

Moriscos, Amerindians and Góngora's *Soledades* in Context

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Literary critics have long recognized that the *Soledades*, Luis de Góngora's great lyric poem of the Spanish Baroque, engages the problem of imperial expansion and domestic agrarian crisis, citing the influence of the humanist Pedro de Valencia upon the poet. While the critique of the voyages of exploration is a well-established feature of the poem, aspects of the impact of imperial history and its literature upon the work continue to be elucidated. Most importantly, Mercedes Blanco has identified an encoded critique of the South Pacific expansion, specifically of Fernández de Quirós's aspirations for the colonization of Australia (2012a, 321-27; 331n). Recently, I have suggested that on the domestic side, the poem incorporates symbolic criticism of the expulsion of the Moriscos (Chemris 2016). I will now propose a global integration of these concerns, focusing on the transatlantic incorporation of humanist and utopian thought in the *Soledades*—and in some of Góngora's other poems—via Pedro de Valencia's writings and the *Comentarios reales* of Inca Garcilaso.

I will argue that Valencia's writings on social issues and on the Moriscos should be considered with his lesser known work on the American and Pacific colonization, given his appointment as Royal Chronicler for not only Castile but the Indies (1607-20) (Magnier 6). I will also engage with the anthropologist and biographer Carmen Bernand's provocative assertions, which locate Góngora, Pedro de Valencia and Inca Garcilaso within conflicted humanist circles that grappled with the status of national minorities and with new Biblical and Eastern studies, in the context of an emerging early modern anthropology and archeology. In doing so, I will draw on Mercedes García Arenal's work in collaboration with Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, as well as upon a new volume of essays on Inca Garcilaso edited by Sara Castro Klarén and Christian Fernández.¹

Góngora, Valencia and the Morisco Expulsion

Before turning to colonial writing as a possible source for Góngora, I will briefly reprise the impact of Valencia's social writings and of his treatise on the Moriscos.² As Grace Magnier has pointed out, Pedro de Valencia was a student of the mystic and evangelist Juan de Ávila and continued his teacher's concern for laborers in his support for a type of agrarian reform which included the Roman model of a public granary (21, 186-89, 240). Such a collective project was conceived within a concept of kingship in which the Christian monarch served as a "rey pastor" who protected his subjects from poverty (Magnier 367). John Beverley has pointed to the impossibility of effecting agrarian reform under feudal auspices, labelling Valencia's program a form of "feudal socialism" and "avant-garde hegemony," whose contradictory aspects engaged Góngora's poetic ambitions (2008, 66-67; 1993, 59, 20). Indeed, Góngora expressed various aspects of Valencia's political program in the *Soledades*, in utopian models of rural community

¹ García Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano's work has been recently expanded by Seth Kimmel, who studies Spanish intellectual history in the context of early modern Church debates on evangelization. I thank John Beverley for suggesting the new volume on Inca Garcilaso to me, as well as for encouraging this essay.

² In the discussion of Valencia, Góngora, and the Morisco expulsion which follows, I draw upon and summarize Chemris 2016.

and in the famous “discurso contra las navegaciones” of the first canto, in which an old *serrano* tearfully laments the loss of his son in the context of voyages of exploration driven by *Codicia*, greed (1994, I. 360-506).³ Valencia had been a strong opponent of overseas expansion,⁴ arguing instead that Spain needed to focus on internal reform—promoting an economy driven by labor and agriculture rather than on the influx of American silver; here he has been seen as anticipating the Physiocrats (Magnier 382-84). He also advocated for national integration, through evangelizing those Moriscos who were “flacos en la fe” rather than supporting the calls for their mass expulsion (269).

While Valencia’s writings on agriculture and witchcraft have been seen by historians such as José Antonio Maravall as anticipating Enlightenment thinkers like Gaspar Melchor Jovellanos, his meditation on the problem of the Moriscos is implicated in a feudal communalist vision. Pedro de Valencia’s perspective on the Moriscos was conditioned by the particular experience of the regions of Valencia and Andalusia, where the Morisco population had a strong history of resistance, including the Revolts of the Alpujarras in Granada (1499-1500; 1568-1570). There the Moriscos were feared as a fifth column in the face of possible Ottoman incursion, and the Spanish nobility suppressed the revolts with a brutality similar to that of the conquest of the Amerindians.⁵ The stirrings of democratic revolution in the region were historically compromised by communalism; the *germanías* of Valencia, for example, included forced baptisms of the Moors, laborers on the estates of an aristocracy which defended them (Elliott 153). Valencia himself had ties to the “Congregación de la Nueva Restauración,” supporters of Lucrecia de León, a visionary who had advocated for the poor, in the anti-Habsburg tradition of the *germanías*, but who also voiced an anti-Islamic millenarianism (Magnier 80). Valencia justified the expulsion of the Jews and abhorred Islam; his defense of the Moriscos was thus not predicated on a modern notion of religious tolerance, but on the faith-based, contemporaneous grounds that they were baptized Christians.⁶

Valencia’s solution to communal strife entailed a combination of measures designed to weaken, control and disperse the Morisco population,⁷ as well as “permisión,” the assimilation of the Moriscos through intermarriage (*Tratado*, 2000b, 118-27). Trained in the late days of the School of Salamanca, Valencia advocated the suppression of Arabic, the exemplary education of select Morisco children under hostage-like conditions, and the shifting of Morisco laborers into

³ See, for example, Woodward; Beverley 1980 (6-8, 101, n. 15) and 2008 (54-71); Blanco 2004 and Chemris 2014. Rivers discusses the *serrano*'s lament as emblematic of losses to Andalusian families caused by Spanish sea ventures (1992, 857).

⁴ The one exception to Valencia's opposition to overseas expansion was his support for conquering ports on the North African coast, a mission in which Góngora's patrons, the Dukes of Medina Sidonia, participated, and which Góngora praised in his poetry. See Valencia's "Consideraciones acerca de enfermedades y salud del reino" (c. 1618) *Obras* IV.2 (2000a, 515), and Morocho Gayo's comments, *Obras* V.1 (1993, 59). Dates for Valencia's works are from the Universidad de León definitive edition of his complete works, overseen by Gaspar Morocho Gayo and referenced in Grace Magnier's essential monograph on Valencia.

⁵ See, for example, García Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano (113). It bears noting that the young Góngora wrote a laudatory sonnet for the prefatory pages of Juan Rufo's *La Austriada* (1584), an epic poem praising the suppression of the Alpujarras revolt (Góngora y Argote 1981, 91-92).

⁶ Valencia, *Tratado* (2000b, 107); Magnier (18, 292-93).

