

A CRITICAL EDITION OF
'VARIOS ENIGMAS DE LOS DISLATES MUNDANOS'
(SOUTHAMPTON UNIVERSITY LIBRARY MS. A106),
WITH A STUDY OF POLITICO-RELIGIOUS POETRY
IN SIXTEENTH-CENTURY SPAIN

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ABSTRACT

FACULTY OF ARTS

SPANISH

Doctor of Philosophy

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The main body of the thesis comprises a critical edition of a recently-discovered anonymous manuscript poem, 'Varios enigmas de los dislates mundanos'. Detailed examination is made of the MS., which appears to be the only one extant, in an attempt to establish historical facts about both manuscript and poem; identification of the author of the work is shown to have proved impossible. The MS. text has required consistent emendation, for the obvious unfamiliarity with the Spanish language of the scribe of Southampton University Library MS. A106 has corrupted the presumably accurate original.

Throughout the poem's several thousand lines of discourse the author treats questions of moral folly, availing himself of frequently obscure metaphor and syntactic complexity. In propounding the traditional literary theme of contemptus mundi he refers to Spanish Imperial affairs of Philip II's reign; consequently, the King is exhorted to suppress with the force proper to a Christian hero evils manifest in the rebellious Netherlands. It is evident from the text that the author draws on his own experiences as a soldier and on poems of the late Middle Ages that view national issues in terms of conventional morality.

Such poetry, which mainly consisted of allegorical narrative or rhetorical discourse, was published and read well into the sixteenth century, often giving rise to imitative works. It is these, and thematically similar works of more innovatory form, that in the present study are denominated 'politico-religious'; composed notably by military authors, they reflect the values, nature, and aims of contemporary Spanish society. Unlike most lyrical verse of the time, poetry of public concern was usually available in print and was envisaged as a medium both instructive and documentary. This non-lyrical verse is, then, of major historical importance for several reasons, not least because it illustrates the endurance and modification of literary tradition in a period commonly thought to be one of intense innovation.

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ABBREVIATIONS

<u>Actas I</u>	<u>Actas del Primer Congreso Internacional de Hispanistas</u>
AGS	Archivo General de Simancas
BAE	Biblioteca de Autores Españoles
<u>BH</u>	<u>Bulletin Hispanique</u>
BM	British Museum
BNM	Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid
<u>BRAE</u>	<u>Boletín de la Real Academia Española</u>
<u>BSS</u>	<u>Bulletin of Spanish Studies</u>
<u>HR</u>	<u>Hispanic Review</u>
NBAE	Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles
<u>RFE</u>	<u>Revista de Filología Española</u>
<u>TCBS</u>	<u>Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society</u>

INTRODUCTION

I

In recent years scholars have drawn attention to certain misconceptions about Spanish literature of the Golden Age; they suggest that critical oversight and bias, especially in favour of novelty, have tended to distort the facts of literary history. The seminal work of Antonio Rodríguez-Moñino has shown to be fallacious the notion of extensive public knowledge and readership of contemporary lyrical poetry in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹ Literature consistently accessible to a wide number of people would be that which was published; with a few notable exceptions, poetic works available in print were seldom those of authors most studied in the twentieth century, but rather the popular and narrative verse frequently neglected by literary historians and critics.

It therefore can be seriously argued that a proper understanding of the nature of tradition in Golden Age literature might well depend on a knowledge of what was read as much as of what was written at a particular time.² One illustration of such a view is the endurance of fifteenth-century poets, as models, into the Imperial epoch. As J.M. Blecua has remarked: 'La admiración que los grandes poetas del siglo XV, especialmente Mena y Jorge

Manrique, despertaron en los dos siglos siguientes, es . . . innegable. Juan de Mena conoció casi tantas ediciones como Garcilaso y dejó una huella bastante profunda'.³ Hence, any attempt to discern traditional influences in sixteenth-century poetry should involve study of that of Mena, whose El laberinto de Fortuna was imitated as much for stylistic as for thematic and structural reasons. Other late medieval works published and referred to in that century might be thought similarly to exemplify peninsular literary continuity in the face of superior, innovatory forms and techniques introduced into Spain from Renaissance Italy.

The need to distinguish historical from aesthetic criteria when estimating the importance of a work of literature is emphasized by Keith Whinnom, who cites the libros de caballerías as an example of a major genre underrated by literary historians ostensibly because of its lack of artistic value.⁴ These romances were widely read, and they had more than a passing relevance to contemporary national aims and to literary tradition. An equally misrepresented genre of the Golden Age is the epic, then considered the noblest verse form by the theorists and cultivated by many poets, so many that it ultimately lost prestige. In his monograph, La poesía épica del Siglo de Oro, Frank Pierce notes the widespread diffusion and the quantitative importance of narrative poetry: 'No cabe duda de que la poesía narrativa, a diferencia de la lírica, se

hizo muy asequible, y desde luego se leyó extensamente'.⁵

He is referring here both to the epic, based largely on recent Italian models, and to moral allegories of traditional origin.

Like the chivalric fictions, heroic poetry in particular is historically important not only for its breadth of readership, but also for its reflection of contemporary thought about the Imperial society. Within a social structure that bred a literate 'middle' class of soldiers and clerics, Spain's sixteenth-century institutions, objectives, and ideologies reveal a very marked association of political and religious factors. Official theories of royal and public responsibility indicate clearly the relationships that were assumed to exist between politics, morality, and religion. E. Tierno Galván comments: 'Para los pensadores políticos del Siglo de Oro, la política es sierva de la moral, según la cosmovisión católica'.⁶ These authorities were of course theologians, but at a time when Spain was militantly involved in the defence and propagation of Catholicism their ideas seemed to be confirmed by current historical evidence.

Many contemporary verse works that reflect the conditions and beliefs of the society in and about which they were written can be described as 'politico-religious' in nature; it is their political reference that differentiates them from either devotional or philosophical verse. In a variety of forms, they express celebratory,

parenetic, and critical views that will be examined below with due regard to all potential influences on the works' composition. The origin of poetry that treats public matters resides as much in the traditionally moral view of political reality, or in the allegorical presentation of moral discourse, as it does in sixteenth-century debate about the relationship between history and poetry, or between entertainment and instruction. The newly-revived interest in Aristotle and Horace can only have confirmed established didactic elements in Spanish literature.

Poets' apparent sense of responsibility and power to influence the conduct of their readers merits yet wider attention. The inherent dangers of a socio-historical view of literature are obvious enough, but in studying works that have been designed for public transmission and edification, or that claim to be of national importance, a variety of non-literary factors should be considered. Prominent amongst these are the nature and demands of the society in question and the personal circumstances of poets. A serious attempt to relate literature to the social context in which it evolved is made in the most recent history of Golden Age prose and poetry, by R.O. Jones; furthermore, account is taken not only of tradition, but of such practical matters as publication, censorship, and patronage.⁷ Whilst rightly focusing critical attention on the most outstanding lyrical poetry, the author does not omit to comment on other works of the period. Moralistic, religious, and allegorical

poetry are shown to have proliferated in the early 1500s.⁸ However, bibliographies of first editions of verse reveal that even in the last quarter of the century a good proportion of works being published were of that very nature.⁹ Demand would thus seem to have diminished little, though it is possible that in the Postridentine era the supply served the purpose of official public education.

The long and iterative MS. poem, 'Varios enigmas de los dislates mundanos', may be classified amongst such works of late composition. Its conventional theme of remedy of moral folly is developed with reference to specific Imperial problems faced by the Spanish in the reign of Philip II. The moralistic intention of its anonymous, probably military author is nevertheless often masked by certain obscurities of style evidently designed to make the reader search for the poem's total meaning. As an expression of political criticism 'Varios enigmas' is bolder than otherwise similar verse written and published in the sixteenth century, and no less so than some of the late medieval works that will be seen to have prompted its author. Such established sources as the Laberinto, the Coplas de Mingo Revulgo, and the Coplas de Vita Christi were still in print in the middle of the century, as were the prose works of the curriculum author Plutarch, on whom the MS. poet relies heavily for illustrative evidence. The relation of political commentary to moral purpose characteristic of the above works is equally evident in 'Varios enigmas'.

Although the poem's author cannot be traced and its date of composition can only be conjectured, its most eminent intended reader, Philip II, is identified in the text. The King is reminded personally of his obligations and is exhorted to resolve forcibly what is seen as politico-religious betrayal in the Empire. Denunciation of rebellious heretics and critical reference to the Spanish administration are also made within the general demand that mankind examine and reform its wrong conduct. The poet's outspoken views on Spanish policy at least may well have precluded any likelihood of the work's publication, though his appeal to Philip in stanza 546 could be interpreted as a request for the royal privilegio. The poem was perhaps a mere experiment, but more probably it was considered unworthy of publication, in spite of contemporary predilection for works of moral profit.

The MS. poem has now been edited and studied for several reasons. Significant in that it confirms the enduring influence of peninsular literary tradition in a period of supposed innovation, it is particularly interesting for its author's technical ingenuity, and is valuable as a source of opinion on recent historical events. As far as can be estimated, Southampton University Library MS.A106, possibly a copy of the autograph, is the only extant version. A thus unique work, 'Varios enigmas de los dislates mundanos' has seemed a worthy addition to the growing corpus of minor Golden Age works presently coming to the attention of bibliographers, critics, and literary historians.

II

A brief history and a description of Southampton University Library MS.A106 will establish certain facts and suggest possible explanations of its origins. It was acquired for twenty-five pounds in 1967 from a local bookseller, Mr B.L. Gilbert. He had recently made the purchase from a Mrs Moger, whose father, Mr Leigh, owned an Islington curio shop during the late nineteenth century. Mrs Moger presumed that the MS. had come into her father's possession in the course of his work. These are the only known facts of the provenance of the MS.; any attempt to reconstruct its earlier past is largely conjectural.

Islington is an area of London which would probably have become the home of certain Sephardic Jews who were leaving the Netherlands for England from the seventeenth century onwards.¹⁰ In the light of impending conclusions about the political reference of the poem, the biography of the scribe, and the watermark, it would not seem unreasonable to surmise that the MS. could have been brought from there to England by a Spanish-speaking migrant, and later sold. Alternatively, the MS. could have been taken back to Spain and kept in a private collection until being bought, perhaps in the nineteenth century, by an Englishman, who might later have resold it; it could equally have been brought to England by Spanish exiles, some of whom lived in areas just to the north of the City.¹¹ It also seems plausible that the MS. could have reached London during the

sixteenth century, amongst the war trophies of an English soldier. If the poet was himself a soldier, as seems probable, then he might have encountered the same difficulties as Francisco de Aldana, some of whose works were said to have been lost in battle whilst he was serving in the Netherlands.¹²

In the search for further information about the poem, catalogues and indexes of archives and libraries have been investigated, as have bibliographies.¹³ Furthermore, extensive examination has been made of individual works and documents, manuscript and printed, catalogued and uncatalogued, in the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, the Archivo General de Simancas, the University of Navarre, the British Museum, and the Bodleian Library. The works of many sixteenth-century poets have been studied, and specialists, both historical and literary, have been consulted.¹⁴ Regrettably, no printed or other manuscript copy of the poem has been discovered; the Biblioteca Nacional holds two manuscripts entitled 'Varios Enigmas' and 'Varias enigmas y versos', respectively, but their subject-matter has little in common with the MS. poem.¹⁵ In fact, no attribution has been possible, nor has any reference to the poem been encountered. The MS. itself nevertheless yields some information about the possible date and place of the poem's composition.

The cover of the MS. consists of a vellum binding over

a single leaf of paper, and it is stitched to the body of the work at four points. The binding, which is worn and has a small hole in the front cover, measures 209mm. x 152mm, whilst the dimensions of each leaf are 203mm. x 146mm. The paper is in good condition, if a little dirty in places, and the text is clear. Pasted to the inside of the cover at each end is a single flyleaf, the front one being blank and the other bearing a series of scribbles in pencil. The main body of the work consists of seventeen gatherings in eights, though one leaf (originally bearing stanzas 341-4 of the poem) has clearly been torn out, its particular gathering containing only seven leaves.¹⁶ In each gathering there appear two full watermarks; each mark lies horizontally within the chain-lines and across the centre of the inner margin of the two leaves which bear traces of it.¹⁷ The leaves bearing the mark are in no consistent order within the gatherings. Two full sheets have been folded twice, gathered, and sewn; the work is a 'quarto in eights'.¹⁸ The leaves have then been cut, written on, and later bound.

All but the last page bear two stanzas, and these are numbered from 1 to 546; the MS. is neither paginated nor foliated. Throughout the text itself appear alterations by the scribe and by what seems to be a second hand; there is also considerable scriptorial activity outside the limits of the text. The title of the poem, which appears at the top of the first page of text, has been inked heavily, and

beneath stanza 1 are two scrawls, one of which is legible. It appears that somebody is perhaps testing the tip of a quill. The legible letters, larger than those of the title, but of similar shape and shade, are as follows: 'ARIOS ARO IMA'. Clearly, letters of the title are being copied. On the page bearing stanzas 25-6 are also two scrawls in a similar hand, one of which is recognisable as 'Vj anos Ante meos'. Several of the early pages of the MS. are ink-spattered, whilst in the margin of a very few pages appear practice capital letters, apparently in the scribal hand.

Stanzas 426 and 469 are each preceded by an inscription, whilst beneath 546 there are several scrawls, accompanied by a signature, a short list of figures, and a further inscription. The first two simply serve to introduce new aspects of the discourse, whereas the final inscription reveals the identity of the scribe. It appears in the bottom right-hand corner of the page, is in the same hand as the text, and it reads as follows: 'Escript par le secretaire/Jan fernando de Woorsboelx'.¹⁹ The scrawls, apparently of the same origin as the earlier examples, consist of a practice letter and an attempted copy of the number 546. The signature is definitely not in the scribal hand, and it appears to read: 'Spadana'. The list of figures, written upside-down in the centre of the bottom of the page, is in a hand very similar to that of the scribe, though not indisputably his; the figures have no obvious

relevance to the MS. or to the poem. It is possible that the person or persons responsible for writing these also made some of the alterations in the text.²⁰

The activities of what is described in the Introduction (III) and the critical apparatus as the 'second hand' should be stated briefly. Although the size of writing and shade of ink vary somewhat within the MS. text, there is no doubt that the basic script is the work of one hand. The variations can probably be attributed to the scribe's having stopped and then resumed work, and having changed, sharpened, or replenished his quill. There are numerous occasions on which he evidently corrects himself, by converting or substituting letters and by eliminating or inserting whole words. However, there are also many instances in which there remains considerable doubt as to the origin of certain such changes. These are the examples referred to in the critical apparatus and elsewhere as being by a possible second hand, and even within these there is little formal consistency.

Stanzas 380-2 contain the most extensive alterations to the text, though these appear to be in the scribal hand. Those which are not obviously by this hand comprise two distinct types: some are made with a thin, light stroke and others with a thick, dark stroke. Examples in stanzas 411(C), 430(F), and 491(H) best illustrate the former and those in 332(F) and 495(C,E,F) the latter. A series of

orthographic alterations in stanzas 22-5 is followed by the scrawls in the margin of the page bearing stanzas 25-6. Arguably, the above evidence and a range of like examples could suggest the presence of more than one alien hand in the text. Whatever the case, the fact remains that there are several minor changes to the MS. text which cannot be attributed automatically to the scribe.

In correspondence with Mr Gilbert, a British Museum expert indicated that the scribal hand was Spanish, of the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century. Don Ramón Paz y Remolar of the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid has described the hand as 'bastarda itálica española', an opinion supported by information and examples cited by J. Muñoz y Rivero.²¹ The name of the scribe and the rest of the final inscription suggest that the scribe was not Spanish-speaking; French was probably his native tongue. The possibility of German influence in his apparently random capitalization of words is offset by a not-infrequent similar practice in Spanish manuscripts. Perhaps the most conclusive factor in asserting his imperfect knowledge of the language being copied is the orthography itself. Even allowing for typical scribal mistakes - erroneous fusion and separation of words and syllables, errors of analogy, simple misspellings - the MS. text remains patently riddled with errors of transcription. The scribe might have been copying from a corrupt manuscript, but it seems more likely

that he was responsible for the corruption of an autograph version.

The problem of how best to reestablish the text, and with exactly which criteria, has been left to twentieth-century editorial judgement. In the light of information prepared by F. López Estrada on approaches to medieval texts, it seemed that a critical edition would be the most appropriate here; his advice on such editions is similarly applicable to works of the later period.²² The criteria followed in editing the MS. poem are explained below.

III

Paul Maas has stated that 'the business of textual criticism is to produce a text as close as possible to the original (constitutio textus)'.²³ His approach is followed by the present editor as far as circumstances allow, the single witness being described and deciphered in a detailed manner. The editorial objective is thenceforth to reconstruct the original text, adhering closely to the linguistic norms of the latter half of the sixteenth century, and on the assumption that the autograph manuscript was orthographically and morphologically correct.²⁴ The MS. version adopted is the 'final' one, comprising clear textual changes by both scribal and second hands, details

of which are fully recorded in the critical apparatus. Editorial emendations are made only in obvious cases of error or where a degree of conjecture must be exercised in order to make sense of otherwise incomprehensible readings.

Typographical limitations necessitate a simplification of Maas's procedure regarding textual signs. Supplements to the text, such as expansions of abbreviations, conjectural additions, and additions made in the case of physical damage, are placed inside square brackets; however, standard contractions (for example, 'quel') remain unexpanded in the edited version. Deletions and substitutions are clearly noted in the critical apparatus, as are further details of additions. Although it was common practice in Golden Age handwriting to capitalize arbitrarily and to run together groups of words, most such examples in the MS. text are here treated as erroneous and are emended.

The formal presentation of the MS. text is imitated insofar as two stanzas are inscribed on each page, save the final one; similarly, stanzas are numbered in accordance with the manner and sequence of the MS.,²⁵ Individual lines must be identified by the editor for reference purposes, and therefore the eight are classified from A to H in the critical apparatus. This choice of capital letters is determined by possible confusion arising in the textual study and notes from the use of Arabic numerals, and similar confusion in the apparatus from the

use of minuscules or Roman numerals.

In the great majority of cases the first word of each line is capitalized in the MS., a practice retained in the edited text whilst inconsistencies are standardized. Capital letters are ascribed to all proper names, including those belonging specifically to God, Christ, the Virgin, and the Spanish monarch, but not to pronouns relating to them. In certain works of the period abstract nouns were used with allegorical significance and thereby merited capital letters. Similar usage is evident in the MS. text, particularly with the thematically important word 'amor' / 'Amor', but in many cases this and other nouns stand uncapitalized where the context suggests that they are being personified. In the interest of orthographic and thematic consistency, therefore, all such words are spelt with an initial minuscule in the edited text unless they occur at the beginning of a line.

With regard to punctuation, the MS. text bears no more than a full stop at the end of each stanza, and a rare comma. In fact, the syntactic complexity of the poem has demanded that meaning be strictly controlled by careful but flexible modern punctuation; parenthesis, however, is not used. Accentuation, sparse and inaccurate in the MS., is modernized, though accents are not placed on the letters 'j' / 'J', 'v' / 'V', and 'y' / 'Y'. Any use of accents in the MS. text is recorded in the critical apparatus, it

being considered the exception rather than the rule.²⁶ Tildes used in the MS. remain in the edited text, unless they are misplaced or serve as abbreviation signs, in which cases they are noted in the apparatus; any tilde, used correctly or not, which appears here is represented by a hyphen above the relevant letter. Cedillas, tildes, and diaereses are added or removed by the editor where necessary, the erroneous absence or presence of the former two also being indicated in the apparatus. Signs written by the scribe vary considerably in size and shape, but are assumed 'valid' if clearly marked. Ligatures, carets, and a curved opening parenthesis used exclusively before the word or letter 'o' /'O' (see, for example: 15IG, 301D) also appear in the MS., but are not regularly noted.

Editorial practice in respect of other details of orthography is explained below. Certain minuscules ('g', 'l', 'r', 's', 't', 'z') have two, ostensibly interchangeable forms in the MS. text; these forms do not appear to be used by the scribe in any systematic or exclusive way and of course need not be differentiated in typescript. Equivalent 'b' /'B' and 'v' /'V' remain as in the MS., likewise 'u' /'U' and 'v' /'V', and 'i' /'I' and 'j' /'J'.²⁷ One of the problems encountered in transcription of the MS. text results from scribal inconsistency and, perhaps, doubt in the writing of specific letters. For example, having initially differentiated 'j' from 'J' by writing the

minuscule with a tail, the scribe seems to change his practice in the latter half of the text, ceasing to use the tailed letter in favour of a small version of the capital. Therefore, whereas editorial distinction between capital and minuscule is previously based on shape, from stanza 241 ('co sejos', B), in which the tailed letter is used clearly for the last time, that distinction is made on grounds of size.

Two further letters written inconsistently are 'v' /'V' and 'y' /'Y', in both the differences between the capital and the minuscule being slight. Particularly in the case of 'v' /'V', however, there appears to be an orthographic pattern, by which the former has a long first stroke and the other a short one, often followed by a lengthy second stroke (see, for example: 'Vergeles' and 'vateles', 107F and D; 'Vesino' and 'viejo', 483A). In cases of ambiguity this pattern is acknowledged for the resolution of both 'v' /'V' and 'y' /'Y', in conjunction with the consideration of size of surrounding letters. Minims cause the scribe difficulty. Although he seems aware of the existence of the letter 'i' in words where it is contiguous with 'n', and aware that it is a letter distinct from 'n', he regularly places a dot over the initial stroke of the false 'm' about to be created and joins the letters at the top rather than at the stem. This confusion over minims is so recurrent that it would be

superfluous to note every case in the critical apparatus; however, when 'n' and 'u', for example, are confused, the error is noted.

In certain rare cases early in the text the scribe writes 'rr' for 'r' in the initial position (see, for example: 'rrazon', 3D and F; 'rroncaboz', 4B) and regularly for 'r' after 'n'. Initial 'r' is otherwise represented almost exclusively by the archaic capital letter, equivalent to 'rr'.²⁸ In spite of their probable authorial origin and the sporadic historical endurance of 'rr' in the intermediate position at least, all these cases, including 'rr' after 'n', are standardized to 'r' in the interest of clarity and consistency. By the mid sixteenth century repeated confusion of 's' with 'z' had become a largely regional phenomenon.²⁹ The MS. text contains a few cases of such confusion (see, for example: 'falzo', 5B; 'rason', 81F; 'fuersa', 282A), but there are also instances of scribal correction of erroneous forms (see, for example: 'Segoza', 80H; 'glosamos', 300D). The former sporadic cases are therefore taken to be of scribal origin and are invariably rationalized in the edited text, as are rare instances of 'c' or 'ç' for 's' and vice versa (see, for example: 'ançi', 513D; 'sençerros', 369C).

The frequent interchangeability of other letters and groups of letters (for example: 'o'/'u', 'e'/'i', 'e'/'o', 'm'/'n', 'n'/'gn', 's'/'bs', 't'/'ct') in the MS. text is

naturally respected, emendations being made only in the few cases where it seems to contravene sixteenth-century rules and practice (see, for example: 'comtino', 19G; 'biber', 469F). A degree of flexibility is approved in the rendering within the text of certain words, often names (for example: 'Aristótel', 23A; 'dano' and 'sue[d]io', 194B; 'manicantes', 322F), for lexical invention or recasting was not uncommon at the period. Rare non-agreements in the rhyme scheme which are not obviously scribal errors (see, for example: 'perras', 25F; 'singulto', 305F) are left intact and are commented on in the notes to the text.

The word 'veyes', correctly a second-person singular, appears several times in the MS., (see, for example: 77B, 118C) but is always rendered as 'veys' in the edited version. It is treated as erroneous for the following reasons: it is far less common than 'veys' in the MS.; it is never used specifically with a singular subject; in 208 (C,E) both forms are used, clearly in reference to the same subject. The superfluous 'e' also appears in the incorrect 'vereyes' (see, for example: 278E, 521C). Several complete words have been added to the text by the editor (see, for example: 16G, 203B, 457H, 515B), but these are only minor ones, likely to have been omitted by the copyist in transcription.

Editorial problems have arisen both from the fact that this copy of the poem is the only one extant and from

the very nature of the poem itself. Description and transcription in such detail have proved essential, but the lack of other witnesses has meant that some words in the MS. copy have had to be conjectured with little recourse to supplementary evidence. Similarly, investigation of possible syntactic confusion has been restricted; the text is thus established on the assumption that the syntax of the poem is correct in the MS., and interpretation made accordingly. In a case where some sense can be made of lines of the MS. text, scansion cannot always assist consideration of whether a word or syllable has been omitted, for line length is variable. In view of this, minor editorial additions and deletions can scarcely be thought to disrupt metrical precision.

Punctuation is naturally open to critical opinion; even more than transcription and emendation, this element of the reconstituted text has been subject to editorial judgement and taste. Not only is the MS. text devoid of any proper punctuation save full stops, but the syntactic structure of the poem regularly allows more than a single, obvious punctuative pattern. To record alternative possibilities would be interesting but extraordinarily prolix; nevertheless, some syntactic complexities are discussed in the notes to the text, as are other difficulties of usage and reference. The poem is designedly obscure, and therefore it is not anticipated that all interpretations will be considered definitive.

VARIOS ENIGMAS DE LOS DISLATES MUNDANOS

1.

A Mingo Rebulgo en sus versos canta
 B Casos oscuros, metros pastoriles,
 C Las verdades cantando, con que espanta,
 D De los hechos pasados tan ciuiles;
 E Cante en el punto la ronca garganta
 F Casos modernos, hechos no gentiles,
 G Y del canto justo sigamos la prosa,
 H De la vida humana el testo y la glosa.

2.

A Aquel combate, que fuera tan nombrado,
 B /D̄e la Marcha pintando la partida,
 C De príncipes tan v/ist7o y remirado,
 D Siguiendo el curso y ora de la vida,
 E En aquel correr corrido, apresurado,
 F Notamos en el alma yr perdida
 G Sy va tras gentilezas de pasados
 H Que siguen fundamentos estremados.

Title.- VARIOS ENIGMAS DE LOS DISLATES/MUNDANOS.
 Above the letters 'I', 'L', 'T', of 'DISLATES',
 appear abbreviation or accent signs. The words
 of the title have been reinforced with a second
 application of ink.

Stanza 1.-A, 'Canta' /B, 'es curos' /C, 'Las verdades cantando' /
 D, 'Delos'; 'tanciuiiles' /E, 'Ronca' /G, 'Canto';
 'Justo'; 'La' /H, 'Vida'; 'El'; the second 'la'
 has been inserted, by the scribal hand, with a caret.

Stanza 2.-B, '/D̄e la marcha' — the 'D' is obscured by an inkblot
 (cf. C) /C, 'tam'; 'v/ist7o' — the intermediate letters
 are obscured; 'Remirado' /D, 'dela' /E, 'a presurado' /
 F, 'enel'; 'Alma' /G, 'vatras'; 'de pasados' /H, 'Siguen'.

3.

Conbates ynprudentes ay contino
 Y sabios, conocidos, verdaderos,
 Voluntad sensual con desatino
 Y justa razón derribando alteros;
 Contrastes orgullosos sin camino,
 Dexando razón, guían por senderos;
 Glosando los textos justos y más sanos
 Nos hazemos vasallos de profanos.

4.

No cantan musas nj melos los poetas,
 Con ronca boz los términos marchitos;
 Tronando el ayre de falsos profetas,
 Goza banidad propios apetitos;
 Cantando sin vso cosas no perfetas,
 Juegan los mundanos a diuersos hitos:
 Sj siguen los gustos música sin son,
 Tales disfraces caminan sin razón.

3.-C, 'Sensual' /D, 'Justa'; 'rrazon' - 'rr' could be an error of analogy. However, initial 'rr' had not long declined in favour of 'r' (cf. Introduction, III) ./E, 'Sin' /F, 'rrazon' (cf.D); 'guianpor' / G, 'Los'; 'Justos' /H, 'hazernos'; 'deprofanos'.

4.-B, 'rroncaboz' (cf. 3D and 3F) /E, 'noperfetas' / F, 'Juegen' /G, 'sinson' /H, the 'T' of 'Tales' has the tail of an 'L'; 'Razon'.

Siguiendo tenores el vario tenor,
 Falso dibujo pinta escondrijos;
 Contrarios amores bebiendo licor,
 Nos forma querer amor de los hijos;
 Mas banos amores, senbrando el rencor,
 Continúan renzillas y nuevos letijos:
 En las tales tramas mezclando fición,
 Las musas cantaron mil danças sin son.

6.

Contrahazen a monos falsos visages
 Falsas hazañas en vanas conquistas;
 Haziendo a Dios falsos vltrages,
 En tales muestras rompen las listas;
 Lleuando a cuestas tales fardages,
 Pierden las vidas vistas sin vistas:
 Razón, ya forçada sin horden ny ley,
 Padece contino oprouios de grey.

5.-B, 'falzo' (cf. 6B and 6C); 'Dibujo'; 'es condrijos' /
 C, 'Amores' /D, 'Amor'; 'hiejos' /E, 'Amores';
 'Rencor' /F, 'Renzillas' /H, 'Cantaron'.

6.-A, 'Contra hazen'; 'Amonos' /B, 'hasañas' — the first 's' is written with a long, open stroke, as opposed to the short, curled stroke normally used by the scribe. The letter has been inserted over a single stroke of another, former letter. However, even the newly-inserted letter would seem corrupt (cf. Introduction , III). /C, 'dios'; the first 's' of 'falsos' has been inserted over 'z', and has the same form as that noted in B ('hasañas'). Its form in 'falsos' could be by analogy with 'f', a possibility reinforced by the contemporary orthographical relationship between 's' and 'f'. The vacillation between 's' and 'z', whether by authorial oversight or by scribal analogy, could be similarly instrumental in the confusion. /D, 'Rompen' /E, 'Acuestas' /F, 'Las' /G, 'forcada' /H, the second 'o' of 'contino' has been inserted, possibly by a second hand, over an erasure.

7.

Pinta la vida el bibir honroso,
 Gozando la flaqueza fríos baños;
 Haze a nuestro ser vn ser medroso
 Aver vn no sé qué que cubre engaños:
 Soberuía engolfada sin reposo,
 Contino manda guiemos tras los daños;
 Ansj los mandones en la tal vida
 Se pierden sin mirar en su partida.

8.

Marca se ponen todos remarcados
 Con turbia vista y, en verdad dezillo,
 Razas vislunbres de pechos remirados,
 Nadye remordiando el omezillo;
 Castigue la razón los estremados
 Y cambios trastroke del amor senzillo;
 Rigen la virtud entre los dientes ,
 Recambiando amor, los maldicientes.

7.-A, 'honroso' /B, above the 'i' of 'frios'
 appears a sign which seems to be the vestige
 of a former letter, the letters 'ri' having
 been inserted over an erasure, rather than
 an accent /C, 'Annestro'; 'sermedroso' /D,
 'noseque'; 'cubreengaños' /E, 'Engol fada'; 'Reposo'.

8.-A, 'Remarcados' /B, 'En' /C, 'vis lunbres';
 'depechos'; 'Remirados' /D, 'Remordiando' /E,
 'Razon'; 'Estremados' /F, 'trastroques'; 'Amor'
 /G, 'entrelos' /H, 'Amor'; 'mal dicientes'.

9.

Las cosas despreciadas se leuantan
 Do bajo metal sin oro resplandeçe;
 Sj armas de Tomiris no se plantan,
 Viejo simulacro se enmoheçe;
 Cosas de contrarios nos espantan,
 Mas fino saber, callando, enpeçe:
 Claras colores en falso diam/an/te
 Muestran al ojo falso rutilantē.

10.

Liçençia pido, diziendo verdad,
 Por estar la verdad del odio prendada;
 Nadie la preçia, pues falsa maldad
 Guía mil buenos con maligia preñada:
 Los tales de acuerdo rige ruindad,
 Así anda verdad afligida, cuytada;
 Anda sin dueño esperando sazón,
 Pues agora los viçios dançan a son.

9.-A, 'Leuantan' /B, 'Dobajo'; 'Resplandeçe' /C,
 'tomiris' /D, 'en moheçe' /F, 'Enpeçe' /G,
 'Diamte' /H, 'alojo'; 'Rutilante'.

10.-B, 'Porestar'; 'delodio' /C, 'pues' has been
 inserted, by the scribe, with a caret /E, 'Rige';
 'Ruindad' /F, 'Anda' /H, 'Ason'.

11.

Dandario y G/ū/alterio bemos saltando
 Paseo de plaça al campo presente;
 Gallarda armonía anda gozando
 Modorro pastor, en mano tridente;
 Lo/s/ lobos rapaces van repastando
 Al ybero Marte el amor ynsolente:
 Siendo la fama nutriçe de amores,
 Haze vislumbres de mil pundonores.

12.

Con çinco fajas, que zonas se dizen,
 Cercando con ellas el mar con la tier/r/a,
 Nuevos artistas razón contradizen;
 Quel vano saber en todo se hierra,
 Y avnque pintores en pinturas abizen,
 Propia pintura nos haze la guerra;
 Secreto saber del mundo abitabile
 Nadje no saue hazernos palpable.

11.-A, 'galterio' /B, an 'r' appears to have been
 erased at the end of 'plaça' /C, 'Armonia';
 'Anda' /D, 'pastoren' /E, 'Lo'; 'Rabaces';
 'Repastando' /F, 'marte'; 'Amor' /G, 'Amores'
 /H, 'vis lumbres'.

12.-B, 'Cer çando'; 'conellas'; 'El'; 'conlatiera' /
 C, 'Nuevas' - the scribe has converted the 'a'
 from 'o', possibly by analogy with the ending
 of 'artistas'; 'Razon' /D, 'entodo; 'sehierra'/
 E, 'a vn que' /G, 'Secretosaber' /H, 'hazer
 nos'.

13.

Canta/ $\bar{n}$ /do cantores con voces sin son,
 Sublimā el tono falso diuorçio;
 Mudando tenores contrario blasón,
 Liñas contrarias hazen consorcio:
 Estas son tramas que pinta el baldón,
 Tornando razón en sino mauorcio;
 Tales extremos, en cosas más bajas,
 Enredan agora continuas barajas.

14.

Anda con Dios, humilde, sinzero,
 Dexa curiosos buscar escondrijos;
 No comas manjar de gusto parlero,
 Siendo tentado, huye letijos;
 Teme el juyzi^o de Dios verdadero
 Y ganarás sin perder los santos cortijos:
 Sj tiene tu vida robadas las obras,
 No juzgues jamás de nadie las sobras.

13.-A, 'Cantādo' - the abbreviation sign is correctly used here /D, a mark resembling a grave accent appears above the letters 'as' of 'Liñas' /F, 'Razon' /H, 'En Redan'; 'continnas'.

14.-A, 'condios'/B, 'buscares condrijos'/D, 'huyeletijos'/E, 'de'- a ligature is made of the two letters, a practice often adopted in the writing of this particular word /G, 'Robadas' /H, 'janas'.

15.

El alto saber, de gracia ynfinito,
 Ynfunda en las musas muy claro saber,
 Órgano alto, sin tienpo marchito,
 Con tono, con canto del justo temer;
 Soberuio rencor tornándole aflito,
 Y muerto sentido, poder, entender,
 Con libre razón el amor en memoria,
 Quel falso metal se torne en escoria.

16.

En campos floridos, do /ā/ y matorrales,
 Viles desnudos andauan vestidos;
 Cargas penosas, en sacos de males,
 Les cargan fantasmas a sesos perdidos:
 Mostrando los honbres ser ynfernales,
 Mirando el bibir, se rigen sentidos;
 Quel alma y cuerpo /son/ ayuntados
 Con el propio saber que fueron criados.

15.-B, 'Ynfanda'; 'enlas' /C, 'Alto' /E, 'Rencor';
 'tornando le' /G, 'Libre'; 'Razon'; 'Amor' /H,
 'falzo'; 'es coriā'.

16.-A, 'Doy' /B, 'Vilos'; 'Andauan' /D, 'Asesos' /
 E, 'Los'; 'yn fernaes' /F, 'Rigen' /G,
 'aynntados'.

17.

Allj serán santos con pasos muy buenos
 Do malos contrastan bibir sin reposo,
 Allj serán santos de gracia más llenos
 Do malos ternán morir trabajoso;
 Ansj veys contino, en boca los senos,
 Guía de buenos, también del tramposo;
 En todo los buenos a bien aperçiben,
 Los otros, hablando, maldades conçiben.

18.

Sj las fantasmas engendran mil hijos,
 Fingendo querer que va sin razón,
 Engendra el amor dos mil escondrijos
 Con amores mundanos de ciego baldón;
 Estos enbustes sienbran letijos
 A contrario contrario de mala sazón;
 Sin los mortales saberlo entender,
 Secos los frutos, los veys floresçer.

17.-A, 'conpasos' /B, 'Domales' (cf. D); 'contras tan';
 'Reposo' /D, 'Domalos' /E, 'bocalos' /F, 'Gnia'
 /G, 'Entodo'; 'Los'; 'abien'.

18.-B, 'Fin gendo'; 'vasin'; 'Razon' /C, 'Amor';
 'miles condrijos' /D, 'Amores' /E, the second 'e'
 of 'enbustes' has been converted from 'o' by the
 scribe; 'Letijos' /F, the last letter of the
 first 'contrario' has been converted from 'o' to
 'a', possibly by a second hand; 'Contrario' (the
 latter) /G, 'saber lo'.

19.

Cuenta Plutarco hechos ya viejos,
 En vidas notadas casos gentiles;
 Allj nos enseña estraños consejos,
 Matando buenos, alçando los viles;
 Dize de mucho romper sus pellejos,
 Según que pinta de guerras cebiles:
 En la fin todos herrando contino,
 Con los ojos çerrados andauan caminø.

20.

Liçençiosa liçençia arma poder
 Con mente falida de falsa pasión;
 Enreda argumento el poco temer,
 Sin mirar el valor la propia razón;
 Raza que raça el antiguo valer
 Pierde la honra en toda sazón:
 Jamás en razón siendo fundada,
 Teme la razón de ser condenada.

19.-A, 'plutarco'; 'yaviejos' /C, 'en seña'; the first 's' of 'consejos' is very large, and close in form to the following 'j' /E, 'Romper' /F, 'segun' /G, 'hernando'; 'comtino' /H, 'Conlos'; 'Andauan'.

20.-A, 'Liçençia'; 'Arma' /C, 'Enrreda' /D, 'Razon' /E, 'Rraca'; 'Antiguo' /F, 'honrra' /G, 'Razon' /H, 'Razon'.

21.

Vemos falacia de amores mundanos
 Con testos y glosas seguir tras pasión,
 Enredos, trapaças, de hombres profanos,
 Con gustos sin gusto tras cada rincón;
 En cada punto los bultos ynsanos
 Sigue/n/ la cumbre en el propio baldón;
 Do vemos agora mandarnos los ciegos,
 Bieron sus cursos perdidos los g/r/iegos.

22.

Reboltoso tranpista, viejo correo,
 Precursor en el mando de regentes,
 Argumento cursado en nuevo ar/r/eo
 Fingendo en virtud casos aparentes,
 Vano creyendo yncrédulo rodeo,
 Mudando en la razón los accidentes,
 Mandando voluntad el artificio,
 Maliçia en virtud nos pinta vicio.

21.-A, 'Amores' /C, 'En redos' /D, 'Rincon' /E, 'Los';
 'Ynsanos' /F, 'Signela' — the abbreviation sign is
 used correctly, but 'u' and 'n' are confused;
 'cambre'; 'enel' /G, 'Agora' ; 'Ciegos' /H, 'giegos'.

22.-A, 'Correo' /B, 'enel'; 'Regentes' /C, 'nnevo';
 'a Reo' (cf. Introduction , III) /D,
 the 'e' of 'Fingendo' appears to have been inserted,
 by the scribe, after the original script; the
 letters 'es' of 'aparentes' have been reinforced,
 with the result that they appear to be an 'a'
 /E, 'Rodeo' /F, 'Razon'.

23.

Platón con Aristótel avisos escriben
 En muchos tratados por ellos conpuestos;
 En todos juntos el bulgo persiguen,
 Hidra criada en amar presupuestos;
 En dichos santos maldades conciben,
 Ansí los deuates son muy dispuestos:
 Enxenplos leemos, siendo muy buenos,
 Que hinchén a malos la boca y los senos.

24.

Vanos andamos, leyendo doctores,
 En vano aplazen los dichos polidos;
 Si sigue plazer humanos rencores,
 Pasa la ciencia ratos perdidos,
 Entrañas podridas de malos humores
 Gastan la honra en casos falidos;
 Con propio querer seguimos los daños
 Hasta la cárcel do son los engaños.

23.-B, 'porellos'; 'con puestas' /D, 'Amar' /E,
 'Endichos' /F, 'deuastes' /G, 'En Xenplos' /H,
 the word 'a' has been inserted faintly, probably
 by the scribe, but possibly by a second hand;
 'Y'; the second 's' of 'senos' has been inserted
 over original 'y' .

24.-A, 'Andamos'; 'Leyendo' /C, 'Sisigue' /D,
 'Pasala' - the 's' has been converted from 'r'
 and is the extended form; 'Ratos' /F, 'honrra'
 /H, 'de'; 'sonlos'; 'Engaños'.

25.

De huesos de animales fuego eterno
 Quemados atrás veys en mil hogueras,
 Padres con hijos y el rezo materno
 Andar mutilados saltando barreras,
 Damas al viso sin hecho moderno,
 Hartando fuego harturas de perras,
 Y los disfraces y melindres con rufianes,
 De viejas y moças contrechos ademanes.

26.

Vemos contino en rostro marrido
 Contrario deseo, patente en la luz;
 El falto de fee siendo rendido,
 Jamás renegado creáys al marfuz;
 Vimos destierro seruir sin falido,
 Mudado en pasión viejo andaluz:
 Si siguen famosos malos senderos,
 Juzgan sus honras los honbres parleros.

25.-A, 'Eterno' /B, 'Que mados'; 'a tras' /C, the
 'r' and the 'z' of 'rezo' have been converted
 from 'c' and 's', respectively /G, 'dis fraces';
 'Rufianes' (cf. H) /H, 'Viejas'; 'contrechos';
 'ade manes'.

26.-A, 'Rostro' /B, 'enlaluz' /C, 'Rendido' /D,
 'Renegando'; 'Almaifuz' /F, 'Andaluz' /H,
 'honrras'.

27.

En años ancianos no cunple. ~~tr~~atemos,
 Ni menos busquemos enxenplos mayores,
 Que si lo presente bien entendemos,
 Veys los mundanos tratar de peores;
 Con çiego ynterés mal pretendemos,
 Guiando siempre grandes herrores;
 Amando contino el viçio señero,
 Nos hiere acaso muy mal el herrero.

28.

Andando ciegos los vanos sentidos,
 Cogen a Marte culpante en las redes;
 Faltando razón en los más atrebidos,
 Presos sin red, raposos los vedes:
 Son banos amores, muertos, perdidos,
 Do la maldad ar/r/imâys tras paredes;
 Estas maldades, que rigen la vida,
 Rigen la vida sin ser entendida.

27.-A, 'Ancianos'; 'cunpletratemos' /D, 'depeores' /G,
 'Señero' - the 'S' appears to have been added
 to original 'eñero' /H, 'Acaso'; 'malelherrero'.

28.-B, 'Amarte'; 'enlas'; 'Redes' /C, 'Razon';
 'enlos'; 'Atrebidos' /D, 'Red'; 'rraposos'
 /E, 'Amores' /F, 'Dola'; 'a Rimays';
 'trasparedes' /G, 'Rigen' /H, 'lavida'.

29.

Hormigas Obidio armó mirmidones,
 Agora se arman dos mil bulliciosos,
 Turbando la vida falsas razones;
 Tranpas falidas de muchos tranposos
 Enredan contino con las opiniones;
 Armados aquéstos, no son belicosos,
 Mas siendo hormigas, buscan la vida,
 Sin tener como ellas casa regida.

30.

Sin Porcio Catón guiando adalides,
 Gerras cebiles se van tras codiçia;
 Armando contino falsos ardides,
 Justas querellas se tornan maliçia;
 Codiçia ynjusta guiaua Percides,
 Tomando guerras con tanta pigriçia:
 Maduro saber, consejo tomando,
 En vana querella no sigue bando.

29.-A, 'obidio'; 'Armo' /B, 'Arman' /C, 'Razones'
 /E, 'En Redan'; 'conlas' /H, 'Regida'.

30.-A, 'porcio'; 'caton' /E, 'yn justa';
 'percides' /F, the 'a' of 'guerras' has been
 converted from 'o'; 'contanta' /G, 'Ma duro' —
 between 'a' and 'd' there appears to have been
 an 'l', which subsequently has been erased /H,
 'EnVana'; 'siguebando' — the 'b' has been converted
 from 'n'.

31.

Contino ay vn miedo temeroso
 Do bibe en libertad el ynquieto,
 Que con temores anda sospechoso
 Quien be ser mandón al ynperfeto;
 En justa fortaleza no ay medroso,
 Que goza vida de bibir perfeto;
 Sin aver pensamiento de temores,
 Temen buenos de malos los rencores.

32.

En almas variables, sin sentido,
 Fundará su fin vano pensamiento;
 En el claro engaño fementido
 Amor recíproco muda fundamento;
 Si ua tras maldad remiendo falido,
 Trastornando nuevo runpimiento,
 Muy claros, puros, sin fraude nj mota,
 Hechos viriles trastornan la rota.

31.-B, 'libertadel'; 'yn quieto' /C, 'Andasos
 pechoso' /D, 'bee' /E, 'EnJusta'; 'aymedroso'
 /H, 'Temenbuenos'; 'Rencores'.

32.-A, 'Almas' /C, 'Enel' /D, 'Reciproco'; 'munda'
 /E, 'Suia'; 'Remiendo' /F, 'Trastornando';
 'Runpimiento' /H, 'La'; 'Rota'.

33.

Débil, sin armas, combate accidente,
 Justa arma dura lleua consigo,
 Lança y espada de valor refulgente;
 Reboça el ver al contrario enemigo,
 Ojos tapados, combate valiente,
 Sin al contrario ser Hétor testigo;
 Caminando contrario, la guía tras males,
 Siguiendo sus Reyes biben leales.

34.

Codiçia camina pasos ligeros,
 Baja cabeça pensando maldades;
 Trapaças tramadas, tratos no veros
 Engañan contino las santas verdades;
 Los malos con buenos son muy arteros,
 Do ay ganancia, no ay hermandades:
 Mirando en esto, vj muchos letijos
 Y robos yndinos de padres con hijos.

33.-A, 'Armas'; 'Acidente' /C, 'Lanca'; 'Refulgente'
 /D, 'Reboçael' /F, 'hetor' /G, 'Contrario';
 'Laguia' /H, 'Rey es'; 'Leales'.

34.-A, 'Camina'; 'Ligeros' /B, 'cabeca' /E, the second
 stroke of the 'y' of 'muy' bears a dot, suggesting
 that the scribe believed it to be a 'j' /F, 'noay'
 /G, 'enesto'; 'nnchos'; 'Letijos' /H, 'Robos';
 'conhijos'.

35.

A peligro mayor de viçios estremos,
 Ataja con tiempo mal que asj cunde;
 Teme a Dios, pues claro savemos
 Contrario metal sin fuego se funde:
 Amando a Dios, quando amando cre/e⁷mos,
 El diuino amor su amor nos ynfundē;
 Estando con luz del amor verdadero,
 Escapas la cārgel del mal carçelero.

36.

El viejo Saturno purgando los días,
 Hércules fuerte matando leones,
 Consumen sus años en flacas porfías,
 Y viejas barajas engendran pasiones;
 Jmitando barberos, dañan ençías
 A Ceres con Baco en todas regiones;
 Mirad al mundo, con vano entremés,
 Lo que es al derecho tornar al rebés.

35.-A, 'Apeligro' /B, 'camde' /C, 'dios' /E, 'Adios'; 'Amando';
 'cremos' /F, 'Amor'; 'Amor' /G, concluz'; 'Amor'
 /H, 'Es capas'; 'Lacargel'.

36.-C, 'Anōs' /E, 'Dañan' /F, 'Aceres'; 'conbaco';
 'entodas'; 'Regiones' /H, 'Loque'; 'alde recho';
 'Rebes'.

37.

Lisongero precursor, viejo mançebo,
 Altero ynventor de novedades,
 Zizañador cursado en amor nuevo,
 Falto de verdad, con mil ruindades,
 Mirando como tonto, arde en fuego,
 Sabio maestro sin saber verdades;
 Corrido, veys, anda como loco,
 Añadiendo en todo mucho o poco.

38.

Bagabundo bachiller desbergonçado,
 Soltero muy herrado, peligroso,
 Remendando en valor pecho dañado,
 Maestro de trapaças muy viçioso,
 Escuela de temores, lastimado,
 Do biben mil dolores sin reposo;
 Si limpios, claros, caminan sin temor,
 Cogen los pupilos sus frutos de flor.

37.-B, 'yn ventor'; 'no verdades' /C, 'Zizanador' —
 the second 'a' has been inserted, by the scribe,
 with a caret; 'Amor' /D, 'Ruínadades' /G, 'Anda'
 /H, 'Anadiendo'; 'entodo'; 'opoco'.

38.-A, 'des bergonçado'.

39.

Creyendo la fe con el firme querer,
 Nadie se deue meter en disputa;
 El neçio letrado, sin nada temer,
 A leyes profanas la ley os computa;
 Estando encreydo el rudo entender,
 Juzga a las vezes la Madre ser puta:
 Jamás sin la fe, creyendo a ninguno,
 Podemos glosar sin ser ynportuno.

40.

Vario sentido el bulgo pregoná,
 Ansí sus discursos están bariando,
 Dize mentiras y verdades blasona;
 Según los suçesos, va pregonando
 La mala muger en casta matrona
 Y, la buena, a vezes la honra manchando;
 Pintando dos caras al pecho libiano,
 Pinta en lo justo modo profano.

39.-B, 'endisputa' /C, 'le trado' /D, 'Aleyes';
 'laley' /E, 'en creydo'; 'El' /F, 'alas'; 'madre';
 'serputa' /G, 'Aningnno'.

40.-F, 'honrra' /H, the 'o' of 'lo' has been reinforced.

41.

De Dios, tu Señor, te quieres çelar,
 Pensando encubrir malino rencor;
 Sj a ti no conoçes, no basta açertar,
 Faltando justicia a Dios sin temor;
 A mal la maliçia veréys ynclinar,
 Andando contino el alma en horror,
 Negando contino el mal que en mj veo,
 En causa causada del mal que poseo.

42.

Bemos lo que es más andar por el suelo
 A pregón de vino, vendiendo vinagre;
 Mueren los justos sin ver su consuelo
 Y muerden los perros sin ver quién os ladre;
 ¡Cosa temida que gentes del buelo
 Anden contino roban/ðo7 su madre!
 Está la mentira turbando a verdad
 Con falsos enbustes de ciega maldad.

41.-A, 'dios'; 'señor' /B, 'en cubrir'; 'Rencor'
 /C, 'Atino' /D, 'Justicia'; 'A' /E, 'miliçia'
 /F, 'Contino' /H, 'Causada'.

42.-A, 'Andar'; 'porelsuelo' /B, 'vinaigre' /C, 'Justos'
 /D, 'Ynnerden'; 'verquienosladre' /F, 'Andan';
 'Roban/ðo7' — the last syllable has been smudged
 by ink, but parts of both final letters are visible
 /G, 'Mentira'; 'averdad'.

43.

Con falsos metales las armas reales
 Vj al engaño mezclar con ardides;
 Tales ministros, vientos australes,
 Elada la çepa, podauan las vides;
 Jamás las tormentas y ayres nustrales
 Rigen maestros sin tener adalides:
 Avnque torne calma, navío perdido
 No sale del mar si es sumergido.

44.

Discurre mj pluma pigros sucesos,
 Guiando dislates mortal fantasía;
 Pesando maldad contino los pesos,
 Siguyamos mil daños con gran armonía;
 Andando solteros los pechos aviesos,
 Contraría contrario tan loca profía:
 Mandando virtud, siguiendo razón,
 Se gozan los frutos con linda sazón.

43.-A, 'Reules' /B, 'alengañõ' /F, 'adalades'
 /G, 'A vn que' /H, 'delmar'.

44.-A, the letters 'curre' of 'Discurre' have been
 inserted, by the scribe, with a caret /B, 'dis
 lates' /D, 'Siguyamos' -- the 'y' appears to have
 been inserted with uncertainty over the letter
 'n'; 'armonía' /F, 'Contrario'; 'profía' /G,
 'Razon'.

45.

Siguiendo a Can los dioses, sus hijos
 Biben la vida contraria en pintura;
 Senbrando al mundo nuevos letijos,
 Creçen los males, forçando natura;
 Al Padre enoja y busca escondrijos,
 Mudando a Dios en falsa figura:
 Ansj los secaces de aqueste malino
 Guiaron la vida con tal desatino.

46.

Divinas palabras humildes las oya
 Soberuia maldita, borrándolo tal
 Que en tal magazén ay artillería
 De tratos noturnos cambiados en mal;
 Todo lo oscuro bien claro se vía,
 Menguando mengua en el gran caudal;
 En nada no veo remedio nj tasa,
 El resto no digo y todo se abrasa.

45.-A, 'Siguiendoa can'; 'diosessus'; 'hizos' /C,
 'Al'; 'Letijos' /E, 'padre' /F, 'dios'.

46.-A, 'palabres'; 'humildas' /B, 'borrando lo'
 /E, 'lo es curobien'; 'viā' /F, 'enel' /G,
 'Remedio' /H, 'Restonodigo' - the first 'o' has
 been converted from 'e'.

47.

Cursos mudados sin seguir planetas
 Son los extremos que mudan cada punto;
 Las efigies del alma son secretas,
 Ansj los quereres sin mirar trasunto;
 E ordenan luego cosas no perfetas
 Al alma y bibir que está difunto,
 Que los bayles y las danças de pasados
 Son agora los sones de oluidados.

48.

Dormida estaua la vieja Melía,
 Maga muy vieja de nuevas façiones;
 Despertóla su hijo a punto que el día
 Estaua más turbio con falsas fiçiones;
 La falsa maldita, que bien no dormía,
 Luego despierta con viejas visiones:
 Dormida, enseña la falsa raposa,
 Del bien del bibir la más contagiosa.

47.-C, 'Efigies'; 'secretatas' /D, 'trasento' /F,
 'Alalma'; 'Ybibir' /G, 'Y'; 'dancas'; 'depasados'
 /H, 'Los'.

48.-A, 'melía' /B, 'Nuevas' /C, 'queel'; 'drā' — the
 abbreviation sign could also be interpreted as an
 accent (cf. E) /E, 'falza'; 'dormiā' /G, 'falza';
 'Raposa' /H, 'Lamas'.

49.

Sonando enseña la falsa pelleja,
 Rodando los años de las profe^{ci}as;
 Mil cosas nefandas siempre co/ⁿseja,
 Guiando caminos do van otras vⁱas,
 Todas perdiendo maga tan vieja,
 Falsa maestra de las notomías;
 Es común vso en pueblo de ladrones
 Sienpre los alcaldes ser sayones.

50.

El nobelero arte de mundanos
 Pinta del pecho estraña pintura;
 Fingendo fundamentos muy libianos,
 Haze yncreíble la propia figura;
 Alegando pensamientos de profanos,
 Nos haze creer la forma no pura:
 Pareçe la mentira tan honrada
 Que haze creer cosa que no es nada.

49.-A, 'Sonāndo'; 'en seña' /B, 'Rocando'; 'Años';
 'delas' /C, 'ne fandas'; 'coseja' /F, 'delas'
 /G, 'Ladrones' /H, 'Los'; 'Sayones'.

50.-A, the 'E' of 'El' has been inserted, by the
 scribe, over 'M'; 'Arte' /E, 'deprofanos' /F, 'La'
 /G, 'honrrada'.

51.

Mirad las disputas y nuevos errores
 Glosando glosas de gran desatino;
 Mirad al punto mudados de amores,
 Contraria pasión guiando /ē/1 camino,
 Glosas contrechadas mudando amadores,
 Turbando a las veces moços con vino;
 Mezclando tontos con nuevos profetas,
 Ay de dançantes manadas de setas.

52.

Yndos ydólatras y el mal mahometa,
 Que tienen los ritos llenos de vicios,
 Sólo sacerdote o falso profeta
 Predica /ā/ la seta de sus maleficios;
 No ay remē/n/dón que agora no meta
 Su cucharada en los santos oficios;
 Ansí dançan todos con falta en el son,
 Buscando en malinos falso blasón.

51.-A, 'disputas' /D, 'guiando' /G, 'Mezclando'
 /H, 'desetas'.

52.-A, 'malmahometa' /B, 'Ritos' /D, 'desus' - a
 ligature has been made of the first two letters,
 which therefore could be read as 'a'; 'male
 ficios' /E, 'Remeden' /F, 'enlos' /G, 'enelson'.

53.

Blanda presu/n̄ción, fresca memoria,
 Elebando en lōs sentidos amor puro,
 Es entendimiento a muerte gloria
 Do l/ī/ega el navegar en mar seguro;
 Toda la virtud tornáys escoria
 Arrimando el apetito a falso muro;
 Todos los que son perfetos amadores
 A la primavera sienten más dolores.

54.

Engaños desengaños veys agora
 En los pechos yracundos trasformados;
Remendando la mentira cada ora
 Veys los reboltosos ynfamados,
 Huyendo la verdad, como traydora,
 De pechos maliçiosos ya manchados;
 Cargando de contino muchos viçios,
 Condena la razón por los yndiçios.

53.-A, 'presucion'; 'fresça' /B, 'enlos'; 'Amor'
 /C, 'Amuerte'; 'gloriā' /D, 'Dolega'; 'En' /E,
 'escoriā' /F, 'falsonuro' /G, 'Los'; 'Amadores'
 /H, 'Ala'.

54.-A, 'des Engaños' /B, 'Yra candos'
 /D, 'Reboltosos'; 'Yn famados' /E, 'La' /F, 'y'a'
 /H, 'Razon'; 'porlos'; 'Yndiçios'.

55.

Bibe vn hombre honrado muchos años
 Y tropieça saliendo po/r̄7 las calles,
 Y sin pensar en los am̄igos ay engaños,
 Le lleuan a la caça en hondos balles;
 A pie nj a cauallo no miras los daños,
 Pues al malbibir no dizen ¡calles!
 Guiando ynterés tal desatino,
 De tu perder huelgas de contino.

56.

Demandando la limosna puridad,
 Senbrando razón al viso falido,
 Muertos, bibos, despertando maldad,
 Se pierde el saber en caso fingido;
 Siendo clara en el amor claridad,
 Redime /e7l pecho del más fementido;
 Lisonja mandando amores feroçes,
 Roba el tal mando los pechos atroces.

55.-A, 'honrrado'; 'Anōs' (cf.C,E) /B, 'tropieca';
 'polas' /C, 'sinpensar'; 'enlos'; 'Amigos'; 'ayenganōs'
 /D, 'Ala'; 'cacaenhondes' /E, 'Acauallo'; 'Los';
 'danōs' (cf. A and C) /F, 'P ues'; 'mal bibir';
 'Calles' /G, 'Ynteres'; 'de satino' /H, 'Contino'.

56.-A, the 'm' of 'limosna' has been amended and could
 read 'ns' /B, 'Razon' /D, 'fanzido' /E, the second
 'a' of 'clara' bears a 'z' — like tail which appears
 to have been added, by the scribe, with uncertainty;
 'Amor' /F, 'Redimel' /G, 'Amores' /H, 'Roga';
 'atroces' — the word appears to have been 'atrocs',
 but the last letter has been struck out and the
 letters 'es' added.

57.

J/a/más faltará de dar aldauada
 Alma rendida del pecho falido,
 Ella en cadena estando ligada;
 Cegando la vida el torpe sentido,
 Comete adulterio alma sagrada,
 Siendo la pena el seso perdido;
 Elebados los puntos en el justo ser,
 Faltan discursos de bien entender.

58.

Adoran los malos, de pecho muy roto,
 Dioses estraños, sus almas pintadas;
 Falsos discursos pinta Herodoto,
 Pirámides viejas siendo ruynadas;
 Al hijo Canbises, de seso remoto,
 Paternas costumbres son estragadas:
Monstrando al viso rostros desdeños,
 Andan ciegos haziendo deseños.

57.-A, 'Jmas' /B, 'Rendida' /C, 'Ligada' /D, 'El';
 'torpesentido' /E, 'al mas agrada' — the last 'a'
 has been amended /G, 'Los'; 'Puntos' ; 'enel';
 'Justoser' /H, 'bien'.

58.-A, 'depecho'; 'Roto' /B, 'Dios es' /C, 'herodoto'
 /D, 'Ruynadas' /E, 'canbises'; 'deseso'; 'Remoto'
 /F, 'sonestradas' /G, 'Rostros'.

59.

Tornando ya claro más túrbido día,
Jamás no pensamos del tal Hazedor;
Sj vemos al sabio vencer en porfía,
Allj son presagios en falto primor;
Ninguno, si sabe razón, no desvía,
Ni propia pintura desprecia pintor:
Nosotros a vezes, con vano sentido,
Buscamos a Dios contrario apellido.

60.

Firme amador contino es tentado,
Quien no sabe de mal, no goza del bien;
Ninguno en amor es bien fortunado
Sj amando no tuuo sañoso desdén;
¿Que cómo podría gozar el cuydado,
Quando a sus penas remedio le den?
Quien quiere gozar gloria profana,
Con pena y trabajo goza la ynsana.

59.-A, 'Ya'; 'diā' — the abbreviation sign could be a corruption of an accent /B, 'pensa mos'; 'hazedor' /C, 'porfiā' /E, 'Razonno'; 'desviā' /G, 'convano' — the word 'vano' could possibly be 'vario'. Even though the 'n' is clear, there is a dot over the last two letters, and the scribe often erroneously joins letters of this nature at the top instead of at the stem. /H, 'Contrario'; 'appellido'.

60.-A, 'Amador'; 'estentado' /B, 'nogoza' /D, 'Amando'; 'sanōso' /E, 'Cuydado' /F, 'Asus'; 'Remedio'; 'Leden' /H, the 'C' of 'Con' has been converted from 'T'; 'gozala'; 'ynsanā'.

61.

En vida mudada, de ley sin sentido,
 Mudando malicia horden mandada,
 En cada punto estáys afligido,
 Castigando temor vida dañada;
 La santa regla perdona rendido,
 Mirando el bibir la vida reglada;
 Tornándose a Dios el mal corazón,
 Redime al morir la falsa pasión.

62.

Armados sin orden veys bariando
 Y causas contrarias, contrarios efetos;
 Vanas porfías nos van sugetando,
 Mandando contino claros defetos;
 Andan sin vida la vida arrastrando
 Escuros tumultos en ynperfetos:
 El perfeto bibir, y en amor el Señor,
 Goza en el mundo su amor con temor.

61.-A, 'deley' /C, 'afligidio' /D, the second 'd' of 'dañada' has been converted from 'a' /E, 'Regla'; 'Rendido' /F, 'Reglada' /G, 'Tornandosea'; 'El' /H, 'almorir'; 'falza'; the letters 'as' of 'pasion' have been converted from 'an'.

62.-B, 'Efetos' /C, 'vānsugetando' /D, 'Contino' /F, 'ser' (for 'en') — the 's' is probably by analogy with the last letter of the preceding word, and the 'r' has been confused with 'n'; 'ynperfectos' — for the first time, the 'c' of the modernly acceptable ending appears in an end-of-verse rhyme scheme, but it does not accord with B and D. However, even though it is as likely to be an oversight of the poet as of the scribe, it is deleted for purposes of rhyme. /G, 'Amor'; 'señor' /H, 'enel'; the 'u' of 'mundo' has been converted from 'o'; 'Amor'; 'contemor'.

63.

Mezclando el amor dolor con sospiro
 Al pecho firme en perfeto amador,
 En tales enbustes, según claro miro,
 F/ī/echando contrario al pecho traydor,
 Tāles quererēs en el falso tiro
 Publican ynjurīa a Dios, su Señor;
 Estando en el amor falsos trasuntos,
 Cantar/ī/7a el amor música sin puntos .

64.

El pueblo escogido, tanto amado,
 Claro enxemplo de la pura verdad,
 Adorando los dioses, fue castigado;
 Y tornándose a Dios la tal rustidad,
 De lepra ciega fue claro linpiado,
 Curando el Maestro la tonta maldad,
 Tornando derecho brazo siniestro
 El Padre con Hijo y Santo Maestro.

63.-A, 'Amor'; 'consospiro' /B, 'Amador' /C, 'Entales';
 'claromiro' /D, 'Fechando'; 'Al' /E, 'El' /F,
 'Ynjuria'; 'dios'; 'suseñor' /G, 'enel'; 'Amor';
 the first 't' of 'trasuntos' has been converted
 from 'c' /H, 'Cantnna' -- the second 'n' has been
 amended and a dot appears over the third 'n';
 the word 'la' has been struck out between 'amor'
 and 'musica'.

64.-A, 'es cogido'; 'Amado' /B, 'en xenplo' /D,
 'tornando se'; 'dios' /E, 'Delepra' /F, 'maestro'
 /G, 'Siniestro' /H, 'padre'; 'hijo'; 'Y'; 'santo';
 'maestro'.

65.

El falso amor, llamado lisongero,
 Publica por las calles mil secretos,
 Y el firme de firmezas, verdadero,
 Bibe temeroso en sus concetos;
 El ereje falso, con ánimo soltero,
 Con lisonja pregoná los precetos,
 Que es vn engañoso y falso muro,
 Do nadie se ar/r̄imó, que sea seguro.

66.

Sueño andromaco es falso profeta,
 Caso cunplido por ymaginación,
 Sueña el exiçio sin alma perfeta
 La santa verdad en rebelación;
 Los tales sueños en alma secreta
 Nos pintan verdad con gran perfección,
 Y dañados amores probocan contino
 A pechos nefandos que van mal camino.

65.-A, 'Amor'; 'Lisongero' — the 's' has been inserted over erroneous 'g' /B, the 'e' of 'calles' has been converted from 'a' /E, 'Ereje'; 'Animo' /F, 'Conlisonja' /G, 'muro' /H, 'Donadiese'; 'A Rrimo'.

66.-C, 'Exiçio' /D, the 'a' of 'La' is not completed, remaining more akin to 'n'; 'santaverdad'; 'En'; 'Rebelación' /F, 'congran' /G, 'Amores' /H, 'nefandos'; 'queVan'.

67.

Berzebú corredor y falsos sentidos
 Enreda/n̄7 con testos mil pérfidos modos;
 Glosandō glosas que siguen perdidos,
 Guiando el camino, os mete por lodos;
 ¡Cosa estraña que mil fementidos
 Con falsas palabras engañen a todos!
 ¿Queréys ver agora mayor libiandad
 Que glosar con mentira la clara verdad?

68.

Píndaro escribe ser la costunbre
 Rey que domina mandando sugetos;
 A tales ensayes saber es la lunbre,
 Tornando los neçios honbres discretos;
 Si quieres subir el saber a la cumbre,
 Sigue de sabios los viejos preçetos:
 El falto saber guiando pasión,
 Pone la vida en gran confusión.

67.-B, 'Enrredā'; 'contestos' /C, 'si guenperdidos'
 /D, 'porlodos' /E, 'flementidos' /F, 'Atodos'
 /G, 'Agora'.

68.-E, 'cambre' /H, 'lavida'; 'engran'.

69.

¡Asta cuándo veréys los sensuales,
 Remendando el pintor falsa pintura,
 Leyendo traducciones ynfernales,
 Borrando agradables la propia natura ?
 A tales fundamentos las almas venales
 Gozan su contrario en tal figura;
 El mundo ciego no mira qué pretende,
 Que con el saber contrario entiende.

70.

Astuta serpiente encubre el oyr
 Con miedo perderse por encantador;
 Ansj, con querer al erege encubrir,
 Tapamos la vida del falso rumor,
 Porque no se ronpe tan falso mentir
 Tapando la boca del mundo traydor;
 Que al vano querer en deseo noviçio
 Haze el baldón aprender nuevo ofiçio.

69.-B, 'Pintura' /F, 'Su'.

70.-A, 'en cubrir' /C, 'alerege' /D, 'Ta pamos';
 'lavida'; 'Rumor' /E, 'nose'; 'Ronpe' /G, 'En';
 'no viçio' /H, 'Aprender'.

71.

Andan por plaças mil públicos secretos
 De ynpúdicos amores fementidos;
 Tales quereres de pechos ynperfetos
 Publican blasón de amores atrevidos;
 Salidos en el ca/m̄po estos decretos,
 Ynfaman a vezes hōmbres muy polidos:
 El amor que de firmeza está probado
 Concibe en su pecho otro treslado .

72.

Sin mirar circunstançias de pecados,
 Vj cada qual, sigue su vandera;
 Todo remirando en los manchados,
 Toda su vida pasa a la ligera;
 Mirando en tal ser, vj que apocados
 Tomauan entre buenos delantera:
 Tras el pan ageno veys los viçios,
 Su vida descubriendo los yndiçios.

71.-A, 'Secretos' /B, 'Yn pndicos'; 'Amores';
 'frementidos' /D, 'Amores' /E, 'enel'; 'cāpo'
 /F, 'avezes' /G, 'Amor'.

72.-A, 'depecados' /C, 'Remirando' /D, 'ala';
 'lagera' /E, 'Vj' /G, 'panageno' /H, 'Yndiçios'.

73.

Solón, Licurgo, Prometeo con Numa,
 Dracón con Minos, fundando sus leyes,
 Sin alma dexauan la luz a la pluma,
 Asta que el Rey que manda los reyes
 Nos dio claridad contraria a tal suma;
 Agora malinos, robando las greyes,
 Se van tras Lutero, Melantón o Caluín,
 Guiando a los tales su pérfido fin.

74.

Mirad contrapeso de falso desmán,
 Buscando en las leyes tal vanidad,
 Siendo Naranjas el mal trujamán,
 Arguiendo la mentira, falsedad,
 A mil viejas que fueran falso rufián,
 Términos falidos de tonta maldad;
 Mirando el amor los santos preçetos,
 Concibe el amor de amor los conçetos.

73.-A, 'licurgo'; 'promoteo'; 'numa' /B, 'minos'
 /C, 'luzala' /D, 'Reyes' /F, 'Robando' /G,
 'traslutero'; 'melanton'; 'caluin'.

74.-A, 'contra peso' /B, 'varidad' — the intended
 word could have been as written, but 'vanidad'
 seems slightly more probable in this context
 /C, 'narangasel'; the 'j' of 'trujaman' has
 been imperfectly converted, possibly not by the
 scribal hand, from 's' /D, 'falserad' /E, 'Viejas';
 'falzo' /H, 'Amor'(the latter) .

75.

Patente mostrando al claro la luz
 Al falso mirar de viso falido,
 El Veruo ⁷divino clauado en la cruz,
 Lo claro mirando, malicia despido,
 Jamás no creyendo çerrado capuz,
 Buscando pinturas en pecho falido;
 Creyendo, rogando preçetos de amor,
 El pródigo hijo se torna mejor.

76.

El tiempo viejo con nuevo sentido
 Descubren agora oscuras sazones;
 Almas perdidas, de cuerpo comido,
 Falsan contino las justas razones;
 Padeçe el amor bibir carcomido,
 Gozando dislates con las ylusiones:
 Esta niñez, podrida en vejeçes,
 Derramando vino, se vebe las hezes.

75.-A, 'mostrando' /B, the 's' of 'falso' has been
 heavily inserted over another letter, possibly 's' /
 C, 'veruo' /E, 'creyen do' /G, 'Rogando';
 'Amor'.

76.-B, 'Escuras' /C, 'Al mas' /D, 'Justas' /E, 'Amor'
 /F, 'Ylusiones' /G, 'enveje çes' /H, 'vebelas'.

77.

Yncita virtud en los esquadrones
 A tienpo que veys las vatallas romper,
 Y mueven **gerreros** honradas razones,
 Mudando soldados el flaco valer;
 Allj por la honra vit/al/icia a montones
 Muestran los braços honroso poder;
 Haze en contrario fortuna desmán,
 Siendo mudo el mejor capitán.

78.

En ritos ynfi/e/les jamás fue verdad,
 Ny son verdad sus muertas razones,
 Que bien se conoçe ser falsedad,
 Gozando tal lustre sus bibas fiçiones;
 Quien sigue contino tal bariedad
 Pierde las almas con /i/lustres baldones;
 Do sigue el querer del amor desatinos,
 Tales son tramas de falsos malinos.

77.-A, 'Yn cita'; 'Virtud'; 'enlos' /B, 'veyes' /C, 'nueven'; 'gerreros' — the scribe has converted a 'u' to 'rr', but has omitted to insert 'u' after 'g'; 'honrradas'; 'Razones' /E, 'honrra'; 'vititia'; 'amontones' /F, 'Muestranlos'; 'bracos'; 'honroso' /G, 'fortana'.

78.-A, 'Ritos'; 'yn files'; 'Jamás' /B, 'Razones' /F, 'Almas'; 'lustros' /G, 'signe'; 'Amor'; 'de satinos'.

79.

Ánimo fingido en falso documento
 Parece querer la nueva conquista;
 Anda baçilando el pensamiento,
 Amando el amor la vida malquista:
 Prouando la razón su fundamento,
 Se halla gritando el alma sin vista;
 Sj conoçe razón los hombres feroçes,
 Redime la razón las almas atroçes.

80.

D/i7scu/r7so falso, término sin punto,
 Turba mundanos con vano entender;
 Estraño pintor en vano trasunto
 Finge en pintura el propio querer;
 Muertos amores de mundo difunto,
 A/r7guye el mundo sin punto tener:
 Cãrgando fardages túrbidos puntos,
 Se goza maldad con tales trasuntos.

79.-D, 'Amor' /E, 'Razon' /F, 'al masin' /G, 'Razon'
 /H, 'Razon'; 'a troçes'.

80.-A, 'D scuso' /B, 'convano' /E, 'Amores' /F,
 'Aguye'; 'mando' /H, 'Segoza' — the 'z' has been
 converted from 's'; 'mal dad'.

81.

Ten clara conçiencia, ternás alegría,
 Que va tu saber tras tranpas remando;
 De gloria profana voluntad era guía,
 B/las/femia de amor su hanbre guiando;
 Bēlāndo ambiçión de noche y de día,
 Sin razón la razón vemos tenblando:
 Gloria profana, de falsa ambiçión,
 Rigen er/e/ges, mezclando quistiōn.

82.

De muy bario musayco obras estrañas
 Pintan pintores con túrbido belo;
 Quemando fuego propias pestañas,
 Los falsos clamores llegan al çielo;
 Falsas pasiones, dañadas entrañas,
 Quebradas las alas, están por el suelo:
 No puede maliçia ser tan señora
 Que sirua a ninguno sin ser pecadora.

-
- 81.-A, 'Alegría' /B, 'Remando' /C, 'voluntadera'
 /D, 'By femia' — the text originally read 'Balas
 femia', but it has been amended, possibly by a
 second hand, to the more corrupt form; 'Amor'
 /E, 'Anbiçion' /F, 'Razon'; 'Rason' /G, 'Anbiçion'
 /H, 'Egres'.
- 82.-B, 'conturbido' /C, 'Que mando' /E, 'falsas'
 /F, 'Que bradas'; 'es tan' /G, 'Señora' /H, 'A';
 'Sin'.

83.

Fue Valtelina por Janus fundada
 Y su ymagen primera hecha figura,
 La madre Titea por Vesta adorada,
 Adorando los çiegos forma no pura;
 Ynorançia a Çibele, la madre pintada,
 Junto al marido, honrrarlos procura;
 El viejo /E/noc bibiendo mil años,
 Besta ser-justo sin falsos engaños.

84.

Del monte mejor del suelo más alto,
 Conoçe el Señor la/s/ propias ovejas,
 Y avnque el camino parezca ser falto,
 Contino le veys delante las çejas;
 Sy vos no queréys faltar en el salto,
 Dexad a los malos las nuevas consejas,
 Que si las dexáys, estáys muy seguro
 Con la fortaleza del nítido muro.

83.-A, 'velnitina' - the scribe appears to be unsure about the letters 'ni', which could also read 'na', 'ra' or 'ri'; 'Janns' /B, 'Ymagen' /C, 'titea'; 'vesta' /D, 'formano' /E, 'çibele' /F, 'honrrar los' /G, 'noc'; 'Años'.

84.-B, 'Senör'; 'la'; 'o Vejas' /C, 'avn que'; 'serfalto' /F, 'alos' /G, 'silas' /H, 'delnitido'.

85.

Honras, fabor, denidades mundanas,
 Ni vanas riquezas biben contino,
 Que con vso del mal se hazen profanas;
 Y en senda no vsada yr su camino,
 Dexando amores de cosas libianas,
 Veréys la gloria del **Veruo** diuino;
 Aquel es el fuerte y más poderoso,
 Que venge los viçios y dulce reposo.

86.

La honra dormjda luego despierta
 Sj asaltos veloceş esaltan corrida,
 Turbando bibir cosa no çierta;
 Nuevos extremos turbando la vida,
 Despierta Dios alma ya muerta
 Por vella mudar ynjusta partida;
 Sin ver la virtud jamás desatino,
 Sus justos temores andan camino.

85.A, 'Honrras' /D, 'ys'; 'sin'; 'Camino' /E, 'Amores' /F, 'lagloria'; 'delveruo' — the 'd' appears to have been added after the original script; 'Diuiuo' /G, 'Aqueel'; 'Y' /H, 'Vençelos'; 'Viçios'; 'Y'; 'Reposo'.

86.-A, 'honrrador mjda' — a mark appears beneath and between the 'a' and the 'd' of 'honrrador' /C, 'noçierta' /D, 'lavida' /E, 'dios'; 'almā'; 'y a' /F, 'yn justa' /G, 'Jamás' /H, 'Susjustos'; 'Andan'.

87.

¿Cómo se pueden glosar banidades
 Sj casos nefandos nos rigen la vida?
 Los hechos heroycos, en almas bondades,
 Vemos contino estar de partida;
 Parte aparte de sj las ruindades,
 Tornando al amor, el alma rendida;
 Dexando las honras de términos vanos,
 Ríndense a Dios los buenos cristianos.

88.

Pródiga libertad, vsada en la era,
 Tras quien mundanos perdidos se van,
 Formando maldad estraña chimera,
 Jamás en pasados se vió tal desmán;
 Sj contra Dios el alma es frontera,
 Satán y los suyos muy bien trunfarán,
 Que biendo en el mundo bibir tal arreo,
 Atizan contino en el vano deseo.

87.-B, 'ne fandos'; 'Rigen'; 'lavida' /C, 'Loshechos';
 'bandades' /D, 'departida' /E, 'desj'; 'Ruindades'
 /F, 'Alamor'; 'Alma'; 'Rendida' /G, 'honrras';
 'determinos'; 'Vanos' /H, 'Renden se'; 'aDios';
 'Cristianos'.

88.-C, 'formando'; 'chuñera' — the tilde is probably
 by analogy with the previous word /E, 'contradios';
 'Alma' /G, 'bien do'; 'enel'; 'Arreo' — two letters
 have been erased after 'e', and 'o' added /H, 'Contino';
 'El'; 'Deseo' .

89.

Mariposas vemos quemar sin candela,
 Volando en ellas de tal perdiçión;
 Justa querella los buenos desvela,
 Y siempre los malos con falsa fiçión
 Glosan contino a maldades la vela,
 Pintando la vida al alma borrón;
 En buenos las bidas son remiradas,
 Que son el espejo de canas honradas.

90.

Haziendo trofeos de la fantasía,
 El Gil Carrido combate mil galanas;
 Dexando reportes de tal frenesía,
 Conozca virtud las cosas libianas,
 Glosando en razón, que razón desvía,
 Viçios cubiertos de almas ynsanas;
 Mandando las moradas los contrechos,
 Bibe la tal vida en mil despechos.

89.-A, 'que mar'; 'Candela' /C, 'des vela' /E,
 'Amaldades; 'lavela' /F, 'lavida'; 'Alma'
 /G, 'Remiradas' /H, 'Queson'; 'honrradas'.

90.-B, 'gil' /C, 'Reportes' — the second 'r' has been
 inserted with a caret; 'frenesía' /D, 'Virtud';
 'Libianas' /E, 'Rason'; 'Razon'; 'des viā' — in
 this particular stanza, the inconsistency of the
 scribe is fully revealed. He ranges from total
 absence of sign over 'fantasia', to an apparent
 accent over the 'i' of 'frenesia', to an abbreviation
 sign over the 'a' of 'desvia'. /F, 'Cubiertos';
 'Ynsanas' /G, 'contre chos'.

91.

Al son de dulçaynas dança Gil Sotero ,
 Paso en paso borrando la dança;
 Amor en valança de amor lisongero
 Muda el sentido en otra mudança;
 Por alto gallardas del amor parlero
 Dançan los ciego/s̄ en nueva cadañça,
 Pintando color al fuego ardiente
 Del tonto, sordo, çiego presidente.

92.

En los nuevos años de falsas estrenas
 Pregonaron horden por el Gil Garrido ,
 Trast/r̄o/cando amor sin ligar cadenas
 Al flacō rocín, de moscas comido;
 Litigando amor del amor las penas,
 Haze fantasmas el seso atrevido,
 Los viejos ladrones gozando /ē/1 trofeo
 Del pobre pirata con falso rodeo.

91.-A, 'Alson'; 'dul caynas'; the 'd' of 'dança' appears to have been inserted by a second hand, or possibly by the scribe using an unaccustomed part of the tip, the ink being lighter and the stroke thicker than usual; 'gil'; 'sotero' /C, 'Amor' /E, 'Amor' /F, 'ciego' /G, 'Al'.

92.-A, 'Enlos'; 'Años'; 'Estrenas' — a sign has been struck out above the 's' /B, 'gíl' /C, 'Trast/r̄o/cando' — the two letters after the second 't' have been amended, but remain unrecognisable; 'Amor' /D, 'Rocin' /E, 'Amor'; 'Amor' /G, 'gozandol' /H, 'confalso' — large 's' has been inserted over a former letter; 'Rodeo'.

93.

Glosan borrones, de mandos profanos,
 Lo vtjl o onesto, también deleytable;
 El provecho dañoso siguen ynsanos
 Del mundo maldito con ser variable;
 Sin nadie creer consejos más sanos,
 Goza el deleyte viçio entrañable:
 Males dañosos, contrarios de vida,
 Nos hazen manchar la justa partida.

94.

Armando malicia nuevos ardides,
 Con armas ya viejas arma su **gera** ,
 Armados sin gentes guiando adalides
 Ojos feroces de piel de bezerra;
 Estos más malos, podando las vides,
 Lamen sustancia con hanbre de perra;
 Guarda de enbustes es Proserpina,
 Y junto al marido su reyno abeçina.

93.-A, 'Glosanborrones'; 'demandos' /B, 'vtjlo' -
 the 'l' has been inserted over a former letter
 /C, 'danoso' /D, 'conser' /F, 'Gozael' /H,
 'lajusta'.

