid turn-over in the workforce in some centres and its relative stability in others.

More specifically, the documents used in this study allow us to amend the history of some Spanish presses, which has hitherto largely been based on an analysis of their surviving production, as well as providing information about otherwise unknown editions. The documents on occasion indicate the number of printing-presses a particular workshop operated, and this can correct the misleading picture of some printers' overall output provided by studies based exclusively on the haphazard survival of that workshop's products.

The trials and the correspondence associated with them provide information about sixteenth-century printing-workers which is not available from other sources. What is most immediately striking is that such a large number of them were foreign; Frenchmen were ubiquitous in the industry at that time and some Spanish presses must have been French-rather than Castilian-speaking. This in turn may explain some of the defects common in Spanish books of the period. These foreign workers appear to have been attracted to Spain by, among other things, the good wages available in the industry there and the comparatively high demand for labour in Spain when the French industry was dislocated by the Wars of Religion and it was becoming difficult to get work in the Genevan presses.

To find employment they relied on news mostly spread by word of mouth but occasionally by letter, for they formed a loose community in which they all seem to have known, or known about, each other. This network grew up for professional and social reasons. The journeymen laboured long hours together against deadlines, and their interdependence resulted in a sense of solidarity. Most of them were constantly on the move, encountering friends, or friends of friends, in presses throughout the peninsula. They also shared similar working experiences: many had toiled in the same centres north of the Pyrenees and, when they arrived in Spain, followed the same routes, starting at Zaragoza and subsequently working in two major university centres, Salamanca and Alcalá de Henares. The resulting sense of community was also socially important for foreign printing-workers. One reason is that few of them mastered the languages spoken by the general population which surrounded them and which viewed them with suspicion or even hostility. They were thus thrown closely together. An esprit de corps must have been particularly strong among those of them who were crypto-Protestants living in a sea of Spanish and Portuguese Catholics. The documents make clear that many spent what spare time they had in each other's company and seldom mixed socially with Spaniards, even if they sometimes worked alongside them. Their main leisure pursuit was talking, and for those who harboured Protestant tendencies, unguarded conversation could be fatal. There appears to have been some friction between French and Flemish immigrants, but the general solidarity and conviviality of young bachelors produced a sense of community among them. They were consequently vulnerable when one of their number was induced to confess all he knew.

The Inquisition's records offer details of the foreign journeymen's backgrounds. Several had begun a course of higher studies in their own countries, while they would have discovered on reaching Spain that some members of the industry there were illiterate. It is therefore unsurprising that they evinced a certain pride in their learning. Only a few of the

immigrants had served an apprenticeship in the printing industry before reaching Spain, and they had therefore experienced particular difficulty in finding work in their own countries. Nevertheless, labour in the Spanish book industry was unregulated, and it was common for workers to be employed in it without having completed a formal training. This says much about the state of printing in Spain and goes some way towards explaining the poor quality of many Spanish editions of the period. However, although the defective proofreading of sixteenth-century Spanish books was much commented upon at the time, the inquisitional documents show that careful copy-editing and proofreading was carried out in some cases, notably of scholarly texts and liturgical editions.

Rudimentary training and, in particular, an inadequate grasp of the language being typeset must have proved a problem for foreigners employed as compositors in Spanish presses. Nevertheless, the similarity of working practices in the industry throughout Europe meant that an itinerant craftsman found little difficulty in fulfilling his duties as a member of a press crew in a city or even a country he had never previously visited. The documents show that the foreign printing-workers who went to Spain had constantly to travel from one press to another in search of employment. In this they were, perhaps, no different from French journeymen working in a range of trades who traditionally completed a 'tour de France' in their youth. However, several, like Antonio de la Bastida, do seem to have been particularly mobile, and would walk thousands of miles a year. Such itinerant workers were normally young, single, and physically tough. Some older men, of whom Juan Franco and Pierre Régnier are examples, managed to settle down permanently or semi-permanently in one city.

The foreign journeymen tried in Spain and Portugal did not come from a single mould: they ranged from feckless drunkards to thoughtful observers of the world around them. Many were violent, with a history of soldiering, and several were enterprising in their attempts to supplement their erratic wages. Their religious views had generally been acquired through the sermons they attended in Reformist centres outside Spain, from conversations they had with fellow-workers, or from the authors and students they happened to meet or overhear in the presses. What evidence we have of their reading suggests that they interpreted what they read in the light of ideas acquired from sources other than books. Although these men earned their livelihood from the printed word and lived on the cusp of the world of learning, theirs seems to have been a predominantly oral culture. They spent much of their time talking to their comrades about their religious beliefs, doubts, and fears. While some of them argued openly about such matters, others were wary of saying anything even to their compatriots, just recognizing from signs, tell-tale turns of phrase, or significant silences that

the latter shared their Reformist sympathies. Many were aware that they were living on a knife's edge.

Although the Inquisition was acutely conscious of the threat printing presented as a means of disseminating subversive ideas, the trials studied here provide surprisingly little evidence that inquisitors were interested in what books the foreign journeymen manufactured. During the course of their trials Pierre de Rinz, Juan Franco, and Antonio de la Bastida volunteered information about editions they had worked on in Spain and abroad, but their interrogators were eager to move on. Only when Enrique Loe was accused of helping to print a vernacular edition of the Bible at Antwerp did they pause to ask about that book. Even if the works the journeymen printed were not the reason they found themselves under investigation, their craft was nevertheless the indirect cause of the Inquisition's interest in them. This is because a shortage of skilled labour in Spanish presses attracted foreign artisans who had worked in major centres of printing north of the Pyrenees before arriving in Spain. As many of those centres were associated with Protestantism, the journeymen, who already fell under suspicion because they were foreigners, were considered doubly suspect.

The denunciations of 1569 and 1570, and the shockwaves they sent out across the country, thus provide the historian of the book with a rich source of information about both the printing industry at the time in Spain and the people it employed. However, some of the conclusions which can be drawn from the documents studied here are relevant not only to the Iberian Peninsula, to those years, or to that industry. They help to fill a gap in our knowledge of artisan history in sixteenth-century Europe.

What became of Benito Dulcet and Guillermo Herlin who were the indirect source of all this information? I do not know whether Dulcet survived the galley service to which the Barcelona tribunal condemned him, but he was still a young man when sentenced. As for Herlin, I suggested that one motive for his cooperation with the Toledo inquisitors may have been to attract their mercy. He was over 40 when arrested, and would have known that at his age he was unlikely to last long at the oar. He may have thought his best chance of a lighter sentence would be to prove his repentance by incriminating a host of his comrades, acting as the inquisitors' trusty in the tribunal's prison at Toledo, and extracting information from his fellow-prisoners. Having confessed to believing *luterano* heresies, he must have been aware that he would be punished, but his heavy sentence may have come as a shock to him when he was paraded at the Toledo tribunal's *auto de fe* on 18 June 1570. A local writer who happened to be present at the ceremony recorded the inquisitors' judgment as follows:

Guillermo the printer from Paris, denizen of Alcalá de Henares, found guilty of *luterano* heresy with all his heinously wicked opinions, obdurate in his criticism of friars, priests and the pope, and a great proselytizer. He was reconciled with the Church . . . and condemned to wear a *sanbenito* as he served a sentence of six years as a galley-slave. Once this term was completed he was to return to this tribunal to receive further instructions.[26]

This account is not the last mention of Herlin to be found in the Inquisition's archives. After appearing at that *auto* he would have been incarcerated in Toledo's grim royal prison to await transfer to the Mediterranean town of Cartagena which was one of Spain's major galley ports. Less than a fortnight later, in the latter half of June, the prisoners were manacled, chained together in a gang of a dozen or more men, and marched down to the coast. The journey from Toledo normally took chain-gangs three weeks, and they must have been nearing Murcia when an unexpected event occurred. Guillermo Herlin began to shout out at the top of his voice: 'I don't give a damn for the pope nor any of his ways; all that stuff's a load of bull-shit. I'm a *luterano* at heart and want to be burnt for my faith; I lied to the inquisitors at Toledo about renouncing it.' The other members of the gang set upon him, ostensibly for uttering such abominations. As some of them were former colleagues who had appeared at the same Toledo *auto de fe* as a result of his denunciations and may well have learnt in prison that he was acting as an informer on his cell-mates, they would have had good reason to feel ill-disposed towards him. He was rescued from their clutches by the guards, imprisoned, and tried by the Murcia tribunal of the Holy Office. In his first audience with the inquisitors he asserted that he was really a good Catholic but that his terror of being condemned to the living hell of the galleys was so great that he had voiced those heresies in the hope that he would be taken for a *luterano*—or, bizarrely, a Jew—and that the stake would save him from serving in the fleet. Whether this explanation was true, or whether he had momentarily plucked up the courage to witness to his real beliefs we cannot be sure. The Murcia inquisitors deliberated on his strange case, voting to sentence him the following summer to a flogging, two years in the galleys, and confirming the six years at the oar handed down by their colleagues at Toledo.[27] Unfortunately, the Cartagena galley registers, which survived until the beginning of the twentieth century, have disappeared, so we shall never discover whether several of those colleagues from the Spanish presses whom Herlin denounced enjoyed the dubious honour of rowing in the great Catholic victory over the Turk at Lepanto in the autumn of 1571. For his part, Herlin's long imprisonment at Murcia

[26] RBM, MS II/1846, fol. 65^{r} [*olim* 148^{r}].

[27] Murcia tribunal's account to the Suprema of its *auto de fe* of 1 July 1571: AHN, Inq., leg. 2022, caja 1, exp. 5, fols. [2]^{v}–[3]^{r}.

before he was sentenced meant that he would not have been sufficiently competent as a rower in time for that battle. It is not known whether he survived his sentence. Indeed, nothing more has come down to us about this sinister or, possibly, pitiable figure who provided a wealth of information about the foreign printing-workers of sixteenth-century Spain.

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Index

Abad, Juan 61
abjuration 65, 96, 103, 114, 119, 253
absolution 162 n. 29, 217, 225, 231, 234, 241, 248, 249
abstinence, *see* days of abstinence
Africans 156, 257
Alba, duke of 13, 14
Alberon, Jacome de, *see* Enríquez, Diego
Albi 13, 32, 89, 92, 96, 97, 98
  bishop of 96, 100
Alcalá de Henares 1, 8, 29, 31, 32, 34, 92, 95, 121 n. 11, 164, 188
  printing at 15, 20, 29, 31, 77, 85–6, 98, 99, 108, 110, 116, 141 n. 85, 144 n. 95, 172
  Reformist circle in presses at 252
  and royal commission on printing 86–7, 159, 165, 172, 174
  San Bernardo (church) 217
  university 2, 7
  see also flight from Inquisition
Alcázar de Consuegra 34 n. 26, 35
Alcocer, Fray Francisco de 34, 162
Alejandro, *see* Gaspar, Adrián
Algiers 14, 112
Alkmaar 22
alms, *see* good works
Alocomar, *see* Gaspar, Adrián
Alpujarras, see *moriscos*
Altabel, Pierre de 211, 212, 213
alumbrados, *see* illuminism
Álvarez, Cristóbal 8, 9
Amboise, Peace of (1563) 235 n. 77
Amelon, Jacques 229
Americas 13, 78, 89, 99, 102 n. 45, 156
Andalusia 63, 101, 115, 116
Angelier, Jean le 135
Angelier, Julien le 135
Angers 95
Angulo, Andrés de 86, 159
  employees 29, 86, 87, 99, 108, 110, 116, 169, 172, 176, 204
Antequera 86
Antioch 94, 100
Antoni (employee of Pierre Régnier) 85 n. 48
Antonio (black slave in press, occupation unspecified) 156
Antonio (black slave, puller) 156
Antwerp 22, 23, 33, 35, 73, 103–6, 109, 135
  economic crisis at 81
  Kammenstraat 104
  Our Lady (church) 103, 104
  printing at 7, 17, 20, 29, 103, 104, 105, 107, 158, 241 n. 93
  Protestantism at 29, 104, 221, 222
  and Reformist books for export to Spain 12
  religious tensions at 104–5, 110
  sectarian violence at 81
  singing of psalms at 222
  see also archives
Anvers, Pedro de, *see* Pedro Alberto
apostasy 58
apothecaries 211
apprentices 16, 82, 117, 157–8
  abandon masters 112, 146, 147, 157
  age of 29, 157 n. 5
  at Antwerp 157, 184
  at Barcelona 16, 85, 141, 143 n. 95, 146–7, 158
  at Basle 18
  and board and lodging 158, 185–6
  at Geneva 111, 112, 157
  harsh life of 158, 175
  length of apprenticeships 157
  at London 157
  at Lyon 20, 77, 121, 157, 229

