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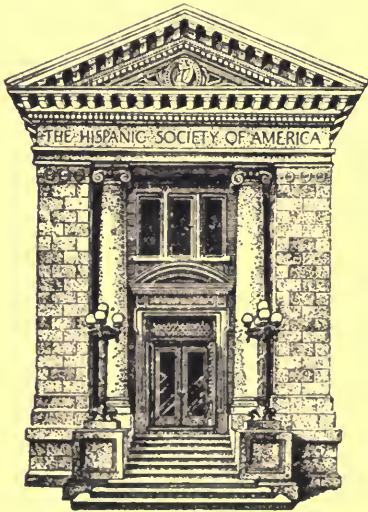
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EL DOTOR BENITO ARIAS MONTANO.

16,

Conosco la gran de obligacion en que me pone el sujeto presente, alientanme em:
pero tantos varones doctos, que empleadas en su alabança suplen la insuficiencia
mia. bien veo que me obligo a mucho, i que siempre fue dificil escrivir bien isto-
ria, pues quando no uviera otra cosa, la obligacion de tratar verdad bastava

(en

BENITO ARIAS MONTANO

BY

AUBREY F. G. BELL



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P R E F A C E

ONE of the great humanists of the sixteenth century, the editor of the celebrated polyglot Bible of Antwerp, the friend of Fray Luis de Leon, Benito Arias Montano deserves an elaborate biography both for his own worth and owing to the interest of the times in which he lived, and the variety of affairs in which he took part on behalf of his master, Philip II of Spain. The following notes can hope to present but a slight sketch of the man who in his lifetime was known as the Spanish Jerome (1). A short life by Tomas Gonzalez Carvajal, accompanied by seventy-seven documents, was published in the *Memorias de la Real Academia de la Historia*, tom. 7 (1832), pp. 1-199: *Elogio histórico del Doctor Benito Arias Montano* [here referred to as Carvajal].

His activity as book-collector in Flanders was dwelt on by R. Beer in the *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des aller höchsten Kaiserhauses*, Bd. 25 (1905), pp. 1-11: *Niederländische Büchererwerbungen des Benito Arias Montano im Auftrage Königs Philip II.* Some of his letters, written in the years 1568-80, were printed in the *Colección de Documentos inéditos para la historia de España*, tom. 41 (1862), pp. 127-418: *Correspondencia del Doctor Benito Arias Montano con Felipe II, el Secretario Zayas y otros sugetos, desde 1568 hasta 1580* [here referred to as *Documentos inéditos*]. Recently a work on Arias Montano appeared in Spanish by C. Doetsch, but as I have not seen this book I am unable to say whether it gives an adequate account of the great Spanish scholar.

AUBREY F. G. BELL.

BENITO ARIAS MONTANO

I

THE dates of the birth and death of Benito Arias Montano coincided with those of Philip II. The King's future chaplain was born in 1527 (2) at Fregenal de la Sierra (in the diocese of Badajoz), where his parents owned some property, being *hidalgos* long settled there (3). His father, Benito Arias Montano, a secretary of the Holy Office (4), saw carefully to his son's education. The latter attended courses of philosophy at the University of Seville in the years 1546 and 1547, but it seems probable that he had earlier studied at Seville, which indeed became his second home, so that in his works he often styled himself Hispalensis. He went thence to

the University of Alcalá, where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and where we know that his name was entered for two courses of theology lectures in 1551 and 1552. Here also he was formally crowned (*laureatus*) as poet in the latter year. He probably continued his studies at Alcalá for some years after 1552, and in 1560 he professed in the Order of Santiago in the celebrated convent of San Marcos at León. Although his first work was not published till 1571, he had evidently won a great reputation at Alcalá. A letter addressed to the King against the Jesuits as early as February 1551 has been attributed to Arias Montano, but this was perhaps only an inference from his outspoken attack on the Jesuits in the introduction to the polyglot Bible many years later. In 1562 he was chosen to accompany Bishop Ayala to the Council of Trent, where his learning and brilliant gifts were further displayed. In 1566 Philip II appointed him his chaplain, and two years later chose him to

supervise the new edition of the polyglot Bible. Cardinal Ximenez's Complutensian Bible, printed by Arnaldo Guillén at Alcalá, had become exceedingly rare: many copies had perished at sea on the way to Italy, and it was now scarcely to be bought at however high a price (5). The famous French printer, Christophe Plantin (c. 1520-89), long established at Antwerp, was ready to undertake the work, provided that Philip II would advance a sum of six thousand ducats. Philip sent his chaplain Arias Montano to the University of Alcalá to confer with the Doctors of Theology on the subject, and finally, with their approval and that of the Holy Office, the King accepted the offer, and on March 25, 1568, Arias Montano was instructed to proceed to Flanders with a yearly salary of three hundred ducats, in addition to that of 80,000 maravedis as chaplain (6). He carried with him a letter to the Duke of Alba, and a letter of credit for 6,000 ducats on Jeronimo de Curiel, and minute instructions

as to the printing of the Bible. Owing to the troubled state of France he was to go by sea, embarking at Laredo or some other port of the Basque Provinces, and receiving a free passage and meals on board for himself and his servants. But the sea also was troubled, and Arias Montano found himself, ill and alone, in a northern spring, and in a land infested by heretics. He was wrecked on the coast of Ireland, and traversed the greater part of that island, and the whole of England. The relations between Philip and Elizabeth had by now become very strained. Since 1565 Philip had actively taken up the cause of Mary, Queen of Scots, while Elizabeth, just about the time of Arias Montano's adventure, was entering into close relations with the Dutch rebels. On March 29, 1568, Cecil had formally protested against the cruelties of the Duke of Alba, and added that Spanish pride wished to master the whole world (7). The zeal of the English Ambassador at Madrid, John Mann, Dean of Gloucester,

for his own religion, seems to have got the better of his diplomacy: he openly called Philip a papist and 'de embajador se había convertido en perturbador' (8) so that on April 6 he was given his passports; and on May 13 the Spanish Ambassador in London, Don Diego Guzman de Silva, Canon of Toledo, whose polished learning had elicited from Queen Elizabeth the remark that she had heard that the priests in Spain were innocent of Latin, but he knew even Greek, was transferred to Venice. In his account sent to Philip II Arias Montano rudely calls the Irish 'savages', and says that he underwent 'some natural things and some civil and uncivil, leaving me plenty to remember, and I am not sorry to have experienced them, however irksome at the time' (9). What his experiences were we may surmise from those of another Spaniard, Diego Ortiz de Urizar, wrecked near Guatafurda (Waterford) six years later. Before reaching Waterford, which he describes as a town of barely a thousand

families (*vecinos*), surrounded by a stone wall with seventeen towers set at intervals of seventy or eighty paces, 'fuí saqueado por los ingleses y salvajes de aquella tierra' (10), and he subsequently ran other risks of his life and liberty (11). At Oxford, London, and other places, Arias Montano found that news of the projected Bible had preceded him, and he adds that both in England and Ireland he found 'an innumerable number' of Catholics secretly attached to the King of Spain (12). On May 10 he reached London (13). Guzman de Silva had not yet left (his successor, the zealous D. Guerau (or Gualdo) de Espés, did not arrive till September 3, 1568, and he left ten days later). On May 15 Arias Montano arrived in Flanders, and on May 18 was at Antwerp. He was everywhere well received, and a friendship sprang up between him and the Governor, the Duke of Alba, who consulted him on weighty affairs of State. Arias Montano lost no time in getting to work, and the next few

years were the busiest of a busy life. The Bible was begun in July 1568, and finished in March 1572. In July 1569 it was so far advanced that he could write to his intimate friend, the King's secretary, Gabriel de Zayas, that he hoped to have it ready in another two years, and it says much for his and Plantin's diligence and goodwill that so great an undertaking was completed in less than four years. Arias Montano's activity at this time, in spite of ill-health, is amazing. The rigours of winter in Flanders sorely tried him. In February 1569 he became dangerously ill, with a feverish cold, so that his life was despaired of, and his chief regret, he says, was not to be able to finish the Bible (14), which had then reached the end of the Pentateuch. In May 1570 forty men were at work on it daily, and it occupied eleven hours a day of Arias Montano's time, including holy days (15). He soon had many acquaintances and friends — for Arias Montano to make an acquaintance was to make a friend—in Flanders and

II

MUCH of his time was taken up with acquiring books for the Escorial, to the purchase of which the 6,000 ducats advanced to Plantin were to be devoted as they were repaid (23). He had scarcely recovered, in February 1569, when he set out to Breda to examine a library for sale, and some of the most picturesque and vivid pages of his letters are concerned with his activities as book-collector for the King. His heart was clearly very much in this matter. He was careful not to come forward himself as buyer and to conceal the fact that the books were for the King. Thus he writes to Philip from Antwerp, on May 9, 1570: 'Last autumn I began to visit the libraries of the convents of these Estates and found much damage done in original manuscripts

which had been carelessly lost or sold to booksellers and binders during these last years, and the books were of all kinds, and every day they were diminishing. I knew from the character of the people here, that if any serious person asked for any book, the least of them, to buy or borrow it, they would not give it, believing it to be some great treasure, and, on the other hand, I saw that they had sold or lost large volumes of good authors. I decided, before completing my visits, to take a step which has not been unsuccessful and has greatly pleased the Duke [of Alba]. This was to send secretly to the booksellers near the convents to buy what they could of original manuscripts in parchment, so that we might by this means have some for your Majesty's library at the Escorial ; and in this way they have brought me a good quantity of them so cheap that if I myself had bought but three of them in the convents it would have cost me more. They have brought me good things and others that only serve as old parchment, for I

other countries (16). In questions of ecclesiastical preferment and even of civil advancement he was always consulted. He had a secret list of all able persons in Flanders, many of them being personally known to him, and many owed their advancement to him without being aware of it (17). Besides the printing of the great Bible he had to superintend the printing of the new Missal and the new Breviary, of which Plantin had obtained a monopoly, and of books of hours and small hand-bibles; he was given the principal part in drawing up a list of forbidden books (18)—this took him to Brussels—and was entrusted with the difficult business of apportioning the yearly sum of 4,000 florins given by Philip to destitute English Catholics in Flanders (19). He had to make the designs with which the various title-pages of the Bible were elaborately adorned (20), and he was obliged to write his Spanish letters with his own hand, since the only secretaries that he could obtain at Antwerp wrote '*letra francesilla y*

oscura' (21). Moreover, he had to procure and send off (22) 'in some good English or Biscayan ship' and *en buenos cofres*, besides books, a multitude of articles for the King, for Zayas, and other friends in Spain: tapestries, precious stones, pictures, illuminated manuscripts, paper, spectacles, candles, leather, writing-desks (*arquimesas*), curtains, an illuminated crucifix.

