"Dios juzga de la intención":

Questioning Conquest in Lope de Vega's *El nuevo mundo descubierto por Cristóbal Colón*

By Sofie Kluge

On the backdrop of contemporaneous eschatological historiography, evangelical ideology and Columbus-hagiography, Spanish dramatist Lope de Vega's The New World Discovered by Christopher Columbus *(c. 1598) tackles current problems such as the crisis of the Spanish empire and the flourishing of the "Black Legend", going back to their origin in the late 15th century discovery of the New World. Exploiting the ambiguity-creating device of the play-within-the-play in a central scene showing Columbus' alleged divine calling in what appears to be a daydream, the play urges its audience to reconsider the Genoese admiral's mental sanity – was he a great visionary or in fact a raving madman? – and, in continuation, to reflect on the nature of historical truth, historical character and the historical causality linking past and present (late 15th century discoveries and late 16th century imperial crisis as fatally interrelated momenta). In sum, what results from Lope's ingenious exploitation of the aesthetic device of secondary dramatization is, thus, a problem-oriented historiography of the Discovery and Conquest of America, aimed at enhancing spectators' critical re-assessment of one of the most crucial events in Spanish history.*

When Lope de Vega wrote *El nuevo mundo descubierto por Cristóbal Colón* (*The New World Discovered by Christopher Columbus*) a century had passed since the Discovery, but the Spanish Conquest of America was continuously steeped in controversy. In the wake of Bartolomé de las Casas's *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias* (*Brief Account of the Destruction of the Indies*, 1542. Fig. 1), issued following the so-called Valladolid Debate of 1550–1551 concerning the rights of the indigenous people,[1] Spain was still

[1] Were these, as Las Casas argued, equals who should be treated as any other citizen of Spain? Or were they – as the friar's opponent, the official historian to the Spanish king and Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V, Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, argued in his book *Democrates Alter, sive de justis causis apud Indios* (1544) on the backdrop of Aristotle's *Politics* 1,4 with its idea of "natural slaves" – primitives who deserved nothing better than the subjugation by

striving to get to grips with the 'savage within' who had shown his ugly face during the transatlantic adventure.[2] Of course, Carlos V had listened to the criticisms put forward by Las Casas and others against the colonizers' inhuman treatment of the indigenous people, promulgating in 1542 the Leyes Nuevas de las Indias (New Laws of the Indies. Fig. 2) which put the native Americans under the protection of the Spanish Crown.[3] Yet notwithstanding the Emperor's attempt to thus control the damage that the Conquest unquestionably inflicted on Spain's international image, anti-Hispanic sentiment was growing in many European contexts during the 16th century.[4] In the eyes of the English, the French, and – not the least – the Dutch, the Spaniards' overseas barbarities only confirmed the impression of their European abuses, notably their oppression of Protestantism in the Spanish Netherlands. Thus, the Valladolid Debate not only directed focus at the atrocities committed by the Spanish in their colonies; it also provoked a more general European debate on the allegedly cruel and religiously fanatic character of Catholic Spain.

Indeed, both these intricately intertwined polemics seemed to culminate around the time when Lope was working on his Columbus play. In 1598, one possible year of its composition,[5] Bartolomé de las Casas's description of the Spanish transgressions was published by Johannes Saur in Frankfurt in a spectacular Latin edition, *Narratio Regionvm Indicarvm per Hispanos qvosdam dauastatarum verissima* (Fig. 3), with illustrations by the Protestant Belgian engraver Théodore de Bry (1528–1598).[6] While the Latin text

a superior race (a mainstream sixteenth-century idea which Las Casas early in his career did not abrogate in relation to African slaves, but finally regretted in his *History of the Indies*, 1561)?

[2] For an account of this process with specific reference to literature, see Simerka 2003.

[3] It should be noted that Las Casas (1494–1566) was himself at first a *hacendado* (slave owner) in the New World, on the island of Hispaniola (modern-day Haiti), and a defender of the *encomienda* (patron system). He changed his mind after participating in the conquest of Cuba, 1513, where he "saw [...] cruelty on a scale no living being has ever seen or expects to see" (quote from Las Casas's own writings in Sullivan 1995, 146). In 1514, he gave up his slaves and in 1515 he returned to Spain in order to raise a debate (Wagner and Parish 1967, 13–15).

[4] In fact, anti-Hispanic sentiment had also circulated before Las Casas, primarily in Italy (another territory partly appropriated by the Spanish). For an account of anti-Hispanic sentiment before Las Casas, see Arnoldsson 1960.

[5] *El nuevo mundo descubierto por Cristóbal Colón* was first published in *Parte IV* of Lope's plays (1614). However, specialist have long since concluded that it is among the playwright's earliest dramatic productions. Most modern critics date it between 1598 and 1603, see Shannon 1989, 43.

[6] This edition was translated from the French edition of 1579 which followed the Dutch of 1578 and was followed by translations into English and (1583) and German (1599). The predominantly Protestant context of these sixteenth-century translations clearly testify to the religious bias of contemporaneous anti-Hispanism.

naturally furthered the spreading of Las Casas's text in erudite milieux without their own translations, the illustrations worked their powerful magic divulgating anti-Hispanic propaganda to an illiterate public (Fig. 4). Following this milestone publication, the inhuman cruelty of the Spanish would be a recurrent topic in seventeenth-century European literature and political propaganda.[7] What the early 20th century Spanish historian Julián Juderías y Loyot would later term Spain's *leyenda negra*, the Black Legend, was consolidated.[8] The then mightiest power in the West was branded with an unhealthy mixture of spiritual obscurantism and inhuman brutality for centuries to come.

However, besides Las Casas and a few other humanist clerics,[9] were there no dissenting voices inside of Spain? None who would nuance the bestial image of their country? Where were, for instance, the period's numerous gifted artists and writers? What did the first dramatists to write a play about the Discovery and the Conquest,[10] the king of the Spanish stage, Lope de Vega, think?

Golden Age Theater and Ideology

Considering the enormous dramatic potential of the Discovery as well as of the Conquest, it is certainly a puzzling fact that there should be only 23 extant *comedias indianas* (Indian plays) in the vast corpus of Golden Age theater.[11] By the end of the 16th century, the Spanish *comedia* was already a well-developed art form – indeed it was the dominating art form – practiced by almost all the most gifted writers of the day. Be they ever so few, one would therefore expect these plays to make interesting statements about this milestone of Spanish history and the single most polemical chapter of the country's past.

[7] See Gibson 1971.

[8] Juderías y Loyot 1914. The Black Legend is still a hot topic, at least in research. Interesting work has recently been done by the Black Legend research group at University College London. See, for example, Rodríguez Pérez, Sánchez Jiménez & Den Boer 2015; or Sánchez Jiménez 2016.

[9] For example, the Salamanca theologian, Francisco de Vitoria (1483–1546), who in his *De Jure belli Hispanorum in barbaros* (1532) emphasized that the premises of 'just war' was wholly lacking in the case of the Indies.

[10] See Soufas 1999: "*El descubrimiento del nuevo mundo por Cristóbal Colón* [sic!] was the first play written in Spanish about the New World encounter" (321).

[11] Lope alone is believed to have written over a thousand plays, of which approximately four hundred are extant. For the number of Indian plays, see Zugasti 1996. Glen Dille explains this scarcity of *comedias indianas* referring to: 1) the lack of prestige associated with the New World; 2) the lack of artistic models; and 3) the general scepticism concerning the motives of the conquistadores, placed under suspicion especially after the publication of Las Casas's book (1988, 495–496).

