Female Amerindians in Early Modern Spanish Theater

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To those women whose lives have been forgotten.

ONE

Courting the Female Body: Towards a Poetics of the Conquest in Lope de Vega's *El Nuevo Mundo descubierto por Cristóbal Colón*

Melissa Figueroa

The first dramatic representation of Spain's encounter with the Americas exploits the metaphor of conquest by extending the language of actual military confrontation to sexual relationships. This connection is not unique to theater, and as Roland Green's *Unrequited Conquests* suggests, Petrarchism operates as an original imperialist discourse in the Americas.[1] On stage, the language of courtship allows the play's basic narrative structure to be adapted to suit the audience's preference for romantic plots. At the same time, this language makes it possible to explore the complex interactions between Europeans and Amerindians. In *El Nuevo Mundo descubierto por Cristóbal Colón* [*The New World Discovered by Christopher Columbus*] (1598–1603),[2] Lope de Vega gives a prominent role to women who, after being wooed without the possibility of marriage, end up as personifications of the territorial conquest of Granada and America.[3] In this chapter, I analyze how the rhetoric of wooing the female body enables the construction of Granadian and American land as a space to be conquered on the battlefield and, more importantly, via an ideological position. These two representations elaborate the language of love from the point of view of dominion and power; therefore, the staging of female Amerindians and Moors is interwoven with strong sensual and sexual imagery that culminates in violent possession by the conquistadors. To approach the multiple ways in which the female bodies are subjected to

courtship, I concentrate on the depiction of women in this play as they appear on stage. I then explore how the approach toward the Amerindian woman initiates an analysis or exploration of the Castilian woman. Finally, I suggest that the failed attempt to adapt the strong ideological charge of the discovery, conquest, and colonization of the New World to the *comedia*'s fascination with love entanglements explains the shortage of dramas about America during the early modern Spanish period.

Since the beginning of the play, the discovery of America is contextualized within the project of imperialist acquisition of territory promoted by the Catholic kings and appears as a continuation of the conquest of Granada.[4] In this warlike atmosphere, Lope introduces the first female character and situates her in a heavenly place that seems dissociated from the rest of the play. A passionate encounter between two Moorish lovers, Dalifa and Mohammed, immediately sets the tone of the drama: war is intertwined with sexual imagery. The lovers' meeting functions to contrast the affective surrender of the Moorish woman with the territorial appropriation of the last Muslim kingdom in Spain; in other words, it is a subtle parallel that equates the seduction of the woman with the fate of the city. In this case, the Moorish woman does not offer the kind of resistance or the concealed desire typically shown by female characters about to be seduced, and as a result, spectators lose the sense of anticipation and suspense provoked by the amorous courtship. As a seduced woman, Dalifa is no longer of interest to the audience and disappears from the stage. The scene is also useful for projecting a weak Moor subjected to female seduction and, as José R. Cartagena-Calderón argues, Lope chooses to center on the figure of the last Muslim king in Spain, who was nicknamed the "Rey Chico" or "Little King," by Christians to diminish his masculinity.[5] This depiction serves as a warning to the conquistadors about the dangers and temptations provoked by the Amerindian female body. The theatrical characterization of Dalifa mirrors the possessiveness of the woman in the ballad in the sense that she is responsible for Mohammed's separation from the rest of the Muslims on the battlefield.

The *comedia de moros y cristianos* [drama of Moors and Christians] seems to be the model followed for the construction of the scene. This type of drama—studied by María Soledad Carrasco Urgoiti—is characterized by skirmishes between these two religious enemies at frontier sites. These acts of war are marked by the exotic and sensual imagery that is ascribed to the Oriental body and, at the same time, allow a representation of the honor, courage, and elegance of the Muslim enemy. The outcome is not the defeat of the adversary but his conversion to Christianity.[6] A connoisseur of the genre, Lope wrote several plays about Moorish heroes while he was writing about the Amerindians. This temporal coincidence, as Thomas E. Case notes in "El indio y el moro en las comedias de Lope de Vega," suggests the possibility that the playwright had in

mind the popular genre at the moment of the play's composition.[7] The connection between Granada and America is not merely a correspondence of political strategies and modes of evangelization but also of modes of aesthetic expression and theatrical resources.

By representing the loss of Granada, Lope is conscious of its impact on and significance to Spanish history. It is not surprising that Columbus's enterprise becomes possible as soon the Granadian conflict comes to an end. The conquest of the last Muslim kingdom in Spain is, first of all, an archetype for the approach to the new continent. Lope understands, however, that the social reality—exploration, land appropriation, and conversion—differs from that of the vanquished territory. In a sense, Lope faces the same challenge of discoverers and chroniclers when they first encountered the New World: how to translate to distant spectators a new phenomenon that does not fit with classical models of knowledge.[8] America demands a treatment that is distinct from the dramas about Granada. This awareness allows an understanding of the strong critique and negative reception of the text during the following centuries.[9] The *comedia* illustrates the challenge of performing an experience that is inapprehensible and unfamiliar to the European mind, and thus Lope's representation of America avoids the use of conventional resources of playwrights during the period. In any case, Lope creates a formula that is going to be followed more or less by other playwrights that write about America.[10] The Muslim world as a model for Lope's enterprise proves to be insufficient to approach the American experience, and Lope will soon resort to a more ancient and mythological place in exploring the female Amerindians.

AMERINDIANS ON STAGE: A SPLIT ENTITY

Lope transfers the metaphor of the conquest of America as an amorous territory. However, the reality of the new continent turns out to be more complex and hybrid than what has been previously experienced. The European gaze—the heterogeneous glance of discoverers, explorers, and chroniclers that was in tune with the humanist values of the period—lacks direct referents for an adequate interpretation, and thus the playwright must resort to the literary and historical materials at his disposal. The first appearance of Amerindians on stage ends up mimicking the manner in which the Moorish characters are introduced in other *comedias* of the period.[11] The same process of homogenization and uniformity applied to the Moors—by placing them in either clandestine celebrations of a religious nature or secret meetings to conspire against the state where they cannot be distinguished from one another—is used to portray the Amerindian. In this case, the spectator surprises the natives who are innocently celebrating an *areito*.[12] The music of the celebration not only

entertains the audience but also minimizes the effect of the underlying tensions between Amerindian tribes. An Amerindian woman sings:

> hoy que sale el sol,
> se juntan de buena gana
> hoy que sale el sol,
> Dulcanquellín con Tacuana,
> hoy que sale el sol,
> él, Febo, y ella, Dïana,
> . . .
> y a esposa de tal esposo,
> hoy que sale el sol,
> nuestro areito glorioso.[13]
>
> [Today the sun rises, and lovers are willingly united. Today the sun rises, Dulcanquellín with Tacuana. Today the sun rises. He, Phoebus, and she, Diana . . . and to the wife of such a husband, today the sun rises. May our glorious celebration.][14]

The insistence on "se juntan de buena gana"[15] [lovers are willingly united][16] and "esposa de tal esposo"[17] [to the wife of such a husband][18] attempts to hide or weaken the fact that Dulcanquellín has kidnapped Tacuana from her husband at their wedding. The process of copying the heavenly scene of the first act is frustrated by the complexity of Amerindian relationships, but it is useful to remind the spectator that military conquest is interwoven with love affairs.