told them to buy everything, and what is useless I give to the printers almost for the cost price, for, at the price I gave, the good books are exceedingly cheap' (24). In the same letter he says that he had received from Paris (where the Spanish Ambassador, Don Francés de Alava, had been instructed to assist him in acquiring books for the Escorial) a catalogue of original copies of Greek books for sale, 'and as I cannot endure that the King should buy at higher prices than his vassals . . . I answered that your Majesty did not require those books, but that I, as a poor private student, would buy them if they would give them at the prices I paid at Venice and Trent and other places'. He thus obtained, for less than sixty ducats, books for which over 120 ducats had been asked. With the books bought at Breda (of which he gives a list (25): fifty-seven books, mostly manuscript) he was especially pleased, since they were copies dedicated specially by their authors to the ancestors of the Prince of Orange,

and only a very few had been printed, and that in a very defective manner (26). Don Francés de Alava suggested that since 'here in Paris many new books are published daily, and this might diminish the value of the manuscripts acquired by King Philip, special Spanish editions should be made, with the words "Ex nobili et locuplete bibliothecâ Philippi Regis"', but King Philip would not have these words inserted (he underlined them and wrote in the margin: 'Esto no hay para que se haga y así se avise'). Arias Montano was anxious that all the books acquired should be set apart and most carefully kept at the Escorial (27). In the hunt for books he was diligently assisted by Plantin (28). On August 30, 1571, he is bidden send all the books, both printed and manuscript, in the fleet in which the Duke of Alba was returning to Spain. It was no easy matter to get them from the coast to the Escorial. Thus Zayas writes to Arias Montano on April 13, 1572, 'So far, nothing of what you sent

has arrived, for Juan Martinez de Recalde says that the bales and boxes are so large that no muleteer will or can take them' (29). When Arias Montano was in Italy he continued to collect books for the Escorial, both at Venice, where he left them in the hands of the Ambassador, with others that he already had, Latin and Greek, good and bought very cheap, and at Milan. He had not always been satisfied with Venice prices, whatever he might affirm to the Paris booksellers. The story of how he turned the tables on his bookseller and fleeced the fleecer must be told in his own words, written to Zayas on November 9, 1568, from Antwerp: 'I have had a piece of luck in this respect these last days, in which I have served his Majesty as I should, and I only wish I had other such occasions to do so. For a Greek seller of original manuscripts, whom I knew in Venice, where I had bought many books of him, and very dear,—and Covarrubias, the present Bishop of Segovia, had bought a thousand ducats'

worth,—was passing through with some books for the Queen of England, in hope of returning with a great profit; but the soldiers of the enemy plundered him on the way, and he arrived here with three attendants and his books, but without a penny. He therefore tried to sell two or three books in order to continue his journey, but as he asked so high a price no one was willing to begin to buy, and those who wanted to have some of the books came and told me, in order that I might buy some and make the price easier for them. I sent for him, and when he recognized me he was glad and asked me to furnish him with money for the journey to England and letters recommending him to the Ambassador of his Majesty in England and to other persons on the way, since he was afraid of being ill-treated in the present disturbances. I at once gave him letters for the Ambassador, but pointed out the difficulties of the journey and the uncertainty of his dealings with the Queen of England, considering the conditions

now prevailing in that island, and that these books were all religious and Catholic except a few devoted to philosophy; and I told him that he had better sell them to me, and, in view of the former ones which I had bought so dear, sell them at a reasonable price. Frightened by what he had gone through and by what I and others told him he had to expect, he offered to sell me part of them. I said I must have all or none, and between ancient original manuscripts and good copies there are forty of them, but neither he nor those would-be buyers imagined that I wanted them for any one but myself. They, hoping that he would yield them some of the books at a moderate price, helped me greatly by refusing to buy any from him and by urging him to sell them to me, because, as he had no money and no means of obtaining any, he was forced to come to terms with me; and he begged me to pay for them at the price I knew they were worth and he would be content with that. I insisted

on his naming a price, saying that, being away from my country and without much money, I could not pay for them at their real value. He asked 400 ducats. He seemed to me to be growing reasonable, for the books were certainly worth a good 300. I said I could give him but 100, and that there was no more to be said, and that it was reasonable that he, in his need, should conform to mine, since I had bought or caused him to sell over 1,000 ducats' worth. In this way I kept him coming and going during four days, until in despair he gave them to me for 115 ducats and settled for the money to be paid to him at various places on the way to Italy for the expenses of the journey. I think he never made a worse bargain nor I a better. When those greedy men came for their share, I told them that the books were for his Majesty and I could not remove one of them. They, who considered me a very simple man, were amazed at the way I had played with the Greek and with them, but I told them

that one who had spent so much time and money buying books might well have an occasional windfall; and believe me, if the little Greek had realized that they were for his Majesty, we should not have had them for 500 ducats, for not one of them is worth less than four ducats and some of them are worth over forty' (30). Truly Arias Montano had the genuine inhumanity of the bibliophile and a disinterested love of a bargain for its own sake.

III

IN addition to the continual pressure of business during these years he was constantly beset by money worries. He could tell the Greek with truth that he was short of money, and might have said the same of his royal master. To a scholar like Arias Montano, punctilious and exact in money matters, the methods of the State were a perpetual vexation. As early as November 1568 his salary is in arrear, and, as he wrote to Zayas, money could only be borrowed in Flanders at a very high rate of interest (31). 'As they see me with the habit of Santiago and know that I am a servant of the King they think that I am rich, whereas my credit is merely nominal' (32). On April 6, 1569, 'ya ha dias que gasto sobre mi palabra', on October 9, 1570, nearly a year of his salary is unpaid (33). He was

not the only person in Flanders to be thus afflicted. The Governor was heavily in debt, and the Spanish soldiers mutinied to obtain their pay. It is not surprising that the printing of the Bible also suffered. 'The work is going on slowly,' *la obra se detiene*, he writes on May 9, 1570, and in 1573, after it was published, Plantin is *en aprieto de dineros*. On December 19, 1571, when there was a question of giving a chain of the value of 300 escudos to Andreas Massius, Arias Montano writes to Zayas, with a touch of malice, that the Duke of Alba considered it too little, 'but I nevertheless thought it better to hold the bird I had in my hand than to wait for the vultures we might shoot down, seeing the scarcity of money there is here and the difficulty there is even in the payment of what is due' (34). To be given a letter of credit by King Philip and to pocket the money were two very different things, and Arias Montano complains over and over again that the King's treasurer or bankers do not honour the bills he has

contracted in the King's name. At last he wrote direct to the King on the subject, and further made it a condition of his return to Spain that the debts which he had incurred for the King in Flanders should first be paid (35). The Bible had been planned and executed on a truly princely scale. By February 1569 Arias Montano writes that it had taken the sails out of a heretic edition in three languages that was being prepared in Germany (36). The real cost was estimated at 20,000 ducats in January, 1571, whereas 'nobody believes that it is less than 60,000' (37), and to produce such a work would cost others over 40,000 (38). In December, 1571, 'everyone here [at Antwerp] believes the cost of producing the Bible is 100,000', whereas the whole cost to the King and Plantin does not exceed 40,000, of which the King has already provided 9,000. Eleven parts of the Bible out of sixteen were now ready, and one set had been sent secretly to Rome, another presented to the Duke of Alba, who was having it

richly bound in silver. Apart from the scholarly revision of the text in five languages (Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Syriac, Chaldean), and the *apparatus criticus* and introduction by Arias Montano, the greatest care had been taken by Plantin, King Philip's 'prototypographer', to make the work the finest example of the printer's art. The best paper was brought from Auvergne, the title-pages were elaborately adorned and engraved, new type for each of the languages was cast, the abbreviations of Ximenez's Bible were abolished, and the margins widened. The edition was confined to 1,150 copies, including fifty of a special *format* and six on vellum (39). The price of copies unbound was 25 to 30 ducats, and 30 to 35 ducats; the vellum copies could not be sold for under 120 florins, but were not for sale (40). King Philip wrote on the margin of the above letter: 'Add this up to see what will be got out of it.' Obviously, if the work cost 40,000 ducats, and the ordinary copies were to sell at not over 30 ducats each,

the profit could not be great, even discounting the 9,000 ducats advanced by King Philip. In Spain, the royal Bible could in 1577 be bought direct from Flanders at a cost of from 43 to 45 ducats, but a few copies in the King's possession were priced at 60 ducats until they were reduced by the King to 45 ducats at Arias Montano's suggestion (41). A copy was sent to the Ambassador in Rome, Don Juan de Zúñiga, in 1573, but King Philip saw 'no occasion to send one to the Emperor, the King of France, the King of Portugal, or other potentates' (42). He, however, sent a copy to his cousin, the Duke of Savoy. 'There had been some idea of giving the new Bible the trade name of Philippic, and Arias Montano was careful to point out that the word might denote a gold coin as well as a violent oration. A certain Salamanca professor would have undertaken to justify the title, for money difficulties were not Arias Montano's only hindrance in his great work ; the selection of the texts was

not all plain sailing, and a few months after his arrival at Antwerp Leon de Castro was already on the war-path. The Professor of Greek at Salamanca was an honest man, with a violent and domineering temper, who believed that what he did not know could scarcely be worth knowing, and he laboured under the fixed idea that any scholar who went behind the Vulgate and consulted the Hebrew original deserved (as Castro himself knew little Hebrew) to be persecuted and condemned as *hebraizante*, *judaizante*, *judío*, the friend of Rabbis and declared enemy of Doctors of the Church. Arias Montano, on the other hand, pleaded the necessity of going to the Hebrew, which, in its richness, often admitted of a double meaning, verbal or allegorical, literal or poetic (43). On November 9, 1568, Arias Montano writes to the King's secretary, Zayas, on the subject of Leon and the Latin version of the Bible (44). In King Philip's instructions given to Arias Montano on March 25, it had been expressly stipulated that the

Vulgate should retain its place unaltered as in the Alcalá edition (45). Another subject of contention arose when Arias Montano examined a Hebrew codex of the Anglican Psalter submitted to him by an Englishman of the name of Clement (*un cierto Clemente inglés de nación*) and rejected its supposed antiquity and worth, although Bishop Guglielmus Lindanus had accepted it as authentic. Lindanus, who seems to have been a Flenish Leon de Castro (46), a man of *terribleza e impetus*, never forgave what he considered a personal insult. Arias Montano, in order to 'let him down easily', had expressed the view that he had not seen the book. Lindanus, deaf to the entreaties of his friends, insisted on an apology to the effect that he *had* seen it (47). This only made matters worse for him, as he presently perceived, and his rage was accordingly the more envenomed, so that in league with Castro he carried on a campaign against Arias Montano for years in Flanders, Spain, and Italy. 'And one after-

noon, as I was in my cell at San Lorenzo,' says Arias Montano (48), 'the good Bishop came in' and they were reconciled, but when he returned to Flanders Lindanus forgot all about the reconciliation.

Philip II had at first thought that the approbation of the Bible by the Faculty of Theology of the University of Louvain would suffice at Rome (49), but it soon became clear that the matter would not be so easily settled. The Pope refused to authorize the book unless it was examined in Rome. It was in vain that the Spanish Ambassador, Don Juan de Zúñiga, assured his Holiness that the work was virtually the same as the old Alcalá edition (50), a remark which its editor would certainly not have endorsed. There was nothing for it but to send Arias Montano to Rome to present a copy of the Bible to the Pope. In his *Rhetorica*, written many years earlier, and published at Frankfurt in 1572, he had laughed at the young men who after spending barely three months in Italy returned home uttering

Nil nisi inauditas voces, nova nomina
rerum

Italico accentu crepitant, damnantque pa-
ternos

Sermones (51).