apprentices (*cont.*):
nationality of 17
at Paris 77, 157
at Rouen 134
at Salamanca 17
at Seville 157
at Toulouse 37, 97
Aragon 75, 76 n. 7, 89, 90, 101, 132, 141 n. 83
Arbús, Pierre 85 n. 47, 143, 147
Arbús, Samsó 85 n. 47, 85 n. 48, 141, 142, 143, 147, 194
archives 155
Antwerp, Stadsarchief 103 n. 50
at Barcelona 16
Cuenca, Archivo Diocesano 21
Halle-Wittenberg, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt, Martin-Luther-Universität 21
Lisbon, Arquivos Nacionais/Torre do Tombo 21
Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional 21
notarial 15–17
Salamanca, Archivo Histórico Provincial 17
Seville, Archivo Histórico Provincial 16
Simancas, Archivo General 16, 21 n. 76
Zaragoza, Archivo Histórico de Protocolos 16
see also Spanish Inquisition
Argues, Narcís Samsó, *see* Arbús, Samsó
Ariosto, Ludovico 4
Aristotle 54, 159
Arnao y Presiter, Antonio 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 163, 197, 255
Arquer, Sigismondo 26–7, 38, 47, 50, 67, 69, 152, 161
Artigat 205
artisan autobiography 18, 152
Augsburg, Peace of (1555) 3
authors and scholars 16, 99 n. 38, 113, 128, 137, 139, 148, 159, 163, 177
proofread own books 159
autos de fe 22, 38, 50, 66–7, 69, 258–9
at Barcelona 28, 88, 89
at Lisbon 36, 37, 171
in Mexico 13–14 n. 50
at Murcia 68
at Seville 5, 8, 9
at Toledo 2, 7, 10, 23, 27, 44, 46 n. 71, 64, 67–70, 73, 119, 120, 129, 130–1, 132, 224, 229, 253, 254, 260, 264
at Valencia 89
at Valladolid 5
at Zaragoza 89
Auvergne 34 n. 28, 75
Aveyron 28, 85 n. 47
Ayala, Juan de 99 n. 34, 244 n. 101
Ayala Cano, Juan de 78, 82, 99, 108, 181, 182
Ayanz, Francisco de 95, 96, 100, 101
Ayres, María 123–4, 127, 131–2

'Babylon', *see* Spain
Baduel, Claude 204
Baeza 172
Bages, Damià 138, 139, 143, 148
Baides 95
Ballieur, Arnaud, *see* Paris, Hernando de
Baltasar (black slave, beater) 156
banishment 65, 96
baptismal records 17, 103 n. 50
Barcelona 1, 13, 30, 32, 39–43, 48, 65, 67, 71, 72, 84, 103, 115, 132
bishop of 41, 150
Booksellers' Company at 138–9
Carrer del Call 40, 140 n. 77, 187
Carrer de Sant Domènec 141
Confraria de Sant Jeroni dels Llibreters (guild of booksellers) 137, 145
Consellers of 43 n. 57
Frenchmen in 75, 88
inquisitors and inquisitional tribunal at 1, 21, 39–43, 44, 50, 88, 89, 141, 142, 143, 148

and Lyon 136, 137, 144 n. 100, 147, 261
Montjuïc 195, 207
Portal de Sant Antoni 40
power of booksellers and publishers over printers at 137, 144, 148
printing at 23, 28, 34, 35, 39, 53, 60, 68 n. 73, 77, 98, 138, 141, 168
Reformist sympathizers in 88
regulation of book trade at 145
rivalry among printers at 137, 145, 152
Sant Bertràn (hermitage) 195
Sant Julià (church) 195
shortage of skilled printing-workers at 144 n. 100, 145, 146, 147, 158
university 137, 164
see also archives; *autos de fe*; booksellers; *Diputats*; Generalitat; prisons
Basilea, Isabel de 169, 189–90
Basle 18, 26
book fairs 106
printing at 112, 113–14
Basque country 109
Bastian (employee of Pierre Régnier) 85 n. 47
Bastida, Antonio de la 13, 48, 50, 84, 92–103, 118, 120, 162, 193, 206
at Albi 97–8
at Alcalá de Henares 86, 94, 98, 99
apprenticeship of 77, 97, 173
at Barcelona 84, 98, 193
at Berlanga de Duero 99, 190
at Burgos 99
character of 62, 93, 117, 210, 211, 230
at Córdoba 99
and defence witnesses 59, 189
delayed arrest of 94–5, 174
discurso de la vida of 96–9, 101, 120
education of 61, 100, 210
escapes of 32, 39–40, 95, 173
at Granada 98
at Jerez de la Frontera 99
journeys of 37, 97–9, 101, 194
and knowledge of languages 85 n. 49, 90, 100, 210
at León 99, 173
at Lyon 98, 193
at Madrid 99
at Medina del Campo 98
at Paris 98
possessions of 82–3
possible marriage of 102 n. 46
at Salamanca 98, 102, 123
and search for employment 98, 101, 194
at Seville 99, 181
at Sigüenza 86–7, 89, 99, 170, 173, 186, 198
suspected by workmates 89
and time spent in each press 190
at Toledo 98, 99, 181–2
tortured 65, 96
at Toulouse 97, 193
at Valencia 97, 98, 99, 188
at Valladolid 102
at Zaragaoza 97, 98, 99, 206
Bastida, Giles de la 96
Bastida, Hernando de la 96
Bastida, Juan de la 96
Béarn 12, 87 n. 57
beaters 77, 85, 87, 156, 157 n. 4, 165, 166, 174–5, 178
considered mechanicals 185
and cooperation with pullers 180–1
nationality of 175
see also Arbús, Samsó; Baltasar (black slave); Fernando (black slave); Juan (black slave); Montoya, Diego Cristóbal de; Rabut, René
'Belle Cordière, La', *see* Labé, Louise
Bellère, Pierre 106
Bellioc, Jacques 200
Benavides, Bárbara 254
Bergeon, Jacques 136 n. 64
Bergerie du bon pasteur, see *Sermon du bon pasteur*
Beringen, Godefroy 121–2

Beringen, Marcellin 121
Berlanga de Duero 99, 190
Bernaldina (*morisca* slave) 255, 260
Bernard of Clairvaux, St 113, 114
Bernuz, Pedro 16, 37, 86, 97, 98 n. 19, 108
Berton, Barthélemy 106, 107, 108, 183, 213
Bèze, Théodore de 219, 220, 221, 241, 242
Bible 19, 26, 116, 125, 241
  biblical authority 128, 130, 231, 232, 235
  concordances to 105
  printing of 105
  in vernacular 105, 113, 114, 218, 223, 224, 238, 242
  see also *sola scriptura*
bigamy 15, 253
Binçon, Claudio 10
binders and binding 37, 137, 169–71, 188
  as mechanicals 210
  see also Desparza, Rodrigo; Leão, João de; Velaz, Tomás de
Biscay, Bay of 122
blasphemy 15
Blois 135
Bodin, Jean 75
Boffaeus, Jacobus 128, 163
bookbinders, *see* binders and binding
books:
  burning of 5, 7
  censorship of 5, 6, 160 n. 22, 237, 241
  commissioning of editions abroad 136, 137, 160, 212, 213 n. 66
  distribution of 5, 34, 160, 179
  ephemera 160, 179
  of grammar 97, 212, 213
  of hours 212, 213, 240, 250
  humanist 139, 160
  imports of into Portugal 171 n. 67, 212, 213 n. 66
  imports of into Spain 5, 6, 12, 80, 106, 137, 160, 161
  kinds printed in Spain 160, 161
  of law 139, 160
  learned 162, 176
  legislation governing 5, 6, 160 n. 22
  liturgical 78, 93 n. 1, 99, 120, 139, 161, 169, 170, 171, 173, 174, 182
  of medicine 160
  of philosophy 160
  reprints of 161, 179
  smuggled into Spain 5, 8, 10, 12, 106, 222, 238
  of theology 160
  see also indexes of prohibited books; psalters
booksellers 16, 37, 102 n. 44, 146
  at Alcalá de Henares 71, 110, 121 n. 11
  at Antwerp 104, 106
  apprentices 85 n. 48
  at Barcelona 137, 138–9, 143 n. 92, 144, 145, 150
  at Braga 171
  commissioning editions abroad 137, 160
  company of established at Salamanca and Medina del Campo 160
  in England 134
  at Granada 170
  hold over printers 81, 137, 144, 148
  illiterate 73, 77
  itinerant 127
  at Lisbon 170, 171, 211
  at Lyon 19, 20, 80, 114, 121, 136
  at Medina del Campo 17, 121 n. 11, 123, 127, 170 n. 64
  and prohibited works 12
  at Salamanca 17, 83, 123, 127, 128 n. 35
  at Seville 105 n. 62, 170 n. 64, 209
  at Toledo 32, 73 n. 90, 127, 167, 252
  at Valencia 98, 170
  at Valladolid 127

vulnerability in France 76 n. 9
at Zaragoza 146, 170
see also Altabel, Pierre de; Bages, Damià; Bellère, Pierre; Bornat, Claudi; Boyer, Jacques; Bruselete, Enrique; Cabrit, Miquel; Cánova, Alejandro de; Cortey, Pau; Cromberger, Jacobo; Cruz, Giraldo de la; Espanha, João de; Ferrer, Miguel; Frenchmen; Granjon, Robert; Hubert, Arnaud; Italiano de Strata, Pedro; Juan (French bookseller); Landry, Pierre; Leão, João de; Loe, Jan van der; Madreto, Guillermo; Mall, Joan; Mariz, António de; Martel, Luis; Menescal, Bernat; Menescal, Joan Pau; merchant-booksellers; Millis, Guillermo de; Ortis, Miquel; Paris, Hernando de; Payen, Thibaud; pedlars and peddling; Perusa, Juan de; Pesnot, Charles; Pesnot, Louis; Radix, Nadal; Régnier, Pierre; Robles, Blas de; Robles, Francisco de; Sanahuja, Antonio de; Sánchez, Francisco; Suelves, Miguel de; Temporal, Juan; Uquetan, Gil de; Vega, Gaspar de la
bookshops 16, 127
inspection of 12 n. 42
Bordeaux 106
Borges, Marcos 36
Borja, Francisco de 6 n. 21
Bornat, Claudi 30, 85, 137, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145–8, 194
as agent of Inquisition 142, 145, 148
book production of 145
and employees 28, 34–5, 85, 86 n. 53, 141, 143 n. 95, 166, 175, 176, 189
informs against Régnier 142, 145
and partners 98 n. 27
poaches Régnier's staff 145, 146, 147, 181
as scholar 152
and underhand actions 145–7, 148
Bossulus, Matthaeus 137, 163–5
Botardo, Nicolao 211
Botín, Pierre 133 n. 49
Bouvet, Claudine 135 n. 59
Boyer, Jacques 128 n. 35
Braga 171, 202, 239
Briones, García de 99
Brittany 56, 134, 171, 213 n. 68
broadsheets 34
Brocar, Arnao Guillén de 77
Bruges 223
Bruguera, Onofre 98 n. 27
Brunehamel 121
Bruselete, Enrique 127–8
Brussels 13
Brylinger, Nicolaus 113 n. 96
Bucer, Martin 231
Bueys, Enrique de 31, 32, 246
bulls, *see* indulgences
Burgo de Osma, El 99, 170
Burgos 182
printing at 77, 78, 85, 99, 122, 168
working day at 182
Burgos, Pedro Alonso de 139, 148, 154
Burgundy and Burgundians 121 n. 11, 122, 150
burning of heretics 2, 5, 10, 27, 37, 63, 67, 68, 69, 74, 88, 131, 224, 252, 253, 257
in effigy 2 n. 5, 9, 67, 88
bush-telegraph 32, 33, 84, 102, 156, 206

