Humanism and the Bible in the Poetry of Benito Arias Montano (ca. 1525–1598)

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Short Abstract

Benito Arias Montano (ca. 1525–1598) is known for his polymathic scholarly interests. However, for him, humanist learning had to be put to the service of the study of the Bible. While the erudition of Arias Montano's prose treatises has seen an increase in critical attention in recent years, his poetry is still understudied. This thesis shows that the fruits of his learning can also be seen in his original lyric poetry. However, I argue throughout this study that Arias Montano's poetry betrays an anxiety about the limitations and proper use of humanist scholarship.

The first two chapters place his oeuvre in context. In Chapter One, I aim to situate Arias Montano's work in a broader trend of European biblical encyclopaedism. In Chapter Two, I discuss how his choice of poetic form and his use of biblical material compares to that of other religious poets writing in Europe during the same period. In the following chapters, I focus on the appearance of particular disciplines in his poetry: respectively, the study of Classical texts; Hebraist studies; the study of historiography and political theory; and biblical geography and architecture.

More broadly, I aim to contribute to our understanding of sixteenth-century biblical humanism by demonstrating how Arias Montano balances his interest in emerging humanist disciplines with his conviction that the Bible was ultimately the only source of

true knowledge. This thesis also aims to fill a surprising gap in scholarship by providing the first full-length study of Arias Montano's Latin lyric poetry.

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Long Abstract

Benito Arias Montano (ca. 1525–1598) was a true Renaissance man; he delved into humanist disciplines ranging from philology and ethnography to natural philosophy and geography. However, for him, learning had to be put to the service of the study of the Bible. While the erudition of Arias Montano's prose treatises has seen an increase in scholarly attention in recent years, his poetry is still understudied. This thesis shows that the fruits of his learning can also be seen in his original lyric poetry. However, I argue throughout that Arias Montano's poetry betrays an anxiety about the limitations and proper use of humanist scholarship.

The first two chapters place his work in the context of contemporary biblical humanism and biblical poetry respectively. In the first chapter, I aim to situate the work of Arias Montano, a sixteenth-century Catholic, in a broader trend of encyclopaedic biblical studies, one which is often said to have begun in the seventeenth century and in Protestant circles. In Chapter Two, I discuss how his choice of poetic form and his use of biblical material compares to that of other religious poets writing in Europe during the same period, and posit that he develops an idiosyncratic theory of biblical poetics based on his studies of the Bible and biblical Hebrew.

In the following chapters, I focus on particular humanist disciplines which appear in Arias Montano's poetry. In Chapter Three, I discuss how Arias Montano

exploits Classical literature in his biblical poetry. Scholars of Arias Montano's poetry often collect allusions to Classical authors such as Virgil and Ovid, and use them to assert that he was merely creating a 'latín de laboratorio' to guarantee the correctness of his Latin. I argue that, while sometimes Arias Montano's allusions are part of his Classical poetic lexicon, in many cases they have a meaningful function. On a lexical level, the poet recasts his biblical source in Classical and often poetic Latin. Sometimes, his allusions syncretistically place Classical and Christian culture on an equal footing. However, elsewhere, Arias Montano shows a more cautious attitude towards Classical texts; in these cases, his allusions are eristic, and he seems to repurpose the Classics for Christian ends.

In Chapter Four, I explore Arias Montano's use of his Hebraist studies to illuminate the Bible for a Christian audience. Christian Hebraist scholarship was inherently paradoxical: on the one hand, scholars saw Hebrew as the language spoken by the Holy Spirit, and therefore believed that its study could reveal divine truth; on the other, excessive enthusiasm for Hebrew sources could lead to accusations of judaizing. I contend that, in Arias Montano's poetry, this manifests itself in divergent ways of representing Jewish scholarship. In his poetry on Jewish ritual, Arias Montano makes frequent use of rabbinical sources to explain Jewish ceremonial law on its own terms, rather than as only a prefiguration of Christian truth. However, in his poetry on the New Testament, the scribes contemporary to Jesus are portrayed as sophists, and consequently the attitude towards Jewish learning is much more negative.

In Chapter Five, I show how Arias Montano applies humanist trends in historiography and political theory to the Bible. During the Renaissance, history began to be conceived as a repository of *exempla*; Arias Montano points out that the Bible contains models for imitation and asserts that they are superior to pagan models. The

genre of ‘mirrors for princes’ often took examples from history and, in his poetry, Arias Montano also underlines how the kings of Scripture (Saul, David, Solomon, Jeroboam, Rehoboam) can serve as examples to contemporary monarchs. In recent scholarship, Arias Montano has been recognised as one of the first exponents of studies of the ‘Respublica Hebraeorum’; I discuss how the theme of true statecraft is explored in his poems on Joshua. Nonetheless, in this chapter I argue that Arias Montano displays an anxiety about the ability of human reason to interpret *exempla*. He reminds us that we must be careful not to use human measures of virtue, but rather ground our interpretation in Christian values.

Chapter Six deals with Arias Montano’s interest in biblical geography and architecture. Scholars have demonstrated how, in his prose treatises, Arias Montano uses his antiquarian erudition for the purpose of meditation on the text of the Bible; I show that a similar tendency can be seen in his poetry. However, in some cases, I argue that he is conscious of the limits of his geographical studies. There, Arias Montano recognises that the physical world we can understand with geographical knowledge is an incomplete one, which was corrupted after the Fall, and which can only be appreciated in its fullness in the next life.

More broadly, I aim to contribute to our understanding of sixteenth-century biblical humanism by demonstrating how Arias Montano balances his interest in emerging humanist disciplines with his conviction that the Bible was ultimately the only source of true knowledge. This thesis also aims to fill a surprising gap in scholarship by providing the first full-length study of Arias Montano’s Latin lyric poetry, and placing it in the landscape of Spanish religious lyric in the Golden Age.

List of Abbreviations

ASD	Erasmus, *Opera omnia*, 9 vols. in parts (Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1969–83)
CODOIN	Salvá, Miguel, and Pedro Sáinz de Baranda (eds), *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España, 1842–1895*, 113 vols (Madrid: Viuda de Calero)
HSM	*Humanae salutis monumenta B. Ariae Montani studio constructa et decantata* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1581)
PG	Migne, Jacques-Paul (ed.), *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series Graeca*, 166 vols (Paris: Migne, 1857–66)
PL	Migne, Jacques-Paul (ed.), *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series Latina*, 221 vols (Paris: Migne, 1844–64)

Abbreviations of rabbinic texts follow 'Instructions for Contributors', *JETS*, 20:1 (1977), 63–64 https://www.etsjets.org/JETS/20_1

Abbreviations of Classical texts follow the conventions of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*.

Introduction: Benito Arias Montano (ca. 1525–1598) and his Work

> Ergo me sanctis iuvet obsequatum
> Legibus magnae monitoque Matris,
> Cantibus puris operum vacanteis
> Ponere luces.
>
> Therefore may it please me to follow the holy laws
> And the counsel of the great Mother Church,
> And to put aside the holiday days
> For pure songs. (*Hymni* 1, 13–16)

It has become a cliché that 'De Benito Arias Montano se sabe mucho y al mismo tiempo muy poco'.[1] A towering figure in sixteenth-century Spanish humanism, a librarian, biblical scholar, and diplomat, he has captured the imagination of centuries of scholars; he is even the protagonist of a 2007 novel.[2] There is a vast body of literature aiming to elucidate various aspects of his biography and certain facets of his scholarship, such as his work as editor of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible or Biblia Regia, patronised by Philip II and printed by Christoph Plantin.[3] Work on Arias Montano's biography has been aided by various recent editions of his correspondence.[4]

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[1] Juan Gil, *Arias Montano y su entorno (bienes y herederos)* (Mérida: Editoria Regional de Extremadura, 1998), p. 15.

[2] Julio Manuel de la Rosa, *El ermitaño del rey* (Córdoba: Algaida, 2007).

[3] For a recent and meticulously documented biography, see Gaspar Morocho Gayo, 'Trayectoria humanística de Benito Arias Montano. Sus cuarenta primeros años (c. 1525/27–1567)', in *El humanismo extremeño II (Estudios presentados a las 2as jornadas organizadas por la Real Academia de Extremadura en Fregenal de la Sierra en 1997)*, ed. by Mariano Fernández-Daza y Fernández de Córdova (Trujillo, Spain: Real Academia de Extremadura de las Letras y las Artes, 1998), pp. 157–210; 'Trayectoria humanística de Benito Arias Montano II. Años de plenitud (1568–1598)', in *El humanismo extremeño II (Estudios presentados a las 3as jornadas organizadas por la Real Academia de Extremadura en Fregenal de la Sierra en 1998)*, ed. Mariano Fernández-Daza y Fernández de Córdova (Trujillo, Spain: Real Academia de Extremadura de las Letras y las Artes, 1999), pp. 227–304; additional data supplied by Bartolomé Pozuelo Calero, 'La oda de Benito Arias Montano a Pedro Vélez de Guevara o la añoranza de la vida retirada', *Criticón*, 113 (2011), 35-62. For a recent study of Arias Montano's philological work on the Antwerp Polyglot, see Theodor William Dunkelgrün, *The Multiplicity of Scripture: the Confluence of Textual Traditions in the Making of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible (1568-1573)* (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Chicago, 2012)

[4] Baldomero Macías Rosendo, *La Biblia Políglota en la correspondencia de Benito Arias Montano,* Bibliotheca Montaniana, 2 (Huelva: Universidad de Huelva, 1998); *La correspondencia de Benito Arias Montano con el presidente de Indias Juan de Ovando*, Bibliotheca Montaniana, 15 (Huelva: Universidad de Huelva, 2008); Antonio Dávila Pérez, *La correspondencia de Arias Montano conservada en el Museo Plantin-Moretus de Amberes* (Cádiz: Universidad de Cádiz, 1999).

What emerges from studies of Arias Montano's life is a scholar with varied interests who was able to perform several roles successively or even simultaneously. This is particularly the case of his period in the Netherlands (1568–75). During this time, he not only oversaw the editing of the Polyglot, but became a sort of political adviser, counselling Philip II to adopt a more conciliatory approach in the Netherlands. Philip II found him so useful that he had him stay after the Polyglot was finished to ease the transition from the iron rule of the Duke of Alba to the governorship of Luis de Requesens.[5] In this period, Arias Montano also acted as a censor of books, and procured books for the Escorial library.

Arias Montano's time in the Netherlands was also extremely fecund for his intellectual development. It was there, for instance, that he became friends with Abraham Ortelius, the geographer, and probably where he met the eminent humanist Justus Lipsius.[6] His interest in humanist scholarship of all disciplines can be seen in *Virorum doctorum de disciplinis bene merentium effigies XLIIII* (1572), a collection of woodcuts of eminent men engraved by Philippe Galle, each accompanied by an epigram written by Arias Montano. The work includes some earlier humanists, but it is mainly made up of eulogies of contemporary scholars from all over Europe who excelled in disciplines ranging from philology to medicine and botany.[7]

Between his return to Spain in 1576 and his definitive retirement in 1590 to the Peña de Aracena, his retreat near Seville, Arias Montano also undertook various roles. The most prominent of these was his post as librarian of the Escorial monastery, which

[5] See Ben Rekers, *Arias Montano*, trans. by Angel Alcalá (Madrid: Taurus, 1973); Luis Morales Oliver, *Arias Montano y la política de Felipe II en Flandes* (Madrid: Editorial Voluntad, 1927).
[6] See Jeanine de Landtsheer, 'Benito Arias Montano and the Friends from His Antwerp Sojourn', *De Gulden Passer*, 80 (2002), 39–62.
[7] For more on this collection, see Luis Durán Guerra, 'Imagen del humanismo: el retrato de hombres ilustres en Arias Montano', *Erebea: Revista de Humanidades y Ciencias Sociales*, 3 (2013), 329–60.

required several periods of residence. In 1578 he made a trip to Portugal, during which he spoke with King Sebastian; although his biographers have traditionally conjectured that this was a diplomatic mission to collect information in advance of a possible succession crisis, more recent scholarship has shown this to be unlikely, and suggested other personal and intellectual motivations for the trip instead. However, when the succession crisis did occur, Arias Montano was once again called upon in a professional capacity to draw up a statement on whether or not Philip II was legally required to appear before a court in order to take up the throne of Portugal.[8] During this time, he was also working on a monumental work referred to as the *Magnum opus*, which would draw on the whole spectrum of his academic interests. It was made up of three parts: *Liber generationis et regenerationis Adam*, on the history of mankind; *Naturae historia*, the first and only surviving part of a history of the natural world, and the projected *Vestis*, which seems to have been planned as a history of culture, but is lost or was never written.

The picture we have of Arias Montano is also a paradoxical one. He has all the hallmarks of a well-respected and orthodox Catholic theologian: before he was sent to oversee the printing of the Antwerp Polyglot, he spoke at the Council of Trent (March 1562–March 1564) and was later appointed royal chaplain. Nonetheless, throughout his life, and after it, he faced various accusations of unorthodoxy.[9] This paradoxical quality

[8] Manuel José de Lara Ródenas, 'Arias Montano en Portugal: La revisión de un tópico sobre la diplomacia secreta de Felipe II', in *Anatomía del humanismo: Benito Arias Montano, 1598–1998. Homenaje al profesor Melquiades Andrés Martín*. *Actas del Simposio Internacional celebrado en la Universidad de Huelva del 4 al 6 del noviembre de 1998*, ed. by Luis Gómez Canseco, pp. 343–67 (Huelva: Universidad de Huelva, 1998); David González Cruz, 'Arias Montano y la fundamentación de los derechos de Felipe II al trono de Portugal', in *Anatomía del humanismo*, ed. by Luis Gómez Canseco, pp. 301–19.

[9] Scholarship on Arias Montano's biography has often been vexed by the question of Arias Montano's relationship with Christoph Plantin, who seems to have been a member of a heretical sect called the Family of Love. This has prompted some scholars, led by Ben Rekers, to claim outright that he was initiated into the sect, and to attribute his change in political theory to its policy of tolerance. More recently, scholars prefer to speak of the Familist environment in which he worked, and even to question Plantin's own involvement. See Ben Rekers, *Arias Montano*; Angel Alcalá, 'Arias Montano y el

was particularly the case of his work on the Antwerp Polyglot: on the one hand, he held orthodox views on the primacy of Scripture as a source of revealed knowledge; on the other, his exegesis drew on humanist disciplines which often led to his work being seen as suspect. In particular, his commitment to studying the original languages of the Bible led him to privilege the Hebrew text of the Old Testament over the Vulgate, which had been declared 'authentic' at the fourth session of the Council of Trent in 1546, and to privilege rabbinical texts over the Church Fathers and scholastic method in his exegesis. This led to accusations of judaizing, most notably by León de Castro, professor of Greek at Salamanca, who denounced his work to the Inquisition. Arias Montano was cleared of Castro's charges, but after his death and throughout the seventeenth century his work appeared on the Roman and Spanish expurgatory indices.[10]

In the last few decades, the picture of this polymathic and sometimes paradoxical man has been built on by scholars who have translated and edited Arias Montano's works, a number of them in the *Bibliotheca Montaniana* series. This includes in particular editions of his prose works of biblical commentary and exegesis. Recent studies have given us an insight into the varied interests exhibited in these works, from geography to natural philosophy. Once again, these studies show us how Arias Montano's humanist impulses often made him a paradoxical scholar. For instance, his interest in the literal interpretation of the text of the Bible led him to study its geography in a way that was more typical of Protestant scholarship; and his

familismo flamenco: Una nueva revisión', in *Anatomía del humanismo*, ed. by Luis Gómez Canseco, pp. 85–111; Paul Valkema Blouw, 'Was Plantin a Member of the Family of Love? Notes on his dealings with Hendrik Niclaes', in *Dutch Typography in the Sixteenth Century: The Collected Works of Paul Valkema Blouw*, ed. by Ton Croiset van Uchelen and Paul Dijstelberge (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 643–64.

[10] See María M. Portuondo, *The Spanish Disquiet: The Biblical Natural Philosophy of Benito Arias Montano* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2019), pp. 122–52; 353–76.

biblicism led him to reject established scholastic natural philosophy and develop an alternative natural philosophical system based on his study of the Bible.[11]

For a long time, Arias Montano's literary output saw very little scholarly attention. Recently, editions have been published of his early *Rhetoricorum libri quattuor*, his *Odae variae*, and his collaborations with Philippe Galle, but his published collections of lyric poetry are still neglected. I hope that this study is one which will be of interest not only to literary scholars, but to anyone interested in the intellectual breadth and complexity of the figure of Arias Montano. I contend that, in his poetry, too, we can see him grappling with the twin impulses to assert the primacy of the Bible while drawing on the new directions of humanist study in sixteenth-century Europe.

Arias Montano's Poetry

Arias Montano tells us that on Sundays and feast days, when not working, he devoted himself to writing poetry.[12] His poetic talent was recognised early on when he was crowned poet laureate at Alcalá in 1552.[13] He wrote a small amount of poetry in Castilian, including the 'Paráfrasis del maestro Benito Arias Montano sobre el Cantar de los Cantares de Salomón en tono pastoril', which recent scholarship has shown to have influenced San Juan's *Cántico espiritual* and Quevedo's paraphrase of the Song of Songs.[14]

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[11] See Zur Shalev, 'Sacred Geography, Antiquarianism and Visual Erudition: Benito Arias Montano and the Maps in the Antwerp Polyglot Bible', *Imago Mundi: The International Journal for the History of Cartography*, 1 (2003), 56–80; María M. Portuondo, *The Spanish Disquiet: The Biblical Natural Philosophy of Benito Arias Montano* (Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press, 2019).

[12] 'Fuerunt interim alia nobis [...] per festos dies composita vario carminum genere', *Elucidationes in quatuor evangelia, Matthaei, Marci, Lucae et Johannis. Quibus accedunt eiusdem elucidationes in Acta apostolorum* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1575), fol. *4^{r}.

[13] José López de Toro, 'Benito Arias Montano, "Poeta laureatus"', *Revista de archivos, bibliotecas y museos*, 60 (1954), 167–88.

[14] Benito Arias Montano and José de Sigüenza, *Poesía castellana*, Bibliotheca Montaniana 28, ed. by Ignacio García Aguilar (Huelva: Universidad de Huelva, 2014); Luis María Gómez Canseco and Valentín Núñez Rivera (eds), *Arias Montano y el 'Cantar de los cantares': estudio y edición de la Paráfrasis en modo pastoril* (Kassel: Edition Reichenberger, 2001).

The great majority of his work is composed in Latin. His earliest Latin work is the *Rhetoricum libri IIII*, a versified treatise on rhetoric.[15] He also wrote poems interspersed in his prose works of biblical exegesis, as well as epigrams to accompany collections of engravings (the aforementioned *Virorum doctorum* (1572); *Divinarum nuptiarum conventa et acta* (1573); *David, hoc est virtutis exercitatissimae probatum Deo spectaculum…* (1575)).[16] This study is concerned with his lyric poetry, which even today is considered 'the culmination of Neo-Latin poetry in Spain'.[17] Studies of Arias Montano's lyric poetry are sparse; to date, no monograph on the subject exists, and there are no modern editions in the public domain.

Arias Montano wrote three collections of poetry in lyric metres. The first is *Humanae salutis monumenta* (henceforth *HSM*). This work exists in three editions: an 8º edition with borders from 1571, a smaller borderless 8º edition with the same engravings from 1581, and a 4º edition with different and larger engravings from 1583.[18] The collection consists of seventy-one odes on biblical passages of the Old and New Testaments which relate important milestones in the history of salvation. On each double-page spread, the left-hand page consists of a poem, and the right-hand page consists of an *inscriptio*, epigram and engraving in the emblematic tradition, as well as a dedication, in keeping with the overarching conceit of the poems as 'monuments'. In the prologue to his 'Annotationes', Plantin refers to these elements as 'genus poeticum'

[15] See the modern edition, María Violeta Pérez Custodio (ed.), *Los Rhetoricorum libri quattuor de Benito Arias Montano* (Badajoz: Diputación Provincial de Badajoz, 1995).
[16] Juan Alcina Rovira, *Repertorio de la poesía latina del Renacimiento* (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1995), pp. 40–45.
[17] Alejandro Coroleu and Catarina Fouto, 'Iberian Peninsula', in *The Oxford Handbook of Neo-Latin*, ed. by Stefan Tilg and Sarah Knight (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 464.
[18] Léon Voet, *The Plantin Press (1555-1589): A Bibliography of the Works Printed and Published by Christopher Plantin at Antwerp and Leiden*, 6 vols (Amsterdam: Van Hoeve, 1980-1983), I, 183. References are to the 1581 edition.

and ‘genus architectonicum’.[19] Arias Montano’s second collection of lyric poetry is *Davidis regis et prophetae aliorumque sacrorum vatum Psalmi* (1574), which consists of metrical paraphrases of the psalms. These were gathered together, along with his previously published poems and some unpublished odes (‘Odae variae’), in *Poemata in quatuor tomos distincta* (1589).

His final collection is *Hymni et secula*, published in 1593. This consists of one book of *Hymni* to the Trinity and angels, followed by six books of *Secula*: I-IV cover biblical history from Creation to the prophets, V is an eclectic collection of elegiac poems mostly on Jewish festivals, and VI, entitled *Oriens*, covers the New Testament up to Pentecost.[20] The Biblioteca Nacional holds a manuscript containing drafts of many of the poems from this collection (Madrid, BNE MS 155), some in Arias Montano’s own hand, and others in other hands, including that of Arias Montano’s disciple Pedro de Valencia.[21] One of the poems is dated 1575, although internal evidence dates other poems to much later (one, for instance, to after 1587).[22] I shall focus on the two collections of original lyrics, that is, *HSM* and *Hymni et Secula*.

Who was the intended audience of these collections? In his prologue to *HSM*, Plantin claims that the work is suggested as a form of virtuous recreation for the scholar: ‘Hoc enim inter cetera nobis semper fuit propositum, ut seriis studiis, et continuis laboribus defatigatos, iucunda aliqua, neque ea tamen inani occupatione interdum detineremus’ (‘For among other things this was always recommended to us,

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[19] ‘Christophorus Plantinus lectori s.’, in *Humanae salutis monumenta B. Ariae Montani studio constructa et decantata* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1581), a1^{v}. This is not to be confused with the prologue to the collection, of the same heading. In the 1581 edition of *HSM* the first and second prologues are signed by upper-case and lower-case letters respectively; therefore, for ease of reference all citations of paratexts are taken from this edition.

[20] When referring to the whole collection, I use the title *Hymni et secula*; when referring to individual poems, I refer separately to the titles *Hymni* and *Secula*, along with the number of the poem in the book.

[21] Alcina, *Repertorio*, p. 44.

[22] Luis Charlo Brea, ‘*Oriens* 12, 1–44: comentarios a la biografía del obispo Levinio Torrencio’, *Fortunatae: Revista canaria de Filología, Cultura y Humanidades Clásicas*, 15 (2004), 39.

that when we are tired by constant work, we should now and then occupy ourselves with some pleasant, but not useless pastime').[23]

However, the strategy seems to have changed by the time Arias Montano's collected *Poemata* were published. In his prologue to the edition, Pedro de Valencia states that their religious content makes them an excellent school text: 'eaque pueris in literariis gymnasiis vice ethnicorum poematum a Latinitatis magistris praelegi percuperem' ('and I would very much wish that they were read for boys in grammar schools instead of heathen poems by teachers of Latin').[24] The small format of the collection (printed in 24º) made it suitable for this purpose, and García Gutiérrez suggests that they may have been used in the Latin school set up by Arias Montano in Zafra in 1590.[25] From this point, the poems of *HSM* seem to have been received with this pedagogical purpose: Alcina records a case of *HSM* being used as a school text in Germany, and one of the Bodleian copies which I have examined (shelfmark Gibson 263) also seems to have been used this way by its annotations. In 1774, Benito Feliú de San Pedro presented his translation of *HSM* with a similar purpose in mind:

> i especialmente con vivos deseos de que se introduzca en las Escuelas Christianas; por donde en los tiernos corazones de los Niños al aprender Latinidad i Poesia se graven en adelante no ya los nombres de Jupiter i de Cybeles, de Apolo i Minerva, sino los de Jesus i de Maria, de Moises y de David, de Pablo i de Juan.[26]

The intention for *Hymni et secula* is more difficult to ascertain. It was also a portable book, printed in 16º at Arias Montano's express wish.[27] Furthermore, Valencia

[23] 'Christophorus Plantinus lectori s.', in *HSM*, A2ʳ.
[24] *Poemata in quatuor tomos distincta*, ed. by Pedro de Valencia, 4 vols (Antwerp: Plantin, 1589), I, 8.
[25] Juan García Gutiérrez, 'El prólogo de Pedro de Valencia a los *Poemata in quattuor tomos distincta* (Amberes, 1589) de Benito Arias Montano', in *Benito Arias Montano y los humanistas de su tiempo*, ed. José María Maestre Maestre and others (Mérida: Editora Regional de Extremadura, Instituto de estudios humanísticos, 2006), p. 806.
[26] *Monumentos sagrados de la salud del hombre*, trans. by P. Benito Feliu de San Pedro (Valencia: Monfort, 1774), unpaginated preface.
[27] Dirk Imhof, *Jan Moretus and the Continuation of the Plantin Press: A Bibliography of the Works Published and Printed by Jan Moretus I in Antwerp (1589–1610)*, 2 vols (Leiden, Brill, 2014), I, 30.

states that Arias Montano has expressed a desire for the work to instruct the faithful: 'Cumulatissime igitur sibi satisfactum putarit, si vel uni ex pusillis, qui in Christum credunt, aliquid ex his carminibus vel utilitatis vel voluptatis ad Dei gloriam creetur' ('And therefore he should think himself perfectly satisfied, if out of these poems some utility or pleasure should be given to just one of the little ones, who believe in Christ, to the glory of God').[28] In Arias Montano's work, as Gómez Canseco has explained, the formula *pusillus grex* has a specific meaning: it refers to the small number of the faithful, and is often associated with piety and simplicity.[29]

However, Valencia's prologue seems to be aware that these poems are too complex to be understood by schoolchildren or those of limited studies. In particular, he refers a few times to a projected commentary on Arias Montano's poetic works: 'editis in uniuersa poëtica viri huius scripta annotationibus' ('by publishing annotations on all the poetic works of this man'), 'dum nostris etiam annotationibus non iuvaris' ('while you are not aided by consulting our annotations').[30] He gives us a key to the necessary tools for interpreting Arias Montano's poetry:

> Ex illa igitur multa huius poetae doctrina, cui praeter Theologiam (id est, sacrarum litterarum cognitionem) et philosophiam omnium fere linguarum, omniumque ingenuarum artium notitia constat non vulgaris; ac nullius quoque ex minoribus artibus, quae baunasoi habentur, omnino rudis est […] Ex hoc, inquam, fit, ut attentum et eruditum lectorem haec carmina desiderent. Multa enim passim in illis occurrunt, tum verba, tum res, ex disciplinis ducta, quae non facile capiat aut persentiat, qui iis artibus non sit initiatus.[31]
>
> Therefore, because of that great learning of this poet who, besides Theology (that is, the understanding of Sacred Scripture) and philosophy has an uncommon knowledge of almost all languages and all liberal arts, and also is not entirely inexperienced in all the minor arts, called *baunasoi* [i.e. manual crafts] […] For this reason, I say, it happens that these poems require an attentive and erudite reader. For many things occur in them throughout, both words and matters, taken from the disciplines, which someone not initiated in those arts will not easily understand.

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[28] *Hymni et secula* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1593), p. 4.
[29] Luis Gómez Canseco, 'Teología y filología: una precisión sobre la formula *pusillus grex* en Benito Arias Montano', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 48 (1999), 251–61.
[30] *Hymni et secula*, pp. 3, 12.
[31] *Hymni et secula*, p. 11.

In a way, then, this study continues where Pedro de Valencia left off, in attempting to show how Arias Montano's poetry displays the fruits of his various studies. To this end, the first two chapters place his work in the context of contemporary biblical humanism and biblical poetry respectively. In the following chapters, I focus on particular disciplines: the study of Classical texts; the study of Hebrew antiquities; the study of historiography and political theory; and biblical geography and architecture. In explaining Arias Montano's idiosyncratic and sometimes obscure work, I make recourse to his prose works to elucidate complex passages. For example, *De arcano sermone* helps explain his poetic idiom; *De optimo imperio* makes clear his views on temporal power; and the treatises in Volume VIII of the Antwerp Polyglot explain much material relating to geography and architecture.

The Text

I have used the 1581 and 1583 printed editions of *HSM* (available online at https://archive.org/details/humanaesalutismo00aria/page/n1/mode/2up and https://archive.org/details/567821935163.emory.edu/page/n9/mode/2up) as the basis for the Latin text. For *Hymni et secula*, I have used the 1593 printed edition (available online at https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=ucm.5326653471&view=1up&seq=9), which I refer to as *A*. In both cases, there is some modernisation of spelling and punctuation. I have kept the *apparatus criticus* to a minimum, noting only conjectures and instances where I have adopted readings from BNE Mss/155 (available at http://bdhrd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000120512&page=1), referred to as *M* (where there is more than one copy of a poem, these are referred to as M_1, M_2 etc in the order of appearance. For ease of reference, I have numbered all the poems within each book; a table listing the page numbers of the poems in the printed edition can be found in

Appendix I. A list of copies of the poems to be found in BNE Mss/155 can be found in Appendix II. All English translations of Arias Montano's works are my own.

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PART I: THE INTELLECTUAL AND LITERARY BACKGROUND

Chapter One: Arias Montano's Biblical Humanism in Context

We have seen how Pedro de Valencia underlined the importance of having a command of a range of disciplines besides Theology in order to understand Arias Montano's religious poetry. In this chapter, I summarise the intellectual background to Valencia's claim. While some scholars still suggest that biblical criticism peters out in the latter half of the sixteenth century, others point out that this is not the case; rather, there is a shift from philology strictly defined to a broader textual criticism which takes in a range of humanist disciplines, and which is often called historicizing or antiquarian. I argue that this trend is present in Spain, too, emerging in the theory of early- and mid-sixteenth century biblical scholars and culminating in the work of Arias Montano. Nonetheless, in a post-Tridentine climate, this encyclopaedic biblical humanism is often accompanied by an anxiety about the proper use of learning.

In order to understand biblical humanism, we must begin with humanism itself. For the purposes of this study, we can be well served by Kristeller's definition of humanism as a cultural and educational programme.[32] Late medieval schooling had been based to a great degree on medieval manuals, and had emphasised grammar and *ars dictaminis*, the art of writing official letters. The humanists worked gradually to change this: they were advocates of 'liberal' studies, that is, those suitable for a free man. By the fifteenth century, there was a clearly defined cycle of humanist scholarly disciplines: grammar, rhetoric, history, poetry, and moral philosophy. Rather than the medieval manuals, the humanists promoted the use of ancient writers in these studies. The humanists sought to return to texts rather than approaching them through layers of

[32] Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought: The Classic, Scholastic, and Humanistic Strains* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1961), p. 10.

interpretation (*ad fontes*): they sought out manuscripts, collated them, and began to lay the foundations for modern textual criticism. [33]

Like Classical texts, the text of Scripture had also become mediated through layers of commentary and exegesis. As Amos has it, 'as theology developed as a discipline, it focused increasingly on questions initially prompted by Scripture but which were gradually separated from the text of Scripture'.[34] It is perhaps unsurprising, then, that humanists turned their philological skills to the Bible. Particularly important was Lorenzo Valla (1407–57), who corrected the Vulgate against the Greek in what came to be known as his *Adnotationes*.[35] Perhaps the most important early biblical humanist of the Renaissance was, of course, Desiderius Erasmus (1467–1535), who found and published the *Adnotationes*. Erasmus's landmark scholarly achievement is the *Novum Instrumentum* (1516), a critical text of the New Testament with a new Latin translation and annotations. It also had an important preface, later expanded into the *Ratio verae theologiae*, a treatise on exegetical method. The work was first published in 1516 and went through several editions.

Biblical humanists quickly came under fire for their philological findings. For example, Erasmus translated the word *metanoein* used in Matthew 3:2 as 'resipisce' rather than 'poenitentiam agite', which was seen as a challenge to Catholic teaching on penitence. He famously also removed the infamous 'Johannine comma' (1 John 5:7–8), considered a proof-text for the dogma of the Trinity, in his 1516 edition of the New Testament, although he re-inserted it in future editions. He came under fire from scholars around Europe, from Edward Lee in Britain to Maarten van Dorp in Leuven

[33] Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought*; Paul F. Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy: Literacy and Learning, 1300-1600* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), pp. 111–41.
[34] N. Scott Amos, 'New Learning, Old Theology: Renaissance Biblical Humanism, Scripture, and the Question of Theological Method', *Renaissance Studies*, 17:1 (2003), p. 42.
[35] Amos, pp 44–47.

and Diego López de Zúñiga in Spain.[36] Bentley concludes that 'beginning about the 1530s […] the initiative passed from the hands of the philologists into those of theologians and polemical exegetes. […] Meanwhile, sixteenth-century scholars broke little new philological ground after Erasmus'.[37] However, a closer look at the nature of humanist scholarship towards the end of the century belies this view.

Humanist scholars from the late sixteenth century onwards drew on an increasingly encyclopaedic range of languages and areas of expertise: it is common to refer to polymaths in the period of the Latin Republic of Letters.[38] Their textual criticism was enriched by studies not only of Greek and Latin, but of texts written in other ancient languages. Humanists also drew on Classical texts to illuminate technical aspects: for example, Strabo and Ptolemy provided geographical information, and Pliny was mined for references on natural history. In the seventeenth century, this form of textual analysis would come to be known as *ars critica*.[39] This encyclopaedic tendency, first applied to Classical texts, was transferred with time to the realm of biblical studies. Indeed, by 1660 there was a compendium of *Critici sacri* which includes many scholars from the early modern period.

Perhaps the most famous exponent of this polymathic biblical textual criticism in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century was Joseph Justus Scaliger (1504-1609), who in his monumental *De emendatione temporum* expanded the study of Classical chronology to include the history of the Persians, Babylonians, Egyptians, and

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[36] Jerry H. Bentley, *Humanists and Holy Writ: New Testament Scholarship in the Renaissance* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983), pp. 194–219; Alastair Hamilton, 'Humanists and the Bible,' in *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Humanism*, ed. by Jill Kraye (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 109–12.
[37] Bentley, p. 212.
[38] N. J. S. Hardy, *Criticism and Confession: The Bible in the Seventeenth-Century Republic of Letters* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), p. 23.
[39] Benedetto Bravo, '*Critice* in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries and the Rise of the Notion of Historical Criticism', in *History of Scholarship* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), ed. by Christopher Ligota and Jean-Louis Quantin, pp. 135–95.

Jews. Isaac Casaubon (1559–1614), his close friend, was famed as a Classicist, but was also an avid scholar of Hebrew, rabbinical sources and chronology, knowledge on which he drew in his scathing refutation of Baronius's *Annales Ecclesiastici*. A new generation of such scholars included Scaliger's student Hugo Grotius, (1583–1645) who was famous for his work on law, but who also was significant as a biblical scholar, publishing his important *Annotationes* in 1642. In this work, he often privileged historical explanations over typological ones, an approach which received criticism from some quarters. John Selden (1584–1654) marshalled knowledge from rabbinical as well as Classical sources to show that secular literature could illuminate the Bible, and that strikingly similar religious and legal ideas could be found in different cultures.[40]

Of course, the idea of drawing on other sources of knowledge in biblical exegesis was not new to the sixteenth century. Even Augustine had written:

> Sicut autem quidam de verbis omnibus et nominibus hebraeis, et syris, et aegyptiis, vel si qua alia lingua in Scripturis sanctis inveniri potest […] Sic video posse fieri, si quem eorum qui possunt, benignam sane operam fraternae utilitati delectet impendere, ut quoscumque terrarium locos, quaeve animalia vel herbas atque arbores sive lapides vel metalla incognita, speciesque quaslibet Scriptura commemorat, ea generatim digerens, sola exposita litteris mandet.[41]
>
> What, then, some men have done in regard to all words and names found in Scripture, in the Hebrew, and Syrian, and Egyptian, and other tongues […] the same, I think, might be done in regard to other matters, if any competent man were willing in a spirit of benevolence to undertake the labour for the advantage of his brethren. In this way he

[40] A useful starting point on the biblical scholarship of these scholars is Hardy, *Criticism and Confession*, and Debora K. Shuger, *The Renaissance Bible: Scholarship, Sacrifice and Subjectivity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994). On Scaliger, see the monumental work of Anthony Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger: A Study in the History of Classical Scholarship*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983–93). On Casaubon, see Anthony Grafton, Alastair Hamilton, and Joanna Weinberg (eds), *'I Have Always Loved the Holy Tongue': Isaac Casaubon, the Jews, and a Forgotten Chapter in Renaissance Scholarship* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011). A recent and helpful study on Grotius's biblical scholarship is Henk Nellen, 'Dutch Late Humanism and Its Aftermath: The Reception of Hugo Grotius' Biblical Scholarship', in *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Albasitensis*, ed. by Florian Schaffenrath and María Teresa Santamaría Hernández (Leiden: Brill, 2020), pp. 401–6. On Selden, see Jason Philip Rosenblatt, *John Selden: Scholar, Statesman, Advocate for Milton's Muse* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), esp. pp. 36–65.

[41] PL 34, col. 62.

> might arrange in their several classes, and give an account of the unknown places, and animals, and plants, and trees, and stones, and metals, and other species of things that are mentioned in Scripture, taking up these only, and committing his account to writing.[42]

Erasmus also points in this direction, since in his *Ratio*, he discusses the benefits of using knowledge from the fields of geography, literature, and natural philosophy:

> Porro si rara quaedam felicitas, et alba, quod dici solet, indoles insignem Theologum polliceri videbitur, haud mihi displicet, quod in libris de doctrina Christiana placuit Augustino, ut cautim ac moderate degustatis elegantioribus disciplinis per aetatem instituatur, ac praeparetur, nempe dialectica, rhetorica, arithmetica, musica cum primis autem rerum naturalium cognitionem velut siderum, animantium, arborum, gemmarum, ad haec locorum, praesertim eorum quos divinae literae commemorant.[43]
>
> Further, if some rare felicity, 'some exceptional natural gift,' as we say, seems to give promise of a distinguished theologian, I am not averse to something Augustine welcomed in the books *On Christian Doctrine*, that such natural abilities be trained suitably to one's age and equipped through a modest and guarded acquaintance with the more liberal disciplines, namely, dialectic, rhetoric, arithmetic, music; above all, however, through a knowledge of the objects of nature, for example, stars, animals, trees, jewels, and, in addition, places – especially those that divine literature mentions.[44]

However, the vast range of disciplines marshalled by the biblical scholars of the late sixteenth century was a marked change.[45] Particularly important to my study will be the humanists' use of their studies of both pagan and Jewish texts, as well as advancements in historiography, political theory, and geography.[46]

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[42] *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, ed. by Philip Schaff, 14 vols (Buffalo: The Christian Literature Co., 1886–90), vol. II, *St Augustine's City of God and Christian Doctrine* (1887), p. 554, col. 1.

[43] Desiderius Erasmus, *Ratio seu Methodus compendio perveniendi ad veram Theologiam, per Erasmum Roterodamum ex accurate autoris recognitione* (Mainz: Johann Schöffer, 1521), p. 14^{v}.

[44] 'A System or Method of Arriving by a Short Cut at True Theology by Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam', trans. by Robert D. Sider, in *The New Testament Scholarship of Erasmus: An Introduction with Erasmus' Preface and Ancillary Writings*, ed. By Robert D. Sider, Collected Works of Erasmus, 41 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2019), p. 501.

[45] Hardy, p. 28.

[46] Since my study focuses on the *studia humanitatis*, a full discussion of natural philosophy in biblical studies is beyond the scope of the present work. For the development of a 'pious' or 'Mosaic philosophy' which sought to construct a physics based on literal reading of the Bible, see Ann Blair, 'Mosaic Physics and the Search for a Pious Natural Philosophy in the Late Renaissance' *Isis* 91:1 (2000), 32–58; Arnold Williams, *The Common Expositor: An Account of the Commentaries on Genesis, 1527–1633* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1948), pp. 174–98.

This phenomenon seems to have been transferred from the application of the same antiquarian techniques as were developing in the study of the Classics.[47] The notion of *antiquitates* as a term used to refer to 'an autonomous discipline dedicated to the study of all aspects of the ancient world' developed throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[48] Philology was now aided by advances in other fields such as chronology, palaeography, numismatics, and various others.[49] However, the appearance of this phenomenon in early modern biblical scholarship has been relatively understudied; as Killeen explains:

> biblical antiquarianism as it emerged in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was focused very much on the specificity of the past, the histories of custom and histories of law by which the value of actions might be determined. […] The thoroughness of this historicism is something which has, by and large, been obscured in the history of biblical interpretation, which has tended to equate the emergence of historicism only with the rise of 'higher criticism' in the following century and to see such figures as Scaliger, Grotius or Selden as isolated precursors.[50]

This phenomenon is even more pronounced in the case of Arias Montano, whose contribution is often glossed over. For instance, Hamilton makes reference to the critical apparatus of the Antwerp Polyglot only to suggest it is an outlier: 'This was where the future of high biblical studies lay […] but even in the seventeenth century these works remain isolated monuments of scholarship in a field dominated by exegetes whose primary purpose was dogmatic'.[51] Shuger offers something of a corrective by dating the rise of antiquarian biblical scholarship earlier, specifically to the 1580s,

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[47] Henk Nellen and Piet Steenbakkers, 'Biblical Philology in the Long Seventeenth Century', in Dirk van Miert and others (eds), *Scriptural Authority and Biblical Criticism in the Dutch Golden Age: God's Word Questioned* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), p. 21.
[48] Eric W. Cochrane, *Historians and Historiography in the Italian Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), p. 423; c.f. Arnaldo Momigliano, 'Ancient History and the Antiquarian', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 13:3/4 (1980), 290.
[49] Nellen and Steenbakkers, 'Biblical philology', p. 21; Peter N. Miller, 'The "Antiquarianization" of Biblical Scholarship and the London Polyglot Bible (1653–57)', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 62:3 (2001), p. 464.
[50] Kevin Killeen, *Biblical Scholarship, Science and Politics in Early Modern England: Thomas Browne and the Thorny Place of Knowledge* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), p. 52.
[51] Hamilton, 'Humanists and the Bible', 115.

citing Scaliger's *De emendatione temporum* of 1583, and Casaubon's New Testament scholia of 1587.[52] However, she also glosses over Arias Montano's treatises, published a decade earlier, and which she herself gives as an example of the discovery of Jewish antiquities which 'transformed biblical scholarship from a philological to a historical discipline'.[53] One reason for glossing over Arias Montano's important contribution to the antiquarian trend may be the persisting idea that this work was carried out by the 'largely Protestant *respublica litterarum*'.[54]

One final trend in humanist biblical scholarship was its formal presentation. As we have seen, Christian exegetes had long been interested in drawing on various sources to elucidate the Scriptures. Often, this was facilitated by an elastic tradition of biblical commentary. As Killeen points out, in the early modern period the boundary between the commentary (which a modern reader might consider as subordinate to a text) and original composition was unclear.[55] Commentaries were often stuffed with digressions, 'allowing a vast range of non-theological material to be considered as a part of its biblical interpretation'.[56] The commentary by no means disappeared in this period, and indeed Arias Montano himself wrote numerous biblical commentaries. As Hardy notes:

> What passed for 'criticism' in early modern religious scholarship was linked, almost inextricably, to exegetical modes of thinking and writing. Monograph-style studies of a single topic or focused, narrative histories were rare; much more common was the verse-by-verse or chapter-by-chapter commentary, stuffed with miscellaneous, digressive erudition'.[57]

[52] Shuger, p. 23.
[53] Shuger, p. 34.
[54] Shuger, p. 14.
[55] Killeen, p. 75.
[56] Killeen, p. 72.
[57] Hardy, p. 19.

Nonetheless, we shall see how Arias Montano also places himself in the avant-garde by writing monographic treatises on various antiquarian topics relating to his studies of the Bible.

The broadening of biblical criticism in Spain

With regard to Spain, the picture usually painted is that there was some early success in the field of biblical philology, epitomised by the edition of the Complutensian Polyglot. However, the climate of the Counter-Reformation stifled the nascent emphasis on the literal sense of the Bible and *Hebraica veritas* expounded most famously by the Salamanca Hebraists. In what follows, I intend to revise this view and bring it in line with the scholarship on sixteenth-century biblical criticism in the rest of Europe by giving an outline of the development of the encyclopaedic approach to biblical scholarship. I aim to show that, alongside the development of biblical philology strictly defined, the germ of the encyclopaedic phase of biblical humanism burgeoned briefly in the theory and practice of mid-sixteenth century Spanish humanists, although there are noticeable signs of anxiety about theological authority. This biblical encyclopaedism culminates, of course, with the scholarship of Arias Montano. It is against this background that, in the rest of this study, I will go on to discuss Arias Montano's poetry as an expression of humanist disciplines put to the service of the Bible.

1. Alcalá and the Complutensian Polyglot

The application of philology to the Bible has often been considered the principal kind of biblical humanism in Spain, represented by the Complutensian Polyglot.[58] At the end of the fifteenth century, Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros had decided to

[58] On the Complutensian Polyglot, see Bentley, pp. 70–111.

establish a university which would promote the study of the biblical languages, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. The university of Alcalá de Henares opened in 1508, with its pioneering trilingual College of San Ildefonso. By this time, Cisneros had long been laying the groundwork for the edition and publication of a Polyglot Bible, and had begun to gather a group of eminent humanists such as Diego López de Zúñiga (Stunica) and Antonio de Nebrija to assist him in this task.[59] Ultimately, the Complutensian Polyglot presented the text of the Vulgate, and on the whole kept traditional readings. Bentley points out that even where they occasionally changed the standard Vulgate, their method is erratic. Nonetheless, he notes that it is an important landmark of Spanish biblical studies: 'As pioneers, the Complutensian editors may be excused if their work does not meet the exacting standards of modern New Testament scholarship'.[60]

The Complutensian Polyglot has naturally attracted interest for its contribution to philology strictly defined. However, one of its members seems to anticipate the encyclopaedic direction which biblical criticism would take: Antonio de Nebrija.[61] Once again, he is most famous for his influence in the sphere of philology. His first major contribution to Spanish letters was his Latin textbook, *Introductiones in latinam grammaticam*, first published in 1481. However, in the preface to the 1495 edition, he announced his decision to abandon grammar and devote himself to study of the Bible.[62] Initially, his work met with some resistance. His *Quinquagena*, a collection of fifty

[59] For the evidence that this project was under way at least from 1502, see Pedro Martín Baños, *La pasión de saber: Vida de Antonio de Nebrija* (Huelva: Universidad de Huelva, 2019), pp. 372–78.
[60] Bentley, p. 110.
[61] For Nebrija's biblical scholarship, see Carlos del Valle Rodriguez, 'Antonio de Nebrija's Biblical Scholarship', trans. by Alejandro Coroleu, in *Biblical Humanism and Scholasticism in the Age of Erasmus*, ed. by Erika Rummel (Boston: Brill, 2008), pp. 57–72; Martín Baños, *La pasión de saber*, pp. 283–378, 462–63; see also the recent edition of Nebrija's, *Apología*, intr. by Pedro Martín Baños, ed. and trans. by Baldomero Macías Rosendo, Bibliotheca Montaniana, 33 (Huelva: Universidad de Huelva, 2014).
[62] 'Extremum laborem quia nobis in animo est posteaquam antiquitates hispanienses absolverimus, omne reliquum vitae nostrae tempus in sacris libris consumere', *Introductiones in latinam grammaticam* (Alcalá: Guillén de Brocar, 1523), fol. 4^{v}.

annotations on biblical *loci*, were confiscated around 1506 by Fray Diego Deza, then Inquisitor General.[63] However, the tide turned when Cisneros was elected Inquisitor General in 1507. Soon afterwards, Nebrija published his *Apologia*, which he dedicated to Cisneros, and in which he defended the use of the Hebrew and Greek texts of the Bible. He also defended his right to study the Bible as a grammarian, against his detractors, who claimed that study of the Bible should be entrusted to professors of theology.[64] Nebrija quickly became disillusioned with the Polyglot project precisely due to his philological scholarship. In a letter written in 1514/15, he explains that the reasons for his departure from the project were two disputes with the other Complutensian scholars. The first regarded the revision of the Vulgate, which Nebrija had wanted to emend according to the Hebrew and Greek, a principle which was ultimately rejected by Cisneros. The other was the inclusion of the etymological explanations of Remigius of Auxerre, a ninth-century biblical scholar whose work Nebrija found objectionable.[65]

Nonetheless, Nebrija's work also shows signs of an emerging tendency towards polymathic humanist *critica*. In 1516, he finally published his *Tertia quinquagena*, the 'third' because after the first iteration was confiscated by Diego de Deza, another seems to have been suppressed from his *Apologia* of 1507.[66] The *Tertia Quinquagena* is difficult to define generically. Valle Rodríguez calls it simply 'a miscellaneous collection'; Bentley an 'impressive analysis of fifty scriptural problems'.[67] Some of the

[63] Martín Baños, *La pasión del saber*, p. 354.
[64] See Valle Rodriguez, pp. 65–72.
[65] Bentley, pp. 89–90.
[66] As suggested by the title, *Antonii Nebrissensis grammatici apologia cum quibusdam sacrae scripturae locis non vulgariter expositis*' ('*Apologia of the grammarian Antonio de Nebrija with various passages of Scripture not vulgarly explained*'), even though the work itself includes only a dedication to Cisneros and an alphabetical list of *lemmata* to be discussed. See Martín Baños, *La pasión del saber*, p. 354.
[67] Valle Rodriguez, 'Antonio de Nebrija's Biblical Scholarship', p. 62; Bentley, *Humanists and Holy Writ*, p. 81.

annotations are orthographical, such as the difference between *drama*, *dragma* and *drachma*. Others are philological corrections based on consulting the original languages of the New Testament.[68] Some are natural-philosophical, such as what sort of animal a *camelopardis* or *porphyrio* is. Still others could be defined as antiquarian, such as which god is worshipped at Bethdagon, or the definition of *scutulata*.

Nebrija himself emphasises the newness of this work and its relationship to new methods in the title of the 1507 *Apologia*, which refers to his observations as being passages of Scripture 'non vulgariter enarratos' ('not vulgarly explained'). Likewise, in a tract against Reuchlin and Erasmus, he writes of the *Quinquagena* 'no ex vulgi opinione, sed nova quadam ratione et a me primum excogitata, declaravi' ('I have declared it not according to the opinion of the mob, but with a certain new reasoning thought out for the first time by me').[69] González Vega explains that 'This "vulgaris opinio" refers to the meanings established for the Bible by the professional theologian and the "vulgariter exponere" of the title of the *Apologia* is well explained by the "nova quaedam ratio" […] that is, not according to the logico-scholastic method of the time […] but in accordance with grammatical criteria and in stylish prose.'[70]

However, besides his strictly philological considerations, Nebrija also claims that part of the newness of his work is to contribute a knowledge of animals, plants, minerals, things seen in the heavens, and objects made by men which appear in the Sacred Scriptures.[71] Indeed, like Erasmus, Nebrija makes recourse to Augustine's call

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[68] Bentley, pp. 83–85.
[69] Edited by Carlos Gilly, 'Otra vez Nebrija, Erasmo, Reuchlin y Cisneros', *Boletín de la Sociedad Castellonense de Cultura*, 74 (1998), p. 287.
[70] Felipe González Vega, '*Ex grammatico rhetor*: The Biblical Adventures and Rhetorical Maturity of Antonio de Nebrija between the *Apologia* and the *Tertia quinquagena*', in *Humanism and Christian Letters in Early Modern Iberia (1480-1630)*, ed. by Barry Taylor and Alejandro Coroleu (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010), p. 17.
[71] 'ex animalibus […] ex plantis […] ex iis rebus quae in sublimi videntur […] ex iis quae fiunt ab homine', Nebrija, *Apología*, pp. 156–160.

to arms in *De doctrina christiana* in support of this kind of work, and triumphantly asks: 'Quomodo igitur, o invide, tu me prohibes facere ad quod faciendum Augustinus hortatur?' ('Therefore, how do you, envious one, prevent me from doing what Saint Augustine urges us to do?'). Furthermore, Nebrija adds that a study of the "things" of Scripture has to be made by relying on the best authors ('optimis auctoribus freti'), rather than on the medieval texts which were so often the butt of his attacks ('nescio quos Ebrardos, Mamotrectos, Papias, Hugutiones', 'some Eberhards, Mammotrectuses, Papiases and Uguccios').[72] While his work does not have the systematic treatment that these topics will receive in the work of Arias Montano and the seventeenth-century biblical humanists – the *loci* discussed in the *Quinquagena* are arranged alphabetically, rather than by topic – the germ of the humanist encyclopaedic impulse is already present.[73]

2. The Salamanca Hebraists

Disputes about biblical philology and exegesis arose again with the persecution of the Salamanca professors Fray Luis de León, Martín Martínez de Cantalapiedra and Gaspar de Grajal. The most famous exponent of the group is Fray Luis, who came under suspicion for his vernacular *Exposición del Cantar de los Cantares*, as well as his Hebraist scholarship and his views that the Vulgate contained errors.[74] Between the end of 1571 and the beginning of 1572, various accusations were made against the three scholars. The most ardent accusers were the Dominican Bartolomé de Medina and León

[72] Nebrija, *Apologia*, pp. 166–67. For more on this, see Francisco Rico, *Nebrija frente a los bárbaros: El canon de gramáticos nefastos de las polémicas del humanismo* (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1978).
[70] As Coles has it, 'in the same way that Poliziano discussed many different disciplines […] such as politics, hagiography, astronomy, botany, medicine, culinary arts, and measurements, so too Nebrija weaved many of these fields into his observations on the Bible', David Coles, *Humanism and the Bible in Renaissance Spain and Italy: Antonio de Nebrija (1441–1522)* (unpublished doctoral thesis, Yale University, 1983), p. 361.
[74] Colin Thompson, *The Strife of Tongues: Fray Luis de León and the Golden Age of Spain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 33–85.

de Castro, professor of Greek at Salamanca. The latter in particular had already had various bitter disputes with Luis de León over his commentary on Isaiah and their participation in a commission on the printing of the Vatable Bible. The accusations against Luis de León, Cantalapiedra and Grajal mostly centred on the questions of the 'authenticity' of the Vulgate and the use of the Hebrew and Greek texts of the Old and New Testament. In some cases, the scholars' Hebraist scholarship led to accusations of judaizing; for example, Medina said of them 'Prefieren a Vatablo, Pagnino y sus judíos, a la traslación Vulgata y al sentido de los Santos' ('They prefer Vatable, Pagnino and their Jews to the Vulgate translation and the meaning of the saints').[75] The three spent several years in prison; Luis de León and Cantalapiedra were eventually acquitted, although Grajal died during his imprisonment.