The comparison of Tacuana and Dulcanquellín with the mythological gods Diana and Phoebus allows a construction of these characters that is more disturbing and problematic. This connection—which has been interpreted as an anachronism—illustrates the morally corrupt nature of Amerindian relationships and, in my view, is in harmony with these two characters' functions in the play.[19] According to mythology, Phoebus and Diana are twins and represent the sun and the moon, respectively. It seems that Lope cleverly points to a bond that is sinful and pagan from a Christian perspective by using a reference to two siblings to describe two Amerindians who are about to consummate their marriage. In a sense, the portrayal of the Amerindian requires a return to a mythical space that contrasts with the more traditional view of civilization. The indirect allusion to an incestuous relationship accentuates a problematic sexuality ascribed to Amerindian women throughout the play that justifies their harassment. The libidinal excess reaches its extremes when Tacuana affirms her desire to be taken by a new kidnapper, Terrazas.

The construction of Tacuana as a native version of Diana sheds light on the envisaging of Amerindians during the period or, at least, on how Lope interprets travelers' accounts that describe aboriginal inhabitants. In classical iconography, Diana appears with bows and arrows, and it would not be surprising that this pictorial tradition contributed to the

selection of sartorial elements or helped to create a mental picture of actual Amerindian women on stage. In fact, Roland Greene connects the use of bows and arrows with Cupid to stress the libidinal stereotype of this iconography.[20] This connection, however, responds to a broader mythological context. The symbolic comparison of Diana with the moon strengthens the recognition of Dulcanquellín as the sun. In *El Brasil restituido* [*Brazil Restituted*], published in 1625,[21] Lope again gives us some hints of the association of Amerindian characters and their use of hunting elements when Brazil appears as an Amerindian woman, with a feathered wheel and a golden arrow like a dart.[22] Tacuana would be depicted, then, as a huntress. This characterization stresses her savage personality and virile nature. Ultimately, the reference to Diana evokes classical representations of the goddess but also illustrates, as Ignacio Arellano has shown in his article, "Valores visuales de la palabra en el espacio escénico del Siglo de Oro," the visual values of the word, the power of the world and its capacity to awaken the imagination.[23] The wardrobe—which would be seen as trite and stereotypical by a contemporary audience—must be understood as a novel resource used by Lope in adapting the descriptions from the chronicles to theater or other festivities during the seventeenth century, in which people used to disguise themselves as Amerindians.[24]

Finally, the comparison between Diana and Tacuana broadens our interpretation of Lope's approach to female characters. In an obvious allusion to Diana's renunciation of marriage, Tacuana decides to honor this classical figure by refusing to choose a husband from among the several men who woo her. In this manner, the Amerindian female turns into the desired woman par excellence but never the seduced one. The final victory over Tacuana, according to the *comedia*, is a religious one. Her final decision—to not marry and to convert to Christianity—makes her one of the most radical characters of the play and at the same time sheds new light on one of the passages that most puzzles critics: her concealed sexual interest for Terrazas. After hearing a conversation in which Terrazas confesses his intention to abduct her, Tacuana makes the following remark to herself:

> Basta que aqueste español
> no es Dios, pues que no conoce
> el pensamiento que traigo,
> perdida por sus amores;
> que con aquesta invención,
> fingiendo tales razones,
> vengo a sus brazos rendida
> porque así me lleve y robe.
> Él piensa que me hace fuerza.[25]

[I can certainly see that this Spaniard isn't a god because he doesn't recognize my secret thoughts—that I am desirous of him. With this tale of my abduction and embroidering my distress, I come prostrate to his arms so that he can seduce me. He thinks that he's luring me into this adventure.][26]

Putting into the words of a colonial subject the desire to be possessed by the invader is questionable and ideologically problematic. Obviously, it functions as a justification for the Spaniards' actions. Brotherton, for example, posits that Lope deconstructs the figure of the lady, allowing a view in which rape is more palatable since it comes as a petition from the Amerindian woman herself.[27] Without invalidating the previous statement, one must stress that his reading responds to a desire to illustrate Terrazas' contradictions. The Spanish soldier, according to this critic, is fascinating because he is the one chosen to explain the Trinity to the new converts despite his evilness. However, I would like to suggest a new reading of Tacuana's implausible gesture. The secret confirms that she is precisely the one who decides whether to accept male advances at the moment of courtship. Her wit gives her power over other characters. In other words, Tacuana is far from being a passive entity: the seduced woman turns into a seducer. Contrasting this passage with Tacuana's challenge to Dulcanquellín to court her,[28] it is evident that she knows how to manage men's sexual appetites either by gaining more time before the consummation of their marriage or pretending to be an innocent victim. Ultimately, Tacuana knows how powerful a promise can be and she is not afraid to use it at her convenience in a patriarchal society. This gesture evokes the "tricks of the weak"—according to Josefina Ludmer's analysis of Latin American women writers—since it oscillates between the act of speaking and the realm of knowledge; in this case, pretending not to know before a more authoritative figure.[29] By no means am I suggesting that this gesture exemplifies the multiple strategies employed by *real* or *historical* Amerindians towards the colonizers, but rather, that it speaks of Lope's intention to construct a powerful woman on stage.

