

“EN ÉSTE NUESTRO REZENTAL APRISCO”:
PIRACY, EPIC, AND IDENTITY IN CANTOS I-II OF
DISCURSO DEL CAPITÁN FRANCISCO DRAQUE
BY JUAN DE CASTELLANOS

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The *Discurso del Capitán Francisco Draque* is a five canto heroic poem written by Juan de Castellanos (Alanís 1522 - Tunja 1606) soon after an English fleet sacked the port of Cartagena de Indias in 1586.¹ Francis Drake departed from Plymouth on September 14th the previous year as commander of a state-sponsored expedition that aimed to disrupt Spanish trade, and arrived at Cartagena after raiding the cities of São Tiago (Cape Verde) and Santo Domingo on the island of Hispaniola. Drake was able to stay in control of Cartagena for two months, during which he extracted a ransom of 110,000 ducats from the local authorities before sailing north across the Caribbean to capture St. Augustine, Florida. Although the financial rewards of the expedition were meager compared with the original expectations of the investors, Drake's raid on the West Indies bestowed a significant military embarrassment to Spain and soured the already strained relations between Spain and England.² Castellanos worked expeditiously in his poem in the months following Drake's attack and produced a text that espouses the restoration of martial values and the bravery of the conquistadors as antidotes to the mounting threat of English maritime aggressions and the emasculating effects of commerce and bureaucracy. Although Castellanos used the religious discourse of demonology to portray Drake and his troops, the end result is a far less triumphalistic depiction of the English "other" than the one Lope de Vega offered by employing a similar discourse in *La Dragontea* (1598).

Castellanos did not pick up the pen or embrace the epic genre to praise Habsburg navigational prowess, as has been suggested by Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra (39), but to challenge the policies of Habsburg

monarchs concerning the administration of the recently established Viceroyalties in the New World, and above all to praise the deeds and defend the rights of the first wave of colonists.³ Although initially individuals like Castellanos contributed to Spain's imperial project by exploring the New World and fighting in the campaigns to conquer it, they later felt affronted by the Crown's implementation of laws aimed at limiting their political and economic power.

Castellanos's writings uphold the ideology of domination and share in the celebration of the Spanish enterprise of conquest but they do so from the perspective of a warrior class that was outmaneuvered in the administrative and legal battle for the political and economic control of the colonies. Hence, this study highlights the complexities of a text that bears evidence of an internal ideological fissure that significantly shaped Spain's political and territorial expansion, and contributed to the emergence of a new type of literature. If epic poetry, as has been convincingly argued by Elizabeth Davis, "was invaluable to the ruling circles of the imperial monarchy, who used it to forge a sense of unity and to script cultural identities during the period of expansion and conquest" (10), then the heroic poems written by Castellanos on behalf of the conquistadors and *encomenderos* represent the boldest attempt to turn one of the most prestigious vehicles of Spanish imperial discourse into a tool for the expression of colonial political concerns; a project which included but was not limited to the deployment of aggressive practices of poetic imitation, the expression of a new sense of selfhood, and the demarcation of a new sense of patriotism.

The New World as a new place of enunciation

Castellanos included the *Discurso* in the third volume of the *Elegías de varones ilustres de Indias* but the official censor who examined it banned its publication and ordered its removal from the *Elegías* by instructing and signing on the margin: "Desdesta estancia se debe quitar – Sarmiento;" and "Hasta aquí es el discurso de Draque que se ha de quitar – Sarmiento." However, Castellanos also sent an additional copy to Melchor Pérez de Arteaga, Abad of Burgo Hondo in Spain, who in several ways was an ideal reader for this poem. Pérez de Arteaga had met Castellanos while working as a judge for the Real Audiencia in

Nueva Granada and had been commissioned to oversee the rebuilding of Cartagena and the reorganization of its defenses after an attack by French pirates in 1561. In the letter that accompanied the poem, moreover, Castellanos suggests that while in Nueva Granada Pérez de Arteaga had granted him “mercedes” (favours) and, out of concern for the fate of his poem, Castellanos decided to appeal to his former benefactor with the hope that Pérez de Arteaga would extend to the text the same consideration he had offered to Castellanos in the past:

Al tiempo que el corsario inglés Francisco Draque tomó la ciudad y puerto de Cartagena, tenía yo ocupadas las manos en la historia della; y por ser caso notable, como los demás allí acontecidos desde su primero fundador hasta la presente hora, fue forzoso ponerlo por remate: para lo cual, con la posible solicitud, procuré las más ciertas y verdaderas relaciones que de la costa enviaron a este Nuevo Reino, consultando así mismo muchas personas que presentes se hallaron; de las cuales unos dicen más y otros menos, según el sentimiento de cada uno, como en semejantes cosas acontece. Y así concluso, tomando lo menos sospechoso y más autorizado, trabajé tejer este discurso cuan de raíz me fue posible, con información de hombres graves que dicen conocer a ese pirata, no solamente después que comenzó a ser molesto en estas partes de Indias, pero mucho antes de pasar a ellas; e ya concluso, lo menos mal que mi pobre talento pudo, algunos me importunaron que desmembrase este nuevo suceso de su lugar, para que a solas pasase en España, adonde así él como quien lo crió es cosa notoria que no podrán hallar buena acogida, careciendo de valedor; y buscádoselo, ocurrióme a la memoria quien está bien arraigado en ella por las mercedes que me hizo, gobernando este Reino y aquellas provincias de la costa, adonde, aunque no faltaron de estos acontecimientos, sobró valor en el que gobernaba para quedar libres de semejante zozobra: este es Vuestra Merced, a quien suplico sea servido, si hubiere tiempo desocupado, de leer mis vigiliyas, y, si tales fueren que merezcan luz, no les falte la del esclarecido entendimiento de V. M., a quien Dios nuestro Señor guarde largos años. (*Discurso xv*)

Castellanos’s letter to Pérez de Arteaga is organized around several *topoi* which were used widely in prologues in the sixteenth century. Some of those *topoi* include affected modesty: “lo menos mal que mi pobre talento pudo;” a dedication to the reader: “este es Vuestra Merced, a quien suplico sea servido, si hubiere tiempo desocupado,

de leer mis vigiliass;” and the author’s request that the reader may bring the text to light: “y, si tales fueren que merezcan luz, no les falte la del esclarecido entendimiento de V. M.”⁴ In addition, the letter also contains several references that extend beyond the primary function of the prologue to capture the reader’s attention and request his benevolence for the subject of the writing. The introductory remarks of the letter (“y por ser caso notable... fue forzoso ponerlo por remate”) and the allusion to some anonymous individuals who pressured him to send the poem to Spain (“algunos me importunaron”) make apparent that Castellanos considered it necessary to justify why he had written such a poem in the first place, and why he had decided to send it to Spain, in the second. In both instances, Castellanos appeals to justifying strategies that dilute his responsibility and suggest that he accomplished both of those tasks not of his own volition, but because a set of circumstances forced him to do so.