Besides this emphasis on philology strictly defined, there is once again an emerging encyclopaedism. Fray Luis was known as an expert in various fields, as reported by Pacheco:

> Fue la mayor capacidad de ingenio que sea conocido en su tiempo para todas Ciencias y Artes […] famoso matemático, aritmético y geómetra; y gran astrólogo y judiciario (aunque lo usó con templanza). Fue eminente en el uno y otro derecho, médico superior […] Fue gran poeta latino y castellano, como lo muestran sus versos. […] Tuvo otras infinitas habilidades, que callo por cosas mayores. La lengua latina, griega y hebrea, la caldea y siria supo como los maestros de ellas.[76]

Fray Luis's lectures on Genesis also demonstrate his interest in natural philosophy and the trend of 'Mosaic physics'.[77] Of course, this learning had to be directed towards a

[75] *CODOIN*, X, 6–7.
[76] Francisco Pacheco, *Libro de descripción de verdaderos retratos de ilustres y memorables varones* (Sevilla: Diputación Provincial de Sevilla, 1985), ed. by E. M. Piñero Ramírez and R. Reyes Cano, p. 70.
[77] María M. Portuondo, *The Spanish Disquiet: The Biblical Natural Philosophy of Benito Arias Montano* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2019), pp. 73–77.

fuller understanding of the Bible; as Fernández Tejero and Fernández Marcos have it, 'For Luis de Leon, all the sciences were at the service of hermeneutics.[78]

However, Fray Luis himself is cautious when discussing the disciplines to be used in biblical scholarship. He wrote in his own defence:

> Dije que para el entero entendimiento de la Escritura, era menester saberlo todo, y principalmente tres cosas: la teología escolástica, lo que escribieron los santos, las lenguas griega y hebrea […] Y jamás traté, ni en público ni en secreto, del abismo de saber que Dios encerró en los libros de la Santa Escritura, que no dijese que pedía en el que trataba de entenderla, que supiese todas las ciencias y las historias y las artes mecánicas, cuanto más la teología escolástica.[79]

While he draws attention to the breadth of knowledge needed to study Scripture, he prioritises scholastic method, the writings of the Fathers and finally the study of the biblical text. This is a response to the accusations levelled against him and his colleagues that he taught that the scholastic method was detrimental to studies of Scripture.[80]

Another manifesto in Spain of biblical encyclopaedism is Cantalapiedra's little-studied *Libri decem hypotyposeon theologicarum*, an introduction to the study of the Bible. In the first book, Cantalapiedra includes chapters on geography, history and literature. When introducing this section, he personifies Theology as a great lady surrounded by attendants symbolising the other disciplines: 'Tanto administrorum satellitio, ac comitatu Theologia nostra stipata ac comitata est, ut vix inveniri possit aliquis, qui dignus hoc nomine censendus sit' ('Our Theology is surrounded and

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[78] Emilia Fernández Tejero and Natalio Fernández Marcos, 'Scriptural Interpretation in Renaissance Spain', in *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament: The History of Its Interpretation*, ed. by Magne Sæbø and others, 3 vols (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996-2015), II (2008): *From the Renaissance to the Enlightenment*, p. 241. Likewise Saturnino Álvarez Turienzo writes 'fray Luis ve siempre los conocimientos que pueden tener interés para el hombre en relación con la Escritura' ('Artes y ciencias en la formación de Fray Luis de León y el uso que hace de ellas', *Arbor: Ciencia, pensamiento y cultura*, 683–84 (2002), 495).
[79] *CODOIN*, X, 361.
[80] Thompson, p. 41.

accompanied by such an escort and crowd of followers, that scarcely anyone can be found who is worthy of this name').[81] This is a well-known trope of the 'handmaids to divinity', which 'reflects a presumption that all knowledge – *trivium, quadrivium*, along with emergent sources of knowledge […] might inform theology'.[82] For example, Erasmus had used a similar image in his prologue to Valla's *Adnotationes*: 'Ac ne ipsa quidem, opinor, disciplinarum omnium regina theologia ducet indignum admoveri sibi manus, ac debitum exhiberi obsequium a pedissequa grammatica' ('And indeed I believe that theology herself, the queen of all sciences, will not think it beneath herself to be attended – and shown due deference – by her handmaid grammar').[83]

However, close reading of the content of these chapters shows that they avoid controversy; in fact, Cantalapiedra slavishly recurs to patristic authors to defend his points, unlike Erasmus. For example, after the aforementioned description of Theology surrounded by attendants, Cantalapiedra defends the importance of geographical studies by quoting verbatim Jerome's assertion in his preface to Chronicles that it is easier to understand Scripture with knowledge of the geography of the Holy Land.[84] By contrast, Erasmus had simply stated his opinion with an appeal to emotion.[85] Likewise, in his defence of the utility of a historical approach, Cantalapiedra provides examples of

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[81] Martín Martínez de Cantalapiedra, *Libri decem hypotyposeon theologicarum sive regularum ad intelligendum scripturas divinas, in duas partes distributi* (Salamanca: Terranova, 1565), col. 59.
[82] Killeen, p. 90.
[83] *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterdami*, ed. by P. S. Allen, H. M. Allen and H. W. Garrod, 11 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906–47), vol I (1906), 410; translation by Paul Botley, *Latin Translation in the Renaissance: The Theory and Practice of Leonardo Bruni, Giannozzo Manetti and Desiderius Erasmus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 133.
[84] 'Geographia, de qua Hiero. in prolog. lib. Paralip haec scribit. Quomodo Graecorum historias magis intellegunt, qui Athenas viderint, […] Ita sanctam scripturam lucidius intuebitur, qui Iudeam oculis contemplatus sit, et antiquarum urbium memorias, locorumque' ('Geography, of which Jerome writes thus in the preface to *Paralipomenon*: "Just as those who have seen Athens understand better the histories of the Greeks […] so he who has beheld Judea and the ruins of its ancient cities and places with his own eyes understands better Holy Scripture"', *Libri decem hypotyposeon*, cols. 59–60.
[85] 'Fit enim ut agnitis ex cosmographia regionibus, cogitatione sequamur narrationem obambulantem, & omnino non sine voluptate, velut una circunferamur' (Erasmus, *Ratio seu methodus*, fol. 14^{v}); 'For it is the case that when territories are recognized from cosmography, we follow the narrative in our thought as it passes before us, and we are, as it were, completely carried away with it, having a sense of pleasure' (*A System or Method*, trans. by Sider, p. 501).

conundrums such as ‘to which apostle did Jesus say “Let the dead bury the dead”?’, ‘how long did Lazarus live after he was raised from the dead?’, and ‘how old was Joseph when he married Mary?’ and the answers given to them by patristic authors such as Clement of Alexandria and Epiphanius.[86] By contrast, Erasmus’s statement appeals again to the reader’s desire to enjoy reading Scripture.[87]

This tendency continues in Cantalapiedra’s defence of the utility of Classical texts for the study of the Bible. He begins by quoting well-worn *topoi* such as Augustine’s injunction to use the ‘spoils of the Egyptians’ and Jerome’s image of the captive woman who needs to be shaved and have her nails cut.[88] Perhaps most strikingly, he then goes on to translate a long section of Basil’s *Address to Young Men on Reading Greek Literature*, which takes up almost two columns of a four-column chapter.[89] In short, this defence of the utility of humanist disciplines is a careful one. Significantly, it is also immediately followed by a chapter on the use of dialectic, making sure to please the Scholastics. Like Fray Luis, Cantalapiedra seems to have been aware of the dangers of departing too much from established methods of biblical exegesis by incorporating humanist learning.

3. Benito Arias Montano

Once again, scholars have usually focused on Arias Montano’s philological scholarship and his major contribution to biblical criticism in editing the Antwerp

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[86] *Libri decem hypotyposeon*, cols. 60–70.
[87] Iam si gentium, apud quas res gesta narratur, siue ad quas scribunt Apostoli, non situm modo, verum etiam originem, mores, instituta, cultum, ingenium, ex historicorum literis didicerimus: dictu mirum, quantum lucis, et ut ita dicam, vitae sit accessururn lectioni’ (Erasmus, *Ratio seu methodus*, fol. 15^{v}); ‘Now if we will learn from historical literature not only the setting but also the origin, customs, institutions, culture, and character of the peoples whose history is being narrated or to whom the apostles write, it is remarkable how much more light and, if I may use the expression, life will come to the reading’ (*A System or Method*, trans. by Sider, p. 501).
[88] *Libri decem hypotyposeon*, cols. 71–72.
[89] *Libri decem hypotyposeon*, cols. 72–73.

Polyglot. While the Latin text of the Antwerp Polyglot was the Vulgate, Volume VII (part of the *Apparatus*) contained two new Latin translations: Santes Pagnini's translation of the Old Testament, corrected by Arias Montano himself, and Arias Montano's translation of the New Testament.[90] Faced with the Pope's reluctance to give his approbation to the work, Arias Montano travelled to Rome in 1572 and obtained the approval needed to print the Bible. However, León de Castro, whom we have seen as the nemesis of the Salamanca Hebraists, was also an enemy of Arias Montano; by 1574, he had persuaded the university of Salamanca to purchase a copy of the *Biblia Regia* and made a formal complaint to the Inquisition. While his complaint has not survived, a contemporary summary of his claims includes the accusation that the Vulgate was not assigned the proper authority, and that Arias Montano had used 'rabbinical' interpretations. The matter was referred to the Jesuit Juan de Mariana, who cleared Arias Montano of unorthodoxy, although he did criticise the inclusion of Pagnini's translation and the treatises of the *Apparatus*, as well as various particular philological errors.[91]

As we have seen, Arias Montano's education had given him a grounding in various disciplines. The extraordinary breadth of erudition marshalled by Arias Montano in the *Apparatus* was recognised among his contemporaries. For example, fray Luis de Estrada described him as:

> persona de tanta industria y tan varia erudición de letras, que solo fue el quaxo con que se pudo juntar obra tan magnífica, de tan varias lenguas y versiones, porque en todo

[90] See Gaspar Morocho Gayo, 'Trayectoria humanística de Benito Arias Montano II. Años de plenitud (1568–1598)', in *El humanismo extremeño II (Estudios presentados a las 3as jornadas organizadas por la Real Academia de Extremadura en Fregenal de la Sierra en 1998)*, ed. Mariano Fernández-Daza y Fernández de Córdova (Trujillo, Spain: Real Academia de Extremadura de las Letras y las Artes, 1999), p. 237.
[91] Portuondo, pp. 123–46;

> entendió con ojos propios y manos propias, no se fiando en cosa ninguna de tercero, que es cosa inaudita, a lo menos en nuestra España.[92]

However, at any early stage he decided to turn his talents to the study of the Bible. In the votive elegy of *Naturae historia*, he lamented having been distracted by profane philosophy during his youth:

> Nondum ter quinos aetas mea iunxerat annos,
> Naturae cum non dicerer esse rudis.
> Astrorum et caeli motus, didicique figuras
> Lunae […]
> Ludus erat certe, nunc sentio, damnaque tanti
> Temporis elapsi nunc doleo atque fleo.[93] [refs]
>
> My age had not yet joined together three sets of five years,
> When I was being said to be not inexpert in Nature.
> I learnt the movements of the stars and the heavens, and the shapes
> Of the moon […]
> It was certainly a game, I now realise, and I now lament and bewail
> The damage of such a long time spent on it.

The poet then recounts a vision where God took led him 'sacra in atria templi' ('into the atria of the sacred temple'), where he contemplated some living paintings which seem to speak to him ('ad vivum pictis intueor tabulis'):[94]

> Parce puer, iam parce hominum te tradere vanis
> Vocibus, et vanis credere pollicitis.
> Haec tibi lux prima est, haec ianua prima petenti
> Panditur, ediscas hinc rudimenta puer'.
>
> Stay away, boy, from giving yourself over
> To the vain words of men, and believing empty promises.
> This is your first light, this is the first door
> Which is opened to you when you knock, and hence you may learn the first principles, boy.

In short, human knowledge by itself could not be trusted; truth could only be established by recourse to Scripture.

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[92] Cit. by Baldomero Macías Rosendo, 'El *Apparatus sacer* en la *Biblia regia* de Amberes', in *Antigüedades hebraicas: Antiquitatum iudaicarum libri IX. Tratados exegéticos de la Biblia Regia*, ed. by Luis Gómez Canseco and Sergio Fernández López, Bibliotheca Montaniana, 25 (Huelva: Universidad de Huelva, 2013), p. 22.
[93] *Naturae historia: Prima in magni operis corpore pars* (Antwerp: Moretus, 1601), fol. [3]^{v}.
[94] *Naturae historia*, fol. [4^{v}].

This is particularly well illustrated by the work which is introduced by this poem, *Naturae historia*. This was the second part of his projected three-part work on the history of the world, published posthumously in 1601. As a history of the natural world based on close reading of Scripture, it demonstrates Arias Montano's participation in the trend of 'Mosaic physics'. Recently, in an important study Portuondo has shown how Arias Montano's work is part of what she calls the 'Spanish disquiet', which questioned the increasingly outdated natural philosophical models and sought solutions elsewhere, such as in Scripture.[95] However, since the present study is concerned with the humanist liberal arts, I shall focus on Arias Montano's antiquarian work, and in particular the treatises of the Antwerp Polyglot, his first encyclopaedic project. This work provides us with an intellectual context for Arias Montano's methodological proceedings at the time when he was writing his poetry, particularly the much earlier *HSM* (1571) and the earlier datable poems of *Hymni et secula*.[96]

Arias Montano included ten treatises in the *Apparatus sacer*, many of which can be described as antiquarian. The first of these was *Liber Ioseph sive de arcano sermone*, a study on the symbolic meanings of words in the Bible made by collating the instances when they are used. *Liber Ioseph* was followed by *Liber Ieremiae, sive de actione*, a treatise on the rhetorical uses of actions; *Thubal-Cain, sive de mensuris sacris*, on biblical weights and measures; *Phaleg, sive de gentium sedibus primis, orbisque terrae situ, liber*, on the repopulation of the post-diluvial world; *Chanaan, sive de duodecim gentibus*, on Canaan at the time of Abraham; *Chaleb, sive de terrae promissae partitione*, on the partitioning of the Promised Land; *Exemplar, sive de sacris fabricis*

[95] See Portuondo; Manuel Pecellín Lancharro, 'La *Naturae historia*, de Arias Montano: El empirismo de un escriturista', *Boletín de la Real Academia de Extremadura de las Letras y las Artes*, 21 (2013), 55–86.
[96] An excellent translation of this work, along with introductory studies on each of the treatises, can be found in *Antigüedades hebraicas*, ed. by Luis Gómez Canseco and Sergio Fernández López.

liber, on biblical architecture, *Aaron, sive sanctorum vestimentorum ornamentorumque summa descriptio*, on the clothing and ornaments of the ancient Israelites; *Nehemias, sive de antiquae Ierusalem situ, volumen*, on the topography of Jerusalem; and *Daniel, sive De saeculis codex integer*, on biblical chronology. The treatises would later be published separately as the *Antiquitatum iudaicarum libri IX* (1593).

The encyclopaedism of the work is suggested by Arias Montano's view, outlined in the preface to *Phaleg*, that the Bible is a repository of all knowledge:

> [Deus] omnes thesauros eius scientiae, ac sapientiae, quae quidem ab hominibus percipi potest, tam eius, quae ad naturae cognitionem, quam quae ad artium hominum generi necessariarum investigationem pertinent, in iis explicuit.[97]
>
> [God] explained in them [the books of Scripture] all the treasures of knowledge and wisdom which can be understood by men, as much that which pertains to the understanding of Nature as that which pertains to the study of the arts necessary to the human race.

Furthermore, the forward-looking nature of Arias Montano's work can be found in his own statements about his methodology in these treatises. Perhaps most striking is the focus on topics, rather than including the material as part of a biblical commentary. Indeed, Arias Montano himself draws attention to this in the prologue to *Phaleg*:

> Porro, in huius argumenti tractatione, ipsum potius scriptorem, quam commentatorem (quem vocant) egimus […]. Eorum sane omnium, quae hic a nobis afferuntur, nihil ex sacrae Scripturae fontibus non est ductum: eius rei sacrae Scripturae loca, in libri margine descripta, fidem cuivis facient. quibus quidem ex locis, ea poterunt depromi, quae si tantum adnotata scribantur […] integer in nostrum hunc libellum Commentarius […] conficietur.[98]
>
> Moreover, in the treatment of this argument, I have acted more as the writer himself, than as a commentator (as they call it) […]. Indeed, of all the things which are reported by me, there is nothing which is not taken from the founts of sacred Scripture; this can be confirmed to anyone by the passages of sacred Scripture cited in the margins. Indeed, from these passages, those things can be extracted, which if they were only observed and written down […] a whole commentary would be made of this book.

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[97] *Phaleg, sive De gentium sedibus primis orbisque terrae situ liber*, separately paginated in the *Apparatus* to *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, et Latine: Philippi II. Reg. Cathol. pietate, et studio ad Sacrosanctae Ecclesiae usum*, ed. by Benito Arias Montano and others, 5 vols and 3 unnumbered vols of *Apparatus* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1569–73) (henceforth 'Antwerp Polyglot'), fol. A1^{v}.
[98] *Phaleg*, fol. A3^{r}.

Thus, while the treatises exhibit forward-looking tendencies of humanist scientific writing, Arias Montano also appeals to the more traditional commentary.

For the purposes of this study, I have divided Arias Montano's humanist interests into four areas. The first of these is the use of Classical texts. While this is not the sole topic of any of Arias Montano's treatises in the *Apparatus*, it is implicit in the scattered references to Classical poets to be found in them, and is more prominent in later works such as *Liber generationis* and *Naturae historia*. Arias Montano's use of these quotations is typical of humanist practice in biblical scholarship where, as Williams points out, Classical texts were used for authority, illustration, and allusion.[99] However, humanists were cautious in their use of Classical texts, which they often described as 'fictions'.[100] Arias Montano also makes reference to 'poetae illi, qui, ne quid ignorare viderentur, nihil fabulis non aspergebant suis' ('those poets who, so that they would not seem to be ignorant of anything, scattered everything with their fables').[101] The tension between the humanist study of the Classics and the moral imperative to prioritise sacred texts can also be seen in Arias Montano's sacred poetry, something which I discuss in Chapter Three.

Arias Montano devoted much attention, as we have seen, to his study of Jewish antiquities. One of his interests in this field was Israelite education, culture and ceremony. He refers to his interest in these areas in the prologue to *Liber Ieremias*: 'Magnam olim antiquis scriptoribus, res omnes, quaecunque ad doctrinam amplificandam pertinere possent, quam explicatissimas cum posteritate communicandi

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[99] Arnold Williams, *The Common Expositor: An Account of the Commentaries on Genesis, 1527–1633* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1948), pp. 200–2.
[100] Williams, p. 211; Otis H. Green, '*Fingen los poetas* – Notes on the Spanish Attitude towards Pagan Mythology', in *The Literary Mind of Medieval and Renaissance Spain: Essays by Otis H. Green*, ed. by John E. Keller (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1970), pp. 113–23.
[101] *Phaleg,* A2^{r}.

curam fuisse agnoscimus' ('We know that long ago, the ancient writers were at great pains to communicate to future generations all things which are related to the increase of knowledge'). This includes manuals for arts and disciplines ('artium omnium praecepta et instituta'); taxonomy ('de nominibus propriis'); and customs and rituals ('personarum moribus et ritibus').[102] We do not have treatises on these topics in particular; however, references scattered throughout his extant works suggest Arias Montano would have dealt with these subjects in *Vestis*, the third part of his trilogy on the history of the world.[103] However, some of his thoughts on Jewish scholarship and his study of Jewish ritual can be extracted through close reading of his poetry, as I shall argue in Chapter Four.

In the prologue to the treatise *Exemplar,* Arias Montano affirms the importance of the discipline of history: 'Inter eas enim omnes optimas ingenii exercitationes […] historia […] non postremum obtinet locum' ('For among all the best exercises of the intellect […] history […] does not have the last place').[104] In Chapter Five, I discuss how Arias Montano draws on the Renaissance view of history as repository of *exempla* and applies it to Scripture. However, he is also a pioneer in emerging trends in historiography, as one of the first exponents of political theory based on the biblical *Respublica Hebraeorum*.

Another discipline which flourished in the sixteenth century was geography. Shalev points out the quintessentially humanist nature of this discipline: 'While early modern geography began to develop and rely on scientific and empirical methods, it was at the same time a historical-philological enterprise, dealing with translation and

[102] *Liber Ieremiae, sive De actione*, in the *Apparatus* to Antwerp Polyglot, [VII] (1571), fol. a2[r].
[103] Portuondo, *The Spanish Disquiet*, p. 191.
[104] *Exemplar, sive de sacris fabricis liber*, in the *Apparatus* to Antwerp Polyglot, [VII] (1572), p. 3, col. 1.

interpretation of ancient texts.'[105] Once again, Arias Montano is a pioneer in his studies of specifically biblical geography, which culminate in the treatises *Chaleb*, *Phaleg*, *Chanaan* and *Nehemiah*. In Chapter Six, I look at some of Arias Montano's work on the physical landscape of the Bible.

In his prologue to *Exemplar,* Arias Montano explains that histories often contain mentions of physical monuments which, unless they are explained systematically (*in ordinem*), cannot be understood. He writes that this discipline has recently ('nostra […] aetate') been explored by scholars who clarify those obscure things which relate to the custom of antiquity ('ad antiquitatis rationem pertinebant'). On this account, those scholars are rightly called antiquarians ('hac de causa antiquarii merito sunt appellati').[106] Chapter Six also discusses some of his work on biblical architecture, in particular his study of the Temple of Solomon.

The treatises of the *Apparatus* help us to place Arias Montano in the encyclopaedic turn in biblical studies of the late sixteenth century. Indeed, such was his erudition that Burke includes him in his study of polymaths.[107] Burke points out that, for many polymaths, 'the main aim was the unification of knowledge'.[108] Of course, Arias Montano's unifying principle is the Bible; as Morales Oliver puts it, the Bible is an 'especie de prisma que expande sus conocimientos, pero manteniendo en ellos el tinte de armonía'.[109] However, as we shall see, throughout his work he betrays an anxiety about the proper use of knowledge. For him, pagan and Jewish sources are

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[105] Zur Shalev, 'Early Modern *geographia sacra* in the Context of Early Modern Scholarship', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Bible in Early Modern England, c. 1530–1700,* ed. by Kevin Killeen, Helen Smith, and Rachel Willie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 197.
[106] *Exemplar,* fol. A3^{v}.
[107] Peter Burke, *The Polymath: A Cultural History from Leonardo Da Vinci to Susan Sontag* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2020), p. 249.
[108] Burke, p. 36.
[109] Luis Morales Oliver, *Arias Montano y la política de Felipe II en Flandes* (Madrid: Editorial Voluntad, 1927), p. 20.

important, but must be treated with care; and disciplines like historiography, political theory and geography are best used in the service of religion.

Chapter Two: Arias Montano's Biblical Poetry in Context

With the renewed interest of the Renaissance in Classical texts came the need to justify the reading and imitation of non-Christian poetry. Much has been written about one contemporary response, namely, the tendency to see the poet as a writer of fictions which allegorically concealed truths compatible with Christianity.[110] However, not all scholars felt that there was benefit to be found in the *fingimientos* of the poets.[111] Some clues as to Arias Montano's own poetics can be found in the prologues to *Poemata* and *Hymni et secula* written by his disciple Pedro de Valencia.[112] He opens the prologue to the former by discussing the dangers of poetry:

> Iam diu est quod cordatorum virorum iudicio tamquam pestifera vitari atque è Sapientium urbibus exsulare iubetur. Potius enim esse hominibus aiunt, eius aut utilitate quapiam aut quantumvis magna oblectatione carere, quam dulcedine illectos […] venenosa doctrina inflari et perdi.[113]
>
> For a long time now, in the judgment of the wise it has been ordered to avoid [poetry] like contagious objects and exile it from the cities of the sages. For they say it is better for men to do without any utility or delight from it, than to be led astray by its sweetness […] and to be swollen and destroyed by its poisonous doctrine.

Valencia goes on to criticise the notion that poetry cannot exist without fiction ('sine fabulis'.[114] In fact, in the poems that God himself transmitted through the prophets, he shows that no poetry is greater or sweeter than that which serves to sing and celebrate the truth ('nullam grandiorem aut suaviorem esse poesin ostendit, quam quae veritati

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[110] See Jean Seznec, *The Survival of the Pagan Gods: The Mythological Tradition and its Place in Renaissance Humanism and Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972); Don Cameron Allen, *Mysteriously Meant: The Rediscovery of Pagan Symbolism and Allegorical Interpretation in the Renaissance* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1970).

[111] Otis H. Green, '*Fingen los poetas* – Notes on the Spanish Attitude towards Pagan Mythology', in *The Literary Mind of Medieval and Renaissance Spain: Essays by Otis H. Green*, ed. by John E. Keller (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1970), pp. 113–23.

[112] It is reasonable to assume that there is an affinity between the ideas of Pedro de Valencia expressed here and those of Arias Montano, given the closeness of the two men; Valencia even lived with Arias Montano at his retreat at the Peña de Aracena for some time. See Antonio Dávila Pérez, 'Correspondencia latina inédita de Pedro de Valencia y la casa Plantiniana', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 54 (2005), 215–18.

[113] *Poemata in quatuor tomos distincta*, ed. by Pedro de Valencia, 4 vols (Antwerp: Plantin, 1589), I, 3.

[114] *Poemata*, I, 5.

canendae et celebrandae inservit'). Valencia asserts that Arias Montano's poems are also free from monstruous lies ('portentosis mendaciis') and suitable for the pious. [115]

In the prologue to *Hymni et secula*, Valencia places similar emphasis on truth and Christian content. He describes the collection as:

> opus […] quod exiguo volumine magnum thesaurum vera, simplici et genuina, id est, Christiana disciplina refertissimum complecteretur. […] Nihil enim sententiarum est totis his carminibus, quod non ex aperta sacrorum oraculorum interpretatione sit petitum
>
> a work that would contain in a slim volume a great treasure full of the true, simple and genuine - that is, the Christian - doctrine […] For there is no thought in all these poems which is not sought from the patent interpretation of the sacred oracles.[116]

He goes on to write that for every praiseworthy art, there is an attendant false art which makes itself look like the real thing. In terms of poetry, he writes: 'Sic pro poetica veraque Musa vulgarium versificatorum fucata haec Siren imponit' ('thus, instead of the poetic and true Muse, this painted Siren of the vulgar versificators deceives').[117] The use of the word 'vulgar' here is merits discussion. If Valencia is reflecting Arias Montano's beliefs, then it is unlikely that he is rejecting vernacular poetry. Before his time in Antwerp, Arias Montano himself had written poetry in Spanish; he was also interested in the development of the Spanish language, and even wrote to the Duke of Alba about the possibility of setting up a Spanish faculty in the Netherlands.[118] Alcina believes that his choice to write poetry in Latin was influenced not by a rejection of the value of the vernacular, but by the 'cosmopolitismo de Amberes' and the fact that writing in Latin would enable his works to be read all over Europe.[119]

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[115] *Poemata*, I, 6–7.
[116] *Hymni et secula* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1593), p. 3.
[117] *Hymni et secula*, p. 5.
[118] Juan F. Alcina Rovira, 'La poesía castellana de Arias Montano: entre la teoría de la traducción y la creación literaria con un apéndice sobre iconografía' in *Benito Arias Montano y los humanistas de su tiempo*, ed. José María Maestre Maestre and others (Mérida: Editora Regional de Extremadura, Instituto de estudios humanísticos, 2006), I, 388–402.
[119] Juan F. Alcina Rovira, 'Los *Humanae salutis monumenta* de Benito Arias Montano', in *Anatomía del humanismo: Benito Arias Montano, 1598–1998. Homenaje al profesor Melquiades Andrés Martín. Actas*

Rather, the sense seems to be more of poetry which is widespread or popular; the reference to the Siren, with its emblematic connotations of lust, suggests particularly secular love poetry. Indeed, later on Valencia specifies that religious or serious poetry does not condemn itself ('Non se damnare poesin, quae Deum divinaque aut alias seria et utilia canat'), but he criticises Greek and Latin love poetry, and works which versify the ignoble perturbations of the spirit ('magnorum poetarum, cum Graecorum tum Latinorum aliarumque linguarum libros amatorios plerumque reliquasque animi minime laudabiles perturbationes modulantes').[120] For biblical scholars like Arias Montano and Valencia, poetry should transmit truth about the nature of the world, Man's place in it, and his relationship to God; this truth is contained in the Christian doctrine, and its source is Scripture. This does not mean, of course, that Arias Montano puritanically rejected pagan or secular works wholesale; we shall see in the following chapter how he makes use of pagan texts, albeit always with a cautionary note about their relationship to truth. However, Valencia's introduction makes clear that Arias Montano is first and foremost a biblical poet.

What does it mean to be a 'biblical poet'? In the rest of this chapter, I posit that Arias Montano has an idiosyncratic theory of biblical poetics which can be extrapolated from his poetry. Firstly, I shall discuss how his choice of form and his use of biblical material compares to that of other religious poets writing in Europe during the same period. I shall go on to discuss how his studies of the Bible and of the Hebrew language in particular influence his poetic imagery. I will also study a sub-category of this

del Simposio Internacional celebrado en la Universidad de Huelva del 4 al 6 del noviembre de 1998, ed. by Luis Gómez Canseco, (Huelva: Universidad de Huelva, 1998), p. 112.

[120] *Poemata*, I, 8.

imagery which relates to the names of Christ. Finally, I shall discuss how the typological interpretation of Scripture also becomes a symbolic mode in his poetry.

Biblical lyric in the Spanish Golden Age

The biblical poetry of the Spanish Golden Age is often overlooked. In his discussion of the religious poetry of the period, Wardropper divides it into the categories of didactic, occasional, circumstantial, penitential, meditative, devotional, and mystical, making no mention of biblical poetry.[121] In part, this may be explained by the Inquisition's suspicion of vernacular renderings of the Bible and of the exposition of biblical material by lay people, which led to the disappearance of vernacular biblical poetry for several decades after the Valdés Index of 1559. Blecua explains that one of the reasons that 'la poesía de corte bíblico o era inexistente o era mirada con cierto recelo' in the 1560s and 70s was the programmatic use made by Protestants of psalm translation, one of the most popular forms of biblical poetic composition.[122] However, Neo-Latin biblical poetry was not seen as suspicious, and it is probably for this reason that Arias Montano wrote his biblical lyric in Neo-Latin.[123]

Conversely, there is a significant body of scholarship on biblical poetry, and in particular on versified psalms, in England and France in the sixteenth century. Jeanneret, Cave and Calendar have studied versified psalms in the period; Clarke and Jackson study in addition versifications of the Song of Songs.[124] Although focusing on

[121] Bruce W. Wardropper, 'La poesía religiosa del siglo de oro', *Edad de oro*, 4 (1985), 195–210.
[122] Psalm translations would only reappear in a sanctioned form in 1583, when Fray Luis de León included three verse paraphrases of psalms in *De los Nombres de Cristo*, protected by the royal privilege the work had acquired. See Alberto Blecua Perdices, 'El entorno poético de fray Luis de León', in *Fray Luis de León: actas de la I Academia Literaria Renacentista*, ed. by Víctor García de la Concha (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1993), pp. 94–97.
[123] Blecua, p. 97.
[124] Michel Jeanneret, *Poésie et tradition biblique au XVIe siècle: recherches stylistiques sur les paraphrases des "Psaulmes", de Marot à Malherbe* (Paris: Corti, 1969); Terence Cave, *Devotional Poetry in France, c. 1570–1613* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969); Carl Calendar, *Metrical Translation of the Psalms in France and England: 1530–1650* (unpublished doctoral thesis,

Protestant authors, in her seminal study of seventeenth-century religious poetry Lewalski outlines contemporary ideas on the literary nature of the Bible and how this, in turn, informed poetic composition.[125] She explains that, during the Renaissance, a biblical poetics developed which saw the Bible as repository of and model for all genres of literature. The idea of the Bible as a compendium of literary genres was not new; Jerome had written that part of the book of Job was composed in hexameter, and that the psalms were comparable to classical lyric ('David [is] our Simonides, Pindar and Alcaeus, Flaccus and also Catullus and Serenus').[126] Once the antiquity and pedigree of the 'poetic' books (Job, the Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and the Song of Songs) with respect to the pagan classics was established, translations and imitations of them were frequent, although it was the psalms which were most widely imitated.[127] In her recent and important study, Moul places English vernacular psalm paraphrase in the context of this poetics and the metrical experimentation of Latin psalm paraphrase in the sixteenth century.[128]

More recently, Núñez Rivera has studied the appearance of biblical poetry in the Spanish Golden Age, and identified what he calls 'el concepto de una *poética bíblica*, que se sustenta en esos dos pilares fundamentales, la poetización de los *Salmos* y del *Cantar de los Cantares*'.[129] His studies show that the current of 'biblical poetry' which was popular elsewhere in Europe also thrived in Spain, despite the temporary lull

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University of Oregon, 1972); Elizabeth Clarke and Simon Jackson, 'Lyric Poetry', in Andrew Hiscock and Helen Wilcox (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern English Literature and Religion* (Oxford: OUP, 2017), pp. 152–65. For broader overviews, see also Johannes A. Gaertner, 'Latin Verse Translations of the Psalms: 1500–1620', *The Harvard Theological Review*, 49:4 (1956), 271–305; Roger P. H. Green, 'Poetic Psalm Paraphrases', in *Brill's Encyclopaedia of the Neo-Latin World*, ed. by Craig Kallendorf and others (Leiden: Brill, 2014), Brill Reference Online.

[125] Barbara Kiefer Lewalski, *Protestant Poetics and the Seventeenth-Century Religious Lyric* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014).

[126] Lewalski, p. 40.

[127] Lewalski, p. 32.

[128] Victoria Moul, *A Literary History of Latin & English Poetry: Bilingual Verse Culture in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022), pp. 96–108.

[129] Valentín Núñez Rivera, *Poesía y Biblia en el Siglo de Oro* (Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2010), p. 13.

caused by the prohibitions of the Valdés Index. This puts into context Arias Montano's Spanish paraphrase of the Song of Songs, which in turn influenced Fray Luis de León.[130] Importantly, Núñez Rivera also discusses the conception of the psalms as lyric poetry in Golden Age Spain, which helps explain the motivation behind Arias Montano's second collection of lyric poetry, his metrical paraphrase of the psalms.[131] The concept of this kind of biblical poetics also helps explain the presence in *Hymni et Secula* of periphrases of various biblical texts which were seen as poetic, including the song of Miriam, the Benedictus, and Ecclesiastes.[132]

However, much of Arias Montano's original poetry does not fit neatly into this description of biblical poetry. Whereas Renaissance lyric based on the psalms often followed the introspective example of the Penitential Psalms, Arias Montano's original lyrics do not contain any of the typical characteristics of such poetry, such as the anguished cry to an all-powerful and often vengeful God, the presence of 'enemies', and frequent images of sickness, death and tears.[133] Arias Montano's imagery is also rarely taken from the psalms although, as we shall see, his imagery is often inspired by his studies of the Old Testament.[134]

Rather, aside from a few broadly moral-philosophical poems, much of the content of Arias Montano's lyric poetry could be described as biblical narrative or versified outlines of the Bible: *HSM* narrates significant episodes from salvation

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[130] For more on this, see Luis Gómez Canseco and Valentín Núñez Rivera, 'El *Cantar de los Cantares* en modo pastoril: La *Paráfrasis* de Benito Arias Montano en su entorno literario', in *Anatomía del humanismo*, ed. by Luis Gómez Canseco, pp. 217–79.
[131] Valentín Núñez Rivera, 'La versión poética de los Salmos en el Siglo de Oro: vinculaciones con la oda', in *La oda: II encuentro internacional sobre poesía del siglo de oro* (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 1993), ed. by Begoña López Bueno, pp. 335–82.
[132] For the Benedictus and other New Testament Canticles, Lewalski, p. 69; for the popularity of Ecclesiastes in poetical paraphrases, Leonard Grant, 'Neo-Latin Verse Translations of the Bible', *The Harvard Theological Review*, 52:3 (1959), 208.
[133] See Calendar, pp. 122–48; Cave, pp. 33–57; Jeanneret, pp. 418–25.
[134] One notable exception is the central image of the vineyard in *HSM* XX, based on Psalm 80.

history, while the broad structure of *Hymni et secula* is a chronological overview of biblical history from the Creation to Christ's Ascension. This is curious, because previous poetry which dealt with large swathes of narrative had been composed predominantly in epic, not in the lyric metres which Arias Montano uses in his poetry.[135] Grant points out that in Renaissance Latin verse paraphrases of the Bible, the most common metre was the hexameter and the elegiac couplet, and Gaertner observes that poets tended to render biblical themes outside of the psalms either in dramatic or in epical form.[136] Furthermore, the Renaissance had seen some particularly successful epic poems on New Testament themes from the pens of Sannazaro and Vida. So why did Arias Montano decide to use the lyric genre in his original poetry on biblical episodes?

To understand this, we must first understand how the Renaissance received Horace, the Latin lyricist *par excellence*. Commentators, translators and poets were aware of the *varietas* in Horace's work and that he had both a lower mode, in which he dealt with love and banquets, and a higher mode in which he treated religious and philosophical themes.[137] This was due, as Renaissance scholars knew, to a dual inheritance from the Greek tradition which included on the one hand poets of choral lyric for public celebrations, such as Pindar, and poets of monodic lyric for private symposia, such as Anacreon, Alcaeus and Sappho.[138] This flexibility results in the curious phenomenon that although Horace's 'lower' amatory odes had been much imitated during the Italian Renaissance, they were not popular as the primary objects of imitation during the Spanish Golden Age, perhaps because the newly imported sonnet

[135] For an overview of Arias Montano's metres, see Antonio Holgado Redondo, 'Hacia un corpus de la poesía latina de Benito Arias Montano', *Revista de estudios extremeños*, 43:2 (1987), 537–50.
[136] Grant, p. 205; Gaertner, pp. 279–80.
[137] Giacomo Comiati, *Horace in the Italian Renaissance (1498–1600)*, (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Warwick, 2015) p. 328.
[138] Carol Maddison, *Apollo and the Nine: A History of the Ode* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1960), pp. 22–38; Michael McGann, 'The Reception of Horace in the Renaissance', in *The Cambridge Companion to Horace*, ed. by Stephen Harrison (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 306.

monopolised love poetry. Maestre Maestre identifies only two Latin amatory odes during the Spanish Renaissance, both written by Spaniards living outside Spain.[139]

In terms of vernacular lyric, López Bueno points out that Garcilaso's 'Ode ad florem Gnidi', based on Horace's amatory odes,

> no iba en la dirección más característica, ni de Horacio ni de Tasso, y desde luego tampoco en la dirección más característica del horacianismo que tomará la oda posterior, que monopolizará la orientación reflexivo-moral, orientación que desde luego permeabilizará la poesía de fray Luis en su práctica totalidad.[140]

Therefore, while vernacular Horatianism in Spain adopted the moral-philosophical Horatian mode with its emphasis on Epicurean values such as retirement from the world and contentment with little, Arias Montano exploited Horace's reputation as a religious poet to write lyrics narrating and reflecting on biblical episodes. Of course, studying the influence of Horace on Arias Montano is not new, and has occupied a large proportion of the existing scholarship on Arias Montano's lyric poetry.[141] However, it is important to differentiate the kind of Christian Horatianism characteristic of Fray Luis and the biblical Horatianism of Arias Montano.

It is also worth pointing out that, in Spain, lyric forms had remained popular in various forms throughout the medieval period. For example, some metres, such as the

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[139] José María Maestre Maestre, 'La oda latina en el Renacimiento hispano', in *La oda*, ed. by Begoña López Bueno, p. 115.
[140] Begoña López Bueno, 'Hacia la delimitación del género oda en la poesía española del Siglo de Oro', in *La oda*, ed. by Begoña López Bueno, pp. 335–82.
[141] See Joaquín Luis Navarro López, 'La influencia horaciana en Benito Arias Montano: a propósito de la Oda VI de los *Humanae Salutis Monumenta*', *Anales de la Universidad de Cádiz*, 7–8 (1990–91), 439–53; 'El poema I de los *Humanae Salutis Monumenta* de Benito Arias Montano', *Revista de estudios extremeños*, 52 (1996), 1027–39; Guadalupe Marín Mellado, 'Los mitos de la Biblia en las odas de Benito Arias Montano', in *Humanismo y pervivencia del mundo clásico: homenaje al profesor Antonio Fontán*, ed. by José María Maestre Maestre and others, 5 vols (Madrid: Laberinto, 2002), I, 293–302; 'Anotaciones a los metros horacianos de Benito Arias Montano: el libro segundo de los *Hymni et Secula*', in *Humanismo y pervivencia del mundo clásico: homenaje al profesor Luis Gil*, ed. by José María Maestre Maestre and others, 3 vols (Cádiz, Universidad de Cádiz, 1997) II, 951–60, 'La experiencia poética en Arias Montano a la luz de sus *Odae uariae*', *Revista Agustiniana*, 39 (1998), 1057–77; María Violeta Pérez Custodio, '¿Influencias de Horacio en la obra poética de Arias Montano? Un poema a Gabriel de Zayas', *Anales de la Universidad de Cádiz*, 5–6 (1988–89), 317–34, 'Técnicas de elaboración textual en Arias Montano: en torno a la oda "Ad Ludovicum Manriquum"', *Euphrosyne*, 24 (1996), 283–94.

sapphic stanza, remained popular in medieval hymns. Maestre Maestre draws attention to the impact of the medieval hymn tradition on Spanish Renaissance scholars, particularly Nebrija and Núñez Delgado, who published editions of liturgical hymns.[142] The influence of this link between classical metre and Christian content can also be seen in Arias Montano, in particular in the book of *Hymni* which precedes the *Secula*. Another important influence is the fourth-century poet Prudentius, who was not only treasured as a fellow Spaniard, but provided a model of Christian poetry written in lyric (including Horatian) metres.[143]

In short, Arias Montano was certainly involved in the evolution of the kind of biblical poetry which was popular in Renaissance Europe and involved translation and imitation of the 'poetical' books of the Bible. However, his choice of lyric for many of the compositions in *HSM* and *Hymni et secula* is not part of this current; rather, it is an innovation in the field of versified outlines of the Bible, one which was made possible by the Renaissance reception of Horace, as well as by the association of lyric metres with hymns. However, the evolution of vernacular religious Horatianism tended towards the Classical poet's philosophical maxims, unlike Arias Montano's biblical odes. Therefore, when we speak of Arias Montano's biblical lyric, we must keep in mind that this is distinct both from the biblical poetry popular in the European Renaissance and from the tradition of Christian Horatianism made famous by Fray Luis.

Biblical imagery

[142] Maestre Maestre, 'La oda latina', in *La oda*, ed. by Begoña López Bueno, p. 105.
[143] See 'The Meters of the *Peristephanon*', in *Prudentius' Crown of Martyrs: Liber Peristephanon*, ed. by Len Krisak and Joseph Michael Pucci (Abingdon: Routledge, 2019), pp. 21–23; 'Introduction', in *Days Linked by Song: Prudentius's Cathemerinon*, ed. by Gerard J. P. O'Daly (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 30–31.

For Arias Montano, the Bible and particularly the Old Testament was a rich source of poetic imagery because it was itself a mysterious text full of symbols which conveyed hidden truths. This was partly due to the nature of the Hebrew language in which it had been transmitted. In his preface to Pagnini's interlinear translation of the Old Testament in the Antwerp Polyglot, Arias Montano writes that Hebrew is the oldest language in the world ('omnium antiquissima'), and the one in which God named the principal and noblest parts of the world ('qua potissimae et nobilissimae partes universi huius orbis […] sua quaeque nomina primum sunt sortitae').[144] Furthermore, it is an extremely fecund language; it often has a double meaning, particularly when rhetorical figures, ornamentations or allegories are employed ('cum oratio ex figuris, exornationibus, aut allegoriis constat'), and some expressions can have almost infinite ('infinitae paene') meanings.[145]

The prefaces to his treatise *Liber Ioseph, sive de arcano sermone*,[146] which were included in the *Apparatus sacer*, are also revelatory about his views on the interpretation of the Old Testament. In the 'Preface to the Studious Reader', Arias Montano tells us that he has compiled this glossary of biblical terms not following any previous author, but by diligent reading of Scripture and careful observation of things ('Quo quidem in opere, nullius privati auctoris opinionem et sententiam secuti sumus,

[144] The text I am using is *Prefacios de Benito Arias Montano a la Biblia Regia de Felipe II*, ed. and trans. by María Asunción Sánchez Manzano, Humanistas españoles 32 (León: Universidad de León, 2006), p. 84.
[145] *Prefacios*, pp. 90–91.
[146] While I refer to most of the treatises by the first title, for this treatise I use the abbreviation *De arcano sermone*, since this is used both by Arias Montano's contemporaries and by most modern scholars. See, for example, Baldomero Macías Rosendo, *La Biblia Políglota en la correspondencia de Benito Arias Montano*, Bibliotheca Montaniana, 2 (Huelva: Universidad de Huelva, 1998), p. 230; María M. Portuondo, *The Spanish Disquiet: The Biblical Natural Philosophy of Benito Arias Montano* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2019), passim. The edition I am using is *Liber Ioseph, sive De arcano sermone ad Sacri apparatus instructionem a Benedicto Aria Montano hispalensi concinnatus*, in the *Apparatus* to Antwerp Polyglot, [VII] (1571)a facsimile can be found in Benito Arias Montano, *Libro de José o sobre el lenguaje arcano*, trans. by Baldomero Macías Rosendo and Fernando Navarro Antolín, Bibliotheca Montaniana, 13 (Huelva: Universidad de Huelva, 2006), pp. 401–526.

sed solum ex diligenti sacrorum librorum lectione, atque attenta rerum observatione').[147] Its utility lies in the fact that in many languages, but especially in Hebrew, the names given to things not only represent them, but show an accurate observation of their essences ('Verum enimvero cum in omni linguarum genere, tum vero maxime in Hebraico […] non solum verba ipsa ex ipsius sententiae ratione enunciantur, verum etiam ex diligenti atque accurata observatione nomina rebus ipsis imposita esse constet'); therefore, Arias Montano's glosses give not just translations of words but their properties, nature and essence ('proprietates, naturam ac vim').[148] They also explain the mystic or hidden meanings of the words ('arcanam et latentem significationem'), which in Arias Montano's work refers to those meanings which relate to the nature of the divine.[149]

Arias Montano goes on to provide guidance on how to use the work: if a reader comes across the word 'lion', for example, and the context suggests that the text does not refer to the animal, then another kind of meaning is required. Crucially, since there are multiple possible meanings, the reader must choose the most appropriate one according to his judgment ('pro suo iudicio eligere debet').[150] Placing such a great burden of scriptural interpretation on the individual exegete was a controversial position to hold. In fact, the first censors of the Antwerp Polyglot, Augustin Hunnaeus and Cornelius Reyneri Goudanus, wrote to Arias Montano saying that, of the learned men they consulted, not a single one thought *De arcano sermone* should be included in the Polyglot. They believed it would be of no use to learned men, who had the commentaries of the Church Fathers, or to the unlearned, who would find it confusing.

[147] *De arcano sermone*, †2^{r}.
[148] *De arcano sermone*, †2^{r}.
[149] *De arcano sermone*, †2^{r}.
[150] *De arcano sermone*, †2^{r}.

Finally, they added that some would reject it altogether, since it was not supported by the authority of other writers.[151] For Arias Montano, the words of the Holy Spirit recorded in Scripture were the only necessary authority, as long as one had the philological tools to interpret them correctly.

The influence of Arias Montano's studies of biblical Hebrew on his poetic idiom can be seen in *HSM* XLVII on Christ preaching the Gospel. In this poem, the second, third and fourth stanzas make up an extended simile describing the effects of the word of God on different kinds of listener, first stubborn and then receptive:

Nam qualis calido lumine ab aetheris Alta sede humiles Sol penetrat domos Terrarum, variisque exagitat potens Tentatas species modis;	For just like the Sun, from the high seat of the aether, Penetrates the humble houses of earth with its hot light, And in various manners Powerfully moves the species it touches:
Cum plumbi et chalybis grandia semina Concrescunt validis acta vaporibus, Sed cerae faciles, et tenerae nives Decursu fluido liquent:	When the great elements of lead and steel Harden, driven by intense heat, But pliable wax and soft snow Flow in liquid course;
Talis sermo Dei mentibus inditus, Obdurata premens aera superbiae, Marcentes animos sed dociles fovet Vitae munere prospero. (5–16)	Just so the speech of God bestowed on their minds Presses the hardened bronze of pride, But warms languid and pliant hearts With the prosperous gift of life.

The reference to the 'grandia semina' is puzzling, but can be illuminated by consulting the entry for 'lead' in *De arcano sermone*.[152] This entry is a good example of Arias Montano's interpretation of Hebrew words. Knowing that Hebrew operates on a system of triliteral roots, he relates the words עָפָר (dust), and עוֹפֶרֶת (lead), since they share the

[151] Baldomero Macías Rosendo, *La Biblia Políglota en la correspondencia de Benito Arias Montano*, Bibliotheca Montaniana, 2 (Huelva: Universidad de Huelva, 1998), pp. 230–31.
[152] *De arcano sermone*, pp. 61, col. 2–62, col. 1. In fact, modern scholars do not think the Hebrew words for 'dust' and 'lead' are related. Brown, Driver and Briggs report that עֹפֶרֶת is 'prob. foreign word' (*The Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon: With an Appendix Containing the Biblical Aramaic : Coded with the Numbering System from Strong's Exhaustive Concordance of the Bible*, ed by Francis Brown, S. R. Driver and Charles A. Briggs (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906; repr. 1952), *s. v.*).

letters עפר. He therefore interprets עוֹפֶרֶת as a participle, which he translates as ‘dust becoming dust’ or ‘dust beginning to become dust’ (‘pulverem pulverizantem sive pulverem pulverescentem’). From this he extrapolates that the word reflects the process by which lead is made, that is, ‘from the hardening of the heaviest particles of dust’ (‘Ex gravissimarum pulveris partium concretione’). The word is also feminine (‘foemineo genere’), which he seems to relate to its baseness (‘vilitas’). The combination of heaviness and baseness means that it is ‘it is not appropriate for any use, except to weigh down, fill and obstruct’ (‘nullis usibus habilis, praeterquam ad ponderandum, et obstruendum’). In the poem, he refers to these particles with the word ‘seeds’ (‘semina’, 9). The process of hardening which he describes in *De arcano sermone* is used for the image of a hardening heart, and the negative connotations of lead are also appropriate to the context.

