

## THE ISOLATION OF AMERICA: THE IDEOLOGICAL AND POETIC PURPOSE OF MISREPRESENTATION

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El presente artículo pretende explicar por qué el dramaturgo preeminente del Siglo de Oro, Lope de Vega, se refiere repetidas veces a una colonia imperial americana, el Brasil, como una isla en su comedia, *El Brasil restituído*. Se aclara que el aparente error geográfico se debe a la intervención del Conde Duque de Olivares en la comedia para señalar la postura política imperial en contra de la incursión extranjera en las colonias americanas y en contra de la mezcla de la sangre española con la de los indígenas de América y con los enemigos tradicionales de la fe católica, protestantes y judíos. El artículo demuestra cómo la postura política de separación y aislamiento de las Américas de la metrópoli se relaciona con las dos comedias anteriores de Lope sobre la Conquista de las Américas, *El Nuevo Mundo descubierto por Cristóbal Colon* y *Arauco domado*.

The present article intends to explain why the preeminent dramatist of the Siglo de Oro, Lope de Vega, repeatedly refers to an Imperial American colony, Brazil, as an island in his play, *Brazil Restored*. It will be argued that the apparent geographical error is due to the intervention of the Count-Duke of Olivares in the play to signal the Imperial political position against foreign incursion in the American colonies, specifically the Dutch and the Jew, and against the mixture of Spanish blood with the indigenous peoples of the Americas and with the traditional enemies of the Catholic faith, Protestants and Jews. The article shows how the political position of separation and isolation of the Americas from the metropolis is related to the two earlier plays by Lope on the Conquest of the Americas, *The New World Discovered by Christopher Columbus* and *Arauco Tamed*.

*Al otro día Baltasar Espinosa, mirando desde la galería los campos anegados, pensó que la metáfora que equipara la pampa con el mar no era por lo menos esa mañana, del todo falsa... En cuanto a sus hermanos y a su padre, ya sabrían por Daniel que estaba aislado -la palabra, etimológicamente, era justa- por la creciente (Jorge Luis Borges, "El Evangelio según Marcos").*

Lope de Vega's *El Brasil restituído* is a remarkable play because it reflects in several important ways the dominant discourse of Castilian aristocracy under the reign of Philip IV. Autographed and dated by the dramatist, October 23,

1625, the manuscript, now located at the New York Public Library, celebrates the restoration of Brazil to Iberian possession on April 30, 1625 by the combined Imperial forces after the invasion by the Dutch of the port fortress of the Bay of All Saints.

The censor of the play, Pedro Vargas Machuca, gave rapid approval of the play, October 29, 1625, to facilitate its first performance at court for the royal family on November 6, 1625<sup>1</sup>. About *El Brasil restituído* Vargas Machuca writes,

Esta gloria de las armas dEspaña en la restitución del Brasil [...] la ha escrito Lope de Vega Carpio, muy ajustada y conforme a la mejor relación que deste suceso tenemos, calificada de un textigo jnstrumental que se halló en esta guerra y trajo de ella honrosas señales en sus heridas. En esta comedia se habla dél y de otros muchos caballeros con la honra y alabança que se les deue [...]<sup>2</sup>.

Given the royal audience for which Lope was writing, given the assurances from the censor that the play was based on reliable historic sources, why would Spain's premiere dramatist repeatedly make the following geographical error concerning Brazil?:

|         |  |
|---------|--|
| ONGOL:  | ¿Posible puede ser en tu belleza<br>puede caber, Brasil, <i>ysla</i> famosa,<br>contra nuestro valor tanta tristeza?                               |
| BRASIL: | Fortuna, en mis desdichas rigurosa,<br>corona con laureles mi cabeza.<br>En tiempo que gentil estaua ociosa,<br>Y <i>en mar etiópico reynaua</i> , |
|         | Que de perlas mis plantas adornaua [...]<br>(emphasis added).  |

To state in 1625, one hundred and thirty-three years after Columbus's initial voyage, that Brazil was an island, suggests, at first glance, a curious detachment from the Americas -particularly curious in view of the chronicle histo-

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<sup>1</sup> The date of the first performance is given by Shergold (1967, p. 224). See also Shergold and Varey, p. 218. The cast of actors in Andrés de la Vega's company who performed before the royal family is found in the autograph manuscript and copied by Rennert, p. 109.

