

**Ekphrasis, Tolerance and Internalized Conquest
in a Selection of Hispanic Early Modern Images and Texts¹**

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In honor of Emily Bergmann

The sacred image or icon, a point of contention between Catholicism and Protestantism, but also between Catholicism and the other religions of the Iberian Peninsula and its American colonies, becomes a focus for catechization during the Counterreformation in Spain. It also becomes a site of conflicted representation in the arts. I propose to examine iconicity, interpellation and the play of representation, focusing on selected images of the Virgin Mary and of the bleeding body of Christ, in Spain and Spanish America, in cases of ekphrasis in literary texts as well as in examples from the visual arts. My purpose will be to historicize this selection of images by locating the aesthetic debates of the time within the context of the evangelization campaigns of the Moriscos and indigenous as colonized peoples, as well as within the generalized oppression of Iberian confessional minorities, including the judeoconversos. In this sense, I will be expanding Lois Parkinson Zamora's work on the Baroque image in her transatlantic study, *The Inordinate Eye*, while examining two peninsular textual selections, by Luis de Góngora and Miguel de Cervantes, and two colonial examples by Hernando Domínguez Camargo and Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz.

Góngora's "De pura honestidad templo sagrado" and the Topic of Christian Idolatry

I will begin by analyzing Luis de Góngora's 1582² sonnet, "De pura honestidad templo sagrado," whose portrayal of iconicity has recently benefitted from new critical approaches, validating and bringing to fruition the initial speculation by Emilie Bergmann that the sonnet may well have had a yet unidentified iconic subject. The sonnet reads as follows:

De pura honestidad templo sagrado,
cuyo bello cimientó y gentil muro
de blanco nácar y alabastro duro
fue por divina mano fabricado;

pequeña puerta de coral preciado,
claras lumbreras de mirar seguro
que a la esmeralda fina el verde puro
habéis para viriles usurpado;

soberbio techo, cuyas cimbrías de oro
al claro sol, en cuanto en torno gira,
ornan de luz, coronan de belleza;

¹ I would like to thank Ivonne del Valle, Christina Lee, and Carolyn Dean for their advice and Daniel Waissbein for the inspiration of his correspondence. I am also Courtesy Assistant Professor of Spanish at the University of Oregon.

² I use Antonio Carreira's dating from his edition of Góngora's poetry, *Antología poética*.

ídolo bello a quien humilde adoro,
 oye piadoso al que por ti suspira,
 tus himnos canta y tus virtudes reza. (*Antología poética* 87)

Bergmann argues that "the architectural analogy of the body has the religious significance of a temple"; the "bodily edifice" "contains and enshrines the soul of the lady to whom the sonnet is directed" (309, 310). Citing Petrarch and other sources, she states that in the poem, "Christian and pagan images are combined: the eyes are transparent windows, the 'viriles of a reliquary'" (310). That the poet addresses "his prayer to the 'ídolo bello'" strikes her as "incongruous in an otherwise consistently Christian setting," and she ventures that "the 'ídolo' suggests an icon within the temple itself, perhaps another imaginary physical representation of the spiritual being to whom he directs his 'himnos'" (311). Both Nigel Griffin (847) and Daniel Waissbein now claim that the poem's subject is indeed an icon, specifically a statue. Waissbein, in an explicit nod to Bergmann's prescience within the critical history (2010: 110-11) has identified the statue as that of the Virgen de Villaviciosa, whose home was most consistently the Cathedral of Córdoba in which Góngora would later hold a hereditary position as prebend (117).

Both Griffin and Waissbein offer renewed insight into this well-studied sonnet. Is it sacred or secular, amorous or devout? What indeed is the relationship of the sonnet to its Petrarchan antecedents? The sonnet was controversial in its day. The Jesuit Padre Juan de Pineda censured the poem, deleting verse 12, "ídolo bello a quien humilde adoro," calling it "loca exageración de profanos poetas, que en boca de un sacerdote, y junta con otras demasías, se hace más intolerable y menos digna de disimularse" (Jammes 303 n. 21)³ Waissbein argues that Pineda had objected to the sonnet within "la ortodoxia post-tridentina" "porque lo entendió en su verdadero significado, de idolatría a la Virgen, equiparada con Dios" (112). As he maintains, "«De pura honestidad...» no es soneto amoroso donde se utilizan imágenes religiosas para describir a la mujer amada, sino que, por el contrario, describe una escultura de la Virgen María, en una de sus apariciones específicas, para idolatrar a la cual el poeta se sirve de metáforas petrarquistas" (114). In short, he calls the poem a case of "petrarquismo «a lo divino»" *sui generis*" (114). *Sui generis* indeed, because the sonnet is no exemplar of Counterreformation orthodoxy, but rather through the use of the word "ídolo" voices the topic of Christian idolatry. The use of Petrarchan blazon to praise Mary was perhaps not in itself the source of scandal; it was later used, for example, in Domínguez Camargo's *Poema heroico* in praise of St. Ignatius of Loyola (Mayers 124-25).⁴ However, as Waissbein suggests, the veneration of sacred image would have been especially charged for a poet of known judeoconverso origins such as Góngora (133-34).

Nigel Griffin elegantly analyzes the structures of the sonnet in its Petrarchan and Christian contexts. Beyond its imitation of a passage from Petrarch's *Canzonere* 325, "Tacer non posso e temo non adopre," in its elaboration in precious materials of the lady's attributes, the sonnet draws on Petrarch's final *rime* of the poet's reconciliation with the Virgin (841,848). As Griffin argues, "The poet is here both Christianizing courtly love and also trying to do what Petrarch had done in Poem 366, the last of the *Rime in morte*, where the figure of the dead Laura was gradually transformed into a likeness of the Virgin Mary" (848). The issue, however, is the effect of the extreme condensation of this trajectory in the sonnet, which highlights both a conceit based on

³ Griffin points out that at the time of composition, Góngora had not yet even taken minor orders (840). Both Griffin and Waissbein cite Pineda's criticism though Jammes.

⁴ Kathryn Mayers cites this in Bk 2 Canto 2, stanzas 35-46 of Domínguez Camargo's poem.

Marian mystery as well as the aesthetic effect of what Griffin has termed "broaching," or the embedding of images within multiple layers of containment: "the idea of one sacred image set within another" as if framed by a monstrance or a reliquary: "an *ídolo bello* in a *templo sagrado*" (843).

