

VIRGILIAN IMITATION IN COLONIAL LATIN AMERICA

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Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in the Department of Classics at Brown University

May 2020

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This dissertation by Erika Valdivieso is accepted in its present form
by the Department of Classics as satisfying the
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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

It is a pleasure to thank the institutions and people that supported this dissertation. The Department of Classics and Department of Hispanic Studies at Brown were instrumental in arranging periods of study at the University of Salamanca and the University of Cambridge. This research has been supported by a Brown in the World grant from the Cogut Institute and a Global Mobility Grant from the Graduate School. Parts of this dissertation were presented at conferences and invited lectures, supported by grants from the Department of Classics, the Center for Early Modern Studies, the Graduate School, the Society for Classical Studies, the Latin American Studies Association and the Renaissance Society of America. A year-long fellowship at the John Carter Brown Library gave special access to the books, scholars and staff within its walls.

Many people have contributed to the finished product. In Spain: María Paz de Hoz, Luis Arturo Guichard Romero, José Mauricio Lepe Zepeda, and staff at the Historical Library of the University of Salamanca and at the National Library in Madrid. In England: Michael D. Reeve, Maya Feile Tomes, Rosa Andújar, and Paula Muldoon. In the JCB: Neil Saffier, Surekha Davies, and Stijn van Rossem. In Mexico: Raquel Barragán Aroche, Carolina Olivares Chávez, Omar Álvarez Salas, Carlos Mariscal de Gante, and staff at the National Library of Mexico, the Archivo General de la Nación, the Biblioteca Palafoxiana and the Biblioteca Lafragua. In São Paulo: Thomás A. S. Haddad, Carlos Alberto de Moura Ribeiro Zeron, Iris Kantor, and staff at the Biblioteca Brasileira.

Jay Reed's enthusiasm for this project has never wavered and his notes have sharpened and clarified its claims. Laura Bass facilitated the time spent in Salamanca and

has given timely advice at every turn. Rodrigo Cacho shared insights about Spanish American poetry when this project was at an early phase. It is a pleasure to share this work with Richard Thomas, whose writings have so often guided me through Virgil.

The most important critic was Andrew Laird. He read many drafts, wrote many letters, and gave guidance whenever it was needed. The following verses could have been written about him:

*vir bonus et prudens versus reprehendet inertis,
culpabit duros, incompitis allinet atrum
transverso calamo signum, ambitiosa recidet
ornamenta, parum claris lucem dare coget,
arguet ambigue dictum, mutanda notabit,
fiet Aristarchus.*

Horace, *Ars Poetica* 445-450

“An honest and sensible man will censure lifeless lines, he will find fault with harsh ones; if they are graceless, he will draw his pen across and smear them with a black stroke; he will cut away pretentious ornament; he will force you to flood the obscure with light, will convict the doubtful phrase, will mark what should be changed, will prove an Aristarchus.”

Any remaining pretentious ornament, obscurity, or *mutanda* are entirely my responsibility. The project has greatly benefitted from his advice and support. His is the model I strive to imitate.

Finally, it remains to thank my parents, Astrid and Manuel, who made many sacrifices to build a better life for our family. That commitment made my achievements possible. This dissertation is dedicated to them in recognition of their love and support.

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INTRODUCTION

“The next Augustan age will dawn on the other side of the Atlantic. There will, perhaps, be a Thucydides at Boston, a Xenophon at New York, and, in time, a Virgil at Mexico, and a Newton at Peru.”¹

Horace Walpole
November 24, 1774

In this letter to a friend, Horace Walpole defends America against condescending Europeans like Buffon and de Pauw.² He imagines a time when both the British and Spanish colonies will produce intellectuals worthy of the ancients, including a Latin American Virgil. Yet Virgil had begun to exert his influence over the literature of Spanish America and Brazil, early on in the sixteenth century, inspiring a few poets to imitate his work in Latin verse. The aim of this project is twofold: (i) to examine an overlooked corpus of poetry produced as part of Virgil’s Latin legacy; (ii) to highlight the complexity of that Virgilian *imitatio* in Latin America through close study of an appropriately representative cross-section of the three forms which Virgil made canonical: pastoral, didactic, and epic poetry.

Humanist imitation and commentary transformed Virgil in the Renaissance from a venerated authority into a dynamic and flexible model for poetic *imitatio* and *aemulatio*.³ The spread of Italian humanism into Iberia in the sixteenth century coincided with the conquest of the Americas and the rapid expansion of the Portuguese and Spanish

¹ Toynbee 1903-5, Vol. 9: 100.

² Gerbi 1973 discusses Buffon and de Pauw in his study of the ‘Dispute of the Americas’.

³ These terms are discussed further below. See also note 14 on Virgil’s reception in the Middle Ages and in the Renaissance.

empires.⁴ The Society of Jesus played a pivotal role in this migration of ideas and texts: by the end of the sixteenth century, the Jesuits were preeminent as teachers in Catholic Europe and especially in the Americas, where they encouraged and rewarded intensive study of Virgilian poetry and imitation of Virgil in Latin verse compositions.⁵ In this period, poetry was a practical accomplishment, a necessary skill in order to be a competent writer of prose.⁶

The use of Latin in the Americas developed in response to local and international influences over the course of the colonial period.⁷ Latin had a role in the thought of missionaries and educators in the New World during the sixteenth century.⁸ By the seventeenth century, humanism had firmly taken root in the American continent, and Latin literature of the period reflected the range and influence of the Jesuit curriculum.⁹

⁴ Spain: Pérez 2013, Rallo Gruss 2007, García 1996, Ynduráin 1994, Bataillon 1937. Portugal: Andrade 2013, Pinho 2006, Chacon 1998.

⁵ Codina Mir 1968 discusses the organization and curriculum of the Jesuit college at Messina, while Casalini and Pavur 2016 provide a sourcebook on Jesuit pedagogy. A more general treatment of the Jesuit schools can be found in Scaglione 1986. The history of the Jesuit curriculum, the *Ratio Studiorum* of 1599, is given in Farrell 1938. Osorio Romero 1979 studies Jesuit educators in New Spain while Leite 1949 is the definitive study of all Jesuit activity in Brazil.

⁶ The German humanist Philipp Melanchthon opined that anyone who could not write poetry in Latin was not entitled to hold an opinion in learned matters (Jensen 1996: 74).

⁷ A full account is given in Laird 2015.

⁸ Perhaps the most famous example of this is the College of Tlatelolco, studied in Hernández and Máyne 2016.

⁹ Laird 2010a examines Latin poems written for the Virgin of Guadalupe between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Seventeenth-century poetics contributed to the development of Latin poetry, enriched by the accommodation of American and European influences that would become a distinctive hallmark of the lettered elites in colonial Latin American society.¹⁰

There was a surge of Latin writing from the New World in the eighteenth century to address two persistent charges made by Europeans: (i) the alleged absence of classical learning in the Americas and (ii) Enlightenment consensus, rooted in Scaliger's Aristotelianism, that the climate of the Americas had detrimental effects upon the physical and mental health of its inhabitants.¹¹ Not only would these authors demonstrate the wonders of the colonial environment, but also prove that American-born Spaniards and Portuguese were the intellectual peers of Europeans.¹² The expulsion of the Society of Jesus from the Portuguese Empire (1759) and the Spanish Empire (1767), lead to a final florescence of American classical humanism in Europe, as these Jesuits celebrated the Americas in both Latin and vernacular literature.

Study of Virgilian imitation in colonial Latin America offers new avenues of research for both classicists and scholars of Iberian and Latin American literature. Virgilian imitation begins in imperial Rome and has been traced in late antique

¹⁰ An overview of Spanish poetics in this period is given in Malcolm Gaylord 2008. The blend of American and European antiquities is the central theme of the collection of essays in Laird and Miller 2018. Adorno 2019 offers a close examination of European and American influences in the work of Sigüenza y Góngora and Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, while Cacho Casal 2015 traces the encounter between European and American traditions in Balbuena's poetry.

¹¹ Gerbi 1973 covers the 'Dispute of the Americas' while Batllori 1966 traces the experience of the exiled Jesuits in Italy.

¹² Laird 2012 considers the Latin writings of the exiled Jesuits in relation to patriotism.

literature.¹³ Virgil's influence in the Middle Ages has been illuminated, as well as his legacy in the Italian Renaissance¹⁴ While recent studies have offered a diachronic study of the Virgilian tradition, little attention has been given to colonial Spanish America and Brazil.¹⁵ The *Enciclopedia Virgiliana*, for example, makes no mention of Latin American authors in its entries on the reception of the *Eclogues*, the *Georgics* or the *Aeneid*, a fault remedied by the entry on Latin American literature in the *Vergil Encyclopedia*.¹⁶

Imitatio and *aemulatio* were essential elements of literary composition in Greco-Roman antiquity as well as in the target period of this study. *Imitatio* is the Latin for *mimesis*, which describes both the relationship between one work of literature and another, the imitation of models, as well as the Platonic-Aristotelian conception of *mimesis* as the relationship between any representational art and the world.¹⁷ This is illustrated in Horace's *Ars Poetica* 317-318:

respicere exemplar vitae morumque iubebo
doctum imitatore*m et vivas hinc ducere voces.*

¹³ Hardie 1993 looks at imperial Rome, while MacCormack 1998, Rees 2004, Green 2006 and Ware 2012 consider late antiquity.

¹⁴ Comparetti 1997 treats Virgil in the Middle Ages, while the Renaissance is studied in Zabughni 2000, Greene 1982, and Kallendorf 1989.

¹⁵ See, for example, Zilkowski and Putnam 2008 and Farrell and Putnam 2010. To this one could add the lack of a comprehensive study of the Virgilian tradition in Spain. Dolç 1978 and 1986, Oroz 1982 and Martínez Gázquez 1985 consider aspects of Virgil in Spain. Lida de Malkiel 1974 studies the reception of Dido in Spanish literature. Medieval Spain is the focus of Crosas López 2010, which includes some discussion of Virgil. Dolç 1958, Medina 1979 and Vidal 1986 consider Virgil in Catalonia.

¹⁶ Thomas and Ziolkowski 2014.

¹⁷ A point conceded in Russell 1979: 4.

“I will order the **learned imitator** to look at the exemplar of life and behavior and from there to draw living voices.”

These verses take for granted the priority of imitating models, but also recommend the imitation of real life, thus providing the link between the two kinds of *mimesis* in literature.¹⁸ The concept of “following,” *sequi*, is another way to describe the theory of *imitatio*, a formulation found in Seneca, Statius, and Quintilian, to name a few.¹⁹ It is clear that *imitatio*, the active result of repeated reading, is not sufficient in itself but should be reinforced by an intention to excel.²⁰ This is *aemulatio*, the Latin for *zelosis*, which denotes competition or rivalry between the imitator and the model.²¹ *Imitatio* and *aemulatio* are presented as the path to the sublime in ‘Longinus’ 13.2:

ποία δὲ καὶ τίς αὕτη; τῶν ἔμπροσθεν μεγάλων συγγραφέων καὶ ποιητῶν
μίμησις τε καὶ ζήλωσις.

“What road and what kind is it? The *mimesis* and *zelosis* of the great prose writers and poets of the past.”

As Russell has pointed out, a fragment of Dionysius of Halicarnassus’ treatise on *mimesis* draws a distinction between these terms.²² For Dionysius, *imitatio/mimesis* reproduces the

¹⁸ Laird 1999: 309-10.

¹⁹ Discussed in Curtius 1963: 476. The ancient references are Seneca *Ep.* 80.1, Statius *Theb.* 12.816 and Quintilian X.1.122 (*imitari et sequi*). Curtius anticipates Pigman 1980, who finds that Renaissance *imitatio* can be simplified to *imitatio* and *aemulatio* (3-4). Later, Pigman formulates a threefold division of *imitatio* based on the metaphor of the path (25).

²⁰ Lausberg 1998: §1143 and 1144.

²¹ Jocelyn 1979 examines early ancient response to Virgil and his own use of models.

²² Russell 1979: 9-10. Russell points to Longinus to understand the relationship between *imitatio* and *aemulatio*, a point which can also be found in Curtius 1963: 399.

model according to theoretical principles, while *aemulatio/zelosis* is an activity of the mind, the admiration of something beautiful. The two actions are therefore complementary, but the difference seems to lie in “the choice of object, the depth of understanding, and the writer’s power to take possession of the thought for himself.”²³ Renaissance *imitatio* and *aemulatio* have been helpfully conceived as a particular kind of intertextuality, with strategies of imitation that developed in the wake of Petrarch.²⁴ As in antiquity, however, Renaissance *imitatio* was central and pervasive, a precept and an activity in which nearly every artist, author and thinker was engaged.²⁵

This dissertation offers a paradigmatic study of Latin poetry written in colonial Latin America in the style of Virgil. It traces the nature of Latin *imitatio* of the poet, drawing attention to echoes and variations of Virgilian style and themes. The thematic emphasis upon poetry from the Americas allows this dissertation to consider the relation between text and context and to interrogate the role of Virgil’s poetry in early American literature. The thesis intentionally works across national and linguistic boundaries to elucidate connections across Ibero-America, drawing together evidence from Spanish America and Brazil.

The period of study begins with the introduction of Latin to the Americas in the sixteenth century and is bounded by the end of the eighteenth century. These years

²³ As formulated by Russell 1979: 10.

²⁴ Pigman 1980 and McLaughlin 1995. For *imitatio* in Spanish and Spanish American poetry, see Colombí-Monguió 1985, Cruz 1988 and Navarrete 1994.

²⁵ Greene 1982.

correspond with the dominance of Jesuit education in Latin America, where the Society of Jesus established its curriculum and approach to reading and imitating classical literature. The earliest composition in this thesis was written by one of the first Jesuits to arrive in Brazil, while the last object of study was written in the community of exiled Jesuits from Latin America.²⁶ Virgil's central role in the Jesuit schools ensured his influence upon generations of children who learned Latin there. Only two of the poets in this dissertation were not Jesuits and, even so, one of those two exceptions was likely their student.²⁷ It is no coincidence that these poets were elite men of European descent, a reflection of the barriers imposed by the Society upon whom it would educate and whom it would admit into its ranks.

As a study of Virgilian *imitatio*, the dissertation examines examples of pastoral, didactic and epic poetry, identifying four major constituent trends: i) the development of *carmina de gestis* in the Americas, ii) bucolic in an educational environment, iii) heroic narrative epic on mythological and historical themes, involving both American and European subjects, and iv) didactic on the geography, agriculture and material production in Brazil.

²⁶ The Society of Jesus was expelled from the Portuguese Empire in 1759 and from the Spanish Empire in 1767. They were subsequently resettled in the Papal States. A contemporary account of these events is given in Murphy 1999. Van Kley 2018 and Burson and Wright 2015 give context for understanding the Jesuit suppression.

²⁷ These are Pedrosa (Ch. 2) and Villerías (Ch. 4). Osorio Romero 1991 discusses the evidence for Villerías' education at the Colegio Máximo in Mexico City, not least of which is the fact that the Jesuits inherited his papers after his death.

This thesis does not aim to provide a comprehensive review of every Virgilian Latin poem from the Americas.²⁸ Previous studies have focused on Spanish American examples, but this thesis will also include material from Brazil. The chapters on pastoral and heroic epics are devoted to literature written in Mexico City, which are complemented by evidence from the rest of Latin America. The chapter on didactic, in particular, focuses on the three known examples of Latin didactic from Brazil, while the chapter on early epics studies one epic from Brazil and another from the captaincy-general of Guatemala. It was also an explicit aim to balance published works with manuscript sources in order to trace local inflections of Virgilian imitation, written for occasions in the Americas, as well as poems composed with an eye to European readership.

The examinations of these poems are traditional and empirical in focus, with careful attention to textual and contextual meaning, because the material has been very little studied.²⁹ Each chapter begins with a brief discussion of the poet's biography and career, using primary and secondary sources to contextualize their work in relation to specific social and historical circumstances.³⁰ Since these poems are unknown to many

²⁸ Not included, for example, are the Latin eclogues printed in the *Floresta Latina* (México 1623) or the Latin epic, *Mauritias* (Amsterdam 1647), a description of Dutch Brazil under Johan Maurits. Similarly, the work of figures like Abad, Landívar and Peramás is not included. Abad 1974 is an edition and translation of his epic, *De Deo Deoque Homine*. Laird 2006 offers an edition and translation of Landívar, along with commentary and introduction. Arbo and Laird 2015 offers an introduction to Peramás' epic, as does Feile Tómes 2015. Laird 2014 offers a survey of Latin from Latin America.

²⁹ Pollock 2009 discusses textual and contextual meaning for philology today.

³⁰ Chapter 3 on Pastoral is *sui generis*.

readers, I briefly summarize their contents.³¹ After this, there is a study of the proem to illustrate its poetic agenda, following the example of Virgil's practice, before examining the language and structure of each poem.³² Interest in the intertextual contacts between these poems and Virgil goes beyond the micro-context of poetic memory to consider the imitation of Virgil at every level of the text, which I trace to the central role he played in Jesuit curriculum.³³

This is followed by an examination of each poet's specific emulation of the Virgilian persona. This is the narrating character established by the author of the *Eclogues*, *Georgics*, and *Aeneid*.³⁴ The unity of this figure was suggested for readers after antiquity by the *sphragis* of the *Georgics*, which refers to the composition of the *Eclogues*, as well as the beginning of *Georgics* 3, which alludes to another poem, commonly interpreted as a reference to the *Aeneid*.³⁵ To this could be added the *incipit* of the *Aeneid* (*ille ego qui*), Virgil's epitaph and the ancient biography tradition, all of which reinforced the identification of 'Virgil'.³⁶ This study examines emulation of Virgil in the poems

³¹ The Appendix offers a history of the manuscripts or early printed editions.

³² As Conte 1986 observed, the opening is the scene for signaling the position of one text within literary production (76-77).

³³ Unlike Pasquali 1942 and more akin to Barchiesi 2015. Fowler 2000b and Hinds 1998 are particularly helpful on allusion and intertextuality in Latin poetry.

³⁴ The Virgilian narrator's use of apostrophe has been studied in Block 1982 and D'Alessandro Behr 2005. Clay 1998 and Mayer 2003 explore the ancient theory of *persona*, while Freudenburg 1993 and Braund 1996 offer an exploration of *persona* theory in relation to Roman satire.

³⁵ For both these points, see Thomas 1988, Vol. 2: 36-7 and 239-41.

³⁶ Discussed in Laird 2016a. Middlebrook 2009 examines the imitation of Petrarch in the vernacular Spanish tradition.

themselves. It will be shown that generic boundaries are of little consequence when it comes to engaging with the Virgilian persona. There is effectively no distinction between the poet of the *Georgics* or of the *Aeneid*: his imitators were modelling themselves on a single poetic voice. These poets almost always engage with the same passages (the *recusatio* of *Georgics* 2 and the invocation of *Aeneid* 7), but nevertheless emphasize different verses or phrases from those passages with which to construct their own poetic voice.

Each chapter then opens to consider specific passages or themes in relation to their intellectual context. Here the emphasis is upon the use of Virgil to meet the agenda of each poet. For some poets, it is necessary to consider how they used Virgil to versify vernacular prose sources in Latin. For other poets, it is important to consider how Virgil shapes the way they absorb other classical authors or how he offers solutions to contemporaneous doctrinal and intellectual debates.

This dissertation takes account of recent work on Iberian epic, which builds upon Pierce's nationalistic readings of Spanish epic.³⁷ In her study of Spanish epic of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Davis argued for a strong connection between Petrarchism and European expansionism, whereby the idea of imperial monarchy was inflected by the portrayal of empire in ancient epic.³⁸ Nicolopoulos examined the role of *imitatio* in the construction of a "poetics of imperialist expansion" in the Indies, as

³⁷ Pierce 1968, esp. 321.

³⁸ Davis 2000.

informed by previous studies by Pigman and Greene.³⁹ In these analyses, New World epics follow the tradition Quint identified as the epic of victors, modelled on Virgil's *Aeneid*.⁴⁰ Yet Kallendorf's sensitive study of vernacular epics has traced pessimistic readings of the *Aeneid* in early modern writing, including Portuguese and Spanish examples.⁴¹ His work builds upon that of Thomas, who has shown that the Augustan reception of Virgil was constructed and was not always the obvious interpretation.⁴² The evidence therefore suggests that epics of victors and losers existed side by side and that the *Aeneid* could be read in multiple ways in the early modern period.

Still, Parry's many voices, which shape contemporary debates about Virgil's work, has less relevance to the preoccupations of the present study.⁴³ Instead, it will be shown that the intellectual context in which these poets found themselves profoundly shaped the questions and concerns which guided their composition.⁴⁴ Cacho Casal has recently argued for greater attention to local influences upon early Spanish American and Brazilian poetry, thereby eluding the reduction of these texts to simple agreement or rejection of the

³⁹ Nicolopoulos 2000, Pigman 1980 and Greene 1982.

⁴⁰ Quint 1993.

⁴¹ Kallendorf 2007.

⁴² Thomas 2001.

⁴³ Parry 1963 and Lyne 1987. A guide to the debate can be found in Mac Góráin and Martindale 2019. Gregory 2006 cautions that, in general, antiwar or anti-imperial sentiment cannot be found in Renaissance epics, though the finest of them do offer individual readings of the moral and theological issues they raise (18).

⁴⁴ Skinner 2002, Vol. I: 1-7.

imperial project.⁴⁵ Sensitivity to intellectual context and the history of ideas is needed in order to understand the context in which Virgil was read and imitated; as Laird observed, reception amounts to interpretation by means of contextualization.⁴⁶ In the interaction between context and text, there is a transformation, or rather, the creation of new meaning, which this project reconstructs in order to understand Virgilian imitation in the Latin poetry of colonial Latin America.

The project begins with two sixteenth-century epics, one from Brazil (Ch. 1) and the other from the captaincy-general of Guatemala (Ch. 2). José de Anchieta Llarena's *De Gestis Mendi de Saa* (Coimbra 1563) describes one Portuguese governor's Brazilian campaigns against indigenous people and French heretics. Francisco de Pedrosa's *Austriaca sive Naumachia* (Ms. 3960 B.N.E.) commemorates the Battle of Lepanto as a second Actium, praising Hapsburg princes as the true descendants of the Julio-Claudian emperors. Anchieta develops cosmological themes from the *Aeneid* to magnify the Portuguese presence in the Americas as a consequence of divine will. Pedrosa, on the other hand, explores the relationship between epic and history and between poets and patrons in his panegyric of the Hapsburgs. In both of these poems the Americas are overshadowed by European conflicts: in *De Gestis Mendi de Saa*, the struggle between Catholics and Protestants; in *Austriaca*, the battle between Catholic Europe and the Ottoman Turks.

⁴⁵ Cacho Casal 2019: 10.

⁴⁶ Laird 2010b: 358.

Chapter 3 on early colonial pastoral examines the relation between theories about poetry and their effect on *imitatio*. An influential anthology of poetry printed in Mexico City in 1605 illustrates how the Jesuit curriculum was implemented in New Spain. Insights acquired from the discussions of pastoral in this text inform the study of a collection of eclogues written in Mexico City (Ms. 1631 B.N.M.) at the turn of the seventeenth century. These eclogues from New Spain shed light on the religious and academic life of the principal Jesuit college in Mexico City: these poems were composed for special occasions in the life of the colony. Their discussion of church councils, viceroys, martyrs and education illuminate the study of intellectual circles in colonial Mexico City as well as the peculiar role of Virgil's poetry in the construction of an American bucolic idyll.

There follows two heroic epics from eighteenth-century Mexico (Ch. 4-5). José Villerías y Roelas' *Guadalupe* (Ms. 1594 B.N.M.) takes as its theme the apparition of the Virgin of Guadalupe and the veneration of her divine image in Mexico City. Francisco Javier Alegre's *Alexandrias* (Bologna 1776) is an account of Alexander the Great's siege of Tyre. The *Guadalupe* is part of a body of literature that interpreted the Virgin's apparition as a sign of Mexico's special place in global history. Using Virgil's poetry, Villerías creates a dialogue between ancient European and Mexican traditions to articulate his own vision of Mexican exceptionalism. The *Alexandrias* displays the author's theological approach to literature and eclectic neoclassicism. This scholarly composition is especially interested in overlap between Greco-Roman and Judeo-Christian thought, as evinced by the lengthy Jerusalem excursus. Neither epic shows the same interest in empire that emerged from *De Gestis Mendi de Saa* or *Austriaca*. Instead, it will be shown that Villerías and Alegre

were responding to specific, local and international circumstances that shaped their approach to Virgil and to Latin poetry.

Finally, the project concludes with a study of three didactic poems from Brazil (Chapters 6-8). Prudêncio do Amaral's *De Sacchari Opificio Carmen* (Rome 1781) offers an account of sugar production in Brazil, written at the end of the seventeenth century but published in Rome by exiled Portuguese and Brazilian Jesuits. One of these men, José Rodrigues de Mello, composed *De Rusticis Brasiliae Rebus* (Rome 1781), which describes agriculture and animal husbandry in Brazil. His student, Basílio da Gama, also wrote a didactic poem, *Brasilienses Aurifodinae* (RBM 0707), about goldmining in his native Minas Gerais. These three poems were written in different centuries and in different places, but they are united by their interest in economically significant products from Brazil, by their explicit discussion of slave labor, and by the experience of the exiled Jesuits in Italy. By the end of the eighteenth century, vernacular languages would assume Latin's role as a language of science and learning.⁴⁷ In Latin America the closing of the Jesuit schools facilitated this process, though even they had begun to introduce vernacular literature into the curriculum. These didactic poems from Brazil offer a case study of the end of Virgilian imitation in Latin verse from Latin America as well as a window onto Virgil's concurrent and lasting influence upon vernacular compositions from Spanish America and Brazil.

⁴⁷ Waquet 2001 discusses the *questione della lingua* in the eighteenth century.

The conclusion will reflect upon the broader significance of this study and consider future work that it could engender. It uses the metaphor of transformation as a more precise and more inclusive way to imagine Classical reception, in which equal emphasis is given to the receiving context and the received text.⁴⁸ The Appendix provides information about the manuscripts, early printed editions and available critical editions or translations of the poems in Chapters 1-8. Taken together, the end of the dissertation is an invitation to the study of classical traditions in Latin America, a topic that could easily fill many monographs, articles, editions, commentaries and translations. A glimpse of the richness of this topic emerges across the following chapters, in which Virgil moves from ancient Rome to the academies of Mexico City or, as he appears in the next chapter, on the shores of Guanabara Bay.

⁴⁸ Esp. 318-21.

PART I. EARLY EPICS OF PORTUGUESE AND SPANISH AMERICA

CHAPTER 1. *DE GESTIS MENDI DE SAA* (1563)

The first Latin epic written in the Americas narrates a Portuguese governor's campaigns against indigenous people and French Protestants in Brazil. After an introduction to the poet and an overview of the poem, this chapter will look at the proem, structure and language of *De Gestis Mendi de Saa* to show how Virgil shaped the poet's approach to epic. Three case studies will show how this influence manifests itself in the rest of the poem. The poet of *De Gestis* crafts the hero and his son as Christian counterpoints to Virgil's heroes. This chapter will then examine how the poet makes monsters of indigenous Brazilians, by comparing them to barbarous peoples from the first half of the *Aeneid*, Polyphemus, and Cacus. Finally, attention will be given to the poet's treatment of the French, whose beliefs are construed as a threat to the Portuguese in the Americas.

A.) Anchieta and *De Gestis Mendi de Saa*

José de Anchieta y Diaz de Clavijo (1534-1597) was a Spanish Jesuit who served in the Portuguese colony of Brazil.⁴⁹ Under the direction of Manuel da Nóbrega, Anchieta took part in the first Jesuit missions in Brazil and helped to found the Jesuit college of Espírito Santo. His *Arte de gramática da lingua mais usada na costa do Brasil* (Coimbra 1595) standardized the indigenous lingua franca from the coast of Brazil.⁵⁰ Anchieta translated numerous religious and devotional texts into Tupí, and authored dramas in Spanish,

⁴⁹ The first biography of Anchieta's life, along with the *De Beata Virgine Dei Matre*, can be found in Vasconcelos 1672. Further study of Anchieta's life can be found in Dominican 1958 and Abranches Viotti 1991.

⁵⁰ Though published in 1595, it was composed between 1555 and 1556 and immediately used by the Jesuits in Brazil. More information on indigenous languages in colonial Brazil can be found in Langfur 2014. Medeiros Barbosa 2006 offers a study of Anchieta's missionary work.

Portuguese, Tupí and Latin.⁵¹ His most famous Latin compositions are a devotional poem to the Virgin Mary, *De Beata Virgine Dei Matre*, and the epic *De Gestis Mendi de Saa* (Coimbra 1563).⁵²

The hero of *De Gestis*, Mem de Sá (1500-1572), was the third governor of the colony of Brazil.⁵³ *De Gestis* relates his campaigns against the Tupí as well as his expedition against France Antarctique, a Huguenot colony near present-day Rio de Janeiro. Following a pattern set by the *Aeneid*, *De Gestis* combines martial scenes with the theme of exploration. The religious elements of *De Gestis* are pronounced: for example, the epic begins and ends with a hymn to Christ. Both the evangelization of the Tupí and the war against the Huguenots are presented as signs of the governor's piety, thus serving to justify Portuguese imperialism.⁵⁴

1. *Summary of De Gestis*

De Gestis Mendi de Saa is an early example of what has been recently termed 'Satanic epic': an early modern verse narrative in which the hero must overcome obstacles and trials sent by the devil and those under his power.⁵⁵ These epics presented and justified European

⁵¹ Anchieta's poetry and theater works are in Martins 1989 and Cardoso 1977. The relation between conversion and Anchieta's *oeuvre* is treated in Chakravarti 2018: 135-177, Hansen 2005, and Laborie 2000.

⁵² Fonda 1972 discusses Anchieta as a Neo-Latin poet.

⁵³ More information on Mem de Sá can be found in Couto 1995 and Butler 1994.

⁵⁴ The link between Portuguese imperialism in the East and in Brazil in *De Gestis* is discussed in Alves Osório 2000.

⁵⁵ Cañizares-Esguerra 2006: 40.

conquest and colonization as holy violence against demonic foes. Yet it would be an oversimplification to say that Iberian Satanic epic reduced the moral ambiguity of its classical antecedents, with their many deities and competing agendas, to the battle between God and Satan.⁵⁶ Rather, Satanic epic reinterprets the programmatic division between order and chaos that structures the *Aeneid*.⁵⁷ *De Gestis* excavates cosmological themes from Virgilian epic, whereby barbarians, storms, monsters and heretics are representatives of the forces that oppose the hero's mission to establish a Catholic Portuguese empire in Brazil.

This following summary of the epic highlights the connections between military and spiritual conquest. An elegiac epistle to Christ serves as a preface to the epic, which begins with a description of Brazil as the domain of Satan.⁵⁸ In Book 1, Mem de Sá lands at Espírito Santo and sends his son, Fernão, at the head of an army against the Tupí. Though the Portuguese fight bravely, they are defeated and Fernão is killed. Book 2 begins with the suppression of the Tupí rebel Cururupeba and the establishment of Portuguese law over the Tupí. After an invocation of the saints and angels, the poet describes the resettlement of the Tupí into villages and their conversion to Christianity. After another uprising, Mem de Sá leads a new campaign against the Tupí, which culminates in an epic

⁵⁶ Cañizares-Esguerra 2006: 49.

⁵⁷ Convincingly argued in Hardie 1986.

⁵⁸ Cañizares-Esguerra 2006 offers a study of Satanic epic in the Atlantic. The crusading spirit of *De Gestis* is studied in Alves Osório 2000.

battle on the beach. The second book closes with a hymn to peace and a celebration of the Portuguese Empire.

After an invocation of the saints, Book 3 narrates the campaign at Paraguacú, which is followed by another period of conversion and settlement.⁵⁹ Through *analepsis* the poet shows that this battle avenges the death of Pedro Fernandes Sardinha, the first bishop of Brazil, who was shipwrecked off the coast, killed, and eaten by the Caeté. Book 4 describes the conflict between the Portuguese and the French. Anchieta narrates how French Huguenots established a colony in Brazil under the command of French Vice-admiral Nicolas de Villegaignon.⁶⁰ Mem de Sá leads a naval expedition, which captures and destroys the fort. The poem concludes with a hymn to Christ.

2. *Preface and Proem*

The elegiac epistle elaborates upon imperial ideology in the *Aeneid*, but the proem is developed as a counterpoint to the conception of epic found in the *Aeneid*. The elegiac epistle follows a convention that began in late antiquity, in which Latin poets prefaced hexameter poetry with such elegiac compositions. The formal preface likely arose from the combination of the epic *prooemium* and the dedication often given at the beginning of a collection of poetry.⁶¹ Thus, for example, Claudian's *De Raptu Proserpinae*, a common

⁵⁹ In his 1970 edition, Cardoso subdivided Book 3 of the Coimbra edition into Books 3 and 4. While the subdivision is not properly explained, it is useful when describing the structure of the epic. All quotations from the epic avoid book divisions in favor of his continuous verse numbers.

⁶⁰ More information on France Antarctique is to be found in McGrath 1996, Lestringant 1989, and Hauser 1937.

⁶¹ Gruzelier 1993: 80.

school text in early modern Europe, begins with an elegiac epistle.⁶² The other epic considered in this section, Pedrosa's *Austriaca*, also begins with a prefatory prose epistle to Philip II. Anchieta uses the elegiac epistle as a vehicle for the themes of the epic: the subjugation of Brazil, the conversion of the Tupí, and the defeat of the French.

The elegiac epistle is marked by its justification of holy violence, which the poet presents as a necessary precursor to the conversion of the Tupí and conquest of Brazil. In the first four verses the poet presents conquest as the fulfilment of divine providence:⁶³

*Adspicis en quantum **superi** divina **Tonantis**
Patravit virtus, maxime Rector, opus.
Iam fera deposuit tumidos Brasillia fastus,
Et **cecidit telis exsuperata tuis**.
De Gestis, Epistola Nuncupatoria 1-4*

"Lo, now you see how great a thing the divine virtue of the lofty Thunderer has achieved, mighty governor. For now wild Brazil has set aside her swollen pride and yielded, overpowered by your weapons."

The military language in the passage establishes that the war against Brazil and Brazilians is led by God, here given Jupiter's epithet, *Tonans*.⁶⁴ The enemy, by implication, is under the sway of the devil. Thus only through the subjugation of Brazil (*telis exsuperata tuis*) can the devil be driven out of the Americas and Christianity established there. The portrayal of Brazil is very different from Virgil's depiction of the Latins, whose right to their home in Latium is not negated by the prophecies that promise Italy to Aeneas. At the end of the

⁶² Ware 2012: 59 discusses elegiac prefaces and the Latin tradition.

⁶³ All citations of *De Gestis* are taken from Cardoso 1970. All translations are my own.

⁶⁴ Since the Tupí worshiped nothing except thunder, which they called Tupana, the Jesuits in Brazil referred to the Christian God as Father Tupana. See Chakravarti 2018: 106-7.

Aeneid, moreover, Jupiter foresees that Latins and Trojans will unite to become a new *genus* (12.838-40). Anchieta's depiction of Brazilians, however, betrays no sympathy for their rights or their way of life. Indeed, as the persistent use of the adjective *fera*, "wild," suggests, he views the native people as little better than animals. Their role in his epic is to submit to the hero, whose actions are commanded and sanctioned by divine authority.

The role of violence in conversion is underscored by the presentation of Mem de Sá in the elegiac epistle:

Primus inhumanas domuisti vindice gentes
Marte: iugo subdunt iam sua colla tuo;
Te cogente, feros Brasillica pectora mores
Liquere, et ritus dedidicere suos.
Macte nova virtute, *senex: scelera impia pelle,*
Barbaraque aeterno subice regna Deo!
De Gestis, Epistola Nuncupatoria 89-94

"You first conquered these inhuman peoples in avenging war: now they place their necks under your yoke. Under your compulsion, Brazilian breasts abandoned their savage ways and unlearned their rites. Bravo! Increase in your new courage, aged one! Drive out impious wickedness and make these barbarous kingdoms subject to the eternal God!"

Roman military language pervades these verses. Mars, the god of war, is used as a gloss for war itself, while the language of the yoke refers to the ritual humiliation of defeated enemies practiced by the Romans. The last couplet brings these Roman associations to the fore: *macte nova virtute* alludes to *Aeneid* 9.641, Apollo's praise of the young Ascanius' first essay into combat. Anchieta has substituted *senex*, "old man," for Virgil's *puer*, "boy," which reflects Mem de Sá's age and experience. This change also obscures the problematic context of the Virgilian passage, in which a child is congratulated for killing his first enemy. The enemy in this epic is consistently portrayed as inhuman (*inhumanas...gentes*),

savage (*feros...mores*), and barbaric (*barbara...regna*). Mem de Sá's virtue consists in his role as a civilizing and Christianizing agent. Anchieta may have been aware of the religious significance of *mactus*, thus tying together martial and religious themes. The hero is praised for forcing wild Brazil to accept the Gospel.⁶⁵ As in the *Aeneid*, conquest leads to incorporation in the empire and the eventual establishment of the *Pax Augusta*, which Anchieta presents as an unqualified good.⁶⁶ Virgil thus informs Anchieta's imagination of how epic could present military conquest as the precursor to peace.⁶⁷

The same attitude can be traced in the proem of *De Gestis*, which presents an overlap between the Portuguese empire and Christendom:

*Virtutes summi divinaque gesta Parentis,
Et nomen, Rex Christe, tuum; tua facta decusque
Et laudes **canere incipiam**; tua maxima facta
Aggrediar versu memorare, ingentibus ausis.
De Gestis 109-12*

"The excellence and divine deeds of the heavenly Father, your name, Christ the King, your deeds and your honor, your praises – these will I begin to sing. I will attempt to recount your mighty deeds in verse, with remarkable daring."

Mem de Sá's achievements in Brazil are presented as God's own, which reflect upon the place of Portugal in the spread of the Gospel. The proem is remarkable for its divergence from the Virgilian model and may even be said to have been developed in opposition to

⁶⁵ Anchieta 1993: 92 and 186 offers his views on the effectiveness of forced conversion. His opinions were echoed by Manuel da Nóbrega, the provincial of Brazil, in his *O diálogo da conversão do gentio* (1556).

⁶⁶ Ascenso André 2000.

⁶⁷ Pace Rolim de Moura 2016, who claims Anchieta was critical of Portuguese imperialism.

the *Aeneid*. Rather than *arma virumque* the poet embraces divine *virtutes* and *gesta*, perhaps imitating Lucretius' hymn to Venus.⁶⁸ Instead of a human hero like Aeneas, *De Gestis* is an epic of divine action, carried out by Mem de Sá. This focus upon divine action may also account for the absence of secondary characters in the epic: no other member of the Portuguese forces utters a speech except for Fernão de Sá, none of the Tupi are given orations, and the French commander at Villegaignon speaks only once. The poet's omniscient narration of *De Gestis* consistently sets Mem de Sá in a conflict between good and evil, subordinating human action to that conflict. While the proem of the *Aeneid* drew attention to Aeneas' suffering at the hands of Juno and fate, that of *De Gestis* celebrates the magnificence of God and Christ. Furthermore, unlike the *Aeneid*, divine figures almost never appear in *De Gestis*. God oversees everything that occurs in the epic, but never intervenes personally in the action. Even here, however, there is an echo of Virgil at the start of the *Georgics* (*hinc canere incipiam*, 1.5) in Anchieta's *canere incipiam*. The distance Anchieta creates between his conception of epic and Virgil's in fact reveals his careful reading and study of the *Aeneid*.

3. *Structure and Language*

Since the discovery of the definitive 1563 Coimbra edition in 1958, scholars have traced the vernacular and Latin sources used in *De Gestis*, from Statius and Lucan to Portuguese chronicles.⁶⁹ In his 1970 edition, Cardoso identified numerous classical passages in *De*

⁶⁸ Vida's *Christiad* also began with a description of the Trinity, which Di Cesare 1964 examines as an inversion of Virgil (88-89).

⁶⁹ Rolim de Moura 2016, Rodríguez-Pantoja 2005, Mirando Urbano 2000, Rodríguez-Pantoja 1997, and Costa Ramalho 1984 treat the many different sources used by Anchieta.

Gestis, sketching the literary texture of the poem in his introduction. Nonetheless, it remains to show the extent of Virgil's influence upon the poem's structure and language.

It must be admitted that structural resemblance between *De Gestis* and the *Aeneid* is not as pronounced as it would be in subsequent American epics, though several parallels do still emerge. For example, *De Gestis* falls neatly into two halves, as marked by the second invocation before the campaigns at Paraguacú and the attack on the French. *De Gestis* follows a pattern set by the *Aeneid*, in which the wanderings of Aeneas (Books 1-6) are separated from the war in Latium (Books 7-12) by a second invocation in Book 7. *De Gestis* also models certain events after those of the *Aeneid*: the farewell scene between Mem de Sá and Fernão is based on that of Evander and Pallas in the *Aeneid*; the storm that shipwrecks Sardinha in Book 3 recalls the tempest in *Aeneid* 1; the description of Rio de Janeiro borrows from Virgil's Italy in *Aeneid* 1 and 3; and the role of *Timor* in the last book of *De Gestis* is analogous to that of *Allecto* in *Aeneid* 7.

Four examples will show how Anchieta incorporates Virgilian language into *De Gestis*. First, to describe the Portuguese soldiers' fear, Anchieta uses the following expression:

Pertimuer omnes, gelidusque per ima cucurrit
Ossa tremor...
De Gestis 1885-86

"They were all terrified as an icy fear ran through their very marrow."

Almost the same wording was used in *Aeneid* 2.120-1 (Sinon's account of Apollo's displeasure), 6.54-55 (Trojans before the Sibyl's cave) and 12.447-8 (Latins at the approach of the Trojan army).⁷⁰ Secondly, Virgil's description of a hailstorm in the *Georgics*:

*suspecti tibi sint imbres: namque urget ab alto
arboribusque satisque Notus pecorique sinister...
heu, male tum mitis defendet pampinus uuas:
tam multa in tectis crepitans salit horrida grando.*
Georgics 1.443-4, 448-9

"Beware of showers; for the South Wind sweeps from the deep, an enemy to trees and crops and cattle...alas! then the vine leaf will defend the soft grapes poorly as so much bristling hail dances clattering on the roofs."

inspired Anchieta's likening of the Portuguese to a storm in his account of the attack at Paraguacú:

*Haud aliter rapido cum verberat Africus arva
Imbre, racemiferas populatur plurima vites,
et crebra in tectis crepitans salit horrida grando.*
De Gestis 1934-6

"In like manner does the southwest wind lash the fields with fierce rain and ravage the clustering vines; the thick, bristling hail dances clattering on the roofs."

The last verse, along with the general scene of rushing wind, rain and hail is from Virgil. Anchieta includes both the image of the vine damaged by rain as well as the sound of hail on the roof. A natural description of the weather becomes a vehicle to describe the Portuguese attack upon the Tupí, comparing natural and human destruction through the *Georgics*. Aeneas' memories of the capture of Troy:⁷¹

⁷⁰ *obstipuerunt animi gelidusque per ima cucurrit | ossa tremor, Aen.* 2.120-1; *gelidus Teucris per dura cucurrit | ossa tremor, Aen.* 6.54-55; *gelidusque per ima cucurrit | ossa tremor, Aen.* 12.447-8. Cardoso 1970: 292 notes the similarity to *Aeneid* 2.120-1.

⁷¹ As noted in Cardoso 1970: 295.

*quondam etiam uictis redit in praecordia uirtus
uictoresque cadunt Danaï. crudelis ubique
luctus, ubique pavor et plurima mortis imago.*
Aeneid 2.367-69

“At times even the vanquished recover their courage, and the victorious Danaans fall. Everywhere is cruel grief, everywhere fear, and many a shape of death.”

are echoed by Anchieta’s description of the Portuguese conflagration of Tupí villages:

*Multus ubique pavor; luctus crudelis ubique,
Et lacrimae et planctus et plurima mortis imago.*
De Gestis 1964-5

“Everywhere there is much fear; everywhere cruel grief, and tears and wails and many a shape of death.”

Elements of Virgil’s verses are transposed, but the general tenor is retained. While the description of *luctus crudelis* could insinuate an oppositional viewpoint, this must be balanced against the use of the same exact words in the Virgilian passage; their presence here may be the result of memorization of the celebrated account of the fall of Troy. Context also argues against a sympathetic attitude toward the Tupí. The raid against these villages was prompted by the capture and slaughter of three Christians (vv. 1747-54), which was described in lurid terms. Furthermore, in the verses immediately before these, the poet describes Tupí women killing their own children in order to save themselves (vv. 1961-63). While Virgil’s *crudelis ubique luctus* referred to the death of Trojans and Greeks, the same words in Anchieta refer to the lengths to which these mothers would go to escape just punishment.

A similar instance can be seen in Anchieta's description of canon fire:⁷²

*Horrendumque tonans, crebris micat ignibus; alti
Intonuere poli, latusque gemiscit Olympus.
De Gestis 2637-8*

"Roaring terribly, it quivers with frequent flashes; the towering poles thunder and wide heavens begin to shake."

Compare this to the storm of *Aeneid* 1.90: *intonuere poli, et crebris micat ignibus aether*, "the poles thundered, and the sky quivers with frequent flashes."⁷³ As with the earlier description of the storm in the *Georgics*, passages of natural phenomena in Virgil become vehicles to describe early modern warfare in Brazil. In this instance, Virgil's poetry lends itself to the description of the sound of canon fire. The storm of *Aeneid* 1 was caused by Juno, a kind of punishment that she sent against the Trojan ships. Similarly, the canon fire described in this passage was directed at Portuguese ships in Guanabara Bay by the French. The divine apparatus from the *Aeneid* is thus a useful way to portray the French as a force of cosmic disturbance and to present the Portuguese as agents of order.

The *De Gestis* tends to employ Virgilian hemistichs rather than entire verses from Virgil's poetry. One common phrase, *nec mora, nec requies*, "no delay, no pause," which appears three times in Virgil, appears three times in Anchieta's epic.⁷⁴ Anchieta describes God the Father turning Olympus with a nod of his head (*nutu magnum contorquet Olympum, De Gestis 2444*), a phrase Virgil used for Jupiter (*totum nutu tremefecit Olympum*,

⁷² Bortolanza 2000/2001 considers Anchieta's descriptions of early modern warfare.

⁷³ As noted in Cardoso 1970: 316.

⁷⁴ In Virgil: *Aeneid* 5.458 and 12.553 as well as *Georgics* 3.110. In Anchieta: *De Gestis* 485, 645 and 2832. See Cardoso 1970: 251 and 320 for the echoes in verse 485 and 2832.

Aeneid 9.106 and 10.115).⁷⁵ Descriptions of the Portuguese at war are taken from different parts of the *Aeneid*. The youth are eager for battle against the French (*arrexere omnes animos, De Gestis* 2449), just as the Italians marveled at the omens before the final battle with the Trojans (*arrexere animos Itali, Aeneid* 12.251).⁷⁶ The description of Trojans bringing the Trojan Horse into the city (*accingunt omnes operi, Aeneid* 2.235) is used to characterize the reinforcements from São Vicente (*accinguntque manus operi, De Gestis* 2532).

Finally, Anchieta employs expressions from Virgil's poetry that contribute to the classicizing patina of the *De Gestis Mendi de Saa*. Virgil's description of the winds leaving Aeolus' cave (*terras turbine perflant, Aeneid* 1.83) is used for the blast of the South Wind in Brazil (*terras turbine perflans, De Gestis* 203).⁷⁷ Description of war frenzy and violence in the *Aeneid* influence Anchieta's characterization of the Tupí when they take up arms against the Portuguese (*furit imis ira medullis et belli vesanus amor, De Gestis* 213-4).⁷⁸ When bidding farewell to Fernão, Mem de Sa tells his son to avoid delay (*rumpe moras, De Gestis* 257), a phrase uttered by Mercury to Aeneas (A.4.569) and by Iris to Turnus (A.9.13).⁷⁹ He uses the same expression in prayer at Fort Coligny: *eia age, rumpe moras, fer opem, De Gestis*

⁷⁵ The echo of *Aeneid* 9 is noted by Cardoso 1970: 310.

⁷⁶ As noted in Cardoso 1970: 311.

⁷⁷ Cardoso 1970: 243.

⁷⁸ Compare to Turnus (*saeuit amor ferri et scelerata insania belli, | ira super, A.7.461-2*) or to the men of the silver age (*et belli rabies et amor successit habendi, A.8.327*).

⁷⁹ The echo of *Aeneid* 4 is noted by Cardoso: 1970: 244.

2800.⁸⁰ The poet adopts this phrase to describe the hasty retreat to Vitoria after Fernão's death: *ergo moras rumpunt*, *De Gestis* 769. The din of the battle strikes heaven (*ferit aethera clamor*, *De Gestis* 1481) as it did in Virgil (*Aeneid* 2.338, 5.140 and 12.409).⁸¹ The retreating Tupí are sped by fear (*pedibus timor addidit alas*, *De Gestis* 404), like Cacus in the *Aeneid* (8.224).

The language of *De Gestis* is thus saturated with Virgilian verses, hemistichs and phrases. This is particularly common in descriptions of warfare and conflict in Anchieta's epic. The violence defended in the elegiac epistle and in the proem, and hence an obvious theme in *De Gestis*, is expressed through Virgil. Since large sections of Virgil were routinely memorized in school, the various echoes of the Roman poet in *De Gestis* attest to the effects of that education as well as Anchieta's interest in crafting a Christian version of the *Aeneid*. As the next section will show, this is also true of the poetic persona developed in *De Gestis*.

4. Anchieta's emulation of Virgil

The second invocation and the *adynaton* of *De Gestis Mendi de Saa* offers a glimpse of Anchieta's specific emulation of the Virgilian narrator. Like the second invocation in *Aeneid* 7, the second invocation of *De Gestis* occurs in the middle of the epic, before the final offensive against the Tupí and the French:⁸²

⁸⁰ See Cardoso 1970: 320.

⁸¹ The instance in *Aeneid* 5 is noted by Cardoso 1970: 280.

⁸² Cardoso 1970: 287-88 notes an echo of *Ecl.* 10.23. He reads this invocation as a sign that this is the last book of the epic. Since the third book of the Coimbra edition is equivalent in length to books one and two combined, it makes more sense to read this passage as marking the midpoint.

*Iam longas defessa vias, perque horrida ponti
Aequora, perque solum et silvas mens nostra per altas
Carpsit, et insuetis percurrit littora plantis:
Nunc maiora vocant.*
De Gestis 1732-35

“Now my tired mind makes its way through long paths, through the rough surface of the ocean, through the earth, and through deep woods, and now runs upon the shore with unsteady feet. Now higher things call me.”

The *maiora* of verse 1735 clearly recalls the *maior ordo* and *maius opus* of *Aeneid* 7.44-5 as well as the *maiora* of *Ecl.* 4.1. The war in Latium, the ‘greater’ half of Virgil’s epic, is compared to the domestic and international battles in the latter half of *De Gestis*. Yet unlike Virgil, this poet is weary and unsteady, overcome by the task ahead of him. The path, the ocean, and the deep wood are all commonly used as metaphors for poetry and the poetic tradition in antiquity.⁸³ That Anchieta must find his way through these terrains suggests the near impossibility of his task. At the same time, these places are the landscapes in which Mem de Sá battled his enemies, so that the poet follows his hero through his laborious composition.

The metaphor of the sea also appears in the *adynaton* of the second book of *De Gestis*, placing Anchieta somewhere between preceding classical and Christian traditions.

The poet claims not to have the capacity to convey the piety of the governor:⁸⁴

⁸³ The path appears in Lucretius 1.926-7 and Callimachus *Aetia* I, fr. 1.26-7 Pf. The ocean can be found, for example, in Horace *Carm.* 4.15.1, Ovid *Fasti* I.3, and Statius *Silvae* V.3.237. The wood appears in Ennius *Ann.* 175-9 Sk. and *Aeneid* 6.179-82. See “Metaphorics” (128-144) and “The Ideal Landscape” (183-202) in Curtius 1963. For the open sea, Wimmel 1960: 227 ff.

⁸⁴ For inexpressibility topoi, see Curtius 1963: 159-162. Cardoso 1970: 275 draws attention to the similarity between verse 1337 and the description of Orestes at *Aen.* 3.330-31 (*ereptae magno inflammatus amore | coniugis*).

*...Vellem si stringere singula versu
Quae facit, ardenti Christi inflammatus amore,
Immensus foret iste labor, pelagique profundo
Magna prius parvam mersaret sarcina cymbam,
Quam posset tuti contingere littora portus,
Verba prius certis pedibus cogenda deessent,
Quam memorandarum latissima copia rerum.*
De Gestis 1336-42

"If I wanted to bring together in verse everything he did, inflamed by a burning love for Christ, the task would be immense, and the heavy burden would sink my small ship in the depths of the sea before it could reach the shores of a safe harbor, and the words confined by the established number of feet would run out long before the extensive amount of deeds worth telling."

This extraordinary passage blends Christian themes with the classical metaphor of the sea as poetry. The ship as a metaphor for the human soul can be found in the dialogues of Gregory the Great, which may in turn allude to the Gospel account of the calming of the Sea of Galilee.⁸⁵ At the same time, the poet's ship, overwhelmed by his material, recalls the address to Maecenas in *Georgics* 2.39-46, in which Virgil characterizes his didactic poem as hugging the shore of poetic endeavor. There Virgil said he chose not to write epic, though he could do so (*non ego cuncta meis amplexi uersibus opto*, *Georgics* 2.42).⁸⁶ Anchieta, on the other hand, employs the present counterfactual, juxtaposing the desire to give a full account (*vellem si stringere singula versu*) and his own abilities (*immensus foret iste labor*). Finally, the poet says that there are not enough words to describe the hero's deeds, ennobling the endeavor undertaken in composing *De Gestis*.

⁸⁵ Matthew 8:23-27, Mark 4:35-41 and Luke 8:22-25.

⁸⁶ As noted in Cardoso 1970: 275.

To achieve this task, the poet must turn to a higher power to inspire his work.

Anchieta rejects the pagan Muse:

*Sed me divini laudandi nominis ingens
Raptat amor: iuvat ire iugis caelestibus, almos
Et fontes gustare Dei.
De Gestis 1343-5*

“But great love for praising the divine name drags me forward: it is a joy to roam the heights of heaven and to sip the nourishing springs of God.”

Yet even here, Anchieta uses Virgil’s poetry to articulate his stance: ⁸⁷

*sed me Parnasi deserta per ardua dulcis
raptat amor; iuvat ire iugis, qua nulla priorum
Castaliam molli deuertitur orbita cliuo.
Georgics 3.291-3*

“But sweet love hurries me over the lonely steeps of Parnassus; it is a joy to roam the heights, where no forerunner’s track turns down to Castalia on a gentle slope.”

It is obvious that Anchieta closely follows Virgil: he draws attention to himself (*sed me*), before describing the driving force of *amor* and his delight in roaming the heights (*iuvat ire iugis*). The passage serves to underline Anchieta’s position as a Christian poet. The Spaniard imagines himself soaring into heaven, not walking on the ridge of Parnassus and the fountain from which he will drink is not at the base of Parnassus, but rather a celestial fountain. Crucial to these verses, however, are Virgil’s statements about the poet’s struggle as well as the role of the Muses in the construction of poetic authority.

These two moments in Anchieta’s epic incorporate three passages from Virgil: the second invocation of *Aeneid* 7, the *recusatio* of *Georgics* 2, and the second proem of *Georgics*

⁸⁷ As noted at Cardoso 1970: 275.

3. As suggested in the introduction, generic boundaries do not limit Anchieta to the emulation of programmatic statements in the *Aeneid*. The Virgilian persona, for Anchieta, provides a corpus of moments from which to draw in order to construct his own poetic voice. Key to this formulation is the image of the weary or the overwhelmed poet, a figure more informed by the *recusatio* of *Georgics* 2 than the triumphant notes of *Aeneid* 7 or *Georgics* 3. As a result, the poetic persona of *De Gestis Mendi de Saa* is framed by the efficacy of his divine Muse and the grandeur of his theme.

B.) Mem de Sá, as a Christian version of Aeneas

Aeneas is generally seen as failing to control his emotions.⁸⁸ By contrast Mem de Sá is a perfect, Christian hero. The first book of *De Gestis* establishes his moral superiority, both in relation to the rest of the Portuguese and in relation to characters from ancient epic. One of the most important ways in which Anchieta develops Mem de Sá's character is through his relationship with his son, Fernão de Sá. Their bond is shown through allusions to scenes between Aeneas and Ascanius as well as the farewell between Evander and Pallas. The death of Fernão is reminiscent of the deaths of young men like Pallas and Euryalus in the *Aeneid*, though Mem de Sá's reaction to his son's death is a departure from the patterns established by the *Aeneid*. His self-control brings the Fernão episode to a triumphant close; the son's death can be interpreted not as a tragedy but rather as a Christ-like sacrifice for the Portuguese in Brazil.

⁸⁸ His behavior in Books 10 and 12 are discussed by Putnam 2011.

The arrival of the fleet in Brazil allows Anchieta to introduce Mem de Sá on a ship, just as Virgil did for Aeneas. The difference, however, is that the governor has successfully finished the voyage across the Atlantic and is not in distress. He is given the epithet *magnanimus* (164), which Virgil often used of Aeneas.⁸⁹ And like Aeneas, Mem de Sá is known for his piety:

...mediisque infixae medullis
 Vera Dei *pietas*, et sancto insignis amore
 Haud turbata fides Christi, fervensque sub imo
 Pectore, caelesti succensus Flamine, zelus
 Erue e Stygio Brasilles carcere mentes.
De Gestis, 173-77

“True piety for God was fixed in his very marrow, and his faith in Christ, conspicuous for its holy love, was unshakeable. Set on fire by the flame of Heaven, there was a burning zeal in his breast to rescue Brazilian souls from the dungeon of Hell.”

This *pietas* differs from the classical virtue made famous by *pious Aeneas*; it is a burning passion, a holy love, which guides the governor. His unswerving commitment to his mission will be developed as a contrast to the hero Aeneas, whose doubts and questions are explored over the course of the *Aeneid*. Mem de Sá is older and wiser than Aeneas and never succumbs to the wrath displayed by the Trojan hero in the course of the war in Latium. The passage thus establishes a theme of the first book, that Mem de Sá is a servant of empire charged with spreading the Gospel in the New World. The stakes of his mission are therefore clear; he is to free Brazil from Hell.

⁸⁹ *Aen.* 1.260, 5.17, 5.407, 9.204, 10.771. Obbink 2002: 106 has discussed the Greek philosophical background of this term which, esp. at *Aeneid* 12.878, may be a translation of μεγαλόψυχος or μεγαλοθύμος. As a native speaker of Spanish, Anchieta was likely influenced by the meaning of *magnánimo*. The *Diccionario de Autoridades* (1735) offers this definition: “animoso, y que emprende y executa las acciones peligrosas y árduas; no por soberbia y ambición, sino por la honra.”

This commitment is tested through the hero's relationship with his son, Fernão de Sá, who is introduced through an allusion to his imminent death:

*Sed tibi prima graves lacrimas dabit atque labores
Pugna, cadet multo cum carus vulnere natus
Confossus, **pulchroque intinget sanguine arenas**
Purpureus, tenues et vitam efflabit in auras.*
De Gestis 183-86

"But the first fight will bring you heavy tears and labors, when your beloved son will fall, pierced by many wounds, and, ruddy, will tinge the sand with his fair blood and will breath out his life into the light air."

This is an imitation of a celebrated passage from Virgil:

*uoluitur Euryalus leto, **pulchrosque per artus**
it cruor inque umeros ceruix conlapsa recumbit:
purpureus ueluti cum flos succisus aratro*
Aeneid 9.433-5

"Euryalus falls to the ground in death, and blood stains his beautiful limbs. His neck rolls and lies still on his shoulders, like a purple flower culled by a plow."

The pathos of these verses draws upon several features of Virgil's poetry. The personal suffering foretold in this passage aligns Mem de Sá's heroic journey with that of Aeneas, for whom the voyage to Italy and subsequent war were accompanied by the loss of significant members of his own family. The description of Fernão borrows from the deaths of young heroes in Homer and Virgil.⁹⁰ The Euryalus passage is particularly important. *Purpureus* could equally refer to Fernão's glow of youth or to the color of his blood, which,

⁹⁰ 'The beautiful death' in Homer has been studied by Vernant 1982, while the same phenomenon in Virgil can be found in Reed 2007.

along with the initial position of *purpureus*, likens him to Euryalus and the purple flower.⁹¹ The introduction of Fernão invites the reader to draw comparisons between this young man and the young, tragic heroes of the *Aeneid*. Yet, as will be shown, the poet will use Mem de Sá's unusual piety to show that Fernão's life was given to advance his father's mission. Thus, far from shaking his father's resolve, Fernão's death only strengthens Mem de Sá's commitment.

To highlight this, Anchieta presents the bond between father and son in imitation of similar relationships in the *Aeneid*, interpreted from a Christian perspective. Mem de Sá takes on the role of Aeneas when he advises his son to strive for virtue:

*Disce, puer, primis virtutem quaerere ab annis,
eximiumque labore decus.
De Gestis 236-7*

“My son, learn to seek virtue in your early years and to strive for exceptional glory through toil.”

Aeneas spoke to Ascanius with similar words: ‘*disce, puer, uirtutem ex me uerumque laborem, fortunam ex aliis*’, “my son, learn virtue from me and true toil; learn about fortune from other men” (12.435-6).⁹² This bit of advice was given at the end of the *Aeneid*, but here is given at the very outset of *De Gestis*. Furthermore, unlike Aeneas, Mem de Sá does not refer to himself as the model of virtue, nor is he certain that virtue and honor can be secured. The importance of his moral example emerges when Fernão leaves for battle:

...carumque ad praelia natum

⁹¹ Thanks to Jay Reed for pointing out that *purpureus* can also refer to youthfulness, as at *Aen.* 1.590-1.

⁹² As noted at Cardoso 1970: 244.

*Fernandum mittens, primaevo flore decorum
Egregiumque animo iuvenem, mentemque paternis
Moribus instructum.
De Gestis 232-5*

He sent his beloved son, Fernão, to battle, a handsome man in the prime of his youth, a youth of extraordinary spirit, with a mind trained in his father's morals.

There are echoes here of the doomed Marcellus (*egregium forma iuuenem*, 6.861) and young Pallas (*primaevo flore iuuentus*, 7.162).⁹³ It is impossible, however, to miss the Christological significance of this passage. Not only do Fernão and his father correspond to types in the *Aeneid*, they also resemble the relationship between God the Father and Christ. Their relationship draws attention to the gap between Christian and classical heroism.

The relationship between Aeneas and Ascanius, however, is not as central to Anchieta's portrait of Mem de Sá as that of Evander and Pallas. The final farewell between father and son illustrates key differences between the Portuguese hero and his Etruscan model:⁹⁴

*Incolumem si te servabit dextra Tonantis,
Hosteque concedet victricia signa subacto
Ad patris retulisse oculos clarumque tropaeum,
Illa dies nobis felicior ibit, et alto
Debita vota Deo et dignos solvemus honores.
De Gestis 262-66*

"If the right hand of the Thunderer should preserve you and if he should grant you to return victorious banners and a noble victory to your father's gaze, with the enemy defeated, that day will be happy indeed, and I will offer due offerings and worthy honors to God on high."

⁹³ The allusion to Marcellus is noted in Cardoso 1970: 244.

⁹⁴ Cardoso 1970: 244 rightly sees that this entire passage is modelled on Evander's speech in *Aeneid* 8.

Both fathers pray for their sons to return, but Mem de Sá states a desire for victory, which is absent from Evander's speech (*Aeneid* 8.560-584). In addition, though both men use conditional clauses, the apodoses differ. If Fernão returns in victory, Mem de Sá will make offerings to God. If Pallas returns home, Evander will be able to live out the rest of his days. They are most different, however, in their approach to suffering. Mem de Sá contemplates an unfavorable outcome with equanimity:

*At si te finis primis manet ultimus annis,
Florentemque tibi sunt ereptura iuventam
Funera, et aeterni sic stat sententia Patris,
Hinc immensa manet te gloria, honosque perennis.*
De Gestis 269-72

"But if the final end awaits you in your early years, and death should snatch away from you the bloom of youth, and if this is the will of the eternal Father, then immeasurable glory awaits you, and perpetual honor."

He juxtaposes the fleeting nature of youth with undying honor in heaven; to die in a holy war is a welcome fate. Evander, on the other hand, begs for a speedy death if Pallas should die and faints into his servants' arms (8.578-84). The parallelism established between these two scenes draws attention to the contrast between the virtues of the Christian and the pagan father.

The reaction to Fernão's death is told in two parts. First, the poet describes the lament of the Portuguese, which echo the anguish of Euryalus' mother in the *Aeneid*. Then the poet turns to Mem de Sá, who first prays for divine aid against the Tupí. It is only after these pious reflections that the poet speculates about Mem de Sá's feelings:

*... licet humanos amor ille paternus
Moverit affectus, atque alto vulnere mentem
Perculerit, **tristem generoso pectore casum***

*Occulit, invictusque animi virtute dolorem
Ingentem superans, **maestumque solatur amorem:**
Multorum vitam nati quia morte redemit.
Tale parens dignus nato, natusque parente!
De Gestis 803-9*

“Though paternal love stirred his human emotions and struck his mind with a deep blow, he concealed his sad misfortune in his noble breast. Invincible, he overcame his grief by virtue of his spirit, and consoled his mournful love thus: that in death his son had saved the lives of many. This father was worthy of such a son and the son of such a father!”

These verses invite comparison between Mem de Sá's sacrifice and the Biblical story of Abraham and Isaac, as well as the relationship between God the Father and Christ. The poet's praise of father and son at the end of this passage clearly distinguishes Mem de Sá's resignation from the laments of parents in the *Aeneid*. In point of fact, Mem de Sá's reaction is more symptomatic of Aeneas' role as a leader than his role as father in the *Aeneid*. Anchieta's discussion of the divide between the Portuguese hero's grief and his virtue recalls the optimism of Aeneas' speech to the Trojans in contrast to his internal despair (*Aen.* 1.208-9). Yet there is also an echo of Cynus' grief at the death of Phaethon, whom he mourned in song (*maestum Musa solatur amorem*, *Aeneid* 10.191). Mem de Sá's faith supplants the role of poetry in Virgil's passage, though his love for Fernão is equally intense as that of the two lovers. Anchieta does not deny Mem de Sá close relationships with his loved ones, but shows that these do not override his beliefs or commitments to the larger community in Portuguese Brazil. In this respect Mem de Sá conforms to what has been termed 'an executive type' hero who places duty over individual desire, like

Tasso's Goffredo and Camões' Vasco da Gama. Political power thus extends over the inner man as well as over space and time.⁹⁵

The poet's eulogy for Fernão invites comparison between the founding of Rome and settlement of Brazil through the language of sacrifice. In part, this is established through the imitation of Aeneas' final words to Turnus:

... *Pallas te hoc uulnere, Pallas
immolat et poenam scelerato ex sanguine sumit.*
Aeneid 12.948-9

"It is Pallas, Pallas who sacrifices you with this blow and takes revenge from your guilty blood."

*Et Christi sincerus honor te funere tali
Immolat ut multos haec per tua vulnera serues.*
De Gestis 665-6

"The pure honor of Christ made you a sacrifice in this way, so that you might save many through these your wounds."

The language of sacrifice from the *Aeneid* is combined with an allusion to Isaiah 53:5, "by his stripes we are healed," identifying Fernão as a savior. There is a resonance between these verses and the theme of martyrdom in Anchieta's Spanish, Portuguese and Latin poetry.⁹⁶ Anchieta presents Fernão as a soldier and a Christian martyr, whose self-sacrifice sets him apart from the violent warrior of ancient and Amerindian traditions. The epic thus enacts a confrontation between pagan values, on the one hand, and Christian beliefs. Through typology, Anchieta identifies Turnus as a sacrificial victim for Rome,

⁹⁵ Quint 1993: 95.

⁹⁶ Chakravarti 2018: 169-176.

Christ as the savior of mankind, and Fernão as the savior of the Portuguese. Later, Anchieta adds that Fernão died for love of the fatherland and the freedom of his people, *vicit amor patriae te libertasque tuorum* (667), a phrase used by Virgil to describe Brutus.⁹⁷ Virgil here refers to the legend that this founder of the Roman Republic executed his own sons for conspiring against the city. This model of sacrifice blends with the Biblical story to endow Fernão death with greater meaning. Anchieta uses Virgil's poetry, as well as the poet's presentation of Roman history, to craft an imperial history for the Portuguese in the New World and to articulate an ethics of Christian warfare as a counterpoint to ancient European and American models.

C.) Trojans, Polyphemus, and Cacus in Brazil

Anchieta's characterization of the indigenous people of Brazil, the Tupí, draws from portrayals of monsters and barbarians from the *Aeneid*. The Tupí are monstrous because they are cannibals, a claim made by the poet on nearly every occasion they are described.⁹⁸ In an opening panorama of Brazil in the epic, the nature of their rites serve as proof that the Tupí are under the command of Satan (vv. 131-50). Later, when the Tupí are forced to follow Portuguese law, the poet rejoices that the cannibals have turned from their abhorrent customs and are released from Orcus into Christ's fold (vv. 2096-2100). For the poet, the consumption of human flesh is as much an indication of the indigenous people's savagery as it is of their need for salvation. Anchieta's consistent presentation of the Tupí

⁹⁷ *vincet amor patriae laudumque immensa cupido*, *Aeneid* 6.823. Noted in Cardoso 1970: 254.

⁹⁸ Anchieta's discussions of cannibalism are studied in Forsyth 1983 and McGinness 2014.

as cannibals thereby serves to demonstrate the necessity of both evangelization and conquest.⁹⁹

The poet uses the death of Bishop Sardinha to argue that Tupí cannibalism amounts to a direct attack upon the church. While Anchieta's account was based upon historical events, this narration draws upon the *Aeneid* to sensationalize the bishop's death and argue for the inhumanity of the Caeté, a tribe of the Tupí.¹⁰⁰ This is evident in the language used to introduce this turning point in Portuguese relations with the indigenous people:

Forsitan et magni libet ultima discere fata
Praesulis: expediam memorans, veteremque dolorem
Cogar adhuc renovare animis, lacrimasque ciebo;
Iamque senescentes refricabo carmine plagas.
De Gestis 2116-19

"Perhaps you should like to learn about the final death of the bishop: I will narrate from memory, and I will be forced to renew again an old pain in your hearts. I will move you to tears, for I shall open old wounds with my song."

In the first verse of this passage, the poet echoes Aeneas' tale of the death of Priam: *Forsitan et Priami fuerint quae fata, requiras*, "perhaps, too, you may ask what Priam's fate was" (2.506).¹⁰¹ The "you" addressed by Aeneas is, of course, Dido, whose curiosity was anticipated by the speaker. The audience of this passage in *De Gestis* is not named, though the poet's allusion to aching spirits (*animis*) implies that he is addressing a larger number

⁹⁹ Bortolanza 2002/2003.

¹⁰⁰ Described in Metcalf 2014: 37-60.