Cabrit, Miquel 53, 138, 139
Cahors 85 n. 47
Cailly 133
Calatayud 123
Calvin, Jean 12 n. 42, 55, 56, 113, 124, 201 n. 25, 204, 238
and attack on 'libertins' 224–5
and catechism 239
on confession 231, 234
on eucharist 227, 231
on images 219, 234, 235

Calvin, Jean (*cont.*):
on psalms 220, 221
see also Nicodemism
Calvinism 107, 113, 116, 224, 234
at Antwerp 29, 104
in Béarn 12
in France 226
at Geneva 12, 28, 55, 81, 111, 114, 225, 231, 232
in Low Countries 224
at Lyon 79, 229
at La Rochelle 23, 56, 212, 225
see also Huguenots
Campos, Nicolás de 181, 182, 194, 211, 252
Camps Puer, Ramon 208 n. 50
Canal, Antonio 110
Cánova, Alejandro de 98 n. 24, 120, 122, 123, 128 n. 35, 169
Cánova, Juan de 98, 108, 123
Canto, Francisco del 108
Canto, Mateo del 108
Caraffa, Giovanni (Gian) Pietro, *see* Paul IV
Caramuel y Lobkowitz, Juan 177, 209
Carcassonne 85 n. 48
Carlos, Prince Don (son of Philip II) 13, 57, 94, 100 n. 41, 165 n. 39, 187, 200
Carranza, Bartolomé de 6–7
Carrera, Inés 257
Carrier, Esteban 34–5, 46, 67 n. 69, 85 n. 47, 140, 143, 146–7
sentences passed on 253, 254
Cartagena 265
Castelnerach, Antonio 28, 85 n. 47, 85 n. 48, 138, 189
Castile 3, 7, 23, 30, 84, 89, 101, 116
shortage of skilled workers in 76
casting off 178, 179
Catalans in printing industry 87
Catalonia 1, 15 n. 55, 30, 35, 39, 84
attractiveness to immigrants 75, 81, 88
Audiència 42 n. 54
Corts 40 n. 45
disputes with crown and Inquisition 40–3, 88
population of 75
printing in 133
Reformist sympathizers in 41, 88
Regent, *see* Muntaner, Francesc
viceroy, *see* Hurtado de Mendoza, Diego
vulnerability to heresy 12
see also Barcelona; *Diputats*; Generalitat
Cateau-Cambrésis, Treaty of (1559) 76, 93 n. 3, 98 n. 29, 101
Catholic Church:
authority of 125, 202, 215, 216, 235
considered mercenary 202, 223
cost of orthodox observance 215 n. 1
councils of 125
Fathers of 125
ordinances, rites, and disrespect for them 31, 105, 107, 109, 151, 200, 203, 215, 216, 222, 224, 225, 227, 228
reform within 2, 19, 222, 236
resentment of 19, 215, 237
see also doctrine; sermons
Catholicon 209
Catholics, criticism of 150, 151, 186, 195, 217–8
Celada, Pedro de 99, 120, 206
censorship, *see* books
Centelles y Moncada, Gaspar de 26, 27
Cercia, Antoine 29, 225
Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de 71 n. 84
chain-gangs 67, 129, 265
Chalon-sur-Saône 79
Chameroix, Claude 228–9
charity, *see* good works
Charles V (Holy Roman Emperor, king of Spain) 3–4, 6
Châteauneuf 67 n. 69
classical mythology 152, 153

clemency 49, 51, 59, 66, 130, 255
clergy (Catholic) 125, 149, 150
  and celibacy 217
  criticism of 10, 126, 216, 217, 265
  libidinous behaviour of 95, 217
clergy (Protestant) 136
Clermont 34 n. 28
Clop, Antoni 85 n. 47
cloth-traders 10
Cobles ara novament fetes de un cavaller y una pastora 139
Coci, Jorge 77, 97 n. 19
Cofman, Christofol 77
Coimbra 171 n. 65
Colomb, Claudio 47, 60
Colomies, Giles de 85 n. 47, 85 n. 48, 141, 142, 143, 144, 187
Colomiés, Jacques 97, 114, 163, 193
Colonies, Egidio de 141 n. 84
  see also Colomies, Giles de
colophons 184, 190
communion 31, 61, 97, 149, 233, 249
  in two kinds 232, 255
  see also host; Lord's supper; real presence
compagnons-imprimeurs, *see* printing-workers
compositors, *see* typesetters
Condé, Louis, prince of 56
confession 233, 234
  to cleric 31, 71, 97, 149, 162, 231, 247, 249
  false confession to inquisitors 64, 130, 253
  to fellow-believers 217
  general 217, 231
  to inquisitors 23, 37, 49, 52, 55, 57, 63, 65, 66, 71, 215
  questioning need for priestly confession 11, 128, 140, 217, 222, 225, 227, 255
  revocation of 64, 73, 74, 116, 126, 127, 129, 130, 215
contrition 27, 49, 64, 96, 119, 151, 225, 228, 255
conversos 14, 90, 171
  see also Jews
Copa, Pedro la 85 n. 47, 86 n. 53, 142, 143, 168
copy-editing and copy-editors 159, 163
  of Greek manuscripts 162
  of learned editions 162–3
  of liturgical editions 161, 162
  see also *correctores*
Córdoba:
  inquisitors and inquisitional tribunal at 11, 63, 89
  printing at 99
Cornelio (Flemish typesetter) 36, 37 n. 34, 212, 221
correctores 128, 158–63, 165, 176
  see also copy-editing and copy-editors; proofreaders and proofreading
Cortegana, Catalina de 102 n. 46
Cortey, Jaume 30, 133, 136–7, 138, 145, 148, 164
Cortey, Pau 137, 141 n. 83, 143, 144
Costa, Antonio de la 97
Courteau, Thomas 111–12, 113, 231
Cromberger, Jacobo 186 n. 111, 209, 213 n. 66, 244
Cromberger, Jácome 77, 78, 174, 188
Cromberger, Juan 77, 156, 161, 188
Cruz, Giraldo de la 170
Cuenca 13, 37, 70, 102
  cathedral 65
  inquisitors and inquisitional tribunal at 89, 90, 92, 95–6
  printing at 123
  see also archives; prisons
Cupin, Pierre or Paul 134
Cutera, Juan de 67 n. 69, 253

Daedalus 153, 154
David (the psalmist) 200, 232
Davis, Natalie Zemon 18–20, 205, 229
days of abstinence 149, 247
  disregard for 63, 65, 126, 151, 186, 195, 196, 216, 225
  see also festivals of the Church

death sentence 8, 58, 64, 66, 69, 253, 254, 257
see also burning of heretics
denunciations to the Inquisition 2, 10, 13, 24, 27–8, 35, 36, 38, 52, 94, 119, 141, 145
by Guillermo Herlin 1, 10, 13, 23, 29, 30, 32, 33–4, 36, 39, 102, 105, 108, 116, 123, 133, 167, 186, 199
secrecy of 49
see also retraction of denunciations
Desparza, Rodrigo 169, 206
Despauterius, Johannes 212, 213
devil 62, 151, 197
Díaz, Juan 157
Diego de Alcalá, Fray 94, 100
Diputació, *see* Generalitat
Diputats 40 n. 45, 41–2, 88 n. 64
discursos de la vida 24, 53, 55, 96–9
doctrine 71, 223–5, 226–8, 233–5
idiosyncratic interpretation of 11, 236, 249
ignorance of 10–11, 15, 61, 109, 125, 226–7, 249, 250, 256
teaching of 11
see also mass; penance; purgatory; real presence; *sola fide*; *sola scriptura*; transubstantiation
Domingo, Tomás 85 n. 47, 85 n. 48, 143, 147
Dominguillo (black slave, occupation in press unspecified) 156
drinking and drunkenness 18, 61–2, 90, 109, 110, 146, 196, 208, 244, 245
see also Güerta, Pedro de; Loe, Enrique
Droz, Eugénie 112, 241
Duc, François 135 n. 59
Duchien, *see* Huchin, Claude de
Dulcet, Benito 1, 10, 13, 27, 28, 39, 85 n. 48, 141–2, 143, 144, 147, 166–7, 194
fights Catholics 204
sentence passed on 259
tortured 65
Duparc, Robert 108
Duse, Giles 218, 223–4, 244–6
sentences passed on 224, 252

editors 163
Edward VI of England 57, 223
Egas, Bachelor 59
Eguía, Miguel de 3, 252
Eimeric, Nicolau 50
Elizabeth I of England 13, 57
England 3, 6, 7, 17 n. 65, 56, 61, 134
Catholic Restoration in 7, 57, 113, 134
printing in 159 n. 16
Protestants and Protestantism in 7, 57, 113 n. 96, 134–5, 223
religious tensions in 57
see also London
English sailors 14 n. 50
English Synod 7
Enríquez, Diego 67 n. 69
Enzinas, Francisco de 113
Erasmus, Desiderius, and Erasmianism 2, 3, 7, 10, 26, 148
Erin, Guillermo 196
escapes 254
from galleys 68, 84
from prison 44, 47–8, 53, 62, 95, 103, 173, 213, 229
in transit 40, 103
Escobar, Francesc 98 n. 27
Escudero, Juan Bautista 99
Espanha, João de 170, 212 n. 65, 239
Esteville 133
Estienne, Robert 46 n. 71, 112, 113, 136 n. 64
eucharist, *see* communion; host; Lord's supper; real presence
Évora 171 n. 67
Évreux 10
excommunication 67, 95, 253, 254
execution, *see* burning of heretics

fair copies 162 n. 31
familiares, *see* Spanish Inquisition

fasting 95, 105, 233, 235, 249
Faure, Joan 85 n. 47, 146
Fazendo, Francisco 73
Felix, Guillaume 135 n. 59
Fernández de Córdoba, Diego 99, 170, 190
Fernando (black slave, beater) 156
Ferrara 170
Ferrer, Miguel 32, 167
festivals of the Church 95
  working on 65, 107, 171, 183, 184–5, 222, 225
  see also days of abstinence
Flamenco, Nicolás 204
Flanders, *see* Low Countries
Flemings 29, 32, 33, 35, 62, 150, 197
  considered heretics in Spain 90
  'lost generation' of 110–11
  and reputation for drunkenness 62, 90, 109, 110
  in Spanish printing industry 37 n. 34, 81, 86, 87, 90 n. 76, 98, 103–11, 106, 129, 168 n. 56, 197
flight from Inquisition 32, 33, 84, 87, 103, 118–19, 132, 142, 182
  diaspora of printing-workers from Alcalá de Henares 31, 32, 33, 34, 36, 64, 110, 162, 252
  suspects advised to flee 130, 197, 199, 253
flogging 23, 48, 61, 253, 258, 265
Florence 99 n. 36, 122
Floresta, Pierre de 86
Fons vitae, see *Fontaine de la vie*
Fontaine de la vie 241–2, 243
Fonteyne des levens, see *Fontaine de la vie*
food, *see* days of abstinence
foreigners:
  considered heretics in Spain 13, 90, 176
  danger of living among 198
  in printing industry 16, 32, 34, 87–8, 156
  see also Flemings; Frenchmen
  solidarity among national groups of 197, 198, 208
  in Spain 10, 11, 75, 198
  see also xenophobia
fornication 245
founts, *see* type
Foxe, John 3 n. 4, 113
France 12, 13, 17 n. 65, 31, 38, 76, 77, 78, 83, 84, 90, 127, 181
  export of books to Spain and Portugal from 12, 136, 137, 160, 212; *see also* Lyon
  repression of Protestantism in 226
  as source of heresy 12, 88 n. 61
  unemployment in 78, 79
  see also Albi; Angers; Artigat; Blois; Bordeaux; Brunehamel; Cahors; Cailly; Carcassonne; Chalon-sur-Saône; Clermont; Esteville; Évreux; Guiry-en-Vexin; Guise; Langres; Limoges; Lunac; Lyon; Metz; Nantes; Narbonne; Olonne; Orléans; Pamiers; Paris; Provins; Reims; Rennes; Rochelle, La; Rouen; Rozoy-sur-Serre; Saint-Flour; Sancerre; Toulouse; Troyes
Francés, Antonio 67 n. 69, 69, 252
Francés, Francisco 204
Francis of Lorraine, duke of Guise 94
Franco, Juan 22, 68, 119–33
  apprenticeship of 121
  arrest of 52, 67
  belief and opinions of 62, 125, 127, 130, 248–9
  character of 131
  education of 121, 131
  evidence against 134
  journeys of 121, 122–3, 194
  at Lyon 121–2, 152 n. 125
  marriage and family of 90, 119, 123–4, 131, 185
  at Medina del Campo 123
  and misunderstandings in trial 73–4
  perception of craft by 210