<sup>2</sup> I have used the edition prepared by Gino de Solenni (quotation in p. 114). All further quotes are taken from this edition with the line number following. I have compared Solenni's edition to the one prepared by Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo, RAE, vol. 13, pp. 76-106, with Lope's autograph manuscript in the New York Public Library and the copy by Agustín Durán, found in the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, a microfilm copy of which I possess. Because Solenni's edition is based on Lope's manuscript and not on the Durán copy, used by Menéndez Pelayo, Solenni's edition is preferable. Solenni notes the variations between his edition and Menéndez Pelayo's.

ries and epic poems about the Conquest that Lope had read and on which he had based his two earlier American plays<sup>3</sup>-. Indeed, there are medieval maps which refer to the southern portion of the Atlantic Ocean between Africa and South America as the *Oceanus Aethiopicus*<sup>4</sup>. Furthermore, the *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada* states the following concerning 13<sup>th</sup>- and 14<sup>th</sup>-century concepts of the location of Brazil:

Los cartógrafos de aquella época lo tenían por una isla, que pintaban en medio del Atlántico y en la misma latitud del cabo Finisterre de Inglaterra o Land's End de los ingleses. Todavía llaman los ingleses Peña de Brasil a un islote situado a poca distancia del extremo Sur de Irlanda<sup>5</sup>.

While Lope may have had access to a medieval map depicting Brazil as an Island, clearly no one, especially an aristocratic audience, believed this was the case in 1625. The purpose of the article, therefore, is to suggest why Lope isolates Brazil in *El Brasil restituido* and to seek ideological and poetic patterns or connections in earlier plays about the Conquest of America. I intend to show that the reference to isolation links the play to the foreign policy of the Count-Duke of Olivares who, I contend, directly or indirectly guided the ideological content of the play.

In *The Beginnings of Modern Colonization*, Charles Verlinden writes

[...] In 1588 the destruction of the Invincible Armada by Elizabeth's sea dogs put an end to Spain's exclusive control of the Atlantic, the key to the oceans. The result of the Spanish defeat by the English was to be a second wave of European Atlantic colonization (Verlinden, p. 74).

There can be no doubt that Spain's control over the Atlantic, the Caribbean Sea and the Gulf of Mexico had been severely eroded by the date of composition of *El Brasil restituido*, hence the haste on Lope's part to complete the play for royal performance and celebration of the defeat of two of its traditional enemies, Protestants and, as we will see, Jews.

Concerning the Count-Duke's policy on the governance of Philip's realms, Elliot writes in *Richelieu and Olivares*

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<sup>3</sup> See Shannon, *Visions of the New World in the Drama of Lope de Vega*. Chapter Two, "Visions of the New World in *El nuevo mundo descubierto por Cristóbal Colón*" identifies two chronicles, the *Historia de las Indias y conquista de México* (1556) by Francisco López de Gómara and the First Part of the *Historia general y natural de las Indias* (1535) by Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo. I conclude, however, that Lope relied more on Oviedo than Gómara. Chapter Three, "Visions of the New World in *Arauco domado*," shows Lope's reliance on Alonso de Ercilla's epic, *La Araucana* (part I, 1569; part II, 1578; part III, 1589) and Pedro de Oña's sequel epic, *Arauco domado* (1596).

<sup>4</sup> See Fite-Freeman, pp. 71 and 96.

<sup>5</sup> *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada*, vol. 9, p. 619.

Unity conceived as uniformity was to be the Count-Duke's answer to the deep-seated problem of the Spanish Monarchy. The enhancement of the royal authority through the curbing of obstreperous representative assemblies, and the abolition of obnoxious provincial rights and privileges, seemed to him essential for the Monarchy's survival in a hostile world where constitutionalism, as an impediment to efficiency and discipline, was a luxury that could no longer be afforded [...] He [...] envisaged a genuinely integrated Monarchy, in which customs barriers would be eliminated, laws be made uniform and offices be bestowed by merit without regard to province or origin [...] In his Monarchy the king would be the focal point of loyalty, and the provincial aristocracies, welded together through intermarriage, would constitute a service nobility motivated solely by its sense of duty to the crown (Elliot, pp. 73-74).

In an earlier study, I identified the two pamphlets on which Lope based the play, the *Relación del viaje y suceso* by Francisco Avendaño y Vilela and the *Relaçam verdadeira* by João de Madeiros Correia. However, there are significant instances where Lope departs from his sources, and these departures are due to the fact that *El Brasil restituído* was commissioned by the Count-Duke of Olivares with the specific requirements for plot and character.