¹⁰¹ Discussed at Cardoso 1970: 47-48.

of people, whether the colonists in Brazil or the Portuguese more generally. There is also an allusion to the beginning of Aeneas' narrative, also addressed to Dido: *Infandum, regina, iubes renouare dolorem*, "O queen, you bid me relive unspeakable suffering" (2.3). Anchieta thus positions himself as an Aeneas, recalling his sorrow at the bishop's death and the reactions in Brazil at the news. The implication might be that the death of Sardinha is as significant in Brazil as the fall of Troy was in Greco-Roman myth.

The tragedy is precipitated by a storm at sea, for which Anchieta turns to the first half of the *Aeneid*, inviting comparison between the crew of the bishop's ship and Aeneas' Trojans. As the ship leaves Brazil for Portugal, a sudden storm turns deadly. The poet describes the captain's attempts to avoid disaster as Virgil did in *Aeneid* 5:¹⁰²

*ipse gubernator puppi Palinurus ab alta:
'heu quianam tanti cinxerunt aethera nimbi?
quidue, pater Neptune, paras?'*
Aeneid 5.12-14

"Even the helmsman Palinurus exclaims from the high stern: "Alas! Why have so many clouds covered the sky? What do you have in mind, Father Neptune?"

*Ipse gubernator puppi iam clamat ab alta:
'Nectite vela, viri; properate, resolvite funes!'*
De Gestis 2137-8

"Now even the helmsman exclaims from the high stern: "Bind the sails, men; hurry – loosen the lines!"

¹⁰² Noted in Cardoso 1970: 299. Cardoso adds that this entire episode was described in one of Anchieta's Latin letters, dated May 31, 1560. The following excerpt shows show Virgil's influence upon the author's prose: *Turbantur omnia, vehementi impetus reflantes Austri, cadentes imbres maximi, commotum undique mare quassabant navem...Tum vero omnes formidare et vehementer pavere; obversabatur oculis mors, omnis in uno rudente spes posita erat* (Mon. Bras. III.210).

To this one could add the captain's cry in Ovid's account of Alcyone and Ceyx: *antemnis totum subnectite velum* (*Met.* 11.483).¹⁰³ Virgil's exclamation to Neptune is picked up later in *De Gestis*, when the entire crew cries out to heaven "*quid, pie Christe, paras?*" (2168).¹⁰⁴ The storm worsens, just as the storm off the coast of Africa had frightened the Trojans:

... ponto nox incubat atra;
intonuere poli, et crebris micat ignibus aether
praesentemque uiris intentant omnia mortem.
Aeneid 1.89-91

"Dark night falls upon the deep. The poles thunder and the sky flashed with frequent flashes, and all things promise the sailors instant death."

... Immani cuncta tumultu
Fervescunt, trepidant omnes formidine, saevus
Grassatur timor; horrescunt, oculosque sub ipsos
Importuna viris versatur mortis imago.
De Gestis 2142-45

"Everything seethes in the savage commotion, and everyone trembles in alarm as intense fear runs riot. They are terrified as before the sailor's very eyes the cruel image of death spins."

Drawing upon these passages of the *Aeneid*, Anchieta creates sympathy for the Portuguese crew.¹⁰⁵ Like the Trojans, the Portuguese are forced by the storms to rely upon the goodwill of strangers. At the same time, the storm at sea draws upon ancient depictions

¹⁰³ Suggested by Jay Reed.

¹⁰⁴ Also noted in Cardoso 1970: 300.

¹⁰⁵ As Jay Reed pointed out, *mortis imago* likely comes from *Aen.* 2.368-9, where it is used in Aeneas' account of the fall of Troy, though see also Ovid, *Am.* 2.9.41; *Met.* 10.726, *Tr.* 1.11.23, 5.7.17. The main intertexts seem to be the storm scenes of *Aeneid* 1 and 5. Leigh 2010 presents the storm scene in Virgil in relation to Rome's development as a maritime power. The *Odyssey* includes a storm at sea (5.291-387), as does Apollonius' *Argonautica* (2.1093-122). After Virgil, the storm scene became almost a hallmark of Roman epic, as Friedrich 1956 shows.

of cosmic disaster, in which the confusion of sky and sea signals a violation of a providential world-order.¹⁰⁶ In the *Aeneid*, moreover, the storm scenes dramatize the opposition between the idea of cosmic order, as represented by Aeneas and the future of Rome, and forces of disorder, as represented by the winds.¹⁰⁷ The storm motif in *De Gestis* thus alludes to a fundamental opposition between the hero and monstrous forces as well as the imperial narrative of the *Aeneid*.

A frequent concern in the first half of the *Aeneid* is the lack of hospitality offered to shipwrecked sailors, a theme which Anchieta uses to shape his narrative. Mistreatment of foreigners is a sign of barbarism in the *Aeneid*, and it has the same significance in the *De Gestis*. For example, in *Aeneid* 1, Ilioneus complains to Dido that the Carthaginians will not allow the Trojans to land on the beach, even though the fleet has been damaged by the storm (1.539-43). For this reason, he calls Carthage barbaric (*tam barbara...patria* 539-40). Later, in the underworld, Aeneas learns that Palinurus was not drowned, but attacked on the beach by hostile people who mistook him for an animal (6. 358-61). In *De Gestis*, however, it is because the Caeté recognize the humanity of the shipwrecked that they are marked as prey:

*Et vix evadunt, multo sale membra madentes,
Continuo accedit, - quae iam conceperat alto
Pectore saeva dolos -, falsae gens impia fingens
Foedera amicitiae; fessosque ac rebus egenos
Suscipit hospitio, infidas et ducit in aedes.
De Gestis 2193-97*

¹⁰⁶ Hardie 1986: 90-97.

¹⁰⁷ See Hardie 1986: 103-104 and 261-263.

“The shipwrecked have barely escaped the sea, their limbs dripping with salt water, when at once that wicked band approaches them – savages who had already planned treachery in their hearts – insincerely offering promises of false friendship. They receive the weary and destitute Portuguese as guests and lead them into their untrustworthy homes.”

The description of limbs covered in salt, an allusion to *Aen.* 1.173, signals the relationship between the Portuguese and the shipwrecked figures of the *Aeneid*.¹⁰⁸ The barbarism of the Carthaginians, and even the violence of the people who attack Palinurus, pales in comparison with the Caeté, who lure the Portuguese into their homes.

Through this behavior, the Caeté are assimilated to another monstrous host, the Cyclops Polyphemus:

... *domus sanie dapibusque cruentis,*
intus opaca, ingens. ipse arduus, altaque pulsat
sidera (di, talem terris auertite pestem!)
nec uisu facilis nec dictu adfabilis ulli;
uiscibus miserorum et sanguine uescitur atro.
Aeneid 3.618-622

“His home is one of gore and blood-stained feasts, dark and huge inside. He is enormous; he strikes the lofty stars – oh gods, keep such a pest away from the earth! – it is difficult to look at him, nor does he speak kindly to anyone. He feeds on the flesh of wretched men and their dark blood.”

This debt to the Virgilian passage is established when Anchieta describes the dwellings of those who live along this section of the coast. His imitation of the cave of Polyphemus is pronounced:

Proxima crudelis circumstant littora terrae,
Saeuus inaccessas ubi silvas hostis et atra
Tecta colit multum fumum eructantia, cantus
Assiduos resonans, magno spumantia vina
Ignem coquens, caelumque replens clamore profundum.

¹⁰⁸ *et sale tabentis artus in litore ponunt*, as noted in Cardoso 1970: 301.

*Humano hic semper tellus perfusa madescit
Sanguine, quem, miserum confringens tempora, fundit
Dextera saevorum, tectis pendentque sub atris
Humanae assatae vulcani ad lumina carnes,
Et nudata suis calvaria crinibus ipso
Portarum ingressu, spoliataque carnibus ossa.
De Gestis 2153-63*

“The shores of a cruel land are nearest, where the savage enemy dwells in remote woods and dark homes discharging a great deal of smoke. Uttering incessant songs they cook frothing wine over large fires and fill the boundless sky with the din. The land here is always bathed and dripping with human blood, which the right hands of the savages shed after smashing in the victim’s temples. From their dark abodes they hang human flesh baked by fire, they place on the very threshold of their doors skulls stripped of hair and bones laid bare of flesh.”

Like the Cyclops, the Caeté live in dark houses that reek of human blood. Their immoderate consumption of alcohol (*spumantia vina*) is a further mark of their inhumanity, just as it had been for the Cyclops. Associations between Amerindian peoples, cannibalism and the Cyclops became a *topos* in Renaissance epic, one with which Anchieta is clearly engaging.¹⁰⁹ In addition, this passage emulates Virgil’s account of the dwelling of the half-human Cacus:

*hic spelunca fuit uasto summota recessu,
semihominis Caci facies quam dira tenebat
solis inaccessam radiis; semperque recenti
caede tepebat humus, foribusque adfixa superbis
ora uirum tristi pendebant pallida tabo.
huic monstro Volcanus erat pater: illius atros
ore vomens ignis magna se mole ferebat.
Aeneid 8.193-99*

“Here there was once a cave, receding into a vast chasm, inaccessible to the rays of the sun, where dwelt the dreadful shape of the half-human. The

¹⁰⁹ Thus, for example, the parrot’s curse in Fracastoro’s *Syphilis: nec nostro deerunt Cyclopes in orbe*, 187. Quint 1993: 127.

ground was always warm with recent slaughter and nailed to the proud doors hung the pallid heads of men in a horrifying state of decay. Vulcan was this monster's father: he belched black fire from his mouth as he moved his massive bulk."

The ethnographic description of skulls placed on the thresholds takes its cue from the heads at the entrance of Cacus' cave. They, like Cacus, live in darkness. The inaccessibility of the forest in Brazil (*inaccessas...silvas*) finds an echo in the remote cave (*solis inaccessam radiis*). Furthermore, Cacus' abode is also polluted by the smell of fresh bloodshed. Finally, the fire that Cacus pours forth inside the cave is transformed into the smoke that issues from the fires (*multum fumum eructantia*).¹¹⁰ The monstrosity of the indigenous Brazilians is shaped by the monsters that Aeneas encountered in the Mediterranean, casting the Portuguese as the new Trojans of the Americas.

The struggle between Hercules and Cacus on the site of Rome has been shown to be a paradigmatic conflict in the *Aeneid*.¹¹¹ Connections between Polyphemus and Cacus, which are now often noted by classical commentaries, were not common in early modern readings of the *Aeneid*.¹¹² La Cerda's commentary, for example, which post-dates *De Gestis Mendi de Saa*, makes no mention of the similarities between *Aeneid* 3 and 8. Anchieta, however, has clearly identified an overlap between these two monsters, which he then

¹¹⁰ Hardie 1986: 266 examines Cacus as a representative of the volcano Etna.

¹¹¹ Galinsky 1966.

¹¹² Hardie 1986: 110-118. In footnote 84 on page 115, Hardie draws attention to the discussion in Galinsky 1966. Compare this with the recent treatment of the Cacus episode in Secci 2013. But Horkheimer and Adorno had already looked at Homer's Polyphemus as a colonialist encounter, as discussed in Quint 1993, p. 103 ff.

adapts for his characterization of the Caeté. He may also have been influenced by Camões' *Os Lusíadas*, in which the Hottentots were presented as more savage than Polyphemus.¹¹³ The ideology behind this move is also suggestive of careful attention to Virgil. The Cacus story falls in the middle of Virgil's account of the history and prehistory of Rome.¹¹⁴ It has been suggested that this episode attempts to establish Roman cosmogony in relation to universal history.¹¹⁵ The Caeté, the American successors of these monsters, similarly play an important role in Anchieta's account of the establishment of the Church in Brazil. Just as the Cacus story incorporates Roman history into a larger struggle between order and chaos, the death of Sardinha becomes a focal point of the Church's mission in Brazil.

Anchieta describes the deaths of the bishop's travelling companions, including women and children, before turning to Sardinha's final moments. The beginning of this narrative was framed by an imitation of the beginning of Aeneas' recount of the fall of Troy, to which the poet returns at the moment of the bishop's death:¹¹⁶

haec finis Priami fatorum...
tot quondam populis terrisque superbum
regnatorem Asiae. iacet ingens litore truncus,
auolsumque umeris caput et sine nomine corpus.
Aeneid 2.554, 556-8

This was the end of Priam's fortunes...once lord of so many peoples and lands, the king of Asia. Now his trunk lies upon the shore, his head severed from his shoulders, a corpse without a name.

¹¹³ Quint 1994: 115-16.

¹¹⁴ As discussed in Otis 1963.

¹¹⁵ Hardie 1986: 117.

¹¹⁶ As noted in Cardoso 1970: 304.

*Hic finis magni qui primus praesulis oras
Brasilles rexit, mitra sacrisque tiaris
Et baculo insignis: iacet ingens amne cadaver
Sanguine foedatum multo nudumque cruentos,
Heu species indigna, artus sine honore sepulcri!*
De Gestis 2267-71

“This was the end of the great bishop who first ruled the shores of Brazil, notable for his mitre, his holy crown and scepter. The mighty corpse lies along the river, stained with great bloodshed and naked, bleeding limbs – unbearable sight – without the rite of burial!”

Sardinha’s age and position ought to have protected him, just as the elderly Priam should have been exempt from Neoptolemus’ sword. Through Virgilian intertexts, Anchieta lends the death of Sardinha a dignity that transcends the sordid events on the shoreline, transforming the life of this unpopular prelate into a foundation story for the Brazilian Church.¹¹⁷

D.) Villegaignon and Troy

The capture of the French fort at the end of *De Gestis* borrows elements from Aeneas’ account of the fall of Troy. As might be expected, given their confessional differences, the French, far from being sympathetic characters, are the worst villains in the epic. While the cannibals of Brazil can embrace the Catholic faith, Anchieta is adamant that the heretics in Villegaignon are beyond redemption. The struggle between Mem de Sá and Villegaignon is the culmination of the epic’s presentation of the battle between forces of order and chaos. The confrontation between two European groups is related to the

¹¹⁷ The antagonism between Sardinha and the Jesuits is discussed in Chakravarti 2018: 85-93.

salvation of the Tupí, as both Catholics and Protestants were converting the indigenous people to their brands of Christianity. Anchieta marks the turn from expeditions against the Tupí to the attack on the French as a movement toward greater battles, *maiora...praelia* (2298-99). The opposition between France and Portugal is thus presented as a battle between the church and heretics, with only a glancing discussion of the economic and territorial factors of the dispute.¹¹⁸

Studies of *De Gestis* normally focus on Anchieta's descriptions of the Amerindian enemy, with only a passing reference to the role of the French. Yet, as this section will argue, the poet is clear that the French heretics are an even greater threat to the Portuguese than the Tupí. It has been argued that Spanish American sources originally identified Amerindians as Satan's most powerful allies in the New World, while Protestant American sources organized their epics around battles against satanic Catholics.¹¹⁹ Yet *De Gestis*, the first Iberian epic from the Americas, gives equal emphasis to Amerindian and European opposition to the Portuguese. It shows, moreover, that the struggle against natural forces, Amerindians and Protestants are not unique to the Satanic epic but can be shown to be in dialogue with Virgil's presentation of the opposition between chaos and order. Close attention to legacies of the Virgilian tradition in colonial epics only strengthens one of Cañizares-Esguerra's main arguments: despite national and

¹¹⁸ Laborie 2000: 61-63 details Anchieta's violence against French Huguenots.

¹¹⁹ Cañizares-Esguerra 2006: 19 and 27.

confessional differences, European colonial discourse was shaped by a common religious world.

Within that framework, indigenous people, heretics and Muslims existed on equal footing as enemies of the true faith.¹²⁰ The Spanish medieval saint, Santiago Matamoros, “the Moor slayer,” was thus imported to the Americas as Santiago Mataindios, “the Indian slayer,” a figure who appeared in religious art from colonial Mexico to Peru.¹²¹ Moreover, Islamic architecture and the depiction of Muslim people are found in colonial churches throughout Spanish America, drawing parallels between Muslim communities in Europe and indigenous communities in the Americas.¹²² The paintings of the Jesuit church in Cuzco illustrate the threats posed by heretics and native peoples.¹²³ On the entrance wall of the church, painted to the right of the door, is a mural of Saint Ignatius of Loyola trampling a crowd of Protestants.¹²⁴ Melanchton, Hus, Wycliffe, Oecolampadius, Luther

¹²⁰ Gregory 2006 identifies the distinction between godly and infidel as the “red thread” of Renaissance heroic poetry (13-14).

¹²¹ Vargas Lugo 1993 and Domínguez García 2006 look at this phenomenon in New Spain, while Peru is treated in Choy 1985 and Navarro Castro 1992.

¹²² Estevez 2018 and DaCosta Kaufmann 2003.

¹²³ The Iglesia de la Compañía de Jesús is located on the Plaza de Armas of Cuzco. The interior decorations date from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but the church was begun in 1576. A study of the art in this church and in the Cathedral of Cuzco can be found in Chacón and Bardalez 2011. I thank Jay Reed for reminding me of this church and its paintings and Gretel Rodríguez for helping me find information about these images.

¹²⁴ This painting is attributed to Marcos Zapata (1710-1773), one of the last painters of the Cusco School (Alcala and Brown 2014). This is part of the standard iconography of St. Ignatius, as exemplified by the Rusconi statue in the south nave of St. Peter’s Basilica, Rome. Maryks 2018 covers the difficult relationship between Jesuits and Protestants.

and Calvin are shown spread at his feet, wearing what appear to be turbans. Immediately to the right of this painting, on the north wall, appears the wedding of Ignatius' nephew, Martín García Oñas de Loyola, to an Incan princess, Doña Ñusta Beatriz Clara Qoya. The wedding took place after a rebellion in 1572, which ended when the groom captured the bride's uncle, Tupac Amaru.¹²⁵ Each painting depicts members of the same family in holy triumph, through spiritual conquest over Protestants and martial conquest and subjugation of native peoples. The preoccupation traced in *Anchieta* is therefore indicative of a wider cultural practice among Europeans with lasting legacies in Spanish America and Brazil.

The pernicious influence of arch heretics is illustrated in the description of the books the Portuguese found in Villegaignon. The poet refers to each volume by the name of its author: Luther, Brenz, Melanchthon and Calvin. *Anchieta* creates the illusion that the books embody their authors and speak for them. Luther, for example, froths from the mouth (*ore fremens*, 4.2887); Brenz has an impure mouth (*impuro...ore*, 4.2888); Melanchthon spews forth his message from a foul-smelling heart (*vomuit...foeteni e corde*, 4.2890). The slippage between text and author is pronounced in the description of Calvin. The French reformer is a serpent that encircles Villegaignon:

*Bellua multiplici serpens turpissima lapsu,
Calvinus, spiris multoque volumine turrem
Complectens aderat, flammantia lumina torquens,
Letifero et vibrans linguam stridore trisulcam.
De Gestis 2894-97*

¹²⁵ Walker 2014 gives the history of the Tupac Amaru rebellion.

“There was in attendance a foul monster, a serpent with twisting coils, Calvin encircling the fort in his folds and vast loops, turning burning eyes here and there and flashing out his forked tongue with a deadly rattle.”

The snake imagery in this passage draws upon Christian and classical traditions. Identifications between the snake and Satan align the French theologian among the adversaries of heaven. The snake itself, however, is borrowed from Virgil. In the *Aeneid*, the poet describes the movement of a snake’s tongue thus: *linguis micat ore trisulcis* (2.475). The same wording appears in a description of a snake in the *Georgics* (3.439), which lingers on the reptile’s blazing eyes (*flammantia lumina torquens*, G.3.433). The description of Calvin surrounding the fort with his coils alludes to the serpents that encircled Laocoön and his sons in *Aeneid* 2 (199-227).

This passage also draws upon Virgil’s description of Allecto in *Aeneid* 7, both through its evocation of the theologian and through shared snake imagery. Anchieta introduces Calvin as if he had just been summoned from the underworld:

*Hic quoque quam Stygia nuper ructavit ab unda
Tartarus, illuvie foedam, multisque tumentem
Quae vomuit quondam colubrorum turba venenis.
De Gestis 2891-93*

“Here also [is the monster] whom Tartarus has belched from the waves of the Styx, still filthy with mud and swollen with all the poison which the multitude of serpents has ever discharged.”

Calvin would not die until 1564, but Anchieta presents him as if Calvin were already a permanent resident of the underworld. Virgil’s Allecto also was summoned from Tartarus (*Aen.* 7.323-28) and was typified by her association with snakes (*tot pullulat atra colubris*, 329). Just as Allecto is steeped in venom (*infecta veneis*, 341), so too is Calvin swollen with

poison (*tumentem...venenis*). The earlier description of Calvin's twisting coils (*multiplici serpens turpissima lapsu*) may have been modelled on the snake with which Allecto poisoned Queen Amata. Virgil described the snake gliding between the folds of Amata's clothing (*inter vestis et levia pectora lapsus volvitur*, *Aen.*7.349-50), as its poison sets her 'afame' with madness.¹²⁶ Anchietta reverses that pattern in this passage. Here, the serpent figure, Calvin, is set on fire, along with the rest of his fellow heretics in a literary *auto-da-fé*. The danger of these heretics is vividly depicted through Virgil's own descriptions of snakes and Furies, thus presenting the Protestants as infernal agents.

Throughout *De Gestis*, improper eating has been essential to the poet's discussion of the Tupí; the same is true of the poet's description of the Huguenots. Their denial of the doctrine of transubstantiation – that the bread and wine become the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament of communion – sets them apart from the Portuguese Catholics (vv. 2914-6). For this reason, the defeat of the French and the fall of Villegaignon is celebrated at the end of the poem:

*Ergo ruit summo Gallorum a culmine turris;
In cineres rapidus iam tecta superba redegit
Ignis et effrenes Dominus compescuit iras,
Elatosque animos depressit Christus Iesus.
De Gestis 2939-42*

Thus the Gallic fort fell from its lofty peak; the swift fire soon reduced the arrogant structure to ashes, God quenched their unbridled rage, and Christ Jesus humbled their proud spirits.

¹²⁶ Knox 1950 is the classical discussion of the connection between serpents and fire imagery in the *Aeneid*.

The destruction of the fort evokes the fall of Troy, as reflected in the echo of Virgil's *ruit alto a culmine Troia* (*Aeneid* 2.290). Anchieta focuses upon the role played by God the Father and God the Son in the suppression of the French heretics, eliding the difference between the will of heaven and the will of the Portuguese. Here again, he works within a tradition established by Virgil, who showed that the gods were responsible for the destruction of Troy (*Aen.* 2.601-620). This description of the burning of Troy and the role played by the gods was related in the *Aeneid* by Aeneas himself. In this context, however, the fall of Villegainon is not focalized by a Frenchman but by a member of the victorious Portuguese expedition. For this reason the poet emphasizes that this destruction was punishment for the unbridled rage (*effrenes...iras*) and proud spirits (*elatos...animos*) of the French. The fall of Troy is useful not for its tragic tone but rather as a model of how to describe a fallen city. The focus upon supernatural elements, moreover, is a response to *Aeneid* 2. The opposition between heaven and hell is embodied in the confrontation between the Portuguese and the French, with important implications for the Church in Brazil and the salvation of the Tupí.

Just as the fall of Troy was necessary for the foundation of Rome, so too is the fall of Villegaignon essential for the spread of the Gospel and the advance of the Portuguese:

*Te quoque adorabit caecis erepta tenebris,
 Divinae exortu lucis radiata micanti
 Natio, quae humana pascit fera viscera carne,
 Et subiecta Noto noscet tua nomina tellus;
 Aureaque australi succedent saecula mundo,
 Cum tua Brasilles servabunt dogmata gentes.
 De Gestis 3049-54*

“The people rescued from dark shadows, made bright by the gleaming rise of divine light, who once nourished their barbaric bodies with human flesh, will also worship you and the land lying under the South wind will know your name; golden years will follow in the western world, when the Brazilian peoples shall observe your doctrine.”

The discussion of light and darkness in the first two verses recalls Anchieta's use of this imagery at the beginning of *De Gestis*. Brazil, it transpires, has come into the light of true faith because of Mem de Sá. The importance of Biblical traditions emerges when this passage is compared with Isaiah 9:1: *populus, qui ambulabat in tenebris, vidit lucem magnam; habitantibus in regione umbrae mortis lux orta est eis*.¹²⁷ The role of the Portuguese in the Americas is thus analogous to the coming of Christ in the Old World, extending the light of the Gospel to places of darkness. Finally, the poet claims that the evangelization of Brazil has ushered in a Golden Age in the New World, with an allusion to the *aurea saecula* of *Eclogue* 4.¹²⁸ Perhaps more important for this passage, however, is Anchises' prophecy about the return of the Golden Age under Augustus Caesar (*aurea condet saecula, Aeneid* 6.792-3), which was presented in relation to Roman expansion into the East as well as the realm of Atlas (*iacet extra sidera tellus*, 6.795). The presentation of Brazil in the western world and in the southern hemisphere is thus developed in contrast to Augustus' eastern conquests, while at the same time drawing upon Virgil's presentation of the search for Italy as a search for the West. Anchieta is thus an early example from the Americas of the idea of the westward shift of civilization, an ancient concept elaborated by church

¹²⁷ This passage from the Old Testament appears in the Gospels (Matthew 4:16 and John 8:12) as well as the Acts of the Apostles (26:18).

¹²⁸ As noted in Cardoso 1970: 325.

fathers.¹²⁹ The movement of universal history from Iberia to the Americas would become a commonplace at the end of the sixteenth century, which Anchieta anticipated in his Latin epic on the governor's campaigns in Brazil.

Conclusion

The use of Virgil in *De Gestis* can be most clearly traced in moments of conflict, death, and destruction. This chapter has explored new definitions of heroism, barbarism, and heresy in *De Gestis Mendi*, shaped by Virgil and his *Aeneid*. Anchieta was inspired by Virgil to explore the two-fold mission of the Portuguese: to conquer and evangelize indigenous people and to defend the Catholic faith. Noticeably absent from this epic is any identification between the poet and the Americas. While subsequent Latin poetry from the region would praise the New World, Anchieta's Brazil is overshadowed by the threats of indigenous cannibalism and European heresy.¹³⁰ While this pessimistic vision is expressed through Virgil, there are passages which paint an alternative vision of life in Brazil, such as the settlement of the Tupí in villages or the labor of the Jesuit missions. These moments, however, take their inspiration from Christian literature, and are elaborated as a counterpoint to the more Virgilian passages of conflict and conquest.

¹²⁹ Gerbi 1973 discusses the importance of Jerome, St. Augustine, Paulus Orosius and Isidore of Seville (p. 130-134).

¹³⁰ It is true that Rodrigues de Melo (Ch. 4) has some grim passages about Brazilian wildlife, but these are balanced by fervent praise of Brazilian manioc and an intense longing to return to Brazil.

CHAPTER 2. *AUSTRIACA SIVE NAUMACHIA* (Ms. 3960 B.N.E.)¹³¹

The earliest known Latin epic written in Spanish America recounts the Battle of Lepanto (1571), which was fought between the navies of Catholic Europe and the Ottoman Empire. The poet, Francisco de Pedrosa, and his epic, the *Austriaca*, are the focus of the beginning of this chapter, which will then lead to a study of the proem and invocation as a guide to this panegyric epic. The structure and language of the *Austriaca* show extensive engagement with Virgil's poetry. Central to this reading of the *Austriaca* is the relation between epic and history, as illustrated in three important passages. In the first of these, the poet presents Lepanto as a new Actium and the Hapsburgs as the true heirs of the Julio-Claudian emperors. Second, the poet reworks the *katabasis* from the *Aeneid* to show the relationship between poetry and history, and between poets and heroes. Finally, a study of Pedrosa's Latin letter to Philip II will shed light on how he presented patronage in early modern Europe as a reflection of practices in Augustan Rome.

A.) Pedrosa and *Austriaca sive Naumachia*

Francisco de Pedrosa, a native of Madrid, was a poet, orator, and grammar teacher at the cathedral of Villa Santiago de Guatemala.¹³² It is likely that he arrived in Guatemala in the middle of the sixteenth century, though the exact date is unknown. What little information

¹³¹ The manuscript was redacted in 1583, but the epic was written in 1580, as discussed in Rigaux 2018.

¹³² Jiménez del Castillo 2018 gives Pedrosa's biography.

available about Pedrosa can be gleaned from a unique manuscript in the National Library of Spain.¹³³

The theme of his epic, *Austriaca sive Naumachia*, was chosen to please Philip II as a representative of the Hapsburg dynasty. It offers an account of the Battle of Lepanto, a naval engagement in the Gulf of Patras, where the Holy League, an alliance of Catholic European states, defeated an Ottoman fleet on October 7, 1571.¹³⁴ The Holy League was a coalition of Catholic maritime states, arranged by Pope Pius V, financed by Philip II of Spain, and led by John of Austria, Philip II's half-brother. The victory at Lepanto was of great symbolic significance and was commemorated in a number of poems in various languages, including Latin.¹³⁵ The *Austriaca* takes its name from its hero, John of Austria, but carefully presents the admiral's achievements as a reflection of Philip II's glory. Pedrosa relates these events in six books, totaling 4,606 hexameter verses. The *Austriaca* participates in a tradition that spanned Europe but is the only known Lepanto poem written in the Americas.

1. *Summary of Austriaca sive Naumachia*

After an address to Philip II and John of Austria, the poet turns to the Virgin Mary for inspiration. Allecto and the Devil drive Selim II mad, which begins the conflict between

¹³³ More details about the manuscript are in the Appendix.

¹³⁴ Braudel 1973 remains the standard treatment of Lepanto.

¹³⁵ López de Toro 1950 and Wright et al. 2014 offer anthologies of Lepanto poetry; the latter's translations should be consulted with caution.

Christians and Ottomans.¹³⁶ Pope Pius V prays to St. Peter [Petrus], who enlists the help of St. Mark and St. James [Marcus and Iacobus]. Through their efforts, the Holy Alliance is formed, though not before the Ottomans capture Venice. At the beginning of Book 2 the angel Gabriel appears to John and assures him of victory. The poet invokes the Virgin before a catalogue of ships. In the middle of this catalogue, he includes an ode to Philip II and to *Pietas*, an ecphrasis of John of Austria's flagship, an ode to Madrid and a *recusatio*. At the start of Book 3, John of Austria addresses his allies before they arrive in Venice. The Muses and a heavenly maiden encourage the allies. That night Augustus appears to John of Austria in a dream, promising victory.

At the start of Book 4, John of Austria and three other leaders persuade the Holy Alliance to engage the Ottoman fleet at Lepanto. Augustus again appears to John in a dream that evening. The poet describes the state of Christendom, besieged by external and internal enemies, by the Ottoman Empire and by the Protestants.¹³⁷ Another invocation marks the beginning of Book 5, followed by a description of Lepanto. Ali Pasha [Ochialus], the Italian farmer turned Ottoman Grand Admiral, attacks the Holy Alliance just as a storm begins, but Neptune calms the seas. Ali Pasha attempts to outflank the

¹³⁶ Ms. 3960 B.N.E. reads *Alecto* and not *Allecto* throughout, an apparent Hispanism.

¹³⁷ Both Pedrosa and Anchieta (Ch. 1) were more concerned by European threats to the Catholic Church than New World ones. *Pace* Cañizares-Esguerra 2006, Catholics and Protestants identified each other as Satan's minions in early colonial literature and the portrayal of the Ottomans in Lepanto poetry from Europe shows that Satanic epic was not limited to colonial letters. These theological epics really display the legacy of strong dualism inherent in the *Aeneid*, identified in Hardie 2014: 16.

Holy Alliance, but the battle turns against him. Nemesis speaks at the beginning of Book 6 and the poet praises Italy for the aid given to the Alliance. He recounts the death of many heroes, as well as a miraculous intervention by Nymphs. With victory secured, the poet concludes with an ode to Philip II and his brother, John of Austria

2. Proem and Invocation

One shared feature between the *Austriaca* and the *Aeneid* is the link between *imperium* and religion, as explored in the proem and invocation of Pedrosa's poem. The *Austriaca* reworks Aeneas' mission, to establish Rome and bring his gods to Latium (*Aeneid* 1.5-6), to reflect the Spanish monarch's aims:

*Bellum canto tuis gestum, ter magne Philippe,
Auspiciis, fratrisque tui virtute Ioannis,
Christigenae custos gentis, tutorque sacratae
Relligionis honor, spes, anchora, pacis asylum,
Nititur ut firmo quo Christi ecclesia poste,
Quam fulcis humeris ut Atlas, o maxime regum,
Quos tetigit Christi zelus, quos Gloria movit.
Austriaca 1.1-7, 11r*

"I sing of the war waged under your banner, thrice noble Philip, undertaken by the courage of your brother John. Defender of Christendom, guardian of sacred religion, honor, hope, anchor, refuge of peace, upon whom the church of Christ rests as upon a strong pillar, which you support, o greatest of monarchs, on your shoulders, like Atlas, which zeal for Christ moved and Glory stirred."

Pedrosa's *bellum canto* is an adaptation of the beginning of the *Aeneid*: *arma virumque cano*.

While John of Austria is the eponymous hero of the *Austriaca*, it is Philip who is mentioned in the first verse. The ensuing string of titles is not classical, but rather serves to highlight the king's importance in Catholic Europe, blending Christian symbolism, like the anchor, with classical allusions to the Titan Atlas. The poet equates the world, foisted upon Atlas'

shoulders, with the Catholic Church, which the Spanish monarch “carries” symbolically through his participation in the Holy League. This comparison reflects a conflation of the world with the *oikumene*, while also remaking Virgilian *pietas* to suit the Catholic monarch’s imperial and religious aspirations.

The struggle at Lepanto is overseen by heavenly figures, but pagan gods appear throughout the epic to members of the Holy Alliance and to the Ottoman forces. Despite this blend of Christian and pagan characters in the epic, Pedrosa rejects pagan sources of poetic inspiration in the first invocation of the *Austriaca*:¹³⁸

*Da, canere, incipiam, digneris, sancta Thalia.
Sed neque Pierides nec numina vana Heliconis,
Te voco, te clamo, tua posco numina, Virgo.
Austriaca 1.46-8, 12r*

“Grant that I may begin to sing, holy Thalia. I do not invoke the Pierian Muses nor the false gods of Helicon, but you, I cry aloud to you, I desire your aid, Virgin.”

The invocation of *sancta Thalia* echoes the claim to Thalea’s authority in *Eclogue* 6 as well as the preface to Claudian’s *De Bello Gothico*.¹³⁹ Pedrosa’s *incipiam* alludes to the opening of the *Georgics* and the *exordium* of Aeneas’ narration of the fall of Troy.¹⁴⁰ He then rejects

¹³⁸ Verse 46 is difficult. The commas shown here are reproduced from the manuscript. I take *digneris* as a jussive subjunctive without *ut* which governs *canere incipiam*. This does not explain the role of *Da* nor the commas placed between *canere* and *incipiam*.

¹³⁹ *Prima Syracosio dignata est ludere uersu | nostra nec erubuit siluas habitare Thalea, Ecl. 6.1-2; Post resides annos longo velut excita somno | Romanis fruitur nostra Thalia choris, De Bello Gothico, Praefatio 1-2.*

¹⁴⁰ *hinc canere incipiam, Georgics 1.5; quamquam animus meminisse horret luctuque refugit, | incipiam, Aeneid 2.12-3.*

the Muses with two passages from Virgil. While the poet of *Eclogue* 6 adjured the 'Pierian maidens' to speak for him (*Pergite, Pierides*, 13), Pedrosa's *sed neque Pierides* implicitly signals that he is distancing himself from Virgil. In the same verse Pedrosa turns away from the false gods of Helicon (*numina vana Heliconis*), a clear contrast to Virgil's invocations of the Muses in the *Aeneid* (*Pandite nunc Helicon, deae, cantusque mouete*, 7.641 and 10.163). The first two verses of this invocation reflect a Christianized stance which is still articulated in Virgilian language and imagery.

Following a common Renaissance convention, the poet identifies the Virgin Mary as his inspiration, though, as always, he employs Virgil's language:¹⁴¹

*Ad te confugio supplex, Regina polorum,
Quae lumen remanens fudisti casta per orbem;
Tu mihi des vires, Domina, et da pectus anhelum,
Quae sat erunt, voces digna celebrare camena
Tanta tuo et nati certamina numine victa.
Austriaca 1.49-53, 12r*

"I flee to you like a suppliant, queen of heaven, you who in perfect chastity shed light throughout the world. May you grant me the strength, my Lady, and give me a breathless chest, and voice sufficient to celebrate with worthy song such great struggles won by your divine will and that of your son."

Pedrosa presents the Virgin as his Muse through the repetition of Venus' address to Cupid: *ad te confugio et supplex tua numina posco*, *Aeneid* 1.666. Nor is this the only pagan deity to lurk behind the words of this invocation. In verse 51 the poet asks for *pectus anhelum*, which was used of the Sibyl of Cumae.¹⁴² Poetic and prophetic frenzy in the

¹⁴¹ Sannazaro, for example, identifies the Virgin Mary as his Muse at the beginning of *De Partu Virginis*. Renaissance epic and the pagan gods are the subjects of Gregory 2006.

¹⁴² *sed pectus anhelum, | et rabie fera corda tument, maiorque uideri | nec mortale sonans*, *Aeneid* 6.48-50.

Austriaca are divinely inspired, and since the Virgin is his Muse, Pedrosa's efforts are guaranteed success. Still, Pedrosa blends Christian and pagan gods in his epic.¹⁴³ As we will see, apparitions of the Virgin and visitations by the archangel Gabriel are respectively punctuated by Neptune's intervention at Lepanto and Proteus' prophecy about the birth of Pedrosa. Unlike Anchieta, who removes all pagan characters from his epic and practically eliminates all divine intervention, Pedrosa's epic reflects a hybrid approach to heroic epic that draws equally upon Christian and pagan conventions.

3. Structure and Language

Familiarity with epic conventions can be seen in the structure and language of Pedrosa's epic, which is more Virgilian than Anchieta's *De Gestis Mendi de Saa*. The *Austriaca* demonstrates its debt to the *Aeneid* in several ways. Alecto's appearance in the first book of the *Austriaca* recalls the Fury's role in *Aeneid* 7. The poet has a second invocation before the battle of Lepanto in Book 5, just as a second invocation in *Aeneid* 7 precedes the war in Latium. As noted, the gods of the *Aeneid* are replaced by Christian figures, though these sometimes interact with pagan deities.¹⁴⁴ The council between St. Peter, St. Mark, and St. James, as well as their intercession before God, reworks the *concilium deorum* of Roman epic and the scene between Venus and Jupiter in *Aeneid* 1.¹⁴⁵ In the middle of Pedrosa's epic, Orpheus and Proteus, figures from Virgil's Aristaeus epyllion in *Georgics* 4, appear

¹⁴³ Fernández de la Coteria Navarro 2003.

¹⁴⁴ The implications of this are considered in Part D, "Poetry and Patronage," below.

¹⁴⁵ The council of the gods in Latin epic is discussed at Feeney 1991: 125-127, 137-141, 199-200, 348, 353-5. For Venus' intercession, see Feeney 1991: 144-147.

to the allies and foretell the future, yet after this pagan vision the fleet is visited by a saint. Finally, Pedrosa draws upon the events at Actium, as related in *Aeneid* 8, as a pattern for the victory at Lepanto.

The language of the *Austriaca* is proof of the author's careful study of Virgil. At times Pedrosa quotes the Roman poet verbatim, as in this description of canon fire:¹⁴⁶

*Dat tonitrus, fumos, flammās vomit utraque classis,
Densantur tenebris, crebris micat ignibus aer,
Praesentemque uiris intentant omnia mortem.*
Austriaca 5.258-60, 78r-v

"Each fleet thunders, each pours forth smoke and flame. Shadows gather as the sky flashes with thick fire and all signs indicate immediate death for the men."

In order to convey the sights and sounds of early modern warfare, Pedrosa turns to Virgil's description of the storm at sea, the very same passage which Anchieta employed in his description of canon blasts.¹⁴⁷ Pedrosa would also condense several passages from Virgil to compose a single scene, an example of Virgil's own technique of *contaminatio*.¹⁴⁸ The angel Gabriel's visit to John of Austria is a clear example of this method, which combines messenger scenes from the *Aeneid* with the epiphany of Venus in *Aeneid* 1:¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁶ Murrin 1994 studies Spanish Lepanto poets' attention to aural and visual aspects of galley warfare. Pedrosa's description is more Virgilian and less technical than the one given by Juan Latino (vv. 1016-25), studied in Wright 2016: 138-9.

¹⁴⁷ For Anchieta, see Chapter 1. Compare to Virgil: *intonuere poli et crebris micat ignibus aether | praesentemque uiris intentant omnia mortem*, *Aeneid* 1.90-91.

¹⁴⁸ *Contaminatio* as one of many Virgilian techniques is discussed in Barchiesi 2015, Knauer 1964 and Heinze 1903.

¹⁴⁹ Messenger scenes, including the Annunciation, are analyzed in Laird 1999: 259-305. Messenger scenes in European epic are studied in Greene 1963.

*Dixit et auertens rosea ceruice refulsit,
ambrosiaequae comae diuinum uertice odorem
spiraure.*

Aeneid 1.402-4

“She spoke, and as she turned away, her rosy neck glittered and from her head her ambrosial locks breathed forth a heavenly fragrance.”

*Dixit, et ad superas fulgens evanuit auras,
Absconditque caput coelo, et se substulit alis,
Ambrosiae spirans divinum vertice odorem.*

Austriaca 2.117-9, 30r

“He spoke and vanished in a blaze in the high winds; he hid his head in the heavens, lifted himself on his wings, and from his head breathed forth a heavenly fragrance of ambrosia.”

In verse 117, Gabriel disappears just as Mercury and Apollo do in the *Aeneid*: *et procul in tenuem ex oculis evanuit auram*, 4.278 and 9.658. His movement into the sky, *abscondit caput coelo*, is a variation on the manner in which water deities submerge their heads in both Virgil and Ovid.¹⁵⁰ In the next verse the angel unfurls his wings, an echo of Virgil’s description of Iris and of Sleep.¹⁵¹ Underlying these Virgilian scenes are Christian stories. Gabriel appears to the prophet Daniel to explain his visions, and in the Gospel of Luke is the angel of the Annunciation. In medieval epic, moreover, he had appeared to El Cid in *El Cantar de Mio Cid* as well as to Charlemagne in the *Chanson de Roland*.¹⁵² Gabriel is both

¹⁵⁰ Thus Tiberinus (*lacu fluuius se condidit alto*, *Aen.* 8.66), Juturna (*se fluuiio dea condidit alto*, *Aen.* 12.886) and Proteus (*condidit aequare vultum*, *Met.* 11.255). Thanks to Jay Reed for bringing this to my attention.

¹⁵¹ Iris: *dea se paribus per caelum sustulit alis*, *Aeneid* 5.657; *dixit, et in caelum paribus se sustulit alis*, *Aeneid* 9.14. Sleep: *ipse uolans tenuis se sustulit ales ad auras*, *Aeneid* 5.861.

¹⁵² As noted in Fernández de la Cotería Navarro (2003): 64-65.

a messenger, an intermediary, and a sympathetic divine character, all of which is suggested through the deft conflation of Virgilian scenes and gospel narrative.

When Pedrosa's heroes engage in battle, they do so in Virgilian manner. The ponderous maneuvers of the galleys are enhanced by comparisons to combat between warriors. The enemy tries to outflank the Holy League, "with a mighty clash they deal mutual wounds" (*inter vulnera se multa vi miscent*, *Austriaca* 5.473-4, 82r), just as Virgil described the battle between Turnus and Aeneas (*Aeneid* 12.720). Pedrosa's heroes also die in epic fashion. The end of *Austriaca* 6 relates the death of Giovanni Marino Contarini:

*Turca ferox, animam tenebrata fronte sagitta
Extinxit, gemitumque dedit, lapsusque momordit
Pronus humum, cupiens accepta rependere damna.
Austriaca 6.561-3, 95r*

"A fierce Ottoman deprived him of life with an arrow to the forehead; he gave a groan and fell. He sank down and bit the earth, yearning to repay the injuries he had received."

The metaphor of 'biting the dust' appears in Virgil's *Aeneid* (*humum semel ore momordit*, 11.418), a translation of the Homeric idiom ὁδὰξ λάζεσθαι γαῖαν (*Il.*2.418). The commander's final groan is an echo of the death throes of Camilla and Turnus in the *Aeneid*.¹⁵³ The sympathetic account given to the final moments of Aeneas' enemies is thus appropriated for one of the leading members of the Holy Alliance. None of the Ottomans receives similar treatment from Pedrosa. Rather, the *Austriaca* reflects an imperial reading of the *Aeneid*, in which the deaths of enemies naturally and deservedly precede the hero's

¹⁵³ *uitaque cum gemitu fugit indignata sub umbras*, *Aeneid* 11.831 and 12.952.

victory. Renaissance readings of the *Aeneid* interpreted the poem as a vehicle for praising Aeneas and, through him, Augustus.¹⁵⁴ While the same period did produce highly original thinkers who would use the *Aeneid* to reflect critically about imperial power and expansion, Pedrosa is not one of them.¹⁵⁵ His Virgil is a product of the schools, whose poetry encoded the power and privilege of ruling elites. The use of Virgil's language in this scene excavates Pedrosa's ideological approach to the *Aeneid*, as shaped by Renaissance readings of Virgil and the conservative approach of the Latin classroom.

4. Pedrosa's emulation of Virgil

Like *De Gestis Mendi de Saa*, Pedrosa's *Austriaca* contains a second invocation which is modelled upon the second invocation of the *Aeneid*. The poet begins by calling attention to his new task:

*Tempus adest, properusque vocat clamore Cytheron,
 Preuiusque calor mentem ciet, acria poscens
 Ut referam pelago certamina gesta duobus,
 Occiduas mundi quorum tenet alter, eoas
 Alter et oceanum tenet, alter perluit oras.*
Austriaca 5.1-5, 74r

"The time is at hand, and hastening Cithaeron calls with a clamor, as guiding zeal, demanding fierce deeds, stirs my mind, so that I may tell of the deeds done at sea by two foes, one of whom possesses the West and the ocean, and the other the East and laves the ocean's shores."

Structurally, this passage owes a debt to *Aeneid* 7, but the language itself is woven from different passages from Virgil's poetry. The cry, *tempus adest*, uttered by Turnus at *Aeneid*

¹⁵⁴ As argued in Kallendorf 1989.

¹⁵⁵ Kallendorf 2007: 14.

12.96, assimilates the poet's narration of the battle with the warrior's call to arms. The discussion of Cithaeron alludes to two passages in Virgil's poetry: the proem of *Georgics* 3 (*uocat ingenti clamore Cithaeron*, 3.43) and Dido's frenzy (*nocturnusque uocat clamore Cithaeron*, *Aeneid*.4.303). Pedrosa draws upon Virgil to cast the battle between the Holy League and the Ottoman Empire as a struggle for world dominion between the West and the East.¹⁵⁶ Foremost is the description of Actium on the shield of Aeneas, where the West traditionally referred to the western Mediterranean.¹⁵⁷ But in Pedrosa's context the West can also extend to include the Spanish king's Atlantic territory, the western shores of the earth (5.4). In this way the New World may contribute to the poet's characterization of Lepanto, though no other direct references to the Americas appear in the poem.¹⁵⁸

Pedrosa then reflects upon his achievements as an epic poet:

*Grande opus, ingenio vatis dignumque Maronis,
Ascraeique senis, vel qui memoravit Ulyssis
Aspera fata, viros ac tristia funera passos.
Austriaca* 5.11-13, 74r

"My task is lofty, befitting the talent of the poet Maro, of the aged Ascraean, or the one who recounted the cruel fate of Ulysses and the men who met bitter ends."

The poet's *grande opus* (11) alludes to Virgil's *maius opus* (*Aeneid* 7.45), as a statement of poetic precedence. Pedrosa then gives a regressive literary genealogy of his poetic models. The importance of Virgil cannot be overstated, even for Pedrosa's description of the Greek

¹⁵⁶ For the legacy of this idea, see Gerbi 1973: 130-134.

¹⁵⁷ A point which I will discuss further in Part B, "Actium and Lepanto," below.

¹⁵⁸ Pedrosa's epic thus attests to the slow shift whereby Hapsburg imperialism would reorient itself around the Spanish Atlantic under Philip II. See Elliott 1989: 22-23.

bards. Hesiod appears twice in Virgil's poetry as the aged Ascraean (*Ecl.* 6.69-70 and *Georgics* 2.176), which suggests that Hesiod may be no more to Pedrosa than one of Virgil's models.¹⁵⁹ When Pedrosa describes Homer, he is careful to include both the *Odyssey* (*Ulyssis aspera fata*) and the *Iliad* (*viros ac tristia funera passos*). Yet even here there is Virgilian influence: *aspera fata* can be found in the address to Marcellus while *tristia funera* was used to describe the death of sick bees.¹⁶⁰ Pedrosa's Homer sings in Virgil's voice, just as his Hesiod is in fact Virgil's.

At the end of his invocation, Pedrosa identifies the Virgin Mary as his Muse and as the deity who oversaw the victory at Lepanto:

*Tu mihi suppedites ergo pia virgo canenda,
 Tu mea plectra movens generosos suggere sensus,
 Tu rege vela, Thetim mea possit ut ire carina
 tuta, quousque suum teneat non naufraga portum.
 Austriaca 5.18-21, 74r*

"Therefore holy virgin provide me with the theme of my song. Play my lyre and suggest noble thoughts. Guide my sails, that my ship may go safely over the sea, until she comes safe to port."

Pedrosa speaks of his epic project as an ocean, a *locus classicus* of ancient poetry.¹⁶¹ This image appeared twice in the *Georgics*, when Virgil invited Maecenas to join him on a

¹⁵⁹ For Hesiod in Virgil: *'hos tibi dant calamos (en accipe) Musae, | Ascraeo quos ante seni'*, *Ecl.* 6.69-70; *Ascraeumque cano Romana per oppida carmen*, *Georgics* 2.176.

¹⁶⁰ The address to Marcellus: *si qua fata aspera rumpas*, *Aeneid* 6.882. For the bees: *tristia funera ducunt*, *Georgics* 4.256.

¹⁶¹ Quintilian *Institutiones* X.46 likens Homer to the Ocean. Curtius 1963: 128-30 treats the tradition of the ocean metaphor.

voyage across the deep and in the famous *praeteritio* of gardening.¹⁶² Virgil used this metaphor when he withdrew from poetry, once even to reject epic poetry. In the *Austriaca* this pattern is reversed: the metaphor is used to invoke the Virgin as an epic Muse.

The second invocation of the *Austriaca* has been shown to emulate both the second invocation of *Aeneid* 7 and the *recusatio* of *Georgics* 2. Rather than treat these passages separately, as Anchieta had done, Pedrosa combines these moments through the metaphor of the ocean. Since Lepanto was a naval battle, the metaphor of epic poetry as an ocean reflects the space upon which these events unfolded. Thus a traditional element of ancient poetry, the ocean metaphor, gains new meaning in Pedrosa's hands. Crucially, this is the moment when Pedrosa advances his own claim to fame, since Lepanto makes him a poet worthy of Virgil, Hesiod, and Homer. Still, like Anchieta, Pedrosa also chooses this moment to signal his own religious context. His is not Virgil's Muse, but the Virgin Mary herself, who will play the lyre for Pedrosa and guide his poetry to glory.

B.) Actium and Lepanto

Poems written to commemorate the Battle of Lepanto often compared it to Augustus' victory at Actium.¹⁶³ There were several parallels which encouraged them to do so:

¹⁶² The invitation to Maecenas: *Maecenas, pelagoque uolans da uela patenti*, *Georgics* 2.41. For the *praeteritio*: *vela traham et terris festinem aduertere proram*, *Georgics* 4.117.

¹⁶³ "The writers of Lepanto were almost forced to compare it to Actium, the greatest sea battle of antiquity, for the two conflicts took place in almost the same location," Murrin 1994: 143. See also Vilà 2004. Several Lepanto poems in Wright et al. 2014 allude to Actium: Agostino Fortunio's *De Actiaca victoria ob profligatum Turcarum classem*, Giovannia Battista Amalteo's *Ad Sebastianum Venerium, Venetae classis ducem*, Giovanni Antonio Taglietti's *Ecloga Nautica*, and the invocation of the Muses (vv.980-90) in Juan Latino's *Austrias Carmen*. Quint 1993 considers Actium and Lepanto in Ch. 1, Appendix 2, p. 49 ff.

Actium and Lepanto were both believed to have established peace in the Mediterranean and were interpreted as victories of the West over the East. There are two places in the *Austriaca* where Pedrosa explicitly compares Lepanto and Actium: the *ecphrasis* of John of Austria's flagship (2.648-83) and the dream of Augustus (3.630-76 and 4.265-308).¹⁶⁴

The *ecphrasis* of the flagship occurs in the middle of the catalogue of ships in Book 2.¹⁶⁵ The poet describes the ship's construction and speed before its decorative program (654-57), just as Virgil had related the manufacture of Aeneas' shield before the *ecphrasis* of its decoration. The shield of Aeneas showed scenes from Roman history, but the flagship depicts two episodes significant for Christian perceptions of Egyptian history: the parting of the Red Sea and Actium itself.¹⁶⁶ These moments, we are told, were extracted from ancient books (*omnibus in libris priscis quas legerat ante*, 661). The two sources, the Book of Exodus and Virgil's *Aeneid*, are presented as equals in antiquity and authority,

¹⁶⁴ On the political resonance of Actium, see Jiménez del Castillo 2016. The dream of Augustus is repeated, almost *verbatim*, at the end of Book 3 and the beginning of Book 4. On this basis, Jiménez del Castillo 2018 has argued that the *Austriaca* was unfinished. Yet, as Rigaux 2018 shows, Pedrosa sent the manuscript to Spain and some years later sent a letter to ask if it had arrived. These would indicate that the *Austriaca* was indeed finished, in Pedrosa's opinion. How then to explain the repetition of the dream of Augustus? On the one hand, it may serve to emphasize connections between the Hapsburgs and the Julio-Claudians. Its repetition may also be an allusion to Agamemnon's dream at the beginning of the *Iliad*, which the poet narrates, and which Agamemnon then repeats in a council of war.

¹⁶⁵ Pedrosa describes an imaginary flagship, but the real galley which Philip II constructed for his half-brother was no less mythical. As Tanner 1993 discusses, the ship was christened "Argo" and bore scenes of the Argonautic journey (5-7). Juan de Mal Lara offers over a hundred pages of text on the ship's decoration in his *Descripción de la Galera Real*.

¹⁶⁶ A comparison to the Red Sea appears in the Lepanto poetry of Melchior Cabilia, Fernando de Herrera, Lorenzo Gámbara and Bernardino Lucatelli, to name a few (López de Toro 1950: 155, 238, 240, 366). See also the Pope's prayer in Juan Latino's *Austrias Carmen* (vv. 1508-1519 in Wright *et al.* 2014) for allusions to the Red Sea.

though they belong to separate traditions. These events are Egyptian battles (*Niliacas...pugnas*, 662), recorded in Egyptian annals (*quae gens Pelusia narret, omnibus antiquis annalibus*, 663-4). Yet the connection between Exodus and the *Aeneid* may also stem from early modern interpretation of Virgil's poetry. In *Aeneid* 8, Antony is described as a victor from the East and "the ruddy sea:" *uictor ab Aurorae populis et litore rubro* (686). Though Virgil was likely alluding to the *Mare Erythraeum* or Indian Ocean, this "ruddy sea" could be read as a reference to the Red Sea, an inlet of the Indian Ocean.¹⁶⁷ According to the Exodus account, the miraculous parting of the Red Sea helped the Israelites escape Pharaoh's army, which God then drowned in the same body of water. Virgil's text provides the link between Biblical and classical traditions, which in turn encouraged later comparisons of Lepanto to both Actium and the 'victory' recorded in Exodus.

As well as describing the flagship, Pedrosa interprets the scenes illustrated on it as *prolepses* of the battle of Lepanto itself:

...procul atque decora refulgent,
 Ut sacer ipse dei populus penetraverat aequor
 Per medium, pedibus siccis mirantibus undis,
 Ut Pharaon rursus pelago coeunte voratus
 Dat poenas meritas nolens obedire tonanti,
 Mergendos Turcas hoc undis **significabat**,
 Christicolae tutos omnesque per aequor ituros
Austriaca 2.665-71, 40r

"And from afar the decorations gleam, how the sacred people of God had passed through the middle of the sea with dry feet, as the waves gazed in wonder, how the Pharaoh, swallowed up as the sea flowed back together, paid the penalty for his unwillingness to obey the Thunderer. This signifies

¹⁶⁷ La Cerda's commentary on this verse is revealing: he draws attention to Curtius' discussions of the Red Sea and of the Indian Ocean as one body of water.

that the Turks must be drowned in the waves, and that the Christians would all pass safely over the deep.”

The poet’s exegesis is typological: the crossing of the Red Sea is a historical event that prefigures the Battle of Lepanto, while the defeat of the Egyptian army prefigures the defeat of the Ottoman fleet. The sacred people, the Israelites, represent the Holy Alliance. The focus upon the Pharaoh and his destruction reworks the poet’s early representation of the Ottoman emperor, drawing parallels between two Eastern despots who worship foreign gods. Their similarity suggests that the loss at Lepanto, like the destruction of the Pharaoh’s army, is an act of divine punishment. Pedrosa offers his interpretation of the Biblical story, which signified (*significabat*) the defeat of the Turks and the victory of the Christians.

Actium is evoked by a description of Cleopatra (*victa...advena coniux*, 672) and Antony (*victus...inimicus*, 674), just as they appeared on the shield of Aeneas (*Aeneid* 8.685-88).¹⁶⁸ While a scant three verses suffice to narrate the battle, the poet explains the meaning of this scene in nine verses. The enemy, we are told, will flee from John of Austria, just as Antony fled from Augustus. Then the poet enumerates the similarities between Caesar Augustus and Philip II:

*Alter erat Caesar vincens, est Caesar et alter,
Clarus uterque suis spoliis et clarus eois,
Alter erat foelix, foelix est Caesar et alter,
Natus uterque fuit patribus qui viribus orbem
Subiecere suis pedibus.
Austriaca 2.676-80, 40r*

¹⁶⁸ Hardie 1986: 97- 105 reads the Battle of Actium as a supernatural struggle. The shield as a microcosm of the Roman universe is discussed in Hardie 1986: 346-358.

“The one was a victorious Caesar, the other is also Caesar, and each is distinguished by his eastern spoils. The one was fortunate, and other Caesar is also fortunate, and each was born to a father who placed the world beneath their feet through force.”

In this passage, Pedrosa alludes to Hapsburg mythology, which claimed the Trojan Aeneas as their ancestor and through him direct descent from the Julio-Claudians.¹⁶⁹ Repetitions in each verse (*Caesar...Caesar; clarus...clarus; foelix foelix*) as well as the repetition of *alter...alter...uterque* collapse the centuries that separate Augustus from John. Their similarities depend on their own achievements (*suis spoliis*) as well as those of their fathers (*patribus...viribus*). There is therefore a double echo, one between Augustus and John, and the other between Julius Caesar and Charles V. Not only do the Hapsburgs inherit the Julio-Claudian empire, but the relationships between Hapsburg fathers and sons mirrors those between the emperors. This time Pedrosa applies typology not to a Biblical story but rather to Virgil’s poetry: Charles was the new Caesar, Philip is the new Augustus, and the Ottomans are the new eastern threat.

In doing so, Pedrosa evokes and contests the claims of Mehmed II, who declared himself *Kayser-i Rum*, “Caesar of Rome,” after the fall of Constantinople.¹⁷⁰ According to Ottoman ideology, they were the true heirs of the Trojans, the *Teucris* of Virgil’s *Aeneid*. This, in turn, allowed Mehmed II to present the capture of Constantinople as just revenge against the Greeks for their destruction of the ancient city of Troy. This ideology,

¹⁶⁹ Tanner 1993. For the Hapsburg court, see Elliott 1989: 142-161.

¹⁷⁰ Hankins 1995 and Meserve 2008, esp. 1-64, consider the Trojan origin story. Necipoğlu 2012 examines Mehmed II’s dialogue with Renaissance Italy, from art and literature to architecture.

moreover, coexisted with Hapsburg attempts to trace their lineage back to Aeneas, which legitimized their claim to the title of Holy Roman Emperor. The ecphrasis of the flag ship gestures toward competing claims to Rome's legacy in the Mediterranean but indicates that only the Hapsburgs have a legitimate claim.

The dream of Augustus in *Austriaca* 3 establishes the connection between Augustus Caesar and John of Austria.¹⁷¹ The emperor appears to the admiral to give advice and encouragement. One possible model for this scene may be the ghost of Hector in *Aeneid* 2, though there are echoes of other passages from Virgil's epic. Augustus appears larger than life: *visa fuit nota veneranda et maior imago* (*Austriaca* 3.635, 55v). Similar language was used to describe Creusa's shade: *uisa mihi ante oculos et nota maior imago* (*Aeneid* 2.773). Christian and pagan imagery merge in the tongue of fire and the star above Augustus' head from the *ecphrasis* of the Shield of Aeneas:

*stans celsa in puppi, geminas cui tempora flammās
laeta uomunt patriumque aperitur uertice sidus.*
Aeneid 8.680-1

"He stands in the lofty stern and from his auspicious brow there shoots forth a double flame and there appears above his head his father's star."

Fundere lumen apex, sidus pulchrum quoque visum
Austriaca 3.640, 55v

"The top of his head shed light and there also appeared a lovely star"

¹⁷¹ Lepanto poets who compare the hero to Caesar: Juan López de Hoyes, Ferrante Carrafa, Marques de San Lucido, Jano Pelusio and Marco Antonio Tritonio (López de Toro 1950: 212, 249, 391, 441). See also Juan Latino's *Austrias Carmen* in Wright *et al.* eds 2014.

The first hemistich is taken from the siege of Troy, when the miraculous flame appears above Iulus' head: *ecce leuis summo de uertice uisus Iuli fundere lumen apex*, *Aeneid* 2.682-3. These verses also accommodate the tongues of fire which appeared at Pentecost as a sign of the Holy Spirit's presence among the disciples.

After assuring John of victory, Augustus draws attention to the similarities between Actium and Lepanto:¹⁷²

*Ostia nunc eadem Nili tua signa tremescunt,
Virtuteque novis veteres cumulare triumphos
Incipies victor, atque insultabis in armis,
Ac vere Caesar, Caesar diceris ubique,
Et tua cum nostris iungentur bella triumphis.
Caesareumque vehes dextra sub sidera nomen.
Austriaca 3.667-72, 56r*

"Now the very mouth of the same Nile trembles before your standards, and by your courage you will begin to heap new triumphs upon the ancient ones, and you will exult in your arms as a victor. Everywhere you will be hailed as the true Caesar, and your victories will be linked with mine. And by your right hand you will exalt the name of Caesar beneath the stars."

Augustus guides John of Austria to virtuous action through his interpretation of Roman history. Virgil's Anchises had already referred to the *trepida ostia Nili*.¹⁷³ Pedrosa's Augustus thus recalls his ancestor's words to encourage his Hapsburg descendant. This passage emphasizes continuity between antiquity and the sixteenth century as ancient triumphs are joined with new ones (668) and John's victories are linked with the Roman emperor's (671). Finally, Augustus' promise of immortality to John has many precedents

¹⁷² v. 667 *tremescunt*] *tremiscunt*, ms.

¹⁷³ *et septemgemini turba trepdia ostia Nili*, *Aeneid* 6.800.

in the *Aeneid*.¹⁷⁴ As a Christian poet, Pedrosa does not suggest that his hero will be deified, but instead promises world fame (*sub sydera*).

Family ties are the focus of the end of the dream, when John tries and fails to embrace Augustus three times (675-76), as when Aeneas tried and failed to embrace Creusa (*Aeneid* 2.792-794) and later Anchises (*Aeneid* 6.700-702).¹⁷⁵ In both instances, the shade of one of Aeneas' family members is compared to light breezes or a swift dream, *par leuibus uentis uolucrique simillima somno* (*Aeneid* 2.794 and 6.702). The persistent theme of fathers and sons renders Anchises the more likely model for the figure of Augustus here. Yet unlike Anchises, the dream Augustus initiates this embrace by reaching out to John (*his dictis dextra iuvenem petit*, 3.673), thus recognizing John as his 'heir'. Rather than present John of Austria in an unlikely visit to the underworld, Pedrosa recreates the meeting between father and son through a dream sequence, itself prompted by Virgil's own description of Anchises' ephemeral form. As a descendant of Anchises, Augustus symbolizes the ancient, Trojan stock of the Roman emperors; his meeting with John of Austria thus incorporates the young hero into a lineage that can be traced back through Virgil's *Aeneid*. Like Anchises, this father figure instructs his descendant about the future in order to prepare him for a divine mission. The *Austriaca* thus signals, through its

¹⁷⁴ A promise made for Aeneas (*Aeneid* 1.259-60), his descendants (3.158), the Latins (7.88-99), and Iulus (9.641-42).

¹⁷⁵ *ter conatus ibi collo dare bracchia circum; ter frustra comprehensa manus effugit imago*, *Aeneid* 2.792-3 and 6.700-701. Belfiore 1984 looks at the many occasions in which Aeneas embraces or longs to embrace members of his own family.

language and its structure, that the Hapsburgs truly are the descendants of Aeneas and that the Spanish are the true successors of the Romans.¹⁷⁶

C.) *Katabasis* and Prophecy at Lepanto

The *katabasis* of the *Austriaca* occurs at the midpoint of the epic, but John of Austria does not visit the dead. Instead, Virgil's simile from *Aeneid* 8 provides the basis for Pedrosa's equivalent of a *katabasis* in the *Austriaca*:

*non secus ac si qua penitus ui terra dehiscens
infernus reseret sedes et **regna recludat**
pallida, dis inuisa, superque immane barathrum
cernatur, **trepident immisso lumine** Manes.
Aeneid 8.243-46*

"Just as if the earth should gape open under some terrible force and expose the infernal seat and disclose the pallid realms that the gods hate; and the vast chasm should be seen from on high, and the dead tremble at the onrushing light."

*Ut si Pontus hians orci nigra **regna recludat**,
Fluctibus immissis, **et nostro lumine manes**
Turbati trepident, flagransque profunda vorago
Aestuet atque iterum lemures ad Tartara Christum
Descendisse putent spoliatum prorsus Avernum
Austriaca 3.455-59, 52r*

"As if the gaping sea should lay open the black realms of Orcus, and the dead should tremble in fear at the rushing waves and our daylight; then the deep chasm of fire would seethe, and the shades would think that Christ had descended into Hell again to harrow Avernus utterly."

Pedrosa replaces the gaping earth with the yawning sea and imagines that the dead are terrified both by the light and the rushing water. Pedrosa has also added the harrowing of Hell, which was believed to have occurred in the days between Christ's death and

¹⁷⁶ The potency of this myth is discussed in Elliott 1989: 8-26.

resurrection. In Pedrosa's underworld Cerberus barks at the dead (3.461-2) and Orpheus performs for the shades (3.466-76), as Virgil described them in *Aeneid* 6. In the *Austriaca*, however, Orpheus sings about Eurydice and the deeds of Charles V and Philip II, creating a link between poetic memory and panegyric in a single stroke.

In the *Aeneid*, the hero must visit the dead to learn about his future, but in the *Austriaca* the hero learns about the future from Proteus, who rises from the ocean in the middle of the bombardment. The character, familiar from the *Odyssey*, the *Georgics* and the *Metamorphoses*, was a prophet in Sannazaro's *De Partu Virginis* (1526) and had featured in Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* (1532), thus explaining his numerous appearances in Latin poetry on the battle of Lepanto.¹⁷⁷ He first prophesies John of Austria's victory and presents the hero's life as an epoch in history (3.480-86, 52v). Proteus also foretells a new era in epic:

*Atque suis Helicon reddetur vatibus almus,
Et virides circum spectabit serpere lauros,
Tempora, scripta sua capiet Palatinus in aede,
Atque sacerdotes priscos cognoscet Apollo.
Austriaca 3.489-92, 52v-53r*

"Then dear Helicon will be returned to its poets and he will watch as green laurels creep around his temples; Palatine Apollo will take up his writings in his temple and will know his ancient priests again."

The renewal of poetry refers to the series of poems written about the Battle of Lepanto throughout Europe and, in Pedrosa's case, in the Americas. More specifically, these verses

¹⁷⁷ *Proteus* is the title of two different poems about Lepanto, one by Cornelio Amalteia and the other by Francisco Vicemano (López de Toro 1950: 148). In Juan Latino's *Austrias Carmen*, however, the prophecy is delivered by Triton (vv. 839-50 in Wright *et al.* eds. 2014).

may allude to the *Austriaca* itself. The poet's description of Apollo makes use of the association between Actium, Augustus and the temple of Palatine Apollo to drive home the alleged connection between the Julio-Claudians and the Hapsburgs.¹⁷⁸

After this prophecy, John of Austria has another vision: a maiden holding a palm of victory and a scapular depicting the Virgin of the Apocalypse (545-550).¹⁷⁹ The same Marian image was invoked at the start of the catalogue of ships in *Austriaca* 2, so that the poet's Muse is revealed as John of Austria's guardian. This maiden reassures John that Proteus' appearance is a good omen and promises lasting fame:

*Ad tua gesta meos incendam fortia vates
Concelebranda, dabo vires his aureaque ora,
Et centum linguas, alter nascetur Homerus,
Vergilius, vixdumque tuas hi carmine laudes
Aequabunt, maiore tuba sunt namque canenda,
Quae gesturus adis priscas superantia, cuncti
Quae gesere viri, clarum per saecula nomen
Hi facient, famamque ferent ad sydera coeli.
Austriaca 3.575-82, 54v*

"I will inspire my poets to celebrate your brave deeds, and I will give them strength and golden mouths and a hundred tongues. A new Homer will be born, and a new Virgil, but they will scarcely be able to equal your praises in song. These must be sung by a lofty trumpet of war the things which you are here to do, which surpass all the ancient deeds, which all men have achieved. These poets will make your name famous through the ages and will bear your reputation to heaven's stars."

¹⁷⁸ These associations are discussed in Miller 2009.

¹⁷⁹ The identity of the maiden is unclear. This may be an allusion to St. Justina of Padua, whose feast day coincided with the battle of Lepanto. She is usually depicted holding a palm of victory, which the poet does describe (*laeva palmam...gerebat*, 549). Among other things, Justina is also a patron saint of Venice. Gibellini 2006: 145-51 discusses the role of St. Justina in Venetian celebrations of Lepanto.