⁷ Valencia specifically opposed sending the Moriscos to the Americas, out of fear for the example their false conversion might pose for the newly converted Amerindians, as well as of the possibility their common cause might present to the Spanish: "harían daño en los indios con la doctrina, y en la paz de la tierra con la falta de lealtad" (*Tratado* 2000b, 108; Paniagua Pérez 2003, 88-89).

sedentary work to weaken them (Paradinas, xxiii; Valencia, *Tratado* 2000b, 100, 135-36).⁸ Such measures make the case for Mercedes García Arenal's characterization of the Spanish post-Reconquista assimilation of Granada as "una empresa colonial" and the parallels with the treatment of the Amerindians, signaled in her pioneering essay stand out (1992, 169). Under such a transatlantic optic, the contradictions that Beverley has identified in Valencia's program are laid bare within an alternative form of both domestic and overseas colonialism. I agree with Seth Kimmel's argument that Valencia—relative to pro-expulsion zealots like Ribera—was an apologist for "other kinds of religious instruction and social control" (151). Yet it would be a mistake to ignore the more critical aspects of Valencia's thought, implicit in its dual nature as a form of "avant-garde hegemony" or loyal opposition.

While Valencia never approximates a modern view of religious equality, he did oppose the notion of second class citizenship for New Christians and clearly opposed the expulsion in his *Tratado acerca de los Moriscos de España* (1606) (2000b, 104-07; 123-35). In his passionate arguments against the expulsion, he specifically signals *codicia* and *avaricia*, greed and avarice, as the measure's true motives cloaked by religion, given that Morisco property was to be confiscated under the plan: "Si se les quitan las haciendas, infámase todo el hecho, como procedido de aquesta codicia, aunque se le dé otro color" (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 compelling protest against injustice to the Moriscos found its way into Góngora's poetry, and in particular, into the *Soledades*. In a subtle concatenation of literary imagery, parental grief at the hands of *Codicia* reverberates from the lament of Góngora's *serrano* to also 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,⁹ most tragically, of their children.

Góngora's literary protest against the expulsion was covert. Góngora rarely mentions the expulsion explicitly in his poetry; when he does, as in his 1609 tercets and in the ending of the *Panegírico al duque de Lerma* (1617), his meaning is ambiguous. The *Panegírico* ends abruptly, stopping the praise poem of the highlights of the duke's career just after the peace treaty with the Dutch, but just before the order for the expulsion of the Moriscos. As Beverley argues, this may have been for an intended effect, a form of "strategic incompleteness" characteristic of Góngora's production (2008, 50-52). Indeed, the historians John Elliott and Antonio Feros both point to the timing of the expulsion order as an attempt to mitigate the unpopularity of the peace treaty with the Protestant "heretics" in the Netherlands and to thus appease the advocates of Catholic militancy

⁸ For a postcolonial reading of Morisco resistance, see Mary Elizabeth Perry. Conversely, Trevor Dadson writes of Christian tolerance, especially in regions where Moriscos had been long assimilated.

⁹ Antonio Domínguez Ortiz and Bernard Vincent (181, 185-87, 195). See also Perry's eloquent and compelling examples (69-70, 98, 119, 147-49, 153-54, 172-74) and Henry Charles Lea (321-24). The expulsion occurred in various waves from 1609-1614 (Dadson).

(Elliott 301; Feros 203-04). By ending the *Panegírico* where he did, Góngora may have meant to critique the expulsion, using ambiguity as camouflage.¹⁰

In less explicit literary treatments of the topic of the Morisco expulsion, Góngora also evinces a critical pose. In his approach to the *romance morisco*, Góngora avoided the turn to chivalresque appropriations, which coincided with agitation on the expulsion and, in his more esteemed examples of the *genre*, elevates Andalusian Islamic hybridized culture through association with classical antiquity (Ball 260, 263; Jammes 1987, 324-34, 391). Mar Martínez Góngora has construed Góngora's *romances africanos* "Entre los sueltos cabellos" (1585) and "Servía en Orán al rey" (1587) as positive representations of the North African "other" (82-83) and interprets the interfaith relationship between a Spanish soldier and a Moorish lady of the second *romance* as a gesture of sympathy with Pedro de Valencia's project of *permisión* (89). Here Góngora's literary attention to the family as a microcosm for addressing national divisions recalls Cervantes's defense of the intermarriage between Zoraida and the captive in the *Quijote* (See Gerli 40-60). In a related vein, Trevor Dadson has contextualized the novel's Ricote episode within a narrative of Christian tolerance in regions where the Moriscos had been assimilated for generations (112).

In the *Soledades*, Góngora's literary protest against the expulsion is developed through subtle, fragmentary allusions to Claudian's *Rape of Proserpine*, a poem which highlights the theme of parental grief in Ceres's loss of her daughter.¹¹ While the fact that the major patrons of the arts, the duke of Lerma and his son in law, the count of Lemos, included the principal architect, beneficiaries and supporters of the expulsion¹² of necessity limited the possibilities for criticism of the event in Góngora's poetry, his Andalusian patrons depended upon artisanal, agricultural and other types of Morisco labor as well as upon their ground rents, and had much to lose by the expulsion.¹³ Góngora not only mirrors Valencia's protest but that of one of his major patrons, the 7th Duke of Medina Sidonia, Alonso Pérez Guzmán el Bueno. Medina Sidonia was vested in maintaining Christian and aristocratic control of his Morisco vassals; like the Marqués de Priego and Inca Garcilaso (who was anxious to earn recognition of military and aristocratic status), he fought in the suppression of the Alpujarras rebellion.¹⁴ Nonetheless, within that feudal context, he protected his Morisco vassals as part of a bloc of nobles who depended upon their labor (Dadson 111). Most significant is the fact that Medina Sidonia questioned the theological basis of the expulsion, and specifically on the question of the breaking up of families (Dadson 130; Dec 1609). Once the expulsion began, Medina Sidonia defied the king's orders, patrolling the coasts in his capacity as Capitán General, refusing to track and apprehend Moriscos bent upon returning (Álvarez de Toledo 92). Thus, while Góngora's critique conflates the regional self-interest of his patrons with his own ambitions for their support, he was not silent in the face of historical tragedy.

¹⁰ Martos Carrasco suggests this possibility but retreats from adopting the position himself. (Carreira 108; Martos Carrasco 24-26).

¹¹ The work has been recognized as a source, but not for the symbolism I suggest; see Micó. See Chemris 2016 for textual references and developed argumentation.

¹² 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).

¹³ On the great productiveness of the Morisco population as agricultural and artisanal labor, especially in Valencia and Andalusia, see Lea (5-7, 327, 346). It is significant that the Duque de Béjar, father of the dedicatee of *Quijote* Book 1 and of the *Soledades*, protested the second displacement of the Granada Moriscos of the 1580s as they were necessary for his harvest (Perry 131). A later Medina Sidonia even tried to get the Hornachos Moriscos who had settled in Rabat-Salé to return if they would convert (Salas Almela 164).

¹⁴ Salas Almela (241); Greene (203 and n.27).

In the reverberating mourning of the *serrano*, who grieves a son lost to Spain's sea ventures, and in the subtly evoked desperation of Ceres, Góngora also memorializes grief over the loss to and of Morisco families, bearing witness to the cruelty of what a number of historians now recognize as an early modern form of ethnic cleansing.