The other elements of the simile are perhaps more intuitive. For Arias Montano, steel indicates strength and the greatest hardness (‘fortitudinem et robur maximum indicat’).[153] Snow’s propensity to melt is obvious, but *De arcano sermone* also points out its connotations of purity (‘puritatis significationem habet’), which makes it an apt image for the hearts of listeners who are predisposed to listen to the word of God and thus grow in faith.[154] The use of this simile is striking because its length makes it akin to a parable, which only reminds us that the most famous parable about different reactions to the word of God is the parable of the sower (Matthew 13:1–23; Mark 4:1–20; Luke 8:4–15). Therefore, Arias Montano has replaced a traditional parable with one he has invented based on his studies of biblical Hebrew.

[153] *De arcano sermone*, p. 61, col. 2.
[154] *De arcano sermone*, p. 74, col. 2.

We have seen how Arias Montano's Hebrew biblical exegesis was controversial for suggesting that there were many possible interpretations of Hebrew words, and for the onus this placed on the interpretative abilities of the reader. In *HSM*, he reflects this by his use of the symbol of wine. In one of the prefaces to *De arcano sermone*, he notes that wine is a particularly pertinent example of an ambiguous image in the Bible:

> Quaedam res in unam partem perpetuo accipiuntur, ut Lac in bonum semper usurpatur argumentum. Quaedam vero in alterutram partem pro vario effectu proponuntur, ut Vinum nunc in bonam, interdum vero in malam sumitur partem.
>
> Some things are always understood in one way, such as milk, which is always used to represent something good. However, some things are taken to mean either of two things, depending on the intended effect, such as wine, which sometimes has a good meaning, and sometimes a bad one.[155]

The entry on wine has numerous examples; taken as a whole they underline the idea that wine drunk in moderation is good and in excess is bad.[156]

In accordance with these ideas, Arias Montano uses wine imagery both positively and negatively. For example, in *HSM* LII on the Last Supper, wine naturally represents Christ's redeeming blood: 'dumque rubentia | vini pocula sanguine | occulto at proprio praebet aventibus' ('And while he offers to the yearning | Cups of wine red | With his own hidden blood', 24–26). However, his use of the image in *HSM* XLVI on the Wedding at Cana is more complex. On the one hand, the wine is the product of Christ's first manifestation of his divinity, and so the episode overall is positive; the miracle is described as 'gifts' ('munera', 19) observed by Cana. However, the wine itself is referred to as 'prisci latices Noachi' ('the liquid of old Noah', 22), which alludes to the troubling episode in Genesis 9:20–27 where Noah becomes inebriated and

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[155] *De arcano sermone*, †4[r].

[156] For example, 'ventriculo utilis, et cordi iucundus potus, si modeste sumatur' ('a drink which is useful for the stomach and pleasant for the heart, if it is consumed with moderation'); 'si copiosius hauriatur, magnum corpori ac menti nocumentum affert' ('if taken in excess, it brings about great harm to the body and mind') *De arcano sermone*, p. 70, col. 1.

is seen in a dishonourable state by his son Ham. Arias Montano treats this episode in more detail in *Hymni et secula*, where he writes that Ham's two brothers were ashamed by their father's sickness and dishonour ('morbi puduit paterni | dedecorisque', *Secula* II.139–40).[157]

A different use of the symbol occurs in the final stanza of *Secula* VI.7, 'Pluvia voluntaria':

Musti recentis lenia tristibus Immane quantum pocula discrepant Vini vetusti austerioris Haustibus, desipiuntque quantum! (125–28)	How much the gentle wine-cups of new must Are greatly different from the sad draughts Of the more austere old wine, And little taste they have!

The appearance of the image here initially seems striking, since the other one hundred and twenty-four lines of the poem are devoted to an extended simile describing the earth (God's people) throughout the seasons (salvation history). During the summer, the earth is parched; but Autumn brings rain (which, according to *De arcano sermone*, has a symbolic meaning of vivification and recreation).[158] However, the earth falls on bad times again in the winter, until in spring (the present age, 'nostri tempora saeculi', 101) it is finally renewed by the sun (Christ) and more rain. The first renewal may refer to the giving of the Law. This would be consistent with the imagery of the final stanza, since it appears to be taken from Jesus's parable of refraining from putting old wine into new skins (Luke 5:37), which refers to the obsolescence of the Old Covenant and the coming of the Law of Grace. The contrast is emphasised by Arias Montano's choice

[157] For more on this, see Guadalupe Marín Mellado, 'El poema de 'Noahhi Occupatione et vini inuentione, usu et abusu', *Revista de estudios extremeños*, 52:3 (1996), 1061–80.
[158] *De arcano sermone*, p. 74, col. 1.

of different words to refer to the wine in both cases: 'Musti' (strictly, unfermented wine, 125) and 'Vini (127)'.

Names of Christ

For biblical scholars, one important subcategory of images used in Scripture was that of the images that the Holy Spirit (and Christ himself) used to convey the nature of the divine. The Christian exegesis of scriptural names for God and Christ had a long history stretching back to the Fathers of the Church, and its most famous Golden Age manifestation is Fray Luis de León's *De los Nombres de Cristo*.[159] Arias Montano also exhibits an early interest in the subject. As we have seen, in *De arcano sermone* he signals that such images may convey something of the nature of the divine by saying they are 'mysterious' or 'arcane', and he even devotes an entire chapter to the names of God.[160] Indeed, scholars have long pointed out that it is likely that Fray Luis read Arias Montano's treatise before the publication of *Nombres*, although they have been unable to establish dependency.[161] In *Liber generationis*, Arias Montano explains that human language is unable to convey the nature of God, but that God, wishing to communicate something of Himself, allowed some of his attributes to be transmitted as names:

> Divinae naturae singularis maiestatem humani sermonis facultas nullo nomine dicere potuit, quo rei ipsius inmensa tum veritas, tum virtus vel circumscriberetur, vel significaretur. […] Verum enimvero ipsa illa divina singularitas, quamquam natura sua humanae mentis aciem, nedum sermonis vim, infinito superet intervalo; tamen sese hominibus ipsis […] communicandam ultro praebere voluit, et sermoni accommodavit hominum, et certis nominibus significandam […] permisit.[162]
>
> The faculty of human speech was unable to express the majesty of the singular divine nature in any name by which the immense truth and virtue of the thing itself could be encompassed or described. […] And yet, that same divine singularity, although by its

[159] For more on this, Colin Thompson, *The Strife of Tongues: Fray Luis de León and the Golden Age of Spain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 171–72.
[160] *De arcano sermone*, pp. 4–7.
[161] See Natalio Fernández Marcos, '*De los nombres de Cristo* de fray Luis de León y *De arcano sermone* de Arias Montano,' *Sefarad*, 48: 2 (1988), 245–70.
[162] *Liber generationis et regenerationis Adam, sive De historia generis humani: Operis magni pars prima, id est Anima* (Antwerp: Moretus, 1593), p. 13.

> nature it overcomes by an infinite distance the capacity of the human mind (never mind of human speech), of its own accord wanted itself to be offered and communicated to men themselves, and accommodated itself to human speech, and allowed itself to be signified by certain names.

Once again, Arias Montano emphasises that in order truly to understand these names, the most ancient and earliest language (that is, Hebrew) must be taken into account ('antiquissimae ac primaevae linguae […] habenda ratio est').[163] A similar philosophy can be applied to the names of Christ, and indeed Fray Luis de León describes the purpose of the names in similar terms:

> esta es la causa por que a Cristo nuestro Señor se le dan muchos nombres; conviene a saber, su mucha grandeza y los tesoros de sus perfecciones riquísimas […]. Los cuales, así como no pueden ser abrazados con una vista del alma, así mucho menos pueden ser nombrados con una palabra sola. Y como el que infunde agua en algún vaso de cuello largo y estrecho, la envía poco a poco y no toda de golpe, así el Espíritu Santo, que conoce la estrechez y angostura de nuestro entendimiento, no nos presenta así toda junta aquella grandeza, sino como en partes nos la ofrece, diciéndonos unas veces algo de ella debajo de un nombre, y debajo de otro nombre otra cosa otras veces.[164]

Arias Montano's interest in the Names of Christ manifests itself in particular in the poems on Christ in the second half of *HSM* and the last book of *Secula*. For example, Christ is often called the Lamb, the significance of which I shall discuss in a later chapter.[165] Another important case occurs in *Oriens*, where Arias Montano includes two substantial poems on the image of Christ as the sun. One of these, *Secula* VI.13 ('De obedientia Filii Dei'), begins with twelve stanzas eulogizing the Sun: he renews the earth and sea, allowing them to produce life; following the fixed orbits of his chariot, he brings gifts to stars and lands (1–48). Arias Montano then explains that the sun is an image of the Word:

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[163] *Liber generationis*, p. 13.
[164] Luis de León, *Obras completas castellanas*, ed. by Félix García Moriyón, 2 vols, 4th edn (Madrid: Editorial Católica, 1957), I, 424.
[165] Christ is referred to as the Lamb in *HSM* LIV, LV, LVI, LVII, LXI and LXX and in the title of *Secula* VI.21.

Sed quid haec miror? fueras imago Ante praesentis simul et futuri Cuncta per mundum penetrantis amplum Moenia VERBI. (49–52)	But why do I wonder at these things? You had already been the image Of the past, present and future WORD penetrating all the walls Of the wide universe.

We know that this is referring to the incarnate Word, that is, to Christ, because Arias Montano later writes that 'the newborn Sun was born from the bosom of nourishing Aurora' ('Aurorae e gremio recens Sol | Editus almae est', 95–96), where the figure of Aurora represents the Virgin Mary.

In this poem, the association of the sun with Christ is cemented by an apostrophe given by the figure of Christ himself. The relationship of the image to what it represents is made clear when the Christ exhorts the sun to extend his torch from the pole to the earth and sea (61–63), while he will shine with a much superior light ('longe meliore […] igne', 65–66) not for earth but for 'the heavenly spirits, and the court of the Father dense with blessed citizens' ('superos […] spiritus, densam Patris et beatis | Ciuibus aulam', 66–68).

There is a variation of the Christ/Sun image in *Secula* VI.6 ('Virtutis Dei verbum Iesus'). Once again, the poem opens with several stanzas describing the office and benefits brought by the Sun: even though he far excels all other stars, he does not cease to distinguish day and night, nourish the earth and adorn the heavens; even when it seems like he is gone at evening, he makes the moon and stars shine. However, Arias Montano then makes a curious distinction between the Sun and the Sun's radiance:

Nam quidquid almum per iubar igneus Sede in beata sol agit ac movet, Communis est id laudis, alter Vendicat alterius decorem. (25–28)	For whatever the fiery Sun stirs and moves in his blessed house through his nourishing radiance, It is of common praise, and one Asserts the honour of another.

This is explained in the following stanza, where Arias Montano writes that the Sun has the name of Father ('Patris […] nomen,' 29–30), while its radiance has the rights and

honours of the Son (‘iura […] et nati honores’, 31). Once again, Arias Montano tells us explicitly that these natural phenomena are images of divinity:

Maioris haec sed, (sint bona quamlibet) Mundum creator cum Deus edidit, Virtutis aeternae suaeque Esse dabat monumenta laudis.	But (although they are good), When God the Creator made the world, He gave us these things as reminders Of a greater eternal virtue and of his praise.
Namque ille summa sede manens bonus Regnator, alta atque infima comparem, Per quem crearat cuncta, natum Praeficiens regit et recenset.	For that good Ruler, staying in his high abode, Rules and regulates highest and lowest, And places his equal son, Through whom He had created all things, at the head.
Quod nunc videtur, nil fuit aut erit, Authore constet quod sine Filio: Quaecunque nostris et remota Sensibus, hic eadem paravit. (33–44)	Because it is now apparent, there is nothing that has been or will be, That could exist without the Son as author; And whatever is distant from our senses, He prepared them also.

Even though, in this poem, Christ is the light emanating from the sun rather than the sun itself, the poem is still Christocentric. Lines 37–44 allude to passages such as John 1:3 (‘All things were made by him; and without him was not any thing made that was made’) and Colossians 1:16 (‘For by him were all things created, that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible […] all things were created by him, and for him’) which refer not only to the active role of the Word in Creation, but also to the fact that the coming of Christ into the world was the culmination of Creation.

Of course, the use of the sun as an image of Christ is not unique to Arias Montano and appears throughout Christian history. In religious poetry and hymnody, it is particularly frequent in compositions celebrating the liturgical feasts of Christmas and Easter. Indeed, Arias Montano draws on dawn and sun imagery as pathetic fallacy in his poems on the Nativity and Resurrection. For example, *HSM* LXV on the Resurrection opens:

Iam novo felix nitet orbis ortu, Clara festinat solito priores Ianuas nato reserare primae Nuntia lucis. (1–4)	Now the happy world shines with its new birth, And the bright messenger of first light hurries To unlock the first doors For her accustomed son.

Likewise, *Secula* VI.26 'De Iesu Christo ex mortuis exstante' begins:

Nullius quondam memoratur aevi Purus aeque sol nituisse in annis A die primum peragrati in amplo Aethere cursus. (1–4)	The Sun is not said to have shone so In the years of any past age, From the day when he first completed His course in the ample aether.

HSM Ode XL (the Adoration of the Magi) also begins with an extended simile about dawn which will be discussed in more detail later.

However, it is important to note that often Arias Montano draws attention to specifically scriptural uses of this image. In *De arcano sermone,* under the heading 'Sun', Arias Montano states that 'el sol de justicia es Cristo', citing Malachi 4:2 ('But unto you that fear my name the Sun of righteousness shall arise with healing in his wings').[166] Significantly, in *Secula* VI.6, he relates the concept of Christ as sun to justice:

Unam Parens huic[167] dat sapientiam, Unam sibique hunc vult fore dexteram, Hunc **iusta** semper consulentis Propositi instituit ministrum. (45–48)	The Father gives him alone wisdom, Wants him to be his only right hand, And instituted him as the minister of his design Always advising **justice**.

Similarly, in *Secula* VI.13, Arias Montano links the sun to the Malachi passage:

In tuis munus posuit **medendi** Conditor **pennis**: nihil ipse quemquam Laedis: innato vitio laborant Et pereunt res. (25–28)	In your **wings**, the Founder placed The gift of healing; you yourself do no harm To anyone; things suffer and die By their innate vice.

[166] *De arcano sermone*, p. 72, col. 2.
[167] huic *M*: hunc *A*

The formula ‘sol iustitiae’ also occurs throughout Arias Montano’s poetry; in *HSM* XXXVIII on Christ’s birth, the title of the engraving is ‘SOL IUSTITIAE EXORIENS’, and the poem ‘Pluvia voluntaria’ also makes reference to ‘Iustitiae aureus | Sol ille’ (109–110).

Another important scriptural witness for the image of Christ as the sun is to be found in the *Benedictus*, Zachariah’s hymn of praise in Luke 1:68-79, where he refers to Christ as ‘oriens’, the rising sun. *Hymni et secula* closes with Arias Montano’s versification of this hymn (*Secula* VI.30, ‘Zachariae sacerdotis ac vatis in seculorum fines communis gratulatio’). There, Arias Montano renders the reference ‘Sol […] oriens’ (49); this may be the source for the title of the sixth book of *Secula*, which is the only one which is given a title. It is unsurprising that in *HSM* XXXVII (The Birth of John the Baptist), John is referred to as the morning star which is witness to the sun of Christ:

Astrum nascitur insito Fulgens lumine, quem Deus Solis paciferi indicem Terris praestitit almus. (1–4)	A star is born, Shining with ingrafted light, Whom kindly God has marked out As a witness of His peace-bringing Sun on earth.

Another Name which appears in Arias Montano’s poetry is that of Christ as the Bridegroom, which Fray Luis discusses in ‘Esposo’. Once again, this is explained in *De arcano sermone*: ‘Per sponsum Christum, per sponsam Ecclesiam Christi interpretamur’ (‘We interpret the bridegroom as Christ, and the bride as the Church of Christ’).[168] The image of Christ as Bridegroom appears, unsurprisingly, in *HSM* LXVI on the Marriage at Cana. After initially stating that Jesus’ presence at the wedding confirmed his

[168] *De arcano sermone*, p. 95, col. 1.

approval of the sacrament of matrimony, instituted at the very creation of the world, Arias Montano then goes on to apply wedding imagery to Christ himself:

Sic et arcanis sociare taedis Gentis humanae genus expetitum Et sibi magnis emere adiugandum Dotibus ardet:	And thus, he burns to join the human race which he longs for In mystical marriage, and to redeem it And join it to himself With a great dowry,
Possit ut nostrae recreata gentis Iuncta divino soboles marito Splendidi sedes habitare caeli Regnaque divum. (9–16)	So that the offspring of our race Can be recreated and joined to a divine husband And inhabit the seat of splendid heaven And the kingdoms of the gods.

As is frequently the case with such analogies, Arias Montano borrows from the lexicon of love poetry to describe how Jesus burns ('ardet', 12) to be joined to the human race. The idea of being joined is repeated and emphasises the nuptial imagery: 'sociare' (9), 'adiugandum' (from *iugo*, 11), 'iuncta' (from *iungo*).

The Christ/Bridegroom image also appears in 'Salutis publicae initiandae sacrosanctum mysterium' (*Secula* VI.19):

Namque mortaleis gravibus catenis Heu nimis vinctos miseratus ultro Semper ingrata assidui laboris Reddere pensa.	For he lamented of his own accord, That mortals too bound in heavy chains, alas, Always had to complete their unpleasant tasks Of continuous labour.
Ergo quas olim bonus expetivit Gentis humanae sibi copulandae Nuptias, ritu peragit latente Legitimoque.	Therefore, the wedding which he once sought In his goodness, to join the human race to himself, he completes with secret and legitimate rites.
Se prius sponsae dedit, hanc suique Spiritus purae facit atque carnis Esse consortem, proprioque eandem Sanguine potat. (9–20)	First he gave himself to his bride, And makes her the consort of his spirit And pure flesh, and gives her his own blood To drink.

Once again, the human race is depicted as a bride ('sponsae', 17). The image is also suggested by other linguistic choices. For example, whereas elsewhere in *Hymni et secula* the punishment imposed on mankind is described in terms of the hardship of

cultivating the earth,[169] here the work is referred to as 'pensa' (12), which means 'a day's allotted amount of wool for spinning' and so is quintessentially women's work.[170] The use of the feminine noun *gens* to refer to the human race, combined with the feminine gerundive *copulanda* ('needing to be joined') (14) also suggests this.

In other works, Arias Montano treats the image of Christ as the Bridegroom allegorically, particularly in his emblem collection *Divinarum nuptiarum conventa et acta* (1573), which tells of the preparation of the Soul for the mystical marriage with the help of the Virtues.[171] However, in *Secula* VI.19 Arias Montano takes an approach closer to that of Fray Luis in *Nombres*, dealing with the physical as well as spiritual union achieved between humanity and Christ the Bridegroom. Arias Montano explicitly points out that the union with Christ is of both 'spiritus' and 'carnis' and adds the important point that even the corporeal aspect of union with Christ is pure ('purae', 18). The physical union occurs, of course, in the reception of his flesh and blood in the Eucharist ('carnis […] sanguine', 18–20). Arias Montano's interest in this area is unsurprising, since we know that he spoke both on marriage and on the Eucharist at the Council of Trent.[172] The theological importance of the passage is shown by a non-Classical usage of the word 'poto', which usually means 'to drink', used in its biblical

[169] For example, 'Udoque sudantisque anhelo | Saepe hominis repetenda vultu', ('to be repaid by the often wet and gasping face | of perspiring Man', *Secula* I.4.55–56).
[170] The usage here is *pensa, -orum*, although in the MS the readings 'ingratam' and 'pensam' (*pensa, -ae)* have been deleted. Having 'miseror' ('lament') govern 'reddere' ('return') is inelegant, but occasionally analogous constructions are found with similar verbs such as *flere* (e.g. at Prop. I.7.18). Alternatively, one could emend 'pensam' to 'pensat', which would give the sense 'For bewailing of his own accord the mortals too bound in heavy chains, he considers paying back (i.e. taking vengeance for) the unpleasant things of their continuous labour'. I am grateful to Prof. Jeremy Lawrance for this suggestion.
[171] For more on this, see Luis María Gómez Canseco (ed.), *Poesía y contemplación: las 'Divinas nupcias' de Arias Montano y su entorno literario*, Bibliotheca Montaniana, 14 (Huelva: Universidad de Huelva, 2007).
[172] See Gaspar Morocho Gayo, 'Trayectoria humanística de Benito Arias Montano. Sus cuarenta primeros años (c. 1525/27–1567)', in *El humanismo extremeño II (Estudios presentados a las 2as jornadas organizadas por la Real Academia de Extremadura en Fregenal de la Sierra en 1997)*, ed. by Mariano Fernández-Daza y Fernández de Córdova (Trujillo, Spain: Real Academia de Extremadura de las Letras y las Artes, 1998), pp. 189–90.

sense of ‘to give to drink’ (Psa. 59:5; Eccli. 15:3; Isa. 49:10; Apoc. 14:8). The usage is striking since allusions to the Vulgate are rare in Arias Montano’s poetry; using a random sample of poems from *HSM*, Navarro López concluded that ‘calques’ of the Vulgate made up 4.26% of the total he identified.[173]

Later in the poem, Arias Montano emphasises the completeness of the union between humanity and Christ, the Bridegroom:

Unius leges ineunt uterque Corporis, iam res eademque, idem ius Surgit amborum. (29–31)	And they each enter the laws of one body, Now they are the same thing, the same law Arises for both.

Once again, for Arias Montano this is a eucharistic image. As he explains in *Liber generationis*, in the holy mystery of the Eucharist Jesus bound the human race to himself (‘hominum genus […] alligavit sibi Jesus’); he describes them as the limbs belonging to one excellent and sacred head, arranged into one body (‘eiusdem optimi et sanctissimi capitis membra omnes in unum corpus concinnata’).[174] This is an image firmly grounded in scriptural passages such as Ephesians 1:22–23 and 1 Corinthians 12–27. However, Arias Montano’s use of Bridegroom imagery is a far cry from that of the Spanish mystics: significantly, the poetic voice is not experiencing the union, and therefore there is no language of rapture or delight.

Biblical typology

One of the most important features of the Bible which made it a model for poetry was the interpretation of its symbolic dimension. Augustine explained it contained both literal and spiritual meanings; Aquinas developed the famous idea of the four senses of Scripture, that is, literal, allegorical, tropological (moral) and anagogical.

[173] Cited in Jose María Maestre Maestre, ‘La oda latina’, in *La oda*, ed. by Begoña López Bueno, p. 102.
[174] *Liber generationis*, p. 489.

In this section I am particularly concerned with the typological interpretation of the Bible. This involved recognising the figures and events of the Old Testament as being historically real, while simultaneously interpreting them as prefiguring and being fulfilled by Christ and his salvation of mankind: for example, the story of Isaac might be read in terms of Christ's crucifixion; figures such as Noah, Moses and Joseph might be interpreted as 'types' of Christ. Typological interpretation of the Bible is possible because God is the ultimate creator of history and can therefore bring about events which prefigure later ones.[175] Scholarship has increasingly recognised the importance of typology as a poetic device in the religious poetry of the Reformation, particularly in England.[176]

Arias Montano's use of typology as a poetic device is particularly prominent in *HSM*. The very title announces that every episode is related to the history of salvation, and this is borne out by both the book-historical aspects of the work and the text. For example, the affinities of their titles and the inclusion of illustrations of biblical episodes relate *HSM* to the tradition of the *Speculum humanae salvationis* and *Biblia pauperum*.[177] The *Speculum* is a work attributed to Ludolph of Saxony, in which every chapter contains four illustrations of biblical episodes, an 'antitype' from the New Testament and three 'types' from the Old. The illustrations are accompanied by an explicatory text in verse. The *Biblia pauperum* is a tradition of picture-Bibles which contained little or no text at all; instead, an image of a New Testament episode was placed in the centre and flanked by two 'types' to be found in the Old Testament.

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[175] Joseph A. Galdon, *Typology and Seventeenth-Century Literature* (The Hague: Mouton, 1975), pp. 11–53; 145–47.
[176] See, for example, Galdon; Lewalski; William Madsen, *From Shadowy Types to Truth: Studies in Milton's Symbolism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968); Steven Zwicker, *Dryden's Political Poetry: The Typology of King and Nation* (Providence: Brown University Press, 1972).
[177] See Alcina, 'Los *Humanae salutis monumenta*', in *Anatomía del humanismo*, ed. by Luis Gómez Canseco, pp. 116–21.

Melion argues that Arias Montano creates sets of 'types' and 'antitypes' in *HSM* using visual cues such as landscape and the disposition of characters, and that in each of these pendants the emblem and ode of the second represents Christ's bringing to fulfilment of what is only vaguely foreshadowed in the first. [178] His approach is flawed because he appears to attribute the minutiae of the emblems to Arias Montano and regard the engravings as specially designed for *HSM*. In fact, Mauquoy-Hendrickx has shown that some of its engravings had already been used in Plantin's 1570 *Horae Beatissimae Virginis Mariae*, and the printer would reuse some of the new engravings commissioned for *HSM* in various missals and books of hours in the following years.[179] Bowen and Imhof also describe the printer's 'mix-and-match' approach to the formation of his stock of plates' after he was commissioned by Philip II to be the Spanish king's official printer of liturgical material.[180] Furthermore, some of Melion's arguments are no longer valid when the new engravings of the 1583 edition are considered. (However, in many ways his interpretation is close to the kind of devotional thoughts the work was meant to inspire, and Arias Montano would certainly have been pleased by it.)

Instead, it is more useful to ground a study of typology in *HSM* in the text of Arias Montano's poems. For example, Pérez Vilatela usefully points out that the recurrence of the word *foedus* throughout the book emphasises a continuous narrative of salvation which unifies all the episodes.[181] Typological considerations can also be seen

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[178] W. S. Melion, '"Conspicitur prior usque fulgor": On the Functions of Landscape in Benito Arias Montano's *Humanae salutis monumenta* (1571)', *Emblematica*, 20 (2013), pp. 1–62.
[179] Marie Mauquoy-Hendrickx, *Les estampes des Wierix conservées au Cabinet des estampes de la Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier*, 3.1 (Brussels: Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, 1982), pp. 440-65.
[180] Karen L. Bowen and Dirk Imhof, *Christopher Plantin and Engraved Book Illustrations in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 154.
[181] Luciano Pérez Vilatela, 'Sentido de "foedus" en *Humanae salutis monumenta* de Benito Arias Montano', in *Humanismo y pervivencia del mundo clásico: homenaje al profesor Luis Gil*, ed. by José María Maestre Maestre, Luis Charlo Brea, and Joaquín Pascual Barea, 3 vols (Cádiz: Universidad de Cádiz, 1997), II, 539–44.

in Arias Montano's poems when he explicitly links the events which they describe to salvation history. This is particularly clear in *HSM* XIIII, on the crossing of the Red Sea. The typological interpretation of the Exodus is one of the oldest in Christian exegesis; it occurs as early as Paul's first letter to the Corinthians where, after relating the events of the wanderings in the desert, he writes that 'these things were done in a figure of us' (I Cor. 10: 1–12). Arias Montano signposts this in *HSM* XIIII by bookending it with references to the 'monuments of human salvation' which the work aims to reveal to the reader: 'Divini praefixa olim monumenta triumphi' ('There were once affixed the monuments of divine triumph', 6), 'arcanaeque canit monumenta salutis' ('[the freed people] sings the monuments of mystical salvation', 32). On the other hand, *HSM* LII (on the Last Supper) connects Christ's Passion back to the Exodus by reminding us that, by celebrating the Passover, he was renewing the feasts that celebrated the delivery of the Israelites from Pharaoh in the crossing of the Red Sea:[182]

Nam quae ritibus annuis Abrahami soboles festa peregerant, Contestata iugum grave et Depulsos dominos, et miserum metum, Evasique maris diem, Extinctasque minas fluctibus impias; Veris nunc eadem modis Instaurata novat. (11–18)	For the feasts which in annual rituals The offspring of Abraham carried out Remembering the heavy yoke And the masters driven away and the wretched fear And the day the sea was evaded, And the impious threats extinguished by the waves, He now renews those same [feasts] In true ways.

Arias Montano also makes a typological connection between the story of the manna in the desert and Christ's sacrifice as the Bread of Life. In Ode XVI, on the collection of manna, the poet describes how the Israelites wondered at the harvest of quails and manna which God had sent (1–12). However, in the final stanza he says that

[182] Arias Montano's depiction of the Passover will be discussed in more detail in a later chapter.

this is a mere foreshadowing of the 'greater dishes', that is, of the salvation of the present age through Christ:

Maiora nostris **fercula** seclis Delata puri culminibus poli Ponuntur, aeternaeque vitae Pignora terrigenis petenda. (29–32)	Greater dishes sent down from the heights of the pure sky Are set out for our ages, And pledges of eternal life To be sought by mortals.

Once again, this episode is linked to the Last Supper since, in ode LII, the Supper is described as 'coenae **fercula** mysticae', 'the **dishes** of the mystical supper' (3). The use of the word *fercula* is particularly striking, since it does not appear in the Vulgate in the account of the manna in the desert or the Last Supper. However, it does occur in the Song of Songs (Cant. 3:9) where it is used in its primary sense of a 'litter' or 'bier'. Significantly, Lewis and Short point out that *fercula* were used 'for carrying […] the images of the gods etc., in public processions.' [183] Therefore, Arias Montano may be using this word since its meaning of bearing a king or image of divinity is appropriate in a eucharistic context.

In some of the New Testament odes, Arias Montano inserts references to 'types' of Christ through the use of similes. For example, Ode XL on the adoration of the Magi opens with a simile comparing the Magi who came from afar with a man who sees dawn from a mountain, whereas Herod and the inhabitants of Jerusalem are compared to a man in a dark valley who cannot see the sunrise:

Ut Pisghae in altis aetherei iugis, Selmonis aut de culmine candidi, Surgentis aurorae salubris Conspicitur prior usque fulgor, At quisquis errat vallibus infimis, Caliginosis nubibus obsitus, Hic nocte in atra nescit amens Purpurei radios diei. (1–8)	Just as on the high ridges of Pisgah Or the shining white peak of Selmo The health-giving brightness of the rising dawn Is always seen first, But whoever wanders in the deepest valleys, Covered by gloomy clouds, He, mindless in the black night,

[183] *A Latin Dictionary*, ed. by Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1879), *s. v*.

Does not know the rays of purple day.

This simile links the wandering of the Israelites in the desert to the fulfilment of God's promise through Christ in the image of Pisgah, since that was the mountain from which Moses was sent to view the Promised Land (Deuteronomy 34:1–4). Moses is therefore once again presented as a 'type' of Christ in his leading of the Israelites through the desert to the Promised Land, just as Christ's birth signals the beginning of his Redemption of mankind.

Similarly, Ode LIV on the Agony in the Garden opens with a simile referring to the story of Gideon's fleece. Gideon was a leader of the Israelites who was chosen to lead them to victory against their enemies the Midianites. However, before the battle, he requested proof of God's will by a sign: he would place a woollen fleece on the threshing-floor and if the next day there was dew only on the fleece and the ground was dry, he would know that God would save Israel. When this was fulfilled, the following day he requested that the opposite would happen (that the ground would be wet and the fleece would be dry), which was also accomplished (Judges 6: 36–40). In Ode LIV, the weight of sins being borne by Christ is compared to the thickness of the fleeces and the drops absorbed by the earth on the second day:

Non tam densa bonus credere[184] Gedeon Villis exposuit vellera candidis, Nocturno penitus rore madentia, Queis tellus sitit invidens;	Gideon, good at being faithful, did not expose fleeces So thick with white wool, Thoroughly wet with nocturnal dew, In envy of which the earth becomes thirsty;
Nec tot sicca iterum combibit area Diffusas nebulae munere roscidae Stillas, quae domitos exigua manu Hosteis praemoneant duci,	Nor on the second day did the dry ground Drink so many drops diffused by the gift of the dewy mist That they foretell to the leader the conquest of the enemy
Quam multis hominum criminibus tener Agnus comprimitur, (1–10)	By a small amount of people,

[184] I interpret 'bonus' as governing 'credere', as in Verg. *Ecl*. 5.1–2.

> As the many crimes by which the tender
> Lamb is oppressed.

As with Ode XL, by inserting a story about a leader who led the Israelites to freedom into an ode about the life of Christ, Arias Montano makes the Old Testament figure a 'type'.[185]

Conclusion

Arias Montano, like many religious poets of his time, was concerned with the proper use of poetry, which to him meant poetry on religious, and in particular biblical, themes. In some of his poetic compositions, this manifests itself in the kind of 'biblical poetry' which was popular during the European Renaissance, based on the Song of Songs and in particular on the Psalms. However, the majority of his lyric poetry attempts to encompass the whole Bible in its narration of the history of mankind and its salvation, which constitutes an innovation in the evolution of Golden Age biblical narrative lyric. In Arias Montano's view, the Bible itself already uses symbolic language to communicate the truth about the natural world and the divine, so he often bases his imagery on his studies of Hebrew, and on images which are already to be found in the Bible, with their multiplicity of meanings. Finally, typology becomes a symbolic dimension in his work, emphasising truth foreshadowed in the workings of history. Arias Montano thus creates a unique brand of biblical poetics where not only the content of his poems, but also their form and figures adhere as much as possible to the words transmitted by the Holy Spirit in Scripture.

[185] The typological interpretation of the story of Gideon has a long history; it appears, for example, in St Ambrose's *De spiritu sancto*, (PL 16, cols 703–9).

PART II: HUMANIST DISICPLINES AND THE BIBLE IN ARIAS MONTANO'S POETRY

Chapter Three: Classical Texts: Lexicon, Allusion, Genre

Scholarship on Arias Montano's intertextual use of Classical texts seems to suffer from what Conte calls 'comparisonitis', where scholars collect quotations without attempting to show how they might 'contribute to the process of poetic signification'.[186] In particular, it has been common to compile lists of *calcos textuales*, pairs of words or phrases which are taken from Classical authors. These may be *calcos textuales totales*, which are exact quotations, or *calcos textuales casi totales/fónicos*, where the words are slightly altered but make use of the same metre or appear in the same place in the line. However, the majority of the recorded reminiscences are *calcos textuales parciales*, where the same two words appear in close proximity and with morphosyntactic changes.[187] The latter, in my opinion, is limited in its use to literary scholars.[188]

More problematic still are the conclusions that scholars do draw from the lists of these *calcos textuales*: they go as far as to assert that humanists like Arias Montano created a 'latín de laboratorio' by borrowing 'clichés lingüísticos', since that was the only way they could guarantee the correctness of their Latin.[189] This not only does not do justice to Arias Montano's linguistic competence, but also detracts from the study of his poetry by failing to consider the function that allusions may have beyond being reliable line-fillers. Finally, scholars who comment on lists of 'calcos' conclude that the

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[186] Gian Biagio Conte, *The Rhetoric of Imitation: Genre and Poetic Memory in Virgil and other Latin poets* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986), p. 23.
[187] See Guadalupe Marín Mellado, *Las Odae uariae de Benito Arias Montano. Introducción, edición crítica, traducción anotada e índices*, (Cádiz: Universidad de Cádiz, 2002), pp. cxl–cxlvi.
[188] Particularly when pairs of words as general as 'eat' and 'food' may be recorded as an allusion to a specific autor (e.g. María Violeta Pérez Custodio, 'Un episodio bíblico como fuente de creación poética épica y lírica en Arias Montano', *Excerpta philologica: Revista de filología griega y latina de la Universidad de Cádiz,* 1:2 (1991), 616.
[189] José María Maestre Maestre, 'La oda latina en el Renacimiento hispano', in *La oda: II encuentro internacional sobre poesía del siglo de oro* (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 1993), ed. by Begoña López Bueno, p. 101; Joaquín Luis Navarro López, 'La influencia horaciana en Benito Arias Montano: a propósito de la Oda VI de los *Humanae Salutis Monumenta*', *Anales de la Universidad de Cádiz*, 7–8 (1990–91), p. 448.

fact that the most frequently 'cited' poet is Virgil, followed by Ovid and only then Horace, shows that the poetry is generically incoherent. Maestre Maestre goes as far as to say that Renaissance Latin odes such as those of Arias Montano display 'distorsiones notables respecto a los géneros literarios clásicos' and in some cases '[una] falta de adecuación entre forma métrica y contenido'. He appears to see the inclusion of Virgilian and Ovidian reminiscences as poor artistry and thus makes no effort to analyse their poetic function. On the other hand, the inclusion of various poems in non-lyric metres has also caused confusion. Navarro López has attempted to explain this away by referring to different 'registros de estilo' in the collection such as dramatic, elegiac, epic, and lyric, attempting thus to bypass the question of the formal genre of these compositions and why they were included in an ostensibly lyric collection.[190]

In this study, I aim to argue that, while sometimes Arias Montano's allusions are part of his Classical poetic lexicon, in many cases they have a meaningful function. With regard to his lexicon, I look at lexical choices specifically in comparison to the biblical source text. However, I go on to argue that Arias Montano's borrowings can be seen as examples of literary *imitatio* and *aemulatio*.[191] Sometimes, following the syncretistic impulse that has often been noted in the poetry of Fray Luis de León, their function is to harmonize classical and Christian culture. Elsewhere, allusions to Classical texts are eristic, and Arias Montano seems to repurpose them for Christian ends. Although I place importance in verbal reminiscences when identifying allusions, in order to avoid the pitfalls outlined above, my definition of 'allusion' is closer to Conte's, which encompasses the poetic setting and may even be evoked by a single

[190] Cit. by Maestre Maestre, 'La oda latina', in *La oda*, ed. by Begoña López Bueno, p. 110; Prof. Navarro López informed me that I could not consult the original due to copyright issues.
[191] On these concepts during the Renaissance, see G. W. Pigman III, 'Versions of Imitation in the Renaissance', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 33:1 (1980), 1–32.

word.[192] On the question of intergeneric allusion, rather than criticising Arias Montano for literary incoherence, I shall argue that it is more helpful to think of allusions to texts from non-lyric genres as part of a strategy of 'generic enrichment'.[193] Finally, I will attempt to explain the inclusion of poems in non-lyric metres in the context of contemporary 'biblical poetics'.

Biblical passages with a Classical lexicon

Even when Arias Montano writes poems with a high number of allusions to the biblical narrative, we can see that there is a relatively low lexical coincidence with the Vulgate. We have already seen one estimate about *HSM* which calculates that only 4% of 'calcos textuales' are from the Vulgate. However, while critics might note 'calcos' from the Vulgate, they rarely note where substitutions have been made for more Classical words.[194] Arias Montano's 'Classicization' of the biblical lexicon is particularly well demonstrated by *Secula* IV.3 on Samson. As we can see (Appendix III), the poem refers to the biblical narrative very frequently. However, there are lexical coincidences only in a few key words:

Arias Montano	**Vulgate**
Saevi leonis, 18	catulus leonis saevus, Judges 14:5
cadavere, 18	cadaver, Judges 14:8
praedulce, 19	dulcedo, Judges 14:14
apis […] mella, 20	apum […] mellis, Judges 14:8
segetum, 24	segetes, Judges 15:5
vincula, 25	vincula, Judges 15:14
fores, 26	fores, Judges 16:3
Mille viros, 32	mille viros, Judges 15:15
sitim, 34	sitiensque, 15:18
oculis, 50	oculos, Judges 16:21
ludum, 55	luderet, Judges 16:25

[192] Conte, p. 35.
[193] For more on this concept, see Stephen Harrison, *Generic Enrichment in Vergil and Horace* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 1–33.
[194] An exception is Villalba, who notes the substitution of *tura* and *ara* for the Vulgate's *incensus* and *altar* in *HSM* XXXIV. See Éléonore Villalba, 'Vestiges et usages du ritual lyrique horatien dans le recueil des *Humanae salutis monumenta* (1571) de Benito Arias Montano', *Camenulae*, 9 (2013), p. 8.

This means that Arias Montano is largely paraphrasing the biblical account. For the most part, his lexicon is Classical, and often poetical.[195] Thus, for example, while the Bible describes Samson's lack of weapons with the phrase 'nihil omnino habens in manu' ('having nothing at all in his hand', Judges 14:6), Arias Montano opts for the more elegant 'inermis' ('unarmed', 29). Instead of simply killing ('interfecit', Judges 15:15) his enemies, Arias Montano's Samson 'send[s] them to Orcus' ('relegas in orcum', 32), that is, to the Classical Underworld. Likewise, instead of 'aquae' of Judges 15:19, Arias Montano uses the poetic word 'Lymphas' (35). Later, Arias Montano uses the word 'molares' (51) to refer to the millstones which Samson has to turn, a poetic usage which departs from the more prosaic verb 'molere' of the Vulgate account (elsewhere the Vulgate also uses the word 'mola' for millstone).[196]

Arias Montano also embellishes the biblical account, and here, too, often makes use of a more Classical poetical lexicon. This occurs particularly in the introduction to the poem, where Arias Montano invokes Samson himself as he wonders what kind of song ('carmen') or manner ('modum') to use for such great subject matter (1–4). The fact that the kind of *carmen* he chooses is the Alcaic stanza, Horace's favoured metre, brings to mind Horace's reflections on the 'carmen' and 'modos' of his work (see *Carm*. III.1.2, III.3.72, III.30.13–14).[197] Arias Montano also refers to Samson as bringing 'glory' ('decus', 3), which is reminiscent of Horace's description of Maecenas as 'decus' at the opening of his first ode (I.1.2). The reference to Samson's toils in this

[195] There are a couple of cases of post-Classical usages, such as 'Praepediunt' (26) and 'Ebullientes' (33).
[196] For the poetic usage of *molaris*, *A Latin Dictionary*, ed. by Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1879), *s. v.*; for *mola* against *molaris*, see *Dictionary of Ecclesiastical Latin: With an Appendix of Latin Expressions Defined and Clarified*, ed. by Leo F. Stelten (Peabody, MA.: Hendrickson Publishers, 1995), *s. v.*
[197] Note, however, that the first line of the poem is a lesser Asclepiad.

section (‘laboribus’, 9) also reminds us of descriptions of Classical heroes (for example, Aeneas in Virgil’s invocation to the Muse at *Aen* I.10). Another example of a poetic embellishment is Arias Montano’s description of the bee as ‘sedula’ (‘busy’, 20), a poetic word used specifically of the bee at Tib. I.2.50.

Arias Montano’s additions often serve to underline the protagonist’s strength: for example, in the poem, Samson defeats not the lion, but its violent anger (‘impotentem […] rabiem’, 17). Arias Montano also refers to the ‘strength of your formidable arm’ (‘tremendi robore bracchii’, 30); writes that Samson is ‘Mighty with strength and with unconquered limbs’ (‘fortis idem | Viribus indomitisque membris’); and laments the loss of ‘The strength of his mind and body’ (‘Roburque menti atque artubus inditum’, 46).

The poet also uses his additions to underline the didactic aspect of the biblical account. Curiously, in his narration of Samson’s eventual capture and death, instead of having Delilah wear him down with her pestering (Judges 16:15–16), Arias Montano conflates her with the wife of Judges 14 who persuades him to tell her his secret with tears and entreaties (Judges 14:16–17; compare ‘voce […] lachrymisque’, 48), thus making Delilah seem more like a seductress than a nag. Samson is also described as penitent in his final moments (‘poenitentem praeteriti mali’, 54), whereas the biblical account has him asking for vengeance (Judges 16:28). In this way, Arias Montano strengthens his interpretation of Samson’s life as a warning against lust, which he signals in lines 37–40: ‘Eheu bonae quas insidias valet | Menti libido tendere! vos procul, | Insanienti, edico, amori | Sistite’ (‘Alas what traps lust can set | For the good mind! Keep away, | I declare, from insane love’). Elsewhere, too, Arias Montano highlights the didactic importance of the story of Samson and Delilah. In *De varia republica*, his commentary on Judges, he writes: ‘Quantum sapientiae ac prudentiae

immoderate humani amoris vis turbare, quantum rerum perdere, quantum etiam feminarum ars, fallacia, et importunitas conficere possit, hoc Samsonis ac Dalilae exemplo docemur' ('We are taught by the example of Samson and Delilah how much wisdom and prudence the strength of human love can immoderately perturb, how many things it can destroy, and how much the art, deceit and importunity of women can achieve').[198]

Thus far, we have seen how Arias Montano paraphrases and embellishes his source material by comparing one of his poems to its principal biblical intertext. However, it could be that Arias Montano's changes are due to the incorporation of other biblical material. Thankfully, he left us an autograph of one poem, I.4 ('Terrae matris quaerimonia ad Deum'), annotated with multiple biblical citations.[199] A comparison of the poem to the text of the citations (see Appendix IV) shows us that even here there is a low lexical coincidence. As in *De Samsone*, Arias Montano often paraphrases his biblical citations in a Classical and often poetical lexicon. For example, what the biblical text describes just as 'man' ('hominem', Eccli. 17:1), Arias Montano describes with the poetical word 'sublime' as his 'sublime work' (10). Instead of referring to the concrete examples of unfavourable conditions for growth in Gen. 3:18, Arias Montano writes of Mother Nature's constrained 'breasts' ('huberibus', 52), a poetical word which has a broader meaning of 'fertility'. Arias Montano's embellishments also come from a Classical and mostly poetical lexicon.[200] For example, in the opening, Mother Earth refers to God's threefold ('teramplis', 3) gifts, a rare adjective used by Horace (*Carm*. II.14.9). In short, although Arias Montano's use of a Classical lexicon in general

[198] *De varia republica, sive commentaria in librum Iudicum* (Antwerp: Moretus, 1592), p. 550.
[199] Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, Mss/155, 2^{v}–4^{v}.
[200] One exception is 'Concinnus' (86), a rather prosaic word.

has been amply noted, even where there are close references to biblical material he classicizes the lexicon.

Classical texts and syncretism

While the Bible is the principal narrative source of the poems of *Hymni et Secula* and *HSM*, there are often striking allusions to Classical texts. Some of these may be present due to a syncretism that sees elements of truth common to both Classical and Christian culture. For Arias Montano, Adam was the recipient of revealed divine knowledge so that he could understand the nature of the Creation he had been given for his use:

> Praeterea herbarum, arborum, plantarumque naturas formasque omnes, et in suas, et in animantium caeterarum escas et alimentorum copias, qui suppeditare voluit, idem quoque vim et efficacitatem, et succorum rationem, opportunitates, maturitates, historiamque omnem, sponte sua pernoscenda praebuit.
>
> Besides, he who wanted to furnish [man] with all kinds and forms of grasses, trees and plants, both for his own nourishment and provision of food, and that of the other animals, gave them of his own accord the knowledge of their power and efficacy, the reason, utility, times of ripeness, and history of their juices.[201]

With the Fall, this knowledge of Nature was lost. But there were other instances where God communicated the nature of things again through revelation: one was to Moses on Sinai (Exodus 19:16–25), and the Law revealed to him was preserved in written form in the Pentateuch and observed by Jews and ultimately Christians. Another example of direct revelation is that of Japheth, son of Noah, to whom God gave wisdom and eloquence ('in sapientia mundi huius, atque in dicendi facultate, ingenio et sermone'), but not the ability to reach the truth about salvation through study ('illius tamen arcanae scientiae, qua divinum de publica mundi salute consilium et propositum hominibus indicabatur, thesauros non poterat suo ipsius ingenio atque studio invenire').[202]

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[201] *Liber generationis et regenerationis Adam, sive De historia generis humani: Operis magni pars prima, id est Anima* (Antwerp: Moretus, 1593), p. 33.
[202] *Liber generationis*, p. 124.

Crucially, the descendants of Japheth included the Greeks and Romans ('Iaphethi filiis […] in quibus fuere qui postea a Latinis Graeci dicti sunt; […] his etiam Latini et Itali agnati sunt').[203] While Arias Montano makes it clear that Greek and Roman philosophical systems are misguided, he acknowledges that their ancestors were the recipients of revelation. Therefore, it is possible that remnants of this revelation remained in certain Greek and Roman works of literature.

The idea that Christian truth antedated pagan texts, which transmitted it in garbled form, goes back to the early Church apologists.[204] It was also popular in the Renaissance; it had a particularly vocal exponent in Pico della Mirandola, whose complete works Arias Montano possessed.[205] Pico had posited the transmission of knowledge from the Hebrews to the Chaldeans, Egyptians, Greeks and Romans in turn, and the consequent possibility of harmonising their philosophical systems.[206] Arias Montano's syncretism is not this extreme; he rejects pagan philosophical thought, since even when pagan philosophers have alighted on goodness in their search for truth, their motives are wrong:

> Quo quidem nomine Philosophi in primis, et multi ex Gentibus alii merito accusati ac damnati sunt, qui dum honesta privatorum civiliumque morum praecepta […] tradiderunt, […] tamen, quia nec innati veneni, atque latentis peccatorum originis rationem habuerunt, nec sentientes doluerunt, atque hoc pacto divinam misericordiam implorare neglexerunt: id praeterea quod recte agerent, non Dei interius mostrantis atque iuvantis beneficio, sed suo ipsorum ingenio, consilio, studio, et invento tribuerunt.
>
> On this account, the Philosophers especially, as well as many other Greeks, were accused and condemned, since, although they passed down honourable precepts for

[203] *Liber generationis*, p. 128.
[204] See Don Cameron Allen, *Mysteriously Meant: The Rediscovery of Pagan Symbolism and Allegorical Interpretation in the Renaissance* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1970), pp. 1–20.
[205] *Libro de la generación y regeneración del hombre, o Historia del género humano: Primera parte de la Obra magna, esto es, Alma. Estudio preliminar de Luis Gómez Canseco*, trans. by Fernando Navarro Antolín and others, intro. by Luis Gómez Canseco, Bibliotheca Montaniana, 1 (Huelva: Universidad de Huelva, 1999), p. 17.
[206] For more on this, see S. A. Farmer (ed. and trans.), *Syncretism in the West: Pico's 900 Theses (1486): The Evolution of Traditional, Religious, and Philosophical Systems: With Text, Translation, and Commentary*, Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 167 (Tempe, AZ: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1998).

> private and public conduct, […] nevertheless, since they did not know the reason for the inborn poison and hidden origin of sin, nor, being aware of it, did they lament it, and in this way neglected to invoke divine mercy; furthermore, what they did well, they did not attribute to the favour of God inwardly advising and helping them, but to their own talent, design, zeal, and contrivance.[207]

However, his ideas about revelation to Japheth suggest that he might see the possibility that Greek and Roman culture had conserved vestiges of the divine knowledge which its ancestors had received up to the point of the repopulation of the earth after the Flood. In particular, I shall argue that this can be seen in Arias Montano's poetic depictions of the Creation and the Flood. However, Arias Montano often presents these ideas with the caveat that although there is evidence of this knowledge in pagan texts, they can never be a source of knowledge themselves.

a. Creation

Poetic accounts of Creation occur in both *HSM* and *Hymni et Secula*, and in both cases they are couched in pagan terms. For example, the first poem of Book I of *Secula* ('De mundi fabricatione') opens with the line 'Alme **opifex mundi**, primaeve lucis **origo'.** This echoes Ovid *Met.* I.79, 'ille **opifex** rerum, **mundo** melioris **origo**'; in both texts, *opifex* and *origo* are in the same position in the line, and the first word of the line elides with *opifex*. 'Alma' also occurs in the opening of Lucretius' *De rerum natura* (I.2), a poem in hexameters about the nature of the universe. Significantly, the first intertext comes from Ovid's cosmogony, and the second from Lucretius's hymn to Venus as creator-goddess. Arias Montano is not alone in his use of Classical depictions of creation; other contemporary poets drew on Ovid's account in their poems on the biblical creation account.[208]

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[207] *Liber generationis*, p. 96.
[208] Andrew J. Brown, *The Days of Creation: A History of Christian Interpretation of Genesis 1:1–2:3* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 110, 121.

A similar case occurs with the account of Creation in *HSM*. In this collection, the account occurs not at the beginning, but in Ode XII:

Hic iam veridica voce docebere, Quam magnis valeat viribus efficax Ignis vertere mundi **Formas in** speciem **novam**.	Here by a true-speaking voice you will be taught With what great strength the efficacious fire Has the power to turn the forms of the world Into a new appearance.
Namque ille et tenebras, et chaos, et nihil Quondam discutiens intulit optimi Mundi consona membra, Finesque et varium decus. (21–28)	For He, once dispelling shadows and chaos and nothing, Brought in the harmonious elements Of the excellent world, And its limits and varied glory.

Once again, there is an echo of Ovid's Creation myth in line 24, which recalls the opening of Ovid *Met*. I. 1–2, '**in nova**… mutatas dicere **formas |** corpora'.

The word *chaos* in line 25 is also particularly important because it does not occur in Genesis; indeed, in Golden Age Spain it would come to be strongly associated with the Ovidian account of Creation specifically in contrast to the biblical idea of creation *ex nihilo*.[209] The fact that Arias Montano uses the term in *HSM* may be partly attributed to his complex theory that the earth was created out of a primordial fluid, but it seems clear that he is also alluding to Ovid here.[210] The fact that Arias Montano employs specific verbal reminiscences of the Ovidian account in his Christian account of the same episode suggests he sees traces of the truth in it.