The sun's light illuminating the statue from window shafts, *lumbreras*, is thought by Griffin to reference the mystery of Mary's perpetual virginity, described in the 1566 Roman Catechism of the Council of Trent in the analogy of the rays of the sun penetrating it without breaking it (847 n. 18).⁵ In the specular play of light Góngora subtly vies with Petrarch's Marian conceit from *Rime* 366:

Vergine pura, d'ogni parte intera,
del tuo parto gentil figliuola et madre,
 ch'allumi questa vita et l'altra adorni:
 per te il tuo Figlio et quel del sommo Padre
 (o fenestra del Ciel lucente altera)
 venne a salvarne in su li estremi giorni,
 et fra tutt'i terreni altri soggiorni
 sola tu fosti eletta. (*Petrarch's Lyric Poems* 577, 27-34; Italics mine)⁶

If for Petrarch, Mary is both daughter and mother of her divine son, for Góngora she is the recipient of divine light as well as its mirror,⁷ a pure vessel which returns the divine to God as his son. She is, in another level of "broaching," a dwelling, which Griffin identifies as a cathedral, as well as all of Christendom (847), Holy Mother Church, but also, he suggests, the Cathedral of Córdoba, defined as "gentil" and characterized by "usurpación" in its appropriation of the former Great Mosque (845, 848). The proliferation, density and economy of Góngora's imagery signals not a juvenile exercise of Petrarchan imitation but a virtuoso performance (Griffin 840-41; Waissbein 2010, 124).

One could also place Góngora's Petrarchan innovation within the context of his own later poetic manifesto in defense of his radical lyric poem, the *Soledades*, his "Carta en respuesta" written to Fernando Fernández de Córdoba, the Abad de Rute. In his initial *Parecer*, the Abad de Rute cites St. Jerome's defense of obscurity in prophecy but insists that the saint's arguments cannot apply to Góngora's poem: "Pues no es este poema misterios de religión ni profecía, de que no deben hacerse participantes muchos" (Pariente 35). Góngora then responds, "Pregunto yo: ¿han sido útiles al mundo las poesías y aun las profecías (que *vates* se llama el poeta como el profeta)? Sería error negarlo" (*Obras* II, 296). Interestingly, like Augustine's response to Petrarch's

⁵ Griffin reads one sense of the "cimbrias" as an allusion to the fiercely defended virginity of the Cimbriae described by Plutarch; he also reads an allusion to hairpins (843). Waissbein signals a number of other echoes here (2010, 117) as well as references to the vaulting of the ceiling and the statue's halo (132). No one seems to have suggested the possibility of a graphically erotic reading of "pequeña puerta de coral," as part of a meditation on the materiality of the site of Mary's virginity, which in the context of the poem would have been an excess even for this transgressive a poet. Both Griffin (849 n. 21) and Waissbein (2010, 109-110) cite the dedication added to the sonnet by an anonymous copyist: "A doña Clara de Lumbreras, monja de Andalucía," a possible play on the fact that the convent of Santa Clara faces the Calle de las Lumbreras; a propos of this Waissbein mentions the censorship of one of Góngora's *décimas* on lovers who frequented the convents of this order.

⁶ Waissbein cites "fenestra del Ciel" and "lucente" as well as a number of other echoes (2010, 123-29).

⁷ As Waissbein notes, the sonnet refers to Mary (and her sculpture) as a "templo sagrado" "por divina mano fabricado" (2010, 130). Griffin cites Tyler Fischer's doctoral thesis, which notes that Mary is often portrayed with the attribute of a mirror, which he associates with "the Pauline *speculum*" (847 n. 18). The statue represents Mary holding her son.

assertion, in the *Secretum*, that his love for Laura had led him to God, namely, that he had inverted the true order,⁸ Góngora reverses the order of importance of poetry and prophecy: ¿"han sido útiles al mundo las poesías y aun las profecías...?" (*Obras* II, 296). Góngora continues the process of secularization begun by Petrarch to affirm the subjective vision of the poet, using the language of the scholastics to go beyond them. In this sense Góngora's arguments in his *Carta* are *pseudosacerdotal*, and his reference to Augustine's *sententia* (*Inquietum est cor nostrum, donec requiescat in te*) should be read as the same sort of defensive display of orthodoxy which Américo Castro notes in Cervantes' otherwise subversive text (Castro 256).⁹

The Peruvian defender of Góngora, Juan de Espinosa Medrano, was the first to understand the poet's accomplishments in creating such a secular notion of art (Giordano 231).¹⁰ As André Collard argued,

Espinosa Medrano es el único en contestar el cargo según los principios gongorinos: el descubrimiento de Góngora es haber comprendido *la diferencia esencial entre el arte sagrado y el arte secular. Góngora . . . supo divorciar la función del poeta de la del profeta* (103—emphasis mine).

Later criticism has seen Góngora's virtuoso cultivation of form as a space in which the poet engages his humanist readers and patrons with an ambition for political reform.¹¹ Perhaps this Petrarchan sonnet of Góngora's anticipates aspects of Góngora's radical use of poetry to communicate an artistic vision which engages the debates of the day beyond Counterreformation orthodoxy.

The sonnet thus sets up a series of paradoxes. Góngora was a devotee of the Virgin within popular folkloric tradition, donating cloth to make the Virgen de Villaviciosa of the Córdoba Cathedral a cape in thanksgiving for recovery from an illness (Alonso 33-34, cited by Weissbein 2010, 118-19). During his lifetime he enjoyed church activities as an occasion for artistic creation¹² and used his detailed knowledge of scripture and theology to inform his poetry, sometimes as coded political critique.¹³ The topic of the sonnet, the celebration of the sacred image, is clearly consonant with the project of Catholic art. The problem is the way Marian doctrine in the poem becomes just another source of raw material for artistry, divorced from any clear didactic goal—Collard's point—which was exactly the position of the more extreme Protestants. Palma Martínez-Burgos García, in her essential study, *Ídolos e Imágenes: La controversia del arte religioso en el siglo XV español*, cites the arguments of the Spanish declared Protestant, Cipriano de Valera, in reference to sacred images which contextualize the polemical attacks on Gongorism, often maligned as "culterano / luterano": «Las tales imágenes son

⁸ See Estrin (43).

