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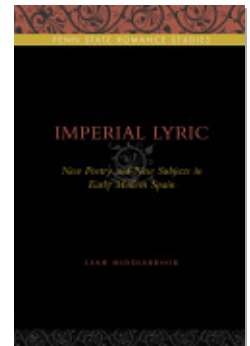
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OTRO TIEMPO LLORÉ Y AHORA CANTO: JUAN BOSCÁN COURTIERIZES SONG

ONE OF THE RECURRING THEMES ENCOUNTERED in the last chapter was the deliberate conflation of notions regarding kinds of poetry and kinds of men. The new lyric became consolidated and rose to privilege within the context of an ideological break with the culture of the so-called Reconquest. This break was undertaken to reconstitute Spain both politically and within the social imagination as a unified and cosmopolitan seat of the Hapsburg Empire, and key elements of Spanish identity were appropriated in the service of that shift. Chief among them was the ideal of the Spanish nobleman, who in previous eras had been central to the constitution of the national myth. But neither the regional associations of figures such as the Cid nor his association with heroic acts of violence and daring that were carried out to the eventual benefit of the realm, but performed first and foremost to the credit of his own honor (the constellation of features collected within the trope of the *diestro brazo*), reflected the ideals of the nascent modern state. The state, after all, coalesces through the suppression of internal boundaries and the substitution of loyalties to the home region and the *patria chica* with identification with “nuestra España,” the country as a whole.

Chapter 1 focused on the ways in which the sonnet form lent itself to the redescription of the noble Spanish masculine ideal. In this chapter, I will be exploring the peculiar set of cultural and subjective meanings that became attached to “song” in the poems and the criticism discussed there. If we think back to Sonnet 45 or Sonnet 30, by Acuña, or when we think about the distaste Boscán expresses for consonance in the “Letter,” we find that the “previous songs,” the “older songs,” the *canción* that precedes the “present” of the poem are figured as wielding a kind of power that must be mastered and contained if modern civilization is to progress. Both *armigero son* (Acuña) and the “caballero consonance” that gallops through the mind in Boscán’s “Letter” attribute a suspect force to poems themselves,

and not simply to the men who compose and enjoy those poems. Part of the reason for this resistance lies in a shift in the function assigned to poetry between nonmodern and modern contexts. This shift is often referred to in terms of “Homer and Horace,” a distinction that connotes the difference between the memorializing role played by epic and ballad—in which poetic discourse is assumed to play an important role in the conservation and the transmission of culture—and a lyric-based poetics that critics from the time of Horace forward have associated with urbane and sophisticated humanism that celebrates the self. In this chapter, I address Boscán’s poetry, focusing on the First and Second Books in order to show how they supported and extended Boscán’s project of accommodating Spain’s noblemen to the social and cultural circumstances of the modern Spanish state. The First and Second Books of Boscán’s text represent a trajectory of song, first, as an initial account of irrational, uncontrollable and maddening consonance is mediated and rationalized through its remodeling into the forms and conventions of Petrarchan discourse, and, second, as this Petrarchan lyric is refashioned into a poetic discourse appropriate to the modern Spanish courtier. At the end of the Second Book, Boscán’s new lyric emerges as a poetry that is neither traditional to Castile nor to Petrarchism, but which represents instead the utterance of the man who understands the stakes of both languages and who selects a middle path. Thus, in Poem 115, near the end of the sequence, Boscán’s lyric speaker will crow that “su cantar del nuestro es diferente” (8) (“their song is different from ours”). He is referring to the fact that in distinction to other courtly lyrics, his poems now assimilate Castilian logic, Italian models and the native *Spanish* (though not Castilian) lyrics of the Valencian troubadour Ausiàs March, and thus that lyric has been reconstituted as the poetry of “nuestra España.” But he is also pleased with the wider implications of this type of song: his songs are the product of satisfied, moderate love that is both lived and sung in terms of neo-Stoic values that accord with the Horatian golden mean.

*Las obras de Juan Boscán y algunas de Garcilaso de la Vega repartidas en
cuatro libros*

We tend to read Boscán’s Italianate poetry on its own, focusing on the “Letter” to the Duchess of Soma and the Petrarchan sequence that constitute the Second Book of the *Obras completas*. But as we begin to look beyond Boscán’s Petrarchism and into his larger aim of reforming Castilian song, it is

helpful to consider the relationships between the First and the Second Books. As Margherita Morreale and Navarrete have each shown, the “Letter” and Boscán’s translation of *The Book of the Courtier* work in tandem to frame and disseminate a discourse of modern Spanish courtiership.¹ The First and Second Books of the *Obras* work in a similar way, and the *Obras* as a whole thereby provides a systematic critique of the past and present of Spanish poetry. In the First Book, Boscán reviews the fifteenth-century Spanish lyric tradition. In the Second Book, he criticizes and reforms this tradition, politicizing it by linking it to the new political culture of Hapsburg Spain by means of the “Letter” to the Duchess of Soma.² In the Third and Fourth Books he provides additional models of the new art, including the poetry of Garcilaso. The First and Second Books concern us most here, since they link the courtierization of the Spanish knight to the mediation and the constraint of his song.

1. See Navarrete, *Orphans of Petrarch*, 39–57, as well as Morreale, *Castiglione y Boscán*.

2. Armisén has argued that while the Second Book is complete as a Petrarchan sequence and can be read on its own, it was in fact intended to be read with the First Book, that is, with the collection of Castilian verse that precedes it, a dedicatory proem, followed by twenty-six lyrics composed in the traditional Castilian forms: six short songs (canciones), nineteen coplas, and two *villancicos* (the forms are intercalated). He bases this argument on the structure of fifteenth-century Neopolitan *canzonieri* and on a detailed discussion of the various manuscripts in which Boscán compiled his Castilian verse before settling on the ordered series presented in the Book. He concludes that Boscán selected and arranged the Castilian poetry of the 1543 text deliberately, with the purpose of creating a book suggestive of a literary “apprenticeship” that would appear to precede his 1526 “conversion” to Italian forms (*Estudios sobre la lengua*, 354–55). What joins the two books most overtly is their prefatory material. Both are dedicated to the Duchess of Soma, in texts that were probably written at roughly the same time, which is to say in about 1541, when Boscán was preparing his manuscript. The First Book opens with a twenty-nine-line proem, which, unlike the rest of the poetry in the book, is written in hendecasyllabics and begins: “A quién daré mis amorosos versos, / que pretenden amor, con virtud junto, / y desean también mostrars’hermosos? / A ti, señora en quien todo esto cabe, / a ti se den, por cuanto si carecen / destas cosas que digo que pretienden, / en ti las hallarán cumplidamente. Recógelos con blanda mansedumbre / si vieres que son blandos, y si no, / recógelos como ellos merecieren” (1–10) (“To whom will I give my verses of love, / which seek to express love, joined with virtue, / and desire also to show themselves beautiful? / To you, my lady, in whom all of these are contained, / to you they are given, so that if they lack / these things that I say they seek to effect, / those things will find themselves fulfilled in you. / Gather them with gentle tenderness / if you see that they are gentle, and if not, / gather them as they deserve”). The fact that it is written in hendecasyllabics associates the proem with the period after 1526. In addition, critics have also noted the similarity between these lines and Epigram 1 by Catullus: “Quoi dono lepidum novum libellum / arida modo pumice expolitur? / Corneli, tibi” (1–3) (“To whom do I give this charming little book / newly polished, as with dry pumice? / Corneli, to you”); Armisén credits Caro Lynn with the discovery; see also Arnold Reichenberger, “Boscán and the Classics,” *Comparative Literature* 3, no. 2 (1951): 97–118. Boscán mentions Catullus in the *Epístola*, line 274. Armisén argues that the allusion, coming at the head of the first dedication, links the proem to the “Letter” through the idea of “new poetry” (343). Since Catullus was a member of a group of Latin poets (the *neoterói*) who introduced Greek alexandrines into Latin poetics, it seems likely that Boscán was making a connection between his introduction of the

The First Book

The First Book does not inscribe the unities and the multiple links between the individual poems and the greater whole that are necessary to the crafting of a full lyric sequence; however, it is clear that the poems included in it were selected with some care, presumably by Boscán, and that they are designated to function as a type of prehistory to the speaker who begins his hendecasyllabic laments in the Second Book.³ In various short and highly musical poetic forms they recount his descent into suffering. Poem 2 is a charming *villancico* that frames the medieval idea that the image of the beloved enters a lover through his eyes and fixes itself inside him:

Si no os hubiera mirado
 no penara
 pero tampoco os mirara.
 Veros harto mal à sido,
 mas no veros peor fuera;
 no quedara tan perdido
 pero mucho más perdiera.
 ¿Qué viera aquél que no os viera?
 ¿Cuál quedara
 señora, si no os mirara?

(I-10)

[If I had not gazed upon you / I would not suffer, / but then neither would I have gazed upon you. / To have seen you has caused sorrow enough, / but not seeing you would be worse; / I would

hendecasyllable and the acts of a formidable ancient precursor. Certainly, Boscán has expressed his anxiety about that perilous early modern activity, linguistic innovation, in the “Letter” (“no querría que me tuviesen por tan amigo de cosas nuevas . . . Antes quiero que sepan que ni yo jamás he hecho profesión de escribir esto ni otra cosa ni, aunque la hiziera, me pusiera en trabajo de provar nuevas invenciones” [117] [“I did not want them to take me for such a friend to new things. . . . First I want them to know that I never made a profession of writing this, nor any other thing, nor, while I have done so, did I put myself to work trying new inventions”]). The model of Catullus would have lent prestige and legitimacy to his efforts, protecting him from the charge of “novelar.”

3. David Darst reviews Crawford’s argument that the First Book follows a trajectory that parallels the Second Book, from absorption in love to “alguna extravagancia lúdica social” (“a degree of social, ludic extravagance”) (Darst’s discussion is treated in Armisén, *Estudios sobre la lengua*, 354). The tone of many of the poems in the Book would seem to inscribe the context of court and its ludic nature. For example, one recurring theme is the regretful valediction at the close of an affair. See Poems 11 and 17.

not find myself so lost / but I would have lost much more. / What
would he see at all, he who had not seen you? / What would
remain, / my lady, if I did not gaze upon you?]

In the next poem, which is composed in coplas in the *pie quebrado* form, the speaker describes the effects of love on his mind, where it stimulates vain fantasies, “dicen que mi fantasía / no se guía / sino toda contra mí” (3.11–13) (“they say that my fantasy / is not aimed / anywhere but fully against myself”), and on his soul, which is suffering, but whose salvation he ignores by refusing to repent: “Mi alma se favorece / si padece / y toma por mejoría / que crezca la pena mía . . . Yo la siento / mas della no m’arrepiento” (21–24, 26–27) (“My soul is privileged / if it suffers / and takes it as a boon / my pain grows . . . I feel the pain / but I do not repent”). In poems such as numbers 15 and 16, Boscán recounts his experience as a prisoner of love (“Amor, que’n mi pensamiento / rige, manda, suelta y prende”; 15.1–2 [“Love, which, in my thoughts, / reigns, rules, sets free and seizes hold”]) and his sufferings over time (“¡O fin de mis alegrías, / comienzo de mis tristezas! / Alcancen ya mis porfías / que s’acaben las cruizas / que s’acaben ya mis días”; 16.1–5 [“Oh end to my happiness, / beginning of my sorrows! / My struggles now reach the point where / they put an end to these cruelties / which now end my days”])).