The second Amerindian woman, Palca, is indispensable to our understanding of how the Europeans perceive the encounter with the recently discovered inhabitants on the other side of the Atlantic. Palca is the first native to have contact with the Spaniards and the one who will embody the misunderstandings in these first interactions. The first obstacle in this meeting is of a linguistic nature:

COLÓN. Lo primero
dice Palca.
BARTOLOMÉ. ¿Es rey, es hombre?
¿Es la tierra? ¿Es guerra o paz?
PALCA. ¿El señor pregunta, en fin,
cacique Dulcanquellín?
COLÓN. No es de entenderse capaz,
que al fin es bárbara lengua.[30]

[COLUMBUS: She is saying "Palca."
BARTHOLOMEW: Is this the name of the king, a man, the land? Is it war or peace?
PALCA: Sir, are you asking for our cacique, Dulcanquellín?
COLUMBUS: It is impossible to understand her because she speaks a foreign tongue.][31]

After hearing the word "Palca," Bartolomé assigns a multiplicity of meanings to the term that do not correspond to the woman who is in front of him.[32] The series of questions—a resource copied later by Pedro Calderón de la Barca in his approach to the feminine enigma in *La dama duende* (1629)—points to the difficulty of defining a woman.[33] This Baroque explosion of terms used by the Spaniard ends up imitating the *foundational aphasia* of the colonizer, as Irlamar Chiampi suggests in her analysis of Alejo Carpentier's writing, at the moment that he confronts a new reality. As this critic posits, the attempt to name and rename, invoking the inadequacy of words especially through the Baroque, is a verbal act that reveals the resistance of the real American to entering the orbit of the code that has tried to provoke that entry.[34] In a sense, this situation is a translation attempt—and I would like to point out once more Lope's role as translator—in which a term in the first language does not have an equivalent in the second one, but it is nonetheless necessary to integrate it and put it into circulation. The gesture of inquiry—"¿Es rey, es hombre? / ¿Es la tierra? ¿Es guerra o paz?"[35] [Is this the name of the king, a man, the land? Is it war or peace?][36] —defines the colonizer's enterprise. The incomprehension of the Amerindian woman, on the other hand, shows the impossibility of her own representation and as the passage shows, the first thing that she does is to recognize a masculine figure, her master Dulcanquellín.

In the same passage, Palca tries to flee after seeing her image in the mirror offered by Columbus. The humor and simplicity of the exchange offer an opportunity to analyze the feminine in the *comedia*. The Amerindian's own contemplation is initiated by the Spaniard and in this sense the approach to the woman appears from a male European perspective throughout the play.[37] In a paternalistic gesture, Columbus turns the mirror to the correct position, allowing Palca to have access to her image. The contemplation in the mirror—which evokes Lacan's theories—infantilizes Palca. By introducing the mirror, Lope stresses that the encounter with the American continent is a new form of *seeing* that would put notions of "civilization" and "barbarism" to the test. The Amerindians' barbarity is evidenced not only by their language but also by their ignorance of the more advanced artifacts or merchandise for daily use. Lope suggests that the Spaniards are the ones in charge of bringing knowledge; therefore, it is not surprising that Terrazas recognizes Columbus as Pro-

[I can certainly see that this Spaniard isn't a god because he doesn't recognize my secret thoughts—that I am desirous of him. With this tale of my abduction and embroidering my distress, I come prostrate to his arms so that he can seduce me. He thinks that he's luring me into this adventure.][26]

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metheus before the encounter with Palca.[38] The Spaniards do not steal fire from the gods to share with mortals but transfer a series of products that are not of primary necessity on the other side of the Atlantic. A careful look at this exchange is enough to appreciate that whereas the Spaniards ask for food, Amerindians receive less-important objects, i.e., a mirror, a rattle, and a necklace. Palca's terror at seeing her image is an ultimately untranslatable act. The spectator should ask, what frightens Palca in her own reflection? What are the lenses used for her to see herself? What is so shocking about this image? The scene is as follows:

> COLÓN. No está en afeitarse diestra;
> mirádole ha por detrás.
> Vuelve, y en la luz te mira. *Mírese.*
> PALCA. ¡Ay!
> COLÓN. De velle se retira;
> paso, que se espanta mas.
> [Dale los cascabeles, y tómalos.]
> ¡Tenla, que huye!
> PALCA. ¡Ay de mí!
> ¡Otra Palca como yo
> los cascabeles tomó![39]
>
> [COLUMBUS: She is not accustomed to putting on makeup because she's looking at herself on the wrong side of the mirror. Turn it around, and look at yourself in it on this side.
> She looks at herself.
> PALCA: My goodness!
> COLUMBUS: She's running away from her image. Be careful not to frighten her again.
> He hands her the bells, and she takes them.
> Hold her! She's trying to get away!
> PALCA: My word! Another Palca like myself took the bells!][40]

Columbus's comment does not clarify Palca's reaction. On the contrary, his observation distorts the audience's opinion by intensifying the expectation of a hysterical gesture from the woman. The interpretation of the "¡Ay!" ["My goodness!"] corresponds to an emotion that cannot be exactly transferred to the codes used by the conquistador and therefore can be subjected to several readings. The next character's intervention allows a better understanding of what is horrific about this image: Palca recognizes her own alterity for the Spaniard. By seeing herself in the mirror, the Amerindian is conscious of being observed and admits her participation in an exchange process that, more than economic, turns out to be cultural. The "other" Palca cannot be reduced to a literal double—her reflection in the mirror—but to a transformation that begins with the discovery of America. The image in the mirror, the sound of the rattles, and the contemplation of the necklace function as hypnotic objects that

allow knowledge of being. The Amerindian is the first to perceive the radical change in her identity that contact with the European implies. Ultimately, Lope tries to put on stage the exact moment of the fusion between a different entity (other) and a similar one (like) that emerges through the possession of the objects. The act of accepting the rattles symbolizes the beginning of the assimilation of Spanish civilization and the recognition of this transaction. Curiously, Palca does not have a problem understanding the conquistador's language and serving as a mediator after this moment; that is, she becomes an important part of the economic and cultural transactions put forth by the European. Palca's next appearance confirms the self-recognition that, beyond being offered by the Spaniard, is shaped by his influence. In this latter passage, the roles are inverted: Palca is the one who brings objects to the Amerindians as a guarantee of peace between the two cultures. After being named by Dulcanquellín, she responds: "Yo soy"[41] [Of course I am].[42] Her self-recognition is surprising if one takes into account that, more than answering a question, it serves to establish a new kind of woman who now proclaims openness to the Spanish culture without renouncing the Amerindian one. The mirror scene undoubtedly produces a comic effect but also invites reflection: what frightens Palca is her own certainty of knowing that she is an "other" after the contact with Europeans. Lope's interest in reconstructing the interplay between European and Amerindians focuses on the alterations of subjectivity. This contrasts, for instance, with a scene that was copied from Lope a few decades later in Fernando de Zárate's *La conquista de México* [*The Conquest of Mexico*] (1650–1661).[43] Whereas Lope's observer reacts to her mirror image as a frightening aspect of herself, Zárate exteriorizes his observers' reactions to stress the magical aspects of the mirror, the distortion it produces in the perception of a person's size, and the prophetic qualities it possesses. In a sense, Zárate makes a weak translation of Lope and, ultimately, of the encounter.