Given the well-known restrictions imposed on contemporaneous writers, this was, of course, not so simple. Lope de Vega and his colleagues formed part of a community with zealously guarded rules of religious, political, and artistic utterance,[12] a fact which has led many twentieth-century scholars to conclude their simple adherence to official ideology (since they were not critical of this ideology in the modern sense, that is: did not raise their voices in dissent, openly criticizing those in power). Yet, just because they were not contenders, were they necessarily camp followers? And if neither contenders nor camp followers, what were they? Questions such as these have dominated Golden Age theater scholarship for nearly 40 years. I shall therefore briefly resume the state of the art.

Following the publication of Spanish historian José Antonio Maravall's work on seventeenth-century Spanish culture,[13] the Golden Age theater was for a long time seen as the extended arm of what was considered the 'unholy alliance' between Habsburg imperialist politics and Counterreformation Catholicism. It was, in other words, seen as a propaganda machine. Especially following the publication of the English translation of Maravall's work,[14] his contention, that this theater was essentially an instrument of political and social control,[15] became a critical common place. Ideology became the pivotal point of cutting edge Golden Age theater studies, inside and – especially – outside of Spain.[16] For decades to come, political critique was the dominating critical attitude, a tendency that arguably survives to this very day. Although recent years have definitely seen a significant revision of the propagandistic approach issuing from Maravall's work,[17] a certain resistance to the idea of Lope de Vega, Tirso de Molina, and Calderón being reflective, independently thinking artists certainly persists. Thus, recent studies of the American theme

[12] For a good overview of authors' life in the Golden Age, see Tietz, Trambaioli & Arnscheidt 2011.

[13] See especially Maravall 1975. However, Maravall's treatment of the Golden Age theater in this study was a direct continuation of his earlier work (1972).

[14] Maravall 1986.

[15] See Maravall 1972: "El teatro español es, ante todo, un instrumento político y social, no responde a una preocupación o finalidad ética e incluso es mínima la parte que en él se ocupa de temas religiosos" (19) (The Spanish theater is, first of all, a political and social instrument; it does not respond to any ethical preoccupations or ends and even the part played by religious themes is minor.).

[16] See, among others, (widely differing) studies by Cascardi 1997; Küpper 1990; Brownlee & Gumbrecht 1995. In the same tradition, Cañadas 2005 studies the politics of Spanish Golden Age and Tudor-Stuart theater.

[17] Among the most evident signs of this revision is *Bulletin of the Comediantes* 65,1, 2013, a theme issue dedicated to Maravall's legacy in *comedia* studies (notably, the essays by Laura Bass, 1–13, and Ruth MacKay, 45–56). See, however, also the much earlier revisionist essay by Poppenberg (1990).

in Golden Age theater perpetuate the unfavourable view of the Golden Age stage as affirming, rather than questioning, the legitimacy of the Conquest.[18]

Considering that the three major dramatists of the period were all either friars or ordained priests, they cannot, of course, be thought of as critical of the evangelical mission *per se*. Every Christian would naturally want God's joyful message to be spread as far as possible. Yet they may, as recent scholarship affirms, have been more to the side of Bartolomé de las Casas, or at least more problem-oriented in their treatment of the *conquista* than their clerical gowns would seem to suggest.[19]

The Play: Form and Content

Formally speaking, *El nuevo mundo descubierto por Cristóbal Colón* is a regular three-act *comedia*, the Spanish Golden Age term for a play.[20] Act 1 begins in Europe, with Columbus's attempts to raise money for his first expedition and his preparations for the journey, ending with the Catholic Monarchs' decision to sponsor the adventure. Act 2 plays out on the sea voyage on board the *Santa María de la Inmaculada Concepción* (Holy Mary of the Immaculate Conception) and in the New World, depicting the Indian world and various facets of the cultural encounter between the Spaniards and the indigenous people of South America, ending with Columbus's return to Europe. Act 3 describes the moral corruption of the Spanish soldiers in

[18] See, notably, Castillo 2009. In the introduction (4), Castillo essentially repeats Carey-Webb's argument (1992) about the Indian as the "Other" of Spanish-European culture which at first appears to challenge, but in the end simply confirms the ideology of "sameness". A similar argument is found in Nelson 2016: "My claim is that the so-called realistic representation of New World Otherness on the stage of Counter Reformation Spain is better understood as the channeling of hegemonic imperialistic discourses through a domesticated image of Otherness, or the emblematization of the Amerindian Other" (80). In older texts, such as Laferl 1992, or Rose 1998, we find a less postmodern, more genuinely maravallesque version of the propagandistic paradigm.

[19] Despite his generally negative presentation of Spanish Golden Age dramatists' engagement with the New World as ethnocentric and oppressive, Dille noted a contradiction in Lope de Vega's treatment of the American enterprise in *El nuevo mundo descubierto por Cristóbal Colón* (1988, 498). Following this observation, a number of articles have focused on the play's ambiguity toward the Conquest – perhaps more accurately: toward the *conquistadores* – the most interesting contribution being, in my view, that of Castañeda 2010, adequately describing the *comedia* as a space "para reflexionar sobre las causas históricas de la miseria del presente" (37) (to reflect on the historical causes of present misery). See also Castells 2000, though dubiously claiming the singularity of Lope's critical rendering of the Conquest; Lauer 1993, underscoring the critical element of the *comedia de conquista*; McKendrick 2000, demonstrating the reconstructive tendency of Lope's theater; Simerka 2003; Dixon 1992, pondering that "From a devoutly Catholic and strongly monarchical Spaniard of 1600, we could hardly expect more sympathy for the Indians, or a sharper critique of many of his compatriots" (259).

[20] Concerning the Spanish use of the term *comedia* for 'play', see Kluge 2010, 157–204.

America during the Admiral's absence: their lust after the local women and fornication; their mutual rivalry; their greed for gold; and assaults on the natives. However, the last Act also depicts the upsurge of Christianity among the indigenous people, ending with Columbus's triumphal entry with parrots and half-naked Amerindians at the court in Barcelona and the onstage baptism of a handful of heathens.

As this brief resume demonstrates, Lope's *comedia* has a wholly recognizable historiographical basis and is, as such, essentially a *comedia histórica* or what we could term a history play.[21] Yet, as noted by various critics, it is also in many respects a rather typical Lopean comedy, the expectable amorous intrigues here only carried out by noble Indians instead of the usual Spanish *galanes* and *damas* (gentlemen and ladies);[22] finally, through its apparent celebration of Columbus's person, it bears resemblance to the *comedias hagiográficas* or *comedias de santos* (saints plays). Still, the main generic frame of *El nuevo mundo descubierto por Cristóbal Colón* is undoubtedly the history play, a genre that Lope perfectioned in Spain at the same time that Shakespeare wrote his two tetralogies about English medieval history.[23] It is well-known how the Spanish dramatist aspired for the position of royal historiographer,[24] and according to the standards of early modern historiography the play is quite accurate, even if it – also in accordance with contemporaneous historiography – contains elements which we would today consider blatantly incompatible with a serious historiographical approach. These include the appearance of the Devil and the miracle in Act 3 where a new cross appears in the same spot where the Indians have just removed the original one planted by Columbus (the *peripetia* that brings about the natives'

[21] Thus, the main sources of the play are easily identifiable: Fernández de Oviedo's *Historia general y natural de las Indias* (Seville, 1535) and López de Gómara's *Historia general de las Indias* (1553; edición facsimilar, Lima 1993). For a discussion of the historiographical sources of *El nuevo mundo descubierto por Cristóbal Colón*, see Campos 1949.