Pedro de Valencia's Colonial Writings

Pedro de Valencia's advocacy for the Moriscos roughly coincided with his appointment as Royal Chronicler, replacing Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas, who had been imprisoned for participation in a court faction opposed to the powerful favorite, the Duke of Lerma (Kagan 197). With this appointment, Valencia became part of the Habsburg colonial bureaucracy, the intellectual cadre the Spanish court required to systematize information about the new territories; for this task, they drew upon a pool of humanists such as Valencia who had been trained in ancient history, some of which were also active in researching Spanish natural history and anthropology; Ambrosio de Morales, for example, documented peninsular ruins and folk traditions for his history of Spain (Paniagua Pérez 1993, 91; Bernard 2011, 12). Valencia was charged with compiling similar "relaciones geográficas" on the colonies based on a questionnaire the Count of Lemos had distributed to American informants while head of the Council of the Indies in 1604 (Paniagua Pérez 1993, 82).

As Jesús Paniagua Pérez, in his introduction to the *relaciones geográficas* argues, Valencia sought to influence the policy of his patron through a kind of "muda crítica," organizing the material in light of his own economic and social theories (87, 90). Specifically, he devoted relatively little attention to mineral resources relative to the number of questions devoted to these (87); instead he emphasized natural history (hydraulic basins, rivers, animals, plants, especially curative herbs) as well as ethnographic history, artisanal and commercial production (84-85, 87). He thus projected his Physiocratic sentiments onto his catalogs of natural wealth, regarding minerals as simply one other feature of natural resources (87). Conversely, his compilation also served him as research. Paniagua Pérez points to Valencia's interest in land distribution practices by the Incan empire to possibly inform his views on agrarian collectivism (87-87). Thus he notes that Valencia, in his "Discurso sobre el acrecentamiento de la labor de la tierra" (c. 1607) counterpoises to Spanish laziness the cultural example of state encouragement of laboriousness among the Amerindians (89, citing Valencia 1945, 69-70; Cf Valencia 1993, 153). Yet, in the same discourse,—evincing a prejudicial attitude towards colonials of North African descent—he condemns the Morisco's industriousness in physical labor and farming; as Seth Kimmel points out, he "even argued ... that in order to rebrand agricultural work as honorable, Moriscos should be prevented from working in the fields" (171).¹⁵

While Valencia's own position was cast as honorific, he did have other assignments, one of which he refused for political reasons (Paniagua Pérez 1996, 241). He would not produce a panegyric history of the Araucanian conquest, citing Spanish "injusticias, avaricia y crueldades" which he would have been obliged to report.¹⁶ He also criticized "la doctrina de la fuerza" advocated in Alonso Sánchez's submitted history of Jesuit missions in China and the Philippines, as well as its lack of historiographic rigor (Jones 140). He did, however, grant "aprobaciones" authorizing publication to a small number of critical and ethnographic histories. These included his friend Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola's *La conquista de las Molucas*, which Mercedes

¹⁵ Here, Kimmel cites *OC IV.1*, 1994, 157-58; Cf. Chemris 2016, 20, n.4.

¹⁶ AGI Memorial 17 de septiembre de 1616 (Paniagua Pérez 1996, 240).

Blanco has shown to be a source for Góngora's "discurso contra navegaciones" in the *Soledades*.¹⁷ The other major aprobación he issued was for Inca Garcilaso de la Vega's *Historia general del Perú* (1617), the second part of the *Comentarios reales* (Paniagua Pérez 1993, 79), the 1609 work whose impact I will now investigate.

Góngora and Inca Garcilaso: The Case for Acquaintance and Influence

It is well known that Inca Garcilaso and Góngora were related, coincided in Córdoba, and shared acquaintances in Humanist circles. Joaquín Roses has demonstrated this meticulously in a recent essay.¹⁸ We have little specific documentation of their interaction, however, with the exception of negotiations by Góngora to sell Inca Garcilaso his share of an annuity paid on their relative the Marqués de Priego's debt. The early biographer John Varner suggests that there were ongoing tensions between the two regarding outstanding funds Inca Garcilaso owed Góngora related to this *censo*, and also that Góngora was "caste-conscious" and therefore reticent to bond with the half-indigenous mestizo.¹⁹ Roses shares these suspicions, but, like Aurelio Miró Quesada, also suggests the possibility, if not of friendship, that the two writers might have interacted in greater depth (2017, 341-42; 353-54). Góngora's father had been an interlocutor with Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, the staunch opponent of Bartolomé de las Casas's advocacy for the indigenous in the church debates on evangelization. However, Robert Jammes, a leading authority on the poet, tends to discount this as an indicator of Góngora's own attitudes (1980, 47). Indeed, the notion of Góngora's "caste-mindedness" is problematic; Enrique Soria Mesa has now decisively proven that Góngora was of judeoconverso origin, undoing the legacy of Francoist historiography which had appropriated Góngora as a national, Old Christian poet. Soria Mesa affirms that Góngora's converso heritage was *vox populi* among his contemporaries and also suspects that Góngora was himself (like Inca Garcilaso) illegitimate.²⁰ None of this guarantees Góngora's sympathy with Inca Garcilaso, but, following Carmen Bernand's intuition of a common bond based on being alienated and covertly critical New Christians, might point in that direction (2006, 187, 287). It bears noting that Ambrosio de Morales, the antiquarian who testified to Góngora's "limpieza de sangre" (Old Christian heritage) to support his candidacy for his ecclesiastical position as *racionero* of the Cordoba cathedral, was also a main protector and mentor to Inca Garcilaso (Bernand 2011, 24). In any case, we should consider that "caste-consciousness" and much worse were inherent features of the estates we are discussing: Góngora's family, Pedro de Valencia and Inca Garcilaso, for example, all owned slaves (Magnier, 44; Jammes, 202, n. 34; Fuchs 74, Varner 249-50). It is in this context that Góngora used "black talk" in a sonnet attacking Lope de Vega, thereby undermining black African voice (Kelley).

¹⁷ 2012a (319-22; 331n); on their friendship: Paniagua Pérez 1993 (78).

¹⁸ Roses maps out common routes for the writers along the streets of Córdoba, and documents, in concert with Carmen de Mora's work, some common relationships with Diego Mardones, Francisco de Castro, Francisco Fernández de Córdoba (Abad de Rute) and Bernardo de Aldrete. He also reprises the textual relationships he explored in his earlier article on Góngora and the Americas which I cite in this essay (2017; 2007). On both issues, he continues the original observations of Aurelio Miró Quesada (178-83).

¹⁹ Varner (351), Jammes (1987, 22, n. 28). Jammes and Miró Quesada (180) note that the Marqués de Priego himself was an old enemy of the poet, using the charge of Jewish ancestry to delay an appointment of one of Góngora's relatives.

²⁰ Soria Mesa, "Góngora judeoconverso," *El origen judeoconverso de Góngora*, and "El catedrático." Bernand notes that Homer, "hijo de Hermes," to whom Góngora was compared, was also illegitimate (2010, 5).