However, although Arias Montano suggests that there is evidence of vestiges of revealed knowledge in pagan poetry, he accompanies this with reflections on the nature

[209] For example, Calderón often opposes the two ideas in his autos sacramentales: 'los poetas | caos le dirán y nada los profetas', (*El divino Orfeo*, ed. by Enrique J. Duarte (Kassel: Reichenberger, 1999), ll. 23–24); 'una masa confusa | que ha llamado la poesía | caos y nada la escritura' (*La cena de Baltasar*, in *Don Pedro Calderón de la Barca. Obras completas*, ed. by Ángel Valbuena Prat and Ángel Valbuena Briones, 3 vols (Madrid: Aguilar, 1952–1959), III (1959), 159); 'a quien los profetas llaman | nada, y caos los poetas' (*El nuevo hospicio de pobres*, in *Obras completas*, III, 1190).
[210] María M. Portuondo, *The Spanish Disquiet: The Biblical Natural Philosophy of Benito Arias Montano* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2019), p. 239.

of knowledge to remind us that we should not use pagan poetry as a *source* of truth. This is particularly clear in the Creation account in *HSM*, which is inserted into the account of Moses and the Burning Bush (Ode XII). Arias Montano discusses this episode and its relationship to the nature of knowledge in detail in *Naturae Historia*. He begins by explaining Moses's interest in the bush:

> Nam cum ille propter summam naturae verique cognitionem rerum quae videntur, quaeque sunt, causas rationesque teneret, […] novi ignis, novique incendii veritatem, experimento propius ac certius capiendo et expendendo […] exquirere parabat.
>
> For since he knew causes and reasons, on account of his supreme knowledge of nature and the truth of the appearances and essences of things, […] he was preparing to find out the truth of this unknown fire and blaze […] more closely and surely by making and analysing an examination of it.

However, he made the mistake of attributing the phenomenon to the natural order:

> nec tamen naturae vim excedere arbitraretur, num ex singulari soli, atque aëris vel arbusti ingenio id effectum esset, cognoscere avebat. Quamobrem grege relicto, maioreque explendi mentis amore, studio, et cura quam pecoris impulsus, *Vadam*, inquit, *et videbo visionem hanc magnam, quare non comburatur rubus*.
>
> However, he did not think that it exceeded the power of nature, and was keen to know whether it came about from a particular condition of the soil and air or of the bush itself. And so, leaving his herd, with a greater love, zeal and desire of satisfying his curiosity than of his flock, he said 'I will go and see this great sight, why the bush is not burnt up'. [Ex. 3:3]

To illustrate the kind of hypothesis Moses may have had, Arias Montano adds that certain plants, like the ebony-tree (*hebenus*) and larch (*larix*) are resistant to fire. However, he goes on to explain that it was clear that the phenomenon was far from any power of nature or knowledge of the human mind ('ab omni vel naturae efficacitate, vel humani ingenii sagacitate […] distare') and was due only to God's holiness and majesty ('sanctitate et maiestate Dei'). Arias Montano interpreted the fact that God prohibited him from approaching (Ex. 3:5) as a warning that knowledge should not be sought out of mere curiosity. Rather, it should be sought only inasmuch as it pertains to

understanding the will, providence and power of God ('Dei voluntatem, providentiam et efficacitatem').[211]

These ideas about knowledge can be seen in Ode XII. Near the beginning, Arias Montano refers to Moses' previous studies:

Quamvis tu Phariis cultior artibus, Caelo dinumeres astra nitentia, Et res noveris unus, Quas tellus fovet ac mare; (5–8)	Although you are quite learned in Pharian arts, And can number the shining stars in the sky, And you alone can know the things Which the earth and sea nourishes;

However, immediately afterwards, he apostrophises Moses, warning him about the limits of curiosity:

Humanam fugiunt haec sapientiam Et nostro positos ingenio modos, Queis attingere mundi Vix conclusa licet polis.	These things escape human knowledge And the bounds placed on our intelligence, By which one can scarcely encompass What is contained in the poles of the material world.
Quod si tantus amor discere, quam novam Mirator speciem concipis, infimas Curas exue terrae, Et fastus animi graves. (9–16)	But if in your admiration you conceive such a great desire To learn how new a species it is that you perceive, Get rid of the low cares of earth, And the destructive pride of the spirit.

Thus, the allusion to a possible testimony of Creation in a pagan source is balanced by a reminder that the pagans did not seek knowledge with the ultimate aim of getting to know God, and so their work should not be used as a reliable source of knowledge.

b. The Flood

[211] *Naturae historia: Prima in magni operis corpore pars* (Antwerp: Moretus, 1601), pp. 39–40.

The Greeks and Romans had a Deluge myth which had many similarities to the Judeo-Christian story of Noah's Ark.[212] In both cases, a supreme god, angered by the crimes of humans, resolves to destroy the human race with a flood. However, he spares a few righteous people who escape in a boat and later repopulate the earth. In the Greek myth, the righteous people are Deucalion and Pyrrha. Although this version is attested as early as the fifth century B.C., the most important account of the myth which would have been available to Renaissance scholars occurs once again in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.[213]

However, as early as the first centuries of the millennium, the two accounts were contaminated, which reinforced the idea that the Greeks preserved a corrupted version of the Genesis story. For example, an interlocutor in Plutarch's dialogue 'Whether land or sea animals are cleverer' says: 'Now the story-books tell us that when Deucalion released a dove from the ark, as long as she returned, it was a certain sign that the storm was still raging; but as soon as she flew away, it was a harbinger of fair weather'.[214] This is curious since, in the pagan version of the myth, Deucalion does not normally send a bird; indeed, the early Greek testimonies do not mention animals at all. Another famous example of contamination occurs in Lucian's *De Dea Syria*, a second-century Greek treatise. Lucian gives a version of the account in which animals enter Deucalion's boat in pairs.[215] Some of the Church Fathers also pick up on the similarities

[212] The myth is, of course, much older than the version preserved by the Greeks: see *The Flood Myth*, ed. by Alan Dundes (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1988).
[213] C. John Collins, 'Noah, Deucalion, and the New Testament', *Biblica*, 93:3 (2012), pp. 405–7.
[214] Plutarch, *Moralia. Volume XII*, trans. by Harold Cherniss and W. C. Helmbold, Loeb Classical Library, 406 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1957), p. 377.
[215] For more on this, see A. Hilhorst, 'The Noah Story: Was it Known to the Greeks?', *Interpretations of the Flood*, ed. by F. García Martínez and G. P. Luttikhuizen (Leiden: Brill, 1999), pp. 56–65.

between the two accounts: for example, Justin Martyr identifies Deucalion with Noah.[216]

The idea that the Deucalion and Pyrrha story is just a corruption of the Noah story survives to the Golden Age, and would be most eloquently described half a century after Arias Montano in the great Spanish Ovidian commentators. Baltasar de Vitoria in his *Teatro de los dioses de la gentilidad* defends the idea that pagan writers transmitted Christian truth with reference to this very myth.[217] Likewise, Pedro Sánchez de Viana writes: 'Quien atentamente leyere a Ovidio en este lugar, fácilmente se persuadirá a que leyó, o tuvo noticia de la sagrada escritura del Genesis, adonde del diluvio universal, y de la reparación del linaje humano se trata, aunque hurtando el cuerpo a la verdad santa, atribuye esta obra a Deucalión y Pyrrha'[218].

Arias Montano appears to be aware of the theory that the pagan Deluge myth was a descendant of the biblical one, and in some cases goes even further in contaminating the two accounts. His earliest treatment of the story of the Flood occurs in *HSM* Ode V, reproduced in full below:

[216] 'παρ' ἡμῖν καλούμενον Νῶε, παρ' ὑμῖν δὲ Δευκαλίωνα' ('called Noah among us, but Deucalion among you', *PG* 6, p. 455). It should be noted that, by contrast, some Church Fathers and Apologists relate a plurality of floods, with Noah's as the first and Deucalion's as posterior. For example, this is the attitude of Isidore of Seville (*The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, Stephen A. Barney ed., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 282, col. 2).
[217] Baltasar de Vitoria, *Teatro de los dioses de la gentilidad* (Salamanca: Antonia Ramírez, 1620), pp. 1–2.
[218] Pedro Sánchez de Viana, *Anotaciones sobre los Quince libros de las Transformaciones de Ovidio* (Valladolid: Fernández de Córdova, 1589), p. 31.

Sol ubi caelo faciem sereno
Purus ostendit, decus atque rebus
Redditum est, quales variata formas
Terra tenebat:

(Nuper heu noxis hominum per omnes
Ambitus Lunae, penitus negata his
Usibus vitae et pelago innatanti
Cedere iussa.)

Tunc senex, auctor sobolis futurae,
Cespite instratas pia thura ad aras
Admovet, iungens precibus probanda
Dona superstes.

Annuit votis Deus, ac benigna
Voce, "sint," dixit, "renovata certis
Cursibus, iustos habitura mundi
Tempora fines.

Iam semel vastis periisse in undis
Secla brutorum sobolemque Adami,
Sit satis; posthac potiora tecum
Foedera iungam."

When the pure Sun showed his face
In a clear sky, and the glory was restored
To the world and such forms as the
Varied earth possessed;

(For recently ah! Due to the crimes of men
Throughout all the regions the Moon encompasses,
The earth was totally denied to these manners of living
And ordered to yield to the sea flooding in.)

Then the old man, the survivor, origin of the future race,
Brought pious incense to altars built from turf,
Joining acceptable gifts
With prayers.

God approved of his vows, and with a kind voice
Said: "Let the seasons of the world be renewed
With their fixed courses,
And have their just limits.

Let it now be enough for the generations of animals
And the offspring of Adam to have perished once
In the devastating waves; henceforth I will make
A better covenant with you".

There are many biblical allusions in the poem: for example, the description of Noah as a 'senex' evokes Genesis' specification of his advanced age at the time of the flood ('eratque sescentorum annorum', Gen. 7:6). Lines 14-16 also refer to Genesis, as Plantin's commentary explains: the 'fixed courses' ('certis | cursibus') and 'just limits' ('iustos… fines') of the 'seasons' ('tempora') refer to Genesis 8:22, 'cunctis diebus terrae, sementis et messis, frigus et aestus, aestas et hiemps, nox et dies, non requiescent', where God promises to restore the seasons rather than the perpetual winter

he had just sent to earth.[219] God's promise never to send another universal flood in lines 17-20 recall Genesis 8:21 'nequaquam ultra maledicam terrae propter homines sensus' and 'non igitur ultra percutiam omne animantem sicut feci'. Finally, the covenant God makes with Noah ('tecum foedera') is a reference to Genesis 8:12 'signum foederis quod do inter me et vos' and 8:13 'signum foederis inter me et inter terram'.

However, Arias Montano also combines the biblical source text with the story of Deucalion and Pyrrha. For example, 'Redditum est' ('was restored') in line 3 is a clear echo of Ovid's 'Redditus orbis erat' ('the earth was restored', I. 348) since Genesis does not use this verb, and instead emphasizes that the earth was *dried*: 'exsiccata esset superficies terrae' (Gen. 8:13), 'arefacta est terra' (8:14). Likewise, the description of Noah's descendants as 'sobolem' ('offspring') in lines 9 and 18 does not occur anywhere in Genesis; rather, his offspring is referred to as his seed ('semine' 8:9). However, in the *Metamorphoses* Jupiter promises the gods that after the flood there will be a new 'subolem' (I. 251). A final allusion occurs in line 12, 'Dona superstes'. Once again, the word 'superstes' ('survivor') does not appear in Genesis. However, it does appear in *Met.* I. 351 when Deucalion is addressing Pyrrha. Furthermore, 'dona superstes' is an acoustic echo of 'sola superstes', which also appears at the end of the line in Ovid. There is a further reminiscence in the epigram explaining the engraving, 'Fraude hominum Deus offensus cum **concipit iras, | Consilii** clemens est memor usque sui' ('When God, offended by the deceit of men, became angry, still he was merciful and remembered his resolution'). Again, there is an allusion here to the story of Deucalion and Pyrrha: 'concipit iras' is the phrase used of Jupiter's anger at mankind

[219] Christopher Plantin, 'Annotationes in odas', in *Humanae salutis monumenta B. Ariae Montani studio constructa et decantata* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1581), p. 5.

in *Met.* I.166, where it also occurs at the end of the line and is followed immediately by the word ‘concilium’.

Perhaps the most telling sign of the syncretism in this poem is not the references it makes, but rather those it does not make. In this poem, there are no references to the most emblematic parts of the story, such as the pairs of animals, the specific length of the flood and the sending out of the dove. Arias Montano appears to be reducing the differences between the two stories to reveal what both cultures had in common: a God who smites the wicked but preserves those who are faithful to him.

The poet’s contamination of the two versions of the story is even more radical in *Hymni et secula*, where he gives an account of the Deluge in *Secula* I.13 (‘Diluvii iudicium’) and II.1 (‘Hominum instauratio ex Noahhi incolumitate’). Once again, there are various biblical allusions: for example, he relates the biblical elements of the rain lasting for forty days (‘quadragesimis […] solibus’, I.13.65) and the dove, which first returns when it can find nowhere to alight (‘Haec sed tum rediit frequens | Invenisse negans quo referat pedem’) but eventually brings back a branch (‘Nuper laeta virentibus | Ramis paciferi termitis adfuit’, II.1.23–26).

However, he also introduces an element which is to be found in Ovid, but not in Genesis. In the *Metamorphoses*, Jupiter considers destroying the world by fire, and then discards this option as too dangerous:

Iamque erat in totas sparsurus fulmina terras: Sed **timuit, ne** forte sacer tot ab ignibus aether Conciperet flammas longusque ardesceret axis. (I. 253–55)	And now he was about to throw his thunderbolts at the whole earth, But he feared, lest by chance the sacred aether should burst into flame From so much fire and that the length of Heaven should burn.

Significantly, this also appears in Arias Montano’s account:

Nec sulphuratas cuncta devorantium Fasces poposcit ignium: **Timet ne** rerum conservanda vindice Flamma adurantur semina. (I.13.7–10)	[The polluted earth] does not demand Sulphur-tipped torches of flames which devour all; It fears lest the seeds of things which must be conserved Should be burnt up by the avenging flame.

Furthermore, the phrase 'vindice | Flamma' (9–10) also alludes to Ov. *Met*. I. 230, where Jupiter punishes the evil which he finds on his visit to earth before he makes his decision to send the Flood to destroy the whole world.

However, once again this syncretism is balanced with cautions about the truth of pagan texts. Lest we should get too comfortable with pagan myth, in I.9 ('De vanis cultus initiis et causis'), one of the poems which precedes the Flood poems, Arias Montano writes that humans wrongly began to ascribe divinity to the stars, and then to all things:

Cornuta frequens tunc caterva vitreis Prorupit ex antris Deum.[220] Silvas per altas, per virentum[221] nemorum Tractus, et inter illices Nymphae decentes, Fauni membris horridi, Salax et Satyrus simul. […] Sic summa et imis, sic permixta et ultima Primis (referre quod pudet) Primus oblitus orbis auctorem suum Deos vocavit non Deos.	Then the dense horned throng Burst forth from the glassy glens of the Gods; The comely Nymphs, Fauns bristling on their limbs, And the salacious Satyr with them Through the high woods, the tracts of green groves, and among the holm oaks. […] Thus the highest were mixed with the lowest, and the last with the first (shameful to relate) And the first earth, forgetting its Creator Called 'gods' those who were not gods.

After the Flood poems, Arias Montano gives us a further reminder that although traces of knowledge obtained by revelation remain, pagan texts are not to be used as guides or sources of knowledge. This is due to the confusion that was sown in the

[220] i.e. 'deorum'
[221] per altas, per virentes M_1M_2: peraltas, pervirentes *A*

subsequent episode of the Tower of Babel, which he relates in the poem ‘De superbia atque gloria humana Babylon’, where God utters the following curse:

Nemo certa alii dicet; nemoque loquentis Alterius fidet verbis; sibi quisque suisque (Nec tamen hoc recte) consulta dictaque praesens Addicet, non una etiam lingua omnibus esto. (82–85)	No-one will say reliable things to another; and no-one Will trust the words of another man speaking to him; Each man will assign his decisions to himself and his family in person (and even this wrongly); And further let there not even be one language for all.

Man’s pride has led him away from the divine truth revealed to him. It would only be the descendants of Shem, the Israelites, who would be privileged with direct revelation in the future. Thus, Arias Montano once again cautions us against using pagan texts as sources of divine truth. As Navarro Antolín says of Arias Montano’s Classical quotations in his *Liber generationis*, ‘aunque ve en ellas una cierta afinidad con la verdad deseada, solo serán una puente hacia la revelación de Dios en las Escrituras’.[222]

Classical texts and eristic imitation

On the other hand, Arias Montano’s Classical allusions often cannot be justified by the idea that the pagans have retained some vestiges of revealed truth, and seem to be antagonistic to the Christian content. In these cases, Arias Montano appears to be engaging in a kind of eristic imitation where he replaces pagan content with Christian, often attempting to show its superiority.

One way in which Arias Montano engages in eristic imitation is by alluding to Classical poems relating to religious worship with the goal of promoting Christian content. Marín Mellado notes the Horatian terms used in Arias Montano’s description

[222] *Libro de la generación*, p. 73.

of Noah's sacrifice in *Secula* II.1, 'Hominum instauratio ex Noahhi incolumitate'.[223] Villalba goes further and explains how, in *HSM,* Arias Montano exploits Horatian descriptions of religious ritual to make the reader reflect on Christian concepts. In particular, she notes the fact that Horatian sacrifice is only evoked in poems about the Old Testament, and its ramifications for the portrayal of Judaism in relation to Christianity. [224] To the work of these scholars I would like to add that the Classical allusions on sacrifice and ritual are not limited to Horace. For example, in *HSM* XXXIV, studied by Villalba, the altars blazing with incense ('aris thura calentibus', 34.9) have a more specific allusion at Virg *Aen.* I. 417 ('ture calent arae'). Likewise, *Secula* III. 9 'De sacerdotis Aharonis opere' is interesting for its use of a refrain, 'Interea vos mutandum olim meliusque ferendum | Vestrum iter hoc bene **currite** secla' ('Meanwhile you ages, run your course well, | One day to be changed and better borne'), which evokes the refrain of the Fates in Catullus 64 ('**currite** ducentes subtegmina, **currite** fusi'). The refrain is even closer to Virgil's imitation of Catullus 64 in *Ecl.* 4.46, '"talia **saecla**", suis dixerunt, "**currite**" fusis'. Here, Arias Montano has transferred the prophecies of the Fates to the role of Aaron the High Priest, who has access to God's divine will.

Arias Montano also Christianizes the Horatian portrayal of poetic inspiration. For example, when speaking of the divine inspiration of the Evangelists, he often describes them in the terms used by Horace of his sublime poetic frenzy. This is most obvious in the ode on John the Evangelist:

Quis te **mente nova** potens In caelum iuvenem spiritus **arripit** **Plenum** numine vivido? (XXXIII. 1–3)	What powerful spirit snatches you into the sky, Young man, with a new mind,

[223] Guadalupe Marín Mellado, 'Arte y estilo en el libro segundo de los *Secula* de Benito Arias Montano', in *Actas del Congreso Internacional sobre Humanismo y Renacimiento*, ed. by Maurilio Pérez González and others, 2 vols (León: Universidad de León, 1998), I, ed. by Maurilio Pérez González, pp. 487–96.
[224] Villalba, pp. 1–18.

Full of the living divinity?

Compare:

Quo me Bacche **rapis** tui **plenum**? Quae nemora aut quos agor in specus velox **mente nova**? (Hor. *Carm*. III.25.1–3)	Where are you rushing me, Bacchus? I am full of you. Into what woods or caverns do you drive me so swiftly with a mind not my own?[225]

Marín Mellado points out that Arias Montano also uses this and other Horatian Bacchic hymns to describe his own poetic activity.[226] For example, he closes the ex-voto ode accompanying his commentary on the prophet Amos with the lines

Nunc iam casta, precor, per tua sacra fer, **Plenum numinis ac tui** Nil mortale sinas aut sapere aut loqui.[227]	And now carry me, I pray, through your chaste and sacred rites, Full of your divinity, And do not let me know or speak anything mortal.

The idea of the poet's divine rapture is, of course, not unique to Arias Montano. It may remind us of Fray Luis de León's often-cited statements on the divine origin of poetry in *De los nombres de Cristo*:

> porque poesía no es sino una comunicación del aliento celestial y divino; y así en los profetas casi todos, así los que fueron verdaderamente movidos por Dios, como los que incitados por otras causas sobrehumanas hablaron, el mismo espíritu que los despertaba y levantaba a ver lo que los otros hombres no veían, y les ordenaba y componía y como metrificaba en las bocas las palabras.[228]

Arias Montano seems to have had a similar view of the divine origin of poetry, and this may be the reason that the examples of pagan literature most likely to contain fragments of divine truth are poetic, as are the examples we have seen. However, as Marín

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[225] All translations are taken from David West, *Horace: The Complete 'Odes' and 'Epodes'* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).
[226] Guadalupe Marín Mellado, 'La experiencia poética en Arias Montano a la luz de sus *Odae uariae*', *Revista Agustiniana*, 39 (1998), 1057–77.
[227] *Commentaria in duodecim prophetas* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1571), p. 435.
[228] *Obras completas castellanas*, ed. by Félix García Moriyón, 2 vols, 4th edn (Madrid: Editorial Católica, 1957), I, 492.

Mellado points out, Arias Montano emphasizes that, to be a true source of divine knowledge, the subject of poetry had to be the Christian God and the truth found in Scripture.[229]

I would go a step further and suggest that Arias Montano rejects not only the content of Classical poetry, but also the aims Classical poets profess for their poetry. For example, in the last poem of his third book of *Odes*, Horace calls his poetry a monument:

quod non imber **edax**, non aquilo impotens **possit** diruere aut innumerabilis annorum series et fuga temporum. (III.30.3–5)	It cannot be destroyed by gnawing rain or wild north wind, by the procession of unnumbered years or by the flight of time.

The fame of his poetry will secure immortality for him; he goes on to say 'non omnis moriar', 'I shall not wholly die' (III. 30. 6). By comparison, Arias Montano describes how the Evangelist Matthew abandons riches to write his lasting Gospel:

Nudus, inops, meliora petit compendia rerum, Divitias meditans potiores; **Quas nec** tempus **edax**, nec fraus, nec perdere **possint** Invidiae commenta malignae. (XXX. 19–22)	Naked and poor, he seeks a better profit from business, Thinking on more powerful riches: Those which neither voracious time, nor fraud, Nor the fabrications of malicious Envy could destroy.

Of course, for the Evangelist, poetic immortality takes on the Christian sense of literal immortality in Heaven.

When reflecting on his own poetry, Arias Montano also rejects Horace's poetic aims. For example, in the final poem of his second book of *Odes*, Horace describes himself as a swan who will reach the ends of the earth: he will be known from the

[229] Marín Mellado, 'La experiencia poética', p. 1064.

shores of the Bosphorus to the Hyperborean plains, from Colchis to the Rhone.[230] However, while Horace seeks his own fame, Arias Montano seeks God's, as he tells us in the 'carmen votivum' at the end of *HSM*:

Non ut fama meum nomen in ultimas Oras Oceani deferat […] Sed, quod nostra sonant carmina, maximum Nomen, […] Per nostros populos ferre per exteros, Diffuso et pelago qua patet ambitus, Decantare novis vocibus expeto. (5–25)	Not so that fame should carry my name To the furthest shores of the Ocean […] Rather, I seek to sing with a new voice The greatest name, which my songs extol, And to carry it to our people and foreign ones, And where the edges of the spreading sea extend.

In short, although Arias Montano sees poetry as divinely inspired, and even makes use of Classical descriptions of poetic frenzy, he reminds us that poetry can only be a repository of divine truth if its subject matter is sacred, and its aim is the glory of God.

Arias Montano also exploits the form of the Classical hymn. This can be seen in *HSM* XXXVII on the birth of John the Baptist, reproduced below:

Astrum nascitur insito Fulgens lumine, quem Deus Solis paciferi indicem Terris praestitit almus. 4	A star rises, Shining with natural light, Whom kindly God has provided as a witness To the earth of His peace-bringing Sun.
Hunc in montibus arduis Exangui in senio parens Mirandis puerum et modis Mirando edidit ortu. 8	In the high mountains, A mother in bloodless old age Gave birth to him in a wondrous beginning And in wondrous manners.
Salutis ferat ut novae Laeto tempore nuntium, Et testis bona gratiae Magnae saecula monstret. 12	So that he would bear a message of new salvation In the happy time, And would show as a witness The happy ages of great grace.
Vos quae diligitis Deum Matres, vos quoque virgines, Infanti propere novo Laudum nectite serta. 16	You mothers who love God, And you also, virgins, Hurry to weave Garlands of praises for the newborn infant.
Nec componite mollius, Quamvis membra tenerrima;	But do not lay him down too softly, Although his limbs are the most tender; Allow life now to accustom him

[230] Hor. *Carm.* II.20.14–20.

Assuescat, sinite, aspero	To harsh toil.
Iam nunc vita labori. 20	

This poem is written in a rare metre consisting of stanzas of three glyconics and one pherecratean, which is extant only in Catullus 34, a hymn to Diana. This suggests from the outset that Arias Montano's poem can be interpreted as a hymn to John the Baptist competing with its pagan predecessor.

The first striking difference is that, whereas Catullus 34 begins by introducing the celebrants ('Dianae sumus in fide | puellae et pueri integri', 'we upright girls and boys are under Diana's protection', 1–2), Arias Montano does not introduce them until the penultimate stanza ('Matres, vos quoque virgines', 'You mothers […] And you also, virgins', 14).[231] This is even more striking when we consider that in Horace's hymn to Diana (Hor. *Car.* I.21), the poet also opens the poem with an address to the celebrants: 'Dianam tenerae dicite virgines, | intonsum pueri dicite Cynthium' ('Sing, tender virgins, of Diana. | Sing, boys, of unshorn Cynthius', 1–2). By displacing the worshippers, Arias Montano may be attempting to give priority to his subject of veneration and therefore exceeding the pagan models in piety. Furthermore, Arias Montano describes John as shining with 'insito […] lumine' ('natural light', 1–2). This may be another example of eristic imitation since Catullus writes that Luna, Diana's manifestation as moon-goddess, shines with 'notho […] lumine' ('counterfeit light', 15–16), that is, a reflected light which is not her own.

In the second stanza, Arias Montano describes the circumstances of John's birth, as Catullus does of Diana's in 34. 5–8 (indeed, references to the birth myth of the god are common in Classical kletic hymns).[232] The reference to mountains refers to the hill

[231] The phrase 'pueri integri' also occurs at the end of the line at *HSM* XIII.1 and *Secula* III.12.9.
[232] See David West, *Carpe diem: Horace 'Odes' I* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), pp. 153–54.

country of Judaea where Zachariah and Elizabeth lived (Luke 1:39). However, even here there may be an element of one-upmanship, since while Catullus's Diana is the mistress of mountains (34. 9), Arias Montano's mountains are 'arduis' ('high', 5). Arias Montano's references to Elizabeth's old age (6) also makes the birth seem more miraculous than that of Diana, something he underlines by the anaphora of 'Mirandis […] Mirando' (7–8).

Arias Montano's injunction to the *matres* and *virgines* to make garlands also appears to be a reference to Classical festivities; Horace's celebrations in particular often call for wreaths.[233] However, the command is brusquely undercut by the final stanza, which tells them not to lay him down too softly, since John should be accustomed to toil. This recalls John's ascetic lifestyle (Matthew 3:4). However, it also points to the fact that John and, of course, Christ, would suffer and die for the message they preached, something which is alien to the Olympian gods.

Intergeneric allusion

Another way in which Arias Montano engages in eristic imitation is by alluding to pagan epics, suggesting that Classical heroes have been replaced by Christian ones. In some cases, Arias Montano evokes specific tropes or scenes from Classical epic. For example, the poem 'Terrae matris quaerimonia ad Deum' (I.4) is framed as a complaint by Mother Nature to God, which recalls Classical complaints to Jupiter by goddesses such as that of Venus in Verg. *Aen*. I. 227–53. There, Venus opens her speech with a respectful address to the father of the gods (II. 229–33) which culminates in a rhetorical question, just like Mother Earth in Arias Montano's poem (1–12). An even more apt

[233] Hor. *Carm.* I.4.9; I.26.7–8; IV.11.5; II.7.7; III.25.20; III.30.16.

intertext which would surely have come to the mind of contemporary readers is the complaint of Mother Earth to Jupiter in Ov. *Met.* II. 272–300:

hosne mihi fructus, hunc fertilitatis honorem officiique refers, quod adunci vulnera aratri rastrorumque fero totoque exerceor anno, quod pecori frondes, alimentaque mitia, fruges, humano generi, vobis quoque tura ministro? (II. 285–89)	Are these the rewards and the honour you give me For my fertility and service, for bearing the wounds Of the curved plough and rakes, for suffering all the year round, And for providing foliage and tender grazing for flocks, Produce for the human race, and incense for you?

In Ovid, Mother Earth's speech comes well after the Iron Age, when humans begin to exploit earth (I. 125–50), and therefore she has come to see suffering as part of her duty ('officii', II. 286). By contrast, Arias Montano gives Mother Earth a speech in the cycle of poems on the Fall, so she laments the suffering she has just begun to experience, and the hardship she will inflict on Man (alluding to Gen 3:19 'In sudore vultus tui vesceris pane'):

Inversa humanis protinus omnia Semper gemendis sentio casibus, […] Culpa scelesti me quoque filii Contaminatam taedia commovent Ingratiorem iam coactis Protinus huberibus futuram. Nam damna honoris depositi mihi Ulciscar amplis usque laboribus, Udoque sudantisque anhelo Saepe hominis repetenda vultu. (41–56)	I perceive that absolutely all things have been perverted By the ever-to-be-lamented Fall, […] Contaminated by the fault of my son, Loathing now moves me, too, To be even more ungrateful With forced breasts. For I will avenge the damage of my lost honour With great toils, Damage to be repaid by the often wet and gasping face Of perspiring Man.

While Ovid's Mother Earth expects honour for her services in giving food to humans through cultivation (II. 285), Arias Montano's Mother Earth sees this very process as an affront to her honour (53). Arias Montano therefore appears to be encouraging the

reader not to be complacent about the introduction of original sin and see it as a new order, but to remember that it is a corruption of God's perfect order.

Another case where Arias Montano exploits Classical epic is *HSM* XLIIII, on Christ baptized in the Jordan:

Quae festa lux haec, dicite montium
Silvae? quid alto gaudia personant
Clamore rupes, quas imago
Percipit ingeminatque voces? 4

Quae tanta praeceps pennigerum genus
Exercet alis cura micantibus
Caeli per oras, atque acutis
Cantibus instrepitare cogit? 8

Iam gestientis laetitiae decus
Quae causa nuper proferat audio,
Trini quod inspectanda terris
Numinis emicuit potestas. 12

Hic nam nitenti lumine spiritus
Delapsus alti culminibus poli,
Candentis aspectum columbae
Praebuit auricomumque lumen. 16

Et vox ab aethra personuit patris
(Quam densa silvae contremuit coma)
Audita, praesentemque natum
Dicere et hunc populis magistrum. 20

Hunc, quem neque alti conscia numinis
Naturis nostrisque ulterius modis
Virtus refulgens administrum
Esse hominum generi retardat. 24

Hic se minori subdidit hospiti
Amne abluendum, purus et innocens,
Nec ipse quamvis usque compos
Id quod erat, tamen efferebat. 28

Illum stupenti fluminis alveo,
Gaudens Iarden suscipit, humidis
Complexus ulnis, et loquaci
Murmure concelebrans salutat; 32

Et quae secundo perfluit agmine,

What festal day is this, tell us, woods of the mountains?
Why does joy make the rocks resound
With great noise, what voices
Does the echo seize and repeat?

Why does such great care agitate
The feathered race rushing with flashing wings
Through the regions of the sky,
And force them to make a noise with shrill songs?

Now I hear the reason which recently brought forth
The glory of joyful happiness:
It is because the power of the triple divinity
Sprang out to be observed on earth.

For here the spirit, gliding down
From the heights of lofty Heaven with shining light,
Showed the aspect of a shining white dove
And a golden-haired light.

And the voice of the Father sounded from Heaven
(At which the dense tresses of the forest trembled)
And was heard to say that this was his son present on earth,
And the teacher of the people.

Shining virtue, which knew his lofty divinity
Beyond nature and our ways,
Did not impede him from being
A servant for the human race.

He gave himself over to a lesser host
To be washed in the river, pure and innocent.
And the river himself, although always understanding the situation,
Did not carry him away.

The rejoicing Jordan takes him up

Sacrata denso membra volumine Circumdat haerens, et priorem Unda sequens premit invidendo. 36	In the dumbstruck channel of his river, Embracing him in his wet arms, And honours and hails him with a loud roar. And the wave which flows by in the following current, Surrounds and clings to the sacred limbs In a dense coil, and the following one Enviously presses on the first.

In this poem, there are a number of allusions to the *Aeneid*. In the fourth stanza, the spirit which descends from Heaven with shining light ('Hic nam nitenti lumine spiritus | Delapsus alti culminibus Poli', 13–14) recalls the comet which descends from the sky with much light ('et de caelo lapsa per umbras | stella facem ducens multa cum luce cucurrit', *Aen*. II. 693–94) and convinces Aeneas's father that his son's mission has divine approval. The word 'auricomum' ('golden-haired', 16) is rare, but appears in *Aen*. VI. 141 to describe the golden bough which Aeneas must acquire to be granted access to the Underworld, if it is fated. The phrase 'fluminis alveo' ('channel of the river', 29) occurs, also in the terminal position, in *Aen*. VII. 33, when Aeneas catches sight of the Tiber and the promised land of Italy for the first time.[234] The specific moments which these allusions evoke can be mapped onto the biblical passage here: God shows his divine approval of Jesus at the start of his mission with a miraculous portent.

The description of Jesus being embraced ('complexus', 31) by the Jordan also recalls episodes from Ovid's mythological epic, the *Metamorphoses*, such as when the river Achelous wants to embrace ('complectar', *Met*. VIII.604) his beloved Perimele, or when the river Cephisus embraces the nymph Lirope against her will (*Met*. III.340–41).

[234] There may also be an element of competition here, since Virgil scans the phrase – u u / - x , which Servius explains as synaeresis, whereas Arias Montano scans it correctly as – u u – u x . In fact, elsewhere Arias Montano corrects the reading 'Sustulit alueo' to 'Sustulit amne' (*HSM* II.4) in later editions of *HSM* to avoid Virgil's scansion of the word.

Once again, there is an element of eristic imitation here, since the embraces of Ovid's river gods are amorous, whereas the Jordan embraces Jesus in pious adoration.

A final example of Arias Montano's exploitation of Classical epic occurs in the poem IV.8, 'Ad Davidem'. As with Samson, David is depicted in terms similar to the way Aeneas is portrayed in the opening of the *Aeneid* by being described as 'iactatum' ('tossed', 21; compare 'iactatus', *Aen*. I.1.3) and undergoing 'laboribus' ('labours', 21; 'labores', *Aen*. I.1.10). However, the most striking debt to Classical epic is the inclusion of an epic simile describing how steadfastly David holds on to his faith:

Haerens ut niueo in vertice Libani Cedrus non Zephyros, non rabiem Noti, Non Euri calidum nec **Boreae** trucem Surgentis pavet impetum. (29–32)	Holding fast as on the snow-white summit of Libanus A cedar does not fear the Zephyrs, the rage of Notus, Nor the hot onset of Eurus or the savage one Of rising Boreas.

This recalls a simile from the *Aeneid* where Aeneas resists Dido's entreaties for him to stay with her in Carthage:

Ac, velut annoso validam cum robore quercum Alpini **Boreae** nunc hinc nunc flatibus illinc eruere inter se certant; it stridor, et altae consternunt terram concusso stipite frondes; ipsa haeret scopulis, et, quantum vertice ad auras aetherias, tantum radice in Tartara tendit: haud secus adsiduis hinc atque hinc vocibus heros tunditur, et magno persentit pectore curas; mens immota manet; lacrimae volvuntur inanes. (Verg. *Aen*. IV.441–49)	Just like when north winds from the Alps with gusts here and there compete amongst each other to uproot an oak tree robust with the strength of years; there is a creak, the trunk is shaken and the high leaves strew the ground, but it clings to the rocks, and stretches as far to the breezes of the heavens with its summit as towards Tartarus with its root; just so is the hero buffeted by constant appeals from this side and that, and feels grief deeply in his noble heart; but his purpose remains unmoved, and tears fall in vain.

As well as the general similarity between the two descriptions of the tree remaining fixed despite the attack of the winds, there is a verbal reminiscence in the naming of the north wind(s) ('Boreae', 31; *Aen*. IV.442). The detail about the tree being on the top of

a mountain ('in vertice', 29) may be owed to another tree simile at *Aen*. II.626–31; here Troy is compared to a tree which is suffering the blows of farmers' axes and does eventually fall, but significantly its location is 'the peaks of the mountains ('summis […] in montibus', *Aen*. II. 626). However, once again Arias Montano's use of the device is eristic, since his tree has biblical connotations: it is a cedar from Mount Libanus. *De arcano sermone* explains the appropriateness of the use of this particular kind of tree in the simile due to its height and strength:

> Arborum omnium maxime procera Cedrus in Libano monte praecipue commendatur. […] Arcano autem sensu Cedrus robur et sublimitatem magnam, atque potentiam quandam praestantem significat, qualis magnis regibus aut esse, aut arrogari solet.
>
> The cedar, the tallest of the trees, is especially celebrated on mount Libanus. […] In its arcane meaning, the cedar represents strength, a great sublimity, and an excellent power, like that which kings have or are wont to claim.'[235]

The regal connotations of the cedar's power also make it appropriate for a poem about David. The naming of various winds, rather than just Virgil's north winds, may also be a competitive element.

I have noted that criticism of Arias Montano's work often refers to the inclusion of epic allusions as a kind of indecorous and incoherent mixing of genres, and does not attempt to explain their presence in terms of poetic function. However, scholars have long recognised that as far back as the Renaissance and Antiquity itself poets would introduce allusions from other genres to creative and innovative ends; Fowler's landmark study discusses the effect of these 'modes' on generic 'kinds'.[236] As we have seen in Chapter Two, Renaissance scholars recognised the higher Pindaric mode encompassed within Horatian lyric. Therefore, epic allusions can serve to add 'generic dignity' to the lyric texture of particularly elevated moments, and therefore can be

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[235] *Liber Ioseph, siue de arcano sermone* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1571), p. 67, col. 2.
[236] See Alistair Fowler, *Kinds of Literature: An Introduction to the Theory of Genres and Modes* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982).

considered as encompassed within a lofty lyric style rather than totally alien to the genre.[237]

Poems in non-lyric metres

The question remains of how to treat those of Arias Montano's poems which are included in the collection but not written in lyric metres. These include poems written in dactylic hexameters (*HSM* XIV, *Secula* II.3, VI.27) and elegiac couplets (*HSM* XXXVIII, LXIV, *Secula* V.1–9). However, this is not surprising given the contemporary context. Julia Haig Gaisser points out that Renaissance Latin lyric 'is usually written in lyric metres, but occasionally slips over into elegiacs'.[238]

However, the extension of lyric to cover the use of other metres is linked to the contemporary concept of 'biblical poetry' discussed in the previous chapter, and the idea not only that the Bible encompassed all kinds of literature, but that the psalms encompassed all kinds of poetry and indeed were even a kind of epitome of all scripture and theological knowledge.[239] Although most of George Buchanan's psalm paraphrases of 1565–66 are written in Horatian lyric metres, Victoria Moul points out that they contained poems written in elegiac couplets and hexameters, and that in doing so the poet was 'making a strong "completist" claim for the psalter as a work of literature'.[240] We know that Arias Montano was familiar with Buchanan's paraphrases and on occasion even alludes to or borrows from them.[241]

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[237] Harrison, pp. 184–87.
[238] Julia Haig Gaisser, 'Lyric', in *A Guide to Neo-Latin Literature*, ed. by Victoria Moul (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), p. 113.
[239] Barbara Kiefer Lewalski, *Protestant Poetics and the Seventeenth-Century Religious Lyric* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), pp. 41–42.
[240] Victoria Moul, *A Literary History of Latin & English Poetry: Bilingual Verse Culture in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022), p. 73. For Buchanan's metres, see George Buchanan, *Poetic Paraphrase of the Psalms of David (Psalmorum Dauidis paraphrasis poetica)*, ed. and trans. by Roger P. H. Green (Genève: Librairie Droz, 2011), pp. 627–28.
[241] Bartolomé Pozuelo Calero, 'La paráfrasis latina inédita del salmo 109 (110) del licenciado Francisco Pacheco y sus objetivos en comparación con las de George Buchanan, Benito Arias Montano y Fray Luis

Arias Montano's commentary on the first thirty-one psalms shows his awareness of the diversity of form within them: for example, in his commentary on Psalm 6:1, he explains:

> Ex antiquis carminibus quaedam humana tándem voce canebantur, alia praeter vocem, musicorum instrumentorum comitem exigebant sonum. Instrumentorum variae fuere formae, vel chordarum numeris et ordinibus distinctae, vel alias diversae suisque discretae nominibus. Nec vero omnia carminum genera omnibus instrumentis promiscue conveniunt: quaedam ad tibiam, quaedam ad lyram, quaedam ad cytharam, pro argumenti, pro dictionis, pro modi ratione et usu comparanda […] Carmen hoc a gemente, dolente, interdum suspiria, saepe clamorem ciente pectore et animo profectum est; sublimi voce et acri instrumento dignum inscriptio ipsa docet.
>
> Of the ancient songs, some were sung with human voice, while others required the sound of musical instruments accompanying the voice. There were various forms of instruments, differentiated either by the number and order of strings, or else by their names. And not all kinds (*genera*) of song suit all instruments; some are matched with the flute, some with the lyre, some with the cithara, on account of their argument, diction, organisation and use. This song arose from someone moaning, in pain, and giving out sighs and shouts in his heart and mind; the inscription itself tells us that it is worthy of a shrill instrument.[242]

The description of instruments is striking, since the flute was associated in Greco-Roman poetry with elegy. Similarly, in his commentary on Psalm 7:1, Arias Montano explicitly defines one kind of psalm as elegiac:

> Nomen sigaion […] carminibus illis praescriptum observamus, quorum argumentum mixtum est […] quod ex vi verbi sagah, unde deducitur, ignorare, errare, trepidare et gaudio perfundi atque occupari significat. Carmen ipsum constat numeris ad querimoniam concinnatis: […] ideoque Elegiacis carminibus genus hoc valde affine: quamobrem nomen sigaion non inepte querimoniam interpretamur.
>
> We observe that the name *sigaion* is prefixed to those songs whose argument is mixed […] it is taken from the word *sagah*, which means to be ignorant, wander, tremble and be filled and occupied with joy. The song itself is made of measures appropriate for complaints […] so this kind is very close to elegiac poems. Therefore, it is not unsuitable for us to translate the name *sigaion* as 'complaint'.[243]

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de León', *Neulateinisches Jahrbuch*, 10 (2008), 26; 'La oda de Benito Arias Montano a Pedro Vélez de Guevara o la añoranza de la vida retirada', *Criticón*, 113 (2011), 35–62. Masius also compares Arias Montano's paraphrases to those of Flaminio and Buchanan in a letter which prefaces the collection (*Davidis regis et prophetae aliorumque sacrorum vatum Psalmi* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1574), p. 8).

[242] *In XXXI Davidis psalmos priores commentaria* (Antwerp: Moretus, 1605), p. 32.

[243] *In XXXI Davidis psalmos priores commentaria*, p. 38.

Therefore, although elegy was generically distinct in Greek and Latin literary culture, Arias Montano regards it as part of the Psalter's lyric corpus.

The contemporary relevance of this expanded view of lyric can be seen in the fact that poems in non-lyric metres, particularly those in elegiac couplets, are often those which demonstrate the closest affinity with contemporary and near-contemporary poets. This is particularly notable in *HSM* XXXVIII, 'The lullaby of Human Nature':

Virgineo splendens infans ut prodiit alvo,
    Atque illaesa dedit templa pudicitiae,
Quae iam uteri intacti stupuit NATURA tumorem,
    Nunc pavet insolitum laeta puerperium.
Atque novum mirata genus, variis quoque gaudens, 5
    Blandidulos fertur concinuisse modos.
Excellis mea iura puer, quod gigneris, aut quod
    Nasceris; at meus es quod puer et tener es.
Ergo me superas, sine me qui nasceris infans.
    Quod si me superas, es puer ergo Deus. 10
O puer et certe Deus, o mihi iungeris, ut te,
    Partibus excipiam, muneribusque meis.
O Deus, et vere puer, o tibi iungor ut aucta
    Amplius ipsa tuo numine perficiar.
Accipies ex me curam puer, atque labores, 15
    Mortis onus (tibi sic quod placet) accipies.
A te ego, sed pacem Deus, accipiamque salutem,
    Et posse aeternae rumpere vincla necis.

As the shining infant came forth from the virgin belly,
And presented inviolate sanctuaries to chastity,
NATURE, who had already been astonished at the swelling of the untouched womb,
Now happily quakes at the unaccustomed birth.
And, wondering at the new issue, and also rejoicing in various things,
They say she sang these charming measures:
"You excel my laws, child, in being begotten
And born; but the fact you are a child and tender is down to me.
Therefore you surpass me, infant who is born without me.
But if you surpass me, you must be the God-child.
O child and certainly God, o you are joined to me,
So that I will receive you with my abilities and gifts.
Oh God, and truly child, o I am joined to you,
So that I myself will be more amply perfected by your divinity.
Little boy, you will receive suffering and toils from me,
And the burden of death (because it thus pleases you).
But I will receive from you, o God, peace and salvation,
And the ability to break the chains of eternal death."

The classification of this poem as a *naenia* (lullaby) points to Pontano, who established the genre with a collection of *naeniae* dedicated to his young son; however, Arias Montano takes his secular genre and makes it serve Christian ends. In particular, the poem contains some echoes of the first *naenia*, such as the affectionate diminutive 'blandidulos' (6) which recalls the repetition of 'blandule' in Pontano's poem. Both poems contain a narrator and a personified abstract noun: Pontano addresses Somnus (Sleep), asking him to come to his infant son, while Arias Montano creates the character of Human Nature, to whom he gives direct speech. However, the comparison brings out some grave undertones: whereas Pontano notes that Somnus lightens the cares of men ('curas hominum […] leuas', 16), Arias Montano's Human Nature will bring 'curam' to the baby Jesus (15).

The other poem written in elegiac couplets in *HSM* (LXIV) takes the form of an epitaph for Christ's tomb, and therefore belongs to the genre of sepulchral epigram. The epigram is, of course, an ancient form, having its origin in physical inscriptions and developing in the Hellenistic period into a short poem which often had an element of wit.[244] However, the propensity for wit of the epigram is given a new lease of life during the Renaissance with the development of the Christian epigram. As Cummings writes of Crashaw's *Epigrammata sacra*, 'They develop their paradoxical contrivances from a habit of contradictoriness that begins in Christ himself'.[245] This can be seen in Arias Montano's epitaph, which expresses the paradox that the dead body of Christ is soon to be living again:

Miratura cito redivivum surgere corpus, Marmorei silices antraque parva tenent.	The marble rock and small caves hold the body Which they will marvel at for its prompt rising in new life.

[244] For more on this, see Niall Livingstone and Gideon Nisbet, *Epigram*, Greece & Rome New Surveys in the Classics, 38 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).
[245] Robert Cummings, 'Epigram', in *A Guide to Neo-Latin Literature*, ed. by Victoria Moul, p. 92.

Pignore deposito multum o felicia saxa, at
    Pignore reddendo saxa beata magis.
Membra fovete hominis, quibus est nil purius usquam,
    Membra extincta hominis, vivida membra Dei.
Neu tabem, neu vos turpis metuatis odores,
    His procul ista malis est aliena caro.
Iam quod erat nostrae culpae, mors eluit; ultra
    Mortem pro nobis debuit ille nihil.
Nunc sibi (namque potest) vitam propriam ipse reponet;
    Perpetuo et nobis vivere posse dabit.
Compositas igitur saxum hoc testabitur iras,
    Et renovata orbi foedera amicitiae.

O very happy stones with such a deposit placed within them,
But happier still since the deposit is to be returned!
Cherish the limbs of the man, than which nothing anywhere is purer,
Dead limbs of a man, living limbs of God.
Do not fear decay or foul smells;
This flesh is far alien to those evils.
For his death has washed away what belonged to our sin;
Beyond his death for us he owed nothing further.
Now he will give himself back his own life (for he can);
And he will give us the ability to live forever.
Therefore this stone will bear witness to appeased anger,
And a renewed treaty of friendship with the world.

The paradox is expressed by the anaphora of 'pignore deposito […] pignore reddendo' ('a deposit placed within them […] the deposit is to be returned', 3–4) and in the line 'Membra extincta hominis, vivida membra Dei' ('Dead limbs of a man, living limbs of God', 6).

Secula V is striking since it is made up solely of poems in elegiac couplets. Arias Montano appears to have intended it to be included in this way, since we have his autograph of the first eighteen lines of V.1 'Pentecoste', under the heading 'Liber Quinctus'.[246] However, there may also be a link to contemporary Latin poetry here, too; since the first five elegies recount the history and celebration of the Festival of Weeks, Passover, and Yom Kippur, they may be conceived in the vein of the Neo-Latin Christian calendar poem. This genre involved Christianized imitations of Ovid's *Fasti*, which were written in elegiac couplets.[247] This is already suggested in Arias Montano's

[246] BNM, Mss/155, 224[r].
[247] See John F. Miller, 'Ovid's *Fasti* and the Neo-Latin Christian Calendar Poem', *International Journal of the Classical Tradition*, 10:2 (2003), 173–86; Angela Fritsen, *Antiquarian Voices: The Roman Academy and the Commentary Tradition on Ovid's 'Fasti'* (Columbus, OH: The Ohio State University Press, 2015), pp. 165–69; Bobby Xinyue, 'Commemorating the Sack of Rome (1527): Antiquity and Authority in Renaissance Poetic Calendars', *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 88 (2020), 215–235.

poems on Jewish rituals in *Secula* III, whose openings are sometimes reminiscent of Ovid's *Fasti*, such as 'exiguisque luna | Cornibus caeli properat serenum | Tendere cursum' (III.15.2–4; compare 'luna novum decies implerat cornibus orbem', Ov. *Fast.* II.175). The reference to ancient custom ('priscum […] morem', III.15.14) in this poem also evokes Ovid's descriptions of ancient religious rituals ('prisco more', *Fast*. II.282; 'prisci […] moris', V.428). Likewise, in *Secula* V we find ritual openings which are reminiscent of the *Fasti*, such as 'certisque animis verbisque faveto' ('be respectful with sure spirit and words', V.2.1), which recalls Ovid's injunction to those assembled to celebrate January 1: 'linguis animisque favete' ('be respectful with tongue and spirits', Ov. *Fast*. I.71). Arias Montano also appears to echo the sacrificial rites of the *Fasti* in the striking phrase 'pecoris lanigeri' ('the wool-bearing flock, III.14.21; compare 'lanigerumque pecus', *Fast.* I.384), which is picked up in *Secula* V in the phrase 'lanigeri […] gregis' (V.1.18). Significantly, since Arias Montano's take on the genre is biblical, he focuses not on the calendar of the Christian church as contemporary humanists did, but on that described in the Hebrew Bible. Likewise, since the biblical text is infallible, Arias Montano's calendar does not contain any of Ovid's characteristic aetiological disputes.

Conclusion

In some ways, Arias Montano's engagement with Classical texts maps onto the threefold system of *translatio, imitatio* and *aemulatio*.[248] As I have shown, on a lexical level the poet recasts his biblical source in Classical and often poetic Latin. In a few of his poems, allusion is used meaningfully in a kind of syncretistic imitation which places Classical and Christian culture on an equal footing; we have seen how in limited cases

[248] Gilbert Highet, *The Classical Tradition: Greek and Roman Influences on Western Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1949), p. 104.

this is justified by the possibility that the ancients had access to vestiges of divine revelation. However, elsewhere, allusions to Classical texts are more eristic, and Arias Montano seems to repurpose them for Christian ends. This is the case with his descriptions of religious worship and his hymnic compositions. It is also the case when he alludes to epic within lyric poems, which I have attempted to classify as another case of meaningful allusion and a means of elevation within the genre of lyric, rather than as incoherent genre-mixing. Similarly, I have argued that poems in non-lyric metres are in fact part of the broad conception of lyric frequent in early modern Latin and particularly in 'biblical poetry'. This can be seen in the phenomenon that Arias Montano's poems in elegiac couplets are often strongly linked to early modern poetic trends. Significantly, at every point Arias Montano puts his Classical studies to the use of Christian truth: his poetic paraphrases often underline important or didactic elements of biblical stories; his syncretism is always mitigated by cautions about the nature of pagan knowledge; and in his eristic imitation of the Classics and his exploitation of early modern genre, biblical truth and Christian worship are privileged over their Classical or secular counterparts.