Pedrosa numbers himself among the divinely inspired poets. The idea of a new Homer or Virgil appears frequently in the prefatory material of the manuscript. Here it is spoken through an echo of Virgil's fourth eclogue.¹⁸⁰ The maiden's promise of a new Homer (*alter nascetur Homerus*), recalls Virgil's description of a new age (*saeculorum nascitur ordo*, *Ecl.* 4.5). These poets will receive golden mouths and a hundred tongues, a reference to the iron voice and hundred tongues of *Aeneid* 6.625-27 and *Georgics* 2.42-45.¹⁸¹ While Virgil uses these images in his *recusatio*, in the *Austriaca* they are used to embrace the epic project. The golden mouths of the Lepanto poets, however, are Pedrosa's invention, perhaps influenced by the Golden Age (*Ecl.* 4.9). John's achievements surpass all ancient deeds, and yet it is the poets who will ensure his fame. Poetry, history, and memory are thus entwined in this series of prophecies and apparitions at the middle of the epic, where the hero learns his destiny and the importance of poetry.¹⁸²

D.) Poetry and Patronage in the Latin Letter to Philip II

Francisco de Pedrosa prefaced the *Austriaca* with a letter to the King of Spain: a Spanish version appears at the beginning and a Latin translation of the same letter can be found at the end. The self-styled poet, orator and Latinist (4r and 97r) introduces himself to the monarch in the hopes of securing a position at court (8v and 102r). The *Austriaca*

¹⁸⁰ For the Golden Age in Lepanto poetry: Antonio Agustín, Hernando de Acuña, Juan López de Hoyes, Bernardino Lucatelli and Jano Pelusio (López de Toro 1950: 204, 205, 213, 366, 392). See also Belisario Gadalini's *In foedus ictum inter principes Christianos* in Wright et al., 2014.

¹⁸¹ *Non, mihi si linguae centum sint oraue centum, | ferrea vox, omnis scelerum comprehendere formas, | omnia pnenarum percurrere nomina possim, Aeneid 6.625-627. non ego cuncta meis amplecti uersibus opto, | non, mihi si linguae centum sint oraue centum, | ferrea vox, Georgics 2.42-44.*

¹⁸² Fowler 2000a examines the reflexive nature of middles in epic.

demonstrates his eligibility for royal service, which the letter foreshadows through its exposition on the relationship between poetry and patronage.¹⁸³

It was by no means unusual for early modern Spanish poets to preface their work with prologues on their approach to their craft.¹⁸⁴ Pierce's work has already shown the importance of Italian treatises on poetry and the polemic about epic, as epitomized by Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata* and Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, for Spanish Golden Age poets.¹⁸⁵ Pedrosa's letter to Philip II reveals some of the same preoccupations found in prologues written in Spain, though he is unconcerned with the question of how or if one may blend Christian and pagan divinities.¹⁸⁶ Instead, he focuses on the utility of epic as history, which he advances by providing a theory of epic as well as a literary history of poetry and patronage from Greco-Roman antiquity to his own historical moment.

Pedrosa's theory of epic is related through a comparison with the visual arts, a contrast between poetry and prose, and a discussion of style. Ancient literary criticism had long employed the visual and plastic arts to illustrate the distinctive nature of poetry, beginning with Plato's *Ion* and extending to the *Ars Poetica*. The latter is precisely the text employed to articulate this relationship in the letter to Philip II: poetry is like a painting,

¹⁸³ Rigaux 2018 is an excellent study of this letter in relation to Pedrosa's adaptation of Fernando de Herrera's *Relación de la Guerra de Cipre, y suceso de la batalla Naval de Lepanto* (1572).

¹⁸⁴ Porqueras Mayo 1957 and 1965.

¹⁸⁵ Pierce 1968.

¹⁸⁶ As shown in this study, Pedrosa had a pragmatic approach to pagan deities: both Proteus and St. Justina prophecy at Lepanto. It seems obvious that Anchieta, the Jesuit, was more concerned about correct doctrine than Pedrosa, and for this reason almost completely eschewed divine action in *De Gestis*.

which improves upon closer examination and which draws the viewer in (98r), a translation of two verses from the *Ars Poetica*.¹⁸⁷ He then misattributes Horace's *Epist.* 2.1.248-50 to Virgil, which says that images and statues can only convey external characteristics, but poetry can capture inner qualities, "the true and living likeness" (*quae nimirum uerae ac uiuae sunt imagines*, 98r).¹⁸⁸ Finally, Pedrosa adds that poetry is the only means by which we have knowledge of the past, quoting *Odes* 4.8.21-2, that inscriptions and statues do not give life to the dead in the way that poetry does.¹⁸⁹ Though never cited by Pedrosa, the letter shares certain themes in common with Cicero's *Pro Archia*: literature gives examples to imitate (*imagines non solum ad intuendum, uerum etiam ad imitandum*, 6) and that poetry offers a likeness of a person's judgment and virtues (*consiliorum...ac uirtutum nostrarum effigiem*, 12). Through these comparisons, drawn from Latin prose and poetry, Pedrosa makes the case for the written word as the only way to create a lasting monument for Philip II's achievements.

Once the efficacy of literature is established, Pedrosa explores the difference between history in prose and poetry, arguing that the latter is better. Since Pedrosa's own poem was based on a prose account of the victory of Lepanto, this amounts to a demonstration of why poems are not only complementary to the prose chronicles upon

¹⁸⁷ *ut pictura poesis; erit quae, si propius stes, | te capiat magis, et quaedam, si longius abstes*, *A.P.* 361-62.

¹⁸⁸ This confusion may stem from the mention made of Virgil at *Epist.* 2.1.245-47. Thomas 2001: 66-67 examines these same verses as a critique of Virgil.

¹⁸⁹ *si chartae sileant quod bene feceris, | mercedem tuleris*, *Odes* 4.8.21-22.

which they are based, but also necessary.¹⁹⁰ First, he argues that history in meter is more enjoyable because it adorns the truth with figures, colors and ornaments (99r). Plain and naked history (*destituta atque nudata*) is not appealing, but embellished history is not mere fiction, as evinced by citations of Lactantius and Erasmus. In *De falsa religione* Lactantius examined pagan poetry for its relation to Christianity, assuming that poetry was not entirely devoid of truth. He contended that poets do not invent their themes but envelop the truth in metaphor and adaptation (*De falsa religione* XI.30), which increases the grace and charm of poetry (*De falsa religione* XI.36). Pedrosa then quotes Erasmus' *De Copia Rerum* (1512) on the four methods of interpretation: allegorical, historical, natural, and moral. Each of these is illustrated with recourse to classical and Biblical examples, to which Pedrosa adds quotations from Psalms 31:9 and 48:13, on the folly of man. Adopting Erasmus' interpretive strategy, Pedrosa presents his *Austriaca* as history in meter, wherein poetic 'embellishments' veil the truth and entice the reader.

Finally, Pedrosa specifies that it is epic poetry, *heroicum carmen*, which is the only suitable genre in which to celebrate the events at Lepanto:

*Qui tuae maiestatis praeclarissima gesta, animi dotes atque virtutes **heroico carmine** celebraret, ut tam clarum inclytum ac famosum nomen ut tuum, charissimi atque fortunatissimi fratris tui Domini Ioannis ab Austria, nullo non carminum genere celebrata immortalitati comendenetur, **hoc presertim scribendi genere omnium optimo atque gravissimo.***

Letter to Philip II, 97v

"[I thought that there must be] someone who could celebrate your majesty's marvelous deeds, the talents and virtues of your character in heroic verse, so that a name as distinguished, glorious and famous as yours and that of your most beloved and felicitous brother, the Lord John of

¹⁹⁰ Discussed further in Rigaux 2018.

Austria, might be made eternal in every genre of poetry, but chiefly in that mode of writing which is the best and most serious.”

While Lepanto will be commemorated in all genres of poetry, Pedrosa makes the case that epic has a special part to play because of its elevated style. His description of epic as ‘weighty’ (*gravissimo*) takes its origin in a stylistic dichotomy common in ancient criticism between grandeur and simplicity.¹⁹¹ At the same time, these words betray the influence of the *Ars Poetica*, in which Horace argued that decorum was a basic requirement of all literary practice: grand deeds ought to be narrated in a grand style.¹⁹² Further evidence of this belief appears at the end of the letter, where Pedrosa hopes his style will match the grandeur of his theme, as illustrated by a quotation from Ovid’s *Tristia*.¹⁹³

As Pedrosa expounds his theory of epic, he also provides a brief history of the relationship between poetry and patronage, from Homer to the sixteenth century. The function of this summary is to position himself as a successor to pagan and Christian poets and to signal Philip II’s own place in a genealogy of emperors and popes who supported literary endeavors. This theme emerges in this passage on Homer, Virgil and *imitatio*:

quo clarissimum atque insignem poetam Homerum Troianum excidium, suique fortissimi Ulyssis praeclara facinora conscripsisse constat: Vergiliusque Mantuanus illum imitatus eiusdemque vestigiis ingressus eodem stilo atque carminis genere omnium Caesarum triumphos et clara facinora prosequutus est, a quorum styrpe tua maiestas originem ducit.

Letter to Philip II, 97v

¹⁹¹ Hunter 2011.

¹⁹² Halliwell 1992 discusses Renaissance interpretations of Greek literary criticism through Horace.

¹⁹³ *diuitis ingenii est immania Caesaris acta | condere, materia ne superetur opus. | et tamen ausus eram; sed detrectare uidebar, | quodque nefas, damno uiribus esse tuis, Tristia 2.335-8.*

“It is known that [in this genre] the illustrious and distinguished poet Homer described the destruction of Troy and the deeds of his brave Odysseus, and also Virgil of Mantua, imitating Homer and following in his very footsteps, celebrated in the same style and genre of poetry the triumphs and famous deeds of all the Caesars, from whose family tree your majesty springs.”

An epic genealogy is thus established from Homer to Virgil, as well as from Caesar Augustus to Philip II himself. Pedrosa shares the Renaissance view that the *Aeneid* was written to praise Aeneas and his descendants, the Julio-Claudians.¹⁹⁴ By extension, the poet argues that the *Aeneid* set a precedent for Habsburg poets, since they seek to praise men descended from the Roman emperors. The image of Virgil following in Homer’s footsteps reworks the end of Statius’ *Thebaid*, in which Statius imagined the *Thebaid* following in the *Aeneid*’s footsteps. In Pedrosa’s letter, the metaphor now describes Virgil’s relationship with Homer and prefigures Pedrosa’s own *imitatio* of Virgil.

The next Greek author to appear in the letter is the lyric poet Pindar (c. 518-438 BC), through references to Horace’s poetry. Pedrosa has understood Pindar’s relationship to his aristocratic patrons through Augustan and early modern systems of patronage. He cites *Odes* 4.2.22-24 to show that Pindar immortalizes the subjects of his epinician odes, whom Pedrosa identifies as heroic kings, *reges heroici* (98v).¹⁹⁵ Not every athlete commemorated by Pindar was a king, but this statement reveals a new narrative about the fundamental relationship between poets and kings, which spans all genres of poetry.

¹⁹⁴ Kallendorf 1989 and Vega and Vilà 2010. This view was suggested by the Servian commentary: *intentio Vergilii haec est Homerum imitari et Augustum laudare a parentibus* (*Aen.* I praef.).

¹⁹⁵ *et uiris animumque Moresque | aureos educit in astra nigroque | inuidet Orco*, *Odes* 4.2.22-24.

To demonstrate this point, he turns to *Odes* 4.9.25-30 to argue that a king without a poet will never achieve lasting fame.¹⁹⁶

The letter then jumps through time from Pindar to the Augustan age, beginning with Horace, whom Pedrosa identifies as the great master of the historical poets (*praecipuus poetarum omnium historicorum*, 97v). This title likely derives from the composition of the *Odes* and *Carmen Saeculare*, which celebrate Augustus' achievements. As with Virgil, Pedrosa is careful to draw attention to the close relationship between poets and patrons, thereby positioning himself to make a claim on Philip II. A citation of Ovid's *Amores* 1.15.34 is used to argue for the immortality of poetry, since the names of kings fade but poetry is undiminished by time.¹⁹⁷ To this Pedrosa adds that Ovid addressed these verses to Augustus. While there is no evidence to support this claim, it does reveal the Spanish poet's convictions that poets write only for kings.

In order to move from the Augustan age to his own time, Pedrosa must address the relationship between pagan and Christian poetry. Anecdotes about Alexander the Great's search for a new Homer, drawn from Augustan sources (*Hor.Epist.*2.1 and *A.P.* 357-8), establish the importance of poetry among the pagans, but Pedrosa adds that there is also ample evidence to be found in Hebrew literature.¹⁹⁸ Drawing from Jerome's

¹⁹⁶ *uixere fortes ante Agamemnona | multi; sed omnes illacrimabiles | urgentus ignotique longa | nocte, carent quita uate sacro. | paulum sepulchrae distat inertiae | celata virtus, Odes 4.9.25-30.*

¹⁹⁷ *Ergo, cum silices, cum dens patientis aratri | depereant aeuo, carmina morte carent. | cedant carminibus reges regumque triumpho, | cedat et auriferi ripa benigna Tagi! Amores 1.15.31-34.*

¹⁹⁸ A similar anecdote appears in *Pro Archia* 10. It is certainly suggestive that several of the themes in the letter to Philip II can be found in Cicero's speech.

commentary on Job, Pedrosa explains that prophecies were written in meter to distinguish divine utterance from human speech, inviting comparisons between the figure of the Biblical prophets and the ancient *vates*. Quoting Matthew 22:37, he argues that the interpretation of Hebrew prophecy requires the reader to employ all his physical and mental capacities (100v). Pedrosa uses Horace's observation that poetry separates sacred from profane speech (*A.P.* 391-407) to supplement this discussion.¹⁹⁹ The Spanish poet's model for understanding poetry's role as a means of communication between gods and men is thus drawn from classical precedents.

Finally Pedrosa considers the value of Latin poetry in the Renaissance, as well as the specific dynamic between princely patrons and their poets. He points out that Pope Leo X and Clement VII begged Vida to write his *Christiad* (1535), establishing a discourse of celebrity poets in the courts of Europe. To this he add the important example of Álvaro Gómez and his Latin epic about Gideon.²⁰⁰ This poem, *De militia principis Burgundi, quam Velleris Aurei vocant* (On the Order of the prince of Burgundy, which is named the Order of the Golden Fleece) was written for Charles V; it gave an aition for the Golden Fleece based on the Biblical account of Gideon's fleece (Judges 6:36-40).²⁰¹ By juxtaposing Vida with the lesser-known Álvaro Gómez, Pedrosa gestures toward the importance of Latin poets at the Hapsburg court.

¹⁹⁹ *sic honor et nomen diuinis uatibus atque | carminibus venit, A.P.* 4001-401.

²⁰⁰ Vida 2009 is a recent edition of the *Christiad*, while studies of the epic can be found in Warner 2005 and Di Cesare 1964.

²⁰¹ The poem is discussed on pp. 225-6 in Rosenthal 1973. Tanner 1993 examines the Order of the Golden Fleece and Hapsburg mythology.

Drawing upon a number of sources, Pedrosa presents poetry as a divine form of communication, assuring the king that his epic will be able to fully embrace the significance of Lepanto just as Virgil was able to do for Augustus' victory at Actium. Pedrosa concludes by assuring the king that he has surpassed his father, Charles V and, by extension, that he could be just the poet required for this momentous occasion.

Conclusion

The first epic composed in Spanish America makes almost no mention of the context in which it was created. Instead, Pedrosa's *Austriaca* shows continuity with panegyric composed in the courts of Europe after the events at Lepanto. Central to this epic is the relationship between history and poetry, a theme developed by Virgil in his *Aeneid*. Pedrosa's *Austriaca* reinterprets themes from the *Aeneid* to fashion the Hapsburgs as the true successors of the Julio-Claudians and consequently to argue for his place in the canon of Latin poets, though he did not receive the preferment that he sought. The epic can and should be studied in comparison with the corpus of Lepanto poetry, but the focus of this chapter has been upon its use of Virgil and its response to Virgil's poetic persona. Pedrosa modelled himself upon Virgil to a greater extent than Ancheta had and displayed a more pragmatic approach to classical, pagan epic. Through his fusion of pagan and Biblical literature and his comparison of Greco-Roman and European princes, Pedrosa crafted a poem which he hoped would allow him to return to Madrid.

EARLY COLONIAL PASTORAL

CHAPTER 3. BUCOLIC AND *IMITATIO* IN NEW SPAIN (1585-1605)

Pastoral poetry was one of the first forms learned and imitated at school.²⁰² This chapter will explore two sources for pastoral poetry in New Spain: Bernardino de Llanos' *Poeticarum Institutionum Liber* (México 1605) and the collection of eclogues in Ms. 1631. This unique manuscript in the National Library of Mexico preserves ten pastoral poems from the principal Jesuit college in Mexico City, the Colegio Máximo de San Pedro y San Pablo. Attention will be paid to the use of the *Eclogues* in the New Spanish poems, with particular emphasis on the *locus amoenus*, historical allegory, Christian poetry, and the eclectic nature of early modern pastoral. Together, the *Poeticarum Institutionum Liber* and the Jesuit eclogues show the mutual influence between *imitatio* and theory.

PART 1. *POETICARUM INSTITUTIONUM LIBER* (1605)

Bernardino de Llanos, a Jesuit teacher of Latin grammar and rhetoric, published his "Institutes of Poetry," the *Poeticarum Institutionum Liber*, in Mexico City. As he makes clear, this book was written for teachers and students in the Colegio Máximo de San Pedro y San Pablo. His book moves from a definition of poetry to a discussion of each genre, illustrated by extracts from classical, late antique and Renaissance poets (pp. 1-373). Llanos includes Christian poetry, most of it written by Jesuits (pp. 374-488), and poems by students at the Colegio Máximo (pp. 489-510). The anthology unites texts from the *Ratio*

²⁰² See Wallace 2010 and Wilson-Okamura 2010. An example of school poetry from the Jesuit college in Córdoba can be found in Solana Pujalte 2009. Latin pastoral poetry has been surveyed in Grant 1965, Cooper 1977 and Marsh 2014.

Studiorum (1599) with Christian poetry for the moral edification of its readers.²⁰³ The *Poeticarum Institutionum Liber* (hereafter *PIL*) shows how the Jesuit curriculum was implemented in Mexico. Existing studies of *PIL* have not yet acknowledged Llanos' use of Jacobus Pontanus' *Poeticarum Institutionum Libri III* (Ingolstadt 1594).²⁰⁴ Over half of *PIL* is excerpted from Pontano's publication (hereafter *Libri*). Comparison between *PIL* and *Libri* shows that Llanos adapted Pontano's text for his students and introduced innovations of his own.

The two collections had different priorities.²⁰⁵ Bernardino de Llanos devotes more pages to pastoral than Pontano. In *Libri*, "De Bucolica Poesi" occupies one and a half octavo pages (pp. 120-121), while "Bucolica" is treated in four octavo pages of *PIL* (pp. 140-143) and illustrated by twenty octavo pages of examples (pp. 143-162). Pontano discussed pastoral poetry in a single chapter, while Llanos divided his discussion into three chapters. Llanos significantly changed Pontano's text: he reordered the discussion, included many examples, eliminated theoretical discussions, translated Greek text, and identified clear categories of eclogues. Finally, Llanos selected seven of the *Eclogues* for his anthology, to which he added his own, brief commentary.

²⁰³ Osorio Romero 1980: 160. Pavur 2005 and Gil 1992 discuss the *Ratio Studiorum*. An edition and commentary of the *Ratio* is given in Farrell 1938. Jesuit education is treated in Codina Mir 1968 and Casalini and Pavur 2016.

²⁰⁴ See, for example, Osorio Romero 1980.

²⁰⁵ In light of *PIL*'s importance for Mexican bibliographical studies, I intend to write an article specifically devoted to the relationship between Pontano and Llanos' work.

Pontano's definition of pastoral poetry is presented in a single paragraph without subheadings. The following is an outline of his approach:

1. The relationship between pastoral and comedy
2. Two types: mimetic (*Ecl.* 1) and mixed (*Ecl.* 8)
3. Appropriate themes for pastoral
4. Meter
5. Definition
6. Guidelines for style and structure

Pontano takes a theoretical approach to pastoral poetry, which assumes prior knowledge of ancient literary criticism, the *Idylls* and the *Eclogues*. He creates a poetic history for the genre by comparing pastoral to comedy, modelled upon Aristotle's treatment of imitative poetry in the *Poetics*. Pontano divides pastoral into two types: mimetic and mixed. Here he cites his previous discussion in Chapter 8 of Book I: "The three modes of poems," *Tres poematum modi* (21-24). A tripartite division of poetry according to the person speaking appears in the schema of Diomedes Grammaticus.²⁰⁶ Diomedes, in turn, was guided by Plato's *Republic*, where the following modes of narration are given: simple narration (*diegesis*), imitation (*mimesis*), or a combination of the two (mixed). In the pastoral chapter Pontano uses the Greek for mimetic and mixed (μιμητικός and μικτός) and identifies each type with one of Virgil's *Eclogues*.²⁰⁷ A definition does not appear until the end of the chapter, after a comparison of Theocritus and Virgil.

The approach in *PIL* is markedly different, as the structure of the argument shows:

- I.1 Definition of pastoral poetry
- I.2 Definition of eclogue

²⁰⁶ Curtius 1963: 440-441.

²⁰⁷ He follows the Servian commentary, which classified the eclogues according to Diomedes' three genres (Curtius 1963: 441, n. 21).

I.3 Structure and characters
II.1 Themes
II.2 Meter
II.3 Form
II.4 Style
III. Amoebaean song

Llanos moves Pontano's definition of pastoral to the beginning of the discussion: *poesis bucolica est imitatio actionum rusticarum*, "pastoral is the imitation of rustic actions." He eschews Greek terminology and introduces his own terms for the three types of narration: 1) the characters do the talking, as in *Eclogues* 1, 3, 5 and 9 (*adhibitis personis, quae rem quasi tunc ageretur, interloquendo repraesentent*); 2) the poet and the characters do the talking, as in *Eclogues* 2, 6, 7, 8, and 10 (*ipse interim Poeta loquens, aliisque sermonem affingens*); or 3) there is simple narration, as in *Eclogue* 4 (*quod rarius aliquanto est, simplici utens narratione rerumque exposition Poeta solus*). Each of Virgil's *Eclogues* is categorized into one of the three modes, without reference to *mimesis* or Plato's theories.

But Llanos adds new observations about pastoral absent from Pontano. At the end of II.4, for instance, he notes that the pastoral poet will occasionally repeat verses, as seen in *Eclogue* 8. Following Servius, Llanos calls these repeated verses "intercalary verses," just like the intercalary days in the month of February. His final chapter on amoebaean song is also new: amoebaean singers are divided into two types: those that say the opposite of each other and those that try to outdo each other, both of which are illustrated with recourse to *Eclogue* 3, *Eclogue* 7 and Catullus' hymeneal poem 62.²⁰⁸ Though he

²⁰⁸ *Habet non infrequenter Ecloga Amaebaeum carmen a graeco deductum verbo, quae significat alternis respondere, est autem cum Personae mutuo sibi respondent, aequali numero versuum, & ita sese habet responsio, ut aut maius aut contrarium aliquid dicat.* Catullus 62 was included because, like the *Eclogues*, it was written in hexameter.

already defined pastoral poetry (*poesis bucolica*) at the beginning of the chapter (I.1), Llanos defines an eclogue as a “brief and curated poem or conversation,” *breve selectumque poema sive colloquium*, I.2. The distinction between pastoral poetry (*poesis bucolica*) and the eclogue shows that they were not necessarily the same thing. Llanos wrote both short eclogues and pastoral theater, which in turn indicates how practice shaped theory among the Jesuits, leading to generic innovation.²⁰⁹

Pontano and Llanos agree on the themes of pastoral and its relation to allegory, ideas which can be traced in the Mexican eclogues of Ms. 1631. First, they agree that pastoral can embrace several public themes:

Tractat vero vota, gratulationes, laudationes, obtrectiones, altercationes, cohortationes, pollicitationes, conquestiones, gaudia, pompas, cantus, hilaritates, iocos & similia.

“It treats of wishes, congratulations, praise, criticism, debate, exhortation, promises, complaints, rejoicing, display, music, merriment, jokes, etc.”

Their definition amounts to an equation of pastoral with epideictic, which stems from the Jesuits’ use of Virgil to teach rhetoric.²¹⁰ In fact, the first Jesuit rhetorical textbook, Cypriano de Soarez’ *De Arte Rhetorica* (1568), drew upon Virgil’s *oeuvre* as a mine for rhetorical figures and *exempla*.²¹¹ The themes of the New Spanish eclogues testify to the

²⁰⁹ The pastoral plays are discussed in Quiñones Melgoza 1975 and 1982. Juan de Cigorondo, another Jesuit who wrote pastoral plays in New Spain, is the subject of Arteaga Martínez 2017.

²¹⁰ Kallendorf 1989 examines epideictic readings of the *Aeneid* in the Renaissance.

²¹¹ Thus, for example, *De Contrariis* (Cap. XXI) is illustrated by Drances’ speech in *Aeneid* 11, *De Causis* (Cap. XXV) includes a discussion of Nisus’ impassioned outburst to save Euryalus in *Aeneid* 9, *De Comparatione* (Cap. XXVII) nods to Aeneas’ speech after the storm in *Aeneid* 1, and *De Amplificatione* (Cap. XXXVII) points to Evander’s description of Mezentius in *Aeneid* 8.

application of this theory in the Americas, as well as the political usefulness of these poems. The Latin eclogues of Ms. 1631 had a public function, as they were composed to commemorate Church councils, to celebrate martyrs and to welcome viceroys to the city.²¹² Finally, these two Jesuits add that eclogues “need not always be allegorical,” *nec necesse erit semper esse allegoricam*. The wording suggests, however, that eclogues often were allegorical, as indeed they were in Ms. 1631.

A pedagogical approach to Virgil’s *Eclogues* and the poet Virgil can be seen in Llanos’ commentary on poems printed in his anthology (pp. 143-162). His presentation of Virgil’s poetry follows the tripartite structure introduced in the first chapter on pastoral (I.3): the use of characters (*Ecl.* 1, 9, and 5); the use of the narration and characters (*Ecl.* 6, 7, 8); the poet’s narration alone (*Ecl.* 4). The following discussion will consider each of these categories in turn.

Llanos’ commentaries are informed by the biographical tradition, as reflected in his discussion of the first group of poems (*Ecl.* 1, 9, and 5). In 1605, ‘Servius’ and the life by Aelius Donatus still shaped Llanos’ conception of the *Eclogues*. For *Eclogue* 1, Llanos discusses Augustan land redistribution, Virgil’s trip to Rome, and Pollio’s efforts to return Virgil’s farm. Following ‘Servius’, he identifies Tityrus with Virgil and Meliboeus as a dispossessed Mantuan.²¹³ For *Eclogue* 9, Llanos writes about an argument between Virgil and Arrius, the centurion who had received Virgil’s farm. These details come from the life

²¹² Cacho Casal 2019 mentions these eclogues in his examination of Spanish American poetry.

²¹³ Servius *Ecl.* 1.1 and 12 *ad loc.* (Thilo and Hagen 1961: 3.4 and 6)

of Aelius Donatus, though the analysis of the poem is taken from the Servian commentary.²¹⁴ When he introduces *Eclogue* 5, Llanos discusses three possible identities for Daphnis: Julius Caesar, Quintilius Varus, and Flaccus Maro. ‘Servius’ mentioned the hypotheses about Caesar and Varus, while Aelius Donatus states that *Eclogue* 5 was composed for Virgil’s brother, Flaccus Maro.²¹⁵

Llanos’ commentaries on the next group of poems (*Ecl.* 6, 7, and 8) also draw upon ancient scholia and biography. The Silenus poem is described as a vehicle of Epicurean thought, as in Servius. Llanos adds that Virgil composed this poem as a favor to Quintilius Varus, who, like Virgil, was supposedly an Epicurean.²¹⁶ Llanos omitted vv. 46-60 and 74-81, the points at which Virgil related the stories of Pasiphae, Scylla and Philomela, because Llanos did not deem them appropriate reading for students.²¹⁷ On *Eclogue* 7, Llanos again identifies each of the shepherds with a figure from Virgil’s life: Daphnis as Augustus, Corydon as Virgil, and Thyrsis as Arrius. ‘Servius’ had identified Thyrsis as one of Virgil’s detractors, the *pessimi poetae* of *Eclogue* 3, because he loses the singing competition.²¹⁸ But

²¹⁴ VSD 63 (Brugnoli and Stok 1997: 48-49) and Servius *Ecl.* 9.1 *ad loc.* (Thilo and Hagen 1961: 3.108-9).

²¹⁵ VSD 14 (Brugnoli and Stok 1997: 24) and Servius *Ecl.* 5.20 *ad loc.* (Thilo and Hagen 1961: 3.56-57).

²¹⁶ VDA 79 (Brugnoli and Stok 1997: 119) and Servius *Ecl.* 6.13 *ad loc.* (Thilo and Hagen 1961: 3.66-67).

²¹⁷ Pasiphae of Crete mated with a white bull. Scylla of Megara betrayed her father and her city out of desire for Minos of Crete. Philomela of Athens was raped and mutilated by her sister’s husband, Tereus of Thrace; the sisters took revenge by tricking Tereus into eating his own son.

²¹⁸ Servius *Ecl.* 7.21 *ad loc.* (Thilo and Hagen 1961: 3.84-85).

Bernardino de Llanos then equates Thyrsis with one of Virgil's enemies, the centurion Arrius (VSD 63). The absence of *Eclogue* 2 and censorship of *Eclogue* 6 makes the inclusion of *Eclogue* 8 surprising. Llanos explains this decision:

Nihil ferme, nisi periculosam sortem eorum, qui amoris illecebris irretiri sese patiuntur, Ecloga continet.

Poeticarum Institutionum Liber 155

"This eclogue contains nothing but the dangerous fate of those who allow themselves to be ensnared by the charms of love.

The poem is therefore defended as a cautionary tale about the dangers of romantic love and Virgil is praised as a moral preceptor. Llanos thus altered the received tradition about Virgil and the *Eclogues* with a view to the moral instruction of his students.

The final discussion of *Eclogue* 4 combines observations from 'Servius' with Christian traditions. On the one hand, Llanos carefully relates the birth of Asinius Pollio's son as 'Servius' did.²¹⁹ Below the text of the poem, Llanos then notes that Emperor Constantine identified this poem as a Messianic prophecy.²²⁰ As a citation in the text shows, the direct source for this account was the *Bibliotheca selecta* (Vatican 1593), a bibliographical encyclopedia by the Jesuit Antonio Possevino, a leading figure of the Counter Reformation.²²¹ The *Bibliotheca selecta* was an exposition of the new *Ratio Studiorum*: it gave the Catholic view on theology, law, philosophy, medicine and the liberal arts. Llanos cites a specific section, directing students to Possevino's discussion of

²¹⁹ Servius *Ecl.*4.1 *ad loc.* (Thilo and Hagen 1961: 3.44).

²²⁰ As recorded in the *Oration of Constantine* appended to Eusebius of Caesarea's *Life of Constantine*. Houghton 2019 studies this eclogue in the Renaissance.

²²¹ Zedelmaier 1992 and Luigi 2006.

poetry and painting. The commentary on *Eclogue* 4 concludes with the remark that this poem proves that this humble genre can encompass important topics: *unde perspicitur potest quam late pateat campus ad grandiora illa in Eclogis canenda*, 162.

Bernardino de Llanos' anthology shows the extent to which the Jesuits of New Spain were conversant with traditions of Virgilian interpretation and new trends in education from Europe. On the one hand, both Llanos and Pontano employ ancient poetics to analyze the nature of pastoral *mimesis* and use the Servian commentary and the Donatan life to guide their reading of the *Eclogues*. Yet Llanos' knowledge of Pontano and Possevino shows that he was also aware of more recent Jesuit studies printed in Europe. Llanos' commentaries show an interest in adapting this poetic form for Christian content, while his citation of the *Bibliotheca selecta* shows the importance of the Counter Reformation to Jesuit education. Bernardino de Llanos did not simply transmit Pontano's book, but dismantled, reorganized and edited the *Poeticarum Institutionum Libri* to meet the needs of his own students. Llanos' definition of pastoral identified certain distinctive features, like amoebaeon song and the repetition of verses, as hallmarks of the genre, which can be found in the eclogues of Ms. 1631.

PART 2. JESUIT PASTORAL OF MS. 1631 BNM

Ms. 1631 contains a variety of literary sources related to the religious and academic life of the Colegio Máximo de San Pedro y San Pablo.²²² There has been no comprehensive study of the entire manuscript, in part because it contains a large number of different kinds of

²²² Osorio Romero 1983.

works.²²³ The focus of this chapter are the pastoral poems found in folios 109-115 and 148r.

The following list gives the order of the poems in the manuscript, their titles, folio numbers, and a brief summary. The poems can be broken into five groups, as shown below:²²⁴

I. Anonymous poems

1. *Ecloga in obitu* (109r-109v)

An excerpt from Castiglione's *Alcon*, on the death of the shepherd Alcon.

2. *Chronidis Ecloga* (110v-112r)

The shepherd Lycidas narrates the lament of the shepherd Sylvanus for Chronis. Sylvanus learns of Chronis' death from the nymph Echo and expresses his grief in two separate monologues.

II. Poems for the Third Mexican Council

Eclogae Factae ad Consilium Mexicanum

3. *Ecloga I – Thyrsis* (112v)

The song of the shepherd Thyrsis, which prophesies the renewal of the Golden Age after a meeting of shepherds overseen by Daphnis.

4. *Ecloga II – Lycidas, Thyrsis* (112v-113r)

The conversation between Lycidas and Thyrsis about the meeting of shepherds held in the city and about Daphnis.

5. *Ecloga III – Daphnis* (113r)

The conversation between Thyrsis and Corydon, which takes place while the shepherds are in the city.

III. Poems for the Forty Martyrs of Brazil

Eclogae de felicissimi B.P. Azebedi et Sociorum martyrio

6. *Ecloga I – Lycidas, Mopsus* (113v)

Lycidas tells Mopsus about the death of forty fishermen at sea; Mopsus comforts his friend.

7. *Ecloga II – Inter Lusitaniam et Brasilicon* (113v)

Brasilicon relates to Lusitania a recent encounter with Thetis and news about the death of forty shepherds *en route* to the New World.

8. *Ecloga III – Corydon, Lycidas* (114r)

Corydon recounts the death of the shepherd Azevedus. Lycidas comforts his friend and joins him in song.

²²³ Further details are given in the Appendix.

²²⁴ I follow the numbering provided by Osorio Romero 1983. The text used in this study is based on Osorio Romero 1983, with alternative readings from subsequent editions as well as a few of my own proposals.

IV. Poems for Viceroy Velasco

9. *Pro Domino Ludovico de Velasco Novae Hispaniae Prorege* (148r)²²⁵
A lion puts to flight a dreadful crab, and better days are prophesied.
10. *Ecloga de adventu Proregis Ludovici de Velasco* (114r and 148r)
Amoebaeon song of Thyrsis and Corydon, which discusses celebrations of Daphnis held in the city and in the country.

V. Poems on Mexican Letters and Education

11. *Proteus Ecloga – Vaticinium de Progressu in Litteris Mexicanae Juventutis* (114v)
The narrator relates the song of Proteus, in which the spread of Latin learning in the Americas is foretold.
12. *Ecloga de eadem re – Dorilas, Lycon* (114v-115r)
Two fishermen, Dorylas and Lycon, reflect upon the new teaching of Apollo, their hope for future success at sea, and praise of Hesperia.

Two studies have shed new light on the first two poems in this collection. Suárez 2011a revealed that *Ecloga in obitu* is an excerpt from Castiglione's *Alcon* (1515), while Laird 2018a argues that *Chronidis Ecloga* may have been written in Italy.²²⁶ These are the only poems in the manuscript without any demonstrable link to the New World. Yet their presence in this manuscript suggests that they were models for *imitatio* and therefore may reveal something about Jesuit attitudes toward pastoral poetry.

Authorship of the eclogues

Eclogues 1, 2 and 8 are anonymous, but four authors are named in the margins of Ms. 1631. The first eclogue for the Forty Martyrs, eclogue 6 (*Lycidas, Mopsus*) was written by

²²⁵ Osorio Romero 1983 includes No. 9 but Suárez 2015 does not because No. 9 is not an eclogue (88, ft. 12). While it is true that *Pro Domino Ludovico de Velasco* was written in elegiac couplets, it engages with Virgil's *Eclogues* and hence has been included in this study.

²²⁶ The *Alcon* was likely composed ten years before it was printed in 1515. For a study and edition see Lokaj 2015.

Bernardino de Llanos shortly before he published his *Poeticarum Institutionum Libri*, discussed in Part I.²²⁷ After his arrival in New Spain in 1584, Llanos became the teacher of rhetoric at the College of San Ildefonso and the Colegio Máximo in Mexico City. The annual letter of 1604 mentions advances made in *estudios menores* under Llanos' guidance.²²⁸ He produced numerous anthologies of prose and poetry as well as guides to Latin grammar, along with original compositions for special events at the Jesuit colleges.²²⁹ His *Lycidas*, *Mopsus* fuses pastoral lament with the Christian doctrine of eternal life.

The second poem for the Forty Martyrs, eclogue 7 (*Inter Lusitaniam et Brasilicon*) was written by Juan Laurencio, one of the most famous members of the Mexican Province.²³⁰ Laurencio entered the Company of Jesus in 1577 and arrived in New Spain in 1588.²³¹ During his time at Tepotzotlán Laurencio became proficient in Nahuatl and Otomi. He served as the rector of various Jesuit colleges before becoming the Provincial of New Spain in 1622. Unlike Llanos, Laurencio followed an administrative rather than an educational career in the Society of Jesus. Perhaps years of writing letters to the Provincial in Mexico City and to the General in Rome informed his eclogue, in which personifications of two Jesuit Provinces exchange information about the Society.

²²⁷ See Llanos, Bernardino de, P. in Zambrano 1969: 29-62.

²²⁸ *Monumenta Mexicana* VIII, p. 513.

²²⁹ The anthologies are discussed in Osorio Romero 1980: 98 and the poetry in Quiñones Melgoza 1982 and 1975.

²³⁰ See Laurencio, Juan, P. in Zambrano 1968: 329-500

²³¹ *Monumenta Mexicana* III, p. 275.

The poems for the Third Mexican Council of 1585 (eclogues 3-5) and a poem for the viceregal entrance of 1590 (No. 9) are attributed to Larios. This could refer to Bartolomé Larios, one of the fifteen original Jesuits to arrive in New Spain in 1572, or Diego Larios, a native of Puebla. Since Diego did not enter the Society of Jesus until 1592, well after the composition dates of eclogues 3-5 and 9, it seems likely that Bartolomé Larios was the poet.²³² Larios himself reported that he had been the servant of cloth merchants before joining the Jesuits in 1554.²³³ He gained experience in construction at the Jesuit college of Medina del Campo, which he put to use in Mexico City as *maestro de obras*.²³⁴ A series of modest tasks follow - head of the kitchen, caretaker, laborer - until the Catalogue of 1592, which names Larios as *maestro escuela* at the Colegio Máximo.²³⁵ After his death in 1599, the annual letter of 1600 gives a better glimpse of his abilities.²³⁶ It describes Larios' beautiful handwriting, his knack for teaching students to read, as well as his gift for geometry. The letter mentions that he wrote a book on geometry, though it is now lost. A few months after his death, General Acquaviva took a sudden interest in Brother Larios: José de Acosta, the celebrated Jesuit naturalist and historian, had recommended Larios' books on architecture.²³⁷ None of the surviving sources mention his poetic skill or knowledge of Latin.

²³² Osorio Romero 1983: 177-179.

²³³ Larios, Bartolomé, H. C. in Zambrano 1961: 523-529.

²³⁴ *Monumenta Mexicana* I, 223 and 137-8.

²³⁵ *Monumenta Mexicana* IV, 373.

²³⁶ *Monumenta Mexicana* VII, 141.

²³⁷ *Monumenta Mexicana* VI, 581 and 592. For José de Acosta see Grafton 2007.

His experience as an architect may explain one curious feature of the eclogues for the Third Mexican Council: their attention to Mexico City's buildings and streets.

The second poem for the viceregal entrance (eclogue 10, *Ecloga de adventu*) and the poems on Mexican letters (eclogues 11-12) are attributed to Peña. Eclogue 10 appears twice in the manuscript, once at 114r and a second time on 148r. It is on the latter folio that the poem is attributed to Luis Peña.²³⁸ There was an Alonso de la Peña, rector of the college at Oaxaca, who arrived in New Spain in 1602.²³⁹ Forty years later, a Luis Peña joined the New Spanish Jesuits.²⁴⁰ At the time of the viceregal entrance (1590), however, no record of a Luis Peña exists in the Mexican Province; Osorio Romero concludes that Luis Peña may have been a student, or even someone who entered and left the order before his name could be recorded. If so, Peña would be the only author who was not a member of the Society of Jesus. The importance of education is a striking feature of the three eclogues attributed to this figure. The annual letter of 1596 showed that Latin compositions for the viceroy were performed by students, but written by Jesuits, in this instance by Bernardino de Llanos, the head of Latin grammar at the Colegio Máximo. It should also be noted that eclogues 11 and 12, on the advance of education in Mexico City, are focalized from the perspective of Jesuit teachers. Regardless of who wrote them, these last poems attest to the attitude toward education in the Jesuit colleges, as well as the place of Latin letters in praise of Mexico.

²³⁸ Osorio Romero 1983: 179. Peña's name is written next to eclogue 10 in the margin of 114r. The Latin *eiusdem* ("by the same person") is written next to eclogues 11 and 12 on 114v.

²³⁹ Peña, Alonso de la in Zambrano 1972: 312-314.

²⁴⁰ Peña, Luis de la in Zambrano 1972: 315.

A.) Characters, Structure and Language from the *Eclogues*

Virgil's *Eclogues* are an obvious model for these Jesuit poets, to the extent that Virgil's shepherds live on in the titles of the New Spanish poems: eclogue 3 is "Thyrsis," eclogue 6 is "Lycidas, Mopsus."²⁴¹ Eclogue 11, "Proteus," may reflect the influence of *Georgics* 4, where Proteus appeared in the Aristaetus epyllion, though it should be noted that this figure had featured in Sannazaro's *De Partu Virginis* and Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*.²⁴² The Jesuit poems employ a variety of narrative techniques, nearly all of which can be found in the *Eclogues*. Sometimes the shepherds sing songs to each other (eclogues 4-8, 10, 12), sometimes they appear alone (eclogue 3). Rustic deities deliver prophecies in eclogue 11 and 7, while the narrator tells the future in eclogue 9, drawing upon the figure of Silenus in *Eclogue* 6 as well as the prophecy of *Eclogue* 4. Finally, eclogue 2 and 11 employ refrains of one dactylic hexameter like those in the songs of Damon and Alpheisiboeus in *Eclogue* 8. In their diversity the eclogues of Ms. 1631 show careful reading and imitation of the *Eclogues*.

The language of the Mexican poems is reminiscent of Virgil's *Eclogues*, as illustrated in the following examples. A shepherd praises Daphnis with nearly the very same words used in *Eclogue* 5:²⁴³

Daphnin ad astra feramus, amavit nos quoque Daphnis.
Ecloga de Adventu 3, 114r

"Let us bear Daphnis to the stars, for Daphnis loved us also."

²⁴¹ In this chapter I use *Eclogue* to refer to Virgil's poetry, and eclogue for pastoral poems in Ms. 1631.

²⁴² He also appears in Pedrosa (Ch. 2) and Villerías (Ch. 4).

²⁴³ *Daphnin ad astra feremus: amavit nos quoque Daphnis, Ecl.5.52*

In eclogue 3, a shepherd echoes Menalcas' concern for his lambs in *Eclogue 3*:²⁴⁴

oculus nec erit qui fascinet agnos
Thyrsis 11, 112v

"No eye will bewitch the lambs."

The poems of Ms. 1631 also make small changes to Virgil. Thus Tityrus' cry in Virgil's first

Eclogue:

O Meliboe, deus nobis haec otia fecit
Eclogue 1.6

"O Meliboeus, a god has granted me this peace."

is slightly altered by the Mexican shepherd Thyrsis:

O Lycida, deus haec propius aspicit arva
Lycidas, Thyrsis 5, 112v

"O Lycidas, a god glances more closely upon these fields,"

There are also examples of *contaminatio*, as shown here:

Dic mihi, Brasilicon, subito quis tanta capellis
otia concessit?
Inter Lusitaniam et Brasilicon 1-2, 113v

"Tell me, Brasilicon, who gave so much peace to the goats so suddenly?"

The second verse picks up Tityrus' discussion of *otia* in *Eclogue 1*, while the first verse draws upon the start of *Ecl.3.1*: *Dic mihi, Damoeta, cuium pecus?* Further use of Virgilian language and imagery in this collection will be considered in the following sections dedicated in turn to the *locus amoenus*, historical allegory, Christian poetry, and eclecticism.

²⁴⁴ *nescio quis teneros oculus mihi fascinat agnos, Ecl. 3.103.*

B.) The *locus amoenus*: *Eclogae Factae ad Consilium Mexicanum* (3-5) and *Protheus*

Ecloga (11)

Pastoral poetry is associated with a rural setting, in large part because Virgil made it so.²⁴⁵ The landscape of the *Eclogues* came to be identified with Arcadia, though only *Eclogue* 10 was explicitly set there.²⁴⁶ Jacopo Sannazaro's *Arcadia* (1504) consolidated this identification; he had employed a mixture of verse eclogues and prose narratives to depict his lovelorn hero, whose misery was thrown into relief by the contented shepherds of Arcadia.²⁴⁷ The *Arcadia* was written in Italian and employed lyric meters in its verse sections, a departure from earlier pastoral practice, but which would become normal in vernacular pastoral.²⁴⁸ Yet as Sannazaro's Latin *Piscatory Eclogues* proved, the environments of pastoral can vary: rustic fisherman were substituted for shepherds. The *locus amoenus* motif has been well explored.²⁴⁹ The *locus amoenus* of the Jesuit eclogues is still an idealized landscape but the poems are sometimes clearly set in New Spain and, in one instance, within Mexico City.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁵ Theocritus' *Idylls* are mostly set in the country, but a few take place in the city. Virgil's *Eclogues*, however, are rural, notwithstanding references to Rome in *Eclogue* 1, for example.

²⁴⁶ Jenkyns 1992.

²⁴⁷ Kidwell 1993.

²⁴⁸ Compare Garcilaso's *Églogas* and Milton's *Lycidas*. I am grateful to Jay Reed for this observation.

²⁴⁹ Curtius 1963: 195-200.

²⁵⁰ Compare with Mexía Fernangil's *La égloga Dios Pan*, which Rodríguez Garrido 2005 has shown contains specific references to viceregal Peru.

Not all the poems of Ms. 1631 are specifically set in Mexico City. Sometimes they offer a scene akin to the ambience of Virgil's *Eclogues*:

*Thyrsis odorifera nuper dum sedit in herba
qua nemus huc fontes aperit, qua mitior umbra
sic dulci curas animi mulcebat avena.
Dumque canit, Nymphae vitreo properastis ab antro.*
Thyrsis 1-4, 112v

"Recently when Thyrsis sat upon the fragrant grass, here where the forest pours out streams, where the shade is gentler, thus did he soften the cares of his mind with his sweet pipe. And while he sang, you Nymphs emerged from your glassy cave."

There is a succession of images from Virgil: Thyrsis playing his pipe in the shade evokes the opening of *Eclogue* 1, with Tityrus under the beech tree (1.1-2). The adjective used to describe the grass in verse 1, *odorifera*, was used by Virgil to describe dittany in the *Aeneid* (*odoriferam panaceam*, 12.419). The Nymphs in their glassy cave (v. 4) resemble the Nymphs of *Georgics* 4, who sit on crystal thrones under the river (*uitreisque sedilibus*, 350). The same verse may also reflect Virgil's influence on vernacular poetry: the Spanish poet Garcilaso had described the abode of river nymphs supported by glassy columns, *en columnas de vidrio sostenidas* (Soneto XI.4), an allusion to the dwelling described in *Georgics* 4.²⁵¹

Yet some scenes in Ms. 1631 cannot be found in Virgil's poetry:²⁵²

*Ly: Hic ubi fussa palus obducit arundine ripas
mecum inter salices dulci requiesce sub umbra
Thyrsi ac si quid erit dignum de Daphnide discam.*
Lycidas, Thyrsis 1-3, 112v

²⁵¹ Rivers 2016: 59-98 contains a selection of Garcilaso's poetry.

²⁵² v. 3 *Daphnide*] *Dephnide*, Osorio Romero.

Ly: "Here where the wide marsh spreads reeds over its bank, rest with me under the sweet shade among the willows, Thyrsis, and I will learn if there is any worthy news of Daphnis."

The shepherd in the shade recalls Tityrus in *Eclogue* 1, but the marsh (*palus*) is a novel departure from Virgil, whose Meliboeus had said that stony land is as bad as land choked by marshes.²⁵³ The marsh as *locus amoenus* evokes the site of Mexico City, which lay in the middle of a large but shallow lake system.²⁵⁴ Later in the Jesuit poem, the same figure joyfully affirms that recent events have gladdened the marsh (*his elata palus*, 13) and that the Nymphs, Fauns, and Napaeae are also celebrating (13-14). In colonial Mexico the figure of the shepherd would have been familiar, as Spanish sheep were introduced to the region beginning in the sixteenth century.²⁵⁵ Yet, as will become clear in the course of this chapter, the shepherd was often a mask for other figures, as he had become in the European pastoral tradition.

A similar description can be found in eclogue 10, the amoebaeon song of Thyrsis and Coridon. In the fourth verse they identify Daphnis as the hope of the West (*occiduo...spesque unica mundo*, 4). The celebration in honor of Daphnis lead the shepherds to discuss the relationship between the country and the city. The Mexican Thyrsis observes events in the city from the forest (*me dum silva recondit*, 5), a location evocative of the *sphragis*

²⁵³ *et tibi magna satis, quamuis lapis omnia nudus | limosoque palus obducat pascua iunco*, *Ecl.*1.47-8.

²⁵⁴ Mundy 2015 points out that sixteenth century Nahuatl poetry dwells upon the water and lakes, which were compared to the brilliant color of the quetzal feather (28). See also the Map of Santa Cruz (ca. 1537-1555) at the Uppsala University Library, Sweden, which uses subtle shades of blue and green to show the different types of water surrounding the city (Mundy 2015: 40).

²⁵⁵ Melville 1997 discussed the ecological impact of sheep in New Spain.

of the *Georgics*. Virgil's observation of Caesar's campaigns from the pastoral world mirrors this Thyrsis' position in the woods, observing festivities in the city. Later, in verse 9, Coridon says that he is sitting beneath a pine tree (*sub tegmine pinus*), a Virgilian pose that appears in the *Eclogues* (*sub tegmine fagi*, *Ecl.*1.1.) and in the *Georgics* (*sub tegmina fagi*, 4.566). While there are no beech trees in the Valley of Mexico, pines are native to the region, thus adapting the Virgilian phrase to the Mexican context. Moreover, since this Jesuit poem commemorates the viceregal entry of Luís de Velasco y Castilla into Mexico City, the poet uses the tradition to create parity between Daphnis, the viceroy and Caesar.²⁵⁶ Youthful celebrations in the city and fields are echoed by the Muses (*resonantque Camenae*, 7), who have also migrated to the Americas. Their presence demonstrates that a new tradition for Latin poetry has been forged in New Spain. At the same time, the *Camenae* may be a metapoetic allusion to the Latin poetry written for this occasion, and thus may even refer to the *Ecloga de adventu*, which 'echoes' with every new recitation.

Eclogue 5 is set in Mexico City, just as two shepherds arrive there from the country. The poem is preceded by a prose description of the emblem or hieroglyph which Thyrsis and Coridon see in a window. In this context, 'emblem' refers to a didactic combination of image and text that encouraged the viewer to engage in self-reflective examination of his or her life.²⁵⁷ The focus of the poem is the *ecphrasis* of this emblem and the shepherds'

²⁵⁶ The viceregal entry is discussed in Curcio-Nagy 2004 and 1996 as well as Mínguez Cornelles 2015. For the ephemeral arches and their role in colonial literature, see Solano 1994.

²⁵⁷ Emblem books are discussed in Hope and McGrath 2004. Dimler 1979 examines Jesuit emblem books; Spanish emblem books can be found in Sánchez Pérez 1977 and Ledda 1970. Alciati's emblem book was one of the earliest books printed in Mexico City (1577), though it was printed without emblems.

efforts to interpret it. The urban setting is first evident when the Mexican Thyrsis exclaims that they have reached the city (*En Coridon...successimus urbi*, 1), which indicates that Virgil's *Eclogue* 1 is a model for the eclogue. The Mexican Corydon responds that he has never left the country before (vv. 2-5). After a short tour of the major sites, they come upon the emblem, which they describe and interpret. Numerous dramatic cues in the poem suggest that it was written for performance, a common practice in Jesuit schools.²⁵⁸

While the opposition between city and country can be found in Virgil's pastoral, this Jesuit eclogue dramatized the incursion of the country into the city. In this poem, Corydon calls himself *rusticus* and contrasts his life in the country with what he sees in Mexico City. In doing so the Mexican Corydon invites comparison between himself and Tityrus of *Eclogue* 1, who admitted that his visit to Rome changed his idea of what a city could be (19-25). Yet *Eclogue* 1 took place in the country, while this Corydon expresses what Virgil's Tityrus appears to have thought during his visit to Rome. The shepherds of eclogue 5 come from the marshy valley around Mexico City, as is clear from their description of music in the marsh willows (*ad salices calamos inflare palustres*, 4). The bucolic mode endows the outskirts of the city with the pleasing features of Virgil's *locus amoenus*, but also reverses the motif of the encroaching city.

Instead the poem pushes the boundaries of the West into the Americas. In their tour of the city, the shepherds come across buildings familiar from Roman cities:

Ecce forum illic templa novo de marmore surgunt

²⁵⁸ Ms. 1631 also contains Bernardino de Llanos' *Ecloga por patris Antonii de Mendoza adventu*, a play in 468 verses performed by the students of the College of San Ildefonso (Quiñones Melgoza 1975). Ancient performances of Virgil's *Eclogues* appear in VSD 26-7 (Martindale 2019).

Daphnidis hic aedes.
Daphnis 6-7, 113r

“Here is the forum; over there rise new temples of marble. This is the sanctuary of Daphnis.”

Context provides the key to identifying these sites. This eclogue is one of three poems written to celebrate the Third Mexican Church Council (1585), which was overseen by the archbishop, Pedro Moya de Contreras. The Jesuit eclogues refer to this council as a shepherds’ meeting, called by Daphnis; the figure of Daphnis is thus an allegory for the archbishop. The *aedes Daphnidis* in the poem might therefore refer to the archbishop’s palace. The palace was built next to the cathedral, which was being rebuilt at the end of the sixteenth century.²⁵⁹ The *templa* of this passage therefore represents the cathedral of Mexico. Finally, both the palace and the cathedral were built around the main square or Plaza Mayor, which the poet has called a *forum*.²⁶⁰ The passage therefore dramatizes the shepherds’ arrival in the Plaza Mayor, from which vantage point they survey the surrounding buildings. Comparisons between Rome and Mexico City are analogous to the shepherds’ comparisons of this Daphnis with the Titan Atlas: the former bears the world on his shoulders (*pastor labentem sustinet orbem* 8), just as Virgil’s Atlas held the globe (*aetherios umero qui sustinet orbes*, *Aeneid* 8.137). To drive this point home, the other Mexican shepherd says that Daphnis and Atlas have the same role: *sic caeli quondam molem*

²⁵⁹ The old cathedral was both structurally unsound and undersized. The Chapel of San José de los Naturales, located southwest of the city center, was used for the arrival of a new viceroy in 1550, the funeral ceremonies for Charles V, and *autos-da-fé* (Mundy 2015: 117).

²⁶⁰ In his second Latin dialogue, written in. 1554, Cervantes de Salazar used the same word to describe the Plaza Mayor (García Icazbalzeta 1875: 94, 96). For the market in the Plaza Mayor see Mundy 2015: 85-86.

quoque substulit [sic] *Atlas*, 18. The position of New Spain in the Western hemisphere invites comparison between the Titan of the West and Daphnis, the archbishop of New Spain, through its evocation of Mexico City as the Rome of the Americas.

An American *locus amoenus* is also conveyed in eclogue 11, *Proteus Ecloga*. In this poem, Proteus tells the future of the Indies as the jewel of a new, global empire.²⁶¹ He sings four stanzas about New Spain, the first of which hails the Americas as a land of promise:

O nova pars mundi, nova tellus, et novus orbis
perge. Tuis utinam faveant pia numina coeptis,
et longe felix felicia vota secundus
exitus excipiat subterque cadentia, multus
semina non parvo niteat cum fenore fructus.
Proteus Ecloga 6-10, 114v

“Oh new part of the globe, new land and new world, go forward. May gracious divine powers favor your undertakings. Far from now may a propitious and happy end follow your happy wishes. May a large harvest flourish under the falling seeds with no small profit.”

The repetition of *novus* and *nova* in the first verse emphasizes the status of the Indies as a new world. It also invites comparison between this idyllic location and the Golden Age, marked by a new generation, *noua progenies* (*Ecl.*4.7). Proteus’ wish for a full harvest draws upon the fourth *Eclogue*’s description of miraculous productivity, while the falling seeds (*cadentia...semina*) echo the parable of the sower in the Gospels.²⁶² The metaphor of the harvest can also refer to the fruit of the Jesuits’ religious and scholastic labor, represented

²⁶¹ A detailed discussion of the figure of Proteus is found at the end of this chapter (D. Eclectic Pastoral).

²⁶² Matthew 13:1-23, Mark 4:1-20 and Luke 8: 4-15.

by the colleges and students. The first stanza ends with an address to the stars, which alludes to Virgil's address to the stars in the *Georgics*:

... *uos, o clarissima mundi*
lumina, labentem caelo quae ducitis annum.
Georgics 1.5-6

"Oh you most radiant lights of the sky, which guide through heaven the gliding year."

et vos aeterna quae ducitis omnia cura
volvite praecipites vaga sydera volvite cursus.
Proteus Ecloga 11-12, 114v

"And you, you wandering stars, that guide all things with everlasting care, turn, now turn your headlong courses."

Thus, Christian and classical sources praise the Indies as a place of divine growth and renewal of the world.

The second stanza moves to the future of the Americas. Proteus says that *fama* will sing of the Americas through all the world's rivers:

Tempus erit, nec multum aberit, quin proxima secum
fata ferunt, cum te totos invecta per amnes
fama canat,
Proteus Ecloga 13-15, 114v

"The time will come, and soon, nay rather the fates bring it with them shortly, when fama shall sing about you as she passes along all the rivers."

Virgil's *Fama* was also a singer (*facta atque infecta canebat*, *Aeneid* 4.190), but this emphasis upon song could be a metapoetic reference to this very eclogue, which praises the Americas in Latin verse. The movement of *fama* along rivers allows the poet to incorporate the Indus and the Ganges, symbols of the East in Roman poetry:

...*liceatque tuum diffundere nomen*

ultra Indum et Gangem roseique cubilia solis.
Proteus Ecloga 15-16, 114v

“May it be granted to spread your name beyond the Indus and the Ganges,
to the bed of the rosy sun.”

This poem was written during the Iberian Union, a dynastic union of the Kingdom of Portugal and the Spanish Crown between 1580 and 1640, which brought the Iberian Peninsula and all Spanish and Portuguese territories under the control of the Hapsburgs. Thus, the Indus and Ganges were part of a single empire that spanned the globe, fulfilling Jupiter’s prophecy in *Aeneid* 1 that the Roman Empire would have no limits but the seas.²⁶³ The poem thus capitalizes upon political realities to further emphasize the unique position of the Indies in the western hemisphere.

In the next stanza Proteus turns his attention to the Jesuit schools in the Indies, prophesying a new Apollo and a new Helicon in the West:

Quippe tuus novus alter ait spectandus Apollo
alter in occiduis Helicon mirandus arenis.
Proteus Ecloga 18-19, 114v

“In fact your new Apollo, a figure of admiration, speaks, and another marvelous Helicon appears on the western shores.”

This Apollo and Helicon are like the new Tiphys, Argo, and Achilles foretold in *Eclogue* 4 (34-6). This prediction has a parallel in sixteenth century Iberian poetry in the proem of *Os Lusíadas* (1572), where Camões invoked the Tagus as the new Apollo and Helicon. Since this poem was written during the Iberian Union, our Spanish poet could allude to Camões in

²⁶³ Compare to Augustan claims to the conquest of India in Horace *Odes* 1.35 and in Anchises speech in *Aeneid* 6.

recognition of the new bond between their nations. This new Helicon in New Spain instructs men and boys in piety and religion, a description of the education offered in Jesuit colleges. Furthermore, Proteus says that the new Helicon establishes new techniques for fishing, an allusion to Jesuit evangelization.²⁶⁴ He prophesies the admiration of future generations:

*quas olim dum tempus erit mirabitur aetas
postera, cumque suis crescent armenta magistris.
Proteus Ecloga 22-23, 114v*

“In future generations to come will marvel at their achievements, as long as time shall endure, and the herd shall grow in number along with its shepherds.”

The phrase *mirabitur aetas* was used by Ovid (*Epist. ex Ponto* 2.6.27) and by Claudian (*In Rufinum* 285), while the description of the *armenta* and *magistri* plays upon the double meaning of *magistri* as both “herdsmen” and “teachers.” In this remarkable stanza, the Jesuits receive full praise for the success of their schools and the development of the students.

Finally, Proteus promises that the Jesuit schools will achieve global fame and greater victories in the future. The fourth stanza, like the second, takes a global perspective, while the first and third focused upon details of the American experience. Proteus predicts that the Ocean, the Nile, the Euphrates, and the Ganges will bring gifts in homage (25-28):²⁶⁵

*His gratus pater Oceanus sua munera solvet,
Nilus grana feret, plenis conchilia testis
Euphrates dabit, et Tyrio satianda colore
mollia ab arboribus pectet tibi vellera Ganges.
Proteus Ecloga 25-28, 114v*

²⁶⁴ O'Malley 1993: 105 ff.

²⁶⁵ See Suárez 2011b on the link between the rivers' gifts and the colonial economy.

“To these men a grateful father Ocean will pay the promised gifts, the Nile will bring grain, the Euphrates shall give shells in overflowing urns, and the Ganges will card soft fleece from the trees for you to dye with Tyrian purple.”

As in the second stanza, the rivers and ocean delineate the limits of the Iberian empire, as well as the place of the Society of Jesus within that empire. All the rivers mentioned in this passage can be found in Virgil, usually in discourses of eastern expansion.²⁶⁶ *Eclogue* 11 gestures to the importance of Jesuits institutions for the formation of an American or creole elite. Descriptions of the *locus amoenus* is a metonymy for praise of the Americas, thrown into relief by comparisons with the East and ancient Rome.

C.) Historical Allegory: *Thyrsis* (3), *Pro Domino Ludovico de Velasco* (9), *Ecloga de adventu* (10)

Unlike some forms of pastoral, the poems of Ms. 1631 do not touch upon erotic themes, apart from the small extract from the *Alcon*. The link between pastoral and love can be found *Eclogues* 2, 5, 8 and 10, which intensified in the subsequent tradition.²⁶⁷ The *Piscatory Eclogues* exemplify this trend: of the five poems in this collection, only one (*Pisc. Ecl.* 4) is not about lost or unrequited love. For the Jesuits who composed the poems in Ms. 1631, pastoral would also probably have been mediated through Spanish pastoral traditions. Spanish theater had, after all, begun with Juan del Encina’s performance of his own eclogues

²⁶⁶ The Euphrates is particularly interesting, as discussed in Thomas 1998: I.153.

²⁶⁷ It was already present in Theocritus and post-Theocritean Greek bucolic, but for the early modern period Virgil is the standard representative of the genre. The theme of love in Greek bucolic is discussed in Reed 2006 and 2014. Marsh 2014 and Hubbard 2010 offer a history of pastoral which includes its associations with love.

in Salamanca.²⁶⁸ The vernacular poetry of Garcilaso de la Vega as well as the pastoral novels of Jorge de Montemayor, Cervantes, and Lope de Vega encouraged associations between pastoral and romantic love. It was in this guise that Spanish pastoral spread throughout Spain and the Americas at the turn of the 16th century.²⁶⁹

Pastoral also incorporated social commentary, a feature which does appear in the poems of Ms. 1631. Early signs of this historical pastoral can be found in the *Eclogues*. Virgil's rustic shepherds and goatherds discuss socio-legal concerns: citizen and slave status (1.32, 71), formal marriage (8.29-30), the rights of possession (9.3).²⁷⁰ Political themes are also prominent: *Eclogue* 1 discusses Augustan land redistribution while *Eclogue* 5 was thought to allude to the death of Caesar.²⁷¹ The *Eclogues* provided a model whereby bucolic poetry could be used to praise patrons and princes.²⁷² There are several examples from fifteenth- and sixteenth- century Spain of pastoral poetry written for public occasions, some of which embraced historical commentary.²⁷³ The Latin pastoral poems of Ms. 1631 are an extension of that particular trend.

²⁶⁸ See the introduction in Pérez Priego 1991.

²⁶⁹ Leonard 1994, Reyes Cano 1973 and Bayo 1959.

²⁷⁰ Coleman 1977.

²⁷¹ Found in Servius on *Eclogue* 5.29 and discussed in DuQuesnay 1976: 30-33 and Hubbard 1998: 97-8.

²⁷² As argued in Wilson Okamura 2010: 47-76.

²⁷³ See Irigoyen-García 2014, Middlebrook 2009 and López Estrada 1984.

The impulse to read social commentary in pastoral is related to biographical readings of Virgil's poetry. The *VSD* asserted that Virgil alluded to incidents in his own life in the *Eclogues*, which in turn encouraged allegorical readings of the poet's *oeuvre*.²⁷⁴ The Servian commentary states that the *Eclogues* were written to imitate Theocritus and thank Augustus through allegory (*per allegoriam*).²⁷⁵ These kinds of readings continued into the early modern period, as La Cerda's commentary shows.²⁷⁶ Drawing upon ancient biography and commentary tradition, La Cerda identifies Tityrus as Virgil (*repraesentat in hac Ecloga Tityrus Virgilium*) in his commentary on *Eclogue* 1.²⁷⁷ The poems of Ms. 1631 show that in the period before La Cerda printed his commentary the Jesuits were still engaged in author-oriented criticism. They encouraged students to identify Virgil's shepherds with specific individuals from Virgil's life, which in turn led Jesuit poets to mask historical figures under the guise of Virgil's shepherds.²⁷⁸

The poems commemorating the Third Mexican Church Council (1585) are examples of this.²⁷⁹ The church council was overseen by the Mexican archbishop, Pedro Moya de

²⁷⁴ Thus, Virgil is said to have mourned the death of his brother Flaccus Maro in *Ecl.* 5 (*VSD* 14, Brugnoli and Stok 1997: 24) and that he wrote the *Eclogues* to regain his lands in Mantua (*VSD* 64, Brugnoli and Stok 1997: 49).

²⁷⁵ Servius *Comm. in Verg. Buc. prooem.* 15 (Thilo and Hagen 1961: 2).

²⁷⁶ Juan Luis de la Cerda (1558-1632) was a Jesuit and Spanish humanist who wrote influential commentaries on the *Eclogues* and *Georgics* (Madrid 1608) and the *Aeneid* (Lyon 1612 and 1617). Casali and Stok 2019 offer an overview of his work. See also Laird 2002.

²⁷⁷ See, for example, Servius on *Ecl.* 1.1 (Thilo and Hagen 1963, 3.4). For the tradition, see the entry on Tityrus in the *Enciclopedia Virgiliana*, Vol. 5: 196-201.

²⁷⁸ As identified in the previous discussion of Llano's *Poeticarum Institutionum Liber* of 1605.

²⁷⁹ Rodríguez Garrido 2005 finds a similar strategy in an eclogue from viceregal Peru.

Contreras, whom these eclogues possibly identify as Daphnis.²⁸⁰ Following a long tradition in Christian texts, the eclogues name church officials “shepherds,” while their congregations are “sheep.” The Jesuit poems use Daphnis without reference to his pre-Virgilian or mythic significance, but instead identify him with the Golden Age, perhaps inspired by his semi-divine status in *Eclogue* 5.²⁸¹ The Spanish humanist Luis Vives argued that Virgil’s Daphnis was a prefiguration of Christ.²⁸² On that basis, Daphnis could easily be associated with the ‘Messianic’ *Eclogue* 4, as is the case in these three poems.

The connection between Daphnis and the Golden Age is explored in the beginning of eclogue 3, *Thyrsis*. The shepherd Thyrsis sings about Daphnis presiding over the return of spring and rejuvenation of mankind. Evander’s description of the end of the Saturnian age in Italy supplies the image of a degenerate age in the poem:

*deterior donec paulatim ac decolor aetas
et belli rabies et amor successit habendi.
Aeneid 8.326-7*

“Gradually there appeared a meaner, degenerate age, a frenzy for war and a desire for gain.”

*decolor hinc aetas priscum meditabitur aurum
incipientque suos cuncti desuecsere mores
Thyrsis 8-9, 112v²⁸³*

²⁸⁰ Poole 2011 includes more information about the archbishop. For the Mexican church, see Cuevas 1923.

²⁸¹ Suárez 2015. For the figure of Daphnis, see Halperin 1983.

²⁸² Suárez 2015: 93, ft. 36. Suárez also shows how the allegorical interpretation of the *Eclogues* was adopted by Politian.

²⁸³ v. 9 *incipientque*] *incipiemque* Osorio Romero 1983.

“Then this degenerate age will consider its former golden hue, and all men will begin to lay aside their old ways.”

When the Jesuit poem describes a return to a golden hue, *priscum...aurum*, it alludes to Horace’s description of renewal in Augustan Rome: *redeant in aurum tempora priscum*, (*Carm.* 4.39-40). Once again, the golden age of *Eclogue* 4.4-10 suffuses the poet’s description of Daphnis’ arrival. Praise of Augustus becomes praise of the archbishop, as represented by the shepherd Daphnis.

The poem presents the council’s decisions in bucolic guise:²⁸⁴

*Qui cultus ovium qua se foelicius omni
consultum occiduo pecori, mala gramina vellant
suspectosque adimunt latices, decus additur aris
fit novus in Helicon monumenti daphnidis ingens,
nec pascendi artes deerunt neque ovilibus herbae
forte etiam indigenis solventur aratra iuvencis.*

Thirsis 15-20, 112v²⁸⁵

“They are the ones to take counsel about the care of the sheep, how it could be more advantageous for the entire western herd, to remove bad grass and keep the sheep away from poor water. Splendor is added to the altars; a new and remarkable Helicon rises, a monument of Daphnis. Guides for shepherding will not be lacking, nor grass for the sheepfold. Perhaps even the plows will be loosened from the native bulls.”

Like shepherds who feed and water the flock, the council has removed bad grass and poor water, a metaphor for the spiritual welfare of New Spain.²⁸⁶ Next, they inaugurate a renewal of religious devotion, from the offering of sacrifices to the construction of new

²⁸⁴ v. 15 *Qui*] *quid* Ms. 1631.

²⁸⁵ Verse 18 appears to be corrupt.

²⁸⁶ *vellunt*] *vellant*, Osorio Romero 1983.

temples, an allusion to urgent repairs of the Mexican cathedral.²⁸⁷ They call for treatises on cultivation (*pascendi artes*, 19), which refers to their demand for a common catechism and common ritual book in New Spain.²⁸⁸ Finally, the poet suggests that native bulls will be released from the plough, adapting a verse from *Eclogue* 4, in which spontaneous fertility renders agriculture unnecessary: *tauris iuga solvet arator*, (41). The image alludes to the Golden Age but the reference to indigenous bulls (*indigenis...iuvencis*) points to the council's monumental decision to abolish indigenous slavery.