The early poems also join the two themes that serve as structuring preoccupations in the Second Book: the perils of fantasy, and the moral and social implications of contained and uncontained speech. The perils of fantasy begin to be presented in poems such as 11 and 21. In Poem 11, the speaker admits that his daydreaming leads him astray: “Yo conozco que mi pena / toda fue por culpa mía, / pues siempre tuve porfía / de dejar la parte buena / por seguir la fantasía” (6–10) (“I know that my suffering / was all my fault, / for I always dared / to leave behind the better part / to follow my imaginings”). In Poem 21, he describes his daydreams as “más vivas que pintadas / hallaréis mis fantasías” (3–4) (“more live than painted / you will find my fantasies”). The trouble with fantasy, as the speaker frames it in these poems and as Boscán will maintain over the course of the First and the Second Books, is that it isolates men from “la parte buena,” drawing them further into a state I referred to in the last chapter as monadic and enthralled.⁴ This emphasis on the isolation of the obsessive lover establishes a crucial distinction between Boscán’s text and both medieval lyrics

4. See the discussion of Acuña’s Sonnet 45 above, in Chapter 1.

that frame the conventions of *loco amor* and Petrarch's *Canzoniere*. Each of these kinds of poetry represents erotic desire as idolatrous.⁵ In contrast to such metaphysical views, Boscán foregrounds the radically *antisocial* nature of medieval courtly love, repeating the message, across numerous poems, that in order to persist in their illusions (*engaño, fantasía*), obsessive lovers erroneously shun the company of their fellows, turning inward not only to seek pleasure in their imaginings, but also to avoid correction from the surrounding society. Therefore, immoderate lovers not only serve as shameful examples of error to surrounding onlookers (*escarmiento*), they are potentially destructive, since they do not attend to the internal and external regulations that assure the smooth functioning of a civil society. In the First Book, Boscán links these characterological problems to poetic ones by representing the self-indulgent and self-destructive obsessions of the lover in poetic forms that foreground sound over sense. As the First Book progresses, the speaker will complain to his lady, lament his pain, and continue along the path of the fifteenth-century victim of mad love. But while these poems bemoan the misery, the confusion, and the experience of being buffeted about by the whims of a fickle woman and a more fickle universe, their tone is lightened by the relatively short lines and the close rhymes of the copla forms, both of which lend a playfulness to the speaker's voice, even when it is describing suffering, as it does in Poem 8 ("Señora, pues que no'spero") or Poem 12, which begins:

Tristeza, pues yo soy tuyo
 tú no dejes de ser mía;
 mira bien que me destruyo
 sólo en ver que'l alegría
 presume d'hazerme suyo.

5. Over the course of the *Canzoniere*, Petrarch's poetic speaker, "Petrarch," elaborates the image of himself over and against the figure of the laurel tree, in an overt imitation of Augustine's self-fashioning in terms of the fig tree in the *Confessions*. Critics such as Freccero ("The Fig Tree and the Laurel") and Durling (*Petrarch's Lyric Poems*, 1–33) point to this feature of his work as a sign of idolatry: "Petrarch makes no claim to reality or to moral witness. Instead, he uses Augustinian principles in order to create a totally autonomous portrait of the artist, devoid of any ontological claim" (Freccero, 21). Furthermore, the intertextuality with the *Confessions* and the fragmented narrative permit Petrarch to appropriate not only language, but the Word—i.e., "the silence that subtends the system" grounding both desire and language (23)—to the aim of fashioning an eternal poetic self: "The moral struggle and the spiritual torment described in the *Canzoniere* are . . . part of a poetic strategy. When the spiritual struggle is demystified, its poetic mechanism is revealed: the petrified idolatrous love is an immutable monument to Petrarch" (21).

¡O tristeza!
 que apartarme de contigo
 es la más alta crueza
 que puedes usar conmigo.

No huyas, ni seas tal
 que m'apartes de tu pena.
 Soy tu tierra natal

(1-12)

[Sadness, because I am yours / you never cease to be mine; / look well on how I am destroyed / just by seeing that happiness / presumes to make me its own. / O sadness! / To part from you / is the greatest cruelty / that you can do me. / Do not flee, nor make it so that / I am exiled from your grief. / I am your native land]

The consonance of poems such as this one masks the darker aspects of the scenarios the speaker describes. It also leads poets and lovers astray by encouraging them to elaborate and expand on their laments and vain hopes in lines that “like a river from a mountain rushing down, which the rains have swollen above its wonted banks . . . seethe, and, brooking no restraint, rush on with deep-toned voice.”⁶ The lines are from Horace. According to the Roman writer, the power of poetic song is dangerous when it is unleashed by any but the most skilled and self-knowing of poets, and Boscán aligns himself with humanists such as Castiglione when he represents the speaker of the First Book as not up to the task of subduing the forces of song through an equal force of mind.⁷ Thus, Poem 19 is a long song composed in octosyllabics, and it broaches the theme that undisciplined song leads men to peril:

Ya puedo soltar mi llanto
 pues para llorar me hallo;
 é callado, y más me'spanto
 de'star tal y ver que callo,
 que de ver que peno tanto.
 Que tenga ya libertad
 mi lengua, yo lo consiento;

6. “Monte currens velut amnis, imbres / quem super notas aluere ripas, fervet immensusque ruit profundo / . . . ore”; Song 4.2, quoted in Greene, *The Light in Troy*, 68.

7. See Thomas M. Greene's reading of Horace on the Pindaric ode (*ibid.*, 66-68).

hasta'quí fue sufrimiento,
 ahora ya es poquedad
 callar el dolor que siento.

Mi vida, para pasarla
 téngola de publicar

(1-12)

[Now can I let loose my lament / for I find myself ready to weep; / I have been silent, and it has frightened me more / to be in that state and to find myself silent / than to find that I suffer so. / Let my tongue now have its liberty, / I consent that; / up to now, all has been suffering, / now it is miserly / to silence the pain that I feel. / In order to live my life / I must publish it]

Poem 19 assigns a moral character to the Castilian octosyllables. The speaker states that he is unleashing an utterance of pure passion—the song as the sob, or lament (*llanto*)—in order to relieve his suffering. But as the song rolls forward, propelled by its short lines and its rhyme, the momentum *increases* the speaker's passion and his sorrow: “Mi dolor, cuando sosiega, / es para mayor cuidado; / revuelve en tan alto grado / que a poco rato se entrega / del tiempo que se ha tardado” (211-15) (“When my pain is calmed / it only causes further worry; / it returns to such a great degree / that in a short while it regains / the time it has lost”). Neither the 230 lines of this song nor the 300 lines of one that follows it assuage the speaker's suffering or contain his voice, a fact which indicates that a life experienced in terms of simple “publishing” (*publicar*, line 12), unmediated by reason and unrestrained by prudence, is as vain and empty as the consonance whose inertia speeds it forward. Poem 19 thus sets up a theme that will return as a structuring preoccupation of both Books, namely, that the speaker's suffering is his own fault because he has allowed himself to unleash his tongue and loose a song comprised of pure emotion and no reason.

As I have suggested, this is a Horatian view.⁸ In the *Letter to the Pisos*, Horace writes that “a good and prudent man will censure lifeless lines . . .

8. As Reichenberger observed in his essay on Boscán's “Epístola a Mendoza,” Boscán's writing reflected a Horatian-Epicurean sensibility that was clearly filtered through the *Book of the Courtier*. Colombi-Monguió also reminds us that Boscán's humanism was most likely the result of his conversations and his study with Castiglione and Navagero (“Boscán frente a Navagero”). For a comprehensive reading of Boscán's imitative strategies, see Cruz (*Imitación y transformación*) as well as Navarrete (*Orphans of Petrarch*). For a discussion of the various manuscript versions of the Book, see Armisén, *Estudios sobre la lengua*, 379-411.

he will cut away pretentious ornament. . . . He will not say, ‘Why should I give offense to a friend about trifles?’ These trifles will bring that friend into serious trouble.” This trouble manifests itself in both poetry and life. Horace’s advice consistently conflates the two. Just as he is suspicious of unbridled song, he cautions men to seek the counsel and restraint of their fellows, “my view and the public’s are the same.”⁹ At the end of the Second, courtierizing, Book, Boscán’s speaker will accept this view; in Poem 130, the final song of the Book, he casts a look back over his former condition:

mi alma’staba por Amor contenta;
 y aunque’ra el contentarse desvarío,

 yo andábame’ntre mí sin mostrar nada;
 queriendo’star doblado,
 con gente que traer pensé engañada,
 conmigo estaba ya tan confiado,
 que holgaba de fingirme mal tratado

 Si algún prudente amigo me decía
 “estos bienes d’Amor no permanecen,”
 por pesada sentencia la juzgaba.
 Ninguna forma de desdicha hallaba
 que’mbarazar pudiese mis venturas

(19–20; 26–30; 34–38)

[my soul was contented in Love; / although this contentment was
 folly / . . . / I wandered about caught up in myself, showing nothing;
 / I was two-faced / among people I thought I deceived, / I had
 such confidence in myself, / that I took pleasure in pretending that
 I was mistreated. / . . . / If a prudent friend said to me, / “those pleasures
 of Love do not last,” / I judged that to be a tiresome opinion. /
 No form of misfortune did I find / that could thwart my plans]

But in order to achieve this position of thoughtful contemplation, he must be led out of his fantasy world and into identification with the society of prudent friends and their advice.

9. “Vir bonus et prudens versus reprehended inertis . . . ambitiosa recidet ornamenta . . . nec dicit: ‘cur go amicum / offendam in nugis?’ hae nugae seria ducent in mala” (Horace, *Satires, Epistles, and Ars Poetica*, 445–51); I have modified the translations.

The Second Book

This awakening will not happen for some time. Throughout the First Book and through the start of the Second, Boscán's speaker assumes a natural right to sovereign and uncontained speech, in the manner of Horace's "freeborn knight," who frames verses "that fall to the bottom" because he is convinced that his birthright is to "stand clear from every blemish."¹⁰ Another way of describing the speaker's attitude is that it is arrogant in the manner of the Castilian caballeros. In the First Book his undisciplined llanto leads to no great consequences. He suffers, but the credibility of his laments is lessened by the lilting sounds in which they are framed. Coplas are, after all, in a description Boscán attributes to Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, "roly-polys" (*redondillas*), child's verse and of no great consequence (*Obra completa*, 115). In the Second Book, unrestrained speech and the generation of pleasurable, empty sounds inscribe the speaker within a far more disorienting form of madness by which he becomes unable to position himself in time and space. Boscán will narrate the gradual recovery of his speaker and his song over the course of the Book. They will be transformed within a Petrarchan sequence that Boscán modifies to suit his specific aims of courtierization: unlike in the *Canzoniere*, the destination of the sequence is not medieval transcendence, but a modern ideal based on the *Book of the Courtier*, and especially on the final speech of Bembo that celebrates middle-aged contentment and moderate love. But if the subjectivity of the speaker is transformed, his poetics and especially his relationship to song change as well. Boscán modifies the forms of the songs, from coplas to canciones based on Italian models, most often eleven- and seven-syllable lines with an unstructured rhyme scheme. As presaged in the "Letter," this formal shift mediates the propulsive energies of the lyrics, slowing their progress from a gallop to a more meditative progress. The first result is alienation, as the speaker recognizes that his old mode of thinking and speaking is radically unsuited to the

10. "Mediocribus esse poetis / non hominess, non di, non concessere columnae . . . sic animis natum inventumque poema iuvandis, / si paulum summam decessit, vergit ad imum. Ludere qui nescit, campestribus abstinet armis . . . qui nescit versus tamen audet fingere. Quidni? / liber et inenuus, praesertim census questrem / summam nummorum vitioque remotus ab omni" ("that poets be of middling rank, neither men nor gods . . . ever brooked . . . so a poem, whose birth and creation are for the soul's delight, if aught it falls short of the top, sinks to the bottom. He who cannot play a game, shuns the weapons. . . . Yet the man who knows not how dares to frame verses. Why not? He is free, even freeborn, nay, is rated at the fortune of a knight, and stands clear from every blemish"); Horace, *Satires, Epistles, and Ars Poetica*, 480–81.

narration of his plight. As he becomes accommodated to the courtly society around him, he begins to temper his speech with reason and achieves his final, successful song.