⁹ Indeed, Dana Bultman suggests that Góngora's usurpation of exegetical functions previously reserved for theologians was part of what was behind the attacks on his poetry as heresy (7). For an opposite reading of Góngora's "Carta" within Scholastic orthodoxy, see Collins (1-51, especially 6-7).

¹⁰ See González Echevarría (149-69) and Beverley (2008, 123-25) regarding Espinosa Medrano's defense of Gongorism.

¹¹ On Góngora and reader response see Beverley, *Aspects* (7-8); Rivers, "Góngora and his Readers," Blanco, Sasaki and Chemris (2008, 57).

¹² See Weissbein (2013) on Góngora's participation in the pageantry of church processions in "No todos son ruiseñores."

¹³ See Chemris (2016, 2018, and 2019) regarding Góngora's camouflaged opposition to the expulsion of the Moriscos in the *Soledades*.

prohibidas por la Ley de Dios. Y así el arte de entallar, esculpir, pintar y dibujar, cuando no es para este fin no es prohibida sino lícita» (35).¹⁴ Yet on the other hand, Góngora seems to articulate the very Christian idolatry sanctioned by Protestantism. Góngora's contradictory and paradoxical flight from didacticism in the service of artistic expression leads Ignacio Navarrete to read the poem as more than anything else, a sonnet of its own construction (203, 192).

Góngora's use of the controversial phrase, "ídolo bello," has been read by Griffin as simply the sort of Latinism favored by Góngora (845). Waissbein associates it with a Renaissance "paganismo clásico de un Petrarca que llama *Dea* a la Virgen" in the final poem of the *Rime*, a combination which shocked some of his contemporaries (2010, 133). Carmen Bernand has observed a turn to an earlier Renaissance classicism and ecumenism in Inca Garcilaso and his broader humanist circle, one which included Góngora. Mercedes Blanco notes such a turn to such an earlier aesthetic moment in Góngora's poetry, and remarks upon a kind of early modern anthropological curiosity at work in the poet's comparison of the sacrament of the Eucharist with the cult of Dionysus, in his controversial description of the sacrilegious billy goat in the *Soledades* (2012, 385-86). Humanist study of Spain's classical roots was implicated in cross-cultural meditations on history in the wake of the consolidation of the conquest of indigenous civilization and the debates over the Morisco expulsion. Drawing on Griffin's remarks on the figuration of the Cathedral's "usurpación" of the Great Mosque in the sonnet, I will argue that we should read the poem more deeply against this backdrop of Spain's evangelization project as a force for imperial and national consolidation.

The sonnet is transgressive for more than its deification of the Virgin. It is impossible to read the reference to "ídolo" outside the context of the evangelization campaigns of the indigenous.¹⁵ The use of the word "ídolo" is evocative of the parallels between the classical world and "local religion"¹⁶ of shrine madonnas, —the Virgen de Villaviciosa being yet one example— but also of potential parallels with the idols of the New World. In this regard, we might also consider the shafts of light in the sonnet which illuminate the statue during the sun's apparent daily transit¹⁷ in the context of the sacred architecture of solar cults. If one extends the studies of Blanco, Bernand and Waissbein, one could argue that Góngora and other more critical humanists used earlier Renaissance paganism as a utopian space from which to critique Counterreformation orthodoxy and cultural intolerance. Góngora, like Inca Garcilaso, stands out for associating this classical revival with New World indigenous culture, engaging their commonality.¹⁸

The Counterreformation, as Martínez-Burgos points out, occasioned a shift to notions of decorum in sacred art, in a defensive response to Protestant critique of artistic and theological excesses unfounded in Scripture (24; 38-39). Decorum, by defining prescribed parameters, offered a solution to vexing questions regarding the extent to which sacred art was possible without falling

¹⁴ The date of this first edition of this treatise is 1588; Martínez-Burgos quotes from the second, augmented, edition of 1599.

¹⁵ Although Waissbein reads a figurative meaning for *ídolo* in a secular context, as a term of endearment, he also cites the rather strident terms with which Covarrubias defines "ídolo" as the image of a false god, such as that revered by ancients and gentiles and especially the Indians of the New World: "demonio o criatura de las que los indios y los demás bárbaros reverencian y adoran, inducidos los unos y los otros por el demonio" (2010, 112, citing Covarrubias 766).

¹⁶ This is William Christian's term from his eponymous work (1981b).

¹⁷ Waissbein describes this well in his two articles, raising the context of the suppression of Galileo in the second (2010, 116-17, 132; 2016).

¹⁸ See Chemris (2018) which incorporates recent scholarship on Inca Garcilaso, addressing the relationship between the two writers and its expression in the *Soledades*.

into idolatry or heresy.¹⁹ In this context, the shift to notions of decorum at issue in the polemic over Gongorism was not just driven by aesthetics. As Seth Kimmel has shown, Church debates over evangelization (in his study, of the Moriscos) were a driver for the development of history as well as other branches of knowledge as disciplines (14).²⁰ In a similar manner, the church debates implicated in the defensive orthodoxy of the Counterreformation could be seen as a driver of a shift in notions of decorum more generally in the arts, which engaged Gongorism as an oppositional tendency within Spanish letters, what John Beverley has understood as form of avant-garde hegemony (*Against Literature* 59).

Cervantes and Góngora as Voices of Tolerance: Christian Idolatry and the Case of "The Captive's Tale"

As voices of relative tolerance in Spanish letters, Góngora and Cervantes confronted the use of sacred art in visual culture as a vehicle for orthodoxy. Both create a kind of face-off between the cult of Mary and her avatar in the courtly love tradition. In the *Quijote*, Cervantes repeats Góngora's "Christianization of courtly love" in reverse, setting Don Quijote out to charge against a procession of penitents carrying aloft a sacred image of the Virgin, who the knight interprets as a lady in distress (I, 52). In a related case, in the love story of "The Captive's Tale" (*Quijote* I, 37-42) the Morisca, Zoraida, is represented within Marian iconography, as Michael Gerli and Christina Lee have shown, to critique Spanish cultural intolerance. In so doing, Cervantes develops a variant of Góngora's ekphrastic and critical representation of the Virgin Mary within another amorous context, now in narrative prose.

