Cervantes, Góngora, and Utopian Meditations on Imperial History

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(Courtesy Assistant Professor of Spanish, University of Oregon)

Miguel de Cervantes and Luis de Góngora seem to have been kindred spirits. Cervantes was famously unstinting in his praise of Góngora in his prologue to *La Galatea* and in the *Viaje al Parnaso* (Cabarcas Antequera). Conversely, the criticism cites the occasional evocative echo of Cervantes in the work of Góngora. María Cristina Quintero, for example, has astutely observed an intertextual relationship between the interpolated tale in Cervantes' *Don Quijote*, "El curioso impertinente," and the plot of Góngora's drama, *Las firmezas de Isabela*, underscored by a notable reference to "impertinente" in the dialogue of the play. But the parallels I find most compelling point to a deeper affinity, located in a common strategy to use literature as a utopian imaginary to engage the political struggles of their time in Spanish history, and in particular in relation to the problem of Spain's "parallel colonialisms" (to use Mercedes García Arenal's term) of the Moriscos and the indigenous, as well as in their critical engagement with the problem of gender (1992). To make my case, I propose to examine aspects of the corpus of both writers, with a special focus on Góngora's long lyric poem, the *Soledades*,[1] and Cervantes' final novel, *Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda*.

John Beverley has identified the foundational parallels between these two works, both of which are based on the model of Heliodorus' *Aethiopica* or *An Ethiopian Story*. As he writes,

> Cervantes was finishing up his *Persiles* (published posthumously in 1617), a strict adaptation of the Byzantine formula, at the same time Góngora was working on the *Soledades*. For Góngora, the formula, with its conventions like the shipwreck, the wilderness pilgrimage through a variety of exemplary landscapes, and the figure of the lover alienated from the object of his or her desire, provided the model of a narrative built around the psychology of an aristocratic exile (1980, 123 n. 14).[2]

The incorporation of features of Heliodorus' novel is one aspect of what he has identified as Góngora's technique of anthologizing, in fragmentary form, of a compendium of Renaissance and classical sources and of the cultivation of multiple genres (1980, 43). For Beverley, the *Soledades* is textured by a friction between history and poetic myth, between epic and pastoral, to function as a mirror of princes, portraying the crisis of empire in the aftermath of the voyages of exploration and the specter of ruined villages on the Spanish coast (1980, 99-102). Góngora, he argues, thus counterpoises the utopian possibilities evoked by his poetic rural idyll to the realities of

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[1] Robert Jammes dates the composition of the *Soledades* in several steps from 1612-1617, with the final 43 verses composed 1619-1626 during the Chacón compilation (Góngora 1994, 14-21). The dates for Luis de Góngora's life are 1561-1627. The *Persiles* was published posthumously in 1617. The dates for Miguel de Cervantes' life are 1547-1616 (Cascardi xi-xiii).

[2] Beverley notes, "The *Ethiopian History* mentioned by Díaz de Rivas was the model for the Byzantine romances that were popularized in Europe in the late sixteenth century. In Spain there are two important examples of this genre before its sublimation by writers like Cervantes in the *Persiles* and Gracián in the *Criticón*: Alonso Núñez de Reinoso's *Historia de los amores de Clareo y Florisea* (1552) and Jerónimo Contreras' *Selva de aventuras* (1565)" (1980, 61). In a later intervention, Mercedes Blanco argues against using the term "Byzantine" to refer to the ancient Greek novel revived during the Renaissance (2016). See Marina Brownlee for the most recent scholarship on the influence of the *Aethiopica* on the *Persiles*.

contemporary imperial history, leaving the question of Spain's future indeterminate, in an open ending left for the contemplation of Góngora's readers and patrons (1980, 5-8, 104-106, 112-113). I will take Beverley's reading of the *Soledades* as a point of departure, placing the criticism of the *Soledades* in dialogue with that exemplified by three major studies of the *Persiles*, by Diana de Armas Wilson, William Childers, and Michael Armstrong-Roche, whose canonical interpretations I will now address, in brief, with an eye toward possible parallels with Góngora.

In her *Allegories of Love: Cervantes Persiles and Sigismunda* (1991), Diana de Armas Wilson redefines the *Persiles* as an "allegory of sexual difference," breaking sharply with Alban Forcione's earlier reading of the work as an elaboration of the *peregrinatio vitae topos* within the spirit of the Counterreformation, a notion which also troubled *Soledades* criticism.[3] She further distinguishes herself in developing a transatlantic interpretation, identifying, in line with Montaigne's essay on the cannibals, European barbarism with symbolic representations suggestive of the New World in the text. Finally, she develops a masterful analysis of the novel's structure.

De Armas Wilson's reading of the *Persiles* as "a new kind of secular and sexual allegory" centers upon the Neoplatonist concept of the androgyne, the conjoining of the two sexes in a transcendence of the gender binary. For De Armas Wilson, Cervantes reflected Leone Hebreo's syncretic "Judeo-Platonism—his attempt to yoke the Platonic myth of the Androgyne with the Mosaic tradition of Genesis," in which "the trope of sexual parity" is upheld over "the trope of male primacy" (95, 100). In his appropriation of Hebreo, Cervantes engages implicitly with Inca Garcilaso, Hebreo's translator. As De Armas Wilson writes, "Inca Garcilaso succeeded in constituting the Spaniards as models of 'barbarismo' in relation to language. Cervantes, in turn, manages to suggest that they are models of barbarism in relation to sexuality" (124). Thus, for De Armas Wilson, the text abounds in exemplary tales of male "barbaric" power, from the law of the first night, to the persecution of an unwed mother, to the "loud critique of the patriarchal economy of desire" (126, 180, 221-22, 245), opening a space in which to contemplate the nature of both the psyche and of sexuality while questioning "patriarchal and hierarchical mechanisms of social control" (76-77, 86).