94.-A, 'Ardides' /B, 'Armas'; 'sugerra' /E, 'vidas'
 /F, 'Lamen' - the letters 'am' have been converted
 from 'osn'; 'deperra' /G, 'Guerda'; the second 'e'
 of 'enbustes' has been converted from 'o'; 'proser
 pina' /H, 'Rey no'; 'adeçina'.

95.

Ligero de pies, saltando por fuego,
 El gato por brasas sienpre saltaua;
 Sentido veloce, jugando su juego,
 La larga cola sin honra rastraua;
 Con otros, avssentes, presentes de luego,
 La vida penosa allj trastrocuaa:
 Pintando momos en propia figura
 Con tales guiones andaua locura.

96.

Paseando paseo de gloria mundana,
 Este camino vays rastreando;
 Glosando los males vida profana,
 Penas sin fin os vays dibujando;
 Pintando pinçel de vida no sana,
 Del propio amor os vays sugetando:
 Por vanos amores del mundo profano
 Nadáys en mar de término vano.

95.-A, 'Ligeros'; 'porfuego' /C, 'Jngando' /D, 'honrra';
 'Rastraua' /E, 'ostros'; 'deluego' /H, 'Andaua';
 'Locura'.

96.-A, the scribe vacillates between 'Passando' and
 'Paseando', with the result that the fourth letter
 is unclear /B, 'Rastreando' /D, 'dibuzando' /E, a
 faint abbreviation sign or accent appears over the
 letters 'an' of 'Pintando'; 'pinçel' /F, 'Amor'
 /G, 'Amores' /H, an 'a' has been erased before the
 'm' of 'mar'; 'Vano'.

97.

Putá hallaréys tan reboltosa
 Que finge entremeses de contino;
 Amyga estrabagante está tenblosa,
 Al enfermo curando en desatino;
 Jamás veréys furia tan rabiosa
 En el tal contraste seguir su camino:
 Burla es donayre en los brabosos,
 Pensando sin virtud ser valerosos.

98.

El hijo ya Néstor y el viejo prudente
 Remed/*i*7an caráter a glosa en falsía,
 Tramando maldad el mando regente,
 Guiando lisonjas en tal frenesía;
 Luego se acuerda el amor ynsolente,
 Midiendo medida de su fantasía;
 Dando el contento la vana razón,
 Se muda el saber en tal presunción.

97.-A, 'hallereys'; 'roboltosa' /B, 'entremesesde';
 'Contino' /C, 'A myga' /D, 'Enfermo'; the word 'en'
 has been inserted, with a caret, between 'curando'
 and 'desatino' /F, 'Enel' /G, 'Burlars' - the 'r'
 of the infinitive has been imperfectly converted
 to 'e', and no division made between the two words
 thus formed /H, 'servalerosos'.

98.-A, 'yanestor' /B, 'Remedan'; 'A'; 'falsiā' /C, 'El';
 'Regente' /D, 'frenesiā' /E, 'Acuerda'; 'Amor' /F,
 'fantasia' /G, 'La'; 'Razon' /H, 'ental'.

99.

El cínico sabio anda bagando,
 La vida segura gozando pobreza;
 En redes perplexas entonan el vando,
 En muerte clara de pobre pereza:
 Ganar con perder veréys bariando,
 Quiriendo contino guiar aspereza;
 Todos quiriendo buscar justo medio,
 Guiando perdidos, falta el remedio.

100.

Jamás se berán los falsos galanes
 Gujar por camino que sigue razón;
 Las vidas de tales son los desmanes
 Que pinta natura con tal perdiçión:
 Armados andan los claros rufianes,
 Ladrones secretos, de la casa baldón;
 Pintando obediencia de frayle nobiçio,
 Son los maestros de todo mal viçio.

99.-B, 'probeza' /C, 'Enrredes'; 'en tonan'; 'Elvando'
 /D, 'pobrepereza' /E, 'conperder' /G, 'Justo';
 'medio' /H, 'Remedio'.

100.-A, 'seberanlos' /B, 'porcamino'; 'Razon' /C, 'sonlos'
 /E, 'Rufianes' /F, 'dela' /G, 'flayle' /H, 'Sonlos';
 'malviçio'.

101.

Pluma traydora, manchada contino,
 Escribe maldades a pechos enfermos;
 La santa verdad en mudar desatino
 Ocupada la pluma, andando por yermos,
 Los santos doctores conoçen mal sino
 Sin ver nj mirar consejos modernos;
 La buena vejez, en Dios sus razones,
 Bibe contino sin falsas pasiones.

102.

Vemos en carros cabeças cargadas,
 Estraño çerbelo con vario sentido;
 Bibas y muertas las cosas pasadas,
 Nadie recuerda el mal atrebido;
 Siguiendo el querer, son olui/ã/adas
 Mientes enteras del ser más vāido:
 Estando preso en tales cadenas,
 Nos çiega el amor con lānguidas penas.

101.-B, 'apechos' /C, 'lasantaverdad' /D, 'Andando'
 /E, 'Santos'; 'siño' /F, 'vernj' /G, 'endios';
 'Rasones' /H, 'Contino'.

102.-A, 'En'; 'çabecas' /D, 'Recuerda'; 'Atrebido'
 /E, 'oluiadas' /F, 'sermas' /G, 'entales'
 /H, 'Amor'.

103.

En todo es baria obra mal fundada,
 Que tal bariedad anda tras perdidos;
 Sigue confusión casa dañada,
 El espíritu çegando los sentidos,
 El hijo no sigue a su padre en nada,
 Çegando al padre amores queridos;
 El neçio, hablando, de contino hierra,
 Y luego el mar se junta con la tierra.

104.

Etíopes y egiçios, con çitas vezinos,
 Ritos estraños mandauan tal vida;
 En ellos descubre sus falsos caminos
 La justa razón, buscando manida;
 Agora muy claro, con males continos,
 Veys la razón muerta, perdida:
 Sj poblados cristianos rigen maldad,
 En bosques ynfielès pierde verdad.

103.-A, 'Entodo'; 'esbaria' /B, 'Anda' /D, 'Los' /E,
 'A' /F, 'Padre'; 'Amores' /H, 'Luego'.

104.-A, 'Etíopes'; 'Egiçios' — the letters 'gi' have
 been inserted over an erasure; 'conçitas' — the
 'a' has been converted from 'o', possibly by a
 second hand /C, 'Enellos'; the second 'e' of
 'descubre' has been inserted, by a possible second
 hand, over correct 'e' in the scribal hand;
 'susfalsos' /D, 'Lajusta'; 'Razon'; 'manída' /E,
 'Continos' /F, this line has been added in small
 script between G and H, having been omitted
 erroneously /G, 'Rigen' /H, 'yn fieles'.

105.

El que padeçe, sin culpa ninguna,
 Al Rey sacerdote nos es figurado;
 En cruz la malicia y vida ynportuna
 Rey sacerdote pone/n/ enclauado;
 Malos Herodes a Diōs, en su cuna,
 Persiguen vida, de vida dechado:
 Sj pierde la fe Pedro en vn/a/ ora,
 Cristo no pierde la vida que llora.

106.

Dechado en virtud agora presente,
 Escoja verdad y virtud compañera;
 A nadie beremos bibir refulgente
 Sj anda sin ellas la fee verdadera:
 La vida clara dexando el prudente,
 Pierde el seso la vida sinçera;
 Jurando verdad, creyendo a pasión,
 Pierde ganando la falta sazón.

105.-C, 'cruzla'; 'Ynportuna' /D, 'pone' /E, 'herodes';
 'dios' /F, 'Vida' (the former) /G, 'lafe'; 'pedro';
 'envn' /H, the letters 'er' of 'pierde' have been
 inserted over an erasure; 'lavida'.

106.-B, 'Es coja'; 'con pañera' /C, 'Anadie';
 'Refulgente' /E, 'Lavida' /G, 'apasion'.

107.

Sardanápalo veys Hétor vençer
 Y ser abatidos los dibujos de Apeles,
 Y junto con esto los mares arder,
 Ahogados en ellos estraños vateles,
 Los ríos confusos por Edna correr,
 Falidos trabajos, vanos vergeles;
 Cargando el otoño tales despojos,
 Veréys en los ojos picantes abrojos.

108.

Sin clara luz, rutilantes armados
 Siguen con engaños falsos cometas;
 Mirando brabosos, los ojos çerrados,
 La propia vida arguye mil setas;
 Jamás la verdad verá/~~n~~/ los honrados,
 Con el justo temor, s̄er falsos profetas:
 Andando con mezclas pintando color,
 Pierde nobleza su honra y valor.

107.-A, 'Sardanapolo'; 'hetor' — the letters 'het'
 have been inserted over an erasure (cf. C, E,
 and H) /B, 'sera batidos'; 'deapeles' /C, 'Junto';
 'conesto'; the 'o' of 'los' and the first 'r' of
 'arder' have been inserted over erasures /D,
 'enellos' /E, an 'r' appears to have been erased
 before the 'r' of 'rios'; 'Edna' — the word appears
 to have been inserted over an erasure /F, 'falidos';
 'Vergeles' /H, the 'p' of 'picantes' has been
 inserted over an erasure.

108.-A, 'Rutilantes'; 'Armados' /E, 'laverdad'; 'verālos';
 'honrrados' /G, 'puntando' /H, the 'u' of 'su' has
 been converted from 'i'; 'honrra'; 'Y'.

109.

Pasando los çiegos puente vedada,
 Sin ver el paso conçiben los daños,
 Y sin ver nj mirar la falsa enboscada,
 Saben los sabios do son los engaños;
 ¿Queréys claro ver cosa prouada?
 Mirad moços, viejos, pintando los años,
 Ser enboscados con falso entremés,
 Tiniendo los tales el seso a los pies.

110.

Andaua desarmado el ballestero,
 Tirando las palomas del çercado;
 Al sin respeto, falso lisongero,
 Todo le es común, nada le es vedado,
 Con todos haze del buen conpañero,
 Ni quiere mandar nj avn ser mandado;
 Y avnque le tresquilan en conçejo,
 No dexe de caçar algùn conejo.

109.-A, the first 'e' of 'puente' has been inserted,
 by the scribe, with a caret /B, 'con çibenlos'
 /C, 'veruñ mitar'; 'falza' /D, 'dosonlos' /F,
 'pintandolos'; 'Anōs' /H, 'Alos'.

110.-A, 'balles tero' /C, 'Respetō' /D, 'lees' (the latter)
 /E, 'hazedel' /F, 'sermandado' /G, 'avn que'
 /H, 'cacar'.

111.

Entre locos y tontos, espeçie /ĩn/fernal,
 Sigue contino muy bario defeto;
 El neçio, mezclado su falto caudal,
 Haze otras mezclas de ser ynperfeto;
 Abariçia y larguez no guardan ygual,
 Ans; los contrarios van sin sugeto:
 En fin sin virtud valor no reluze,
 Avnque maliçia el saber más aguze.

112.

Sangrando el enfermo, vemos salud,
 A veces dislates de tal fantasía;
 G/ũ/itarra o bihuela tocando, laũd,
 Vẽys diferençia de tal armonía;
 Hazen contrarios medidas de almud,
 Mandando progresos en tal frenesía:
 Arguye razón, mandando dislate,
 La tal diferençia en modo de mate.

111.-A, 'frenal' /D, 'deser' /E,
 'y gual' /G, 'Enfin'; 'Reluze' /H, 'A Vn que';
 'Aguze'.

112.-A, 'San_grando' /C, 'Gitarra'; 'obihuela' /D,
 'Armonia' /E, 'Almud' /F, 'progresosental';
 'frenesia' /G, 'Razon' /H, 'demate'.

113.

Quien sirue a Dios, sj quiere seruir,
 Sigue contino mandato de leyes,
 Que contrario querer, querer presumir,
 Haze mil befas, turbando las greyes;
 Pierden con blasón de falso mentir
 Entrañas sin vida las honras de reyes;
 Sj andan mezcla/̃o7s con los fementidos,
 Perdidos con gañados van perdidos.

114.

El bibo fundamento en santo amor
 Torna en vida la muerte del alma;
 ¡Qué claro sentido, qué visto primor,
 Do muertos sin vida ganan la palma!
 En punto tan alto el fino amador
 Tiene seguros los vientos en calma;
 Ganando el perder, pierde contino,
 Según sin pagar el borracho con vino.

113.-A, 'Sirue'; 'dios' /B, 'deleyes' /F, 'honrras';
 'Reyes' /G, 'mezclas'; 'conlos'.

114.-A, 'Amor' /B, 'Alma' /D, 'Domnertos' /E, 'tanalto';
 'Amador' /G, 'Contino' /H, 'conVino' .

115.

Vsando los romanos viejas vsuras,
 Preso a tiempo fue Marte valiente;
 Gran libertad en las primas tonsuras
 Haze /c/ algún hombre ser ynsolente;
 Comen golosos las peras más duras,
 Guiando malicia vn caso aparente:
 Tras estos dislates siguiendo otro mil,
 El famoso ladrón se torna alguazil.

116.

Falta en los años querer en mandar,
 Y preçia su graçia sin falta ninguna;
 No falta jamás quien quiera mirar
 Malos contrarios, y buenos repuna;
 Veys a los malos las leyes guardar
 Sólo de boca, sin temer sola vna:
 Ansy corre el mundo a son de çençerros,
 Como rabiando vays tras los perros.

115.-A, 'Romanos' /B, 'A'; 'marte' /C, 'enlas' /D,
 'Hazen'; 'Algun' /E, 'petas' /F, 'Aparente'
 /H, 'Ladron'; 'algnazil'.

116.-A, 'enlos'; 'enmandar' — the last two letters
 of 'querer' and the letters 'en' of 'enmandar'
 have been inserted over an erasure /C, 'Jamás'
 /D, 'Repuna' /E, 'alos' /F, 'solavna' /H,
 'Rabiando'; 'traslos'; 'perros'.

117.

Quedando algunas vezes adormido,
 Soñando en querer propia voluntad,
 Falseando el amor el bien perdido,
 Gozando presunción vieja maldad,
 Siguiendo el franco vn mal partido,
 Fundando en la razón sensualidad,
 Los bienes con los males van ligados
 Do falsos eslabones son forjados.

118.

Famongomadán estaua patente,
 Comiendo las aves con falsa rapiña;
 Gritando a voces veys el avsente,
 Comiendo el agraz de toda su viña:
 Razón y justicia sigue el prudente,
 Rascando contino a todos la tiña;
 Sería el remedio poderse apelar
 Sj forman justiciã en este lugar.

117.-A, 'Algunas' /C, 'Amor'; 'perdiñō' (cf. E) /E, 'partiñō' /F, 'Razon' /G, 'Van'; 'Ligados' /H, 'es la bones'.

118.-A, 'Famon gomadan' -- the last three letters have been amended, or possibly converted from 'nar' /B, 'Rapiña' /C, 'Veyes'; the word 'el' and the 'a' of 'avsente' have been inserted over an erasure /D, 'Agraz'; 'Viña' /G, 'Remedio' /H, 'eneste'; 'Lugar'.

119.

Podrido carnage, vastage muy vil,
 Rige contino en vida lo santo;
 Siempre tomando alianza çebil,
 Vemos malicia guiar el quebranto;
 No cantan cantores, por suelo el atril,
 Sin falta disfo/r/me, forma del canto:
 Si gozan amores humores podridos,
 Allí los alientos se hazen sentidos.

120.

Consumiendo sustancias en oluido
 Veys los sospiros en pecho arrogante;
 Amores trasforman el amor repentido
 A todos estados de vida trunfante;
 En tiempo iusto será redimido
 Quien hecha de sí la carga pesante,
 Mas alma y cuerpo están con temor
 Mirando las faltas, pasado el horror.

119.-D, 'que branto' /E, 'artil' — the letters 'rt' have been amended, apparently from the correct spelling /F, 'disfome'; 'Canto' /G, 'Sigozan' — the 'z' has been inserted over an 's'; 'Amores' /H, 'Allilos'.

120.-A, 'Con sumiendo'; 'olmdo' /B, 'En' /C, 'Amor' ; 'Repentido' /E, 'Redimido' /F, 'desi' — the 'i' has been added to original 'des', possibly not by the scribal hand; 'Pesante' /G, 'Alma'; 'cuerposstan'; 'contemor'.

121.

Parsimonia sin vida tiene prendada
 La vida triste que sigue el querer;
 Virtud sin los buenos es mal enseñada,
 Ni los falsos sentidos pueden bien ver,
 Ni con ojos cerrados ver la enboscada
 Del término justo do es el valer;
 Muy mal podremos con falsa pasión
 Glosar en las leyes que siguen razón.

122.

Borran la ley quien son malfatores,
 Lisonjando los reyes por adulación;
 Buscando apetito los vanos favores,
 Las causas malinas engulle/n/ razón;
 ¿Queréys claro ver los falsos amores?
 Mirad ynterés mover con pasión:
 Sy vanos amores nos mueven sentido,
 Se turba razón del saber fermentido.

121.-A, 'Persimoniā' /C, 'malenseñada' /D, 'Nilos';
 'bienver' /E, 'Verlaenboscada' /F, 'esel' /G,
 'filsa' /H, 'signen'; 'Razon' — the 'z' has been
 inserted over 's'.

122.-A, 'mal fatores' /B, 'LisonJando'; 'Reyes' —
 the second 'e' has been converted from 's' /D,
 'en guelle' — the 'g' has been converted from 'q';
 'Razon' /E, 'verlos'; 'Amores' /F, 'compasion'
 /G, 'Amores'; 'nueven' /H, 'Razon'.

123.

Estando el tal punto contemplan^{do},
 Vy sola pasea/^r7 miseria de la vida;
 Consigo la trāydora yva llorando,
 Que luz nj brasa tiene su manida;
 En çeniza se quema ymaginando,
 Con fuego sulfúreo es sostenida:
 Por do pasa contino vy que llora,
 Que nada no posee esta señora.

124.

Halla en gustos el sátiro ynsano
 Contrario sabor en varios efetos;
 Nicanor habla de su rey tirano,
 Falso perjuro de malos conçetos;
 La causa sabida glosa el profano,
 Ganando larguez los faltos defetos:
 Nuestras miserias van sin sentido
 Y tratando verdad soys vn perdido.

123.-B, 'pasea'; 'dela' /C, 'y va' /E, 'que ma';
 'Ymaginando' /F, 'hulfureo' /G, 'Pordo' /H,
 'Señora'.

124.-A, 'gus tos'; 'Ynsano' /B, 'Sabor' — the 'S'
 has been inserted over an erasure; 'Efetos' /C,
 'Ni canor'; 'hablade' — the 'e' has been converted
 from 'a'; 'Rey' /D, 'falso' /E, 'Causa'; 'profa
 no' /H, 'Vn'.

125.

Pintan pasados príncipes perfetos,
 Xenofont a Ciro, Curcio /ā/ Alexandro;
 Trajano con éstos, en cultos secretos,
 Nos pintan el amor de Eneas con Ebandro;
 El corazón y alma diversos decretos
 Pintan de amores, en mar con Leandro:
 Ni sirue el amor, nj cumple las leyes
 Quien dexe su ley, negando sus Reyes.

126.

El medio sin medio anda confuso,
 La horden no justa guiando el baldón;
 Espanta la pleue hilar sin el vso
 Y querer con mentira glosar la razón;
 El seso forçado del viso meduso
 Muda en colores contraria visión:
 Sj rige la vida el amor temeroso,
 Llego el morir con dulce reposo.

125.-B, the 'f' of 'Xenofont' has been converted from
 'p'; 'Al'; 'ciro'; 'curcio' /C, 'conestos' /D,
 'Amor'; 'eneas'; 'Enbandro' /E, 'cora çon' /F,
 'Amores'; 'leandro' /G, 'Amor'; 'Leyes'.

126.-A, 'Anda' /D, the 's' of 'glosar' has been converted
 from a former letter, and resembles 'f'; 'Razon'
 /G, 'Rige'; 'lavida'; 'El'; 'Amor' /H, 'llega';
 'Reposo'.

127.

Dares el frigio con Ditis de Creta
 Pintan al çiego viejas figuras;
 Historia sin alma y vida jnperfeta
 Son los disfraces de nuevas verduras:
 Creyendo çiegos, el alma decreta
 Vn viejo refrán de cosas no puras;
 Despierta dormidos oyr de Roldán,
 Sin ver paladín nj cre/e/r tal desmán.

128.

Piensen algunos, con ser faboridos,
 Hablar sin saber en casos de peso;
 Frunçidos en bocas mil dichos polidos,
 Pierden hablando en casos de seso:
 Estos en armas serán desmentidos
 Sj pesa balança el tal contrapeso;
 Nadie en la guerra es buen adalid
 Si no vido jamás conbate nj lid.

127.-A, 'condites'; 'decreta' /C, the 'j' of
 'jnperfeta' is a true 'j', rather than the 'i'
 with tail normally used in place of simple 'i'
 /E, there appears to be a comma after 'çiegos'
 /F, 'Refran' /H, 'Sinver'; 'crer'.

128.-A, 'Algunos'; 'conser' /B, 'depeso' /C,
 'frunçidos' /D, 'deseso' /E, the 'E' of 'Estos'
 is, in form, a large minuscule, a practice adopted
 increasingly by the scribe; 'Armas' /H, 'Sino'.

129.

Miraua Jugurta el pueblo romano,
 Claro profeta de guerras çibiles;
 Sugeto se torna el hombre libiano
 Sj dexe su Rey por tramas de biles;
 Franca franqueza, consejo más sano,
 Sigue contino los hechos viriles:
 Mirando los çiegos sin ver claro día,
 Bien claro berán su loca profía.

130.

Los primos argivos guiando la naue,
 Luze tal nonbre con fama y hazaña;
 La gloria profana muy iusto les caue
 Sin otro baldón de ynjusta magaña:
 Vsa Cupido de arbitrio sin llaue,
 Ganando a vezes con falsa çizaña;
 El amor que sin fuerça amando desama
 Hurde en amores los males en trama.

129.-A, 'Jngurta'; 'Romano' /B, 'deguerras' /D, 'pro' /E, 'franca' — the scribe often uses the minuscule ('f') at the beginning of a line; the 's' of 'consejo' has been converted from 'c'; 'massano' /G, 'diā' — the sign above the 'a' could possibly be an erroneously-placed accent (cf. H) /H, 'suloca'; 'profia'.

130.-A, 'Argivos'; the 'e' of 'naue' has been converted from 'a' /D, 'sin'; 'deynjusta' /E, 'cupido'; the 'e' of 'llaue' has been converted from 'a' (cf. A) /G, 'Amor'; 'Amando' /H, 'Amores'.

131.

Muchos se gozan con lindas pinturas,
 Que las de sus vidas son malmiradas;
 Gozan los ojos las muertas figuras
 Porque las bibas están mal pintadas;
 Conoçemos en otros las cosas no puras
 Y las propias vidas nos son olvidadas:
 S¡ en vuestra casa no ay nada bueno,
 ¿Cómo podéys juzgar de lo ageno?

132.

Pintando el amor vn claro dechado,
 Figuras, trasuntos de lindo primor,
 En vn alto monte es Dios enclauado,
 Pagando sin culpas de mal pundonor;
 Mirando entender el claro treslado,
 Purgue del pecho en vida el rencor
 Del rabioso pensamiento altero,
 Mirando la vía del justo sendero.

131.-A, 'segozan' — the 'z' has been converted from
 's'; 'conlindas' /B, 'desus'; 'mal miradas'
 /D, 'Por que' /G, 'envuestra' /H, 'Juzgar'; 'Ageno' .

132.-A, 'Amor'; 'Vn' /B, 'trasnntos' /C, 'Envn';
 'dios' /D, 'pnndonor' /F,
 'envida'; 'Rencor' /G, 'Rabioso' /H, 'lavia';
 'Sendero'.

133.

Bano entremés es vn falso pintar,
 Pintando figuras sin fruto y sin fin;
 Protógenes y Apeles, con gran dibujar,
 Jamás dibujaron el falso malsín;
 Entrañas dañadas con mal blasonar
 Nos pintan en glosas el falso Caluín,
 Mas alma que goza el buen corazón
 Rebate contrario de tal opinión.

134.

Manetón el /ē/ gicio y Veroso caldeo
 Tratando vidās de reyes pasados,
 Siguen sus mandos estraño deseo,
 Gozando tiranos modos manchados,
 Manchadas vidas, fama en rodeo,
 Todos en codicia de mando guiados;
 Perdiendo Dios su vista sin ojos,
 Andauan tontos con vanos antojos.

133.-A, the word 'vn' has been inserted, by the scribe, with a caret /C, 'apeles' /D, 'falzo'; the 's' of 'malsin' has been inserted over a former letter /F, the 's' of 'Nos' has been added to 'No', apparently after the original script; 'fAlso' ; 'caluin' .

134.-A, 'gicio'; 'veroso' /B, 'Reyes' /E, 'Manchades'; 'vides'; 'enRodeo' /F, 'demando' /G, 'dios'; 'suvista' /H, between the first two words appears the letter 'C'; 'Antojos'.

135.

Por oydos que gozan la vana razón
 No paga la lengua, tocando malicia;
 Por ojos que miran con falsa fiçión
 No paga nadie, palpando codicia;
 No anda justa, sana yntençión
 Oliendo perfumes de falta notiçia:
 Pagando justos por los pecadores,
 Luego discuerda la ley co/n/ dotores.

136.

Contino vemos, con falsos visages,
 Fundir sin crisol los tales metales;
 Hazen las vidas en almas vltrages,
 Siendo el fabor remedio a los males;
 Haziendo codicia nuevos carnages
 En almas podridas de gozos benales,
 Mudando a los visos en tal contrapunto,
 Descubre sazón el falso trasunto.

135.-A, 'lavana'; 'Razon' /B, 'lalengua' /E, 'Justa';
 'Yntençion' /G, 'Justos'; 'porlos'; 'pecidores'
 /H, the 'a' of 'discuerda' has been converted from
 'o'; 'cōdotores' — the abbreviation sign is correctly
 used.

136.-A, 'confalsos' /B, 'fundir' /C, 'Hazenlas';
 'Almas' /D, 'siendo'; 'Remedio' /F, 'Almas'
 /G, 'alos' /H, 'El'.

137.

Aquellos linpios rústicos muy llanos,
 Purgando su linpieza de la fantasía,
 Con otros más claros entre los ysmanos,
 Con pura linpieza, libre de falsía,
 Tostado y Viçente, linpios villanos,
 Arguien del bibir la clara frenesía;
 Linpia del pecho turbios enbaraços
 La pesquisa luego del amor en braços.

138.

Santa linpieza en vida patente,
 Muy claro licor del alma y la vida,
 Siempre gozando lugar eminente
 En vida y muerte la linpia partida,
 El vajo rumor no mire el prudente,
 Dexando al soez gozar su manida;
 Gozos que gozan del amor presunçión
 Son de la vida mortal perdiçión.

137.-A, 'Rusticos' /B, 'dela' /C, 'masclaros';
 'entrelos'; 'ysmanos' — the 'y' has been converted
 from 'j' (equivalent of 'i') /D, 'puralinpreza';
 'falsia' (cf. F) /E, 'viçente' /F, 'frenesiā'
 /G, 'turbiós'; 'en baraços' /H, 'Amor'; 'enbraços' —
 the 'ç' has been converted from 's'.

138.-A, 'envida' /B, 'Alma'; 'laveda' /C, 'Eminente'
 /D, 'Linpia' /E, 'Elvajo'; 'Rumor' /F, 'Alsoez'
 /G, the 'z' of 'Gozos' has been converted from 's';
 'Amor' /H, 'delaveda'.

139.

No ay duro pecho de clima tan suya
 Que no le sugete sugeto el amor,
 Ni cosa contraria que contrar/*i*7o no huya
 Aquello que es causa de hazer *el* temor,
 Ni hecho malino que *él* no destruya
 La fama muy buena del tal Hazedor;
 Reboluiendo ansj los poluos de males,
 Hallamos contino dos mil çenagales.

140.

Exerçitando el espírytu de amores,
 Se hazen muchos honbres valerosos;
 Tratando conpetençias amadores,
 Son como serpientes beninosos;
 Todo el sexo siente sus dolores,
 Pero aquy o allá los muchopoderosos
 Pagarán malas deudas sin veçino:
 Si sigues falso amor, vas mal camino.

139.-A, 'clíma'; 'tansuya' /B, 'Amor' /C, 'contrano'
 /E, 'malino' /F, 'hazedor'.

140.-A, 'Exer çitando'; 'Espirytu' — the 'y' has been
 converted from equally correct 'i'; 'Amores' /C,
 'Amadores' /E, the letters 'olo' of 'dolores' have
 been slightly obscured /G, 'males'; 'veçino' —
 the 'ç' has been converted from 's' /H, 'Sigues';
 'Amor'.

141.

En el amor el engaño representa
 Vario sentido de tal presunción,
 Presentando parecer contraria venta,
 Todo perturbando falsa variación;
 Arguia luego la cifra más esenta
 Quien terná co/n̄7 zelos desimulación;
 Todo entremés dē falsa magaña
 Turba de repente, mas no engaña.

142.

Sumando los años pasados, presentes,
 El amor en discursos presenta baldón,
 Arguiendo causas maldad aparentes,
 Fundando suçesos en falsa razón;
 Todos disculpan las faltas creyentes,
 Mas las virtudes en tal parangón
 Humillan las prueuas del ser más valido
 Al hombre peor, con velle rendido.

141.-A, 'Enel'; 'Representa' /B, 'vario' /E, 'Luego';
 'Esenta' /F, 'cōzelos' /G, 'maganā' /H, 'Repente';
 'enganā'.

142.-B, 'endíscursos'; 'presente' /D, 'fundando'; the
 'ç' of 'suçesos' has been converted from 's'; the
 's' of 'falsa' has been converted from 'z'; 'Razon'
 /E, 'dis culpanlas' - the second 'a' has been amended
 /F, 'virtudas' /G, 'sermas' /H, 'convelte' -
 an attempt has been made to convert a 'c' to an 'l',
 but erroneous 't' results; 'Rendido'.

143.

Helj, sacerdote, vemos mudado
 De cargo y de vida por mal pundonor,
 Lo claro oscuro vi ser trastocado,
 Culpando los hijos la parte mejor;
 Los tales bayvenes mudan estado,
 Trayendo robos el alma en horror;
 Jamás disculpa corrige la vida,
 Antes por viçio la vemos bendida.

144.

Dessea mudanças la pleue cuytada,
 Sin nadie temer de sazón nj tenpero,
 Toda novedad es claro engañada,
 Sufriendo penas ganado y apero;
 En el mal entender anda preñada
 El alma sin vista de amor lisongero;
 Guiando el viçio el mal corazón,
 Hazemos al ver mortal perdiçión.

143.-B, 'devida'; 'pandonor' /C, 'viser'; 'tras
 trocado' - the letters 'ro' have been inserted
 over an erasure /D, 'Culpandolos'; a letter has
 been struck out between the first two words of
 the line; 'Eijos' /E, the 's' of 'bayvenes' has
 been inserted over an erasure /F, 'Robos' /G,
 'dis culpa' - the 's' has been converted from 'z';
 'corrígela' /H, 'porviçio'; 'lavemos'.

144.-A, 'lapleue' /C, 'no vedad'; 'en gañada' /E,
 'Enel'; 'Anda' /F, 'Amor'; 'Lisongero' /H, 'alver'.

145.

Aquellos pretorianos, mīlites rabiosos,
 Mandauan las leyes mudando señor;
 Entre ellos eligiendo los brabosos,
 Vbo Maximino sin premio el honor,
 Con los términos túrbidos, tenblosos,
 Compra el ynperio Juliano, pretor;
 Sj deshorden y viçio mudó monarquía,
 Del trono más alto /ēs/ Luzbel gerarchía.

146.

Ni Venus, nj Marte, nj padres, ni hermanos,
 Ni ninfas, **nin faunos** con otros cabrones
 Enredaron ally enredos más vanos,
 Como en presentes falsas passiones;
 Nadie creyendo consejos más sanos,
 Andan las vidas con tantos borrones;
 Tomando el pastor vn buen rabadán,
 En tales contrarios no ay vn desmán.

145.-A, 'Rabiosos' /B, 'senōr' /C, 'Eligiendo'
 /D, 'maximino'; 'hoñor' /G, 'viçiomudo';
 'mornarquía' /H, 'luzbel'; 'gerarchiā'.

146.-A, 'venus'; 'marte' /C, 'Enrredaron';
 'Ally'; 'enrredos' /F, 'contantos'
 /G, 'Rabadan'.

147.

El amor verdadero tanto no preçia
 El preçio con dones del firme amador,
 Pues suple el amor lo que otro despreçia,
 Estando por medio la joya de amor;
 Ansj por ninguno el amor no se apreçia,
 Que nadie no sabe sumar tal valor;
 Tales ensayes sin amor no se hazen,
 Ni todos amor entienden nj aplaçen.

148.

Maldades discantan falsos regentes,
 Viçios noturnos se hazen ocultos,
 En propia vida trastrocas y mientes
 Mil hechos buenos, tornándolos bultos;
 Todos tratando birtud entre dientes,
 Profaçan santos, robando los cultos;
 Oyendo música de pérfidos sonos,
 Duorme justicia y velan ladrones.

147.-A, 'Amor' /B, 'condones'; 'Amador' /D, 'lajoya';
 'Amor' /E, 'Amor'; 'noseapreçia' /G, 'Amor'
 /H, 'apliçen'.

148.-A, 'dis cantan' /C, 'tras trocas' /E, 'entredientes'
 /F, 'Robando' /G, 'deperfidos' /H, 'Justicia'.

149.

Justiçia vemos sin peso nj espada,
 Y al Baco corona puesta en plazer;
 Juzgando las leyes ser cosa vedada,
 Dexa el vestido del buen parecer,
 Desnuda salta y grita espantada,
 Remota se halla de todo /e/1 saber;
 Siendo temida, está temerōsa,
 Y fea es tornada con ser tan hermosa.

150.

En talle corbado veréys vn dotor,
 Pintando lindezas propios antojos,
 En propios amores gozando su amor
 Efigies pintadas, del alma despojos;
 Creyendo sinplezas, faltando primor,
 Con viejas heridas, queb/r/ados los ojos,
 Con el propio amor, escuro, pintado,
 Glosamos en el mundo otro treslado.

149.-A, 'Vemos' /B, 'albaco' /E, 'De sunda' /F,
 the penultimate word in the MS. text consists
 of 'l', followed by an illegible letter which
 has been imperfectly erased /H, 'estornada';
 the 'n' of 'con' has been converted from 'r'.

150.-B, 'lín dez as'; 'Antozos' /C, 'Amores'; 'Amor'
 /D, 'Alma' /E, the 'z' of 'sinplezas' has been
 converted from 's' /F, 'Conviejas'; 'que bados'—
 an attempt seems to have been made to insert a
 letter above and between 'b' and 'a' /G, 'Amor';
 'es curo' /H, 'enel'.

151.

Calígula vimos en vida dañosa,
 Tomando plazer el muerto sentido;
 Quando p/r/inçipia la vida viçiosa,
 De lexos trasluze yr tras perdido,
 Poco a poco veréys en la rosa
 Mudando color su tronco roydo;
 Son el retinte o zumbido de valles
 Males modernos que oys po/r las calles.

152.

Antígono, rey, fue cosa notada,
 Castigos que hizo tanbién Tolomeo;
 Burlando con reyes, razón es burlada,
 Mas del hijo de Amón contrario lo leo;
 Burla sin daño no es mal tomada,
 Mas sienpre la gasta vn bano deseo,
 Que siendo dañado poco a poquito,
 De/s/gusta amargando falso apetito.

151.-A, 'envida' /B, 'plizer' /C, 'pinçipia'; 'lavida'
 /D, 'Delexos'; 'trasperidido' /E, 'Rosa' /F,
 'Roydo' /G, 'Retinto' /H, 'queoys'; 'polas'.

152.-A, 'Rey'; 'notanda' /B, 'tolomeo' /C, 'conreyes';
 'Razon' /D, 'loleo' /G, 'apoquito' /H, 'De gusta';
 'Amar gando'; 'Apetito'.

153.

Alexandro a Clito mató ya borracho,
 El padre, sin vino sabio prudente,
 El vino le torna ynútil gabacho;
 Tenplado con agua, guía el valiente,
 Aprobecha el viejo, sana el muchacho,
 Conserua el vigor a toda la gente;
 Honbres sin seso mal rigen las leyes
 Y el mando de tales deshonra los reyes.

154.

El filósofo Tales el agua propone
 Ser vn principio de todas las cosas;
 Homero prosigue y versos conpone,
 Y a Fénis con Rodas hazañas famosas;
 Fortuna en mar mil hechos dispone
 Do batallas en agua son tan hermosas:
 El agua se crió por los fuertes guerreros
 Y el vino haze secretos parleros.

153.-A, 'AElxandro'; 'Aclíto' /B, the 'E' of 'El' is the minuscule in large form (cf. C); 'vino'; 'sabío' /C, the 'E' of 'El' is a large minuscule; 'vino'; 'Y nutil' /D, 'Agua'; 'El' /F, 'Atoda'; 'Lagente' /G, 'sinseso'; 'Rígenlas' /H, 'deshonrra'; 'Reyes'.

154.-A, 'filosopo'; 'tales' /D, 'fenis'; 'Rodas' /E, 'fortuna'.

155.

Vsamos banquetes de falsos sentidos,
 Faltando al gusto comer de Platón;
 Falsos concylíos, comer de perdidos,
 Suelen ser tragos de falsa pasión:
 Tuvo vanquetes con los fementidos
 El Dios y Maestro de toda nación;
 Las palabras divinas, siendo manjar,
 No pueden jamás las entrañas dañar.

156.

Andando al trote por los pedregales
 Vemos los cursos de vidas perdidas;
 Ençendios de villas, con los arrabales,
 Ganan comidas, perdiendo las vidas
 Sepulcros rabiosos de mil otros males,
 Atajos sin sendas de almas fingidas;
 Mandando altiuez en casa de yra,
 Piensa el cosario que nadie le mira.

155.-B, 'algusto' /C, 'concyliós' - the 'y' has been
 inserted over a former letter /E, 'vanquestes'
 /F, 'dios'; 'maestro' /G, 'divíñas' /H, 'puedan';
 'Jamás'.

156.-C, 'las'; 'Arrabales' /D, 'Comidas' /E, 'Rabiosos'
 /G, 'Altiuez'; 'deyra'.

157.

Pescando en el mar aniello perdido,
 El co/n/sejo de Amad^{is} vemos faltar;
 Do se trastorna çervelo falido,
 No pueden los buenos saber razonar;
 Pierde los reynos porfiado sentido
 Con priuado saber de mucho mandar:
 S^j sabe el saber borrar desatino,
 Puede prudencia guiar el camino.

158.

S^j vos no veys el mundo mezquino,
 Con el ojo puntero lo quiero enseñar:
 No sigue virtud, fabor es su sino,
 Rodando carrillos de niño juglar;
 Pintando en su trono vn gran desatino,
 De ricos contino se quiere mandar;
 Bibe vna vida sin honra del alma,
 Perdiendo mil naues en mar a la calma.

157.-A, 'enel'; 'Aniello' /B, 'cosejo'; 'amasis'
 /C, 'Dose' /D, 'Razonar' /E, 'Rey nos'.

158.-A, 'noveys' /B, 'le'; 'en señar' /C, 'fabores';
 'susino' /D, 'carrillos' - the second 'r' has
 been amended; 'Juglar' /E, 'grandesatino' /F,
 'Ricos'; 'contiño'; 'sequiere' /G, 'vidaSín' -
 the 'S' has been inserted over a former minuscule;
 'honrra' /H, 'mara'.

159.

El párrafo dize, a tuerto o derecho,
 Hinchamos la casa de rico valor;
 Esto conçibe vn bano despescho
 Do la sogá y caldero van tras horror:
 Jamás a tal bien sigue el prouecho,
 Mas antes en vienes nos causa dolor;
 Sin por las almas buscar los remedios,
 Llegan contino muy tarde los medios.

160.

Dexemos las burlas que son verdaderas,
 Que n/ū7nca podemos a nadie dezillas;
 Que, hāblando de grandes cosas de veras,
 Naçen sienpre continas renzillas;
 Que n/ū7nca se oyen palabras enteras,
 Quitando, añadiendo muchas cosquillas:
 Contino se halla en los d/īc7hos maldad
 Que siguen pasión, dexando verdad.

159.-A, 'atuerto' /B, 'Enichamos'; 'Rico' /C,
 'despescho' /D, 'Dola'; 'vantras' /F, 'envienes'
 /G, 'porlas'; 'Al mas'; 'buscarlos'; 'Remedios'
 /H, 'llegan'; 'tardelos'.

160.-B, 'mnca'; 'anadie' /C, 'degrandes'; 'deveras'
 /D, 'Renzillas' /E, 'mnca' /F, 'Añadiendo' /G,
 'Dhos' /H, the 'i' of 'pasion' has been converted
 from 's'; 'Dexando'.

161.

Sj bien se mira el pecho dañado,
 Mirando las cifras y sonés sonantes,
 Ay silogismos en mar engolfado
 Do dissonancias son discrepantes;
 En todo veys el falso letrado
 Tener las palabras a razón disonantes;
 Los tales Çíclopes, quebrados los ojos,
 Fingen sin vista mil vanos antojos.

162.

El mundo perberso, con grandes errores,
 Sienpre anda burlando de amigo;
 Contino engañan sus falsos amores,
 Con buenos y justos sañoso enemigo:
 En las cosas claras enreda dolores,
 Tramando casos de falso testigo;
 Turbando sus fines la justa razón,
 A todos engaña con falsa ficción.

161.-B, 'Ysones' /C, 'Engolfando' /D, 'Dolis
 sonancias'; 'discre pantes' /E, 'Entodo'
 /F, 'Arazon' /G, 'çíclopes' — the 'i' has
 been converted from 'a'; 'que brados' /H,
 'fingen'; 'Antojos'.

162.-B, 'Anda' /C, 'Amores' /D, 'Justos'; 'enemigo'/
 E, 'enreda' /G, 'lajusta'; 'Razon'.

163.

El orgulloso, satírico villano
 Es viejo ynventor de variedades,
 Gustoso, de/s/gustado cortesano,
 Cortapisa muy vieja de ruindades;
 Moço muy sabido, siendo bano,
 Criando en mocedad antigüedades,
 En el pecho altero, vano y loco,
 Se trasforma su valor según que toco.

164.

No sigas, cristiano, los hechos arteros,
 Sigue virtud por el claro sendero,
 Que guiando los malos hechos tan fieros,
 No temen jamás a Dios verdadero;
 Todos tratando los falsos mineros,
 Huyen caminos do es el luzero;
 Sigue el mundo, con hambre rabiosa,
 Vida sin vida, de muerte dañosa.

163.-A, 'orgubloso' /C, 'de gustado' /D, 'Corta
 piesa'; 'Ruindades' /H, 'tras forma'; 'suvalor'.

164.-B, 'porel' /C, 'tanfieros' /D, 'Jamas';
 'dios' /F, 'Euyen' /G, 'al'; 'Rabiosa' /H,
 'sinvida'; 'danosa'.

165.

El justo camino, de claro sendero,
 Va sin contrastes siguiendo razón;
 Mirando las guías del amor verdadero,
 Conoce mentiras de falta sazón;
 Llegando las causas el amor lisongero,
 Son los cercados en gran confusión:
 Fundando la casa en tierra de arena,
 La fama del necio contino resuena.

166.

Anda malicia arrollando pigricia,
 Entonando tibiezas la tal armonía,
 Carcome maldad la pura codicia,
 Con tales enbustes armando falsía;
 Tomando en la tranpa falsa notiça,
 De falsos enredos razón se desuía;
 Mirando atención en el santo sermón,
 Conoce discursos de falsa pasión.

165.-A, 'Justo' /B, 'Razon' /C, 'Amor' /E, 'Amor'
 /F, 'Sos' /G, 'fundando'; 'entierra' /H,
 'Contino'; 'Resuena'.

166.-A, 'a Rollando'; 'prigricia' /B, 'En tonando';
 'fibiezas'; 'latal' — the second 'l' has been
 inserted over 's' /C, 'Car come'; 'lapura'
 /D, 'Armando' /F, 'enrredos'; 'Razon'; 'sedesuiā'
 /G, 'Atención'.

167.

Bibiendo el amor sin amor retirado,
 Anda turbando el amor propia vida,
 Estando el amor sin amor lebandado,
 Busca contino el amor su guarida;
 En estos puntos el amor oluidado,
 Falta el querer en dama perdida;
 Los justos amores, en el alma fijados,
 Son de amadores los propios treslados .

168.

Sócrates arguye al moço Platón
 Casos diversos que son naturales;
 Epjuro con Tales y el viejo Çenón
 Fueron sepulcros de almas venales;
 Todos tragados los veys de Plutón,
 Con otros millares que cursan los males:
 Mirando el saber guiado en vltrage,
 Siendo persona, **seruís** personage.

167.-A, 'Amor' (the latter) /B, 'Amor' /C, 'Amor'
 (the latter) /E, 'Enestos'; 'Amor' /F, 'falta'
 /G, 'Justos'; 'enel' /H, 'Amadores'; 'lós'.

168.-A, 'moco'; 'platon' /C, 'contales'; 'çenon'
 /D, 'fueron'; 'Almas' /E, 'depluton' /F, the
 second 'o' of 'otros' has been converted from 'a';
 'Millares' - the word has been inserted over an
 erasure; 'que' has been converted from former 'fue'
 or 'dice'.

169.

Faltos en años del antiguo sentido
 Veys los poetas, también oradores;
 Anda el seso, sin ser entendido,
 Tramando maldad de falsos primores,
 Pintando de amores amor muy polido
 Con el falso pinzel de falsos amores;
 Baçiando tal seso en falso crisol,
 En humo convierte los rayos del sol.

170.

El alma que muere en vanos errores
 Pena en pena de sus malos hechos;
 Muere esperanza y biben clamores
 Sj en malbibir nos naçen despechos:
 Fundando en Cristo tus santos amores,
 No vas con Luzbel do son los contrechos;
 Andando justo por linpio camino,
 Vas por do manda el **Beruo** divino.

169.-A, 'faltos'; 'Años'; 'Antigao' /C, 'elseso';
 'serentendido' /E, 'Amores'; 'Amor'; 'polado'
 /F, 'Conel'; 'Amores' /G, 'Baçiando' /H,
 'Rayos'; 'delsol'.

170.-A, 'Alma'; 'envanos' /B, 'desus' /D, 'En';
 'mal bibir' /E, 'fundando'; 'cristo'; 'Amores'
 /F, 'conluzbel'; 'sonlos' /G, 'Justo';
 'porlinpio'; 'Caminō' /H, 'pordomanda'; 'beruo';
 'diviño' .

171.

Sin vista vemos los çiegos estando,
 Gritando, llegar en alto clamores;
 Sj la clara verdad çiega, malvando,
 Vemos al mundo seguir tras herrores:
 Anda el bibir la honra manchando
 Con las vislumbres de mil pund/ōn7ores;
 Mezclan sospechas diverso sentido
 Al vano saber del fin repentido.

172.

Para subir en la alta morada,
 Cuple el conbate de fuerte guerrero;
 Mirando claro do ay enboscada,
 Purgue su culpa el pecho más fiero
 Con otros yndiçios de propia posada,
 Que guarda el castillo amor lisongero;
 Remate de vida es pura linpieça,
 Que subiendo alto jamás no tropieça.

171.-A, 'çirgos' /B, 'gritando'; 'El' /C,
 'mal vando' /D, 'Al' /E, 'honrra' /F, 'pnndores'
 /H, 'Alvano'; 'Repentido'.

172.-A, 'Alta' /E, 'conotros' /F, 'Castillo';
 'Amor' /G, 'devida' /H, 'Alto'; 'Jamás'.

173.

Laçivos amores engañan Cupido,
 Sin que le vençan en guerra amadores;
 Engaña el amor quien es atrebido,
 Siguiendo el querer de falsos amores;
 Mas el fino amor, sin rostro frunçido,
 Muestra en el rostro señales mejores:
 El falso metal, por fino forjado,
 El toque nos dize sj es açendrado.

174.

Los justos pies que andan saltando
 Vemos perderse en ligera corrida ,
 Y con el mandrón la piedra tirando,
 Gana/r en perder de alto la mira/da;
 Fuerça feroçe nos va sugetando
 El sentido beloz del alma perdida;
 Rigendo la ynsolençia a la razón,
 Con ojos vendados ma/nda presunçión.

173.-A, 'Amores'; 'cupido' /B, 'Amadores' /C,
 'Atrebido' /D, 'Amores' /E, 'Masel'; 'Amor';
 'Rostro' /F, 'El' ; 'Rostero' /H, 'Açendrado'.

174.-A, 'Justos, /C, 'conel'; 'pierda' - a letter
 has been struck out between 'd' and 'a' /D,
 'Gana'; 'enperder'; 'Alto'; 'mirā' /E,
 'vasugetando' /F, 'Alma' /G, 'Ynsolençia';
 'Razon' /H, 'mada'.

175.

Vanos sucesos vemos cada punto
 Que hinchan las nariçes de las gentes;
 Elevados en tal gloria, son trasunto
 Del río turbio, rebuelto de corrientes;
 Ellos en sus bríos hazen contrapunto,
 De turbias vidas muestras aparentes:
 Tomados los tanteos en tal cuenta,
 Se hallan sus engaños en tormenta.

176.

Mudo entendimiento, çiego, rudo,
 Es el falsario curso en açidente;
 Contrario progreso, muerto, mudo,
 Muda los pechos claros en repente;
 En el pecho maldito, erege, crudo,
 Sienb/r7a los males túrbida creçiente:
 Enredos mouidos en el mal trofeo
 De causantes causas siguen falso a/r7reo.

175.-D, 'Rio'; 'Rebuelto' /F, 'Deturbias'; 'nuestras'
 /H, 'Engaños'; 'entormenta'.

176.-A, 'Rudo' /B, 'açi dente' /D, 'Repente' /E,
 'Enel' /F, 'Siénbālos' — the abbreviation sign,
 the accent, and the second 's' of the word appear
 to have been added after the original script;
 the 'e' of 'males' has been converted from 'o'
 /G, 'Curredos'; 'monidos'; 'enel'; 'maltro feo'
 /H, 'causan tes'; 'aReo'.

177.

Forman los males dos mil conpañeras
 A falsa rapiña y ligera corrida;
 Con otras hermanas pesadas, ligeras,
 Ocurre contino codiçia sin vida:
 Andan cargadas las honras enteras
 Do çiegos no miran la justa partida;
 Ligera parece la carga pesada
 Y pesa contino sin ser trastornada.

178.

Sj Dios nos manda vedar las vsuras,
 Como se glosan las leyes devinas ,
 Mandando el bibir almas no puras,
 Digiere codiçia guerras continas;
 Calor a los pechos, comidas muy duras,
 Dispensan sin ley las falsas dotrinas;
 Anda rodando el mundo contrecho,
 Con braços y piernas ligados al pecho.

177.-B, 'Rapina' /D, 'O curre'; 'sinvida' /E, 'honrras'
 /F, 'nomiran'; 'lajusta'.

178.-A, 'Sj'; 'diós'; 'vedarlas' /B, 'de vínas' /C,
 'Almas' /E, 'alos' /G, 'Rodando' /H, 'Conbraços';
 'Y'.

179.

Antigua virtud es pura nobleza,
 Sin ella jamás trunfaron romanos;
 Es falso pensar honrar la riqueza
 De falsos contratos y robos profanos,
 Vsura en razón es justa villeza
 Según que pintan consejos más sanos;
 Mereçen ser nobles Bernardo y el Çid
 Con los otros barones famosos en lid.

180.

Aquéel que vimos, sin sangre el espada,
 Y el Porçio Catón, maestro sin viçio,
 Leemos vsura en la vida trocada
 Fue la maestra en el tal malefiçio;
 Maldita, cruel, tirando estocada,
 Vsurpa justiçia, formando fornjiçio;
 Mendicantes mercaderes, cada ora
 Trunfando vsura, la hazen señora.

179.-A, 'espura' /B, 'Jamas'; 'trunfaronRomanos' /C, 'honrrar'; 'Riqueza' /D, 'Robos' /E, 'Razon' — the 'z' has been converted from 's'; 'Justa' /F, the first 's' of 'consejos' has been converted from 'j'; 'massanos' /G, 'bernardo' — the second 'r' has been amended; 'çid' /H, 'Conlos'.

180.-A, 'sin' has been inserted, by the scribe, with a caret; 'sángre' /B, 'porçio'; 'caton'; 'sinviçio' /C, 'lavida' /D, 'fue' — the scribe is possibly confused by the form of the initial 'f' in the manuscript from which he is copying, for he regularly uses a minuscule at the beginning of a line; 'Enel' /F, 'Justiçia'.

181.

Vemos el monte quemando sin leña
 Y torpe bergüença los visos honrados;
 Los blancos moros, morando a la breña,
 Pescando su mar, no toman pescados:
 La oscura verdad hallar les enseña
 Viejos ardides de nuevos pecados;
 Dizen sus leyes que busquen los hijos
 Los bienes perdidos en otros letijos.

182.

Nueva disputa de viejos pastores,
 Con avejas, obejas, ygual en probecho,
 Linpios y claros, antiguos primores
 Marca /ā/ la vida el braço derecho;
 Quien āma contino los justos amores,
 El viso claro cultiua barbecho;
 Mercaderes erguidos trapaçeros
 Gozan el mundo con muchos dineros.

181.-B, 'honrrados' /C, 'alabreña' /D, 'Pes cando'
 /E, 'Laos cura' /F, 'denuevos'.

182.-A, the 'N' of 'Nueva' has been converted from
 'El'; 'deviejos' /B, 'y gual'; 'enprobecho'
 /C, 'antigues' /D, the 'o' of 'braço' has been
 converted from a former letter /E, 'Ama';
 'Contino'; 'Justes'; 'Amores' /F, 'cultíua'.

183.

El ligero correo, por vías estrañas,
 Trasmonta el ver con altera corrida;
 Veys en el ojo quemadas pestañas,
 Llegando a dar arma altera partida:
 Amor lisongero de falsas entrañas
 Turba el comer en presta comida;
 Turban las vistas con tajos y rebeses
 Las mudanças que vimos de françeses.

184.

Presentes vimos estauan sentados
 En santas sillas djversos barones;
 Bultos noturnos pareçen pintados,
 Sin obras, palabras, mandando visiones;
 Las vidas de tales causando nublados,
 Atizan contino las falsas pasiones,
 Mas el justo amor con ánimo fuerte
 Sigue el mandato de gloria sin muerte.

183.-B, 'TrasmontaEl' — the 'E' has been converted
 from a former letter /C, 'enel'; 'que madas'
 /D, 'llegando'; 'adararma' /E, 'defalsas' /F,
 'Presta' /G, 'Rebeses' /H, the 'ç' of 'mudanças'
 has been crudely converted from 'd'.

184.-B, 'Ensantas' /E, 'detales'; 'nnublados' — the
 'a' has been converted from 'i' /G, 'mas';
 'Animo' /H, 'degloria'.

185.

Linpieça demanda la graçia del Hijo,
 Y el Padre benino está con dolor
 Por ver sus obejas en falso letijo;
 Responde y demanda y perdona el amor,
 Quiriendo traellas al propio cortijo
 Do puedan mejor conoçer el pastor;
 Mas falsos sofistas, con vano entremés,
 Tornan contraria justiçia en revés.

186.

El fino amor contino persebera,
 Que allj se conoçe el fuerte barón;
 Do se mantiene la fe verdadera,
 Jamás no veremos seguir tras pasión:
 Sj espera Cristo el alma sinçera,
 Luego remedia do ay tentación;
 Sj males en fin no toman mal medio,
 Jamás esperes morir sin remedio.

185.-A, 'hijo' /B, 'padre' /C, 'enfalso' /D, 'Amor'
 /E, the 'j' of 'cortijo' has been inserted over a
 former letter /G, 'so fistas'; 'convano' /H,
 'contrariajustiçia'; 'enReves'.

186.-A, 'Amor' /D, 'pasíon' /E, 'es pera'; 'cristo';
 'Alma'; 'sin çera' /F, 'Remedia' /G, 'mediō'
 /H, 'es peres'; 'Remedio'.

187.

La tentación, con ánimo prudente,
 Del justo valor arme su iornada,
 Castigando sus viçios grauemente,
 Consolando con virtud vida manchada;
 Arguyendo la razón sin açidente
 Moros con ereges, su alma dañada,
 Quien deue más pena en /īn/diferençia ,
 Faltando la verdad su cōpetençia.

188.

Puros y linpios siguiendo verdad,
 Siga la horden mandatos mayores,
 Rigendo buen seso la tal hermandad,
 Nadie leyendo los falsos doctores;
 Mas el alma perfeta, en gran claridad,
 Biba con Cristo en los santos amores,
 Dexando los tontos, borrachos sin vino,
 Que siguen herrando falso camino.

187.-A, 'Animo' /B, 'Justo' /C, 'viçios' /E, the
 'y' of 'Arguyendo' has been converted from 'i';
 'Razon' /F, 'Conereges'; 'Alma' /G, 'pena endiferençia'
 /H, 'faltando'; 'laverdad'.

188.-A, 'Purios' /B, 'Sigala' /C, 'latal' /D,
 'Doctores' /E, 'Alma' — the word has been inserted
 over an erasure; 'granclaridad' /F, 'cristo';
 'eñlos'; 'Amores' /H, 'Camino'.

189.

Justa razón condena presunción
 De moro y gentil y iudío con justicia,
 Perder de la vida santa perfección
 Perdiendo más erejes con malicia;
 Que andando falsos llenos de pasión,
 Penan sus almas ciegas de codicia;
 Traydores a Dios gozan vanagloria,
 Mas todos erejes serán más escoria.

190.

Tocando armonía del sol claridad,
 Rige la verdad allj los templarios;
 Tornando gemidos en amar hermandad,
 Gozamos en vida amar aduersarios;
 Prinçipiando el amor en amar caridad
 Con el libre poder en almas vicarios,
 Pasados trasuntos son oluidados
 En almas podridas de pechos dañados.

189.-B, 'Justicia' /C, 'lavida' /E, 'depasion' /F,
 'Almas' /G, 'Adios'; 'vana gloria'.

190.-A, 'Armonia' /C, 'Amar' — the 'a' has been
 converted from 'o' /D, 'Amar'; 'aduersarios'
 /E, 'Amor' /F, 'Almas' /H, 'Almas'; 'depechos'.

191.

A vezina calle de la vida nueva
 Vimos congejo de justos prudentes;
 Hurden enbustes en contraria prueua
 Do ay raposos entre los regentes;
 La clara verdad malicia reprueua,
 Armandó razón razones creyentes,
 Que al fuerte nabío en el alta mar
 Tormenta contraria no puede dañar.

192.

Quebrados los ojos, pestaña y la niña,
 Cubrimos la vista, gozando maldad;
 Los malos obreros no guardan la viña,
 Antes castigan quien dize verdad;
 Goza el leproso cabeça con tiña
 Do la forma feroze arguye bondad:
 Desgusta el sabor de vida profana,
 Al ojo vn vezino de vida muy sana.

191.-A, the 'z' of 'vezina' has been converted from
 's'; 'lavidá' /C, 'enbustos' /D, 'Doay';
 'entrelos'; 'Regentes' /E, 'Reprueua' /F,
 'Razon'; 'Razones' /G, the 'b' of 'nabio' has
 been converted from 'n'; 'Eñel'; 'Altamar' /H,
 'Dañar'.

192.-A, 'ylaniña' /B, 'lavista' /C, 'laviña' /D,
 'dieze' /E, 'Gozael' — the 'e' has been inserted
 between and above 'a' and 'l'; 'contiña' /F,
 'Dola'; 'Arguye' /G, 'devida' /H, 'vnvezino'.

193.

En hechos famosos con operaci3n
 Canta la fama de buenas virtudes;
 Si tienes verdad, no sigas fi3i3n,
 Por cosa criada la fe jam3s dudes,
 Ni, Mario tomando con Sila quisti3n,
 Por amores mundanos Dios no trasnudes;
 Sj la falsa balanza causa los da3os,
 Los castos amores no sufren enga3os.

194.

Sjguen la mesnada del falso Plut3n
 Enredos continos del dano y sue/ā7io;
 Buscan al mundo mortal perdi3i3n
 Polonia y Moscouia, con otros en medio:
 El que castiga quien danza sin son,
 En talles corbados halla remedio;
 No miran claro el gentil nj marfuz,
 Ni menos quien mira y pierde su luz.

193.-A, 'operaci3n' /B, 'Cantala' /C,
 'Sitienes'; 'hiegas' /D, 'Porcosa'; 'Jamas'
 /E, 'mario'; 'tomandocon' - the first 'n' has
 been converted from the letters 'ri'; 'silla';
 'quisti3n' /F, 'Amores'; 'dios'; 'notrasnudes'
 /G, 'causalos' /H, 'A mores'.

194.-A, 'pluton' /B, 'Enrredos'; 'ysuem3' /C, 'Al'
 /D, 'ymos couia'; 'ostros' /E, 'suison' /F,
 'Remedio'.

195.

Sospechas claras, al claro pintadas,
 Fingen fantasmas de mil fantasías;
 Mentiras claras nos son dibujadas,
 Nadie mirando las claras espías;
 Todas vislumbres al alma fijadas,
 Escuros discantan dos mil otras vías:
 Vos de vos deuéis temer a sospecha,
 Tal vida y alma alunbrando la mecha.

196.

En muchos teatros, camjnos sin muros,
 En puentes y vados con nuevas riberas,
 Tomando a los ciegos dineros seguros,
 Consume sustancia la/s/ honras enteras;
 Çerradas, abiertas a honbres tan duros,
 De máquinas tales están las barreras;
 Mirad los enredos mundanos agora
 Donde malicia está tan señora.

195.-D, 'es pias' /E, the 'j' of 'fijadas' has been converted from 'g' /F, 'milotras' /G, 'devos'; 'temer' — the letters 'em' are not fully clear; 'A' /H, 'alunbrado'.

196.-A, 'mnchos' — the word has been inserted over an erasure; the 'j' of 'camjnos' has been inserted over a lightly-erased 'y'; 'sin' and 'muros' have both been amended /C, 'Alos' /D, 'la'; 'honrras' /E, 'Çerrades'; 'Abiertas' /F, 'marquinas'; 'estanlas' /G, 'enrredos'.

197.

Maestro que enseña nuevo pupilo
 Sienpre le habla con grand libertad,
 Y con raya le çerca, ansj que Popilio
 Çercara Antíocho en propia çiudad;
 No sufre la madre que salgan del Nilo
 Las vanas corrientes de tal moçedad;
 Ansí los romanos rigeron los reyes,
 Mas agora tiranos vsurpan las leyes.

198.

Los climas produçen frutos de flores,
 Faltando los climas, ayudan natura
 Los claros juizios, buscando primores;
 Agora el saber, gozando locura,
 Muda en causa est/r/años tenblores,
 Ansj los remedios mudan su cura;
 Prouando el ensaye claro pintado,
 Veys el amor bibir sin cuydado.

197.-A, 'queren seña' /B, the second 'a' of 'habla'
 has been converted from 'e' or 'o'; 'Libertad'
 /C, 'Raya'; 'queponpillo' /D, 'Antiochio' /E,
 'nilo' /F, 'Lasvanas' /G, 'Romanos'; 'Rigeron';
 'Reyes' /H, 'Agora'.

198.-A, 'clímas'; 'deflores' /C, 'Juizios' /D, 'lo
 cura' /E, 'estanos'; 'tenblores' /F, 'Remedios';
 'mudaa' /G, 'pintando'.

199.

Con gran contento mueren los honrados,
 Dexando a las familias sus renonbres
 Ganados en los hechos estremados
 Do muestran valor los que son hombres,
 Cuytados a quien casos estremados
 Hazen oluidar sus propios nonbres;
 Venden algunos la honra sin pensar,
 Pensando con sus viçios espantar.

200.

Llora el rey santo en vida tal hijo
 Y avn el conprado llora el troyano;
 Todo lo causa vn falso esco/ $\bar{n}$ /drijo,
 Defeto del bueno y más del profano;
 Tomando lo ageno, conpras letijo,
 De fístola vieja a nadie vi sano:
 Amargos pensamientos lastimados
 Nos forman en dulçor nuevos cuydados.

199.-A, 'honrrados' /B, 'alas'; 'familiás'; 'Renonbres'
 /C, 'enlos'; 'es tremados' /D, 'nuestran' /E,
 'A quien' /F, 'oluidar' /G, 'Algunos'; 'honrra';
 'sinpensar' /H, 'consus'.

200.-A, 'Llorael'; 'Reysanto'; 'envida' /B,
 'avnel'; 'llorael' /C, 'es codrijo' /D, 'Y'
 /F, 'fictola'; 'Anadie'; 'visano' /G,
 'pensamientoslastimados'.

201.

Deseando gozar remedio sober/a7no,
 Túrbidos amores llora pecadillo;
 Sospirando allj con dolor ynsano,
 Llorando amor, llora el cachor/r7illo:
 Llorando su amor sin lloro profano,
 La Madre vieja ymita /e7l cuytadillo;
 Llorando la Madre, lloraua su Hijo,
 Que juntos naçen en tal letijo.

202.

Quien llora pecados dança en sazón
 Lloros sentidos de amores contritos;
 Allí remuerde la sana yntençión
 Quando queremos estar muy aflitos,
 Que justa iustiçia, guiando razón,
 Quiere en amor con Dios los marchitos;
 Andan los viles buscando quebrantos ,
 Y puros y linpios padecen los santos.

201.-A, 'Remedio'; 'soberno' /B, 'Amores' /C, 'Allj';
 'condolor'; 'y nsano' /D, 'llorando'; 'Amor';
 'cachorillo' /E, 'llorando'; 'Amor' /F, 'madre';
 'ymital'; 'cuytadillo' /G, 'llorando'; 'madre';
 'hijo'; /H, 'Quejuntos'; 'tel talletijo'.

202.-A, 'ensazon' /B, 'lloros'; 'Amores' /C, 'Remuerde';
 'lasana'; 'Yntençion' /E, 'Razon' /F, 'Amor'; 'dios'
 /G, 'que brantos' /H, 'ylinpics'.

203.

En justos quererres mandando el querer,
 Da /ā/ Dios los bienes, sirbiendo su Rey;
 An̄sī con justiçia les da el mereçer,
 Borrando a codiçia los robos de grey;
 Arguye en los malos su falso valer,
 En çiega ambiçion testando la ley:
 Andando maliçia sin persuasiön,
 Nos glosa ynterés la cabilaçion.

204.

Reclamando la voz en amor sentida,
 La gallina, gritando con trabajo,
 Pierde sentidos del amor, vençida,
 A los hijos llamando como el grajo;
 Quando milano ase de corrida,
 Turban fantasmas del escarabajo;
 Juntando en la casa males a montones,
 Hallamos basilisco a los rincones.

203.-A, 'Justos'; 'elquerer' /B, 'Dadios' /C,
 'conjustiçia' /D, 'Acodiçia'; 'Robos'; 'degrey'
 /F, 'Anbiçion'; 'laley' /H, 'Ynteres';
 'cabiliçion'.

204.-A, 'lavoç' — the 'v' has been converted from 's';
 'Amor' /B, 'contrabajo' /C, there is an
 unrecognisable mark over the 'd' of 'del' /D,
 'Alos'; 'giajo' /E, 'Ase'; 'decorrida' /G,
 'Amontones' /H, 'alos'; 'Rincones'.

205.

El mísero viejo vemos llorando
 Do lágrimas tristes son en bajada;
 El iusto pastor ganado guardando,
 Lobos rabiosos le comen manada;
 Do pudren verdad maldades, cantando,
 Vemos dolor en la vieja cuytada:
 Deçifra verdad la falsa yntençión,
 Que ju/z7gan los malos sin ver relaçión.

206.

El falso raposo, si es retirado,
 En santa junta ay sano consejo;
 Litigando el amor contra lo vedado,
 La santa madre prosigue conçejo,
 Y el mal pareçe algo remendado,
 Los otros veçinos caçando el vençejo;
 El nuevo piloto, en la mar y tierra,
 Sin graçia divina todas vezes hierra.

205.-B, 'Dolagrimas'; 'sonenbajada' /C, 'guerdando' /D, 'Rabiosos' /F, 'lavieja'; 'cuijtada' - the scribe has attempted to convert 'i' to 'y' by adding 'j' /G, 'Deçifra' - the 'D' has been converted from 'E'; 'Yntençion' /H, 'Quejugan'; 'sinver'; 'Relaçion'.

206.-A, the 'E' of 'El' has been inserted over an erasure, and the tail of a former word remains visible; 'Raposo'; 'Retirado' /B, the 'a' of 'junta' has been converted from 'o'; 'conseJo' /C, 'Amor'; 'contralo' /D, 'LA'; 'conçeJo' /E, 'Remendado' /F, 'El'; 'vençeJo' /G, 'Y'.

207.

Franca libertad luzero es de vjda,
 Gozando contino vn amor temeroso;
 Llevamos sin carga la çierta pa/r7tida,
 Sin carga aparente gozar en repōso;
 Vana aparencia de causa reñida
 Teme perdiendo el amor animoso:
 El vano saber, guiando las leyes,
 Vsurpa de Dios el mando en las greyes.

208.

La biuda sin dueño está baçilando
 Con temor temeroso del nuevo barón;
 Contrarios veys estar repunando,
 Pensando trocarse con falsa razón;
 Veys a quien hierra estar disputando ,
 Y pensando açertar no dança con son:
 Rige la vida de honbres profanos
 Falto sentido de amores mundanos.

207.-A, 'Françalibertad'; 'Luzero' - the 'z' has been
 converted from 'g'; 'devjāa' /B, 'gozando';
 'Amor' /C, 'llevamos'; 'patida' /D, 'Aparente';
 'enReposo' /E, 'Reñida' /F, 'El'; 'Amor' /G,
 'lasleyes' /H, 'dios'.

208.-A, 'deueño' /C, 'Contraríos'; 'veyes' /D, 'Razon'
 /E, 'auien'; 'dis putando' /F, 'nodança'; 'conson'
 /G, 'lavida' /H, 'falto'; 'Amores'.

209.

Jamás en el amor siendo fingido,
 Os publica el amor señales de veras;
 Ojos legañosos, cegando el sentido,
 Hazen noturnas verdades enteras;
 El seso de amante, en amores perdido,
 Contino las cre/e/ por muy verdaderas:
 Bajas miserias, presentes fundadas,
 En el vano pecho sin amor son pintadas.

210.

Pintando el amor en amor lusitanos,
 Pinta en tal trono glosar y lusiones,
 Remendando el amor los términos vanos,
 Gozando el amor las vanas pasiones,
 Cobarde abaricia curando los sanos,
 Glosando en pobreza altas razones;
 En tales trasuntos glosando mil prosas,
 Haze malicia mil pérfidas glosas.

209.-A, 'enel' /B, 'El'; 'Amor'; 'seña les';
 'deveras' /C, 'ojos' /D, the letters 'rn'
 of 'noturnas' have been inserted over a former
 letter /E, 'Amante'; 'Amores' /F, 'cre' /H,
 'Amor'.

210.-A, 'Amor' (the latter) /B, the words 'en tal'
 have been inserted over an erasure; 'y lusiones'
 /E, the words 'los sanos' have been inserted over
 an erasure /F, 'probeza'; 'Razones' /H, 'haze';
 the letters 'çi' of 'malicia' have been converted
 from 'a'.

211.

Viriato y Sertorio, en la clara lunbre,
 Nadie turbando sus hechos famosos,
 Claro paragón, virtud sin vislunbre
 A todos los claros de valor virtuosos,
 Llegaron con Marte en muy alta cunbre,
 En trono más alto más valerosos;
 Mirad al claro virtudes de Marte,
 Que con claro valor los mandos reparte.

212.

Jamás en los viçios no vy parangón,
 Que con fal/s7as virtudes es buen ygualar;
 Si mandan lōs çiegos, guiando a razón,
 En el tal malefiçio no ay comparar,
 Que nunca maliçia en esta quistiōn
 Pudo entre buenos saber razonar;
 Mezclando fabores contrario valor,
 Arguye confusa maldad con horror.

211.-A, the letters 'ria' of 'Viriato' have been inserted over an erasure; 'sertorio'; 'Lunbre' /B, 'nadie'; 'turbandosus' /E, 'llegaron'; 'marte'; 'muyaltacunbre' /F, 'Entrono'; 'velerosos' /G, 'marte' /H, 'Reparte'.

212.-A, 'enlos'; the 'r' of 'parangon' has been inserted imperfectly /B, 'confalas' — the 'l' has been converted from 's' and the required 's' thereby omitted; 'y gualar' /C, 'aRazon' /D, 'Enel'; 'malefiçio' /E, 'enesta' /F, 'entrebuenos'; 'Razonar' /H, 'conherror'.

213.

Cuenta Ysopo, hablando animales,
 Estraños enxenplos según la sustançia;
 Allj nos enseña coger pegujales,
 Tresquila ganados y goza ganancia:
 La filosofía, remedio en los males,
 Falta contino do ay contumancia;
 Andando el lobo vestido de oveja,
 Su hanbre rabiosa muy mal aconseja.

214.

Muertas esperanças que algùn día
 Daua/n7 descansos en mil trabajos,
 Mostrad en el buen querer sana porfia,
 Remirando en el mal sentidos bajos;
 Que si el querer se aparta con falsia,
 Discantan mil graznjdos muchos grajos,
 Y andando las virtudes en tormenta,
 Coge el pensamiento falsa renta.

213.-A, 'ysopo'; 'Animales' /B, 'lasustancia' /C,
 'pegu Jales' /D, the 'z' of 'goza' has been
 converted from 's' /E, 'Remedio'; 'enlos' /F,
 'contumancia' /G, 'deoveJa' /H, 'Rabiosa';
 'AlconseJa'.

214.-A, 'llgun' /B, 'Dauades des canson'; 'trabaJos'
 /C, 'profia' /D, 'enel' /E, 'Quesi' /F,
 'Dis cantan'; 'graz njdos'; 'graJos' - the 'J'
 has been converted from 'z' /G, 'los' /H,
 'Cogeel'; 'Renta'.

215.

Si el justo querer mana de af/i7ción,
 Allj nunca sirue en el amor engaño;
 Si en el vano querer sirue fiçión,
 No sirue el amor en tal curso del año;
 Fundando engaños la vana razón,
 Pintando al amor en su propio daño,
 Las tales galas, sin las gentilezas,
 Pierden mil mundanos con bajezas.

216.

Faltando historias, falta el dezir,
 Blasones antiguos dependen dēstos;
 Homero y Virgilio, con alto escrevir,
 Pregonan blasón de amar deshonestos,
 Notando mil galas, queriendo mentir,
 Nos pintan disfraces de amores onestos;
 Hurdiendo todos en famas dislates,
 Dan sin razón de famosos mil mates.

215.-A, 'Justo'; 'afçion' /B, 'enel'; 'Amor'; 'Engaño'
 /C, 'enel' /D, 'no'; 'sirueel' — the 'u' has been
 converted from a former letter; 'Amor'; 'del año'
 /E, 'fundando'; 'lavanaRazon' /F, 'Amor'; 'dano'
 /H, 'conbajezas'.

216.-B, 'antigues'; 'aestos' /C, 'homero'; 'Y';
 'virgilio' /D, 'Amar' /E, 'notando'; there
 appears to be a comma after 'galas'; 'quiereendo'
 /F, 'nospintan' /H, 'Dansin'; 'Razon'; 'milmates'.

217.

Ofuscando flaquezas del sol claridad,
 Ni/ē/blas oscuras en medio se ponen,
 Mirando en vos mesmo propia maldad,
 Túrbidas nieblas turbando se oponen;
 Si haze malicia mentira verdad,
 Hurtando a verdad maldades disponen;
 Es claro yndicio seguro de males
 Atajo escuro seguir pedregales.

218.

El alto orizonte, que rige en los años,
 Su chico sonido con alto saber
 Dize contino sin vanos engaños;
 El gran movimjento que suelen hazer,
 Andando sin rueda, enseña los daños
 Que con discursos sabéys entender;
 Siempre mirando do ay los abrojos,
 Ebitáys contino los falsos enojos.

217.-A, 'O fuscando' /B, 'Niblas'; 'seponen' /C, 'envos' /F, 'hurtando'; 'averdad'; the letters 'ald' of 'maldades' have been inserted over an erasure, as have the letters 'is' of 'disponen' /G, 'Yndicio'; 'demales' /H, 'Atajoes curo'; 'prdeegales' - the letters 'r' and first 'e' have been amended.

218.-A, 'Rige' /D, 'el'; the 'j' of 'movimjento' has been inserted over 'e' /E, 'Rueda' /G, 'aylos' /H, 'Los'; 'enoJos'.

219.

Habla el bulgo diuersos sentidos
 De falsa riqueza, presto engañada;
 Nadando en tal mar, nos rigen perdidos,
 Con el falso pinzel viza pintada;
 Andando mundanos los visos frutizados,
 Tramando maldad la vida oluidada,
 Espeçie /in/fernal aconpaña los viles
 Que dexan a Dios por aueres çeviles.

220.

El camino que sigue la turba por sí
 Sienpre le vemos turbando sin ver;
 Amando el hermano, y querer para my,
 Flaqueza es mundana de flaco valer,
 Que muchos hallamos se andan ansj,
 Siguiendo de todos el propio querer;
 Van los sentidos por vn tal artifiçio
 Que os es menester ap/r/ender otro ofiçio.

219.-A, 'Bulgo' /B, 'Riquesa' /C, 'nadando'; 'Rigen'
 /D, 'Conel' /F, 'tramando'; 'lavida' /G, 'frenal'
 /H, 'que'; 'adios'.

220.-A, 'quesigue'; 'porsi' /B, 'sinver' /C, 'paramy'
 /D, 'flaqueza' - the 'z' has been converted from
 's'; 'mundana' /E, 'Ansj' /F, 'detodos' /G,
 'Vanlos'; 'vntal' /H, 'apender'.

221.

Vemos Gezabel engañar al marido,
 Mudando en la ley sentido peruerso;
 El símbolo falso del vano sentido,
 Falta en razón mudança del verso;
 Do mandan amores del pecho falido,
 Anda vn sentir contrario, diverso:
 Si es la muger en casa el barón,
 Sigue tal vida mortal perdiçión.

222.

Vana altiuez del parlero ynsano
 En loca presunción de frenesía,
 Bibir de lisongero en mundo vano
 Muda con zizaña el ánimo en falsía;
 En gloria madurada del profano
 Trastrocando la razón que razón desvía,
 Arguye en amargor al pecho dulçor
 El turbulento contrapunto de rencor.

221.-A, 'gerzabel' /B, 'enlaley' /D, 'falta'; 'Razon'
 /E, 'Domandan'; 'Amores' /G, the word 'es' has
 been inserted over an erasure; 'encasa'.

222.-B, 'enloca' /C, 'bibir' /D, 'conzizaña' /F,
 'Trascrocando'; 'Razon'; 'Razon' /G, the 'e' of
 'Arguye' has been converted from 'a'; 'dulcor'.



223.

Si rige el amor, el falso lo enreda,
 Guiando contino el hecho viçioso,
 Pues la fortuna agora en su rueda
 Trunfa de buenos, honrando el tranposo;
 El fuerte con hechos atrás se le queda,
 El alto valor contando viçioso;
 En esto mundanos están ostinados,
 Contando los ricos por más esforçados.

224.

El conçejo çiego ley entre leones
 Fundara sin sed, hanbre nj trestura;
 Haziendo tabardos con nuevos girones,
 Pintaua los honbres con nueva figura:
 Trastornan la ley nuevas presunçiones,
 Formando los hechos con otra pintura;
 Tratando los libres con ánimo soltero,
 Llegan a la muerte algún cordero.

223.-A, 'enrreda' /B, 'guiando' /C, 'Rueda' /D,
 'honrrando' /E, 'a tras'; 'selequeda' /G,
 'Enesto' /H, 'Ricos'; 'esforcados'.

224.-A, 'conçeJo' /B, 'fundara'; 'tres tura' /D,
 'fígura' /E, 'trastornan'; 'laley' /F, 'formando'
 /H, 'lLegan'; 'ala'; 'Algun'.

225.

El orgulloso en vano fundamento
 Contino rige mil falsos preçetos;
 Arguye el saber de mal documento,
 Criando en el pecho falsos conçetos;
 Regida razón funda el çimiento
 En virtud con verdad, que son sus eletos:
 Rijendo el bibir contrario saber,
 Pierde el juyzio el buen entender.

226.

Sigue mudanças la vida /a/ presurada,
 Sin ver entendimiento cōsa alguna;
 Sin saber nj mirar, mente a/r/ rebatada
 Vemos fundarse tras vana fortuna:
 Jamás la cosa que es aligerada
 Tuuo ningún ser en cosa alguna;
 Tales planetas, que corren sin saber,
 Tras sus falsos cursos corren sin el ver.

225.-A, 'argullosos' /B, 'Rige' /D, 'enel' /F,
 'converdad'; 'queson' /G, the 'j' of 'Rijendo'
 has been converted from equally correct 'g'
 /H, 'pierde' ; 'Juyzio' .

226.-A, 'lavidas'; 'presurada' /C, the 'e' of 'saber'
 has been converted from 'o'; 'a Rebatada' /D,
 'fartuna' - the first 'a' has been converted from
 correct 'o' /E, 'quees' /F, 'Encosa'; 'Alguna'
 /G, 'tales'; the 'i' of 'sin' has been converted
 from 'e' /H, 'susfalsos'; 'elver'.

227.

Ysis de paso cultjvando la tierra,
 El Osiris, marido, ganando mil villas,
 La fer/i7a ylustrando su paz con la guerra,
 Quitandō a maliçia vanas cosquillas,
 Matando de malos harturas de perra,
 Gozan los buenos razón sin renzillas;
 Do viben las gentes sin amor ni temor,
 A nadie veréy3 coger frutos de flor.

228.

La justa justiçia, bibir en sentido,
 Guarda oseruancia de leyes djuinas;
 Mirando el viso bibir ya perdido,
 Muy claro verás picantes espinas,
 Que Dios ni su ley permiten fingido
 Con ánimo falso de vidas malinas;
 Fingir en iustiçia jamás se remite,
 Mas la pleue mundana lo falso permite.

227.-A, 'Y sis'; 'depaso'; 'cultj vando' /B, 'osiris'
 /C, 'fena' — the scribe appears to have fused the
 letters 'r' and 'i' into 'n'; 'sus'; 'conlaguerra'
 /D, 'Amaliçia' /F, 'Razon'; 'Renzillas' /G,
 'Amor' /H, 'Anadie'.

228.-A, 'Justa'; 'Justiçia' /B, 'o seruancia';
 'deleyes' /D, 'espīnas' /E, 'dios'; 'suley'
 /F, 'Animo'; 'devidas'; 'malines' /G, 'fingiren';
 'Remito' /H, 'pleua'; 'mundanalo'.

229.