"The Captive's Tale" describes the liberation of a Christian captive, Ruy Pérez de Viedma, through the agency of the Moorish convert to Christianity, Zoraida. Christina Lee has located Zoraida within the tradition of the shrine madonna, a tradition which is figured, as we have seen, in the Góngora sonnet. Lee explores the shrine madonna as a type of Marian image defined in anthropological terms by the religious studies scholar William Christian, who established a distinction between "generalized" and "shrine" Marian images. In generalized representations, the statues are understood for their "symbolic value," whereas shrine images derive power associated with "the statue's physical being" (Lee 107-8, 110, citing Christian 1972, 44, 46). As Lee points out, shrine madonnas show attachment to their site and offer devotees delivery from disease, drought, want and most pointedly, liberation from captivity (111). Thus, Zoraida's physical appearance, as Lee observes, "is remarkably evocative of an overly decorated Madonna" and her role in the tale "fits the pattern and structure of legends of Marian apparitions and findings" (109).

In this regard Lee reads Zoraida's "semi-miraculous apparition" to Ruy Pérez as consonant with popular Spanish Marian legend (110). As she explains, "these legends (of the pre-1600s) typically take place during the time of the Reconquest and involve the hiding of the image of the Madonna in a cave or on a hillside in order to prevent destruction by the infidels. The 'recovering' of Marian icons buried underground is closely linked to the re-conquest of the Iberian Peninsula"

¹⁹ Martínez-Burgos describes the primacy of the sacred image and visual culture in the Baroque of the Counterreformation as a vehicle for propaganda controlled by a new arsenal of rules: "Este instrumento que la Iglesia moldeará su gusto ofrece, a cambio de la enorme ventaja de constituir una propaganda eficiente y universal, un doble filo ya que, si por un lado muestra su enorme poder catequístico, por el otro esconde el peligro del error y de la herejía. A pesar de ello, el riesgo merece la pena y precisamente para evitar malentendidos se despliega toda una retórica destinada a no dar ese paso en falso partiendo de unas normas, reglas, consejos, prohibiciones y, en definitiva, de un control a todos los niveles" (44).

²⁰ Here Kimmel expands the work of Mercedes García Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano.

(110). Thus, for Lee, Zoraida appears to Ruy Pérez, like the emergence of a shrine madonna, seemingly buried in the walls and then associated with a miraculous sign, the cane cross she lowers to him from her window (112-13). The cane cross is significant, because a barrier to the catechization of the Moriscos was their intransigent refusal to abandon the Islamic prohibition of the adoration of sacred images.²¹ It also functions as a kind of token typical of the courtly love tradition.

Zoraida establishes communication with the Christian captive through a letter in Arabic revealing her devotion to Mary, her own name, as Michael Gerli points out, possibly suggesting "star" or "Pleiades" in Arabic and thereby calling to mind the Virgin's epithet as "*stella maris*" (50). Zoraida is welcomed by the captive in terms which recall the Petrarchan deification of the Virgin at issue in Góngora's sonnet; he calls her "deidad del cielo" (Gerli 52) who serves as a guide for the "voyage of deliverance" of the couple in "a journey of symbolic return" (50, 56). Zoraida ransoms the captive and buys the freedom for herself to live openly as a Christian. At the completion of their journey, upon arrival in Spain, she enters a church and recognizes the icons of her "Lela Marien," the Virgin Mary. This interaction is significant because, once again, her acceptance of the sacred image defines her conversion.²²

Michael Gerli, like Luis Murillo,²³ reads the story within a larger historical and mythic canvas; he calls the tale "a deconstruction and rewriting of Spain's foundational fiction of Reconquest—the legend of La Cava Rumía or the destruction of Spain by the Arabs" (42). The relationship between Ruy Pérez and Zoraida instead foretells "the promise of a Christian Spain in interracial marriage" (57), the same goal of "permisión" advocated by Góngora's humanist mentor, Pedro de Valencia. Zoraida's identification with Mary Immaculate becomes a defense of New Christians against "limpieza de sangre" statutes; as Lee argues, for Ruy Pérez, "given Zoraida's proven immaculate Christianity (Spanishness), the marriage will not tarnish his pure blood" (116). She is veiled like Mary, and when she and Ruy Pérez seek lodging and find "no room at the inn," they are portrayed, in Gerli's words, as "transparent avatars of Mary and Joseph on the eve of Christian redemption" (42), with "Zoraida's public profession of faith" reminding readers of "humanity's salvation through the agency of a Semitic woman" (54). Conversely, as Steven Hutchinson has shown, the fantastic quality of the tale casts in sharp relief the cruel realities of the impending Morisco expulsion, the historical closure of the Islamic presence begun by the legendary invasion (165).

I had approached this tale with the expectation that it would validate Cervantes's Erasmian heritage, the critique of fraudulent miracles promised to return captives, or, as Lee has mentioned, the admonitions against dressing statues.²⁴ I accept Gerli's argument that the tale may well express the converso origins of Cervantes in sympathies for "the primacy of faith" and "non ceremonial

²¹ Martínez-Burgos notes that Talavera, the first archbishop of Granada, in 1496 cited the "revalorización de todos los objetos sagrados" as one of the strongest points of contention in the catechization of the Moriscos (32 n.46).

²² Helena Percas de Ponseti cites early interventions regarding Zoraida's ostensible "mariolatría e iconolatría," in which critics viewed the episode as Cervantes's comment on Church debates in the Council of Trent on these topics (1, 233). In such inspiration in Church debate, one observes another parallel with Góngora.

²³ Both Gerli and Lee mention Murillo in their citation of the tale's critical history.

²⁴ Martínez-Burgos cites Alonso Madrigal's 1512 attack on the alleged miraculous power of images to return captives as typical of the corruption involved in the cult of images (34 n. 49) and Lee cites her and Webster on the number of religious authors, including San Juan de la Cruz and Juan de Ávila, who condemned the ornate dressing of statues (118 n. 10, citing Martínez-Burgos 272-79 and Webster 118-19); see also Martínez-Burgos (33). See Martínez-Burgos (31) on descendants of conversos having an incentive to demonstrate adoration of sacred images and Waissbein on the effect of this incentive upon Góngora (133).