Regardless of whether or not Góngora might have harbored any animus towards Inca Garcilaso, there are significant indications of a common context and confluence of projects which might have led to some structural homology in their writings. Most critics acknowledge Aurelio Miró Quesada's early speculation about Góngora's knowledge of Inca Garcilaso's work:

A pesar de la falta de datos concretos al respecto (la relación de amistad entre Góngora y el Inca Garcilaso) puede conjeturarse también que la relación directa o indirecta que ha de haber mantenido Góngora con el Inca Garcilaso y el indudable conocimiento de su labor de historiador, contribuyeron a que el ilustre cordobés hiciera varias de las referencias al Perú que se encuentran en su obra poética (181; Cf. Cancelliere 81 and Mora 114-15, n. 37).

Continuing the reasoning of a more recent biographer, Christian Fernández, John Beverley makes a similar point (as does Roses), pointing to an overlap in the publication of the *Comentarios reales* (1609) and the first drafts of the *Soledades* (1612) which might indicate the Inca Garcilaso's work as a source for Góngora's allusions related to the Incas in the poem (2016, 364 n. 6).²¹ Of these, the most remarked by critics seems general and decorative; for example, the Incan princess's pearl necklace formed by the sea foam surrounding the prow of a boat:

Éste, con perezoso movimiento,
el mar encuentra, cuya espuma cana
su parda aguda prora
resplandeciente cuello
hace de augusta Coya peruana,
a quien hilos el Sur tributó ciento
de perlas cada hora. (1994, II, 62-68)

The other direct reference to the Incas in the *Soledades* occurs after the American raptor, the Aleto, is addressed in the parade of national birds of the falconry scene:

¿debes por dicha cebo?
¿Templarte supo, dí, bárbara mano
al insultar los aires? Yo lo dudo,
que al preciosamente Inca desnudo
y al de plumas vestido Mejicano,
fraude vulgar, no industria generosa,
del águila les dio a la mariposa." (1994, II, 776-82)

In a recent and original contribution, Muriel Elvira attributes the references to "aleto" and to "fraude vulgar" to very specific descriptions by Inca Garcilaso of the Peruvian *aleto* falcon and of the use of green netting to trap birds by the Incas.²² Here, the attribution of "fraude vulgar" to the

²¹ Jammes dates the composition of the *Soledades* in several stages from 1612-1617, with the final 43 verses composed 1619-26 (*Soledades* 20-21). On the dating of Inca Garcilaso's work, see Fernández (2016, 28-29). See Roses 2017 (347).

²² Elvira cites *Comentarios reales* Bk IX, Ch 14 and Bk VIII, Ch 13, respectively (28-30; n.42-43). See also Roses, 2017 (348-53).

exoticized indigenous might be an example of "caste-consciousness," but given the praise of artisanal technique among the *cabreros* earlier in the poem, this might more likely be ironic commentary (as Alfonso Callejo has implied), or a defensive display of orthodoxy.²³

The Physiocratic Parallel

Beyond these cases of reference to Inca culture, there are more substantive conceptual parallels between the writers which impact the imagery of the *Soledades*. Here I build—critically—on Carmen Bernand's sense of a common ground between Pedro de Valencia's theories on agrarian reform and on exchange value and the political views of Inca Garcilaso (2006, 286). Góngora's "Égloga piscatoria en la muerte del Duque de Medina Sidonia," written in 1615 during the composition of the *Soledad segunda*, is especially revealing in this regard. The poem features two fishermen commenting on statues decorating his patron's tomb, in which the first of these is identified as an allegorical representation of America:

[...] Aquella
 ara del Sol edades ciento, ahora
 templo de quien el Sol aun no es estrella,
 la grande América es, oro sus venas,
 sus huesos plata, que dichosamente,
 si ligurina dio marinería
 a España en uno y otro alado pino,
 interés ligurino
 su rubia sangre hoy día,
 su medula chupando está luciente. (31-39; 1990, *Canciones* 219-20).

In this passage, Góngora celebrates the evangelization of America, but attacks its material basis: the mining which bled the American land of its riches only to end up being diverted to Spain's rivals, here turned cannibals of what Beverley has called the continent's "sacral body."²⁴ This sacral body is a feature of what José Antonio Mazzotti has called the Andean "humanization of the earth" that shapes Inca Garcilaso's description of his land in the *Comentarios reales*, and through which he suggests that the "Spanish invasion and colonization interrupted and even mutilated a natural body" (98).

In this regard, Mazzotti points to Inca Garcilaso's portrayal of an emerald as a fruit of the earth, harvested before it could ripen by its premature extraction, as an image of truncated potential. Such imagery of truncation is then applied to architectural possibilities cut short,

²³ Alfonso Callejo suggests that the reference could rather be praise for the indigenous's simplicity of resources, which, given their success in capturing eagles, might even be construed to be more efficient (130-31). The term "alarde de ortodoxia" is from Américo Castro (256).

²⁴ Beverley explains, "The 'ligurina marinería' refers to Columbus and the Discovery; the 'interés ligurino' to the profits of the Genoese banks on the loans they extended to the Hapsburgs: America, now given to Spain 'dichosamente,' is a sacral body now bled to death by greed and exploitation. (The phrase 'ara del Sol edades ciento' may be read as either 'ara de cien edades del Sol' or 'de cien Soledades'—in both cases, that is, as a utopian space)" (1980, 5). Roses adds, "La primera noción es la de la evangelización americana, que ha convertido un extenso territorio en que se adoraba al sol desde hacía tiempo en un templo de Dios a cuyo lado el Sol no vale ni siquiera lo que cualquier estrella menos brillante" (2007, 362). Both base their reading on Alonso (409). José María Micó provides an excellent explication in his well-annotated edition of the poem (Góngora y Argote 1990).

emblematic of the Incan culture at large.²⁵ This notion of the life of a buried emerald relates to the indigenous belief in the life of metals, what Orlando Betancor has called "Andean vitalism" (37-39), expressed in Inca Garcilaso's representation of the silver-rich Potosí hills as father and son (Bk VIII, Ch 25, as cited by Mazzotti 106).²⁶ In Góngora's protest against the mining of America's "sacral body," the Physiocratic sentiments of his eclogue dovetail with such Andean vitalism. Yet while Góngora indicts the greed driving the American colonization in the decline of the Spanish empire, Inca Garcilaso implicates the Spanish for their conquest of his people. Thus, their confluence is not founded on identical ideological interests or worldviews. While Góngora evokes the haunting by the American colonization of the Spanish body politic, Andean haunting is of a different order, in the "ghost complex" of traumatic memory so compellingly described by Francisco A. Ortega.

Nonetheless, the confluence of Góngora's Physiocratic sentiments and Inca Garcilaso's Andean vitalism is an important conjunctural parallel and it informs the imagery of Góngora's longer poem. Mazzotti describes the ethos of the *Comentarios reales* as a subtle protest against "earth tortured through exaggerated extraction of minerals and indiscriminate hunting of game" (109), citing Inca Garcilaso's allusions to exploitation in the mines as well as to the pillage of native fauna to the point of scarcity (Bk VI, Ch 6). In this context, the excesses of hunting of the *Dedicatoria* of the *Soledades*, seen by critics as suggestive of a battlefield, might also be a displaced protest against the mass destruction of American fauna, here under the bark of the *imago belli* topos.²⁷ Similarly the framing of the works—the binary structure moving from golden to iron age—is also a possible parallel if one considers both parts of Garcilaso's commentaries. In both authors historical epochs ("Sol/edades") are set against mourning²⁸ and end with an opening to historical possibility. Góngora's effect of an "unfinished" ending to his poem, theorized by Beverley (2008, 51-53), can be juxtaposed with Mazzotti's theory of a "fifth age," the gesturing toward a possible future of the "overcoming of colonial chaos" in Inca Garcilaso's *Historia general del Perú* (81).