Chapter Four: Jewish Scholarship

The Renaissance mission to return *ad fontes* in Latin and Greek studies had its counterpart in biblical studies with the movement of Christian Hebraism. However, until the mid-sixteenth century Hebrew instruction was difficult to find and consequently Christian Hebraism was little more than an esoteric scholarly pastime. As Burnett argues, it was the Protestant Reformation which turned it into an intellectual movement as the interpretation of Scripture became one of the defining features of new confessional identities.[249] In particular, the Protestant doctrine of *sola scriptura* was a motivating factor in the study of the Hebrew of the Old Testament and an increased emphasis on its literal and historical sense, rather than the standard four-fold exegesis.[250] As greater numbers of works of Hebraic erudition began to be produced and chairs began to be founded in universities, the study of Hebrew began to be seen as a legitimate route to a deeper understanding of Scripture.

However, this new scholarly discipline was a dangerous one. Although Hebraists were convinced that their scholarship brought them closer to the words of God and a purer textual truth, those who showed too much interest in Jewish sources could be attacked as judaizers. As Dunkelgrün puts it, these opposing impulses

> not only divided scholars, but also competed within one and the same mind: between, on one hand, the Christian, who could not but believe that Christianity (in his particular denomination) fulfilled the Jewish prophecies and that unconverted Jews remained inexorably unsaved if not collectively damned […] and, on the other hand, the humanist scholar, who could not but acknowledge the importance of traditions of Jewish

[249] Stephen G. Burnett, *Christian Hebraism in the Reformation Era (1500–1660)* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 3–4, 11; for the role of Hebraism in differentiating different denominations within Protestantism, see Adam Sutcliffe, 'Hebrew Texts and Protestant Readers: Christian Hebraism and Denominational Self-Definition', *Jewish Studies Quarterly*, 7:4 (2000), 319–37. However, Friedman had earlier argued against too great an emphasis on the role of the Reformation in the development of Christian Hebraism; see Jerome Friedman, 'Sixteenth-Century Christian-Hebraica: Scripture and the Renaissance Myth of the Past', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 11:4 (1980), 67.
[250] Friedman, p. 71.

> erudition to the understanding not only of the Old Testament but also of the world of the Gospels, early Church history, and thereby Christianity itself.[251]

Many Hebraists used the defence that they were studying Hebrew to translate the Bible or to convert Jews on their own terms, even when it is clear that this was not the main purpose of their works.[252] Particularly in Spain, where the Inquisition was ever-vigilant for judaizing behaviour, scholars faced intense suspicion even when they had the most orthodox motives.

Arias Montano's work also demonstrates the delicate position of Jewish learning in Christian scholarship. His early works are peppered with allusions to rabbinical authors, and it may be his intervention which prevented the Talmud from being completely condemned on the Council of Trent's 1564 index of prohibited books and allowed it to be printed in an expurgated form.[253] As we have seen, for Arias Montano, Hebrew was the language spoken by God and therefore transmitted divine knowledge about the world. In his *Elucidationes in omnia Sanctorum Apostolorum scripta*, he demonstrates how Hebrew learning can be put to good use, giving the example of the apostle Paul, whom he describes as:

> vir Iudaeus, Christiani olim nominis tam acerrimus hostis, quam Iudaicae disciplinae studiosissimus sectator; idemque rursus, postquam acceptam cum Iesu Christi discipulis societatem, Christiani nominis et gloriae propagator maximus.
>
> a Jewish man, once as fierce an enemy of the Christian name as he was keen a follower of Jewish teaching; and on the other hand, after he had accepted the fellowship of the followers of Christ, the greatest cultivator of the name and glory of Christianity.[254]

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[251] Theodor Dunkelgrün, 'The Christian Study of Judaism in Early Modern Europe', in *The Early Modern World, 1500–1815*, CHJ 7, ed. by Jonathan Karp and Adam Sutcliffe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), p. 322.
[252] For the translation defence, Friedman, p. 70; for the pretext of conversion, Sutcliffe, pp. 323–24.
[253] Dunkelgrün, 'The Christian Study of Judaism in Early Modern Europe', p. 337.
[254] Benito Arias Montano, *Elucidationes in omnia sanctorum Apostolorum scripta: Eiusdem in S. Ioannis Apostoli et Evangelistae Apocalypsin significationes* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1588), p. 8. See Theodor Dunkelgrün, *The Multiplicity of Scripture: The Confluence of Textual Traditions in the Making of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible (1568 – 1573)*, (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Chicago, 2012) p. 153.

However, Arias Montano soon came under attack for his use of Jewish authorities. In 1574, Francisco Salinas wrote to him reporting that León de Castro, the famous enemy of the Salamanca Hebraists, claimed that he 'quiere destruir la Vulgata y que no sigue la interpretación de ningún santo ni le allega, sino la de los rabinos, no solamente en el testo, mas en el margen'.[255] Pedro de Fuentidueña reported that one of Castro's complaints was that, since rabbinical dictionaries also contained the definitions used in the Vulgate, Arias Montano was deliberately following rabbinical commentaries when he might have followed the meaning of the Vulgate.[256] The Jesuit Juan de Mariana was tasked with writing the censorial report on the Antwerp Polyglot in response to Castro's accusations. Although he broadly exonerated Arias Montano and cleared him on the count of including rabbinical commentaries in the margins of Pagnino's translation of the Old Testament, he was in agreement that Arias Montano should have chosen a Hebrew dictionary which did not rely so heavily on rabbinical scholarship. He felt that Pagnino's translation was too enthusiastic about the study of Hebrew and rabbinical texts – to the point of including some anti-Christian translations – and so would have been better left out of the Polyglot.[257] Perhaps due to this criticism, citations of Jewish sources disappear in Arias Montano's later works.[258]

In this chapter, I shall discuss the tension between Hebraist scholarship and more orthodox theological stances in Arias Montano's poetry. I will show how, in his poetry on Israelite religious ritual, he often privileges rabbinical scholarship. However, as a Catholic, Arias Montano would have seen Jewish knowledge as severely limited,

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[255] Baldomero Macías Rosendo, *La Biblia Políglota en la correspondencia de Benito Arias Montano*, Bibliotheca Montaniana, 2 (Huelva: Universidad de Huelva, 1998), p. 329.
[256] Macías Rosendo, *La Biblia Políglota*, pp. 330–31.
[257] María M. Portuondo, The Spanish Disquiet: The Biblical Natural Philosophy of Benito Arias Montano (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2019), pp. 137–38.
[258] See Ángel Sáenz-Badillos, 'Benito Arias Montano, Hebraísta', *Thélème: Revista complutense de estudios franceses*, 12 (1997), 345–59.

most importantly by the refusal to acknowledge Christ as the Messiah. Therefore, we shall also see how Arias Montano sometimes shows a suspicious attitude towards Jewish scholarship, particularly in his depiction of the Jewish scholars contemporary with Christ.

Mosaic Law

One example of thorny ground in Hebraist learning is the interpretation of Mosaic Law. Scholars had simultaneously to acknowledge the inviolability of the words of God, while affirming the Church's position that certain practices required by the laws detailed in Exodus and Deuteronomy were merely prefigurations of Christ and had therefore been superseded by his coming. Arias Montano could not be faulted on his devotion to the study of the Mosaic Law based on his conviction of its divine origin; he devotes two books of *Liber generationis* to its classification and explanation. He also repeatedly stresses the importance of the Mosaic law in his poetry. For example, the giving of the law to Moses is not only recounted in its proper chronological place in *HSM* XV, but also programmatically in Ode II, where he refers to the 'laws which would be agreeable to the pure mind of divinity' ('Numinis purae placitura menti | Iura', 25–26).

However, Arias Montano often pushed the boundaries of orthodoxy in his views about adherence to Mosaic Law. Gómez Canseco has studied how his emphasis on the inviolability of God's words, combined with the fact that Jesus himself adhered to the Mosaic Law, meant that Arias Montano 'no tuvo inconveniente en afirmar en el *Libro de la generación y regeneración del hombre,* que todas y cada una de las seiscientas trece partes de la Ley seguían vigentes para todo el género humano'.[259] In his poetry,

[259] Luis María Gómez Canseco, 'Lecturas del Pentateuco: Arias Montano y la Ley Mosaica', in *El humanismo extremeño. "La Biblia de Arias Montano": estudios presentados a las 5as jornadas*

Arias Montano often stresses that the Law should be followed to the letter. In *Rhetoricorum libri IV*, his verse treatise on rhetoric, he writes that the Law should be followed 'without taking away or adding anything from any of its parts' ('non decisa ullis aut partibus aucta', 581).[260] The theme of divine punishment for the smallest infraction of the Law can be seen in the poem which made him poet laureate of the University of Alcalá and recounts the story of Uzzah, an Israelite who touched the Ark of the Covenant to stop it from falling, and was punished by death for this violation of the divine law (2 Samuel 6:3–7; 1 Chronicles 13:7–10).[261] A similar theme occurs in poem III.8, 'De sacrificiorum initatione, usu, et signo', where Arias Montano relates the story of Nadab and Abihu, who were consumed by the Lord's fire for sacrificing with foreign fire (Leviticus 10:1–2).

Book Three of *Secula* is devoted to the themes of the reception of the Law and various aspects of Mosaic ceremonial law, and contains some important clues as to Arias Montano's views on the relevance of the Law to Christians. Leuker notes how in III. 2, 'De Legis beneficio et officio', Arias Montano adopts the persona of an Israelite at the reception of the Law, marvelling at the strange meteorological phenomena and then apostrophising the voice of God. He notes a similar creation of the fictional present of the reception of the Law in the following poem (III. 3, 'Ad Mossem divinae legis ministrum'). There, he argues that the use of the word 'nunc' once again has a function of bringing the reception of the Law into the present. Leuker's conclusion is that

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organizadas por la Real Academia en Trujillo en el 2007 (Real Academia de Extremadura de las Letras y las Artes, 2008), pp. 61–85. I am very grateful to Prof. Gómez Canseco for access to this study.

[260] The edition I am using is María Violeta Pérez Custodio, *Los Rhetoricorum libri quattuor de Benito Arias Montano* (Badajoz: *Diputación Provincial de Badajoz*, 1995).

[261] For Arias Montano's use of the episode in his lyric poem and in the *Rhetoricorum libri quattuor,* see María Violeta Pérez Custodio, 'Un episodio bíblico como fuente de creación poética épica y lírica en Arias Montano', *Excerpta philologica: Revista de filología griega y latina de la Universidad de Cádiz*, 1:2 (1991), 615–36.

> La idea de prolongar el sonido de la voz de Dios hasta el presente expresa de manera marcadamente poética una convicción teológica que Arias Montano había formulado en muchos escritos anteriores: la de la validez de la Ley mosaica también para los cristianos. Fundamentalmente, esta convicción se corresponde con la doctrina de la Iglesia romana, pero la clara preferencia del humanista extremeño por una interpretación literal de los Diez Mandamientos le pone en contraste con casi todos los teólogos de su tiempo.[262]

Leuker is right to detect a controversial stance in Arias Montano's poetry, although it is not to be found in the poems he discusses, since a literal interpretation of the Decalogue is not as polemical as he suggests. According to Thomist thought, the Law was divided into the categories of moral, ceremonial and judicial law, and the relevance of these categories to Christians differed between them. Mosaic judicial law pertained to the actions of man in society and therefore were no longer relevant since society had changed; Mosaic ceremonial law was perfected by Christ's sacrifice on the Cross and therefore not only invalid but wrong; but Mosaic moral law was still binding. The Decalogue fell under the category of moral law and therefore would have been seen as binding even for Christians, even though there was debate over whether it was classified as divine positive law, natural law or both.[263]

However, it is Arias Montano's treatment of ceremonial law in his poetry which is more ground-breaking. In his *Liber generationis*, Arias Montano appears to follow the Thomist line on Mosaic ceremonial law, perhaps since a prose treatise would be more open to censorial scrutiny. In particular, he seems to follow Aquinas in the view that laws on external worship were figurative of the future truth to be fulfilled in the New Testament (*ST* Ia IIae q. 101 art. 2):

> Igitur primam huius operis atque supremam partem institutionibus ac decretis iis, quae de divina natura, deque illius colendae ratione, modo, ritu, et pompa, atque ceremoniarum iure facta sunt, comprehensam esse Deus voluit; eam vero, quamquam

[262] Tobias Leuker, 'Moisés y los Diez Mandamientos en las últimas odas de Benito Arias Montano', *Criticón*, 125 (2015), p. 156.
[263] See Karl A. Kottman, *Law and Apocalypse: The moral thought of Luis de León* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1972), pp. 6–8, 42–64.

> rebus corporeis, aliisque ad sensum et ad tactum pertinentibus, exhiberi iussit; propriis tamen subiunctis causis ac significationibus non continuo aperte declaravit, sed […] mysteriis omnia plena esse indicavit, iisdemque non vulgo propalandis, verum suo tempore ac loco explicandis; quae tamen iis qui assiduam et attentam pietati operam darent […] insinuarentur, quoad illud e divino consilio praefixum adesset seculum, quo caelestium **arcanorum** divitiae ad felicissimum vere piorum usum explicatae proponerentur.[264]
>
> Therefore, God wanted the first and most important part of this work to be made up of those institutions and decrees, which were made about divine nature, and the way, manner, rite and solemnity with which it should be worshipped, and the law of ceremonies. However, although he ordered it to be presented in terms of corporal things, and things pertaining to the senses and touch, yet he did not straightaway declare it openly along with its causes and meaning. Rather, […] he showed that all these things were full of mysteries, which were not to be divulged to the mob, but to be explained in their own time and place; but they would be made known to those who took assiduous and attentive care of their piety, until that age foreordained by divine counsel should come, in which the riches of the heavenly mysteries would be truly set out and explained for the happy use of the pious.

However, the particular language he uses suggests a more complex approach. As we have seen, in *De arcano sermone* Arias Montano often gives the 'mystical meaning' (*arcanam significationem*) of words in Hebrew which reveal something about the nature of the divine, a term not used by Aquinas in his writing on the law. Likewise, in the prologue to his treatise *Aaron*, he had written of ceremonial clothing:

> Cum vero inter ceteras illius ministerii partes, vestimentorum ornatusque omnis rationem a Deo praescriptam, diligenterque a Mose, atque deinceps dum illa saecula duravere, non sine magno **arcanae** significationis testimonio observatam perpetuo fuisse sciamus
>
> Since we know that, in the other parts of that ministry, the reason prescribed by God for the vestments and all the adornment was always carefully observed by Moses and in the following ages with a great witness of its mystical meaning'.[265]

In short, we may conclude that Arias Montano approached the descriptions of Jewish ritual in the same manner as the rest of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament: rather than seeing particular words or passages only as symbols or prefigurations of the New

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[264] *Liber generationis et regenerationis Adam, sive De historia generis humani: Operis magni pars prima, id est Anima* (Antwerp: Moretus, 1593), p. 277.
[265] Latin text in *Prefacios de Benito Arias Montano a la Biblia Regia de Felipe II*, ed. and trans. by María Asunción Sánchez Manzano, Humanistas españoles 32 (Salamanca: Junta de Castilla y León, Consejería de educación y cultura, 2006), p. 225.

Testament, he believed they could be analysed philologically to reveal their hidden, mystical meaning. As we shall see, Arias Montano takes up this approach more boldly in his poetry.

It is true that, in the poems of *Secula* III, Arias Montano occasionally takes up an orthodox Thomist stance, particularly in cases which had a Christological implication. For example, in poem III.12, 'De paschati ritu et causis', he sees the sacrifice of the paschal lamb as a prefiguration of Christ's death:

Agnum quaeque suum domus	Each of our houses slaughters its lamb,
Expertem vitii caedimus hostiam,	The sacrifice with no blemish,
Insons cuius inest cruor	Whose blood within is innocent
Et nostris bibitur nunc quoque poculis,	And is also now drunk in our wine-cups.
Quin et viscere, pinguibus	And we feast on the vitals,
Extis ac teneris vescimur artubus.	Rich entrails and tender limbs.
Huius frangere crus nefas,	It is wicked to break its leg,
Aut sanctis vitium ponere in ossibus,	Or place a blemish in its holy bones,
Quicquam aut ducere inutile,	Or think anything incapable of use,
Aut in relliquias condere crastinum	Or to store the remains until
Ad Solem: omnibus unica	The next day; a single lamb
Uno sumpta die victima sufficit.	Eaten on one day suffices for all.
[…]	[…]
Nam sic usque gravi solvere nos iugo	For the True God decided thus
Servitii Deus abditis	continually
Verax constituit pollicitis, tamen	To free us from the heavy yoke
Huic maior valide ac prior	Of servitude with his hidden promises,
Atque arcana salus substat imagini	But a far greater and better
Quam semper pius appetat,	And mystic salvation lies beneath this
Quam expectet populus, se mage liberum	image
Sisti si cupit intimo	Which the pious man should always seek,
Disruptis animi e carcere vinculis. (41–70)	And which the people should wait for
	If they want to be set more free
	From the innermost prison of the soul
	and break its chains.

This would be particularly familiar to a Catholic audience since it is picked up in the New Testament (John 1:29–36) and is a ubiquitous image for Christ. The injunction not to break the legs of the lamb (Exodus 12:46, Numbers 9:12) likewise was interpreted as a foreshadowing of Jesus's Passion, where he was pierced with a spear but did not have

his legs broken (John 19:31–37). Arias Montano himself glosses the passage in John: 'quae vere in figura fuerat obseruata' ('which were truly observed figuratively').[266]

Similarly, poem III. 13 ends by giving Moses' receipt of the Ten Commandments on Sinai a typological gloss:

Sed spes atque fides prospera iam magis Atque arcana magis tempora praevident, Venturamque diem, quae melioribus Mandata in tabulis dabit. 72	But faith and hope foresee A more prosperous and mystic time, And the day coming, which will give commandments On better tablets.
Cum priscis potior vatibus ac prior Et Mose et patribus vir bonus, omnium Votis qui expetitur quos Deus instruit, Et terra et veniet polo. 76	When a good man to be preferred and ranked before The ancient prophets and Moses and the fathers, Who is sought by the prayers of all those which God instructed, Will come from both earth and Heaven.
Unus polliciti consilium Dei Et praestare satis ponere et efficax, Mutabit vetera, et sufficiet nova Non vertendaque secula. 80	He alone will have the capacity to deploy the counsel of God's promises, And efficaciously put them in place: He will change the old ages, and provide New unchangeable ones.

Of course, the man who will come 'from both earth and Heaven' (76) is Christ, who will institute the New Law of Grace.

Nevertheless, for the most part, in the poems of *Secula* III Arias Montano diverges from the Thomist model and moves towards a more Hebraist position by drawing on rabbinical explanations of ceremonial law. In this way, he presents accounts of Jewish rituals not merely as prefigurations of Christianity, but as mysterious passages of Scripture to be interpreted like any other. For example, in *Secula* III.12 he expresses the idea that the bitter herbs (*maror*) eaten at Passover represent the bitterness of slavery in Egypt:

[266] *Elucidationes in quatuor evangelia, Matthaei, Marci, Lucae et Johannis. Quibus accedunt eiusdem elucidationes in Acta apostolorum* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1575), p. 354.

Sed nec gustus amarior Herbarum atque inulae aut tardior intybi, Heic desit sapor, a quibus Nemo, immunis erit morsibus, interest Primum agnoscere qualia Dum servi fuimus pertulimus gravis, Vitae incommoda, quae bonus In iucunda Deus commoda verterit. (31–38)	And let not the rather bitter taste Of herbs and elecampane or the later taste of endive Be absent here; no-one will be free From its mouthfuls; it is important First to know what troubles of a heavy life We bore while burdened slaves, Which the good God Transformed into happy advantages.

This interpretation is not to be found in the Pentateuch itself, but in other Jewish texts such as the Passover Haggadah: 'Because the Egyptians embittered the lives of our ancestors in Egypt'.[267] This is evidence of Arias Montano's belief that some of the more obscure Jewish rituals could be best explained by Jewish authorities, and therefore be of service to Christian scholars looking to understand the laws instituted by God himself.

Furthermore, as was the case in the poems on the reception of the Law, the poetic voice of this poem expresses the perspective of the Israelites: Arias Montano writes that 'we bore' ('pertulimus', 36) the difficulties of slavery. (Likewise, in poem III.7, 'Pontificis legitimi initiatio', Arias Montano also refers to God who 'snatched us from oppressive slavery and the perpetual yoke', 'nos eripuit gravi […] seruitio perpetuo ac iugo', 18–19.) By adopting this poetic voice, Arias Montano appears sympathetic to the Jewish tradition, and emphasises the role of the Israelites as first-hand witnesses of miracles performed by God. As in the poems on the reception of the Law, in those on ceremonial ritual Arias Montano also sometimes heightens this immediacy through the use of apostrophising questions: in poem III.13, 'Quinquagesimae diei publica laetitia et professio', he asks the reader 'do you see?' ('Cernis?', 17). The same incredulous questioning, as well as deictic descriptions, can

[267] *JPS Commentary on the Haggadah: Historical Introduction, Translation, and Commentary*, ed. and trans. by Joseph Tabory (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 2008), p. 100.

be found in poem III.6, ‘De tentoria vagi materia et causa’, which wonders at the splendour of the Tabernacle:

Quae manus artificis, quae tanta industria pulcrum Maturauit opus mediis in Desertis Arabum tesquis? ubi nulla calente Sub Sole harum est copia rerum. Unde aurum, gemmae, argentum, variataque Sethim Ligna hominum referentia formas? Heic et purpureum est iterato murice vellus, Est puri lana aemula caeli. Et nive candidius linum est, atque horrida taxi Imbribus arcendis bona pellis; Contextusque caprae telarum pilus in usum; Heic aries rubra tergora praebet. (1–12)	What artist’s hand, what great industry Brought to fruition this beautiful work In the middle of the deserted Arabian wastelands? In that place there is no plentiful supply of such things Beneath the burning Sun. Whence came the gold, jewels, silver and varied setim wood Bearing the forms of men?[268] And here is a purple fleece with repeated murex-dye, Here is wool emulous of the pure sky. Here is linen whiter than snow, and the bristling skin of the badger,[269] Good for keeping off rain; And woven goat-hair for use at the loom; Here the ram offers its ruddy back.

The structure of this poem also demonstrates Arias Montano’s commitment to following the letter of the Law as portrayed in Exodus, since he goes over the materials used to build the Tabernacle later in the poem:

Dura quibus vis gemmarum lapidumque secundos Sulcos exhibuit docilesque. Et quidquid seu lana valet, seu fingere linum, Seu corium pili atque caprini, et Quem medicata potest species miscere colorem Cuncta viris cessere duobus. (79–84)	The hard strength of gems and stones Exhibited happy and easy furrows for them. And whatever wool or linen can fashion, Or the hide and hair of goats, And whatever colour the dyed appearance can mix, All these things yielded to the two men.

[268] The reference to the ‘forms of men’ is explained in Arias Montano’s treatise on the Tabernacle: ‘singulis asseribus binae bases adscriptae, ita ut asser velut humanam staturam longa veste indutam’, *Exemplar, sive de sacris fabricis liber*, in the the *Apparatus* to Antwerp Polyglot, [VII] (1572), p. 10, col. 2.

[269] This interpretation of the Hebrew word תַּחַשׁ is first used by Luther in his 1534 translation. See Benjamin J. Noonan, ‘Hide or Hue? Defining Hebrew תַּחַשׁ’, *Biblica*, 93:4 (2012), p. 582.

This imitates the repetition of material about the Tabernacle in Exodus 25–31 and 35–39. Once again, Arias Montano emphasises that even though these dense descriptions can seem impenetrable, they are full of arcane *figurae* and therefore worthy of veneration:

At sese demittit in haec, ut Nos sibi conciliet, doceat nos, instruat istis Parvos erudiatque figuris, Mentibus ac teneris sapiendi incendat amorem, Secum sidera et alta petendi Ut iam poeniteatque soli terraeque iacentis In tenebris hanc vivere vitam. (40–46)	But he sends himself down to these things, So that he can reconcile us to him, and teach us, And instruct and educate us in our smallness with these figures, And incite love of knowing in our tender minds, And of seeking the high stars with him, So that we might regret living this life lying In the shadows of the ground and earth.

Another example of Arias Montano's Hebraist stance on Mosaic law appears in the poem III.14, 'De solenni buccinae sonitu et monitu', in its description of the sounding of the *shofar*:

scilicet omnibus Puris prima canens insonet auribus Et certis numeris concava buccina. Iam lentos geminet, iam properet modos. Delectus pecoris lanigeri pater His robur capitis nutriat usibus. (17–22)	Of course, Let the hollow trumpet with its fixed measures First sound its song to all pure ears. Now let it slow and double, now hurry the strains. Let the chosen father of the wool-bearing flock Nourish their strength by these uses of his head.

The references to the 'fixed measures' ('certis numeris', 19) and to both slow and fast sounds (20) refer to the prescribed blasts of the trumpet, that is, the *teki'ah* or single long blast, and *teru'ah* or string of short blasts. Once again, this is detailed not in

the Pentateuch, but in the Talmud: 'Why do we sound a teki'ah and teru'ah sitting and then again sound a teki'ah and teru'ah standing? – It is so as to confuse the Accuser.'[270]

Likewise, the specification that the *shofar* must be a ram's horn ('the father of the wool-bearing flock', 'pecoris lanigeri pater', 21) comes from the rabbinical sources. Particularly striking here is the reference to the ram as the father ('pater') of the flock. The association of the ram with fatherhood may reflect one of the justifications which the Talmud gives for the reason the *shofar* should be made of a ram's horn: 'The Holy One, blessed be He, said: Sound before Me a ram's horn so that I may remember on your behalf the binding of Isaac the son of Abraham, and account it to you as if you had bound yourselves before Me.'[271] As we will see, Arias Montano was particularly interested in the figure of Abraham and his willingness to give up his son, so it may not be too far a stretch to see an oblique allusion to this interpretation.

Another particularly illustrative example of Arias Montano's Hebraist stance on Mosaic ceremonial law, combining the existing symbolism of Jewish ritual and the innovations of his poetic voice, occurs in the poem 'De solenni umbrarum pompa' on the Feast of Tabernacles. In this poem, Arias Montano describes the four species which are tied together and waved at the festival:

Nemo non albae teneraeque palmae Lulebum gestet, salicisque rubrum Termitem longis foliis virentem, Qualibus imae 48	Let each man wield the lulav of the white And tender palm, and the ruddy bough of the willow Green with long leaves, The kind of crowns with which
Cingitur vallis fluvius coronis, Seque velantes viridesque myrtos Addat, et norit bene comparatos	The river of the lowest valley is wreathed, And let him add the green myrtle which covers itself [i.e. with leaves],

[270] *b. Roš. Haš.* 16a–16b. The translations I am using are Epstein, Isidore (ed.), *Hebrew-English Edition of the Babylonian Talmud* / תלמוד בבלי: עם פירוש רש״י ותוספות ובצירוף תרגום ופירוש והערות באנגלית, 30 vols (London: Soncino Press, 1960–1994); *The Jerusalem Talmud. Second order, Mo'ed. Tractates Pesaḥim and Yoma*, trans. by Heinrich W. Guggenheimer (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013). Abbreviations follow 'Instructions for Contributors', *JETS*, 20:1 (1977), 63–64.
[271] *b. Roš. Haš.* 16a.

Iungere ramos. 52	And know how to join The well-matched branches.
Dextera arcanum manus una fascem Ter ferens caelo moveat: malis at Poma venenis inimica constans Laeua tenebit. 56	Let the right hand carrying the mystic bundle Move it thrice to Heaven; But the constant left hand will hold the fruits Inimical to wicked poison.

The terms given for these species in Leviticus 23:40 are 'fruit of a beautiful tree', 'branches of palm trees', 'boughs of leafy trees' and 'willows of the brook'. The Talmud identifies the four species as citron (*etrog*), ceremonial palm frond (*lulav*), myrtle (*hadas*) and willow (*ʿarava*). (It should be noted that the term *lulav* can also refer to the three latter species when bound together.) Arias Montano is clearly adhering to the Talmud here, since he uses the word 'Lulebum' (46) and myrtle ('myrtos', 50). His reference to knowing how to join the branches (51–52) may allude to the Talmudic injunctions on how the *lulav* can be bound.[272]

When describing the *etrog*, Arias Montano writes:

Cordis humani teretem rotundum et Turbinem felix imitatus, aurique Aemulus fructus, bene et efficaci Gratus odore. (57–60)	The fertile fruit which imitates The smooth and round curling of the human heart, And is the rival of gold, and well pleasing With its efficacious odour.

The symbolic meanings for the *etrog* in this stanza can be found in various rabbinical texts. One of the interpretations given in Leviticus Rabbah is that the four species represent different kinds of Jews: the *etrog* has both a good taste and fragrance, symbolizing those who have both Torah and good deeds; the *lulav* has taste but not fragrance, symbolizing those who study Torah but do not possess good deeds; the *hadas* has fragrance but no taste, symbolizing those who possess good deeds but do

[272] *b. Sukk.* 36b.

not study Torah; and the *ʿarava* has neither taste nor smell, symbolizing those who have neither Torah nor good deeds.[273] The description of the smell as *efficax* recalls this interpretation. In the thirteenth-century text *Sefer ha-Ḥinnukh*, the four species symbolize different parts of the body: the *lulav* symbolizes the spine, the *hadas* the eye, the *ʿarava* the mouth and the *etrog* the heart, the image also used by Arias Montano.[274] However, he increases the poetic texture of the stanza with a simile likening it to gold, referring both to its yellow colour and its value in the ceremony. (Arias Montano also uses the formula *aemula* + *genitive* to add a simile in the poem on the Tabernacle, where he writes that 'the wool is the rival of the pure heavens', 'Est puri lana aemula caeli', 8).

Another example of Arias Montano's use of rabbinic sources in his depiction of biblical festivals can be seen in various poems on the Festival of Weeks, most notably III.13 ('Quinquagesimae diei publica laetitia et professio') and the opening cycle of Book Five, which is entitled 'Pentecostes' (not the Catholic Pentecost, but the Hellenized term for the Festival of Weeks) and made up of four poems.[275] Significantly, Arias Montano emphasises the importance of resting on this day: 'Nunc ergo requiescat ager, requiescat et omnis | Exercet Dominus quem, propriusue labor' ('Now let the fields rest, | and everyone whom the Lord or his own labour puts to work', 5–6).

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[273] *Lev. Rab.* 30.12. The translation I am using is *The Midrash Rabbah*, ed. and trans. by Maurice Simon and H. Freedman, 5 vols (London: Soncino, 1977).

[274] *Sefer ha-Ḥinnukh*, Charles Ber Chavel, (שעוועל, חיים דב), ספר החינוך יוצא לאור על פי הדפוס הראשון ויניציאה רפ"ג *Sefer ha-ḥinnuk̲ yoẓeʾ la-or ʿal pi ha-defus ha-rišon Ṿeneẓiʾa 283*, rev. 5th edn (Jerusalem: Mossad ha-Rav Quq, 1960), *miẓva* 285.23 מצות נטילת לולב, p. 364, ll. 26–30.

[275] Dávila Pérez asserts that the cycle (*Secula* V. 1–4) describes both the Festival of Weeks and Passover. This is presumably due to the account of the Exodus in *Secula* V.2. However, the cycle is clearly entitled 'Pentecostes' and makes a single unit. The inspiration for *Secula* V.2 is most likely the prescription for celebrating the Festival of Weeks in Deuteronomy, which closes with the injunction: 'Remember that you were slaves in Egypt, and follow carefully these decrees' (Deuteronomy 16:12). This is confirmed by lines V.2.21–23, 'Ipse hodieque Deus mandat memorare, quid olim | Nos fuimus, nostri quidve fuere patres, | Cum duris ferro vincti servire tyrannis', 'and today God Himself commands us to remember | What we once where, and what our fathers were, | When we were bound with iron to be slaves to hard tyrants'. See Antonio Dávila Pérez, 'El libro V de los *SECVLA* de Benito Arias Montano: acercamiento a su fondo religioso', *Revista de estudios extremeños*, 52:3 (1996), 1046.

However, the Bible does not explicitly prescribe rest on the Festival of Weeks, as it does for the Festival of Tabernacles (Numbers 29:12) and Passover (Numbers 28:18; Deuteronomy 16:8). Significantly, it is the Talmud which justifies the need for Shavuot to be a day of rest and celebration too: 'R. Eleazar said: All agree in respect to the Feast of Weeks […] that we require [it to be] "for you" too. What is the reason? It is the day on which the Torah was given.'[276]

Secondly, both in *Secula* III and *Secula* V, Arias Montano emphasises that the Festival commemorates the giving of the Torah to Moses:

Post haec maius opus dicere candidum Solem, qui meminit legiferum senem Viventis reducem e colloquio Dei Sanis artubus integrum.	After this, the greater task is to tell of the shining Sun, which reminds us of the Law-bringing old man, come back from his conversation with the Living God Whole and with healthy limbs.
Illum dena quater lux licet edito Fumantum tenuit culmine montium, Ieiunum tamen haud imminuit fames, Longus vel domuit labor.	Although the fortieth day held him On the tall peak of the smoking mountains, Still hunger did not diminish him as he fasted, Or the long labour overcome him.
Quin clara rediit fronte micantior Et vultu et nivea canitie gravis, Humanaque senex iam vice pulchrior, Et sanctus populo pavor.	Rather, he returned more shining with bright forehead and serious with shining white face and hair, An old man more beautiful than the human lot, And an object of holy fear for the people.
Ulnis nixa suis, iunctaque pectori Visus ferre pater splendida marmora, Formatum artificis tunc manibus Dei Incisum et digitis opus. (III.13.45–60)	The father was seen to carry the splendid marbles, Held in his arms and held close to his chest, The work formed by the hands of God the Craftsman and engraved with his fingers.
Ipse suas leges sancta et praecepta per annos Voce Sacerdotis commemoranda dedit. Quondam haec dumoso Moses in vertice Sinae Authore excepit composuitque Deo. (V.3.17–20)	He himself gave his laws and holy precepts To be remembered through the years by the voice of his priest. Moses once on the bushy summit of Sinai Received and assembled these with God as author.

[276] *b. Pesaḥ.*, 68b.

However, once again this does not appear in the Bible, but in rabbinical sources, such as in the aforementioned quotation from Pesachim, as well as in Exodus Rabbah, which refers to 'the feast of the harvest on which Torah was given unto Israel'.[277]

Occasionally, Arias Montano draws on rabbinical literature on ceremonial law, but adapts it where he sees it as being in conflict with the authority of the Bible. This can be seen in his description of the way the Passover *seder* is to be eaten in 'De Paschati ritu et causis':

Ad primas epulas cubet Nemo, consideat nemo, sed edito Cuncti sistite corpore, Et virgae teretes vel baculi alteram Caenantum subeant manum, Quae longum specie retulerint iter. (25–30)	Let no-one recline at the first meal, Let no-one sit, but let everyone Stand with an upright body, And let there be smooth rods or staffs In the other hand of those dining, Which by their appearance will call to mind the long journey.

The passage refers to the instruction that the Passover meal was to be eaten 'with your loins girded, your shoes on your feet, and your staff in your hand' (Exodus 12:11).

However, from the period of the Mishnah, the Passover was eaten reclining, as specified in one of the Four Questions of the Passover Haggadah: 'On all other nights we may eat either sitting or leaning; on this night we all eat only while leaning'.[278] In his *Elucidationes in quatuor evangelia,* Arias Montano attempts to resolve the discrepancy by explaining that there were two meals, that is, a symbolic one eaten standing and a festive one eaten reclining:

> Nam duplex illis coena illo die fuit: prior erat legalis significationis et ceremoniae causa instituta, in qua non saturabantur, non enim poterat saturare agnus tredecim viros, sed satis erat ut singuli aliquid de agno ederent. Haec celebrabatur a stantibus, more a lege praescripto. Post hanc coenam coenabatur etiam adhibitis aliis epulis, ut quisque pro facultate et ratione festi poterat.

[277] *Exod. Rab*. 31.16.
[278] *Commentary on the Haggadah*, p. 83.

> For the dinner was a double one on that day: the first was instituted for the sake of the meaning of the law and ceremony, in which they were not filled up, for a lamb could not fill thirty men, but was enough so that each could eat a bit of the lamb. This one was celebrated standing, in the way prescribed by law. After this dinner they dined with other courses added, so that each person could [dine] according to the faculty and reason of the feast.[279]

This explains Arias Montano's reference in line 25 to the 'primas' or 'first' meal. The idea of two meals being needed is found in the Mishnah although, curiously, the Mishnah specifies that the festival meal should be eaten first and the ritual one with the Paschal lamb second. The Babylonian Talmud explains that this is so that the Passover is eaten after the appetite is already satisfied, and the Jerusalem Talmud explains that this avoids the risk of breaking the prohibition of breaking a bone of the lamb.[280] Incidentally, Arias Montano's confusion on this point can help put to rest the theories of crypto-Judaism which sometimes appear in scholarship.[281]

Descriptions of Jewish ceremonial rites are rare in the earlier poetry of *HSM*. However, it is worth briefly discussing Arias Montano's treatment of circumcision in Ode XXXIX. Gómez Canseco argues that Arias Montano's emphasis on Christ's fulfilling of Jewish ceremonial law in being circumcised is a key reason for his views on the relevance of the Mosaic Law to Christians.[282] However, I would like to nuance this interpretation by discussing Arias Montano's depiction of the act of circumcision.

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[279] *Elucidationes in quatuor evangelia,* p. 95. Even today there is confusion about whether Last Supper was a Passover *seder* at all, since John's Gospel relates that Christ died on Passover preparation day (John 19:14). However, Arias Montano does not comment on this passage in John and reaffirms the connection to the Passover *seder* in his comments on the other synoptic Gospels (*Elucidationes in quatuor evangelia*, pp. 164, 262).

[280] *b. Pesaḥ*., 70a; *y. Pesaḥ*., 6.5.

[281] Testimonies often cited were some verses by Lope de Vega and Arias Montano's aversion to pork; these are rebutted in Ángel Alcalá, 'Tres notas sobre Arias Montano: Marranismo, familismo, nicodemismo', *Cuadernos Hispano-americanos,* 296 (1975), 349–57. The question of Arias Montano's *converso* origins is thornier. Scholars arguing against it include Sáenz-Badillos; more recently, Rafael Caso Amador has demonstrated that the Arias clan had *converso* origins (Rafael Caso Amador, 'El origen judeoconverso del humanista Benito Arias Montano', *Revista de estudios extremeños,* 71 (2015), 1665–1712).

[282] Gómez Canseco, 'Lecturas del Pentateuco', p. 42.

Once again, Arias Montano's attitude to ceremonial law here is ambiguous; this can be seen the graphic references to blood in the poem:

Ergo sponte venis praescius, et cupis Rivos purpurei fundere sanguinis, Non ut civibus aethrae Nomen connumeres tuum, […] Ast ut propositis legibus audiens, Servi munere functus Adscribas homines polo. (9–16)	Therefore, of your own will and foreknowing you come, And want to pour out rivers of purple blood, Not so that you might count your name Among the dwellers of heaven […] But so that obeying the established laws, Performing the role of a slave, You might appoint men to Heaven.

On one hand, this could suggest a typical early modern Christian attitude towards circumcision, which saw it as a barbaric practice and often used it as evidence of other atrocities allegedly committed by Jews.[283] However, it diverges from the Thomist view of the Jewish rite as a prefiguration of Christianity by omitting Aquinas's explanation of circumcision as prefiguration of baptism (ST IIIa q. 70 art. 1). Nonetheless, the reference to pouring out streams of blood in line 10 evokes John 19:34 ('But one of the soldiers with a spear opened his side, and immediately there came out blood and water'), and therefore may be interpreted as a prefiguration of the Crucifixion. Therefore, Arias Montano's description may contain simultaneously a rejection of the Thomist view of circumcision as a prefiguration of baptism, an expression of the Christian horror at the custom, and a typological reading of it.

In short, in his poetry Arias Montano displays an ambivalent attitude towards Mosaic ceremonial law, and a more controversial stance than in his prose works. In some cases, especially in those with Christological implications, he adheres to the Thomist view of Mosaic ceremonial law as a prefiguration of the New Law. However, in other cases, he diverges from this stance and depicts Mosaic ritual as a series of

[283] For more on this, see Yaacov Deutsch, 'Admit Him into the Covenant of Abraham? Circumcision and other Birth Rituals', in *Judaism in Christian Eyes: Ethnographic Descriptions of Jews and Judaism in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 122–74.

mystic images in their own right, and not merely as shadows of the New Law. These poems are made even more controversial by the fact that Arias Montano's poetic voice is often that of the Israelites, and by the fact that he does not limit himself to the description of these rituals given in the Pentateuch, but incorporates material from other Jewish sources.

The Scribes of the New Testament

We have seen how, in some cases, Arias Montano had recourse to rabbinical writings as a means of understanding Jewish rituals, and therefore the words of God as transmitted in the Old Testament, more deeply. However, many tenets of the Jewish faith, particularly its rejection of Christ as the Messiah, were fiercely attacked by the Church. Therefore, in *Oriens* we see a very different presentation of Jewish erudition in Arias Montano's portrayal of the Jewish scribes contemporary to Jesus and their teachings. One particularly illustrative example is VI.4, 'Iesus praeceptor unicus'. This poem opens:

Non unus Solymis et populo Israel
Doctor contigerat tempore, quo vafer
Herodes variis templa refecerat
Saxis, assere et aureo. 4

Arcano solitus multa volumine
Signare, et minimis doctus acutius
De rebus penitus disserere arduas
Normas scriba frequens erat. 8

Illinc Hilelitum cuncta notantium
Legis verba suis undique terminis,
Hinc laxare sciens arcta licentius
Certat Samaiae domus. 12

Nullis non plateis, omnibus in foris
Doctores videas tristi habitu graveis,
Longa et pollicitos veste severius
Quicquam ac legitimum prius. 16

Many a teacher came to Jerusalem and the people of Israel
In the time when cunning Herod
Repaired the temple with various stones,
And golden beams.

The scribe, accustomed to mark many things
In a mystic volume, and learned in rather pointedly
Arguing for difficult rules about small things,
Was common.

There was the house of Hillel noting all the words of the Law with their terms,
Here the house of Shammai competes using its knowledge
To untie and make looser what is tight.

You would see in all streets, all squares,
Serious teachers in serious garb,
And promising by their long robes

	Something more severe and following the law.
Urbes, rura, et agri, cunctaque compita Fervent discipulis alta scientium, Qui voce ac precibus multa loquacibus Caeli solicitant fores. 20	The cities, country and fields, and all crossroads Seethe with the disciples of those knowing deep things, Who with their voice and verbose prayers Trouble the doors of Heaven.
Discretis varia et per loca coetibus Moses et veterum oracula personant Vatum, et carmina, quae patriae pater Dauid concinuit pius. 24	And in these crowds separated in various places, Moses and the oracles of the ancient prophets Resound, and the songs Which pious David, father of his country, sang.
At vox missa Deo, quam sterile et solum, Et testantur agri, fluminis ac sacrae Ripae, audita notat cum populo patres, Legis proditae et arguit. 28	But the voice sent from God, which the sterile ground And the fields and the sacred banks of the river witness, Is heard and condemns the fathers and the people, And proves that they have betrayed the Law.

Here, Jewish scribes are depicted not as seeking true knowledge, but as engaging in sophistry ('learned in rather pointedly arguing for difficult rules about small things', 'minimis doctus acutius | De rebus penitus disserere arduas | normas', 6–8) and hypocritically demanding reverence for their apparent knowledge by outward signs such as their clothing (13–16). Arias Montano portrays them bickering amongst themselves, as demonstrated by the reference to the houses of Hillel and Shammai in the third stanza. This is typical of the development of Christian Hebraism as Hebraists became more familiar with halachic texts (that is, those relating to Jewish jurisprudence) in the confessional period.[284] As Manuel explains,

> By the seventeenth century, a number of Jewish works were recognized by Christians as compendia of rules of religious conduct; all of life among the Jews appeared to ordinary Christians to be a succession of ritual acts.[285]

[284] Burnett, *Christian Hebraism*, pp. 108–37.
[285] Frank E. Manuel, *The Broken Staff: Judaism through Christian Eyes* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1992), p. 57.

However, as Manuel goes on to point out, although Christian scholars liked to portray Jewish scholarship as empty ceremony, they were increasingly aware that disputes between sects were relevant to their own understanding of the Gospel.[286] Arias Montano himself had referred to the disagreement between Hillel and Shammai about the grounds for divorce when explaining the context of the question put to Jesus by the Pharisees in Matthew 19.[287] Therefore, anyone familiar with Arias Montano's works would pick up on the irony of his criticism here.

Arias Montano then contrasts the scholarship of the scribes to the voice of John proclaiming the coming of Christ, the New Law (28). He proceeds to introduce John the Baptist's mission, before giving him a passage of direct speech:

Nec sese ipse negat, nempe minoribus Accessisse operis: Nam digito indicat Agnum, qui veniens hostia publica Pro cunctis litet unicus. 48	Nor does he deny that he himself Has come with smaller deeds: For with his finger he points out the Lamb, Who alone comes as a public sacrifice to obtain favour for all.
Non hunc ambitio, non proprius facit (Aiebat) populo sistere sese honor: Sed magni vehemens obsequium Patris, Humani generisque amor. 52	"It is not ambition or his own honour", He said, "which makes him bring himself to the people, But eager obedience to the great Father, and love of the human race.
Quin ultro ipse hominum se similem mihi Nuper praetulerat, tum quoque tingier Puro cumque aliis flumine postulat, Queis sese adnumerat volens. 56	Indeed, he of his own accord had recently presented himself as a man like me, And asked also to be bathed In the pure river with the others, Among which he willingly counts himself.
Cuius iam ex utero constiterat mihi Virtus nota viri, non tamen omnia, Quae praestare valet, munia noveram, Donec me docuit Deus. 60	That man's virtue was already known to me From the womb, but I didn't know all the gifts Which he would provide, Until God taught me.
Nam dum victus ego cedo modestiae Exemplo eximio, membraque candida Claro fonte lavo, fluminis insolens Gaudentis stupeo impetum. 64	When, overcome, I yield to the excellent example Of his modesty, and wash his white limbs

[286] Manuel, pp. 57–58.
[287] *Elucidationes in quatuor Evangelia*, p. 63.

Vix inde ille madens prodierat, fores
Cum sanctus reserat Spiritus aetheris,
Atque alis veniens ipse nitentibus
Huius vertice considet. 68

Qualem diluvii conscia vindicis
Arca excepit avem carpere termites
Frondis pacificae ferreque compotem,
Talis numinis illius 72

Visa est forma mihi. Tunc didici modos
Et mite ingenium, pectus et integrum,
Virtutemque animumque et studium Ducis
Terris quem Deus annuit. 76

Pacis perpetuae Pontificem optimum,
Doctoremque hominum: Nam subito auribus
Nostris (quam tenuit quisquis et astitit)
Vox alto aethere personat.

"CONSTAS ESQUE MIHI FILIUS UNICVS
Dilectusque Patri, quidquid agis, places:
Solus carus item nostrum animum tenes,
Solus consilium efficis." 80

Qua tunc voce poli motus amabili
Axis contremuit laetitiae sono,
Et sol multiplici lumine pulchrior
Quam quarto enituit die. 84

In the clear stream, I am unaccustomedly dumbstruck
At the impetus of the joyful river.

Scarcely had he come forward, soaked,
When the Holy Spirit unlocked the doors of the highest heaven,
And coming himself on shining wings,
Alights on his head.

Just like the ark, aware of the avenging Flood,
Received such a bird on board as it plucked branches
Of peace-bringing leaves and was able to bring them back, such was the form I saw

Of his divinity. Then I learned the manners
Of his gentle mind, and honest heart,
And his virtue and spirit and zeal for the Leader
Of whom God had approved on earth.

The excellent High Priest of perpetual peace,
And the teacher of men: for suddenly
In our ears (as anyone who stood near also heard)
A voice resounded from the high aether:

"YOU STAND THERE AND ARE MY ONLY SON,
Beloved by the Father; whatever you do, you are pleasing;
You alone are dear and hold our heart;
You alone carry out our design."

By this loving voice, the axis of Heaven was moved
And trembled with the sound of happiness,
And the sun with multiple light shone more beautifully
Than on the fourth day [of Creation]."

In order to understand the significance of this passage, we must first determine which Gospel account it uses as its principal source. Several factors tell us that it is based on the Johannine account, such as the recording of John's account of the descent of the Holy Spirit (John 1:32–34) and the reference to Christ as the Lamb (John 1:29). However, most importantly, John's account also records John's statement that he did

not know Christ before, but came to know him thanks to the divine revelation of the dove (John 1:31–34). Arias Montano seems to have been interested in this passage and its implications about the nature of John's knowledge of the Messiah. In his *Elucidationes in quatuor evangelia*, he glosses the Baptist's words extensively:

> Non noveram illum illa cognitione revelationis, quam nunc habeo. Nemo enim potest virtutem Christo adscriptam alicui tribuere, nisi a Deo instructus. Et antequam hoc testimonium a Deo haberem, missus sum ad munus baptismi et praedicationis poenitentiae, ut testarer illum expectatum esse iam inter Israelitas, et suo tempore indicarem, ubi ego ex Dei testimonio et auctoritate cognovissem, namque meum testimonium instruendum erat Dei auctoritate.[288]
>
> I did not previously know him by the knowledge of revelation, which I now have. For no-one can attribute the virtue ascribed to Christ to anyone unless he has been instructed by God. And before I had this testimony from God, I was sent to perform the duty of baptising and preaching repentance, and to witness to the fact that the awaited one was already among the Israelites, and so that I should show him in his time, when I should know him by God's testimony and authority, for my testimony was to be made ready by the authority of God.

This helps to illuminate the underlying coherence of the poem. On a first reading, it seems to be made up of two unrelated sections: the state of scholarship in Israel and the baptism of Christ. However, Arias Montano brings these sections together through the theme of knowledge and truth. The learning of the scribes is portrayed as empty, whereas the knowledge of John is directly revealed to him by God and, crucially, pertains to the Messiah not recognised by the Jewish scholars.

In other poems, it is Christ who is contrasted to the scribes. One idea which frequently recurs in Arias Montano's works is the idea of Christ as the true teacher.[289] In fact, during the inquisitorial trial of José de Sigüenza, Arias Montano was reported to

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[288] *Elucidationes in quatuor evangelia*, p. 280. A similar gloss occurs on Matthew 6: 'Noverat Iohannes Iesum ex utero matris ex parentum narrationibus, ut res ipsa docet: sed nondum acceperat testimonium a Deo, ut illum indicaret' ('John knew Jesus from the womb of his other from the relations of his parents, as the matter shows: but he had not yet received evidence from God, which should point him out'), *Elucidationes in quatuor evangelia*, p. 6.

[289] For this idea in Arias Montano's *Dictatum Christianum*, see Jesús Luis Paradinas Fuentes, 'Estudio introductorio', in Pedro de Valencia, *Obras completas, vol. IX, 2. Escritos espirituales. La lección cristiana de Arias Montano*, ed. by Antonio María Martín Rodríguez, Colección humanistas españoles, 24 (León: Universidad de León, 2002), pp. 72–73. Of course, this idea has a scriptural basis; for Arias Montano's commentary, see *Elucidationes in quatuor evangelia*, p. 80.

have said ‘No me llame vuestra merced doctor ni maestro, que solo un doctor y maestro temenos en el cielo’.[290] This theme can also be seen in *Oriens*. For example, poem VI.10 ‘Nazareni praeceptoris doctrinae examen’ begins:

Mira et auditu, et nimium remota
Verba vulgatis nova disciplinis
Personas, doctor, penetrant quae in altum
Pectoris antrum. 4

Semper horrendum (fateor) minacis
Legis audire imperium solebam,
Multa praeceptis elementa parvis,
Multaque magnis. 8

Haec mihi magnis numeris modisque
Saepe partitus metuenda monstrat,
Quem colo, certis venerorque donis,
Scriba magister, 12

Is grave et pondus docet et labores,
Atque mandati innumeras catervas,
Nec manum lasso tamen aut cadenti
Porrigit idem. 16

Nec valet, quanquam potiore veste
Me potest crispa et superare fronte:
Cuius haud nostris leviore flamma
Viscera fervent. 20

Dictat obscuris mihi longa verbis
Crimini ut poscam veniam precator,
Mille peccandique vias pererrans
Indicat idem. 24

Nil opis praestans geminat tremorem,
Meque vel veri dubium relinquit,
Vel mage obscuro magis et soluto
Corde paventem. 28

Regna tu nunquam ruitura dicis
Condita in caelis, Patris et repostas,
Quas, opes, ultro dabis impetrator
Divitiasque. 32

Liberam profers requiem; laboris

You announce new words, marvellous to hear,
And rather removed from the common disciplines,
Teacher, and they penetrate into the deep
Cave of the heart.