In his letter Castellanos also concedes that there are other accounts of Drake’s attacks that differ significantly from the one he offers. This topic surfaces when Castellanos details the steps he took to write the poem and fashions his own image as that of a competent, truthful and scrupulous writer. These metatextual references are significant not only because they postulate the preeminence of Castellanos’s poem in relation to other texts (most of which were official legal documents), but also because internally they establish Castellanos’s exemplarity as a citizen of Nueva Granada and a writer, two aspects that would gain increasing relevance in the most dramatic section of the poem. It is also important to recognize that by referring to the previous attacks on Cartagena and the measures taken by then Judge Pérez de Arteaga, Castellanos places the threat of foreign piracy as an issue to be dealt within the realm of good and proper government; thus setting the tone for the sharp criticism he will deploy against the Crown’s administrative policies in the New World, particularly concerning the security of the ports and the appointment of colonial administrators. And last but not least, in his letter Castellanos also presents his own subjectivity as that of an outsider, a person who had been born in Spain but felt that there was no place for him there anymore: “en España, adonde así él [the text] como quien lo crió [Castellanos] es cosa notoria que no podrán hallar buena acogida.” In addition to being an explicit

reference to the polemical nature of his poem, Castellanos's characterization of himself and his text as outsiders, albeit indirectly, constitutes the first reference to the poem's place of enunciation (the New World and more specifically Nueva Granada) and the first step in delineating a cartography that shifts Europe to the periphery and the Spanish colonies to the center. It is no surprise, therefore, that the key metaphor included in the opening stanzas of the poem re-positions and re-assesses the location and significance of the New World in the imperial imagination:

Un caso duro, triste y espantable,
 un acometimiento furibundo,
 una calamidad que fue notable
 en ciertos puertos deste Nuevo Mundo,
 canto con ronca voz y lamentable,
 que el flaco pecho de lo más profundo
 embía por sus vías a la lengua.
 ¿Más, quién podrá sin Hespañola mengua?

Dame tú, Musa mía, tal aliento
 que con verdad sincera manifieste
 alguna parte de mi sentimiento
 en trago tan acerbo como éste,
 y aquella destrucción y assolamiento
 que hizo con su luterana hueste
 el Capitán inglés, dicho Francisco,
 en *éste nuestro rezental aprisco*. (1-2) [emphasis added]

In these two stanzas the narrative voice states the topic of the poem and requests strength from the muse to sing in a truthful manner. Interestingly enough, the narrative voice proposes to sing, not about the courage or heroism of Spaniards faced with a daunting challenge, but the degree of destruction caused by the enemy. The theme thus stated and the absence of a well-defined Spanish hero to rival the stature of the English adversary discloses the logic with which the poet has arranged his narrative. From the message conveyed by these two stanzas the reader knows from the start that, inasmuch as the poem refers to pirate attacks on Spanish ports, the poem will deal with defeat and not with victory. Despite the absence of a Spanish hero, however,

the narrative voice is able to convey an initial sympathetic depiction of Spanish colonists in the New World by staking out a clear place of enunciation. The poet highlights the uniqueness of the place from where he is singing by alluding to that place with the metaphor “*éste nuestro rezentel aprisco*,” which refers both to the New World as a whole, and the territory of Nueva Granada in particular. In this regard I share Luis Restrepo’s view that the writings of Castellanos have a distinct “geographic and narrative axis, the New Kingdom of Granada (present-day Colombia), where Castellanos writes and lives” (84). Indeed, in a key section of the third canto Castellanos again reminds readers, not only of his own presence in the text, but also of the place from which he is narrating: “*aqueste Nuevo Reino donde yo piso*” (128).

The term *rezental* comes from the Latin *recens* and is akin to ‘new’ or ‘recent’ and can be used to refer to a new born lamb, particularly one that is born after its due date (*Diccionario de Autoridades*). On the other hand, *aprisco* is related to the verb *apriscar* and refers to the place where shepherds gather their sheep to protect them from harsh weather (Covarrubias).⁵ In the writings of Castellanos, there is at least one example of the literal use of *aprisco* as a place of refuge for animals, but there are several instances in which he uses this noun metaphorically to refer to the Catholic Church, both as a whole or to a small portion of it.⁶ Castellanos had used the term *aprisco* in this sense in his description of an initial period of harmony between Dominican and Franciscan friars and the indigenous population of Cumaná, prior to an Indian rebellion that he blames on the greed and abuses of colonist Hojeda:

acudieron algunos religiosos
movidos de cristianas intenciones,
procurando traellos al *aprisco*
Dominicanos y de San Francisco. (*Elegías* 1: 563) [emphasis added]

In a similar fashion, Castellanos uses the noun *aprisco* metaphorically in the third volume of his *Elegías*: “Y comenzaron a fundar aprisco / el día del seráfico Francisco” (“Elegía a la muerte de Sebastián de Benalcázar” Canto I, 325). And later again in the same volume when he complains about the lack of effort made by local authorities in Nueva

Granada to continue the exploration and colonization of the territory on behalf of the Crown of Castile (“Elogio de Gaspar de Rodas” Canto IV 699). Another instance of the metaphorical use of *aprisco* can be found in the second volume “Elegía III,” canto IV (250). The metaphor “éste nuestro rezentar aprisco,” therefore, has positive religious connotations that effectively present the Spanish colonists in the New World as the victims of aggression. Inherent in its meaning is the Gospel analogy that presents the followers of Christ as sheep and Christ’s spiritual adversaries as wolves.⁷ As such, the success of this metaphor lies not only in trying to align the reader with the perspective of the narrator, but in reversing the rhetorical cornerstone of Bartolomé de Las Casas’s criticism of conquistadors and encomenderos. As is well known, in *A Brief Account of the Destruction of the Indies* (1552), Las Casas inverted the Gospel analogy to portray Christians (Spanish colonists) as hungry wolves and the gentiles (Amerindians) as “gentle lambs.” Yet, by referring to the New World as “éste nuestro rezentar aprisco” Castellanos redeploys the Gospel analogy in favor of the Spanish settlers.