Courtierizing Song

The first song of the Second Book, Poem 47, represents the speaker in a far more serious condition than what has been portrayed in the First Book:

Quiero hablar un poco
 mas teme el corazón de fatigarse
 porque si hablo sé que será tanto
 que'l seso à de alterarse
 y a su culpa no es bien tornarse loco

 Pero pasar este peligro es fuerza,
 y escójolo por menos peligroso;
 de suerte que si oso
 es ya por el aprieto que me fuerza,
 y el alma ha de probar
 su seso y su poder, y así se esfuerza.
 Con esto tales cosas he de hablar,
 que aún ahora estoy pensando de callar.

Callaré, si pudiere;
 mas no podré, que ha mucho que no puedo;
 hablaré, por no estarme como estoy

(1-5; 8-18)

[I want to speak a little / but my heart is afraid it will grow weary / for if I speak, I know it will be at such great length / that my brain will be shocked / and it is not a good thing to go mad on my heart's account. / . . . / But I must pass through this danger, / and I choose it as the less perilous path; / for if I dare to try / it is because my condition makes me do so, / and my soul must test / brain and brawn, and make the attempt. / Having said this, I have such things to tell, / that even now I think of silencing them. / I will be silent if I am able; / but I will not be able to do so, for

I have been unable to speak for a long time; / I will speak so as not
to remain as I am]

Whereas in Poem 19 the consequences of unleashing *llanto* are mild, in Poem 47, they are grave. The speaker is completely disoriented by the racing processes of his thought, which is so disorganized that he is not even able to sing out his lament. Self-absorption is no longer pleasurable in this poem, and it will rarely be represented as pleasurable in the Second Book. Instead, it leads to agony, frustration, and alienation. The reason for this displeasure is that the speaker has crossed over from the naive and childlike world of the First Book and into the courtly world of the Second. The most material effect of the threshold is the alteration of the musical register of the song. The long lines and the loosened rhyme scheme place a new burden on the lyric to proceed intelligibly at the level of content. When it does not do so, the speaker takes notice and begins to doubt himself. But the Second Book is also preceded by the “Letter,” with its loosely veiled social threat about the political fate that awaits those who maintain loyalty to the old poetry. So the moral narrative is subtended by the local politics of the new Spanish state.

The difference between “song” as it is represented in the First Book and at the start of the Second Book, then, is that in Poem 47, the speaker is illegible, politically, aesthetically, morally, and grammatically.¹¹ The following lines are representative of the tenor of the song, in which, by line 46, the speaker is still trying to commence his tale:

Faltará la memoria
para poder decir lo que'n mi siento.
Mas, aunque ataja el mal, también se despierta
y pone tal aliento,
que m'atrevo a contar tan gran historia,
· · · · ·
Olvidando el comienzo, el fin no hallo;
mal concierto tendrá cuento tan largo
· · · · ·
Trabajan mis sentidos

11. Navarrete has also discussed the problematic narration in the early songs. See his useful analysis in *Orphans of Petrarch*, 77–81.

en buscar lo que siento, por echallo.
 Oyo llamar de lejos mis gemidos,
 y he lástima de ver que van perdidos.
 ¡O mis crudos dolores,
 dadme un poco d'alivio porque pueda
 probar a ver si diré lo que digo!

(46-50; 53-54; 57-63)

[My memory will falter / in managing to say what I feel inside. / But although my sorrow binds me, it also awakens me / and infuses me with such spirit, / that I dare to recount this long history / . . . / Forgetful of the beginning, I cannot find the end; / a tale this long will be discordant / . . . / My senses labor / searching for what I feel, to let it forth. / I hear my own groans from far away, / and I pity to see them out wandering lost. / Oh, crude suffering, / give me a bit of relief / that I might test myself to see if I can say what I have to say!]

We can list the elements that lead the speaker astray here: his song is driven by emotion and not by the desire to frame rational utterances. In line 30, he says that his reason is completely overwhelmed by madness (“el seso y la razón es ya locura” [“my mind and reason are now mad”]), while in lines 25-26 he muses whether it is wrong to sing when he is in such pain (“quizá es desvarío . . . llanto que en tal dolor tan tarde viene” [“perhaps it is an error, this lament that comes so late in my suffering”]). In the envoi, he defends his prolixity as justified (as in Poem 19 of the First Book) by his suffering: “Canción: si de muy larga te culparen, / respóndeles que sufran con paciencia; que un gran dolor de todo da licencia” (“Song: if they fault you for being too long, / respond that they should suffer with patience; / for a great pain licenses all”) (451-53). It is also the case that throughout the poem his processes of thought, such as they are, are led astray by consonance. I have said that the tendency of the Second Book is to mediate music, and Poem 47 does not rhyme regularly. But Boscán inscribes internal rhymes, such as the *é*, and the speaker pursues the sound, leading himself off course. In a similar way, the rhyme *desventura / locura*, in lines 29-30, is significant.

Poem 47 is ingeniously structured to link cancionero poetry and the types of speakers it represents with the scrambled (*alterado*) brain and the tiresome discourse of “tiresome” men. It thereby reinforces the portrait

of the recalcitrant Castilians presented in the “Letter.” The reference to uncontrolled speech is placed at the head of the first Italian-style song—that is, at the head of the first poem in the Book that is not constrained by the rules of the sonnet form. It thus signals that part of the work of the sequence will be to civilize and circumscribe the speaker and his voice so that he will be able to speak just a little (“un poco”) when he wishes to do so, and subsequent songs in the sequence do not reproduce the baffling disorganization of Poem 47. However, progress toward reason is slow. Boscán inscribes advances in the speaker’s capacity to organize and narrate his experience thematically and grammatically late in the sequence, in songs such as Poem 103, “Gran tiempo ha que amor me dize ‘scrive’” (“For a long time love has said to me, ‘write’”; a poem based on Petrarch 93, “Più volte Amor m’avea già detto: ‘Scrivi’”). Such poems represent halting steps toward sanity. In Poem 104, the speaker reflects: “Bien pensé yo pasar mi triste vida / del arte que otro tiempo la pasaba, / concertándome en mí con mis tormentos; / pero engañéme en lo que pensaba” (1–4) (“I well thought to pass my sad life / by the same art by which I had passed it before, / making peace within myself with my torments; / but I was deceived in what I thought”). The process begins to reach its fulfillment with Poems 114 and 115, both sonnets, in which the speaker celebrates his mastery over the various traditions of song and also of his passions. Thus in Poem 115, he states that the songs of lyric tradition—the songs of Petrarch, of March, of the *cancionero*—“del nuestro es diferente . . . yo de ver quien me ama y a quien amo, / en mi cantar terné gozo continuo” (8; 13–14) (“are different from ours . . . I, gazing upon she who loves me, she whom I love in return / will take continuous joy in my song”). In a manner that parallels the process recounted in Acuña’s sonnets 45 and 30, then, the lyric sequence of Boscán’s Second Book maps the interpellation of the old-style lover into the discourses and practices of modern courtiership, by means of regulating and restructuring his song, “civilizing” it such that it becomes capable of legible narration. A principal mechanism for effecting this transformation is the Petrarchan sequence.

Boscán and Petrarch

The 102-poem lyric sequence in the Second Book (92 sonnets and 10 songs) begins after the “Letter” and unfolds in a succession of series. It opens with a lover wretched in the manner of the fifteenth-century lovers

of the cancionero and the *cants* of Ausiàs March.¹² A slave to his passions, he cannot exercise the rational self-mastery that will help him stave off the accidents of fortune and passion. Instead, he retreats into a fantasy world in which pleasurable imaginings about receiving favors from his beloved compete with “torments” of jealousy (Boscán plays on the word *tormenta*, which means storm, as well as suffering). These fantasies receive some support in the excessive behavior of the lady herself, whose erratic cruelties add to the speaker’s suffering and tax his brain (*seso*). Finally, exhausted, he comes to a crisis in Poem 66. Subsequently, he is transformed in a manner that resembles the Petrarchan conversion and the Dantean *vita nuova*. However, in Poems 71, 78, 79, and 80, it becomes apparent that what Boscán’s speaker has actually undergone is a courtly resocialization more than it is a divine conversion: he has shifted from identifying with the internal fantasy world of the asocial lover to adopting Horace’s “public view.” This new outlook is represented in two registers. First, the speaker achieves an increasingly rational, legible narration in both his sonnets and his songs as he adopts a mode of speaking that is structured by Renaissance humanist *imitatio*, as opposed to naive, pleasurable telling. Second, he embraces two important Renaissance discourses: chaste love and perfect friendship. It is under the influence of these two forces that the speaker celebrates his new and “different” song in Poem 115.

As this overview suggests, Petrarch’s *Canzoniere* serves as a crucial structuring model for Boscán’s lyric sequence. The Spanish text is organized in the manner of the *rime sparse*, with series of sonnets punctuated and commented on by longer songs that summarize the story thus far (to the extent they are able, given the speaker’s troubles with narration) and introduce new themes. But as I have already indicated, Boscán’s narrative is oriented toward the conversion of the self-absorbed lover to the worldly

12. I am emphasizing the sequence’s intertextuality with Petrarch, Horace, and Castiglione, but the Second Book also draws liberally on Ausiàs March and on poems from the cancionero and *cantiga* traditions, which were native to Castile. March is the most evident of these Iberian sources. Clavería notes ten poems that contain direct imitations (Poems 29, 32, 43, 46, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, and 112); but the mode of love that the speaker experiences with the first lady is closely modeled on the sufferings, the melancholia, and the obsessive self-display of the speaker in the lyrics of Ausiàs March. Especially important, perhaps, are the poems to the “Lily among Thorns” (*llir entre cards*), one of which, Cant 19, “Oïu, oïu, tots los qui bé amats,” would seem to provide the opening line to Boscán’s poem 46 (14), “Oïd, oïd, los hombres y las gentes.” For comprehensive studies of the influence of March on Boscán, see McNerney, *The Influence of Ausiàs March*; Armisen, *Estudios sobre la lengua*; and the excellent notes to the Clavería edition of Boscán’s *Obra completa*. On March in Boscán, see Cruz, *Imitación y transformación*.

culture of the modern Spanish courtier's life, whereas the *Canzoniere* works in the direction of a man's transcendence of the earthly world into exalted registers of poetry and of divine revelation. The two texts therefore maintain a crucial difference, and the distinction is evident from the opening poems of Boscán's sequence.

Poem 29 is the first poem of the Second Book.¹³ It opens in a manner that announces its affiliation to Petrarch 1, "Voi ch'ascoltate." Petrarch's poem represents his speaker calling on those who listen to his "scattered rhymes" to pity him for his sufferings.¹⁴ Boscán invokes both Petrarch's language and his narrative in the tercets of his own sonnet:

¡O vosotros que andáis tras mis escritos
gustando de leer tormentos tristes,
según que por amar son infinitos!,
mis versos son deciros, "¡O benditos
los que de Dios tan gran merced huvistes
que del poder d'Amor fuédes quitos!"

(9–14)

[Oh you who follow my writings / taking pleasure in reading these sad torments, / which, in love, are infinite!, / my verses say to you, "O blessed / are those who received that great mercy from God / so that they were saved from the power of Love!"]

From that point, however, the texts diverge. In Poems 2, 3, 4, and 5 of the *Canzoniere*, Petrarch turns to the systematic development of the classical

13. The poems of the First and Second Books are numbered continuously, which provides further evidence that they should be read together.