I confess, I used always to hear
The fearful command of the threatening Law,
And many elements in small injunctions
And in great.

The master scribe, whom I worship,
And venerate with certain gifts,
Often distributed these things to me in great numbers and ways,
And showed me they were to be feared.

He taught me the heavy weight and toils
And innumerable throngs of what is commanded,
And yet he did not stretch out his hand to me
When I was tired or failing.

Nor has he the strength, although he can surpass me
In better clothing and curls on his forehead;
His innards burn with a fire
Not less weighty than mine.

In obscure words he repeatedly makes me long speeches,
So that in prayer I might beg forgiveness for my crime,
And he shows and goes over a thousand ways of sinning.

Offering no help, he multiplies fear,
Or leaves me in doubt of the truth,
Or with a darker heart and one more dissolved,
In terror.

But you tell of kingdoms that will never collapse,

[290] Gregorio de Andrés, *Proceso inquisitorial del padre Sigüenza*, Documentos históricos, 5 (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1975), p. 174.

Et mali expertem, et potiora miro Pane, quem prisci stupuere quondam, Fercula, patres. 36	Founded in the heavens, and of The laid-up wealth and riches of the Father you will obtain And give of your own accord.
Quaeque vel totum semel haustae in aevum Iam sitim pellant, saturentque vivae Cordis e fundo salientis imo Fluminis undas. 40	You offer free rest which knows not cruel toil, And dishes to be preferred to the marvellous bread At which the ancient fathers Were once dumbstruck. Or the living [waters] which once drunk Can drive away thirst and satisfy forever The waves of the river springing From the lowest depths of the heart.
Denique aeterni dia dona regis, Quae Deo caros homines Deique Filios, fratres tibi sic volenti Sistere possint. 44	In short, the divine gifts of the eternal king, Which can make men dear to God And sons of God, and brothers to you If you wish it to be so.

Here, too, Arias Montano alludes to the fabled hypocrisy of the scribes by referring again to their dress (‘potiore veste’, 17). However, once again the main contrast is not between the Scribe’s words and his actions; rather, it is between the deliberate complexity of his teaching and the nurturing nature of Jesus’s. For example, Arias Montano emphasises the scribe’s multiplication of rules and classifications of sin with words conveying the idea of multitude: ‘multa […] multa’ (78); ‘magnis numeris modisque’ (9); ‘innumeras catervas’ (14); ‘longa’ (21); ‘mille […] vias’ (23); ‘geminat’ (25). The consequence of this is to cause doubt and obfuscate the truth (‘ueri dubium’, 26). Arias Montano also uses the theme of darkness to describe the doctrine of the scribe (‘obscuris’, 21; ‘mage obscuro’, 27).

Another image Arias Montano uses to describe the knowledge of the scribe is that of it being burdensome. The law as he teaches it is full of ‘grave [...] pondus’ and ‘labores’ (13) which make the student tired (‘lasso’, ‘cadenti’, 15). This idea has a scriptural basis, and Arias Montano discusses it in his gloss on the phrase ‘oneratis homines’ in Luke 11:46: ‘Usus est verbo ipsorum proprio. Nam praecepta et instituta ab

illis vocantur TARHA: id est, onus, lassitudo et labor', ('He used their own word. For they call precepts and rules TARHA, that is, a burden, weariness, and labour').[291] This is contrasted to the doctrine of Jesus, which brings rest free from cruel toil ('Liberam […] requiem; laboris | Et mali expertem', 33–34).

Arias Montano then begins to describe acts of Jesus which demonstrate his doctrine of grace, in contrast to the severe written Law. This begins with Christ's ultimate salvific act, the giving of himself in the Eucharist. Significantly, Arias Montano refers to the Eucharist as 'potiora miro | Pane, quem prisci stupuere quondam, | Fercula, patres', 'dishes to be preferred to the marvellous bread | At which the ancient fathers | Were once dumbstruck' (34–36). As in *HSM*, he refers to the manna in the desert as a prefiguration of the Eucharist and therefore emphasises the idea that the Old Testament and the Old Law is fulfilled in Christ. (Note also the use of the word 'fercula', which Arias Montano used to draw our attention to this connection in *HSM*).

The poem goes on to relate a catalogue of healing miracles performed by Jesus: the healing of the man blind from birth (61–64), deaf mute man (65–68), leper (69–72), and paralysed man (73–76); and the raising of young men and a girl (the son of the widow of Nain, Lazarus, and Jairus' daughter, 81–84).[292] The final stanza addresses Christ as 'true teacher, powerful by your works' ('Doctor […] verax, operis potens', 98), which recapitulates the theme of Christ's true teaching. It also makes explicit a further contrast between the doctrine of Christ and that of the Scribes: their teaching involves empty words, while Christ's involves deeds, and in particular acts of mercy. In

[291] *Elucidationes in quatuor evangelia*, p. 227.
[292] For the man blind from birth, John 9:1–12; for the deaf mute, Mark 7:31–37; for the leper, Matthew 8:1–4, Mark 1:40–45, Luke 5:12–16; for the paralysed man, Matthew 9:1–8, Mark 2:1–12, Luke 5:17–26; for the son of the widow of Nain, Luke 7:11–17; for Lazarus, John 11:1–44; for Jairus' daughter, Mark 5:21–43, Matthew 9:18–26, Luke 8:40–56.

short, throughout this poem Jewish learning is shown not only to be obscure and empty, but incomplete, because it does not accept the Law of grace and its mandates.

These ideas recur throughout *Oriens*. For example, in poem VI.15, 'Doctrina Iesu innocentia et securitas', Jesus' actions are also contrasted to those of the 'pompous Scribe' ('scriba inflatus', 58). Likewise, in VI.7, 'Pluvia voluntaria', the divine gifts of Christ and grace are described as superior to human learning and contrasted to the scribe:

Mortalis his nil vis feret ingeni Par, scriba cedat, quamlibet ardua Praecepta distinxisse acutus Audiat, eloquio et disertus. (120–24)	The strength of mortal intelligence will bear Nothing equal to these; let the scribe yield to them, However great his fame for sharply distinguishing difficult precepts, And for eloquence in speech.

However, the scribes in poems about the Old Testament are treated differently from those in poems about the New. For example, Arias Montano's description of Ezra the Scribe (*HSM* XXIX) is positive: he is 'beloved by Heaven and the heaven-dwellers' ('amabile | caeloque et superis [caput]', 3–4). The inclusion of a poem on this minor prophet has puzzled scholars. Alcina writes:

> Quizá Montano lo escoge por su carácter de escriba y sacerdote (como Montano) […]. ¿Quizá Montano se identifica también con Esdras por su colaboración, ya desde 1567, en la creación de un nuevo templo, el Escorial, y por la salvación del pueblo de Dios a través de la Biblia Políglota?[293]

However, I believe Arias Montano includes Ezra because his status as a learned Jew of the 'biblical' period allows his learning to be seen as a kind of piety palatable to a Christian audience. In fact, the distinction between 'biblical Judaism' and 'rabbinical

[293] Juan F. Alcina Rovira, 'Los *Humanae salutis monumenta* de Benito Arias Montano', in *Anatomía del humanismo: Benito Arias Montano, 1598–1998. Homenaje al profesor Melquiades Andrés Martín. Actas del Simposio Internacional celebrado en la Universidad de Huelva del 4 al 6 del noviembre de 1998*, ed. by Luis Gómez Canseco, (Huelva: Universidad de Huelva, 1998), p. 123.

Judaism' and the criticism of the latter began as early as the thirteenth century.[294] It remained typical of Christian Hebraism; as Burnett writes,

> Nearly all of these [ethnographic] books drew an explicit contrast between so-called biblical Judaism and the degenerate rabbinical Judaism of their contemporaries. The Jews were not good people who "strictly and zealously" obeyed the law of Moses. Instead, they obeyed the teachings of the rabbis, who had altered the Mosaic law at many points, introduced many of their own innovations, and "scandalously" misinterpreted the word of God.[295]

In contrast to the New Testament scribes, Arias Montano draws attention to Ezra's fidelity to the precepts of the written Law by referring to his chastisement of the Israelites for breaking Mosaic law by intermarrying with other peoples (Ezra 9:1–10:17):

Infamata malis secula nuptiis Admissumque nefas moribus expias, Antiquasque iubes discere, et asseris Leges, et patrium decus. (25–28)	You expiate the ages disgraced by wicked marriage And the wickedness committed by customs, And you order them to learn the old laws and assert them, And their ancestral honour.

Once again, this demonstrates the paradoxical attitude of Christians towards Hebrew scholarship: while, to a Christian, a New Testament scribe can only ever be a hypocrite, an Old Testament scribe can be an example of virtue.

Conclusion

Sixteenth-century Christian Hebraism trod a fine line between the pious aim of seeking divine truth in the language of the Holy Spirit and the dangerous possibility of relying too much on heretical rabbinical authors. In his poetry on the Old Testament, Arias Montano displays a striking degree of familiarity with rabbinical sources, and his use of them suggests his conviction that Jewish sources could contain explanations of

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[294] See Jeremy Cohen, *The Friars and the Jews: The Evolution of Medieval Anti-Judaism* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1982), passim, esp. pp. 68-69.
[295] Stephen G. Burnett, 'Distorted Mirrors: Anthonius Margaritha, Johann Buxtorff and Christian Ethnographies of the Jews', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 25 (1994), 277.

various precepts of the Mosaic Law (and therefore the word of God) to which Christians would otherwise not have access. Arias Montano's poems on ceremonial law have largely gone unnoticed by scholars, even though they constitute a rare example of how Christian Hebraist studies were reflected in the literature of the Golden Age. However, the paradoxical nature of Christian Hebraism can be seen in the fact that the same poet who incorporates rabbinical learning into descriptions of Jewish festivals rejects the learning of New Testament scribes as obscure and empty. For Arias Montano, while Jewish authors can help to illuminate the truth, they are an incomplete source which can only be completed by the recognition of Christ as the Messiah and the acknowledgment that the Old Law has been superseded by the Law of Grace.

Chapter Five: A Biblical Discipline of History

The poems of both *HSM* and *Hymni et secula* have extensive chronological ranges: the former collection covers events from Creation to Judgment Day, and the latter events from before Creation to Pentecost. This suggests that in both collections Arias Montano is interested in the concept of history itself. In this chapter I argue that his view of historiography is in keeping with Renaissance ideas on history as a repository of *exempla*, and in particular of its special use in *mirrors for princes*. However, in keeping with his biblical humanism, Arias Montano develops a scriptural application for the discipline. I will show how 'biblical' theories of exemplarity and kingship emerge through his reflections on the selection and interpretation of sacred *exempla*.

During the Renaissance, humanist education placed a new emphasis on history as a discipline in its own right, rather than as a corollary of the medieval trivium.[296] One of the most important features of the new study of history was its ethical dimension. Humanist scholars frequently invoked Cicero's assertions that history was the 'magistra vitae' (Cic. *De or*. II.36) and 'plena exemplorum' (*De. Div.* I.50): a didactic tool and a repository of models of behaviour to be imitated or avoided.[297]

The concept of presenting examples of virtue and vice from the past as models for behaviour to be imitated or avoided had its roots in the Classical teaching of rhetoric and was widely adopted in the Renaissance. The most extensive treatment is to be

[296] Benjamin G. Kohl, 'Humanism and Education', in *Renaissance Humanism: Foundations, Forms and Legacy*, ed. by A. Rabil Jr., 3 vols (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988), III, 5–22.
[297] Myron P. Gilmore, 'The Renaissance Conception of the Lessons of History', in *Facets of the Renaissance*, ed. by Charles S. Singleton (Baltimore, Md.: John Hopkins University Press, 1967); Donald R. Kelley, 'Humanism and History', in *Renaissance Humanism*, ed. by A. Rabil Jr., III, 236–70. For an overview of this idea specifically in Renaissance Spain, see Concepción Cárceles Laborde, *Humanismo y educación en España 1450–1650* (Pamplona: Universidad de Navarra, 1993), pp. 363–73. For this idea among Antwerp intellectuals during Arias Montano's stay, see José Aragües Aldaz, *Deus concionator: mundo predicado y retórica del exemplum en los siglos de oro* (Zaragoza: Universidad de Zaragoza, 1999), p. 136, on the historian Viperanus.

found in Quintilian, who describes the *exemplum* as the calling to mind of an event which took place or is presented as if it took place ('rei gestae aut ut gestae'), and is useful in persuasion ('utilis ad persuadendum', Quint. *Inst.* V.11.6.).[298] The idea of *exempla* as being particularly useful in deliberative or persuasive oratory can also be found in Cicero, who writes that in exhortations, enumerations and examples of good and bad men are most powerful ('in cohortationibus autem bonorum et malorum enumerationes et exempla valent primum', Cic. *Part. or.* XVII. 58). Orators were encouraged to have a constant stock of examples to hand, which partly accounts for the popularity of compilations of *exempla* such as the *Facta et dicta memorabilia* of Valerius Maximus.[299]

Renaissance theorists encouraged students to compile *exempla* as well as adages, commonplaces and the like as part of their study of Classical texts. For example, Erasmus famously recommended that a text should be read four times: once to capture its general meaning ('universam sententiam'), once to look at individual words and grammar ('singula verba excutere incipies, ea duntaxat inquirens, quae ad grammaticam curam attinent'), once for rhetorical techniques ('quae ad artificium rhetoricum spectant'), and once for moral teaching ('quae ad philosophiam, maxime vero ethicen referri posse videantur').[300] Collections of *exempla* written by contemporary authors were also popular in the Renaissance, but increasingly *exempla* were defined as having to proceed exclusively from history (whereas Classical and medieval theory allowed

[298] The definition is repeated by Nebrija, *Artis rhetoricae compendiosa coaptatio, ex Aristotele, Cicerone et Quintiliano* (Alcalá: Eguía, 1529), fols. dviii^{v}–e^{r}.
[299] See Dorothy Schullian, 'Valerius Maximus', in *Catalogus translationum et commentariorum: Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin Translations and Commentaries: Annotated Lists and Guides*, ed. by Paul Oskar Kristeller and others, 9 vols (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1959-2011), v (1984), 287–403.
[300] *De conscribendis epistolis*, in *ASD*, I.2, ed. by J. C. Margolin and P. Mesnard (Amsterdam: Huygens instituut/Brill, 1971), pp. 496–98. For more on this, see Peter Mack, 'Rhetoric, ethics and reading in the Renaissance', *Renaissance Studies*, 19:1 (2005), 1–21.

them to be either true or probable), cementing the relationship between history and exemplarity.[301]

However, as with the other humanist disciplines in which he was skilled, Arias Montano believed that the study of history was best applied to the Bible. In his treatise *Daniel, siue de saeculis et chronologia* (1572), he even gives a technical reason for this, asserting that reliable chronological information can only be found in Scripture. He writes: 'at one time there was no nation in the whole earth which grasped the true account of ancient times, except Israel, which was of course informed by divine oracles' ('Atque adeo nulla olim in toto terrarum orbe natio fuit, excepta una Israelitica, divinis, nempe, oraculis edocta, quae veras antiquorum temporum rationes tenuerit, easque in medium protulerit').[302] He goes on to affirm the utility of this resource for the study of various disciplines, including that of history:

> quantumque illa ad verae philosophiae, caeterarumque omnium humaniorum disciplinarum intelligentiam conferat, et quid ex ea lucis ad historiarum cognitionem accedat, nulla, licet longa oratione aeque potest demonstrari, ac si eius a studioso lectore periculum fiat.[303]
>
> how much it can contribute to the understanding of true philosophy and all other humane disciplines, and what light it sheds on the understanding of history cannot be demonstrated as well with any speech, even a long one, as if the studious reader tests it for himself.

Since, for Arias Montano, the Bible is the only reliable source of historical chronology, then it is to be expected that he should apply the Renaissance theories of historiography and exemplarity to Scripture.

***Hymni et secula*: *exempla* from sacred history**

[301] Aragüés Aldaz, pp. 39–40.
[302] *Daniel, sive De saeculis codex integer*, in the *Apparatus* to Antwerp Polyglot, [VII] (1572), p. 4.
[303] *Daniel, sive de saeculis*, pp. 4–5.

The closest we have to a programmatic statement for Arias Montano's sacred historiography appears in the opening of the poem 'Commemoratio sanctorum ab Abrahamo usque ad Iosephum':

Nunc sacris clausi domibus furentis
Quando vitamus Boreae tumultum
Qui niues denso penitus volantes
Aethere spargit.

Neutiquam segnes decet aut inertes
Ad focos festum temerare tempus,
Sed choris vos o socii molestum
Pellite frigus.

Vos pedem certum ad numerum mouentes
Ludite o cari iuvenes, ego sed
Barbiton vobis feriens modos et
Tempora ducam.

Nec lyra tantum libet experiri,
Voce sed vestras choreas iuvabo,
Contigit quamquam tenuis[304] canenti
Parcite vati.

Caeteri quamvis meliore plectro
Personent, nostrum superentque carmen,
Qui vel heroas celebrant profana
Laude, viros vel:

Nostra sed certe[305] potior putanda est
Cura, quae sanctos memorare Patres
Tentat; exemplo recolenda quorum
Nomina tantum

Deprimunt quotquot cecinere Graii,
Quotquot et Vates etiam Latini
Arte et ornato retulere versu
Fingere prompti.

Illa gens vatum studio ac favori
Plurimae debet[306] monumenta laudis,
Hi sua incultum patientur acta
Ferre poëtam:

Now, enclosed in our sacred houses,
For a while we avoid the tumult of raging Boreas
Who sprinkles flying snow from deep within
The dense heaven.

It is not at all right for us to profane the feast
By being sluggish or lazy at the fire;
Rather, o companions, drive away the troublesome cold
With dances;

You, dear youths, be merry
And move your feet to the fixed pulse,
While I will play the lyre for you and provide
Measures and times.

And it pleases me not only to perform on the lyre,
But I will be happy to aid your dances with my voice,
Although you must be kind to the poet
As he happens to sing them out thinly.

Although others may resound with a better plectrum
And overcome my song,
Who celebrate heroes or men
With profane praise,

Our industry should surely be thought more powerful,
Since it aims to remember the holy patriarchs;
Their famous names are to be honoured for an example
Just as much as they overcome

Whatever the Greek poets sang,
And even the Roman ones retailed,
Experts at inventing and at versifying

[304] tenuis *A ante corr. M*: gracilis *post corr. M*
[305] certe M_1M_2: certi *A*
[306] debet *conieci*: debent AM_1M_2

Magna qui parvis numeris modisque Ingeni novit tenuare culpa, Addere indoctus levibus canendo Pondera rebus.	With art and adornment. That race owes monuments of great praise To the zeal and favour of its bards, While these men will suffer an uncultured poet To put forth their acts: Who with his faulty talent knows only how to diminish great things Into small measures and modes, And unskilfully adds weight to frivolous things By his singing.

Although Arias Montano protests his lack of ability (15–20), in fact throughout this exordium he is fashioning a poetic persona which first imitates and then competes with Horace. The wintery setting of the opening reminds us of Hor. *Carm.* I. 9, where the poet looks onto Mount Soracte, white with snow (I. 9. 1). There, the poet urges his interlocutor Thaliarchus to drive away the cold ('dissolve frigus', I. 9. 5) just like the speaker of this poem advises ('pellite frigus', 8). In both cases, the speaker is presented as an old man: here he encourages the youths ('iuvenes', 10) to dance while he will play; likewise, the speaker of I. 9 encourages his young companion to take part in dancing before the grey hair of old age comes (I.9.16–18). The specific contrast of young people dancing while the poet plays (9–12) can also be found in Hor. *Carm.* IV.6.31–36:

> virginum primae puerique claris
> patribus orti, […]
> Lesbium servate pedem meique
> pollicis ictum'. (IV.6.31–36)
>
> Noblest of maidens and sons
> of the noblest fathers, […]
> keep the beat of the Lesbian verse
> and follow my thumb's thrust.

Up to this point, Arias Montano's imitation of Horace seems purely formal; however, in the fifth stanza it becomes eristic. When in lines 19–20 Arias Montano

writes that other poets may write better poetry when they celebrate heroes or men (‘uel heroas celebrant […] viros vel’) he is evoking the opening of Hor. *Carm.* I. 12, where Horace asks his Muse what man or hero to celebrate (‘quem virum aut heroa […] celebrare’, I. 12. 1–2). This is significant because the same poem is famously Christianized by Fray Luis in his poem ‘A todos los santos’, where he renders the opening ‘¿Qué santo o qué gloriosa | virtud […] diremos [?]’ (1–5). Horace’s question to his Muse seems to have become an important way in which the Spanish biblical humanists programmatically declared their Christianized Horatianism.

In the sixth stanza, Arias Montano explains explicitly why his poetry outdoes the pagan Classics, even if (according to him) it is stylistically inferior: it contains the *exempla* of the Old Testament patriarchs, and thus surpasses the works of Greek and Roman poets (25–28). The rest of the poem will go on to eulogize and relate the stories of Abraham, Lot, Isaac, Jacob and Joseph. With the pre-eminence of his religious poetry now emphasized, Arias Montano takes up his eristic imitation of Horace again in lines 33–34 (‘**Magna** qui **parvis** numeris **modisque** | Ingeni novit **tenuare** culpa’). These lines allude to Hor. *Carm.* III.3.72 (‘magna modis tenuare parvis’), where after a long passage narrating Juno’s speech after the Trojan War, Horace chastises his Muse for relaying epic speeches of the gods (‘sermones deorum’) in small lyric measures (III.3.69–72). However, while Horace humorously and ironically claims to be unable to relay the words of the gods appropriately, Arias Montano seems to express Christian humility in his professed inability to convey adequately the actions of the holy men recorded in Scripture.

A biblical theory of *exempla*

One explicit reference to exemplarity occurs in the poem ‘De humanae virtutis inconstantia apud Noahhi sobolem’ (*Secula* II.4):

Constructa primi in perniciem viri	His workshop, built for the destruction of the first man
(Qui damna cunctis gentibus intulit)	(Who brought ruin to all peoples)
Noctes diesque accensa flammis	Is hot day and night,
Perpetuis calet officina.	Burning with perpetual flames.
Insomne pectus nequitiae parens	His unsleeping breast, begetter of wickedness,
Terrestre semper pulvere protrahit	Constantly produces an earthly creature from dust,
Caecasque rimatus latebras	And, spying out their dark hiding-places,
Cuncta malus reperit venena.	Wickedly finds all poisons.
Et comparatis millibus undique	And having prepared a thousand
Mendaciorum fraudibus, hic vafer	Fraudulent deceptions everywhere,
Conflator effundit dolosam	This clever metal-caster pours likenesses of virtue
In speciem simulacra honesti.	Into a deceitful form.
Illis inanes aetherei boni	With them, he deludes minds empty of heavenly goodness
Terraeque curvas cernere pulverem	Which are bent over so as to see only the dust of the earth,
Eludit, ignarasque mentes	And leads ignorant minds
Tartareas agit in tenebras.	To the shadows of Tartarus.
Caelum[307] videre lumina quae valent	But the minds which are able to see the light of Heaven
Fulgente veri lampade, et intimis	With the shining lamp of Truth,
Curare caelorum reductis	And pay attention to the better and greater Name
Ulterius meliusque nomen,	When the inmost part of the heavens is revealed,
Non has dolosis artibus insolens	Arrogant Error does not bind these minds
Praestringit error, sed licet imbuant	With deceitful arts, and even if the old examples of the masses
Antiqua vulgi exempla vanis	Submerge them with vain advice,
Vis monitis inimica purgat.	An opposing power cleanses them.

In this poem, Arias Montano presents us with the striking image of Satan in his workshop casting *simulacra* which look like honest men, but actually trap humans into sin. These deceitful images are described as ‘ancient *exempla* of the masses’ (‘antiqua

[307] i.e. caelorum.

vulgi exempla'), while those who imitate them are 'minds empty of heavenly goodness' (17) and 'ignorant' (19) and are damned for their actions.

The obscure reference to these *simulacra* and their connection to the *vulgus* can be illuminated by Arias Montano's commentary on the story of the Tower of Babel in *Liber generationis*. There, he explains that even though all men were in agreement that it would be beneficial to build the Tower, it was actually a sinful act, since it contravened the order God had given to Noah and his descendants after the Flood to 'be fruitful and increase in number and fill the earth' (Genesis 9:1):

> Nemo autem in tanta hominum turba et copia fuit, qui a caeterorum consilio ac voluntate dissentiret […] Quamobrem adversus monitum, oraculum, et iussum Dei (quo omnes pariter uno consensu, eodemque studio terrarum orbem quam primum partiri […]) ad comparandum sibi otium, cum splendore etiam nominis […] sese totos dediderunt.[308]
>
> And there was no-one in that great crowd and number of men, who disagreed with the design and will of the others […] And so against the warning, oracle, and commandment of God (according to which all together with one accord and one desire were to share the earth as soon as possible […]), they gave themselves over to arranging for themselves leisure and the glory of their name.

Arias Montano points out that agreement between men on a course of action is not a reliable measure of virtue; in this case, they were all simply acting out of a desire for convenience and glory, which they thought was what one should strive for the most ('commodo et splendore, quod cum primis curandum censebatur').[309] Indeed, in II.3, 'De superbia atque gloria humana Babylon' (which precedes 'De humanae virtutis inconstantia'), Arias Montano gives the men a speech in which they express their belief that their behaviour makes them exemplary: 'Which will be able to place us as most excellent | In front of all the ancient examples of men, and all future ones' ('Quod nos

[308] *Liber generationis et regenerationis Adam, sive De historia generis humani: Operis magni pars prima, id est Anima* (Antwerp: Moretus, 1593), p. 130.
[309] *Liber generationis*, p. 131.

praecipue insignes praeponere cunctis | Antiquis hominum **exemplis** poteritque futuris', 67–68). As we have seen, they are quickly disabused of this notion.

The same anxiety about using human measures of goodness can be seen in the poems 'De humanae mentis audacia et protervia ex iudicum seculis' (IV.4) and 'De inani gloriae studio ex antecedente exemplo' (IV.5) which, as their titles suggest, reflect on the *exemplum* of the Israelites' constant relapsing into idolatry while under the leadership of the judges (Judges 2: 10–19). Once again, Arias Montano reflects on this in his commentary on Judges, *De varia republica*. In his explanation of Judges 2:11, he writes that the verse shows how the Israelites' wickedness 'was not admitted at first under the guise of wickedness, […] but by the corruption of customs and lifestyle, in the form of righteousness it deceived the spirits of men for the most part' ('nec mala sub ratione mali admitti primum, […] sed morum ac vitae corruptione, recti specie, hominum animos plerumque decipi').[310] That is, the Israelites engaged in religious worship, which they portrayed as piety, but since the deity they worshipped was an idol, this actually constituted a grave sin. Arias Montano goes on to explain that there are two kinds of evil which greatly offend God: one is an accumulation of wickedness which is wicked *per se* and cannot be concealed; but the other is given the name of piety or virtue and is even defended by men.[311] It appears that both in this section of *De varia republica* and in this poem, Arias Montano is drawing our attention to the fact that things which men call exemplary behaviour may not necessarily be so. This is often reflected in the very titles of the poems, which make special reference to human behaviour ('De superbia atque gloria humana Babylon', *Secula* II.3; 'De humanae virtutis inconstantia apud Noahhem sobolem', *Secula* II.4; 'De humanae mentis audacia

[310] *De varia republica, sive commentaria in librum Iudicum* (Antwerp: Moretus, 1592), p. 49.
[311] *De varia republica*, pp. 49–50.

et protervia ex iudicum seculis', *Secula* IV.4; 'De humanae astutiae insania in Iirbaghamum', *Secula* IV.11).

Nevertheless, Arias Montano emphasizes the fact that, despite the difficulties in pointing out truly exemplary behaviour, we should not disregard the lessons which (sacred) history has to offer altogether; rather, we have to be discerning in our choice of models and how we interpret them. Arias Montano's insistence on learning from the lessons of history is made manifest in *De varia republica*, where he writes:

> Nec enim haec ad nudam historiam cognitionem, sed ad doctrinam narrantur, ideoque et rerum causae et vitia et modi tractantur, quae in exemplar, vel in exemplum etiam, ad posteritatis conformanda, vel damnanda, vel reformanda tempora, proponuntur.
>
> For these things are not narrated for the bare knowledge of history, but for moral learning, and therefore both the causes of the events and their vices and their manners are discussed, and they are proposed as an *exemplar* or even an *exemplum* of things which ought to be followed, condemned or reformed in the future.[312]

But how can fallible humans know they are properly interpreting *exempla*? In 'De humanae virtutis inconstantia', Arias Montano tells us that only the 'minds which are able to see the light of Heaven with the shining lamp of truth' (21–22), that is, those whose interpretation of historical events is guided by Christian precepts, are not susceptible to deception by misleading *exempla*. This solution was typical of biblical humanism. For example, Erasmus touches on the issue of *exempla* in the Bible, pointing out that 'The prince should be warned not to think that everything he reads in Scripture is to be directly imitated' ('Praemonendus est princeps, ut nec ea, quae in sacris voluminibus legerit, continuto putet imitanda').[313] However, when he discusses the problematic nature of *exempla* from pagan history, he advises his reader to 'Examine everything by the rule of Christ' ('omnia ad Christi regulam exigito').[314]

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[312] *De varia republica*, p. 48.
[313] *Institutio principis Christiani*, in *ASD*, IV.1, ed. by O. Herding and F. Schalk (Amsterdam: Huygens instituut/Brill, 1974), p. 182.
[314] *Institutio principis Christiani*, in *ASD*, IV.1, p. 179.

In ‘De humanae virtutis inconstantia’, the utility of properly selected and interpreted *exempla* is shown by the fact that he ends the poem with the eulogy of one of his favourite models of virtue, Abraham (73–84). He holds up the patriarch as a model of virtue due to his constant faith in the face of divinely ordained exile from his home, poverty, and the (near-) sacrifice of his son (Genesis 12:1; Genesis 2:1–19). There are more detailed expositions of both these themes in *HSM* VI and VII. Arias Montano often draws attention to Abraham’s constancy with long lists of hardships which did not impede him to follow God’s will. For example, in *HSM* VI, he writes:

Illum non labor improbus, Ignotive loci suspicio tremens, Aut urbis memorem suae, Laudantemve soli commoda cogniti, Terret, quo minus arduas Iussus voce Dei perficiat vias. Quamquam incerta quies loci Non usquam stabilem contineat domum, Iamque exusta caloribus, Iam concret pigrae frigoribus nivis Ostentet regio metum: Non sylvae indomitis horribiles feris; Non praeceps fluvii fragor, Non obiecta hominum turba nocentium Frangit propositum grave (5–19)	Neither excessive toil, Nor the trembling mistrust of an unknown place, Or remembering his city, Or praising the convenience of known land, Frightens him off from carrying out The difficult journeys, once he has been commanded by the voice of God. Although the uncertain peace of a place May not contain anywhere a stable home, And although the region may sometimes be scorched by heat, And sometimes harden by the cold of sluggish snow, And show [cause for] fear: Neither the woods fearful with untamed beasts, Nor the headlong crashing of the river, Nor the crowd of harmful men thrown in his way Breaks his serious resolution

Likewise, in *HSM* VII, Arias Montano writes:

Orbandae aut gemitus coniugis, et gravi Questu perpetuo difficiles dies, Aut immensus amor continent editi Nati non solitis modis. (13–16)	Neither the laments of the wife he must deprive, And the difficult days with their perpetually heavy complaint, Nor the great love for the son born to him In unusual circumstances, held him back.

Finally, in *Secula* II.4, he writes:

Quem nec suorum pignora nec domus Desiderato aut nomine patria, Nec macra tristi vultu egestas Detinet exiliumve certum. (77–80)	Neither the pledges of his family nor his home Nor the homeland with its desired name, Nor meagre Poverty with her grim face Or certain exile holds him back.

Alcina has pointed out that the description of Abraham in *HSM* VI recalls the Stoic sage as imagined by Lipsius and Seneca.[315] However, it also brings to mind Horace's depictions of virtuous men, such as in Hor. *Carm.* I.22:

> Integer vitae scelerisque purus
> non eget Mauris iaculis neque arcu
> nec venenatis gravida sagittis,
> Fusce, pharetra,
>
> sive per Syrtis iter aestuosas
> sive facturus per inhospitalem
> Caucasum vel quae loca fabulosus
> lambit Hydaspes. (1–8)

> The man who is pure of heart and innocent of evil
> needs no Moorish spears, Fuscus,
> nor bow nor quiver heavy
> with poison arrows
>
> whether he is setting out across
> the sultry Syrtes or inhospitable
> Caucasus or lands licked
> by the fabled Hydaspes.

Both passages refer to withstanding an inhospitable climate, such as extreme heat and cold (*HSM* VI.13–14; compare Hor. *Carm*. I.22.5–6, 17–22). Later in his poem, Horace asserts that he is capable of withstanding such difficulties thanks to his devotion to Lalage:

> Pone me pigris ubi nulla campis
> arbor aestiva recreatur aura,
> quod latus mundi nebulae malusque
> Iuppiter urget;

[315] Juan Francisco Alcina, 'Los *Humanae salutis monumenta* de Benito Arias Montano', in *Anatomía del humanismo: Benito Arias Montano, 1598–1998. Homenaje al profesor Melquiades Andrés Martín. Actas del Simposio Internacional celebrado en la Universidad de Huelva del 4 al 6 del noviembre de 1998*, ed. by Luis Gómez Canseco (Huelva: Universidad de Huelva, 1998), p. 138.

> pone sub curru nimium propinqui
> solis in terra domibus negata:
> dulce ridentem Lalagen amabo,
> dulce loquentem. (17–24)

> Set me on barren plains
> where no summer breeze revives a tree,
> in a zone of the earth oppressed by clouds
> and a hostile Jupiter;
>
> set me under the very chariot wheels of the sun
> in a land where no man can build a home–
> I shall love my Lalage sweetly laughing,
> sweetly speaking.

By contrast, in Arias Montano's poem, it is of course faith in God which allows Abraham to overcome hardship.

Another Horatian intertext is Hor. *Carm*. III.5, which recounts how the statesman Regulus, captured with his men by the Carthaginians and sent to Rome to seek a ransom for them, urged the Senate to refuse and returned to his death at the hands of the enemy. In a poignant moment, Horace writes how in his resolve he 'refused his chaste wife's kiss | and pushed his young children away' ('pudicae coniugis osculum | parvosque natos […] ab se removisse', III.5.41–42). The idea of the virtuous man putting duty before even family also appears in *HSM* VII, where Abraham does not think of his wife's laments ('gemitus coniugis', VII.13) or his love for his son ('amor […] nati', VII.15–16) when asked by God to sacrifice him. Once again, Arias Montano is taking a Classical conception of exemplary virtue and transferring it into the biblical sphere.

The exemplary function of the figure of Abraham can be seen in the fact that Arias Montano makes reference to him at various points in the *Dictatum Christianum*, his educational manual on the Christian life. In fact, Abraham is described as an

exemplum of divine doctrine ('Huius rei exemplum in Abraham apertissimum spectatur').[316] He demonstrates not only faith but obedience:

> Atqui Abraham vocatus et iussus e patria exire et in terram sibi monstrandam concedere, non tantum fide usus est, sed etiam vera obedentia atque actione et opere. Vere enim reliquit patriam, cognationem et paternam domum
>
> And yet Abraham, having been called and ordered to leave his homeland and go to the land to be shown to him, not only acted with faith, but also with true obedience and action and works. For he left his homeland, his kindred and his ancestral home[317]

The same idea is reiterated later on, marked by the marginal pointer 'Abraham exemplum':

> Quod si ad exemplum illud, quod fidelibus omnibus propositum esse Deus voluit, oculos mentemque convertamus, manifeste etiam cognoscemus Abrahamum post patriam, cognationem domumque paternam relictam numquam iterum in Chaldaeam aut Mesopotamiam fuisse reversum, sed perpetuo per varia loca Dei voluntatem, iussa et oracula sequutum fuisse peregrinatum.
>
> And if we turn our minds and eyes to that example, which God wanted to be established for all the faithful, we will see manifestly that Abraham, after he left his kindred and ancestral home never again returned to Chaldaea or Mesopotamia, but forever journeyed through various places following the will, commands and oracles of God. [318]

Arias Montano also gives us guidance on different forms of interpretation of *exempla* throughout *Hymni et secula*. Often, he emphasizes the need to differentiate examples to imitate and examples to avoid by alternating good and bad examples. For instance, in *Secula* IV.7, 'De Saulo ob audaciam expulso, deque obedientiae gratia', Saul is said to warn us with his grave example ('monet gravi exemplo', IV.7.27–28), but this poem is followed by two positive poems on David. Similarly, *Secula* II.4, 'De

[316] *Dictatum christianum, sive communes et aptae discipulorum Christi omium partes* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1575), p. 83.
[317] *Dictatum christianum*, p. 86.
[318] *Dictatum christianum*, p. 142.

humanae virtutis inconstantia', is followed by a poem on the patriarchs, all of whom exhibit Stoic qualities.[319]

Arias Montano gives the reader even more specific advice on the interpretation of *exempla* in the passage from *De varia republica* quoted above, where he notes that, in history, we can find examples of behaviour to be 'followed, condemned or reformed'. This tripartite division is reminiscent of Quintilian's categorisation of *exempla similia, dissimilia* and *contraria,* that is, comparisons based on similarity, dissimilarity, and opposition.[320] We can see this in action in *Hymni et Secula* in the set of *exempla* on Solomon and his sons Rehoboam and Jeroboam in the fourth book of *Secula*. God approves of Solomon from boyhood due to his desire for wisdom (*Secula* IV. 9. 13–16). Solomon errs in his lust for women, but corrects this fault later in life:

> Exulem et pravo vitio vagantem
> Rursus accersis revocasque mentem:
> Corrigit stultae melior Senectus
> Damna iuventae.[321] (IV.9.53–56)
>
> You summon again and call back your mind
> Which had been exiled and wandering in foul vice,
> And better Old Age corrects the faults
> Of foolish Youth.

However, the poet feels obliged to warn the reader not to imitate this aspect of his life as an 'exemplum simile' (57).

By contrast, Jeroboam is a usurper of the throne and straightforwardly a bad example, particularly in his wicked establishment of idol-worship ('Ergo vana malus nomina consecras', 'Thus you wickedly consecrate vain names', *Secula* IV. 11. 17). However, Rehoboam is a rightful king who nevertheless precipitated the fracture of

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[319] See Marín Mellado, 'Arte y estilo', in *Actas del Congreso Internacional sobre Humanismo y Renacimiento,* ed. by Maurilio Pérez González and others, p. 492.
[320] Quint. *Inst. or*. V. 11. 5; once again reproduced by Nebrija, *Artis rhetoricae compendiosa coaptatio,* fol. e^{r}.
[321] iuventae *M*: inventae *A*

Israel by not listening to the elders ('Dum parere negat consiliis patrum', 'While he refuses to obey the counsels of the fathers', *Secula* IV. 10. 62), and thus fits into the category of an *exemplum dissimile*. Significantly, the title of the poem describes him as 'Salomonis dissimilem filium'. Thus, Arias Montano is bringing the lexicon of Classical *exempla* into the realm of biblical studies.

History, exemplarity and kingship

The poems on Solomon, Rehoboam and Jeroboam remind us that the abundant genre of *mirrors for princes* which arose in the Golden Age was closely linked to the practice of reading history as a repertoire of *exempla*.[322] Machiavelli and others famously used examples of historical rulers in their treatises on how rulers should behave.[323] However, once again Arias Montano appears to be biblicizing this tendency by encouraging us to look to sacred history for advice on government. In recent scholarship, he has been recognised as one of the first exponents of studies of the 'Respublica Hebraeorum', that is, of a system of political theory based on Scripture.[324] In his poetry, he recurs to Scripture to explore some of the pressing issues of the day, such as the nature of kingly authority, the qualities of the ideal prince and his advisors, and the relationship between civil and religious authorities.

Readers would have been likely to make the connection between descriptions of biblical kings and contemporary politics due to the contemporary 'biblicization' of the

[322] For the medieval history of this genre, see Roberto Lambertini, 'Mirrors for Princes', in *Encyclopedia of Medieval Philosophy*, ed. by H. Lagerlund, eBook (Dordrecht: Springer, 2011) https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2102/10.1007/978-1-4020-9729-4_338. For the Spanish context in particular, see María Ángeles Galino Carrillo, *Los tratados sobre educación de príncipes: siglos XVI y XVII* (Madrid: CSIC, 1948).
[323] Timothy Hampton, *Writing from History: The Rhetoric of Exemplarity in Renaissance Literature* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), pp. 31–80.
[324] Guido Bartolucci, 'The Hebrew Republic in Sixteenth-Century Political Debate: The Struggle for Jurisdiction', in *Ancient Models in the Early Modern Republican Imagination*, ed. by Wyger Velema and Arthur Weststeijn (Leiden: Brill, 2017), pp. 214–33.

Spanish monarchy. Charles V had been associated with the kings of Israel by authors living in the Low Countries as early as 1515.[325] Philip vied with the Pope by presenting himself as a new Solomon and, occasionally, a new David, with the Escorial as his new Temple of Solomon.[326] It is therefore unsurprising that contemporary scholars should have begun to develop a sacred version of the *mirrors for princes* genre. Most famously, Luis de León included the appellations 'Rey' and 'Príncipe de Paz' in *De los Nombres de Cristo*. Galino Carrillo writes of Fray Luis de León's ideas about kingship: 'El carácter más destacado de fray Luis es también en este campo su continua inspiración en los Libros Sagrados'.[327] In what follows, I aim to place Arias Montano within this current of thought.

Bad princes: the cases of Pharaoh and Lucifer

In some cases, Arias Montano portrays examples of wicked rulers whose examples should not be imitated. However, this was a sensitive subject due to contemporary views on the divine right of kings under natural law and on the extent to which a tyrant could be disobeyed.[328] These questions are explored in the poem 'De Dei erga pios tutela et Aegyptiarum obstetricum pietate' (II.6). The ode narrates how Pharaoh began to fear the multiplication of the Israelites, so he first oppressed them with forced labour building store cities, and then ordered the Egyptian midwives to kill all male children (Exodus 1:6–21). However, instead of Pharaoh making these orders, in the poem it is the Devil ('Draco', 'the Serpent', II.6.10) who puts the Israelites to work on the store

[325] Juan Rafael de la Cuadra Blanco, 'King Philip of Spain as Solomon the Second: The Origins of Solomonism of the Escorial in the Netherlands', in *The Seventh Window: The King's Window Donated by Philip II and Mary Tudor to Sint Janskerk in Gouda (1557)*, ed. by Wim de Groot (Hilversum: Verloren, 2005), p. 170.
[326] Adam G. Beaver, *A Holy Land for the Catholic Monarchy: Palestine in the Making of Modern Spain, 1469–1598* (unpublished doctoral thesis, Harvard University, 2008), pp. 7–13.
[327] Galino Carrillo, p. 51.
[328] See Bernice Hamilton, *Political Thought in Sixteenth-Century Spain: A Study of the Political Ideas of Vitoria, De Soto, Suárez and Molina* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), pp. 59–67.

cities. When this does not work, he later tells Pharaoh (‘Rex’, ‘King’, 69) to order the slaughter, making it clear that Pharaoh himself is in the service of the Devil. Furthermore, in accordance with contemporary political thought, Arias Montano writes that the midwives considered it wrong to obey the king because he was ordering unjust things:

Nec quos Deus vixisse iussit, Haec patitur pueros perire,	Nor does she allow to die The boys whom God has ordered to live,
Foetum sagaxque abscondere, et improbum Perdocta regem fallere, cui nefas Parere non iusta imperanti Et proprium violare munus. (79–84)	And she is shrewd enough to hide the child, And is skilful enough to deceive the wicked king, Since for her it is a crime to obey him who is ordering unjust things And to violate her own duty.

Thus, he carefully navigates the issue of the obligation to obey the king by pointing out that these subjects were criticising not the figure of the monarch, but his unjust actions. The Salamanca jurist Francisco Suárez had asserted this to be valid: ‘if an order is really wicked, subjects can and ought to disobey the king, but they cannot absolutely deny obedience to him in matters which are just’.[329]

In this passage we can also see how Arias Montano defends the midwives’ choice since the royal order goes against their duty (‘munus’, 88). This is significant because it is one of the words which Arias Montano listed as a synonym for God’s natural law, that is, the function prescribed for all elements of Creation.[330] Arias Montano appears to be suggesting that the midwives’ rebellion is justified since, although kings had authority under natural law, Pharaoh’s commands would have forced the midwives to go against their own natural and divinely-instituted function. A similar usage also

[329] Cit. by Bernice Hamilton, pp. 60–61.
[330] *Liber generationis,* p. 37.

occurs earlier in the poem with the word *officium*, which Arias Montano also listed as a synonym for natural law:

Sed quid feri vis quidve truces minae Possunt tyranni contra animum pio Certoque firmatum timore **Officii** memoremque et artis? (73–80)	But what can the force or fierce threats Of a savage tyrant do against a mind Strengthened by pious and determined fear, And mindful of its duty and manner of life?

This passage also recalls Hor. *Carm*. III. 3. 1–4, another poem where Horace discusses the characteristics of the virtuous man, in particular his refusal to bend to the demands of tyrants:

> Iustum et tenacem propositi virum
> non civium ardor prava iubentium,
> non voltus instantis **tyranni**
> mente quatit. (III. 3. 1–3)
>
> The just man who holds fast to his resolve
> is not shaken in the firmness of his mind by the passion
> of citizens demanding some injustice
> or by the threatening tyrant's frown. (p. 31)

As ever, Arias Montano is drawing on Horatian morality, but in a biblical context.

In his prose, Arias Montano emphasizes that royal authority is God-given. For example, in the prefatory epistle to his commentary on Psalm 2, which is dedicated to emperors, kings and Christian princes ('imperatoribus, regibus, et principibus christianis') he writes: 'attributing the power you have received to the one God, consecrate it wholly to Him and to his son Jesus Christ, king and Lord of all, with adoration and worship' ('Potestatis Vestrae amplitudinem uni Deo acceptam tribuentes, eidemque eiusdemque Iesu Christo Omnium regi ac domino adorando colendoque prorsus dicate').[331] Consequently, in his poetry, wicked leaders align themselves against

[331] *In XXXI Davidis psalmos priores commentaria* (Antwerp: Moretus, 1605), p. 6. For more on the ideas of kingship in the prefatory epistles, see Bartolomé Pozuelo Calero, 'Desengaño y denuncia en los *Comentarios a los XXXI primeros salmos* de Benito Arias Montano', *Euphrosyne: Revista de filología clásica,* 43 (2015), pp. 130–36.

God, sometimes even more explicitly than their scriptural counterparts. We see this on a number of occasions where the poet gives such leaders passages of direct speech. For example, in the Devil's speech in 'De Dei erga pios tutela', the ruler of Egypt even acknowledges the one God, fears this God wants to take away his kingdom, and says that in Egypt many gods are worshipped with rituals which he himself calls vain and impious:

Dixit, "Quid amplos qui regit ordines Mundi et polorum, concipere hinc parat? Certe abdicare hic nostra tendit Regna, suum et celebrare nomen.	He said, 'What does he who rules The extensive orders of the world and poles plan to produce from this? Certainly, he aims to take away our kingdom, And celebrate his own name.
Nos hic deorum plurima numina Vanis colenda ac ritibus, impii et Erroris in totum ferendi Semina iam properamus orbem. […]"	We are now hastily preparing many gods To be worshipped with vain rites, And the seeds of impious error to be carried from here Throughout the whole world.

In the rest of his speech, Pharaoh expresses his concern at the multiplication of the Israelites (as well as surprise that so many should have arisen from the line of one old man and his infertile wife), and decides to resolve this by separating the Israelites and making them build the store-cities Rameses and Pithom. However, in the biblical account, Pharaoh's speech only mentions the multiplication of the Israelites and the solution of the store-cities (Exodus 1:8–11). No mention is made of Pharaoh acknowledging the truth of the God of Israel and explicitly rejecting it. Thus, in his poem Arias Montano is underlining the fact that Pharaoh refuses to submit to the divine source of his authority.

A similar case occurs in 'Ad Michaelem Archangelum' (*Hymni* 9), a hymn to St Michael which relates the rebellion in Heaven led by Lucifer and the victory of God's troops. Lucifer is also given a speech, at the end of which he pits himself against God:

Virtutis etsi non valeam Dei Aevive laudi sistere me parem, At multa prudenter scientis Nomine non referar secundus. (61–4)	But if I am not able to establish myself As equal to the praise of God's virtue and eternity, Still I will not be second to him In my reputation for knowing many things prudently.

It is significant that here Lucifer should acknowledge his inferior virtue ('Virtutis'), and yet boast of knowing things prudently ('prudenter'). In 'Terrae matris quaerimonia ad Deum' (I.4), Lucifer is also given a speech in which he claims for himself the honour of prudence ('Prudentiae […] decus arrogabo', 83–84). The 'prudence' to which he is referring here is clearly analogous to the *virtù* of Machiavelli and his followers.[332] Braun points out that the Latin term *prudentia* was often equated with the term 'reason of state', and that by the publication of Botero's book on the subject in 1589, this in turn had become a synonym for the doctrine of Machiavelli and was often taken to mean the pursuit of power without regard for Christian morality.[333] Arias Montano may be attacking this concept of reason of state in *De optimo imperio*, his commentary on the book of Joshua, when he writes: 'unde et illa in moribus

[332] The question of Arias Montano's supposed Machiavellianism or anti-Machiavellianism has vexed critics. This is largely due to the attribution to Arias Montano of the *Aforismos sacados de la Historia de Publio Cornelio Tácito* published by Joaquín Setanti in 1614, but the attribution was challenged by various critics who saw it as contrary to Arias Montano's political and ethical beliefs (see Ángela Sánchez-Lafuente Andrés, 'Benito Arias Montano y los *Aforismos* de Tácito', in *Benito Arias Montano y los humanistas de su tiempo*, ed. José María Maestre Maestre and others (Mérida: Editora Regional de Extremadura, Instituto de estudios humanísticos, 2006), I, 369–71). It has since been thoroughly debunked by scholars who have noted that the numbering of the *aforismos* matches that of Álamos's *Tácito español* (Charles Davis, 'Baltasar Álamos de Barrientos and the nature of Spanish Tacitism', in *Culture and society in Habsburg Spain: Studies Presented to R.W.Truman by his Pupils and Colleagues on the Occasion of his Retirement*, ed. by Nigel Griffin and others (London: Tamesis, 2001), pp. 61–63). Sánchez Lora argues that Arias Montano is Machiavellian based on his change of heart towards a more conciliatory policy in the Low Countries and on his being in circles of 'Tacitean' thought; however, the scholar's liberal quotations from Álamos and Setanti at the expense of the author's own works shows that perhaps the attribution of the *Aforismos* is still influential (José Luis Sánchez Lora, 'El pensamiento político de Benito Arias Montano', in *Anatomía del humanismo*, ed. by Luis Gómez Canseco, pp. 149–81; *Arias Montano y el pensamiento político en la corte de Felipe II*, Bibliotheca Montaniana, 16 (Huelva: Universidad de Huelva, 2008)). More recently, Juan Luis Suárez in his introduction to Navarro Antolín's edition and translation of Arias Montano's treatise on Joshua has made a convincing case for Arias Montano's anti-Machiavellianism based on the humanist's theorising on the subject of leadership in that text ('El pensamiento político de Benito Arias Montano', in *Del buen gobierno: comentario al libro de Josué*, ed. by Fernando Navarro Antolín, intr. by Juan Luis Suárez, Bibliotheca Montaniana, 34 (Huelva: Universidad de Huelva, 2016), pp. 34–40).

[333] Harald Braun, *Juan de Mariana and Early Modern Spanish Political Thought* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 102–3.

hominum observata verissime est a viris usu rerum peritis animadversa vulgi temeraria sententia, "Exitus acta probat" [Ov. *Her*. II. 85]' ('for this reason, that rash opinion of the mob, 'The outcome justifies the acts', which has been observed in the customs of men, was truly chastised by men made skilled by experience').[334] It is therefore unsurprising that Arias Montano's Lucifer (who in line 22 is described as one of the 'principum', that is, 'foremost' or even 'princes' of the angels) is portrayed as an unscrupulous and ambitious Machiavellian leader.

In short, Arias Montano is aware that he must be delicate when portraying unjust kings, since according to natural law royal authority is God-given. In his portrayal of wicked kings from the Christian tradition, one way in which he navigates this is via the safety-valve of condemning the action rather than the figure. He also presents leaders such as Pharaoh and Lucifer as explicitly rejecting God's authority and as being motivated not by divine will but by political expediency, thereby implying that their mandate does not come from God and allowing them to be portrayed as unjust.