Indeed, the constant and productive dialogue with Las Casas serves as one of the organizing principles of Castellanos’ writings. In a section of his *Elegías* written prior to the *Discurso*, Castellanos goes as far as overtly mocking Las Casas’s rhetoric by inserting the following quotation presumably uttered by a Dominican friar (Fray Pedro de Palencia) during an Indian attack on a Spanish settlement:

Ovejas del obispo de Chiapa,
ningún gusto me dan vuestros balidos,
pues que por fuerza nos quitáis la *capa*
sin darnos un *vellón* para vestidos;
y así de *lana* que tan mal se hila
renuncio para siempre la desquila. (*Elegías* 2: 644) [emphasis added]

By mixing the jargon of animal husbandry with the language of monetary transactions and clothes manufacturing, Castellanos acknowledges the economic anxieties that fueled the *encomenderos*’ dislike for Las Casas. In this stanza Castellanos infuses his poetic discourse with derision by employing signifiers like “*capa*,” “*vellón*,” and “*lana*,” whose meanings range from sheep herding and wool

processing to coinage and the accumulation of wealth. For instance, “capa,” can mean the bullfighters’ cape or an article of clothing but also means ‘caudal’ or ‘hacienda’ in expressions like “andar de capa caída” or “sobre la capa del justo.” Likewise, “vellón” refers both to the woolen fleece obtained by shearing the sheep and to a type of coin of small denomination minted in copper. Elvira Vilches has recently argued that during the 1590’s the “vellón” became emblematic of the anxieties generated by the difficulty to distinguish between genuine and unsound value, and the overall problematic of representation surrounding the proper medium of economic exchange in Habsburg Spain. According to Vilches, “cooper money exposed the slippage between the commodity value of the metal and the legal value of coins” (212).⁸ Finally, “lana” means wool or profit in expressions like “ir por lana y volver tresquilado” (Covarrubias). By playing with the multiple meanings of these signifiers Castellanos transforms Las Casas’ overtly passive “gentle lambs” into an active threat to the subsistence of the Spanish colonists. In lines like “pues que por fuerza nos quitais la capa” the explicit allusion to the use of force and a triple entendre allows for Las Casas’s “gentle lambs” to behave more like thieves or bulls, thus increasing the menace of their economic and physical threats. Moreover, since “vellón” could also be linked to Jason and the Argonauts search for the Golden Fleece, lines such as “renuncio para siempre a la desquila,” casts the conquest and colonization of the New World as an enterprise whose hardships are not sufficiently compensated. Furthermore, by revealing his displeasure for the sounds produced by the sheep: “ningún gusto me dan vuestros balidos,” the poetic voice figuratively transforms Las Casas’ complaints into irrelevant and dissonant noise, hence discarding them all together.

The panoptic view: A baquianos’s take on piracy

After announcing the topic of the poem and establishing a clear place of enunciation, in the first canto, Castellanos tightly condenses the description of several historical events that took place over a period of approximately fifteen years. The poet begins by offering a short biographical sketch of Drake as a relative of John Hawkins (Juan de Acle) and a former page to the Duchess of Feria. Then he quickly moves

on to describe some of Drake's earliest incursions into the Spanish Main, the confrontations between English and Spanish forces that took place during Drake's expedition to circumnavigate the globe (1577-80), and the initial phase of Drake's raid on the West Indies (1585-87). While narrating these events, Castellanos alludes to Drake's willingness to make alliances with French pirates, Amerindians, and runaway slaves, and points out the geopolitical implications of Drake's actions by describing the warm welcome his accomplishments had at the court of England, and the support Drake received from Queen Elizabeth I. The recurring theme of the first canto, therefore, is the ease with which Drake and his men have been able to attack Spanish ports and vessels and successfully collect sensitive intelligence information and large amounts of wealth to take back to England. Having said this, it is important to underscore that for Castellanos, Drake's success is not due to an inherent superiority of the English over the Spaniards, but to widespread administrative flaws that have boosted the confidence of individuals like Drake and have allowed heavily armed vessels to take advantage of the element of surprise and launch attacks when and where the Spaniards least expected it. Among those preventable flaws Castellanos includes the absence of a more reliable system of communication, the lack of forethought by local authorities, and the military incompetence of newly arrived merchants and bureaucrats.

Castellanos' assessment of Drake's success is revealing for two reasons. In the first place, it essentializes a distinction between two segments of the Spanish population living in the Indies and links the threat of piracy exclusively with one those segments. As such, Castellanos's assessment reveals that the group who claims ownership over the New World and who asserts itself through the metaphor "*éste nuestro rezentar aprisco,*" does not include all Spanish colonists indiscriminately. Without a doubt, the distinction between the two segments of the Spanish population is made explicit in the aftermath of Drake's attack on the port of Callao (1579) when a distressed resident from Lima complains that in the city there are: "*pocos que sepan militar officio / por caescer del uso y exercicio,*" and then goes on to produce the following harangue:

Todos los usos son de mercaderes,
letrados, scrivanos, negociantes,
convites y lascivias de mugeres,
exercicios de lánguidos amantes;
y para los presentes menesteres,
diferentes de los que fueron antes,
de manera que las personas todas,
o los más, son de fiestas y de bodas.

Falta prevención, falta consejo,
falta a todas partes las tutelas,
y la comodidad y el aparejo
suelen al enemigo ser espuelas;
si destas cosas trata el sabio viejo,
piensan los ignorantes ser novelas,
y el daño hecho, su respuesta para
en dezir a los otros "quién pensara".

Mas el gobernador sabio y entero
a todas partes según Argos vea,
que bien hará si caso venidero
con ojos de prudencia lo tantea,
adivinando cierto paradero
de lo que puede ser antes que sea,
pues anticipación en coyumptura
no da mucho lugar a desventura.

Sea, pues, por ingleses o por Francia,
o por otras naciones extranjeras,
otro cuydado y otra vigilancia
requieren estos puertos y fronteras;
y aquellos que del Rey tienen ganancia
tomen estos negocios más de veras:
no sea todo rehenchir el xeme
y lo demás siquiera que se queme.

Por avenidas grandes o tormenta
se mudan las carreras de los ríos,
y por hazer de cosas poca cuenta
se vienen a perder los señoríos.
lo que por indios se nos representa
conozco ser notables desvaríos;

más endemoniados hechizeros
parece que nos dan malos agüeros. (33-34)

In his 1921 edition of the *Discurso*, González Palencia notes that such negative appraisal of the residents in Lima is in stark contrast with the views expressed by Rodrigo de Castro, Cardinal of Seville, who wrote a letter to the President of the Council of the Indies regarding the threat of pirate attacks on South America and stated that the Spanish colonists in Lima were among the most disciplined and experienced soldiers in the entire world (xxxv). Gerassi-Navarro, on the other hand, argues that the lust of “merchants, *letrados*, and notary publics” is a “recurring theme throughout the poem and reflects Castellanos’ moral critique” (41). In my opinion, however, the reference to lust in lines like “convites y lascivias de mujeres, / ejercicios de lánguidos amantes” is not necessarily a moral condemnation of lust per se, but simply part of Castellanos’ strategy to draw sharp differences between the old and the new settlers in order to argue that the latter are incapable of deterring the English.⁹ After all, in the other instances when Castellanos mentions lust in the poem he does not examine it in abstract terms or as a matter of principle, but specifically indicates that lust is one among many traits that demonstrate the inability of those who have recently arrived to run and defend the colonies. Furthermore, Giovanni Meo Zilio points out that in several instances in the *Elegías* the author:

se detiene complaciente y hasta complacido en la descripción naturalística de las gracias de las indias y de los juegos, mucho menos que castos, que los españoles entablan con ellas. Más aún, en tales casos, el tono poético de la narración suele elevarse, lo cual sugiere tratarse de un tema que de por sí, lejos de ser objeto de rechazo, de censura por parte del afable cura tunjano, es vivido inmediatamente como bien acepto, como materia legítima y gratamente susceptible de poetizarse. (154)

Given that Castellanos places the distressed colonist in front of the house of Viceroy Francisco de Toledo, and that this section of the poem appears immediately before the description of how the Viceroy responded to Drake’s attack, it is clear that Castellanos’s main concern

is not necessarily lust (sexual desire), but the examination of why kingdoms such as the viceroyalty of Perú could be lost to the enemies of Spain (colonial desire). This, and the practical issue of who are the individuals that deserve to be appointed to administer the colonies, after all, are the issues addressed in lines like “y aquellos que del Rey tienen ganancia / tomen estos negocios más de veras” and “y por hacer de cosas poca cuenta / se vienen a perder los señoríos.”