14. "Voi ch'ascoltate in rime sparse il suono / di quei sospiri ond'io nudriva'l core / in sul mio primo giovenile errore, / quand'era in parte altr'uom da quel ch'i sono: / del vario stile in ch'io piango et ragiono / fra le vane speranze e'l van dolore, / ove sia chi per prova intenda amore / spero trovar pieta, non che perdono. / Ma ben veggio or sì come al popol tutto / favola fui gran tempo, onde sovente / di me medesimo meco mi vergogno; / et del mio vaneggiar vergogna è'l frutto, / e'l pentersi, e'l conoscer chiaramente / che quanto piace al mondo è breve sogno" ("You who hear in scattered rhymes the sound of those signs with which I nourished my heart during my first youthful error, when I was in part another man from what I am now; for the varied style in which I weep and speak between vain hopes and vain sorrow, where there is anyone who understands love through experience, I hope to find pity, not only pardon. But now I see well how for a long time I was the talk of the crowd, for which often I am ashamed of myself within; and of my raving, shame is the fruit, and repentance, and the clear knowledge that whatever pleases in the world is a brief dream"); *Petrarch's Lyric Poems*, 36–37.

and the Christian universes and to the universe of letters, which the lady Laura will mediate over the course of the text to come. Boscán, while imitating the Petrarchan structure by employing his first five poems to establish the speaker's universe, initiates a different theme: the folly and also the vulnerability of the man who is isolated from the stabilizing forces of "la buena parte," the anchoring institutions and practices of the daily world. In a manner that prepares the way for the disastrous Poem 47, Boscán represents his speaker's error as misunderstanding the terms of public speech. In Poem 30, the speaker requires his wounds to tell the tale of his suffering:

Poem 30

Las llagas que, d'Amor, son invisibles,
 quiero como visibles se presenten,
 porque aquellos que umanamente sienten
 s'espanten d'acidentes tan terribles.
 Los casos de justicia más horribles
 en público han de ser, porqu'escarmienten
 con ver su fealdad, y a'admedrienten
 hasta los corazones invencibles.
 Yo traigo aquí la historia de mis males,
 donde hazañas d'amor han concurrido,
 tan fuertes, que no sé cómo contallas.
 Yo solo en tantas guerras fui herido,
 y son de mis heridas las señales
 tan feas, que é verguenza de mostrallas.

[I want those wounds of Love that are invisible / to present themselves as visible, / so that those with human feeling / are frightened by such terrible misfortune. / The most horrible trials / should be held in public, so that they warn off / by means of their ugliness, and instill fear / in even the most invincible hearts. / I bring here the history of my sorrows, / in which love wrought so many deeds, / with such strength, that I do not know how to recount them. / It was I alone who was wounded in these many wars, / and the signs of my wounds are / so ugly that I am ashamed to display them.]

The folly here is requiring wounds to talk. The image is as deliberately risible as Horace's "human head on a horse's neck . . . a melding of limbs covered everywhere with multicolored plumage."¹⁵ Other sonnets in the opening section of the sequence go on to pave the way for Poem 47. They start, stop, turn back on themselves and present an image of narrative confusion that is paired with glimpses into the chaos of the speaker's isolated, inward world. In Poem 31, Boscán writes: "cada vez que bien me arrepentiere, / gran logro llevaré de mis tristuras; / de esta cura saldrán otras mil curas / para mí y para quien verme quisiere" (5–8) ("each time I repent well, / I gain greatly from my sorrows; / from this cure flow forth another thousand cares / toward me and toward they who wish to look on me"). On one level, Boscán is playing an arch courtly game with the notion of thousands of poems that are produced by the speaker's sorrows.¹⁶ On the other, he is establishing his speaker's powerlessness in the face of his fate, a theme he expands on in Poem 33:

Aún bien no fui salido de la cuna,
ni de la ama la leche hube dejado,
cuando el amor me tuvo condenado
a ser de los que siguen su fortuna.
Diome luego miserias de una en una
por hacerme costumbre en su cuidado
.
¡O corazón que siempre has padecido!
dime: tan fuerte mal, ¿cómo es tan largo?
Y mal tan largo—di—¿cómo es tan fuerte?

(1–6; 12–14)

[I was not yet well out of the cradle, / nor had I left behind my nurse's milk, / when Love condemned me / to be one of those who follow his fortunes. / Thereafter he fed me miseries, one by

15. "Humano capiti cervicem pictor equinam / iungere si velit, et varias inducere plumas / undique collatis membris . . . risum tenatis, amici?" ("If a painter chose to join a human head to the neck of a horse, and to spread feathers of many a hue over limbs picked up now here now there . . . could you, my friends . . . refrain from laughing?"); Horace, *Satires, Epistles, and Ars Poetica*, 450–51.

16. Navarrete observes the textuality of Boscán's sequence: whereas Petrarch speaks to his listeners, Boscán invokes readers (*Orphans of Petrarch*, 75–76).

one / so that I became accustomed to woe / . . . / Oh heart, which has always suffered! / tell me: a suffering so strong, how can it be so lengthy? / And to my suffering, so lengthy, tell me—how can you be so strong?]

Having studied the speaker's problems as they are framed in the songs, we can answer these questions for him: his trouble is less love than it is his isolation and his persistence in the monadic universe of the Castilian singer. The transformation of that state of being will provide the narrative arc of the sequence. For this reason, the lyrics that introduce the lady, Poems 36 and 38, appear after the initial, establishing poems.¹⁷ Furthermore, when she does appear, there is not very much to say about her. She is unnamed, and she is fickle and disdainful in the manner of the desired lady in the poetry of *fin amours* and Ausiàs March. Her role is principally that of contrasting with the second beloved, who extends to the speaker the prospect of chaste love, or *casto amor*.

Taken together, the contents of the first part of Boscán's sequence indicate that whereas the "ravings" (*vaneggiar*) of the speaker in Petrarch's *Canzoniere* are the fruits of a shame whose roots lie in idolatry, the "wounds" and "sorrows" that speak (however haltingly) for Boscán's speaker derive from his isolation from the regulatory supervision of his fellows. Imprisoned in his self-absorbed, fantastic universe, in which small cares can flood over themselves on their own musical momentum and create effects of alienation and dislocation that far exceed what is merited, he is in need of rescue. A series of poems that begins with Poem 53 and ends with Poem 66 portrays the stumbling end of his twin follies of wrong loving and wrong singing.

The Crisis of Llanto

The opening stanza of Poem 53 and the envoi of Poem 66 create a frame around a group of poems that take up the principal themes elaborated over the course of the first half of the sequence. They develop a vision of a life

17. Boscán provides a form of closure to his introductory series at Poem 35: "Solo y pensoso en páramos desiertos" ("Alone and brooding in black deserts") imitates Petrarch's Poem 35, "Solo et pensoso i più deserti campi." The correspondence between the two texts at this juncture serves to punctuate Boscán's sequence before he introduces the element of the lady.

that has been up to this point not only badly narrated, but lived in error. Following are the first thirteen lines of Poem 53:

Yo ya viví, y anduve ya entre vivos.
 bien sé que'engañaba por vivir,
 pero, en fin, como quiera yo vivía.
 Sentía el mal, sabíale sufrir;
 mis sentidos andaban harto'squivos,
 mas quedaba algún gusto todavía.
 El alma parecía
 que a lo menos podía sostenerme;
 yo quería valerme
 con alguna esperanza, mala o buena.
 No estaba tan agena
 de todo mi juicio mi razón
 que un rato no acudiese al corazón.

(1-13)

[I lived, and I wandered among the living. / I know well that my life was an illusion, / but, in the end, however I did it, I lived. / I felt the sickness, I knew how to suffer it; / my senses wandered in complete folly, / and yet there remained some pleasure still. / My soul seemed / to give me some support me, at least; / I wanted to redeem myself / with some type of hope, bad or good. / My reason was not so foreign / to all of my judgment / that it did not sometimes enter my heart.]

The poem continues on to recount a mode of living dominated by the illusions produced by the confused internal state brought on by the speaker's isolation from the surrounding society. He wanders about lost in a series of poems that elaborate on the theme. In Poem 57, he recognizes the folly of protecting his false happiness from the corrective gaze proffered by his fellow courtiers;¹⁸ and in Poem 58, he reflects on how difficult it is to think clearly when one is prey to the accidents of experience.¹⁹ Finally, in

18. "Anda conmigo, falsa, mi alegría; / yo la entiendo, más cúpleme su maña. / Apártome de quien me desengaña / por no verme'stragar la fantasía" (57.1-4) ("My false happiness wanders with me; / I understand this, but it achieves its object, maddening me. / I distance myself from those who might disenchant me / so that I will not see my fantasy destroyed").

19. "Sueños de amor me traen en gran duda; / y no estoy ya para sufrir rebatos. / Pudiera el seso andar en estos tratos / si fuera mi fortuna menos cruda" (58.1-4) ("Dreams of love keep me uncertain; / and I can no longer suffer their attacks. / My brain might continue on in these affairs / were my fortune less harsh").

Poem 66, he reaches a crisis and declares his defeat before the onslaught of the forces that have been assailing him, forces that are summarized in the first and eighth stanzas of the song:

Stanza 1

Llévame el desvarío
 del pensamiento a diferentes partes,
 y a mi pesar, tras todas ellas guío.
 Son por dondequiera muchos los embargos.
 Yo, para tantas cargos,
 digo al seso: “Porqué no te repartes?
 Nuevos casos requieren nuevas artes;
 pues trae’l mal tan grandes diferencias,
 conviene al alma que ande diferente,
 y, según la moviere’l accidente,
 que busque en sí conformes experiencias.”
 D’aquí son mis sentencias,
 las unas de las otras tan contrarias,
 que no son voluntarias.
 ¡O revolver del cielo, que dispuso
 acá, en el mundo, un hombre tan confuso!

(3-18)

Stanza 8

Faltan ya mis movimientos,
 los buenos y los malos igualmente;
 también, por consiguiente,
 yo é de faltar a mí y a todo el mundo.
 No digo más sino que’estoy ausente
 y’stán perdiendo ya sus fundamentos
 todos mis pensamientos.
 De’este milagro nace otro segundo:
 que al alma tiene un sueño tan profundo
 que no puede’l tormento despertalla,
 y duermo yo a do todos me lloran.
 Los sentidos que’n mi corazón moran,
 huyen en ver sospecha de batalla.
 Todo mi bando calla.

Yo no oso decir esta pena es mía,
 ni sé qué's alegría,
 ni puedo solamente imaginalla,
 del dolor que me da nunca alcanzalla.

(127-44)

[Stanza 1: My straying thought leads me / to different places, / and I follow each thought to my peril. / Obstacles are many and everywhere. / Because of all of these burdens, / I say to my brain: "How do you not split in two? / New situations require new arts; / and as sorrow brings so many, and such vastly different things, / it is fitting that the soul becomes different, / and that having been moved by an accident of fortune / it moves differently." / Hence are my sentences, / quite contrary to one another, / they are not governed by will. / Oh revolutions of the heavens, who placed / here in the world so confused a man!

Stanza 8: I err in my movements, / in both the right and the wrong ones, equally; / as a consequence / I am lost to myself and all the world. / I will not say more beyond that I am absent, / and that all of my thoughts / now lose their foundation. / From this miracle another is born: / my soul is wrapped in a sleep so profound / that torment cannot waken it, / and I sleep through that which others mourn on my behalf. / The senses that reside in my heart / flee, suspecting battle. / All of my band falls silent. / I do not dare to say that woe is mine, / nor do I know what joy is, / nor can I even imagine it, / for pain does not let me grasp it.]

The speaker holds to the present tense here, in an acceptable, if somewhat unsophisticated, mode of narration. He has made gains in shaping his voice for the public view, and he has also adopted that view to the extent that he reflects on the errors of his past, criticizing his old ways of loving and thinking as based on misguided thoughts. In keeping with what we have seen expressed elsewhere in the sequence, these errors are linked to his having been "absent" in fantasy. He describes how, self-exiled from the anchoring presence of rational company, he has drifted further and further into confusion and daydreams, where, burdened by passion and suffering, he perceived confused "new" things ("nuevos casos," line 9). As in other Renaissance traditions, we need to read this newfangledness as suspect. It taxes the brain

("seso," line 8), leading to doom (lines 141–44). The song's envoi is a statement of complete defeat:

Canción: yo quedo muy peor que digo:
sin corazón para mandarte nada.
Tu vete ya, o queda, si quisieres;
no cures de mí más, si bien me quieres,
que ya mi cuenta queda rematada
y hecha mi jornada.