World Unity and the Crowned Serpent

Another point of congruence lies in their approach to the topic of the unity of the world, addressed in the very first chapter of Inca Garcilaso's *Comentarios reales*: "Si hay muchos mundos. Trata de las cinco zonas." As Sara Castro Klarén writes, "The possibility of sustaining that the world was always one [...] was a point of keen interest to Garcilaso in light of the disputations concerning the origin and nature of the New World in Spain as well as the rapidly growing notion that Amerindians were not quite the same as, were lesser than, the inhabitants of the Old World" (197). Shifting the critical focus from his translation of León Hebreo, she suggests that Inca Garcilaso was influenced by Plato's *Timaeus* and *Symposium*, as well as by Marsilio Ficino's commentaries on them, which advance the idea of natural religion as a universal and equalizing attribute of all peoples and nations (220). It is in this context that Inca Garcilaso states in his opening pages: "Se podrá afirmar que no hay más que un mundo, y aunque llamamos Mundo Viejo

²⁵ Mazzotti (98-104), referencing *Comentarios reales* Bk VIII, Ch 23.

²⁶ Orlando Betancor's arguments are similar to those of Carmen Bernard, who argues that in an Andean context, "Le prix exprimé en argent nous apparaît ainsi comme une nouvelle interprétation de cette force vitale inhérente aux êtres et aux choses, contrôlée désormais par les Espagnols" (2001, 276).

²⁷ *Dedicatoria* 5-21.

²⁸ In this regard, Mazzotti has signaled Inca Garcilaso's "tragic view of history" (98), while Beverley has read the *Soledades* in light of Benjamin's writings on the *Trauerspiel* (2008, 68).

y Mundo Nuevo, es por haberse descubierto aquél nuevamente para nosotros, y no porque sean dos, sino todo uno" (Bk I, Ch 1).

In Góngora's poem, the idea of world unity is expressed through imagery of cartography in the discourse of navigation. Here the ship *Victoria* discovers the strait of Magellan, revealing that the ocean has always been but one:

Zodiaco después fue cristalino
a glorioso pino,
émulo vago del ardiente coche
del Sol, este elemento,
que cuatro veces había sido ciento
dosel al día y tálamo a la noche
cuando halló de fugitiva plata
la bisagra (aunque estrecha) abrazadora
de un Océano y otro, siempre uno,
o las columnas bese o la escarlata,
tapete de la Aurora. (1994, I, 466-76)

In an earlier image in the discourse, Góngora envisions world unity obliquely, in his depiction of the massive, singular ocean divided by the isthmus of Panama:

el istmo que al Océano divide,
y, sierpe de cristal, juntar le impide
la cabeza, del Norte coronada,
con la que ilustra el Sur cola escamada
de antárticas estrellas. (1994, I, 425-29)

Mercedes Blanco has teased out Góngora's play with a number of sources in this passage: traces of the Homeric "river-ocean" which encircled the world, Lucan's allusions to the isthmus of Corinth in the *Pharsalia*, Horapollus's first entry in his *Hieroglyphica* of the *ouroboros*, the snake biting its tail, as a symbol for the world, and the cartographer Stradanus's image of this same *ouroboros* aside a map of the Americas (2012a 353-60). Yet Góngora's sources may also include Andean iconography. I will suggest that Góngora might be playing with images from the heraldic shield Inca Garcilaso used to introduce his *Comentarios reales*, recently analyzed in elegant detail by Christian Fernández.

Fernández notes the use of the crowned *amaru* (serpent) as an Incan royal symbol; he argues that Inca Garcilaso combined this image with a figure of European hermeticism, Mercury's *caduceus*, his staff of intertwined snakes, both as protective cover for a risky display of a banned Incan icon and for its own symbolic suggestion of prudent speech, with the intention of interpellating, cautiously, an Andean audience (2004, 96-127). Góngora's image obliquely suggests both features of Inca Garcilaso's heraldic figure. It hints at the crowned *amaru* by its reference to "sierpe...coronada" which is also, by inference, "sierpe antártica," while simultaneously employing the cover of European hermeticism in its emphasis on the *ouroboros* figure. While this appropriation by Góngora is subtle, it does point to a sympathetic incorporation of a symbol of Inca Garcilaso's work, cultural heritage and identity as a fellow writer, in keeping

with the poet's typical use of heraldry and belying any appearance of decorative citation in the spirit of imperial trophy.

Góngora's poetic mapping itself feeds the concept of the world as one. Mercedes Blanco has demonstrated a play of borders and their erasure in Góngora's focus on global points of connection and separation vital to world trade (2012a 366-69). She argues that Góngora, in his engagement with mapmaking convention, demonstrates how imperial naming is provisional, illusory, a product of *Codicia*, or simply subject to perspective in motion, —as in the moving horizon of the sun's bed, made of water, covered by the sea's curtains, in turn also dissolving into water (366-69; 350-52). In such terms Góngora describes the transit of Columbus's ships:

Abetos suyos tres aquel tridente
violaron a Neptuno,
conculado hasta allí de otro ninguno,
besando las que al Sol el occidente
le corre, en lecho azul de aguas marinas,
turquesadas cortinas. (1994, I, 413-18)

Góngora's poetic engagement with mapmaking points to a greater utopian humanist context, which included the "cordiform projection," the world mapped as a great heart, as Blanco notes, evoking ecumenist principles such as those of the Familia Charitatis (340). Here the projects of Góngora and Inca Garcilaso intersect again, but with the great difference that Inca Garcilaso wrote from a lived experience of indigenous practice. As Sara Castro Klarén argues, the Platonic principles of the unity of all creation were but utopia for Europe, while Inca Garcilaso "shows how these principles actually worked in a real, historical society" (218).

Inca Garcilaso Bests the *Arbitristas*

Indeed, the long, interpolated section of Book V, Ch 1-16 of the *Comentarios reales* reads like an implicit critical commentary on contemporary Spanish reform projects, with Inca Garcilaso consistently offering the counterexample of Inca practice to the ills of Spanish empire.

This interpolated section, occurring in the center of the book, stops the action of the history of Incan hegemony *in medias res*, at the point of highest tension and reader involvement, to describe Incan governance and economic organization. Here Inca Garcilaso parallels Cervantine technique not only in the dramatic diversion to the interpolated discourse, but also in its dialogic²⁹ structure, in which Inca Garcilaso's direct testimony is then corroborated by lengthy citations from Padre Blas Valera, which repeat and reinforce the facts of Inca social history. This strategy of exposition clearly indicates that Inca Garcilaso intended to center the reader's focus on this section.