Once we establish that Castellanos is more concerned with politics than with morals, it is easier to recognize the steps that he takes to outline a political doctrine in favor of the conquistadors by offering a skewed and oversimplified assessment of the current administrative situation of the colonies. The complaint expressed by the anonymous colonist, for example, starts by aligning the first explorers with hard work, caution, abnegation, wisdom, and military experience, while simultaneously aligning newly arrived colonists with lust, lack of military experience, laziness, sleep, and meaningless celebrations. After establishing this contrast, the poetic voice goes on to suggest that administrative virtues like caution, prudence, and foresight are lacking in the current administration (“falta prevención, falta consejo, / falta a todas partes las tutelas”); and his plea finally reaches its peak by describing the ideal colonial administrator as Argus Panopte, a mythical creature that can stay alert at all times thanks to having one hundred eyes. Even though in Book I of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, Juno assigns Argus Panopte the role of guardian of Jupiter’s lust, I would argue that by explicitly stating that “otro cuidado y otra vigilancia / requieren estos puertos y fronteras,” Castellanos is clearly stripping the reference of its most immediate sexual connotations. Hence, he displaces the allusion to Argus from the context of sexual desire to colonial desire in order to suggest that the ideal colonial administrator should guard constantly, not the lust of colonists, but internal and external military threats. Paradoxically, while recasting the New World in the role of Io and Hispania as the jealous Juno, there are no characters in the poem that display the administrative zeal and the panoptic vision required to assume the role of Argus, with the exception of Castellanos (both as narrator and a protagonist of the events). When read from this perspective, the allusion to Ovid serves to establish Castellanos himself,

and the group that he represents, as the outlets that truly express Spanish colonial desire.¹⁰

A second conclusion we can draw from Castellanos' assessment of piracy is that Drake's aggressions, and particularly the ones committed during the circumnavigation of the world (1577-80), are not solely the result of an individual's ambition and greed, but intentional provocations that justified Spain's retaliation against England. In this sense, the portrait of Drake that emerges by the end of the first canto comes closer to that of a privateer authorized by a sovereign nation to attack enemy property during a time of war than that of a sea-robber trying to make a profit and recognizing no allegiance to any monarch. Castellanos's perspective surfaces clearly in his description of Drake's assault on the ship *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción* off the coast of Peru in 1579. At the time of this attack Drake's flagship was one of the most heavily armed vessels in the Pacific Ocean, while *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción* was a merchant ship on her way to Panama, laden with silver and gold. In Castellanos's poem Drake is favorably depicted as an alert and experienced captain: "como buen capitán, bivo y esperto" (39) sailing quickly to reach the best suited place to engage the Spanish vessel in battle. The narrator compares the swift movements of Drake's ship to those of a dolphin, and points out not only that the Spanish sailors were slow to react after realizing that a foreign vessel was approaching, but also that the Spanish ship had no weapons or soldiers to defend itself. This last piece of information is useful to grasp Castellanos's point of view because, unlike Lope de Vega in *La Dragontea*, Castellanos does not include it to condemn Drake for attacking an unarmed ship, but to reiterate the point that at least some of the blame should rest on the Spanish side for not taking any precautions.¹¹

The main difference between Castellanos's poetic version and witness accounts is his explicit references to a prevalent state of war, which transform the predatory nature of Drake's attack into a pseudo-naval battle that is over before it began owing to the inadequacy of the Spaniards to defend their cargo. As a result, at all times the actions of the English sailors are validated since they appear motivated by patriotism and honor. Notice that in Castellanos's version Drake's ship approaches the Spanish vessel defiantly displaying the flag and the

military emblems of England: “flámulas, gallardetes y vanderas / que por diversas partes van pendientes” (40). Even the lowest members of Drake’s crew, whose energy and daring is exalted by Castellanos by referring to them as “jóvenes loçanos” (40), seem to be aware of the nationalistic scope of their actions as they demand Spaniards to strike sail in the name of England: “Amayna, amayna, por Ingalaterra” (40). This particular verse comes straight from eyewitness accounts, yet what is unique to Castellanos’s version is the suppression of the response from the Spanish sailors and the magnification of their passiveness and willingness to surrender:

Los nuestros no se pasan a contienda
antes están turbados y sin bríos”
como faltase, pues, quien lo defienda,
ocupan los contrarios el nabío;
pide Francisco Draque su hazienda
diziendo: “Dame luego lo que es mío”;
porque llevar pillage quien más puede
el derecho de guerra lo concede. (41)

In the second half of this stanza, Drake’s and the narrator’s voice are in unison in explaining that as the winner of the battle Drake is entitled to seize the ship’s cargo based on the right of the victor to take possession of the spoils of war, thus clarifying how the word “pillage” is being used in this section of the poem. In addition, in Castellanos’s description of the aftermath of the assault, Drake situates his attack in the larger context of confrontations between Spain and rival European nations. He states that he has taken possession of *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción’s* cargo as retaliation for what Philip II (through his representatives) had taken from John Hawkins at the port of San Juan de Ulúa back in 1568, a time when Spain and England were supposedly not at war. Moreover, Drake challenges the legitimacy of Spain’s sovereignty over the New World based on the bulls of donation issued by Pope Alexander VI in 1493:

Quépanos parte, pues, de la ganancia.
y no perdamos estas ocasiones,
que también son acá hijos de Eva
para gozar lo que esta tierra lleva.