forms of Christianity," as the tale depicts the statue of the Virgin as flesh and blood in a "fictional microcosm of everyday life" (47, 177 n. 6; 58). But I am even more convinced by his arguments for Cervantes's Marian devotion in the context of the revisionist histories associated with the Lead Books, which purported to demonstrate an early Arabic Christianity as well as the Jewish origins of certain Spanish cities, thereby legitimizing aggrieved citizens of Islamic and Judaic descent (Gerli 51; García Arenal 2006, 581). Recent scholarship links the rise of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception with the national consolidation of Spain along racial and religious lines (Hernández 41). Yet what is most striking is how Mary Immaculate also becomes a flashpoint for the resistance of confessional minorities, not only in Cervantes, as Lee and Gerli have well demonstrated, but in other writers of the period representative of oppressed and colonized subjects. José Cárdenas Bunsen has shown that both Miguel de Luna and Inca Garcilaso presented Mary Immaculate as a figure of restorative justice in affirming the immaculate nature and legitimacy of their own peoples.²⁵ This correlates with Góngora's focus on Mary's purity in his sonnet and with Gerli's assertion that Cervantes, in his writings, associates Mary's purity with peace and justice (47-48). It also resonates with María Antonia Garcés's observation of the association of Zoraida with the Virgin Mary of *Revelations*, of the moment in the Bible when justice is restored (214).²⁶

Nuestra Señora del Sagrario: Visual Gongorism and Christian State Building

If Góngora's and Cervantes's plays with representations of Mary within the register of courtly love both lean heavily on the image of the shrine virgin, this is perhaps because the shrine virgin as a figure is implicated in the political and cultural tensions of the period. William Christian describes shrine virgins as a key feature of local religion, always in a dialectical relationship with the "Church Universal" (1981b, 178). Rooted in the landscape, local religion, Christian maintains, offered the special protection of particular shrine patrons not only against local afflictions of the population and its agriculture, but "[i]n cities they might offer political protection as well" (1981b, 176). Thus, many shrine virgins were associated with miraculous interventions in support of the Christians against the Moors—as Lee and Christian point out²⁷—and were used to substantiate regional claims for early Christian origins for various cities. A case in point is a curious representation of Our Lady del Sagrario in Counter-Reformation Toledo, about which Cloe Cavero de Carondelet has written, presenting a case in the visual arts which is suggestive of the dynamics of Góngora's poetics, from his sonnet to later manifestations.

Cavero de Carondelet analyzes a singular case of a drawing by Eugenio Cajés, an apparent sketch for a statue painting, which depicted a "new episode" inserted into the legend of Our Lady del Sagrario. In the original Medieval legend, as she describes, Our Lady was said to have descended from heaven to give the archbishop of Toledo, San Ildefonso, a chasuble. To safeguard the miraculous gift from the Moors, the chasuble and Ildefonso's relics were sent to Oviedo. In the context of the competition among the 16th century Spanish cities to demonstrate early Christian origins, the Toledo cult was revived, focusing on the statue of the Virgin of Sagrario which had miraculously reappeared—like Góngora's statue of the Virgin of Villaviciosa, I will add—after the

²⁵ 2018a (333-406, 410, 405) and 2018b. Gerli notes that the Lead books "stipulated a belief in the Immaculate Conception of Mary" (118 n. 8).

²⁶ While in the discourse of the period, Apocalypse, the coming of the New Jerusalem, is associated with Christian triumphalism, it is possible that for a population of critical New Christians its evocation may have functioned as a space in which to configure utopian aspirations.

²⁷ Lee (110-11), citing Christian (1981a, 55). See also Christian (1981a, 89-90).

Reconquest. Cajés's image depicts the new episode, of a more recent miracle of the Virgin descending to the Church of Toledo to embrace her statue, thereby reinforcing the cult (921-27).

In Cavero de Carondelet's opinion, Cajés's drawing raised unsettling questions related to its complex representations as "metapainting" (945). As she argues,

A painting that showed how the Virgin had chosen to honour one of her own portraits with her embrace, could indeed make the believer wonder if this replica was more powerful and worthy of veneration than the prototype itself. Thus, it can be argued that Cajés' drawing inadvertently challenged the sacred status of Marian images as replicas of the Virgin (949).

Cavero de Carondelet's conclusions on the diminished didactic value of metapainting correlate with those of Navarrete which deemed Góngora's "De pura honestidad" to be "a sonnet of its own construction," a performance of itself more than of any Counterreformation orthodoxy. Yet as John Beverley has argued, despite Góngora's challenges to orthodoxy on the peninsula, in the colony Gongorism was typically channeled into the ideological mainstream (2008, 72-84; 82). Gongorist religious poetry, here represented by the Hernando Domínguez Camargo's *Poema heroico*, portrayed our second iconic figure, the bleeding body of the crucified Christ, in precious and graphic detail.

Domínguez Camargo's Gongorist *Cristo sangrante* and the Science of Suffering

Luis de Góngora had depicted bloody scenes of hunting at various points in his major lyric work, the *Soledades*, in a kind of "cruel decorativeness"²⁸ which he inherited from the secular poetry of Giambattista Marino. Domínguez Camargo returns this Gongorine feature to its Jesuit roots in his poem, notably in moments such as the ekphrastic depiction of a crucifix in Ignatius's meditations while in retreat in a cave in Monserrat. This description, from Book 2, canto 4, is signaled by Kathryn Mayers:

las blancas manos y los pies nevados:
cada cual, sobre boto, así es severo,
que en cárdenos rubíes desatados,
al que fue el paraíso de los ojos,
cuatro raudales lo desatan rojos. [stanza 120, 140]

Rota la encía, ensangrentado el diente,
en el último anhelo el labio abierto,
poca lengua a la vista le consiente,
que al paladar se eleva descubierto:
no sepulcros de pórfido luciente,
de jaspes si manchados, donde al yerto
cadáver de la lengua destrozada,
cubren terrones de su sangre helada [stanza 124, 141] (123).

Mayers remarks these passages: "The crucifix's vivid colors and detailed wounds—its white hands and snowy feet, its ruby streams of blood, broken gums and blood-stained teeth—recall

²⁸ This is Harold Skulsky's term; see Chemris (2008) for examples.

polychromatic images of saints and their sufferings such as the *Cristo de la Clemencia* sculpted by Juan Martínez Montañés in 1603" (123). Citing this and other icons depicted by Domínguez Camargo, she argues that "their explicit, naturalistic physical depiction of topics of suffering (the gore of the crucifix's ruby streams of blood and blood-stained teeth) encourage a communal, Counter-Reformationist envisioning of divinity in the mind's eye by evoking empathy in the viewers" (125).