Historical pastoral fashioned narratives about important developments in the colony from an elite perspective. The poems in Ms. 1631 were written and performed in the Jesuit colleges of the capital city before an audience of students, teachers, parents, and dignitaries. Through allegory the poets praise the archbishop and magnify the church Council for rejuvenating Mexico City. While contemporary interpretations of the *Eclogues* have drawn attention to Virgil's double-edged use of allegory, the pastoral poetry in Ms. 1631 is purely encomiastic. Panegyric pastoral could guide the audience toward the elite interpretation of events.

A good example of this appears in the two poems written for Viceroy Luís de Velasco: *Pro Domino Ludovico de Velasco*, and *Ecloga de adventu*. These commemorate his viceregal entrance into Mexico City in 1590, a lavish affair that could cost almost double

²⁸⁷ Poole 2018. Before the Third Provincial Council, one of the pillars of the central nave had failed, bringing down a section of the cathedral's roof.

²⁸⁸ Poole 1968: 114.

the city's annual budget.²⁸⁹ The festivities included music, fireworks, ephemeral architecture, and poetry recitals. The Society of Jesus, with help of the Cabildo, participated in the celebrations in 1590 with a play and short prize-winning poems written for the occasion.²⁹⁰

Pro Domino Ludovico de Velasco alludes to *Eclogue 4* to celebrate the viceroy as the herald of a new age. The first two verses relate the arrival of a lion (*Leo*) who will put to flight a tyrannical crab (*Cancer*). The lion is a fanciful allusion to the viceroy's first name, Luís. The identity of the crab can be deduced from the poem's subtitle: *Contra Marchiones*, "Against the Marques." The astrological symbolism highlights the succession of viceroys in New Spain. In the zodiac Leo follows Cancer, just as Luís de Velasco replaced Álvaro Manrique de Zúñiga, Marqués de Villamanrique, the seventh viceroy of New Spain (1585-1590). In his short term, Villamanrique fell afoul of secular and religious elite, who resented his authority.²⁹¹ The Audiencia of Guadalajara wrote letters of complaint to the King, the Inquisition, and the Council of the Indies, alleging that the colony was on the verge of civil war.²⁹² When news reached Spain, Villamanrique was removed from office and Velasco was sent to replace him.

²⁸⁹ Curcio-Nagy 2004: 19. Adorno 2019 examines the role of poetry in civic spectacle in Spanish America.

²⁹⁰ See Suárez 2015, who cites Osorio Romero along with the *Monumenta Mexicana*.

²⁹¹ See Greenleaf 1968 and Hanke 1977a.

²⁹² The complaints sent to the Council of the Indies can be found in Hanke 1977b.

It is now common opinion that the “Little War of Guadalajara” was a small episode in Villamanrique’s fall, and that the complaints sent to the Council of the Indies were exaggerated. Eclogue 9, *Pro Domino Ludovico de Velasco*, however, reflects propaganda from Spaniards in Mexico against Villamanrique. It paints a picture of disorder and destruction under the former viceroy, as well as growing resentment of Spaniards among American elites. Support for Luís de Velasco was based on his family history: he was the son of a former viceroy and, unlike his predecessor, had come of age in Mexico City.²⁹³ This, in turn, invited comparisons between the miraculous child of *Eclogue* 4 and the new viceroy, an almost native son of New Spain.

These narratives against the former viceroy shape the poem’s dark picture of life in New Spain under his rule. This crab spread pestilence over earth and sea: *peste et terras et mare cancer tenet* (9.2). The crab even attempted to subjugate Mount Lykaion, a mountain in Arcadia sacred to Zeus. Attempts to gain control over mountains is associated with the Giants’ assault on Olympus in classical mythology: by analogy, the crab is a force of disorder and chaos. Lykaion appears often in Virgil’s poetry, but its description as a sacred site suggests that it represents the Mexican church, another one of Villamanrique’s enemies. Under the crab, the world goes to ruin (*terra vel unda ruat*, 8). A shadow looms over Virgil’s pastoral world, a shadow which is absent from the pastoral poems of Ms. 1631, with the exception of these poems about the old viceroy. Yet even here, the threat to

²⁹³ Schwaller 2003.

the idyllic space of Arcadia is set in the past, while the poet looks forward to a glorious future under Velasco.

To describe the new viceroy and the New World, the poet turns to *Eclogue 4*:²⁹⁴

*Dii melius iam virgineo sol iungitur orbi
ferrea quae rapiunt aurea secla ferunt.
Vive o magnanime et sacro tibi vellere Parcae
arietis aetheri secula multa neant.
Pro Domino Ludovico de Velasco, 12-15, 148r*

“Gods, now a better sun is joined to the virgin world, and a golden age bears away the grasping iron age. Live long, great-hearted one, and may the Fates spin for you many years with the sacred wool of the heavenly ram.”

The New World is associated with the poet’s hope for a new Golden Age. The description of the Fates recalls their appearance in Virgil’s poem, where they spin thread and bless the years to come (*Ecl.* 4.46-47). The ‘Messianic’ eclogue was a form of panegyric in which Virgil equated the Golden Age with Pollio’s consulship (*Ecl.* 4.11-14). Political and prophetic themes of eclogue 9 are rooted in *Eclogue 4*, in which allegory allows the Jesuit poet to make sweeping claims about the new viceroy. The wool of the ram adds another layer of meaning to the astrological symbolism of the poem. Associations between Christ and the ram stem largely from Christian interpretation of the Genesis account of the sacrifice of Isaac, when God provided Abraham with a ram to replace his son. But the ram may equally represent the astrological sign Aries, which coincides with the vernal

²⁹⁴ This pastoral poem is written in elegiac couplets. Suárez 2015 does not consider this poem because it is “not an eclogue” (88, ft. 12). Yet it does engage with Virgil’s *Eclogues* and, as this discussion will show, the poems of Ms. 1631 push the boundary of what an eclogue can be.

equinox.²⁹⁵ The ram is thus associated with the return of spring, a further development in the Golden Age motif employed in this poem.

The *Ecloga de adventu*, like *Pro Domino Ludovico de Velasco*, presents Velasco as the deliverer of New Spain. In this poem, Daphnis represents Viceroy Velasco, who is also associated with the Golden Age. Two shepherds praise Daphnis in amoebaeon song as the blighted landscape renews with the coming of spring:²⁹⁶

*vere novo reparant; patulosque ad sidera ramos
extollunt quercus, quo sudant mella genistae
liliaque abiecti referunt candentia vepres
atque **incultus** ager pingui flavescit arista.*
Ecloga de adventu 12-15, 114r

“They revive with the new spring. The oaks raise their spreading branches to the stars, when the broom exudes honey and the lowly brier-bush offers gleaming lilies, as the untilled field grows yellow with rich grain”

The poet uses the *Georgics* and *Eclogues* to describe this miracle. The broom plant was described in *Georgics* 2 as a shrub that requires no cultivation (2.10-13), ideal for honeybees (2.434-36). The description of grain recalls the opening of the *Georgics*: *Chaoniam pingui glandem mutavit arista* (1.8). Virgil discusses the briar as a danger to sheep (*Georgics* 3.444) while briar removal is one of the few tasks allowed on holy days (*Georgics* 1.271). In the eclogue, the briar’s negative associations are turned on their head by the spontaneous production of lilies, symbols of beauty in Virgil’s poetry. At the same time, the passage

²⁹⁵ I thank Jay Reed for raising the ram’s astrological symbolism.

²⁹⁶ v. 13 *extollunt*] *extollit*, Osorio Romero 1983 and Suárez 2015. v. 14 *candentia*] *cadentia*, Osorio Romero 1983 and Suárez 2015.

exhibits a type of botanical remapping, whereby old-world species are imported to the American landscape.

The discussion of honey is also important. On the one hand, in *Eclogue 3*, the poet praises Pollio as the harbinger of abundance, when honey flows and brambles bear spices, *mella fluent illi, ferat et rubus asper amomum* (89). But miraculous honey also appears in *Eclogue 4*:²⁹⁷

*molli paulatim flavescent campus arista
incultisque rubens pendebit sentibus uua
et durae quercus sudabunt roscida mella.*
Eclogue 4.28-30

“The field will slowly grow yellow with waving grain, the dusky grape will hang from wild brambles, and the rough oaks will exude dewy honey.”

Like the *Ecloga de adventu*, *Eclogue 4* describes a ripening field, a transformation of sterile or harmful plants, and miraculous honey production. The poet adapts this passage with allusions to the natural world of the *Georgics*. The *incultus ager* of this poem looks to a later section of *Eclogue 4*, in which the Golden Age renders agriculture unnecessary. The landscape evoked in this poem exemplifies stock Golden Age imagery, which celebrates Daphnis as the cause of renewal.²⁹⁸ The arrival of the viceroy is feted as an event with far-reaching consequences for New Spain and indeed for the world. Historical pastoral from New Spain excavates Virgil’s exploration of social commentary in the *Eclogues* as a vehicle for elite perspectives.

²⁹⁷ Also noted by Suárez 2015.

²⁹⁸ The evocation of the Golden Age in Balbuena’s *Grandeza Mexicana* is discussed in Cacho Casal 2015.

D.) Christian Pastoral: *Eclogae de felicissimi B.P. Azebedi et Sociorum martyrio* (6-8)

The fusion of pagan and Christian traditions in pastoral poetry was not unique to the Jesuits. The *Ecloga Theoduli* (9th cent.), for example, had used a pastoral scene to describe the triumph of the Old Testament over pagan mythology. During the Renaissance Sannazaro's poem about the Nativity, *De partu Virginis*, united Virgil's pastoral motifs with the shepherds at Bethlehem. Thus, for example, his Lycidas, familiar from Virgil's *Eclogues*, sang the Christ child an account of the renewal of the world in the language of *Eclogue* 4. Connections between the Psalms and pagan poetry was sanctioned by the Catholic church. When the Council of Trent decreed that Jerome's Vulgate was the only authentic translation, they also endorsed Jerome's introduction to the book of Psalms, which praised the Psalmist as "our Simonides, Pindar, Alcaeus, Horace and Catullus."²⁹⁹ Moreover, as Cristóbal Cabrera's *Meditatiunculae* (Valladolid, 1545) show, overlap between Christian and pagan pastoral was already present in Mexico City by the middle of the sixteenth century.³⁰⁰

Pastoral imagery proves a useful vehicle for Christian messages in the three poems for Jesuit martyrs: eclogues 6-8. Both Laird and Suárez have respectively shown that the first two poems in Ms. 1631 reflect the early modern trend of employing Latin bucolic for epicedium: the *Ecloga in obitu* and *Chronidis Ecloga* are stylized laments.³⁰¹ The Jesuit

²⁹⁹ A discussion of Jerome can be found in Curtius 1963: 72-3.

³⁰⁰ Laird 2017.

³⁰¹ Laird 2018a and Suárez 2011a, as well as Suárez 2017. It is noteworthy that the Jesuit eclogues, like *Chronidis Ecloga*, move from grieving to consolation and assurance of the afterlife. Without further information about where and when *Chronidis Ecloga* was composed, however, one can

eclogues for the martyrs draw upon Christian beliefs to transform pastoral lament into rejoicing for the souls of the departed. Classical attitudes toward death and dying are thus reshaped as a dialogue between pagan and Christian beliefs.

Eclogues 6-8 in Ms. 1631 relate the martyrdom of Inácio de Azevedo and his thirty-nine companions, the 'Forty Martyrs of Brazil'.³⁰² These Jesuits were journeying to Brazil when their ship was attacked by the Huguenot pirate Jacques de Sores on July 15, 1570. The cult of the Forty Martyrs spread throughout Europe and Brazil, but these eclogues show that it reached Spanish America, too.³⁰³ When the first Jesuits reached New Spain in 1572, they introduced the cult of Azevedo and his companions to North America. These three eclogues are undated, though their placement in the manuscript suggests that they were composed in the late 1580s: they are preceded by poems for the Third Mexican Council (1585) and followed by the poems for Viceroy Velasco (1590).³⁰⁴

Lycidas, *Mopsus*, eclogue 6, presents the Forty Martyrs as fishermen attacked by a sea monster. Allusions to fishermen recall both the disciples of the Gospels and the Jesuits'

only speculate on the relationship between these texts. Ancient precedent can be found in *Eclogue* 5 and traced through Petrarch *Buc.* II and XI to Milton's *Lycidas* and *Epitaphium Damonis*. I am grateful to Jay Reed for this observation.

³⁰² The cult of the Forty Martyrs in print and visual culture can be found in Osswald and Hernández Palomo 2009 and Osswald 2010.

³⁰³ See, for example, José de Anchieta's numerous poems for Azevedo and his companions in Martins 1989.

³⁰⁴ This timeframe could be narrowed further. Osorio Romero 1980 has shown that one of the poets, Juan Laurencio, S.J., did not arrive in New Spain until 1588 (150).

practice of 'fishing', their term for evangelization through conversation.³⁰⁵ The Mexican Lycidas' funereal lament shows the influence of Virgil, Sannazaro, and Ovid. His first speech is illustrative of the poet's technique:

*His oculis, his, inquam, oculis quae funera vidi;
infelix o Mopse, mihi iam lumina fletu
deficiunt.*

Lycidas, Mopsus 1-3, 113v

"What violent murder I have seen with these very eyes. O unlucky Mopsus, my sight fails with weeping."

The metrical position of *quae funera vidi* is identical both to *Ex Ponto* 1.9.17 and *Piscatory Eclogues* 1.20-21. The poem refers to the French corsairs who killed the Jesuits as sea monsters, *Neptuni immania monstra* (8), language which comes from the *Piscatory Eclogues* (4.57). Later, the bodies of the fishermen are seen floating on the water, some already dead, *luce carentes* (16). This formula, *luce carentes*, was used in the *Georgics* for lifeless bees (4.255) as well as the souls in the underworld (4.472), and also appears in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (14.725; 15.531).

In response, his friend Mopsus describes the afterlife in pagan terms. He reminds Lycidas that the fishermen now live in Elysium and the Isles of the Blessed (*Elysios inter manes caetusque verendos*, 18), an echo of *Piscatory Eclogues* 1.92. In addition, the fishermen are now water deities:

*Saecula dum fuerint illi pia numina aquarum
semper erunt, semper faustum piscanitus omen.*

Lycidas, Mopsus 19-20, 113v

³⁰⁵ O'Malley 1993: 105 ff.

“For as long as time shall endure, they will always be the benevolent divine powers of the waters, always a good omen for fishermen.”

This characterization reflects Jesuit enthusiasm to canonize the Forty Martyrs: in Jesuit hagiography Azevedo and his companions offered protection against storms and shipwrecks, particularly for travelers to Brazil. Mopsus persuades Lycidas that the death of these men is by no means tragic: the fishermen will live on after death.

Eclogue 7, *Inter Lusitaniam et Brasilicon*, relates a conversation between two bucolic figures, Lusitania and Brasilicon. They represent the Jesuit provinces with which the Forty Martyrs are most closely associated, Portugal and Brazil. In this poem, news of their death is delivered by the sea goddess, Thetis, whose speech draws together the themes of cannibalism and the Eucharist. The poem illustrates Tertullian’s maxim that the blood of martyrs is the seed of the Church. The exchange between Lusitania and Brasilicon symbolizes the flow of information between the Jesuit provinces, as two shepherds, or two priests, exchange notes on the state of their missions. Lusitania’s first and only speech requests information about cannibalism, which is indirectly tied to the martyrs:

*Dic mihi, Brasilicon, subito quis tanta capellis
otia concessit? Quae, alternis morsibus ictae,
carne olim et tepido saturabant sanguine ventrem?*
Inter Lusitaniam et Brasilicon 1-3, 113v

“Tell me, Brasilicon, who gave this sudden rest to the goats? Did not these goats, now struck by an alternative form of eating, once feed their bellies with flesh and warm blood in the past?”

The carnivorous goats are the indigenous Brazilians, Brasilicon's flock, whom Portuguese sources frequently portrayed as bloodthirsty cannibals.³⁰⁶ These verses describe the effects of the missions: the people have put aside their cannibalism and embraced Christianity. Brasilicon describes how Thetis appeared to him. The nymphs in her train carry seashells brimming with warm blood of the martyrs (*gestantes plenas ferventi sanguine conchas*, 9). The cannibalistic rites foreshadow the arrival of this gory gift from the sea, which changes the missionaries' task in Brazil.

Coridon, *Lycidas*, the last poem for the martyrs, has a bucolic setting. Lycidas asks if a wolf killed Azevedus, while Corydon consistently refers to Azevedus as a shepherd.³⁰⁷ The Mexican Corydon describes Azevedo's death as *triste nefas*, familiar from *Aeneid* 2.184 and 7.596. Later, he wonders who could have stolen Azevedo from him (6): *charum quis te mihi casus ademit*, "What tragedy stole my precious friend from me?" This verse appears in Ovid's account of the death of Pyramus in the *Metamorphoses*.³⁰⁸ At the same time, this eclogue is rich in details from Jesuit hagiography. It is the only poem that gives Azevedo's first name, Ignatius, Latin for Inácio (6), and the only poem that tells us that the Forty Martyrs were cudgelled to death (12-13). Lycidas consoles his friend that Azevedo has won a laurel crown. The laurel was a feature of hagiography, but the description of a shepherd receiving semi-divine status in an eclogue recalls the deification of Daphnis in *Eclogue* 5.

³⁰⁶ Cannibalism is discussed in Chapter 1 and Chapter 4.

³⁰⁷ Wolves in the *Eclogues*: 3.80-81, 5.60-61, 8.52.

³⁰⁸ *Pyrame, clamavit, quis te mihi casus ademit?* *Met.* 4.142

When Corydon and Lycidas agree to sing Azevedo's praises at the close, they follow a pattern established by Virgil's Mopsus and Menalcas in the same poem.

In serving as a vehicle for Church doctrine and Jesuit hagiography, the poems for Azevedo and the Forty Martyrs combine elegiac lament with *consolatio* to give a Christian perspective on death. The poems use Virgilian language implicitly to promote the cult of the Forty Martyrs in Spanish America.

E.) Eclectic Pastoral: *Ecloga in obitu* (1), *Chronidis Ecloga* (2), *Eclogae de Progressu* (11-12)

Virgil's *Eclogues* are the most important source for the Jesuit eclogues, but they are not the only models used, as the foregoing discussion has shown. The Mexican poems reflect the extent to which pastoral had become even more flexible and eclectic than in Virgil's poetry.³⁰⁹ This tradition also demonstrates the vibrancy of elite intellectual life in colonial Mexico City and its appropriation of classical literature.

The first two poems in Ms. 1631, *Ecloga in obitu* and *Chronidis Ecloga*, show signs of this eclecticism. As noted, neither poem was written in New Spain, but they were copied into the manuscript as models for student composition: the variety of sources and genres they employ therefore sheds light on composition of Latin bucolic in the Jesuit schools. Suárez suggests that the habit of excerpting Latin literature for students encouraged a

³⁰⁹ Some idea of this has been traced by Suárez 2017 and Suárez 2011b.

“culture of the fragment,” leading to the very eclecticism prized in early modern bucolic poetry.³¹⁰

This excerpt from the *Alcon*, the *Ecloga in obitu*, shows the influence of the *Georgics*, as well as Erasmus’ *Adagia*. Verses 8-15 rework the nightingale simile of *Georgics* 4.511-515, where the poet Orpheus is compared to a nightingale. *Ecloga in obitu* ends with the plaintive observation that death snatches away the best things in life (*ergo optima quaeque rapit*, 27-28). The manuscript ends here, though Castiglione’s full verse - *optima quaeque rapit duri inclementia fati* - condensed Virgil’s own reflections in the *Georgics*:

*optima quaeque dies miseris mortalibus aevi
prima fugit; subeunt morbi tristisque senectus
et labor, et durae rapit inclementia mortis.
Georgics 3.66-68*

“The best days are always the first to abandon poor mortals; disease, old age, and hardship advance, and the ruthlessness of harsh death sweeps them away.”

This gave rise to the proverb *Mors optima rapit*, in Erasmus’ *Adagia* (Paris, 1500), which cited these verses in the *Georgics*. The *Adagia*, an annotated collection of Greek and Latin proverbs, were printed and read throughout Europe; the National Library of Mexico preserves six copies of the *Adagia*, all of which were printed before Ms. 1631 was compiled. Erasmus’ collection of proverbs, themselves excerpted from classical authors, seem to have influenced the selection from Castiglione’s *Alcon*, which suggests that Ms. 1631 was compiled according to humanist tastes.

³¹⁰ Suárez 2011a. Excerpting and commonplace books are discussed in Kallendorf 2015, Blair 2010, and Waquet 2001.

The sources of *Chronidis Ecloga* are even more varied. In this poem, the shepherd Lycidas narrates the lament of the shepherd Sylvanus for his friend Chronis, whose death is reported by the nymph Echo. Like *Alcon*, *Chronidis Ecloga* follows the standard for pastoral lament set in *Eclogues* 5 and 10, the laments for Daphnis. Lycidas' opening narrative has been shown to draw upon epic sources: the *Metamorphoses* and the *Punica*.³¹¹ The echoing conversation between Sylvanus and Echo clearly relies upon Ovid's treatment of Echo and Narcissus (*Met.* 3.380-92). In what follows, a number of ancient and early modern texts intertexts will be highlighted to show the relations between this poem in Ms. 1631 and pastoral traditions in the early modern period.

The poet's description of a shady bower attests to a wide-ranging knowledge of Roman poetry. One striking feature of the landscape is its mountains and birds:

*exornant gemini montes, ubi **turba canoros**
alituum per colla modos effundit in auras*
*Chronidis Ecloga 36-7*³¹²

"Twin mountains adorn the spot, where the throats of the winged throng pour out their tuneful strains into the breeze."

This pastoral description comes from Virgil's description of the music of swans: *et longa canoros dant per colla modos*, *Aeneid* 7.700-1. The bower is sketched in greater detail:

*...surgens ubi nobilis arbor
frondibus ut velo phoebaeos amovet ignes,
dum calor immodicus flagrantia decoquit arva,
hic gravis umbrifero vitabat tegmine solem
Sylvanus, medios sol cum conscenderet axes.*
Chronidis Ecloga 43-47

³¹¹ Laird 2018a shows the importance of Silius Italicus' *Punica* 7.282-287 for the passage. Ruiz Camacho 2005 discusses the influence *Met.* 7.185-87.

³¹² v. 36 *canoros*] *coronas* Osorio Romero 1983, Laird 2018a. v. 37 *colla*] *collam* Laird 2018a.

“Where a soaring noble tree puts aside the sun’s fire as with a covering, while excessive heat burns the scorching fields, here did grave Sylvanus evade the sun with a shady covering, as the sun climbs to the middle of the heavens.”

The bower offers shade just as it did in the *Metamorphoses*: *ut uelo Phoebeos submouet ignes*, 5.389. Sylvanus avoids the blaze under the tree as the poet of Ovid’s *Amores* did: *sub arboreis uitabam frondibus aestum*, 3.5.7. Moreover, it is the hottest part of the day, when the sun reaches its zenith. A similar description can be found in the *Georgics*: *medios cum sol accenderit aestus*, 4.401). Numerous school texts approached ancient poetry as a mine for *topoi*: this shady bower is constructed from several passages on the same theme, encouraged by this practical approach to Latin poetry.

Chronidis Ecloga bears the mark of unscrupulous humanists. Sylvanus longs for death and complains that it does not come when wanted: *mors inopina venis, cur nunc optata recedes*, 185. A similar lament can be found in Maximian, a Latin elegiac poet of the 6th century: *Dulce mori miseris, sed mors optata recedit*, *Eleg.* 1.113. While Maximian was a common text in medieval education, his influence in the early modern period was the result of deliberate deception.³¹³ The *editio princeps* of his poems was printed in 1473, but in 1501 Pomponio Guaricio published them as the poems of Cornelius Gallus, elegiac poet and subject of Virgil’s *Eclogue* 10. Humanists embraced Maximian’s poetry as the missing link between elegy and pastoral and reprinted the poems of “Gallus” throughout the 16th

³¹³ Wetherbee 2005: 122. For Maximian’s poetics, see Fielding 2017: 141-181.

century.³¹⁴ This echo in *Chronidis Ecloga* suggests that the poem responds to the supposed recovery of Gallus' poetry. An allusion to "Gallus" thus inscribes *Chronidis Ecloga* within the tradition of *Eclogue* 10, melding pastoral and elegiac verse as Virgil once did.

Perhaps one reason for the inclusion of *Chronidis Ecloga* in Ms. 1631 lies in its portrayal of the exchange between Sylvanus and the nymph Echo. While the passage obviously reworks the scene between Echo and Narcissus in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, it is interesting to consider the *Chronidis Ecloga* in relation to the Spanish *soneto con eco*, which emerged from the writings of Baroque authors like Lope de Vega and Francisco de Quevedo. The most famous example of this type of echo sequence from New Spain would be Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz' *El divino Narciso* (1689), which, like the *Chronidis Ecloga*, is densely allegorical and features an echo passage at the crux of the *auto sacramental*. The presence of this Latin poem in Ms. 1631 may attest to an early appreciation of *conceptismo* in Mexico City at the end of the sixteenth century. This, in turn, may have been a result of education in the Colegio Máximo. Llanos' *Poeticarum Institutionum Libri* (México 1605), which was the standard poetry textbook, devotes six pages to the echo poem (326-331), which he praises as *periucundum, argutum et lepidum*, "very pleasing, witty, and elegant," (326).

A similar note of eclecticism can be found in *Eclogue* 11 (*Proteus Ecloga*) and 12 (*Dorilas, Lycon*), which celebrate the advance of Latin letters in New Spain.³¹⁵ The first of

³¹⁴ Szövérfy 1968.

³¹⁵ The relationship between these two poems and Balbuena's *Grandeza Mexicana* is studied in Cacho Casal 2015.

these, *Proteus Ecloga*, shows a sophisticated use of ancient, late antique, and early modern sources. The second poem, written by the same poet, is modelled on Sannazaro's *Piscatory Eclogues*. Of all the pastoral poems in Ms. 1631, this shows the most independence from the Virgilian tradition, though two key passages near the end employ Virgil and Ovid to praise New Spain.

The song of Proteus in *Proteus Ecloga* has four stanzas of varying length with the following refrain (12, 17, 24, 30):

Volvite praecipites vaga sidera volvite cursus

"Turn, ye wandering stars, turn your headlong courses"

The use of a refrain in Latin bucolic appears in *Eclogue* 8 and *Piscatory Eclogue* 5. In the latter poem, the refrain has similar language to the refrain of Proteus (32, 36, 40, 43, 54, 59, 63):

Volvite praecipitem iam nunc, mea licia, rhombum

"Turn now, my threads, the headlong wheel"

The figure of Proteus appeared to narrate the past in *Piscatory Eclogue* 4 and was a prophet in the *Georgics* as well as Homer's *Odyssey*. Proteus continued to be associated with prophecy in later Latin and verse poetry: he is, for example, a favorite protagonist in the series of Lepanto poems written across the globe.³¹⁶ The source may be Sannazaro's *De Partu Virginis* (1526). There the river Jordan describes the life and ministry of Christ, as foretold by Proteus (3.331-485). Thus his association with prophecy began with Virgil, was bent to

³¹⁶ López de Toro 1950 and Wright et al. 2014. The discovery of Pedrosa's *Austriaca* shows that the Lepanto tradition extends to the Americas as well as Europe.

Christian messages by Sannazaro, and, for an Iberian audience, had recently appeared in vernacular and Latin literature about the naval battle at Lepanto.³¹⁷

The aquatic world of this poem though is not Sannazaro's but Virgil's. Triton herds seals (*phocas...caeruleos*, 1-2), an allusion to Proteus' task in the *Georgics* (*turpis pascit sub gurgite phocas*, 4.395). The poet describes Proteus emerging from the water in Virgil's language:

... cum Protheus *alto*
emergens pelago, placidum caput extulit undis
venturas tacito volvens sub pectore sortes.
Protheus Ecloga 3-5, 114v

“When Proteus rose from the ocean's depths and raised his serene face from the waves, pondering the future's destiny in his silent breast.”

This description echoes the moment when Proteus emerges from the sea in the *Georgics* (4.429-31), though this is not the only source. Virgil used *extulit undis* (*Aeneid* 3.215, 9.817), as did Ovid (*Met.* 5.487). When Proteus raises his head above the waves, he mimics Neptune in the *Aeneid* (1.126-7): *et alto prospiciens summa placidum caput extulit unda*, “and gazing out over the ocean he raised his serene face above the tops of the waves.” In addition, Proteus' preoccupation with the future picks up another passage from Virgil. In the *Aeneid*, Latinus dwelt upon an oracle in almost the same language: *uoluit sub pectore sortem* (7.254). Images of sea gods tending seals and emerging from the water are drawn from Virgil, as are the evocations of Proteus' divine powers.

³¹⁷ He had also appeared in Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, and therefore has an important role in both vernacular and Latin Renaissance epics. See, for example, his role in Pedrosa's *Austriaca* (Ch. 2). For criticism of Proteus' role in Sannazaro, see Alegre's *Alexandrias* (Ch. 5).

The last eclogue of Ms. 1631 is imagined as a conversation between two fishermen, Dorylas and Lycon. These figures appear in the *Piscatory Eclogues* but not in Virgil.³¹⁸ These fishermen are two Jesuits in Hesperia, or New Spain. Throughout the poem elements from the *Eclogues* are translated and adapted for a coastal setting. Lycon describes empty wicker baskets in the water, an image used in *P.E.* 3.12. He invites Dorylas to sit with him in the shade of a cliff (*scopuli pendentis in umbra*, 4) on green algae (*sedem alga ministrat*, 5). The overhanging cliff can be found in *P.E.* 5.2 (*scopuli pendentis in umbra*), but the convention of sitting in the shade stems from the beech tree in *Eclogue* 1. Like the shepherds of the *Eclogues*, these fishermen work together. Lycon's offer to help pull the catch to shore (*trahemus captivos...ad litora pisces*, 7-8) echoes a passage from Sannazaro (*captivosque trahunt ad litora pisces*, *P.E.* 2.6). Lycon waits for little tuna (*expectans celeres ad dulcia pabula tinnos*, 14) like a fisherman in the *Piscatory Eclogues* (*expectoque leves ad pabula thynnos*, 1.2).

The usefulness of the fisherman allegory becomes clear when Dorylas and Lycon discuss their teacher, the new Apollo. The allegory of the fisherman/Jesuit/disciple has already been discussed, but the description of Apollo follows the life and ministry of Christ:

*Adde quod edocuit nostri novus incola ponti
quo modo temporibus venientia tempora lapsis
succedant. Qua lege vagos agitare cachinos
expediat, remisque udos percurrere campos
ac tandem iratos pelagi componere fluctus.
Ecloga de eadem re 20-24, 115r*

“Add to this what the new inhabitant of our ocean taught us: how the approaching seasons advance as time slips away, by what law one may stir the rippling waves, skim over the damp sea upon oars and finally calm the angry billows of the deep.”

³¹⁸ Dorylas in *Piscatory Eclogues* 5 and Lycon in *Piscatory Eclogues* 2.

Apollo has taught the fishermen about the changing of the seasons and given them new techniques for angling and sailing: he has taught them how to be better fishermen. Finally, he has taught them how to control the seas, both to stir and calm the waves. A classical source for the unusual transfer of *cacchinus* to water first appears in Catullus 64.273: *leviterque sonant plangore cachinni*. Yet there is another intertext for this passage. The same metrical position and phrase, *componere fluctus*, is used when Neptune calms the sea in *Aeneid* 1.135. The essential narrative, however, alludes to the calming of the Sea of Galilee, one of the miracles in the Gospels.³¹⁹ Virgil's poetry allows the poet to signal that Apollo is an allegory for Christ, and serves the interests of the Christian poet.

The end of the eclogue is modelled on *Piscatory Eclogues* 3.70-77, though it will be shown that the poet adds passages from the *Eclogues*, the *Fasti*, and the *Aeneid*. The two fishermen exchange a list of deities and their respective cult sites:³²⁰

Ly. ***Ortygiam Phoebus Tenedon dilexit Apollo,
grata Iovi Creta est, Baccho gratissima Nissus,
sed mea vidissent si litora, protinus ipse
Ortygiam Phoebus, Tenedon liquisset Apollo.***

Dor. ***Pallada Cecropidae, coluit Minoia Dianam,
celsa Paphus Venerem, Iunonem maxima Memphis,
sola est Hesperia, Hesperiae si commoda norint
nec Paphus occiduas nec Memphis vinceret oras.***
 Ecloga de eadem re 25-32, 115r

Ly. "Phoebus cherishes Ortygia, Apollo Tenedos. Crete is pleasing to Jove, Nisus is most dear to Bacchus. But if they should see my shores, then soon Phoebus himself would leave Ortygia and Apollo Tenedos.

³¹⁹ Matthew 8:23-27, Mark 4:35-41, Luke 8:22-25.

³²⁰ v. 28 *Tenedon*] *Tenedom*, Osorio Romero 1983. v. 31 *Hesperia*] *Hisperia*, Osorio Romero 1983.

Dor. "The sons of Cecrops worship Pallas, and Minoan Crete Diana; lofty Paphus worships Venus, and great Memphis Juno. Hesperia is alone. If they knew the charms of Hesperia, neither Paphus nor Memphis would surpass the shores of the west."

Compare these verses with Sannazaro's eclogue:³²¹

Chr. *Est Veneri Cypros gratissima, Creta tonanti*
Iunonique Samos, Vulcano maxima Lemnos;
Aenariae portus Hyale dum pulchra tenebit,
nec Samos Aenariam vincet nec maxima Lemnos.

Iol. *Gradivus Rhodopen et Mercurius Cyllenen,*
Ortygiam Phoebe, Tritonia iactat Hymetton;
Nisa colit Prochyten; Prochytes si commoda norint,
Ortygiam Phoebe, Tritonia linquat Hymmeton.
Piscatory Eclogue 3.70-77

Chr. "Cyprus is most pleasing to Venus, Crete to the Thunderer. Samos to Juno and great Lemnos to Vulcan. While lovely Hyale holds the harbors of Aenaria, neither Samos nor great Lemnos will surpass Aenaria."

Iol. "Gradivus boasts of Rhodope and Mercury of Cyllene, Phoebe of Ortygia, and Tritonia of Hymettus. Nisa dwells on Prochyte. If they knew the advantages of Prochyte, Phoebe would abandon Ortygia, Tritonia Hymettus."

Both in structure and in language the Jesuit eclogue and *P.E.3* are similar. Another model for this sequence can be found in *Eclogue* 7.61-64, when Corydon describes the gods' favorite plants. The poet also adds a verse from Ovid's *Fasti*, about cult sites of the ancient world (3.81-86). The Mexican Dorylas' first verse is a variation on *Fasti* 3.29: *Pallada Cecropidae, Minoia Creta Dianam*. Furthermore, this eclogue says that Venus loves lofty Paphus, *celsa*

³²¹ Suárez 2011b discusses some of these similarities.

Paphus (30), an epithet used by the goddess in the *Aeneid*.³²² Finally, these shepherds insist upon the merits of Hesperia, an evocation of Virgil's Italy in the *Aeneid*. The word *Hesperia* in Latin simply refers to "the land to the west," usually referring to Italy from the Greek point of view. Yet *Hesperia* was also used by the Romans to refer to Spain, as seen in Horace *Odes* 1.36.4 or Martial 13.40.2. Here, however, *Hesperia* has been described from the Spanish point of view, inscribing New Spain within an ancient tradition of viewing the west as a space of colonization.³²³ The eclogue gives Spanish America its place among the ancient sites of Roman poetry through its eclectic use of non-pastoral sources, creating *Hesperia* for the newly formed community in the colonial city.

Conclusion

The Latin poems from Mexico City in Ms. 1631 draw language, conventions and allegoresis from Virgil's *Eclogues*. They were written for educated members of New Spanish society and therefore reflect an early articulation of an American lettered class.³²⁴ The pastoral poems are thus part of a body of literature that attests to an emerging identity among denizens of the city, who share in the celebrations of church councils, viceroys, martyrs, and the new colleges. This study of the poems in Ms. 1631 and the *Poeticarum Institutionum Liber* has shown how pastoral served as a vehicle for Christian messages and

³²² *Aeneid* 10.51: *est Amathus, est celsa mihi Paphus atque Cythera*.

³²³ This excellent observation was made by Jay Reed and also considered in Laird 2006.

³²⁴ Rama 1984 discusses lettered men as the producers and receivers of high culture in Spanish America. Creole identity is the subject of Pagden 1987, Brading 1991 and Bauer and Mazzotti 2009.

has shed light on the role of the Jesuit colleges in Mexico City as well as the importance of Virgil in school education.

PART III. HEROIC EPICS FROM NEW SPAIN

CHAPTER 4. GUADALUPE (Ms. 1594 B.N.M.)

The *Guadalupe* is an outstanding example of Latin poetry from the Americas and part of the corpus of devotional literature written for the Virgin of Guadalupe. This sweeping epic is infused with Virgilian themes, motifs, and language as well as a Virgilian approach to imperial and cosmological history. The epic's treatment of Aztec history in Book 2 will be examined in relationship to Virgil's presentation of the history of the Carthaginians, the Latins, and the Romans in the *Aeneid*. Finally, the catalogue of flowers in Book 3 will be studied as a response to Guadalupan literature and to similar catalogues in Ovid, Claudian, and the pseudo-Virgilian *Culex*.

A.) Villerías and the *Guadalupe*

José Antonio de Villerías y Roelas (1695-1728) was an accomplished poet of Latin, Greek and Spanish verse.³²⁵ He published a few short poems, but most of his compositions survive in a single manuscript in the National Library of Mexico (Ms. 1594). The contents demonstrate the range of Villerías' skills and interests: Latin hymns, Greek and Latin epigrams, a Latin versification of the *Song of Songs*, a Latin translation of Gregorius Corinthius' treatise on Greek dialects, and the *Guadalupe*, an epic in four books.³²⁶ Born in Mexico City, Villerías received a scholarship to attend the Royal University of New Spain, before entering civil service. He died young, but Osorio Romero has shown that he was mourned in the *Gazeta de México* as a promising author. Though his career was short, a

³²⁵ His life and works can be found in Osorio Romero 1979 and 1991.

³²⁶ This partial survey of Ms. 1594 is taken from the catalogue in Osorio Romero 1991: 376-407. The Appendix contains more information.

survey of his printed works shows that his network included members of the clergy, the university and local government.³²⁷ While it is not known where Villerías was educated before the Royal University, he likely was taught by the Jesuits, as his papers passed into the library of the Colegio Máximo after his death.

The *Guadalupe*, Villerías' most ambitious poem, describes the apparition of the Virgin Mary to the Indian Juan Diego in 1,755 Latin hexameters.³²⁸ These events allegedly took place on December 12, 1531, just outside of Mexico City on a mountain called Tepeyac. The shrine of the Guadalupe became an important site of religious veneration during the colonial period and the Virgin of Guadalupe continues to play a central role in the religious life of Mexico and the Americas.³²⁹ In Villerías' telling, the Virgin intercedes in heaven to save Mexicans from the god of the underworld, Pluto, and his daughter Tonantzin, a Mexican goddess. Like the early epics of Spanish America and Brazil, the *Guadalupe* fits Cañizares-Esguerra's model of the 'Satanic epic', in which the faithful, as represented by Juan Diego and the bishop of Mexico, are pitted against enemies in league

³²⁷ His first publication, *La Máscara* (México 1721) described the celebrations for the new chair of theology at the university. *Llanto de las Estrellas* (México 1725) was a commemorative anthology for the death of Luis I of Spain. His posthumous publication, *Escudo triunfante* (México 1728) was a versification of Gabriel Cerrada's homonymous treatise on the Brown Scapular of the Virgin Mary. See Osorio Romero 1991: 33-61 for more details.

³²⁸ The only extant edition, with Spanish translation, is Osorio Romero 1991. All quotations of the *Guadalupe* are from Osorio Romero 1991. All translations are my own. Laird 2010a is the first Anglophone study of the *Guadalupe* in relation to the Virgilian tradition.

³²⁹ An excellent overview can be found in Brading 2001. For modern Latin poetry for the Virgin of Guadalupe, see Cabrera 2016.

with the devil.³³⁰ Yet unlike Anchieta and Pedrosa, Villerías redeems Amerindian Mexican history as a prelude to the rise of New Spain. It is Tonantzin, the Mexican goddess, not Mexicans, who collude with Satan. The *Guadalupe* presents the Virgin as the patroness of indigenous Mexicans and of American-born Spaniards alike and, following local tradition, interprets the apparition as a sign of Mexican exceptionalism.

1. Summary of Guadalupe

After an invocation and brief account of the conquest of Tenochtitlan, the poem begins with a council of war between Pluto and Tonantzin, which is countered by the Virgin Mary's intercession in a council of heaven. She then appears to a humble Indian, *Joannes*, a Latinization of Juan Diego. Pluto and Tonantzin plot to create mistrust between the bishop of Mexico, Juan de Zumárraga, and Juan Diego. At the end of this book, the Virgin appears to Juan Diego a second time. At the start of Book 2, Pluto and Tonantzin visit Atlas under Lake Texcoco, where they learn that the Virgin will eventually triumph over them. Juan Diego meets with the bishop for a second time and is followed home by two of the bishop's servants. Pluto and Tonantzin disguise themselves as peasants and convince these servants that Juan Diego is a magician. The Virgin appears to Juan Diego a third time and asks him to meet her on Tepeyac (*Tepeyacis*) the following day.

In Book 3 Pluto pays a visit to *Cocolistus*, a personification of a Mexican disease, who then infects Juan Diego's uncle, Bernardino.³³¹ The Virgin appears to Juan Diego a

³³⁰ Discussed in Ch. 1 and 2. The Satanic epic is discussed in Cañizares-Esguerra 2006, a paradigm to which Hardie 2014 refers in his discussion of the *Aeneid* (149-172).

³³¹ Prem 1991 gives a history of the disease, while Warrinner et al. 2013 offers archaeological evidence. Vâgene et al. 2018 and Acuña-Soto et al. 2000 attempt to identify it.

fourth time, promises to heal Bernardino and sends Juan Diego to gather flowers. Though it is the middle of winter, Juan Diego finds flowers on the mountain, which he collects in his cloak. Juan Diego meets with the bishop for the last time in Book 4. The poet invokes the angels, the Holy Spirit, a Camena and the Nymphs, before he describes the miraculous image of the Virgin upon Juan Diego's cloak. The crowd marvels at her image, the bishop believes, and Juan Diego is praised as the St. John of New Spain. The epic concludes with an ecphrasis of the sacred image.

2. Proem and Invocation

Villeras uses the beginning of the *Guadalupe* to mark himself as a New Spanish follower of Virgil. The proem shows how the poet has conceived of his topic in relationship to classical models, blending *aemulatio* and *imitatio*:

*Indigenam dic, Musa, Deam, quam Mexica quondam
conspexit tellus, patriis emergere pulchram
floribus, et sese (Veneris miracula contra)
purpureo nitidam decorare cruore rosarum.*

Guadalupe 1.1-4

"Tell me, Muse, of the lovely native goddess, whom Mexico once saw emerge from her native flowers, and adorn her shining body with the blood-red glow of roses – the opposite of Venus' miracles."

The Virgin Mary is here presented in opposition to the goddesses of Amerindian and classical mythology. The first word, *indigenam*, establishes the unique relationship between the Virgin of Guadalupe and New Spain. At the same time, Villeras supplants native, pagan goddesses with the mother of Christ as the true object of veneration in Mexico. Her association with roses assimilates the Virgin to the goddess Venus. The color of the roses (*purpureo...cruore rosarum*, 4) further develops this motif, associating the

apparition on Tepeyac with Venus' birth from the blood of Saturn or, perhaps even more likely, with the *topos* that roses turned red from the blood they drew from Aphrodite.³³² The creation of the Virgin's image from the red hue of the roses is thus a reversal of the ancient myth.³³³ Villerías' binary between Venus and Mary also has roots in the Catholic doctrine of the immaculate conception, according to which Mary was said to have been conceived without sin and without sexual intercourse.³³⁴ The relation between Villerías' address to the Muse and Horace's *Ars Poetica*, as well as Pontano's *Urania*, has been demonstrated.³³⁵ To this should be added Villerías' imitation of the address to Venus at the start of Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura* (1.1-27).

The invocation identifies God the Father as the poet's source of inspiration, rejecting the pagan Muse in favor of a heavenly one. This is articulated through Virgil:

*Tu, Pater omnipotens, summi moderator Olympi,
qui bene junctarum modularis carmina rerum,
omnia mensura, numeroque et pondere claudens,
dirige nitentem; nam jam piget ante prophanam
accersisse Deam; sordet Parnasia rupes,
sordent Castalii latices, et cuncta canenti
celsius, oh! sordent priscorum numina vatum.*

³³² As Jay Reed pointed out, this derives from Bion's *Epitaph on Adonis* 22. This version of the myth can be found in Philostr. *Epist.* 1 and 4, *Anth. Lat.* 85 and 366.3-4, *Pervigilium Veneris* 22-3, Aphthonius *Progymnasmata* ch. 2, *Geoponica* 11.17, George Pachymeris *Prognm*, 5, Nicephorus *Progymn.* 7.9, Tzetzes on Lycophr. 831. Cf. Dracontius *De origine rosarum*, Luxorius, *Anth. Lat.* 366.5 Riese, Reposianus "Concubitus Martis et Veneris" = *Anth. Lat.* 253.33-4 Riese. In the early modern period Poliziano translate the *δυῖγγμα* into Latin and used it in *Rusticus* 183, and Lorenzo de Medici used it in Sonnet LXXVI.

³³³ I am extremely grateful to Jay Reed for this excellent idea.

³³⁴ Laird 2010a: 225.

³³⁵ *Ibid.*

Guadalupe 1.5-11

“You, almighty Father, ruler of high Olympus, you who sing the songs of things that are well united, finishing all things with measure, meter and rhythm, you must direct me as I labor; but now I regret summoning the pagan goddess earlier; the mount of Parnassus, the Castalian waters, and all the divinities of the ancient poets are utterly worthless to anyone who sings higher about all things!”

The poet addresses God as *pater omnipotens*, *summi moderator Olympi* (5), the epithets used of Jupiter in Virgil.³³⁶ God the poet, who creates through his poems, reworks the Genesis account, in which God formed the world through speech. The description of things well united (*bene junctarum...rerum*, 6), reworks the discordant creation at *Metamorphoses* 1.9, *non bene junctarum discordia semina rerum*.³³⁷ The perfection of creation thus reflects God’s mastery of meter, rhythm and cadence, which renders him a fitting source of poetry. At the same time, it is a metapoetic representation of the poet’s neat conflation of pagan and Christian material in the *Guadalupe*.³³⁸ Villerías rejects Parnassus and Castalia, the very sites which Virgil identified as his inspiration in the *Georgics*.³³⁹ Second, *cuncta canenti celsius* (10-11) echoes Virgil’s comments upon his poetics in the *Eclogues* (*paulo maiora canamus*, 4.1) and in the *Aeneid* (*maius opus moueo*, 7.45). The substitution of *cuncta* for

³³⁶ *Pater omnipotens*: A.1.60, 3.251, 4.25, 6.592, 7.141, 7.770, 8.398, 10.100, 12.178. *Summi moderator Olympi*: *superi regnator Olympi* (A.2.779); *summi regnator Olympi* (A.7.558); *magni regnator Olympi* (A.10.437). Osorio Romero 1991 *ad loc.* draws attention to *Aen.* 7.558 and 10.437.

³³⁷ As noted by Osorio Romero 1991 *ad loc.*

³³⁸ Another observation owed to Jay Reed.

³³⁹ *sed me Parnasi deserta per ardua dulcis | raptat amor; iuuat ire iugis, qua nulla priorum | Castaliam molli deuertitur orbita cliuo.* *Georgics* 3.291-293

maiora is a totalizing claim, while the adverb *celsius* shows that the poet claims a theme that is heavenly, and therefore “higher,” as well as in a higher vein.

After this *recusatio*, Villerías turns to Biblical models in classical garb. The poet asks God to inspire him as he did the shepherd David:

*Ergo age, divinum pius ingere cantum
arte lyrae, qualem trux per nermora avia pastor
Isaides olim, defessus caede leonum,
commissit silvae, et dociles didicere capellae.*
Guadalupe 1.12-15

“Therefore come, devoutly bring me a divine song with the art of the lyre, such a song as once the fierce shepherd, the son of Jesse, tired from the hunting of lions, entrusted to the forest through the pathless woods, such as his docile goats once learned.”

David appears in the guise of a character from the *Eclogues*, singing his songs to the woods and goats. Even the idea of the goats learning his songs (*didicere*) picks up a trope of pastoral song used by Virgil.³⁴⁰ The lyre, of course, is associated with poetry in both classical and Biblical literature, which allows Villerías to draw the poetic traditions together.³⁴¹ Virgil’s shepherds protected the flock from wolves, just as the Bible records that David killed lions in the course of his duties.³⁴² Nor was this the first time that David had been identified with Virgil’s *Eclogues*. In *De Partu Virginis*, for example, Sannazaro presents him singing a prophecy in the style of *Ecl.* 4, in which the miraculous child is

³⁴⁰ As in *Ecl.* 1.5 (*formosam resonare doces Amaryllida siluas*) and *Ecl.* 6.83 (*audit Eurotas iussitque ediscere lauros*).

³⁴¹ A history traced in Karlin 2013. Harrán 2015 studies the lyre and Hebrew scholarship.

³⁴² The *Eclogues* speak of boars (3.74-75), wolves (3.80-81, 5.60-61, 8.52) and lions (4.22). For David as the slayer of lions and bears, 1 Samuel 17: 34-36.

definitively identified as the Christ (Book 1.245-452). Furthermore, since the commentary tradition identified Virgil with the shepherd Tityrus, a singing shepherd could also represent the figure of the poet.³⁴³ Drawing upon this tradition, Villerías imagines himself as the new David, a poet inspired by God but shaped by the themes and aspirations of Virgil.

3. *Structure and Language*

The structure of the *Aeneid* provides a frame for the *Guadalupe*. As has been noted, the so-called Satanic epic capitalized upon a dualism that already existed in the *Aeneid*, namely the opposition between order and chaos.³⁴⁴ The same paradigm can be observed in the presentation of divine and infernal deities of the *Guadalupe*. The first half of the *Guadalupe* does not reflect the wanderings of the first six books of the *Aeneid*, but instead evokes the supernatural encounters that mark the first half of Virgil's epic. In this way, the conflicts between deities and between men are preeminent in the *Guadalupe*. Just as the embittered Juno had the first speech in the *Aeneid*, so too does Pluto speak first in the *Guadalupe*.³⁴⁵ The Virgin Mary intercedes on behalf of Mexicans in the first book as the goddess Venus championed the Trojans before Zeus. Like the *Aeneid*, the *Guadalupe* delays the introduction of its mortal protagonists, Juan Diego and the bishop, until after the gods have had their say. The council of discontented deities (1.103-62) corresponds to Juno's

³⁴³ Servius on *Ecl.* 1.1: *Tityri sub persona Vergilium debemus accipere* (Thilo and Hagen 1961, 3.4).

³⁴⁴ See Ch. 1 and Ch. 2, as well as Hardie 2014: 136.

³⁴⁵ As discussed in Laird 2010.

conference with Aeolus in *Aeneid* 1, which is followed by a council in heaven (1.162-242), mirroring the meeting between Venus and Jupiter in the same book of the *Aeneid*. The apparitions of the Virgin resemble the epiphany of Venus in *Aeneid* 1 as well as messenger scenes in Virgil's epic.³⁴⁶ The midpoint of the epic is marked by a *katabasis*, when Pluto and Tonantzin visit Atlas under Lake Texcoco in Book 2. Villerías reworks Aeneas' visit to the underworld, replacing the parade of Roman heroes with the history of the Aztecs (2.99-277).

The second half of the *Guadalupe* is loosely modelled on the war in Latium. Pluto and Tonantzin enlist the aid of the infernal *Cocolistus*, a scene which Villerías models upon Juno's soliciting of Allecto. The Fury's effect upon Turnus and Amata was likened to disease, but *Cocolistus* actually *is* a disease; the metaphorical plague of war in the *Aeneid* becomes a true epidemic in the *Guadalupe*. The struggle between the Virgin and her enemies intensifies over the course of Book 3, in which Pluto and Tonantzin adopt numerous disguises to prejudice the bishop against Juan Diego. There is no equivalent to Turnus in the *Guadalupe*, but Villerías does present a tension that parallels social division in Mexico. Juan Diego and Juan de Zumárraga, individuals from opposite ends of the social spectrum, are brought into conflict by Pluto and Tonantzin. The apparition of the Virgin not only defeats these pagan divinities but also ends the stand-off between the peasant and the bishop. The miracle of the flowers (3.375-505) and the sacred image on the cloak (Book 4) provide the resolution that many Renaissance readers found lacking in

³⁴⁶ For the messenger scene, see Ch.2 as well as Laird 1999: 259-305.

the *Aeneid*.³⁴⁷ Virgil's *Georgics* may have influenced the length and conclusion of the *Guadalupe*, since both poems are four books in length and conclude with the narration of a miracle, demarcated by a special invocation.³⁴⁸ The *Guadalupe* is therefore a thoughtful response to the *Aeneid* and to Virgil's example, which Villerías modified as he saw fit.

As well as using Virgil to structure his epic, Villerías naturally incorporated Virgilian language and style in the *Guadalupe*. The poet marks each dawn as the arrival of the goddess Aurora and imagines the night as a winged figure or bringer of damp.³⁴⁹ Virgil's *Atque ea diversa penitus dum parte geruntur* (*Aeneid* 9.1) is used to move from the meeting of Pluto and Tonantzin to the council in heaven (*Guadalupe* 1.163). The Greek retreat to Tenedos (*Aeneid* 2.24) is used to describe Pluto and Tonantzin's visit to Atlas: *huc se propecti deserto in litore condunt*, *Guadalupe* 2.34.³⁵⁰ In the *Aeneid*, Orpheus appeared in the Blessed Groves playing the scale of the lyre (6.646), just as the angels do in the *Guadalupe*: *obloquitur numeris septem discrimina vocum* (2.456).³⁵¹ The storm at sea

³⁴⁷ See, for example, the discussion of Maffeo Vegio's *Supplement* in Thomas 2001 and in Kallendorf 1989. Putnam 2004 offers a text and English translation.

³⁴⁸ The final description of the *tilma* recalls Francisco de Castro's *La octava maravilla*, written in 1670, but published in 1729, one year after Villerías' death (La Maza 1992 and Osorio Romero 1991). The structure of Castro's poem has some bearing on the *Guadalupe*: Castro moves from a council in heaven to a narrative of the apparitions, ending with a long description of the image of the Virgin. It is therefore not impossible that Villerías consulted Castro's poem.

³⁴⁹ Aurora: *Guadalupe* 1.297 (A.4.584, 4.700, 9.450 and G. 1.447); 1.512 (A.4.6-7, 4.584-6, 7.148-9, 9.559-60); 2.278-9 (A.4.584-6, 7.25, 9.459-60, 12.113-4); 3.132-6 (A.4.129, 4.585, 5.42-3, 9.460 and G.1.447). Winged night: *Guadalupe* 2.1-4 (A.1.84-90, 2.250-1, 2.360, 3.585-6, 4.461, 6.5, 6.271-2, 6.867, 8.369, 11.187 and G.1.322 and 2.311); 3.166 (A.8.360). Humid night: *Guadalupe* 3.127-8 (A.2.8-9, 3.198-9, 5.738, 5.835-6, 11.201-2).

³⁵⁰ Osorio Romero 1991 *ad loc.*

³⁵¹ *ibid.* *ad loc.*

threatened instant death (*praesentemque uiris intentant omnia mortem*, *Aeneid* 1.91), as does the noxious home of Cocolixtle (*Guadalupe* 2.34 and 2.456).³⁵²

Subtle changes to Virgilian expression also occur in the *Guadalupe*. The poet decries the folly of human sacrifice (*o stolidas hominum mentes*, *Guadalupe* 1.55) as Virgil exclaimed at the despoiling of Pallas' body (*nescia mens hominum*, *Aeneid* 10.501). The Aztec king Mexitli is called the founder of the Mexica (*nominis ultimus author*, *Guadalupe* 2.130) as Saturn was the forbear of the Latins (*sanguinis ultimus auctor*, *Aeneid* 7.49). Like Carthage (*Aeneid* 1.14), the Americas are *dives opum* (*Guadalupe* 1.33).³⁵³ Villerías incorporated phrases that Virgil used often, like *immota manet*.³⁵⁴ The last feet of verses often echo something from Virgil: *excitat iras*, *tam dira stupentes*, *per membra quidem*, etc.³⁵⁵ While the *Guadalupe* does employ Virgil's language, there are also sections of Villerías' poem with almost no echo of the ancient poet. Significantly, these are moments of theological importance, like the discussion of doubt (1.433-87), death (3. 176-234), and the afterlife (3.235-77). The final ecphrasis of the divine image is mostly free from Virgilian language

³⁵² *ibid.* *ad loc.*

³⁵³ Comparisons between Carthage and Mexico also appear in Landívar, as noted in Laird 2010: 231. Several comparanda are noted in Osorio Romero 1991 *ad loc.*

³⁵⁴ In Virgil: *A.*1.257-8, 3.447, 4.449, 7.314, and *G.*2.294. In Villerías: 2.230, 3.180. Osorio Romero noted some of the links between *Guadalupe* 3.180 and the *Aeneid*.

³⁵⁵ *Excitat iras*: *Guadalupe* 1.156 and *A.*2.594. *tam dira stupentes*: *Guadalupe* 2.425 and *A.*2.519, 6.373, 6.721 and *G.*1.37. *per membra quidem*: *Guadalupe* 3.131 and *A.*1.691, 8.30 and 8.406. Osorio Romero noted *excitat iras*.

and imagery; as Laird has noted, this is a sign that Villerías' imitation of Virgil in the *Guadalupe* is born of choice, not necessity.³⁵⁶

4. Villerías' emulation of Virgil

The *Guadalupe* offers three moments in which the narrator engages overtly with the Virgilian persona. Of these three moments, two of them are modelled on the *recusatio* in the *Georgics*:

*non ego cuncta meis amplecti uersibus opto,
non, mihi si linguae centum sint oraque centum,
ferrea uox.*

Georgics 2.42-44

"I do not choose to embrace all things with my verses, not even if I had a hundred tongues, a hundred mouths, and an iron voice."

In this renunciation of epic, Virgil famously imitated Homer's *adynaton* in the catalogue of Achaeans (*Iliad* 2.485-92). Homer's ten tongues becomes a hundred tongues, and his heart of bronze is outdone by Virgil's iron voice.³⁵⁷ While Homer confessed himself unequal to the task of naming all the Achaeans, Virgil chooses not to engage in epic composition. The Homeric passage is excavated in Villerías' first imitation of Virgil.³⁵⁸ The narrator offers a brief description of the conquest of Tenochtitlan (*Guadalupe* 1.63-98), which he concludes with a *praeteritio*:

*... Quae dicere abunde,
aut celebrare queat minime vox aenea famae*

³⁵⁶ Laird forthcoming.

³⁵⁷ Virgil was anticipated by Hostius fr. 3 Courtney.

³⁵⁸ It is also possible that Villerías was aware of Balbuena's *El Bernardo* (1624), which imitates the hundred tongues passage (XI. 148 ff.).

quae centum variis resonat levis undique linguis?

Guadalupe 1.100-2

“[Events which] not even the bronze voice of *Fama* could tell of fully or even make known, though the same light voice resounds in every place in a hundred different tongues?”

As in Homer, is it ability, and not volition, that is at issue, and it is bronze, not iron, that is the appropriate voice to recount tales of war, perhaps because iron was not known to Mexicans. There is also an allusion to Virgil’s *Fama* (*Aeneid* 4.173-97), who cannot communicate the events that take place in the New World. A new feature of Villerías’ verses is his allusion to linguistic diversity, *centum variis linguis*, a reflection of the numerous indigenous languages spoken in Mexico.³⁵⁹ The conquest of Tenochtitlan, the theme rejected in this passage, is actually more in keeping with the traditional themes of ancient, martial epics like the *Iliad* and the *Aeneid*. Moreover, Villerías has brought new meaning to the *adynaton* by highlighting how much more impossible his task would be were he to attempt to narrate this material in all the indigenous languages of Mexico.

Villerías turns to the same *recusatio* from the *Georgics* in the course of his history of the Aztecs (to be discussed in the next section). His account ends with the last Aztec ruler, Montezuma:³⁶⁰

*Nec mihi si vatis dederit grave carmen Apollo
Maeonii, et cunctae veniant in pectora Musae,
enarrare queam pompam, fastumque potentem
lautitias, epulas, uxores, pocula, servos,*

³⁵⁹ According to the Mexican National Indigenous Languages Institute (INALI) there are sixty-eight “living linguistic groups” and hundreds of “linguistic varieties” spoken today in Mexico, as reported in their 2008 catalogue. The challenges this linguistic diversity posed in the early days of the colony is discussed in a special edition of the journal *Ethnohistory*, Schwaller 2012.

³⁶⁰ *beatus*: OLD s.v. 3 “rich, wealthy.” Thanks to Jay Reed for this observation.

et quaecunque homines faciunt bona multa beatos.
Guadalupe 2. 207-11

“Not even if Apollo should grant me the solemn song of a Maeonian prophet, even if all the Muses should come into my breast, would I ever be able to describe his retinue, the proud ruler, the splendor, the banquets, his wives, the drinking, the slaves, and all the many good things which make men wealthy.”

The Aztec ruler is described as if he were a Roman emperor, inviting comparisons between Rome and Tenochtitlan.³⁶¹ Yet since Villerías cannot relate the extent of Montezuma’s wealth and power, he implies that the Aztecs may even surpass the Romans in splendor. Virgil’s *recusatio* of epic is transformed by Villerías into an *adynaton*. Once again, like Homer, Villerías finds himself unable to encompass his chosen theme. The hundred mouths and tongues become the god of poetry and the very sources of poetic inspiration. With these subtle shifts, the verses also suggest parity between the poet of the Roman empire and the poet of Aztec grandeur.

As noted, the proem and invocation of the *Guadalupe* rejected pagan sources of inspiration. Yet the angels are invoked as Muses before the ecphrasis of the holy image:

*Nunc vos, caelestes Musae, quibus alter Apollo
plenius inspirat carmen; quaeque ipsa Libethri
culmina, vel sylvas, Heliconiadesque sorores,
atque Caballinos audetis temnere rivos;
angelicae mentes, comprehendite caetera cantu.*
Guadalupe 4.85-89

“Now, heavenly Muses, whom that other Apollo inspires with more abundant song, you who dare to scorn the peaks of Libethrum, its woods, the sisters of Helicon and the horse’s streams: angelic minds, embrace what follows with your song.”

³⁶¹ A *topos* in colonial historiography, discussed in Lupher 2003: 235-317.

The *caelestes Musae* are here ruled by *alter Apollo*, a syncretic move whereby the angels and Christ are presented in ancient garb.³⁶² The proem presented a Christian poet with a higher song (*celsius*), while here the angels sing more fully (*plenius*). Virgil turned to the Muse several times in his poetry, but never invoked them twice in the same section.³⁶³ This the narrator does when he describes the Virgin's face:

*Celsius at, Musae (nec enim tam saepe vocari
vos pigeat: **timidos labor urget) celsius, inquam
restat opus; facili nimirum pandere versu
quae facies, qualisque nitor praestantibus insit
membris, et quanta exhilaret proba gratia vultum.**
Guadalupe 4.172-76*

“But now higher, Muses (do not be annoyed that you are called upon so often: labor spurs on the timid) a higher work, I say, is at hand; now explain in light verse what beauty, what splendor appeared in her lovely limbs, and what honest goodwill gladdened her face.”

Not only does the narrator allude to the *maius opus* of *Aeneid* 7.45, but also to the beginning of the fourth eclogue: *paulo maiora canamus* (*Ecl.* 4.1). The repetition of *celsius* again draws attention to Villerías' position as a Christian poet. At the same time, it may echo Virgil's promise to explain the *bugonia* by searching more deeply, *altius*, for its origins (*Georgics* 4.285). Finally, *timidos labor urget* alludes to the famous *audentis Fortuna iuuat* (*Aeneid* 10.284). It is precisely at those moments when the narrator must describe the Virgin Mary that he most closely follows Virgil.

³⁶² Christ as *alter Apollo* appears in eclogue 11 and 12 in Ms. 1631, discussed in Chapter 3.

³⁶³ For example, to ask the reasons for Juno's wrath (*Aeneid* 1.8), how the Trojan ships were saved (*Aeneid* 9.77-78) and the origin of the *bugonia* (*Georgics* 4.315).

The early epics of Latin America, like the *Guadalupe*, were drawn to the same passages from Virgil: the *recusatio* of *Georgics* 2 and the second invocation of *Aeneid* 7. Villerías stands apart from Anchieta and Pedrosa, however, in his consistent rejection of martial and heroic themes. For him, the *recusatio* of the *Georgics* offers a way to insist upon the devotional nature of his poem. The fall of Tenochtitlan and the court of Montezuma are invoked only to be rebuffed, while the double invocation of the Muses at the end of the *Guadalupe* marks a crescendo in the poem, in which the poet fully embraces the task of describing the sacred image. The Virgilian persona thus allows Villerías to reject the epic project of the *Aeneid* and also to frame a quintessentially Mexican theme.

B.) *Katabasis* and Mexican History

The *Guadalupe* presents events in Mexico City in such a way as to invite comparison between Greco-Roman and Aztec history and mythology. At the beginning of the poem, Villerías offers a conventional comparison between the Roman and Spanish Empires: the Spanish king is a *victor Romanus* (16) who conquered groups familiar from Roman history: Thracians, Libyans, and Mauritians (19-20).³⁶⁴ The two malevolent deities of the *Guadalupe*, Pluto and Tonantzin, symbolize the pagan religions of Europe and Mexico, which combine to oppose the Virgin. The *Guadalupe* suggests that the conquest liberated the Americas from Pluto and incorporated New Spain into the providential sweep of European history. The same impulse can be found in Anchieta and Pedrosa, though

³⁶⁴ See Tanner 1993 and Elliott 1989. The comparison between Rome and Spain is discussed in Ch. 2.

Villerías differs from these earlier poets in his attitude toward the indigenous history of Mexico.

The *Guadalupe* draws a distinction between the Aztec gods and Aztec history. On the one hand, it was well-known that Tepeyac, the location of the apparition, had been the cult site of Tonantzin, a Mexican goddess whose name means “our mother.” Confusion between the Virgin Mary and Tonantzin was only too easy. While Spanish accounts of the apparition tend to omit the Aztec goddess, Villerías made Tonantzin one of the villains of his epic.³⁶⁵ This dissociation between the Aztecs and their gods facilitated Spanish American or creole identification with the pre-Hispanic past, which in turn fed their sense of a distinct identity from Peninsular Spaniards. Creoles claimed the imperial legacy of the Aztecs as their own and came to regard themselves as the descendants of pre-Hispanic indigenous elites.³⁶⁶ In the *Guadalupe*, special attention is given to the achievements of the Aztecs as the metaphorical ancestors of New Spanish creoles.

The history of the Aztec Empire comes to the fore in one of the most striking episodes in the epic, when Pluto and Tonantzin view the murals of Atlas’ home (2.99-277). The figure of Atlas combines a number of precursors in Latin epic and the Bible.³⁶⁷ Villerías’ Atlas resembles Virgil’s Atlas, as well as the prophetic river Jordan in Sannazaro’s *De Partu Virginis* (1526). Moreover, the figure of Atlas had already appeared

³⁶⁵ Argued in Laird 2010a.

³⁶⁶ Cañizares-Esguerra 2001: 8.

³⁶⁷ For Atlas, see Laird 2010a.

in Guadalupan literature. The first Latin poem about the apparition, the *Poeticum viridarium* (1669), compared the angel at the bottom of the cloak, Gabriel, with Atlas. The connection between Atlas and Gabriel relies upon their common association with prophecy and knowledge of the future.³⁶⁸ It is also possible that Villerías was inspired by Balbuena's *El Bernardo* (Madrid 1624), in which the wizard Tlascalán foretells the arrival of Cortés to Mexico and his alliance with the Tlaxcala against the Mexica. Tlascalán, like Camões' Adamastor and Villerías' Atlas, is a prophetic giant, a *topos* in colonial writing³⁶⁹

Atlas connects classical antiquity, pre-Hispanic Mexico, and the viceroyalty of New Spain. The sequence of prophecies in Book 2 of the *Guadalupe* illustrate this relationship further. First, Atlas was banished to the New World for prophesying the discovery of the Americas.³⁷⁰

*Haec vates secreta colit tentoria postquam,
Tartessi residens quondam, de sorte roganti
importuna Patri cecinit (fore nempe per ipsum
ut novus Hesperii peteretur classibus Orbis)
queis Deus iratus patriis e finibus illum
trusit, et extremas mundi ablegavit in oras:
is tantum indulgens, ut sueta viveret arte
Mexiceique lacus undis, stagnisque praeesset.
Guadalupe 2.26-33*

“The prophet lived in this secret dwelling after he, a former resident of Tartessus, predicted at his father's bequest this inconvenient fate (that through the Ocean Hesperian ships would one day seek the New World). Enraged by this, the god drove Atlas from his home, and banished him to

³⁶⁸ Gabriel appeared to the prophet Daniel to explain his visions (Daniel 8:15-26, 9:21-27) and foretold the births of John the Baptist and Christ (Luke 1:11-38).

³⁶⁹ Studied in Cacho Casal 2017 and Vilà 2012.

³⁷⁰ His exile in the New World is not unlike Adamastor's flight to the Southern Hemisphere in Camões' *Os Lusíadas*.

the furthest shores of the world: granting only that he should live with his accustomed art and rule over the waves and pools of the Mexican lake.”

Villerías’ portrayal of Atlas draws upon Virgil’s Atlas and Faunus, as well as Ovid’s description of Atlas in the far west.³⁷¹ His former location, Tartessus, is a region located to the west of the strait of Gibraltar, a very westward region by Mediterranean standards. Traditionally, Atlas was associated with the Atlas Mountains, a range that stretches across North Africa, to the east of Gibraltar. This shift into Spain may reflect an attempt to make Atlas an Iberian figure, thus aligning ancient myth with the westward course of empire. Furthermore, the prophecy alludes to the famous choral ode in Seneca’s *Medea*, frequently cited in the age of discovery, that allegedly predicted the American encounter.³⁷² The fulfillment of this prediction establishes Atlas’ credibility, while also demonstrating that divine revelation extended to the pre-Christian world. After assuring Pluto and Tonantzin of their eventual downfall, Atlas prophesies the rise of Christianity in New Spain and the construction of a basilica for the Virgin at Tepeyac (62-98). Atlas speaks of the Virgin’s apparition as the start of another golden age, a new kingdom (*nova regna*, 68) and a new people (*progeniem novam*, 69).³⁷³ The debt to the Golden Age of *Eclogue* 4 is evident, as is the seer’s affinity with the Sybil of *Aeneid* 6.

³⁷¹ Laird 2010a: 227.

³⁷² Clay 1992.