In developing his critique, Cervantes also experimented with a similarly syncretic novelistic structure, replacing "neo-Aristotelian notions of unity" with a more subtle "countercanonical figural mechanism" to unite the episodes (De Armas Wilson 37). Thus, he instills the novel with a structure not only Greek (after Heliodorus) but Biblical, in the story of Exodus retold "through the grid of Christian typology" (136). The progression to Rome is thus signaled by Biblical "landmarks," which De Armas Wilson describes as follows:

> Three landmarks across the main plot function as vehicles of a kind of typology, in the looser literary, if not desanctified sense of the word. These are three poems, two religious sonnets framing a hymn: Rutilo's sonnet on Noah's flood, sung near the beginning of the journey (1.18); Feliciana de la Voz's hymn to the Virgin, sung at the midpoint of the pilgrimage (3.5); and the unknown pilgrim's sonnet to Rome […] (4.3). Sandwiched in between these three poems are two episodes of a markedly typological character, representing both the Old and New Testament events: the pilgrim's entrapment in the 'belly' of their capsized vessel in part 1 of the *Persiles* (2.2); and their betrayal and near-

[3] De Armas Wilson (48). Juergen Hahn relates the *peregrinatio vitae topos* to the purported four canto schema of the *Soledades* suggested by the early commentators. This schema was dismissed by Beverley as "contaminated with the post-Tridentine taste for didactic allegory" (1980, 84-85).

> destruction by a dissembling community of moriscos in part 2 (3.11) (137; Cf Forcione 88-89).

She observes a parallel, secular sort of typology operating at the level of the *Persiles*' characters, who express not individuality but the "representative type" or "allegorical agent," "shuffling" the alternative ethical choices made by various "subcharacters" within a "composite" of "serial characterization" (145-47). On yet another level, she reads the novel's texture as "polygeneric," bringing to mind an expanded version of the "modal friction" that Beverley has observed in the *Soledades*, in its "pilgrimage through a variety of exemplary landscapes" (De Armas Wilson 6; Beverley 1980, 62, 65, 123 n. 14; Cf Childers 129-30).

Similarly, in *Transnational Cervantes* (2006), William Childers, by drawing upon Victor Turner's anthropological theories of pilgrimage, casts the *Persiles* as a journey of multinational characters through "a series of distinct fictional 'realms,'" which constitute "images of different types of human community" (127). In so doing, he argues, the novel negotiates the "tension between the official self-representation of the nation and the secret desires of individuals" (188). The repeated "pastoral oases" of the work become enclaves of a submerged "España profunda," for which the opening refuge of Antonio's cave becomes paradigmatic (157, 136-37). There, the Spaniard Antonio, like his countrymen Soldino and Isabel Castrucha "find freedom, happiness, and spiritual renewal only through an experience of exile. They stand metonymically for a larger diaspora" (156).[4]

In the characters Antonio and his native wife Ricla, Cervantes also represents religious heterodoxy. As Childers writes,

> Antonio and Ricla together create a hybrid society whose pre-Tridentine foundations hark back to Erasmian Christianity's affirmation of sincere personal faith over institutional trapping. […] The cave on the Barbaric Isle preserves a remnant of the Spanish Renaissance for a future time, of which Cervantes and his readers can only dream, when they will no longer need to hide their true convictions from prying inquisitions and Baroque ideologies (154).

Childers refers to Homi K. Bhabha's notion of the "progressive past" ("what could have been") based on residual practices, to describe this pattern of utopian enclaves in the *Persiles*, projecting into a future left "indeterminate" (158-59), as in the *Soledades* (Beverley 1980, 106).

In *Cervantes' Epic Novel: Empire, Religion and the Dream Life of Heroes in Persiles* (2009), Michael Armstrong-Roche shares aspects of De Armas Wilson's and Childers' interpretations, arguing that the novel is fashioned as a form of "vernacular scripture" in which "the *Persiles*' heroes discover a barbaric New World in Europe" in a case of "reverse ethnography" (32, 29). He cites the novel's Pauline and Erasmian privileging of "ethics over doctrine and ritual" in a more specific historical reading, arguing that the *Persiles*' focus on two time periods (1557-1559 and 1606) has "the combined effect of erasing Phillip II and casting the expulsion as a future event" (30-31). "By adopting this novelistic chronology," he argues, "Cervantes could write a Christian epic as if Trent and the morisco expulsion had not happened" (31). Here, Armstrong-

[4] In a related observation, De Armas Wilson considers Constance Rose's contributions on the sociohistorical circumstances for the revival by 16th century converso and exile, Alonso Núñez de Reinoso, of ancient Greek romance as a possible precedent for Cervantes. As De Armas writes, "Seeking new modes of expression by which to relate their historical predicament—the enforced exile, endless wanderings, and assorted travails connected with the Second Diaspora—Spanish and Portuguese *conversos* remotivated the genre of Greek romance" (18; see also 21).

Roche's counterhistory functions as a particular case of the "progressive past" in a novel in which "love […] is itself the providential epic-heroic adventure" (Armstrong-Roche 31). In this spirit he reads the story of Antonio and Ricla as a model for the *Persiles*' "incarnational poetics, in the sense that it repeatedly underscores the importance of human agency, which, by right action, becomes invested with divinity" and notes the work's "distance from a paternalistic and even sometimes misogynistic affinities in Pauline and Christian humanist texts" (132, 248).

In mapping out the central arguments of De Armas Wilson, Childers, and Armstrong Roche, we can isolate four common features of Cervantes's *Persiles* and Góngora's *Soledades*, features which will lay the basis for our comparison: a parallel "Greek and Biblical architecture," a similar use of "reverse ethnography," a common critique of gender norms, and a comparable creation of "alternative histories," in the context of a common questioning of Spain's parallel colonialisms of the indigenous and the Moriscos. As the issue of the Morisco expulsion is central to their critique, we will begin by reprising Cervantes and Góngora's literary protest of the measure.

Cervantes, Góngora and the Moriscos

In the wake of Francisco Márquez Villanueva's studies, a number of scholars have argued that Cervantes cautiously critiqued the Morisco expulsion symbolically in his works. Representative of this current is Michael Gerli's reading of *Persiles* III.11, the episode of the intentional flight of a community of Moriscos from Valencia at an earlier moment in Spain's communal conflict. Gerli points to the Spanish historian Antonio Feros' claim that open opposition to the expulsion was not possible once the measure was decided and carried out over the period of 1609-1614 (278, citing Feros 2013, 69). Given these restrictions, Gerli argues,

> Cervantes felt compelled to confront the topic of the Morisco Expulsion in his works through both profound situational and verbal irony while mimicking the "official" version of it, placing his condemnations of the Moriscos in the mouths of incongruous characters at improbable times and places: Ricote, a converted Morisco who, not unlike Xarife, interrupts an intimate moment of friendship with a philippic endorsing the King's edict (DQ II, 54-55); Berganza, the changeling child transformed into a talking dog in the *Coloquio de los perros*; and, of course, in the *Persiles,* Xarife himself, a descendant of the Prophet Mohammad who commits the ultimate Muslim trespass by denouncing his people and decrying his own spiritual and cultural roots (278-79; Cf Bernabé Pons 96-97).

