

**Conquest, Rape, and Marriage:
Forced Miscegenation in the Hapsburg Empire**

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When confronting one of Juan Goytisolo's Spanish editions of his novel *Don Julián* (1970), I was puzzled by the publishing house's resort to an image of the Giralda, Seville's cathedral's bell tower, for the cover's illustration. The novel bitterly denounces the aversion for anything Muslim in the cultural desert of Franco's neo imperial and fundamentalist Christian Spain of the twentieth-century *Cruzada*, while it exposes the debt that the Spanish construction of national culture has with those same despised Muslim roots. The choice seemed odd for a reader whose perception of the monument came mediated by his education in the transitional period between the long fascist dictatorship and the new Spanish democracy. The new contingency made us unjustly perceive this icon of the city of Seville as one of the symbols of Franco's folkloric and populist image of Spain mass reproduced in a myriad of kitschy object. Why using this image as a paratextual element for a novel that precisely tries to undermine the image of Franco's Spain? Our new pro-European construction of identity rejected the Francoist Ministry of Tourism slogan "Spain is different" that was used to promote Spain as a brand abroad in a way that reduced the country's image to that of the southern regions "re-conquered" from Islam in the middle ages.

Upon closer examination, once the filter which conditioned this reception was set aside, the image could not be more appropriate. The original twelfth-century minaret is a remnant of the old great mosque of Seville, which had been badly damaged by an earthquake in the XIV century. What had been one of the tallest buildings of medieval Europe, soaring up to 269 feet, was topped in the sixteenth century by a belfry structure in the mannerist style. Finally, in 1568, a colossal weathervane, thirteen feet high, in the shape of a Minerva-like victorious warrior matron that symbolizes the triumph of the Christian faith was raised to crown the tower. The decisions for these architectural actions on the Islamic monument, which had been admired and left untouched since the year of the conquest of Seville in 1248, are related to the arrival in the Andalusian city of men who were close to the circles which promoted the idea of Charles V as universal monarch. These circles, led by the emperor's chancellor Mercurino Gattinara,¹ an avid reader of Dante's *De Monarchia*, included the Emperor's confessor García de Loaysa, who would be made archbishop of Seville in 1539; Alonso de Manrique² before him; and ultimately, Fernando de Valdés, General Inquisitor who met the Emperor in Flanders (Guillén 76-77). In the eyes of these men

¹ See Frances Yates (21-26).

² Manrique had already managed to overcome the fierce local opposition to his plans to raze the central portion of the Great Mosque of Cordova to build inside it a cathedral in the Renaissance style (Salcedo 433-34).

that had travelled Europe with the Emperor, the Islamic original did not seem appropriate for a Christian purpose in the realms of a king who had Islam as one of his main foes. The prestige of the building, though, did not allow for its destruction. It was then, not completely erased, but over-written with the European marker that appropriated the prestige of the whole monumental symbol, the icon of the city of Seville, for a Christian empire that looked to ancient Rome for visual representations of its ideology. The Islamic prowess that the tower had represented found itself topped by the militant Christianity of the imperial propaganda machine. As it is still today, being the tallest building in the city, one that can be seen from anywhere, the tower stands in the midst of the community's daily life as a reminder of the acts of conquest and colonization that brought about the resulting hybrid society that inhabited the city. The construction of that structure on top, made of the Giralda a sort of cultural palimpsest that reflected the history of the land: from the Roman stones used for its foundations, through the long history of Islamic domination, to the Christian final possession.

It is this process of marking the symbols of the conquered cultures' prestige as incorporated in the Christian empire what I would like to address in this paper. By examining the Hapsburg Empire's cultural production with regards to the alteration of iconic elements of colonized societies that had been conquered and integrated in the imperial narrative, we can see the workings of a ritual process of appropriation which constructs the colonized culture, once Christianized, as feminized and subject to the masculine and virile values of the empire. I will argue that the incorporation of prominent cultural symbols is expressed in terms of a trope of rape and marriage: a sort of forced mystical hymeneum that performs a transformation of the relationship between the still prestigious object and the culture that receives it as a site of memory. In the context of the American conquest, Jonathan Goldberg brings up the case of Indian girls who were offered to Hernán Cortés to seal alliances with nations who shared his rivalry with the Aztecs: "The conversion of the girls offered to the Spaniards will be a repeated condition in the text: to legitimize illegitimate sexual practices...the Cempoalans must become Christian" (202). Similarly, the monuments of the conquered cultures must be Christianized in order to be brought into the fold of the Christian Empire.

The concept of rape as a trope to represent the actions of empire and colonization has been widely used by post-colonial scholars in the sense of the ravishing effects of the acts of colonization.³ I plan to use it here in a different way as I pair it with the

³ Jenny Sharpe stated that "there is sufficient evidence to read imperialism as rape, particularly in those representations that authorize a European claim of ownership through a feminization of the colonial body." (115) Monique Tschofen agrees on the use of this trope since: "The violence of an imperialism that penetrates and possesses territories, the violation of the colonized, their powerlessness and voicelessness, and the web of desires binding the colonizers and the colonized, can all be recognized in this metaphor" (505). Louis Montrose explains in the context of American colonization: "The sexual conduct of European men in the New World is sometimes explained away as the unbridled expression of an essential male lustfulness. It might be more useful to understand it as an ideologically meaningful

trope of marriage. Looking at the process of incorporation of conquered societies through the lens of marriage, whether forced or voluntary, avoided the representation of the conquered peoples within a system of binary oppositions that would circumscribe them under the category of the radical Other. If the prestigious objects appropriated from the conquered cultures could represent metonymically the conquered people, they would not be destroyed but figuratively inseminated by the imperial phallus. As the wife in Salomon's *Song of Songs*, and the soul in the poetry of John of the Cross, a feminized convert culture would join in mystic intercourse with the groom represented in the Christian Empire of the Hapsburgs. The conquered societies, once feminized and ritually inseminated by Christian imperial culture, could be appropriated in ways that reproduced the economies of gender prevalent in the early modern period for the production of a new society.⁴ According to these economies, the married woman was not a radical Other, but a part of the Us (in Spanish *nos + otros*) which is subject to and protected by the male.

The rape-turned-marriage trope itself was also one that resounded with Roman imperial significance and stood as a foundational fiction, to borrow Doris Sommer's concept, in the stories of the origins of Rome. It was the rape of the Sabine women that allowed the Romans to reproduce themselves and establish the base for the Roman civilization. And as Jane Tylus reminds us, in Renaissance Italy, the event was justified as necessary for the creation of the mighty Roman Empire (115-16). Combined with these, the new Christian mission of the revived Roman empire of the Hapsburgs could see in these images a fitting representation of its missionary objectives. The metaphor of marriage had gained momentum in the sixteenth-century exegesis of Solomon's *Song of Songs*, a favorite of ascetic poets such as Luis de León.⁵ This, in turn, also inspired some of the most memorable pages by acclaimed mystic writers, such as John of the Cross' *Spiritual Canticle*. The union of man and woman which in this tradition was interpreted as the holy unions between the faithful

(and overdetermined) act of violence. This violence is impelled by, enacts, and thus reciprocally confirms the imperatives of appropriation, possession, and domination that characterize the colonialist project in general, imperatives that are themselves discursively figured in gendered violence" (195).