Palca also reinforces the connection between woman and land through the wealth produced by the latter:

> ARANA. Palca, ¿cómo va de pechos,
> a ver?
> PALCA. Que no tengo oro.
> ARANA. De eso estarán satisfechos;
> sólo estos vuestros adoro,
> que de oro mejor son hechos.
> No busco aquel oro aquí,
> de que ya tengo un tesoro.[44]
>
> [ARANA: Palca, what are your breasts like? Let me see them.
> PALCA: I have no gold.

ARANA: What you have right here is good enough. I adore them because they're made better than gold is. I'm not looking for that other type of gold right now. I have enough of that kind.][45]

This dialogue harmoniously combines the territorial enterprise and the amorous conquest. Alluding to her own breasts as gold, Palca inserts the language of passional desire into economic discourse. The word *pecho*, as Sebastián de Covarrubias in *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española* reminds us, is a tribute paid to the king.[46] Thus, Palca's breasts reflect the conqueror's sexual appetite and imperialist impulse in a single unit. In this manner, Lope incorporates a critique of Columbus's project through the recognition that both gold and sex are two of the conqueror's objects of desire. The author covers his back by attributing these claims to minor soldiers and in this manner, he highlights Columbus' religious motivation. Cartagena-Calderón points out that, in effect, the admiral's return to Spain allows him to escape the carnal temptations that affect the conquistadors in American lands.[47] The ability to produce gold is precisely what arouses the Spaniards' desire in the new territories, but in this case, this *auri sacra fames* [accursed hunger for gold] is transferred to the Amerindian's breast. The hunger for gold and the hunger for the body are two sides of the same coin and, as Ricardo Castells posits in "Oro e idolatría en *El Nuevo Mundo descubierto por Cristóbal Colón* de Lope de Vega," Catholic theology indicates that sensual passion and avarice reflect the same excessive love for worldly goods.[48] The comparison between gold (land) and breast (woman) increases the audience's acceptance of the conquest of overseas territories.

Arana's speech aims to gain some complicity with a male Spanish audience. In fact, this complicity intensifies at the moment that he asks Palca for her breasts. By making the question a command, Lope invites spectators to move their sight toward the actress' torso, awakening voyeurism. The female Amerindian body—and the actress' as well—turns into an object to be seen and desired. In effect, as Benito Quintana's "Damas indias: America's Iconic Body and the Wars of Conquest in Spanish Comedia" shows, the New World was allegorized as a nude woman: "Their images characterize America by her nakedness, her violent nature, her passive and welcoming attitude to the newcomers, by aggressive flora and fauna, and by the dangers hidden within her."[49] That is not to say that the actress would be nude on stage, but rather that moving the glance of spectators to her breasts evokes a desire to see and imagine her nakedness.

By ignoring the question, Palca increases the level of passion and evokes the element that produces the conquistadors' greed: "gold." The word facilitates the displacement of codes. The dislocation, however, shows the complexity of adapting of American topics to the principles of the *comedia*. In a play about love entanglements, the parallel between

breast and gold points to the high value of the breast for the gentleman who pursues a conquest. In a drama about America, on the other hand, this comparison acquires strong ideological nuances regarding the conquest of the new territory. In a sense, it is impossible to apply the codes of the *comedia* to the staging of the colonial enterprise without incorporating tensions that go beyond the typical conflicts between *damas* and *galanes*; that is, dishonor, lust, and greed gain a new meaning in these dramas.

ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE MIRROR: A LOOK AT THE ABSENT CASTILIAN WOMAN

One of the striking elements of the drama is the absence of the Castilian woman. This lack of representation cannot be explained exclusively by the centrality of the Amerindians in the drama or by the lack of Spanish women in the discovery enterprise. Although the queen, Isabel, appears on stage—at the beginning of the first act and at the end of the third—her characterization is rather weak and insubstantial. In a sense, she is an extension of the king, whom she always accompanies. In contrast with the courted women of the play, the monarch is the only one who is a participant in a consummated, consolidated, and institutionalized marriage. Her body does not need to be conquered or seduced, and thus she does not suffer the exploitation that other female characters experience. On the other hand, she represents the Spaniards' only possibility for marriage; that is, although the Amerindian women are desired, they are not good enough to be considered as brides. As a result of the queen's privileged position, the rhetoric of her courtship turns into a poetics of adulation. The admiral's praise, for example, fulfills the purpose of ensuring the economic support of his enterprise. Hence, the compliment "prudente y más dichosa Reina / que han visto las edades de oro antiguas"[50] [the most fortunate Queen the ages have ever known][51] must be understood as a transaction that will guarantee a financial exchange but not an amorous relationship. Since her body does not arouse the conquistador's desire, the queen lacks the visibility of the Moor and the Amerindian. Knowing the conventions of the new comedy, Lope knows that a married woman cannot maintain the audience's interest unless she serves to raise questions of possible adultery. As a woman in power, Isabel cannot run the risk of a characterization that does not defend the honor and docility ascribed to women of the period.

The Castilian woman's physical absence does not prevent her from being a point to which the European male gaze constantly returns. Conquerors hand the mirror to Palca in order to offer her an opportunity to see herself; however, this image is also displayed to the person who hands her the mirror and invites a reflection on the female Castilian body. The most obvious example of how contact with the Amerindians

encourages the conquerors to analyze their own reality on Spanish soil arises precisely after Palca looks at her image. Friar Buyl's exclamation, "Poco solimán vendieran, / si así del espejo huyeran / las mujeres de Castilla"[52] [Precious little makeup would be sold in Castile if women there couldn't gaze at themselves in the mirror],[53] points to a radical change, both culturally and economically, by the importation of American ways to Europe. In this sense, the contemplation of the "other" allows Europeans to explore the particular and distinctive ways of their own culture.

