



Universidad de Valladolid

FACULTAD de FILOSOFÍA Y LETRAS
DEPARTAMENTO de FILOLOGÍA INGLESA
Grado en Estudios Ingleses

TRABAJO DE FIN DE GRADO

**An Analysis of Pedro de Ribadeneyra's *Historia
ecclesiastica del scisma de Inglaterra (1588)***

Fátima Cid Morgade

Tutor: Anunciación Carrera de la Red

2013/2014

ABSTRACT

Central to the study of the English-Spanish relations in the 16th century is the Anglican Reformation. It was narrated for first time in Spanish and from a Catholic standpoint in *Historia ecclesiastica del scisma de Inglaterra* (1558), by the Spanish Jesuit Pedro de Ribadeneyra. Although it was thoroughly appreciated at the time and beyond, current literature on this work is very scarce. This paper will analyze the new structure, the additional sources, shortenings and interpolations through which Ribadeneyra reworked *De schismate anglicano* –the Latin work on which his *Historia del scisma* is based–, as well as those passages of dubious historicity that were retained or included by him. The results confirm the thesis that Ribadeneyra uses and deforms facts with an aim to appeal to a Spanish readership and support his plea for their defense of the Roman Catholic faith.

Key words: Pedro de Ribadeneyra (1526-1611) – *Historia ecclesiastica del scisma de Inglaterra* – Anglo-Spanish relations – Anglican Reformation – Counter-Reformation – Early Modern Historiography.

Un aspecto central en el estudio de las relaciones hispano-inglesas en el siglo XVI es la reforma anglicana. Este hecho se narra por primera vez en español y desde una perspectiva católica en *Historia ecclesiastica del scisma de Inglaterra* (1558), escrita por el jesuita español Pedro de Ribadeneyra. Aunque esta obra tuvo una gran acogida en la época y durante siglos, la bibliografía actual sobre ella es muy escasa. En este estudio se analizarán la nueva estructura, fuentes adicionales, las abreviaciones y las interpolaciones con las cuales Ribadeneyra refundió *De schismate anglicano* –obra en latín en la cual se basa su *Historia del scisma*–, así como algunos pasajes de dudosa historicidad que mantiene o añade. Los resultados confirman la tesis según la cual Ribadeneyra utiliza y deforma algunos hechos con el objetivo de atraer a los lectores españoles para que apoyen su llamamiento en defensa de la fe católica.

Palabras clave: Pedro de Ribadeneyra (1526-1611) – *Historia ecclesiastica del scisma de Inglaterra* – Relaciones anglo-hispanas – Reforma Anglicana – Contrarreforma – Historiografía moderna.

CONTENTS

1. Introduction.....	page 2
1.1. Field of study, topic and focus.....	2
1.2. Reasons for this study.....	2
1.3. Aim.....	3
1.4. Methodology.....	4
1.5. General structure.....	4
1.6. Thesis.....	4
2. State of the Question.....	5
3. A Biographical Note of Pedro de Ribadeneyra.....	7
4. A Bibliographical Review of <i>Historia ecclesiastica del scisma de Inglaterra</i>	9
4.1. Parts and content.....	9
4.2. History of the work.....	10
4.3. Reception.....	12
5. Analysis of the Work.....	13
5.1. Modifications introduced by Ribadeneyra.....	14
a) New structure.....	15
b) Use of additional sources.....	16
c) Omissions and shortenings.....	17
d) Interpolations.....	18
5.2. Passages of doubtful historicity.....	25
6. Conclusion.....	28
7. Bibliography.....	31

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Field of study, Topic and Focus

The following study pertains to the field of the international relations between England and Spain during the period covering the reigns of Henry VIII, Eduard VII, Mary I and Elizabeth I in England and those of Charles I and Philip II in Spain.

It concerns one of the most transcendental events which took place at this age: the ecclesiastical schism between England and Rome which had relevant repercussions both in the English country and in the rest of Europe. It marked the beginning of a new historical era in the British Isles in which internal and external conflicts originating from religious controversy to be constant over the following two hundred years. It also affected the English-Spanish relations, not only because the family bonds established between the royal families of the two countries were severely damaged, but also because Spain, as the most powerful Catholic kingdom at that time, could not allow the emergence of a new world power without fighting using all her military and intellectual strength against its Anglican Reformation.

The focus of the study falls on the Spanish historiographical work entitled *Historia ecclesiastica del scisma del reyno de Inglaterra*, written by the Spanish Jesuit Pedro de Ribadeneyra and published for the first time in 1588 in Madrid. It narrates all the events related to the English schism from a contemporary Spanish Catholic perspective.

1.2. Reasons for this study

The singular value of Ribadeneyra's *Historia ecclesiastica del scisma de Inglaterra* is three-fold. First, it is strictly contemporary to the events that it relates. Second, although there were other coetaneous histories that dealt with the Anglican Reformation from a Catholic viewpoint, Ribadeneyra's work was the first historiographical work about this topic to be written in Spanish and from a Spanish point of view. Finally, it enjoyed an outstanding popularity at the time, lasting for several centuries after its publication, as its

numerous ensuing editions indicate. In fact, it may be said that this work remained the main source of knowledge about the English schism for Spanish readers for years.

In spite of all that, the attention it has received by recent historians is very scant, both in Spain and Britain. The only source that contains important data and some remarks regarding the *Historia del scisma* is "Introducción al cisma de Inglaterra" by Eusebio Rey who also included an annotated edition of this Ribadeneyra's work in *Historias de la Contrarreforma*, which was printed in 1945 and recently reedited in 2009. Apart from that introduction, only a handful of articles include some references and brief comments about this work, these being very sparse. Therefore, it may be safely said that currently there is no deep analysis of any length of *Historia del scisma* in English language.

1.3. Aim

A certain degree of altering of the real historical events depending on the author's circumstances and purpose is assumed to be present in any historiographical work. In this case, the author is a fervent Catholic who lived in the period in which most of the narrated events took place, and as such, he tries to transmit his religious ideas about the schism and its consequences as well as to encourage Spanish people to defend their faith. In addition, *Historia ecclesiastica del scisma de Inglaterra* is not a completely original work, but a Spanish reworking of a contemporary Latin work: *De origine ac progressu schismatis anglicani* written by English Catholic exiles in 1556. Therefore, it is logic to suppose that Ribadeneyra's *Historia del scisma* could be unfaithful to the historical events which had been already recounted by others.

For this reason, the aim of the following study is to analyze Ribadeneyra's *Historia del scisma* through the personal interventions with which Ribadeneyra freely modified the Latin work on which his history is based, as well as through those passages that he retained whose historical veracity is most doubtful. My purpose is to examine what role those modifications and fragments play in the transmission of the author's ideas to the Spanish people of that period.

1.4. Methodology

The main body of my study will be then an analysis of the modifications introduced by Ribadeneyra in his Spanish version of *De origine ac progressu schismatis anglicani* and some of the fragments which are less reliable from a historical point of view. In order to carry out the study, I am going to follow the classification and examples of Ribadeneyra's contributions and some of the controversial points of the narration that Eusebio Rey provides in his "Introducción al Cisma de Inglaterra" (2009: 867-73) and in his footnotes to the *Historia del scisma*.

In such analysis, I am going to try to establish logic connections between the presence of those modifications and passages and their function to achieve the author's purpose using my own interpretation, but also drawing on the evidence included in the aforementioned "Introduction" by Rey, and in the articles by Juan M. Escudero (2001), Christopher Highley (2005) and Victor Houlston (2011).