⁴ Jean Franco reminds us that of the Mexican context in which "The traffic in women was not only accepted by the Spaniards as natural but provided them with necessary services both sexual and practical. Cortes knew the importance of peopling the New World with a new kind of inhabitant one who had ties of blood with both conqueror and the indigenous for he had his son by Marina legitimized by the Papacy"(75).

⁵ William Tate also sees a similar reading in another Solomonic narrative: "Traditionally the queen of Sheba's submission to Solomon had been interpreted as prefiguring the submission of the Church to Christ, another relationship defined with reference to gender. In this tradition the Church, identified as the bride of Christ, surrenders to the authority of the masculine Christ." (258) This he puts then in relation with the use of the same image in English colonizing projects: "The representation [of Sheba as female tributary nation] genders the exploitation of New World resources in a manner consistent with the accounts of Hakluyt and numerous others who regularly feminize territories to be controlled or colonized and regard such colonizing efforts as masculine" (259).

and Christ, or the Church and God, could now be seen as the incorporation of the new converts to the Christian family of the empire.

When these actions are translated to the terrain of monumental cultural production, and especially when they affect landmarks of the dominated culture, what we witness is the alteration of a site of memory which was a source of pride for the community in which and for which they were erected. They will keep standing in the new contingency as a new site of memory for the resulting society reminding its members of the histories of conquest and domination in which the members of the community have been involved in order to produce the hybrid society in which they live. Evident signs of this form of appropriation of iconic objects of the conquered cultures that are in need of absorption in the imperial culture appear primarily in the context of the Hapsburg Empire's borderlands in the Sixteenth Century both in the Iberian Peninsula and the Americas. Some salient examples of monuments that were re-fashioned in this way are: the Great Mosque of Cordoba, which was pierced in its center to include a Renaissance style cathedral in 1523; the palatial complex of the Alhambra in Granada to which the Renaissance palace of Charles V was added in 1527; and the Giralda in Seville, finished in 1568, which was mentioned before. To these examples of architectural interventions on precious, and symbolically charged, artifacts of Muslim Spain, I will add the representation of the indigenous peoples of the Americas in the literary monument to empire which is Ercilla's epic poem of the conquest of Chile: *La Araucana*.⁶ In this poem, the Indian hero Caupolicán's conversion and then execution by impalement is narrated in a way that intentionally brings to mind epithalamium poetry. All of these examples can be considered sites of memory, or "sites that anchor the memory of a society" (Nora 9).

Gendered Conquests: The Indian Bride

The so-called Spanish Empire needs to be understood not as a monolithic institution, but a conglomerate of interests, agendas and agents that coexist in continuous tension as they fight for the control of the conquered lands. On the one hand the Crown has to deal with the fact that the legitimacy of its presence in the New World was contingent upon the need of the education of the conquered peoples in Christianity. The conquistadors put their lives in danger and invested their resources with the expectation of becoming wealthy and powerful as masters of the conquered lands. The Church, if initially supporting the Crown, as long as it maintained the missionary aspect as the ultimate goal, would change sides during history according to the shifts of power in the different areas where it was established. In the discourse supported by the Crown, the conquered peoples were free subjects of the King who had to be incorporated in Christianity in order to achieve the desired goal of Universal Empire under Christ that the Holy Roman Empire claimed as its mission. For this

⁶ The standing of *La Araucana* as an ambivalent monument to empire, or to those who resisted it, has been claimed by Maxime Chevalier, who calls it the first literary monument to the conquest (124).

reason, imperial policies and propaganda could not be initially motivated to represent the conquered subject as Other. Rather, the conquered subject would be made Christian and then co-opted.⁷

In order to encode the act of appropriation in a way that dominates the would-be-Other by dissolving it in the “Us” rather than creating a radical Other, the representation of the conquest takes in several instances the shape of symbolic acts of sexual violence that resemble rape and forced marriage. In the very context of colonization, Louis Montrose has described acts of sexual violence by Europeans against the indigenous Americans as a violence which “is impelled by, enacts, and thus reciprocally confirms the imperatives of appropriation, possession and domination that characterize the colonialist project in general” (195). Gender role representations, following Joan Wallach Scott, are also “a primary way of symbolizing relationships of power...implicated in the conception and construction of power itself,” (177).

Perhaps, one of the monumental products created by the empire’s ideological machine that shows more explicitly these types of acts of cooption of the colonized societies into the Christian ideals by means of acts of sexual violence and gendering was Alonso de Ercilla’s *La Araucana*. To this day, this epic poem is considered by the people of Chile as the foundational text of their literature and their nation, and by everybody else as a monument of the canon of colonial Spanish American letters, which stands in the Hispanic tradition as a site of memory. Can a book be considered a site of memory? Nora responds to this: “Among history books” (and the epic *Araucana* can be considered a history book or chronicle) “only those founded on a revision of memory or serving as pedagogical breviaries are *lieux de mémoire* [...] [when they] establish a new historical memory” (21). Ercilla seeks to chronicle with his epic the conquest of Chile in order to preserve a memory that willingly or not has become a foundational text for the future Chilean nation.

Notwithstanding his originally stated intention of praising the conquistadors’ deeds, his witnessing pen does not shy from praising the Araucos, the colonized people, as a formidable and brave adversary. In the Prologue to his monumental poem, Ercilla justifies his praise of the conquered peoples –as he foresees his fellow nationals

⁷ Yates explains that for the Emperor, the imperial mission was not heralded as benefiting the pride of one nation: “The ideal of the World ruler [...] is the ideal of the full headship of the world in the Roman Emperor...No tincture of nationality or of nationalism in the modern sense enters into this. The contemporary Emperor is for Dante neither a German nor an Italian; he is a Roman, the true successor of Caesar and Augustus, the living witness to the survival of the unity of the ancient world, the living channel through which unity will be restored in some new *renovatio*, rebirth, return of the justice of the Golden Age” (11). The crown was also trying to avoid the reproduction of a feudal system controlled by the conquistadors and *encomenderos* in the Indies in order to reinforce the crown’s power as it was doing on the European stage. The issue of the treatment of the Indians was one that served the purpose of curbing the conquistadors’ power to the extent that royal pressure in its defense of indigenous rights provoked important protests in New Spain and true revolts in Peru, where Gonzalo Pizarro became de facto lord of the land for four years until he was defeated by royal armies.