David: a (partial) success story

In contrast to the Machiavellian leader who does what is necessary in order to maintain power, Arias Montano advocates for a model of the prince who acts only according to the will of God. For example, in the prefatory epistles to the commentaries on the nineteenth and twentieth psalms, which are both dedicated to Philip II and his son Philip III ('Philippo II Hispaniae regi, Philippo III secondi filio'), he writes:

> Bellorum a Christianis gerendorum consilia sola causae honestas […] probat; gerendi modum disciplina ex Dei legibus et institutis exercita indicat; facultatem non tam humanae opes, quam divina virtus et providentia sufficit.[335]
>
> Only the honourability of the cause justifies a Christian's decision to wage war […]; the manner of waging it is indicated by discipline which follows the laws and designs of

[334] *De optimo imperio, sive in librum Iosuae commentarium* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1583), p. 186.
[335] *In XXXI Davidis psalmos priores commentaria*, p. 184.

> God; and the ability to wage it is supplied not so much by human resources, as by divine virtue and providence.

> Regibus et principibus uti nulla legitima auctoritas nisi a Deo constat, ita etiam nulla fiducia, nulla mens, nulla spes, atque adeo nulla cogitatio nisi ex Deo esse debet.[336]
>
> Just as kings and princes have no legitimate authority except that which comes from God, in the same way there should be no confidence, no intention, no hope, and no resolution except that which comes from God.

Significantly, Arias Montano explains that an example of such a king is David: 'you will find a useful example and model set forth in David, foremost among good kings' ('exemplum in Davide bonorum Regum primo […] propositum constat').[337] Campos Sánchez-Bordona argues that Arias Montano is also subtly proposing David as a model king in his *David, hoc est virtutis exercitatissimae probatum Deo spectaculum* (1575), an emblem book on the life of the king with elegiac couplets by Arias Montano and engravings by Philip Galle.[338]

In Golden Age political theory, the ideal king is also one who possessed the cardinal virtues, which are named by St Thomas Aquinas as prudence (in its original sense), justice, temperance and fortitude.[339] In Thomistic thought, prudence was the presence of good in reason, and justice the good which is brought about when reason puts order onto something else. The last two cardinal virtues were brought about when reason ordered the passions: temperance in the case of concupiscible passions, and fortitude in the case of irascible ones (*ST* Ia IIae 61 art. 1–2). In his poetry, Arias

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[336] *In XXXI Davidis psalmos priores commentaria*, p. 191.
[337] *In XXXI Davidis psalmos priores commentaria*, p. 184.
[338] María Dolores Campos Sánchez-Bordona, 'Arias Montano y Philippe Galle: texto e imágenes para una alegoría sacro política', in *El humanismo extremeño II (Estudios presentados a las 2as jornadas organizadas por la Real Academia de Extremadura en Fregenal de la Sierra en 1997)*, ed. by Mariano Fernández-Daza y Fernández de Córdova (Trujillo, Spain: Real Academia de Extremadura de las Letras y las Artes, 1998), pp. 41–53.
[339] Galino Carrillo, pp. 139–281. Aquinas, of course, inherits an even longer tradition of discussion on the virtues appropriate for an emperor: see A. Wallace-Hadrill, 'The emperor and his virtues', *Historia*, 30 (1981), 298–323.

Montano draws our attention to David's possession of some of these virtues. For example, in the poem 'Simplicis pietatis felicitas: Davidis exordia' (*Secula* IV.6), the adjective 'prudent' is used twice within a few lines: David has a prudent heart ('prudente […] corde', IV.6.19) and prudent sense ('prudente […] sensu' IV.6.25). However, he failed in temperance due to his desire for Bathsheba, as Arias Montano emphasizes in *Secula* IV.8:[340]

Victorem usque tui te quoque dicerem, Rara quae est hominum summaque gloria, Menti si cupidae frena reponeres, Queis iram atque animum regis. (IV.8.69–72)	And I would even say you had conquered yourself, (Which is a rare and excellent glory for men) If you would place the same reins on your desirous mind With which you rule your anger and spirit.

Note how in the second example the poet uses the Thomistic idea of the parallelism between temperance and fortitude as virtues which rule passions when he refers to David's ability to control his *ira*, but not his *cupiditas*.

This is closely related to another important theme in Golden Age kingship literature: that of the importance of the king having wise counsellors who advise him justly, rather than being surrounded by flatterers who only seek his favour. Arias Montano is particularly interested in the story of how David is made to repent by the prophet Nathan when the latter tells him the story of his transgressions in allegorical form (2 Samuel 12:1–14). In *HSM* he dedicates an ode (*HSM* XXI) to the episode, as well as one to the figure of Nathan, in which he writes:

Felix, carentem stultitia mala Rex, cui ministrum contigit assequi Et fraude semotum dolosa, Numinis et studio calentem. (*HSM* XXIII.25–28)	Happy is the king who manages to find A servant lacking in wicked stupidity, And removed from deceitful fraud, And ardent with zeal for God.

[340] A similar technique is used to apostrophize Solomon, who also failed in temperance due to his many wives and concubines: 'O Rex, o felix, nullumque habiture priorem, | Una tibi et proba si foret uxor' ('O happy king, and second to none, | If only you had had one chaste wife,' *HSM* XXV, 25–26).

Likewise, the theme appears in *Secula* IV.14, 'De Nathani vatis opportuna libertate, ad Petrum Veleium', where Arias Montano writes:

Illi publica non satis Accusare fuit crimina, at intimi Occultata mali diu in Regis visceribus ulcera adurere Et mens et animus dedit, Et quemquam haud metuens obsequium Dei Docto parcere nemini, Curare aut proprii damna periculi Ast dum certa fidelibus Fomenta officiis sedulus adferat, Non horrere minacium Insanum stomachum aut robora principum, (95–106)	For him it was not enough To make public charges of crime, But his mind and spirit allowed him To burn sores of wickedness long hidden In the king's innards, And his obedience to God, fearing no-one, Allowed him to spare no wise man, Or to care for the injury of his own danger: But while he assiduously applies certain poultices With his faithful duties, He does not fear the raging anger Or strength of threatening princes,

Thus, Arias Montano converts the biblical figure of David into a model of kingship thanks to his virtues, which often led him to perceive the divine mandate, and his willingness to listen to virtuous advisors when his own judgment had been clouded.

Good leaders: Joshua

Many of Arias Montano's ideas about kingship are expounded in *De optimo imperio*. In this commentary, he presents Joshua as a model ruler:

> Iosue, quem optimi imperatoris exemplar Deus esse voluit; atque principibus omnibus viris, qui vitam actionesque suas ex divini consilii praescripto instituere optaverint, ad imitandum proposuit.[341]
>
> Joshua, whom God wanted to be the model of the best ruler, and whom he proposed to be imitated by all chief men who desired to order their life and actions according to the precepts of divine counsel.

For Arias Montano, Joshua is the ideal ruler because he is both a leader and a prophet: he has both direct access to the will of God, by which just kings should rule, and the

[341] *De optimo imperio,* p. 2.

ability to enact this will.[342] Unlike the Machiavellian prince, who is constantly aware of being subject to Fortune, Joshua trusts in God's Providence even when, by human measures, the odds seem against him. This is something which Arias Montano underlines repeatedly. For example, in his commentary on Joshua 11:4 ('They came out with all their troops and a large number of horses and chariots—a huge army, as numerous as the sand on the seashore'), he demonstrates Joshua's trust in Providence rather than human ability by emphasizing the disadvantages of the Israelite army:

> Hoc loco videmus multorum regum conspiratione variorum populorum ingeniis et artibus armatorum copiis innumerabilibus, armorum omnis generis et bellici apparatus multitudine et magnitudine ingenti, peditibus, equitibus, curribus falcatis quamplurimis Israeliticum populum numero minorem, bellico apparatu longe imparem, loco alieno et ignotis antea tractibus, tamen Dei singulari beneficio superiorem evasisse […]
>
> In this passage, we see that the people of Israel were lesser in number and by far unequal in equipment for war to the joint enterprise of many kings, the talents and skills of various peoples, the innumerable forces of armed men, the great multitude and magnitude of all kinds of weapons and equipment for war, infantry, cavalry, and chariots armed with scythes; that they were in a foreign place, without having known the area previously; and yet they came out victorious by the special help of God […][343]

HSM XVIII describes another battle in the conquest of the Promised Land, the Battle of Jericho. In this poem, Arias Montano lists the same disadvantages of the Israelite forces which we have seen in the aforementioned passage of *De optimo imperio*, and adds an element drawn from Numbers 13:32–33, where spies report that Canaan is populated by giants:

Insueta terris turma recentibus,	The troops were unused to these new lands,
Vastis nec ampli corporis artubus	And unequal to the race of swelling giants
Aequanda cum vulgo tumentum	With vast limbs and ample bodies
Quos regio tulerat, gigantum;	Which inhabited the region;
Densis sed una cum populis tamen	But the foreigners overcame tyrants
Exercitatis robore proelii,	Who had attempted great plans,
Non parva molitos tyrannos	Together with dense peoples,
Consilia exuperavit hospes. (XVIII.5–12)	By the strength of well-practised battle.

[342] See Juan Luis Suárez, 'El pensamiento político de Benito Arias Montano', in *Del buen gobierno*, pp. 21, 32–33.
[343] *De optimo imperio,* p. 342.

To drive the point home, he uses three adjectives to denote the size of the giants: 'vastis', 'ampli' and 'tumentum'. The specific reference to the 'limbs' of the giants may seem at first like a line-filler; however, Arias Montano may also be aiming to increase the monstrosity of the giants by evoking the hundred-armed giants of Greek mythology who tried to overcome the Olympian gods. One particular source he may have in mind is Horace *Odes* III.4, which speaks of the giants 'bristling with arms' ('horrida bracchiis', III.4.50). Indeed, Arias Montano seems to have found Horace's ode particularly pertinent to understanding the book of Joshua, as he quotes lines 65–68 at the start of his commentary on the chapter from which the aforementioned passage of *De optimo imperio* is taken.[344] All these techniques serve to emphasize how, by human measures, the Israelites seemed doomed to failure, but Joshua led them to success precisely because he rejected human measures of success and trusted in God's will.

These themes can also be seen in *HSM* XIX, on the distribution of the Promised Land. Once again, the poet emphasises the defences protecting Canaan: for example, the kingdoms are 'armed with dense peoples, | And fortified with a lofty circuit of walls' ('Munita densis gentibus arduo et | Vallata murorum reductu', 2–3). Nonetheless, their human fortifications are nothing in the face of God's power:

Collata quamuis consilia, et manus, Et convocatis foedera regibus, Armisque fulgentes iniquas Munierint populi rapinas:	And although their plans and armies And alliances were gathered, And the kings called together, And the people, shining in their armour, protected their unjust plunder:
Solum potentis consilium Dei Exors refringi, permanet (5–10)	Only the counsel of powerful God remains, Impossible to break

[344] *De optimo imperio*, p. 337. Note that line 65 has mistakenly been printed as the unmetrical 'vis consili **egens** mole ruit sua', rather than 'vis consili **expers** mole ruit sua'.

The contrast between the wealth of the Canaanites acquired thanks to the richness of the land and their sinfulness runs through *HSM* XIX. For example, the kingdoms are described as 'crowded with abundant wealth' ('Differta rerum divite copia […] Regna', 1) but they are 'unjust' ('iniqua', 4). Likewise, the land is described as 'unjust plunder' ('iniquas […] rapinas', 7–8). The contrast is made most explicit in stanzas 4–5:

Extructa multis oppida sumptibus, Implerat auro posteritas Chami, Et gemma et ostri praenitentis, Velleribusque opibusque magnis.	The towns built with great cost, The offspring of Cham had filled with gold, And with gems and fleeces of shining purple, And with great riches:
Sed fraude caeca et praecipiti dolo Quaesita, foedisque usibus addita, Proscripsit integri potestas Iudicii dominosque pressit. (13–20)	But since they were acquired with blind fraud and rash deceit, and obtained by foul behaviour, The power of uncorrupted justice proscribed And destroyed the masters.

According to Arias Montano, one consequence of Joshua's knowledge of God's will is that he is not subordinate to religious authority. This is discussed in Arias Montano's gloss on Joshua 4:16, where God commands Joshua to order the priests to leave the Jordan, thus showing that he has authority in both the civil and religious spheres.[345] The relationship between the civil and religious authorities of Israel is further explored in Arias Montano's commentary on the end of the book of Joshua, which describes the distribution of land to the tribes of Israel. The Bible relates that the members of the Council in charge of the distribution was made up of Joshua, Eleazar the High Priest, and representatives of the twelve tribes. Arias Montano uses the

[345] *De optimo imperio*, p. 123.

metaphor of two stars (‘duo lumina’) to explain that Joshua and Eleazar are both leaders (‘principes’): Eleazar in the religious sphere, and Joshua in the civil one.[346] However, it is the authority of Joshua which sanctions the distribution of land. As Bartolucci writes, ‘Arias Montano seems here to reaffirm […] that the political authority represented by Joshua in the affairs concerning the sphere of politics, was superior to the priestly class, a superiority established by divine will’.[347] This not only underlines once more Arias Montano’s view that royal authority is God-given, but may have important implications for his interpretation of the relationship between the king and religious authorities, such as the Pope, in the political sphere.

These ideas may explain why the priests make no appearance in the poems accompanying the engravings of the crossing of the Jordan (*HSM* XVII) and the battle of Jericho (*HSM* XVIII). There is also an explicit separation of sacred and secular power in the extended metaphor comparing Israel to a vineyard in *HSM* XX. In this poem, Arias Montano lists different kinds of ‘servants’ sent by God to Israel, presumably referring to the roles of judges, kings, priests and prophets outlined in Deuteronomy 16:18–18:22. Firstly, Arias Montano refers metaphorically to those who use physical power (kings, judges and prophets): for example, they drive away beasts with shouts and the sword (‘genus […] Vocibus ferroque abigit ferarum’, 9–10), they dig (‘fodit’, 11), and they prune the vines (‘ramos […] Praesecat’, 11–12). However, there is then a volta when Arias Montano introduces the separate work of the priests:

Cura sed maior fuit expiandi; Nam sacerdotes variante saepe Distinent cultu repetenda cunctis Sacra diebus. (XX.17–20)	But the greatest care was for expiation: For the priests with often-varying rites Mark out ceremonies to be repeated On each and every day:

[346] *De optimo imperio*, p. 530.
[347] Bartolucci, p. 231.

It is the work of the sacred powers which is celebrated first and foremost in this poem, as shown by the accompanying engraving of the High Priest. Due to its placing immediately after the poems on the capture of the Promised Land under Joshua, this emphasizes both the equality of sacred and secular power, and their separate spheres.

Some scholars have also attempted to extrapolate Arias Montano's views on Spanish expansion from Arias Montano's writings on Joshua. We have seen that he frequently emphasizes the God-given support for the Israelites in their occupation of the Promised Land. For example, he writes of the destruction of Hai (Joshua 8): 'Since all these things were being performed with the approval and counsel of God […] For, as I was explaining, Joshua was acting as the minister and interpreter of divine justice' ('Quoniam vero illa omnia Dei nutu et monitu gerebantur […] Namque, ut exponebamus, iustitiae divinae ministrum et interpretem Iosue agebat').[348] Likewise, when commenting on the destruction of Makkedah (Joshua 10:28), Arias Montano writes: 'in all these readings two examples can always be observed: one is of divine benefits towards the pious, and the other is of divine judgments towards the impious' ('In his lectionibus omnibus duo exempla perpetuo observanda sunt: alterum divinorum erga pios beneficiorum; alterum vero divinorum erga impios iudiciorum').[349] This is similar to defences of the Spanish conquest of the Americas made in contemporary histories. Indeed, Earle links Arias Montano's poems on Joshua to the contemporary context of the Spanish conquests, pointing out that in the engraving of *HSM XVIII*, described as 'The Conquest of the Gentiles', 'the Gentiles in question are ostensibly the Canaanites, but in the 1570s the phrase would for Spanish readers have brought other Gentiles to mind as well. The stanzas celebrating the Israelites' triumphant defeat of

[348] *De optimo imperio*, p. 236.
[349] *De optimo imperio*, p. 330.

their Gentile enemies seem to refer as much to the achievements of Hernán Cortés as to those of Joshua'.[350] On the other hand, Suárez suggests that the pact with the Gibeonites may be more in line with Arias Montano's views on the question of the American Indians, that is, that it is preferable for God when enemies are brought into the faith rather than simply destroyed.[351] As we can see, it is difficult to extrapolate Arias Montano's views on particular issues from his biblical commentaries and poems; he makes clear only the principle that kings should follow the will of God.

Conclusion

Throughout his poetry, Arias Montano suggests the idea of a biblical discipline of history. He takes the emerging Renaissance notion of history as a repository of *exempla*, but emphasizes that we should look to the Bible, rather than to pagan history, for guidance. He reminds us that we must be careful not to use human measures of virtue when judging which *exempla* to follow, but rather ground our interpretation in Christian values. He also biblicizes the related genre of *mirrors for princes* by providing us with bad examples of rulers in Pharaoh and Lucifer, a good example in Joshua, and a mostly good example in David, whose shortcomings are corrected by the wisdom of the prophet Nathan. Crucially, the success of all these leaders is measured by the extent to which they follow the will of God. In the case of Joshua, even when all seems lost, obedience to God results in political success. This biblical discipline of history combines Arias Montano's studies of Scripture, his humanism, and many years of observation of leadership at the highest level in the Habsburg Empire.

[350] Rebecca Earle, *The Body of the Conquistador: Food, Race and the Colonial Experience in Spanish America, 1492–1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 102.
[351] Juan Luis Suárez, 'El pensamiento político de Benito Arias Montano', in *Del buen gobierno*, pp. 24–25.

Chapter Six: Sacred Landscape: Biblical Geography and Architecture

Arias Montano's interest in geography is plain from his procuring of globes, maps and other mathematical instruments, as well as his friendship with the geographer Abraham Ortelius.[352] But his interest in the discipline is also reflected in his scholarship. In fact, Arias Montano appears to have been the first person to use the term 'geographia sacra'.[353] As we have seen, Arias Montano wrote various antiquarian treatises which were included in the *Apparatus sacer*. Four of them deal in some way with biblical geography (*Chaleb*, *Phaleg*, *Chanaan* and *Nehemiah*); also relevant to this chapter is Arias Montano's discussion of the Temple in his treatise on biblical architecture (*Exemplar*). The importance of topographical erudition can also be seen in the inclusion of a map in each of these treatises. This in itself is significant: Delano-Smith and Ingram in their survey of maps in Bibles in the sixteenth century show that, during this period, maps never appear in Bibles printed in Catholic countries such as Spain, Portugal or Italy. They conclude that 'the history of maps in Bibles is part of the history of the Reformation', and attribute this to the Protestant emphasis on the primacy of the literal sense of the Bible.[354] Once again, Arias Montano stands out among sixteenth-century Catholics in his emphasis on the literal sense of Scripture.

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[352] See, for example Plantin's offer to Arias Montano to procure such items: 'Et si ay bon espoir que je pourray autant bien vous servir que nul autre tant de Sphaerae, Astrolabae, Anneau, des milleurs globes de Mercator, avec leurs cercles de cuivre, et de toutes autres sortes d'instruments de mathématique', Plantin to Arias Montano, 14 February 1568, in M. Rooses and J. Denucé, *Correspondance de Christophe Plantin*, 9 vols (Antwerp: Buschmann, 1883–1918), vol. I (1883), p. 237. For Arias Montano's correspondence with Ortelius, see Enrique Morales, 'Las cartas de Benito Arias Montano a Abraham Ortels: Edición crítica y traducción a español', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 51 (2002), 153–205; 'Otras tres cartas de Benito Arias Montano a Abraham Ortels: Edición crítica y traducción a español', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 53 (2004), 219–49.

[353] Zur Shalev, *Sacred Words and Worlds: Geography, Religion, and Scholarship, 1550–1700* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), p. 18.

[354] Catherine Delano-Smith and Elizabeth Morley Ingram, *Maps in Bibles, 1500–1600: An illustrated catalogue* (Genève: Libraire Droz, 1991), p. xvi.

Early modern maps originating in religious contexts were different from other contemporary maps in that they also had a devotional aspect. As Watts has it, the point of some of these maps is 'not that the maps must be accurate, that is, literal, in a cartographic sense, but that they represent to the reader the true or historical meaning of scripture'; she gives the example of cartographic depictions of Paul's journey being described as aids to help the reader understand the arduousness of his evangelic mission (rather than the specific route).[355] This use of maps can be seen in Ortelius's *Parergon*, published as an appendix to his *Theatrum orbis terrarum*. The maps in the *Parergon* illustrate the sites visited by biblical figures such as Moses, Paul and Christ, and in the introduction to the *Theatrum* Ortelius emphasises their importance in allowing scholars of the Bible to visualize the events described therein. Significantly, Ortelius describes the scholar's progress as a retracing of the journeys depicted in the maps; he even compares the reader of the *Theatrum* to a wayfarer or pilgrim ('viatori similes, vel peregrinanti cuipiam'), emphasising the devotional nature of studying the geographical aspect of the events of Scripture.[356] Melion argues that this aspect of his work was in fact inspired by Arias Montano's *HSM*.[357] Sandmo points out that, while eventually maps began to represent literal rather than devotional space, this transition was slow and not linear.[358]

However, contemplation of the physical globe could also be ambivalent. For example, Melion points out that Ortelius glosses his world map with various Stoic texts which draw attention to the ephemerality of human life. He concludes: 'If the world map

[355] See Pauline Moffitt Watts, 'The European Religious Worldview and its Influence on Mapping', in *The History of Cartography*, vol. III: Cartography in the European Renaissance, 382–400.
[356] For more on this, see Walter S. Melion, '*Ad ductum itineris et dispositionem mansionum ostendendam*: Meditation, Vocation, and Sacred History in Abraham Ortelius's Parergon', *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 57 (1999): 4, 49–72.
[357] Melion, 'Meditation, Vocation, and Sacred History', 65–68.
[358] Erling Sandmo, 'Synchronizing the Holy Land: Sacred and Secular Cartography after the Reformation', in *Tracing the Jerusalem Code: Volume 2, The Chosen People: Christian Cultures in Early Modern Scandinavia (1536–ca. 1750)*, ed. by Eivor Andersen Oftestad and Joar Haga (Boston: De Gruyter, 2021), pp. 179–96.

can thus signify the scope of divine creation, it remains an ambivalent figure that can also connote human preoccupation with the trivial domain of worldly affairs'.[359] Arias Montano appears to hold a similar point of view in the epistle addressed to Ortelius which prefaces his commentary on Psalm 8. He opens this epistle by stating that Ortelius, who has very often measured the sea and earth ('maris ac terrarum spatium saepius dimensum'), could fill many great volumes with commentaries on this psalm ('complura et permagna in hunc Psalmum […] commentando volumina complere posse'). He then goes on to describe the specific moral benefit which could be derived from such a commentary:

> quibus instructi mortales et de divina in se providentia sapientius cogitare et sibi prudentius et utilius consulere possent. Namque hoc pacto quaenam rerum humano genere minores, quae maiores sint discernendo […] inferiora et caduca despicerent; ad superna vero et aeterna Dei beneficia hominum causa creata et proposita mentem animumque converterent.[360]
>
> Taught by which, humans could think more wisely both about divine Providence in respect to themselves, and deliberate more prudently and fruitfully. For by distinguishing in this way which things are smaller than the human race, and which are greater, they might scorn inferior and passing things, and rather turn their mind and heart to the higher and eternal favours of God, created and set forth for the sake of men.

Once again, despite his enthusiasm for studies of the physical earth, Arias Montano points out that their ultimate purpose is to point to Heaven.

In his excellent study on Arias Montano's antiquarianism, Shalev analyzes traces of devotional applications in the maps of the *Apparatus* and their accompanying textual chorographies. He describes how these images and texts 'call for reflection on the providential meaning of the landscape'.[361] Shalev's study mostly concerns Arias Montano's treatises, although he does make reference to one of the engravings in *HSM*.[362]

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[359] Melion, 'Meditation, Vocation, and Sacred History', p. 53.
[360] *In XXXI Davidis psalmos priores commentaria* (Antwerp: Moretus, 1605), p. 48.
[361] Zur Shalev, 'Sacred Geography, Antiquarianism and Visual Erudition: Benito Arias Montano and the Maps in the Antwerp Polyglot Bible', *Imago Mundi* 55 (2003), 67.
[362] Shalev, 'Sacred Geography, Antiquarianism and Visual Erudition', p. 67.

In this chapter, I aim to show that Arias Montano's poetry presents another way in which he assimilates the geographical knowledge of Scripture and gives it a biblical and devotional application. However, once again this is balanced in a few cases by poems where the limits of geographical and antiquarian study are demonstrated; these poems suggest that some aspects of the divine landscape have been lost to humans and are only accessible in Heaven.

The Promised Land and Pilgrimage

To understand how Arias Montano meditates on geographical elements in his poetry, it is worth looking briefly at how he does so in his prose works. In *Chanaan*, the eponymous land is described as unique thanks to the richness of its soil, the salubriousness of its air, the temperateness of the sky, the abundance of fruits of all kinds, and the wealth of other things ('ob soli ubertatem, aeris salubritatem, caeli temperiem, frugum omnis generis abundantiam, atque aliarum omnium rerum copiam'). This is due to its particular topographical conditions, since heat is trapped in the caves of the mountains, which creates perfect conditions for life to flourish ('calor […] quo quidem cuncta gignuntur atque foventur, intra montium cavernas […] inclusus'). The mountains are also the reason why thirty-one kingdoms can fit into such a small country, since they increase the surface area of the land fourfold ('Scimus enim montes altos […] quadruplum fere subiectae areae magnitudinem continere').[363] It is worth noting that on this point, Arias Montano privileges the Bible over other sources, since contemporary pilgrims and scholars were in dispute about whether Canaan was, in fact, a fertile land.[364] The Canaanites reaped the benefits of this land until they sinned against

[363] *Chanaan, sive de duodecim gentibus Chanaan, sive de duodecim gentibus*, in the *Apparatus* to Antwerp Polyglot, [VII] (1572), p. 1.
[364] See Zur Shalev, 'Early Modern geographia sacra in the Context of Early Modern Scholarship', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Bible in Early Modern England, c. 1530–1700*, ed. by Kevin Killeen, Helen Smith, and Rachel Willie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 196–208.

God and brought about their own destruction (‘adeo ut cum Deum suis flagitiis atque impietate irritassent, […] tandem ipsi sibi exitium sint moliti’).[365]

In *Chaleb,* Arias Montano reflects on the miraculous nature of the conquest of the Promised Land. He writes that this occurred in such a small space of time (‘adeoque exiguo temporis spatio’) that it seemed not enough to traverse the entire land, let alone conquer it, especially considering the cities were defended both by their geographical location and the industry of the inhabitants (‘ipsa loci natura, atque hominum industria’).[366] Other geographical considerations relevant to the conquest of Canaan can also be found in other works: for example, as we shall see, Arias Montano’s treatise on Joshua contains information about the river Jordan, miraculously crossed by the Israelites so that they could conquer Canaan, and the twelve stones placed in it as a testament to the miracle (Joshua 4:9).

Many of these themes can be seen in Arias Montano’s poetry. For example, in the final stanza of Ode XIX, the poet depicts Joshua marvelling at the miraculous nature of the conquest:

Valde stupenti tam cito plurimum Cessisse regnorum imperium sibi; Et ante quam possent obiri Cuncta oculis, potuisse vinci. (25–28)	And he was greatly amazed that the power Of so many kingdoms should have yielded to him so quickly, And could be conquered Even before they could be surveyed completely by his eyes.

These ideas also occur in *Hymni et secula*, most notably in *Secula* IV.1, ‘De Terreni promissi veritate et constantia’ (‘On the truth and constancy of the Promised Land’).

[365] *Chanaan*, p.2.
[366] *Chaleb, sive de terrae promissae partitione,* in the *Apparatus* to Antwerp Polyglot, [VII] (1572, p. 1.

Strikingly, rather than just stating the wickedness of the Canaanites, the poem opens with a personification of the land being weary of its inhabitants:

Optatis veterem sedibus hospitem	This land looks at the former guest[367]
[…]	returning to his desired home
Tellus haec reducem spectat amabili	[…]
Vultu, quam veteris iam nimis incolae	With a loving face,
Mores nempe piget ferre diutius,	For she is reluctant to bear the customs
Et cultor iuvat innocens. (1–8)	Of her old inhabitant any longer,
	And an innocent resident pleases her.

The crossing of the Jordan is related in lines 9–24, culminating in the rocks placed in the river as an enduring landmark which would be testament to the miracle (Joshua 4:9):

Miratus lapides in medio alveo	Marvelling at the stones rising up
Bis senum in tumulum surgere, quos diu	Into twelve heaps in the middle of the
Servans ipse tenet, compositumque opus	stream's channel, which for a long time
Structoresque operis refert. (21–24)	[The people] keep and have, and which tell
	Of the work which was completed and its builders.

Arias Montano goes on to discuss the particular fertility of Canaan:

Miro excepta modo gens pia fertilem	Received in a wondrous way, the pious
Glebamque et variis iugera fructibus	people behold the fertile soil
Et constructa sacris montibus oppida, ac	And the acres of varied fruit
Tractum perpetuo utilem	And the towns built on the sacred mountains
	And the ever-useful profitable expanse of
Spectat, temperiemque aetheris, ac soli	land,
Rivorumque decus, puraque fontium	
Dona extollit amans dignaque laudibus,	And the temperate nature of the climate,
Praeterque indigenam omnia. (25–32)	and the glory
	Of the soil and streams, and lovingly exalt

[367] Confusingly, in this poem Arias Montano appears to refer both to the Israelites and the recently displaced Canaanites as the 'former' ('ueterem', 1; 'ueteris', 6) inhabitants of the Promised Land; in the case of the Israelites this is because, before living in Egypt and since the times of Abraham, they had lived in Canaan. The confusion is probably due to the fact that, in his autograph original, Arias Montano referred to the Canaanites as the land's 'proprii' ('own') inhabitants (BNE Mss/155, 184(bis)^{v}), but clearly felt that this would be inappropriate as it would depict them as the true owners of the land, and changed the reading.

The pure gifts of springs worthy of praise,
And everything besides the inhabitant.

In this poem, Arias Montano conveys the importance of the meditation of the geographical aspects of Canaan by emphasising the Israelites' observation: the verb 'spectat' is emphatically enjambed across the stanza, and has been changed from the word 'Gaudet' in an earlier draft.[368] The holy nature of the land is also important in the description: the mountains are described as 'sacris' ('sacred', 27), which is significant since in his first draft of the poem Arias Montano described them merely as 'aëreis' ('lofty').[369] The sense of moral righteousness is also implicit in the rest of the description: the word 'temperiem' ('temperateness', 29) used to describe the air, can be used to mean the virtue of temperance, and the word 'pura' ('pure', 30), describing the rivers, also has connotations of religious and moral cleanliness. Likewise, earlier in the poem the Jordan is described as 'purus' (10); this is once again a deliberate choice, since in his first draft Arias Montano describes the river as 'pulcer' ('beautiful').[370] Indeed, the only thing in the land not worthy of praise is its inhabitant, the Canaanites ('indigenam', 32)![371] Thus, through his lexical choices Arias Montano is underlining the affinity between geographical knowledge and its devotional applications.

The passage is also reminiscent of the *laudes Italiae* of the *Georgics* although, in contrast to the usual adaptation of this passage by Renaissance authors praising Italy or other homelands, Arias Montano transfers it to the Promised Land.[372] For example, Arias Montano's 'towns built on the sacred hills' ('**con**structa sacris montibus **oppida'**,

[368] BNE Mss/155, 185^{v}.
[369] BNE Mss/155, 185^{r}.
[370] BNE Mss/155, 185^{r}.
[371] The autograph original contains the same sense phrased slightly differently and in brackets: '(Excepto indigeno)', BNE Mss/155, 185^{v}.
[372] See L. B. T Houghton, '"Salve, Magna Parens: Virgil's *Laudes Italiae* in Renaissance Italy and Beyond', *International Journal of the Classical Tradition*, 22:2 (2015), 180–208.

27) seem to allude to Virgil's 'towns built on the steep crags' ('**con**gesta […] praerupta **oppida** saxis', *Georg*. II.156). It is worth noting that Virgil also uses the word *sacer* to describe the river Clitumnus, by which white animals used in sacrifices were bred (*Georg.* II.146–48); Arias Montano's usage would thus be a competitive one, since the holiness of the Promised Land is superior to the pagan sacrifices Virgil describes. In fact, in the following poem, *Secula* IV.2 ('De promissae terrae felice usu'), Arias Montano writes that the fields of the Promised Land were ideal for producing constant sacrifices for sacred fires ('Sacrisque assiduas ignibus hostias | Rura emittere idonea', 18–19), referring of course those of the Jews. Other elements common both to Arias Montano's description of the Promised Land and the *laudes Italiae* include fruits ('fructibus', 26; 'fruges', *Georg*. II.143) and rivers ('rivorum', 30; 'flumine' *Georg*. II.147, 'flumina' II.157). The temperate climate ('temperiem aetheris', 29) may also recall the 'constant spring' of Virgil's Italy ('ver adsiduum', *Georg*. II.149). Indeed, one might wonder whether Arias Montano is not making a metaliterary comment on the allusion by stating that the river is 'worthy of praises' ('dignaque laudibus', 31); if Italy is worthy of *laudes*, how much more so is the Promised Land?

In *Secula* IV.1, the poet also refers to the natural and man-made fortifications of Canaan, and their powerlessness in the face of God:

Hunc quam magna libet munierit loci Artisque asperitas, magna etiam manus Pugnandique sciens, non tamen eripit Ultoris gladio Dei. (33–36)	Although the great roughness of the place And of human art had fortified the land, Still the great band of people expert in fighting Did not snatch it from the sword of the avenging God.

Here the link between the land is associated with the Canaanites and thus described in negative terms: the word 'asperitas' is used zeugmatically both to refer to the physical unevenness of the land and the moral roughness of the Canaanites.

A particularly interesting case of the poetic use of landscape occurs in lines 37–44:

Contemptum subito ut flumina terminum Praeterfusa ruunt, et segetem et nemus Pastorem ac rapidi gurgitis impetu Volvunt cum pecore ac domo, Sic densi populi regnaque fortium, Atque antiqua diu nomina principum Exturbata brevi tempore funditus Irato pereunt Deo (41–48)	Just as rivers pour forth, suddenly scorning and rushing beyond Their bounds, and roll the cornfields and grove And the shepherd with his cattle and house In the attack of the swift torrent, Just so the multitudinous peoples And the kingdoms and ancient names of brave princes Are driven out completely, and in a short time Die at the hands of the angry God.

Here, Arias Montano uses the metaphor of a flooding river for God's destruction of the impious. Given that the poem has just spoken about crossing of river Jordan, this image may have been suggested by the particular characteristics of that river. The book of Joshua specifically mentions how the parting of the river was miraculous because the river was flooded during harvest time (Joshua 3:15). In *De optimo imperio*, his commentary on Joshua, Arias Montano demonstrates his geographical knowledge by comparing the Jordan to other rivers:

> siue ea singularis fluminis illius natura sit, sive montibus illis quibus Iordanis oritur et augetur, liquatae per aestum nives aquae copiam effundant, qualem Latesim fluvium ex Rethiis alpibus aestivo tempore accipere vidimus, qualemque Nilus ex Aethiopiae montibus, ut nonnulli arbitrantur, accipit
>
> whether this is simply the singular nature of this river, or whether snow melted by the heat pours down abundantly from the mountains from which the Jordan springs and is fed, as we see is the case with the Lys river from the Rhetian Alps in the summer, or as some think is the case with the Nile from the Ethiopian mountains'.[373]

Thus, the simile is grounded in scientific scholarship, but once again is put to the use of meditation by referring to God's punishment of the wicked.

[373] *De optimo imperio, sive in librum Iosuae commentarium* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1583) p. 102.

Here, Arias Montano is also exploiting an Horatian image of a flooding river, in particular that of Hor. *Carm*. III.29. This has already been set up previously in the poem: the phrase 'medio alveo', which we saw in line 21, occurs in the same position at *Carm*. III.29.34. (The intertext may also explain why Arias Montano has changed the line to use the word 'lapides' rather than 'saxa', since the word 'lapides' appears in the same Horatian stanza at III.29.36.)[374] Horace's river rolls together rocks, trees, flocks and homes ('lapides adesos | stirpisque raptas et **pecus** et **domos** | **volventis** una', III.29.36–38; in strikingly similar terms, Montano's rivers roll the cornfields, groves and the shepherd with his cattle and house ('et segetem et nemus | Pastorem ac rapidi gurgitis impetu | **Volvunt** cum **pecore** ac **domo**', 42–44). Significantly, Horace's river has a philosophical moral: the wise man keeps his head whether the metaphorical river flows calmly or in a flood. Arias Montano is, as ever, capitalising on Horace's moralising precedent, but adapting it for a new Christian readership.

As we can see, this poem follows quite closely various points on which Arias Montano reflects in *Chanaan* and *Chaleb*. However, in some cases a single point of geographical erudition serves as a springboard for a longer meditation. This occurs in *HSM* XVII, on the Israelites crossing the Jordan, reproduced below in full:

Non pavens vanis metus, et viarum Qui negat duros tolerare casus, Longa vel deses memorat remoti Taedia finis;	Not Fear trembling at vain things, Fear which can't bear the difficult vicissitudes of journeys, Or which idly counts the long weariness Of the far-off end,
Sed fides constans animique magni, 5 Quae semel certo radiata verbo, Tramitem ostensum subit, atque caeli Prospicit alti Templa, lux unde et fauor, ac potentis	But constant and great-hearted Faith, Which once illuminated with the certain Word, Goes up the revealed path, And sees the high temples of the heavens,

[374] BNE Mss/155 185r.

Vis tenax verbi, penetrare prompta
Turbidi fluctus maris, ac secundo
Gratia ductu;

Illa mirandos superans labores
Quos iuvet quondam meminisse
Praemium summo positum reportat
Culmine victrix.

Tunc probat sortis memor et prioris,
Digna quam multis fuerint periclis,
Quamque contento repetenda cursu
Munera dia.

Sic et Aegyptis miseris redempta
Vinculis felix manus, advocanti et
Obsequens verbo, tenuit quietis
Regna beata.

Hinc inaccessi trepidare montes,
Hinc opes visa est solito priores
Largius turbae venienti in usum
Fundere tellus.

Primus et custos regionis, altum
Ut sensit numen, renuens morari,
Fluminis portam vitream tumentis
Pandit Iarden.

Whence there comes light and favour,
And the tenacious strength of the powerful Word,
Ready to pass through the tides of the stormy sea,
And grace with its happy course;

She overcomes marvellous toils,
(May it be pleasing to remember them one day!),
She as a victor brings back the prize
Placed on the highest peak.

Then she shows, mindful of her earlier lot,
How worthy were those holy gifts
Of many dangers and of being sought
With strenuous journeying.

Thus, the happy band, redeemed from the wretched bonds of Egypt and obeying the calling word,
Reached the happy kingdom
Of peace.

Then the inaccessible mountains were seen to tremble,
Then the earth was seen to pour out its riches
Earlier than usual and in greater abundance
For the use of the coming crowd.

And Jordan, the first guardian of the region,
When he perceived the divine power, refusing to delay,
Opened the glassy door
Of the swelling river.

Significantly, the description of the crossing of the Jordan only occurs in the final stanza. To understand why this is, we must look again at the geographical knowledge contained in this stanza, that is, the fact that Arias Montano describes the path through the river as a ‘glassy’ (‘vitream’) door. Of course, this is a typical poetic word used to describe rivers, but here it is grounded in scientific study. The key can be

found in Arias Montano's gloss to Joshua 4:9, where Joshua sets up twelve stones in the middle of the Jordan ('Alios quoque duodecim lapides posuit Josue in medio Jordanis alveo'). Arias Montano writes that the stones in the Jordan could be seen from the bank because its waters were particularly clear: 'Poterant vero lapides illi conspici et notari ab iis qui in ripa consisterent, quandoquidem Iordanis aquae purissimae, maximeque perspicuae esse perhibentur'.[375] This is important because the fact that the particular clarity of this river allows the rocks to be seen allows them to function as 'a remarkable testimony and monument not only of the miracle, but of the alliance [between God and the Israelites]' ('non tantum miraculi, verumetiam foederis praeclarum testimonium et monumentum').[376] This leads to the whole poem being a meditation on Faith (*fides*).

The poem also underlines the theme of journey: Arias Montano slips into allegory as he asserts that Fear cannot complete a journey, worried about hardship and the distance of the end; only Faith can reach the heavens (1–16).[377] As with Ortelius's *Parergon*, meditation on geographical depictions of biblical journeys came to be an important devotional exercise. We have already seen this in action in *HSM* VI, which also addresses Faith as a force motivating someone to complete a journey;[378] in that case, the journey is that of Abraham, and was one of those depicted in one of the maps of the *Parergon*.[379]

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[375] *De optimo imperio* p. 116.
[376] *De optimo imperio* p. 116.
[377] It is also worth mentioning Arias Montano's attention to detail with toponyms here. The Vulgate translates the Hebrew יַרְדֵּן with the noun *Jordanēs*, and Arias Montano maintains this in the summary of the poem, in that of *HSM* XLIV, and in his prose commentary on Joshua. However, in *HSM* the poet renders the word with the toponym *Iarden* (*HSM* XVII.32, XLIV.30), which is more faithful to the vocalized Hebrew word. This is also the form he uses in *Secula* IV.1. However, *Jordan* can refer both to the region and the river, as reflected by the fact that here *Iarden* is the 'guard of the region' ('custos regionis', 29) whereas in *Secula* IV.1 the river is the 'guard of the homeland, Jordan' ('custos patriae, […] Iardenis', 9).
[378] See Chapter Five.
[379] For more on this poem, see Juan F. Alcina, 'Los Humanae Salutis Monumenta de Benito Arias Montano', in *Anatomía del Humanismo: Benito Arias Montano 1598-1998. Actas del Simposio*

The New World and Trade

Sixteenth-century European scholars devoted much energy to explaining how the discovery of the Americas fitted into the working of Divine Providence and, in particular, the apparent absence of this new continent in Scripture, which was believed to be the repository of all knowledge. Fray Luis famously postulated that the discovery of the Americas was encoded in the prophecies of Job and Obadiah, and in his exegetical works even refers to Arias Montano's treatises.[380] One important way in which biblical scholars, beginning with Columbus himself, resolved this problem was to identify Ophir, the unlocatable place from which Solomon obtained his gold, with the newly discovered continent. Particularly important to Arias Montano's scholarship was Guillaume Postel, a fellow scholar on the Polyglot project. Postel noted that Ophir was not just a place in the Bible, but also a person: he was one of Noah's descendants named in Genesis 12. This formed the basis of an entire ethnography based on the premise that, when Noah's descendants repopulated the earth after the Flood, traces of their names remained in the places they colonised. Postel concluded that Ophir travelled eastward, eventually arriving in Peru, for which he gives the variants 'Pheru vel Peru', suggesting an etymological connection.[381]

Arias Montano in his treatise *Phaleg* accepts this sequence of events and argues explicitly that 'Ophir' was metathesized into 'Peru', which was used for both the

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Internacional celebrado en la Universidad de Huelva, ed. by Luis Gómez Canseco (Huelva: Diputación Provincial de Huelva-Universidad de Huelva, 1998), pp. 137–38.

[380] See Andrés Moreno Mengíbar and Juan Martos Fernández, 'Mesianismo y nuevo mundo en fray Luis de León: In Adiam prophetam expositio', *Bulletin Hispanique* 98:2 (1996), 261–89; Francisco Javier Perea Siller, 'Benito Arias Montano y la identificación de Sefarad: exégesis poligráfica de Abdías 20', *Helmantica: Revista de filología clásica y hebrea* 51:154 (2000), 199–218.

[381] Guillaume Postel, *Cosmographicae disciplinae compendium, in suum finem, hoc est ad Divinae Providentiae certissiam demonstrationem conductum* (Basel: Oporinus, 1561), p. 32. For more on this, see James Romm, 'Biblical History and the Americas: The legend of Solomon's Ophir, 1492–1591', in *The Jews and the Expansion of Europe to the West, 1450–1800*, ed. by Paolo Bernardini and Norman Fiering (New York: Berghahn Books, 2001), pp. 27–46.

northern and southern parts of the continent ('quod paulo post inversum utrique etiam parti seorsum adscriptum est, atque alterutra pars Peru'). He then links this to Parvaim, another toponym referred to in the Bible as the source of Solomon's gold. Arias Montano interprets the '-ayim' part of this word as the Hebrew dual ending and thus argues that the name means 'the two Parvas' or 'the two Perus' ('utraque autem simul dualis numeri pronuntiatione Pervaim sive Parvaim dicta est').[382] As in *Chanaan* and *Chaleb*, this information is illustrated in a map of the post-diluvian world. Although by this point European cartographers were already aware of the Bering Strait, which they called the Straits of Anián, to enable his reading to be physically possible Arias Montano represents Asia and the Americas as connected in the time of Noah. (This is significant for the history of cartography and even the history of science; as Romm writes, 'This beautifully drawn map represents the first detailed attempt, as far as I know, to use cartography as a tool for investigating historical anthropology, and is also the first to posit a land bridge across the northern Pacific'.)[383]

Knowledge of Arias Montano's view of global geography during the time of the ancient Israelites can once again inform our reading of his poetry and our understanding of how he converts geographical erudition into meditation. For example, in his poems on Solomon, Arias Montano is particularly emphatic about the king and his temple being known in the whole world: 'wherever the ocean lies open, the people know your songs' ('qua patet oceanus, gentes tua carmina discunt', *HSM* XXV. 19); 'Fame grows and reaches all the shores | Inhabited both near and far' ('Crescit et cunctas penetrat per oras | Quae prope et quae vel procul incoluntur | Fama', *Secula* IV.9.25–27). Thanks to

[382] *Phaleg, sive De gentium sedibus primis orbisque terrae situ liber*, in the *Apparatus* to Antwerp Polyglot, [VII] (1572), p. 12, col. 2.
[383] Romm, 'Biblical History and the Americas', p. 37. For Arias Montano's ideas in the context of contemporary ideas on how and when man had colonized the Americas, see Lee Eldridge Huddleston, *Origins of the American Indians: European concepts, 1492–1729* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1967).

Arias Montano's treatises, we know that this is not mere hyperbole, but an assertion than Solomon was literally known in all the earth because he traded and communicated with the Americas.

Arias Montano's scholarship on Solomon's trade with the Americas also affects the presentation of Solomon's wealth, and trade in general, in his poetry. It is informative to compare his approach to that of Fray Luis. The latter is famously critical of the vices of sea-trade in his poetry:

> En vano el mar fatiga
> la vela portuguesa, que ni el seno
> de Persia, ni la amiga
> Maluca da árbol bueno,
> que pueda hacer un ánimo sereno. (1–5)[384]

In this way he follows Horace, who laments the invention of sea-travel in *Carm*. I.3, and paints a picture of a merchant afraid that his ship will sink in *Carm*. III.29.

However, Arias Montano's attitude to commercial activity is more ambivalent than that of Fray Luis. This is most noticeable in *Secula* I.8, 'De prouidentia Dei ad Ludovicum Perezium', which contains an extended image of seafaring:

Instructe sortis legibus optimae, Dulcis Perezi, iam bene conscie, Contende praeceptum secundo Sidere continuare cursum.	You who are well-versed in the laws of the best fate, Oh sweet Pérez, now my good confidant, Strive to continue the prescribed course Under a lucky star.
Qui nec supremum funditus ad latus 5 Navem refertam pondere dispari Vexas, neque exoptas olente Divitias cumulare merce.	You who do not abuse a ship stuffed With excessive weight all the way to the gunwale, And do not desire to heap up riches With fragrant wares;
Contentus illis nempe negotiis, Quae nec piorum iudicium improbet, 10 Nec possit exercere segnis, Subsidium miseris futura.	Content assuredly with that business Of which the judgment of the pious does not disapprove And which it cannot conduct unenergetically,

[384] Luis de León, *Obras completas castellanas*, ed. by Félix García Moriyón, 2 vols, 4th edn (Madrid: Editorial Católica, 1957), II, 752.

Deliberatum consilio gravi
Portum tenebis, si neque dextera
Clavum reflectas, nec sinistra.
Nec properes, nimiumve cesses.

Non cetus, aut te monstra natantia,
Non unda flatu spumea terreat,
Nec littus invitans inani
Illiciat revocetve luce.[385]

Ignem sereno lumine praevium,
Quem naviganti proposuit Deus,
Et mente et intentis, Perezi,
Serva oculis, sequere et vocantem.

Permitte Regi caetera, cui tuam
Rem consecrasti, et quicquid erit lucri;
Nam prosper educet labores
Ille tuos, minuetque iniquos.

Seu dubitandam dent scopuli viam,
Seu volvat altas unda voragines,
Seu monte consistat minaci,
Seu sinubus remeet reductis.

Quicunque cellis missus ab abditis
Ventus repulsum commoveat mare,
Nec differet, nec vela rumpet
(Crede) tua, aut faciet morari.

Namque ille densis nubibus insidet,
Strictosque clarum colligat in iugum
Versatque parentes habenis
Arbitrio sapiente ventos.

Since it will be of assistance to the wretched;

You will reach the determined port
With firm resolution, if you do not bend the rudder
With your right hand, or your left hand.
Do not hurry, and do not delay.

Let not the sea-monster, or swimming beasts,
Or the wave with its foamy wind terrify you,
Nor let the alluring shore
Lead you astray and call you back with vain light.

Keep in your mind and in your attentive eyes,
Perez, the fire that goes before with serene light,
Which God has placed before the sailor,
And follow Him who calls.

Leave the rest to the King, to whom
You have consecrated your business, and all your profit;
For he will favourably lead your labours
To fruition, and diminish your enemies.

Whether the rocks offer a doubtful path,
Whether the wave sends deep whirlpools spiralling,
Whether it stands up in a threatening mountain,
Or draws back in receding hollows,

Whatever wind sent from hidden lairs
Moves and pushes back the sea,
It will not carry away or break your sails
(Have faith!), or delay you.

For He sits upon dense clouds,
And collects and compresses the winds
Into a bright yoke, and twists them into obedience with reins
By His wise judgment.

On a first reading, the poem appears to praise the interlocutor, Luis Pérez, for not indulging in greedy sea-trade (5–8); it then seems to launch into a nautical image

[385] luce *corregi*: luco *MA*. Despite the fact that 'luco' appears as a marginal correction to an unreadable deletion, (BNE Mss/155, 230^{r}), *lucus* means grove, so is inappropriate. The reference to 'ignem' ('fire') in line 21, an emendation of the earlier 'stellam' ('star', BNE Mss/155, 230^{v}) suggests the reading here must be 'luce' ('light').

which advises Pérez to steer neither too close to sea or to shore, but to continue straight (9–16), and proclaims that rocks and storms are not to be feared if one trusts in God. This seems unsurprising. The criticism of avarice and the recommendation to seek the Golden Mean is reminiscent of Fray Luis and his classical precedent in Horace. For example, 'Divitias cumulare merce' (8) recalls 'addant avaro divitias mari' (III.29.61), where riches are heaped up not to the merchant's advantage, but at the bottom of the sea. Likewise, the advice not to steer too much to the left or right, too much out to sea or too close to the shore (13–20) recalls Horace's similar injunction to seek the Golden Mean in *Carm*. II.10:

Rectius vives, Licini, neque altum semper urgendo neque, dum procellas cautus horrescis, nimium premendo litus iniquum. (II.10.1–4)	You will take a better course, Licinius, if you do not always thrust over the deep sea, or hug the dangerous coast too close, shivering at the prospect of squalls.

The wish for the ship to remain safe is also reminiscent of *Carm*. I.3, where the reason for the lament on the invention of sea-travel is the poet's desire that the ship in which his friend is travelling will arrive safely. One particularly striking allusion occurs in line 17, where Arias Montano encourages his interlocutor not to fear 'monstra natantia' ('swimming monsters'); the same phrase is used at the end of the line in Hor. *Carm*. I.3.18. Finally, Arias Montano also offers a Christianized version of Horace's injunction to have faith despite dangers: 'Permitte Regi caetera' (25) recalls Horace's 'permitte divis cetera' ('Leave everything else to the gods', *Carm*. I.9.9).