Reformando puntos el amor con valor,
 La sentençia justiçia declarando,
 Muda del Hijo el querer con temor
 Quien justo remedio va remirando,
 Quitando los fines del mal pundonor
 Açotes del Padre,galeras remando;
 Si los bibos y muertos siguieron a Dios,
 Seguid los seguros, mejores que vos.

230.

Pasando los valles faltos de gente,
 Vj sobre rocas prudencia adormida,
 Tanto eclisando el mal continente
 Que vimos la dama ya muerta sin vida,
 Y si mostrara el mirar refulgente,
 De males modernos está carcomida;
 Púdrese buenos, mandando los ruynes,
 La triste razón esperando otros fines.

229.-A, 'Amor'; 'convalor' /C, 'hijo'; 'contemor'
 /D, 'Remirando' /E, 'frnes' /F, 'Acotes'; 'padre';
 'Remando' /G, 'adios' /H, 'quevos'.

230.-A, 'degente' /B, 'Rocas'; 'Adormida' /C, 'tanto'; 'Eclisando'
 /D, 'y a'; 'sinvida'; the last four words of the
 line have been smudged, or possibly amended /E,
 'mostra nael' — the scribe appears to have fused the
 letters 'r' and 'i' into 'n'; 'Refulgente' /G,
 'Ruynes' /H, 'Razon'.

231.

Contrarios vemos de Dios y la Madre
 Surcir en heridas los casos malhechos,
 Que nadie castiga perro, aunque ladre;
 Y, tachando el mal, senbráys sin barbechos,
 Que jamás la maldad conoce su Padre,
 Senbrando contino mal en prouechos;
 Anda sensualidad tocando atanbor,
 Que jamás no conoce el propio Señor.

232.

La vana lisonja es tan lisongera
 Que arma fundamento muy contrario;
 En su mesmo sentido es tan artera
 Que sigue tras querer en todo vario:
 Mas alma do verdad está sincera
 Reconoce la virtud, que es su vicario;
 En estos fundamentos veys la ley,
 Fundado en la verdad quien sigue el Rey.

231.-A, 'dedios'; 'madre' /B, 'enheridas' /C, the second 'r' of 'perro' has been converted from 'o', and another 'o' added; 'Aunque' /E, 'Quejamas'; 'supadre' /F, 'enprouechos' /G, the first two letters of 'sensualidad' have been converted from former 'n'; 'Atanbor' /H, 'Quejamas'; 'señor'.

232.-A, 'Lavanalison ja' /B, 'Arma'; 'contrario' /C, 'Ensu'; 'estan' /D, the central section of the line (from the letters 'gue' of 'sigue', to the last letter of 'todo') has been inserted over an erasure, and vestiges of former letters remain above the line; 'entodo' /E, 'almado'; 'verdadesta' — the final 'a' has been converted from 'o' /F, 'lavirtud'; 'quees'; 'suvicario' /G, 'Enestos'; 'fundamientos' /H, 'fundado' — the first 'd' has been amended.

233.

Recogiendo vn bano pensamiento,
 Sindérisis anda remordiando;
 Los propios hechos van sin fundamento
 Sj a tj oluidas, otros componiendo;
 En tal sauer no hallo documento
 Sj propia pintura va mintiendo:
 Armando mentira su falto saber,
 Suelen los malos sin virtud floreceer.

234.

Perdiendo el sabio naue en bonança,
 Vemos culpante la clima sinistra,
 Cosa a mj ver que nadie la alcança,
 Siendo la guía la mano tan distra;
 Es vano esperar, vana esperança,
 Con mala medida ser buena m/i/n/i/stra;
 Con tosco vestido, piel de raposo,
 Ninguno vemos andar muy hermoso.

233.-B, 'Sin derisis'; 'Anda' /D, 'atj'; 'componiendo'
 /E, 'sauerno' /G, an 's' has been struck out at
 the end of 'mentira'.

234.-B, 'climasinistra' /C, 'amj' /D, 'manotan'; the
 last word of the line is muddled, the scribe being
 unsure of the three central letters /F, 'mnstra'
 /G, 'Contosco'; 'deRaposo' /H, 'Andar'.

235.

Sj andas con Dios con pura verdad,
 Ella te alunbra de engaños más fieros,
 Jamás te fiando de ciega maldad,
 Que sj la conoçes, te burlan dineros,
 Que ellos se pierden con ser falsedad
 Y la justa verdad te libra de arteros;
 Haz confesión con la satisfacción,
 Y ternás el perdón sj ay contrición.

236.

Mira el contento que tienes, cristiano,
 Gozando en manjar el alto Señor;
 Mira el cuerpo con alma ser sano,
 Bebiendo verdad en claro licor,
 Linpio en muerte, siendo profano,
 Del falso sentido, mudando el horror;
 Los amores que pasan amor de los hijos,
 Puros y linpios trastornan letijos.

235.-A, 'condios' /B, 'Ellate' /D, 'teburlan' /E,
 'conser' /F, 'lajusta'.

236.-A, 'Mirael'; 'cris tiano' /B, 'gozando'; 'Alto';
 'señor' /C, 'mirael'; 'conalma'; 'sersano' /G,
 'Amores'; the second 'a' of 'pasan' has been
 converted from 's'; 'Amordelos' /H, 'Linpios';
 'tras tornanletijos'.

237.

En falsos sentidos çiego fundamento
 Recoge fundamentos en la fantasía;
 Los falsos preñados del mal documento,
 Rodando contrario, dan en frenesía,
 Que bienen a parir maluado yntento
 Las obras que penan en penas con falsía;
 En los casos que a los malos son agenos,
 Estas tales penas penan a los buenos.

238.

Creyendo lo falso por ley te condenas,
 Que ansj nos manda la ley de las leyes;
 La ley contino nos da por estrenas
 Viso seguro, temor de las greyes:
 Vale a las vezes penar en cadenas,
 Purgando la culpa el Rey de los rey/ē7s;
 Goza el amor bibir repentido
 Sj el ánimo falso torna rendido.

237.-C, 'prenados' /D, 'frenesiā' /E, 'bíenen';
 'Aparir' /F, 'enpenas'; 'falsiā' /G, 'alos'.

238.-B, 'los'; 'delas' /C, 'dapor' /D, 'delas' /E,
 'alas' /F, 'delos'; 'Reys' /H, 'Rendido'.

239.

Muriendo malicia, caso aparente
 Haze iusticia en los casos atroces,
 Tornando singera alma presente
 De vida fingida, dándola coçes,
 Tornando al cielo el alma patente
 Perdida sin Dios, dándola boçes;
 Do vemos el vibir seguir el camino,
 El alma rendida bibe contino.

240.

Guiando prudencia los males en bienes,
 Sin ella las virtudes no son virtuosas;
 Ni puedes gozar los bienes que tienes,
 Faltando el temor a penas rabiosas:
 Jamás la prudencia teme baybenes,
 Mirando el prudente damas hermosas;
 Prudencia remedia estraños combates
 Que hazen a buenos hazer mil dislates.

239.-B, 'Atroces' /D, 'Devida' /E, 'Alma' /F, 'dios';
 'dando la' /H, 'Alma'; 'Rendida'.

240.-A, 'enbienes' /B, 'sonvirtuosas' /C, 'gozarlos'
 /D, 'faltando' /F, 'mirando' /G, 'Remedia' /H,
 'hizen'; 'abuenos'.

241.

Tramando tramas el pecho libiano,
 Lo iusto pintando co/n̄/sejos de cisma,
 Conçejo maldito, mundō profano,
 Contrarios amores, faltos de crisma,
 Del manco braço, del ánimo ynsano
 Mandando el querer mentira de chisma,
 Mudan sentidos, glosando las leyes,
 Chismeros alteros, mandando las greyes.

242.

Quien sirue al amor, tomando consejo,
 No paga la deuda deuida al amor,
 Ni vale saber de torpe conçejo,
 Ni amor verdadero al falso amador;
 Gozando el amor, se torna vengejo,
 Mas el firme amor no tenpla el ardor ;
 Tratando el amor sin falsos engaños,
 Amor refulgente remedia mil daños.

241.-B, 'co sejos' /D, 'Amores'; 'decrisma' /E,
 'mancobraço'; 'Ynsano' /G, 'Lasleyes' /H,
 'Alteros'.

242.-A, 'Amor'; 'conseJo' /B, 'no'; 'Amōr' /C, 'Nivale'
 /D, 'Amor'; 'Amador' /E, 'Amor' /F, 'mas'; 'El' -
 the 'E' has been amended ; 'Amor'; 'tienpla'; 'elardor'
 /G, 'Amor' /H, 'Refulgente'; 'Remedia'; 'mildanos'.

243.

Hurdiendo maldad mortal armonía,
 Goza malicia el tono más alto;
 Los hombres discretos vence falsía,
 A las veces querer haziendo otro salto;
 El saúo no veys mover la profía
 Al loco, o mudado en otro que es falto:
 Dando remedios de falsos primores,
 Tratan los neçios muy malos amores.

244.

Vemos los muertos guiando caminos
 Y vemos los bibos por sendas herrados,
 Andan tramando dos mil desatinos,
 Vanos extremos que son mal fundados;
 Fundando su fe los males continos,
 Ansí no florece, que malos nublados
 Yelan sienpre la flor en verano,
 Y buenos deseos se mueren tenprano.

243.-A, 'armoura' /B, 'goza' /C, 'Vençe'; 'falsiā'
 /D, 'Alas'; 'otrosalto' /F, 'quees'
 /G, 'Remedios'; 'primeros' /H, 'Amores'.

244.-B, 'Vemos'; 'porsendas' /C, 'de satinos' /E,
 'fundando'; 'felos' /G, 'enverano'.

245.

Mirad pues, agora, en otra disputa,
 El otro tirano mandando los diez,
 En santo gremio, do ley se computa,
 Tomando el destierro partido soez,
 Amando la Madre, tornándola puta,
 Formando principio de gran altivez;
 Enredos estraños hurden la trama,
 Tramando en errores amor de la dama.

246.

Sj fueron vistos cauallos potentes,
 De raza del viento con madre criados,
 Otros sin vida, con Baco valientes,
 Nos naçen agora en estos preñados;
 Hallamos en armas a muchos presentes,
 Sin armas nj Marte, andar muy armados;
 Criando en razón romanos los hijos,
 Con Bruto y Catón no fueran letijos.

245.-A, 'enotra'; 'dis puta' /B, 'el' /C, 'Ensanto';
 'giemio' /E, 'madre'; 'tornando laputa' /F,
 'formando'; 'degran' /G, 'Enredos' /H, 'Amor';
 'dela'.

246.-A, 'vis tos' /B, 'Raza' /C, 'conbaco'; 'Valientes'
 /D, 'enestos' /E, 'Armas' /F, 'Armas'; 'marte';
 'Andar' /G, 'Razon'; 'Romanos' /H, 'bruto'; 'caton';
 'Letijos'.

247.

Jamás la virtud mobible beréys,
 Avnque conbate fortuna contraria;
 Sienpre con calmas vos siguiréys
 Viages seguros en mar aduersaria;
 Esta prudente, sj vos la queréys,
 Nadie la vence, nj menos es baria:
 Mezclando gula con la temperançia,
 En feria mejor perdemos ganança.

248.

Allj do fortuna contrario declina,
 Sienpre turba fuertes guerreros,
 Que con Alçibíades a vezes se ynclina,
 Forçando en ello dos mil desafueros;
 Faltando a yngratos la gracia divina,
 Tanbién ar/r7ogantes son los postreros;
 Andando traçando, sin las obras finir,
 No çierra la claue jamás albañir.

247.-B, 'A Vn que' /D, 'aduersariā' /E, 'Vos' /F,
 'lavence'; 'bariā' /G, 'mez clando'; 'conla'.

248.-C, 'alçibiades'; 'avezes'; 'seyncлина' /D,
 'forcando'; 'enello' /E, 'faltando'; 'ayngratos'
 /F, 'aRogantes' /H, 'La'; the 'u' of 'claue' has
 been inserted over an erasure; the 'r' of 'albañir'
 has been amended and remains unclear.

249.

Altera presunción en su sentido
 Formando los puntos, casos sin valor,
 Hinch a en tan gran poder el fementido
 Que sigue lo fingido, amargo, con sabor;
 Gozando trato falso el atrevido,
 Pintando oscuro, glosando el rencor,
 Hazen los fingidos formar pundonores,
 Mudando su amor los tales amadores.

250.

En esta vegez, contraria con glosas,
 Veys sin linpieça mil tratos noturnos;
 Nadie mirando las vidas dañosas,
 Vemos al mundo con rostros saturnos:
 Padecen frescor las túrbidas rosas,
 Siendo metales en ley todos vnos;
 Veredas y caminos son diferentes,
 Mas todo trapaçan los falsos creyentes.

249.-B, 'formando'; 'sinvalor' /C, 'Enicha' /D,
 'siguelo'; 'Amargo' /F, 'Rencor' /G, 'hazen'
 /H, 'Amor'; 'Amadores' — the letters 'or' have
 been amended, but remain unclear.

250.-A, 'es ta'; the 'z' of 'vegez' has been converted
 from 's' /B, 'veys' /C, 'Vidas'; 'danōsas' /D,
 'vemos'; 'Rostros' /E, 'Turbidas' — the word has
 been inserted over an erasure /F, 'Vnos' /G,
 'Y' /H, 'mas'; 'Los'.

251.

Las setas, sesenta con tres ayuntadas,
 Todas trunfando sin horden nj ley,
 Conozca verdad las vidas manchadas,
 De tales dibujos turbando la grey;
 Falsos autores, de almas dañadas,
 Traman mudanças contrarias al Rey;
 Naranjos podridos, sin fruto nj flor,
 Arguyen magañas de gran desonor.

252.

Fortuna forçada anda sin rueda,
 La suerte buena girando contraria;
 Jamas ningún ser en término queda,
 Eceto la fe, quen nada no es baria:
 Es falso pensar la fortuna que pueda
 Guiaros las naues en puertos de Caria;
 Andando buscando dioses estraños,
 Nos fuerça fortuna a tantos engaños.

251.-A, 'ayuntadas' /B, 'todas' /C, 'Verdad'; 'Vidas'
 /D, 'Detalles'; 'greY' /E, 'falsos'; 'Almas' /F,
 'contrarrias'; 'alRey' /G, 'prodridos' /H,
 'degran'.

252.-A, 'forcada'; 'Anda'; 'Rueda' /B, 'búena';
 'Contraria' /E, 'La' /F, 'caria' /H, 'Atantos';
 'Engaños'.

253.

Romano saber, de Marte dechado,
 Mirando sinpleça, a/ũ7gur es auspicio;
 Vemos muy claro en caso pintado
 Forçando flaquezas dioses por vicio;
 Rigendo los tonos saber remendado,
 Los vanos amantes carga el yndiçio:
 Quien vido Çipiones los penos vençer,
 Contraria fortuna con Çésar perder.

254.

Con arte y maña vençe los grecianos
 Filipo, rompiendo toda liga,
 Y el hijo valiente, a los persianos,
 Con sólo su valor les dio la higa;
 A todos los ynperios de romanos
 Valió fortuna buena nj enemiga,
 Y sienpre vale en cursos de planetas
 Sólo el querer que manda las secretas.

253.-A, 'marte' /B, 'agur'; 'el' /C, 'encaso' /D,
 'forçando'; 'porvicio' /E, 'Remendado' /F,
 'Amanantes'; 'Yndiçio' /G, 'Vido'; 'çipiones';
 'les'; 'penes'; 'Vençer' /H, 'çesar' .

254.-A, 'Arte'; 'Vençe' /B, 'filipo'; 'Rompien do'
 /C, the 'j' of 'hijo' has been converted from 'z';
 'alos' /D, 'Consolo'; 'suvalor'; 'lesdio' /E,
 'Ynperios'; 'Romanos' /F, 'Enemiga' /G,
 'sienprevale'; 'deplanetas'.

255.

Fingen cuytados casos de parleros
 Donde la verdad no haze morada;
 Pintando al viso casos verdaderos,
 Pintando la boca su vida pintada,
 Verdad sin pinçel, de hechos tan fieros,
 Reforma en verdad vida glosada;
 Sin oyr en batalla el son a Belona,
 Marte no trunfa jamás de persona.

256.

Formando pinturas a las vezes pintor,
 Divierte el sentido falto saber,
 Formando el pinzel estraño primor,
 Mudando colores el falso entender;
 Contino el saber pintando mejor
 En contrario juyzio del contrario querer,
 Sj miran de rayz los hombres, juzgando,
 Conoce el valor mirar otro vando.

255.-B, 'laverdad' /C, 'alviso' /D, 'suvida'
 /E, 'tanfiéros' /F, 'enverdad'; 'Vida' /G, 'oYr';
 'El'; 'sonabelona' /H, 'Trunfa'; 'Jamás'; 'depersona':

256.-A, 'Vezes' /E, 'El' /F, 'Contrario' (the former)
 /G, 'deRayz'; 'Juzgando' /H, 'Elvalor'; 'Vando'.

257.

En hado malo, presagio no diestro,
 Falsos planetas con climas re/n̄7didos
 Siguen al tienpo su falso maēstro;
 Estando los puntos ya casj falidos,
 Venus herida en el lado siniestro,
 Por amor del hermano los dos son perdidos,
 Y juntos los toma con red el herrero
 Donde verdad descubre el artero.

258.

De tierra y leña en arcas conpuestas
 Saluando las dos, algo os condena;
 En almas reñidas de vidas molestas
 La llaue es razón, ligando cadena;
 La reñida partida parte con éstas
 Si rige con horden el alma muy buena:
 Vayvenes y trances que pasa la vida
 Andan tenblando con falsa partida.

257.-B. 'falsos'; 'rēdidos' /E, 'sinisstro' - the second 's' has been converted from correct 'e' /G, 'Juntos' - the 'n' has been converted from 's'; 'Redel' /H, 'Verdad'; 'Artero'.

258.-A, 'con Pues tas' /C, 'Almas'; 'Renidas';
 'moles tas' /D, 'Razon' /E, 'Resida'; 'conestas'
 /F, 'Rige'; 'Alma'; 'muY' /G, 'Vay venes';
 'pasala'; 'Vida'.

259.

Senbrando semillas mira el terreño
 Y conoçe poder del clima más alto;
 Lee en mandatos sj falso te enseño,
 Que saves, amigo, falsando tu salto,
 Vebes de males estraño veleño,
 El alma adormida, todo te es falto;
 Jugando la vida en juego de dados,
 Juegas fortuna que sigue tus hados.

260.

Oyendo y juzgando vj al rey Salomón
 En juyzios del hijo a la pobre muger,
 Y al César Trajano, sin más dilación,
 Por hazer la justicia le vj detener;
 Los juezes condenan sin oyr relación,
 Ninguno ya oye que quiera entender;
 Los juezes juzgando sin oyr acusado
 Son como lobos guardando ganado.

259.-A, 'mirael' /C, 'en seño' /D, the second 's'
 of 'saves' has been inserted imperfectly / E,
 'Vgbes'; 'estrano' /G, 'lavida'; 'Juego'.

260.-A, 'Juzgando'; 'Rey'; 'salomon' /C, 'cesar';
 'trajano' /D, 'lajusticia'; 'levj' /E, 'Juezes';
 'Relacion' /G, 'Juezes'; 'Juzgando'; 'sir';
 'Acusado' /H, 'come'.

261.

Vemos juzgando la madre en razón,
 Y siendo madrastra, ser falsa creyente,
 Que ésta con lloros, delante el barón,
 Finge fantasmas sin caso aparente;
 Toda falacia fundada en pasión
 Os haze creer aquello en que miente;
 Falsan la vida, contrarios de fama,
 Casos falaçes que hurden su trama.

262.

Siempre ymagina vn falso conçeto
 Falto juyzio que va mal fundado;
 Guiando el querer de falso preçeto,
 Con armas ligeras vas mal armado:
 Nada te turbe sj dentro eres neto,
 Que allj no podrás estar espantado;
 Pesando tus hechos la justa balança,
 Traen tus pasos compás en la dança.

261.-A, 'Juzgando'; 'Razon' /B, 'madras tra' /D,
 'Aparente' /G, 'Falzan'; 'lavidia'.

262.-A, 'y magina' /B, 'falto'; 'Juyzio'; 'Va' /D,
 'Armas'; 'Vas'; 'Armado' /H, 'traen'; 'compasenla'.

263.

Sin fuero, ni sin ley, ni sin sentido
 Gouernaua sus plazer^s Dem/^{og}7orgón;
 Gozando Amadís el fruto perdido,
 Gloria con penas torna el afición;
 El hermoso jardín siendo florido,
 Podan hortelanos sin mirar sazón:
 Dislates vanos cantan los mundanos,
 Que sin ley nj ley cogen frutos vanos.

264.

En sus canpos ayuntaron garama/ⁿ7tas
 El vano saber sin ser entendidos;
 Plantando en los canpos muchas plantas,
 Árboles nacen que son ya podridos,
 Las puertas ronpiendo sin encantas,
 Los ganados sin dueño andan perdidos;
 Los falsos reportes y juyzios dañados
 Mandavan los ofiçios más honrados.

263.-B, 'gouuernaua'; 'demorgon' /C, 'gozando' /D,
 'conpenas' /E, 'Jardin' /F, 'hortolanos' /G,
 'Vanos' /H, 'Ley' (the former); 'Vanos'.

264.-A, 'ayntitaron'; 'garam^ātas' — the last three
 letters have been amended /B, 'Vano' /D, the 's'
 of 'Arboles' has been converted from 'n' /E,
 'Ronpiendo'; 'Encantas' /F, 'dueno' — a possible
 tilde has been struck out above the 'e' /G, '
 'Reportes'; 'Y'; 'Juyzios' — the 'y' has been
 converted from a former letter /H, 'Mandā Van';
 'honrrados'.

265.

Pasea los campos dañada yntençión,
 Que sienpre son llenos de mil cenagales,
 Sienpre pintando linda ynvención,
 Son a sus puertas dos mil muradales;
 Ansj, mis amigos, andáys en baldón,
 Como los viejos, podridos en males,
 Que biben mal hasta ser sepultados,
 Y los hijos y nietos están desonrados.

266.

Ciego pensamiento, vano, altero,
 Apaçentando los trabajos de repente,
 Con orgulloso viso, falso, lisongero,
 Comprando tales ferias vana gente,
 Del engaño conoçido, trapacero,
 Hurdiendo viejas tramas al regente,
 Con almas fementidas, bellas damas
 Hazen sin gana/n7çias tales tramas.

265.-B, the first 'e' of 'cenagales' has been converted from 'a' /C, the 'l' of 'linda' appears to have been inserted over a former letter, and is possibly not of the scribal hand /E, 'Amigos' /H, 'desonrrados' - the first 'r' has been amended.

266.-A, 'Vano'; 'Altero' /B, 'A paçentando'; 'Repente' /D, 'Vana' /E, 'engāno' /F, 'Hurde endo'; 'Viejas'; 'Regente' /G, 'Almas' /H, 'ganaçias'.

267.

Dios, que es alcalde en todo el querer,
 Jamás no reçibe de nadie la ley;
 Los reyes iustos, con sabio entender,
 Representan a Dios en el mando de grey;
 Ansí su justiciã les da el mereçer
 Y con doble guardia rige el buen rey,
 Cuytados aquéllos que buscan sentido
 Contrario a razón en este partido.

268.

Diverso sentir glosando profanos,
 Contraría a vezes mil males contino;
 Disputan sentidos de glouos mu/ndanos,
 Guiando a los malos falso camño;
 Andan gustando los honbres ynsanos,
 Guiando las honrras con gran desatino:
 Los males escuros, guardas del alma,
 Hazen mil buenos perder en la calma.

267.-A, 'Alcalde' /B, 'denadie'; 'laley' /C, 'Reyes'
 /D, 'adios'; 'degrey' /E, 'dael' /F, 'Rige';
 'Rey' /G, 'Aquellos'; 'quebuscan' /H, the word
 'a' has been added imperfectly, and is possibly
 of a second hand; 'Razon'; 'eneste'.

268.-B, 'avezes' /C, 'mūdanos' — the abbreviation sign
 is not fully clear /D, 'guiando' /F, 'guiando';
 'honrras' /G, 'es curos'; 'Alma' /H, 'hazen'.

269.

El santo salmista enseña mejor,
 El falso raposo tornando cordero;
 Mirad de malicia el pecado mayor
 Tornar penitencia en amor verdadero:
 Tornándose a Dios el hombre peor,
 El ser humilde le torna singero;
 La santa sinpleza, con justo querer,
 Gana la gloria su rudo entender.

270.

La gran soberuia de Xerxes el persi/ano
 La tierra y el mar cubre con armados;
 Mouido tal poder, lloro profano
 Mirando llora casos estremados:
 Traemos contino ligados a la mano
 La honra y bienes con hechos estymados;
 Sj a justos reyes mandan los esclauos,
 La honra anda clauada sin clauos.

269.-B, 'Raposo' /D, 'Amor'; 'Verdadero' /E,
 'tornandose'; 'Adios' /G, 'Santa'; 'Sinpleza';
 'Justo' /H, 'gana'; 'Rudo'.

270.-A, 'xerxes'; 'persimo' /B, 'Armados' /D,
 'mirando' /E, 'traemos'; 'lagandos'; 'ala' /F,
 'honrra'; 'estrymados' /G, 'Justos'; 'Reyes'
 /H, 'honrra'; 'sinclauos'.

271.

Vimos los muros estar foradados
 En la vieja furia çibil de Medina;
 Muda el bibir en nuevos estados
 Agora maliçia con hanbre canina,
 Siguen querer quien son ostinados,
 Mudados contino en vida malina;
 El çiego mandar, en mandos profanos,
 Trastorna el juyzio a todos los banos.

272.

Es claro espejo honra de buenos,
 Los sueldos ançianos ganados allj;
 Aquellos barones, de graçia muy llenos,
 Hallauan sus faltas, tornados en sj;
 Ganando el tal rey los reynos agenos,
 Corbada çerbiz porfiando los vy:
 Según en lo claro pinta escritura,
 Jamás en leal ay falsa natura.

271.-B, 'lavieja'; 'medina' /C, 'Mudace' /E,
 'quienson' /F, 'mudados'; 'Vida' /H, 'Juyzio'.

272.-A, 'espeJo'; 'honrra'; 'debuenos' /B, 'Ançianos'
 /C, 'A quellos' /D, 'ensj' /E, 'ganando'; 'El';
 'Rey'; 'Reynos' /F, the 'o' of 'Corbada' has
 been converted from 'a'; 'porfiando'; 'Vy' /G,
 'segun'; 'enlo'; 'Escritura' /H, 'le alay';
 'falsanatura'.

273.

Si gozan gloria las cosas mal guiadas,
 La honra va ligada en artificio;
 Gozando el bien las obras mal fundadas,
 Las puertas de los tales son sin quicio:
 Las viejas costumbres vemos olvidadas,
 Siguiendo voluntad su propio vicio;
 Edificios vemos caer der/r/i/b/ados,
 De fundamentos nuevos mal fundados.

274.

La otra Çenobia vi, muertos romanos,
 Temer los brabossos, su justa pasión
 Tornando a contrarios justos hermanos,
 Por ser fortaleza tornada barón;
 Andando la rueda, nunca son sanos
 Los tales contrastes, con ser división;
 Muchos vemos, buscando remedios,
 Tener de contino çiegos los medios.

273.-A, 'Las'; 'malguiadas' /B, 'honrra' /C, 'gozando'
 /D, 'delos'; 'sinquicio' /F, 'Voluntad'; 'supropio';
 'Vicio' /G, 'Vemos'; 'caen'; 'deniados' - the 'a'
 and the 'o' bear faint curls at the top, as if the
 scribe had attempted to make them both 'd' /H,
 'defundamentos'.

274.-A, 'çenobia'; 'Romanos' /B, 'temerlos'; 'Justa';
 'pasión' /C, 'Justos' /D, 'Porser' /E, 'La' ; 'Rueda'
 'sonsanos' /G, 'muchos'; 'Remedíos' /H, 'tener';
 'Çiegos'; 'medíos'.

275.

Tachando el querer de vidas profanas,
 Persio y Marón en muy alto estilo
 Acaban las vidas de gentes ynsanas;
 Las otras hermanas cortando su hilo,
 Huele contino en las honras libianas
 El olor maldjto, quemado el pauilo;
 Gozando el amor la vida perdida,
 Muere/n7 contino el alma y la vida.

276.

Los çiegos condena la falsa pasión,
 Nadie temiendo Dios ni justiçia,
 Los hijos condena/n7 sin oyr relaçión,
 Sienpre creyendo lā pura maliçia;
 Dichos oscuros siguiendo opinión,
 Castigando los buenos falsa notiçia,
 Mandando consejos mil maliçiosos,
 Tratan los buenos por muy sospechos/os7.

275.-B, 'persio'; 'ymaron' /C, 'A caban'; 'Vidas;
 'Ynsanas' /E, the 'H' of 'Huele' has been converted
 from 'L'; 'honrras'; 'Líbianas' /F, between 'maldjto'
 and 'que', the letters 'as' have been imperfectly
 erased; 'que mado' /G, 'gozando'; 'Amor'; 'lavida'
 /H, 'Muere'; 'Alma'; 'lavida'.

276.-B, 'nadie' /C, 'condenā'; 'Relaçion' /E, 'es curos';
 'opinión' /H, 'Los'; 'sospechos'.

277.

En la siniestra, falsos desdeños,
 Y en la derecha, memoria ninguna,
 Mostrando el querer sus túrbidos ceños,
 El falso amador contino ynportuna;
 No pueden faltar los faltos deseos,
 Pues mala amistad los cría en su cuna;
 Notando, mirad en los nuevos casos
 El poco saber que caue en los vasos.

278.

Envidia mora en /ē/1 duro pecho
 Do bibe carcoma, gusano traydor;
 Amigos contino velando despecho,
 Con causa no justa nos pierde el amor;
 Ninguno veréys, según que sospecho,
 Sintiendo el tal mal, matar el dolor:
 De vn tal autor soys el pecado,
 Según en vos mesmo es claro pintado.

277.-A, 'Es'; 'Siniestra'; 'desdenōs' /D, 'Amador'
 /F, 'Amistad'; 'ensucuna' /G, 'enlos'; 'nueVos'
 /H, 'Vasos'.

278.-A, 'enl' /B, 'Dobibe'; 'car coma'; 'grisano'
 /E, 'Vereyes' /G, 'Vn' /H, 'envos'; 'clara'.

279.

Veys anabatista/s7 estar subljnados,
 Contrario término de iusto valer,
 Malditos raijos en casos turbados,
 Ynjustos justos de buen merecer;
 Miremos con vista casos tenblados,
 Ciegos muy tontos de buen entender;
 Haziendo de mentira pura verdad,
 Andan los tontos creyendo en maldad.

280.

Sj claro oscuros de fama cantasen,
 Cantando canciones que fuesen de veras,
 Y en hechos famosos verdad relatasen,
 Harían canciones muy más verdaderas;
 Los hechos y dichos serían que honrasen,
 Glosando verdad las famas enteras;
 Siendo los buenos más estimados,
 Los flacos viles serían profazados.

279.-A, 'anabatista' /B, 'Valer' /C, 'malditas';
 'Raijos' /D, 'Yn justos'; 'del'; 'bien' (cf. F)
 /E, 'Vista' /G, 'hazierdo'; 'dementira';
 'puraVerdad'.

280.-A, 'es curos'; 'defama' /B, 'veras' /D,
 'harian'; 'Verdaderas' /E, 'honrrasen' /F,
 'glozando'; 'Verdad' ; 'Enteras' /G, 'Los'
 /H, 'Viles' ; 'profarados'.

281.

Dañantes nuevos vemos orgullosos
 En el monte altero, vano y loco,
 Do los forçosos vientos temerosos
 No gozan de Cupido, según toco;
 Armando mil mentiras mentircsos,
 Con clara verdad la Madre ynboco;
 Cantando los rufianes sus concetos,
 Son varios amadores en sonetos.

282.

La fuerza que manda la falsa razón,
 Al fuerte manda el vibo contento;
 Precetor contrario de la presunción
 Arde en llamas de mal documento;
 Tramando oscuro disimulación,
 Lloro de fuerça el mal argumento:
 Luchando sin fuerça, vence verdad,
 Armando su alma de la castidad.

281.-A, 'nueVos'; 'Vemos' /B, 'Enel'; 'Altero'; 'Vano'
 /C, 'Dolos'; 'forçosos'; 'Vientos' /D, 'no';
 'cupido' /F, 'Verdad'; 'madre'; 'Ynboco' /G,
 'Los'; 'Rufianes' /H, 'Sonvarios'; 'Ensonetos'.

282.-A, 'fuersa'; 'Rason' /B, 'El' /E, 'tramando';
 'es curo' /F, 'llora'; 'fuerca' /G, 'fuerca';
 'Vence'; 'Verdad' /H, 'Alma'; 'dela'.

283.

¡Cuán gloriosamente, con contento,
 Con fama famosa, mueren virtuosos!
 Mirad en los contrarios mal intento,
 Mezclando buenos con los sospechos/_os7;
 En la libre voluntad ay aposento
 Do moran de contino valerosos;
 Hallando en voluntad amor doblado,
 Halláys en voluntad otro **treslado**.

284.

Cubren cataratas el cielo nubloso,
 Descifrando prodigio falta sazón;
 Mostrando el bibir su amor muy tenblosa,
 Combates terrestres combaten sin son,
 Siguiendo cursos del mal sospechos/_o7,
 Convierte natura en falsa razón;
 Viendo mil monstruos la tierra parir,
 Vemos contrarios el contrario seguir.

283.-A, above the first 'o' of 'contento' appears a mark similar to a grave accent /B, 'con'; 'Virtuosos' /C, 'mirad' /D, 'sośpechos' /E, 'Voluntad'; 'ayaposeno' /F, 'Domoran'; 'Valerosos' /G, 'hallando'; 'envoluntad'; 'Amor' /H, 'Voluntad'; 'tres lado' — the 'e' has been converted from 'o'.

284.-C, 'Amor' /E, 'malsospechos' /F, 'Razon'.

285.

Turbios primores, negros accidentes,
 Vistas sin vista mandando el querer,
 Agros sabores, verdad entre dientes,
 Ciegos pilotos tonteando el saber,
 Mostrando engaños, visos aparentes,
 Los mudos, los tontos, sin nada valer,
 Buscando las trapaças de parleros,
 Los tales amadores se pintan arteros.

286.

Párrafos, glosas, también lo notado,
 Con falsos trasuntos ocupan la pluma;
 Hazen enredos en caso pintado
 Viejos prodigios de cifras sin suma;
 Otro accidente creciente, erizado,
 Torna corrientes del río en espuma:
 Haziendo el amor tales ynsultos,
 Abieldan la parua mortales singultos.

285.-B, 'Vista' /C, 'Verdad'; 'entredientes' /D,
 the 'e' of 'saber' has been converted from 'a'
 /E, 'enganos'; 'Visos'; 'Aparentes' /F, 'nadavaler'
 /H, 'Amadores' - the 'e' has been converted from 'o';
 'Arteros'.

286.-A, 'Parra fos' - the letters 'ra' have been converted
 from 'an' /B, 'o cupan' /C, 'Enrredos' /D,
 'sinsuma' /E, 'Acidente'; 'Erizado' /F, 'torna';
 'Del'; 'Rio' /G, 'Amor'; 'Ynsultos' /H, 'Laparua'.

287.

Vi Tiçio en vejez girando el caos,
 Espelunca marçial en agua quajada;
 La tierra mezclada con fuego, veys vos
 Los quatro conjuntos hazer ensalada;
 El viejo marino, mandón de los dos,
 Tresquila ganado en mar congelada:
 Siendo mandones señores esentos,
 No ay clara luz jamás con los vientos.

288.

Quien haze discursos de vidas ajenas,
 Las propias no miran la iusta razón;
 Las vidas en otros serían muy buenas
 Si bien cada qual haré parangón :
 En tales ensayes se hallan estrenas
 De malos enbustes a tal djgresión;
 Mudanças y troques la maliçia pregona,
 Y es lo peor que jamás no perdona.

287.-A, 'Vitiçio'; 'Vejez' /B, 'quagada' /C, 'confuego';
 'Veys'; 'Vos' /E, 'Viejo'; 'delos' /H, 'Luz';
 'conlos'; 'Vientos'.

288.-B, 'Razon' /C, 'enotros' /D, 'Sibien' /F,
 'males!'; 'ataldj gresion'.

289.

Lisongera alegría que, durmiendo,
 Representa en vn alma mentirosa
 Fantasma aparentes que, fingiendo,
 Trastrocán la verdad en toda cosa,
 Las veras apariencias desmintiendo,
 Ylustrando al mentir vida viçiosa,
 Las mudanças y vaybenes, de repente,
 Sin ver la fortuna, espantan a la gente.

290.

Mirando Cupido, tapados los ojos,
 Flechando çertero al buen coraçón,
 Robando a razón sus propios despojos,
 Vida con alma está en sugeción;
 La vana esperança, seguir tras antojos,
 Gasta la tierra de más perfección;
 Cría el mundo mil hombres fingidos,
 Señores muy ricos siendo falidos.

289.-A, 'Lisonsegera' /B, 'Representas'; 'mentírosa'
 /D, 'Verdad' /E, 'Veras'; 'Aparencias' /F,
 'Vida'; 'Viçiosa' /G, 'Vaybenes'; 'Repente' —
 an 's' has been erased imperfectly at the end of
 the word /H, 'alagente'.

290.-A, 'cupido'; 'losoJos' /B, 'flechando'; 'albuen'
 /C, 'Arrazon' — the 'z' has been converted from
 'g'; 'sus' has been inserted with a caret; 'propíos'
 /E, 'LaVana'; 'trasantojos' /F, 'gasta' /H,
 'Rícos'.

291.

La vida sin honra en calma verás,
 Armando baldón las armas mejores;
 Amigo cristiano, si bien temerás,
 Dexa en el mundo atrás los rencores,
 El alma preçiosa jamás perderás
 Por gozos ligeros de agros sabores;
 Pues claro, escuro, claro no vemos,
 Nadie no dexe de mano los remos.

292.

Si quieres reynando bibir de contino,
 Dexa al mundo del mundo ynterés,
 Dexa a sofistas su falso camino,
 Dexando enredos que van rebés;
 Mira en tu carne el **Veruo** divino
 Y mira el alma y el cuerpo quién es;
 Siguiendo al Rey que ganara Granada,
 Verás con gozo la santa jornada.

291.-A, 'honrra'; 'Veras' /B, 'Armas' /C, above the second 'i' of 'cristiano appears an ill-formed sign which could be an intended accent /D, 'enel'; 'a traslos'; 'Rencores' /G, 'Vemos' /H, 'demano'; 'Remos'.

292.-A, 'Siquieres'; 'Reynando' /B, 'Ynteres' /C, 'Asofistas' /D, 'enrredos'; 'Van'; 'Rebes' /E, 'elveruo' /F, 'Alma'; 'quienes' /G, 'granada' /H, 'las anta'.

293.

El ánimo firme, rigendo memoria,
 Querer y poder con santa esperança,
 Bibe el bibir en muerte con gloria,
 Pesando entender la justa valança;
 Sin el fino metal tornar en escoria,
 Sin pena y trabajo ello se alcança;
 Prueua la fortuna fabor aduersario,
 A ciegas tornando el cofre contrario.

294.

En el reyno del rey dado por Dios
 Sj turba contraste del reyno vezino,
 Punando su graçia contino por nos,
 Allj luego pierde el vano adivino;
 Razón no espera de mj ni de vos
 Que jremos seguros por falso camino,
 Que vanos amores, mandando el querer,
 Nos traen al punto del mal entender.

293.-A, 'Animo'; 'Rigendo' /C, 'él' /D, 'Valança'
 /E, 'Sinel'; the scribe has written 'metal' twice
 /F, 'ellose'; 'Alcança' /G, 'La' /H, 'contrario'.

294.-A, 'Enel'; 'Reyno'; 'Rey'; 'pordios' /B, 'Reyno';
 'Vezinō' /D, 'elvano'; 'adivino' /E, 'espere';
 'demj' /F, the 'j' of 'jremos' is a true 'j';
 'camino' /G, 'Quevanos'; 'Amores'; 'elquerer'
 /H, 'Alpunto'.

295.

En disfraçe vemos Achjles escondido,
 Buscándole mañas del griego vliseo;
 Los frunçes de amor, con velo re/n/dido,
 Pintan en magañas el vano deseo,
 Hechos contrechos del amor fermentido,
 Matizes de gloria sin claro trofeo;
 Autores falsos de viejas historias
 Borran de famosos mil vitorias.

296.

Demandan los fingidos el sentido
 Claro, turbulento en el nublado,
 Y luego veys el falso repentido
 Con rostro de noviçio muy turbado;
 Remando en el profundo el atrebido,
 Veyslo turbio, claro, reposado;
 El caso negro, picante, muy viçioso,
 El amor paterno pinta belicoso.

295.-A, 'Endisfraçe'; 'Vemos'; 'achjles'; 'es condido'
 /B, 'Vliseo' /C, 'Amor'; 'Velo'; 'rédido' /D,
 'Elvano' /E, 'Amor' /G, 'deviejas' /H, the 'a'
 of 'Borran' has been converted from 'e'; 'milvitorias'.

296.-B, 'enel'; 'nublido' /C, 'Veys'; 'Repentido' /D,
 'Rostro'; 'deno Viçio' /E, 'enel'; 'Altrebido'
 /F, 'Reposado' /G, 'Viçioso' - the 's' has been
 converted from a former letter /H, 'Amor'; the 'c'
 of 'belicoso' has been heavily inserted over a former
 letter, possibly by a second hand.

297.

En la gerra muy vieja del gall/ō y león
 Paz con dolor demanda el cuytado,
 La justa firmeza del fuerte becar/ā7ón
 Siempre a la paz veréys ynclynado,
 Que con los hijos de Agar, en vieja quistión,
 Hordena justicia berle enpleado;
 Temiendo de Dios preçetos y leyes,
 Por él son contino guiados los reyes.

298.

Si honran los reyes falsos trofeos
 Con falto valor, dañado de biçios,
 El contraste querer mill falsos deseos
 Muestra al claro dañados yndiçios;
 Verdad verdadera, sin falsos meneos,
 Ronpe mil puertas pobres de quiçios;
 Juzguen de la vida y honra mortales,
 Y verán al sepulcro los gozos venales.

297.-A, 'Vieja'; 'delgalbyleon' — the 'b' is possibly the result of an attempted ligature between 'l' and 'o' /B, 'paz'; 'condelor'; the 'o' of 'cuytado' has been converted from 'a' /C, 'Lajusta'; 'becaron' /D, 'ala'; 'Vereys'; 'ynclyñado' — the second 'y' has been inserted over a former letter /E, 'agar' /G, 'dios' /H, 'Reyes'.

298.-A, 'honrran'; 'Reyes' /B, 'Confalto'; 'Valor'; 'debiçios' /C, between 'n' and 't' of 'contraste' there appears to have been an 's', which the scribe has converted into the loop of the 't' /D, 'muestra'; 'alclaro' /E, 'verdad'; 'Verdadera' — an 's' has been imperfectly struck out at the end of the word; 'sín' — the 's' was originally placed at the end of the previous word, but subsequently has been added to 'ín', possibly by a second hand; 'meneos' /F, 'dequiçios' /G, 'dela'; 'Y'; 'honrra' /H, 'Al'; 'Venales'.

299.

Curando rejalgar cáncer podrido,
 Las viejas heridas están mal curadas;
 Falso carácter de amor fermentido
 Son los sepulcros de vidas manchadas:
 Glosando sonetos del pecho falido,
 Se juntan al centro almas marcadas;
 Dançando saltos que asaltan la vida,
 Ay el clamor en la casa rendida.

300.

Creyendo enbustes, sin vista querer,
 Çegamos nos mesmos la justa razón;
 En manco sentido, con este perder,
 Glosamos glosando las glosas sin son;
 Gozando la vida de nada temer,
 Disputa en favor la falsa razón:
 El mundo ciego arguye mil setas,
 Gozando malicia almas secretas.

299.-A, 'Rejalgar' /B, 'malcuradas' /C, 'Amor' /D,
 'Sonlos'; 'devidas' /E, the 's' of 'glosando'
 has been converted from 'z' (cf. 300D) /F, 'Almas'
 /G, the 's' of 'asaltan' is akin to 'f' /H, 'El';
 'Rendida'.

300.-A, 'en bustes' /B, 'Razon' /C, 'coneste' /D,
 'glosamos'- first 's' has been converted from 'z';
 'sinson' /E, 'gozando'; 'lavida'; the first 'a'
 of 'nada' has been converted from 'o' /F, 'enfabor';
 'Razon' /G, 'Arguye'; 'milsetas' /H, 'Almas'.

301.

El espléndido Luzbel con fantasía
 Enbía correos a todas las naciones,
 Formando a los pechos vana fantasía,
 Ocupando las moradas presunções;
 A justo entender guiando falsía,
 Mandan los mandos representaciones;
 Glosando el pensamiento repentino,
 Manda el más sabio propio desatino.

302.

Perdiéndose las bacas al pastor,
 Búscalas engaño en nueva sierra,
 Sienpre las gritando el puro amor,
 A las veces con dolor de cruda gerra ;
 En justa valentía nunca vj mejor,
 Ni ay más valor en la larga tierra;
 Juntas las famas con buenos ademanes,
 Se hazen famosos muchos capitanes.

301.-A, 'luzbel' /B, 'atodas' /C, 'formando'; 'alos';
 'Vana' /D, 'o cupando' /F, 'Representaciones'
 /G, 'glosando'; 'Repentino'.

302.-A, 'Perdiendo selas'; 'Alpastor' /B, 'Buscalas'
 /C, 'Amor' /D, 'Alas' ; 'Vezes' ; 'condolor'
 /E, 'Valentia' ; 'Vj' /F, 'Valor' /G, 'conbuenos'.

303.

Formando vn blasón de casa y solar
 Mil escrivanos veys en tintero,
 Quiriendo trapaças luego mandar;
 Con ellas juntando estraño dinero,
 En carros trunfantes con rey razonar
 De vida sin vida veys vn parlero;
 Con tales enbustes nos manda razón,
 Siguiendo sus contrarios por blasón.

304.

Al sétino mes se parte Cupido
 De viejas moradas frías, sin amores;
 Tenblando el tal vestigio, otro zumbido
 Soplan al viento dos mil pundonores;
 Nunca mandando el amor conoçido,
 Rigen los falsos las penas mayores:
 Mandando el amor amorosas pasiones,
 Se gozan del amor muy dulçes razones.

303.-C, 'Trapaças' - the 'T' has been converted from
 'L'; 'Luego' /D, 'Conellas'; the 'a' of 'juntando'
 has been converted from 'o' /E, 'Rey'; 'Razonar'
 /F, 'Vn' /G, 'Contales'; 'en bustes'; 'Razon'.

304.-A, 'cupido' /B, 'Deviejas'; 'Amores' /C,
 'tenblando'; 'talvestigio' /D, 'Alviento' /E,
 'nunca' - the letters 'nu' have been completed by
 the addition of a thick stroke to former 'm', by a
 possible second hand; 'Amor' /G, 'Amorosas' /H,
 'Amor'; the letters 'çes' of 'dulçes' are not fully
 clear; 'Razones'.

305.

Ciega maestra de visos honrados,
 Nueva gordiana en viejo trasunto,
 Llegar no pudieran los más estimados
 En cumbre noble, en cantos sin punto;
 Mirad en malsín los visos manchados,
 Falsa vislunbre mortal en singulto;
 Nadie temiendo a Dios y sus reyes,
 Falta de amar la justicia y las leyes.

306.

En avsentē blason, flaco guerrero,
 El soldado callado haze el efeto;
 Es común vso en el hombre parlero
 Hablando dezir el propio defeto;
 La habla sin son no sigue el artero,
 Según que Pitágoras pinta preçeto:
 Si çiegas guían contino las danças,
 Vemos justicia sin peso y valanças.

305.-A, 'devisos'; 'honrrados' /B, the 'r' of 'gordiana' has been inserted with a caret, possibly by a second hand; 'vīejo' /C, 'llegar'; a letter has been struck out between 'u' and 'd' of 'pudieran', and 'i' inserted between original 'd' and 'e' /D, 'nobleen' /E, 'malson' /F, 'Vis Lunbre'; the 'u' of 'singulto' has been converted from 'a' /G, 'dios'; 'Reyes' /H, 'falta'; 'Amar'; 'Y'; 'Leyes'.

306.-A, 'Enavsentē' /B, 'Efeto' /C, 'enel' /F, 'pitagoras' /G, the 'a' of 'çiegas' has been converted from 'o'; 'danças' /H, 'sinpes oy'.

307.

Formó la natura dos mil tinajones,
 Gordazos, hinchados, sin fruto y saber;
 Repletos, rellenos, con vanas razones,
 Soberuía hinchada los haze valer;
 No vastan gordos ni sus hinchagones
 En cosas armadas nos dar parecer:
 Jamás los planetas mueven con peso,
 Antes rebuelben sin tal co_{nt}rapeso.

308.

Armados preçetos daua Canbises
 Al hijo persa, que fue tan guerrero,
 En do Xenofont escribe que avises
 Tomando de viejos algún consejero,
 Como la guía que al hijo de Anchises
 Guiara el camino do es el Cerbero;
 En la **gera** es ventaja saber pelear,
 Por saber escoger el tienpo y lugar.

307.-A, 'tinaJones' /B, 'gordazos' /C, 'Rellenos';
 'Razones' /D, 'Valer' /E, 'nisus' /F, 'Cosas';
 'Armadas' /G, 'Los'; 'mneven'; 'conpeso' /H,
 'Rebuelben'; 'corapeso'.

308.-A, 'dana'; 'canbises' /C, 'Endoxenofont' /D,
 'Viejos'; 'Algún' /E, 'Al' /F, 'Camino'; 'cerbero'
 /G, 'Ventaja' /H, 'ylugar'.

309.

Guiando los çiegos las vistas sin son,
 Ar/riman los pechos en suerte mudada;
 Escuro presagio, armando baldón,
 Haze la vida andar trastrocada;
 Mandando aparencias, duerme razón,
 Guiando maliçia el arma prendada:
 El ganado berboso, roñoso, yvernal,
 Cogeando, no sigue tras su mayoral.

310.

Los santos mandatos mandándonos Dios,
 Que puros y linpios sienpre sigamos,
 Todos veys claros, remedio de vos,
 Si bien seguimos la vida que vamos;
 Amando los viçios que siguen tras nos,
 La pura verdad contino çegamos;
 Arguyen los malos en vidas secretas
 Al novicio querer manadas de setas.

309.-A, 'Vistas'; 'sinson' /B, 'A Riman'; 'sierte'
 /C, 'Es curo'; 'Armando' /D, 'lavida'; 'Andar'
 /E, 'Razon' /F, 'Arma' /G, 'Roñoso'; 'yVernal'
 /H, beneath the second 'o' of 'Cogeando' appears a
 sign which could be an intended tail to the letter.

310.-A, 'mandandones'; 'dios' /C, 'todos'; 'Veys';
 'remedia'; 'devos' /D, 'lavida'; 'Vamos' /E,
 'Viçios'; 'trasnos' /F, 'puraverdad' /H, 'desetas'.

311.

Las tramas y tratos que tuuo el Amán
 Pensando encubrir soberuio rencor,
 Causando malicia contrario desmán,
 Mouido querer perdiendo el fabor,
 En esta justicia la muger trujamán
 Frunze lenguages en el mal pundonor;
 Mirando a Dios la dañada pasión,
 Los casos nefandos redime razón.

312.

Armando juyzio en buen documento,
 Sigue vn camino sin vista dañosa;
 Sentido falage al pensamiento
 Hurde en su trama la pena rabiosa;
 Estas son mezclas en tal fundamento
 Que miran espejo del alma tenblosa:
 Jamás los miedos turban los regidos,
 Sino donde ciegos van tras fementidos.

311.-A, 'Tramas'; 'tuuoel' /B, 'en cubrir'
 /D, 'mouido' /E, 'Enesta'; 'Justicia' /F,
 'lengnages'; 'enel' /G, 'Adios' /H, 'Razon'.

312.-A, 'Juyzio' - the 'y' has been amended; 'enbuen'
 /B, 'Signe'; 'Vn'; 'sin vista' /C, 'falage' - the
 'e' has been converted from 'a' /D, 'ensutrama'
 /G, 'Regidos' /H, 'Van'.

313.

Gula, lujuria, pereza y soberuia
 Y los otros consortes, siendo vezinos,
 Juntos los vimos mandando en la Trevia,
 Guiando deshorden en sus desatinos;
 Y el cónsul feroz, vençido por venia,
 Tachando el bulturno, huye caminos;
 Estando mirando en este remate,
 Al sabio guerrero pereza da mate.

314.

El rey de Ysrael que vimos tenblando,
 Preso, çerrado por culpa mandada,
 Luego redime pecado nefando,
 Siguiendo de Dios la vida reglada;
 Mandando maliçia seguir otro vando,
 Pierde razón en la vida mudada;
 Mirando a Cristo sin la vana pasión,
 Redime al morir mortal perdiçión.

313.-B, 'Vezinos' /C, 'Vímos'; 'trevia' /D, 'guiando';
 'de satinos' /E, 'ferez'; 'Vençido'; 'Venia' /F,
 'tachando' /G, 'Remate' /H, 'damate'.

314.-A, 'Rey'; 'deysrrael'; 'Vímos' /B, 'Pieso' /C,
 'Redíme'; 'ne fando' /D, 'dios'; 'lavida';
 'Reglada' /F, 'Razon'; 'enla' /G, 'cristo' /H,
 'Al'.

315.

El nieto bizarro del más justo Rey
 Glosando disfraces de mal pundonor,
 Haze mudanças, turbando la grey;
 Siguiendo consejos del pueblo peor,
 Creyendo a los moços, borrando la ley,
 De los doze los diez le pierden amor;
 Mudando contrastes amor en letijos,
 Veys nuevo amor buscar escondrijos.

316.

Vemos culebras comerse las ranas,
 Sin el rey Midas juntando tesoros;
 Gastando el bibir en cosas profanas,
 Traemos la vida peor que los moros;
 Naçen pendençias çeviles y vanas,
 Los males podridos causando mil llores:
 Por verse cunplidos los malos deseos
 Se buscan agora estraños rodeos.

315.-A, 'Bizarro'; 'Del'; 'Justo' /E, 'alos'; 'laley'
 /F, 'Delos'; 'Amor' /G, 'Amor' /H, 'Amor';
 'es condrijos'.

316.-A, 'comer selas'; 'Ranas' /B, 'Rey'; 'midas' /C,
 'gastando' /D, 'lavida' /E, 'Vanas' /F, 'llores'
 /G, 'Los' /H, 'Sebuscan'; 'Rodeos'.

317.

Pintando en la ley el propio querer,
 Anda malicia ar/r^{ollando} a justicia;
 Pueden los tuertos hazerse valer
 Do rige el derecho pura codicia:
 Bibiendo la pleue sin nada temer,
 Los tribunos con leyes son en pigricia;
 Las armas que arman en esta sazón
 Hazen contino en el alma borrón.

318.

Fingendo natura modos perplexos,
 Las fábulas cantan sentidos estraños;
 Criando contino los males anexos,
 Se guían enbustes, enredos y engaños;
 Do ya discuerdan los hombres añejos,
 Nadie no mira el mal ni sus daños:
 Gozando dislates propia pintura,
 Hazen contrastes remedio a la cura.

317.-B, 'a Rollando' /C, 'tieirtos'; 'Valer' /D,
 'Rige' /F, 'sonen' /G, 'Arman'; 'enesta' /H,
 'haz en'; 'enel'.

318.-D, 'Seguian'; 'en bustes'; 'En redos' /E,
 'Añejos' /F, 'El'; 'nisus' /G, 'gozando' /H,
 'hazen'; 'Remedio'; 'Alacura'.

319.

Vimos a Craso, su alma sangrienta,
 Mover la codiç/*i*7a guerra a los partos;
 Maliçia presentē coge su renta
 De vidas noturnas y pechos no hartos;
 Mil troques, baybenes allj representa
 Cauallo feroz, muy lleno de quartos:
 El hombre rico, estando perdido,
 Muda el saber en falso sentido.

320.

Sj ley con derecho se deue ronper,
 Dixo el gran Çésar, será por mandar;
 Senbrando en sazón, podrás reccger,
 Mas es menester lo mejor cultiuar;
 Quien anda justo no puede perder,
 Ní con la anbiçión lo ageno robar:
 Siguiendo el querer guerras tras muros,
 Andan los çiegos, blasfemos, perjuros.

319.-B, 'mover'; 'codiça' — the 'd' has been imperfectly converted from a small 'B'; 'alos' /C, 'Renta' /D, 'Vidas'; 'no turnas' /G, 'Rico'.

320.-A, 'Ronper' — the letters 'er' have been converted from 're' /B, 'çesar'; 'serapor' /C, 'Recoger' /E, 'Anda' /F, 'conla'; 'Anbiçion'; 'Robar' /H, 'perJuros' — the 'J' has a long tail, as does the minuscule in the earlier part of the MS. text.

321.

Jamás no creas la virtud de Catón,
 Çiñendo Catón la çinta polida,
 Sin fee nadie puede seguir buen blasón,
 Ni falsa razón guiar justa vida;
 ¿Queréys claro ver mortal su razón?
 Mirad en pasión la vida rendida;
 Rinden el querer de amores libianos
 Entrañas podridas y hechos profanos.

322.

Los leones, los pardos y honças, panteras,
 Los osos, los tigres, también elefantes,
 El arte los doma sin gentes **gerreras** ,
 Forçando la maña fuerças pujantes;
 No puede razón domar estas fieras,
 ¡Que siruan a Dios, sin ser manicantes!
 Todo lo crió Dios al hombre sugeto,
 Mas luego lo pie/rde el falso conçeto.

321.-A, 'lavirtud'; 'caton' /B, 'Çíneñdo'; 'caton'
 /D, 'Razon'; 'Vida' /E, 'Ver' /F, 'mirad';
 'enpasión'; 'la vida'; 'Rendida'.

322.-B, 'Lososos' — the first and second 's' have been
 converted from 'l' and 'j', respectively; 'loš'
 (the latter); 'Elefantes' /C, 'artelos'
 /D, 'forçando' /E, 'puede'; 'Razon'; 'fieras' /F,
 'dios'; the 'c' of 'manicantes' is akin in form to
 following 't' /G, 'diós' /H, 'mas'; 'Luego'; 'piede'.

323.

Tramando tramas los çiegos mu/ⁿdanos,
 Los lobos sentidos andan turbados;
 Çegando a los pasos modos ynsanos,
 Los modos atroçes engañan cuytados;
 Mandando el deseo hechos profanos,
 Guiando la vía los visos maluados,
 Çiegan con codiçia las memorias
 Las partes apartadas donde ay glorias.

324.

Muchos Anteos luchando reynauan,
 Sj las flacas fuerças vençen Alçeo;
 Do lucha tropieça, los buenos tenblaban,
 Gozando los lobos su hambre y deseo;
 Ansj los ganados perdidos andauan,
 Buscando Medusa la faz de Perseo:
 Los lebreles de raza dan tras la presa,
 Mas los otros golosos guardan la mesa.

323.-A, 'mūdanos' /B, 'Andan' /E, 'mandando' /F,
 'laVia'; 'Visos' /H, 'dondeay'.

324.-A, 'Reynauan' /C, 'DoLucha' /D,
 an 'l' has been struck out between the 'G' and
 the first 'o' of 'Gozando' /E, 'Andauan' /F,
 'medusa'; 'deperseo' /G, 'Razadan' /H, 'mas'.

325.

Clamores del abismo oyo cada punto,
 Alterados con demandas del dinero,
 Sin el sieruo diez, viejo, defunto;
 Mas cara nueva del viso parlero
 De viejos reproches es el trasunto,
 Robos de Marte, pobre cauallero;
 Siendo los soldados mal pagados,
 Roban contino sin ser castigados.

326.

Mamando la leche al viejo rebaño,
 Luys y Guillermo, pastores estraños,
 Las tripas y coles picauan en daño
 De çarças podridas que comen picaños;
 Tales trastroques se bañan en vaño
 Contrario de amor, gozando tacaños;
 Engendran de padres estraños letijos
 Terremotos criados en pechos de hijos.

325.-A, 'abis mo'; 'oyocada' /C, 'Viejo' /D, 'Cara' -
 the 'C' has been converted from 'l' and preceding
 'c' erased; 'delviso' /E, 'Viejos'; 'Reproches'
 /F, 'marte'.

326.-A, 'lale che'; a letter has been struck out after
 'viejo'; 'Rebaño' /B, the letters 'ys' of 'Luys'
 have been inserted over an erasure; 'guiller
 mopastores' /C, 'Los'; 'En' /D, 'çarças' /E,
 'Vaños' /F, 'Amor' /G, 'depadres'; 'Letijos'
 /H, 'terremotos'.

327.

Todo el mundo está sosegado,
 Con yngenio y dotrinas y saber al rincón,
 Nadie mostrando estar alterado,
 Guiando al mundo vana presunçión;
 Vida en el bibir de morir vedado
 Nos haze contrastes en tal deuisión;
 Correos en galas de mal pensamiento
 Nos pintan pres/a/gios a mal documento.

328.

Circe goza el mañoso greçiano
 Y en los compañeros trasforma figura;
 Fantasma estrañas y seso libiano
 Gozan maldades en propia pintura;
 Mirando, notad del seso profano
 Que, sin se mudar, es forma no pura:
 Sj el firme guerrero nunca desmaya,
 El prudente saber leyenda no caya.

327.-A, 'mando'; 'este' /B, 'Rinçon' /D, 'mando' /E,
 'enel'; 'de' has been inserted between and above
 'bibir' and 'morir', possibly by a second hand; an
 'r' has been struck out between the 'e' and the
 first 'd' of 'vedado' /F, 'Noshaze' — the 's' has
 apparently been inserted after the original script
 /G, 'engalas' /H, 'presgios' — a caret appears over
 the 'g'; 'Amal documento'.

328.-A, 'Carces'; 'manosos' /B, 'enlos' /C, 'Libiano'
 /E, 'mirando'; 'delseso' /F, 'Quesin' /G,
 an 's' has been struck out at the end of 'guerrero';
 'nuncades maya' /H, 'legunda'.

329.

Mudando los persas antigua manida,
 De lexos aspira el propio ynterés;
 Andando malhorden guiando la vida,
 Calmando en poder contrario través,
 Rige la vida miseria regida
 Sj forma la vida bibir al rebés;
 Mudando mudança el reyno tan ancho,
 Trabado al pie creys con el gancho.

330.

Pintada vieja, moça repentina,
 Nos arma vanidades de repente;
 Publica hechos que razón motina
 Vieja enmascar/a7da en açidente;
 Muda en tierra armas de marina
 Turbia perdiçión en la creçiente:
 Al çiego armado vemos tras paredes,
 Tramando armas en hilos de redes.

329.-B, 'Delexos' /C, 'Vida' /E, 'lavidā'; 'Regida'
 /F, 'Lavidā'; a letter has been struck out at the
 end of 'al'; 'Rebes' /G, 'mudando'; 'Reyno';
 'Ancho' /H, 'trabado' — the 'o' has been converted
 from a former letter; 'Alpie'.

330.-A, 'Viejamoça' /B, 'Vanidādes'; 'deRepante' /C,
 'Razon' /D, 'en mas carda'; 'Açidente' /E, 'tierca';
 'Armas' /F, a word, apparently in a second hand,
 has been lightly erased at the end of the line /G,
 'Vemos'; 'trasparedes' /H, 'Armas'; 'deRedes'.

331.

Luzero escuro, armas endormidas,
 Vasallo claro vemos de traydores,
 Armando red las almas podridas,
 Jamás mirando los propios amores;
 Armas contrarias, gentes sin vidas
 Nos arma maldad con falsos primores,
 La sangre real turbando maraña,
 Trama falida de falsa magaña.

332.

Siendo muy tiernos, pequeños los años,
 Los viejos refranes mamauan los niños;
 Las viejas contavan cuentos estraños,
 Moviendo niñez a buenos cariños:
 Enseñan los cuentos graues engaños,
 Que amor en sus masas haze disifños;
 Razón que mandaua mandones señores
 Regir ya no puede a pobres pastores.

331.-A, the 'z' of 'Luzero' has been inserted over 's';
 the 'o' of 'escuro' has been converted from a
 former letter. /B, 'vasallo'; 'Vemos' /C, 'Redlas' —
 the 'a' has been converted from 'o' /D, 'Amores'
 /E, 'sinvidas' /G, 'Real'.

332.-A, 'Años' /B, 'Viejos'; 'Refranes'; 'ninōs' /C,
 'Viejas'; 'conta Van'; 'Cuentos' /D, 'moviendo';
 'niñeza'; 'Carinos' /F, 'AmorEnsusmasas' — an erasure
 has been made between 'Amor' and 'masas', and 'Ensus'
 inserted. This example constitutes one of the
 clearest indications of a second hand in the MS. text
 (cf. 327-36 and 380-2, in which consistent alterations
 to the text are made). /H, 'yano'; 'Aprobres'.

333.

Mísera vida en falso ditado,
 Zah/ār/eña presunción, vano trasunto,
 Fingen fantasmas al propio treslado,
 Que goza el engaño el tal contrapunto;
 Pintado en magaña hecho tramado,
 Al claro veréys faltar todo junto;
 Arguyendo sin razón la voluntad,
 Con mezclas pintadas manda ruyndad.

334.

En la morysma vn nuevo vaquero,
 Yerno de Antón, cerca tramontana,
 Jugando a la chueca, se torna ventero;
 Tales pastores, por cosa libiana,
 Hazen apodos, pisando el lindero,
 Formando entremés a vida profana;
 Sj el viejo pastor es moço juglar,
 Contino veréys las ovejas baylar.

333.-A, 'Vida' /B, 'Zahēña'; 'Vano' /C, 'fingen'
 /F, 'Vereys' /G, 'Razon'; 'lavoluntad'
 /H, 'Ruyndad' — the 'n' has been amended.

334.-A, 'Enla'; 'Morayna' /B, 'yerno'; 'anton' /C,
 'Juzgando'; 'alachueca'; 'Ventero' /D, 'Libiana'
 /E, 'hazen'; 'Apodos'; 'El'; 'Lindero' /F, 'A';
 'Vida' /G, 'Viejo'; 'Jnglar' /H, 'Baylar'.

335.

Cuenta el bulgo algunas resultas,
 Cuenta çerrada muy claro con viçio,
 Formando en contrario estrañas minutas
 La carga pesada de gran artifiçio;
 Çerrando las claues barajas ocultas,
 Juntando plazerer algùn malefiçio,
 Mirando a los pies picantes abrojos,
 Muy claro veys el alma en despojos.

336.

El blanco moro manchado que veys,
 Viso çíclope con vanos antojos,
 Oprouio en baldón a la lar/g/a veréys,
 Engendrar a los pechos canños enojos;
 Mil casos remotos allj notaréys,
 Pues çiegos sin vista nos abren los ojos;
 Los negros, blancos, tanbién medio loros,
 Robaron de Midas estraños tesoros.

335.-B, 'çerra de'; the 'o' of 'claro' has been inserted over 'a'; 'conviçio' /C, 'formando' /D, 'degran' - the 'r' has been converted from 'u', possibly by a second hand (cf. 336B, C); 'Artifiçio' /F, 'Algun' /G, 'alos' /H, 'muy'; 'Veys'; 'El'; 'Alma'; 'endespojos'.

336.-A, 'Blanco'; 'queveys' /B, 'viso' - the first three letters have been inserted over an erasure, possibly by a second hand; 'Antojos' /C, 'alalara' - the first 'a' has been added and the last 'a' converted from 'o', both alterations appearing to be of a second hand; 'Vereys' /D, 'alos' /E, 'mil'; 'Casos'; 'Remotos' /F, 'sin vista'; 'abrenlos' /G, the last three letters of 'negros' have been inserted over an erasure; 'Loros' /H, 'demidas'.

337.

Máscaras de villetes veys agora,
 Enbustes vanos, alta presunçión;
 Tales redes mart/ir/izan la Señora,
 Marcando marcas de la perdiçión:
 Vana altivez, rigendo cada ora,
 Anda confusa, tonta de pasión;
 Falsos circ/ū/nloquios, mundo vano,
 Enredan enredos al viso profano.

338.

Son sin cuentos millares de ducados,
 Gastados, hundidos sin horden ny ley;
 Siendo los soldados mal pagados,
 Son cuentas oscuras que turban la grey:
 Reproches alteros, pobres, lastimados,
 Los continos clamores llegan al Rey;
 Formando la verdad el bulgo parlero,
 Luego lo glosa vn mal lisongero.

337.-B, 'En bustes'; 'Vanos' /C, 'Redes'; 'martizan';
 'señora' /D, 'marcando'; 'dela' /E, the 'n' of
 'Vana' has been converted from 'd', the top of the
 original letter remaining visible; 'altiviez';
 'Rigendo' /F, 'depasion' /G, 'ciranloquios';
 'Vano' /H, 'En Redan'; 'En Redos'.

338.-A, 'Sin' /B, 'gastados' /G, 'laverdad' /H, 'Vn';
 'Lisongero'.

339.

Glosando el bulgo todo lo perdido,
 Nadie turba tan claro caballero,
 En honra y prez gallardo muy temido,
 Justo cristiano, amigo limosnero,
 Espejo de la vida tan querido,
 De su Rey y patria más claro luzero;
 Mezclas de hijos y vida mentirosa
 Forma en la verdad vida viçiosa.

340.

Dexando mil disfraces de mentiras
 Lisongeras, vanas, llenas de pasión,
 Recojamos el contrario de las yras,
 Sin la vana altibeza y presunçión;
 Con viso çertero veys las viras
 Tirando derechas en la perdiçión;
 Con flechas de vn armado lisongero
 Los fuertes petos se pasan de ligero.

339.-C, 'honrra'; 'yprez' /D, 'Amigo' /E, 'lavida';
 'tanquerido' — the 'o' has been converted from
 a former letter /F, 'Desu' /G, the 'j' of
 'hijos' has been converted from 'h' /H, 'forma';
 'En'; 'laverdad'.

340.-B, 'Vanas'; 'depasion' /C, 'Reco jamos'; 'delas'
 /D, 'Sinlavana'; 'Altibeza' /E, 'Conviso'; 'Veys';
 'Viras' /G, 'devn'; 'Armado'; 'Lisongero' /H,
 'deligero'.

345.

¿Cómo se puede ganar fortaleza,
 Villa, castillo, nj casa murada,
 Estando en Marte tanta tibieza
 Y la madre Velona dormir reposada?
 En cuerpos rendidos vsando crueza,
 Son sjlogismos en arma manchada;
 Pierde la desorden muchos yspanos,
 Sin ellos mostrar el valor con las manos.

346.

Remedio tardío en cánçer negrido,
 Verdugos en los pechos soñolentos
 El tribuno y legado enpedernido,
 En el pecho, con los mandos tan esentos,
 Los ritos de Bilhán, con amor dormido,
 Mandando la deshorden sin cimientos,
 El remedio oscuro no puede acomodar
 Sj lo oscuro reluze en el lunar.

345.-A, 'forteleza' /C, 'marte' /D, 'Reposada' /E, 'Rendidos' ;
 'Vsando'; 'Crueza' /F, 'Sonsj logismos'; 'Arma'
 /G, 'desordenen'; 'yspaños' /H, 'Ellos'; 'elvalor'.

346.-A, 'encinçer' /C, 'ylegado'; 'Enpedernido' /D,
 'Enel'; 'conlos'; 'Esentos' /E, 'Ritos'; 'bilhan';
 'Amor' /F, 'mandando' /G, 'Remedio'; 'nopuede';
 'A comodar' /H, 'Reluze'; 'enel'; 'Lunar'.

347.

El nuevo timón, de alma nerona,
 Vimos ymitando al enxemplo cruel,
 Ynica , malina , nefanda persona,
 Buenos con malos traçando en nibel,
 El piloto barquero de barca carona,
 Soberuio, falsario, dañado Luzbel;
 Mataua su hanbre el tonto sin tino
 En sangre humana, con rostro mohino.

348.

Vn otro pastor que veys monteando,
 Solo, marrido, sin guarda nj apero,
 Rumiano sin sal, cayado tirando,
 Harria el ganado, no pisa lindero,
 La honda, zurrón, rabel, va dexando,
 Guiando mil tranpas amor lisongero;
 Comie/n̄do los lovos el hato mejor,
 No sabē dō pone los pies el pastor.

347.-A, 'nueVo' /B, 'ymantando'; 'Enxemplo' /C,
 'Yuica' - the 'c' has been converted from former
 'cu' or 'ci', possibly by a second hand /D,
 'tracando' /E, 'barça' /F, the last letter of
 'Soberuio' has been converted from 'a'; 'Dañado'
 /G, 'sintino' /H, 'Rostro'.

348.-A, 'Vnotro' /B, the scribe has written 'S olo',
 but between the 'S' and the first 'o' has been
 inserted another, unrecognisable letter, possibly
 by a second hand /C, 'cuyado' /D, 'hurria';
 'pisalindero' /E, 'zuiron'; 'Rabel'; 'Va' /F,
 'Amor'; 'Lisongero' /G, 'Comiedo'; 'Los'; 'lo Vos';
 'El'; 'ha tomejor' /H, 'dopone'.

349.

Las grjegas efigies azotando las mares,
 La sangre troyana vengando perdidos,
 Los altos poderes perdieran mandares,
 Alçados trofeos siendo falidos;
 Con falso blasón blasonan hablares
 De pechos dañados y rostros marridos;
 No peleando por Dios nj por Rey,
 El viso zah/ar⁷eño manda en la grey.

350.

Vimos patente los Martes de España,
 Famosos en Malta con justa razón,
 Y la fuerça y valor quel turco aconpaña
 Haziendo en virtud mortal paragón,
 Sin los otros barones de fama y hazaña,
 Que fueron de çitas mortal perdiçión;
 Sj los pechos de Marte son los reparos,
 Guarda la honra los ánimos caros.

349.-A, the 'j' of 'grjegas' has been converted from
 'i'; 'Efigies'; 'maras' /B, 'Lasangre'; 'Vengando'
 /D, 'Alcados' /E, 'falsoblason' — the 'b' has
 been converted from a former, unrecognisable letter
 /F, 'Rostros' /G, 'dios' /H, 'Elviso'; 'zaheño';
 'En'; 'Grey'.

350.-A, 'martes'; 'españa' /B, 'malta'; 'Razon' /D, 'haziendo';
 'envirtud' /E, 'Y' /G, 'marte'; 'Reparos' /H,
 'honrralos'; 'Animos'.

351.

Fingendo trofeos en el mar elado,
 Blasona del Rey vn pobre pecador,
 Ardid falido de pecho manchado
 Fundando mil reynos con suerte mejor;
 El moço tonto, del mando cansado,
 Jamás no mira en casa el temor;
 Navegando el mar con todos vientos,
 Pensando saber se fingen yntentos.

352.

Los fuertes braços, en santa yntención,
 Vençieron los moros en tantas batallas;
 Los tales guerreros, con santa razón,
 Ronpían arneses con petos y mallas;
 Presente malicia, con falso blasón,
 Nos haze contino hazer muchas fallas:
 Peleando pocos, pagando doblado,
 Haze mil faltas capitán aprouado.

351.-A, 'Elado' /B, the letters 'la' of 'Blasona' have been amended /C, 'depecho' /D, 'Reynos'; 'sierte' /G, the 'e' of 'Navegando' has been converted from a former letter; 'contodos'; 'Vientos'.

352.-B, 'entantas' /C, 'Razon' /D, 'Arneses'; 'conpetos' /E, the word 'falso' has been inserted above and between 'con' and 'blason', probably by a second hand.

353.

A Marte furibundo biles romanos,
 Sin tilde nj jota, contaúan a punto,
 Siempre contando al número sanos;
 Ynútil milicia pagando por junto
 Galardón a los buenos, sin parte los vanos,
 Mirad pues, agora, en este trasunto;
 Guiando en la guerra claros borrones,
 Jamás faltará de aver perdiçiones.

354.

Los muertos ya bibos lebantando
 Sin espanto las pinturas y trasuntos,
 Admiran las efigies, remirando,
 Pobres, muertos, viejos ya difuntos,
 Tras motos de regiones ya tornando
 Los mesmos huydos, hallados a los puntos,
 Enfermedades sanando los perplexos,
 Glosando en los açentos çirconflexos.

353.-A, 'bilos'; 'Romanos' /B, 'Sintildenj'; 'apunto'
 /E, 'galardon'; 'alos'; 'Vanos' /H, 'deaver'.

354.-C, 'Admirando'; 'Efigies'; 'Remirando' /D,
 'meurtos'; 'Viejos'; the word 'ya' has been
 inserted, probably by a second hand, after the
 original script /E, 'Trasmotos'; 'deRegiones'
 /F, 'alos' /G, 'En fer medades' /H, the 's'
 of 'Glosando' has been converted from 'z'; 'Enlos';
 'Açetos'; 'çircon flexos'.

355.

El nuevo griego castigo en baldón,
 En rigor ynsolente es el testigo
 Rabiosa, barbaria, mortal presunción;
 Allj no perdona de nadie castigo,
 Los hijos matando, robando en razón
 En amor natural los amores que sigo;
 Con túrbido amor de vanos antojos,
 Estando tan tonto, os ciegan los ojos.

356.

Trunfosa estaua fortuna cruel
 Con Agar de Ysmael, adúltero a Sarra;
 Pintando trofeos de Gelues y Argel
 La rueda girada, tirando la barra,
 Traçando mil hechos con falso pinzel,
 Sin golpe herir nos prende en esbarra;
 Fiando el amor en la vana fortuna,
 Nunca days horden en cosa ninguna.

355.-B, 'Rigor'; 'ynsolentees' - the second 'e' has been amended /C, 'Rabíosa' /E, 'Robando'; 'Razon' /F, 'Amor'; 'naturallos'; 'Amores'; 'quesigo' /G, 'Amor'; 'devanos'; 'Antijos' /H, 'tantonto'; 'osçiegan'; 'o jos'.

356.-A, the 'a' of 'Trunfosa' has been converted from 'o' /B, 'agarde ys maEl'; 'Adultero'; 'Asarra' /C, 'degelues'; 'yargel' /D, 'LaRueda'; 'gírada' /E, 'Tracando' /F, 'golphe'; 'prendeem'; 'Esbarra' /G, 'Amor' /H, 'Cosa'.

357.

En armas romanas robos mugeriles,
 Arguyen harpías al viejo Fineo,
 La mesa real ensuciando viles
 Ladrones guerreros con falso rodeo;
 Los tales cosarios, ganando barriles,
 Con falsos ardides enredan deseo;
 Ladrones ~~gerreros~~ es vn propio tema,
 Fuego ençendido sin arder los quema.

358.

Contaua el rey Creso muy rico su aver
 Al sabio Solón, filósofo raro;
 Luego allj vimos eclisando el poder,
 Tornada fortuna en término amaro:
 Esclauo del mundo es el vano tener
 Sj con las riquezas está tan abaro;
 Perdidos ya vimos ganando dineros
 Y muchos ganados perdiendo mineros.

357.-A, 'Armas'; 'Romanas'; 'Robos' /B, 'Alviejo';
 'fineo' /C, 'Real'; 'en suçiando'; 'Viles' /D,
 'Rodeo' /F, 'Ardides'; 'en Redan'
 /H, the word 'Y' has been struck out at the beginning
 of the line by a possible second hand; 'fuego' ; 'Arder';
 'losquema'.

358.-A, 'Contauael' - the letters 'el' has been converted
 from 'r'; 'Rey'; 'creso'; 'Rico'; 'suaver' /B,
 'Alsabio'; 'solon'; 'Raro' /C, 'Allj'; 'Vimos' - the
 'i' has been converted from 'e'; the letters 'is' of
 'eclisando' have been inserted over one former letter
 /D, 'Amaro' /E, 'Vano' /F, 'Riquezas'; the 'r' of 'abaro'
 has been amended /G, 'yavimos' /H, the 'o' of
 'ganados' has been amended; 'perdiendo'.

359.

Muros semiranos fueron forçados,
 Siendo la forja de masa tan dura,
 También los de Troya, por Febo trabados,
 Pintando el ciego la clara pintura;
 ¿Pues cómo será de los mal fabricados,
 Siendo forjados de arena tan pura?
 Por Marte serán reprouados los hechos
 Que sin el conbate son ya deshechos.

360.

Muros de Corinto y Atenas derribados,
 Essemplo claro y nuevo sentido
 Glosen al punto los más estimados;
 En falsos teatros, con ver fementido,
 Aguza malicia sus más estremados,
 Que gozan la gloria de amor atrebido;
 Los moços y viejos más llenos de canas
 Hazen sepulcros de cosas muy vanas.

359.-A, 'semíranos' /B, 'tandura' /C, 'detroya';
 'porfebo' /E, 'delos' /F, 'Arena'; 'tranpura'
 /G, 'marte'; 'Reprouados' /H, 'sonya'; 'des hechos'.

360.-A, 'corintio'; 'ya tenas'; the letters 'rr' of
 'derribados' have been converted from 'n' /B,
 'Essimpla' - the 'p' has been inserted, probably
 by a second hand, over a former letter; 'claray' -
 the 'y' has apparently been inserted after the
 original script; 'nuevosentido' /C, 'glosenal';
 'puntolos' /D, 'verfementido' /E, 'Aguze';
 'es tremados' /F, 'Amor'; the 'r' of 'atrebido' has
 been inserted above the 'e', possibly by a second
 hand /G, 'Viejos'; 'decanas' /H, 'Hazensepulcros';
 'Vanas'.

361.

Vençiendo sanitas, a Fabio castiga
 Papirio el Cursor con horden de guerra,
 La alta vitoria tornando enemiga
 Do brabo conbate vençidos a tierra;
 Ruego del viejo al viejo mitiga,
 Y al fuerte barón del campo destierra;
 Adonde miliçia conbate en razón,
 Castigan deshorden tras cada rincón.

362.

En cursos de años perdieron los persas
 Los reynos famosos ganados de Çiro;
 Malos gouiernos en cosas aduersas
 Acaban poderes, según claro miro;
 Malos ministros, fiçiones peruersas,
 Que van tan sj/ $\bar{n}$ 7 horden, faltan el tiro:
 Siguiendo la plūma casos gentiles,
 En ellos profaça los hechos muy viles.

361.-A, 'sanites'; 'afabio' /B, 'cursor'; 'deguerra'
 /C, 'Vitoria' /D, 'Vençidos' - the 'd' has been
 converted from 'c' or 'a'; 'Atierra' /E, the 'j' of 'viejo'
 (the latter) has been inserted over an erasure /G,
 'Razon' /H, 'Rincon'.

362.-A, 'De'; 'Anos' /B, 'Reynos'; 'çiro' /E, the 'o'
 of 'ministros' has been converted from 'a' /F,
 'Van'; 'tansj' /H, 'Enellos'; 'heços'; 'Viles'.

363.