objections— by representing the extraordinary characteristics of this nation that the Spanish soldiers were trying to subjugate:

Y si a alguno le pareciere que me muestro algo inclinado a la parte de los araucanos, tratando sus cosas y valentías más extendidamente de lo que para bárbaros se requiere; si queremos mirar su crianza, costumbres, modos de guerra y ejercicio della, veremos que muchos no les han hecho ventaja, y que son pocos los que con tal constancia y firmeza han defendido su tierra contra tan fieros enemigos como son los españoles. [...] para hacer más cuerpo y henchir los escuadrones, vienen también las mujeres a la guerra, y peleando algunas veces como varones, se entregan con grande ánimo a la muerte. (121-22)

This attitude towards the Araucos, this singing of their praises, has given way to a myriad of scholarly disputes with regards to which side was Ercilla taking. Was he on the side of the Indians of whom he speaks so highly and who were sometimes in the poem represented as victims of horrendous acts? Was he on the side of the conquistadors who were bringing them under the Spanish yoke? In order to respond to these questions it is helpful to understand from what political perspective is Ercilla writing. The author was a product of the imperial ideological machine. He was educated in the imperial court of Charles V in close proximity to the future Philip II, to whom the author dedicated the poem. It is this circumstance what the poet uses to authorize the credibility of what he is about to narrate, and also to verify his loyalties:

Y haberme en vuestra casa yo criado,
que crédito me da por otra parte,
hará mi torpe estilo delicado,
y lo que va sin orden lleno de arte:
así, de tantas cosas animado,
la pluma entregaré al furor de Marte;
dad orejas, Señor, a lo que digo,
que soy de parte de ello buen testigo. (I, 1, 5)⁸

In this last stanza, Ercilla presents himself as the witness or even informant to the King. He was then on the side of the court, which wanted the conquest and conversion of the Indians, but also was politically opposed to the ends that drove the conquistadors, and the methods that they used. This was the same court where Las Casas preached and convinced of the missionary mission of the Empire as the only excuse for domination of the Americas; of the cruelty of the conquistadors' methods in achieving conquest, whose goals had nothing to do with the conversion of the Indians, and whose actions were destroying the riches of the New World, and, by acting in

⁸ My quotations of *La Araucana* follow the following pattern: part, canto, stanza.

name of the King were also tarnishing the prestige and reputation of the Spanish prince.⁹ It could be said that Ercilla was adopting a position which sympathized with the arguments that Las Casas put forth before the court of Charles V and which gave way to the Laws al Indies of 1542. His position could be considered *lascasista*, if it weren't for the fact that Las Casas' agreement to admit that the imperial endeavor was at all legitimate was probably more a pragmatic decision than a sincere conviction.¹⁰ While Ercilla must represent the inevitability of the conquest as necessary to achieve the Holy Roman Imperial mission of propagating Christianity, he could also be against the treatment of Indian societies by the conquistadors, whose political intentions were not in agreement with those of the King of Spain. In fact, the protection of the indigenous peoples was the excuse for the crown to be able to control the power of the colonists over the conquered lands. The New Laws of 1542, inspired by Las Casas' arguments, offered new protections to the indigenous peoples against conquistador and colonist abuses and provoked bloody colonist rebellions against the crown.¹¹ Isaías Lerner (9-10) reminds us that one of these rebellions in 1553, that of Francisco Hernández Girón in Perú, is mentioned by Ercilla in *La Araucana*'s last canto as one of the reasons for the poet's travel to the New World in service of the King's interests:

De allí el furioso estruendo de la guerra
Al Pirú me llevó por más serviros,
Do con suelto furor tantas espadas
Estaban contra vos desenvainadas. (III, 37, 67)

It is this loyalty to the crown's imperial grand narrative that allows Ercilla to show in the same poem his sympathy for the imperial endeavor and his censorship of the conquistadors' practices in ways that have confused the readings of many scholars that have approached *La Araucana*.¹² What has been described by Elizabeth Davis as a

⁹ Mejías López has linked Ercilla to a preacher, Fray Gil González de San Nicolás, a friend of Las Casas, who was also a student of Francisco de Vitoria, the theorist of international law who questioned the legitimacy of the conquest. It seems that both met in a ship in which both were sent to Lima for their differences with the leader of the Chilean expedition García Hurtado de Mendoza. In the friar's case, because of his militant preaching to the soldiers against their mistreatment of the Indigenous peoples. (197-99). Mejía goes on to find numerous examples in the poem that seem to follow religiously Las Casas' arguments.

¹⁰ In his *De Regia Potestate*, published in 1571 in Frankfurt, Germany, five years after his death, Las Casas ended defending the lack of the Empire's legitimacy of the conquest, even under religious pretenses. His argument was that the Indians had, like any other people, a right to self-determination; that only by their consent could the emperor claim a right to govern over the Indians. (263)

¹¹ This protection of the indigenous peoples of the New World against colonist abuses suffered as the crown became more in need of New World financial support.

¹² Craig Kallendorf's excellent article, in which he analyzes the problems of representing the Indian as Other, seems to fall in the same conundrum. When debating over the positive or negative representation of the Spaniards in the poem he places conquistador leaders, soldiers and the monarch in the same plane (405). Karina Galperin almost makes the distinction in her comparison between the portions of the

“split subjectivity” (20-21) on the part of Ercilla, is such if one reads the poem as a nationalist-imperial poem disregarding the poet’s loyalties to the Hapsburg imperial theories. Such apparent split in the gaze of the narrating voice as a witness of the events in the epic poem is evident in the account of the native chieftain Caupolicán’s death. The treatment of this central character, which is in part historical and in part fictitious, presents an example which, although lacks the materiality of the architectural objects mentioned above, condenses the admirable qualities of the American culture that needs to be co-opted by the empire. As Ercilla narrates the story, the character is represented as a symbol of resistance to the conquistadors’ brutality in a way that on the one hand delineates responsibilities for the horrors of the conquest, but on the other also makes of the hero’s death a Christian-imperial allegory. The Arauco iconic qualities described by Ercilla –the valor and courage in war that their warriors showed in their resistance to the Spanish conquest– have been extensively interpreted by scholars as the classical form of praising the author’s side by means of describing a worthy and difficult opponent. This reading implies that the author’s sincere admiration for the conquered people was not being sincerely conveyed. However, this interpretation does not preclude reading this worth of the Araucos as the source of this culture’s prestige: a prestige that needs to be incorporated to the Hapsburg Christian empire. Caupolicán’s form of execution, by impalement, certifies the exertion of sexual violence against him. In order to deal with this event, over which neither the poet nor the monarch have had control, and in a way that is meaningful for the imperial narrative, Ercilla narrates the death of the chieftain in a way that personifies Arauco valor in the body of Caupolicán to then co-opt it for the empire as the act is represented as one which is at the same time rape and marriage. The rape is performed by the brutality of the conquistadors, and the marriage by the willing conversion of the hero, who thus gives himself and his people to the Christian empire’s cause. The Arauco valor and virtue, treated this way, is incorporated to the literary monument of the conquest, *La Araucana* to certify the imperial success of extending Christianity to the new world. At the same time it incorporates the worth of the conquered in the resulting imperial community, which will have the epic poem as a foundational text.