Franco, Juan (*cont.*):
physical description of 119
possessions of 52, 53, 129, 131–2
at Salamanca 98 n. 23, 98 n. 24, 119, 125, 163, 185, 197–8, 221
sentences passed on 73, 129, 252, 254, 256–7
and views on women 207
and wages 83
Frankfurt:
book fairs 106
French language 85, 90, 107, 108, 123, 195, 202
dialects of 85 n. 49
Frenchmen 16, 46, 67 n. 69, 150, 260 n. 24
as booksellers in Spain 121 n. 11, 252, 254
considered heretics in Spain 13, 88, 89, 90
control of in Spain 90 n. 77, 164
and emigration to Spain 75–6, 84–5, 88
and flight to Spain 84, 205
in printing industry 77, 85, 86–7, 92–103, 111–17, 119–53, 197, 262
vulnerability of in Spain 13, 88–90, 153
friendship, danger of 199
Froben, Johann 133
Furió Ceriol, Fadrique 113

Gales, Jerónima de 98 n. 25, 99, 188, 189
Galicia 15 n. 55
Galharde, Germão:
widow of 37 n. 34, 212
galleys and galley-slaves 2, 10, 23, 28, 64, 67, 88, 108, 129, 253, 256, 259, 265
conditions and life expectancy in 257
release from 257–8
García, Juan (cleric) 95
García, Juan (Valencian merchant) 98
Garçon, Francisco 176
Garibay y Zamalloa, Esteban de 161
Gascony and Gascons 67 n. 69, 85 n. 47, 87, 109
Gaspar, Adrián 110, 111, 167, 196
arrest and escape of 23
journeys of 32, 194
name of 22
sentences passed on 23, 68, 254
in Spanish presses 84, 85 n. 47, 142–3, 187
in Toledo gaol 46, 150
Gast, Matías 37 n. 34, 53 n. 14, 90 n. 76, 108, 168 n. 56
Gattinara, Mercurino de (grand chancellor of Charles V) 4
Generalitat 40–2
Geneva 20, 30, 34, 36, 68 n. 73, 80, 85 n. 47, 122 n. 14, 136
Calvinism and religious practices at 111, 112, 231
number of presses at 81, 112
personal conduct at 81, 112
printing and printing-workers at 28–9, 46, 47 n. 71, 55, 56, 73, 78, 79, 80–1, 82, 111–12, 114, 135, 200, 229
Reformist books for export to Spain from 12
and threat to Spain 12, 41 n. 50, 116
working week at 183
Georget, Jean 134
Germany and Germans 3, 4, 8, 76, 77, 88 n. 61, 106, 127, 150, 200
see also Frankfurt; Heidelberg; Mainz
Gil, Juan ('Dr Egidio') 8
Ginzburg, Carlo 242
Giunta, *see* Junta
Gois, Antoine des 241 n. 93
Gómez, Alonso 46 n. 71, 167
Gonçales de Barbacena, João 224
good works 110, 149, 216, 224, 232

gossip and rumour 45, 102, 141, 142, 147, 194, 206
Gotard, Antonio 141 n. 85
Gotard, Hubert 98 n. 19, 141 n. 85, 143, 168
Gotard, Pedro 85 n. 48, 141
Gotfré (or Godofred), Guillem, *see* Graspet, Guillermo
Gracián, Juan 86, 87, 143–4 n. 95, 172 n. 70, 176
Granada 32, 37, 90, 211
  inquisitors and inquisitional tribunal at 63
  printing and printing-workers at 85, 86, 99, 115, 162, 176
  and royal commission on printing 85–6, 159–60, 166
  see also booksellers; prisons
Gran Jian, *see* Granjon, Robert
Granjon, Robert 121
Graspet, Guillermo 85 n. 48
Grisol, Joan 247
Guadalajara 3
Guatemala 102 n. 45
Guerre, Martin 205
Güerta, Pedro de 36, 67, 69, 83, 197, 204
  arrest of 35
  character of 211
  and drinking 35, 244
  and friendships 196
  madness feigned by 62–3
  as pedlar 34 n. 26, 140, 202, 219
  religious doubts of 217
  and scepticism about images he sells 219
  sentences passed on 64, 245, 252
  shop in Valladolid of 198
  as soldier 204–5
  tortured 65
Güesa, Miguel de 146 n. 103
guilds and confraternities 19, 77, 207, 228
Guillaume (French priest) 111
Guillen (apprentice of Pierre Régnier) 85 n. 47
Guiry-en-Vexin 134
Guise 92
  see also Francis of Lorraine
Gysser, Hans 77

Haeghen, Anna van der 104 n. 53
Harsy, Denys de 139
Hawkins, Sir John 14 n. 50
Heidelberg 76
Henares, river 95
Henrique, Cardinal Infante Dom (Inquisitor General of Portugal) 171 n. 67
Henry II of France 93
Henry VIII of England 57
Herbst, Johannes, *see* Oporinus
heresy and heretics 6, 14, 15, 49, 59, 73, 130, 145, 258
  relapsed heretics 36, 37, 63, 64, 65 n. 65, 103, 253
  unrepentant heretics 253, 254, 257
  see also burning of heretics; Huguenots; *luteranismo* and *luteranos*; Protestantism; Protestants; Reformist books and propaganda; Reformist practices and services; Reformist sympathizers; Reformist thought
Herlin, Guillermo 1, 28–31, 33, 37–8, 46, 47, 51, 93, 107, 110, 143, 187, 264–6
  at Alcalá de Henares 29, 31, 34, 64, 86, 164, 193–4
  at Antwerp 29, 104, 107
  apprenticeship of 29
  arrest of 27, 28, 67, 162
  at Barcelona 1, 30, 31, 58, 150
  discusses religion 164, 203
  elicits confidences 31, 193–4, 204
  and fear of galleys 265
  at Geneva 28–9, 46, 193
  journeys of 28, 29–30
  at Murcia 68, 265–6
  sentences passed on 253, 264–5, 266

Herlin, Guillermo (*cont.*):
as trusty of inquisitors 33, 35, 36, 63, 69, 264, 265
see also denunciations to the Inquisition; Paris, Guillot de
Hernández, Julián ('Julianillo') 5, 6, 8, 11
Herwagen, Johann 113
Hispanus, Joannes, *see* Espanha, João de
Hoefnagel, Joris 83–4
Holbein, Hans (the younger) 205
Holland 22
see also Alkmaar
holy days, *see* festivals of the Church
Honduras 102 n. 45
Hortolà, Cosme Damià 164
host 31, 105, 122, 202, 222
as commemoration 66, 72, 223, 227, 231, 233
see also communion; Lord's supper; real presence
Hubault, Pierre 134
Hubert, Arnaud 111
Huchin, Claude de 47 n. 71
Huchin, Pierre de 80
Huete, Pedro de 188
Huguenots 10, 18, 31, 41, 90, 93, 94, 106, 150, 181, 200
conspiracy of 11, 88
decline of 226
fifth column of in Spain 12, 13
flight from 84, 101, 115, 149
ships of 13, 56
violence of 84, 101
see also Calvinism; *luteranismo* and *luteranos*; Protestantism; Protestants; psalters; Reformist sympathizers; Reformist thought
Hurtado de Mendoza, Diego (prince of Melito) 41, 42

Icarus 152, 153
iconoclasm 31–2, 200, 218
illiteracy 16, 27, 73, 77, 86, 103, 124, 156
illness 92, 98, 244, 245
see also plague; prisons
illuminators 184
illuminism 2, 3, 7, 10
images, criticism of 11, 124, 125, 127, 140, 151, 201–2, 218, 219, 221, 222, 232, 233, 235
see also iconoclasm; printed pictures; saints
imposition 159
imprisonment 46 n. 71, 93, 95, 120
see also prisons
indexes in books 163
indexes of prohibited books 5, 6, 241 n. 96, 242, 244 n. 102
indulgences 115, 124, 149
criticism of 11, 62, 127, 128, 129, 140, 202, 216, 217, 222, 227
reluctance to buy 215
Íñiguez de Lequerica y Villarreal, Juan 86, 87
ink and ink-makers 165, 169, 175
two-ink printing 172–3
Inquisition, *see* Italian Inquisition; medieval Inquisition; Mexican Inquisition; Portuguese Inquisition; Spanish Inquisition; Venetian Inquisition
Inquisitor General 43
see also Henrique, Cardinal Infante Dom; Valdés, Fernando de
inquisitors 15, 38, 101
and checklist of signs of heresy 215, 219
see also Barcelona; Córdoba; Cuenca; Granada; Inquisition; Lisbon; Murcia; Seville; Toledo; Valencia; Valladolid; Zaragoza
interpreters 66, 71, 72–3
Islam 2, 14
see also *moriscos*; Turk, the
Italian Inquisition 1 n. 2, 15 n. 56
see also Venetian Inquisition
Italiano de Strata, Pedro 53, 138, 139
Italy and Italians 14 n. 52, 17 n. 65, 77, 84, 123

and export of books to Spain 137, 160
printing in 76, 122, 123
see also Ferrara; Florence; Naples; Rome; Venice
itinerant traders 10, 37, 132
see also pedlars and peddling

Jacques (apprentice of Claudi Bornat) 85 n. 48
James, St 231
Jarnac, battle of (1569) 56
Jerez de la Frontera 99
Jerome, St 161
Jews 2, 97, 234, 265
see also *conversos*
Joam, Isabel 189
jobbing-printers, *see* master-printers and owners of presses
jokes 124, 126, 127, 130, 195, 198, 201–3
journeymen-printers, *see* printing-workers
Juan (apprentice of Pierre Régnier) 85 n. 47
Juan (black slave, beater) 156
Juan (French bookseller) 97
Juan Alonso 206
jubilees 95, 97, 195, 217, 249
Judaism, see *conversos*; Jews
'Julianillo', *see* Hernández, Julián
Junta (Giunta), Felipe de 99, 182
Junta (Giunta), Juan de 77, 122, 169, 189
justification by faith, see *sola fide*

Labé, Louise ('La Belle Cordière') 124–5, 126, 129, 201, 202
Landes, Berenguel 96
Landes, Symon 97
Landry, Pierre 121 n. 11
Langres 228
Langres, Claude de, *see* Chameroix, Claude
languages 21, 46, 90, 115, 116, 123, 127, 156, 197
lack of shared 70–3, 107, 195
typesetters' ignorance of 176–7, 178
used among workers in presses 85
see also French language; interpreters; typesetting
Languedoc 75, 84
Lasso Vaca, Pedro 108, 109
layout 178
Lea, Henry Charles 21
Leão, João de 36–8, 60, 170–1
and animosity towards colleagues 60, 199
at Barcelona 170
as bookseller 211, 212
at Braga 171, 189, 239
character and beliefs of 202, 210, 211–13, 216, 218, 224–5, 240–3
as entrepreneur 211–13
in Italy 84, 170
journeys of 76, 84, 170
at Lisbon 170
at Montserrat 170
and reading 210, 239, 240–43
religious sympathies of 224, 242–3
at La Rochelle 212–13
in Rome 218, 243
as soldier 204, 243
in Spain 84
at Valencia 98 n. 21, 170
at Zaragoza 170
Leballior, Hernando, *see* Ballieur, Arnaud
Lebrija, Elio Antonio de 86, 99 n. 31, 115
Leiria 171 n. 65
León 97
printing at 99, 120, 206
León, Juan de 90, 166
Lepanto, battle of (1571) 265
Lérida, *see* Lleida
Letre, Claude de 111
letters 47, 102, 197, 206
libraries 16