Al padre y Brásyda/s̄ vemos trocados
 Do sigue parte contraria conçejo;
 Rabiosos yndiçios roban estados,
 Armando consejo, ydo el vencejo;
 No va Casandra tra/s̄ los ostinados,
 Antes contraría contrario co/n̄sejo:
 Pintan figuras tal ser figurado,
 Que muestran al ojo el caso pintado.

364.

El nuevo mundo buscando Cartago,
 Pierde Platón con falto entremés;
 Ninguno pasará tal punto con mago
 Como el maestro contrario en rebés;
 Nadie al malhecho dará su descargo,
 Vençiendo razón vano ynterés:
 Vençe pecunia los malos cristianos,
 Guiando deseos de términos vanos.

363.-A, 'braçayda'; 'Vemos' /B, 'signe' /C, 'Rabíosos';
 'yndiçíos'; 'Roban' /D, the 's' of 'consejo' has
 been converted from 'c', and is a long 's';
 'Vencejo' /E, 'casandra'; 'tralos' /F, the last
 letter of 'contraria' has been converted from 'o';
 'cōsejo' /H, 'alojo'.

364.-A, 'cartago' /B, 'Píerde'; 'platon'; 'confalto'
 /D, 'al'; 'Rebes' /E, 'sudes cargo' /F, 'Razon';
 'Vano' /G, 'Los' /H, 'guiando'; 'Vanos'.

365.

Guiando el viçio los ánimos preñados,
 Rigendo tenplarios viejos açidentes,
 Con falsos toques traen engañados
 Reportes, simulacros de valientes;
 Los casos suçedidos son prendados,
 Trasformado el mandar de los regentes;
 Dizen nimos, tenplando las cançiones,
 Hazen al mundo mil túrbidos sonos.

366.

Falsa alegría es dulce compañera,
 Alibiando los trabajos de repente;
 En el corrido curso es lisongera,
 Pues goza sin saber el mal ausente;
 Vemos su simiente tan artera
 Que pinta color al fuego ardiente:
 Sin saber amadores fingimientos,
 Nos finge el coraçon dos mil yntentos.

365.-A, 'Guíando'; 'Viçio' /B, 'Rigen do'; 'Viejos'
 /D, 'devalientes' - the last 'e' has been converted
 from 'a' /F, 'El'; 'delos'; 'Regentes' /G, 'Dezen';
 'nnmos'; 'tienplando'; 'çançiones'.

366.-C, 'Enel'; 'Corrido'; 'Lísongera' /D, 'sinsaber'
 /G, 'Amadores' /H, 'fingeel'.

367.

Peleando valor sin ver vn medroso,
 Matando mil fieras sin nunca faltar,
 Los cursos guiando el amor animoso
 En las santas querellas del túrbido mar,
 Con armas famosas del Rey poderoso
 Vençe los dragos el valor sin volar;
 Mas otros monteros, con arte mañosa,
 Huyen contino la falsa raposa.

368.

Mirando prosapia de hechos pasados,
 Es vida de vida prudente valor;
 Lisonja y malsines veys desarmados,
 Trasformando viçios de mal pundonor;
 Guían lo turbio ~~caninos~~ pecados
 Con los çiegos puntos del viejo rencor:
 Trasmudan los contrastes de tal gloria
 La réal presentación en la memoria.

367.-A, 'Valor' /C, 'guíando'; 'Amor'; 'Animoso' /D,
 'Enlas' /F, 'Vençelos'; 'sinvolar' /G, 'conarte'
 /H, 'Raposa'.

368.-A, an 'r' has been inserted, by the scribal hand,
 above and between the first 'a' and the 'p' of
 'prosapia' /B, 'Vida'; 'devida'; 'Valor' /C,
 'mal sinees'; 'Veys' /D, 'Viçios' /E, 'turbió';
 'canínos' /F, 'viego'; 'Rencor' /G, 'Tras mudan'
 /H, 'Real'; 'presentación'.

369.

En las eras doradas, sin aver los hierros,
 Las madres criaúan al pecho mil hijos,
 Las ovejas se andauan sin cencerros,
 Las bacas naçían sin aver cortijos,
 Los solanos andaua/n̄ por los cerros,
 Durmiendo Netuno sin aver letijos;
 /Mirad/ pues, agora, cómo andaréys más,
 Yendo para delante o tornando atrás?

370.

En gerra los momos vemos co/n̄ gigantes,
 Tropellando a momos su mal desatino;
 Los hechos atroçes vemos muy trunfantes,
 Guiando las espías mal camino:
 Mueren estremos y pechos baçilantes,
 Semejança presente a vn mal distino;
 De almas muy preñadas tienpo feo,
 Se goza la deshonna en tal trofeo.

369.-A, 'averlos' /B, the 'l' of 'mil' has been amended
 /C, 'seandauan'; 'sençerros' /D, 'baças' - the
 second 'a' has been imperfectly converted to 'p',
 possibly by a second hand; the tail of the 'j' of
 'cortijos' has been amended /E, 'Las solanao';
 'Anduuo' - the erroneous ending is probably by
 analogy with 'ne tuuo' /F, 'ne tuuo'; 'sina
 verletijos' - the 'e' of 'letijos' has been converted
 from 'a' /G, the scribe appears to have mistakenly
 omitted the first word (/Mirad/) of a phrase which
 occurs regularly in this context; 'Pues'; 'Andareys'
 /H, 'Yen do'; 'Atras'.

370.-A, 'Vemos'; 'cōgigantes' /B, 'amomos' /C,
 the word 'Los' has been added by the scribe, apparently
 after the original script; 'Hechos'; 'Atroçes'; 'Vemos'
 /D, 'Las' /E, 'baçilantes' /F, 'avn' /G, 'Almas';
 'tíenpo' /H, 'Segoza'; 'deshonrra'.

371.

Comio atrebate veys ya jurado
 De no uer jamás el viso romano;
 Veys el trasunto y claro dechado
 En trunfo claro, consejo profano,
 Nueva fantasma de viso pintado,
 Marca ya vieja que /ē/ntranpa libiano;
 Con clara vislunbre en falta verdad
 Veys vn jndiçio de tonta maldad.

372.

No sigo tru/n̄fos, ni siete planetas,
 Ni nuevas morales en tal armonía;
 Menos publica palabras secretas
 Mi pluma, con moços formando profía;
 Cantando con voces claras, muy netas,
 Blasfemo mundanos, seguir fantasía:
 Ansí, sin dezir el caso a ninguno,
 Paso el camino sin ver ynportuno.

371.-A, 'Jurado' /B, 'elviso'; 'Romano' /C, 'transunto';
 'deschado' /E, 'deviso' /F, 'Vieja'; 'quentranpa';
 'Libiano' /G, 'claravis Lunbre' /H, 'detonta'.

372.-A, 'Sigo'; 'trufos' /B, 'nuevos' /D, 'Mipluma'
 /E, 'convozes' /G, 'Aninguno' /H, 'Camino';
 'sinver'.

373.

Al veloce mancebo del carro sin guía
 Lloro el padre la honra que diera;
 Jubenil arrogancia veys en profía
 Hazer sin trofeos estraña chimera;
 Llorando mil quexus de noche y de día,
 Combaten sin liza armados de guerra:
 Guiando el efeto valor con saber,
 Veys ynorancia los estriuos perder.

374.

Bodas hizieron los djoses noturnos,
 Llamando Mercurio a todos por voces;
 Hizieron sus ligas sin ser casj vnos,
 Sin firme firmeza, los pechos atrozes;
 Siguen sus sinos al correr ynportunos,
 Los hechos sin vista estando ferozes:
 Las bodas sin Dios engendran pasiones,
 Que naçe adulterio a tales razones.

373.-A, 'Veloce'; 'Carro' — the 'C' has been converted from 'cl', and the second 'r' has been amended; 'singua' /B, 'llorael'; 'honrra' /C, 'Jubeuillarrogancia'; 'Veys'; 'enprofia' /D, 'sintrofeos' /E, 'llorando'; 'día' /F, 'Liza'; 'Armados' /G, 'consaber' /H, 'Ynorancia'; 'Los'; 'Estriuos'.

374.-A, 'hizieran' (cf. C) /B, 'llamando'; 'mercurio'; 'Voces' /C, 'Ligas'; 'Vnos' /D, 'Los'; the 'p' of 'pechos' is indistinct; 'a trozes' /E, 'alcorrer' /F, 'sinvista' /G, 'dios' /H, 'atales'; 'Razones'.

375.

Nadie sin Dios es justo cunplido,
 Sin él es escoria el oro preçioso,
 Contraría razones deseo falido;
 Jamás sin Dios ay amor temeroso,
 Ni aplace a Dios el saber sin sentido,
 Que es falso metal de mundo viçioso:
 Mezclando la miel con hiel y con palo,
 Se halla remedio al próximo malo.

376.

En las viejas pasiones deçifrando,
 Los días tornamos en túrbidas noches;
 Vanas fantasmas su seso soñando,
 A las vezes por mar andamos en coches;
 Galeras por tierra a vezes remando,
 A propia figura hazemos reproches:
 Con tales desmanes andamos a oscuras,
 Sin nadie jamás comer de las duras.

375.-A, 'dios'; 'Justo' /B, 'Eloro' /C, 'Razones';
 the letters 'eo' of 'deseo' have been inserted by
 a probable second hand; 'falído' /D, 'sindios';
 'Amor' /E, 'Niaplace' — the 'e' has been converted
 from 'a'; 'dios' /F, 'Viçioso' /G, 'coñpalo' /H,
 'Remedio'; 'Al'.

376.-A, 'Deçifrando' /D, 'Alas'; 'pormar'; 'Andamos';
 'cochos' /E, 'portierra'; 'avejes'; 'Remando' /F,
 'Reproches' /G, 'Contales'; 'Andamos'; 'aes curas'
 /H, 'Jamás'; 'delas'.

377.

El escudo del Rey en cinco reales
 Mudando valor sin peso cumplido,
 Mudando el curso los justos leales,
 Mostrando contrario viso frunçido,
 Tonta malicia es causa de males,
 Turbando el alma mandar fementido;
 Sus reynos fiando de vos vuestro Rey,
 Giráys sus tesoros sin orden ny ley.

378.

Apocalisi y Sant Pablo y la suma verdad
 Con la Madre y doctores amados de Dios
 Siguiendo, dexad contraria maldad
 Que finge los daños tan malos por nos;
 Pues clara verdad descubre ruindad
 De falsos profetas que andan tras vos;
 Dexando los tales de hambre canjna,
 Yréys en el reyno que Dios avezina.

377.-A, 'esçudo'; 'Reales' /B, the 's' of 'peso' has been converted from 'z' /C, 'cur̄so'; 'Justos' /G, 'Reynos'; 'devos'; 'Vuestro' /H, the 'y' of 'Girays' has been converted from 'i'; 'suctesoros' — the 'e' has been amended.

378.-A, 'A pocalisiy'; 'pablo'; 'Verdad' /B, 'madre'; 'Amados'; 'dios' /C, the second 'd' of 'dexad' has been inserted imperfectly, probably by a second hand /D, 'pornos' /E, 'Ruindad' /F, 'Vos' /H, 'Y Reys'; 'enel'; 'Reyno'; 'dios'; 'aVezina'.

379.

Claro espejo, alma de justiçia,
 Es la penitencia en el cristiano:
 Manda la vida llena de codiçia
 El falso pensamiento muy libiano;
 Armando tal querer ynpudiçia,
 Rige el nutrimento más libiano;
 Tales ladrones queman su morada,
 Hallando ospedaje en tal posada.

380.

Mirando amadores en propia pintura,
 Vi falso treslado pintando mi mal,
 La falsa luz turbando su figura,
 Con el falso querer glosando en yqual;
 Estando el amor en vn alma muy pura,
 Nos pinta pinturas el amor diuinal;
 No ay disparate en punto notado,
 Siguiendo de amor el curso glosado.

379.-A, 'Alma'; 'Justiçia' /B, 'enel' /C, 'Vida' /E,
 the 'n' of 'Armando' has been amended; the 't' of
 'tal' has been inserted over an erasure /F, the 'u'
 of 'nutrimento' has been converted from 'i' /G,
 'que man'.

380.-A, the letters 'madores' of 'Amadores' have been
 inserted above the former word 'Amores', of which
 the letters 'mores' have been struck out; 'enpropia';
 the last three letters of 'pintura' have been inserted
 over an erasure /B, 'Vifalso'; 'mimal'
 /C, 'Luz'; the word 'su' has been inserted over an
 erasure /E, 'Amor' /F, 'El'; 'Amor'; the letters
 'iuin' of 'diuinal' have been inserted over an
 erasure /G, 'Noay'; 'En' /H, 'Amor'; 'El'.

381.

Sobre Bósforo, ans.¡ como al hijo,
 El hijo de Ydaspes halló patente,
 Con vano poder haziendo letijo,
 Loca soberbia armando gran puente;
 Donde corderos no tienen cortijo,
 Ay daño notorio al pobre ynoçente;
 Andando con Dios amor sospechoso,
 Todo lo come el lobo dañoso.

382.

Vano pensamiento muy altero
 Tirando las coçes contra vn aguijón,
 Con temor solitario y lisongero,
 Tonto, ciego y borracho en la pasión,
 En tal punto mandando el amor fiero,
 Engendra la lisonja y presunción;
 Fundando los furiosos mil antojos,
 El çiego entender les cierra los ojos.

381.-A, 'Bosforo' — the 'B' has been converted from a former letter; 'Ans.¡'; the 'j' of 'hijo' has been amended /B, 'ydaspes' /C, 'Convano'; the 'j' of 'letijo' has been amended /D, the 'L' of 'Loca' has been converted from a former letter; the letters 'ca' of 'Loca', 'sob' of 'soberbia', and 'ar' of 'armando', have been inserted over erasures; a comma appears at the end of the line (cf. F and G) /E, the 'd' of 'corderos' has been inserted over an erasure; the words 'tienen' and 'cortijo' have been inserted over erasures /F, 'Aydaño'; 'Alpobre'; a comma appears at the end of the line /G, 'dios'; 'Amor'; 'sos pechoso'; a comma appears at the end of the line /H, the 'e' of 'come' has been inserted over an imperfect erasure; 'danoso'.

382.-A, 'Altero' /B, 'Vnaguijon' — the letters 'uijon' have been inserted over an erasure /C, 'ConTemor' — the letters 'oso' have been struck out at the end of original 'temoroso' and the word 'Con' added, probably by the scribal hand; the word 'y' has been inserted with a caret; 'Lisonsegero' /D, the word 'y' has been inserted above and between 'çiego' and 'borracho' /E, 'Ental panto' — these words have been inserted at the beginning of the line, whilst the same words have been struck out after 'Mandando'; 'Mandando'; 'Amor' /F, the word 'y' has been inserted above and between 'lisonja' and 'presuncion' /G, 'fundando'; 'Antojos' /H, 'Les'.

384.

Illustra el valor tratando con buenos,
 Costunbres ynicas serán deprauadas;
 Ocupando las vidas asj que los penos,
 Se muda el bibir en cosas honradas;
 Los tales enxenplos siruen al menos
 En justas causas seguir las pisadas:
 Sj justas vidas enseñan primores,
 Tales son tones de buenos cantores.

385.

Llegando noche en casas de pastores
 Do cada qual guardaua cient obejas,
 Todos entre sj quieren ser mayores,
 Robando al amo su lana y pellejas;
 En el río buelto pescan pescadores
 Rebueeltas vanas de vanas co/n̄/sejas;
 El fuego alunbra las continuas tramas,
 Fuego que prende sin mostrar las llamas.

384.-B, the first 's' of 'Costunbres' has been converted
 from 'r' /C, 'Vidas' /D, 'El'; 'honrradas' /F,
 'Enjustas'; 'Seguir' /G, 'Vidas'; 'ensenān' /H,
 'sontones'; 'Cantores'.

385.-B, 'Docada' - the first 'a' has been converted from
 'i' /D, 'Al'; 'Amo' /E, 'Enel'; 'Rio'; 'pes canpes
 cadores' /F, 'Vanas'; 'devanas'; 'cosejas' /G,
 'Alunbra'; 'continnas' /H, 'fuego'.

387.

Visita luego sus casas la razón,
 Sintiendo tal rumor en la morada,
 Refrenando a ciegos ciega pasión,
 Trasformando el rencor de la mesnada;
 Pastores ladrones, en su perdición,
 Nuevos alborotos traman de manada
 A la vieja cana muy linpia de raza,
 De jamás cayera orín ni menos raza.

388.

El die/s7tro y Nabal siendo pastores,
 Tal vida sin horden, contraria de leyes,
 Del yerno la graçia, alunbran primores;
 Y dulçor amoroso libra/n7do las greyes,
 En todos extremos ay dūlçes amores,
 Por ellos la horden violando los rey/e7s;
 Quien ama la ley divina y humana
 No sigue jamás la vida profana.

387.-A, 'Razon' /B, 'Rumor' /D, 'Tras for mando';
 'Rencor' /E, 'Ladrones'; 'ensu' /F, 'Alborotos';
 'demanada' /G, 'Alavieja'; 'deRaza' /H, 'Raza'.

388.-A, 'El gietro' - the 'g' has been converted from 'q';
 'ynabal'; 'Pastores' /C, 'Delyerno' /D, 'Amoroso';
 'librado' /E, 'Amores' /F, 'Violando'; 'Reys' /G,
 'Ama'; 'divína' /H, 'Jamás'; 'lavida'.

389.

Hurden demonios mil nuevas flaquezas
 En cuerpos dispuestos a su fantasía;
 Ansy los ynfieles conoçen bajezas
 Y Dios por pecados los bienes desvía;
 Los malos con buenos vsando vylezas,
 Nos cantan contino mortal armonía:
 Vemos mundanos, gozando tal gloria,
 El más fino metal tornar en escoria.

390.

Sy viejos,çagales son dormilones,
 Comen los lobos rebaño guardado;
 Contino les dando mil tresquylones,
 Penan los tales do comen senbrado;
 Comiendo al dueño vanas razones,
 Todo lo vemos plazer repastando:
 Quien es en la guerra quarto de vela,
 Vela contino sj es centinela.

389.-A, 'Demonios' /B, 'Dispuestos' /C, 'y n fieles'
 /D, 'dios'; 'porpecados'; 'Los' /E, 'conbuenos';
 'Vsando'; 'Vylezas' /F, 'Contino'; 'Armonia' /G,
 'munda nos'.

390.-B, 'Rabaño' /C, 'miltresquylones' /E, 'Van as';
 'Razones' /F, 'Vemos'; 'Repastando' /G, 'devela'
 /H, 'Contino'.

391.

Rigendo pigriçia, vemos el viçio
 Gozando plazer en cama trillada;
 Las piernas y pecho en tal malefiçio
 Rebuelven plazer de vida manchada;
 Gozando gozos de mal artifiçio,
 Penetra cânçer alma oluidada:
 Gozan la vida con gozos de males
 Gozos poltrones, plazer venales.

392.

Vengando muertes en los omiçidas,
 El hijo de Osirys conbate gigantes;
 Hijos con padres en ser parriçidas
 Goza maliçia, andando vagantes;
 Sy falta razon en cosas regidas,
 Tiranos viçiosos son más pujantes:
 Vsando el querer la vida trocada,
 La fama no canta con horden reglada.

391.-A, 'Ri Yendo'; 'Vemos'; 'Viçio' /B, 'gozando'
 /D, 'devida' /E, 'demal' - the 'm' has been converted
 from a former letter /F, 'Alma'; 'oliudada' - both
 'a's have been converted from 'd' /G, 'Vida' /H,
 'Venales'.

392.-B, 'osírrys' /C, 'conpadres' /D, above the first
 'a' of 'maliçia' appears a thick nib stroke; 'Andando';
 'Vagantes' /E, 'Razon'; 'Regidas' /F, 'Viçiosos'
 /G, 'lavida' /H, 'Reglada'.

393.

El César mayor, mejor en alteza,
 Vimos primero, vencida la gente,
 Seguir tras Ponpe/y/o con mucha presteza;
 Y vence do llega virtud diligente,
 Sin punto turbar a la fama pereza,
 Ganando a do llega lugar preminente;
 Y al gran Carlos pío, con tal resplandor,
 Pasar por la Galia le vj sin temor.

394.

El oro en crisol afinando el saber,
 Fuerça forçando ynclinar a la grey,
 Guiando los honbres el justo entender,
 El amor verdadero es con Dios y con Rey;
 Mandando justicia con razón a querer,
 Sin fuerça a fuerça manda la ley;
 El ver entendido, guiando el conbate,
 Sin lança nj espada vence a dislate.

393.-A, 'maYor'; the 'z' of 'alteza' has been converted
 from 'j' /B, 'Vençida'; 'lagente' /C, 'pronpeo'
 /D, 'y'; 'Vençe'; 'Virtud' /E, 'Símpunto' /F,
 'dollega' /G, 'carlos'; 'contal'; 'Resplandor'
 /H, 'galia'; 'levj'; 'sintemor'.

394.-A, 'Oro'; 'A finando' /D, 'Amor'; 'condios' /E,
 'Razon'; 'Aquerer' /F, 'A'; 'fuerca' /H, 'Lanca';
 'Vençe'.

395.

Pinturas pinta entendimiento,
 Sin entender los sabios su sentido;
 Muchos vemos, con nuevo fundamento,
 Sin ver claro yrse tras oluido:
 Pintando sus figuras sufrimiento,
 Muda el buen sentido lo fingido;
 Haziendo de sepulcros la memoria,
 Torna en razón la pura escoria.

396.

Piensa el pecado tener remisión
 Con vida /o/scura morir en pelea;
 Descubra el pecho el buen corazón
 Y purgue la culpa que al cuerpo recrea;
 Con curso veloce no siga pasión,
 Ni túrbida vista leyenda que lea,
 Pues sermones ereges con falsa corrida
 Pierden agora el alma y la vida.

395.-B, 'sabíos' /C, 'Vemos' /D, 'Ver' /E, 'safrimiento'
 /F, the 'e' of 'el' has been amended /G, 'desepulcros'
 /H, 'Tornaen'; a letter has been struck out before the
 second word of the line; 'Razon'.

396.-A, 'pecAdo'; 'Remision' /B, 'Vidas cura' /D,
 'Cuerpo'; 'Recrea' /E, 'Veloçe'; a letter has been
 struck out between 'i' and 'g' of 'siga' /F, 'Vista';
 'Leyen daque' /G, 'Ereges'; 'Con' /H, 'Alma'; 'Y';
 'lavidá'.

397.

Fingidas cosas armando quererres,
 Canta el querer myl pérfidos sonos;
 Con tales enredos arman poderes
 Estraños enbustes y falsas visiones;
 A muchos engañan los gozos de averes,
 La vida profana robando razones:
 Muda sentidos en esto que toco
 El ver entendido sin forma de loco.

398.

Pensando lisonja engañar a verdad,
 Propone malicia a Dios y Maestro
 Demandas fingidas, mezclando verdad,
 Dulces palabras de pecho siniestro;
 Conócese luego la tal variedad,
 Estando ya manco brazo mal diestro;
 Con pecho dañado, sin alma y salud,
 Arguye malicia, tentando virtud.

397.-A, 'Armando' /B, the 'y' of 'myl' has been converted from 'a' /C, 'Contales'; 'en Redos' /D, 'en bustes'; 'Visiones' /E, 'deaveres' /F, 'Lavida'; 'Robando'; 'Razones' /H, 'Ver'; 'Entendido'; 'deloco'.

398.-A, 'engañaraVerdad' /B, 'adios'; 'maestro' /C, 'Verdad' - the 'r' has been converted from a former letter /D, 'depecho' /E, 'Conoce se' /G, the 'o' of 'dañado' has been converted from a former letter; 'Alma'; 'Y' /H, 'Virtud'.

399.

Mandando lisonja ánimo soltero,
 Mandando el tal mando propio desatino,
 Guiando las flaquezas del parlero,
 Luego sucede vn ayre repentino,
 En flaco valor del mundo lisongero
 Ladrones amores guiando el camino;
 Mandando tal señora las flaquezas,
 Se rigen las virtudes con tibiezas.

400.

Tolomeo y Antonio, con otros potentes,
 De lisonja falace los vimos rendidos;
 También Dionysios agora presentes,
 Oluidando Platón, se van tras perdidos:
 Mandaua ynsolençia honbres prudentes,
 Con Apio y Virginya en pasos falidos;
 Torpe cabeça lisonja mandaua
 Según que Rodrigo en amor de la Caua.

399.-A, a letter has been struck out between the 'o' of
 'animo' and the 's' of 'soltero', the 's' itself
 being an apparent addition to the original script
 /D, 'Repentino' /E, 'Enflaco'; 'Valor' /F, 'Amores'
 /G, 'Mandan do' /H, 'Rigen'; 'Virtudes'; 'contibiezas'.

400.-B, 'lison ja'; 'falice'; 'Vimos'; 'Rendidos' /C, 'dionysios'
 /D, 'platon' /F, the 'y' of 'Virginya' has been converted
 from a former letter /H, the word 'que' has been inserted
 by a possible second hand; 'anor'; 'delacaua'.

401.

Nunca hallamos que fueron tiranos
 Sin aver lisongeros y falsos malsines,
 Falsa coecha que cogen profanos
 Senbrando mil flores de pérfidis fines;
 Tirando las piedras, esconden las manos,
 Como en tormenta veys los fines;
 Ofiçio es común de todos tranposos
 Andarse contino tras los codiciosos.

402.

Sienpre veremos en mandos çiviles
 A los que en el mandar fueron primeros;
 Siguen tronpetas, también menestriles,
 Con falsos cantores que son lisongeros;
 Con gran aparato de gentes tan viles
 Sufren, consienten dos mil desafueros:
 No puede jamás la justiçia guardar
 A quien turban contino las hondas del mar.

401.-B, the letters 'g' and 'r' of 'lisongeros' have been amended; the word 'y' has been inserted by a possible second hand /D, 'deperfidis' /E, 'Es condenlas' /F, 'Veys'.

402.-B, 'Alos'; 'enel'; 'fueren' /C, 'menes triles' /D, 'Confalsos'; 'Lisongeros' /E, 'Aparato'; 'degentes'; 'tanviles' /F, 'desa fueros' /G, 'Jamás' /H, 'Las'.

403.

Vieja discordia de mil bulliciosos
 Siempre la paga el pueblo cuytado;
 Mandando buenos quien son malyçiosos,
 Tratando ruynes, el bueno es manchado:
 Con falso metal, ensayes tranposos,
 Pueblo ynorante, estás enconado;
 Sigue tu Rey, dexando el falido,
 Que formas blasón en caso perdido.

404.

Rige la lisonja mil males contino
 Con enbaymientos del propio querer,
 Al tal animal siguiendo vn malsino,
 Planeta contrario del justo valer;
 A todos aplaze el maluado camino,
 Siendo la guía el vano entender;
 Contino guiando el camino Plutón,
 Siguen los malos su falsa opinión.

403.-D, 'Ruynes' /E, 'en sayes'.

404.-A, 'lalisonja' -- the first 'l' has been converted
 imperfectly from a former letter /D, 'Justo';
 'Valer' /E, 'a plaze' /F, 'laguia'; 'Entender'
 /G, 'pluton'.

405.

Jamás no veamos en el tal perangón
 Al rey extranjero mandar los exiçios;
 Sj ganando batallas ay perdiçión,
 Nos rige ganallas otros mil viçios:
 Puede en lisonja la falsa razón
 Glosar armonía de muchos yndicios;
 Sirue aparençia, do razón se desvía,
 Con gloria mundana seguir fantasía.

406.

Mala esperança y rostro mohino
 Contino andan ~~monstrando~~ tristezas;
 La justa virtud no mira el malsino,
 Ni la clara verdad turban altezas;
 Sj causa contraria es mal adivino,
 Allj con engaño se gozan bajezas:
 Mirando la vista con ojo puntero,
 No herra vn tiro jamás vallestero.

405.-A, 'Veamos' /B, 'Rey'; 'Exiçios' /D, the 's' of
 'Nos' has been inserted by a possible second hand;
 'Rige'; the last 'a' of 'ganallas' has been converted
 from a former letter; 'Viçios' /E, 'Razon' /F,
 'Armonia'; 'Yndicios' /G, 'Razon' /H, 'Seguir'.

406.-A, 'Rostro' /B, 'Andan' /C, 'Justa';
 'Virtud' /D, 'Verdad'; 'Altezas' /E, 'Adivino'
 /F, 'engañoso'; the 'z' of 'bajezas' has been
 converted from 'j' /G, 'Lavista'; 'conojo' /H,
 'Nohierra'; 'Vn'; 'Jamás'; 'Vallestero'.

407.

La vida lisonjera armando el amor
 En viejo trasunto, de vos olvidado,
 Reforma la honra algún pundonor,
 Formando el querer su propio treslado;
 Que a los contrarios el maluado rencor
 Borra en las vidas el caso notado;
 S¡ aparta la vida el caso tenblosa,
 Jamás el valor será mentiroso.

408.

Deseo entender en casos patentes
 S¡ vistas a ricos jamás alqujmistas,
 O vistas alquimia en hechos presentes,
 Ganando riquezas gentes no vistas;
 Quiero mostraros mil vajos regentes
 Ganando bienes en falsas conquistas;
 El mundo perdió por el agua sus vicios,
 Y agora los hierros le queman los quiçios.

407.-A, 'Lavida'; 'lison Jera'; 'Amor' /B, 'Viejo';
 'Vos' /C, 'Reformala'; 'honrra'
 /E, 'alos'; 'Rencor' /G, 'lavida' /H, 'Valor'.

408.-B, 'Vistes'; 'aRicos'; 'Jamás'; 'Alqujmistas' /D,
 'Riquezas'; 'Vistas' /E, 'milvajos'; 'Regentes'
 /F, 'conquestas' /G, 'Vicios' /H, 'lequeman'.

409.

Nadie, mirando muy claro su vida,
 Verá perfección sin el bano primor;
 A todo pecado apetito conbida,
 Sin nada mirar el propio Hazedor;
 Forçando virtud, razón es perdida,
 Sin que se fuerçe jamás el Señor:
 Guiando los malos vn falso sendero,
 Sienpre el camino guía el artero.

410.

El mundo maldito, lisongero, truhán,
 Notad el traydor el mal que encamina:
 G/í/ezi va corriendo detrás de /Ña/amán,
 Y dando mil voces, con él se añezina;
 Con tales estafas vn falso rufián
 Goza la Madre por su concubina;
 Bártulo y Baldo, también Juan Andrés,
 Dispensan la ley con falso entremés.

409.-A, 'suvida' /B, 'El'; 'prinror' /D, 'hazedor'
 /E, 'Virtud'; 'Razones' /F, 'quese'; 'Jamás'
 /G, 'guiando'; 'Vn' /H, 'Camino'.

410.-B, 'notad' /C, 'Gezi'; 'de tras'; 'del'; 'Aman'
 /D, 'conel'; 'sea Vezina' /E, 'Contales'; 'Rufian'
 /F, 'goza'; 'madre'; 'Concubina' /G, 'ybaldo'
 /H, 'Dis pensan'; 'confalso'.

411.

Con turcos, con moros y erejes de agora,
 Nos haze malicia creer que mantiene
 Con el áuito en cruz ser engaño tal Señora,
 Y con tales ardides mil males retiene;
 Siendo mentira, mirad la traydora,
 Cómo mantuuu el mando que tiene;
 Los malos a buenos no turban el hecho,
 Antes les mezclan contrario despecho.

412.

Robando a Dios seruicio sin tino,
 Se toma la cruz de capa y espada,
 Lo santo, santo en culto divino,
 Haziendo profana santa morada;
 Mirando su pecho el mal adiuino,
 Verá qué es hurtar en propia posada;
 Recojan la ley del mando vicario
 De aquél que por Dios rige el erario.

411.-A, 'Conturcos'; 'yereJes' /C, the words 'engaño tal' have been inserted, probably by a second hand, above the word 'granda', whose first four letters have been struck out; 'senora' /D, 'Con'; 'Retiene' /F, 'El' /G, 'abuenos'.

412.-A, 'adios'; 'sintino' /B, 'crux'; 'yespada' /C, 'Losanto' /E, 'El' /F, 'En' /G, 'Reco jan'; 'Ley'; 'Vicario' /H, 'dios'; 'Rege'; 'Erario'.

413.

Ya vemos la tal luz, clara pesquisa,
 Virtud antigua de hechos pasados,
 No dando jamás la vella diuisa
 A los hombres fementidos ya manchados;
 Menos en raza do ay cortapisa
 Gozan la honra los ya mutilados;
 Armas de Marte, con son de Velona,
 Veys su blasón honrar la persona.

414.

Apolo escul/a7pio y el otro rey moro
 No pueden sañar tan falso catarro,
 Ni menos hallj, con el otro más loro,
 Pudieran forjar alma en el barro;
 Junta la tierra con alto tesoro,
 Lleua el Maestro la obra en su carro;
 Mirad los yngratos de tal beneficio,
 Sanados de gracia, tornados a viçio.

413.-A, 'yavemos'; 'talluz' /B, 'Antigua' /C, 'Jamas'
 /D, 'Alos'; 'yamanchados' /E, 'Razado' /F, 'honrra'
 /G, 'marte'; 'conson'; 'develona' /H, 'honrrar';
 'lapersona'.

414.-A, 'es culpyoniel' — the 'y' has been converted from
 a former letter; 'Rey' /B, 'tanfalso' /C, 'conel';
 'otromas' /D, 'enel' /F, 'maestro' /G, 'Los'
 /H, 'aviçio'.

415.

De la santa cruz hagamos divisa
 Claros milagros que son consagrados;
 No vale a los malos hazer la pesquisa
 De altos misterios ya tan prouados,
 Por gloria, por prueba y ang/é/lica risa
 En el alto trono siendo mirados;
 Mirad Santa Elena hallando la cruz,
 Mirad cuándo Eraclio viera tal luz.

416.

Contrario sentido a nadie le quadre,
 Que contra lo alto guerrea tal antojo;
 Si el hijo malo no cree su padre,
 El justo humilde tema su enojo,
 Quel quarto mandato padre con madre
 Amárnoslos manda más que niñas del ojo;
 Los tales mandatos dio Cristo a su grey,
 Honrando mayores obedeçes la ley.

415.-A, 'Dela' /C, 'Vale'; 'alosmalos' /D, 'Altos';
 'misteríos'; 'tranprouados' /E, 'anglica'; 'Risa'
 /F, 'Enel'; 'Alto' /G, 'santa' /H, 'Viera'.

416.-A, 'Anadie' /D, 'Enojo' — the 'j' has been converted
 from 'h' or 'b' /F, 'Amar noslos'; 'ninas';
 'delojo' /G, 'dío'; 'cristo'; 'Asugrey' /H,
 'Honrrando'.

417.

Fiçion al tono vemos debujada,
 En seluas escabrosas, lastimeras,
 Mudando el curso mente ar/ $\bar{r}$ /ebatada;
 En vidas fabulosas, verdaderas,
 Allj la maña y arte veys trocada
 En justas estremadas de chimeras;
 Llorando los casos que razón desuía,
 Mirando clara luz, veréys el día.

418.

Licença dispensa hechos sin razón,
 Diuorçio muy oscuro de profanos;
 Glosa en corte el viso fanfarrón
 Discursos sin sentido de libianos;
 Es falso simulacro trofeo con baldón,
 Gustos desgustando los ynsanos:
 Glosando toda trama el jnterés,
 Se forjan contrapuntos del tal entremés.

417.-A, 'Al'; 'Vemos' /B, 'es cabrosas' /C, 'a
 Rebatada' /D, 'Vidas'; 'fabulosus'; 'Verdaderas'
 /E, 'mana'; 'yarte'; 'Veys' /F, 'chímeras' /G,
 'Razon' /H, 'Vereys'.

418.-A, an 'r' has been erased at the end of 'Licença';
 'Razon' /B, 'deprofanos' /C, 'elviso'; 'panfarron' -
 the first 'n' appears to have been inserted over an
 erasure /D, 'delibíanos' /E, 'símulacro';
 'conbaldon' /F, 'gustos' /G, the 's' of 'Glosando'
 has been inserted over an erasure /H, the 'j' of
 'forjan' has been converted from 'g'.

419.

La fe, esperança, también caridad,
 Guiando las obras cumplido sentido,
 Nos rigen la vida con tal hermandad
 Que nada le falta a seso entendido;
 Mirando la vida del sol claridad,
 Reposa reposo al hombre querido;
 Si anda perdida la vida que sobra,
 El maldito jornal, holgando, no cobra.

420.

Orando en el templo estauan los dos
 Diverso sentido en cada oración;
 Los tales enxemplos tenemos de Dios,
 Quel ánimo firme, en amor contrición,
 Redime enbustes que siguen tras nos;
 En este tal medio hazed confisión,
 Que contrario profeta es mal adivino
 Y contraria opinión vn gran desatino.

419.-B, the word 'en' has been struck out before
 'las' /C, 'Rigen'; 'contal' /D, 'la'; 'aseso';
 'entendido' /E, 'lavida' /F, 'Reposo'; 'Al'
 /G, 'lavida' /H, 'Jornal'.

420.-A, 'enel' /C, 'Enxenplos'; 'dedios' /D, 'Animo';
 'Amor' /F, 'Eneste'; 'confisión' /G, 'profetaes';
 'mala divino' /H, 'Contraria'; 'Vngran'; 'desatino'.

421.

Estas mudanças, novedades y troques
 Son los defetos de falsa natura;
 O en los bienes agenos beber albar/c̄oques,
 O estar sin sazón la fruta madura,
 La vida muy clara jamás no trastroques,
 Ni muden pintores la propia pintura;
 Guiando razón tu santa esperança,
 Se pesa tu vida con justa balança.

422.

Ofiçios de padres muy pocos los hazen,
 Muchos son padres, más menos son hijos,
 Que los tratos doblados a muchos aplazen;
 Tramando ynterés dos mil escondrijos,
 Los tales bastardos en casa nos naçen,
 Sin ley nj razón formando letijos;
 Querer sin saber contenta a las vezes,
 Ansj sin sentir vebéys de las hezes.

421.-A, 'no vedades' /C, 'enlos'; 'al baroques' /E,
 'Lavida'; 'Jamas' /F, 'propía' /G, 'Guiando';
 'Razon' /H, 'tuvida'.

422.-A, 'depadres' /C, 'Quelos'; 'Amuchos' /D,
 'Tarmando' /E, 'nosnaçen' /F, 'Razon' /G,
 'contentaalas'; 'Vezes' /H, 'Vebeys'; 'delas'.

423.

Fe es fundamento de todos los bienes,
 Muy claro principio de tu saluación;
 Fundando en ella los bienes que tienes,
 Católico muere, sin vana fición:
 Sj muere tu vida, nada no penes,
 Pues mueres seguro con tal opinión;
 Sj tú, miserable, estás en horror,
 Tornando en tj seguirás al Señor.

424.

Turbando el mundo vana conquista,
 España, gran madre, a mí no perdona;
 Esto con premios el amor nos aquista
 Si falso amor falsedades blasona;
 Creyendo contrario la gente ya vista,
 Clara prosapia contrario pregona:
 Contino el amor es falso entre gente
 Do sigue la tranpa el falso creyente.

423.-C, 'enella' /D, 'sinvana' /E, 'tuvida' /F, 'contal'
 /H, 'entj'; 'Al'; 'señor'.

424.-A, 'El'; 'Mundo'; 'Vana' /B, 'Ami' /C, 'conpremios';
 'Amor' /D, 'Amor'; 'false dades' /E, 'lagente';
 'yaVista' /F, 'prosarpio' /G, 'Amor'; 'entregente'
 /H, 'Dosigue'.

425.

Armas troyanas del famoso gerrero ,
 El griego le puja con mañas de guerra,
 Que avnque conbata el buen cauallero,
 La fuerça y valor maliçia destierra;
 Emboscando maldad algùn vallestero,
 Vn solo tiro nos mete so tierra;
 Sj el mundo traydor de ricos escribe,
 Sienpre fortuna los buenos persigue.

Siguen siete tu/e/rtos famosos.

426.

Filipo famoso, padre del monarca,
 A Pausanias justiçia ya negando,
 Cortándole vemos el hilo la parca,
 Los viejos amores por nuevos dexando;
 Todo el bibir en mue/r/te se marca,
 Que en toda sazón nos va rastreando;
 Sin ser oprimidos los fueros nj leyes,
 Guiando justiçia mandan los reyes.

425.-A, 'troyanes' /B, 'puJa'; 'deguerra'
 /C, 'avn que'; 'canbata' /D, 'Valor' /E, 'Vallestero'
 /F, 'me teso' /G, 'traYdor'; 'deRicos' /H, 'fortunalos'.

Inscription.-'Siguen siete turtos famosos'. This is
 the first extratextual comment on the poem,
 appearing above and to the left of the stanza
 number.

426.-B, 'pausanias'; 'Justiçia'; 'yanegando' /C, 'Cortando le';
 'laparca' /D, 'Viejos'; 'Amores'; 'nueVos' /E, 'muete'
 /F, 'todasazon'; 'VaRastreando' /H, 'guiando'; 'Justiçia';
 'Reyes'.

427.

Cerrado el vn ojo, mira el ynperio
 Antígono viejo, amigo del hijo;
 Pintan su fama Plutarco y Valerio,
 En muerte real çiego escondrijo:
 Este luzero del grande ymisferio
 Partija partes en alto letijo;
 Muere en vatalla, Marte en trasunto,
 Y el hijo nouelero, preso difunto.

428.

El viejo belicoso, gran luzero
 De todos los famosos capitanes,
 Maestro de çeladas muy artero,
 Trances de vatallas, mil desmanes,
 Llegaron su vejez al fin postrero;
 Cíclope, que habló sin trujamanes,
 Haziendo de valor estraña prueua,
 Con ponçoña se mató en vna cueua.

427.-A, 'vnoJo'; 'mirael'; 'ynperío' /B, 'Viejo'; 'Amigo'
 /C, 'Valerío' /D, 'Real'; 'es condrijo' /E,
 'ymisperio' /F, 'Alto' /G, 'Envatalla'; 'marte';
 'entrasunto' /H, 'nauclero'; 'Dífunto'.

428.-A, 'VieJo' /B, 'Detodos'; 'capitames' /C, 'deçeladas';
 'Artero' /D, 'devatallas'; 'mildesmanes' /E, 'suvejez'
 /F, 'fue'; 'hablo' — two letters have been struck out at
 the end of the word, and the final 'o' amended;
 'truJamanes' /G, 'devalor' /H, 'semato'; 'envna'.

429.

El otro que veys estar sublimado
 En trono mauorçio de alto sauer,
 En campo a Luzeria siendo çercado,
 Tuuo el pupilo en punto a perder,
 Y la vieja raposa, de Marte dechado,
 Halla el maestro de quien aprender;
 El que al de Ponto fue legislador
 Mató con engaño Perpen/n/a traydor.

430.

El braço ar/r/emangado, vimos peleando
 Tarife Abenzarça, moro baleroso,
 En España los cristianos lastima/n/do,
 Mostrando su valor tan belicoso,
 Pueblos con gentes, todo sugetando,
 Hechos que leymos, caso tan medroso;
 En la patria de su rey fuera punido,
 Siendo dél sin causa perseguido.

429.-A, 'Elotro'; 'Veys' /B, 'dealto'; the last two words of the line have been inserted over an erasure /C, 'Aluzeria' /E, 'lavieja'; 'Raposa'; 'marte' /G, 'depono'; 'fuelegis dador' /H, 'perpenā'.

430.-A, 'a Remangado'; 'Vimos' /B, 'abenzarça' /C, 'españa'; 'lastimado' /D, 'suvalor'; 'belícioso' /E, 'congentes' /F, 'Leymos'; 'tanme droso' - the letters 'tan' have been inserted, probably by a second hand, above three former letters now struck out /G, 'desu'; 'Rey'; 'puuyido'.

431.

El famoso albiano vimos en porfía,
 Sesto de valientes, muy altero;
 Al pueblo veneçiano en noche y día
 Guiando muy contino tal guerrero,
 Ninguno le ~~arguyrá~~ sin ser falsía,
 Que faltó jamás en acto el cauallero
 Atrevido, feroz, sagaz a todo punto,
 De Marte velicoso gran trasunto.

432.

El séptimo feroz, ynclito famoso,
 Robusto, afable, de Marte tan amado,
 Valiente a todo trance y corajoso,
 Tribuno y capitán bien fortunado,
 Vn ojo menos veys al valeroso,
 Con trunfos de valor tan estimado;
 El apellido común es de Romero,
 De Ybarrola casa linpio cauallero.

431.-A, the 'l' of 'El' has been inserted, by a probable second hand, above the letter 'n', which has been struck out; 'Albiano'; 'Vimos'; 'enporfia' /B, 'Valientes' /C, 'Veneçiano'; 'nocheydia' /E, 'sinser' /F, 'Jamás' /H, 'marte'; 'Veliçoso'.

432.-B, 'a fable'; 'marte'; 'Amado' /C, 'atodo' /E, 'VnoJo'; 'Veys'; 'Valeroso' /F, 'Valor' /G, 'comunes' /H, 'y barrola'; 'Linpio'; 'Cauallero'.

433.

Marte velicoso veys turbado,
 Con temor de las plumas y tinteros;
 Las plumas con sus çifras an glosado
 Contrario que contraría casos veros;
 ¡Pluma traydora, sienpre as manchado,
 Con borrones borrando, hechos fieros,
 Rencor y cigaña turbando en parte
 Los famosos hechos del tan claro Marte!

434.

Quien quiere reynar sin el justo blasón
 Funda el bibir en falsa rapiña;
 A diestro y siniestro haziendo razón,
 Cubre el lep/roso cabeza con tiña:
 Quien roba su dueño dança sin son,
 Según como Acab, comprando la viña;
 Dize el refrán, en burlas nj veras,
 Con el otro, mayor, no partas las peras.

433.-A, 'Velicoso' /B, 'Contemor'; 'delas' /C,
 'anglosado' /D, 'Veros' /G, 'cicañaturban doen'
 /H, the word 'tan' has been inserted with a caret;
 'claromarte'.

434.-A, 'Reynar'; 'Justo' /B, 'Rapina' /C, 'Razon' /D,
 'le poso'; 'contiña' /E, 'Roba'; 'sinson' /F,
 'lavina' /G, 'Refran'; 'Enburlas'; 'Veras' /H,
 'Conel'.

435.

Criando contrario amor en verdad,
 Pareze sin voda el nouio amador,
 Turbando a virtud el amor en ruyndad;
 Glosando en su seso con nuevo fabor
 El género falso, tratando maldad,
 Creys en vislunbres de falso primor;
 Do ay el amor rutilante, polido,
 Jamás no se puede seguir mal partido.

436.

Tenblando vemos de miedo medroso
 La vieja ynsolente, amiga del moro;
 Andando con Dios amor sospechoso,
 Consumen los males a mancos tesoro,
 Andan las vidas, con ser muy tenblosa,
 Honrando primero al otro gran loro;
 Muchas corrientes abajan la flema,
 Y quien muda con lo/o/r en algo se quema.

435.-A, 'Amor'; 'Verdad' /B, 'Voda' /C, 'avirtud';
 'Amor'; the last word of the line is unclear, the
 readings 'Ruyndad', 'Ruindad', 'Ruistidad' all being
 possible /D, 'ensugesos' - the letter 's' has been
 converted from 'ç' /G, 'Amor'; 'Rutilante' /H,
 'nose'.

436.-A, 'Vemos'; the 'd' of 'miedo' has been amended /B,
 'lavieja'; 'Amiga' /C, 'condios'; 'Amor' /D,
 'Amancos' - the 'n' has been inserted over a former
 letter /E, 'Andanlas'; 'Vidas' /F, 'Honrrando';
 'granloro' /H, 'lor'; 'En'; 'sequema'.

437.

Borrando contino razón en la ley,
 La madre comemos con falso blasón;
 Continos pesares dando al buen Rey,
 Andando contino turbando razón,
 Caso es muy claro robar en la grey;
 Los hechos ferozes contáys a Nerón,
 Sienpre cargando al pobre romero
 Las faltas que comete el pelligero.

438.

No son los tienpos del crudo Canbises,
 La verdad a Prexaspes causando dolor,
 Que del Rey piadoso, hijo de Anchises,
 Gozamos los frutos de muy linda flor;
 Mirando vn tal Rey, tu alma tú avises
 Que siga los pasos del tal resplandor;
 Este buen Rey, sin los falsos engaños,
 Remedia prudente en todos los daños.

437.-A, 'Razon' /C, 'albuen' /D, 'Razon' /E, 'Robar'
 /F, 'Aneron' /G, 'Romero' /H, 'elpelligero'.

438.-A, 'Sonlos'; 'canbises' /B, 'Laverdad'; 'aprexaspes'
 /C, 'anchides' /D, 'deMuy' — the 'M' has been
 inserted over former 'y' /E, 'Vn'; 'tuavises' /F,
 'Quesiga'; 'Resplandor'.

439.

Mirando a Filvert , vemos su holgança
 Gozar vn valor y ilustrado en vatallas;
 Virtud nos parece estar en holgança,
 Vn Marte sin armas holgando las mallas;
 Con viejas heridas y su temperança
 Se cura malicia muy llena de fallas:
 Del alto valor de tales barones
 Cantan las musas muy dulçes cançiones.

440.

Siguiendo poder el mando de reyes,
 No saben los malos tan alto poder
 Ser claro y justo en regir las greyes;
 Çegando malicia el buen entender,
 Si es a cargo de quien nos dio leyes,
 El coraçón real sigue buen querer;
 Arguya en contrario el que saue más,
 Que con filosofar quedará detrás.

439.-A, 'afilvert' /D, 'marte' /E, 'Viejas' /F,
 'Secura' /G, 'Delalto'; 'Valor' /H, 'Cantanlas'.

440.-A, 'Reyes' /B, 'Nosaben' /C, 'Serclaro'; 'Justo';
 'Regir' /E, 'Sies'; 'acargo'; 'Leyes' /F, 'Real'
 /H, 'confilosofar'; 'de tras'.

441.

Juego juegan Juan, Pedro y Llorente,
 Ovejas guardando sin tener reposo;
 El amor, senbrando con falsa simiente,
 Conbierte virtud en amor tranposo;
 Mostrando los climas el otro açidente,
 Veremos los çiegos con rostro velloso:
 Quando fronteros serán en rebate,
 El viejo Muça entabla su mate.

442.

El sabio Papirio, moço romano,
 Cuenta a la madre alguna conseja,
 Y creyendo la vi/ē7ja de contino vano,
 Amor de la madre cōtino trebeja,
 Que sienpre vemos, con naçer tenprano,
 Estar muy torpe la vieja pelleja;
 Que el ser verdadero del que es hombre
 Jamás no consiste en sólo el nonbre.

441.-A, 'juan'; 'pedro'; 'llorente' /B, 'O vejas'
 /C, 'Amor'; 'confalsa' /D, 'Virtud'; 'Amor'
 /E, 'El' /F, 'Rostro'; 'Velloso' /G, 'Rebate'
 /H, 'muça' - the 'ç' has been inserted over 'r';
 'En tabla' - the second 'a' has been converted
 from 'o' or 'e'.

442.-A, 'papirio'; 'Romano' /C, 'lavija'; 'Vano' /D,
 'dela'; 'Madre' /F, 'lavieja' /G, 'elser';
 'Verdadero' /H, 'ensolo'.

443.

El negro metro tornando forçado,
 La vista feroze turbando sentido,
 Flechando las flechas caso pensado,
 Arguye razón enmendar el falido;
 Tornando la brida cauallo reglado,
 Daua de cozes al viso perdido:
 Con ver a quién falta mudar la opinión,
 Dios se contenta sin ver perdiçión.

444.

Alguno faltando que quiere mandar,
 Luego se enbosca con propio defeto;
 Corrigendo temor el mal razonar,
 No sigue razón el falso conçeto;
 Basallo no deue del rey blasonar,
 Belando su pecho amor muy perfeto:
 Mira, Carillo, que vibes tenblando,
 Siguiendo tu amor contrario vando.

443.-B, 'Lavista'; the 'z' and the second 'e' of 'feroze'
 have been converted from 's' and 'o', respectively
 /D, 'Razon'; 'en mendar' /E, 'Reglado' /G,
 'Converaquien'; 'laopinion' /H, 'Ver'.

444.-C, 'Razonnar' /D, 'Razon' /E, 'Deue'; 'Rey';
 'blazonar' /F, 'Amor' /G, 'carillo'; 'Vibes'
 /H, 'Vando'.

445.

El salto ligero de vana fortuna
 Al curso veloce de vida presente
 Marte sin armas vence en la cuna;
 ¡Mostruos feroçes de mando prudente,
 Mirad qué falaçia veys a la luna
 En mando remiso de nueva patente!
 Mand/and/o en la ley los muchos letrados,
 A monstruos marinos son conparados.

446.

En el otro salto, ligera presunçión
 Veréys enpreñar la vieja parida;
 Anda el horror mandando en fiçión
 Discurso, pintor, en vida fingida:
 Mirando los ojos la tal perdiçión,
 Veys adulterio mandar de partida;
 La çiega presunçión, çerrados los ojos,
 Nos haze crearnos en propios antojos.

445.-A, 'Saltoligero'; 'Vana' /B, the last 'e' of
 'presente' has been converted from a former letter
 /D, 'demando' /E, 'Veys'; 'alaluna' /F, 'Remiso'
 /G, 'Mando'; 'Letrados' /H, 'Amostruos';
 'sonconparados'.

446.-A, 'Enel' /D, 'Vida' /E, 'loso Jos'; 'latal' /F,
 'Adulterio'; 'departida' /G, 'oJos' /H, 'Antojos'.

447.

A los mesmos planetas criavan los hombres,
 Los tienpos y climas causando nublados;
 Tornando el tal punto, nada te asonbres
 Sj bieres agora mandar los mandados:
 Muchos ya vemos, con falsos renonbres,
 Mover fantasías en casos tentados;
 Perdiendo deshorden a Cota sin son,
 Con el César constante verás Cigerón.

448.

El otro viejo, de la vjda vn pilar,
 Ar/r/imado al pilar, guarda ganado;
 Procurando la vida bien cultivar,
 Senbrando en su campo, coge doblado:
 Mirando sentidos el tal razonar,
 Padeçe a vezes caso ynpensado;
 Fundando en amor vn buen documento,
 Pagan los reyes vn hombre por ciento.

447.-A, 'Alos' - a ligature is made of 'A' and 'l'
 /D, 'Agora' /E, 'y avemos'; 'Renonbres' /G,
 'Acota' /H, 'Conel'; 'Veras'; the 'ç' of 'Cigeron'
 has been converted from 'r'.

448.-A, 'Viejo'; 'Vn' /B, 'A Rimado'; 'guardaganando'
 /C, 'lavida' /D, 'ensu' /E, 'Razonar' /F,
 'avezes'; 'yn pensado' /G, 'Vn' /H, 'Reyez';
 'Vn'.

449.

El hijo mayor con los otros, menores,
 Variando malicia con nuevo temor,
 Siguen contino mandatos mayores;
 Con amor en el pecho obrando el valor,
 Haze en los pechos perder los temores ,
 Los claros amores sin punto en rencor;
 Mudando preçetos contrarios letijos,
 Se van tras la pleue el padre y los hijos.

450.

Tratando los viçios amores con dama,
 En amistad gozando los que son amigos,
 Falsedad enreda del amor tal trama;
 Los çelos tramando amores testigos,
 Soplando su fuego, amor todo ynflama,
 Enbustes çiegos formando enemigos;
 Poniendo los çelos amistad por tierra,
 Velando contino el amor haze guerra.

449.-A, 'conlos' /B, 'nueVo' /D, 'enel'; 'abrando';
 'elvalor' /E, 'enlos' /F, 'Amores'; 'Rençor'
 /H, 'Van'; 'trasla'; 'plerue' - the first 'e' has
 been converted from a former letter.

450.-A, 'Amores' /B, 'Amistad'; 'queson'; 'Amigos'
 /C, 'falsedad'; 'en Reda'; 'Amor'; 'taltrama' /D,
 'Amores' /E, 'Amor'; 'Ynflama' - the 'Y' has been
 converted from 'y' /F, 'enbustes' /G, 'Pouiendo';
 'Los'; 'Amistad' /H, 'Amor'.

451.

Médicos vemos quiriendo curar,
 Fingendo esperiencias al poco saber;
 En este discurso contino es herrar,
 Pues veys el paçiente allí padeçer,
 Ninguno no cumple con querer açertar,
 Herrando de neçio su malentender:
 ¿Queréys claro ver vn hombre letrado?
 Mirad si previene el caso mudado.

452.

La lágrima formada de sospiros
 Con vn firme ser armara refulgentes;
 Avsente firmeza, en tales tiros
 Armaron movimiento los presentes,
 Descubriendo claro en retiros
 Fantasma de los sesos reluçientes;
 Torna en el querer contrario vando
 Con ver la Dafne Apolo marchitando.

451.-A, 'Vemos' /C, 'Eneste'; the word 'es' has been
 inserted over an erasure /D, 'Veys' /E, 'cuñple';
 'conquerer'; 'Açertar' /F, 'deneçio' /G, 'Vn'.

452.-B, 'con'; 'Armara'; 'Refulgentes' /C, 'entales'
 /E, 'Des cubriendo'; 'teutíros' /F, 'delos';
 'Reluçientes' /G, 'TornaEnel' -- several letters
 have been inserted over an erasure /H, 'verla';
 'dapne'.

453.

Si el falso sentido mira lo que veo,
 Creamos los oydos sin creer ligero,
 Pues falsas espías se van tras deseo,
 Guiando contino el bibir soltero;
 Creyendo a la Madre, sin buscar rodeo,
 Goza la gloria el ánimo sincero;
 Siguiendo la vida tras la tentación,
 Falidos caminos sigue tu razón.

454.

En el malbibir feneçen noblezas,
 Que, avnque seas de sangre de reyes,
 Viçios de nobles no cubren altezas;
 Que, torpe maldad borrando las leyes,
 Canta la fama en hechos bajezas,
 Siendo la honra oprouio de greyes;
 Si en propias obras te as de saluar,
 Los famosos pasados no pueden honrar.

453.-A, 'miraloque'; 'Veo' /B, 'Los' /C, 'Vantras'
 /E, 'madre'; 'Rodeo' /F, 'Anjmo' /G, 'Labida' —
 the 'b' has been converted from a former letter
 /H, 'Razon'.

454.-A, 'Enel' /B, 'avn que'; 'seys'; 'Reyes' /C, 'Altezas' /F,
 'honrra' /G, 'Sienpropias' — the 'o' has been
 amended; 'teas' /H, 'nopueden'; 'honrrar'.

455.

Al altero altiua presunçión
 Es dulce ma/n7jar de propia fantasía;
 Falso término de presentación
 Arguye ar/r7ogancias, guiando falsía:
 En fin ynjusto la çiega perdiçión
 Arma los armados que razón desvía;
 Armígeros falaces en tal mundo
 Nos guían con fantasmas al profundo.

456.

/A7 algún cordial, al bulgo prudente
 Ganando vatallas el pecho profano,
 Mudando el bibir el caso aparente,
 Trasmuda su fama el hecho libiano;
 Turbando verdad pasado, presente,
 Remoto nos es valor de la mano;
 Senbrando en escuro nuevo letijo,
 A Marte no vale jamás escondrijo.

455.-A, 'altina' /B, 'majar' /D, 'aRogancias' /E,
 'Ynjusto' /F, 'Armados'; 'Razon'.

456.-A, 'Algun'; 'albulgo' /B, 'Vatallas' /D, 'Tras muda';
 'heçho' /E, 'Verdad' /F, 'Valor'; 'dela' /G,
 'Letijo' /H, 'Amarte'; 'Vale'; 'Jamas'; 'es condrijo'.

457.

Ganada jornada el persa del lido,
 Halla el cultor en casa culebras;
 Comen cauallos, tornando en su nido,
 Tales vestigios, almas de çebras:
 Corrido valer en caso atrebido
 Vemos contino hazer muchas quiebras;
 Pierde vatallas en toda sazón
 El alma sin vida tras /cada/ rincón.

458.

Jeconías no cree jamás al profeta,
 Ansí paga el pueblo su culpa y horror;
 Sin Dios no verás la vida perfeta,
 Ni cosa permite por daño mayor;
 La justa justicia, siendo secreta,
 Castiga los vicios del mal pundonor:
 Paz nos manda guardar los cristianos
 Y no con ynfieles hazernos hermanos.

457.-A, 'Jornada'; 'dellido' /D, 'Vestigios' /E,
 'Valer'; 'Atrebido' /G, 'Vatallas'; 'entoda'
 /H, 'Alma'; 'Vida'; /'cada' - cf. 361 H; 'Rincon'.

458.-A, 'Jaconias'; 'noçree'; 'Jamás' /B, 'culpay'
 /C, 'lavida' /D, 'Nicosá'; 'pordano'.

459.

Sj el rey es malo siendo muy niño,
 Lo causa pecado a las vezes de grey,
 Y avnque criado debaixo vn escu^{dr}/iño,
 Quien rige el reyno tal es el rēy;
 Que sj los malos con falso disifio
 Buscan sentido contrario en la ley,
 Los tales tiranos, borrando las leyes,
 Sienpre pretenden ser ellos los reyes.

460.

En caça real caçadores enredos
 En campo sin bosque caçan los reyes;
 Corren carreras estraños denuedos
 Do males, caçando, turban las greyes;
 Las tales caças nos causan los miedos,
 Libres, estraños mudando las leyes:
 Venus nj el hijo no hazen tal nido,
 Ni tales discursos forma Cupido.

459.-A, 'Sjel'; 'Rey'; 'muY' /B, 'alas' /C, 'Ya vn
 que'; 'escuiño' /D, 'Rige'; 'Reyno'; 'tales';
 'Rey' /E, 'disino' /F, 'Ley' /H, 'Reyes'.

460.-A, 'Real'; 'en Rodes' /B, 'Reyes' /C, 'de nuedos'
 /E, 'causanlos'; 'nnedos' /F, the second 'e' of
 'leyes' has been imperfectly converted from 's'
 /H, 'cupido'.

461.

Los gatos aluiones que vemos pescar,
 Sus lánguidas vñas nos dan mil trabajos;
 No temen los reyes nj todo mandar,
 Pescando los ricos caças de bajos;
 Nadie no vemos los puede estorbar,
 No hazer tan contino su hanbre los grajos:
 En fin, algùn día se pagan pastores
 De robos yndinos de lobos traydores.

462.

La reyna de penos que funda çibdad,
 Fuente do mana/n7 las damas viciosas,
 Su lecho ensuçiar con falsa maldad,
 Sin ella, ya vemos pintadas y hermosas,
 Gozando apetito de amor en ruindad,
 El amor no mirando, ser tan mañosas;
 Los amores falsos jamás no cre/e7mos,
 Que con ojos çerrados el daño ño vemos.

461.-A, 'Aluiones'; 'Vemos' /B, 'sus' /C, 'no';
 'Reyes' /D, 'Ricos'; 'debajos' /E, 'Vemos';
 'Los' /F, 'ten' /G, 'sepagan' /H, 'DeRobos';
 'Yndinos'; 'deLobos'.

462.-A, 'Rey na'; 'depenos' /B, 'da' - the 'a' has
 been converted from correct 'o'; 'mana' - the
 second 'a' has been converted from 'ç'; a comma
 appears after 'mana'; Viçiosas' /C, 'en suçiar'
 /D, 'yavemos'; 'Y' /E, 'Ruindad' /F, the 'l'
 of 'El' has been inserted over 'n' or 's'; 'Amor';
 'sertan' /G, 'Amores'; 'Jamás'; 'cremos' /H,
 'novemos'.

463.

Giges, que viera la reyna desnuda,
 Goza del reyno siendo vn archero;
 Allj la vergüença el marido trasmuda
 Por vn falso plazer de viso parlero:
 Forma vengança la gente más ruda,
 Guiando virtud por falso sendero;
 Huyendo ser vistos detrás de cantones,
 Mudan moradas contino ladrones.

464.

Causa dañosa con el mucho mirar,
 Sj fuera sin vista, no viera Nasón;
 Mirando, los çiegos no pueden faltar
 Sj miran los ojos, mirando en razón:
 Gouvernando el amor de mucho priuar,
 Vemos potencia cubrir perdiçión;
 Encubriendo el amor a mal muchos daños,
 Mirando en vos, no veys los engaños.

463.-A, 'Viera'; 'Reyna'; the 's' of 'desnuda' has been inserted over a former letter /B, 'goza'; 'Reyno'; 'Vn'; 'Archerro' /C, 'El'; 'Marido'; 'tras muda' /D, 'Vn'; 'deviso' /E, 'Vengança'; 'Ruda' /G, 'Vistos'; 'de tras'; 'cantores' /H, 'Ladrones'.

464.-A, 'conel' /B, 'Vista'; 'Viera'; 'nason' /D, 'oJos'; 'Razon' /E, 'Amor' /G, 'En cubriendo'; 'Amor' /H, 'envos'.

465.

Amando las damas sus vanos antojos,
 Ynçestos amores ynfluye Cupido;
 Goza el engaño con túrbidos ojos
 Amores muy çiegos de amor sumergido:
 Blasfemia de amor gozando despojos,
 Mirad el amante con viso frunçido;
 Creyendo mentira ynçesta priora,
 Anda el amor tras las damas de agora.

466.

Ynfluye maldad pechos ynconstantes,
 El amor vanico, superuo, peligroso,
 Trastornando çervelos vaçilantes
 Con hechos, dichos, caso más viçioso;
 Mandando contino ánimos constantes
 En el amor verdadero sin reposo,
 La virtud honrada en pecho y lança,
 Siguiendo tras los buenos, se abalança.

465.-A, 'Vanos'; 'Antojos' /B, 'Amores'; 'yn fluye';
 'cupido' /C, 'Engaño' /D, 'Amor'; 'su mergido'
 /E, 'Amor' /F, 'Amante' /G, 'Mentira'; 'yn çesta'
 /H, 'Amor'; 'traslas'; 'deagora'.

466.-A, 'Yn fluye' /B, 'Amor' /C, 'valçilantes' /D,
 'Viçioso' /E, 'Animos' /F, 'Amor'; 'verdaderosin';
 'Reposo' /G, 'lavirtud'; 'honrrada'; 'y lança' /H,
 'traslos'; 'abalanca'.

467.

En ciegos cupidos, con vanos antojos,
 Nos pinta Luzbel disformes figuras;
 Tocando mil sonos, nos pintan abrojos
 Casos nefandos, efigies no puras,
 De moços con viejos, quebrados los ojos,
 Que tales antojos son sus verduras;
 Discanta el amor tales trasuntos
 Con cuerdas sonantes a son de los puntos.

468.

Ay cinco puntos ligando amadores,
 Andando el desseo con túrbidos ojos
 Mirando, tocar y hablando fabores,
 Y junto vesando y gozar los despojos;
 Mitigan las penas los falsos amores,
 Causando en el mundo estraños enojos;
 El amor perjuro es falso aduersario,
 Mas firme firmeza sigue contrario.

467.-A, 'convanos'; 'AntoJos' /B, 'luzbel' /C,
 'milsones'; 'AbroJos' /D, 'Efigíes' /E, 'oJos'
 /F, 'Antojos'; 'Verduras' /G, 'Amor' /H, the
 'o' of 'sonantes' has been converted from 'a';
 'ason'; 'delos'.

468.-A, 'Cinco'; 'Amadores' /B, 'oJos' /D, 'Junto';
 'Vesando'; 'gozarlos' /E, 'Mitiganlas' - the 'l'
 has been converted from 'c' or 'd'; 'Los'; 'Amores'
 /F, 'enel'; 'Estraños'; 'enoJos' /G, 'Amor';
 'perJuro'; 'el' (for 'es'); 'aduersariō' /H,
 'contrariō'.

A N/uest/ra Señora

469.

Tú sola eres la luz de los mortales,
Claro trasunto, vislumbres valerosas,
Gozo del espejo y vidas sensuales,
Luzero de las almas temerosas,
Biba vida, remedio en todos males,
Pintando bibir en cosas más hermosas;
Sacando de la cárcel mil despechos,
Tornas en vida las almas de contrechos.

470.

La sola esperanza en my cuydado,
Sin hazer pecado, goza el apetito
Gozo que goza el hombre más honrado
Con gozo de amores, sin amor marchito;
Que falsos amores gozauan pecado
Sin pensar amor en tienpo contrito,
Y de las falsas presunçiones, ya sin ellas,
Con castos amores miro las donzellas.

Inscription.--'A nra señora'. This appears above and to the left of the stanza number (469).

469.-A, 'ereslacluz' /B, 'vis lunbres' /C, 'gozo' - the first 'o' has been inserted imperfectly over an erasure /D, 'delas' /E, 'Remedio'; 'entodos' /F, 'biber'; 'encos as'; 'her mosas' /G, 'dela' /H, 'envida'; 'Almas'.

470.-B, 'elapetito' /C, 'honrrado' /D, 'Amor' /E, 'Amores' /F, this line has been inserted by the scribe after the original script; 'Amor' /G, 'delas'; 'y as m'; 'Ellas' /H, 'Amores'; 'Donzellas'.

471.

Vj nuevo mundo, mirando otra vella
 Del casto nonbre amado, el más puro;
 Petronia nonbrando ser la donzella,
 Casada, convierte el amor más seguro,
 Turbando mj ser el nombre de aquélla,
 Del vano querer arrimado tras muro;
 Sj las avsencias nos forman oluidos,
 Tales cupidos serán fementidos.

472.

Amor al rey sabio turbara sentido,
 Tanbién a Sansón, con el padre Daud;
 Con otros yncestos, de viso falido,
 Vi dioses, humanos, vençidos sin lid;
 Poetas, filósofos, el amor a rendido,
 Con el padre, Amón, el más viejo adalid:
 Nunca jamás los amores altiuos
 Siguen los tratos de amores laçivos.

471.-A, 'Vella' /B, 'Delcasto'; 'Amado' /D, 'Amor'
 /E, 'El' /F, 'Delvano'; 'Arrimado'; 'murro' /H,
 the letters 'ran' of 'seran' have been amended.

472.-A, 'Rey' /B, 'al' (for 'a'); 'Padre' /C, 'Yncestos';
 'deviso' /D, 'Vidioses'; 'Vençidos' /E, 'Filosofos';
 'Amōr'; 'A' /F, 'Viejo' /G, the word 'Siguen' has been
 imperfectly struck out at the beginning of the line, the
 's' remaining visible, and the 'u' of 'Nunca' has been
 converted from 'a'; 'Jamás'; 'Los'; 'Amores'; 'Altiuos'
 /H, 'Amores'; 'Laçivos'.

473.

Sin horden fundada en punto nj ley
 Veréys lu/e7go mil honbres fementidos,
 Alteros fālsarios, oprobio de grey,
 Cogendo mill frutos con ser atrebidos,
 Robando contino la honra del Rey,
 Estos enredos no siendo punidos;
 Flaca altiuez ligada a los pies,
 Los mienbros espanta el tal entremés.

474.

En amores polidos, muertos, ya bibos,
 El argólico ciego dulce blasona;
 Dexando blasón de amores laçyuos,
 Del amor singero el alma pregona
 En disfrace querer amores altiuos,
 El pecho muy linpio amando Latona;
 Pesando en b/a7lança perfetos amores,
 Nadie trasmudā el amor por rencores.

473.-B, 'lugo' /D, 'Cogen domill'; 'conseratrebidos'
 /E, 'honrra' /F, 'en Redos' /G, 'Altiuez'; 'alos'.

474.-A, 'Amores'; 'yabibos' /B, 'Argolico' /C, 'Amores';
 'laçyuos' — the 'y' has been converted from a former
 letter /D, 'Amor' /E, 'Amores' /F, 'Amando';
 'latona' /G, 'blança'; 'Amores' /H, 'Amor'; 'Rencores'.

475.

Palabras sin obras vsando vn maltrato,
 Trastornan virtud confiada en verdad;
 Maldize razón la falta del rato
 Que busca contino seguir tras ruindad;
 Maldigo el sentir roydo del rato,
 Del alma no firme creyendo en maldad:
 Los çiegos visos creyendo sentidos,
 Creyendo el amor se van tras perdidos.

476.

Pintando el amor de viso belleza,
 Creyendo yncreyble el pecho de Achilles,
 Enreda trapaça cruel altiueza,
 Engañando el amor los braços viriles;
 Muerto en el tenplo con tanta crueza
 Veys al famoso por amores tan viles,
 Viejo sacrilegio en do prudentes
 Rigeron varios túrbidos accidentes.

475.-A, 'Vsando' /C, 'Razon'; 'Rato' /D, 'Ruindad'
 /E, 'Roydo'; 'Rato' /H, 'Amor'; 'trasperdidos'.

476.-A, 'deviso' /C, 'En Reda'; 'Altiueza' /D, 'Amor';
 'Viriles' /E, 'contanta'; 'Crueza' /F, 'Amores';
 'Viles' /G, 'endoprudentes' /H, 'Varios';
 'Accidentes'.

477.

Soñando el querer, discantan fabor
 Formas diversas con viso terrible,
 Viejas fantasmas de estraño temor
 A vezes **monstrando** el rostro visible;
 Con seso despierto, no veys al amor,
 Y a vezes boláys y soys ynvisible;
 Vista ya çiega mirando tal çiego,
 Sus daños no mira con el ojo linçeo.

478.

Los falsos amores caçando las niñas,
 Muger con marido están en letijos;
 Las viejas pendençias hurden las riñas
 Y los buenos padres castigan los hijos;
 Mojones en lindes se ponen en viñas,
 Palos con redes armando cortijos:
 Siendo el baldón remedio a los males,
 Los casos diversos están naturales.

477.-B, 'conviso' /D, 'Avezes' ; 'Rostro'
 /E, 'Conseso'; 'Veys'; 'Amor' /F, 'Yavezes' /G,
 'Vies taya' /H, 'mira'; 'conel'; 'oJo'.

478.-A, 'Amores'; 'caçandolas' /B, 'enletijos' /C,
 'Viejas'; 'Rinas' /D, 'Padres'; 'castiganlos'
 /E, 'envinās' /F, 'Redes'; 'Armando' /G, 'Remedio';
 'alos'.

479.

Los buenos con malos andan mezclados,
 Mezcla arguyda sin querer parangón;
 Desde el principio que fueron criados
 Andauan hermanos dançando sin son,
 Cayn y el hermano vimos priuados
 De vida y sin vida por vana razón ;
 Sin jamás pensar la cierta partida,
 Anda la vida tras vida perdida.

480.

El Filósofo dize ser muy terrible
 Mudança de vida la vida mortal,
 Y Sant Agustín, en perder la ynvisible,
 Más que en mil vidas nos haze señal;
 Mirad los mundanos con rostro visible,
 Perdidas las almas, gozando su mal;
 Quien al malbibir está sugetado
 Nada le espanta sj es ostinado.

479.-C, 'Desdeel' /D, 'Andauanhermanos' - the 's' has
 been inserted over an erasure /F, 'Devida'; 'Razon'
 /H, 'laveda'.

480.-A, 'filosofo' /B, 'devida'; 'laveda' /C, 'Ysant';
 'laynvisible' /D, 'Masque' /E, 'Miradlos';
 'Rostro'; 'Visible' /F, 'Las'; 'Almas' /G, 'Al';
 'mal bibir'.

481.

Haziendo simulacros en falso amor
 Vimos sin sentido el vano conde;
 Mandando la ynorancia en el rencor,
 Al vano trasunto nadie no responde;
 Ronpiendo santuarios sin temor,
 Escuro pecho a nadie no se esconde:
 Que glosa glosarán los más polidos
 Sj buenos y malos vemos fementidos.

482.

Hinchado mandón, muy tonto, libiano,
 Es contino vn flaco faborido;
 Tonto, perdido, sigue el profano
 Vano entender del pueblo falido,
 Blanda presunção de ánimo ynsano
 Rjgendo lisonja, viso perdido;
 Flaca miseria robando razones,
 Tales son cursos de las perdiçjones.

481.-A, 'Amor' /C, 'Enel'; 'Reñcor' /D, 'Responde'
 /E, 'sintemor' /F, 'Anadie' /H, 'ymalos'; 'Vemos'.

482.-F, 'Rjngendo' — the 'j' has been converted from 'L';
 'Viso' /G, 'Robando'; 'Razones' /H, the 'o' of
 'cursos' has been amended ; 'delas'; the 'j' of 'perdiçjones'
 has been converted from 'i'.

483.

Guarda los pasos al viejo vecino
 El otro villano muy noble de raça;
 Haze a dañados mudar desatino,
 Su alto juyzio guiando la traça;
 Seguiendo del Rey el justo camino,
 Su vida y valor careçen de raça:
 Tales villanos antigua nobleza
 Hazen villanos seruir sin pereza.

484.

Açidente mantuuu del conde alemán
 En corte de damas rompernos la ley;
 Hizo sin falta que sólo vn desmán
 Se vido jamás en tumulto de grey;
 Secaçes brabosos el tal temerán ,
 Mandando en su amor preçetos del Rey:
 Muda senderos el mando prudente
 Del conde Mansfelt, en todo valiente.

483.-A, 'Guardalos'; 'Vesino' /B, 'Raça' /C, 'Adañados'
 /D, 'Juyzio' /F, 'daRaça' /G, 'Villanos'; 'Antigua'
 /H, 'Villanos'.

484.-A, the second 'u' of 'mantuuu' has been converted
 from 'a'; 'Conde'; 'Aleman' /B, 'romper nos'; 'laley'
 /E, 'Se caçes' /F, 'Amor' /H, 'Conde'; 'Mansfelte'.

485.

Oyen los sentidos mil casos aparentes,
 Tratando el amor escuro, turbado;
 Finge malicia casos ynprudentes,
 Bor/r/ando contino claro, pintado;
 Que pintan mil turbios açidentes
 Çircunloquios, rodeo apresurado,
 Neçesitando contino a la razón
 Para que siga la vana presunçión.

486.

Vemos al Çésar comiendo las migas
 De aquel vitorioso ynperio romano,
 Tanbién sus vasallos dando mil higas
 A Dios, su Señor, en modo profano,
 Y sin Dios ni sin Rey tramando sus ligas,
 Profanando poder del gran Carlomano;
 Andan los buenos en pena terrible
 Siendo el Balán señor de Mantible.

485.-B, 'Amor' /D, 'Borando' /F, the second 'o' of 'rodeo'
 has been inserted over an erasure, and is followed
 by an indistinct mark, possibly an 's' /G,
 'contino'; 'Razon' /H, 'Paraque'; 'sigala';
 'Vana'.

486.-B, 'Ynperio'; 'Romano' /C, 'Vasallos' /D, 'senōr'
 /E, 'lagas' /F, 'Carlo mano' /H, 'balan'; 'senōr';
 'mantible'.

487.

En santos testos vaçilan las glosas
 Con rudo sentir del mundo libiano;
 Quemado saber, glosando las prosas,
 Gouierna querer de pecho profano;
 Borrando la vida almas dañosas,
 Descubre el saber el ánimo ynsano:
 Documento en amores aquí relatado
 Sigue sus cursos en hombre notado.

488.

En los justos amores con gran fundamento
 Gustando desgustos amor en contrario,
 No siga aparençia el mal documento,
 Ni la vida justa amor adversario;
 Sig/ũ/iendo la razón entendimiento,
 Vidā con vida será su san/tuario;
 En tales firmezas el rudo entender
 Sigue en la vida el justo querer.

487.-A, 'testos' /B, 'Rudo' /D, 'deprecho' /E,
 'Borrandola' /F, 'Animo'; 'ynsāno' /G, 'Amores';
 'Relatado'.

488.-A, 'Justos' /B, 'Amor'; 'contrariō' /D, 'lavida';
 'Amor'; 'adversariō' /E, 'Sigiendo'; 'Razon'
 /F, 'convida'; 'sacuario' — the 'u' appears to have
 been converted from a former letter, but remains
 indistinct /G, 'Rudo'.

489.

Viejo borracho en falsas presunções
 Veys el neçio, frágil fundamento,
 Arguyendo repente vanas opiniones
 Malino sentir, falso documento;
 Mudando, estraga faltas razones
 El falso sentido de mal pensamiento;
 Los tales ynsultos naçen de los pechos
 Que hazen a rebeldes hazer mil despechos.

490.

Do fueron los tres en liga conformes,
 Venganças condenan amigos y hermano,
 Vemos siguiendo mil hechos ynormes
 En vso maldito consejo no sano,
 Contrario siluando el río de Tormes
 En vista y sentir del mundo libiano,
 Rabiosas querellas de dichos atroçes
 Dando a mil buenos contino de coçes.

489.-A, 'presunções' /C, 'Repente'; 'Vanas' /E,
 'Mundando'; 'Razones' /G, 'naçendelos' /H,
 'Rebeldes'.

490.-A, 'enliga' /B, 'Amigos' /D, 'Vso'; 'nosano'
 /E, 'Rio'; 'detornes' /F, 'ysentir' /G, 'dedichos';
 'Atroçes' /H, 'Dandos'.

491.

Este gran Fabio, que vemos patente,
 Refrena el furor del galo y germano;
 El consejo sagaz parece presente
 Mostrando a Emilio, el cónsul libiano;
 Gerrea en guerra valor refulgente,
 Valor y prudencia guiando la mano:
 ¡Luzero de /E/ España, de Alua gran duque,
 Cantando tus hechos el mundo trabuque!

492.

¡Qué glorias, qué famas tan potentes
 Fuertes Metelos pudieron alcanzar!
 ¡Qué frutos de Camjlo y de valientes
 Pudieron los romanos bien gozar!
 ¡Qué muestras de sentidos refulgentes
 Leemos de los griegos en alto blasonar!
 No sobrepasando este gran yspano
 Los que tubieron valor más soberano.

491.-A, 'fabio'; 'Vemos' /B, the 'g' of 'germano' has been inserted heavily, possibly by a second hand, over former 'h' /D, 'AEmilio'; 'Libiano' /E, 'gerrea'; 'Valor'; 'Refulgente' /G, 'despaña'; 'alua'; 'granduque' /H, the word 'hechos' has been inserted, by a probable second hand, above former 'hedres', which has been struck out.

492.-A, 'tant' /B, 'fuertes'; 'metelos' /C, 'camjlio' - the 'j' has been inserted over former 'o', and there remains the vestige of another former letter above the 'i'; 'devaliéntes' /D, 'Romanos' /E, 'desentidos'; 'Refulgentes' /F, 'delos'; 'blazonnar' - the 'z' has been converted from 's' /G, the word 'Que' appears at the beginning of the line, possibly by analogy with A, C, and E; 'nosobre pandando'; 'estegranys pano' /H, 'turbieron'; 'Valor'.

493.

Paçiençia, sienpre vençedora,
 La vemos sacrefiçio de prudentes;
 La mano artera vemos ser señora
 En los ánimós claros de valientes;
 Nos muestran el valor en vn punto y ora,
 Los tales nos conbienen por regentes:
 Rigendo la verdad sin artifiçios,
 Corrige la paçiençia muchos viçios,

494.