During Caupolicán’s trial, the Indian hero claims with pride the blows he has thrown the conquistadors’ army as a proof of his worth. If he is allowed to live, he declares, he promises to put his own army at the service of the conquest. What perhaps would not work strategically well for the colonists’ interests is the way in which Caupolicán offers this alliance:

Y pues por la experiencia claro has visto
Que libre y preso, en público y secreto,

poem dedicated to the battle of St. Quentin and the ensuing pillage by the hands of imperial soldiers that do not obey the King’s command for respect of the vanquished (41-42). However, this tenuous separation is dropped in the rest of her analysis.

De mis soldados soy temido y quisto,
 Y está a mi voluntad todo sujeto;
 Haré yo establecer la ley de Cristo,
 Y que, sueltas las armas, te prometo
 Vendrá toda la tierra en mi presencia
 A dar al rey Felipe la obediencia. (III, 34, 14)

Caupolicán promises allegiance to the Christian religion and to King Philip II. Given the tumultuous history of the relations between the King's policies and the colonists' interests, this promise of Caupolicán's may have worked against him.¹³ The bargain does not seem to satisfy the court that judges him, amongst which the poet was not included since he was absent serving away in a mission. So Caupolicán is sentenced quickly to a horrible death. The hero's attitude at the time of his sentencing and during his execution is described by Ercilla as an example of admirable strength and self-control. This is an example that fits the virile and stoic ideals of the heroes of the imperial narrative¹⁴ as well as it stands in contrast with the attitude of the conquerors:

Hecha la confesión, como lo escribo,
 con más rigor y priesa que advertencia,
 luego a empalar y asaetearle vivo
 fue condenado en pública sentencia.
 No la muerte y el término excesivo
 causó en su semblante diferencia,
 que nunca por mudanzas vez alguna
 pudo mudarle el rostro la fortuna. (III, 34, 17)

The poetic voice expresses the duality that separates the Hapsburg imperial project from the conquering practices that allegedly work in its service. As the poet remains loyal to the imperial project and censors the ways in which the conquerors of Chile commit abuses in its name, the split is made evident. He has to account for events that at the same time they are horrible and deserve rejection, they also need to be taken

¹³ William Mejías-López also mentions the chieftain execution strategy practiced by the conquistadors from very early in the conquest process in order to destroy the indigenous self-governing capabilities. This had the goal of contradicting arguments by defenders of indigenous rights to self-government, such as Las Casas, that declared the humanity of the native peoples as it could be deducted from their political systems, among other things. These were arguments with which the Monarchy sympathized, and which would foster royal legislation in favor of the Indians and against the intentions of the colonists. Mejías-López sees in *La Araucana* Ercilla's opposition to these conquering strategies (206-08).

¹⁴ Yates mentions the revival of stoic ideals in the Spanish Renaissance and its representation in imperial propaganda products such as Antonio de Guevara's *Relox de principes* and Titian's equestrian portrait of Charles V inspired by Marcus Aurelius statue in the Roman Capitol (22).

ownership of in a way that harmonizes with the imperial narrative. He will make sense of the sacrifice of a person who has always been deemed as valuable in terms that transcend whichever side from where he is contemplated by stressing the hero's incorporation into the Christian fold. In order to achieve the balance between horror and joy, the hero's conversion scene that follows is accompanied by a series of antithetical statements that try to approximate the paradoxes of mystical poetry, a genre to which the end of the episode is also related:

Pero mudóle Dios en un momento,
 obrando en él su poderosa mano,
 pues con lumbre de fe y conocimiento
 se quiso bautizar y ser cristiano:
 causó lástima y junto gran contento
 al circunstante pueblo castellano,
 con grande admiración de todas gentes
 y espanto de los bárbaros presentes. (III, 34, 18)

The “causó lástima y junto gran contento,” is then followed in the next stanza by the line “aquel triste, aunque felice día,” (III, 34, 19) both of which lines describe the attitude of the witnesses of the conversion and the conflicting sentiments that the poetic voice projects on them. The poem continues narrating the stoic attitude of the hero during his execution, which confers him more of the virtuous characteristics that the empire values in the man of worth and virtue: fortitude, prudence, wisdom, and above all, self-control as he brings on himself the execution accepting his fate:

Llegóse él mismo al palo, donde había
 de ser la atroz sentencia ejecutada,
 con un semblante tal, que parecía
 tener aquel terrible trance en nada,
 diciendo: "Pues el hado y suerte mía
 me tienen esta muerte aparejada,
 venga, que yo la pido, yo la quiero,
 que ningún mal hay grande, si es postrero. (III, 34, 23)

The climactic moment arrives at the end of the very graphic account of the execution, when the poet describes Caupolicán's attitude during his penetration again in the double plane of horror, in the first half of the octave, and peace in the second:

No el aguzado palo penetrante
 por más que las entrañas le rompiese
 barrenándole el cuerpo, fue bastante
 a que a dolor intenso se rindiese:

que con sereno término y semblante
 sin que labrio ni ceja retorciese,
 sosegado quedó de la manera
 que si asentado en tálamo estuviera. (III, 34, 28)

The first four lines focus on the act of phallic violence to which Caupolicán is forced by the conquerors. As Vásvari explains, depictions “of phallic aggression and anal penetration refer to sex [...] as a game of dominance and submission [...] where the passive position is equated with...feminization.” (130) Also Vasvari explains how ethologists have seen that this type of aggression could be biologically programmed as is shown in mammal dominance mounting, “where the defeated adversary, regardless of sex, is forced to assume the coital position of the female as an indication of submission.” (131) Thus, the horror of the punishment relates the executioner with the animalistic instincts that have been overcome by the virtue of the executed in a way that questions where the limits of civilization and barbarism are drawn.