The episode, for Gerli, is an example of a "text intentionally filled with recurring moments expressly designed to challenge" the reader's credulity and "imagination," by foreshadowing "the disastrous aftermath of the later expulsion" in the depopulation and desertion of Mediterranean coastal villages in the late 1550s (279, 275, 270). In a range of comparable interventions there is now an established canon of key selections from Cervantes' works which address the author's critical approach to the Morisco expulsion and its aftermath. While Cervantes' literary protest of the Morisco expulsion has been well studied, little attention has been paid to this possibility in Góngora. Yet, as we shall see, the historical case for Góngora's camouflaged opposition is compelling and his strategy is markedly similar, pointing to a complementary relationship which might allow us to understand both authors better.

Góngora's historical context includes the active defense of the Moriscos by his humanist mentor, Pedro de Valencia, as well as by his regional patrons of the house of Medina Sidonia. Valencia wrote a major treatise against the Morisco expulsion while the measure was still under debate. His *Tratado acerca de los Moriscos de España* (1606), directed to Diego de Mardones during Mardones' short-lived tenure as king's confessor, makes a passionate argument against greed, *codicia*, as the measure's true motivation, given that Morisco property was to be confiscated under the plan (104). He also protests, quite movingly, the proposals to take Morisco children from their parents:

> Volviendo a la consideración de la justicia, ¿cómo se puede justificar con Dios ni con los hombres, ni qué corazón cristiano había de haber que sufriese ver en los campos y en las playas una tan grande muchedumbre de hombres y mujeres bautizados y que diesen voces a Dios y al mundo que eran cristianos, y lo querían ser, y que les quitaban sus hijos y haciendas por avaricia y por odio, sin oírlos ni estar con ellos a juicio, y los enviaban a que se tornasen moros?" (106).

I have argued that Valencia's eloquent protest against injustice to Morisco families found its way into the *Soledades* (2016). In a subtle concatenation of literary imagery, parental grief at the hands of *Codicia* reverberates from the lament of Góngora's *serrano* in the key "discurso contra navegaciones" to signal the parallel grief of Morisco parents, who indeed at the time of the expulsion suffered the confiscation of their belongings, and, in many cases,[5] most tragically, of their children.

Góngora's senior regional patron was the 7th Duke of Medina Sidonia, Alonso Guzmán el Bueno, General of the Armada. As Trevor Dadson has explained, the duke was part of a powerful bloc of nobles who had a strong record of defending the Moriscos, many of whom worked as valued laborers on their estates (111). Most significantly, Medina Sidonia questioned the theological basis of the expulsion at the end of December 1609, specifically on the question of the separation of families (130). Together with his son, the Conde de Niebla, the duke patrolled the coastline in his hereditary duties as Capitán General de las Costas de Andalucía, charged with preventing the return of the Moriscos, an impossible task, given that many hired boats to return them to their homeland (111, 173). As early as 1610, Medina Sidonia repeatedly wrote to the king of the plight of the Moriscos stranded on the beaches (165), not unlike the coastline described at the end of the *Soledades*, which was monitored by a "catarribera" (II. 945). He repeatedly professed his doubts and "scruples of conscience," even defying the king's orders (173-74). The duke defended his refusal to track and apprehend returnees, stating, in the fall of 1612, "no servía de nada el mucho embarazo, trabajo y gasto que se ha tenido, en echar esa gente" (Álvarez de Toledo y Maura 92).

While the references are subtle, I believe Góngora incorporates allusions to the Medina Sidonia's concerns for the Moriscos in the falconry episode of the *Soledad segunda* and its aftermath, as well as more generally throughout the two cantos. In a lower register, he refers to a

[5] Antonio Domínguez Ortiz and Bernard Vincent describe the varying policies on the confiscation of the Morisco children and note that *prebendas* were charged with placing them (181, 185-87, 195). How might this have impacted Góngora, who held this position at the cathedral of Córdoba? While a blanket decision to confiscate young children was ruled out as impractical, children en route to "infidel" countries were seized and placed with Christian families, and there were many cases of abuse which led to the separation of Morisco children from their parents. See also Mary Elizabeth Perry's eloquent and compelling examples (69-70, 98, 119, 147-49, 153-54, 172-74) and Henry Charles Lea (321-24).

kingbird (*doral*) being flushed from the coastal reeds by the aristocrats' falconry as an expulsion, using language with nationalistic and ecclesiastical connotations (II. 863-74); Huergo 27). Similarly, he refers to chicks being hunted under their mother's wings by another raptor, the *milano*, described symbolically as a corsair, implicitly—in the context of the expulsion events—displacing the fears of Turkish predation onto the persecutors of the Moriscos (II. 959-65). The conflation of Niebla's falconry exploits with the political ramifications of patrolling the coasts for Moriscos hidden in the reeds becomes an appeal to the patron's ethical sensibilities, with a particular claim upon his family history. It brings to mind Niebla's father's numerous protective pleas to the king on behalf of Morisco parents and children.

In a higher register, Góngora's integration of the documented allusions to Claudian's *De Raptu Proserpinae* further reinforces Góngora's compelling statement on the loss of a child, parental grief being perhaps the deepest meaning of *soledad*. The two cantos of the *Soledades* are, significantly, framed by allusions to Claudian's text: in the final lines which allude to the rape of Proserpine, and in the initial reference to "media luna las armas de su frente" (I. 3) of the constellation Taurus, which, as Eunice Joiner Gates has pointed out, echoes Claudian's portrayal of Proserpine as a young calf beloved by her mother.[6] José María Micó claims that Góngora knew Claudian's poem quite well and notes that Francisco Faría's Spanish translation, in apparently Gongorine language, appeared in 1608 (96-98)—only a year before the first edict of expulsion and not long before the first draft of the *Soledad primera* in 1612.