³⁷³ Atlas also predicts the construction of a monumental structure for the Virgin (*aequantia templa colossus*, 2.92) in two hundred years. This refers to the construction of the Basilica of Our Lady of Guadalupe, begun in 1695 and completed for the bicentennial of the apparition in 1731. Atlas’ prophecy suggests that the *Guadalupe* was composed for the bicentennial and presumably would have been completed for that date, had Villerías not died in 1728.

This vision of the future is followed by a review of the past, as presented in the decorative murals of Atlas' home. To introduce this section, Villerías first employs language Virgil used to allude to the history of the Tyrians and the Latins. In *Aeneid* 1 the history of Tyre is depicted on Dido's cups and plates:

...caelataque in auro
fortia facta patrum, **series longissima rerum**
per tot ducta uiros **antiqua ab origine gentis**.
Aeneid 1.640-42

“Engraved in gold there appears the mighty deeds of her ancestors, a long course of achievements traced through many heroes from the ancient beginnings of her people.”

The kings of Tyre provide a history of their people, like the statues of ancestors in Latinus' palace:

quin etiam ueterum **effigies ex ordine auorum**
antiqua e cedro, Italusque paterque Sabinus...
*uestibulo adstabant, aliique **ab origine reges***
Martiaque ob patriam pugnando uulnera passi.
Aeneid 7.177-78, 181-82

“Here in order are the images of their earliest forefathers, carved of ancient cedar – Italus and father Sabinus...stand in the vestibule, along with other kings from the beginning and men who bore battle wounds in their fight for the fatherland.”

Each passage draws attention to the long history that precedes each culture's first contact with the Trojan Aeneas, as well as an attempt to trace the royal line from its origin to the moment of encounter. The practice of making such comparisons between different historical societies was not new in Spanish America.³⁷⁴ Las Casas' *Apologética Historia*, for

³⁷⁴ Analogies between Roman, Spanish and Amerindian societies have been examined in Luper 2003, MacCormack 2007 and Campos-Muñoz 2013, to name a few.

example, had compared Greeks, Romans, and Britons to the Aztecs and the Incas. What is innovative, however, is the use of the *Aeneid* as the model for this comparative approach to ancient Mexican history:

*Hic inter varias quae pictae antiquitus haerent
parietibus solidis, et vasta habitacula cingunt
regnorum historias, et regum praevia fata,
Mexicei pariter totius cernitur ingens
imperii series; seraque ab origine gentis
progenies, priscique duces, veteresque tyranni.
Guadalupe 2.107-112*

“Here, among the various histories of kingdoms, painted in antiquity, which cling to the solid walls and encircle the vast rooms, and amid the fate of ancient kings, there appears equally the mighty train of the entire Mexican empire: from the late origin of the people, their race, their ancient commanders, and their former monarchs.”

Mexican history is not presented in isolation but contextualized among the histories of other kingdoms and kings (*regnorum historias, et regum praevia fata*, 109). Atlas’ home displays global history, which includes, by necessity, the Aztecs. The passage is not explicit as to which ancient kingdoms are portrayed in the murals; these verses may allude to the representation of Persians and Romans, but it is equally possible that the poet has in mind the other dynastic kingdoms of ancient Mexico. Evidence that Villerías was aware of these dynasties can be found in Pluto’s speech in Book 1, where he claims lordship over the Otomi and the Huastec, Tarascans, Matlalzinca and Chichimeca.³⁷⁵

These murals reflect the belief that the glyphs and pictographs employed by the Maya and Aztec civilizations related information in a manner analogous to alphabetic

³⁷⁵ *Guadalupe* 1:126-130.

script and were therefore reliable sources for pre-Hispanic history.³⁷⁶ While Tyrians can boast an *antiqua origo*, the Mexica of the *Guadalupe* come after classical antiquity, *sera* (211). Yet the appearance of the Aztec kings upon these murals is set on equal footing with the classical past by the adverb *pariter*, “equally” (210). When Villerías describes the *ingens imperii series* (110-111) of the Aztecs, he alludes to the *series longissimi* of the Tyrians, establishing a deep history for Mexicans. The relation between these ancient peoples is also signaled by the fact that both poets intimate their knowledge about the origins of their leaders. Tyrians, Latins, and Aztecs have individual histories, which lend them dignity in the eyes of the Spanish or Roman viewer in these first encounters.

In the hundred verses that describe Aztec history, Villerías turns away from the Tryian/Latin model to Virgil’s presentation of events from the Trojan and Roman past. The ecphrasis of these murals recalls Virgil’s ecphrasis of the Temple of Juno, where Aeneas beholds representations of the Trojan War (*Aeneid* 1.456-8).³⁷⁷ The Carthaginian temple confronted Aeneas with scenes from his own past; the Mexican murals, on the other hand, seek to incorporate the pre-Hispanic past with the period after the conquest. In the *Guadalupe*, there is a bifurcation between the reader and the internal audience, Tonantzin and Pluto. For them, a survey of the Mexican past reminds them that their dominion is over. For the reader, however, the Aztec civilization prefigures the rise of

³⁷⁶ Cañizares-Esguerra 2001 studies the use of nonalphabetic script to write history. Brading 1986 examines José de Acosta’s classification of barbarians based on their writing systems. Eco 1995 considers European interest in Amerindian languages in the eighteenth century.

³⁷⁷ The influence of this same passage upon Vinko Paletin’s description of the Mayan city of Chichen Itza is discussed in Laird and Šoštarić 2019.

New Spain. In part, this is achieved through the adaptation of two moments in Virgil's *Aeneid*. The first is the parade of Roman heroes in *Aeneid* 6, where Anchises reviews his descendants (679-892). Villerías evokes this scene when he places the murals underground: like Anchises, Atlas dwells in a type of underworld. The second passage that influences the murals is the ecphrasis of the shield of Aeneas (*Aeneid* 8.608-731). While Virgil's description of the shield concludes with the triumph of Rome at Actium, the murals depict the political dissolution of the Aztec empire. Instead, Mexico's triumph is linked with the apparition of the Virgin of Guadalupe. The murals contribute to Villerías' revision of Mexican history, just as countless sermons on the Guadalupe used the apparition to craft a discourse of Mexican exceptionalism.³⁷⁸

In his presentation of the kings and the foundation of Tenochtitlan, the poet again combines New Spanish literature with motifs from the *Aeneid*. The sequence of kings draws upon Sigüenza y Góngora's *Theatro de virtudes políticas* (1680), a treatise for princes which used the Aztecs kings as models of good leadership. Elements of Villerías' account, however, encourage comparison between the Aztecs and various peoples in the *Aeneid*. At the urging of the gods, the Aztecs migrate to an unknown destination (*admonitu superum ignotas sibi quaerere sedes*, 2.116), much as the Trojans wandered in search of Italy. The Aztecs are compared to bees in the meadow and locusts in the field (120-124), just as Virgil compared Tyrians to bees as they lay Carthage's foundations (1.430-1).³⁷⁹ As

³⁷⁸ Poole 1995: 151-5.

³⁷⁹ The Aztecs: *Inde velut campis examine vere coacto | innumerae parantur apes; mediave migrantes | aestate, assiduae coeunt per prata locustae*) | *agmina spectantur latas populantia passim | planities,*

recorded in legend, the Aztecs are guided to the valley of Mexico by the appearance of an eagle perched on a nopal cactus, devouring a serpent (2.142-45).³⁸⁰ To render this famous event in Latin, Villerías turned to a striking simile in the *Aeneid*, when an Etruscan warrior is likened to an eagle clutching a snake.³⁸¹

One final example will suffice to show the extent to which Villerías interpolates the Aztecs among the ancients. The penultimate Aztec king, Ahuízotl, rebuilt the Templo Mayor of Tenochtitlan, which the poet says outdid the monuments of Egypt, Greece, and Libya (2.198-200).³⁸² As Laird has noted, these verses allude to Martial's claim that Vespasian's Colosseum surpassed the accomplishments of previous imperial powers.³⁸³ The Mexican murals depict the Aztecs according to Greco-Roman norms. Villerías suggests that the foundation of Rome bears affinities to the foundation of Tenochtitlan, and that the beliefs and achievements of the Aztecs resemble those of the ancient Romans and Greeks. Yet this attempt to create a parity between the pre-Hispanic Mexico and the ancient Mediterranean pushes the Aztec firmly into the past, marking *translatio imperii*

multisque agros castantia turmis, Guadalupe 2.120-24. The Tyrians: qualis apes aestate noua per florea rura | exercet sub sole labor, Aeneid 1.430-431.

³⁸⁰ Laird 2016c examines connections between the Aztec myth and classical literature. The eagle and the snake: *Hujus in extremo praesaga cacumine sidit | alituum princeps volucrum (mirabile visu) | quae tortum spiris, et sibila colla tumentem | ardua discerpit, rostroque, atque unguibus anguem, Guadalupe 2.142-45.*

³⁸¹ *utque uolans alte raptum cum fulua draconem | fert aquila implicuitque pedes atque unguibus haesit; | saucius at serpens sinuosa uolumina uersat | arrectisque horret squamis et sibilat ore, | arduus insurgens, illa haud minus urget obunco | luctantem rostro, simul aethera verberat alis, Aeneid 11.751-56.*

³⁸² *Hujus inest templum fabricatum sumptibus illud, | quale nec Aegyptus struxit, nec Graecia mendax | edidit, aut Lybicus Ammon possedit in oris, Guadalupe 2.198-200.*

³⁸³ Laird 2010a: 227.

from one civilization to another. The murals chart the rise and fall of one empire, positioning New Spain as heir to bygone grandeur.

C.) Flowers in an Epic Catalogue

The Virgin of Guadalupe was the object of intense devotion and equally intense controversy in New Spain.³⁸⁴ Tepeyac, the site of her apparition, was a site for the worship of Tonantzin, a Mexican goddess whose name means “our mother.” Mexican clerics feared that confusion between Tonantzin and the mother of Christ would be only too easy for the indigenous people, as indeed it was.³⁸⁵ By the eighteenth century, the Virgin of Guadalupe had become a symbol of New Spain as well as emblematic of differences between Spanish Americans and Peninsular Spaniards.

The nature of the flowers found at the top of Tepeyac was debated in the later tradition, as evident in Spanish, Nahuatl and Latin sources. According to the earliest Spanish account, a diverse array of flowers appeared on the mountain, while the earliest Nahuatl version records that only roses grew there.³⁸⁶ Subsequent authors of prose and poetry would be divided between these two positions.³⁸⁷ Yet what was at first a minor

³⁸⁴ Brading 2001.

³⁸⁵ Lafaye 1974 is the standard treatment of syncretism in colonial Mexico.

³⁸⁶ These are, respectively, Miguel Sánchez’ *Imagen de la Virgen Maria Madre de Dios Guadalupe* (Mexico, 1648) and the *Huei tlamahuiçoltica* (Mexico 1649). I will discuss the specific words used in these texts later in my discussion of the rose at the middle of the catalogue of flowers, below.

³⁸⁷ Those who followed Sánchez include Mateo de la Cruz, Sigüenza y Góngora and López de Ábiles. Luis Becerra Tanco followed the Nahuatl account. A full discussion can be found in Brading 2001.

detail became significant in debates over whether Spain or Mexico could claim the Virgin of Guadalupe's blessing. In 1681, a priest in Madrid is said to have argued that the roses that appeared on Tepeyac were Spanish roses, which he interpreted as a sign that the Virgin represented God's blessing of the Spanish empire. A Jesuit chronicler, Francisco de Florencia, took exception to this in his *Estrella del Norte* (México 1688) and argued that these roses grew in Mexican soil, surrounded by flowers native to the Indies: this Virgin belonged to New Spain.³⁸⁸

The importance of this miracle appears in the proem of the *Guadalupe*, in which the poet first explored the Virgin's symbolic relationship with Mexican flowers (1.1-4). As noted, the proem states that the Virgin is native to Mexico (*Indigenam...Deam*) and that her sacred image was miraculously produced by Mexican flowers (*patriis...floribus*). The full weight of this assertion becomes evident when Villerías comes to Book 3. When Juan Diego reaches the top of Tepeyac, the poet begins a catalogue of flowers in the tradition of the *locus amoenus*.³⁸⁹ Flower catalogues can be found in many Latin poems, but for the *Guadalupe* there are three sources that are particularly important: the meadows described in Ovid's *Fasti* and Claudian's *De Raptu Proserpinae* and, most crucially of all, in Virgil's *Culex*.

Both Ovid and Claudian describe meadows in their treatment of the myth of Persephone, following a tradition that began with the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* 6-8. The

³⁸⁸ See Brading 2001 and Cañizares Esguerra 2006: 204-205.

³⁸⁹ Curtius 1963: 195-200.

figure of Persephone is not dissimilar to the Virgin of Guadalupe: both are virginal, sacred beings, associated with flowers and the spring. At the same time, it is possible that Villerías was exploring possible identification between Persephone and Tonantzin as underworld goddesses. As with the goddess Venus, comparisons between the Virgin and Persephone may serve to highlight the former's preeminence. The Virgin's presence is enough to cause the wintry mountain to bring forth flowers, a testament to her power over the seasons, thus achieving what Persephone could not. In the *Fasti*, Persephone and her companions are delighted by flowers in the meadow:

*illa legit calthas, huic sunt uiolaria curae,
 illa papauereas subsecat ungue comas:
 has, hyacinthe, tenes; illas, amarante, moraris:
 pars thyma, pars rhoean et meliloton amat.
 plurima lecta rosa est, sunt et sine nomine flores;
 ipsa crocos tenues liliaque alba legit.
 Fasti 4.437-42*

"One plucked marigolds, another's care was for beds of violets, while another plucked the heads of poppies with her nails; hyacinth, you attract some, while you, amaranth, delays others. Some love thyme, others wild poppies and clover. Many a rose was chosen, and flowers without a name. Persephone herself culled dainty crocuses and white lilies."

This passage of the *Fasti* was, in turn, a model for Claudian's meadow:

*pratorum spoliatur honos: haec lilia fuscis
 intexit uiolis; hanc mollis amaracus ornat;
 haec graditur stellata rosis, haec alba ligustris.
 te quoque, flebilibus maerens Hyacinthe figuris,
 Narcissumque metunt, nunc inclita germina ueris,
 praestantes olim pueros.
 De Raptu Proserpinae 2.128-33*

"The meadows are despoiled of their glory; one weaves lilies with dark violets; soft marjoram adorns another; another walks glittering with roses, yet another white with privets. You also, Hyacinthus, lamenting with

woeful markings, they pluck and Narcissus, now famous buds of spring,
but once outstanding youths.”

The *Fasti* and *De Raptu Proserpinae* share a few flowers: lilies, violets, roses and hyacinths.

The address to the hyacinth and narcissus alludes to the aition offered for each flower in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, signaling Claudian’s familiarity with his model’s complete works.³⁹⁰ The third model used by Villerías was the pseudo-Virgilian *Culex*, which concludes with a catalogue of flowers:

...hic et **acanthus**
et **rosa** purpureum crescent pudibunda ruborem
et **uiolae** omne genus; hic est et Spartica **myrtus**
atque **hyacinthus** et hic Cilici **crocus** editus arvo,
laurus item Phoebi decus ingens, hic rhododaphne
liliaque et roris non avia cura marini
herbaque turis opes priscis imitata Sabina
chrysanthusque hederaeque nitor pallente corymbo
et bocchus Libyae regis memor, hic **amarantus**
bumastusque uirens et semper florida tinus;
non illinc **narcissus** abest, cui gloria formae
igne Cupidineo proprios exarsit in artus;
et, **quoscumque nouant uernantia tempora flores,**
his tumulus super inseritur.

Culex 398-411

“Here will grow acanthus and the blushing rose with purple bloom and every kind of violet. Here are Spartan myrtle and hyacinth and here is crocus sprung from the Cilician field, here also is laurel, the great glory of Phoebus, here is oleander and lilies and the familiar cultivation of rosemary and the Sabine plant which imitated the wealth of frankincense for previous generations; and marigold and the glimmer of ivy with its pale clusters, and bocchus, commemorative of the king of Libya; here is amaranth, blooming bumastus and ever flowering laurestine; nor is the narcissus missing, whose glorious form set him afire with Cupid’s flame for his own limbs, and whatever flowers the spring time renews, with these the mound is strewn from above.”

³⁹⁰ Hyacinthus at *Met.*10.162-220 and Narcissus at *Met.*3.339-58.

The *Culex* shares some flowers with the catalogues given by Ovid and Claudian but includes plants that do not appear in the other poems, like myrtle and the laurel. While scholars are now in agreement that the *Culex* was not written by Virgil, the situation was very different in the early modern period. The ancient biographical tradition, that Homer and Virgil had composed juvenilia, still held sway: in Homer's case, the *Batrachomyomachia*, and in Virgil's the collection of texts now referred to as the *Appendix Virgiliana*.³⁹¹ For this reason, the *Culex* was almost always included in early modern editions of Virgil's complete works. The National Library of Mexico preserve fifty-five copies of the *opera omnia*, all printed between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. Roughly thirty percent of these books presented the *Culex* as if it were part of Virgil's corpus. Though absent from the authoritative commentaries on Virgil, the *Appendix Virgiliana* would have been available to Villerías in several different editions.

Not only would the *Culex* have been available, it would also have been prime for imitation. The system of Jesuit colleges throughout colonial Latin America followed the same Latin curriculum that was established in Europe. The aim of this education was to train students in clear, critical thinking and persuasive speech. Students were therefore asked to read and write in Latin, taking Cicero as their model for prose texts and Virgil as their model for poetry. Letters sent from these colleges to Rome record prizes being given to the most Virgilian poetry written by students as well as poetic competitions, or *certámenes*, which were performed before an audience of parents and dignitaries. As a

³⁹¹ An overview and bibliography is given in McGill 2019.

product of this system, Villerías would have approached Virgil's career itself as a model. Since the *Culex* was believed to be one of Virgil's early compositions, it offered a natural starting point for poets who sought to emulate his example.³⁹²

The *Guadalupe* alludes to each of these sources, but depends the most on the catalogue offered in the *Culex*. Villerías divides his catalogue into three parts, beginning with non-native flowers:

*Erumpunt hic sponte datae multiplice forma
deliciae veris terraeque nitentia dona
caryophillei (nam sic medicina vocavit
nupera) purpureo partim bis murice tincti;
pars candore micans; pars picturata cruentis
per faciem naevis; sed odor tamen omnibus unus.
Mox infelicem querulis **Hiacynthus** amorem
testatur foliis; tum rubra **papavera** sensim
admonitura leves somnos; et concolor auro
fronde **Crocus** tenera, et Veneri gratissima **myrtus**.
Lilia dein passim niveo collecta senatu
caesarie splendent alba; queis aemula circum
canities nitido respondet honore **ligustri**.
Hinc fragiles **violae**, viridique **amaranthus** amictu
semper, et aeternam retinens per secla juventam.
Tu quoque fontanis gaudens, **Narcisse**, fluentis,
miratorque tui nimium, fulgente rubebas
cultu, et vocalem urebas pulcherrime Nympham.*
Guadalupe 3.392-409

"Here, of their own will, multifarious in form sprout the ornaments of spring and shining gifts of the earth, of carnation (for thus has recent medicine named it) dyed in two places with purple tint; part shines white; another is colored with blood-red marks across its face; yet they all have the same scent. The Hyacinth testifies to his unhappy love with his melancholy petals; then the ruddy poppy appears, slowly prompting gentle dreams; and the delicate crocus with petals the same color as gold and the myrtle, most pleasing to Venus. Here and there shine lilies,

³⁹² A phenomenon traced in Hardie and Moore 2010. Cacho Casal 2015 shows that the Mexican poet Balbuena modelled his own poetic career on the *rota Vergiliana*.

assembled into a snow-white senate with their bright plumes. To them the rival white color of the privet responds with bright grace. Here are the fragile violets, the amaranth with its ever-green garb, retaining its eternal youth through the ages. You also, Narcissus, rejoicing in flowing springs and too-fond admirer of yourself, were blushing in gleaming finery and set the tuneful Nymph ablaze with your beauty.”

Many of these flowers can be found in the Latin poetry, but two have different referents.

Caryophyllus is a Latinization of the Greek *karyophyllon* or clove. This spice, native to Indonesia, was introduced to the Americas by the Spanish.³⁹³ Its presence in the *Guadalupe* is thus a product of global imperial expansion and trade. Mexico’s position between Pacific and Atlantic trade routes meant that the city’s markets were flooded with goods from all over the world.³⁹⁴ The meaning of amaranth, on the other hand, is polysemous for a Mexican audience. In Greco-Roman literature, amaranth was an unfading flower, but it was also the name given by the Spanish to *huāuhtli*, a staple food of the Aztecs sacred to Huitzilopochtli, god of war and patron of Tenochtitlan.³⁹⁵ The poet’s description of amaranth’s eternal youth may allude to the flower’s associations in ancient literature, though his readers might also associate it with the Aztec grain.

The combination of flowers in the *Guadalupe* resembles those in the meadows in Ovid and Claudian. The *Guadalupe* and the *Fasti* share several flowers in common:

³⁹³ Bulbeck 1998 and Brierly 1994 offer a history of cloves and the spice trade.

³⁹⁴ It was a *topos* to praise Mexico City for the exoticism of its markets, as shown by Cervantes de Salazar, Juan de la Cueva and Balbuena. See Cacho Casal 2015: 196-98.

³⁹⁵ Early witnesses to the use of amaranth grain in Mexico can be found in the 1552 Badianus manuscript, the Codex Mendoza, Sahagún’s *Historia General*, and the Hernández manuscripts. Schwaller 2019 looks at the role of amaranth in Aztec rites while McLean Test 2019: 143-85 looks at Mexican amaranth in English poetry.

hyacinth, poppy, crocus, lily, violet, rose and amaranthus. The white privets in the *Guadalupe* catalogue are a feature of Claudian's meadow, but not Ovid's. Claudian's address to the hyacinth and allusion to Ovid's aetia for the narcissus and hyacinth appear to have influenced Villerías' treatment of these flowers. Nevertheless, the separation of the hyacinth from the narcissus in the catalogue, as well as the longer description given to the narcissus in the *Guadalupe* seems to come from the *Culex*. Furthermore, with the exception of the clove, poppy and privet, every flower in the *Guadalupe* can be found at the grave in the *Culex*. Thus, the *Culex*, a poem that Villerías would have considered part of Virgil's *oeuvre*, shaped the poet's reading of the meadows in the *Fasti* and in *De Raptu Proserpinae* because they were believed to have been composed in imitation of the *Culex*. And indeed, in the case of Claudian, it is possible that the *Culex* was an intertext for his floral catalogue, since the ancient biographical tradition had taken shape well before the composition of *De Raptu Proserpinae*. Villerías embraces the idea that the miracle involved more than one kind of flower, guided by "Virgil" and his imitators in the selection and treatment of flowers from the Latin tradition.

The second part of Villerías' catalogue of flowers is devoted to a single rose growing on Tepeyac:

*Ante omneis Tyrío plane spectabilis ostro
stat Rosa et augusta cum majestate decoros
expandens vultus, caetum supereminet omnem:
et Paphiae Cypriaeque premit mendacia fama.
Hanc prope, ceu prati reginam, plurimus ambit
stipantum chorus herbarum, ignobile vulgus:
foeniculusque thymusque et odori germen anethi.*
Guadalupe 3.410-16

“Clearly visible before all the other flowers stands a Rose of Tyrian purple. Spreading open its glorious petals with majestic grandeur, it rises above the crowd, crushing the counterfeit fame of Paphos and Cyprus. Around this queen of the meadow there runs a great multitude of surrounding herbs, an obscure bunch: fennel, thyme, a bud of fragrant dill.”

The queen of the meadow, the rose, is a symbol of the Virgin, thrown into relief by comparison to the roses of Paphos and Cyprus, the traditional cult sites of Venus.³⁹⁶ By metonymy therefore the Virgin is once again being compared to the goddess Venus. The rose, which was associated with the Virgin in Christian devotional poetry and which was also prominent in Guadalupan literature, can also be read in relation to Virgil.³⁹⁷ Completely absent from this description, however, is the vexed question of the rose’s geographical origin.³⁹⁸

In Villerías’ day, it was commonly believed that Tepeyac had been overgrown with *rosas de Castilla*, roses of Castile, the species *rosa Gallica*. What began as a translation problem became part of the political controversy over the Virgin of Guadalupe. The earliest Nahuatl account of the miracle, the *Huei tlamahuiçoltica*, speaks only of the

³⁹⁶ Both sites are associated with her in Horace *Carm.* 1.30.1-2, *O Venus, regina Cnidi Paphique, sperne dilectam Cypron*. Virgil links Paphos to Venus three times in the *Aeneid*: 1.415, 10.51 and 10.86. She is *Cypria*, the Cyprian, in Tib. 3.3.34, while her association with the island is treated in Ovid *Met.* 10.270 ff.

³⁹⁷ For the rose as a symbol of the Virgin, see Ferguson 1977, Cooper 1978, Stokstad and Stannard 1983. Twomey 2008 studies the Virgin and the rose in medieval Hispanic poetry. Laird 2010a looks at the rose in the rest of Latin Guadalupan poetry.

³⁹⁸ Here I refer to the rose in the miracle, not the origin of the rose in antiquity. As Jay Reed pointed out, the rose’s associations with the East made it not quite “native” and somewhat suspect in Roman poetry. In colonial Mexico the rose’s predominant associations were with Europe and Europeans.

appearance of “Spanish flowers,” *Caxtillan Xochitl*. While it was believed that this version was written immediately after the apparition, recent studies have shown that it was composed by the vicar of Tepeyac in 1649, a century after the apparition.³⁹⁹ *Caxtillan Xochitl* is thus a translation from the earliest Spanish account, which mentions *rosas y flores*, roses and flowers.⁴⁰⁰ The adjective *Caxtillan* may have been an attempt to differentiate these European flowers from the Mexican flowers to which *Xochitl* normally referred. The leap from *Caxtillan Xochitl* to *rosas de Castilla* occurred in the late seventeenth century. The Mexican cleric Becera Tanco published the authoritative Spanish account of the apparition, which was, as he pointed out, a synopsis of the Nahuatl version.⁴⁰¹ In that book he translated *Caxtillan Xochitl* as *rosas de Castilla*, which would provide the priest in Madrid with the substance of his argument: that the miracle consisted in the spontaneous growth of the rose of Castile in Mexico, linking the Virgin of Guadalupe to peninsular Spain.

Villerías makes absolutely no mention of any of this. Instead, he presents the rose through language and imagery from Virgil. The Latin word for purple, *ostrum*, refers to a rich purple dye made from shellfish, a technique developed by the ancient Phoenicians. Tyrian purple associates this color with Tyre, a Phoenician city and the birthplace of Dido. Consequently, Tyrian purple appears frequently during the Trojans’ sojourn in

³⁹⁹ Discussed in Sousa, Poole and Lockhart, eds. (1998).

⁴⁰⁰ Sánchez, *Imagen de la Virgen María* (México 1648).

⁴⁰¹ *His Felicidad de México* (México 1666).

Carthage.⁴⁰² Even after Aeneas abandons Dido, Virgil reminds us of her when describing the rich purple and gold garments she made for Aeneas and in which he buries young Pallas.⁴⁰³ While this color had negative associations with effeminacy, luxury and empire in ancient Rome, it enjoyed positive connotations in Christian contexts, where it was associated with Christ and divine sovereignty.⁴⁰⁴ The hue, majesty, and beauty of the rose indicate a special relationship between the rose, the Virgin and Dido. The expression *caetum supereminet omnem* was used in the *Aeneid* to compare Dido to the goddess Diana.⁴⁰⁵ Even the herbs that surround the rose are described like the crowd of youths around Dido.⁴⁰⁶

This particular color has further resonances in Virgil's poetry. At the start of *Georgics* 3, for example, the poet imagines his own poetic triumph, in which he will appear in purple robes, *Tyrio conspectus in ostro* (17), an echo of Villerías' *Tyrio plane spectabilis*

⁴⁰² *Aeneid* 1.639 and 700, 4.134. Elsewhere it is used of rich garments (*Aeneid* 5.111 and 133, 7.277 and 814, 10.722, 11.772, 12.126) and as a gloss for luxury (*Georgics* 2.506).

⁴⁰³ *Aeneid* 11.72-75

⁴⁰⁴ Bradley 2009: 189-211 looks at purple in ancient Rome. The symbolism of purple in Christian art is treated in Harley-McGowan 2015. The association with Christ may come from the Gospel account, in which the Roman soldiers placed a scarlet or purple cloak around him (Matthew 27: 27-28, Mark 15:16-17 and John 19: 1-2).

⁴⁰⁵ *fert umero gradiensque deas supereminet omnis | (Latoniae tacitum pertemptant gaudia pectus): | talis erat Dido, Aeneid* 1.501-03.

⁴⁰⁶ *regina ad templum, forma pulcherrima Dido, | incessit magna iuuenum stipante caterua, Aeneid* 1.496-7.

ostro. But more importantly, *ostrum* also appears in Virgil's celebrated description of Lavinia's virginal blush:⁴⁰⁷

*Indum sanguineo veluti violaverit **ostro**
si quis ebur, **aut mixta rubent ubi lilia multa**
alba rosa: talis uirgo dabat ore colores.*
Aeneid 12.67-69

"As when one stains Indian ivory with crimson purple, or when white lilies blush when mixed with roses: thus did the maiden flood her face with color."

The purple rose in the *Guadalupe* functions on a number of levels, alluding to the splendor of the queen of Carthage as well as the modest Latin princess. An allusion to the color of Lavinia's face is also not impossible, since the sacred image, famously, depicted a dark-skinned woman. Later, in his ecphrasis of the image, Villerías describes her skin thus:

*illam subfusci **tingit** pergrata coloris
temperies.*
Guadalupe 4.191-2

"The pleasing blend of a somewhat dusky color dyes her face."

The color of the Virgin's face is thus imagined to be the product of a rich dye, the very process Virgil described in his simile of staining ivory with *ostrum*. Unlike Lavinia, however, whose white skin was likened to ivory and lilies, the Virgin's face is dark and therefore lovely, perhaps alluding to the bride of Solomon in the Song of Songs. The dusky colored rose of the catalogue of flowers symbolizes the Virgin of Guadalupe as the mother of Mexicans, a dark Virgin who spoke Nahuatl and revealed herself to indigenous people. Villerías capitalizes on the association between love, purple and roses in Virgil to focus

⁴⁰⁷ The classical treatment is Lyne 1983.

attention on the rose's symbolic role in Christian and pagan poetry rather than its identity as a Spanish or native flower. The allusions to Virgil's poetry, however, bring to the foreground her importance to the Mexican Church, as represented by the color of her skin.

The catalogue of flowers ends with a collection of Mexican blossoms, which are presented as Villerías' account of the miracle reaches its crescendo:⁴⁰⁸

*quid referam patrios fert quos vernacula flores
tellus et calathis Aurora resolvit opimis
per campos spargens laetos?
Guadalupe 3.417-9*

"Why should I tell of the native flowers which the Mexican earth brought forth and which Aurora dispersed from her verdant baskets as she strew them through the happy fields?"

The rhetorical question, *quid referam*, draws attention to the poet's decision-making process as he reflects upon the contribution of the *vernacula tellus* to the miracle. In this way, he emphasizes the importance of the finale of the catalogue. This recollection of the proem signals the importance of the Mexican flowers. The flowers are called native, *patrios*, as they were in the proem. *Vernacula tellus* refers to the local earth, that is, the Mexican earth where the miracle took place. As will become clear, one aspect that defines the flowers created by the Mexican earth are their Nahuatl names, which the poet will translate to suit the meter. Finally, Villerías writes that these flowers are Aurora's gift, another indication of their origin in the Western hemisphere. His emphasis upon the

⁴⁰⁸ *Guadalupe 3.418: calathis] calanthis*, Osorio Romero. The importance of the Mexican flowers was first signalled in Cañizares Esguerra 2006: 204-205.

geographical location of the flowers, in the West, combined with his description of the *vernacula tellus*, from which they spring, marks their specific and local nature.

Finally, there are the four Mexican flowers at the end of the catalogue:

...Hic **Icosianthos**
(nam sic dixissent vertentes nomina Graii)
viginti alternant species; et amoena renidens
inde **Cacomitus** maculis notat ora venustis;
Sapphyrumque levi simulat **Campanula** veste.
Haudque procul – mirum dictu! – monumenta salutis
Granatella memor servat crudelia nostrae
et simul innumerae, quae vix, ingloria turba
signantur verbo, aut noverunt carmina plantae.
Guadalupe 3.419-27

“Here is Icosianthos (for thus the Greek would have called it, if they had translated its name) which alternates its twenty forms; there the gleaming Cacomitus marks its charming face with graceful spots; the Campanula pretends to be a sapphire with its light robe. Not far off – wonderful to say! – the mindful Granatella preserves the bitter reminders of our salvation and at the same time there are flowers without number, an unsung gathering, which have scarcely been named and which poetry knows not.”

Villerías has translated and adapted the Mexican flowers for Latin verse. *Icosianthos* is, as his parenthetical statement shows, a Greek translation of the Nahuatl *cempoalxochitl*, “flower with twenty petals.” This flower was and continues to be associated with the autumn festival honoring the dead.⁴⁰⁹ The allusion to the Greeks and what word they would have used for *cempoalxochitl* reflects how some Spanish Americans sought to identify pre-Hispanic civilizations as the classical antiquity of their new home; knowledge

⁴⁰⁹ Peterson 1993: 98.

of Nahuatl is a sign of Villerías' interest in the Aztecs as a civilization that could be compared to the ancient Greeks and Romans.

Cacomitus, the spotted flower, is a Latinization of *cacomitl*, which in Nahuatl referred to the bulbs of *oceloxochitl*, "flower of the jaguar," named for the dark spots on its red and yellow petals. The jaguar was a sacred animal for the Aztecs and a symbol of the ruling classes. The bulbs, *cacomitl*, were sweet and edible, but the flower was consumed in fertility rites and used to make honorific crowns and garlands.⁴¹⁰ The *Campanula*, a blue flower shaped like a bell, may refer to a native morning glory.⁴¹¹ *Rivea corymbosa*, known to the Aztecs as *ololiuhqui*, was prized as an intoxicant with analgesic properties, which was consumed in rites of divination and healing.⁴¹²

The last flower, *Granatella*, is the passionflower. Claudian and the *Culex* had both ended their catalogues with flowers with familiar aitia. The Mexican catalogue achieves something similar with the passionflower, substituting classical mythology with an episode from the life of Christ. The poet dwells upon the flower's Christological symbolism and says that it *remembers* the story of Christ's passion and death (3.424-25). The pedagogical potential of the passionflower was minutely described by the Jesuit naturalist Juan Eusebio Nieremberg, who identified its petals, sepals and rays with

⁴¹⁰ *ibid* 101.

⁴¹¹ Cañizares Esguerra is mistaken: Villerías does not include the spider lily, *Hymenocallis amancaes* (2006: 204).

⁴¹² Peterson 1993: 91, drawing attention to a seventeenth-century Spanish account, Ruíz de Alarcón's *Tratado de la supersticiones y costumbres gentílicas que oy viven entre los indios naturales desta Nueva España*, studied in Díaz Balsera 2018.

specific aspects of Christ's passion.⁴¹³ Yet this same flower was also significant to native Mexicans, for whom it was *coanenepilli*, "tongue of serpent," a name inspired by the split stigma of the flower, which resembles a serpent's tongue. *Coanenepilli* was believed to be helpful in combatting the venom of snake bites and protecting one against witchcraft.⁴¹⁴

For the *Guadalupe*, however, the Christian reading of the *granatella* is foremost. Villerías describes the New World flower as if it somehow preserved a memory of things that happened in the Old World, thus miraculously drawing the beginning and end of the flower catalogue together. The passionflower is particularly striking when compared to the Christian interpretations of the *Rosa gallica*. The thorns of the rose were symbolic of the crown of thorns, while the five inner petals of the rose were said to represent the five wounds of Christ.⁴¹⁵ Villerías may be uniting the rose and the passionflower as symbols of the Virgin Mary and her divine son, drawing attention to the significance of this New World flower for the overall interpretation of the miracle of the flowers.

The catalogue ends with a gesture to the flowers that the poet will not or cannot name because their abundance is beyond his powers of description. In the *Fasti*, Ovid had included other "nameless flowers," *sine nomine flores*, (4.441), an allusion to wildflowers in the meadow. Yet the *Guadalupe* has a more ambitious project. The four flowers that Villerías does name are his contributions to Guadalupan literature, since Mexican flowers

⁴¹³ In his *Historiae naturae* (Antwerp 1635), pp. 299-300. Cañizares Esguerra 2006: 147-149 offers a discussion of the importance of the passionflower in Villerías. Davidson 2007: 102 offers an emblematic reading of the flower in his study of the Baroque.

⁴¹⁴ Peterson 1993: 100.

⁴¹⁵ Peterson 1993: 98. See also Ferguson 1977: 37 and Stokstad and Stannard 1983: 22-23, 118.

had never appeared in standard accounts of the miracle. Villerías goes a step farther than Florencia, who insisted that flowers on Tepeyac were ‘native’ to Mexico. Instead, Villerías underlines the importance of language, since the flowers at the end of his catalogue spring from the *vernacula tellus*. Thus, Nahuatl becomes the defining feature of the Mexican catalogue, which contains flowers unfamiliar to Europeans and the Latin tradition.

Furthermore, as this discussion has shown, the Mexican flowers included in the *Guadalupe* were prestigious, ritual plants in pre-Hispanic contexts.⁴¹⁶ Just as the Mexican murals appropriated elite Aztec history for New Spanish creoles, so too do the Mexican flowers deploy botanical knowledge in the service of a creole agenda. These efforts began early in Mexico with the *Libellus* by Martín de la Cruz, written in 1552 in the Franciscan college of Tlatelolco and sent to Europe as a gift for Charles V.⁴¹⁷ The students at this college would provide valuable knowledge about native plants and their medicinal uses to the ethnographer Bernardino de Sahagún and to Philip II’s personal physician, Dr. Francisco Hernández. The fate of the Hernández manuscripts is complex, but his study of native plants was widely read in Europe and the Americas; his descriptions were still authoritative at the end of the eighteenth century.⁴¹⁸ Villerías could have encountered the

⁴¹⁶ These four flowers appear in the sixteenth-century murals at the Augustinian convent of Malinalco. Peterson 1993 argues that the mural program merges Christian and pre-Hispanic representations of paradise (124-137).

⁴¹⁷ Rojas Silva 2018 offers an introduction to the *Libellus*. Gates 1939 is a translation and commentary. Worth Estes 2000 cautions that the *Libellus* disappeared from view after it was sent to Europe, and so exerted little influence upon European medicine (111).

⁴¹⁸ Varey 2000 offers a guide to the transmission of the Hernández manuscripts, while his influence and importance is explored in Varey, Chabrán and Weiner 2000. The Recchi manuscript, preserved at the John Carter Brown Library, has been edited with a helpful index in

information gathered by Hernández through two possible sources. The first, *Quatro Libros de la Naturaleza* (México 1615), was a Spanish translation of a selection from the Hernández manuscripts. The four Mexican flowers found in the *Guadalupe* appear in the *Quatro Libros*.⁴¹⁹ But Villerías may also have read about these flowers in a book with far greater circulation: Nieremberg's *Historiae naturae* (Antwerp 1635).⁴²⁰ This volume describes *cempoalxochitl* and *ololiquihui* and offers the symbolic reading of the passionflower discussed above.⁴²¹ Regardless of the source used, Villerías deploys botanical knowledge in his catalogue of Mexican flowers, focusing on those plants which had pre-Hispanic and Christian value.⁴²²

Villerías' catalogue of flowers cannily negotiates the various controversies about the miracle. He does include a rose, but a Virgilian simile transforms it into a symbol of

Álvarez Peláez and Fernández González 1998. Vilchis 2000: 175 shows that Hernández was used by the Mexican Jesuit Francisco Javier Clavijero in his *Storia antica dei Messico* (1780).

⁴¹⁹ *Cempoalxochitl* (81-82), *oceloxochitl* (160), *ololihui* (77-78) and *coanenepelli* (113). Note that the latter is presented without any discussion of its Christological symbolism.

⁴²⁰ The Jesuit naturalist Juan Eusebio Nieremberg wrote *Historiae naturae* while a professor at the Imperial College of the Society of Jesus in Madrid, which owned a copy of the Hernández manuscripts (Varey 2000: 28). Hendrickson 2015 is a study of Nieremberg and his work. A copy of the *editio princeps* of *Historiae naturae* is preserved in the National Library of Mexico.

⁴²¹ *Cempoalxochitl* (371), *ololiquihui* (337) and *granadilla*, or passionflower (299-300). There are several reasons to suspect that Villerías consulted Nieremberg. First, the Jesuit translated *cempoalxochitl* into Latin (*foliorum viginti floribus*), a detail which does not appear in the *Quatro Libros*. Second, *cempoalxochitl* is followed by clove, or *caryophyllus* (372), the very name given to this plant at *Guadalupe* 3.394 above. Third, the discussion of *granadilla*, accompanied by a magnificent woodcut, is entirely given over to Christological symbolism and the taste of the fruit. Nieremberg is uninterested in its medical properties.

⁴²² López Terrada 2000 shows that *cempoalxochitl* could sometimes replace carnations as symbols of Christ in seventeenth-century paintings from Europe (158).

the Virgin Mary, not of Spain. The placing of the rose between the European and Mexican flowers gives each sequence equal importance, though the symbolism of the passionflower may suggest a more intimate relationship between the Virgin and New Spain. His presentation of the rose also capitalizes on Biblical and Roman traditions about this flower. Through allusions to the catalogues in Ovid, Claudian and the *Culex*, Villerías presents the miracle of the flowers in a poetic tradition that began, allegedly, with Virgil. Finally, the Mexican catalogue is Villerías singular contribution to Guadalupan literature and the Virgilian tradition. As the poet indicates, he has introduced a new set of flowers to poetry, *quae vix...noverunt carmina*.

Villerías follows tradition by giving the rose a prominent place in the catalogue and by acknowledging the diversity of flowers attested to in Guadalupan literature. In doing so, he capitalizes upon the conceit of Mexico as a spiritual garden, as fleshed out by Sigüenza y Góngora.⁴²³ The catalogue of flowers in the *Guadalupe* resembles contemporaneous gardens in Europe, which brought together plants from around the world to create botanical Gardens of Eden.⁴²⁴ Crucially, however, the *Guadalupe* offers a view of the unity of creation from an American perspective, one which argues for the centrality of the Americas, and of Mexico City in particular, in the Catholic Church. Villerías thus negotiates European and Mexican traditions through the flowers of antiquity, using Virgil to sing Nahuatl praises of the Virgin.

⁴²³ The metaphor of the spiritual plantation is discussed in Cañizares-Esguerra 2006: 178-205. Ross 1994 studies Sigüenza y Góngora's imagery.

⁴²⁴ A phenomenon studied in Davison 2007: 96-105.

Conclusion

The *Guadalupe* uses Spanish, Nahuatl and Latin traditions to craft an epic about the Virgin of Guadalupe. It is one of the finest examples of Virgilian poetry from colonial Latin America and is the only poem in this study to show explicit interest in the pre-Hispanic past of the Americas.⁴²⁵ Inspired by Virgil's approach to creating histories for the various peoples of the *Aeneid*, Villerías presents the Aztecs as the Romans of Mexico, whose wealth and power were a foretaste of that of New Spain. Pride in pre-Hispanic Mexico and New Spain can also be found in the catalogue of flowers, which draws attention to Nahuatl names and incorporates American flora into an ancient poetic tradition.

⁴²⁵ As Laird 2010a signaled.

CHAPTER 5. *ALEXANDRIAS* (1776)

The *Alexandrias* was written in New Spain in the middle of the eighteenth century but was not published until many years later. This epic about Alexander the Great's siege of Tyre demonstrates the author's education and intellectual interests. After introducing the poet and the poem, attention will be given to the importance of Virgil for the structure, language, and poetic persona of the *Alexandrias*. Central to this epic is the journey that Alexander allegedly made to Jerusalem.⁴²⁶ Careful study of this episode will trace how the poet uses Virgil to integrate Greco-Roman and Judeo-Christian traditions. A similar interest can be traced in an epistolary essay that accompanied the *Alexandrias*, which shows a theory of epic informed by Virgil as well as a theological approach to literature.

A.) Alegre and the *Alexandrias*

Francisco Xavier Alegre (1729-1788) was a Jesuit historian, theologian and literary critic from Veracruz, New Spain.⁴²⁷ A professor of literature at the Colegio Máximo de San Pedro y San Pablo, he settled in Bologna, Italy after the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spanish territories in 1767.⁴²⁸ During his novitiate in Tepotzotlán, he composed short devotional poems in Latin, translated the *Batrachomyomachia* into Latin verse, wrote a

⁴²⁶ The journey to Jerusalem appears in printed editions of the *Alexandrias* but is absent from the manuscript preserved in the National Library of Mexico (Ms. 1600). This suggests that it was added later, likely when Alegre was in Italy.

⁴²⁷ See Fabri's life of Alegre, published as an appendix to Alegre's posthumous *Institutionum theologicarum libri* (Venice 1789-91). A thorough discussion of Alegre can be found in Burrus 1953.

⁴²⁸ Mörner 1965 and Barthel 1984. Brading 2001 examines the impact on creole patriotism.

Georgics for the Virgin of Guadalupe, and an epic, the *Alexandrias*.⁴²⁹ These manuscripts, along with a draft of his history of the Society of Jesus in New Spain and numerous treatises on poetry, rhetoric, geometry and mathematics, were left behind when he sailed to Italy.

Once settled in Bologna, Alegre began to write and publish extensively, joining the Academy founded by fellow New Spanish Jesuit and historian, Francisco Javier Clavigero.⁴³⁰ Alegre wrote another history of the New Spanish Jesuits as well as his magnum opus, *Institutionum theologicarum libri XVIII* (Venice 1789-91). He translated, but did not publish, a Spanish translation of Nicolas Boileau's *L'Art poétique* (1674), in which he replaced Boileau's reference to French poets with Spanish poets.⁴³¹ Finally, in Bologna he began to revise the *Alexandrias* and compose a Latin verse translation of the *Iliad*. The *Alexandrias* takes as its theme Alexander the Great's siege of Tyre in 332 BC in 2,153 hexameters. It was first printed in 1773, but Alegre further revised the poem for the Bologna edition; this study will follow that edition of the text.⁴³²

1. Summary of *Alexandrias*

Alexander the Great's siege of Tyre is told in four books, though the drama does not focus exclusively on the events at Tyre. Book 1 narrates the breakdown of diplomatic

⁴²⁹ The devotional poems are in Ms.1600 B.N.M. and were partially published in García Icazbalceta 1889. The poem on the Guadalupe was never published and the manuscript is now lost. The *Alexandrias* is discussed fully in the Appendix.

⁴³⁰ Alfaro et al. 2015 and Martínez Rosales 1988.

⁴³¹ Kerson 1981.

⁴³² More information can be found in the Appendix.

negotiations between Alexander and the Tyrians. A mysterious figure appears to Alexander in a dream and assures him of victory before a catalogue of the Macedonian army.⁴³³ In Book 2 Alexander's forces build a causeway to connect Tyre to the mainland, an effort hampered by Neptune and other sea gods. Glaucus incites the Arabs to make war on the Macedonians, which Alexander must subdue. In his absence, Juno sends a fireship to destroy the first causeway.

Book 3 begins with another dream, in which Alexander is advised to visit Jerusalem. There he meets Jaddus, the high priest, whom he recognizes as the figure from his dream in Book 1. Alexander learns about the religion of the Jews and his place in the prophecies of Daniel before he returns to Tyre, where Hercules appears to him in a dream and reassures him of victory.⁴³⁴ He begins to build a second causeway as the Macedonian fleet finally arrives. There is a naval battle in Book 4, in which Neptune and Juno intervene and which ends with a storm created by Aeolus.⁴³⁵ After an interlude in which the Tyrians consider offering human sacrifice, the final battle begins. The leaders of the Tyrians, Belus

⁴³³ Not unlike the dream of Augustus in Pedrosa's *Austriaca* (Ch. 2). The catalogue of the Macedonians is discussed in Part C.) Criticism and *Imitatio*.

⁴³⁴ Like the heavenly maiden in the *Austriaca* (Ch. 2). The dream of Hercules is very short (3.293-303) and he is identified immediately; the dream of Jaddus is longer (1.131-170) and mysterious. The dream of Hercules appears in Ms. 1600, which suggests that the youthful Alegre included it based on dream sequences in Latin epic. The dream of Jaddus, as discussed in Part B) "Alexander, Josephus and Virgil," has greater significance for the poem.

⁴³⁵ Imitation of the storm is ubiquitous in Virgilian poetry. It appears in Anchieta's shipwreck of Bishop Sardinha, in the battle of Lepanto in the *Austriaca*, and in Villerías' description of Pluto's flight to Lake Texcoco (*Guadalupe* 2) and Cocolixtle's home (*Guadalupe* 3).

and Ninus, are defeated by Alexander in single combat before the poem concludes with a *sphragis* in honor of the Virgin of Guadalupe.⁴³⁶

2. Proem and Invocation

The proem of the *Alexandrias* is closely modelled on that of the *Aeneid*:

*Arma uirumque cano, Troiae qui primus ab oris
Italiam fato profugus Lauinaque uenit
litora, multum ille et terris iactatus et alto
ui superum, saeuae memorem Iunonis ob iram,
multa quoque et bello passus,
Aeneid 1.1-5*

“I sing of arms and man, who first came to Italy and the Lavine shores as an exile by fate from the coast of Troy – he was much buffeted on land and sea by the wrath of the gods, and on account of the mindful anger of cruel Juno he also endured a great deal in war.”

*Bella ducemque cano Jovis alto a sanguine cretum,
Ausus qui Oceanum injecto committere ponte,
Stravit Agenoridum turreis, multos quoque bello
Vi superum passus terraque marique labores.
Alexandrias 1.1-4*

“I sing of war and the commander sprung from the noble blood of Jupiter, who dared to span the Ocean on a bridge he placed there and tore down the citadel of the sons of Agenor, after he endured many labors on land and sea in war by the power of the gods.”

These parallels invite comparisons between Alexander and Aeneas. Both heroes endure the wrath of the gods on land and on sea and both have suffered in war. A difference in

⁴³⁶ Belus and Ninus do not appear in Alexander historiography. They are legendary founders of West Asian dynasties in the Greek mythographical tradition: Belus could refer to the uncle of Europa, to Dido's father (*Aen.* 1.621), to a more remote Tyrian ancestor (1.729-30), or even to the Babylonian god Bel Marduk. Ninus was the eponymous founder of Nineveh, the ancient capital of Assyria, sometimes identified as Nimrod from the Book of Genesis. Given the interest in Jewish history in this epic, it is tempting to see Belus and Ninus as representatives of Babylon and Nineveh, archenemies of the ancient Israelites.

emphasis can be found in the first words of each poem. While Virgil refers to Aeneas as *virum*, “the man,” Alegre presents Alexander as a *dux*, evoking his role as a commander and as a king. Finally, while Aeneas’ goal was to establish Rome, it is Alexander’s objective to tear down the citadel of Tyre. At the same time, Tyre provides a historical connection between the Trojan hero and the Macedonian ruler. After all, the story of Dido and Aeneas in the *Aeneid* lays the groundwork for the later conflict between Rome and Carthage.⁴³⁷ By destroying Tyre, Alexander goes to the root of the hostility between Rome and Carthage, unencumbered by the sentimental attachment which bound Aeneas to Dido.⁴³⁸ Despite these differences, the proem of the *Alexandrias* clearly relies upon Virgil to present the hero and the topic to the reader.

The opening invocation of the *Alexandrias*:

*Tu cantus, tu Diva, move, dicam aequoris iras
Fraena recusanteis, Boreamque, Notumque citatas
Dicam animas actosque odiis in praelia Divos.*
Alexandrias 1.5-7

“And you, goddess, you begin your song! I shall tell of the wrath of the ocean as it chafes at its bonds, of Boreas and Notus, spirits provoked, and gods driven by hatred into battle.”

is modelled closely on the invocation of Erato in the *Aeneid*:

*Tu uatem, tu, diua, mone. dicam horrida bella,
dicam acies actosque animis in funera reges.*
Aeneid 7.41-42

“And you, goddess, prompt your bard! I will tell of grim wars, of battle lines and kings driven to death by their courage.”

⁴³⁷ Giusti 2018.

⁴³⁸ The significance of this presentation of Alexander will emerge in C.) Criticism and *Imitatio*.

The *Alexandrias* reworks this invocation by urging the goddess to sing, rather than prompting the bard and by replacing *horrida bella* with the wrath of the ocean, *aequoris iras*. While Virgil promised to tell the story of kings driven into battle, the *Alexandrias* instead focuses on the gods whose hatred has caused the war. At the beginning of the *Aeneid*, divine wrath, a theme reflected in the invocation of the *Alexandrias*.⁴³⁹ The appeal to the Muse to begin singing (*cantus move*) imitates Virgil's plea before the catalogues in Book 7 and 10: *cantusque mouete* (A.7.641 and 10.163). Taken together, these Virgilian invocations are used to highlight the importance of the war in Latium for this account of the siege of Tyre, setting the *Alexandrias* firmly in the tradition of martial epic. At the same time, this invocation puts the epic storm motif at the center of the *Alexandrias*. It suggests that Alexander's primary enemies are not the Tyrians, but the forces of nature and the divine figures who oppose him. The reasons for this emerge in the visit to Jerusalem in Book 3, where Alexander's life is presented as part of a providential view of history. Thus the martial hero, like Aeneas, also has a divine mission, namely, to make way for the rise of Rome and the birth of Christ.

3. Structure and Language

The *Alexandrias* shares similar structure and language with the *Aeneid*. The conflict between the Tyrians and Macedonians is loosely based on the sequence of events during

⁴³⁹ *Musa, mihi causas memora, quo numine laeso | quidue dolens regina deum tot uoluere casus | insignem pietate uirum, tot adire labores | impulerit. tantaene animis caelestibus irae?* *Aeneid* 1.8-11.

the war in Latium.⁴⁴⁰ Thus, for example, the war begins at the instigation of a young Tyrian named Ninus, who resembles Turnus. The catalogue of the Macedonian army (Book 1) and of the Macedonian fleet (Book 3) are modelled on the separate catalogues given in *Aeneid* 7 and 10. Alegre staged two councils of the gods in Book 2, one of the maritime gods and one of the Olympians, based on the *concilium deorum* of ancient epic.⁴⁴¹ When Neptune sends Glaucus to incite the Arabs and the Macedonians to war, Alegre imitates Juno's recourse to the Fury Allecto to begin the war in *Aeneid* 7.

Alexander's departure, as well as the destruction Ninus wreaks in his absence, recall events in the Trojan camp in *Aeneid* 7-10. Juno also works against Alexander in Book 2 of the *Alexandrias*, when she sends the nymph Deiopeia to Ninus to encourage him to attack. Deiopeia's journey with Ninus to Vulcan's cave evokes two further Virgilian models: the *katabasis* of *Aeneid* 6 and Aristaeus' visit to Cyrene in *Georgics* 4. In Book 3, the visit to Jerusalem resembles Aeneas' sojourn with Evander, in which the hero visits an ancient city and learns about its traditions and customs. The appearance of Hercules in the same book strengthens connections between *Alexandrias* 3 and *Aeneid* 8. The fourth book of the *Alexandrias* condenses the storm of *Aeneid* 1 and the final combat of *Aeneid* 12 into less than six hundred verses. Finally, the *sphragis* is modelled on the end of the *Georgics* and the end of Statius' *Thebaid*.

⁴⁴⁰ Ideologically, the war in Latium and the siege at Tyre have little in common. Alegre, like Anchieta and Pedrosa, is clear that the Macedonians are waging a just war against their Tyrian enemies.

⁴⁴¹ See Feeney 1991: 125-127, 137-141, 199-200, 348, 353-5.

The *Alexandrias* contains entire verses, hemistichs and short formulae from the *Aeneid*. For example, Alegre comments thus upon Jupiter's desire for Europa:

... o quid non Superum vel pectora cogat
Durus amor!
Alexandrias 1.82-3

“Oh harsh love, to what do you not drive even the hearts of the gods!”

This is, of course, an echo of the condemnation of love in the *Aeneid*.⁴⁴² Yet *durus amor* also appears in the description of the Mourning Fields and the tale of Leander.⁴⁴³ When Belus tries to prevent the murder of Alexander's envoys (*Alex.*1.307), he shouts the same words uttered by Laocoon at Troy: *o miseri, quae tanta insania, ciues?* (*Aeneid* 2.42), “oh wretched citizens, what madness is this?” The *Alexandrias* describes a fire ship in Book 2 (*volat immissis Vulcanus habenis*, 499), borrowing from Virgil's description of the burning ships in *Aeneid* 5 (*furit immissis Vulcanus habenis*, 662). At other times, Alegre will use recurring expressions from Virgil's poetry more often than the Roman poet. The most common is his preference for the ‘surpassed by none’ construction (*quo/a non* + comparative adjective), which appears five time in the *Alexandrias* and only three times in the *Aeneid*.⁴⁴⁴ VSD 33-34 records that the occurrence of this construction at *Aeneid* 6.164 was the result

⁴⁴² *improbe Amor, quid non mortalia pectora cogis!* *Aeneid* 4.412. This is not to say that the epic entirely condemns love, but rather that it does so in this specific context (referring to Dido).

⁴⁴³ Mourning Fields: *hic quos durus amor crudeli tabe peredit*, *Aeneid* 6.442. Leander: *quid iuuenis, magnum cui uersat in ossibus ignem | durus amor?* *Georgics* 3.258-9.

⁴⁴⁴ *Alexandrias*.1.301, 1.444, 2.150, 3.325, 4.120. *Aeneid* 6.164, 9.772, 12.639. As Jay Reed noted, given the proportion of 4 books to 12, Alegre uses the construction five times more often than Virgil.

of Virgil's *ex tempore* composition.⁴⁴⁵ If Alegre knew this, it could explain why he was so drawn to a passage which illustrated Virgil's excellence.

Sometimes the use of Virgil's language allows Alegre to demonstrate his knowledge of its context in the *Aeneid*. In Book 4 of the *Alexandrias*, the poet refers to nightfall as the moment when the *Horae* lead Phoebus' horses to the stables (4.24-7). The goddesses offer the tired beasts food (*invitantque ad pabula fessos*, 4.25), an echo of the remedy for sick bees (*et fessas ad pabula nota*, *Georgics* 4.266). These horses breath fire from their nostrils and drip with sweat (*spiranteisque ignem et calido sudore madenteis*, 4.26). Fire-breathing horses were given to Aeneas by Latinus (*Aeneid* 7.281). But these steeds in the *Aeneid* were said to be descended from the immortal horses of the Sun, the very creatures described in this passage of the *Alexandrias*. In the same book, Alegre describes the visit that *Somnus*, the god of sleep, paid to Belus. This figure appeared in the *Aeneid* (5.827-71), where he toppled the sleeping Palinurus overboard. Like the Virgilian deity, Alegre's *Somnus* bears a branch imbued with the water of Lethe (*Alex.*4.253 and *A.*5.854), which he uses to put Belus to sleep. *Somnus* is wreathed in soporific poppies (*fronde papavera redimitus tempora*, 254), combining two Virgilian idioms.⁴⁴⁶ But when the Lethe water seeps into Belus' veins (*levis arcano serpens per viscera lapsu*, 4.255), the reader is reminded of Allecto's poison in Amata's veins (*in uiserca lapsum | serpentis furiale malum*, *Aeneid* 7.374-5).

⁴⁴⁵ Brugnoli and Stok 1997: 32-33.

⁴⁴⁶ The soporific poppy (*Aeneid* 4.486) and wreathed temples (*Aeneid* 3.81, 10.538 and *Georgics* 1.349).

Alegre seems particularly drawn to Virgil's descriptions of supernatural events. The *Alexandrias* contains a *locus horridus*, an eerie grove modelled on Lucan's *Bellum Civile* (3.399-455). This grove is silent, except for the haunting cry of an owl (*gemit ferus ferali carmine bubo*, 2.45), an echo of the owl that presaged Dido's death.⁴⁴⁷ The poet adds that this place is inhabited by an unknown deity (*quis Deus, incertum est*, 2.48), an allusion to the divine presence on the Capitulum.⁴⁴⁸ Moreover, the forest has sentient powers and moves whenever someone enters it (*quin etiam mugire solum et juga densa moveri visa olim*, 2.54-5). These words allude to Hecate's advent just before Aeneas descends into the underworld: *sub pedibus mugire solum et iuga coepta moueri siluarum* (A.6.256-7). In Book 4 of the *Alexandrias*, a voice in the sacred forest urges the Tyrians to sacrifice a child to Saturn in order to save the city (4.383-95).⁴⁴⁹ This scene is based on the oracle of Faunus in the *Aeneid*. In the *Alexandrias*, a priest enters the forest at night and sleeps there on sheepskin, the exact procedure followed by the priestess at Albunea (*Aeneid* 7.86-8). This priest, moreover, hears the voice of the gods in the night (*ab obscuro Divum vox reddita luco est*, 4.387), just as Latinus heard a voice in the dark (*subita ex alto uox reddita luco est*, *Aeneid* 7.95).

4. Alegre's emulation of Virgil

⁴⁴⁷ *solaque culminibus ferali carmine bubo*, *Aeneid* 4.462

⁴⁴⁸ *'hoc nemus, hunc' inquit 'frondoso uertice collem | (quis deus incertum est) habitat deus'*, *Aeneid* 8.351-2.

⁴⁴⁹ Alegre presents the Tyrians as a wicked people from start to finish. They mistreat Alexander's envoys (Book 1), they are easily swayed by the rash Ninus (*passim*) and they are willing to sacrifice children to save the city (Book 4).

The beginning and end of the *Alexandrias* are framed by two moments in which the poet specifically emulates Virgil. As noted, the invocation of the pagan Muse at the start of the *Alexandrias* contains language from the invocation of Erato in *Aeneid* 7. Yet the start of the *Alexandrias* is also modelled on the invocation of the Muse at the beginning of the *Aeneid* (1.8-11). Just as Virgil turned to the Muse to understand the reasons for Juno's anger, so too does Alegre's invocation ask for help as he sings of the wrath of the sea gods and of the winds. That this passage is constructed in order to emulate Virgil becomes clear when compared to Alegre's other writings.

In his commentary on Boileau's *L'Art Poétique*, Alegre strongly objected to the intrusion of pagan deities in poems about Christian themes:⁴⁵⁰

Así como sería un vano escrúpulo desterrar del verso todos los adornos de la Mitología, así por el contrario sería una especie de impiedad mezclar en un asunto cristiano y formar los principales nudos de una epopeya sagrada con los dioses del gentilismo. Estoy muy lejos de aprobar en Camoens que venga Venus a favorecer a Vasco de Gama, y en Sannazaro que Proteo cante los milagros de la vida de Jesucristo.

"Just as it would be a vain scruple to banish all the ornaments of Mythology from verse, on the contrary it would be a kind of impiety, in the case of a Christian topic, to mix and form the main knots of a sacred epic with the pagan gods. I am far from approving in Camoens that Venus should favor Vasco de Gama, and in Sannazaro that Proteus should sing the miracles of the life of Jesus Christ."

His ideas are essentially those of Tasso's: Christ is not a fitting subject for epic since apprehension of the Gospel message was an act of faith, not reason.⁴⁵¹ Since Alegre

⁴⁵⁰ García Icazbalceta 1889: 111.

⁴⁵¹ *Conocer la grandeza y sublimidad de aquel misterio es un acto de fe que no debe ajustarse a los naturales conocimientos y sentimientos que tienen los hombres por la razón y por el sentido.* García Icazbalceta 1889: 106. "Comprehending the greatness and sublimity of that mystery is an act of faith which

embraced an ancient topic, the pagan gods can become the center of his epic, just as they were in the *Aeneid*, into which Christian figures may intervene. Accordingly, the first invocation of Book 1 is directed to the Muses, according to Virgil's example. Yet the passage above is also a moment of critical reflection on early modern poetry in both Latin and the vernacular. He has clearly read Camões' *Os Lusíadas* (1572) and Sannazaro's *De Partu Virginis* (1526) and views them within the same tradition, despite their linguistic and national differences.

As noted, the *Alexandrias* concludes with a *sphragis*, which closely imitates Virgil's *sphragis* at the end of the *Georgics*. In these verses, moreover, Alegre speaks for the first time about his own life, the only explicit discussion of New Spain in the entire epic.⁴⁵²

*Hactenus Aemathios Vatem memorasse triumphos
Sit satis, arboream recubat dum lentus ad umbram,
Qua per Mexiceos liquidus perlabitur argos
Anthius, ac placidis foecundat jugera limphis,
Et Guadalupaei surgunt felici templi
Culmina, pinnatoque minantur in aethera clivo.
Alexandrias 4.578-83*

“Let it be enough for the poet to have related Macedonian triumphs thus far, while he lay at leisure under a shady tree, where the clear Anthius slips through the Mexican fields and makes the land fruitful with its placid waters, and where rise the summits of the blessed temple of the Guadalupe as they reach into the heavens from their winged hill.”

Alegre sings under a shaded tree, just as the poet of the *Georgics* evoked his rest while Caesar campaigned in the East. Virgil named himself in his *sphragis* (*Vergilium me, Georgics*

should not be adjusted to the natural knowledge and feelings that men have through reason and sense.” For Tasso, see Pierce 1968: 16.

⁴⁵² Laird 2003 reads the *Alexandrias* as a coded retelling of the siege of Tenochtitlan.

4.563), which is why Alegre refers to himself as the poet of the epic (*Vatem*, 578). At the same time, Alegre echoes another closure in Virgil's poetry, the end of *Eclogue* 10.70: *Haec sat erit, diuiae, uestrum cecinisse poetam*. The poet describes the Anthius, a river in Asia Minor, flowing into Mexican fields, fusing antiquity with his location in New Spain replacing the Euphrates from the *Georgics* with a river from the region of Alexander's campaigns.⁴⁵³

Specifically, the poet presents himself at the foot of the Basilica of the Virgin of Guadalupe:

*Fors olim tua, Diva parens, graviores cothurno
Signa canam laudesque tuas procul ultima Thule
Audiet ac positus numen venerabitur aris.
Alexandrias 4.584-6*

"Perhaps one day, holy mother, I will sing about your image in a grander style. Then furthest Thule will hear your praises from afar and your divine spirit will be adored on established altars."

The *sphragis* is in some ways external to his epic, which allows him to introduce the Virgin of Guadalupe here without issue. *Graviores cothurno* alludes to the Latin *topos* whereby the tragic boot of Greek tragedy was synonymous with tragedy or grand style.⁴⁵⁴ Studies of Alegre's papers indicate that he did compose a *Georgics* for the Guadalupe, but this manuscript is lost.⁴⁵⁵ The end of the *Alexandrias* promises a continuation of the poet's

⁴⁵³ The Anthius may be a coded reference to a Mexican river, but I have been unable to identify it.

⁴⁵⁴ Tragic genre: Virgil *Ecl.* 8.10, Horace *Carm.* 2.1.12, Prop. 2.34.41 and Quint. 10.1.68. Plin. *Nat.* 35.111 uses it to describe painting: *cothurnus et gravitas artis multum a Leuxide et Apelle abest*.

⁴⁵⁵ Burrus 1953 gives a chronological list of Alegre's writings. The *Lyrice et Georgice in B. Mariae Guadalupanae elogium* appears in "Lista de los Ms. de Dn. Xvr. Alegre," Archivo Histórico del

career, which may be said to follow the one established by Virgil.⁴⁵⁶ Yet the move from epic to didactic seems to be a reversal of the usual pattern. The theme of the promised work, the image of the Guadalupe, provides the key to understanding his reasoning. As discussed above, Alegre was adamant that profane and sacred elements should be kept separate. The movement from the *Alexandrias* to a poem of more elevated style (*graviores cothurno*) does not refer to a generic progression but rather a thematic one: Alegre will leave pagan antiquity for higher, sacred themes.

B.) Alexander, Josephus and Virgil

This section examines how Virgil mediated Alegre's reading of prose sources about Alexander the Great, specifically Josephus' account of the visit to Jerusalem. In the middle of the siege of Tyre, Alexander travels to Jerusalem, where he learns about Judaism and prophecies about him in the Jewish tradition. In the prose epilogue, Alegre states that this journey is based on Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities*, though his prose preface to the *Alexandrias* says that the epic is based on Curtius.⁴⁵⁷ Yet the only historic source available to Alegre about the Jerusalem visit was the *Jewish Antiquities* XI.316-47.⁴⁵⁸ Three details of Josephus'

Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Papeles Jesuitas, Ms. Ant. XX (29) n. 21. A brief discussion can also be found in García Icazbalceta 1889.

⁴⁵⁶ Laird 2010b considers Virgil's literary career as a model for aspiring poets.

⁴⁵⁷ For Josephus: Kaimowitz 1990: 137 and 139. For Curtius: Bologna 1776: 207. Kletter 2015 examines the late antique and medieval reception of Josephus, while Castelli 2015 looks at the Renaissance reception.

⁴⁵⁸ Josephus' narrative was likely influenced by legends among Alexandrian Jews. Recent discussions of the multilayered nature of this tradition can be found in Cohen 1982, Gruen 1998, and Amitay 2010. Evidence for the Jerusalem interlude outside of Josephus is discussed in Amitay 2017.

account are particularly important for Alegre's poem: Alexander's dream about Jaddus (333-5); the sacrifice in the Jerusalem temple (336); and reading the book of Daniel (337). The following discussion will look at key moments from the Jerusalem narrative in which Alegre integrates Virgil's poetry with historical and biblical sources to reconcile Greco-Roman and Judeo-Christian thought.

Alexander's dream of Jaddus (*Alex.*1.124-70) draws upon Virgil to create the link between the king of Macedon and the High Priest. As Alexander sleeps in a grove, he sees the following:

*Ecce autem ante oculos olli (mirabile dictu)
 Visus adesse senex, illi candentia fulgent
 Tempora gemmarum, cinctuque biverticis auri.
 Arte peregrinam Phrygia, gemmisque micantem,
 Induerat vestem, Assyrio quam stamine obumbrat
 Longa venenato chlamis exsaturata rubore,
 Perque humeros laevo tergum constringit ab armo
 Baltheus, et rubro disternit igne pyropos.
 Bissenisque procul radiabant pectora gemmis,
 Quae priscos referunt inscriptae nomina Patres.
 Alexandrias 1.131-140*

"Behold before his eyes (marvelous to tell) there appeared an old man, whose white temples shown with a circlet of gems and twin-peaked gold. He wore a strange robe of Phrygian make, twinkling with gems, which a long mantle of Assyrian thread, saturated with red dye, concealed. Over his shoulders from the left side a belt binds his back and divides the gold-bronze with its ruddy fire. From a distance his chest radiated with twelve jewels, which, inscribed with names, told of the ancient patriarchs."