“Pues que tenéis tan buen entendimiento
 hace[d] me desta duda satisfecho:
 ¿Adán mandó por algún testamento
 a solos Hespañoles el provecho?
 la cláusula mostrad y ordenamiento;
 haré rrenunciación de mi derecho,
 porque de lo contrario desto fuere
 avrá de llevar más quien más pudiere” (42)

My point is that nowhere in this section, or in any other section of the poem, does Castellanos actually refute Drake’s line of reasoning. Castellanos certainly refers to Drake as a pirate, a corsair, a thief, and a tyrant, but he also shows tremendous admiration for the boldness of Drake’s actions and repeatedly comes close to endorsing some of those actions by suggesting that Drake acted as any astute and diligent commander should when carrying out a mission, whereas Spanish colonists and sailors acted as if they had forgotten they were at war. Likewise, Castellanos includes sporadic references to Drake’s boastfulness and hints that Drake is a cocksure and arrogant individual, but the sections in which Castellanos magnifies Drake’s stature and foreshadows the attacks Drake will conduct in the future far outweigh the negative assessments.

The English “other” as a heroic demon

The second canto deals with the first half of Drake’s expedition to the West Indies (1585-86), starting with brief references to the English incursions in Bayona (Galicia), the Canary Islands, and the Cape Verde Islands, and culminating with a detailed description of the devastating effects of Drake’s attack on Hispaniola. In accord with the criticism of merchants and colonial administrators postulated in the first canto, Castellanos stresses the vulnerability of the port of Santo Domingo owing to the lack of ammunition, fortifications, and properly trained soldiers. He specifically criticizes the performance of Cristóbal de Ovalle, president of the Real Audiencia, who allegedly received news of the imminent attack but ignored the warning and imprisoned a Portuguese man who had sailed from São Tiago to Hispaniola to alert

the residents. Unlike the first canto, however, in the second canto Castellanos places far greater emphasis on the religious aspects of the antagonism between Catholic Spain and Protestant England and gives free rein to demonizing Drake and his troops. The narrator uses numerous epithets to convey the godless and evil nature of the enemies and vehemently condemns Martin Luther for presumably leading an entire nation (England) to the depths of hell (93).¹² Castellanos's use of the discourse of demonology adds a new layer to the already complex characterization of Drake, especially since in the previous canto Castellanos had dismissed as unfounded the rumor that Drake's success was due to the fact that he was hosting some sort of demon. In this canto, however, the ubiquitous conflict underlying Castellanos's narrative acquires the tone of a religious war against a demonic enemy, and the main differences between the English and Spaniards are predicated on their adherence or disdain for the Catholic faith.

A second rhetorical move that allows Castellanos to increase the urgency of Drake's threat and advance his criticism of newer colonists and bureaucrats is the use of biblical references. In the second canto the weight of Castellanos's poetic discourse is carried by a biblical allusion, which likens the circumstances surrounding the attack on Santo Domingo to God's foretold destruction of the city of Nineveh in the book of Jonah from the Old Testament. Thus the violence inflicted by the English upon the Spaniards appears as a punishment allowed by God for the iniquities committed by the colonists, and an opportunity for devout Christians to gain salvation.¹³ Concomitantly, the narrator introduces the warning delivered by the Portuguese messenger to local authorities in the form of a prophetic announcement that condemns their faults as 'vices' worthy of divine punishment. Notice in the following stanza the striking similarities between the messenger's speech and the complaints included in the harangue voiced by the local veteran after Drake's attack on the port of Callao seven years earlier:

'!O corazones ya poco robustos!
 ¡O presunción de más que flaco buelo!
 ¿Pensais que sois tan sanctos y tan justos
 que no merezcáis más duro flagelo?

todos tienen que ser lascivos gustos
 sin temer punición del alto cielo;
 saraos an de ser todos y fiestas,
 requiebros y pisadas deshonestas. (62)

In his *Noticias Historiales* (1625) Fray Pedro Simón (1574-1628) also included a description of Drake's 1586 attack on Santo Domingo and used a reference to the second book of Maccabees to argue that the assault had been God's punishment against his chosen people for straying from the righteous path.¹⁴ However, Fray Pedro Simón's version shifts the emphasis of Castellanos's narrative by spreading the blame to all Spaniards who had been residents of Hispaniola, and singles out the utter decimation of the local indigenous population as their greatest sin, as opposed to lust, laziness, lack of prudence, and military incompetence. According to Fray Pedro Simón, all that was lost or destroyed during the attack had been violently taken from the Indians by the ancestors of the current residents, and as such Drake's assault had been God's judgment on their descendants (270).

In the second canto Drake steps up to the role of general and commander of a large military operation and personally supervises the execution of an attack that is carried out with efficiency and precision. The night before the assault Drake gathers his troops and delivers a speech outlining the strategy for a simultaneous naval and ground attack, and subsequently orders 800 of his men to disembark two leagues north of Santo Domingo and start advancing slowly towards the city. Drake's speech deserves attention not only because it establishes a sense of camaraderie, order, and readiness that is lacking on the Spanish counterpart but also because Drake emerges as a confident and perceptive commander who can balance the concern for his troops with the resolve to deal with practical issues such as desertion. Given the stark discrepancy between the narrator's adamant denunciation of the English as demonic heretics and the more favorable traits that emerge from the words attributed to Drake, it is equally pertinent to highlight that there are several key issues mentioned in Drake's speech that erase any sense of foreignness from his words and reconcile Drake's point of view with that of the narrator. For example, at a time when Santo Domingo's economic and administrative

preeminence among Spanish colonies had eroded, both Drake and Castellanos exaggerate the financial rewards of the attack and share the view that Santo Domingo still constituted the principal seat of Spanish government in the New World: “la tierra destas partes fundamento” according to Drake (70), and “la matriz del indio suelo” according to Castellanos (97). In addition, Drake, like Castellanos, shows disdain for individuals profiting from commerce and assures his followers of an easy victory, taking for granted that the residents of Santo Domingo were mostly merchants with little or no military experience. In short, the speech delivered by Drake adds to the exaltation of martial values and military life and contributes to the discrediting of the current residents of Santo Domingo. To borrow from a similar phrase coined by Elizabeth Wright, it would be as if the English explorer and privateer were speaking with a Spanish accent.¹⁵

The overlapping between Drake’s and Castellanos’s perspectives also occurs in the opposite direction when the narrator, like a ventriloquist repeating the words previously uttered by his own dummy, expresses slightly modified versions of the same arguments uttered by Drake earlier. An example of this occurs when Castellanos points out to readers that the residents of Santo Domingo were not prepared to defend what was in essence a frontier territory: “faltavan las industrias y maneras / que se suelen tener en las fronteras,” and subsequently issues an argument like the one pronounced by Drake after his attack on the ship *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción*. However, instead of asking for a deed signed by Adam that would guarantee Spain’s right to the New World, Castellanos alludes to a deed signed by God that would guarantee that the Spanish possessions across the Atlantic would never be attacked by any of Spain’s rivals:

De guerra la ciudad muy olvidada,
 quantos en ella son, mal advertidos,
 como si para ser asegurada
 de casos en el mundo subçedidos,
 tuvieran una cédula firmada
 de Dios para no ser jamás rompidos;
 como quiera que en tierras como estas
 siempre deven estar deffensas prestas. (65)

This stanza not only reveals a deep-seated siege mentality on the part of Castellanos, but also serves the rhetorical function of postulating the need of a warrior class that would be willing to defend any threat to Spanish sovereignty. Indeed, the narrator's complaint takes for granted that Spain's primacy over the New World would be contested, and that as such sovereignty over the colonies had to be anchored on military strength and decisive military victories.