He had himself always had the scholar's desire to see Rome. He had not been in Flanders a year when he referred in a letter to Zayas (Feb. 28, 1569) to 'the wish I have to go to Rome', and in July 1569 he again writes of 'my desire to see Rome once, for I have never seen it, and to spend at least one month there'. He suggests that it would not be difficult to give him some mission to Rome, and that his absence from Flanders during three or four months would not be greatly felt, and the work of printing the Bible would go on without him. It was not till nearly three years later that his wish was satisfied. He left Flanders at the end of April 1572 (52). Neither Pius V, who died this year, nor his successor, Gregory XIII, was the Pope who denounced Philip II as a son of iniquity, but Arias Montano

can still speak of 'jealousy at Rome that a work so excellent' as the new Bible should come from Spain (53). Cardinal Pacheco and the Spanish Ambassador at Rome considered that it would be better to print the work without the papal privilege and let it take its chance, but all difficulties disappeared before Arias Montano's confidence and charm. He had made light of the objections raised against the Bible (54), and remarked that at Rome they had thought that Talmud was the name of some dangerous heretical gentleman (55). It is noteworthy that both Albornoz and Philip II had declared that his presence at Rome would remove every obstacle (56). Arias Montano was in fact received several times by the Pope, who showed him great favour and at once granted the required privilege. He inquired of Arias Montano concerning the state of Flanders, and told him that he would serve God and the Church better by his pen than by any other business in the world, a remark which Arias Montano

took good care that Philip II should learn. At the beginning of the winter he left Rome for Flanders by way of Venice and Milan, but henceforth he constantly harboured the thought of a few years of quiet literary work in an atmosphere so congenial as that of Italy, far from the disquiet and envy of the Peninsula (57), which imprisoned such men as Luis de Leon (1572-76) and Damião de Goes (1571-73). Not that he does not do justice to Flanders and Plantin. There is no printing in the world, he considers, such as that done in Flanders, and they get through more work at Antwerp in a month than at Rome in a year (58), while the breviaries printed at Rome and Venice are 'intolerable' (59). As to Plantin, 'every day I find in him things that move me to praise God' (60).

IV

ON his return he found affairs in Flanders 'miserabilísimas'. The departure of the Duke of Alba he had always considered a fatal error. The first news of it, told him in confidence by the Duke, had filled him with dismay, and at the bidding of the King he had written an elaborate report of the condition of the country. In this report (61), which was praised by the King, he is somewhat slow in coming to the point, but he dwells on the great importance of Flanders from the point of view of religion and of commerce, and politically as a curb on France, Germany, and England. Religion, justice, and finance all equally demanded a firm and stable rule ('ya sé qué cosa es populacho', he exclaims, 'cuando entiende que un corregidor entra y otro se va') such as that of the Duke of Alba, which had

effected a marked improvement against false religions, bribery and corruption, luxury and dissipation. He has also a good deal to say about the intolerable burden of taxation, the 'asisas y maltotes que con grande pesadumbre y, segun entiendo, con imposibilidad de sufrirse y tolerarse pagan sobre la comida y bebida', and about the new ten per cent. tax; and he laments that the Duke of Alba's rule, while waiting for his successor, except in matters of religion, has become weak and negligent. His successor, Don Luis de Requesens, also honoured and consulted Arias Montano (62). The latter's wish to remain in Italy was disregarded, as was also his suggestion that he should be appointed a member of the Council in Flanders, not with a great salary, but 'una razonable ayuda de costas'. On February 27, 1573, he writes confidentially to Zayas: 'I declare before God that I am very free from ambition of dignities or other high estate, and my greatest ambition has ever been to retire

to my Peña', but in view of the exhortations of the Pope and of learned men in Spain, France, and Germany to persevere in his studies, he suggests that the post of Ambassador at Venice would admirably suit him (63). Venice was not greatly frequented by Spaniards, the post of Ambassador had not so much business as to interfere with his studies, the help of learned foreigners, 'among whom I have some authority and much friendship by the grace of God', was near at hand, and there were facilities for obtaining books from the East (64). In April 1574, however, he is still at Antwerp, expecting *alguna buena merced* from his Majesty. On October 9, since his services are evidently of so little avail, he begs, in a letter addressed personally to the King, to be allowed to retire to La Peña or some place even more remote. In the following spring, on the pretext of the *peligro evidente de Francia*, he set out to return to Spain by way of Italy. At Milan, as he found no ship ready to sail owing to the

troubles at Genoa, he proceeded to Rome to attend the jubilee (thus gratifying an old wish) and present some of his recently published works to the Pope. King Philip's meek chaplain was in fact in open rebellion, for although he had the King's permission to return, dated August 21, 1574, he had delayed to set out till the following spring (65), and once at Rome he became exceedingly reluctant to leave it. He wrote to the King on July 29, 1575, conjuring him *por el honor de Dios* to allow him to remain, were it but for two years or one and a half or one. Besides the wish to pursue his studies, and his delight in the congenial society of men of letters, he had other reasons for desiring to be at Rome and not to return to Spain. He was anxious to counteract the machinations of Leon de Castro at Rome, and he feared that in Spain he might share the fate of his friend Fray Luis de Leon, who had now been for over three years imprisoned at Valladolid. We need not assume that Arias Montano did not

ponder frequently on this long imprisonment because he makes no reference to it in his letters: there is only a bare statement from Zayas announcing the arrest (66). As to Castro, 'almost the whole of the last year that I spent in Flanders', wrote Arias Montano to the Bishop of Cuenca on August 12, 1575, 'I have perceived a great uproar that Leon de Castro, who lives at Salamanca, has raised in that University, finding fault with and throwing discredit on the greatest work that has ever been given to the world of letters, to wit, the Royal Bible which his Majesty for the benefit of Christianity ordered to be printed at Antwerp under my direction; and, as I understand, the handle he has seized for his campaign against it is the presence in the *apparatus criticus* of part of the Bible of Sanctes Pagnino, which was given in that place at the request of many learned men of the Universities of Paris and Louvain.' Writing to Cardinal Hosius from Salamanca in August 1574, Pedro Fuentidueñas enumerates the heads of

the accusation against the Bible, speaks of the attitude of the Salamanca champions of the Vulgate, quotes St. Augustine and St. Jerome to the effect that the Hebrew text should be consulted, and declares that 'the matter is full of public scandal which extends daily, not without endangering many' (67). At Rome Arias Montano found the cardinals all agog about it, 'and his Holiness also knew of it, and they kept asking me what it was all about, and who was Maestro Leon.' Considering that the Bible had been printed for the Catholic King, and that its editor had received permission to publish it from the Pope himself, only Leon de Castro, one would suppose, would have had the audacity to carry his 'zeal' so far (and it *is* zeal, wrote poor Arias Montano, although it is the Devil that inspires it); but he found helpers and abettors in Rome, for when Arias Montano answered that 'it was an old fad and infatuation of Castro's against all the Latin versions, and that in Spain this

mania of his was notorious (*en España era muy conocida su condicion*), this was not enough to satisfy the cardinals. There were, he was told, 'letters and commissions and intrigues of Leon de Castro at Rome, with a view to raise a greater noise and scandal there than in Spain, and this was facilitated by his being less known at Rome' (68). On September 7, 1575, Philip II summoned Arias Montano to Spain to examine into a matter of heresy which was considered of great importance, but which was going very slowly in August 1574, and was likely, Arias Montano thought, to be protracted for many years to come (69). His enemies could not have done more to vex him ; it was his enemies, he no doubt presumed, who had done it ; he professed his readiness to obey, and on October 20 wrote to the King that he hoped soon to be able to sail from Genoa, but on March 22, 1576, he is still at Rome, suggesting to Zayas that he should be given a post on the Council of Flanders (70). 'If his Majesty were

willing that I should serve him in some way for the present in Flanders,' he says, and he bids Zayas show his letter to no living man. His distress is obvious, and his reluctance great to return to Spain, where the lion was roaring for its prey. King Philip turned a deaf ear to these entreaties. On May 17 Arias Montano writes to the King from Rome concerning the vacant sees of Ghent and Antwerp. On July 25 he is back in Spain, and has already taken up the business of 'the Centuries', but has not yet seen the King (71). Yet, although he returned not to Flanders, but to Spain, he evidently had powerful protection against the Inquisition and Castro, while the question of the Bible was referred to the learned historian and Jesuit Juan de Mariana (+1624). It was a difficult position for Mariana, all the more so because Arias Montano was an acknowledged opponent of the Jesuits. He succeeded, however, in satisfying both sides—or neither; for, while on the essential point—whether the Antwerp Bible should be

placed on the *Index*—he decided, after much delay, in Arias Montano's favour, he gave the latter's adversaries much pleasure by noting numerous minute defects in the edition. Meanwhile, on March 1, 1577, Arias Montano arrived at the Escorial, and was installed in the convent with two pages—the rules did not allow of more, although 'from Andalucía, Aragon and other parts they offer me so many servants that if they were got together they would fill a convent greater than that of the Escorial' (72), and for the next ten months he was busily engaged in cataloguing the King's new library. King Philip, in the words of its modern librarian, 'had chosen for the task the most learned and competent Spaniard then living, Arias Montano' (73). On May 31 he writes to Zayas that so far he does not know what the King wants of him, but holds his tongue, and bides his time till the catalogue be finished, at the end of June he hopes, in order to ask permission to retire to Andalucía. But he remained at the

Escorial till January of the following year, and the King then sent him on a mission to Lisbon.

V

WITH a letter from the King, dated January 31, 1578, to the Spanish Ambassador at Lisbon, Don Juan de Silva, a free pass for himself and servants, five mules laden with cases containing clothing and two gold habits of Santiago with badge of silver, and three hundred ducats in gold and silver for his expenses, he set out from Madrid. After spending two half-days at Toledo he stayed another half-day with his old friend the chronicler Ambrosio de Morales (1513-91) at La Puente, and, leaving Guadalupe on his left, proceeded direct to Alcántara. At El Cañaveral he met the Bishop of Coria, and altogether his journey from Madrid to Lisbon occupied seventeen days. He found Lisbon in mourning for the Queen. Her chaplain, Francisco Cano, and many

other friends welcomed Arias Montano. He spent six or seven days at Lisbon and set out to return to Madrid on March 1, leaving 'all men of letters and understanding, and especially the King, greatly attached to him', as the Spanish Ambassador wrote to Philip II (74). King Sebastian in fact received him four times during his week's stay at Lisbon: the first audience, on Saturday, lasted an hour, the second, two and a half hours. The King touched on the African expedition several times, but Arias Montano abstained from giving an opinion until at the fourth audience, when King Sebastian, after dining early, kept Arias Montano from eight till eleven and openly asked him what was King Philip's opinion and what was said about it in Castile. He answered that King Philip's views were doubtless already well known to his Majesty, and as to opinion in Castile told him 'what he perhaps had not heard from his Portuguese favourites and advisers, and he entered into a discussion

with me concerning his design and undertaking, and with due respect I answered and contradicted during more than an hour, until I realized that he had more will than reason' (75). Arias Montano was not the man to impose his views on the recalcitrant, but King Sebastian had evidently hoped to win him over and through him Philip II. He found opinion in Portugal generally adverse to the expedition (76), and as to the succession to the throne heard that many nobles were favourable to Castile, but the people hated the Castilians (77). King Philip's chaplain maintained strict reserve on this matter: 'To those who conversed with me on the subject of the expedition I said no more than that his Majesty did not consider it advisable, any more than did the Portuguese, and that I believed he would try to persuade their King as though he were his own son [ten years had passed since the death of Don Carlos], to which many sensible persons replied: "King Philip proves his Christianity and worth in that,

for when he might say to his nephew: 'I won't bid you knock your head against a wall, but if you choose to dash it in pieces I won't stand in your way' he not only does not condescend to adopt such an attitude, but with the greatest care and diligence seeks to prevent the King from ruining himself, although his nephew's ruin might be to his own gain" (78). If Arias Montano was sent to Lisbon in order to sound public opinion or to influence prominent persons it is curious that his stay should have been so short. To King Sebastian he declared that he had come to Portugal merely to see some friends (79).