(199–204)

[Song: I am much worse off than I say: / without heart to send you off with anything. / Go now, or stay, if you wish; / do not mind me anymore if you love me well, / for now my fate is sealed / and my journey is done.]

Poem 66 marks the point at which the speaker ends his old love and begins to experience the new. The route to his salvation is structured in terms of the two principal discourses of the Second Book, the Petrarchan and Horatian views, filtered through Castiglione, that formed Boscán's particular variety of Stoicism. In the wake of Poem 66, the speaker turns to a new beloved who will serve as a mediating figure on the order of the lady in Dante, Petrarch, or Bembo. However, unlike a true Petrarchan, he turns to this new woman gradually, in a series of poems that turn on the verb *mudarse*, or "change." In Poem 67, the speaker refers to having liberated himself from the prison of his former love, although he fears that he may become entrapped in a new one.²⁰ The clearest sign that the new experience will be different, and good, is that the speaker's heart is changing in accordance with a natural process:

Todo es amor en quien de verdad ama,
hasta el mudar que haze es más firmeza.
Si mudare, pensá que's de tristeza,
que'l mal le haze aver de mudar cama.

20. "Confesaré, si dizen que é mudado, / que mudó el accidente algún pedazo, / no la raíz del mal acostumbrado. / Un mudar fue d'un corazón cansado, / como es mudar en el izquierdo brazo / el peso del derecho atormentado" (67.9–14) ("I will confess, if they say that I have changed, / that the symptoms changed a little, / but not the root of my accustomed sorrow. / It was the change of a weary heart, / as one shifts to the left arm / a burden that torments the right one").

Así me hizo a mi mi vieja llama
 que sosegar no pude en su crueza,
 y el alma ahora a nuevo amor s'aveza;
 mas no podrá, que'l otro amor la llama.

(Poem 68; 1–8)

[All is love in he who loves truly, / even change makes one all the more constant. / If I should change, consider it to be one sorrow exchanged for another, / for suffering causes me to take a new bed. / Thus it was with me, / I could not bear the cruelty of my old flame / and my soul now seeks a new love; / but it cannot go further, for the other love calls to it.]

For late Medieval and Renaissance writers, *mudanza* often referred to change associated with natural processes and cosmic harmonies.²¹ But as we have seen elsewhere—in Acuña's Sonnet 45, for example—in the new lyric, natural shifts are often *naturalized* ones, changes adopted in response to social opinions and codes that a speaker internalizes as his own as he accepts his interpellation into a particular social regime. In this section of the sequence, the discourse of a natural metamorphosis is complicated by the fact that in Poem 64 the speaker has begun to identify his suffering with extremes that should be addressed by seeking the golden mean: “Mientras más voy, más lejos voy del *medio*; / con esto é de parar, y el mal reparto / en sufrir, en llorar y en lastimarme (12–14, my emphasis) (“As I go further I stray further from the middle ground; / I should stop here, / I will share out my grief / in suffering, in weeping and in self-pity”). Discourse thus competes with nature as the source to which the speaker's transformation should be attributed, and discourse wins the day, since from Poem 68 forward the new love is modeled on the moderated Neo-Platonism elaborated in *The Book of the Courtier*, in which love for the right lady leads to balance, happiness, and a Stoic sense of invulnerability to the contingencies of love and fate.²²

21. For example, in his Sonnet 23, Garcilaso de la Vega will remind his lady, “Marchitará la rosa el viento helado, / todo lo mudará la edad ligera, / por no hacer mudanza en su costumbre” (12–14) (“The icy wind will wither the rose, / fleet age will change everything, / to avoid change in its own custom”). On the natural course of *mudanza* in this poem, see Friedman, “Creative Space,” 53.

22. In Poem 101, the speaker declares that the second love provides him with the means to understand the *mudanzas*, which can also mean “contingencies,” of human experience: “A mi gran mal, gran esperanza crece / por las mundanzas que del mundo entiendo. / Con este pensamiento

The Second Lady

The speaker accepts the second lady in a cluster of poems between 78 and 80. As Poem 78 is among the most beautiful poems in the sequence, I reproduce it in full:

Poem 78

Mueve'l querer las alas con gran fuerza
 tras el loor de aquella que yo canto.
 Al comenzar, levántase un espanto
 tal que's peor del seso si s'esfuerza.
 Por otra parte, la razón m'esfuerza:
 yo hablo y callo, y'stóyme entre tanto;
 esfuerzo alguna vez, y otras me'spanto;
 en fin, la gana de'scribir refuerza.
 Del mundo, bien; de nuestros tiempos, gloria,

me defendo, / o a lo menos así me lo parece. / Si en su dolor el alma se'ntristece, / con ira o blandamente la reprendo; / ella entre sí mi voz está siguiendo, / y así también se'nsaña o se'nterneze. / Pues si es así, y es d'ambos la caída, / ¿cuál dará a cuál, al levantar, la mano, / si nadie pasa que ayudarnos quiera? / Veo venir de lejos por lo llano / quien tiene fin a descansar mi vida, / y en alta boz me dize: 'Espera, espera'" ("Towards my great sorrow, a great hope grows up / because of the changes I perceive in the world. / This thought is my defense, / or at least it seems this way to me. / If the soul is saddened in its suffering, / I reprove it with anger or gently; / she herself is following my voice, / and she, too, grows angry or tender. / But if it is thus, and if both of us are falling, / which of us will extend to which the hand by which to rise up / if no one passes by who desires to help us? / I see approaching from afar on the plain / someone whose aim is to provide rest to my life, / and in a great voice the person calls to me, 'Hope, wait'"). *Esperar*, in Spanish, means both "to hope" and "to wait." Both meanings are engaged in this sonnet. The poem suggests that because the speaker can hope, he can be patient, and because he is patient, he is on his way to achieving the Stoicism that will protect him from the vulnerabilities that plagued him in the early poems of the sequence and in the First Book. Lines 1-4 of the sonnet thus express a version of an idea that Boscán describes more completely in the "Epístola a Mendoza," in which he describes the amusement of the Stoic when he contemplates the mad dance of the passions: "Así el sabio que vive descansando, / sin nunca oír el son de las pasiones, / que nos hazen andar como bailando, / sabrá burlar de nuestras turbaciones, / y reír'sá d'aquellos movimientos" (63-67) ("Thus the wise man who lives in repose, / never hearing the sound of the passions, / that make us wander as if dancing, / takes amusement at our turbulation, / and laughs at our movements"). Boscán describes himself as having achieved that attitude through having made the right marriage: "Y así yo, por seguir aquesta vía, / héme casado con una mujer . . . Ésta m'á dado un nuevo ser . . . Ésta me haze ver que'lla conviene / a mí y las otras no me convenían . . . En mí las otras iban y venían" (127-36) ("And thus I, in order to follow this path, / have married with a woman. . . . This lady has given me new life. . . . This lady makes me see that she suits / me and that the others did not suit me. . . . The others came and went in me").

fue nacer ésta por la cual yo vivo:
 enmienda fue de cuanto aquí se yerra.
 Fue declarar lo natural más vivo,
 fue de virtud hacer perfeta historia,
 y fue juntar el cielo con la tierra.

[Desire moves its wings with great force / in praise of she whom I sing. / At the start, a fear rises up / that if it strives, my brain will suffer. / For its part, reason forces me: / I speak and I am silent, and I am caught between the two; / I strive at times, and at others I am frightened; / in the end, the desire to write gives me new strength. / A joy to the world; a glory for our times, / was the birth of that lady for whom I live: / it was the repair of all that here goes astray. / Her birth showed nature at its most vivid, / it brought completion to the history of virtue, / her birth joined heaven to earth.]

In a sequence that contains notably few memorable examples of figurative speech, Boscán borrows from Tansillo to forge an image of the speaker's desire to write praise of his new love as a great bird beating the air with strokes of its powerful wings.²³ The metaphor reflects Renaissance wit (*agudeza*) in the implicit pun between the quills of a pen and the feathers of wings, which, as the first quatrain moves along, may be those of Phaeton (a conventional mythological reference in poems about fearing and daring to write is to Phaeton, the son of Helios, who dared to try to drive the chariot of the sun). It also provides a powerful visual counterpart to the rhythmic propulsion of the dactyl and trochees that dominate in the first line. In addition, the poem, drawing on Petrarch, introduces the message of Christian salvation in its tercets, as the new lady brings perfect virtue, the union of heaven and earth, to the world. Poem 79 expands, triumphantly, on the divine theme:

Poem 79

La tierra, el cielo y más los elementos
 han puesto su arte, hizieron a porfía
 ésta, cuyo nombre es señora mía,
 so cuya mano'stan mis sentimientos.

23. The source was identified by Armisén, *Estudios sobre la lengua*.

Quedaron los maestros muy contentos
 de su labor, y vieron que acudía
 la mano al punto de la fantasía;
 y en paz fueron allí sus movimientos.
 Dichoso el día, dichosa la hora,
 también la tierra donde nacer quiso
 ésta del mundo general señora.
 Dichosa edad, que tanto se mejora,
 Pues entre sí ya tienen paraíso
 Los que infierno tuvieron hasta'gora.

[The earth, the sky, and also all the elements / have worked all
 their art, have prided themselves in making / this woman whose
 name is my lady, / all my sentiments are held beneath her hand.
 / These masters were quite contented / with their labor, as they
 saw all their dreams gathered up in her hand, / and that she came
 in peace. / Fortunate is the day, fortunate the hour, / and also the
 ground where she chose to be born / this great lady in our world.
 / Fortunate the age, which is much improved, / for they now have
 paradise / those who up to now had hell.]

This sonnet is followed by Poem 80, which begins with a close paraphrase of
 the opening line of Petrarch 159: “¿En cuál parte de cielo, en cuál planeta /
 guardado fue tan grande nacimiento?” (“In what part of heaven, by which
 planet / was so great a birth hidden?”). In the tercets, Boscán’s speaker gives
 the answer:

Díonosla Dios, mas no porque la diese,
 que fuera enagenar de su corona:
 prestada fue para mostrar su obra.
 Y según es el ser de su persona,
 porque más tiempo en ella él se viese,
 tarda quizás, que presto no la cobra.

(9-14)

[God gave her to us, but He did not, in giving her, / exile her from
 her crown: / she was lent in order to show His work. / And such
 is her being, / that He may tarry, / so that He may see Himself in
 her and not recall her soon.]

What the open and extended allusions to Petrarch are asking us to see here is that this group of poems, plus Poem 71, invoke Petrarch's Poems 55–65, a series in which Petrarch's speaker undergoes a crisis in his love for Laura as he experiences his passion to be waning and willfully renews its force. Thomas Roche has discussed the Petrarchan series (*Petrarch and the English Sonnet Sequences*, 47–49). He observes that Petrarch 55 represents a crossroads for Petrarch's lyric speaker, who is at the midpoint of his love for Laura *in vita*: Poem 62 refers to eleven years of love (“Or volge, Signor mio, l’undecimo anno”; 62.9 [“Now turns, my Lord, the eleventh year”]; Petrarca, *Petrarch’s Lyric Poems*, 140–41), and the speaker loves Laura for twenty-one years before her death. Petrarch 55 begins, “Quel foco ch’i pensai che fosse spento” (“That fire which I thought had gone out”), but continues, “dal freddo tempo et da l’età men fresca, / fiamma et martír ne l’anima rinfresca. / Non fur mai tutte spente, a quell ch’i’veggio, / ma ricoperte alquanto le faville, / et temo no’l secondo error sia peggio” (1–5) (“because of the cold season and my age no longer fresh, now renews flames and suffering in my soul. They were never entirely extinguished, as I see, those embers, but somewhat covered over; and I am afraid that my second error will be worse”) (ibid., 132–33). Roche argues that the renewal of the speaker’s passionate love presents a grave danger. In lines 1–13 and 17, he “makes the wrong reply” when offered salvation:

Perché quel che mi trasse ad amar prima,
 altrui colpa mi toglia,
 del mio dermo voler già non mi svoglia

 non vó che da tal nodo Amor mi scioglia.