[22] See, for instance, Brotherton 1994, who sees the *comedia* mold as something which poses a problem for Lope's handling of the material: "How was Lope to dramatize the tale of the Genoese navigator? Could the *comedia*, that form of theatre largely devised and developed by Lope himself, accommodate such a historico-hagiographical piece within its highly conventional structure?" (34).

[23] Like Shakespeare Lope was the perfectioner rather than the inventor of the history play. Forerunners of Lope's *comedia histórica* include Juan de la Cueva's *El Saco de Roma*; *La muerte del Rey Don Sancho*; *La libertad de España por Bernardo de Carpio*; *Tragedia de los siete Infantes de Lara* (all published in 1583). The name of Miguel de Cervantes can also be mentioned in this context (e.g., *La Numancia*, 1585).

[24] Lope himself said so much in one of his letters. See Lope de Vega 1939–1945 vol. III, 45.

final conversion to Christianity).[25] However, most foreign to modern-day historiographical taste is surely the allegorical tableau occupying the stage in what may be termed the Tribunal Scene of Act 1, which I will subsequently discuss in some detail. In my view, this particular scene deserves special attention because it presents what New Historicists would call a 'negotiation' of the Conquest. This negotiation ultimately affirms the transcendental meaning and, hence, the legitimacy of the Spanish appropriation of the New World; and yet it employs a highly ambiguous aesthetic form – the literary dream – which, contrary to what recent criticism of the play asserts, ends up bathing Columbus's transatlantic enterprise in a highly equivocal *chiaroscuro* lighting. In the end, I argue, the play leaves it to the spectator to decide whether Columbus was in fact a saintly visionary figure, carrying God's word to the heathen as his name suggests,[26] or a madman who through his initiation of imperialism brought calamity upon calamity on Spain, marred by demonic delusions.

The Tribunal Scene

Near the end of Act 1, after the serial rejections of Columbus's endeavour by an array of scornful European princes, and immediately before the Admiral's final agreement with the Catholic Monarchs, Lope presents a little play-with-in-the-play or *apariencia* as it was termed in the theatrical discourse of the period.[27] This allegorical *tableau vivant* bears rather clear resemblance to the

[25] Thus, Lope, e.g., followed López de Gómara in his description of how the devil made his appearances to the natives (Act 3, 2730–2790).

[26] Christoforos, "Carrier of Christ", alluded to in Act 3, 2871–2874.

[27] See Ruano de la Haza's description of the *apariencias* (I quote at some length here, because of the relevance of the passage): "Las apariencias, que se revelaban al público de los corrales corriendo una o varias de las cortinas que podrían cubrir los nueve espacios de la fachada del teatro [...] desempeñaban más bien la doble función de instruir al público y de provocar su admiración mediante la presentación de un lienzo, cuadro o *tableau vivant* que no tenía a menudo mucha conexión con el espacio escénico en que se estaba desarrolando la acción, aunque en ciertas ocasiones sirviera para determinarlo. Si el decorado teatral del Siglo de Oro se conformaba más o menos con un principio de verosimilitud realista, la apariencia rompe los límites de lo natural para existir en un plano diferente de la realidad escénica, como sucede, por ejemplo, al comienzo de la segunda jornada de *La conquista de México*, de Fernando de Zárate: "Descúbrese una cortina y véase un trono en alto donde esté sentada la Providencia Divina y en las gradas del trono la Religión Cristiana"." (2000, 225) (The *apariencias*, which were revealed to the playhouse audience by drawing one or more of the curtains covering the nine spaces of the theater façade [...], performed the double function of instructing the audience and eliciting its admiration by presenting a painting, a scene or a *tableau vivant* which, though it may sometimes determine it, oftentimes had little connection to the scenic space where the action played out. If the theatrical décor of the Golden Age [described by Ruano de la Haza in anterior chapters] corresponds to a principle of realist verisimilitude, the *apariencia* breaks the limits of the real to exist in a plane different from the scenic reality, as can be seen, for example, at the beginning of the second Act of Fernando

so-called *autos sacramentales* (sacramental acts), the specifically Spanish one-act religious spectacles that originated in the medieval moralities and mysteries but flourished especially from the end of the 16th century.[28] In this conspicuous scene, a tired and vexed Columbus is carried on the wings of his Imagination to a heavenly courtroom.[29] Here, Christian Religion and Idolatry – the heathen divinity of the New World – are negotiating the legitimacy of the Conquest before Divine Providence, as supreme court judge, and the theater spectators as court room audience. More concretely, in this scene, Idolatry prosecutes the would-be conquistador for stealing her long-term property, the "Indias de Occidente", and handing it over to Christian Religion, alleged kingpin of the entire affair. She (who, notwithstanding her implication in the case, acts as the Admiral's counsel for defense) for her part claims that the Indies were bequeathed to the Church by Christ in his testament and accuses Idolatry of unlawful acquisition in the first place, thus in effect proposing the Conquest as *reconquista*. Idolatry in turn denies this and so the negotiation of the rightful ownership of the Indies fluctuates back and forth, echoing the countless contemporaneous civil procedures on possession and inheritance claims. Even if there is never any real doubt about who is right and who is wrong,[30] the court room/theater audience is in fact allowed to hear both sides and the legitimacy of the transatlantic enterprise is, indeed, negotiated in the manner of a civil lawsuit explored in a comic vein by other Golden Age dramatists.[31]

Thus, on what may be termed the second level of representation – presumably one of the upper spaces of the theater façade (Fig. 5) – Lope

de Zárate's *La conquista de México*: "A curtain is drawn and up high a throne is discovered, whereon Divine Providence is seated, and in the stands of the throne, Christian Religion").

[28] These spectacles formed an integral part of the Corpus Christi celebrations and were, as such, liturgical. Lope de Vega wrote quite a few *autos*, but Calderón is universally recognized as the master of the genre. For an introduction to the genre, see Parker 1935; for a more in-depth critical exploration, see Poppenberg 2003.

[29] Scene instructions read: "Levántele en el aire, y llévele al otro lado del teatro, donde se descubra un trono en que esté sentada la Providencia, y a los lados la Religión Cristiana y la Idolatría" (Columbus is raised into the air and carried to the other side of the theater where a throne is unveiled in which Providence is seated and, at her side, Christian Religion and Idolatry.) (Lope de Vega 2001, 113–114).

[30] Idolatry herself boasts her relation with the devil and her suppression and brainwashing of the indigenous people. Furthermore, the sudden appearance in court of the character Demon, who claims that the *rey católico* is led not by faith but by greed, can be seen as rather detrimental to Idolatry's cause, slandering the perhaps most unequivocally emblematic heroic character of Spanish history.

[31] See, for example, Cervantes's *El juez de los divorcios*, published in the *Ocho comedias y ocho entremeses nuevos* (1615). This is not the place to discuss Lope's tragicomic propensity (Morby 1943, 207–209), but the courtroom triviality of the Tribunal Scene can thus be seen as a comic device and, hence, as a vehicle of the play's essentially tragicomic outlook.

discusses in dense allegorical form what he will subsequently thematize in a more naturalistic vein on the first level of representation or the play's reality plane – the central stage – at the beginning of Act 3: the question whether the Spanish Crown's economic motives and, especially, the Spanish soldiers' unashamed greed for the New World's silver and gold jeopardize the high spiritual ideals of the evangelical mission. There are clear parallels between the discussion in the heavenly courtroom and the subsequent events of the play. However, as could be expected, considering the ideological climate of the period, the scene ends with Providence's overruling Idolatry's claim to the New World, endorsement of Columbus's quest (accordingly, of the Conquest), and jubilant praise of the Spanish king, Fernando el Católico, known for his promulgation of the Christian faith:[32]

Idolatría — No permitas, Providencia,
hacerme esta sinjusticia
pues lo lleva la codicia
a hacer esta diligencia.
So color de religión,
van a buscar plata y oro
del encubierto tesoro.