Nuevos sentidos que veys alterados,
 Las vistas faltando, los ayres de Tormes,
 Remotos se tornan los miedos pasados;
 Mandando tibieza casos disformes,
 El ciego valor los torna ostinados,
 Buscando enredos de casos ynormes;
 En pensando tenplar todo malhecho,
 Nadje no mira la honra y prouecho.

493.-A, the 'a' of 'vençedora' has been converted from
 'o' /B, 'saçrefiçio' /C, the 'a' of 'mano' has been
 converted from 'o'; 'arterera'; 'Vemos' /D, 'Animos';
 'do'; 'Volientes' /E, 'yora' /F, 'Regentes' /G,
 'laverdad' /H, 'Viçios'.

494.-A, 'queveys'; 'Alterados' /B, 'detormes' /C,
 'nuédos' /E, 'Valor' /F, 'En Redos'; 'Ynormes'
 /H, 'honrra'; 'Y'.

495.

Bíboras vemos, mordidas del lobo,
 Pensando contino morder la verdad;
 El vano sentido y seso con robo
 Anda contino siguiendo maldad:
 La triste tristeza, guiando tal globo,
 Manda en delicia querer libertad;
 Quiere la verdad contrario sentido
 En el justo amor, sin verle rendido.

496.

Ligero, soez, en tal silogismo,
 Altera vanidad muy resoluto,
 Espetáculo vano, guías del abismo,
 Manda la Madre, tornándola puta;
 Arma rutilante, en viejo c/in/ismo,
 En vanos alteros sin ley se computa;
 Mandando tales pechos los perdidos,
 La çiega pleue turba los sentidos.

495.-A, 'dellobo' /C, 'yseo' - the 'y' has been inserted over the letters 'de' by a probable second hand;
 'Robo' /E, 'talglobo' - the letters 'glob' have been inserted by a probable second hand /F, the 'M' of 'Manda' has been converted from 'L' /G, 'Quierre'; 'laverdad' /H, 'Amor'; 'sinverle'; 'Rendido'.

496.-C, 'Espetaçulo'; 'Vano' /D, 'madre'; 'tornando la' /E, 'Rutilante'; 'enviejo'; 'cismo' /F, 'Envanos' /H, 'ploue'; 'turbalos' - the 'l' has been inserted by a probable second hand, and remains unclear.

497.

Texendo arañas, vimos el enredo
 Cerrado en las redes presurosas;
 En caso monstruoso vn tal desnudo,
 Claro, turbio, en vistas vergonçosas,
 Cerrados los sentidos, ay el miedo,
 De fustibus et armis temerosas;
 Viejos adalides, tinieblas en hado,
 Redes de arañas los an ençerrado.

498.

Vemos Licurgo, varón preminente,
 Dando leyes del reyno al sobrino;
 Quebrando su ojo turbio ynsolente,
 Ronpe tal viso del mal desatino:
 Valor jlustrado en todo prudente
 Torna falsarios por nuevo camjno;
 Mandando razón soberuio malhecho,
 Reforma virtud el muerto despecho.

497.-A, 'Aranas'; 'Vimos'; 'El'; 'enredo' /B, 'En'; 'Redes'
 /C, 'caño'; 'Vn'; 'de nuedo' /D, 'Vergonçosas'
 /F, 'fustibus et armis' - this is the first example
 of latin usage in the text /H, 'An'; 'en çerrado'.

498.-A, 'licurgo'; 'Varon' /B, 'Reyno' /C, 'Que brando';
 'turbia'; 'Ynsolente' /E, 'jlustrado' - the first
 letter of the word is proper 'j'; 'entodo' /F,
 'nueVo'; the 'j' of 'camjno' has been imperfectly
 converted from 'i' /G, 'Razon' /H, 'Virtud'.

499.

Vsurpa el torvellino nueva tierra
 En la corriente de río presuroso;
 Deçiende en los llanos de la sierra
 Con ynpetu terrible, muy furioso:
 Combates sin pensar nos hazen guerra,
 Guiando dos mil tramas el reposo;
 Como los mienbros salen de los vaños,
 Reposando viejos, hurden los engaños.

500.

Hurtando contino veys al ladrón,
 Cubriendo engaño viejas heridas;
 ¡Cosa dañosa que vn mal fanfarrón
 Encubra del Rey las tales partidas!
 Surçiendo la culpa con falsa razón,
 Los niños conoçen al claro sus vidas;
 No basta saber turbar buen sentido
 Contrario a verdad en falso partido.

499.-A, 'tor vellino' /B, 'Rio' /C, 'dela' /E, 'noz'
 /F, 'Reposo' /G, 'mienbres'; 'salendelos'; 'Vaños'.

500.-A, 'alladron'; 'veyes' /C, 'panfarron' /D, 'En cubra' /
 E, 'confalsa'; 'Razon' /F, 'calro' /G, 'bastasaber'
 /H, 'averdad'.

501.

Jurando por Dios, con temor a su Rey,
 Con veso de Judas, paz de perdidos,
 Temor de los pechos contrario de ley,
 Luego obedientes y al punto falidos,
 Contrario del pecho, fynta en la grey,
 A Dios y del Rey, con ánimos surçidos,
 Remendones, nobles, perlados, caualleros,
 Son los perjuros, bajos trapaçeros.

502.

Hurtando el tienpo que veys agora,
 Con vanos simulacros fementidos
 Trapañando mil parleros la Señora,
 Son los reglados tontos malregidos;
 Barbullando dos mil puntos cada ora,
 Formando deshorden moços atrevidos,
 Los tales simulacros çiegos, vanos,
 Arguyen perdiçión de los más sanos.

501.-A, 'dios'; 'contemor' /B, 'judas' /C, 'delos'
 /E, 'delpecho'; the 'y' of 'fynta' has been inserted
 over an 'a' /F, 'Animos' /G, 'Caualleros' /H,
 'Los'.

502.-A, 'El'; 'Veys'; 'Agora'; the last five words of
 the line have been inserted over an erasure /B,
 the 'n' of 'vanos' has been inserted over an
 erasure /C, 'Trapañando'; 'señora' /D, 'Reglados'
 /E, 'Barbulbando' /G, 'Vanos' /H, 'delos'.

503.

En mezclas pintadas, faltando razón,
 Son los enredos que suertes se llaman;
 En falsos enbustes tomando blasón,
 Las tranpas falidas a muchos ynfaman;
 Con el santo mártir, contraria visión,
 Enredan buenos los casos que traman:
 Cortando las cuerdas a música vana,
 Ronpe el éforo /a/sonançia profana.

504.

¡Qué juras los perjuros nos hizieron,
 Palabras de entremeses nos pintando!
 ¡Qué sùmulas de sumas propusieron,
 Las arrogancias sienpre limitando!
 Tibiezas y consejas que entendieron
 En este medio sus tramas figurando,
 Enbiando vn adalid al mal traydor,
 Illustrado entrellos duq[ue] y el mayor.

503.-A, the 'l' of 'faltando' has been amended; 'Razon'
 /B, 'enRedos'; 'sellaman' /D, 'Los'; 'Amuchos';
 'Ynfaman' /E, 'martiz'; 'Vision' /F, 'En Redan'
 /G, 'Amusica'; 'Vana' /H, 'Eforo'; 'sonançia'.

504.-A, 'Juras'; 'perJuros'; 'hazieron' /B, 'Palabres';
 'deentre meses' /C, 'Sj nulas'; 'propie sieron' /E,
 'Trbrezas'; the first 's' of 'consejas' has been
 converted from 'j' /F, 'Eneste' /G, 'Vn' /H,
 'dnq' — the 'd' has been inserted over
 an imperfectly erased 'o', and is misshapen.

505.

Andan los gallos gritando con duelo
 Y propios milanos les comen los pollos;
 El águila negra caçaua de buelo
 Y agora el león le masa los vollos;
 Vemos lagartos, sin cuero nj pelo,
 Pescando en el mar con robo los tollos:
 Contino llorando la pleue los robos,
 Caçando Morilla, cómenla lobos.

506.

Remendones motilados, trapaçeros,
 En argumento vano de fingidos
 Falsa zizaña engaña lisongeros,
 Vanos letrados siendo rendidos;
 Andando con mentiras los parleros,
 Se mezclan fantasmas a los endormidos;
 De pasados perdidos las memorias,
 Bacanales fiestas son historias.

505.-B, 'yPropíos' — the 'y' has been inserted by a probable second hand /C, 'çaçaua' /D, 'agorael'; 'les'; 'masalos'; 'Vollos' /F, 'enel'; 'Robo' /G, 'lapleue'; 'Robos' /H, 'morilla'; 'comen la'.

506.-A, the last 'e' of 'Remendones' has been amended, and remains indistinct /B, 'Vano' /C, 'zizana' /D, 'siendo'; 'Rendidos' /F, 'alos' /G, 'Depasados'; 'Las'.

507.

Vemos mill reyes cargando en poder,
 Glosar los engaños sus falsos antojos;
 Los tales primores bien pueden valer,
 Çegando el sentido los túrbidos ojos;
 Sj los justos temores contrarían valer,
 Sigue el tal mando continos enojos:
 El bibir con morir tienen sentido
 Si no siguen amores del falso partido.

508.

Hedad moderna, del alma manchada,
 Disputa en querer cargado de viçio;
 Traslapa, trastroca amor estocada,
 Por alto y por bajo formando forniçio;
 Mirando a Dios la vida ostinada,
 Tornada en gozo, muda artifiçio:
 Gozando vn bibir contra de leyes,
 ¿Cómo podemos seruir justos reyes?

507.-A, 'Reyes'; 'enpoder' /C, 'Valer' /E, 'Justos';
 'Valer' /F, 'enoJos' /H, 'Sino'; 'Amores'.

508.-A, 'He dad' /B, 'De' /C, 'Tras lapa'; 'trastroça';
 'Amor'; 'esto cada' /D, 'porbaJo' /E, 'dios' /F,
 'Tornanda' - the last letter has been converted from
 'o'; 'engozo' /G, 'Vn' /H, the second 'o' of 'Como'
 has been amended; 'Justos'; 'Reyes'.

509.

Muy alto Señor, y claro en alteza,
 Mirando el sentir por padre la ley,
 Jamás no sigas de moços verdeza,
 Mirando tu espejo la vida del Rey;
 Pasando otro punto, verás que tib/*i*/eza
 Estraga contino mandatos en grey;
 El claro juyzio, con el ver remirado,
 Sienpre previene en seso mudado.

510.

En este bulto pintado de Tideo
 /*H*ay⁷ robusta proporción, pecho yspano,
 Espejo claro al padre con trofeo,
 Dulce muy cruel al pueblo ynsano
 De las verdades pintadas en deseo,
 Contrarios trasuntos al profano
 Pueblo de Baco, dañado de codicia,
 Contrario de Marte y de su milicia.

509.-A, 'señor' /B, 'porpadre' /C, 'Verdeza' /D,
 'tuespejo'; 'lavida' /E, 'Veras'; 'tibeza' /F,
 'Es traga' /G, 'Claro'; 'Juyzio'; 'elver';
 'Remirado' /H, 'preViene'; 'En'.

510.-A, 'Enes te'; 'detideo' /B, 'Robusta'; 'yspañō'
 /D, 'y nsano' /E, 'Verdades'; 'Endeseo' /G, 'baco' --
 the letters 'a' and 'o' have been inserted over former
 letters, by a probable second hand /H, 'marte';
 'desu' -- the last two letters have been inserted over
 an erasure.

511.

Disputando lo escuro tal razón,
 Resyste combates el alto poder,
 Contino çegando vana presunçión;
 Arguyendo a pasión el vano querer
 Razón altiua con reputaçión,
 No sigue altiuez contrario valer;
 Justas leyes de Dios guardando,
 El ministro real es el justo vando.

512.

Los çiegos, tontos, nuevos tan alteros,
 Creyendo a sj mesmos no son entendidos;
 El que propone términos parleros
 Sigue fantasmas de casos sin sentidos;
 Mirad, llegando a punto lisongeros,
 Cómo sin saber se rigen los perdidos:
 Las graçias mentirosas entre damas
 Hurden sin saber en el amor mil tramas.

511.-A, 'Razon' /B, 'Altopoder' /D, 'El' /E, 'Altigua'
 /F, 'Valer' /G, 'Leyes' /H, 'Real'; 'Vando'.

512.-A, 'tantos' /B, 'asj' /E, the letters 'son' of
 'lisongeros' have been inserted over former letters,
 and the word is followed by a large dot /H, 'Amor'.

513.

Bachilleres, hombres más letrados,
 De ynsultos simulacros nos pintando,
 Glosan las glosas ciegos, tontos, mudos,
 Reboltosos ver así tarazando,
 Entre ynsanos enxiriendo los más rudos,
 En las pinturas y pintores bariando
 Como vano entremés mando dañado,
 Confusión a lo tal, todo mudado.

514.

Católico Rey, con tan alto poder,
 Redime enbustes en causas de males
 Con clara justicia de bien entender,
 Formando el amor en tus naturales
 Con amor verdadero justicia temer;
 Que viendo tornar mil almas mortales,
 Pierde sentidos la cierta partida,
 Quit/and/o del alma cuerpo y la vida.

513.-A, 'Bachilleren'; 'lletrados' /B, 'Deynsultos' /C,
 'glosen'; 'glosos'; 'tontes' /D, 'ançi'; 'tarizando'
 /E, 'en xiriendo' /H, 'A'.

514.-B, 'enbistos'; 'encausas' /C, 'Justicia' /D,
 'Amor' /E, 'Amor'; 'Justicia' /F, 'Almas' /H,
 'Quito'; 'Alma'.

515.

Con muy alto saber, en santa canpañā,
 Se rigen los reyes por Dios trino /y/ vno;
 Nī ruego del malo nunca le ensaña,
 Nī el justo clamor le /ē/ s ynportuno;
 Nj menos verās por arte ni maña
 El reyno más alto gozar a ninguno:
 Temor de enojar la dama el esposo
 Haze al amante bibir en reposo.

516.

Armas famosas en justa canpañā
 Fueron Fernandos, de santa memoria;
 Con más, los Alonsos, luzeros de /Ē/ spaña,
 Y mil viejos godos pinta la ystoriā:
 Éstos, más claros de fama y hazaña,
 Delante Phelipe son como escoria;
 Solo, este Rey por Cristo conbate
 Y armadas ynfieles contino rebate.

515.-B, 'Rigen'; 'Reyes'; 'pordios'; 'Vno' /C, 'nuncale'
 /D, 'les' /E, 'Veras'; 'nimaña' /F, 'Rey no';
 'A' /G, 'EnoJar'; 'Dama'; 'El' /H, 'Reposo'.

516.-B, 'fernandos' /C, 'alonsos'; 'Luzeros'; 'despaña'
 /D, 'laystoria' /F, 'phelipe'; 'Como' /G, 'cristo'
 /H, 'Rebate'.

517.

Sangrienta y turbada vemos pegriçia,
 Claras vitorias ganadas por Dios,
 Vençidos armados y falsa /i/niçia,
 Escrúpulo falso quitando dē vos;
 No vale fuerça nj sabia miliçia
 Quando al muy alto tenemos por nos,
 Ni menos ardides de falsos arteros,
 Pintando mentiras a los trapaçeros.

518.

Con ojos vizcos mi/r/ando el probecho
 Quiero pintaros el mal Casimiro;
 Vana altieuz con vano despecho
 Hierran contino en el falso tiro;
 En mundo maldito paso contrecho,
 Presume el germano ser otro de /E/piro:
 Los miedos de mezclas de vana cōlor
 Fingen mill despechos en pecho traydor.

517.-A, 'Y'; 'Vemos'; 'pregriçia' /B, 'pordios' /C,
 'niçia' /D, 'devos' /E, 'Vale' /G, 'Nimenos'
 /H, 'alos'.

518.-A, 'oJos'; 'Vizcos'; 'miando' /B, 'casimiro' /F,
 'depiro' /G, 'devana'.

519.

Hechos famosos, con luz en la cunbre,
 Cantan muy claro las musas de Marte,
 Las armas sonantes dando vislunbre,
 Pintando en valor las mañas y arte,
 Mostrando /a/ lo escuro su clara lunbre
 Sabia razón, illustrada en su parte;
 Las máchinas todas luçen con esto
 Si no sigues traça de bajo conpuesto.

520.

El alto Rodolfo, de Ausburgo señor,
 Principio glorioso en tal mona/r/chía,
 Humillando al bohemo tal resplandor,
 Manda el tal mando la gran señoría;
 La cisma quitando del reyno mayor,
 Trastroca y trasmuda del mal fantasía;
 Principio sin fin gouierna los reyes,
 Mandando el pecho amor de las leyes.

519.-A, the second 'o' of 'famosos' has been inserted over former 'a' /B, 'marte' /C, 'Armas' /D, 'pintando'; 'yarte' /E, 'loescuro'; 'Lunbre' /F, 'Razon' /G, 'Luçen'; 'conesto' /H, 'Sino'.

520.-A, 'deaus pourque' /B, 'monachia' /E, 'Reyno' /G, the letters 'ier' of 'gouierna' have been inserted over an erasure; 'Reyes' /H, 'Amor'; 'Leyes'.

521.

Marcas de visos, nuevos contrapuntos,
 Argólico viso es curso de males ;
 Cantares vanos veréys sin los puntos,
 Combaten pechos de los pedregales ;
 A g/u/isa fingida, propios trasuntos,
 Gerrean su sangre los gozos venales :
 Sustenta agora el moço Matías
 Causa contraria del gran Matatías.

522.

El príncipe vero, q/ue7 rige sentido,
 Sienpre es con Dios, rigendo razón,
 Que nunca verás quien es fementido
 Mirar de los buenos su gran perfección;
 A santas reliquias de seso polido
 Buscan los malos turbar confición;
 A buenos son ledos los hijo/s/ de Leda,
 Y a todos escriue preçetos e^l Veda.

521.-A, 'devisos' /B, 'escurso' /C, 'vereyes';
 'sín'; 'pnntos' /E, 'Agisa'; 'propíos' /F,
 'Venales' /G, 'matias' /H, 'matitias'.

522.-A, 'Principe'; 'Veroq̄'; 'Rige' /B, 'condios';
 'Rigendo'; 'Razon' /C, 'nunça'; 'Veras' /D,
 'delos'; 'parfecion' /E, 'Santas'; 'Reliquias';
 'deseso' /G, 'sonledos'; 'hijo'; 'deleda'
 /H, 'Ya'.

523.

Senbrando nublados zizaña mayor,
 Cubren la tierra los nublados sonos;
 La constancia disipa contrario en amor,
 El otro sentido glosando razones;
 En esta malicia causando dolor,
 Comen sustancia los pérfidos dones:
 Pierde las vidas sentir del artero,
 Buscando camino por falso sendero.

524.

Si temes a Dios, no faltan de vista
 Las crines doradas con alto cayado;
 Alçando el escoto nueva conquista,
 Luego padeçe el caso ynpensado;
 Mudando las almas gente malquista,
 Falta razón a quien es más letrado:
 El firme reyno es dado por Dios
 Sj católica fee manda entre nos.

523.-A, 'zizañamayor' /B, 'nublidos' /C, 'Amor' /D,
 'Razones' /E, 'Enesta'; 'miliçia' /G, 'Vidas'
 /H, the 'o' of 'camino' has been amended.

524.-A, 'dios' /C, 'al' /F, 'Razon' /G, 'Reyno'; 'esdado';
 'pordios' /H, 'Catolica'; 'feemanda'; 'entrenos'.

525.

Sj falso amador rige los pérfidos,
 La virtud y bondad andan trapaçeras,
 Arguyen libertad honbres atrevidos
 Con redes fabulosas, lisongeras;
 A su Dios y Rey haziendo falsos tiros,
 Manda en tal sazón vidas parleras,
 Y a todos sus pasados torna escoria,
 Ensuçiando blasón fresco en memoria.

526.

Ruegan a Dios continuos clamores
 Por nietos del César mayor en tal era;
 Escoge natura pinzel con amores
 Y funde figuras masadas con çera;
 Efigies, trasuntos y lindos primores
 Pintara Cupido en esta cimera:
 La luz verdadera anda entre nos,
 Pues los padres con hijos siruen a Dios.

525.-A, 'Amador' /B, 'Lavirtud'; 'bondon' /D, 'Redes';
 'fabulo sas' - the first 's' has been converted
 from 'l' /E, 'sudios'; 'tieros' /G, 'atodos';
 'suspasados'; 'escoriā' /H, the 'ç' of 'Ensuçiando'
 has been converted from 's'; 'fresça'; 'memoriā'.

526.-A, 'Ruegen'; 'adios' /C, 'Es coze'; 'Amores' /D,
 'conçera' /F, 'enesta'; 'Cimera' /G, 'Laluz';
 'Verdadera'; 'Anda'; 'entrenos' /H, 'Los'; 'Padres';
 'siruenadios'.

527.

Escuderotes escusados y baldón,
 Linages soñolientos, endormidos,
 Rigendo los pobretes presunción,
 Los desnudos reproches sin vestidos,
 Oluidando olujdo el gran blasón,
 Contrarios a su Rey, los veys rendidos;
 Oluidando la memoria el açidente,
 En triste punto mortaja de repente.

528.

Escondrijos secretos de túrbido son
 Pintaua malicia, faltando verdad;
 Pintando aparençias el falso blasón,
 Organiza el tono falsa maldad;
 Mirando la vieja el moço Jasón,
 Mudara el amor en la gran crueldad:
 Disipa razón los tales engaños,
 Y mandando ynterés, se mudan los años.

527.-A, 'Escuderotes' — the 't' has been converted from
 's'; 'escursados' /B, 'Línages' /C, 'pobretos' /D,
 'Reproches'; 'sinvestidos' /F, 'Veys'; 'Rendiðos' /H, 'Repente'.

528.-A, 'deturbido' /B, 'Verdad' /E, 'lavieja' /F,
 'Amor'; 'crualdad' /G, 'Dísípa'; 'Razon' /H,
 'yMandando' — the 'y' has been inserted into the
 first stroke of the 'M'; 'Ynteresse'; 'Años'.

529.

Mostruos marinos, visos sin temor,
 Argumentan mill casos poderosos;
 Confusión de puntos, sin punto de amor,
 Solos caminan hechos temerosos:
 Arguyen falidos, su propio rencor,
 Querer libertad hombres escabrosos;
 Gouierna su amor hombres fementidos,
 Casos repuntados, hechos falidos.

530.

El viejo monte que veys alterado,
 Remoto de Dios, contrario del Rey,
 Cubre el engaño sin caso pensado,
 El pecho muy duro turbando la grey;
 Maña en lo tal hallando su grado,
 El tiempo remoto mandando la ley,
 Veréys la magaña en toda sazón
 Ser de las vidas mortal perdiçión.

529.-C, 'Amor' /E, 'Rencor' /G, 'Amor' /H,
 'Repuntados'.

530.-A, 'Viejo'; 'queveys' /B, 'dedios' /E, 'enlotal'
 /F, 'Remoto' /H, 'delas'; the cedilla of 'perdiçion'
 has been inserted lightly by a probable second hand.

531.

El fresco jardín, que vemos perdido,
 Mandando el querer de vida querida,
 Gouierna temor al pecho falido;
 El armígero Marte, mirando tal vida,
 Con viso claro torna el falido
 En vida segura de justa partida;
 Trasmuda sentidos con su clara voz,
 Los nuevos políti/c7os domando el feroz.

532.

Cunbre de gloria, de fama y hazaña,
 Gana el premio de valor Teodosio;
 Sigue la vida, sin falsa magaña,
 Con ánimo firme, temor del Anb/r7osio;
 Mandan preçetos, la ley sin zizaña,
 El claro juyzio, sin vello en Orosio:
 Fingendo reglas lisonja mundana,
 La vida segura nos muda profana.

531.-A, 'Jardin'; 'Vemos'; the 'o' of 'perdido' has been inserted by a possible second hand /B, 'Vida' /D, 'Armigero'; 'marte' /F, 'Vida'; 'Jus ta' /G, 'Tras muda'; 'Voz' /H, 'nueVos'; 'politros'.

532.-B, 'Valor'; 'teodosiō' /C, 'lavidā' /D, 'Animo'; 'Anbosiō' /E, 'laley'; 'sinzizāna' /F, 'Juyzio'; 'sinvello'; 'enorosiō' /G, 'fingendo'; 'Reglas'; an 's' has been erased imperfectly at the end of 'lisonja'; 'mundanā' /H, 'Lavidā'; 'profanā'.

533.

Mandando el mando del Rey sin fiçiones,
 Goza en bibir el reyno su ynperio
 Sin el otro, más alto, de todas naçiones,
 Que espera gozar el Qésar yverio;
 Pues solo merece, por sus perfeçiones,
 Tener monarchía del grande ymisferio;
 En fin, aquél solo por Dios es el Rey,
 Que es firme anparo de toda su ley.

534.

Júpiter alto, con mando prudente,
 Con Marte y Netuno, están conjurados
 Por tierra y por mar guiar el valiente,
 Según a los claros que vemos pintados;
 Agora mirando, escuro, patente,
 Veys nuevos polos estar sugetados;
 Volando la fama en larga carrera,
 Canta los hechos con voz verdadera.

533.-A, 'Mandandoel' — the letters 'ndoel' have been inserted over an erasure /B, 'enbibir'; 'Reyno' /C, 'Sinel' /D, 'y Verio' /F, 'ymisperio' /G, 'aqueel' /H, 'Anparo'; 'Ley'.

534.-B, 'marte'; 'netuno'; 'con jurados' /C, 'Portierra'; 'marguiar'; 'El'; 'Valiente' /D, 'alos'; 'Vemos' /E, 'A gora' /F, 'estarsugetados' — the second 's' has been inserted over a former letter /H, 'Verdadera'.

536.

Ni a los hermanos que son dos estrellas,
 Ni a los de Colcos, en vanas conquistas,
 Leymos jamás sus hazañas más vellas
 Llegar a presentes, remotas de vistas;
 España les pasa, trunfando de aquéllas,
 Ganando las vidas a gentes malquistas;
 Las almas perdidas y cuerpos comidos
 Vemos patente mostrar redimidos.

537.

El bibo sentimiento a lo pasado
 Arguye saber a todo lo presente;
 Diga, arguya el hombre más letrado
 Cómo juzgara del túrbido açidente:
 Bómito t/r/aydor, pecho alterado,
 Los pinta/n/ las fantasmas de repente;
 Veys alteraçión y movimiento
 Hazer de simulaciõ/n/ falso yntento.

536.-A, 'alos' /B, 'Nialos'; 'colcos'; 'Vanas' /C,
 'Ley mos'; 'Vellas' /D, 'Remotas'; 'devistas'
 /E, 'lespasa' /F, 'agentes' /G, 'Almas' /H,
 'Redimidos'.

537.-A, 'Alopassedo' /C, 'arguYa' /D, 'Juzgara' /E,
 'Bo mito'; 'taydor' /F, 'pintalas'; the word
 'mas' has been struck out before 'de'; 'Repente'
 /G, 'ymoVimiento' /H, 'des ímulaciõfalso'; 'Yntento'.

538.

El túrbido sentido glosando verdad,
 Mirando contino el vero sentido,
 Remirando razón en voluntad,
 Haze fundamento al viso garrido;
 El otro entendimiento, en falsedad,
 Haze marca en el rostro marrido;
 Remendando claridad otros letijos,
 Se forma caridad con amor en los hijos.

539.

Al punto ya llegado de justiçia
 Llegando mansedunbre muy hermosa,
 Madurada clemençia sin codiçia
 Hallando la morada temerosa,
 Con dulce hablar, ageno de maliçia,
 Nos torna la justiçia muy hermosa;
 Rigiendo la razón horden mandada,
 Justiçia pía feneçe la jornada.

538.-A, 'Verdad' /C, 'Razon'; 'envoluntad' /D, 'alviso'; 'garrido' /F, 'Enel'; 'Rostro'; 'marrido' /G, 'letijos' /H, 'Amor' — the 'r' has been converted from 's'.

539.-A, 'y allegado'; 'dejustiçia' /B, 'manse dunbre' /D, the first 'a' of 'Hallando' has been inserted by a probable second hand /F, 'justiçia' — the accent and the cedilla have been inserted by a probable second hand (cf. A and H) /G, 'Razon' /H, 'Justiçia'; 'lajornada' — below the 'n' appears an indistinct letter.

540.

Tendidas las velas, engolfados en mar
 Andan contino los çinco sentidos;
 Nadie veréys quiriendo dudar,
 Saluar aparençia los muertos perdidos;
 Donayres risueños veréys lastimar,
 Fi/n/giendo verdad los hombres fingidos:
 Oyendo las faltas los más estimados,
 Redimen horror tornando reglados.

541.

Enterrado es Marte valeroso
 Y, alegre la tierra que a /ē/1 solo temía,
 Espantado el mar veys, y tēmeroso;
 El ayre y estrellas se turban a porfía
 Y lloran muerte del moço velicoso,
 Gloria y luzero en toda monarchía;
 Atrás dexando lisonja regida,
 Pasa/n/ el curso y el pr/i/mor de la vida.

540.-A, 'Velas'; 'engolfandos' /B, the cedilla of
 'çinco' appears to have been inserted by a second
 hand (cf. D, 'aparençia') /E, 'Risueños'; 'Vereys';
 'Lastimar' /F, 'Figiendo'; 'Verdad'; 'fíngidos'
 /G, 'estímados' /H, 'Reglados'.

541.-A, 'marte'; 'Valeroso' /B, 'al' /D, 'aporfia'
 /E, 'muertodel' — the 'd' has been inserted in a
 probable attempt to make these words read 'muerte
 del', but the author (or the scribe) has omitted
 to convert the 'o' of 'muerto' to 'e'; 'Velic oso' —
 an 'i' has been erased imperfectly between 'c' and
 'o' /F, 'monarchiā' /G, 'A tras'; 'dexandolison
 ja'; 'Regida' /H, 'Pasa'; 'y il prmos' — these
 words have been inserted over an erasure, by a
 second hand; 'lavida'.

542.

Gozando el amor en pensamiento,
 Cautivado mj querer con aluedrío,
 El áncora del viçio, sin contento,
 En amorosa playa echa el querer mío;
 Perdiéndose ya entendimiento,
 Juzgara en tal querer vn mal desvío,
 Y las figuras en todo lo pintado
 Remedan el blasón del tal treslado.

543.

En el vltimo fin por no ser contrecho,
 Al fin del mundo, en santa jornada,
 Por amando gozar claro en derecho,
 Sigamos a Cristo dotrina mandada,
 ¡Y atrás los resabios del caso malhecho!
 Que allj no será sentençia apelada;
 Que con ser muy queridos hijos de amor,
 No avrá remedio quien es pecador.

542.-B, 'Cantivado' - the 'C' has been amended;
 'aluedriō' /C, 'viçío' - the accent and the
 cedilla have been inserted by a probable second
 hand /D, 'Echa'; 'miō' /E, 'Perdiendo se';
 'ayentendimiento' /F, 'Vn'; 'desviō' /G, 'píntado'.

543.-A, 'Enel'; 'Vltimo' /B, 'Jornada' /C, 'Amando';
 'enderecho' /D, 'Sígamos' (cf. 542C); 'cristo'
 /E, 'a tras'; 'Resabíos' (cf. D) /G, 'conser';
 'dea mor' /H, 'Remedio'.

544.

Cerrando la clauē en esta mi obra,
 Propongo en los dichos seguir a verdad;
 Verdades publico, persigo la sobra
 De pechos doblados que van tras maldad,
 Que alma perdida jamās no se cobra
 Sj rienda no torna a viçios bondad,
 El bibir pintando el testo y la glosa,
 Camino seguro al metro y la prosa.

545.

Muy alto prudente, de claro saber,
 My flaco sentido, que nada no sabe,
 Os ruega, Señor, querāys socorrer
 Tales dislates, çerrando la clauē,
 Que flaca flaqueza y rudo entender,
 Çerradas las puertas, queda/n̄ sin llaue;
 Los casos patentes son dibujados
 En hechos presentes que van disfracados.

544.-A, 'claua'; 'enesta' /B, 'enlos'; 'averdad'
 /C, 'Publico'; 'persigo' - the letters 'per'
 have been inserted over an erasure /D, 'Despechos';
 'quevan' /E, 'Alma'; 'Jamās' /F, the 'j' of 'Sj'
 has been inserted over an erasure; 'Rienda';
 'notorna'; 'aviçios'; the 'o' of 'bondad' has been
 converted from 'e' /H, 'Cammo'; 'Y'.

545.-B, a 'u' has been struck out between the 'M' and the
 'y' of 'My'; 'nosabe' /C, 'Ruega'; 'señor' /E,
 'Rudo' /F, 'queda' /H, 'Van'; 'disfracados'.

546.

S^j el metro al son no es más sonante,
 Ni los casos traçados con seso polido,
 Del gran socorro de graçia pujante
 De tan alto valor seré socorrido;
 Que este será remedio bastante,
 Siendo por vos, m^j Señor, sostenido,
 Que yo no pretendo lo^{or} de letores,
 Sinon el remedio en tantos cl^{am}ores .

546.-A, 'alson'; 'noes' /B, 'conseso' /D, 'Valor'
 /E, 'Remedio' /F, 'señor' /G, 'lo or'; 'Letores'
 /H, 'El' ; 'Remedio'.

NOTES TO THE TEXT OF
'VARIOS ENIGMAS DE LOS DISLATES MUNDANOS'

Several works are cited frequently in explanation of textual usage and references; their titles are therefore abbreviated for convenience. Words or expressions requiring explanation are usually noted only on their first occurrence in the text. Proper names are rendered in English except where there is no common English version, in which case the language of origin is retained.

Abbreviations

- * Autoridades: Diccionario de la lengua castellana ... por la Real Academia Española (Madrid, 1726-37), facsimile edition (Madrid, 1964) .
- * Corominas: Joan Corominas, Diccionario crítico etimológico de la lengua castellana, 4 vols (Bern, 1954) .
- * Covarrubias: Sebastián de Covarrubias y Horozco, Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española (Madrid, 1611), edition of M. de Riquer (Barcelona, 1943) .
- * Caballero: Hernando de Acuña, El cavallero Determinado traduzido de Francés en Español ... (Antwerp, 1555) .
- * Elton: G.R.Elton, Reformation Europe, 1517-1559, The Fontana History of Europe (London and Glasgow, 1963) .
- * Europe Divided: J.H. Elliott, Europe Divided, 1559-1598, The Fontana History of Europe (London and Glasgow, 1968) .
- * Herodotus: Herodotus [The Histories]; with an English translation by A.D.Godley, Loeb Classical Library, 4 vols (London, 1920-5), 1960-3 reprints .
- * Imperial Spain: J.H. Elliott, Imperial Spain, 1469-1716 (London, 1963) .
- * Keniston: H. Keniston, The Syntax of Castilian Prose. The Sixteenth Century (Chicago, 1937) .
- * Laberinto: Juan de Mena, El laberinto de Fortuna o las trescientas (first published Salamanca, 1481), edition of J.M. Blecua (Madrid, 1960) .
- * Lives: Plutarch's Lives; with an English translation by B.Perrin, Loeb Classical Library, 11 vols (London, 1914-26) .
- * Mingo Revulgo: Fernando del Pulgar, Letras. - Glosa a las Coplas de Mingo Revulgo, edition of J. Domínguez Bordona (Madrid, 1949), pp. 145 - 235 .
- * Moralia: Plutarch's Moralia; with an English translation by I.C. Babbitt, Loeb Classical Library, 15 vols (London, 1927-69) .
- * Parker: Geoffrey Parker, The Army of Flanders and the Spanish Road, 1567-1659. The Logistics of Spanish Victory and Defeat in the Low Countries' Wars, Cambridge Studies in Early Modern History (Cambridge, 1972) .

- * Williams: Sir Roger Williams, The Actions of the Low Countries, edited by D.W. Davies, Folger Documents of Tudor and Stuart Civilization (Cornell, 1964) .
- * Valerius Maximus: Valerii Maximi factorum et dictorum memorabilium libri nouem, edition of C. Kempf (Stuttgart, 1966) .

The dictionaries and Keniston have been consulted very frequently and are cited only where a special definition is required. Page and volume references are not given unless the definition appears elsewhere than under the entry for the word or words in question. References to Elliott and Plutarch that consist only of the author's name and page numbers refer to the last-cited work of the author.

The following general sources of information have also been consulted but are not acknowledged in individual notes:

- * The New English Bible. The Old Testament (OUP and CUP, 1970) .
- * The New English Bible. The New Testament, second edition (OUP and CUP, 1970) .
- * Collins Spanish-English, English-Spanish Dictionary, by C. Smith, in collaboration with M. Bermejo Marcos and E. Chang Rodríguez (London, 1971) .
- * Diccionario de la lengua española, Real Academia Española, nineteenth edition (Madrid, 1970) .
- * Martín Alonso, Enciclopedia del idioma, 3 vols (Madrid, 1958) .
- * Harper's Dictionary of Classical Literature and Antiquities, edited by H.T. Peck (New York, 1962) .
- * The Oxford Classical Dictionary, edited by N.G.L. Hammond and H.H. Scullard, second edition (Oxford, 1970) .
- * Gonzalo Correas, Vocabulario de refranes y frases proverbiales (Madrid, 1906), 1924 edition .
- * Hernán Núñez, Refranero español (Salamanca, 1555), 193-? edition (Valencia) .
- * Emiliano Diez Echarri, Teorías métricas del Siglo de Oro. Apuntes para la historia del verso español, RFE Anejo XLVII (Madrid, 1949) .
- * Enciclopedia universal ilustrada europeo-americana, 82 vols (Madrid, 1905-30) .

The works of Homer, Virgil, and Ovid were consulted in the Loeb Classical Library editions. The edition of Amadís de Gaula consulted was that of E.B. Place (Madrid, 1959-69) .

Title. ENIGMAS: 'obscure references'; also a minor literary form. See textual study.
DISLATES: 'follies'; also a minor literary form (= 'disparates').

Stanza 1, Alluding to the Coplas de Mingo Revulgo (ca.1485),
 A-D an anonymous commentary in verse on late fifteenth-century Castilian society. Its criticism was veiled in pastoral dialogue and obscure images.

B metros: 'verse'; the sense of 'language' is also implied here.

D The relation of past with present made here and in F is similar to that of Mena in the Laberinto, stanza 2, lines f-g. ciuiles: 'dishonourable'; 'civil'.

E-H The poet's statement of intention and method: to describe, within the literary 'allegory of life', present social problems, and seek to remedy them by advocating Christian virtues.

E ronca garganta: a conventional expression in narrative verse.

F gentiles: 'honourable'; 'heathen'. The paradoxical double meaning is yet more evident than in D.

2 The poet alludes to the metaphorical human struggle before death depicted by Olivier de la Marche in his Le Chevalier délibéré (1483). The later references are apparently related to this and recurrent images of conflict.

A-D Syntactically complicated: B and C both refer to the combate, which is the subject of Siguiendo (although arguably the object); the subjunctive (fuera) seems to result from an 'indefinite' rather than 'specific' use of Aquel (cf. Keniston, p.393), or fuera is possibly a pluperfect indicative.

B /D/ e la Marcha: cf. Caballero, stanza 37.
partida: 'departure'; 'death'.

D ora = hora.

F Sense: 'we see that our soul becomes lost'.

- 3 The distinction made here between virtuous conflict and that inspired by moral error is expanded in subsequent stanzas by a series of diverse images which illustrate the disturbing effect of the rejection of virtue. The role of poetry and the desirability of moral remedy are also discussed.
- A contino = continuo: 'continually'.
- D alteros = alterosos: '[the] presumptuous, haughty'.
- G-H The literary metaphor is particularly apt in discussion of the dangers of unorthodoxy, for the notion of 'glosar' underlies the poet's definition and interpretation of sin.
- 4,A musas: poetry . melos: 'song'.
- F They (mortals) act deceitfully; cf. 'jugar a dos hitos'.
- G sin son: 'without reason'; the play on son in reference to music is evident.
- 5,B The notion of 'pintar' also becomes essential to the poet's approach.
- F letijos: 'disputes, contention'.
- 6,D muestras: 'examples of conduct'; 'muster-rolls' (mil.).
listas: 'strips' (of material); 'muster-rolls'.
- E The military references are further related to the moral point: the soldier's equipment is compared with the sinner's burden.
- F vistas sin vistas: cf. 'centinela de vista'.
- 7,G-H Here, too, the military context (mandones: 'commanders'; partida: 'squad') is related to the moral life-cycle; partida could also refer to a hand of cards or to moral conduct.
- 8,D omezillo: 'hatred'; 'murder'; 'evil'.
- F As in H, and in much of the poem, amor means 'love of God' (= faith).
- 9,C-D Herodotus explains in Book 1 of The Histories that the Massagetae, ruled by Queen Tomyris and conquerors of Cyrus the Elder, used only bronze and gold for their weapons and armour.
- D simulacro: 'image, idol'; 'mock battle'.
- F enpece: 'prevents'; 'harms'.
- H rutilante: adjective for noun.

- 10 The poet here speaks as a witness to the moral reality of his time.
- A Liçencia: 'permission'; 'leave of absence' (mil.).
- G sazón: the word here seems to imply an improvement in the fortunes of truth.
- H dança: the verb 'danzar' has the figurative sense of 'interfere'.
- 11 The whole stanza seems to refer, obscurely, to the threat to social stability posed by the circulation of unorthodox ideas. The pastoral metaphor probably derives from Mingo Revulgo.
- A Dandario y G/u/alterio: the names cannot be traced or applied to any likely historical context, but seem to describe typical shepherd figures.
- D Cf. Mingo Revulgo, coplas v-vi (pp.161-2,164) and Laberinto, stanza 11, line e ('tridente').
- F ybero Marte: possibly, Imperial Spain.
- G nutrice = nutriz: 'wet-nurse'.
- 12,A-B An allusion to opinions about the structure of the universe. The description is very similar to that of Juan de Mena and Hernán Núñez in the Laberinto, stanza 34 and notes.
- B The use of 'con' for 'y' (e.g. el mar con la tierra) is normal practice in the poem.
- C Nuevos artistas: astrologers or cartographers.
- E abizen = avisen.
- F Moral divergence (Propia pintura) is seen to cause conflict (on painting and images, see pp.376 and 396-7).
- 13,D Liñas = Líneas.
- F sino = signo. mauorcio: 'martial'.
- H Enredan ... barajas: 'are consistently stirring up trouble at the present time'.
- 14 The profession of a simple, orthodox faith in God advocated by the poet to his reader is in direct contrast to the curiosity of Mena's narrator in the Laberinto, stanzas 2-12, to view and relate the workings of fortune.

- C parlero: 'over-talkative, indiscreet'.
- 15,A-D The desire that poets might be invested by God with the duty and insight to teach his immortal truths.
- E aflito = aflicto = afligido.
- F-G These lines form part of the condition initiated in E and resolved in H: if sense, strength, understanding, reason, and love are all defunct (in addition to malice's having afflicted divine knowledge),.....
- 16,A-D A vision of Hell, with its paradoxes; the subsequent reference to human conduct foreshadows the contrasts seen in 17.
- 17,A serán: cf. Keniston, pp.474,478-9: 'ser' or 'estar' were often used where modern practice would require 'haber'.
- D ternán = tendrán.
- E-F The guide, who suckles, is probably Providence, escort of Mena's narrator in the Laberinto.
- 18,A las fantasmas: feminine gender was normal at the period.
- B fingendo = Fingiendo.
- 19 Certain terminology in this stanza (e.g. hechos ya viejos, casos gentiles, guerras cebiles) is reminiscent of 1, suggesting that the poet sees Plutarch as a source of information on the subject he proposes to discuss.
- A-B Referring to the Lives (Vitae).
- C-F The exemplary nature of that work seems contradicted by the injustice, physical violence, and rebellion it records.
- E Dize de mucho romper (de) sus pellejos: ellipsis; 'he records a lot of carnage'.
pellejos: 'hides'.
- G herrando = errando.
- 20,B falida = fallida.
- E raça: 'razar ant. borrar (?)' (Corominas, III, p.1020).

- 21,A-D falacia, Enredos, and trapaças are all objects of Vemos.
- C trapaças: 'frauds'.
- E bultos: 'faces'.
- F Sigue[n] la cumbre: 'go to extremes'.
- G-H The apparent generalities of A-F are perhaps identified with contemporary national life, which is compared with political life of the past. The allusion to Greeks is possibly intended to recall the figure of Plutarch (19A).
- 22,A-C correo, Precursor, cursado: a series of correspondences, probably inspired by corsos (21H).
- A tranpista = tramposo.
- B regentes: those who rule, usually on behalf of another; the word also refers more specifically to royal regents and to ecclesiastical supervisors.
- C ar[r]eo: 'trappings'.
- E rodeo: 'devious argument'.
- H Malicia is presumably the main subject, referred to in apposition, of the stanza.
- 23,A-B Republic and Politics, respectively, would be the most relevant works.
- A Cf. Laberinto, stanza 118, line c. Aristótel = Aristóteles.
- C persiguen: the rhyming consonant ('g') differs from that in A and E.
- D Hidra: applied here to the people, who thrive on received ideas. Plutarch (vol.X) refers to Plato's comment that to adopt any but absolute tactics in disorders of state is simply to cut off the Hydra's heads.
presupuestos: 'designs'.
- G Enxenplos = Ejemplos.
- 24 The corruptness of human nature invalidates even wise attempts to alter it.
- B aplazen = placen. polidos = pulidos.
- E A typically vivid image of evil motivation.
- H cárcel: Hell. son: 'ser' for 'estar'.

- 25 A series of images of harsh social reality.
- A-B I.e. veys en mil hogueras fuego eterno/de huesos de animales quemados atrás: possibly, an oblique reference to non-Christian practices.
- B atrás: 'previously'. veys is the governing verb of the whole series of objects in the stanza.
- D saltando barreras: 'jumping over barricades' (mil.); 'overcoming obstacles' (fig.).
- E al viso: 'apparently'.
- F perras: the rhyme with B and D is incomplete.
- H contrechos: 'grotesque, deformed'.
- 26,A marrido = amarrido: 'melancholy, ill'.
- C-D A warning about converts from Judaism and Islam as examples of moral backsliding, and therefore one about appearances.
- C fee = fe. rendido: 'devoted'.
- D renegado: 'apostate'; there remains ambiguity as to which religion is denied, thus allowing two opposing interpretations.
marfuz: 'deceiver'.
- E-F An allusion to the expulsions of 1492; the viejo andaluz might be Count Julian, often blamed for the first Arab invasion of Spain, and perhaps used as an example for the aphoristic conclusion in G-H.
- 27,A-B 'que' omitted before tratemos and busquemos.
- A ancianos = antiguos.
- H herrero: probably, alluding to one who commits or causes error, as well as to the figure of a blacksmith; the reference relates back to errores (F), and gives wider application to señero (G).
- 28,B culpante = culpable.
- D raposos: 'foxes'; 'artful people'. vedes = veis.
- H sin ser entendida: 'without life's being understood'.
- 29 References in 29 and 30 to military preparations and civil war possibly extend beyond mere illustration of moral themes.

- A-B 'Armar' meant both 'arm' and 'create'. The seditious (bulliçiosos) are compared with ants. ('myrmex' /lat./ = ant).
- A mirmidones: a race of people referred to by Ovid in Metamorphoses, VII, as having been transformed from ants; 'overseers'; 'servants'.
- F aguéstos = éstos.
- G-H The ant might also be thought a moral example (cf. Covarrubias, pp.699-700).
- 30,A-B Cf. Plutarch, vol.VIII: M. Porcius Cato, the Younger, attempted to defend the rights of the state in spite of the civil war between Caesar and Pompey.
- B Gerras: the omission of 'u' was not uncommon in the Golden Age.
- E Percides = Pericles: his life is recorded by Plutarch (vol.III); licence is exercised with the name for the purpose of rhyme.
- F Probably, referring to Pericles's lack of preparation (pigrícia) for the Peloponnesian War.
- 32,E-H Socio-moral disorder and its correction are expressed in terms of damage and repair of material.
- E remiendo: 'repair'; 'Se llama assimismo la insignia de qualquiera de las Ordenes Militares ...' (Autoridades).
- F runpimiento = rompimiento: 'tear'; 'dispute'.
- G sin fraude nj mota: 'without deception or defect'.
- H rota = rompimiento; also 'defeat'.
- 33,A An allusion to the Caballero, a sixteenth-century Spanish version of Le Chevalier délibéré; the figures of 'Debilidad' and 'Accidente' are great enemies of the Christian knight, who (although unintroduced) is here characterized as weak and unarmed, yet, paradoxically, is protected by arms of faith or virtue. In the Caballero the knight has a lance 'con hierro de Regimiento' (see stanzas 41,74).
- B Virtue or faith; C is in apposition to arma.
- F Hétor = Héctor: he is described in the Caballero, stanza 58, as 'Exemplo de Fortaleza' (cf. Mingo Revulgo, p.180).
- G contrario: 'in opposition'.

- H Reyes: spiritual and earthly monarchs. La Marche's poem was considered a demonstration of loyalty to the Burgundian king.
- 34,C veros = verdaderos.
- F no hay hermandades: a possible reflection on official justice as well as on moral unworthiness.
- G-H The poet's record of his observations is regularly made, like Mena's and Acuña's, in the past tense.
- 35,D Cf. Covarrubias, p.615: 'Fundición, el acto de fundir especialmente el oro y plata para purificarse'.
- 36 An apparent mixture of several allusions.
- A The devouring of his children (cf. references to eating in C, E-F, G).
- B The first labour.
- D Cf. Covarrubias, p.191: '"A cuentas viejas, barajas nuevas"'.
 E-F barberos is probably the subject of Jmitando: if they act as violently (presumably, when pulling teeth), then people are unable to eat and drink. The allusions are more complex than this, however: Saturn and his daughter Ceres were both gods of agriculture, whilst Bacchus, assisted by Hercules, once took the form of a lion in order to impose his cult by force; furthermore, Ceres and Bacchus were once involved in dispute over the territory of Campania.
- G entremés: 'entertainment'; 'dish'.
- 37 Cf. 22. The evil and inconsistent nature of this unidentified example of vice, either Satan (cf. 35H), a typical mortal (cf.36G), or most probably, the world itself, is expressed by a series of paradoxical titles in apposition.
- C amor nuevo: heresy.
- G 'Andar corrido, andar o afrentado, o trabajado de una parte a otra (Covarrubias, p.363).
- 38,A-F veys (37G) understood.
- G-H The educational metaphor of 38 is inverted here to show the success of the conscientious student.
- 39,C neçio letrado: 'charlatan'.

- D la ley: divine law. computa: 'converts'.
- E Estando encreydo: 'presuming'.
- F a las vezes = a veces.
- H glosar: 'interpret' (of doctrine). ynportuno: singular adjective qualifying plural subject noun.
- 40,F Y, (a) la buena: ellipsis.
- 41,A De Dios ... te quieres celar: 'celarse de': 'hide from'; 'observe carefully'.
- B malino = maligno.
- G-H The poet speaks as the typical sinner or defendant.
- H causa: possibly, with the meaning 'legal case'.
- 42,A más andar por el suelo: 'morally lower'.
- B 'Proverbio. "Pregonar vino, y vender vinagre", de los que prometen cosas buenas y altas, y después son ordinarias y triviales' (Covarrubias, p.998).
- D Cf. Covarrubias, p.747: '"Perro ladrador, poco mordedor"'.
 E gentes del buelo: vain people.
Medra: in the light of references in
- H ciega maldad: vice is consistently associated with blindness in the poem.
- 43 Apparent witnessing and criticism of political affairs by the poet.
- A-B Corruption in military and financial matters.
- E nuestrales: an invented adjective referring to the 'noto' (south-west wind); formed by analogy with australes (C), it also implies 'our' (mortal; Spanish).
- F maestres, adalides: both military leaders: 'maestre de campo' had the specific meaning of 'field commander' (in the Netherlands, for example), and 'maestre de plata' was an administrative officer of the treasure fleet.
- G-H A possible reference to the loss of treasure ships, but also an image of moral, and perhaps of political significance.

- 44,A pigros: 'unpleasant, negligent'.
 E solteros = suelos.
 F proffia: this spelling is so frequent in the MS. as to seem authorial.
 45 Cf. Genesis 9: Ham(Can), father of Canaan, incited his brothers to offend their father, Noah, who then invoked a curse of slavery upon Canaan.
 D natura = naturaleza; it also means 'genital organs': forçando natura therefore suggests that nature is raped by the cultivation of evil.
 G secaces = secuaces (cf. 484E).
 46,A las: pleonasm. oya = ofa.
 B Pride personified. borrándolo: pride rejecting the notion of God's word.
 C magazén, artillería: the actions of pride are referred to in military terms.
 D noturnos = nocturnos.
 E-F The moon's phases are related to human conduct, and possibly to Spain's fortunes.
 E vía = veía.
 F mengua: 'decrease, decline'; 'dishonour'.
caudal: 'abundance'.
 G-H An apparent climax in the poet's frustrated vision of mankind.
 G tasa: 'limit, standard'.
 47,D trasunto: 'image, copy'.
 E E for Y: cf. Keniston, p.660.
 F está difunto: singular verb and adjective for plural subject noun.
 G-H Possibly, a reminiscence of Jorge Manrique's Coplas, stanza 17.
 48,A Melía (or Amelía): possibly, alluding to the sorceress first introduced in stanza 240 of the Laberinto.
 B façiones: 'facial features'; 'disposition'; 'factions'; 'duties' (mil.).
 49,A pelleja: 'bag, hag'.
 C co/n/seja = aconseja.
 F notomías = anatomías. The line refers to her professional knowledge as whore and witch.
 51,B Glosando glosas: a typical and conscious repetition.

- C mudados de amores: heretics.
- F A traditional accusation.
- G-H A clear reference to the proselytizing of the people by Protestant preachers and to consequent sectarianism.
- 52,A Yndos = Indios. mahometa = mahometano.
- A-B The description here is in apposition to seta (D).
- E-F 'Meter uno su cucharada en la conversación, es hablar donde no devía ...' (Covarrubias, p.376).
- E reme/n/dón: 'mender'.
- G con falta en el son: 'out of tune'.
- 53,C I.e. entendimiento es gloria a muerte.
- F Arrimando ... a falso muro: misplacing one's reliance; cf. Covarrubias, p.910: 'Proverbio: "Arrímate a los buenos y serás uno dellos"'.
H A la primavera = En la primavera.
- 54,A-B Engaños (en) desengaños ... transformados: ellipsis .
C Remendando: 'although the MS. reading is retained , a strong alternative is Remedando (cf.69B).
D rebolotosos: perhaps referring obliquely to contemporary politico-religious sedition.
G Cargando: 'assaulting' (mil.); 'loading' .
H yndicios: 'appearance, evidence'.
- 55,C Y sin pensar (que) en los amigos ay engaños: ellipsis.
G ynterés: 'self-interest'.
- 56,A puridad: 'Puridad vale secreto' (Covarrubias).
B viso: 'appearance, face'.
H el tal: cf. Keniston, p.276.
- 57,A aldauada: 'warning, alarm'; '... se llaman assi los avisos que Dios da al alma, o por medio de pensamientos piadosos y llamamientos interiores, o por medio tambien de las calamidades y trabajos, para que se convierta a él' (Autoridades).
B rendida: 'surrendered'.
G puntos: 'points' (of discussion); 'sights' (of a gun).

- 58,B pintadas: 'exaggerated, corrupted'.
- C-F Herodotus (Books I,III) records the conquest of Egypt by Cambyses, son of the wise Cyrus, and the later madness and cruelties of Cambyses.
- E de seso remoto: 'deranged'.
- G desdeños = desdeñosos: licence exercised for rhyme .
Monstrando: the inclusion of first 'n' is possibly authorial ; cf.406B , 477D .
- H deseños = diseños.
- 59,E no: pleonasm.
- 60,C fortunado = afortunado.
- 62,A-F The metaphor of moral struggle possibly reflects contemporary political conflicts.
- G y en amor el Señor: 'and God being loved'.
- 63,H puntos: 'notes' (mus.); 'stitches' (med.).
- 64,A El pueblo escogido: the Jews. tanto = tan; alternatively, amado tanto is inverted.
- D rustidad = rusticidad: 'ignorance'.
- 66,A The poet seems to confuse Andromache with her sister-in-law, Cassandra the prophetess; the adjective andromaco seems to be an invention of the poet.
- C-D Cf. Genesis 41: Pharaoh's dreams, interpreted by Joseph, foreshadowed future events; they are also referred to in Pulgar's commentary on Mingo Revulgo (p.218).
- C exício = egipcio.
- 67,A Berzebú: 'Beelzebub'. corredor: 'intermediary'; 'scout' (mil.).
- D os mete por lodos: 'leads you into difficulty'.
- 68,A Píndaro: Pindar: Plutarch quotes extensively from him in the Moralia, and often with reference to political theory. Pindar was notably conservative in matters of politics, morality, and religion .
- C ensayes = ensayos: 'assays', 'essays'.
lunbre: 'fuel'; 'authority'; 'light' (of reason).
- E subir is used transitively.
- 69,C traduções: interpretations rather than translations.

- F figura: 'form, image'.
- 70,A-B The notion that snakes can resist enchantment by blocking their ears.
- A The snake was frequently seen as a symbol of heresy (cf.C).
- B Con miedo (de) perderse: ellipsis.
- G-H A reference to the ease with which heresy can influence an irresolute mind.
- G novicio: noun for adjective.
- 71,A-F The obvious reference to the spread of heresy is possibly accompanied by an allusion to contemporary political scandals.
- H treslado = traslado: 'copy'; the spelling is so frequent in the MS.as to seem authorial.
- 72 The military metaphor relates sinning to soldiering: the poet appears to speak from personal experience of the latter.
- B The line is disjointed by the use of sigue for 'seguir'.
- D a la ligera: 'fecklessly'; cf. military terms like 'tropa ligera' and 'paso ligero'.
- E apocados: 'immoral, pusillanimous'.
- F Tomauan ... delantera: 'gained advantage'; 'la delantera' would mean 'the front line'.
- 73,A-B All these figures, except Prometheus, appear in Plutarch (Lives, vol.1) and were early legislators. The presence of the mythological character suggests that the poet considers him a lawmaker for all mankind. Prometheus is mentioned frequently in Plutarch's Moralia.
- D An allusion to God.
- E suma: the legislation of the above figures.
- 74,A contrapeso: 'counterbalance' (to authority and to goods weighed).
- C Naranjas: the brothers William and Louis of Nassau (cf. 251,326); the play on William's royal name, Orange, is reinforced by references to merchandizing (e.g. trujamán: 'dealer'). The point seems to be that, as political leaders of the revolt against authority (Catholicism and the Monarchy), these figures are purveyors of heresies conceived by the reformers mentioned in 73G. The word 'naranja' also referred to a cannonball the size of an orange.

- E viejas: purchasers or procuresses. rufián: 'procurer, intermediary' (=both brothers Nassau).
- 75,A al claro: 'clearly'.
- E capuz: 'hooded cloak'; 'Metaphoricamente se toma por la obscuridad grande del Cielo ...' (Autoridades).
- 76,D Falsan = Falsean.
- 77 The military situation described seems to be based on personal experience.
- A The subject of Yncita is vino (76H); the name of Santiago might normally be expected to inspire the soldiery.
- 80,A término sin punto: 'meaningless expression'; 'end without end'.
- 81,B remando: 'toiling'.
- H questión = cuestión: 'matter'; 'dispute'.
- 82,A musayco = mosaico.
- 83,A-C Fue ... fundada ... hecha ... adorada.
- A Valtelina: the Valtelline, a vital but vulnerable section of the 'Spanish Road' between Italy and the Netherlands, was used for maintaining the wars in Northern Europe (see Parker, chs 2-3).
The reference to Janus, the two-faced god of passageways, suggests the geographical and strategic disposition of this Alpine valley, as well as the notions of deception, war and peace. In Plutarch (Lives, vol.1) his two faces are said to denote Man's passage from primitive to civilized life.
Janus is used in place of normal Jano.
- C Titea: goddess of earth. Vesta: goddess of hearth and household.
- E Ynorancia = Ignorancia. Çibele = Cibeles: the mother-goddess.
- F Junto al marido: 'along with her lover' (Attis).
- G Cf. Genesis 5: Enoch was God's servant for three hundred and sixty-five years.

- 84,E vos = vosotros: as with 'nos', the shorter form was also used; 'vos' often had singular meaning, though here and in most other parts of the poem it denotes plural. salto = asalto; also 'passage to Heaven'.
- F nuevas consejas: heretical teachings.
- G seguro: singular adjective for plural subject noun.
- H nítido: 'shining'.
- 85,A denidades = dignidades.
- 86,B corrida: 'confused' (qualifying honra); 'raid' (= 'correría').
- F vella = verla. partida: 'death'; 'band of men' (mil.).
- 87,D de partida: 'in action'.
- 88,A-C Pródiga libertad = estraña chimera.
- A en la era: possibly, 'at present'.
- C chimera = quimera: an imaginary monster; 'whim'; 'quarrel'.
- F trunfarán = triunfarán.
- 89,A candela: 'candle'; 'fire'.
- B ellas = 'candelas'.
- C desvela: 'keeps awake'.
- E vela: 'candle'; 'vigil'; 'sentry'.
- G remiradas: 'prudent'.
- H canas honradas: worthy forebears.
- 90,B Gil: 'Este nombre en lengua castellana, es muy apropiado a los çagales y pastores en la poesía' (Covarrubias). The important prophet figure in Mingo Revulgo is called Gil Arribato, though there is no immediately obvious allusion to him in this stanza. Gil Garrido is presumably a folk figure (cf. 91A, 92B). galanas: 'lively girls'; 'mischiefs'.
- C reportes: 'hearsay, falsities'. frenesía = frenesí: 'madness, folly'.
- 91,A dulçaynas: 'flageolets'; 'over-sweet girls'.
- B Paso en paso = Paso a paso.

- C en valança: 'in doubt, in danger'.
- D mudança: 'change' (of fortune); 'figure' (danc.); 'change of note' (mus.).
- E Por alto: 'stealthily'. gallardas: 'galliards' (danc.); 'lively girls'.
- F cadança = cadencia.
- G-H They arouse the morally debilitated onlooker (presidente).
- 92,A estrenas: 'New-Year gifts'.
- B Possibly, an order for his arrest.
- 94,D Presumably, the eyes are leathery or unyielding; bezerra also meant 'dragon'.
- G-H Proserpina was wife of Hades and Queen of the Underworld.
- 95,A-B On the proverbial reaction of a cat to stepping on hot coals.
- C veloce = veloz.
- D rastraua = arrastraba.
- E de luego: 'promptly'.
- H guiones: 'standards' (mil.); 'leaders' (danc.).
- 97,C tenblosa = temblorosa.
- G brabosos = bravos.
- 98,A-B Cf. Iliad, especially I, IX: here, Nestor as youth and old man: King of Pylos, and noted by Homer for valour, wisdom, and great age, he attempted to settle the dispute between Achilles and Agamemnon.
- B Remed(i)an: the MS. reading ('Remedan') seems to contradict the point of the reference to Nestor.
- 99,A-B Cf. Plutarch, vols VI,VII: Diogenes, the Cynic, rejected the material benefits of the world.
- C entonan el vando: 'proclaim the edict'.
- F Quiriendo = Queriendo.
- 101,A-B On the spread of heretical doctrines.
- C-D I.e. Ocupada la pluma ... en mudar la santa verdad (en) desatino: ellipsis.
- E-F A possible reference to the censorial activities of the Inquisition.

- F modernos: the rhyming consonant ('n') differs from B and D.
- 102,A-B Possibly, a reference to the aftermath of executions of rebels and heretics ordered by the Duke of Alba's tribunals in the Netherlands (cf. the allusion to imprisonment in G-H).
- B gerbelo = cerebelo.
- F Mientes: 'thoughts' (by implication, 'heads').
- G-H preso: probably, referring to Nos (sing. for plural).
- 103,H An example of a foolish idea, but also a mixing of the elements, which might signify moral disorder.
- 104,E-H Comment and warning about the current situation.
- 105 The persecution of Christ and the contemporary oppression of the Catholic religion are implicitly related.
- B Either the innocent sufferer seems to mankind like Christ, or God reveals himself to mankind through Christ.
- E-F Cf. Matthew 2. The use of a plural adjective to qualify Herodes (Herod) suggests that the poet either misconstrues the biblical story or that he makes a deliberate play on the 'es' ending in order to imply 'persecutors'.
- G-H Alluding to Peter's denial of Jesus, recorded in all the Gospels.
- 107,A-F Apparently, a series of historical and physical improbabilities, illustrating the effect on the elements of moral disorder or untruth.
- A Hector and Sardanapalus were in no direct way connected in history or in literature, except insofar as their kingdoms perished by fire.
- B abatidos: 'demolished'; 'contemptible'.
Apeles: the greatest Grecian painter, whose work was unlikely to have been rejected or thought worthless.
- E-F A reference to the eruption of Etna and subsequent destruction of industry and agriculture by its burning streams of lava.
- 109 On moral perspicacity, illustrated by images from daily and military life.

- A puente: often a feminine noun at the period.
- 110 The flatterer as ambusher, his insidious approach to life, and its consequences.
- B Tirando: 'shooting'; 'deceiving'.
- G Cf. Covarrubias, p.977: 'Proverbio: "Tresquílenme en concejo y no lo sepan en mi casa"'.
 mezclas: 'meddlings'; 'rumours'.
- 111,D larguez = largueza. ygual: sing. adj. for plural object noun.
- E sin sugeto: 'unrestrained'.
- F diferencia: in nature, and in tone (mus.).
- 112,D medidas: in commercial, musical, and figurative senses. almud: 'dry measure'.
- E mate: 'trick, joke'.
- H ganados: 'herds' (cf. greyes, D).
- 113,H ganan la palma: 'achieve glory'.
- 114,D pierde: 'ruins'.
- G Sense: 'just as the drunkard does not pay with wine' or 'just as happens to the drunkard who gets his wine free'.
- H On the decline of Roman imperialism.
- 115,A-B primas = primeras: 'La señal de que uno está dedicado para la Iglesia, como es quando toma corona, que llamamos primera tonsura' (Covarrubias, p.966).
- C The situations described in A-F are seen to exemplify folly, and to make for social disorder.
- G-H precia = aprecia.
- 116,B repuna = repugna.
- D sola vna = una sola.
- F çençerros: 'cowbells'; the sense of 'deceits' or 'appearances' is also implied.
- G

- 117,A adormido = adormecido or dormido: 'sent to sleep, asleep'.
- E-H A possible reference to the favourable political relations between the French and the Ottoman Empire, though primarily a general comment about 'franqueza'.
- 118,A Famongomadán: a giant fought by Amadis of Gaul (Book II).
- F tiña: 'ringworm'; 'meanness'.
- G apelar: 'appeal'; the play on 'pelo' (cf.F) is evident.
- 119,A vastage: 'Lo mismo que ganapán' (Autoridades, p.569).
- E por suelo el atril: an image suggesting rejection of moral and religious doctrine.
- 120,C repentido = arrepentido.
- 121,A Parsimonia is personified (cf.123).
- 122,A quien = quienes: cf. Keniston, pp.191-2.
- B Lisonjando = Lisonjeando.
- 123,B miseria: 'misery'; 'miserliness'.
- G The tenses are mixed here.
- 124,C-D Cf. Plutarch, Moralia, vol. III: Nicanor, a Macedonian, spoke against King Philip, but was subsequently bribed by the King (cf.E-F). A double allusion is possibly intended, for during the episode with the giant (cf.118A) Amadis also fights a British knight called Nicorán.
- G-H In the light of the reference to Nicanor, these lines might be interpreted in two ways: in the general, moral sense of Man's lot being unfortunate, and that he is lost by tampering (tratando) with truth; or in the very specific sense of the poet's self-comparison with Nicanor, exposing the truth about contemporary problems and risking his neck by speaking about his King (Philip).
- 125,A Pintan: 'describe'.

- B Xenofont = Xenofonte: the Cyropaedia was an historiographical account of the deeds of Cyrus the Elder which sought to teach the people virtue by his example. Q. Curtius Rufus's Historiarum Alexandri Magni Libri Decem was similar in approach to the work of Xenophon.
- C Trajano: this Spanish Emperor of Rome and great military figure was praised by the younger Pliny in the Panegyricus. con = y (cf.D). en cultos secretos: cultos refers to the admiring praises, but the point of secretos is not fully clear.
- D pintan: the subject is 'writers' (understood). On Aeneas and Evander, see Virgil, Aeneid, VIII.
- F Leander swam the Hellespont for the love of Hero, and ultimately drowned.
- H Reyes: God and temporal monarch.
- 126,C hilar: '[to] reason'.
- E meduso = meduseo: 'Medusan'.
- 127,A Dares and Dictys were the supposed authors of lost Trojan War chronicles adapted by medieval writers of romances of chivalry.
- 128,A faboridos = favorecidos.
- E-H In the light of A-D, a warning about political favouritism; the military references seem intended to be more than a simple illustration.
- H vido = vio.
- 129,A-D Cf. Plutarch, Lives, vols IV, IX: Jugurtha, King of Numidia, was finally taken prisoner by the Romans, having caused frequent civil war in their North African territories; see also Sallust, Bellum Iugurthinum.
- D Rey: cf. 125H.
- 130,A primos = primeros. argivos: 'Greeks'.
- D magaña: cf. 251H.
- E arbitrio: 'means', 'ploy'.
- 133,C-D Cf. Plutarch, vol. IX: Protogenes, the Greek painter, was a disciple of Apelles. Both painters are seen here as men of virtue, in contrast to those who propound modern heresies.

- 134,A-B Manetho, an Egyptian, wrote the first account in Greek of the religion and history of his nation. Berossus, a Greek, wrote the history of Chaldaea (Babylon).
- 135,B tocando: 'playing' (cf. discuerda,H); 'touching' (cf. palpando,D).
- 136,B Fundir = Fundirse.
- 137 On purity of blood (linpieza), and the Inquisitorial process.
- C claros: 'famous, important'.
- E Tostado, Vicente: El Tostado, Alonso Madrigal de Tostado (?1400-1455), was a medieval Spanish theologian; San Vicente Ferrer (c. 1350-1419), canonized in 1455, was a Spanish Dominican friar considered the greatest preacher of his age.
- 139,A clima: 'temperament, nature'; licence exercised with gender for rhyme.
- E él = le (hecho malino).
- H cenegales: 'bogs'; 'difficulties'.
- 140,C Tratando competencias: 'indulging in rivalries'.
- D beninosos = venenosos.
- E sexo: possibly, both 'brain' and 'sex'.
- G sin (pagar) vecino: ellipsis.
- 141,C venta: 'sale'.
- E Arguia = Arguya. cifra: 'amount'; 'expression'. esenta: 'free (of reason), irrational'.
- 143,A-D Cf. 1 Samuel 2: Eli, high priest at Shiloh, was dishonoured and ruined by the sins of his two sons.
- A vemos: the poet, as usual, involves the reader in the discourse, but in C (vi) he alters the emphasis to a personal witnessing of past events.
- 144,A A possible reference to Mingo Revulgo, in which the central figure aspires to a change in fortune.
- B sin nadie temer = sin que nadie tema. temer de = temer. tenpero: 'Vale sazón y templança de tiempo...' (Covarrubias).
- D apero: 'herd, flock'.

- 145,A-B The Praetorian Guard, responsible for protecting the Emperor of Rome, gained sufficient power to raise and overthrow their masters. Alternatively, the reference might be a general description of the Roman procedure of electing rulers ('praetor' once meant 'consul').
- A mílites: 'soldiers'.
- D Maximino: there were two Emperors of this name, neither very morally worthy. This is probably Maximinus I, who was killed by his own soldiers.
- E-F 'Julian the Apostate' rose from praetor to Emperor; also a successful military leader, he was proclaimed Emperor of Rome by his own soldiers and subsequently declared his apostasy.
- G mudó: sing. verb for plural subject (deshorden y vicio).
- H Luzbel: Satan, who would have a place and prospects in a structure open to manipulation. gerarchía = jerarquía.
- 146,B cabrones: 'goat-footed satyrs' ; 'devils' .
- G rabadán: 'head shepherd'.
- 148,D bultos: 'confused'.
- 149 Justice personified and in decline. Whether the poet intends to cast aspersions on contemporary Spanish political life is debatable.
- B Y (vemos) al baco (con) corona puesta en plazer: ellipsis; the sensual pleasures have defeated justice.
- G-H The paradoxes of the situation.
- H con ser tan hermosa: 'despite the fact that she is really beautiful'.
- 150,A corbado = encorvado: 'bent, twisted'.
dotor = doctor: here, an unorthodox theologian.
traslad: copy
- 151,A Calígula: Gaius Caesar Augustus, among the most cruel and irresponsible Emperors of Rome, and a typical example of evil.
- G retinte: 'ringing'. zunbido: 'buzzing, humming'.

- 152,A-B Both Antígono and Castigos were worthy of note.
- A Cf. Plutarch, vols VI, VIII, IX: Antigonus was King of Asia and successor to Alexander the Great.
- B Cf. Plutarch, vol. IX: Ptolemy Soter, ruler of Egypt, was linked with Antigonus by warfare; Castigos probably refers to his final defeat of the latter. Ptolemy also appears in vols VII and VIII of the Lives.
- D Cf. 2 Kings 21-2: Josiah, unlike his father (Amon), followed carefully the word of God.
- H De/s/gusta = Disgusta.
- 153,A Cf. Plutarch, vol. VII: Alexander the Great, King of Macedon, killed his companion Cleitus whilst drunk; the earlier reference to Amón may be intended to relate to the taunt of Cleitus about the god Ammon.
- B Cf. Plutarch, vol. VII: Philip attacked his son Alexander during a fit of drunken rage.
- C gabacho: 'Soez, asqueroso, sucio, puerco y ruin' (Autoridades).
- E Aprobecha is used transitively.
- 154,A Tales: founder of Greek philosophy, he propounded the view that water is the original element; he is mentioned by Plutarch (vol.I).
- D Y a Fénis con Rodas hazañas famosas (conpone): ellipsis; Phoenix, King of the Dolopes and guardian of Achilles, is referred to in the Iliad, a fact noted by Plutarch (vol.X). Another Phoenix was tutor to Alexander the Great, and he also appears in Plutarch (vol.VII). The island of Rhodes, alluded to in the Iliad (II), became a great maritime state; it too is mentioned frequently by Plutarch.
- E-F In the light of the earlier reference to Rhodes, this could allude to the Christian victory at Lepanto in 1571.
- 155,B comer de Platón: moral philosophy; honesty; 'eating from a large dish'.
- D 'Trago. Metaphoricamente vale adversidad, infortunio, u desgracia, que con dificultad, y sentimiento se sufre' (Autoridades). The literal meaning of tragos is naturally implied in the line.

- 156,A-F These lines, which illustrate fury in the form of looting, perhaps refer obliquely to the activities of Spanish soldiers in the Netherlands .
- H cosario = corsario: 'pirate, robber'.
- 157,A-B Amadis of Gaul, as the Doncel del Mar, advises the princess Melicia to deceive her father by substituting the King's lost ring; the deception is exposed, though ultimately to Amadis's advantage (Book I). The notion of searching the sea for a lost ring seems to imply vain hope.
aniello = anillo .
- 158,A vos: cf.84E.
- C labor: a typical Court preoccupation.
- D Rodando carrillos: 'revolving pulleys' (cf. reference to soga, 159 D). The whole line can also mean 'the cheeks of childish fools abounding'.
- E-H If the poet is seeking to comment on recent events, the references to rulers (F) and loss of ships (H) would be highly relevant.
- 159,A párrafo: 'Comúnmente se toma por el período o parte de la ley que está divisa y distinguida de la precedente...' (Covarrubias); the precise meaning here is not clear.
a tuerto o derecho: 'rightly or wrongly'.
- D '"Echar la soga tras el caldero" es, perdida una cosa, echar a perder el resto' (Covarrubias, p.268).
- 160,F cosquillas: 'quarrels, feuds'.
- 161,C engolfado: 'navigated, negotiated'.
- 163,A satírico villano: an unworthy man who speaks ill.
- C Gustoso, de/s/gustado: the paradoxes in the man's person and conduct are most obviously expressed here (cf.D,E-F).
cortesano: 'polite'; 'courtier' (the real object of criticism).
- D Cortapisa: 'snag'; 'adornment'.
- H según que toco: 'as I see it'.
- 164,E mineros: 'Minero. La veta por donde corre el metal...' (Covarrubias).

- 165,F los cercados: 'the besieged'.
- G-H Cf. Matthew 7.
- G The subject of Fundando is the necio referred to in H.
- /last 168,A-D The ~~latter~~ three Greek philosophers are seen as evil and are contrasted with Socrates and Plato; all five are mentioned by Plutarch in the Lives. ~~because they were not~~
~~Christian~~ ~~All are mentioned by Plutarch~~
~~lives~~
- E Plutón: Hades, King of the Underworld.
- H personage: a fictitious or notorious being.
- 169 A complaint about contemporary deviation from the traditionally doctrinal nature of poetry and rhetoric.
- 171,A-B I.e. estando sin vista los ciegos, (los) vemos/ gritando (y vemos) llegar en alto clamores: ellipsis.
- C ciega: a verb, governed by mundo (D).
- 172 The responsibilities and objectives of the Christian soldier.
- A en = a. la alta morada: Heaven.
- E propia posada: earthly, personal life.
- 173,A Lacivos = Lascivos.
- H toque: 'touch, test'.
- 174,A saltando: 'skipping'; 'erring'; also of possible military relevance (= 'asaltando').
- B corrida = correría: 'raid, trip'.
- C mandrón: 'catapult' (used for projecting large rocks at fortifications during attacks and sieges).
- D mira/da: the only possible word, though not rhyming fully with B and F.
The figurative meaning of C is made clear in this line: the view from the ramparts is won (and lost), but sight and favour of God are lost.
- 175,A (en) or (a) cada punto: ellipsis.
- 176,D en repente = de repente.

- F creciente: 'flood-tide' (cf.175D); 'crescent moon' (itself a controller of tides and fortune, but, more specifically, the symbol of Islam).
- G trofeo: 'victory, triumph'.
- 177,C otras hermanas: the sins.
- 178,A-B Usury is seen in the light of heresy.
- H Physical depiction of moral deformity; cf. Covarrubias, p.756: 'Proverbio: "El brazo en el pecho, y la pierna en el lecho"; porque estando echado en la cama no corre tanto el humor'.
- 179 On true nobility.
- E villeza: an invented word, it suggests both 'vileza' (cf.E-F) and 'villanía' (cf.G-H).
- F Según que: cf. Keniston, p.357; the poet frequently includes 'que' in the expression where modern usage would omit it.
- G-H Bernardo: Bernardo del Carpio, apocryphal hero of the battle with the French at Roncesvalles. el Cid: Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar, hero of the epic Poema de mio Cid. Although of supposedly humble social origins, both were 'noble' heroes.
- 180,A-D Referring to Marcus Porcius Cato, the Elder, who also seems to be Aguél (cf. Laberinto, stanza 140, lines a-d). According to Plutarch (vol.II), he purged Rome by peaceful means whilst Censor, but later his impeccable personal conduct was corrupted by greed and usury.
- A el espada: cf. Keniston, p.218.
- C Leemos (que) vsura: ellipsis.
- F The reference to injustice and fornication probably derives also from Plutarch's record of Cato's life.
- G-H The merchants either make of usury a religion, to whose patron (señora) they are blasphemously devoted, or they feign poverty whilst taking usury for a wife (señora).
- 181,A Cf. Exodus 3: Moses and the burning bush.

- B Y (vemos que) los visos honrados (son) torpe bergüença: ellipsis.
bergüença: Moses's abashment before God; the poet may also be alluding to the contemporary practices and position of the Jews in Spanish society. In Mingo Revulgo (pp.172-3, 224-5) there is reference to the status and history of both Jews and Arabs.
visos: 'faces'.
- C blancos moros: Jews. a la breña: 'in the wilderness' (after the flight from Egypt).
- D A probable reference to the Dead Sea.
Pescando implies seeking by guile .
- 182,A (En) nueva disputa de viejos pastores: ellipsis; contemporary dissensions in an originally-united Christian Church.
- B avejas, obejas: 'Por ser tan de provecho dió ocasión al proverbio: "Abeja y oveja y piedra que treveja"' (Covarrubias, p.27).
ygal: sing. adj. qualifying plural subject noun.
- C antiguos primores: a further example of apparent contradiction of old and new, but here meaning 'traditional supremacy'.
- D el brazo derecho: the branding and sword arm; Christ.
- F El viso: the face of him who loves (Quien ama, E).
cultiua barbecho: he works faithfully; the image of growing a beard is also suggested.
- G erguidos: 'arrogant'.
- 183,B Trasmonta: 'obscures' (cf. the sun setting behind mountains); 'tramontana' = 'pride, conceit'.
- D partida: 'party, group'.
- G-H A probable reference to the political and religious unreliability of the French.
- G tajos y rebeses: fencing terms; rebese also means 'misfortunes'.
- 184,A-B Possibly, a reference to ministers of the heretical denominations.
- A vimos (que) estauan: ellipsis.
- E nublados: 'stormclouds'; 'dangers'.

- 185,D-F Cf. John 10 : Jesus explains his role of shepherd.
 H revés: 'blow'; 'misfortune'. en revés is possibly used for 'al revés'.
- 187,H competencia: 'opposition'.
- 188,C Rigendo = Rigiendo.
- 189,H serán más escoria: 'will be nothing but dross'.
- 190,B tenplarios: 'Cavalleros antiguos religiosos que guardavan el passo, desde el puerto de Jafa hasta la ciudad de Jerusalén, porque los moros no robassen ni maltratassen los christianos que yvan en romería' (Covarrubias).
 F vicarios: 'substitute' (rhyme, or understood masculine article with almas allows masculine adjective); allusion to vicars is probably intended.
- 191,A vida nueva: either 'modern times' (as opposed to 'biblical times'), or 'Christian life'.
 B concejo de justos prudentes: the Inquisition or the Council of Trent.
 G-H The image suggests Peter's ship weathering the storm of heresy.
 G el alta mar: cf. 180 A note .
- 193,A operación: the precise meaning here is not clear; the word could be 'oser[v]ación'.
 E Cf. Plutarch, vols IV, IX: the personal enmity between Gaius Marius and Lucius Sulla caused civil war.
tomando...questión: 'disputing, warring'.
 F trasnudes: 'exchange, convert'.
- 194,A-D Cf. Elliott, Europe Divided, pp.27-9, 240-1: Sweden, Denmark, Poland, and Muscovy were involved in warfare from the middle of the century, mainly over control of the central Baltic states. The first two nations fought each other from 1563 to 1570, whilst the latter two were at war by 1578. As in other European countries also engaged in conflict, the authority of Catholicism had earlier been gravely undermined, and the poet seems to interpret ostensibly political wars in terms of heretical error.