(59; 1–3, 17)

[Although the fault of another takes away from me what drew me first to love, it by no means dissuades me from my firm desire . . . I do not wish Love to loose me from such a knot]

(translated by Durling, cited in Roche, *Petrarch and the English Sonnet Sequences*, 49)

Rejecting grace redoubles his sin, as Roche explains: “With this willful desire Petrarch can go on in 60 to praise ‘l’arbor gentil che forte amai molt’anni’ (the noble tree that greatly I have loved for many years) and to wonder about the effects of ‘le mie nove rime,’ but this concern does not prevent his

launching into a blasphemous litany of all that ties him to his love” (49). The blasphemous poem in question is Petrarch 61, “Benedetto sia’l giorno, e ’l mese, et l’anno,” the source text for the tercets of Boscán’s Poem 70, quoted above, “Dichoso el día.”

Schooled by Roche’s reading of Petrarch, we find the point of Boscán’s Poems 71, 78, 79, and 80. In the *Canzoniere*, the speaker has rejected the opportunity for salvation, and the lines of benediction therefore read as titillating *errore*, blasphemous statements of the speaker’s perverse commitment to idolatry. Boscán draws the Petrarchan crisis into his own text in order to foreground the contrasting, moderate stance that *his* speaker adopts toward love. In this way, Boscán frames another statement of the liberation that modern, courtierized self-restraint provides its subjects: in the modern Spanish world that is described in the Second Book, desire is authorized as long as it is contained; and the second lady will lead Boscán to his self-containment. For this reason, Boscán’s speaker utters nearly the same lines that have condemned Petrarch’s speaker, but the words read as beautifully worked statements of praise directed toward the lady who has saved him from peril.

Socializing Petrarch

The speaker experiences doubts, reversals, and hesitations with the second lady; however, when the sequence begins to resolve itself it does so rather abruptly, as Navarrete has observed (*Orphans of Petrarch*, 87–90). Between Poems 100 and 112, the speaker continues to refer to suffering and doubt, but from Poem 112, he finds himself in the “clear afternoon” of repose, reflecting that “como después del tempestuoso día / la tarde clara suele ser sabrosa” (1–2) (“just as, after a stormy day / the clear afternoon is delicious”), so he can now enjoy “reposar d’un hombre que camina, / que a la sombra descansa un breve rato” (12–13) (“the repose of a man who, walking, / rests in the shade a brief while”). From here, the sequence rushes towards its end. Poem 119 employs the same anaphoric structure, and the same key word (*dulce*) that appeared in Poem 95, and directly counters the pleasures enumerated in the earlier poem, resolving the error of taking joy in self-deception by substituting the more appropriate leisurely activity of sweet, but disciplined, repose:

Dulce reposo de mi entendimiento;
 dulce plazer fundado sobre bueno;

.

Dulce pensar que'stoy en paraíso;
 sino que, 'n fin, m'acuerdo que soy hombre
 y en las cosas del mundo tomo aviso

(1-2; 12-14)

[Sweet repose of my understanding / sweet pleasure founded on
 the good; / . . . / Sweet thought that I am in paradise; / but in
 the end, I remember that I am a man, / and that I take my counsel
 from things of this world.]

In contrast to his earlier habit of wishful thinking, the speaker corrects himself, pulling back from his fanciful allusion to paradise to recommit himself to reality: not paradise, but the regular world, not someone specially marked out by fortune, but a regular man.

What brings about this rapid enlightenment? Unlike Petrarch's text or the sixteenth-century sequences of writers such as Sidney or Spenser, there is no clear formal or numerological pattern that sets it up. It is possible to say that Boscán is following Dante and Petrarch in representing salvation as a sudden flash of insight brought about, as he says in Poem 116, "strangely" ("El milagro fue hecho 'strañamente, / porque resucitando el mortal velo, / resucitó también la immortal alma"; 9-11 ["The miracle was performed strangely, / for as the mortal veil was resurrected, / so was the immortal soul resurrected as well"]). *Extraño/a* can refer to the miraculous, and an element of divine intervention is obviously at work in the speaker's salvation, particularly here, when he compares it to resurrection. But once again we need to recognize the worldly orientation of this text, in which love is not transcended; in fact it is realized when he is joined with his lady in *casto amor*:²⁴

Poem 127

D'una mortal y triste perlesía
 en su cama tendida mi alm'estaba,
 y como el mal los nervios l'ocupaba,
 ni de pies ni de manos se valía.
 El casto Amor, que Dios del cielo envía,

24. Darst cites Crawford on the idea that Boscán's speaker has married his lady by the end of the sequence (*Juan Boscán*, 50-51).

le dijo en ver la pena que pasaba:
 “Suelta tus pies, tus manos te destraba,
 toma tu lecho a cuestras y haz tu vía!”
 Volví luego a mirarme y vime sano
 y caminé sin rastro de dolencia
 por las cuestras así como en lo llano.
 ¡O poder eternal y soberano!
 ¿Quién sanará con propia diligencia
 si la salud no da tu larga mano?

[With a mortal and sad paralysis / my soul lay in her bed, / and since the sickness had penetrated down to her very sinews, / she could employ neither feet nor hands. / Chaste Love, whom God sent from the heavens, / said to her, seeing the sorrow in which she passed her hours, / “Loosen your feet, your hands are freed, / leave your bed behind and make your way!” / I turned then to see myself and I found myself healed / and I walked without a trace of pain / through rough places and smooth. / Oh eternal and sovereign power! / Who can truly be healed / if their health is not given by your great hand?]

The reference to the Gospel of John in line 8 (“Jesus said to him: ‘Stand up, take your mat and walk’”; 5.8) appears to cast the speaker’s salvation in the terms of a divine intervention; however, since it is “casto amor” and not God or Christ who frees the soul and commands her to walk, and since “casto amor” refers to Church-sanctioned, married love, Boscán has once again mediated Petrarchan metaphysics with his more pragmatic and socially oriented spiritual views. In Poem 127 as in Poem 119, it is possible to be saved through the wise and moderate enjoyment of the worldly pleasures that have been provided by God to man. We can identify this view not only with Horace and the ancients but with Boscán’s particular pre-Tridentine humanist moment in Spain, in which Epicureanism and Christianity come together. The Christianity that inflects the close of the sequence will not survive the Counter-Reformation. But in Boscán’s sequence, the miracle is the world.²⁵

25. Boscán’s clearest statement of these ideas appears in his “Epístola a Mendoza.” On the representation of God in Boscán’s writings, see Lorenzo, “Displacing Petrarch.”

Canto

Among the poems Boscán uses to draw the sequence to a close, Poems 114, 120, and 126 stand out for special mention since they systematically correct the *errore* I have been stressing are central to the sequence, and to the First and Second Books taken together—namely, the perils of fantasy and of uncontained song. In Poem 114, the speaker begins to reflect on his previous and his present state, framing the difference as the one between *llanto* and *canción*: “Otro tiempo lloré y ahora canto, / canto d’amor mis bienes sosegados; / d’amor lloré mis males tan penados, / que por necesidad era mi llanto” (1–4) (“Another time I lamented and now I sing, / I sing of the leisurely pleasures of love; / I lamented my grievous sufferings, / and my lament was of necessity”). The poem indicates the moral and the poetic distance that the speaker has traveled between poems such as Poem 19 and Poem 47, in which he judged bad song to be, precisely, “necessity,” the unavoidable, and the justifiable, outcome of suffering. The tercets of Poem 114 attribute the emendation of his song, his writing, and his speech to reason, thus reinforcing the message set forth in the “Letter,” that the means to appropriate and satisfying poetry is the exercise of rational judgment:

Razón juntó l’onesto y deleitable,
 y de’stos dos nació lo provechoso,
 mostrando bien de do engendrado fue.
 ¡O concierto d’Amor grande y gozoso!,
 sino que de contento no terné
 qué cante, ni que’scriba, ni qué hable.

(9–14)

[Reason united the honest and the pleasing, / and from those two was betterment born, / well illustrating from where it was conceived. / Oh great and pleasurable harmony of Love!²⁶ / without whose contentment there can be nothing / to sing, write, or speak about]

26. The word *concierto* here makes a nice pun, which is also available, though less common, in English, namely, “concert” as harmony and “concert” as concord, or agreement. This helps make sense of the next line: the mutual agreement and concord of happy lovers is what distinguishes the new love and allows the speaker to sing, write, speak.

We can associate “reason” as it is used here more completely with the speaker’s successful courtierization when we think about this self-correcting gesture. It appears in Poem 119, as we have seen; it appears in these lines; and it reflects the self-policing of the man who has turned himself over to the gaze of his peers for their correction, internalizing their prudent counsel and voicing it himself, as his own belief.

The problem of the talking wounds is resolved in Poem 120, as the speaker describes with the self-consciousness of an educated narrator how “tristes años y largos fui cuitado, / en tormentos d’Amor tan afligido” (1–2) (“sad, long years I was troubled, / afflicted by torments of love”), but that now “mi guerra convirtió en tanta vitoria, / que ahora vencedor estoy triunfando, / dejando’scrita en todos larga historia” (12–14) (“my war was changed to such a victory, / that I am now the triumphant champion, / leaving my long story written in all [things]”). The “things” upon which he finds his story written are not wounds but rocks, plants, and animals (“Contemplaba la piedra sin cuidado, / la planta . . . / y el animal”; 4–6 [“I contemplated the rock, carefree, / the plant . . . / and the animal”]). This is one reason he can write about them in lines that are so clearly narrative of a past state. Now that he has become integrated into the society around him, the speaker can assume an appropriate subject position within its grammar. Indeed, one significant element of this poem is his facility with the imperfect tense.

In a similar fashion, Poem 126 closes the theme of naive versus prudent modes of speech, as the speaker describes his earlier mode of publishing his woes: “hablilla fui” (4) (“I was a chatterbox”). The word *hablilla*, with its lilting sound and suggestions of the diminutive or the infantile, echoes *redondilla*, the word Boscán uses to describe his earlier poetry when he refers to it in the “Letter,” and it reminds us that euphony is one of the characteristics attributed to unreasonable poetic speech in the Second Book. The quatrain continues to fill out the theme: “que’n mi se componía / de lástima y dolor y de tormento, / y entre lenguas se mejoraba el cuento / que a su plazer cad’una le decía” (5–8) (“for I was made up / of grief and pain and torment, / and as tongues wagged, the story got better / for each one told it in the way that pleased them”) in a repetition of the earlier idea that the momentum of loose speech has the capacity to enhance emotion, as well as error.