Providencia — Dios juzga de la intención
Si El, por el oro que encierra,
gana las almas que ves,
en el cielo hay interés,
no es mucho le haya en la tierra.
Y del cristiano Fernando,
que da principio a esta empresa,

[32] As many scholars have noted, in this play, Lope draws clear parallels between the *reconquista* (the recovering of the Iberian peninsula from the Moors) and the *conquista* as two intricately intertwined facets of Spain's blooming Golden Age, beginning his play with Fernando's siege of Granada, 1492. However, as Castañeda notes, the triumphal mood of the 1490s depicted in the play would have clashed with the outlook of Lope's audience: "En este período, existió una aguda percepción del agotamiento de los ideales del siglo anterior [...]. Es posible trazar una relación de causalidad entre esta percepción de declinación nacional y lo que se entendía como el fracaso moral y económico de la impresa imperial" (2010, 37) (In this period, there was an acute awareness of the exhaustion of the ideals of the preceding century [...]. It is possible to see a causal relation between this awareness of decline and what was seen as the moral and economic disaster of the imperial enterprise). This not only places the play at the center of Lope's general attempt to reconcile his audience with the fatal events of the past (McKendrick 2000, 42-104); it also gives it quite an edge, as the audience's horizon will inevitably have placed Columbus's enterprise in an ambiguous light (as the beginning of imperial disaster). This fits very well with the essential ambiguity issuing from Lope's use of the dream that I am discussing here.

toda la sospecha cesa.
(*El nuevo mundo*, Act I, 768–782).[33]

IDOLATRY
Do not allow [Religion], dear Providence, to do this injustice to me. The Spaniards are spurred on by avarice, and under the cloak of religion they seek the hidden treasure of silver and gold.

PROVIDENCE
God will be the judge of the intentions of the conquest. If He, through the baits of gold, wins the souls of the natives, there is just cause for it in the heavens, so there should be no surprise that there is also a just cause on earth. And since it is the Christian Ferdinand who undertakes this enterprise, let all doubts cease.[34]

The essentially metatheatrical[35] Tribunal Scene can be interpreted in two directly opposed ways, leading to directly opposed interpretations of the play's overall message. It can, of course, be interpreted as Lope's way of justifying the unfortunate chain of events propelled by Columbus's discovery: Spain's imperial project as intricately intertwined with the abysmal late sixteenth and seventeenth-century moral and economic crisis.[36] According to this interpretation, the tribunal scene is a more or less straight-forward apology and a clear-cut means of religious appropriation: here, Lope simply tells his audience that God sanctioned the transatlantic enterprise.[37] However, leaning on the conclusions of my study of Lope's successor, Pedro Calderón de la Barca's only American play, *La aurora en Copacabana* (Dawn in Copacabana, around 1664), which, according to my reading,[38] uses scenography in a very similar way to question its own immediate message, I

[33] Lope de Vega 2001, 116.
[34] Lope de Vega 2001, 117.
[35] Metatheatrical in the sense of commenting on or reflecting on the theatrical action that unfolds on the first level of representation (the stage itself).
[36] For a description of the late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century cultural crisis, see Kluge 2010, 28–42.
[37] See Terradas 2009, 31: "A través de él [el juicio divino] se descubre la verdadera naturaleza del Almirante y la verdadera naturaleza del proyecto. Es un acto de introspección y, al mismo tiempo, de colectivización de lo religioso sin el cual la empresa económica hubiese carecido de alma y de justificación ante el cielo y ante Europa." (Through it [the divine judgment] we discover the Admiral's true nature and the true nature of his project. It is an act of introspection and, at the same time, of collectivizing religion without which the economic enterprise would have lacked both soul and justification – before Heaven and before Europe.).
[38] See Kluge 2017.

argue that the Tribunal Scene is in fact the backbone of what I will term Lope's problem-oriented depiction of the Conquest. In *La aurora en Copacabana*, Calderón exploits the essential equivocalness of the stage – theater of truth or showroom of vanities?[39] – to question his own evangelical script. In *El nuevo mundo descubierto por Cristóbal Colón*, I suggest, Lope performs a similar inquiry exploiting the fundamental ambiguity of the oneiric vision.

Ambiguity of the Dream

Literary dream visions are, of course, old as Western literature itself. From the very beginning, they served as a device to express the experience of something that transgresses what may broadly be termed the rational worldview. From Homer (*Iliad* 1), Plato (*Gorgias*; *Republic* 10) through the Bible (e.g., *Genesis* 20:1–15; *Kings* 3:4–15; *Revelations*) and Roman literature (Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis*) to the great visionaries of the Middle Ages (Hildegard; Birgitta; Catherine; Meister Eckhardt), dreams serve as means of communication between humans and the Beyond. However, as it happens, communication is not unequivocal. Hence, a recurrent element of the literary dream tradition is a reflection on the origin of the dream: does it come from the gods/God? From the Devil? Or is it a mere product of the human imagination? In direct continuation hereof, and of importance to my argument here, another general trait of literary dreams is that they carry with them the problem of what kind of truth value can be attributed to them. In a very fundamental way, dreams question our sense of orientation, epistemologically speaking. As René Descartes famously pointed out, veracious dreams pose the problem of how we can actually know if we are sleeping or awake (*Meditationes de prima philosophia* 1, 1641).[40]

[39] For a discussion of the period's equivocal conception of the theater, see Kluge 2010, 205–236.

[40] See Descartes's argument (2005/1901, 1,5): "Praeclare sane, tanquam non sim homo qui soleam noctu dormire, & eadem omnia in somnis pati, vel etiam interdum minùs verisimilia, quàm quae isti vigilantes. Quàm frequenter verò usitata ista, me hîc esse, togâ vestiri, foco assidere, quies nocturna persuadet, cùm tamen positis vestibus jaceo inter strata! Atqui nunc certe vigilantibus oculis intueor hanc chartam, non sopitum est hoc caput quod commoveo, manum istam prudens & sciens extendo & sentio; non tam distincta contingerent dormienti. Quasi scilicet non recorder a similibus etiam cogitationibus me aliàs in somnis fuisse delusum; quae dum cogito attentius, tam plane video nunquam certis indiciis vigiliam a somno posse distingui, ut obstupescam, & fere hic ipse stupor mihi opinionem somni confirmet." ("Though this be true, I must nevertheless here consider that I am a man, and that, consequently, I am in the habit of sleeping, and representing to myself in dreams those same things, or even sometimes others less probable, which the insane think are presented to them in their waking moments. How often have I dreamt that I was in these familiar circumstances, that I was dressed, and occupied this place by the fire, when I was lying undressed in bed? At the present moment, however, I certainly look upon this paper with eyes wide awake; the head which I now move is not asleep; I extend this hand consciously

Already in Homer we find the conviction that there are two kinds of dreams: the prophetic and benevolent ones, sent by the gods, and the illusory and dangerous ones which are not to be trusted. Bernard de Clairvaux, preaching on the *Song of Songs* in the twelfth century (*Sermones super Canticum Canticorum*, c. 1136) makes a similar observation, emphasizing that some of the dream-like images in the *Song* and in the ecstatic visions of the mystics are sent by God, while others are sent by the Evil One and are therefore extremely dangerous.[41] In both the Graeco-Roman and Judeo-Christian forms, literary dreams and visions are consequently tainted by the problem of legitimacy. A suspicion of not being true clings to them. Needless to point out, surely, Renaissance literature would only increase the aporia surrounding the literary dream, now closely tied not only to ever-suspect fiction, but also (as a major work such as Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, 1596, suggests) to the 'spectral' para-world of the emerging secular stage: that grey zone in-between the real and the non-real that was not only the turning point of the new Cartesian philosophy, but also a particular obsession of many of the greatest Spanish Golden Age writers. Building my argument, I shall give a few examples.