Be that as it may, when the English ground forces reach the outskirts of Santo Domingo, their unexpected presence immediately causes pandemonium. The widespread reaction among local residents ranges from pusillanimity to consternation, and women rush to abandon the city leaving their belongings behind. There is no sustained opposition to the attack and even though a small group of men, whose names are individually recorded by Castellanos, makes an effort to face the incoming forces, the inadequacy of their weapons is no match for the strength of the English firepower. Drake's troops sweep through the city like a violent storm, leveling buildings, burning ships, pillaging everything in their path, and placing the English flag at the top of the cathedral. The narrator augments the dramatic efficacy of his descriptions by limiting the number of markers that indicate the progression of time, thus creating the impression that several of the events narrated take place at the same time. In addition, Castellanos describes with vivid details how, while ransacking and destroying a monastery, the English troops capture, ridicule and hang two elderly Dominican friars and later proceed to desecrate religious statues and paintings. Although the specific names of the friars are not mentioned, the narrator illustrates how the friars patiently endure the abuses committed against them and march willingly to their deaths, gaining strength and inspiration from Christian martyrs and saints who had died under similar circumstances.

A scene describing the execution of the two Dominican friars also appears in two English sources dealing with Drake's attack on Santo Domingo, albeit not staging it as an episode of Christian martyrdom, nor depicting the behavior of the English as acts of random and unnecessary violence, but as retaliation against Spaniards for murdering a black boy who was serving as messenger for Drake.¹⁶ Irene Wright has argued that the story describing the execution of the two friars is

apocryphal, given that the documents sent to Spain by local authorities after the attack make no mention of any such incident (xxxvii). However, within Castellanos' poetic discourse the scene serves a pivotal purpose because it is out of empathy for the suffering of the friars and outrage for the desecration of religious images that the narrator feels compelled to insert himself in the middle of the action and to launch his sternest condemnation of the English:

!O *fiera* crueldad, *furor* insano,
nefando crimen, *infern*al motivo!
 la pluma se me cae de la mano
 con un frío temblor cuando lo escribo.
 Aquel Juez, inmenso, soberano,
 llueva sobre vosotros fuego bivo,
 y a todos os abraze y os consuma
 sin que quede de vos hueso ni pluma. (91) [emphasis added]

In this stanza the narrator is able to simultaneously call attention to the abhorrent nature of the acts he is describing and to his own emotional distress through the alliteration of the phoneme /f/ in words like: “fiera,” “furor,” “nefando,” and “infern,” which are distributed across the first two lines. The simultaneity evoked through alliteration and the exclusion of any verbs from the same two verses foster the impression of direct approximation to the action and heighten the sense that events are actually taking place as they unfold across the page. By the same token, the narrator synchronizes further the time and place of the attack with the time and place of narration by introducing a meta-textual reference whose two verbs are both conjugated in the present indicative: “la pluma se me cae de la mano / con un frío temblor cuando lo escribo”. Even though Castellanos did not witness the events and he wrote his poem months after Drake’s attack on Santo Domingo, these strategies allow him to establish a concrete presence within his own narrative and to delineate a subject position whose piety and fervor matches the sacrifice made by the two Dominican friars. In effect, the correspondence between the scene describing the friars’ execution and the scene describing the narrator’s reaction is also manifested in the fact that each scene discloses the reverse side of the same economy of salvation. After all, the friars’ expectations for heavenly reward: “Al

coro celestial ambos anhelan / dó rreyna la bondad que ellos estiman” (90) go hand in hand with the narrators’ expectations for heavenly vengeance, and the same deity that privileges and rewards the conduct of the friars is summoned by the narrator to annihilate the enemies of the Spaniards. However, the main difference between the two responses described in this section of the poem is that while the pious passivity of the friars sublimates the violence inflicted by the English into a form of religious mysticism, the narrator’s angered diatribe appears as the proper outlet for the expression of the frustration of Spaniards in dealing with Drake and as a call that summons them to take action.

After 31 days of occupation and the payment of a ransom, the narrator closes the second canto describing the untimely arrival of a judge sent from Spain to conduct an inquiry about the attack and assign responsibility to the persons responsible for the losses. In addition, the narrator predicts that the attack on Cartagena will replicate the one in Santo Domingo:

y quiero ya contaros otro tanto
de los de la ciudad de Cartagena,
donde veréis en el futuro canto
pusilanimidad no menos llena;
y haremos principio de jornada
desde este Nuevo Reyno de Granada. (102) [emphasis added]

I have cited these lines not only because they disclose Castellanos’s interpretation of what had taken place in Cartagena as early as the end of the second canto: “donde veréis en el futuro canto / pusilanimidad no menos llena,” but also because from a structural point of view it provides a rather artificial connection between the events narrated in the first two cantos and the events Castellanos will narrate in the third. Within the same stanza Castellanos practically contradicts himself by, first, stating his anxiety to start describing the attack on Cartagena, and then, second, switching altogether the direction of his poetic discourse to clarify that he will do so by first talking about Nueva Granada. As it turns out, the events Castellanos will narrate in the third canto have little or no bearing at all on the actual fall of Cartagena and readers interested in that event could go on to the fourth canto.

Ironically, it is in the third canto where Castellanos will construct the poem's locus of enunciation (Nueva Granada) as a stronghold of Spanish military prowess and a repository of the values that he claims are absent from the rest of the colonies. It is also in the third canto where Castellanos articulates more forcefully a foundational myth that lionizes the conquistadors in general and the *encomendero* class from Nueva Granada in particular.

Conclusion

It should be clear that Castellanos's *Discurso* is a highly slanted and ideologically driven text that portrays the recent maritime history of Spain in the New World as a progression of unpunished affronts by the English and a series of administrative misjudgments on the part of the Spanish Crown and its representatives. To gauge the significance of employing the epic genre to produce this assessment, we need only to remember that while Castellanos emphasized the vulnerabilities of Spanish ports in the New World, courtiers like Alonso de Ercilla were praising Habsburg naval dominance and the consolidation of Spanish imperial aspirations by narrating the Battle of Lepanto (*La Araucana* 23,83-95) as a reenactment of the epic battle of Actium described by Virgil in book VIII of the *Aeneid* (Nicolopoulos, *The Poetics of Empire* 214).¹⁷