The second half of the octave moves from the animalistic to the spiritual in a key moment for the metonymical representation of the Arauco chieftain. The stake used for his impalement and the scaffold on which the execution takes place is compared to the nuptial bed, and hence the hero with a virgin bride.¹⁵ The conjunction of the words “sosegado” and “tálamo,” which shows in the simile of the last line, diverts momentarily the reader’s attention from the act of torture in order to frame the narrative in the positive conception of the penetration as a sought after union. As it was the case in previous lines, the words “sosegado” and “tálamo” as well as the situation itself, seem related to the mystical poetry of Ercilla’s contemporary Saint John of the Cross who, in *Spiritual Song* following the tradition of Solomon’s *Song of Songs*, uses the image of peacefulness of a “casa sosegada” (the home in peace and quiet) to represent the body of the believer in peace as it is prepared to offer his¹⁶ soul as a bride to Christ.¹⁷ Caupolicán is ready to become one with his Other. Ercilla’s take

¹⁵ The word *tálamo* is defined by the early modern Spanish lexicographer as: “es el nombre griego *thalamos*, el lugar eminente, en el aposento adonde los novios celebran sus bodas, y reciben las visitas, y parabienes, significa algunas vezes la cama de los mismos novios, y la quadra donde esta.” To this he adds the common proverb of his age “Mesurada como nouia en talamo.” (fol. 182 r). The process of feminization of a character who had been introduced in the narrative as a paragon of virility and of leadership virtues had started when, once defeated, his wife denies his manliness and rejects their common offspring: “Toma, toma tu hijo, que era el ñudo/Con que el lícito amor me había ligado/Que el sensible dolor y golpe agudo/Estos fértiles pechos han secado:/Cría, críale tú, que ese membrudo/Cuerpo, en sexo de hembra se ha trocado: /Que yo no quiero título de madre/Del hijo infame del infame padre. (III, 33, 81)

¹⁶ I intentionally use the masculine gender, even though a believer may be male or female, to underline the gender shifts that occur especially in John of the Cross’s poetic renderings of his mystical experiences.

¹⁷ These images of the union of the soul and Christ are not restricted to mystical poetry. In fact, they find their way in future aulic epithalamic poetry also, where the classical figure of Hymen is Christianized as the Holy Ghost. Thomas Deveny brings up the examples of Sebastián Francisco de

on the execution represents an extraordinary member of the indigenous world as he is ready to be incorporated into the universal monarchy of the Christian empire of the Hapsburgs. The mystical imagery is appropriate to interpret these uses of union tropes that end in identity and gender transformations since this fusion of “Others,” Ernesto Cardenal explains, is what constitutes precisely the state of union that the mystics achieve:

No sabemos que en el centro de nuestro ser no somos nosotros sino otro.
Que nuestra identidad es Otro. Que cada uno de nosotros antológicamente
es *dos*. Que encontramos a nosotros mismos y concentrarnos en nosotros
mismos es arrojarnos en los brazos del Otro. (41)

In the final part of the execution, the connection of the episode with mystical imagery continues as the executing gazers become transported in a bedazzlement that acknowledges the hero's worth. At that moment, the archers in charge of the final blow against the chieftain, though described by the poet as people who are used to performing all kinds of evil, almost succumb in awe to the virile memory of Caupolicán's fame and his stoic attitude during his execution:

...aunque en toda maldad ejercitados,
al despedir la flecha vacilaban,
temiendo poner mano en un tal hombre
de tanta autoridad y tan gran nombre. (III, 34, 29)

There is a mix of the horrified attitude of the poetic voice before these acts of torture and the mesmerizing realization of the transcendence of the events. On the one hand, the poetic voice narrates the horrible torture adopting a judgmental attitude that establishes a distance from the atrocious events. At the same time, it is capable of making the best of the situation in the cooption of the victim, and all he represents, for the Monarch's side. It is this moral distance what then allows the poet to represent the event as an act of mystical sacrifice that brings the desired indigenous qualities embodied in Caupolicán within the fold of the Christian empire. It originally seemed to me that the marriage image in the poem could be compared just in general terms with images of marriage in the poetry of Ercilla's contemporary mystics, as they could draw from the exegetical traditions regarding Solomon's *Song of Songs*. The stoic and virile virtues of the Indian leader, together with his reputation, remain prestigious when filtered through the conventional trope of the marriage of the soul to Christ found in mystical poetry. Upon closer examination, there seems to be more textual parallels than just that general idea. The image of the bedazzled and admiring gaze of the archers who are ready to pierce the hero's body with one hundred arrows can also

Medrano's poem to the nuptials of the Duke of Feria in 1620 (29) and Juan de Matos Frago's to the wedding of Philip IV to Mariana of Austria in 1639 (30).

be compared to the same worth granting gaze that appears in John of the Cross's *Cántico espiritual* (*Spiritual Song*):

Cuando tú me mirabas
 Su gracia en mí tus ojos imprimían;
 Por eso me adamabas,
 Y en eso merecían
 Los míos adorar lo que en ti vían. (I, 23 p 92/II, 32, p95)¹⁸

The desiring gaze confers value to the thing desired, and it turns the soul female, as it is implied by the term “adamar,”¹⁹ as it is ready to be taken. Just as the archers in Ercilla's narrative vacillate before Caupolicán's presence, in John of the Cross' poem, the gazer becomes trapped, bedazzled, by the desire for the now effeminized body of the believer's soul:

En sólo aquel cabello
 que en mi cuello volar consideraste,
 mirártele en mi cuello,
 y en él preso quedaste,
 y en uno de mis ojos te llagaste. (I, 22 p 90/ II, 31, p 95)

Another interesting parallel between the Caupolicán episode and *Spiritual Song* appears in the efforts at annulling difference in order to achieve a worthy union. This can be seen in St. John's poem's imagery when, in the Solomonic tradition, alludes to the color of the bride's skin as a defect that can be overcome when she finds herself worthy as the recipient of the groom's gaze:

No quieras despreciarme,
 Que, si color moreno en mí hallaste
 Después que me miraste,
 Qué gracia y hermosura en mi dejaste. (I, 24, p. 92/II, 33, p.95)

¹⁸ I am referencing the poem following the pattern: version, stanza, page.

¹⁹ Ángel Herrero explains the term: “Del latino *adamare*, significado que ya había sido aplicado en círculos de la Iglesia al ‘amora sancto, tenerrimo et aredentissimo, quo Deus animas, Ecclesiam et Virginem adamat’ [...] amar con vehemencia [...]. Hay sin embargo un segundo significado de la palabra que no se recoge explícitamente en el comentario pero del que podemos decir que está presente en la propia concepción del poema y en la poética de la experiencia contemplativa: el significado de *adamarse* como derivado de *dama*, esto es, ‘adelgazarse el hombre o hacerse delicado como la mujer,’ [...] pues quien habla en el Cántico es el alma o esposa, con voz femenina; es el poeta en tanto voz femenina, y además aspirando a ser, desde su condición de ‘vaso vacío que espera su lleno’ (Declaración de la canción 9) ‘hermosísima y acabada imagen’; de ser ‘pobre y en trabajos’ (subida 1: 3-4), a ‘consorte con la divinidad.’ En ambos sentidos, como afeminamiento y como dignificación femenina, la voz del poeta se adama” (24-25).