Another scene that invites us to rethink the Castilian female body is Arana's reaction while he contemplates Palca's breast:

> ARANA. No vi tal felicidad.
> [aparte] Por deshonra tienen éstas
> el negar la voluntad,
> que del no vestirse honestas
> les nace la enfermedad.)
> [a Palca] Soy tuyo, en fin.
> PALCA. Si tú quieres.
> ARANA. A andar así las mujeres
> [aparte] de España, ¿quién se quejara?
> Mas si tanto oro sobrara,
> ni aun pidieran alfileres.[54]

> [ARANA: (aside) I've never seen such easiness. These women consider it dishonorable to deny the flesh. This infirmity comes from not dressing with decency. (to Palca) I'm all yours then!
> PALCA: If that is your desire!
> ARANA: (aside) If Spanish women went around this way, who would complain? But if there were such an excess of gold in Spain, they would have no need to ask us men for their monthly allowance.][55]

The judgment of the Amerindians as an easy conquest—ascribed to their dress—shows an attempt to impose the cultural codes of the conquerors. Quintana points out, what distinguishes the Amerindians is not vanity but lust: "For the Spaniards, the indigenous women's lack of clothing and their insistent offerings of sexual favors marks Amerindian women as beings who, living in a natural state, do not care for material wealth and values but desire intimate physical contact."[56] Arana's comment provokes the reaction of spectators and at the same time invites them to reflect on the possibility of going against the pillars of civilization. The question—"¿quién se quejará?"[57] [who would complain?][58] —demands a response from the audience, in which male and female points of view are confronted, emulating courtship's frictions that appear throughout the play. The question, however, seems to answer itself at the moment of its delivery by suggesting a complicity with the men who watch the scene.

The woman does not have the opportunity to express her complaints and in effect, Arana's speech closes the scene without giving a voice to Palca.

AMOROUS AND TERRITORIAL CONQUEST IN AMERICA: A COMPLEX ADAPTATION

In *The New World Discovered by Christopher Columbus*, Lope mixes the language of love with that of territorial conquest in order to adapt American topics to the expectations and interests of an early modern audience. Lope ennobles and enslaves Amerindians, as Brotherton suggests, by depicting them through the discourse of *galanes* and *damas*.[59] The argument has important implications beyond those that he elaborates in his essay. In effect, this connection allows Lope to adapt American issues to a more familiar language. Critics speculate as to why the literary corpus centered on America has not been ample; in this sense, exploring Lope's play as an attempt to appeal to an audience interested in *comedias* about love entanglements between *damas* and *galanes* can shed light on the reasons for this lack.

J. H. Elliot's *The Old World and the New, 1492–1650* proposes that the New World was foreign to the old one and as a result, the process of integration and assimilation on both sides of the Atlantic was slow.[60] In "El descubrimiento y la conquista de América en la comedia del Siglo," Glen F. Dille meanwhile suggests that the scarcity of these *comedias* illustrates a lack of public demand for American topics. In addition, he posits that playwrights were forced to assume a defensive position due to the bad reputation of the conquest and colonization of America.[61] By scrutinizing these dramas, Robert Lauer's "The Iberian Encounter of America in the Spanish Theater of the Golden Age," examines a series of topics that would be too nationalistic and sensitive to contemporary audiences.[62] Finally, Case points out that America occupies a secondary place in Lope's writing because its conquest was merely one part of the Spanish enterprise in history.[63] However, this explanation is problematic, especially if we consider the multiplicity of plays dealing with the conquest of Granada; in other words, why does Lope write more dramas about Granada than America if both are part of the continuum of the Spanish territorial enterprise in history? The limited number of plays depicting America—grouped by Dille and Lauer—is still an enigma to scholars of the early modern Spanish theater. If one poses the problem from the question of how to adapt a topic that falls outside the Spanish dramatic heritage, then one can understand the difficulties of content and scenography raised by the representation of America.

The challenge of adapting American reality (or realities) to a *comedia* about love entanglements explains the relatively limited number of examples, but another factor is the insistence on incorporating erotic stories

and episodes that in most cases are foreign or dispensable to the global framework of the play. The bath scene in *El Arauco domado* [*Arauco Tamed*] (1599), for example, illustrates the persistence in showing eroticism for the spectator's entertainment, in addition to evidencing the desire to adapt dramas about America to the form of the traditional *comedias*.[64] Playwrights are then at a crossroads: the incorporation of known resources from theater minimizes the chance for a realistic and genuine representation of America, while the approach to the new continent from a perspective of cultural acceptance reduces the possibility of including this corpus in the theatrical heritage.[65] By including unrequited and frustrated love, several of these dramas end up not meeting spectators' expectations.

Lope's drama is the first example that attempts to reconcile amorous courtship with the staging of ideological approaches generated by the discovery of America, and thus it is the *comedia* that sets an example for subsequent plays. The language of desire and conquest, however, appears much earlier than the encounter between the two worlds:

> COLÓN. Tierra, y tierra deseada.
> BARTOLOMÉ. Ya te beso, amada tierra.
> COLÓN. ¡Mil besos la quiero dar!
> Por el largo desear,
> después de tan larga guerra,
> se llame la Deseada.
> ARANA. ¡Buen nombre!
> TERRAZAS. Igual al deseo.
> COLÓN. ¿Es posible que te veo,
> madre tierra, madre amada?[66]
>
> [COLUMBUS: Land! And land so long desired!
> BARTHOLOMEW: I kiss you, beloved land!
> COLUMBUS: I want to kiss her a thousand times. Because of our long desiring for her after such a long dispute, let her be named The Desired Land!
> ARANA: A fitting name!
> TERRAZAS: Equal to our desire.
> COLUMBUS: Is it possible that I behold you, mother earth, beloved mother? Today I have fulfilled my promise.][67]

The comparison between the land and the mother accentuates the language of amorous relationships that is soon displaced onto the Amerindians. This desire departs from the interest in domination and possession but not from the possibility of marriage or miscegenation. In fact, the feasibility of union is mentioned only one time. After Terrazas' speech, Tacuana suggests "o los traigáis a casar / con nuestras hijas, adonde, / mezclándose nuestra sangre / seamos todos españoles"[68] [Or bring your sons here to marry our daughters whereby, mixing with our blood, we may all be Spaniards],[69] a plan that fails because of Terrazas's murder by Dulcanquellín. In Soufas' words in "Rhetorical Appropriation: Lope's New World Play and Canonicity": "The portrayed struggle for possession of the woman shifts from one between Indian and Indian to one between Indian and European once Colombus' men arrive, and in recognizable anti-conquest terms Lope depicts the gendering of the land and the seeming willingness of its female inhabitants to be taken."[70] The sexual representation of the female Amerindian—which differs from the male one—helps us to better understand Lope's attempt to bring America closer to the seventeenth-century spectator, not from an ethnographic approach but from within the scope of their dramatic knowledge. The strong ideological charge of the conquest and colonization of America nonetheless impedes a successful adaptation. Ultimately, this adaptation is a challenge to the playwright who, as Lope reminds us in his *Arte Nuevo de hacer comedias en este tiempo* [*The New Art of Writing Plays*], lives at the mercy of the audience.[71]

By mixing historical facts and fictional elements, Lope takes advantage of the rhetorical possibilities of the name of an island that Columbus discovered in his second voyage. In the same manner that he includes Friar Buyl in the first sailing, Lope decides to advance the discovery of La Deseada [the desired one] and incorporate it into this expedition.[72] Whereas the inclusion of the priest in the first trip stresses the religious nature of the enterprise, the incorporation of the island highlights the sexual character intrinsic to the colonizing process. As noted by the chronicles, the historical name of La Deseada—one of the islands of Guadeloupe—refers to the Spaniards' desire to find new land. Lope distorts history by assigning the name to the first land that Columbus finds in America: Ganahaní o San Salvador—an island of the Bahamas. The name incorporates the sexual appetite of the conquerors and of the natives. By feminizing the land and adjudicating the capacity to produce desire, Lope manages to present the discovery using the popular formula of the *corrales*.