VI

IN the following spring Arias Montano was at last happy, restored to his beloved La Peña, and on April 25 he writes to Zayas that, although he had not yet recovered his strength, *consuelame este retiro*. How keenly he felt that his services should not have received any recognition is evident from a letter written to Zayas later, in which he says that he left the Court without any intention of returning (80). But his corner of paradise in Andalucía threw a magic over poverty and disillusion. Arias Montano at La Peña is the realization of Luis de Leon's dreams :

Vivir quiero conmigo,
Gozar quiero del bien que debo al cielo,
A solas, sin testigo,
Libre de amor, de zelo,
De odio, de esperanzas, de recelo.

Del monte en la ladera
Por mi mano plantado tengo un huerto,
Que con la primavera
De bella flor cubierto
Ya muestra en esperanza el fruto cierto.

La Peña consisted originally of the Hermitage of Our Lady of the Angels, belonging to the Cathedral of Seville, from which it was distant a long day's journey (fourteen short leagues). It lay high up in the Sierra de Aracena above the village of Alajar and two leagues from Aracena, a town of a thousand *vecinos*. The road for one of these two leagues, says Arias Montano, is the most beautiful in Spain. A few leagues to the north was Fregenal, his birthplace, and the whole region was filled with friends and relations. In proportion as Arias Montano became more celebrated the number of his relations grew, with 'esperanzas ó expectativas puestas sobre el cielo de Jupiter' (81). Scattered along the Sierra de Aracena were over a thousand houses in which the ignorant and untaught peasants supported

life with difficulty, glad enough of oats to eat in years of scarcity (82). About the year 1550 (83) Arias Montano, having received the hermitage from the Prior of Seville Cathedral (later his right was confirmed by the Pope), found it in ruins and the whole place uncultivated and overgrown (*un eriazó y zarzal espesísimo*). He soon made the wilderness to blossom like the rose. He built or rebuilt a church and house, planted an orchard and vineyard, and when he left it in the care of a servant in 1565 he had spent over 3,000 ducats on the estate. The servant betrayed his trust, house and garden were allowed to fall again into disrepair, tools and furniture were stolen. He now, in 1568, set to work to restore the place, and before his death he is able to estimate its yearly produce at 500 *reales*. La Peña was always cool, even when Madrid and Seville were being tortured by the fiercest heat; it was healthy, well supplied with water, wine, and fruit, with plenty of game in the surrounding hills.

Crystal springs supplied the house with water, which, after providing a runlet along a marble table in a *patio* of jasmine, flowed out to water the orchard which Arias Montano had planted. By ringing bells in a variety of ways he communicated with the villagers at Alajar below. Here he could, in the words of Nicolás Antonio, *latere sibi et literis* (84), here he could exclaim with Duke Vicentio: 'How have I ever loved the life removed!' 'There is no place in all Europe which can excel it in natural beauty,' he tells Zayas, and when he wrote these words, in 1569, Arias Montano had travelled widely. It is 'a place fit to be owned by a king', and he was in fact anxious that King Philip should become its patron and possessor after his death. The King seems to have accepted the suggestion, since in his will (June 28, 1598) Arias Montano leaves it to King Philip and his heirs (85). 'For private life I consider this retreat suits me better than the splendour of the Court,' he writes to Zayas on January 4,

1579, 'and I understand that his Majesty does not consider that I am fit for anything more than to be his chaplain.' The fact is that the Spanish Ambassador at Venice, Guzman de Silva, had died in the previous year, and the post had not been offered to Arias Montano, although it was known that he desired it. But his real complaint was that, whereas he required leisure and quiet for his studies, the King was always employing him on troublesome missions or summoning him to Court (86). He now delayed his return as long as he could, and evaded a hint that he should proceed to Portugal on the matter of the succession, although he drew up a report of prominent persons who might be favourable to Spain (87). At last he obeyed an urgent summons, and having hired mules which were to be back at Seville on September 18, and leaving his luggage to follow with the *arriero* of Alcalá, he arrived at Madrid on September 8 (1579). The King seems to have thought that in getting his chaplain to Court he had done

enough for the present, and on September 23 Arias Montano complains to Zayas that his coming was to serve the Escorial monks in matters which 'a half-educated layman could do better than I' (88), and dwells with some bitterness on the loss of his time. On October 10 he writes even more bitterly that the King, after summoning him in such haste from his retreat (*mi rincencillo*), for the great service of God and the Church and the King, should have left him for over a month doing what a boy could do better than he (89). When he left Andalucía it was evidently believed by his numerous friends and relations, and perhaps by himself, that he had been summoned to receive some high post in the State, and he speaks of the ridicule and mockery (*silbos, escarnios, burlas, risadas*) that will ensue. He speaks, too, of his *extrema pobreza*, and of the prospect of its becoming daily greater, and says that at Madrid the Lion (Leon de Castro) is roaring after its prey, denouncing him in law courts and the

market-place, in churches and convents, with the encouragement of the terrible onsets of Lindanus and of others who incite him (90). The shadow of the Inquisition was upon his spirit, and from his letter of January 9, 1580, to Zayas we know that he still had Italy in view. He seems to have lived in retirement till he attended the Provincial Synod at Toledo in September 1582, and for the next ten years his life was divided between Andalucía and the Court. We do not know when he went on a mission to England and to France, if he went (91). In 1584 he resigned his chaplaincy, and in 1592 he retired definitively to Andalucía. He passed the remainder of his life in Seville, at the Convent of Santiago, of which he was now Prior (he was also Comendador of Santiago, having been granted by the King the *encomienda* of Pelay Correa, a favour previously confined to laymen, so that his income must now have been considerable), at La Peña, and at a country house nearer Seville, which he had bought

in 1587. It was called Campo de Flores and was later known as Las Casillas de Montano; it consisted of a house in olives and fallow land. One of his last acts was to found a Chair of Latin in the town of Aracena (July 12, 1597). On June 28, 1598, he made his will at Campo de Flores. Thence he went to the Carthusian convent, where he had been given a cell which was to have a special door opening on to the orchard; but immediately on his return to Seville he was taken ill and was removed to the house of Doña Ana Nuñez, where he died on July 6, 1598.

VII

THERE is a close resemblance between the character and circumstances of Arias Montano and Luis de Leon. Born probably in the same year, both came of *hidalgo* stock, both had relatives in good position — Luis de Leon's brothers and Arias Montano's nephew were Veinticuatro. Both were scholars to their finger-tips, inspired poets, Hebrew scholars who incurred the wrath of the redoubtable Professor of Greek at Salamanca; both were lovers of Nature and 'the life removed', and both were actively engaged in many and various affairs. Unlike Luis de Leon, Arias Montano wrote almost exclusively in Latin. His only Spanish works are his *Aforismos* (1614), being a translation of 500 maxims from Tacitus, and a paraphrase of *The Song of Solomon* (92).

His first published work was the *Monimenta humane salutis*, consisting of seventy-two Latin odes on religious subjects, printed by Plantin at Antwerp in 1571. Another work of the same kind was his *Himni et Saecula* (1593). The first of his many celebrated Latin commentaries on various books of the Bible also appeared in 1571. His *Rhetorica* in Latin verse was published in 1572, the *De Hebraicorum librorum scripture et lectione*, written at La Peña, nine years later. His last years were occupied with a vast work which he had been contemplating for many years, a history of the human race based on the Scriptures. Its appearance was delayed by the slowness of the Censor, who complained of the smallness of the handwriting, but the first part (*Anima*), *Liber generationis et regenerationis Adam*, was published in 1593. The second part (*Corpus*), *Naturae historia*, was ready in 1594, but was published posthumously in 1601; the third part remained unwritten. Readers of the extracts given in the notes

of the present volume will agree that his style was as pure in Spanish prose as it was in Latin verse, and will regret that he did not follow Luis de Leon's example and write in the vernacular. Another point in which he differed from the great Augustinian was in the exceptional suavity of his temper. He had none of that fierce energy which made Luis de Leon's enemies writhe beneath the lash and return to their attacks with redoubled venom. Small of stature and certainly not robust (93), witty and charming in conversation, he combined the directness of the scholar with a singular gentleness and attraction. The Duke of Alba (94), twenty years his senior, Pope Gregory XIII (95), the young King Sebastian, Philip II himself, all evidently fell under the spell. Countless friends throughout Europe, such as the Bishop of Arras, *rarísimo en sus letras y elocuencia*; or Cardinal Delfino, who would take him to converse in a garden outside Rome, or the Portuguese bishop and historian Osorio,

testified to the depth of his learning and the variety of his interests (96). He was the most popular Spaniard in Flanders (97). He was of so affectionate a nature that he could regard it almost as a failing (98). In his letters he constantly asks for news of *mis prendas* or *mis hermanos* at Seville, and when he does not hear from them 'estoy tan afligido desto que no sé de mí y con mis pensamientos que acerca de los que bien quiero jamas reposan hago doscientos discursos a la hora, y todos tristes' (99). He wished harm to nobody (unless it were the little Greek bookseller) and felt resentment against none. Even Leon de Castro, he thought, meant well: it was not he, but Satan who incited him, that was to blame (100). At the most he hints that Castro has offended all the other countries of Europe in claiming to be the only man with eyes in a blind world (101), or that his zeal may appear differently to others (*aquel buen hombre con su celo que él llama*) (102), or that it is a pity that it should be said that Spaniards

devour one another (103); or he refers to the *diligencias exquisitas* of certain monks at Seville and elsewhere to discover matter in his works to denounce, slighting them in convents and even in the book-shops (104). By the time he was fifty experience had brought him disillusion, if not bitterness, and the philosophic mind: 'A los hombres servirlos en lo posible con caridad y estar sin envidia alguna, y no esperar dellos salud, pues no la tienen ni pueden dar' (105). The words in which he describes a friend might be applied to himself: *un ángel en la condición*. Had he the weakness which often goes with such gentleness and charm? A lover of truth and exactness, he was clear-sighted, had a strong will, a powerful intelligence, a knowledge of affairs, and a keen insight into men's character, but in his relations with others, if the charm of his manner failed to act or was only momentarily successful, as with Lindanus at the Escorial, he did not always succeed in imposing himself. He did not obtain a seat at the

Flanders Council, nor an Italian holiday, nor the post of Ambassador at Venice. Respect for him did not prevent his pages, for whom, when they were ill, he would sit up all night, from coming to blows, and we are not very anxious when he announces his intention of reprimanding another offender: *mañana le hablaré y daré una fraterna* (106). He could not get rid of his obsequious friends and poor relations at La Peña, and at Court he found it easier to apply himself to amiable conversation than to study (107). Although very abstemious, he was perhaps not naturally austere. Carvajal certainly exaggerates his asceticism when he says that he only ate one meal a day, at sunset, never ate meat or fish, and slept on a mat spread on a plank-bed (108). We know from Arias Montano himself that, although he did not generally care for meat, he was not a professed vegetarian (109), and had no objection to helping to eat a ham occasionally in Zayas's company (110). We know also that at the Escorial he

slept in a silken bed, which Zayas later had sent after him to La Peña. Arias Montano valued friendship far too highly to be a gloomy ascetic in and out of season, but only by severe self-discipline could he have attained his wonderful mastery of ancient and modern languages and have added to this knowledge a profound learning. His interest in mathematics was shown when the Duke of Alba proposed to found a Chair in Flanders; in his youth he had studied medicine with zest, while his concern for all matters relating to education was constant: he wished for an exchange of scholars between the Universities of Spain and Flanders, that foreigners might imbibe in Spain that strength of character and that grave dignity which were peculiarly Spanish (111). He was an active man of affairs as well as an acute scholar, and could combine the resignation of the Christian (112) with the curiosity of the humanist. Posterity, like the Popes and Kings of his own day, will delight to

honour this great scholar of the Spanish Renaissance. More truly than most men he might have said that he had willingly injured no man, but worked diligently to promote the welfare and happiness of many.