Firstly, proclaiming the period's official view of dreams, as it were, Sebastián de Covarrubias's *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española* (Treasure of the Castillian or Spanish tongue, Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1611) underscores the untrustworthiness of dreams, touching also on their relation to revelations:

> SOÑAR, del verbo Latino, as. Son ciertas fantasias, que el sentido comu rebuelue quando dormimos, de las quales no ay que hazer caso, y solos aquellos sueños tienen alguna apariencia de verdad, por los que los Medicos juzgan el humor que predomina en el enfermo y no entran en esta cuenta las reuelaciones santas y diuinas.[42]
>
> DREAM, from the Latin. These are certain fantasies which our reason [common sense] stirs up when we are a sleep, which are not to be taken seriously, since only those dreams have some appearance of truth in which Doctors identify the humour that predominates in the sick, and the saintly and divine revelations do not belong to this category.

Secondly, Lope's contemporary, the ingenious poet and satirist Francisco de Quevedo (1580–1645), provides an excellent example of how Spanish

and with express purpose, and I perceive it; the occurrences in sleep are not so distinct as all this. But I cannot forget that, at other times I have been deceived in sleep by similar illusions; and, attentively considering those cases, I perceive so clearly that there exist no certain marks by which the state of waking can ever be distinguished from sleep, that I feel greatly astonished; and in amazement I almost persuade myself that I am now dreaming.").

[41] Clairvaux 1994, 4, iii: 3–4.

[42] Covarrubias 1611, 1308.

Renaissance writers used the literary dream as an instrument of epistemological inquiry. In his *Sueños* (Dreams), written around 1608 or only a few years, presumably, after Lope's play, Quevedo used the literary dream to question, in a satirical vein, the current conception of right and wrong, while at the same time covering his back by wrapping his dream vision in a cloak of epistemological ambiguity. Who knows if dreams come from God or are merely the products of idle imagination? Thus the prologue to "El sueño del infierno" ("Dream of Hell"):

> [...] como sé que los sueños las más veces son burlas de la fantasía y ocio del alma, y que el diablo nunca dijo verdad por no tener cierta noticia de las cosas que justamente nos esconde Dios, vi, guiado del ángel de mi guarda, lo que se sigue, por particular providencia de Dios;[43]

> [...] knowing as I do that, in order to prevent our having certain knowledge of those things which God rightly withholds from us, most dreams are but deceptions of the imagination or diversions of the spirit; and believing, furthermore, that Satan yet never uttered the truth; I saw, under the guidance of my guardian angel and by the special providence of God, what is recounted hereafter [...][44]

After reading the narrator's prologue, the reader must decide for himself whether he believes the things subsequently reported about Hell to be true or not (a question that would not have been exceedingly difficult in the case of the *Sueños*, given their ostentatively self-referential and playfully intertextual quality). Still, the text very clearly demonstrates the fundamentally ambiguous Renaissance attitude towards oneiric visions – an attitude which had very serious consequences, it should be mentioned, for the period's mystics whose dream-like visions were subjected to intense Inquisitorial scrutiny and sometimes condemned as heresy.[45]

Though he may have been more malicious and more funny than most, Quevedo was far from the only one among his contemporaries to use the literary dream tradition as a means of questioning reality, nor were his *Sueños* the most famous work to do so. Indeed, my third and last example is surely the most obvious: Calderón's *La vida es sueño* (*Life is a Dream*, 1635). Here, the dream/reality aporia is taken one step further. Here, we find not only a questioning of reality from the viewpoint of the dream, but a further questioning of this questioning. Life is a dream, the protagonist, Segismundo,

[43] Quevedo 1991, 171–172.

[44] Quevedo 1989, 93. For a discussion of this text with regard to the dream tradition, see Kluge 2004.

[45] The mystical visions recorded in Teresa of Ávila's autobiography, *Su vida* (1588), written on demand of her confessor who feared heresy, is a famous example.

realizes: a fleeting, insubstantial, phantasmagorical interim before the final awakening to the afterlife. Yet, he also realizes that dreams themselves are dreams, which means that not even this insight can be trusted, being, as it is, also a mere product of the essentially untrustworthy human imagination. In Calderón's famous philosophical drama, the result is an abysmal epistemological regress, a dizzying stumbling from one reality plane to the next:

SEGISMUNDO. [...] Sueña el rey que es rey, y vive
con este engaño mandando,
disponiendo y gobernando;
y este aplauso que recibe
prestado, en el viento escribe,
y en cenizas le convierte
la muerte (¡desdicha fuerte!);
¡que hay quien intente reinar,
viendo que ha de despertar
en el sueño de la muerte!
[...]
Yo sueño que estoy aquí
destas prisiones cargado,
y soñé que en otro estado
más lisonjero me vi.
¿Qué es la vida? Un frenesí.
¿Qué es la vida? Una ilusión,
una sombra, una ficción,
y el mayor bien es pequeño;
que toda la vida es sueño,
y los sueños, sueños son.[46]

SEGISMUNDO The king dreams he is a king,
And in this delusive way
Lives and rules with sovereign sway;
All the cheers that round him ring,
Born of air, on air take wing.
And in ashes (mournful fate!)
Death dissolves his pride and state:
Who would wish a crown to take,
Seeing that he must awake
In the dream beyond death's gate?
[...]

[46] Calderón 1998, 156–157.

'Tis a dream that I in sadness
Here am bound, the scorn of fate;
'Twas a dream that once a state
I enjoyed of light and gladness.
What is life? 'Tis but a madness.
What is life? A thing that seems,
A mirage that falsely gleams,
Phantom joy, delusive rest,
Since is life a dream at best,
And even dreams themselves are dreams.[47]

This highly disturbing mind labyrinth is, in the end, not so far from the Tribunal Scene in Lope de Vega's *El nuevo mundo descubierto por Cristóbal Colón* as may first appear. Here, too, the medium of the literary dream interferes, as it were, with the immediate message communicated – the divine endorsement of the Conquest – framing it with epistemological uncertainty and ambivalence.

Problem-Oriented, Performative Historiography

Lope's Columbus-play surely provides interesting evidence of the mark that the sixteenth-century New World debate impressed on contemporaneous Spanish artists and thinkers. Through the anxiety-provoking confrontation with its own dark side – so *El nuevo mundo descubierto por Cristóbal Colón* suggests – the official evangelical self-understanding of the Spanish was latently shaken, at least in those who thought deeply on the matter. Lope obviously did think quite a lot about it, writing a handful of plays about a theme that only very few of his Golden Age writer colleagues dared to address.[48] Indeed, it may be supposed that, in the wake of the Valladolid Debate and Las Casas's report, the 'Fénix' and other pensive minds came to question the appropriateness of the Conquest, even while wishing to remain loyal to their country, their faith, and their king.