Jaddus appears to Alexander in the way Hector appeared to Aeneas in *Aeneid* 2.270-1: *in somnis ecce ante oculos maestissimus Hector uisus adesse*. Yet this passage is also an ecphrasis of the priest's marvelous clothes and colorful gems. Each article of clothing described here tallies with descriptions of the High Priest's garments in Exodus 28, though

similarities may be noted between this passage and Josephus' description of priestly garments in his *Jewish War*.⁴⁵⁹ The twelve jewels at the end of this passage were worn in a breastplate, while the twelve inscribed names refer to the names of the twelve tribes of Israel. This last detail reveals that the viewpoint is external to Alexander, who cannot know what the names refer to. The description of the garments is Orientalized in Roman terms; the discussion of *arte...Phrygia*, "Phrygian art," evokes descriptions of the Trojans in Virgil's *Aeneid*.⁴⁶⁰

In Josephus' account, the meeting between Alexander and the Jews is focalized from the High Priest's perspective. Josephus writes that God appeared to Jaddus in a dream, ordering him to go out to meet Alexander in the garments prescribed in the law.⁴⁶¹ This emphasis upon clothing is reinforced when Alexander and Jaddus come face to face. In the first place, Josephus goes into great detail about the priest's clothing at the moment that he meets Alexander:

ὁ γὰρ Ἀλέξανδρος ἔτι πόρρωθεν ἰδὼν τὸ μὲν πλῆθος ἐν ταῖς λευκαῖς ἐσθῆσιν, τοὺς δὲ ἱερεῖς προεστῶτας ἐν ταῖς βυσσίναις αὐτῶν, τὸν δὲ ἀρχιερέα ἐν τῇ ὑακινθίνῳ καὶ διαχρυσῷ στολῇ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἔχοντα τὴν κίδαριν καὶ τὸ χρυσοῦν ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἔλασμα, ὃ τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ

⁴⁵⁹ *Jewish War* 5.230-37. There Josephus lists the blue robe, the tassels, the sash, the ephod, brooches, the breastplate and gems engraved with the names of the Israelite tribes, the miter and the tetragrammaton.

⁴⁶⁰ Another good observation by Jay Reed.

⁴⁶¹ κατακοιμηθέντι δὲ μετὰ τὴν θυσίαν ἐ χρημάτισεν αὐτῷ κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ὁ θεὸς θαρρεῖν καὶ στεφανοῦντας τὴν πόλιν ἀνοίγειν τὰς πύλας, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους λευκαῖς ἐσθῆσιν, αὐτὸν δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἱερέων ταῖς νομίμοις στολαῖς ποιῆσθαι τὴν ὑπάντησιν, μηδὲν προσδοκῶντας πείσεσθαι δεινὸν προνοουμένου τοῦ θεοῦ. *Jewish Antiquities* XI.327. Gnuse 1996 offers an analysis of dreams in Josephus, while this particular dream is the subject of Kim 2003.

ἐγγέγραπτο ὄνομα, προσελθὼν μόνος προσεκύνησε τὸ ὄνομα καὶ τὸν ἀρχιερέα πρῶτος ἡσπάσατο.

Jewish Antiquities XI.331

“For when Alexander saw from a distance the multitude in white garments, the priests standing before them in their linen, and the high priest in a hyacinth and golden robe, and wearing on his head the mitre with its golden plate, upon which was inscribed the name of God, he went forward alone and bowed down before the name and was the first to greet the high priest.”

Like Josephus, Alegre focused on the color of the priest’s robes, the gems and the gold that mark his position. The importance of the priest’s physical appearance is reinforced in a second passage, in which Alexander explains that Jaddus had appeared to him in a dream, wearing the very same garments: τοῦτον γὰρ καὶ κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους εἶδον ἐν τῷ νῦν σχήματι *Jewish Antiquities* XI.334. This is confirmed again when Alexander insists that he has seen no one else in those garments since: ὅθεν ἄλλον μὲν οὐδένα θεασάμενος ἐν τοιαύτῃ στολῇ *Jewish Antiquities* XI.335.⁴⁶² Thus Alegre, working from Alexander’s perspective, makes sure that the details about Jaddus’ clothing are richly described in his rendition of Alexander’s dream. To do this, however, the poet clearly drew upon dream sequences from the *Aeneid*, thus presenting Alexander’s vision within the idiom of ancient epic.

As Alegre stated in his epilogue, the recognition scene in the *Alexandrias* was based on the meeting between Venus and Aeneas in the *Aeneid*:⁴⁶³

⁴⁶² Fletcher-Louis 2004 and Cohen 1982-3.

⁴⁶³ *Sunt & aliae poematis epici partes non necessariae illi quidem, quae tamen magnum fabulae ornamentum, atque splendorem conferunt, ut quam Agnitionem Latini vocant, cujus est pulcherrimum exemplum apud Maronem in primo, ubi Venus Aeneae venatricis cultu, atque habitu apparet, neque a filio agnoscitur, nisi quum ejus conspectu subtrahitur... Et quidem Alexandri stupor quum Jaddum a se olim*

*o quam te memorem, uirgo? namque haud tibi uultus
mortalis, nec uox hominem sonat; o dea certe
(an Phoebi soror? an Nympharum sanguinis una?)
Aeneid 1.327-9*

“Oh – what name should I call you, maiden? For your face is not mortal, nor does your voice sound human; o goddess, surely! Or are you Phoebus’ sister? Perhaps you are one of the Nymphs?”

*Ergo miratur tacitus, totumque pererrat
Luminibus trepidis venientem, haeretque tuendo,
Mox prior inflexo pronus sic poplite fatur:
O quem te memorem, pater? an delapsus ab oris
Aethereis ades, interpretes Divum, an Deus ipse?
Haud etenim mortale refers. Nosco ora manusque?
An fallor? Tune ille Deo mihi lapsus ab alto
Nuntius ad Litani starem quum fluminis oras?
Alexandrias 3.61-68*

“Thus he gazes in silence and surveys with trembling eyes the one who approaches. He holds his gaze fixed and then moving ahead on bended knee he speaks: “Oh whom should I call you, father? Have you descended from heavenly shores, an interpreter of the gods, or are you yourself divine? You hardly seem mortal. Do I know your face and hands? Or am I mistaken” Was it you who came to me from god on high as a messenger when I stood at the shores of the river Leontes?”⁴⁶⁴

These questions and doubts are absent from Josephus’ account, in which Alexander recognizes Jaddus as the high priest and bows, not to him, but to the name of God,

visum commemorat, tandemque agnoscit, ad primi imitationem quondam adumbratum esse suo loco adnotatur. (Bologna 1776: II.288). “There are other parts of an epic poem which are not necessary but which nonetheless bring great adornment and splendor to the story, as that which is called *agnitio* in Latin. The most lovely example of which is found in Virgil, in Book 1, when Venus appears to Aeneas in the dress and manner of a huntress, and is not recognized by her son, until she is carried off from his sight...And indeed it is shown in its own spot (i.e. *ad loc.*) that Alexander’s amazement when he remembers that he has seen Jaddus before, and eventual recognition, was fabricated in imitation of Book 1 [of the *Aeneid*].”

⁴⁶⁴ Alegre may have confused the classical *Leontes* with its vernacular name, *río Litani*. There is no *Litanus*, as far as I know.

(προσεκύνησε τὸ ὄνομα, XI.331). The recognition scene, however, allows Alegre to imitate Virgil's example. He has added a detail from the encounter with Dido, when Alexander stares at Jaddus just as Dido did at Aeneas (*totumque pererrat luminibus tacitis*, A.4.363-4). Aeneas and Alexander both ask for the stranger's name, and both note that Jaddus and Venus do not appear to be mortal. Finally, Alexander copies Aeneas by posing several answers to his own questions: a god, a messenger, etc. In this encounter, Alexander relies upon his knowledge of messenger scenes and dream visions, but these prove to be misleading, as Jaddus is not a god, but a priest. As with the dream in *Alexandrias* 1, imitation of the *Aeneid* allows the poet to suggest the fundamental differences between the worlds that Alexander and Jaddus represent.

In *Jewish Antiquities* it was simply stated that Alexander entered the city and made sacrifice at the temple (XI.336). Yet Alegre capitalizes upon this opportunity to incorporate a *laus urbis* as well an ecphrasis of the temple:⁴⁶⁵

*Urbs fuit antiquo gentis de nomine Jebus,
Inde Salem, senos complectitur ardua monteis,
Turritoque alti cingunt discrimine muri.
At qua Sol radiis collustrat moenia primis
Templum augustum, ingens, Pariae cui mille columnae
Porticibusque cavis, atriisque capacibus exstant.
Ter credas spatiis ternas ingentibus altas
Stare urbeis, latis tot propugnacula muris
Tantaque se facies aperit, tot in aethera turres
Consurgunt: fulvo introrsum vestita metallo
Cuncta micant. Danaum miratur singula ductor.*
Alexandrias 3.82-92

⁴⁶⁵ *Laus urbis* is described by Quintilian at *Institutes* III.7.26-28. Note that temples and walls are recommended as suitable subjects. Ruth 2011 and Davis 1935 examine this *topos* in Spanish poetry.

“There was a lofty city called Jebus, from the ancient name of that race, and then later Salem, which encircled six mountains, and which high walls enclose in a turreted line. And where the sun illuminates the walls with its first rays, there stood a majestic and enormous temple, whose thousand columns of Parian marble tower above hollow colonnades and spacious courts. You would think that six lofty cities could fit inside its massive space, so many bulwarks decorate its wide walls, so great is its appearance, so many towers lift themselves into the air. All within gleams, clothed in tawny gold. The leader of the Greeks marvels at it all.”

The phrase *urbs fuit* echoes Virgil’s description of Carthage: *Vrbs antiqua fuit* (*Aeneid* 1.12).

In this context, as in the *Aeneid*, this may have a connotation of by-gone glory, a reflection of the epic’s presentation of the westward shift of civilization.⁴⁶⁶ Just as Virgil gave a brief history of that city, so too does Alegre offer a short account of the site. According to the Book of Kings and 1 Chronicles, an ancient settlement of Jerusalem was named Jebus, after the Jebusites, a Canaanite tribe who lived there. Following tradition, Alegre then equates Salem, the kingdom of Melchizedek (Genesis 14:18), with Jerusalem. In so doing, he follows Josephus, who repeatedly describes the renaming of Jerusalem.⁴⁶⁷ The six mountains around the city evoke the seven hills of Rome, as do the high walls which surround the site.

The ecphrasis of the temple begins with an echo of Virgil’s description of Latinus’ palace: *tectum augustum ingens, centum sublime columnis*, *Aeneid* 7.170. The temple boasts ten times as many columns as the palace, which reflects its colossal size in this passage. Not only is the temple large, it is also opulent, fitted with costly marble and fine gold. This

⁴⁶⁶ Reed 2007: 129-40 discusses this theme in Virgil for several cities, including Carthage and Tyre.

⁴⁶⁷ *Jewish Antiquities* 1.180, 7.67 and *Jewish War* 6.438.

description also draws upon Josephus' *Jewish War*.⁴⁶⁸ In the middle of the war, the historian pauses to give a lengthy description of Jerusalem (5.136-183) and of Herod's Temple (184-247).⁴⁶⁹ As in Alegre's passage, Josephus describes the hills, the walls and the towers (156-175) that surround the ancient city before passing to the temple. Both the poet and the historian draw attention to the size and number of columns, which Josephus says were made of single blocks of white marble.⁴⁷⁰

The following passage illustrates the relation between the *Alexandrias* and the *Jewish War*:

Τὸ δ' ἔξωθεν αὐτοῦ πρόσωπον οὐδὲν οὐτ' εἰς ψυχῆς οὐτ' εἰς ὀμμάτων ἔκπληξιν ἀπέλειπεν· πλαξὶ γὰρ χρυσοῦ στιβαραῖς κεκαλυμμένος πάντοθεν, ὑπὸ τὰς πρώτας ἀνατολὰς πυρωδεστάτην ἀπέπαλλεν αὐγὴν καὶ τῶν βιαζομένων ἰδεῖν τὰς ὄψεις ὥσπερ ἡλιακαῖς ἀκτῖσιν ἀπέστρεφεν. τοῖς γε μὴν ἀφικνουμένοις ξένοις πόρωθεν ὁμοῖος ὄρει χιόνος πλήρει κατεφαίνετο· καὶ γὰρ καθὰ μὴ κεχρύσωτο λευκότατος ἦν.

Jewish War 5.222-223

"The exterior of the building wanted nothing that could astound either mind or eye. For, being covered on all sides with massive plates of gold, the sun was no sooner up than it radiated so fiery a flash that persons straining to look at it were compelled to avert their eyes, as from the solar rays. To approaching strangers it appeared from a distance like a snow-clad mountain; for all that was not overlaid with gold was of purest white."

⁴⁶⁸ The description of Solomon's Temple (*Jewish Antiquities* 8.63-8) largely agrees with the account in 1 Kings and 2 Chronicles. The Second Temple is never described fully in *Jewish Antiquities*, not even when Alexander allegedly visits it. Instead, Josephus reserves this topic for the reign of Herod, who renovated and expanded the Second Temple (*Jewish Antiquities* 15.380-425). The details discussed in this section, however, only appear in his *Jewish War*. Kaden 2016 compares these two accounts in Josephus.

⁴⁶⁹ Goldish 2011 examines Josephus' role in early modern Temple Studies.

⁴⁷⁰ κίονες δ' αὐταῖς εἰκοσιπέντε πηχῶν τὸ ὕψος ἐφεστήκεσαν, μονόλιθοι λευκοτάτης μαρμάρου, *Jewish War* 5.190.

The gleaming white stone and flashing gold of the temple are carefully replicated in Alegre's poem, as are the striking words about the rays of the sun. In this passage Josephus imagines what the temple would have looked like to strangers, which he never did in his account of Alexander's visit to Jerusalem. Alegre therefore uses this moment in the *Jewish War*, in which Josephus gave a full description of the city and its monumental structures, to create the scene as it would have appeared to Alexander's eyes. In so doing, however, he imports Herod's luxurious temple into the 4th century B.C.⁴⁷¹ Alegre does not seek to create parity between the Hebrew temple and pagan sites, but rather to demonstrate the superiority of this building over all other ancient structures. As Alexander gazes upon the temple, he takes on the role of Aeneas in the Temple of Juno (A.1.441-93). While the glare of the sun causes the observer to look away in Josephus, Alegre's Alexander takes in every detail, *singula*, a detail taken from Virgil (*Aen.* 1.453).⁴⁷² Yet while the decorative frieze of Juno's temple depicted scenes from the Trojan War, elements of Aeneas' past, there is no similar decoration upon the Jewish temple. Rather, Jewish history will be revealed by the priest.

The speech falls into three parts: the nature of God (107-26), the history of the Jews (127-206) and Daniel's prophecy of the four empires (207-38). Jaddus begins by arguing

⁴⁷¹ It is likely that the Second Temple was not nearly as sumptuous as the Herodian Temple, given the circumstances of its construction (Goldhill 2011: 42-56). Killebrew 2011 discusses the general lack of archaeological evidence for the Second Temple period as well as the results of recent excavations near the Temple Mount.

⁴⁷² I thank Jay Reed for pointing out the reversal.

that classical pagans are idolatrous and adds that the immorality of the pagan gods leads to immoral behavior among their worshippers.⁴⁷³ He then describes God:

Terrasque tractusque maris, coelumque profundum
Mente regens, casus nullo non tempore noscit,
Qui sunt, qui fuerint, et erunt quicumque futuri.
Alexandrias 3.124-6

“ruling over the earth, the expanses of the sea and the boundless sky with his mind, there is no instance in which he does not know the outcome of things that are, that were, and shall yet come to pass.”

Language from Virgil infuses this characterization, enabling Alegre to articulate the relationship between the visible world and divine will. This evocation of the universe appears both in *Eclogue* 4 and in the *Georgics*, ascribing to God the majesty of the cosmos.⁴⁷⁴ These verses in the *Alexandrias* may show that pagan poetry holds a seed of truth: that God truly is in all things, as the *Georgics* suggests, or that creation is in sympathy with its creator, as in *Eclogue* 4. God’s omniscience, moreover, is taken from a description of the demigod Proteus:

... nouit namque omnia uates,
quae sint, quae fuerint, quae mox uentura trahantur.
Georgics 4.392-3

“for the seer knows all things – what is, what has been, and what will soon come to pass.”

⁴⁷³ Incidentally, Jaddus echoes some of the early objections to the Homeric gods (Ford 2002).

⁴⁷⁴ *aspice conuexo nutantem pondere mundum | terrasque tractusque maris caelumque profundum*, *Ecl.* 4.50-51. *deum namque ire per omnis, | terrasque tractusque maris caelumque profundum*, *Georgics* 4.221-22. For the evocation of the universe as heaven, earth and sea, see Hardie 1986: 313-325.

The evocation of the cosmos through earth, water, and air is balanced by a presentation of God's knowledge of past, present and future. The ancient seer is but a poor reflection of God's omniscience and omnipotence. The figure of the *vates* is extremely important for the Jerusalem interlude, since divine revelation will show Alexander his place in history.

A revision of pagan philosophy comes to the fore in the priest's narrations of the creation and fall of man. First, the creation story corrects certain passages from Virgil and Lucretius:

*At viridemque herbam, frondeisque induta recenteis
Terra parens pulchros submittit daedala flores.
Hinc volucrum, pecudumque genus omne natantum.
Clarius ast hominum generi, ac coelestis origo est.
Nam Solis radiis et multa luce coruscus,
Ipse manu pater Omnipotens membra ardua limo
Finxitque, infuditque animum, rectique capacem,
Altos quique gerat sensus, arcana parentis
Signa Dei impressos referens in imagine vultus,
Divinoque ex fonte supernae particulam aurae.
Alexandrias 3.140-49*

"Then mother earth, clothed in green grass and fresh foliage, skillfully sprouts lovely flowers. Here come the race of birds and animals, and all the race of swimming things. But mankind's origin is higher and heavenly. For the Almighty father, made bright by the rays of the sun and much light, formed man's straight limbs from the mud with his own hand, and poured into this frame the breath of life and made it capable of good, so that man would have noble thoughts, bearing a face stamped in the image of God, the secret seal of his father, and a small part of the celestial spirit from the heavenly fountain."

This description of mother earth alludes to the beginning of *De Rerum Natura*, in which the poet Lucretius invokes the goddess Venus (1.1-9). There, Venus is identified as the deity through whom all living things come into being, on land and on sea, which is why, he says, the earth bears Venus flowers: *tibi suavis daedala tellus summitti flores* (7-8). The

phrase *daedala tellus* appears two more times in Lucretius (1.228 and 5.234) but was not common in Latin poetry.⁴⁷⁵ This suggests that Alegre's introduction to the creation story reworks Lucretius' praise of Venus to hymn the Judeo-Christian god as the source of life.

Alegre's account of creation also responds to Anchises' speech on the origin of life (*Aeneid* 6.724-751). In the underworld, Anchises explains to Aeneas how creation began and the source of life for animals and men:

*Principio caelum ac terras camposque liquentis
lucentemque globum lunae Titaniaque astra
spiritus intus alit, **totamque infusa per artus
mens agitat molem** et magno se corpore miscet.
inde **hominum pecudumque genus uitaeque uolantum**
et quae marmoreo fert monstra sub aequore pontus.
igneus est ollis uigor et caelestis origo
seminibus, quantum non noxia corpora tardant
terrenique hebetant artus moribundaque membra.*
Aeneid 6.724-32

"First, a spirit within sustains heaven and earth and the watery plains, the shining sphere of the moon and Titan's star; the mind poured into these frames moves the entire mass and blends itself in the body. From this source come the race of man and animals, the life of winged creature and all the monsters born under the ocean's marble surface. These seeds have a fiery vigor and heavenly origin, so much as they are not hindered by harmful bodies nor weakened by earthly limbs and mortal frame."

According to Anchises, all living things take their origin from the *anima mundi*, which imparts a spark of life to men, animals, birds and fish. Alegre transforms this text in two ways. First, he separates the creation of the animals from the creation of man, to whom he grants a higher origin (*clarior...coelestis origo*, 3.143), perhaps drawing upon Ovid's

⁴⁷⁵ Morris 1992 examines the term and the history of its discourse. Holmes 2005 looks at Lucretius and the creation of words.

description in the *Metamorphoses* (*sanctius his animal mentisque capacius altae*, 1.76). Alegre's creator is imbued with the light of the sun, which transfers Anchises' description of the light and fire of these seeds to an external, rather than internal, source. At the same time, these details reflect the order presented in Genesis 1:1-2:3, in which the creation of the sun preceded the birth of the animals, all of which preceded the creation of man. Just as Virgil described a *mens* poured into the frame of living creatures, Alegre depicted God pouring breath and reason into human limbs. Finally, Jaddus dwells upon man's ability to do good, an aspect which is absent from Anchises' speech.

Second, there is no suggestion in the *Alexandrias* that the human body inherently harms or limits the spirit that animates it. Rather, the body bears the image of God (*Dei impressos referens in imagine vultus*) and so cannot be intrinsically evil. The phrase *supernae particulam aerae* (149), however, requires some theological justification in a footnote (Bologna 1775: 251):

Horatiana loquutio, quam quidem licet in Platoniorum & Manichaeorum sensus graviter reprehendat Augustinus; poetice tamen in sano ac religioso sensu accipi posse nemo non fatebitur.

"A Horatian expression, which, though severely censured by Augustine for its Platonic and Manichaean significance, nevertheless no one would not acknowledge that it can be taken *poetically* in a wholesome and pious way."

Alegre alludes to Horace's *Sermones* 2.2.79: *affigit humo divinae particulam aerae*. The idea that pleasure and pain attach the soul to the body stems from the negative views of the body in Platonic philosophy (*Phaedo* 83D). While the poet acknowledges these unacceptable overtones, he argues for poetic license. By modifying the verse from Horace,

Alegre critiques Virgil's account of matter's ability to weaken and hinder the divine seed. Rather, the body is a vehicle for the fullest expression of man's divine spirit.⁴⁷⁶ This optimism is abandoned, however, after the fall:

...in praeceps sic jam sublapsa ruebat
Conditio infelix hominum,
Alexandrias 3.153-4

“Thus now the unhappy condition of mankind slipped away and rushed into ruin headlong.”

Here Alegre echoes *Georgics* 1.199-200, that all things tend to ruin: *sic omnia fatis in peius ruere ac retro sublapsa referri*. The context of the passage shows that human suffering is not the result of fate but of human disobedience, turning the pagan source toward a ‘wholesome and pious meaning’. The emphasis on the fall is closer to the doctrine of original sin than Jewish thought, a reflection of the poet's attempts to create continuity between Jewish texts and Christian tradition.

The relationship between prophecy and history is the central theme of the last part of Jaddus' speech. The prophet Daniel's vision of four beasts is introduced to Alexander as a prophecy about the Macedonian:

Quid Babiloniacas illum autem ad fluminis oras
Regnorumque viceis, venturaque saecula canentem?
Hic primum terris cecinit tua, maxime Regum
Gesta sub arcanis involvens fata figuris.
Alexandrias 3.205-08

“Why should I mention the one who sings the succession of kingdoms and the ages to come by the shores of the Babylonian river? He was the first to

⁴⁷⁶ The *aura* may suggest, at one level or another, the πνεῦμα or “breath” which could refer to the Holy Spirit.

sing your deeds, greatest of kings, enveloping his meaning with mysterious allusions.”

In a footnote to these verses, Alegre identifies this *vates* as Daniel.⁴⁷⁷ Like the Nymph Carmentis (*Aeneid* 8) or the Sybil of Cumae (*Aeneid* 3), Daniel reveals the future through his songs. The description of Daniel enveloping his meaning in mystery reworks Jupiter’s promise to Venus to disclose fate’s secrets (*uoluens fatorum arcana*, *Aeneid* 1.262), when he reveals the rise of Rome as an empire without end. Daniel’s location on the shores of Babylon alludes to the beginning of Psalm 137: *super flumina Babylonis ibi sedimus et flevimus cum recordaremur Sion*, “we sat by the waters of Babylon and wept when we remembered Zion.”⁴⁷⁸ At the end of this Psalm, the destruction of Babylon is foretold, just as Daniel’s vision was interpreted as the rise and fall of four successive empires. Since the Psalms are also songs, we can see how Alegre constructs the relationship between poetry and prophecy through Virgilian and Biblical texts.

Jaddus gives a partial summary of the vision in Daniel 7; he interprets the vision of a winged lion, a bear, and a winged panther as symbols of Babylon, Persia, and Macedon (*Alex.*3.209-38). He omits the fourth beast, a symbol of Rome, which will not become a world power until after Alexander’s death. Alegre follows Jerome’s *Commentary on Daniel* in his identification of these beasts with these specific kingdoms, which is itself

⁴⁷⁷ Collins 1993 shows that the prophecy of the four beasts likely postdates Alexander’s conquest.

⁴⁷⁸ Psalm 136 in the Vulgate is Psalm 137 KJV.

based on Josephus' account that Alexander recognized himself as the panther.⁴⁷⁹ The Macedonian Empire is thus identified as the moment in which Greco-Roman and Jewish history intersect, which makes the Jerusalem interlude crucial for Alegre's hero, Alexander. His mission is to rule the third empire prophesied in the Book of Daniel, bringing the birth of Christ a step closer. According to this view of history, without Alexander there is no Rome, and without Rome, there is no Pax Augusta to facilitate the spread of the Gospel. The siege of Tyre is thus reduced to an episode in a much grander narrative, in which Alexander plays a small but vital role.

It is no coincidence, moreover, that, beginning with Jerome, the Book of Daniel was interpreted as proof of the gradual westward shift of civilization.⁴⁸⁰ This thesis came to hold new import for New Spanish intellectuals, for whom New Spain was the natural successor to the glory of the Spanish Empire, as evinced by the apparition of the Virgin of Guadalupe in Mexico City.⁴⁸¹ Through the visit to Jerusalem, Alegre encourages a typological reading of the Bible that privileges a teleological approach to the succession of Alexander's divinely sanctioned kingdom, with special implications for the historical import of New Spain and the Americas.

C.) Criticism and *Imitatio*

⁴⁷⁹ δειχθείσης δ' αὐτῷ τῆς Δανιήλου βίβλου, ἐν ἣ τινὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καταλύσειν τὴν Περσῶν ἀρχὴν ἐδήλου, νομίσας αὐτὸς εἶναι ὁ σημαίνόμενος τότε μὲν ἤσθεις ἀπέλυσε τὸ πλῆθος.
Jewish Antiquities XI.337.

⁴⁸⁰ Gerbi 1973: 131.

⁴⁸¹ Brading 2001 and Cañizares-Esguerra 2009.

The 1776 edition includes a preface, footnotes, and an epilogue, a short epistolary essay in Latin about epic and the composition of the *Alexandrias*. Alegre's interest in literary criticism can be tied to his historical circumstances following the expulsion of the Jesuits from New Spain and his exile in Bologna.⁴⁸² The Jesuits of Alegre's generation had selectively embraced aspects of Enlightenment thought, as conveyed to them through the writings of the Spanish Benedictine Benito Feijoo, the new educational methods of Jouvancy, and foreign clergy.⁴⁸³ In Italy, the Mexican Jesuits found themselves under attack as Spaniards and as Americans, and it was in this context that Alegre published his Latin verse translation of the *Iliad* and the *Alexandrias*. Virgilian *imitatio* was not an innocent expression of neoclassical principles but a defense of Spanish literary traditions and a powerful demonstration of the intellectual capability of Americans.

Alegre's approach to literature was neoclassical and eclectic, a characteristic of some of the American Jesuit poets.⁴⁸⁴ This tendency was strengthened by literary polemics in Europe between Italian and Spanish classicism, on the one hand, and between Spanish and French literature on the other. This is evident in the catalogue of the *Alexandrias*:

*Eja age, Musa, Deum proles, **nosti arma, virosque,**
Quasque acies Tyriis dominatrix Graecia campis
Extulerit, magnosque duces; **nos cantibus auras,***

⁴⁸² Laird 2012 and Alfaro 2011 discuss the link between creole patriotism and Jesuit Latin.

⁴⁸³ Cruz 1966 offers a study of Feijoo in Mexico. Deck 1976 and Burrus 1953 examine Jouvancy and foreign clergy in New Spain. As Deck points out, Spanish law prohibited the permanent entry of non-Spaniards into New Spain, but exceptions were made for foreign clergy (13-14). Contact with foreign clergy can be shown to have played a vital role in Alegre's own education: he learned English from an Irish Jesuit in Havana, Cuba (Burrus 1953: 446).

⁴⁸⁴ See, for example, Rafael Landívar's *Rusticatio Mexicana* (Laird 2006) and José Mariano Iturriaga's *Californias* (Navarro Antolín 2019).

Seraque mendacis sequimur vestigia fama.

Alexandrias 1.377-80

“Come now, Muse, child of the gods, you know the arms and the men, the marching order which ascendant Greece spread over the fields of Tyre, and you know the mighty leaders, whereas we chase after whispers and belated traces of mendacious fame in song.”

This apparently conventional invocation has several intertexts that gesture toward Alegre’s theory of epic. The Muse knows “arms and the men,” (*nosti arma virosque*, 377), suggesting continuity between the *Alexandrias* and the *Aeneid*. Alegre intimates his relationship to the tradition, as well as the distance between himself and the events he narrates. The whispers which Alegre chases allude to Virgil’s invocation of the Muse: *ad nos uix tenuis fama perlabitur aura*, *Aeneid* 7.646, “the scant breath of fame barely wafts its way to us.” Alegre, like Virgil, exists in the poetic community (*nos*) that turns to the Muses for events of greater antiquity.⁴⁸⁵ Yet when Alegre says that he follows fame’s footsteps, he places himself among Virgil’s successors, as Statius had done at the end of the *Thebaid*.⁴⁸⁶ The *Alexandrias* draws attention to its own belatedness (*sera...vestigia*), which in turn makes Alegre’s task more difficult. The means of communication between the ancient poets and Alegre is ancient epic, the songs which bear traces of past events. Adherence to tradition in the invocation thus creates a community of classical and neoclassical poets.

⁴⁸⁵ A similar passage can be found in Alegre’s translation of the *Batrachomyomachia*, discussed in Bush Malabehar 2013.

⁴⁸⁶ *sed longe sequere et vestigia semper adora*, 12.817

Two paratexts in the Bologna edition show that Alegre modelled this passage on the Homeric catalogue of ships (*Iliad* 2.484-785). The epilogue states that the catalogues of *Alexandrias* 1 and 2 imitate “the best poets,” Homer and Virgil.⁴⁸⁷ In a footnote at the start of the first catalogue, Alegre identifies the Homeric catalogue as his model, not only of this convention but also for the places included in Alegre’s list.⁴⁸⁸ This is why, like Homer, Alegre begins with the Boeotians (*Iliad* 2.493-510; *Alex.*1.381-409), names their commander, and then turns to cities in Boeotia that have contributed men to the campaign. Of the twenty-nine cities named in Homer’s catalogue, twenty-one appear in the *Alexandria*.⁴⁸⁹ Four cities retain their Homeric epithet, while five cities receive at least an extra verse of description.⁴⁹⁰ Alegre adds the city of Chaeronea (400), site of the final battle between Philip II of Macedon and the Boeotian League, so that the Homeric list reflects important historical developments for the life of Alexander.

The poet’s debt to Virgil is revealed in a comparison of this passage from the *Alexandrias* and Alegre’s Latin translation of the Homeric catalogue:

Eja agite, Aonides, scitis namque omnia, Divae

⁴⁸⁷ *Recensiones profecto exercitus, classisque in primo, ac tertio libro, iterque Alexandri Hierololymas summorum Poetarum imitationes sunt, ut suis in locis adnotatur, nec dissimulaverim in praefatis recensionibus, prima praecipue, authorem veluti juvenali calore abreptum plusculum aliquanto versificandi facilitate indulsisse, eamque longiorem esse, quam exigui poematis natura patiatur.*” (Bologna 1776: 284).

⁴⁸⁸ *Vide plures quos dedimus ad secundum Iliados, unde non solum nomina locorum, sed etiam adjuncta alia desumpta sunt ut plurimum* (Bologna 1776: 221). Alegre does not use Virgil’s catalogue of Italians at *Aen.* 7 apart from language from the invocation. He does not seem to be aware of Virgil’s own sources for that catalogue and neither does La Cerda in his commentary *ad loc.*

⁴⁸⁹ Those missing are Peteon, Eutresis, Thisbe, Coroneia, Haliartus, Mideia, Nisa, and Anthedon.

⁴⁹⁰ The four cities that retain their epithet are Eteonus (387), Mycalessus (390), Medion (392) and Onchestus (401). The five cities with lengthier descriptions are Aulis (388-9), Thespia (392-4), Erythrae (395-97), Onchestus (401-5) and Arnes (406-7).

Ad nos vix tenuis famae perlabitur aura...
Singula quid capita adgrediar comprehendere versu?
Non mihi si linguae centum sint, oraque centum
Ferrea vox, omneis peditumque equitumque maniplos,
Omnia bellantum percurrere nomina possem.
Iliados (1776) 2.426-7, 430-33

“Come now, Boeotian Muses, for you know all things, but the thin breeze of fame barely slips down to us...Why should I attempt to include every single person in my verse? Not even if I had a hundred tongues, a hundred mouths and an iron tongue would I be able to mention all the companies of the infantry and cavalry, or all the names of those who waged war.”

The Macedonian catalogue also began with an address to the Muse (*Eja age Musa, Alex.1.377*). The second verse of Alegre’s translation is borrowed from one of Virgil’s catalogues.⁴⁹¹ It reappears in the metaphor of the poet chasing whispers at the start of the Macedonian catalogue (*Alex. 1.379-80*). In a footnote, Alegre admits that his translation is based on Virgil’s catalogue in *Aeneid* 7 (Bologna 1776: 49). Since Virgil imitated Homer, Alegre follows well-established tradition by imitating Virgil to translate Homer into Latin. This is born out in another footnote at the start of the Boeotian contingent: *Homerum imitati sunt fere omnes Epici Poetae*, “nearly all epic poets are imitators of Homer,” (Bologna 1776: 50).

The catalogues of the *Alexandrias* show Alegre working within the classical heroic tradition, but the poet’s representation of Alexander the Great adjusts what he identified as shortcomings within that tradition. Alegre’s *oeuvre* shows great respect for the Macedonian king. In his commentary on Boileau’s *L’Art poétique*, Alegre argued that

⁴⁹¹ *ad nos vix tenuis famae perlabitur aura, Aeneid* 7.646.

Alexander the Great deserved a better poet than Choerilus of Iasus, quoting Horace.⁴⁹² He added that Alexander possessed rare genius, one of the rarest, in fact, ever bestowed by nature.⁴⁹³ In the epilogue of the Bologna edition, Alegre is surprised that the Macedonian had never received adequate praise, despite the rich tradition of the Alexander Romance, Walter of Châtillon's medieval Latin epic, the *Alexandreis*, and the medieval Spanish epic poem it inspired, the *Libro de Alexandre*.⁴⁹⁴ Alegre's poem does not engage with any of these sources, but instead follows the historical record left by Curtius and Josephus, a decision which is symptomatic of his Classicism.⁴⁹⁵

In the epilogue of the Bologna edition, the Jesuit stated that the destruction of Tyre was an 'eternal and indestructible monument to the courage and high-mindedness of

⁴⁹² *Sic mihi qui multum cessat, fit Choerilus ille, | quem bis terque bonum cum risu miror, A.P. 357-58.*

⁴⁹³ "Un genio de los más raros que ha dado la Naturaleza y que hizo tanto aprecio de los buenos poetas, merecía ciertamente mejor fortuna," García Icazbalceta 1889: 112.

⁴⁹⁴ *Et quidem illud Alexandri herois fatum fuisse videtur, ut non nisi Choeriles rerum suarum praecones nancisceretur, eo etiam tempore quo praestantissimis ingeniis, & Poetica laude clarissimis Graecia florebat...incredibilem tamen, atque ut ita dicam, pene divinam animi magnitudinem prae se fert, simulque ob plura quae illud mira, atque praeclara circumsant, poetico artificio aptissimum esse videbatur.* (Bologna 1776: II.283). "What is more it seems to be the fate of the hero Alexander that he did not obtain those to praise his accomplishments except people like Choerilus at the very time at which Greece was flourishing with talents most outstanding and renowned for poetic praise...an unbelievable and, as it were, almost divine greatness of mind and at the same time, because of the many wondrous and noble matters that attended it, seemed most appropriate for poetic treatment," (Kaimowitz 1990: 137). The scholarship on the Alexander Romance is vast, but Nawotka 2017, Zuwiyya 2011 and Ng 2019 offer a place to start. Pritchard 1986 gives a translation of the *Alexandreis* with an introduction and notes, while Lafferty 1998 is a study of the poem. Marcos Marín 2002 has an introduction to the *Libro de Alexandre*, of which Casas Rigall 2014 is the latest critical edition. Classicists may be interested in Fraker 1993 and Ian 1970.

⁴⁹⁵ As pointed out by Jay Reed.

Alexander.⁴⁹⁶ Yet like Curtius, his primary historical source, Alegre saw the conquest of Babylon as the beginning of Alexander's moral decline.⁴⁹⁷ The siege of Tyre, which took place before the conquest of Babylon, allows Alegre to focus on the Macedonian's as-yet unblemished character. In the epilogue, Alegre admits that the hero of the *Alexandrias* is more virtuous than Alexander ever was, because he was modelled after Aeneas.⁴⁹⁸ As his own words make clear, Virgilian *pietas* makes Alegre's Alexander *mitem, pium, ac Religiosum*, "mild, dutiful and pious," in clear imitation of Virgil's *Aeneas*. The Christian adaptation of Roman *pietas* retains the sense of duty or obligation but is overlaid with the concept of piety or religious devotion.⁴⁹⁹

⁴⁹⁶ *Tyrus profecto...aeternum erit, atque invictum saeculis omnibus virtutis Alexandri, ac magnanimitatis moumentum.* (Bologna 1776: 283)

⁴⁹⁷ *Ex quibus omnibus patet, Alexandrum, antequam Babilone potiretur, modestum, ac pium, atque in seniores, atque amicos morigerum plus multo fuisse, usque dum nativam indolem ad virtutem omenm compositam, Asiae luxus, deliciaeque, rerum gestarum claritas, divitiarum copia, & praesentissimum dominantibus venenum, Aulicorum adulation, corruptit.* (Bologna 1776: II.285). "From all these authors it is evident that Alexander, before he took Babylon, was much more modest, dutiful, and obliging towards elders and friends until the luxury and pleasure of Asia, the fame of his deeds, the supply of riches and, that most effective poison for those who rule, the adulation of the Court, corrupted his native character which was fitted to every virtue," (Kaimowitz 1990: 138).

⁴⁹⁸ *In herois autem personam, ac dignitatem duo forsitan objici poterunt. Primum illud: Alexandrum plus aliquanto mitem, pium, ac Religiosum exhiberi, quam ipsius aetas, ambition, atque fortuna exigere videbatur. Quae quidem accusation nec futilis omnino, nec elumbis est. Enim vero Herois Virgiliani pietas authorem fortasse decepit, atque in sui imitationem rapuit.* (Bologna 1776: II.284). "With regard to the character and dignity of the hero one can perhaps object to two things: first, the fact that Alexander is presented as somewhat more mild, dutiful and religious than his age, ambition, and fortune seemed to demand. This criticism is neither altogether insignificant nor weak. For the *pietas* of the Virgilian hero perhaps deceived the author and impelled him to imitate it," (Kaimowitz 1990: 138.) Baynham 1998 studies Curtius' presentation of Alexander.

⁴⁹⁹ Garrison 1992 traces the changing meaning of *pietas* from Virgil to Dryden.

Despite evident admiration for Virgil's Aeneas, not even he met Alegre's exacting standard of epic heroism. In a letter dated to 1751, two years after Alegre began the *Alexandrias*, he wrote that the hero of his epic would be greater than Aeneas and Achilles.⁵⁰⁰ Alegre's criticism of the heroes of the *Aeneid* and the *Iliad* can be reconstructed from his commentary on the *Arte poética*, the epilogue of the Bologna edition, and the *Alexandrias* itself. First, Alegre objected to the love story between Dido and Aeneas. Based on his reading of Aristotle's *Poetics*, Alegre classed epic and tragic poets into almost the same category, and categorically stated that none of the ancient poets allowed love to play a principal role in the drama.⁵⁰¹ He claims that this is why neither Achilles nor Odysseus were ever lovesick swains. Though Alegre objects to the love story in the *Aeneid*, he takes greater issue with Apollonius of Rhodes' *Argonautica*, because the romance of Jason and Medea was a model Virgil was somehow obliged to follow. From the *Argonautica* and *Aeneid*, Alegre traced a series of epics that indulged in such plots, with particular disapproval of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* (1516) and Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata* (1581).⁵⁰² Criticism of love stories, therefore, forms a major organizing principle in Alegre's approach to ancient epic.

⁵⁰⁰ *Quem autem Aenea et Achille majorem appellem, sat nosti; in eo nunc perficiendo et castigando insudamus.* García Icazbalceta 1889: 187.

⁵⁰¹ García Icazbalceta 1889: 100.

⁵⁰² His rejection of love themes may shaped by the opening of Ercilla's *La Araucana*: *No las damas, amor, no gentilezas de caballeros canto enamorados* (Lerner 2011: 79). For the legacy of these verses in Spanish literary criticism, see Pierce 1968: 31-35. Yet Ercilla does treat of *damas* like Tegualda and Janequeo, perhaps supporting Wilson Okamura 2010 on the centrality of love in Renaissance epic (227-229). Certainly, no such theme appears in the Latin epics considered in this study.

In addition to his disapproval of erotic themes in epic, Alegre censured Aeneas' behavior in Carthage as inconsistent with his character.⁵⁰³ The poet criticizes the Trojan's cruelty toward Dido but is more incensed by Aeneas' lack of conviction; his divine mission and singular *pietas* ought to have ensured the hero's control over his emotions. If love stories had to take place, Alegre felt they should allow the hero to overcome passion and not overshadow weightier themes of the epic.⁵⁰⁴ In order to make Alexander a better hero than Aeneas, Alegre excluded an aspect of the *Aeneid* which he believed to be inconsistent with the genre. The model to follow was Homer's Achilles, whom Alegre thought was a better hero than Aeneas. This he illustrates by saying that Achilles wept from anger or pride, but Aeneas wept from tenderness of heart.⁵⁰⁵ He glosses over the Briseis episode, for example, which he must have read as a sign of Achilles' desire to avenge himself on Agamemnon (*de no poder vengar una injuria*). Furthermore, Virgil's Aeneas never emerges from the shadow of Homer's Aeneas, who was decidedly less brave.⁵⁰⁶ Alegre's concept of a hero hinges on traditional constructions of masculinity as, ideally, invulnerable.

⁵⁰³ "Se ve en él una frialdad, una insensibilidad, una dureza que hubiera sido buena para no dejarse vencer; pero no es verisímil en quien se había tan fácilmente rendido," García Icazbalceta 1889: 101.

⁵⁰⁴ "Quiero que el héroe, si llega a sentir la pasión del amor, lucha contra ella y salga victorioso: que el amor forme nudo y no parezca sin principal de la acción," García Icazbalceta 1889: 101.

⁵⁰⁵ "Son muy diferentes las lágrimas de Aquiles y de Eneas. Este llora comúnmente por una cierta blandura y terneza de corazón que no es muy propia de un hombre valeroso y acostumbrado a los reveses de la fortuna; Aquiles llora de rabia y de soberbia, de no poder vengar una injuria, lo cual proviene de la misma altivez y fiereza de su genio," García Icazbalceta 1889: 102.

⁵⁰⁶ "A Virgilio le convenía darle [Aeneas] más valor del que había mostrado en la guerra de Troya; pero con todo su artificio no me parece que ha podido salir con que el mundo forme de Eneas otra idea que aquella de que estaba ya preocupado por la pintura de Homero," García Icazbalceta 1889: 102-3.

In his epilogue, Alegre writes that Achilles and Aeneas are tainted by the deaths of Hector and Turnus. The Jesuit believes that sympathy for the other ‘prejudices’ the reader against these heroes, and therefore ought to be avoided.⁵⁰⁷ The death of Ninus in the *Alexandrias* is presented as just punishment, in accordance with Alegre’s moral criticism of Homer and Virgil’s epics. Yet as the Jerusalem interlude shows, Alexander does manage to identify with the high priest Jaddus, but only because that meeting was carefully presented as the moment in which Alexander recognizes himself in Jewish prophecy, when Greco-Roman and Jewish history are shown to be directed toward the same goal. In this light, it is not insignificant that the leaders at Tyre, Belus and Ninus, may represent the cities of Babylon and Nineveh, two of the principal enemies of the ancient Israelites.⁵⁰⁸ By this means, Alegre’s epic presents a simple moral code in which the heroes, as represented by Alexander and Jaddus, are pitted against their enemies, as symbolized by the Tyrian commanders. Alegre’s Alexander is thus the product of the poet’s own reading of classical literature as well as his own reflections on the relationship between poetic theory and practice.

⁵⁰⁷ *Ninus porro Hectoris hic, & Turni personam sustinet, ejusque in caede ea vitare conatus est Poeta, quae in Homero, & Virgilio haud obscure nominis viri reprehenderunt. Nihil enim hic quod Lectoris animum pro Nino in Alexandrum praeveniat, immo Heroi favent omnia, Ninusque, quamvis patriae defensor, inconsultus tamen adolescens, & legatorum occisor merita sibi morte mulctatur* (Bologna 1776: II. 287-88). “Moreover, Ninus has here the role of Hector and Turnus, and in his slaying the poet tried to avoid what men of some note have criticized in Homer and Vergil. For there is nothing here which prejudices the mind of the reader in favor of Ninus and against Alexander; rather everything favors the hero, and Ninus, although a defender of his country, nevertheless as a reckless youth and slayer of ambassadors, is punished with the death he deserves,” (Kaimowitz 1990: 141).

⁵⁰⁸ As discussed in fn. 431 above.

Conclusion

The *Alexandrias* is a careful and scholarly composition which reflects the author's intimate knowledge of epic poetry, Judeo-Christian literature, and classical sources. The Jerusalem interlude is an attempt to synthesize Greco-Roman and Judeo-Christian history, while the assorted testimonia of the *Alexandrias* demonstrate his awareness of debates about the nature of epic. These interests, moreover, can be shown to be shaped by Virgil's example. Alegre's formation as a Jesuit began with the imitation of classical models, as attested to by the composition of the *Alexandrias* during his novitiate (Ms. 1600 B.N.M). His later pursuits as a historian, theologian, and literary critic, heavily influenced his adaptation of the *Alexandrias* for publication in Italy. The *Alexandrias* attests to the intellectual career of its poet while also representing the final flourish of Jesuit Latin from the Americas.

PART IV. DIDACTIC FROM BRAZIL

CHAPTER 6. *DE SACCHARI OPIFICIO CARMEN* (1781)

In the early modern period there was no formal distinction between epic and didactic; Bernardino de Llanos' *Poeticarum Institutionum Liber*, for example, discusses the various genres of Latin poetry, but makes no mention of didactic.⁵⁰⁹ Yet the logic of the *rota Virgiliana* suggested that the *Georgics* and the *Aeneid* could be distinguished stylistically. Consequently, many poets, especially in the eighteenth century, chose to emulate the "middle style" over the "high style."⁵¹⁰ Early modern didactic developed in centuries of great change, which witnessed the discovery of the Americas, the Scientific Revolution, and the Enlightenment.⁵¹¹ These didactic poets embraced themes like medicine, gunpowder, chocolate, as they sought to explain a new and changing world and its connections to the past.⁵¹² In form, early modern Latin didactic was usually written in hexameters, though it could sometimes appear in elegiacs.⁵¹³ Despite these variations in theme and in form, Virgil remained the most important model for this genre.⁵¹⁴ Nowhere

⁵⁰⁹ Epic and didactic are discussed in Laird 2004, while Wilson Okamura 2010 discusses the absence of a theory of didactic in the Renaissance.

⁵¹⁰ Wilkinson 1997: 270-313 examines the eighteenth-century revival of didactic.

⁵¹¹ Haskell 2014. Low 1985 studies georgics in early modern English poetry.

⁵¹² An overview of early modern didactic can be found in Hofmann 2003.

⁵¹³ In imitation of Ovid's *Ars Amatoria*. Haskell 2014 includes examples of elegiac didactic.

⁵¹⁴ Ludwig 1998.

was this more evident than in the didactic poetry written by European Jesuits, for whom the *Georgics* represented the Ignatian ideal of balancing contemplation and labor.⁵¹⁵

The most famous Jesuit didactic written in the Americas is Rafael Landívar's *Rusticatio Mexicana* (1782), a fifteen-book exposition on the flora, fauna and natural wonders of his native Guatemala.⁵¹⁶ Less familiar are the three didactic poems from colonial Brazil discussed here. Careful study of each poem in relation to its fellows illuminates the specific practices of Brazilian didactic, as well as the contexts in which they were written and the communities in which they circulated. The earliest example, *De Sacchari Opificio Carmen*, is a didactic poem about Brazilian sugarcane, written in Bahia at the end of the seventeenth century. It was published in Italy in 1780, and then reprinted in 1781. After an introduction to the poet and overview of the transmission of this poem, this chapter will examine its proem, structure, language, and emulation of Virgil. *De Sacchari Opificio Carmen* can be shown to be a versification of the infamous *Cultura e Opulencia do Brasil* (Lisbon 1711), a book on the Brazilian economy confiscated by the Portuguese crown.

A.) Amaral and *De Sacchari Opificio Carmen*

Prudêncio do Amaral (1675-1715) was born in Rio de Janeiro and entered the Society of Jesus in 1690.⁵¹⁷ A gifted preacher and professor, he taught humanities at the Society's

⁵¹⁵ As argued in Haskell 2003 and 2010.

⁵¹⁶ Laird 2006. Haskell 2014 discusses Vanière's influence on Landívar, while Names 1971 examines Landívar and the Enlightenment.

⁵¹⁷ The following discussion is taken from Leite 1949, Vol. 8: 13-14.

prestigious college and seminary at Bahia. He published nothing during his lifetime, but Amaral gained a literary reputation after his death. In 1718, his Portuguese letter to the Archbishop of Bahia was printed in Francisco de Mato's *Vida Chronologica de Santo Ignacio de Loyola* (Lisbon 1718), while his Latin verse epitaphs for the bishops of Brazil were included in the *Constituições primeiras do Arcebispado da Bahia* (Lisbon 1719).⁵¹⁸ A letter held in the Jesuit archive in Rome (*Bras.10*, 113v) attests to another manuscript poem, now lost, entitled *De Arte Amandi Deiparam*, a guide to the veneration of the Virgin Mary in Latin elegiacs.⁵¹⁹ The manuscript of *De Sacchari Opificio Carmen* is preserved in the National Library of Lisbon (Códice 3.786). The poem was first printed in Pesaro, Italy in 1780 and then revised for the Rome edition of 1781. The decision to publish the work seems to have come from the community of Portuguese and Brazilian Jesuits in Rome.⁵²⁰

1. Summary of *De Sacchari Opificio Carmen*

The 584 Latin hexameters of the Rome edition describe the growth, harvest, and refining of sugar in Brazil.⁵²¹ After the proem, the poet describes the soil suited to cane, its growth cycle, and necessary preparations for sowing. Discussions of the tools needed for digging lead to a description of enslaved Africans. The poet intersperses this account with encomia of nature and of fresh cane juice. This is followed by sections on weeding, the dangers

⁵¹⁸ This book was reprinted in Coimbra in 1720. Further information in Borba de Moraes 1983.

⁵¹⁹ The title and meter suggest that Amaral wrote two didactic poems: *De Sacchari Opificio Carmen* in Virgilian hexameters and *De Arte Amandi Deiparam* in Ovidian elegiacs.

⁵²⁰ Fonda and Rodrigues 1975. More information is given in the Appendix.

⁵²¹ The importance of sugar in colonial Brazil is discussed in Schwartz 1985, Simonsen 1967 and Lippmann 1941-2.

posed by excessive heat and rain, livestock, passers-by, wind, and fire. The middle of the poem turns to the harvest and the methods of extracting juice from cane. The poem frequently alludes to the daily life of the enslaved people, their communication amongst themselves in their native languages, and the injuries they may sustain as they work. The poem then describes how the juice is boiled, refined, molded, and packed into crates, concluding with praise of Brazil and of sugar.

2. *Proem and Propositio*

At the beginning the *De Sacchari Opificio Carmen* is presented as the work of a Brazilian poet writing for other *filhos da terra*, “sons of the soil,” as Brazilian-born Portuguese called themselves. The *propositio* shows how Virgil shaped the poet’s descriptions of the landscape. In fact, as will become evident throughout this study of *De Sacchari Opificio*, Amaral resembles Virgil the most in passages that articulate his experience in Brazil. The first verses of the poem are clearly modelled on the beginning of the *Georgics*:

*Brasiliae segetes, hyblaeoque aemula melli
Sacchara, arundineis stillantia sacchara nodis
Hinc canere aggredior.
De Sacchari Opificio 1-3*

“I venture to sing about the fields of Brazil, and about sugar, the rival of Hyblaeon honey, sugar which drips from the joints of reeds.”

Brasiliae segetes corresponds to the *segetes* in the first verse of the *Georgics* and signals the movement from Europe to the Americas. *Hinc canere aggredior* alludes to Virgil’s *hinc canere incipiam* (G.1.5). The comparison between sugar and honey at the start of *De Sacchari Opificio* gestures toward the Virgilian model, since honey was the subject of *Georgics* 4.

Furthermore, the adjective given to sugar, *aemula*, connotes poetic *aemulatio*. The proem does follow Virgil's example, but draws attention to its new context and new theme.

The *propositio* draws upon Virgil's model selectively. Rather than give an invocation, the proem moves straight to the *propositio*, which imitates the second proem of *Georgics* 3:

*sed me Parnasi deserta per ardua dulcis
raptat amor; iuuat ire iugis, que nulla priorum
Castaliam molli deuertitur orbita cliuo.
Georgics 3.291-3*

"But sweet desire takes me over the lonely heights of Parnassus; it is a joy to range the ridge, where no wheel-track turns with a gentle slope down to Castalia."

The crags of Parnassus are no less delightful than the fields of Brazil:

*... Notos iuuat ire per agros,
Et patrios certa moderari lege colonos,
Seu canneta serant, alio seu tempore cannas
Subjiciant praelis, expressaque sacchara purgent
Addensentque igni; seu jam densata repurgent,
Et niveo tandem cogant splendescere cultu.
De Sacchari Opificio 3-8*

"It is a joy to journey through familiar fields and to guide my compatriots with set rules for farming, whether they are planting sugarcane, or later throwing the cane under the press, then purifying the pressed sugar and thickening it over the fire, or whether they purify again the thickened sugar and at last make it gleam with snow-white splendor."

This program conforms to the model set by the *Georgics*, where the first verses are used to sketch the themes of the books to follow. The poet echoes Virgil's *iuuat ire* but draws

attention to his familiarity with his setting (*notos...per agros*).⁵²² An important intertext for Virgil is Lucretius 1.926 ff., which the poet may signal with *notos...per agros*, fields that are doubly familiar from experience and from Roman poetry. Amaral may also be guided by Virgil's emphatic *sed me*, which drew attention to his role as a pathfinder. While these words are not found in the *propositio*, they nevertheless influence the many references to the novel theme of sugar production in these verses. The beginning of *De Sacchari Opificio* draws attention to Brazil to highlight its contribution to didactic poetry and Brazilian letters. It is therefore only natural that claims about the poem and its merit are mediated through the careful imitation of Virgil.

3. Structure and Language

Altogether *De Sacchari Opificio* is the length of a single book of the *Georgics* and is devoted to the production of a single crop. The poem has no invocations and no identifiable midpoint. Instead, it follows the growth, harvest, and processing of cane, much as *Georgics* 1 and 2 are structured by the planting and harvesting of grain, trees, and vines. The *Laus Brasiliae* at the end of the poem is modelled on the *Laudes Italiae* (*Georgics* 2). But there is no *sphragis*, no *recusatio*, and no imitation of the Aristaeus epyllion. There are no explicit discussions of pagan or Christian deities, while the poetic persona rarely comments upon his poetry.

The poem does not borrow entire verses from Virgil, but instead adapts Virgil's language to the new context. For example, three passages from the *Georgics* are

⁵²² Virgil uses *iuvat ire* twice in the *Aeneid*: Aeneas' account of the fall of Troy (*Aen.* 2.27) and Dido's final speech (*Aen.* 4.660).

appropriated for the poet's discussion of the best soil for sugarcane. First, the poet echoes Virgil's advice on choosing soil:

*ac prius ignotum ferro quam scindimus aequor,
uentos et uarium caeli praediscere morem
cura sit ac patrios cultusque habitusque locorum,
et quid quaeque ferat regio et quid quaeque recuset.*
Georgics 1.50-53

"But before we divide an unfamiliar field with iron, let it be your first concern to learn the winds and the changing habits of the skies, the traditional tillage and state of the ground, and what each area yields and what each disowns."

The last verse of this passage is used at the beginning of the Brazilian poem:

*Principio quae terra ferat, quae culta recuset
Cannarum segetes, ante explorare memento,
Quam tua inexperto committas semina campo.
Nec magnus didicisse labor.*
De Sacchari Opificio 9-12

"First remember to find out which soil, when tilled, yields and which refuses to yield the crop of canes before you entrust your seeds to untried fields. Nor it is a hard task to learn how."

The final verse is an allusion to *Georgics* 4, when Virgil says that it is easy to check aimless swarms of bees: *nec magnus prohibere labor* (106). Furthermore, the discussion of sowing in these verses corresponds to Virgil's advice on sowing grain:

*Cnosiaque ardentis decedat stella Coronae,
debita quam sulcis committas semina quamque
inuitae properes anni spem credere terrae.*
Georgics 1.222-225

"Let the Cretan star of the shining Crown withdraw before you entrust the furrows with the owed seeds and before you hurry to consign the year's hope to reluctant soil."

De Sacchari Opificio uses similar language to describe seeding the field (*committas semina*, 11), changing Virgil's reluctant soil (*invitae...terrae*) to untried fields (*inexperto campo*). The contrast between soil that will not yield crops out of season and soil that has never been cultivated draws attention to a peculiarity of *De Sacchari Opificio*. While the *Georgics* assumes a long history of Italian agriculture, *De Sacchari Opificio* presupposes the absence of such history in Brazil, a reflection of European ideas about land ownership, cultivation, and civilization.⁵²³ Instead, the poet paints a picture of Brazil as the site of imports and recent arrivals, where new methods play a key role in the creation of colonial society.

Furthermore, *De Sacchari Opificio* introduces themes that were absent from the *Georgics*. After a discussion of soil, the poet turns to the tools needed in the cane fields (69-74), which he refers to as the *arma* of the Brazilian farmer. In doing so, the poet alludes to Virgil's discussion of tools:

*Dicendum et quae sint duris agrestibus arma,
quis sine nec potuere seri nec surgere messes.
Georgics 1.160-1*

"I must also tell of the hardy rustics' weapons, without which the crops cannot be sown or grow."

With these verses, Virgil also had marked the transition from soil to equipment, thus influencing the structure of *De Sacchari Opificio*. Yet the Brazilian poem introduces a topic that was absent from Virgil, the use of enslaved Africans as tools:

... solosque ligones
Arvorum cultu plerumque adhibere solemus.
Precipua haec nobis sunt *arma*; haec Afer alumnus,
Impiger assurgens, manibusque et corpore toto

⁵²³ Monteiro 1999 and Roosevelt 1993 study agricultural activity among indigenous Brazilians.

*Connixus tractat,
De Sacchari Opificio 66-70*

“We are generally accustomed to use only the hoe for the cultivation of our fields. These are our particular weapons; these the energetic African youth, standing tall, wields, straining his hands and his entire body.”

The echo of Virgil shows another difference between ancient Italy and colonial Brazil. While the *Georgics* present the fiction that the poem is addressed to an *agricola* who performs manual labor, *De Sacchari Opificio* assumes that the reader will delegate labor to the enslaved.⁵²⁴ These verses do not say that people *are* tools, but the sequence of discussion reflects the fact that enslaved Africans, like tools, were property. This is underlined by the dative of possession: “these are our customs,” “these are our tools.” The juxtaposition between *nobis sunt arma* and *Afer alumnus* establishes an audience of owners that is distinct from those who labor.

The poet enriches his imitation of Virgilian didactic with allusions to pastoral and epic poetry.⁵²⁵ Pastoral imagery is particularly important for this passage on the delights of the country:

*Ergo clamosas turbas pertaesus et urbem,
Cum tibi sollicitus timor anxia corda momordit,
Rus pete.*
De Sacchari Opificio 112-114

“Therefore when you have grown weary of noisy crowds and the city, when worried dread consumes your anxious heart, seek the countryside.”

⁵²⁴ Thibodeau 2011 examines Virgil’s depiction of manual labor in the *Georgics*, particularly the fiction of the *agricola*, as evidenced by the absence of the *villicus*. Furthermore, as he rightly points out, Virgil does allude to the slave *familia* on large estates (28) and does obliquely refer to runaway slaves (45). Boxer 1962 points out that the idea of the dignity of labor did not really exist in the tropics: all but the most impoverished whites relied on slave labor (2).

⁵²⁵ For a lively account see Harrison 2007.

The *topos* of the wearied city-dweller and noisy crowds is familiar from Roman satire, as exemplified by Horace and Juvenal, but also appears at the end of *Georgics* 2 (*felix, qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas*). There may also be an allusion to Cybele's speech to Jupiter: *nunc sollicitam timor anxius angit* (*Aen.* 9.89). In contrast to the vexations of city life, the poet constructs an idealized vision of the country in a walk through the cane fields:

*Quis vetat exsectam vicino e cespite cannam
Vellere, decussaue prius [namque aspera] fronde,
Vel cultri auxilio, impresso vel dente medullam
Nudare, ambrosioque sitim restinguere succo?
De Sacchari Opificio 123-126*

“Who would prevent you from plucking a cane from a neighboring field, and after first removing the leaves – which are sharp – laying bare the inside either with the aid of a knife or with the press of your fingers and quenching your thirst with the ambrosial juice?”

This idyllic description takes its inspiration from Menalcas' praise of Daphnis' song:

*Tale tuum carmen nobis, divine poeta,
quale sopor fessis in gramine, quale per aestum
dulcis aquae saliente sitim restinguere riuo.
Eclogues 5.45-47*

“Your song, heavenly poet, to me is like sleep on the grass for the weary, or the slaking of thirst in the summer with a bubbling stream of sweet water.”

The pastoral image of the weary and thirsty shepherd inspires Amaral's account of the Brazilian wanderer, while the sweet water of Virgil's stream becomes the taste of cane juice. This echo of a hemistich from the *Eclogues* may be the fruit of the habit of memorizing Virgil's poetry. At the same time, it may also create slippage between poetry, Virgil's stream, and the Brazilian cane juice. This passage evokes a simpler life, dwelling

upon the inherent pleasures of the country. Though the poet draws upon the *Eclogues* here, an appreciation of the rustic life can also be found in the *Georgics* (*o fortunatos nimium*, 2.458 ff.). Didactic and pastoral landscapes merge to create this scene of rest in the cane field.

Descriptions of labor blend imagery from the *Aeneid* with metaphors found in the *Georgics*. For example, Amaral describes the cane harvest with martial metaphors, comparing the harvesters to warriors and the cane to fallen soldiers:

*Hi sternunt, alii subeunt, et pone legentes
Stratorum spoliis inhiant, sparsimque jacentum
Corpora in exstructos **confusae stragis acervos**
Accumulant.*
De Sacchari Opificio 272-75

“Some scatter the cane, while others follow them. These, gathering in the wake of the harvesters, covet the spoils of the fallen and heap the bodies of those lying here and there onto raised heaps of jumbled carnage.”

In the *Georgics* Virgil spoke of conquering trees (2.61-62) or planting vineyards into uniform ranks (2.276-83).⁵²⁶ But Amaral turns to the *Aeneid* to drive this point home. There is an allusion to Aeneas’ speech to Deiphobus:

*cui tantum de te licuit? Mihi fama suprema
nocte tulit fessum uasta te caede Pelasgum
procubuisse super **confusae stragis acervum**.*
Aeneid 6.502-4

“Who had so much power over you? Rumor told me that on that last night you were weary with the endless slaughter of Pelasgians and that you sank upon a heap of jumbled carnage.”

⁵²⁶ Miles 1980: 1-63 looks at how military metaphors may have grown out of Roman experience with land.

Still later, as the cane moves to the mill, the poet describes the groaning wagons (*plaustris gementibus adunt*, 295), which recall the creaking wagons that transported wood for funeral pyres (*nec plaustris cessant uectare gementibus ornos*, *Aeneid* 11.138). The account of the harvest borrows from the *Aeneid*'s accounts of death and burial, incorporating the military metaphors used in the *Georgics* through *imitatio* of Virgil's own poetry.

The poet again imitates a specific passage from the *Georgics* while drawing upon the lexicon of the *Aeneid*. Here the poet describes the final step in the refining process, when dried sugar is taken out of its mold. This, as he warns, should only be done in dry weather, since rain will ruin the sugar. This discussion reflects Virgil's description of weather forecasting:

*ille ubi nascentem maculis uariauerit ortum
conditus in nubem medioque refugerit orbe,
suspecti tibi sint imbres.*
Georgics 1.441-43

"When the sun has marked the rising dawn with spots and, hidden in a cloud, has shrunk back in the center of his orb, then you should beware of showers."

Echoes of this passage appear in the poet's advice about timing the work with the sugar molds:

*Labilis ex toto postquam cessaverit humor,
Quo purgata suis excludes sacchara formis,
Tempus adest, ni forte pluat, Phoebusve nigrantem
Conditus in nubem venturos nuntiet imbres.*
De Sacchari Opificio 533-36

"After all the transient water has evaporated completely, the time is at hand when you should remove the clean sugar from the molds, unless it happens to be raining, or unless Phoebus, hidden in a murky cloud, gives notice of future showers."

This practical advice is articulated through allusions to Virgil. To show urgency, the poet cries *tempus adest* (536) which Turnus used to muster the Italians (*Aeneid* 12.96). This warning remains relevant for the Brazilian farmer, for whom unexpected rain still poses a threat to his crops. The intertext suggests that Brazil and Italy have similar climates, or at least that the weather in Brazil, like that of Italy, can be predicted by careful attention to the environment. Virgil's poetry remains central to the poem's conception of its task and of the cosmos, even when enumerating challenges specific to Brazil.

4. Amaral's emulation of Virgil

The narrator of *De Sacchari Opificio* is less didactic than he is preceptive.⁵²⁷ Aside from the proem and the *sphragis*, he offers no discussion of his intention or his inspiration: as noted, there are no invocations in the poem, no instances of *recusatio*, and no claims to poetic fame. By way of illustration, it is noteworthy that the second person imperative occurs thirteen times in *Georgics* 1 but appears over fifty times in *De Sacchari Opificio*. The tone of command, as well as the statements of personal experience, suggest that the narrator of *De Sacchari Opificio* is modeled on the figure of the plantation owner. Yet the narrator's voice also will be shown to emulate Virgil's, articulating local experience and knowledge through the ancient poet.

The narrator exhibits some typical features of didactic: he indicates his didactic intent in the *proem*; he undertakes to teach his student-reader; he is conscious that his teaching is done through poetry; he indicates that the composition of his poem is taking

⁵²⁷ For the 'demonstrative' voice in the *Georgics*, see Thomas 2001: xix.

place “in real time.”⁵²⁸ At the same time, the proem helps establish the Brazilian identity of the narrator, who uses his experience to claim kinship with his audience. Thus, in verse 6, he rejoices in walking through the fields and instructing his compatriots (*patrios...colonos*). No such statements can be found in the beginning of the *Georgics*, despite Virgil’s obvious relationship with the Italian countryside.

In a digression on the delights of the Brazilian countryside, the narrator offers a picture of the cane field that seems to be drawn from experience. Yet his discussion is modelled on a specific passage given to the narrator of the *Georgics*:

*et iuuat undantem buxo spectare Cytorum
Naryciaeque picis lucos, iuuat ara uidere
non rastris, hominum non ulli obnoxia curae.
Georgics 2.437-39*

“And it is also a joy to watch Cyturus waving with boxwood groves of Narycian pitch, a joy to see fields beholden to no drag-hoes, to no human care.”

These verses consider the pleasure of viewing woods, both because they are beautiful and because they grow without human effort. Compare these verses with the view of the cane field:

*... Juvat arva videre
Consita arundinibus, vento crispante procaci
Undantem segetem, sinuosa volumina toto
Aequore ut agglomerent; vel cum flat mollior aura,
Et leni aspirans ludit per inane susurro,
Campus ut obstreperis nutans horrescat avenis.⁵²⁹
De Sacchari Opificio 116-21*

⁵²⁸ As discussed in Volk 2002: 123-4.

⁵²⁹ *sic* – difficult to construe.

“It is a joy to look at fields thick with cane, at the crop waving as the light breeze ripples through it, and how its bending folds wind together on the plain; or when a gentler draught blows and imparts a soft whisper as it plays through the empty space, you will be roared against as the wavering field shudders its reeds.”

The scene is evoked through sensory details: the sight of the field, the sound of the cane, the feel of the breeze. *Per inane* in this context may be a further allusion to Lucretius or indeed to Virgil.⁵³⁰ While the narrator may have seen and heard sugar cane in the wind, his description is inspired by a simile in the *Aeneid*:

*saucius at serpens sinuosa uolumina uersat
arrectisque horret squamis et sibilat ore
arduus insurgens,
Aeneid 11.753-55*

“But the wounded snake writhes its sinuous coils and rears its bristling scales, hissing from its mouth and towering aloft.”

The *sinuosa uolumina* of the cane field evoke the snake in the *Aeneid*, just as the reeds bristle in the wind like the serpent’s scales. Unlike the woods in Virgil’s passage, the cane field brings joy because it belongs to the viewer and because it reflects the owner’s labor and investment. The narrator’s knowledge about Brazil is therefore presented through the narrating voice of the *Georgics* and the *Aeneid*, an instance of specific emulation of the Virgilian persona.

Further evidence of this relationship can be seen in the narrator’s description of the heat in Brazil and the danger this poses to crops. In this rare use of the first-person pronoun, the narrator gives this opinion about the climate:

⁵³⁰ *Per inane* is frequent in Lucretius and consequently appears in Virgil, too (*Aeneid* 12.354 and 906 as well as *Ecl.* 6.31).

*Verum Brasilicos ubi Zona retorrida campos
Findit, et in segetes violentior incidit ardor,
Non mihi septeno si rumpens gurgite Nilus
Arentes undarit agros, enecta resurget
Mensis, et elanguens caput intermortua tollet.
De Sacchari Opificio 153-57*

“Truly when the parched torrid zone cleaves the fields of Brazil and heat falls more vehemently upon the crop, in my opinion, not even if the Nile should inundate the dry fields, breaking forth from its seven streams, would the exhausted harvest revive, nor would it, already dead, be able to raise its drooping head.”

Introducing the Nile in this context allows the narrator to demonstrate how even the surest methods of irrigation would fail in Brazil. This stance, moreover, is underscored by intervention, *non mihi*. At the same time, the introduction of the Nile recalls Virgil’s various descriptions of this river, usually in the context of Augustan conquest and colonialism.⁵³¹ The passage therefore inscribes Brazil within an ancient discourse of colonialism as it describes the specific meteorological conditions in the Americas. Finally, the drooping cane in the last verse may allude to a celebrated passage from the *Aeneid*:

*purpureus ueluti cum flos succisus aratro
languescit moriens, lassoue papauera collo
demisere caput, pluuiæ cum forte grauantur.
Aeneid 9.435-37*

“As when a purple flower, cut by the plough, droops in death, or as poppies, with wearied necks, bow their heads when they are made heavy by a chance shower.”