- B dano y sue[d]io: Dane and Swede ;
licence exercised for euphony and rhyme.
- D otros en medio: possibly, the Turks.
- E El que castiga: God.
- 195,H mecha: 'fuse' (used for igniting early firearms).
- 196,D sustancia: the word here seems to imply 'life'
or 'matter'.
- F máquinas: 'structures'; 'machinations'.
están = son.
- 197,C-D Cf. Valerius Maximus, p.293: Gaius Popilius
Laenas, whilst on a mission from Rome to
Antiochus, King of Syria, drew a circle in the
sand and ordered the King to remain inside it
until the Senate's request had been considered.
- C raya: 'limit, bound'. The rhyme with A and E is
incomplete.
- E-F Cf. Exodus 2: a reference to the mother of Moses
hiding her son in the reeds of the Nile.
- H tiranos: heretics.
- 200 , A Cf. 2 Samuel 13 and 18-19: King David laments the flight
of his son, Absalom, after the latter has avenged his
dishonoured sister ; subsequently the King laments his son's
B Cf. Iliad, XXIV: Priam (el troyano) weeps for death.
his son Hector, whose body is obtained by ransom
from Achilles.
- F fístola = fístula: 'ulcer'; 'barrel' (of a gun).
- 201,D cachor[r]illo: 'cub'; a small revolver.
- E-H Cf. John 19: Mary laments the crucifixion of
Jesus, who is further distressed by her grief.
- 203,B Rey: God.
- F testando = Borrando (D): 'Testar. Vale tambien
borrar, o tachar las letras, o caracteres
escritos' (Autoridades).
- 204,A-D The contemporary affairs of France are possibly
alluded to here.
- A Reclamando: 'repeatedly crying out'; 'appealing'
(legal); 'calling' (ornith.). The last sense
implies a degree of deception, referring to the
hunter's ambush.

- E milano: 'kite'; 'Milanese'. The double meaning here depends upon the subject of ase: either the kite swoops for prey, or the inhabitants of Milan are preyed on by the French, who always coveted Spain's important garrison city in the sixteenth century.
- H basilisco: 'basilisk'; an artillery weapon.
a = en.
- 206 The poet seems to refer here to the reform brought about by the Council of Trent, its significance, and its effect. He might also refer to the Holy League victory over the Turks at Lepanto.
- A falso raposo: heretics or Turkish pirates, or merely Satan.
- B santa junta: 'holy alliance'.
- D santa madre: the Catholic Church. concejo: possibly, the Council of Trent, though the more likely word would be 'concilio'.
- F caçando el vencejo: a possible allusion to the vulnerability of Venice, as well as an image of vain effort.
- 210,A-B Cf. Elliott, Imperial Spain, pp.264-7: an apparent allusion to the Portuguese throne, left vacant in 1578 by the death in battle of Sebastian, and later gained by Philip II.
- 211,A-F Viriathus was a great Lusitanian patriot and enemy of the Romans. Sertorius, a Roman, became leader of the Lusitanians and he too resisted the Empire, according to Plutarch (vol.VIII).
- C paragón = parangón.
- 212,B buen = bueno.
- 213,A-B Aesop's fables were not always morally beneficial.
- C pegujales: 'allotments, material benefits'.
- F contumancia = contumacia: 'perversity'; licence exercised for rhyme.
- 214,H Cf. 213 C-D.

- 217,C vos is used in reference to singular person.
 E I.e. Si malicia haze (de) verdad mentira:
 ellipsis.
- 218,A orizonte: 'Lo mismo que definidor o determinador
 de la cosa' (Covarrubias): presumably, destiny.
- 219,D viza: 'striped tunny'.
 E frutizados = frutecidos: 'ripened, blooming'.
 G Especie: 'notion'.
- 220,E Que muchos hallamos (que) se andan ansj:
 ellipsis.
- 221,A-B Cf. 1 Kings 21: Jezebel, wife of King Ahab of
 Israel, deceived and cajoled her husband into
 disobeying God.
- 222,A-B Vana...frenesía is in apposition to Bibir de
 lisongero (C).
 G amargor = amargura. dulcor = dulzura.
- 224 Apparently, on the excesses of Protestantism.
 B trestura = tristeza.
 C tabardos: 'robes, smocks'. girones: 'borders,
 badges'; possibly, the poet intends an allusion
 to the Commenero leader Pedro Girón (cf.A,E) .
 225,C documento: 'teaching'.
 F eletos = electos: 'favourites' (masc. for fem.);
 Parker (p.xv) notes that the title was given to
 elected leaders of the Spanish Army ranks during
 internal disputes.
- 226,E aligerada: 'lightened, quickened'.
 G planetas: equated with those who follow fortune.
- 227,A Isis was the Egyptian goddess of nature and life.
 B-C Osiris, husband and brother of Isis, was the
 male deity of nature, whose 'war' to civilize
 (ylustrando) his barbaric people (La fer/i/a)
 and the whole world was, paradoxically, peaceful.
 Plutarch gives an account of Isis and Osiris in
 the Moralia (vol.V).
- 229,E-F The penitent is compared with the galley-slave.

- 230,B-F Cf. 240 and Mingo Revulgo, copla xiii (pp.182-4).
 C eclisando = eclipsando; the object is prudencia (B).
continente: 'Lo que abraça en sí otra cosa' (Covarrubias); 'appearance' (noun).
- 231,B Surcir = Zurcir (cf. Covarrubias).
- 233,B Sindérisis: 'conscience'.
- 234,A bonança: 'good weather'.
 B la clima: licence exercised with gender for subsequent rhyme.
sinistra = sinistra.
 D distra = diestra. la mano tan distra: God.
 F m/i/n/i/stra: 'Mother Superior'; 'administrator'.
- 238,B la ley de las leyes: divine law.
- 241,D faltos de crisma: 'unanointed'; 'thoughtless'.
 F chisma = chisme: 'malicious gossip'.
- 242,E vencejo: 'Lazo, u ligadura, con que se ata alguna cosa...' (Autoridades).
- 245 On heretical desertion(from the established Church) and doctrinal polemics.
 A Mirad pues, agora: the poet's typical address to the reader when seeking to emphasize a point.
otra disputa: possibly, the revolt of the Netherlands.
 B El otro tirano: sin or, possibly, William of Orange.
los diez: the Ten Commandments; it also seems possible that the poet is referring obliquely to the ten provinces of the Netherlands.
 C santo gremio: the Church, or the Council of Trent.
 D On enlistment with the enemy.
- 246,C con Baco valientes: 'brave when drunk'; sinful.
 E en armas: 'engaged in civil war': a probable reference to the contemporary situation in the Netherlands.
 F The paradox: they are armed with sin.

- G-H Line G probably indicates that the Romans did educate their offspring in reason, and therefore no fueran (for simple past tense) confirms that there were no dissensions between Brutus and his uncle, Cato the Younger. In his life of Brutus (Lives, vol.VI) Plutarch mentions that the former greatly admired Cato, and both were involved in the Civil War on the side of Pompey. Mena refers to the families of Brutus and Cato in the Laberinto, stanza 217.
- H fueran = hubo or hubiera.
- 247,C siguiréys = seguiréis.
- 248,C Alcibíades: the life of this Greek general, characterized by a series of rises and falls in fortune, is recounted by Plutarch (vol.IV), who does not consider him a very worthy moral example.
- G finir: 'finish'.
- H No cierra la clau: 'does not conclude'; clau also means 'keystone'.
albañir = albañil: 'mason'.
- 250,D saturnos = saturninos: 'melancholic'; 'leadenn' (cf.F).
- F todos vnos: 'all the same'; vnos does not rhyme fully with B and D.
- 251,A setas = sectas: 'heretical teachings'; 'factions'. The figure sixty-three seems to imply a large quantity.
ayuntadas = juntadas.
- D De = Con.
- F Rey: God and, possibly, Philip II (cf.G-H).
- G-H Cf. 74, 326. Naranjos: William and Louis, insurgent leaders in the Netherlands, and both anti-Catholic; the word might also mean 'ignorant men'.
- H magañas: 'deceits, stratagems'.
- 252,A-D The wheel of fortune, which subjects all mortals to their fate, has no authority where faith is concerned.
- D Eceto = Excepto. quen = que en.

- E-F Cf. Laberinto, stanza 133, lines g-h.
- F Caria: a district in Asia Minor, noted for its safe natural ports located in fiords. Plutarch refers to it frequently in the Moralia and in the Lives; Alcibiades (Lives, vol.IV) sailed there to levy money.
- 253,A de Marte dechado: 'example of militarism'.
- B A reference to the Roman belief in fortune and practice of seeking omens from priests.
- G Cipiones = Escipiones: a succession of soldiers of the Scipio family and conquerors in North Africa, they are mentioned frequently by Plutarch in the Lives.
penos: Carthaginians.
- H Cf. Plutarch, vol.VII: Q. Caecilius Metellus Scipio was defeated by Caesar in the Civil War and subsequently committed suicide.
vido is understood.
- 254,A-B Cf. Plutarch, vol.VII: Philip of Macedon defeated the Greeks, having earlier deceived them with treaties and promises.
- C-D Cf. Plutarch, vol.VII: Alexander, son of Philip, led his army to victory over the Persians at the River Granicus.
- C persianos = persas.
- D les dio la higa: 'reviled them'.
- 255,G Belona: Roman goddess of war.
- H persona: cf. Keniston, p.618: 'anybody'.
- 256,G de rayz: 'thoroughly'.
- H Conoce = Sabe.
- 257,D puntos: 'stitches' (med.).
- F hermano: Mars, loved by Venus; the allusion to planets and fortune in A-C is broadened here.
- 258,A arcas: 'chests'; 'arks'; the image of the coffin is most important here, however.
- B Saluando las dos: a possible allusion to the saving of a pair of animals in Noah's ark, recorded in Genesis (6-7); more significantly, a reference to the saving of 'alma' and 'vida'.

- H partida: 'death'; 'party'.
 259 , A Possibly , an oblique allusion to the parable of the sower (Mark 4) ; cf. C .
terreño = terreno: 'peasant'; 'mortal'.
- E veleño: 'henbane': a drug associated with deceit.
- 260,A-B Cf. 1 Kings 3: Solomon's wise and just decision on the abducted baby.
- C César: 'Emperor'. Trajan was noted as a particularly just ruler.
- D detener = detenerse.
- E-F Possibly, an allusion to contemporary justice.
- 261,A-D The reference to Solomon's judgement is illustrating the difference between a true and a false mother.
- 263,A Sin fuero: 'without right'. The second and third sin are pleonastic.
- B Dem[og]orgón: spirit of the Earth and father of the gods (cf. Laberinto, stanza 251 and note).
- C-D Probably, a reference to events, and to relations between Amadis and Oriana, after the former had rescued the princess from abduction in Book 1.
- G The title of the poem is recalled here.
- 264,A garama/n/tas: an African people, referred to by Herodotus (Book IV) and by Mena (Laberinto, stanza 50, line g); the former refers to their strange agriculture and speech (cf.B).
- E encantas = encantos: licence exercised for rhyme; the allusion is possibly inspired by the earlier mention of Amadis.
- 265,D muradales = muladares: 'dunghills'.
- 266,B Apacentando: 'nourishing'.
- D ferias: 'Se llaman las dádivas o agasajos, que se hacen por el tiempo que hai feria en algun Lugar' (Autoridades).
- F-H Cf. Elliott, pp.259-61: possibly, an allusion to Spanish political life, bellas damas implying the Princess of Eboli.
- 267 The advice is perhaps intended to be more specifically political than it appears.

- 268,B The apparent contradiction in using a vezes with contino is typical of the poem.
- C glouos mu[n]danos: 'groups of people'.
- 269,A El santo salmista: David; cf. Mingo Revulgo, p.205.
- 270,A-D The aggressive imperialism of Xerxes, King of Persia, was served by vast land and sea forces; these were nevertheless defeated by the Greeks at Salamis and forced to retreat in misery, according to Herodotus (Books VII, VIII). The poet possibly seeks to draw an implicit parallel with contemporary Spanish imperialism in Northern Europe.
- H clauos: 'nails'; 'injuries'.
- 271,A-B Cf. Laberinto, stanza 155, lines a-b: 'Vi más la furia çevil de Medina/e vi los sus muros non bien foradados'. The reference in the MS. poem is clearly borrowed from Mena; other evident borrowings are indicated in the relevant stanza notes.
- A foradados = horadados: 'breached'.
- B In 1441 John II of Castile and Álvaro de Luna were engaged in civil war with the King's cousins; the royal party was laid open to attack by the treacherous destruction of the city wall.
- C-D Civil war is now to be seen elsewhere, probably in the Netherlands (often called the 'Estados Bajos'). nuevos might be taken to imply not only 'recent' or 'other', but to mean 'new', in the sense of 'recently acquired'.
- E quien = quienes.
- 272,C-F Cf. Laberinto, stanza 155, lines c-h: referring to the dissidents at Medina, who ultimately did obeissance to the King.
- D faltas: 'misdeeds'; possibly, the word also refers to the debasement of currency (cf. sueudos, B).
- E-F Here, again, the situation referred to is relevant to the Netherlands in the sixteenth century.
- E el tal rey: John II.
- F The act of submission is denied.
- 273,D los tales: those responsible for the success of wrong.

- 274,A Cenobia: Queen of Palmyra and conqueror of Romans and others in Asia Minor, she was pursued and defeated by the Emperor Aurelian. Subsequently taken to Rome, she lived at nearby Tivoli for the rest of her life. She is probably referred to here as La otra Cenobia because there was a goddess and another queen of the same name.
- 275,B Persio: Persius Flaccus, Roman satirist in the reign of Nero.
Marón: Virgil; the allusion probably refers to fictitious characters in his works.
- D The Parcae cut the thread of life.
- 277,H Cf. Covarrubias, p.995: 'No tener uno vaso, es no ser capaz para recibir doctrina y enseñanza'.
- 278,B carcoma: 'woodworm'; 'anxiety'.
- 279,A anabatista [s]: cf. Elton, pp.94-103, 110-12, and Elliott, Europe Divided, pp.127, 138: an originally extreme Protestant sect, strongest in Central Europe and the Northern Netherlands during the 1530s, but with continuing support in later times.
- C raijos: 'shoots, buds' (cf. Corominas, III, p.979); 'outbreaks'.
- 280,D muy más: cf. Keniston, p.591.
- H profazados: 'censured'.
- 281,A Dançantes: 'interferers'.
- B monte: 'andar a monte' = 'to go astray'.
- 284,G-H Cf. Ovid, Metamorphoses, III: possibly, an implicit allusion to Cadmus's sowing of the dragon's teeth and the subsequent conflict of the offspring.
- G mostruos = monstruos.
- 285,C Agros = Agrios.
- D tonteando is used transitively.
- 286,H Abieldan la parua: 'winnow the corn'.
mortales singultos: cf. Laberinto, stanza 185, line c.

- 287,A Ticio: a giant and son of the Earth, mentioned by Plutarch (vol.V).
- B Espelunca: 'cavern'; probably, in apposition to caos (A).
- D The four elements (cf. B-C). ensalada: 'confused mixture'.
- E El viejo marino: Neptune. los dos: either water and air, or Tityus and Neptune.
- F Neptune as shepherd.
- G Possibly, a complaint about contemporary political and military affairs.
esentos: this suggests that they are above criticism or are irrational.
- H A reference to the light of land (= hope) in a storm at sea.
- 291,H los remos: the oars of the Christian ship of struggle.
- 292,D rebés = al revés.
- G Rey: God. ganara = ganó.
- 293,F ello: referring to C.
- H cofre: the metal tray of the scale mentioned in D, or a coffer for money (cf. E); possibly, the word was intended to be 'cobre', which would fit both contexts.
- 294,A-D The generalized comment apparently intends reference to contemporary Spanish political affairs as an example.
- D el vano adivino: the heretical adversary.
- E no espera: 'does not expect'.
- 295, A-B Achilles is said by some, though not by Homer, to have lived disguised as a woman at the court of Lycomedes. Ulysses, himself disguised as a merchant, discovered him there and induced him to join the Greek forces against Troy.
- A disfrace = disfraz.
- C con velo re/n/dido: 'the veil removed'.
- G-H Probably, an allusion to the conflicting reports of Achilles's conduct.

- 296,F Veyslo: lo refers to either the rower or to the sea, or to both.
- 297,A The medieval battle between France (gall/o/) and Spain (león) at Roncesvalles (cf. C).
- C becar/d/ón: 'snipe'; possibly, an intended allusion to the Spanish hero in the above battle, Bernardo del Carpio, the early letters of whose names appear together at the beginning of the word.
- D ynclynado agrees with becar/d/ón, although qualifying firmeza (C).
- E Cf. Genesis 16 and 21: Hagar was Abram's concubine, who bore him the son Ishmael; both mother and son were rejected by Sarah, though with God's approval. Hagar's sons might be thought Israel's great enemy, the Egyptians. The reference to Agar is probably inspired by an alternative word for 'becardón' (= 'agachadizo').
quistión: 'dispute, issue'.
- F berle enpleado: referring to firmeza, and continuing the pattern of non-agreement.
- 298,C El contraste (de) querer: ellipsis.
mill = mil.
- E meneos: 'movements'; 'business'.
- 299,A rejalgar: 'Cierta piedra o escoria mineral que se halla en las minas, tercera especie de arménico...; es venenosíssimo' (Covarrubias).
- F centro: 'objective, goal'; Hell.
- 300,D A typical example of the frequent polyptoton used by the poet.
- 301,A espléndido: 'showy'.
- F representações: 'authorities'; 'images' (as opposed to 'realities').
- 302,A-D A probable allusion to the politico-religious dissensions of the period.
- C las = les: cf. Keniston, p.70.
- G-H The military reference is perhaps more than a simple illustration.
- 303 An apparent complaint about the acquisition of titles of nobility and the practice of seeking royal favour.

- 304,A-D The point is not clear: the relation of seasonal change to variations in love, possibly between comrades, is implied; if the allusion is to war, then the point seems to be that even when battle is resumed (after the winter), other kinds of ill-winds blow for the contestants.
- A sétino = séptimo.
- 305,A-D If maestra (A) refers to fortune, then the reference to her as gordiana (B) suggests that she is a 'tier of knots', or an intriguer; however, in this context it seems more likely that the poet is referring to honour or virtue, and therefore gordiana might imply 'bringer of fame'. The reference in 303E to carros trunfantes probably inspires this allusion: Gordius, King of Phrygia and father of Midas, became monarch when he drove his peasant's cart into Gordium, thus fulfilling the prophecy that a carter would be future ruler of the people. In gratitude, Gordius tied the yoke of the cart to the pole with a knot; the oracle consulted earlier had predicted that the man who could untie the knot would be ruler of Asia. It was finally cut by Alexander, according to Plutarch (vol.VII).
- A Probably, a conditional clause: Ciega (siendo) maestra de visos honrados.
- B In apposition to A.
- C-D The 'result' of the foregoing condition.
- E malsín: 'slanderer, informer'.
- F singulto does not rhyme fully with B and D.
- 306,A blasón: 'glory'.
- B haze el efeto: 'is effective'.
- E-F Pythagoras and his adherents used secret signs by which they recognised each other in their bond of secrecy.
- 307,A tinajones: the word here implies 'empty vessels'.
- B Gordazos: cf. 305 B. y = ni: cf. Keniston, p.634.
- E-F No vastan.../... (a) nos dar parecer: ellipsis; an apparent criticism of unqualified but self-important people who interfere in military affairs.

- 308,A-D Cf. 125B. The Cambyses referred to here is obviously the father of Cyrus (cf. Herodotus, Book 1).
- C En do: cf. Keniston, pp.202-3. avises is used intransitively.
- D consejero: 'warning'.
- E-F Cf. Aeneid, VI: Aeneas's guide was Sibylla, who led him to the Underworld, the entrance of which was guarded by Cerberus, the three-headed dog.
- F Guiara: cf. Keniston, pp.441-2: possibly, used as a pluperfect indicative. es = está.
- G-H Basic advice expressed in military terms, but with possible critical relevance to contemporary political affairs.
- 309,G-H Moral deviants are compared with poor cattle.
- G berboso implies social indiscretions.
yvernal = invernal.
- 310,H manadas: 'handfuls'; 'herds, crowds'.
- 311,A Las tramas y (los) tratos: ellipsis.
A - F Cf. Esther 3-9: Haman (Amán) treacherously plotted against the Jews to have them slaughtered, but Queen Esther subsequently persuaded the King, Ahasuerus, to punish Haman by hanging; a case of justice dispensed by exercise of reason.
- 312,C falace = falaz.
- 313 The events described, and comment on them, would be very relevant to the position of the Spanish in the Netherlands in the mid 1570s.
- B Avarice, fury, and covetousness are the remaining sins, referred to in the masculine as consortes.
- C la Trevia: the River Trebia (Italy) where, according to Plutarch (vol. III), Hannibal defeated the Romans, and which the poet seems to have thought a region.

E-F The consul mentioned is probably G. Flaminius, though the poet seems to confuse the battle at the Trebia with that undertaken by Flaminius, in which he died, at Lake Trasymene (also mentioned by Plutarch in vol. III). The earlier Roman defeat at the Trebia was the responsibility of two other consuls, Scipio and Sempronius, neither of whom is mentioned by Plutarch in this context. Comments made by the poet suggest the confusion. The latter defeat, also by Hannibal, might have been attributable to the lack of enthusiasm for the defence of Rome on the part of other officials; the concepts of sinning (A-B) and non-retaliation (venia) are seen as causing the consul's shame (Tachando el vulturno: his face is flushed with humiliation).

G remate: in the military context the word referred to a final settlement of arrears in pay.

H pereza: here referring to lack of military activity.

314,A-D Cf. 2 Kings 21, 2 Chronicles 33, and Apocrypha : King Manasseh's prayer of repentance .

315 , A-F Cf. 1 Kings 12 : Rehoboam , grandson of David , accepted the advice of his young companions and resolved to strengthen his authority over the people of Israel ; after Jeroboam's ensuing rebellion against him , Rehoboam remained king of only two tribes , Judah and Benjamin . It seems possible that the poet also intends oblique secondary reference to Jesus , his teachings , and the disciples .

316 Events and comment in this stanza have obvious relevance to the politico-economic life of the Spanish Empire as well as to its moral condition.

B Midas: King of Phrygia, whose touch turned all to gold.

317,E-H Possibly, referring to the situation of law and order in the Netherlands.

319,A-B Cf. Laberinto, stanza 140, lines a-b. Plutarch's account of Marcus Crassus's life (vol.III) emphasises his avarice; he was defeated by the Parthians and was killed shortly afterwards. The poet economizes with language: Mover refers to the influencing of Crassus and to the waging of war.

- F quartos: copper coins; 'wealth'; 'cracks in hooves'; 'limbs'.
- 320,A-B Presumably, Julius Caesar, mentioned frequently by Plutarch in vol.III.
- 321,A-B Cf. 180 A-D. The poet may also intend allusion to Cato the Younger, who was Caesar's enemy, according to Plutarch (vol.VIII).
- B cinta: 'La cinta es simbolo de castidad' (Covarrubias); it might also refer to the censorial badge of office.
- 322,A los pardos y honças: 'leopards and lynxes'; no feminine article included.
- F manicantes: an invented word, possibly deriving from 'maniqueo'.
- 324,A-B ... reynauan ... vençen ...: an unusual combination of tenses.
- A Anteos: 'giants': Antaeus, a giant and son of the Earth, was conquered in single combat by Hercules.
- B Alceo: two interpretations seem possible. The Greek poet Alcaeus, inventor of Alcaics, was noted for his cowardice; the other Alcaeus was son of Perseus (cf.F) and grandfather of Hercules (cf.A).
- F Medusa's head was sought and won by Perseus, who could not look at her face for fear of being turned to stone.
- G lebreles de raza: 'pedigree greyhounds'.
- 325 In addition to a generalized commentary on human affairs, a reference to contemporary political and military problems in the Netherlands.
- A oyo = oigo.
- B Alterados: either an adjective qualifying Clamores (A), or a noun meaning 'malcontents'.
demandas del dinero: the soldiers' pay claims (cf. G-H) or governmental tax legislation (cf. C), or both.
- C el sieruo diez: cf. Elliott, pp.169-70 and Parker, pp.139-41: possibly, the 'Tenth Penny' tax planned by the administration of the Duke of Alba; it proved an economic and political failure.

- G-H Cf. Elliott, pp.258,262: probably, a specific reference to the infamous looting by the unpaid and mutinous Spanish Army in the Netherlands during the mid 1570s.
- 326,A-D The pastoral metaphor is used to refer to Louis and William of Nassau, who are also implicitly compared with predators, both human and animal.
- A viejo rebaño: the loyal community, political and religious.
- D picaños: 'tramps, rogues'.
- G-H Possibly, on the relationship between the Spanish Empire and its rebellious subjects.
- 327 , A Although making sense , the MS. reading seems improbable in this
- 328,A-B Ulysses lived for a year with Circe , who ~~lives in~~ context .
had changed his travelling companions into pigs and later restored them to human form .
- F sin se mudar = sin mudarse: cf. Keniston, p.100.
- H leyenda: 'reading, lesson'. caya = calla or ,possibly , caiga .
- 329,A-B The spread of the Persian Empire and motives for it.
- G A probable allusion to contemporary events in the Spanish Empire.
- H gancho: 'crook' (used by shepherds to catch a sheep by the leg); 'Metaphoricamente vale el que con maña y arte solicita a otro para algun fin' (Autoridades).
- 330,A-D On the appearance and influence of fortune.
- C motina = amotina.
- E-F On shipwrecks.
- G ciego armado: if reference to a specific figure is intended, then this is probably Satan.
- 331 Apparently, alluding to contemporary political and military matters.
- A-B The paradoxes again point up deception.
- A Luzero: 'star' (but here the sense of 'eye' is as important).
endormidas = adormidas.
- G sangre real: either the blood of Christ or the person of Philip II.
maraña: 'trick, plot'.

332,F disiños = diseños.

G-H Possibly, on popular rebellion.

333,A ditado = dictado.

334 An obscure stanza which, in the context of surrounding stanzas, seems to allude critically to recent politico-religious events. If such allusion is intended, two distinct and complicated interpretations appear to be possible: the poet alludes obliquely either to Protestantism in Europe or to intrigues within the Spanish administration.

A la morysma: referring to the Arab community in contemporary Spain and, by extension, to rebellious heretics. Alternatively, the words could be la Morauya (cf. Elton, pp.96-7): Moravia was a rural area of early Protestant insurgency; the poet refers to similar European regions in 194.

vn nuevo vaquero: an aspirant; the pastoral references in the rest of the stanza partly explain the description, though the notions of vaquero as 'humble man' and 'sinful man' (i.e. 'of Bacchus') also seem to be implied. Elsewhere in the poem (e.g. 326) specific 'pastores' are considered unworthy (as in Mingo Revulgo); furthermore, 'vaca de San Antón' (cf. B) was a description applied to an effeminate man.

B Yerno de Antón: possibly, Juan de Escobedo, secretary to John of Austria in the Netherlands and originally an agent of Antonio Pérez. Escobedo was murdered in 1578 on the orders of Pérez, who by then had come to fear his influence (see Elliott, Imperial Spain, pp.259-61, and Europe Divided, pp.272-3). A game of forfeits called 'Antón perulero' might be implied by the reference (cf. C), and similarly, the proverb (cf. 332 A-B) 'Antón perulero, cada cual atiende a su juego' (about minding one's own business). cerca = acerca. tramontana: 'north wind' (cf. ventero, C); 'vanity'; 'north' (if allusion to Escobedo is intended, this might refer to the Netherlands, and cerca might be used adverbially); 'reason'.

C la chueca: a rustic ball game; 'hoax, joke'. ventero: 'innkeeper'; it also implies the action of wind, but, more importantly, the notions of enquiry and discovery (cf. Autoridades, 'ventar, and 'ventear').

- E apodos: ingenious names or descriptions applied by exercise of wit (as seems to be the case in the stanza).
pisando el lindero: 'going to the very limit'.
- G-H Cf. Elliott, Imperial Spain, pp.251-62: possibly, referring to Philip II and factional intrigues.
- 335,C minutas does not rhyme fully with A and E.
- 336 Cf. Elliott, pp.213-17: an apparent criticism of and warning about Jews, perhaps intending allusion to Pérez.
- B cíclope = ciclópeo. antojos: the double meaning of the word is evident.
- E remotos: 'untrue'.
- G-H Spain is perhaps seen as Midas, an association suggested by wealth and, possibly, by folly. Spanish treasure ships were pirated, and vast amounts of her precious metals from America were claimed by foreign bankers (see Elliott, Europe Divided, pp.266-9).
- G Everybody. loros: 'tawny'.
- 337 , A villetes: here , possibly , an invented word , based on 'viles' or 'villanos'. It can also be taken more literally to refer to written ideas, or even to paper bonds which replaced hard currency (cf. 336,338).
- 338 A clear reference to the financial difficulties of the nation and its subjects.
- A sin cuentos: 'limitless'; 'unaccounted for'; cuentos has a variety of relevant meanings ('tales'; 'millions'; 'difficulties').
- B hundidos: 'sunk'; 'dissolved' (= fundidos); both meanings seem relevant to the situation.
- C-F These lines apparently refer to the conduct of the soldiery against the indignant populace, and to the reaction of the soldiery to the explanations given to them about payment.
- F Rey: God and Philip II.
- G-H Two interpretations seem possible here: the truth of the military complaint is concealed from the King by a courtier, or the feelings of the local people are exploited by a traitor to the Monarchy and to Catholicism (e.g. William of Orange).

- G bulgo: the people and the soldiery.
- 339 An ironical description of the flatterer. The poet might be referring to a specific figure who supposedly enjoyed the King's confidence, perhaps his secretary, Antonio Pérez, or the contemporary Governor of the Netherlands. Possibly, he refers to Ruy Gómez de Silva, Prince of Eboli, who, although dead by 1573, was no doubt instrumental in the removal from office of his enemy Alba, and in subsequent Crown policy in the above region.
- 340,E viras: 'darts'.
- G-H The power and influence of the flatterer expressed in military terms.
- H de ligero: 'easily'.
- 341-4 These stanzas were evidently inscribed on the folio torn out of the MS., the probable reason for their removal being that they would have contained overt, and therefore dangerous, criticism of the contemporary régime. The quantity of alterations by the second hand in the surrounding sections of the MS. text (see critical apparatus) suggests that the same person might have been responsible for both the alterations and the removal of the folio.
- 345,A-D On lack of military vigour.
- D dormir: the infinitive seems to be used in place of a gerund.
- E rendidos: 'surrendered, exhausted'.
- F sjlogismos: the notion of false deduction seems to be implied here.
- G-H A probable criticism of military organisation.
- G desorden: a feminine noun at the period.
- 346 Cf. Elliott, pp.168-9: on justice meted out to wrongdoers. References in B and C suggest that the poet is alluding to the Council of Troubles.
- A Remedio tardío: the judicial and military cure to the cancerous rebellion.
negrido = ennegrecido.
- B Verdugos: 'welts' (caused by corporal punishment).
soñolentos = soñolientos: 'lapsed' (in religious and civil senses). The more common meaning of both words is also implied in the text.

- C tribuno: commander and minister of justice.
legado: 'envoy'. The tribune and the envoy are
both verdugos and remedio.
enpedernido: 'cruel'.
- D esentos: 'unrestrained'.
- E Los ritos de Bilhán: derived from a popular
saying: gambling, and by extension, immorality.
- F cimientos: principles.
- G no puede acomodar: 'has no place, effect'.
- H lunar: 'mole, defect'.
- 347 In spite of the poet's praises of the Duke of
Alba elsewhere (491-2), the character of the
figure referred to here accords closely with that
often attributed by his contemporaries, and even
by modern historians in less exaggerated terms,
to Alba as Governor of the Netherlands (see for
example, Elliott, pp.167-71).
- A El nuevo timón: timón seems to be used for
'timonero' ('helmsman, leader': cf. E).
nerona = neroniana.
- C ynica = inicua.
- E carona: 'Charonian, evil'.
- G sin tino: 'recklessly'; tino also refers
specifically to political judgement.
- 348 Cf. Elliott, pp.256-9, 261, 271-4: the figure
referred to here could be Luis de Requesens
(Governor of the Netherlands after Alba), who
adopted a very different approach to political
problems, or Don John of Austria, successor to
Requesens. Both failed to control the situation
effectively.
- A Vn otro = Otro: cf. Keniston, p.262.
- B marrido: cf. 26A.
- D Harria = Arrea: 'goads'.
- 349,A grjegas efigies: probably, the figures on the
prow of their ships.
- 350 On Spanish military achievement and valour (cf.
352).
- A patente = patentemente. Martes: 'heroes'.
- B A reference to the Spanish rescue of Malta from
Turkish invasion in 1565.

- C-D Either continuing the reference in B, or alluding to Lepanto.
- C aconpañá: 'encounters'.
- E-F Cf. Herodotus, Book IV: an apparent reference to the Persians, led by Darius.
- F citas = escitas.
- 351 A typically enigmatic stanza, in which comment on current political affairs might be interpreted from reference to simple moral error. The association of the historical or political with the abstract or religious is often more than an illustration in discussion of these contemporary events.
- A el mar elado: cf. Parker, pp.220-1: the reference to the temperature of the sea is perhaps more than a convention, for the inland waterways of the Netherlands, on which the rebels were very active, did freeze in winter.
- B Rey: God and Philip II.
- E-F These lines possibly refer to a contemporary political situation.
- 352,E-F A possible complaint about current politico-military disorder.
- G Possibly, a reference to the period of Governorship of John of Austria (cf. 348).
pagando doblado: either 'paying double' or 'the paymaster being deceitful'.
- 353,B Sin tilde ni jota: 'positively'.
- D-F A specific reference to military organisation.
- G borrones: 'follies'.
- 354,E motos: 'landmarks'.
- F puntos: 'places'; 'stitches'; 'full stops'.
- H Cf. F, 353B.
- 355,A El nuevo griego: this figure cannot be positively identified. If Ulysses, as a leader, were thought the archetypal Greek, then this could refer, by association, to a contemporary commander in the Netherlands. Alternatively, it refers to Plutarch or to Hernán Núñez, commentator of the Laberinto, who was often called 'El Comendador Griego'.

356,A-B Cf. 297 E-F.

- B adúltero a Sarra: Ishmael was the son of Sarah's husband by Hagar; the poet possibly misconstrues the biblical story. The use of 'rr' in place of 'r' is necessary for rhyme.
- C Gelues y Argel: the locations of Spanish defeats in North Africa (1560 and 1541, respectively).
- D La rueda: the wheel of fortune. tirando la barra: 'doing its utmost'; 'going too far'.
- F esbarra: 'error' (cf. Corominas, III, p.1097).

357 On military crime and its moral significance.

- A The rape of the Sabine women.
- B Phineus was blinded by the gods for having cruelly punished his sons, whom he accused of assaulting their stepmother (cf. A); furthermore, he was condemned to perpetual old age and to torment from the Harpies, who defiled or stole his food (cf. C).
- C Cf. Laberinto, stanza 65, line h.
- E barriles: cf. Covarrubias: '"De cosario a cosario no se llevan más que los barriles"'.

358,A-D Cf. Plutarch, vol.1: Croesus, King of Lydia, displayed his vast wealth to Solon, who declared it worthless; his later fall from power reminded him of Solon's opinion.

- D amaro = amargo.
- G-H A probable reference to the wealth from American sources, and its effect.

359 Cf. Laberinto, stanza 5 and notes.

- A-B Queen Semiramis was said to have built the city and the walls of Babylon. The poet probably alludes to the final defeat of the city by Cyrus.
- B masa: 'mortar'.
- C Cf. Iliad, XVI: Apollo protected the beleaguered Trojan walls from Patroclus, though they were later to be destroyed.
- E cómo será de = qué será de or cómo serán.

360,A The walls of Corinth were destroyed by the Roman consul L. Mummius, and those of Athens by Lysander.

B Essemplo = Ejemplo.

361,A-F In spite of his victory over the Samnites, Q. Maximus Rullianus (Fabio), was condemned to death by his commanding officer, Papirius Cursor, for having disobeyed orders; nevertheless, his father interceded on his behalf and the sentence was reduced.

A sanitas = samnitas.

362,A en cursos de años: 'over the years'.

C-F In the light of A-B, these comments might be taken as applicable to contemporary national affairs.

363,A-B Cf. Plutarch, vol.IV: probably, an allusion to the confusion over a statue of Lysander, thought to have been that of the Spartan general Brasidas. The poet suggests, wrongly, that Lysander was the latter's father.

D Cf. Covarrubias, pp.348, 998: two proverbial expressions are fused: 'Después de ido el conejo, tomamos el consejo' and 'Dar el consejo y el vencejo'.

E-F An apparent reference to the reaction of Cassandra when confronted by her compatriots' indifference to her prophecies of the fall of Troy.

364,A-B Cf. Plutarch, vol.VI: Carthaginian expansionism in Sicily and its unfortunate result.

B The 'lost meal' represents the lost imperial opportunity mentioned by Plutarch; however, reference to Platonic theory about the universe is foreshadowed in A (nuevo mundo) and is furthered in C-D.

C-D The reference to a wizard or speculator (mago) is fused with an allusion to Mago (Sp. = Magón), the Carthaginian general responsible for the military disgrace, and who later committed suicide.

D Either Timoleon (cf. account of Plutarch referred to in A-B) or Satan, or both.

E descargo: 'acquittal'; 'receipt'; the rhyme with A and C is incomplete.

365,D Reportes: 'gossip'; 'news'. simulacros: 'falsities'.

- 367,A-F Possibly, an allusion to the battle of Lepanto (1571).
- F dragos = dragones: perhaps describing Turks or persecutors of the Church.
- G-H Cf. Elliott, Imperial Spain, pp.228-34: the reference to hunting is possibly accompanied by allusion to the revolt of the Moriscos (1568-70) in the mountainous Alpujarras.
- 369 On the 'Golden Age' of mankind.
- A hierros = yerros; also a play on words (cf. doradas).
- E solanos: hot easterly winds.
- G-H The paradox of moral retrogression with advancing time.
- 370,A momos: 'foolery'. gigantes: 'Gigante. Se llama metafóricamente al que excede o sobresale a otros en el ánimo, fuerzas u otra cualquiera habilidad de virtudes o vicios' (Autoridades); it also implies the figures seen in processions with jesters.
co/n/ = y.
- B Tropellando = Atropellando.
- F distino = destino.
- 371,A-B Comnius, King of the Atrebates, was initially a Roman servant, but later rebelled against the Imperial power.
- 372 A statement of intention and method by the poet (cf. 1,544-6).
- A-B Chronicling, cosmography, and moral philosophy are apparently referred to.
- F Blasfemo: 'censure' (verb); its objects are mundanos and seguir fantasía (cf. the title of the poem).
- G-H His 'enigmatic' technique, so much in contrast with the clarity of his message.
- H sin ver ynportuno: 'without being challenged'.
- 373,A-B Cf. Ovid, Metamorphoses, II: Phaethon, a symbol of recklessness, persuaded his unwilling father (Apollo) to allow him to drive the chariot of the latter across the sky, his inevitable death causing Apollo much grief.

- F liza: 'battle, battleground' (cf. Autoridades).
guerra does not rhyme fully with B and D.
- 374,A noturnos: 'pagan' (= 'dark'); 'astrological'.
 The rhyme with C and E is incomplete.
- B Mercurio: messenger of the gods.
- C ligas: sexual relationships ; political alliances .
sin ser casj vnos: 'with not the least sense of
 union'.
- E sinos: 'tendencies'; 'fates'.
- 375,G Sense: 'gilding the pill and waving the stick'.
 'Palo santo' (= *lignum vitae*) was used as a
 treatment for syphilis (cf.H).
- 376 On moral disorder, illustrated in physical terms.
- A deçifrando = glosando.
- H Cf. Covarrubias, p.489: '"Quien come las duras,
 coma las maduras"', porque sepa del bien y del
 mal'.
- 377,A-B A reference to monetary devaluation: according
 to Parker (p.xiv), the escudo (gold currency)
 used by the Army of Flanders was worth, by 1590,
 ten reales (silver currency).
- G Rey: God and Philip II.
- 378,A Apocalisi = Apocalipsis. la suma verdad:
 God.
- 379,D The same rhyming-word is used in F.
- 380,F diuinal = divino.
- 381,A-D Cf. Herodotus, Books IV, VII: Artabanus, son of
 Hystaspes, warned his headstrong brother, Darius,
 against bridging the Thracian Bosphorus in order
 to attack the Scythians, and subsequently gave
 to Darius's son, Xerxes, similar advice; in both
 cases he was ignored. The poet seems to have
 confused the name of Artabanus's father with an
 Indian river, the Hydaspes. The syntax is rather
 confused: Artabanus is the subject of halló,
 whose objects are hijo (A) and Loca soberbia
 (D), the latter referring to Darius.
- 382,B Cf. God's words to Paul, Acts 26 (verse 14).

- 383 This stanza number does not appear in the MS..
- 384,A-B Two grammatically unrelated affirmations.
 A Ilustra = Ilustra.
 C The Carthaginians (penos) as worthy models.
 E-F (De) los tales enxenplos: ellipsis.
- 385,B cient = cien: cf. Keniston, p.304.
 E Cf. Covarrubias, p.242: 'A río buelto ganancia de pescadores'. buelto = revuelto.
 F Rebueltas: 'disputes'.
- 386 This stanza number does not appear in the MS..
- 387,G-H The same rhyming-word is used in both lines.
 G la vieja cana: reason.
 H orín and raza both mean 'defect, stain'.
- 388,A-C Cf. 1 Samuel 25: on the dispute of David (called El diestro on account of his defeat of Goliath) with the sheepowner Nabal, and the former's subsequent marriage to Nabal's wife, Abigail.
 B The line is in apposition to A, and vida is the subject of alunbran (C).
 C verno: Christ. primores = Del verno la gracia.
- 390,G quarto de vela: 'duty guard'.
 H centinela: the most important of the four watches suggested in G.
- 391,A-D Prostitution is implied here.
 A Rigendo: the MS. reading ('Ri Yendo' = 'Riendo') is possible in this context, though less likely here in view of the significance in the poem of 'regir' and its cognates.
- 392,A-B Cf. Plutarch, Moralia, vol. V: Horus, the son of Osiris, avenged his father's violent death by defeating the murderer, the giant Typhon.
- 393,A-C The defeat of Pompey by Julius Caesar. Although there is no evidence of direct influence or borrowing from Lucan, the poet probably knew the Pharsalia, which Mena used as a source, and perceived both its relevance to the subject of civil disorder and its rhetorical value.

- G Carlos pío: Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor and King of Spain. If the poet was or had been a soldier, as is probably the case, he might well have seen Charles in France in the mid 1540s (cf. Elton, pp.242-3). The autobiographical vj in H is nevertheless related to other, fictitious first-person experiences reported in the poem.
- H The association of Charles with Julius Caesar is made (cf. A), both having triumphed in the region described here as la Galia.
- 396,B Sense: 'by the evil life dying in battle'.
- 398,A The theme of persuasion and flattery is specifically introduced here, and is developed through the following stanzas. Its relevance to contemporary political affairs is evident.
- 400,A-B Cf. Plutarch, Lives, vol. IX: Ptolemy and Mark Anthony incited Gabinus to join the invasion of Egypt.
- B rendidos: 'devotees'.
- C-D Cf. Plutarch, vol. VI: the terms of the reference here to the irrational (Dionysios) going astray (Plato representing reason) are inspired by the story of the tyrants of Syracuse, Dionysius the Elder and Dionysius the Younger. Both ignored the philosopher's teachings and abused him personally; the influence of Plato on the Younger was thought to have been undermined by flatterers.
- E-F The decemvir Appius Claudius lustfully sought to enslave Virginia, the daughter of a Roman centurion who consequently killed her for her own protection and thereby precipitated the fall from power of the decemvirs. The story, originally told by Livy, is mentioned by Valerius Maximus (p.271).
- G-H King Roderick was held responsible for the Moorish conquest of Spain because his love affair with la Cava induced her vengeful father to betray the nation.
- 401,A fuieron: equivalent here to hubo.
- E 'Tirar la piedra y esconder la mano' (Covarrubias).

- 402,C menestriles: musicians who played at religious functions; 'servants'.
- 403 A direct warning to mankind, and perhaps more specifically to a rebellious local populace.
- 404,B enbaymientos: 'deceits, illusions'.
- C malsino = malsín.
- 405,A-B Probably, referring back to 404G-H: exiçios would normally mean Egyptians (thus giving fuller meaning to rey estrangero), but here it seems to imply the dead, whose souls might be ruled by Pluto ('exicial' = 'mortal', 'mortífero').
- D Sense: 'winning them involves us in a thousand more vices'.
otros mil viçios = mil otros viçios.
- G-H Sirue aparencia ... (a) seguir fantasía: ellipsis.
- 408 On greed and corruption, possibly in specific contemporary contexts.
- B vistes = visteis (cf. C).
- G A reference to baptism; also, perhaps, to the Great Flood.
- H hierros: 'irons'; 'faults'.
- 409,D nada: either 'not at all', or used in place of 'nunca'.
- 410,A The line is in apposition to traydor (B).
- C-D Cf. 2 Kings 5: Naaman, cured of leprosy by Elisha, was followed by Gehazi, servant of the prophet, and payment deceitfully sought from him for the services of Elisha, who had requested no reward.
- E-F The conduct of the heretic who denies the sanctity of the Virgin Mary (cf. 411 C).
- E estafas: 'swindles'.
- G-H Bártulo: a famous Italian jurist of the Middle Ages, much studied in Spain. Baldo: a disciple of the former.
Juan Andrés: a Spanish mathematician or theologian of the fifteenth century.

- 411,C Con el áuito en cruz: either the sign of the Cross is covered, or the Christian custom of worshipping it is considered a self-deception. Possibly, alluding also to the cross on knightly costume.
- 412,A-D Cf. Elliott, Europe Divided, pp.140-1: in addition to their obvious metaphorical sense, these lines could also refer to the iconoclasm of 1566 in the Netherlands.
- B de capa y espada: 'unqualified' (as of a minister); 'false'; it also implies here treachery and violence.
- C-D The paradoxical result of profane conduct.
- H erario: 'El thesoro público del Reino u República, o el lugar donde se recoge y guarda el dinero del Público' (Autoridades).
- 413,E cortapisa: 'drawback'.
- 414,A Apolo escul/a/pio: like his son Aesculapius, Apollo was thought of as a healer; the latter word is used adjectivally in the text.
el otro rey moro: presumably, Mohammed.
- B catarro: spiritual affliction is represented by bodily illness. The figures mentioned in surrounding lines seem to represent healers and prophets of religions rival to Christianity.
- C el otro más loro: cf. 336G, 436F.
- F Maestro: God.
- 415,A divisa: 'badge'.
- G-H St Helena, mother of the Emperor Constantine and thought to have found the true Cross, was a convert to Christianity, as was St Heraclius, Bishop of Alexandria.
- 416,A quadre: 'suit, please'.
- E-F The commandment about filial love and respect is the fourth in the Roman Catholic order.
- F Amárnoslos: either the verb is used reflexively, or the pronoun nos (object of manda) is falsely, but not abnormally, located.

- 417,A al tono: 'harmoniously, aptly'.
 E trocada qualifies both maña and arte.
 F justas: 'contests'.
- 420,A-B Cf. Luke 18: Christ's parable about the proud
 Pharisee and the humble tax-gatherer.
- 421,A troques = trueques.
 C-D Unnatural phenomena exemplified.
 D albar/c/oques = albaricoques.
- 424,A-B Probably, a reference to contemporary politico-
 religious warfare and to the poet's role as
 a soldier.
 C aquista: 'achieves, wins'.
- 425,A Hector's defence of Troy.
 B El griego: the Greeks, particularly Achilles
 and Ulysses. le refers to Hector.
 puja: 'overcomes'.
 F so: 'under'.
 G-H escribe and persigue do not rhyme fully.
- 426 The subsequent list of eminent, one-eyed military
 men seems to serve the poet's purpose of
 eulogising his contemporary, Julián Romero (see
 432). Several of the figures mentioned are
 specifically referred to and discussed as one-
 eyed generals by Plutarch (vol.VIII), who notes
 that such men have invariably been the best
 warriors.
- A-D Cf. Plutarch, vol.VII: Philip of Macedon,
 father of Alexander the Great, and agreeable to
 his son's being described as King even while
 Philip lived, was slain by Pausanias; the latter
 was seeking to avenge an injustice he had
 suffered at the hands of Philip over a love
 affair.
 C la parca: Atropos, who cuts the thread of life.

- 427 Cf. Plutarch, vols VI, IX: Antigonus, commander under Alexander, became ruler of part of the Empire on the death of the latter, and at the age of eighty he undertook, with his son Demetrius, territorial expansion. In the battle against Seleucus, Antigonus, having conceded supreme command to Demetrius, was cornered and slain privately by those whose union he had threatened to reduce to shreds.
- A el vn: definite article and cardinal number.
- C Valerius Maximus (pp.225,608) also refers to Antigonus.
- E grande ymisferio: the visible world.
- F Partija: normally a noun, it seems to be used verbally here to mean 'fragments, apportions', and probably refers to the division of the Empire.
- H Demetrius, noted by Plutarch (vol. IX) as being of fickle or restless (nouelero) nature, finally died after three years in captivity.
- 428,A-E On the life and deeds of Ulysses, eligible (albeit tenuously) for inclusion amongst these warriors by his association with Polyphemus, the one-eyed giant (see Odyssey, IX). Homer was thought to have been blind, and in 474B the poet appears to reiterate the assumption that Ulysses too was blind.
- A gran luzero: 'guiding light'; 'great eye'.
- F Cíclope: used adjectivally to describe Polyphemus.
trujamanes: 'interpreters'.
- G-H The fate of the giant, engineered by Ulysses. The poet's apparent licence with characters is accompanied by a personal interpretation of the actions of Polyphemus, who did not poison himself except insofar as he became drunk on the wine given to him by Ulysses. The latter then put out the giant's single eye with a stake, but did not kill him. In spite of such inconsistencies, the stanza does not seem to refer to any other story but this.

- 429,A-D Quintus Sertorius, the Roman leader of the Lusitanians, is noted by Plutarch (vol.VIII) as being one-eyed, though no specific mention is made of where or when he lost his eye. Luceria, a town on the borders of Samnium and Apulia, was a Roman possession won in battle by Papirius, but there is no direct evidence of Sertorius's having fought there; the poet possibly intends a play on the name of the town.
- A-B Cf. Laberinto, stanza 159, lines a-b.
- D el pupilo: presumably, his junior officer (Perperna), though allusion to his eye is evident.
- E la vieja raposa: Bellona.
- G-H Cf. Plutarch, vol. VIII: Sertorius, who made a politico-military treaty with Mithridates of Pontus, was murdered by conspirators organised by Perperna (Sp. = Perpenna or Perperna).
- 430 Tariq Aben-Ziyad, whose name is loosely interpreted here by the poet, led the Moorish invasion of Spain in 711, but was jealously punished by his master, Muza, for having extended the conquest beyond the range of orders. There is no evidence of his having been one-eyed.
- G fuera = fue.
- 431,A El famoso albiano: the reference cannot be elucidated with certainty. There is no evidence that a Duke of Alba was ever military leader of the Venetians, or that a member of the patrician Roman family Albinus ever led the Veneti, or that Alba (Italy) was closely allied with Venice. If veneçiano is a deliberate or scribal error for feneçiano and albiano a play on 'Aníbal', then sense is made of the stanza: Plutarch includes Hannibal in his gallery of renowned one-eyed generals, and Carthage was, of course, a principal Phoenician city. There is no record of Hannibal's having defended or led the Veneti.
- 432 Cf. Williams, pp.162-3: on Julián Romero, commander of the 'Tercio de Sicilia' in the Netherlands, who lost his eye in the siege of Haarlem and died in 1578. Parker (pp.119-20) posits 1577 as the date of his death and notes that Romero was considered a valiant and honest man.

- H The family name of Romero was Ibarrola, here used adjectivally to qualify casa.
- 433 On written misrepresentation of military enterprise, possibly referring to controversial affairs of the period in the Empire. Subsequent stanzas seem to refer obliquely to rebellion, its significance, and how it is dealt with by those in authority.
- 434,E-F Cf. 1 Kings 21: King Ahab of Israel sought to buy from Naboth a vineyard whose sale God had forbidden; having attained his wish, by violence and deception, Ahab was punished. The reference appears to repeat that of 221.
- G-H 'Proverbio: "Ni en burlas ni en veras, con tu amo no partas peras"' (Covarrubias, p.862); the proverb warns against aspiring above one's station in life.
- 435,D su seems to refer to nouio amador (B).
- 436 Cf. Elliott, pp.214,236: the poet possibly alludes to France, in immoral alliance with the Mediterranean enemies of a Spain she feared; moreover, the description vieja ynsolente might be equally applicable to Catherine de Medici, ageing monarch of France.
- F otro gran loro: a prophet or Satan.
- G flema: in addition to its normal meaning of 'phlegm', it is equivalent to 'pepita' ('distemper'), referred to by Covarrubias (p.600) as a disease of hens; the French were often rudely described as 'gallos' or 'gallinas' (cf. 505A,204B) .
- 437,B La madre: probably, the hen implied in 436. The notion of filial misconduct also seems to be suggested here.

- G-H If the allusion to romero is intended to recall the abovementioned military figure, then the poet might be defending soldiers (seen as 'romeros'); any blame or guilt for their actions should be placed upon the decision-makers ('pelligeros'). Otherwise, he refers simply to pilgrims and dealers.
- 438,A-B Cf. Herodotus, Book III: Cambyses, King of Persia, requested of his minister Prexaspes the truth about current popular opinion; the minister's honest reply angered Cambyses, who then cruelly shot and killed the son of Prexaspes as proof of his own strength and judgement.
- C Philip II is compared here with Aeneas.
- G-H An affirmation of the poet's confidence in the monarch, described inevitably as prudente.
- 439 There is ambiguity in the poet's opinion of the figure described.
- A Filvert (?) cf. Elliott, pp.16,88-9: Emmanuel Philibert (d.1580), Duke of Savoy and erstwhile Governor of the Netherlands, consistently supported the Spanish cause in the Northern European military operations.
holgança: the word suggests a lack of the sort of action normally praised by the poet.
- C The same rhyming-word is used as in A.
- E temperança = templanza.
- 441,A Juan, Pedro y Llorente: apparently, typical pastoral names.
- F An illustration of the effect of unnatural conditions.
- G-H A warning about foreign aspirations to Spanish territory.
- G fronteros: 'Frontero. El Gobernador o Alcaide que tiene a su cargo una Plaza o Castillo que está en la frontera' (Autoridades).
Quando ... serán: cf. Keniston, pp.437-8: it seems to be equivalent to 'Si ... son'.
rebate: 'strife, trouble'.

- 442 The events referred to cannot be accurately traced: the poet probably alludes to the incest of Papirius Romanus (mentioned by Plutarch, Moralia, vol.IV) with his sister; Papirius thereby deceives (trebeja, D) his mother.
- 443,A An enigmatic meaning. forçado : 'captive' ;
negro : 'miserable' . Whilst rhyming verse would be called 'forzado', blank verse would be 'blanco' or 'suelto' .
- 444 , G Carillo : usually treated as a proper name in Spanish pastoral literature .
- 445 A warning, possibly with reference to contemporary military affairs, about fortune and interference in matters of authority.
- C The infant Hercules, victim and exterminator of serpents (cf.D) .
 E luna: a symbol of changeable fortune; also a possible reference to Turkish influence.
- F patente: 'warrant'.
- 446,B la vieja parida: probably, fortune (cf. 445A , E) .
- H crearnos = criarnos .
- 447 Examples of the disorder caused by presumptuousness, and its relation to universal forces.
- D bieres: cf. Keniston, p.444.
- G-H Cf. Plutarch, vol.VII: Cicero, having hesitated to take sides in the Civil War, finally joined Pompey, and thus exemplifies inconsistency. Q.A. Cotta, a legate of Caesar's, died (perhaps through recklessness) in the Gallic Wars; Cicero himself refers to another Cotta, the orator Gaius Aurelius. The poet also seems to imply the meaning 'number of men' ('cota' = 'cuota': cf. 345G).
- 448,A-D Possibly , an allusion to St Sebastian who, as an officer in the Roman Army, gave comfort and assistance to persecuted Christians; when his activities were revealed, he was bound to a column or tree and shot with arrows.
- H The reward of loyalty.
- 452,H Cf. Ovid, Metamorphoses, I: exhausted by Apollo's pursuit, Daphne was changed into a laurel tree in order to save her virtue; Apollo nevertheless loved her even as a tree.
- 454 A traditional warning about true nobility.

- 455,G Armígeros: 'knights'; possibly, 'squires'.
- 456,A cordial: 'Todo aquello que conforta el corazón' (Covarrubias).
- 457,A el persa: Cyrus, who conquered Croesus, King of Lydia (lido = lidio), according to Herodotus (Book 1).
- B The point, based on the report of Herodotus about a plague of snakes in the city of Sardis before the defeat of Croesus, is to warn of heresy and of the other evils referred to in subsequent stanzas.
- D vestigios refers to the snakes. cebras: the zebra was thought to be particularly wild (cf. Autoridades).
- H Without the inclusion of [cada], the line has only nine syllables: cf. 361H.
- 458,A-B No figure called Jaconías appears in the Bible, but two others, 'Jaazanías' and 'Jechonías' are possible in this context, and the poet has perhaps confused them; the latter nevertheless seems the more probable of the two. Jaazaniah is mentioned as an idolater by the prophet Ezekiel (ch.8), the result of his actions (and those of his accomplices) being punishment of Jerusalem (ch.9); Jeccniah, of the royal family of Judah, is referred to by the prophet Jeremiah (chs 22-4) as having been exiled with his people, by God, for idolatry.
- 459 Possibly applicable to teachers of heresy who corrupt those in need of protection, and surely to advisers or regents of contemporary royalty.
- 460 The royal sport of hunting is interpreted in a socio-political sense.
- G-H Venus and Cupid (el hijo) seem to represent the contrasting effect of love.
- G nido: 'refuge'; 'hotbed, den'.
- 461,A-F A reference to the voracious and unprincipled English piracy of Spanish shipping and disregard of territorial authority, which Spain was unable to curb.

- B lánguidas vñas: an unusual combination of words in this context, unless the adjective suggests the reason rather than the action of the pirates.
- D An apparent overstatement of historical fact.
- G-H A statement which foreshadows the Armada of 1588.
- 462,A-F Cf. Aeneid, IV: Dido, founder and Queen of Carthage, was struck with love for Aeneas by Cupid, on Venus's orders (cf. 460G-H); Juno and Venus (probably referred to in D) competed to undermine her chastity against her will.
- 463,A-D Cf. Herodotus, Book I: Gyges, a member of the household of King Candaules of Lydia, became King after killing his master. Candaules had wished to prove to his servant the physical beauty of his wife who, on discovering that Gyges had secretly and with the King's approval viewed her naked body, offered him the choice of death or marriage to her. He accepted the latter, which naturally involved his murdering the monarch. Candaules, here seen as an example of folly, is the name applied to Henry IV in Mingo Revulgo (copla iii).
- A viera = vio.
- G detrás de cantones: 'in corners' (where Gyges might have hidden himself).
- 464,A-B Ovid (Nasón) claimed that his eyes were to blame for the exile imposed on him by Augustus; he probably witnessed an incident involving the Emperor's grand-daughter.
- E priuar: 'political favour'.
- 465,B Yncestos = Incestuosos.
- G-H Possibly, on immorality in the religious orders.
- 466,B superuo = soberbio. vanico: 'vain' (dim.).
- 467,A cupidos: 'lovesick men'.
- F verduras: 'obscenities'.

- 468,A-D All lovers, and pairs of lovers enjoy the pleasures of sight, touch, speech, kissing and union; these are broadly related to the five senses.
- 469 A direct address to the Virgin Mary, testimony of the poet's devotion. Extensive reference to sexual love in surrounding stanzas contrasts vividly with the exaltation of the Virgin in this.
- 470 A reaffirmation of the purity and sincerity of his love.
- 471 Possibly, about the poet's wife (from whom he is perhaps parted); alternatively, he is professing a chaste love for a married lady with whom he is unable to communicate. It seems improbable that he is referring to a patron saint: St Petronilla would be the sole likely figure.
- 472,A Cf. 1 Kings 11: Solomon's many marriages to foreign wives brought God's displeasure upon him. turbara = turbó.
- B Cf. Judges 16, 2 Samuel 11: Samson was betrayed by Delilah, whom he loved, and David married Bathsheba only after seducing her and having her husband killed.
- F Cf. 2 Samuel 13: Amnon, son of David, raped his stepsister Tamar.
el más viejo adalid: cf. Exodus 4: probably, Moses, who was to be smitten by God for marrying before he had been circumcised.
- 474 , A-F The poet has possibly confused two mythological stories, deliberately or otherwise. El argólico ciego is either Argus or Ulysses: the former, set by Hera to guard Io (cf. F), who had been transformed into a heifer by the enamoured and jealous Jupiter, was finally killed on the orders of Jupiter; Ulysses, perhaps mistakenly thought blind (cf. 428), returned to Ithaca in disguise, wishing to prove his wife's love, so tested by time and uncertainty. Latona was probably seen as a guardian of chastity.
- 475,C rato: 'Usado con los adjetivos bueno o malo, vale gusto, u disgusto que se tiene en alguna cosa' (Autoridades); cf. E.
- E rato = ratón: 'male rat'.
- 476 Achilles was killed in the temple of Apollo by Paris, brother of Polyxena whose marriage to Achilles was about to take place.

- 477,G-H ciego and linceo do not rhyme fully.
- 478,H están = son.
- 479,C que = cuando or (en) que.
- E-F The fate of Cain and Abel.
- G Sin jamás pensar (en) la cierta partida:
ellipsis.
- 480,A El Filósofo: Aristotle, often described thus in Pulgar's discussion of moral philosophy in the commentary to Mingo Revulgo (e.g. pp.175,187).
- C-D St Augustine, in life and death, is seen as an example to all men; he too is mentioned by Pulgar (pp.177,205).
- C Sant: cf. Keniston, p.304.
- 481,B el vano conde: this could be an allusion to the Prince of Condé, a Huguenot leader in the 1560s (cf. Elliott, pp.113-24). Alternatively, it might refer to several counts, amongst whom the most likely would seem to be Lumey, who was involved in the iconoclasm of 1566 (cf. E) and died in 1578, or Bossu (d. 1578), who deserted the Spanish cause in the mid 1570s (cf. Williams, pp.152-3, 131-2).
- D nadie no: cf. Keniston, p.609.
- 482,B faborido = favorito or favorecido.
- 483 The stanza seems to refer to a contemporary nation or, more likely, to a figure of the time. The paradox of 'humble nobility' suggests that it could be Don John of Austria (d. 1578), Governor in the Netherlands but denied regal status largely on account of his illegitimacy.
- D traca: 'plan, method'.
- E Seguiendo = Siguiendo.
Rey: God and Philip II.
- F raca: 'defect'.
- G-H His political and military dynamism in exemplary defence of the Faith, whereby virtuous (antigua) nobility is expressed.

- 484 Cf. Williams, pp.154-5: on the deeds and qualities of Peter Ernest, Count of Mansfeld, a German supporter of Charles V and, subsequently, of Philip II. In 1562 he took the side of the local nobility against the Regent in the Netherlands, Margaret of Parma (cf. A-B), but soon reallied himself with the Catholic and Spanish cause. Under Alba, Requesens, Don John, and Farnese he held important military and political posts, though at one time during the régime of Don John he was imprisoned by the Spanish.
- B corte: 'court'; 'courting'.
- E Secaces could refer to both pursuers and adherents.
- F Rey: God and Philip II.
- 486 Cf. Elliott, pp.245-7: a probable allusion to the troubles of recent Emperors, Maximilian and Rudolph.
- F Charlemagne was Holy Roman Emperor; the association with Charles V is evident.
- G-H The allusion derives from the famous romance of chivalry, Hystoria del Emperador carlo magno y de los doze pares de Francia ... (1544 edition), adapted by Nicolás de Piamonte from the French epic and published regularly in the sixteenth century. The almirante Balán, owner and commander of the bridge at Mantible, has imprisoned there Christian knights of Charlemagne (cf.F), who rescues them by capturing the bridge in league with Fierabras. The bridge incident is mentioned by Don Quixote (II, xlix), and was used by Calderón and by Juan José López as the plot of a play and of a ballad, respectively.
- 489H rebeldes: probably, the dissident local population, as well as all moral deviants.
- 490,A-B Cf. Elliott, pp.190-202: probably, a reference to the Holy League (Spain, the Papacy, and Venice), which defeated the Turks at Lepanto in 1571, and whose triumphant fleet was commanded by Don John of Austria, brother (hermano, B) of Philip II. The victory proved of little ultimate value to Catholicism, for the Christian participants were soon on the defensive elsewhere, the Spanish in North Africa and the Netherlands.

- C ynormes = enormes.
- E-F On the stand made by the Duke of Alba in defence of Catholicism and the Spanish Empire (cf. 491-2). The reference to the River Tormes, which flowed through the Alba estate and therefore was associated with the family, is possibly inspired in part by Garcilaso's second eclogue.
- 491-2 Addressed to the Duke of Alba, Captain-General, Regent, and Governor-General in the Netherlands (1567-73), here compared with figures of the past.
- 491,A-D Fabius was the name of a Roman military and political family, of whom M.E.Q. (Emilio, D) was a consul, and later legate in Spain; he is possibly described as libiano on account of his persecution of Viriathus and involvement in the siege of Numantia. However, the most famous Fabius was his father (by adoption), Maximus; known as 'Cunctator' for his military prudence, it is he with whom Alba is compared.
- B galo y germano: the French and the Germans, against whom Alba fought under Charles V and later, indirectly, in his capacity as protector of the Netherlands.
- H trabugue: the meaning of the word is ambiguous, for it suggests not only 'amaze' (cf. praises in 491-2), but also 'confuse' (cf. apparent criticism in 346-7).
- 492,A Cf. Laberinto, stanza 79, line g.
- B-C Cf. Laberinto, stanza 139, lines a and d.
- B Metelos: the Metellus family, of great military and political renown in Rome; several figures are mentioned by Plutarch in the Lives.
- C Camylo: Camillus Furius, a military and political figure celebrated by Plutarch (vol.II).
- G-H An absolute construction, consequent to the foregoing exclamations and here apparently separated from them by the punctuation.

- 493 Apparently as a sequel to the references to Alba, this and subsequent stanzas seem to make serious and critical comment on current events and methods of government, though their terms of expression are necessarily enigmatic. Here the respective merits of prudentes (possibly, Philip and Requesens) and of valientes (probably, Alba, though he too is praised for prudence in 491F) are considered; in F the poet makes a statement of opinion about the kind of rule needed, regentes meaning both 'rulers' and 'regents'.
- 494,A An absolute construction, 'siendo' being understood.
sentidos: 'senses', 'judgements', 'directions', are all implied, and are qualified by alterados ('changed'; 'in turmoil').
- B The absence of the natural beauties of the River Tormes suggests that of Alba's person and opinions from office; both vistas and ayres are subjects of faltando.
- C Probably, a reference to the terror and obedience imposed by Alba during his office in the Netherlands.
- D-F On lack of positive action and its results (cf. 345).
- G-H Cf. Elliott, pp.256-63, 272-4: a warning about the sort of moderation practised by the Spanish administration in the Netherlands since the departure of Alba.
- 495,A-B Vipers, symbolising heretics, are poisoned by the wolf, presumably Satan, and they seek to poison truth.
- D Anda: singular verb for plural subject.
- E tristeza: 'Dos maneras ay de tristeza: la primera nace de la mala costumbre o depravada voluntad ... La segunda nace de la memoria del pecado y de aver ofendido a Dios' (Covarrubias).
globo: the group of objects referred to in A-D.
- 496,A-D The expression and syntax make clear interpretation difficult.

- A Ligero and soez both appear to qualify Espetáculo (C), the subject of Manda (D). tal silogismo: the argument developed in 495.
- B Either a parenthetical statement, or in apposition to Espetáculo.
- C guías del abismo is in apposition to Espetáculo vano, guías suggesting that the vain spectacle of heresy is both reflection of and guide to Hell.
- D Heretical preachers and followers reduce the Virgin Mary to the status of a whore by denying the Virgin Birth.
- 497 A criticism of deception and lack of dynamism in leaders.
- A Texendo = Tejiendo. arañas: 'spiders'; 'deceits'; 'whores' (cf. 496D).
- C An absolute construction.
- F 'fustibus et armis': cf. Matthew 26 (verse 47), 'armed with swords and cudgels': probably, a motto, referring to military methods of conquest and government. temerosas qualifies vistas (D).
- G tinieblas: ignorance.
- 498,A-D Cf. Plutarch, vol.1: Lycurgus, a Spartan legislator, ensured that his nephew Charilaus would succeed to the throne in spite of the treachery of the child's mother. When Alcander, a young Spartan, blinded Lycurgus in one eye during a demonstration against a new law, the latter forgave and reformed the youth.
- E-H The story of Lycurgus, which illustrates the value and necessity of reforming folly by the application of valour and virtue, has obvious relevance to contemporary political affairs of Spain.
- 499,A-D The image of a whirlwind (probably, Protestant rebellion) and its effect is related to specific geographical reality and historical events: the river referred to would be the Rhine, which rises in Switzerland (the home of Calvinism), and passes through Germany before reaching the flat territories of the Netherlands.

- E-F The paradox of becoming involved in conflict by withdrawal from the real war. To Spanish military personnel of the time this is how foreign policy in the Netherlands during the late 1570s might have seemed.
- G-H Bathing was thought by some to debilitate: 'El uso de los baños relaxa las fuerças y buelve a los hombres floxos y covardes' (Covarrubias, p.190).
- 500 ladrón (A) and fanfarrón (C) probably refer not only to a prominent heretic (e.g. Calvin) who deceives God (Rey, D), but also to an important political figure (e.g. William of Orange) who deceives God and Philip II in matters of State.
- B heridas: possibly, both those of Christ and those received in battle.
- D partidas: a range of interpretations seem possible here: 'departures' (from the scene of the theft); 'deaths'; 'bands'; 'tricks'.
- 501,A-F Those specified in G-H are the subject of Jurando, and are referred to in apposition in D and E.
- B veso de Judas: the sign of treachery.
- E Contrario: 'enemy'. Both pecho and fynta here signify 'tax', in addition to their more normal meanings.
- F Rey: Philip II.
- G perlados = prelados.
- 502,C Trapaçando = Trapaceando: here used transitively.
- E Barbullando: 'prattling'.
- 503,E el santo mártir: St Stephen, the Protomartyr, who had a vision just before his death.
- H éforo: a Spartan official, responsible for public discipline.
- [a]sonancia: 'correspondence' (mus. and phys.).
- 504 On deception by breach of promise, possibly on the part of government authorities.
- C súmulas: a compendium of the principles of logic.

- G-H These lines seem to refer to the Duke of Alba (though the MS. version of duq/ue7 is very unclear), who was sent to suppress the rebellion in the Netherlands. If the poet speaks from the point of view of a military participant, then he possibly reflects soldiers' disapproval of inactivity in a war they felt capable of winning by strong military action. Once again, the attitude to Alba, if he is the adalid mentioned, is ambiguous.
- 505 A metaphor of the contemporary political situation in Spain's sphere of interest.
- A los gallos: the French. duelo: 'sorrow'; 'duel, combat'.
- B The Milanese resist and even prey on the French.
- C-D The eagle is probably Turkey, and the lion Spain.
- D masa = amasa.
- E-F The maritime piracy of the English (cf. 461).
- E lagartos: in addition to its reference to the English (as 'rogues'), the meaning of 'pistols' is probably implied, and therefore the latter might be called 'skinless and hairless lizards'.
- F tollos: 'dogfish'; the name also signifies naval hiding-places.
- H Cf. 'Arremangóse Morilla, y comiéronla los lobos': a proverbial warning to those who take risks the consequences of which might prove difficult to control.
- 506,A Remendones motilados: probably, a reference to religious quacks (motilados: 'shorn'). Line A is either a direct address to the people concerned, or it is awkwardly in apposition to fingidos (B).
- 508 The typical moral complaint and warning about contemporary society, though in the light of preceding stanzas the blame is to be shared by all, probably including royal authority.
- 509 Clearly, addressed to Philip II, the first specific indication that the work seeks royal attention (cf. 514, 516).

- C-D Advice of this kind, however hypothetical the situation referred to, would have been considered audacious.
- C verdeza: 'lustfulness, youthful excess'.
- D espejo: the notion of the mirror was current in discussion of exemplary kingship.
- E-F A probable reference to royal policy and its outcome in the Netherlands.
- 510 Philip II is compared with Tydeus, a cruel but valiant man. Philip's policies were implemented in the Netherlands by Alba, to whom the description might be more obviously applicable.
- A bulto: 'face'.
- C padre: Charles V.
- D Dulce muy cruel al pueblo ynsano: a fair assessment of Philip's approach to suppressing civil rebellion in view of his rights as monarch.
- G-H The dissidents (usually described by Philip as 'heréticos y rebeldes') and their supposed motivations.
- 511,A tal razón: the exercising of moral and legal right.
- H El ministro real: the monarch, as God's representative.
- 512 On religious and civil deviants.
- G-H An example of social deception and its results.
- 513 , A letrudos = letrados.
- C Glosan: the MS. reading ('glosen') seems to contradict the point of the stanza.
- D The result of C, though the use of the infinitive (ver) without a preposition, or in place of a gerund construction, makes the expression elliptical; presumably, the subject of ver is 'nosotros'.
tarazando: 'upsetting'.
- E enxiriendo = injiriendo: 'meddling'; alternatively, 'introducing' (if los más rudos is the object of the verb).
- H Both phrases are objects of ver (D).

- 514 A direct address and exhortation to Philip II to resolve national problems and to guarantee the integrity of the Faith.
- D-E Love should truly make justice feared amongst the populace.
- D naturales: 'subjects'.
- 515,A santa campaña: 'holy campaign'; 'holy territory'.
- B trino [y] vno: 'three in one'.
- G-H A typical conclusion, in proverbial terms, to the foregoing religio-moral comment.
- 516 Philip is compared flatteringly with Spain's greatest monarchs of the past (cf. Laberinto, stanzas 145, 271-91) and is praised for his defence of the Faith.
- G The line could also be interpreted as Sólo este Rey por Cristo conbate.
- 517,A pegriçia: referring primarily to sloth, but with a probable military relevance.
- B-D The subject of quitando is Claras vitorias.
- C /i/niquiçia = iniquidad: licence exercised for rhyme.
- D It seems quite possible that vos would refer both to the King and to the reader.
- F A reflection of contemporary Spanish belief in the national destiny, as well as a general comment on divine support for the faithful.
- 518,B Casimiro: cf. Elliott, pp.286, 123, 306: John Casimir, the ambitious Count Palatine, was called upon in 1578 by the Council of Ghent to confront the Malcontents.
- F Casimir is compared with Pyrrhus, King of Epirus who, according to Plutarch (vol. IX), sought greedily to expand his political influence, though often without understanding how best to utilize the power he acquired.
- 519 On military honour.
- G máquinas seems to refer here to military equipment.
- H compuesto: 'compound'.

- 520 Cf. Elliott, pp.246-7, 380-2: Rudolph, Emperor from 1576 and Habsburg nephew of Philip II, initially compromised on confessional matters, but in 1578 took a firm stand against Protestantism (cf. C,E) in the Habsburg territories.
- 521,A In apposition to Argólico viso (B).
Marcas: 'features'.
- G-H Cf. Elliott, pp.274, 285, 292-3: a clear reference to the contemporary activities of the young Archduke Matthias, brother of Rudolph; in December 1577 he was declared by the States-General successor to Don John of Austria, and probably led the rebels against Don John's army in January 1578.
- H Matatías: there is possible ambiguity here: the name describes a usurer (possibly, by extension, Satan), as well as the famous leader ('Matthathias') of the Maccabees, who sought to rouse his compatriots to active resistance against foreign domination. The viewpoint of the poet is therefore not totally clear.
- 522,F confiçión = confección: 'composition, character'.
- G ledos: 'happy'. los hijos de Leda: Castor and Pollux (cf. 536A), who had the reputation of punishing the inhospitable.
- H el Veda: a sacred book of the Hindu religion, but more probably a reference here to the Venerable Bede, early English theologian.
- 523,F dones: probably, a play on the meanings 'gifts' and 'sirs'.
- 524,B An image of salvation which suggests the search of Jason for the golden fleece (cf. 528E, 536B).
- C-D It seems that the poet refers here not to Duns Scotus, but rather to recent Scottish affairs: the Protestant victory of 1559 was countered in 1568 by the Catholic rising, and in 1578 James VI acceded to the throne.

- C el escoto: 'Vale o el natural de Escozia o es nombre propio, como fué del que tuvo por renombre el Doctor sutil ...' (Covarrubias, p.540).
- 525,A pérfidos: the poet probably intended the stress to fall on the penultimate syllable.
- E The rhyme with A and C is incomplete.
- 526,A-B A reference to national hopes for a royal heir, fulfilled in 1578 by the birth of Philip III.
- C-D Cf. Elliott, Imperial Spain, p.246: possibly, an allusion to the number of royal children who died prematurely, the most recent being Ferdinand and Don Carlos.
- F cimera: 'crest' (used figuratively in reference to royalty).
- 527,A-F These lines are suggestive of the impoverished but presumptuous squire figure parodied in the third tratado of La vida de Lazarillo de Tormes and in Calderón's El Alcalde de Zalamea.
- A-B 'Siendo' understood.
- A Escuderotes: pejorative 'tending'.
escusados: cf. Covarrubias: possibly, alluding to sentry duty (cf.B).
- H mortaja = amortaja: 'covers, hides'.
- 528,E-F Jason, having married Medea in his youth, later rejected her, and suffered as a result of her revenge the death of his new wife Glauce, and of two children.
- D Organiza el tono: cf. Covarrubias, p.840.
- F Mudara = Mudó.
- 529,B Argumentan = Arguyen (cf. Autoridades).
- E-F On those who claim independence of action and, possibly, on the rebels in the Netherlands.
- H repuntados: 'dubious'.
- 530,A El viejo monte: probably, Mount Olympus.
- E grado: 'state'; 'will'.
- 531,A El fresco jardín: Eden.
- H Presumably, a reference to contemporary Court or political attitudes to military activity.

- 532,A-D Theodosius, Spanish-born Emperor of Rome and Christian persecutor of heretics, did penance before the Archbishop of Milan, St Ambrose (here referred to as 'the Ambrosian'), after a massacre of innocent people in the arena at Thessalonica. The similarity of his circumstances to those of Alba in the Netherlands is worthy of note.
- F Orosio: Paulus Orosius, Spanish compiler of the first history of Christianity in conflict with the heretics.
- 533,B ynperio: used here to mean both 'empire' and 'authority'.
- C el otro más alto: the Holy Roman Empire; Heaven.
- D el César yverio: Philip II who, according to the poet, aspired to the Imperial office once held by his father; licence is exercised with the adjective for the purpose of rhyme.
- E solo: the word might equally be sólo (cf.G): the meaning of the lines would be changed only slightly.
- G-H A typical and firm belief of contemporary Spaniards.
- 534 On Spanish Imperial expansion.
- A Jupiter was considered by the Romans as determining the course of human affairs and future events (cf. 530).
- C el valiente: presumably, Philip II or Spanish heroes.
- D los claros: the heroes specifically mentioned by the poet.
- F polos: 'son dos puntos inmovibles en el cielo, en los quales, como en quicios, se buelve todo el cielo' (Covarrubias).
- 535 This stanza number does not appear in the MS..
- 536,A los hermanos que son dos estrellas: Castor and Pollux (cf. 522G).
- B los de Colcos: the Argonauts, amongst whom were the twin brothers, and who sailed to Colchis in search of the golden fleece (cf. 524B).

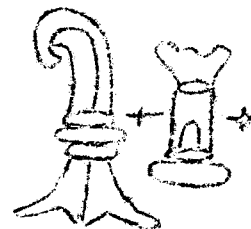
- E-H The recent exploration, development, and evangelization of previously unknown parts of the world by the Spanish.
- 537,E Bómito t/r/aydor: cf. Covarrubias, p.1012: vomit was directly associated with vice.
- 539 The references to justice and clemency possibly have specific relevance to contemporary affairs in the Netherlands.
- F The rhyming-word is the same as in B.
- 541 The stanza either treats of the cessation of military operations or, more probably, of the death of Don John, Spain's great military hero of the period.
- 542,A-D The poet's reflection on himself as a sinner.
- 543,H avrá = tendrá.
- 544 A retrospective statement of intention.
- A Cerrando la clauē: 'concluding'.
- 545,A-F A traditionally self-deprecating appeal to Philip II (though possibly to God also), in which the poet suggests that the King might involve himself in social and moral reform.
- G-H A clear reference to the fact that contemporary political matters have constituted the substance of the work, albeit in disguised form.
- 546 A final affirmation of his primarily moralistic, rather than aesthetic aim.
- H Sinon = Sino.

THE POEM: ITS ORIGINS, NATURE, AND MEANING

The anonymity of the poem, the lack of information about the scribe, and the absence of any date in the MS. make it impossible to establish with certainty when the work was composed or when this manuscript version was transcribed. However, such evidence as handwriting, watermark, and references within the text to contemporary persons and events allows reasonably confident inferences to be made about the respective dates of composition and transcription.

The scribal hand naturally indicates the historical period (late sixteenth or early seventeenth century) within which the MS. was copied; but the watermark would seem to provide more precise external evidence about its origins. Apart from a very slight difference in dimensions and detail, the MS. mark, illustrated below, is equivalent to no. 1297 in C.M. Briquet's catalogue,

Les Filigranes.¹ It consists of a crosier and a tower, on each side of the latter there being a small cross. Briquet gives three examples of works whose paper bears the mark; the specific mark he illustrates



appeared in a work printed in Basle between 1574 and 1576, and the two others in works printed in Germany and France,

respectively, in 1579.

The crosier was the heraldic symbol of Basle and it was reproduced on almost all paper made there after 1501.² According to Briquet, the tower was the housemark of the local family of Jakob Thurneysen, who made paper officially from 1558; in 1578 Jakob's son took charge of the mill and he always included his initials in the mark.³ Briquet also shows the Thurneysen marks from 1561, but many of these use the basic elements in a different design. It is probable, therefore, that the paper of the MS. was manufactured in the 1570s. Paper made in Basle was transported mainly by water, along the Rhine, and is known to have been sold in the Netherlands.⁴ There is no evidence that such paper was exported to Spain. Given all these facts and the surname of the copyist, Woorsboelx, it seems reasonable to presume that the MS. was transcribed in the Spanish Netherlands. How long after production the paper would have been used is open to conjecture, but it is unlikely that more than a few years, at most, would have elapsed between manufacture and use.

Internal evidence can help to establish the probable date of composition of the poem. The very title offers some guidance; Corominas points out that the word dislate had been in use since the fifteenth century, yet cannot trace any use of enigma before 1600.⁵ This would seem to indicate a composition date for the poem considerably

later than the date of the paper. In fact, Corominas has overlooked at least one work, published in 1552, which specifically describes a part of its contents as 'enigmas'.⁶ However, this type of evidence is less reliable than that supplied by allusions within the poem.