As the rounded form of his first America play shows, with its happy ending, demonstratively endorsing the standing cultural order (Catholic-Habsburg imperialistic-evangelical ideology) through Columbus's triumphal entry at the end of the play, Lope's superior historiographical vision was in the end able to assimilate *conquistador* brutality, and even to celebrate it in the figure of the Genoese Admiral.[49] However, the conformism implied herein was by no

[47] Calderón 1873, 78–79.

[48] The poet Luis de Góngora y Argote's famous diatribe against navigation in *Soledades* I, 366-505 should, of course, be mentioned here. For a discussion of this famous passage, see Kluge 2002.

[49] Thus, Columbus's entry at the court in Barcelona in Act 3 may have been staged like a virtual triumphal entry. Scene instructions read: "Colón, de camino, seis indios bozales,

means without its challenges. The Tribunal Scene, that I have been discussing here, wrapped as it is in a mysterious and essentially ambiguous dream-blanket, clearly indicates the underlying nub of this process. It reveals that, beneath its homage to Columbus, *El nuevo mundo descubierto por Cristóbal Colón* entails a tentative revision of the politico-religious conquistador mentality in its capacity as unreflective and militant Christian Eurocentrism. Indeed, Lope's *comedia* can, I argue, be seen as a very subtle piece of cultural critique, spurred on by the fervent debate on Spanish conduct overseas and dominated by thoughtful meditation. At the same time, and in close relation to this critique, the play can be fruitfully approached as a specimen of performative historiography, shrewdly exploiting the devices of the dream and the play-within-the play in order to reach out to its spectators and stimulate their reflection on the nature of historical truth.

On the face of it, *El nuevo mundo descubierto por Cristóbal Colón* does indeed seem to solve the tensions between its own present and the past – the polemic surrounding the Discovery and Conquest of the New World – referring to a higher reality acted out on the second level of representation. However, as I have argued, to a contemporaneous audience, the fact that this higher reality is presented in the form of a dream vision would necessarily place the scene in a highly ambiguous light. Taken together with Lope's rather negative representation of the Spanish soldiers' behaviour in Columbus's absence in Act 3, generally acknowledged by critics, the overall historiographical position of the play may be seen as problem-oriented if not, in fact, as I have said, as critical. Rather than seeking to close down discussion by imposing a specific view, Lope's dramatic New World historiography appears to re-open the question of the legitimacy of the Conquest by posing the question whether Columbus was a great visionary or a raving lunatic with pronounced Illuminist propensities.[50] In the end, the rather equivocal message of *El nuevo mundo descubierto por Cristóbal Colón* appears to be captured in the line that gave title to my article: "Let God be the judge". As with all other things, humans can question and inquire, but the legitimacy of Columbus's dream vision and the ensuing transcendental meaning of the Conquest melts into air: evaporates, that is, like the dream visions of the night at sunrise; or like a play whose ultimate meaning is ultimately left with the spectator.

---

medio desnudos, pintados; un paje con un plato de barras de oro, y otro con papaguayos y halcones." (Enter Columbus in traveling attire, six newly arrived, half-naked and painted Indians, a page with a plate of gold and another with parrots and hawks.) (Lope de Vega 2001, 276–277).

[50] The Illuminists, in Spanish *alumbrados*, claimed to have unmediated intercourse with God who allegedly revealed His will directly to them in dreams and visions. Illuminism was branded as heresy by the Inquisition in the middle of the 16th century.

Bibliography

Arnoldsson, Sverker 1960, *La Leyenda Negra: estudios sobre sus orígenes*, Göteborg.

Bass, Laura 2016, "The Comedia and Cultural Control: The Legacy of José Antonio Maravall", *Bulletin of the Comediantes* 65, no. 1, 1–13.

Brotherton, John 1994, "Lope de Vega's *El Nuevo Mundo descubierto por Cristóbal Colón*: Convention and Ideology", *Bulletin of the Comediantes* 46.1, 33–47.

Brownlee, Marina S. & H. U. Gumbrecht (eds.) 1995, *Cultural Authority in Golden Age Spain*, Baltimore.

Bulletin of the Comediantes 65,1, 2013. *EBSCOhost*. Web 26 September 2016.

Calderón de la Barca, Pedro 1873, *Life is a Dream*, trans.: Denis Florence MacCarthy (*Calderon's Dramas*), London.

Calderón de la Barca, Pedro 1998, *La vida es sueño*, ed.: Evangelina Rodríguez Cuadros, Madrid.

Campos, Jorge 1949, "Lope de Vega y el descubrimiento colombino", *Revista de Indias* 9, 731–754.

Cañadas, Ivan 2005, *Public Theater in Golden Age Madrid and Tudor-Stuart London*, Aldershot.

Carey-Webb, Allen 1992, "Other-Fashioning: The Discourse of Empire and Nation in Lope de Vega's *El nuevo mundo descubierto por Cristóbal Colón*", *Amerindian Images and the Legacy of Columbus*, eds.: René Jara & Nicholas Spadaccini, Minneapolis, 425–451.

Cascardi, Anthony 1997, *Ideologies of History in the Spanish Golden Age*, University Park, Pennsylvania.

Castañeda, Luis Hernán 2010, "'So color de religión': resolución dramática, disidencia ideológica y crisis de legitimación imperial en *El nuevo mundo descubierto por Colón* de Lope de Vega", *Gestos* 49, 35–55.

Castells, Ricardo 2000, "Oro e idolatría en El nuevo mundo descubierto por Colón de Lope de Vega", *Neophilologus* 84,3, 385–397.

Castillo, Moisés R. 2009, *Indios en escena. La representación del amerindio en el teatro del Siglo de Oro*, West Lafayette, Indiana.

Clairvaux, Bernard de 1994, *Sermones super Canticum Canticorum*, ed. Gerhard B. Winkler. *Sämtliche Werke lateinisch/deutsch* Band V. Innsbruck, Tyrolia Verlag.

Covarrubias, Sebastían 1611, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*. *En Madrid por Luis Sanchez, Impressor del Rey N.S. Año del Señor M.DC.XI*., Fondos Digitales de la Universidad de Sevilla. Web 5 October 2016.

Descartes, René 2005/1901, *Meditationes de prima philosophia. In qua Dei existentia, & animæ humanæ à corpore distinctio demonstratur*. Original Latin text and John Veitch's English translation of 1901, both online at: http://www.wright.edu/~charles.taylor/descartes/medl.html.

Dille, Glen 1988, "El descubrimiento y la conquista de América en la comedia del Siglo de Oro", *Hispania* 71,3, 492–502.

Dixon, Victor 1992, "Lope de Vega and America: *The New World* and *Arauco Tamed*", *Renaissance Studies* 6,3, 249–269.

Gibson, Charles 1971, *The Black Legend: Anti-Spanish in the Old World and the New*, New York.

Juderías y Loyot, Julián 1914, *La leyenda negra y la verdad histórica: contribución al estudio del concepto de España en Europa, de las causas de este concepto y de la tolerancia religiosa y política en los países civilizados*, Madrid (*La Ilustración Española y Americana*).

Kluge, Sofie 2002, "Góngoras Soledades. Der barocke Traum von der enzyklopädischen Beherrschung der Welt", *Orbis Litterarum* 57,3, 161–180.

Kluge, Sofie 2004, "The Dialectics of Redemption. Fiction, Heresy and Divine Truth in Francisco de Quevedo's *Dream of Hell*", *Orbis Litterarum* 59,6, 416–438.

Kluge, Sofie 2010, *Baroque Allegory Comedia. The Transfiguration of Tragedy in Seventeenth-Century Spain*, Kassel.