In his 1613 correspondence on this draft, Pedro de Valencia admonished Góngora to seek influence in the Hebrew prophets and ancient Greek authors, as well as in "los buenos Latinos que imitan a los mejores Griegos" (Pérez López 69; Blanco 2012b, 230). In her discussion of Valencia's advice, Mercedes Blanco includes Claudian, a poet who spoke Greek but wrote in Latin, as a member of this Greek circle of influence upon Góngora, having also elegantly demonstrated at length Góngora's Homeric affinities.[7] María Rosa Lida de Malkiel documented Góngora's reliance on another ancient Greek source, Dion Chrysostom's seventh (or Euboean) discourse on the hunter of Euboea, translated from the Greek by Valencia, for the "hilo conductor" of the *Soledades*. Thus, Góngora's poem shares with Cervantes' *Persiles* a similar Greek architecture, and, as we shall see, one which is also Biblical, informed by a parallel reliance on a book of one of the Hebrew prophets (See Chemris 2019).

Greek and Biblical Architectures

Imagery related to the book of Jonah, in association with the Homeric *topos* of shipwreck, marks the beginning of the *Soledades* just as it is a component of one of the opening chapters of the *Persiles*, where the pilgrims emerge from their capsized ship as if from the belly of a whale. As De Armas Wilson writes, "The ship's hull is insistently called a 'vientre,' corresponding to the 'belly of the fish' in Jonah's story, and the notion of being 'vomited' out of captivity is common both to the Persiles and its biblical subtext" (139). In the *Soledades*, these allusions to *Jonah* occur as word play in Spanish which is based on the Vulgate Latin text, in the use of the verbs *vomitar* and *sorber* to describe the ocean's actions to deliver the shipwrecked *peregrino* to the shore in the

[6] Gates (26) compares *Sol*. I. 3 with *De Raptu* I.127-29, in which Claudian portrays Ceres's love for Proserpine to that of a fierce mother cow for a calf "whose growing horns curve not yet moonwise over her forehead" 'vitulam non blandius ambit / torva parens, pedibus quae nondum proterit arva / nec nova lunatae curvavit germina frontis.'
[7] Blanco 2012b (237, 242-43, n. 73).

opening of the poem (I. 22-28).[8] Colin Thompson also notes a parallel combination of Latin verbs in *Jonah* and in Góngora's hypallage, "montes de agua y piélagos de montes," used shortly afterwards in the description of the recently delivered *peregrino*'s ascent up the cliff from the shore (*Soledades* I. 42-51; Thompson 89).

I believe that these obscure echoes are intended to recall Pedro de Valencia's citation of *Jonah* in his *Tratado acerca de los Moriscos de España*, in which he uses the example of God's mercy to Nineveh to defend the Moriscos against extermination. Jonah had been chastised by God for resisting his command to evangelize the city of Nineveh. When he emerged from the belly of the whale, he was counselled by God to show mercy to all in the wake of the repentance of the city. Evoking the lesson of this book of the Bible, Valencia writes, "Dios nuestro Señor, tratando del castigo de los de Nínive, se compadeció no sólo de los niños, pero aún de las bestias" (101). Then, applying the parallel with Nineveh to the Moriscos, he argues, "En tan grande número de gente, por perdida que sea la comunidad, puede ser que haya muchos, no solamente no culpados del crimen de herejía y de infidelidad al Rey, pero buenos cristianos y aun santos" (101). I will suggest that this early Biblical allusion to Valencia's plea to evangelize the Moriscos, like the early and late allusions to Claudian's *Rape of Proserpine*, pairs with the final specter of what Beverley calls the "desolate empty village" of the poem's shoreline (1980, 111), symbolic of the devastation caused by the cruel expulsion of the Moriscos, the failure to show them mercy. It is significant, given Cervantes' chapter in the *Persiles* on the Moriscos, that he would choose to begin the novel, as did Góngora his poem, with a parallel subtle reference to the Book of Jonah, given its relevance to Valencia's intervention into the expulsion debate.

Góngora's incorporation of the narrative thread of Dion Chrysostom's Euboean discourse, as well as his repetition of a key Homeric phrase, also evince important parallels with the *Persiles* episode on the Moriscos. In the Euboean discourse, rural hunters are rewarded for their hospitality to a visiting stranger—a figure not unlike Góngora's *peregrino*—with the right to live on the public lands they worked rent free. The discourse has been read as a symbolic incorporation of Valencia's views on agrarian reform (Beverley 1980 and Blanco 2004). Yet the discourse also speaks to the question of hospitality to strangers as an index of a people's civility, a topic which Góngora appropriates from Homer.

Blanco has suggested that Odysseus's encounter with the princess Nausicaa is a source for the opening of the *Soledades*, in which the *peregrino* lays out his clothes to dry on the beach (2912b, 291-94). Indeed, the morning after Odysseus arrives naked and shipwrecked on the island of the Phaeacians, he awakens to the sound of Nausicaa and her handmaidens who have come to the river to do the laundry. He wonders, in a phrase that is repeated in the poem, "Ah me, what are the people whose land I have come to this time, and are they violent and savage, and without justice, or hospitable to strangers, with a godly mind?" (Lattimore 105).[9] He presents himself to Nausicaa, who offers him a bath and fresh clothing. As Blanco argues, this fragmented reference is meant to recall Valencia's affirmation of the nobility of labor, worthy even of a princess (2012b, 292). But it also a statement about hospitality to strangers.

When Odysseus is returned to Ithaca by the Phaeacians at the end of Homer's poem, he does not know where he is, because Athena has enveloped the coastline in mist. This ambiguous coastline is repeated in the *Soledades*, perhaps to appeal to different coastal patrons, perhaps to defamiliarize, intentionally, the Spanish setting, locating it in the utopian space of myth, as

[8] Thompson (89), citing RO Jones (191).

[9] The Greek original is available in the Loeb bilingual edition (Homer, Bk VI, 105-33); I have also consulted English translations of referenced passages by Lattimore.

Beverley (1980, 78) and Blanco (2014, 142) seem to argue. Odysseus, wondering at his location, repeats the exact phrase of the earlier episode: “Ah me, what are the people whose land I have come to this time, and are they savage and violent, and without justice, or hospitable to strangers and with minds that are godly?” (Lattimore 203; Cf Homer, Bk 13, 200-202). The final view of the closing coastline of the *Soledades*, in evoking this Homeric phrase implicitly, holds the mirror up to Spain in the wake of the Morisco expulsion: are we a just people, hospitable to strangers?