1.5. General structure

This dissertation will be divided in five parts. First, it will start by reviewing the scant literature that to date has dealt with Ribadeneyra's *Historia del scisma* to underline its scarcity. It will continue with a sketch of the author's biography since Ribadeneyra is not a well-known writer nowadays with an emphasis on his brief but significant visit to England at the end of Mary Tudor's reign. It will be followed by a brief overview about the content, origin and reception of the work in order to stress its success and importance at that time. Next, Ribadeneyra's main contributions and those fragments whose veracity is doubtful will be analyzed in detail following Rey's classification and examples. Finally, it will end by summarizing all the points included in this study and establishing some conclusions derived from the analysis.

1.6. Thesis

An attempt will be made to show that all of Ribadeneyra's modifications of the Latin original work and the historically dubious passages he added with the intention of attracting

and influencing Spanish readers by exalting the Catholic faith and its defendants and criticizing harshly the Anglican Reformation and its supporters.

2. STATE OF THE QUESTION

Although Pedro de Ribadeneyra is not a famous writer nowadays, the main data about his biography could be easily found in several sources. The first documents that contain important information on Ribadeneyra's life are his own autobiography, entitled *Confesiones* (1611), and his collected letters. Both of them were included in *Monumenta Ribadeneirae* (1920), two volumes dedicated to Ribadeneyra in the *Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu* (1894), an important work that contains primary source documents of the most relevant Jesuits.

Moreover, an important number of biographies of this Spanish Jesuit were published from the 16th century until now, starting with the contemporary one by his secretary, Cristóbal López, which also was included in the *Monumenta Ribadeneirae*. Some of the most complete and accurate biographies known to our days are Juan María Prat's *Historia del Padre Ribadeneyra* (1862), the report by Vicente de la Fuente included in *Obras Escogidas del Padre Pedro de Ribadeneyra* (1868: v-xiv), and the Eusebio Rey's introduction to *Historias de la Contrarreforma* (2009: xxxv-lxxiii).

Some of his works, especially his numerous hagiographies, such as *Flos Sanctorum* (1599), have been extensively studied and commented. Yet, the sources of information and commentaries about Ribadeneyra's *Historia del ecclesiastica scisma de Inglaterra* (1588) are extremely scarce, in spite of its historical relevance and of being the work with which he became a famous writer at that time.

After a long search, the only source with a detailed information about *Historia del cisma* is Rey's "Introducción al cisma de Inglaterra" that precedes the annotated edition of Ribadeneyra's work in *Historias de la Contrarreforma* (855-88; 889-1199). In this introduction, Rey explains the history of the original Latin work in which Ribadeneyra's

work is based on, the reasons why he considers the author decided to write his Spanish adaptation, a succinct commentary of the modifications added by Ribadeneyra to the previous Latin version, a summary of the main points of criticism regarding its historicity, and the reception and importance of the work, among other aspects.

Apart from that introduction, only a few academic articles provide some important data and remarks about this work. The most relevant of them is Victor Houliston's "The Missionary Position: Catholics Writing the History of the English Reformation" (2011) that recounts the process of composition of the *De schismate anglicano*, its success, and the main adaptations and translations of this work as well as the repercussions of all of them. The author highlights *Historia ecclesiastica del scisma de Inglaterra* as "the most significant of [these] adaptations" (2011: 19) and points out some of the differences between both works in relation to their differing perspectives, English and Spanish.

In Christopher Highley's "'A Pestilent and Seditious Book': Nicholas Sander's the *Schismate Anglicano* and Catholic Histories of the Reformation" (2005), Ribadeneyra's work is also mentioned, although only in passing, as a transformation of the Latin source, stressing the fact that it covers some years more of the history than *De schismate anglicano* does (2005: 155). The main points of this article are the textual history, the sources, the reception, and an analysis of some controversial passages of the *De schismate anglicano*. It is useful to the present research since part of its content can be applicable to *Historia del scisma*.

Juan M. Escudero also alludes to this work in "La construcción de los caracteres en *La Cisma de Inglaterra*. Convención e historia en el personaje de Enrique VIII" (2001) since it is an analysis of the mixture of history and fiction in *La Cisma de Inglaterra*, a historical tragedy by Calderón de la Barca, whose main source was precisely Ribadeneyra's *Historia del scisma* (480). Regarding *Historia del scisma*, this article mentions its origin and the "tendentious" perspective in which it is narrated (480).

The last article that touches upon this work is Jodi Bilinkoff's "The Many 'Lives' of Pedro de Ribadeneyra" (1999), which deals with some of the biographies written by the Spanish Jesuit, including his autobiography. Although it does not examine the *Historia del scisma* properly, through the analysis of his autobiography, Bilinkoff not only gives us a useful brief summary of the main moments in his life, but also highlights some data about the problems and process of the publication of Ribadeneyra's *Historia del scisma*.

As can be seen, there are not many documents about this historiographical work. Nevertheless, due to the date in which the aforementioned articles have been published and the recent reprint of *Historias de la Contrarreforma* in 2009, it seems that the study of Ribadeneyra's *Historia* is being taken up again. For this reason, the following analysis could be interesting and useful to later research.

3. A BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE OF PEDRO DE RIBADENEYRA

Pedro de Ribadeneyra was born in 1526 in Toledo, the capital of the Spanish empire from 1525 to 1539. He came of a noble but not wealthy family. His father, Álvaro Ortiz de Cisneros died when he was only ten. This fact marked a transcendental change in his life because upon his father's death, he was urged to start his education to guarantee a good future. Thus, he started to study at the School of Grammar of his home city where Cedillo and Venegas were his teachers. This part of his education proved to be very important in his later work as a writer. In 1539, his mother, Catalina de Villalobos y Ribadeneyra, decided to send him to Rome as a page to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese who had been commissioned to offer condolences in name of the Pope to Emperor Charles V for the death of his wife.

During his stay in Rome, Ribadeneyra met Ignatius of Loyola who became the main person in charge of his spiritual and intellectual training. In 1540 he joined the Society of Jesus, only nine days before its official approval from Pope Paul III. During some months he studied in Paris and Leuven. In 1545 Ignatius Loyola sent him to the University of Padua

where he attended to humanities and theology lessons. Since 1549 he was a brilliant professor of rhetoric and orator in Palermo and Rome in the new colleges that were created by the Society. At the same time, he completed his studies of philosophy, theology and logic before being ordained priest in 1553. Thus, he had ended his academic formation which would be present in his career as a writer.

Later, Ribadeneyra began to serve the Society of Jesus in various diplomatic missions. First, in 1555 he was sent to Flanders to exhibit his oratory qualities and with the difficult mission of introducing legally the Society and founding new Jesuit colleges in those territories. There he met the Count of Feria who became one of his protectors. Thanks to his excellent sermons in the Universities of Louvain and Brussels, Ribadeneyra achieved such fame that he was even invited to preach in the Court of Philip II, where he could speak personally with the king to transmit Loyola's desires to establish his Society in the Low Countries. Ribadeneyra did not only achieve the official permission from Philip II, but also became a well-known orator, praised and admired by the most important intellectual and political authorities.