William Christian describes the flourishing of penitential brotherhoods (*cofradías*) of flagellants in sixteenth century Castille and Catalonia as exemplars of such Counterreformation practice. He cites the constitutions of the Cáceres brotherhood which make the specular relationship between the brothers' mortification and Christ's suffering explicit; in memory of the passion, "The flagellants shed their blood in imitation of Christ and for the remission of their sins" (1981b, 185). He describes how such *cofradías* carried images of the suffering Christ which "came alive" in Holy Week processions: "the very realistic images they carried . . . were crafted to be as lifelike as possible. The people dressed and whipped themselves and wept so they looked like the images; and the images sweated blood and wept as if they were people" (197). The spectacle was directed toward what Christian has represented as the propitiation of an "angry god" through penance (207-8).

The naturalism and lifelike qualities of these statues of the suffering Christ, called *Cristos sangrantes*, or if laid out in display in a sepulcher, *Cristos yacentes*, are a function, curiously enough, of the application of early modern science. Tiffany Lynn Hunt argues that while scholars such as Katherine Park and Jonathan Sawday have presented the rise of anatomical images as a case of art serving science, in fact the opposite also obtains (397). She points to the role of Spain in the development of anatomy as a science informed by dissection and direct observation, codified in treatises by Andreas Vesalius, who served as a physician to the Spanish court (394-401). Among the Spanish Vesalians she mentions is Gaspar Becerra, who was a medical illustrator for anatomy texts before creating his *Cristo yacente* for the Monasterio de las Descalzas Reales in Madrid (402). Becerra's statue was a precedent for Gregorio Fernández's first *Cristo yacente* (1609) which "codifies a stylistic canon for the Cristos" focused on the five holy wounds (402-3). Fernández's lifelike wounds, Hunt argues, invited devotion in "a particular confluence of interests between art, religion and science where understanding the mechanics of the wound went hand-in-hand with understanding the mechanics of salvation" (420).

The crucifix ekphrastically evoked in Domínguez Camargo's poetry is reproduced in Latin American *Cristos sangrantes* following the models Hunt presents in their attention to anatomical detail. Lois Parkinson Zamora describes such religious practices which continue to this day:

During Holy Week, the *Cristos sangrantes* are removed from walls and placed in aisles or in front of altars, where their wounds can be touched. Paint is worn off knees, feet, hands, because the image itself is understood to contain spirit.... The *Cristos sangrantes*, like the ancient "idols," are empowered by the unstated assumption that if well and truly made, the image *becomes* the thing it resembles.... They continue to lay claim to the popular imagination because they continue to engage both indigenous and Counter-Reformation traditions of visual representation" (38-39).

Here Parkinson Zamora essentially makes an argument for the interpellation of indigenous beliefs through Catholic sacred art. The idea of such a confluence is contentious, engaging competing narratives of indigenous resistance to spiritual conquest, creole civic affirmation and emergent

indigenous Christianity, any of which might pertain depending upon the time, place and subjects at issue. Three Andean cases, Pedro de Noguera's "Cristo del Descendimiento" of Lima, the Cristo de Huanca mural of the Pachatusan mountain near Cuzco, and the Señor de los Temblores of the Cuzco Cathedral, illustrate the conflicting political aspects of the devotion to the suffering Christ, rooted in tensions of class and race which arose out of the experience of colonialism.

Three Andean Cristos: Image as Contested Space

Noguera's polychrome statue known as the "Cristo del Descendimiento" (1619-20), is a sculpture of the *Cristo sangrante* used in Good Friday processions by the Lima Cofradía de Nuestra Señora de la Soledad, a confraternity founded in Spain and dedicated to honoring Christ's passion. The statue is noteworthy for having moveable joints in the arms and neck to allow the *cofrades* to crucify and also take down the sculpture. In the ceremonial act of "descendimiento," the broken body of Christ is taken down and laid to rest in a glass sepulcher from which it is then viewed as a *Cristo yacente*, a common feature of churches in the region. According to Annick Benavides Workman, the descendimiento rite "ofrecía la oportunidad de celebrar y fortalecer enlaces entre los distinguidos ciudadanos españoles y criollos de Lima con la Metrópolis" as well as to differentiate the city from others in Peru (6). The participants in the penitential procession embraced all strata of Lima's elite, including the prestigious religious and military orders (11). The cult in Lima thus demonstrates elite creole sponsorship and no apparent indigenous participation.

The mountain cult to the suffering Christ of Huanca illustrates the workings of a process of creole domination of indigenous spirituality, a corollary to the common practice of founding Christian shrines on indigenous sacred sites, where missionaries hoped to channel the devotions of the conquered. This process of the Christ of Huanca's "officialization" is described by Michael J. Sallnow (730; 735-39). As Sallnow explains, the Huanca shrine features a mural of the flagellated Christ, who was said to have appeared on a sacred rock in a cave to which an indigenous laborer in the gold mines, Diego Quispe, had fled, fearing punishment for a minor offense. This first apparition (of 1675) causes the Indian to faint, dreaming of the scourged figure, who tells Quispe to communicate to the local priest his desire to found a shrine on the spot. The vision was then recorded as a mural on the rock, enclosed in a chapel overseen by the Mercedarians. Many years later (in 1717), the shrine now in ruins, a wealthy mine owner, Pedro Valero, is cured by a chance encounter with a doctor named "Emmanuel," who instructs him to visit the site. Valero then rediscovers the mural whose Christ bears the features of the enigmatic "doctor" (735). As Sallnow comments, "it required a visionary of higher social status than Diego Quispe to secure full ecclesiastical recognition of the devotion"; "while the cult originated from the vision of an Indian, it owes its present popularity to a seer who nowadays would be classed as a mestizo" (736). Devotees, who participate in self-flagellation, are now mainly mestizos, traditional indigenous pilgrimage activities such as dancing and drinking having been banned in the 1920s (738).

