

THE TWO VERSIONS OF GONGORA'S *ENTRE LOS SUELTOS CABALLOS*

Góngora's ballad *Entre los sueltos caballos* survives in two different versions. The first is that of the Chacón manuscript, edited by Foulché-Delbosc in 1921, the second that of Juan López de Vicuña, in whose *Obras en verso del Homero español* the ballad was first published in 1627. Here are the two versions alongside each other:

CHACÓN

Entre los sueltos cauallos
de los vencidos Cenetes,
que por el campo buscaban
entre la sangre lo verde,
 aquel Hespañol de Oran
vn suelto cauallo prende,
por sus relinchos loçano
i por sus cernejas fuerte,
 para que le lleue a el,
i a vn Moro captiuo lleue,
vn Moro que ha captiuado,
capitan de cient ginetes.
En el ligero caballo
suben ambos, i el parece
de quatro espuelas herido,
que quatro alas le mueuen.
Triste camina el Alarbe,
i lo mas baxo que puede
ardientes suspiros lança
i amargas lagrimas vierte.
Admirado el Hespañol
de veer cada uez que vuelue
que tan tiernamente llora
quien tan duramente hiere,
 con razones le pregunta
comedidas i corteses
de sus suspiros la causa,
si la causa lo consiente.

LOPEZ DE VINCUÑA

Entre los sueltos cauallos
de los vencidos Cenetes,
que por el campo buscauan
entre la sangre lo verde,
5 aquel Español de Oran
vn cauallo suelto prende,
por los relinchos gallardo,
y por las cernejas fuerte,
para que lo lleue a el,
10 y a vn Moro cautiuo lleue,
que es vno que ha cautiuido
capitan de cien ginetes.
En el ligero cauallo
suben ambos, y el parece
15 de quatro espuelas herido,
que quatro vientos le mueuen.
Triste camina el Alarbe,
y lo mas baxo que puede
ardientes suspiros lança
20 y amargas lagrimas vierte.
Admirado el Español
de ver cada vez que buelue,
que tan tiernamente llora
quien tan crudamente hiere:
25 Con razones le pregunta
comedidas y corteses
de sus suspiros la causa,
si la causa lo consiente.

El captiuo, como tal,
sin excusas le obedece
 i a su piadosa demanda
 satisface desta suerte:
 «Valiente eres, Capitan,
 i cortés como valiente;
 por tu espada i por tu trato
 me has captiuado dos veces.

Preguntando me has la causa
 de mis suspiros ardientes,
 i debote la respuesta
 por quien soi i por quien eres.

En los Gelues naci, el año
 que os perdistes en los Gelues,
 de vna Berberisca noble
 i de vn Turco matasiete.

En Tremencen me criè
 con mi madre i mis parientes,
 despues que perdi a mi padre,
 cosario de tres baxeles.

Iunto a mi casa viuia,
 porque mas cerca muriese,
 vna Dama de el linage
 de los nobles Melioneses,

extremo de las hermosas,
 quando no de las crúeles,
 hija al fin de estas arenas
 engendradoras de sierpes.

Cada vez que la miraua
 salia vn sol por su frente,
 de tantos rayos ceñido
 quantos cabellos contiene.

Iuntos assi nos criamos
 i Amor en nuestras niñezes
 hiriò nuestros coraçones
 con harpones diferentes.

Labrò el oro en mis entrañas
 dulces lazos, tiernas redes,
 mientras el plomo en las suyas
 libertades i desdenes.

Apenas vide trocada
 la dureça desta sierpe,
 quando tu me captiuaste:
 Mira si es bien que lamentel»

El cautiuo, como tal,
 30 le responde y obedece,
 y a su demanda piadosa
 satisfaze desta suerte.

Valiente eres, Capitan,
 y cortès sobre valiente:
 35 Por tu espada, y por tu trato
 me has cautiuido dos veces.

Preguntado me has la causa
 de mis suspiros ardientes,
 y deuote la respuesta
 40 por quien soy, y por quien eres.

En los Gelues naci el año,
 que os perdistes en los Gelues,
 de vna Berberisca noble,
 y de vn Turco matasiete.

45 En Tremecen me criè
 con mi madre y sus parientes
 despues que perdi a mi padre
 cosario de tres baxeles.

Iunto a mi casa viuia,
 50 porque mas cerca muriesse,
 vna Mora del linage
 de los nobles Melioneses,

extremo de las hermosas,
 quando no de las crueles,
 55 hija al fin de estas arenas
 engendradoras de sierpes.

Cada vez que la miraua
 salia el Sol por su frente
 de tantos rayos vestido
 60 quantos cabellos contiene,

niños nos criamos juntos,
 y amor en nuestras niñezes
 hirio nuestros coraçones
 con harpones diferentes.