The dying flower and drooping poppy are both used to describe the cane, though the latter suffers from a lack of rainfall, not an excess of water. The poet adapts this Virgilian

⁵³¹ *Aeneid* 6.800, 8.711 and 9.31. *Georgics* 3.29 and 4.288. I am grateful to Jay Reed for this observation.

and Homeric simile, moving from the description of a dying youth to the withered cane.⁵³²

As with the description of the wind in the reeds, the narrator of *De Sacchari Opificio* uses Virgilian moments to establish his authority.

When the narrator warns the reader not to harvest the cane precipitously, he turns to his own experience, as signaled by his use of the first person singular (*vidi*). In doing so, he alludes to two passages in the *Georgics* which also depend on autopsy. In the first instance, autopsy supports claims about the importance of seed selection:

*semina uidi equidem multos medicare serentis
et nitro prius et nigra perfundere amurca,
grandior ut fetus siliquis fallacibus esset
et quamvis igni exiguo properata maderent.
uidi lecta diu et multo spectata labore
degenerare tamen, ni uis humana quotannis
maxima quaeque manu legeret: sic omnia fatis
in peius ruere ac retro sublapsa referri,
Georgics 1.193-200*

"I have seen many sowers doctor their seeds, soaking with first in nitre and then black oil-lees, so that the deceitful pods might yield larger produce and the grains become moist sooner, even with a small fire. I have also seen seeds, selected in advance and tested with great pains, degenerate all the same, were it not for human toil that culled the largest by hand every year. Thus all things go to ruin by fate and falling away are driven back."

In this passage, the repetition of *vidi* provides the evidence that supports reflections on the outworking of fate in human affairs. Claims to first-hand observation of failure and crop degeneration only enforce the importance of human labor (*vis humana...maxima*). It is only by following the precepts offered in the poem that the reader can hope to contend against nature. A similar idea appears later in the same book of the *Georgics*:

⁵³² *Iliad* 8.303-5.

*saepe ego, cum flauis messorum induceret aruis
agricola et fragili iam stringeret hordea culmo,
omnia uentorum concurrere proelia uidi,
quae grauidam late segetem ab radicibus imis
sublimem expulsam eruerent.*

Georgics 1.316-20

“When the farmer was bringing the reaper into the yellow fields and was stripping the barley from the brittle stalk, I have often seen all of the winds clash in battle, which tear up the swollen crop from the very roots, far and wide, and toss it on high.”

In the *Georgics*, indiscriminate destruction of crops illustrates the forces against which the farmer must contend. Once again, autopsy of natural disasters (*saepe ego...vidi*) reinforces the importance of the lessons he hopes to impart. This description of a freak storm precedes a discussion of weather forecasting, which can forewarn of any threat posed to the crops. In both passages, autopsy supports claims to didactic authority and illustrates the accidents or challenges that face the reader. The same claim to autopsy appears in the following passage from *De Sacchari Opificio*:

*Vidi equidem in cannas nullo discrimine ferrum
Distringi, atque uno veluti cecidissee sub ictu
Integrum nemus, integros popularier agros,
Seu seges impubi vix dum iuvenesceret aevo,
Seu natu maior, multaque incurva senecta,
Saevitum ex aequo est, nullique pepercit avara
Dextera. Lethiferam qualis temeraria falcem
Mors vibrat, et caeco metit obvia quaeque rotatu
Involvens una iuvenesque, senesque ruina.*

De Sacchari Opificio 243-51

“For I have seen iron stretched out against the reeds without discrimination, and, as an entire wood falls under a single blow, I have seen whole fields stripped, whether the crop was just growing into puberty, or whether it was older and bent by great old age; violence rages against them indiscriminately and the greedy hand spares no one. In the same way does reckless death brandish the fatal scythe, mowing down

everything in the path of its blind swing, blending youth and old age in a single ruin."

The narrator compares the harvester to death and the fallen cane to people. *Nullo discrimine* was used of Aeneas' indiscriminate carnage (12.498-99), as well as the felling of a sacred olive tree (12.770). *Vidi equidem* is borrowed from the *Georgics*, as is the pessimism observed there. Just as the first passage from the *Georgics* turned from sowing to a reflection on fate, *De Sacchari Opificio* uses the harvest to contemplate human mortality. The Brazilian poem, however, argues against the random destruction seen in the second passage from the *Georgics*, by drawing attention to the role of human error, as exemplified by the greedy harvester. While he approaches the problem from a different philosophical angle, the narrator of the Brazilian poem also uses autopsy to enhance his authority and to remind the reader to be attentive to his precepts. The narrator of *De Sacchari Opificio* rarely reflects on the world he describes, but, when he does so, his Virgilian pessimism is directed at human nature rather than nature itself.

The ties between didactic and a specific location can be seen at the end of *De Sacchari Opificio*, where the narrator praises sugar and Brazil. The coda incorporates elements of the *sphragis* in the *Georgics*, as well as the *Laudes Italiae* (*Georgics* 2). The praise of sugar leads to a consideration of the global market:

*Ultimus hic labor: hoc plures servantur in annos
Sacchara, nec tantum patriis commercia terris
Deliciasque parant, verum et trans aequora summo
Vectantur pretio, magnisque imposta carinis
Trans Abilam et Calpen, gelidasque feruntur ad Arctos.
De Sacchari Opificio 572-76*

“This is the final task: with this effort sugar is preserved for many years and supplies commerce and culinary delight not only in its native land, but truly is conveyed across the waters at great expense and, placed upon great vessels, it is carried past Abila and Calpe, up to the frozen North.”

The narrator traces sugar’s journey from Brazil, across the sea, through the pillars of Hercules, to Europe. Virgil had included distant corners of the Roman empire in his survey of Roman farming, but *De Sacchari Opificio* normally restricts itself to Brazil. The *sphragis* of the *Georgics* contrasted poetic activity in Italy with Caesar’s campaigns abroad (4.559-62). Comparably, the end of *De Sacchari Opificio* also opens to consider the relationship between sugar production and the rest of the world. Attention is given to the distance between Brazil and the European market, as well as the expense of Atlantic shipping.

The *Laudes Brasiliae* focus on the region’s abundant natural and mineral resources:

*Quare haec, Brasiliae quam donant nomine, tellus
Non magis a populis laudatur ubique remotis,
Ligna quod eximia enutrit, pretiosa quod altis
Balsama profundit sylvis, quod foeta metallis,
Gemmarumque ferax, adamantes gignit et aurum,
Quam quod sacchareis oneret convivia donis,
Ambrosiisque epulis utrumque beaverit orbem.
De Sacchari Opificio 577-83*

“Therefore this land, which they call Brazil, is not praised more by far off people everywhere for nourishing excellent timber, for bringing forth an abundance of balsam in its deep forests, for teeming with metals and full of precious stones, for producing diamonds and gold, than for loading banquets with sugary gifts and for enriching both sides of the globe with ambrosial dishes.”

The opulence of Brazil is carefully sketched as a counterpoint to the fame of Brazilian sugar. The poet constructs this passage in response to the claims made in the *Laudes Italiae*,

which compared Italy with different parts of the empire. The rich forests of Media (2.136), the gold-bearing rivers of Aeolia (2.137), and the incense-bearing sand of Panchaea (2.139) can all be found in Brazil's woods (*ligna...eximia*), mines (*gignit et aurum*), and forests (*balsama profundit*). Furthermore, Brazil's mineral wealth outstrips Italy. Virgil drew attention to silver, copper and gold (2.165-66), but Amaral shows that Brazil can boast of diamonds, steel and gold (582). Furthermore, just as Virgil concludes his praise of Italy with a list of conquests, so too do the *Laudes Brasiliae* boast of sugar's "conquest" of global palates.

At first glance, the narrator of *De Sacchari Opificio Carmen* has little in common with Virgil. The proem closely imitated the beginning of the *Georgics* as well as the second proem of *Georgics* 3, but the rest of the poem disappoints anyone looking for the standard passages that one might expect in a Virgilian poem. Yet as this section has shown, the narrator of the Brazilian poem adopts one of the major strategies employed by the narrator of the *Georgics*, the appeal to autopsy and authority.⁵³³ The passages offered here have also shown that the narrator of *De Sacchari Opificio Carmen* draws upon imagery and language from the *Aeneid* as well, a reflection of the absence of any formal distinction between epic and didactic in this period. Close examination of the narrator's strategies and interjections reveal a subtle emulation of Virgil in *De Sacchari Opificio Carmen*.

B.) From Portuguese Prose to Virgilian Hexameters

⁵³³ A strategy discussed in Horsfall 1995: 71-2.

Varro's agricultural treatise, *De Re Rustica*, was a source for Virgil's *Georgics*.⁵³⁴ In like manner I will show that *De Sacchari Opificio* is a versification of one chapter of a celebrated book about the Brazilian economy, *Cultura e Opulencia do Brasil* (Lisboa, 1711).⁵³⁵ Comparison between the Latin poem and the Portuguese treatise reveals how Amaral adapted his source and sheds light upon what he considered to be "Virgilian." After a brief overview of *Cultura e Opulencia do Brasil* and Amaral's access to this text, this section will consider three passages that illuminate Virgil's role in the transformation of Portuguese prose into Latin hexameters.

Cultura e Opulencia do Brasil was published by André João Antonil, the pseudonym of João Antonio Andreoni (1649-1716).⁵³⁶ A native of Tuscany, Andreoni joined the Jesuits in 1667 and soon became a professor at the seminary in Rome. He travelled to Brazil in 1681 with his friend, the Brazilian Jesuit António Vieira (1608-1697). Andreoni was a professor of rhetoric at the college of Bahia, but eventually became the leader or provincial of the Jesuits in Brazil. His book discusses economic conditions in the seventeenth-century colony, with chapters devoted to sugar, mining, tobacco and cattle. The book was published in Lisbon, but nearly all copies of the first edition were destroyed by royal decree.⁵³⁷ The reason for this was the detailed description of the roads leading from the

⁵³⁴ Thomas 1999.

⁵³⁵ Mansuy 1968 offers an overview of this book's history.

⁵³⁶ Leite 1949, VIII.45-54.

⁵³⁷ Proof from the Archives of Casa Candaval is shown in Mansuy 1968: 37. Only a few copies of this book have survived, one of which I consulted at the John Carter Brown Library.

coast to the gold mines of Minas Gerais, which the Portuguese reasonably feared would aid foreign invasions.⁵³⁸

Cultura e Opulencia do Brasil would not be published again until 1800, but it may have circulated in manuscript.⁵³⁹ This hypothesis is strengthened by *De Sacchari Opificio*, which was written in consultation of Andreoni's writing on sugar. If Andreoni drafted the sugar chapter between 1693 and 1698, immediately after a sojourn at the Sergipe do Conde, a lucrative sugar mill that belonged to the Jesuits, then this text would have been available to Amaral soon after he joined the Society in 1690.⁵⁴⁰ Furthermore, Amaral taught at the college of Bahia under Andreoni's direction. This link to Bahia may have afforded Amaral access to Andreoni's work and may explain the importance of Amaral's poem among the Brazilian Jesuits, who not only preserved his manuscript for many years, but brought it with them into exile and oversaw two publications of it in Italy.

Evidence of this relationship will be illustrated through an examination of three passages, which highlight Virgil's role in Amaral's transformation of his source. The first example comes early in *De Sacchari Opificio*, when Amaral describes the types of soils best suited for cane (vv. 12-19). This passage is based on a chapter in Andreoni's discussion of

⁵³⁸ Mansuy 1968 summarizes the reasoning of Serafim Leite (pp. 41-2) and provides the *consulta* of the Ministério do Ultramar which alerted the crown to these concerns (p. 44-45).

⁵³⁹ One was used for the Rio de Janeiro edition of 1837. See Mansuy 1968: 11-12. A copy of the Lisbon edition seems to have reached Brazil, influencing Wenceslau Pereira da Silva's observations on the Brazilian economy (Canabrava 1967: 27-28).

⁵⁴⁰ Mansuy 1968: 30. The contested ownership of Sergipe do Conde is discussed in Schwartz 1985: 489-97.

sugar, which states that the best soil is black earth (*massapê*), and second best is red earth (*salão*), but that sandy soil (*areisca*) should be avoided:⁵⁴¹

As que chamão Massapés, Terras negras, & fortes, são as mais excellentes para a planta das Cannas. Seguem-se atraz destas os Saloens, Terra vermelha, capaz de poucos córtes; porque logo enfraquece. As Areiscas, que são huma mistura de Area, & Salões, servem para Mandioca, & Legumes; mas não para Cannas.

Cultura e Opulencia (1711), I.2.1, p. 36

“That which they call *massapés*, a black and strong soil, is the best for planting cane. After it comes *salão*, red earth, which provides only a few cuts because it is depleted quickly. *Areisca*, which is a mixture of sand and *salão*, is good for manioc and vegetables, but not for cane.”

These instructions are versified as follows:

*Nec magnus didicisse labor, nam gleba colore
Proditur ipsa suo. Cannis erit illa ferendis
Optima, tentanti quae terga nigrantia passim
Praebuerit; tuto rubrae tu deinde secundas
Defer humo; sterilem immixta damnabis arena.
Sed nigra, et sabulo tibi sicubi gleba tenaci
Subrubet, haud usquam melius succrevit arundo,
Et longa explicuit nodos felicius hasta.
De Sacchari Opificio 12-19*

“It is no great task to learn, for a clod of earth is revealed by its own color. That soil is best for bearing cane which shows a uniformly black surface to the one who handles it; you may safely confer second place on red soil; but you will condemn soil made sterile by sand. But wherever there is black soil, and wherever the clods appear to you to be ruddy with firm gravel, scarcely anywhere else has the cane grown better, or the long rod unfurled its knots more happily.”

⁵⁴¹ The famous *massapé*, abundant in the Recôncavo da Bahia, could produce seven to ten years of cane without replanting (Schwartz 2004: 159). *Salão* was only used in the absence of *massapé*, being better suited to tobacco (Mansuy 1968: 149).

The passage contains the kernel of Andreoni's advice but is influenced by the *Georgics* in presentation. In *Cultura e Opulencia do Brasil*, Andreoni first discussed the duties of the master and the overseer, as well as the purchase of enslaved Africans; details about planting, harvesting and processing are not given until the second half. Yet Amaral begins with the latter part of Andreoni's text because Virgil discusses soil conditions at the beginning of both *Georgics* 1 and 2.

The language of this passage is clearly indebted to the *Georgics*. Virgil contrasted rich and sandy soil, *sterilem...harenam* (G.1.70), an expression which appears in Amaral (*sterilem immixta...arena*, 16). Praise of black soil, found at *De Sacchari Opificio* 13-14, echoes Virgil's recommendation of black earth for corn (G.2.203). Amaral's use of *terga* to designate the surface of the earth in verse 14 can also be found in Virgil's discussion of soil in the *Georgics*: once to recommend ploughing the ridges crosswise (1.97) and once to break thick soil for vines (2.236). The closing image of the sugar cane unfolding itself happily (verse 19) echoes Virgil's description of the vine in springtime (*trudit gemmas et frondes explicat omnis*, G.2.335) as well as the happy grain at the start of the *Georgics* (*quid faciat laetas segetes*, 1.1.). This motif also appears when Virgil explained that different soils will make different plants happy (*hic segetes, illic ueniunt felicius uuae*, G.1.53). Virgil's example thus shaped the language used to adapt Andreoni's text and inspired Amaral to reorganize the material, guided by the discussion of soil and crop growth in the *Georgics*.

Amaral would also use myth to enhance Andreoni's material. Andreoni states that sugarcane grows quickly; the farmer may see the results of his labor within a few days:

E depois de poucos dias, brotando pelos olhos, començão pouco a pouco a mostrar sua verdura a flora da terra, pegando facilmente, & crescendo mais, ou menos, conforme a qualidade da terra, & o favor, ou contrariedade dos tempos.

Cultura e Opulencia (1711), I.2.2, p. 38

“And after a few days, sprouting from the nodes, little by little the cane begins to show its lush greenery, taking easily and growing more or less according to the quality of the soil and the favorability, or its opposite, of the seasons.”

This is expressed in the following verses:

... Breve tempus, et ipsa
Herbescens jam canna sinus, nodosque resolvit,
Radicesque agit, et tenerum in sublime cacumen
Surrigit: erectis ager **undique inhorruit hastis**.
Cadmaeos credas iterum viruisse novales,
Cum pilata seges **densis hastilibus** ipsum
Terruit agricolam, mirantem credita sulcis
Semina bellorum, et foecundos milite campos.
De Sacchari Opificio 93-100

“After a brief time, the growing cane opens its folds and knots, drives its roots and raises the tender blade aloft; everywhere the field bristle with raised rods. You would have thought that the Cadmean fields were green again, when that armed crop, thick with spears, terrified the farmer as he gazed upon the seeds of conflict, which he had sown in the furrows, and the fields of abundant soldiers.”

In the first three verses, Amaral simply relays the information contained in *Cultura e Opulencia do Brasil*: cane grows quickly. Drawing upon the similarity between cane and spears, he adds five verses about the Spartoi, mythical people borne from dragon's teeth.⁵⁴² This comparison of cane and an army may have been inspired by *Georgics* 2.279-

⁵⁴² Landivar's *Rusticatio Mexicana* also compares the sugarcane field to the myth of the Spartoi (9.90-8). As noted in Laird 2006, the Guatemalan Jesuit models his text upon Ovid (*Met.* 7.120-33).

83, where vines are set in rows like soldiers. This passage from the *Laudes Italiae* is still more important:

*haec loca non tauri spirantes naribus ignem
inuertere satis immanis dentibus hydri,
nec galeis densisque uirum seges horruit hastis.*
Georgics 2.140-42

“No bulls breathing fire from their nostrils ever ploughed these lands for the sown teeth of the monstrous dragon, nor did a crop of men ever bristle with helms and close-set spears.”

Virgil contrasted peaceful Italy with Colchis, where Jason yoked fire-breathing oxen and sowed the teeth of a dragon. Amaral’s *inhorruit hastis* (97) and *densis hastilibus* (99) recall Virgil’s *densisque...horruit hastis*, while the Brazilian’s *semina bellorum* (101) are a modification of Virgil’s *uirum seges*. This passage amplifies an image from the *Georgics*, which renders Andreoni’s description more Virgilian.

Finally, happy coincidence between the *Georgics* and *Cultura e Opulencia do Brasil* sometimes guided Amaral’s composition. Andreoni enumerated common pests:

As Cabras, tanto que a Canna começa a apparecer fóra da Terra, logo a vão envestir: os Boys, & os Cavallos ao principio lhe comem os olhos, & depois a derrubão & a pizão: os Ratos, & os Porcos a roem: os Ladroens a furtão a feixes; nem passa Rapaz, ou Caminhante, que se não queira fartar, & desenfadar a custa de quem a plantou.
Cultura e Opulencia (1711), I.2.3, p. 41-42

“Goats will attack the cane as soon as it begins to appear above the earth. Oxen and horses will first eat the buds and then knock it over and trample on it. Rats and pigs will gnaw on cane. Thieves will steal cane now and then; and there is no child or passerby who does not want to satisfy or distract himself at the expense of the one who planted the cane.”

Amaral summarizes Andreoni by describing the damage caused by herds breaking into the fields and by the traveler who steals cane juice (167-72). The poet then adds that these individuals sometimes pause to smoke tobacco, which can cause fires:

*In terram cineres, tepidosque una **excudit ignes.**
Atque abit. Interea neglecta favilla **resumit**
Saepe novas vires, redivivaeque flamma propinquas,
Succendens stipulas, totis contagia campis
Fundit, et integri tibi spes intercidit anni.
De Sacchari Opificio 204-08*

“He shakes out the ashes to the earth, and along with them the hot sparks. And he goes away. Meanwhile the neglected embers often take on new strength, and the renewed flame, kindling the nearby reeds, spreads its contagion in the whole field, and your hope for an entire year is lost.”

The conflagration of the field is absent from Andreoni’s text, which only mentions theft.

Yet the thieving passerby in Andreoni may have suggested this passage in Virgil:

*nam saepe incautis pastoribus **excidit ignis**,
qui furtim pingui primum sub cortice tectus
robora comprehendit, frondesque elapsus in altas
ingentem caelo sonitum dedit; inde secutus
per ramos uictor perque alta cacumina regnat,
et totum inuoluit flammis nemus...
Georgics 2.303-08*

“For often from thoughtless shepherds falls a spark, which, lurking at first in secret under the rich bark, fastens on the trunk, and gliding to the high leaves sends a might roar to heaven; then moving on it reigns supreme among the lofty treetops and enfolds the entire grove in flames.”

With only a few alterations, Virgil’s thoughtless shepherds become Amaral’s smoking wanderer. Both poets describe the sparks gaining strength, until a large fire consumes the entire field. The similarities between these passages sheds more light on Amaral’s composition. The coincidence that Andreoni warns about heedless passersby leads to this

excursus on the smoking traveler and the burning of the fields, because Virgil had described the damage wrought by careless shepherds so graphically.⁵⁴³ Virgil's words are so ingrained in Amaral's way of thinking about Latin poetry, that it inspires a long digression in a poem that is otherwise remarkable for its lack of digressions.

Conclusion

Amaral's didactic poem on sugar production is the earliest surviving example of its kind from the Americas.⁵⁴⁴ The foregoing discussion has shown how the poet used Virgil to transform Andreoni's prose text into a pleasing and edifying text. From the beginning of the poem, Amaral imagines himself writing for and instructing a community of fellow Brazilians. The *Georgics* has been shown to influence the structure of *De Sacchari Opificio*, even to the extent of reordering Andreoni in order to follow Virgil's example. Yet unlike Virgil, Amaral's didactic voice is marked by commands and few digressions, taking after the portrait of the master sketched in the first half of Andreoni's text. There are, however, moments when the poet evokes the Brazilian landscape, most memorably in his description of wind moving through the sugarcane and the *Laus Brasiliae*. As noted, Amaral resembles Virgil the most when he describes Brazil. Perhaps for this reason this short poem remained of interest to the community of exiles in Italy.

⁵⁴³ La Cerda *ad loc.* *Ratio sumitur ab incendio, quod graphice describit.*

⁵⁴⁴ Sugar was treated in Tommaso Strozzi's *De mentis potu sive de cocolatis opificio* (Naples 1689) and Rafael Landívar's *Rusticatio Mexicana* (Modena 1781)

CHAPTER 7. *DE RUSTICIS BRASILIAE REBUS* (1781)

De Rusticis Brasiliae Rebus is a careful imitation of the *Georgics* in length, structure, and style. Its subjects are the growth and uses of manioc root or cassava, animal husbandry, and tobacco. The author claimed to have written this poem a young man in Brazil, which he published in Rome in 1781 alongside Amaral's *De Sacchari Opificio Carmen*. This chapter will introduce the poet and the Rome edition before offering a summary of the poem. An examination of the *proem*, structure and language will demonstrate the importance of Virgil's *Georgics* for any reading of *De Rusticis Brasiliae Rebus*. At the same time, this chapter suggests that the author was well-acquainted with Jesuit didactic poetry, which offered another model for emulation.

A.) Mello and *De Rusticis Brasiliae Rebus*

José Rodrigues de Mello (1723-1789) was a native of Porto, Portugal who joined the Jesuits in 1739 at Bahia.⁵⁴⁵ In Brazil he served as a professor of literature in several Jesuit colleges. After the expulsion of the Society of Jesus in 1760, Mello settled in Rome, where he began to write Portuguese and Latin poetry. In 1778 he published a Latin *epithalamium* for a marriage between two noble houses, the Ricci and Parraciani, which was followed by his didactic poem, *De Rusticis Brasiliae Rebus* (Rome 1781).⁵⁴⁶ He went on to publish a

⁵⁴⁵ The following information can be found in Leite 1949, Vol. 9: 100-102.

⁵⁴⁶ The epithalamium was entitled *Carmen in nuptiis Joannis Ricci et Faustinae Parraciani nobilium Romanorum*. Subsequent editions of *De Rusticis Brasiliae Rebus* are given in Fonda 1977.

biography of a fellow Jesuit missionary and left behind a manuscript Portuguese verse translation of Virgil's *Aeneid*.⁵⁴⁷

1. Summary

His didactic poem, composed in the Americas, contains 2,120 hexameter verses in four books.⁵⁴⁸ Book 1 begins with an invocation of the Muses and St. Thomas before describing the plant, *mandiva*, and manioc, the roots.⁵⁴⁹ The mock-heroic struggle between ants and farmers occupies a large section of Book 1, which ends with weeding and harvest.⁵⁵⁰ Book 2 is devoted to the uses and abuses of manioc root. The role of fermented manioc in Tupí cannibalistic rites prompts a lurid description of human sacrifice. This hellish scene is balanced by Mello's account of being healed by manioc at the Jesuit retreat house in Rio de Janeiro.

Book 3 is on the care of cattle in Brazil. After invoking the Prince of Brazil as his Muse, the poet discusses grazing and breeding. The dangers posed by crows, bats, panthers and vipers are described, before recommending the relics of St. José de Anchieta as a cure for snake bites. The book closes with the poet's hope that Brazil will one day

⁵⁴⁷ Sommervogel 1890-1909, Vol. 6: 1981-2. I have been unable to discover the whereabouts of this manuscript translation.

⁵⁴⁸ This study uses the text from the Rome edition. All translations are my own.

⁵⁴⁹ Manioc wheat was a staple of the Brazilian diet. It was exported to feed enslaved Africans in Angola and Costa da Mina and formed part of the rations given to Portuguese sailors. Yet since it rarely reached European markets, it was excluded from Andreoni's *Cultura e Opulencia do Brasil* (Canabrava 1967: 35).

⁵⁵⁰ The Mexican Jesuit Francisco Javier Alegre translated Homer's *Batrachomyomachia* into Latin (Ch. 5). Mock heroic in the vernacular has recently been studied in Bonilla Cerezo and Luján Atienza 2014.

have a shrine for Anchieta. The last book, a *libellus* on tobacco, is the shortest.⁵⁵¹ Mello describes the origin of the tobacco plant and its arrival in Brazil. He praises banana leaves as ideal covering for dried tobacco, which leads to a description of the banana tree and its uses.⁵⁵² He describes the path of tobacco from the country to Bahia, and then to Europe, as part of the Atlantic slave trade. Mello describes the pleasures and health benefits of smoking tobacco before a *sphragis* about his nostalgia for Brazil and Portugal.

2. Proem and invocation

The beginning of *DRBR* affirms the poet's didactic role, weaving together close imitation of the proem of the *Georgics* with reference to Brazil's location in the torrid zone. This, in turn, leads to his invocation of the Muses, whom he will bring to Brazil through his poetry, as Virgil led the Muses from Greece to Rome:

*Brasiliae populis concessam munere Divum
Radicem, unde suis victum providit alumni
Terra parens, canere incipiam; ignarosque misertus
Agricolas, plantae primum qui cultus habendae
Convenient, tum quos radix adolescat in usus,
Dicam...*

DRBR 1.1-7

"I will begin to sing of the root granted to the peoples of Brazil by the gift of the gods, the source of sustenance given by the maternal earth to her children. Since I pity the ignorant farmers, I will tell them first what cultivation suits these plants, then to what uses the root matures."

Mello emulates Virgil by introducing his topic through indirect questions and through *canere incipiam* (*RBR* 1.3), an echo of *hinc canere incipiam* (*G*.1.5). Mello places Brazil at the

⁵⁵¹ Sacré 1989 and McFarlane 1982 discuss tobacco in Latin didactic.

⁵⁵² Like tobacco, the banana tree was imported to Brazil by the Portuguese. A popular history of the banana appears in Koeppel 2008.

forefront of his discussion to signal his new context. Crucially, the poet describes manioc as the concession of the gods, *concessam munere Divum* (1), a phrase Virgil used in the *Georgics* to describe the habitable zone of the earth, *munere concessae diuum* (G.1.238).

The existence of manioc in Brazil shows that the torrid zone can support human life (*unde suis victum providit alumnis terra parens*, DRBR 1.2-3), a correction of Virgil's presentation of the region as uninhabitable.⁵⁵³ The poet is clearly aware of climatic theory, according to which the inhabitants of the tropics were inferior in comparison to those from the more temperate regions.⁵⁵⁴ One of this poem's themes, the health benefits of manioc, can thus be interpreted as a response to European ideas about the health of Brazilians and long-term residents like its author. Furthermore, as Earle has shown, this New-World starch had been viewed suspiciously by Europeans, because it was believed to be unhealthy and incapable of undergoing transubstantiation.⁵⁵⁵ Through his imitation of Virgil, Mello argues that manioc is an acceptable alternative to grain, with additional health benefits that surpass any medicine: *foret ille potentior omni Paeoniae succo, atque salutiferae panaceae* DRBR 2.170-1.

The proem then moves to an invocation of the Muses, in which Mello states his claims to poetic fame. His verses are clearly modelled on the following passage:

primus ego in patriam mecum, modo uita supersit,

⁵⁵³ To be discussed further in Chapter 8. For Virgil on the torrid zone, see *Georgics* 1.233-39. Climatic theory in the seventeenth century has been studied by Cañizares-Esguerra 1999. Contradiction between ancient learning and empirical observation are discussed in Grafton 1992.

⁵⁵⁴ As discussed in Gerbi 1973: 233, fn. 341.

⁵⁵⁵ Earle 2012: 151. Earle discusses how several new-world religious texts emphatically assert that neither manioc nor maize could undergo transubstantiation: only wheat bread could do so.

*Aonio rediens deducam uertice Musas,
primus Idumaeas referam tibi, Mantua, palmas*
Georgics 3.10-12

“If life remains, I will be the first to return to my country bringing in my train the Muses from the Aonian peak: I will be the first to bring back the palms of Idumaea to you, Mantua.”

Virgil’s claim to be the first to bring the Muses to Mantua are thus echoed centuries later by Mello, who leads the Muses to the Americas:

*... atque Aonio peregrinas vertice Musas
Mecum in Brasiliae saltus, atque horrida lustra
Deducam.*
DRBR 1.6-8

“And I will lead down the migrant Muses from their Aonian peak with me into the glades of Brazil and rough forests.”

The Muses are *peregrinae*, moving between Helicon and Brazil and between antiquity and the eighteenth century. The colonial analogies of *peregrinae* may explain the recurrence of this *topos* in Brazilian literature, where the migrant Muses were frequently welcomed to Brazil.⁵⁵⁶ The omission of Virgil’s *patriam* gestures toward a theme that will emerge in the *sphragis*: Mello is Portuguese and so has a different relationship to the landscape than that found, for example, in *De Sacchari Opificio*. Through his poetry, Mello draws attention to Brazil and Brazilian themes within the Latin didactic tradition, but illustrates the difficulty of his task by dwelling on the *horrida lustra* of Brazil.⁵⁵⁷ Both *saltus* and *lustra* suggest open places in the forest, the very sites where the poet will encourage his reader to engage in

⁵⁵⁶ Cacho Casal 2018: 15-16.

⁵⁵⁷ Compare this with Anchieta’s descriptions of Brazil in the elegiac epistle to *De Gestis Mendi de Saa*, as discussed in Chapter 1.

agriculture and animal husbandry. The poet thus implies that his Latin poetry will help civilize his environment, much like the farmer whose cultivation will ‘tame’ the Americas.

3. *Structure and Language*

The architecture of *De Rusticis Brasiliae Rebus* follows the same blueprint of the *Georgics*. Careful imitation of the books of the *Georgics* can be traced in each book of Mello’s poem, so that they correspond in almost every respect. The language of the poem, however, also draws upon the *Aeneid*. The first two books on manioc root, like Virgil’s books on agriculture and viticulture, are concerned with the best methods for selecting soil, planting, and harvesting. The book on cattle comes third, as it did in the *Georgics*. *Prima facie*, the fourth and final book, the *libellus* on tobacco, has little in common with *Georgics* 4. A closer examination of *DRBR*, however, shows that elements of *Georgics* 4 were woven into the Brazilian poem. Highlights from the *Georgics* are incorporated throughout.

Book 1 on the growth of manioc root shares many features in common with *Georgics* 1. So, for example, *DRBR* begins with an invocation of St. Thomas, a structural imitation of Virgil’s prayer to Augustus at the start of the *Georgics*.⁵⁵⁸ For example, Mello discusses the ideal soil for manioc (*DRBR* 1.69 ff.), just as Virgil advised that different soils are better for different crops (*G.*1.43-70). Later, when Mello describes the natural enemies of the Brazilian farmer (*DRBR* 1.325 ff.), the reader is reminded of Virgil’s pests of the threshing floor (*G.*1.176-203). The introduction of Brazilian ants, however, is a reworking

⁵⁵⁸ Vigneras 1977 has more information on St. Thomas as the first apostle of Brazil. Nóbrega’s role in promoting synchronism between St. Thomas and the indigenous myth of Zomé is discussed in Chakravarti 2018: 80-83. Lafaye 1974 treats a similar instance from Mexican history.

of the bees of *Georgics* 4.⁵⁵⁹ Careful description of the ants' labor, the organization of their home and the importance of the queen ant all look to Virgil. Yet unlike the wise bees of the *Georgics*, the Brazilian ants are simply a menace.

Book 2 on the uses of manioc has no obvious parallel in the *Georgics*, since Virgil does not discuss how grapes become wine or how grain is ground into flour. Nevertheless, Mello does add Virgilian touches, like the ode to manioc (*DRBR* 2.157 ff.), which is based on the *Laudes Italiae* (G.2.136-176) and the praise of rustic life (G.2.458-474). Furthermore, one could read Mello's account of his miraculous healing (*DRBR* 2.442 ff.) as an allusion to the Aristaeus epyllion, whereby manioc "resurrects" the poet from the dead.⁵⁶⁰

Both Mello and Virgil devote the third book of their didactic poems to cattle and there is evidence that Mello carefully traced the Roman poet's organization of his material. Book 3 of *DRBR* begins with a second invocation to the Prince of Brazil (3.9-22), just as Book 3 of the *Georgics* had a second invocation of Maecenas (G.3.40-48). Mello presents a list of snakes in Brazil (3.176 ff.) just as Virgil discussed the dangers posed by snakes, vipers and adders (G.3.414-439). When new calves are born in Brazil, the poet warns against the gadfly (*DRBR* 3.218 ff.), which Virgil had identified as danger to pregnant cows (G.3.138-56). Virgil's description of milking goats (G.3.394-403) is adapted to describe milking cows (*DRBR* 3.255 ff.). Bulls fall in love in Brazil just as they did in Rome, and Mello models his depiction of lovesick rivals upon Virgil's treatment of the same topic

⁵⁵⁹ I detect no sign of allegory here, though allegory can be found in other Latin didactic poems of the period (Kerson 2000).

⁵⁶⁰ A plague digression, normally in the third book of Jesuit didactic, was commonplace (Haskell 2014).

(G.3.209-241). Finally, the book on Brazilian cattle does not end with a plague, but rather with a list of animals that prey upon cattle: crows, bats, panthers and vipers. Mello's description of poisonous snakes stands in for the plague of Noricum cattle, which threatened both animals and humans. Finally, Mello reworks Virgil's temple to Augustus (G.3.1-48) into a shrine for the first Brazilian saint, the Jesuit José de Anchieta (*DRBR* 3.680 ff.).⁵⁶¹ Book 4, the *libellus* on tobacco, is modelled on *Georgics* 1: different types of soil, the preparation of the land, pests, etc. The *sphragis* at the end of Mello's poem, however, is clearly modelled on Virgil's *sphragis* (G.4.559-66).

The language of *DRBR* attests to Mello's close reading of Virgil's poetry. While Mello never uses an entire verse from Virgil, he incorporates Virgilian hemistichs and turns of phrase. Mello urges the farmer to drain his land, since labor conquers all things (*labor omnia vincit*, *DRBR* 3.115), a quotation of *Georgics* 1.145. Unlike Virgil, Mello embraces *labor* as a mark of human progress, which tames the landscape and breaks the course of rivers. Elsewhere, he uses hemistichs from the *Aeneid*. *Iterumque iterumque* appears twice in the *Aeneid*;⁵⁶² it is found three times in *DRBR*, once to advise the reader to capture the queen ant (*iterumque iterumque monebo*, 1.412), once to recommend frequent weeding (*iterum atque iterum sarrire memento*, 1.473) and a third time to remember to clean manioc powder thoroughly (*iterumque iterumque lavetur*, 2.147).

⁵⁶¹ The same Anchieta discussed in Chapter 1. Andreoni's *Cultura e Opulencia do Brasil* (Lisboa 1711) begins with an encomium of Anchieta, when efforts to canonize the Brazilian saint were at a fever pitch (Taunay 1936).

⁵⁶² *Aen.* 2.770 and 3.436.

Mello turns to Virgil, and often to the *Aeneid*, for large and small details of his poem. So, for example, the ants' nest fills with water (*accipiunt inimicum imbrem*, DRBR 1.455), just like the Trojan ships in a storm (*accipiunt inimicum imbrem*, *Aeneid* 1.123). Young enslaved Africans are *pueri innuptaeque puellae* (DRBR 2.21), a phrase Virgil used three times in his poetry.⁵⁶³ The crows that harass cattle in Brazil are driven by their mad longing to eat, *tam dira cupido vescendi* (DRBR 3.442-3), a variation on Virgil's *dira cupido*.⁵⁶⁴ At times, the use of Virgil's poetry is humorous. Cats avenge the death of cattle by pouncing on vampire bats, *sumant scelerato ex sanguine poenas* (DRBR 3.503), a parody of Aeneas's final words to Turnus.⁵⁶⁵ Even the cattle die heroically: "with a final moo indignant life leaves them," *indignata supremo mugitu vita excedit* (DRBR 3.533-4). This is a close echo of an expression used twice in the *Aeneid*, once for the death of Camilla (*Aeneid* 11.831) and once for the death of Turnus (*Aeneid* 12.952).⁵⁶⁶

This survey of Virgilian language in *De Rusticis Brasiliae Rebus* shows the different ways in which Mello imitated Virgil. He is one of the first poets in this study to display a sense of humor, drawing upon Virgil to inject irony or *bathos* into his verses. For Mello, Virgil's words are almost a reflex in his composition practice. In addition to these fine

⁵⁶³ Once for the Trojan youth (*Aen.* 2.238) and twice for the shades of the dead (*Aen.* 6.307 and *G.* 4.476). As Jay Reed observed to me, there is a deathly subtext to this phrase, as the Trojan youth of *Aen.* 2.238 are doomed. In DRBR the phrase is used to describe the enslaved children who help process manioc root.

⁵⁶⁴ *Aeneid* 6.373 and 721, 9.185; *Georgics* 1.37.

⁵⁶⁵ *Pallas | immolat et poenam scelerato ex sanguine sumit*, *Aeneid* 12.948-9.

⁵⁶⁶ *uitaque cum gemitu fugit indignata sub umbras*.

details, however, the architecture of *DRBR* has been shown to reflect careful imitation of the structure and sequence of themes of the *Georgics*.

4. Mello's emulation of Virgil

In the *sphragis* of *DRBR* Mello not only emulates Virgil but also presents himself as a Portuguese Aeneas by juxtaposing Italy and Brazil. This theme is developed through close attention to the landscape, a strategy borrowed from the *sphragis* of the *Georgics*:

*Haec super aruorum cultu pecorumque canebam
et super arboribus, Caesar dum magnus ad altum
fulminat Euphraten...*
Georgics 4.559-61

"Thus I sang about the care of fields and cattle, and of trees, while great Caesar thundered by the deep Euphrates..."

Mello echoes Virgil, both in his reflection about his poetry (*haec canebam*) and the postposition of *et super*:

*Haec ego Brasiliae super arvis pauca canebam,
Et super armento, qua se regnator aquarum,
Tibris agit, lenique interluit agmine Romam*
DRBR 4.365-7

"These few things I sang about the fields of Brazil and about cattle, where the Tiber, the lord of waters, flows and slips through Rome in his gentle course."

Even the use of the Tiber to mark the poet's location may be influenced by Virgil's mention of the Euphrates in his *sphragis*. Yet this passage from the *Georgics* differs from *DRBR* in one aspect. In the former, the poet contrasts the fields, a locus of poetic composition, with the larger world, which suggests a disjunction between poetry and politics. This is not the

case in the Brazilian poem, in which the poet's location in Rome is the result of political forces.

Mello presents his experience of Rome through an allusion to episodes from Aeneas' wanderings. His evocation of the Tiber, *regnator aquarum*, is the formula Aeneas used to address the river in *Aeneid* 8 (*corniger Hesperidum fluuius regnator aquarum*, 77). This identification between the poet and the exiled Aeneas will be shown to be programmatic. In addition, the description of the Tiber slipping through Rome (*lenique interluit agmine Romam*) derives from Creusa's prophecy to Aeneas:⁵⁶⁷

*longa tibi exsilia et uastum maris aequor arandum,
et terram Hesperiam uenies, ubi Lydius arua
inter opima uirum leni fluit agmine Thybris.
Aeneid 2.780-782*

“A long exile and the navigation of a vast stretch of the sea is your lot: and you will come to the land Hesperia, where the Lydian Tiber flows in his gentle course through the rich fields of men.”

These verses from the *Aeneid* are art of a colonialist passage, whereby the Trojan hero is guided to a new settlement in Hesperia. Yet equally poignant for Mello is the promise of exile and a long sea voyage, aspects of Aeneas' story that the Portuguese Jesuit had personally endured. The Hesperia promised in the *Aeneid* has moved to the Americas in *DRBR*, though Mello has performed Aeneas' journey in reverse, moving from west to east. The poem uses the *Aeneid* to describe the relationship between the Americas and Europe, as well as to identify the exiled Aeneas with the narrator of *DRBR*.

⁵⁶⁷ Jay Reed brought this important passage to my attention.

From Rome, the *sphragis* turns to the places for which Mello longs: Brazil and Porto. The bifurcation between the past and present reflects the contrast drawn in the *sphragis* of the *Georgics* between the poet's present composition, the *Georgics*, and previous compositions, the *Eclogues*: "in those days I, Virgil, was nourished by sweet Parthenope," *illo Vergilium me tempore dulcis alebat Parthenope* (4.563-4). Virgil names himself (*Vergilium me*) and contrasts his position in Naples with Caesar abroad. Echoes of this passage can be heard in Mello's *sphragis*:⁵⁶⁸

*Et quamvis illo me tempore mira tenerent
 Urbis terrarum dominae spectacula, moles
 Templorum ingentes, tectorum opera inclita, fontes,
 Marmora, et insignes, orbis miracula, villae,
 Et Charitum sedes; tamen et meminisse juvabat
 Brasiliae, ut quae me primis excepit ab annis
 Avulsum a dulci patria, cui Durius altos
 Adlambit muros et molli flumine tingit.*
 DRBR 4.371-78

"And though at that time I was captivated by the marvelous wonders of the city, the empress of the world – the enormous structures of the temples, the celebrated workmanship of its houses, fountains, marble statues and famous villas, marvels of the world, and the seat of the Graces – nevertheless I was delighted to remember Brazil, and how she received me when I was young, uprooted from my sweet home, whose high walls the Douro bathes and laps with its gentle stream."

Mello refers to Rome as the empress of the world (*urbis terrarum dominae*), which he evokes through a catalogue of monumental structures that emphasize its opulence and power. Yet the passage also decenters Rome with memories of Brazil: *tamen, et meminisse juvabat* (375). These words are, of course, an echo of Aeneas' speech to the Trojans: *forsan*

⁵⁶⁸ Compare this to the *sphragis* of Alegre's *Alexandrias* (Ch. 5). Alegre also imitated the *sphragis* of the *Georgics* but imagined himself in Mexico, overlooking the Basilica of the Virgin of Guadalupe.

et haec olim meminisse iuuabit (1.203). Whereas Aeneas argues that memory will render even the present trials pleasurable, Mello shows that it has already been a comfort for him to remember Brazil. The promises of the *Aeneid* are thus born out as true by the Portuguese poet's experience, as evinced by the composition of his Brazilian poem.

The final verses of the previous passage develop the comparison between Aeneas and Mello further. The poet describes Brazil as the land which took him in as a young man (*quae me primis except ab annis*), which echoes the second hemistich of the first verse of the *Aeneid* (*Troiae qui primus ab oris*). Mello sketches himself as a refugee (*avulsum a dulci patria*), a feature he shares in common with Aeneas in the same proem (*fato profugus*, *Aeneid* 1.2). Finally, the description of the high walls of Porto (*cui Durius altos adlambit muros*) seems to allude to the high walls of Rome (*altae moenia Romae*, *Aeneid* 1.7). The poet presents himself as a new Aeneas, another refugee in Italy. Yet the descriptions of Rome in the *Aeneid* are a source for evocations of Brazil as the poet's motherland and of Porto as the home he abandoned. Unlike Aeneas, who came to Italy and found his ancestral home, Mello is adamant that Rome is not and cannot be his city. In this light, the poet's description of the temples of Rome imitate Aeneas' first moments in Carthage, where the hero was overwhelmed by the Temple of Juno. As a matter of fact, the passage moves backward through the proem of the *Aeneid*, beginning with Rome and tracing the poet's steps back to his homeland in Portugal through Brazil. Mello uses Virgil to transform Brazil and Porto into his Rome and to express his alienation in the Roman poet's city.

At the close of the final book, Mello echoes Virgil once more, as he addresses the Tiber:

... At tu, Tibri Pater, cui non Aganippe
Vatibus egregiis, non ipsae Heliconides undae
Certarent; ignosce, **tuos si barbarus anser**
Instrepere argutos inter fuit ausus Olores.
DRBR 4.385-8

“But you, Father Tiber, with whom neither Aganippe with her famed poets nor the very waters of Helicon can compare: forgive me, if a foreign goose has dared to cackle among your melodious swans.”

In this passage, Mello demonstrates his knowledge of two sources of poetic inspiration in antiquity: the spring at the base of Mount Helicon, the Aganippe, and a spring on Mount Helicon, the Hippocrene. These waters are no match for the Tiber, which Mello identifies as the source of inspiration for Latin poetry. The move from Greek to Roman sources of inspiration is a literary *translatio imperii*, which is carried a step further by Mello’s allusion to the *Eclogues*:

nam neque adhuc Vario uideor nec dicere Cinna
*digna, **sed argutos inter strepere anser olores.***
Eclogues 9.35-36

“For I do not yet sing anything worthy of a Varius or a Cinna but am a goose cackling among melodious swans.”

Here Mello follows the tradition of interpreting the shepherds as Virgil’s mouthpieces. Therefore, since Virgil called himself a goose among swans, Mello has done the same. By implication, Virgil and the other Roman poets are the swans along the Tiber, to whom Mello compares himself. Yet Mello is *barbarus anser*, a foreign goose or a goose of strange speech.⁵⁶⁹ This phrase may allude to his status as a foreigner and an exile in Rome. Yet

⁵⁶⁹ Jacobson 2018 examines the play between “barbarity” and “antiquity” in early modern English poetry. The alienation that Jacobson identifies between the English and Latin, stemming from the English education system and the absence of Latin in the Anglican Church, is very different from the situation in Roman-Catholic Ibero-America.

Mello may also imply that the theme of his poem is *barbarus*: Brazil is a wilderness tamed by poetic composition.

B.) Virgil, Vanière and didactic *imitatio*

Mello was also equally familiar with the corpus of didactic literature written by fellow Jesuits as well as Virgil's *Georgics*. *DRBR* shows a particularly close relation to the *Praedium Rusticum* (Toulouse 1730), a renowned poem in sixteen books by the French Jesuit Jacques Vanière (1664-1739).⁵⁷⁰ In part, this reflects the general popularity of *Praedium Rusticum* in the eighteenth century; Rafael Landívar's *Rusticatio Mexicana* openly acknowledges Vanière's influence.⁵⁷¹ Beginning in the seventeenth century, the Jesuits began to make subtle changes to the Latin curriculum, substituting Jesuit poets for pagan authors where possible.⁵⁷² Thus, for Mello to compose a didactic poem about Brazil can be understood as a natural reflex among the Jesuits, as well as proof that the impulse was alive and well on both sides of the Atlantic. Similarities between Mello and Vanière's compositions reveal the relationship between Jesuit reading habits, Latin *imitatio*, and Virgil's influence on didactic poetry.

⁵⁷⁰ Vanière printed ten books of the *Praedium Rusticum* in Paris in 1682 and 1710, to which he later added the six books that would appear in the Toulouse edition. The poem went through several editions during the eighteenth century and was even translated into French in 1756. Vanière is the subject of Haskell 2003: 17-69, Wallner 1996, Soubeille 1982 and Fernández 1961-2.

⁵⁷¹ Laird 2006: 48.

⁵⁷² Osorio Romero 1980 shows how the New Spanish Jesuits replaced medieval and classical authors with Jesuit Latin over time.

Mello's poetry shows the double influence of Virgil and Vanière. When the poet describes how poor farmers should eat manioc, he adds that this method will quickly satiate their horrible hunger (*dira fames*, DRBR 2.81). The Harpies of *Aeneid* 3 prophesied that *dira fames* would haunt the Trojans (256), which in turn seems to have inspired Vanière, who used the phrase *dira fames* five times.⁵⁷³ Through *imitatio*, the expression loses its meaning and becomes a general expression for hunger in Jesuit didactic. In his book on animal husbandry, Mello insists that the owner should carefully consider the best location for pasturing:

*Praesertim vero ingeniumque habitusque locorum
contemplare.*
DRBR 3.62-3

“In particular, to be sure, note the nature and condition of your
environs.”

This same advice was given in the *Georgics*, when the poet urged the farmer to select his fields carefully (*praediscere morem cura sit ac patrios cultusque habitusque locorum*, 1.51-52). This advice is programmatic in Vanière's poem:

*Aggrediar, duce te, mores habitusque locorum
explorare.*
Praedium Rusticum 1.2.31

“With you [God] as my guide, I shall attempt to investigate the customs
and qualities of these places.”

⁵⁷³ PR 4.76.17, 4.90.16, 7.138.22, 8.154.25, 15.209.2. Citations from the *Praedium Rusticum* give the book number, page number, and line number in Toulouse 1730. The poem was printed without running verse numbers and no modern editions exist.

Since Virgil advised looking into the nature of a place, didactic poets after him would do the same, whether they were describing the customs of the French or of Brazilians.

Further echoes of Virgil and Vanière arise in Mello's discussion of the proper care for calves:

*Nunc opus est cura, nam primo in limine vitae
Difficiles morbi et pestis non una tenellos
Afflictant vitulos.
DRBR 3.208-10*

"Now you need to take care, for on the very threshold of life troublesome illnesses and many a pest afflict the poor young calves."

The metaphor of the threshold (*in limine vitae*), was used by Virgil in an influential passage on the infants in limbo:

*Continuo audita voces vagitus et ingens
infantumque animae flentes, in limine primo
quos dulcis vitae exsortis et ab ubere raptos
abstulit atra dies et funere mersit acerbo.
Aeneid 6.426-9*

"At once they heard voices and loud crying, the souls of wailing infants, whom the black day carried off and plunged in bitter death, in the very threshold of the sweet life denied to them, stolen from the breast."

The construction in Mello is simpler than the one in the *Aeneid* but evokes the sympathetic attitude for infants in the description of helpless calves. The same attitude can be found in the *Praedium Rusticum*, when shepherds are urged to milk ewes after giving birth:

*...Nam lacteus humor
enixa qui matre recens emittitur, agnos
tristibus afflictat morbis in limine vitae.
Praedium Rusticum 4.72.25*

"For the milky liquid which is discharged just after a mother has delivered, afflicts the lambs with harsh diseases in the very threshold of life."

By method of abstraction, anything young, human or animal, could be described with the threshold metaphor. The words of the *Aeneid* are thus transferred to a didactic setting, where they lend *pathos* to a routine discussion of animal husbandry.

The importance of Virgil's poetry for Jesuit didactic can be excavated in the beginning of Book 3 of *De Rebus Brasiliae Rusticis*. Mello advocates that the farmer should look for uncultivated land far from cities and settled dwellings in Brazil:

*Talibus auspiciis iuvat ire, et Brasilia rura
Inspicere, ac bobus prata opportuna creandis
Optare.*

DRBR 3.23-25

"Under these auspices it is a delight to move forward and inspect Brazilian fields and to choose the meadows that are suitable for raising cattle."

The phrase *iuvat ire* occurs three times in Virgil's poetry: once for describe the Trojans touring the abandoned Greek tents (*Aeneid* 2.27-8), once for Dido's desire to die (*Aeneid* 4.660), and once to describe the poet's originality (*Georgics* 3.291-3). The expression is therefore a *habitus*, but its use in the *Georgics* may be the most important for the didactic tradition. There Virgil imagined himself roaming the steppes of Parnassus, an imagined landscape of poetic inspiration. Virgil's turn of phrase was used by Ovid's Pythagoras in the *Metamorphoses*: *iuvat ire per alta astra* (12.147-8). The same words, however, were turned by Vanière into programmatic statements. Thus, at the beginning of his book on trees, the poet says (5.94.20-1): "it is a delight to walk through all the young saplings," *Iuvat ire per omnes arboeros foetus*. Again, at the start of a book on rural festivals, he comments that it is a joy to leave off feasting and begin dancing:

...mensis *iuuat ire* relictis,
et posito cratere leves agitare choreas
Praedium Rusticum 7.144.3

“After leaving the table and putting aside the wine flask, it is a delight to perform carefree country dancing.”

Like Vanière, Mello uses *iuuat ire* as a statement of purpose at the beginning of his book. Furthermore, each poet has adapted the phrase from Virgil’s description of the home of the Muses to early modern places and practices.

At times, however, Mello employs language found in Vanière, but absent from Virgil. For example, Mello describes level ground as *planum aequor* (DRBR 1.82), a phrase that appears seven times in Vanière.⁵⁷⁴ Later, Mello remarks that there are many species of *mandiva*: *genus haud unum* (1.48), an allusion to Vanière on beetroot: *praeterea genus haud unum* (PR 9.175.32). When advising on planting, Mello says that empty spaces should be filled: “let an heir immediately take up the empty residence,” *succedatque statim vacuis fac sedibus haeres* (DRBR 1.320). A variation on this formula appears throughout the *Pradium Rusticum*, twice for the spacing of trees and once for the placement of vines.⁵⁷⁵ In Book 2, the cold press causes manioc root to exude a white liquid (*niveus liquor effluit undique rivis*, DRBR 2.91), a modification of Vanière’s oil press: *aureus interea liquor effluit undique rivis* (PR 8.162.18). Finally, in Book 3, Mello advises against swamps as pasturage for cattle, because the mud gives rise to harmful insects (*paludes...pingui generant animalia limo*, DRBR 3.105-6). The Portuguese poet echoes the French priest, who thought that vegetable

⁵⁷⁴ PR 1.17.30, 1.22.10, 3.53.15, 4.76.31, 4.83.84, 8.156.7, 9.177.30.

⁵⁷⁵ PR 5.101.11 (*vacuis ubi sedibus haeres | restitui debet*); 5.103.5 (*novis inolescit sedibus haeres*); 10.205.25 (*vacuis succedat sedibus haeres*)

gardens should not be placed near marshland for the same reason: *stagna calescenti generant animalia limo* (PR 9.172.17).

Two further examples, the invocation of Book 3 and the description of Tupí cannibalism in Book 2, show the influence of Vanière upon Mello's composition, which cannot be explained by their common use of the *Georgics*. The invocation of Book 3 reflects new attitudes toward labor and nature that are missing from Virgil:

*Rursus, nescio qua ruris dulcedine captus
Arva peto, agrestesque iterum tractare labores
Accingor. Cererem tenui deduximus ante
Carminē Brasilicam; nunc informare bubulcos
Fert animus.*

DRBR 3.1-5

"Once again I seek the fields, drawn by the indefinable sweetness of the country, and I prepare to treat of rustic labors once again. I have already treated of the Brazilian Ceres in thin verse; now my mind is bent on instructing cattle ranchers."

Perhaps immediately recognizable is the allusion to the first two verses of Ovid's

Metamorphoses:

*In nova fert animus mutatas dicere formas
corpora.*

"My mind is bent on telling of bodies changed into new forms."

Mello may even be punning on Ovid's *formas* when he used the verb *informare* to describe his didactic intent: he will instruct, or form, his readers. Yet *fert animus* also appears in the first verse of Vanière's book on decorative ponds (PR.15.273.1): "My mind is bent on adding pool-dwelling fish to the manor," *Fert animus mea stagnicolae ad praedia pisces addere*. The influence of Vanière is strongest, however, in the first verse, where Mello is

drawn by the sweetness of the country, *ruris dulcedine captus*. Vanière used these words to describe the allure of viticulture:

*Forsitan et **ruris dulcedine captus**, amabis
lene viri studium, quem fortunata colendis
sors addixit agris.*

Praedium Rusticum 11.221.9

“Perhaps, drawn by the sweetness of the countryside, you also will love the mild pursuit of mankind, which blessed fate awarded to the cultivation of fields.”

Yet more importantly, Vanière used the same words in the *proem*:⁵⁷⁶

*Secreti tacita **capior dulcedine ruris**
quod **spectare iuvat**, placuit deducere versu.*

Praedium Rusticum 1.2.6

“I am drawn by the silent sweetness of the remote countryside, which it is a joy to see, and which it pleased me to describe in verse.”

A number of features from Mello’s poetry resonate with Vanière’s *proem*: the allure of the country, his joy beholding the landscape and the Alexandrian conceit of *deducere*.⁵⁷⁷ Both Mello and Vanière are responding to the *deductum carmen* of *Eclogue* 6.5, a metaphor of literary style that can be traced to the thin Muse of Callimachus’ *Origins*.⁵⁷⁸ In *DRBR* the poet says he has already sung a thin song (*tenui...carmine*), which imputes some awareness of Virgil’s poetics to the Portuguese poet. While an appreciation of landscape is not absent from the *Georgics* – think, for example, of the *Laudes Italiae* – it is often

⁵⁷⁶ *dulcedine captus* occurs at line-end in Ovid *Met.* 1.709 and 11.170, possible intertexts for Vanière.

⁵⁷⁷ *spectare iuvat* alludes both to Lucretius 1.926 ff. and *Georgics* 3.291-3, as discussed in Ch. 6.

⁵⁷⁸ An overview of Callimachus’ influence upon Latin poetry can be found in Hunter 2006 and Clausen 1964. See Coleman 1977 *ad loc* for a discussion of neoteric poets in Latin.

tempered by the demands of physical labor. Vanière and Mello are more explicit than Virgil that they are writing for wealthy landowners, who command a large number of peasants or, in Mello's case, enslaved Africans, to labor on the estate.⁵⁷⁹ It is only because of this division of labor that the landowner or poet can turn to the fields for leisure or inspiration.

Vanière and the Jesuit didactic tradition even come to bear on one of the most Brazilian scenes of *De Rebus Brasiliae Rusticis*: the cannibalism in Book 2. Cannibalism, a pervasive topic in colonial Brazilian literature, can be traced from the early accounts by the Jesuits Manuel da Nóbrega and José de Anchieta all the way to Montaigne's treatise, *On Cannibals*.⁵⁸⁰ Anchieta's Latin epic, *De Gestis Mendi de Saa* (1563), made cannibalism a defining feature of the Tupí.⁵⁸¹ By the time Mello published *De Rebus Brasiliae Rusticis*, over two centuries had passed since the Tupí were evangelized by the Portuguese. Yet in Book 2, Mello mentions that the Tupí used to drink fermented manioc during ritual cannibalism, which leads to a lurid account of how the Tupí would fatten, slaughter and consume their victims. Close examination of the cannibal passage shows that Mello was drawing upon Vanière's discussion of country festivals and of drunkenness. This scene of Brazilian cannibalism is therefore a mirror of the rustic French customs described in the *Praedium Rusticum*.

⁵⁷⁹ Slavery in Mello and Amaral is discussed in "Appendix One: Slavery in New World Jesuit Georgic" in Haskell 2003: 315-320.

⁵⁸⁰ See Lestringant 1997. A response to his ideas can be found in Rawson 1999. The politics of cannibalism is discussed in Earle 2012.

⁵⁸¹ As discussed in Chapter 1.

Mello begins his description with the ritual drinking that preceded the sacrifice. The poet focuses upon the Tupí women who prepared the fermented manioc and their consumption of this beverage:

*Ipsae et Tartarea fundentes carmina voce,
Et luteas pelves, quibus exta atrumque cruorem
Mox capient, baculis pulsantes, orgia ducunt,
Atque **incompositos torto dant corpore saltus.**
DRBR 2.314-17*

“The women utter their chants in an infernal tone and beat with their sticks the clay basins with which they will soon catch the entrails and dark blood; they lead the orgies and give clumsy jumps as their bodies whirl.”

The connection between cannibalistic rites and song was indeed a part of Tupí culture, a ritualized discourse that reflected their ideas about warfare.⁵⁸² While these verses contain echoes of Dionysiac rites of antiquity, the movement of the women’s bodies is reminiscent of Vanière’s description of French country dancing. In Book 7, the French peasants gather to celebrate the beginning of spring:

*Ad numeros et verba pedes agitare manusque
et **male compositos torto dare corpore motus.**
Praedium Rusticum 7.144.9-10*

“They move their feet and hands to the rhythm and the words and give rather disorderly movements as their bodies spin.”

This pleasing evocation of French country dancing inspires Mello’s description of the Tupí women. Next, Mello compares the victim to a fattened pig (DRBR 2.284-98), a simile commonly found in European descriptions of cannibals.⁵⁸³ Yet, immediately before his

⁵⁸² Viveiros 1992: 290-1.

⁵⁸³ In *De Orbe Novo*, Peter Martyr would describe Amerindian cannibals fattening their victims “just as we do hams.” See Earle 2012: 124.

description of the dancing peasants, Vanière had told of how suckling pigs are killed for their spring festivals (*PR* 7.143.33). The drunken women and the fattened victim thus take their inspiration from the same passage. Central to Mello's poem is his disapproval of drunkenness, a theme which Vanière also criticized in his discussion of wine:

*Hinc animos post vina brevis dementia mutat,
atque **incompositos dant ebria corpora motus.**
Praedium Rusticum 11.216.6-7*

"Thus after the consumption of wine a short kind of madness changes men's character, and their drunken bodies move clumsily."

The drunken Tupí women are thus sketched through an expression typical of Vanière, while the entire scene of ritual cannibalism draws upon the French Jesuit's discussion of drunkenness and rustic festivals. The vision of Brazil offered in *DRBR* is thus crafted in response both to Virgil's Italy and to Vanière's France.⁵⁸⁴ Just as no Roman would have read the *Georgics* as an agricultural manual, no one would have read Mello's poem for keen insight about manioc root, cattle or tobacco. Rather, the poem presents a highly stylized account of Brazilian agriculture, written for an audience familiar with the conventions of Latin didactic, and specifically of Jesuit didactic.

Conclusion

Rodrigues de Mello's *De Rusticis Brasiliae Rebus* is the most Virgilian of the didactic poems from Brazil. From the overall design of his poem to the smallest details, he was careful to follow the pattern established by Virgil's *Georgics*. The *proem* and invocation presented the

⁵⁸⁴ What one might term "window reference," though Mello is not correcting Vanière (or Virgil), but using their poetry to describe a challenging theme. See Thomas 1986: 188-189.

poet as a civilizing influence, whose Latin didactic poem would tame wild Brazil and bring the Muses to that land, just as the speaker of the *Georgics* claimed to be the first to bring the Muses to Italy. Yet, as the discussion of Vanière showed, Virgil was not the only model to whom Mello turned. The melancholy *sphragis*, however, presents the poet as an American Aeneas, whose only route to Portuguese realms lies through poetic composition and memory.

CHAPTER 8. *BRASILIENSES AURIFODINAE* (RBM 0707)

Brasilienses Aurifodinae is a poem about goldmining in Brazil, written in Rome in the middle of the eighteenth century. The author, José Basílio da Gama, was not a Jesuit, but had studied with them in Brazil and composed this poem while living among them in Rome. Unlike *De Sacchari Opificio Carmen* and *De Rusticis Brasiliae Rebus*, this poem was never published and, until recently, was little known. This chapter will first introduce the poet and his controversial relationship with the Jesuits. After a summary of the poem, this discussion will examine the extent to which the poem, structure, language and poetic persona engage with Virgil. A passage on the creation of gold reflects the diverse readings of Virgil available in the early modern period as well as how the poet combined ancient and modern science in his text.

A.) Basílio da Gama and *Brasilienses Aurifodinae*

José Basílio da Gama (1741-1795) was born in Minas Gerais, Brazil and died in Lisbon. His most famous work is the epic poem, *O Uruguai* (Lisbon 1769), an account of the expedition sent against the Jesuit missions among the Guarani.⁵⁸⁵ His earlier career, however, was shaped by the Jesuits, as seen in his Latin didactic poem, *Brasilienses Aurifodinae*. Basílio da Gama entered the Society of Jesus in 1757 and began his studies at the college in Rio de Janeiro. When the Jesuits were expelled from Brazil, he left the order, but later joined the exiles in Rome. There, he was part of a circle of poets that included his former teacher,

⁵⁸⁵ His life and works are discussed in Teixeira 1996. Chaves 2000 offers a study of *O Uruguai*. In private communication, Adriana Vazquez shared a forthcoming study of the use of Virgil in *O Uruguai* for the *Classical Receptions Journal*.

José Rodrigues de Mello. With their help, Basílio da Gama became a member of the Pontifical Academy of Arcadia in 1763.⁵⁸⁶

It is not known why Basílio da Gama parted ways with this circle in Italy and returned to Brazil. He was arrested in Lisbon in 1769 on suspicions of Jesuit sympathies and sentenced to six months of exile in Angola. Before his departure he published two anti-Jesuit poems, which not only relieved him from deportation but also curried favor with the leader of the anti-Jesuit faction, the Marquis de Pombal.⁵⁸⁷ His position secured in the Portuguese court, the young Brazilian would serve as the Marquis de Pombal's secretary until the latter's fall from favor in 1777. Basílio da Gama enjoyed a successful career as a man of letters, becoming a member of the Academy of Science in Lisbon before his death in 1795.

1. Summary

His manuscript Latin poem, *Brasilienses Aurifodinae*, bears witness to his early formation as a novice, his time in Rome, and the importance of Virgil for his poetic compositions. The poem begins with a mythological allusion for gold, the myth of Danae, which is followed by a scientific allusion. The poet then discusses how to find gold. He moves from the necessary tools to the purchase of enslaved people, with specific instructions on management and punishment. The poet describes how to remove gold from riverbeds (verse 593 ff.), hills (verse 758 ff.) and valleys (verse 810 ff.). Celebrations at the discovery

⁵⁸⁶ The Arcadians are the subject of Donato 2000. Information on Basílio da Gama and the Jesuits can be found in Rodrigues and Pontara 1977.

⁵⁸⁷ *Epithalamio* (Lisbon 1769) was written for the marriage of the Marquis de Pombal's daughter. *O Uruguai* (Lisbon 1769) was dedicated to the Marquis de Pombal's brother.

of gold lead to a discussion of how to separate gold from emery with fire, magnets, or mercury. At roughly the midpoint the poem turns to the construction of mines. Special attention is given to the management of labor in the mines as well as suggestions for how to maximize profit. After a *recusatio* of the methods used elsewhere, the poet offers a history of the gold rush and of minting in Brazil. The poet then concludes with the global circulation of gold coin and a final praise of gold.⁵⁸⁸

2. Proem and Invocation

The proem and invocation of *Brasilienses Aurifodinae* are guided by the template of Virgil's *Georgics*. The poet's classicizing tone is moderated by his own poetic program, which is informed by the Virgilian tradition in Latin and the vernacular. As with the other didactic poems from Brazil, the *proem* should be read in comparison with the start of the *Georgics*:

*Quid faciat laetas segetes, quo sidere terram
uertere, Maecenas, ulmisque adiungere uitis
conueniat, quae cura boum, qui cultus habendo
sit pecori, apibus quanta experientia parcis,
hinc canere incipiam.*

Georgics 1.1-5

"What makes the fields happy, under what star one should turn the soil, Maecenas, or join vines to elms, what is the supervision of cattle, what is the management for breeding herds, how much experience for thrifty bees – from this point will I begin to sing."

*Orbis diuitias, inter pretiosa metalla
Aurum nobilius, quod praebet fossile tellus,
Extractumque dabit sumo [sic] aurifodina labore,
Nunc canere est mihi: vati onus est, sed amabile pondus.*

B. A. 1-4, 8r

⁵⁸⁸ The text of RBM 0707 used in this study is based on my transcription of the manuscript in São Paulo as well as the transcription and Portuguese translation in Mariano 2005, which the author kindly shared with me.

“The riches of the globe, gold, more famous among the precious metals which the dug earth offers and which the gold-mine will yield once it has been extracted with the greatest labor, this now is my theme: this is the poet’s burden, but it is a pleasant weight.”

The gold is the focus of the first three verses, while the figure of the poet is delayed until the end of the proem, as in Virgil. Just as the *Georgics* begins with a series of indirect questions, the objects of the delayed verb (*hinc canere incipiam*, 1.5), so too does *Brasilienses Aurifodinae*. Furthermore, just as Virgil used the *proem* to summarize the four themes of his poem, the Brazilian poet draws attention to two themes: the search for gold on the surface of the earth (*fossile tellus*) and the extraction of gold from mines (*aurifodina*).

The final verse of the *proem*, however, displays special effort to relate this poem to the figure of Virgil. The phrase *vati onus est* echoes Ovid:

*Res quoque tanta fuit, quantae subsistere summo
Aeneadum uati grande fuisset onus.
Ex Ponto 3.4.83-84*

“The theme was great enough to have been a heavy burden even for the mighty poet of the *Aeneadae*.”

In this passage, Ovid claims that he is Virgil’s equal, as he asserts that a recent composition *would have been* a burden for the poet of the *Aeneid*. Basílio da Gama, however, writes that the burden of the gold poem is already his (*vati onus est*). By assuming the burden, he claims a place among the Roman poets through a connection to Ovid and Virgil. The end of the same verse, *amabile pondus*, may echo Silius Italicus’ praise of Brutus (*laeta uiro gravitas ac mentis amabile pondus*, *Punica* 8.609). It is also possible to see an identification between the metaphorical burden of a poem, as expressed by Ovid, and the weight of

gold. The *proem* positions Basílio da Gama and *Brasilienses Aurifodinae* within a longer tradition, while also playfully alluding to the specific qualities of his theme.

Brasilienses Aurifodinae is the only didactic poem of the three extant examples from Brazil to invoke the pagan Muses without recourse to Christian personages:⁵⁸⁹

Vos, quarum crinitus honos **intermicat auro**,
Pierides, quarum Princeps **auratus** Apollo est,
Captis ferte meis pretiosum in carmina plectrum,
Mentem illustrate, **auratamque** infundite Lucem,
Fonte e Castalio guttas adjungite, vati
Clara sit a Luce, a Phoebo fluat aurea vena,
Et terso sub aquis metro purgata redundet.

B. A. 5-11

“You Pierian maidens, whose glorious hair glitters with gold, whose prince is golden Apollo, bring to my capacities the precious plectrum for my song. Illuminate my mind and pour in your golden light. Add drops from the Castalian spring and let the golden vein appear bright to the poet from your light, let it flow from Phoebus, and, once cleansed under the water, let it pour forth in neat meters.”