Curiously, as Sallnow has shown, indigenous traditional religious practices "quickly found an alternative outlet" in another mountain shrine, Christ of the Just Judge, whose image appeared miraculously to a shepherdess on a boulder, which may have been a pre-Hispanic *huaca* (739). The new cult draws Indian participants, is festive rather than penitential, and has no ecclesiastical supervision (740). In this sense it recurs to the indigenous origins of the Huanca cult, which began with an identification with indigenous suffering in the mines, and to "a significant addendum" to the vision of Quispe, an angelic apparition to a local shepherdess who was told that when the image

of Christ and his tormenters disappeared, the Day of Judgment would arrive (736). Sallnow thus attributes "a millennial flavor" to the cult (736). He later remarks on the inversion at work: "Iconologically Huanca and the Just Judge are diametrically contrasted, the one representing the punished Christ submitting to his torturers, the other the punishing Christ sitting in judgment upon mankind" (742). Such an incorporation of features of indigenous millennialism into Andean Christianity speaks to the realities of the brutality of the conquest and the extirpation of idolatry campaigns, as well as the simmering opposition among the Indians which was expressed in what Kenneth Mills has called "deceptive coexistence" and "strategic silence" (250, 283).²⁹ It also recalls the historical context of the Taki Onqoy millennial cult which presaged later indigenous rebellion (52-53).

The Señor de los Temblores (Christ of the Earthquakes) offers a final illustration of the political and cultural dynamics at issue in the Andean *Cristo sangrante*. Maya Stanfield-Mazzi portrays this Christ as an angry deity who would send epidemics and earthquakes as punishment and retract them once appeased by penitential procession (2007, 451-52). As Stanfield-Mazzi maintains, "In his punishing aspect and following the tradition of seventeenth century campaigns against idolatry, Christ of the Earthquakes was also cast as the enemy of Andean religion" (452). Thus, the creole priest and chronicler of the city of Cuzco, Diego de Esquivel y Navia, claimed that the quake of 1707 was caused by Christ's wrath at the sight of the worship of local mountain peaks (452). The confraternity of the cult included the titled nobility and wealthiest citizens of Cuzco, providing interest bearing loans to attract elite sponsorship, to such an extent that it became, in Stanfield-Mazzi's words, a "lenient credit-grating institution" (457). Members invested in the ornamentation of the statue, donating lace skirts (the traditional loincloth) or golden, jewel-studded nails for the *Cristo sangrante*. The ornate nails, Stanfield-Mazzi asserts, were designed "to draw attention to, and aestheticize, the objects of Christ's suffering" (458). Such gilded, jeweled nails are the material expression of the aestheticization of suffering, the "cruel decorativeness" of Domínguez Camargo's Gongorist and Jesuit Baroque.

Sor Juana, the Virgin of Guadalupe, and "Proto-Nationalism"

The issues raised in the colonial reception of the image of the bleeding body of Christ are paralleled by the famous case of syncretism in the Virgin of Guadalupe, an icon which has generated similarly conflicting political narratives. Lois Parkinson Zamora has described how the original shrine Virgin of Guadalupe of Extremadura, Spain, was evoked by the conquistadors for her role as a patron of the Reconquista, her devotions now channeled into a parallel crusade against heresy (41; see also Remensnyder). Her cult in Mexico begins with her apparition at a sacred site for the Mexicas, which some believe conflate the features of Cihuacóatl, the serpent goddess, and Tonantzín, the mother goddess and consort of Quetzalcoatl (41). She was said to have appeared to the Indian, Juan Diego, offering signs as proof of her visitation in the form of Castilian roses and a miraculous painting imprinted upon Diego's *tilma* or cloak, likely the product of indigenous artisans of the second half of the 16th century (Burkhart 206). The story of the apparition was told in many forms, including the *Nican mopohua*, apparently written by an anonymous Nahua scribe, mistakenly attributed to one of the indigenous pupils of Sahagún, Antonio Valeriano (Burkhart 215-16). The text "purports to record verbatim, in Náhuatl, the conversations between the Virgin

²⁹ Cf. the use of deception or *taqiyya* among Moriscos. Mills compares the use of torture on Moriscos for heresy by the Inquisition to Franciscan excesses in sixteenth century Yucatan in which 4,500 Indians were tortured for three months (86 n. 40, citing Lea 108 and Clendinnen 74-77).

and Juan Diego," here evincing a parallel with the claim of one of the Lead Books to reproduce a conversation between St. Peter and the Virgin (Zamora 49; García Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano 272). Manuel León-Portilla observes the conventions of Nahua poetry into the tale, including the miraculous appearance of flowers in the hollow of a cloak (as cited by Zamora 50). Thus, the Virgin of Guadalupe combines strong imprints of both indigenous and Spanish religious traditions.

In a celebrated ekphrastic sonnet, Góngora's peer and successor in the New World, Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, uses the Guadalupe image as a vehicle to praise the Gongorist poetry of the Jesuit, Francisco de Castro, a Spaniard by birth but serving as a priest in Mexico:

Alaba el numen poético del Padre Francisco de Castro, de la Compañía de Jesús, en un Poema heroico en que describe la Aparición milagrosa de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Méjico, que pide la luz pública

La compuesta de flores Maravilla,
divina Protectora Americana
que a ser se para Rosa Mejicana,
apareciendo Rosa de Castilla;

la que en vez del dragón—de quien humilla
cerviz rebelde en Patmos—, huella ufana,
hasta aquí Inteligencia soberana,
de su pura grandeza pura silla;

ya el Cielo, que la copia misterioso,
segunda vez sus señas celestiales
en guarismos de flores claro suma;

pues no menos le dan traslado hermoso
las flores de tus versos sin iguales,
la maravillosa de tu culta pluma. (1689; Juana 310)

The sonnet plays on the title of Castro's poem celebrating Guadalupe, "La Octava Maravilla," to compare the miracle worked by Heaven in copying the image of the Virgin of Guadalupe on Juan Diego's *tilma* with the equally beautiful writing of the flowers of his verses. Like Góngora, she praises the Virgin to praise poetry on multiple embedded levels, but also highlights the divine origin of artistic creation. The transformation of Castilian to Mexican roses reprises the Guadalupan miracle to signal Castro's transatlantic identity, underscoring the unity of the Hispanic republic of letters at the time. Jacques Lafaye reads the sonnet as an early poetic signpost in the formation of Mexican national consciousness (68-76).³⁰

Parkinson Zamora argues that the Church in Mexico invited such syncretism out of a *criollo* desire for a pre-Christian history as a strategy for political validation (39-40). This accords with William Christian's perception of a similar dynamic in Spain. As he states, speaking of the period of the Counter-Reformation, "it was clear in this period of state-building that the saints were in some way participating in the political fortunes of Spain's kingdoms, and of Christendom as a