In 1558 Ribadeneyra travelled to London as part of the entourage of the Count of Feria. He was the priest and spiritual adviser in the Count's household, but his main mission in England was to explore the possibilities of establishing the Society of Jesus in England. However, the fact that Queen Mary I died some months after his arrival to London, frustrated Ribadeneyra's plans since he considered impossible the introduction of the Society in England after the coronation of Queen Elizabeth I. Due to the failure of his mission and health problems, Ribadeneyra decided to leave England in 1559. So, he only was five months in this country, but during his brief stay, he could observe the English situation in person, which will be essential to the composition of his work *Historia ecclesiastica del scisma de Inglaterra* (1588).

After some years living in Italy holding several posts in the Society, such as provincial of Tuscany, commissary-general in Sicily, visitor of Lombardy, and assistant for Spain and Portugal, he returned to Spain in 1574. There are some doubts about the real reason of his

return since officially he went back to Spain due to health problems, but there were rumors about a confrontation with Mercurian, the general of the Society.

From his return to Spain until his death in 1611, he devoted himself to writing without stopping. First, he decided to write about the life of three first generals of the Society of Jesus: Saint Ignatius, Lainez and Borja. However, he remained as an unknown writer until the publication of *Historia ecclesiastica del scisma del reyno de Inglaterra* (1588), work that earned him an important literary reputation. He continued writing and translating many works such as the *Tratado del Príncipe Cristiano* (1595), *Confesiones de San Agustín* (1598), *Flos Sanctorum* (1599), and other biographies of relevant Catholic personalities. All his works are about ecclesiastical history, and in them, he constantly defended the Catholic doctrine and the Society of Jesus. For this reason, he is considered to be one of the most important Spanish writers of the Counter-Reformation.

4. A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REVIEW OF THE *HISTORIA ECCLESIASTICA DEL SCISMA DEL REYNO DE INGLATERRA*

4.1. Parts and content

Ribadeneyra's *Historia ecclesiastica del scisma del reyno de Inglaterra* deals with the most important historical events in relation to the breaking of England with the Roman Catholic faith from 1500, when the marriage of Catherine of Aragon to Prince Arthur of England was arranged, to 1593, the 35th year in the reign of Elizabeth I.

It is divided into three books: the first two, which were published in 1588, constitute a Spanish version of the work *De origine ac progressu schismatis anglicani* (1586) that is attributed to the English Catholic priest Nicholas Sander, whereas the third book, which contains the second part of the *Historia*, was written originally by Ribadeneyra and published five years later, in 1593.

The first part is the one in which I am going to focus on. It recounts all the relevant historical facts during the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI and Mary I in their entirety and the first half of that of Elizabeth I, until the death of Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots in 1587. In the work, there is a very detailed description of all the events that influenced the religious sphere in England, such as the divorce of Henry VIII from Catherine of Aragon, the Act of Supremacy, the laws against the Roman Catholics during the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI and Elizabeth I, the attempt of Mary Tudor to restore the Catholic faith, the foundation of the Society of Jesus in England, and the punishment that Catholic martyrs received in that country. Also, the most relevant figures during this period are depicted in depth.

The second part of the work focuses on the Edict promulgated by Queen Elizabeth in 1591 against the Catholics after the disaster of the Spanish Armada in England in reprisal for their support to the Spanish attempt to invasion. It covers the persecution and martyrdom that the English Catholics suffered due to this law until the year 1593.

4.2. History of the work

As I have said before, Ribadeneyra's *Historia* is an adaptation of the Latin work *De origine ac progressu schismatis anglicani* which was traditionally attributed to Nicholas Sander. However, the original work written by Sander was not completed before his death and it suffered several modifications until it was read and rewritten by Ribadeneyra. It is impossible to know exactly all the modifications that Sander's work underwent because the original manuscript has disappeared, but, as Rey details (855-60), it is clear that it suffered two relevant alterations.

Nicholas Sander (1530-1581), an English priest and Professor of Canon Law, was a relevant figure in the fight against the Anglican Reformation. He had to emigrate due to the persecution against Catholics in England and he lived in several European countries writing various works in favor of the restoration of the Catholic faith in his native country. From 1573 to 1579 he remained exiled in Spain, where he met Father Pedro de Ribadeneyra, and during this period, he started to write the aforementioned manuscript about the origins

of the Anglican schism pertaining the historical events from the divorce of Henry VIII to the first years of Queen Elizabeth I focusing on the church matters. He died before ending his work which remained almost forgotten until the priest Eduard Rishton decided to publish it.

Eduard Rishton (1550-1585) was kept in the Tower of London during four years and then exiled by Queen Elizabeth because of his profession to the Catholic faith. In France, Father Robert Persons, an English Jesuit, convinced him to finish and publish Sander's work in his clandestine printing house. He himself explains in the prologue-letter included in the first edition of *De schismate anglicano* (1585) that motivated by his own experience in prison, he decided to publish the work and the modifications that he added to the original manuscript. He decided to include the whole work in only one book, corrected some passages, omitted some too extensive discussions and added many data that were lacking, especially those that occurred after Sander's death. Before publishing the work, Persons also added some further changes, for instance, in the list of martyrs he included at the end of the work. Eventually, the first edition of *De origine ac progressu schismatis anglicani* came out in 1585 in Cologne, shortly after Rishton's death who failed to see his contribution in print.

Still, the edition of 1585 was revised and modified again by Persons in collaboration with the English Cardinal William Allen (Houliston 18-19). For example, the diary written by Rishton while he was a prisoner in the Tower of London was included. Thus, in 1586, a second edition of the work was published in Rome and it replaced the first one. This edition was to become one of the most influential works about the Anglican reformation in Europe and it was the basis of numerous subsequent reprints, translations and adaptations. Among them, Ribadeneyra's *Historia ecclesiastica del scisma del reyno de Inglaterra* (1588) is considered the most relevant adaptation. Other important translations of Sander's work were the Italian one, *Historia ecclesiastica della rivoluçion d'Inghilterra* (1591, 1594) by Girolamo Pollini, the French *Histoire du Schisme d'Angleterre* (1676) by Francois de Maucroix, and the English version *History of the Reformation of the Church of England* (1679) by Gilbert Burnett (Houliston 19-20).

After his travel to England in 1558, Ribadeneyra always remained interested in English affairs and when Sander's work was published, he decided to translate it into Spanish to make the history of the schism known in his own country. In the prologue to his *Historia*, he himself explains the reasons why he decided to do so: he, as a Spaniard and as a religious man belonging to the Society of Jesus, had to defend the Catholic faith against the heresies:

La primera [razón] ser yo español, y la segunda ser religioso de la Compañía de Jesús. Porque el ser español me obliga a desear y procurar todo lo que es honra y provecho de mi nación [...].

El ser religioso me obliga a favorecer y adelantar con mis flacas fuerzas todas las cosas que tocan a nuestra sagrada Religión [...] y el ser de la Compañía, aún más particularmente, así porque Dios nuestro Señor la instituyó y envió al mundo en estos miserables tiempos, para defender la Fe Católica y oponerse a los herejes. (899-900)

The first edition of Ribadeneyra's *Historia ecclesiastica del scisma* was published in 1588 in Madrid. In that same year, new editions of the work came to light in Valencia, Saragossa, Barcelona, Antwerp and Lisbon, which easily accounts for the immediate success of the work.

In 1593, the *Segunda parte de la historia ecclesiastica del scisma de Inglaterra* was published. Then, it was anonymously translated into Latin and added to a further and last edition of *De schismate anglicano* in 1610. Thus, this curious circular history of the work is completed.