Both images of marriage, in the epic and in the mystical poem, represent the juggling effort at representing the incorporation of the Other. In *La Araucana*'s case, it is the effort at representing the Other culture as it is in need of being incorporated in an empire that seeks to be universal. In the theory of empire held by the Hapsburgs, since it is not national and seeks the universal expansion of Christianity under their rule, the difference in ethnic or national provenance is not an obstacle for integration. The acceptance of Christ dissolves the difference –most evident in the color of the skin. The parallel exists in St. John's stanza above as Judy McInnis explains it:

The bride's dark coloring of *Song* 1, 4-5 becomes a defect which has been corrected through the grace of the Beloved in Stanzas 23 and 24 of the Spanish poem. Her beauty, like that of the creatures left "clothed in beauty" by the Beloved's glance in Stanza 5, proceeds from him; only after he had looked upon her was she worthy of adoring him. (124)

The final penetration of the arrows in the hero's flesh are again met with contradictory references that find a parallel in Saint John of the Cross' *Spiritual Song*:

Mas, ¿cómo perseveras,
¡oh, vida!, no viviendo donde vives
y haciendo porque mueras
las flechas que recibes
de lo que del Amado en ti concibes? (I, 8, 84-85)

This last stanza from John of the Cross, playing with paradoxical terms, speaks of the notion of accepting a death by penetration, which though painful, is also a promise of rebirth. This mystical re-interpretation of the event becomes evident in the reformulation of the poem written by Lope de Vega as an *auto sacramental*, or Corpus Christi mystery play for the Madrid stage in which Caupolicán and king Philip II appear as allies. This version for the metropolitan stage, which follows Ercilla's version, is according to Teresa Kirchner a product of "the ongoing debate which was taking place in Spain about the exploitation of the Indians, the rightness of forced conversions, and in general, the moral and ethical considerations raised by the Spanish presence in the Indies" (38).²⁰ According to Kirchner, the Lope's play is also a celebration of syncretism since Caupolicán's farewell sonnet:

²⁰ Kirchner also concludes that the way in which King and hero are presented at the end of this play makes the Crown ultimately responsible of the crime since it is not in control of the situation having delegated his power (39). While this is a valid reading, when the historical rivalry between the crown and the colonists is factored in, the *auto* seems more like a form of taking the monarch's side and establishing the inheritance of sovereignty that the Spanish monarch receives from all the native kings and chieftains executed by the greed of conquistadors that even dared to raise their arms against their divinely ordained monarch.

Supposedly directed to the Christian God which he addresses as “Señor” (Lord) [...] is ambivalent enough to be permeated by a religious syncretism which allows the convergence of Christian and Indigenous ancestral values. “O sol, autor del Sol, pues luz me distes, / con esa misma vuestro rayo adoro!” (Oh sun, author of the Sun, since you gave me light, with the very same I adore your ray! [III, vv. 977-78])²¹ (38)

Ricardo Padrón has noted the strangeness “that the narrative of an execution meant to humiliate its victim by symbolically sodomizing him should compare his stoicism to that of a bride on her marriage bed” (563). By ascertaining the political and ideological loyalties of the author, we can understand this apparent split which is not other than the split that historically existed between the wishes of the monarch’s circle and that of the colonizers expressed in the paradoxical terms that are also found in the marriage imagery of Mystical poetry. The triangular schema of desire in *La Araucana* that Padrón says is enacted in this episode of Caupolicán’s death by the Spanish men and the Araucanian men upon a feminine land, (576) I see rather as the also triangular rivalry for control of the New World between the powers of the monarchy and the colonizers.

The rivalry between the crown and the colonists is ever more evident when the representations found in the narrative of Ercilla’s poem are contrasted with other versions of the story created by the colonist side. James Nicolopulos studied this differences of representation in a work in which the gaze that is sympathetic towards the indigenous peoples and judgmental towards the colonists does not exist. Such is the case of the attitudes and works in reaction to Ercilla’s poem in colonial Perú as can be seen in Pedro de Oña’s *El arauco domado* (*The Tamed Arauco*) (1596). In this play both the Indian hero and his proud wife are represented as an effeminate and lascivious pair in a way that seeks to destroy the heroic and stoic character conferred to them by Ercilla in his poem (237). Nicolopulos finds the key in his assertion with respects to Ercilla’s positioning: “Ercilla, raised in the court and sharing its ideological perspective, clearly saw the New World through the eyes of a ‘king’s man’ rather than those of the adventurers in search of social mobility who filled the ranks of the early conquerors and the *encomendero* class” (234).

The narrative of the execution by impalement of the Caupolicán, read as ritual sodomization,²² is turned into a mystical union that seeks to retain for the empire that

²¹ Interestingly, Lope de Vega also wrote a secular play on the topic which was titled after Oña’s work. Melchora Romanos has studied this *El arauco domado* (1622) (*The Tamed Arauco*) and concludes that this version, despite the connection between the playwright and the family of Oña’s patron, the Hurtado de Mendozas, does not place Caupolicán or the Araucos in general in a lower plane than that of Ercilla’s mission’s commander García Hurtado de Mendoza. Lope follows more Ercilla’s depiction of the native heroes (186-94).

²² According to my reading I cannot agree with Georgina Sabat the River’s reading of punishment for questioning royal authority. Caupolicán is punished in name of the King, but not with his acquiescence. Caupolicán is punished for his resistance and the obstacle he represents for the colonists’ ambitions.

which is of greatest value and prestige in the borderland indigenous cultures of the mid sixteenth-century New World. That is the valor and strength with which the Arauco warriors resisted the conquistador's invasion. The propaganda machine of imperial ideology created a monumental work in which the act of sexual violence exerted over the figuratively feminized of the conquered culture is reinterpreted as a marriage ritual in order to its cooption for the Christian Empire. As the poem itself became a site of memory for the resulting society, an important mark is left in the collective memories of conquerors and conquered in the coming ages that reminded them of their marriage contract.

Christian Imperialism in the Lands of al Andalus: Narrative and Architecture

Despite the fact that for academic, administrative, or political reasons, the studies of the Iberian conquering and colonial enterprises in the Americas have been commonly studied as a separate phenomena from the conflict between Moors and Christians during the Reconquista, and beyond, in the Peninsula, both occurrences are the product of a single endeavor. This is an endeavor that rather than being divided in two consecutive acts of the same play –one the medieval Reconquista, and the other the early modern conquest of the Americas– are two actions that overlap during the XVI and XVII centuries. Both endeavors create the borderlands between the Christian West and the non-Christian conquered Other (that needs to be converted) in which a culture of hybridity is heralded by some and rejected by others depending on their political position in relation to the Hapsburg imperial project. Both endeavors create conditions of cultural contact that find themselves represented in similar ways in the cultural production of the Spanish Renaissance. As Barbara Fuchs points out with regards to the study of Spanish Renaissance imperialism: “Any reading of colonial enterprise that divorces New World events from metropolitan struggles for sovereignty and territorial expansion, from imperial competition, or indeed from Old World colonialism, will give us just part of the picture” (380).²³ The Iberian colonizing movements in Europe and the Americas cannot be separated in their conceptual framework, nor in the representations that they produce.