Of course, to be corrected, the speaker must be rendered socially and culturally visible, which, in the world of the lyric sequence means “legible” to his fellows. And in this sequence, as we have already seen, this means that he must be capable of a self-narration that is more polished and considered

than the uncontained, metonymic “publication” we saw earlier (*publicar*, Poem 19). Hence with the same insistence that earlier poems in the sequence drift between present, past, and a timeless space of daydream, Boscán fills the final poems with references to then and now and has his speaker deliver a clear-eyed assessment of the causes of his follies in loving and in speech. Poems 123, 124, and 127 all inscribe clear references to present and past; the final song, Poem 130, combines good narration with references to the other principal themes of the sequence: the self-absorbed lover, prisoner of Amor, the notion of error, the poetry of *llanto*:

Gran tiempo Amor me tuvo de su mano,
 el bien con el dolor en mí templando,
 traíéndome con gusto y con tormento;
 conmigo mismo entonces fui pasando,
 embuelto en mis dolencias como sano,
 pues que todo paraba en ser contento

 Duraron largo tiempo estos errores,
 y ¡ojalá, pues tan grande fue'l errarse,
 no comenzaran o no duraran tanto!
 No había mi alma tanto de'ngañarse
 (por más que'n mí pudiesen los amores)
 que tan gran bien parase en tan gran llanto.
 De lo que fui, por lo que soy, me'spanto

(1–6; 46–52)

[For a long time Love held me in his hand, / moderating joy with pain within me, / leading me along by means of pleasure and torment; / then I spent my time with myself alone, / wrapped up in my sufferings, appearing like a healthy man, / for my sole aim was happiness. / . . . / These errors lasted a long time, / and would that it were, since the error was so great, / that they had not begun, or lasted so long! / My soul did not have enough to deceive itself with / (despite of what loves were capable of working in me) / that such great happiness did not end in great lament. / Of what I was, because of what I am now, I am frightened]

Earlier in this chapter, I quoted lines from this poem in which the speaker refers to his rejection of the counsel of his prudent friends. Returning

to the poem at this juncture, we see the different kinds of salvation that are represented in the *Canzoniere* and in Boscán's own text. The two part on the matter of the world: Petrarch's speaker turns to the Virgin in poem 366 of the *Canzoniere*, in a textual and spiritual rejection of the terrestrial. In contrast, Boscán invokes Christ in his aspect of carnal man to inscribe earthly redemption. Beginning at line 61, the speaker celebrates "nuestro Dios a quien tanto costamos, / que derramó su sangre por nosotros" (61–62) ("our God, whom we cost so much, / who shed his blood for us"), and the balance of the poem is directed to "Aquel que ha perdonado / ser muerto y tormentado / injurias padeciendo cara a cara" (84–86) ("He who forgave / being killed and tormented / suffering wounds face to face"). He fills out the repercussions of these references in lines 106–20 (lines that make use of the future tense, as well as the past and the present):

Mis errores veré, mas ya los veo
 y entiendo bien el vano fundamento
 sobre'l cual levantaba mi cuidado

 El mundo m'ha vengado con su lanza
 con crueldad tamaña
 que he dolor ya de tanta destemplanza.
 Nunca pidió la rabia de mi saña
 ser vengada con furia tan estraña.

[I will see my errors, but I already see them / and I understand well the vain foundation / upon which I built up my cares / . . . / The world has avenged me with its lance / with a cruelty of such dimensions / that I now am pained by its lack of moderation. / The rage of my anger never asked / to be avenged with such strange fury.]

The divinely sanctioned vengeance unleashed in the modern world on resistant subjects is their consignment to continued suffering. Devoid of sheltering Stoic distance from the accidents of experience, they are condemned to experience the world as a series of continual shocks, outrages, and causes for lament. But the clearest statement of Boscán's speaker's rebirth from undisciplined singer to the modern and circumspect Spanish courtier is Poem 115.

Poem 115

Antes tendré que cante blandamente,
 pues amo blandamente y soy amado;
 sé que'n Amor no es término forzado
 sólo escribir aquel que dolor siente.
 Desabafase quien está doliente,
 y canta en la prisión el desdichado,
 con hierros y cadenas fatigado,
 mas su cantar, del nuestro es diferente.
 Yo cantaré conforme a la avecilla
 que canta así la sombra d'algún ramo,
 que'l caminante olvida su camino,
 quedando transportado por oílla.
 Así yo de ver quien me ama y a quien amo,
 en mi cantar tendré gozo contino.

[Now I maintain that I will sing gently, / for I love gently and I am loved; / I know that in Love it is not a forced rule / that only he who feels pain should write. / He who is suffering unburdens himself, / and the wretched man sings in his prison, / fatigued by his irons and chains, / but their song is different from ours. / I will sing in keeping with the little bird / who sings in the shade of some branch, in such a way / that the wanderer forgets his path, / standing still, he is transported, in hearing it. / Thus I, gazing upon the one who loves me and who I love in return, / will take continuous joy in my song.]

As I have indicated at various points in this chapter, this poem declares the speaker's triumph over old ways of loving and singing and his emergence as the new, self-contained, and self-contented author of a new type of courtly song. He rejects the conventions of courtly love as so much antiquated "*término forzado*" and sings his sweet new tune from "some" (*algún*) branch, neither the highest nor the lowest on the tree. The image of the shady branches that invite the wanderer to stray from his path, and the song that fixes him beneath their canopy transported in continuous joy, are evocative of Petrarch 142, "A la dolce ombre delle belle frondi." Poem 116 confirms that it is the Petrarchan laurel, as the speaker proclaims, "Celebrado seré en toda la gente, / llevando en mi triumpho para'l cielo, /

con el verde laurel la palma blanca” (12–14) (“I will be celebrated amongst all the people, / carrying to heaven, in my triumph, / the green laurel and the white palm”). But the laurel joined with the palm serves as the figure for a Petrarchism that is mediated and moderated by peace. This peace is gained through daily intercourse with a society of which the speaker forms a part. In contrast to his former habit of fleeing from his peers, he exists among them: “Celebrado seré *en toda la gente*” (12; my emphasis) (“I am celebrated among all the people”).

Garcilaso

Poems 115 and 116 frame the completion of the speaker’s journey from isolated Castilian to cosmopolitan courtier, and the few remaining sonnets that follow elaborate on the speaker’s contentment and demonstrate his newfound ability to narrate his past. He speaks in short, comprehensible statements that stand in contrast to his paralysis in Poem 47. Poems 128 and 129, however, seem to disrupt the closing moves of the sequence. The first is a sonnet written in praise of Garcilaso, “El hijo de Peleo, que celebrado” (“The son of Peleus, celebrated”) The second, “Garcilaso, que al bien siempre aspiraste” (“Garcilaso, you who always aspired to the good”), is also a sonnet and laments the fact that Garcilaso did not take Boscán with him when he died. After this poem, the sequence is completed with the long summary song of Poem 130, “Gran tiempo Amor me tuvo de su mano” (“For a long time Love held me in his hand”).

Ana Girón, Boscán’s wife, asserted that she followed his instructions in preparing the text of the *Obras* (the text was published in 1543, with an introductory comment lamenting that Boscán was unable to complete work before his death in 1542). So it seems likely that Boscán requested that the two sonnets to his friend be included in the sequence. Whether or not he did so, their impact on the text is to inscribe another significant social discourse into the Second Book, that of Renaissance friendship. Ullrich Langer has discussed how Renaissance writers, following the model of the ancients, privileged the discourse of friendship, distinguishing “*philia* . . . from desire, concupiscence, or erotic love (*eros*) and from simple good will (*eunoia*) or, later on, Christian charity and the love of God (*agape*)” (*Perfect Friendship*, 20). Theorized as more perfect than heteroerotic desire because it was (ostensibly) desexualized, true friendship was spoken of as a rare and beautiful phenomenon, one that was capable of transforming its participants

in a manner similar to Neo-Platonic love. Garcilaso represented his friendship with Boscán as exemplary of this kind of friendship in his “Epístola a Boscán,” describing the “strange” (*extraño*) effect of his bond with “vos, del amistad ejemplo” (31) (“you, the exemplar of friendship”), that “ninguna cosa en mayor precio estimo . . . tanto como el amor de parte mía” (“I deem nothing more precious . . . than the love I bear you”).²⁷ The theme of perfect friendship is also present in Boscán’s Poem 129, “Garcilaso, que al bien siempre aspiraste” (“Garcilaso, you who always aspired to the good”), since Boscán is lamenting his having been left behind when his friend ascended to Heaven, the word *bien*, or “good” is employed in the Neo-Platonic sense. We have already seen a socializing role attributed to masculine friendship in Acuña’s Sonnet 45. In the Second Book, the poems to Garcilaso ascribe perfect friendship a role in accommodating men to their position as subjects in a courtly—but also a courtierized—society.

But while Boscán assigned friendship an important regulatory function within the shaping of the Hapsburg courtier, a number of poems by Garcilaso demonstrate an alternate use for the discourse. Elegy 2 and Sonnet 33 deploy the discourse of friendship to fashion a conceit of the private self who appears to *elude* the powers of the Hapsburg regime, as well as its principal mechanisms of institutional and discursive interpellation. The private voice that Renaissance writers and readers associated with the confidences of friendship enabled Garcilaso to play some arch games with the figure of the

27. “Iba pensando y discurriendo un día / a cuántos bienes alargó la mano / él que del amistad mostró el camino, / y luego vos, del amistad ejemplo, / os me ofrecéis en estos pensamientos / y con vos a los menos me acontece / una gran cosa, al parecer estraña, / y porque lo sepáis en pocos versos, / es que, considerando los provechos, / las honras y los gustos que me vienen / desta vuestra amistad, que en tanto tengo, / ninguna cosa en mayor precio estimo / ni me hace gustar del dulce estado / tanto como el amor de parte mía / . . . / amistad y la estrechez nuestra / con solo aquéste el alma se enterece; / y sé que otramente me aprovecha / el deleite, que suele ser propuesto / a las útiles cosas y a las graves / . . . / hallo que'l provecho, el ornamento, / el gusto y el placer que se me sigue / del vínculo d'amor, que nuestro genio / enredó sobre nuestros corazones / son cosas que de mí no salen fuera, / y en mí el provecho solo se convierte” (“Epístola a Boscán,” 28–41; 44–48; 51–56) (“I was thinking and pondering one day / about how many good things he held forth, / he who showed the path to friendship, / and then you, the exemplar of friendship, / came into my thoughts / and with you, in the slightest occasion / strange as it seems, a great thing happens to me, / and that you may know it in few verses, / it is this: considering the advantages, / the honors, and the pleasures that come to me / from our friendship, there being many, / I do not esteem anything more precious, / nor do I take more pleasure from that sweet state / than I do in the love that I bring from my side / . . . / friendship and our closeness / with only these is the soul made tender; / and I know that I am also improved / by the delight, that is often attributed / to useful and grave things / . . . / I find that the benefit, the ornament, / the enjoyment and the pleasure that come to me / from the bond of love, that our intelligence / wound around our hearts / are things that do not depart from within me, / and which convert themselves only in my gain”).

imperial subject. In a widely discussed section of *Elegy 2*, for example, he describes to Boscán how,

debajo de la seña esclarecida
 de César africano nos hallamos
 la vencedora gente recogida:
 diversos en estudio, que unos vamos
 muriendo por coger de la fatiga
 el fruto que con el sudor sembramos;
 otros (que hacen de la virtud amiga
 y premio de sus obras y así quieren
 que la gente lo piense y que lo diga)
 destros en lo público difieren,
 y en lo secreto sabe Dios en cuánto
 se contradicen en los que profieren

 Más, ¿dónde me llevó la pluma mía?,
 que a sátira me voy mi paso a paso
 y aquesta que os escribo es elegía.
 Yo enderezo, señor, en fin mi paso
 por donde vos sabéis que su proceso
 siempre ha llevado Garcilaso

(4-15; 22-27)

[under the shining standard / of the African Caesar we find ourselves,
 / the victors, gathered: / we are diverse in our studies, for some among
 us go on / half-dead, to seize from fatigue / that fruit we sowed with
 our sweat; / and others (who make virtue their friend and / the prize
 of their efforts, and desire / that people think precisely that, and speak
 of it) / those others dissemble in public, / and in secret God knows
 by how much / they contradict their oaths / . . . / But, where did my
 pen lead me? / for step by step I head toward satire / and what I write
 you is an elegy. / I will adjust, sir, my step at last / toward where you
 know its progress / has always led Garcilaso]

These lines reveal the hidden side of the modern man of arms and letters. Garcilaso describes his actions and those of his fellow imperial fighters in the aftermath of the battle for the fort of La Goleta in 1535. The Spanish victory is sometimes represented as the pinnacle of the emperor's career.