In conclusion, the language of courtship allows Lope to adapt the form of the *comedia* to suit the audience's preference for romantic plots and makes possible an elaboration of the complex interactions between Europeans and Amerindians. The female characters play an important role in this drama since they set in motion both sexual and territorial desire. In this celebration of courtship, the gaze appears almost exclusively from a European perspective but it is also altered and affected by the view of another culture in an interchange that encourages self-reflection. In his attempt to adapt American issues to a *comedia* about love entanglements, Lope uses a series of dramatic resources at his disposal. This new and distant presence on stage ends up moving beyond the postulates of conventional theater and turns into, as do the Amerindians of the play, an entity to be conquered.

NOTES

1. Roland Greene, *Unrequited Conquests. Love and Empire in the Colonial Americas* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 6. In his attempt to correlate love poetry of the Renaissance with early modern empire, Greene does not explore theater. Although plays on the subject developed much later than the initial encounters between Amerindians and Europeans, theater proves to be an excellent medium that makes notions of conquest—imperial and romantic—more visible and immediate. Indeed, the preference for the use of verse during the period and the centrality of amorous plots speak of theater's intrinsic relation with lyric discourse.

2. I quote from Robert M. Shannon's critical edition, *El Nuevo Mundo descubierto por Cristóbal Colón: The New World Discovered by Christopher Columbus* (New York: Peter Lang, 2001) (hereafter cited as RSCC). This version includes the multiple differences in the three *princeps* editions—Madrid, Barcelona, and Pamplona—and offers, in addition, an English translation of the text. I am using this translation. The play was first published in *Parte IV* [Part IV] of Lope's works (1614). It was written, as Griswold S. Morley and Courtney Bruerton suggest, between 1598 and 1603 (*Cronología de las comedias de Lope de Vega*, trans. María Rosa Cartes [Madrid: Gredos, 1968], 370).

3. In her article, Isabel Castells makes a similar claim in connecting the language of love with the language of war. However, she does not analyze in depth the implications of female Amerindian characterizations. Her depiction of Palca as a kind of Malinche, for instance, deserves more thought ("'Suele Amor trocar con Marte las armas': La conquista erótica y militar del Nuevo Mundo en tres comedias de Lope de Vega," *Anuario Lope de Vega* 4 [1998]: 88). Similarly, Melchora Romanos explores notions of love and eroticism in the play but the scope of her project does not allow her to delve into the multiple aspects of this issue in the *comedia* ("El espacio del amor en la conformación de la comedia histórica de Lope de Vega," in *Amor y erotismo en el teatro de Lope de Vega: actas de las XXV Jornadas de Teatro Clásico de Almagro*, ed. Felipe B. Pedraza Jiménez, Rafael González Cañal, and Elena Marcello [Almagro: Festival de Almagro, 2003], 155–75). Therefore, my chapter attempts to put more emphasis on these women by analyzing the passages in which they appear and including all of them as a collectivity.

4. Among the critics who have recognized the staging of the conquest of Granada as a precedent to the discovery of America in Lope's play, we must mention Teresa Scott Soufas, José Carlos Terradas, Jack Weiner, Moisés R Castillo, Lucía Chamanadjian, Jorge Campos, Victor Dixon, Iván Cañadas, Ricardo Castells, Sebastián de la Nuez, Thomas E. Case, and John Brotherton. Other critics, such as Miguel Ángel de Bunes Ibarra, Louis Cardaillac, Peter Dressendörfer, Mercedes García-Arenal, Antonio Garrido Aranda, the Marqués de Lozaya, and Robert Ricard, explore the multiple connections between Granada and America in a broader sense. The references are in the bibliography.

5. José Reynaldo Cartagena-Calderón, "Trans-Atlantic Conquests and the Imagining of Imperial Masculinities in Lope de Vega's *El Nuevo Mundo descubierto por Cristóbal Colón*," Special Renaissance issue, *Annals of Scholarship* 16, nos. 1–3 (2004): 160.

6. See María Soledad Carrasco Urgoiti, *El moro retador y el moro amigo (Estudios sobre fiestas y comedias de moros y cristianos)* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1996). The *comedia de moros y cristianos* is part of a broader phenomenon of the period. The so-called *maurophilia* is a series of texts that praise the Moor. This category includes novels such as *The Abencerraje*; Ginés Pérez de Hita's *Civil Wars of Granada*; the *novella* "Ozmín y Daraja" in Mateo Alemán's *Guzmán de Alfarache*; Lope de Vega's play *El remedio en la desdicha* [*Remedy in Misfortune*]; and a series of ballads. This idealization of the Moors seems to be, as Georges Cirot observes, at odds with the social conditions of their descendants ("La maurophile littéraire en Espagne au XVIe siècle," *Bulletin Hispanique* 40, no. 2 [1938]: 156). In contrast, Claudio Guillén posits that these texts do not give voice to a genuine maurophilia (*Literature as System: Essays Toward the Theory of Literary History* [Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1971], 159–217). Recent critics, like María Soledad Carrasco Urigoiti, George A. Shipley, Francisco Márquez Villanueva, and Luce López-Baralt, read the genre as a literature of dissidents. Finally, Barbara Fuchs contends that these oriental allusions, far from being an idealization of the past, are a series of everyday practices that help to come to terms with the Moorish presence in Spain (*Exotic Nation: Maurophilia and the Construction of Early Modern Spain* [Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008], 5).

7. Thomas E. Case, "El indio y el moro en las comedias de Lope de Vega," in *Looking at the Comedia in the Year of the Quincentennial: Proceedings of the 1992 Symposium on Golden Age Drama at the University of Texas, El Paso March 18–21*, ed. Barbara Mujica and Sharon D. Voros (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1993), 18.