The lines that describe the attitude of the executioners in the final hours of Caupolicán's life connect the colonizing experience in the New World this other work that represents that of the Iberian Peninsula. Caupolicán's story resembles that of a noble Grenadine subject, and thus Muslim, in the frontier of the Spanish Reconquista: Abindarráez el Abencerraje. *La Araucana* (1569-89) appeared in print under the rule of Philip II in the second half of the sixteenth century, as it was the case of *El Abencerraje* (1561). Both deal with the contact with the colonized Other in a time of

²³ I am in agreement with this statement by Barbara Fuchs despite the fact that in her analysis of *The Abencerraje* and *La Araucana* in the same article there seems to be no differentiation between a nineteenth-century indebted nationalistic conceptualization of empire and Hapsburg providentialist imperialism (381).

turmoil for these relationships. The conflict was open in the New World, and in the Old, the Monarch will have to face an important uprising of the Moriscos between 1568 and 1571 that responds to his policies of pressure on the culture of the former Spanish Muslims. In similar ways, the main characters of each of the works suffer the gaze of imperial desire as it is performed by those who do the Empire's dirty work.

The Moorish character finds himself on the Christian side of the border on his way to meet with his lover, when he is spotted by a patrol led by a Castilian noble, Rodrigo de Narváez. As the Moor approaches the hiding squad, he is described as a sight of beauty and sophisticated magnificence. Before the Christian soldiers start their attack to make him captive, their attitude is described as following: "Los escuderos, transportados en verle, erraron poco de dejarle pasar, hasta que dieron sobre él" (46) (The squires, aroused by the sight of him, barely avoided letting him pass before they fell upon him, 47).²⁴ Hutcheson has described this encounter of the Moor Abindarráez with the Christian soldiers who are about to make him captive as one that encodes "curious modes of speech", as the exotic protagonist is "made the object of an equivocal gaze" that "seek to control, repress, eliminate [the object] while at the same time giving expression to dangerous desires" (114). As it was mentioned earlier, Caupolicán's execution narrative shows a similar attitude to what Hutcheson has seen in the Moresque novella. The dangerous desire of possession was then symbolically represented in the form of an execution, first by impalement, and then by being pierced by one hundred arrows that a group of awestricken soldiers shot. Like in *The Abencerraje* episode, this expression of desire is attributed not to the chivalric leader Narváez, who seems to be the true hero of the novella, but to the lower ranks of soldiery. The soldiers, or squires, as a group, or mass, draw the Moor's first blood, just as the anonymous conquistador soldiers conceive Caupolicán's humiliating fatal sentence, and finally kill him with one hundred arrows. In a parallel way, the noble counterpart of the desired Other, Narváez in *El Abencerraje*, and the voice of Ercilla in *La Araucana*, are kept in a higher moral plane. In *Abencerraje*, the Castilian noble establishes a relationship with the captive acting by the homosocial rules of chivalry,²⁵ what serves to underline the superiority of the captor in that he is able to make a display of his magnanimity before an extraordinary member of the rival culture.²⁶ In *La Araucana*, the voice of the narrator distances himself from the act of torture and execution, which he censures, by implying that had he been present during the event, he himself would have prevented the execution and displayed the chivalrous magnanimity and mercy that Caupolicán's valor deserved. The desire for the Other expressed in *La Araucana* and *El Abencerraje*, makes these characters into icons (the former successfully and the latter frustrated) for the resulting mixed societies. Such a desire for the prestige of the Other is evident in the relationship between the Christian rulers that finished with the Islamic rule on the Peninsula and the remains of the

²⁴ J. E Keller translation.

²⁵ See Laura Bass's article.

²⁶ See Burshatin's article.

magnificent material culture of the colonized, one to which is partially made reference in the description of Abindarráez' luxurious attire. The same mind-set is evident in the reception of the palaces of the Muslim rulers of Granada, the Alhambra, by the new owners, the queen of Castile, the king of Aragón and their descendants. Like *La Araucana*, the buildings of the Alhambra hill would be altered in order to convey a similar message in the resulting hybrid society of sixteenth-century Granada. Although it is not my intention to be completely thorough in this analysis, I would like to at least point out a few of the features of the actions on the Alhambra that connect to the arguments about *La Araucana*. A similar case of imperial phallic aggression that seeks to take possession of the prestige of the dominated culture can be read in the construction of the Emperor Charles V's palace in the middle of the Alhambra hill and annexed to the Nasrid royal palaces. The Alhambra is still today the best preserved medieval palatial complex in Europe, whose delicate profile is dominated by the triumphant and boxy mass of the Holy Roman Emperor's high renaissance palace.

The artistic value of the royal houses of the Alhambra was immediately appreciated by the conquering Catholic Monarchs in 1492. The kingdom of Granada had been a supplier of luxurious goods to the Castilian nobility, and Grenadine arts and crafts had been regarded in high esteem by the Christian monarchs, who even had palaces built for them by Muslim craftsmen. Islamic art had been prestigious for centuries in the Iberian Peninsula, and the Alhambra seemed to be the finest example. The Catholic monarchs, who gave themselves to living in these palaces in the Moorish style and who were enthusiast wearers of Moorish garments, zealously protected this site. Their daughter, Queen Juana of Castile declared her intentions as follows:

El rey mi señor padre y la reina mi señora madre ganaron la ciudad de Granada y el Alambra de esta donde está la casa real, que es tan suntuoso y excelente edificio e la voluntad de los dichos reyes mis señores y mía ha sido siempre y es que la dicha Alambra e casa esté muy bien reparada y se sostenga porque quede siempre en perpetua memoria. (qtd. In Galera 101-02)