65 Labrò el oro en mis entrañas
 dulces laços, blandas redes,
 mientras el plomo en las suyas
 por el dados y desdenes.

Apenas vide trocada
 70 la dureza de esta sierpe,
 quando tu me cautiuaste.
 Mira si es bien que lamente.

Esta es la causa, Español,
 que a llanto pudo mouerme:
 75 Mira si es justo que llore
 tantos malos juntamente.

Conmouido el Capitan
 de las lagrimas que vierte,
 parando el veloz cauallo,
 80 par en sus males promete.
 Gallardo Moro le dice,
 si adoras como refieres,
 y si como dizes amas,
 dichosamente padeces.
 85 Quien pudiera imaginar,
 viendo tus golpes crueles,
 cupiera vn alma tan tierna
 en pecho tan duro y fuerte,
 si eres del amor cautiuo
 90 desde aqui puede boluerte,
 que me pedirán por voto,
 lo que entendi que era suerte.
 Y no quiero por rescate,
 que tu dama me presente,
 95 ni las alfombras mas finas,
 ni las granas mas alegres.
 Anda con Dios, sufre, y ama,
 y viuiras, si lo hizieres
 con tal que quando la veas
 100 ayas de boluer a verme.
 Apeose del cauallo,
 y el Moro tras el deciende,
 y por el suelo prostrado
 la boca a sus pies ofrece.
 105 Viuas mil años, le dize,
 noble General valiente,
 pues ganas mas con librarme
 que ganaste con prenderme.
 Ala se quede contigo,
 110 y te de vitoria sieupre,
 para que estieras tu fama
 con hechos tan excelentes.

Not surprisingly, there are some interesting variants in the lines common to the two versions. But the main difference is that the Vicuña text has forty additional lines. The ballad is based, of course, upon the traditional story of Abindarráez and Jarifa. A Moor, riding behind his Christian captor, is asked why one who fought so fiercely grieves so tenderly, and he explains that he laments, not his capture, but his ill-fated love. He has known the girl of his affections since childhood, but for years she has scorned him. Then, just when he has won her love, he is taken prisoner. Here the Chacón text ends. The Vicuña text goes on to tell how the Spanish captain is so moved by the prisoner's story that

he releases him unconditionally. The two dismount, and the Moor kneels at the Captain's feet and expresses his thanks. Much of the effectiveness and poignancy of the Chacón version depends upon the final quatrain:

Apenas vide trocada
la dureça desta sierpe,
quando tu me captiuaste:
Mira si es bien que lamente (69-72)

The impact of these lines is softened, if not lost, by the additional four lines of the Moor's speech in the Vicuña version. On the other hand, by making us aware of the Captain's presence, they prepare us for his generous sparing of the Moor, and this in turn completes the story. Some of the additional lines of Vicuña are obtrusively repetitive:

Quien pudiera imaginar,
viendo tus golpes crueles,
cupiera vn alma tan tierna
en pecho tan duro y fuerte, (85-88)

A few bear comparison with Góngora's best:

Gallardo Moro, le dize,
si adoras como refieres,
y si como dizes amas,
dichosamente padeces. (81-84)

Are the additional lines Góngora's own? That the shorter version may be considered superior to the longer is no proof, of course, that they are not. Most modern editors, in fact, reproduce the longer version, following José María de Cossío¹ who, in turn, followed the text of Adolfo de Castro². Cossío italicizes the additional lines of the Vicuña version as well as two further stanzas first published by Gonzalo de Hozes in 1633, and he comments: «es litigiosa su legitimidad» (44). In support of this bare statement, I wish to adduce two pieces of evidence nearly contemporary with Vicuña's edition.

The first is the edition of Góngora's works in 1633 of Gonzalo de Hozes y Cordoba: *Todas las obras de don Lvis de Góngora en varios poemas*. Hozes prints the longer version of Góngora's ballad, but not the text

¹ *Romances de Góngora*. Madrid, 1927.

² *Poetas líricos de los siglos XVI y XVII*. B. A. E., Madrid, 1872.

of Vicuña. Where the Vicuña and Chacón texts diverge, Hozes sometimes follows Vicuña (9, 11, 16), more often Chacón (6, 7, 24, 31, 34, 46, 51). Occasionally he provides a new reading:

sin escusarlo obedece (30)
 despues que murio mi padre (47)
 que paren sus males quiere (80)
 pido que de mi te acuerdes (100)

He also interpolates two new quatrains. The first comes after line 56:

Era tal su hermosura,
 que se hallaran clauelas
 mas ciertos en sus dos labios,
 que los dos floridos meses.

and the second after 60:

Mas ya la razon sugeta
 con palabras me requiere
 que su crueldad le perdone,
 y de su beldad me acuerde.