Most significantly, Michael Gerli has observed a similar focus on the topic of hospitality to strangers in *Persiles* III.11. Gerli signals the deceit implicit in Xarife’s niece Rafala’s claim that her father, a devout Muslim, “had offered to host” the traveling pilgrims “in his home just to kill them that night or kidnap them to North Africa” (274). Here, Gerli points out that the Qur’ān “(Al-Bagarah 2:177; An-Nisaa’ 4:36)” mandates “hospitality to all strangers,” a commandment enshrined in a “well-known *hadith*”[10] (or parable), thus leading the reader “to question Rafala’s sincerity” (274). Gerli remarks, “As Cervantes subtly shifts perspective, we see that the zealots and apostates in the village are really the girl and her uncle, whose guile, duplicity and poorly assimilated Christianity is blessed by the priest and sacristan, likely agents of the Inquisition in this alienated emblematic community of ethnic and religious unrest” (274).[11] Indeed, we are left to ponder, retrospectively, the meaning of the offer of “Christian hospitality,”[12] when, as Steven Hutchinson points out, these Moriscos welcomed expatriation as the necessary cost of their freedom, or as Luis Bernabé Pons argues, the Spanish Church is portrayed symbolically to be as closed to them as the local sacred stone fortress (Hutchinson 2012; Bernabé Pons 94).

This episode is the second which Diana de Armas Wilson has signaled as one of the typological landmarks of the *Persiles*’ Biblical structure, here pointing to the symbolic references to betrayal and suffering associated with Christ’s welcome into Jerusalem before his crucifixion.[13] Despite the pilgrim’s apparent reversal of fortune, we should consider this in light of the number of intentional paradoxes and inversions in the episode.[14] If one applies Gerli’s interpretation of betrayal of trust in a host to this New Testament symbolism, we can see that readers are also left to consider the larger societal picture of the Moriscos, strangers in their own country, as betrayed and suffering unjustly, indeed, in the model of Christ’s passion. Such a projection is not unprecedented.

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[10] Gerli quotes the *hadith* as follows: “Islam began as a stranger and it will return as it began, [as] a stranger. Blessed are the strangers” He adds, “To this day, showing hospitality to all wayfarers, foreigners, and outsiders constitutes an act of piety and mercy in the Muslim world” (274).

[11] Romero Muñoz, in a note to the passage where the *escribano*’s house is burned, also explains that scribes in this area were commonly agents of the Inquisition (*Persiles* 552 n. 35). Christina Lee makes a poignant argument for a similar complex dynamic of the juxtaposition of Morisco symbolic types in the case of the Morisca Cenotia, who, in Lee’s view, represents the suffering caused by the forced relocation of the Granada Moriscos after the Alpujarras revolts, as well as in the expulsion of all Moriscos (“aconséjale que se humane de aquí adelante con los rendidos y no menosprecie a los que piedad le pidieron” II. 11, 353). She compares the elder Cenotia’s sexual designs on the teenage Antonio to the forcible breakup of Morisco families through predatory abductions of their children during the expulsion (184-85). In the topic of the predatory abduction of Morisco children, we see another parallel with Góngora.

[12] “agasajarlos, no morisca sino cristianamente” (*Persiles* 545).

[13] De Armas Wilson writes, “The hospitality of the inhabitants […] masks their treacherous intentions, a conspiracy to destroy the pilgrims that is virtually foreseen by Periandro, who prefigures the event with a New Testament abstract: “Con palmas […] recibieron al Señor en Jerusalén los mismos que de allí a pocos días le pusieron en una cruz” […]. (140; *Persiles* 545).

[14] See, for example, the exposition of Bernabé Pons.

The example of Góngora's 1609 Corpus Christi *letrilla*, "En la fiesta del Santísimo Sacramento," which features a dialogue in *habla de negros* between two African enslaved women, is instructive. In the dialogue, one woman, Clara, remarks, "¡Ay, Jesú, como sa mu trista!," to which her companion, Juana responds, "¿Qué tene? ¿Pringa señora?." *Pringar* refers to the horrific punishment of being basted with hot lard. The appeal to Jesus and the reference to punishing torture, in a context in which a large crucifix with a *Cristo sangrante* would have been paraded in the Corpus Christi procession, is striking in its suggestion that the enslaved endure the sufferings of Christ on the cross. Nicholas R. Jones notes that the poem incorporates the famous phrase from the Song of Songs, "negra sum, sed fermosa" to portray black souls as equal before God (41-42), an especially poignant gesture when one considers that the festival was held in the same year as the first edict of the Morisco expulsion (27) and that, I would add, some Moriscos were descendants of enslaved Africans from Islamic cultures (Barletta 114-15).[15]

One final example makes the case for the defense of the Moriscos as the "estrangeros" expelled from their homeland, here within the *Soledades*' broader reception dynamic, and at a time when the damage caused by the expulsion was beginning to spark criticism within the Spanish government.[16] Mercedes Blanco and Francis Cerdan have written of the sermon given by Fray Hortensio Félix Paravicino, Góngora's friend and fellow poet, on the occasion of the dedication of the collegiate church funded by the duke of Lerma in October 1617. As they point out, the sermon contains a hawking scene of its own, evincing many parallels with the recently circulated draft of the second *Soledad* and functioning as a touchstone for courtly concerns of the moment.[17] Significantly, in the sermon, Paravicino states "no tiene gracia la liberalidad quando persevera la injuria: que Dios no quiere despojos agenos, sino dones proprios" and further, "Y mucho murmurar de los Estrangeros si creen la inmortalidad, y vivir nosotros como quien no la cree" (136). I suggest that here Paravicino critiques, implicitly, Lerma's role in promulgating the Morisco expulsion from which he amassed "despojos agenos," the church having been built from his lavish share of profits from the confiscation of Morisco property.[18] Paravicino also expresses sympathies to "Extrangeros" in the face of Christian hypocrisy. The continuity of this imagery into sacred oratory highlights the fact that for Cervantes and Góngora, political discourse often occurred in the forum of the Church, making their Greek and Biblical architectures a syncretic space of debate.

"Reverse Ethnography"

The projection of the New World onto Spanish culture which De Armas Wilson, Childers and Armstrong-Roche have observed in the *Persiles* also occurs in Góngora's *Soledades*. Mercedes Blanco argues that in the poem, Góngora constructed a counterargument to the messianic conquest

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[15] Jones states that the *letrilla* was commissioned for Corpus Christi by Diego de Mardones, when he was bishop of Córdoba in Spring 1609. As noted, Mardones was the recipient of Pedro de Valencia's 1606 *Tratado* against the expulsion; his transfer to the ecclesiastical post in Córdoba was engineered by the duke of Lerma after Mardones pressed the king about Lerma's corruption (González Cañal in Valencia 71, n. 1)

[16] On this emerging opposition to the measure, see Dadson (180) and Bernabé Pons (97), who cites an oral address by Bernard Vincent.