4.3. Reception

One of the factors that may have influenced in favor of the prompt success of the *Historia del scisma de Inglaterra* is that it was published shortly before the departure of the Spanish Armada towards England in August, 1588. Therefore, it was an ideal moment to promote the idea of the need of a Catholic conquest of England by the Spaniards that the work tried to transmit. The work had a huge success and became very popular in that time not only in Spain, but also in the rest of Europe.

It fact, it is claimed to have become a model for some other contemporary authors. For instance, for some authors, two Italian versions about the history of the schism, *Historia ecclesiástica dela rivoluzione d'Inglaterra* (1591) by Girolamo Pollini and *Schisma d'Inglaterra sino alla morte della Regina Maria* (1602) by Bernardo Davanziti, were influenced by Ribadeneyra's work. Moreover, according to Rey (886-87), it was the basis of *Historia particular de la persecución de Inglaterra* (1579) written by the Spanish bishop Diego de Yepes. Calderón de la Barca also took Ribadeneyra's *Historia* as the source of his tragedy *La Cisma de Inglaterra* although he introduced significant manipulations of the history in the play (Escudero 480).

In any case, *Historia ecclesiastica del scisma del reyno de Inglaterra* was one of Ribadeneyra's most widely read works as it is proved by the numerous editions that came out along the history. It was especially popular in the late 16th century when twelve editions of the work were published in different cities of the Spanish State, but it continued being reedited all through the following centuries: three editions in the 17th century, two in the 18th and other two editions in the 19th century. In the 20th century it was included in *Historias de la Contrarreforma* (1945) by Eusebio Rey which has been recently reedited in 2009.

5. ANALYSIS OF THE WORK

Although Ribadeneyra's *Historia ecclesiastica del scisma del reyno de Inglaterra* is a historiographical work, it is clearly written from a Spanish Catholic perspective, and therefore, it should not be looked upon as an objective recounting of historical events. In the first place, through his adaptation of *De schismate anglicano*, in which he included important alterations, he turned the English point of view into a Spanish one suppressing details regarding the English culture, and focusing on the most relevant facts in connection with the relations between Spain and England. In the second place, the *Historia* contains some data of doubtful or improbable historicity with the aim to defend the Roman Catholic

faith and attack the Anglican Reformation. Some of these facts already appeared in the Latin work, but further data are included by Ribadeneyra.

Therefore, I have decided to focus on the analysis of Ribadeneyra's particular modifications of the real history and their implications. As I have anticipated in the introduction to my study, first, I am going to deal with the changes introduced by Ribadeneyra and consider some possible reasons why he decided to include them. Then, I will examine some of the passages whose historical veracity is uncertain as well as the role they play in the narrative. The aim is to analyze how far these aspects are related to Ribadeneyra's purpose, which seems to be to attract Spanish readers' attention and instill his totally negative view regarding the schism into these readers.

Thus, I am studying only the first part of the *Historia del scisma* (Books I and II) because it is that part which Ribadeneyra modifies starting from Sander's work, while leaving out the second part because it would not be as revealing with respect to Ribadeneyra's intended purpose, and besides, its implicit message is radically different due to the fact that it was written after the disaster of the Spanish Armada.

5.1. Modifications introduced by Ribadeneyra

In the prologue to *Historia ecclesiastica del Scisma del reyno de Inglaterra*, Ribadeneyra specifies that his work is not exactly a translation from the Latin work *De origine ac progressu schismatis anglicani* (1586). As the following quote indicates, he affirms that he has eliminated some things and as well as others and that he also has changed the structure of the work:

El parecerme que todos estos provechos se pueden sacar de esta Historia, me ha movido a poner la mano en ella, y a querer escribir en nuestra lengua castellana la parte de ella que he juzgado es bien que sepan todos, cercenando algunas cosas y añadiendo otras que están en otros graves autores de nuestros tiempos, y tocan al mismo Cisma; y distinguiendo este tratado en dos Libros, y los Libros en sus capítulos, para que el lector tenga donde descansar. ("El autor al piadoso y cristiano lector")

These contributions by Ribadeneyra can be classified as follows: the creation of a new structure; the use of additional sources of information the use of omissions and abbreviations; and the addition of interpolations (Rey 867).

a) New structure

In this respect, the changes introduced by the Spanish Jesuit are of two kinds: the restructuring of the work into only two books and their division into chapters.

Sander-Rishton-Persons's work was divided into three books: Book I concerned Henry VIII's reign, Book 2 recounts the reigns of Edward VII and Mary I, and Book III was devoted to the reign of Elizabeth I and continued until 1585. It is a continuous narration in chronological order flanked by some marginal notes indicating the year and the content of each fragment.

However, Ribadeneyra decided to change the organization of the work. He organized the history in only two books: the first one, like Sander's work, covers the period until Henry VIII's death, whereas Book II deals with the three following reigns until the execution of Mary Queen of Scots in 1587, which was not included in *De schismate anglicano*. This indicates that the Spanish author shortened the content of Sander's Books II and III since they were transformed into only one, even though, two years more were added the history. So, as it will be analyzed in the following section, most of the fragments that he chose to omit belonged to the two last books of the Latin source.

Besides, he divided both books into brief chapters whose titles indicate the topic developed in each one. This makes the reading and comprehension of the work easier and it is therefore expected that its ideas could be transmitted to a larger number of readers. Also, in some of the titles of the chapters, it is possible to appreciate the author's personal stand regarding the leading figures and their actions with which he tries to influence the reader. Some examples of these titles are "De la persecución cruelísima que movió el rey a todas las religiones", "La crueldad del rey, y el castigo que dio nuestro Señor a los ministros de sus maldades", or "La falsa clemencia que usó la reina con algunos sacerdotes,

desterrándolos del reino" in which the Spanish terms for “most cruel persecution”, “cruelty” “wickedness”, and “false clemency” stand out from the start as characterizing Henry VIII and Queen Elizabeth.

b) Use of additional sources

Another contribution introduced by Ribadeneyra to his rewriting of *De schismate anglicano* is the use of additional sources of information. The topic of the Anglican Schism was very commonly treated at that time by both Catholics and Protestants, which generated a large variety of sources. As Rey shows (868), most of the references were those Sanders, Rishton and Persons had made use of, but very significantly, Ribadeneyra added a new set of sources. These are not clearly identified since he does not provide the exact references, most of the times remaining generic, such as "también se dice", "otros cuentan", or "refieren personas graves". However, in the introduction to the *Historia*, he explicitly reports that he has drawn on other contemporary histories apart from Sander's, although he does not specify which:

El cual [el cisma] quiero yo escribir con toda llaneza y verdad, e ilustrarle con la novedad y variedad de cosas tan admirables sacadas de las historias de nuestros tiempos, y particularmente de la del Doctor Sandero, el cual las recogió de los instrumentos y escrituras públicas y de las relaciones que de palabra o por escrito hombres gravísimos le dieron y de lo que él mismo vio y observó. ("Argumento de esta presente historia")

Rey (869-70) refers to some of the works that Ribadeneyra uses to write his history: Sander's *De visibili monarchia* (1571) for the biography of Mary Stuart, *De unione ecclesiae* by Cardinal Pole, one of Persons's letters on the Anglican persecution, *An Apology for the English Seminaries* (1581) by Cardinal William Allen, Stapleton's *Life and Illustrious Martyrdom of Sir Thomas More* (1588), and, the anonymous *Chronica del Rey Enrico octavo de Inglaterra*, written by a coetaneous author but not printed until 1874. All these new sources are also written by Catholic churchmen, so it is logic that the point of view was staunch Catholic. He also added important letters by Philip II, Catherine of Aragon, Mary Tudor, Mary Stuart, among others, along with some papal bulls and

Parliamentary Laws, which provides his *Historia del scisma* with the required documentation.