8. Moisés R. Castillo, one of the leading experts on the representations of America in early modern Spanish theater, dares to name Lope as an inventor of America ("Lope de Vega, inventor de América: *El Nuevo Mundo descubierto por Cristóbal Colón*," *Bulletin of the Comediantes* 54, no. 1 [2002]: 75). I suggest that, more than an inventor, the playwright is a translator. Instead of imitating the sense of the original, according to Walter Benjamin, translation must lovingly and in detail incorporate the original's way of meaning, thus making both the original and the translation recognizable as fragments of a greater language, just as fragments are part of a vessel ("The Task of the Translator," in *Walter Benjamin: Selected Writings, Volume 1, 1913–1926*, ed. Marcus Paul Bullock and Michael W. Jennings [Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2002], 260). Lope does not only translate words, but a range of perspectives into a different literary genre from the chronicles, diaries, and accounts of the discovery. Ultimately, the original text—the moment of the encounter—is lost, but Lope tries to recuperate its way of meaning and present it to the public in terms of a theatrical language.

9. The play *El Nuevo Mundo descurbierto por Cristóbal Colón* [*The New World Discovered by Christopher Columbus*] was a target of negative judgments during the nineteenth century. In his article about the play, John Brotherton cites several of these opinions ("Lope de Vega's *El Nuevo Mundo descubierto por Cristóbal Colón*: Convention and Ideology," *Bulletin of the Comediantes* 46, no. 1 [Summer 1994]: 33–47). According to Brotherton's article: Leandro Fernández de Moratín considers it the author's most absurd play; Eugenio de Ochoa describes it as one of the biggest monstrosities of the Spanish theater; and Barry reads it as proof of Spaniards' ineptitude. Although modern critics have given the *comedia* the critical attention that it deserves, still in 1912, Juan Martínez Ruiz (Azorín) included Lope in his collection of "bad Spaniards," precisely for the playwright's critique of the Spanish enterprise in America. For a contextualization of modern critiques of Lope de Vega, see also Héctor Brioso Santos' article, "*El Nuevo Mundo descubierto por Cristóbal Colón* de Lope de Vega y los 'malos españoles' de Azorín," *Philologia hispalensis* 11, no. 1 (1996–1997): 343–47.

10. In proposing the argument of Lope as creator of a formula for plays dealing with America, Patrizia Garelli suspects that the playwright's wish was to be the "cantor oficial" [official singer] of the conquest ("Lope de Vega y la Conquista de América: teatro y opinión pública," in *Actas del Coloquio Teoría y realidad en el teatro español del siglo XVII. La influencia italiana*, ed. Francisco Ramos Ortega [Roma: Publicaciones del Instituto Español de Cultura y de Literatura de Roma, 1981], 290).

11. In *Todos son uno: Arquetipos, xenofobia y racismo: la imagen del morisco en la Monarquía Española durante los siglos XVI y XVII* [*All Are One: Archetypes, Xenophobia, and Racism: The Image of the Morisco in the Spanish Monarchy during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*], José María Perceval posits that the Spaniards create a unified type of "Morisco" to facilitate their contemporary attack discursively ([Almería: Instituto de Estudios Almerienses, 1997], 21). Although the application of this argument to the construction of Amerindians in chronicles during the period needs to be revisited, I find it useful to question how the study of natives came to be developed from a generally unified perspective.

12. An areito was a ceremonial dance of the Taino Arawak people in the Caribbean islands.

13. This Spanish quotation is from Lope de Vega's *El Nuevo Mundo*, act 2, verses 1136–41, 1145–47, in RSCC, 152. All Spanish quotations from this point forward using Shannon's critical edition (RSCC) will be cited by act and verse (v.).

14. RSCC, 153.

15. Lope de Vega, *El Nuevo Mundo*, act 2, v. 1137, in RSCC, 152.

16. RSCC, 153.

17. RSCC, 145.

18. RSCC, 153.

19. The inclusion of Greco-Roman elements in the play deserves further study. On the one hand, the multiple allusions to mythological figures may seem anachronistic. On the other, each comparison has a specific purpose that helps us to understand the concepts and modes of representation selected by Lope. Cartagena-Calderón's analysis of Mohamed as Alcides is a perfect example which illustrates that classical and contemporary connections are not fortuitous ("Trans-Atlantic Conquests . . . ," 155–73).

20. Greene, *Unrequited Conquests*, 52–53.

21. Kenneth A. Stackhouse edition, *Arauco Tamed*, by Lope de Vega, in *Translations of the American Plays of Lope de Vega: The Discovery of the New World, The Conquest of Araucania, Brazil Restored* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2003).

22. Ibid., 408.

23. Ignacio Arellano, "Valores visuales de la palabra en el espacio escénico del Siglo de Oro," *Revista Canadiense de Estudios Hispánicos* 19, no. 3 (Spring 1995): 418.

24. Several critics, such as Jorge Campos, M. R. Castillo, Victor Dixon, Weston Flint, Vicente Rodríguez Casado, J. C. Terradas, and J. Weiner, identify the writings of Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo and Francisco López de Gómara as direct sources for Lope's play. Moisés Castillo and Teresa Kirschner, moreover, suggest the influence of the debate between Bartolomé de las Casas and Ginés de Sepúlveda regarding the treatment of Amerindians. For a portrayal of Amerindians in celebrations and festivals, see *El teatro descubre América: Fiestas y teatro en la casa de Austria (1492–1700)*, ed. Andrea Sommer-Mathis et al., trans. Társila Reyes Sicilia (Madrid: Mapfre, 1992). The references are in the bibliography.

25. Lope de Vega, *El Nuevo Mundo*, act 3, vv. 2256–63, in RSCC, 236.

26. RSCC, 237.

27. Brotherton, "Lope de Vega's *El Nuevo Mundo*, 42.

28. In the second act, Tacuana challenges Dulcanquellín to seduce her and make her fall in love with him. According to Lucía Chamanadjian, Lope shows a nuanced vision of the Amerindian by pointing out the honest side of Dulcanquellín, who grants her petition ("La visión matizada del Nuevo Mundo en *El Nuevo Mundo descubierto por Cristóbal Colón*, de Lope de Vega." *Anuario de Lope de Vega* 4 [1998]: 102). A similar strategy can be found in Cervantes' character Doña Catalina de Oviedo in *La gran sultana* (1615). In this play, a captive Spanish woman in the Ottoman Empire challenges the Sultan to court her in order to earn more time before the consummation of their marriage.

29. Josefina Ludmer, "Tricks of the Weak," in *Feminist Perspectives on Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz*, ed. Stephanie Merrim (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1999), 86–93.