Carmen Bernand claims that Pedro de Valencia's proposals for agrarian reform and an economy based on exchange of services rather than of money could have only pleased Inca Garcilaso (2006, 286). Yet here she inverts the dynamic. In this central interpolated section, Inca Garcilaso affirms, insistently, the ingenuity of what Inca civilization had already achieved, in establishing a system in which there was no alienable private property, no dowry system, no parasitic ecclesiastical or military classes, no conspicuous consumption, no hoarding, no idleness,

²⁹ Castro Klarén calls Inca Garcilaso's structure dialogic (211); the notion of Cervantine dialogism is Bakhtin's (413).

no burdensome taxation and no want, all Spanish problems Valencia would shortly address in his social and economic writings,³⁰ and which were engaged in Spanish *arbitrista* reform projects of the day. In his carefully crafted exposition, Inca Garcilaso does not mention the fact that Spain suffered from such ills; he simply counterpoises Incan practice to these problems, describing the creation of a system of tribute in the form of labor, of a planned economy which allowed provinces to share resources, and of a government which organized a communal cultivation of land and production of basic goods that met its subjects' needs, especially those of the most vulnerable, as its first priority.

Garcilaso's presentation of Incan social and political ingenuity is highlighted by a subtle but devastating indictment of Spanish imperial ignorance and brutality. To the Inca empire's accomplishments, Garcilaso juxtaposes, in simple and occasional statements of fact, brief but poignant references to their destruction by the Spanish conquerors. Garcilaso gives testimony to the Spaniards' decimation of the Inca's system of irrigation and flocks of wool-producing animals, to the disappearance of the Incan network of public craftsmen, to their conversion of public granaries and storehouses into inns and taverns, and in a later section, to their destruction of monumental buildings just to extract the gold used as mortar. Garcilaso celebrates Incan empire while holding the mirror to imperial Spain obliquely, in an indirection which Sara Castro Klären has termed a parallax view (211).³¹

Patterns of Displacement, Fragmentation and Critique

Inca Garcilaso's oblique criticism evokes a similar strategy in Góngora, whose features suggest a parallel in structural patterns of displacement,³² the fragmented incorporation of sources, and the use of rhetorical strategies of ambiguity and critique. I will now attend to these structural patterns in greater detail.

If, as I have suggested, the hunting scene of the Dedicatoria of the *Soledades* might be considered a displacement of the landscape of conquest, Mercedes Blanco makes a similar claim for the portrayal of peasants in the poem. She suggests that Góngora used Pedro de Valencia's political theories to construct a counterargument to the messianic conquest 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 (2012b, 269, 279). 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

³⁰ The dates for Valencia's social writings are listed by Paradinas in his introduction to volume IV.1 of Valencia's *Obras completas*: "Discurso sobre el precio del trigo (1605), "Discurso sobre el precio del pan" (1605) and "Discurso contra la ociosidad" (1608) (1993, xxxvii-xxxviii). According to Christian Fernández, the manuscript of the *Comentarios reales* was completed, and granted *aprobaciones*, in 1604 (2016, 28); thus, before Valencia's writings, which (except for one legal treatise) were not published in his lifetime (Paradinas xxxvi). Many of Valencia's writings were letters to the king or his confessor; influence is difficult to establish in a manuscript culture.

³¹ Fuchs uses the terms "oblique" and "indirection" regarding a similar strategy in the second part of the *Comentarios reales* (79).

³² Here I follow the example of Diana de Armas Wilson, who has signaled the displacement involved in Cervantes's use of Inca Garcilaso's American "partes septentrionales" as the "germ" for his own "historia setentrional," the *Persiles* (240, 248).

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 (2011, 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" (*Tratado* 2000, 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.

The creation of this mosaic of allusions appeals to rhetorical strategies common among Humanist writers. While one could argue that searching for covert critique behind layers of ambiguity is the bread and butter of early modern literary analysis, recent Inca Garcilaso studies have given fresh life to this pursuit by reinvigorating scholarship on the mestizo writer's appropriation of classical and patristic rhetoric. Sara Castro Klarén draws on Sears Jayne's explanation of the "Renaissance practice of encipherment" as a "version of ancient practices" (210), in which readers were "attuned to Platonic non-discursive techniques" and expected to negotiate "several other meanings running confluent with the surface discourse" (210, citing Jayne 17). Similarly, Christian Fernández has placed Inca Garcilaso's *Comentarios reales* within the model of the critical commentary developed by St. Jerome, in which a multiplicity of interpretations is offered to the prudent reader to judge (2004, 47-48). All of this is consonant with what Góngora scholars have observed in the poet's appeal to elite readers trained to decipher his meaning (Beverley 1980, 7-8; Sasaki 163, 157; Rivers 1995). Both authors evince an oblique literary engagement with history; thus, Castro Klarén's notion of Inca Garcilaso's cultivation of the parallax view dovetails with Blanco's idea of Góngora presenting to us the other side of the tapestry (2012a, 184).

There is an important difference, however, in the cultivation of ambiguity by the two writers, in Inca Garcilaso's fractured representation of subaltern voice. Gonzalo Lamana, for example, has associated Inca Garcilaso's "double speak" with the divided oppressed subject described by W.E.B. Dubois and Antonio Cornejo Polar. Francisco A. Ortega has also identified a special aspect of Inca Garcilaso's fragmented presentation. Far from extolling Inca Garcilaso's participation in the struggle for historiography to liberate itself from "una mitología de orígenes," as Carmen Bernand has done, citing the writer's ostensible rejection of the "fábulas historiales" he reports (2011, 4, 6), Ortega points to the more profoundly historical function of such "fábulas" drawn from oral history as a record of the "phantasmatic" trauma of the conquest (246-47). In both cases, Inca Garcilaso's double speak points to a very different dynamic of reception. Inca Garcilaso exploits the possibilities inherent in Ficino's model of multivalent rhetoric—"to say one thing to the initiates and another thing to the general public"—to interpellate indigenous mestizos of Peru,³³ an agenda clearly far removed from that of Góngora.

The Sacromonte Context

Yet the issue Carmen Bernand raises, that of a vogue for a mythology of origins among Góngora and Inca Garcilaso's humanist circle, is crucial, however, for understanding the context of the relationship between the two writers. Bernand implicates Inca Garcilaso in the syncretic ambitions associated with the Sacromonte falsifications, noting his ties to Pedro Vaca de Castro,

³³ Castro Klarén (210), citing Jayne (17).

archbishop of Granada and principal defender of the forgeries.³⁴ As she points out, Castro was the son of the governor of Peru who had befriended Inca Garcilaso's father (2011, 17). Góngora, on the other hand, also had some connection with the defense of the Lead Books. He wrote a sonnet, "Este monte, de cruces coronado" (1598), praising the Sacromonte discoveries, the "láminas" purported to be gospels written in Arabic by disciples of St. James. These were celebrated as evidence of an early Arab Christianity, vindicating the Christian heritage of Granada's once Islamic population as well as the sacred origins of the city.³⁵ Mercedes García Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano have identified the authors of the forgeries, representatives of the Morisco elites who were well connected to government and cultural circles: Alonso del Castillo, translator, spy and propagandist for the Christian side in the War of the Alpujarras,³⁶ and Miguel de Luna, a veteran of the suppression of the comuneros revolt who participated in a crypto-Islamic network while working as a translator at the highest levels, including service to Góngora's patron, the Duke of Medina Sidonia.³⁷ While Pedro de Castro would draw upon a regional tradition of antisemitism in his persecution of Fray Luis de León (Morocho Gayo 2000, 221-23), a myth of origins associated with the Sacromonte finds he championed paradoxically recurred to the Jewish heritage of the Old Testament for validation. In their relationship to this Hebrew myth of origins, as we shall see, Inca Garcilaso and Góngora will again interact, in their approach to the figure of the Temple of Solomon. In this regard, I will consider Carmen Bernand's suggestion that Inca Garcilaso might have had some sympathy for the theories of Spain's Jewish origins proposed by Pablo de Céspedes (2011, 15).