Limoges 78, 107
Limousin 75
Liondedei, Lorenzo de 77, 127
Lisbon 36, 37, 64, 76, 84, 108, 206
  Colégio de Doutrina da Fé 171
  inquisitors and inquisitional tribunal at 37 n. 34, 38, 70, 102 n. 44
  see also archives; *autos de fe*; booksellers; prisons
literacy 18, 20, 77, 97, 100, 104, 121, 152, 172, 192, 243
Lleida (Lérida) 86, 167
Lloret, Jerónimo 148
lodging-houses, *see* printing-workers
Loe, Enrique 37 n. 34, 46–7, 103–11, 118
  at Alcalá de Henares 29, 32, 86, 87, 108, 109, 176, 186
  as altar-boy 104, 105, 110
  at Antwerp 77, 103–6, 109
  character and beliefs of 65, 109–11, 117, 211
  cold-shouldered by Frenchmen 197
  and drinking 31, 61–2, 109, 110
  identified 51
  journeys of 23, 106–7, 108, 109, 194
  marriage of 71, 92, 109, 208
  at Medina del Campo 108
  at La Rochelle 56, 106–7, 110
  at Salamanca 98 n. 24, 108, 109
  sentence passed on 253, 256
  at Toledo 99 n. 34, 108
  at Zaragoza 98 n. 19, 108, 109
Loe, Hendrik van der 104 n. 53
  see also Loe, Enrique
Loe, Jan van der 29, 104, 106, 107
Loe, Juan, *see* Loe, Jan van der
Loe, Leonardo 29, 106–7, 108–9, 186, 194
Loire, river 114
Lombardy 78
London 57, 73, 112 n. 94, 135
  printers and printing in 87 n. 59, 134–5, 204
Longjumeau, Peace of (1568) 235 n. 77
López, Luis 110
Lord's supper 225, 231
  see also communion; host
Lorraine 113
Louvain 242
Low Countries 4, 38, 81, 93
  Dutch revolts 13, 14
  export of books to Spain and Portugal from 106, 160, 212 n. 65
  religion in 13, 29, 32
  see also Alkmaar; Antwerp; Bruges; Brussels; Louvain
Lunac 28
luteranismo and *luteranos* 1 n. 2, 2, 56, 73, 113
  see also heresy and heretics; Huguenots; Protestantism; Protestants; Reformist books and propaganda; Reformist practices and services; Reformist sympathizers; Reformist thought
Luther, Martin 2, 41, 55, 56, 113, 124
  and 'Babylon' 200
  and confession 231, 232
  and councils of Church 125
  and eucharist 234
  and images 219, 234
Lyon 1, 46 n. 71, 53, 61, 67 n. 69, 73, 78, 85 n. 47, 85 n. 48, 99 n. 36, 101, 107, 112, 114, 121, 124, 127, 140–2, 149
  associations of printing-workers at 19, 77, 112, 228
  and Barcelona 80, 136, 137, 261
  export of books to Spain from 12 n. 42, 80, 136, 146 n. 103, 160
  fairs at 20, 79, 135, 146
  financial crash at 79
  Grande Compagnie des Libraires at 160
  holy days at 184

and loss of printing contracts to Geneva 183–4
moral attitudes at 125
printers and printing at 18–20, 78, 79, 80, 98, 121–2, 123, 135, 139, 180, 206
printing-workers and 'new religion' at 18–20, 79, 135, 226
processions at 195, 204
Protestant government of 19, 136, 226
Protestants at 18, 19, 114, 122
and recruitment of printing-workers for Spain 122, 136–7, 144 n. 100, 147, 186, 261
regulation of book trade at 80
religious currents at 18, 135–6, 226
repression of Protestantism at 80, 114, 115
Rue Mercière 135, 226
and Salamanca 122, 261
sectarian strife at 72, 79–80, 204
tolerance at 112, 141
working day at 182

McKenzie, D. F. 180
madness 61, 63
see also prisons
Madreto, Guillermo 72
Madrid 41, 54, 99
printing at 46 n. 71, 167, 184
see also archives
Mainz 209
Maldonado, Brígida 188, 240
Mall, Joan 139, 148
Malo, Pedro 54, 141, 142, 143, 144, 147, 166, 194
Manjón, Diego 97, 161
Manuel, Alonso 87
Manutius, Aldus 133
Margaret of France (duchess of Savoy) 93 n. 3
Margaret of Parma 12 n. 42, 220
Mariana, Juan de 165 n. 39
Marie (sister of Pierre de Rinz) 111
Mariz, António de 170, 189, 239
Marot, Clément 139, 183, 219, 221, 241, 242, 248
Martel, Luis 171
Martín Abad, Julián 20, 21
Martínez, Alonso 83, 94–5
Martínez, Sebastián (cleric and typesetter) 8–10, 172, 222
Martínez, Sebastián (master-printer) 8 n. 24
at Alcalá de Henares 86, 159, 176
and employees 46 n. 71, 83, 159, 169, 176, 195, 206
at Sigüenza 82, 87, 93, 99, 161, 169, 184, 186, 206
at Valladolid 102
martydom 63, 245
Mary Tudor 6, 7, 57, 113
and marriage to Philip of Spain 6, 134
see also England, Catholic Restoration in
mass 95, 97, 105, 106, 131, 135, 149, 170, 184, 228, 236, 247
criticism of 61–2, 122, 140, 225, 228, 233, 235, 246
for dead 202, 215 n. 1, 222, 223
reluctance to attend 126, 222
sacrifice of 223, 233–4
master-printers and owners of presses 16, 17, 19, 20, 53, 86, 106, 133, 137, 152, 156
and acquisition of press 118
and disputes with employees 17, 19, 82, 229
illiterate 77, 86, 156
itinerant 118, 261; *see also* Fernández de Córdoba, Diego; Martínez, Sebastián
Diego
as jobbing-printers 118, 122, 133, 144, 152, 156, 179
marriage of 118
overheads of 82
as proofreaders 159
scholarly 152, 156

master-printers (*cont.*):
tyrannical 112
and widows, *see* women
see also Álvarez, Cristóbal; Angelier, Jean le; Angelier, Julien le; Angulo, Andrés de; Arbús, Samsó; Ayala, Juan de; Ayala Cano, Juan de; Bellère, Pierre; Beringen, Godefroy; Beringen, Marcellin; Bernuz, Pedro; Berton, Barthélemy; Borges, Marcos; Bornat, Claudi; Botardo, Nicolao; Briones, García de; Brocar, Arnao Guillén de; Cánova, Alejandro de; Cánova, Juan de; Canto, Francisco del; Canto, Mateo del; Celada, Pedro de; Chameroix, Claude; Coci, Jorge; Cofman, Christofol; Colomiés, Jacques; Colonies, Egidio de; Cortey, Jaume; Cortey, Pau; Courteau, Thomas; Cromberger, Jacobo; Cromberger, Jácome; Cromberger, Juan; Cupin, Pierre or Paul; Eguía, Miguel de; Escudero, Juan Bautista; Estienne, Robert; Fernández de Córdoba, Diego; Ferrer, Miguel; Froben, Johann; Gales, Jerónima de; Galharde, Germão; Gast, Matías; Georget, Jean; Gois, Antoine des; Gómez, Alonso; Gotard, Antonio; Gotard, Hubert; Gotard, Pedro; Gracián, Juan; Granjon, Robert; Güesa, Miguel de; Gysser, Hans; Haeghen, Anna van der; Harsy, Denys de; Herbst, Johannes (Oporinus); Herwagen, Johann; Hubault, Pierre; Huchin, Claude de; Huchin, Pierre de; Huete, Pedro de; illiteracy; Íñiguez de Lequerica y Villarreal, Juan; Junta, Felipe de; Junta, Juan de; Lasso Vaca, Pedro; Lebrija, Elio Antonio de; Liondedei, Lorenzo de; literacy; Loe, Hendrik van der; Loe, Jan van der; Maldonado, Brígida; Malo, Pedro; Manutius, Aldus; Mariz, António de; Martínez, Sebastián; Mena, Hugo de; Mestrard, Thomas; Mey, Juan; Montaigue, Benoît; Montesdoca, Martín de; Montpezat, Pere; Nájera, Esteban de; Navarro, Juan; Paoli, Giovanni; Parix, Juan; Payen, Thibaud; Pégnier, Guillaume; Peña, Ana de la; Pérez de Valdivielso, Juan; Pesnot, Charles; Pesnot, Louis; Peysson, Cécile; Plantin, Christopher; Platter, Thomas; Plaza, Juan de la; Portonariis, Andrea de; Portonariis, Domingo de; Rabut, René; Régnier, Guillaume; Régnier, Pierre; Rosembach, Joan; Roux, Jean le; Roux, Nicholas le; Sanahuja, Antonio de; Santillana, Pedro de; Santo Domingo, Bernardino de; Saulzion, Jean; Septgranges, Corneille de; Steels, Johan; Terranova, Juan María de; Thomas, Maître; Tournes, Jean de; Trujillo, Sebastián; Tum, Jul de; Villanueva, Juan de; Zapata, Gaspar
matrices 166
Matthew, St 216
medieval Inquisition 15 n. 55
Medina del Campo 31, 98, 115, 120, 123, 206
fairs at 119, 127
as hub of Spanish book trade 119
printing at 17, 78, 85, 108, 123
see also booksellers
Mena, Hugo de 86, 115, 168 n. 55
Menescal, Bernat 143, 148
Menescal, Joan Pau 53, 138, 139, 143, 144
'Menocchio', *see* Scandella, Domenico
merchant-booksellers 20, 121 n. 11, 132, 137
Mestrard, Thomas 134

Metz 113, 114, 204
Mexican Inquisition 13–14 n. 50
Mexico 78, 156
Mey, Juan 98, 188
Midi, Le 75, 84, 92
migration, established routes of 108
Millis, Guillermo de 123
minors 58, 59, 61, 255, 256
misogyny 61, 125, 207
misprints 108, 159, 161
Mole, Juan, *see* Molot, Juan
Molina, Juan de (publisher and bookseller), *see* Espanha, João de
Molina, Juan de (translator) 161
Molot, Juan 37, 97, 128, 167, 193, 194, 211
Montaigue, Benoît 121, 122
Montañés, Vicente 54
Montesdoca, Martín de 9 n. 33, 102 n. 45
Montoya, Diego Cristóbal de 178
Montpezat, Pere 77
Montserrat 28, 170
Moors 97, 234
  see also *moriscos*
moriscos 14, 15, 255
  employed in presses 156, 175
  revolt in Alpujarras 14, 204
moulds for types 166
Moxon, Joseph 169
multinationals 122, 123, 160
Muntaner, Francesc 41, 42, 146, 150, 247
Murcia 265
  inquisitors and inquisitional tribunal at 39 n. 40, 68, 211, 265
  see also *autos de fe*

Nájera, Diego de 83, 102, 206
Nájera, Esteban de 98, 102
names, nicknames, and aliases 22–3, 32, 110, 136, 142, 201
Nantes 122
Naples 14
Narbona, Luisa de 96
Narbonne 115
Navarre 87 n. 57
Navarro, Juan 99
Nebrija, Antonio de 86, 97
Netherlands, *see* Low Countries
Nicodemism 245
nóminas 244
Normandy and Normans 10, 37 n. 37, 51, 85 n. 47, 92, 134, 142
notaries public 16
Núñez, Francisco (*morisco* slave, puller) 156

Ocaña 35
Occitan 85 n. 49
Ochino, Bernardino de 6 n. 18
Oliva, Jacques de la 67 n. 69, 129 n. 41, 248, 253, 259
Olonne 212, 221
Oporinus 113–14
orality 237–9, 243, 244
Oran 205
Orléans 56
orthodoxy, outward show of 84, 131, 149, 153, 217, 244, 246, 247, 260
  see also Nicodemism
Ortis, Miquel 143, 144, 148
Ortiz, Gaspar 8
Ortiz, Juan 14 n. 50
Osuna, Fray Francisco de 55
Oxford 7

Palencia 93 n. 1
Paoli, Giovanni 78
Pamiers 85 n. 47
paper 18, 54, 72, 100, 138, 143, 158, 160, 180, 212
paper-dampeners 165, 188
paper-merchants 211 n. 62
Papillon, Almanque 242 n. 98
Paran, Pedro 202, 220
Paris 1, 73, 93, 98, 101, 107, 111, 114, 121, 125, 232
  Collège de Boncourt 165
  printing at 78, 112, 135, 213