So, most of the bibliographical references added by Ribadeneyra relate to the parts that he decided to amplify, which have been analyzed in the previous section, for instance, the role of Philip II in this conflict, some fragments about Mary Tudor, the life of Thomas More and Mary Stuart. This indicates that he was willing to search for additional sources, but that his preference was for those written by Roman Catholics who had a similar vision of the history and no contrary view.

c) Omissions and shortenings

A third group of alterations include the omission and shortening of certain passages from *De schismate anglicano*.

Ribadeneyra synthesized or even omitted several passages in his version of the original work in Latin reducing its extent considerably. Most of the parts which underwent a greater extent of abbreviation are those that deal with issues of mainly English interest which were extensively developed by Sander, Rishton and Persons.

One of the episodes that were most abbreviated by Ribadeneyra is the legal process of Henry VIII's divorce, but as the reorganization of the work indicates, most of the omissions take place during the reigns of Edward, Mary and Elizabeth. For instance, he reduced by half Edward VII's reign, especially those parts regarding the internal political struggle and radical changes in worship, in the legislation and in the universities. He also summarized the impact of the restoration of Catholicism introduced by Queen Mary Tudor on the life of the English people as well as all the international political actions that did not relate to Spain.

So, it is clear that the author is not interested in the life of the English people, internal politics or international relations, but in the issues related to the period of the religious schism that were affecting or could have affected Spain, such as the relationships between the two countries or the possible expansion of Protestantism across the Spanish Empire. As

Houliston affirms, Ribadeneyra's aim is "to rouse the spirit of that Catholic nation, under its most Catholic king, to come to the aid of the suffering English" (2011: 22); for this reason, he suppressed many details regarding English culture and politics, focusing on more relevant fragments for Spanish readers in order to achieve his purpose.

d) Interpolations

Ribadeneyra did not only modify the structure of the original Latin text and cut down some of its sections, but he also included several passages written originally by him. Many of them are mere comments with which he inserts his personal characterization of the main historical figures or brief moral lessons for his readers. However, the most significant interpolations are the longer fragments added by Ribadeneyra of varied nature, which I go on to analyze.

First, Ribadeneyra wrote a Prologue in which he explains that he had recently read a book by Nicholas Sander about the schism in England and states that he considers his duty to rewrite this history into Spanish since it could serve as a lesson for princes, kings, royal favorites and ministers, and in general for all Spanish people. He also reveals the content of his work introducing the main personalities and their role in this historical period. From this introduction to the history, he starts to ennoble the image of the exemplary Catholics (Queen Catherine of Aragon, the Pope, Mary Tudor, and all the people who died defending the Catholic faith), whereas he condemns severely those who were involved in the breaking with Rome and the establishment of the new religion which is an abominable incident for him.

So, from the beginning of Ribadeneyra's work, his opinion about the different figures and facts is already clear. A good illustration of this, is the following quotation in which he depicts Henry VIII as a powerful capricious king who committed serious crimes against the Catholic Church while his ministers adulate and delude him; contrarily, Queen Catherine represents perseverance and saintliness, the Pope is fair, the martyrs show their patience and strength, and the whole kingdom is in ruins, confused and isolated:

Vese un rey poderoso, que quiere todo lo que se le antoja, y ejecuta todo lo que quiere: una afición ciega y desapoderada, armada de saña y poder, derramando la sangre de santísimos varones y profanando y robando los templos de Dios, y empobreciéndose con las riquezas de ellos; quitando la verdadera cabeza de la Iglesia, y haciéndose a sí cabeza monstruosa de ella, y pervirtiendo todas las leyes divinas y humanas.

Vese la constancia y santidad de la reina doña Catalina, la entereza y la justicia del romano Pontífice, y el sentimiento de los otros príncipes, la desenvoltura y torpeza de Ana Bolena, las lisonjas y engaños de los ministros del Rey, la paciencia y fortaleza de los santos mártires, y finalmente el estrago, confusión y asolamiento de un reino noble, católico y poderoso. (895-96)

Another case in point is the last paragraphs of Chapter 30 and the whole chapter 31 in Book I which were added by Ribadeneyra in the edition of 1605 of the *Historia del scisma de Inglaterra*, as Rey notes (984 n., 993 n.). The fragments at the end of Chapter 30 contain more details regarding the execution of Thomas More and the following chapter deals with the life and death of the Lord Chancellor of England. In this biographical sketch of More, the author emphasizes his virtues and his main acts from the beginning to the end of his life, including some of the letters that he sent to his daughter when he was in prison. Why Ribadeneyra decided to insert a full chapter devoted to Thomas More, may be easily explained for the relevance of this outstanding figure during the reign of Henry VIII, who always defended the Roman Catholic faith even to the point of being sentenced to death because of that. Perhaps, the purpose of the inclusion of this chapter in 1605 was to encourage people to defend their Catholic ideas whatever the cost, as More did, at the time of absolute uncertainty for Catholics after the failure of the Spanish Armada.

But without a doubt, the majority of the fragments written originally by the Spanish author to expand the narrative pertain to the reign of Mary Tudor onwards. The first important contribution of Ribadeneyra's is the chapter about the wedding of Queen Mary to King Philip II of Spain and the reconciliation of England with the Roman Church. Thus, Chapter 15 in Book II starts with the description of the great splendor and majesty of the ceremony and the first impression that the Englishmen had about King Philip, since, according to the author, most of them rejected him because he was a Catholic, because he was a very powerful king, or because they were impressed by the luxury and elegance of his vassals:

Hubo a los principios grandes sospechas y temores en los ingleses, porque unos, por estar inficionados de herejía, aborrecían al nuevo Rey, por ser Príncipe tan religioso y católico; otros, temían que con su gran poder querría sujetar aquel reino [...]. Otros no podían ver tantos y tan lucidos caballeros y señores de tantas naciones: españoles, italianos, flamencos, borgoñones, todos vasallos del Rey, los cuales, con galas, libreas, aparato de casa y número y lozanía de criados, resplandecían en su reino.

And he concludes with a very vivid description of the attitude of the Englishmen: "Por estos y otros respetos estuvieron a los principios ariscos, secos y desabridos con los españoles y disgustados por el casamiento del Rey."

Then, through a letter that the King sent to his sister Juana, then Princess of Portugal, there is an explanation of the entire diplomatic process that took place in order to request the Papal absolution of the schism which was finally achieved in 1554. This chapter ends with the inclusion of another letter written by Philip II to the Pope in which he expresses his gratitude to the Roman Pontiff.

As we have seen, Ribadeneyra decided to include a chapter devoted to praise the key role played by Philip II in the reconciliation of England with Rome which was almost invariably ignored (Rey 1080 n.). Thus, he emphasizes the intervention of Spain in this conflict which could have awakened a great interest on his readers.