Pablo de Céspedes, a close friend of Luis de Góngora from adolescent days in the novitiate, had written on the Cathedral of Córdoba, arguing that it was the site of the temple constructed by the first settlers of the Peninsula, who had been direct descendants of Noah, and later became a temple to the Roman god Janus (Jammes, 1987, 213 n. 17; Rubio Lapaz 166). He thus tied Jewish sacred architecture, specifically the Temple of Solomon, to the Cathedral of Córdoba, part of a larger project grounding Spanish "sacred imperialism" on Jewish foundations, thereby bestowing upon Spain "una preeminencia de origen divino que lo colocaba por encima del resto de países en el contexto contrarreformista" (Rubio Lapaz 166). Spaniards, according to this newly discovered Hebrew genealogy, become a latter day chosen people (Rubio Lapaz 89). This Christian appropriation of Jewish messianism was not unique to Spain—Marie Tanner mentions a similar claim of descent from Noah in the German monarchy—or to Córdoba (Tanner 73). Granada's founders were also said to be Jews, its Cathedral also identified with the Temple of Solomon, in what García Arenal calls "un emblema de la 'Nueva Jerusalén' rescatada al Islam" (2006, 581).

García Arenal links the vindication of an original Jewish population in the local histories of Granada, Toledo and Córdoba, in the context of expulsion and "Limpieza de Sangre" statutes, to the project of the Sacromonte discoveries (581). As she writes, "La solución, que viene

³⁴ 2011 (esp. 16-18). Barbara Fuchs analyzes the Sacromonte discoveries as a case of "found syncretism" (99-117).

³⁵ García Arenal 2006 and García Arenal and Rodríguez Mediana (13-34); Fuchs (99-117).

³⁶ According to García Arenal and Fernández Mediano, Castillo worked for the Christians because he thought it was madness to rebel against the feudal order. As they note, Castillo did not refer to the rebels as Muslims or apostates, "but as vassals who have taken arms against their legitimate monarch" (109; 108-110). The attitude of Arias Montano, Valencia's teacher, toward the revolt: death to the rebels (114).

³⁷ See especially Ch 4, 5, 7 and 8; on Luna and the *comuneros* (162); on Luna and Medina Sidonia (189). They also note that Castillo served as one of the translators for the Larache negotiations, in which Medina Sidonia was involved (123). Both coincided with humanists in the libraries; Luna and Castillo frequented the Escorial and Castillo worked with Morales at the Cathedral of Córdoba library (106). Luna may have participated in the Granada Venegas literary tertulia (91) and Céspedes consulted with him (365).

proporcionada por los hallazgos sacromontanos, radica en incorporar a esos judíos y musulmanes despojándolos de su identidad religiosa: haciendo a los árabes cristianos y a los judíos españoles, enraizándolos con aquellas Tribus Perdidas que no habían podido participar en la condena de Cristo" (581; García Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano 7). Here the traces of confessional minorities are incorporated into national myth after the fact of their expulsion or violent assimilation. Paradoxically, these new myths of origins, on the one hand, validated Spanish empire, while on the other, offered an undercurrent of cover to regional New Christians. It is in this alternative form of hegemony³⁸ that Góngora may have affirmed his converso identity, for example, in his poetry on Old Testament themes, or perhaps even in his early sonnet to Córdoba (1585) modelled on the psalm to Jerusalem, as noted by Colbert Nepaulsingh (128-38). Daniel Waissbein has explored this possibility by locating syncretic and ecumenist sentiments "under the bark" of another Góngora sonnet, "Si ya la vista de llorar cansada" (c. 1593-94).³⁹ It is not impossible that Góngora in some way addressed the ghosts of collective memory of Jewish and converso trauma.

Carmen Bernand puts forward what would seem to be a parallel dynamic, in Inca Garcilaso's appropriation of the features of Solomon's Temple in his description of Coricancha, the Incan temple of the sun, in the *Comentarios reales*. Bernand points out that Garcilaso could not have seen the temple first hand, as it had been destroyed in the Spanish conquest, but that he would have learned of the temple's architecture through oral reports (2006, 275). Yet he describes the temple with an explicit allusion to tabernacles, thereby placing, in Bernand's words, "un vernis judaïque sur la religion des Inca" (279). She relates this not only to León Hebreo's humanist syncretic and ecumenist aspirations in the context of the mood of the Quattrocento and the Florentine Council, including an appreciation for the ancient prefiguration of Christianity in solar cults—classical, Eastern and now, American—but also to later utopian projects (2010, 2-4, 13; 2006, 279). She connects Inca Garcilaso's imagery of Solomon's Temple to the project of a New Jerusalem. As she writes, "Si Cuzco es una nueva Jerusalén, entonces comparte con la ciudad sagrada la dimensión mesiánica y construye una réplica del proyecto divino, réplica antártica pero no menos venerable" (2010, 12). Within the context of this appropriation of what Bernand calls "la moda salomónica" (2010, 11), Inca Garcilaso decorated his burial chapel with a painting linking Solomon's Temple, Coricancha and the mosque-cathedral of Córdoba (2011, 15). Yet Inca Garcilaso's syncretic burial chamber, also decorated with his heraldic shield, has been interpreted as well in more directly Andean terms. It is what Christian Fernández calls a "tumba mestiza de un lugar sagrado mestizo" (2004, 110). As he maintains:

La mezquita-catedral de Córdoba era lo más cercano que tenía el peruano de las tumbas de sus antepasados incas a las cuales los primeros cronistas llamaban *mezquitas*. Así cumplía de una manera simbólica con una costumbre ancestral de sus antepasados andinos y con su cristianismo. Así lo hacían en el Perú los indígenas sepultándose en las nuevas iglesias que habían sido construido sobre antiguos templos incas (110).

The implication of Góngora and Inca Garcilaso in the syncretic ambitions associated with the invented genealogies for Andalusian cities and their New Christian descendants poses an

³⁸ Syncretism was also a feature of the Spanish ideological consolidation of the Amerindian conquest; Mercedes García Arenal associates syncretism on the part of both Moriscos and Amerindians with Serge Gruzinski's concept of "occidentalization" (1992, 174).