Virgil invoked the Muses as the Pierian sisters throughout the *Eclogues*.⁵⁹⁰ The language of this passage can also be shown to reflect the influence of the golden serpents in Claudian’s *De Raptu Proserpinae* (*rutilum squamis intermicat aurum*, 1.185). The traditional invocation of the Muses has been adapted by the poet: the request for an *aurea vena* reflects a trend in vernacular poetry, in which *vena* was synonymous with poetic inspiration.⁵⁹¹

⁵⁸⁹ Mello had invoked St. Thomas along with the Muses, while Amaral had no invocation.

⁵⁹⁰ *Ecl.* 3.85, 6.13, 8.63, 9.33 and 10.72.

⁵⁹¹ This use is attested in eighteenth-century dictionaries. For Spanish: *Diccionario de Autoridades* (1739). For Portuguese: *Vocabulario Portuguez e latino* (1721) and *Diccionario da Lingua Portuguesa* (1789). This meaning is derived from Juvenal: *sed vatem egregium, cui non sit publica vena*, 7.53.

The adjective “golden” appears several times in these verses: it is used for the Muses’ hair, for Apollo, for the light of the Muses and finally for the golden vein. These golden Muses are, moreover, asked to inspire the poet in a process that resembles sifting for gold. The waters of the Castalian spring, a common source of poetic inspiration in Latin poetry, are here used to wash the golden vein (*guttas adjungite*, 9). Once cleansed, the poet may set it to meter (*terso sub aquis metro purgata redundet*, 11), just as gold can only be worked after it has been refined. The invocation, like the proem, employs poetic metaphor to mediate the style and context of this goldmining poem.⁵⁹²

3. Structure and Language

The structure of *Brasilienses Aurifodinae* reflects an attempt to organize the sequence of information as Virgil did in the first book of the *Georgics*. Care is taken to insert elements from the *Georgics* throughout the poem, as well as scenes from the *Aeneid*. Basílio da Gama uses Virgil’s language to discuss the new science and travel in Brazil, as well as the more traditional theme of labor. This poem, while as long as three books of the *Georgics*, has no internal divisions. There are, however, clear transitions within the text, such as the shift from extracting gold from rivers to mining at verse 1141, or the later transition at verse 1521 to purifying, assessing, and minting gold. Unlike *De Rusticis Brasiliae Rebus* and *De Sacchari Opificio*, there is no *sphragis* in this poem, though, like *De Sacchari Opificio*, it does conclude with the praise of gold and its role in the global market.

⁵⁹² An idea articulated in Hinds 1998:1-16.

As with Amaral's poem, the beginning of *Brasilienses Aurifodinae* shows a careful imitation of the first book of the *Georgics*. After the proem and invocation, the poet offers an aition for gold (vv. 12-123), giving both a mythological account as well as a scientific explanation. The myth chosen for this poem is Danae and the rain of gold, which scattered gold deposits over the earth. The myth leads the poet to discuss climate and geographical location in order to explain how to find gold. This introduction to the topic is analogous to Virgil's invocation of the rustic gods (*Georgics* 1.5-23), which connected important crops and animals to specific deities, with passing reference to the relevant mythical aitia. Of equal importance may be Virgil's account of the winds in *Aeneid* 1, in which scientific explanations of the observed phenomena were situated within a dominating mythical narrative.⁵⁹³ And, in fact, a footnote in the manuscript defends the poet's aition with the example of the cave of winds in Homer and Virgil.

Furthermore, the transition from the origins of gold to gold-bearing soil is also based on *Georgics* 1. Just as the farmer is advised to find the best soil for his crops (*Georgics* 1.43 ff.), so too should the gold prospector consider the quality of the soil (v. 134 ff.). As in Amaral and Mello, soil leads to a discussion of tools, which is followed by a section on enslaved labor. The poet instructs the reader on how to purchase good workers and includes a short account of their customs and living conditions. This description of the laborer finds some precedent in Virgil's praise of rustic life (G. 2.458-74) as well as his ethnography of the Libyan herdsmen and Scythians (G. 3.339-83), though Virgil rarely

⁵⁹³ See Hardie 1986: 95.

discussed enslaved people.⁵⁹⁴ This explicit discussion of slavery is thus both a part of and a departure from the Virgilian tradition, consistent with the approach taken in Brazilian didactic.

The structure of *Brasilienses Aurifodinae* diverges from the *Georgics*, but there are several passages modelled on Virgil. Thus, for example, the poet's praise of human industry (v. 789 ff.) may be seen in relation to Virgil's discussion of *labor* in *Georgics* 1. Later, the poet compares the toiling miners to a line of ants (vv. 935-940), like the bee simile in *Aeneid* 1. The celebration at the master's house when gold is found (vv. 1012 ff.) reworks elements of the harvest festivals described at the end of *Georgics* 2. The influence of the plague of the Noricum cattle (G.3) can be found in the poet's description of those trapped in a collapsed mine (vv. 1189-1211) or those suffering from disease (vv. 1238-52).

Virgilian language appears throughout *Brasilienses Aurifodinae*, as exemplified in a discussion of mercury's ability to extract gold from ore. The poet models his verses on Nisus' question to Euryalus:

*Nisus ait: 'dine hunc ardorem mentibus addunt,
Euryale, an sua cuique deus fit dira cupido?'*
Aeneid 9.184-5

"Nisus cried: "Do the gods put this fire in our hearts, Euryalus, or does each man's awful longing become his god?"

*Mercurium an trahat aurum, a mercuriove trahatur?
Aut utrique sit attractiva potentia?*
B. A. 1597-98, 41r

"Does gold attract mercury, or is it attracted by mercury? Or does each have an attractive force?"

⁵⁹⁴ Thibodeau 2011 has traced Virgil's discussion of enslaved people in the *familia* of the *Georgics*.

The heroic desire for glory (*dira cupido*) becomes the metaphor to describe the chemical attraction between gold and mercury (*attractiva potentia*).⁵⁹⁵ The verb (*trahat, trahatur*) may allude to a further intertext from the *Eclogues*: *trahit sua quemque uoluptas*, “each is led by his liking,” (2.65). Virgil’s descriptions of romantic love and heroic ambition are thus the vehicles whereby the poet may express the scientific properties of two elements. In this way, Virgil’s poetry becomes the language of Enlightenment science, with a few modifications.

While there are no instances of entire verses from Virgil’s poetry in *Brasilienses Aurifodinae*, there are several borrowed hemistichs. One such instance comes as the poet describes what one should do upon arrival in Brazil:

*Primum ubi **Brasiliam**, portusque intrare licebit,*
Appelle, ad salsugineas structa Oppida terras
Desere, perge in distantes, gratosque recessus...
 B. A. 134-36, 10v

“When first you may enter Brazil and her harbors, put ashore, leave behind the cities built on briny land, and proceed to distant and pleasing retreats...”

This evocation of Brazil is modelled upon Celaeno’s description of Italy: *ibitis Italiam portusque intrare licebit*, “you will go to Italy and freely enter her ports,” (*Aeneid* 3.254). This hemistich allows the poet to describe a fact of transatlantic travel (arrival at port) but at the same time endows the voyage and the search for gold with heroic grandeur. Yet again

⁵⁹⁵ The use of classical metaphors to describe chemical attraction between metals is not an isolated phenomenon. Compare this text to Nummedal and Bilak 2020, a forthcoming digital edition of an alchemical text, *Atalanta fugiens* (1618), which expresses alchemical lore through the myth of Atalanta.

a colonizing narrative from the *Aeneid* serves to frame a Latin American poet's presentation of his theme. This time, the poet imagines a European's journey into Brazil, which is likened to the Trojans' journey to Italy in the *Aeneid*. The reason for this advice is twofold: on the one hand, as the poet will later tell his reader, a royal decree forbade the mining of gold along the coast, while on the other hand the poet asserts that one cannot find gold by the sea.

Other examples of Virgilian hemistichs show how the poet ranges across Virgil's *oeuvre* to describe his theme. On the one hand the cry *ne crede colori*, used by Corydon in *Ecl.* 2.17, is twice used to remind the prospector that the color of the soil is no indication of whether or not gold is present (*B. A.* 242 and 245, 13r). The stakes used in arboriculture become instruments to dam a river:

... *hic stirpes obruit aruo*
quadrifidasque sudes et acuto robore uallos.
Georgics 2.24-25

Comportare sudes, et acuto robore vallos
ferre...
B. A. 674-5, 22r

Finally, *fit via vi*, "force finds a way," used of Pyrrhus' attack on Priam's palace (*Aeneid* 2.494) is used to describe the creation of tunnels as the miners follow the vein of gold.

Some Virgilian hemistichs are adapted as opposed to being simply borrowed. One such instance occurs in the marginalia on 8v, when the celebrated coinage from *Ecl.* 10.69, *omnia vincit Amor*, "love conquers all," is transformed into *Omnia vincit aurum*, "gold conquers all." The importance of human labor occasions several allusions to the Sibyl's

hoc opus, hic labor est, “this is the task, this is toil,” (*Aeneid* 6.129). This expression can be traced in the poet’s ode to greed:

Hinc hominum labor est, hinc est industria, fauces
Qua tellus pandat, deglutitum evomat aurum.
B. A. 126-7, 10v

“From this comes man’s labor and his industry, by which the earth opens its jaws and vomits out the gold it has swallowed.”

The term *fauces* was used by Virgil to describe the entrance to the Underworld.⁵⁹⁶ The passage may therefore indicate that the miner performs a kind of *katabasis* in his search for gold, following Aeneas into the bowels of the earth. A further echo appears as the enslaved wield their hoes in a riverbed:

Et sabulum extrahere, et corbes portare repletos,
In tumulos cumulare, et montibus addere montes
est opus, est labor.
B. A. 651-3, 21v

“The task, the toil, is to extract the sand and to carry the laden baskets, to heap up mounds and add mountains on top of mountains.”

In this last example the poet alludes to the myth of the Giants in *Georgics* 1.277-83, who sought to attack Olympus by piling mountains on top of each other. The concept of labor in *Brasilienses Aurifodinae* is not as pessimistic as it was in the *Georgics*; rather it is a demonstration of human strength and a celebration of the economic boom brought by the Brazilian goldrush.

This tendency to take verses from the *Aeneid* can also be seen when the poet describes the punishment of enslaved Africans: *et motos tandem praestet componere fluctus*,

⁵⁹⁶ *Aeneid* 6.201, 241, 273. My thanks to Jay Reed for this observation.

“and let it be better in the end to calm the troubled waves,” B. A. 576, 20r. This can be compared to Neptune’s calming of the seas: *sed motos praestat componere fluctus*, *Aen.*1.135. Just as human labor was compared to the deeds of Aeneas and the Titans, so too does the master gain prestige through comparison with the sea god. The same impulse can be seen in the poet’s exhortation to invest in mines: *audentem fortuna iuvat, sors aurea ditat*, “fortune favors the brave, and golden fortune makes him wealthy,” B. A. 1154, 32r. This is an adaptation of *audentis Fortuna iuuat* (*Aen.*10.284), which Turnus used to encourage the Italians.⁵⁹⁷

There are also indications that *Brasilienses Aurifodinae* uses language that began with Virgil, but which proliferated among his imitators. The aition contains a fine example of this:

*Ab Jove principium, a sumo [sic] est massa aurea Coelo.
Dicendis adhibenda fides: seriem accipe, credes.
Lex illa aeterna, et nulli eluctabile fatum
Destinat Acrisium infaustae, Jove iudice, morti.*
B. A. 15-18, 8r-8v

“The mass of gold takes its beginning from Jupiter, from the highest heaven. You must trust the things that I must tell: hear its lineage and you will believe. An eternal law, a fate that no one can escape, marked out Acrisium for a misfortunate death, under Jupiter’s judgement.”

The phrase *ab Jove principium* appeared twice in Virgil’s *oeuvre*: once to begin a shepherd’s song (*Ecl.* 3.60) and once to describe the origins of the Trojan race (*Aen.* 7.219). The phrase itself draws upon a Hellenistic and Roman tradition, that begins with Aratus and may

⁵⁹⁷ Laird 2016b: 36-7 traces this aphorism from the letters of Cortés to the liberator Francisco de Miranda.

even appear earlier in Greek.⁵⁹⁸ Yet central to the proliferation of this phrase in Latin poetry is its appearance in Virgil, as shown by its occurrence in Germanicus' translation of the *Phaenomena*, Calpurnius Siculus and even in Pontano.⁵⁹⁹ The description of fate, however, comes from Virgil:

*Felix, qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas
atque metus omnis **et inexorabile fatum**
subiecit pedibus strepitumque Acherontis auari.*
Georgics 2.490-92

"Happy is he who was able to know the causes of things and has cast beneath his feet all fear, relentless fate and the howls of greedy Acheron."

A similar description can be found in Evander's tale of exile:

*me pulsum patria pelagique extrema sequentem
Fortuna omnipotens **et inelcutabile fatum**
his posuere locis...*
Aeneid 8.333-35

"Almighty Fortune and inevitable fate drove me here, an outcast from fatherland and seeking the ends of the sea."

Of interest for this discussion is the legacy of this formulation in vernacular poetry of the early modern period. The phrase *inexorable muerte* appeared in Boscán and Garcilaso de la Vega's poetry, and would later become generalized in Spanish Golden Age authors.⁶⁰⁰ This Virgilian manner can be found in the early literature of the Americas: Ercilla would speak of *inexorable muerte*, "inexorable death" (I.12.8), in *La Araucana* (Madrid 1569). Thus,

⁵⁹⁸ As discussed in Fantuzzi 1980. See also the note on *Met.* 10.148 in Reed and Humphries 2018.

⁵⁹⁹ Germanicus' translation is studied in Possanza 2004. Calpurnius Siculus *Ecl.* 4.82 and Pontano *Urania* 1.14r.13 (Florence 1514). The latter is a combination of the first hemistich of *Aen.* 7.219 and the end of *Ecl.* 3.60.

⁶⁰⁰ Boscán and Garcilaso are discussed in Smith 1959. Evidence for the use of this phrase in the Golden Age can be found in Kossoff 1966.

while *ab Jove principium* can be traced to Latin poems written in the style of Virgil, *nulli eluctabile fatum* may reflect Virgil's legacy in vernacular poetry. Overall, the language of *Brasilienses Aurifodinae* demonstrates a debt to Virgil, both to the poet's *oeuvre* as well as the longer tradition that he inspired in Latin and the vernacular.

4. Basílio's emulation of Virgil

Basílio da Gama's emulation of Virgil will be illustrated by three passages from *Brasilienses Aurifodinae*: the second proem about mines (v. 1141 ff.); the *praeteritio* of mining in other regions (v. 1521 ff.); and the end of the poem (v. 1815 ff.). In each of these passages, the poet limits himself only to similar moments from the *Georgics*; Basílio da Gama may be the only poet in this study to recognize some generic distinction between epic and didactic. Comparison between the *Georgics* and *Brasilienses Aurifodinae* reveals a shared view of the relationship between man and nature, as well as an interest in the poet's legacy, as shaped by his didactic activity.

The second proem in *Brasilienses Aurifodinae* (v. 1141 ff.) makes the transition from gold prospecting to mining and is crafted in imitation of the opening of *Georgics* 2. A closer examination of this passage shows how the narrator uses Virgil to establish the themes of this section:

*Hactenus aruorum cultus et sidera caeli,
nunc te, Bacche, canam, nec non siluestria tecum
uirgulta et prolem tarde crescentis oliuae.*
Georgics 2.1-3

"Up to this point the tillage of fields and the stars of heaven: now, Bacchus, I will sing of you and with you the forest saplings and the children of the slow-growing olive."

*Hactenus inferiora inter saxeta repertum
Aurum extraximus, et vivis purgavimus undis:
Nunc e lautumiis, quas tellus montibus altis
Obtegit, extrahere est opus, aurigerasque medullas
Inde sequi, auroque exhaurire, et sanguine venas.*
B. A. 1141-45, 31v

“Up to this point we have extricated gold found among low-lying rocks and washed it in living water: now the task is to extract gold from quarries, which the earth has covered with tall mountains, and thereupon to follow the gold-bearing marrows and drain the veins of gold and blood.”

Not only does the narrator imitate the first word of *Georgics* 2 (*hactenus*), but also includes a summary of his poetic activity, before turning to this new theme (*nunc*). The beginning of *Georgics* 2 may also shed light upon the presentation of the mountain as a creature of flesh and blood.⁶⁰¹ The narrator describes gold flowing like blood through the mountain’s veins, which miners must “drain.” This metaphor is thematic in the poem’s discussion of gold mines, as well as the implication, suggested by *obtegit*, that the earth hides its wealth from men. In a discussion of arboriculture (*Georgics* 2.22-34), Virgil used the metaphor of parents and children to advise the farmer to separate mother trees from their tender shoots.⁶⁰² This passage therefore shares with the *Georgics* the presentation of a virtual opposition between man and nature. In the famous passage on *labor* in *Georgics* 1, Virgil argues that agriculture is the exertion of man’s will upon the landscape, an attitude reflected in this passage of *Brasilienses Aurifodinae*.

⁶⁰¹ First studied in Mariano 2010.

⁶⁰² As discussed *ad loc.* in Thomas 1988.

The narrator next intervenes in the *praeteritio* (vv. 1521-35). In two sections, each introduced by the verb *novi*, he sketches the extent of his knowledge. First, the narrator claims to have read treatises by ancient authorities (*a primis Authoribus*) on the methods used in ancient Italy and Spain (vv. 1524-28). Then he adds that he is well-versed in the new techniques employed in the mines of Peru and Chile (vv. 1529-32). A similar strategy can be detected in the *praeteritio* of *Georgics* 4: the poet *could* have included gardening were he not constrained by time. The poet of *Brasilienses Aurifodinae* then repeats his commitment to Brazil:

... *Sed enim praescribere neutras*
Est mihi; Brasilici nam extractio sola metalli
*Praepositum mihi **onus** fuit, et vulgaris in usu*
*Praxis: **Brasilicos satis est excurrere tractus.***
 B. A. 1532-35, 40r

“But it is not my task to describe either one: for only the extraction from the Brazilian mine was the burden appointed to me, and the common practice in use there: it is enough to run through the realms of Brazil.”

The word *onus* (1534) first appeared in the proem as a metaphor of the poet’s task; its repetition affirms the poet’s commitment to his theme. At the same time, the final verse about roaming through Brazil picks up on images already noted in *De Rusticis Brasiliae Rebus* and *De Sacchari Opificio*, where poets typify their didactic activity as taking place *in situ*, in the fields of Brazil. One possible intertext is *Georgics* 3.291-93, though equally important is *Georgics* 2.176: *Ascraeumque cano Romana per oppida carmen*, “I sing an Ascraean song through Roman towns.” Basílio uses this passage to mark himself as a Brazilian didactic poet as well as to establish the extent of his knowledge about mining round the globe.

It remains to consider the finale of *Brasilienses Aurifodinae*, when gold spreads throughout the world:

*Fertur ita in totum, et totum dominatur in orbem
Regibus acceptum, populisque, evincit amorem,
Illaqueatque animos, cunctis et amabile, nulli
Ingratum, cumulat dites, et ditat egenos.
Principibus praestat sceptrum, et diademata, eodem
Nunc operi, atque sibi praestabit jure coronam.
B. A. 1818-23, 46r*

“Thus is it carried throughout the world and exercises its domain over the world. Pleasing to kings and to commoners, it conquers love and ensnares hearts. Attractive to all and to no one unwelcome, it abundantly rewards the wealthy and enriches the poor. It gives scepters and dominion to princes; now it will justly provide the crown to this work also and to itself.”

Evincit amorem in verse 1819 reverses *amor omnia vincit* (*Ecl.* 10.69), a window reference that illuminates the power of gold in the early modern world.⁶⁰³ The *sphragis* of the *Georgics* does explore the relationship, or rather the contrast, between Caesar’s global empire and the poet’s leisure to compose poetry. In this way, Virgil may also be said to have explored the implications of Caesar’s conquests for his poetic project and for the longevity of his work. Similar interests can be found at the start of *Georgics* 1, particularly when Virgil describes the various imports brought into Rome from the empire. By contrast, the gold moves from Brazil to the rest of the world, providing a further instance of decentering Rome in Brazilian didactic. Yet perhaps more important for this passage is the beginning of *Georgics* 3, where the poet promises to gain glory through his compositions. Here too, Caesar’s victories in the Mediterranean are important for poetic

⁶⁰³ An observation brought to my attention by Jay Reed.

triumph, as minutely described in the *ecphrasis* of the temple doors (*Georgics* 3.26-39). A very different kind of empire is presented in *Brasilienses Aurifodinae*, as the poem imagines the circulation of Brazilian gold as a conquest of the globe. As with the *praeteritio*, the end of the poem uses Virgil to argue for Brazil's importance within the Portuguese empire.

B.) Ancient and Modern Science in the Torrid Zone

The aition for gold brings together ancient and modern science in its discussion of the torrid zone. Beginning with Parmenides, ancient geographers divided the globe into five regions or zones: two frigid polar zones, the torrid equator and two temperate bands between the poles and the equator.⁶⁰⁴ According to this theory, Brazil fell in the middle of the equatorial zone, which was once believed to be uninhabitable. Basílio's discussion of the torrid zones illustrates the influence of Virgilian scholarship upon the poet's composition. Following the advice of early modern poetic dictionaries like the *Gradus ad Parnassum*, the poet carefully imitates the description of the torrid zone in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Yet the impulse to describe the torrid zone in relation to gold deposits can be found in La Cerda's influential commentary on the complete works of Virgil as well as in contemporaneous theories of minerology. Like Virgil, however, Basílio uses the torrid zone to guide the reader toward making reasonable deductions from observable phenomena.

⁶⁰⁴ One of the most influential discussions of ancient geography in Latin appears in Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis*, VI.20-21. See Zetzel 1995 *ad loc.* Safier 2014 looks at the legacy of the torrid zone in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

According to the aition in *Brasilienses Aurifodinae*, gold was a byproduct of the rain of gold which Jupiter used to seduce Danae. Since gold is not an abundant resource, the poet must explain why it rained on certain parts of the earth, which prompts a discussion of the zones of the earth, based on Ovid's *Metamorphoses*:

*Nam quot Coelestis zonis praecingitur orbis,
Terrestris **totidem premitur**; sub quinque ligatus
Orbis uterque jacet digesto ex ordine zonis.
Frigida bina duos terrae complectitur axes,
Binam aliam **immixtam cum frigore temperat** ardor,
Torrida, **quae media est**, magno appellatur ab aestu.
Ardet abhinc Numen, zonaque ardentius ipsa
Solvitur, atque auru pluit igne, et amore liquatum.
Brasilienses Aurifodinae 48-55, 9r*

“For by as many heavenly zones as the globe is encircled, by so many terrestrial zones is the earth stamped; bound under five zones each hemisphere is situated in the established order. Two chilly zones encircle the two poles of the earth, while heat tempers another two zones, mingled with cold. The torrid zone, which is in the middle, is named for its great heat. In this region Jupiter is afire with love, more hotly than the zone itself; he dissolves and rains down gold, melted by fire and by love.”

The passage opens with a discussion of equivalence between the heavenly and terrestrial zones, a point made by Ovid: *totidemque plagae tellure premuntur* (*Met.*1.48). The description of the inhabitable middle zones in verse 52 are also modelled on Ovid: *temperiemque dedit mixta cum frigore flamma*, *Met.*1.51. The torrid zone is in the middle (*quae media est*), just as Ovid described it (*quae media est*, *Met.*1.49). The poet writes that the torrid zone derives its name from its temperature (*ab aestu*), while in *Met.*1.49, Ovid claims that it was uninhabitable because of the heat, *non est habitabilis aestu*. The Brazilian poet, who live in the torrid zone, thus corrects his ancient source. Finally, when the poet describes

Jupiter burning more hotly than the torrid zone (*zonaque ardentius ipsa*, 54), he alludes to Ovid's language (*quinta est ardentior illis*, *Met.*1.46).

This close imitation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* follows the advice given in early modern poetic dictionaries like the ubiquitous *Gradus ad Parnassum*.⁶⁰⁵ These books contain alphabetical lists of people, places, and concepts which are defined and then illustrated with quotations from the most influential poets. They were particularly useful for student compositions, since they conveniently excerpted classical authors for the reader in the manner of earlier humanist encyclopedists like Reisch and Erasmus. The popularity of these books can be deduced from their omnipresence in the catalogues of Jesuit libraries throughout the Americas.⁶⁰⁶ An inventory taken of the library at the Jesuit college of Rio de Janeiro, where Basílio studied, shows that the collection owned at least one copy of the *Gradus ad Parnassum* and two copies of Lang's *Florilegii magni*.⁶⁰⁷ As a student of the Jesuits, Basílio would have been introduced to Latin composition using these types of texts. Such dictionaries have an entry for *zona*, which is briefly defined before quotations of *Georgics* 1.233-39 and *Metamorphoses* 1.43-51. One of them, the

⁶⁰⁵ See Waquet 2001: 35-6.

⁶⁰⁶ An example from New Spain can be found in Aguilar Guzmán 2006. Two inventories of the Jesuit libraries in Brazil have been discovered, one for the College at Rio de Janeiro and one for the Casa da Vigia, Pará. See Leite 1942 and the 1973 "Auto de Inventário e Avaliação."

⁶⁰⁷ In the fifteen years that passed between the expulsion of the Jesuits from Brazil and the inventory of the library in Rio, it is estimated that almost a thousand books had disappeared from the collection. The entries published in the *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro* show the scribe's singular orthography: Aler's *Gradus ad Parnassum* = "Grados de Parnazo, hum tomo" (252), while Lang's *Florilegii magni* = "Poliantea de Langio, hum tomo" and "Dito Langio, dous tomos" (225).

Florilegii magni, even adds that the *Georgics* is the best model of celestial zones (*e his zonis caelestibus*), but to read Ovid for celestial and terrestrial zones (*de quinque zonis caelestibus & terrestribus*). *Brasilienses Aurifodinae* therefore follows the advice given in the poetic dictionaries, turning to Ovid and Virgil as models, but focusing on the *Metamorphoses* to describe celestial and terrestrial zones.

This passage on geography and cosmology is further illuminated by La Cerda's commentary, which highlights Virgil's discussion of the five zones as fit for *imitatio*. The Jesuit Juan Luis de la Cerda's commentaries on Virgil's *oeuvre* were the benchmark of Virgilian scholarship in the early modern period.⁶⁰⁸ Members of the Society used his methods to explicate passages from Virgil to their students from an early age.⁶⁰⁹ La Cerda's discussion of *Georgics* 1.233 ff. illuminates the attraction of this passage, as well as the thinking that may have guided the action. The Jesuit argues that the description of zones is excellent practice for young poets:

*Nota haec metas excedet, non nego, sed longitudo compensanda utilitate, quae procul dubio sequitur collationem multorum locorum. Fit enim, ut **exornatio** illustretur, & **elocutio** perficiatur ex diligenti rerum & verborum comparatione. Hic Lector inveniet, cui haereat, quem prae alio contemnat, unius Auctoris victoriam, alterius victam operam, **gloriam aemulationis** in scribendo: atque ex omnibus perficietur.*

La Cerda, *Bucólicas y Geórgicas* (Madrid 1608) 220, Nota 1

"This note will exceed its boundaries, I do not deny it, but its length must be offset by its usefulness, which unquestionably follows from the collation of many passages. For it just so happens that embellishment is elucidated and diction perfected through the diligent comparison of topics and words. Here the Reader will find whom he should follow, whom to disregard

⁶⁰⁸ Laird 2002 offers an introduction to La Cerda's commentary.

⁶⁰⁹ A copy of La Cerda's commentary appears in the 1775 inventory of the College of Rio de Janeiro: "Virgilios de Lacerda, hum jogo, tres tomos" (240).

before another; he shall find the triumph of one author, the work of another excelled, and the glory of *aemulatio* in writing. And from all these things the Reader will be perfected.”

La Cerda’s note reveals his assumption that the study of poetry, and particularly of Virgil, was a form of rhetorical training. This is why the commentator discusses embellishment (*exornatio*), diction (*elocutio*) and emulation (*aemulatio*). He also states that reading Virgil and studying the commentary will inspire or aid composition (*gloriam aemulationis in scribendo*). The description of the torrid zone in *Brasilienses Aurifodinae* reflects the importance of this passage in the La Cerda commentary, as well as the influence of Jesuit education upon Basílio da Gama.

There is another way in which La Cerda may have shaped the discussion of the torrid zone in *Brasilienses Aurifodinae*. Drawing upon Eustathius’ Homeric commentary, La Cerda writes that the Homer included the zones in the shield of Achilles:⁶¹⁰

*Nam duas finxit e plumbo albo, duas aeneas, mediam auream... Color albus plumbi refert duas extremas inhabitabiles propter nives; **media aurea mediam igneam inhabitabilem**; duae reliquae aeneae duas habitabiles, quia hic color medius inter candidum & rutilum, & ab utroque temperatus.*

La Cerda, *Bucólicas y Geórgicas* (Madrid 1608) 220, Nota 1

“For [Homer] represented two bands of white lead, two of bronze, and a middle one of gold... The white color of the lead refers to the two outermost zones, which are uninhabitable on account of the snow; the middle one of gold represents the burning, uninhabitable middle zone; the two remaining bronze bands stand in for the two habitable zones, because this color is the median between white and red and is the combination of the other two.”

⁶¹⁰ He used Adriaen de Jonghe’s *Copiae cornu sive Oceanus enarrationum Homericarum* (Basil 1558). Miert 2011 studies Adriaen de Jonghe, while Lovato 2019 and Katsaros et al. 2017 examine Eustathius.

This passage of Homeric exegesis reflects the ancient impulse to read poetry allegorically for universal practical knowledge.⁶¹¹ The shield of Achilles is interpreted as an allegorical representation of the zones of the earth, whereby the metals used to make the shield correspond to different qualities of these regions. Significantly, the golden band of the shield represents the fiery torrid zone.

La Cerda's commentary draws together Virgil's zones in the *Georgics* with the Homeric shield of Achilles, intimating that the former is a *locus classicus* of poetic *imitatio*. Perhaps for this reason the image of the golden torrid zone appears in *Brasilienses Aurifodinae*:

*Ergo Brasilica, ut docet experientia, zona
Quae media praecincta jacet, fit abundior auro
Terra, quod aurata Jovis est a grandine dives.
Brasilienses Aurifodinae 76-78, 9v*

"Therefore, as experience shows, the Brazilian land, which lies encircled by the middle zone, is a region more abundant in gold, because it is wealthy from Jupiter's golden shower."

Since the torrid zone is warm, the poet imagines that the heat melted gold from the clouds, causing the large deposits to fall on the torrid zone, and specifically on Brazil. This creates a link between the golden torrid zone in Eustathius, the La Cerda commentary, and the aition presented in *Brasilienses Aurifodinae*. In this respect, the discussion of Brazilian reflects early modern commentary traditions, by conjuring a mythological connection between the torrid zone and gold deposits.

⁶¹¹ See "Poetry and Philosophy" in Curtius 1963.

Yet close examination of the beginning of Basílio's discussion shows that the poet was not blindly following the ancient view of the torrid zone.⁶¹² In verse 50, the poet points out that each hemisphere, or each world, (*orbis uterque*), is divided into the same five zones, thus incorporating the Americas into his discussion. Beginning in verse 56, moreover, Basílio adds that one can also divide the world into five parts: Asia, Africa, Europe and the two Americas. In what follows, he shows that gold has been found in each of these continents, along the torrid zone. The aition offered at the beginning of the poem, while mythological, thus attempts to draw together observed phenomena, ancient science, and knowledge gathered in the course of early modern global expansion. Elements of "new science" are also incorporated:⁶¹³

... *Clarius ortu*
Esse nequit; nam utriusque eadem auri, ac lucis origo est.
Lux a sole oritur, flavumque a Sole metallum
Gignitur: a Chymicis etiam Sol dicitur, aut quod
Prae reliquis niteat, referatve ex ore Parentem.
Brasilienses Aurifodinae 84-88, 9v

"Gold could not have a more distinguished origin; for the origin of both gold and of light is the same. Light comes from the sun, and the golden metal is also born of the sun: gold is even called "the sun" by scientists, either because it shines brighter than the other metals or because it announces its Parent in its appearance."

In a footnote to these verses, the author cites the Cartesian philosopher Antoine Le Grand (1629-1699) for the opinion the sun is the efficient cause of metals.⁶¹⁴ By this means, the poet weaves together ancient views about cosmology and geography, partially disproven

⁶¹² Grafton 1992 studies the conflict between ancient sources and New World experience.

⁶¹³ Grafton 1996.

⁶¹⁴ See Ryan 1935 and Mautner 2000.

in his day, with metallurgy. Since the torrid zone is the hottest, it is also the zone most closely associated with the sun. Thus, since the sun is the 'parent' of gold, it would follow that the most gold can be found in regions with the most exposure to the sun, i.e. in the torrid zone.

As a result of these efforts, one may predict the discovery of gold deposits by a consideration of the heavens and geographical location. This is made clear in the following verses:

*Unde auri Matrem **si vis agnoscere** amantem,
Respice coelestes, quae cingunt aethera, **zonas**,
In Tellurem exinde oculos **converte**, videbis
Praecinctam zonis, queis coelicus orbis, iisdem.
Frigore concretas primum contemne Polares;
Flava calente sinu generator massa, calorem
Diligit intensum....*

Brasilienses Aurifodinae 95-101, 10r

"So then, if you want to identify the loving Mother of gold, look at the celestial zones, which bind the sky, and then turn your eyes to the earth, which you will see is bound with the same zones as the celestial sphere. First disregard the polar zones, frozen with ice; the golden mass is generated in warm folds of the earth, it loves intense heat."

It was shown above that the poet began this passage with an imitation of the zones in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Yet this passage reveals a Virgilian impulse. Ovid described the zones in the course of his account of creation, while Virgil did so as part of his discussion of the seasons:

*hinc tempestates dubio **praediscere** caelo
possumus, hinc messisque diem tempusque serendi...
nec frustra signorum obitus speculamur et ortus
temporibusque parem diuersis quattuor annum.*

Georgics 1.252-3 and 257-8

“Hence, though the sky changes, we can foretell storms, the day for harvest, and the time for sowing. Not in vain do we observe the rising and setting of the signs and the year, balanced in its four different seasons.”

These verses assume that there is a discernible order to the seasons and the heavens, which men observe to guide their activities. Virgil used the zones to teach the reader how to predict the weather and the implications of these observations for labor. In similar fashion, Basílio introduces his reader to the zones in order to show that there is a correspondence between the heavenly zones, the terrestrial zones, and the location of gold. Attention to location is therefore essential information for the gold prospector, who should direct his attention to the torrid zone as the most likely place to find gold.

At the same time this poem participates in a cultural impulse traced by Wey Gómez in *Tropics of Empire*.⁶¹⁵ Drawing on the work of Greek and Latin Indographers like Herodotus, Ctesias and Pliny, Europeans had already associated areas of intense heat with precious metals and gemstones. In a diary entry written off the coast of Cuba, Columbus had reasoned that the extreme heat he had encountered was a sign that he was venturing into one of the richest gold-bearing regions of the globe. Later, in his *carta-relación* of the fourth voyage (1503), he would write that “gold is generated in sterile lands and wherever the sun is strong.” Columbus was disappointed: he never found the gold that should have been in the torrid zone. But the eighteenth-century Brazilian gold rush seemed to confirm these older notions. Basílio da Gama’s interest was to show correlation between heat and

⁶¹⁵ Wey Gómez 2008.

gold while avoiding theories of environmental determinism that rendered all inhabitants of the torrid zone inferior to Europeans.

This passage on the torrid zone is an instance of Virgilian imitation, guided and inspired by poetic dictionaries and La Cerda's commentary. The poetic dictionaries guided the reader to Virgil and Ovid as model texts, which Basílio da Gama unquestionably followed. La Cerda's commentary, on the other hand, shows why the Brazilian poet would have been drawn to imitate this part of the *Georgics*, which was marked as an excellent text for students to read and imitate. Furthermore, La Cerda included exegesis which may have inspired Basílio da Gama's attempt to create an aition for gold. Yet as the last part of this discussion shows, Virgil's example guides the end of this passage, where the poet shows how geographical and cosmological knowledge can be put to good use by the reader. His revision of the Aristotelian view of the world participates in a larger debate about the inhabitability of the Americas.⁶¹⁶ European contentions that the Indies were barren and uninhabitable would prompt American intellectuals to offer counterarguments throughout the colonial period.⁶¹⁷ And while it is true that Spanish Americans played a prominent role in this debate, *Brasilienses Aurifodinae* shows how one Portuguese American responded to the negative assessments of the Americas and of Americans in Europe.

Conclusion

⁶¹⁶ As represented by the quarrel between Scaliger and Cardano (Maclean 1984).

⁶¹⁷ Gerbi 1973 studies the dispute of the Americas, while the Spanish American response can be found in Cañizares-Esguerra 1999. Laird 2018b offers an overview of the debate and an uptick in learned publications by Latin Americans in the eighteenth century.

Basílio da Gama's *Brasilienses Aurifodinae* is the most technical of the Brazilian didactic poems, with long descriptions of new methods of extracting, purifying, and assessing gold. Close study shows that the poem is conversant with Latin and vernacular imitations of Virgil. In addition, the passage on the torrid zone illustrated the influence of Virgilian scholarship upon his approach to composition. *Brasilienses Aurifodinae* was written under the influence of exiled Jesuits in Rome yet, even after Basílio parted ways with his former teachers, Virgil remained an important figure in his poetry. His Portuguese epic, *O Uruguai* (Lisbon 1769), for example, bore *Aeneid* 8.241-2 on the reverse of the title page.⁶¹⁸ This Brazilian poet is part of the last generation of students to whom Virgil was presented as the epitome of lexical, rhetorical and poetic excellence. Basílio da Gama's poetic career, which began with Latin didactic and transitioned to Portuguese epic, is an illustration of the shift to vernacular composition throughout Latin America by the end of the eighteenth century.

⁶¹⁸ Studied in Vazquez 2019.

CONCLUSION

Virgil's legacy in Latin America begins with the introduction of his works in the Americas in the wake of the first European encounters. This study of Latin pastoral, didactic and epic has highlighted ways in which the Roman poet provided a lexical, stylistic and theoretical frame for a selection of his imitators in Spanish America and Brazil. This influence has been shown to arise from his place in school curricula, particularly in the colleges overseen by the Society of Jesus. Yet despite a relatively uniform approach to teaching Virgil, this dissertation has shown that there were significant divergences in the way his poetry was read and imitated.

The markedly imperialist readings of the *Aeneid* in the early epics of Brazil and Spanish America were fused with a teleological approach to human history, culminating in one case with the subjugation of Brazil under a Catholic, Portuguese empire and in the other with the triumph of the Spanish Hapsburgs over the Ottoman Turks. In pastoral from seventeenth-century New Spain Virgil serves the interests of a new colonial elite that sought to celebrate its achievements through allusions to the Golden Age and through the creation of a Mexican Arcadia. Similar sentiments are expressed in Villerías' *Guadalupe*, where the *Aeneid* is used to present an argument for exceptionalism with regard to New Spain. Alegre's *Alexandrias*, on the other hand, has been shown to be a scholarly composition invested in religious questions; at the same time, the author was clearly

motivated to publish his poem by his exile in Italy, where Americans encountered European theories of environmental determinism and a deprecatory attitude toward Iberian literature. The expulsion of the Jesuits from Latin America and their subsequent Italian exile also shaped the three didactic poems from Brazil, in which descriptions of the management of plantations, ranches, and mines are made in a Virgilian voice.

The range of responses to Virgil that emerge from this study provide a fresh set of questions for those interested in his reception. The opposition between pessimistic or optimistic readings of the *Aeneid* has dominated work on Virgil for some time.⁶¹⁹ Thomas' book on the Augustan reception of Virgil has argued that the imperial reading of the *Aeneid* was constructed; in other words, it was not the only reading available in antiquity, but one that gained authority over time. He observed that, as school texts, Virgil's works established their own diachronic classicism and that the reception of Virgil outside of Classics has been Augustanized because vernacular poets were educated in a system that never questioned the truth of the 'Augustan Virgil'.⁶²⁰ This dissertation is consistent with Thomas' conclusions: the reading of Virgil presented in the Jesuit curriculum was undoubtedly Augustan. Kallendorf has argued for an anti-Augustan reading of Virgil in early modern vernacular epics, including in his analysis Ercilla's seminal *La Araucana*.⁶²¹

⁶¹⁹ See the Clausen Appendix to Horsfall 1995.

⁶²⁰ Thomas 2001: xix and 15.

⁶²¹ Kallendorf 2007.

His work is an illustration of Thomas' thesis that the Augustan reading has not always been self-evident.

Yet this study of Latin poetry written in the style of Virgil from colonial Latin America has uncovered no such pessimistic readings of the Roman poet's work.⁶²² Why? On the one hand, one could point to the fact that many of these poets learned Latin in Jesuit schools, where they would have encountered what today might be deemed an Augustan reading of Virgil. The Latin compositions of school masters which appear in this study are very different from those in the vernacular by solidier-poets who, as Martínez has deftly shown, shaped Renaissance literary culture and voiced their discontent with the imperial project.⁶²³ That vernacular engagement with Virgil did, in fact, reflect attempts to read against the grain. The majority of the poets in this study, on the other hand, had a religious vocation or were closely tied to the ecclesiastical hierarchy in the Americas, for whom the approach to empire was shaped by its alignment with the advance of the Catholic Church. The two epics in this study that clearly presuppose an imperialist reading of Virgil, *De Gestis Mendi de Saa* and *Austriaca*, are intimately concerned with the question of religion, specifically to perceived threats to the Catholic Church, whether represented by Amerindian pagans, French Protestants, or Ottomans. For Anchieta, a Jesuit missionary, and for Pedrosa, an impoverished teacher in a cathedral school, Virgil could not be anything but a poet of empire.

⁶²² Contrast this with Arauco poetry in the vernacular: Huidobro 2017, Kallendorf 2007, Quint 1993.

⁶²³ Martínez 2016.

The absence of pessimistic readings in the Latin poetry of colonial Latin America leads to a more fundamental point: the questions that motivate scholars today are not timeless. Rather, this dissertation has sought to illuminate the intellectual history of these compositions and the context in which these poets wrote their verses. While the exceptionalism of colonial New Spain and environmental determinism of the Enlightenment are no longer burning questions, these were pressing in the period covered in this dissertation. Furthermore, it has been shown that Latin poetry from the Americas was not always written for a European audience. Though very different in conception, the eclogues surveyed in Chapter 3 and the poem about sugar treated in Chapter 6 respond to local circumstances, respectively in Mexico City and in Bahia, as they convey information about specific social and economic practices in their localities.

The findings of this dissertation also bear upon theories of Classical reception. In *Redeeming the Text* Martindale explained reception as a chain in which every link represents a past interpretation or reception that reaches us today; his strong thesis is that current interpretations of ancient texts are constructed by the chain of reception.⁶²⁴ On the face of it, this seems plausible, but only if we accept that reception is the study of the canon as it has been received and interpreted in late twentieth-century Europe: this is what Goldhill has criticized as model of inheritance that passes through individual figures, “(Martindale reading) Milton reading Virgil reading Homer.”⁶²⁵ For those interested in

⁶²⁴ Martindale 1993: 7.

⁶²⁵ Goldhill 2010, discussed also in Hardie 2013.

the Renaissance, two scholars in particular have signaled the need to move away from the metaphor of the chain. Wilson-Okamura drew attention to the strangeness or unfamiliarity of the Renaissance Virgil, an opinion which Kallendorf came to share in his own study of the material reception of Virgil's work.⁶²⁶ Drawn to Wilson-Okamura's ideas, Kallendorf argued that the more interesting 'links' are the ones that do not reach us, which reveal the otherness of the past.

This dissertation is the first survey of Latin poetry written in the style of Virgil from colonial Latin America. These are 'links' that have emphatically not reached us. This project does *not* argue that reading Villerías is essential for understanding Virgil or that Basílio da Gama has shaped the way we read the *Georgics* today. Instead, the idea has been to show that Virgil was transformed by his early modern imitators into a poet, and sometimes even *the* poet, of the Americas. As a result, the findings of this study are in sympathy with recent attempts to move away from the passivity of "reception," as well as the unidirectional chain metaphor, to the idea of transformation:⁶²⁷

Transformation posits that an object of phenomenon from the *reference sphere* is not static or simply established but rather is altered, generated anew, even 'invented' by the specific medial conditions attending any given process of transformation. Furthermore, in the act of transformative incorporation, the *reception sphere* itself is altered. Thus this act of incorporation cannot be understood as a simple borrowing, adoption, inscription, or documentation but rather as a constructive act that follows the rules and impulses of a specific time and culture.

⁶²⁶ Wilson-Okamura 2010 and Kallendorf 2015. See esp. Kallendorf 2015: 171-2.

⁶²⁷ L. Bergemann, M. Dönike, A. Schirrmeyer, G. Toepfer, M. Walter, and J. Weitbrecht 2011: 40, translated by P. Baker and cited in Kallendorf 2019: 135.

Kallendorf points out that transformation draws attention to the exchange between cultures through which culture is itself constituted.⁶²⁸ Virgil is not merely received in colonial Latin American texts; he is remade and in that process Virgil may be said to have shaped colonial Latin American society. It is through Virgil that the American landscape is articulated and through Virgil that Amerindians become avatars of Mediterranean monsters.

This, in turn, leads to a more fundamental point. Classical reception, as it is currently envisioned, puts Classics at the center. The goal in many studies of reception is to use the receiving text to illuminate the received text, privileging the ancient author and reinforcing the primacy of the Classical canon.⁶²⁹ The original aim of this dissertation, to trace Virgil in colonial Latin American poetry, became increasingly problematic over the course of my research. Highlighting Virgil at the expense of the context amounts to little better than another colonization of the literature at the heart of this study.

Rather than fragment these poems into a series of allusions to Virgil or a study a Virgilian themes, 'local' and 'systematic' readings of each Latin American poem have been given priority.⁶³⁰ The term 'local' here refers to Virgil's role in the language and structure of each poem, his contribution to the microcosmic detail and the macro-structure of each composition.⁶³¹ The 'systematic' readings then used specific passages to illuminate the

⁶²⁸ Kallendorf 2019: 147.

⁶²⁹ Laird 2019 as well as Güthenke and Holmes 2018, esp. pp. 58-61.

⁶³⁰ These terms are borrowed from Hinds 1998.

⁶³¹ An approach taken in Barchiesi 2015.

social and educational context that shaped the reading of Virgil. This is where the language of transformation is useful, since it emphasizes a dynamic and inclusive dialogue between the reference sphere and the reception sphere. At issue here is the relative cultural authority of Virgil and his Latin American imitators, the fact that Virgil's literary history has been constructed by other poets and readers across centuries. Part of the goal of this dissertation has been to shift that balance, to offer a careful and historically attuned reading of the Latin texts as a foundation for future study.

Consequently, the dissertation points to new areas of research. Virgil's influence extended to other genres of Latin poetry composed in the America and, since Virgil was a rhetorical model as well, there is good reason to suspect his appearance in prose texts from Spanish America and Brazil.⁶³² Equally important work remains to be done on the role of Ovid and Horace, for example, in colonial Latin American literature.⁶³³ Especially interesting is the influence of the 'Spanish' Latin poets – Statius, Martial, Lucan, Seneca and Silius Italicus – in the hands of Spanish and Spanish American authors.⁶³⁴ It goes

⁶³² Landívar's short *Funebris Declamatio* (Puebla de los Angeles 1766) contains two imitations of Virgil (Laird 2006: 259-60). A Jesuit's advice to slave owners in Bahia, *Economia Cristã dos Senhores* (Rome 1705), is peppered with citations of Virgil, along with this observation: *não há Proteu, que variasse tantas vezes a figura, como a varia e muda o escravo* (Benci 1954: 274). Finally, Osorio Romero 1976 offers Latin orations which contain imitations as well as quotations from Virgil.

⁶³³ There is some indication of the role of Horace in Mexico (Osorio Romero 1980: 59 and *passim*; Méndez Plancarte 1937) as well as Ovid in Mexican poetry (Quiñones Melgoza 1983 and Alemán Buendía 2005) and early colonial indigenous art (Gruzinski 1994).

⁶³⁴ The Mexican Jesuit José Antonio Abad pointed out that Quintilian and Columella were Spanish (*Quintilianus et Columella Hispani sunt*) in his *Dissertatio Ludicro-Seria*, in which he proved to Italian savants that Spanish Americans were no more deficient in Latin than people from anywhere else. Kerson 1991 gives an edition, translation and introductory essay.

without saying that each of the poets and poems considered in this dissertation could become the subjects of separate monographs. There is still no comprehensive study of Virgil in Spain in any period, while there is a need for study of Virgil's role after the wars of independence in Latin America.⁶³⁵

Further research would expand our knowledge of the role of Classical literature in the New World, particularly in the case of the Southern Cone.⁶³⁶ Research undertaken for this project in Mexico, Brazil, and Chile has demonstrated the richness of Latin American archives, which may yet yield more examples for future study. There is good reason to suspect that libraries and private collections around the world contain further examples of colonial Latin texts, which will contribute to the sources already identified in Latin America itself. Extensive archival research in Brazil would be particularly rewarding, as colonial bibliographies intimate that Latin was produced energetically in the Jesuit colleges of Bahia and Rio de Janeiro. Finally, to make these texts accessible to a wider readership, there is an urgent need for critical editions, English translations, and commentaries. Certainly, there are no English translations or commentaries for any of the works studied in this dissertation, while not a few are still in need of editing.

⁶³⁵ Such a study would include, for example, Bello's *Silva a la agricultura de la zona tórrida* (Jaksic 2006) and Miguel Antonio Caro's translation of Virgil (Rivas Sacconi 1949). Virgil in twentieth-century Mexico is the topic of Carlos Mariscal de Gante's forthcoming doctoral dissertation at the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México. A survey of classical traditions in Latin American history is given in Laird 2018b.

⁶³⁶ Notable exceptions are Hampe Martínez 1999, Eichmann Oehrli 2003, Suárez 2005, Rodríguez Garrido 2005, MacCormack 2009, Fraschini, Suárez and Sánchez 2009, and Huidobro 2017.

The points raised in this conclusion also show the need to examine the relationship between Latin and vernacular literature in the Americas. Claims about Spanish or Portuguese literature that do not include the considerable body of literature written in Latin may miss what is truly distinctive about the vernacular tradition, such as vernacular epic's embrace of imperial critique. A further realization has that has arisen from this study is that there was a profound symbiosis between these languages and Latin. Some of the authors considered in this project, like Anchieta and Basílio da Gama, are known for their vernacular compositions; close work with their early Latin texts can shed light upon continuities and ruptures in their thinking and writing. The conciliatory approach displayed in Anchieta's Tupi theater, for example, stands in stark contrast to the imperialism implicit in his Latin epic voice, while Basílio da Gama's interest in Brazil's role in the Portuguese empire can be shown to have shaped both his Latin didactic as well as his vernacular epic.⁶³⁷

This dissertation has shown how colonial Latin America authors transformed Virgil and how each of their transformations was conditioned by specific historical, political and social factors. These Virgils are important for those interested in the legacy of classical texts as well as in the development of Latin American literature. It is also a timely reminder that the classical past belongs to many cultures. Indeed, the presence of Latin in Latin America challenges hegemonic thinking that claims classical learning for

⁶³⁷ Anchieta's shift in tone was first discussed in McGinness 2014. *Pace* Vazquez 2019, Basílio da Gama is not anti-Portuguese but anti-Jesuit. His intimate connections with the Portuguese monarchy are discussed in Rodrigues and Pontara 1977.

the West; if anything, this study gestures toward the porousness of 'the West', which does and does not extend to the global south, and highlights a variety of avenues for those interested in the transformations of classical literature.

APPENDIX

1. *De Gestis Mendi de Saa* (Coimbra 1563)

Anchieta's Latin epic was printed in Coimbra, Portugal in 1563. The best critical edition available of *De Gestis Mendi de Saa* was prepared by the Jesuit Armando Cardoso.⁶³⁸ Cardoso includes an introduction to his edition and Portuguese translation of the poem, accompanied with detailed source criticism. His edition is based on a comparison of the 1563 edition and the Algorta manuscript, a 17th century copy of the poem.⁶³⁹ It is believed that the Algorta manuscript was transcribed from the copy that Anchieta offered to Mem de Sá, which was sent from Brazil to the latter's family in Portugal. The manuscript divides the poem into three books and contains the *epistula dedicatoria* to Mem de Sá. The only existing copy of the Coimbra edition, which once belonged to a member of the Sá family, is housed in the Biblioteca Pública de Évora. Instead of the *epistula*, the Coimbra edition contains two poems to Mem de Sá and his son, Francisco de Sá. Several lacunae have been found in the Coimbra edition, the largest of which is elimination of Fernão's campaign against the Tupí (vv. 179-819).⁶⁴⁰ The Algorta manuscript represents an older version of the poem which Anchieta edited before its publication in 1563.

⁶³⁸ Cardoso 1970.

⁶³⁹ Cardoso 1970: 62-79.

⁶⁴⁰ Cardoso speculates that this episode was removed because the Portuguese court had criticized the governor for recklessly endangering his son's life (68-69). The Coimbra edition therefore was edited with an eye to protecting Mem de Sá's reputation in Portugal.

It was long presumed that Anchieta never published *De Gestis Mendia de Sa*.⁶⁴¹ The Jesuit Simão de Vasconcelos recorded *De Gestis* as an unedited poem in his catalogue of authors from the Brazilian Province (1780). But in 1926, the *Bibliografia de Obras Impressas em Portugal no século XVI* registered the existence of a Latin poem dedicated to Mem de Sá, which was identified as *De Gestis Mendi de Saa* in 1958. Despite initial disagreements about the attribution of this poem to Anchieta, the epic is now included in studies of Anchieta's poetry as well as the literature and history of Iberian Empires.⁶⁴²

2. *Austriaca sive Naumachia* (Ms. 3960 B.N.E.)

Based on accompanying Latin and Spanish letters, this beautiful manuscript was sent to Spain in 1580. It begins with five Spanish sonnets, written by residents of Villa de Santiago, who attest to Pedrosa's expertise as a poet and as a Latinist.⁶⁴³ There follows the Spanish letter to the king, written by Pedrosa. The epic is copied onto 86 folios, written in a clear hand, with the address to Philip II and the capitals of each book decorated in gold leaf. After the poem, there comes a Latin translation of the same letter written to Philip II, followed by a letter from Fray Martín de la Cueva, praising Pedrosa's efforts. The

⁶⁴¹ See Cardoso 1970: 66-67.

⁶⁴² The controversy can be found in Leite 1963 and Viotti 1963. The relation between *De Gestis* and imperialism is treated by Cañizares-Esguerra 2006 and Chakravarti 2018: 176-177. Chakravarti mistakenly conflates the naval expedition of 1560 with the taking of Rio de Janeiro in 1567, which leads her to claim that Book 4 was written after the publication of the epic in 1563 (176, fn. 153). Furthermore, the epic does not describe the death of the governor's nephew, Estácio de Sá, who never appears in *De Gestis*; Chakravarti confused him with Fernão de Sá, who dies in Book 1.

⁶⁴³ Two were written by Alonso Heliz de Caso, while Pedro de Liébana, Fernando de Salazar and Pedro de Salazar Carrillo each wrote one. They are discussed in Rigaux 2018.

manuscript was never published, nor have any further compositions by Pedrosa been found.⁶⁴⁴ This document attests to Pedrosa's ambition, since he presented this epic as his credentials for a court position in Madrid. Rigaux has shown how Pedrosa versified a well-known Spanish account of the events at Lepanto, observing that Pedrosa is the most Virgilian when he is not following the narrative of his prose source.⁶⁴⁵

3. Pastoral poetry from New Spain (Ms. 1631 B.N.M)

This unique manuscript in the National Library of Mexico comes from the Colegio Máximo de San Pedro y San Pablo. A survey of the manuscript and bibliography of available editions of certain texts it contains can be found in Quiñones Melgoza 2007. Since his discussion can be confusing, I offer a summary based on my consultation of the manuscript in June 2019.

The manuscript consists of 200 folios, half of which is a treatise on rhetoric, *De arte rhetorica libri tres*. There follows a copy of *Tragedia de Judith*, written by an Italian Jesuit and performed in the Colegio Romano in 1577. Folios 109-115 contain pastoral poems, followed by a series of short poems and two prose orations on religious themes. Folios 130-148 contain two short pastoral dramas and epigrams written for the visit of two inquisitors. The manuscript preserves epitaphs written for Philip II as well as a *certamen*,

⁶⁴⁴ The fate of manuscripts sent to Spain is discussed in Rojo Vega 1994. Rigaux 2018 proposes that the epic may have displeased Philip II, since Satan gives voice to the concerns raised in the king's private letters, in which he discouraged the naval engagement at Lepanto (143).

⁶⁴⁵ Blanco 2010: 506-7 first noted Pedrosa's uses of a prose source, Fernando de Herrera's *Relación de la Guerra de Cipre* (1572), which is also discussed in Blanco 2014. Rigaux 2018: 131-132 offers further study of the role played by Virgil in the transformation of the prose source. He points out that Herrera was used by two other Lepanto poets, Juan Rufo and Jerónimo Corte-Real.

prize-winning student compositions about St. Ignatius. These poetic endeavors are followed by commentaries on Cicero's *Pro Archia* (ff. 158-178). A series of Spanish poems for St. Philip precede another *certamen* for St. Ignatius, which is followed by a Latin epistle describing Tepotzotlán and three hexameter compositions.

The pastoral poems were first edited by Osorio Romero 1983. Suárez 2015, 2011b and 2011a offers new readings as well as Spanish translations of four of these poems. Laird 2018 has an edition and English translation of the *Chronis* poem.

4. *Guadalupe* (Ms. 1594 B.N.M.)

The *Guadalupe* is preserved in a unique manuscript in the National Library of Mexico. Ms. 1594 is comprised of a number of Greek and Latin compositions by Villerías y Roelas. This manuscript begins with the Latin version of *La Máscara*, dated November of 1723. This is followed by the *Guadalupe*, dated March 1724. Villerías composed small poems as front matter to the epic, including a Pindaric ode in 114 verses. That same year he wrote an epithalamium for the marriage of Luis I to Louise Élisabeth d'Orléans, modelled on Catullus LXI. The next five items are miscellaneous: 50 hexameters to the Augustinian José Monroy; a poem on Perseus and Andromeda in 100 hexameters; a short enigma; a Latin verse letter to Francisco Gálvez, J.C.; a poem on the contraction of Greek vowels.

These secular poems contrast with the subsequent collection of Latin hymns. Two of the hymns were dedicated to American saints: one to Felipe de Jesús (1572-1597) and one to Rose of Lima (1586-1617). The hymns are followed by ninety-seven Latin epigrams. Many of these were written to notables of New Spain, but there are also epigrams on religious and academic topics. There are also some surprising topics: Virgil's mother (36),

classical authors of *res rusticae* (39), and Catullus' Lesbia (92). The manuscript contains nine original Greek epigrams, perhaps the earliest Greek written in New Spain.⁶⁴⁶ The first of these, a poem to the Virgin of Guadalupe, is the longest Greek epigram in the collection. In addition to these original compositions, Villerías translated twenty-two epigrams from the Palatine Anthology into Latin verse.

The next item in the manuscript is a work of Latin prose, entitled *Farrago*. As promised, its three chapters treat an assortment of topics: the origin of the Amerindians, the basilisk, and caesura. The *Farrago* precedes a Latin versification of the *Song of Songs*, dated March 1725, and a copy of the elegy for Luis I published in *Llanto de las Estrellas* (México 1725). The rest of Ms. 1594 is comprised of prose works. There is a Latin letter, followed by a Latin translation of a treatise on Greek dialects.⁶⁴⁷ Finally, there is a sequence of notes: bibliography arranged alphabetically, notes on a 1679 edition of Manilius, Latin vocabulary, and lists of titles and people.

Osorio Romero 1991 was the first edition and Spanish translation of the *Guadalupe*. The rest of the manuscript remains virtually unknown and unstudied.

5. *Alexandrias* (Bologna 1776)

The *Alexandrias* has a somewhat complex textual history. Ms. 1600 in the National Library of Mexico contains an early draft of Alegre's epic which is only three books long. Book 3 on the visit to Jerusalem is missing. Presumably, this manuscript was abandoned in

⁶⁴⁶ For a discussion of Villerías' Hellenism, see Osorio Romero 1990.

⁶⁴⁷ Gregory of Corinth, a Byzantine grammarian (Laird 2010: 224).

Mexico after the suppression of the Jesuits in 1767, when members of the Society of Jesus were forced to leave behind all their papers and books. To date, the version of the *Alexandrias* in Ms. 1600 has never been studied, though parts of that manuscript were published in Garcí Icazbalceta 1889.

In Italy, Alegre wrote the *Alexandrias* again and published it at Forli in 1773 under a pseudonym: *Pontiani Tugnonii civic mexicaní Alexandriasos, sive de expugnatione Tyri ab Alexandro, libri quator*.⁶⁴⁸ It was printed again in 1776 in the second volume of the Bologna edition of Alegre's Latin translation of the *Iliad*. Both Forli 1773 and Bologna 1776 contain an epilogue, a letter addressed to a friend, in which Alegre explains his method of composition and justifies his poetic practice in the epic.⁶⁴⁹ Pimentel Álvarez 1990 has compared Forli 1773 and Bologna 1776, which shows that Alegre did edit his *Alexandrias* for the subsequent edition. To date there has been no edition or translation of Alegre's work.

6. *De Sacchari Opificio Carmen* (Rome 1781)

This didactic poem about Brazilian sugar was written in Bahia at the end of the seventeenth century. The manuscript is preserved in the National Library of Lisbon,

⁶⁴⁸ Kerson 1988 offers a concise history of the editions of the *Alexandrias*, though he, like García Icazbalceta 1889, mistakenly claims there was another edition, Forli 1775. Laird 2003 states that the *Alexandrias* was published in a 1783 edition of the *Iliada*, but no such edition exists (168). Guichard 2006 examines Alegre's *Iliada* and Latin translations of Homer.

⁶⁴⁹ Kaimowitz 1990 gives a translation of the letter, which is discussed at length in Kerson 1988 as a reflection of neo-classical principles. Both Kaimowitz and Kerson remark upon the similarity between this letter and Alegre's unpublished *Arte poética* (García Icazbalceta 1889). The author of the letter is identified as "Xavier" in Forli 1773 and as "Desiderius" in Bologna 1776. It seems likely that Alegre is the author, and that he uses a pseudonym to create distance between his persona as a poet and as a literary critic.

Código 3.786.⁶⁵⁰ The poem was not published until the end of the eighteenth century. According to the historian Serafim Leite, the Jesuit Jerónimo Moniz oversaw the first edition of the poem, *Prudentii Amaralii Brasiliensis, de Sacchari Opificio Carmen* (Pesaro 1780).⁶⁵¹ Moniz (1723-1780), a native of Bahia, had entered the Society of Jesus in 1737 and taught humanities and philosophy at the College of Bahia until the 1759 suppression of the Society in the Portuguese Empire.⁶⁵² As an exile, Moniz went to Italy, where he lived with fellow ex-Jesuits in Rome, Tivoli and Pesaro. He was an accomplished Latinist, who published both prose and poetry in Italy.⁶⁵³ His connection to Amaral seems to have been the College of Bahia, though it is not known how Moniz came across Amaral's poem. Amaral's manuscript differs from the Pesaro edition in two respects.⁶⁵⁴ The Pisaro edition is over a hundred verses longer than Amaral's manuscript and contains alternative readings of the original verses.

The Portuguese Jesuit Rodrigues de Mello then published *De Sacchari Opificio Carmen* along with his own *De Rusticis Brasiliae Rebus* (Rome 1781).⁶⁵⁵ In his prose

⁶⁵⁰ Unfortunately, I have not been able to see the manuscript or see a copy.

⁶⁵¹ The Pesaro edition is extremely rare. To my knowledge, it is preserved in only two Italian libraries, the Biblioteca Nazionale di Roma and the Biblioteca e Musei Oliveriana di Pesaro. The editions of Amaral's poem are fully discussed in Borba de Moraes 1983. The expulsion of the Spanish Jesuits is treated in my discussion of Alegre (Ch. 5).

⁶⁵² Batllori 1952 and 1951 discusses the Portuguese and Brazilian Jesuits in Italy after the expulsion.

⁶⁵³ His works are given in Leite 1949, Vol. 8:379.

⁶⁵⁴ See Fonda 1971. Leite 1949 states that Moniz added a "canto on diamond mines," which does not appear in the Rome edition of Amaral's poem.

⁶⁵⁵ Chapter 7 below.

introduction to the former, Mello acknowledges that it been previously published at Pesaro (*jam ante Pisauri editum*, 173), but omits any reference to Moniz and does not state whether he, too, had edited the poem. To date, no detailed study has been made of the relationship between the manuscript in Lisbon, the Pesaro edition of 1780, and the Rome edition of 1781. The latter remains the most widely available edition of the *De Sacchari Opificio*, which incorporates a series of revisions made over the course of the eighteenth century. Despite these difficulties, *De Sacchari Opificio* offers a glimpse of the role of Virgilian imitation in that community as well as the importance of this poem after the suppression of the Jesuits. Since *De Sacchari Opificio Carmen* was printed along with Mello's didactic poem, more information about subsequent editions and translations will appear in the next entry.

7. *De Rusticis Brasiliae Rebus* (Rome 1781)

Mello's *De Rusticis Brasiliae Rebus* was printed in Rome in 1781, with Amaral's *De Sacchari Opificio Carmen* added at the end. The edition was dedicated to the newborn son of the Portuguese envoy to Turin and Rome, Henrique de Meneses, Marquis of Louriçal (1727-1787). The prologue offers the child a *Carmen Genethliacum*, a birthday poem, of 291 Latin hexameters (p. 1-17), along with a Portuguese paraphrase in *ottava rima* (p. 19-55). Owing to the poem's slowness (*exilitate sua*), the poet includes two more compositions to lend the book stability (*stabilitatem aliquam conciliarem*). He then introduces his *De Rusticis Brasiliae Rebus*, a youthful composition (p. 57-169), which is followed by *De Sacchari Opificio Carmen* (p.175-207). In the prologue to the latter (p. 173), he acknowledges the previous edition of Amaral's poem, but says he has reprinted it to gather Brazilian didactic

poetry together for his patron. The alleged *exilitas* of the birthday poem may be a clever allusion to the poet's exile (*exsilium*), which makes him dependent upon the Marquis' generosity. Eight illustrations appear in the Rome edition which depict the plants and machines referred to in the didactic poems. All three Latin poems are accompanied by copious footnotes, also in Latin, which either elucidate or supplement the passage in question.

We do not possess Mello's manuscript of the poem. The Rome edition was reprinted in Lisbon in 1798 by J. M. da Conceição Veloso and dedicated to the Prince of Brazil. The Academia Brasileira de Letras published a Latin edition with Portuguese translation in 1941, entitled *Georgicas Brasileiras*, edited by Pirajá da Silva. For more information, see the entry in Borba de Moraes 1983: 553-554.

8. *Brasilienses Aurifodinae* (RBM 0707)

Basílio da Gama's didactic poem is preserved in a unique manuscript (RBM 0707). Its rediscovery in the Della Staffa collection in 1938 and purchase by the Brazilian bibliographer Borba de Moraes can be found in Borba de Moraes 1969. The Borba de Moraes collection was bequeathed to the Biblioteca Brasileira Midlin at the University of São Paulo, where I consulted the manuscript.

The manuscript has never been published, though an edition and Portuguese translation can be found in Alexandra Mariano's unpublished doctoral thesis.⁶⁵⁶ The poem

⁶⁵⁶ Mariano 2005, which the author kindly shared with me.

has sometimes been attributed to the Jesuit Francisco da Silveira (1718-1795).⁶⁵⁷ Yet as Borba de Moraes has shown, this attribution relied upon Jesuit sources hostile to Basílio da Gama.⁶⁵⁸ *Brasilienses Aurifodinae*, like *De Sacchari Opificio*, was probably written and edited in the community of ex-Jesuit poets in Italy. It is certainly suggestive that both poems are connected to Rodrigues de Mello, who was eager to gather and publish Brazilian didactic poetry.⁶⁵⁹

The manuscript itself suggests that the poem was a collaborative effort. The title page attributes the poem to Basílio da Gama: *A Josepho Basílio Gama elucubrata*, “written by José Basílio Gama,” (5r). Yet, as noted by Borba de Moraes, there are two illegible signatures at the bottom of the title page, one of a Jesuit father and one of a *socius*. A further inscription, which has almost disappeared, appears to be an ex-libris of a Jesuit college library, which would indicate that the manuscript remained in Italy when Basílio da Gama left for Brazil. There is no evidence that *Brasilienses Aurifodinae* was not written by Basílio da Gama, but rather suggestions that he was helped and influenced by men like Silveira and Mello. The later attribution of the poem to Silveira either reflects Jesuit resentment or

⁶⁵⁷ See his entry in Leite 1949 and Sommervogel 1890-1909.

⁶⁵⁸ See Borba de Moraes 1969. His arguments are summarized in Rodrigues and Pontara 1977.

⁶⁵⁹ Rodrigues and Pontara 1977 argue that *Brasilienses Aurifodinae* was written to be published along with Amaral and Mello’s didactic poems, but that this plan was abandoned after Basílio betrayed the Jesuits. If they are correct, these Latin didactic poems are versifications of Andreoni’s confiscated *Cultura e Opulencia do Brasil*, since they cover the same topics (sugar, cattle, tobacco, and gold). Rodrigues and Pontara state that these poems were composed in retaliation against the Marquis de Pombal. Apart from Amaral’s sugar poem, however, there is no evidence that the other Brazilian didactic poems were based on Andreoni’s text. In fact, *Brasilienses Aurifodinae* contradicts Andreoni in several passages and disagrees with his negative appraisal of the social impact of gold.

the simple fact that the manuscript was found among other compositions written by the Jesuits.

The manuscript begins with an illustration of the myth of Danaë, accompanied by two verses from the poem. After the title page comes a Latin address to the reader (*Curioso Lectori*), which explains the poet's intentions. He writes that he was inspired by general curiosity about goldmining in Brazil and by the fact that it was not addressed in the Jesuit Le Febvre's didactic poem on gold, *Aurum*, printed in Paris some decades before in 1703.⁶⁶⁰

The poem, entitled *Poema Didascalicum*, is 1,823 Latin hexameters. Careful attention was paid to the layout of the text, which includes numerous footnotes and marginal annotations. The *Appendix Compendiaria* (49r-53r) offers a Latin prose description of the poem, accompanied by more annotations. This is followed by *Quaestio Curiosa*, about whether the earth spontaneously creates gold (*Utrum tellus denuo generet aurum?*). There are marginal notes here as well, with citations of Descartes and the scientists Pourchot and Brückmann. There follows a large index, organized alphabetically by topic, and a fold-out illustration of the processes described in verse.

⁶⁶⁰ See Haskell 2003: 118-177. Mariano 2009 and 2010 offer a comparison of didactic poems on mining.

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