NOTES

(1) Carvajal, Document 65, p. 182: 'A quien por otro nombre la Universidad de Alcalá le dió el título de el Gerónimo Español por sus muchas letras y erudicion'; *ib.*, p. 184: 'Fuit unus ex Patribus Concilii Tridentini nominatusque in eo secundus maximus Hieronimus'; Lope de Vega calls him 'un Jerónimo español' (*Bib. Aut. Esp.*, vol. xxxviii, p. 236.)

(2) 'Obiit Hispali anno MDLXXXIX' (Carvajal, p. 184), but his age is not given; his will, however, is 'escrito de mi mano y firmado de mi nombre en mi heredad y casa de Campo de Flores, fecho y acabado en veinte y ocho de Junio de mil y quinientos y noventa y echo, víspera de San Pedro y San Pablo, y año de setenta y uno de mi edad' (Carvajal, p. 198). On November 9, 1568, he spoke of himself as being 'con cuarenta y tres años de vida' (*Documentos inéditos*, p. 135), whereas on October 10, 1579, he says he has 'cincuenta y tres años a cuentas' (*ib.*, p. 408), from which we might have inferred

that he was born between October 10 and November 9, 1525, but such assertions cannot be implicitly relied on. Plantin gives three different dates for his own birth.

(3) In the examination of witnesses as to his descent and character before entering the Order of Santiago in 1560, all agree that his ancestors 'no pecharon'. One witness says that it is said they are 'hijos-dalgo montañeses' (according to Nicolás Antonio the name Montano was derived from Fregenal de la Sierra), another similarly that 'decían [personas viejas] que eran Montañeses'. As to his mother's name, two witnesses say that they think it was Isabel Gomez, four do not remember her name, one gives only the name of his father, but mentions the name of his brother as Juan Arias de la Mota. One witness only gives her name with certainty: 'su madre se llamaba Francisca Minhoca', and this witness, a priest, Ruy Gonzalez Granero, declares that he was her relation (Carvajal, pp. 123-31, Document 1). This would seem conclusive, but there is doubt as to the word Minhoca, and Martinez Boza [or Mota?] has been suggested. Nobody would hesitate on this excellent evidence to accept Francisca as the Christian name; one would

infer, too, that both his father and mother were dead in 1560. But in a letter of February 11, 1569, Arias Montano refers to the recent death of 'mi señora Doña Isabel, mi madre' (*Documentos inéditos*, p. 142). In the same letter and elsewhere he refers to 'mis hermanos', although one of the witnesses in 1560 declared that of the three children of the elder Benito Arias only two, Benito and Juan, survived. Only if Doña Isabel Gomez was his stepmother, and the words 'mis hermanos' refer to the Licenciado Juan Arias and his wife, can all these conflicting statements be reconciled.

(4) Relator or Notario. Benito Arias, his son, was also Consultor and Notario of the Holy Office when still a young man (Carvajal, Document 1 [1560]).

(5) Carvajal, Document 20: 'por haberse perdido en la mar una gran multitud dellas llevándolas a Italia' (Philip II to the Duke of Alba, March 25, 1568).

(6) Ten years later, in 1578, we may note that the 300 ducats that Arias Montano took to Lisbon were worth 112,500 *maravedis*, so that we may assume that he now had about 200,000 *maravedis* a year. His salary's 300 ducados or escudos were of 40 *placas* each,

but the exchange varied, and in his letters he speaks of ducats of 46 and ducats of 39 *placas*. The *placa* would roughly be about a quarter of a *real*. Life in Flanders was expensive, and both Albornoz (Carvajal, p. 150) and the Spanish Ambassador at Rome (Carvajal, p. 161) say that Arias Montano's salary was insufficient. The former says bluntly to Zayas: 'cierto Vms. se hubieron estrechamente en lo del entretenimiento, que yo juro como christiano que, con darme el Duque de comer para mí y dos criados, que con cincuenta escudos más al mes no puedo vivir'. The Ambassador says to the King: 'Y aunque él no me pidió que yo hiciese el oficio que ahora haré, no puedo dejar de decir a V. M. que es imposible poderse sustentar con los trescientos ducados que se le dan de partido y que sé que él se socorre de parientes y de amigos'. The least yearly sum that could keep body and soul together was, we are told, 45 florins (for food and clothing). (See *Documentos inéditos*, p. 168.)

(7) Tomás Gonzalez. *Apuntamientos para la historia del Rey Don Felipe Segundo de España por lo tocante a sus relaciones con la Reina Isabel de Inglaterra*, etc., in *Me-*

morias de la Real Academia de la Historia, t. 7, p. 327.

(8) *ib.*, pp. 328, 332.

(9) Carvajal, p. 148, Document 26: 'Si yo hubiera hecho este viage a proposito de reconocer tierras no sé si me hubiera ordenado tan a punto para servir a V. M. en ello como sin pensarlo me sucedió con las peregrinaciones que he hecho, echándome Dios con contrariotempo y con enfermedad en Irlanda, cuya gran parte corrí acompañado de salvages della, y despues, embarcado en uno de los extremos de aquella Isla, aportando en Inglaterra y travesándole de parte a parte, en los cuales caminos vi y passé cosas ansi naturales como civiles é inciviles que tengo bien de que acordarme y no me pesa de haber pasado por ellas, aunque al presente algunas me fueron trabajosas.'

(10) Tomás Gonzalez, *op. cit.*, Documento No. 16, pp. 429-32: 'Relacion que hace el capitan Diego Ortiz de Urizar de lo que vió en Irlanda. Diólo a S. M. en Madrid a veinte y dos de Junio de mil quinientos setenta y cuatro.'

(11) *ib.*, p. 432: 'me quisieron enviar preso al Visorey sino por los naturales de la tierra que le fueron a la mano, y así procuró

de apoderarse de mi y matarme, que para ello hicieron sus diligencias asi por mar como por tierra.' He gives an unflattering account of King Philip's Irish allies. They eat little bread, 'y no es por falta de la tierra . . . sino que la gente es muy holgazana, enemiga de trabajar, y asi lo que siembran cuatro lo vienen a comer ciento, porque el que más puede hurtar al vecino se tiene por más hombre' (ib., p. 430); 'cada señorete tiene su torre de piedra puesta y allí se recogen los malhechores y destas torres hay una infinidad' (ib., p. 431). 'El Conde de Osmont [cf. p. 274 Dhestmon and p. 316 Desmownd] andaba, a la sazón que yo llegué en la Isla, con cinco ó seis mil hombres en compañía y habíase señoreado de algunas tierras y castillos que los ingleses le tenían tomados, que eran suyos de su patrimonio. En este tienen mucha esperanza los católicos' (ib., p. 431). Conditions were probably not much more tranquil when Arias Montano traversed Ireland in 1568.

(12) Carvajal, p. 148.

(13) Tomás Gonzalez, *op. cit.*, p. 328.

(14) *Documentos inéditos*, pp. 171-172.

(15) *Documentos inéditos*, p. 173: 'Puesto que me sea necesario estar cada día once

horas estudiando, escribiendo, recorriendo y visitando lo que se hace y ha de hacer, y esto tambien las fiestas como los otros dias.' Cf. p. 135: 'A mi no me falta obra ni me sobra tiempo, de manera que aun las fiestas tengo bien que hacer' (Nov. 9, 1568); p. 187: 'tengo bien en que entender' (Oct. 9, 1570); p. 201: 'he tenido todos los dias once horas de ocupacion en estudiar, leer y escribir lo que hacía al propósito de mi mision' (Feb. 5, 1571).

(16) *Documentos inéditos*, p. 335: 'Tenía ansimesmo ó amistad pública ó secreta intelligencia con buenos personajes de todas las vecindades, Lieja, Colonia, Cleves y hasta Alemania, y alguna en Paris y en Inglaterra.' Cf. pp. 333, 334.

(17) 'Aquí se hace un catálogo de libros que se vedan' (Antwerp, March 4, 1569). *Documentos inéditos*, p. 151. Cf. pp. 173-174. Arias Montano was of opinion that Erasmus and other writers should be expurgated, but not condemned totally.

(18) *Documentos inéditos*, pp. 168-171 [1570]. In 1572 both the Earl of Westmcrland and the Countess of Northumberland were receiving 200 florins a month. (T. Gonzalez, *op. cit.*, p. 379.)

(19) *Documentos inéditos*, p. 143: 'Yo hice la invencion dellas de carbon y plomo'.

(20) 'Para escribir cosas en español no son buenos porque no lo entienden y aun en latin no hacen buena letra sino francesilla y oscura' (*Documentos inéditos*, p. 143).

(21) Cf. *Documentos inéditos*, p. 266 (Dec. 19, 1571): 'Quedo empacando dos mill breviaros', and many similar passages.

(22) Carvajal, p. 143 (Document 19): 'Demas de hacer al dicho Plantino esta comodidad y buena obra es bien que lleveis entendido que desde agora tengo aplicados los seis mill escudos que se le prestan para que como se vayan cobrando del se vayan empleando en libros para el monesterio de Sanct Lorenzo el Real de la Orden de Sanct Hieronimo, que yo hago edificar cerca del Escorial como sabeis; y asi habeis de ir advertido deste fin e intencion para que conforme a ella hagais diligencia de recoger todos los libros exquisitos assi impresos como de mano, que vos como quien tambien [= tan bien] lo entiende vieredes que serán convenientes para los traer y poner en la librería del dicho mi monesterio, &c.'