The nature of the poem is such that there is only intermittent reference to specific political and religious matters of the time. What comment there is appears to concern primarily the Spanish occupation of the Netherlands, though figures and events of other European countries are also mentioned.⁷ At certain points in the poem the writer addresses himself to the Spanish monarch (see 509, 514, 545-6); in the light of references to other people, this could only be Philip II, who is clearly alluded to in stanza 438. The composition date of the poem must therefore have been prior to 1598, the year of the King's death. Eulogy of the Duke of Alba (491-2, 504G-H) suggests that Alba was still alive; the poem would, then, also pre-date his death, in 1582.⁸ A number of other contemporary political figures are mentioned by name in the text, some of whom were military commanders of Spanish forces in the Netherlands during and after Alba's administration.⁹ The poet's praise of Julián Romero (432) suggests that the latter was alive or that his death was recent, and therefore the fact that he died in 1578 would seem to limit further the possible range of dates between which the poem

must have been composed.

In the late stages of the poem the two sons of Emperor Maximilian are mentioned. The elder is described in stanza 520 as 'El alto Rodolfo, de Ausburgo señor,/ Principio glorioso en tal mona[r]chía'; he became Holy Roman Emperor, an office to which the poet seems to be referring, in 1576. In stanza 521 the poet says of Rudolph's brother, Matthias: 'Sustenta agora el moço Matías/Causa contraria del gran Matatías'; this may refer to his role as Governor of the Spanish Netherlands, an appointment made by the States-General in December of 1577. In stanza 518 the poet mentions the aspirations of John Casimir; this German count was called upon in 1578 by some Calvinists to support their fight against the Spanish. Therefore, a tentative date of composition, based upon the above evidence, might be 1578 or a little later.

There is a further series of references in the text which, though in many cases only allusions, appear to support the above date of composition. The second half of the text, from approximately stanza 300 onwards, makes increasing reference to specific contemporary affairs, a climax of certain criticism probably having been reached in the stanzas (341-4) inscribed on the missing leaf. In stanza 326, for example, the poet points to the past deeds of two corrupt shepherds, 'Luys y Guillermo', surely Louis and William of Nassau, Spain's greatest military enemies

in the Netherlands; the former died in 1574, whilst his brother survived until 1584.¹⁰ The obscure comment on 'Antón' and 'yerno' in stanza 334 could possibly refer to the political involvement of Antonio Pérez and Juan de Escobedo in the Netherlands, which resulted in the death of the latter in 1578. Apparent allusions later in the text to the Portuguese throne (210), to hopes for the birth of a royal heir (526), and to the death of Don John of Austria (541) would also support the posited date.¹¹

A more systematic, if yet less specific series of remarks about the military and the administration provides supplementary evidence. For example, in stanzas 325, 338, and 357 the poet mentions mutinous looting by unpaid soldiers; in stanzas 338, 352-3, and 362 there is reference to governmental inefficiency and corruption; a sharp reproach of military policy and leadership is evident in stanzas 345-9. All these criticisms would be highly pertinent to the political situation in the Netherlands in the later 1570s, especially if they originated from a Spanish military participant, who resolved to express his dissatisfaction in verse.¹² The accumulated evidence considered above is, of course, largely circumstantial, but in the absence of a positively stated date it is of unquestionable value.

Much effort has ~~now~~ been expended in an attempt to identify the author of the poem, though the only external evidence

in this regard is constituted by the two names inscribed on the last page of the text. That 'le secretaire Jan fernando de Woorsboelx' was no more than the copyist seems demonstrated by a variety of simple factors: his name, his employment, and the nature of the scribal errors. The other name, 'Spadana', written in a hand described by Don Ramón Paz as possibly being eighteenth-century, but which also bears a clear resemblance to much non-italic writing of the sixteenth century, immediately suggests three possibilities: that 'Spadana' was the poet, that his is the second hand, or that at some time he owned the MS. The search for positive evidence about both names, and hence perhaps the author, has proved unfruitful.¹³

The name of the scribe suggests that he was the son of parents of different nationalities.¹⁴ It is possible that he was employed in Spain, though far more likely that he was resident in the Netherlands; it is certain that native secretaries were used there by the Spanish administration.¹⁵ If he was employed for civil or military purposes, his name would inevitably appear on paysheets or other documents; however, the total lack of evidence suggests that he was called officially by his other parental name, or that he was a private secretary, or that he was a humble copista who presumptuously called himself here 'secretaire'. His knowledge of the Spanish language might have been predominantly oral, and his 'Spanish' hand learned in the

service of the Empire or of a private individual. The final inscription suggests that his native language was French, in which case he was probably a Walloon.¹⁶ Further conjectural reconstruction of the scribe's biography has proved impossible.¹⁷

The implications of the name 'Spadana' are, as noted above, various. That a person making textual alterations and corrections should sign his name at the end of the text seems likely, but the hand which has written the signature is not patently identical with that or those making such emendations. Nevertheless, it is not implausible that 'Spadana' was involved in this activity at some unknown time. It seems equally likely that the owner of a manuscript, at any moment in its history, might write his name in it. More interesting, though without any sound foundation, is the speculation that 'Spadana' was the poet. No mention of such a person as collector, scribe, or poet has been traced, which suggests either that he was obscure or that the name has been written incorrectly. The MS. is evidently a copy of a version which might have borne the name of the poet, subsequently miscopied in the MS. by the scribe or by somebody else.

Yet again, the inscribed name could be the autograph of the poet, who made changes to the text after it had been copied (albeit corruptly) and signed it hurriedly or deliberately misspelt his name, writing it in enigmatic

fashion. The latter possibility would not be inconsistent with the style of the poem and might indicate a desire to remain semi-anonymous, given some of the criticisms contained in the text. First-person references in the poem do little to reveal the identity of the poet, for in most cases he enacts the traditional role of sermonizer and narrator. Nevertheless, he clearly did have a good knowledge of recent national affairs, and this he exercises in making much of his criticism.¹⁸

There was a definite tradition of Spanish literary composition in the Netherlands, and, with Antwerp as its centre, a publishing industry developed during the reign of Charles V.¹⁹ It seems quite plausible that expatriate Spaniards would have expressed critical opinions about contemporary local events, though these views might not necessarily have been published.²⁰ That military personnel on active service there recorded in verse their patriotism, experiences, and private feelings is demonstrated by extant manuscript works of soldiers ranging in rank from alférez to maestre de campo. 'Guerras civiles de Flandes', for example, is a junior officer's eye-witness account of various stages of Spain's Northern European wars between 1566 and 1598, whilst the 'Laberinto de las cosas de España que componia el Maestre de Campo Don Sancho de Londoño' seeks to record the history of Spain up to the lifetime of Philip II.²¹

Written by the alférez Pedro Alfonso Pimentel, 'Guerras civiles' provides an insight into the attitudes of those serving in the Spanish Army of the period. Having classified the struggle in the Netherlands as civil war, the poet establishes that heresy is directly responsible for the rebellion (fols 3r, 16v). Great praise of Philip II's Imperial achievements on behalf of Catholicism (fol. 3r-v) and his patient clemency with the disloyal (fol. 662r) is accompanied by a typically moralistic view of the situation:

Aunque suceda mal en todo estado
quien no fuere obediente o no lo ha sido
no tenga a desventura ver castigo
contra quien de si mismo es enemigo.
(fol. 47v)

The poet regularly passes moral judgement on the events and figures he describes, both in brief aphorisms and in commentary. His language is prosaic and readily comprehensible, and versification is characterized by better observance of correct line length ~~than it is in~~ 'Varios enigmas de los dislates mundanos'.

Most interesting in the light of opinion expressed by the author of 'Varios enigmas' are references in the Pimentel poem that concern the Duke of Alba. Both he and his son, Fadrique, are accused of treachery and embezzlement by a veteran, who then appeals to the King to care for the hungry and unpaid victims of such misconduct (fols 317v-318v).²² The soldier's final invective before the duke

departs, in 1573, is yet more revealing:

Llevaras por remate de tu historia
 que Flandres por tu mano es allanada
 y con tapiceria muy notoria
 toda historia a tu justo bien pintada
 mas vista la verdad y la memoria
 ver se a muy al reues y trastrocada
 pues pierdes a tu Rey tan gran hacienda
 que a el le das disgusto a nos contienda. (318v)

In contrast, the new Governor, Requesens, is welcomed by
 the poet himself:

Ahora quiero decir con cuanto tiento
 Don Luis de Requesens excelente
 Va entrando a gobernar con un talento
 bueno sabio discreto y muy prudente. (333r)

In view of the latter comment it might reasonably be
 assumed that Pimentel was in agreement with the soldier.
 His stated attitude to political leaders and their aims is
 by no means as ambivalent as that of the MS. poet.

Londoño's long poem, whose main interest perhaps lies
 in the fact that the poet appears to have followed the
 tradition of imitating Juan de Mena, is accompanied in the
 manuscript by a series of letters (fols 116-69), some in
 verse. The correspondence includes opinions on
 contemporary events, and personal reflections; in spite of
 his basic Catholic patriotism and support for Alba,
 Londoño nevertheless complains about the miseries of
 soldiering, and even notes the ill-effects of Imperial
 achievement upon his men. Fols 156-69 contain a 'Satirico
 soliloquio' in which he bitterly describes his personal

disillusionment. He died in 1569, shortly after writing a treatise characterized by belief in militarism as socially indispensable.²³ Apparently, his public and private opinions did not always coincide.

The most active group of military poets seems to have been the captains, who were numerous in the Army of occupation in the Netherlands.²⁴ The composition of verse no doubt provided a pastime and a relief from the rigours of military life. Some achieved a measure of fame through their work, as in the case of Spanish translators of the long allegorical poem Le Chevalier délibéré, whose French author is explicitly referred to in stanza 2 of the MS. poem.²⁵ Hernando de Acuña and Jerónimo de Urrea, the respective authors of the two translated versions, were captains in Charles's Army; both works were published in Antwerp, that of Acuña being printed seven times between 1553 and the end of the century.²⁶

Acuña thereby seems to have engendered not only a wide readership for the poem, but also imitations of it; Andrés Rey de Artieda, for example, another captain who served in the Netherlands, published in 1605 an a lo divino version.²⁷ 'Varios enigmas' has now been carefully compared with the abovementioned works, and it is concluded that there is no sound evidence to show that any of these poets was its likely author. The works of Acuña and Urrea are

nevertheless discussed below in the study of contemporary verse, as are certain others considered as possible sources of or thought similar to the MS. poem.

More systematic consideration has been given to the possibility that either Francisco de Aldana or Francisco de Guzmán wrote the poem.²⁸ Both were captains and each addressed to Philip II allegorical works based partly on personal experience of national affairs; their poems, although differing in emphasis the one from the other, point to the moral implications of recent politico-religious events.²⁹ Furthermore, both poets composed other reflective and moral verse. Although evidence resulting from studies of their lives and of the themes of certain works suggests that Aldana or Guzmán might have been the author of the MS. poem, the lack of close stylistic similarities between the MS. poem and those works studied precludes attribution of the former to either poet.³⁰

From the foregoing evidence it may be inferred that poets who composed and published verse similar to the MS. poem were alive and still writing, in the Netherlands, at the approximate time of its composition. These facts admit of the possibility that some minor or unknown poet might have sought to write in the same vein. That the precise date of composition remains unproven is relatively unimportant, but ignorance of the identity of the poet naturally poses a greater problem to the editor and the

reader, for it prevents a full understanding of what is a difficult text. Nevertheless, the poem is almost complete and it offers a variety of indications as to its author's circumstances and preoccupations, his intention (insofar as that can ever be established), and his method.

Investigation of the poem's meaning can be profitably aided by a view of the author as he presents himself. Most autobiographical references in the work are directly related to the traditional role of the poet as moral critic of contemporary society, and these will be discussed below. Certain examples, however, suggest that the MS. poet is alluding to his personal life and experiences. Stanza 471 may refer to his love for his wife, from whom he is parted; his absence might be explained by the comment in 424A-B that Spain has not spared him in the present martial circumstances. If on this evidence alone it could tentatively be assumed that the poet was a soldier, then some other autobiographical references, attitudes expressed, and much of the poem's terminology might be considered more than the natural outcome of a work treating metaphorically the conflict of mortal life.

In 72 and 393, respectively, the poet claims to have observed military life, and to have seen Charles V in France; furthermore, references in 325 suggest that he has personal experience of Spanish military and administrative problems. Emphasis on military virtues and

figures, informed opinion about current events, clear sense of discipline, and Catholic patriotism all suggest that an experienced officer, like the 'sabio guerrero' mentioned in 313H or the 'capitán aprouado' of 352H, is the author. But why should such a person have chosen to write in enigmas a verse discourse ostensibly about remedy of moral folly?

The aenigma was one of many ancient linguistic figures acknowledged by rhetoricians of the Renaissance.³¹ Seen as an obscure allegory, it had much in common with the emblem, which expressed some serious but paradoxical truth hidden in metaphor and which served not only for moral improvement but also for entertainment.³² There seems to have been no lack of Spanish interest in the enigma; Covarrubias defines it as 'una oscura alegoría', and Corominas confirms the intrinsically didactic nature of the figure in classical literature.³³ Yet in Spain its use was not necessarily erudite or even morally instructive, as is revealed by Covarrubias's further reference to the enigma as a 'qüestión y pregunta engañosa y entrincada, inventada al alvedrío del que la propone'. From the late medieval period it equally consisted of just such a riddle, designed to test the intellectual and poetic ingenuity of both proposer and recipient.³⁴

The relationship of the riddle or puzzle to general obscurity of style will be seen to be important in 'Varios

enigmas de los dislates mundanos'. It is hinted at by the cleric Luis de Escobar, who devotes to enigmas a section of his sixteenth-century work of moral philosophy, the Quatrociētas Respuestas. The section is introduced as follows:

Quinta parte de Enigmas. En la qual es de saber que Enigma es la pregunta de que cosa y cosa que alguno haze con palabras encubiertas y oscuras para que los otros no la puedan entender sin que el mismo la declare. Como quando alguno pregunta por las treuedes diziendo. Que cosa y cosa tres pies y vna corona y por la vaca preñada dize. Que cosa y cosa va por el reo y no se moja, y destas tales preguntas que se llaman enigmas es toda esta parte y algunas vezes se llaman methaforas por otro nombre.³⁵

Direct association here of enigma with metaphor is significant, as is emphasis placed on the need to interpret, or gloss a question or problem in order to solve it. In this work there is a whole series of glosas in prose (fols ccxiii verso - ccxlv verso), as well as parenetic respuestas.

The pattern of discussion in metaphors with an authority, who analyses the problem and proffers moral advice, is basic to the Coplas de Mingo Revulgo, for El Pinciano an important example in his commentaries on literary style. He earlier says of the enigma: 'Ay Enigmas, cuya dificultad nasce de los vocablos peregrinos o contrariedad de los propios, en los quales Enigmas no retienē los peregrinos su propia significación, sino q̃ la truecan y mudan de manera que son desconocidos.'³⁶

This suggests that enigmatism involves both linguistic and conceptual obscurity, which, according to El Pinciano, is exemplified by works like Petrarch's Trionfi, Mena's Laberinto, and Mingo Revulgo.³⁷ He classifies as 'artificiosa' an expression which is obscure on account of a poet's desire to protect himself from social reprisals; it allows for exercise of licence and imagination.

The anonymous poem Mingo Revulgo is specifically described as consisting of 'conceptos agudos', satirical yet serious, and El Pinciano points out further: 'Y advertid que el poema heroyco deue ser en language peregrino, y que el concepto agudo en tal language haría enigmas, como lo fueron las de Mingo Rebulgo, que, sin comento, se pueden mal entender.'³⁸ In his opinion, then, unusual language, whether of 'high' or 'low' tone, and conceits are the principal elements of the enigma. Moreover, the importance of an accompanying gloss is stressed; both the Laberinto and Mingo Revulgo were regularly published with a commentary.

The relationship of the glosa to the enigma is obviously vital. Two main types of gloss seem to have proliferated in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries: the expanded version of a simple poem, each of whose original lines is developed into a new stanza, and a prose commentary which explains all the references and implications of the original poem or 'texto'. In both

cases the poem's meaning is amplified, often with moral edification of the reader as the objective.³⁹ The relevance and value of the latter type of gloss to a work written in enigmas is evident, though the task of interpretation might be left to the reader in the case of a text of controversial nature.

The most widely known collection of enigmas of the Golden Age formed part of a paroemiological work by Cristóbal Pérez de Herrera, the Proverbios morales.⁴⁰ The work is in imitation of Alciati, and sections of the text are illustrated with emblems. It is explained that the aphorisms serve as a means of instruction, whilst the several hundred riddles test the wit and ingenuity of the reader; the desired goal is increase of knowledge in the service of God. The riddles, composed in quintillas and numbered, are naturally glossed. Herrera's versification is defective, which suggests that the subject-matter was of primary importance. At the end of the work the author makes fourteen proposals for socio-political reform to the Duke of Lerma; amongst the topics mentioned are currency, hospitals, taxes, and premáticas (fol. 205r). In a society whose political life was theoretically based on moral philosophy, the inclusion of these matters might not have seemed too incongruous.

Those enigmas collected and cultivated in the eighteenth century appealed largely as an entertainment.⁴¹

The titles of BNM manuscripts 4046 and 2244, respectively, suggest that it was perhaps normal practice to classify riddles in series. Furthermore, the use of the same terms as those of the title of the MS. poem leads one to infer that such terms were probably not original to the MS. poet, though no similarly-named collection or single poem of origin prior to that of the MS. has been located. The subject-matter of both the BM and the BNM manuscripts consists mainly of trivial jokes and descriptions of mysterious objects, with pun, anagram, and allusion being characteristic style; verse forms range from octosyllabic cuartetos to octavas reales. The notion of instruction through obscurity is far less evident in these enigmas than it is in those of Herrera.

Widespread interest in graphic moralism is suggested by certain publications of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries which consist of emblems with brief verse interpretations, invariably of one octava real, and lengthy prose glosses which refer to classical, biblical, and anecdotal sources.⁴² The Emblemas morales of Juan de Covarrubias, for example, is clearly a treatise of moral philosophy; its author regards pintura as a direct imitation of Nature and describes the emblem as 'pintura que significa auiso, debaxo de alguna o muchas figuras'.⁴³ The unity of the work lies in its overall moralism and its prosaic enumeration rather than in any narrative development; the poet seeks

to warn and educate by means of a series of independent pieces of advice. The first six lines of each stanza discuss the implications of the design, whilst the final couplet serves as a conclusion, often summarising in aphoristic form the specific point of the emblem. As will be seen below, the emblem poem is in certain respects very similar to 'Varios enigmas de los dislates mundanos'.

Public taste for a variety of paroemiological literature in the latter half of the sixteenth century and the early seventeenth century has been recorded by Salvá.⁴⁴ In his catalogue he classifies both enigmas and emblemas as being of the same broad genre as the works of Juan de Mal Lara or Hernán Núñez, for example. The moral value of the proverbial was not always taken seriously, however, and some poets satirized popular wisdom or contemporary customs in the form of disparates.⁴⁵ According to Covarrubias, disparate means the same as dislate, which is defined by him as 'un hecho despropositado que a nadie puede parecer bien. Está contraydo de la palabra disparate, la qual se dixo de dispar, por no tener paridad ni igualdad con la razón'.⁴⁶ Covarrubias explains that the literary disparate was originated by Juan del Encina, and recounts a brief story of the confusion caused by the apparent equivalence between dislate and the literary parody.⁴⁷

Yet the relationship between the moral and the literary 'folly' extends further, for the parodic style can often expose vice and stupidity.⁴⁸ In order to define the

genre, Chevalier and Jammes select several examples, one of which is taken from the 'versos' section of the BNM manuscript 2244, 'Varias enigmas y versos'. This 'letrilla glosada' is a satire directed against the Count-Duke of Olivares and his administration; itself a four-line parody of a well-known earlier text, it is expanded into twelve-line stanzas which transparently allegorize contemporary Spanish affairs. The most obvious stylistic features are first-person narrative, burlesque imagery, unconventional word-play, and a rhyme scheme designed to amuse. In spite of the apparent falsification of logic and reality, it contains comprehensible social criticism. The association of enigma with disparate, in moralistic or literary contexts, would not seem an improbable one.

The title of the MS. poem suggests, then, that human folly is to be exposed by means of a variety of obscure statements. Yet there are potential ambiguities here. All four main words of the title have secondary meanings ('vario': 'changeable'; enigma: 'puzzle'/'riddle'; dislate: 'parody'; mundano: 'unworthy'), and the word 'de' might be translated as either 'about' or 'of', the latter case implying that contemporary behaviour is in itself a pale imitation or perplexing version of right conduct. Of the several possible permutations, most could be thought relevant to the text; but however the title is interpreted, the notion of enigma will be of crucial

importance to the work as a whole.

In view of the literary metaphor in lines G-H of stanza 1 ('Y del canto justo sigamos la prosa, / De la vida humana el testo y la glosa'), the term 'enigmas' probably denotes both puzzles and obscurity of style. Unlike the other words of the title, 'enigma(s)' never appears in the text, and so the reader must resolve on the evidence of the title alone how the term relates to the author's method and purpose. In 372 the author alludes to these:

Cantando con voces claras, muy netas,
 Blasfemo mundanos, seguir fantasía:
 Ansí, sin dezir el caso a ninguno,
 Paso el camino sin ver ynportuno. (E-H)

The apparent paradox lies in the difference between his strong conviction and his enigmatic way of presenting it, such a style presumably allowing greater critical freedom whilst insulating him from reproach.

The first stanza of the poem expresses a proposal to reveal the truth about good and evil; the widely-known Coplas de Mingo Revulgo, whose general aim was similar ('amonestar el pueblo a bien vivir'), included anonymous criticism of contemporary public life. The desire of the author of 'Varios enigmas' to emulate the former work is evident; he will study the present as that did the past, and therefore it might be presumed that he seeks to make criticism of an equally specific nature. There is more

than this in the stanza, however. The word 'escuros' (B), for example, refers not only to the obscure language of Mingo Revulgo, but also to the dark deeds it exposed and with which it shocked; 'hechos tan ciuiles' seems to refer to morally dishonourable or cruel deeds and to civil disorder; in spite of its possible contradictory meanings, 'hechos no gentiles' would apply primarily to similar improper activities of the moment. The exhortation in G-H suggests that the 'prose' of right reason needs no interpretation, unlike the verse of Mingo Revulgo and much of 'Varios enigmas'.

In 544 the poet appears to confirm that his work has consisted of more than traditional moral discourse, yet lines B-D could merely signify that he proposes to the reader a Christian way of life whilst condemning evil. His request in 545C-D that the King (or, conceivably, God) attend to 'Tales dislates', be they moral or politico-religious, could equally be interpreted as a self-deprecating appeal for personal favour, as could comments made in 546. Lines G-H of 545 ('Los casos patentes son dibujados / En hechos presentes que van disfrazados') provide the surest affirmation that his work is concerned with obscure matters. The statement means either that significant facts ('casos') are depicted in the poem ('En hechos presentes'), which is disguised in enigmas, or that his contentions are demonstrated by contemporary actions,

which are obscure in themselves or are treated here in obscure manner. It thus seems incumbent upon the reader to perceive and determine the relationships between didactic motivation, politico-religious commentary, and figurative expression.

In contrast with the poet's apparent desire to remain historically anonymous, his identity as moralist and narrator is revealed in the course of presenting evidence to sway the reader. Personal association with the latter, established in stanzas 1 ('sigamos', G) and 2 ('Notamos', F), is essential to the poet's method of persuasion; his immediate viewpoint will be more positively conveyed by means of plain reference to himself and to the reader than by enigmatic comment. The poet delays introducing himself until stanza 10, in which he requests approval of his sincere if problem-fraught intention: 'Licençia pido, diziendo verdad, / Por estar la verdad del odio prendada' (A-B); and he soon appeals to the reader's individual discretion, advising him to follow only the will of God (14). Currents of exhortation, affirmation, and admonition pervade the whole poem, and are most fully amplified there by the supposed observation of life by both poet and reader. Apart from brief apostrophes to the pen (433), the Virgin (469), the Duke of Alba (491), and Philip II (509, 514, 545-6), the constant second-person references, in the 'tú' or the 'vos' form, are directed to the reader.

Traditional works of similar intention used equivalent techniques of persuasion: the Coplas de Vita Christi of Fray Íñigo de Mendoza presents a record of Christ's infancy to readers who are to be morally improved through observation stimulated by a personally-involved narrator, whilst the 'Coplas de contempto del mundo' of Pedro de Portugal is a discourse yet more persistent and varied than 'Varios enigmas' in its demands that the readers examine and remedy their conduct.⁴⁹ In the Coplas de Mingo Revulgo there is no narrator, and the reader therefore learns from the dialogue of the characters, an important technique used by the authors of poems that employ patently allegorical figures and situations. In the Laberinto, the Caballero determinado, and the Triumphos morales, the narrator, who is also the central character of the poem, seldom addresses the reader or moralizes explicitly to him. The narrators do associate themselves with the reader and mankind by use of the first-person plural in reference to the observation and experiencing of social phenomena.

The fundamental narrative technique used by Mena, Acuña, and Guzmán is the sequential recounting of past pseudo-autobiographical experiences, though into these are woven certain figures and events of recent national history. It is by this narrative pretext that the author of 'Varios enigmas' most consistently introduces his

physical person into the poem. Whilst using both past and present tenses ('vimos', 'vemos') in reference to observations made by all mortals, he invariably uses only the past tense ('vi') when referring to his own. Like those expressed in the plural, such observations cover biblical (e.g. 143C), mythological (e.g. 287A), and historical (e.g. 272F, 274A) episodes, 'moral reality' (e.g. 123B, 212A), and recent political events (e.g. 43B). He is defectively imitating the allegorical poets, or he prefers to remain somehow detached, or he uses the expressions loosely within his general approach of revealing or 'painting' facts from which we should learn as viewers. The reader himself not only is reminded of what he sees ('veys'), asked if he wishes to see (¿Queréys ver?), or informed of what he will see ('veréys'), but is ordered to observe life ('Mirad pues, agora') and is told that the poet wishes to make him see ('Quiero mostraros').

Unlike the allegorical poems, 'Varios enigmas' is scarcely unified as an account by the narrative device; in fact, thorough and necessarily imaginative investigation of the poem in search of a coherent general plan yields largely negative results. Yet again, in a poem of such length there are inevitably some broad changes of emphasis and direction, just as there are recurrences, and it is these that might be said to determine its overall form.

Direct and specific appeal to the reader to reject evil or folly and to observe true Christian principles, so as to gain salvation, is a predictably recurrent element. Having introduced and exemplified in the first thirteen stanzas the theme of irrationality, in 14 the poet issues a firm warning, based implicitly on the foregoing evidence. The results of a similar process are apparent in various stanzas of the poem (e.g. 35, 164, 235, 378, 423). The distribution of such exhortations, which often extend over several stanzas and might therein alter prior emphases, suggests that they correspond in some way to phases of the discourse. They clearly do demonstrate the poet's sporadic recollection of the need to state unequivocally the desired response of the reader to his otherwise mainly implicit advice.

The gist of the preliminary stages of the poem, the inversion of established values, is well summed up by the concluding lines of 36: 'Mirad al mundo, con vano entremés, / Lo que es al derecho tornar al rebés'; such a disruption of order by immoral society induces the poet to lament in 46G-H: 'En nada no veo remedio nř tasa, / El resto no digo y todo se abrasa'. Apparent movement in 43 towards criticism of specifically political misconduct of the time is deflected into discussion of the origins and nature of unorthodox beliefs. Stanzas 71-4 point to the direct influence of heresy in contemporary social and

political life, and there ensues extensive theorizing, with illustration and advice, on related topics.

The poet claims in 123 to have seen 'miseria de la vida', further stating in 124G-H: 'Nuestras miserias van sin sentido / Y tratando verdad soys vn perdido'. The final comment would naturally seem to confirm the dangers of questioning or contravening established fact. It might be taken to refer equally to the exposure of unpleasant truth in regard to contemporary national affairs, especially if considered in the light of the story of Nicanor (124) and subsequent reference to warfare, monarchy, and justice. Although punctuated by explanations and minor digressions, insistence on these latter topics in relation to challenge to authority underlies the central part of the second hundred stanzas. The poet might be considered to have begun to identify his more specific preoccupations.

His declaration in 158A-B, 'Sj vos no veys el mundo mezquino, / Con el ojo puntero lo quiero enseñar', serves as advance notice of imminent and diffuse commentary on the power of evil, as well as confirmation of general intent. The nature of 'amor' is progressively shown to be variable; all aspects of moral conduct are influenced by both worthy and misplaced devotion. The poet is resolved to preserve and reinforce Christian faith, but in order to do so he must draw attention to evidence of ill-founded and destructive interests. Some examples in recent

European public life are cited by him in the section around stanza 200.

A notable victim of evil motivation is prudence, described in 230 as lifeless, but named in 240G-H as an antidote to foolish conflict: 'Prudencia remedia estraños conbates / Que hazen a buenos hazer mil dislates'. Probable allusion in subsequent stanzas to politico-religious dissension in the Netherlands indicates that once again the frame of reference is being narrowed, though perhaps only for the purpose of poignant illustration of abstract argument. Further debate on sense and folly includes comparison of fifteenth-century civil war in Spain with current events (271), and is sealed by typical advice (291-2) to express virtuous loyalty to God.

A gradual intensification of apparent reference to contemporary military and political matters, as related to moral precepts, is evident in the following section of the text. Interpretation of 325 as a comment on the situation in the Netherlands would seem confirmed by the now undisguised naming in 326 of those responsible for local disruption of order, and subsequent critical allusion to Crown administration. The most overt criticism might well have appeared on the missing leaf of the MS. (stanzas 341-4), for much abrasive opinion and apposite illustration is offered in succeeding stanzas. The poet's remedy for current problems, well-considered military action, is

intimated in 368A-B: 'Mirando prosapia de hechos pasados, / Es vida de vida prudente valor'; in 372 he confirms his general aim and approach.

Exhortation to resist indulgence in the false values that supplant true devotion and endeavour is underlaid by diverse illustrations and by further insinuations about recent events. A most effective weapon in the struggle against folly is 'El ver entendido' (394G), and failure to exercise it has allowed deception, by flattery for example, to flourish. The poet's desire to expose the vain materialism induced by evil develops into a defence of Christian principles against the profanity of rival religions. In probable consequence of his mention in 424 of personal experience of good and evil in conflict, and allusion in 425 to fortune's power over the virtuous, the poet introduces a series of military heroes in 426-32; this last stanza proposes a contemporary Spanish commander in the Netherlands, Julián Romero, as a paragon of martial virtue.

Renewed enigmatic reference to current affairs is punctuated in 438 by a very definite appeal to the reader to observe the dictates of Philip II, mentioned overtly for the first time: 'Este buen Rey, sin los falsos engaños, / Remedia prudente en todos los daños' (G-H). Subsequent emphasis on deceitful and aggressive disloyalty leads one to infer that the poet was alluding to the

solution of the political situation in the Netherlands. The corruptness of treachery is viewed by oblique analogy with sexual indulgence, itself sharply contrasted in 469-70 with divine love. The differences between vice and virtue are now exemplified by a series of references to specific figures and events, which culminate in an expansive eulogy of the heroic Duke of Alba (491-2). As in the 340s, there has been a progression towards critical comment, apparently on Crown policy and most intense in the final stanzas of the 400s. A remedy to rebellion is again insinuated in 498E-F: 'Valor jlustrado en todo prudente / Torna falsarios por nuevo camjno'; the implications for Philip II and Alba are evident.

The specific purpose of intensified and arguably critical allusion to current difficulties of the Spanish would seem to be demonstrated by the poet's unprecedented address to Philip II in 509 and reference in 510 to controlling a rebellious, heretical populace by severity. Stanza 514 also informs the King of the urgent need to administer justice and to protect the Faith, advice quickly followed in 516 by conventionally exaggerated praise of his deeds. Other figures involved in contemporary politico-religious strife are openly identified by the poet in his desire to assert that militancy should be based in Christian motives; renewed advice, in 524, to follow the Catholic way prefixes a final proof of the destructive

effect of evil. Eulogistic confirmation of the Crown's holy mission and of recent national achievements is subsequently moderated by reflections on justice and militarism. The poet concludes by emphasizing the remedial intention of his work.

Any ongoing argument is thus constituted by those elements of the poem that are not simply abstract moralizing; in respect of the latter it might reasonably be said that the last hundred stanzas, for example, differ little from the first hundred. Repetitive discourse nevertheless serves more than one purpose; the politico-military metaphor, which relates divine to earthly rule and presents good and evil in conflict over authority, both masks and emphasizes specific political reference. Although there are allusions throughout the poem to current public issues, there is a concentration of unorthodox criticism in certain sections. These are indicative of an increasingly comprehensible relevance of the poem's themes to the specific issue of political change in the Netherlands. The poet could be considered to have proceeded from the general to the particular in his treatment of the subject, though the summary given above perhaps lends to the poem rather more coherence of argument than it in fact possesses.

Unlike a purely narrative poem, whose stanza-by-stanza development might be related sequentially to the story recounted, the discourse of 'Varios enigmas' is based

largely on the author's sustained rhetorical ingenuity. This is not to say that he establishes a structure for the poem as a whole; the individual stanza is the most coherent unit of meaning, within which is often comprised a series of independent points. It is of course possible to trace the expression of an idea through consecutive stanzas, and groups of stanzas, though such expression might depend as much on repetition and reminiscence as on progressive analysis. The lack of easily recognisable continuity between many stanzas suggests that the poet seeks to exercise the imagination of his readers, or that his method of composition has been fragmentary and capricious, or both; whatever the case, the nature of the enigma would seem to be at least partly responsible for structural incoherences.

The work does testify to a very conscious interest, if not competence, in the more local aspects of poetic form: the stanza and its components. The octava real was the stanza used for most discursive and narrative verse in the latter half of the sixteenth century; its length and rhyme-scheme are well suited for the development of a single idea. Rarely would it be necessary to make enjambement between stanzas, and each section of the stanza allows for considerable freedom of expression. There are, nevertheless, certain irregularities in the versification of 'Varios enigmas' that do not occur even

in an equally unknown work like 'Guerras civiles de Flandes'. Although the MS. poet clearly intends to compose hendecasyllabic verse, some ten per cent of lines do not have eleven syllables, however they are scanned. More significant is the recurrence of arte mayor rhythm in lines of ten, eleven, or twelve written syllables (e.g. 320C, 10; 6G, 11; 290E, 12). Further, the strong caesura of traditional verse is apparent in many lines (e.g. 1B and F, 261B, 473C).

It might be argued that the poet is simply imitating elements of the arte mayor line, or that he deliberately mixes hendecasyllabic with dodecasyllabic and other lines. The most persuasive explanation of this is A. Morel-Fatio's: ' . . . tous les poètes castillans un peu négligés de la première moitié du .XVI^e siècle . . . ne réussissaient guère à écrire une tirade d'hendecasyllabes d'une certaine longueur sans tomber de temps à autre dans le vieil arte mayor'.⁵⁰ The MS. poet might therefore be considered a lingering traditionalist, if not a mediocre craftsman, with regard to this aspect of versification. His observance of finer points of prosody is also variable: poor rhyme is not uncommon, some twenty per cent of endings are agudo, use of synaloepha is uneven. The sheer length of the work and deliberate intricacy of composition present obvious problems which the poet has resolved only at the occasional expense of metrical detail.

The most frequent structural pattern of the individual stanza, four distinct sense-units based on the couplet, is one to which the octava real readily lends itself; the relevance of the pattern to the work's moralizing about vice and virtue will be seen below. Naturally, there are variations, two groups of three lines and one of two (e.g. 33, 218, 445), and a longer series of interdependent lines (e.g. 22, 229A-F, 501) being the most common. The thematic development of many stanzas is rhetorical: a topic is introduced, illustrated, and then summarized in an aphorism (e.g. 58, 124, 272). Alternatively, initial mention of an exemplary figure generates discussion concluded by a moral lesson (e.g. 30, 319, 481). There are also cases in which the stanza is clearly divided into antithetical halves, the first treating vice and the latter virtue (e.g. 232, 466). Within these and other stanzaic formulae there are certain important stylistic devices to be identified.

Apart from its phonic and ~~active~~ value, the gerund serves a variety of discursive purposes, not the least of which pertain to the expression of causality and simultaneity when the gerund is used in conjunction with a finite verb (e.g. 5, 44, 165, 448). The union is essential to the two-line unit of meaning on which much of the poem is based, sustaining moralistic argument about the rationale of human conduct. The poet occasionally uses an uninterrupted series of gerunds (e.g.

117A-F, 210C-F), thereby deferring or modifying the finite point of the stanza or of part of it; a briefer suspension of meaning by use of the gerund is seen in what might be described as parenthetical comments (e.g. 2B, 229F, 398C). Another common use of the form consists of its alliance with the verbs estar, ir, ver, andar, for expression of continuous or present action; the poet even indulges in double gerunds (e.g. 123A, 248G). The concision of meaning achieved by use of this form of the verb can nevertheless create obscurity by preventing ready identification of its subject (e.g. 2D, 61D and F, 397A).

The gerund appears consistently in the final rhyming couplet (e.g. line G, 279-87), which often reinforces by aphorism the point of the stanza. Although much of any stanza might be thought sententious, the last two lines are best fitted for such comment on account of their rhyme and their position in the stanza. The substance of the aphorism varies; it might be a direct appeal to the reader (e.g. 36), a logical inference from the point developed in the body of the stanza (e.g. 147), a gloss in figurative or proverbial terms (e.g. 515). Other typical methods of conclusion are: the conditional statement based on 'Si' (e.g. 26, 221, 384), the function of whose protasis is in many respects like that of the gerund in the cause-and-effect sequence; a similar statement based on 'Quien' or 'Do' (e.g. 60, 239); the result statement,

introduced by 'Ansj' (e.g. 7, 52, 372). The final couplet is also used to reverse the emphasis of the foregoing part of the stanza (e.g. 44, 185, 397); this device is clearly related to fluctuations in the moral debate.

The individual line, and sections of it, can be closely associated with other stylistic devices. It is sufficiently long to accommodate a subject/verb/object sequence, or similar one, whilst the half-line, created artificially by the caesura, is of suitable length and rhythm for yet briefer expression. The past absolute construction, which like the gerund clause has an elliptical concision, and a phonic value in its verb, is conveniently adaptable to the full line (e.g. 71E, 358D, 457A) and, more regularly, to the hemistich (e.g. 29F, 270C, 540A); in both cases its use relates to the expression of causality. The hemistich is also particularly apt for emphasis by parallel repetition (e.g. 110D, 290E, 467D), and antithesis (e.g. 19D, 106G, 245E) which often points up the paradoxes in human conduct. Full lines can obviously accomplish similar roles (e.g. 40A-B, 358G-H). Use of appositive comment (e.g. 33C, 43C, 279B-D, 469B-E, 521A), of full or half-line duration, is yet more characteristic of the poet's discursive style. It allows concise, but full and often graphic description of the object in question; if used to excess, however, it can cause obscurity (e.g. 496, 501).

The syntactic difficulties of 'Varios enigmas' lie not only in appositive or parenthetical complication, but also in the figures of hyperbaton (e.g. 25A-B, 258A-B, 416E-F) and ellipsis (e.g. 149B, 307E-F, 513D). When used in conjunction (e.g. 101C-D, 171A-B), these figures make interpretation yet more problematic. If all the above elements of style coincide with a difficult allusion (e.g. 381A-D), meaning becomes obscure in the extreme. In viewing hyperbaton as an instrument of linguistic obscurity it should be acknowledged that Spanish syntax is by nature flexible, and that the demands of rhyme, desire for sonority, and technical deficiency might be at least partly influential in its use. Elliptical, and therefore potentially obscure expression in the poem can be seen to result from omission of minor words and substitution or omission of verbs, often for metrical convenience; yet it stems most consistently from the poet's use of those abovementioned devices which serve to compress multiple discursive and descriptive reference into the narrow limits of the verse form.

The style and hence meaning of the poem are also dependent upon purely lexical effects. Consistent use of epithet, for example, is seen in the abundance of stock sermonic expressions (e.g. 'claro sendero', 'almas atroces', 'túrbidos amores', 'ciega maldad', 'entrañas dañadas', 'justa razón'); its function can be both

emphatic and pictorial. Of course, certain words and their cognates are used most repeatedly (e.g. 'falso', 'contrario', 'justo', 'claro', 'vano', 'agora', 'contino', 'amor', 'vida', 'ley', 'malicia', 'ver', 'mirar', 'pintar', 'glosar', 'borrar', 'mandar', 'regir'), thereby underlining for the reader what are in fact central propositions of the discourse. Other recurrent set phrases include 'al claro', 'Mirad pues, agora', 'sin son', 'sin horden nj ley'. The word 'sin' figures prominently in the poem; used with both nouns and infinitives, it makes for concise, definite expression, and particularly in reference to negative moral conduct. Its opposite, 'con', is equally pervasive, and often supplants 'y', thus rendering more physical and graphic the relationship between objects. Such extensive use of all above terms suggests not only that the poet is personally limited in range of expression but that he is writing in a conventional manner.

Brief mention should be made of minor peculiarities in linguistic usage. With regard to modification of single words, licence is exercised by the poet in several ways. Apocopation (e.g. 'alteros', 3D; 'Caluín', 73G; 'çíclope', 336B), interchange of noun with adjective (e.g. 'rutilante', 9H; 'noviçio', 70G; 'Ybarrola', 432H), and invention (e.g. 'nuestrales', 43E; 'dano y sue[d]io', 194B; 'manicantes', 322F) are not uncommon, and seem to occur mostly in proper names or in words derived from

them. Latinisms, and even archaisms (e.g. 'so', 425F; 'oyo', 325A), appear in the poem (e.g. 'nutriçe', 11G; 'pigros', 44A; 'superuo', 466B); 'çe' endings probably serve syllable count as much as sonority. Many words in which the poet exercises licence appear at the end of a line; in most cases they therefore probably result from the demands of rhyme.

Occasional pleonastic use of articles, prepositions, and the negative particle, is of minor significance in comparison with another type of redundancy of expression, the verbal tautology (e.g. 'Franca franqueza', 129E; 'Miremos con vista', 279E; 'çiegos sin vista', 336F; 'fin postrero', 428E). The latter usage cannot be dismissed as simple oversight and will be shown as an element of rhetorical style. Similarly, variable inclusion and omission of articles, determined in part by metrical necessity, will also be viewed in the light of more general demands.

There are certain grammatical irregularities in the poem, only some of which can be explained by reference to contemporary practice. The overlapping of 'ser' and 'estar', the intermittent use of definite article with 'tal', the replacement of preterite or pluperfect indicative by '-ra' imperfect subjunctive, and inconsistent use of personal 'a', for example, are typical cases of then-customary variations. Yet unusual sequence

of tenses (e.g. 72B, 230E-F, 324A-B), non-agreement between adjective and noun (e.g. 47F, 145G), and apparent misuse of pronoun and preposition (e.g. 'él', 139E; 'en repente', 176D), for example, can only be attributed to necessary or arbitrary poetic licence or to personal deficiency.

The poet's laboured ingenuity in minor stylistic detail is undeniable; yet such preoccupation might well be considered ultimately prejudicial to the work as a whole. The common basis of many techniques relating to individual words and their parts is repetition. Alliteration by monotonously-repeated letters, initial and internal, single and combined, pervades the whole poem; frequent use is made of polyptoton, exercised primarily with verbs (e.g. 1, 'cantar'; 300, 'glosar'; 460, 'caçar') and with the word 'amor'; in 'pastores estraños' (326B), for example, it may not be pure coincidence that seven out of eight letters of the first word are reproduced in different order in the second. Some similarly contrived techniques of repetition evident in use of complete words and in relationships between them will be seen to fulfil a more regularly discursive purpose. Simple, and often asyndetic enumeration of like things (e.g. proper names, 73A-B; inflected verbs, 153 D-F; adjectives, 382C-D) is an obvious case in point, used for rhetorical emphasis.

'Amor', the single most prominent term in the poem, constitutes the extreme case of an individual word used

repetitively in the same stanza, and sometimes together with compound and alliterative forms (e.g. 167, 450). Such repetition is clearly not coincidental; although hardly impressive for its subtlety, it nevertheless can serve to emphasize key notions of the poem, in the cited stanzas the influence and relativity of 'love'. In the abundant cases where a word is repeated in close proximity, often unavoidably, its meaning tends to remain constant (e.g. 'saber', 68; 'ley', 238; 'falso', 424). Yet there are examples where two identical words, even juxtaposed, differ in meaning (e.g. 'contrario'/'contrario', 18F; 'querer'/'querer', 113C; 'Cuenta'/'Cuenta', 335A-B); juxtaposed words with the same meaning are also to be found (e.g. 'razón'/'razón', 90E; 'vanas'/'vanas', 385F).

More marked is the joint use of corresponding noun and adjective (e.g. 'correr'/'corrido', 2E; 'lisonja'/'lisonjera', 232A; 'justa'/'justiçia', 458E), and of verb and subject/object (e.g. 'hartando'/'harturas', 25F; 'pinta'/'pinturas', 380F; 'Oluidando'/'olujdo', 527E). The apparently redundant elements here and in other expressions derive either from the poet's lack of imagination or from a conscious rhetorical emphasis and word play which might draw special attention from the reader for their phonic, graphic, or conceptual value. There are several other types of repetition based on the individual word in the same line: words of similar form

but different meaning (e.g. 'vidas' and 'vistas', 6F; 'avejas' and 'obejas', 182B; 'valor' and 'volar', 367F); synonyms (e.g. 'muestras' and 'listas', 6D; 'cuentos' and 'millares', 338A; 'pecho' and 'fynta', 501E); antonyms (e.g. 'mengua' and 'caudal', 46F; 'ganados' and 'perdidos', 264F; 'Principio' and 'fin', 520G). The figure of oxymoron might also be viewed as an example of repetition, a play on opposites by which the poet can indicate paradoxes and distinctions in human conduct (e.g. 'desnudos vestidos', 16B; 'Luzero escuro', 331A; 'Dulce muy cruel', 510D); there are even cases when two meanings of a single word used alone could be seen as mutually contradictory (e.g. 'gentiles', 1F; 'çelar', 41A; 'Secaças', 484E).

Ambiguity, both in individual words and in the poem as a whole, is obviously of key importance; it is referred to below, in relation to other considerations of meaning. As a moralistic discourse, the poem is nevertheless characterized by certain rhetorical techniques that make unequivocal its author's intention at given moments. Apostrophe (e.g. 14, 291-2, 514), exclamation (e.g. 67E-F, 283A-B, 500C-D), and rhetorical question (e.g. 67G-H, 321E, 451G) are significant in this respect. Simple but consistent hyperbole (e.g. 'contino', 'mil', 'sin horden nj ley') is also persuasive, and the general use of extreme vocabulary, particularly in invective, makes equally

plain the poet's religious and moral views. Definition (e.g. 'amor verdadero', 147; 'Falsa alegría', 366A-F; 'Fe', 423A-B) is a further means by which he explains to the reader the basis of those views. Even paradox, notionally obscure, can be seen to demonstrate in a striking way the distinction between Christian and worldly values (e.g. 33A-C, 293C, 470B-D), and the unnatural influence of moral folly (e.g. 149G-H, 246E-F, 412C-D).

The poet's preoccupation with double or multiple meaning is evident in a range of forms, from fortuitous play on individual words to systematic metaphorical description. The degree to which the reader is entertained and instructed by the poem is naturally determined by his comprehension of its meaning, and that in turn often depends on his recognising correspondences. In view of the stated use of the enigma, all contextually feasible interpretations have been given in the notes; whether the poet always intends them is obviously debateable. Most of his abundant word play hinges on two or more literal meanings or on literal and figurative meanings of a given word. Such examples can be important both in the pictorial presentation of ideas and in establishing thematic links where ideas might otherwise seem unrelated.

Although the most representative cases are explained in

the textual notes, the interesting single case of words one of whose meanings is military will serve here to illustrate briefly the general use of double meaning. Furthermore, it might be thought to reinforce the theory that the poet was a soldier, especially if considered with his use of purely military terms and his constant reference to military figures and situations. Very early in the poem there are several examples of the word play in question ('muestras' and 'listas', 6D; 'simulacro', 9D; 'Licençia', 10A); 'vandera', 'la ligera', and 'delantera' (72B,D,F) each have secondary military significance; 'fístola', 'cachor[r]illo', and 'basilisco' (200F, 201D, 204H), all firearms, appear in contexts that are in no way related to military affairs. Not only are these and other cases stylistically typical, in a poem that treats the theme of conflict, but they perhaps characterize the tendency of military personnel to use the terminology of their profession in everyday circumstances.

The poet's most telling use of word play is to be seen in his enigmatic reference to contemporary Imperial matters. The main purpose of such ingenuity would be to stimulate the intellectual curiosity and thereby the social awareness of the reader, and, in some cases, to secure the poet against censorial reproach. Reference to 'armas reales' (43A), 'sangre real' (331G), 'cuentos' (338A), 'doblado' (352G), 'corte' (484B), for example, can

be interpreted in ways that throw critical light on the Spanish administration. The likelihood of the poet's specific focus of attention being the Netherlands is suggested by such terms as 'reboltozos' (54D), 'los diez' (245B), 'pecho' and 'fynta' (501E), and is reinforced in 74C and 251G by disparaging puns ('Naranjas' and 'Naranjos') on the rebel name, Orange.

It is also a nature image that underlies obscure word play, pejoratively allusive to other enemies of Spain, on 'creçiente' (176F), 'flema' (436G), and 'lagartos' (505E), for example. Stanza 334 well illustrates how a series of plays on words results in an obscure metaphor. A single word invariably used with double meaning is 'Rey' (e.g. 129D, 251F, 377G, 483E); it evidently refers both to God and to Philip II, and creates an association between the two that is designed to persuade the reader morally and politically. This and all other cases of linguistic ambiguity are manifestations of the duality of the poem's structure, which relates the general to the specific and the abstract to the physical in the ways thought appropriate by major classical preceptists.

The author of 'Varios enigmas' seeks to depict ('pintar') moral truths in images that the reader might contemplate ('ver' and 'mirar') and subsequently interpret ('glosar') in relation to current politico-religious reality. The poem is itself a commentary on the 'text' of

life, one whose levels of meaning permit the author both to disguise and to reveal his critical views. Secondary figurative use is made of the literary term 'glosar' in reference to sinful folly (e.g. 67C, 210F-H, 300D), whilst the graphic 'pintar' is correspondingly used to characterize moral conduct (e.g. 133A-B and F, 255C-D, 467B-C). Though much less frequent, the musical verbs 'dançar' (e.g. 52G, 208F, 479D) and 'cantar' (e.g. 4E, 263G, 389F) inform other metaphorical description of reprehensible actions.

As in emblems, nature is inevitably the basic source of imagery, which is so pervasive as to make of the poem a rambling, involved metaphor. Among the most contrived of such images are those that seem to depict historical situations (e.g. administrative corruption, 43C-F; French imperialism, 204A-H; the progress of heresy, 499A-D). A related, and similarly essential aspect of the poem is the personification of the abstract (e.g. *Codiçia*, 34A; '*malicia*', 94A; '*Justiçia*', 149A; '*sensualidad*', 231G; '*lisonja*' and '*verdad*', 398A; '*razón*', 519F); apart from '*amor*', the notion most consistently thus treated is '*Marte*'. Seldom are articles included, though the nature of allegorized figures is on occasion emphasized by cognate epithet. Without making of his work a sequential narrative, the poet apparently borrows from traditional allegory, to the extent that he claims to have personally witnessed '*miseria*' (123B) and '*prudencia*' (230B), for example.

Such illustration of the abstractions of the discourse is enhanced by minor use of conventional symbols (e.g. the serpent, 70A; the wheel, 274E; the Cross, 415A). The poet's dual artistic purpose is served yet further by limited recourse to a popular form of graphic wisdom: proverbs (e.g. 42B and D, 110G-H, 357E). They are rarely quoted verbatim, however; the tendency is to adapt and integrate them within the discursive terms of the stanza. This use of recognised proverbs underlines the often novel sententiousness of the poem, whose applied meaning can reside in complex periphrastic allusion. Simple periphrasis (e.g. the Jews, 64A; God, 238F; Christ, 315A; Philip II, 438C) demands less interpretation, referring frequently to figures the poet wishes to present as examples.

The fundamental illustrative device employed to persuade the reader directly is the rhetorical example. The majority of non-hypothetical exemplary cases are derived from standard sources: the Bible (e.g. 143A-D, 260A-B, 472A-B and F), mythology (e.g. 36A-C, 295A-B, 392A-B), classical history (e.g. 124C-D, 211A-F, 362A-B, 438A-D, 498A-D). Of these three main groups the last most positively reflects the kind of military and political questions that concern the poet. However, use of classical

history is by no means exclusive to these questions; nor does the poet treat his range of sources, additionally including modern history and literature, anecdote, moral philosophy, and nature itself, merely as a compendium of examples. The information they provide indeed serves other, less fixed illustrative purposes.

Historical examples are most appropriate to the poet's critical intention; he explains in 537A-B that 'El bibo sentimiento a lo pasado/Arguye saber a todo lo presente'. He refers particularly to the Romans for evidence of military and political actions (e.g. 145, 253, 353), drawing parallels with and implicit conclusions about the current Imperial situation. Wider reference to Spanish interests predictably involves some use of examples from national history (e.g. 179G-H, 271A-B, 350A-D) and from the recent events to which the reader's attention is principally, if not always recognisably, directed. Spanish heroes in the Netherlands (e.g. Romero, 432; Alba, 491-2) are overtly shown to be exemplary figures, as are enemies of Spain (e.g. Casimir, 518; Matthias, 521); all four of these are compared with figures from ancient history, and conventionally represent certain moral values. The poet thereby interrelates his general and specific purposes: moral instruction and commentary on Imperial affairs.

It is by systematic fusion of these purposes that the

complete meaning of the poem is expressed, though interpretations of the kind now given in the notes to the text are required of the reader if he is fully to understand the poet's political views. The opening lines of stanza 2 introduce the fundamental metaphor and theme of 'combate', which apparently derives from the chivalresque allegory of Olivier de la Marche; yet 'Aquel' (2A) suggests reference not only to his work but also to the 'vida humana' of 1H, or to any mortal conflict. More significant is the possibility that further allusion is intended: to civil war in the Netherlands. '/D/e la Marcha pintando la partida' (2B) might be taken to refer secondarily to the military advance from Spain. The discurso de la vida, at once treatise, journey, and battle, was an ideal medium for critical study of an historical situation that was seen by the Spanish as a conflict between good and evil.

The discourse of 'Varios enigmas' is also reminiscent of the medieval debate poem, in that it portrays the fluctuating triumphs of the major contestants (e.g. 'Maliçia'/'virtud', 22H; 'vsura'/'justiçia', 180C-F; 'virtud'/'fortuna', 247A-B; 'razón'/'pasión', 387A-D; 'valor'/'maliçia', 425D; 'verdad'/'maldad', 544A-D) and of their numerous allies. The exertion of authority, so central to the poet's political viewpoint, is invariably denoted by verbal and nominal forms of 'regir' (e.g. 28G-H, 365F, 391A) and 'mandar' (e.g. 7G, 301F, 494D). The poem is nevertheless most evidently written in the

contemptus mundi tradition, the author proposing to depict and cure the folly of present society ('bulgo', 23C; 'pleue', 144A; 'turba', 220A; 'mundo', 410A; 'pueblo', 510D), which has blindly misdirected its devotion. The poem's metaphorical structure is therefore amplified by medical references concerned inevitably with 'remedio' (e.g. 242G-H, 346A and G-H, 451A-B), by references to light and blindness (e.g. 108A-D, 209C-D, 469A-D), and by unremitting reference to 'amor'.

The relation of the foregoing aspects of the poem, additionally including the 'pastoral' metaphor, to the specific, historical context that most preoccupies the author can now be outlined. Developing the idea of conflict broached in the first stanzas, he cites Plutarch as an authority on civil war (19) and alludes in 29 to armed sedition of the present moment; the point is emphasized in 30 by past examples of irrational wars. The conventionally-applied term 'agora' thenceforth appears regularly in similar references (e.g. 54A, 245A, 316H, 353F, 502A), and its denoting of current Imperial matters is indisputably confirmed in 521G and 534E, for example. Popular rebellion (e.g. 144A, 403A-B, 529E-F) is seen as a folly directly associated with heresy, or lack of loyal devotion and duty to God and to his earthly minister (e.g. 125G-H, 377G-H, 525E-F).

The task of protecting the human flock from harm (e.g. 205C-D, 309G-H, 461G-H) naturally falls to the shepherd, with whom Philip II is probably identified on occasion (e.g. 146G, 334G, 509E-F). Pastoral figures are criticised in several cases (e.g. 326A-D, 334D-F, 385A-D), and these occur in a section of the poem that makes strong critical comment about dissidence and the Crown administration. Although the poet views military Spain as representing the rational force of Catholic righteousness, based on the chivalric virtues of valour and love, he seems to accuse court politicians of the same ignorance and corruption (e.g. 128, 338-40, 362) that he attributes to the 'mandones' and 'regentes' (e.g. 287G, 408E) who would be overtly inimical to Spain.

In his attack on government, the most controversial element of the work, the poet surely speaks from the point of view of a soldier currently afflicted by the demise of his ideal (e.g. 541). He inveighs against the sin of sloth ('pigricia'/'pereza': e.g. 166A, 313H, 517A), imposed on the judiciary and the military in consequence of political conciliation ('tibieza': e.g. 166B, 345C, 494D), and warns Philip II in 509 (E-F) that a negotiated solution is detrimental to justice. The moral remedy inherent in Christian faith (e.g. 186, 242, 469) would most effectively be guaranteed by immediate politico-military remedy derived from exercise of prudence and valour (e.g. 240G-H, 368A-B,

498E-F). The first of these virtues is inevitably shown in the monarch (e.g. 438G-H), but both are more positively attributed to another key figure in the poem, the Duke of Alba (e.g. 491). In spite of possible reservations on the part of the author, Alba is implicitly nominated by him as the 'regente' or 'adapid' (e.g. 493F, 504G-H) who would most appropriately resolve the situation. The theme of 'remedio' has thus been narrowed to a very specific purpose, though the final stanza of the poem could suggest a purpose yet more personal or one far wider.

The overall intention and the approach of the author of 'Varios enigmas' can be significantly illuminated by viewing the poem in relation to literary tradition. The following study of politico-religious verse includes some commentary on the poem's likely Spanish sources, whilst the textual notes and the present chapter have indicated certain concurrences between the poem and a widened range of works. The nature and extent of the author's reliance on sources are still to be assessed, however, once the latter have been formally identified. General sources of reference, most of which are named in the poem, are those of any serious writer of the period. The Bible is used as a natural store of religious doctrine and illustrative examples, though the author was no doubt also acquainted with patristic works; Homer, Ovid, and Virgil constitute the major origin of mythological allusions, whilst

Aristotle, Plato, and Horace were the philosophers best known to the author. References to classical history are taken from a further three main authorities: Herodotus, Valerius Maximus, and Plutarch, the last of whom is evidently the most important for the poem.

As a moralist who viewed history in terms of example and proof, and whose works were published, read, and even imitated in the sixteenth century (Antonio de Guevara, for example, drew on the Vitae for his Reloj de príncipes), Plutarch was an ideal source for a poet preoccupied with the righteousness of warfare. Although casting some doubt on Plutarch's sincerity (19C-D), the latter consistently borrows from the Vitae in particular; moreover, the evidence extracted is applied to the discourse with such accuracy of detail as to suggest that he may have been consulting the work as he wrote. The interesting possibility might therefore arise that the poet was in some way influenced by Plutarch's sententiousness of style. In comparison with the stylistic influence of more modern sources, however, that of the classical writer can have been only secondary.

The Coplas de Mingo Revulgo could not be more decisively named as a work of which the reader must be mindful than it is in 'Varios enigmas'. As noted above (pp.366-7), that widely-known, if anonymous poem written

in the fifteenth century was later classified as consisting of enigmas; furthermore, its author undeniably sought to remedy by criticism and advice political disorder and immorality in contemporary Castilian society. From the brief account given in the following chapter (pp. 418-9) it will be seen that not only does the pastoral metaphor of the MS. poem probably derive from Mingo Revulgo, but that there are important thematic similarities between the two works. These and certain minor correspondences become most evident on examination of Pulgar's prose gloss, whose rhetorical moralism, with its learned authority, is also reflected in the sixteenth-century poem. Mingo Revulgo must be regarded as a basic source for 'Varios enigmas', though hardly one imitated by the MS. poet in slavish detail.

A further work of late medieval origin with which the MS. poem has obvious affinities is the Laberinto de Fortuna, discussed below (pp. 416-7, 422-3). Unlike Mingo Revulgo, it is not explicitly mentioned by the poet, but at least one major textual borrowing and several minor, less positive cases have been identified (see notes to the text). The MS. poet perhaps assumes that the reader will quickly recognise his predictable dependence on so important a source, for there are certain parallels between the early stanzas of the two works; in stanza 14 of 'Varios

enigmas' the poet seems to refer by way of conclusion to the foolish aspirations of Mena's narrator that are recorded in stanzas 2-12 of the Laberinto. Other aspects of the former poem are also foreshadowed in stanzas 4 and 6 of Mena's work: commentary on national achievements and on the vices and virtues of the powerful.

In common with the MS. poem, the Laberinto is addressed to the reigning monarch in an attempt to persuade him to remedy by Christian militancy civil conflict and related social evils. A prime cause of rebellion is seen to be the immoral conduct of the King's noble subjects, who are ranged against the forces of virtue represented by the King, his chief minister, and national heroes. This pattern is clearly visible in 'Varios enigmas', and Mena's defence of Álvaro de Luna may well be reflected in the MS. poet's attitude to the comparably-named Duke of Alba; like his fifteenth-century counterpart, this latter figure could be assumed to have tempted ill-fortune through his desire to establish authority.

With regard to style the Laberinto was considered obscure, and it was accompanied in print by the renowned Núñez gloss; this aspect of the work might also have exercised a certain influence on an imitator who wished to partially disguise the meaning of his own poem. Although essentially a discourse, the MS. poem is also characterized

by intermittent use of the narrative pretext in description of allegorized situations that are based on the model of Mena and on that of La Marche. Finally, in the likely event that the MS. poet did consult the Laberinto whilst writing his work, then he might easily have come to confuse hendecasyllabic verse with arte mayor in the way that is so evident in 'Varios enigmas'.

There are two remaining Spanish works of the fifteenth century whose common theme is fundamental to the MS. poem: the Coplas de Vita Christi and the 'Coplas de contempto del mundo' (see pp.375,418). Although the author does not name or directly borrow from either source, he must surely have been acquainted with both. In that it makes critical reference to events of the time, uses the conventional sources and devices of rhetoric (including allegory), and comprises some four thousand lines, Mendoza's work is additionally comparable with 'Varios enigmas'. The 'Coplas', however, share with the sixteenth-century poem extrathematic characteristics other than length and concern for politico-religious discord of the moment.

The notions of 'mirar', 'amar', and 'dexar' are central elements of the persuasive discourse of Pedro de Portugal, who presents systematically the contrasting values of vice and virtue; in so doing he displays many of the rhetorical techniques identifiable in 'Varios

enigmas'. There are also certain verbal reminiscences of the 'Coplas' in this later poem, as there are correspondences of illustrative example, though it could reasonably be argued that such cases are platitudinous or coincidental. Stanza structure nevertheless appears to provide supplementary evidence in favour of the MS. poet's having had at least a good knowledge of the 'Coplas': many stanzas of the latter clearly consist of just such a series of prosaic and fragmented units of meaning as is found in the sixteenth-century work.

Another major source to be considered is El caballero determinado (see pp. 362 and notes 25 and 26, 375, 432-7), a work directly related to the contemptus mundi tradition, and in length similar to 'Varios enigmas'. Although the MS. poet names in 2B the medieval French author of the original version, Le Chevalier délibéré, his sporadic allusions to the work suggest that he knew it in the abovementioned Spanish translation of the sixteenth century. Curiously, however, 'Varios enigmas' is often closer in style to the French work than it is to that of Hernando de Acuña, the more influential of the two Spanish translators; Acuña naturally uses the conventional sources and devices of rhetoric, but did not pretend to imitate La Marche in fine stylistic detail. It seems likely that the MS. poet was aware of the rhétoriqueur style and that he was able to reflect it to some degree in the process of imitating Juan de Mena, for example.

As noted above, the most significant legacy inherited by 'Varios enigmas' from the Caballero is the notion of the discurso, whose moral and military meanings are skilfully applied to the wars in the Netherlands by the MS. poet. But there is no evidence of his having abstracted from that work of Christian chivalry any more than its basic scheme, including pseudo-autobiographical allegory, certain minor references and the taste for stylistic experimentation. Whilst he clearly knows the chivalric romances (see, for example, 263, 486) and seems to doubt their military value, (see, for example, 127-8), he firmly believes Spanish military endeavour to be true chivalry that is an expression of reason and Catholic virtue. The patriotism of Acuña and La Marche is shown in the dedication of their works to the reigning monarch and in their celebration of national heroes; the author of 'Varios enigmas' differs only insofar as he makes certain criticisms as well as praises. He was perhaps in a better position to criticise than were those of his military predecessors who were patronized recipients of royal favour.

The final work, by Captain Francisco de Guzmán, that may have exercised substantial influence on the composition of 'Varios enigmas' was written and published in the 1550s. Triumphos morales (see pp.375,437-40), of twice

the length of the MS. poem, but in the same verse form, is clearly in imitation of the Laberinto and the Caballero, as well as of Petrarch's Trionfi. Although unmentioned by the MS. poet, it bears several distinct resemblances to his work; minor ones are verbal reminiscence, the proposal to sing the 'discurso de la vida', warnings about enigmatic meaning and about folly, and prosaic expression. More important similarities reside in the use of rhetorical techniques, in the use of allegory (which in the Triumphos is systematic) for the purpose of moral instruction, and in the presentation of reason as militant conquerer of vice and motivator of virtue.

Just as Guzmán finally shows the reward of virtue to be fame, and describes the feats of exemplary heroes of the period against the nation's enemies, so does the MS. poet in the later stages of his work identify similar figures he wishes to extol and criticise. The fact that three of the most important contemporary heroes praised in the Triumphos also appear in the MS. poem could suggest a borrowing, and thereby slightly weaken the argument of the MS. poet's having been a witness to events in the Netherlands. There is also precedent in the Triumphos for his request that Philip II uphold integrity and justice, though such an appeal was conventional and he no doubt expected the convention to

protect him from reproach. Whatever the case, the acknowledged popularity of Triumphos morales and the above evidence make it probable that the MS. poet was at least well acquainted with that work.

The author of 'Varios enigmas de los dislates mundanos' clearly emerges as a traditionalist with regard to the literary sources on which he relies for general guidance and elements of which he adapts to his immediate purpose. There is more than a single possible explanation: these works happened to be standard reading for any educated man, and were perhaps of special interest to a Catholic soldier; they were of the few works easily available in print on the subjects in question; the MS. poet was by the 1570s a middle-aged man still influenced by works he had read at a more formative period in his life. He certainly was not a mere imitator, and in spite of the conventionally moralistic nature of the poem's theme his interpretation of it is original and his style often ingeniously contrived.

Nor was his objective purely literary; in implicitly comparing himself with Nicanor (124) and Prexaspes (438), for example, he hints at his delicate role as a patriotic but critical judge of contemporary national affairs. It would perhaps have been considered improper to criticise even Spain's enemies publicly

without official approval. There remains the distinct possibility of a further motive, rather more specific and personal: to defend and justify military honour, currently affronted by politico-religious rebellion and by the restraint imposed upon the Army by an incompetent government. How the author's situation, attitudes, and method compare with those of equally committed poets of the time will be seen in the following chapter.

POLITICO-RELIGIOUS POETRY IN SIXTEENTH-CENTURY SPAIN

Referring to the role of poetry in fifteenth-century Castile, J. Amador de los Ríos wrote:

Venía el arte a cumplir . . . el alto y trascendental ministerio ejercido por él en todas las edades de la humana conducta, dando inequívoco y cabal testimonio de que ha sido siempre, como lo será para el futuro, barómetro y espejo del estado social y político del pueblo que lo cultiva.¹

The Romantic notion that literature by definition expresses accurately the preoccupations and reflects the circumstances of the society in which it is written can permit oversimplified explanations of the relationship between history and poetry, even in the case of literary interpretations of immediate reality. As Wellek and Warren have pointed out, 'the identification of literature with the history of civilisation is a denial of the specific field and of the specific methods of literary study'.² Nevertheless, in order to gauge the purpose and relevance of works that treat current social issues, both the historical basis of the subject-matter and allied influences on composition might profitably be accorded consideration.

Interesting theories about the 'heroic' poetry of the Golden Age have been developed by Rosales and Vivanco.³ They infer that sixteenth-century poets did not simply attest contemporary national achievements, but rather

formulated a typically classical version of truth that would admit only of harmony and exemplarity; the optimistic view of reality was expressed rhetorically and sought to fashion social values based on the exercise of active, heroic virtues. Later poets, however, are considered to have seen virtue in prudent and stoical withdrawal from public interests, their apparent critical disillusion resulting as much from a typically baroque scrutiny of the physical world as from changes in Spanish national fortunes. Such arguments, which acknowledge that poets were more than historians or representatives of public opinion, are persuasive; how far they correspond to textual evidence will be seen in the present study, whose broad aim is to illuminate the social circumstances and literary tradition in which the MS. poem was written.

The study's main focus of interest is verse of the sixteenth century that treats matters of national concern, but for this poetry to be fully understood it is essential to consider works dating from as early as the middle of the fifteenth century. Brief attention is also given to the seventeenth century in order to establish an overall perspective. The approach is historical and narrative rather than critical; in this way any pattern of tradition, and of collective consciousness amongst poets, might best be identified. That literary evidence be examined in the light of the facts of history is important, and therefore

each section of the study is preceded by a brief outline of the main events and characteristics of the period in question.⁴

John II's accession to the Castilian throne, in 1419, began an era of privanza marked by clashes of interest between the favourite and the aristocracy, and by civil disorder. John and his successor, Henry IV, preferred personally to indulge in the social pleasures of monarchy, though each sponsored a token attempt to revive the Reconquista. The public discontent and dynastic disputes of their reigns were not resolved until after the Union of 1479, by which Ferdinand and Isabella nominally created the basis of Spain's future. Restoration of order and justice represented the initial stage of the monarchs' desire to establish their authority and to foster nationalism. Political neutralization of the nobility by means of administrative and judicial reform was accompanied by increasing royal influence in local affairs.

The Inquisition, founded to guarantee religious orthodoxy, served to reinforce a fragile national unity in the name of Catholicism. By subsequently exercising control over the Church, Ferdinand and Isabella acquired not only additional political and economic power but also the opportunity to instigate a series of moral reforms. The great events of the reign - military victory at Granada,

civil expulsion of the Jews, and the discovery of America - contributed enormously to the prestige of the monarchy. After the death of the Queen, in 1504, Ferdinand sought to expand Spain's international influence, which was to be further amplified on the accession of his grandson, Charles V.

The first general anthology of Castilian verse, the Cancionero de Baena, had been compiled at the end of John II's reign, but included little work of recent origin. The contentious nature of certain poems, which would have circulated in manuscript at court, suggests that some poets felt a responsible involvement in social issues. Yet the critical reaction of early writers was slight in comparison with works of the key figures of the mid century, Juan de Mena and the Marqués de Santillana. Mena supported John's favourite, Álvaro de Luna, in current civil disputes, possibly hoping for advancement in his own capacity as a government servant; Santillana, as an aristocrat, was in violent opposition to Luna. The 'Doctrinal de privados', composed after the latter's death, illustrates both Santillana's rancour and the typical use of a recent situation as a case from which to draw moral conclusions.⁵ Like the 'Doctrinal', Mena's El laberinto de Fortuna depicts the privanza of Luna as a challenge against fortune; however, the Laberinto condemns the nobility.⁶

The apparent belief of poets in the power of literature to influence royal policy is well exemplified by Mena's long poem in arte mayor, presented to the King in 1444. Yet its political defence of Luna is only one, albeit major, aspect of what is in effect a highly complex version of the traditional moral debate.⁷ This in turn underlies the allegory of 'life's journey', as conceived by Petrarch and Dante; the narrator of the Laberinto is escorted by Providence to the palace of Fortune in order to witness the workings of fate on mankind. From his therefore privileged position, the poet is able to make a very definite criticism of Castilian social vices. Constructively, he praises the exemplary virtue of Spanish heroes and appeals to the King to bring justice, unity, and a sense of Christian militancy to the society. Mena's patriotism is also manifested in the poem's exaggerated and sometimes obscure style; he sought to equal in the vernacular language the range and authority of Latin. The use of such a style in this work of political purpose might be explained by the fact that 'the Laberinto is aimed primarily at one man, who was himself a poet'.⁸

The opposition of poets to Henry IV and his ministers seems to have been almost unanimous, and some opinions reached the attention of the monarch. In his 'Esclamaçon e querella dela governaçion', Gómez Manrique, a courtier of wide political experience, compares Castile with Rome;

neglect and covetousness are seen to be the causes of decadence in both State and Church.⁹ Without being violently or personally condemnatory, this poem was provocative enough to induce Henry to commission a reply to its accusations.¹⁰ A reasoned but highly critical view of contemporary Castile is also provided by Fray Íñigo de Mendoza, a Franciscan converso, in his Coplas de Vita Christi.¹¹ The poem is based on the contemptus mundi tradition reworked earlier by Pedro de Portugal, and consists of some four thousand lines of octosyllables. Although it was written in 1467-8, the intervention of those explicitly criticised prevented its being published until 1482, in expurgated form.¹²

The reign was also marked by a series of anonymous satirical poems, often more outspoken than the acknowledged works and composed in the style of the popular coplas. In some cases their authors might have been court personnel who wished to avoid retribution or to create the impression of widespread social dissatisfaction. The best example, the Coplas de Mingo Revulgo, was possibly written by Mendoza, and its satire takes the form of a pastoral allegory.¹³ The use of metaphor and rustic language allow enigmatic but critical reference to be made to current public affairs throughout the thirty-two stanzas of octosyllables. Fernando del Pulgar, in the prologue to his commentary on the poem, explains the author's

intention:

Estas coplas se ordenaron a fin de amonestar el pueblo a bien vivir. Y en esta Bucólica, que quiere decir cantar rústico y pastoril, quiso dar a entender la doctrina que dicen so color de la rusticidad, que parecen decir; porque el entendimiento cuyo oficio es saber la verdad de las cosas, se exercite inquiriéndolas, y goce como suele gozarse cuando ha entendido la verdad de ellas.¹⁴

The poem's moral, for both populace and officialdom, is explicit enough once the style has been deciphered.

A dialogue between Mingo Revulgo (the Castilian flock) and Gil Arribato (a prophet figure) develops into a complaint by the former about the negligence of his self-indulgent shepherd, Candaulo (Henry). He claims that the watchdogs (the cardinal virtues) have been reduced to such impotence that wolves (the deadly sins, and by extension the nobility) freely savage the flock. Arribato, however, lays much of the blame for Mingo's misery upon the sufferer himself, who has failed to practise the theological virtues. Moreover, the prophet warns that further disasters must be expected if the situation is not soon remedied. Mingo is finally exhorted to repent and to recognise the security offered by a virtuous life. The work is clearly an indictment of the whole society; yet its continued publication in the sixteenth century, together with Pulgar's prose gloss, indicates that it was long thought to be worth reading.

The evidence of extant works suggests that the critical scrutiny of Henry's reign was gradually replaced

by constructive advice and confident praise in the period of Ferdinand and Isabella. J. Rodríguez-Puértolas has argued that Castilian literature then began to reflect the sense of unity and expansionism characteristic of subsequent reigns.¹⁵ Such a contention should, however, take into account some of the practical circumstances of composition and publication. For example, advances in printing no doubt accelerated and amplified the diffusion of approved literature, whilst critical works might not have penetrated even court circles if the newly-founded Inquisition were by then exercising censorial powers. Furthermore, the most important poets had more than a purely literary interest in the success of the monarchy.

The octosyllabic poems of Gómez Manrique and Fray Íñigo de Mendoza, both of whom had been critical of Henry's regime, well illustrate that interest. Manrique was committed to the cause of Isabella during her brother's reign, and once she and her husband were in power, he addressed to them guidance on how to rule in the 'Regimiento de principes'.¹⁶ His part in government, even as a Consejo member, would nevertheless have been limited; his attitude might thus represent a genuine if sober patriotism or a response to the encouragement offered by the monarchs to intellectuals and artists.¹⁷ The 'Regimiento' warns Ferdinand against the flattery and deception so prevalent in former reigns, contrasting them

with the value of studying erudite texts and judgements. As God's delegate, Ferdinand should appreciate the superiority of prudence and integrity over blustering militancy. The poet subsequently proffers detailed advice on defence and social justice, completing the work with a eulogy of the Queen.

A series of verse treatises by Mendoza recommended to the new incumbents specific political theory and action.¹⁸ Allegory is used to develop themes in each of the three, whose common concern is the question of justice. In the 'Dechado' the poet explains to Isabella that government should be based on moral precepts, particularly justice and temperance, and extols Old Testament beliefs in a society guided and united by religion. The 'Sermon' discusses the duties and problems of political rule by reference to the image of a yoke; diplomacy, unity, and authority are its broad preoccupations. More specifically, Mendoza advocates both suppression of French and Portuguese threats to the monarchy, and the reconquest of Granada. The 'Coplas' remind the reader that Spain's security depends on divine approval of national enterprises. Such intensity of conviction as is demonstrated by Mendoza might be considered typical of Franciscan, or even converso attitudes to social organization; his status as preacher to the Queen suggests that opinions expressed in his verse

could have influenced royal policy.¹⁹

The successes achieved by Ferdinand and Isabella were later recorded in romances and in Juan del Encina's 'Triunfo de la fama', dedicated to the monarchs to celebrate the taking of Granada.²⁰ The 'Triunfo', an allegory in the style of Mena's Laberinto, describes victories over the nobility and the Portuguese, the expulsion of the Jews, and the final phase of the Reconquista. Other verse published in the first two decades of the new century, did not show any slackening of concern about national problems. Juan de Luzón's 'Suma de virtudes', for example, incorporates within its exposition of moral philosophy comment on the propagation of the Faith, on the struggle against racial minorities in Spain, and on the establishment of royal authority; Pedro Manuel Ximénez de Urrea's 'Obra trobada contra la seta de Mahometo' voices clearly Spanish contempt for the Moriscos.²¹ The need to proselytize the whole community into genuine Christian conduct was no doubt very real, as was the vigilance of the Inquisition, and many poets were apprehensive about unorthodoxy of thought both in life and in literature. As Michel Darbord remarks: 'C'est bien cette crainte qui fera reculer la poésie pieuse devant le sermon moral en arte mayor jusque vers le milieu du XVIe siècle'.²²

The persistence into the sixteenth century of

discursive and narrative verse in arte mayor is mainly attributable to the prestige of Juan de Mena's Laberinto, which was often reprinted and was widely imitated.²³

Already by the last decade of the fifteenth century Mena had come to be regarded in Spain as a model of linguistic and poetic practice; both the 1492 Grammar of Nebrija and Juan del Encina's 'Arte de poesía castellana' of 1496 proclaim him as such.²⁴ The latter work was the first Spanish treatise of its kind to be published, its sketch of the historical development of poetry and its technical advice long proving a useful guide to readers. Not until the 1570s did another Spanish arte appear in print.

Encina's influence, as a theorist, upon sixteenth-century poets was nevertheless minimal in comparison with that of the great classical preceptists, Horace and Aristotle, whose works were best known in Spain through Italian commentaries of the mid century. Frank Pierce points out the relevance of Horatian theory, particularly, to the historical moment: 'Horacio se adaptó fácilmente a la Europa de los siglos XVI y XVII, puesto que su Arte mostraba cómo la poesía podía alcanzar un elevado nivel de calidad y de prestigio en una época de fuertes preocupaciones religiosas y didácticas'.²⁵ According to Horace, poetry should seek to inform as well as to delight; traditional rhetoric and logic would therefore be of vital importance in the process.

In order best to instruct, a proper correspondence should also be established between moral truths demonstrated and their manner of expression. Arthur Terry explains that 'it is decorum which qualifies the didactic theory of poetry as the Renaissance understood it, so that writing a poem will not be merely a question of conveying ideas, but of clothing them in a proper aesthetic form'.²⁶ Aristotle broached the problem of how to inculcate abstract notions by proposing that they be depicted in terms of the physical world to which they correspond. This view is related to his basic distinction between poetry and history: whereas the former dealt with the universal or hypothetical, history was concerned with recording specific fact. The relationships between instruction and pleasure, and between poetry and history, became the focus of debate amongst the Italian polemicists imitated by Spanish poets and preceptists .

The classical theories were interpreted largely in the context of epic poetry, revered as the most noble form by its association with Virgil. Criticism of the novelesque narratives of Boiardo and Ariosto, for their lack of the unity and verisimilitude of the epic, was answered by Torquato Tasso, the impact of whose work was to be considerable in Spain.²⁷ In both the Discorsi and the Gerusalemme liberata he reconciled epic and the romanzo: history and artistic unity should be respected

in narrative poetry, as should the needs of the Catholic Faith. The traditionally heroic elements of the genre and use of allegory for moral purposes remained unquestioned. Tasso's approach might be thought to formalize the practice of certain earlier poets in Spain whose works will be considered below.

The abundance of Spanish epics and other narrative verse published after 1550 is characterized by a preoccupation with recent history, religious themes and, regularly, a chronicle-like technique. Furthermore, it is worthy of note that Jerónimo Jiménez de Urrea's translation of the Orlando furioso was published more often than the translated Aeneid, and that patriotic sentiments do not appear to have been considered misplaced in an otherwise fictitious context. With regard to heroic poems, Frank Pierce concludes:

. . . se escribieron para rendir culto a los más altos ideales colectivos del tiempo, es decir, a los asociados a la fe religiosa, al sentimiento monárquico y a las tradiciones seculares relacionadas con ellos y con la Patria. Y la forma épica era, por su misma naturaleza y desde tiempos muy remotos, la más apropiada para satisfacer esos anhelos. Puesto que España estaba encumbrada entonces en la más vigorosa afirmación de sí misma, tanto en la vida espiritual como en la política, parece natural que miremos con atención su poesía narrativa.²⁸

The collective ideals and vigorous self-assertion he mentions stemmed largely from Spain's new role in the world, acquired in the early years of Charles V's reign.

By 1519 Charles's official European inheritance consisted of Spain, the Habsburg territories, the Netherlands, Southern Italy, and a variety of minor possessions. Furthermore, his election as Holy Roman Emperor in that year allowed him to protect family dominions in the name of Imperial security, bringing a new dimension to the politico-religious concept of government pioneered by the Catholic Monarchs. Inevitably, he met opposition. By 1522 Castilian resentment had been suppressed; the German Protestants were defeated in 1547; decades of warring against the French resulted in victory in 1559; Turkish expansionism in Eastern Europe and the Mediterranean was contested but not checked in the Emperor's lifetime. These triumphs subsequently proved to be only temporary, however.