The most significant difference, however, is that line 73 follows immediately upon line 68, and the famous quatrain with which the Chacón version ends:

Apenas vide trocada
 la dureça de esta sierpe
 quando tu me cautivaste.
 Mira si es bien que lamente. (69-72)

is transferred to the end of the longer version. And this disposition of the ballad's lines does not seem to have been limited to the Hozes edition. Adolfo de Castro wrote:

Mucho se contradicen las ediciones y los
 manuscritos que hemos examinado cuando colocan
 las coplas de este romance... Casi en todas
 las ediciones se pone por conclusión del
 romance la copla que empieza: «Y apenas...»¹ (507 b)

¹ One of the editions to which Adolfo de Castro refers might have been the 1630 edition of the *Delicias del Parnaso* which I have not been able to trace: *Delicias del Parnaso, en que se cifran todos los romances...* Barcelona, por Pedro Lacavalleria, 1630. (cf. FOULCHÉ-DELBOSC, II, 119). In the 1643 edition of the *Delicias*,

The transposition is, of course, absurd. That the Moor has been taken prisoner just when his love is requited is the one indispensable part of his explanation, and it is completely out of place at the end of the poem. But, misguided though it is, it reveals that the famous quatrain was generally regarded as the poem's ending.

The second piece of evidence is the famous scene at the end of Act I of Calderón's *El príncipe constante*, in which Don Fernando releases his captive Muley, much of which is a gloss of Góngora's ballad ¹. Calderón is known to have written his play in the latter part of 1628 or early part of 1629, that is, after the publication of López de Vicuña's edition, and of the longer version of the ballad he exactly reproduces two lines and adapts a third. What is surprising, however, is that he does not borrow more. Of the seventy-two lines which are common to the Chacón and López de Vicuña texts Calderón incorporates for his gloss no less than thirty-seven ² that is, just over one half. The content of the remainder of Calderón's scene corresponds almost exactly with that of the additional lines of the longer version, and in the important detail of the unconditional release of the Moor both texts diverge from the Abindarráez/Jarifa story. Yet of these forty additional lines Calderón

published in Zaragoza, the text of the ballad is very close to that of Gonzalo de Hozes and includes the two additional quatrains beginning 'Era tal su hermosura' and 'Mas ya la razon sugeta'. The quatrain 'Apenas vide trocada', however, appears in its correct place.

¹ W. C. SALLEY in *A Possible Influence of the Abencerraje Story on Calderón's El príncipe constante*, *RR*, XXIII, 1932, 331-33, does not refer to Góngora's ballad.

² Twenty-one of these lines are, except for differences of spelling, identical in Calderón, Chacón and López de Vicuña. Eight lines of Calderón diverge slightly from the common reading of Chacón and López de Vicuña; one of two further lines which diverge is closer to the Chacón reading, another is closer to that of López de Vicuña:

por los relinchos lozano (7)
ambos nos criamos juntos (61)

Of the remaining six lines, four have the reading of Chacón:

vn suelto caballo prende (6)
que tan tiernamente llore (23)
quien tan duramente hiere (24)
i cortes como valiente (34)

and two of López de Vicuña:

y por las cernejas fuerte (8)
que quatro vientos le mueuen (16)

takes over only three. Calderón was obviously acquainted with a version longer than the Chacón, one which ran to at least line 84; but, assuming that he was drawing upon a written text, he appears to have stopped his gloss when the lines were no longer familiar or regarded by him to be authentic¹.

Pellicer described the texts of Vicuña's edition as «defectuosas, ultrajadas, mentirosas y mal perfectas» and «tan sembradas de horrores y de tinieblas, que si el mismo Don Luis resucitara, las desconociera por suyas» (VIII) and Foulché-Delbosc comments: «Aquí sería difícil negar que, aunque Pellicer exagere, no le falta razón» (VIII). And Foulché goes on to claim that, in the Chacón manuscript, «tenemos la obra de Góngora en su forma definitiva o, si se prefiere —y a tanto equivale—, tenemos aquí la obra en el estado en que el autor la dejó a su muerte» (XII). Our findings seem to confirm the verdict of Foulché-Delbosc in respect, at least, of *Entre los sueltos caballos*. The authentic version is almost certainly that of Chacón; the additional lines of the Vicuña version are of doubtful origin.

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¹ The relationship between Calderón's scene and Góngora's ballad is considered by CARLOS ORTEGOZA VIEYRA in *Los móviles de la comedia. Segunda parte*. México, 1957, pp. 130 ff.; but his remarks are vitiated by the assumption that *Entre los sueltos caballos* is not included in the Vicuña edition or, if so, printed in the shorter version. Yet in my own discussion of the problem in *The Sources of Calderón's El príncipe constante*. Oxford, 1949, to which Ortegoza refers, I had cited variant readings of the Vicuña text.