A central character in the play, Machado, is evidence of Lope's departure from his two sources and the intervention of the Count-Duke of Olivares<sup>6</sup>. The most heroic feat of the play occurs when the *gracioso*, Machado, captures one of the enemy flags and offers it to the commanding general, don Fadrique, as a symbol of the *gracioso's* valor. In several scenes the *gracioso* indicates that he is of Castilian and Portuguese lineage:

|          |   |
|----------|---|
| GIOMAR:  | ¿Y cómo os llamáis?                       |
| MACHADO: | Machado                                   |
|          | y si es que lleba la silla                |
|          | todo cauallo en Castilla,                 |
|          | de portugués tengo vn lado,               |
|          | los tres castellanos son (II, 2230-2234). |

Lope's insistence on Machado's dual nationality points to the Count-Duke's intervention into the composing of *El Brasil restituído*, his desire to extol the Spanish military victories achieved during the 1620s and 1630s in Europe and America, and to defend his foreign-policy decisions before a court growing skeptical of his actions<sup>7</sup>.

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<sup>6</sup> Francisco de Avendaño y Vilela indicates that the valiant soldier who stole an enemy flag was Basque. Madeiros Correia states that the soldier was Aragonese. Lope's Castilian-Portuguese *gracioso* is a departure from his sources because the play intends to celebrate the victory achieved by both nations under the united crown of Philip IV. Other lines in the play in which Machado boasts of his dual Castilian and Portuguese heritage are: II, 479-480; II, 1128-1131; II, 1862-1863.

<sup>7</sup> The new royal residence, the Buen Retiro, begun in 1629 and completed in October, 1632, was the idea of the Count-Duke. Furthermore, one of the rooms of the new palace, the Hall of Realms, a great center for court festivities and reunions, and also conceived by

Lope's other clear departure from his sources concerns the king's pardon of the Dutch soldiers. In the play the victorious commanding general, don Fadrique, addresses a portrait of King Philip and says:

Magno Filipe, esta gente  
pide perdón de sus yerros  
¿Quiere Vuestra Magestad  
que esta vez les perdonemos?  
Pareze que dixo sí (2289-2293).

Such a rapid communication between the general and the king again points to the Count-Duke's intervention in *El Brasil restituido*<sup>8</sup>. The depiction of Philip IV as a

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Olivares, displayed twelve paintings depicting Spanish armed victories in Europe and America "each carefully chosen to advance the claims of the Hapsburg kings of Spain as the universal defenders of the faith and promoters of peace and justice [...] and to show friends and enemies of the regime alike that the affairs of the Monarchy were" in the capable hands of the Count-Duke (Elliott-Brown, p. 192). Among the twelve paintings hung in the Hall between ten windows was the *Recapture of Bahia* by the Dominican Juan Bautista Maino, and as J. H. Elliott and J. Brown write, Lope's play "gave Maino the inspiration for the treatment of the theme" (Elliott-Brown, p. 187). For a list of the paintings hung in the Hall of Realms see Diez del Corral-Pedruzo, p. 48. Among the twelve paintings was Diego de Velázquez's *La rendición de Breda* which celebrates Ambrosio de Spinola's victory over the Dutch in the Netherlands on June 5, 1625. Pedro Calderón de la Barca commemorates this victory in his play *El sitio de Breda* which, according to Whitaker, was first performed for the court in 1625 and served as Velázquez's source for the painting. *El sitio de Breda* is similar to *El Brasil restituido* in that Olivares hoped that both plays would strengthen his own position at court and justify his military adventures in Europe and America. Whitaker states that Olivares provided a map of Breda which was used at the palace performance of Calderón's play. It would, therefore, not be surprising that the Count-Duke would ask Lope to tailor his play to his specifications. Justi indicates that Olivares, Maino and Velázquez planned the decoration of the Hall of Realms (p. 338).