The dispositions to keep and maintain the royal houses in good shape in order to maintain the Catholic Monarch's will "forever in perpetual memory," were somehow reinterpreted with the arrival in Spain of Juana's son, the soon to be Holy Roman Emperor Charles V. With him, he also brought the idea of empire cultivated by the Hapsburgs and by the Renaissance humanists that belonged to the imperial circle, one which set its foundation on a set of masculine values. These values were best exemplified by the set of imperial virtues represented by the virility of the Christian knight and which could also be transmitted through the symbolic language of architecture. In fact, Roy Strong has observed that Charles V was the first monarch to use an architectural style as vehicle of his idea of kingship, or in this case, of empire. The style that he used was the classical style of the High Renaissance which was

displayed in all his triumphal entries across Europe. His Italian entries in his way to the imperial coronation in Bologna between 1529 and 1530 were “decisive in the over politicization of an architectural style, for the revived imperialism of Charles V was symbolically expressed by classical architecture” (81). As someone whose propaganda showed him as the veritable heir to the Roman Empire, and a bearer of the title of Caesar, the choice made all the sense. Politically, Charles was seen as the only Holy Roman Emperor that could revive the glory of the Roman Empire, as a series of fortuitous coincidences that happened during his reign seemed to point at (if not him, no other one could) (Yates 20-21). As a statement of this idea of empire, it was decided to mark of the cooption of the conquered Muslims of Spain on some of the most significant and prestigious products of this culture. These could not be destroyed and replaced as they were valuable, exquisite, and wanted artifacts, but they could be converted and married to a symbol of the Christian empire. As such a statement, and also for practical reasons, the palace of Charles V started to be planned and built in the Alhambra in the Roman High Renaissance style. A sense of competition with the Muslim fabric was explicitly expressed by the Count of Tendilla in 1531 when he promised that: “En la obra de esta casa yo tengo fin a que es la primera cosa que vuestra majestad manda edificar en España y que así como lo morisco es la mejor cosa que hay de su manera, así lo sea esta por su arte”²⁷ (qtd. in Galera 102).

Despite the contrast of the palaces’ styles, the bulk, assertive outward decoration, and rationality of the new fabric versus the delicate proportions of the organically sprawling inward decorated Nasrid houses, Charles V’s palace cannot be separated from the Muslim palace. Some architectural critics have noted this against the usual trend of looking at the Renaissance building as a completely independent entity that fell from Rome on the Grenadine hill from the sky. As Cammy Brothers noted “the fact that the palace embodies Roman and Renaissance principles more explicitly than any building in Rome serves to reveal its relation to, rather than independence from its site next to the Alhambra (90). One might be able to consider the Nasrid buildings in isolation from Charles’ palace, but not vice-versa.

Since early on, both buildings were considered a unity. This is a marriage in which the virile qualities of Renaissance palace next to the feminized Islamic buildings communicated the sense of the harmonious solution of hymenaeus. Gaspar León, accountant for King Philip III in 1617 does not distinguish the new building from the old fabric of the royal houses: “Y aunque es toda una casa, esta repartida en aposentos y quartos, y los dos más principales son el quarto real que llaman de Comares y el Quarto Real de Leones, y más la cassa real nueva que va labrando, que acavada, queda incorporada y con puertas a los dichos quartos reales viejos”²⁸ (Qtd. in Galera 98). In

²⁷ “The fabric of this house is the first thing your Majesty builds in Spain, and as the Moorish houses are the best thing that exist in their style, this should be so too in its artifice” (my transl.).

²⁸ Even though it is all one house, it is divided in bedrooms and quarters, and the two main ones are the royal quarter that is called Comares, and the Royal Quarter of the Lions, and in addition, the new house

1576 Juan de Maeda mentions the new palace as “a house which serves as entrance and reception for the royal house that the Moors built so remarkably” (Qtd. in Galera 99). A wedding, in sum, of the culture of the Muslim subjects to the Christian empire which would be paid by the family of the bride, this is, with the eighty thousand ducats levied from the Grenadine Moriscos in exchange for the freezing of the implementation of the harsher acculturation laws against their traditional cultural practices (Galera 102).

The cooption of the Nasrid artifact into Christianity was exerted by means of quite a bold and unique building. The masculine counterpart to the Alhambra was the first High Renaissance building outside of Italy by a non-Italian architect who was not a mere follower of a style, but as Earl Rosenthal puts it: “a member of the avant-garde in respect to several Renaissance reforms” (242). A Renaissance building that, although entertained by Italian architecture theoreticians, was impossible in Italy, since there were not the means or the royal patronage needed to undertake such a work, for which it became “the only extant princely palace in this style before 1540” (245).

The virile qualities of the new fabric, its phallic display for the ritual of sexual domination, were inescapable for the eyes trained in contemporary architectural theories that followed Vitruvius. As Rosenthal explains, “the orders used by Machuca –Tuscan on the rusticated basements, and the Doric in the round courtyard– conveyed a virile and even heroic idea of strength and the gravest kind of dignity” (249). The Doric is again identified “with the most majestic and powerful of the gods, notably Jupiter and Mars, and the most virile of heroes, Hercules” (249). The contrast with the Alhambra is stark and intentional. As Cammy Brothers puts it: “The Alhambra is additive, multicolored, sprawling, with internal decoration and outward-looking views, while the palace is square, monotone, self-contained, externally ornamented but inward looking” (89).

The Alhambra together with the palace occupy a prominent location above the city of Granada; a city that which was relatively recently conquered and in which the practice of Islam, if illegal, was amply tolerated. In the context of both conqueror and conquered people’s daily lives; in their coexistence in the borderlands of the empire; the very visible monuments were constantly performing a marriage that, for many, resembled a rape for the collective memory of the communities in which they are integrated. The result is a representation that co-opts the culture of the colonized subject and places it vis a vis the colonizer in a paradigm that reproduces the economies of gendered power prevalent in the early modern period. This is: a symbolic forced union of the empire with the most prestigious aspects of the Conquered peoples both in the Iberian Peninsula and the Americas that uses the trope of rape and forced marriage as a representational vehicle. This constitutes a continuous reenactment of the act of conquest as the resulting cultural products become sites of memory at the center of the resulting societies as it was seen in the history and

that is being built, which one finished will be incorporated with doors to the aforementioned old royal quarters.

fortunes of the minaret of the Great Mosque of Seville, today the belfry of the cathedral.²⁹ Its whirling top representing the Christian faith victorious over the (Islamic) world below was carried to the site by eighteen Moriscos in 1568(González Ferrin 274), just as Caupolicán was made to carry in his body pierced by one hundred arrows the symbol of the union of the Christian empire and the indigenous Araucanians.

²⁹ The result was similar in the actions on the Great Mosque of Cordova. If not directly a project of Charles, it was championed by a man of the imperial circle, imbued of the theories of empire defended by Mercurino Gattinara and his circle: the bishop Alonso Manrique. The monument is one of the greatest examples of Islamic art, a massive and sprawling building that could house for prayer the several thousand believers from the city which had been the most populous of medieval Europe (optimistic appraisals estimated a population of one million inhabitants, less optimistic views talk of at least one hundred thousand households). In the sixteenth century, this building was pierced in its center by a massive cathedral in the Renaissance style that soars three times the height of the relatively low and horizontal expanse of the original fabric. The Cordovans were anxious about losing one of their identity markers, a marker that the zealous practitioners of empire found suspicious. If the hybridization was at the beginning of the Christian intervention on the building reduced to the used of the building for Christian purposes, or the addition of superficial ornaments that honored the memories of members of the new society in chapels and mausoleums, the new action was performed upon the structure of the object, rather than the surface, so new and old can no longer be separated in order to return to the original form.

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