The following chapter originally written by Ribadeneyra is entitled "De las virtudes de la reina Doña María" which is totally dedicated to praise Queen Mary. It opens with a brief mainly physical description of her in which he tries to balance the reports on her wanting beauty, though probably failing in the attempt:

Fue la reina María pequeña de cuerpo, flaca, y en esto muy diferente de su padre; grave, mesurada; cuando moza, dicen que fue hermosa, y que después, con el mal tratamiento, perdió la hermosura, aunque no era fea; tenía corta vista, mas los ojos muy vivos y que ponían en acatamiento en los que atentamente miraba; la voz, gruesa y más de hombre que de mujer.. (Book II, ch. xx)

Then, he focuses on the main virtues that Mary Tudor had following the model of her mother, Catherine of Aragon. These qualities are chastity, honesty, devotion, piety and perseverance, among others. The author stands out especially her powerful Catholic faith

and devotion, which she maintained and defended even in the most difficult moments, for instance, by refusing to accept the marriage of her father to Anne Boleyn and continuing with her religious duties during the reign of her brother Edward, opposing the king's ministers in spite of all the treats that she received in both cases.

He continues with the description of her virtues as a Queen: she was just, cautious and cultured. He states that Mary was always loved by the English people even before becoming queen on account of her kindness and benevolence. In order to defend her against the accusations that described her as a cruel person due to her persecution against the heretics, Ribadeneyra affirms that she showed her mercy forgiving those who had offended her, but at the same time, she was strict and rigorous punishing those who had acted against the Roman Catholic religion without a mite of criticism:

Fue muy fácil, clemente y humana en perdonar y recibir en su gracia a los que la habían ofendido, y muy severa y rigurosa en castigar las injurias que se hacían contra Dios Nuestro Señor y contra la religión católica, como se ve en lo que en esta historia queda contado. (Book II, ch. xx)

Very clearly, the writer depicts a very favorable portrait of Queen Mary Tudor, in contrast with the usual descriptions given by other authors, lauding all her virtues and acts, particularly those related to her fight against heresy and defense of the Roman doctrine in England. At this point, it seems necessary to remember that Ribadeneyra was in London during the last months of the reign of Mary I and that after her death, he had to leave England due to the failure of his mission to establish the Society of Jesus in this country, and, probably for this reason, he is especially benevolent with this Queen who favored his interests in contrast with her successor, Elizabeth I, who damaged Catholics severely. However, in my opinion, the main reason why he decided to include a chapter devoted to enhance Mary Tudor is that she was an exemplary Catholic Queen as well as a relevant figure for Spaniards since she was the daughter of a Spanish Princess and one of the wives of King Philip II.

In Chapter 22, Ribadeneyra introduces a fragment based on his personal experience in London in which he acclaims the role played by Gómez de Figueroa, the Count of Feria, to

whom he was serving there as private religious advisor. As the author relates, the Count of Feria was sent by King Philip II to visit and serve Queen Mary during her illness. Ribadeneyra highlights that although Elizabeth's court begged the Count's presence at the ceremony of Elizabeth's coronation, he, "as a Catholic and brave knight" ("como caballero católico y valeroso", Book II, ch. xxii) refused categorically to be there because some of the traditional Catholic formalities would not be maintained in this rite. Therefore, the author again enhances the behavior of a Catholic and Spanish figure, who was also his protector at that time.

In Chapter 25, another passage about the relevant action of Count of Feria during Ribadeneyra's stay in London is included in the *Historia*. After the imprisonment and confiscation of the belongings of the majority of the Catholic clerics and priests who did not recognize Queen Elizabeth as the head of the English Church, the Count of Feria implored the Queen for permission to take care of these monks, nuns and priests and send them to safer places. The Count finally achieved his purpose and provided shelter to these people in his own house and then helped them to travel to Flanders. When the Duke returned to the Spanish Court, he also included a large number of priests in his entourage and requested King Philip's protection for them. The King, showing again his piety and defense of Catholicism, protected and favored the exiled priests. As Eusebio Rey points out (1104), that would be the beginning of the foundation of the English seminaries in Spain, so it is only logic that Ribadeneyra chose to add this episode in which he also ennobles the behavior of his protector and of the King of Spain.

The last two chapters of Book II were written originally by Ribadeneyra in their entirety. Chapter 40 contains a biography of Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, in which he stands out how she was put into prison, the patience and religiousness that she maintained during her captivity, and the resignation and perseverance in her faith when she was sentenced to an unjust death ordered by Elizabeth. According to the author, although other kingdoms were also affected by Elizabeth's policies, Mary Stuart was the person whom this queen treated most atrociously in spite of being her part of his family:

Mas aunque todos los reyes han sentido en sus reinos y estados los daños que hemos dicho, y la vecindad de Inglaterra les ha sido tan perjudicial, contra quien más se ha embravecido Isabel y en quien más ha ejecutado su rabia y furor ha sido su sobrina María, Reina propietaria de Escocia. (Book II, ch. xl)

With this episode, the writer tries to demonstrate Queen Elizabeth's huge cruelty claiming that Mary Stuart was unjustly condemned only because she was the legitimate heiress to the English throne after Elizabeth and because she was a fervent Catholic. Moreover, in Ribadeneyra's opinion, the Queen reiterated her wickedness declining Mary's petition to confess with a Catholic priest before dying as well as with the great injury done to the body of the dead queen. For the author, this episode is the cruelest in history and he uses this chapter to alert his readers to the "diabolic" consequences that heresy can provoke:

Porque como la herejía es un monstruo infernal, todos los frutos que nacen de ella son monstruos infernales. Y si para conocer esta verdad no bastaban los innumerables ejemplos que antes teníamos de crueldad, violencia y tiranía que han usado los herejes en nuestros tiempos, este solo basta por todos, y bastará en todos los siglos advenideros. (Book II, ch. xl)

The following chapter, "La felicidad que los herejes de Inglaterra predicán de su reino", contains a personal reflection in which Ribadeneyra denies categorically the prosperity and happiness that was affirmed to be enjoyed in England. He enumerates the different reasons why this positive vision of the kingdom is false, which are: the lack of justice, the excessive taxes that the whole population must pay to the Queen, the division of the English people between Catholics and Protestants, and the uncertainty due to the fact that there was no rightful heir to Elizabeth I. This chapter shows clearly Ribadeneyra's stance about the English situation since he omits all the cultural, political and economic progresses that took place in England during Elizabeth's reign, whereas he stresses all the negative aspects in order to show his readers that heresy is the worst thing that can happen in a country due to its terrible consequences, which have been extensively recounted by the writer:

¿Qué mayor infelicidad puede ser que haber de sustentar su estado con semejantes embustes y artificios? Pero todos ellos, y las calamidades y miserias que en esta historia habemos referido, y otras gravísimas e innumerables que se podían contar, son frutos del cisma y herejía que ahora florece en Inglaterra. (Book II, ch. xli)

Finally, Ribadeneyra added a conclusion of his own to put an end to "the history of this bloody and pitiful tragedy": "Acabemos ya la historia de esta sangrienta y lastimosa tragedia", he wrote (Book II, "Conclusión"). First, he summarizes briefly the main episodes that had been narrated and then, he focuses on underlying some of main ideas that he tries to transmit. First, readers must learn a moral lesson from this history and imitate the behavior of the exemplary historical figures and not that of the malevolent ones:

Todos estos ejemplos debemos nosotros tener delante para huir de los malos, e imitar y seguir los buenos; que éste es el fruto que de esta historia debemos sacar; porque entre los otros títulos y alabanzas que se dan a la historia, es una y la más principal ser *magistra vitae*, ser maestra de la vida humana, porque enseña lo que se debe huir y lo que se debe obrar. (Book II, "Conclusión")

Then, he encourages Spaniards to support a necessary Spanish intervention in order to restore the Roman Catholic faith in England, which, as Rey reiterates (868, 1194 n.), is the final message of the work:

¿Quién de nosotros con todas sus fuerzas no procurará deshacer una tiranía tan bárbara, y quitar este oprobio de toda la cristiandad? ¿Con qué podemos nosotros los españoles servir a nuestro Señor la merced que nos hace en conservar estos reinos en nuestra santa fe católica, sanos, limpios y puros de herejías, sino con el celo de la misma fe católica y deseo de su gloria, y que se conviertan o destruyan los herejes?