However, far from being averse to trade, Pérez was in fact a wealthy spice merchant. This forces us to re-evaluate the poem's moral message. On a closer reading, we can see that Arias Montano even refers to Pérez's occupation as the 'business | Of which the judgment of the pious does not disapprove' ('illis […] negotiis | Quae nec piorum iudicium improbet', 9–10). Arias Montano's approval may be due to the fact

that Pérez frequently supported Arias Montano's Antwerp publisher Plantin financially, advancing him sums of money in exchange for an equivalent sum of the resulting books.[386] He was particularly supportive of Arias Montano's publications.[387]

Arias Montano justifies this positive view of trade in *Phaleg* by developing a theory which makes trade a way to restore the Adamic unity of mankind, using the example of Solomon. Firstly, he explains that the gold known to antiquity was so vast that it cannot come from the sources of the Old World and must have been mostly acquired from Ophir. He goes on to write that this is in fact what the Creator of the world intended: some regions are particularly rich in a certain good, which obliges them to share it with regions which do not possess it ('Videmus praeterea singulorum commoda locorum non illorum tantum contineri finibus: sed ea ad omnes alias nationes rerum permutatione emanare. Adeo ut haec, quae auri ferax est, regio illud caeteris quae quidem illo carent, impertiat'). This collaboration has the capacity to unite the peoples scattered after the Flood: 'quod homines ab uno rerum omnium conditore creatos […] una omnium natura eos inter se facile conciliat'.[388]

These ideas are implied in Arias Montano's poetry on King Solomon: while Fray Luis criticises material wealth, Arias Montano does not avoid the subject of the king's riches. For example, he refers to Solomon's unsurpassed wealth in *HSM* ('diuitiisque', XXV.3) and states that no king has ever had, or will ever have, as much gold and silver as Solomon ('Cedit argenti tibi, cedit auri | Quanta vis nulli fuit aut

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[386] For more on Pérez, see Alastair Hamilton, *The Family of Love* (Cambridge: Clarke, 1981), ch. 4. n. 47; for his support of Plantin's press, Karen L. Bowen and Dirk Imhof, *Christopher Plantin and Engraved Book Illustrations in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (Cambridge: CUP, 2008), pp. 119–20.
[387] For what is known of Arias Montano's correspondence with Pérez, see Antonio Dávila Pérez, 'New Documents on Benito Arias Montano (ca 1525–1598) and Politics in the Netherlands', in *Between Scylla and Charybdis: Learned Letter Writers Navigating the Reefs of Religious and Political Controversy in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Jeanine de Landtsheer and Henk J. M. Nellen (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp. 252–57.
[388] *Phaleg*, p. [4].

priorum, | Aut erit, regum', *Secula* IV.9.33–35). Therefore, in his poetry, Arias Montano's understanding of the communication between the ancient Israelites and the Americas manifests itself in a much more ambiguous treatment of the theme of sea-trade and wealth than in his fellow Christian Horatianist in Spain.

The New Testament

The value of *geographia sacra* is presented programmatically in the opening of *Secula* VI.11, 'Mysteriorum Christi initia', which refers to the story of the Samaritan woman at the well (John 4):

Quo me sancte vocas Dei?
Secretumque iubes a sapientibus
Mundi, discere nesciis
Quae discenda doces, ire per asperos
Montes, et nemus invium,
Devotae petere et rura Samariae,
Discendi cupidum nova
Ore dicta tuo ignotaque seculis,
Quamquam optata, prioribus,
Tantum sed tenui visa in imagine?
Non alta Sione est satis,
Nonne ampli Solymis sat superat loci?
Heic mysteria novimus
Quondam veridicis credita vatibus,
Queis terrae atque potens poli
Rex, te pollicitus pontificem sui ac
Doctorem fore consili
Promissique boni te duce praestiti.
En quis me subitus leuem
Sublatumque solo spiritus extulit,
Subducta ac nimium procul
Terra, non solitum nubibus hospitem
Pennis praepetibus rapit
Atque Euro atque leve liberius Noto?[389]
Nullum me superat volans,
Non soles aquila intendere perspicax[390]
Puri et conscia luminis,

Whither are you calling me, holy one of God?
Do you order me to be removed from the wise men
Of the world, and teach me to learn from the ignorant the things which must be learnt, and to traverse rough
Mountains and pathless groves,
And seek the fields of accursed Samaria,
Eager to learn new words
From your mouth, unknown to prior ages,
Although desired,
But only seen in an insubstantial image?
Is it there not a wide enough place on high Zion,
Nor in Jerusalem?
Here we know mysteries
Once entrusted to the true-speaking prophets,
By which the powerful king of earth and sky,
Promised that you would be his priest,
And teacher of his counsel,
And promised good fulfilled under your leadership.
Look, what spirit suddenly snatched me up
And carried me off in my lightness,
And with the earth removed too far off,
Seized me, an unusual guest, in the clouds
On nimble wings,
Freer than Eurus and light Notus?
No bird outdoes me in flight,

[389] Atque Euro atque leve liberius Noto *A*: Atque Euro atque Notis usque velocius *M* (BNE Mss/155, fol. 74^{r}. Both unmetrical. An elegant emendation, for which I am grateful to Prof. Stephen Harrison, would be 'Atque Euro atque levat liberius Noto' ('And raises me more freely than Eurus and light Notus'), although Arias Montano does not seem to have intended a verb here.
[390] soles aquila intendere: soles aquilam intendere A: solis aquilā cernere *M*

Non si quicquam aquilis evolat altius.
Vates mente nova senem
Eliam referam, credite posteri,
Illum curribus igneis,
Ultra altas nebulas sustulit Angelus,
Fidi ac discipuli dedit
Attenta in superos fallere lumina.
Sic me nunc merito imparem,
Olim quae soleo ducere grandia
Rerum, Spiritus excitat
Longe sub pedibus pressa relinquere:
Idem nubeque candida
Occultum, sociis ne videar meis,
Donat sistere et a sacri
Non longe putei margine, quem valens
Luctator Sicharum pater
Suffectura satis pocula foderat.
Hic iam comminus audio
Tecum quid mulier conscia disputet,
Magne, o Nazaridum decus,
Praeceptorque hominum, vivida vox Dei,
Lumen qui rudibus potes
Afferre ingeniis, ut videant prope,
Quae iam cernere mitibus
Fas, altis animis ac tumidis nefas.

Not the eagle perspicacious in watching suns,
And aware of pure light,
Not even if anything flies higher than eagles.
As a prophet, with a new mind I will tell
Of aged Elijah, believe it, future generations,
Whom on his fiery chariot
The Angel carried beyond the high mists,
And allowed the faithful disciple
To cheat eyes looking towards the heavens.
So now, the Spirit arouses me, unequal to that merit,
To leave what once I used to consider
The great things of the universe
Pressed far off beneath my feet,
And grants me to stay hidden in a bright cloud,
So I should not be seen by my companions,
And not far off from the edge
Of the sacred well, which the powerful
Wrestler, father of the Sycharians
Had dug to supply sufficient cups.
Here now I hear close by
What the guilty woman discusses with you,
O great one, the glory of Nazarenes,
Teacher of men, living voice of God,
You who can bring light to rough minds,
So that they might see close at hand
The things which now it is right for the meek to see,
But not right for high and proud ones.

This passage is bookended by the idea that Christ's message is revealed to simple minds: in lines 2–3 the poet expresses surprise at having to learn from the unknowing ('nesciis') rather than from the wise ('sapientibus'), and in lines 49–51 he refers to rough ('rudibus') and meek ('mitibus') minds. This is in keeping with Arias Montano's interpretation in *Liber generationis*, where he explains that the adjacent stories of Nicodemus (John 3:1–36) and of the woman at the well (John 4:1–26) serve to demonstrate that the greatness of the arcane doctrine of Christ overcomes both educated

and simple minds respectively ('tum in eruditiore, tum vero in rudiore ingenio') and must be explained to both.[391]

However, Arias Montano repeatedly insists on the importance of place in this biblical story. He begins by expressing surprise at where his studies of biblical geography are taking him: 'Quo me sancte vocas Dei?' ('Whither are you calling me, holy one of God?', 1), and asks whether God really expects him to make the figurative journey to Samaria over 'rough mountains and pathless groves' ('asperos | Montes et nemus invium', 4–5). He then even disputes the appropriateness of the location, incredulous that Zion and Jerusalem are not suitable (6–12). The poet is then snatched up in flight (19–34) and taken to the well at Sychar, where he is privy to Christ's conversation with the Samaritan woman (35–52; John 4:1–30).

Arias Montano's description of himself as a bird suggests a flight of the imagination in a devotional meditation. However, it is also reminiscent of Horace II.20, where the poet imagines himself turning into a swan and flying to the ends of the earth, where he will be renowned. This implies that there is a metapoetic meaning to the image, which is underlined by Arias Montano's description of himself as a 'vates' in line 29, echoing Horace at II. 20. 3. The immediately following phrase 'mente nova' also appears in the same position at Hor. *Carm*. III. 25. 3 which, as we have seen, is a programmatic hymn to Bacchus on which Arias Montano draws elsewhere, and is written in the same metre as this poem. Similarly, the phrase 'credite posteri' (30) also appears at *Carm*. II.19, another hymn to Bacchus. Our poet seems to be suggesting that his biblical poetry can be inspired by his investigation into the geographical location of the events he is recounting. Of course, instead of being inspired by Bacchus, Arias

[391] *Liber generationis et regenerationis Adam, sive De historia generis humani: Operis magni pars prima, id est Anima* (Antwerp: Moretus, 1593), p. 432.

Montano is inspired by Christ; and instead of the toponyms mentioned by Horace such as the Hebrus river, Thrace and the Rhodope mountains (*Carm.* III.25.10–12), Arias Montano is whisked away to Samaria. To emphasise this biblical dimension, the Horatian avian simile is followed by a biblical image, that of Elijah's chariot of fire (29–34; 2 Kings 2:11).

Throughout the poem, Arias Montano draws attention to the significance of the geographical location. For example, his surprise at having to "go" to Samaria reflects the tensions between Samaritans and Jews central to the story, and the surprise of the woman at being asked for a drink by Jesus (John 4:9). Arias Montano underlines this by referring to Jesus as 'glory of Nazarenes' ('Nazaridum decus', 47). Secondly, the references to various important events which took place at the location also seem to underline its importance in the unfolding of salvation history. In lines 43–44, Arias Montano relates the well to Jacob's return to Canaan by referring to him as 'Luctator' ('wrestler', 43) an allusion to the episode where Jacob wrestles with the angel (Genesis 32: 22–32). This episode occurs just before the patriarch purchases land in Shechem (which had been identified with the biblical Sychar since Jerome) in Genesis 33:18–19.[392] In *De arcano sermone,* Arias Montano specifically discusses the utility of wells as landmarks:

> Non raro autem puteus loci cuiuspiam index est omnibus notissimus, idemque diuturnus. Quam ob rem ad eiusmodi locorum certam descriptionem, puteorum nomen commode affertur.[393]
>
> On the other hand, often the well is a well-known and lasting indication of a concrete place. For this reason, the names of wells contribute effectively to the precise description of this kind of places.

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[392] 'Transivit *Sichem*, non ut plerique errantes legunt *Sichar*, quae nunc *Neapolis* appellatur', 'She passed through *Sichem*, not *Sichar* as many people read erroneously, which is now called *Neapolis*', *Epist. Ad Eustoch*, PL XX, 888.

[393] *Liber Ioseph, sive De arcano sermone ad Sacri apparatus instructionem a Benedicto Aria Montano hispalensi concinnatus,* in the *Apparatus* to Antwerp Polyglot, [VII] (1571), p. 33.

Just as in *HSM* Arias Montano plays with the idea of figurative and literal 'monuments' of human salvation, in this poem he collapses the idea of figurative and literal landmarks of salvation.

This is not the only occasion in Arias Montano's poetry where the poet includes an apostrophe on a geographical point to underline its significance. For example, in *HSM*, XLI, the poet addresses Joseph as he is leading his family to Egypt: 'Tell me where you are leading | That tender virgin […] In the raging cold, | Fleeing as a stranger with hurrying step?' ('Dic mihi quo tenellam / Virginem […] Frigore saeviente | Hospes incessu fugiens sic properante ducis?', XLI.1–4). Likewise, in VI.18 'Priorum Iesu partium persolutio', Arias Montano seems to have caught Jesus mid-journey:

Num Solymos, via quo ducit, contendis? et illos Nunc populos proceresque revisis, Queis bonus et felix veniens, et commodus ultro Indigne es persaepe repulsus? (19–22)	Can it be to the Jews that you hurry, where the road leads? Are you now revisiting those people and princes By whom, when you came happily, kindly, conveniently and of your own accord, You were often unworthily rejected?

The reference to 'stones' ('saxis') in the following line tells us that the poet is referring to the attempted stoning of Jesus in Jerusalem (John 8:59). Arias Montano's geographical reference serves to emphasise his obedience to God, since he was willing to return to the site of hostility (and indeed to his death).

In the poem on the Samaritan woman, we can see how Arias Montano uses his geographical learning to aid his poetic composition. *Hierosolyma* is made up of six short syllables in a row, and so cannot be used in this lyric metre. Instead, Arias Montano refers to Jerusalem as *Solyma* ('Solymis', 12), a neuter plural word to be

found in some antiquarian sources: for example, Josephus writes that in the time of Abraham Jerusalem was called Solyma.[394]

Non-existent geography: 1. The Garden of Eden

In the poem 'De opificio hominis', Arias Montano describes the four 'heads' of the river of Eden (Gen 2: 10):

Surgit hic puro vitreus liquore Fons, loci magnum decus, ille pulchris Uberem plantis viridique rivum Sufficit arvo. 80	Here arises a fountain glassy with pure liquid, The great honour of the place, which provided A fertile river for the beautiful plants And green field.
Inde et ignotis latebris receptus, Quatuor felix varie iacentes Irrigat terras, fluviosque noto Nomine donat. 84	Then, received from unknown lairs, It happily waters four differently lying lands, And presents rivers With a well-known name.
Unus ardenti pretiosus auro Atque beryllo rutilisque candens Enitet gemmis bedolaeque[395] claro Munere praestat. 88	One is precious with glowing gold And beryl, and shining tawny Flickers with gems and stands out by means of The bright gift of *bdellium*.

Although he notes that the source is unknown (81), he appears to have some interest in the geographical location of the riverheads, since a reference to the Sihor in the poem 'Pontificis legitimi initiatio' (III.7.29) is glossed in the margin as 'Phison' [Pishon], one of the rivers of Eden. However, like many sixteenth-century Hebraists, Arias Montano did not insert a map of Paradise into his *Apparatus*.[396] Indeed, the fact that Eden is not represented on his map of the post-diluvian world suggests that he believed that it had been destroyed by the Flood. Although many writers, both Catholic and Protestant,

[394] *Antiquities of the Jews* 7.67. Similar licence is noted in *HSM* XI by Joaquín Luis Navarro López, 'Dos versiones distintas de la oda XI de los Humanae salutis monumenta', *Excerpta philologica: Revista de filología griega y latina de la Universidad de Cádiz,* 1:2 (1991), 557–60.
[395] Gen. 2:12 renders this *bdellium*, which I have kept in the translation; Arias Montano appears to have invented this word *metri causa*.
[396] Regina Psaki and Charles Hindley (eds), *The Earthly Paradise: The Garden of Eden from antiquity to modernity* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2002), pp. 215–16, 219.

were of the opinion that the earthly paradise had been destroyed, those who believed the opposite tended to be Catholic: the Huguenot Rivetus attributes the idea that an earthly paradise still existed to Sixtus of Siena, Cardinal Bellarmine, Leonardus Lessius and Marius of Cologne.[397] Thus, once again Arias Montano is at the forefront of biblical scholarship which was associated with Protestants.

However, the earthly paradise was often interpreted as a prefiguration of the heavenly paradise described in Revelation. Arias Montano makes this connection in his commentary on Haggai. He interprets the 'house' of Haggai 2:8–10 as the Third Temple, rather than the second. Consequently, he explains the reference to the silver and gold of Haggai 2:9 as referring to the heavenly materials which will be used to build the Third Temple:

> Vera et illustria sacrarum rerum ornamenta non tam ex auro et argento quod terra gignat, spectanda esse, quam ex alio auro atque argento, quod divinis thesauris conseruatur, quod ex fluminibus de Paradiso voluptatis promanantibus, colligitur. De quo illud per significationem scriptum est: Ubi nascitur aurum optimum, et Bdelius [sic] lapis. Neque vero si auro atque argento terreno agendum esse[398], id posset in hoc secundo templo desiderari, quando nihil Salomoni comparatum fuerit, quod Deo ipsi comparatu facillimum non sit, sed auro suo et argento suo opus esse; cuius maximam vim ad ornamentum tertii huius templi, de quo sermo fit, expendendam sibi fore pollicetur: ita porro fiet, ut sit gloria domus istius novissimae magna plusquam primae.[399]
>
> The true and glorious ornaments of the sacred things are not so much to be seen from the gold and silver which the earth produces, as from that gold and silver which is conserved in the divine treasure-houses, and which is collected from the rivers streaming from the Paradise of pleasure. About this it is written through signification: 'Where there occurs the most excellent gold and *bdellium* stone'. For if it were a question of using earthly gold and silver, it could not be missed in this second Temple, since nothing could be acquired by Solomon, which would not be very easily acquired by God himself, but there would be a need of his own gold and silver; whose greatest strength he promises will be weighed out for the ornament of this third Temple, which is that spoken of; therefore it will come about that the glory of this latest house will be greater than the former.

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[397] Joseph E. Duncan, *Milton's Earthly Paradise: A Historical Study of Eden* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1972), p. 191.
[398] Printed text consulted 'esse'; I have emended to 'esset'.
[399] *Commentaria in duodecim prophetas* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1583), p. 681.

Finally, the garden of Eden was also associated by Renaissance commentators with an inner, spiritual paradise.[400] This is reflected in *Liber generationis*, where Arias Montano associates the garden with the 'interior man', whose loss led to the dissolution of the life of the 'exterior man':

> […] hominem perpetuae atque aeternae vitae facultate et copia (quod ad carnem attinet) privatum legimus; ita ut qui interioris portionis vitam perdidisset, quam propria virtute atque opera instaurare non poterat, ab illo felicissimo horto exul exterioris quoque hominis fine, hoc est, carnis solutione mulctaretur.[401]
>
> We read that man (regarding the flesh) […] was deprived of the faculty and possibility of perpetual and eternal life, seeing that he who had lost the life of his inner portion, which he could not restore by his own virtue and effort, exiled from that happy garden, was punished with the end of the exterior man, that is, with the dissolution of the flesh.

Indeed, Arias Montano even uses the image of the garden of Eden to describe his inner state when immersed in his biblical studies:

> visusque mihi sum in illum suauissimum et amoenissimum paradisum deduci, ex quo fons egreditur, qui in quattuor divisus capita terram omnem percurrit, atque eas, quas perlabitur regiones, auro optimo, gemmis margaritisque ditat praestantissimis.[402]
>
> and I seemed to myself to be led into that sweetest and most pleasant paradise, from which a fountain emerges, which divided into four streams runs over all the earth, and enriches the regions through which it flows with excellent gold, gems and pearls.

In short, in portraying the post-diluvian loss of the Garden of Eden and its subsequent status as a heavenly and spiritual realm, he gives an example of the limits of the studies of biblical geography.

2. The non-existent Temple

One of Arias Montano's antiquarian interests was the construction of Solomon's Temple. In *Exemplar*, his treatise on biblical architecture, Arias Montano meticulously reconstructed the plans of the Temple, illustrated by a ground plan as well as

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[400] Duncan, pp. 257–68.
[401] *Liber generationis*, p. 72.
[402] *Commentaria in duodecim prophetas*, p. 4.

engravings of lateral perspectives and a perspective shot of the whole Temple.[403] He based it on the description of the construction of the Temple in 1 Kings 6 and 2 Chronicles 3–4.

Arias Montano was not the only exegete with an interest in this area. Between 1595 and 1606, the Jesuits Juan Bautista Villalpando and Jerónimo de Prado would publish a commentary on the book of Ezekiel, in which they explained and illustrated his vision of the future Temple. They argued that this must be Solomon's Temple on the grounds that Ezekiel's vision had to refer to a perfect Temple. However, their reconstruction was very different from Arias Montano's, in particular in its much greater dimensions.[404] Arias Montano's disciple Sigüenza, in his *Historia de la orden de San Jerónimo* (1595–1605) would argue that the historical Temple of Solomon was the more modest one described in the historical books of the Bible. Taylor posits that Arias Montano's republication of his treatises as the *Antiquitatum Iudaicorum* was an attempt to anticipate the publication of this new reconstruction, which he knew was being prepared.[405]

It is perhaps for this reason that poem IV.19, 'Ezechielis celsa vagatio. Ad Franciscum sanctium medicum physicum' contains some statements about biblical exegesis which are unusual for Arias Montano. At the start of the poem, he states that some scholars have the task of interpreting the psalms:

Sunt quibus assiduus labor est et commoda cura Divinis mysteria chartis 10	There are those to whom it is a constant task and suitable labour To distinguish the mysteries in the divine pages

[403] René Taylor, 'Juan Bautista Villalpando y Jerónimo de Prado: de la arquitectura práctica a la reconstrucción mística', in *Dios arquitecto: J.B. Villalpando y el Templo de Salomón*, ed. by Juan Antonio Ramírez and others (Madrid: Siruela, 1994), p. 180.
[404] René Taylor, *Arquitectura y magia: consideraciones sobre la idea del Escorial* (Madrid: Siruela, 1992), pp. 51–68.
[405] René Taylor, 'Juan Bautista Villalpando y Jerónimo de Prado', p. 179.

Dictaque Iessiadae pastori carmina quondam Quadruplici distinguere sensu, Unde pius discat vitam componere lector, Atque animum recreare docendo.	And the songs once pronounced by Jesse's son the shepherd In four senses, So that the pious reader may learn to order his life, And recreate his spirit by the teaching.

Arias Montano is, of course, one of these scholars, since he had published his own metrical paraphrases of the psalms (1573); he had also begun a collection of psalm commentaries, and those he completed were published posthumously in 1605 as *In XXXI Davidis psalmos priores commentaria*.

However, he says that one must proceed with caution when interpreting Ezekiel:

At non Buziadis miranda volumina semper Atque mihi venerata legenti Evoluisse datum cuivis, vel tangere cuivis Nedum ausu temerare profano.	But it is not allowed to just anyone to unravel The ever-marvellous volumes of the son of Buzi, Always revered by me as I read them, Or to touch them or still less to defile them in a profane venture.

And even he declares that he is incapable of interpreting Ezekiel's visions of Heaven:

Sed mihi non animi tantum Natura nec ars dat Mensve nimis temeraria sumit, Ut sacra quadriiugi imprudens mysteria currus Disquiram soluamue ligemve. Nam quis vel solium vel pulvinaria summi Numinis inspiciat referatque?	But neither the nature of my spirit nor my art allow me so much, Not does my too rash mind assume it, That I should imprudently investigate, untie or bind The sacred mysteries of the four-yoked chariot. For who could see and tell Of the throne or couch of the greatest divinity?

Finally, he focuses on the specific question of heavenly architecture:

Qualia sint caeli monumenta, et qualia sedis Divinae iuga bina rotarum, Aeternaeque domus templum, quod caetera damnat Quae terris sint condita duro Assere vel saxo, aut tenui velata hyacintho,	What the monuments of heaven are like, And the double yokes of the wheels of the divine seat, And the temple of the eternal house, which discredits all other things Which on earth are founded with hard planks Or rock, or veiled with tender hyacinth, And linen and goat-wool.

Et lino lanisque caprinis.

Here, Arias Montano is comparing Ezekiel's vision to the buildings we know for certain were earthly, namely, the tabernacle, which was made out of materials such as boards ('assere'), blue fabric ('hyacintho', 81), linen, and goat-wool. *Asseres* is the word Arias Montano uses to translate הַקְּרָשִׁים in Exodus 26, although the Vulgate has *tabulas*; he has emphasised his philological work by changing this from the more general word 'ligno' ('wood') in a first draft.[406] This seems to be a veiled allusion to Villalpando and his supporters; Arias Montano is making a case for using only antiquarian methods for the study of the physical earth.

This is further suggested by the poetic frame. It is no coincidence that Arias Montano opens the poem with an apostrophe not to a theologian, but to Francisco Sánchez de Oropesa, a leading physician and natural scientist from Seville:[407]

Non maris ac terrae gremium, non aethere in alto	Not the bosom of sea and earth, not in the high aether
Quas horas levis aura vicesque	And the hours and turns which the light breeze
Sufficit, et variat, non quos penetralibus imis	Supplies and varies, not the liquids which
Diluit obduratque liquores	Earth washes and hardens in her deepest innards,
Tellus, non quidquid plantarum procreat alma 5	Not any plant she kindly creates
Te Sancti Francisce latebit,	Will be hidden from you, Francisco Sánchez,

In a humanist touch, the opening 'Non maris ac terrae' seems to allude to the opening of Hor. *Carm.* I.28 ('Te maris et terrae'); significantly, this ode addresses the mathematician and Pythagorean philosopher, Archytas. Furthermore, both poems are in the First Archilochean, a metre used only twice by Horace. Arias Montano was clearly

[406] BNE Mss/155, fol. 222ᵛ.
[407] For more on this figure, see Guy Lazure, 'Building Bridges Between Antwerp and Seville: Friends and Followers of Benito Arias Montano, 1579–1598', *Die Gulden Passer/The Golden Compass* 89 (1), 2011, pp. 31–43.

impressed by Sánchez de Oropesa's scientific work; in the introduction to his *Naturae historia*, he refers to him as one of his circle of friends 'who are extremely talented by their knowledge and experience in this and all parts of nature' ('qui in hac et omni nature parte plurimum cognitione et usu valent').[408] Significantly, Sánchez de Oropesa has acquired his knowledge of the earth through observation and experience of the things in it; Arias Montano appears to be implying that to understand an earthly building, we must use historical sources and our knowledge of earthly architecture.

Conclusion

When characterizing the attitude of geographical scholars of the early modern period, Shalev coins the term 'devout curiosity', which meant 'not only the careful study of biblical and ecclesiastical antiquity, but also mobilizing this study for contemporary devout purposes'.[409] We have seen how Arias Montano's devotional application of his biblical geographical studies appears not only in his prose work, but also in his poetry. In his lyric, the personified Promised Land smiles on the Israelites, who overcome all the defences of the Canaanites; the thought of the rocks in the Jordan triggers a meditation on the allegorical figure of Faith; the poet is shocked to be transported to Samaria, and catches Jesus on the road to Jerusalem. However, Arias Montano is also conscious of the limits of his geographical studies. The Garden of Eden is not accessible by humans physically after the Fall, and he emphasises that humans can comprehend only the descriptions of the Temple of Solomon to be found in the historical books of the Bible. In these cases, Arias Montano recognises that the physical world we can understand with geographical knowledge is an incomplete one, which was corrupted after the Fall, but which will be appreciated in its fullness in the next life.

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[408] *Naturae historia: Prima in magni operis corpore pars* (Antwerp: Moretus, 1601), p. 241.
[409] Shalev, *Sacred Words and Worlds*, p. 13.

Conclusion

In the course of this study, I hope to have shown how Arias Montano's Latin poetry demonstrates both his encyclopaedic learning and his concern for its proper use in the service of biblical exegesis. For Arias Montano, pagan and Jewish sources could elucidate various aspects of Scripture, but had to be treated with caution. Human reason was fallible, and therefore care had to be taken when interpreting the Bible as a source of history to be mined for *exempla*. Finally, while contemplation of the earth could illuminate the workings of Providence in the Bible, there were limits to the utility of contemplating a fallen physical world.

More broadly, I have aimed to situate the work of Arias Montano, a sixteenth-century Catholic, in a broader trend of encyclopaedic biblical studies, one which is often said to have begun in the seventeenth century and in Protestant circles. I have also sought to fill a surprising gap in scholarship by providing the first full-length study of Arias Montano's Latin lyric poetry, as well as placing it in the landscape of Spanish religious lyric in the Golden Age.

Much remains to be done in the study of Arias Montano's literary oeuvre. In the first place, we are still lacking critical editions of Arias Montano's Latin lyric poetry, which would be of great use to scholars of Spanish literary history, Classical reception and religion. Secondly, this study has shed light on a corpus of poems about Jewish festivals which, as far as I know, is unparalleled in this period in Spain and has more to contribute to the study of the perception of ethnic minorities in the Golden Age. Finally, I have focused on humanist education and the liberal arts, and therefore neglected other important fields of learning such as natural philosophy and theology. Very little has been done on the theological content of Arias Montano's poetry, one notable exception

being an article by Jones.[410] Further work could be done on the more theological poems, such as those of *Hymni*. I hope very much that this work may be the beginning of a long and fruitful discussion on this towering and yet still enigmatic figure.

[410] John A. Jones, '"De mente et electione ad Petrum Valentiam ode tricolon." Una nota sobre Arias Montano, Pedro de Valencia y el *fomes peccati*", *Revista de estudios extremeños*, 34 (1978) 487–499.

Appendix I

Hymni et secula (Antwerp: Moretus, 1593): Contents

Hymni

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p. 290^{r} Ad Michaelem archangelum (= *Hymni* 9)

Poems not included in BNE Mss/155:

Hymni 1; *Secula* I.7, V.2–9, VI.16.

Appendix III: *Secula* IV.3

Nam, quo te incipio ponere carmine,[411] Laudis tuae vel quem teneam modum, Insigne Danitis decusque et Moestitias pariture Simson?[412] 4	With what song do I start to place you, Or what manner of your praise shall I maintain, Samson, who would bring both glorious honour and griefs for the tribe of Dan?	Vulgate
Fas sit sacratos dicere nunc tui Natalis ortus, atque parentibus Matrique iam foetus[413] neganti Acta novae repetita vitae. 8	Now let it be right to speak Of the sacred origin of your birth, And the repeated acts of new life carried out by your parents and your mother who said no to issue.	[17–20] **5** […] Cumque venissent ad vineas oppidi, apparuit catulus **leonis saevus**, et rugiens, et occurrit ei. **6** Irruit autem spiritus Domini in Samson, et dilaceravit leonem, quasi haedum in frustra discerpens, nihil omnino habens in manu: et hoc patri et matri noluit indicare. […] **8** Et post aliquot dies revertens ut acciperet eam, declinavit ut videret **cadaver** leonis, et ecce examen **apum** in ore leonis erat ac favus **mellis**. […] Dixitque eis: De comedente exivit cibus, et de forti egressa est **dulcedo**. (Judges 14: 5–14)
Vexatus arctis usque laboribus, Damnis nocentumque Israël hostium Te vidit invictum tulitque Principium solidae salutis. 12	Troubled by confining labours, Israel saw you unconquered By the injuries of harmful enemies, And held you as the beginning of its true salvation.	
Sensit marini vindice te impius Cultor Dagonis, quid ferat auxili Genti Abrahami rex Deus, ni Crimina subsidium retardent. 16	With you as avenger, the impious worshipper Of marine Dagon realised The help the Lord God could bring to the people of Abraham, Unless their crimes impede his aid.	[21–24] […] Cumque cubiculum ejus solito vellet intrare, prohibuit eum pater illius, dicens: **2** Putavi quod odisses eam, et ideo tradidi illam amico tuo: sed habet sororem, quae junior et pulchrior illa est: sit tibi pro ea uxor. […] **4** Perrexitque et cepit trecentas vulpes, caudasque earum junxit ad caudas, et faces ligavit in medio: **5** quas igne succendens, dimisit ut huc illucque discurrerent. Quae statim perrexerunt in **segetes** Philisthinorum. Quibus succensis, et comportatae jam fruges, et adhuc stantes in stipula, concrematae sunt, in tantum ut vineas quoque et oliveta flamma consumeret. […] Ascenderuntque Philisthiim, et
Quin impotentem tu rabiem domas **Saevi leonis**; moxque **cadavere** Victoriae **praedulce** munus Sedula **apis** tibi **mella** condit**.** 20	But you tame the unbridled anger Of the fierce lion; and soon in its corpse The diligent bee makes honey for you, The sweetest gift of victory.	
	Your father-in-law, who dared not to bring forth your marriage due to ill-omened nuptials,	

[411] This line is a lesser Asclepiad, though the rest of the poem is written Alcaic stanzas.
[412] Reflecting more closely the Hebrew spelling.
[413] foetus *M*: foedus *A*

Non ominatis prodere nuptiis
Ausus tuum qui coniugium socer,
Incendium natae sibique
Et **segetum** cumulis paravit. 24

Te non tuorum tortaue v**incula**,
Clausae vel urbis praepediunt **fores**,
Perrumpis illa, atque has in altis
Culminibus statuis trophaeum. 28

Hostilem inermis terribilem impetum
Frangis tremendi robore brachii
Et fortuita mala aselli
Mille viros relegas in orcum. 32

Ebullientes quid memorem tibi
Et sponte natas, quae releuent **sitim**
Lymphas, Deique exaudientis
Dona bonum positura nomen? 36

Eheu bonae quas insidias valet
Menti libido tendere! vos procul,
Insanienti, edico, amori
Sistite, quos mea dicta flectunt. 40

Hic usque ab alvo matris et ubere
Vulgi profanis usibus abstinens,
Caelo ducatus, fortis idem
Viribus indomitisque membris. 44

Prepared fire for his daughter and himself and heaps of corn.
Not the twisted chains of your people,
Or the closed doors of a city shackle you,
You break the former, and place the latter
On the high peaks as a trophy.

Unarmed, you break the terrible attack of the enemy with the strength of your formidable arm,
And with the fortuitous cheek-bone of the ass
You send a thousand men to Orcus.

Why should I remind you of the waters
Bubbling up and born spontaneously to relieve your thirst,
And of the gifts which would establish the good name
Of God who heard you?

Alas what traps lust can set
For the sound mind! Keep away,
I declare, from insane love,
Those whom my words influence.

From the womb and breast of his mother
He abstained from the profane customs of the mob,
His authority from heaven,
Mighty with strength and with unconquered limbs.

These marvellous gifts of the Holy Spirit,
The strength of his mind and body,
Are changed by the inventions of a deceitful girl,
Quick with her voice and tears.

combusserunt tam mulierem quam patrem ejus. (Judges 15: 1–6)

[25] Descenderunt ergo tria millia virorum de Juda ad specum silicis Etam, dixeruntque ad Samson: Nescis quod Philisthiim imperent nobis? quare hoc facere voluisti? Quibus ille ait: Sicut fecerunt mihi, sic feci eis. **12** Ligare, inquiunt, te venimus, et tradere in manus Philisthinorum. Quibus Samson: Jurate, ait, et spondete mihi quod non occidatis me. **13** Dixerunt: Non te occidemus, sed vinctum trademus. Ligaveruntque eum duobus novis funibus, et tulerunt eum de petra Etam. **14** Qui cum venisset ad locum Maxillae, et Philisthiim vociferantes occurrissent ei, irruit spiritus Domini in eum: et sicut solent ad odorem ignis lina consumi, ita **vincula**, quibus ligatus erat, dissipata sunt et soluta. (Judges 15: 11–14).

[26] Abiit quoque in Gazam, et vidit ibi mulierem meretricem, ingressusque est ad eam. **2** Quod cum audissent Philisthiim, et percrebruisset apud eos intrasse urbem Samson, circumdederunt eum, positis in porta civitatis custodibus: et ibi tota nocte cum silentio praestolantes, ut facto mane exeuntem occiderent. **3** Dormivit autem Samson usque ad medium noctem: et inde consurgens, apprehendit ambas portae **fores** cum postibus suis et sera, impositasque humeris suis portavit ad verticem montis, qui respicit Hebron. (Judges 16: 1–3)

[29–32] Judges 15:15 Inventamque maxillam, id est, mandibulam asini, quae jacebat, arripiens interfecit in ea **mille viros**,
[33–36] **Sitiensque** valde, clamavit ad Dominum, et ait: Tu dedisti in manu servi tui salutem hanc maximam atque victoriam: en **siti** morior, incidamque in

Miranda sancti munera Spiritus,
Roburque menti atque artubus inditum,
Fallacis efficta puellae
Voce levis lacrymisque mutat. 48

Virtute caeli et numine praestito
Exutus idem, iamque **oculis** minor
Versare pistrini molares
Cogitur, opprobriumque perfert; 52

Donec tremendo iudicio Dei
Hunc poenitentem praeteriti mali
Hostesque funestumque **ludum**
Unica convoluit ruina. 56

Despoiled of this heavenly virtue and power bestowed,
And now deprived of his eyes,
He is forced to turn the millstones of the mill
And bears shame;

Until by the formidable judgment of God
One ruin rolled together
The man repenting of his past wickedness,
The enemies, and the deathly game.

manus incircumcisorum. **19** Aperuit itaque Dominus molarem dentem in maxilla asini, et egressae sunt ex eo aquae. Quibus haustis, refocillavit spiritum, et vires recepit. Idcirco appellatum est nomen loci illius, Fons invocantis de maxilla, usque in praesentem diem. (Judges 15: 18–19). But Hebrew just means ‘spring of the one calling’.

[41–42] Judges 13:4 Cave ergo ne bibas vinum ac siceram, nec immundum quidquam comedas:

[47–48] Judges 16:16 Cumque molesta esset ei, et per multos dies jugiter adhaereret, spatium ad quietem non tribuens, defecit anima ejus, et ad mortem usque lassata est.

[49–52] Judges 16:21 Quem cum apprehendissent Philisthiim, statim eruerunt **oculos** ejus, et duxerunt Gazam vinctum catenis, et clausum in carcere molere fecerunt.

[53–56] Judges 16: 25–30 Laetantesque per convivia, sumptis jam epulis, praeceperunt ut vocaretur Samson, et ante eos **luderet**. Qui adductus de carcere **ludebat** ante eos, feceruntque eum stare inter duas columnas. […] **27** Domus autem erat plena virorum ac mulierum, et erant ibi omnes principes Philisthinorum, ac de tecto et solario circiter tria millia utriusque sexus spectantes ludentem Samson. **28** At ille invocato Domino ait: Domine Deus, memento mei, et redde mihi nunc fortitudinem pristinam, Deus meus, ut ulciscar me de hostibus meis, et pro amissione duorum luminum unam ultionem recipiam. **29** Et apprehendens ambas columnas quibus innitebatur domus, alteramque earum dextera et alteram laeva tenens, **30** ait: Moriatur anima mea cum Philisthiim. Concussisque fortiter columnis, cecidit domus

super omnes principes, et ceteram multitudinem quae ibi erat: multoque plures interfecit moriens, quam ante vivus occiderat.

Appendix IV: *Secula* I.4

"Virtutis altae et fons **sapientiae** Qui cuncta **magnis** nominibus foves, Clementiae te sed teramplis Muneribus superare gaudes. 4	"Fount of high virtue and wisdom, You who nourish all things with your great names, But delight in victory By the triple gifts of your clemency,	[1] Iob 12:13 & 16, Apud ipsum est **sapientia** et fortitudo; 'Apud ipsum est fortitudo et sapientia'. [2] Psalm 144:? E.g. 144:3 '**Magnus** Dominus, et laudabilis nimis, et magnitudinis ejus non est finis'.
Vindex iniquae fraudis et efficax **Lucem** remotis e tenebris dare, **Iniuriarumque** & malignae Arbiter **invidiae** severe. 8	Avenger of wicked deceit and efficacious In giving light from the removed shadows, Severe judge of injuries And wicked envy,	[5] Prov 21:13 'Qui obturat aurem suam ad clamorem pauperis, et ipse clamabit, et non exaudietur' (maybe 21:12 'Excogitat justus de domo impii, ut detrahat impios a malo.'? [6] Gen 1:3 'Dixitque Deus: Fiat **lux**. Et facta est lux.' [7] Ps 145:7 'Qui custodit veritatem in saeculum; facit judicium **injuriam** patientibus; dat escam esurientibus. Dominus solvit compeditos'
Vides beatum quod steterat tuis Sublime donis quod dederas opus, Fallacis impulsu Draconis Ut misera pereat ruina? 12	You see what a work stood lofty, A work you had bestowed, blessed with your gifts, So that at the impulse of the deceitful Dragon It would perish in wretched ruin?	[8] Wisdom 2:24 '**Invidia** autem diaboli mors introivit in orbem terrarum' Ps 43:8 'salvasti enim nos de affligentibus nos, et odientes nos confudisti.'
Quem de recenti pulvere finxeras, Unis **minorem** quem superis dabas, Quem laeta promotum canebam Mater Humus, cecidisse ploro. 16	Him whom you fashioned out of newly made dust, whom you made lesser only than the heaven-dwellers, of whose advancement I, Mother Earth, happily sang, and at whose fall I now weep.	[9] Eccli 17:1, 4, 5 'Deus creavit de terra hominem, et secundum imaginem suam fecit illum', 'Posuit timorem illius super omnem carnem, et dominatus est bestiarum et volatilium', 'Creavit ex ipso adjutorium simile sibi: consilium, et linguam, et oculos, et aures, et cor dedit illis excogitandi, et disciplina intellectus replevit illos.' [11] Genesis 3
Me, quam remoto subdideras loco Rerum Creator, sedibus infimis Perstare contentam[414] valebant Huius opum recreare honores. 20	O Creator of Things, the honours of his riches Were enough to for me to persist happily And to revive me, whom you placed in a remote place in the lowest dwelling.	[13] Genesis 2 [14] Ps 8:6 '**Minuisti** eum paulominus ab angelis; gloria et honore coronasti eum'
Nostris petitum visceribus **lutum**		[17] Ps 103:6, 7, 8, 9 'Abyssus sicut vestimentum amictus ejus; super montes stabunt aquae. **7** Ab increpatione tua fugient; a voce tonitrui tui formidabunt. **8** Ascendunt montes, et descendunt campi, in locum quem fundasti eis. **9** Terminum

[414] 19 contentam *AM*: iussam *del. M* 24 ingenium *AM*: effigiem *del. M*

Cui numinis tu condideras tui sensumque et cognatum supernis Providus ingenium catervis. 24	The mud sought from my bosom In which you generously placed the sense of your divinity And intelligence kindred to that Of the heavenly throngs,	posuisti quem non transgredientur, neque convertentur operire terram.
Quicumque e nostro prodierant sinu, Et qui propinquo de pelago greges Auctore te, sceptro ac secundis Legibus hic dominus regebat. 28	Whoever came forth from my bosom, And the flocks from the nearby sea With you as Creator, this man ruled them as lord With sceptre and happy laws.	[21] Gen 2:7 ‘Formavit igitur Dominus Deus hominem de limo terrae, et inspiravit in faciem ejus spiraculum vitae, et factus est homo in animam viventem’, Job 33:6 ‘Ecce, et me sicut et te fecit Deus, et de eodem **luto** ego quoque formatus sum’ [22] Acts 17:16 ‘Paulus autem cum Athenis eos exspectaret, incitabatur spiritus ejus in ipso, videns idololatriae deditam civitatem.’ (?)
Interminatas assiduis opes Huius iubebar fundere commodis, Et Veris florentem nitorem Perpetuo retinere vultu, 32	I was ordered to pour out his limitless riches With constant benefits, And to retain the flowering splendour of Spring With a perpetual face,	[25] Gen 1:24 ‘Dixit quoque Deus: Producat terra animam viventem in genere suo, jumenta, et reptilia, et bestias terrae secundum species suas. Factumque est ita.’ [26] Gen 1:25 ‘Et fecit Deus bestias terrae juxta species suas, et jumenta, et omne reptile terrae in genere suo. Et vidit Deus quod esset bonum,’ [27] Gen 1:26 ‘et ait: Faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram: et praesit piscibus maris, et volatilibus caeli, et bestiis, universaeque terrae, omnique reptili, quod movetur in terra.’
Dumque ille regni compos et integer staret receptis muneribus potens; Et te revisentem beatus Saepius exciperet Magistrum, 36	And while he stood as master of the kingdom, Unblemished and powerful with the gifts he had received, and in his blessed state Could often receive you, the teacher, when you came to visit,	[29] Gen 2:6 ‘sed fons ascendebat e terra, irrigans universam superficiem terrae’
Et te loquentem cominus omnibus Audiret horis, cum foret utile, Atque ipsa te praesentiore Plenior auxilio experirer.[415] 40	And hear you speaking nearby at all hours, When it was useful, And I myself made fuller by this more immediate help,	[33] Gen 2:15 ‘et ait: Faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram: et praesit piscibus maris, et volatilibus caeli, et bestiis, universaeque terrae, omnique reptili, quod movetur in terra.’
Inversa humanis protinus omnia Semper gemendis sentio casibus,		

[415] 40 Plenior *AM*: Fertilis *del. M* 41 protinus *AM*: funditus *del. M* 47 Ex meque *AM*: nobisque *del. M*

Murmurque caelorum, graveisque Aetheris accipio querelas: 44

Was able to experience you.

I perceive that absolutely all things have been perverted By the ever-to-be-lamented Fall, And I hear the murmur of the heavens And heavy complaints of the aether;

Coniurat omnis turba natantium
In pervicacis perfidiam ducis,
Ex meque prognatae profanum
Diffugiunt dominum catervae. 48

The whole throng of fish Conspires against the perfidy of the stubborn leader, And the crowd born of me Flees its profane lord.

[42] Gen 3:21 Fecit quoque Dominus Deus Adae et uxori ejus tunicas pelliceas, et induit eos:

Culpa[416] scelesti me quoque filii
Contaminatam taedia commovent
Ingratiorem iam coactis
Protinus huberibus futuram. 52

Contaminated by the fault of my son, Loathing now moves me, too, To be even more ungrateful With forced breasts.

[45] Gen 3:17 ‘Adae vero dixit: Quia audisti vocem uxoris tuae, et comedisti de ligno, ex quo praeceperam tibi ne comederes, maledicta terra in opere tuo: in laboribus comedes ex ea cunctis diebus vitae tuae.’

Nam damna honoris depositi mihi
Ulciscar amplis usque laboribus,
Udoque **sudantisque** anhelo
Saepe hominis repetenda **vultu**. 56

For I will avenge the damage of my lost honour With great toils, Damage to be repaid by the often wet and gasping face Of perspiring Man.

[49] Gen 3:18 ‘Spinas et tribulos germinabit tibi, et comedes herbam terrae.’

Quin ipse pravum cui libuit nefas
Mutare recti legibus ordinis
sese odit ac vexat pudendis
solicitus trepidusque curis. 60

Even he himself who was allowed to exchange perverted wickedness For the laws of just order Hates himself and trembling Vexes himself with shame and grief.

[54] Gen 3:19 ‘In **sudore vultus** tui vesceris pane, donec revertaris in terram de qua sumptus es: quia pulvis es et in pulverem reverteris.’

Ergo repulso, quem bonus infimi
Sceptri, iubebas sistere principem,

Therefore, after driving back

[57] Gen 3:8 ‘Et cum audissent vocem Domini Dei deambulantis in paradiso ad auram post meridiem, abscondit se Adam et uxor ejus a facie Domini Dei in medio ligni paradisi.’

[416] 49 Ipsaque probris me Ausi *del. M* 52 huberibus *AM*: uberibus *corr. M*

Succedet introducta saevo
Mors scelere, et solium tenebit? 64

Him whom in your goodness you
ordered to be prince of the lower realm,
Will death be introduced with cruel wickedness,
Succeed him
And hold the throne?

[61] Romans 5:12, 14 ‘Propterea sicut per unum hominem peccatum in hunc mundum intravit, et per peccatum **mors**, et ita in omnes homines mors pertransiit, in quo omnes peccaverunt. […] Sed regnavit mors ab Adam usque ad Moysen etiam in eos qui non peccaverunt in similitudinem praevaricationis Adae, qui est forma futuri.’

Fallax et anguis, qui **sapientiae**
Laudem petebat praecipuam sibi,
Impune iactabit, tui se
consilii temerasse pondus? 68

And shall the deceitful snake, who sought
The special praise of wisdom for himself,
Boast unpunished that he profaned
The weight of your counsel?

[65] Gen 3:1, 3 ‘Sed et serpens erat **callidior** cunctis animantibus terrae quae fecerat Dominus Deus. Qui dixit ad mulierem: Cur praecepit vobis Deus ut non comederetis de omni ligno paradisi? […] de fructu vero ligni quod est in medio paradisi, praecepit nobis Deus ne comederemus, et ne tangeremus illud, ne forte moriamur.’
Apoc 12:9, ‘Et projectus est draco ille magnus, serpens antiquus, qui vocatur diabolus, et Satanas, qui seducit universum orbem: et projectus est in terram, et angeli ejus cum illo missi sunt.’ & 20:2 ‘Et apprehendit draconem, serpentem antiquum, qui est diabolus, et Satanas, et ligavit eum per annos mille’

Impune saevamque ille tyrannidem
Terras per omnes, perque hominum genus
Firmabit, incedet que raptis
fraude mala tumidus coronis? 72

Will he strengthen his cruel tyranny
Through all lands and the whole human race,
And go about swollen
In his crowns snatched with wicked deceit?

Audebit usque ac dicere; “vicimus, illumque nostro subdidimus **iugo**,
Cui me Creator, cui ministros
Esse meos comites, volebat. 76

And will he be allowed to say “We have won
And subdued to our yoke
Him to whom the Creator
Wanted me and my companions to be servants?”

[69] Romans 5:12, ‘Propterea sicut per unum hominem peccatum in hunc mundum intravit, et per peccatum mors, et ita in omnes homines mors pertransiit, in quo omnes peccaverunt.’

Ille ornet alti sideribus poli
Regnum supremus, quod sibi vendicet:
Mundi sed huius compos ipse
Dum fuerint homines, manebo. 80

The Supreme one may decorate the realm of the high pole with stars,
Which he may claim for himself;
But I myself, master of this world
While humans shall exist, will remain.

[73] Isaiah 9:4 ‘**Jugum** enim oneris ejus, et virgam humeri ejus, et sceptrum exactoris ejus superasti, sicut in die Madian.’
[74] Colossians 2:14 ‘delens quod adversus nos erat chirographum decreti, quod erat contrarium nobis, et ipsum tulit de medio, affigens illud cruci’
[75] Hebrews 2:14 ‘Quia ergo pueri communicaverunt carni, et sanguini, et ipse similiter participavit eisdem: ut per mortem destrueret eum qui habebat mortis imperium, id est, diabolum’

Aut ipse leges non foveat suas,
Et iura damnet quae posuit Deus;
Prudentiae aut quod comparabam

Ipse mihi, decus arrogabo. 84

Illius altae vim **sapientiae**
Concinnus orbis comprobet: arduas
Humana fors eversa nostri at
Ingenii memorabit artes." 88

Let either God himself not respect his own laws,
And break the oaths which He instituted,
Or I shall claim the glory of the prudence
Which I acquired for myself.

The beautiful world will acknowledge
The strength of his wisdom;
But the overturning of human fate
Will tell of the lofty character of my talent."

[77] Ps 113:16 'Similes illis fiant qui faciunt ea, et omnes qui confidunt in eis.'
[79] John 14:30 'Jam non multa loquar vobiscum: venit enim princeps **mundi** hujus, et in me non habet quidquam.'

Incontinenti frena **superbiae**
Offensus istis iniicies Pater
En nunquam, et indignum nefasti
criminis expedies furorem. 92

Offended by these things, Father,
Will you never supply the curb to his boundless pride,
And set free the unjust fury
Of wicked crime?

[82] Genesis 18:25 'Absit a te ut rem hanc facias, et occidas justum cum impio, fiatque justus sicut impius, non est hoc tuum: qui judicas omnem terram, nequaquam facies judicium hoc.'

[83] Genesis 3:2 'Cui respondit mulier: De fructu lignorum, quae sunt in paradiso, vescimur'

Quamuis Adami progenies ubi
Non deserendum prodiderit locum,
Nil servet exempli, tuos quo
Continuet renovetve amores; 96

Although the offspring of Adam,
When it betrayed the place which is not to be abandoned,
Does not preserve any precedent by which
He might continue and renew your love,

[85] Ps 18:1, 2: 'In finem. Psalmus David. [2] Caeli enarrant gloriam Dei, et opera manuum ejus annuntiat firmamentum.'
[88] 2 Corinthians 11:14 'Et non mirum: ipse enim Satanas transfigurat se in angelum lucis.'
James 3:15 'non est enim ista sapientia desursum descendens: sed terrena, animalis, diabolica.'

Istius almae praemia **gloriae**
Cedenda nulli prospicies tamen,
Istud neque in ventos abire
Propositum patiere firmus." 100

Nevertheless, you will look upon the prize of that glory
Which is to be conceded to no-one,
And in your firmness you will not allow that plan
To disappear into the winds."

[89] I Cor 1:19 'Scriptum est enim: Perdam **sapientiam** sapientium, et **prudentiam** prudentium reprobabo.'
[90] Ps 30:24 'Diligite Dominum, omnes sancti ejus, quoniam veritatem requiret Dominus, et retribuet abundanter facientibus **superbiam**.'

[93] Ephes 2:2 'in quibus aliquando ambulastis secundum saeculum mundi hujus, secundum principem potestatis aeris hujus, spiritus, qui nunc operatur in filios diffidentiae'
[95] Titus 3:5 'non ex operibus justitiae, quae fecimus nos, sed secundum suam misericordiam salvos nos fecit per lavacrum regenerationis et renovationis Spiritus Sancti'

[97] Ps 113:1 'Alleluja. In exitu Israel de AEgypto, domus Jacob de populo barbaro,

[2] facta est Judaea sanctificatio ejus; Israel potestas ejus'
[98] Isaiah 42:8 'Ego Dominus, hoc est nomen meum; **gloriam meam alteri non dabo**, et laudem meam sculptilibus.'
[100] Romans 4:5 'Ei vero qui non operatur, credenti autem in eum, qui justificat impium, reputatur fides ejus ad justitiam secundum propositum gratiae Dei.'

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