Paris (*cont.*):
printing-workers at 77, 132 n. 46, 192 n. 2, 204
Sorbonne 241, 242
Paris, Guillot de 30, 31, 140, 143, 150, 151, 187, 229
see also Herlin, Guillermo
Paris, Hernando de 146
Parix, Juan 76
Passau, Treaty of (1552) 3
Paul, St 223, 224, 232
Paul IV (Pope) 4
Payen, Thibaud 98, 114, 135, 193
peasant culture 218, 227
pedlars and peddling 32, 33, 34, 35, 45, 60, 196, 205
and broadsides 179
Flemish 197
and printed pictures 34, 62, 140, 202–3, 219, 246
Pedralba 26
Pedro Alberto 35, 36–7, 69, 70, 197
and relations with João de Leão 36, 199, 206, 212
at La Rochelle 108, 212–13
sentence passed on 253, 255
sings Reformist songs 221
Pedro impresor, *see* Pedro Alberto
Pégnier, Guillaume ('Pillot') 136 n. 65
Peña, Ana de la 99 n. 33, 115, 157
Peña, Francisco 50
penance 49, 128, 150, 216, 223, 241
Pérez de Moya, Juan 184
Pérez Pastor, Cristóbal 21 n. 74
Pérez de Valdivielso, Juan 146 n. 103
Perpignan 41, 85 n. 47, 85 n. 48, 115, 141 n. 83
Perusa (or Periosa), Juan de 254
Pesnot, Charles 121 n. 11
Pesnot, Louis 121, 122
Peter, St 94, 100
Peysson, Cécile 135
Philibert-Emmanuel (duke of Savoy) 93 n. 3
Philip II of Spain 26, 56, 220
and Prince Don Carlos 13, 57, 94, 100 n. 41, 165 n. 39, 187
and Bartolomé de Carranza 6, 7
and Catalonia 41, 42
and heresy 4, 11, 13, 41
and marriage to Elizabeth of Valois 93 n. 3
and marriage to Mary Tudor 6, 134
and *moriscos* 14
and printing 79, 85
promotes Inquisition 5
and St Quentin, battle of 204, 205
Philips, Rowland 3
Picardo, Alonso 90
Picardy 90, 121, 204
Pignier, Cathérine 136, 238
Pignier, Pierre 136, 238
Pilate (colleague of printing-worker Guillot de Paris) 30
pilgrimages 222, 233
Pintamenan, Pierre ('Vintenaba') 142, 167, 201, 219, 252
plague 80, 98
Plantin, Christopher 106
and employees 172 n. 70, 173, 189
and printing of psalms 220
prohibits discussion of religion in press 203
recruits workers for Spain 90 n. 76
and regulations in his press 17–18, 158
supplies books to Iberian Peninsula 106, 170–1 n. 64, 171 n. 67, 212 n. 65
wages paid by 173
working day in his press 182
working week in his press 184
Platter, Thomas 18
playing cards 95, 198
see also printers of playing cards; Rouen
Plaza, Juan de la 32, 35, 167, 218–19
Pole, Reginald 7
Ponce de la Fuente, Constantino 8, 9

pope 3 n. 4, 4, 6, 41, 122, 243
as Antichrist 7, 200, 218
authority of 61
curses by 218, 243
ignorance about 218
mockery of 58, 140, 216, 217, 218, 227
questioning authority of 62, 94, 100, 127, 216, 217, 265
see also indulgences; Paul IV
population 75–6
Porphyry 240
Portonariis, Andrea de 98, 120, 123, 128, 129 n. 41, 162, 248
Portonariis, Domingo de 36, 123, 126
Portugal and Portuguese 14 n. 52, 47, 73, 87
and attractiveness to foreign printers 84
and danger for foreigners 84
shortage of printing-workers in 171
skill shortages in 84
see also books; Braga; Coimbra; Évora; Leiria; Lisbon; Sernache dos Alhos
Portuguese Inquisition 84, 88 n. 61
inquisitors 36, 64
see also *autos de fe*; Lisbon
prayers 55, 71, 97, 109, 111, 134, 222, 249
presses:
arguments in 18, 203
banter in 210
conditions in 17, 18, 20, 203
conventions in 178
efficiency of 180
hierarchy in 156, 157, 158, 165
labour disputes in 17, 19, 82, 229
manning levels in 86–7, 159–60, 165–6, 172, 176
noise in 220
regulations of 17–18, 77, 81
singing in 220
undercapitalization of 178 n. 84
working practices in 21, 172 n. 70, 179–81, 182–3
pressmen, *see* beaters; pullers
press points 173, 174
priesthood of all believers 217
priests, *see* clergy
printed pictures, *see* pedlars and peddling
printer's devils 77, 107
printer's mark 139, 153, 154
printers of playing cards 10, 27, 37, 128, 252
printing:
benefits of 209
clandestine 9, 194
concurrent 114, 179–80

control of 5
divine origin of 3 n. 4, 209
equipment used in 9, 16, 53, 54 n. 18, 118, 122 n. 13, 137 n. 69, 138, 156, 188
at half press 172, 190

and lack of investment in Spain 160
and magical properties of printed word 240 n. 90, 244
origin of 76
perception of elevated status of 19, 208–9, 210
and potential for spreading ideas 3, 9, 239
rate of 190
and royal commission on Spanish presses 79, 85–7, 159–60, 165, 166, 172, 174
shortcomings of in Spain 79, 85, 161, 179
and Spanish manuscripts sent abroad to be printed 161
uncompetitiveness in Spain 161
see also printing-presses; type
printing-presses 86 n. 52, 87, 94 n. 7, 118, 121–2, 138, 140 n. 77, 141, 142, 158, 165, 166, 172, 179, 180
output of 183 n. 98, 190–1
portable 9, 179, 190

printing-workers 16, 77
abandon masters 46–7 n. 71, 112, 144, 145, 146, 147, 157
accept risk 205, 213, 244
age of 21, 55, 58, 75, 92, 118, 119, 120, 126, 131, 133, 156, 169, 175, 259, 264
attitudes of 19, 20, 21, 112, 192–214
beliefs of 19, 215–51
board and lodging of 18, 82, 132, 141, 185–6
and celebrations 19
chapel of 17
clothes of 21, 82–3
and communal living 19, 110, 185, 193, 194, 208
confraternities of 19, 77, 112, 228
and contact with scholars 19, 128, 163–4, 165, 237
cooperative working among 19, 147, 156, 179, 180–1, 182
education of 19, 21, 97, 100, 101, 111, 116, 121, 128, 134, 192, 210
and employment agreements 16, 17
enmity among 21, 98 n. 19, 116, 143–6, 198, 199
enterprise and ambition of 118, 121, 131, 138, 153, 192, 211–13
experience of strife of 193
fecklessness and foolhardiness of 211
friendships among 17, 196, 197, 198, 199
and gambling 95, 196, 198
group identity of 195, 196, 202, 205, 206, 207–8, 210, 244, 249
habits of 21
hard life and labour of 92, 112, 175, 182, 183, 203
hostility to Church among 19, 215, 237
independence of mind of 19, 115, 116, 131, 214, 233, 236, 250
interdependence of 107, 180–2, 205, 208
itinerant 19, 28, 29, 33, 38, 76, 78, 79, 83, 87, 90, 92, 101, 114, 115, 120, 134, 152, 156, 194, 205, 261
job prospects of 77–81, 83, 112, 156
kinship among 17, 208
and knowledge about each other 102, 191, 193, 199, 205–6, 208
and knowledge of Latin 77, 100, 116, 121, 134, 192, 210, 231
and labour disputes 17, 19, 82, 229
lack of organization of in Spain 82
and leisure 101, 194
and length of contracts 101, 182, 189, 190
male world of 207
marital status of 21, 55, 75, 90, 92, 93 n. 2, 97, 102 n. 46, 116, 119, 192–3, 207
and mutual help 18, 19, 112, 229
nationality and geographical origin of 17, 20, 46, 85–8, 92, 96, 103, 111, 119, 121, 133, 175, 192, 197
network of Reformist printing-workers 10, 25, 27, 28, 38, 47, 66, 92, 102, 128, 254
paucity of information about 16–18, 20
physical appearance of 21, 51, 92, 119, 140
poverty of 20, 52–3, 80, 132
in press-crews 107, 147, 172, 176, 179, 181, 182
and pride in craft 18, 19, 208, 210
and pride in learning 19, 101, 210, 243
and pride in status 210, 213
as proofreaders 160
and protection of colleagues 196, 197
quality of 179
recruitment of 90 n. 76, 107–8, 122, 136–7, 144 n. 100, 147, 186, 261
and reluctance to abandon orthodox practices 225, 228

reputation of 204
and respect for reading and scholarship 19, 163, 164, 243–4
and search for employment 29, 78, 79, 98, 101–2, 115, 132, 194
self-confidence of 19, 101, 116, 131, 200, 233, 234, 236, 250
self-image of 180, 210
as servants 98, 99, 101, 114
settled 118–53
slaves 156–7, 175
social lives of 21, 136 n. 64, 185, 193, 194, 196, 206–7
social origins of 21, 100, 111, 120–1, 133–4, 192
as soldiers 79, 113, 204–5, 213
solidarity among 18, 129, 131, 136 n. 64, 196, 229
status of 210
strength of 92, 101, 203
supplement income 132, 138, 185
and swearing 203
and sympathy with 'new religion' 18–19, 20, 32, 36, 37, 38, 79, 104, 135–6, 250–1
and taking of odd jobs 79, 98, 99, 121, 132
terms of employment of 17
training of 9, 18, 21, 97, 111, 112, 122, 152, 176, 178
turnover of 16, 86–7, 189, 191
unemployment among 78, 79, 112–3, 114, 178
unguarded discussions among 199, 203
unintegrated and alienated in Spain 90, 194–5, 198, 203, 206–7, 260
unskilled 18, 78–9, 81, 144, 176, 178
violence among 18, 20, 30, 31, 95, 116, 146, 158, 198, 203–5
vulnerability in Spain 90
and weapons 83, 131, 182, 203, 205
writings of 18
see also apprentices; beaters; binders and binding; *correctores*; drinking and drunkenness; illiteracy; ink and ink-makers; jokes; literacy; master-printers and owners of presses; paper-dampeners; presses; printer's devils; pullers; religious tolerance; type-casters; typesetters; wages, money, standard of living; working day and week
prisoners' possessions 52, 82–3
see also trials
prisons 27, 33, 37, 39, 44–8, 69
at Barcelona 45
communication within and with outside 35, 46, 47, 129
conditions in 44–5
at Cuenca 45, 47, 95, 102, 103
at Granada 45
illness and madness in 44, 44–45 n. 63, 48, 60, 61, 69, 129, 131, 151
lax security in 47
at Lisbon 45, 47
overcrowding in 44, 45–6, 67–8, 69
at Sigüenza 50, 95, 173
solitary confinement in 44, 45, 46, 69
at Toledo 44, 46–7, 48, 50, 60, 67, 129
at Valladolid 46 n. 69
violence in 45–6
see also escapes
Probin, Juan de 67 n. 69, 119, 124, 126, 221, 253
processions 124, 136, 195, 201–2, 249, 258
prohibited food, *see* days of abstinence
proofreaders and proofreading 79, 86, 113, 158, 159, 161, 163, 188
see also *correctores*
propositions 13, 15, 100, 225
prostitution 74, 124–6, 150, 201, 202