Si una vez se restituyó la misma fe católica, estando desterrado de aquel reino, siendo rey de él el Rey Don Felipe, nuestro Señor, procuremos que se conserve o que se cobre lo que entonces se ganó.

Finally, the author reasserts that Spaniards must prevent the triumph and expansion of heresy because of hellish consequences that this "monster" has provoked in England:

Y si ellos, abrasados de fuego infernal, atizan este incendio y ceban esta tormenta, y fomentan este aire corrupto y pestilente y le derrama y extienden por los otros reinos [...], ¿por qué nosotros nos dejaremos vencer de su endiablado furor, y no haremos por Dios nuestro Señor y por nuestra santa ley lo que ellos con tan extraña rabia y solicitud hacen contra él y contra ella?

To sum up, all these interpolations introduced by Ribadeneyra consist mainly of personal reflections and opinions of the author, favorable descriptions of the main Catholic figures and their acts especially of the Spanish ones and amplifications of the events related to

Spain. The purpose of all these additions seems to be to mark clearly the terrible consequences that to his eyes the schism had caused in England to alert readers and encourage them to fight against heresy.

5.2 Passages of doubtful historicity

Although the main events narrated in *De schismate anglicano* and its Spanish adaptation *Historia del scisma de Inglaterra* can be proved true through records and the sources of information that were used in them are acknowledged as reliable, the historical veracity of these works was much questioned, mainly by Protestant authors. Criticism started with the publication of the anonymous work *Antisanderus* (1592), but it continued during several centuries. As I have said before, it is clear that Ribadeneyra's history is not narrated impartially since the opinion of the author appears constantly trying to influence on the reader and some polemic unproved facts are presented as completely truthful. In this section, I am going to analyze some of the passages of *Historia del scisma* whose historicity is most dubious and the possible reasons why they appear on its pages.

Without a doubt, Anne Boleyn is the most highly criticized figure in the work. He considers her abominable because, for contemporary Catholics, she was the cause of the schism and of the destruction of England, which was continued by her daughter who followed her same paths:

[Ana] infelicísima y abominable por haber sido el origen y fuente del manantial del Cisma y destrucción de su patria, y por habernos dejado una hija que así la imita. (Book I, ch. xxxvi)

Around her, many rumors circulated at that time and Ribadeneyra, following Sander and other sources, included them as perfectly proved facts. He depicts her almost as a deformed monster and as an ambitious, envious, dishonest person:

Era Ana alta de cuerpo, el cabello negro, la cara larga, el color algo amarillo, como atiriciado, entre los dientes de arriba le salía uno que la afeaba; tenía seis dedos en la mano derecha, y una hinchazón como papera [...]. Cuanto a sus costumbres, era llena de soberbia, ambición y envidia y deshonestidad. (Book I, ch. VIII)

He also tells about the bad reputation that she had due to her numerous lovers, including the King of France. Nevertheless, the most controversial affirmation regarding Anne Boleyn is that she is not only a bastard, but also the daughter of King Henry VIII who had had sexual intercourse with Anne's mother when her husband was abroad:

Era Ana Bolena hija de la mujer de Tomás Boleyn, caballero principal; digo que era hija de su mujer, porque de él no podía ser; porque estando él por embajador del Rey de Francia y ausente de su casa por espacio de dos años, su mujer concibió y parió a Ana Bolena. La causa de esto fue que, como el Rey amaba a la mujer de Tomás Boleyn, [...] envió a Francia a su marido, [...] y estando él ocupado en su embajada, Ana Bolena [...] fue concebida en su casa y nació. (Book I, ch. VIII)

As Eusebio Rey indicates (928), this idea of King Henry VIII as being Anne's father was common among the contemporary authors, although nowadays it is considered improbable. Its registration would reinforce the idea of the sinful and obscure origin of the Schism (Rey 873). It also helps him criticize the hypocrite decision of the King to divorce from Catherine on account of her having been his brother's wife considering that he had not only been with Anne's sister but also with her mother.

Besides, the author states that she was unfaithful to the King many times during their marriage and he even contends that it was doubted that Elizabeth was his daughter. According to Ribadeneyra, the constant infidelities of the Queen, even with her brother, were the reasons of her just and fair death sentence. The veracity of this issue appears to be still discussed, so it is only natural that Ribadeneyra considered it totally true at that time.

All this contrasts with the credibility he denies to certain facts relating the reign of Elizabeth I. For instance, the author affirms that all the conspiracies against the Queen Elizabeth, including the one in which Mary Stuart was involved, were false and fabricated only as an excuse to condemn people because of their Catholic faith:

[S]iendo la causa de su muerte la confesión de la fe católica, y el no reconocer a la Reina por soberana cabeza de la Iglesia de Inglaterra, [la Reina y los de su Consejo] han publicado [...] no ser ésta la causa verdadera de sus tormentos y muertes, sino el haber tratado con Roma y Reims la muerte de la Reina, y conjurado contra el reino, y procurando que otros príncipes le invadiesen y usurpasen. (Book II, ch. xxxv)

disregarding the testimony of witnesses as fraudulent: "Quisiéronl[o] probar con algunos testigos falsos, comprados y pagados".

It is well to remember that the existence of several plots planned by important Catholic figures to assassinate Elizabeth and replace her by the Catholic Mary Stuart (Ridolfi Plot, Throgmonton Plot, Babington Plot...) is well-known. Surely, religious persecution was a fact at that time, but a lack of historical veracity is generated saying that all the conspiracies against the Queen did not really exist.

Chapter 36 is another example whose veracity may be deemed doubtful to the unreligious people since it contains several miracles that, according to Ribadeneyra, happened to Catholic martyrs in England from the beginning of the break with Rome. An example of these miracles is that some of these Catholics seem to come again to life after death, as the following quote indicates:

También escriben que sucedió otra cosa admirable en el martirio del este santo sacerdote, y fue que, después de que le ahorcaron, [...] pusieron los verdugos su cuerpo sobre una tabla [...] para descuartizarle, y estando así delante de mucha gente, se levantó de suyo en alto con grande estupor de los circunstantes. (Book II, ch. xxxvi)

This chapter may be rightly regarded unsuitable for a historiographical work, since it may be more appropriately pertain to a hagiographical work. However, at that time the authenticity this kind of occurrences was not discussed and Ribadeneyra could consider this chapter suitable for transmitting his Catholic message, which is the aim of his ecclesiastical history.

Therefore, after the analysis of these fragments, it may be concluded that not all the content in the *Historia ecclesiastica del scisma de Inglaterra* has a strict historical veracity. Nevertheless, it is necessary to take into account that this history, as much as the Latin work on which it is based, were strictly contemporary, which influences extremely religious viewpoint of the history. Moreover, it is not surprising that the authors of *De schismate anglicano* and Ribadeneyra himself followed the interpretation of the controversial events

which was more favorable to their religious belief, especially considering that many details on the Anglican Reformation remain obscure even to this very day.