[17] Cerdan (263, 267, 273); Blanco 2012c (57, 58, n. 58); See Chemris (2022).

[18] Lerma and his son, the Duke of Uceda, his daughter, the Countess of Lemos, and Lemos himself, all received extravagant shares of the confiscation profits from the expulsion (Lea 373). Patrick Williams describes how the duke moved seventy cartloads of possessions to Lerma from Madrid to furnish his new buildings, which also included a large palace and the convent of San Blas: "Each cartload required five mules to pull it; the value of the silver alone was reputedly some 800,000 ducats" (319).

project by redirecting that utopian impulse toward the homefront instead, played out in a pastoral countryside populated by noble Spanish peasants labelled "bárbaros," a term normally reserved at the time for the indigenous (2014, 168). She also mentions some intriguing symbolism in Góngora's play, *Las firmezas de Isabela*, in which the city of Toledo is associated with a recurring hieroglyph, a ring of water surrounding a hill (2012a 269-86). I have suggested that this figure is reminiscent of an indigenous city glyph (2016, 16) and Javier Irigoyen García has noted that the figure at one point also becomes a turban, evoking the recently expelled Moriscos and reinforcing the dialogue among the Christian cast of characters staging their foundational hybrid identity (386). The fact that the turban is superimposed upon the form of what might be construed to be an indigenous city glyph illustrates, quite literally, Carmen Bernand's contention that Góngora's humanist circle read Spain's history through the prism of the conquest (20). It also represents visually Pedro de Valencia's claims about the indigenous nature of the Moriscos as original Spaniards: "son españoles como los demás que habitan en España, pues ha casi novecientos años, que nacen y se crían en ella" (81). Here displacement operates on multiple levels, identifying Moriscos as the Amerindians of Spain through a hieroglyph, with Homeric resonances, suggestive of the world as one (Chemris 2021a, 45).

De Armas Wilson has signaled Cervantes' engagement with Inca Garcilaso, also identified, by Carmen Bernand, as part of Góngora's humanist circle. Indeed, Góngora includes an image in the *Soledades* suggestive of Inca Garcilaso's heraldic shield as it appears in the frontispiece to the *Comentarios reales*. Christian Fernández has pointed to the syncretic and Andean imagery of the shield, the crowned *amaru* serpents combined with a figure of European hermeticism, Mercury's caduceus, used as a protective cover for the risky display of a banned Inca icon. It appears in the *Soledades* as a crowned *ouroborous*, the snake biting its tail and decorated with "antárticas estrellas," in a cartographic image of the ocean, cast as a "sierpe de cristal"[19] divided by the isthmus of Panama (I. 425-29). Góngora's incorporation of Inca Garcilaso's frontispiece implicitly evokes a long section of the *Comentarios reales*, Book V, Ch 1-16. This interpolated section reads like an indirect commentary on contemporary Spanish reform projects, with Inca Garcilaso consistently offering the counterexample of Inca practice to the ills of Spanish empire, thereby outdoing Pedro de Valencia's *arbitrismo*.

A final case of Góngora's "reverse ethnography" occurs in his description of the billy goat in the wedding procession of the first *Soledad*, killed by a rival who thus "redimió con su muerte tantas vides" (I. 160). Mercedes Blanco has argued that here Góngora manifests a humanist anthropological curiosity in contemplating similarities between Christian and Dionysian ritual, pointing to his innovation in linking contemporary folk practices with humanist classicism (2012a, 369). She also signals the blasphemous hint of an association between Dionysian *homophagia* (sacrifice and consumption of the God himself) and the celebration of the mass (386). Blanco suggests that Góngora's brief and comical trope shares "una patente comunidad de espíritu" with Giambattista Marino's *L'Adone* (1623), in which critics have seen a "relativization"[20] of Christian myth for its "inclusión profana del lenguaje de cristianismo y de sus mitos en un asunto pagano y erótico" (389, citing Carminati and Pozzi). As Blanco argues, there were limits to the toleration of pagan-Christian syncretism after the Reformation, and Marino would face persecution for exceeding them (386).

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[19] Interestingly, the phrase "sierpe de cristal" occurs in *Persiles* II.15. De Armas Wilson says that the "mineralized landscape" of Periandro's dream in this chapter recalls Ezekiel's Eden (*Ezek* 28:13) (69). I suggest that it also recalls the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (Colonna 97), a known source for the *Soledades* (Blanco 2012a, 449-61).
[20] Pozzi remarks in Marino (63).

Gender

While Góngora's satirical verse employs conventional homophobic and misogynistic tropes,[21] there are aspects of Góngora's lyrical poetry which evince the same dedication as Cervantes to what Diana de Armas Wilson has called the "trope of sexual parity." If, as she suggests, Cervantes "attempts to voice. . . the mother's story" in the *Persiles* (222), Góngora does so as well, in his incorporation, in fragmentary allusions, of the desperate search of Ceres for her daughter into the *Soledades*. He also defamilarizes the poem's imagery of Ovidian divine rapes, undercutting its role in idealizing imperial conquest (Chemris 2008, 51-71). In one of his other major works, the *Fábula de Polifemo y Galatea* (1612), Góngora critiques, with political implications, the obverse "trope of male primacy," evoked in the *Persiles* by the Barbaric Isle, what De Armas Wilson calls "an all-male fantasy island fueled by a messianic ideology of World Conquest" (xvii). Thus, for John Beverley, the *Polifemo* becomes, "a way of intimating contemporary conflicts of a mercantilist and nationalist Europe […] an erotic and pastoral utopia set against the power of a half-blind giant's jealous greed" (1980, 86). For both authors, sexuality can become the measure of a culture.

Both Cervantes and Góngora explore a freer sexuality in their work. Góngora begins the *Soledades* with homoerotic imagery, which Frederick de Armas has viewed as faithful to the ancient classical tradition, in the reference to Ganymede and then to the sun described as Apollo licking the *peregrino*'s clothes dry (I. 7-8; 37-41). Similarly, David Castillo and William Egginton signal the free spirit in Auristela's remarks on a woman's sexual options in the *Persiles* II.3 (174, citing 293).