<sup>8</sup> Again Elliott and Brown link Lope's play to Maino's painting. Referring to the background of Maino's painting, they write, "At the king's feet lie in defeat the personifications of his enemies –Heresy [...] Discord [...] and Treachery or Fraud [...] better known in those days as the Dutch, the English and the French [...] If God was on Philip's side, so too was the Count-Duke. In a motif of considerable audacity, Olivares had himself depicted with Minerva as the joint author of Philip's victories. With one hand he lays the laurel wreath on the king's brow, and with the other he hands a sword and the olive branch, a symbol both of the olive groves of his title and reconciliation. Olivares offered victory to his sovereign and clemency to his defeated enemies. The scene thus becomes and emblematic synopsis of the leading idea of the Hall of Realms. A powerful and victorious king defeats his enemies; a merciful king offers them peace and reconciliation. And behind it all, in this perfect representation of the rule by favorite or *valimiento* is the figure of the minister. The sword and the olive branch, victory and clemency -these are the themes that unite the plays by Calderón [i.e., *La rendición de Breda*] and Maino, and link them to Olivares. In all four works, the victorious generals offer their enemies the forgiveness of the wise, just king. The concept of magniminity in victory represented in the plays and

magnanimous king to his vanquished enemies was a prevailing theme of Olivares which finds ideological resolution or enshrinement in the soon-to-be-completed Hall of Realms.

One of Lope's sources, the *Relaçam verdadeira* by João de Madeiros Correia, attributes the fall of the Bay of All Saints into Dutch hands to a conspiracy with Jewish residents there:

Tomarõ [i.e. the Hispanic Soldiers] hu Olandes, que disse estauõ muy fortes, & que tinhaõ dentro *muitos judeus, & judias*, que de Olanda vierao com elles, & que estes excitauaõ os Olandeses, a que se defendessem, & ihes dauaõ muito dineiro, & que hauiaõ mandado noue navios a costa de Guinë a roubar, & oito au Rio de Ianeiro, & que esperauaõ de Olanda setenta nauios, segundo ihe hauiao ausado (emphasis added).

The accusation of a Jewish and Dutch union to make an incursion in Brazil finds way into Lope's play because it reflects, not surprisingly, the anti-semitic ideology of Spanish aristocracy. Act I intertwines the historical event of the Dutch invasion of the Bay of All Saints with a love theme, don Diego's rejection of doña Guiomar because of her Jewish birth (II, 41-50). It is this rejection which causes her father, don Bernardo, to announce an occasion for revenge against don Diego (and by extension, against the Spanish and Portuguese): the arrival of the Dutch to Brazil to free the Judaizers residing there from the rigors of the Inquisition:

DON BERNARDO:      Teniendo que el Santo Officio  
enuia un visitador,  
de cuyo graue rigor  
tenemos bastante indicio,  
los que de nuestra nación  
viuimos en el Brasil,  
que tiene por gente vil  
la Cristiana Religión,  
por escusar las prisiones,  
los gastos, pleitos y afrentes,  
y ver deste yugo essentas  
de tantas obligaciones  
nuestras familias, que ya  
a tal miseria han llegado,  
porque dizen que enojado  
Dios con nosotros está,  
hauemos escrito a Olanda,  
que con armas se apresta,  
de que tenemos respuesta,  
que sobre sus aguas anda,  
juzgando será mexor  
entregarnos a olandeses

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battle pieces may be traced back to Olivares, who explicitly interpreted the two victories in that light" (p. 173).

que sufrir que portugueses  
nos traten con tal rigor (II, 147-170).

The underlying ideology of this passage is another indication of the Count-Duke's intervention in the play, a reflection of his policy of unity of empire through uniformity, therefore, the isolation of the Americas, i.e., political, racial separation from foreign influence, especially Protestants and Jews. Furthermore, the isolation of America points to Lope's repeated opinion about miscegenation, an opinion shared by the Crown and Castilian aristocracy.

A royal policy determined to maintain unity of State and purity of blood line appears to lie behind don Diego's rejection of doña Guiomar and the accusation of complicity between the Dutch and the Jews to seize an Imperial post in the Americas. Diego's rejection of his Jewish pretender is evidence of the loyalty of Castilian aristocracy to the Crown. Further evidence of aristocratic loyalty to the Crown occurs in the final act of the play when the mythological figure of "Apolo" narrates to the personified "Brasil" a battle between the Dutch and the Imperial forces, listing the nobles of Castile and Portugal who fell for the preservation of a united Crown against its traditional foes<sup>9</sup>.