³⁰ Beverley argues that at the time of Sor Juana the reading publics of colony and metropolis were not distinct (2008, 177). I base my reading of the sonnet on Méndez Plancarte's notes in his edition (552-53) and Lafaye.

whole" (2981b, 199). Thus, we see parallels with the use of shrine virgin iconography to validate the claims for early Christianity in the case of the Virgins of Sagrario of Toledo, and in the various shrine virgins of cities seeking to redeem their Jewish and Islamic pasts³¹—Góngora's Córdoba being one, or the Granada of the Sacromonte finds he praised in a sonnet, another. The invented Lead books found at Sacromonte and an earlier Turpiana parchment represent disciples of St. James preaching Christianity in Arabic from the time of Nero (García Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano 13-25). Similar claims were made for an early indigenous Christianity. Guamán Poma maintained St. Bartholomew and St. Thomas evangelized in the Andes before the arrival of the Spaniards, while myth and some missionary writings identified Quetzalcóatl with St. Thomas (Stanfield-Mazzi 2013, 23; Lafaye 3, 29). For Louise M. Burkhardt, the Guadalupe legend written by the anonymous Nahua scribe validated an early Nahua Christianity as "a useful fiction for Indians, who wished to be seen as legitimate Christian citizens of the colony" and "was also potentially very appealing to criollos and mestizos in search of a legitimate identity as Mexicans" (217).

Yet William Taylor has shown that while the Guadalupe legend could be embraced, even militantly, by the indigenous, citing the case of the 1769 Tulancingo rebellion, on the whole the Guadalupe cult was a creole phenomenon (21). Drawing upon Victor Turner's concept of the "multivocality" of symbols, he portrays the Virgin of Guadalupe as at once a symbol of liberation in her redemptive capacity as Mary Immaculate, as well as a model of acceptance to colonial authority in her role as mediator (24, 20). As Taylor argues, in the absence of a standing army Spanish rule could succeed through a system of administration based on intermediaries, "defusing or postponing independent action by offended subjects" (20).

The representation of the Virgin thus becomes entwined with what Parkinson Zamora refers to as a "protonationalist" project (49). The history of the making of the image of the Virgin of Guadalupe is incorporated into her paintings as a kind of "meta-image" (49), but here not as a deconstructive gesture, but rather as part of a more direct political-historical statement. As Parkinson Zamora explains, some paintings include vistas of the site of the apparition, both the hill of the indigenous cult at Tepayac and the Basilica of Guadalupe "built ... on the (mythical) model of the ancient temple of Solomon in Jerusalem" (47). The Solomonic temple, she suggests, connotes "the metaphoric substitution of Mexico for Jerusalem, and Mexicans for the Israelites as God's chosen people" (47). The figure of Solomon's temple—what Carmen Bernand has called "la moda salomónica"—is repeated in similar protonationalist imagery by the elite of Spain's colonized and confessional minority populations (2010, 11). It also evokes the utopian goal of the New Jerusalem.

In the context of what we have explored in the shrines to the Virgins of Toledo and Villaviciosa, the Sacromonte discoveries emerge as the exception which proves the rule, offering yet another shrine virgin/miracle concocted for regional and national validation, yet ending as a case of failed syncretism, the resolution of the Spanish national question foreclosed in the face of unresolvable communal tensions. Yet if we consider Mercedes García Arenal's concept of parallel colonialisms between Moriscos and Indians, the Guadalupe cult may be a different manifestation of such failure, in what Armando Muyoema has called a "colonial imposture" of creole elites, a reminder of the continued oppression of the indigenous, failed by the Mexican revolution, but celebrated in national myth.³²

³¹ As scholars such as Mercedes García Arenal, Fernández Rodríguez Mediano and Jesús Rubio Lapaz have shown.

³² As John Beverley writes, "Seeing the *criollos*, and the new mixed or *mestizo* populations, as the main cultural actors in the formation of a properly national culture was (and is) what a contemporary indigenous scholar has called a

"Jesuit Baroque": Image and Impasse

Image, in the instances we have studied, functions as a way of imagining the future, yet also embodies all the contradictions of the Baroque impasse in which, as John Beverley has argued, the *ancien régime* stifled Spain and Spanish America's complete emergence from feudalism (2008, 12, 145-46). Thus, we witness the paradoxical conflation of feudal and modern, in the incorporation of the saints into nation building or in the wasted potential of science, as the study of anatomy was channeled into the creation of ever more realistic depictions of the body in pain for the contemplation and imitation of the faithful. William Christian describes this impasse in his own terms as a scholar in anthropological religious studies; for Christian, patronizing shrine virgins or engaging in displays of contrition are appeals by the helpless to the gods to solve problems which seem to have no solution on earth (1981b, 206-8).

Thus, the icons we have examined in art and literature configure utopian longings, but also inspire false consciousness and the channeling of social aspirations. We can therefore, like Jeanette Peterson, generalize William Taylor's thesis. If Mary is a figure of restorative justice, claimed by Iberian colonized and oppressed peoples, she is also a figure which contains that struggle, in evoking mass penitential behavior which continues to this day, in the spectacle of women in pilgrimage to *La morenita*, on knees as battered as those of a *Cristo sangrante*, or of César Chávez, casting as penitential his otherwise heroic civil rights march to Sacramento, with the banner of Guadalupe unfurled. Penitential behavior, inculcated in Iberia's colonial times by figures such as Ignatius of Loyola or Pedro de Valencia's mentor, Juan de Ávila,³³ functions as a form of "self-conquest," what Ivonne del Valle has recognized as the operative mode of "Jesuit Baroque" (142). As part of the colonial superstructure, and later, its legacy, it functions not as counter-conquest but as its internalization.

'colonial imposture,' carried out at the expense of the exclusion or marginalization of the populations that were actually colonized: the indigenous peoples and the African slaves" (2008, 144, citing Muyolema). On the Guadalupe emblem in the Mexican Revolution and the betrayal of the indigenous, see William Taylor and Peterson. On parallel colonialisms, see García Arenal, "Moriscos e indios." On the contemporary celebration of the Inca in Peruvian national myth, see Carolyn Dean (203-204; 211-13).

³³ Magnier (23). In his *Tratado*, Pedro de Valencia advocated public displays of penance as a way of winning over the Moriscos (117). On Ávila's admonition "to do violence to oneself in God," see Hunt (415-16).

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