30. Lope de Vega, *El Nuevo Mundo*, act 2, vv. 1660–06, in RSCC, 182.

31. RSCC, 183.

32. Although critics have identified the sources of the term "Palca," it deserves further study. Raquel Minian de Alfie tracks its use and claims that its first appearance is in Ercilla's epic poem *La araucana* de Ercilla ("Nombres indígenas en una comedia de Lope," *Filología* 7 [1961]: 175). J. Lemartinel and Charles Minguet posit that "Palca" is a village in Angaray, Peru, near the municipality of Ancoria (Lope de Vega, *El Nuevo Mundo descubierto por Cristóbal Colón*, ed. Lemartinel and Minguet [Lille: Presses Universitaires de Lille, 1980], 62). The Royal Spanish Academy identifies the word as a Quechua term that suggests something split or a crossroads between two rivers. This meaning sheds light on Palca's characterization throughout the play and invites us to think of the word's circulation in Spain during the sixteenth century.

33. Pedro Calderón de la Barca, *La dama duende*, ed. Jesús Pérez Magallón (Madrid: Cátedra, 2011).

34. Irlemar Chiampi, "Barroquismo y afasia en Alejo Carpentier," *Revista de Estudios Hispánicos* 10 (1983): 41.

35. Lope de Vega, *El Nuevo Mundo*, act 2, vv. 1661–62, in RSCC, 182.

36. RSCC, 183.

37. By the male European perspective, I mean the persistent view of Amerindian subjects and objects through the lenses of discoverers, explorers, and chroniclers in complicity with a masculine audience. By this, I do not mean to suggest that there were no women in the colonies or in the *corrales*, but I want to emphasize that the female perspective is lost in comments and asides that seem to address a masculine listener.

38. Lope de Vega, *El Nuevo Mundo*, act 2, v. 1000, in RSCC, 142.

39. Lope de Vega, *El Nuevo Mundo*, act 2, vv. 1693–1700, in RSCC, 184.

40. RSCC, 185.

41. Lope de Vega, *El Nuevo Mundo*, act 2, v. 1884, in RSCC, 198.

42. RSCC, 199.

43. Using the pseudonym of Fernando de Zárate, the Portuguese Jew Antonio Enríquez Gómez wrote a play about the victory of Hernán Cortés. The text was published in 1668 to celebrate the birth of Charles II. It has been argued that Zárate's evident inspiration from Lope's play is due to a desire to hide his Jewish identity (*La conquista de México*, In *América en el teatro clásico español: Estudio y textos*, ed. Francisco Ruiz Ramón [Pamplona: Universidad de Navarra, 1993], 207–58). See Carlos Romero Muñoz, "Lope de Vega y 'Fernando de Zárate': *El Nuevo Mundo* (y *Arauco domado*) en *La conquista de México*," *Studi di letteratura ispano-americana* 15–16 (1983): 243–64; Max Harris, "A *Marrano* in Montezuma's Court: An Oblique Reading of *La conquista de México* by 'Fernando de Zárate,'" *Bulletin of the Comediantes* 43, no. 1 (Summer 1991): 147–61; and Contance Rose, "Cortés y la conversión de los indios en *La conquista de México* de Antonio Enríquez Gómez," *La Torre: Revista de la Universidad de Puerto Rico* 8, no. 31 (1994): 399–411.

44. Lope de Vega, *El Nuevo Mundo*, act 3, vv. 2294–2300, in RSCC, 240.

45. RSCC, 241.

46. Sebastián de Covarrubias, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*, ed. Ignacio Arellano and Rafael Zafra (Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2006), 1351.

47. Cartagena-Calderón, "Trans-Atlantic Conquests," 163–64.

48. Ricardo Castells, "Oro e idolatría en *El Nuevo Mundo descubierto por Cristóbal Colón* de Lope de Vega," *Neophilologus* 84, no. 3 (July 2000): 393.

49. Benito Quintana, "Damas indias: America's Iconic Body and the Wars of Conquest in Spanish Comedia," *Bulletin of the Comediantes* 62, no. 1 (January 2010): 103.

50. Lope de Vega, *El Nuevo Mundo*, act 1, vv. 946–47, in RSCC, 126.

51. RSCC, 127.

52. Lope de Vega, *El Nuevo Mundo*, act 2, vv. 1705–7, in RSCC, 186.

53. RSCC, 187.

54. Lope de Vega, *El Nuevo Mundo*, act 3, vv. 2304–13, in RSCC, 240, 242.

55. RSCC, 241, 243.

56. Quintana, "Damas indias," 112.

57. Lope de Vega, *El Nuevo Mundo*, act 3, v. 2311, in RSCC, 242.

58. RSCC, 243.

59. Brotherton, "Lope de Vega's *El Nuevo Mundo*, 37.

60. J. H. [John Huxtable] Elliot, *The Old World and the New, 1492–1650* (Cambridge: Cambridg University Press, 1996), 17.

61. Glen F. Dille, "El descubrimiento y la conquista de América en la comedia del Siglo de Oro," *Hispania* 71, no. 3 (September 1988): 494, 496.

62. Robert A. Lauer, "The Iberian Encounter of America in the Spanish Theater of the Golden Age," *Pacific Coast Philology* 28, no. 1 (September 1993): 33.

63. Case, "El indio y el moro en las comedias . . . ," 21.

64. In his analysis of the play *Arauco domado* [*Arauco Tamed*], Lauer points out the importance of this scene to the plot. By exploring Lope's sources—Horace's ode and Ercilla's epic—the passage reflects the heroic and moral tone of the *comedia*. In this manner, the scene is both historical and lyrical. The act of two lovers seems to interrupt the thread of events, as happens with Dalifa and Mohamed in the heavenly meadow.

65. Ricardo de Turia's *La bellígera española* [*The Spanish Warrior*], ed. Patricio Lerzundi (Valencia: Albatros-Hispanófila, 1996), is an example of this dichotomy. On the one hand, the text is one that best follows the traditional conventions of Spanish drama. On the other, it is also a play that shows a more distant and foreign representation of America.

66. Lope de Vega, *El Nuevo Mundo*, act 2, vv. 1559–64, in RSCC, 176.

67. RSCC, 177.

68. Lope de Vega, *El Nuevo Mundo*, act 3, vv. 2192–95, in RSCC, 234.

69. RSCC, 233.

70. Teresa Scott Soufas, "Rhetorical Appropriation: Lope's New World Play and Canonicity," *Hispanic Review* 67, no. 3 (Summer 1999): 324.

71. Lope de Vega, *El arte nuevo de hacer comedias en este tiempo*, ed. Juana de José Prades (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1971); repr., ed. Enrique García Santo-Tomás (Madrid: Cátedra, 2006).

72. Lope's main historical sources, Oviedo and Gómara, do not make this error. This change then can be interpreted as an artistic and conscious liberty taken by Lope.