The Count-Duke's policy of unity of Crown applies not only to the separation of blood between Diego and Guiomar but also between the native Americans and all other racial groups. Because Spanish society had held purity of blood as a standard since the Middle Ages, it comes as no surprise that 17<sup>th</sup>-century aristocracy would consider abominable the unbridled miscegenation occurring in its American colonies. Magnus Mörner writes in *Race Mixture in the History of Latin America*,

As early as 1505, the authorities were instructed that in lawsuits involving sexual offenses the Indian women should be treated with leniency, but the guilty Spaniards severely. For all the efforts of the state and Church, concubinage continued to provide the normal form for interethnic sexual relations. This fact, in turn, helps to explain the attitude of the state and Church toward the people of mixed origin, who were automatically considered illegitimate (Mörner, p. 40).

In *El Brasil restituído* the personified figure of "Brasil" symbolizes all Amerindian people and illustrates basic European impressions of these vassals of Philip IV. The stage directions which precede "Brasil's" first appearance on stage read, "*Salen algunos yndios, con arcos y flechas, y el Brasil en figura dama yndia, con vna rueda de plumas y una flecha dorada como dardo*" (26). The costume of this personified figure represents a generalized image of Amerindians -feathers and a bow and arrow-. Furthermore, the depiction of a woman, rather than a man,

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<sup>9</sup> The long list of Castilian and Portuguese nobility who were killed or wounded in the recovering of the Bay of All Saints begins at line 1465 and ends at line 2325.

as the emblem of Brazil (America, by extension) evokes beauty and even sensuality<sup>10</sup>.

In her speech to the natives surrounding her, "Brasil" contrasts her pagan past with her new belief in Christianity. She states of her religious practices:

En tiempo que gentil estaua ociosa,  
y el mar etiópico reynaua,  
que de perlas mis plantas adoraui,  
injusto dueño y sin razón tirano  
de mi balor la posesión tenía  
desde que fue el çielo soberano,  
donde cândida aurora amanecía,  
desterrado a viuir opuesto en vano  
en noche eterna al sempiterno día,  
nunca desta verdad desengañada,  
entre las olas de la mar sentada (II, 490-500).

The "injusto dueño" and the "sin razón tirano" to whom "Brasil" refers to is Satan, who, like the Dutch Protestants and Jews, does not conform to the principles of a unified faith, nation and monarchy. "Brasil" informs her royal audience that she and her people were deceived by Satan. However, the arrival of the Portuguese initiated the salvation of her people:

Sus portugueses conquistaron fuertes  
mi tierra y mar, con otras la ganaron  
después que con Castilla echaron suertes  
y mis famosos yndios sujetaron;  
porque xamás el hijo de Laertes  
y los que su balor acompañaron  
quando de Troya miseria boluieron,  
tantos peligros y naufragios vieron.  
Entonces reçiui la fee de Christo  
y supe que era Dios único y sólo;  
con el tirano antiguo me malquisto  
y niego adoración al claro Apolo;  
y los fieros ydólatras resisto,  
que ocupan la más parte deste polo,  
y linpia del antiguo barbarismo  
me baño en las corrientes de bautismo (II, 509-524).

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<sup>10</sup> See *Américas*, vol. 28, n. 4 (1976) for photos of depictions of America in sculpture and painting, e.g., Meissen's *America*, a porcelain figure on a gilded bronze base, ca. 1745; Lorenzo Vaccario's *America* a figure in silver with incrustations of precious metal, 1692; Joseph Wright's *The Indian Woman*, an oil painting, 1785. All the above works of European art depict America as an Indian Woman. Meissen's porcelain figure emphasizes the exotic and sensuous aspects of America. Vaccario's and Wright's depictions suggest the bellicose aspects of America.



"Brasil" continues her review of past and present religious practices of her inhabitants by demonstrating her understanding of basic Catholic thought: the transubstantiation of bread and wine into the body Christ, the immaculate conception of Jesus, the unblemished virginity of Mary throughout her life, the death of Jesus on the cross, and his redemption of humanity. In her speech she links her past religious deception to her present political situation. The arrival of the Dutch, abetted by the Jews living in Brazil, is a pernicious attempt to destroy the salvation attained through Catholicism:

Pues viendo que no puede persuadirme, [i.e., Lucifer]  
vltimamente solícita a Olanda  
por medio de vnos bárbaros hebreos  
que le han comunicado sus desseos;  
que por este camino yntenta en vano  
ynroduçir su horror y apostasia,  
y que le nieguen a Filipo Hispano  
estas riberas la obedia mia.  
Y sin temer su poderosa mano,  
que rayos como Júpiter enbía,  
ronpen el mar, y aunque la olas gimen,  
las fuertes proas en su espalda ynprimen.  
Presso el gouernador, que sin deffensa  
estaua, desda offensa diuertido,  
triumfan a costa de mi injusta offensa  
que los han llegado, y los que me han vendido (II, 545-560).