6. CONCLUSION

Throughout this paper, I have collected information and analyzed in depth some aspects regarding Ribadeneyra's *Historia ecclesiastica del scisma del reyno de Inglaterra* (1588), a hardly known but very interesting historiographical work about the Anglican Reformation, a key issue within the field of the Anglo-Spanish relations in the 16th century.

First of all, I have included a review of the main sources that contain information about *Historia del scisma* and its author. The aim of this section has been to demonstrate the shortage of documents that deal with this work and the need for a profound study about it, now that Eusebio Rey's canonical edition of 1945 just reappeared and that it seems that a number of English-speaking historians have given notice to the work.

The next part contains a recapitulation of Ribadeneyra's life that shows the relevance of this author at his time both as a member of the Society of Jesus, carrying out important missions, and as a prolific Spanish writer who always wrote ecclesiastical works to promote the ideas of the Counter-Reformation. Besides, his short stay in England under Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I illustrates the close connection that he had with the events in question.

Due to the fact that *Historia del scisma* is almost unknown nowadays, a brief review in relation to its content, history, and reception has been necessary in order to provide a general overview of the work and stand out its importance in the moment of its publication and beyond. Although it is an adaptation of *De schismate anglicano* –written originally by Sander, but modified and edited by Rishton (1585) and Persons (1586)–, which also narrates the main facts regarding the Anglican Reformation from a Catholic perspective, Ribadeneyra's *Historia* was the first work in Spanish that covers this key period in the English history. In addition, it was widely read for centuries, especially just before its

coming to light, and it became a model for some other coetaneous authors throughout Europe. For these reasons, it had a strong influence on the Spanish perception of the English schism and of all the authorities involved.

The main body of my study consists in analyzing the degree in which the real history is manipulated in *Historia del scisma* in order to better influence its readers. As it is a Spanish adaptation of a previous work in which Ribadeneyra added notable modifications, the first question under analysis have been such alterations divided into four groups: new structure, use of additional sources, shortenings, and addition of fragments.

The new structure by which the work is divided into chapters, not only makes the understanding and reading of it easier, but also make explicit the author's opinion through the subjective titles of some chapters. The frequent abbreviation of entire sections included in *De schismate anglicano* only affect those passages that contained English affairs, such as the legal process of Henry VIII's divorce, the internal political disputes or the changes in the English legislation during all this period.

On the contrary, most of the fragments added originally by Ribadeneyra concern Spanish personalities like Catherine of Aragon, Philip II and the Count of Feria. Other interpolations are devoted to relevant Catholic figures who always defended their faith although it was the cause of their death, among these are Thomas More and Mary Stuart. He also added critical comments about the events narrated in *Historia del scisma*, through which the author tries to transmit the readers the main message of this work: the Anglican Reformation is a regrettable fact which has horrible repercussions for Catholics and consequently, the Spanish intervention is absolutely necessary to avoid the expansion of heresy to other territories. Most of these additions were written using additional sources different from those that already appeared in *De schismate anglicano*, however, all of them follow a strict Catholic perspective, so the tone of the work continues to be the same.

The second part of the analysis concerns the veracity of some fragments that can be considered uncertain from a historical point of view. In this analysis, it has been shown that these passages contain unproved facts, however, the veracity of most of them remain

unknown even nowadays. So, it is logic that in these cases, Ribadeneyra always opted for the interpretation that coincided better with his religious ideas.

My study offers two clear results. The first one is all the omissions of Ribadeneyra regarding *De schismate anlgicano* are applied to passages whose content is related to English matters, whereas most of his additions have to do with the role that some Spanish figures played in this conflict and how it could affect Spain. The second finding is that the rest of his interpolations and all the fragments of dubious historical veracity have the function of defending the Roman Catholic faith and praise its most fervent supporters or by contrast, hardly criticizing the schism and to its followers.

Therefore, after this study, it may be deduced that all Ribadeneyra's contributions as well as the fragments of doubtful truthfulness were included in *Historia ecclesiastica del scisma del reyno de Inglaterra* in order to make more attractive the history for the Spanish readers and thus, spread widely the author's ideas warning them about the dangerous repercussions of heresy and urge them to fight against it in defense of the Catholic faith. In conclusion, this study has proved that, as it happens in any historical report, Ribadeneyra's *Historia* is not a completely accurate and objective narration of historical events, but a biased work in which the real facts have been altered following the author's conceptions and purpose.

7. BIBLIOGRAPHY

a) Primary sources

- *Monumenta Ribadeneira: Confessiones, epistolae aliaque scripta inédita. Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu* 58, 60. 2 vols. Madrid: Ibérica, 1920-1923. Print.
- Prat, Juan María. *Histoire du Père Ribadeneyra, disciple de Saint Ignace*. Paris, 1862. Print.
- Ribadeneyra, Pedro de. *Historia ecclesiastica del scisma del reyno de Inglaterra*. Madrid: En casa de Pedro Madrigal, 1588. Print.
- ----- . *Segunda parte de la historia ecclesiástica del scisma del reyno de Inglaterra*. Alcalá de Henares: En casa de Manuel de Lyra, 1593. Print.
- ----- . and Eusebio Rey. *Historias de la Contrarreforma: Vida de Los Padres Ignacio de Loyola, Diego Laínez*. 1^a ed. Madrid: Biblioteca de autores cristianos, 2009. Print.
- ----- and Vicente de la Fuente. *Obras escogidas del padre Pedro de Rivandeneira, con una noticia de su vida y juicio crítico de sus escritos por V. de la Fuente*. Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, 1868. Print.
- Sander, Nicholas. *De origine ac progressu schismatis anglicani libri tres*. Roma, 1586. Print.
- ----- . *De origine ac progressu schismatis anglicani libri tres*. Cologne, 1585. Print.

b) Secondary sources

- Bilinkoff, Jodi. "The Many 'Lives' of Pedro de Ribadeneyra". *Renaissance Quarterly* 52.1 (1999): 180–96. Print.
- Burton, Edwin. "Edward Rishton". *The Catholic Encyclopedia* 13. New York: Robert Appleton, 1912. Web 17 May 2014.

- Escudero, Juan M. “La construcción de los caracteres en La Cisma de Inglaterra. Convención e historia en el personaje de Enrique VIII”. *Actas del V Congreso Internacional de la Asociación Internacional Siglo de Oro (AISO), Münster 20-24 Jul. 1999*. Christoph Strosetzki. ed. Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2001. 479–89.
- Highley, Christopher. “‘A Pestilent and Seditious Book’: Nicholas Sander’s ‘Schismatis Anglicani’ and Catholic Histories of the Reformation”. *Huntington Library Quarterly* 68.1/2 (2005): 151–71.
- Houlston, Victor. “The Missionary Position: Catholics Writing the History of the English Reformation”. *English Studies in Africa* 54.2 (2011): 16–30.
- Pollen, John Hungerford. "Robert Persons". *The Catholic Encyclopedia* 11. New York: Robert Appleton, 1911. Web 17 May 2014.
- Van Ortro, Francis. "Pedro de Ribadeneira." *The Catholic Encyclopedia* 13. New York: Robert Appleton, 1912. Web 17 May 2014.