(23) 'El otoño pasado comencé a hacer visita por las librerías de las abadías destos

Estados y hallé mucho destrozo hecho en libros originales, que por negligencia se habían perdido y vendido a libreros y encuadernadores en estos años pasados, y estos eran en todas facultades, y cada día se disminuían mas; y entendí del ingenio de la gente de por acá que si le pidiese alguna persona grave un solo libro, el menor de todos, comprado ó prestado, no lo darían, pensando ser algun grande tesoro, y por otra parte ví que habían vendido ó perdido grandes piezas de buenos autores. Acordé diferir el cumplimiento de la visita hasta hacer una diligencia que no me ha sucedido mal, de que el Duque está muy contento; y fué disimuladamente enviar a los libreros comarcanos de los monasterios para que comprasen todo lo que pudiesen de libros en pergamino, porque desta manera habriamos algunos para la librería real que V. M^d. instituye en Sant Lorenzo, y ansi me han traído buena suma dellos en tan buen precio que si yo comprara tres dellos de las mismas abadías me costaran mas. Hanme traído cosas de provecho y otras que no sirven más de para pergamino viejo, porque yo dí orden a que se comprase todo, y lo que no es de provecho lo doy a los impresores en el mismo precio casi por que yo

lo he comprado de manera que los buenos me salen baratísimos.' (*Documentos inéditos*, p. 176.)

(24) *Documentos inéditos*, pp. 160-162.

(25) *Documentos inéditos*, p. 154.

(26) *Documentos inéditos*, p. 194.

(27) 'Servicio de V. M^d. y provecho grande sería de la librería que V. M^d. mandase hacer en la librería misma una pieza aparte ó atajada con muro ó con reja de madera que fuese como tesoro de los libros originales, porque aquellos han de servir por ejemplares perpetuos y por piedras de toque de la verdad, y no es necesario que esten en la comunidad de los otros que han de estar expuestos al uso de todos los que quisieren estudiar en ellos ; y estando ansi guardados, serán mas estimados en el monasterio y con mas curiosidad consultados de las personas doctas que dellos se quisieren aprovechar, y libres del peligro que suelen tener semejantes originales, que ó los hurtan los que saben qué valor tienen ó los mozos los despedazan por quitarles las iluminaciones ó para el uso del pergamino los despojan. Yo tengo originales que valen mas de mill escudos y no los daría yo por ningun precio para ser quito dellos. Son hebráicos, griegos, caldeos y latinos, y los

tengo mandados en mis testamentos a la librería de los originales de vuestra Majestad. Con una mediana pieza que se apartase en la librería hasta doce cobdos en cuadro ó a proporcion desto bastaría. En las librerías de Italia tienen los libros raros en cajas con llaves, cada uno en su caja, y ansí hacen mas venerable la auctoridad del libro.' (ib. p. 178.)

(28) 'Usa de gran diligencia y ardid para allegar libros manuscritos originales para la librería de S. M^d. Tiene ya mas de 70 que le han costado la décima parte de lo que a otro se vendieran. Tiene en su poder los que halló en Haustrat y de Paris le han traído otros griegos. Con estos y los suyos manuscritos, de que piensa hacer heredera la librería de S. M^d., dice se podrán juntar hasta 300, que desea se pusiesen en la librería en pieza aparte.' (*Documentos inéditos*, p. 167.)

(29) *Documentos inéditos*, p. 271.

(30) 'Estos dias pasados me ha sucedido una buena suerte en esta razon, en la cual he servido a S. M^d. como se lo debo, y holgaría que se me ofreciesen otras ansí; y es que un mercader griego de libros originales, al cual yo conocía en Venecia y le había comprado harta suma de libros y bien caros, y el obispo

que es agora de Segovia, Covarrubias, tambien había comprado dél en mill escudos, pasaba por aquí con unos libros que llevaba a la reina de Inglaterra con esperanza de tornar con gran premio, y sucedióle que los soldados enemigos le despojaron en el camino, y llegó aquí con tres compañeros y con sus libros, y sin una placa, y procuró vender dos ó tres libros para pasar adelante; y como pedía tan caro por ellos ninguno osó comenzar a comprarle, y los que deseaban haber algunos me dieron aviso dello para que yo le tomara algunos y hiciera precio para ellos. Yo le hice llamar y como me conoció tomó contento y rogóme le socorriese con dineros hasta Inglaterra y le diese cartas para el embajador de S. M^d. que allí está, que le favoreciese, y para algunos por el camino, porque se temía de mal tratamiento, estando la tierra tan revuelta por acá. Yo le dí luego cartas para el embajador, empero púsele la dificultad que había en el viaje y el incierto sucesso que con la reina de Inglaterra temía estando las cosas de aquella isla en el estado que están y siendo estos libros todos eclesiásticos y católicos salvo algunos philosophicos; y con esta ocasion dije que me los vendiese a mí, y de cuantos le había comprado caros

que fuesen estos agora en buen precio. El, amedrentado de lo que había pasado y con lo que yo y otros dijimos de lo que podía esperar ó temer, trató de venderme parte dellos. Yo le dije que no le compraría uno sin otro ó sino todos, que son cuarenta libros entre originales antiguos y copiados buenos, y jamás sintió él ni los otros que deseaban comprarle algunos que yo los quería sino para mí ; y con esperanza de que a sus cabales les daría parte me ayudaron mucho en no comprarle ellos ninguno y en solicitar que me los vendiese, y así él fué forzado a tratar conmigo, porque no tenía un real ni hallaba modo de habello, y pidióme luego que se los pagase conforme a como yo sabía que valían y que no quería mas. Yo no quise sino que nombrase el precio, porque yo no se los podía pagar por el valor estando fuera de mi tierra y con poco dinero. Pidióme cuatrocientos escudos. Parecióme que se ponía en buena razon, porque cierto los libros valen largos trescientos escudos. Yo le dije que no tenía que cien escudos para le dar y que no quería mas hablar en ello y que era razon que él con su necesidad se conformase con la mía, pues le había yo ya comprado y hecho comprar en mas de mil

escudos. Desta manera lo tuve cuatro dias yendo y viniendo, hasta que visto no podía mas me los dió por ciento y quince escudos, y procuró aquí como se los fuesen pagando por el camino de Italia por los lugares donde había de pasar, para gastar en el viaje. Yo creo que él no hizo en su vida mas mal empleo ni yo mejor. Cuando los codiciosos acudieron por parte yo les dije que pensaba servir con ellos a S. M^d. y que no podía quitar ninguno. Ellos, que me tenían por muy sencillo, se espantaron del artificio que tuve con el griego y con ellos. Yo les dije que quien había gastado tanto tiempo y dinero en esta mercadería no era mucho echase algun buen lance, y V. M. tenga por cierto que si el grecheto entendiera que eran para S. M^d. no los hubieramos por quinientos ducados; porque ninguno hay que valga de cuatro escudos abajo y hay algunos que valen sobre cuarenta.' (*Documentos inéditos*, pp. 137-139).

(31) Letter of July 20, 1568.

(32) *Documentos inéditos*, p. 144: 'Como me ven con hábito de Santiago y con nombre de criado del rey piensan que soy rico, y tengo credito de palabra no mas.'

(33) *Documentos inéditos*, pp. 156, 184.

(34) *Documentos inéditos*, p. 267. Cf. p. 299.

(35) Cf. *Documentos inéditos*, pp. 307, 308-9 (Arias Montano to the King, from Antwerp, June 6, 1574: 'las dilaciones y respuestas aviesas ó secas del tesorero'), 311 (Arias Montano to the King, from Antwerp, October 9, 1574: 'tanto tiempo ha que nunca se han pagado. por lo cual mi conciencia está cargada y mi honor mas empeñado de lo que fuera servicio de V. M^d.'), 323-6, 328, 329, 331.

(36) *Documentos inéditos*, p. 142.

(37) *Documentos inéditos*, p. 167.

(38) *Documentos inéditos*, p. 181.

(39) *Documentos inéditos*, p. 262: 'Imprímense mill y ciento y cincuenta biblias, de las cuales hay tres suertes: la una carta real y otras dos de carta mas cara y mas grande, destas no hay mas que cincuenta y otra media docena de un papel hechizo que cuesta a escudo la mano.' (Letter of Arias Montano to Zayas from Antwerp, Dec. 14, 1571.)

(40) *Ibid.* The number of copies to be printed on vellum had been originally fixed at six, but was raised to twelve. (Carvajal, Document 25.)

(41) *Documentos inéditos*, pp. 342-3.

(42) *Documentos inéditos*, p. 293.

(43) In the *De hebraicorum librorum scriptiõne et lectiõne* [1581].

(44) 'En este pliego que envié por tierra respondí largo a la carta de Leon, la cual respuesta iba tan solamente para V. M., y así le suplico que no la muestre a persona sino mande sacar la sustancia della si alguna tiene; porque a mí no me incumbía responder aquella carta, mayormente tomando contencion de defender a Pagnino, porque en nuestra Biblia él no va hasta agora, ni ya que fuese podría ir en parte donde los que no están bien con él pudiesen calumniar. Y sepa V. M. que de Paris y Lovaina se pidió que se pusiese, y esto después que yo estoy aquí, que antes no se había tratado dél en estas partes que digo, é yo le respondí que no había lugar por agora. Empero si V. M. quisiese escribir a Leon que dentro de cuatro meses ó tres le enviase los lugares que le ofenden en aquella version y esto con toda caridad y sencillez, podría ser que fuesen provechosos algunos de sus avisos, y que con agradecimiento se le recibiesen é yo ordenase como él consiguiese su intento. Porque sepa V. M. para entre nosotros que yo, por desseo del provecho comun, he propuesto esto en la universidad de Lovaina y

rogádoles que lo vean de nuevo con diligencia, y se va haciendo. Y si Leon enviase algo que fuese de importancia sería bien recibido, porque este intérprete, por ser católico y literal, *audit bene apud omnes etiam si non omnia assecutus est.* Y si V. M. entiende que allá no se ha de hacer esto sencillamente, mas valdrá dejarlo, porque acá lo harán bien y sin pasion.' (*Documentos inéditos*, pp. 136-137: Letter of Arias Montano to Zayas, from Antwerp, Nov. 9, 1568.)

(45) Carvajal, p. 142, Document 19: 'En la muestra que acá envió Plantino había puesto la edicion de Xantes Pagnino, como habeis visto, en lugar de la Vulgata que en la impresion complutense está junto al texto hebraico, y porque ha parescido que en esto no conviene que aya mudanza ni se altere ni quite lo de hasta aqui, direislo assi al Plantino y hareis que la dicha edicion Vulgata se ponga y quede en el mesmo lugar que está en la Biblia complutense por la auctoridad que tiene en toda la Iglesia universal, y porque siendo como es la mas principal de todas las versiones, no fuera justo que faltara ni se dejara de poner en una obra tan insigne y en el principal lugar de aquella.'

(46) 'Cierto que fué colérico', mildly says

Arias Montano (Carvajal, p. 190, Document 73), and he adds that 'había movido grandes tragedias y amenazas contra mi y mi nombre y todos mis escritos; y esto había sido en Lovaina y Anvers.' He says that he partly owed his bishopric to him: 'Obispo de Ruremunda, parte quizá por mi sufragio, de que no importa afirmar . . . nunca tuve rencor in pasion çontra él en el tiempo que vivió aunque supe cuanto dijo contra mi en Flandes, en Roma, y mas en España, donde parece hallaba oidos mas a propósito.' (Carvajal, p. 189.)