However, in this telling the scene and its players are portrayed decidedly ingloriously. No longer worthy knights who receive honor and privilege by birthright, Garcilaso's fellow fighters in the elegy struggle to gain a share of the spoils of their victory and expose their ignobility when no one is looking. Their moderation and sprezzatura are thus revealed as performances that men enact and let slip.²⁸ Even Garcilaso himself, a knight of Santiago, allows his pen to stray in the confidence of friendship and sends his elegy toward satire.

But this straying is obviously intentional. Garcilaso's sally into erroneous writing and undisciplined speaking—a swerve we might read as “publishing” or “telling” along the lines of the naive speaker of Boscán's First and Second Books—creates the effect of a gap between Garcilaso de la Vega, famed courtier of arms and letters, and a more “authentic” self who writes rapidly and unguardedly to his bosom friend.²⁹ The slip into satire thus creates the effect of a brief assertion of agency within a scene of profound subjection. The depths to which the proud Spanish members of the imperial forces felt they had sunk during the Tunisian campaign is illustrated by the historical record and by some of its more jaded chroniclers. Indeed, in an unfortunate historical coincidence, an account of Garcilaso's death provides a striking counterpart to the elegy. In his account of the event, the Cordoban don Martín de Cereceda relates:

Aquí en esta torre había catorce personas, que eran doce hombres y dos muchachos . . . el Emperador quiso ver qué gente era y a qué estaba allí, y así mandó con el artillería que con el avanguardia era llegada se diese batería a la torre y así se dió y se hizo un pequeño portillo . . . don Jerónimo de Urrea, caballero español, con una mala escala arremetió a la torre y entró por el portillo . . . quiso subir el capitán Maldonado y el maese de campo Garcilaso de la Vega, entre los cuales hubo alguna diferencia por la subida. A la hora llega don Guillén de Moncada, hijo de don Hugo de Moncada, diciendo: “Señores, suplicoos, pues vuestras Mercedes tenéis tanta honra, que me dejéis ganar a mí una poca honra.” A la hora le respondió el capitán Maldonado diciendo: “Para tan

28. On the threat of the “slip” as constitutive of the figure of the courtier, see Berger, *The Absence of Grace*, chapter 1.

29. Paul Julian Smith was an early innovator in analyzing the rhetorical aspects of Garcilaso's intimate voice. See *Writing in the Margin*, 43–56. On the “sincerity debates,” see Heiple, *Garcilaso de la Vega*.

valeroso caballero poca honra es esta; suba vuestra merced.” Así fue la segunda persona don Guillén de Moncada. Subiendo Garcilaso de la Vega y el capitán Maldonado, los que en la torre estaban dejan caer una gran gruesa piedra y da en la escalera y la rompe, y así cayó el maese de campo y capitán, y fue muy mal descalabrado el maese de campo en la cabeza, de la cual murió a muy pocos días.³⁰

[Here in this tower there were fourteen people, twelve men and two boys . . . the emperor wanted to see what people they were and what purpose they had being there, and thus he commanded that a battery be launched against the tower by means of the artillery with which the vanguard had arrived and so it was launched, and this made a small breach . . . don Jeronimo de Urrea, a Spanish gentleman, leaned a bad ladder against the tower and entered through the breach . . . the Captain Maldonado and the Fieldmaster Garcilaso de la Vega wished to climb, and there was a disagreement between them about climbing. Just then, don Guillén de Moncada, son of don Hugo de Moncada, arrived, saying, “Sirs, I beseech you, since your graces have so much honor, let me win a little bit of honor for myself.” Then Captain Maldonado responded, saying: “For a valiant knight this is little honor; climb, your grace.” Thus the second person was don Guillen de Moncada. While Garcilaso de la Vega and the Captain Maldonado were climbing, those who were in the tower let fall a great, thick rock which hit the ladder and broke it, and thus the fieldmaster and the captain fell, and the fieldmaster was badly injured in the head, from which he died in a very few days.]

The narrative reflects the erosion of the historical and material supports for the ideal of the *diestro brazo* in the imperial wars. Cereceda describes a moment of transition, in which honor retains sufficient value to provoke

30. *Tratado de las campañas y otros acontecimientos de los ejércitos del emperador Carlos V en Italia, Francia, Berbería y Grecia desde 1521 a 1545 por don Martín de Cereceda, cordobés, soldado en aquellos ejércitos* (Account of the Campaigns and of the Other Occurrences Within the Armies of the Emperor Charles V in Italy, France, Barbary and Greece from 1521 to 1545 by don Martin de Cereceda, Cordoban, Soldier in Those Armies). The account is discussed by Aurora Hermida Ruiz, in an unpublished dissertation that should be considered required reading for students and critics in the field of sixteenth-century studies (“Historiografía literaria,” 41–43). Hermida points out that the story tarnishes the legendary heroic death of the great paragon of Spanish arms and letters and that it is therefore not surprising, perhaps, that it is overlooked in most accounts of Garcilaso’s life and death (43).

the assembled noblemen to arguments regarding which one has greatest need of the very little share there is to go around. In the context of this significant cultural shift, Garcilaso's wanderings between elegy and satire come into sharper focus, illustrating his sensitivity to the entirely discursive nature of the modern forms of identity that were being conferred upon Spanish subjects in his age. Anticipating late twentieth-century formulations presented by critics such as Judith Butler, perhaps, Garcilaso recognized that the "identity" of the subject is multiple, overdetermined, and in need of constant assertion and restaging. In keeping with Butler's ideas about resistance and "camp," he also observed that the necessity of this restaging establishes the conditions for witty reversals.³¹ A more elaborately worked (and, in fact, camp) example of discursive resistance is Garcilaso's Sonnet 33, another poem devoted to the ambivalent representation of the victory at Tunis. This sonnet has inspired a fair amount of comment in recent years. Indeed, Elegy 2 and Sonnet 33 are often read together for their implicit critiques of early Hapsburg triumphalism in the wake of the Spanish victory at Tunis.³² The poem serves as a fitting capstone to this chapter, since it testifies to some unexpected consequences of Boscán's project of courtierizing song. Garcilaso mobilizes two important poetic devices privileged in the new art, allusion and rhythm, to stage a scene of the radical undoing of the imperial subject.

Sonnet 33

Boscán, las armas y el furor de Marte,
 que con su propia fuerza el africano
 suelo regando, hazen que el romano
 imperio reverdezca en esta parte,
 han reduzido a la memoria el arte
 y el antiguo valor italiano,
 por cuya fuerza y valerosa mano

31. Butler has argued that "when power shifts from its status as a condition of agency to the subject's 'own' agency," the stage is set for discursive resistance through forms of parody and camp (*The Psychic Life of Power*, 12). As Garcilaso's death rather graphically illustrated, however, neither he nor Butler's individual subject "wields the power to rework or rearticulate the terms of discursive demand. . . . To thwart the injunction to produce a docile body is not the same as dismantling the injunction or changing the terms of subject constitution" (*ibid.*, 88).

32. See Cruz, "Self-Fashioning in Spain"; Graf, "From Scipio to Nero"; and Helgerson, *A Sonnet from Carthage*.

África se aterró de parte a parte.
 Aquí donde el romano encendimiento,
 dond'el fuego y la llama licenciosa
 solo el nombre dejaron a Cartago,
 vuelve y revuelve al amor mi pensamiento,
 hiere y enciend'el alma temerosa,
 y en llanto y en ceniza me deshago.

[Boscán, the arms and fury of Mars, / which, irrigating the African /
 ground with its own force, cause the Roman / empire to flourish
 again in these parts, / have relegated to memory that art / and that
 ancient Italian valor, / by whose strength and worthy hand / Africa
 was rent, part from part. / Here, where the Roman torch, / where
 the fire and the licentious flame / left only the name of Carthage, /
 my thoughts turn and return to love, / my fearful soul wounds and
 burns, / and in weeping and ashes I am undone.]³³

The first line of the poem sets up the expectation that it is a celebratory piece commemorating the triumph of imperial forces in Africa. But the triumphalist imperial message is complicated by the fact that the Spanish do not receive mention in the poem. The arms and fury in line 1 are linked to Mars, not to Charles; and it is the ancient Roman power that serves as the exemplar of “valor” (lines 6 and 7) and the point of origin of the very idea of noble war. The resulting ambiguity casts the imperial victory in an ambivalent light. This ambivalence arguably prepares us to question whether a parodic register is inscribed in the poem through its structure of allusions. Garcilaso opens the sonnet in the key of hyperbolic masculine violence, with “the furor of Mars” and his sword streaming blood across the African plain. He concludes it with an imperial fighter adopting the posture of vanquished Dido, the Carthaginian queen who was undone, not by warfare but by passion. The dissonance between these two images is not entirely resolved by the heroic status that was assigned to Dido by Italian and Spanish humanists. Male and female worthies were rarely combined in a single exemplum. Rather, Garcilaso’s use of the classical reference calls the nature of the contemporary African conquest into question: have the emperor and his troops superseded the ancient triumphs, or have they spent

33. Literally, “I undo myself.”

their force vainly on an unequal foe? Is Garcilaso's courtly lyric speaker a man of Mars, or have modern circumstances transformed him into a beautiful but helpless figure who is ravaged by emotion, as opposed to action? The tercets of the sonnet extend this ambiguity by drawing on the constraining and disciplining pressures that we have already observed as inherent to the form's poetics. Whereas writers such as Acuña and Boscán mobilized those poetics to represent ideological and linguistic pressures that bind the subject, Garcilaso uses them to initiate a centrifugal motion. The shift is a function of both form and content, a combination of the rising sensation created by the syntax of lines 9 through 11 ("Aquí donde . . . / donde . . .") and the repetitions in those lines and in lines 12 and 13 ("vuelve y revuelve . . . hiere y enciende"). The pattern of sound underscores the gyration of the speaker's thoughts in a neat feat of consonance that is entirely licit within the protocols of the Italianate new art. Its legitimacy does not prevent it from subverting the stability of the sonnet-subject, however. Insistent elisions and assonances propel lines 9 to 14 forward: "don-de el-ro-MA-no en-cen-di-MIEN-to" (line 9); "don-de el-FUE-go y-la-LLA-ma" (line 10); "VUEL-ve y-re-VUELVE-a-MOR" (line 12). The final effect is an inscription of centrifugal force whose release in line 14—"y en-LLAN-to- y-en-cen-I-za-medes-HA-go"—underscores the final word, a form of *deshacerse*.³⁴

Garcilaso and Boscán both understood that the new lyric was a poetry of subjects. For Boscán, the ultimate object of the new art was to guide courtly subjects into moderation and restraint. But after having focused in this chapter and in Chapter 1 on the ways in which the new lyric served as a tool through which to inculcate Spain's noblemen with doctrines of subjection and self-restraint, it is important to point out that Boscán's friend and fellow collaborator provided equally deft examples of its potential to subvert the self-contained figure of the Hapsburg courtier. I will return to this aspect of Garcilaso in Chapter 4. First, however, I will examine a less ambivalent subject of empire, Gutierre de Cetina, who also attempted to work Italianate lyric into forms that would better represent his imperial subjectivity.

34. We might contrast the tercets of Garcilaso's Sonnet 33 to those of Acuña's Sonnet 30, discussed in Chapter 1. In Acuña's poem, the volta functions to contain the chaos of song, bending the frenzies it inspires to the will of reason. In Sonnet 33, the compression created by the volta becomes the impetus for a spiral of movement that undoes containment.