Kluge, Sofie 2017, "Calderón's Theater of the New World. Historical Mimesis in *La aurora en Copacabana*", *Bulletin of the Comediantes* 69,1, 47-67.

Küpper, Joachim 1990, *Diskurs-Renovation bei Lope de Vega und Calderón*, Tübingen.

Laferl, Christopher 1992, "América en el teatro español del Siglo de Oro", *El teatro descubre América: fiestas y teatro en la Casa de Austria (1492-1700)*, eds.: Andrea Sommer-Mathis, Teresa Chávez Montoya, Christopher F. Laferl & Friedrich Polleross [versión española de Társila Reyes Sicilia], Madrid (MAPFRE), 169–272.

Lauer, Robert A. 1993, "The Iberian Encounter of America in the Spanish Theater of the Golden Age", *Pacific Coast Philology* 28,1, 32–42.

Lope de Vega Carpio, Félix 1939–1945, *Epistolario de Lope de Vega*, 4 vols, ed.: A. González de Amezúa, Madrid,.

Lope de Vega Carpio, Félix 2001, *El nuevo mundo descubierto por Cristóbal Colón*. *The New World Discovered by Christopher Columbus*, ed. & trans.: Robert M. Shannon, New York/Washington/Bern.

López de Gómara, Francisco 1993, *Historia general de las Indias*, edición facsimilar, Lima.

Maravall, José Antonio 1972, *Teatro y literatura en la sociedad barroca*, Madrid.

Maravall, José Antonio 1975, *La cultura del Barroco. Análisis de una estructura histórica*, Barcelona.

Maravall, José Antonio 1986, *Culture of the Baroque. Analysis of a Historical Structure*, trans.: Terry Cochran, foreword by Wlad Godzich & Nicholas Spadaccini, Manchester (*Theory and History of Literature* 25).

MacKay, Ruth 2013, "The Maravall Problem: A Historical Inquiry", *Bulletin of the Comediantes* 65, no. 1, 45–56.

McKendrick, Malveena 2000, *Playing the King. Lope de Vega and the Limits of Conformity*, London.

Morby, E. S. 1943, "Some Observations on Tragedia and Tragicomedia in Lope", *Hispanic Review* 11,3, 185–209.

Nelson, Bradley 2016, *The Persistence of Presence. Emblem and Ritual in Baroque Spain*, Toronto.

Parker, Alexander A. 1935, "Notes on the Religious Drama in Medieval Spain and the Origins of the 'Auto Sacramental'", *Modern Language Review* 30,2, 170-182.

Poppenberg, Gerhard 1990, "Neuzeit oder Renovatio? Überlegungen beim Lesen von Joachim Küppers *Diskurs-Renovatio bei Lope de Vega und Calderón. Untersuchungen zum spanischen Barockdrama. Mit einer Skizze zur Evolution der Diskurse in Mittelalter, Renaissance und Manierismus*", *Romanica monacensia* 32, 443–456.

Poppenberg, Gerhard 2003, *Psyche und Allegorie: Studien zum spanischen auto sacramental von den Anfängen bis zu Calderón,* München.

Quevedo y Villegas, Francisco de 1989, *Dreams. Sueños y discursos*, trans.: R. K. Britton, Oxford.

Quevedo y Villegas, Francisco de 1991, *Los sueños*, ed.: Ignacio Arellano. Madrid.

Rodríguez Pérez, Yolanda, Antonio Sánchez Jiménez & Harm den Boer (eds.) 2015, *España ante sus críticos: las claves de la leyenda negra*, Madrid (*Tiempo emulada* 44).

Rose, Constance 1998, "El Diablo vestido de plumas", *América y el teatro español del Siglo de Oro*, eds.: Concepción Reverte Bernal & Mercedes de los Reyes Peña, Cádiz, 471–480.

Ruano de la Haza, José María 2000, *La puesta en escena en los teatros comerciales del Siglo de Oro*, Madrid.

Sánchez Jiménez, Antonio 2016, *Leyenda negra: la batalla sobre la imagen de España en tiempos de Lope de Vega*, Madrid.

Simerka, Barbara 2003, *Discourses of Empire. Counter-Epic Literature in Early Modern Spain*, University Park, Pennsylvania.

Shannon, Robert M. 1989, *Visions of the New World in the Drama of Lope de Vega*, New York.

Soufas, Teresa 1999, "Rhetorical Appropriation: Lope's New World Play and Canonicity", *Hispanic Review* 67,3, 319–331.

Sullivan, Patrick Francis (ed.) 1995, *Indian Freedom: The Cause of Bartolomé de las Casas, 1484–1566, A Reader*, Kansas City, Missouri.

Terradas, José C. 2009, "El juicio divino en *El Nuevo Mundo* de Lope de Vega, estrategia religiosa de apropriación", *Bulletin of the Comediantes* 61,2, 19–34.

Tietz, Manfred, Marcella Trambaioli & Gero Arnscheidt (eds.) 2011, *El autor en el Siglo de Oro. Su estatus intelectual y social*, Vigo.

Wagner, Henry Raup & Helen Rand Parish 1967*, The Life and Writings of Bartolomé de Las Casas*, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

Zugasti, Miguel 1996, "Notas para un repertorio de comedias indianas del Siglo de Oro", *Studia aurea*: *Actas del III Congreso de la AISO (Toulouse, 1993)*, vol. 2, eds.: Ignacio Arellano Ayuso, Carmen Pinillos, Marc Vitse & Frédéric Serralta, Pamplona, 429–442.

Fig. 1

Bartolomé de las Casas, *Brevissima relacion de la destruycion de las Indias* (Seville 1552; USTC no 335515), Public Domain, Wikimedia Commons.

Fig. 2

Leyes y ordenanzas nueuamente hechas por su Magestad para la gouernación de las Indias y buen tratamiento y conseruación de los Indios (Nov. 20, 1542), Public Domain, Wikimedia Commons.