(47) *Ibid.*, p. 191: 'Istud ipsum, istud ipsum; nam profecto ipse his oculis vidi librum et habui in manu.' Arias Montano says that he knew not a word of Hebrew.

(48) *Ibid.*, p. 192.

(49) *Ibid.*, p. 157, Document 35.

(50) *Ibid.*, p. 159, Document 37.

(51) *Rhetorica*, lib. iii, § 93, ap. Carvajal, p. 19.

(52) *Documentos inéditos*, p. 273.

(53) *Documentos inéditos*, p. 274.

(54) Carvajal, p. 161, Document 38: 'En las dudas de Roma no hace fundamento el Doctor, antes rie de ellas, pareciendole que

han condenado el Talmud solamente por el nombre' (Albornoz to Zayas).

(55) *Documentos inéditos*, p. 276: 'Les dí a entender en lo que estaban errados, ansi en lo que me habían escrito del nombre del Thalmud, que pensaron que era algun hombre extraño que se llamase ansi, y otras cosas semejantes que fuera bien no haberse dicho ni escrito por ellos.' Other doubts concerned the new Latin version of the New Testament ('no se sabe si aquella translacion es la de Erasmo u otra nueva'), the Syriac text, some *cosas muy inciertas y no averiguadas* in Arias Montano's treatises and 'la translacion de Sanctis Pagnino.' (Carvajal, Document 37, p. 160.)

(56) Carvajal, p. 161: 'Con su presencia facilitará todas las dificultades' (Albornoz to Zayas, March 19, 1572); p. 162: 'Yo creo que Montano lo dará a entender de manera que cesen todas las dudas.' (Philip II to the Duke of Alba, March 17, 1572.)

(57) *Documentos inéditos*, pp. 289 ('en España, donde sé que terné mas envidia que ayuda'), 304.

(58) *Documentos inéditos*, p. 179.

(59) *Documentos inéditos*, p. 185-6.

(60) *Documentos inéditos*, p. 147: 'Cada

dia hallo en él cosas que me mueven a alabar a Dios, y sobre todo la grande humildad y paciencia increíble que tiene a la mucha envidia que los de su arte y trato le han mostrado y tenido siempre, a los cuales pudiendo con mucha justicia hacer mal jamás ha dejado de hacer bien. En nombrándole al rey llora de afeccion que le tiene.'

(61) *Documentos inéditos*, pp. 200-235.

(62) *Documentos inéditos*, p. 303.

(63) *Documentos inéditos*, p. 288.

(64) Letter to Zayas from La Peña de Aracena, January 4, 1579 (*Documentos inéditos*, p. 377).

(65) Carvajal, p. 172, Document 55.

(66) 'Al maestro fray Luis de Leon, doctor Martínez y Grajal han prendido por la Inquisicion, que por ser nombres tan señalados ha causado harta admiracion.' (Zayas to Arias Montano, from Madrid, April 13, 1572, *Documentos inéditos*, p. 272.) In a letter printed by Carvajal (p. 189) there is a reference to half a line of macaronic Latin quoted by Arias Montano in the presence of Luis de Leon. Carvajal seems to accept the statement that Arias Montano had been Professor of Greek at Salamanca. That he had opportunities of seeing Luis de Leon at

Salamanca in the fifties and sixties, and at Madrid and the Escorial later, admits of no doubt, and it was only after Luis de Leon's death in 1591 that Arias Montano retired definitely to Andalucía. We know from Luis de Leon's trial that as early as 1559 the purity of Arias Montano's faith could be questioned by zealots at Salamanca. See *Documentos inéditos*, vol. x, pp. 68-69, and J. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *Fray Luis de Leon* (Oxford, 1921), pp. 63, 83.

(67) Carvajal, pp. 169-171, Document 53: 'Capita accusationis haec sunt: quod adposita fuerit Xantis Pagnini versio, quod illa appelletur proprissima Translatio, quod Vulgatae non summa auctoritas deferatur, quod Tractatus illi qui Bibliis additi sunt e Rabinis christianae Religionis hostibus sint desumpta, quod loca quedam Scripturae Sanctae quibus juxta editionem vulgatam dogmata aliqua fidei stabiliuntur aliis Versionibus convellantur, quod post versionem Vulgatam Sacri Concilii Tridentini decreto confirmatam non licet confugere ad Hebraeos Graecosque fontes' (p. 170). His account of the activities of Leon de Castro and his friends at Salamanca is interesting and important: 'Ex hac enim Schola Salmantina prodierunt et in ea

versantur qui has modo tragoedias excitarunt. Qui mihi videntur, suscepta Rufini persona, bellum denuo Sanctissimis Hieronimi manibus movere voluisse. Adripiunt enim ansam, ut dixi, ex Concilii decreto quo decernitur: ut haec ipsa Vulgata, quae longo tot seculorum usu in Ecclesia probata est, in publicis lectionibus, disputationibus, praedicationibus, et expositionibus pro authentica habeatur, et ut nemo eam rejicere quovis praetextu audeat vel praesumat. Haec sunt legis verba; quae quidem ita illi accipiunt ut non modo qui de ejus aliquid auctoritate detraxerit sed qui vel punctis et apicibus Vulgatae editionis fidem non adhibuerit haereseos crimen incurrisse clament. Deinde non licere jam confugere ad Hebraeos et Graecos Codices, immo vero illos per hanc latinam Vulgatum editionem esse corrigendos. Haec ego non scriberem nisi interfuissem publicis disputationibus theologicis quibus id agitari et pertinaciter defendi ea animadverti. Ego sane existimaveram Sacrum Concilium voluisse tueri huius editionis auctoritatem cum ob illius antiquitatem tum ad abolendam Versionum varietatem, et quod nihil in ea aut fidei aut moribus esset adversum; minutas vero alias concertationes de proprietate et signifi-

catione quorundam verborum, adhibitis Codicibus Hebraeis et Graecis posse componi. Sic enim Augustinum ad Hieronymum scribentem dixisse memineram: "ut veterum librorum fides de Hebraeis voluminibus examinanda est, ita novorum veritas Graeci sermonis formam desiderat." Et Hieronimum Commentariis in Ezechiel: "Cogimur itaque ad Hebraeos recurrere et scientiae veritatem de fonte magis quam de rivulis quaerere", atque haec inter Sacros Codices a Gratiano fuisse relata. Hi vero mordicus tenent solam Vulgatam editionem incorruptam esse, Hebraeos vero codices et Graecos corruptos atque depravatos jam olim fuisse, cum dicat Augustinus XV de Civitate Dei cap. 13: "Absit ut prudens quispiam vel Judaeos cujuslibet perversitatis atque malitiae tantum potuisse credat in codicibus tam multis et tam longe lateque dispersis". Et Div. Hieronymus in cap. 6 Esiae: "Praesentia, inquit, tempora omnia ita exhibent sicut in Scripturis longe ante conscriptis Prophetae nuntiaverunt." Isti vero contra Vulgatam editionem volunt unicum esse canonem Divinorum omnium scriptorum; aliis haec non probantur. Res est plena publicae offensionis et quae serpat quotidie longius non

sine periculo multorum' (*ibid.*, pp. 170, 171).

(68) *Documentos inéditos*, p. 318.

(69) Carvajal, p. 171, Document 54: 'Os he escogido por una de las personas que han de entender en lo que se ha de escribir contra el libro de las Centurias . . . y querría yo que se hiciese con la brevedad posible, y asi os encargo mucho que os vengais con la primera comodidad de buen pasage' (Philip II to Arias Montano, Madrid, Sept. 7, 1575); Carvajal, p. 169: 'De Centuriis nihil est quod scribam. Consultationibus tempus teritur et omnia solita cunctatione et tarditate geruntur' (Carta de Fuentidueñas al Cardenal Osio, Salamanca, Aug. 22, 1574); *Documentos inéditos*, p. 329: 'Lo de las Centurias será cosa mas larga que V. M. piensa y de menos efecto de lo que estima. Acá lo toman de otra manera que allá; por mucho que yo viviese no creo que en mi vida verá el fin que esta cosa podrá tener, sin que haya mas que hacer en ella, y así lo entienden aquí' (Arias Montano to Zayas, Rome, Dec. 24, 1575).

(70) See his interesting letter written from the convent of St. Praxed, near Rome. *Documentos inéditos*, pp. 330-339.

(71) Carvajal, p. 172, Document 56.

(72) *Documentos inéditos*, p. 351 (Oct. 15, 1577).

(73) P. Guillermo Antolín, *La Real Biblioteca del Escorial*: 'Y como todo lo quería hacer del mejor modo posible, llamó para esto al hombre más sabio, más competente que entonces teníamos en España, Arias Montano. Llegó al Escorial el 1 de Marzo de 1577 y estuvo por espacio de diez meses. El P. Fr. Juan de S. Jerónimo dice que era "muy buen letrado y gran teólogo y muy visto en todo género de ciencias y lenguas, hebrea y caldea, griega y latina, siríaca y arábiga, alemana, francesa y flamenca, toscana, portuguesa y castellana, y todas las sabía y entendía como si en estas naciones se hubiera criado", que hizo el catálogo "ansi griego como latino de la librería y la distribuyó por sesenta y cuatro disciplinas", y "dió orden en que se pusiesen en esta librería estatuas romanas y retratos de sumos pontífices y emperadores y reyes y de personas doctas".' (*La Ciudad de Dios*, 20 de Julio de 1921, p. 106.) 'Fruto de la inteligente labor de Arias Montano en la ordenacion de la Biblioteca del Escorial', adds Fray Guillermo Antolín, 'fué un magnífico catálogo

de toda ella en tres tomos. Hoy solamente se conserva la segunda parte en la sign. X. I. 17. Se titula: *Catálogo de los libros escritos de mano de la librería real de S. Lorenzo escrito por mandado de su magestad. Año de 1577. Esta es la segunda parte.* Contiene los manuscritos latinos, griegos, hebreos, arabes, españoles, lemosines, portugueses, italianos, franceses, alemanes, flamencos, persas y armenos . . . Felipe II le dió el título de 'Librero mayor' (*ibid.*, pp. 108, 109).

(74) Carvajal, p. 179, Document 63: 'El Doctor Arias Montano ha estado aquí seis ó siete dias y quedan todos los hombres de letras y entendimiento aficionadísimos suyos. y el Rey especialmente que le ha mandado llamar tres o cuatro veces, y teniéndole mill horas en diversas pláticas: no se puede negar al Rey la particular afición y gusto de favorecer y comunicar hombres insignes; y así ha conocido y admirado mucho la particular habilidad y bondad de que Dios ha dotado a Arias Montano. Mañana parte de aquí cargado de conchas de caracoles, sin haber probado el pescado de Lisboa.' (Don Juan de Silva to Philip II. Lisboa, Jan. 31, 1578.)

(75) *Documentos inéditos*, pp. 398, 399.

(76) Carvajal, p. 176, Document 62: 'Hallo aqui al pueblo descontento con este propósito tan constante que el Rey tiene de hacer jornada para la cual no se halla fundamento.' (Arias Montano to Zayas, Lisbon, Feb. 28, 1578.)