In his dramatization of the rivalries among the Spanish population residing in the colonies, Castellanos clearly favors the side of the conquistadors and *encomenderos*. He assumes that readers would conclude that if more members of that group were appointed as governors and administrators, problems such as piracy would not arise or would be dealt with appropriately. At face value this argument suggests that Castellanos viewed piracy not only as a result of Spain's monopoly over intercontinental trade or of England's effort to get a share of the wealth coming from the Indies, but primarily as a side effect of the Spanish Crown's policy of appointing favorites, nobles, or university-trained bureaucrats to the most coveted posts in the administration of the New World. Accordingly, at the root of Castellanos's assessment of English piracy, vis-à-vis colonial politics, is the conviction that by not rewarding the deeds and merits of the

first wave of colonists, Philip II was forfeiting his prudence, which was the emblematic attribute of monarchs in the sixteenth century. And prudence, combined with an unwavering 'spirit of conquest,' is the main quality that Castellanos and the rest of the colonists from Nueva Granada display in the third canto in their desire to defend the territory they had usurped from the Muisca.¹⁸

This is not to suggest that Castellanos did not attribute any negative traits to Drake as a literary character, which he did, particularly greed, but to highlight the fact that at a time when Drake was still a very controversial figure in England, he selectively excluded the least favorable incidents in Drake's career. Castellanos chiseled his description of the English enemy in order to exaggerate Drake's talent as a military commander and undermine the abilities of the Spanish administrators who were running the colonies despite their lack of previous military experience. Given that the first two cantos summarize Drake's ventures prior to the attack on Cartagena, it is surprising that Castellanos makes only a passing, but favorable, reference to Drake's participation in John Hawkins's attack on San Juan de Ulúa in 1568. During this attack Drake allegedly abandoned his superior and peers, and returned separately to England. According to Harry Kelsey, the charge of desertion "haunted Drake for the rest of his life, for John Hawkins was forced to abandon a hundred of [his] men on the Mexican coast, and most of them never saw England again" (39). Neither is there any mention of the command problems that arose during the expedition to circumnavigate the world or of Drake's display of sheer ruthlessness by trying and executing one-time friend Thomas Doughty for supposedly attempting to incite mutiny among the crew. Nor is there any reference to the multiple problems regarding logistics, discipline, and command that arose during Drake's raid on the Caribbean (1585-87), some of which can be traced back to Drake's "lack of talent for planning and conducting an extended military or naval campaign" (Kelsey 394).

Instead, what we find in Castellanos's poem is a very ambiguous and often openly sympathetic characterization of Drake that, in accord with the ethos of the Counter-Reformation, depicts Drake as a heretical and greedy Lutheran demon. Yet Castellanos also presents Drake as a loyal servant to the queen of England, a successful commoner who

was able to ascend the social ladder, a well-spoken and courteous captain who could show mercy on his adversaries, and above all an exemplary military commander who could flawlessly conduct both naval and ground attacks. In my view, Castellanos tailored Drake's depiction to indicate, first, that despite the arbitration of Rome and the promulgation of Papal Bulls legitimizing Spanish possession over American territories, the control over the resources and sovereignty over that land was ultimately to be decided by military victory. Second, that in order to secure that victory, the Spanish Crown needed to summon support from the same group of individuals that it was systematically alienating by excluding them from the administration of the colonies.

Finally, the metaphor "éste nuestro rezentel aprisco" discloses a fondness for the New World that is seldom found in the writings of sixteenth-century Spanish authors. The use of this metaphor suggests that, contrary to the trends and attitudes of contemporary Spanish writers and intellectuals who never set foot in America, by 1586 there were Spanish writers who had found a new *patria* in the New World and were beginning to reshape their loyalties and subjectivities.¹⁹ In this regard it is instructive that in a crucial section of the poem Castellanos boosts his authority to give advice to the president of the Real Audiencia by explicitly declaring that he was in fact a "natural" of Nueva Granada:

Si para resguardarlo no ay olvido,
aqueste reyno, *por natural juro*,
a ninguno podrá ser ofendido. (116) [emphasis added]

By inscribing such a clear sense of local pride across his text Castellanos was establishing himself as the forerunner of a tradition whose continuity would immediately be assured by the first generation of local *criollo* writers that emerged in Nueva Granada in the seventeenth century. To be sure, it would not have been hard for the first descendants of the conquistadors to establish a link between the political impulse that sustained verses like "éste nuestro rezentel aprisco" and their own re-appropriation of the American territory made explicit in lines such as: "Esta, de nuestra América pupila" (331), as it would be expressed

half a century later in the writings of the most distinguished Baroque writer from Nueva Granada, Hernando Domínguez Camargo (1606-1656).²⁰ As such, the most productive way to read Castellanos' *Discurso* is as one of the earliest testimonies of the emergence of a new type of personal and collective consciousness that would in turn serve as the paradigm for the development of a new type of literature.

In 1998 Georgina Sabat de Rivers included Domínguez Camargo's line "Esta, nuestra América pupila" as an epigraph to a dossier devoted by *Calíope* to Spanish American Colonial poetry. While explaining the epigraph, Sabat de Rivers invited readers to place Domínguez Camargo next to José Martí given that "en el verso del santafereño hay también intención política: América, representada por la ciudad costera de Cartagena de Indias (tema del poema de donde se toma el verso), aventaja y reemplaza a Europa" (8). I conclude by pointing out that in the opening paragraph of "Nuestra América," Martí himself reminded readers of the contributions made by Castellanos:

Lo que quede de aldea en América ha de despertar. Estos tiempos no son para acostarse con el pañuelo en la cabeza, sino con las armas de almohada, como los varones de Juan de Castellanos: las armas del juicio, que vencen las otras. Trincheras de ideas valen más que trincheras de piedra. (15)

Martí here is doing a critical reading of the *Elegías*. He first introduces a reference to Castellanos and subsequently corrects him. Yet, by doing so, Martí also reminded the readers of "Nuestra América" of the link between Juan de Castellanos, the epic, and a nascent Spanish American literature.²¹

NOTES

¹Juan de Castellanos is the author of the *Elegies for Illustrious Great Men of the Indies* (*Elegías de varones ilustres de Indias*), a series of heroic poems about the conquest and colonization of the New World divided into four installments. Only the first volume of the *Elegías* appeared in print in 1589. The *Discurso* contains seven hundred and fifteen stanzas written in *octavas reales*, with the exception of a short section written in *tercetos* which appears in the third canto. All references to the *Discurso* are to the 1921 edition by Angel González Palencia. All references to the *Elegías* are to the 1955 edition of Castellanos' writings printed by the Biblioteca de la Presidencia de Colombia with a prologue by Miguel Antonio Caro.

²The expedition lost approximately 25% of the money pledged by the investors. See Harry Kelsey, *Sir Francis Drake: The Queen's Pirate* 281-83. See also Geoffrey Parker, "David or Goliath? Philip II and his world in the 1580s," 264. For analyses of the modes of exchange and circulation between Spain and England during this period, see the essays edited by Anne J. Cruz in *Material and Symbolic Circulation between Spain and England, 1554 – 1604*.