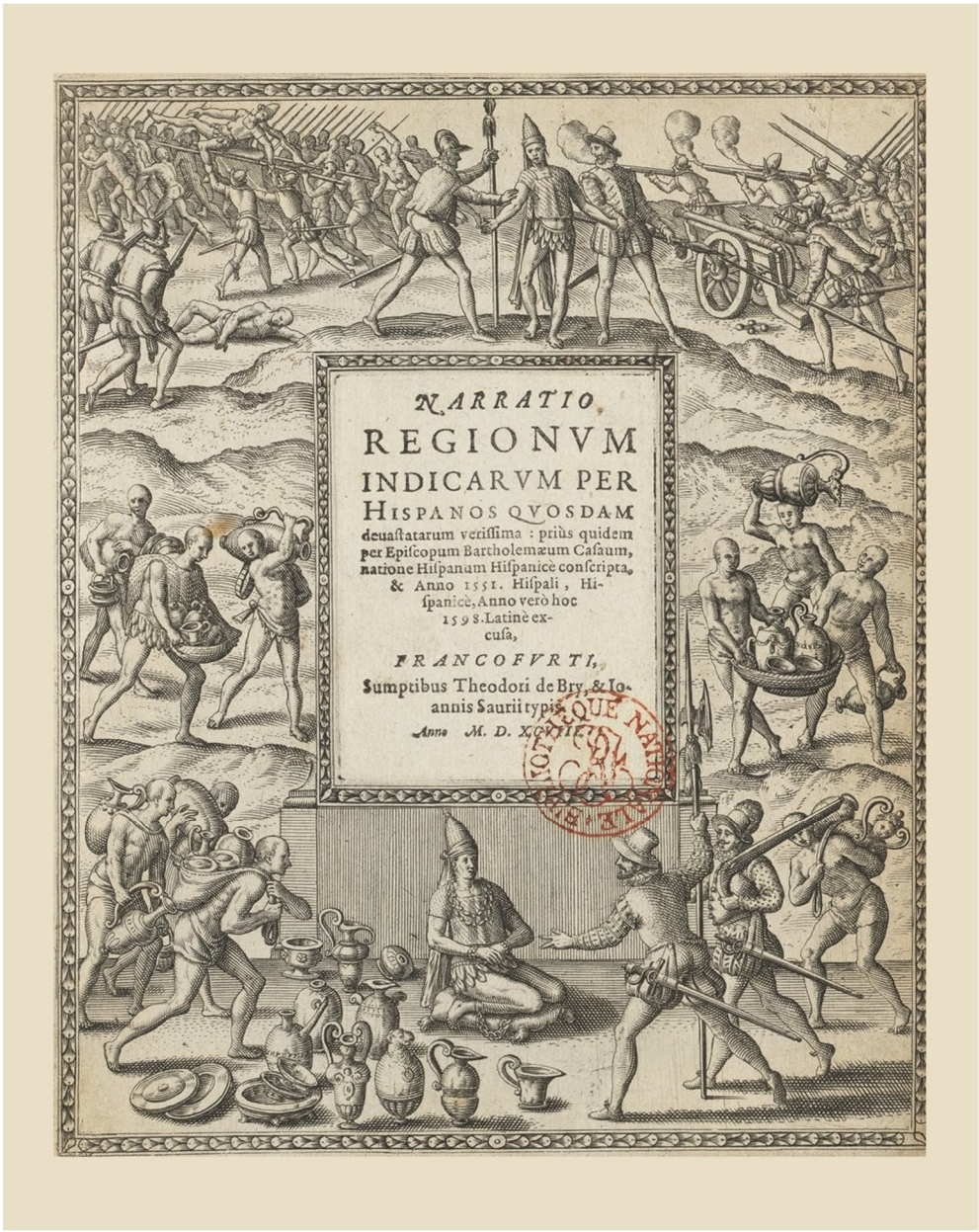

Fig. 3

Bartolomé de las Casas, *Narratio regionum indicarum per Hispanos quosdam deuastatarum verissima* (Frankfurt am Main 1598; USTC no 676778), Public Domain, Wikimedia Commons.

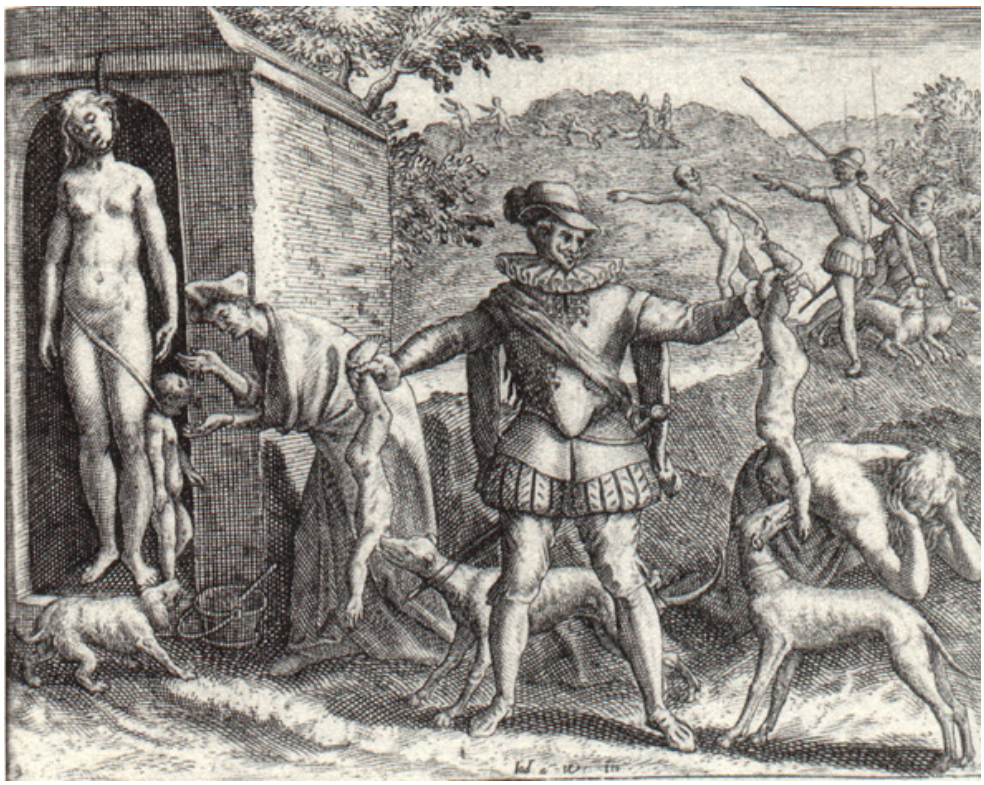

Fig. 4

Théodore de Bry, narratio 14: Spanish soldier feeding Indian children to his dogs. In: Bartolomé de las Casas, *Brevissima relacion de la destruycion de las Indias* (Seville 1552; USTC no 335515), Public Domain, Wikimedia Commons.

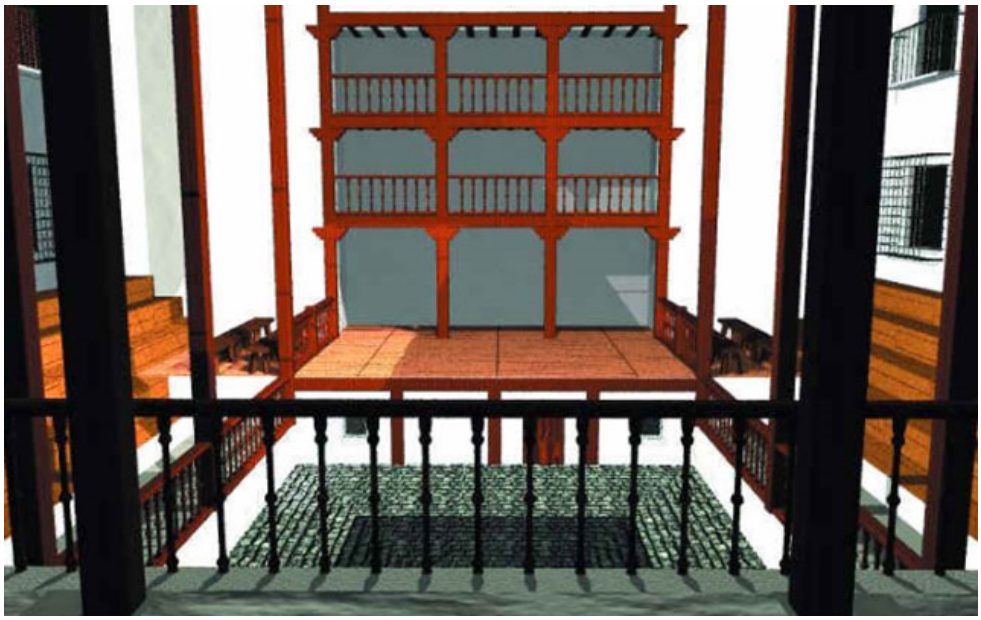

Fig. 5

The stage of the Corral del Príncipe in Madrid seen from the gods (east wing). Illustration by Manuel Canseco reproduced from: Ruano de la Haza, *La puesta en escena en los teatros comerciales del Siglo de Oro*, unpaginated appendix 5 (Madrid 2010).