(77) *Documentos inéditos*, p. 400: 'Empero que el vulgacho aborrecia a los castellanos.' In the same letter he speaks of 'la pasion del vulgo portugués'. (Arias Montano to Zayas, La Peña, April 29, 1579.)

(78) *Documentos inéditos*, pp. 397, 398. In a letter of October 9, 1570, to Zayas, Arias Montano referred to Portugal in a way which was, perhaps, significant (*Documentos inéditos*, p. 183).

(79) Carvajal, p. 174, Document 61.

(80) *Documentos inéditos*, p. 414: 'Cuando salí de Madrid el año de 1568 . . . no llevaba deseo ni propósito de tornar aunque veía mi pobreza y afrenta.' (Escorial, Jan. 9, 1580.)

(81) *Documentos inéditos*, p. 374.

(82) *Documentos inéditos*, p. 378.

(83) 'Yo hube esta [ermita] del prior mas ha de 25 años.' Arias Montano to Zayas, La Peña, Oct. 16, 1578. (*Documentos inéditos*, p. 371.) He must have spent all his money on it, since the Bishop of Segovia

speaks of him as being *muy pobre* in June, 1563 (Carvajal, Document 5).

(84) *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova*, I. 207.

(85) Carvajal, p. 197.

(86) Cf. Francisco Cano's letter to Zayas, from Enxobregas, July 15, 1577: 'Y en extremo me he alegrado que S. M. entienda el tesoro que tiene [in Arias Montano], mas desco que le dé ocio y libertad para que aproveche a la Iglesia Universal, pues Dios ha dado muestras de ser instrumento suyo escogido para este fin, y así es de creer que lo hará, aunque yo, como maldiciente, imagino que los Reyes algunas veces son como mujeres desperdiciadas que para hacer la cobertera de la olla quiebran un cántaro sano.' (Carvajal, pp. 177-178.) Cf. Carvajal, p. 180, Document 64: 'Justamente desca S. M. tenerle consigo, aunque él se queja de que injustamente lo detiene.'

(87) *Documentos inéditos*, pp. 383-386.

(88) *Documentos inéditos*, p. 406.

(89) *Documentos inéditos*, p. 408.

(90) 'En Madrid el Leon bramando y prócurando tragarme, deshonorándome por las audiencias y oidores y plazas é iglesias y monasterios, ayudándose de la terribleza y impetus de Lindano y de los demás que lo

encienden.' (*Documentos inéditos*, pp. 407-408.)

(91) 'Negotiaque summa et ardua ei committebat [Philip II], ex legatione Galliae Oratoris, Angliae Caduceatoris delegavit.' ap. Carvajal, p. 184.

(92) This was printed by J. N. Böhl de Faber in his *Floresta de Rimas Antiguas*, t. iii (1825), pp. 41-64.

(93) References to illnesses and weakness abound in his letters, e.g. *Documentos inéditos*, pp. 296, 304, 362, 379; Carvajal, Document 30.

(94) Carvajal, p. 132, Document 2: 'El Duque mi Señor huelga extrañamente con él, y el rato que se ven tratan de cien mil materias ex^{es}' [excelentes or excepcionales?]. Albornoz to Zayas, Brussels, June 29, 1569.

(95) 'Me tiene buena voluntad y en buena opinion.' Arias Montano to Zayas, Rome, March 22, 1576. (*Documentos inéditos*, p. 338.)

(96) He left goodwill wherever he went in foreign countries. Juan de Albornoz, writing to Zayas on March 19, 1572, from Brussels, says (Carvajal, p. 161, Document 38) that Arias Montano is 'so necessary to the Church

that he should be kept in cotton-wool'. The Spanish Ambassadors at Rome and Lisbon were loud in his praises. The former, Don Juan de Zúñiga, says (August 31, 1572) that 'S. S. le ha honrado y favorecido como merecen sus letras y virtud; las cuales se han estimado en esta Corte tanto como en todas las otras partes donde él ha dado muestras dellas'; and (October 13, 1572) bears witness to his disinterestedness: 'Es tan poco codicioso que no solicitó que S. S. le premiase su trabajo' (Carvajal, pp. 165, 166). Cardinal Sirleto, writing to Philip II about Arias Montano on October 4, 1572, says, 'é di gran dottrina et qualità rarissime' (Carvajal, p. 166).

(97) *Documentos inéditos*, p. 305.

(98) *Documentos inéditos*, p. 345: 'Recelo de hacer nuevos conocimientos por causa de mi terneza natural, de la cual no puedo despojarme.' (Arias Montano to Zayas, Escorial, May 31, 1577.)

(99) *Documentos inéditos*, p. 163.

(100) 'Por parte del enemigo de la verdad divina' (*Documentos inéditos*, p. 173): 'estos nublados, que, como yo creo, el enemigo de la Sagrada Escritura ha procurado levantar contra ella, aprovechándose del celo del

maestro Leon, que parece cierto ser celo' (*ibid.*, p. 319).

(101) *Documentos inéditos*, pp. 328-329.

(102) *Documentos inéditos*, p. 323. Cf. Arias Montano's moderate and dignified letter to Fray Esteban de Salazar (Feb. 4, 1594) ap. Carvajal, pp. 188-193.

(103) *Documentos inéditos*, p. 322.

(104) *Documentos inéditos*, pp. 380, 381, 387, 395.

(105) *Documentos inéditos*, pp. 347-348. (Arias Montano to Zayas, Escorial, June 9, 1577. The same letter contains the sentence: 'Terrible cosa es ver lo que pasa en el mundo y no irse a los yermos quien lo siente.')

(106) *Documentos inéditos*, p. 352.

(107) *Documentos inéditos*, p. 413: 'Es pensar que los rios tornarán contra corriente quien se persuadiere que la corte no será para mi lo que ha sido siempre, si yo no soy totalmente otro, y si esto fuese sería entonces mucho menos para corte.' (Arias Montano to Zayas, January 9, 1580.)

(108) Carvajal, pp. 106, 184.

(109) *Documentos inéditos*, p. 414: 'Jamás he profesado que no como carne, aunque no la como de buena gana.'

(110) *Documentos inéditos*, p. 346.

(111) Carvajal, Document 34, p. 157: 'Cogerían también algo de la gravedad de costumbres de España.'

(112) Cf. *Documentos inéditos*, p. 172: 'Me tenía persuadido que, llevándome Dios, él sabía lo que hacía y hacía lo que a mí me cumplía'; and p. 380: 'mis ejercitadores, que otros llaman émulos, no cesan, porque parece debe ser esto cosa que me cumple y así Dios lo permite'.

INDEX

	A	PAGES
Alava (Francés de)		12, 13, 14
Alba, Duke of 3, 4, 6, 11, 13, 20, 21, 30, 31, 54, 58		
Albornoz (Juan de)		28, 63, 88
Antolin (Guillermo)		38, 84-5
Antonio (Nicolás)		47, 61
Arias de la Mota (Juan)		61, 62
Arias Montano (Benito), birth, 1, 60-1; educa- tion at Seville, 1; at Alcalá, 2; professes in Order of Santiago, 2; attends Council of Trent, 2; is appointed Chaplain to Philip II, 2; supervises Antwerp edition of Bible, 3-8, 21-6; in Ireland, 5; collects books for the Escorial, vi, 10-18; money-troubles, 19-21, 62-3; in Italy, 26-9, 32-7; sends report on state of Flanders, 30-31; returns to Spain, 37; catalogues Escorial library, 38-9, 84-5; in Portugal, 40-43; at La Peña, 44-8; returns to Madrid, 48; attends Synod at Toledo, 50; returns to Andalucía, 50; founds Chair of Latin at Aracena, 51; death at Seville, 51; character, 52-9; Latin works, 53		
Arias Montano (Benito) the elder		1
Arras, Bishop of		51
Augustine, St.		35
Ayala, <i>see</i> Perez de Ayala.		
B		
Beer (Rudolf)		vi
Böhl de Faber (Juan Nicolás)		88

	PAGES
C	
Cano (Francisco)	40
Carlos, Prince	42
Carvajal, <i>see</i> Gonzalez Carvajal.	
Castro (León de) 24, 25, 33, 34, 35, 36, 49, 52, 55, 75, 76, 80	
Cecil, Lord	4
Cisneros, <i>see</i> Ximenez de Cisneros.	
Clement	25
Coria, Bishop of	40
Covarrubias (Diego de), Bishop	14
Cuenca, Bishop of	34
Curiel (Jeronimo de)	3
D	
Delfino, Cardinal	54
Desmond, Earl of	65
Doetsch (C.)	vi
E	
Elizabeth, Queen of England	4, 5, 15
Erasmus	66
Espés (Guerau de)	6
F	
Fuentidueñas (Pedro)	34
G	
Goes (Damião de)	29
Gomez (Isabel)	61, 62
Gonzalez Carvajal (Tomás)	v, 57, 49
Gonzalez Granero (Ruy)	61
Grajal (Gaspar de)	79
Gregory XIII	27, 28, 24
Guillén (Arnaldo)	3
Guzman de Silva (Diego)	5, 6, 48

	PAGES
H	
Hosius, Cardinal	34
J	
Jerome, St.	v, 35, 60
L	
Leon (Luis de) v, 29, 33, 34, 44, 52, 54, 79, 80	
Lindanus (Guglielmus) 25, 26, 50, 56, 76, 77, 87	
M	
Mann (John)	4
Mariana (Juan de)	37
Martinez de Cantalapedra (Martin)	79
Martinez de Recalde (Juan)	14
Mary, Queen of Scots	4
Massius (Andreas)	20
Minhoca (Francisca)	61
Morales (Ambrosio de)	40
N	
Northumberland, Countess of	66
Nuñez (Ana)	51
O	
Orange, Prince of	62
Ortiz de Urizar (Diego)	5, 64
Osio. <i>see</i> Hosius.	
Osorio (Jeronimo), Bishop of Silves	54
P	
Pacheco, Cardinal	28
Pagnino, S.	34
Perez de Ayala (Martin), Bishop of Segovia	3, 86
Philip II of Spain v, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 13, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 36, 37, 38, 41, 42, 47, 48, 49, 54, 65, 85, 89	

	PAGES
Pius V	27
Plantin (Christophe) 3, 7, 8, 10, 13, 20, 21, 22, 29, 53, 61	
R	
Requesens (Luis de)	31
S	
Salazar (Esteban de)	90
Savoy, Duke of	23
Sebastian, King of Portugal	41, 42, 43, 54
Segovia, Bishop of, <i>see</i> Perez de Ayala <i>and</i> Covarrubias	
Silva (Juan de)	40, 41
Sirleto, Cardinal	89
<i>Song of Songs, The</i>	52
Spés, <i>see</i> Espés.	
T	
Tacitus	52
<i>Talmud, The</i>	28
U	
Urizar, <i>see</i> Ortiz de Urizar.	
V	
Vega (Lope Felix de)	60
W	
Westmorland, Earl of	66
X	
Ximenez de Cisneros (Francisco), Cardinal	3, 22
Z	
Zayas (Gabriel de) 7, 9, 13, 19, 20, 24, 27, 31, 34, 36, 37, 38, 44, 47, 49, 50, 57, 58, 63	
Zúñiga y Requesens (Juan)	23, 26, 28, 63



69
13
3.2

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