Protestantism 4, 11, 15
see also Calvinism; France; heresy and heretics; Huguentos; *luteranismo* and *luteranos*; Lyon; Reformist books and propaganda; Reformist practices and services; Reformist sympathizers; Reformist thought
Protestant princes 3
Protestant sea power 13
Protestants 21
as beleaguered elect 220
see also England; France; heresy and heretics; Huguenots; *luteranismo* and *luteranos*; Lyon; Reformist sympathizers
Provins 119
psalms 233, 242
copied out in Spain 222
printing of 136, 183, 219, 220
see also psalters; singing of psalms
psalters (Protestant) 12, 219, 220, 239
smuggled into Spain 12, 222, 240
see also singing of psalms
publishers 26, 132, 147, 160, 170, 171, 183, 209
abroad 161
at Antwerp 106
at Lyon 19, 20, 80, 81–2, 121, 122, 132, 146 n. 103
in Spain 16, 77, 123, 160
Pugnier, Jacques ('Bergeon') 135
pullers 65, 82, 85, 86, 87, 97, 156, 157, 165, 166, 172–5, 183
and cooperation with beaters 180–1
as mechanicals 185, 210
see also Antoni; Antonio (black slave); Arbús, Pierre; Bastida, Antonio de la; Carrier, Esteban; Floresta, Pierre de; Núñez, Francisco (*morisco* slave); Rabut, René
punch-cutters 121
punches 166
punctuation 159, 162, 177
purgatory 130, 223
questioning of 11, 128, 216, 222
Rabelais, François 139
Rabut, Juan René 86, 162, 176
Rabut, René 86, 115, 166, 172
Radix, Nadal 88, 143 n. 92, 230
Ramírez, Dr (preacher at Alcalá de Henares) 235
reading 238–44
dangers of 5
and interpretation 242–3
see also Leão, João de; printing-workers
real presence 66, 71–2, 105, 223, 225, 227, 233, 234
see also communion; doctrine; host
recantation 224, 255
reclusion 28, 96 n. 13
reconciliation to Church 49, 64, 66, 68, 70, 103, 253
Reformist books and propaganda 5, 7–8, 9, 19, 106, 107, 202, 216, 218, 221
smuggled into Spain 5, 6, 8, 12, 56, 106, 203, 222, 238
see also psalms; Reformist songs
Reformist practices and services 123
attendance at services 36, 55, 56, 104, 112, 141, 225, 228, 231, 232, 235, 236, 237–8, 239, 255
see also sermons
Reformist songs 221–2
Reformist sympathizers (*luteranos*) 6, 88, 89
bonds of complicity among 196, 200–1, 202, 211, 244, 246
and creation of separate identity 220
double life of 244–6
and guilt at abandoning Catholic Church 248–9
and guilt at concealing faith 244–5, 246, 248
perceived threat to Spain of 5, 6, 11, 12
popular hatred of in Spain 4, 89, 95
seek privacy in countryside 150, 164, 195, 217, 221, 238, 248

Spanish 5 n. 16, 11
use coded references 200–1, 202
and wariness in Spain 164, 198, 221, 246–8
see also Alcalá de Henares; Calvinism; Flemings; Frenchmen; heresy and heretics; Huguenots; *luteranismo* and *luteranos*; Nicodemism; printing-workers; Protestants; Seville; Teruel; Toledo; Valladolid
Reformist thought (*luteranismo*) 2, 7, 9, 11, 14, 26, 31, 93, 122, 133, 235
ignorance of in Spain 55–7, 215, 249
teaching of in Spain 10, 127, 222, 237, 238
see also Bucer, Martin; Calvin, Jean; Calvinism; heresy and heretics; *luteranismo* and *luteranos*; Luther, Martin; Protestantism; Zwingli, Huldrych
register 173
Régnier, Cardin 133
Régnier, Guillaume 121, 122
Régnier, Isabel 39–44, 46, 66, 83, 135, 142, 143
accommodates printing-workers 132, 141, 185
arrest of 39, 67, 187
and Esteban Carrier 35
character and state of mind of 48, 50, 60, 62, 137, 150–1, 227
and conversion to 'new religion' 136, 149, 150
denounces husband 60
and discussions in lodgings 30, 186–7
execution of 27, 72, 74, 254
and Guillot de Paris/Guillermo Herlin 30, 31, 32, 34, 39, 140, 150
ignorance of 61, 74, 227
journey to Toledo of 54
and misunderstandings 71–2, 74
mocks Catholics 151, 186, 187, 195
mocks pope 58, 218, 227
outward orthodoxy of 247–8
and real presence 66, 71–2, 227–8
and relationship with employees 150–1, 187, 195
sentence passed on 68, 252
Régnier, Marguerite 133
Régnier, Pierre 43–4, 46, 119, 132–54
accommodates printing-workers 141, 185
apprentices of 85 n. 47, 143 n. 95, 144–5, 146–7, 157, 158
apprenticeship of 77, 134, 152
arrest of 39, 67
at Barcelona 30, 34, 35, 39, 53, 72, 79, 81, 133, 137–53, 164, 194
at Blois 135
book production of 53 n. 16, 139, 140, 145
as bookseller 139
and business undermined by Bornat, *see* Bornat, Claudi
and Esteban Carrier 35, 143, 146–7
character of 143, 149, 150, 152, 228, 229–30
and closing of press 149
contemplates escape from prison 48
and contracts with authors 54, 159
and conversion to 'new religion' 136, 226
and defence 59, 60, 143–4, 149
denounces wife 60
and discussions in lodgings 186–7
early career of 56, 134–35
education of 134, 152
and employees 85, 86 n. 53, 138, 141, 144, 145, 146, 189, 247
enemies of 60, 84, 98 n. 19, 141 n. 85, 142–6, 148, 152
in England 56–7, 134–5, 226
establishment and expansion of his press 53, 80, 138–9, 140 n. 77, 141, 145, 166
and Guillot de Paris/Guillermo Herlin 28, 30–1, 32, 34, 39, 60, 133, 140, 150

Régnier, Pierre (*cont.*):
honour and status of 150, 152, 210
journeys of 134–5, 137, 138
linguistic difficulties of 72–3
and loss of employees 144, 145, 146, 147, 181
at Lyon 53, 60, 80, 98 n. 28, 135–42, 193
outward orthodoxy of 247
at Paris 135
physical description of 140
and previous brushes with Inquisition 84, 140–3
printing equipment of 53, 54 n. 18, 138, 141
printing on commission by 148
Reformist sympathies of 141, 149–50, 195, 226, 227, 228, 247
and relationship with wife 149–50
at Rennes 134
and return to Lyon 138, 139, 141–2, 145, 226
at Rouen 77, 134, 152, 226
sentence passed on 68, 254
and social life with Reformist employees 195
tortured 65, 149, 198
Reims 92, 111, 232
Reina, Casiodoro de 113
Reinoso, Pedro de 39, 40, 41, 42, 54
relapsed heretics, *see* heresy and heretics
reliability of Inquisitional records 24–5
relics 94
religious doubt 109, 110, 127, 129
religious scepticism 10, 11, 230
religious tolerance 19, 95 n. 12, 112, 113, 230–1
Relin, Pierre 32, 167–8, 255
Rémy (brother of Juan Franco) 121
Rennes 56, 134
repentance, *see* contrition
restriction of movement 46 n. 71
retailing 131–2
retraction of denunciations 130, 197
see also denunciations to the Inquisition
Reualer, *see* Revaler
Revaler, Margarita de 96
revenge 30–1
Rhine Valley 76
Riaza, Ana de 109
Ribaleri, Catalina de 96
Ribaleri, Elena de 97
Ribera, Isac de 46, 47, 67 n. 69, 86, 123, 199
argues about religion 116, 203
offers to confess comrade 217
sentence passed on 253
as trader 132
Ribera, Pierre de 28
at Alcalá de Henares 87, 193–4
apprenticeship of 29
at Burgos 78
family of 34, 185
flees Alcalá de Henares 34
at Geneva 28–9, 162, 193, 225
physical description of 51
religious sympathies of 218, 225
at La Rochelle 56 n. 27, 107 n. 68
at Salamanca 36, 98 n. 23, 123, 126, 162, 185, 189, 248
and search for employment 78, 79
sentence passed on 68, 254, 256
survives galleys 257
at Toledo 78
Rinz, Pierre de 92–3, 111–19
at Alcalá de Henares 31, 86, 87, 115, 116
apprenticeship of 55, 77, 111–12
and arguments over religion 31, 203
at Basle 113–14
belief and opinions of 231–6
character of 111, 112, 116, 131, 210, 256
and confession to priest 217
education of 111, 210
at Geneva 55–6, 77, 111–12
at Granada 115
intellectual superiority of 101

journeys of 111, 112–13, 114, 115–16
and languages 115, 116
learns from students 163
at Lyon 98 n. 28, 114
at Sancerre 114
and search for employment 79
sentence passed on 70, 253
at Seville 99 n. 33, 115
as soldier 113, 114, 204
survives galleys 258
at Toledo 219
at Toulouse 114, 163, 193
at Zaragoza 115
Rivaler (Rivalier), Gilles, *see* Bastida, Giles de la
Robles, Blas de 71 n. 84
Robles, Francisco de (author), and his *Copia sive ratio accentuum omnium fere dictionum difficilium, tam linguae latinae, quam hebraicae, nonnullarumque graecarum* 99 n. 38, 159, 190
Robles, Francisco de (bookseller) 71 n. 84
Robles, Juan de 99, 159
Robles, Pedro de 168 n. 51
Roca, Rafael, *see* Amelon, Jacques
Roche, Matthieu de la 28, 29
Rochelle, La 13, 23, 36, 56, 73, 106, 110, 171, 206, 211, 221, 249
printing at 36, 78, 107–8, 183, 212–13
shortage of printing-workers at 107–8, 212
Rodas, Juan de 68, 85 n. 47, 143, 144, 254, 256
Roin, Guillermo (or Guille) de 85 n. 47, 143, 147
Rojol, Joan 143, 144
Rome 41, 94, 170
as 'Babylon' 200
Romero, Juan 39, 40
Rosembach, Joan 77
Rouen 28, 78, 108, 133, 135, 181
manufacture of playing cards at 37 n. 37
printing at 20, 134
printing of English-language editions at 134
repression of Huguenots at 10 n. 35, 181
working week at 183
Roux, Jean le 134–5, 226
Roux, Nicholas le 134
Rovière, Isaac 46 n. 71
Rowse, John de, *see* Roux, Jean le
Rozoy-sur-Serre 121
Rueda, Juan de la, *see* Rodas, Juan de

Saint-Flour 34 n. 28
St Quentin, battle of (1557) 204, 205
saints 61, 94, 100, 124, 125, 128, 218, 233
saints' days, *see* holy days
Salamanca 33, 34, 36, 37 n. 34, 38, 39, 48, 52, 67, 83, 122, 123, 126, 129
baptismal registers at 17
Campo de Zurguén 221
Nuestra Señora de la Vega (church) 131
printing at 17, 53 n. 14, 77, 85, 90 n. 76, 98, 108, 115, 119, 120, 126, 129 n. 41, 206
San Esteban (monastery) 127 n. 31
San Martín (church) 249
shortage of printing-workers at 189–90
social life of printing-workers at 195
social relations in book industry at 17, 127, 131, 208
steady demand for printing-workers at 126
university 119
see also archives; booksellers
Salcedo, Elvira de 189
Saliner (Salinas), Antoni 85 n. 47, 143, 144
Salisbury 61
Sanahuja, Antonio de 98, 170

sanbenito 48, 74, 119, 245, 253, 256, 265
and public humiliation 255, 258
Sancerre 114
Sánchez, Francisco 110
Sandre, Isabel, *see* Régnier, Isabel
Santillana, Pedro de 78
Santo Domingo, Bernardino de 94 n. 7
Sardinia 26
Saulzion, Jean ('Gros Bonnet') 136
Savoy 47, 77, 146
see also Philibert-Emmanuel
Scandella, Domenico ('Menocchio') 242
Schäfer, Ernst Hermann Johann 21
scholars, *see* authors and scholars
scriptures, *see* Bible
Sea Beggars 13
secrecy 24, 35, 48, 49–50, 58, 74
Segovia 115
Seine, river 133
sentences 36, 59, 68 n. 73, 73, 96, 119, 252–60
determined by political atmosphere 259–60
as deterrent 258–9
discretionary 255, 258–9
length of 129, 253, 259
utilitarian 259
see also abjuration; banishment; burning of heretics; clemency; death sentence; flogging; galleys and galley-slaves; imprisonment; reclusion; restriction of movement; *sanbenito*
Septgranges, Corneille de 135
Sermon du bon pasteur 241 n. 93, 242
sermons:
Catholic 125, 127, 149, 236
Reformist 225, 231, 232, 235, 238
see also Reformist practices and services
Sernache dos Alhos 171 n. 65
Serrat, Juan de 143, 144
Seville 7, 8, 9, 78, 86, 90, 97, 105 n. 62, 162
inquisitors and inquisitional tribunal at 21, 60, 63
printing at 16, 47, 77, 85, 99, 115, 116, 156, 209
Reformist circle at 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11
shortage of skilled printing-workers at 78, 157, 174
smuggling of books into 8
suppliers of type at 166
see also archives; *autos de fe*; booksellers; heresy and heretics
sexual behaviour 15, 45, 95, 150, 245
sign of the cross 97, 111, 134, 222, 225
signature marks 159
Sigüenza 13, 61, 62, 90, 92, 93–6
cathedral 97
ecclesiastical authorities at 161, 169, 174
printing at 8 n. 24, 46 n. 71, 82, 87, 169, 206
processions at 195
Santa María de los Huertos (hermitage) 195
social life of printing-workers at 195
see also prisons
Simancas, Diego de 162 n. 29
Simon (brother of Pierre de Rinz) 111
singing of psalms 10, 136, 204, 218, 219–22
in countryside 221, 238
and dissemination of Calvinism 220
at home 248
to identify religious persuasion 221 n. 25
in presses 220–1
to provide solace 221
and Reformist identity 220
see also Bèze, Théodore de; Marot, Clément; psalters
slaves 63, 255
employed in presses 156–7
sola fide 216, 223, 224, 232, 242
sola scriptura 216, 223