His reign was also the era of conquests in America, themselves evidence that the defensive nationalism of the late fifteenth century had been replaced by an aggressive imperialism. Moreover, Charles made a determined effort to stimulate reform in the Catholic Church. As a military figure, he dominated the Imperial 'crusade' until his abdication; meanwhile, he had carefully curbed the political power of the aristocracy. The administrative reforms of his predecessors were widened by the creation of a bureaucracy to control national affairs and Charles thereby reinforced the ultimate authority of the Crown.

Yet, in spite of superficially ideal economic conditions, the cost of empire and social organization had brought Castile near to bankruptcy on the accession of Phillip II in 1556.

Charles had been quickly and compliantly received into office by the government servant Francisco de Castilla in his Pratica de las virtudes de los buenos reyes despaña.²⁹ The arte mayor poem depicts the nation's past monarchs in terms of vice and virtue, guaranteeing that Charles will surpass them all as an exemplary figure of virtue. In spite of the poet's obvious desire to ingratiate himself and in spite of the conventionalism of much of his praise, which tend to intrude upon his broad moral purpose, the final stanza of the work is, ironically, accurate in its prophecies about the King's achievements:

Assí los passados con ser muy preciosa
corona preclara seran escondidos
delante de aquellos triumphos luzidos
quen vos se deuisan por luz especiosa.
Por tanto protesto quen metro y en prosa
despues de seruiros de paz y de guerra
dice las victorias quen toda la tierra
terna vuestra alteza con fama gloriosa.

The personal image of Charles, in subsequent times to be glorified with justification, is prominent in early Menaesque allegories dedicated to the celebration of his triumphs; naturally, he is identified as a worthy moral example.³⁰ Initial doubts about the worthiness of his intentions, on the part of the people of Castile, and the

open rebellion of the Comuneros might be expected to have yielded critical verse, but there is no evidence of such, printed or manuscript. However, private complaints about other public matters were later made in verse by those with a close knowledge of the workings of his regime.

Although, as will become evident, the majority of known opinion was totally committed to Charles and to the Empire, concern was expressed by certain poets about their lot in political life. The questioning of administrative and court procedure, albeit in generalized terms or in private letters, was apparently not considered unpatriotic or even indiscreet. Cristóbal de Castillejo, a diplomat in Europe and vociferous defender of tradition in Spanish poetry, addressed to the monarch, in 1541, a lengthy 'Consiliatoria' in décimas that warns of three faults in rulers: ingratitude, lack of clemency, and susceptibility to flattery.³¹ Like his other politico-moral works, which were heavily censored, the poem is essentially a traditional debate, in which current political life is seen to exemplify a less than ideal code of moral conduct. The specific motive of the poet in appealing to Charles is personal, however; he wishes to obtain permission to leave the foreign court.

Castillejo's dissatisfaction was shared by Spain's ambassador to Rome, Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, whose correspondence in verse exposes satirically the miseries

and hypocrisy of the diplomatic service; he explicitly blames the Emperor for having demeaned the aristocracy by allowing its interests to be mishandled by privados.³² Similarly, an epistle of Gutierre de Cetina, who fought with Charles in Europe, adds to its report on the war a stinging criticism, with all the traditional accusations of moral corruption, of the Imperial court.³³ This perhaps further underlines the resentment of those forced to serve whilst being excluded from genuine political power. The poet notes the frustration and delicacy of his position:

El humo y vanidad de aquesta corte
 Me tiene puesto en confusion y espanto.
 No pienso decir mas sin pasaporte;
 De la corte murmuro y della digo,
 Mas de ninguno nada que le importe.
 Yo pienso que es á Dios y á sí enemigo
 Quien niega la verdad, y por favores,
 Por amor ni temor de algun castigo.

Cetina's private criticism contrasts sharply with his eulogies of Spanish military heroes and of Charles as Emperor.³⁴ In the sonnet 'A los huesos de los españoles muertos en Castelvetro' his sense of patriotism is shown to combine a pride in Spain's Imperial achievement with a deep respect for those who have died in its wake. The sonnet 'Al Emperador' is characterized by the typical attitudes and expression of poets like Hernando de Acuña and Fernando de Herrera, who most fully develop the cult of cesarismo in verse.

Acuña, a military member of the Imperial retinue after 1547, probably wrote his renowned Italianate sonnet 'Al Emperador' between 1540 and 1545.³⁵ The theme of the poem is universal Christian empire, of which Charles would be head; as Holy Roman Emperor, he was already responsible for the defence of Catholic territories, many of which he ruled by inheritance. The poet addresses the Emperor, emphasising the divine ordination of time and place for the mission of unity, and uses the biblical metaphor of shepherd and flock to illustrate the relationship between Charles and his subjects:

Ya se acerca, Señor, o ya es llegada
la edad gloriosa en que proclama el cielo
un Pastor y una Grey sola en su suelo
por suerte a vuestros tiempos reservada.
Ya tan alto principio en tal jornada
os muestra el fin de vuestro santo celo
y anuncia al mundo para más consuelo
un Monarca, un Imperio, y una Espada.

The last line serves as a motto to the politico-religious ideal of an indivisible Catholic empire. A further repetition of 'Ya' emphasises the imminent realization of such hopes, as the whole world awaits Charles's domination, so richly justified by the Imperial crusades:

Ya el orbe de la tierra siente en parte
y espera en todo vuestra Monarquía
conquistado por vos en justa guerra.
Que, a quien ha dado Cristo su estandarte,
dará el segundo, más dichoso día
en que, vencido el mar, venza la tierra.

The concluding tercet thus prophesies the extension of his power under divine auspices. Implicit in the argument is

the identification of the Habsburg with the Holy Roman Empire, of expansion of political authority with protection and propagation of the Faith. The poem no doubt found ready favour with the Emperor; it might even have been an effective medium to persuade his subjects of their patriotic and religious duties, though there is no evidence of its having circulated in print at the time.

The concept of military supremacy is dominant in some sonnets of Fernando de Herrera, who celebrates the defeat of the German rebels and compares Charles's Mediterranean imperialism favourably with Roman models.³⁶ The poet's exaltation of Empire and monarch is best illustrated by two sonnets, 'A Carlos V' and 'Al Emperador Carlos V'.³⁷ The latter strongly advocates fulfilment of the illusion of universal monarchy:

Domad del alto piélago la ira
que es la tierra pequeña a vuestra gloria,
dando el Imperio a España, y la memoria
que por vos contra el Asia sola aspira.
No puede ser mayor la gloria vuestra
aunque es menor que vos, y vuestra Fama
la grandeza del cielo abraza y cierra.

The hyperbolic praise makes clear the rewards, both personal and national, of militant expansion; whether such an aspiration, subsequently described as 'esta esperanza nuestra', would have been shared by the people is debateable.

Herrera's idealized view and rhetorical style are perhaps symptomatic of a motivation more literary than

political. In spite of his direct address to the Emperor, the sonnets were written during the reign of Philip II. Furthermore, unlike the majority of his fellow poets, Herrera was not involved in political or military life and therefore his conspicuous patriotism would scarcely have resulted from practical experience. Yet, whatever their motives and however extreme their hopes, both Herrera and Acuña are representative of many poets who saw in Charles an heroic leader and an exemplary Christian. Just as they extolled his deeds and ambitions whilst he was in Imperial office, they revered him in abdication and in death.³⁸

Few years passed between the death of the Emperor and the composition of verse narratives chronicling triumphs of the reign; the most important of such works, La Carolea and Carlo Famoso, were published.³⁹ Vivid accounts of specific military engagements had earlier appeared in anonymous romances, but the experimental epics, both by military authors, use the facts of history as a framework within which to depict Charles as the exemplary hero. The association of the Emperor with the miles christianus had been made before, in the Acuña and the Urrea renderings of El caballero determinado. It is in just such narrative verse that some poets' views of how literary themes and notions correspond to the contemporary reality can well be identified, as can the imitation of worthy models.

Sixteenth-century public taste for allegorical and

chivalresque narrative is partially demonstrated by the number of editions of works like the Triumphos morales of Francisco de Guzmán, Urrea's translation of the Orlando furioso, and the Acuña version of the Caballero.⁴⁰ All were published at a time when books of chivalry and the concept of Christian chivalry, as applied to national endeavour, held wide appeal. The very composition of the poem of Acuña was possibly requested by Charles V, for whom the Burgundian original, Le Chevalier délibéré, was of particular significance.⁴¹

Le Chevalier reflects the social and literary context in which it was written. Its author, a soldier who mentions his own involvement in political life, was a member of the literary school of the 'Rhétoriciens', patronized at the Burgundian court in the late fifteenth century. In spite of their obsession with intricate style, which often reduced subject-matter to triviality, this group of poets also shared 'unas preocupaciones políticas y morales específicas y comunes . . .'.⁴² Certain parallels between their work, as exemplified by Le Chevalier, and Mena's narrative verse suggest themselves: pseudo-autobiographical allegory, a carefully cultivated style, contemporary political reference, didactic intention, death themes, use of classical allusion. Moreover, in fifteenth-century Castilian poetry French allegory exercised as considerable an influence as did

its Italian counterpart.⁴³

Acuña's text, which comprises three hundred and seventy-nine stanzas of double quintillas, is preceded by a prologue in which he explains to Charles why he has made the translation:

Mas dos cosas me animaron principalmēte á publicar esta obra debaxo d'el nōbre de V.M.. La vna, parecér me q̃ por ser tan llena de doctrina Christiana, y Militar, por razon le es devido el fauor de V.M. como d'el Principe d'el mundo, en quien estas dos virtudes mas enteramente se hallan. La otra conoscér, que hago á mi nacion muy buena obra en comunicalle esta, que es de tanta vtilidad...⁴⁴

Usefulness, both military and moral, and praise are his main aspirations, and he further explains, in reference to his personal experiences of war, that physical combat should make men more aware of the spiritual struggle of life. He has made changes in order to associate the story specifically with Spain and its royal family, in the same way as the French poet had done in the case of the Burgundian monarchy.

The poem is a discourse on the passage of life. This is allegorized as a series of vicissitudes to be negotiated by the knight/author, whose first-person narration describes the life-span of all humans. Once prepared and armed, the knight sets out from home on the 'peregrinacion humana'. Having initially been exposed to the diverse lessons of life by such figures as Entendimiento, Edad, and Memoria, he heads towards the forest of Atropos; through it have to travel men of every rank, and it is guarded by

Accidente and Debilidad, mortal enemies of mankind. On reaching his destination, the knight attempts to defend the illustrious victims of Accidente, but is arrested by the soldiers of Atropos, who is engaged elsewhere in personal battle with exemplary figures from the recent past. The realization that his own combat and death are imminent prompts the knight to record his adventures. In the last five stanzas he advises the reader to observe the moral of the story, describing the work in stanza 376 as a 'tratado', directed to those of 'sana y buena intencion' and evidently designed to teach the art of dying.

The Spanish and Habsburg figures patriotically substituted by Acuña for La Marche's gallery of Burgundian heroes exemplify the virtues necessary if one is to emerge triumphant from mortal conflict. Some reference to the contemporary political affairs of Spain is also woven into the narrative. In stanza 305, for example, Charles's imperialism is praised:

Y junto con succedér
En partes tan excelentes
Estenderá su poder,
Dó no conocidas gentes
Le vengan á conocér.
Y dó en viendo las primeras
De sus inuictas vanderas,
Se le den por mil razones
Las mas Barbaras naciones,
Reynos, y prouincias fieras.

The following three stanzas depict the Emperor as defender of the Faith against the Protestants and as protector of

the humble. The supposedly direct relevance to military life of the poem as a whole is made more evident in the 1591 edition.⁴⁵ The editor dedicates it to a commander in the Netherlands, Cristóbal de Mondragón, who is described as follows:

. . . Cauallero que por la pratica y esperiencia que tiene de la Disciplina y Arte militar, y por las vittorias ta señaladas, que ha alcançado en seruicio de Dios y d'el Rey nuestro Señor . . . meritamēte ha fecho conquista de gloria y fama immortal, y tiene como pintado delante los ojos el curso y varios accidentes d'esta vida humana, y lo contenido en este libro.

The version of Urrea, an expanded paraphrase of Acuña's poem, and his translation of the Orlando furioso indicate more clearly how military poets conceived of the nature and function of narrative verse at the time, how they responded to innovation, and what their influence might have been.⁴⁶ The Orlando, which would have been widely-read, is characterized by patriotism, moralism, and defective versification.⁴⁷ To the original Urrea adds eulogies of Ferdinand, Charles V, and Philip II, amongst others, whilst erasing from Ariosto's text any ironic or critical reference to Spain; these changes are explained in the 'Aviso'. His censorial zeal is applied equally to any moral or religious unorthodoxy, whilst the commentaries added to each canto in the 1550 and 1575 editions are intended to reveal the moral truths embodied in Ariosto's work.

The use of cantos and hendecasyllabic verse in his

version of the Caballero indicates Urrea's familiarity, albeit a superficial one, with the Italian novelesque epic. How important is the moral instruction is emphasised in the editor's 'Exhortacion al lector' (fols Oiiiv-Oiiiiv), which states categorically that the virtue and faith in God necessary to face death with confidence are demonstrated in the poem. The inclusion of a whole new canto (XVIII) devoted mainly to historical information about the Emperor is significant, and probably represents more than a desire to flatter. Alluding to the influence of Ariosto upon writers of Caroline historiography, Maxime Chevalier has shown that Spanish works tend to innovate by synthesising chivalresque, moral, and national elements.⁴⁸ The Burgundian tradition of exaltation of the sovereign, and of preoccupation with honour and chivalresque virtue, seems to coincide with Spanish literary patriotism of the sixteenth-century, which looked enthusiastically to recent history for epic themes.⁴⁹

Investigation of a contemporary work similar to the Caballero of Urrea, the Triumphos morales, will serve to illustrate further not only the popularity and historically transitional nature of chivalresque allegory, but also the enduring influence of medieval Italian models.⁵⁰ Amongst other works of its military author, Francisco de Guzmán, are included a commentary on the Coplas of Jorge Manrique, and the Flor de sentencias de sabios, a compendium of

moral wisdom drawn from classical sources.⁵¹ The Triumphos, first published in 1557 and dedicated to Philip II, consists of some thousand octaves, divided into eight 'triumphs'; unlike Urrea, Guzmán is a technically competent versifier, although pedestrian as a poet.⁵²

In a series of authorial comments that precede the text moral error in society is criticised and the reader is warned to gloss the allegory carefully in order to see its true meaning. The apparent subtleties of the work suggested here are not fulfilled in what proves to be a banal and rather disjointed moral treatise in the guise of a romance. The 'Argumento' well illustrates the tone of the prefatory matter:

Levantate soez entendimiento
despierta seso torpe descuydado,
recoge te ligero pensamiento
q̃ vas por muchas ptes derramado:
Sossiega ya juicio que te sienta
con vanas fantasias alterado,
cantemos el discurso dela vida
cõ clara voz y muy subida.

(fol.8r)

Although the work is to be an abstract exposition of human life, allusions to contemporary Spain and her enemies (fol.6v) are later developed in the 'Triumpho de la Fama' (fols.179r-201v).

The life-span experienced by the auctor is represented by the triumphs, each of which forms a chapter in the progression of the narrative. The initial victory of Voluntad (fols 8v-44v) is followed by those of Razon

(44v-53r), Sapiencia (55r-65r), each of the cardinal virtues (65r-178v), and ultimately, Fama. The poem begins with the birth of Man, depicted as the author's emergence from a cave (fol.8v); his spiritual life then takes the form of a journey through an imaginary setting, inhabited by personified virtues and various other figures of fantasy, towards historical reality.

Subdivisions within individual triumphs are entitled 'discursos', and constitute minor phases in the plot or allow for extended consideration of moral questions. In this latter way narrative and discursive elements are more closely related, often in the form of an address by the figure whose triumph is at hand. The theme of moral improvement is impressed upon the author, and hence the reader, by the normal techniques of rhetoric: definition, comparison, reference to classical and biblical authority, aphorism, and the inevitable exempla. Marginal glosses and woodcut prints are also used to remind the reader of the moral significance of the narrative.

The 'Triumpho de la Fama' differs from others in that it is concerned with contemporary historical events, giving prominence to a brief eulogy of Charles V and to the war with France in the 1550s. Imperial commanders like the Duke of Alba (fols 198v-199r), Emmanuel Philibert, and Julián Romero (fols 191v-193v) are specifically mentioned, and are praised for their military virtue. The poet's

Catholic nationalism is revealed in bitter references to the English schism (fols 183v-184r), and the broad nature of his allegory is well illustrated here as he locates in the same dimension God, the Furies, Discordia, the English, and Mary Tudor. The purpose served by introducing political actuality into an allegorical romance is similar to those of earlier works: recent events are envisaged as bringing fame to the King and his commanders, who are presented to the reader as paragons of virtue, whilst Spain's enemies are seen to incarnate the vices. Guzmán nevertheless warns Philip politely that in the future he hopes to be able to record military virtues exercised in the service of God:

ñ mas a tales hechos doy mi gloria
 pues mas seran los actos gloriosos
 por Dios ñ por desseos ambiciosos.
 (fol.200v)

Whilst others achieved military glory on his behalf, Philip II controlled his Imperial possessions as a sedentary and often hesitant administrator. Denied the rank of Holy Roman Emperor, he nevertheless committed his subjects to the defence of Catholicism and of the Habsburg Empire, although, as in the reign of his father, relations with the Papacy were often discordant. The 'prudent' and 'Catholic' King also continued the established policy of restricting the authority of the aristocracy, in addition to availing himself of all the resources of the Church.

In a reign of alternating triumphs and setbacks, both at home and abroad, the major internal problems faced by the royal government were economic depression, court factionalism and intrigue, and regional rebellion. The propagation and implementation of Tridentine doctrines was accompanied by Inquisitorial suppression of unorthodoxy by censorship and by physical retribution, thus ensuring that the heresies of Spain's enemies should not undermine life in the peninsula.

Except for a period in the 1580s, when Philip gained the Portuguese crown and sought to bring France and England under his rule, Spain was on the defensive internationally. Even victory over the Turks at Lepanto, achieved by John of Austria in the name of the Holy League, was less substantial than it seemed. Furthermore, the piracy and colonial expansion of Spain's Northern European enemies was a reflection of a more serious threat: Protestantism, with all its political implications.

The Netherlands, inherited by Charles V, had become in the latter half of the sixteenth century a focus of European attention, largely on account of its strategic value as Spain's external base of political and religious authority. Elements of the local nobility, antagonised by recent social and religious reforms designed to strengthen the monarchy, espoused the new sectarian currents from the surrounding countries, as did many of the population.

Both sides, it would seem, confused political and religious issues and motives. The Calvinist iconoclasm of 1566 was avenged by Alba's repression of what amounted to an act of both rebellion and heresy. Although the hostilities were officially declared civil, the dissidents were usually referred to as 'heréticos y rebeldes'. The later prolonged warfare offered to interested European nations, and particularly England, the opportunity to exhaust the patience and resources of a feared enemy. Philip's partial disengagement from this type of involvement, in the last years of the century, suggests a growing awareness of the real needs of the nation. He died in 1598, leaving the throne to his son, Philip III.

Whereas the allegories of the mid century had made use of historical reality in order to illustrate abstract ideas, and to express conventional patriotism, much verse composed in Philip's reign referred exclusively to the politico-religious situations in which Spain was currently involved. The following section of the study traces the development of certain common themes in works of varying form and purpose. The whole question of empire, particularly, will be seen to underlie the preoccupations of poets, whose means of expression reflect influences both traditional and innovatory.

That the universal monarchy foreseen by Acuña for Charles might soon be fulfilled was a notion emphasized

by several poets.⁵³ Romero de Cepeda optimistically interpreted the birth of a Franco-Spanish heir as a symbol of unity and peace which would give to Spain a strength sufficient to conquer the enemies of Christianity. Even the later annexation of Portugal was looked upon by the same poet and by Herrera as a further stage in the divinely-ordained Imperial process. Herrera's sonnet 'A Felipe II' innocently fuses Spanish ambitions with those of the Faith:

Cristo os da pujanza de este Imperio,
Para que la fe nuestra se adelante
por do su Santo Nombre es ofendido.
¿Quién contra vos, quién contra el reino hesperio
bastará alzar la frente que al instante
no se derribe a vuestros pies rendido?

In Artieda's 'Sobre la unión de España y Monarquía de Su Majestad el Rey Don Felipe II' the King is envisaged not as a warrior but as ruler of the vast Empire, his by exercise of law no less than arms.

Militancy is nevertheless a central element of works addressed to the King. The confidence displayed by poets probably derived from the single most important and most celebrated event of the reign: the victory at Lepanto in 1571, for many writers clear evidence that Spanish enterprise was God's will.⁵⁴ Herrera's Canción, published in 1572, is the most outstanding example in verse, being a hymn of praise to a militant God whose revenge on the sinner is reminiscent of that seen in Old Testament

stories. The language and imagery of the poem are also biblical, as is the concept of a people chosen to represent their God:

Adórrante, Señor, tus escogidos;
 confiesse quanto cerca el ancho cielo
 tu nombre, o nuestro Dios, nuestro consuelo
 y la cerviz rebelde, condenada,
 padesca en bravas llamas abrasada. (206-10)

The narrative is a semi-allegorical account of the situation in which the Turk boastfully challenges the conviction of a God whose Christian kingdom has become disunited. Turkish ambitions are associated specifically with moral vices (181-90), whilst Philip's Christian faith is seen as the key to Spain's victory:

El Señor que mostró su fuerte mano
 por la fe de su príncipe cristiano
 y por el nombre santo de su gloria,
 a España le concede esta victoria. (197-200)

This interpretation corresponds closely with Titian's in the painting 'Alegoría de la victoria de Lepanto: Felipe II y su hijo Don Fernando'.⁵⁵

The significance of Lepanto and of other contemporary events was clearly recognised by epic poets, many of whose works gave comprehensive expression to wider patriotic sentiments. Alonso de Ercilla, in Part II of the La Araucana (1578), added a detailed account of the victory (Canto XXIV) and critical comment on the recent actions of the French and the Dutch (Canto XVIII).⁵⁶ The 1589

supplements to the poem included references to Philip's attack on Portugal that echo Herrera's assertion about divine intervention:

La guerra fué del cielo derivada, . . .
 Por ella á veces Dios el mundo aflige,
 Le castiga, le enmienda y le corrige.
 (Canto XXXVII; p.134)

The argument is supported by claims that the King is simply exercising his legal right:

Como Felipe en la ocasion presente,
 Que de precisa obligacion forzado
 En favor de las leyes justamente
 Las permitidas armas ha tomado:
 No fundando el derecho en ser potente,
 Ni de codicia de reinar llevado;
 Pues se estiende su cetro y monarquía
 Hasta adonde remata el sol su via.
 (p.134)

Ercilla's appreciation of Habsburg political theory and practice is evident, as is his awareness of the need to justify them.

Armed challenges to Philip's own authority were decried by Juan Rufo in La Austriada, an epic account of the recent triumphs of John of Austria.⁵⁷ Referring to the betrayal of Spain by her heretical enemies and subjects, the poet apostrophizes the Netherlands:

¡Oh reinos malamente pervertidos!
 ¿Por qué vuestra pasion así os engaña?
 ¡Oh! ¿cómo no os lastiman los gemidos
 Que lanza con razon la madre España?

and deplores the rebellion of the Moriscos:

Dentro de España (¡Oh caso lastimero!)
 Piedra de Pedro y de la Iglesia muro,
 Alteracion diabólica y sangrienta
 Al cielo hace ultraje, al orbe afrenta.

(p.5)

Rufo even explains away the discord that erupted within the Christian ranks at Lepanto, narrated in Cantos XIX-XXIV, as the result of a plot conceived by the Devil. In all these cases Spain is identified as the righteous victim of evil forces; moreover, it is implied that offence against her is offence against God. The calculated hyperbolism of both style and theme is well illustrated by the poet's final, confident praise of Philip II:

Y veo de la Iglesia el fundamento
 Sustentarse con sola una columna,
 Una roca de fe, que en firme asiento
 Está opuesta á las ondas de fortuna;
 Un Argos velador con ojos ciento,
 Pastor del que dió luz á sol y luna;
 Un Hércules famoso en largos siglos
 Por domador de monstruos y vestiglos.

(p.136)

The King could fairly be described as the nominal protector of religion, but those who implemented his policies in war were acclaimed no less extravagantly. The desire to celebrate and encourage imperialistic endeavour by focusing attention on individual figures considered exemplary was common at the time.⁵⁸ In a period of intense military commitment to the cause of the Faith virtue was naturally seen to reside in martial heroism. The work of Diego Ximénez de Ayllón opens with the 'Soneto al Duque de Alva' (fol. A5r), in which the poet clearly associates

moral qualities with military achievement:

Magnanimo señor en quien se encierra
 El esfuerço valor y fortaleza
 Por quien la fe de Christo y la grandeza
 De España se sustenta en esta tierra
 Vuestra potente mano es la que atierra
 De Ereges y Traydores la braueza
 Y a todos los aueis puesto en baxeza
 Con gran prudencia con Iusticia y guerra
 El Conde Ludouico en Frisa roto
 Huyendo se saluo de vos a nado
 Y aquel estrago no pondra en oluido
 Tambien se fue el de Orange mal tratado
 Con su potente exercito remoto
 Temiendo ser del todo destruido.

The sonnet depicts the hero very much as he appeared in a triumphant statue erected, and later destroyed, in Antwerp.⁵⁹ The monument showed, in allegorical manner, Alba's suppression of evil in the Netherlands, thus reflecting the typical belief of Spaniards that rebellion and heresy were caused by the Devil.

The times and deeds of Alba and his 'Army of Flanders' were reported in the Romancero of Pedro de Padilla, whilst the battle of Lepanto and the Alpujarras revolt figured prominently in anonymous romances.⁶⁰ The latter works inevitably portray John of Austria as the military hero engaged in conflict with evil. He was seen by many poets to be the exemplary man of action, comparable with his illustrious father.⁶¹ Lope de Vega's sonnet 'A Don Juan de Austria', probably written long after the hero's death, depicts him as the saviour of Spain, 'gloria de Felipe, a Carlos esperanza', who was denied favour in life yet would

be amply rewarded in death. The moral paragon for most Spaniards was of course the King himself, and his death elicited a fulsome poetic response. Lope's allegory 'A la muerte del Rey Filipo II el Prudente', well represents views expressed:

conoció la Religión
la Justicia y la Clemencia,
la Paz, Prudencia y Templanza,
la Verdad y Fortaleza
. . .62

During the King's lifetime, however, what was seen as political caution engendered amongst some commentators a tone of exhortation, most clearly voiced by Captain Francisco de Aldana in the 'Otavas dirigidas al rey Don Felipe, nuestro señor' of 1577, a detailed proposal for militant remedy of defective Imperial security.⁶³ The poet had fought in Europe and had recently returned to the court from an intelligence mission in North Africa; personal experience might therefore qualify him as more than a vociferous idealist. The poem is in the form of a thinly-disguised allegory that not only serves as an illustrative device but also would nominally protect its author from accusations of criticising his monarch. As politico-religious verse, it is the work of the period that most effectively utilizes and unifies elements, both stylistic and thematic, of tradition and innovation.

The poet witnesses and recounts an imaginary audience given by the King to two women, one very old (War) and the

other young and virginal (Religion); the former pleads for royal permission to act on behalf of her sorrowful companion. The appeal is thenceforth supported by an extensive analysis of current problems faced by Spain, an analysis in which defence of Catholicism is unequivocally identified with protection of Empire. By thus interrelating religious and political aims and preoccupations War is able to apply maximum psychological pressure to the King.

The nature of the young woman, 'nuera de Dios, de quien es Cristo / esposo, protector, padre y amante', is soon revealed; in spite of her delicate beauty she is indomitably strong, as illustrated by the apostolic architects and evangelical corner-stones of her home, and she is experienced in the martial arts, taught to her by God (lines 705-20). War also explains her own history: after many centuries she was Christianized, and is now the exclusive and legitimate servant of Religion:

Desde aquel tiempo acá leda me ofrezco
toda, sin que de mí reserve parte,
a la Sagrada Cruz, que no merezco
ver, cuanto más tener por mi estandarte;
(761-4)

She then assures Philip that he is the natural leader of Catholicism and that her request to him to sponsor a crusade is no more than the wish of God and the people.

The political strategy proposed to the monarch is initiated by considerations of how best to combat the

Turks and Arabs, whose Mediterranean activities suggest that they are preparing to invade an ill-defended and complacent Spain.⁶⁴ War's message about Islam is clear, strongly emphasizing the dangers of delay:

¡Venga el brazo español, venga la hacha;
córtese deste tronco vida y nombre,
deste que ver al sol la vista empacha,
antes que su gran sombra nos asombre!
Dar tiempo al tiempo es perjüicio y tacha
cuando con tiempo puede obrar el hombre,
pues suelen, de provechos o de daños,
en un momento consistir mil años.

(945-52)

Further explicit comments on the King's notorious caution are accompanied by technical advice on the policies of the French, who, if aligned with the Turks, would seek to destroy the Empire. Aldana's frequent and apposite use of classical allusion is seen in War's reference to the likely French plan to overextend Spain's strength:

Y tú sabes muy bien que el agua unida
del caudaloso Ginde fué en trecientos
y sesenta caminos dividida
por Ciro, que aun domó los elementos;

(1017-20)

In order to reinforce the importance of being prepared for the worst or the unexpected she draws an image from popular wisdom:

El cauto labrador, para que tenga
del campesino afán rico interese,
lanza de sí la rica simentera
para la estéril hambre venidera.

(1038-41)

The most sensitive part of the Empire is thought to be the Netherlands: 'Esta sola región es puerta y llave /

de dos cercanos reinos y un imperio' (1057-8). Political rebellion there is seen as the result of a plot to capitalize on recent religious upheavals caused by the 'desvergonzada, herética sciencia, / bebida con el vino y con la furia / de la brutal germánica lujuria' (1070-2). In discussion of the measures necessary to subdue local rebellion, so open to English and French exploitation, it is evident that the allegorical guise has slipped and that the poet speaks from direct personal experience. The solution offered is to attack England, with the assurance that a certain and easy Spanish victory will be guaranteed by the support of faithful Catholics:

vernán de diez en diez, de ciento en ciento,
de mil en mil, sin resistencia alguna,
dicípulos de Cristo que aguardando
están para de Dios pasarse al bando.

(1221-4)

By reference to biblical and classical figures War depicts the influence of unchecked heresy and seeks to shame the King into rousing his people for the imminent struggle:

A la mesa de Dios van las arpías,
sigue el suelto desdén, la furia loca,
y el escogido pueblo, ¡ay dura suerte!,
está durmiendo en brazos de la muerte.

(1397-1400)

The folly of unpreparedness is then illustrated by reference to biblical characters who suffered for their lack of foresight.

In the climax to the address War unites a hyperbolic praise of Philip with an impassioned plea to him to exercise God's justice, whilst recalling that it was she who maintained the Empire for his father. Her final words about the vital role of John of Austria in Philip's military plans are given a bitter twist in six additional octaves included in the Moragón Maestre edition of Aldana's poetry.⁶⁵ Here she addresses Don John, the only real saviour of Spain, and issues the following warning: 'Digo te que la Iberia Monarquia / Veo a los pies caer de la fortuna' (p.55, lines 2-3). She subsequently withdraws, leaving Aldana to remind his reader that more has been meant than said in the poem.

Aldana's concern about threats posed by Spain's enemies, and particularly England, is expressed yet more forcefully by Captain Cristóbal de Virués in his 'Al rey don Felipe Segundo' and 'A la inglesa'.⁶⁶ In the first Virués exhorts the King to go to war:

Toma tu espada, y toma
tu escudo, y con aquélla da el castigo
al rebelde que tanto lo merece,
y con éste defiende al Cristianismo;
(p.218)

Justice must be wrought upon the rebel and Christianity be defended; the political enemy is clearly identified as a religious danger. The poet's view of Elizabeth's policies is seen in his classification of her as a

heretic who has betrayed Spain's intentions and achievements:

Ingrata Reina, de tal nombre indina,
maldita Jezabel descomulgada,
¿qué turbas la divina paz armada?
¿qué turbas la cristiana paz divina?

His invective tone leaves no doubt as to the bitterness of Spaniards towards the Queen who deposed Catholic Mary.

The subsequent rout of the Armada, and English piracy on Spanish shipping and territory, elicited from poets a mixed reaction. Whilst B.L. de Argensola, for example, promised divine retribution against the 'ingrata', Cervantes treated the wounded pride of the nation with tact, consoling it and advocating renewed efforts.⁶⁷ He explains the reason for the defeat of the Spanish:

vuélvelos la borrasca incontrastable
del viento, mar, y el Cielo, que consiente
que se alce un poco la enemiga frente,
odiosa al Cielo, al suelo detestable,
porque entonces es cierta la caída
cuando es soberbia y vana la subida.

(p.567)

In spite of present difficulties, ultimate victory is divinely guaranteed:

¡Oh España, oh Rey, oh mñlites famosos!
Ofrece, manda, obedeced, que el Cielo
en fin ha de ayudar al justo celo,
puesto que los principios sean dudosos,
y en la justa ocasión y en la porfía
encierra la victoria su alegría.

(p.571)

Cervantes's approach to the disaster which diminished morale as easily as Lepanto had boosted it is sensible and constructive, if a little optimistic.

The most chauvinistic and oversimplified literary interpretation of Anglo-Spanish rivalries was La Dragontea of Lope de Vega, published in 1598.⁶⁸ In this short epic of ten cantos are illustrated contemporary notions of the relationship between politics, religion, and morality. The narrative depicts the allegorized struggle of good against evil; Spain is identified as the companion of Religion, whilst Elizabeth is seen as 'la cruel Medea', who encourages her dragon (Francis Drake) to prey on Spanish enterprise and thereby commit the sin of greed. In Canto I, for example, Religion solicits from Providence the aid necessary to resist the heretical pirate, whose political outrages are seen to stem from moral error. Lope's view of the situation is of course borne out by English politico-religious intrigue during the sixteenth century, and by the affront to the honour and integrity of Spain and of Catholicism by English rejection or suppression of their representatives.

Not only international relations of the present but those of the past also were thus accommodated to the prevailing moralism. Balbuena's El Bernardo o la victoria de Roncesvalles, a narrative of the deeds of Bernardo del Carpio, is a typically Postridentine work whose thematic structure has much in common with traditional moral allegory.⁶⁹ Virtue, represented by Spain, is seen to defeat France, the embodiment of vice and worthless

pursuits. At no time had preceptists disagreed about the compatibility of the heroic with moralism and fantasy:

' . . . se estuvo de acuerdo en que lo heroico iba paralelo a lo didáctico y lo maravilloso, en que el epos podía originar una interpretación moral y alegórica . . .'.⁷⁰

Balbuena explains in the prologue his concept of epic, and indicates that he will seek to harmonize the practice of Ariosto and Tasso, each canto being followed by an 'alegoría' or gloss: 'con que no solo se deleita el gusto, se mueve el ánimo y sus pasiones, mas aun con su encubierta moralidad y alegoría le deja instruido en las virtudes y saboreado en ellas . . .'. (p.142). Indeed, moral enlightenment was for Balbuena the principal aim of the Bernardo, whose themes are illustrated by the 'historical' events of the narrative.

Such criticism of national enemies as that expressed by Lope and Balbuena was of course welcomed by the arbiters of literary taste and rectitude, and especially if those enemies were shown to incarnate the vices that Spain was thought to have so positively rejected. In contrast, the circulation in print of unorthodox critical views was made virtually impossible in the reign of Philip II, whether or not circumstances justified them. The existing censorship law was tightened in 1558, making it necessary to obtain a licence to import books and giving to the Inquisition the power to expurgate any work now

compulsorily submitted to it before publication.⁷¹ Adolfo de Castro pointed out that satirical works of even the previous century would hardly have been published at a time when the authorities refused to grant the aprobación to an edition of Tacitus for fear that Philip be identified with the Emperor Tiberius.⁷²

Apart from two famous prose works, both libellously critical of the monarch and printed outside Spain in his lifetime, there is no extant evidence of criticism of government any stronger than that contained in poems like Aldana's.⁷³ Although military poets scarcely doubted the royal cause for which they fought, their private feelings about the hardships of war did not go unmentioned.⁷⁴ Nor were the amorous pursuits of the King altogether ignored; a poem of Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, not published in the 1610 edition of his works, though possibly in manuscript circulation at the court, chides Philip and warns him of the dangers of consorting with immoral women.⁷⁵ However, far more serious criticism, of King, ministers, and nation, will be seen to proliferate in the reigns of Philip's son and grandson.

Central government in seventeenth-century Spain was characterized by a much-diminished royal power, the figure of the favourite once more returning to prominence in the courts of Philip III, Philip IV, and Charles II. The decline of Spain as a supreme power in Europe, traceable

to the bankruptcies and constant war of Philip II's reign, was hastened by economic stagnation and internal discords. The self-indulgence and intrigue of the court, in spite of reforms attempted by Philip IV's prime minister, the Count-Duke of Olivares, only served to emphasize the progressive debilitation of the Imperial and national structures. Whilst creating the most prestigious cultural environment in the contemporary world, the Kings of Spain saw their forbears' long-protected Imperial possessions contested and even grasped from them. The death, in 1700, of Charles II signalled the end of two centuries of Habsburg monarchy; during this time, Spain's political hegemony, attained largely by inheritance, had been gradually eroded by both internal and external pressures.

In spite of the evident failure of the Spanish to maintain previous political and religious achievements, the composition of epic poetry in praise of national triumphs and, particularly, the Christian Faith flourished.⁷⁶ Equally, much non-critical attention was directed towards the monarch, often in the form of political advice and personal eulogy; significantly the desired outcome of his exemplary conduct was now peace.⁷⁷ Prominent public figures - privados who offered patronage, military personnel, and members of the royal family - continued to be praised in life and in death.⁷⁸ Contemporary political and military successes, during this century invariably of

a minor nature, tended to be accorded exaggerated importance, whilst even places and monuments were celebrated, occasionally for their symbolic significance.⁷⁹ Reflection on the heroic deeds and figures of the previous era nevertheless preoccupied some poets, as did the vision of Rome in decline; such interest in the past seems to have invited its comparison with the present.⁸⁰

The period of Philip III marked the rebirth of verse criticism of the court and of the regime; satire was the main mode of attack and moral corruptness the basic accusation. Two rather different exponents of this criticism were B.L. de Argensola and the Count of Villamediana, the former an academic and the other a courtier constantly involved in intrigue. Argensola's opinions were largely restricted to private correspondence, whilst the manuscript poems of 'Correo', as Villamediana was officially titled, circulated illicitly in the lax atmosphere of the court.⁸¹

The approach of Argensola is partially illustrated by his version of the debate between reason and appetite, presented in terms of political revolution.⁸² The abstractions of this poem are made real in his satire of court affairs; such satire is exemplified by the long poem 'Incógnito', of 1604. In a dialogue the poet is tempted by a mysterious woman to enter political life, but he refuses on the grounds that ambition has debased

truth, and refers to the circulation of poetry and to patronage:

Y quando se supiesse quanto digo,
y del Rey por escrito murmurasse,
¿dexara de ampararme un duque amigo?

(lines 520-2)

Nevertheless, he resolves to expose the truth about 'príncipes, grandes y priuados' (line 533), alluding to the favourite, Lerma, as Ulysses and Potiphar. Greed for American metals, court effeminacy, the absorption of heroic virtue by ocio, and lapsed religiosity are all seen as contributing to the debilitation of Spain. Moral reform is so desperately needed, however, that he finally acknowledges his responsibility: 'y el común daño a reformar me obligo' (line 892).

Villamediana's attack on the court ranges from a generalized account of its vices to scurrilous satire of individuals, many of whom were probably personal enemies.⁸³ He appeals to the King to recognise Lerma's embezzlement:

Abra vuestra Majestad
Los ojos de la razón
y verá cuán sin pasión
Le cuento toda verdad ...
Gastóse aquesto en la guerra
O en Lerma, diré mejor
. . .

and describes the minister's decision to distribute the property of the exiled moriscos as 'Arbitrio, en fin, de avariento / Para aumentar su tesoro'.⁸⁴ The poet's harassment did not spare the King. In 'Reprehéndese el ocio en los príncipes' he presents Hercules as an example of industry,

whose efforts guaranteed him immortality, whilst explicitly requesting Philip to lay aside 'la lira y el sosiego'.⁸⁵

Any hopes the poet might have had for improvement during the ministry of Olivares seem to have been short-lived. The sonnet 'Al mal gobierno' unites serious social criticism with crude ridicule:

Un rey conde, un conde rey jurado
que en cuanto dijo a Dios y al mundo miente,
un pomo de Sodoma presidente
dentro podrido y fuera colorado.
Un consejo de estables no de estado,
barril de todo género de gente,
de donde sale siempre el inocente
reino a nuevos tributos obligados.
Palacio cuyas damas sirven tanto
que quitan el provecho a la milicia,
cruces honrando a los crucificantes.
Primos arañadores a lo santo;
falta de plata, pan y de justicia,
y haciendo vainicas dos infantes.⁸⁶

In his numerous critical poems Villamediana employs parody, irony, metaphor, and pun, often utilizing traditional glosses, dialogues, and popular refrains as the formal medium of his satire.

The best informed and most persistent critical verse of the century was that of a government official, Francisco de Quevedo; his collected poetic works were first published in 1648, shortly after his death, which was perhaps hastened by a recent jail sentence imposed by Olivares. In most of his works Quevedo reminded his compatriots of the moral significance of their individual and collective conduct,

and sought to expose vice and folly, sometimes suggesting constructive remedy. His patriotism expressed itself in clear denunciation of the incompetent and corrupt politicians and indifferent monarch directly responsible for the decline in Spanish fortunes.

The 'Epístola satírica contra las costumbres presentes de los castellanos', addressed to Olivares in 1625, urges him to revive the spirit of the nation, and notes amongst other things the contrast between current freedom of speech and the silence imposed in earlier reigns:

Hoy sin miedo que libre escandalice,
Puede hablar el ingenio, asegurado
de que mayor poder le atemorice.
En otros siglos pudo ser pecado
severo estudio y la verdad desnuda,
y romper el silencio el bien hablado.⁸⁷

Yet, Quevedo goes on to point out, these epochs marked the glory of Spain, whilst the present is characterized by complacent self-indulgence. In the sonnet 'Al mal gobierno de Felipe IV' the King himself is accused of frivolously ignoring foreign usurpation of Imperial possessions.

A poem in décimas, 'Sobre el estado de la monarquía', reveals the total inversion of Spain's Imperial role.⁸⁸ Referring to the Catalan and Portuguese insurgencies of 1640, Quevedo regrets that the impossible has happened: 'A España se ha trasladado / de Italia y Flandes la guerra'; and subsequently exposes the futility of

rearguard action against the Portuguese:

Tanto espíritu marcial,
tanta guerra levantada,
a pie y a caballo armada,
tanto aparato, ¿qué ha sido?
Mucha costa y gran ruido.
¿Y tanta jornada? Nada.

(p.462)

As Spain sees the true face of war, with soldiers exploiting the miserable peasantry, Olivares is overtaxing the people for his own ends. Quevedo ponders the reason for the current plight and decides that the nation has also been punished for its sins:

Ignórase la ocasión
de este mal, que aspira a eterno,
si es de España mal gobierno
o es divina permisión;
creo que ambas cosas son:
que Dios, por nuestros pecados,
para castigar culpados,
aunque su remedio advierten,
permite que en nada acierten
los sabios ni los letrados.

(p.461)

A further explanation of Spain's problems is contained in his parodic gloss on the pater noster. Addressing Philip as the father of the nation, Quevedo states clearly the need to depose the favourite in order to restore public confidence and national prestige. This and other such warnings may well have prompted Olivares's dismissal in 1643.

In the period of Charles II satirical verse seems to have exerted a direct influence in political affairs ; a small selection of this poetry has been published by Gertrude Hamilton, who notes that manuscript circulation

continued in Spain for longer than in any other Western European country.⁸⁹ The acknowledgement that critical verse had become an instrument in an internal power struggle rather than a call to arms, or even an exposé of corruption, is an apt final reflection on the state of national morale and royal prestige.

The nature of Spanish Imperial enterprise in the sixteenth century was determined largely by a series of dynastic and international coincidences that brought about a close identification of political and religious interests. Whereas the main preoccupation of government in the fifteenth century had been the internal defence of the Crown and, subsequently, the creation of national unity, Charles V and Philip II became responsible for the simultaneous protection of a vast family empire and a threatened Catholic Church. Charles's role and achievements as Holy Roman Emperor, and the conquest of America, whose mineral wealth was to finance wars against heretics and infidels in the Old World, inspired a sense of mission that envisaged the final establishment of a single, Catholic empire. In spite of Philip's own lack of martial dynamism, the image of militancy exercised in the name of the Faith was preserved by victory in the Mediterranean, by unification of the peninsula, and by action against

Protestant enemies in Northern Europe. In the seventeenth century the withdrawal of the Spanish monarch from direct involvement in government coincided with an apparently lapsed commitment to politico-religious obligations.

Whilst it can be plausibly argued that these historical realities stimulated the literary response they merited, reflection on their meaning was influenced to a degree by extrinsic factors: censorship, public demand and, most importantly, the social circumstances of poets. Some writers of the fifteenth century were active participants in political life, and they emerged in their manuscript and printed verse works as sharp critics or sober reformers of society. Their seventeenth-century counterparts, as patronized artists, intellectual observers, and court personnel, often became servile flatterers or cynical witnesses of governmental figures and policies. Personal ambition and patriotic disillusion, usually expressed in hyperbolical terms, gave rise to the illicit circulation of manuscript poems whose publication was often impeded by the censors.

The composition and publication of politico-religious verse during the sixteenth century were evidently shaped by rather different prevailing conditions. Of the two main groups of poets, clerics and soldiers, the latter expressed a view of morality in the readily comprehensible terms of

military experiences. The traditionalism that characterizes their works seems to have derived as much from the practice and demands of their profession as from the nature of their education. Following the example or orders of the monarch, military poets were physically involved in the triumphant defence of Faith and Empire; moreover, their training as members of the 'ejército católico' emphasized the notion of the Christian knight. The contemporary social values of militancy and faith glorified in their poetry were of course typically chivalresque. Known cases of criticism of the regime are few, though advice and warnings in verse were issued, if not published at the opportune time.

The likely effect of politico-religious circumstances upon the composition of verse must naturally be reconciled with the pervasive influence of literary tradition. The intrinsic moralism of much medieval poetry, with its emphasis on the need to ignore worldly pleasure and cleave to spiritual values, persisted strongly in the sixteenth century. Whilst death and fortune remained important motifs, the social relevance of abstract concepts such as razón, remedio, triunfo, and virtud was seen to be demonstrated by events of the moment. Exemplary figures were identified in current national life and their conduct illustrated by reference to erudite sources, principally the Bible and the Classics. A consuming interest in graphic and sententious presentation of ideas was accompanied by a wide use of the

traditional devices of rhetoric, whilst the efficacy of linguistic obscurity as conceived by Mena and the author of the Coplas de Mingo Revulgo was by no means disregarded.

The use of allegory, which often gave narrative form to moral discourse, pervaded much non-lyrical verse published in the first two thirds of the sixteenth century; the models were peninsular, French, and Italian, of which the last represented the force of recent innovation. By the 1570s the prestige of Italian verse forms and poetic theory had become established, this theory in effect reinforcing traditional views of poetry as a didactic medium with public utility. Officially printed sources had long been, and still were, of restricted thematic scope, and therefore uniformities even of attitude and approach amongst poets would have derived from such literary tradition as well as from the common social influences to which poets were subject.

The interpretation of current events by poets was characterized only rarely by detailed discussion; their broad view reflected contemporary political theory, which glibly defined Imperial activities as a practical application of Catholic morality. Military victory in the name of religion constituted the triumph of Christian chivalry over evil, and was to be achieved by the exercise of heroic virtue, whilst the monarch and his chosen

representatives were seen to demonstrate such exemplary conduct from which others might learn. The case of epic well illustrates how many poets of the sixteenth century considered the role of literature in society; the manipulation of historical fact fundamental to the genre seemed to be particularly justified in a medium that should depict, or 'cantar' and 'enseñar' the virtues of Counter-Reformation Spain and Christendom. Whereas national problems or failures were therefore righteously attributed to the folly or vice of Spain's enemies, or at worst to royal caution, in less successful epochs some poets did not hesitate to classify those problems as the result of a decline in the moral standards of the nation and its leaders.

It is of course very difficult to establish whether literature of any period exercises direct influence on its society. Modern conclusions about politico-religious poetry of the sixteenth century stem largely from the comparison of literary evidence with historical facts; yet it cannot be doubted that such verse of the time provides an insight into the way certain sections of society reacted to official objectives and endeavours. Although knowledge of its transmission is only fragmentary, this poetry was essentially of a public nature and therefore its writers may be assumed to have sought to ensure that their work was read. Inquisitorial censorship guaranteed that little

considered unorthodox circulated in print; however, advantage was taken of the Postridentine expansion in printing to allow publication of works thought to be morally, and perhaps commercially, profitable, often regardless of artistic merit. Notions of a national consciousness established through the medium of verse would thus seem valid in relation to poets and readers of readily accessible works that demonstrated to society and to the individual the value of responsible conduct.

Like Francisco de Aldana, the author of 'Varios enigmas de los dislates mundanos' sought to demonstrate to Philip II the need to dispense militant justice on Spain's enemies; his broader aim was to convince his readers, including perhaps the rebels in the Netherlands, of the need for moral reform. The medieval theme of contemptus mundi both underlies and is illustrated by commentary on current politico-religious affairs, whilst the literary theme of conflict derives from chivalresque allegory and from moral debate. Imperial Spain is seen to represent the loyal force of Christian virtue that should triumph over heretical rebels by exercise of reason, prudence, and valour. These and other moral influences, good and bad, are most consistently exemplified by reference to Plutarch, whose own view of history was didactic. The poem's traditional moralism could only have enhanced the likelihood of its publication, provided that it was considered artistically worthy.

The MS. poem proves to be a rather shapeless discourse, in form noticeably different from much other politico-religious verse; the author's use, albeit defective, of the hendecasyllabic line, and his taste for allegory as a narrative pretext, are nevertheless indicative of the poem's formal relations with works of similar subject-matter. Although its general discursive purpose is served by conventional devices of rhetoric, the poem is most positively distinguished by its use of the enigma. Such enigmatism lies not only in linguistic obscurities but also in metaphorical structure, by which the author presents graphic evidence to be perused by readers for their own edification. The text must, then, be glossed so that its complete meaning can be inferred. Moreover, the proverbially sententious dictates of the poem are particularly appropriate to its figurative expression that both attracts the curiosity of the reader and affords a measure of protection to the critical author.

Apparently the work of a military participant in the conflict in the Netherlands, 'Varios enigmas' may well not have been published precisely because it expresses a true patriotism that recognises faults as well as qualities in Spanish imperialism. As such, it has affinities with works of the previous and the following centuries, and may have circulated in a very few manuscripts. It might be thought an experimental work, whose author preferred to remain anonymous and outside the prevalent convention of

unqualified eulogizing. A strict moralist, of limited literary knowledge and skills, the author presents a view of recent national affairs that, despite certain ambiguities, accords more closely to historical reality than do the majority of other politico-religious works of its time.

NOTES TO 'INTRODUCTION'

1. Construcción crítica y realidad histórica en la poesía española de los siglos XVI y XVII (Madrid, 1965), pp. 13-45 .
2. Cf. E.M. Wilson, Some Aspects of Spanish Literary History (Oxford, 1967), p. 8 .
3. Sobre poesía española de la Edad de Oro (Ensayos y notas eruditas) (Madrid, 1970), p.19.
4. Spanish Literary Historiography: Three Forms of Distortion (Exeter, 1967), pp.17-18.
5. Revised second edition (Madrid, 1968), p.27n.
6. Introduction, P. de Vega (ed.), Antología de escritores políticos del Siglo de Oro (Madrid, 1966), p.8.
7. A Literary History of Spain: The Golden Age: Prose and Poetry (London and New York, 1971).
8. Prose and Poetry, pp.29-32 and 47-8.
9. J. Simón Díaz, Impresos del siglo XVI: poesía, Cuadernos Bibliográficos, XII (Madrid, 1964), and F. Aguilar Piñal, Adiciones, XIIa (1965).
10. Cf. Cecil Roth, A History of the Jews in England, third edition (London, 1964), p.184.
11. Cf. Nigel Glendinning, 'Spanish Books in England: 1800-1850', TCBS, III (1959), Part I, 70-92.
12. See Obras completas de Francisco de Aldana, edition of M. Moragón Maestre (2 vols, Madrid, 1953), i, p.57, and ii, p.254.
13. The following are the works investigated (for details of publication, see List of Works Consulted):
 - F. Aguilar Piñal, Impresos castellanos del siglo XVI en el British Museum, Cuadernos Bibliográficos, XXIV
 - M. Artigas, Catálogo de los manuscritos de la Biblioteca Menéndez y Pelayo
 - M. van Durme, Les Archives Générales de Simancas et l'histoire de la Belgique (IXe-XIXe siècles)
 - B.J. Gallardo y Blanco, Ensayo de una biblioteca española de libros raros y curiosos
 - P. de Gayangos, Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Spanish Language in the British Museum
 - J. van den Gheyn, Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique
 - J. Gómez Pérez, Manuscritos españoles en la Biblioteca Nacional Central de Roma

- A. Morel-Fatio, Catalogue des manuscrits espagnols et des manuscrits portugais de la Bibliothèque Nationale
- A. Palau y Dulcet, Manual del librero hispano-americano
- J-F. Peeters-Fontainas, Bibliographie des impressions espagnoles des Pays-Bas
- C.L. Penney, Printed Books 1468-1700 in the Hispanic Society of America. A Listing
- C. Pérez Pastor, Bibliografía madrileña de los siglos XVI y XVII
- A. Rodríguez-Moñino and María Brey Mariño, Catálogo de los manuscritos poéticos castellanos existentes en la biblioteca de The Hispanic Society of America (siglos XV, XVI y XVII)
- P. Salvá y Mallén, Catálogo de la biblioteca de Salvá
- J. Simón Díaz, Impresos del siglo XVI: poesía, Cuadernos Bibliográficos, XII, and F. Aguilar Piñal, Adiciones, XIIIa
- J. Simón Díaz, Manual de bibliografía de la literatura española
- J. Zarco Cuevas, Catálogo de los manuscritos castellanos de la Real Biblioteca de El Escorial
- A Catalogue of Hispanic Manuscripts and Books before 1700 from the Bodleian Library and Oxford Colleges
- Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España
- Inventario general de manuscritos de la Biblioteca Nacional

I was permitted to use the private index of printed books in the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid.

14. See 'Politico-religious poetry in sixteenth-century Spain' for a study of some of the poetry. Dr Geoffrey Parker, Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, has generously offered me information about the contemporary political affairs of the Netherlands. Dr Carlos Ciavería and Professors Frank Pierce, Elias Rivers, and Arthur Terry have kindly advised me on the question of attribution of the poem.
15. BNM mss 4046 and 2244; see p.369.
16. Unlike this case, other absent stanzas (383, 386, 535) seem merely to have been overlooked by the scribe.
17. See pp.352-3 for a full account of the mark and its importance in the history of the MS..
18. Cf. R.B. McKerrow, An Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students, second impression (Oxford, 1959), p.28.
19. For biographical information, see pp.357-8.

20. For further comment on the signature, see pp.357-9.
21. Manual de paleografía diplomática española de los siglos XII al XVII, second revised edition (Madrid, 1917), pp.40 and 341.
22. Introducción a la literatura medieval española, third revised edition (Madrid, 1966), pp.46-57.
23. Textual Criticism, reprint of the 1958 translation. (Oxford, 1963), p.1.
24. The following authorities on the language are used (for full title and details of publication, see List of Works Consulted): J. Corominas, Diccionario crítico etimológico; S. de Covarrubias Horozco, Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española; W.J. Entwistle, The Spanish Language, pp.152-9 and 184-214; H. Keniston, The Syntax of Castilian Prose; R. Lapesa, Historia de la lengua española, pp.243-67; J. Muñoz y Rivero, Manual de paleografía diplomática española, pp.39-114; Diccionario de autoridades; Diccionario de la lengua española.
25. Those stanza numbers missing in the MS. are similarly omitted in the edited version. The nature of the poem is such that the omission of a single stanza at a time might not easily be recognised.
26. In the latter two thirds of the text the scribe periodically writes accents over certain letters, particularly 'i', and in the same portion of the text he sometimes uses minuscules to commence the line (see critical apparatus).
27. The tailed 'i' used in the MS. text (mainly in the words 'Sj', 'Ansj', 'Allj') is in no direct way related orthographically there to 'j' (or even 'y'), but in modern typescript the two uses are shown as equivalent. The scribe occasionally uses 'i' for true 'j' (e.g. 'iusto' for 'justo' in 241B, 267C), but this remains in typescript, in accordance with statements of Covarrubias (p.709).
28. Entwistle (p.155) refers to these ('R' and 'rr') as medieval phenomena, arising from the desire to ensure a trilled sound. The single capital letter was the equivalent of medieval 'rr', though both were equivalent in sound to Golden Age and modern 'r' in the mentioned positions. In the MS. text 'R' is also used to express intermediate 'rr' (e.g. 'a Reo', 22C; 'a Rimays', 28F).
29. See Lapesa, Historia de la lengua española, pp.246-7.

NOTES TO
'THE POEM: ITS ORIGINS, NATURE, AND MEANING'

1. Les Filigranes: dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu' en 1600, Jubilee edition (4 vols, Hilversum, 1968), iii; explanation of the mark appears in vol.i, p.108. In a letter of 7 May 1968 Dr W.F. Tschudin, author of The Ancient Paper-Mills of Basle and their Marks (Paper Publications Society, Hilversum, 1958), stated that in his opinion the mark was certainly of the same origin and period as Briquet 1297.
2. See Tschudin, The Ancient Paper-Mills, p.129.
3. Briquet, i, p.108.
4. Briquet, i, p.113. The Paper Publications Society has kindly confirmed that Swiss paper marks are frequently found in Dutch archives.
5. Diccionario crítico etimológico, ii, pp.180 and 289.
6. Fray Luis de Escobar, Las Quatrociētas Respuestas a otras tātās preguntas (2 vols, Valladolid, 1545* 1552), BM G11362 and G11363, ii, fols clxxviii verso - clxxxvi verso.
7. See, for example, stanza 73, in which the poet mentions Luther, Melanchthon, and Calvin, or 194, in which the politico-religious activities of several European nations are noted.
8. For verification of historical data, see J.H. Elliott, Europe Divided, pp.366 (Philip II) and 314 (Alba).
9. For example, Julián Romero (432), Emmanuel Philibert (439), Ernest Mansfeld (484); see notes to text for further details of these and other references not specifically explained in this study.
10. Cf. Elliott, pp.237 and 296.
11. On the death of John of Austria, see Elliott, p.274.
12. Apart from a variety of textual pointers to the fact, there is a reasonably clear statement in 424A-B that the poet was a serving soldier. Elliott (pp.256-75) records the succession of setbacks suffered by the Spanish in the Netherlands, placing them in a wider context of failure and misfortune.

13. On authorship, see pp.362-5.
14. Close political and cultural relations between Spain and the Netherlands had become assured on the accession to the Spanish throne in 1517 of Charles V; intermarriage, mainly between Spanish men and Netherlandish women, would be a natural result of the situation. The mixing of names can be illustrated by the following examples taken from Bernardino de Mendoza ('Comentario de lo sucedido en las guerras de los Países-Bajos desde el año de 1567 hasta el de 1577', Historiadores de sucesos particulares, i, BAE, XXVIII, 389-560, pp. 439 and 556): el castellano Juan de Wort, Carlos Felipe de Croy.
15. See, for example, AGS, Estado: Siglo XVI [1567], 'Relacion sumaria de secretarios flamencos' (legajo 536, fol. 56), or 'La Nominacion de los jueces, abogados, fiscales y secretarios para el tribunal de Flandes' (535, fol. 54), in the latter of whose list of secretaries appear both Spanish and native names (e.g. La Torre, Prada, Vlierden, Jan van Halle).
16. According to Elliott (p.258), Walloons comprised some two fifths of the Spanish Army of occupation.
17. In a letter of 28 August 1968 the chief archivist of the Archives Générales du Royaume, Brussels, stated that even the surname could not be traced in any of the catalogues at her disposal.
18. See notes to the text.
19. Cf. P. Groult, 'Escritores españoles del siglo XVI en los Países Bajos', Actas I (Oxford, 1964), pp.87-105, and J-F. Peeters-Fontainas, Bibliographie des impressions espagnoles des Pays-Bas (Louvain, 1933).
20. For example, during the reign of Philip II the theologian Benito Arias Montano became preoccupied with the aims and methods of the Spanish administration (see H. Schubart, 'Arias Montano y el monumento al Duque de Alba', Cruz y Raya, VII [1933], 33-75); the chronicler Pedro Cornejo wrote and had published a commentary on the wars in the Netherlands (Sumario de las Guerras Civiles, y Causas de la Rebellion de Flandres, [León, 1577], BM 1055.b.2.), whose record of historical fact is flavoured by some speculation.

21. The manuscript of the first work is kept in the Library of the University of Navarre; see the study of F. González-Ollé '"Guerras civiles de Flandes": poema épico desconocido', BRAE, XLV (1965), 141-84. The Londoño manuscript, a seventeenth-century copy of the autograph, is held by the Sección de Manuscritos (call no. N.A. 184) of the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid; its narrative is incomplete, reaching only the Roman period.
22. The accusations coincide with evidence recently published by Geoffrey Parker in his Army of Flanders (pp.30, 109, 203-4).
23. Discurso sobre la forma de reduzir la disceplina militar a meyor y antiguo estado (Brussels, 1589). The work was later translated into English.
24. Bernardino de Mendoza reveals the high proportion of captains serving there in the 'Comentario'.
25. Olivier de la Marche, Le Chevalier délibéré (first published 1483); see 1898 (London) reprint of 1498 Schiedam edition.
26. Acuña: El cavallero Determinado traduzido de Francés en Español (the 1555 edition is used in ensuing study), BM C.38.b.19.. Urrea: Discurso de la vida humana y aventuras del Cavallero determinado (1555), BM 1072.e.23..
27. 'El caballero determinado espiritual', at fols 111r-125r of Discursos, epistolos y epigramas de Artemidoro (Saragossa, 1605), BM 11451.c.44..
28. The record of Aldana's life and works reconstructed by E.L. Rivers in the Introduction to his edition of Aldana's poetry (Francisco de Aldana, Poesías [Madrid, 1957], pp.xi-xlii) demonstrates the Captain's role in and personal attitudes towards Spain's national affairs of the period, and indicates that Aldana was in the Netherlands until 1576. Once certain facts about the MS. poem had been tentatively established, it became evident that this poet might have composed it; furthermore, five letters of his surname appear in 'Spadana'. Examination of his correspondence (e.g. a letter of 26 June 1577 [AGS, Estado 394, f.253] to the Secretary of State, Gabriel de Zayas) revealed that his normal signature consisted of a large, ornate 'F', followed by the abbreviation 'ranco' and 'de Aldana', written in small script; the 'F' is almost identical with the supposed 'S' of 'Spadana'. The possibility that the name, a fusion of espada and Aldana, could be an artificial pen name, conceived in the enigmatic spirit of the whole poem, was also

considered but was later rejected in the light of other conclusions about the MS. poem. Guzmán has been neglected by critics and biographers alike. He undoubtedly was in the Netherlands during the 1550s (see Coplas de don Jorge Manrique hechos a la muerte de su padre Don Rodrigo Manrique con las glosas en verso, edited by Antonio de Sancha [Madrid, 1779], BM 242.i.42., pp.x-xi) and in 1560 was in Milan, the barrack city of the veteran troops later to serve in the Netherlands (see AGS, Catálogo XXIII. Papeles de Estado. Milán y Saboya, siglos XVI y XVII, p.78). Although he cannot be further traced in relevant AGS catalogues, in legajos of the partially-catalogued Sección de Guerra - Época de Felipe II, or by reference to contemporary hojas de servicios militares (not held by the AGS), it would not seem unreasonable to suppose that he might have returned north in 1567 as a member of Alba's Army (cf. Elliott, Europe Divided, pp. 143-4). Proof that he was still alive in the last quarter of the century is supplied in La Galatea of Miguel de Cervantes, who describes him as 'el gran Francisco de Guzmán / que el arte de Febo sabe / así como el de Marte' (Obras completas, thirteenth edition [Madrid, 1964], p.748); the work was first published in 1585 and Cervantes proposes to celebrate only living poets (p.745). An unknown manuscript poem bearing the name of Guzmán as poet ('Primera parte de las quistiones de francisco de Guzman', BNM ms. 3689=m-44) bears the date of 1582. There is other, literary evidence which might link him with the MS. poem. Salvá (Catálogo, ii, p.217) points out that the version of the Glosa to Manrique's Coplas that was printed together with Santillana's Proverbios at Antwerp in 1558 was certainly the work of Guzmán. Also published in the same volume were the Coplas de Mingo Revulgo, with a newly-revised edition of the commentary. Although no explicit mention is made of the fact, it seems possible that Guzmán might also have been responsible for that revision; in 1565 a Francisco de Guzmán published the Pulgar edition (see Letras. - Glosa a las Coplas de Mingo Revulgo, p.xiv).

29. 'Otavas dirigidas al rey don Felipe, nuestro señor', Poesías, pp.101-32, and Triumphos morales dirigidos al Rey Don Phelippe II (Alcalá, 1565 edition), BM 11451.ee.27., respectively.

30. A record here of negative findings is of questionable value; however, any further information deemed relevant has been incorporated into the study of contemporary verse.
31. See Don Cameron Allen, Mysteriously Meant. The Rediscovery of Pagan Symbolism and Allegorical Interpretation in the Renaissance (Baltimore and London, 1970), p.viii.
32. See Edgar Wind, Pagan Mysteries of the Renaissance, second impression (London, 1960), pp. 86n and 137.
33. Tesoro de la lengua, p.520, and Diccionario crítico etimológico, ii, p.289, respectively. The Cisne de Apolo of Carballo (1602) confirms that the enigma was sententious in nature (see edition of A. Porqueras Mayo [2 vols, Madrid, 1958], ii, p.88).
34. See for example, the 'Pregunta de Quiros a Mossen Crespi', Cancionero castellano del siglo XV, ii, NBAE; XXII, p.304. The later popularity of puzzles as a pastime is reflected in the pastoral novel: see La Galatea of Miguel de Cervantes y Saavedra, Obras completas, pp.758-61, and G. Gil Polo, Diana enamorada, edition of Rafael Ferreres (Madrid, 1962), pp. 224-33. In Spain, the very early written form was also cultivated in latin, and composition in the vernacular seems to have endured at least until the mid eighteenth century.
35. Fol. clxviii verso. It is interesting to note that in some running-titles of the work appears the spelling 'Egnimas' (e.g. fol. clxxv), as occurs in the title of the MS. poem.
36. Philosophía antigua poética, first published 1596, edition of Alfredo Carballo Picazo (3 vols, Madrid, 1953), i, p.290.
37. López Pinciano, ii, pp.160-1.
38. López Pinciano, ii, pp.207 and 208-9.
39. See H. Janer, 'La glosa española. Estudio histórico de su métrica y de sus temas', RFE, XXVII (1943), 181-232, pp.187 and 196.

40. Proverbios Morales y Consejos Christianos, muy provechosos para concierto y espejo de la vida ... Y enigmas filosoficas, naturales y morales, con sus comentarios (Madrid, 1618), BM 12304.dd.19.. The work was dedicated to Philip IV before his accession to the throne.
41. See, for example, BNM mss 2244, 3984, 3985, 4046, 10916, 10925, 10926, 10944; P. de Gayangos, Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Spanish Language in the British Museum, add.10,257. These manuscripts comprise verse of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries.
42. Martín de Riquer, in his edition of the Covarrubias dictionary (p.vi), notes the immense popularity and approval attained by this form. An early work of Bernardino Daza Pinciano, Los Emblemas de Alciato traducidos en rhimas Españolas (Lyon, 1549), BM C. 62.b.31., systematically converts the emblems of Alciati into Spanish verse.
43. Segovia, 1589, BM 12305.f.5., fol.17v.
44. Catálogo, ii, pp.195-248; the words and deeds of Philip II were published as a compendium of proverbial good sense (see p.229).
45. See M. Chevalier and R. Jammes, 'Supplément aux "Coplas de Disparates"', BH, LXIV bis (1962), 358-93.
46. Tesoro de la lengua, p.477. Corominas (i, p.395 and ii, p.180) provides a more detailed study of the words.
47. Such confusion is exemplified by the poem 'Dislates de una Fantasia Calenturienta...' (Gayangos, add. 10,257, fol. 57r).
48. Chevalier and Jammes (pp.368-9) emphasize the interest of Quevedo in this type of literature. They allude also to Bosch and Breughel the Elder, though fail to mention the Disparates of Goya.
49. For the Vita Christi, see edition of J. Rodríguez-Puértolas (Madrid, 1968); for the 'Coplas de contempto del mundo' (first pub. Cancionero de Resende, 1516), see E. Rincón (ed.), Coplas satíricas y dramáticas de la Edad Media (Madrid, 1968), pp.147-82.
50. 'L'Art majeur et l'hendecasyllabe dans la poésie castillane du XVe siècle et du commencement du XVIe siècle', Romania, XXIII (1894), 209-31, p.230.

NOTES TO 'POLITICO-RELIGIOUS POETRY IN
SIXTEENTH-CENTURY SPAIN'

1. 'La poesía política en el siglo XV. La privanza y el suplicio del condestable don Álvaro de Luna', Revista de España, XXIII (1871), 550-69, p.551.
2. Theory of Literature, reprinted third edition (Harmondsworth, 1968), p.20; see also pp.38-45.
3. See prologues to their Poesía heroica del Imperio. Antología y prólogos (2 vols, Madrid-Barcelona, 1940).
4. The following historical sources are used:
H. Livermore, A History of Spain, second edition (London, 1968), pp.169-76, and J.H. Elliott, Imperial Spain, 1469-1716 (London, 1963), pp.33-370.
5. For Santillana's poem, see R. Foulché - Delbosc (ed.), Cancionero castellano del siglo XV, NBAE, XIX and XXII (2 vols, Madrid, 1912-15), i, pp.505-8.
6. See edition of J.M. Blecua (Madrid, 1960).
7. Cf. R. Lapesa, 'El elemento moral en el Laberinto de Mena: su influjo en la disposición de la obra', HR, XXVII (1959), 257-66.
8. A.D. Deyermond, A Literary History of Spain: The Middle Ages (London and New York, 1972), p.188.
9. Cancionero castellano, ii, NBAE, XXII, pp.50-2.
10. See P.J. Pidal, 'De la poesía castellana en los siglos XIV y XV', in Cancionero de Baena (Buenos Aires, 1949), pp.xiii-lxxxi (p.lxxiv note).
11. See edition of J. Rodríguez-Puértolas in his Fray Íñigo de Mendoza y sus 'Coplas de Vita Christi' (Madrid, 1968).
12. See Rodríguez-Puértolas, pp.44 and 101.
13. See edition of J. Domínguez Bordona (Madrid, 1949); the poem was first published in 1485. The question of authorship has been discussed by J. Rodríguez-Puértolas in his article, 'Sobre el autor de las Coplas de Mingo Revulgo', Homenaje a Rodríguez-Moñino, II (Madrid, 1966), pp.131-42.
14. Above edition, pp.147-8.
15. Poesía de protesta en la Edad Media castellana. Historia y antología (Madrid, 1968), p.54.

16. Cancionero castellano, ii, pp.111-20; see also the 'Estrenas ...' (p.100), which earlier exhorted Isabella to challenge the authority of Henry.
17. Cf. Deyermond, pp.147 and 196.
18. 'Dechado del Regimiento de Principes', 'Sermon trobado ... sobre el yugo y coyundas que su alteza trahe por devisa', 'Coplas . . . en que declara como por el advenimiento destes muy altos señores es reparada nuestra Castilla', Cancionero castellano, i, pp.72-8, pp.52-60, pp.63-72, respectively.
19. Cf. Rodriguez-Puértolas, Fray Íñigo de Mendoza y sus 'Coplas de Vita Christi', pp.45-51.
20. Encina, Cancionero (1496), facsimile edition, Real Academia Española (Madrid, 1928), fols xlix recto-xli verso.
21. For Luzón, see Cancionero ... (Saragossa, 1508), BM C.63.c.22.; Urrea, Cancionero ... (Logroño, 1513), BM G.11358, fol.xvi r-v.
22. La Poésie religieuse espagnole des Rois Catholiques à Philippe II (Paris, 1965), p.255.
23. On Mena's influence in poetry of the sixteenth century, see María Rosa Lida de Malkiel, Juan de Mena, poeta del prerrenacimiento español (Mexico, 1950), pp.401-526.
24. See text of Encina's treatise published by M. Menéndez y Pelayo in Historia de las ideas estéticas en España, third edition (5 vols, Madrid, 1962), i, pp.511-24.
25. La poesía épica del Siglo de Oro, second revised edition (Madrid, 1968), pp.13-14.
26. An Anthology of Spanish Poetry: 1500-1700, Part I (Oxford, 1965), p.xx.
27. See Pierce, pp.15-17 and 23.
28. Poesía épica, p.322.
29. Murcia, 1518, BM C.63.i.11.; following quote, fol. xvi verso.
30. See, for example, A. Álvarez Guerrero, Las doscientas del castillo de la fama y las cincuenta del laberinto contra fortuna, facsimile of 1520 edition (Valencia, 1957), and Vasco Díaz Tanco, Los veinte triumphos hechos por V.D.T. de Fregenal, facsimile of c.1535 edition (Madrid, 1945).

31. Obras, edition of J. Domínguez Bordona (4 vols, Madrid, 1957-60), iv, pp.54-70. Castillejo's complete works were not published until 1573. For information on censorship and on circulation of illicit verse in Charles's reign, see pp.xix-xxi of the notes of A. de Castro y Rossi in vol.i of Poetas líricos de los siglos XVI y XVII, BAE, XXXII and XLII (2 vols, Madrid, 1854-7; reprint 1966).
32. See, for example, Carta IV, BAE, XXXII, pp.58-9. The works of Mendoza, a controversial figure of the time, were first published in 1610, without the satirical poems; the latter circulated in manuscript only and were not published until the nineteenth century, in Poesías satíricas y burlescas (Madrid, 1876).
33. BAE, XXXII, pp.44-5; following quote, p.45.
34. Poesía heroica del Imperio, i, pp.54 and 51, respectively.
35. Poesía heroica, i, p.44. The possible origin of the sonnet is discussed by M.A. Buchanan, 'Hernando de Acuña's Sonnet Addressed to Charles V', HR, XV (1947), 466-7. Acuña's poetry was not published until 1591, and has appeared in a modern edition by E. Catena de Vindel: Varias poesías (Madrid, 1954).
36. See, for example, Poesía heroica, i, pp.235 and 228.
37. Poesía heroica, i, pp.235 and 227.
38. See, for example, Poesía heroica, i, pp.238 and 44-8, respectively.
39. Hieronymo Sempere, Primera (segunda) parte de la Carolea (Valencia, 1560), BM 11451.aa.36.; Luis Çapata, Carlo Famoso (Valencia, 1566), BM 1073.k.2..
40. Guzmán's poem was published six times between 1557 and 1587; Urrea's translation, eighteen times between 1549 and 1588; Acuña's Caballero, seven times between 1553 and 1591. See M. Chevalier, L'Arioste en Espagne (1530-1650). Recherches sur l'influence du 'Roland furieux' (Bordeaux, 1966), pp.169-190 and 205-18, for information on the quantity and variety of this type of poetry in print after 1530.
41. For Charles's interest in the poem, see C. Clavería, 'Notas sobre el significado y fortuna de El caballero determinado', Estudios dedicados a Menéndez Pidal, VI (1956), 287-311, pp.297-301.

42. C. Clavería, 'Le Chevalier délibéré' de Olivier de la Marche y sus versiones españolas del siglo XVI (Saragossa, 1950), p.10.
43. See Deyermond, p.182.
44. Antwerp, 1555 edition, fols A5r-A5v.
45. Antwerp, 1591, BM C.47.f.3.; following quote, sigs *5r-*5v.
46. Antwerp, 1555 edition of the Caballero; Orlando Furioso . . . Traduzido en romance castellano (Venice, 1575), BM 1474.bb.30..
47. Urrea was amongst the earliest poets in Spain to use the Italianate octava real instead of traditional arte mayor. The fluctuating line-length and rhythm of the Orlando suggest that not only was the translation made hurriedly but that Urrea experienced genuine difficulty in adapting to the new form, which did not supersede the other until the second half of the century.
48. L'Arioste en Espagne, pp.169-90.
49. Urrea's own prose treatise, Dialogo de la verdadera honrra militar (Venice, 1566), BM 8408.bbb.36., reflects the belief that Christian virtue and military theory are not only compatible but are organically related by the concept of honour.
50. For full publication details of the Triumphos, see note 29, 'The poem...', and note 40, 'Politico-religious poetry...'.
 51. For details of the Coplas, see note 28, 'The poem...'; the Flor was first published in Antwerp (1557).
52. The first edition bore a note that described the poem as 'remedando a Petrarca'; the influence of Mena's Laberinto is no less evident in the poem than is that of Petrarch's work.
53. See, for example, poems of J. Romero de Cepeda, F. de Herrera, and A. Rey de Artieda: Poesía heroica, i, pp.291-303, 233, 161-2, respectively.
54. Cf. J. López de Toro, Los poetas de Lepanto (Madrid, 1950), pp.30-6; for Herrera's poem, see Poesías, edition of V. García de Diego (Madrid, 1962), pp.1-16.
55. The painting is in the Prado Gallery (no.431); see also 'La Religión sostenida por España' of Titian (Prado, no.430) and 'La adoración del nombre de Jesús por cielo, tierra e infiernos' of El Greco (in the Escorial).

56. The three parts of La Araucana were published in 1569, 1578, and 1589, respectively; see text in Poemas épicos, BAE, XVII and XXIX (2 vols, Madrid, 1851-4; reprint 1945-8), i, pp.4-138.
57. The work was first published in 1584; see text in Poemas épicos, ii, BAE, XXIX, pp.4-136.
58. See, for example, Diego Ximénez de Ayllón, Sonetos a ilustres varones deste felicissimo y catholico Exercito y Corte de su Excelencia, facsimile of 1569 edition (Valencia, 1959), and Juan de Castellanos, Elegías de varones ilustres de Indias, first published 1589, BAE, IV (Madrid, 1850; reprint 1944).
59. A print of the statue appears in Pedro Cornejo's Sumario, p.143; a description and an interpretation are given by Cornejo on pp.142-6.
60. Romancero de Pedro de Padilla, first published 1583 (Madrid, 1880); Romancero general, BAE, X and XVI (2 vols, Madrid, 1849-51; reprint 1945), ii, pp.162-87.
61. See, for example, poems by Herrera, Romero de Cepeda, and Lope de Vega, Poesía heroica, i, pp.266-71, 289-91, and ii, p.6, respectively.
62. Poesía heroica, ii, pp.21-30 (p.22).
63. Poesías, pp.101-32; the poem was not published until after Aldana's death.
64. Warnings against national indifference or complacency had been made in verse before, by Fray Luis de León, though these were never published in his lifetime; see Poesías originales, edition of E. Sarmiento (Manchester, 1953), pp.16-18 and 37-41.
65. Obras completas, i, pp.54-6.
66. Poesía heroica, i, pp.216-21 and 180.
67. See Poesía heroica, i, p.497 and pp.567-71, respectively.
68. See Madrid, 1935 edition, with prologue by G. Marañón.
69. BAE, XVII, pp.139-399. Although written in the last decade of the sixteenth century, it was not published until 1624; see F. Pierce, 'L'Allégorie poétique au XVI^e siècle. Son evolution et son traitement par Bernardo de Balbuena', BH, LI (1949), 381-406, and LII (1950), 191-228.
70. Pierce, Poesía épica, p.17.
71. See R.O. Jones, A Literary History of Spain: The Golden Age: Prose and Poetry, (London and New York, 1971), p.77.

72. BAE, XLII, p.xxiv. Castro also draws attention to a comment of B. Jiménez Patón, made in reference to the King's predilection for proverbs in verse, that Philip was hostile to poetry.
73. The Apologie (1581) of William of Orange and the Relaciones of Antonio Pérez (1598) were used by the Dutch and the French respectively, as propaganda to discredit the monarch and thereby Spanish prestige.
74. See, for example, Poesía heroica, i, pp.162-3, 171-6, 463.
75. 'Sátira contra las damas', Poesías satíricas y burlescas, pp.51-65.
76. Cf. Poesía épica, pp.339-59.
77. See, for example, B.L. Argensola's sonnet 'A Felipe III al entrar a reinar', Poesía heroica, i, p.495, and Quevedo's praises and exhortation of Philip IV, Obras completas, (fifth) edition of Felicidad Buendía (2 vols, Madrid, 1961-4), ii, pp.17, 19, and 20.
78. See, for example, the poems of Góngora and Villamediana to the Duke of Lerma, BAE, XXXII, pp.477-81, and Poesía heroica, ii, p.401, respectively.
79. See, for example, Góngora's ode on the capture of Larache, an African pirate outpost, Poesía heroica, ii, p.243, and his sonnet on the Escorial, Poesía heroica, i, p.369.
80. See, for example, Quevedo's sonnets on Charles V and Rome, Obras completas, ii, pp.15 and 515, respectively.
81. For Argensola, see vol.ii of Rimas de Lupericio y Bartolomé L. de Argensola, edition of J.M. Blecua (2 vols, Saragossa, 1950-1); most of his verse was first published in 1634, though some satirical poems remained in manuscript until the late nineteenth century. For an account of Villamediana's literary and courtly activities, see E. Cotarelo y Mori, El Conde de Villamediana (Madrid, 1886).
82. 'Alegoría . . .', Rimas, ii, pp.205-13; 'Sátira del Incógnito', pp.465-96.
83. For his opinion of court life, see Poesías (Madrid, 1944), pp.129-30 and 174-83.
84. In Cotarelo, pp.66 and 67.
85. Poesías, p.131.
86. Poesías, p.143.

87. Obras completas, ii, pp.447-9 (p.447); 'Al mal gobierno . . .', p.462.
88. Obras completas, ii, pp.461-2; 'El Padre nuestro glosado', pp.458-61. These poems and 'Al mal gobierno' are rejected as apocryphal by J.M.Blecua in his recent edition of Quevedo's verse .
89. 'Political Satire in the Seventeenth Century', BSS, VIII (1931), 151-7; see also the comments of A. de Castro in BAE, XLII, pp.xxvi-xxvii.

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