³Cañizares-Esguerra does not examine the *Discurso* but offers a bold typological and allegorical interpretation of the frontispiece of the first volume of Castellanos' *Elegías* (1589). Although I agree with his brilliant interpretation of the frontispiece, I have found no evidence that the actual poems written by Castellanos wholeheartedly embrace Habsburg imperial agenda or Habsburg navigational prowess.

⁴See Ernst R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, 82-89, and A. Porqueras Mayo, *El prólogo como género literario: su estudio en el Siglo de Oro español* 140-44.

⁵Aprisco: "el cercado o la estancia donde recogen los pastores su ganado" and "todo el lugar donde se abriga el ganado y se separa del viento y frío y las inclemencias del tiempo".

⁶"Y ansi por las cabañas y el aprisco / do pastan los ganados de esta gente" (Part II, "Relación" 273)

⁷"Behold, I send you forth as sheep among wolves" (Matthew 10:16, Luke 10:3).

⁸I am indebted to the anonymous reader [Elizabeth Wright] for suggesting this reference.

⁹The impact of the rivalry between new and old colonists in Spanish epic poetry has also been studied by José Durand; see "El chapetón Ercilla y la honra araucana."

¹⁰References to Argus Panopte are frequent in Renaissance and Baroque texts, but for the most part are made to evoke "the figure of Argus in hyperbolic comparisons with a jealous man's possessiveness." An example of that trend

would be the comparison of the protagonist of Cervantes's "El celoso extremeño" (Carrizales) with Argus Panopte, which has clear sexual references. See Steven Wagschall's *The Literature of Jealousy in the Age of Cervantes* (60).

¹¹Lope's poem is about the last and least successful campaign of an 'old' and 'diminished' Drake, about the destruction of his fleet, and his subsequent death after capturing the trading town of Nombre de Dios, near Panama. By and large, Lope avoids in his depiction of Drake the commercial aspects of the rivalry between Spain and England and instead magnifies the providential mission of Spain as a defender of the Faith. As such, *La Dragontea* is a poem that embraces imperial ideology and whose ultimate goal is to praise the might of the Spanish forces and their definite triumph over its adversaries, particularly the English. For a nuanced interpretation of *La Dragontea*, see E. Wright's *Pilgrimage to Patronage: Lope de Vega and the Court of Philip III*. For another poetic depiction of Drake's attack to the ship *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción*, see canto VIII of *Armas Antárticas* (1609) by Juan de Miramontes Zuázola.

¹²"profanos" (59), "gentes malas" (70), "ejército maligno" (73), "ministros del infierno" (78), "bestias fieras" (79), "basiliscos fieros" (81), "luteranos infernales" (85), "miembros del demonio (86), "pérfida nación, ciega maligna" (88), "protervas gentes," "abominables delincuentes," "sacrílegos sin Dios," "canalla vil" (90), "capitán cruel," "insensato," "ladrón traidor, herege, furibundo" (92), "hijo de perdición y hombre perdido," "ciega nación desventurada," "contagiosa pestilencia" (93), "furiosísima demencia," "pérfida canalla" (95), "gente fementida" (97), "ladrón herege fementido" (102).

¹³The words used by Castellanos are 'flagelo,' 'punición,' 'castigo.'

¹⁴Fray Pedro Simón dedicated the entire sixth chapter of his book to Francis Drake's pursuits in the New World; see *Noticias Historiales*, vols. 7 and 8.

¹⁵E. Wright studies the cultural affinities that explain elite Spaniards' admiration for Drake and proposes that for individuals seeking upward mobility Drake served as "the very model of the early-modern Atlantic subject." See "From Drake to Draque: A Spanish hero with an English Accent," *Material and Symbolic Circulation between Spain and England, 1554 – 1604*.

¹⁶See "A summary and True Discourse of Sir Francis Drakes West Indian Voyage" and "The Primrose Journal," in *Sir Francis Drake's West Indian Voyage*.

¹⁷Castellanos was intimately acquainted with the writings of Ercilla and several passages of the *Discurso* contain clear allusions to *La Araucana*. The story of an anonymous woman scolding colonists to defend the port of Callao from the first canto, for instance, comprises and subverts a well known passage from canto VII of *La Araucana*, in which, as the Araucanians prepare to sack the city of Concepción, a Spanish woman (doña Mencía de Nidos)

courageously arms herself and exhorts the panic stricken colonists who are fleeing from the city to stay and defend it. In addition, the parade of conquistadors in canto III of the *Discurso* is a reformulation of the parade of Araucanian warriors from canto of the second installment of *La Araucana*. For the reception of the *Araucana* in the New World, see Nicolopolulos' "Pedro de Oña and Bernardo de Balbuena Read Ercilla's *Fiton*," and "Reading and Responding to the Amorous Episodes of the *Araucana* in Colonial Peru."

¹⁸Prudence and patronage are themes that will resonate in Lope's *La Dragontea*. As has been shown by E. Wright, implicit in *La Dragontea* "is a criticism of the way the crown networks of patronage failed to properly compensate Spaniards who served the king in the Americas, a fault that, in the poet/chronicler's estimation, allowed Drake to make dangerous inroads in Spanish America." See "El enemigo en un espejo de príncipes: Lope de Vega y la creación del Francis Drake español."

¹⁹In making this statement I am by no means suggesting that Castellanos advocated any type of independence or separation from Spain, which will be anachronistic. However, historians like D.A. Brading have traced some aspects of what is commonly referred to as 'creole consciousness' to the requests for the extension or the permanent allocation of the *encomiendas*, which flooded the crown around the same time that Castellanos's poem was written. Some of those petitions make arguments very similar to the one Castellanos makes in the *Discurso* and by and large Castellanos' writings are imbued with the same "anguish, nostalgia and resentment" that Brading recognizes in those requests. See the chapter entitled "Creole Patriots" in *The First America: The Spanish monarchy, Creole Patriots, and the Liberal State 1492-1867*.

²⁰In 1657 Domínguez Camargo became rector of the Cathedral of Tunja, the same post held by Castellanos for more than thirty years. With regard to Domínguez Camargo's knowledge of Castellanos's writings, Meo Zilio writes: "es dable suponer que Camargo en sus años mozos, en la casa de probación de los jesuitas, ubicada en aquel mismo pueblo de Tunja del que Castellanos fue Beneficiado, se haya empapado del poema de su antecesor, publicado en su primera parte unas décadas antes [1589] y seguramente poseído por la biblioteca de aquel colegio. Mas aún, si tenemos en cuenta que el poema del alancense es la primera obra literaria del Nuevo Reino, no podemos dejar de suponer que fuese archiconocido en Tunja por aquellos años, a pesar de que su continuador lo ignora altivamente desde lo alto de su trono gongorino" (139).

²¹I am indebted to the anonymous reader at *Calíope* and to Heather White for their valuable suggestions. All omissions and errors are mine. I humbly dedicate this article to Cory A. Reed.

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