It is significant to the political theory of the racial and religious isolation of America that Lope has linked the invasion of the Bay of All Saints to two enemies of the Faith: the Dutch Protestants and the Jews. It is the threat of the introduction of heterodoxy which concerns "Brasil". Her inhabitants were once idolaters, separated from God's grace. Salvation was achieved through the evangelic teaching of the Portuguese and Spanish colonizers. At present the salvation of her people is jeopardized by the unbelievers who, as agents of the "injusto dueño," attempt to dislodge those who had successfully implanted and nurtured the *true* word of God in the land.

Concerning the isolation of Amerindians from the corrupting influence of Europeans and Africans, Mörner writes,

The Crown pursued rather tenaciously a policy to separate its Indian subjects from others. The point of departure of this policy was the concept of the two republics, the *República de españoles* and the *República de indios* [...] In the early days this dualism was natural, but it was soon undermined by race mixture. Whereas the early missionaries arriving in the Indies had expected the Spaniards to set a good example for the Indians, later on both ecclesiastics and many administrators, taught by bitter experience, became convinced that Spaniards and mestizos were really more of a bad example to the neophytes (Mörner, pp. 45-46).

With the incursion of Protestants in Philip's American realms, the urgency to isolate the Amerindian from corrupting outside force for the purpose of evangelization became increasingly evident to the ruling class. The influence on the natives of heterodox religious ideology was one factor in the isolation of America but the other, linked to the image of America as sensuous, was the mixture of races.

Lope's first American play, *El Nuevo Mundo descubierto por Cristóbal Colón*, composed some twenty-five years before *El Brasil restituído*, also misrepresents historical facts by stating that Columbus's first landing in the Americas in 1492 was on the island which the Commander named "La Deseada". In this play the native women wear costumes similar to the one which the allegorical "Brasil" wears in *El Brasil restituído*, i.e. attire which reveal more flesh than Europeans were accustomed to seeing in public.

In *El Nuevo Mundo* a native woman, Tacuana, implores the explorer, Pinzón, to bring more Spanish men to America to join physically with her people: "O los traigáis [i.e. *vuestrós hijos*] a casar / con nuestras hijas, adonde/ mezclándose nuestra sangre./ seamos todos españoles"<sup>11</sup>.

In the following scene another explorer, Arana, attempts to seduce a native woman, Palca. However, when Palca succumbs with no resistance Arana realizes a cultural difference about the fulfillment of sexual urges. Arana declares in an aside as Palca anxiously awaits her liaison, "No vi tal facilidad. / Por deshonra tienen estas / el negar la voluntad; / que del no vestirse honestas / les nace esta enfermedad" (II, 2304-2308).

There is historical evidence to support the dramatic claim that native American women were eager to satisfy carnal pleasures with Spanish sailors. Mörner writes,

The basic explanation of the rapidity with which race mixture proceeded after the first contact is undoubtedly to be found in the lack of white women at the time of the first expeditions and the months of abstention during the passage [...] The element of violent rape should not be overemphasized. Though pre-matrimonial virginity was highly considered by certain tribes, the opposite was true among others. Probably the Indian women very often docilely complied with the conquistadores' desires<sup>12</sup>.

The penultimate scene of *El Nuevo Mundo* ends with a historical event: the massacre of the Spaniards left on "La Deseada" due to their lust for the native

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<sup>11</sup> All quotes from this play are from the critical edition prepared by Lemartinel and Minquet.

<sup>12</sup> Mörner writes that the chronicler Cieza de León had reported that in Ecuador "the Indians sent their wives and daughters to carry the Spaniards' luggage, while they stayed at home. The chronicler remarks that these women were 'beautiful, and not a little lascivious, and fond of the Spaniards'" (p. 24).

women<sup>13</sup>. The justification for the murder of the Spanish sailors is given by Lope's island monarch, Dulcanquellín: "Con falsa relación y falsos dioses / nos venís a robar oro y mujeres" (II, 2793-2794). In this violent scene Lope places in peril the spiritual salvation of the natives due to a mutual desire on the part of the Spanish sailors and Amerindian women to copulate, and thereby, creating a new, bastard, illegitimate race of people who would frustrate one of the original, intentions of colonization, i.e., the conversion of the natives of America.