Cervantes, like Góngora, defamiliarizes divine rape imagery in his incorporation of the myth of Io into the episode of Feliciana de la Voz, as Sonia Velázquez has shown. In the tale, he also combines Spanish folk practice with the Ovidian myth of Myrrha, the maiden who seduced her father in disguise, fled his rage upon discovery, and wandered, pregnant, until a god transformed her into a tree, her tears becoming beads of fragrant sap (*Metamorphosis* Book X, 282-89). Feliciana is harbored in a tree described as pregnant, an image that Rachel Schmidt contextualizes within Spain's "pagan palimpsest," also including, for example, Cybele's consort Attis, who dies on a tree and is resurrected, in an apparent parallel with Christ (492, 490). Critics have identified Feliciana's tree refuge as a feature of shrine virgin cults (Childers 97-98; Schmidt 489, 491). For example, the statue of Córdoba's Virgin of Villaviciosa was, in folk legend, found hidden in a cork tree (Góngora, *Letrillas* 150-51). De Armas Wilson notes the association of Myrrha with the Virgin Mary, citing Pierre Bersuire's evocative 1515 reading of Myrrha as "the blessed virgin who conceived through the father and was changed into myrrh" (217, citing Bersuire 83).

That Cervantes should create a character linked to the Virgin Mary, Ovidian myth, and folklore returns us to the anthropological humanist curiosity Mercedes Blanco saw in Góngora's association of the Eucharist with Dionysian ritual in the peasant wedding procession. And similarly, by combining the imagery of Mary and Myrrha in the persecuted figure of Feliciana de la Voz, Cervantes displaces such anthropological curiosity onto theology itself, in interpellating his readers to consider Catholic dogma in a new light. Is Myrrha a pagan prefiguration of Mary or should Mary be understood in light of her pagan avatar? Cervantes implicitly defamiliarizes the Incarnation as yet another violation of the incest taboo, in the context of the new awareness of

[21] Martín (151).

cultural variation. Only implicitly, because Cervantes never approaches the tipping point of a Marino. Indeed, as Rachel Schmidt and others have shown, Feliciana de la Voz's central hymn to the Virgin celebrates in great exegetical detail the Catholic belief that Mary facilitated the redemption occasioned by Christ's sacrifice. Cervantes' tale is neither a straightforward Counterreformation "a lo divino" rewriting of myth as Christian prefiguration nor a shocking case of "relativization." Rather, Cervantes contains his syncretic meditation within a vision of Mary as an edifice of Christian community, prefiguring Sor Juana in the female body cast as Solomon's temple (*Persiles* III.5; 476, 479).[22] Mercedes Alcalá Galán, in a groundbreaking new reading, paints a picture of the magnification of Feliciana's voice and agency in her song, only to be reabsorbed into a repressive patriarchal family unit in the episode's resolution, with Feliciana's unsung words left to an unread, mute note, and the social resurgence of female voice left to an indeterminate future (2022). One can read the episode as yet another "emblem of Cervantes' reimagining of civilization" described by Armstrong-Roche (109).

Cervantes' point in this seems to be to inspire readers to use the human in the divine to see the divine in the human, in the spirit of *caritas* signaled by Armstrong-Roche (30). We are meant to see the face of Mary in the frightened unwed mother, desperate to find a safe refuge from persecution (De Armas Wilson 213). Feliciana's de la Voz's song reminds us of Mary Immaculate as a figure of consolation to oppressed groups of Cervantes' age [23]; as Mercedes Alcalá Galán points out, in the song's references to Mary's corporality, her "limpia carne," "se humaniza la maternidad y pureza de María," demonstrating that "en la maternidad no hay mancilla" (2022, 220-21). Yet we cannot dismiss the provocative and social nature of Cervantes' syncretic meditation, in his focus on Mary as a human being. Cervantes projects the face of the divine onto humanity, making of theology an ethics, as part of his utopian project. In this regard, Góngora again shows some commonalities with Cervantes, in two sonnets, "De pura honestidad" (1582) and "Al nacimiento de Cristo, Nuestro Señor" ("Pender de un leño, traspasado el pecho," 1600), which were sanctioned by Padre Juan de Pineda, who reviewed the posthumous Vicuña edition, for their scandalous theological content.

In the first sonnet Góngora, like Cervantes, engages disputes on the sacred image in his own song to a shrine virgin.[24] Daniel Waissbein makes a convincing case for the poem as the celebration of a statue of the Virgin of Villaviciosa in the Cathedral of Córdoba, whose attributes are described in Petrarchan blazon, although that in itself was not remarkable (2010, 117; see Mayers 124-25). Rather, he argues that Padre Pineda attacked the sonnet for its reference to the virgin as an *ídolo*, a term associated by Covarrubias with the ostensibly demonic qualities of indigenous religions (111-13). Pineda condemns the sonnet as "Loca exageración de profanos poetas, que en boca de un sacerdote, y junto con otras demasías, se hace más intolerable, y menos digna de disimularse" (Góngora 2009, 87). I will suggest that a further reason for Pineda's sanction is Góngora's use of the phrase, "pequeña puerta de coral preciado." As Waissbein notes, the phrase is related to the traditional litany; "puerta del cielo" is one of the Virgin's epithets (119) and refers to her role as the "door" through which Christ entered the world. Nigel Griffin cites the use of *coral* as a reference to the lady's mouth rather than, as in the Petrarchan source text, to the ivory

[22] On Sor Juana, see Saldarriaga; On Cervantes, Cf Hutchinson (1992, 174) and Armstrong-Roche (243).

[23] Bernand (18); Cárdenas Bunsen (333-400, 410, 405). Góngora defended the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception and specifically celebrates Mary's welcome of a black enslaved woman at the Nativity in his *letrilla*, "¡Oh qué vimo, Mangalena!." (Castillo Gorraiz 100-104). See Schmidt on the relationship of the episode to the Immaculist controversy.

[24] See Chemris on the relationship between the Gongorism polemic and the debates on the sacred image (2021b, 161-62); on Cervantes, see Armstrong-Roche (279).

of her teeth (841). He also implicates the phrase, together with her "claras lumbreras de mirar seguro / que a la esmeralda fina el verde puro / habéis para viriles usurpado" in the Pauline notion of the *speculum* to describe Mary's perpetual virginity, in the analogy of the sun's rays penetrating glass without breaking it (847, 847, n. 18). I will take these observations one step further to suggest that the "puerta de coral preciado" might be one of the "demasías" which so upset Pineda for its suggestion of a graphic representation of the site of Mary's virginity, the "coral" evoking the lacy and reddish appearance of a woman's inner labia and hymen. In this image, Góngora juxtaposes statue and flesh in a way similar to Cervantes' "dos estatuas movibles," (412) Renato and Eusebia, on the Island of the Hermits in *Persiles* II.19. He celebrates Mary's humanity, her identity as a sexual being, if ever virginal.