see also Bible
songs, *see* Reformist songs
Soto, Fray Domingo de 128
Spain:
attractiveness to foreign printers 76, 83–4, 115, 138
as 'Babylon' 200
colonies and dominions of 4, 13
and crisis of 1568–70 11, 14
danger for foreigners in 83–4
policing of foreigners' religious views in 2, 198
scepticism of Catholic belief and practice in 11, 222, 227, 245
skill shortages in 78–9, 157, 174, 261
see also Alcalá de Henares; Alcázar de Consuegra; Alpujarras; Andalusia; Antequera; Aragon; Baeza; Baides; Barcelona; Basque country; Berlanga de Duero; books; Burgo de Osma; Burgos; Calatayud; Cartagena; Castile; Catalonia; Córdoba; Cuenca; Galicia; Granada; Guadalajara; Jerez de la Frontera; León; Lleida; Low Countries; Madrid; Medina del Campo; Montserrat; Murcia; Ocaña; Palencia; Pedralba; Perpignan; Salamanca; Segovia; Seville; Sigüenza; Tarragona; Teruel; Tinajas; Toledo; Valencia; Valladolid; xenophobia; Zaragoza
Spaniards in printing industry 9, 87–8, 144 n. 95, 156 n. 2, 175
Spanish Inquisition:
and absolution and release of defendants 130, 254, 255
and abuse of prisoners 45
agents (*familiares*) of 33, 39, 102, 103, 120, 142, 145, 148
archives of 14, 21
bribery in 47
and campaign against *luteranismo* 2, 3
consolidation of 6, 7
correspondence of 22
and disputes with local authorities 40–3
dragnet of 33, 44, 119
fear of 48, 50, 52, 53, 58, 60, 62, 65, 72, 74, 95, 96, 100, 102, 110, 125–6, 131, 245, 247, 248, 257
finances of 6, 15, 26, 27, 47, 68–9
expenses of 54
headquarters (the Suprema) of 12, 15, 21, 22, 27, 33, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 66, 68–9, 72, 74
and ignorance of Reformist thought and practice 55–7, 215, 249
institutional interests of 11, 24, 259
minor infractions tried in 15
organization of 15, 40
preconceptions of 24, 25, 73
prestige and respect for 2, 3, 5, 6, 50, 88, 258
prosecutor in 57, 58
record-keeping by 54
relaciones de autos of 15, 22
relaciones de causas of 15, 22
rumour and misinformation about 50, 63, 127
secretaries to 24, 25, 70, 71, 73, 88, 107
theological assessors of 51, 64–5, 66, 100
see also *autos de fe*; Barcelona; burning of heretics; Catalonia; censorship; clemency; Córdoba; Cuenca; galleys and galley-slaves; Granada; indexes of prohibited books; inquisitors; Murcia; prisons; sentences; Seville; Toledo; trials; Valencia; Valladolid; Zaragoza
Spanish Netherlands, *see* Low Countries
spelling 159, 162, 177
spirituality 3, 26
standard of living, *see* wages, money, standard of living
Steels, Johan 106
Strata, *see* Italiano de Strata, Pedro

Suárez de Figueroa, Cristóbal 183
Suelves, Miguel de ('Zapila') 170
suicide 48, 62, 96
Sundays 171, 183–4
  see also working day and week
superstition 15, 55, 218, 237, 244
Suprema, *see* Spanish Inquisition
Switzerland 13, 29, 38, 102 n. 44
  see also Basle; Geneva; Zurich

Tarragona 168
taverns and tavernkeepers 48, 110, 196, 207, 240 n. 89
taxes 40, 41, 42, 79, 80, 209
Temporal, Juan 254
Ten Commandments 183, 219, 221
Terranova, Juan María de 108
Teruel, Huguenot conventicle at 12
theologians 38, 55
Thomas, Maître 122
Thomas, Werner 21
Tibobil brothers 10, 220–1
Tinajas 96 n. 13
tinkers 73, 90 n. 77
Toledo 1, 7, 8, 9, 29, 32, 37, 67, 110
  cathedral 8, 73 n. 90, 219
  diocese of 7
  inquisitors and inquisitional tribunal at 2, 7, 8, 9, 13, 23, 26, 27, 33, 35, 38, 39, 43, 44, 51, 52, 56, 59, 70, 89, 120
    and problems of jurisdiction 38–9, 43
  Nuncio (hospital) 44
  Plaza de las Cuatro Calles 167
  Plaza de Zocodover 44, 67, 253, 254
  printing at 34, 35, 78, 85, 99, 108, 206, 219
  Reformist circle at 10, 128
  San Pedro Mártir (monastery) 65 n. 61, 68, 254
  threat of heresy at 10
  see also *autos de fe*; booksellers; heresy and heretics; prisons
Tormes, river 195
Toulouse 37, 67 n. 69, 73, 77, 97, 100, 115, 122
  Collège de l'Esquile 97, 100
  printing at 97, 114
Tournes, Jean de 229
traders, *see* itinerant traders
transubstantiation 223, 233–4
Trent, Council of 6, 8, 11, 71 n. 83, 125 n. 26, 171, 182
trials 49–74
  and arrest warrants 52, 120, 140, 148
  and charges 57–9
  and confiscation, and inventories of defendants' possessions 39, 44, 52, 95, 120, 129, 131–2, 140, 149, 253, 255, 256
  and defence 59–61, 100, 105, 143–4, 149
  defence advocate (*letrado*) in 58–9, 63, 109, 116, 148
  defendants' ignorance of procedure of 54, 74, 129, 131
  defendants' incrimination of selves during 126
  and discounting of evidence provided by enemies 30, 47, 59–60, 143–4, 148
  and evidence against fellow-prisoners 66
  and extenuating circumstances 61, 63, 109, 255
  false witness in 30, 144, 146, 151
  and guardian (*curador*) to defendants 58, 59
  and guilt by association 7, 47
  and identification of prisoners 51–2, 140
  and illegitimate process 43
  legal advice in 52, 58–9
  length of 67–70
  misunderstandings during 70–4
  torture during 35, 54, 58, 60, 63, 64–6, 96, 131, 149

witnesses in 49, 51–2, 58–9, 63, 68, 110, 148
see also clemency; confession; denunciations to the Inquisition; interpreters; languages; retraction of denunciations; secrecy; sentences
Trinity, the 234–5
Troyes 111
Trujillo, Sebastián 99, 157, 181, 188
Tum, Jul de 121
Turk, the 4, 14, 41, 205, 230, 257, 258, 265
type 30, 118, 121, 137, 139, 145, 148
italic 139
and number of pieces in fount 168
quantity of 178 n. 84
recasting of 165
roman 139
supplying of 166
washing of 175
type-casters 77, 85, 90, 106, 121, 136, 141, 142, 165–8, 219
see also Copa, Pedro la; Dulcet, Benito; Gotard, Hubert; Granjon, Robert; León, Juan de; Molot, Juan; Pintamenan, Pierre; Relin, Pierre; Saulzion, Jean
type-founders, *see* type-casters
typesetters 20, 77, 79, 85, 86, 106, 122, 144 n. 100, 165, 166, 175–9
female 188
and intellectual labour 177, 185
length of apprenticeship for 157
and manipulation of copy 177, 178 n. 84
and nationality 175–6
see also Arnao y Presiter, Antonio; casting off; Colomb, Claudio; Colomies, Giles de; Cornelio; Copa, Pedro la; Flamenco, Nicolás; Franco, Juan; Garçon, Francisco; Gaspar, Adrián; Gotard, Hubert; Gotard, Pedro; Herlin, Guillermo; languages; Loe, Enrique; Manuel, Alonso; Martínez, Sebastián; Pedro Alberto; Pintamenan, Pierre; Rabut, Juan René; Ribera, Isac de; Ribera, Pierre de; Rinz, Pierre de; Rodas, Juan de
typesetting 115
in Castilian 71, 72, 162, 176–7
in Catalan 177
in English 134

by formes 177–8, 179
in Greek 18, 137, 162, 164, 176, 179
in Hebrew 139
as intellectual or mechanical task 177, 185, 209

in Latin 18, 115, 137, 162, 176
by pages 178 n. 84, 179
and typographical material 139
in vernacular 162, 176

unbelief, *see* religious scepticism
unknown presses and editions 23
unrepentant heretics, *see* heresy and heretics
Uquetan, Gil de 61

Valdés, Fernando de (Inquisitor General of Spain) 3, 4–5, 6, 7
Valdés, Juan de 26
Valencia 26, 75, 76 n. 7, 97
inquisitors and inquisitional tribunal at 26, 89
printing at 77, 98, 99, 188
university 164
see also *autos de fe*; booksellers
Valladolid 3, 5, 36
inquisitors and inquisitional tribunal at 21, 33, 39, 102, 120
Nuestra Señora de Prado (monastery) 109
printing at 85, 93 n. 1, 93 n. 2, 94 n. 7, 99 n. 38, 115, 141 n. 84
Reformist circle at 4, 7, 11
San Julián (church) 202

see also *autos de fe*; booksellers; prisons
Vaquero, Lorente 71
Vargas, Francisco de 8
Vega, Gaspar de la 121 n. 11, 127–8, 219, 252
Velarde, Pedro 38
Velaz, Tomás de 169
Velez, Baptista 256
veneration of images, *see* images
veneration of saints, *see* saints
Venetian Inquisition 80, 90
Venice 14 n. 52, 95, 99 n. 36
galley-fleet of 257
Vergara el Mozo, Nicolás de 46 n. 69
Veronica, St 34 n. 26
Vesalius, Andreas 94
Vibun (or Bebun), Jacques, *see* Pugnier, Jacques
Vic, bishop of 41
Vilanova, Bartomeu 54, 159
Villalobos, Juan de 184
Villanueva, Juan de 29, 86, 87, 108, 115, 176, 204
Villarreal, Juan de 93, 94–5, 189, 198, 207
Virgin Mary 124, 126, 127, 130, 201–2, 218
Vitoria, Francisco 139

wages, money, standard of living 17, 19, 21, 120, 132, 135, 144, 186, 229
of compositor 54, 116
at Geneva 81
of puller 82, 173
in Spain 75, 77, 81, 83, 138, 147
Wars of Religion, French 11, 31, 56, 76, 79, 107, 115, 204, 205, 231
witchcraft 15
women 59, 61, 118, 124, 125, 132, 137, 150, 207
in presses 98, 135, 187–9
see also misogyny
working day and week 107, 171, 180, 182–5

xenophobia 3, 13, 26, 48, 88–90, 194, 198

Yuste 4

Zapata, Gaspar 8, 9
Zaragoza 16, 30, 35, 40, 46 n. 71, 122, 146
inquisitors and inquisitional tribunal at 23, 68 n. 73, 89, 132
printing at 16, 37, 65 n. 64, 77, 86, 97, 98, 102, 108, 115, 146 n. 103, 167, 168
see also archives; *autos de fe*; booksellers
Zurich 26
Zwingli, Huldrych 219, 231, 234, 235