Lope's second extant American play, *Arauco domado*, also strongly suggests the separation of races. In this play about the pacification by don García Hurtado de Mendoza of the rebellious Araucanians Lope refers to the amorous intrigues between Spanish soldiers and Araucanian women. It is important to note that in the play miscegenation is rejected by Araucanians and Spaniards.

The Araucanian warrior Galvarino, hands severed by don García and dripping with blood for sedition against the Spanish State, proclaims to his brother warriors who have witnessed the devastation of their land by the invaders:

¿Será mejor que estos hijos  
 Vayan de leña cargados,  
 Y que sus madres les den,  
 Con vuestra afrenta y agravio,  
 Siendo amigas de españoles  
 Otros mestizos hermanos,  
 Que los maten y sujeten  
 Con afrentas y con palos?<sup>14</sup>.

After passing sentence on Galvarino for refusing to acknowledge obedience to his "rightful" sovereign, Philip II, the commander of the pacification of the rebellious realm, don García, addresses another concern with his brother don Filipe, miscegenation:

|         |  |
|---------|--|
| GARCÍA: | Filipe, hablaros quisiera.   |
| FILIFE: | ¿Qué me mandas?  |
| GARCÍA: | ¿Qué se ha hecho<br>La india de Tucapel?   |
| FILIFE: | Lo que presumes sospecho.  |
| GARCÍA: | No porque el indio es cruel,<br>No es por temor de su pecho;<br>Pero porque los soldados,<br>De vuestro ejemplo movidos, |

<sup>13</sup> The scene in which the natives rise up against the Spaniards for the abuse of their women is found in Lope's two sources for the play, Francisco López de Gómara, *Historia de las Indias* and in Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, *Historia general y natural de las Indias*. See my book, pp. 81-82.

<sup>14</sup> A modern critical edition of this play is needed. I quote from the edition prepared by Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo, RAE, vol. 12. All quotes from this edition with the page number following.

FILIFE: No intenten...  
 Justos cuidados,  
 Y justamente advertidos;  
 Pero ya están remediados,  
 Porque luego que la hablaste,  
 La honraste, la regalaste,  
 Con mayor honestidad  
 Que el Romano, cuya edad  
 Con esta hazaña igualaste,  
 La envié con Rebolledo  
 A Tucapel, y allá está.

GARCÍA:  
 Encareceros no puedo  
 Lo que, de tenerla acá,  
 Tuve a vuestros años miedo.  
 Filipe, si Cipŕon  
 Si Alejandro, aunque gentiles,  
 Dignos de alabanza son,  
*No se manche hechos viles  
 La cristiana estimacion.  
 Su ejemplo merece un templo*  
 (626; emphasis added).

Don Filipe's frustrated love affair and don García's admonition to his brother illustrate a unyielding royal position on the question of intimacy between Spaniards and the Amerindians whom they were attempting to convert to Catholicism. The juxtaposition of the scene in which don García reprimands his brother for his dishonorable conduct to the scene in which Galvarino reprimands his people for accepting miscegenation, suggests that the mixture of European and American blood, with its inevitable creation of an illegitimate race of *mestizos*, was undesirable, counterproductive to the initial aims of conquest, i.e., religious conversion, and therefore, to be avoided at all cost.

Although *El Brasil restituído* does not directly address the question of mixture of Amerindian and Spanish blood, as do Lope's earlier American plays, *El Nuevo Mundo* and *Arauco domado*, his depiction of the allegorical figure of "Brasil" as a woman evoked memories in the aristocratic Castilian conscious of the error of miscegenation and the threat of contamination by heterodox religious influence. The natural beauty and wealth of the allegorical figure, "Brasil", was the "natural" bait which had attracted many Europeans to risk life on the Atlantic Ocean for the promise of prosperity, luxury and pleasure. The isolation of Brazil in Lope's 1625 play was willful and symbolic on Lope's part, intended to signal to a royal aristocratic audience on its November 6, 1625 premiere, perhaps with the tacit approval of the Count-Duke of Olivares, that the Imperial possessions needed to be *isolated* from the outside corruption from Protestants and Jews and from racial debilitation through the mixture of blood lines.

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III. Niño algonquino jugando con mufeca inglesa, grabado de John White.