In the sonnet, "Al nacimiento de Cristo, Nuestro Señor," Góngora constructs an argument for the Nativity as a greater feat than the crucifixion, because there is a greater distance between God and man than between man and death. Pineda again protests, "no está bien dicho, por ser cierto haber sido la muerte y pasión la mayor, más gloriosa y preciosa hazaña de nuestro Redentor y redención, y se debe enmendar" (Góngora 2009, 229). Here Góngora does give the impression of reducing Catholic dogma to just so much source material for creating poetic tropes. Yet maybe more is at issue. The poem could also be an intentional and disaffected send up of Jesuit pedantry and Counterreformation cruelty. Perhaps Góngora means to celebrate the divinity in fragile, new, human life on this earth, less than the ubiquitous suffering the faithful are called upon to endure to compensate for the unappeasable sacrifice of Christ. He may be expressing a specific religious heterodoxy whose context we still do not know, but the obvious contradiction with dogma seems intended to provoke contemplation as much as Cervantes' ambiguous prose. Here Góngora does seem to be taking Cervantes' meditation on the Incarnation in the meeting with the penitentiaries one step further, although both authors reflect sympathetically on the problem of human suffering, from Feliciana's "gemidos" to the expression of grief in the *Soledades*, in an emergent defense of human agency.[25]

Alternative Histories

Both Luis Bernabé Pons and Michael Gerli have read Xarife's speech in *Persiles* III.11 as a *vaticinium post eventum*, an after the fact prophecy which prompts the readers of 1617 to consider the devastating effects of the recent expulsion in the consequences of an earlier, in this case voluntary, case of Morisco expatriation in the late 1550s. Luis de Góngora, in his collaboration with Antonio Chacón to compile a definitive manuscript of his work, hints at a parallel sort of alternative history in a curious gesture of "postdating" of a sonnet to the fateful year of 1609, date of the treaty with the Dutch and of the first proclamation of the Morisco expulsion. Both measures were enacted on the same day, the truce with the Dutch Protestants supposedly mitigated by the expulsion's appeasement of Catholic militants (Elliott 301; Feros, 2000, 203-04). In a similar spirit, Góngora ended his *Panegírico al Duque de Lerma* (1617), due to be delivered to the duke on the occasion of his church dedication, by abruptly breaking off his praise of the duke's achievements just after the peace treaty with the Dutch, but just before the expulsion, in an implied critique (Martos 24-26; 52).[26]

[25] Armstrong-Roche discusses the penitentiaries explanation of the Incarnation in *Persiles* IV.5, 657 (86). See Velázquez on "gemidos."

[26] Beverley suggests that "strategic incompletion," a kind of early modern alienation effect, is a feature of some of Góngora's major works, including the *Soledades* and the *Panegírico* (2008, 28).

The poem at issue, Góngora's sonnet, "De San Lorenzo el Real del Escurial," thought by Antonio Carreira to have been composed around 1589,[27] praises the Escorial and wishes long life to Phillip II, extolled as a "Salomón segundo." Within its original temporal horizon, the poem can be read as what Luján and Waissbein (2014) have characterized as a false *loa*, a critique of the vanity of religious ostentation and regal excess. The dukes of Medina Sidonia and Pedro de Valencia were both known to have had links to Lucrecia de León's prophetist confraternity, the Santa Cruz de la Restauración (Kagan 109, 127; Magnier 80, n. 136). In 1588, shortly before the proposed time of composition of the sonnet, Lucrecia de León echoed peasant protests in her visionary critique of Habsburg pretensions, in dreams which criticized Felipe II for building the Escorial while oppressing the poor through taxation and selling off common land (Kagan 74, 81, 105). The postdating of the sonnet to 1609, long after Phillip II's death, a markedly defamiliarizing gesture, would have functioned as a *vaticinium post eventum* similar to that of Cervantes,[28] designed to critique the expulsion retrospectively, at a time when the new favorite, the Conde Duque de Olivares, was anxious, as Dadson argues, to undo the damage to the economy caused by the expulsion (193).[29] It also recurs to the use of the Escorial as a figure of contrast in political and spiritual will in the expulsion debate, symbolizing the monumental effort required for the dedicated evangelization of the Moriscos (see "Discurso").

Politics, Religion and Art

In presenting my comparison between Góngora and Cervantes, I do not propose a case for intertextuality or influence, given the inherent uncertainties of defining the circulation of texts and the interaction of authors in a manuscript culture, and admittedly, some differences between the two writers do obtain. While Góngora wrote religious poetry, and as poet, cleric and musician wrote for Church performance, his major works do not engage religion to the degree of Cervantes in the *Persiles*. Yet I hope I have shown that both Góngora and Cervantes used the languages of religion and art to address the political problems of their day in parallel structures. Their minimal and subtle gestures are like Borges' "textual marks"[30] meant to critique the social order, at a time when the options for open opposition, as Feros has argued, were limited.

Recent work by historians of religion paints a much more complex picture of dissent among the confessions in Spain. As Mercedes García Arenal argues, a "lessening of faith" was one consequence of massive compulsory conversion, Reformation and Lutheran currents became rooted in Iberia much more than formerly believed, and Spain indeed participated in the European-wide battle for "freedom of conscience" (2009, 907, 916-17). This recent scholarship may well in the future shed more light on the nature Cervantes' and Góngora's engagement with religious difference as a social and political problem.

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[27] On the dating of the sonnet and dating within the Chacón manuscript, see Carreira's notes to Góngora (2009, 156) and his *Gongoremas* (75-94). See Chemris (2021c).

[28] I thank Michael Gerli for suggesting the similarity between his observation of a *vaticinium post eventum* effect in *Persiles* III.11 and this theory of postdating in Góngora's manuscript.

[29] The coveted manuscript was dedicated by Chacón to Olivares in 1628, destined for the Count-Duke's library (Carriera, *Gongoremas* 80).

[30] Balderston (1-51, 16).

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