³⁹ The date for the sonnet is from Waissbein.

interesting contradiction regarding the writers' association with Pedro de Valencia, as Valencia was one of the early and leading critics of the claims made for the falsifications. He assisted his teacher Arias Montano in drafting an evaluation of the initial forged parchment in 1593 (Morocho Gayo 2000, 226-27) and authored his first treatise on the topic, "Discurso sobre el pergamino y láminas de Granada," in 1607. His later collaborator was Francisco de Gurmendi, whose Arabic teacher, Diego Urrea, according to Bartolomé de Argensola, had accused Miguel de Luna with creating the Sacromonte hoax (García Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano 231-33). On the other hand, there were additional figures in Góngora's orbit associated with the defense of the books. There was, for example, Martín Vázquez Siruela, a defender of Gongorism and a commentator of Góngora, who became canon of the Abbey of Sacromonte in 1625, participating in the circle of Trillo y Figueroa and frequenting the house of Pedro Soto de Rojas on the Albaicín hill (García Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano 327, 330). And there were similar endeavors by other writers. Rodrigo Caro wrote a *falso cronicón* legitimizing the sacred foundations of Jaén, backed by Ambrosio de Morales and another commentator and supporter of Góngora, Pedro de Rivas (222). It may be that Góngora and Gongorists asserted some regionalist interest in their defense of these sorts of falsifications. If this is true, it might be possible that the religious vocabulary of the Lead Books debate and disputes around ecumenism impacted the vocabulary of the Gongorism polemic in ways we have yet to appreciate, for example, in the famed derisive phrases aimed at Gongorists such as "culterano/luterano," or "secta de Mahoma." But how the Lead Books controversy interacted with literary circles is not so clear cut; indeed, the Church debate seems to have been as contentious and murky as the Gongorism polemic. At one point Pedro de Castro even used his minion, the same Padre Juan de Pineda who censored Góngora, to place Arias Montano's works on the Index of the Inquisition (Morocho Gayo 2000, 222).

The art historian Jesús Rubio Lapaz explicitly identifies Góngora as a supporter of the Lead Books, citing his Sacromonte sonnet, a poem Góngora chose to include in his final collected works, the Chacón manuscript (57-58, 62). Yet our documentation of the relationship between Góngora and Pedro de Valencia, as with Inca Garcilaso, is limited; we don't have any records of Góngora's interaction with Pedro de Valencia before their correspondence over the draft of the *Primera Soledad*, although we could assume that Góngora would have spent time getting to know Valencia and his writings before submitting his poetry to him for his evaluation. Rubio Lapaz suggests that Pablo de Céspedes was the intermediary who brought Góngora and Valencia together (152); Céspedes and Valencia were both disciples of Arias Montano (García Arenal 2006, 578). Despite what we don't know, we do know that when Pedro de Valencia died in 1620, Góngora was unstinting in his eulogy, essentially hailing him as the intellectual pride of the Spanish nation.⁴⁰ We can conclude that Góngora found inspiration in much of Pedro de Valencia's writings for his poetry, but on the question of the Sacromonte discoveries, if Rubio Lapaz is correct, the apparent breach between the two would be noteworthy.

It could be that Góngora's—and Inca Garcilaso's—regionalist response was tied to the contingencies of Andalusian patronage, while also focused on the possibilities of the aesthetic, exploiting the ambiguity of the literary to promote their own political agendas as representatives of minority elites on opposite sides of Empire. We could thus posit that Góngora and Inca Garcilaso embraced the imaginary of hermeticism in its contradictory aspects, both aesthetic and political. Both draw on hermeticism to engage utopian thought in the context of national projects

⁴⁰ In his letter to Don Francisco del Corral of 14 April 1620, Góngora wrote, "Nuestro buen amigo Pedro de Valencia murió el viernes pasado: helo sentido por lo que debo a nuestra nación, que ha perdido el sujeto que mejor podía ostentar y oponer a los extranjeros" (1961, "Epistolario" 39.9, 954).

which were frustrated by the assertion of the *ancien régime*.⁴¹ Góngora recurs to a more inclusive myth of imperial messianic destiny within a feudal paradigm of the Spanish nation, while Inca Garcilaso (as Beverley has argued) interpellates the aspirations of the indigenous masses, anticipating a *mestizo* colonial nationalism which would ultimately face its own truncated destiny in the defeated aspirations of José Gabriel Condorcanqui (2016, 362-63).

From History to Archetype

Sara Castro Klarén has written that Inca Garcilaso's history in the *Comentarios reales* elicited "severe critiques from empirical historians and ethnohistorians" (211). Yet she then counters that Inca Garcilaso's "fragmented and dialogic renditions of a sustained truth has also enabled him to survive the vagaries of the passage of time and history-bound demands of specific communities of readers" (211). Perhaps something similar could be said of Góngora. Scholars have noted Góngora's technique of erasure, his removal of identifying referential traces, in the *Soledades* (Callejo 70-71; Jammes 1991, 156). While his vagueness certainly supplied cover for critique, it may also have been an intended effect. In this spirit, arguing that the poem was structured by a tension between history and poetic myth, John Beverley often drew on the methodology of archetypal criticism to describe features of the poem (1980).

Since Beverley's landmark study, new scholarship—on Góngora, in Morisco studies, and in intellectual history—has historicized much in the work that was previously conceived in archetypal terms, now filling in the outlines. Yet new scholarship has also refined our understanding of Góngora's use of mythic elements. Mercedes Blanco has studied how Góngora united classic motifs with primitive folkloric practices of the Spanish peasantry, citing Pedro de Valencia's writings on witchcraft as contemporary bacchanals (2012b, 355, 369); perhaps Góngora also was influenced by Ambrosio de Morales's studies of Spanish folk traditions. In the same vein, Blanco reconsiders Góngora's sacrilegious reference to the billy goat of the wedding parade, killed by a rival who thus "redimió con su muerte tantas vides" (I. 160). Here, she argues, Góngora manifests a humanist anthropological curiosity which contemplates similarities between Christian and Dionysian ritual (385-86), a gesture very much in accordance with Inca Garcilaso's own affirmation of parity between classical and indigenous culture.⁴² It may be that the most historicized criticism of the *Soledades* is in fact one which returns to the archetypal, drawing on the poet's contemporary understanding of how history exposes the nature of the world as one, in the repetition of archetypes preserved in the myths of different cultures and ages. In this regard, Inca Garcilaso may have enhanced Góngora's capacity to respond to Spain's efforts to understand its own indigenous history, in the mirror of the consequences of its ruin of indigenous peoples, the Amerindians, and its expulsion of the Moriscos.

⁴¹ See Beverley 2008 on the role of the *ancien régime* in effecting the impasse which blocked Iberian democratic revolutions (148). Rather than homogenizing all forms of domination into a "coloniality of power" (see Beverley 2016), I will posit that race, communalism and colonialism add a special aspect to what might be considered an early case of the dynamics of Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution. Here I build upon Beverley's use of Armando Muyoelma's notion of the anticolonial "imposture" of the *criollo* elite (Beverley 2016). See Blanco on hermeticism as a feature of Góngora's poetic language (2012b) as well as Marasso.

⁴² Castro Klarén discusses parity between classical and Amerindian indigenous culture in Inca Garcilaso (200).

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